

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 111

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 111

Writings Ascribed to Famous Fathers, Church Orders and
Papal Decretals

c. AD 100 – 900

S E R M O N I N D E X

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Volume 111: Writings Ascribed to Famous Fathers, Church Orders and Papal Decretals

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and eleventh 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 apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings: the writings put under the names of famous Fathers, and the early church orders and papal letters. This volume holds the writings put under the names of Cyprian, Ignatius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Melito, Hippolytus, Chrysostom and others, the Statutes of the Apostles, and the letters in the names of the early popes.

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 are of many kinds: the Ante-Nicene translations as collected in the Writings-Database, Wikisource transcriptions, Horner's Statutes of the Apostles and Mingana's Syriac text read by machine, and works transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection. Page numbers and footnotes are left out, and a misreading may remain. Greek, Hebrew and Latin words in the editors' notes are left out or, where a Greek word occurs in the text itself, given in Latin letters.

In this volume

This last volume of the apocrypha holds works that were written under the names of the great teachers of the church, and that the church did not at the

time accept. There are letters of Ignatius and sayings of Irenaeus, treatises put under the name of Cyprian and Hippolytus, the Doubtful Letters of Sulpicius Severus, and the Statutes of the Apostles.

The papal decretals at the end were forged in the ninth century and were taken for authentic for six hundred years, until scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries showed that they were not. They are printed here so that the reader can see what was claimed in the name of the early bishops of Rome. They are not history, but they are evidence for what the church of the ninth century wanted to believe about its own past.

Dates and authorship

None of these books is part of the Bible. Some were written by Jews before the time of Christ, some by Christians in the first centuries, and some much later, and many carry the name of a patriarch, an apostle or a Father who did not write them. Some of them contain stories that the Church never received and teaching that it rejected. They are printed here so that a reader can see what they say and judge them against the Scriptures, as the Fathers themselves did. The writings in this volume are put under names that are not their authors'; the papal letters were forged in the ninth century.

PART ONE

Pseudo-Cyprian

Four short works handed down with the writings of Cyprian.

Exhortation to Repentance

PSEUDO-CYPRIAN

3rd century and later

A string of Scripture passages on repentance and on the forgiveness of sins. It was printed with Cyprian's works, but it is not his.

¹ That all sins may be forgiven him who has turned to God with his whole heart. In the eighty-eighth Psalm: "If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments, and keep not my commandments, I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and their sins with stripes; nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not scatter away from them." Also in Isaiah: "Thus saith the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, When thou shalt turn and mourn, then thou shalt be saved, and shalt know where thou wast." Also in the same place: "Woe unto you, children of desertion, saith the Lord! ye have made counsel not by me, and my covenant not by my Spirit, to add sin to sin." Also in Jeremiah: "Withdraw thy foot from a rough way, and thy face from thirst. But she said, I will be comforted, I am willing; for she loved strangers, and went after them."

² Also in Isaiah: "Be ye converted, because ye devise a deep and wicked counsel." Also in the same place: "I am He, I am He that blotteth out thy iniquities, and will not remember them; but do thou remember them, and let us be judged together; do thou first tell thine unrighteousnesses." Also in the same: "Seek the Lord; and when ye shall have found Him, call upon Him. But when He has drawn near to you, let the wicked forsake his ways, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him be converted to the Lord, and mercy shall be prepared for him, because He does not much forgive your sins." Also in the same: "Remember these things, O Jacob and Israel, because thou art my servant. I have called thee my servant; and thou, Israel, forget me not. Lo, I have washed away thy unrighteousness as,... and thy sins as a raincloud. Be converted to me, and I will redeem thee."

³ Also in the same: "Have these things in mind, and groan. Repent, ye that have been seduced; be converted in heart unto me, and have in mind the former ages, because I am God." Also in the same: "For a very little season I have forsaken thee, and with great mercy I will pity thee. In a very little wrath I turned away my face from thee; in everlasting mercy I will pity thee." Also in the same: "Thus said the Most High, who dwelleth on high, for ever Holy in the holies, His name is the Lord, the Most High, resting in the holy places, and giving calmness of mind to the faint-hearted, and giving life to those that are broken-hearted: I am not angry with you for ever, neither will I be avenged in all things on you: for my Spirit shall go forth from me, and I have made all inspiration; and on account of a very little sin I have grieved him, and have turned away my face from him; and he has suffered the vile man, and has gone away sadly in his ways. I have seen his ways, and have healed him, and I have comforted him, and I have given to him the true consolation, and peace upon peace to those who are afar off, and to those that are near. And the Lord said, I have healed them; but the unrighteous, as a troubled sea, are thus tossed about and cannot rest. There is no joy to the wicked, saith the Lord."

⁴ Also in Jeremiah: "Shall a bride forget her adornment, or a virgin the girdle of her breast? But my people has forgotten my days, whereof there is no number." Also in the same: "For a decree, I will speak upon the nation or upon the kingdom, or I will take them away and destroy them. And if the nation should be converted from its evils, I will repent of the ills which I have thought to do unto them. And I will speak the decree upon the nation or the people, that I should rebuild it and plant it; and they will do evil before me, that they should not hearken to my voice, and I will repent of the good things which I spoke of doing to them." Also in the same: "Return to me, O dwelling of Israel, saith the Lord, and I will not harden my face upon you; because I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not be angry against you for ever."

⁵ Also in the same: "Be converted, ye children that have departed, saith the Lord; because I will rule over you, and will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you into Sion: and I will give you shepherds after my heart, and they shall feed you, feeding you with discipline." Also in the same: "Be converted, ye children who are turning, and I will heal your affliction." Also in the same: "Wash thine heart from wickedness, O Jerusalem,

that thou mayest be healed: how long shall there be in thee thoughts of thy sorrows? " Also in the same: "Thus saith the Lord, Does not he that falleth arise? or he that turns away, shall he not be turned back? Because this people hath turned itself away by a shameless vision, and they have persisted in their presumption, and would not be converted."

6 Also in the same: "There is no man that repenteth of his iniquity, saying, What have I done? The runner has failed from his course, as the sweating horse in his neighing." Also in the same: "Therefore let every one of you turn from his evil way, and make your desires better. And they said, We will be comforted, because we will go after your inventions, and every one of us will do the sins which please his own heart." Also in the same: "Pour down as a torrent tears, day and night give thyself no rest, let not the pupil of thine eye be silent." Also in the same: "Let us search out our ways, and be turned to the Lord. Let us purge our hearts with our hands, and let us look unto the Lord who dwelleth in the heavens. We have sinned, and we have provoked Thee, and Thou hast not been propitiated."

7 Also in the same: "And the Lord said to me in the days of Josias the king, Thou hast seen what the dwelling of the house, the house of Israel, has done to me. It has gone away upon every lofty mountain, and has gone under every shady tree, and has committed fornication there-and I said, after she had committed all these fornications, Return unto me, and she has not returned." Also in the same: "The Lord will not reject for ever; and when He has made low, He will have pity according to the multitude of His mercy. Because He will not bring low from His whole heart, neither will He reject the children Of men." Also in Ezekiel: "And the righteous shall not be able to be saved in the day of transgression. When I shall say to the righteous, Thou shalt surely live; but he will trust to his own righteousness, and will do iniquity: all his righteousnesses shall not be remembered; in his iniquity which he has done, in that he shall die. And when I shall say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, and he turns himself from his sin, and doeth righteousness and judgment, and restoreth to the debtor his pledge, and giveth back his robbery, and walketh in the precepts of life, that he may do no iniquity, he shall surely live, and shall not die; none of his sins which he hath sinned shall be stirred up against him: because he hath done justice and judgment, he shall live in them."

⁸ Also in the same: "I am the Lord, because I bring low the high tree, and exalt the low tree, and dry up the green tree, and cause the dry tree to flourish." Also in the same: "And thou, son of man, say unto the house of Israel, Even as ye have spoken, saying, Our errors and our iniquities are in us, and we waste away in them, and how shall we live? Say unto them, I live, saith the Lord: if I will the death of a sinner, only let him turn from his way, and he shall live." Also in the same: "I the Lord have built up the ruined places, and have planted the wasted places." Also in the same: "And the wicked man, if he turn himself from all his iniquities that he has done, and keep all my commandments, and do judgment, and justice, and mercy, shall surely live, and shall not die. None of his sins which he has committed shall be in remembrance; in his righteousness which he hath done he shall live. Do I willingly desire the death of the unrighteous man, saith Adonai the Lord, rather than that he should turn him from his evil way, that he should live?"

⁹ Also in the same: "Be ye converted, and turn you from all your wickednesses, and they shall not be to you for a punishment. Cast away from you all your iniquities which ye have wickedly committed against me, and make to yourselves a new heart and a new spirit; and why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I desire not the death of him that dieth, saith Adonai the Lord." Also in Daniel: "And after the end of the days, I Nabuchodonosor lifted up my eyes to heaven, and my sense returned to me, and I praised the Most High, and blessed the King of heaven, and praised Him that liveth for ever: because His power is eternal, His kingdom is for generations, and all who inhabit the earth are as nothing." Also in Micah: "Alas for me, O my soul, because truth has perished from the earth, and among all there is none that correcteth; all judge in blood. Every one treadeth down his neighbour with tribulation; they prepare their hands for evil."

¹⁰ Also in the same: "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy, because I have fallen, but I shall arise: because although I shall sit in darkness, the Lord will give me light: I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against Him, until He justify my cause." Also in Zephaniah: "Come ye together and pray, O undisciplined people; before ye be made as a flower that passeth away, before the anger of the Lord come upon you, before the day of the Lord's fury come upon you, seek ye the Lord, all ye humble ones of the earth; do judgment and seek justice, and seek for gentleness; and answer ye to Him that ye may be protected in the day of the Lord's anger." Also in

Zechariah: "Be ye converted unto me, and I will be turned unto you." Also in Hosea: "Be thou converted, O Israel, to the Lord thy God, because thou art weakened by thine iniquities. Take many with you, and be converted to the Lord your God; worship Him, and say, Thou art mighty to put away our sins; that ye may not receive iniquity, but that ye may receive good things."

¹¹ Also in Ecclesiasticus: "Be thou turned to the Lord, and forsake thy sins, and exceedingly hate cursing, and know righteousness and God's judgments, and stand in the lot of the propitiation of the Most High: and go into the portion of life with the living, and those that make confession. Delay not in the error of the wicked. Confession perisheth from the dead man, as if it were nothing. Living and sound, thou shalt confess to the Lord, and thou shalt glory in His mercies; for great is the mercy of the Lord, and His propitiation unto such as turn unto Him." Also in the same: "How good is it for a true heart to show forth repentance! For thus shalt thou escape voluntary sin." Also in the Acts of the Apostles: "But Peter saith unto him, thy money perish with thee, because thou thinkest to be able to obtain the grace of God by money. Thou hast no part nor lot in this faith, for thy heart is not right with God. Therefore repent of this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord, if haply the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee. For I see that thou art in the bond of iniquity, and in the bitterness of gall."

¹² Also in the second Epistle of the blessed Paul to the Corinthians: "For the sorrow which is according to God worketh a stedfast repentance unto salvation, but the sorrow of the world worketh death." Also in the same place of this very matter: "But if ye have forgiven anything to any one, I also forgive him; for I also forgave what I have forgiven for your sakes in the person of Christ, that we may not be circumvented by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his wiles." Also in the same: "But I fear lest perchance, when I come to you, God may again humble me among you, and I shall bewail many of those who have sinned before, and have not repented, for that they have committed fornication and lasciviousness." Also in the same: "I told you before, and foretell you as I sit present; and absent now from those who before have sinned, and to all others; as, ill shall come again, I will not spare."

¹³ Also in the second to Timothy: "But shun profane novelties of words, for they are of much advantage to impiety. And their word creeps as a cancer: of whom is Hymenaeus and Philetus, who have departed from the truth, saying that the resurrection has already happened, and have subverted the faith

of certain ones. But the foundation of God standeth firm, having this seal, God knoweth them that are His. And, Every one who nameth the name of the Lord shall depart from all iniquity. But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of clay; and some indeed for honour, and some for contempt. Therefore if any one shall amend himself from these things, he shall be a vessel sanctified for honour, and useful for the Lord, prepared for every good work. Moreover, flee youthful lusts: but follow after righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call upon the Lord from a pure heart. But avoid questions that are foolish and without learning, knowing that they beget strifes. And the servant of the Lord ought not to strive; but to be gentle, docile to all men, patient with modesty, correcting those who resist, lest at any time God may give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth, and recover themselves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive at his will."

¹⁴ Also in the Apocalypse: "Remember whence thou hast fallen, and repent; but if not, I will come to thee quickly, and remove thy candlestick out of its place."

Of the Discipline and Advantage of Chastity

PSEUDO-CYPRIAN

3rd century and later

A letter to virgins and chaste women on keeping the discipline of chastity. It was printed with Cyprian's works, but it is not his.

1. I do not conceive that I have exceeded any portions of my duty, in always striving as much as possible, by dally discussions of the Gospels, to afford to you from time to time the means of growth, by the Lord's help, in faith and knowledge. For what else can be effected in the Lord's Church with greater advantage, what can be found more suitable to the office of a bishop, than that, by the teaching of the divine words, recommended and commented on by Him, believers should be enabled to attain to the promised kingdom of heaven? This assuredly, as the desired result day by day of my work as well as of my office, I endeavour, notwithstanding my absence, to accomplish; and by my letters I try to make myself present to you, addressing you in faith, in my usual manner, by the exhortations that I send you. I call upon you, therefore, to be established in the power of the Root of the Gospel, and to stand always armed against all the assaults of the devil. I shall not believe myself to be absent from you, if I shall be sure of you. Nevertheless, everything which is advantageously set forth, and which either defines or promises the condition of eternal life to those who are investigating it, is then only profitable, if it be aided in attaining the reward of the effort by the power of the divine mercy. We not only set forth words which come from the sacred fountains of the Scriptures, but with these very words we associate prayers to the Lord, and wishes, that, as well to us as to you, He would not only unfold the treasures of His sacraments, but would bestow strength for the carrying into act of what we know. For the danger is all the greater if we know the Lord's will, and loiter in the work of the will of God.

2. Although, therefore, I exhort you always, as you are aware, to many things, and to the precepts of the Lord's admonition—for what else can be desirable or more important to me, than that in all things you should stand perfect in the Lord?—yet I admonish you, that you should before all things maintain the barriers of chastity, as also you do: knowing that you are the temple of the Lord, the members of Christ, the habitation of the Holy Spirit, elected to hope, consecrated to faith, destined to salvation, sons of God, brethren of Christ, associates of the Holy Spirit, owing nothing any longer to the flesh, as born again of water, that the chastity, over and above the will, which we should always desire to be ours, may be afforded to us also, on account of the redemption, that that which has been consecrated by Christ might not be corrupted. For if the apostle declares the Church to be the spouse of Christ, I beseech you consider what chastity is required, where the Church is given in marriage as a betrothed virgin. And I indeed, except that I have proposed to admonish you with brevity, think the most diffuse praises due, and could set forth abundant laudations of chastity; but I have thought it superfluous to praise it at greater length among those who practise it. For you adorn it while you exhibit it;

and in its exercise you set forth its more abundant praises, being made its ornament, while it also is yours, each lending and borrowing honour from the other. It adds to you the discipline of good morals; you confer upon it the ministry of saintly works. For how much and what it can effect has on the one hand been manifest by your means, and on the other it has shown and taught what you are wishing for,—the two advantages of precepts and practice being combined into one, that nothing should appear maimed, as would be the case if either principles were wanting to service, or service to principles. 3. Chastity is the dignity of the body, the ornament of morality, the sacredness of the sexes, the bond of modesty, the source of purity, the peacefulness of home, the crown of concord. Chastity is not careful whom it pleases but itself. Chastity is always modest, being the mother of innocence; chastity is ever adorned with modesty alone, then rightly conscious of its own beauty if it is displeasing to the wicked. Chastity seeks nothing in the way of adornments: it is its own glory. It is this which commends us to the Lord, unites us with Christ; it is this which drives out from our members all the illicit conflicts of desire, instils peace into our bodies: blessed itself, and making those blessed, whoever they are, in whom it condescends to dwell. It is that which

even they who possess it not can never accuse; it is even venerable to its enemies, since, they admire it much more because they are unable to capture it. Moreover, as mature, it is both always excellent in men, and to be earnestly desired by women; so its enemy, unchastity, is always detestable, making an obscene sport for its servants, sparing neither bodies nor souls. For, their own proper character being overcome, it sends the entire man under its yoke of lust, alluring at first, that it may do the more mischief by its attraction,-the foe of continency, exhausting both means and modesty;

the perilous madness of lust frequently attaining to the blood, the destruction of a good conscience, the mother of impenitence, the ruin of a more virtuous age, the disgrace of one's race, driving away all confidence in blood and family, intruding one's own children upon the affections of strangers, interpolating the offspring of an unknown and corrupted stock into the testaments of others. And this also, very frequently burning without reference to sex, and not restraining itself within the permitted limits, thinks it little satisfaction to it self, unless even in the bodies of men it seeks, not a new pleasure, but goes in quest of extraordinary and revolting extravagances, contrary to nature itself, of men with men. 4. But chastity maintains the first rank in virgins, the second in those who are continent, the third in the case of wedlock. Yet in all it is glorious, with all its degrees. For even to maintain the marriage-faith is a matter of praise in the midst of so many bodily strifes; and to have determined on a limit in marriage defined by continency is more virtuous still, because herein even lawful things are refused. Assuredly to have guarded one's purity from the womb, and to have kept oneself an infant even to old age throughout the whole of life, is certainly the part of an admirable virtue; only that if never to have known the body's seductive capacities is the greater blessedness, to have overcome them when once known is the greater virtue; yet still in such a sort that that virtue comes of God's gift, although it manifests itself to men in their members.

5. The precepts of chastity, brethren, are ancient. Wherefore do I say ancient? Because they were ordained at the same time as men themselves. For both her own husband belongs to the woman, for the reason that besides him she may know no other; and the woman is given to the man for the purpose that, when that which had been his own had been yielded to him, he should seek for nothing belonging to another. And in such wise it is said, "Two shall be in one flesh," that what had been made one should return to-

gether, that a separation without return should not afford any occasion to a stranger. Thence also the apostle declares that the man is the head of the woman, that he might commend chastity in the conjunction of the two. For as the head cannot be suited to the limbs of another, so also one's limbs cannot be suited to the head of another: for one's head matches one's limbs, and one's limbs one's head; and both of them are associated by a natural link in mutual concord, lest, by any discord arising from the separation of the members, the compact of the divine covenant should be broken. Yet he adds, and says: "Because he who loves his wife, loves himself. For no one hates his own flesh; but nourishes and cherishes it, even as Christ the Church." From this passage there is great authority for charity with chastity, if wives are to be loved by their husbands even as Christ loved the Church and wives ought so to love their husbands also as the Church loves Christ.

6. Christ gave this judgment when, being inquired of, He said that a wife must not be put away, save for the cause of adultery; such honour did He put upon chastity. Hence arose the decree: "Ye shall not suffer adulteresses to live." Hence the apostle says: "This is the will of God, that ye abstain from fornication." Hence also he says the same thing: "That the members of Christ must not be joined with the members of an harlot." Hence the man is delivered over unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, who, treading under foot the law of chastity, practises the vices of the flesh. Hence with reason adulterers do not attain the kingdom of heaven. Hence it is that every sin is without the body, but that the adulterer alone sins against his own body. Hence other authoritative utterances of the instructor, all of which it is not necessary at this time to collect, especially among you, who for the most part know and do them; and you cannot find cause for complaint concerning these things, even though they are not described. For the adulterer has not an excuse, nor could he have, because he might take a wife.

7. But as laws are prescribed to matrons, who are so bound that they cannot thence be separated, while virginity and continency are beyond all law, there is nothing in the laws of matrimony which pertains to virginity; for by its loftiness it transcends them all. If any evil undertakings of men endeavour to transcend laws, virginity places itself on an equality with angels; moreover, if we investigate, it even excels them, because struggling in the flesh it gains the victory even against a nature which angels have not. What else is virginity than the glorious preparation for the future life? Virginity is

of neither sex. Virginitv is the continuance of infancy. Virginitv is the triumph over pleasures. Virginitv has no children; but what is more, it has contempt for offspring: it has not fruitfulness, but neither has it bereavement; blessed that it is free from the pain of bringing forth, more blessed still that it is free from the calamity of the death of children. What else is virginitv than the freedom of liberty? It has no husband for a master. Virginitv is freed from all affections: it is not given up to marriage, nor to the world, nor to children. It cannot dread persecution, since it cannot provoke it from its security.

8. But since the precepts of chastity have thus briefly been set forth to us, let us now give an instance of chastity. For it is more profitable when we come in the very presence of the thing; nor will there be any doubt about the virtue, when that which is prescribed is also designated by illustrations. The example of chastity begins with Joseph. A Hebrew youth, noble by his parentage, nobler by his innocence, on account of the envy excited by his revelations exposed for sale by his brethren to the Israelites, had attained to the household of a man of Egypt. By his obedience and his innocence, and by the entire faithfulness of his service, he had aroused in his favour the easy and kindly disposition of his master; and his appearance had commended itself to all men, alike by his gracious speech as by his youthfulness. But that same nobility of manner was received by his master's wife in another manner than was becoming; in a secret part of the house, and without witnesses, - a place high up, and fitted for deeds of wickedness, the unrestrained unchastity of the woman thought that it could overcome the youth's chastity, now by promises, now by threats.

And when he was restrained from attempting flight by her holding his garments, shocked at the audacity of such a crime, tearing his very garments, and able to appeal to the sincerity of his naked body as a witness of his innocence, the rash woman did not shrink from adding calumny to the crime of her unchastity. Dishevelled, and raging that her desire should be despised, she complained both to others and to her husband that the Hebrew youth had attempted to use that force to her which she herself had striven to exercise. The husband's passion, unconscious of the truth, and terribly inflamed by his wife's accusation, is aroused; and the modest youth, because he did not defile his conscience with the crime, is thrust into the lowest dungeon of the prison. But chastity is not alone in the dungeon; for God is with Joseph, and

the guilty are given into his charge, because he had been guiltless. Moreover, he dissolves the obscurities of dreams, because his spirit was watchful in temptations, and he is freed from chains by the master of the prison. He who had been an inferior in the house with peril, was made lord of the palace without risk; restored to his noble station, he received the reward of chastity and innocence by the judgment of God, from whom he had deserved it.

9. But not less from a different direction arises to us another similar instance of chastity from the continence of women. Susanna, as we read, the daughter of Chelcias, the wife of Joachim, was exceedingly beautiful—more beautiful still in character. Her outward appearance added no charm to her, for she was simple: chastity had cultivated her; and in addition to chastity nature alone. With her, two of the elders had begun to be madly in love, mindful of nothing, neither of the fear of God, nor even of their age, already withering with years. Thus the flame of resuscitated lust recalled them into the glowing heats of their bygone youth. Robbers of chastity, they profess love, while they really hate. They threaten her with calumnies when she resists; the adulterers in wish declare themselves the accusers of adultery. And between these rocks of lust she sought help of the Lord, because she was not equal to prevailing against them by bodily strength. And the Lord heard from heaven chastity crying to Him; and when she, overwhelmed with injustice, was being led to punishment, she was delivered, and saw her revenge upon her enemies. Twice victorious, and in her peril so often and so fatally hedged in, she escaped both the lust and death. It will be endless if I continue to produce more examples; I am content with these two, especially as in these cases chastity has been defended with all their might.

10. The memory of noble descent could not enervate them, although to some this is a suggestive licence to lasciviousness; nor the comeliness of their bodies, and the beauty of their well-ordered limbs, although for the most part this affords a hint, that being, as it were, the short-lived flower of an age that rapidly passes away, it should be fed with the offered opportunity of pleasure; nor the first years of a green but mature age, although the blood, still inexperienced, grows hot, and stimulates the natural fires, and the blind flames that stir in the marrow, to seek a remedy, even if they should break forth at the risk of modesty; nor any opportunity afforded by secrecy, or by freedom from witnesses, which to some seems to ensure safety, although this is the greatest temptation to the commission of crime, that there is no pun-

ishment for meditating it. Neither was a necessity laid upon them by the authority of those who bade them yield, and in the boldness of association and companionship, by which kind of temptations also righteous determinations are often overcome. Neither did the very rewards nor the kindness, nor did the accusations, nor threats, nor punishments, nor death, move them; nothing was counted so cruel, so hard, so distressing, as to have fallen from the lofty stand of chastity. They were worthy of such a reward of the Divine Judge, that one of them should be glorified on a throne almost regal; that the other, endowed with her husband's sympathy, should be rescued by the death of her enemies. These, and such as these, are the examples ever to be placed before our eyes, the like of them to be meditated on day and night.

11. Nothing so delights the faithful soul as the healthy consciousness of an unstained modesty. To have vanquished pleasure is the greatest pleasure; nor is there any greater victory than that which is gained over one's desires. He who has conquered an enemy has been stronger, but it was stronger than another; he who has subdued lust has been stronger than himself. He who has overthrown an enemy has beaten a foreign foe; he who has cast down desire has vanquished a domestic adversary. Every evil is more easily conquered than pleasure; because, whatever it is, the former is repulsive, the latter is attractive. Nothing is crushed with such difficulty as that which is armed by it. He who gets rid of desires has got rid of fears also; for from desires come fears. He who overcomes desires, triumphs over sin; he who overcomes desires, shows that the mischief of the human family lies prostrate under his feet; he who has overcome desires, has given to himself perpetual peace; he who has overcome desires, restores to himself liberty, - a most difficult matter even for noble natures. Therefore we should always meditate, brethren, as these matters teach us, on chastity. That it may be the more easy, it is based upon no acquired skill. For the fight will that is therein carried to perfection - which, were it not checked, is remote (scil. from our consciousness) - is still our will; so that it is not a will to be acquired, but that which is our own is to be cherished.

12. For what is chastity but a virtuous mind added to watchfulness over the body; so that modesty observed in respect of the sexual relations, attested by strictness (of demeanour), should maintain honourable faith by an uncorrupted offspring? Moreover, to chastity, brethren, are suited and are known first of all divine modesty, and the sacred meditation of the divine

precepts, and a soul inclined to faith, and a mind attuned to the sacredness of religion: then carefulness that nothing in itself should be elaborated beyond measure, or extended beyond propriety; that nothing should be made a show of, nothing artfully coloured; that there should be nothing to pander to the excitement or the renewal of wiles. She is not a modest woman who strives to stir up the fancy of another, even although her bodily chastity be preserved. Away with such as do not adorn, but prostitute their beauty. For anxiety about beauty is not only the wisdom of an evil mind, but belongs to deformity. Let the bodily nature be free, nor let any sort of force be intruded upon God's works. She is always wretched who is not satisfied to be such as she is. Wherefore is the colour of hair changed? Why are the edges of the eyes darkened? Why is the face moulded by art into a different form? Finally, why is the looking-glass consulted, unless from fear lest a woman should be herself? Moreover, the dress of a modest woman should be modest;

a believer should not be conscious of adultery even in the mixture of colours. To wear gold in one's garments is as if it were desirable to corrupt one's garments. What do rigid metals do among the delicate threads of the woven textures, except to press upon the enervated shoulders, and unhappily to show the extravagance of a boastful soul? Why are the necks oppressed and hidden by outlandish stones, the prices of which, without workmanship, exceed the entire fortune of many a one? It is not the woman that is adorned, but the woman's vices that are manifested. What, when the fingers laden with so much gold can neither close nor open, is there any advantage sought for, or is it merely to show the empty parade of one's estate? It is a marvellous thing that women, tender in all things else, in bearing the burden of their vices are stronger than men.

13. But to return to what I began with: chastity is ever to be cultivated by men and women; it is to be kept with all watchfulness within its bounds. The bodily nature is quickly endangered in the body, when the flesh, which is always falling, carries it away with itself. Because under the pretext of a nature which is always urging men to desires whereby the ruins of a decayed race are restored, deceiving with the enticement of pleasure, it does not lead its offspring to the continence of legitimate intercourse, but hurls them into crime. Therefore, in opposition to these fleshly snares, by which the devil both obtrudes himself as a companion and makes himself a leader, we must struggle with every kind of strength. Let the aid of Christ be appropriated,

according to the apostle, and let the mind be withdrawn as much as possible from the association of the body; let consent be withheld from the body; let vices be always chastised, that they may be hated; let that misshapen and degraded shame which belongs to sin be kept before our eyes. Repentance itself, with all its struggles, is a discreditable testimony to sins committed. Let not curiosity be indulged in scanning other people's countenances. Let one's speech be brief, and one's laughter moderate, for laughter is the sign of an easy and a negligent disposition; and let all contact, even that which is becoming, be avoided. Let no indulgence be permitted to the body, when bodily vice is to be avoided. Let it be considered how honourable it is to have conquered dishonour, how disgraceful to have been conquered by dishonour.

14. It must be said, moreover, that adultery is not pleasure, but mutual contempt; nor can it delight, because it kills both the soul and modesty. Let the soul restrain the provocations of the flesh; let it bridle the impulses of the body. For it has received this power, that the limbs should be subservient to its command; and as a lawful and accomplished charioteer, it should turn about the fleshly impulses when they lift themselves above the allowed limits of the body, by the reins of the heavenly precepts, lest that chariot of the body, carried away beyond its limits, should hurry into its own peril the charioteer himself as well as it. But in the midst of these things, nay, before these things, in opposition to disturbances and all vices, help must be sought for from the divine camp; for God alone, who has condescended to make men, is powerful also to afford sufficient help to men. I have composed a few words, because I did not propose to write a volume, but to send you an address. Look ye to the Scriptures; seek out for yourselves from those precepts greater illustrations of this matter. Beloved brethren, farewell.

On the Glory of Martyrdom

PSEUDO-CYPRIAN

3rd century and later

An address that urges the brethren to bear martyrdom, and tells what it is and what it gains. It was printed with Cyprian's works, but it is not his.

Argument.-The Glory of Martyrdom,-Namely, What Martyrdom Is, How Great It Is, and of What Advantage It is. By Similitudes, and by Argument Deduced from the Daily Deaths, the Author Exhorts to a Joyous Submission to Death for Christ's Sake. Among the Benefits of Martyrdom He Maintains that Without Experience of the Universal Suffering that Prevails, the Propitiation of Christ Crowns Martyrs in Such a Way that His Saying About the Very Last Farthing is Not Applicable to Them. 1. Although, beloved brethren, it is unfitting, while my speaking to you receives this indulgence, to profess any trepidation, and it very little becomes me to diminish the glory of so great a devotion by the confession of an incipient doubt; yet at the same time I say that my mind is divided by that very deliberation, being influenced by the desire of describing the glory, and restrained from speaking by the magnitude of the virtue (to be described); since it is either not becoming to be silent, or it is perilous to say too little, save that to one who is tossing in doubt this consideration alone is helpful, that it would appear easy for him to be pardoned who has not feared to dare. Wherefore, beloved brethren, although my mental capacity is burdened by the importance of the subject in such a way, that in proportion as it puts itself forth in declaring the dignity of martyrdom, in that degree it is overwhelmed by the very weight of the glory, and by its estimation of all those things concerning which, when it speaks most, it fails, by its address being weakened, and broken, and self-entangled, and does not with free and loosened reins display the might of such glory in the liberal eloquence of discourse; yet, if I am not mistaken, some power there will be in my utterance, which, when fortified by the ap-

peal of the work itself, may here and there pour forth what the unequal consciousness of my ability withheld from my words.

Since, therefore, beloved brethren, involved as we are in affairs so many and important, we are endeavouring with all eagerness and labour to confirm the excellent and most beautiful issues of salvation, I do not fear being so deterred by any slothful dread as to be withheld or rendered powerless; since, if any one should desire to look into that of which we are considering, the hope of devotion being taken into account, and the very magnitude of the thing being weighed, he would rather wonder that I could have dared at all, in a matter wherein both the vastness of the subject oppressed me, and the earnestness of its own desire drove my mind, confused with its joy, into mental difficulties. For who is there whom such a subject would not alarm? who is there whom it would not overthrow with the fear of its own wonder! 2. For there is indeed, unless I am mistaken, even in the very power of conscience, a marvellous fear which at once disturbs and inflames us; whose power, the more closely you look into, the more the dreadful sense of its obligation is gathered from its very aspect of venerable majesty. For assuredly you ought to consider what glory there is in expiating any kind of defilement of life, and the foulness of a polluted body, and the contagions gathered from the long putrefaction of vices, and the worldly guilt incurred by so great a lapse of time, by the remedial agency of one stroke, whereby both reward may be increased, and guilt may be excluded. Whence every perfection and condition of life is included in martyrdom. This is the foundation of life and faith, this is the safeguard of salvation, this is the bond of liberty and honour; and although there are also other means whereby the light may be attained, yet we more easily arrive at nearness to the promised reward, by help of these punishments, which sustain us.

3. For consider what glory it is to set aside the lusts of this life, and to oppose a mind withdrawn from all commerce with nature and the world, to all the opposition of the adversary, and to have no dread of the cruelty of the torturer; that a man should be animated by the suffering whereby he might be believed to be destroyed, and should take to himself, as an enhancement of his strength, that which the punisher thinks will aggravate his torments. For although the hook, springing forth from the stiffening ribs, is put back again into the wound, and with the repeated strokes of the whip the returning lash is drawn away with the rent portions of the flesh; still he stands im-

moveable, the stronger for his sufferings, revolving only this in his mind, that in that brutality of the executioners Christ Himself is suffering more in proportion to what he suffers. For since, if he should deny the Lord, he would incur guilt on His behalf for whom he ought to have overcome, it is essential that He should be seen to bear all things to whom the victory is due, even in the suffering.

4. Therefore, since martyrdom is the chief thing, there are three points arising out of it on which we have proposed to ourselves to speak: What it is, how great it is, and of what advantage it is. What, then, is martyrdom? It is the end of sins, the limit of dangers, the guide of salvation, the teacher of patience, the home of life, on the journey to which those things moreover befall which in the coming crisis might be considered torments. By this also testimony is borne to the Name, and the majesty of the Name is greatly enhanced: not that in itself that majesty can be diminished, or its magnitude detracted from, by the guilt of one who denies it; but that it redounds to the increase of its glory, when the terror of the populace that howls around is giving to suffering, fearless minds, and by the threats of snarling hatred is adding to the title whereby Christ has desired to crown the man, that in proportion as he has thought that he conquered, in that proportion his courage has grown in the struggle. It is then, therefore, that all the vigour of faith is brought to bear, then facility of belief is approved, when you encounter the speeches and the reproaches of the rabble, and when you strengthen yourself by a religious mind against those madnesses of the people,-overcoming, that is, and repelling whatever their blasphemous speech may have uttered to wrong Christ in your person; as when the resisting breakwater repels the adverse sea, although the waves dash and the rolling water again and again beats upon it, yet its immovable strength abides firm, and does not yield even when covered over by the waves that foam around, until its force is scattered over the rocks and loses itself, and the conquered billow lying upon the rocks retires forth into the open spaces of the shore.

5. For what is there in these speeches other than empty discourse, and senseless talk, and a depraved pleasure in meaningless words? As it is written: "They have eyes, and they see not; ears have they, and they hear not." "Their foolish heart is made sluggish, lest at any time they should be converted, and I should heal them." For there is no doubt but that He said this of all whose

hardened mind and obstinate brutality of heart is always driven away and repugnates from a vital devotion, folly leading them, madness dragging them, in fine, every kind of ferocity enraging them, whereby they are instigated as well as carried away, so that in their case their own deeds would be sufficient for their punishment, their guilt would burden the very penalty of the persecution inflicted. 6. The whole of this tends to the praise of martyrdom, the whole illuminates the glory of suffering wherein the hope of time future is beheld, wherein Christ Himself is engaged, of whom are given the examples that we seek, and whose is the strength by which we resist. And that in this behalf something is supplied to us to present, is surely a lofty and marvellous condescension, and such as we are able neither mentally to conceive nor fully to express in words. For what could He with His liberal affection bestow upon us more, than that He should be the first to show forth in Himself what He would reward with a crown in others? He became mortal that we might be immortal, and He underwent the issue of human destiny, by whom things human are governed; and that He might appear to have given to us the benefit of His having suffered, He gave us confession. He suggested martyrdoms; finally, He, by the merits of His nativity, imputed all those things whereby the light (of life) may be quenched, to a saving remedy, by His excellent humility, by His divine strength. Whoever have deserved to be worthy of this have been without death, have overcome all the foulest stains of the world, having subdued the condition of death.

7. For there is no doubt how much they obtain from the Lord, who have preferred God's name to their own safety, so that in that judgment-day their blood-shedding would make them better, and the blood spill would show them to be spotless. Because death makes life more complete, death rather leads to glory. Thus, whenever on the rejoicing wheat-stalks the ears of corn distended by rains grow full, the abundant harvests are forced by the summer; thus, as often as the vine is pruned by the knife from the tendrils that break forth upon it, the bunch of grapes is more liberally clothed. For whatever is of advantage by its injury turns out for the increase of the time to come; just as it has often been of avail to the fields to let loose the flames, that by the heat of the wandering conflagration the blind breathing-holes of the earth might be relaxed. It has been useful to parch the light stalks with the crackling fire, that the pregnant corn-field might raise itself higher, and a more abundant grain might flourish on the breeding stems. There-

fore such also is first of all the calamity, and by and by the fruit of martyrdom, that it so contemns death, that it may preserve life in death.

8. For what is so illustrious and sublime, as by a robust devotion to preserve all the vigour of faith in the midst of so many weapons of executioners? What so Meat and honourable, as in the midst of so many swords of the surrounding guards, again and again to profess in repeated words the Lord of one's liberty and the author of one's salvation?—and especially if you set before your eyes that there is nothing more detestable than dishonour, nothing baser than slavery, that now you ought to seek nothing else, to ask for nothing else, than that you should be snatched from the slaughters of the world, be delivered from the ills of the world, and be engaged only as an alien from the contagion of earth, among the ruins of a globe that is speedily to perish? For what have you to do with this light, if you have the promise of an eternal light? What interest have you in this commerce of life and nature, if the amplitude of heaven is awaiting you? Doubtless let that lust of life keep hold, but let it be of those whom for unatoned sin the raging fire will torture with eternal vengeance for their crimes. Let that lust of life keep hold, but let it be of those to whom it is both a punishment to die, and a torment to endure (after death).

But to you both the world itself is subjected, and the earth yields, if, when all are dying, you are reserved for this fate of being a martyr. Do we not behold daily dyings? We behold new kinds of death of the body long worn out with raging diseases, the miserable re-suits of some plague hitherto unexperienced; and we behold the destruction of wasted cities, and hence we may acknowledge how great is to be considered the dignity of martyrdom, to the attainment of the glory of which even the pestilence is beginning to compel us. 9. Moreover, beloved brethren, regard, I beseech you, this consideration more fully; for in it both salvation is involved, and sublimity accounted of, although I am not unaware that you abundantly know that we are supported by the judgments of all who stand fast, and that you are not ignorant that this is the teaching handed down to us, that we should maintain the power of so great a Name without any dread of the warfare; because we whom once the desire of an everlasting remembrance has withheld from the longing for this light, and whom the anticipations of the future have wrenched away, and whom the society of Christ so longed for has kept aloof from all wickedness, shrink from offering our soul to death except it be in the way of

yielding to a mischief, and that those benefits of God must no longer be retained and clung to by us, since beyond the burning up of these things the reward is so great as that human infirmity can hardly attain sufficiently to speak of it. Heaven lies open to our blood; the dwelling-place of Gehenna gives way to our blood; and among all the attainments of glory, the title of blood is sealed as the fairest, and its crown is designated as most complete.

10. Thus, whenever the soldier returns from the enemy laden with triumphant spoils, he rejoices in his wounds. Thus, whenever the sailor, long harassed with tempests, arrives at safe shores, he reckons his happiness by the dangers that he has suffered. For, unless I am mistaken, that is assuredly a joyous labour whereby safety is found. Therefore all things must be suffered, all things must be endured; nor should we desire the means of rejoicing for a brief period, and being punished with a perpetual burning. For you ought to remember that you are bound, as it were, by a certain federal pact, out of which arises the just condition either of obtaining salvation, or the merited fearfulness of punishment. You stand equally among adverse things and prosperous, in the midst of arms and darts; and on the one hand, worldly ambition, on the other heavenly greatness, incites you. 11. If you fear to lose salvation, know that you can die; and, moreover, death should be contemned by you, for whom Christ was slain. Let the examples of the Lords passion, I beseech you, pass before your eyes; let the offerings, and the rewards, and the distinctions prepared come together before you, and look carefully at both events, how great a difficulty they have between them. For you will not be able to confess unless you know what a great mischief you do if you deny. Martyrs rejoice in heaven; the fire will consume those who are enemies of the truth. The paradise of God blooms for the witnesses; Gehenna will enfold the deniers, and eternal fire will burn them up. And, to say nothing of other matters, this assuredly ought rather to urge us, that the confession of one word is maintained by the everlasting confession of Christ; as it is written, "Whosoever shall confess me on earth before men, him also will I confess before my Father, and before His angels." To this are added, by way of an enhancement of glory, the adornments of virtue; for He says, "The righteous shall shine as sparks that run to and fro among the stubble; they shall judge the nations, and shall have dominion over the peoples."

12. For it is a great glory, beloved brethren, to adorn the life of eternal salvation with the dignity of suffering: it is a great sublimity before the face

of the Lord, and under the gaze of Christ, to contemn without a shudder the torments inflicted by human power. Thus Daniel, by the constancy of his faith, overcame the threats of the king and the fury of raging lions, in that he believed that none else than God was to be adored. Thus, when the young men were thrown into the furnace, the fire raged against itself. because, being righteous, they endured the flames, and guarded against those of Gehenna, by believing in God, whence also they received things worthy of them: they were not delayed to a future time: they were not reserved for the reward of eternal salvation. God saw their faith; that what they had promised to themselves to see after their death, they merited to see in their body. For how great a reward was given them in the present tribulation could not be estimated. If there was cruelty, it gave way; if there was flame, it stood still. For there was one mind to all of them, which neither violence could break down nor wrath could subvert; nor could the fear of death restrain them from the obedience of devotion. Whence by the Lord's grace it happened, that in this manner the king himself appeared rather to be punished in those men (who were slain), whilst they escape whom he had thought to slay.

13. And now, beloved brethren, I shall come to that point whence I shall very easily be able to show you how highly the virtue of martyrdom is esteemed, which, although it is well known to all, and is to be desired on account of the insignia of its inborn glory, yet in the desire of its enjoyment has received more enhancement from the necessity of the times. Because if any one be crowned at that season in which he supposes himself to be crowned, if perchance he should die, he is greatly rewarded. Therefore, sublime and illustrious as martyrdom is, it is the more needful now, when the world itself is turned upside down, and, while the globe is partially shattered, failing nature is giving evidence of the tokens of its final destruction. For the rain-cloud hangs over us in the sky, and the very air stretches forth the mournful rain (curtain); and as often as the black tempest threatens the raging sea, the glittering lightning-flashes glow terribly in the midst of the opening darkness of the clouds. Moreover, when the deep is lashed into immense billows, by degrees the wave is lifted up, and by degrees the foam whitens, until at length you behold it rush in such a manner, that on those rocks on which it is hurled, it throws its foam higher than the wave that was vomited forth by the swelling sea. You read that it is written, that we must pay even the uttermost farthing. But the martyrs alone are relieved of this

obligation; because they who trust to their desires for eternal salvation, and have overcome their longings for this life, have been made by the Lord's precepts free from the universal suffering. Therefore from this especially, beloved brethren, we shall be able to set forth what great things the virtue of martyrdom is able to fulfil.

14. And, to pass over everything else, we ought to remember what a glory it is to come immaculate to Christ—to be a sharer in His suffering, and to reign in a perpetual eternity with the Lord—to be free from the threatening destruction of the world, and not to be mixed up with the bloody carnage of wasting diseases in a common lot with others; and, not to speak of the crown itself, if, being situated in the midst of these critical evils of nature, you had the promise of an escape from this life, would you not rejoice with all your heart? If, I say, while tossing amid the tempests of this world, a near repose should invite you, would you not consider death in the light of a remedy? Thus, surrounded as you are with the knives of the executioners, and the instruments of testing tortures, stand sublime and strong, considering how great is the penalty of denying, in a time when you are unable to enjoy, the world for the sake of which you would deny, because indeed the Lord knew that cruel torments and mischievous acts of punishment would be armed against us for our destruction, in order that He might make us strong to endure the all. son, says He, "if thou come to serve God, stand fast in righteousness, and fear, and prepare thy soul for temptation." Moreover, also, the blessed Apostle Paul exclaimed, and said, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

15. Wherefore, beloved brethren, with a firm faith, with a robust devotion, with a virtue opposed to the fierce threatenings of the world, and the savage murmurs of the attending crowds, we must resist and not fear, seeing that ours is the hope of eternity and heavenly life, and that our ardour is inflamed with the longing for the light, and our salvation rejoices in the promise of immortality. But the fact that our hands are bound with tightened bonds, and that heavy links fastened round our necks oppress us with their solid weight, or that our body strained on the rack hisses on the red-hot plates, is not for the sake of seeking our blood, but for the sake of trying us. For in what manner should we be able to recognise even the dignity of martyrdom, if we were not constrained to desire it, even at the price of the sacrifice of our body? I indeed have known it, and I am not deceived in

the truth of what I say, when the cruel hands of the persecutors were wrenching asunder the martyr's limbs, and the furious torturer was ploughing up his lacerated muscles, and still could not overcome him. I have known it by the words of those who stood around. "This is a great matter. Assuredly I know not what it is—that he is not subdued by suffering, that he is not broken down by wearing torments. Moreover, there were other words of those who spoke: "And yet I believe he has children:

for he has a wife associated with him in his house; and yet he does not give way to the bond of his offspring, nor is he withdrawn by the claim of his family affection from his steadfast purpose. This matter must be known, and this strength must be investigated, even to the very heart; for that is no trifling confession, whatever it may be, for which a man suffers, even so as to be able to die." 16. Moreover, beloved brethren, so great is the virtue of martyrdom, that by its means even he who has wished to slay you is constrained to believe. It is written, and we read: "Endure in suffering, and in thy humiliation have patience, because gold and silver are tried by the fire. Since, therefore, the Lord proves us by earthly temptations, and Christ the Judge weighs us by these worldly ills, we must congratulate ourselves, and rejoice that He does not reserve us for those eternal destructions, but rejoices over us as purged from all contagion. But from those whom He adopts as partners of His inheritance, and is willing to receive into the kingdom of heaven, what else indeed does He ask than a walk in integrity? He Himself has said that all things are His, both those things which are displayed upon the level plains, and which lift themselves up into sloping hills; and moreover, whatever the greatness of heaven surrounds, and what the gliding water embraces in the circum-fluent ocean. But if all things are within His ken, and He does not require of us anything but sincere actions, we ought, as He Himself has said, to be like to gold.

Because, when you behold in the glistening ore the gold glittering under the tremulous light, and melting into a liquid form by the roaring flames (for this also is generally the care of the workmen), whenever from the panting furnaces is vomited forth the glowing fire, the rich flame is drawn away from the access of the earth in a narrow channel, and is kept back by sand from the reflux masses of earth. Whence it is necessary to suffer all things, that we may be free from all wickedness, as He has said by His prophet: "And though in the sight of men they have suffered torments, yet is their hope full

of immortality; and being vexed in a few things, they shall be well rewarded in many things, because God has tried them, and has found them worthy of Himself, and has received them as a sacrifice of burnt-offering."

17. But if ambitious dignity deter you, and the amount of your money heaped up in your stores influence you—a cause which ever distracts the intentions of a virtuous heart, and assails the soul devoted to its Lord with a fearful trembling—I beg that you would again refer to the heavenly words. For it is the very voice of Christ who speaks, and says, "Whosoever shall lose his life for my name's sake, shall receive in this world a hundred fold, and in the world to come shall possess eternal life. And we ought assuredly to reckon nothing greater, nothing more advantageous, than this. For although in the nature of your costly garments the purple dye flows into figures, and in the slackening threads the gold strays into a pattern, and the weighty metals to which you devote yourselves are not wanting in your excavated treasures; still, unless I am mistaken, those things will be esteemed vain and purposeless, if, while all things else are added to you, salvation alone is found to be wanting; even as the Holy Spirit declares that we can give nothing in exchange for our soul. For He says, "If you should gain the whole world, and lose your own soul, what shall it profit you, or what exchange shall a man give for his soul?" For all those things which we behold are worthless, and such as resting on weak foundations, are unable to sustain the weight of their own mass.

For whatever is received from the world is made of no account by the antiquity of time. Whence, that nothing should be sweet or dear that might be preferred to the desires of eternal life, things which are of personal right and individual law are cut off by the Lord's precepts; so that in the undergoing of tortures, for instance, the son should not soften the suffering father, and private affection should not change the heart that was previously pledged to enduring strength, into another disposition. Christ of His own right ordained that truth and salvation alone must be embraced in the midst of great sufferings, under which wife, and children, and grandchildren, under which all the offspring of one's bowels, must be forsaken, and the victory be claimed. 18. For Abraham also thus pleased God, in that he, when tried by God, spared not even his own son, in behalf of whom perhaps he might have been pardoned had he hesitated to slay him. A religious devotion armed his hands; and his paternal love, at the command of the Lord who bade it, set

aside all the feelings of affection. Neither did it shock him that he was to shed the blood of his son, nor did he tremble at the word; nevertheless for him Christ had not yet been slain. For what is dearer than He who, that you might not sustain anything unwillingly in the present day, first of all Himself suffered that which He taught others to suffer? What is sweeter than He who, although He is our God and Lord, nevertheless makes the man who suffers for His sake His fellow-heir in the kingdom of heaven? Oh grand-I know not what!-whether that reason scarcely bears to receive that consciousness, although it always marvels at the greatness of the rewards; or that the majesty of God is so abundant, that to all who trust in it, it even offers those things which, while we were considering what we have done, it had been sin to desire. Moreover, if only eternal salvation should be given, for that very perpetuity of living we should be thankful.

But now, when heaven and the power of judging concerning others is bestowed in the eternal world, what is there wherein man's mediocrity may not find itself equal to all these trials? If you are assailed with injuries, He was first so assailed. If you are oppressed with reproaches, you are imitating the experience of God. Whence also it is but a little matter whatever you undergo for Him, seeing that you can do nothing more, unless that in this consists the whole of salvation, that He has promised the whole to martyrdom. Finally, the apostle, to whom all things were always dear, while he deeply marvelled at the greatness of the promised benefits, said, "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that is to follow, which shall be revealed in us. Because he was musing in his own mind how great would be the reward, that to him to whom it would be enough to be free from death, should be given not only the prerogative of salvation, but also to ascend to heaven: to heaven which is not constrained into darkness, even when light is expelled from it, and the day does not unfold into light by alternate changes; but the serene temperature of the liquid air unfolds a pure brightness through a clearness that reddens with a fiery glow.

19. It now remains, beloved brethren, that we are bound to show what is the advantage of martyrdom, and that we should teach that especially, so that the fear of the future may stimulate us to this glorious title. Because those to whom great things are promised, seem to have greater things which they are bound to fear. For the soldier does not arouse himself to arms before the enemy have brandished their hostile weapons; nor does a man withdraw

his ship in an anchorage, unless the fear of the deep have checked his courage. Moreover also, while eager for his wealth, the considerate husbandman does not stir up the earth with a fortunate ploughshare, before the crumbling glebe is loosened into dust by the rain that it has received. Thus this is the natural practice of every man, to be ignorant of what is of advantage, unless you recognise what has been mischievous. Whence also a reward is given to all the saints, in that the punishment of their deeds is inflicted on the unrighteous. Therefore what the Lord has promised to His people is doubtful to none, however ignorant he is; but neither is there any doubt what punitive fires He threatens. And since my discourse has led me thus to argue about both these classes of things in a few words, as I have already spoken of both, I will briefly explain them.

20. A horrible place, of which the name is Gehenna, with an awful murmuring and groaning of souls bewailing, and with flames belching forth through the horrid darkness of thick night, is always breathing out the raging fires of a smoking furnace, while the confined mass of flames is restrained or relaxed for the various purposes of punishment. Then there are very many degrees of its violence, as it gathers into itself whatever tortures the consuming fire of the heat emitted can supply. Those by whom the voice of the Lord has been rejected, and His control contemned, it punishes with different dooms; and in proportion to the different degree of deserving of the forfeited salvation it applies its power, while a portion assigns its due distinction to crime. And some, for example, are bowed down by an intolerable load, some are hurried by a merciless force over the abrupt descent of a precipitous path, and the heavy weight of clanking chains bends over them its bondage. Some there are, also, whom a wheel is closely turning, and an unwearied dizziness tormenting; and others whom, bound to one another with tenacious closeness, body clinging to body compresses: so that both fire is devouring, and the load of iron is weighing down, and the uproar of many is torturing.

21. But those by whom God has always been sought or known, have never lost the position which Christ has given them, where grace is found, where in the verdant fields the luxuriant earth clothes itself with tender grass, and is pastured with the scent of flowers; where the groves are carried up to the lofty hill-top, and where the tree clothes with a thicker foliage whatever spot the canopy, expanded by its curving branches, may have shaded. There is no

excess of cold or of heat, nor is it needed that in autumn the fields should rest, or, again in the young spring, that the fruitful earth should bring forth. All things are of one season: fruits are borne of a continued summer, since there neither does the moon serve the purpose of her months, nor does the sun run his course along the moments of the hours, nor does the banishment of the light make way for night. A joyous repose possesses the people, a calm home shelters them, where a gushing fountain in the midst issues from the bosom of a broken hollow, and flows in sinuous mazes by a course deep-sounding, at intervals to be divided among the sources of rivers springing from it. Here there is the great praise of martyrs, here is the noble crown of the victors, who have the promise of greater things than those whose rewards are more abundant. And that either their body is thrown to wild beasts, or the threatening sword is not feared, is shown as the reason of their dignity, is manifested as the ground of their election. Because it would have been inconsistent, that he who had been judged equal to such a duty, should be kept among earthly vices and corruptions.

22. For you deserve, O excellent martyrs, that nothing should be denied to you who are nourished with the hope of eternity and of light; whose absolute devotion, and whose mind dedicated to the service of heaven, is evidently seen. Deservedly, I say deservedly, nothing to you is forbidden to wish for, since by your soul this world is looked down upon, and the alienated appearance of the time has made you to shudder, as if it were a confused blindness of darkness; to whom this world is always regarded in the light of a dungeon, its dwellings for restraints, in a life which has always been esteemed by you as a period of delay on a journey. Thus, indeed, in the triumph of victory he is snatched from these evils, whom no vain ambition with pompous step has subdued, nor popular greatness has elated, but whom, burning with heavenly desire, Christ has added to His kingdom.

23. There is nothing, then, so great and venerable as the deliverance from death, and the causing to live, and the giving to reign for ever. This is fitting for the saints, needful for the wretched, pleasing to all, in which the good rejoice, the abject are lifted up, the elect are crowned. Assuredly God, who cares for all, gave to life a certain medicine as it were in martyrdom, when to some He assigned it on account of their deserving, to others He gave it on account of His mercy. We have assuredly seen very many distinguished by their faith, come to claim this illustrious name, that death might ennoble

the obedience of their devotion. Moreover, also, we have frequently beheld others stand undismayed, that they might redeem their sins committed, and be regarded as washed in their gore by His blood; and so being slain they might live again, who when alive were counted slain. Death assuredly makes life more complete, death finds the glory that was lost. For in this the hope once lost is regained, in this all salvation is restored. Thus, when the seed-times shall fail on the withering plains, and the earth shall be parched with its dying grass, the river has delighted to spring forth from the sloping hills, and to soothe the thirsty fields with its gushing streams, so that the vanquished poverty of the land might be dissolved into fruitful wheat-stems, and the corn-field might bristle up the thicker for the counterfeited showers of rain.

24. What then, beloved brethren, shall I chiefly relate, or what shall I say? When all dignified titles thus combine in one, the mind is confused, the perception is misled; and in the very attempt to speak with brilliancy, my unworthy discourse vanishes away. For what is there to be said which can be sufficient, when, if you should express the power of eternal salvation, its attending glories come in your way; if you would speak of its surroundings, its greatness prevents you? The things at the same time are both in agreement and in opposition, and there is nothing which appears worthy to be uttered. Thus the instances of martyrdom have held in check the impulses of daring speech, as if entangled and ensnared by an opponent. What voice, what lungs, what strength, can undertake to sustain the form of such a dignity? At the confession of one voice, adverse things give way, joyous things appear, kingdoms are opened, empires are prepared, suffering is overcome, death is subdued, life is preferred, and the resisting weapons of a mischievous enemy are broken up. If there is sin, it perishes; if there is crime, it is left behind. Wherefore I beseech you, weigh this in your minds, and from my address receive so much as you know that you can feel.

25. Let it present itself to your eyes, what a day that is, when, with the people looking on, and all men watching, an undismayed devotion is struggling against earthly crosses and the threats of the world; how the minds in suspense, and hearts anxious about the tremblings of doubt, are agitated by the dread of the timid fearfulness of those who are congratulating them! What an anxiety is there, what a prayerful entreaty, what desires are recorded, when, with the victory still wavering, and the crown of conquest

hanging in doubt over the head while the results are still uncertain, and when that pestilent and raving confession is inflamed by passion, is kindled by madness, and finally, is heated by the fury of the heart, and by gnashing threats! For who is ignorant how great a matter this is, that our, as it were, despised frailty, and the unexpected boldness of human strength, should not yield to the pangs of wounds, nor to the blows of tortures, -that a man should stand fast and not be moved, should be tortured and still not be overcome, but should rather be armed by the very suffering whereby he is tormented?

26. Consider what it is, beloved brethren: set before your perceptions and your minds all the endurance of martyrdom. Behold, indeed, in the passion of any one you will, they who are called martyrs rejoice as being already summoned out of the world; they rejoice as being messengers of all good men; they rejoice in like manner as elected. Thus the Lord rejoices in His soldier, Christ rejoices in the witness to His name. It is a small matter that I am speaking of, beloved brethren; it is a small matter, so great a subject in this kind of address, and so marvellous a difficulty has been undertaken by me; but let the gravity of the issue, I beseech you, not be wanting for my own purpose, knowing that as much can be said of martyrdom as could be appreciated. Whence also this alone has been the reason of my describing its glory, not that I judged myself equal and fitted for its praise, but that I saw that there was such a virtue in it, that however little I might say about it, I should profess that I had said as much as I possible. For although the custody of faith may be preferred to the benefit of righteousness, and an immaculate virginity may recognise itself as better than the praises of all; yet it is necessary that even it should give place to the claim of blood, and be made second to a gory death. The former have chosen what is good, the latter have imitated Christ.

27. But now, beloved brethren, lest any one should think that I have placed all salvation in no other condition than in martyrdom, let him first of all look especially at this, that it is not I who seem to speak, that am of so great importance, nor is the order of things so arranged that the promised hope of immortality should depend on the strength of a partial advocacy. But since the Lord has testified with His own mouth, that in the Father's possession are many dwellings, I have believed that there is nothing greater than that glory whereby those men are proved who are unworthy of this worldly life. Therefore, beloved brethren, striving with a religious rivalry, as if stirred up with some incentive of reward, let us submit to all the abund-

ance and the endurance of strength. For things passing away ought not to move us, seeing that they are always being pressed forward to their own overthrow, not only by the law proposed to them, but even by the very end of time. John exclaims, and says, "Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree;" showing, to wit, and pointing out that it is the last old age of all things. Moreover, also, the Lord Himself says, "Walk while ye have the light, lest the darkness lay hold upon you." But if He has foretold that we must walk in that time, certainly He shows that we must at any rate walk.

28. And to return to the praise of martyrdom, there is a word of the blessed Paul, who says; "Know ye not that they who run in a race strive many, but one receiveth the prize? But do ye so run, that all of you may obtain." Moreover also elsewhere, that he may exhort us to martyrdom, he has called us fellow-heirs with Christ; nay, that he might omit nothing, he says, "If ye are dead with Christ, why, as if living in the world, do ye make distinctions?" "Because, dearest brethren, we who bear the rewards of resurrection, who seek for the day of judgment, who, in fine, are trusting that we shall reign with Christ, ought to be dead to the world. For you can neither desire martyrdom till you have first hated the world, nor attain to God's reward unless you have loved Christ. And he who loves Christ does not love the world. For Christ was given up by the world, even as the world also was given up by Christ; as it is written, "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." The world has been an object of affection to none whom the Lord has not previously condemned; nor could he enjoy eternal salvation who has gloried in the life of the world. That is the very voice of Christ, who says: "He that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it in the world to come; but he that hateth his life in this world, shall find it in the world to come." Moreover, also, the Apostle Paul says: "Be ye imitators of me, as I also am of Christ." And the same elsewhere says: "I wish that all of you, if it were possible, should be imitators of me."

29. He said this who suffered, and who suffered for this cause, that he might imitate the Lord; and assuredly he wished us also to suffer for this cause, that through him we might imitate Christ. If thou art righteous, and believest in God, why fearest thou to shed thy blood for Him whom thou knowest to have so often suffered for thee? In Isaiah He was sawn asunder, in Abel He was slain, in Isaac He was offered up, in Joseph He was sold into slavery, in man He was crucified. And I say nothing of other matters, such as

neither my discourse is able to tell nor my mind to bear. My consciousness is overcome by the example of His humility; and when it considers what things befell when He suffered, it marvels that He should suffer on whose behalf all things quaked. The day fled into the night; the light gave up all things into darkness; and, its mass being inclined backwards and forwards, the whole earth was jarred, and burst open; the dead were disturbed, the graves were laid bare, and as the tombs gaped open into the rent of the earth, bodies returning to the light were restored; the world trembled at the flowing of His blood; and the veil which hung from the opening of the temple was rent, and all the temple uttered a groan. For which cause it is a great matter to imitate Him who, in dying, convicted the world. Therefore when, after the example of the Lord's passion, and after all the testimony of Christ, you lay down your life, and fear not to shed your blood, everything must absolutely give way to martyrdom. Inestimable is the glory of martyrdom, infinite its measure, immaculate its victory, invaluable its title, immense its triumph; because he who is presented to Him with the special glory of a confessor, is adorned with the kindred blood of Christ.

30. Therefore, beloved brethren, although this is altogether of the Lord's promise and gift, and although it is given from on high, and is not received except by His will, and moreover, can neither be expressed in words nor described by speech, nor can be satisfied by any kind of powers of eloquence, still such will be your benevolence, such will be your charity and love, as to be mindful of me when the Lord shall begin to glorify martyrdom in your experience. That holy altar encloses you within itself, that great dwelling-place of the venerable Name encloses you within itself, as if in the folds of a heart's embrace: the powers of the everlasting age sustain you, and that by which you shall ever reign and shall ever conquer. O blessed ones! and such as truly have your sins remitted, if, however, you who are Christ's peers ever have sinned! O blessed ones! whom the blood of the Lord has dyed from the beginning of the world, and whom such a brightness of snowy clothing has deservedly invested, and the whiteness of the enfolding robe has adorned! Finally, I myself seem to myself to behold already, and, as far as is possible to the mind of man, that divine and illustrious thing occurs to my eyes and view. I seem, I say to myself, already to behold, that that truly noble army accompanies the glory and the path of their Christ. The blessed band of victors will go before His face; and as the crowds become denser, the whole army, il-

luminated as it were by the rising of the sun, will ascribe to Him the power. And would that it might be the lot of such a poor creature as myself to see that sight! But the Lord can do what He is believed not to deny to your petitions.

On the Public Shows

PSEUDO-CYPRIAN

3rd century and later

A letter against Christians who defended the theatre and the games of the pagans. It was printed with Cyprian's works, but it is not his.

Argument. -The Writer First of All Treats Against Those Who Endeavoured to Defend the Public Exhibitions of the Heathens by Scriptural Authority; And He Proves That, Although They are Never Prohibited by the Express Words of Scripture, Yet that They are Condemned in the Scriptural Prohibition of Idolatry, from the Fact that There is No Kind of Public Show Which is Not Consecrated to Idols. 1. Cyprian to the congregation who stand fast in the Gospel, sends greeting. As it greatly saddens me, and deeply afflicts my soul, when no opportunity of writing to you is presented to me, for it is my loss not to hold converse with you; so nothing restores to me such joyfulness and hilarity, as when that opportunity is once more afforded me. I think that I am with you when I am speaking to you by letter. Although, therefore, I know that you are satisfied that what I tell you is even as I say, and that you have no doubt of the truth of my words, nevertheless an actual proof will also attest the reality of the matter. For my affection (for you) is proved, when absolutely no opportunity (of writing) is passed over. However certain I may be, then, that you are no less respectable in the conduct of your life than faithful in respect of your sacramental vow; still, since there are not wanting smooth-tongued advocates of vice, and indulgent patrons who afford authority to vices, and, what is worse, convert the rebuke of the heavenly Scriptures into an advocacy of crimes; as if the pleasure derived from the public exhibitions might be sought after as being innocent, by way of a mental relaxation;-for thereby the vigour of ecclesiastical discipline is so relaxed, and is so deteriorated by all the languor of vice that it is no longer apology, but authority, that is given for wickedness,-it seemed good in a few

words not now to instruct you, but to admonish you who are instructed, lest, because the wounds are badly bound up, they should break through the cicatrix of their closed soundness. For no mischief is put an end to with so much difficulty but that its recurrence is easy, so long as it is both maintained by the consent, and caressed by the excuses of the multitude.

2. Believers, and men who claim for themselves the authority of the Christian name, are not ashamed—are not, I repeat, ashamed to find a defence in the heavenly Scriptures for the vain superstitions associated with the public exhibitions of the heathens, and thus to attribute divine authority to idolatry. For how is it, that what is done by the heathens in honour of any idol is resorted to in a public show by faithful Christians, and the heathen idolatry is maintained, and the true and divine religion is trampled upon in contempt of God? Shame binds me to relate their pretexts and defences in this behalf. "Where," say they, "are there such Scriptures? where are these things prohibited? On the contrary, both Elias is the charioteer of Israel, and David himself danced before the ark. We read of psalteries, horns, trumpets, drums, pipes, harps, and choral dances. Moreover, the apostle, in his struggle, puts before us the contest of the Caestus, and of our wrestle against the spiritual things of wickedness. Again, when he borrows his illustrations from the racecourse, he also proposes the prize of the crown. Why, then, may not a faithful Christian man gaze upon that which the divine pen might write about? "At this point I might not unreasonably say that it would have been far better for them not to know any writings at all, than thus to read the Scriptures. For words and illustrations which are recorded by way of exhortation to evangelical virtue, are translated by them into pleas for vice; because those things are written of, not that they should be gazed upon, but that a greater eagerness might be aroused in our minds in respect of things that will benefit us, seeing that among the heathens there is manifest so much eagerness in respect of things which will be of no advantage.

3. These are therefore an argument to stimulate virtue, not a permission or a liberty to look upon heathen error, that by this consideration the mind may be more inflamed to Gospel virtue for the sake of the divine rewards, since through the suffering of all these labours and pains it is granted to attain to eternal benefits. For that Elias is the charioteer of Israel is no defence for gazing upon the public games; for he ran his race in no circus. And that David in the presence of God led the dances, is no sanction for faithful

Christians to occupy seats in the public theatre; for David did not twist his limbs about in obscene movements, to represent in his dancing the story of Grecian lust. Psalteries, horns, pipes, drums, harps, were used in the service of the Lord, and not of idols. Let it not on this account be objected that unlawful things may be gazed upon; for by the artifice of the devil these are changed from things holy to things unlawful. Then let shame demur to these things, even if the Holy Scriptures cannot. For there are certain things wherein the Scripture is more careful in giving instruction. Acquiescing in the claim of modesty, it has forbidden more where it has been silent. The truth, if it descended low enough to deal with such things, would think very badly of its faithful votaries. For very often, in matters of precept, some things are advantageously said nothing about; they often remind when they are expressly forbidden.

So also there is an implied silence even in the writings of the Scripture; and severity speaks in the place of precepts; and reason teaches where Scripture has held its peace. Let every man only take counsel with himself, and let him speak consistently with the character of his profession, and then he will never do any of these things. For that conscience will have more weight which shall be indebted to none other than itself. 4. What has Scripture interdicted? Certainly it has forbidden gazing upon what it forbids to be done. It condemned, I say, all those kinds of exhibitions when it abrogated idolatry-the mother of all public amusements, whence these prodigies of vanity and lightness came. For what public exhibition is without an idol? what amusement without a sacrifice? what contest is not consecrated to some dead person? And what does a faithful Christian do in the midst of such things as these? If he avoids idolatry, why does he who is now sacred take pleasure in things which are worthy of reproach? Why does he approve of superstitions which are opposed to God, and which he loves while he gazes upon them? Besides, let him be aware that all these things are the inventions of demons, not of God. He is shameless who in the church exorcises demons while he praises their delights in public shows; and although, once for all renouncing him, he has put away everything in baptism, when he goes to the devil's exhibition after (receiving) Christ, he renounces Christ as much as (he had done) the devil. Idolatry, as I have already said, is the mother of all the public amusements; and this, in order that faithful Christians may come under its influence, entices them by the delight of the eyes and the ears. Romulus was

the first who consecrated the games of the circus to Consus as the god of counsel, in reference to the rape of the Sabine women.

But the rest of the scenic amusements were provided to distract the attention of the people while famine invaded the city, and were subsequently dedicated to Ceres and Bacchus, and to the rest of the idols and dead men. Those Grecian contests, whether in poems, or in instrumental music, or in words, or in personal prowess, have as their guardians various demons; and whatever else there is which either attracts the eyes or allures the ears of the spectators, if it be investigated in reference to its origin and institution, presents as its reason either an idol, or a demon, or a dead man. Thus the devil, who is their original contriver, because he knew that naked idolatry would by itself excite repugnance, associated it with public exhibitions, that for the sake of their attraction it might be loved. 5. What is the need of prosecuting the subject further, or of describing the unnatural kinds of sacrifices in the public shows, among which sometimes even a man becomes the victim by the fraud of the priest, when the gore, yet hot from the throat, is received in the foaming cup while it still steams, and, as if it were thrown into the face of the thirsting idol, is brutally drunk in pledge to it; and in the midst of the pleasures of the spectators the death of some is eagerly besought, so that by means of a bloody exhibition men may learn fierceness, as if a man's own private frenzy were of little account to him unless he should learn it also in public? For the punishment of a man, a rabid wild beast is nourished with delicacies, that he may become the more cruelly ferocious under the eyes of the spectators. The skilful trainer instructs the brute, which perhaps might have been more merciful had not its more brutal master taught it cruelty. Then, to say nothing of whatever idolatry more generally recommends, how idle are the contests themselves; strifes in colours, contentions in races, acclamations in mere questions of honour; rejoicing because a horse has been more fleet, grieving because it was more sluggish, reckoning up the years of Cattle, knowing the consuls under whom they ran, learning their age, tracing their breed, recording their very grandsires and great-grand-sires! How unprofitable a matter is all this; nay, how disgraceful and ignominious!

This very man, I say, who can compute by memory the whole family of his equine race, and can relate it with great quickness without interfering with the exhibition—were you to inquire of this man who were the parents of Christ, he cannot tell, or he is the more unfortunate if he can. But if, again, I

should ask him by what road he has come to that exhibition, he will confess (that he has come) by the naked bodies of prostitutes and of profligate women, by (scenes of) public lust, by public disgrace, by vulgar lasciviousness, by the common contempt of all men. And, not to object to him what perchance he has done, still he has seen what was not fit to be done, and he has trained his eyes to the exhibition of idolatry by lust: he would have dared, had he been able, to take that which is holy into the brothel with him; since, as he hastens to the spectacle when dismissed from the Lord's table, and still bearing within him, as often occurs, the Eucharist, that unfaithful man has carried about the holy body of Christ among the filthy bodies of harlots, and has deserved a deeper condemnation for the way by which he has gone thither, than for the pleasure he has received from the exhibition.

6. But now to pass from this to the shameless corruption of the stage. I am ashamed to tell what things are said; I am even ashamed to denounce the things that are done—the tricks of arguments, the cheatings of adulterers, the immodesties of women, the scurrile jokes, the sordid parasites, even the toga'd fathers of families themselves, sometimes stupid, sometimes obscene, but in all cases dull, in all cases immodest. And though no individual, or family, or profession, is spared by the discourse of these reprobates, yet every one flocks to the play. The general infamy is delightful to see or to recognise; it is a pleasure, nay, even to learn it. People flock thither to the public disgrace of the brothel for the teaching of obscenity, that nothing less may be done in secret than what is learnt in public; and in the midst of the laws themselves is taught everything that the laws forbid. What does a faithful Christian do among these things, since he may not even think upon wickedness? Why does he find pleasure in the representations of lust, so as among them to lay aside his modesty and become more daring in crimes? He is learning to do, while he is becoming accustomed to see. Nevertheless, those women whom their misfortune has introduced and degraded to this slavery, conceal their public wantonness, and find consolation for their disgrace in their concealment. Even they who have sold their modesty blush to appear to have done so.

But that public prodigy is transacted in the sight of all, and the obscenity of prostitutes is surpassed. A method is sought to commit adultery with the eyes. To this infamy an infamy fully worthy of it is super added: a human being broken down in every limb, a man melted to something beneath the ef-

feminacy of a woman, has found the art to supply language with his hands; and on behalf of one-I know not what, but neither man nor woman-the whole city is in a state of commotion, that the fabulous debaucheries of antiquity may be represented in a ballet. Whatever is not lawful is so beloved, that what had even been lost sight of by the lapse of time is brought back again into the recollection of the eyes. 7. It is not sufficient for lust to make use of its present means of mischief, unless by the exhibition it makes its own that in which a former age had also gone wrong. It is not lawful, I say, for faithful Christians to be present; it is not lawful, I say, at all, even for those whom for the delight of their ears Greece sends everywhere to all who are instructed in her vain arts. One imitates the hoarse warlike clangours of the trumpet; another with his breath blowing into a pipe regulates its mournful sounds; another with dances, and with the musical voice of a man, strives with his breath, which by an effort he had drawn from his bowels into the upper parts of his body, to play upon the stops of pipes; now letting forth the sound, and now closing it up inside, and forcing it into the air by certain openings of the stops; now breaking the sound in measure, he endeavours to speak with his fingers, ungrateful to the Artificer who gave him a tongue. Why should I speak of comic and useless efforts? Why of those great tragic vocal ravings? Why of strings set vibrating with noise? These things, even if they were not dedicated to idols, ought not to be approached and gazed upon by faithful Christians; because, even if they were not criminal, they are characterized by a worthlessness which is extreme, and which is little suited to believers.

8. Now that other folly of others is an obvious source of advantage to idle men; and the first victory is for the belly to be able to crave food beyond the human limit,-a flagitious traffic for the claim to the crown of gluttony: the wretched face is hired out to bear wounding blows, that the more wretched belly may be gorged. How disgusting, besides, are those struggles! Man lying below man is enfolded in abominable embraces and twinings. In such a contest, whether a man looks on or conquers, still his modesty is conquered. Behold, one naked man bounds forth towards you; another with straining powers tosses a brazen ball into the air. This is not glory, but folly. In fine, take away the spectator, and you will have shown its emptiness. Such things as these should be avoided by faithful Christians, as I have frequently said already; spectacles so vain, so mischievous, so sacrilegious, from which both

our eyes and our ears should be guarded. We quickly get accustomed to what we hear and what we see. For since man's mind is itself drawn towards vice, what will it do if it should have inducements of a bodily nature as well as a downward tendency in its slippery will? What will it do if it should be impelled from without? Therefore the mind must be called away from such things as these.

9. The Christian has nobler exhibitions, if he wishes for them. He has true and profitable pleasures, if he will recollect himself. And to say nothing of those which he cannot yet contemplate, he has that beauty of the world to look upon and admire. He may gaze upon the sun's rising, and again on its setting, as it brings round in their mutual changes days and nights; the moon's orb, designating in its waxings and warnings the courses of the seasons; the troops of shining stars, and those which glitter from on high with extreme mobility,-their members divided through the changes of the entire year, and the days themselves with the nights distributed into hourly periods; the heavy mass of the earth balanced by the mountains, and the flowing rivers with their sources; the expanse of seas, with their waves and shores; and meanwhile, the air, subsisting equally everywhere in perfect harmony, expanded in the midst of all, and in concordant bonds animating all things with its delicate life, now scattering showers from the contracted clouds, now recalling the serenity of the sky with its refreshed purity; and in all these spheres their appropriate tenants-in the air the birds, in the waters the fishes, on the earth man. Let these, I say, and other divine works, be the exhibitions for faithful Christians. What theatre built by human hands could ever be compared to such works as these? Although it may be reared with immense piles of stones, the mountain crests are loftier; and although the fretted roofs glitter with gold, they will be surpassed by the brightness of the starry firmament. Never will any one admire the works of man, if he has recognised himself as the son of God. He degrades himself from the height of his nobility, who can admire anything but the Lord.

10. Let the faithful Christian, I say, devote himself to the sacred Scriptures, and there he shall find worthy exhibitions for his faith. He will see God establishing His world, and making not only the other animals, but that marvellous and better fabric of man. He will gaze upon the world in its delightfulness, righteous shipwrecks, the rewards of the good, and the punishments of the impious, seas drained dry by a people, and again from the

rock seas spread out by a people. He will behold harvests descending from heaven, not pressed in by the plough; rivers with their hosts of waters bridled in, exhibiting dry crossings. He will behold in some cases faith struggling with the flame, wild beasts overcome by devotion and soothed into gentleness. He will look also upon souls brought back even from death. Moreover, he will consider the marvellous souls brought back to the life of bodies which themselves were already consumed. And in all these things he will see a still greater exhibition—that devil who had triumphed over the whole world lying prostrate under the feet of Christ. How honourable is this exhibition, brethren! how delightful, how needful ever to gaze upon one's hope, and to open our eyes to one's salvation! This is a spectacle which is beheld even when sight is lost. This is an exhibition which is given by neither praetor nor consul, but by Him who is alone and above all things, and before all things, yea, and of whom are all things, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour for ever and ever. I bid you, brethren, ever heartily farewell. Amen.

P A R T T W O

Ignatius, Polycarp, Sulpicius Severus and Apocryphal Letters

*Letters and a life put under the names of Ignatius, Pionius and
Sulpicius Severus, and the apocryphal letters of Abgarus and
Seneca.*

An Exhortation to the Priesthood

PSEUDO-IGNATIUS

4th–5th century

An Arabic 'exhortation to priests' and a canon of fasts that carry the name of Ignatius of Antioch but are not by him; they survive in Garshūni manuscripts.

¹(ii) Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.

Prefatory Note.

² A. The following pages contain the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an "exhortation to priesthood," attributed to Ignatius of Antioch. I have edited the text from the two extant MSS., designated here as P. and M. P. indicates the Paris MS. Syr. 198 and M. indicates a MS. of my own collection in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, marked Syr. MS. Mingana 223. Both MSS. are undated, but on palæographic grounds can be ascribed to about the sixteenth century. While the two MSS. come near each other in point of date, they are totally different as to the country of provenance. There are stylistic peculiarities in P. which indicate that it was copied in Syria, and there are linguistic features of the same domain which seem to indicate that M. was written in Mesopotamia. The orthography used in the two offers considerable variation, but there is reason to believe that both of them emanate from a single prototype the immediate successors of which had begun to exhibit some variants at the time when our MSS. were copied.

³ That the Arabic style used in the text is a translation from Syriac is made abundantly clear by the fact that genuine Syriac words and complete Syriac sentences are found in it; indeed, even the mere construction of the Arabic sentences denotes sometimes a Syriac original. There is, however, a passage which in both MSS. is worded in rhymed prose. If such a passage is to be considered also a translation from Syriac, we shall be bound to admit that

the translator allowed himself a great amount of freedom in his work. A note that I have added at the foot will assist the reader to form his own opinion on the subject. The Arabic used in the text is most unclassical and is full of grammatical and lexicographical mistakes; indeed it represents the lowest type of Christian Arabic used in Church services, but it can be illustrated by scores of similar tracts written in the same non-Arab Arabic. I have collated the two MSS. and placed in the footnotes the various readings which appeared to me of some importance. The variants which were of purely orthographical order, or which were clearly due to a slip on the part of the copyists, have been completely ignored. I have generally followed in my transcription the orthography used in P., but this does not imply that that orthography is always the best. To save space I had simply to follow one of the two MSS., and I decided to follow generally P. rather than M.

⁴ The Arabic text is printed in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters), as it was found in the MSS., and a facsimile of each MS. is given to show the reader its palæographical peculiarities. The translation which I have adopted often gives only the meaning rather than a literal rendering of the original, and always follows the text that is printed in the main page to the exclusion of that found in the footnotes. B. I have attached to the above Arabic treatise a Syriac Canon attributed also to Ignatius of Antioch and evidently culled from a collection of ecclesiastical Canons used by the West Syrian Church. It is taken from Syr. Cod. Mingana 1, fol. 194b in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. The date of the MS. is 27 March, 1884, of the Greeks (A.D. 1573). A facsimile of all the page on which the Canon is written accompanies the translation.

Translation.

⁵ A. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God, we will begin with the assistance of God to write the epistle of the holy Mar Ignatius the fiery on admonition and exhortation to priests. May his prayers be with us! Amen! He said: O my brethren and O my beloved priests and deacons, and O bishops, listen to me and hear my words to you. You wish to be watchful and ever ready; purify, therefore, your bodies and sanctify your souls so that the Lord may not destroy you. Wipe off dirt from your hearts, put your accounts in order, and clean out of your consciences envy, deceitfulness, and other iniquities, so that Jesus Christ may not put an end to you as He did to the priests who preceded you. O my brethren, open your hearts in order

that the Christ may cause love, quiet, peace, and safety to abide in them, and everything that is congruous to the Lord in order that you may have pleasure with Him, and rejoice in His grace, and sit for ever at His right.

6 O my beloved, because the first Adam did not stand by his birth-right, that is to say his chastity and his holiness, but transgressed the command of his Lord, he was separated from his kingdom, and became a stranger to his possessions, and went out of the paradise of his inheritance. The Lord then decreed and ordered death against him because of his transgression, and struck him with the sword of the devastating fire, and threw him in the dark city of death where he became subject to the latter, and because of his prevarications this same death ruled over him for seven thousand years. O my brethren look at the accursed Cain, the second priest, and the abominable, impure, accursed, and murderous man; because the desire of killing dwelt in him, his sacrifice was refused, and out of jealousy he murdered his brother, and became separated from God and from his fathers, accursed and anathematized, and was a vagabond and a fugitive in this world, and was the first man to enter hell.

7 O my brethren.... O priests (listen to) the saying of Moses, the head of the prophets, who cried with his voice and said to the priests and the deacons: "Sanctify yourselves because you serve the Holy One." O priests who have lost their priesthood, and transgressed the rules of their Master, obey the prescriptions of your Master and do not neglect His word. Do not make light of the offices of the Church of God and do not despise the majesty which belongs to the holy altar, and to the One who is offered on it. O high-ranked priests, do you not see those who serve the earthly kings how neat and clean they are, and how careful they are in washing their hands and keeping their clothes clean. Examine how similarly kept are the utensils which are on the table such as plates, drinking vessels, goblets, and wine utensils and cups in which there are no dregs nor feculence of any kind, and also the ordinary bread and thin bread: how neat and clean everything is, without any deficiency or defect. People line up erect to honour earthly kings who are human beings like ourselves and mortals sons of mortals; O my brethren, with how much more care should we, therefore, guard the Divine table, and serve it efficiently with faithfulness and holiness and with an outward appearance in which there is no defect and imperfection of any kind.

8 O my brethren, great woe be to the priests who do not keep their priesthood with good works. The Church and its children weep over the priest who sins, and give also woe to the deacon who does not act in the right way. How can the one who acts badly penetrate into the inner part of the house of God? It is not right, therefore, that an iniquitous priest should offer the sacrifice of other people and enter into the holy church of God, nor is it right that his unclean hands should handle that holy body, and be dipped in the blood of the Lord. How can a priest who is not clean in his actions sacrifice that holy body which was lifted up on the Cross, and before which the companies of angels stand in awe and the choirs of heaven in fear, while they are unable to contemplate its splendour? How can any one who is impure and immoral dare handle it with his dirty hands? How can also any one who is an occasion of scandal to other people sacrifice that sublime, high, holy and pious body, who hates the drunkards and the immoral people? Have you not heard then what He says in the pure Gospel: "Scandal will arise but woe to the man through whom scandal comes." He also says: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor for the dung, but it is cast out and trodden under foot by men" and it also becomes a vile object and an example.

9 O my brethren, there is no sin in the earth more terrible than that of a priest, for which there is no forgiveness. O my friends, lament and weep continually over the priest who did not fear sin. The weeping of the terrestrial people not being sufficient for him, the inhabitants of heaven weep also over him: the Seraphim like whom he was holy, and out of whose sanctification he fell. The blessed Cherubim weep also over him, because his sweet lyre is silent of their melodious tunes. The angels and the High Companies (of the Archangels) weep over him, because through his bad works the voice of his praises has ceased to praise with theirs. All those (of his pupils) who fell out of his command weep over him. The weeping of the inhabitants of land and water not being sufficient for him, O holy Church gather together thy children, the celestial and the terrestrial, and come and set up wailing and lamentation over the infamous and accursed priest who has been wounded by sin. Weep also over the deacon who by his bad actions has become the companion of Satan. O my brethren, who is the man who does not weep over a

priest who has estranged himself from his Master like that disciple Judas who sold his Master?

10 O Simon, head of the disciples, weep and lament over the shepherd who, after having been like you and after having taken from his Master like you that talent in order to trade with it, has lost all the sheep, and his soul is drowned. O my brethren, who will not weep over the absolver of sins who falls into sin, and who will not weep over a shepherd who becomes a wolf? Who will not weep over a watchman who becomes a thief, and who will not weep over a merchant who becomes a spy, and a physician who is wounded by sin and has no remedy? Weep, O Church, over your priest. Weep, O Simon and John, over your companion who left your companionship and became a stranger to you. Who envied you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator? Who envied you, O pure one, and made of you an immoral man? Who envied you, O fasting man, and made of you a gluttonous man given to excess? Who envied you, O just one, and made of you a companion of the ignorant? Who envied you, O devout and pious one, and made you a wretch with the sinners? Who envied you, O man filled with sanctity, and made you sink in the sinfulness of iniquity? Who envied you, O fair one, and filled you with unholiness? Who envied you, O just man, and placed you in the company of sinners and enemies? Who envied you, O child (of the house), and made you a stranger to your father and your brothers? Who envied you, O near relative, and made you a stranger to your relations? Who envied you, O celestial one, and made you terrestrial? Who envied you, O truthful one, and made of you a liar, and filled you with sins and shameful deeds?

11 O you dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf! O hart who fell in the snare! O you agile eagle who fell in the net! O warrior who was beaten and ran away! O athlete who took to flight! O mariner whose ship has sunk! O husbandman whose corn has perished! O steward who squandered his treasures! O table-companion who left his place at the table! O bridegroom whose bridal chamber did not please him! O mighty King whose crown fell from his head! O judge condemned for his ignorance! O chieftain who lost the greatness of his headship! O wealthy one who became poor by his will! O sun whose rays have perished! O moon whose light has suffered eclipse! O seed of pure wheat which has been mixed up with tares! O beautiful and lovely flower which has been smitten by the blighting wind of sin! O ad-

mirable rose the beauty of which has perished in the frost of ignorance! O pomegranate-flower which withered in the midday heat of sin and iniquity.

¹² Where are you O Paul and Timothy? Where are your warnings, your canons, and your conditions, which to-day your companions have transgressed by stumbling? O just Power, for how long wilt Thou not utter the cry of vengeance against the priests? Where are Thy punishments and Thy zeal against the ancients? How is it that Thou art silent now? Heaven is amazed at such a silence. Where is the heart that can stand it and not break? O my brethren, that just Power which has equalized justice to all mankind, has left everything to the next world, in which each one of us shall answer for his actions. O my brethren, let us place the judgment of God before our eyes, because we cannot avoid answering for our words and for all those He confided to our care: the souls redeemed by the innocent blood of God, and we have to return them as we received them. He gave us a pact to the effect that we shall worship Him, be with Him, and shepherd His flock.

¹³ O my brethren, the sin of a priest is a wound which has no remedy. O my brethren, at the time the priest sins, sadness overtakes the multitude of angels in heaven. What shall we say concerning those who believed that they had no sins, while Satan robbed and plundered them? They asserted that God is forgiving and merciful, and they did not know that God is also a just and equitable judge. O my brethren, let the story of Ananias and his wife inspire you with fear, and take fright at the spectacle of those priests who were burned for small sins. O my brethren, be afraid of the story of Korah and Abiram, because all of them have become a mirror to us so that we may hear what happened to them and fear; and do not sin and serve Satan like them.

¹⁴ O priest, who is the one who will not weep over you? O great one and O confidential steward, brother of Simon and John, it has been laid down that no one be appointed to priesthood except the one who is blameless, and lo there is to-day shame and dishonour in your bed; and we do not find it difficult to cover you up! O exiled one, who has been separated from his service, and his high office, we weep over the high office of priesthood which you have besmirched by your iniquitous act; and we do not feel any sorrow at the beauty of your stature! O ignorant one who did not know his own self, we weep over the crown of holiness which you have dishonoured by your bad deed! The Lord had established you as a mediator between Him and His Father, and not a mediator to the idols; you did not approach priesthood in

order to induce people to sin and detach them from God, but to uplift them and bring them nearer to Him.

¹⁵ Woe to your spirit when your companions sit on the twelve thrones and you are driven out like the one who wore dirty garments. Lo shame is in your bed and it pleases you to dishonour your bed, and you make light of it. You have changed your zeal to your Master for a zeal to another master, and you have become a stranger to Him, and that is why fire will consume your body without getting satiated with it. O my brethren, there will not be mercy in the day of judgment and decision for an unchaste priest, and he will not be allowed to approach his throne, but he will be driven out like the five foolish virgins. It is for this reason that the Apostle Paul cried and said: "If a person desire priesthood he desireth a good desire." Lo to-day the priests of the different peoples desire the office of headship while they are far from real priesthood and remote from its works.

¹⁶ O my brethren, listen to what has been enacted against those who bear the yoke of priesthood but make light of it or neglect it: they shall burn with those two hundred and fifty priests who were burnt with their censers. O brethren, O priest, O deacon, any deacon who approaches his wife in the time of the fast that the Saviour fasted will not find mercy in that great day, the day of landmark and finality; this will happen also if he approaches her on the occasion of a festival, or on a Friday, or on a Wednesday. Anyone who approaches his wife in one of these days, his burning shall be with the fire of Sodom. This does not apply to the children of the Church, the laymen, but it is advantageous also for them to abstain from marriage in the above mentioned days. O my brethren, the priests should not neglect, but should be diligent in, their service and careful with the vestry of the holy altar and the belongings of the Church. O my brethren, any priest who makes light of them or neglects them, and serves with them in this state the holy body which was lifted up on the wood of the cross—I say to him that his lot shall be with those who cast lots upon the garments of Christ; with such shall his share be without pity; also the priests who steal from the belongings of the Church, and from what pertains to it in the matter of the ex-votos of orphans and widows who gave them on behalf of their sins: heaven and earth shall weep over such priests, and their sin is greater than that of those who became the companions of Ananias and his wife.

17 O my brethren, a priest entering (a church?) to offer sacrifice with a heart in which there is rancour against his brother, is like Cain the murderer. A priest who sees a needy person and does not help him, or a thirsty person in want of a drop of water and does not quench his thirst, and a priest who sees a sick person and turns his face from him, will have no share in paradise. Accursed is the priest who does not know his own self, who dishonours himself with such sins; such a one will be separated from his service and his priesthood, and the Father will rebuke him for not having served his office rightly and justly; the Son of the Father will not accept him; the Holy Spirit will avoid him, and all the celestial multitudes will push him out to inherit hell where he will receive a just retribution for his service.

18 Because he did not perform the duties of his priesthood with piety and devotion, the angels will take away from him the imposition of the hands of priesthood, which had fallen on his head, and they will push him out to hell in company of the impure, unchaste, and ignorant people; there he will weep and wail and also gnash his teeth. The priest, however, who performs the duties of his priesthood with devotion and piety, and offers sacrifice to God with holiness, and serves before Him with good order and pious deeds, will be served by God and by the multitudes of angels, who will exalt his office and his priesthood; and he will live in pleasure in the company of Simon, the head of the Apostles, and he will be placed among all the Fathers, the Saints, the Prophets, and the Doctors of the Church. Similarly the deacons who leave the office of Stephen and of those preachers who serve the church, will go and serve Satan and his armies. What shall I say about them? On the one hand if I keep silence, such a silence may lead to misunderstanding, and if I speak my heart will not allow me to rebuke them, but truth itself sits in judgment against them. Instead of requiring from every deacon good works, fasting and prayer, vouched for by good men, we present to-day to this high office men who are uneducated, ignorant, not steeped in piety, untruthful, and having no witnesses to vouch for their veracity and uprightness. (The deacons) are thus liars, transgressors, drunkards, haters of their service, haters of the Church, haters of fast and prayers, insolent, and proud like Satan. Those who are addicted to such vices and have left the commandments and the law of God and do not turn to penitence will from this world receive punishment for ever and ever.

19 The deacon has to obey orders and commandments; he is not to neglect any virtue that pleases God: fast, prayer, holiness, and piety. O my beloved (deacon), you should not neglect your soul on the pretence that you have not the yoke of priesthood. O my brother, fear the day of reckoning and punishment and the furnace of fire. O my brother, obey the injunctions of God, and lend your neck to the yoke of Christ; be sweet-tempered and humble towards your brethren, and love the strangers, the poor, and the beggars. O my brother, educate yourself and the people of Christ; when you go to the altar in order to perform your duties take care and pains to do it in good order so that you may please your Lord; let us examine our accounts and see whether we have any hatred towards our neighbours, and whether we have only love and peace.

20 O my brother, the deacon who neglects prayers will be judged with Satan, and the deacon who disregards the duties of his service will be in a place where there is no praise of God and where he will be ministered to by the furnace of fire; the deacon who frequents the company of drunkards, the worm that does not die will be intoxicated from him; the deacon who leaves the Church on the night of Sundays and festivals, and wishes to drink wine, the Church of heaven will drive him out to where she will not hear his voice; the deacon on account of whom God is mocked at, would to God that he had never existed; the deacon who causes uproar and discord in the Church, will be consumed by fire alive; the deacon who fails to control his soul and his desires, will be far from heaven; the deacon who makes use of marriage and comes to perform his duties, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost will be angry with him; the deacon who goes to the altar while intoxicated, the spirit of justice will rebuke him; the deacon who commits a sin and does not confess it and repent, his torment will be eternal and perpetual.

21 O my brethren, if you have accepted this order for the satisfaction of the desires of your soul, you will not have forgiveness, and you will suffer with Satan; but if you have accepted this order to serve the Lord who was crucified on your behalf, do not be the servants of Satan. O my beloved, avoid the service of Satan, intoxication, pride, and gluttony, and do not disappoint anyone, and avoid also lies which are a sign of the sad unbelief of the world. O my brethren, have you not heard what the divine Apostle Paul said: "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor abusers of themselves with men, none of these will inherit the kingdom of heaven

and cross (the bridge?) to it." O my beloved, keep your soul from sin, and purify your body from bad passions so that you may not suffer. O my brethren, the deacons who walk in the way of God, keep His Commandments, serve the Church with piety, serve the people of God, and long for fast and prayer, the angels will long to meet them, and will also accompany them and take them to heaven on their wings in order that they may enjoy bliss and happiness with the priestly Fathers, and the pious, in the kingdom of heaven the joys of which will not cease, and be glorified at the table of Christ, as His holy mouth uttered: "Where I am there my servant shall be." There you will also hear the sweet voice: "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world." You will also be table-guests of the angels, and along with martyrs (and) evangelists you will receive ample reward; and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen.

²² We who are plunged in sin ask God not to make us deserve hell, but the above grace and virtue. To Him are fitting glory, honour, majesty, and power, with His Father, and His Holy Spirit, now, at every time, and for ever and ever. Amen. (Colophon.) (Here recite) Pater Noster. May the grace of God be with the weak and miserable scribe, with the pious readers, and with the blessed hearers! May we have mercy upon us through the prayer of the mother of Fire, the queen of the worlds, the Mother of God, hoping that the Lord will deliver us from fire in the day of judgment! Amen! May the grace of God be with us all! Amen! Amen! This has ended by the help of God.

Translation.

²³ B. "Of Ignatius the fiery (Canon) 38. We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples, and they were troubled with sorrow; we observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews; we do not observe the night of Saturday, because in it there was rest to all the dead of Sheol, at the descent of our Lord to them. He who does not observe the night of Friday and Wednesday, will be condemned with those who bound our Lord on the night of Friday, and those who observe the night of Saturday, will be condemned with those who broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath day may not begin for them and that they may not be condemned in the eyes of the law." C. When all the above pseudo-Ignatian matter was in the press I discovered the fol-

lowing quotations from Ignatius in Mingana Syr. MS. 37, written about A.D. 1450 (in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham).

²⁴ The Ignatian Canon translated above is given in the following form on fol. 44a: "Ignatius the Fiery says: We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples, and He was moved by affliction. We observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews and struck on the face by the servant of the High Priest, and was tied to a column. We do not observe the night of Saturday because in it there was rest to all the souls of the dead in Sheol by the descent of our Lord to them."

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²⁵ On fol. 28a of the same MS. there is the following genuine quotation from Ignatius not found in the fragments edited by Cureton and Lightfoot. "Ignatius: Where is the disputer? Where is the wise man? Where is the boaster of those who are called intelligent? For our God Jesus the Christ was conceived by Mary according to an economy." *Ad Ephes.*, xviii. This is an exact translation of the Greek of Ignatius as edited by Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, ii., 74) with the exception that "where is the wise man" is placed before "where is the boaster" and that instead of "boaster" there is in Greek "boasting" *Kaychesis*. The Syriac translation, however, brings the text of Ignatius nearer to 1 Cor i., 31.

Spurious Letters Ascribed to Ignatius

PSEUDO-IGNATIUS

4th–5th century

Letters written in the name of Ignatius of Antioch in the fourth or fifth century, among them letters to the Tarsians, to Hero, to the Philippians and to Mary of Cassobelae, with her own letter to him. This is the translation of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

A SECOND EPISTLE TO ST. JOHN

His friend Ignatius to John the holy presbyter. If thou wilt give me leave, I desire to go up to Jerusalem, and see the faithful saints who are there, especially Mary the mother, whom they report to be an object of admiration and of affection to all. For who would not rejoice to behold and to address her who bore the true God from her own womb, provided he is a friend of our faith and religion? And in like manner [I desire to see] the venerable James, who is surnamed Just, whom they relate to be very like Christ Jesus in appearance, in life, and in method of conduct, as if he were a twin-brother of the same womb. They say that, if I see him, I see also Jesus Himself, as to all the features and aspect of His body. Moreover, [I desire to see] the other saints, both male and female. Alas! why do I delay? Why am I kept back? Kind teacher, bid me hasten [to fulfil my wish], and fare thou well. Amen.

MARY OF CASSOBELAE TO IGNATIUS

GREETING

Mary of Cassobelae to Ignatius

Maria, a proselyte of Jesus Christ, to Ignatius Theophorus, most blessed bishop of the apostolic Church which is at Antioch, beloved in God the Father, and Jesus: Happiness and safety. We all beg for thee joy and health in Him.

CHAPTER I: OCCASION OF THE EPISTLE

Since Christ has, to our wonder, been made known among us to be the Son of the living God, and to have become man in these last times by means of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David and Abraham, according to the announcements previously made regarding Him and through Him by the company of the prophets, we therefore beseech and entreat that, by thy wisdom, Maris our friend, bishop of our native Neapolis, which is near Zarbus, and Eulogius, and Sobelus the presbyter, be sent to us, that we be not destitute of such as preside over the divine word as Moses also says, "Let the Lord God look out a man who shall guide this people, and the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."

CHAPTER II: YOUTH MAY BE ALLIED WITH PIETY AND DISCRETION

But as to those whom we have named being young men, do not, thou blessed one, have any apprehension. For I would have you know that they are wise about the flesh, and are insensible to its passions, they themselves glowing with all the glory of a hoary head through their own intrinsic merits, and though but recently called as young men to the priesthood. Now, call thou into exercise thy thoughts through the Spirit that God has given to thee by Christ, and thou wilt remember that Samuel, while yet a little child, was called a seer, and was reckoned in the company of the prophets, that he reprobated the aged Eli for transgression, since he had honoured his infatuated sons above God the author of all things, and had allowed them to go unpunished, when they turned the office of the priesthood into ridicule, and acted violently towards thy people.

CHAPTER III: EXAMPLES OF YOUTHFUL DEVOTEDNESS

Moreover, the wise Daniel, while he was a young man, passed judgment on certain vigorous old men, showing them that they were abandoned wretches, and not [worthy to be reckoned] elders, and that, though Jews by extraction, they were Canaanites in practice. And Jeremiah, when on account of his youth he declined the office of a prophet entrusted to him by God, was addressed in these words: "Say not, I am a youth; for thou shalt go to all those to whom I send thee, and thou shalt speak according to all that I command thee; because I am with thee." And the wise Solomon, when only in the twelfth year of his age, had wisdom to decide the important question concerning the children of the two women, when it was unknown to whom

these respectively belonged; so that the whole people were astonished at such wisdom in a child, and venerated him as being not a mere youth, but a full-grown man. And he solved the hard questions of the queen of the Ethiopians, which had profit in them as the streams of the Nile [have fertility], in such a manner that that woman, though herself so wise, was beyond measure astonished.

CHAPTER IV: THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

Josiah also, beloved of God, when as yet he could scarcely speak articulately, convicts those who were possessed of a wicked spirit as being false in their speech, and deceivers of the people. He also reveals the deceit of the demons, and openly exposes those that are no gods; yea, while yet an infant he slays their priests, and overturns their altars, and defiles the place where sacrifices were offered with dead bodies, and throws down the temples, and cuts down the groves, and breaks in pieces the pillars, and breaks open the tombs of the ungodly, that not a relic of the wicked might any longer exist. To such an extent did he display zeal in the cause of godliness, and prove himself a punisher of the ungodly, while he as yet faltered in speech like a child. David, too, who was at once a prophet and a king, and the root of our Saviour according to the flesh, while yet a youth is anointed by Samuel to be king. For he himself says in a certain place, "I was small among my brethren, and the youngest in the house of my father."

CHAPTER V: EXPRESSIONS OF RESPECT FOR IGNATIUS

But time would fail me if I should endeavour to enumerate all those that pleased God in their youth, having been entrusted by God with either the prophetic, the priestly, or the kingly office. And those which have been mentioned may suffice, by way of bringing the subject to thy remembrance. But I entreat thee not to reckon me presumptuous or ostentatious [in writing as I have done]. For I have set forth these statements, not as instructing thee, but simply as suggesting the matter to the remembrance of my father in God. For I know my own place, and do not compare myself with such as you. I salute thy holy clergy, and thy Christ-loving people who are ruled under thy care as their pastor. All the faithful with us salute thee. Pray, blessed shepherd, that I may be in health as respects God.

IGNATIUS TO THE CHURCH AT TARSUS

GREETING

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Tarsus, saved in Christ, worthy of praise, worthy of remembrance, and worthy of love: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, be ever multiplied.

CHAPTER I: HIS OWN SUFFERINGS; EXHORTATION TO STEDFASTNESS

From Syria even unto Rome I fight with beasts not that I am devoured by brute beasts, for these, as ye know, by the will of God, spared Daniel, but by beasts in the shape of men, in whom the merciless wild beast himself lies hid, and pricks and wounds me day by day. But none of these hardships "move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself," in such a way as to love it better than the Lord. Wherefore I am prepared for [encountering] fire, wild beasts, the sword or the cross, so that only I may see Christ my Saviour and God, who died for me. I therefore, the prisoner of Christ, who am driven along by land and sea, exhort you: "stand fast in the faith," and be ye steadfast, "for the just shall live by faith;" be ye unwavering, for "the Lord causes those to dwell in a house who are of one and the same character."

CHAPTER II: CAUTIONS AGAINST FALSE DOCTRINE

I have learned that certain of the ministers of Satan have wished to disturb you, some of them asserting that Jesus was born [only] in appearance, was crucified in appearance, and died in appearance; others that He is not the Son the Creator, and others that He is Himself God over all. Others, again, hold that He is a mere man, and others that this flesh is not to rise again, so that our proper course is to live and partake of a life of pleasure, for that this is the chief good to beings who are in a little while to perish. A swarm of such evils has burst in upon us. But ye have not "given place by subjection to them, no, not for one hour." For ye are the fellow-citizens as well as the disciples of Paul, who "fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum," and bare about "the marks of Christ" in his flesh.

CHAPTER III: THE TRUE DOCTRINE RESPECTING CHRIST

Mindful of him, do ye by all means know that Jesus the Lord was truly born of Mary, being made of a woman; and was as truly crucified. For, says he, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of the Lord Jesus." And He

really suffered, and died, and rose again. For says [Paul], "If Christ should become passible, and should be the first to rise again from the dead." And again, "In that He died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God." Otherwise, what advantage would there be in [becoming subject to] bonds, if Christ has not died? what advantage in patience? what advantage in [enduring] stripes? And why such facts as the following: Peter was crucified; Paul and James were slain with the sword; John was banished to Patmos; Stephen was stoned to death by the Jews who killed the Lord? But, [in truth,] none of these sufferings were in vain; for the Lord was really crucified by the ungodly.

CHAPTER IV: CONTINUATION

And [know ye, moreover], that He who was born of a woman was the Son of God, and He that was crucified was "the first-born of every creature," and God the Word, who also created all things. For says the apostle, "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." And again, "For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;" and, "By Him were all things created that are in heaven, and on earth, visible and invisible; and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist."

CHAPTER V: REFUTATION OF THE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED ERRORS

And that He Himself is not God over all, and the Father, but His Son, He [shows when He] says, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God." And again, "When all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall He also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all." Wherefore it is one [Person] who put all things under, and who is all in all, and another [Person] to whom they were subdued, who also Himself, along with all other things, becomes subject [to the former].

CHAPTER VI: CONTINUATION

Nor is He a mere man, by whom and in whom all things were made; for "all things were made by Him." "When He made the heaven, I was present with Him; and I was there with Him, forming [the world along with Him], and He rejoiced in me daily." And how could a mere man be addressed in such words as these: "Sit Thou at My right hand?" And how, again, could such an one declare: "Before Abraham was, I am?" And, "Glorify Me with Thy glory

which I had before the world was? "What man could ever say, "I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me? " And of what man could it be said, "He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world: He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not? " How could such a one be a mere man, receiving the beginning of His existence from Mary, and not rather God the Word, and the only-begotten Son? For "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." And in another place, "The Lord created Me, the beginning of His ways, for His ways, for His works. Before the world did He found Me, and before all the hills did He beget Me."

CHAPTER VII: CONTINUATION

And that our bodies are to rise again, He shows when He says, "Verily I say unto you, that the hour cometh, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." And [says] the apostle, "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." And that we must live soberly and righteously, he [shows when he] says again, "Be not deceived: neither adulterers, nor effeminate persons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor fornicators, nor revilers, nor drunkards, nor thieves, can inherit the kingdom of God." And again, "If the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised; our preaching therefore is vain, and your faith is also vain: ye are yet in your sins. Then they also that are fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. If the dead rise not, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But if such be our condition and feelings, wherein shall we differ from asses and dogs, who have no care about the future, but think only of eating, and of indulging such appetites as follow after eating? For they are unacquainted with any intelligence moving within them.

CHAPTER VIII: EXHORTATIONS TO HOLINESS AND GOOD ORDER

May I have joy of you in the Lord! Be ye sober. Lay aside, every one of you, all malice and beast-like fury, evil-speaking, calumny, filthy speaking, ribaldry, whispering, arrogance, drunkenness, lust, avarice, vainglory, envy, and everything akin to these. "But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." Ye presbyters, be subject to

the bishop; ye deacons, to the presbyters; and ye, the people, to the presbyters and the deacons. Let my soul be for theirs who preserve this good order; and may the Lord be with them continually!

CHAPTER IX: EXHORTATIONS TO THE DISCHARGE OF RELATIVE DUTIES

Ye husbands, love your wives; and ye wives, your husbands. Ye children, reverence your parents. Ye parents, "bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Honour those [who continue] in virginity, as the priestesses of Christ; and the widows [that persevere] in gravity of behaviour, as the altar of God. Ye servants, wait upon your masters with [respectful] fear. Ye masters, issue orders to your servants with tenderness. Let no one among you be idle; for idleness is the mother of want. I do not enjoin these things as being a person of any consequence, although I am in bonds [for Christ]; but as a brother, I put you in mind of them. The Lord be with you!

CHAPTER X: SALUTATIONS

May I enjoy your prayers! Pray ye that may attain to Jesus. I commend unto you the Church which is at Antioch. The Churches of Philippi, whence also I write to you, salute you. Philo, your deacon, to whom also I give thanks as one who has zealously ministered to me in all things, salutes you. Agathopus, the deacon from Syria, who follows me in Christ, salutes you. "Salute ye one another with a holy kiss." I salute you all, both male and female, who are in Christ. Fare ye well in body, and soul, and in one Spirit; and do not ye forget me. The Lord be with you!

IGNATIUS TO HERO, A DEACON

GREETING

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Hero, the deacon of Christ, and the servant of God, a man honoured by God, and most dearly loved as well as esteemed, who carries Christ and the Spirit within him, and who is mine own son in faith and love: Grace, mercy, and peace from Almighty God, and from Christ Jesus our Lord, His only-begotten Son, "who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from the present evil world," and preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom.

CHAPTER I: EXHORTATIONS TO EARNESTNESS AND MODERATION

I Exhort thee in God, that thou add [speed] to thy course, and that thou vindicate thy dignity. Have a care to preserve concord with the saints. Bear [the

burdens of] the weak, that "thou mayest fulfil the law of Christ." Devote thyself to fasting and prayer, but not beyond measure, lest thou destroy thyself thereby. Do not altogether abstain from wine and flesh, for these things are not to be viewed with abhorrence, since [the Scripture] saith, "Ye shall eat the good things of the earth." And again, "Ye shall eat flesh even as herbs." And again, "Wine maketh glad the heart of man, and oil exhilarates, and bread strengthens him." But all are to be used with moderation, as being the gifts of God. "For who shall eat or who shall drink without Him? For if anything be beautiful, it is His; and if anything be good, it is His." Give attention to reading, that thou mayest not only thyself know the laws, but mayest also explain them to others, as the earnest servant of God. "No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier; and if a man also strive for masteries, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully." I that am in bonds pray that my soul may be in place of yours.

CHAPTER II: CAUTIONS AGAINST FALSE TEACHERS

Every one that teaches anything beyond what is commanded, though he be [deemed] worthy of credit, though he be in the habit of fasting, though he live in continence, though he work miracles, though he have the gift of prophecy, let him be in thy sight as a wolf in sheep's clothing, labouring for the destruction of the sheep. If any one denies the cross, and is ashamed of the passion, let him be to thee as the adversary himself. "Though he gives all his goods to feed the poor, though he remove mountains, though he give his body to be burned," let him be regarded by thee as abominable. If any one makes light of the law or the prophets, which Christ fulfilled at His coming, let him be to thee as antichrist. If any one says that the Lord is a mere man, he is a Jew, a murderer of Christ.

CHAPTER III: EXHORTATIONS AS TO ECCLESIASTICAL DUTIES

"Honour widows that are widows indeed." Be the friend of orphans; for God is "the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widows." Do nothing without the bishops; for they are priests, and thou a servant of the priests. They baptize, offer sacrifice, ordain, and lay on hands; but thou ministerest to them, as the holy Stephen did at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters. Do not neglect the sacred meetings [of the saints]; inquire after every one by

name. "Let no man despise thy youth, but be thou an example to the believers, both in word and conduct."

CHAPTER IV: SERVANTS AND WOMEN ARE NOT TO BE DESPISED

Be not ashamed of servants, for we possess the same nature in common with them. Do not hold women in abomination, for they have given thee birth, and brought thee up. It is fitting, therefore, to love those that were the authors of our birth (but only in the Lord), inasmuch as a man can produce no children without a woman. It is right, therefore, that we should honour those who have had a part in giving us birth. "Neither is the man without the woman, nor the woman without the man," except in the case of those who were first formed. For the body of Adam was made out of the four elements, and that of Eve out of the side of Adam. And, indeed, the altogether peculiar birth of the Lord was of a virgin alone. [This took place] not as if the lawful union [of man and wife] were abominable, but such a kind of birth was fitting to God. For it became the Creator not to make use of the ordinary method of generation, but of one that was singular and strange, as being the Creator.

CHAPTER V: VARIOUS RELATIVE DUTIES

Flee from haughtiness, "for the Lord resisteth the proud." Abhor falsehood, for says [the Scripture], "Thou shalt destroy all them that speak lies." Guard against envy, for its author is the devil, and his successor Cain, who envied his brother, and out of envy committed murder. Exhort my sisters to love God, and be content with their own husbands only. In like manner, exhort my brethren also to be content with their own wives. Watch over the virgins, as the precious treasures of Christ. Be long-suffering, that thou mayest be great in wisdom. Do not neglect the poor, in so far as thou art prosperous. For "by alms and fidelity sins are purged away."

CHAPTER VI-EXHORTATIONS TO PURITY AND CAUTION

Keep thyself pure as the habitation of God. Thou art the temple of Christ. Thou art the instrument of the Spirit. Thou knowest in what way I have brought thee up. Though I am the least of men, do thou seek to follow me, be thou an imitator of my conduct. I do not glory in the world, but in the Lord. I exhort Hero, my son; "but let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord." May I have joy of thee, my dear son, whose guardian may He be who is the only unbegotten God, and the Lord Jesus Christ! Do not believe all persons,

do not place confidence in all; nor let any man get the better of thee by flattery. For many are the ministers of Satan; and "he that is hasty to believe is light of heart."

CHAPTER VII: SOLEMN CHARGE TO HERO, AS FUTURE BISHOP OF
ANTIOCH

Keep God in remembrance, and thou shalt never sin. Be not double-minded in thy prayers; for blessed is he who doubteth not. For I believe in the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in His only-begotten Son, that God will show me, Hero, upon my throne. Add speed, therefore, to thy course. I charge thee before the God of the universe, and before Christ, and in the presence of the Holy Spirit, and of the ministering ranks [of angels], keep in safety that deposit which I and Christ have committed to thee, and do not judge thyself unworthy of those things which have been shown by God [to me] concerning thee. I hand over to thee the Church of Antioch. I have commended you to Polycarp in the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VIII: SALUTATIONS

The bishops, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Polybius, and all they of Philippi (whence also I have written to thee), salute thee in Christ. Salute the presbytery worthy of God: salute my holy fellow-deacons, of whom may I have joy in Christ, both in the flesh and in the spirit. Salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, every one by name; whom I commit to thee as Moses did [the Israelites] to Joshua, who was their leader after him. And do not reckon this which I have said presumptuous on my part; for although we are not such as they were, yet we at least pray that we may be so, since indeed we are the children of Abraham. Be strong, therefore, O Hero, like a hero, and like a man. For from henceforth thou shalt lead in and out the people of the Lord that are in Antioch, and so "the congregation of the Lord shall not be as sheep which have no shepherd."

CHAPTER IX: CONCLUDING SALUTATIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS

Salute Cassian, my host, and his most serious-minded partner in life, and their very dear children, to whom may "God grant that they find mercy of the Lord in that day," on account of their ministrations to us, whom also I commend to thee in Christ. Salute by name all the faithful in Christ that are at Laodicea. Do not neglect those at Tarsus, but look after them steadily, confirming them in the Gospel. I salute in the Lord, Maris the bishop of

Neapolis, near Anazarbus. Salute thou also Mary my daughter, distinguished both for gravity and erudition, as also "the Church which is in her house." May my soul be in place of hers: she is the very pattern of pious women. May the Father of Christ, by His only-begotten Son, preserve thee in good health, and of high repute in all things, to a very old age, for the benefit of the Church of God! Farewell in the Lord, and pray thou that I may be perfected.

IGNATIUS TO MARY

GREETING

Ignatius, who is also called Theaphorus, to her who has obtained mercy through the grace of the most high God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Lord, who died for us, to Mary, my daughter, most faithful, worthy of God, and bearing Christ [in her heart], wishes abundance of happiness in God.

CHAPTER I: ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HER EXCELLENCE AND WISDOM

Sight indeed is better than writing, inasmuch as, being one of the company of the senses, it not only, by communicating proofs of friendship, honours him who receives them, but also, by those which it in turn receives, enriches the desire for better things. But the second harbour of refuge, as the phrase runs, is the practice of writing, which we have received, as a convenient haven, by thy faith, from so great a distance, seeing that by means of a letter we have learned the excellence that is in thee. For the souls of the good, O thou wisest of women resemble fountains of the purest water; for they allure by their beauty passers-by to drink of them, even though these should not be thirsty. And thy intelligence invites us, as by a word of command, to participate in those divine draughts which gush forth so abundantly in thy soul.

CHAPTER II: HIS OWN CONDITION

But I, O thou blessed woman, not being now so much my own master as in the power of others, am driven along by the varying wills of many adversaries, being in one sense in exile, in another in prison, and in a third in bonds. But I pay no regard to these things. Yea, by the injuries inflicted on me through them, I acquire all the more the character of a disciple, that I may attain to Jesus Christ. May I enjoy the torments which are prepared for me, seeing that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy [to be compared] with the glory which shall be revealed in us."

CHAPTER III: HE HAD COMPLIED WITH HER REQUEST

I have gladly acted as requested in thy letter, having no doubt respecting those persons whom thou didst prove to be men of worth. For I am sure that thou barest testimony to them in the exercise of a godly judgment, and not through the influence of carnal favour. And thy numerous quotations of Scripture passages exceedingly delighted me, which, when I had read, I had no longer a single doubtful thought respecting the matter. For I did not hold that those things were simply to be glanced over by my eyes, of which I had received from thee such an incontrovertible demonstration. May I be in place of thy soul, because thou lovest Jesus, the Son of the living God. Wherefore also He Himself says to thee, "I love them that love Me; and those that seek Me shall find peace."

CHAPTER IV: COMMENDATION AND EXHORTATION

Now it occurs to me to mention, that the report is true which I heard of thee whilst thou wast at Rome with the blessed father Linus, whom the deservedly-blessed Clement, a hearer of Peter and Paul, has now succeeded. And by this time thou hast added a hundred-fold to thy reputation; and may thou, O woman! still further increase it. I greatly desired to come unto you, that I might have rest with you; but "the way of man is not in himself." For the military guard [under which I am kept] hinders my purpose, and does not permit me to go further. Nor indeed, in the state I am now in, can I either do or suffer anything. Wherefore deeming the practice of writing the second resource of friends for their mutual encouragement, I salute thy sacred soul, beseeching of thee to add still further to thy vigour. For our present labour is but little, while the reward which is expected is great.

CHAPTER V: SALUTATIONS AND GOOD WISHES

Avoid those that deny the passion of Christ, and His birth according to the flesh: and there are many at present who suffer under this disease. But it would be absurd to admonish thee on other points, seeing that thou art perfect in every good work and word, and able also to exhort others in Christ. Salute all that are like-minded with thyself, and who hold fast to their salvation in Christ. The presbyters and deacons, and above all the holy Hero, salute thee. Cassian my host salutes thee, as well as my sister, his wife, and their very dear children. May the Lord sanctify thee for evermore in the enjoy-

ment both of bodily and spiritual health, and may I see thee in Christ obtaining the crown!

EPISTLE TO ST. JOHN THE APOSTLE

¹ Ignatius, and the brethren who are with him, John the holy presbyter.
² We are deeply grieved at thy delay in strengthening us by thy addresses and consolations. If thy absence be prolonged, it will disappoint many of us. Hasten then to come, for we believe that it is expedient. There are also many of our women here, who are desirous to see Mary [the mother] of Jesus, and wish day by day to run off from us to you, that they may meet with her, and touch those breasts of hers which nourished the Lord Jesus, and may inquire of her respecting some rather secret matters. But Salome also, [the daughter of Anna,] whom thou lovest, who stayed with her five months at Jerusalem, and some other well-known persons, relate that she is full of all graces and all virtues, after the manner of a virgin, fruitful in virtue and grace. And, as they report, she is cheerful in persecutions and afflictions, free from murmuring in the midst of penury and want, grateful to those that injure her, and rejoices when exposed to troubles: she sympathizes with the wretched and the afflicted as sharing in their afflictions, and is not slow to come to their assistance. Moreover, she shines forth gloriously as contending in the fight of faith against the pernicious conflicts of vicious principles or conduct. She is the lady of our new religion and repentance, and the handmaid among the faithful of all works of piety.

³ She is indeed devoted to the humble, and she humbles herself more devotedly than the devoted, and is wonderfully magnified by all, while at the same time she suffers detraction from the Scribes and Pharisees. Besides these points, many relate to us numerous other things regarding her. We do not, however, go so far as to believe all in every particular; nor do we mention such to thee. But, as we are informed by those who are worthy of credit, there is in Mary the mother of Jesus an angelic purity of nature allied with the nature of humanity. And such reports as these have greatly excited our emotions, and urge us eagerly to desire a sight of this (if it be lawful so to speak) heavenly prodigy and most sacred marvel. But do thou in haste comply with this our desire; and fare thou well. Amen.

IGNATIUS TO THE CHURCH IN SYRIA

GREETING

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church sojourning in Syria, which has obtained mercy from God, and been elected by Christ, and which first received the name Christ, [wishes] happiness in God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER I: CAUTIONS AGAINST ERROR

The Lord has rendered my bonds light and easy since I learnt that you are in peace, that you live in all harmony both of the flesh and spirit. "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called," guarding against those heresies of the wicked one which have broken in upon us, to the deceiving and destruction of those that accept of them; but that ye give heed to the doctrine of the apostles, and believe both the law and the prophets: that ye reject every Jewish and Gentile error, and neither introduce a multiplicity of gods, nor yet deny Christ under the pretence of [maintaining] the unity of God.

CHAPTER II: THE TRUE DOCTRINE RESPECTING GOD AND CHRIST

For Moses, the faithful servant of God, when he said, "The Lord thy God is one Lord," and thus proclaimed that there was only one God, did yet forthwith confess also our Lord when he said, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and brimstone from the Lord." And again, "And God said, Let Us make man after our image: and so God made man, after the image of God made He him." And further "In the image of God made He man." And that [the Son of God] was to be made man [Moses shows when] he says, "A prophet shall the Lord raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me."

CHAPTER III: THE SAME CONTINUED

The prophets also, when they speak as in the person of God, [saying,] "I am God, the first [of beings], and I am also the last, and besides Me there is no God," concerning the Father of the universe, do also speak of our Lord Jesus Christ. "A Son," they say, has been given to us, on whose shoulder the government is from above; and His name is called the Angel of great counsel, Wonderful, Counsellor, the strong and mighty God." And concerning His incarnation, "Behold, a virgin shall be with Child, and shall bring forth a Son; and they shall call his name Immanuel." And concerning the passion,

"He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb, I also was an innocent lamb led to be sacrificed."

CHAPTER IV: CONTINUATION

The Evangelists, too, when they declared that the one Father was "the only true God," did not omit what concerned our Lord, but wrote: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made." And concerning the incarnation: "The Word," says [the Scripture], "became flesh, and dwelt among us." And again: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." And those very apostles, who said "that there is one God," said also that "there is one Mediator between God and men." Nor were they ashamed of the incarnation and the passion. For what says [one]? "The man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself" for the life and salvation of the world.

CHAPTER V: DENUNCIATION OF FALSE TEACHERS

Whosoever, therefore, declares that there is but one God, only so as to take away the divinity of Christ, is a devil, and an enemy of all righteousness. He also that confesseth Christ, yet not as the Son of the Maker of the world, but of some other unknown being, different from Him whom the law and the prophets have proclaimed, this man is an instrument of the devil. And he that rejects the incarnation, and is ashamed of the cross for which I am in bonds, this man is antichrist. Moreover, he who affirms Christ to be a mere man is accursed, according to the [declaration of the] prophet, since he puts not his trust in God, but in man. Wherefore also he is unfruitful, like the wild myrtle-tree.

CHAPTER VI: RENEWED CAUTIONS

These things I write to you, thou new olive-tree of Christ, not that I am aware you hold any such opinions, but that I may put you on your guard, as a father does his children. Beware, therefore, of those that hasten to work mischief, those "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose glory is in their shame." Beware of those "dumb dogs," those trailing serpents, those scaly dragons, those asps, and basilisks, and scorpions. For these are subtle wolves, and apes that mimic the appearance of men.

CHAPTER VII: EXHORTATION TO CONSISTENCY OF CONDUCT

Ye have been the disciples of Paul and Peter; do not lose what was committed to your trust. Keep in remembrance Euodias, your deservedly-blessed pastor, into whose hands the government over you was first entrusted by the apostles. Let us not bring disgrace upon our Father. Let us prove ourselves His true-born children, and not bastards. Ye know after what manner I have acted among you. The things which, when present, I spoke to you, these same, when absent, I now write to you. "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema." Be ye followers of me. My soul be for yours, when I attain to Jesus. Remember my bonds.

CHAPTER VIII: EXHORTATIONS TO THE PRESBYTERS AND OTHERS

Ye presbyters, "feed the flock which is among you," till God shall show who is to hold the rule over you. For "I am now ready to be offered," that I "may win Christ." Let the deacons know of what dignity they are, and let them study to be blameless, that they may be the followers of Christ. Let the people be subject to the presbyters and the deacons. Let the virgins know to whom they have consecrated themselves.

CHAPTER IX: DUTIES OF HUSBANDS, WIVES, PARENTS, AND CHILDREN

Let the husbands love their wives, remembering that, at the creation, one woman, and not many, was given to one man. Let the wives honour their husbands, as their own flesh; and let them not presume to address them by their names. Let them also be chaste, reckoning their husbands as their only partners, to whom indeed they have been united according to the will of God. Ye parents, impart a holy training to your children. Ye children, "honour your parents, that it may be well with you."

CHAPTER X: DUTIES OF MASTERS AND SERVANTS

Ye masters, do not treat your servants with haughtiness, but imitate patient Job, who declares, "I did not despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me. For what in that case shall I do when the Lord makes an inquisition regarding me?" And you know what follows. Ye servants, do not provoke your masters to anger in anything, lest ye become the authors of incurable mischiefs to yourselves.

CHAPTER XI: INCULCATION OF VARIOUS MORAL DUTIES

Let no one addicted to idleness eat, lest he become a wanderer about, and a whoremonger. Let drunkenness, anger, envy, reviling, clamour, and blasphemy "be not so much as named among you." Let not the widows live a life of pleasure, lest they wax wanton against the word. Be subject to Caesar in everything in which subjection implies no [spiritual] danger. Provoke not those that rule over you to wrath, that you may give no occasion against yourselves to those that seek for it. But as to the practice of magic, or the impure love of boys, or murder, it is superfluous to write to you, since such vices are forbidden to be committed even by the Gentiles. I do not issue commands on these points as if I were an apostle; but, as your fellow-servant, I put you in mind of them.

CHAPTER XII: SALUTATIONS

I salute the holy presbytery. I salute the sacred deacons, and that person most dear to me, whom may I behold, through the Holy Spirit, occupying my place when I shall attain to Christ. My soul be in place of his. I salute the subdeacons, the readers, the singers, the doorkeepers, the labourers, the exorcists, the confessors. I salute the keepers of the holy gates, the deaconesses in Christ. I salute the virgins betrothed to Christ, of whom may I have joy in the Lord Jesus. I salute the people of the Lord, from the smallest to the greatest, and all my sisters in the Lord.

CHAPTER XIII: SALUTATIONS CONTINUED

I salute Cassian and his partner in life, and their very dear children. Polycarp, that most worthy bishop, who is also deeply interested in you, salutes you; and to him I have commended you in the Lord. The whole Church of the Smyrnaeans, indeed, is mindful of you in their prayers in the Lord. Onesimus, the pastor of the Ephesians, salutes you. Damas, the bishop of Magnesia, salutes you. Polybius, bishop of the Trallians, salutes you. Philo and Agathopus, the deacons, my companions, salute you, "Salute one another with a holy kiss."

CHAPTER XIV: CONCLUSION

I write this letter to you from Philippi. May He who is alone unbegotten, keep you stedfast both in the spirit and in the flesh, through Him who was begotten before time began! And may I behold you in the kingdom of Christ! I salute him who is to bear rule over you in my stead: may I have joy

of him in the Lord! Fare ye well in God, and in Christ, being enlightened by the Holy Spirit.

IGNATIUS TO THE CHURCH AT PHILIPPI

GREETING

Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church of God which is at Philippi, which has obtained mercy in faith, and patience, and love unfeigned: Mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, "who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe."

CHAPTER I: REASON FOR WRITING THE EPISTLE

Being mindful of your love and of your zeal in Christ, which ye have manifested towards us, we thought it fitting to write to you, who display such a godly and spiritual love to the brethren, to put you in remembrance of your Christian course, "that ye all speak the same thing, being of one mind, thinking the same thing, and walking by the same rule of faith," as Paul admonished you. For if there is one God of the universe, the Father of Christ, "of whom are all things;" and one Lord Jesus Christ, our [Lord], "by whom are all things;" and also one Holy Spirit, who wrought in Moses, and in the prophets and apostles; and also one baptism, which is administered that we should have fellowship with the death of the Lord; and also one elect Church; there ought likewise to be but one faith in respect to Christ. For "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is through all, and in all."

CHAPTER II: UNITY OF THE THREE DIVINE PERSONS

There is then one God and Father, and not two or three; One who is; and there is no other besides Him, the only true [God]. For "the Lord thy God," saith [the Scripture], "is one Lord." And again, "Hath not one God created us? Have we not all one Father? And there is also one Son, God the Word. For "the only-begotten Son," saith [the Scripture], "who is in the bosom of the Father." And again, "One Lord Jesus Christ." And in another place, "What is His name, or what His Son's name, that we may know?" And there is also one Paraclete. For "there is also," saith [the Scripture], "one Spirit," since "we have been called in one hope of our calling." And again, "We have drunk of one Spirit," with what follows. And it is manifest that all these gifts [possessed by believers] "worketh one and the self-same Spirit." There are not

then either three Fathers, or three Sons, or three Paracletes, but one Father, and one Son, and one Paraclete. Wherefore also the Lord, when He sent forth the apostles to make disciples of all nations, commanded them to "baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," not unto one [person] having three names, nor into three [persons] who became incarnate, but into three possessed of equal honour.

CHAPTER III: CHRIST WAS TRULY BORN, AND DIED

For there is but One that became incarnate, and that neither the Father nor the Paraclete, but the Son only, [who became so] not in appearance or imagination, but in reality. For "the Word became flesh." For "Wisdom builded for herself a house." And God the Word was born as man, with a body, of the Virgin, without any intercourse of man. For [it is written], "A virgin shall conceive in her womb, and bring forth a son." He was then truly born, truly grew up, truly ate and drank, was truly crucified, and died, and rose again. He who believes these things, as they really were, and as they really took place, is blessed. He who believeth them not is no less accursed than those who crucified the Lord. For the prince of this world rejoiceth when any one denies the cross, since he knows that the confession of the cross is his own destruction. For that is the trophy which has been raised up against his power, which when he sees, he shudders, and when he hears of, is afraid.

CHAPTER IV: THE MALIGNITY AND FOLLY OF SATAN

And indeed, before the cross was erected, he (Satan) was eager that it should be so; and he "wrought" [for this end] "in the children of disobedience." He wrought in Judas, in the Pharisees, in the Sadducees, in the old, in the young, and in the priests. But when it was just about to be erected, he was troubled, and infused repentance into the traitor, and pointed him to a rope to hang himself with, and taught him [to die by] strangulation. He terrified also the silly woman, disturbing her by dreams; and he, who had tried every means to have the cross prepared, now endeavoured to put a stop to its erection; not that he was influenced by repentance on account of the greatness of his crime (for in that case he would not be utterly depraved), but because he perceived his own destruction [to be at hand]. For the cross of Christ was the beginning of his condemnation the beginning of his death, the beginning of his destruction. Wherefore, also, he works in some that they should deny the cross, be ashamed of the passion, call the death an appearance, mutilate

and explain away the birth of the Virgin, and calumniate the [human] nature itself as being abominable. He fights along with the Jews to a denial of the cross, and with the Gentiles to the calumniating of Mary, who are heretical in holding that Christ possessed a mere phantasmal body. For the leader of all wickedness assumes manifold forms, beguiler of men as he is, inconsistent, and even contradicting himself, projecting one course and then following another. For he is wise to do evil, but as to what good may be he is totally ignorant. And indeed he is full of ignorance, on account of his voluntary want of reason: for how can he be deemed anything else who does not perceive reason when it lies at his very feet?

CHAPTER V: APOSTROPHE TO SATAN

For if the Lord were a mere man, possessed of a soul and body only, why dost thou mutilate and explain away His being born with the common nature of humanity? Why dost thou call the passion a mere appearance, as if it were any strange thing happening to a [mere] man? And why dost thou reckon the death of a mortal to be simply an imaginary death? But if, [on the other hand,] He is both God and man, then why dost thou call it unlawful to style Him "the Lord of glory," who is by nature unchangeable? Why dost thou say that it is unlawful to declare of the Lawgiver who possesses a human soul, "The Word was made flesh," and was a perfect man, and not merely one dwelling in a man? But how came this magician into existence, who of old formed all nature that can be apprehended either by the senses or intellect, according to the will of the Father; and, when He became incarnate, healed every kind of disease and infirmity?

CHAPTER VI: CONTINUATION

And how can He be but God, who raises up the dead, sends away the lame sound of limb, cleanses the lepers, restores sight to the blind, and either increases or transmutes existing substances, as the five loaves and the two fishes, and the water which became wine, and who puts to flight thy whole host by a mere word? And why dost thou abuse the nature of the Virgin, and style her members disgraceful, since thou didst of old display such in public processions, and didst order them to be exhibited naked, males in the sight of females, and females to stir up the unbridled lust of males? But now these are reckoned by thee disgraceful, and thou pretendest to be full of modesty, thou spirit of fornication, not knowing that then only anything becomes dis-

graceful when it is polluted by wickedness. But when sin is not present, none of the things that have been created are shameful, none of them evil, but all very good. But inasmuch as thou art blind, thou revilest these things.

CHAPTER VII: CONTINUATION: INCONSISTENCY OF SATAN

And how, again, does Christ not at all appear to thee to be of the Virgin, but to be God over all, and the Almighty? Say, then, who sent Him? Who was Lord over Him? And whose will did He obey? And what laws did He fulfil, since He was subject neither to the will nor power of any one? And while you deny that Christ was born, you affirm that the unbegotten was begotten, and that He who had no beginning was nailed to the cross, by whose permission I am unable to say. But thy changeable tactics do not escape me, nor am I ignorant that thou art wont to walk with slanting and uncertain steps. And thou art ignorant who really was born, thou who pretendest to know everything.

CHAPTER VIII: CONTINUATION: IGNORANCE OF SATAN

For many things are unknown to thee; [such as the following]: the virginity of Mary; the wonderful birth; Who it was that became incarnate; the star which guided those who were in the east; the Magi who presented gifts; the salutation of the archangel to the Virgin; the marvellous conception of her that was betrothed; the announcement of the boy-forerunner respecting the son of the Virgin, and his leaping in the womb on account of what was foreseen; the songs of the angels over Him that was born; the glad tidings announced to the shepherds; the fear of Herod lest his kingdom should be taken from him; the command to slay the infants; the removal into Egypt, and the return from that country to the same region; the infant swaddling-bands; the human registration; the nourishing by means of milk; the name of father given to Him who did not beget; the manger because there was not room [elsewhere]; no human preparation [for the Child]; the gradual growth, human speech, hunger, thirst, journeyings, weariness; the offering of sacrifices and then also circumcision, baptism; the voice of God over Him that was baptized, as to who He was and whence [He had come]; the testimony of the Spirit and the Father from above; the voice of John the prophet when it signified the passion by the appellation of "the Lamb; "the performance of divers miracles, manifold healings; the rebuke of the Lord ruling both the sea and the winds; evil spirits expelled; thou thyself subjected to tor-

ture, and, when afflicted by the power of Him who had been manifested, not having it in thy power to do anything.

CHAPTER IX: CONTINUATION: IGNORANCE OF SATAN

¹ Seeing these things, thou wast in utter perplexity. And thou wast ignorant that it was a virgin that should bring forth; but the angels' song of praise struck thee with astonishment, as well as the adoration of the Magi, and the appearance of the star. Thou didst revert to thy state of [wilful] ignorance, because all the circumstances seemed to thee trifling; for thou didst deem the swaddling-bands, the circumcision, and the nourishment by means of milk contemptible: these things appeared to thee unworthy of God. Again, thou didst behold a man who remained forty days and nights without tasting human food, along with ministering angels at whose presence thou didst shudder, when first of all thou hadst seen Him baptized as a common man, and knewest not the reason thereof. But after His [lengthened] fast thou didst again assume thy wonted audacity, and didst tempt Him when hungry, as if He had been an ordinary man, not knowing who He was. For thou saidst, "If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread. Now, this expression, "If thou be the Son," is an indication of ignorance. For if thou hadst possessed real knowledge, thou wouldst have understood that the Creator can with equal ease both create what does not exist, and change that which already has a being. And thou temptedst by means of hunger Him who nourisheth all that require food.

² And thou temptedst the very "Lord of glory," forgetting in thy malevolence that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. For if thou hadst known that He was the Son of God, thou wouldst also have understood that He who had kept his body from feeling any want for forty days and as many nights, could have also done the same for ever. Why, then, does He suffer hunger? In order to prove that He had assumed a body subject to the same feelings as those of ordinary men. By the first fact He showed that He was God, and by the second that He was also man.

CHAPTER X: CONTINUATION: AUDACITY OF SATAN

Darest thou, then, who didst fall "as lightning" from the very highest glory, to say to the Lord, "Cast thyself down from hence [to Him] to whom the things that are not are reckoned as if they were, and to provoke to a display

of vainglory Him that was free from all ostentation? And didst thou pretend to read in Scripture concerning Him: "For He hath given His angels charge concerning Thee, and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest thou shouldest dash Thy foot against a stone?" At the same time thou didst pretend to be ignorant of the rest, furtively concealing what [the Scripture] predicted concerning thee and thy servants: "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the basilisk; the lion and the dragon shall thou trample under foot."

CHAPTER XI: CONTINUATION: AUDACITY OF SATAN

If, therefore, thou art trodden down under the feet of the Lord, how dost thou tempt Him that cannot be tempted, forgetting that precept of the law-giver, "Thou shall not tempt the Lord thy God?" Yea, thou even dardest, most accursed one, to appropriate the works of God to thyself, and to declare that the dominion over these was delivered to thee. And thou dost set forth thine own fall as an example to the Lord, and dost promise to give Him what is really His own, if He would fall down and worship thee. And how didst thou not shudder, O thou spirit more wicked through thy malevolence than all other wicked spirits, to utter such words against the Lord? Through thine appetite was thou overcome, and through thy vainglory wast thou brought to dishonour: through avarice and ambition dost thou [now] draw on [others] to ungodliness. Thou, O Belial, dragon, apostate, crooked serpent, rebel against God, outcast from Christ, alien from the Holy Spirit, exile from the ranks of the angels, reviler of the laws of God, enemy of all that is lawful, who didst rise up against the first-formed of men, and didst drive forth [from obedience to] the commandment [of God] those who had in no respect injured thee; thou who didst raise up against Abel the murderous Cain; thou who didst take arms against Job: dost thou say to the Lord, "If Thou wilt fall down and worship me?" Oh what audacity! Oh what madness! Thou runaway slave, thou incorrigible slave, dost thou rebel against the good Lord? Dost thou say to so great a Lord, the God of all that either the mind or the senses can perceive, "If Thou wilt fall down and worship me?"

CHAPTER XII: THE MEEK REPLY OF CHRIST

But the Lord is long-suffering, and does not reduce to nothing him who in his ignorance dares [to utter] such words, but meekly replies, "Get thee hence, Satan." He does not say, "Get thee behind Me," for it is not possible that he should be converted; but, "Begone, Satan," to the course which thou

hast chosen. "Begone" to those things to which, through thy malevolence, thou hast been called. For I know Who I am, and by Whom I have been sent, and Whom it behoves Me to worship. For "thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." I know the one [God]; I am acquainted with the only [Lord] from whom thou hast become an apostate. I am not an enemy of God; I acknowledge His pre-eminence; I know the Father, who is the author of my generation.

CHAPTER XIII: VARIOUS EXHORTATIONS AND DIRECTIONS

These things, brethren, out of the affection which I entertain for you, I have felt compelled to write, exhorting you with a view to the glory of God, not as if I were a person of any consequence, but simply as a brother. Be ye subject to the bishop, to the presbyters, and to the deacons. Love one another in the Lord, as being the images of God. Take heed, ye husbands, that ye love your wives as your own members. Ye wives also, love your husbands, as being one with them in virtue of your union. If any one lives in chastity or continence, let him not be lifted up, lest he lose his reward. Do not lightly esteem the festivals. Despise not the period of forty days, for it comprises an imitation of the conduct of the Lord. After the week of the passion, do not neglect to fast on the fourth and sixth days, distributing at the same time of thine abundance to the poor. If any one fasts on the Lord's Day or on the Sabbath, except on the paschal Sabbath only, he is a murderer of Christ.

CHAPTER XIV: FAREWELLS AND CAUTIONS

Let your prayers be extended to the Church of Antioch, whence also I as a prisoner am being led to Rome. I salute the holy bishop Polycarp; I salute the holy bishop Vitalius, and the sacred presbytery, and my fellow-servants the deacons; in whose stead may my soul be found. Once more I bid farewell to the bishop, and to the presbyters in the Lord. If any one celebrates the pasover along with the Jews, or receives the emblems of their feast, he is a partaker with those that killed the Lord and His apostles.

CHAPTER XV: SALUTATIONS. CONCLUSION

Philo and Agathopus the deacons salute you. I salute the company of virgins, and the order of widows; of whom may I have joy! I salute the people of the Lord, from the least unto the greatest. I have sent you this letter through Euphانيus the reader, a man honoured of God, and very faithful, happening to meet with him at Rhegium, just as he was going on board ship. Remember

my bonds that I may be made perfect in Christ. Fare ye well in the flesh, the soul, and the spirit, while ye think of things perfect, and turn yourselves away from the workers of iniquity, who corrupt the word of truth, and are strengthened inwardly by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

EPISTLE TO THE VIRGIN MARY

¹Her friend Ignatius to the Christ-bearing Mary. Thou oughtest to have comforted and consoled me who am a neophyte, and a disciple of thy [beloved] John. For I have heard things wonderful to tell respecting thy [son] Jesus, and I am astonished by such a report. But I desire with my whole heart to obtain information concerning the things which I have heard from thee, who wast always intimate and allied with Him, and who wast acquainted with [all] His secrets. I have also written to thee at another time, and have asked thee concerning the same things. Fare thou well; and let the neophytes who are with me be comforted of thee, and by thee, and in thee. Amen.

Reply of the Blessed Virgin to This Letter.

²The lowly handmaid of Christ Jesus to Ignatius, her beloved fellow-disciple. The things which thou hast heard and learned from John concerning Jesus are true. Believe them, cling to them, and hold fast the profession of that Christianity which thou hast embraced, and conform thy habits and life to thy profession. Now I will come in company with John to visit thee, and those that are with thee. Stand fast in the faith, and show thyself a man; nor let the fierceness of persecution move thee, but let thy spirit be strong and rejoice in God thy Saviour. Amen.

The Life of Polycarp, by Pseudo-Pionius

TRANSLATED BY J. B. LIGHTFOOT

4th–5th century

A Greek life of Polycarp ascribed to a certain Pionius. It is a late and unreliable legend. This is Lightfoot's translation.

LIFE OF POLYCARP.

1. TRACING my steps farther back and beginning with the visit of the blessed Paul to Smyrna, as I have found it in ancient copies, I will give the narration in order, thus coming down to the history of the blessed Polycarp.

2. In the days of unleavened bread Paul, coming down from Galatia, arrived in Asia, considering the repose among the faithful in Smyrna to be a great refreshment in Christ Jesus after his severe toil, and intending afterwards to depart to Jerusalem. So in Smyrna he went to visit Strataeas, who had been his hearer in Pamphylia, being a son of Eunice the daughter of Lois. These are they of whom he makes mention when writing to Timothy, saying; Of the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice; whence we find that Strataeas was a brother of Timothy. Paul then, entering his house and gathering together the faithful there, speaks to them concerning the Passover and the Pentecost, reminding them of the New Covenant of the offering of bread and the cup; how that they ought most assuredly to celebrate it during the days of unleavened bread, but to hold fast the new mystery of the Passion and Resurrection. For here the Apostle plainly teaches that we ought neither to keep it outside the season of unleavened bread, as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians, nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day: for he said nothing about the fourteenth day, but named the days of unleavened bread, the Passover, and the Pentecost, thus ratifying the Gospel.

3. But after the departure of the Apostle, Strataeas succeeded to his teaching, and certain of those after him, whose names, so far as it is possible to

discover who and what manner of men they were, I will set down. But for the present let us proceed at once to Polycarp. One whose name was Bucolus being bishop in Smyrna at that time, there was in those days a certain lady, devout and fearing God, conversant in good works, whose name was Callisto. An angel sent from the Lord stood by her and said to her in a vision of the night; 'Callisto, rise up and go to the gate called the Ephesian, and when thou hast gone forward a little in front of it, two men shall meet thee, having with them a little lad named Polycarp. Ask them, if he is for sale; and when they say "Yes," give them the price that they shall demand, and take and keep him with thee. This child is a native of the East.' Then she, the voice still ringing in her ears and her heart bounding with fear and joy, sat up and arose with haste, and without delay did as she was ordered. And with hurry and flurry she came to the aforesaid gate, and found as the angel told her, and she took him and brought him to her house and delighted in rearing him decently and nurturing him in the nurture of the Lord. And she was amazed, when she saw his intelligence and seemly behaviour and his aptitude for piety. And in point of affection she treated him as a son, while as regards promotion over the servants, gradually as he advanced in age he was made manager of her property. And further she gave into his hand the keys of the storehouses.

4. But when at length it befel that she went away from home for a time, she left Polycarp keeper of her house. And as he went in to measure out rations of food for the servants, he would be followed by widows and orphans and by many of the neighbourhood----all the destitute poor among the faithful----and they would ask to have given them, one corn, and others wine, others oil, and whatsoever each desired. But he, having from a child learnt the lesson of well-doing and having the commandments of God inscribed on the tablet of his soul and on the pages of his heart by the finger of God, even the Holy Spirit, fulfilled the precept, Give to him that asketh thee; and so he emptied all the store-rooms, bestowing lavishly on all that were in need. 5. But when at length Callisto returned after a long time, one of the domestics ran to her and said; 'You, my lady, setting at nought all your servants born in the house, placed everything in the hands of this young lad though he came from the East; and he during your absence from home plundered everything that there was and left nothing.' Then she, being disturbed by the harsh words of the accuser (for the charge was enough to ruffle

even a tranquil soul, especially when it conjures up a semblance of pecuniary loss), swelled with indignation in her heart and overflowed with wrath, especially because she held it a very great disaster that one befriended by God and given to her by Him should have squandered everything recklessly; for she did not yet know for what purpose he had employed these goods. Wherefore also very divided thoughts sprang up in her mind. So forthwith she called Polycarp by name, saying, 'Polycarp'; and on his obeying her summons she said, 'Bring me the keys of the closets.' And when he brought them and opened the doors, she went in and began to look round; and a miracle of the mighty working of the Lord Jesus Christ was wrought.

For he, when he went in, groaned and prayed saying; 'O Lord God, the Father of Thy beloved Son, that in the presence of Thy prophet Elijah didst fill the vessels of the widow of Zarephath, give ear unto me, that in the name of Christ they all may be found filled.' Accordingly they were all found filled, so that she, thinking the slave had lied, was angry and ordered certain of the domestics [to beat him]. But Polycarp came forward and set himself straight, saying; 'Nay do not ill-treat another for my sake; but rather lay on me the blows intended for him; for he told no lie, but deserveth praise for his affection towards his mistress. But as for me, seeing that I did not spend with an evil intent but on the poor, the God and Father of the blessed Jesus Christ hath both filled the hungry and hath sent His angel to restore to thee thine own, that thou also mayest have to give still to the poor according to the custom which thou followest.' Having heard and seen these things, Callisto was filled with fear, advancing still more in faith and in good works, so that Polycarp became as a son to her; and departing this life in faith she left him her substance.

6. Now after the death of Callisto Polycarp advanced greatly in the faith that is in Christ and that pursues a virtuous life. And in his untiring diligence, he from his Eastern stock bore (if one may so say) blossom as a token of good fruit hereafter to come. For the men who dwell in the East are distinguished before all others for their love of learning and their attachment to the divine Scriptures. So having been brought to Asia and having come by the will of God to live in Smyrna, after making himself fully acquainted with the ways of the people of the country and distinguishing himself far beyond them, he discerned that for every servant of God, while the whole world is [his city], the heavenly Jerusalem is his true father-land; and that

here on earth we are bidden to sojourn for a while and not to settle; for we are strangers and visitors. Thus reflecting on this with a godly delight he offered himself day and night wholly and entirely as a consecrated sacrifice to God, exercising himself in the oracles contained in the divine Scriptures and in continual services of prayer and in devotion to all those who needed either attention or relief and in contentment of living. For he a'te such food as came to hand, meagre and simple though it was, and he wore such clothing only as absolute necessity required, for the sake of warmth and of the modest and seemly covering of the body.

7. And for the most part he withdrew into retirement, not appearing in public or conspicuous places, nor where he might reap praise from the spectators. But he spent his time chiefly at home, though sometimes in the suburbs, where he could most easily disregard and escape the turmoil of a great crowd; for he knew that the soul needs tranquillity of sight and hearing flee from contamination with evil things. And in consequence of this he was staid alike in his mental thoughts and in his bodily gestures; for even in youth he had the gait of an elderly man, and his look was manly and unembarrassed by any passion directed towards objects of sight in outward life. But if any of those who met him looked into his face, he would be suffused with a blush, and through his innate respect he made himself respected by others. For the souls of the wise are discerned through the body, as through a mirror, by their blushes. And of those also who came to see him and desired his conversation, he was wont to shun and avoid, if he possibly could, the garrulous and foolish talkers, on the plea that he was intent on some important business and had not noticed the person who met him; but if he happened to get entangled with him, he would answer him briefly just not to seem to be haughty, and then would keep silence. Such was his behaviour towards those from whom no benefit could be got. But bad men he avoided as mad dogs or wild beasts or venomous serpents; for he remembered the Scripture which says, With the innocent thou shalt be innocent, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the perverse thou shalt use perverseness. With those however from whom he could derive benefit he associated very freely, especially in cases where he could reap benefit not only from their words but also from their actions.

8. And as he returned from the suburbs to the city, if at any time he fell in with wood-carriers, especially when they were old men, he had compassion

on them for their heavy burden and would attach himself to them and enquire of them if they sold their load as soon as they entered the city; and on their answering that sometimes evening came and they had not succeeded in doing so, he would give them the price and would carry the wood to the widows living near the gate. Thus he gratified the widows with the benefit of the wood, and the woodmen with the enjoyment of their meal at its proper time. 9. Now when he came to man's estate he was more enamoured than ever of godliness; and he discerned that freedom was the proper reward of self-discipline, but that it is attained by few and chiefly by those who have received from God the power of keeping the plumage of their soul unenslaved and unencumbered----men who are privileged to enjoy the free supermundane life through not being dragged down upon the earth by the fetters of marriage. For not one of us can dispense with the necessities of life; but those persons can least of all dispense with them who harbour in their house an expensive wife that is fond of dress. And he would recount the distractions and annoyances that come from such a wife, rendering it altogether impossible to lead a peaceable and quiet life. For should she be profligate, as Solomon says, the rage of the husband is full of envy; but if she is chaste, she is filled with vanity and is elated in her mind; so that it is better to live in a desert rather than with a contentious and loquacious woman. And altogether no charm of life thrust his soul away from heavenly things; and he was wont to say that the words of Christ and of the prophets and apostles were beautiful to him: Thou art beautiful in thy loveliness beyond the sons of men; grace is shed on thy lips; and again, How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good things.

And for the rearing of children and the care for one's offspring and the arrangements at home consequent thereupon, he used to explain how much a man who entangles himself in these matters must necessarily want, and what distractions and occupations he must have, and what anxieties about their good behaviour, and what burdens fall upon parents when their children sicken and what griefs when they die, and all the other risks which attend the training of their whole life. For at each successive stage of life the young undergo a change of disposition also, the heat natural to their age fermenting like new wine, and seething and purging the material part more and more, like a colt endeavouring to throw off the reins and yoke, until the controlling and superintending mind, by reason and reflexion, as by a

bridle, shall pull him back and rein him in and shall put a stop to the neighing, reducing the disorderly and irrational impulse to order. The mind however only then effects this and prevails, when it is penetrated with a certain divine sense and presence of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the inspired David supplicated saying, Renew a right spirit in my inmost parts; stablish me with a commanding spirit, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me; and the Apostle says, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.

10. Our next business after this is to recount also the career of his episcopate, what was his conduct in it and how he attained to it; that by these lessons we may also learn to imitate those who are chosen by God as His ministers. Bucolus then, who was bishop before him, cherished him and set great store by him from his childhood. And being sanguine he entertained great hopes of him, as the fathers of good sons rejoice in having steady successors. And he in turn requited Bucolus, cherishing him as he would a parent, yet not with feigned language but inobtrusively and without forcing himself always upon him; and acting with reserve he observed the opportunities which occurred from time to time, so as not to appear to be officious nor yet neglectful. For he was not eager to give him a present or gift when he could supply his own wants, nor was Bucolus on his part eager to receive one; for the latter regarded the young man's alacrity in relieving those in want as his own personal gain, while the former duly fulfilled the command of the Lord Jesus by giving to those who were not able to pay him back; whereas some persons artfully pursue honour and are ever coveting some other greater honour.

While then Polycarp, like Jacob, being a simple and plain man, acted in all things without vanity or ostentation, by the labours of his own hands supplying the poor with bodily ministrations as regards food and other necessities of life, he gained renown by his actual deeds; and Bucolus was informed of this not by the doer, but by the recipients. For as good men regard the conferring of benefits as imperative, so likewise with reasonable men thankfulness on receiving benefits is indispensable. Moreover he rejoiced to see that many persons who were sick and afflicted with devils were restored to sound health through the grace given to him from God, and so the Lord Jesus Christ was glorified. And he beheld many things also concerning him in visions. 11. He perceived therefore that he was worthy; and for the present,

owing to his youthfulness, he enrolled him in the order of deacons with the approval of the whole Church. Blessed indeed was he in being permitted to cover such a head with his hand and to bless so noble a soul with his voice. For the approved and discreet advancement of those who are appointed to an office in the sacred ministry through faith in God is a source of confidence and joy to those who have made the good selection, provoking no blame before men and causing no secret reproaches to the conscience. 12. As a deacon then he approved himself among his own contemporaries, as Stephen did among those of the Apostles; for being well-equipped in speech, and adorned with good deeds, he boldly confuted Greeks and Jews and the heretics. And many a time did Bucolus, by exhortation and encouragement, with difficulty persuade him to allow himself to be disciplined by the Lord and to give catechetical discourses in church. Thus there was given him by Christ in the first place an ecclesiastical and catholic rule of correct instruction; and being able to interpret mysteries which were hidden from the multitude he expounded them so clearly that the hearers attested that they not only heard but saw the things described. He wrote also many treatises and sermons and letters, but in the persecution which arose on his account, when he was martyred, certain lawless heathen carried them off. Their character however is evident from those still extant, among which the Epistle to the Philippians was the most adequate. This we will include in its proper place.

13. But in his teaching his chief point was that his hearers should know concerning God Almighty, invisible, immutable, immeasurable, and that He was well pleased to send down from heaven His own Word and Son, that the Word, thus taking Man upon Himself and being truly incarnate, might save His own creation; and that He, according to the prophecy which had been uttered, being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin and of the Holy Ghost, accomplished that mystery of generation which is difficult of comprehension to most men. And He consented to suffer for the salvation of men, according as Christ Himself declared beforehand by the law and the prophets concerning Himself, as also the Father respecting the Son; whom also God raised from the dead, and His disciples saw Him in the body such as He had been before His passion; and they beheld Him taken up in a cloud of light into the heavens in the same body in which He created Adam before his transgression. But as concerning the Holy Spirit and the gift of the Paraclete and all the other spiritual graces, he would demonstrate that they

could not be possessed outside the Catholic Church, just as a limb cut off from a body has no power, proving this from all the Scriptures; such as the saying by the mouth of Daniel, And His kingdom shall not be left to another people, and in the Gospel, Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her, and other passages similar to these.

14. But in the matter of continence and virginity he was careful to make hortatory discourses, and he would urge that men ought not of compulsion or by commandment of others, even though they might be parents or masters, but by individual choice and desire, to carry it through as a voluntary effort. And he used to say that chastity was the forerunner of the future incorruptible kingdom, and that it received its name of continence (*eynouchian*) because it had much affection (*eynoian echein*) towards the Master, and of virginity (*parthenian*) because the idea of such self-restraint is with God (*para to Theo*); for those who discipline themselves to such a life deaden the carnal fire. And he would demonstrate monogamy from the fact of the creation, pointing out that one woman was created for one man; wherefore also the virgin that is brought to her husband bears her name appropriately: the commencement of the name, he said, signified that she was from God (*para Theou*) and the termination describes her as belonging to one (*ehnos*), that is one husband. And he observed that Lamech, being descended from Cain, was the first to take to himself two wives; and by taking to himself is meant doing it not according to the will of God. He said then that, though polygamy was called by the name of marriage, yet it was a specious fornication.

15. And on certain Greeks remarking to him that it was difficult and irksome among the Christians to be able to master the desires, he replied; 'It is foolish to suppose that whatsoever things seem impossible to men are really impossible; but understand that the Lord bringeth about all things, and the Master of the universe subjecteth them to His mighty chariot-reins.' For after setting forth three kinds of chastity, he banished and exterminated fornication from the faithful, and established the rule and sovereignty of chastity; for while the rest of mankind have unbalanced and vague and irregular impulses, and like horses rage and neigh after their neighbours' wives, only those who wait in fear to be judged by the heavenly law and the word of God, which is the avenger and champion of all, are satisfied with a single marriage that exists for the procreation of children. Women in like manner are taught to look only to the husband of their virginity.

16. The second kind of chastity is that of widowhood, transcending the one already mentioned. For the latter seemed to be difficult at first until it was surpassed by that which is able to desist from concessions previously allowed. But the third kind which practises a chastity victorious in every feat---what superiority has it not over the others! What desirable and laudable honour does not belong to the kind of continence and virginity, which shakes off and (so to speak) casts away all the shackles of the lower life, and with light bound and agile step outruns and overleaps the feats already described! For it evinces greater determination in the person who adopts it, than the being content with one alone or the desisting after experience, and it proclaims superior power in God who bestowed it. For that it is voluntary on the part of the man who so chooses, and that it is a gift of God whose is the power, our Saviour showed when He said that men made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and that all men could not receive this word.

17. But as from that time forward he advanced daily in years also, and the flower of a hoary head, the forerunner of old age, appeared, and here and there a white hair began to smile above his temples---for human nature asserts itself not fortuitously, but by a divine providence, and puts forward each development at the proper season as a reminder to the race, and with much grace of wisdom calls the man to perfection by deeds and words; as for instance when it says, How long, thou sluggard, dost thou lie down; and when wilt thou arise out of sleep? or again, Prepare thy works for thy departure; so also by these means methinks it reminds every one of us of the end before it arrives, that the whiter a man's head becomes by time, the brighter his soul may grow by the Word. Bucolus therefore, seeing that Polycarp's age was adequate and that the propriety of his conduct throughout all his life was even more adequate than the number of his years, perceived that he was most excellent as a fellow-counsellor to him in questions relating to the Chinch and as a fellow-minister in teaching; while the Lord set His seal on and ratified his design, giving him commandment in a vision. Accordingly he appointed him to an office in the presbyterate, the whole Church with one accord welcoming him with great joy, although he himself shrunk from such an undertaking.

For he said that it was enough in itself to give account of one office and one ministration, let alone of several. And he went on to say; 'If a man being

unworthy dareth to lay hold of such an honorable office, he bringeth judgment on himself; but if he be worthy, he has the full reward of his former works, receiving the order of the priesthood as in a manner a reward.' Seeing then that it was impossible to gainsay the counsel and appeal of God, he receives the order of the presbyterate, whereupon he saw a vision and received much comfort. 18. From that time forward therefore, much progress being made in the word of teaching through him, all men glorified our Lord Jesus Christ. For he would extend his discourse to great length on diverse subjects, and from the actual Scripture which was read he would furnish edification with all demonstration and conviction, so that the things spoken were presented to the hearers as if exhibited to the eye. For he was wont to say that the speaker must first believe what he says; seeing that in this way he sets them forth, not as the relation of others, but as achievements of his own. And his voice was grave and manly, with look and gesture corresponding thereto, having sweetness and melody and being pervaded with the fear of God. And on one occasion a person said to him...for when holding discourse with Jews and Gentiles and with the sects, he would speak loudly, so that some of those standing below could hear him: and for the purpose of showing what things ought to be said with kindliness and not with heat, he would proceed thus; 'How think ye that the Lord spoke such words as these to him that had his hand withered? as the Scripture saith, And looking round upon them He said in anger, Stretch out thine hand; or that saying? O faithless and perverse generation, and other words such as these; or the Apostle Peter? Why did ye conspire among yourselves to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Or Paul?

I would that they would cut themselves off that disturb you. On the other hand when administering comfort, the Lord spoke in gentle language and loving tones; Come, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden. And again with sympathy towards the city of Jerusalem saying, How often would I have gathered thy children, and other words of a like kind. Again Peter with John at the Beautiful Gate addressed the paralytic with pity, and Paul writing to the Galatians says, My children with whom I am in travail again, when the moment for comforting demands it. 19. So also he pursued the reading of the Scriptures from childhood to old age, himself reading in church; and he recommended it to others, saying that the reading of the law and the prophets was the forerunner of grace, preparing and making straight the ways of

the Lord, that is the hearts, which are like tablets whereon certain harsh beliefs and conceptions that were written before perfect knowledge came, are through the inculcation of the Old Testament, and the correct interpretation following thereupon, first smoothed and levelled, that, when the Holy Spirit comes as a pen, the grace and joy of the voice of the Gospel and of the doctrine of the immortal and heavenly Christ may be inscribed on them. And he said that they could not otherwise receive the impression of the seal which is given by baptism and engrave and exhibit the form conveyed in it, unless the wax were first softened and filled the deep parts. So also he thought that the hearts of the hearers ought to be softened and yield to the impress of the Word. For he said that it unfolded and opened, like closed doors, the minds of recent comers; and accordingly the prophet was bidden by God, Cry out mightily and spare not, Raise thy voice as a trumpet. What must one say, when even He that was gentler than all men so appeals and cries out at the feast of Tabernacles? For it is written;

And on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried saying, If any man thirsteth, let him come to Me and drink. Yes, for when He is teaching He will cry out, but if He is spitted upon and brought to trial and is tempted and suffers, He will be silent, when He is led as a sheep to the slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb. For I, it is said, like a deaf man heard not, and I became as a man that heareth not and hath no reproofs in his mouth. 20. The wealth of the grace given by Christ to Polycarp has led us on, while recording his course of life, to explain in turn the character of his teaching likewise. How he used to interpret the Scriptures, we will defer relating till another time, setting it forth in order and showing our successors also how to minister correct instruction in the holy and inspired Scriptures. But for the present we will proceed to speak of the episcopate conferred upon him, and what great things he did when he found himself in this position, running the race of godliness successfully. Bucolus then, forasmuch as the Lord had often signified to him beforehand in visions that he had a man of this kind for his successor, in joy and gladness at leaving as it were a prudent heir, when he went to his rest fell asleep in this manner. At the season of his departure he took hold of Polycarp's hand, and pressed it first upon his own breast, then on his face, signifying that whatsoever graces are ministered through these organs of sense (the heart that understands and the eyes that see and the ears that hear and the nostril that in-

hales the odour of Christ and the mouth that by speech preaches God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ) will all be committed to him. He then having done this and said, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' fell asleep.

But Polycarp for the present took no account of any of these things, for his hope and longing was always set on things future. But the believers who were present and standing round, when they saw this, compared notes one with another privately, being hopeful of getting such a man for their pastor. So having taken the body of the blessed Bucolus to Smyrna to the cemetery in front of the Ephesian Royal gate, and placed it where recently a myrtle tree sprung up after the burial of the body of Thraseas the martyr, when all was over, they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest. Now they were all of one mind that Polycarp should offer it; but as he was always scrupulous and desired to yield honour to his superiors, they prevented its happening otherwise. And so he was persuaded and performed the service. 21. And without any delay, not many days after, gathering together bishops from the cities round about and making preparations for the reception of the visitors, they took measures for the appointment of a successor to preside over the Church. When they arrived, great crowds gathered from the cities and villages and fields, some knowing Polycarp, others desiring from what they had heard of him to behold him. So when they were assembled together and the church was filled, the glory of a heavenly light shone among them all, and certain brethren saw marvellous visions. One saw hovering over Polycarp's head a white dove encircled in light. Another beheld him, before he had sat down, as if already seated in his chair of office. A third saw him in the guise of a soldier girdled with a crimson belt. To another again he appeared arrayed in purple, and a sort of light shining about his face; while another, a faithful and reverend virgin, saw him twice his proper size, and a scarlet robe on his right shoulder, and his neck glistening like snow, and a seal upon it.

22. And on the sabbath, when prayer had been made long time on bended knee, he, as was his custom, got up to read; and every eye was fixed upon him. Now the lesson was the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and to Titus, in which he says what manner of man a bishop ought to be. And he was so well fitted for the office that the hearers said one to another that he lacked none of those qualities which Paul requires in one who has the care of a church. When then, after the reading and the instruction of the bishops and the discourses of the presbyters, the deacons were sent to the laity to enquire

whom they would have, they said with one accord, 'Let Polycarp be our pastor and teacher.' The whole priesthood then having assented, they appointed him notwithstanding his earnest entreaties and his desire to decline.

23. Accordingly the deacons led him up for ordination by the hands of the bishops according to custom. And being placed in his chair by them, he moistened and anointed first with tears of piety and humility the place where in the spirit he saw standing the feet of Christ who was present with him for the anointing to the priestly office. For where the ministers are---- the priests and Levites----there in the midst is also the High-priest arrayed in the great flowing robe. Then the company present urged him, since this was the custom, to address them. For they said that this work of teaching was the most important part of the communion. So opening his mouth he spoke out, his voice betraying the fear in his heart, and said; Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord, the High-priest and shepherd and teacher and king eternal, even Christ to whom be the glory for ever and ever----the God who proveth us in all things and searcheth our hearts by all means, as He did those of our fathers and of His holy prophets to whom He gave commandments and ordinances that they should make known to the rest the faith that was in them; as even now He hath proved my meanness through the greatness of this office which exceeds my powers;

for I well know that no man could fulfil it well, except he hath first received it from the Lord from heaven, as the blessed Apostle Paul hath shown in his epistles, showing in a single word the whole life of one who is appointed to office, when he speaks of it as blameless. This I think cannot have escaped the ears of any one, but must have been impressed upon his inmost soul wholly and completely. Wherefore it is necessary for you, my beloved, to make supplication on my behalf to the Lord, that He will himself grant me to minister acceptably to His spotless bride, the Church. The same also is the duty of all my fellow-servants and ministers, to whom it is needful to make exhortation in the presence of God and of you, that they labour with me and assist with all readiness and with love unfeigned in the struggle that lies before me, knowing that all must run together so that we all may receive the prize, forasmuch as the crown of immortality is offered to all alike, the Omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ crowning without respect of persons him that has fought well and conquered by grace; through whom to the Invisible and Immeasurable, the one only Immortal Father in the Holy Spirit

the Paraclete, glory, honour, and power both was and is and shall be for ever. Amen.'

After this the others also, having made the proper exhortations and appeals on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, and offerings and eucharists, rejoicing and partaking of food, returned each to his own home rejoicing greatly at having communicated with Polycarp, and glorifying Christ Jesus the Lord for it, to whom is the glory for ever. Amen. 24. And on the following sabbath he said; 'Hear ye my exhortation, beloved children of God. I adjured you when the bishops were present, and now again I exhort you all to walk decorously and worthily in the way of the Lord, knowing that, when I was in the ministry of the presbyters, I applied so great diligence according to my power, and shall do this the more now when the greatest peril awaits me if I am negligent. For after the fear of the judgment, it were shameful to abate and relax anything having regard to men, and not rather to build up higher the zeal which has reached thus far. It pertaineth to you therefore to hold back from all unruliness, both men and women; and let no one imagine that I exact punishment from offenders not from conscientiousness but from human pride. For it has happened that some of those who were put into offices, when they ought all the more, as one might say, to strain every nerve in the race, just then relax their efforts, forgetting that, the greater honour a man appeareth to receive, the greater the loyalty which he ought to pay towards the Master, and to remember the words of the Lord how He himself said, On whom I conferred the more, from him let them demand the more abundantly in return;

and the parable of those who had the talents committed to them, and the blessing pronounced upon the servant that watches, and the reproof of those who refused to come to the marriage feast, and the condemnation of him whose garment was not befitting the marriage festivity, and the entering in of the wise virgins, the saying Watch ye, and again Be ye ready, Let not your hearts be weighed down, the new commandment concerning love one towards another, His advent suddenly manifest as of rapid lightning, the great judgment by fire, the eternal life, His immortal kingdom. And all things whatsoever being taught of God ye know, when ye search the inspired Scriptures, engrave with the pen of the Holy Spirit on your hearts, that the commandments may abide in you indelible.' 25. Thus speaking in this way from time to time, and being persistent in his teaching, he edified and saved both

himself and his hearers. But I will now record such of the miracles wrought by his hands as have been handed down to us. Once upon a time Polycarp went to Teos, which is near the warm baths commonly called Lebadia, to visit a certain bishop Daphnus by name, who after supper informed him of the scantiness of his means of subsistence, telling him how meagre a supply of food he had reaped from his husbandry. But he, when Daphnus showed him the barrels nearly empty, laid his hands on them and said; 'In the name of Jesus Christ use them freely.' Whence from that hour such abundance was multiplied that, after sowing the land, and providing without stint for his own household, he was able to give to others also.

26. Now after a lapse of time he came again to visit Daphnus; and Daphnus in thanksgiving for this great favour made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren. Accordingly he set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them. But when he told the servants to bring wine from the house and pour it in, Polycarp said; 'Let it be as it is, for it will not fail' And as they drew and drank the wine, while yet the wine only abounded the more, a servant girl standing by shouted out not in fear, but in merriment and laughter, saying 'Inexhaustible little cask.' At this the angel who was appointed over the miracle of power retired, and the result was that even the wine that was there vanished, whereupon Polycarp said: 'Ay, well was it said by the mouth of David, Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice before Him in trembling.'

27. Now among others whom Polycarp appointed deacons was one named Camerius, who also became bishop the third in succession from him and next after Papirius. This man Polycarp took with him and went into the country, for he was careful to superintend the churches scattered through the villages also. And as he was returning to the city, a widow from a certain field ran up to him in the road and being in great straits brought him a little bird still young; and on his declining to take it, she prevailed upon him, telling him to treat it as an offering. But when evening came, as he generally travelled on his own legs, being tired he decided to put up at a certain inn with Camerius, since the place in question had not yet received the Gospel of grace. Well, it came to pass after supper that when he retired to rest he fell asleep quickly; for voluntary distresses of the body induce rest in solitary places. And when night was nearly half past, an angel of the Lord stood by him and smote his side and said, 'Polycarp.' And he said, 'What is it?' The an-

gel replied, 'Rise and go out of the inn: for it is on the point of falling.' So he woke up and called Camerius. But he, being weighed down with sleep and fatigue together, answered him but not without difficulty: and explaining to him, he tried to induce him to rise.

But Camerius replied to him, 'The first sleep is not yet passed, blessed father, and where are we going? Thou art always studying the Scriptures and wakeful. So thou fallest not asleep.' And Polycarp tried to awake him; but he lay still. And when the angel stood by him a second time and said the same thing, again he told Camerius to get up. And on his saying in reply, 'I have trust in God that, while thou art here, the wall will never fall,' Polycarp said, 'I too have trust in God, but I have no trust in the wall' So he fell asleep the third time, and the same word was spoken by the angel. Then he without delay rose first, and Camerius afterwards leapt up hastily. But when they had gone out and had made a little progress on their way, they remembered that they had left the little bird in the inn. When they were distant about a stone's throw, 'Hesitate not,' said he, 'for the blessed widow designated it for an offering.' And he returned and took it: and when he had gone forward a little distance the inn fell entirely to the ground, foundations and all, so that not one of the inmates was saved.

Then Polycarp standing and looking up to heaven said; 'O God our Master and Lord Omnipotent, the Father of Thy blessed and holy Son Jesus Christ, who didst foretell the overthrow of the Ninevites by Thy great prophet Jonah, and didst grant him to escape from the dangers, verily I bless Thee that Thou didst rescue us from this danger by the hand of an angel, through whom Thou didst make known unto me that which was about to happen.' 28. And another miracle also was wrought by his hands as follows. When all the men in the city had gone to sleep and it was near midnight, and the bakers were making bread, it happened that fire falling on the faggots near at hand set the shop in flames, and spreading thence got hold of a very considerable part of the city. But when the people had run together and there was much shouting and confusion, the mayor ordered the engines which were prepared for this purpose to be brought up. So the hose and water and every contrivance of art was brought. The Jews also came down under pretence of being able to extinguish it, since they always present themselves uninvited at a fire: for they assert that conflagrations cannot possibly be stopped in any other way but by their presence. This is an artifice of theirs to

plunder the property in the houses. As the city then was in danger, the mayor said; 'Sirs, ye who are here with us at the season of this dire spectacle, you see that it is of no use, because the wind is contrary: and when our only hope was in the presence of the Jews, we have failed even in this. What then do I advise? Listen to me. The other day in the mayor's lodging a strange seizure overtook a servant of mine getting up at night, and he cried out and lost his senses. And when we kindled lights, we found him in a phrenzy devouring everything.

Now at break of day the Jews came, wanting to cure him by charms: but he, single handed, struck them and was within an ace of killing them, numerous as they were; and tearing off their clothes, he drove them away naked and covered with blood. Then a certain person in my house, who was a Christian, said; "If you bid me, I will summon one who is able to master him. I gave permission, and the teacher of the Christians, whom they call Polycarp, came. But while he was still a very long way off the young man cried out loudly, "Polycarp is coming to me, and I shall fly. And as he approached...' 29...as was wont, making no progress for several days, they stopped at length. And when after some trouble those who held the office of councillors were brought together, and the mayor stated that he neither had corn nor could discover whence to buy it, though ready to pay down the money, a certain person, a man advanced in years, rose up from the midst of them and said; 'Sirs, all of you who were present at that season, when the city was endangered from a conflagration which broke out at midnight, remember distinctly how, when neither we nor the Jews were able to extinguish the fire, a man divinely gifted in the lessons of truth, the priest of those who are called Christians, being invited by you, standing before us all and looking up to heaven said some words or other, and forthwith the flame gathering into a ball and paying respect, I know not how, to his voice sunk down into itself; and the thought has often crossed my mind that that man is some god or other. Now you know that our poets and historians say that the heavens send down their gods in the likeness of men, both to punish wrong-doers and likewise also to avenge those who suffer wrong.' 30. But they, when they heard him, shouted out and demanded that a general assembly should be called. So, without delay, they all went off in a body to the theatre;

for being distressed by famine they looked to their immediate necessity, since they were compelled to declare, if only by their shout, that there was

one God. When therefore they sent for Polycarp and urged him to come, he was found and brought. Then he was conducted to them; and, while the people shouted aloud, the chief men of the city said to him: 'Polycarp, thou seest that the city of which thou also art an inhabitant is in straits, and thou thyself sharest with us and dost participate, if not in our customs, at all events in the scarcity which now exists owing to the drought. The Smyrnaeans therefore urge thee to ask rain of thy God, that the earth receiving water from heaven may return to the husbandmen the seed committed to it.' But his face was covered with blushes, and his whole body dripped like a fountain with profuse sweat, while his heart leaping and throbbing bounded to heaven in prayer. Then slowly, but yet decidedly, he answered saying; 'Sirs, ye who inhabit this most beautiful city, give ear to me a sojourner and a stranger, to whom every city is foreign by reason of my heavenly citizenship and all the world is a city by reason of the gift of God who created all things. For I have not, as ye suppose, so high an opinion of myself that I am able, when a whole nation is justly chastised for its sins, to divest it of its scourges; but how much is possible, I will explain.

Gathered together with me are certain venerable old men with whom I myself confer, when I want to ask a thing of God, urging them to be ambassadors on my behalf. With these then I will confer, that they may also be ambassadors on your behalf with Him through prayer; but to you my advice is, that ye be of good courage and order all the people to throw off this distress and to hope for better things. For God, being long-suffering, giveth times for repentance to the race of men.' Then the mayor took courage, as well from the miracles previously wrought by Polycarp himself, as from the words spoken by him, and said; 'Assuredly ye know all of you, citizens and strangers, that while we strive to propitiate the divine being with our own customs and institutions, performing sacred rites and sacrifices and kindlings of altars and burnings of incense, this man and those whom he says he has with him as fellow priests and fellow ministers, retire apart and offer their prayers to their God more leisurely. Let us then separate----we and they----and let us send this man away, offering him security, that dismissing the fear for his life which has overtaken him from this tumult, he may perform his sacred rites on our behalf with his mind undisturbed and his thoughts calmed.' And with these words he dismissed the people.

30. Then he without delay ran to the Lord's house, where it was customary for the Church of Christ to assemble; and he ordered the deacons to charge them all to take care again that one prayer might be offered up by many. But they, having already prepared themselves from day-break, because of his being taken into the theatre, and because it was Friday (for they were apprehensive lest he should suffer some harm from the people), when they heard it gathered quickly together. Then said he to them; 'Let us remember, brethren, the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, Ask, and it shall be given to you; for if two of you shall agree concerning any thing whatsoever that ye may ask, it shall be done unto them of My Father which is in heaven. Let us therefore ask in faith and without wavering in our minds, for the prayer of the suppliant is in a manner weighed as in a balance, and is swayed on whichever side the mind inclines. This indeed is evident from Peter's walking on the waves: for so long as he had faith he walked, but when he was alarmed at the violence of the wind, he sunk into the deep, as an example to us, that we may understand the inclination on either side. Possessed with such confidence, Moses the servant of God said to the people, when they failed from fear; Stand, and ye shall see the glory of the Lord. For of a very truth we need to stand firm upon the rock, that nothing wavering we may continue unmoved and unscared through faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; who also gave rain to the blessed prophet Elijah in answer to his prayer, when the heaven was shut three years and six months.'

31. And with these words, kneeling down first with them all, he prayed at great length as follows; 'O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, O God Omnipotent, that art blessed for ever and ever, Amen; unto whom archangels, glories, and heavenly powers, thrones, dominations, seraphim, and cherubim, do service; Thou God who madest the heaven and the earth and sea and all things that are therein, that fashionedst man after Thine image and likeness, for whom also Thou wast well pleased to send Thy Word upon earth, that being incarnate of a Virgin and the Holy Ghost, He might save and raise up through His passion man who had fallen under the dominion of sin, Give ear, O Lord, look upon us, Thou Holy One, listen to the prayers of Thy holy Catholic Church, and give rain upon the face of the earth, and seed for the sower and bread for food For in the days of necessity the heathen, perceiving that we are thy servants, seek righteousness from us And now, Lord, let all our adversaries perceive it.'

When he had offered this prayer, the heaven gave rain, and all glorified God that worketh marvellous things through His servants, to whom be the glory and the power both now and to endless ages with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit Amen

The Doubtful Letters

PSEUDO-SULPICIUS SEVERUS (THE DOUBTFUL LETTERS)

4th–5th century

Letters of doubtful authorship once printed with Sulpicius Severus.

LETTER 1

CHAPTER I

On reading your letters, my feelings were, in many ways, deeply moved, and I could not refrain from tears. For I both wept for joy because I could perceive from the very language of your letters, that you were living according to the precepts of the Lord God, and out of my exceeding desire after you, I could not help lamenting that, without any fault on my part, I was parted from you I and I would have felt this still more strongly had you not sent me a letter. Should I not, then, enjoy the company of such a sister? But I call your salvation to witness, that I have very often wished to come to you, but have up till now been prevented, through the opposition of him who is accustomed to hinder us. For, in my eager desire, I was both urgent to satisfy my wishes by seeing you; and we seemed, if we should meet, likely to accomplish more effectually the work of the Lord, since by comforting one another we should live with the heavy load of this world trodden under our feet. But I do not now fix the day or time of visiting you, because, as often as I have done so, I have not been able to fulfil my purpose. I shall wait on the will of the Lord, and hope that, by my supplications and your prayers, he may bring it about that we reap some advantage from our perseverance.

CHAPTER II

¹ But because you have desired from me in all my letters which I had sent to you precepts to nourish your life and faith, it has come to pass that, through the frequency of my writings to you, I have now exhausted language of that kind; and I can really write nothing new to you, so as to avoid what I have written before. And in truth, through the goodness of God, you do not now

need to be exhorted, inasmuch as, perfecting your faith at the very beginning of your saintly life, you display a devoted love in Christ. One thing, however, I do press upon you, that you do not go back on things you have already passed away from, that you do not long again for things you have already scorned, and that, having put your hand to the plow, you do not look back again, retracing your steps; for, undoubtedly, by falling into this fault, your furrow will lose its straightness, and the cultivator will not receive his own proper reward. Moreover, he does not secure even a measure of thereward, if he has, in a measure, failed. For, as we must flee from sin to righteousness, so he who has entered on the practice of righteousness must beware lest he lay himself open to sin. For it is written that "his righteousness shall not profit the righteous on the day on which he has gone astray.

²For this, then, we must take our stand, for this we must labor, that we, who have escaped from sins, do not lose the prepared rewards. For the enemy stands ready against us, that he may at once strike the man who has been stripped of the shield of faith. Our shield, therefore, is not to be cast aside, lest our side be exposed to attack; and our sword is not to be put away, lest the enemy then begin to give up all fear: moreover, we know that if he sees a man fully armed, he will retreat. Nor are we ignorant that it is a hard and difficult thing daily to fight against the flesh and the world. But if you reflect upon eternity, and if you consider the kingdom of heaven, which undoubtedly the Lord will condescend to bestow upon us although we are sinners, what suffering, I ask, is sufficiently great, by which we may merit such things? And besides, our struggle in this world is but for a short time; for although death do not speedily overtake us, old age will come. The years flow on, and time glides by; while, as I hope, the Lord Jesus will speedily call us to himself, as being dear to his heart.

CHAPTER III

O How happy shall be that departure of ours, when Christ shall receive us into his own abode after we have been purged from the stains of sin through the experience of a better life! Martyrs and prophets will meet with us, apostles will join themselves to us, angels will be glad, archangel; will rejoice, and Satan, being conquered, will look pale, though still retaining his cruel countenance, inasmuch as he will lose all advantage from our sins which he had secured for himself in us. He will see glory granted us through mercy, and merits honored by means of glory. We shall triumph over our conquered

foe. Where shall now the wise men of the world appear? Where shall the covetous man, where shall the adulterer, where shall the irreligious, where shall the drunkard, where shall the evil-speaker be recognized? What shall these wretched beings say in their own defense? "We did not know thee, Lord; we did not see that thou wast in the world: thou didst not send the prophets: thou didst not give the law to the world: we did not see the patriarchs: we did not read the lives of the saints. Thy Christ never was upon the earth: Peter was silent: Paul refused to preach: no Evangelist taught. There were no martyrs whose example we should follow: no one predicted thy future judgment no one commanded us to clothe the poor: no one enjoined us to restrain lust: no one persuaded us to fight against covetousness: we fell through ignorance, not knowing what we did."

CHAPTER IV

¹ Against these, from among the company of the saints, righteous Noah shall first proclaim, "I, Lord, predicted that a deluge was about to come on account of the sins of men, and after the deluge I set an example to the good in my own person; since I did not perish with the wicked who perished, that they might know both what was the salvation of the innocent, and what the punishment of sinners. After him, faithful Abraham will say in opposition to them, "I, Lord, about the mid-time of the age of the world, laid the foundation of the faith by which the human race should believe in thee; I was chosen as the father of the nations, that they might follow my example; I did not hesitate, Lord, to offer Isaac, while yet a youth, as a sacrifice to thee, that they might understand that there is nothing which ought not to be presented to the Lord, when they perceived that I did not spare even my only son: I left, Lord, my country, and my family, at thy command, that they also might have an example teaching them to leave the wickedness of the world and the age: I, Lord, was the first to recognize thee, though under a corporeal form, nor did I hesitate to believe who it was that I beheld, although thou didst appear to me in a different form from thine own, that these might learn to judge, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit.

² Him the blessed Moses will support in his pleadings, saying: "I Lord, delivered the law to all these, at thy command, that those whom a free faith did not influence, the spoken law at least might restrain: I said, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' in order that I might prevent the licentiousness of fornication: I said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor,' that affection might

abound; I said, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord alone,' in order that these might not sacrifice to idols, or allow temples to exist; I commanded that false witness should not be spoken, that I might shut the lips of these people against all falsehood. I set forth the things which had been done and said from the beginning of the world, through the working within me of the spirit of thy power, that a knowledge of things past might convey to these people instruction about things to come. I predicted, O Lord Jesus, thy coming, that it might not be an unexpected thing to these people, when they were called to acknowledge him whom I had before announced as about to come."

CHAPTER V

After him, there will stand up David worthy of his descendant the Lord, and declare: "I, Lord, proclaimed thee by every means; I set forth that only thy name was to be worshiped; I said, 'Blessed is the man who fears the Lord'; I said too, 'The saints shall be joyful in glory'; and I said, 'The desire of the wicked shall perish,' that these people might acknowledge thee and cease to sin. I, when I had become possessed of royal power, clothed in sackcloth, with dust spread beneath me, and with the emblems of my greatness laid aside, lay down in my clothes, that an example might be given to these people of gentleness and humility. I spared my enemies who desired to slay me, that these people might approve of my mercifulness, as worthy of being imitated." After him, Isaiah, who was worthy of the Spirit of God, will not be silent; but will say: "I, Lord, whilst thou wast speaking through my mouth, gave this warning, - 'Woe to those who join house to house,' that I might set a limit to covetousness. I bore witness that thine anger came upon the wicked, that at any rate fear of punishment, if not hope of reward, might keep back these people from their evil deeds."

CHAPTER VI

¹ After these, and several others who have discharged for us the duties of instruction, the Son of God himself will speak thus: "I, certainly, exalted on a lofty seat, holding heaven in my hand, and the earth in my fist, extended within and without, in the inside of all things which are produced, and on the outside of all things that move, inconceivable, infinite in the power of nature, invisible to sight, inaccessible to touch, in order that I might exist as the least of you (for the purpose of subduing the hardness of your heart and

for softening your faithlessness by sound doctrines), condescended to be born in flesh, and, having laid aside the glory of God, I assumed the form of a servant, so that, sharing with you in bodily infirmity, I might in turn bring you to a participation in my glory, through obedience to the precept of salvation. I restored health to the sick and infirm, hearing to the deaf, sight to the blind, the power of speech to the dumb, and the use of their feet to the lame; that I might influence you, by heavenly signs, all the more easily to believe in me, and in those things which I had announced, I promised you the kingdom of heaven;

² I also, in order that you might have an example of escape from punishment, placed in Paradise the robber who acknowledged me almost at the moment of his death, that ye might follow even the faith of him who had been thought worthy of having his sins forgiven him. And that by my example in your behalf, ye yourselves also might be able to suffer; I suffered for you, that no man might hesitate to suffer for himself what God had endured for man. I showed myself after my resurrection, in order that your faith might not be overthrown. I admonished the Jews in the person of Peter; I preached to the Gentiles in the person of Paul; and I do not regret doing so, for good results followed. The good have understood my work; the faithful have perfected it; the righteous have completed it; the merciful have consummated it: there have been a large number of martyrs, and a large number of saints. Those to whom I thus refer were undoubtedly in the same body and in the same world as you. Why, then, do I find no good work in you, ye descendants of vipers? Ye have shown no repentance for your wicked deeds, even at the very end of your earthly course. And what does it profit that ye honor me with your lips, when you deny me by your deeds and works? Where are now your riches, where your honors, where your powers, and where your pleasures? I pronounce no new sentence over you:

³ you simply incur the judgment which I formerly predicted."

CHAPTER VII

Then will the Evangelist repeat this to the wretched beings, "Go ye into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." O ye miserable men, whom these words do not now impress! They shall then see their own punishment, and the glory of others. Let them use this present world, provided they do not enjoy that eternity which is prepared for the saints. Let them abound in riches: let them rest on gold; provided that there they be

found needy and destitute. Let them be wealthy in this world, provided they be poor in eternity, for it is written regarding them, "The rich were in want, and suffered hunger." But the Scripture has added what follows respecting the good,—"but those who seek the Lord shall not want any good thing." Therefore, my sister, although those people mock at us, and although they call us foolish and unhappy, let us all the more joyfully exult in such reproaches, by which glory is heaped up for us, and punishment for them. And do not let us laugh at their folly, but rather grieve over their unhappiness; because there is among them a large number of our own people, whom if we win over, our glory shall be increased. But however they may conduct themselves, let them be to us as Gentiles and publicans; but let us keep ourselves safe and sound. If they rejoice now over us lamenting, it will be our turn afterwards to rejoice over their suffering. Farewell, dearest sister, and tenderly beloved in Christ.

LETTER 2: ON VIRGINITY

CHAPTER I

How great blessedness, among heavenly gifts, belongs to holy virginity, besides the testimonies of the Scriptures, we learn also from the practice of the Church, by which we are taught that a peculiar merit belongs to those who have devoted themselves to it by special consecration. For while the whole multitude of those that believe receive equal gifts of grace, and all rejoice in the same blessings of the sacraments, those who are virgins possess something above the rest, since, out of the holy and unstained company of the Church, they are chosen by the Holy Spirit, and are presented by the bishop at the altar of God, as if being more holy and pure sacrifices, on account of the merits of their voluntary dedication. This is truly a sacrifice worthy of God, inasmuch as it is the offering of so precious a being, and none will please him more than the sacrifice of his own image. For I think that the Apostle especially referred to a sacrifice of this kind, when he said, "Now, I beseech you, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God." Virginity, therefore, possesses both that which others have, and that which others have not; while it obtains both common and special grace, and rejoices (so to speak) in its own peculiar privilege of consecration. For ecclesiastical authority permits us to style virgins also the brides of Christ; while, after the manner of brides, it veils those whom it consecrates to the Lord, openly exhibiting those as very

especially about to possess spiritual marriage who have fled away from carnal fellowship. And those are worthily united, after a spiritual manner, to God, in accordance with the analogy of marriage, who, from love to him, have set at nought human alliances. In their case, that saying of the apostle finds its fullest possible fulfillment, "He who is joined to the Lord, is one spirit."

CHAPTER II

For it is a great and a divine thing, almost beyond a corporeal nature, to lay aside luxury, and to extinguish, by strength of mind, the flame of concupiscence, kindled by the torch of youth; to put down by spiritual effort the force of natural delight; to live in opposition to the practice of the human race; to despise the comforts of wedlock; to disdain the sweet enjoyments derived from children; and to regard as nothing, in the hope of future blessedness, everything that is reckoned among the advantages of this present life. This is, as I have said, a great and admirable virtue, and is not undeservedly destined to a vast reward, in proportion to the greatness of its labor. The Scripture says, "I will give to the eunuchs, saith the Lord, a place in my house and within my walls, a place counted better than sons and daughters; I will give them an eternal name, and it shall not fail." The Lord again speaks concerning such eunuchs in the Gospel, saying, "For there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Great, indeed, is the struggle connected with chastity, but greater is the reward; the restraint is temporal, but the reward will be eternal. For the blessed Apostle John also speaks concerning these, saying that "they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." This, I think, is to be understood to the following effect, that there will be no place in the court of heaven closed against them, but that all the habitations of the divine mansions will be thrown open before them.

CHAPTER III

But that the merit of virginity may shine forth more clearly, and that there may be a better understanding as to how worthy it is of God, let this be considered, that the Lord God, our Saviour, when, for the salvation of the human race, he condescended to assume mankind, chose no other than a virgin's womb, that he might show how virtue of this kind especially pleased him; and that he might point out the blessedness of chastity to both sexes, he had a virgin mother, while he himself was ever to remain in a like condi-

tion. He thus furnished in his own person to men, and in the person of his mother to women, an example of virginity, by which it might be proved, with respect to both sexes, that the blessed state of purity possessed the fullness of divinity, for whatever dwelt in the Son was also wholly in the mother. But why should I take pains to make known the excellent and surpassing merit of chastity, and to set forth the glorious good of virginity, when I am not ignorant that many have discoursed on this subject, and have proved its blessedness by most conclusive reasons, and since it can never be a matter of doubt to any reflecting mind, that a thing has all the more merit, the more difficult it is of accomplishment? For if any one judges chastity to be of no moment or only of small consequence, it is certain that he is either ignorant of the matter, or is not willing to incur the trouble it implies. Hence it comes to pass that those always derogate from the importance of chastity, who either do not possess it, or who are unwillingly compelled to maintain it.

CHAPTER IV

¹ Now, therefore, since we have set forth, although in few words, both the difficulty and the merit of purity, great care must be taken lest a matter which in itself implies great virtue, and is also destined to a vast reward, should fail to produce its proper fruits. For the more precious every sort of thing is, the more it is guarded with anxious solicitude. And since there are many things which fail to secure their proper excellence, unless they are assisted by the aid of other things, as is, for instance, the case with honey, which, unless it is preserved by the protection of wax, and by the cells of the honeycombs, and is indeed, to state the matter more truly, sustained by these, loses its deliciousness and cannot exist apart by itself; and again as it is with wine, which: unless it be kept in vessels of a pleasant odor, and with the pitch frequently renewed, loses the power of its natural sweetness; so great care must be taken lest perchance some things may be necessary also to virginity, without which it can by no means produce its proper fruits, and thus a matter of so great difficulty may be of no advantage (while all the time it is believed to be of advantage), because it is possessed without the other necessary adjuncts.

² For unless I am mistaken, chastity is preserved in its entirety, for the sake of the reward to be obtained in the kingdom of heaven, which it is perfectly certain no one can obtain who does not deserve eternal life. But that

eternal life cannot be merited except by the keeping of all the divine commandments, the Scripture testifies, saying, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. Therefore no one has that life, except the man who has kept all the precepts of the law, and he who has not such life cannot be a possessor of the kingdom of heaven, in which it is not the dead, but the living who shall reign. Therefore virginity, which hopes for the glory of the kingdom of heaven, will profit nothing by itself, unless it also possess that to which eternal life is promised, by means of which the reward of the kingdom of heaven is possessed. Above all things, therefore, the commandments which have been enjoined upon us must be kept by those who preserve chastity in its entirety, and who are hoping for its reward from the justice of God, lest otherwise the pains taken to maintain a glorious chastity and continence come to nothing. No one acquainted with the law does not know that virginity is above the commandment or precept, as the Apostle says, "Now, as to virgins, I have no precept of the Lord, but I give my advice.

³ When, therefore, he simply gives advice about maintaining virginity, and lays down no precept, he acknowledges that it is above the commandment. Those, therefore, who preserve virginity, do more than the commandment requires. But it will then only profit you to have done more than was commanded, if you also do that which is commanded. For how can you boast that you have done more, if, in respect to some point, you do less? Desiring to fulfill the Divine counsel, see that, above all things, you keep the commandment: wishing to attain to the reward of virginity, see that you keep fast hold of what is necessary to merit life, that your chastity may be such as can receive a recompense. For as the observance of the commandments ensures life, so, on the other hand, does the violation give rise to death. And he who through disobedience has been doomed to death cannot hope for the crown pertaining to virginity; nor, when really handed over to punishment, can he expect the reward promised to chastity.

CHAPTER V

¹ Now, there are three kinds of virtue, by means of which the possession of the kingdom of heaven is secured. The first is chastity, the second, contempt of the world, and the third, righteousness, which, as when joined together, they very greatly benefit their possessors, so, when separated, they can hardly be of any advantage, since every one of them is required, not for its own sake only, but for the sake of another. First of all, then, chastity is demanded,

that contempt of the world may more easily follow, because the world can be more easily despised by those who are not held fast in the bonds of matrimony. Contempt of the world, again, is required, in order that righteousness may be maintained, which those can with difficulty fully preserve who are involved in desires after worldly advantages, and in the pursuit of mundane pleasures. Whosoever, therefore, possesses the first kind of virtue, chastity, but does not, at the same time, have the second, which is contempt of the world, possesses the first almost to no purpose, since he does not have the second, for the sake of which the first was required. And if any one possesses the first and second, but is destitute of the third which is righteousness, he labors in vain, since the former two are principally required for the sake of the third. For what profits it to possess chastity in order to contempt of the world, and yet not to have that on account of which you have the other?

2 Or why should you despise the things of the world, if you do not observe righteousness, for the sake of which it is fitting that you should possess chastity, as well as contempt for the world? For as the first kind of virtue is on account of the second, and the second on account of the third, so the first and the second are on account of the third; and if it does not exist, neither the first nor the second will prove of any advantage.

CHAPTER VI

1 But you perhaps say here, "Teach me, then, what righteousness is, so that knowing it, I may be able more easily to fully practice it. Well, I shall briefly explain it to you, as I am able, and shall use the simplicity of common words, seeing that the subject of which we treat is such as ought by no means to be obscured by attempts at eloquent description, but should be opened up by the simplest forms of expression. For a matter which is necessary to all in common ought to be set forth in a common sort of speech. Righteousness, then, is nothing else than not to commit sin; and not to commit sin is just to keep the precepts of the law. Now, the observance of these precepts is maintained in a two-fold way—thus, that one do none of those things which are forbidden, and that he strive to fulfill the things which are commanded. This is the meaning of the following statement: "Depart from evil, and do good. For I do not wish you to think that righteousness consists simply in not doing evil, since not to do good is also evil, and a transgression of the law takes place in both, since he who said, "Depart from evil" said also, "and do good. If you depart from evil, and do not do good, you are a transgressor of the law,

which is fulfilled, not simply by abhorring all evil deeds, but also by the performance of good works.

² For, indeed, you have not merely received this commandment, that you should not deprive one who is clothed of his garments, but that you should cover with your own the man who has been deprived of his; nor that you should not take away bread of his own from one who has it, but that you should willingly impart of your bread to him who has none; nor that you should not simply not drive away a poor man from a shelter of his own, but that you should receive him when he has been driven out, and has no shelter, into your own. For the precept which has been given us is "to weep with them that weep. But how can we weep with them, if we share in none of their necessities, and afford no help to them in those matters on account of which they lament? For God does not call for the fruitless moisture of our tears; but, because tears are an indication of grief, he wishes you to feel the distresses of another as if they were your own. And just as you would wish aid to be given you if you were in such tribulation, so should you help another in accordance with the statement, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. For to weep with one that weeps, and at the same time to refuse to help, when you can, him that weeps, is a proof of mockery, and not of piety.

³ In short, our Saviour wept with Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, and proved the feeling of infinite compassion within him by the witness of his tears. But works, as the proofs of true affection soon followed, when Lazarus, for whose sake the tears were shed, was raised up and restored to his sisters. This was sincerely to weep with those who wept, when the occasion of the weeping was removed. But he did it, you will say, as having the power. Well, nothing is demanded of you which it is impossible for you to perform: he has fulfilled his entire duty who has done what he could.

CHAPTER VII

¹ But (as we had begun to remark) it is not sufficient for a Christian to keep himself from wickedness, unless he also has fulfilled the duties implied in good works, as is very distinctly proved by that statement in which the Lord threatened that those will be doomed to eternal fire, who, although they have done no evil, have not done all that is good, declaring "Then will the king say to those who are on his right hand: depart from me, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which my Father has prepared for the devil and his angels; for I

was hungry, and ye gave me not to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink," with what follows. He did not say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, because ye have committed murder, or adultery, or theft"; for it is not because they had done evil, but because they had not done good, that they are condemned, and doomed to the punishments of the eternal Gehenna; nor because they had committed things which were forbidden, but because they had not been willing to do those things which had been commanded. And from this it is to be observed what hope those can have, who, in addition, do some of those things which are forbidden, when even such are doomed to eternal fire as have simply not done the things which are commanded.

²For I do not wish you to flatter yourself in this way,-if you have not done certain things, because you have done certain other things, since it is written, "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, has become guilty of all. For Adam sinned once, and died; and do you think that you can live, when you are often doing that which. killed another person, when he had only done it once? Or do you imagine that he committed a great crime, and was therefore justly condemned to a severer punishment? Let us consider, then, what it was he really did. He ate of the fruit of the tree, contrary to the commandment. What then? Did God punish man with death for the sake of the fruit of a tree?No: not on account of the fruit of the tree, but on account of the contempt of the commandment. The question, therefore, is not about the nature of the offense, but about the transgression of the commandment.

³And the same being who told Adam not to eat of the fruit of the tree, has commanded you not to speak evil, not to lie, not to detract, not to listen to a detractor, to swear not at all, not to covet, not to envy, not to be drunken, not to be greedy, not to render evil for evil to any one, to love your enemies, to bless them that curse you, to pray for them that malign and persecute you, to turn the other cheek to one smiting you, and not to go to law before a worldly tribunal, so that, if any one seeks to take away your goods, you should joyfully lose them, to flee from the charge of avarice, to beware of the sin of all pride and boastfulness, and live, humble and meek, after the example of Christ, avoiding fellowship with the wicked so completely that you will not even eat with fornicators, or covetous persons, or those that speak evil of others, or the envious, or detractors, or the drunken, or the ra-

pacious. Now, if you despise him in any such matter, then, if he spared Adam, he will also spare you.

⁴ Yea, he might have been spared with better reason than you, inasmuch as he was still ignorant and inexperienced, and was restrained by the example of no one who had previously sinned, and who had died on account of his sin. But after such examples as you possess, after the law, after the prophets, after the gospels, and after the apostles, if you still set your mind on transgressing, I see not in what way pardon can be extended to you.

CHAPTER VIII

¹ Do you flatter yourself on account of the attribute of virginity? Remember Adam and Eve fell when they were virgins, and that the perfect purity of their bodies did not profit them when they sinned. The virgin who sins is to be compared to Eve, and not to Mary. We do not deny that, in the present life, there is the remedy of repentance, but we remind you rather to hope for reward, than to look for pardon. For it is disgraceful that those should ask for indulgence who are expecting the crown of virginity, and that those should commit anything unlawful who have even cut themselves off from things lawful; for it must be remembered that it is lawful to contract an alliance by marriage. And as those are to be praised who, from love to Christ, and for the glory of the kingdom of heaven, have despised the tie of wedlock, so those are to be condemned who, through the pleasure of incontinence, after they have vowed themselves to God, have recourse to the Apostolic remedy. Therefore, as we have said, those who decline marriage despise not things unlawful, but things lawful.

² And if that class of people swear, if they speak evil of others, if they are detractors, or if they patiently listen to detractors, if they return evil for evil, if they incur the charge of covetousness with respect to other people's property, or of avarice in regard to their own, if they cherish the poison of revenge or envy, if they either say or think anything unbefitting against the institutions of the law or the Apostles, if with a desire of pleasing in the flesh, they exhibit themselves dressed up and adorned, if they do any other unlawful things, as is only too common, what will it profit them to have spurned what is lawful, while they practice what is not lawful? If you wish it to be of advantage to you, that you have despised things lawful, take care that you do not any of those things which are not lawful. For, it is foolish to have dreaded that which is in its nature less, and not to dread that which is in-

trinsically more [or not to avoid those things which are interdicted, while such things as are permitted meet with contempt]. For the Apostle says, "She that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she who is married careth for the things of this world, how she may please her husband.

3 He thus affirms that the married woman pleases her husband by thinking of worldly things, while the unmarried woman pleases God, inasmuch as she has no anxiety about the things of the world. Let him tell me, then, whom she desires to please, who has no husband, and yet cares for the things of the world? Shall not the married woman, in such a case, be preferred to her? Yes, since she by caring for the things of the world pleases at least her husband, but the other neither pleases her husband, since she does not have one, nor can she please God. But it is not fitting that we should pass over in silence that which he said: "The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, how she may please God, that she may be holy both in body and spirit" [she careth, he says, for the things of the Lord; she does not care for the things of the world, or of men, but for the things of God]. What, then, are the things of the Lord? Let the Apostle tell: "Whatsoever things are holy, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise of doctrine": these are the things of the Lord, which holy and truly apostolic virgins meditate upon, and think of, day and night, without any interval of time.

4 Of the Lord is the resurrection of the dead, of the Lord is immortality, of the Lord is incorruption, of the Lord is that splendor of the sun which is promised to the saints, as it is written in the Gospel, "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father": of the Lord are the many mansions of the righteous in the heavens of the Lord is the fruit which is produced, whether thirty fold, or sixty fold, or an hundred fold. Those virgins who think on these things, and by what works they may be able to merit them, think of the things of the Lord. Of the Lord, too, is the law of the new and old testament, in which shine forth the holy utterances of his lips; and if any virgins meditate without intermission on these things, they think of the things of the Lord. In that case, there is fulfilled in them the saying of the prophet: "The eternal foundations are upon a solid rock, and the commands of God are in the heart of the holy woman."

CHAPTER IX

There follows the clause "how she may please God,"-God, I say, not men,-" that she may be holy both in body and spirit." He does not say that she may be holy only in a member or in the body, but that she may be holy in body and spirit. For a member is only one part of the body, but the body is a union of all the members. When, therefore, he says that she may be holy in the body, he testifies that she ought to be sanctified in all her members, because the sanctification of the other members will not avail, if corruption be found remaining in one. Also, she will not be holy in body (which consists of all the members), who is defiled by the pollution of even one of them. But in order that what I say may be made more obvious and clear, suppose the case of a woman who is purified by the sanctification of all her other members, and sins only with her tongue, inasmuch as she either speaks evil of people or bears false testimony, will all her other members secure the acquittal of one, or will all the rest be judged on account of the one? If, therefore, the sanctification of the other members will not avail, even when one only is at fault, how much more, if all are corrupted by the guilt of various sins, will the perfection of one be of no avail?

CHAPTER X

¹ Wherefore, I beseech you, O virgin, do not flatter yourself on the ground of your purity alone, and do not trust in the perfection of one member; but according to the Apostle, maintain the sanctity of your body throughout. Cleanse thy head from all defilement, because it is a disgrace that it, after the sanctifying oil has been applied to it, should be polluted with the juice or powder of either crocus, or any other pigment, or should be adorned with gold or gems or any other earthly ornament, because it already shines with the radiance of heavenly adornment. It is undoubtedly a grave insult to Divine grace to prefer to it any mundane and worldly ornament. And next, cleanse thy forehead, that it may blush at human, and not at Divine works, and may display that shame which gives rise not to sin, but to the favor of God, as the sacred Scripture declares, "There is a shame that causes sin, and there is a shame that brings with it the favor of God. Cleanse, too, thy neck, that it may not carry thy locks in a golden net and necklaces hung round it, but may rather bear about it those ornaments of which the Scripture says,

"Let not mercy and faith depart from thee," and hang them upon thy heart as upon thy neck.

² Cleanse thine eyes, whilst thou dost withdraw them from all concupiscence, and dost never turn them away from the sight of the poor, and dost keep them from all dyes, in that purity in which they were made by God. Cleanse thy tongue from falsehood, because "a mouth which tells lies destroys the soul": cleanse it from detraction, from swearing, and from perjury. I beg you not to think it is an inverted order that I have said the tongue should be cleansed from swearing before perjury, for one will then the more easily escape perjury, if he swears not at all, so that there may be fulfilled in him that statement, "Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. And be mindful of the Apostle who says, "Bless, and curse not. But often call to mind the following words, "See that no one render evil for evil to any man, or cursing for cursing, but on the contrary, do ye bless them, because to this ye have been called, that ye should possess a blessing by inheritance"; and this other passage, "If any one offend not in tongue, he is a perfect man. For it is shameful that those lips, by which you confess God, pray to him, bless him, and praise him, should be defiled by the pollution of any sin. I know not with what conscience any one can pray to God with that tongue with which he either speaks falsehood, or calumniates, or detracts.

³ God listens to holy lips, and speedily answers those prayers which an unpolluted tongue pours forth. Cleanse also thine ears, so that they may not listen except to holy and true discourse, that they never admit into them obscene, or infamous, or worldly words, or tolerate any one detracting from another, on account of that which is written, "Hedge up thine ears with thorns, and do not listen to a wicked tongue, that you may have your part with him, of whom it is said, that he was righteous in hearing and seeing; i.e. he sinned neither with his eyes nor his ears. Cleanse, too, thy hands, "that they n be not stretched out to receive, but shut against giving," and that they be not prompt to strike, but ever ready for all the works of mercy and piety. In fine, cleanse thy feet, that they follow not the broad and ample way which leads to grand and costly worldly banquets, but that they tread rather the difficult and narrow path, which guides to heaven, for it is written, "Make a straight path for your feet. Acknowledge that your members were formed for you by God the Maker, not for vices, but for virtues; and, when you have cleansed the whole of your limbs from every stain of sin, and they have be-

come sanctified throughout your whole body, then understand that this purity will profit you, and look forward with all confidence to the prize of virginity.

CHAPTER XI

1 I believe that I have now set forth, briefly indeed, but, at the same time, fully, what is implied in a woman's purity of body: it remains that we should learn what it is to be pure also in spirit; i.e. that what it is unlawful for one to do in act, it is also unlawful for one even to imagine in thought. For she is holy, alike in body and in spirit, who sins neither in mind nor heart, knowing that God is one who examines also the heart; and, therefore, she takes every pains to possess a mind as well as a body free from sin. Such a person is aware that it is written, "Keep thy heart with all diligence"; and again, "God loveth holy hearts, and all the undefiled are acceptable to him"; and elsewhere, "Blessed are those of a pure heart; for they shall see God. I think that this last statement is made regarding those whom conscience accuses of the guilt of no sin; concerning whom I think that John also spoke in his Epistle when he said, "If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God, and whatsoever we ask we shall receive from him. I do not wish you to think that you have escaped the accusation of sin, although act does not follow desire, since it is written, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.

2 And do not say, "I had the thought, indeed, but I did not carry it out in act"; for it is unlawful even to desire that which it is unlawful to do. Wherefore also blessed Peter issues a precept to this effect: "purify your souls"; and if he had not been aware of such a thing as defilement of the soul, he would not have expressed a desire that it should be purified. But we should also very carefully consider that passage which says, "These are they who did not defile themselves with women, for they remained virgins, and they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth"; and should reflect whether, if these are joined to the Divine retinue, and traverse all the regions of the heavens, through the merit of chastity and purity alone, there may be also other means by which virginity being assisted may attain to the glory of so great blessedness. But whence shall we be able to know this? From the following passages (if I mistake not) in which it is written, "These were purchased from among men as the first fruits to God and the Lamb, and in their mouth there was found no falsehood, for they are without spot before the throne of

God. You see, then, that they are spoken of as closely following in the footsteps of the Lord, not in virtue of one member only, but those are said to do so, who, besides virginity, had passed a life freed from all the pollution of sin.

³ Wherefore, let the virgin especially despise marriage on this account, that, while she is safer than others, she may the more easily accomplish what is also required from those who are married; viz. keep herself from all sin, and obey all the commandments of the law. For if she does not marry, and nevertheless indulges in those things from which even married women are enjoined to keep themselves free, what will it profit her not to have married? For although it is not allowed to any Christian to commit sin, and it befits all without exception who are purified through the sanctification of the spiritual bath, to lead an unstained life, that they may be thoroughly identified with the Church, which is described as being "without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," much more is it requisite that a virgin should reach this standard, whom neither the existence of a husband, nor of sons, nor of any other necessity, prevents from fully carrying out the demands of holy Scripture; nor shall she be able, if she fail, to defend herself by any sort of excuse.

CHAPTER XII

¹ O Virgin, maintain thy purpose which is destined for a great reward. Eminent with the Lord is the virtue of virginity and purity, if it be not disfigured by other kinds of lapses into sins and wickedness. Realize your state, realize your position, realize your purpose. You are called the bride of Christ; see that you commit no act which is unworthy of him to whom you profess to be betrothed. He will quickly write a bill of divorcement, if he perceive in you even one act of unfaithfulness. Accordingly, whosoever receives those gifts which, as an earnest, are bestowed in the case of human betrothals, immediately begins earnestly and diligently to enquire of domestics, intimates, and friends, what is the character of the young man, what he especially loves, what he receives, in what style he lives, what habits he practices, what luxuries he indulges in, and in what pursuits he finds his chief pleasure and delight. And when she has learned these things, she so conducts herself, in all respects, that her service, her cheerfulness, her diligence, and her whole mode of life, may be in harmony with the character of her betrothed. And do thou, who hast Christ as thy bridegroom, enquire from the domestics and intimates of that bridegroom of thine what is his character; yes, do thou zealously and skillfully enquire in what things he specially delights, what

sort of arrangement he loves in thy dress, and what kind of adornment he desires.

² Let his most intimate associate Peter tell thee, who does not allow personal adorning even to married women, as he has written in his epistle, "Let wives, in like manner, be subject to their own husbands, so that, if any believe not the word, they may, without the word, be won over by the conduct of their wives, contemplating their chaste behavior in the fear of God; and let theirs not be an outward adornment of the hair, or the putting on of gold, or elegance in the apparel which is adopted, but let there be the hidden man of the heart in the stainlessness of a peaceful and modest spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. Let another apostle also tell thee, the blessed Paul, who, writing to Timothy, gives his approval to the same things in regard to the conduct of believing women: "Let wives in like manner adorn themselves with the ornament of a habit of modesty and sobriety, not with curled hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, but as becomes women that profess chastity, with good and upright behavior."

CHAPTER XIII

¹ But perhaps you say, "Why did not the Apostles enjoin these things on virgins? Because they did not think that necessary, lest such an exhortation, if given to them, might rather seem an insult than a means of edification. Nor, in fact, would they have believed that virgins could ever proceed to such an extreme of hardihood, as to claim for themselves carnal and worldly ornaments, not permitted even to married women. Undoubtedly, the virgin ought to adorn and array herself; for how can she be able to please her betrothed, if she does not come forth in a neat and ornamental form? Let her be adorned by all means, but let her ornaments be of an internal and spiritual kind, and not of a carnal nature; for God desires in her a beauty not of the body, but of the soul. Do thou, therefore, who desirest that thy soul should be loved and dwelt in by God, array it with all diligence, and adorn it with spiritual garments. Let nothing unbecoming, nothing repulsive, be seen in it. Let it shine with the gold of righteousness, and gleam with the gems of holiness, and glitter with the most precious pearl of purity; instead of fine linen and silk, let it be strayed in the robe of mercifulness and piety, according to what is written, "Put ye on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved bowels of mercy, kindness, humility," and so forth.

2 And let the virgin not ask for the beauty due to ceruse, or any other pigment, but let her have the brightness of innocence and simplicity, the rosy hue of modesty, and the purple glow of honorable shamefacedness. Let her be washed with the nitre of heavenly doctrine, and purified by all spiritual lavements. Let no stain of malice or sin be left in her. And lest, at any time, she should give forth the evil odor of sin, let her be imbued, through and through, with the most pleasant ointment of wisdom and knowledge.

CHAPTER XIV

1 God seeks for adornment of this kind, and desires a soul arrayed in such a manner. Remember that you are called the daughter of God, according to what he says, "Hearken, O daughter, and consider. But you yourself also, as often as you call God your Father, bear witness that you are the daughter of God. Wherefore, if you are the daughter of God, take care that you do none of those things which are unworthy of God, your Father; but do all things as being the daughter of God. Reflect how the daughters of nobles in this world conduct themselves, to what habits they are accustomed and by what exercises they train themselves. In some of them, there is so great modesty, so great dignity, so great self-restraint, that they excel the habits of other human beings in regard to human nobleness, and, lest they should attach any mark of disgrace on their honorable parents by their failure, they strive to acquire another nature for themselves by the mode of their acting in the world. And do you, therefore, have regard to your origin, consider your descent, attend to the glory of your nobility. Acknowledge that you are not merely the daughter of man, but of God, and adorned with the nobility of a divine birth. So present yourself to the world that your heavenly birth be seen in you, and your divine nobleness shine clearly forth.

2 Let there be in you a new dignity, an admirable virtue, a notable modesty, a marvelous patience, a gait becoming a virgin with a bearing of true shamefacedness, speech always modest, and such as is uttered only at the proper time, so that whosoever beholds you may admiringly exclaim: "What is this exhibition of new dignity among men? What is this striking modesty, what this well-balanced excellence, what this ripeness of wisdom? This is not the outcome of human training or of mere human discipline. Something heavenly sheds its fragrance on me in that earthly body. I really believe that God does reside in some human beings. And when he comes to know that you are a handmaid of Christ, he will be seized with the greater amazement,

and will reflect how marvelous must be the Master, when his handmaid manifests such excellence.

CHAPTER XV

IF you wish, then, to be with Christ, you must live according to the example of Christ, who was so far removed from all evil and wickedness, that he did not render a recompense even to his enemies, but rather even prayed for them. For I do not wish you to reckon those souls Christian, who (I do not say) hate either their brothers or sisters, but who do not, before God as a witness, love their neighbors with their whole heart and conscience, since it is a bounden duty for Christians, after the example of Christ himself, even to love their enemies. If you desire to possess fellowship with the saints, cleanse your heart from the thought of malice and sin. Let no one circumvent you; let no one delude you by beguiling speech. The court of heaven will admit none except the holy, and righteous, and simple, and innocent, and pure. Evil has no place in the presence of God. It is necessary that he who desires to reign with Christ should be free from all wickedness and guile. Nothing is so offensive, and nothing so detestable to God, as to hate any one, to wish to harm any one; while nothing is so acceptable to him as to love all men. The prophet knowing this bears witness to it when he teaches, "Ye who love the Lord, hate evil."

CHAPTER XVI

¹ Take heed that ye love not human glory in any respect, lest your portion also be reckoned among those to whom it was said, "How can ye believe, who seek glory, one from another? and of whom it is said through the prophet, "Increase evils to them; increase evils to the boastful of the earth"; and elsewhere, "Ye are confounded from your boasting, from your reproaching in the sight of the Lord. For I do not wish you to have regard to those, who are virgins of the world, and not of Christ; who unmindful of their purpose and profession, rejoice in delicacies, are delighted with riches, and boast of their descent from a merely carnal nobility; who, if they assuredly believed themselves to be the daughters of God, would never, after their divine ancestry, admire mere human nobility, nor glory in any honored earthly father: if they felt that they had God as their Father, they would not love any nobility connected with the flesh. Why, thou foolish woman, dost thou flatter thyself about the nobleness of thy descent, and take delight in it? God, at the begin-

ning, created two human beings, from whom the whole multitude of the human race has descended; and thus it is not the equity of nature, but the ambition of evil desire, which has given rise to worldly nobility.

²Unquestionably, we are all rendered equal by the grace of the divine bath, and there can be no difference among those, whom the second birth has generated, by means of which alike the rich man and the poor man, the free man and the slave, the nobly born and the lowly born, is rendered a son of God. Thus mere earthly rank is overshadowed by the brilliance of heavenly glory, and henceforth is taken no account of, while those who formerly had been unequal in worldly honors are now equally strayed in the glory of a heavenly and divine nobility. There is now among such no place for lowness of birth; nor is any one inferior to another whom the majesty of the divine birth adorns; except in the estimation of those who do not think that the things of heaven are to be preferred to those of earth. There can be no worldly boasting among them, if they reflect how vain a thing it is that they should, in smaller matters, prefer themselves to those whom they know to be equal to themselves in greater matters, and should regard, as placed below themselves on earth, those whom they believe to be equal to themselves in what relates to heaven. But do thou, who art a virgin of Christ, and not of the world, flee from all the glory of this present life, that thou mayest attain to the glory which is promised in the world to come.

CHAPTER XVII

¹Avoid words of contention and causes of animosity: flee also from all occasions of discord and strife. For if, according to the doctrine of the Apostle "the servant of the Lord must not strive," how much more does this become the handmaid of the Lord, whose mind ought to be more gentle, as her sex is more bashful and retiring. Restrain thy tongue from evil speaking, and put the bridle of the law upon thy mouth; so that you shall speak, if you speak at all, only when it would be a sin to be silent. Beware lest you utter anything which might be justly found fault with. A word once spoken is like a stone which has been thrown: wherefore it should be long thought over before it is uttered. Blessed, assuredly, are the lips, which never utter what they would wish to recall. The talk of a chaste mind ought itself also to be chaste, such as may always rather edify than injure the hearers, according to that commandment of the Apostle when he says, "Let no corrupt communications proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good for the edification of

faith, that it may convey grace to them that hear. Precious to God is that tongue which knows not to form words except about divine things, and holy is that mouth from which heavenly utterances continually flow forth.

2 Put down by the authority of Scripture calumniators of those who are absent, as being evil-minded persons, because the prophet mentions this also as among the virtues of a perfect man, if, in the presence of the righteous an evil-minded man, who brings forward things against his neighbor which cannot be proved, is brought down to nothing. For it is not lawful for you patiently to listen to evil-speaking against another, inasmuch as you would not wish that to be done by others when directed against yourself. Certainly, everything is unrighteous which goes against the Gospel of Christ, and that is the case, if you quietly permit anything to be done to another, which you would feel painful, if done by any one to yourself. Accustom your tongue always to speak about those who are good, and lend your ears rather to listen to the praises of good men than to the condemnation of such as are wicked. Take heed that all the good actions you perform are done for the sake of God, knowing that for every such deed you will only receive a reward, so far as you have done it out of regard to his fear and love. Study rather to be holy than to appear so, because it is of no avail to be reckoned what you are not; and the guilt of a twofold sin is contracted when you do not have what you are credited with having, and when you pretend to possess what you do not possess.

CHAPTER XVIII

Delight thyself rather in fastings than in feastings, mindful of that widow who did not depart from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers day and night. Now, if she who was a widow, and a Jewish widow, proved herself such, what is it fitting that a virgin of Christ should now attain to? Love more than any other thing the feast of the divine word, and desire that you be filled with spiritual dainties, while you seek for such food as refreshes the soul, rather than for that which only pleases the body. Flee from all kinds of flesh and wine, as being the sources of heat and provocatives to lust. And only then, if need be, use a little wine, when the stomach's uneasiness, or great infirmity of body, requires you to do so. Subdue anger, restrain enmity, and whatever there may be which gives rise to remorse when it is done, avoid as an abomination giving rise to immediate sin. It is fitting that that mind should be very tranquil and quiet, as well as free from all the tu-

mults of anger, which desires to be the dwelling-place of God, as he testifies through the prophet, saying, "Upon what other man shall I rest than upon him who is humble and quiet, and who trembleth at my words?" Believe that God is a witness of all thy deeds and thoughts, and take good heed lest you either do or think anything which is unworthy of the divine eyesight. When you desire to engage in prayer, show yourself in such a frame of mind as becomes one who is to speak with the Lord.

CHAPTER XIX

¹ When you repeat a psalm, consider whose words you are repeating and delight yourself more with true contrition of soul, than with the pleasantness of a trilling voice. For God sets a higher value on the tears of one thus praising him, than on the beauty of his voice; as the prophet says, "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Now, where there are fear and trembling, there is no lifting up of the voice, but humility of mind with lamentation and tears. Display diligence in all thy doings; for it is written, "Cursed is the man who carelessly performs the work of the Lord. Let grace grow in you with years; let righteousness increase with age; and let your faith appear the more perfect the older you become; for Jesus, who has left us an example how to live, increased not only in years as respected his body, but in wisdom and spiritual grace before God and men. Reckon all the time in which you do not perceive yourself growing better as positively lost. Maintain to the last that purpose of virginity which you have formed; for it is the part of virtue not merely to begin, but to finish, as the Lord says in the Gospel, "Whosoever shall endure to the end, the same shall be saved. Beware, therefore, lest you furnish to any one an occasion even of evil desire, because thy God, betrothed to thee, is jealous; for an adulteress against Christ is more guilty than one against her husband.

² Be thou, therefore, a model of life to all; be an example; and excel in actual conduct those whom you precede in your consecration to chastity. Show thyself in all respects a virgin; and let no stain of corruption be brought as a charge against thy person. And let one whose body is perfect in its purity be also irreproachable in conduct. Now, as we said in the beginning of this letter, that you have become a sacrifice pertaining to God, such a sacrifice as undoubtedly imparts its own sanctity also to others, that, as every one worthily receives from it, he himself also may be a partaker of sanctification, so then, let the other virgins also be sanctified through you, as by means of a

divine offering. Show yourself to them so holy in all things, that, whosoever comes in contact with thy life, whether by hearing or seeing, may experience the power of sanctification, and may feel that such an amount of grace passes to him from your manner of acting, that, while he desires to imitate thee, he himself becomes worthy of being a sacrifice devoted to God.

LETTER 3

After I learned that all thy cooks had given up thy kitchen (I believe because they felt indignant at having to fulfill the duty towards cheap dishes of pulse), I sent a little boy to you out of our own workshop. He is quite skillful enough to cook pale beans and to pickle homely beet-root, with vinegar and sauce, as well as to prepare cheap porridge for the jaws of the hungry monks. He knows nothing, however, of pepper or of laser, but he is quite at home with cumin, and is especially clever in plying the noisy mortar with sweetly smelling plants. He has one fault, that he is no kindly foe to admit to any garden; for if let in, he will mow down with a sword all things within his reach, and he will never be satisfied with the slaughter simply of mallows. However, in furnishing himself with fuel he will not swindle you. He will burn whatever comes in his way; he will cut down and not hesitate to lay hands upon buildings, and to carry off old beams from the household. We present him, then, to you, with this character and these virtues; and we wish you to regard him not as a servant, but as a son, because you are not ashamed to be the father of very small creatures. I myself would have wished to serve you instead of him; but if good-will may be taken as in some measure standing for the deed do you only, in return, take care to remember me amid your breakfasts and delightful dinners because it is more proper to be your slave, than the master of others. Pray for me.

LETTER 4

¹ The faithful exponent of our holy religion so arranges all things that no place be found in future for transgressors: for what else do you, for instance, promise us by so great sanctity of character, than that, all errors being laid aside, we should lead a blessed life? In this matter, I see that the greatest praise befits thy virtues, because you have changed even an uninstructed mind by your exhortations, and drawn it over to an excellent condition. But it would not seem so wonderful, if you had simply strengthened educated minds by instilling wisdom into them for intelligent men have a sort of relationship

to devotion, but rustic natures are not easily won over to the side of severity. Just as those who shape the forms of animals out of stone, undertake a business of a pretty difficult kind, when they strike very hard rocks with their chisels, while those who make their attempts on substances of a softer nature feel that their hands are aided by the ease of fashioning these materials, and it is deemed proper that the labor of the workman; when difficult, should be held in the highest honor, so, Sir, singular commendation ought so be given to you, because you have made unpolished and rustic minds, set free from the darkness of sin, both to think what is human, and to understand what is divine.

2 No less is Xenocrates, by far the most learned of the philosophers, held in estimation, who succeeded by severe exhortations in having luxury conquered. For when a certain Polemo, heavy with wine, staggered openly out of a nocturnal revel at the time when his hearers were flocking to the school of Xenocrates, he, too, entered the place, and impudently took his seat among the crowd of disciples, in that dress in which he had come forth from the banquet. A chaplet of flowers covered his head, and yet he did not feel ashamed that he would seem unlike all the others, because, in truth, indulgence in a long drinking-bout had upset his brains, which are the seat of reason. As the rest of those there present began to murmur grievously, because so unsuitable a hearer had found his way in among a multitude of men of letters, the master himself was not in the slightest degree disturbed, but, on the contrary, began to discourse on the science of morals, and the laws of moderation. And so powerful proved the influence of the teacher that the mind of that impudent intruder was persuaded to the love of modesty. First of all, then, Polemo, in utter confusion, took off the chaplet from his head, and professed himself a disciple. And in course of time he conformed himself so thoroughly to the duties implied in dignity, and surrendered himself so entirely to the exhibition of modesty, that a glorious amendment of character threw a cloak over the habits of his former life. Now we admire this very thing in your instructions, that, without the use of any threats, and without having recourse to terrors of any kind, you have turned infatuated minds to the worship of God; so that even a badly ordered intellect should believe it preferable to live well and happily with all, rather than to hold unrighteous opinions with a few.

LETTER 5

¹ Although my lord and brother has already begged of your nobleness that you would see that Tutus should be most safe, yet it has been allowed to me to Commend the same person in a letter, in order that, by the petition being doubled, he may be held all the safer. For let it be granted that a youthful fault and error of a yet unsettled age has injured him, so as to inflict a stare on his early years; still one, who did not yet know what was due to right conduct, has gone wrong almost without contracting blame. For when he came to a fight state of mind and to reflection, he understood on better thoughts that a theatrical life was to be condemned. However, he could not be completely cleared of his fault, unless he should wash its guilt away by the aid of Deity, since, by the remedy obtained through the Catholic religion, changing his views, he has denied himself the enjoyment of a less honorable place, and has withdrawn himself from the eyes of the people. OF The Master AS Above.

² Since, therefore, both divine and state laws do not permit a faithful body and sanctified minds to exhibit disgraceful though pleasing spectacles, and to set forth vulgar means of enjoyment, especially since an injury seems in some degree to accrue to the chaste dedication of one's self, in case any one who has been renewed by holy baptism should fall back upon his old licentiousness, it behooves your Excellency to show favor to good intentions, so that he who, by the goodness of God, has entered on a pious duty, should not be forced to sink into the pitfall of the theatre. He does not, however, refuse compliance with the judgment of you all, if you enjoin other fitting actions on his part in behalf of the requirements of our common country.

LETTER 6

¹ Forensic excitement ought to be at full heat during the time of business in the law-courts; for it is fitting that the arms of industry, as it struggles daily, should display energetic movements. But when loud-toned eloquence has sounded a retreat, and has retired to peaceful groves and pleasant dwelling-places, it is right that one lay aside idle murmurs, and cease to utter ineffectual threats. For we know that palm-bearing steeds, when they have retired from the circus, rest with the utmost quietness in their stables. Neither constant fear nor doubtful palms of victory distress them, but at length, haltered to the peaceful cribs, they now no longer stand in awe of the master urging

them on, enjoying sweet oblivion of the restless rivalry which had prevailed. In like manner, let it delight the boastful soldier after his term of service is completed, to hang up his trophies, and patiently to bear the burden of age.

² But I do not quite understand why you should take a delight in terrifying miserable husbandmen; and I do not comprehend why you wish to harass my rustics with the fear of want of sustenance; as if, indeed, I did not know how to console them, and to deliver them from fear, and to show them that there is not so great a reason to fear as you pretend. I confess that, while we were occupied in the plain, I was often frightened by the arms of your eloquence, but frequently I returned you corresponding blows, as far as I was able. I certainly learned along with you, by what right, and in what order, the husbandmen are demanded back, to whom a legal process is competent, and to whom the issue of a process is not competent. You say that the Volusians wished you brought back, and frequently, in your wrath, you repeat that you will withdraw the country people from my little keep; and you, the very man, as I hope and desire, bound to me by the ties of old relationship, now rashly threaten that, casting our agreement to the winds, you will lay hold upon my men. I ask of your illustrious knowledge, whether there is one law for advocates, and another for private persons, whether one thing is just at Rome, and quite another thing at Matarum.

³ In the meantime, I do not know that you were ever lord of the Volusian property, since Dionysius is said to have preserved the right of possession to it, and he never wanted heirs; who, while he lived, was accustomed to hurl the envenomed jibes of his low language upon a multitude of individuals. There was, at that time, one Porphyrius, the son of Zibberinus, and yet he was not properly named the son of Zibberinus. He kept hidden, by military service, the question as to his birth, and, that he might dispel the cloud from his forehead, he took part in officious services and willing acts of submission. He was much with me both at home and in the forum, having often employed me as his defender with my father, and as his advocate before the judge. Sometimes I even kept back Dionysius, feeling that he ought not, for the sake of twenty acres to discharge vulgar abuse upon Porphyrius.

⁴ See, here is the reason why thy remarkable prudence threatened my agents, so that, though you are not the owner of the place, you everywhere make mention of my husbandmen. But if you give yourself out as the successor of Porphyrius, you must know that the narrow space of twenty acres

cannot certainly be managed by one cultivator, or, if mindful of your proper dignity and determined to maintain it, you shrink from naming yourself the heir of Porphyrius, it is certain and obvious that he can commence proceedings, to whom the right of doing so belongs, so as to go to law with those who have no property in that land. But if you diligently look into the matter, you will see that the endeavor to recover it most especially devolves on me. Wherefore, my much esteemed lord and brother, it behooves you to be at peace, and to return to friendship with me, while you condescend to come to a private conference. Cease, I pray you, to disturb inactive and easily frightened persons, and utter your boastful words at a distance. Believe me, however, that I am delighted with your high spirit, and by no means offended; for we are neither of a harsh disposition, nor destitute of learning, Let Maximinus at least render you gentle.

LETTER 7

The faith and piety of souls, no doubt, remain, but this should be made known by the evidence of a letter, in order that an increase of affection may be gained by such mutual courtesy. For just as a fertile field cannot bring forth abundant fruits, if its cultivation has been neglected, and the good qualities of soil are lost through the indolence of one who rests, instead of working, so I think that the love and kindly feelings of the mind grow feeble, unless those who are absent are visited, as if present, by means of a letter.

Apocryphal Letters: Abgarus, Lentulus, Laodiceans, and Paul and Seneca

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

2nd–14th century AD

The apocryphal letters of Christ and Abgarus, the Letter of Lentulus describing the appearance of Jesus, the Epistle to the Laodiceans that Jerome rejected, and the fourteen letters between Paul and the philosopher Seneca.

¹ This form did not find much favour with the makers of apocrypha. True, without going into the more destructive theories which would deny St. Paul all but four of the Epistles—or, all the Epistles which go under his name—many critics regard the Pastoral Epistles as, in their present form, not genuine writings of his, and a yet larger consensus is against the authenticity of 2 Peter. But, apart from possibilities of this kind, it does appear that the Epistle was on the whole too serious an effort for the forger, more liable to detection, perhaps, as a fraud, and not so likely to gain the desired popularity as a narrative or an Apocalypse. Certain it is that our apocryphal Epistles are few and not impressive. By far the most considerable is that Epistle of the Apostles which has only become known in recent years; and the greater part of this is not an Epistle but a dialogue.

² One famous apocryphal Epistle will not be produced here, viz. the Letter of Christ concerning Sunday, extant in almost every European language and in many Oriental versions. It was fabled to have fallen on the altar at Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople—where not?—and is a long, very dull denunciation of what we call Sabbath-breaking, with threats of disaster to the transgressors. Another, not famous, must also be omitted, viz. the Epistle of Titus, of which something has been said apropos of the fragments of the Acts of John, Peter, and Andrew which it contains. Apart from these quotations and others of the same kind, it is incredibly dull. I believe it to be a Manichaean writing, or possibly Paulician. It has not yet been printed in full.

Letters of Christ and Abgarus

3 Our earliest Greek text of these—which are found in many forms—is that given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History (i. 13), extracted, as he says, by him from the archives of Edessa relating to Abgarus, and translated from Syriac word for word: A copy of a letter written by Abgarus the toparch to Jesus, and sent to him by means of Ananias the runner, to Jerusalem. Abgarus Uchama the toparch to Jesus the good Saviour that hath appeared in the parts (place) of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard concerning thee and thy cures, that they are done of thee without drugs or herbs: for, as the report goes, thou makest blind men to see again, lame to walk, and cleansest lepers, and castest out unclean spirits and devils, and those that are afflicted with long sickness thou healest, and raisest the dead. And having heard all this of thee, I had determined one of two things, either that thou art God come down from heaven, and so doest these things, or art a Son of God that doest these things. Therefore now have I written and entreated thee to trouble thyself to come to me and heal the affliction which I have. For indeed I have heard that the Jews even murmur against thee and wish to do thee hurt. And I have a very little city but (and) comely (reverend), which is sufficient for us both.

4 The answer, written by Jesus, sent by Ananias the runner to Abgarus the toparch. Blessed art thou that hast believed in me, not having seen me. For it is written concerning me that they that have seen me shall not believe in me, and that they that have not seen me shall believe and live. But concerning that which thou hast written to me, to come unto thee; it must needs be that I fulfil all things for the which I was sent here, and after fulfilling them should then be taken up unto him that sent me. And when I am taken up, I will send thee one of my disciples, to heal thine affliction and give life to thee and them that are with thee. Later texts add a promise that where this letter is, no enemy shall prevail; and so we find the letter copied and used as an amulet. It was regarded naturally as the palladium of Edessa, but was also thought to act as a protection to individuals.

5 The letters form an integral part of the story of the mission of Thad-daeus and conversion of Edessa, and part of that legend is that Jesus gave the messenger of Abgarus a handkerchief miraculously imprinted with the picture of his face. Into all this we cannot enter.

Letter of Lentulus

⁶(E. von Dobschütz, *Christus-bilder* 318\\) This can hardly be earlier than the thirteenth century: probably it was written in Italy. The texts differ a good deal, especially in the introductory lines. The oldest does not present the document as a letter at all; but begins: It is read in the annal-books of the Romans that our Lord Jesus Christ, who was called by the Gentiles the prophet of truth, was of stature... Others, however, make a letter of it, with a prefatory note to this effect: A certain Lentulus, a Roman, being an official for the Romans in the province of Judaea in the time of Tiberius Caesar, upon seeing Christ, and noting his wonderful works, his preaching, his endless miracles, and other amazing things about him, wrote thus to the Roman senate: ⁷ There hath appeared in these times, and still is, a man of great power named Jesus Christ, who is called by the Gentiles (peoples) the prophet of truth, whom his disciples call the Son of God: raising the dead and healing diseases, a man in stature middling tall, and comely, having a reverend countenance, which they that look upon may love and fear; having hair of the hue of an unripe hazel-nut and smooth almost down to his ears, but from the ears in curling locks somewhat darker and more shining, waving over (from) his shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish, which a moderate colour (red) makes beautiful; with the nose and mouth no fault at all can be found; having a full beard of the colour of his hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin; having an expression simple and mature, the eyes grey, glancing (?) (various) and clear; in rebuke terrible, in admonition kind and lovable, cheerful yet keeping gravity; sometimes he hath wept, but never laughed; in stature of body tall and straight, with hands and arms fair to look upon; in talk grave, reserved and modest [so that he was rightly called by the prophet] fairer than the children of men.

⁸ This follows the traditional portraits closely, and was no doubt written in presence of one. The Greeks, it may be added, had similar minute descriptions of the apostles and the Virgin—just as they had of the heroes of Troy. I shall excuse myself from transcribing the letters of the Virgin to Ignatius and to the people of Messina and proceed to the forged Pauline Epistles. The most important of these we have already seen, viz. the 'Third Epistle to the Corinthians', in the Acts of Paul. The Muratorian fragment mentions two of

these: 'There is current also one to the Laodiceans, and another to the Alexandrians forged (plural) in favour of Marcion's heresy.' The statement is obscure, and has given rise to all sorts of guesses. We have an Epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is entirely colourless in doctrine. That to the Alexandrians is gone. We also know that Marcion cited the Epistle to the Ephesians as 'to the Laodiceans', but this does not help; the Muratorian writer knows Ephesians. Very possibly the word forged applies only to the second letter, and should be in the singular number. If so, the fragment may refer to our Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is quite old.

Epistle to the Laodiceans

9 It exists only in Latin: the oldest copy is in the Fulda MS. written for Victor of Capua in 546. It is mentioned by various writers from the fourth century onwards, notably by Gregory the Great, to whose influence may ultimately be due the frequent occurrence of it in Bibles written in England; for it is commoner in English MSS. than in others. As will be seen, it is wholly uninteresting, and was merely written to justify or explain St. Paul's mention of the letter from Laodicea in Col. iv. 16. 1 Paul, an apostle not of men nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, unto the brethren that are at Laodicea. 2 Grace be unto you and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. 3 I give thanks unto Christ in all my prayers, that ye continue in him and persevere in his works, looking for the promise at the day of judgement.

10 4 Neither do the vain talkings of some overset you, which creep in, that they may turn you away from the truth of the Gospel which is preached by me. 5 And now shall God cause that they that are of me shall continue ministering unto the increase of the truth of the Gospel, and accomplishing goodness, and the work of salvation, even eternal life. 6 And now are my bonds seen of all men, which I suffer in Christ, wherein I rejoice and am glad. 7 And unto me this is for everlasting salvation; which also is brought about by your prayers, and the ministry of the Holy Ghost, whether by life or by death. 8 For verily to me life is in Christ, and to die is joy. 9 And unto him (or And also) shall he work his mercy in you, that ye may have the same love, and be of one mind.

11 10 Therefore, dearly beloved, as ye have heard in my presence, so hold fast and work in the fear of God, and it shall be unto you for life eternal. 11 For it is God that worketh in you. 12 And do ye without afterthought whatsoever ye do. 13 And for the rest, dearly beloved, rejoice in Christ, and be-

ware of them that are filthy in lucre. 14 Let all your petitions be made openly before God, and be ye steadfast in the mind of Christ. 15 And what things are sound and true and sober and just and to be loved, do ye. 16 And what ye have heard and received, keep fast in your heart. 17 And peace shall be unto you. 18 The saints salute you. 19 The grace of the Lord Jesus be with your spirit. 20 And cause this epistle to be read unto them of Colossae, and the epistle of the Colossians to be read unto you.

¹²It is not easy to imagine a more feebly constructed cento of Pauline phrases. Zahn believed himself to have found a fragment of the Epistle to the Alexandrians in the shape of a lesson—a liturgical Epistle—in the (eighth century) Sacramentary and Lectionary of Bobbio (Paris Bib. Nat., Lat. 13246). It is headed 'Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians', but it is not from that letter or any other. Brethren, we that are under the power of the Lord ought to keep the commandment of God. They that keep the Lord's precepts have eternal life, and they that deny his commandments get to themselves ruin and thereto the second death. Now the precept of the Lord is this: Thou shalt not swear falsely, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not take gifts against the truth, neither for power. Whoso hath power and denieth the truth, shall be denied the kingdom of God and be trodden down into hell, whence he cometh not forth again. How are we frail and deceitful, workers of sin! We do not repent daily, but daily do we commit sin upon sin. That ye may know this, dearly beloved brethren, that our works (are judged, hearken to that which) is written in this book: 'it shall be for a memorial against us in the day of judgement.' There shall be neither witnesses nor companions; neither shall judgement be given by gifts; for there is nothing better than faith, truth, chastity, fasting, and almsgiving which putteth out all sins. And that which thou wouldest not have done to thyself, do not unto another. Agree thou for the kingdom of God and thou shalt receive the crown which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

¹³This, again, is a very incoherent little piece; it is rather like some curious fragmentary homilies printed by Dom de Bruyne from Carlsruhe (Reichenau) MSS, which I am sure are of Irish composition. I do not think it can be called an apocryphon at all; there are other pieces scattered about in manuscripts called 'preachings' of Paul, or the like, which are just centos of texts and precepts.

The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca

¹⁴existed in the fourth century, for Jerome mentions it, says it was 'read by many', and is led by it to insert Seneca in his catalogue of Christian authors; Augustine also, quoting the genuine Seneca, says, 'of whom some letters to the apostle Paul are current (read)'. The Pseudo-Linus inserts a paragraph in his *Passion of Paul* (see p. 470) telling how Seneca frequently conversed and corresponded with Paul, admired him much, and read some of his writings to Nero. Manuscripts as old as the ninth century exist, and of the twelfth-fifteenth centuries there are many. The composition is of the poorest kind: only its celebrity induces me to translate it once again.

1. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

¹⁵I believe, Paul, that you have been informed of the talk which I had yesterday with my Lucilius about the apocrypha (or possibly the secret mysteries) and other things; for certain sharers in your teaching were with me. For we had retired to the gardens of Sallust, where, because of us, those whom I speak of, going in another direction, saw and joined us. Certainly we wished for your presence, and I would have you know it. We were much refreshed by the reading of your book, by which I mean some of the many letters which you have addressed to some city or capital of a province, and which inculcate the moral life with admirable precepts. These thoughts, I take it, are not uttered by you but through you, but surely sometimes both by you and through you: for such is the greatness of them and they are instinct (warm) with such nobility, that I think whole generations (ages) of men could hardly suffice for the instilling and perfecting of them. I desire your good health, brother.

2. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

¹⁶I received your letter yesterday with delight, and should have been able to answer it at once, had I had by me the youth I meant to send to you. For you know when, and by whom, and at what moment, and to whom things ought to be given and entrusted. I beg, therefore, that you will not think yourself neglected, when I am respecting the dignity of your person. Now in that you somewhere write that you are pleased with my letter (or, write that you are pleased with part of my letter) I think myself happy in the good opinion of such a man: for you would not say it, you, a critic, a sophist, the

teacher of a great prince, and indeed of all—unless you spoke truth. I trust you may long be in health.

3. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

¹⁷ I have arranged some writings in a volume, and given them their proper divisions: I am also resolved to read them to Caesar, if only fortune be kind, that he may bring a new (an interested) ear to the hearing. Perhaps you, too, will be there. If not, I will at another time fix you a day, that we may look over the work together: indeed, I could not produce this writing to him, without first conferring with you, if only that could be done without risk: that you may know that you are not being neglected. Farewell, dearest Paul.

4. PAUL TO ANNAEUS SENECA, greeting

¹⁸ Whenever I hear your letters read, I think of you as present, and imagine nothing else but that you are always with us. As soon, then, as you begin to come, we shall see each other at close quarters. I desire your good health.

5. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

¹⁹ We are much pained by your retirement. What is it? what causes keep you away? If it be the anger of the lady (Poppaea) because you have left the old rite and sect, and have converted others, there will be a possibility of pleading with her, that she may consider it as done on due reflection and not lightly. ¹ i Of the subject on which you have written I must not speak with pen and ink, of which the former marks out and draws somewhat, and the latter shows it clearly, especially as I know that among you—that is, in your homes and in you—there are those who understand me. Honour is to be paid to all, and so much the more because men catch at opportunities of being offended. If we are patient with them, we shall certainly overcome them at every point, provided they be men who can be sorry for their actions. Farewell.

7. ANNAEUS SENECA TO PAUL AND THEOPHILUS, greeting

²⁰ I profess myself well content with the reading of your letters which you sent to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaeans; and may we so live together as you show yourself to be inspired with the divine frenzy (horror). For it is the holy spirit which is in you and high above you which expresses these exalted and adorable thoughts. I would therefore have you careful of other points, that the polish of the style may not be wanting to the majesty of the thought. And, brother, not to conceal anything from you, and have it

on my conscience, I confess to you that the Augustus was moved by your views. When I read to him the beginning of the power (virtue) that is in you (perhaps he means your exordium about virtue) his words were these: that he could wonder that a man not regularly educated could think thus. I replied that the gods often speak by the mouths of the simple (innocent), not of those who try deceitfully to show what they can do by their learning. And when I cited him the example of Vatienus the rustic, to whom two men appeared in the territory of Reate, who afterwards were recognized as Castor and Pollux, he appeared fully convinced. Farewell.

8. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

²¹ Though I am aware that Caesar, even if he sometimes lapses, is a lover of our wonders, you will suffer yourself to be, not wounded but admonished. For I think that you took a very serious step in bringing to his notice a matter alien to his religion and training. For since he is a worshipper of the gods of the nations, I do not see why you thought you would wish him to know this matter, unless I am to think that you did it out of excessive attachment to me. I beg you not to do so in future. For you must be careful not to offend the empress in your love for me: yet her anger will not hurt us if it lasts, nor do good if it does not [this is nonsense]. As a queen, she will not be angry: as a woman, she will be offended. Farewell.

²² I know that you are not so much disturbed on your own account by my letter to you on the showing of your letters to Caesar, as by the nature of things, which so calls away the minds of men from all right learning and conduct—so that I am not surprised, for I have learnt this for certain by many examples. Let us then act differently, and if in the past anything has been done carelessly, you will pardon it. I have sent you a book on elegance of expression (store of words). Farewell, dearest Paul.

10. TO SENECA, PAUL, greeting

²³ Whenever I write to you and do not place my name after yours (see the heading) I do a serious thing and one unbefitting my persuasion (sect). For I ought, as I have often declared, to be all things to all men, and to observe in your person that which the Roman law has granted to the honour of the senate, and choose the last place in writing (text, reading) a letter, not striving to do as I please in a confused and disgraceful way. Farewell, most de-

voted of masters. Given on the 5th of the kalends of July; Nero the fourth time, and Messala, consuls (A. D. 58).

11. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

²⁴ Hail, my dearest Paul. If you, so great a man, so beloved in all ways, be—I say not joined—but intimately associated with me and my name, it will indeed be well with your Seneca. Since, then, you are the summit and topmost peak of all people, would you not have me glad that I am so near you as to be counted a second self of yours? Do not, then, think that you are unworthy to be named first on the heading of letters, lest you make me think you are testing me rather than playing with me—especially as you know yourself to be a Roman citizen. For the rank that is mine, I would it were yours, and yours I would were mine. Farewell, dearest Paul. Given on the 10th of the kalends of April; Apronianus and Capito consuls (59).

12. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

²⁵ Hail, my dearest Paul. Think you that I am not in sadness and grief, that your innocent people are so often condemned to suffer? And next, that the whole people thinks you so callous and so prone to crime, that you are supposed to be the authors of every misfortune in the city? Yet let us bear it patiently and content ourselves with what fortune brings, until supreme happiness puts an end to our troubles. Former ages had to bear the Macedonian, Philip's son, and, after Darius, Dionysius, and our own times endured Gaius Caesar: to all of whom their will was law. The source of the many fires which Rome suffers is plain. But if humble men could speak out what the reason is, and if it were possible to speak without risk in this dark time, all would be plain to all. Christians and Jews are commonly executed as contrivers of the fire. Whoever the criminal is, whose pleasure is that of a butcher, and who veils himself with a lie, he is reserved for his due season: and as the best of men is sacrificed, the one for the many, so he, vowed to death for all, will be burned with fire. A hundred and thirty-two houses and four blocks have been burnt in six days; the seventh brought a pause. I pray you may be well, brother. Given the 5th of the kalends of April; Frugi and Bassus consuls (64).

13. SENECA TO PAUL, greeting

²⁶ Much in every part of your works is enclosed in allegory and enigma, and therefore the great force that is given you of matter and talent (?) should be beautified, I do not say with elegance of words, but with a certain care. Nor

should you fear what I remember you have often said; that many who affect such things vitiate the thought and emasculate the strength of the matter. But I wish you would yield to me and humour the genius of Latin, and give beauty to your noble words, that the great gift that has been granted you may be worthily treated by you. Farewell. Given on the day before the nones of June; Leo and Sabinus consuls (non-existent).

14. PAUL TO SENECA, greeting

²⁷ To your meditations have been revealed those things which the Godhead has granted to few. With confidence, therefore, I sow in a field already fertile a most prolific seed, not such matter as is liable to corruption, but the abiding word, an emanation from God who grows and abides for ever. This your wisdom has attained and you will see that it is unfailing—so as to judge that the laws of heathens and Israelites are to be shunned. You may become a new author, by showing forth with the graces of rhetoric the unblameable wisdom of Jesus Christ, which you, having wellnigh attained it, will instil into the temporal monarch, his servants, and his intimate friends; yet the persuading of them will be a rough and difficult task, for many of them will hardly incline to your admonitions. Yet the word of God, if it be instilled into them, will be a vital gain, producing a new man, incorrupt, and an everlasting soul that shall hasten from hence to God. Farewell, Seneca, most dear to me.

²⁸ Given on the kalends of August; Leo and Sabinus consuls.

P A R T T H R E E

Irenaeus, Tertullian, Melito,
Hippolytus and Chrysostom

*Pieces that carry the names of these Fathers but were written by
others.*

Fragments Attributed to Irenaeus

PSEUDO-IRENÆUS

uncertain

Fragments that carry the name of Irenaeus but are not his, among them a letter on the persecution at Lyons. This is the translation of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

¹ Pseud-Irenæus. [a.d. 177.] This letter should have been made a preface to the works of Irenæus, or at least an appendix. It is worthy of his great name; “the finest thing of the kind in all antiquity,” says Lardner. Critics of no mean name have credited it to Irenæus; but, as this cannot be proved, I have accordingly marked it as a pseudonym. The same writer condenses the arguments of others, on which he decides to adhere to the later chronology of Eusebius, assigning its date to the seventeenth year of Marcus Aurelius. Naturally humane and comparatively gentle in other respects he was; but Stoicism, as well as heathenism, showed what it could exact of such a character in maintenance of the popular and imperial superstitions. Terrible is the summary of Lightfoot concerning the barbarities of this darling of the “philosophers:” “It is a plain fact, that Christian blood flowed more freely under M. Aurelius than at any time previously during the half century since the Bithynian martyrdoms under Trajan, or was yet to flow at any time during the decades which would elapse before the Severian persecution. These persecutions extend throughout his reign: they were fierce and deliberate; aggravated, at least in some cases, by cruel tortures. They had the emperor’s direct personal sanction. They break out in all parts of the empire,—in Rome, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa, possibly also in Byzantium.”

² Bishop Lightfoot accounts for the fact, that, in spite of this sanguinary character of the period, little complaint is heard from the suffering Church, by a simple statement which is honourable to Aurelius as a Roman and an emperor. He was such a contrast to the Neros and Caligulas, that the wretched Romans loved him as a father; to reproach him was, therefore,

poor policy for Christians. They would have been answered, practically: "If so good a sovereign finds it necessary to punish you, the fault is your own; you have only to be as we are, and he will treat you as well as he does us." Of this awful outbreak in Lyons and Vienne, says Lightfoot: "The persecution was wholesale, so that it was not safe for any Christian to appear out of doors. No difference of age or sex was made. The prisoners were put to the most cruel tortures. All the elements of power combined to crush the brethren."

³ To forbear threatenings, to revile not again, to conquer through patient suffering, to persevere, "looking unto Jesus," and to be silent, like Him, before their murderers, was therefore the world-wide conduct of the saints. This golden letter shows what they were called to endure, and how they glorified Christ by their deaths, from the utmost Orient to the extreme limits of the West. The Letter of the Churches of Vienna and Lugdunum to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia. It began thus:—"The servants of Christ who sojourn in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as ourselves, peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord." ⁴ After some further preliminary remarks the letter proceeds:—"The greatness of the tribulation in this region, and the exceeding anger of the heathen nations against the saints, and the sufferings which the blessed Witnesses endured, neither are we competent to describe accurately, nor indeed is it possible to detail them in writing. For with all his strength did the adversary assail us, even then giving a foretaste of his activity among us which is to be without restraint; and he had recourse to every means, accustoming his own subjects and exercising them beforehand against the servants of God, so that not only were we excluded from houses, baths, and the forum, but a universal prohibition was laid against any one of us appearing in any place whatsoever. But the grace of God acted as our general against him. It rescued the weak; it arrayed against him men like firm pillars, who could through patience bear up against the whole force of the assaults of the wicked one. These came to close quarters with him, enduring every form of reproach and torture; and, making light of grievous trials, they hastened on to Christ, showing in reality that the 'sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that is to be revealed in us.' And first they nobly endured the evils which were heaped on them by the populace,—namely, hootings and blows, draggings, plunderings, stonings, and confine-

ments, and everything that an infuriated mob is wont to perpetrate against those whom they deem bitter enemies. And at length, being brought to the forum by the tribune of the soldiers, and the magistrates that had charge of the city, they were examined in presence of the whole multitude; and having confessed, they were shut up in prison until the arrival of the governor.

5 “After this, when they were brought before the governor, and when he displayed a spirit of savage hostility to us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, interposed. For he was a man who had contained the full measure of love towards God and his neighbours. His mode of life had been so strict, that though he was a young man, he deserved to be described in the words used in regard to the elderly Zacharias: ‘He had walked therefore in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless.’ He was also eager to serve his neighbour in any way, he was very zealous for God, and he was fervent in spirit. Such being the character of the man, he could not bear that judgment should be thus unreasonably passed against us, but was moved with indignation, and requested that he himself should be heard in defence of his brethren, undertaking to prove that there is nothing ungodly or impious amongst us. On this, those who were round the judgment-seat cried out against him, for he was a man of distinction; and the governor, not for a moment listening to the just request thus made to him, merely asked him if he himself were a Christian. And on his confessing in the clearest voice that he was, he also was taken up into the number of the Witnesses, receiving the appellation of the Advocate of the Christians, and having himself the Advocate, the Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias; which he showed in the fulness of his love, in that he had of his own good-will offered to lay down his own life in defence of the brethren. For he was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, ‘following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.’

6 “After this the rest began to be distinguished, for the proto-martyrs were decided and ready, and accomplished the confession of their testimony with all alacrity. But there appeared also those who were unprepared and unpractised, and who were still feeble, and unable to bear the tension of a great contest. Of these about ten in number proved abortions; causing great grief and immeasurable sorrow amongst us, and damping the ardour of the rest who had not yet been apprehended. For these, although they suffered every kind of cruelty, remained nevertheless in the company of the Witnesses, and did not forsake them. But then the whole of us were greatly alarmed on ac-

count of our uncertainty as to confession, not because we feared the tortures inflicted, but because we looked to the end, and dreaded lest any one should fall away. Those who were worthy, however, were daily apprehended, filling up the number of the others: so that out of the two churches all the excellent, and those to whom the churches owed most of all their establishment and prosperity, were collected together in prison. Some heathen household slaves belonging to our people were also apprehended, since the governor had given orders publicly that all of us should be sought out. These, through the instigation of Satan, and through fear of the tortures which they saw the saints enduring, urged on also by the soldiers, falsely accused us of Thyestean banquets and Œdipodean connections, and other crimes which it is lawful for us neither to mention nor think of;

7 and, indeed, we shrink from believing that any such crimes have ever taken place among men. When the rumour of these accusations was spread abroad, all raged against us like wild beasts; so that if any formerly were temperate in their conduct to us on account of relationship, they then became exceedingly indignant and exasperated against us. And thus was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord: ‘The time shall come when every one who slayeth you shall think that he offereth service to God.’ 8 “Then at last the holy Witnesses suffered tortures beyond all description, Satan striving eagerly that some of the evil reports might be acknowledged by them. But in an exceeding degree did the whole wrath of mob, general, and soldiers fall on Sanctus, a deacon from Vienna, and on Maturus, a newly-enlightened but noble combatant, and on Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who had always been the Pillar and foundation of the church there, and on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that the things that to men appear mean and deformed and contemptible, are with God deemed worthy of great glory, on account of love to Him,—a love which is not a mere boastful appearance, but shows itself in the power which it exercises over the life. For while we were all afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who was herself one of the combatants among the Witnesses, that she would not be able to make a bold confession on account of the weakness of her body, Blandina was filled with such power, that those who tortured her one after the other in every way from morning till evening were wearied and tired, confessing that they had been baffled, for they had no other torture they could apply to her; and they were astonished that she remained in life, when her whole body was torn

and opened up, and they gave their testimony that one only of the modes of torture employed was sufficient to have deprived her of life, not to speak of so many excruciating inflictions. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, recovered her strength in the midst of the confession; and her declaration, 'I am a Christian, and there is no evil done amongst us,' brought her refreshment, and rest, and insensibility to all the sufferings inflicted on her.

9 "Sanctus also nobly endured all the excessive and superhuman tortures which man could possibly devise against him; for the wicked hoped, on account of the continuance and greatness of the tortures, to hear him confess some of the unlawful practices. But he opposed them with such firmness that he did not tell them even his own name, nor that of his nation or city, nor if he were slave or free; but in answer to all these questions, he said in Latin, 'I am a Christian. This was the confession he made repeatedly, instead of giving his name, his city, his race, and indeed in reply to every question that was put to him; and other language the heathens heard not from him. Hence arose in the minds of the governor and the torturers a determined resolution to subdue him; so that, when every other means failed, they at last fixed red-hot plates of brass to the most delicate parts of his body. And these indeed were burned, but he himself remained inflexible and unyielding, firm in his confession, being bedewed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life which issues from the belly of Christ. But his body bore witness to what had happened: for it was all wounds and weals, shrunk and torn up, and had lost externally the human shape.

10 In him Christ suffering wrought great wonders, destroying the adversary, and showing for an example to the rest that there is nothing fearful where there is the Father's love, and nothing painful where there is Christ's glory. For the wicked after some days again tortured the Witness, thinking that, since his body was swollen and inflamed, if they were to apply the same tortures they would gain the victory over him, especially since the parts of his body could not bear to be touched by the hand, or that he would die in consequence of the tortures, and thus inspire the rest with fear. Yet not only did no such occurrence take place in regard to him, but even, contrary to every expectation of man, his body unbent itself and became erect in the midst of the subsequent tortures, and resumed its former appearance and the use of its limbs, so that the second torture turned out through the grace of Christ a cure, not an affliction.

¹¹ “Among those who had denied was a woman of the name of Biblias. The devil, thinking that he had already swallowed her, and wishing to damn her still more by making her accuse falsely, brought her forth to punishment, and employed force to constrain her, already feeble and spiritless, to utter accusations of atheism against us. But she, in the midst of the tortures, came again to a sound state of mind, and awoke as it were out of a deep sleep; for the temporary suffering reminded her of the eternal punishment in Gehenna, and she contradicted the accusers of Christians, saying, ‘How can children be eaten by those who do not think it lawful to partake of the blood of even brute beasts?’ And after this she confessed herself a Christian, and was added to the number of Witnesses. ¹² “But when the tyrannical tortures were rendered by Christ of no avail through the patience of the blessed, the devil devised other contrivances—confinement in the darkest and most noisome cells of the prison, the stretching of the feet on the stocks, even up to the fifth hole, and the other indignities which attendants stirred up by wrath and full of the devil are wont to inflict on the imprisoned. The consequence was, that very many were suffocated in prison, as many at least as the Lord, showing His glory, wished to depart in this way. For there were others who were tortured so bitterly, that it seemed impossible for them to survive even though they were to obtain every kind of attention; and yet they remained alive in prison, destitute indeed of care from man, but strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul, and they animated and consoled the rest. But the new converts who had been recently apprehended, and whose bodies had not previously been tortured, could not indure the confinement, but died in the prison.

¹³ “Now the blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the service of the bishopric in Lugdunum, was also dragged before the judgment-seat. He was now upwards of ninety years of age, and exceedingly weak in body. Though he breathed with difficulty on account of the feebleness of the body, yet he was strengthened by the eagerness of his spirit, on account of his earnest desire to bear his testimony. His body, indeed, was already dissolved through old age and disease, yet the life was preserved in him, that Christ might triumph through him. When he was brought by the soldiers to the judgment-seat, under a convoy of the magistrates of the city, and amid exclamations of every kind from the whole population, as if he himself were the Christ, he gave the good testimony. Being asked by the governor who

was the God of the Christians, he said, 'If thou art worthy, thou shalt know.' Thereupon he was unmercifully dragged about, and endured many blows; for those who were near maltreated him in every way with their hands and feet, showing no respect for his age, while those at a distance hurled against him each one whatever came to hand, all of them believing that they would sin greatly and act impiously if they in any respect fell short in their insulting treatment of him. For they thought that in this way they would avenge their gods. And Pothinus, breathing with difficulty, was cast into prison, and two days after he expired.

¹⁴ "Upon this a grand dispensation of God's providence took place, and the immeasurable mercy of Jesus was made manifest,—such an occurrence as but rarely happens among the brotherhood, yet one that does not fall short of the art of Christ. For those who in the first apprehension had denied, were imprisoned along with the others, and shared their hardships. Their denial, in fact, turned out at this time to be of no advantage to them. For while those who confessed what they really were, were imprisoned simply as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, those who denied were detained as murderers and profligates. They, moreover, were doubly punished. For the confessors were lightened by the joy of their testimony and their hope in the promises, and by their love to Christ, and by the Father's Spirit. But the deniers were tormented greatly by their own consciences, so that when they were led forth their countenances could be distinguished among all the rest. For the confessors went forth joyous, with a mingling of glory and abundant grace in their looks, so that their chains lay like becoming ornaments around them, as around a bride adorned with golden fringes wrought with divers colours. And they breathed at the same time the fragrance of Christ, so that some even thought that they were anointed with this world's perfume. But the deniers were downcast, humbled, sad-looking, and weighed down with every kind of disgrace. They were, moreover, reproached even by the heathens with being base and cowardly, and charged with the crime of murder; they had lost the altogether honourable, glorious, and life-giving appellation. When the rest saw this, they were strengthened, and those who were apprehended confessed unhesitatingly, not allowing the reasoning of the devil to have even a place in their thoughts."

¹⁵ Eusebius omits something, saying that after a little the letter proceeded as follows:— "After these things, then, their testimonies took every shape

through the different ways in which they departed. For, plaiting a crown from different colours and flowers of every kind, they presented it to the Father. It was right therefore that the noble athletes, after having endured divers contests and gained grand victories, should receive the great crown of incorruption. "Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus were publicly exposed to the wild beasts—that common spectacle of heathen barbarity; for a day was expressly assigned to fights with wild beasts on account of our people. And Maturus and Sanctus again endured every form of torture in the amphitheatre, as if they had had no suffering at all before. Or rather, like athletes who had overthrown their adversary several times, and were now contending for the crown itself, again they endured the lashes which were usual there; and they were dragged about by the wild beasts, and suffered every indignity which the maddened populace demanded in cries and exhortations proceeding from various parts of the amphitheatre. And last of all they were placed in the iron chair, on which their bodies were roasted, and they themselves were filled with the fumes of their own flesh. But the heathens did not stop even here, but became still more frantic in their desire to overcome the endurance of the Christians. But not even thus did they hear anything else from Sanctus than the utterance of the confession which he had been accustomed to make from the beginning. These, then, after life had lasted a long time throughout the great contest, were at last sacrificed, after they alone had formed a spectacle to the world, throughout that day, instead of all the diversity which usually takes place in gladiatorial shows.

¹⁶ "Blandina was hung up fastened to a stake, and exposed, as food to the wild beasts that were let loose against her; and through her presenting the spectacle of one suspended on something like a cross, and through her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great eagerness: for in the combat they saw, by means of their sister, with their bodily eyes, Him who was crucified for them, that He might persuade those who trust in Him that every one that has suffered for the glory of Christ has eternal communion with the living God. When none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake and conveyed back to prison. She was thus reserved for another contest, in order that, gaining the victory in many preparative conflicts, she might make the condemnation of the Crooked Serpent unquestionable, and that she might encourage the brethren. For

though she was an insignificant, weak, and despised woman, yet she was clothed with the great and invincible athlete Christ. On many occasions she had overpowered the adversary, and in the course of the contest had woven for herself the crown of incorruption.

¹⁷ “Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the mob; for he was a man of mark. He entered the lists a ready combatant on account of his good conscience, since he had been truly practised in the Christian discipline, and had always been a Witness of the truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre, a tablet going before him, on which was written in Latin, ‘This is Attalus the Christian;’ and the people swelled with indignation against him. But the governor, learning that he was a Roman, ordered him to be taken back to prison and kept with the rest who were there, with regard to whom he had written to the Cæsar, and was now awaiting his determination.

¹⁸ “The intervening time did not prove barren or unfruitful to the Witnesses, but through their patient endurance the immeasurable love of Christ was made manifest. For through the living the dead were made alive; and the Witnesses conferred favours on those who were not Witnesses, and the Virgin Mother had much joy in receiving back alive those whom she had given up as dead abortions. For through the Witnesses the greater number of those who had denied returned, as it were, into their mother’s womb, and were conceived again and re-quickened; and they learned to confess. And being now restored to life, and having their spirits braced, they went up to the judgment-seat to be again questioned by the governor, while that God who wishes not the death of the sinner, but mercifully calls to repentance, put sweetness into their souls. This new examination took place because the Cæsar had given orders that the Witnesses should be punished, but that if any denied they should be set free. And as now was commencing here the fair, which is attended by vast numbers of men assembling from all nations, he brought the blessed up to the judgment-seat, exhibiting them as a theatrical show and spectacle to the mobs. Wherefore also he again questioned them, and whoever appeared to have had the rights of Roman citizenship he beheaded, and the rest he sent to the wild beasts.

¹⁹ “Now Christ was greatly glorified in those who formerly denied; for, contrary to every expectation of the heathen, they confessed. For these were examined separately, under the belief that they were to be set free; but confessing, they were added to the number of the Witnesses. But there were also

some who remained without; namely, those who had no trace of faith, and no perception of the marriage garment, nor notion of the fear of God, but through their conduct caused evil reports of our way of life, that is, sons of perdition. But all the rest were added to the Church. ²⁰ “Present at the examination of these was one Alexander, a native of Phrygia, a physician by profession. He had lived for many years in Gaul, and had become well known to all for his love to God and his boldness in proclaiming the truth, for he was not without a share of apostolic grace. He stood near the judgment-seat, and, urging by signs those who had denied to confess, he looked to those who stood round the judgment-seat like one in travail. But the mobs, enraged that those who had formerly denied should now confess, cried out against Alexander as if he were the cause of this change. Then the governor summoned him before him, and inquired of him who he was; and when Alexander said he was a Christian, the governor burst into a passion, and condemned him to the wild beasts. And on the next day he entered the amphitheatre along with Attalus; for the governor, wishing to gratify the mob, again exposed Attalus to the wild beasts. These two, after being tortured in the amphitheatre with all the instruments devised for that purpose, and having undergone an exceedingly severe contest, at last were themselves sacrificed. Alexander uttered no groan or murmur of any kind, but conversed in his heart with God; but Attalus, when he was placed on the iron chair, and all the parts of his body were burning, and when the fumes from his body were borne aloft, said to the multitude in Latin, ‘Lo! this which ye do is eating men. But as for us, we neither eat men nor practise any other wickedness.’ And being asked what name God has, he answered, ‘God has not a name as men have.’

²¹ “After all these, on the last day of the gladiatorial shows, Blandina was again brought in along with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years of age. These two had been taken daily to the amphitheatre to see the tortures which the rest endured, and force was used to compel them to swear by the idols of the heathen; but on account of their remaining stedfast, and setting all their devices at nought, the multitude were furious against them, so as neither to pity the tender years of the boy nor to respect the sex of the woman. Accordingly they exposed them to every terror, and inflicted on them every torture, repeatedly trying to compel them to swear. But they failed in effecting this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister, so plainly indeed that

even the heathens saw that it was she that encouraged and confirmed him, after enduring nobly every kind of torture, gave up the ghost; while the blessed Blandina, last of all, after having like a noble mother encouraged her children, and sent them on before her victorious to the King, trod the same path of conflict which her children had trod, hastening on to them with joy and exultation at her departure, not as one thrown to the wild beasts, but as one invited to a marriage supper. And after she had been scourged and exposed to the wild beasts, and roasted in the iron chair, she was at last enclosed in a net and cast before a bull. And after having been well tossed by the bull, though without having any feeling of what was happening to her, through her hope and firm hold of what had been entrusted to her and her converse with Christ, she also was sacrificed, the heathens themselves acknowledging that never among them did woman endure so many and such fearful tortures.

²² “Yet not even thus was their madness and their savage hatred to the saints satiated. For wild and barbarous tribes, when excited by the Wild Beast, with difficulty ceased from their rage, and their insulting conduct found another and peculiar subject in the bodies of the Witnesses. For they felt no shame that they had been overcome, for they were not possessed of human reason; but their defeat only the more inflamed their rage, and governor and people, like a wild beast, showed a like unjust hatred of us, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, ‘He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still. For they threw to the dogs those who had been suffocated in prison, carefully watching them day and night, lest any one should receive burial from us. They then laid out the mangled remains left by the wild beasts, and the scorched remains left by the fire, and the heads of the rest along with their trunks, and in like manner for many days watched them lying unburied with a military guard. There were some who raged and gnashed their teeth at them, seeking to get from them further vengeance. Others derided and insulted them, at the same time magnifying their own idols, and ascribing to them the punishment inflicted on the Christians. There were persons also of a milder disposition, who to some extent seemed to sympathize;

²³ yet they also frequently upbraided, saying, ‘Where now is their God, and what good have they got from that religion which they chose in preference to their life? Such was the diversity which characterized the conduct of

the heathens. But our state was one of deep sorrow that we could not bury the bodies. For night aided us not in this matter; money failed to persuade, and entreaty did not shame them into compliance; but they kept up the watch in every way, as if they were to gain some great advantage from the bodies of the Christians not obtaining burial. ²⁴ Something is omitted. The letter then goes on:— “The bodies of the Witnesses, after having been maltreated in every way, and exposed in the open air for six days, were burned, reduced to ashes, and swept by the wicked into the river Rhone, which flows past, in order that not even a vestige of them might be visible on earth. And these things they did, as if they had been able to overcome God, and deprive them of their second birth, in order, as they said, that ‘they may not have hope in a resurrection, trusting to which they introduce some strange and new mode of worship, and despise dangers, and go readily and with joy to death. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God can help them, and rescue them out of our hands.’” Eusebius here breaks off his series of continuous extracts, but he makes a few more for special purposes. The first is the account which the churches gave of the character of the Witnesses:—

²⁵ “Who also were to such an extent zealous followers and imitators of Christ, who, being in the shape of God, thought it not an object of desire to be treated like God; that though they were in such glory, and had borne their testimony not once, nor twice, but often, and had been again taken back to prison after exposure to the wild beasts, and bore about with them the marks of the burnings and bruises and wounds all over their bodies, yet did they neither proclaim themselves Witnesses, nor indeed did they permit us to address them by this name; but if any one of us on any occasion, either by letter or in conversation, called them Witnesses, they rebuked him sharply. For they willingly gave the title of Witness to Christ, ‘the faithful and true Witness,’ and first-born from the dead, and the leader to the divine life. And they reminded us of those Witnesses who had already departed, and said: ‘These indeed are now Witnesses, whom Christ has vouchsafed to take up to Himself in the very act of confession, thus putting His seal upon their testimony through their departure. But we are mean and humble confessors.’ And with tears they besought the brethren that earnest prayers might be made for their being perfected. They in reality did all that is implied in the term ‘testimony,’ acting with great boldness towards all the heathen; and their nobleness they made manifest through their patience, and fearlessness,

and intrepidity. But the title of Witness, as implying some superiority to their brethren, they refused, being filled with the fear of God.”

²⁶ After a little they say:— “They humbled themselves under the powerful hand by which they are now highly exalted. Then they pleaded for all, but accused none; they absolved all, they bound none; and they prayed for those who inflicted the tortures, even as Stephen the perfect Witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!” After other things, again they say:— “For they had this very great conflict with him, the devil, on account of their genuine love, in order that the Beast being choked, might vomit forth those whom he thought he had already swallowed. For they assumed no airs of superiority over the fallen, but with those things in which they themselves abounded they aided the needy, displaying towards them the compassion of a mother. And pouring out many tears for them to the Father, they begged life; and He gave it to them, and they shared it with their neighbours. And departing victorious over all to God, having always loved peace, and having recommended peace to us, in peace they went to God, leaving no sorrow to their Mother, nor division and dissension to their brethren, but joy and peace, and concord and love.”

²⁷ “The same writing of the fore-mentioned martyrs,” says Eusebius, “contains a story worth remembrance. “For there was one of them of the name of Alcibiades, who lived an exceedingly austere life, confining his diet to bread and water, and partaking of nothing else whatsoever. He tried to continue this mode of life in prison; but it was revealed to Attalus after the first conflict which he underwent in the amphitheatre that Alcibiades was not pursuing the right course in refusing to use the creatures of God, and in leaving an example which might be a stumbling-block to others. And Alcibiades was persuaded, and partook freely of all kinds of food, and thanked God. For they were not without the oversight of the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor.”

Against All Heresies

PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN

3rd century

A list of heresies from Simon Magus onward, once printed with the works of Tertullian, but written by an unknown Latin writer.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I: EARLIEST HERETICS: SIMON MAGUS, MENANDER, SATURNINUS, BASILIDES, NICOLAUS. [THE WORK BEGINS AS A FRAGMENT.]

¹Of which heretics I will (to pass by a good deal) summarize some few particulars. For of Judaism's heretics I am silent-Dositheus the Samaritan, I mean, who was the first who had the hardihood to repudiate the prophets, on the ground that they had not spoken under inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Of the Sadducees I am silent, who, springing from the root of this error, had the hardihood to adjoin to this heresy the denial likewise of the resurrection of the flesh. The Pharisees I pretermit, who were "divided" from the Jews by their superimposing of certain additaments to the law, which fact likewise made them worthy of receiving this very name; and, together with them, the Herodians likewise, who said that Herod was Christ. To those I betake myself who have chosen to make the gospel the starting-point of their heresies. Of these the first of all is Simon Magus, who in the Acts of the Apostles earned a condign and just sentence from the Apostle Peter. He had the hardihood to call himself the Supreme Virtue, that is, the Supreme God; and moreover, (to assert) that the universe had been originated by his angels; that he had descended in quest of an erring dæmon, which was Wisdom; that, in a phantasmal semblance of God, he had not suffered among the Jews, but was as if he had suffered.

²After him Menander, his disciple (likewise a magician), saying the same as Simon. Whatever Simon had affirmed himself to be, this did Menander equally affirm himself to be, asserting that none could possibly have salva-

tion without being baptized in his name. Afterwards, again, followed Saturninus: he, too, affirming that the innascible Virtue, that is God, abides in the highest regions, and that those regions are infinite, and in the regions immediately above us; but that angels far removed from Him made the lower world; and that, because light from above had flashed refulgently in the lower regions, the angels had carefully tried to form man after the similitude of that light; that man lay crawling on the surface of the earth; that this light and this higher virtue was, thanks to mercy, the salvable spark in man, while all the rest of him perishes; that Christ had not existed in a bodily substance, and had endured a quasi-passion in a phantasmal shape merely; that a resurrection of the flesh there will by no means be.

³ Afterwards broke out the heretic Basilides. He affirms that there is a supreme Deity, by name Abraxas, by whom was created Mind, which in Greek he calls *Nous*; that thence sprang the Word; that of Him issued Providence, Virtue, and Wisdom; that out of these subsequently were made Principalities, powers, and Angels; that there ensued infinite issues and processions of angels; that by these angels 365 heavens were formed, and the world, in honour of Abraxas, whose name, if computed, has in itself this number. Now, among the last of the angels, those who made this world, he places the God of the Jews latest, that is, the God of the Law and of the Prophets, whom he denies to be a God, but affirms to be an angel. To him, he says, was allotted the seed of Abraham, and accordingly he it was who transferred the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt into the land of Canaan; affirming him to be turbulent above the other angels, and accordingly given to the frequent arousing of seditions and wars, yes, and the shedding of human blood. Christ, moreover, he affirms to have been sent, not by this maker of the world, but by the above-named Abraxas; and to have come in a phantasm, and been destitute of the substance of flesh: that it was not He who suffered among the Jews, but that Simon was crucified in His stead: whence, again, there must be no believing on him who was crucified, lest one confess to having believed on Simon. Martyrdoms, he says, are not to be endured. The resurrection of the flesh he strenuously impugns, affirming that salvation has not been promised to bodies.

⁴ A brother heretic emerged in Nicolaus. He was one of the seven deacons who were appointed in the Acts of the Apostles. He affirms that Darkness was seized with a concupiscence-and, indeed, a foul and obscene one-after Light:

out of this permixture it is a shame to say what fetid and unclean (combinations arose). The rest (of his tenets), too, are obscene. For he tells of certain æons, sons of turpitude, and of conjunctions of execrable and obscene embraces and per-mixtures, and certain yet baser outcomes of these. He teaches that there were born, moreover, dæmons, and gods, and spirits seven, and other things sufficiently sacrilegious. alike and foul, which we blush to recount, and at once pass them by. Enough it is for us that this heresy of the Nicolaitans has been condemned by the Apocalypse of the Lord with the weightiest authority attaching to a sentence, in saying "Because this thou holdest, thou hatest the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which I too hate."

CHAPTER II: OPHITES, CAINITES, SETHITES

¹ To these are added those heretics likewise who are called Ophites: for they magnify the serpent to such a degree, that they prefer him even to Christ Himself; for it was he, they say, who gave us the origin of the knowledge of good and of evil. His power and majesty (they say) Moses perceiving, set up the brazen serpent; and whoever gazed upon him obtained health. Christ Himself (they say further) in His gospel imitates Moses' serpent's sacred power, in saying: "And as Moses upreared the serpent in the desert, so it becometh the Son of man to be upreared. Him they introduce to bless their eucharistic (elements). Now the whole parade and doctrine of this error flowed from the following source. They say that from the supreme primary æon whom men speak of there emanated several other inferior æons. To all these, however, there opposed himself an æon who name is Ialdabaoth. He had been conceived by the permixture of a second æon with inferior æons; and afterwards, when he had been desirous of forcing his way into the higher regions, had been disabled by the permixture of the gravity of matter with himself to arrive at the higher regions; had been left in the midst, and had extended himself to his full dimensions, and thus had made the sky.

² Ialdabaoth, however, had descended lower, and had made him seven sons, and had shut from their view the upper regions by self-distension, in order that, since (these) angels could not know what was above, they might think him the sole God. These inferior Virtues and angels, therefore, had made man; and, because he had been originated by weaker and mediocre powers, he lay crawling, worm-like. That æon, however, out of which Ialdabaoth had proceeded, moved to the heart with envy, had injected into man as he lay a certain spark; excited whereby, he was through prudence to grow

wise, and be able to understand the things above. So, again, the Ialdabaoth aforesaid, turning indignant, had emitted out of himself the Virtue and similitude of the serpent; and this had been the Virtue in paradise—that is, this had been the serpent-whom Eve had believed as if he had been God the Son. He plucked, say they, from the fruit of the tree, and thus conferred on mankind the knowledge of things good and evil. Christ, moreover, existed not in substance of flesh: salvation of the flesh is not to be hoped for at all.

³ Moreover, also, there has broken out another heresy also, which is called that of the Cainites. And the reason is, that they magnify Cain as if he had been conceived of some potent Virtue which operated in him; for Abel had been procreated after being conceived of an inferior Virtue, and accordingly had been found inferior. They who assert this likewise defend the traitor Judas, telling us that he is admirable and great, because of the advantages he is vaunted to have conferred on mankind; for some of them think that thanksgiving is to be rendered to Judas on this account: viz., Judas, they say, observing that Christ wished to subvert the truth, betrayed Him, in order that there might be no possibility of truth's being subverted. And others thus dispute against them, and say: Because the powers of this world were unwilling that Christ should suffer, lest through His death salvation should be prepared for mankind, he, consulting for the salvation of mankind, betrayed Christ, in order that there might be no possibility at all of the salvation being impeded, which was being impeded through the Virtues which were opposing Christ's passion; and thus, through the passion of Christ, there might be no possibility of the salvation of mankind being retarded.

⁴ But, again, the heresy has started forth which is called that of the Sethites. The doctrine of this perversity is as follows. Two human beings were formed by the angels—Cain and Abel. On their account arose great contentions and discords among the angels; for this reason, that Virtue which was above all the Virtues—which they style the Mother—when they said that Abel had been slain, willed this Seth of theirs to be conceived and born in place of Abel, in order that those angels might be escheated who had created those two former human beings, while this pure seed rises and is born. For they say that there had been iniquitous permixtures of two angels and human beings; for which reason that Virtue which (as we have said) they style the Mother brought on the deluge even, for the purpose of vengeance, in order that that seed of permixture might be swept away, and this only seed which was pure

be kept entire. But (in vain): for they who had originated those of the former seed sent into the ark (secretly and stealthily, and unknown to that Mother-Virtue), together with those "eight souls," the seed likewise of Ham, in order that the seed of evil should not perish, but should, together with the rest, be preserved, and after the deluge be restored to the earth, and, by example of the rest, should grow up and diffuse itself, and fill and occupy the whole orb. Of Christ, moreover, their sentiments are such that they call Him merely Seth, and say that He was instead of the actual Seth.

CHAPTER III: CARPOCRATES, CERINTHUS, EBION

¹ Carpocrates, futhermore, introduced the following sect. He affirms that there is one Virtue, the chief among the upper (regions): that out of this were produced angels and Virtues, which, being far distant from the upper Virtues, created this world in the lower regions: that Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, but was generated—a mere human being—of the seed of Joseph, superior (they admit) above all others in the practice of righteousness and in integrity of life; that He suffered among the Jews; and that His soul alone was received in heaven as having been more firm and hardy than all others: whence he would infer, retaining only the salvation of souls, that there are no resurrections of the body. After him brake out the heretic Cerinthus, teaching similarly. For he, too, says that the world was originated by those angels; and sets forth Christ as born of the seed of Joseph, contending that He was merely human, without divinity; affirming also that the Law was given by angels; representing the God of the Jews as not the Lord, but an angel.

² His successor was Ebion, not agreeing with Cerinthus in every point; in that he affirms the world to have been made by God, not by angels; and because it is written, "No disciple above his master, nor servant above his lord," sets forth likewise the law as binding, of course for the purpose of excluding the gospel and vindicating Judaism.

CHAPTER IV: VALENTINUS, PTOLEMY AND SECUNDUS, HERACLEON

¹ Valentinus the heretic, moreover, introduced many fables. These I will retrench and briefly summarize. For he introduces the Pleroma and the thirty æons. These æons, moreover, he explains in the way of syzygies, that is, conjugal unions of some kind. For among the first, he says, were Depth and Silence; of these proceeded Mind and Truth; out of whom burst the Word and Life; from whom, again, were created Man and the Church. But (these are

not all); for of these last also proceeded twelve æons; from Speech, moreover, and Life proceeded other ten æons: such is the Triacontad of æons, which is made up in the Pleroma of an ogdoad, a decad, and a duodecad. The thirtieth æon, moreover, willed to see the great Bythus; and, to see him, had the hardihood to ascend into the upper regions; and not being capable of seeing his magnitude, desponded, and almost suffered dissolution, had not some one, -he whom he calls Horos, to wit, -sent to invigorate him, strengthened him by pronouncing the word "Iao. This æon, moreover, which was thus reduced to despondency, he calls Achamoth, (and says) that he was seized with certain regretful passions, and out of his passions gave birth to material essences. For he was panic-stricken, he says, and terror-stricken, and overcome with sadness; and of these passions he conceived and bare. Hence he made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and whatever is in them:

2 for which cause all things made by him are infirm, and frail, and capable of falling, and mortal, inasmuch as he himself was conceived and produced from despondency. He, however, originated this world out of those material essences which Achamoth, by his panic, or terror, or sadness, or sweat, had supplied. For of his panic, he says, was made darkness; of his fear and ignorance, the spirits of wickedness and malignity; of his sadness and tears, the humidities of founts, the material essence of floods and sea. Christ, moreover, was sent by that First-Father who is Bythus. He, moreover, was not in the substance of our flesh; but, bringing down from heaven some spiritual body or other, passed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe, neither receiving nor borrowing aught thence. The resurrection of our present flesh he denies, but (maintains that) of some sister-flesh. Of the Law and the prophets some parts he approves, some he disapproves; that is, he disapproves all in reprobating some. A Gospel of his own he likewise has, beside these of ours.

3 After him arose the heretics Ptolemy and Secundus, who agree throughout with Valentinus, differing only in the following point: viz., whereas Valentinus had reigned but thirty æons, they have added several more; for they first added four, and subsequently four more. And Valentine's assertion, that it was the thirtieth æon which strayed out from the Pleroma, (as falling into despondency,) they deny; for the one which desponded on account of disappointed yearning to see the First-Father was not of the original triacontad, they say. There arose, besides, Heracleon, a brother -heretic, whose sen-

timents pair with Valentine's; but, by some novelty of terminology, he is desirous of seeming to differ in sentiment. For he introduces the notion that there existed first what he terms (a Monad); and then out of that Monad (arose) two, and then the rest of the æons. Then he introduces the whole system of Valentine.

CHAPTER V: MARCUS AND COLARBASUS

After these there were not wanting a Marcus and a Colarbasus, composing a novel heresy out of the Greek alphabet. For they affirm that without those letters truth cannot be found; nay more, that in those letters the whole plenitude and perfection of truth is comprised; for this was why Christ said, "I am the Alpha and the Omega." In fact, they say that Jesus Christ descended, that is, that the dove came down on Jesus; and, since the dove is styled by the Greek name *peristera*/(*peristera*), it has in itself this number DCCCI. These men run through their W, Y, X F U, T-through the whole alphabet, indeed, up to A and B-and compute ogdoads and decads. So we may grant it useless and idle to recount all their trifles. What, however, must be allowed not merely vain, but likewise dangerous, is this: they feign a second God, beside the Creator; they affirm that Christ was not in the substance of flesh; they say there is to be no resurrection of the flesh.

CHAPTER VI: CERDO, MARCION, LUCAN, APELLES

¹To this is added one Cerdo. He introduces two first causes, that is, two Gods-one good, the other cruel: the good being the superior; the latter, the cruel one, being the creator of the world. He repudiates the prophecies and the Law; renounces God the Creator; maintains that Christ who came was the Son of the superior God; affirms that He was not in the substance of flesh; states Him to have been only in a phantasmal shape, to have not really suffered, but undergone a quasipassion, and not to have been born of a virgin, nay, really not to have been born at all. A resurrection of the soul merely does he approve, denying that of the body. The Gospel of Luke alone, and that not entire, does he receive. Of the Apostle Paul he takes neither all the epistles, nor in their integrity. The Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse he rejects as false.

²After him emerged a disciple of his, one Marcion by name, a native of Pontus, son of a bishop, excommunicated because of a rape committed on a certain virgin. He, starting from the fact that it is said, "Every good tree

beareth good fruit, but an evil evil," attempted to approve the heresy of Cerdo; so that his assertions are identical with those of the former heretic before him. After him arose one Lucan by name, a follower and disciple of Marcion. He, too, wading through the same kinds of blasphemy, teaches the same as Marcion and Cerdo had taught. ³Close on their heels follows Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, who after lapsing, into his own carnality, was severed from Marcion. He introduces one God in the infinite upper regions, and states that He made many powers and angels; beside Him, withal, another Virtue, which he affirms to be called Lord, but represents as an angel. By him he will have it appear that the world. was originated in imitation of a superior world. With this lower world he mingled throughout (a principle of) repentance, because he had not made it so perfectly as that superior world had been originated. The Law and the prophets he repudiates. Christ he neither, like Marcion, affirms to have been in a phantasmal shape, nor yet in substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but says, because He descended from the upper regions, that in the course of His descent He wove together for Himself a starry and airy flesh; and, in His resurrection, restored, in the course of His ascent, to the several individual elements whatever had been borrowed in His descent: and thus-the several parts of His body dispersed-He reinstated in heaven His spirit only. This man denies the resurrection of the flesh. He uses, too, one only apostle; but that is Marcion's, that is, a mutilated one. He teaches the salvation of souls alone. He has, besides, private but extraordinary lections of his own, which he calls "Manifestations of one Philumene, a girl whom he follows as a prophetess. He has, besides, his own books, which he has entitled books of Syllogisms, in which he seeks to prove that whatever Moses has written about God is not true, but is false.

CHAPTER VII: TATIAN, CATAPHRYGIANS, CATAPROCLANS,
CATHAESCHINETANS

To all these heretics is added one Tatian, a brother-heretic. This man was Justin Martyr's disciple. After Justin's death he began to cherish different opinions from his. For he wholly savours of Valentinus; adding this, that Adam cannot even attain salvation: as if, when the branches become salvable, the root were not! Other heretics swell the list who are called Cataphrygians, but their teaching is not uniform. For there are (of them) some who are called Cataproclans; there are others who are termed Catæschinetans. These have a blasphemy common, and a blasphemy not common, but

peculiar and special. The common blasphemy lies in their saying that the Holy Spirit was in the apostles indeed, the Paraclete was not; and in their saying that the Paraclete has spoken in Montanus more things than Christ brought forward into (the compass of) the Gospel, and not merely more, but likewise better and greater. But the particular one they who follow æschines have; this, namely, whereby they add this, that they affirm Christ to be Himself Son and Father.

CHAPTER VIII: BLASTUS, TWO THEODOTI, PRAXEAS

¹In addition to all these, there is likewise Blastus, who would latently introduce Judaism. For he says the passover is not to be kept otherwise than according to the law of Moses, on the fourteenth of the month. But who would fail to see that evangelical grace is escheated if he recalls Christ to the Law? Add to these Theodotus the Byzantine, who, after being apprehended for Christ's Name, and apostatizing, ceased not to blaspheme against Christ. For he introduced a doctrine by which to affirm that Christ was merely a human being, but deny His deity; teaching that He was born of the Holy Spirit indeed of a virgin, but was a solitary and bare human being, with no pre-eminence above the rest (of mankind), but only that of righteousness. After him brake out a second heretical Theodotus, who again himself introduced a sister-sect, and says that the human being Christ Himself was merely conceived alike, and born, of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, but that He was inferior to Melchizedek; because it is said of Christ, "Thou art a priest unto eternity, after the order of Melchizedek." For that Melchizedek, he says, was a heavenly Virtue of pre-eminent grace; in that Christ acts for human beings, being made their Deprecator and Advocate: Melchizedek does so for heavenly angels and Virtues. For to such a degree, he says, is he better than Christ, that he is *a0pa/twr* (fatherless), *a0mh/twr* (motherless), *a0genealoghtoj* (without genealogy), of whom neither the beginning nor the end has been comprehended, nor can be comprehended.

²But after all these, again, one Praxeas introduced a heresy which Victorinus was careful to corroborate. He asserts that Jesus Christ is God the Father Almighty. Him he contends to have been crucified, and suffered, and died; beside which, with a profane and sacrilegious temerity, he maintains the proposition that He is Himself sitting at His own right hand.

Apology (attributed to Melito)

PSEUDO-MELITO, TRANSLATED BY W. CURETON

uncertain, 3rd century

A Syriac apology addressed to an emperor, in the name of Melito of Sardis. It speaks against idols and for the one God. It is probably not by Melito.

AN ORATION OF MELITON THE PHILOSOPHER;

¹ WHO WAS IN THE PRESENCE OF ANTONINUS CAESAR, AND BADE THE SAME CAESAR KNOW GOD, AND SHEWED HIM THE WAY OF TRUTH; AND HE BEGAN SPEAKING AFTER THIS MANNER: MELITO saith: It is not an easy matter readily to bring into the right way that man who has been a long time pre-occupied by error. But nevertheless it is possible to be done; for when a man has been turned from error a little, the mention of the truth is acceptable to him; for in the same manner as, when the cloud has been broken a little, there is fine weather, so also a man, too, when he is turned towards God, the thick cloud of error which hindered him from the true vision, is quickly removed from his face. For error, like passion and sleep, holdeth for a long time those who alight under it; but truth, using the word as a stimulus, and smiting such as are asleep, also awaketh them; and when they are awake, seeing the truth, they also understand, and hearing, they also distinguish that which exists from that which doth not exist. For there are men that call wickedness righteousness, and so then they suppose that this is righteousness when a man shall be in error together with the many. But I say that this is not a good excuse, that a man be in error with the many: for if one only act foolishly his folly is great; how much greater, then, must the folly be when the many are foolish together?

² But the folly of which I speak is this, if a man should leave that which really exists, and serve that which really does not exist: but there is that which really exists, and is called God, and He really exists, and by His power every thing subsists; and This same was not made, nor yet brought into be-

ing, but exists from eternity, and will exist for ever and ever. He undergoes no change, while all things are changed. No sight is able to behold Him; nor understanding able to comprehend Him, nor words to describe Him; and those who love Him call him after this manner----Father and God of Truth. And if, therefore, a man abandon the light, and say that there is another God, it is found from his own words that he calleth some created thing God. For if a man call fire God, it is not God, because it is fire; and if a man call the waters Gods, they are not God, because they are waters; and if this earth which we tread upon, and if those heavens which are seen by us, and if the sun, or the moon, or one of those stars which run their course by ordinance and rest not, nor proceed by their own will,---and if a man call gold and silver Gods; are not these things that we use as we please? And if that wood which we burn, and if those stones which we break----how then are these Gods? for, lo! they are for the use of men. How will not they be found in great sin, who change the great God by their word into those things which stand by ordinance so far as they do stand?

³ But I say nevertheless, that so long as a man not having heard, neither discerneth nor understands that there is a Lord over these creatures, perhaps he is not to be blamed, because no one blameth the blind when he walketh badly. For in the same manner also men, while they were seeking after God, stumbled against stones and stocks; and such of them as were rich, stumbled against gold and silver, and by their stumbling were kept back from that which they were seeking after. But now that a voice has been heard in all the earth that there is a God of truth, and an eye has been given to every man to see withal, they are without excuse who are influenced by a feeling of shame towards the many with whom they have been in error, but otherwise desire to walk in the right way. For those who are ashamed to be saved, necessity compels them to die. On this account I counsel them that they open their eyes and see; for, lo! light without envy is given to all of us, that we may see thereby; and if, when light hath arisen upon us, any one closeth his eyes that he may not see, his course is to the ditch. For why is a man influenced by feelings of shame towards those who have been in error together with himself?

⁴ Rather it behoveth him to persuade them to follow in his steps, and if they be not persuaded by him, he should save himself from amongst them. For there are some men who are not able to raise themselves up from their

mother earth: for this cause, also, they make for themselves Gods from the earth their mother. And they are condemned by the judgments of truth, because they affix that name which is unchangeable to those things which are subject to change, and fear not to designate as Gods that which has been made by the hands of man; and dare to make an image for God whom they have not seen. ⁵ But I affirm that also the Sybil has said respecting them, that it is the images of kings, who are dead, they worship. And this is easy to understand; for, lo! even now they worship and honour the images of those belonging to the Caesars, more than those former Gods: for from those their former Gods, both tribute and produce are paid to Cassar as to one, who is greater than they. And on this account those are slain who despise them, and diminish the revenue of Caesar. For also to the treasury of other kings in various places it is appointed how much the worshippers supply, and how many sacks full of water from the sea. And this is the wickedness of the world, of such as worship and fear that which hath no perception; and many of those who are cunning, either for the sake of profit, or on account of vain-glory, or for the sake of swaying the many, both worship themselves, and instigate the deficient in understanding to worship that which hath no perception.

⁶ But I, according as I know, will write and shew how and for what causes images were made for kings and tyrants, and they became as gods. The people of Argos made images for Hercules, because he was one of their own citizens and was brave, and slew by his valour noisome beasts, and more especially because they were afraid of him, for he was violent, and carried away the wives of many, for his lust was great, like that of Zuradi the Persian, his friend. Again, the people of Aete worshipped Dionysius, a king, because he originally introduced the vine into their country. The Egyptians worshipped Joseph, a Hebrew, who was called Serapis, because he supplied them with sustenance in the years of famine. The Athenians worshipped Athene, the daughter of Zeus, king of the island of Crete, because she built the citadel Athens, and made Ericthippus (Ericthonius) her son king there, whom she had by adultery with Hephaestus, a smith, the son of a wife of her father; and she always was making companionship with Hercules, because he was her brother on her father's side. For Zeus the king fell in love with Alcmene, the wife of Electryon, who was from Argos, and committed adultery with her, and she gave birth to Hercules.

7 The people of Phoenicia worshipped Balthi, queen of Cyprus, because she fell in love with Tamuz, son of Cuthar, king of the Phoenicians, and left her own kingdom, and came and dwelt in Gebal, a fortress of the Phoenicians, and at the same time she made all the Cyprians subject to the king Cuthar: for before Tamuz she had been in love with Ares, and committed adultery with him, and Hephaestus her husband caught her, and was jealous over her, and came and slew Tamuz in Mount Lebanon, while he was hunting wild boars; and from that time Balthi remained in Gebal, and she died in the city Aphaca, where Tamuz was buried. The Elamites worshipped Nuh, daughter of the King of Elam. When the enemy had taken her captive, her father made for her an image and a temple in Shushan, a palace which is in Elam. The Syrians worshipped Athi a Hadibite, who sent the daughter of Belat, who was skilled in medicine, and she cured Simi, daughter of Hadad, king of Syria; and after a time, when the leprosy attacked Hadad himself, Athi entreated Elishah, the Hebrew, and he came and cured him of his leprosy.

8 The people of Mesopotamia also worshipped Cuthbi, a Hebrew woman, because she delivered Bacru, the patrician of Edessa, from his enemies. But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you; for, lo! all the priests which are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. And Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus, because both of these Magi practised Magism to a well which is in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it committed violence and attacked the passage of every one who was passing by in all that place in which now the fortress of Mabug is located; and these same Magi charged Simi, the daughter of Hadad, that she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well, in order that the spirit should not come up and commit injury, according to that which was a mystery in their Magism. And in like manner, also, the rest of mankind made images of their kings, and worshipped them, of which I will not write further.

9 But thou, a free intelligence and cognizant of the truth, if thou wilt consider these things, enter into thyself; and if they clothe thee in the fashion of a woman, remember that thou art a man, and be a believer in Him who really is God, and to Him open thy mind, and to Him commit thyself, and He is able to give thee everlasting life, which dieth not; for every thing cometh through His hands: and all other things so let them be esteemed by

thee as they are, images as images, sculptures as sculptures; and let not any thing which has been made be put by thee in the place of Him who is not made. But let Him, the ever-living God, be always running in thy mind; for thy mind itself is his likeness, for it, too, is invisible and impalpable, and without form; and by its will the whole body is moved. Know thou, therefore, that if thou wilt always be serving Him that is immoveable, as He exists for ever, so thou also, when thou shalt have put off this which is visible and corruptible, shalt stand before Him for ever, living and endowed with knowledge; and thy works shall be for thee riches which fail not, and possessions that do not lack. But know thou that the chief of all thy good works is this: that thou shouldest know God and serve Him. And know that He asketh not for any thing of thee: he needeth nothing.

¹⁰ Who is that God? He who is himself truth, and his word truth. But what is truth? That which is not fashioned, and not made, and not formed; that is, that which, without having been brought into existence, does exist, and is called truth. But if, then, a man worship that which has been made by hands, it is not the truth he worshipeth, neither also the word of truth. But for myself I have much to say touching this matter; but I am influenced by a feeling of shame for those who do not understand that they are better than the work of their own hands; nor do they understand how they give gold to the artists, that they may make for them a god, and give them silver for their ornament and their honour, and they transfer their riches from one place to another, and then worship them. And what disgrace can be greater than this, that a man should worship his riches, and abandon Him who bestowed upon him the riches? and that he should revile man, but worship the image of man, and slay a beast, but worship the likeness of a beast. And it must be acknowledged that is the workmanship of their fellow-men that they worship; for they do not worship the materials while they are laid by in bundles, but when the artists have fashioned images from them they worship them; neither do they worship the substance of gold or of silver, until the sculptors have engraven them, then they worship them.

¹¹ Deficient of understanding! What additional thing has been imparted to the gold that now thou worshippest it? If it be because it resembles a winged animal, why dost thou not worship the winged animal itself? And if because it resembles a voracious beast, lo! the voracious beast itself is before thee. And if it be the artist's skill itself that please thee, then let the artistic

skill of God please thee, who made every thing, and in His own likeness made the artists, and they endeavour to do like Him, but resemble Him not.

¹² But perchance thou mayest say, Why did not God create me so that I should then have served Him, and not idols? By this that thou speakest in such a manner, thou wouldest seek to become an idle instrument, and not a living man. For God made thee so well as it seemed good to Him, and gave thee a mind endowed with Free-will. He set before thee abundant things that thou mightest distinguish each thing, and choose for thyself that which is good. He has set before thee the heavens, and he has placed in them the stars. He hath set before thee the sun and the moon, and they every day fulfil their course therein. He hath set before thee many waters, and restrained them by his word. He hath set before thee the vast earth, which is still, and continueth before thee in one fashion. And in order that thou mayest not suppose that of its own nature it continueth, He also maketh it quake whensoever He desireth. He hath set before thee the clouds which by ordinance bring water from above and satisfy the earth: that from these things thou mightest understand, that He who moveth these is greater than they all, and that thou mightest accept the goodness of Him, who hath given to thee a mind by which thou mayest distinguish these things. Therefore I counsel thee that thou shouldest know thyself, and shouldest know God. For understand how there is within thee that which is called the soul:

¹³ by it the eye seeth, by it the ear heareth, by it the mouth speaketh: and how it employeth the whole body. And whensoever He pleaseth to remove the soul from the body, it falleth and goeth to decay. From this, therefore, which exists within thyself and is invisible, understand how God also moveth the whole world by his power, like the body, and that whensoever it pleaseth Him to withdraw his power, the whole world also, like the body, will fall and go to decay. ¹⁴ For what end, therefore, this world was created, and why it passeth away, and why the body exists, and why it falleth, and why it standeth, thou art not able to know until thou shalt have lifted up thy head from this sleep in which thou art sunken, and have opened thine eyes, and seen that there is one God, the Lord of all, and have served Him with all thy heart. Then will He grant thee to know His will; for every one who is far removed from the knowledge of the living God is dead and buried in his body. On this account thou rollest thyself upon the ground before demons and shadows, and askest vain petitions from such as hath not what to give.

But thou, stand thou upfrom amongst those who are lying on the earth and embracing stones, and giving their sustenance as food for the fire, and offering their clothes to idols, and are willing, while they themselves are endowed with senses, to serve that which is insensible. And do thou ask petitions which will not fail from God who failcth not, for thy soul which is not liable to decay, and immediately thy Free-will will be evident, and of it be careful; and give thanks to God who made thee, and gave thee a free mind, that thou mightest conduct thyself as thou wishest. He hath set before thee all these things, and sheweth thee, that if thou followest after evil thou shalt be condemned for thy evil deeds; but if after goodness thou shalt receive from Him many good things, together with eternal life which never dieth.

¹⁵ There is nothing, therefore, which hindereth thee from changing thy evil manner of life, because thou art endowed with Free-will; and from seeking and finding who is the Lord of all, and from serving Him with all thy heart, because with Him there is no jealousy of giving the knowledge of himself to those that seek it, so that they are able to know Him. Let it be thy care first, not to deceive thyself. For if thou sayest with regard to that which is not God, This is God, thou deceivest thyself, and sinnest before the God of truth. Fool! is that God which is bought and sold? Is that God which standeth in need? Is that God which must be watched? How buyest thou him as a slave, and servest him as master? How askest thou of him as of one who is rich to give to thee, and thyself givest to him as to one who is poor? How canst thou expect of him that he will make thee victorious in battle; for, lo! when thine enemies have vanquished thee, they also strip him too?

¹⁶ Perchance one who is a sovereign may say that I am not able to conduct myself well, because I am a sovereign. It behoveth me to do the will of the many. He who should plead thus, truly deserves to be laughed at. For why should not the sovereign be himself the leader in all good things, and persuade the people which is subject to him, that they should conduct themselves with purity, and know God in truth, and set them in himself examples of all good deeds? Because so it becometh him. For it is an absurd thing that a sovereign, while he conducts himself badly, should be the judge, and condemn those who go wrong. ¹⁷ But my opinion is this: that in this way a realm may be governed in peace, whenever the sovereign shall be acquainted with the God of truth, and through fear of Him shall be withheld from injuring those who are his subjects, but shall judge every thing with equity, as one

who knoweth that he himself also is about to be judged before God; while those also who are under his hand shall be withheld by the fear of God from acting wrongly towards their sovereign, and shall also be withheld by fear from doing what is wrong to each other. And by this knowledge and fear of God all wickedness may be removed from the realm. For if the sovereign abstain from injuring those who are under his hand, and they abstain from doing wrong against him, and against each other, it is evident that the whole country will dwell in peace. And many advantages will be there, because amongst them all the name of God will be glorified. For what advantage is greater than this, that a sovereign should deliver the people which is under his hand from error, and by this good deed obtain the favour of God? For from error all those evils arise. But the chief of error is this: that while a man is ignorant of God, he should worship in God's stead that which is not God.

18 But there are men who say, that it is for God's own honour we make the idol;---that forsooth, they may worship the image of the hidden God! And they are ignorant that God is in every country, and in every place, and is never absent, and that there is not any thing done, and He knoweth it not. But thou, feeble man, within whom He is, and without whom He is, and above whom He is, hast gone and bought for thyself wood from the carpenter's house, which is graven and made into an abomination of God. To this same thing thou offerest sacrifices, and knowest not that the all-seeing eye beholdeth thee, and the word of truth reproacheth thee, and saith to thee, The invisible God, how can He be sculptured? But it is the likeness of thyself that thou makest, and then worshippeth it. Because the wood has been graven, dost thou not perceive that it is wood, or that it is stone? And the gold one taketh by weight, how much it weigheth: and when thou hast made it, why dost thou weigh it? Therefore thou art a lover of gold, and not a lover of God. And art not thou ashamed, perchance it should be deficient, to demand of him who made it, why he has stolen some of it? And although thou hast eyes, dost thou not see? and although thou hast a heart, dost thou not understand? Why rollest thou thyself upon the earth, and offerest supplication to things which are without perception? Fear Him who shaketh the earth, and maketh the heavens to revolve, and quelleth the sea, and removeth the mountains from their place; Him who can make himself like fire, and burn up every thing. And if thou be not able to justify thyself, yet

add not to thy sins; and if thou be unable to know God, yet think that He exists.

¹⁹ Again, there are men that say, Whatsoever our fathers, bequeathed to us, that we reverence. Therefore, forsooth, those to whom their fathers bequeathed poverty, strive to become rich! and those whom their fathers did not instruct, desire to be instructed and to learn what their fathers knew not! And why, forsooth, do the children of the blind see, and the children of the lame walk? For it is not well for a man to follow after such as have gone before that walked badly; but that we should turn from the same path, lest that which befel those who have gone before should also bring injury upon us. Wherefore, inquire if thy father walked well; if so, do thou also follow after him: but if thy father walked ill, walk thou well, and let thy children also follow after thee. Be solicitous too respecting thy father, because he walketh ill, so long as thy solicitude may be of avail to help him. But as for thy children, say to them thus, That there does exist a God, the Father of all, who never was brought into being, neither was He made, and every thing subsisteth by his will; and He made the lights that his works may behold one another, and He concealeth himself in his might from all his works; for it is not possible for any mutable thing to see Him who is immutable.

²⁰ But such as have been admonished and admitted into that covenant which is immutable, they see God so far as it is possible for them to see him. These same will be able to escape from being consumed when the flood of fire shall come upon all the world. For there was once a flood and wind, and the chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind, and the just were left for demonstration of the truth; but again, at another time there was a flood of waters, and all men arid living creatures were destroyed by the multitude of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood, by the ordinance of God. So also it will be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with the idols which they have made, and with the graven images which they have worshipped; and the sea, together with its isles, shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the fury, like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the deluge. And then those who have not known God, and those who have made idols for themselves, shall lament, when they behold the same idols on fire together with themselves, and nothing shall be found to help them.

21 But when thou, O Antonius (Antoninus) Caesar shalt learn these things thyself, and thy children also with thee, thou wilt bequeath to them an eternal inheritance which fadeth not away; and thou wilt deliver thine own soul, and also the soul of thy children from that which is about to befall the whole earth in the judgment of truth and righteousness. Because, as thou hast acknowledged him here, He will acknowledge thee there; and if thou esteem him great here, He esteemeth not thee more than those who have known him and confessed him. Sufficient be these for thy majesty; and if they be too many,----as thou wilt. HERE ENDETH MELITON. [Selected endnotes moved here and numbered] 1. P. 41. Who was in the presence. M. Kenan translates "qui factus est coram," referring to "sermo" before. The writer in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," 1855, who signs his initials B. H. C., whom I shall henceforth designate by these letters, has "before Antoninus Caesar," omitting altogether to translate.... It does not, however, seem probable that the oration was made in the Emperor's presence, because the author speaks of writing it. "But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you." See p. 44, L. 34 above. Meliton appears to have seen and conversed with the Emperor, and afterwards to have written this oration. An active verb relating to the author, B.H.C. has made passive, and referred it to the Oration, "and it was addressed."

22 2. L. 1. It is not an easy matter, &c. There is a sentence so exactly like this in Justin Martyr, that it would almost seem as if the one were copied from the Other...Apol. i. 12, p. 32, edit. Otto. 3. L. 2. Has been pre-occupied by error. B.H.C. having before made an active verb passive, here makes a passive verb active, and translates "apprehends him." As there are so many grammatical blunders committed by this translator, it would be a waste of time to mention them all. I shall therefore only notice some of the other errors that he has fallen into, which may mislead such as would depend upon his translation, as exhibiting the real meaning of the Syriac. 4. L. 18. A good excuse that a man be in error with the many. Justin Martyr writes,... which, how ever, is cited by Johannes Damascenus with the reading of... as here instead of...: Apol. i. 2, p. 4, edit. Otto.

23 5. P.42, L. 25. That a voice has been heard in all the earth. Rom. x. 18. 6. P.43, L 10.... Every one conversant with the early Christian writers Justin Martyr, Theophilus, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Lactantius, &c., is aware that they often refer to the prophecies of the Sibyls. The passage

to which Meliton seems especially to allude here is the following: See Sibyllina Oracula, edit. Gale, p. 467: This is also quoted, with two slight variations in the first verse, in the Cohortatio ad Gentiles, attributed to Justin Martyr. See edit. Oehler, p. 62. 7. L. 13. More than the former gods. Tertullian writes to the same effect.... Ad Nationes, lib. i, c. 10, p. 328, edit. Oehler. And again in his Apology, c. 28, p. 228:.... Justin Martyr writes:.... 1, C. 21, p. 56. Tertullian also expresses the same opinion as Melito respecting the origin of the heathen gods:.... De Idolatria, c. 15, p. 93. Respecting the divine honours paid to Julius Caesar, see Suetonius, Jul. Caes. c. 76: Valerius Maximus, lib. i. c. 6. § 13. Touching divine honours paid by the Emperor Hadrian to the wretch Antoninus, see Justin Martyr, Apol. i.e. 29, p. 76; Eusebius, Praepar. Evan. b. ii. c. 6; Hist. Eccl. iv. 8; and Valesius' notes ad locum; and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, vol. ii. p. 267.

24 8. L. 30. The wives of many. See respecting the wives of Hercules, Diodorus Siculus, Biblioth. b. 4; and Eusebius, Praepar. Evang. lib. ii. c. 2. 9. L. 31. Zuradi. That is, Zaradas the Persian, said to be the author of the abominable law of the Persians: see note above, p. 81. Photius speaking of the work of Theodorus on Persian Magic, writes,.... Biblioth. Cod. 81, edit. Bekker, p. 63. 10. L. 35. Joseph, a Hebrew, who is called Serapis. Meliton is not singular in this view. Tertullian,.... Ad Nationes ii. c. 8, p. 366. Julius Firmicus Maternus, De Errore profan. relig. c. 9:.... Ruffinus states, b. xi. c. 22,.... See Auctores Hist. Eccl. edit. Basil. 1528, p. 256. Suidas has evidently followed Ruffinus: 11. P.44, L. 12. Balthi is the Syriac name of Venus, Tamus of Adonis; and Cuthar is the Kivvpas of the Greeks: see Nork, Die Gotter Syriens, p. 79: Selden, De Diis Syris Synt. ii. c.2,3: Vossius, De Theol. Gent. b. i. c.22,23.

25 12. L. 21. Respecting the temple of Venus in Apheca:.... see Eusebius, De Vita Constant, b. iii. c. 55; and De Laud. Constant, c. viii. edit. Zimmermann, pp.950,1159; Zosimus, cited by Selden, De Diis Syr. p. 278, writes,.... Lucian says that it was founded by Cinyras: see De Syria Dea, c. 9. 13. L. 23. Nuh. The manuscript reads plainly... B.H.C. has read otherwise, and translated 'Hai:' M. Renan 'Noe.' It is apparently a blunder of the copyist, probably for..., 'Nai;' or 'Anai,'..., the goddess Anais, or Anaitis. M. Renan has also suggested this name. 14. L. 26. Athi a Hadibite. I do not know what... refers to. Nor am I able to offer any satisfactory explanation respecting this account of Meliton. The story seems to have originated in that of the little maid who was brought away captive out of the land of Israel, and waited upon Naa-

man's wife, and of the cure of Naaman's leprosy by Elisha. 2 Kings c. 5. Perhaps Athi may have some connection with the name... Attis who is said to have instituted the orgies for Rhea. See Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, c. 13. Vossius: *ibid.* c. 20. The account by Damascius of his visiting Hierapolis and sleeping there----as Photius has related it, and of the pestilential and deadly vapours which were emitted from a cavern under the temple of Apollo----taken in reference to what Meliton says respecting the unclean spirit in the sacred wood of Mabug, called also Hierapolis, and the way in which this was remedied by the daughter of Hadad, would seem to shew some connection between the stories and the names; but there is so much uncertainty in all this, that it would be needless to waste my own and the reader's time in offering conjectures. The passage alluded to in Photius is this:.... See *Bibliotheca*, cod. 242, edit. Bekker, p. 345.

26 15. L. 34. Mabug, more generally known as Hierapolis. Pliny:.... b. v, c. 33. 16. P.45, L. 6. That she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well. B.H.C., wrongly, "that water should be drawn;" and M. Renan, not less erroneously,... Both have referred to the passage of Lucian *De Syria Dea*, c. 13,... 17. P.50, L. 35. A flood of wind. B. H. C. gives as a note, but without any authority, "The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is here alluded to." He is, however, altogether mistaken. The flood of wind relates rather to the destruction of the tower of Babel: see Josephus *Antiq.* b. i. c. 4...The passage in the Sibyl, to which Josephus alludes, seems to be this:.... See Gale *Sibyll. Orac.* p. 330. Abydenus, cited by Eusebius, *Evang. lib.* ix. C. 14:.... The author of the *Cave of Treasures*,.... to which I have already referred, p. 79, gives another account of the Flood of Wind: to which tradition, indeed, Meliton may refer: ----... "And in the hundredth year of Nahor, when God saw that men sacrificed their children to devils, and worshipped idols, God opened the storehouse of his wind, and the tempest's door, and a storm of wind went forth through all the earth, and overthrew the images and the temples of the devils, and collected together the idols and the images, and the statues, and made great heaps over them until this day. And this storm of wind the doctors call the Flood of wind:" see fol. 22. The same account is also given in the *Ethiopic Book of Adam*, translated by Dr. A. Dillman in *Ewald's Jahrbücker*, p. 118:...

27 18. P. 51. L. 5. The earth shall be burnt up, &c. Meliton evidently alludes here to 2 Pet. iii. 10.12. This may probably be one reason why my

friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, to whom I lent the translation of this Apology, and who at first did not doubt its authenticity, might have been led afterwards to think that it "bears the stamp of a late and confused composition;" and "for that reason to abstain from giving it a place among the genuine texts:" Hippolytus and his Age, vol. i. p. xi. 1854. Mr. Bunsen does not admit the authenticity of the Second Epistle of St. Peter. It is, however, certainly alluded to here by one of the earliest and most learned writers of the Christian Church in the second century, and consequently appears to have been admitted by him as genuine. 19. L.20. This last sentence is obscure, and I am not sure that I have given the exact meaning. I believe, however, M. Renan's version, as well as that of B.H.C. to be incorrect.

Dubious and Spurious Pieces Attributed to Hippolytus

PSEUDO-HIPPOLYTUS

3rd century and later

Pieces once ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome: a discourse on the end of the world and on Antichrist, and a set of church canons that carry his name. His authorship of them is doubtful or false.

INTRODUCTION

Containing Dubious and Spurious Pieces.

A discourse by the most blessed Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, on the end of the world, and on Antichrist, and on the second coming of our lord Jesus Christ.

SECTION I

Since, then, the blessed prophets have been eyes to us, setting forth for our behoof the clear declaration of things secret, both through life, and through declaration, and through inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and discoursing, too, of things not yet come to pass, in this way also to all generations they have pictured forth the grandest subjects for contemplation and for action. Thus, too, they preached of the advent of God in the flesh to the world, His advent by the spotless and God-bearing Mary in the way of birth and growth, and the manner of His life and conversation with men, and His manifestation by baptism, and the new birth that was to be to all men, and the regeneration by the layer; and the multitude of His miracles, and His blessed passion on the cross, and the insults which He bore at the hands of the Jews, and His burial, and His descent to Hades, and His ascent again, and redemption of the spirits that were of old, and the destruction of death, and His life-giving awaking from the dead, and His re-creation of the whole world, and His assumption and return to heaven, and His reception of the

Spirit, of which the apostles were deemed worthy, and again the second coming, that is destined to declare all things. For as being designated seers, they of necessity signified and spake of these things beforetime.

SECTION II

Hence, too, they indicated the day of the consummation to us, and signified beforehand the day of the apostate that is to appear and deceive men at the last times, and the beginning and end of his kingdom, and the advent of the Judge, and the life of the righteous, and the punishment of the sinners, in order that we all, bearing these things in mind day by day and hour by hour, as children of the Church, might know that "not one jot nor one tittle of these things shall fail," as the Saviour's own word announced. Let all of you, then, of necessity, open the eyes of your hearts and the ears of your soul, and receive the word which we are about to speak. For I shall unfold to you to-day a narration full of horror and fear, to wit, the account of the consummation, and in particular, of the seduction of the whole world by the enemy and devil; and after these things, the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

SECTION III

Where, then, ye friends of Christ, shall I begin? and with what shall I make my commencement, or what shall I expound? and what witness shall I adduce for the things spoken? But let us take those (*viz.*, the prophets) with whom we began this discourse, and adduce them as credible witnesses, to confirm our exposition of the matters discussed; and after them the teaching, or rather the prophecy, of the apostles, (so as to see) how throughout the whole world they herald the day of the consummation. Since these, then, have also shown beforetime things not yet come to pass, and have declared the devices and deceits of wicked men, who are destined to be made manifest, come and let us bring forward Isaiah as our first witness, inasmuch as he instructs us in the times of the consummation. What, then, does he say? "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence: the daughter of Zion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." You see, beloved, the prophet's illumination, whereby he announced that time so many generations before. For it is not of the Jews that he spake

this word of old, nor of the city of Zion, but of the Church. For all the prophets have declared Sion to be the bride brought from the nations.

SECTION IV

Wherefore let us direct our discourse to a second witness. And of what sort is this one? Listen to Osea, as he speaks thus grandly: "In those days the Lord shall bring on a burning wind from the desert against them, and shall make their veins dry, and shall make their springs desolate; and all their goodly vessels shall be spoiled. Because they rose up against God, they shall fall by the sword, and their women with child shall be ripped up." And what else is this burning wind from the east, than the Antichrist that is to destroy and dry up the veins of the waters and the fruits of the trees in his times, because men set their hearts on his works? For which reason he shall indeed destroy them, and they shall serve him in his pollution.

SECTION V

Mark the agreement of prophet with prophet. Acquaint yourself also with another prophet who expresses himself in like manner. For Amos prophesied of the same things in a manner quite in accordance: "Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch therefore as ye have beaten the poor with the fist, and taken choice gifts from him: ye have built houses, but ye shall not dwell in them: ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions, in trampling justice beneath your foot, and taking a bribe, and turning aside the poor in the gate from their right. Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time." Learn, beloved, the wickedness of the men of that time, how they spoil houses and fields, and take even justice from the just; for when these things come to pass, ye may know that it is the end. For this reason art thou instructed in the wisdom of the prophet, and the revelation that is to be in those days. And all the prophets, as we bare already said, have clearly signified the things that are to come to pass in the last times, just as they also have declared things of old.

SECTION VI

But not to expend our argument entirely in going over the words of all the prophets, after citing one other, let us revert to the matter in hand. What is it, then, that Micah says in his prophecy? "Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry to

him, Peace; and if it was not put into their mouth, they prepared war against him. Therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall not go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. And the seers shall be ashamed, and the diviners confounded." These things we have recounted beforehand, in order that ye may know the pain that is to be in the last times, and the perturbation, and the manner of life on the part of all men toward each other, and their envy, and hate, and strife, and the negligence of the shepherds toward the sheep, and the unruly disposition of the people toward the priests.

SECTION VII

Wherefore all shall walk after their own will. And the children will lay hands on their parents. The wife will give up her own husband to death, and the husband will bring his own wife to judgment like a criminal. Masters will lord it over their servants savagely, and servants will assume an unruly demeanour toward their masters. None will reverence the grey hairs of the elderly, and none will have pity upon the comeliness of the youthful. The temples of God will be like houses, and there will be overturnings of the churches everywhere. The Scriptures will be despised, and everywhere they will sing the songs of the adversary. Fornications, and adulteries, and perjuries will fill the land; sorceries, and incantations, and divinations will follow after I these with all force and zeal. And, on the whole, from among those who profess to be Christians will rise up then false prophets, false apostles, impostors, mischief-makers, evil-doers, liars against each other, adulterers, fornicators, robbers, grasping, perjured, mendacious, hating each other. The shepherds will be like wolves; the priests will embrace falsehood; the monks will lust after the things of the world; the rich will assume hardness of heart; the rulers will not help the poor; the powerful will cast off all pity; the judges will remove justice from the just, and, blinded with bribes, they will call in unrighteousness.

SECTION VIII

And what am I to say with respect to men, when the very elements themselves will disown their order? There will be earthquakes in every city, and plagues in every country; and monstrous thunderings and frightful lightnings will burn up both houses and fields. Storms of winds will disturb both

sea and land excessively; and there will be unfruitfulness on the earth, and a roaring in the sea, and an intolerable agitation on account of souls and the destruction of men. There will be signs in the sun, and signs in the moon, deflections in the stars, distresses of nations, intemperateness in the atmosphere, discharges of hail upon the face of the earth, winters of excessive severity, different frosts, inexorable scorching winds, unexpected thunderings, unlooked-for conflagrations; and in general, lamentation and mourning in the whole earth, without consolation. For, "because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold." By reason of the agitation and confusion of all these, the Lord of the universe cries in the Gospel, saying, "Take heed that ye be not deceived; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draweth near: go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet by and by." Let us observe the word of the Saviour, how He always admonished us with a view to our security: "Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ."

SECTION IX

Now after He was taken up again to the Father, there arose some, saying, "I am Christ," like Simon Magus and the rest, whose names we have not time at present to mention. Wherefore also in the last day of the consummation, it must needs be that false Christs will arise again, saying, "I am Christ," and they will deceive many. And multitudes of men will run from the east even to the west, and from the north even to the sea, saying, Where is Christ here? where is Christ there? But being possessed of a vain conceit, and failing to read the Scriptures carefully, and not being of an upright mind, they will seek for a name which they shall be unable to find. For these things must first be; and thus the son of perdition—that is to say, the devil—must be seen.

SECTION X

And the apostles, who speak of God, in establishing the truth of the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, have each of them indicated the appearing of these abominable and ruin-working men, and have openly announced their lawless deeds. First of all Peter, the rock of the faith, whom Christ our God called blessed, the teacher of the Church, the first disciple, he who has the keys of the kingdom, has instructed us to this effect: "Know this first, chil-

dren, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts. And there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies." After him, John the theologian, and the beloved of Christ, in harmony with him, cries, "The children of the devil are manifest; and even now are there many antichrists; but go not after them. Believe not every spirit, because many false prophets are gone out into the world." And then Jude, the brother of James, speaks in like manner: "In the last times there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts. There be they who, without fear, feed themselves." You have observed the concord of the theologians and apostles, and the harmony of their doctrine.

SECTION XI

Finally, hear Paul as he speaks boldly, and mark how clearly he discovers these: "Beware of evil workers, beware of the concision. Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit. See that ye walk circumspectly, because the days are evil." In fine then, what man shall have any excuse who hears these things in the Church from prophets and apostles, and from the Lord Himself, and yet will give no heed to the care of his soul, and to the time of the consummation, and to that approaching hour when we shall have to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ?

SECTION XII

But having now done with this account of the consummation, we shall turn our exposition to those matters which fall to be stated by us next in order. I adduce, therefore, a witness altogether worthy of credit,—namely, the prophet Daniel, who interpreted the vision of Nabuchodonosor, and from the beginning of the kings down to their end indicated the right way to those who seek to walk therein—to wit, the manifestation of the truth. For what saith the prophet? He presignified the matter clearly to Nabuchodonosor in the following terms: "Thou. O king, sawest, and behold a great image standing before thee, whose head was of gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and thighs of brass, its legs of iron, its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hand; and it smote the image upon its feet, which were part of iron and part of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer

threshing-floor; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

SECTION XIII

Wherefore, bringing the visions of Daniel into conjunction with these, we shall make one narrative of the two, and show how true and consistent were the things seen in vision by the prophet with those which Nabuchodonosor saw beforehand. For the prophet speaks thus: "I Daniel saw, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lioness, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given it. And behold a second beast, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo a third beast, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; its great iron teeth and its claws of brass devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse exceedingly from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and, behold, there came up among them a little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."

SECTION XIV

Now, since these things which are thus spoken mystically by the prophet seem to all to be hard to understand, we shall conceal none of them from those who are possessed of sound mind. By mentioning the first beast, namely the lioness that comes up out of the sea, Daniel means the kingdom of the Babylonians which was set up in the world; and that same is also the "golden head" of this image. And by speaking of its "wings like an eagle," he shows that king Nabuchodonosor was elevated and exalted himself against God. Then he says that its "wings were plucked out," and means by this that his glory was subverted: for he was driven from his kingdom. And in stating that a "man's heart was given it, and it was made stand upon the feet like a man," he means that he repented, and acknowledged that he was himself but

a man, and gave the glory to God. Lo, I have thus unfolded the similitude of the first beast.

SECTION XV

Then after the lioness, the prophet sees a second beast like a bear, which denoted the Persians; for after the Babylonians the Persians had the sovereignty. And in saying, "I saw three ribs in the mouth of it," he referred to three nations, the Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were also expressed by the silver that came after the gold in the image. Behold, we have explained the second beast too. Then the third was the leopard, by which were meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander king of the Macedonians held the sovereignty, when he had destroyed Darius; and this is expressed by the brass in the image. And in speaking of "four wings of a fowl, and four heads in the beast," he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four parts. For it had four heads,-namely, the four kings that rose out of it. For on his death-bed Alexander divided his kingdom into four parts. Behold, we have discussed the third also.

SECTION XVI

Next he tells us of the "fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; its teeth were of iron, and its claws of brass." And what is meant by these but the kingdom of the Romans, which also is meant by the iron, by which it will crush all the seats of empire that were before it, and will lord it over the whole earth? After this, then, what is left for us to interpret of all that the prophet saw, but the "toes of the image, in which part was of iron and part of clay, mingled together in one?" For by the ten toes of the image he meant figuratively the ten kings who sprang out of it, as Daniel also interpreted the matter. For he says, "I considered the beast, namely the fourth; and behold ten horns after it, among which another horn arose like an offshoot; and it will pluck up by the root three of those before it." And by this offshoot horn none other is signified than the Antichrist that is to restore the kingdom of the Jews. And the three horns which are to be rooted out by it signify three kings, namely those of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he will destroy in the array of war; and when he has vanquished them all, being a savage tyrant, he will raise tribulation and persecution against the saints, exalting himself against them.

SECTION XVII

You see how Daniel interpreted to Nabuchodonosor the dominion of the kingdoms; you see how he explained the form of the image in all its parts; you have observed how he indicated prophetically the meaning of the coming up of the four beasts out of the sea. It remains that we open up to you the things done by the Antichrist in particular; and, as far as in our power, declare to you by means of the Scriptures and the prophets, his wandering over the whole earth, and his lawless advent.

SECTION XVIII

As the Lord Jesus Christ made His sojourn with us in the flesh (which He received) from the holy, immaculate Virgin, and took to Himself the tribe of Judah, and came forth from it, the Scripture declared His royal lineage in the word of Jacob, when in his benediction he addressed himself to his son in these terms: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hands shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp; from a sprout, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion's whelp: who shall rouse him up? A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until what is in store for him shall come, and he is the expectation of the nations." Mark these words of Jacob which were spoken to Judah, and are fulfilled in the Lord. To the same effect, moreover, does the patriarch express himself regarding Antichrist. Wherefore, as he prophesied with respect to Judah, so did he also with respect to his son Dan. For Judah was his fourth son; and Dan, again, was his seventh son. And what, then, did he say of him? "Let Dan be a serpent sitting by the way, that biteth the horse's heel?" And what serpent was there but the deceiver from the beginning, he who is named in Genesis, he who deceived Eve, and bruised Adam in the heel?

SECTION XIX

But seeing now that we must make proof of what is alleged at greater length, we shall not shrink from the task. For it is certain that he is destined to spring from the tribe of Dan, and to range himself in opposition like a princely tyrant, a terrible judge and accuser, as the prophet testifies when he says, "Dan shall judge his people, as one tribe in Israel." But some one may say that this was meant of Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged his people for twenty years. That, however, was only partially made

good in the case of Samson; but this shall be fulfilled completely in the case of Antichrist. For Jeremiah, too, speaks in this manner: "From Dan we shall hear the sound of the sharpness of his horses; at the sound of the neighing of his horses the whole land trembled." And again, Moses says: "Dan is a lion's whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan." And that no one may fall into the mistake of thinking that this is spoken of the Saviour, let him attend to this. "Dan," says he, "is a lion's whelp; "and by thus naming the tribe of Dan as the one whence the accuser is destined to spring, he made the matter in hand quite clear. For as Christ is born of the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist shall be born of the tribe of Dan. And as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was spoken of in prophecy as a lion on account of His royalty and glory, in the same manner also has the Scripture prophetically described the accuser as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence.

SECTION XX

For in every respect that deceiver seeks to make himself appear like the Son of God. Christ is a lion, and Antichrist is a lion. Christ is King of things celestial and things terrestrial, and Antichrist will be king upon earth. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb; and he, too, will appear as a lamb, while he is a wolf within. The Saviour was circumcised, and he in like manner will appear in circumcision. The Saviour sent the apostles unto all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. Christ gathered together the dispersed sheep, and he in like manner will gather together the dispersed people of the Hebrews. Christ gave to those who believed on Him the honourable and life-giving cross, and he in like manner will give his own sign. Christ appeared in the form of man, and he in like manner will come forth in the form of man. Christ arose from among the Hebrews, and he will spring from among the Jews. Christ displayed His flesh like a temple, and raised it up on the third day; and he too will raise up again the temple of stone in Jerusalem. And these deceits fabricated by him will become quite intelligible to those who listen to us attentively, from what shall be set forth next in order.

SECTION XXI

¹ For through the Scriptures we are instructed in two advents of the Christ and Saviour. And the first after the flesh was in humiliation, because He was manifested in lowly estate. So then His second advent is declared to be in glory; for He comes from heaven with power, and angels, and the glory of

His Father. His first advent had John the Baptist as its forerunner; and His second, in which He is to come in glory, will exhibit Enoch, and Elias, and John the Divine. Behold, too, the Lord's kindness to man; how even in the last times He shows His care for mortals, and pities them. For He will not leave us even then without prophets, but will send them to us for our instruction and assurance, and to make us give heed to the advent of the adversary, as He intimated also of old in this Daniel. For he says, "I shall make a covenant of one week, and in the midst of the week my sacrifice and libation will be removed. For by one week he indicates the showing forth of the seven years which shall be in the last times. And the half of the week the two prophets, along with John, will take for the purpose of proclaiming to all the world the advent of Antichrist, that is to say, for a "thousand two hundred and sixty days clothed in sackcloth;

2" and they will work signs and wonders with the object of making men ashamed and repentant, even by these means, on account of their surpassing lawlessness and impiety. "And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of the advent of Antichrist, and to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will. And when they have proclaimed all these things they will fall on the sword, cut off by the accuser. And they will fulfil their testimony, as Daniel also says; for he foresaw that the beast that came up out of the abyss would make war with them, namely with Enoch, Elias, and John, and would overcome them, and kill them, because of their refusal to give glory to the accuser. that is the little horn that sprang up. And he, being lifted up in heart, begins in the end to, exalt himself and glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ.

SECTION XXII

1 But as, in accordance with the train of our discussion, we have been constrained to come to the matter of the days of the dominion of the adversary, it is necessary to state in the first place what concerns his nativity and growth; and then we must turn our discourse, as we have said before, to the expounding of this matter, viz., that in all respects the accuser and son of lawlessness is to make himself like our Saviour. Thus also the demonstration makes the matter clear to us. Since the Saviour of the world, with the purpose of saving the race of men, was born of the immaculate and virgin Mary, and

in the form of the flesh trod the enemy trader foot, in the exercise of the power of His own proper divinity; in the same manner also will the accuser come forth from an impure woman upon the earth, but shall be born of a virgin spuriously. For our God sojourned with us in the flesh, after that very flesh of ours which He made for Adam and all Adam's posterity, yet without sin. But the accuser, though he take up the flesh, will do it only in appearance; for how should we wear that flesh which he did not make himself, but against which he warreth daily? And it is my opinion, beloved, that he will assume this phenomenal kind of flesh as an instrument.

² For this reason also is he to be born of a virgin, as if a spirit, and then to the rest he will be manifested as flesh. For as to a virgin bearing, this we have known only in the case of the all-holy Virgin, who bore the Saviour verily clothed in flesh. For Moses says, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy unto the Lord. This is by no means the case with him; but as the adversary will not open the womb, so neither will he take to himself real flesh, and be circumcised as Christ was circumcised. And even as Christ chose His apostles, so will he too assume a whole people of disciples like himself in wickedness.

SECTION XXIII

Above all, moreover, he will love the nation of the Jews. And with all these he will work signs and terrible wonders, false wonders and not true, in order to deceive his impious equals. For if it were possible, he would seduce even the elect from the love of Christ. But in his first steps he will be gentle, loveable, quiet, pious, pacific, hating injustice, detesting gifts, not allowing idolatry; loving, says he, the Scriptures, reverencing priests, honouring his elders, repudiating fornication, detesting adultery, giving no heed to slanders, not admitting oaths, kind to strangers, kind to the poor, compassionate. And then he will work wonders, cleansing lepers, raising paralytics, expelling demons, proclaiming things remote just as things present, raising the dead, helping widows, defending orphans, loving all, reconciling in love men who contend, and saying to such, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath;" and he will not acquire gold, nor love silver, nor seek riches.

SECTION XXIV

And all this he will do corruptly and deceitfully, and with the purpose of deluding all to make him king. For when the peoples and tribes see so great

virtues and so great powers in him, they will all with one mind meet together to make him king. And above all others shall the nation of the Hebrews be dear to the tyrant himself, while they say one to another, Is there found indeed in our generation such a man, so good and just? That shall be the way with the race of the Jews pre-eminently, as I said before, who, thinking, as they do, that they shall behold the king himself in such power, will approach him to say, We all confide in thee, and acknowledge thee to be just upon the whole earth; we all hope to be saved by thee; and by thy mouth we have received just and incorruptible judgment.

SECTION XXV

And at first, indeed, that deceitful and lawless one, with crafty deceitfulness, will refuse such glory; but the men persisting, and holding by him, will declare him king. And thereafter he will be lifted up in heart, and he who was formerly gentle will become violent, and he who pursued love will become pitiless, and the humble in heart will become haughty and inhuman, and the hater of unrighteousness will persecute the righteous. Then, when he is elevated to his kingdom, he will marshal war; and in his wrath he will smite three mighty kings,—those, namely, of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. And after that he will build the temple in Jerusalem, and will restore it again speedily, and give it over to the Jews. And then he will be lifted up in heart against every man; yea, he will speak blasphemy also against God, thinking in his deceit that he shall be king upon the earth hereafter for ever; not knowing, miserable wretch, that his kingdom is to be quickly brought to nought, and that he will quickly have to meet the fire which is prepared for him, along with all who trust him and serve him. For when Daniel said, "I shall make my covenant for one week," he indicated seven years; and the one half of the week is for the preaching of the prophets, and for the other half of the week—that is to say, for three years and a half—Antichrist will reign upon the earth. And after this his kingdom and his glory shall be taken away. Behold, ye who love God, what manner of tribulation there shall rise in those days, such as has not been from the foundation of the world, no, nor ever shall be, except in those days alone. Then the lawless one, being lifted up in heart, will gather together his demons in man's form, and will abominate those who call him to the kingdom, and will pollute many souls.

SECTION XXVI

For he will appoint princes over them from among the demons. And he will no longer seem to be pious, but altogether and in all things he will be harsh, severe, passionate, wrathful, terrible, inconstant, dread, morose, hateful, abominable, savage, vengeful, iniquitous. And, bent on casting the whole race of men into the pit of perdition, he will multiply false signs. For when all the people greet him with their acclamations at his displays, he will shout with a strong voice, so that the place shall be shaken in which the multitudes stand by him: "Ye peoples, and tribes, and nations, acquaint yourselves with my mighty authority and power, and the strength of my kingdom. What prince is there so great as I am? What great God is there but I? Who will stand up against my authority?" Under the eye of the spectators he will remove mountains from their places, he will walk on the sea with dry feet, he will bring down fire from heaven, he will turn the day into darkness and the night into day, he will turn the sun about wheresoever he pleases; and, in short, in presence of those who behold him, he will show all the elements of earth and sea to be subject to him in the power of his specious manifestation. For if, while as yet he does not exhibit himself as the son of perdition, he raises and excites against us open war even to battles and slaughters, at that time when he shall come in his own proper person, and men shall see him as he is in reality, what machinations and deceits and delusions will he not bring into play, with the purpose of seducing all men, and leading them off from the way of truth, and from the gate of the kingdom?

SECTION XXVII

Then, after all these things, the heavens will not give their dew, the clouds will not give their rain, the earth will refuse to yield its fruits, the sea shall be filled with stench, the rivers shall be dried up, the fish of the sea shall die, men shall perish of hunger and thirst; and father embracing son, and mother embracing daughter, will die together, and there will be none to bury them. But the whole earth will be filled with the stench arising from the dead bodies cast forth. And the sea, not receiving the floods of the rivers, will become like mire, and will be filled with an unlimited smell and stench. Then there will be a mighty pestilence upon the whole earth, and then, too, inconsolable lamentation, and measureless weeping, and unceasing mourning. Then men will deem those happy who are dead before them, and will say

to them, "Open your sepulchres, and take us miserable beings in; open your receptacles for the reception of your wretched kinsmen and acquaintances. Happy are ye, in that ye have not seen our days. Happy are ye, in that ye have not had to witness this painful life of ours, nor this irremediable pestilence, nor these straits that possess our souls."

SECTION XXVIII

Then that abominable one will send his commands throughout every government by the hand at once of demons and of visible men, who shall say, "A mighty king has arisen upon the earth; come ye all to worship him; come ye all to see the strength of his kingdom: for, behold, he will give you corn; and he will bestow upon you wine, and great riches, and lofty honours. For the whole earth and sea obeys his command. Come ye all to him." And by reason of the scarcity of food, all will go to him and worship him; and he will put his mark on their right hand and on their forehead, that no one may put the sign of the honourable cross upon his forehead with his right hand; but his hand is bound. And from that time he shall not have power to seal any one of his members, but he shall be attached to the deceiver, and shall serve him; and in him there is no repentance. But such an one is lost at once to God and to men, and the deceiver will give them scanty food by reason of his abominable seal. And his seal upon the forehead and upon the right hand is the number, "Six hundred threescore and six." And I have an opinion as to this number, though I do not know the matter for certain; for many names have been found in this number when it is expressed in writing. Still we say that perhaps the scription of this same seal will give us the word I deny. For even in recent days, by means of his ministers—that is to say, the idolaters—that bitter adversary took up the word deny, when the lawless pressed upon the witnesses of Christ, with the adjuration, "Deny thy God, the crucified One."

SECTION XXIX

Of such kind, in the time of that hater of all good, will be the seal, the tenor of which will be this: I deny the Maker of heaven and earth, I deny the baptism, I deny my (former) service, and attach myself to thee, and I believe in thee. For this is what the prophets Enoch and Elias will preach: Believe not the enemy who is to come and be seen; for he is an adversary and corrupter and son of perdition, and deceives you; and for this reason he will kill you,

and smite them with the sword. Behold the deceit of the enemy, know the machinations of the beguiler, how he seeks to darken the mind of men utterly. For he will show forth his demons brilliant like angels, and he will bring in hosts of the incorporeal without number. And in the presence of all he exhibits himself as taken up into heaven with trumpets and sounds, and the mighty shouting of those who hail him with indescribable hymns; the heir of darkness himself shining like light, and at one time soaring to the heavens, and at another descending to the earth with great glory, and again charging the demons, like angels, to execute his behests with much fear and trembling. Then will he send the cohorts of the demons among mountains and caves and dens of the earth, to track out those who have been concealed from his eyes, and to bring them forward to worship him. And those who yield to him he will seal with his seal; but those who refuse to submit to him he will consume with incomparable pains and bitterest torments and machinations, such as never have been, nor have reached the ear of man, nor have been seen by the eye of mortals.

SECTION XXX

Blessed shall they be who overcome the tyrant then. For they shall be set forth as more illustrious and loftier than the first witnesses; for the former witnesses overcame his minions only, but these overthrow and conquer the accuser himself, the son of perdition. With what eulogies and crowns, therefore, will they not be adorned by our King, Jesus Christ!

SECTION XXXI

But let us revert to the matter in hand. When men have received the seal, then, and find neither food nor water, they will approach him with a voice of anguish, saying, Give us to eat and drink, for we all faint with hunger and all manner of straits; and bid the heavens yield us water, and drive off from us the beasts that devour men. Then will that crafty one make answer, mocking them with absolute inhumanity, and saying, The heavens refuse to give rain, the earth yields not again its fruits; whence then can I give you food? Then, on hearing the words of this deceiver, these miserable men will perceive that this is the wicked accuser, and will mourn in anguish, and weep vehemently, and beat their face with their hands, and tear their hair, and lacerate their cheeks with their nails, while they say to each other: Woe for the calamity! woe for the bitter contract! woe for the deceitful covenant! woe for

the mighty mischance! How have we been beguiled by the deceiver! how have we been joined to him! how have we been caught in his toils! how have we been taken in his abominable net! how have we heard the Scriptures, and understood them not! For truly those who are engrossed with the affairs of life, and with the lust of this world, will be easily brought over to the accuser then, and sealed by him.

SECTION XXXII

But many who are hearers of the divine Scriptures, and have them in their hand, and keep them in mind with understanding, will escape his imposture. For they will see clearly through his insidious appearance and his deceitful imposture, and will flee from his hands, and betake themselves to the mountains, and hide themselves in the caves of the earth; and they will seek after the Friend of man with tears and a contrite heart; and He will deliver them out of his toils, and with His right hand He will save those from his snares who in a worthy and righteous manner make their supplication to Him.

SECTION XXXIII

You see in what manner of fasting and prayer the saints will exercise themselves at that time. Observe, also, how hard the season and the times will be that are to come upon those in city and country alike. At that time they will be brought from the east even unto the west; and they will come up from the west even unto the east, and will weep greatly and wail vehemently. And when the day begins to dawn they will long for the night, in order that they may find rest from their labours; and when the night descends upon them, by reason of the continuous earthquakes and the tempests in the air, they will desire even to behold the light of the day, and will seek how they may hereafter meet a bitter death. At that time the whole earth will bewail the life of anguish, and the sea and air in like manner will bewail it; and the sun, too, will wail; and the wild beasts, together with the fowls, will wail; mountains and hills, and the trees of the plain, will wail on account of the race of man, because all have turned aside from the holy God, and obeyed the deceiver, and received the mark of that abominable one, the enemy of God, instead of the quickening cross of the Saviour.

SECTION XXXIV

And the churches, too, will wail with a mighty lamentation, because neither "oblation nor incense" is attended to, nor a service acceptable to God; but the

sanctuaries of the churches will become like a garden-watcher's hut, and the holy body and blood of Christ will not be shown in those days. The public service of God shall be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, the reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard; but for men there shall be darkness, and lamentation on lamentation, and woe on woe. At that time silver and gold shall be cast out in the streets, and none shall gather them; but all things shall be held an offence. For all shall be eager to escape and to hide themselves, and they shall not be able anywhere to find concealment from the woes of the adversary; but as they carry his mark about them, they shall be readily recognised and declared to be his. Without there shall be fear, and within trembling, both by night and by day. In the street and in the houses there shall be the dead; in the streets and in the houses there shall be hunger and thirst; in the streets there shall be tumults, and in the houses lamentations. And beauty of countenance shall be withered, for their forms shall be like those of the dead; and the beauty of women shall fade, and the desire of all men shall vanish.

SECTION XXXV

Notwithstanding, not even then will the merciful and benignant God leave the race of men without all comfort; but He will shorten even those days and the period of three years and a half, and He will curtail those times on account of the remnant of those who hide themselves in the mountains and caves, that the phalanx of all those saints fail not utterly. But these days shall run their course rapidly; and the kingdom of the deceiver and Antichrist shall be speedily removed. And then, in fine, in the glance of an eye shall the fashion of this world pass away, and the power of men shall be brought to nought, and all these visible things shall be destroyed.

SECTION XXXVI

As these things, therefore, of which we have spoken before are in the future, beloved, when the one week is divided into parts, and the abomination of desolation has arisen then, and the forerunners of the Lord have finished their proper course, and the whole world, in fine, comes to the consummation, what remains but the manifestation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, from heaven, for whom we have hoped; who shall bring forth fire and all just judgment against those who have refused to believe in Him? For the Lord says, "For as the lightning cometh out of the east,

and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be; for wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." For the sign of the cross shall arise from the east even unto the west, in brightness exceeding that of the sun, and shall announce the advent and manifestation of the Judge, to give to every one according to his works. For concerning the general resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel says: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." And Isaiah says: "The dead shall rise, and those in the tombs shall awake, and those in the earth shall rejoice." And our Lord says: "Many in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."

SECTION XXXVII

For at that time the trumpet shall sound, and awake those that sleep from the lowest parts of the earth, righteous and sinners alike. And every kindred, and tongue, and nation, and tribe shall be raised in the twinkling of an eye; and they shall stand upon the face of the earth, waiting for the coming of the righteous and terrible Judge, in fear and trembling unutterable. For the river of fire shall come forth in fury like an angry sea, and shall burn up mountains and hills, and shall make the sea vanish, and shall dissolve the atmosphere with its heat like wax. The stars of heaven shall fall, the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood. The heaven shall be rolled together like a scroll: the whole earth shall be burnt up by reason of the deeds done in it, which men did corruptly, in fornications, in adulteries, and in lies and uncleanness, and in idolatries, and in murders, and in battles. For there shall be the new heaven and the new earth.

SECTION XXXVIII

Then shall the holy angels run on their commission to gather together all the nations, whom that terrible voice of the trumpet shall awake out of sleep. And before the judgment-seat of Christ shall stand those who once were kings and rulers, chief priests and priests; and they shall give an account of their administration, and of the fold, whoever of them through their negligence have lost one sheep out of the flock. And then shall be brought forward soldiers who were riot content with their provision, but oppressed widows and orphans and beggars. Then shall be arraigned the collectors of tribute, who despoil the poor man of more than is ordered, and who make real

gold like adulterate, in order to mulct the needy, in fields and in houses and in the churches. Then shall rise up the lewd with shame, who have not kept their bed undefiled, but have been ensnared by all manner of fleshly beauty, and have gone in the way of their own lusts. Then shall rise up those who have not kept the love of the Lord, mute and gloomy, because they contemned the light commandment of the Saviour, which says, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Then they, too, shall weep who have possessed the unjust balance, and unjust weights and measures, and dry measures, as they wait for the righteous Judge.

SECTION XXXIX

And why should we add many words concerning those who are sisted before the bar? Then the righteous shall shine forth like the sun, while the wicked shall be shown to be mute and gloomy. For both the righteous and the wicked shall be raised incorruptible: the righteous, to be honoured eternally, and to taste immortal joys; and the wicked, to be punished in judgment eternally. Each ponders the question as to what answer he shall give to the righteous Judge for his deeds, whether good or bad. With all men each one's actions shall environ him, whether he be good or evil. For the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, and fear and trembling shall consume all things, both heaven and earth and things under the earth. And every tongue shall confess Him openly, and shall confess Him who comes to judge righteous judgment, the mighty God and Maker of all things. Then with fear and astonishment shall come angels, thrones, powers, principalities, dominions, and the cherubim and seraphim with their many eyes and six wings, all crying aloud with a mighty voice, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, omnipotent; the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory." And the King of kings and Lord of lords, the Judge who accepts no man's person, and the Jurist who distributes justice to every man, shall be revealed upon His dread and lofty throne; and all the flesh of mortals shall see His face with great fear and trembling, both the righteous and the sinner.

SECTION XL

Then shall the son of perdition be brought forward, to wit, the accuser, with his demons and with his servants, by angels stern and inexorable. And they shall be given over to the fire that is never quenched, and to the worm that never sleepeth, and to the outer darkness. For the people of the Hebrews shall

see Him in human form, as He appeared to them when He came by the holy Virgin in the flesh, and as they crucified Him. And He will show them the prints of the nails in His hands and feet, and His side pierced with the spear, and His head crowned with thorns, and His honourable cross. And once for all shall the people of the Hebrews see all these things, and they shall mourn and weep, as the prophet exclaims, "They shall look on Him whom they have pierced;" and there shall be none to help them or to pity them, because they repented not, neither turned aside from the wicked way. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment with the demons and the accuser.

SECTION XL I

Then He shall gather together all nations, as the holy Gospel so strikingly declares. For what says Matthew the evangelist, or rather the Lord Himself, in the Gospel? "When the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Come, ye prophets, who were cast out for my name's sake. Come, ye patriarchs, who before my advent were obedient to me, and longed for my kingdom. Come, ye apostles, who were my fellows in my sufferings in my incarnation, and suffered with me in the Gospel. Come, ye martyrs, who confessed me before despots, and endured many torments and pains. Come, ye hierarchs, who did me sacred service blamelessly day and night, and made the oblation of my honourable body and blood daily.

SECTION XL II

Come, ye saints, who disciplined yourselves in mountains and caves and dens of the earth, who honoured my name by continence and prayer and virginity. Come, ye maidens, who desired my bride-chamber, and loved no other bridegroom than me, who by your testimony and habit of life were wedded to me, the immortal and incorruptible Bridegroom. Come, ye friends of the poor and the stranger. Come, ye who kept my love, as I am love. Come, ye who possess peace, for I own that peace. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, ye who esteemed not riches, ye who had

compassion on the poor, who aided the orphans, who helped the widows, who gave drink to the thirsty, who fed the hungry, who received strangers, who clothed the naked, who visited the sick, who comforted those in prison, who helped the blind, who kept the seal of the faith inviolate, who assembled yourselves together in the churches, who listened to my Scriptures, who longed for my words, who observed my law day and night, who endured hardness with me like good soldiers, seeking to please me, your heavenly King. Come, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Behold, my kingdom is made ready; behold, paradise is opened; behold, my immortality is shown in its beauty. Come all, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

SECTION XLIII

Then shall the righteous answer, astonished at the mighty and wondrous fact that He, whom the hosts of angels cannot look upon openly, addresses them as friends, and shall cry out to Him, Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, and fed Thee? Master, when saw we Thee thirsty, and gave Thee drink? Thou Terrible One, when saw we Thee naked, and clothed Thee? Immortal, when saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? Thou Friend of man, when saw we Thee sick or in prison, and came unto Thee? Thou art the ever-living One. Thou art without beginning, like the Father, and co-eternal with the Spirit. Thou art He who made all things out of nothing. Thou art the prince of the angels. Thou art He at whom the depths tremble. Thou art He who is covered with light as with a garment. Thou art He who made us, and fashioned us of earth. Thou art He who formed things invisible. From Thy presence the whole earth fleeth away, and how have we received hospitably Thy kingly power and lordship?

SECTION XLIV

Then shall the King of kings make answer again, and say to them, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Inasmuch as ye have received those of whom I have already spoken to you, and clothed them, and fed them, and gave them to drink, I mean the poor who are my members, ye have done it unto me. But come ye into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; enjoy for ever and ever that which is given you by my Father in heaven, and the holy and quickening Spirit. And what mouth then will be able to tell out those bless-

ings which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him?

SECTION XLV

Ye have heard of the ceaseless joy, ye have heard of the immoveable kingdom, ye have heard of the feast of blessings without end. Learn now, then, also the address of anguish with which the just Judge and the benignant God shall speak to those on the left hand in unmeasured anger and wrath, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Ye have prepared these things for yourselves; take to yourselves also the enjoyment of them. Depart from me, ye cursed, into the outer darkness, and into the unquenchable fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. I made you, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who brought you forth from your mother's womb, and ye rejected me. I am He who fashioned you of earth by my word of command, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who nurtured you, and ye served another. I ordained the earth and the sea for your maintenance and the bound of your life, and ye listened not to my commandments. I made the light for you, that ye might enjoy the day, and the night also, that ye might have rest; and ye vexed me, and set me at nought with your wicked words, and opened the door to the passions. Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity. I know you not, I recognise you not: ye made yourselves the workmen of another lord—namely, the devil. With him inherit ye the darkness, and the fire that is not quenched, and the worm that sleepeth not, and the gnashing of teeth.

SECTION XLVI

For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and ye visited me not: I was in prison, and ye came not unto me. I made your ears that ye might hear the Scriptures; and ye prepared them for the songs of demons, and lyres, and jesting. I made your eyes that you might see the light of my commandments, and keep them; and ye called in fornication and wantonness, and opened them to all other manner of uncleanness. I prepared your mouth for the utterance of adoration, and praise, and psalms, and spiritual odes, and for the exercise of continuous reading; and ye fitted it to railing, and swearing, and blasphemies, while ye sat and spoke evil of your neighbours. I made your hands that ye might stretch them forth in prayers

and supplications, and ye put them forth to robberies, and murders, and the killing of each other. I ordained your feet to walk in the preparation of the Gospel of peace, both in the churches and the houses of my saints; and ye taught them to run to adulteries, and fornications, and theatres, and dancings, and elevations.

SECTION XLVII

At last the assembly is dissolved, the spectacle of this life ceaseth: its deceit and its semblance are passed away. Cleave to me, to whom every knee boweth, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. For all who have been negligent, and have not shown pity in well-doing there, have nothing else due them than the unquenchable fire. For I am the friend of man, but yet also a righteous Judge to all. For I shall award the recompense according to desert; I shall give the reward to all, according to each man's labour; I shall make return to all, according to each man's conflict. I wish to have pity, but I see no oil in your vessels. I desire to have mercy, but ye have passed through life entirely without mercy. I long to have compassion, but your lamps are dark by reason of your hardness of heart. Depart from me. For judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy.

SECTION XLVIII

Then shall they also make answer to the dread Judge, who accepteth no man's person: Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and ministered not unto Thee? Lord, dost Thou know us not? Thou didst form us, Thou didst fashion us, Thou didst make us of four elements, Thou didst give us spirit and soul. On Thee we believed; Thy seal we received, Thy baptism we obtained; we acknowledged Thee to be God, we knew Thee to be Creator; in Thee we wrought sights, through Thee we cast out demons, for Thee we mortified the flesh, for Thee we preserved virginity, for Thee we practised chastity, for Thee we became strangers on the earth; and Thou sayest, I know you not, depart from me! Then shall He make answer to them, and say, Ye acknowledged me as Lord, but ye kept not my words. Ye were marked with the seal of my cross, but ye deleted it by your hardness of heart. Ye obtained my baptism, but ye observed not my commandments. Ye subdued your body to virginity, but ye kept not mercy, but ye did not cast the hatred of your brother out of your souls. For

not every, one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth my will. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.

SECTION XLIX

"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life." Ye have heard, beloved, the answer of the Lord; ye have learned the sentence of the Judge; ye have been given to understand what kind of awful scrutiny awaits us, and what day and what hour are before us. Let us therefore ponder this every day; let us meditate on this both day and night, both in the house, and by the way, and in the churches, that we may not stand forth at that dread and impartial judgment condemned, abased, and sad, but with purity of action, life, conversation, and confession; so that to us also the merciful and benignant God may say, "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace;" and again, "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many, things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Which joy may it be ours to reach, by the grace and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom pertain glory, honour, and adoration, with His Father, who is without beginning, and His holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to the ages of the ages. Amen.

Hippolytus ON The Twelve Apostles Where Each OF Them Preached, And Where HE Met His End. 1. Peter preached the Gospel in Pontus, and Galatia, and Cappadocia, and Betania, and Italy, and Asia, and was afterwards crucified by Nero in Rome with his head downward, as he had himself desired to suffer in that manner. 2. Andrew preached to the Scythians and Thracians, and was crucified, suspended on an olive tree, at Patrae, a town of Achaia; and there too he was buried. 3. John, again, in Asia, was banished by Domitian the king to the isle of Patmos, in which also he wrote his Gospel and saw the apocalyptic vision; and in Trajan's time he fell asleep at Ephesus, where his remains were sought for, but could not be found. 4. James, his brother, when preaching in Judea, was cut off with the sword by Herod the tetrarch, and was buried there.

5. Philip preached in Phrygia, and was crucified in Hierapolis with his head downward in the time of Domitian, and was buried there. 6. Bartholomew, again, preached to the Indians, to whom he also gave the Gospel according to Matthew, and was crucified with his head downward, and was buried in Allanum, a town of the great Armenia. 7. And Matthew wrote the

Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, and published it at Jerusalem, and fell asleep at Hierrees, a town of Parthia. 8. And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Margians, and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spears at Calamene, the city of India, and was buried there. 9. And James the son of Alphaeus, when preaching in Jerusalem. was stoned to death by the Jews, and was buried there beside the temple. 10. Jude, who is also called Lebbaeus, preached. to the people of Edessa, and to all Mesopotamia, and fell asleep at Berytus, and was buried there.

11. Simon the Zealot, the son of Clopas, who is also called Jude, became bishop of Jerusalem after James the Just, and fell asleep and was buried there at the age of 120 years. 12. And Matthias, who was one of the seventy, was numbered along with the eleven apostles, and preached in Jerusalem, and fell asleep and was buried there. 13. And Paul entered into the apostleship a year after the assumption of Christ; and beginning at Jerusalem, he advanced as far as Illyricum, and Italy, and Spain, preaching the Gospel for five-and-thirty years. And in the time of Nero he was beheaded at Rome, and was buried there. The Same Hippolytus ON The Seventy Apostles. 1. James the Lord's brother, bishop of Jerusalem. 2. Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem. 3. Matthias, who supplied the vacant place in the number of the twelve apostles. 4. Thaddeus, who conveyed the epistle to Augarus.

5. Ananias, who baptized Paul, and was bishop of Damascus. 6. Stephen, the first martyr. 7. Philip, who baptized the eunuch. 8. Prochorus, bishop of Nicomedia, who also was the first that departed, believing together with his daughters. 9. Nicanor died when Stephen was martyred. 10. Timon, bishop of Bostra. 11. Parmenas, bishop of Soli. 12. Nicolaus, bishop of Samaria. 13. Barnabas, bishop of Milan. 14. Mark the evangelist, bishop of Alexandria. 15. Luke the evangelist. These two belonged to the seventy disciples who were scattered by the offence of the word which Christ spoke, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he is not worthy of me." But the one being induced to return to the Lord by Peter's instrumentality, and the other by Paul's, they were honoured to preach that Gospel on account of which they also suffered martyrdom, the one being burned, and the other being crucified on an olive tree.

16. Silas, bishop of Corinth. 17. Silvanus, bishop of Thessalonica. 18. Crisces (Crescens), bishop of Carchedon in Gaul. 19. Epænetus, bishop of

Carthage. 20. Andronicus, bishop of Pannonia. 21. Amplias, bishop of Odys-sus. 22. Urban, bishop of Macedonia. 23. Stachys, bishop of Byzantium. 24. Barnabas, bishop of Heraclea. 25. Phygellus, bishop of Ephesus. He was of the party also of Simon. 26. Hermogenes. He, too, was of the same mind with the former. 27. Demas, who also became a priest of idols. 28. Apelles, bishop of Smyrna. 29. Aristobulus, bishop of Britain. 30. Narcissus, bishop of Athens. 31. Herodion, bishop of Tarsus. 32. Agabus the prophet. 33. Rufus, bishop of Thebes. 34. Asyncritus, bishop of Hyrcania. 35. Phlegon, bishop of Marathon. 36. Hermes, bishop of Dalmatia. 37. Patrobulus, bishop of Puteoli. 38. Hermas, bishop of Philippi. 39. Linus, bishop of Rome. 40. Caius, bishop of Ephesus. 41. Philologus, bishop of Sinope.

42, 43. Olympus and Rhodion were martyred in Rome. 44. Lucius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria. 45. Jason, bishop of Tarsus. 46. Sosipater, bishop of Iconium. 47. Tertius, bishop of Iconium. 48. Erastus, bishop of Panellas. 49. Quartus, bishop of Berytus. 50. Apollo, bishop of Caesarea. 51. Cephas. 52. Sosthenes, bishop of Colophon. 53. Tychicus, bishop of Colophon. 54. Epaphroditus, bishop of Andriace. 55. Caesar, bishop of Dyrrachium. 56. Mark, cousin to Barnabas, bishop of Apollonia. 57. Justus, bishop of Eleutheropolis. 58. Artemas, bishop of Lystra. 59. Clement, bishop of Sardinia. 60. Onesiphorus, bishop of Corone. 61. Tychicus, bishop of Chalcedon. 62. Carpus, bishop of Berytus in Thrace. 63. Evodus, bishop of Antioch. 64. Aristarchus, bishop of Apamea. 65. Mark, who is also John, bishop of Bibloulpolis. 66. Zenas, bishop of Diospolis. 67. Philemon, bishop of Gaza. 68, 69. Aristarchus and Pudes. 70. Trophimus, who was martyred along with Paul.

Heads OF The Canons OF Abulides OR Hippolytus, Which Are Used BY The AeThiopian Christians. 1. Of the holy faith of Jesus Christ. 2. Of bishops. 3. Of prayers spoken on the ordination of bishops, and of the order of the Missa. 4. Of the ordination of presbyters. 5. Of the ordination of deacons. 6. Of those who suffer persecution for the faith. 7. Of the election of reader and sub-deacon. 8. Of the gift of healing. 9. Of the presbyter who abides in a place inconvenient for his office. 10. Of those who are converted to the Christian religion. 11. Of him who makes idols. 12. Various pursuits are enumerated, the followers of which are not to be admitted to the Christian religion until repentance is exhibited. 13. Of the place which the highest kings or princes shall occupy in the temple. 14. That it is not meet for Christians to bear arms.

15. Of works which are unlawful to Christians. 16. Of the Christian who marries a slave-Woman. 17. Of the free woman. 18. Of the midwife; and that the women ought to be separate from the men in prayer. 19. Of the catechumens who suffers martyrdom before baptism. 20. Of the fast of the fourth and sixth holiday; and of Lent. 21. That presbyters should assemble daily with the people in church. 22. Of the week of the Jews' passover; and of him who knows not passover (Easter). 23. That every one be held to learn doctrine. 24. Of the care of the bishop over the sick. 25. Of him on whom the care of the sick is enjoined; and of the time at which prayers are to be made. 26. Of the time at which exhortations are to be heard. 27. Of him who frequents the temple every day. 28. That the faithful ought to eat nothing before the holy communion.

29. That care is to be well taken that nothing fall from the chalice to the ground. 30. Of catechumens. 31. That a deacon may dispense the Eucharist to the people with permission of a bishop or presbyter. 32. That widows and virgins ought to pray constantly. 33. That commemoration should be made of the faithful dead every day, with the exception of the Lord's day. 34. Of the sober behaviour of the secular in church. 35. That deacons may pronounce the benediction and thanksgiving at the love-feasts when a bishop is not present. 36. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and of Vows. 37. When a bishop celebrates the holy communion (Synaxis), the presbyters who stand by him should be clothed in white. 38. That no one ought to sleep on the night of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. **Canons OF The Church OF Alexandria. Wrongly Ascribed TO Hippolytus.**

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Those are the canons of the Church, ordinances which Hippolytus wrote, by whom the Church speaketh; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. Greeting from the Lord. Canon First. Of the Catholic faith. Before all things should we speak of the faith, holy and right, regarding our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God; and we have consequently placed that canon in the faith (the symbol); and we agree in this with all reasonable certitude, that the Trinity is equal perfectly in honour, and equal in glory, and has neither beginning nor end. The Word is the Son of God, and is Himself the Creator of every creature, of things visible and invisible. This we lay down with one accord, in opposition to those who have said boldly, that it is not right to speak of the Word of God as our Lord Jesus Christ spake. We

come together chiefly to bring out the holy truth regarding God; and we have separated them, because they do not agree with the Church in theology, nor with us the sons of the Scriptures. On this account we have sundered them from the Church, and have left what concerns them to God, who will judge His creatures with justice. To those, moreover, who are not cognisant of them, we make this known without ill-will, in order that they may not rush into an evil death, like heretics, but may gain eternal life, and teach their sons and their posterity this one true faith.

Canon Second. Of bishops. A bishop should be elected by all the people, and he should be unimpeachable, as it is written of him in the apostle; in the week in which he is ordained, the whole people should also say, We desire him; and there should be silence in the whole hall, and they should all pray in his behalf, and say, O God, stablish him whom Thou hast prepared for us, etc. Canon Third. Prayer in behalf of him who is made bishop, and the ordinance of the Missa. O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, etc. Canon Fourth. Of the ordination of a presbyter. Canon Fifth. Of the constituting a deacon. Canon Sixth. Of those who have suffered for the faith. Canon Seventh. Of him who is elected reader and sub-deacon. Canon Eighth. Of the gift of healings.

Canon Ninth. That a presbyter should not dwell in unbefitting places; and of the honour of widows. Canon Tenth. Of those who wish to become Nazarenes (Christians). Canon Eleventh. Of him who makes idols and images, or the artificer. Canon Twelfth. Of the prohibition of those works, the authors of which are not to be received but on the exhibition of repentance. Canon Thirteenth. Of a prince or a soldier, that they be not received indiscriminately. Canon Fourteenth. That a Nazarene may not become a soldier unless by order. Canon Fifteenth. Enumeration of works which are unlawful. Canon Sixteenth. Of him who has a lawful wife, and takes another beside her. Canon Seventeenth. Of a free-born woman, and her duties. Of midwives, and of the separation of men from women. Of virgins, that they should cover their faces and their heads. Canon Eighteenth. Of women in childbed, and of midwives again.

Canon Nineteenth. Of catechumens, and the ordinance of Baptism and the Missa. Canon Twentieth. Of the fast the six days, and of that of Lent. Canon Twenty-first. Of the daily assembling of priests and people in the church. Canon Twenty-second. Of the week of the Jews' passover, wherein

joy shall be put away, and of what is eaten therein; and of him who, being brought up abroad, is ignorant of the Calendar. Canon Twenty-third. Of doctrine, that it should be continuous, greater than the sea, and that its words ought to be fulfilled by deeds. Canon Twenty-fourth. Of the bishop's visitation of the sick; and that if an infirm man has prayed in the church, and has a house, he should go to him. Canon Twenty-fifth. Of the procurator appointed for the sick, and of the bishop, and the times of prayer. Canon Twenty-sixth. Of the hearing of the word in church, and of praying in it.

Canon Twenty-seventh. Of him who does not come to church daily,-let him read books; and of prayer at midnight and cock-crowing, and of the washing of hands at the time of any prayer. Canon Twenty-eighth. That none of the believers should taste anything, but after he has taken the sacred mysteries, especially in the days of fasting. Canon Twenty-ninth. Of the keeping of oblations which are laid upon the altar,-that nothing fall into the sacred chalice, and that nothing fall from the priests, nor from the boys when they take communion; that an evil spirit rule them not, and that no one speak in the protection, except in prayer; and when the oblations of the people cease, let psalms be read with all attention, even to the signal of the bell; and of the sign of the cross, and the casting of the dust of the altar into the pool.

Canon Thirtieth. Of catechumens and the like. Canon Thirty-first. Of the bishop and presbyter bidding the deacons present the communion. Canon Thirty-second. Of virgins and widows, that they should pray and fast in the church. Let those who are given to the clerical order pray according to their judgment. Let not a bishop be bound to fasting but with the clergy. And on account of a feast or supper, let him prepare for the poor. Canon Thirty-third. Of the Atalmsas (the oblation), which they shall present for those who are dead, that it be not done on the Lord's day. Canon Thirty-fourth. That no one speak much, nor make a clamour; and of the entrance of the saints into the mansions of the faithful. Canon Thirty-fifth. Of a deacon present at a feast at which there is a presbyter present,-let him do his part in prayer and the breaking of bread for a blessing, and not for the body; and of the discharge of widows.

Canon Thirty-sixth. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and the first dedication of them; and of presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the like, which may be offered to the bishop for his blessing. Canon Thirty-seventh. As often as a

bishop takes of the sacred mysteries, let the deacons and presbyters be gathered together, clothed in white robes, brilliant in the view of all the people; and in like manner with a reader. Canon Thirty-eighth. Of the night on which our Lord Jesus Christ rose. That no one shall sleep on that night, and wash himself with water; and a declaration concerning such a one; and a declaration concerning him who sins after baptism, and of things lawful and unlawful. The sacred canons of the holy patriarch Hippolytus, the first patriarch of the great city of Rome, which he composed, are ended; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. May the Lord help us to keep them. And to God be glory for ever, and on us be His mercy for ever. Amen.

Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite

TRANSLATED BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

uncertain

Budge's English of a Coptic encomium on Elijah the Tishbite that is ascribed to John Chrysostom, with the other texts of the manuscript and Budge's remarks.

¹From Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. 8 (1885-6), pp.133-140. Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge read a Paper, "On a Coptic version of an Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom." The manuscript containing this version of the encomium, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, on Elijah the Tishbite, is of fine vellum, and belongs to the tenth century of our era. It is dated in the 115th year of the era of the Martyrs, i.e., a.d. 399; but this I understand to be the date of the manuscript from which that of Lord Zouche was made. It consists of 79 leaves, 10 inches by 7 inches; the headings of the works which it contains are written in red ink, and the sides of the pages containing them are ornamented with graceful floral designs and doves. The contents of the manuscript are:---- I. "The Encomium which Saint John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, composed upon Saint Elijah the Tishbite, the mighty prophet, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tybi, in the peace of God. Amen."

²II. "The discourse of Saint Ephraim concerning the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Mount Tabor, when He appeared to His disciples, and concerning Saint Elijah the prophet."

III. "*The martyrdom of the holy martyr, Father Isaac.*"

³The original home of the manuscript was in the library of a church dedicated to Elijah the Tishbite, to which it was presented by Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of Abba John, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Considering the high esteem in which Elijah was held by the ascetics and monks of

all denominations, it would be difficult to find a gift more acceptable to the monks of a church dedicated to Elijah, than a manuscript describing the life and deed of their patron saint, composed by two such eminent livines as John Chrysostom and Ephraim the Syrian. Lord Zouche's manuscript contains about two-thirds of the Encomium on Elijah. After the title, there comes the introductory passage, "With what words shall I describe him, or what shall I say about him, O beloved brethren? I am afraid and greatly fear to enter upon this great work for which I seek. What I shall do I know not. I am afraid of that for which I ask, for I ask and crave to make an encomium upon the great luminary which rose and shone upon the whole world, Saint Elijah the holy Tishbite." Here there comes a break of thirty-six pages. They contained, no doubt, observations upon the wonderful life and deeds of Elijah. The second fragment of two pages begins with the account of Elijah's journey to Zarephath, and ends with the widow's declaration of her absolute poverty (1 Kings, xvii, 12). A break of six pages comes here, and the third and important fragment begins with the account of the poor widow's son. Following this is a narrative of Elijah going to meet Ahab, and his interview with Obadiah. The rain which followed the famine was, according to our encomium, caused by Elijah's prayer to God; and when it did come, it was so fierce that Ahab was in danger, and wept.

⁴In the account of Elijah's contest with the priests of Baal, and the devouring of the sacrifice by fire, we are told that "the fire ate into the ground (to a depth) of seventy cubits;" and the same vividness is used in describing Jezebel, when she heard of the death of the prophets of Baal, for "she became mad like an infuriated bear." The narrative is frequently interspersed with short meditations and homilies upon the facts before related; and the writer excuses Elijah's flight from Jezebel's rage in the following words: "Beloved brethren, when ye hear that Saint Elijah fled, do not imagine that he fled from the death of this world; nay, God forbid; for he longed to depart out of the death of this world, and to rest himself in the good things that are unutterable. But he feared lest, after the destruction which he had brought upon men, the famine and the fire which he had brought from heaven, and the blood of the prophets which he had poured out, which wonders the people having seen, believed upon God, if Jezebel should slay him, she would boast that she had slain the Tishbite, and that the whole multitude which had turned to God by reason of all the mighty deeds and wonders which Saint

Elijah had wrought, whom Jezebel had persecuted and slain, would return to the service of idols, and that mankind would perish by forsaking God."

5 The account of God's finding Elijah under the juniper tree is in this encomium, but no mention is made of the wind or earthquake or the still small voice; and Elijah sums up his prayer to die, saying, "It is better for me, O God, to die than to see Baal adored again. In the answer which God makes to him, the writer of the encomium shows very clearly what were the ideas which he himself held about Elijah, and also how great was the belief in his powers as intercessor with God for mankind. Many of these were no doubt borrowed from the Talmud, and altered to suit the fancy of the sect or creed of those who adopted them. After encouraging Elijah not to fear Jezebel, and reminding him of the many times in which He has helped him, He says: "As for thee, since the days which I have appointed for thee to work in this world are fulfilled, arise, go and anoint Elisha, the son of Shaphat, to be prophet to Me in thy stead. And it pleases Me to do for thee an act of grace, the like of which has never been done to any man that My hands have made from Adam the first man to the end of the world, except Enoch the Scribe. I will not allow thee to see death while there is a man of truth in the world:

6 but I will send to thee from heaven chariots' and horses of fire upon which thou shalt ascend that I may take thee to Myself on high: and I will set thee as a protector of the whole race of men. Thou shalt live in the body; if I desire to bring anger upon men, thou shalt pray to Me until I forgive them, for I am the Good One, and I love the work of My hands. I will grant thee to remain in the body in indestructibility, for it is My desire that thou taste not death, neither shall thine eyes see the terror thereof, until the end of the world. I will make thy name to be glorified upon earth, and mighty deeds shall be wrought in thy name. Whosoever shall be in danger at sea or upon rivers, if they cry up to Me in thy name, I will hear them and protect them and bring them into the haven of safety. Whosoever shall be in affliction or bondage, or prison or banishment, and shall cry up to Me in thy name, I will hear them quickly, and will deliver them. Whosoever shall be in sickness of any kind, or afflicted by unclean spirits, if they go into the shrine which has been built for thee in the land, and pray to Me in thy name, I will hear them quickly, and will bless them with healing.

7 The soul that shall build an oratory for thee on earth, shall dwell in the heavenly Jerusalem, and shall inherit the good things which I have prepared

for My saints. Whosoever shall take the trouble to make and write a book in thy name, and to give it to thy shrine, I will write his name in the Book of Life, and I will make him to inherit the good things of the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever shall give a little oil or incense to thy shrine, I will remember his name in the tabernacles of eternity." ⁸ The writer of the encomium next relates briefly how Elisha became a disciple of Elijah, and then dwells at length upon the murder of Naboth, and the theft of his vineyard; and represents Jezebel as rendered speechless by the prophecy of evil to come to her which was uttered by Elijah. After the narrative, he breaks forth in joyous strains over the defeat of the "evil wild beast Jezebel," and this done, he advises all rich and powerful men who have wicked wives like Jezebel, not to uphold them in their wicked deeds against the poor, lest they fall into the danger of deserving the horrible punishments which Elijah pronounced against Ahab and Jezebel. Moreover, any woman who treats the poor as Jezebel did, or who delights in dress and in ornaments of gold and silver, will become an object hateful alike to God and His holy prophet Elijah. And we are to remember that "just as Elijah was then, so he is now, for he neither dies nor perishes, but lives in the body at this present moment, and looks upon the sins of each one of us, and his word is mighty and more cutting than any two-edged sword."

⁹ The account of Ahaziah's sickness, his sending to Ekron, Elijah's message of death, and the destruction of the captains with their fifties, occupy about eight pages of the manuscript; twelve relate the circumstances of his ascent to heaven, and the last eight are filled with exhortations to us to follow in the footsteps of the mighty and ever living prophet, who was worthy of being taken to heaven without dying. The encomium, as we should expect, has been translated into Coptic from the Greek; and the narrative of the actual facts of Elijah's life are taken directly from the version of the LXX. The writer followed them so closely that he has adopted many of their mistakes.... Many of the passages are, however, turned from the Greek with great accuracy, but at times it seems as if the writer of the encomium was aware of the mistakes made by the Greek version, for he avoids them carefully, and his narrative runs very closely with the Hebrew text, though, from the instances cited above, it is clear that he cannot have consulted it.

¹⁰ From *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. 9 (1893) pp.355-404.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF A COPTIC VERSION OF AN ENCOMIUM ON ELIJAH THE TISHBITE, ATTRIBUTED TO SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

¹¹ By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. Read 4th May, 1886. The manuscript from which the text of this encomium is taken is in the possession of Lord Zouche, who has most kindly given me permission to copy and publish it. It consists of 79 leaves, 10 in. by 7 in.; and is dated in the 915th year of the era of the Martyrs, i.e., A.D. 1199. Some of the leaves are wrongly paged, and there are three lacunas in the manuscript of 36, 6, and 2 pages respectively. The headings of the different works contained in it are written in red, and surrounded by an ornamental border painted in red, green, and yellow; the outer margin of such leaves being illuminated in graceful designs of flowers and birds. The contents of the manuscript are:---- I. The encomium which S. John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, composed upon Saint Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tybi, in the peace of God, Amen.

¹² II. The discourse of Saint Ephraim on the Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Mount Tabor, in which He appeared to His disciples with Saint Elijah the Prophet.

III. The martyrdom of the holy martyr Isaac of Tiphre.

¹³ The original home of the manuscript was in the library of a church dedicated to Elijah the Tishbite, to which it was presented by Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of Father John. The donor made his gift acceptable by causing to be written in it the life and deeds of Elijah the great ascetic, and an account of the transfiguration of our Lord in which He appeared with Elijah and Moses; but it is most improbable that Chrysostom ever wrote any part of this encomium on Elijah. The account of the deeds of Elijah given in this encomium appears to have been translated direct from the Septuagint, or copied from a Coptic version of the Books of the Kings made from it. The writer as a rule quotes carefully, and every here and there moralizes at some length upon what has been said before. It is probable that there was a Greek original of this encomium, and that the fragments of the Coptic version which are printed here were made from it. I have not attempted to treat the legend of Elijah from a folk-lore point of view, for my object has been to reproduce the Coptic text, and to give a fairly literal translation which may be useful to those interested in Biblical matters and Coptic literature....

¹⁴ Translation. The Encomium which Saint John Chrysostom pronounced when he was Bishop of Constantinople, on the mighty prophet Saint Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tobi; in the peace of God, Amen. How shall I speak of him, or how shall I describe him, O beloved brethren? I am afraid and am greatly perturbed in undertaking the important matter which I seek after. How I shall do it I know not...for I am afraid of that which I desire. I desire and wish to make an encomium upon the great luminary which shone and gave light, and who was exalted above the whole world, Saint Elijah the holy Tishbite. [36 pages wanting.] their unrepentant spirit, and hence his mercy. So Elijah the holy man came to Sarepta (a city) of Sidonia, and he found a widow woman gathering firewood by the gate of the city. And he said to her, 'Art thou kindling a fire, O woman? Bring me a little water that I may drink.' When she had gone to bring the water to him, he called after her again, saying, 'Bring with thee a little corner of bread for me in thy hand.' The woman answered and said to him, 'As God liveth, there is nothing at all left in my house except a little flour in the barrel, and a little oil in the vessel; and as thou seest I am gathering these sticks that my children may go in and prepare it for themselves to eat that they may not die.' When Saint Elijah had heard these things from the woman, he had compassion (upon her...

¹⁵ [6 pages wanting.] (Art thou come) into my house to call to remembrance my evil deeds to slay my son? The holy man Elijah said to her, 'Bring hither thy son to me,' and she brought him to him, and he took the little boy from his mother's bosom, and carried him into the upper chamber in which Saint Elijah lived, and laid him upon the bed dead. Then Saint Elijah lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, 'O God, slay not the child of the widow with whom I sojourn,' and he breathed upon his face three times, saying, 'O God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, make Thou the soul of this child to return again,' and straightway the little boy lived. And the holy man Elijah carried him down and gave him to his mother, saying, 'Take thy child, behold he liveth,' and she threw herself down at his feet, and cried out, saying, 'Verily thou art a man of God, and the word which goeth forth from thy mouth cometh to pass in very truth'; and she glorified God and Saint Elijah the Tishbite until the day of her death.

16 After these things, when God saw that the holy man Elijah entreated Him with all his heart to bring rain upon the earth, He spake with him, saying, 'Arise, go and appear to king Ahab, for I am going to bring rain upon the whole earth.' And Ahab called Obadiah the chief steward of his worldly possessions, and said to him, 'Let us arise and divide the land between us, and go into the deserts and woods and to the running streams, peradventure we shall find a little grass to keep alive our cattle that they perish not entirely; perhaps we may find Elijah the Tishbite, and ask him to bring rain upon the earth.' So they divided the land between them, Ahab went his road by himself into the desert, and Obadiah went on his road by himself. And Elijah was going to appear before Ahab, and behold he met Obadiah on the road. When Obadiah drew near to Saint Elijah, he hastened and bowed himself down to the ground, and made obeisance to him, saying, 'Art thou my lord Elijah?' he said to him, 'I am, go and say unto Ahab, Behold, Elijah (is here).' And Obadiah wept, and said, 'O my lord, my holy father, what sin have I committed that thou wouldst give me into the hand of Ahab for him to slay me?

17 As the Lord God of my father liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is not a nation or kingdom into which Ahab has omitted to send to seek for thee, and when he found thee not, he set fire to them all, and thou sayest to me, Go, say unto Ahab, 'Behold, Elijah.' Moreover, it shall come to pass that when I am gone to tell him, the Spirit of God shall take thee to a place which I know not, and when I have told him, and he find thee not, he will slay me. And now, my lord, let my kindness come before thee this day, for thou knowest, my lord, what I did for the prophets when Jezebel persecuted them, how I took one hundred of them, and hid them in two caves, and ministered unto them with bread and water. Thou knowest also, my lord, that I, thy servant, have been the servant of my lord from my youth up, and now thou givest me into the hand of Ahab for him to slay me; do not by any means do this, my lord, but let my soul be saved in thy sight.' And while Obadiah was speaking to him, the holy Elijah had compassion upon him, and said, 'Go, and fear not, but as the Lord God liveth before whom I stand to-day, I will show myself unto Ahab this very day.' Then Obadiah went and told Ahab, 'Behold, Elijah the Tishbite'; and Ahab hastened to meet Elijah.

18 And when he saw him, he said to him, 'Art thou he that troubleth all Israel?' the holy Elijah said to him, 'It is not I that trouble Israel, but it is

thou and thy father's house, for ye have set God behind your backs, ye have slain the prophets, and ye have served Baal as God. But if thou wishest to appease the anger of God, send and gather together to me all Israel, and bring the prophets of Baal and the priests of shame who eat at the table of Jezebel up to mount Carmel.' And the king sent and gathered together all Israel, together with the prophets of shame who ate at the table of Jezebel, and brought them up to Mount Carmel. Then Saint Elijah stood up on his feet, and said to all the people, 'If ye know that God exists, why do ye provoke Him to anger'? And there was no one able among the people to answer him a word. And again Elijah said to all the people, 'Behold, I am left by myself in this place, as ye see, while the prophets of Baal are four hundred and fifty, and the priests of shame are four hundred. Bring hither two bullocks, and let them take one of them and divide him, and hack him limb from limb, let them lay wood upon the altar, and the flesh upon the wood, but let them kindle no fire (beneath); and behold, I also will do likewise.

¹⁹ But let them take their ox first, for they are many, and let them call upon their god; and he who shall answer by fire from heaven is the true God.' And all the people cried out, saying, 'The word which thou hast said is good.' Then all the priests of Baal took the ox and slew him, and hacked him limb from limb, and they laid him upon the wood upon the altar, and they called upon Baal, saying, 'Hear us, O Baal, hear (us)'; but there was no answer to them at all. And again they cried out the more from the first hour of the day until noon; but there was no answer to them at all. And Saint Elijah cried out to them mockingly, saying, 'Cry out with a louder voice, peradventure your god is asleep, or perhaps he is dreaming, and ye must wake him up.' Then they cried out the more, and leaped upon the altar, that perhaps something might happen through this, and this they did until the hour of evening; and when they saw nothing they were greatly ashamed. When the holy Tishbite Elijah knew that the hour of sacrifice had come, he straightway arose in the strength of God in which he lived, and said to the people, 'Bring me twelve stones'; and they brought them.

²⁰ When he saw that the hour had come, he built an altar in the name of God, and surrounded it with a trench, and laid the wood upon the altar, and placed the flesh upon the wood. And he said to them, 'Take these water vessels and fill them with water, and empty them out upon them' (i.e. the pieces of flesh and wood); and they did so. He said to them again, 'Fill, and pour out

upon them,' and they did so; and he said once more to them, 'Fill, and pour out upon them,' Now there were four water vessels which they filled and poured out upon the flesh and the wood three times. And he filled the trench and the altar so that the water rose above the altar, and this he did that the miracles of God might be made manifest. Then the holy Elijah lifted his eyes up to heaven, and said, 'O God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, answer me by fire this day, that all this multitude may know that Thou alone art God; for Thy sake have I done all these things, and Thine is the glory for ever, Amen.' And straightway fire came down out of heaven, and devoured the sacrifice, and ate up the wood and the water, and even the stones of which the altar was built, and the altar and the earth which was round about it. Now the fire ate into the ground to a depth of seventy cubits.

²¹ Beloved, what a great and incredible miracle was this! what mighty dread and terror came upon all the people on that day! for they were afraid of all the burning fire! And all the people worshipped Elijah, saying, 'Verily thy God is in truth God, and there is no other God besides Him,' Then Elijah said to all the people, 'Lay hold on all these hypocrites, and let not one of them escape'; and he commanded that they should be brought to him to the brook (Kishon), and he slew them all there. And the holy man Elijah answered and said to Ahab, 'Arise now, eat and drink, for the auger of the Lord has been appeased, and, behold, I hear the footsteps of the coming rain.' And Ahab arose, and ate and drank, and the holy man Elijah went up to Mount Carmel, and bended his knee before God, and he bowed his face between his knees, and prayed to the Lord God.

²² Then he said to his servant, 'Arise and look towards the sea,' and when he had looked, he said, 'Behold, I see nothing at all.' Saint Elijah said to him again, 'Look even until seven times, and search with thy vision.' And it came to pass when he had looked seven times, he said, 'Behold, I see a little cloud in the form of a man's foot (or footstep) bringing up rain.' Then the holy man Elijah said to his servant, 'Go and say unto Ahab, Yoke thy chariot and depart, that the rain stop thee not. And while Ahab was yoking his chariot, there was suddenly a great blackness in heaven, and an exceedingly mighty rainstorm, so much so that Ahab was in danger, and wept. Then the holy man Elijah girded up his loins in the strength of God which was with him, and ran before Ahab until he came into Samaria. When Ahab had gone into his house, he told his wife Jezebel everything that had happened through the

holy man Elijah, and how he had slain the priests of Baal. When she heard these things from Ahab she was greatly angered, and became mad like an infuriated bear, and sent to Saint Elijah, saying, 'Thou art Elijah and I am Jezebel, by this time to-morrow I will make thy soul like that of one of the prophets whom thou hast slain;' and Saint Elijah removed himself from the presence of Jezebel.

²³ When ye hear, beloved, that Saint Elijah fled, do not imagine that he fled from the death of this world, nay, God forbid, for he wished to depart by the death of this world, and to delight himself with the unutterably good things (of heaven); but he feared lest after the destruction which he had brought upon men, that is the famine and the fire which he had brought down from heaven, and the blood of the prophets of Baal which he had shed, which wonders the people having seen believed upon God, that Jezebel, having persecuted and slain him, should boast that she had slain the Tishbite, and that all the multitude who had turned to God after all the mighty deeds and wonders which Saint Elijah had wrought, would return to the worship of idols, and that all mankind would perish through forsaking God. This is the fear with which he was afraid. And Saint Elijah fled and went up a mountain, and sat under a tree, and he was sorrowful by reason of the corruption of mankind. And behold, the word of the Lord came unto him, saying, 'O Elijah, My chosen one, why art thou thus sad?'. Saint Elijah answered and said, 'O God, they have slain Thy prophets and have destroyed Thy altars, and I only am left, and behold they seek after my life to destroy it. If Thou, O God, wilt show mercy unto me, take away my life from me, for I am no better than my fathers who are dead;

²⁴ O God, it is better for me to die than to see Baal glorified again, for they have forsaken Thee, and have worshipped him as God.' When God knew that the Saint was, grieved at the corruption of the people, He comforted him, saying, 'Elijah, be not grieved at the corruption of the people, for I have seven thousand men left who have not bowed the knee with the people of Baal. And now, who shall seek after thy soul to destroy it? I will preserve it in thee until the end of this world. Did not I answer thee by the drought, and after the drought by fire, and again by the floods of (rain)? Who then shall make thee afraid before the face of Jezebel? Fear thou her not then, but arise and go quickly and anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and thou shalt anoint Jehu the son of Nimshi to be king over Israel in the place of Ahab

and Jezebel the defiled; for, behold, I will bring destruction and shortness of life and desolation upon them. And now, since the days which I have appointed for thee to fulfil in this world have come to an end, arise, and go, and anoint Elisha the son of Shaphat to be a prophet to Me in thy stead.

25 And it pleases Me to do an act of grace to thee, the like of which I have never done to any man whom My hands have made from the first man Adam until the end of the world, except Enoch, the scribe. I will not let thee see death while there is a man of truth in this world, but I will send thee to heaven in chariots of fire and horses of fire, and thou shalt ascend by them that I may take thee up to Myself; and I will make thee a champion for the whole race of man while thou art in the body. 26 If I desire to bring wrath upon men, thou shalt pray unto Me until I forgive them, for I am the Good, and I love the work of My hands. While thou art in the body I will set thee in indestructibility, for it is My wish that thou shalt not taste death, nor thy eye see it to fear it until the end of the world. I will make thy name to be praised upon earth, and mighty deeds shall be done through it. Whosoever shall be in danger by sea or by water, if they cry out to Me in thy name I "will hear them, and will take care of them, and will bring them into the haven of safety. whosoever shall be in any affliction, or distress, or bondage, or banishment, and shall cry out to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily, and will deliver them. Whosoever shall be in sickness of any kind, or whomsoever unclean spirits shall afflict, if they go into thy shrine which shall be built for thee upon earth, and shall pray to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily, and will bless them with healing. If women suffering in childbirth cry out to Me in thy name, I will hear them speedily. The soul that shall build a house of prayer for thee upon earth shall live in the heavenly Jerusalem, and inherit the good things which I have prepared for My holy saints.

27 Whosoever shall take the pains to have a book made and written in thy name, and shall dedicate it to thy shrine, I will write his name in the book of life, and will make him to inherit the good things of the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever shall dedicate a little oil or incense to thy shrine, I will remember his name in the tabernacles of eternity. Arise now, get thee hence, and anoint Jehu the son of Nimshi to be king in the room of Ahab, and anoint Elisha to be prophet in thy stead.' 28 Then Saint Elijah arose and did as God had commanded him. And he found Elisha the son of Shaphat ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, and Saint Elijah hastened to him and

took his mantle and laid it upon the head of Elisha, who straightway forsook the yokes and ran after the Saint Elijah, saying, 'I desire, O father, to follow thee.' The holy man Elijah said to him, 'Go, my son, God has shown mercy unto thee.' And Elisha returned and slew two oxen and cooked them and gave them to the multitude, and they did eat; and he went after the holy Elijah, and became a disciple unto him.

²⁹ But listen to what happened after these things. There was a vineyard, he says, of Naboth the Israelite, as Holy Scripture saith, and this was near to the house of Ahab. And Ahab spake to Naboth, saying, 'Give me thy vineyard which is near my house that I may make a vegetable garden, and I will give thee another vineyard better than this, or if thou wishest I will give thee its worth in silver.' Naboth answered and said, 'Far be it from me to sell the inheritance of my fathers to thee, thou hast a multitude of good things, let these be sufficient for thee.' So Ahab went into his house, and laid himself down upon his bed, and he covered his face, and would neither eat nor drink, for he was greatly disturbed. And Jezebel his wife came in and said to him, 'Why art thou thus so sad of spirit, and dost neither eat nor drink to-day?' Ahab answered and said unto her, 'Because of the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite.' Jezebel said to him, 'Art thou thyself the king? arise then, eat and drink, and I will obtain for thee the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite.' Then she took paper, and wrote on it in the name of Ahab, and sealed it with his seal; and she caused them to bring Naboth and to stone him and to slay him.

³⁰ When she knew that they had slain him, she came in and ran to tell Ahab the king, saying, 'Arise now and inherit the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite, for he is dead.' And Ahab arose and came into the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite, and inherited it. And straightway Saint Elijah arose in the strength of the Holy Spirit which worked in him, and went into the vineyard of Naboth the Israelite, and found Ahab sitting in it. Saint Elijah said to him, 'O Ahab, listen to me, and I will speak with thee. Thus saith the Lord God, "As thou hast slain Naboth the Israelite, and hast taken away his inheritance, it shall come to pass that in the place where the dogs and the swine have licked up the blood of Naboth, there shall the dogs lick up thine own blood, and the swine shall wallow in thy blood, for thou hast without cause made evil to be wrought before God, and hast provoked Him to anger.

³¹ Thus also saith the Lord God, "Behold I will bring evil upon thee, and I will wipe thee out from Israel, I will make thy house like that of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, the dogs shall devour thy wife at the gate of the city, and I will bring death and destruction and, extermination upon thee, because ye have angered the Lord and provoked Him to anger, and have troubled His spirit." 'And it came to pass that when Ahab heard these words from the mouth of the holy prophet Elijah, he rent his clothes, and great fear and terror entered into him; and Saint Elijah departed from him. And straightway Ahab went to Jezebel his wife, and showed her all the things which he had heard from the holy prophet Elijah the Tishbite. When Jezebel heard these things, her heart melted, and she was not able to open her mouth to say one evil word against Saint Elijah, but the Lord smote Ahab and Jezebel, and they disappeared speedily according to the word of Saint Elijah.

³² Let now those who said that the holy Elijah was afraid, and fled away from Jezebel, be confounded, for (if he was) how was it that he was not afraid to stay and to curse Ahab and Jezebel in this manner? Nay, but as I have already said, he was afraid lest all the people should corrupt itself a second time with the service of idols, and hence Jezebel was speechless, and her heart melted when she heard those words from Saint Elijah. Where now, O Jezebel, wild and evil beast, is the mighty power which made thee confident? O Jezebel, the infuriated, where is now the great madness and wrath of thy heart against Saint Elijah the Tishbite? Where is now thy mighty and injurious tongue which spake with devilish pride and madness, and uttered words beyond measure against Saint Elijah, saying, 'Thou art Elijah, and I am Jezebel?' What, O senseless and lawless woman, are the words which thou didst say to the holy prophet Elijah? God said to him, 'I will preserve thy soul within thee until the last day of the world,' and yet thou didst say to him, 'To-morrow at this time I will make thy soul like that of one of the prophets whom thou hast slain.' Why now hast thou not fulfilled thy word to slay the Tishbite? and why wast thou angry when thou didst hear that he had slain the priests of shame, and didst say, 'I will slay him also'?

³³ And while he was announcing to every one an evil death for thyself and thy husband, and extermination and destruction, how and why was it that thy mouth was unable to utter a single word? Because the word of God entered into thy ears from the mouth of His holy prophet Saint Elijah the Tishbite. And now, brethren, let this be manifest to you in very truth. All

rich men possessing authority in this world, and having wicked wives like Jezebel the unchaste, who urge them on, like Ahab, until they do evil to the poor, these men will merit the curses which Saint Elijah the Tishbite pronounced against Ahab and Jezebel his wife, together with destruction and extermination, and blotting out of remembrance for ever. Every woman who shall be lawless like Jezebel the unchaste and lascivious before God, who delighted in her riches, who was proud, who boasted of her wicked whoredoms and the impurities of her unclean and defiled body, who lived in sin and gloried in her iniquity and in her ornaments of gold and silver, who ate and drank in violence, who was clothed with the armour of Satan, who despised the poor, who was merciless to those whom God loved, who shall be in shame and degradation, and whose odour shall fill every place;

³⁴ every woman who shall walk in these things in this manner is an enemy of God and of His holy prophet Elijah, and shall receive the part and portion of Jezebel her sister, and shall remain under the curses of destruction and extermination which Saint Elijah spake against Jezebel. Every whoremonger and every harlot do God and His holy prophet Saint Elijah hate. Every unjust person, whether male or female, is an enemy of God and of Saint Elijah the Tishbite. Every proud person, whether male or female, is an enemy of God and of Saint Elijah. It is for the sake of the unjust and their sins that God has thus kept the holy prophet Elijah in the body to be a champion for all mankind, that upon those who turn to God and repent of their sins Saint Elijah will have compassion, but upon those who persist in their wickedness the God of Saint Elijah will bring wrath and destruction and extermination and interminable punishment for ever. As Saint Elijah was at that time, so is he also now, he is not dead nor gone to corruption, but remains now in the body, and sees the sins of each one of us, and his word is sharper than a two-edged sword.

³⁵ Listen also to this great miracle which God wrought by the hand of Saint Elijah the Tishbite. And it came to pass after the death of Ahab, and Ahaziah had become king in Samaria in his room, that one day Ahaziah fell down from the upper chamber of his house, and he lay sick upon his bed. And he sent messengers, saying, 'Go ye and inquire of Baal the god of Ekron if I shall rise from my sickness this time.' And while they were going, Saint Elijah came out from them to the mountain, and said to them, 'Return ye to Ahaziah the king, and say to him, Thus saith the Lord, "Thou shalt not rise

up from the bed on which thou liest, but shalt surely die." ' So the messengers returned to Ahaziah, and told him the words of Saint Elijah. And Ahaziah said to them, ' What manner of man was he that met you? And they told him, 'A man covered entirely with hair, and girt about the loins with a girdle of leather.' And Ahaziah said, 'It is Elijah.' Then Saint Elijah went up on a mountain, and Ahaziah sent a captain of fifty and fifty soldiers with him to bring him to him. When the captain of fifty had drawn near to him, he said to him, 'O man of God, Ahaziah the king calleth thee;

³⁶ arise and come to him.' The holy man Elijah answered and said unto him, ' If I be a man of God, let fire come out of heaven, and devour thee and thy fifty soldiers'; and straightway fire came out from heaven and devoured them. And the king sent a second captain of fifty with his fifty soldiers; and when the captain had drawn near he said to him, 'O man of God, come down, for the king calleth thee.' And Saint Elijah said to him, 'If I be a man of God, let fire come out of heaven and devour thee with thy fifty soldiers.' And again the fire came out straightway from heaven, and devoured him with his fifty soldiers. And again Ahaziah the king sent a third captain of fifty with his fifty soldiers. ³⁷ And when that captain of fifty knew (him) while he was yet afar off, he hastened and threw himself upon his face, and worshipped Saint Elijah, saying, 'Let now, my lord, my prayer come before thee, for behold, thou hast brought fire out of heaven which devoured the first captains of fifty and those that were with them, but now let the soul of thy servant and the souls of thy servants be precious in thy sight.' And straightway the word of the Lord came to him, saying, 'Arise, get thee to Ahaziah the king.' So Saint Elijah arose and went with him and came to Ahaziah the king, and said to him, 'Thus saith the Lord, I will do thus unto thee because thou hast sent to inquire of Baal the god of Ekron, and hast thus set God behind thy back; therefore thou shalt not rise up again from the bed on which thou liest, but shalt surely die.' And when Saint Elijah had said these things, straightway Ahaziah the king yielded up the ghost. But perhaps some one among you will say, Why did Saint Elijah cause fire to devour two captains of fifty and a hundred soldiers, since they had neither said any evil thing to him, nor had despised him, except 'The king calls thee'? Hearken unto me, and I will show thee how they despised Saint Elijah, and how he rose up against those who would compel him to make himself submissive to the king, and to go with them.

³⁸ He was not afraid of a king of this world, but because they said to him mockingly, 'O man of God,' Saint Elijah spake, saying, 'If ye know that God exists, why do ye not believe in Him? And if Baal is your god, why do you then at all dare to utter the name of my God in your polluted mouth? If I be a man of God in whom ye believe not, let fire come out of heaven from my God and devour you.' Oh, what a mighty miracle was this, beloved, that this earthly being was thus exalted, and his tongue was sharper than a two-edged sword. And beloved, now I have told you of a few of the mighty deeds and miracles which God wrought by the band of Saint Elijah the Tishbite, and now I will further tell you of this mightiest of all miracles, this most unspeakably glorious, exalted and honourable miracle, which no man has ever been heard to attain unto from [the time of] Adam, the first man, until now, for verily it is terrible to utter and disturbing to hear. And it came to pass, he says, that when it had pleased God to take Saint Elijah up to heaven, all the prophets which were in Jericho, which were fifty, gathered together and came to Elisha, and said to him, 'Dost thou know that God will take thy master Elijah from thee up to heaven?'

³⁹ Elisha said to them, 'I know it, but hold your peace, and I will go with him everywhere.' Now when Saint Elijah knew that he should pass out of this world, Elisha went with him until he came to Bethel. And Saint Elijah answered and said to Elisha his disciple, 'My son, sit thou here, for the Lord God hath sent me to Jericho on a matter of necessity, but do thou, my son, sit here until I return to thee.' And when Elisha knew [this], he said to him, 'As the God of my father liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee.' And Elisha went after him until he came into Jericho; and the fifty prophets followed him at a distance that they might see what happened unto them. And again they came to Elisha and said unto him, 'Dost thou know that God will take thy master Elijah from thee up to heaven?' And Elisha said unto them, 'I know it; hold ye your peace, and I will go with him everywhere whithersoever he goeth.' And again Saint Elijah spake to Elisha, saying, 'My son Elisha, sit thpu here, for God has sent me to the Jordan.' And Elisha was very sorrowful, and said to Elijah, 'As God liveth, and as the soul of my lord, my holy father, liveth, I will not leave thee in the place where thou goest'; so Elisha went with him until they came to the Jordan.

⁴⁰ And the fifty prophets followed him at a distance, wishing to see what would happen to Saint Elijah, and Elisha stood by his side at the Jordan.

Then the holy man Elijah threw off his mantle, and smote the waters (with it), and straightway the waters divided on this side and on that. And Saint Elijah said to Elisha, 'Sit thou here, my son, for God has commanded me to pass over the Jordan.' Then Elisha threw himself upon his face, and tremblingly took hold of the feet of Saint Elijah, and embraced them, and kissed them, and he shed tears upon them, saying, 'Woe is me, my father! wilt thou depart and leave me by myself? O my father, leave me not alone.' When they had crossed over the Jordan, Saint Elijah said to Elisha, 'Ask something that I may do it for thee.' And Elisha wept, saying, 'O my holy father, if it be thy wish, let thy spirit be upon, me twofold.' Saint Elijah said to him, 'If thou seest me when they take me up to heaven, thus shall it be.' Then Saint Elijah began to pray and to supplicate, and straightway there was a great earthquake, and the earth shook to its foundations, and there was smoke and blackness and whirlwind and thunders and lightnings, so that the earth was rent asunder. And behold, there came from heaven chariots of fire and horses of fire, and Saint Elijah went up in them, and they took him and carried him up to heaven.

⁴¹ Then Elisha rent his garments, and cried out with a loud cry, saying, 'My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen! if thou wilt go away and leave me, let thy spirit be double upon me.' And Saint Elijah took off the mantle with which he was girded, and cast it down upon the head of Elisha, and he went along weeping for his father Elijah until he came to the Jordan. When he had come to the place where Saint Elijah had divided it, he went beyond and cast his glance upon the flood of Jordan, and he wept, saying, 'Woe is me, woe is me, where is now my father Elijah who divided the waters that he might cross over?' And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, 'I pray Thee, O God of my father Elijah, that if the spirit of my father Elijah has been doubled upon me, when I smite the waters with his mantle, it may divide them for me to cross over.' Then he took the mantle of Saint Elijah, and smote the waters, saying, 'In the name of the God of my father Elijah'; and the waters divided, and Elisha crossed over. Now the day on which Saint Elijah was taken up to heaven was the sixth day of Tobi.

⁴² When Saint Elisha had crossed over, he found all the prophets looking out for him, for they were all brought to nought by reason of the terror and the earthquake which took place when Saint Elijah was taken up to heaven. And they comforted Elisha, and each one said, 'The spirit of Elijah rests

upon Elisha twofold'; and let the...among men who shall not marvel be silent when he hears that a human being was worthy of so great glory and honour. And now, O brethren, that we may know that God loved Saint Elijah, and gave him the great honour to take him up to heaven in chariots of fire, he is now in the body in heaven, and is the champion of the whole race of men. Let us then make him our champion, and let us forsake the evil desires of this vain life, fornication, impurity, uncleanness, thefts, hatred, slander, false swearing, and the like, which things God and Saint Elijah hate. And let us do those works which God and Saint Elijah love, which are these: first of all---prayer, without which no one shall see God, for by the prayer which supported him Saint Elijah was able to ascend in the chariots of fire until they took him up to heaven to God. Let us, therefore, beloved, keep our souls and our bodies pure from every spot and impurity at which God mocks, and let there be love in us towards each other, for love covers a multitude of sins.

⁴³ Let us be humble and charitable, for pride and the love for money are the root of all evil. Let us keep the judgment of upright faith which is alone our hope for cleansing our souls, our bodies, and our feelings. Let us each endeavour to fulfil the holy ministration that we may partake of the holy mystery of the body and precious blood of our God. Let us give alms to the poor to-day, each one according to his ability, in the name of God and of Saint Elijah, that we may make ourselves worthy of the blessing which Saint Elijah spake to the widow of Sarepta, who gave her offering of flour and a little oil willingly, on account of which she obtained a great and imperishable blessing, and that Saint Elijah may be gracious unto us, and that we may find grace and freedom of speech before the terrible throne of our Lord and God our Saviour Jesus Christ, to Whom with the Father and the Holy and Vivifying Spirit be all honour which is meet, now and for evermore. Amen.

⁴⁴ The Blessing of Saint Elijah be with us for evermore. Amen. [A small number of the footnotes have been transcribed] 1. * This encomium has little in common even with the spurious homily on Elijah the prophet, printed by Montfaucon in his edition of Chrysostom's works, Paris, 1724, Vol. VI, pp. 600-603, and must be a work of another admirer of Elijah the Tishbite. 2. ++ A.D. 398-407. He died at Comana, in Pontus, on September 14, A.D. 407, aged about 63 years. In the Coptic Church his day is celebrated on the 12th of Pachons, or July 7. I suspect that this is the Abba John referred to in the

colophon of the manuscript. 3. § I.e. January I. The Arabs, Greeks, and Latins celebrate his day on July 20, and in the Ethiopic calendar it is December 1. See the *Ada Sanctorum*, Vol. XXXII, p. 4; and Ludolf, "Comment. in Hist. Aethiop.," p. 389, sq.

45 4. * For an Arabic version of this discourse, see Assemani, "Bib. Or.," Vol. I, p. 156, No. 53; and for Carshunic, or Arabic in Syriac letters, see British Museum MS. Add. 7209, Rich., fol. 237. Rosen and Forshall, Cat., p. 3, col. 2, No. 18. The Greek version was published in the Oxford edition, edited by Thwaites, and the Latin by G. Vossius, *Ephraem Syri.*, p. 686. See also Tillemont, "Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire Eccles." Paris, 1702. Vol. VIII, p. 759, col. 1. 5. + See Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. IX, pp. 1-37. 6. ++ According to tradition, he met the widow in a wood south of the town of Zarephath. 7. * He is said to have become the servant of Elijah, and was afterwards identified with the prophet Jonah. 8. + Here is a proof that Chrysostom is not the author of this encomium, for he held the opinion that Elijah sinned in fleeing before Jezebel.

46 9. * According to the "Book of the Bee," Enoch and Elijah are the guardians of Paradise. 10. + Fire is the element characteristic of Elijah. Before his birth Sobak his father saw in a vision the birth of a man child who was wrapped in swaddling bands made of fire, and who was fed with fire. He told the dream to the priests at Jerusalem, who said, "Fear not, his words shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground." Epiphanius, *De Vita Proph.* 47 11. + It is in his character of benefactor that Elijah has become so famous and so favourite a saint all over the East. Among the Jews he was thought to be ready and willing to help man, from his birth in this world, throughout his life and death, until he entered heaven. At every circumcision a seat is placed for the prophet Elijah, the "angel of the covenant" (Mal. iii, 1), for he is supposed to see every [Hebrew] with his own eyes; he comforts the afflicted and warns people against danger (*Berachoth* 3); gives advice to those in trouble (*Taanith* 21 and 24); wishes lasting happiness to the married pair (*Jebamoth* 63); he rescued the Rabbi Shela from the hands of the Roman governor (*Berachoth* 58a); he delivered Nahum from the hands of the robber who attacked him on his return from Rome; he healed Rabbi Sime ben Aschi of the bite of a reptile; he caught Rabbi Kahana, who fell from a house, and saved him from injury; he saved men from death; and appeared at various times as an Arab merchant, a horseman, a nobleman, and even as a harlot

(Avodah zarah 18), in order to help or befriend a needy being. He is the establisher of truth and justice; all difficulties are to be solved when he appears; he will come three days before the Messiah; he is one of the four architects who will build up the temple from its ruins; and all secrets will be revealed by him. He leads men into Paradise, and even bears the punishment of some, that they may escape hell; but though so good to man, he once killed a man for not looking towards the synagogue (Berachoth 6). For more on these matters see the passages on Elijah quoted by Eisenmenger, "Entdecktes Judenthum," and a very able article in Frankel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, July and August, 1861, Vol. XII, p. 241 sqq.

⁴⁸ 12. * According to Mohammedan tradition, Elijah lives in Paradise, and sits under the tree of Life, eating its fruit, and drinking from the fountain of Life. He is identified with Phinehas and Saint George, and called [Arabic]. See D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Khedher; and. Weil, *Bibl. Legenden der Muselmanner*, p. 178; Koran, Sur. 21. Another tradition makes him live in the fifth mansion of Paradise, with the Messiah, Whose head he lays upon his bosom, saying, "Be silent, for the end is near." 13. + So in the Talmud (Moed. Katon, 25), "Elijah lives for ever;" also, "he never tasted the bitterness of death." See *Midrash Rabba* (Moses. Parashah ii). 14. An encomium or homily on Elijah the Tishbite was printed by Montfaucon in his edition of Chrysostom's works, Paris, 1724, vol. vi, pp. 600-603; but it has little in common with the Coptic version here given. 15. I am indebted to Professor Hyvernat for pointing out to me that the date is written xxx and not xxx; hence in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1886, p. 133, line 7, and *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, Pt. i, p. 74, line 15, we must read 915 instead of 115, and 1199 instead of 399.

⁴⁹ 16. In the Coptic Church his day is celebrated on the 12th of Pachons, or July 7. 17. I.e., January 1. The Arabs, Greeks, and Latins celebrate his day on July 20, and in the Ethiopic calendar it is December 1. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxxii, p. 4; and Ludolf, *Comment. in Hist. Ethiop.*, p. 389, sq. 18. For the text and translation of tins discourse, see *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1887. 19. For the text and translation of this martyrdom, see *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, Pt. 1, pp. 74-111, 1887. ⁵⁰ 20. Encomiums upon Elijah appear to have been much sought after and esteemed among the Copts, and there can be no doubt but that several existed in the convents of Upper and Lower Egypt. Elijah in the Old, and John the Baptist in the New Testament were

the chief saints and ascetics whose example was blindly followed, and whose lives were closely imitated by the hosts of monks, recluses, and solitaries which filled the Thebaid and the deserts on each side of the Nile as far up as Aswan. In the account of the journey of the Coptic monk Paphnuti into the desert recently published by M. E. Amelineau (*Recueil de Travaux Relatifs a la Philologie et a l'Archeologie Egypt. et Assyr.*, vol. vi, p. 175), a fellow monk called Benofer, in telling the story of his life, says, *inter alia*, 'I was formerly in a convent in the nome of Shmun in Upper Egypt, beyond Ehrit; we were fifty men at one with each other, and we ate at one table; the peace of God was among us, and we lived apart and in purity. Now I was young, and I learned divine things from the God-loving and perfect old men who were like unto the angels of God, and I heard them discourse about Elijah the Tishbite, saying that he was more powerful in God when he was in the desert than at any other time.'

⁵¹ 21. The Coptic translator has made Baal a female deity. 22. The sense of the Greek is quite lost in this verse. 23. There is no authority for this sentence in the LXX. 24. There is no authority for this clause in the LXX. 25. The meaning of this verse has been misunderstood by the Coptic translator. 26. i.e., Holy Scripture.

PART FOUR

Church Orders and Papal Decretals

*The Statutes of the Apostles, and letters in the names of the
early popes that were forged in the ninth century.*

The Statutes of the Apostles

TRANSLATED BY G. W. HORNER

3rd–4th century

An early church order put under the names of the twelve apostles: rules on bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers and widows, on baptism, fasting and prayer, and the Lord's Supper. Horner gives English translations of the three versions that survive complete: Ethiopic, Arabic and Sahidic Coptic.

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION

¹ IN the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, one God. This is the Sínodos of the fathers, the Apostles, which they ordered for the direction of the Church. All hail, our sons and our daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Statute 1. Said Yuhanes, Mâtēwos and Pētros and Filepos and Seme'on and Yā'ekob and Nātnāēl and Tomās and Kēfās and Endreyās and Bartalomēwos and Yehudā and Yā'ekob the brother of our Lord: When we were assembled together with the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, he commanded us and said to us: Divide the earth amongst yourselves, so that every one of you may take his place according to your number. Take the order of Bishops, and the seat of Presbyters, and the works of Deacons, and the intelligence of Readers, and blameless Widows; and the work on which the foundations of the Church may be confirmed, and by which they may make a pattern of that which is in the heavens; and that they may keep from all wickedness; and know that they themselves will answer in the day of Judgment because they heard but did not keep. And he commanded us to send these words into all the world. And it is proper that every one of us should be according as our Lord—to him be glory—revealed to us with the will of God the Father by the Holy Spirit; and remembering his word, that we should command you therewith, as a reminder and instruction, O brethren.

² Statute 2. Said Yuhanes: O brethren, we know that we shall be examined about all that was given to us; and that therefore we should not accept the

person of anyone who is with us. And if there should be one who is with him, who says what is not seemly, he shall be reproved because what he says is not good. And they caused Yuhanes to speak first. Said Yuhanes, that there are two separate places, one for life and one for death. Between these two places is separation: and the place of life is this, that thou shouldst love the Lord thy God and thy creator with all thy heart and praise him, because he saved thee from death. This is the first commandment; the second however is this, that thou shouldst love thy companion as thyself: in this is all the law and the prophets, O my beloved.

³ Statute 3. Said Mātēwos: All that thou dost not wish that they should do to thee, thou shalt not do to thy neighbour. This means, that that which thou hatest for thyself, thou shalt not do to thy neighbour. And do thou, O Pētros my brother, teach them with this word. Statute 4. Said Pētros: Thou shalt not kill life, and thou shalt not commit adultery, and thou shalt not corrupt young children. Thou shalt not steal, and thou shalt not be a sooth-sayer, and thou shalt not be a stargazer, and thou shalt not be a magician. And thou shalt not cause abortion, nor after the child is born shalt thou kill it. And thou shalt not covet any of thy neighbour's goods, and thou shalt not hate any man, and thou shalt not be a false witness. And thou shalt not be a speaker of evil against any. And thou shalt not think about doing evil, and thou shalt not be of double heart and of double tongue; because he who is of double tongue is a deadly snare. And thy words shall not be vain, and thou shalt not be false. And thou shalt not be a hypocrite, nor a lover of great possessions, nor a defrauder, nor unfair, nor one of evil heart, nor proud. And thou shalt not devise evil against thy companion, and thou shalt not hate any man, but reprove him; and for some pray, and to others be merciful, and others love much more than thyself.

⁴ Statute 5. Said Endreyās: O my son, flee from all evil, and hate all evil; and thou shalt not be angry, because anger leads to murder; because anger is an evil demon. And thou shalt not be envious or irascible or a lover of fighting, because this depraves and causes to inherit evil. Statute 6. Said Filepos: O my son, thou shalt not be lustful, because lust leads to adultery, and afterwards makes a man the ridicule and derision of all. Because lust is a seducing demon; so when the demon of anger unites with lust, it is perdition to him in whom it happens; and where there is an unclean spirit there is sin of the soul. If he finds a little (place) where he may enter, then he enlarges that

place, and takes with him all the unclean spirits, and they enter into that soul, and he will not let them leave that man; and it is impossible for him to lift himself up at all to see the right. Make a limit at which to lay aside your anger, that ye may cool and delay anger after your anger; lest Satan cast you into a very wicked deed. Anger and lust are evil, and when they remain for much time, unless (men) cool their anger they will become demons; and when the demons get men into their power, they set fire to their souls, and when they have brought them to do sin and wrong, they deride them and rejoice over the ruin of their souls.

5 Statute 7. Said Seme'on: O my son, thou shalt not be a speaker of evil, nor of lofty look; because by this may be adultery. Statute 8. Said Yā'ekob: O my son, thou shalt not be one who interprets prodigies, or who is an augur; because all this guides to idolatry. Nor shalt thou be a wizard or a charmer, or a chooser of hours, or a chooser of days, or a star-gazer, or a magician, or of men who deal with omens; nor shalt thou desire to be acquainted with them; because all this is for thee idolatry. Statute 9. Said Nātnāēl: O my son, thou shalt not be a liar, because lying tends to theft: nor shalt thou be a lover of gold, nor a lover of vainglory; because all this is sin, and leads to theft. Statute 10. Said Yehudā: O my son, thou shalt not be a murmurer, because murmuring leads a man to cursing. Nor shalt thou be overbearing, or oppressive, or malicious; because in all this will be unbelief. Be gentle, because the gentle shall inherit the kingdom of the heavens. Be kind and merciful and peaceable, with a heart pure from all evil, without sin. And be good and humble, and keep thyself in trembling at the word which thou hast heard. And thou shalt not boast, nor put thyself with the great, but with men righteous and humble; and receive everything which happens to thee with thanksgiving to God; and know that nothing whatever happens except from God.

6 Statute 11. Said Tomās: O my son, him who spoke to thee the word of God which became to thee the cause of life, and gave to thee the signet-ring of honour, love as the apple of thine eye; and be mindful of him by day and night, and honour him as God most high. For the place where they remember the name of God, God is there; and visit those other holy ones every day, that thou mayest rest on their word: and he who approaches to the holy will become holy like them. And honour them as much as thou canst: both with thy toil and the work of thy hands sustain them: since God has made thee

worthy to find from them sustenance spiritual and that of the body, and eternal life, it is proper for thee to give them the perishable food of this world; because 'the labourer is worthy of his hire': 'thou shalt not muzzle the ox in the threshing-floor': 'who planteth a vine and eateth not of its fruit?'

7 Statute 12. Said Kēfās: O my son, thou shalt not cause division among men, but reconcile in peace those who quarrel. And decide with justice, and thou shalt not accept the person of a rich man in case of his being a sinner, because riches avail not with God. Nor shalt thou honour the great, nor intercede for him with a writing; but with thee all shall be equal in all things. Nor shalt thou be doubtful when thou prayest; but think (well) what thou desirest, and he will fulfil it to thee then. Nor shalt thou be one who thinkest when thou openest thy hand for that which thou wilt then gain, but when thou hast finished (receiving) draw it back to thee. If thou hast anything in thy hand, give it, and seek deliverance from thy sin. Nor shalt thou be doubtful when thou givest; and when thou prayest, thou shalt receive with gladness, and know who it is who will repay thee. Nor shalt thou repel him who begs of thee, but shalt share with the needy in everything. Nor shalt thou say about anything, my goods are for me alone. And if you have become sharers together in that which is incorruptible, how much rather then in the corruptible.

8 Statute 13. Said Bartalomēwos: I beseech you, O our brethren, while ye have good time and are indeed able to do good to all, neglect not to give while ye have aught to give; because the day of God is near, and all things visible and secret will pass away, and God will come and his reward with him. Be doers of the law yourselves, and teachers of yourselves as God taught you. 5. And keep that which was taught you, and you shall not add to it nor diminish from it. And said Pētrōs: O brethren, the Scriptures teach you concerning the rest of the words and the statutes, and we indeed speak that which was commanded us. And said all of them: 10. Pētrōs shall speak.

9 Statute 14. Concerning the ordination of a Bishop. If it should be a district having few of the Faithful, and if not many people that they may form an assembly about the bishop, not even as many as twelve, they shall send a message to the Churches next to their district where there are many believers, that they may bring three believers, holy and chosen men of that district. And they shall try them carefully concerning that which befits them for the good work: if he is a man who has a good character among the people,

without sin, and without anger, and a lover of the poor, and kind, not a drunkard, nor adulterer, nor lover of the greater share for himself, nor a railer, not unfair, nor the like of that. 25 And it is good also that he be without wife, though if he have married one (wife) before he is ordained bishop he shall live with her. 1 And he should be one who shares in good doctrine, and who can expound the Scriptures; and if he should be one who cannot expound the Scriptures, he should be humble and abound in love to all men.

10 That the bishop may be condemned in nothing whatever, nor let him be reprov'd in anything. Said Yuhanes: If the bishop who is to be ordained knows how to keep himself and (has) the love of God, two presbyters who have been approved, shall be appointed to be with him. And they all said: Not two but three, because they are twenty and four presbyters, twelve on the right and twelve on the left. And said Yuhanes: Well it is that you have reminded me, O brethren: lo, they who are on the right take the cups from the Archangels and they offer to the Lord; and they who are on the left have authority over all the angels. And it is proper for the presbyters that they should be like old men who have passed the time of intercourse with wives, and they shall partake of the Mystery with the bishop, and help with him in everything whatsoever, and gather round him with love of their shepherd. And the presbyters who are on the right shall be careful to give assistance at the altar. Let them be worthy of the honour, and reject him who is worthy of rejection. And the presbyters who are on the left shall attend to all the people, that they may be quiet and not in commotion, and be controlled with all control and obey with all obedience.

11 Statute 15. Concerning the ordination of a Reader (anāguenestis). Said Yā'ekob, that a reader shall be ordained after he has been first tried. He shall not be of many words, nor a drunkard, nor a scoffer. And he shall be of good character, and a lover of the good; one who is quick to go every day to the church, who remembers there the judgment; and he shall be obedient, and one who reads well, and who knows the duty (lit. place) of him who reads, that he should do according to what he reads; and one who fills the ear of others with his word, ought he not to do it himself? Will it not be written against him as a sin before God? 12 Statute 16. Said Mātēwos: Deacons shall be ordained, as it is written: By the testimony of two and three every word shall be established. And they shall be tried concerning all the service, having the

testimony of all the people, that they live with one wife, and have reared their children in purity, and such as are merciful and humble, and such as are not murmurers, and such as are not double-tongued, nor wrathful, because wrath depraves a wise man. And they shall not respect the person of the rich, nor act unjustly to the poor; nor drink much wine; and they shall work hard for the hidden Mystery and the beauty of the consolation. And they shall bid those of the brethren who have somewhat to give to him who has nothing, and thus they shall also be sharers in giving. And they shall honour all with all honour and modesty and fear, and they shall keep themselves in all purity. And some of them they shall teach, and some of them they shall question, and some of them they shall reprove and some they shall console. As for the rejected, they shall also expel them at once, and they shall know that those who oppose, the revilers, the rejected, are those who are your adversaries.

¹³ Statute 17. Concerning the Widow. Said Kēfās: Three widows shall be ordained. Two of them shall devote themselves to prayer for all those who are in affliction; and sufficient daily sustenance shall be given. But one of them shall stay with the women who are suffering from illness, that she may further their recovery, and be watchful, and inform by sending word to the presbyters. And she shall not be a lover of gain, nor shall she be a drunkard, lest she leave off her work of watchfulness and praying in the night. And if one (of them) wishes to do a good work, let her do it according to the commandment, that she may comfort the heart of the sorrowful, because the goodness of God has been first made known (to her). Statute 18. Concerning Deacons, that they should be doers of good works. Said Endreyās: Deacons shall be doers of good works by night and by day, with everyone in every place; and they shall not exalt themselves over the poor and needy, nor respect the person of the rich; and they shall look out for those who have nothing, and give to them of that which is left; and shall bid those who have somewhat to give alms to them, that they may do what our Lord said: I was hungry (and) ye fed me. For he who ministers well the ministry without fault shall inherit a place of rest.

¹⁴ Statute 19. Concerning the statute of the Lay people. Said Filepos: The lay people shall do the commandment which is told to them with cheerfulness; and they shall obey those who devote themselves to the altar; and they shall all of them please God in that which is given to them and ordered

them. And ye shall not learn enmity one with another because of that which is commanded you; but rather shall each one hasten (in his work), according as it has been given him from God; and he shall not hate nor cause a neighbour to be hated by an accusation. Even the angels do not overstep that which is defined for them. Statute 20. Concerning the reminder that the Oblation is the Body of Christ, and that which comes after it. 10 Said Endreyās: We have already ordered this which was said concerning the Oblation, that it is the Body of Christ and his precious Blood, and we declare (it) to you with certainty. And said Yuhānes: Have ye forgotten, 15 O brethren, that on the day when our Lord offered up the bread and the wine he said: This is my Body and this is my Blood. For he did not command that they should treat those as common things. And said Mārtā concerning Māryām: See her laughing. And said 20 Māryām: It was not because of that that I laughed, for our Lord said to us: It is good that the sick should be healed by the whole.

15 Statute 21. Said Kēfā: It is not fitting for women to raise their voice while they stand in the church, but rather to prostrate themselves with face toward the earth. Said Yā'ekob: How can they order for women a ministry of the Mystery, but only this ministry that they should help the needy? Said Filepos: O brethren, concerning the charitable action which a man does, (in doing it) he gathers for himself a good treasure in the kingdom of the heavens; for the good deed is reckoned to him by God, who continues for evermore. Said Pētros: O brethren, ye know that we indeed are not set over anyone with compulsion, but we give command from God. We beseech you to hear and keep the commandments, and add not to them nor diminish from them, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise for ever and ever. Amēn.

16 Statute 22. Concerning the ordination of Bishops and the right order of the Oblation. The bishop shall be ordained as we have already spoken; one who has been chosen by all the people together, with the presbyters and deacons on the day of the sabbath. And all the bishops shall go with mutual consent and lay their hands upon him; and the presbyters standing by keep quiet, and all of them together in silence and praying in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may help them and descend upon him. And every one of the bishops shall pray, and all of them severally standing up shall lay their hands upon him who is ordained bishop, and they shall pray over him thus, saying:

God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and Lord of all comforts, who dwelt with the lofty and (yet) sees the humble, and who knew all before it came to pass. Thou gavest an ordinance to the Church, by the word of thy grace; thou who foreordainedst originally a family of righteous men; from Abrehām thou ordainedst judges and priests; and thou didst not leave thy sanctuary without ministers; and ever since the creation of the world thou hast desired to be glorified in the (place) which thou chocest.

17 And now pour out from thee the might of the Holy Spirit, which thou gavest to thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, which thou grantest to us the holy Apostles, thy helpers in thy Church (working) with the plough of thy Cross and in the place of thy holiness—to thee be glory, and praise unceasingly to thy Name. Give, (thou) knower of the heart, and send the Holy Spirit upon thy servant whom thou hast chosen for the pontificate, that he may feed thy flock and minister as priest to thee without blame, serving thee by day and night, and supplicating to see thy face worthily; that he may offer thine Oblation in thy holy Church; in the Holy Spirit of the priesthood, having authority to forgive sin according to thy commandment, (and) to give the ordination of thy ordinance, and loose all bonds of iniquity, according to the authority which thou gavest to thine Apostles; and that he may please thee with gentleness and purity of heart, offering to thee a sweet savour, through thy Son Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and might and honour, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in thy holy Church now and always and for ever and ever. Amēn.

18 And after the bishop has been ordained every one of them shall salute him with the mouth, kissing him who has become a bishop, and to whom this grace has been imparted. And the deacon shall bring to him the Oblation; and he then having laid his hand upon the Oblation with all the holy ones and the presbyters shall say, thus giving thanks: The Lord (be) with you all. And the people shall say: Perfectly with thy Spirit may he be. And the bishop shall say: Lift up your hearts. And all the people shall say: We have (them) with the Lord our God. And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say: Right, it is meet, and just. 19 And then the bishop shall say the (words) of the Oblation as follows: We give thanks to thee, Lord, through thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom in the last days thou sentest to us, thy Son, a saviour and redeemer, the messenger of thy counsel. This is the Word who is from thee, by whom thou, being willing, madest all

things; and thou sentest thy Son from heaven into the womb of the Virgin, he who became flesh and was borne within her. And thy Son was manifested by the Holy Spirit, having been born of a Virgin, that he might fulfil thy will and make a people for thee. Spreading out his hands for suffering, that he might release the sufferers, who trust on thee. He who was delivered up of his own will to suffering, that he might abolish death and burst the bonds of Satan and trample on Siola, and lead forth the holy ones; (that) he might establish the covenant and make known his resurrection. On that night in which he was betrayed, he took bread, he gave thanks and said to them: Take and eat. This is my Body which for your sake is broken for the remission of sin. And likewise the cup, having given thanks he said: This is my Blood which for your sake is shed: take and drink of it: and when ye do this, make a memorial of me.

20 Remembering therefore thy death and thy resurrection, we offer to thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to thee because thou hast made us worthy to stand before thee and minister as priests to thee. We pray to thee, Lord, and we beseech thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon this Oblation of the Church, that in joining (them) together thou mayest grant to them—to all of them—to them who take of it, that it may be to them for holiness, and for filling (them) with the Holy Spirit, and for strengthening of faith in truth, that thee they may glorify and praise through thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee be glory and might in the holy Church now and always and for ever and ever. Amēn. 5 21 Concerning the Oblation (of oil). Oil he shall offer according as the Oblation of bread and wine, giving thanks as in that ordinance. Whenever he does not speak the same words he shall give thanks according to the various meaning of each one, but also with the other words, saying thus: Having sanctified oil, thou shalt grant to all who are anointed or receive it that with which thou anointedst priests and prophets; and in like manner strengthen those and all who taste, and sanctify them who receive it. 20 And the people shall say: As it was, is and shall be to generation of generation and to age of age. Amēn. The bishop shall say: And again we beseech thee, Almighty God, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to grant us to receive with blessing this holy Mystery; and that he may not condemn any of us, but cause worthiness in all them who take the reception of the holy Mystery, the Body and the Blood of Christ, Almighty Lord, our God.

22 The deacon shall say: Pray ye. And the bishop shall say: God, almighty, grant to us the reception of thy holy Mystery as our strengthening; nor condemn any amongst us, but bless all through Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit be glory and might now and always and for ever and ever. Amēn. The deacon shall say: As ye stand, bow down your heads. The bishop shall say: Eternal God, knower of that which is secret and that which is open, to thee thy people bowed down their heads, and to thee they bent the hardness of heart and flesh, look from thy worthy dwelling-place, bless them both men and women, incline thine ear to them and hear their prayer, and strengthen (them) with the might of thy right hand, and protect (them) from evil sickness, be their guardian for both body and soul, increase to them and to us also thy faith and thy fear, through thine only Son, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit be glory and might now and always and for ever and ever. Amēn.

23 And the deacon shall say: Let us attend. And the bishop shall say: Holiness to holy ones. And the people shall say: One holy Father, one holy Son, one is the Holy Spirit. The bishop shall say: The Lord (be) with you all. And the people shall say: With thy spirit. And then they shall lift up their hands for glorifying; and the people shall come in for the salvation of their souls, in order that their sin may be remitted. The prayer after that they have communicated: God, almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, we give thee thanks, because thou hast imparted to us the reception of the holy Mystery: let it not be for guilt or condemnation, but for the renewal of soul and body and spirit through, etc. And the people shall say: Amēn. And the presbyter shall say (the prayer of) laying on of hand after they have received. Eternal God, almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, bless thy servants and thy handmaids, protect and help and prosper (them) by the power of thine Archangel. Keep and confirm in them thy fear by thy greatness; provide that they shall both think what is thine and believe what is thine and will what is thine; grant to them peace without sin and anger through, etc.

24 The people shall say: Amēn. And the bishop shall say: The Lord (be) with you all. And the people shall say: With thy spirit. And the deacon shall say: Go forth in peace. And after (that) the *Ḳeddāsē* is finished. Statute 23. Concerning the ordination of Presbyters. If the bishop desires to ordain a presbyter, he shall lay his hand upon his head; and all the presbyters shall

touch him and shall pray over him. In the form which we said before he shall pray, saying: My God, the 25 Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, look down upon this thy servant, and impart to him the spirit of grace and the gift of holiness, that he may be able to direct thy people with pure heart: as thou lookedst upon thy chosen people and commandedst Moses to choose presbyters whom thou filledst with the Holy Spirit which thou grantedst to thy servant and minister Moses, so now, Lord, give to this thy servant the grace which fails not, preserving to us the spirit of thy favour, and vouchsafe to us, whilst thou fillest us with thy worship in our heart, to glorify thee, through thy Son Jesus Christ, through whom to thee (be) glory and power, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in the holy Church now, etc.

25 And all the people shall say: Amēn and Amēn. He is worthy of it. 15: Statute 24. Concerning the ordination of Deacons. And if the bishop desires to ordain a deacon, he shall choose (him) as we have already said; and the bishop alone shall lay his hand upon his head. Why do we say that the bishop alone is he who lays his hand upon him? For a sign it is of this thing, that he was not ordained for priesthood, but only for the service of the bishop, that he may perform the commandment with which he was commanded by him. And he was not ordained to be the teacher of all those who are in Orders, but to be one who will think of what is proper (to be done) and will inform the bishop. And he was not ordained to acquire the great Spirit of which the presbyters partake, but to occupy himself with that which is proper, that the bishop may trust him, and that he may acquaint the bishop with that which is fitting (for him to know). The bishop is he alone who shall lay his hand upon him; whereas for the presbyters indeed, the bishop and all the presbyters take part with him, and they shall lay their hands upon him, for it is one (and the same) Spirit which descends upon him (and them). And the presbyter alone shall not do it; nor have the ordained clergy power to ordain: and because of this the reader also and the subdeacon shall not be ordained by the presbyter alone, but the bishop alone shall ordain and lay his hand upon him.

26 The prayer of the ordination of deacons: God, who hast created all, and by thy word hast set (it) in order, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom thou sentest that he might minister according to thy will, and reveal to us thy secret counsel; grant spirit and grace and diligence unto

this thy servant whom thou hast chosen to be a deacon in our Church, and to offer in thy holy of holies that which is offered to thee by thine ordained Chief Priests to the glory of thy name; thus without blame in pure life having served the degrees of ordination he may obtain the exalted priesthood and thy honour, and glorify thee, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to thee with him (be) glory and might and power and praise with the Holy Spirit now, etc. ²⁷ Statute 25. Concerning those who confessed and were condemned for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. If the confessor has been in the place of punishment, in chains for the name of Christ, they shall not lay hand on him for a ministering, for that is the honour of a deacon: but (as for) the honour of the presbyterate, though he hath the honour of the presbyterate by that which he confessed, (yet) the bishop shall ordain him, having laid his hand upon him. And if the confessor was one who came not before the judges, and if he was not punished with chains, nor was shut up in prison, nor suffered any affliction, but withal was only derided for the name of his Lord, and was not condemned to the least punishment, yet he professed all the work of the priesthood which is meet for him, they shall lay hand on him and make him a deacon. And the bishop shall give thanks as we have already said. And it is necessary that he should mention the things which we have already said, that he should recite clearly and carefully, and give thanks to God according as it is proper for each to pray. And if there was one who could pray with devotion or use (make) a grand and elevated prayer, and he himself being good; and if he prayed and speaks praise with moderation, no one shall be prevented from praying, who is truly right (in his faith).

²⁸ 25 Statute 26. Concerning the ordination of Widows. If a widow is ordained she shall not be sealed, but be made by the name. And if it was one whose husband died a long time, she shall be ordained. And if it was one whose husband had lately died, she shall not be trusted. But even if she is aged, she shall be tried many days, because lust will contend with those who are ordained to a place. And the widow shall be ordained by word only, and she shall (then) be joined to the rest of the widows; and they shall not lay hand upon her, because she does not offer the sacrifice, nor has she a (sacred) ministry. For the sealing is for the priests because of their ministry, but (the duty) of widows is about prayer, which is the duty of all. Statute 27. Concerning the Reader and the Virgins and the Subdeacons, and concerning the

grace of healing. To the reader who is ordained the bishop shall deliver the Scripture, and shall not lay hand upon him. As for the virgin also, he shall not lay hand on a virgin; but it is with her heart alone that she became a virgin. As for the subdeacons, he shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon, but he shall make (mention) over them of the name that they may minister to the deacons. As for the grace of healing, if some one says, 'I have acquired the grace of healing and prophecy,' they shall not lay hand upon him until his deed make evident that he is trustworthy.

²⁹ Statute 28. Concerning new persons who wish to be baptised, and concerning the occupations which they ought to leave off. New persons who are to be baptised in order that they may hear the word, shall be brought to the teachers before all the people come in; and they shall ask them for what reason they sought the Faith. And they who brought them shall be witness for them as to whether they are able to hear (the word). And they shall examine them concerning their life as to what they are; if they have a wife; or a woman, if she has a husband: or if he was a slave, if his master allowed him to hear; and if his master was not witness for him, he shall go away: and if his master was an idolater, they shall hear from him and they shall know if it was with permission of his master, that there be not scandal. And if he was a man who had a wife, or a woman who had a husband, they shall know if the man lives with his wife, and the wife with her husband. And if it was a man who did not live with a wife, he shall be instructed not to be a fornicator, but to marry according to law or to remain so (as to obey the law). And if it was a man who had a devil, then he shall not hear the word of instruction.

³⁰ Concerning the occupations and the crafts beside the occupations of those whom they bring to exhortation. And if there was a pander, he shall be rejected. And if there was one who makes an image or who divines, they shall teach him that he should not make an image; and if he will not give up the image he shall be rejected. And if it was one who caused to go to the Circus, let him leave off or be rejected. And if it was one who teaches children the work of this world, then it is good if he leave off; yet if there is no other occupation by which he may live, he shall be excused. And let him who causes to go to idolatrous sacrifices leave off or be rejected. And if there is one who hunts or teaches hunting, or who teaches fighting, or war, or a driver of horses, let him leave off or be rejected. And if it was a priest of the gods or a guardian of the gods, let him leave off or be rejected. A soldier of the prince

they shall not receive, and if indeed they received him, if he was commanded to kill he shall not do (it); and if he does not leave off he shall be rejected.

³¹ Statute 29. Concerning other persons. Either he who is a soldier among the believers and among the instructed, or a star-gazer or magician and the like, and a magistrate with the sword or chief of præfects, and he who is clad in red, let him leave off or be rejected. And a catechumen or believer, if they wish to be a soldier, shall be rejected, because it is far from God. An adulteress, or a man without pity, or a man who does that which is not proper to be mentioned, shall be rejected, because they are alien and unclean, and it is not fitting to bring them to be ranked in the congregation of the Faithful. And if it was a star-gazer and a diviner by the sun, or soothsayer, or interpreter of dreams, or seducer of the people, or who puts on clothes for lascivious ornament or a maker of potions, let him leave off or be rejected.

³² Statute 30. Concerning Concubines. If there is anything which we have omitted, decide as is proper. A man shall give up his concubine, and if she was a servant of the man and if she has brought up her children, and if she did not come near another man beside him, they shall receive her, but if she had been near another man, she shall be rejected. And a man who has a concubine let him desist or marry according to law; and if he is not willing to desist let him be rejected. And if there is aught that we have omitted, decide as is proper, because we all have the Spirit of God. Statute 31. Concerning the time during which they shall hear instruction after (they have left off their) occupations. The catechumens shall remain three years hearing the word of instruction: yet if he was a good scholar and one who knows good conduct, no length of time need be required of him (to hear), but the conduct alone shall decide for him.

³³ Statute 32. Concerning the prayer of him who hears instruction and his kiss. When the teacher has finished the admonition the catechumens shall pray alone, apart from the believers. And the women shall stand in their place in the church; and the women believers shall pray alone and the women catechumens. And if the prayer is finished, the catechumens shall not kiss one another with the believers, because their kiss is not yet pure. And the believers shall kiss one another; man shall kiss man and woman shall kiss woman, and males shall not kiss females. And all the women shall have their heads veiled with a pallium or with a mantle, and not with sindon only, because this is not what is allowed to them. Statute 33. Concerning the

laying hand upon the catechumen. And after the prayer, when the teacher has laid his hand upon the catechumen he shall pray, and dismiss them. And if it was one belonging to the church who teaches, or a layman, he shall do likewise. And if a catechumen was arrested for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, he shall not be doubtful about the testimony (which he gives); because if they overpower and injure him and kill him before he receives baptism for the forgiveness of his sin, he shall be justified; because he was baptised in his own blood.

³⁴ Statute 34. Concerning him who is baptised. When one has been chosen or who is ready for baptism they shall examine their life; if they lived in the fear of God before they are baptised, if they honoured the widow, or if they visited the sick, or if they did all good, and if there is witness in their favour from those who bring them; and if they have done thus they shall hear the Gospel from the time that they were set apart, and they shall lay hand upon them and every day instruct them. And when the day draws near on which they shall be baptised, the bishop binds every one of them by oath, that he may know if they are pure. And if one was found who was not pure, they shall put him aside by himself; for he has not hearkened to the word of instruction with faith; because it is not proper to baptise (lit. do to) an utter alien. And they shall instruct those who shall be baptised that they should wash and be exorcised on the fifth day of the week (sabbath); and if there was a menstruous woman among them, she shall be put aside, that she may be baptised on another day. And those who desire to be baptised shall fast on Friday, and the bishop shall assemble all those who shall be baptised on Saturday into one place, and shall command all of them (to make) prayer and prostration;

³⁵ and when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise the unclean spirit that he may flee away from them and not enter into them again. And when he has finished his exorcising, he shall breathe upon them, and they shall read to them the Scriptures, and exhort them. And they who shall be baptised shall not bring with them any ornament of gold, nor ring nor gem of any kind; but every one of them shall give thanks, and it is fitting for them whom it beseems to bring their Oblations also at the time. ³⁶ Statute 35. Concerning the order of Baptism, and the profession of the Faith, and the confession of sin at baptism and the Oblation; and concerning the milk and honey. At the time of cock-crow they shall first pray over the water. And

it shall be either such as flows into the tank of baptism or is caused to flow down upon it. And it shall be thus unless there is a scarcity of water; but if there is a scarcity they shall carry water to the tank, having drawn (it from a well). And they shall put off their garments and be baptised naked. And they shall baptise the little children first; and if they can speak for themselves, let them speak. But if they cannot, their parents shall answer the word instead of them, or one of their relatives. And afterwards they shall baptise the grown-up men. And afterwards all the women shall loose their hair; and they shall be forbidden to wear their ornaments and their gold, when they are baptised, and none of them shall go down having anything alien with them into the water. And whenever they baptise, the bishop shall give thanks over the oil which is in a vessel, and it is named mystic oil; and he shall take other oil and exorcise Satan in it, and it is named oil which has been exorcised from every unclean spirit.

³⁷ And there shall be a deacon who will carry the oil in which (Satan) was exorcised, and he shall stand on the left of the presbyter; and another deacon shall take the mystic oil, and shall stand on his right. And let the presbyter, having taken every one of those who shall be baptised, bid them renounce and say: I renounce thee, Satan, and all thine angels and all thine unclean works. And when he has professed this, he shall anoint him with the oil which he made pure from all evil, saying: All unclean spirits shall depart from him. Thus he shall deliver to the bishop him who shall be baptised, naked, or to the presbyter—to him who stands at the water of baptism. Let the deacon go down with him to the water, and he shall say and instruct him: I believe in one God, the Father almighty, and in his only Son, our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, giver of life to all creation, the Trinity equal in Godhead, one Lord, and one Kingdom and one Faith and one Baptism, in the holy Church Catholic, and life eternal. Amēn. And he who shall be baptised shall also say again thus: Yea, I believe. And thus he shall baptise him and lay his hand upon him, and upon him who answers for him. And he shall dip him three times; and he who is baptised shall make declaration every single time that he is dipped, and afterwards he shall say to him again:

³⁸ Dost thou believe in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father, that he became man, in an incomprehensible miracle by the Holy Spirit and by our lady Māryām, the virgin, without seed of man, and he

was crucified in the time of Pilātos Pantēnāwi: and he died by his own will for our salvation, and rose from the dead on the third day, and released the captives, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and he shall come to judge the living and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom: and dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit, the good and the sanctifier, and in the holy Church: and dost thou believe the resurrection of the body which shall happen to all men, and the kingdom of the heavens, and eternal judgment. And he who is baptised shall answer concerning all this, saying: Yea, I believe in this. And then when he has come up from the water the presbyter shall anoint him with the mystic oil, saying: I anoint thee with holy oil. And afterwards they shall put on their garments. And afterwards they shall enter the church, and the bishop shall lay his hand upon them and pray and say: God, who hast made these worthy of the washing of new birth, and of the forgiveness of sin, make them worthy to be filled with the Holy Spirit;

39 and speed forth and send upon them the grace of the Holy Spirit, that they may serve thy will. Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in the holy Church henceforth unto age of age. And afterwards the presbyter, having poured into his hand the mystic oil, shall pour on the head of them all, saying: I anoint thee with holy oil in the name of God the Father almighty and in Christ Jesus his only Son and the Holy Spirit. And having sealed all in their forehead, he shall kiss them, and say: The Lord (be) with you all. And he who was signed shall answer again, and say: With thy spirit. And after this, when everything has been finished, let them pray with all the people: and they shall not before pray with the full (lit. elder) Christians, but only after they have done the thing which we say. And after they have finished praying they shall give the salutation one to another with their mouths. And the deacons shall bring the Oblation to the bishop, and he shall give thanks over the bread and the cup; and the bread that it may become the Body of our Lord Christ, and the cup, the wine mixed, that it may become the Blood of our Lord Christ, this which was shed for us and for all of us indeed who believe in him.

40 And the milk and honey (shall be) mingled together, and he shall make them drink of them, because of the fulfilment of the promise which he promised to our fathers, saying: I will give to you the land which floweth with milk and honey: this is the Body of our Lord Christ which he gave to us

who believe in him, like food of young children, who were begotten of him, those who believe in him, that he may make every bitter heart sweet by the sweetness of his word. All this the bishop shall go through to those who are baptised. And the water also of the Oblation he shall show in the bread like the inward part of man, who is soul as well as body. And all this explanation is what the bishop shall give to all who are baptised. And the bishop therefore having broken the bread of life, shall give a piece of it to each one and say: This is heavenly bread, the Body of our Lord Christ. And he who receives shall answer and say: Amēn. And if there are not sufficient presbyters the deacons shall take the cups and stand in order; the first he who has the honey, and the second he who has the milk: and he who administers shall say: God, the Father almighty: and the third he who has the wine. He who administers shall say: This is the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

⁴¹ And he who receives shall say: Amēn and Amēn. And when he receives the Body he shall say: Amēn; and at the Blood he shall say: Amēn and Amēn: a trinity this is therefore that it shall be. And each one (of them) shall be careful to do good works which please God, living in the right way and united to the Church, performing this instruction, and progressing in the service of God. This we have taught you to be said openly concerning Baptism and the ordinance of the Oblation; and behold, we have finished the instruction which we give to you concerning the resurrection of the body, and the rest as it was written. And if there is anything else which is right to be told, then the bishop shall tell it and give it to those who are communicated. And they shall accept (it), and none shall know it except the believers, but only after they have communicated. And they shall first receive this holy blessing, which Yuhanes speaks of that there was written upon it a new name (which) no one knows except him who receives the blessing. And on the sabbath and on the first day of the week if it be possible the bishop himself with his own hand shall deliver to all the people while the deacons break the bread. And the presbyters also shall break the delivered bread.

⁴² And whenever the deacon approaches the presbyter, he shall hold out his robe, and the presbyter himself shall take (the bread) and deliver to the people with his hand. And on other days they shall give (it) according to the commandment of the bishop. ⁴³ Statute 36. Concerning Widows and Virgins, and at what time the bishop should fast. And they shall do as we have often said. The widows and virgins shall fast, and pray in the church. And

the presbyters and the deacons shall fast at any time they will. And likewise shall the people fast. And the bishop ought not to fast, except at the time when all the people fast; because if they bring that which is proper to bring into the church, and no (one) can be refused; and (the man) having broken his own bread, he shall taste and eat with the other believers who are with him; and they shall receive from the hand of the bishop a piece of delivered bread before they partake. It is Eulogia (awlogiyā)—everyone shall receive the bread which has been offered. For this is bread of blessing, and not the Oblation as the Body of our Lord Christ.

⁴⁴ Statute 37. Concerning the time at which it is seemly to eat. It is not proper for the catechumens to eat with the believers. Before any taste and drink anything whatsoever, it is proper for them to take the cup and give thanks over it, and (then) drink and eat, for (then) they are pure. To the catechumens let them give the bread of blessing and the cup. The commandment concerning the impropriety of the catechumens eating with the believers, and of the catechumens sitting down with the believers at the table of the Lord. And it is right for him who eats to remember him who invited him and gave him all the food, every time that he eats; for this cause he asked them to come into his house: for this cause it is seemly that they should eat with caution (lit. fear) and moderation what is sufficient and not be drunken. And they shall eat and drink with regularity and not drink until they are drunken; that men may not deride them; and that he who invited them be not pained because of their folly. But rather shall they pray that the holy ones may enter the house. For he said: Ye are the salt of the earth. Behold, he gave to you the last of them all with him, that ye might take from him your portions: but eat with moderation and drink with moderation, that there may be some left;

⁴⁵ and that that which is left from you may be sent by him who invited you to whom he will; and he shall say that this meat and this drink are the leavings of the holy ones. And they shall rejoice at your going to them; and they shall eat what ye leave, and he shall say this meat is the leavings of the holy ones. And they shall rejoice at your coming as they eat: and further, those who are invited shall eat without conversing, but when the bishop allows, they shall speak, and ask what is suitable, and they shall answer. And when (one) has finished saying all the things which are suitable which he wished to ask, then again they shall be silent with modesty, until the bishop

again asks them at the supper. If the believers shall be without the bishop at the supper, either from the presbyter or the deacon they shall take the Eulogia with the hand. And likewise the catechumens shall receive a piece of the mystic bread. And if there are any laity among them, they shall eat in silence: and the laity are not allowed to make the Eulogia. And having given thanks, every one shall eat in the name of the Lord and drink with moderation, having called upon the name of God. Because thus is it due to God, that we should be zealots among the peoples, all of us equal and quiet and pure and without fault.

⁴⁶ For God the Father rejoices in his work, and we indeed (are) his work, if we are pure. ⁴⁷ Concerning the gift to the sick. The deacon in time of adversity shall give the sealing to the sick with diligence. If there is no presbyter to give that which was distributed, as much as ought to be received, (the deacon) shall give thanks and shall take count there of them who take (it) away, that they minister with care and give the Eulogia. If there is any who takes it away, let them bear it to widows and the sick. ⁴⁸ Concerning the bringing in of lamps at the supper of the congregation. When the evening has come, the bishop being there, the deacon shall bring in a lamp, and standing in the midst of all the Faithful, being about to give thanks, the bishop shall first give the salutation, thus saying: The Lord (be) with you all. And the people also shall say: With thy spirit. And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say: Right and just, both greatness and exaltation with glory are due to him. And they shall not say: Lift up your hearts, because that shall be said at the time of the Oblation. And he prays thus, saying: We give thee thanks, God, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, because thou hast enlightened us by revealing the incorruptible light, we having therefore finished the length of a day and having come to the beginning of the night, and having been satiated with the light of the day which thou hast created for our satisfaction, and now since we have not been deficient of the light of the evening by thy grace, we sanctify thee and we glorify thee through thine only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him (be) glory and might and honour with the Holy Spirit now, etc. And they shall all say: Amēn. And having risen up therefore after supper, the children and virgins having prayed, they shall say the psalms:

⁴⁹and afterwards the deacon, holding the mingled cup of the Presfora, shall say the psalm from that in which (is) written Hālē luyā, [and] after that the presbyter has commanded: 'And likewise from those psalms.' And afterwards the bishop having offered the cup, as is proper for the cup, he shall say the psalm Hālē luyā; and all of them as he recites the psalms shall say Hālē luyā, which is to say: We praise him who is God most high: glorified and praised is he who founded all the world with one word. And likewise, the psalm having been completed, he shall give thanks over the cup, and shall give of the fragments to all the Faithful. And as they are eating their supper the believers shall take a little bread from the hand of the bishop before they partake of their own bread, for it is Eulogia and not Eucharist as of our Lord.

⁵⁰Statute 38. And when the bishop speaks let every one be silent. And if the bishop is not present they shall receive the bread of blessing from the presbyter or from the deacon. And when the bishop speaks let all be silent, nor shall one answer another a word, for the bishop shall ask them. And if (not) the bishop but only the Faithful are present at the meal, they shall take the Eulogia from the hand of the presbyter if he is there, and if the presbyter is not there, they shall take from the hand of the deacon; and the catechumens also shall take their portion of the mystic bread. And if there are laymen only they shall eat quietly: and for the laymen it is not proper that they should make the Eulogia. Statute 39. Concerning the meal of the widows. And if there is anyone who desires at any time to invite the widows and those who are aged, he shall satisfy them (with food) and send them away before it shall be evening. And if it is not possible because of the clergy who have been invited, he shall give to them food and wine, and having given then send them away immediately, and each of them shall do as they wish (with it) in their houses.

⁵¹Statute 40. Concerning the ordinance of the gift which is of the Apostles, according to the orthodox statement (lit. word). We have written concerning graces so far as God our Lord has granted to us of his own counsel. Formerly he gave grace (lit. it) to man, while bringing near to him that which had gone astray in type; and now (he gave) the beloved Son who is in all the holy ones. Having come to the source of the proper tradition in the churches, we have attained that (men) should learn well what has been (received) until now; they handed them on and kept them as our ordinances: yet, though they knew that they were quite firm concerning that which had

been found for them, now unawares they slipped away. And those indeed who knew not, (to them) the Holy Spirit is giving the perfection of grace. For them who believe rightly as they know, how seemly it is that they should hand on and keep those things which are established in the Church. Concerning the ordinance of baptism. Those who shall be baptised shall do thus (lit. thus it is). They shall come into the baptistery, and they shall give their names. And then first they shall examine their lives as to whether they are fit for baptism, and if they read the Scriptures, and also if they have learnt the psalm.

52 And likewise there shall be sponsors for him who shall be baptised, and thus he who is sponsor shall know that he shall give account at the day of judgment for it. And they shall cause therefore the prayer to follow after the examination, saying thus: [The prayer concerning those who gave their names] Lover of man and merciful author of blessing, merciful and whose habit is goodness, and the fountain of all blessing, thou who madest that which was not into that which was, with each one which was made thou gavest size and place: thou art able—remove it and take it away. Now, Lord, take away and remove this thy servant from wickedness into goodness. Grant that he may inherit the blessed sonship which is in the heavens, that he may then no longer be one born of flesh, but may abide truly in thine obedience: through thy only Son our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might now, etc.

53 The prayer for those who gave their names. And again we beseech God the almighty, the Father of the 15 Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for those who gave their names, that he may open the ear of their heart and enlighten the eyes of their mind, and give to them the light of knowledge, he who has authority over mercy, the Lord our God. 20 And the deacon shall say: Pray ye for those who gave their names. And the bishop shall say: God the almighty, thou who calledst thy servants, who gave their names, from darkness into light, and from ignorance into the knowledge of the truth: blot out all the vestige of error from their thought; place thy law and thy commandment within their heart: and give to them knowledge which is seemly, impart to them, both men and women, the washing of regeneration for the forgiveness of sin; make them the temple of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might now, etc.

⁵⁴ 5 The prayer of consecration for those who bring the bread and water or oil to be blessed in the holy forty (days), after the examination of those who are to be baptised. God, my Lord Jesus Christ, lover of man, who alone hast made oblation. And thou knowest and to them indeed who are able thou speakest the greatness of the honour of the Father and of thy creation. Thou, the Mediator, the Chief Priest for every soul, and the healing for those who are suffering. Thou whose name is sanctified by the holy ones, may the power which enlightens thy name lighten upon the oil and water and bread, and make them to become safety and healing and purification for those who offered in faith, for thy name is restoration to us, and redemption, revelation, and sanctification. And to thee be glory and to thy holy Father now, etc.

⁵⁵ And he who comes to baptism shall learn the commandment as he receives (baptism): how seemly it is that he live carefully, as he to whom will be imparted the holy atonement of grace by eating. At early morning the bread and water shall be blessed, and he shall be anointed with the oil, until (the time) when shall be imparted that holy grace of baptism. When therefore he will come to baptism, he who will baptise him shall take him, and having turned him then to the west, with his right hand or both his hands outstretched, and his face opposite towards the east without fear—and if he was a full-grown man he shall speak: but for the children who cannot speak, and if it was a weak person, the believing father and believing mother shall speak, or relatives likewise (being) believing men and believing women. And he shall anathematise, being naked, in the water without fear, saying thus:

⁵⁶ [The first prayer for baptism, over the water] God, my Lord almighty, who madest heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them, who madest man in thine own form and likeness, who mingledst and unitedst the immortal with the mortal, who madest living man a combination of the two, and gavest to that which was made body a soul also, which thou causest to dwell within: stir this water and fill it up with thy Holy Spirit, that it may become water and Spirit for regeneration to those who are to be baptised: work a holy work and make them to become sons and daughters of thy holy name: wash them with water, and instruct them by the Holy Spirit, through the coming of our Lord Christ thy Son, through whom to thee with him be glory and might now and always and with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amēn.

⁵⁷ The prayer of the consecration of the water. Eternal God, who knowest what is secret, we pray and beseech thee, send thy Holy Spirit and his power upon this water and change it and sanctify it and bless it and set it against all that opposes, cause it to be against all divination and potions, both those which are drunk, and those which are sprinkled, or (used) in any other way; cause it to be for healing and for life to him who shall receive of it in faith, and in the glory of thy only beloved Son, for to thee is glory and might with the Holy Spirit now, etc. ⁵⁸ The prayer for the holy waters of the Yurdānos, which are mingled with sweet scent. As the priest stands towards the east with the proper vestment, and while the clergy stand in their several orders of sequence, he shall say, having first finished the ordinary form of prayer: God, my Lord almighty, thou madest heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them; and thou madest man in thy form and in thy likeness; and thou placedst him in the garden, that he might live an immortal life; but he, having fallen into error by Satan, the enemy of our kind, became the cause of death upon us all: yet thy goodness did not therefore desert us, but thou sentest thine only Son our Lord Jesus Christ into the world, and not to judge the world, but to save the world by him. He therefore having come, changed our birth into the new (birth) which is by this water and Spirit of regeneration. And for this cause I call upon thee, my Lord, maker of all, who mingledst and unitedst mortal with immortal, having made living man a combination of the two, giving movement to the created body, and soul which thou causedst to dwell (in it): stir this water and fill it up with that which is of the Holy Spirit, that it may become water and also Spirit of regeneration to those who shall be baptised in it. Cause, my Lord, that they may become little sons and daughters of the holy name;

⁵⁹ and purify them and wash them with water and instruct them with the Holy Spirit, through the coming of our Lord Christ with the Holy Spirit. May it be to all who shall be baptised in it a washing of regeneration for cleansing from all sin. And prepare those whom the Holy Spirit chose, to come upon them; that (clothed) with incorruptible vesture they may rise at the resurrection of the dead; and may every evil spirit be removed from them, having been expelled according to thy holy infallible promise of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might and greatness from before the age now and always and to generation of infinite generation, and to age of age. Amēn. ⁶⁰ And then

the priest shall go down into the water of the Yurdānos, taking hold of the head of him who shall be baptised, and saying to him: I baptise thee in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and at each of the names of the Holy Trinity, he who is baptised also saying Amēn. And then having come up from the water, they who promise for him shall receive him, and he who was baptised shall find then a clean linen cloth, that with it the water may be wiped off, and that he may be kept with great care. And if he who shall be baptised is weak, he shall stand up naked in the early morning as soon as one can see, and thus he who baptises shall pour water upon his head, saying: I baptise thee in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and at each name of the Holy Trinity he pours forth once, and not afterwards as to all. And after they have clothed him with the baptismal (robe), the Chief Priest shall make prayer for the men, and if not, the priest before the unction with the chrism of him who was thus sanctified.

⁶¹ The prayer of the holy oil of chrism with which the catechumens (lit. new ones) are anointed, and for full Christians who are sick. God, my Lord almighty, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, stretch out thy hand invisible upon the fruit of this olive with which thou anointedst the Priests and Prophets; and thou hast given power to it with thine own hand, that for those who shall be anointed therewith, it may be for healing and safety and benefit in all diseases and sicknesses, and for extermination of every Satanic adversary; make an unction by thine own grace, really for them to whom it is given, the Holy Spirit, through the name and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might now, etc. And breathe on his face thrice.

⁶² The prayer of the holy oil for anointing him who is to be baptised. God, my Lord almighty, God of hosts (lit. powers), we call upon thy great name and powerful in all things and the Holy Spirit and thy universal name. We pray thee and we beseech thee to send upon this oil spirit and power, and cause it to become a breastplate of the faith against all work of Satan, and make (it) for the perfection of all piety and knowledge, through, etc. ⁶³ The prayer of the holy oil for unction with the chrism of those who are baptised. Thus in giving thanks shall the bishop speak and say: The Lord (be) with you all. And the people who stand by shall say: With thy spirit. And the bishop shall say: Lift up your hearts. And they who stand by shall say: (We have

them) with the Lord our God. And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And those shall say: Right and just, it is meet. And then the Chief Priest, to whom alone it belongs to consecrate the chrism, having taken it, standing rightly, shall offer up the prayer and shall complete the invocation of the coming of the Holy Spirit, and say thus: Right it is and just. We praise thee and glorify thee and confess thee and worship thee and give thanks to thee for all the mercy which thou hast done for us and all thy benefit: when the world was gone astray thou savedst (it), having sent thine only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, not to judge the world, but to save the world, and gather together our dispersion, that we may assemble, and confess thee the one true God who sentest our Lord Jesus Christ;

⁶⁴through whom we offer this chrism which thou hast given to us for healing and for using in other necessities, that thou wilt be willing and wilt send the Holy Spirit upon it, through our Lord Jesus Christ; and that it may become an unction of holiness and seal of the Holy Spirit upon every person of those who receive the washing of regeneration and forgiveness, as far as thou hast given to them: and may it be to them redemption and sure grace and a holy seal of unction and communion of their nature with the Holy Spirit; and cause that they may be named (his) temple, through the name of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might from before the age and unto the age, now, etc. ⁶⁵The prayer of the holy oil, the oil with which he ⁵ who is baptised is to be anointed on the place of anointing. My Lord, almighty, who wast to the Prophets God, and to the Apostles God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who from the beginning by the Prophets preachedst the coming of ¹⁰ our Lord Christ, who sentest Yuhanes the Prophet before his coming, give power to this holy oil and bless it for baptism, may it sanctify thy servants and handmaids and prepare them (lit. him) for thee, while they (lit. he) call upon thee; and cause it to destroy ¹⁵ all poison and expel every evil and unclean spirit, and may all unclean lust remove away by this unction, through the name of thy only Son; and may it be sanctified by thine own grace, and be to all who are baptised oil of healing and safety and power for ²⁰ planting the good olive tree and for (bearing) fruit toward thee and to Christ, through the Holy Spirit, by the faith in the name of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with, etc. ²⁵ And breathe into the oil thrice. And with it he shall anoint

him who is baptised on his breast and on his shoulders and all his body, saying: The oil of holy unction against every adversary, operate for grafting into thine own good olive tree, the Church, and so work blessing. And he shall answer and say: Amēn. And if it is a man (this is done) by him who ministers, or by the priest who is there; or (if) a woman, by a female believer who is perpetually virgin.

⁶⁶ Further (the prayer) for the laying hand upon the catechumens. God the almighty, the Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to thee have humbled their heads thy servants the catechumens, and to thee they have subdued the hardness of heart and flesh, look down from thy worthy dwelling-place, bless them, male and female, and may thine ear hearken to them and hear their prayer. Give them to know the power of the word with which they are instructed as a sure utterance; and in due time impart to them, male and female, the washing of regeneration for the forgiveness of sin; make them the temple of the Holy Spirit through Christ: for to thee is glory and power and might, now, etc. Concerning the oil of chrism for those who are baptised. The bishop shall speak thus in giving thanks after the several bishops and presbyters and deacons are ready. The Chief Priest being present shall celebrate, saying: The Lord (be) with you all. They who stand by shall say: With thy spirit. And the bishop shall say: Lift up your hearts. They who are present shall say: We have (them) with the Lord our God. And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And they who are present shall say: Right and just, it is meet.

⁶⁷ And then the Chief Priest, to whom alone it belongs to consecrate the chrism, having taken it, and standing in front carefully, shall offer up the prayer and say the invocation of the coming of the Holy Spirit, [the bishop] thus saying: Right it is and just. We praise thee and glorify thee and confess thee and give thanks to thee in all that thou hast done to us—blessings and all thy benefit: for thou savedst the lost world, thou sentest thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, not to judge the world, but to save the world by him, and he gathered together our dispersion; and we know that thou alone art the true Lord who sentest Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we offer to thee this chrism, which thou hast given us for healing and using in other necessities, that thou wouldst be willing to send thy Holy Spirit upon it, through our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may it become an unction of holiness and seal of the Holy Spirit for those who shall receive of it, and the

washing of regeneration to them to whom was given redemption and sure grace; may it seal them with the seal of unction and washing of their nature; cause that they may be named the temple of the Holy Spirit, through the name of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom, etc.

⁶⁸ And breathe thrice into his face, and then anoint him with the holy chrism on his forehead and breast, saying to each: I give to thee the holy unction and the seal of grace of the Holy Spirit. And he who is sealed shall say: Amēn. If it is a presbyter who baptises, let him take the chrism from the bishop, and anoint them after they have put on the baptismal (robe); and then he proceeds to pray, and having finished the prayer of the holy oil, they cause three little children to come near to him, and their elders likewise, and having turned them towards the west, first they shall anathematise Satan, saying thus: I anathematise thee, Satan, and all thy wicked angels and all thy work and all thy errors and all thy orders. And then turning himself again towards the east and stretching out his hands, he confesses God, saying: I believe in one God, the Father above all, almighty, and in the only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the body, and in the holy assembly, the one Catholic Church. And then he shall say thrice: Amēn. And he shall say thus stretching out his hands and humbling his head in fear, saying as he hears from him who baptises him thus, this faith in the Trinity:

⁶⁹ I believe in thee, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in thine only Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the body, and the holy, one, Catholic, Apostolic Church. And they shall ask him thrice, saying: Dost thou believe? And thrice he shall say: I believe, I believe, I believe. And if it was a man fully grown he shall speak: and concerning children who have no word or a dumb person or sick, the believing father and believing mother, or relatives knowing (them), being likewise believers, shall speak instead of that child or instead of him who has no word or instead of the sick, saying each of their names. And after the confession of faith he says thus: ⁷⁰ (The prayer) of the laying on of hand. My Lord almighty, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom thy servants and handmaids have humbled themselves; and to thee they have subdued the hardness of heart and flesh, look down from the heaven thy sanctuary, stretch out thine invisible hand upon them. Lord of heaven and earth, who through thine only Son hast made known knowledge of thee

in the earth, and hast prepared for them with a heavenly calling. 5 Confirm these persons, that they may obtain thy power, and confirm their faith, that nothing shall ever separate them (from it), but let them be united in thine only Word, through whom to thee (be) glory and might with the Holy Spirit now, etc. 10 And breathe thrice. And thus shall they be anointed with the holy oil on the place of unction, anoint his heart and his breast and on his back and on all his body, saying thus: May the unction of holy oil operate against every adversary and for the planting firmly of the faith in the good olive tree, the Catholic Church, and do good. And he who is anointed shall say: Amēn.

⁷¹ The prayer after the unction. Father of thine only Son Jesus Christ, the root which is not cut off, redeemer of the sold, cause not to remain any trace of the old state in those who are converted to thy faith; who are obeying thee. Cause that they may be in purity of soul, children of regeneration, those who share in thy grace; and impress upon them the living character, through thine only Son, through whom, etc. And then the priest shall take him and go down into the Yurdānos and baptise him, and as he baptises him he shall look toward the east, (being) in the proper vestment. And the clergy also standing in their orders. The presbyter shall first baptise the children, and further, the Chief Priest being down in the Yurdānos shall baptise, laying his hand upon him whom he baptises and saying thus: I baptise thee, N or M, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. And he who is baptised shall say: Amēn. And then after he has baptised he shall go forth to the Table as if for the Eucharist: and after they have prepared it (sc. the Table) for each, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons being present, the Chief Priest shall sanctify with the chrism, saying thus:

⁷² The prayer of blessing and of laying hand on those who have been baptised, before the anointing with the chrism which has been sanctified, the bishop or the presbyter who baptised saying thus: Eternal God, almighty, Father of the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hast regenerated us thy servants and thy handmaids by water and the Holy Spirit in the washing of regeneration which thou grantedst to them for the forgiveness of sin, send now upon them the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, that therefore he may impart to them an entering into thy heavenly kingdom, according to thy holy infallible promise, through our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom with him and with the Holy Spirit be glory and honour and might

now, etc. And breathe thrice, and then anoint them with the holy chrism on the forehead and on his breast, saying to each one: The holy unction and the seal of the grace of the Holy Spirit. And he who is sealed shall say: Amen. And if it is a presbyter who baptises, let him take the chrism from the bishop and anoint them, after they have been clothed with the baptismal (robe).

73 And then (comes) the order (lit. sequence) of the Presfora. The (prayer of) unction of oil which the Chief Priest consecrates for those who receive the washing, and for sick believers. God, my Lord, almighty, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, stretch out thine invisible hand upon the fruit of this olive with which thou anointedst the Priests and the Prophets; and thou hast given power with thy hand that it may become to those who shall be anointed with it for healing and benefit, and for every disease and every sickness. Destroy every adversary, and make (it) the unction of thy grace for remission of sin to those to whom has been given the Holy Spirit, through the name and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might from before the age now, etc.

74 And breathe therefore thrice. Before the Presfora and after the departure of the catechumens there shall be prayer of three kinds, for peace one, for the congregation one, and for the Patriarch (pāpās) one. And then the deacon shall say with a loud voice: Those who are not admitted to communion depart. And none of the catechumens shall stand here within. And further, the subdeacon shall open the doors; and further he shall say: Those who are not admitted to communion depart. And then further, the deacon shall say to the people: Kiss one another with a kiss of holiness. And then when they have severally given the salutation, the chief deacon shall say: Shut the doors, O subdeacons. This indeed as it was said at the prayer of the congregation. And if the bishop administers the baptism, or one ordained, he shall not say: There is not here a catechumen who is not one of the congregation, nor is there any adversary here.

75 On the day alone on which they receive baptism, after the Presfora he shall offer the cup and the milk and honey with the bread and the cup of wine: and they shall bless (them) together, and those alone who receive for the first (time) shall receive of it. And then the bishop shall say the thanksgiving of the milk: We give thanks to thee, God, almighty, the Father of our spirit, who hast begotten us again by water and the Spirit through Christ Je-

sus our Lord, whom thou gavest. He instituted the holy washing (of baptism) for the forgiveness of sin to our race. Because we are thy flock which is in secret, born of the word, and we are nourished with the milk of nourishment of thy grace in the bosom of our holy mother by the voice of the consolations of the Holy Spirit. And thou, O Lord, always hast given to us food and nourishment of thy sons, milking out the milk of life. According to the form and command of creation we offer to thee this milk and honey which flows from the holy Church, our mother, who caused us to grow by her breasts, which were sanctified by thee. O Lord, bless it with blessing and sanctify it with sanctifying, that it may become to them who partake of it incorruptible communion, nourishment and washing; let it be for instruction in thy fear and in soberness, and for measure of stature, because thine all honourable name has been glorified for ever and ever. Amēn.

76 5 And thou shalt give of his Body, and say: This is the Body of Christ. And he who receives shall say: Amēn. And thou shalt give the cup, and say: This is the Blood of Christ. And he who receives shall say: Amēn and Amēn. 10 And afterwards thou shalt pray thus, having laid thy hand upon their head, and say: I bless thee, O Lord, because thou hast imparted to thy servants and thy handmaids the washing of regeneration for the forgiveness of sin, (and) that which is the grace of the Holy Spirit, the 15 Body and Blood of Christ. We pray thee and we beseech thee, surround thy servants and thy handmaids with the power of thine Angels, and be to them protection by thy divinity, cause them to obtain the heavenly mystery, through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom, etc. 20 The ordinance of Baptism is finished.

77 Statute 40. Concerning the fruit which it is seemly to offer. All shall give, and be careful to offer the first fruits of the crops to the bishop, and he shall offer, while blessing and naming him who offers, saying: We give thanks to thee, God, and we present to thee the first fruit of that which thou hast given to us as good things, having been pleased and by thy word hast commanded the earth to bear its various fruit, for satiety of food for men and all the animals, that we may glorify thee, O God, in all the profit which thou causest to all creation by various fruits, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to thee with him (be) glory, and with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amēn. Concerning the fruits. The priest shall bless these fruits: grapes and figs and pomegranates, and fruit of olive, apples, plums, quinces, peaches, tamarinds, almonds. And they shall not bless Eryp-

tian figs nor garlic nor onions nor any kind of gourds nor any vegetables: nor shall they offer any other fruits except flowers of rose. And all which they shall eat, they shall eat with thanksgiving to God, to whom be glory. Give thanks to him while ye take the fruits.

⁷⁸ Statute 41. Concerning that it is not fitting for any man to eat during the fasts of the Pascha (Fāsika), except at the time in which it is proper to eat. For the following persons the fast shall not be reckoned, either the pregnant or the sick. They who cannot fast the two days shall fast on the sabbath, for it is necessary then that they should fast with bread and water. And if there is one on board ship or one who by some mischance mistook the day; being aware of it, after Pentakoste he shall fast in compensation. It is not the Pascha which he keeps, but a likeness of it after it has passed by: therefore in the second month he shall not omit (to fast), and having returned from his journey he shall do it knowing the certainty. Statute 42. Concerning that it is seemly for the deacons to wait upon the bishop. And every one of the deacons with the subdeacons shall turn to the bishop and tell him concerning the sick, that he may visit them, for if the Chief Priest visits the sick diligently they shall be consoled; for he has remembered them.

⁷⁹ Statute 43. Concerning the time in which it is proper to pray. Believers at the time they awake, having risen from sleep, before they do any work, shall wash their hands and pray to God; and after that they shall go to their work. And if there should be the word of instruction delivered, they shall choose to go thither where is the word of instruction, that is, the word of God, which strengthens the soul. And they shall hasten to go to the church, where is the Spirit, and they shall bear fruit there. Statute 44. Concerning that it is seemly to receive of the Eucharist early at the time when they offer (it) up, before that they taste anything. All believers shall accept the admonition that they should receive of the Mystery before that they taste anything. And if he who receives has faith, then if one gave to him deadly poison it shall not hurt him.

⁸⁰ Statute 45. Concerning that it is proper to guard the Mystery carefully. It is not seemly that any should be poured from the cup; but everyone shall be most careful lest any beside believers receive of the Mystery; and that none of it fall or be thrown away; because it is the Body of Christ: and all believers shall eat of it, and it is not proper to neglect it: [because] it is not seemly that any should be poured from the cup; because the cup was blessed in the name

of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou shouldst receive of it, because it is the Blood of Christ. But ye shall therefore take the greatest care that none of it be poured out or dropped, lest an alien spirit lick it up, and lest it should be that thou thyself should deny and despise the precious Blood of Christ, with which he redeemed thee, and became to thee the means of his mercy towards thee: and thou shalt be as having denied Christ. If a little of his Body has fallen, or if (any) has dropped from the cup, thou shalt find judgment in that thing with which he redeemed thee.

⁸¹ Statute 46. Concerning the Deacons and Presbyters. It is seemly that they should assemble every day with the bishop in the place where he is, that he may command them according to order. And the deacons and presbyters shall not neglect to assemble with the bishop every day, unless sickness of body prevents them. And having assembled together they shall instruct those who are in the churches; and likewise having prayed, they shall turn each to their own work. Statute 47. Concerning the grave. No man shall compel by his command to bury a man in a grave which is made for all the poor; but they shall give wages to the hired man who digs, and to him who guards that place, and to him who has the care of those things. And the bishop shall sustain him with what they offer to the churches. ⁸² Statute 48. Concerning the times at which it is seemly to pray, and to hear instruction; and the sealing the forehead with the sign of the Cross. All believing men and women, having risen at dawn, before they do any work, should wash their hands and pray to God; and then turn to their works: and if they tell them where is the word of instruction, everyone shall choose to go thither to the place of instruction: and he shall know this in his heart, and consider all which he heard, that God speaks by the mouth of him who instructs, and it is he who dwells in the church, and he shall cause to pass away from him all wickedness in the day; and it shall be reckoned great loss to him who fears God, if he goes not to where is the place of instruction, and especially for him who can read. And if there is an instructor he shall not defer (from going) to the church and the place where is the instruction. Then indeed to him who speaks shall be given the word which he speaks. This is profit for everyone, (viz. what he shall hear; and thou shalt hear that which thou thought not there, and thou shalt profit by that which the Holy Spirit gave to thee by him who instructs: and thus thy faith shall become firm because of

what thou hearest. And further, they shall tell thee in that place what it is proper for thee to do in thy house:

⁸³ and therefore all men shall hasten to go to the church and to the place wherein the Holy Spirit rises (like the sun). And if there is a day on which there is no instruction, every one shall stay in his house, and shall take the holy Scripture and read as well as he can, for it is good. And if thou wast in thy house, pray at the third hour and glorify God: and if thou wast in another place, and if that hour has come to thee, pray in thy heart to God; because in that hour they stripped Jesus Christ and nailed him upon the wood of the cross: and therefore the ancient law commanded to give the bread which they offer at the third hour, as a type of the Body of Christ and his precious Blood; and they sacrificed the lamb which was a type of the perfect Lamb, for Christ is the Shepherd, and he is the Bread which came down from the heavens. And again pray at the sixth hour; for at that hour was the hanging of our Lord Christ upon the wood of the cross, and the day was divided and darkness came: and they shall pray at that hour a strong prayer; and they shall be like the word which our Lord Christ prayed, and made all the world darkness: and the catechumens shall make a great prayer.

⁸⁴ And at the ninth hour they shall be long in prayer, and a prayer with glorifying, that ye may join in glorifying with the soul of the righteous ones, glorifying the living God who faileth not, who remembered his righteous ones, and sent to them his Son, that is, his Word to enlighten them: because in that hour the side of Christ was pierced, and the blood and water flowed out: and then the rest of the day shone when the evening came. And therefore thou also as thou makest beginning of another day, as a likeness of the Resurrection, pray before thou retest thy body in thy bed. And at midnight having risen from thy bed, and having washed thy hand with water, pray. And if thou hast a wife, both of you pray. And if she has not yet become a believer, go aside from her and pray alone, and return again into thy bed. Because thou art bound by marriage thou shalt not leave off praying; because ye are clean, and it is not for you (to be as) unclean. Those who have been baptised require not to be washed again, because they are clean. And if thou breathedst into thy hands and sealest thee with thy spittle which goes forth from thy mouth, thou wilt be clean all over. This is from the Holy Spirit, and the drop of the water of baptism ascends from the out-gushing which is the heart of the Faithful, and purifies the believers.

85 At this hour, therefore, they shall pray carefully, because the presbyters who handed down to us thus instructed us, that at this hour all creation prays to God. The stars and the plants stand up, and the waters stand up at that hour, and all the hosts of the heavens, the angels, ministering at that hour, with the soul of the righteous, glorify God. And therefore it is seemly for all who believe to be careful to pray at that hour. To this our Lord also is being witness, thus saying: Behold there was a cry (at) midnight, saying, Behold, the bridegroom has come, rise, go forth to meet him. And he repeated it, saying: Watch, because ye know not in what hour your Lord will come. And at the time of the cock-crow, having risen, likewise pray; because at this hour, cock-crow, the children of Esraël denied our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom by faith we know how to trust as the eternal light, and while we hope for the resurrection of the dead. All of you of the Faithful therefore doing all this, and looking forward and reminding one another, teach ye this wisdom to the catechumens, having first built up (their faith); and ye shall not go astray or be lost while ye always remember Christ. And always be careful to seal thy forehead, for this sign then of the Passion is manifest against Satan, and signifies that thou makest it in faith.

86 Not for men alone is it made manifest, but know thou that thou puttest on a breastplate of righteousness, and the adversary sees what is in the heart, the rational strength of the inner man, for he was sealed inwardly and outwardly with the seal of the Word. He trembles and flees away in haste (chased) by the Holy Spirit, who indeed is in the man that makes within him an abiding place. This is that which Musē before taught us of the lamb of the Pascha (Fāsikā) which was slain, and he commanded to smear the blood on the lintel of the door and the door-posts. And the smearing declared therefore the faith which now we have, which dwells in us, which He gave us in the pure and perfect Lamb. And for this cause, if we have our foreheads thus sealed with the hand, then we shall be safe from those who wish to kill us. And this if ye learn with thanksgiving and with right faith ye will be indeed strengthened, and He will give you eternal life. This is the ordinance for you that ye may keep it, ye who have sense, if ye heard and kept all, He who keeps the teaching of the Apostles will not be hindered by any heretics. Those are the perverse who went astray and corrupted the teaching of the Apostles. And if men come to them they teach them in this manner:

⁸⁷ and these heretics increased, and of course they who listened to them are not willing to learn the commandment of the Apostles, but do only their own will, that which they chose, and that which sufficed for them as suiting their heart. ⁸⁸ And if there is any doctrine that we have diminished, brethren, God will reveal (it) to those who are worthy, while he steers the holy Church into quiet and a harbour. 10 Statute 49. Concerning the gift and the office. If anyone has obtained a gift and office he shall not glory over anyone. Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ (is) he who gave us this great mystery of the religion of God, calling the Jews and Gentiles that they might know the one 15 God and Father in truth. As he said himself in the Gospel when giving thanks for the salvation of those who believe on him: I have manifested thy Name to the men: the work which thou gavest me I have finished. And concerning himself he said to the Father: Holy 20 Father, the world indeed knoweth thee not, but I know thee, and these also know thee. Since then we have all been thus made perfect, he said concerning the Spirit of grace which should be given from him: This sign, then, to them who believe (is) that which shall be done in my 25 Name. They shall cast out demons, and they shall speak with tongues, and they shall take serpents with their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not affect them, and upon the sick they shall lay their hand and they shall recover.

⁸⁹ And this grace, then, was first given to us, the Apostles, that in his name we might preach the Gospel to all creation; and next, to those who believed by us, as is seemly that they should be given to them; not for the sake of benefiting those who work, but for the sake of unbelievers, to make them believe: that those who by the Son did not believe in him, the power of the signs might put to shame. For signs are not for the faithful but for unbelieving, for Jews and Gentiles. Casting out demons is no gain for us, but is done by the working of our Lord Christ. To those who believe this grace shall be given, as the Lord himself teaches and shows us when he said: Rejoice not because the demons submit to you, but rejoice because your names are written in the heavens. Since the power is his, and ours the faith and diligence, it is clear that we work by him.

⁹⁰ It is not necessary therefore that a believer should cast out demons, and raise the dead, and speak with tongues, but he who gave the grace (gave it) for that which is seemly, for salvation of unbelievers. Though most men are put to shame, not by the demonstration of the word, but by the working of

the signs which is connected with salvation, yet all the wicked are not put to shame by a plague. And God himself testified to this, as he said in the Law: With other tongues I will speak to this people and with other lips, and they will not believe. For neither did the Egyptians believe God, when Moses the prophet worked so many signs and miracles, nor did the Jews, through their malice, believe him, though our Lord Christ for the Jews like Moses healed all infirmity and all sickness among them. Nor again did it put those to shame, nor did they believe in it, when the rod became transformed as a serpent, nor the hand when it was made white, nor the river when it became blood, neither by this again did they believe him: nor again were these satisfied when the blind saw and the lame ran and the dead rose.

⁹¹ And moreover Iyānēs and Iyānbarēs opposed that one, and this also Hanā and Ƙayāfā insulted. But this one was not sufficient for them, and they (lit. he) were not put to shame when he did signs and wonders, but only those of good character with whom God is well pleased, and he only exercises power for them as a wise ordainer, not according to the power of a man, but his own will. This therefore we say that they who received such a grace may not boast over those who received not the grace. I speak therefore about a grace accompanied by a sign, for there is no man who believed in Christ the Son of God, who does not receive a grace of the Holy Spirit. For indeed he who has been transformed from the religion of many evil gods and believed in God the Father and in Christ his Son; this (in itself) is a grace from God. If he believed in God and cast away the unbelief of the Jews, and confesses (that) according to the will of God who was before the world, the only Son in the last days was born of a virgin without intercourse of man, and lived with men without sin, fulfilling all the righteousness of the Law, and that by the will of God he was crucified and was buried and rose the third day, and after the resurrection from the dead (for forty days) having been with the Apostles, and having made an end of all his ordinance (to them), he ascended in their presence to him who sent him, God the Father. To know this in truth then, not vaguely but as certain, he received a grace from God. So also he who has been transformed from all heresy.

⁹² Let not therefore any who do a sign and miracle despise any of the believers to whom a working was not imparted. His own are the graces of God which are given through Christ. Thou indeed hast received this, and any of thy neighbours that; either the word of wisdom, or knowledge, or discern-

ing of spirits, or the word of prescient instruction, or endurance, or lawful continence. ⁹³ Because Moses the man of God, in Egypt, when he worked signs did not magnify himself above the people Esraël, and though he was named god he did not magnify himself nor boasted over his prophet Aaron. Neither did (the son) of Nēwē Iyāsu when he was leading the people after him, and while he fought with (the people of) the Iyābusēwon, and made the sun to stand towards Gabāon and the moon towards the valley of Ailon, because the day was not sufficient for the victory, he did not magnify himself above Fēnehas and above Kalēb. Nor did Sāmuēl, though he wrought so many signs, condemn David the beloved of God, both being prophets, the one chief priest and the other king. And the seven thousand who were in Esraël, the holy ones who would not worship Ba'al in bowing the knee, Ēlyās only amongst them and his assistant Ēlēseōs were workers of a miracle. Neither did Ēlyāssa despise Abdeyu keeping the law and fearing God, and he did no signs. And Ēlēsewon did not neglect his assistant when he was afraid of the enemy, but attended to him. And Daniel again, the wise, who was twice saved from the mouth of the lions; and the three children who went forth from the furnace of fire did not despise the others who were another people, because they knew that by their own power they did not overcome the trial, but by the strength of God they both did a sign, and they were saved from the trouble.

⁹⁴ Therefore let none of you magnify himself above his brother, if he is a prophet or worker of a miracle. If indeed it was granted that there should not be any who believed not, superfluous then (would be) all working of signs. For the fearing of God is a matter of faith, and the doing of a sign is of him whose power worked. As regards the first indeed we looked to ourselves, and in the second God works, concerning which we have already spoken. Statute 50. Therefore also let not the king despise any of those who are below him, the magistrates, nor the officers who obey him. For if there were not subjects, magistrates would be useless, and if there were not magistrates, the kingdom would not exist for the king. And let not the bishops magnify themselves above the deacons, nor the presbyters again above the people who are below them, because of them consists the constitution of the assembly; nor shall they say: The bishops and presbyters are taken out of the people. And to be Christians is of ourselves, but (to be) Apostle or bishop or whatever other (order) there may be is not of ourselves but of God who gives

grace. As much as this then we ourselves say concerning those who have graces imparted to them, and this further we say, going on in speaking.

⁹⁵ Statute 51. That not everyone who prophesies is righteous, nor everyone who casts out demons is holy. Because Bala'ām even, the son of Bi'or, prophesied by divination, (being) wicked, and Kayāfās with false name of Chief Priest prophesied. And Satan even foretold, and the demons who are with him, but not on account of this have they so much as a spark of fear of God, in ignorance they are trusting to the will of the malice of their thoughts. It is clear then that the impious if they prophesy do not reveal their wickedness in their prophesying. Nor do those who cast out demons (belong) to the righteous by their casting them out. They lead one another astray: like the teaching of laughter, (they who do it) and they who consort with them go to ruin. And a lawless king was not a king, but is a tyrant. Statute 52. And the bishop who is persuaded by error or by evil thought is not a bishop, but one with a false name. And he was not ordained by God, but by man. Like An-ānyās and Sāmyās in Israel; and Sēdēkyās and Akiyā, who were false prophets in Bābilon.

⁹⁶ And Bala'ām indeed the diviner was punished with punishment for corrupting the people of Israel with Be'ēl Fēgor; and Kayāfā at last was a self-murderer; and the sons of Askēvā also, devising to expel demons, having been wounded by them, fled away suffering pains. And the kings of Esrāēl and of Judā when they all sinned were punished with punishment. It is clear then that bishops and presbyters with false names shall not escape from the punishment of God, and therefore it is said to them: Now, O ye priests who disgrace my Name, I will deliver you to the slaughter, as Sadēkā and Akiyā whom the king of Bābilon roasted, as said Ēremyas the prophet. ⁹⁷ This then we say, and we do not despise true prophecy, because we know that for prophecies the mind of God was upon righteous men, working (with them). But we are removing the audacity of the boastful; and we are bringing this near, (that) in the case of those who are such God removes their grace. For God resisteth the boastful, and giveth grace to the humble. Silās and Agābos amongst ourselves, when they prophesied, therefore did not make themselves equal to the Apostles nor overstepped their own measure, though they were lovers of God. And women have prophesied: first, the sister of Musē and sister of Aron, Māryām, and after this, Dobīrā, and after her, Ela, Astēr, and Yudit: the one was with Yuses and the other with Dāryus. And the Mother

of our Lord prophesied, and Elesābēt also who was of her family, and Hanā, and amongst ourselves also the daughters of Filepos; but these did not magnify themselves above men, but they kept their own measure. Therefore amongst you also, whether they are men or women, and they obtained any such grace, let them humble themselves, that God may delight in them, for he indeed said: To whom shall I look except to the humble and gentle and quiet one, and who trembleth at my word.

⁹⁸ But keep yourselves from the religion of demons and from gods, and from dead things keep, and from blood and things strangled, and further, a bone shall not be broken. But concerning Apostles and Prophets according to the ordinance of the Gospel thus do ye. Every apostle who comes to you shall not remain except one day or the next; and if he has need, the third also; and if he stayed longer he is a false prophet. And every prophet who speaks in the spirit shall be proved, and he shall be examined that there may be no sin (in him). And everyone who speaks in the spirit is a prophet: if he lives the life of God, he is a true prophet: by his life hitherto shall be known every false prophet, or a (true) prophet. And every prophet who orders a table in the spirit shall not eat of it: otherwise he is a false prophet.

⁹⁹ And every prophet then who teaches, but does not the truth, is a false prophet. And every prophet proved in truth, who acts in the assembly of men and acts unlawfully, shall not be judged by you, for his judgment is from God; because thus did the ancient prophets. And he who says in the spirit, Give to me gold or anything else, ye shall not listen to him. And if he speaks for another, give to him; there is no one who shall examine him. ¹⁰⁰ And ye shall receive everyone who comes to you in the name of our Lord, and then having proved him ye shall know, for ye have wisdom, and so (to speak) on the right hand and on the left. If he is a passer-by, help him as much as ye can, and let him not remain with you beyond the next day and the third day. And if he had need and wished, he may remain with you, if he has a trade to work at; but if he works not he shall not be supported, and if he has no trade and works not, according to your wisdom devise for him that he shall not remain with you idle. And if he is unwilling to do thus, he is a seller of the name of Christ, and ye shall beware of such. Every true prophet then who wishes to remain with you is worthy of sustenance, then support him; and therefore all first-fruits of the wine-press and the threshing-floor, of oxen, of sheep, give the first-fruits of it to the prophets, because they are your Chief

Priests. And if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor. And if thou makest bread, give the first-fruit of it according to the commandment. And likewise an earthenware vessel of wine or of oil, and of honey, having opened it, having taken the first-fruit of it, give it to the poor. And gold and raiment and everything, having taken the first-fruit of it, which thou wishedst, give it according to the commandment of the Lord.

¹⁰¹ Your fast also shall not be as the hypocrites, because they fast on the second day of the week, and on the fifth. But ye, fast on the fourth and the sixth (lit. the evening). And ye shall not pray as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in the Gospel. And in your churches, ye presbyters and deacons, and all the congregation (on) the sabbaths, make a place for the brethren, having ordered it with all diligence and care. If one is found sitting out of his order he shall be rebuked, because he has spoiled the holy Church, the dwelling of God. And it is like as we see the animals which speak not, oxen and horses and goats and sheep according to the existing kinds, if they are awake, they ruminate, and then do not separate themselves one from another (of their own kinds), thus also in the church the youths shall sit by themselves, if there is room, and if there is not room they shall stand. The elders shall sit by themselves, and if they have children let them hold them in their arms. Further, the virgins also shall sit by themselves; if there is not sufficient room, they shall stand in front of the other women. Those who have children with them and are married shall sit by themselves. Also the widows (of the church) and the (other) widows shall sit by themselves.

¹⁰² If brothers or sisters of (other) districts should come in, the deacon having come shall make inquiry. If one has a husband or is a widow, he shall cause them to enter and make them sit in separate places. The presbyters also shall sit in their own several places. And if another presbyter should come of the (other) districts, they shall receive him into the place which is seemly for him. And if any other man or woman comes in lay dress, either a man of the district or from other districts, being brethren, thou, presbyter, while thou speakest the word which is concerning God, or while thou hearest or readest, thou shalt not respect persons, nor leave thy ministering to command places for them, but remain quiet, for the brethren shall receive them, and if they have no place (for them) the lover of brothers or of sisters, having risen, will leave place for them.

103 If (there are) youths, while the elder men remain sitting, having risen up, they shall leave their places. Thou, 5 deacon, hast thou observed among those who sit a young man or a virgin, having risen up, cause to sit down that man or that woman who left (a place), then having made her rise up outside the church, cause her to stand at the door, that others may learn a lesson and leave place for 10 their elders. Desire to make large churches (lit. houses). And if a poor man or woman either of the district or of the (other) districts should come in and there is no place for them, thou, presbyter, make place for such with all 15 thy heart, even if thou wilt sit on the ground, that there should not be respecting the person of man but of God. And if then we have omitted anything, our brethren, God will reveal (it) to those who are worthy, while he 20 steers the holy Church into quiet and a harbour. And this word shall not be hidden concerning the gifts which God gave to the youths as they wished, and as they acquire the similitude of those who dwell in falsehood, and are moved because of alien spirits. And God appointed 25 impious men to be such as either prophesied or did signs.

104 And now the word will guide us to that which is better for the ordinance of the Church: that ye indeed, the bishops whom we ordained and sent from ourselves by the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ—if ye know this ordinance from us—that ye might do all and not neglect anything, as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded, as the ordinance which we gave to you. And ye know that he who heard from us is he who heard from Christ, and he who heard from Christ heard from God the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amēn. Statute 53. Concerning the ordination of Bishops and the ordinance of the Oblation (Kuerbān). It is seemly that the bishops should be ordained, as we said before, and we command all the people in common, that he may be a man choice and honest and holy in everything, who has been chosen from the people.

105 When they have named (him) and are content (with him) all the people shall assemble; the presbyters, and the deacons, and the bishops (also), who shall assemble on the day of the sabbath. And he who is greatest shall ask of the presbyters and deacons who are among them, saying: Is this one he who pleased you that he should be your chief? If they say altogether: Yes, he shall ask them again and say to them again: Is this one worthy of the honourable office, and has he done rightly with all honesty, and has he virtue before (lit. from) God, and did he observe justice with man? Is he able to order

the men of his own house well, and has he conducted his life in truth? Has nothing been found against him? And if all of them should answer together and say: Yes, thus (it is) in truth and not in partiality, and God the Father and Christ his Son and Holy Spirit, the Spirit of righteousness, the Parākليتوس, (being) judge of all; he shall ask them again even a third time, and say: Is this one worthy in truth and in right of this office; from the mouth of two or (lit. and) three every word shall be established. 5 And if they say three times:

106 Yes, he is worthy, they shall all spread forth their hands, and if they do thus with one consent, there shall be silence, and one great one of the great bishops shall rise up, and two other bishops with him, with the rest of the bishops all standing, and the presbyters also at the altar, praying quietly, and the deacons bearing the holy Gospel spread open upon the head of him who is to be ordained. And the bishops shall sit down upon seats and they shall say: He is worthy of it. And then all shall salute him with the kiss of the Lord, and they shall read the Holy Scriptures. And when they have finished the reading from the Gospel, the bishop who was sealed shall salute (lit. kiss) all the Church and say: May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all. And all shall say: With thy spirit. When he has finished saying, then all the people shall say the words of joy, and when it is finished, then he shall give them instruction and speak, (and the deacon) shall go up on a high place, and cry and say: Let not any stand here except the Faithful. 25 Likewise when the bishop has finished all the prayer which it is proper for him to say for the sick (and) the rest, the deacon shall say to them: Kiss one another with a holy kiss.

107 And all the priests shall kiss the bishop: and of the lay people, man shall kiss man, and woman shall kiss woman: and the young children shall stand just below the bema, and another deacon shall stand with them, that they may not quarrel with one another; and other deacons shall go to guard the men and women, that there may be no disturbance among them, and that they may not beckon one to another, nor look about, nor go to sleep. The subdeacons shall stand at the door of the women, and other deacons shall stand at the door of the men; that no one may go out, and that they let not the door be opened at the time of the holy Oblation (Kuerbān), nor enter the doors of the Faithful. 108 And the subdeacon shall bring water to the priests, that they may wash their hands as a likeness of those who are

holy in their souls, and (that) we lifted (them) up to God. And the deacons shall close the gates, and no other shall come in, and he shall say: Let none of the catechumens stand here, or be here at all, lest they should hear the word and partake of the Mystery, and let there not stand any except the Faithful, nor let any of the heretics stand here. O ye women, guard lest your children should run about here and there, or be disorderly, or lest their days should be few. And let not any bear malice in his heart against another, nor any stand here who is not worthy of God: and they shall stand in fear and trembling, that they may be worthy of this work. And after this the deacon shall bring the bread of the sacrifice to the bishop into the house of the sanctuary, and the presbyters shall stand on the left hand, as the likeness of the Apostles who stood with their Teacher. The deacons shall stand on either side at the altar, and they shall hold the flabella made of anything of beautiful appearance, or of feathers of peacock, or of cotton fabric of beautiful appearance, that they may drive away little flying creatures, lest any of them should fall into the cup. And thus the chief priest shall pray over the sacrifice, that the Holy Spirit may descend and dwell upon them; upon the bread that it may become the Body of Christ, and upon the cup that it may become the Blood of Christ.

¹⁰⁹ And then the bishop shall say the coming of the Holy Spirit, and when he has finished the prayer which is proper to be said thus, the bishop himself shall first communicate, and after him the presbyters, and afterwards the deacons, and afterwards likewise the sub-deacons, and after them the readers, and after them all the people shall receive. ¹¹⁰ The bishop shall administer, saying: This (is) the bread which came down from the heavens, this is the Body of Christ. And he who receives shall say: Amēn. And then the deacon shall administer the cup and say: This is the Blood of Christ, and this is the cup of life. And he who receives shall say: Amēn and Amēn. They shall sing psalms until all have received the Oblation, and when all the people have received, afterwards they shall administer to the women. And after the singers have finished singing the psalms, then the deacon shall chant, saying: We have received of the precious Body which is the Body of Christ, and we thank him that he makes us worthy to partake of the precious and holy Mystery. After this the bishop shall give thanks and pray for those who have eaten the Body of Christ and for those who have drunk of the Blood of Christ. And when he has finished praying, the deacon shall say: Bow your

head before God, that he may bless you. And when further he has done that with which they are blessed, the deacon shall say: Go away in peace. And as for the fragments, if any are left, the presbyters and deacons shall take care that nothing is left of the Oblation, and they shall take great care that not much should be left, lest they be guilty of great error and sin, like the sons of Aaron and the children of Ela whom the Holy Spirit destroyed, because they profaned the sacrifice of God; how much more they who profane the Body of Christ and his precious Blood, and esteem it temporal food of flesh, whereas it is spiritual to those who receive it in purity. And this we command you, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, concerning the service of the holy Mystery.

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111 Statute 54. Concerning the ordination of Presbyters and Deacons. Concerning Subdeacons, and concerning Deaconesses and Subdeacons and female Readers. And thou, bishop, ordain the presbyter, and lay hand upon his head, while the presbyters and all the deacons stand by. And pray and ordain. Again, for the deacons, lay hand also upon them, while the presbyters and all the deacons stand by. Concerning the Deaconesses and Subdeacons and female Readers, we have already spoken concerning them.

Statute 55. Concerning those who confessed. The confessor shall not be ordained. This is a thing of his own will. He is worthy of great honour, for he confessed God, and he confessed before peoples and kings. If he had a call for this he shall be ordained bishop; or as presbyter let him be ordained: and likewise this ordination is because of his confession. If he did not finish (his course), but turned back and denied, he shall be deposed; because not only did he deny Christ, but became an enemy as one of the unbelievers.

112 Statute 56. Concerning the Virgins and Widows. And he shall not lay hand upon virgins, because this thing is not a commandment from God, for it is concerned with the character of a man; and it is not that (the virgin) despises marriage, but that he may have time for the service of God. And concerning Widows. He shall not lay hand upon a widow, but if she lives alone, and her husband has been dead many years, being a widow of long time, and if she has lived industriously, and if no accusation is found against her, and if she was able to order properly the men of her own house like Yudit, and if she loved all good things like Yudit, then she shall be put (lit. ordained) into the Order of Widows. And if her husband was dead a short time, and not long, she shall not be trusted nor put into the Order of Wid-

ows, but shall remain a long time, with good works, with fasting and prayer, keeping apart, that she may subdue herself patiently. The horse indeed and the mule are not controlled except by a strong rein.

¹¹³ Concerning male Virgins. They shall not ordain male virgins, because this thing is from the will of the heart alone by the grace of God and by the love of Christ Jesus; for when the Holy Spirit makes abode with a man, he obtains grace and healing, being known by the grace which he has, which will be known to all men. And if he had a call for this work (of the ministry), that he should be ordained bishop or presbyter or deacon, they shall lay hand upon him (lit. them). Statute 57. Concerning that it is seemly that the bishop who is with you should be ordained by bishops. It is seemly that a bishop should be ordained by three bishops or by two. If one bishop alone laid hand upon him, he shall be deposed, and he also who ordained him. If it was because of the ferocity of men (that it was done) by a bishop alone, because it was not possible to gather an assembly on account of the ferocity of men, and not through pride and unbelief: if it was thus, he shall take authority from many bishops, and it shall be proper for him, and it shall be by their commandment, and he shall not be deposed, nor he who ordained him.

¹¹⁴ Statute 58. The bishop shall bless, and they shall not bless him. And (the bishop) shall bless the first-fruits himself. And he shall ordain men. And he shall offer the Oblation, and he shall administer the Eulogia (awlogiya) and take it from a bishop, never from a presbyter. The bishop shall depose all the ordained (clergy) whom it is right to depose, except a bishop, for he alone is not able to do that. The presbyter shall bless and shall be blessed, and he shall take the Blessing (barakat) from the bishop and from a presbyter like himself, and he administers to a presbyter like himself. He shall ordain, but shall not depose. Further, he shall inhibit those who sin, if they are worthy of such punishment. The deacon shall not bless nor give the Blessing. He shall take the Blessing from the bishop or from the presbyter. He shall not baptise or offer (the Oblation), but when the bishop has offered, or the presbyter is alone, then he administers to the people, not as (one of) the priests, but as minister of the priests.

¹¹⁵ Statute 59. And of the different ordained (clergy), the presbyters shall not do the work of the deacons, nor anything which is not theirs (lit. his). The deaconesses shall not bless, and they shall not do any work which the

presbyters and deacons do, but they shall keep the gates of the church. Except this there is no other work which they do, except the ministering to the presbyters when they baptise the women, for this is that which is proper for them. The deacon shall inhibit the subdeacon and the readers and the singers and the deaconesses. Thus indeed it is suitable for him, if the presbyter is not present. It is not suitable for the subdeacons to inhibit either the readers or the server of the Scripture and the deaconesses, neither those in orders nor the (lay) people, because they are the servants of the deacons. Statute 60. Concerning the first-fruits and tithes. All the first-fruits [and tithes] they shall bring to the bishops and presbyters and deacons for their support. But all the tithes they shall bring for the support of the rest of those in orders, and for the virgins and the widows, for those are afflicted by poverty, because the first-fruits are for the priests and their ministers.

¹¹⁶ Statute 61. Concerning that which is left of the Oblations. The Eulogia which is left of the Mystery besides (lit. from) that which they offered, the deacons shall distribute among the priests, with the knowledge of the bishop or presbyter. Four parts shall be given to the bishop, and three shall be given to the presbyter, and to the deacon two parts, and to the others, to the subdeacon and to the reader and to the singers and to the deaconesses, one part. This then is good and acceptable before God; everyone shall perform his ordinance. And there is not in the church one who did a sign, except he performed the ordinance in the good and honourable (manner) in which it should be done. Statute 62. Concerning him who desires to partake of the Holy Mystery. He who desires to partake of the mysteries of holiness, which are of the service of God, shall be brought by the deacons to the bishop, or by the presbyters: and they shall examine them as to what was the cause by which they were called to stand and hear for the first time the word of God. And they who bring them shall bear testimony to them. And they shall examine them thoroughly with firmness concerning their works.

¹¹⁷ Statute 63. Concerning trades and occupations. Let them examine them with firmness concerning their works and the life of their men, whether they are slaves or free. And if there is one who is a slave, let them examine his master whether he can bear testimony to him concerning his work. If he can bear good testimony he shall be received, and if he cannot bear testimony to him he shall be sent away, that he may make himself worthy of testimony being borne to him by his master, and if he should bear

testimony he shall be received. If there is a slave and a handmaid, let them be taught to live according to the will of their masters, that the word of God should not be blasphemed. If there is one who has wife or husband, they shall be taught not to commit adultery and to abstain (from others).

118 If there is one who is not married, they shall be taught not to commit adultery, but to be married according to law. If his master is a believer, and if he knows that his slave or his handmaid commits adultery, he shall give them in marriage according to law, and if he does not give in marriage according to law that servant and that handmaid, that master of slaves shall be rejected from the church, because he made them impure. If there is a man who has a devil, let him be taught that he should be cured, and that he should not come into the church to partake of the Mystery until he is purified. If he was at the point of death, they may bring him to receive the Oblation. If there is a man who eats of the house of the heretics and the adulterers and drinks with them, let him leave off and remove from the place of the unclean and wicked, or he shall be rejected.

119 A harlot, if she wishes to come in, shall leave this habit or be rejected. If there is a man who makes idols, if he wishes to come in, he shall leave his former works or be rejected. If there is a man or woman and they come from another people, if they wish to come into our law, they shall leave their former work or be rejected. If there is a man or woman of the people of the games, or providers (of the games), or painter, or drunkard, or diviner with earth and ashes, and fruit of trees, and anything else with which heathen sorcerers work, they shall not do it. Or he who plays the harp, or he who sings to an instrument, or one who teaches singing, or who guides to fornication and the games, let them leave their works or be rejected. Or the circusmen who play in the circus; and in like manner if there is a witch, or woman who guides to fornication, or makes sport, or a piper, or a dancer, or a singer, or teacher of this kind, she shall leave off or be rejected.

120 Or one who inspires men with wickedness and hatred, or slanderers, or one of those who do the like of any of those things, they shall leave off and repudiate and be converted and repent. They shall walk in the way of the believers, or they shall not be accepted. If there is a man of the army, and if he wishes to come in and know (the Faith), and if he came into our law, let him leave his robbery and violence and calumny and transgression and folly, and he shall be content with his pay, and if he left that occupation he shall

be received, otherwise he shall be rejected. If there is a man who married a believing woman and did wickedly with his body or adultery, or is a sooth-sayer and an interpreter of unlucky hours and of good days, wishing to turn the hearts of men by this, and to corrupt their thoughts and their heart, and seduce them from the way of God. Or a shameless man, or a magician, or a charmer, or one who calls together spirits, or a star-gazer, or a fascinator, or lascivious, or drunkard, or who is evil in deed and word, or who speaks with a sign and his face to lead astray, or who divines by a bird, or who seals his hands and feet with a needle, who makes little marks with black and red, and wrote nonsense upon himself, or (who divines) with beans, (or divines) about a noise which he hears or words of men, that might be signs for him, or (divines) by what he sees or hears, or in suspicion he will not do what is known to be good.

121 Because all this is of the profane and fraudulent and impious. And they have writings, and they are like those who know concerning life and death, and they shall not be received into our law, until they have examined them and proved them concerning their occupations, if they repented of their conduct; and if they turned and left (the occupations) they shall be accepted, otherwise they shall be rejected. Statute 64. If there is a concubine of an unbeliever, if she kept herself to him alone she shall be received, and if she took another she shall be repudiated. And if there is a man who became like us, and if he comes into our law, having a concubine or a handmaid, he shall keep himself, and refrain from her, because he is a Christian, and he shall marry according to law, as we have commanded. If he loves her he shall first write for her a writing of manumission, and afterwards let him marry her. If she is free he shall marry her according to law, and if he does not do thus he shall be rejected.

122 And if there is a man among us, and he did wickedly, or who persuades with the fables of the heathen, and who does like them, let him leave off and turn himself, otherwise he shall be rejected. And he who requests of the believers in Christ that he may be in the number of those who do virtuously, and devote themselves in quietness and purity, shall prove himself in virtue three years. If he was a man who has spiritual gift and goodness and purity, he shall be received (sooner), because this thing shall not be quickly (or slowly) in its time, but it shall be (a matter) of good mind and devotion and prudence. And if there is a layman who teaches men aright, he shall be

quiet in word and virtuous in his body. He shall not boast, but be correct in his speech. Then he shall teach men, and afterwards he shall be teacher of all of them by God. The prophet says: They shall be all taught by God.

123 Statute 65. Concerning the washing of their hands at the time of prayer. Every believing man and woman at daybreak, having risen from sleep, before they do any work, shall wash their hands and pray. And if there is the word of exhortation, they shall prefer above (every) thing the good word of religion. Believing men and women shall keep their servants in fairness of service, as we have already ordered in the Scripture, and we instructed concerning honest slaves. Statute 66. Concerning the resting on both the sabbaths. Every believing man and woman shall rest on the sabbath and First day. They shall be kindly disposed towards their servants, as we have already taught. And we also commanded thus in our Epistle. Ye and your slaves and your servants, do your works five days. And on the sabbath and First day ye shall not do any work in them; but they shall have opportunity for (going to) church, and for instruction in religion of God, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit, which gives inheritance of the kingdom of the heavens in the world which is to come, and which in the present world keeps them in much honour and blessings, on them who fear God, and those who honour his sabbaths and rest on them.

124 For on the sabbath day God rested from all his work, when he had made and finished the heaven and all that is in it, and the earth and all that is in it, the night and the day, the sun and the moon and the stars, and the times and the quantities; when he had gathered the waters into their receptacles. And having done all this on all the days and finished his work, God rested on the seventh day, and named it the Sabbath, and hallowed it, and magnified it above all the days and blessed it. And see and understand that it is a memorial of his glory and a memorial of his work, and he made it a rest. And he said: God rested from all his work. He revealed it, that he might grant to us, that we also should honour his sabbath and say that when he had created all creation and finished, he rested on it, (even) on the seventh day, and made it the sabbath holy and blessed and honourable and pure. And therefore he said in the (book of the) Law which (is about) the creation: And God blessed the seventh day which is the sabbath, and he hallowed it, because on it he rested from all his work which God began to do.

125 And see that as sacred to God the rest was named Sabbath. Hear and learn the honour of the sabbaths, that the sabbath was not first honoured by men, but by God, its maker and creator, was it honoured. And he honoured it and blessed it, and it was instituted as a rest for man and beast, and chiefly for a memorial of his glory and his work, that he might be known that he is the maker and creator of all. And he said: Keep my sabbath, because it is my sign between me and you and your children, that ye may know that I am he who sanctifieth you. 126 Then the First day is the day of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the First (day) was named sabbath, and both were named sabbaths. And in the prophets also he plainly declares that both are sabbaths, and says: Honour my sabbaths and continue in my law and in my statutes. Thus said God to those who gather to him from other people and serve him and love the Name of God: Verily those become to me servants and handmaids. And all of those who honour my sabbaths, and profane them not, and continue in my ordinances, I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them rejoice in my house of prayer; and my sacrifices and my Oblations from them shall be acceptable and pleasing, my house also shall be named the house of prayer for all peoples, saith God. And if they keep my commandments and my sabbaths, and choose that which I wish, and continue in my ordinances, I will give them the house of my sanctuary, and in my court a place which he nameth, and which is better than sons and daughters, and I will give them a name which is for ever, and which shall not pass away nor perish. Attend and understand when he said, My sabbaths, he said (it) of both days. When he said: Those who gathered together from another people, he said (it) of the Christian people and not concerning Esrāel alone. And therefore observe both for our Lord Christ and honour both with great care. And having fulfilled all the law, ye shall find honour and glories and blessings which God has prepared for them that love him in this world and in that also which is to come.

127 Statute 67. And further, they shall not do work in the week (*sabu'ā*) of the Pascha (*Fāsika*). The first week (*samun*), the great one which is of the Passion, in which our Lord was crucified; and that which comes after it, the week (*samun*) of *Fāsika*, which is the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord and our Saviour. And the first week (*samun*) because our Lord and our God was crucified in it; and the second week (*samun*) because he rose in it from the dead. They shall not do any work on those days, and they shall know that

he died and rose again from the dead. And further, they shall not do work on the day of the feast of the fortieth, which is the day of the feast of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he made an end on it. And further, they shall not do work on the day of the feast of the fiftieth, because the Holy Spirit, the Paraklitos, was manifested, he who came down upon the believers in our Lord Christ. And further, they shall not do work on the day of the Nativity, which is of the Birth of our Lord Christ, because the grace of God was given quickly to men, when God was born, the Word, who is our Lord Jesus Christ, of our Lady Mary, the Saviour of the world.

128 And further, they shall not do work on the feast of the day of the Epifanyā, because on that day the Divinity of our Lord Christ was shown, and the Father bore testimony to his Son in the baptismal place, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him like the form of a dove, and he was shown before all the people; and those who stood by bore testimony to him, saying: This is God in truth, the Son of God in truth. And further, they shall not do work on the day of the feast of the Apostles, because they are those who became teachers of you to know our Lord Jesus Christ, and made you worthy to partake of the gift of the Holy Spirit. And further, ye shall not do work on the day of Estifanos, the chief deacon and the first of martyrs, and (the days of) the other righteous and holy martyrs, all those who loved Christ our Lord more than their lives, and preferred him, honour them as much as ye can.

129 Statute 68. Concerning the times of prayers. When ye rise at daybreak, pray. And pray at the third hour, and pray at the sixth hour, and pray at the ninth hour, and pray in the evening, and pray at the time of sleep, and pray at the time of midnight and at cock-crow. At daybreak let us give thanks because God causes the light to shine upon us, having turned away for us the night, and brought the day. And also at the third hour, because in this hour Pilātos delivered up our Lord. And at the sixth hour our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified. And at the ninth hour he gave up his spirit, and the world was disturbed, and when they pierced his side blood and water came forth from him. And when they crucified our Lord all creation was afraid and trembled before him concerning that which the impious Jews did, and they could not look upon the mocking of the Lord. And also at the time of evening let us give thanks because he has given rest to us at night from the toil of the day. And also at cock-crow, because at that hour he announces the coming of the day to do the work of the day.

¹³⁰ Statute 69. And if ye cannot go to the church because of unbelievers, thou, bishop, make prayer in thy house, that the servants of God mingle not with the assembly of the impious; because it is not the place which sanctifies the man, but the man sanctifies the place. And if the impious seize the place, flee from it, because they pollute it. As the pure man sanctifies the church, so it is defiled by the unclean. And if ye cannot assemble together in a house or in the church, each one shall sing psalms where he is by himself, and shall read the Scripture and pray. If there are two and three they shall pray, because our Lord said: Where there are two and three gathered together in my Name, there am I in their midst. And the believers shall not pray with a catechumen in the (same) house, because it is not right that he who partakes of the holy Mystery should be defiled.

¹³¹ The servants of God shall not pray with the heretics, nor in the house (of any)—Who would join light with darkness, and believers with doubters? Believing men or women, if they live with slaves, shall be excommunicated and go out of the church. Statute 70. Concerning the memorial of those who have fallen asleep. The third day shall be observed with psalms and prayers, because of the resurrection of our Lord the third day. Further, they shall observe seven days for a memorial of the living and the dead. And further, they shall observe the completion of a month in likeness of the old ordinance, even as the people mourned for Moses thirty days. And further, they shall observe the completion of forty days; and they shall observe half a year. And further, they shall observe the completion of a year in likeness of their memorial. And they shall give to the poor of the goods of those who die as propitiation for their soul, for their memorial. This we say only concerning the servants of God. As for the wicked indeed, if they gave the riches of all the world to the poor there would be no profit to them: for if being alive he was an enemy of God, the thing (lit. his word) is clear that he was his enemy when he went out of the world. He finds no mercy, because there is no respect of persons with him (sc. God), for God is righteous and loves righteousness, and lo! the man (is judged) from his work, and lo! the man who is good—they say his work is also (good).

¹³² And if ye are invited, eat moderately and in the fear of God, because it is seemly to pray for those who departed from this world. And ye presbyters and deacons who are in our Lord Christ, it is seemly that ye should be temperate at all times, ye and others also, that ye may be able to do what the

Scripture says: The strong and angry shall not drink wine, lest they should be drunken and should forget wisdom, and not be able to judge rightly. Because as administrators under God the almighty and the only Son our Lord Jesus Christ are the presbyters and the deacons, and the powers of the church. And we say this, not forbidding them to drink wine, because we cannot despise what God has created for the joy of man, but that they should not drink for drunkenness. And the Scriptures do not say: They shall not drink wine, but they say: They shall not drink wine for drunkenness. And again he says: Drunkenness causeth thorns to spring up in the hand of a man. This which we say is not for the priests alone, but for all Christian people, who are named with the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who spoke concerning them and said: To whom (shall be) sorrow and indignation and blackness of eyes and fighting and breaking of bones—to whom shall they be except to those who exceed in drinking wine, and to those who ask and go where there is drinking.

133 Statute 71. Concerning those who are persecuted for the Faith. And those who flee from city to city for the Faith and in remembrance of the word of our Lord: and they know that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak, and they flee from place to place, and they patiently endure being spoiled of their goods that they might keep the name of Christ and not deny him; help them and give them all that they desire, and fulfil the commandment of God, our Lord. And all this we command you in common. And everyone shall stay in the Order which was given to him, and shall not step out of the commandment which they ordained for him. And this commandment is not our own, but that of God the Father, for he said: He who heard you heard me, and he who heard me heard him who sent me. And he who rejected you rejected me, and he who rejected me rejected him who sent me.

134 Do not those created things which have no soul keep the commandment which was given to them, day and night, sun and moon and stars and winds and changes of moons and weeks and hours and days? and they perform the work which was ordained to them: as it was spoken at the beginning. And he said: He gave them commandment and they do not transgress. And concerning the sea he said: I have placed for it an ordinance, and I have placed against it a bar and a gate, and I said: Thus far come, and thou shalt not pass beyond. How much more ought ye not to be moved at all in that

which is ordained to you according to the will of God. And there are some who make this as nothing, and confuse ordinations, and (yet) offices which have been assigned to each shall not be confused, and ye shall not seize for your own selves an ordination which was not given to you, and ye shall not pass beyond by force to possess that which is not yours, but belongs to others, over which ye have no authority.

¹³⁵ Because of this (offence) ye provoke God like the children of Korē and king 'Ozyān who grasped the priestly work without the will of God: the former indeed were burnt with fire, and of the latter his face was changed by leprosy. For they provoked God, Jesus Christ, who commanded that it should be thus, and they caused to be pained the heart of the Holy Spirit, and they rejected his testimony, and despised him, and they fear not his judgment which is prepared for them who do this thing, and the carelessness which they commit with regard to the Oblation, and the bread of the Blessing, whenever they are offered by those who are not worthy, who think to do the honourable work of the priesthood, which is in the likeness of the great Chief Priest, Christ; and there are some who make this (work) to be foolishness. And we indeed desired to teach them this, but henceforth we speak of Moses, the servant of God, with whom God spoke face to face, as one speaks with his neighbour; who said: I know thee above all men, with whom God spoke face to face, (not) with signs and miracles and visions and angels and interpretations—this in the day on which he commanded the holy Law. And he ordained this ordinance, and as was proper that they should fulfil it, concerning the ordination of the priesthood, and what was suitable for the priests, and what was suitable for the levites:

¹³⁶ and he separated each as was proper for him and as was right for his service; that which the chief priests were commanded to do and which was not proper to be done by the priests, and not by the decree of the law to be done; and that which the priests were commanded, the levites could not approach (to do); but each one should keep to the service of God which he received, and should not step out of it. And when anyone transgressed and stepped out of his service which he received, he should be condemned to death. ¹³⁷ And this is abundantly plain to us from what happened to Sāol, when he thought to offer sacrifice of his own will, before that the prophet and chief priest Sāmuel came, and caused to come upon himself sin and a curse, for ever. The prophet was not afraid because of the anointing with

which he anointed him to be king. And God has made known to us by the declaration of the great thing which happened to king 'Ozyān. Not long tarried the vengeance for the perverseness with which he acted, and made him an alien from his kingdom, because of the ordination of the priesthood to which he aspired. 5 Statute 72. Concerning the Order of the Priesthood. Each one of you knows what we have ordained for you, and further ye know that there are some whom we name bishops, and others whom we name presbyters, and others are named deacons. With prayer we laid hand upon them, and we appointed to each an Order according to its different name. And among us there is no one who desires a filling of our hand, nor will he receive from us that which he wishes for of priesthood, as the priests of the oxen of Iyurebe'ām, which were made as an abomination to God.

¹³⁸ Unless there had been a special Order for each according to law, one name would have sufficed for all the world; but having been taught by God a guidance for all functions, we have separated for the bishops the ordination of the priesthood, for the presbyters the priesthood, for the deacons the service... that the work of the service might be completed withal. It is not seemly for the deacons to offer the Oblation, or to baptise, or to give the Eulogia to small or to great. And the presbyter shall not ordain anyone, because he was not worthy (of anything) beside his Order. For God is not a God of confusion, so that the inferiors may not grasp (at office) with audacity. What work then will be completed by the imperfect? And they make a new law to their own destruction, and do not know that it is a small thing which is in their power (lit. with them); and they kick with their feet in the net. And if thus, they do not oppose us, but they oppose the Bishop of all the world, the Son of God, the Chief Priest Jesus Christ our Lord. A chief priest, priests, and levites were ordained by Moses, the lover of God, and we the twelve Apostles were ordained by our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and we ordained for us Klementos and Yā'ekob and others with them, that we might send each one of them, and further, we all of us ordained withal presbyters and deacons.

¹³⁹ And the first Presbyter, the only true Chief Priest, is our Lord Jesus Christ, who did not grasp for himself the honour, but the Father ordained him. And as he is the Chief Priest for us, so he offered spiritual sacrifice to God the Father before he was crucified, and he commanded us to do likewise. And there were others with us who believe in him, but he does not grant to

all who believe in him to be priests, nor to obtain the Order of ordination of priesthood like us. And after his Ascension we offered according to the ordinance of the holy bloodless Oblation. And we ordained bishops and presbyters and deacons in number seven, and amongst them Estifānos, the first martyr, who was not the least of us in his love of God: but he showed his service of God by faith and love of Jesus Christ our Lord, so much that he gave his life up for his sake; and the wicked Jews, the murderers of the Lord, stoned him with stones for his name and killed him. But he was a man of such fervent spirit that he saw our Lord Christ at the right hand of God, and he saw the open gates of the heavens. And it is nowhere found that he did what was not suitable for him as deacon, that he offered sacrifice or laid hand upon anyone, but he kept to his Order of deacon unto the end.

¹⁴⁰ For thus it was proper for the martyr of our Lord Christ to fulfil the duties of his Order. ¹⁴¹ And if there are any who blame Filepos the deacon and Hanānyā the faithful brother because the one baptised the eunuch and the other baptised even me, Pāwlos, they are deluded as to what we say; for we say that no one should take by force the ordination of priesthood, but he obtained it from God, as Malkasēdek and Yā'ekob; or from the chief priest, as Aron from Musē; therefore that Filepos and Hanānyā themselves took not ordination from themselves, but from our Lord Christ. They believed in the Chief Priest of God, with whom there is none to be compared.

Prayer of Early Morning

¹⁴² And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, while thanking him because he has kept us throughout the night, and brought us from darkness into light, from corruption into that which is incorruptible, and from ignorance into the knowledge of the truth, that throughout the day also he may cause us to be in all peace and health, and protect his people with the power of his angels, who has authority over all work of blessing, the Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray. O Lord the almighty, do thou cause us to be in all peace and health throughout the day, for thou hast kept us throughout the night. Thou, Lord, the almighty, send to us thine angel the good guide. And have mercy upon us according to the greatness of thy mercy, and according to the multitude of thy clemency blot out our wickedness. And none of us is an alien and a backslider, put us not away from thy favour, because of thy name which was

named over us. Be forgiving to us and forsake us not. Grant us to obtain favour before thee and before Christ thy Son, through, etc.

Prayer for the Sick

¹⁴³ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the sick brethren, that he may remove all sickness and all suffering from them. Having taken away the spirit of disease, may he who has authority for all healing give to them life, the Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for the sick. God the almighty, the Father, etc., we pray thee and we beseech thee for the sick brethren. Grant to them life. Take away the spirit of sickness. Cause to pass away from them all disease and all suffering. Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: Have mercy upon us. Physician of the soul and physician of the body, thou art the overseer of all flesh, and of those who are troubled with unclean spirits; deliver every tormented and oppressed soul, give health and give rest, drive away all disease from this house, and from those who call upon thy holy and blessed name. Having healed the disease of all of our souls, grant perfect soundness, through, etc.

Prayer for Those who Make a Journey

¹⁴⁴ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for those our brethren who make a journey, and also for those who are about to make a journey, whether by sea, or by rivers, or by the deeps, or by road, in whatever journey they may travel, that he may bring all into the safe harbour, the almighty Lord our God. ¹⁵ The deacon shall say: Pray. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for our brethren who make a journey, and also for those who are about to make a journey abroad; direct (them) as fellow (traveller) though we are many. ²⁰ Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon us. Bring them into the safe harbour. Restore them to their people with joy and with peace, rejoicing and causing to rejoice, through, etc.

Prayer for Rains

¹⁴⁵ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for rains, that he may send his rain into the place where it is needed, the almighty Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee, send thy rains into the place where they are needed.

Make to rejoice the face of the earth, and water its furrows. Bring the sowing and the harvest, and bless the circle of the year with thy goodness. Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon us. For the poor of thy people, and for all those who hope in thee, work with us according to thy clemency, and nourish our mind with the doctrine of the Godhead, and with understanding which is from thee, through, etc.

Prayer for the Fruit of the Earth

¹⁴⁶ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father etc., for the fruit of the earth, that he may increase the fruit of the earth, and that he may be pleased to bring the sowing and the harvest. May he grant rich favour, the Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for the fruit of the earth. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee, increase the fruit of the earth, and be pleased (and) bring the sowing and the harvest, which is from thy goodness. Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon us. For the poor of thy people and for all who call upon thy holy and blessed name, through, etc. 5 And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the waters of the rivers, that he may cause (them) to rise up to their (proper) measure. Make to rejoice the face of the earth. May he bring the sowing and the harvest. May he grant rich favour, the Lord our God.

¹⁴⁷ The deacon shall say: Pray for the waters of the rivers. God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee, cause to rise the waters of the rivers up to their (proper) 15 measure. Make to rejoice the face of the earth, and water its furrows. Multiply food, and bless the circle of the year with thy goodness. Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. 20 The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon us. For the poor of thy people, and for all who call upon thy holy and blessed name, through, etc.

Prayer for the King

¹⁴⁸ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the lover of God, our king, Iyāsu, that he should keep his kingdom without trouble, in peace and righteousness, the almighty Lord our God. 30 The deacon shall say: Pray for the king. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for the king of this land, the lover of God, our king, Iyāsu, and

grant to him what is useful for him. Cause to submit his enemy, the peoples who are against his walls. And speak in his heart for thy holy Church. Speedily let thy mercy find us, O Lord. The deacon shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon him. Grant him without error to keep (his) understanding concerning the faith in the excellence of thy Godhead, through, etc.

Prayer for Those who Offer an Offering

¹⁴⁹ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for those who offer an offering in the holy, one, catholic (lit. which is over all) Church, a sacrifice, first-fruits, tithes, a thanksgiving, a memorial, whether much or little, secret and open. And as for those who have nothing and wish to give, (though) they have nothing to give, accept their desire, and having accepted the longing of every one of them, grant to them the heavenly Spirit. And as for those who have somewhat and do not wish to give, soften their heart to do good, thou (lit. he) who hast authority for all work of blessing, the Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for those who offer an offering. God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for those who offer an offering to the holy, one, catholic Church, to the honour of thy name, an offering and a thanksgiving of first-fruits and of tithes, of much and of little, of secret and of open. And as for those who have nothing (yet) who wish to give, accept their desire as the offering of Abēl: and as the Hebrew woman who offered the two mites, and as the sacrifice of the forefathers. And thus accept into the heavenly altar. Repay them with a reward of blessing, heavenly in return for earthly, and much in return for little, and open in return for secret, and life everlasting in Christ in return for food and drink, through, etc.

Prayer for the Catechumens

¹⁵⁰ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., as regards his servants the catechumens, that he may impart to them in due time the washing of regeneration for the forgiveness of sin, the almighty Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for the catechumens. God the Lord almighty, the Father, etc., we pray thee and we beseech thee, have mercy upon thy servants the catechumens. Be kind, (and) remove from them all the remains of the idols. Impose upon their hearts thy law and thy commandment, and thy righteousness and thine ordinance. Speedily let thy mercy find us. The dea-

con shall say: Let us all say. The people shall say: O Lord, have mercy upon us. In proper time (impart to them) the washing of regeneration for the forgiveness of sin. Make them the shrine of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom, etc.

¹⁵¹ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., Lord of the living, Life of the dead, and Hope of the desperate, Helper of the afflicted, Cleanser of sinners, who hast abolished death and burst the bonds of Satan (Sayetān). Thou hast granted life to the race of men, thee we pray and beseech, who wilt not die for ever and ever, with whom is the treasure of life, for those who have fallen asleep and rested in the faith; the forefathers, the bishops, (pāpāsāt), presbyters and deacons, and readers (anāguenestis), and monks, and virgins, and widows (of the order), infants, widows and orphans (lit. offspring of the dead); and for the soul of thy servant N(egalē) and for the soul of all those who are there in that place, whom thou calledst from among thy people in righteousness and in uprightness. Give rest to their soul in the place of pasturage by the water of rest, in the bosom of Abrehām, Yeshak, and Ya'eḳob, in the garden of joy, among the guides of light, thine angels, having united (them) with thy holy ones. And raise up their body in the day which thou hast appointed, according to thy holy unlying promise of thy heavenly kingdom; for there is no death to thy servants, but rather a passing, and although one has sinned, and the law of man was hidden from them, be indulgent; for thou, God, art good and the lover of man; for there is none pure from uncleanness before thee, even though he lived one hour upon the earth. Do thou grant passings to their soul freely, without hindrance. Send the Spirit of the Comforter, and who gives consolation to their people. Comfort them, cause them to rejoice in Christ, through, etc.

Prayer for Peace

¹⁵² And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the peace of the holy, one, catholic Church, that he may grant much peace upon all rulers (lit. shepherds) and peoples and upon all flocks, he who has authority for all peace, the Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for peace. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for the peace of the holy, one, catholic Church. King of peace, give to us peace, because thou gavest to us everything. Possess us, God, and reward us, for beside thee there is no other whom we know. And thy holy name we name and we invoke. Do thou impart thy heavenly peace upon us all. Preserve (our) life (lit. soul) and

our condition of this world peacefully. Give peace to the king of this land, and through thy holy name give counsel to the rulers of the neighbouring peoples. Guard our coming in and our going out in peace, that living in a quiet and tranquil life we may be found in all piety, in the fear of God and virtue in Christ, through, etc.

Prayer for the Congregation

¹⁵³ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the congregation, this as well as all our congregations, that he may grant that it may be according to his holy will, the almighty Lord our God. The deacon shall say: Pray for our congregation. God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for this our congregation as well as all our congregations. Grant that it may be according to thy holy will, where we do this service of our congregation and other congregations also. And make it a house of prayer and a house of blessing. Vouchsafe to bestow upon us, and upon those who (come) after us, the everlasting salvation. Rise up, O Lord, and let all thine enemies be scattered, and let all flee away from before thy face who hate thy holy and blessed name, and make thy people ten thousand of ten thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, through, etc.

Prayer for the Pāpās

¹⁵⁴ And again we beseech the almighty God, the Father, etc., for the blessed and holy Pāpās, Abā N(egalē), that thou wilt in keeping keep him for us during many years and during times of peace, while he fulfils the priesthood which has been entrusted to him by thee. May the Lord our God grant rich favour. The deacon shall say: Pray for Pāpās N. Lord our God the almighty, we pray thee and we beseech thee for the blessed Pāpās N. In keeping keep him for us during many years, during times of peace, while he fulfils the priesthood which was entrusted to him by thee, together with all the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and with all the fulness of the holy, one, catholic Church. And the prayer which they make for us and for all thy people hear (it), and accept them; and open to them the treasury of thy clemency; and further, pour down upon him abundantly thy grace of thy Holy Spirit, thy heavenly blessing, that he may bless thy people; and moreover, cause to submit every enemy, visible or invisible, and bruise (them) under his feet; and himself indeed keep for thy Church in glory, through thine only Son,

through whom to thee with him and with the Holy Spirit (be) glory and might, now and ever and for ever and ever. Amēn.

THE ARABIC VERSION

¹In the name of God, one in essence (and) threefold in eternal Persons, glory to him for ever, and upon us his mercy. These are the Canons of our Fathers, the Apostles, which they ordered for the establishment of the Church by the hand of Clement. The first chapter, the introduction of the Canon of the Apostles, and the mention of the names of some of them. All hail, O sons, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. The first chapter: Said John and Matthew and Peter and Philip and Simon and James and Nathaniel and Thomas and Kayfās and Andrew and Bartholomew and Jude and James by the command of our Master Jesus Christ and our Saviour. When we were assembled together he commanded and said: Verily ye have not divided the countries among you, but (now) let each of you take his place according to your number. Define the rank of the bishops and the seats of the presbyters and the administration of the deacons, and the intelligence of the readers (agnustisīn), and the widows without fault, and the works upon and by which it is proper to strengthen the foundations of the Church; that ye may know the pattern of that which is in the heavens: and that they may be kept from all defilement, and know that they indeed will answer at the day of judgment for that which they have heard, and have not kept. He commanded us to send these words into all the world; and it is proper for us all to be according as the Lord has revealed to each by the will of God the Father through the Holy Spirit, and we remember his words and command this, by way of remembrance and instruction, my brethren.

²The second chapter: Concerning the reproof of him who says what is not proper, and concerning the love of God and the love of thy neighbour. Said John: O men, O brethren, we know that we shall answer for everything which has been offered to us: and let no one accept the person of him who is with him, but if one of those who are with him should happen to say what is not proper, then let him reprove him that what he says is not good. And cause John to speak first. And John said: Verily (there are) two places, the place of life and the place of death, and between (lit. in) these two places difference. The place of life is this, that thou shouldst love the Lord thy God who created thee with all thy heart, and shouldst glorify him who saved thee from death. This is the first commandment; and the second is this, that thou

shouldst love thy companion as thyself. On this are hung all the law and the prophets.

3 The third chapter: Concerning a thing which thou hatest—thou shalt not do it to another. Said Matthew: All that thou wishest not should come to thee, do not thou it to another. This is the same as that all that thou hatest, do it not (to another). And thou, O brother Peter, teach them with these words. The fourth: Concerning the commandments. Said Peter: Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not dishonour a young boy. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not be a soothsayer. Thou shalt not be a star-gazer. Thou shalt not be a sorcerer. Thou shalt not cause abortion, nor after (the child) is born shalt thou kill it. Thou shalt not covet anything of thy companion. Thou shalt not hate any man. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Thou shalt not say evil of anyone. Thou shalt not think about contriving wickedness. Thou shalt not be of double heart, nor double tongue. Surely to be double-tongued is a deadly snare. Nor shall thy words be vain or false. Nor shalt thou be a lover of the greater portion, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor one of evil heart, nor proud, nor deviser of evil counsel against thy neighbour, nor hate any man, but reprove some, and on others have pity, and pray for others, and love others more than thyself.

4 The fifth: It warns, and forbids anger and envy and obstinacy. Said Andrew: O my son, fly from all wickedness and hate all evil. Thou shalt not be angry, for anger leads to killing; because anger is an evil demon. Thou shalt not be envious or obstinate or a lover of fighting, for by this thou shalt gain evils. 5 The sixth: Thou shalt not be lustful. Said Philip: Thou shalt not be lustful, for lust leads to adultery and leads the man by compulsion; because lust is a female demon; because when the demon of anger is united with that of (sensual) pleasure, it is perdition to him who receives them both; and the place of the unclean spirit is the sin of the soul. When he finds a little entrance, then he enlarges the place and takes with him all the unclean spirits, and they enter into that soul and allow not that man to rise at all to behold the right. Let your anger put a limit to it(self). Break it off and put an end to it, lest it cast you into a deed of very great evil. Anger and (sensual) pleasure are evil; if they remain for much time they become demons, and when they prevail over the man they set fire to his soul, and when they have brought him to deeds of iniquity they mock him and rejoice over the perdition of the soul of that man.

5 The seventh: Thou shalt not be (one) of the evil-speakers. 25 Said Simon: O my son, thou shalt not be (one) of the evil-speakers, nor lofty of eye, for by this will be adultery. The eighth: Thou shalt not interpret (lit. say by) prodigies and star-gazing, or by magic and other things. Said James: O my son, thou shalt not interpret prodigies, for this leads to idolatry, nor be a magician or a master of hours and chooser of days nor star-gazer, nor shalt thou desire earnestly to be acquainted with them, for in all this is idolatry. The ninth: Thou shalt not be a liar nor a lover of gold or vainglory. Said Nathaniel: O my son, be not a liar, because lying leads to theft; nor be a lover of gold or vainglory, for by all this thou shalt be drawn to theft. O my son, do not murmur, because grumbling leads the man to blaspheming. Be not overbearing nor thinker of evil, for in all this is unbelief. Be gentle, for the gentle will inherit the kingdom of the heavens. Be kind, merciful, peaceable, with heart pure from all evil and without sin, gentle, meek, virtuous, observant, trembling at the words which thou hast heard. Do not exalt thyself only, nor put thyself with the lofty ones, but be a companion of the righteous and humble, and all that happens to thee receive with thankfulness, and know that there will be nothing except (ordained) by the Lord.

6 The tenth: Him who says to thee the words of God and became life to thee, thou shalt honour and support with thy toil (lit. sweat). Said Thomas: O my son, him who says to thee the words of God, and became to thee the cause of life, and gave to thee the seal of dominion, love as the apple of thine eye, remember him day and night and honour him like the Lord, for the place in which is remembered the Lordship, the Lord is there; ask of him (lit. his face) every day, him and the rest of the holy ones, and thou shalt rest on their words. He who is associated with the holy ones will become holy. Honour him as (lies in) thy power and with thy toil (lit. sweat) and the labour of thy hands. If the Lord has made thee worthy to receive from him spiritual food and eternal life, then it is most proper for thee to give to him food perishable and temporal—The labourer is worthy of his hire. Thou shalt not muzzle the bull in the threshing-floor. No man planteth (lit. soweth) a vine and eateth not of the fruit thereof.

7 The eleventh: Thou shalt not cause division, but reunite the separated. Said Kāfā: Thou shalt not cause division, but reunite the separated in peace, and judge with justice. Thou shalt not accept the person of the sinner for sin, because riches have no power with God; and do not respect rank. Thou shalt

not make double the writing, but (act) with him equally in all things. Thou shalt not be of double heart in thy prayer, and think whether he will fulfil to thee what thou desirest or not. Thou shalt not think when thou stretchest forth thy hand (to receive and) when thou hast finished [and] hast drawn it back to thee. If there was anything in thy hand and thou hast given it, thou shalt seek deliverance from thy misdeeds. Thou shalt not be of double heart, for if thou hast given, (it is) thy acquisition: know who it is who will repay thee. Thou shalt not turn away him who asks, but share with the needy in all things. Thou shalt not say, Surely they are mine alone those which are mine. If ye are sharers one with another in what is imperishable, how (much more) in perishable?

8 The twelfth: The exhortation to giving alms. Said Bartholomew: I beseech you, O my brethren, while time remains to you, and ye are yourselves able to do good to others (lit. them), do not be slack in giving; while anything remains to you ye shall give it. For the day of the Lord is near, and all that will be seen in it and the wicked will perish; and the Lord will come, and his reward with him. Be lawgivers to yourselves, be teachers of yourselves, as God taught you, and keep that which I said, and add not to them, nor diminish from them. Said Peter: O brethren, the Scriptures teach them concerning the rest of the commandments. As for us, we speak to them what we were commanded. They said with one accord: Let Peter speak. The thirteenth: Concerning the ordination of the Bishop. 9 Said Peter: If it is a place with few people in it of the Faithful, and the assembly not large enough to elect a bishop, being not more than twelve men, then let them write to the churches of the neighbourhood, the place (in) which there are many of the Faithful, to bring three of the Faithful, trustworthy men, chosen from that place; and they shall test carefully as to which is worthy of the work, if he has a life of good repute among the peoples, and without sin or anger, a lover of the poor, and kind, not a drunkard, nor adulterer, nor lover of the greater portion, not a railer, nor a hypocrite and the like of that. 5 And it is good that he have no wife, but if he has been married to one wife before he becomes bishop, let him live with her; and he shall have a share of all sound doctrine and be able to expound the Scriptures; and if he knows not how to write, then he shall be humble and 10 abound in love to all men, that he may not be judged about anything and so be convicted.

¹⁰ Said John: The bishop who is ordained, if he knows how to keep himself and (has) the love of God and of those who are with him, let him appoint two presbyters, ¹⁵ having tested them. They all said: Not two, but three, because they are four and twenty elders, twelve on the right hand and twelve on the left hand. Said John: It is good that ye have reminded me, ²⁰ O brethren. Those who are on the right hand take the cups from the archangels, they offer them to the Lord; and those who are on the left hand are over the multitude of the angels. It is proper that the presbyters should be in the form of elders, and past ²⁵ the time of intercourse with wife, and they shall share in the Mysteries with the bishop, and help him in everything, and gather to (him) loving (him) as their shepherd. And the presbyters who are on the right hand shall be occupied with those who toil at the altar:

¹¹ let them be worthy of the honour, and they shall reject him who is worthy to be rejected. And the presbyters who are on the left hand shall be occupied with the assembly, that they may be quiet and not make disturbance, but being controlled with all control, may be obedient with all obedience. The fourteenth: Concerning the ordination of the Readers (agnostisin). Said James: Let the reader (agnostis) be appointed after he has been first tested. And he shall not be of many words, nor a drunkard, nor speak in mockery; he shall have a life of good repute, (and be) a lover of virtue, and quick of going to the place of assembly, one who remembers in it the judgment, and he shall be obedient and read well, and know that the duty of the reader is to do what he reads, he who fills the hearing of others. Is it not proper for him that he should know what he says? Is not it written: This is a sin in him before God?

¹² The fifteenth: Concerning the ordination of the Deacons. Said Matthew: Let them be tested in all service, and the assembly shall bear testimony to them that they live with one wife and bring up their children in purity, and they shall be kind and meek, and not grumblers, nor double-tongued, nor wrathful, for anger irritates the wise man; and they shall not accept the person of the rich, nor oppress the poor, nor drink much wine, and they shall work hard for the Mysteries, the hidden, the beautiful, the cheering. And they shall oblige him of the brethren who has anything, to comfort him who has not, and to be sharers with them also in giving, and they shall honour the assembly with all honours and modesty and fear, and they shall keep themselves with all firmness. Some they shall teach, others they shall

question, and for others they shall pray. 5 Those who are rejected they shall expel at once, and they shall know that the adversaries, the rejected, the insulters are nothing but your adversaries.

13 The sixteenth: Concerning the Widows. Said Kāfā: Let three widows be appointed; they 10 shall devote themselves to prayer, and attend to all (who) are in afflictions, and (who) wish to tell them what it is; and let the other (widow) be appointed with the women who are afflicted with sicknesses, that they may attend to them in the best way, sitting up at night; and they 15 shall inform the presbyters what is the matter. She shall not be a lover of gain, nor a drunkard, lest she should neglect, and not keep watch in the service of the night. And if anyone (of the widows) wished to do good works, let her do it in the kindness of her 20 heart, because the goodness of the Lord has been first announced (to her). The seventeenth: Concerning the Deacons, they shall be doers of good works. Said Andrew: The deacons shall be doers of good 25 works by night and day in every place, and shall not exalt themselves above the weak nor accept the person of the rich, but they shall take knowledge of the feeble and give to them of what is over, and oblige them who have anything to gather for them good things, and fulfil the words of our Teacher: Verily ye saw me hungry and ye fed me. And they who minister a good (ministry) without fault shall surely gain for themselves the place of the pasture.

14 The eighteenth: The statute of the Layman. Said Philip: Let the layman hear the commands which are said to him, with cheerfulness. Let them obey those who devote themselves to the altar, and let each one please God in what they have given him (to do) and defined for him. And ye shall not learn to be quarrelsome with one another because of what ye are commanded to do; but let each labour in what is put him (to do) by God, and let not anyone make to stumble his companion in what he labours; neither do the angels transgress what is defined for them (to do). The nineteenth: It reminds that the Oblation (is) the Body of Christ, and what comes after it. Said Andrew: We have already defined this concerning the Oblation, which is the Body of Christ and his Blood, and we are explaining it carefully. Said John: Ye have forgotten, O brethren, that at the time in which the Teacher asked for bread and wine and blessed them and said: This is my Body and this is my Blood, he did not command that they should be regarded as material.

¹⁵ Said Martha concerning Mary: Look at her, and she laughs. Said Mary: Not because of (this) that I laughed. The Teacher said: 'It is good (that) the sick should be healed by the strong.' The twenty: It is not proper for women to pray when they are standing up; and that they have no ministry except ministering to the needy; charity, and what comes after it. Said Kāfā: Certain have said that it is not proper for women to pray when they are standing up, but they should prostrate themselves upon the ground. Said James: How can we find for the women any ministry except this ministry only, that they should help the needy? Said Philip: O brethren, concerning the charity which he does, surely (in doing it) he gathers for himself a good treasure, and one which he gathers for himself in the heavenly kingdom. Surely it is reckoned with God that it is a good work lasting for ever.

¹⁶ Said Peter: O brethren, we are not lords over anyone with compulsion, but we assure you from the Lord, we ask you to hear and keep the statutes and not to add to them or diminish from them, in the name of our Master Jesus Christ, to whom be glory unto ages of ages. Amīn. And after they all finished, each one saying his word in the first section, this is that which comes next. The twenty-first: Concerning the ordination of the Bishops at the beginning of the Kiddās. The bishop shall be ordained, as we have already said. He shall be chosen from all the assembly, without fault. When they have made mention of him and are satisfied with him all the people shall assemble together, and the presbyters and the deacons, on Sunday. And all the bishops shall walk one with another joyfully, and they shall lay their hands upon him; and the people standing up in silence together shall pray in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him, and they shall ask one of the bishops, and while everyone stands, he shall lay his hand upon him who is ordained bishop, and shall pray over him thus. And when he has become bishop everyone shall salute him and shall kiss his mouth. And the deacons shall bring to him the Oblations: then having placed his hand upon the Oblation, with all the presbyters he shall say and give thanks thus: The Lord (be) with you. And the whole people shall say: And with thy spirit he shall be.

¹⁷ And he shall say: Where are your hearts? And all the people shall say: They are with the Lord. And he shall say: Give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say: Worthy and it is meet thus. And he shall say what comes after this in the rule of the Kiddās. The twenty-second: Concerning the or-

dination of the Presbyter. When the bishop desires to ordain the presbyter he shall lay his hand upon his head; and all the priests touched him and (the bishop) prays over him according to the pattern which we have said concerning the bishop. The twenty-third: Concerning the ordination of the Deacons. ¹⁸ When the bishop desires to appoint a deacon, he shall choose him as we have said before. The bishop alone shall lay his hand upon him. Why have we said that the bishop alone (is) he who shall lay his hand upon him? The reason of this is that he is not appointed for the priesthood, but he is one of the assistants of this work, that he should perform his commands with which he is commanded by him. And he is not ordained to be a teacher of all the clergy, but to be one who will give attention to what is proper (to be done) and will give the bishop information about it. And he is not appointed to acquire the spirit of greatness in which the presbyters share, but to give attention, and to be worthy of the bishop's trust, and to be diligent about what is proper, because the bishop alone is he who lays his hand upon him. As for the presbyters, the bishop and all the presbyters share with him in placing their hands upon him. It is the one spirit which comes down upon him. And the presbyter is only he who acquires the position of the clergy, he has not authority; so because of that he does not appoint clergy, the presbyter is only ordained, and the clergy (in general) ordain him.

¹⁹ The twenty-fourth: Concerning the Confessors who were punished for the name of Christ, that they have the rank of the deacon and the presbyter. If the confessor has been in bonds for the name of the Lord, hand shall not be laid for the ministry which belongs to the deacon or the presbyter, for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession. If he is appointed bishop, the hand shall be laid upon him. If as confessor he was not brought before the authorities and was not punished with bonds or prison and was not put to suffering, but he only came to be ridiculed and was punished with punishment in his house, and yet he confessed, he is worthy of all the rank (takûs) of the priesthood, the hand shall be laid upon him, and he shall be made (priest). And the bishop shall give thanks as we have said before, and it is obligatory that he should mention what we have said before, reading clearly and carefully and giving thanks to God; and that according to his power each one shall pray. If anyone is able to pray fluently and (it is) a grand and elevated prayer, and he is a good man, and if he offers prayer and says the

words of praise as he can, no one shall prevent him from offering prayer if he is correct and right (in faith).

²⁰ The twenty-fifth: Concerning the appointment of the widows. When (a widow) is appointed she shall not be signed, but shall be made by the name. If her husband has been dead a long time let her be appointed. If her husband has lately died she shall not be trusted, but if she had become aged let her be tested for a time, for solicitations grow old in him who makes place for them in him. Let the widow be appointed with the word alone, and let her be joined to the rest of the widows, and hand shall not be placed upon her, because she does not offer the Oblations nor have any ministry. Signing is for the clergy because of (their) ministry, and for the widow (her appointment is) because of prayer, this (being the duty) of everyone. The twenty-sixth: Concerning the Virgins and the Subdeacons, and concerning the grace of healing.

²¹ 5 The Reader (agnustis) is he who is appointed by the bishop giving to him the Book, and hand shall not be laid upon him. Hand shall not be placed upon a virgin, but her inmost thought alone causes her to be a virgin. 10 Hand shall not be placed on a subdeacon, but a name shall be put upon them that they may follow the deacons. Concerning the grace of healing. If anyone says, I have acquired a grace of healing by revelation, hand shall not be placed on him, because the deed shall make evident whether he is speaking the truth. The twenty-seventh: Concerning the new persons who begin to come in to the Faith; and the occupations which it is proper they should give up who come in as new to hear the words. They shall bring them first to the teachers before all the people come in. And they shall ask for what reason they seek the Faith. Those who bring them to hear shall bear testimony to them. He shall ask about their life as to what it is—if they have wives; or are slaves. If anyone is a slave of a believer, if he permitted him, then let him hear, and if his master does not bear testimony to him, let him be sent away. If he is an idolater, let it be known if he was pleasing his master, lest scandal should occur. If anyone have a wife, or a woman have a husband, let them be taught, the man to be contented with his wife, and the woman contented with her husband. And if any man was not living with a wife, let him be taught not to commit adultery, but to be married according to the law, or remain as is becoming for him. And if anyone had a demon, then let him not hear the words of the teacher.

22 Concerning occupations, and what there is of crafts besides the occupations. The occupations which belong to those whom they cause to come to the instruction. If anyone is a pander, let him desist or be sent away. And if anyone is a maker of idols or a painter, let him be taught not to make idols, and if he be not willing to desist, let him be sent away. And if anyone is present at the place of amusement, let him desist or then be sent away. If anyone teaches children, it is well that he desist. But if he has no other trade, let him be forgiven. He who goes to the festivals of idols, let him desist or be sent away. (If) one is a maker of potions, or teaches making potions, or teaches combating and fighting and weapons of war, let him desist or be sent away. (If) anyone is a priest of idols or guardian of idols, let him desist or be sent away. (If anyone is a) soldier of authority, let him not kill, and if he is ordered to kill, let him not do it—if he desisted (well)—if not, let him be sent away.

23 The twenty-eighth: Concerning persons in red, or him of the Faithful who becomes a soldier or stargazer or sorcerer, or other than that, let him be sent away. (If there be one who has) authority over the sword, or a chief of the city and clad in red, let him desist or be sent away. If a catechumen or believer wish to become a soldier, let both be sent away. Surely they both have removed far from God. An adulteress, or a man without salvation, or a man who does what it is not proper to mention, let them be sent away, because they are polluted. Verily, a sorcerer shall not be brought into the ranks of the Faithful. The star-gazer and master of the astrolabe, or soothsayer, or agitator of the multitude, or one who sells clothes from the diggers of the graves, or the maker of phylacteries, let them desist or be sent away.

24 The twenty-ninth: Concerning the concubine, and if we have omitted anything, decide as is proper. If the concubine of the man be his slave, if she brought up her children and kept to him alone, let her hear, and if otherwise, let her be sent away. He who has a concubine, let him desist and be married according to law, and if he will not (do so) let him be sent away. If we have omitted anything, decide as is proper, because we all have the Spirit of God. The thirty: Concerning the time for hearing the words after their occupations. Let the catechumens remain three years hearing the words. If there is a scholar and with good thought, decide about him not by the time, but his work alone (is) that by which it shall be decided for him. The thirty-first: Concerning the prayer of him who hears the words and the kiss.

25 When the teacher has finished the instruction, let the catechumens pray by themselves and separated from the Faithful. And let the women stand in a place in the church by themselves, the Faithful women and the female catechumens. And when they have finished the prayer, the female catechumens shall not give the salutation, because their kiss is not yet pure, but let the Faithful women kiss one another; the men shall kiss the men, and the women shall kiss the women, and the men shall not kiss the women. And all the women shall veil their heads with their balālin or their mantles, and not with linen only, because this is not suitable for them. The thirty-second: Concerning the laying the hand upon the catechumens after the prayer. When the teacher lays the hand upon the catechumens, let him pray and then dismiss them. If it was one of the ecclesiastics who taught, or a layman, let him do the same. If (one) was apprehended for the name of the Lord, he shall not be doubtful about his testimony. If he was overpowered and slain before obtaining the pardon of his misdeeds he shall be justified, because he was baptised in his blood.

26 The thirty-third: Concerning him who is baptised. When one has been chosen, or one who is prepared for Baptism, let him be examined concerning his life, whether he lived in chastity, while they are catechumens; and whether they revered the widows, or visited the sick, or fulfilled every good thing. So if those who bring them bear testimony that they have done thus, let them hear the Gospel, from the day in which they were brought, and let the hand be laid on them every day and exorcise them. 5 And when the day draws nigh in which they are to be baptised, let the bishop bind by oath every one of them, that he may know that they are pure. And if there was one who is not pure, let him put him aside, because he has not heard the words with faith, for it is not possible that an alien should ever be baptised.

27 They shall instruct those who are to be baptised that they should go to the bath and pray on the fifth of the week. And if there was among them a menstruous woman, let her be put aside, and she shall be baptised another day. And they who wish to be baptised shall fast on Friday (jumah), and the bishop shall assemble those who are to be baptised on the day of the sabbath in one place, and shall command them all to pray and prostrate themselves. And having laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every alien spirit, that they may flee away from them and never return to them henceforth: and when he has finished binding them by oath, let him breathe in their faces,

and having signed their foreheads and their ears and their noses, let him make them stand up, and let them keep watch all their night, and let them read to them and admonish them. And he who is to be baptised shall not bring in with him any vessel (to the water), but everyone shall give thanks, and it is proper for him who is worthy to bring his Oblation (Kurbān).

28 The thirty-fourth: Concerning the ordinance of Baptism and the instruction of the Faith, and the confession at the baptistery, and the Kiddās, and concerning the milk and honey. At the time of cock-crow, let him pray first over the water; and let the water be either running through the tank or running (down) upon it. And let it be thus unless there was urgent necessity. If there was urgent necessity, he shall pour in water which is found. Let them undress, and they shall begin by baptising the little children first. And he who can speak for himself and take oath shall speak, and for them who cannot let their parents speak, or one of the family. Afterwards they shall baptise the grown men, and the women last: and they shall unloose their hair and lay aside their ornaments of gold which they wear, and let no one go down to the water having any alien thing.

29 And at the time when they are baptised the bishop shall give thanks over the oil which he put in a vessel, and we call it oil of Eucharistia. And he shall take other oil and adjure over it, and call it oil of Exorcism. And there shall be the deacon carrying the oil of adjuration, and he shall stand on the left hand of the presbyter, and another deacon shall take the oil of thanksgiving and shall stand on the right hand, and when the presbyter has taken every one of those who are to be baptised, he shall bid him revile and say: I revile thee, O Eblis, and all thy service and all thy impure works. And when he has professed this, he shall anoint with the oil of adjuration, saying: Let every foul spirit remove far from them, and thus he shall give him to the bishop, naked. And the bishop is standing at the water of the baptistery, then the deacon shall walk with him to the water and say to him 5 and instruct him: Dost thou believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and his only Son Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, and his Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life to all creation, the Trinity of one coequal Godhead, one Lordship, one Kingdom, and one Faith, one Baptism in 10 the universal Church, Life eternal, Amin? And he who is to be baptised shall say also like this: Verily I believe.

30 And thus he who baptises shall leave his hand upon him who receives (baptism) and dip him three times. And he shall declare this every time, and afterwards he shall say to 15 him: Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord, the only Son of God the Father, that he became man by an incomprehensible miracle from the Holy Spirit and from Mary the Virgin without seed of man, and was crucified in the time of Pilate the Pontian, and died by his own will to 20 save us withal, and rose from the dead on the third day and released the captives and ascended into the heavens and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and he shall come to judge the living and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom? Dost thou believe in the Spirit, 25 the holy, the good, the sanctifier in the holy Church, and dost thou believe in the resurrection of the body which shall happen to everyone, and the kingdom of the heavens and eternal judgment? And he shall answer for all those things, saying: Verily I believe in this. And after 30 that, when he comes up from the water, let the presbyter anoint him with the ointment which is of the Eucharistia, saying: Verily I anoint thee with the holy ointment And after that they shall put on their clothes. Then they shall enter the church, and the bishop shall lay his hand on them, and pray and say:

31 O Lord, O God, who hast made these worthy of the laver of the second birth and pardon of sins, make them worthy of being filled with the Holy Spirit and send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy Will. Glory to thee, O Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit in the holy Church henceforth and for ever, Amín. And after that let him pour into his hand some of the oil of the Eucharistia and pour it on the head of every one of them, saying: Verily I anoint thee with the holy oil in the name of God the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus the only Son and the Holy Spirit. When he has signed every one of them on his forehead, let him kiss them and say: The Lord (be) with thee. And he who was kissed also shall answer and say: The Lord (be) with thy spirit. And afterwards after everyone has finished this he shall pray with all the people. It is not (right) that they should pray with the Faithful except after they have performed the acts which we have mentioned. When they have finished the prayer they give the salutation to one another with their mouths, and let the deacons bring in the Oblations to the bishop, and let the bishop give thanks over the bread and the cup, that it may become the Body of Christ and his Blood which he shed for us all who believe in him.

32 As for the milk and the honey mingled together, they shall cause them to drink of it because of the fulfilment of the promise which he promised to our fathers; saying to them: The land flowing with milk and honey means the Body of Christ and his Blood which he gave to us, by which we are nourished by him like little children, (for) they who believe were begotten of him, and he made sweet all bitterness of the heart with the sweetness of the Word. With all this then let the bishop make a covenant with him who was baptised: and when the bishop has broken the bread let him give a piece of it to everyone and say: This is the heavenly bread, the Body of Christ; and let him who is communicated answer and say, Amín. And if there are not presbyters sufficient, let the deacons take the cup and stand in order. And they shall receive the Body of our Master Jesus Christ, and this is the milk and the honey. And he who administers the cup (shall say): This is the Blood of our Master Jesus Christ, and he who is communicated shall say, Amín. If everyone is well instructed in this, he shall do all good and what is pleasing to God, and find leisure for going to the church, and do what he has learnt, and make progress in the service of God.

33 This is what we openly teach you concerning Baptism and the Kiddás, and we have finished our instruction concerning the resurrection of the body and the rest as it was written. And if anything has been left which it is proper to mention, let the bishop mention it to him alone who is communicated, and he shall not tell this to any but the Faithful, and only after he has first been communicated. This is the holy token of which John said that a new name was written upon it, which no one knew except him who receives the token. And these sections come after the Baptism. The thirty-fifth: Concerning the widows and the virgins, and (in) what time should the bishop fast. They shall do (it) as we have mentioned a number of times, and shall pray in the church. The presbyters and the deacons shall fast at any time that they desire, but the bishop cannot fast except on the day when all the people fast: and it shall be when anyone wishes to bring anything into the church, and he cannot be denied, then (the bishop) having broken bread shall himself taste and eat of it with the rest of the Faithful who are with him, and they shall be communicated from the hand of the bishop with a piece of bread before that every one of them breaks the bread which is before him, for this is a Blessing and not an Oblation like the Body of the Lord.

³⁴ The thirty-sixth: Concerning the time at which it is proper to eat. And it is not proper for the catechumens to eat with the Faithful. Before that any drink it is proper for everyone to take a cup and give thanks over it, and drink and eat, for thus they are pure. The catechumens shall be given the bread of Blessing and a cup. Concerning that it is not proper for the catechumens to eat with the Faithful. The catechumens shall not sit at the feast of the Lord with the Faithful, and he who eats shall be mindful of 1 Lit. 'and.' him who invited him at all times that he eats, for because of this he asked them to come in under his roof. Concerning that it is proper that they should eat with moderation and temperance and not to be drunken. 5 Ye shall eat and drink orderly, and ye shall not drink and be drunken, lest men mock you, and he who invited you repent himself over your dissipation, but rather he shall be praying that the holy ones may come into his house. He said: Ye are the salt of the earth.

³⁵ 10 If he give to you all portions together, thou shalt take thy portion alone, and if they invited you to eat ye shall eat with moderation, not otherwise, that he who invited thee may send thy leavings to whom he wished. Are not they the leavings of the holy ones? 15 and he into whose (house) ye entered shall rejoice. And he who eats shall remember him who invited him at all times that he eats; for this reason he asked him that he should come in under the roof of his house. And the invited guests shall eat separately and 20 without sadness. But if the bishop allow anyone to ask about a word, then he may address him. The thirty-seventh: When the bishop speaks, let everyone be silent, and if the bishop is not present, let the Blessing be taken from a presbyter or a deacon. He

³⁶ 25 said: If the bishop speaks let everyone be silent till he asks them, and if a bishop is not present, but the Faithful and none beside at the feast, then let them take the Eulogia, viz. Blessing, from the presbyter if present, and if not present, from the deacon. And the cate- 30 chumens also shall receive the bread of Exorcism, and if there were lay people, one with another let them eat quietly; and it is not proper for the layman to make the Eulogia. The thirty-eighth chapter: Concerning the feast of the widows. If anyone wishes at any time to invite the widows, then let them invite all those who are aged: let him satisfy them (with food) and dismiss them before that night comes, and if it was not possible (for them to come) because of the lot

which they obtained, let him give to them wine and food which they may eat in their houses as they will.

37 The thirty-ninth: Concerning the first-fruits and the fruits which they bring to the bishop, and he shall name them. Everyone shall hasten to bring to the bishop the first of the fruits of his crop, and the bishop also shall take them and bless them, and he shall mention the name of him who brought them to him, and shall say: We thank thee, O God, and we bring to thee the first-fruit of the fruits which thou hast given us to receive of them and hast perfected them according to thy word, and commanded the earth to send up all the fruits for the joy and nourishment of men and all living creatures; we thank thee, O God, for this and all others of them by which we are benefited, and thou hast disposed thy creation with variety of fruits, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Master, by whom be glory to thee with him and the Holy Spirit to ages of ages, Amin.

38 The Eulogia of the fruits. These are the fruits which are blessed: grapes and figs and pomegranates and olives and peaches and apples and cherries, and he does not bless Egyptian figs or onions or leeks or cucumber nor any kind of vegetables; and let them bring in also roses, but other (flowers) they shall not bring in, and they shall thank God when they eat anything and taste it, as glory to him. The fortieth chapter: Concerning that it is not proper that any of the people should taste anything at the Pascha before the time in which it is proper for them to eat. The fast shall not be reckoned as a fast if a man was gluttonous before the time of the fast was completed, except if anyone was sick, (for then) he cannot fast during the two days, so let him fast on the day of the sabbath because of the necessity and it shall suffice, and let him not taste of anything but bread and water. And if anyone was out at sea and was not knowing the day of the Pascha, let this one, if he knew it not, fast after the fifty (days), and it is not the Pascha which he keeps, but a likeness (of it), and the fast is his duty by way of compensation.

39 The forty-first: Concerning that it is proper for the deacons to obey the commands of the bishops. Let every one of the deacons and subdeacons report to the bishop and inform him who is sick, that he may visit them, for the archpriest having visited them, (the rest of the people) remembered them. The forty-second: Concerning the times at which the prayer is proper. The Faithful when they awake and rise up, before they do any business shall pray to the Lord, and after that shall attend to their occupations, and if there

were then the words of instruction, let them choose them and go to hear the words of instruction, which are the words of God which strengthen the souls. They shall hasten to go to the church, the place in which is the Spirit, bearing fruit. 5 The forty-third: That it is proper to receive of the Eucharistia early at the time when it is allowable before that they taste anything.

40 Let every believer make (it) good conduct to receive of the holy Mysteries before that he taste anything; if there is in him faith, let him receive it; and if anyone should give him deadly poison, it will not hurt him. 10 The forty-fourth: Concerning that it is proper to guard carefully the Mysteries, and it is not proper to pour any from the cup. 15 Everyone shall be most careful not to let any but the Faithful receive of the Mysteries, nor a mouse nor other creature, and not to let any be spilt and lost—since it is the Body of Christ and his Blood, and all the Faithful shall eat of it—it is not proper to neglect it. 20 Concerning that it is not proper to pour any from the cup. When thou hast blessed the cup in the name of God and receivest of it, verily it is the Blood of Christ. Guard strictly that none of it be poured away, lest the alien spirits lick it up and thou be one who hast despised and become a blasphemer of the Blood of Christ, because thou hast despised that with which thou wast redeemed. 25 The forty-fifth: The deacons and the presbyters shall assemble every day to the place of the bishop.

41 The presbyters and the deacons shall assemble every day to the place (in) which is the bishop commanding them to go to it. And let not the presbyters and deacons neglect to assemble every day, except sickness prevented them from it. When they have assembled let them teach those who are in the churches, and likewise when they have prayed let each one turn to his own business. The forty-sixth: Concerning the cemeteries. No one of the people shall give an unlawful commission (for burying) in the grave of the people in the cemeteries—this work is for all the poor, but he shall give the wages of the paid man to him who digs and the guard who is in that place who has the care of it, and the bishop shall support them with what is given to the churches. The forty-seventh: Concerning the times in which it is proper for prayer and hearing the instruction and signing the forehead with the cross.

42 Let every believing man and woman when they rise up on the morrow, before they do necessary (work), wash their hands and pray to God; then they shall turn to their works. If they instruct with the words, let everyone

choose to go to the place of teaching, and this shall be fixed in his heart, that that which he hears is God speaking by the mouth of the teacher, and he is abiding in the church, and he is able to remove the evil of every day. Let him who fears (God) reckon that it is great damage to him if he goes not to the place in which is the teaching, especially if he can read. If the teacher is present let him not delay (to go to) the church, the place in which is the teaching—then indeed it shall be given to the speaker to say what is profitable for everyone, and he shall hear what was not in his thought, and thou shalt gain what the Holy Spirit gives to thee by means of him who teaches, and thus thy faith will be established upon what thou hearest. And he shall say also in that place to thee what it is proper for thee to do in thy house, and for this reason let everyone hasten to go to the church, the place in which the Holy Spirit rises (like the sun). And if there was a day in which there is no teaching, let everyone be in his house and let him take a holy book and read sufficiently what he knows to be good.

⁴³ And when thou art in thy house pray at the third hour and praise God. And if thou art in another place and that time comes, pray in thy heart to God, because Christ in that (hour) was stripped, and he was nailed upon the wood. And because of this in the old (testament) the law commands to offer the show-bread at the third hour, as a type of the Body and Blood of the holy Christ; and the lamb was pierced, which was a type of the perfect Lamb, for Christ is the Shepherd, and he is the Bread which came from heaven. Pray at the sixth hour, because when Christ was hanged upon the wood, that day was divided and it became darkness. Let prayer be made at that hour, a prayer of power, ye shall be like the cry which he prayed, and all the land was darkened for the unbelievers, and let them make also a great prayer at the ninth hour and praises. Let him teach (that it is) the pattern of

⁴⁴ 25 how the souls of the righteous bless the true God who remembered his holy ones (and) sent to them his Son who is his Word, that he might shine upon them. Because in that hour Christ was pierced in his side, and there came out from him blood and water, and after that he caused to shine on the others during the rest of that day until night. And thou, because of this also, when thou finishedst the day and thou madest the beginning of another day, and makest a type of the Resurrection, pray before thou retest thy body in thy bed. And when thou hast risen at midnight, wash thy hand in water and pray. And if thou hast a wife, pray ye two together, and if she

has not yet become a believer, go aside and pray alone and return to thy bed again; thou who art bound by marriage do not omit the prayer. Verily ye are not unclean. They who have been baptised have no need to be bathed another time, because they are clean.

45 When thou hast breathed in thy hand and signed it with the spittle which goes forth from thy mouth thou wilt be clean all over (down) to thy feet, and this is (of) the Holy Spirit, and the drops of the water of Baptism ascend from the fountain which is the heart of the Faithful (and) purify. And those who believe are bound to pray at this hour because the elders set us the example. And verily all the ranks of the angels ministering with the souls of the righteous ones praise God at that hour, and therefore it is proper for the Faithful to pray at that hour. The Lord also said: At midnight there was a cry, Behold the bridegroom has come. Go ye out to meet him. Then he repeated the word and said: Watch, for ye know not the day (nor) in what hour (he will come).

46 And having risen when the cock crows, pray, for the children of Israel at the crowing of the cock denied Christ, whom we know by faith, watching with hope for that day of eternal light which will shine upon us at the resurrection of the dead. This, O ye Faithful, when ye have finished mentioning and teaching it amongst yourselves, ye shall do, and no one will cause you grief, nor shall ye ever fall. And ye shall make continual remembrance of Christ. Sign thy forehead in fear. This is the outward sign, and it is known (that) Iblis is defeated by this, when we do it in faith: we do not make a show before men alone, but in the knowledge by which thou art strong as with armour. Because the crafty (enemy) will look upon the strength of the heart alone, and having seen the inner man to be rational, and that he is signed inwardly and outwardly with the sign of the Word, he will flee away swiftly followed by the Holy Spirit, he who is in the man who makes place for him within.

47 This is that which Moses before taught us of the lamb of the Pascha which was slain, and he commanded to smear with its blood the door-posts and the roofs, making known to us the faith which is in us, for if we sign with the hand our forehead with that which was given us by the perfect Lamb, we shall be saved from him who wishes to kill us. If ye do this with thanksgiving and right faith ye will be edified, and to you shall be given eternal life. This we advise you to keep, ye who have sense. If everyone who

heard kept the teaching of the Apostles, nothing of the heresies would be able to lead a man astray from them. Thus many heresies increase, because those who received them were not willing to learn the secret of the Apostles, but according to their own pleasure do what they like best and not what is proper.

⁴⁸ And if we have omitted anything, O my brethren most beloved, God will reveal it to everyone who is worthy, and he will guide the Church for him who is worthy into the quiet harbour. These are the canons of the Church. The forty-eighth: Concerning the gifts and the offices. ⁴⁹ When anyone has obtained a gift, let him not glory over anyone. Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ gave to us this great mystery of the service of God, and he calls the Jews and the Greeks, that they should know God the Father, the only true (God), as he says himself in a place, and gives thanks for the salvation of him who believed: I have manifested thy Name to the men whom thou gavest me, and I have finished all that thou deliveredst to me. And he spoke to the Father concerning us, and says: O my holy Father, the world knoweth thee not, but these knew thee. That which is proper he says now to us all, us and those who have become perfect, concerning the gift which he gave by his Holy Spirit: And these signs shall follow him who believed in me: they shall cast out devils in my Name, and they shall speak languages and they shall take up serpents in their hands, and if they drink deadly poison it shall not hurt them, and they shall lay their hands upon the sick and they shall recover. These gifts were first given to us, the Apostles, at the time when he made us worthy to preach the Gospel to all the land, in order to give it to him who should believe by us as privilege to us who do the signs; nay more, ye too (shall do it), whoever is believing among you;

⁵⁰ that they who were not satisfied by the words might be put to shame by the power of the miracles. For the signs are not for us the believers, but they are for the unbelievers, the Jews and the Greeks. And it is not for our gain when we cast out devils, but the gain is for him who is purified by the will of Christ, as the Lord teaches us in a place, explaining the work and saying: Rejoice not because the devils obey you, but rejoice because your names are written in the heavens. The casting out of devils is by his power, but as for our names being written in the heavens, this is by our will and our mind and our teaching, with assistance from him as the purifier. It is not now necessary that every believer should cast out devils, or raise the dead, or speak with lan-

guages, but he who is worthy of this gift shall be worthy of it for a cause, and it shall be a reason for him who believes, and produces it (sc. the sign). Because they received not the declaration of the word; therefore he sent the working of signs, that perhaps they might be saved. In that case the unbelievers and hypocrites would not even be ashamed though they were put to shame by the miracles.

⁵¹ And God testified to this as he said in the Law: With tongues and lips I will speak unto this people, and even so they will not obey me, said the Lord. Nor did the Egyptians believe when Moses worked those great miracles and those signs among them. Nor did the multitude of the Jews believe him who was greater than 5 Moses, who was Christ, when he healed all sicknesses and infirmities amongst them. And that rod also when (it) was changed into a serpent put them not to shame, nor the hand which became white, nor the water which was made blood. Neither also were those others content when the blind saw and the lame ran and the dead were raised up. And that one was opposed by Yānās and Yamrās, and this also was insulted by Nānās and ẖayāfās. Thus it is that miracles do not put everyone to shame, but the proud alone, and for their sake God is pleased (to act) as a wise physician, a steward, so that mighty works should be not of the power of man, but by his permission.

⁵² We say this, lest those who obtain a gift should magnify themselves above those who have not obtained it. We have spoken concerning the gift of God such as is shown by signs, because there is no man who believed in God by his holy Son, who has not received a spiritual gift. For the escape from the delusion of many gods and the entrance into the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit is a gift from God and a grace, all the more because we have repudiated the folly of the Jews and have believed in the will of the Father and the Son coeternal with the Father before all ages, born of the immaculate virgin without seed of man, and he followed the course of men without the seed of men, and fulfilled all the righteousness of the Law, and by the consent of God the Father the Word endured the cross and was ignominiously derided and died and was buried and rose again the third day, and after he had risen from the dead he stayed forty days with the Apostles, and after he had given them all his commands he ascended in their presence to him who sent him, God the Father. He who believed in this did not believe thus merely and without reason, but by choice and consent he re-

ceived the gift which is from God. Thus also he who became free from all heresy. None of you now should judge any who has become a believer and who is not considered worthy of signs or miracles, gifts which are of God. Various are the gifts which are given by him to men, and thou hast received this. This one has received the words of wisdom or knowledge, and another has received something else, and they know beforehand what is certain to come to pass, or the words of teaching, or endurance or excellence of virtue.

⁵³ Moses himself also, the man of God, wrought signs in Egypt and did not magnify himself above his brother, not even when he was called god did he not magnify himself above his prophet who was Aaron. Nor did Joshua the son of Nūn, who led forth the people after him, magnify himself, nor was his heart exalted above Phinehas or Caleb when he made the sun stand still in the ravine of Ablūm and the moon over Alūm in the battle with the Aūsiyīn because all the day did not suffice him for the pursuit. Nor did Samuel consider David, the beloved of God, to be nothing when he did such signs, though both were prophets, the one (being) chief of the prophets and the other (being) king. 5 And among the seven thousand pure men who did not bow their knee to Baal the idol, none of them was chosen except Elias alone and Liyūsh'a his disciple that they should work signs and miracles, and Elias did not mock Yabadias the steward because he feared God, and worked (no) signs.

⁵⁴ Nor did Elīsh'a forget or neglect his servant when he trembled at the enemy enclosing him in. Nor did the three children deride their companions when they were saved from the furnace of fire, for they knew that it was not by their own power that they were saved from that evil, but by the power of God they worked those signs and escaped from the sufferings. So let not any one of you magnify himself above his brother if he is a prophet and works miracles; and if it was given that there should 20 (not) be an unbelieving man in any place [before] any sign would be for nothing. That a man should be a servant of God—this (is) from his good heart. If he work miracles, this is by the power of the Most High, which (really) works: [and] the former is our (concern), the latter is God's (work), the same power which works for the works which we have just mentioned.

⁵⁵ But let not the king despise the troops and soldiers who are below him. The forty-ninth chapter: Let not the chiefs despise those who are below them, nor let the chiefs despise those who are over them as chiefs: the chiefs

would be nothing if they had not those over whom they rule: the kingdom would not stand if there were no troops and soldiers. And let not the bishop exalt himself over the deacons and presbyters, nor the presbyters over the people, because the standing of the Church depends upon one another. If there were no lay people, over whom would be the bishop and presbyter? It is of ourselves that we all become Christians, viz. Nazarenes, but as for becoming apostles and bishops or anything else, from this time it is not by ourselves but by God who gives the gifts. This we have said up to this place, concerning those who are worthy of the gifts or the Orders, and this further we add to these words.

⁵⁶ The fifty: Everyone who prophesies is not a servant of God, nor is everyone who casts out devils holy, for Balaam the son of Fāghūr the soothsayer was without goodness and prophesied; and Ḳayāfās, by name chief priest, and having a false name: Iblīs, and the devils who are before him, said many things beforehand, and there is not in them any service of God at all. They please themselves alone in ignorance because of the wickedness which they commit. It is clear that when the hypocrites prophesy they cannot conceal their hypocrisy in their prophecy, nor when the devils cast out devils; for they do not become pure (thereby), because when they do it they lead one another astray, like conjurers for merriment, they lead astray, and those who support them go astray. The king if he becomes a hypocrite is no longer a king, henceforth he is the opposite (of a king).

⁵⁷ 5 The fifty-first: Concerning the bishop who is contented with little learning, and ignorance and malice. ⁵⁸ Every bishop who is contented with little learning or is in ignorance or in malice is no bishop, but he bears a false name. He is not (a bishop) before God but (only) 10 before men, like Hanāniyā and Sīmānūs in Israel, and like Sadākiyā and Akiyāb, whom the king of Bābel slew and roasted in iron pitchers, as said Jeremiah the prophet; this he says. We do not indeed disparage the true prophets; we know that the work in them and in the holy ones is from the Spirit of God. But we are causing to cease the hardness of heart of the covetous, and we inform them this, that God causes to cease his gift from such as these, because God resisteth the proud and giveth his grace to the humble. Silās and Gāyūs were two before us, but they did not magnify themselves above the Apostles, nor went out of their limits, because they loved God. And women also prophesied in the old (testament), Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, and after her Dafūrā, and

after them Aūdla and Judith, the one in (the time of) Adratarsīs and the other in the time of Darius, and in the new (testament) the Mother of the Lord and Alish'a her cousin and Hannah, and also the daughters of Philip, and these did not magnify themselves above the men, but kept their limits. But women and men when they share in these graces shall be humble. God being pleased with it said: Unto whom shall I look but to those who are humble and tremble at my words. First we sent out these words concerning the gifts which God gave to the men according to his will. As they indeed acquire for themselves the similitude of those who take to falsehood and are moved by alien spirits: so God causes reprobate men to prophesy and work signs.

⁵⁹ And now the words will draw us on to come to the chapter which is for the definitions of the Church, that ye who have become bishops through us by the command of Christ, having learnt this arrangement from us, might do everything according to the commands of Christ, as the statute which he gave to you, and know that he who receives from us receives from Christ and receives from God the Father, to whom (be) glory for ever, Amen. The fifty-second canon: Concerning the ordination of the Bishop and the ordinance of the Kiddās. ⁶⁰ It is seemly for a bishop to be ordained as we have already said, and we command all the people: Choose a man, virtuous, holy in everything, and choose him (all) the people. When they have recorded their consent as to this (man), let all the people assemble, and the presbyters and bishops, and they shall assemble on Sunday, and the greatest among them shall ask the presbyters and the deacons and shall say: Is this he whom ye are pleased that he should be your chief? So when they have said: Yes, he shall ask them and say: Is this man worthy of this honourable position, and has he continued virtuous in everything, with goodness in God's sight, and kept the truth with man, and has he ordered well the people of his house and established his character in correctness, with nothing found against him? And when all have answered together and said: He is thus in truth and not in hypocrisy, God the Father and Christ and the Holy Spirit being Judge of those things, let them ask again three times: Is this man worthy of this government? that from the mouth of two or three every word may be established. When they have said three times:

⁶¹ He is worthy, let them all give assent with their hands, and having done this with cheerful mind, let there be silence, and let a great one from the great bishops take two other bishops with him, and all the rest of the

bishops and presbyters standing up at the altar shall pray in silence, and the deacons shall hold the holy Gospels spread open upon the head of him who is to be ordained, and all shall pray to God for him, and the bishop shall pray to God for him, and one of the bishops shall offer incense over the hand of him who is to be ordained. And the bishops shall cause him to sit upon a seat which was prepared for him, and when they have all kissed him (with) the kiss of the Lord, let them read in the holy Scriptures, and when they have finished what should be read in the Gospel, let the bishop who is signed salute all the Church and say: The grace of our Master Jesus Christ and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit (be) with you all. And all shall say: And with thy spirit. And when he has finished what should be said, let him speak the words of consolation to the people. And when he has finished what he may teach (them), let the deacon go up on a high place and call out and say: Let none stand here but the Faithful.

62 And thus when the bishop has completed all the prayers which it is proper for him to make for the sick and the rest, let the deacon say to them: Kiss one another with a pure kiss. And the priests shall kiss the bishop, and the laymen shall kiss the laymen, and the women shall kiss the women. And the young children shall stand at the ambon, and another deacon shall stand with them, lest they should be disorderly, and other deacons shall walk about watching the men and the females, lest there should be disturbance among them, and lest they should wink one to the other or make signs, or go to sleep. And the subdeacon shall stand at the doors of the women, and the deacon shall stand at the doors of the men, lest anyone should go out, and lest they should open the doors at the time of the pure Kiddās, even if there should be a believer at the door. And let the subdeacon bring water to the priests that they may wash their hands as a sign of the purity of the souls of those who lift them up to God. And let another deacon cry: Let no catechumen stand here, nor be any here who hears the words. He shall not partake of the Mysteries, nor any of the unbelievers, nor any of the heretics;

63 O women, hold your children, nor let any have anything against another in his heart, and let none stand here with hypocrisy, be upright with the Lord, and stand with fear and trembling. Prosperin. When this has been done let the deacon bring the bread to the bishop to the altar, and let the presbyters stand on his right and left, like disciples standing before their teacher, and let the two deacons stand on either side of the altar holding the

flabella made of some delicate material, or of peacocks' feather or delicate silk, and they shall drive away the little flying creatures, lest any of them should fall into the cup. And thus let the arch-priest pray over the sacrifice and make supplication that the Holy Spirit may descend upon them, and upon the bread that it may become the Body of Christ, and the cup that it may become the Blood of Christ. And when he has com- 15 pleted the prayer which it is proper to say, let the bishop first communicate, and after him the presbyters and the deacons likewise, and the subdeacons, and after them all the people shall receive. And the bishop shall administer and say: This is the Body of Christ, and he who receives shall say, Amín. Then the deacons shall administer the cup, and they shall say: This is the Blood of Christ, this is the cup of life, and he who receives shall say, Amín; and they shall sing until all have received.

64 And when all have received the women shall receive, and when there is an end of the singing with which they praise, the deacon shall cry out and say: We have received of the venerable Body of Christ, and let us give thanks to him who has made us worthy that we should partake of his mysteries, honourable and holy. And after that the bishop shall pray and give thanks for the eating of the Body of Christ and the drinking of his Blood, and when he has finished what he prays, the deacon shall say: Bow your heads before the Lord that he may bless you; and when they have finished the being blessed, let the deacon say: Go away in peace. And the little (pieces) which remain over let the deacons take care of, lest any should be left of the Oblation, and let the priests take great care that there should not be much left, lest it should be a great judgment upon them, like the sons of Aaron and the sons of Eli whom the Holy Spirit destroyed because they despised the sacrifice of the Lord; how much more those who make light of the Body of Christ and his Blood, and think that it is carnal food and not spiritual which they receive. This we command to all, O bishops and presbyters and deacons, concerning the service of the holy Mysteries.

65 The fifty-third: Concerning the ordination of the Presbyters and the Deacons, and concerning the Deaconesses and the Subdeaconesses and the women Readers. And thou, O bishop, ordain the presbyter, lay thy hand upon his head, and all the presbyters standing by and the deacons, and pray and ordain him. And the deacon also, ordain him and put thy hand upon him, and pray, and all the presbyters and deacons standing by. And concern-

ing the deaconesses and the subdeaconesses and the women readers we have already spoken. The fifty-fourth: Concerning the confessors. The confessor shall not be ordained. This man is trustworthy by his mind, for he is worthy of great honour, for he confessed the name of God and his Son before the peoples and kings. If, however, necessity requires that he should be ordained bishop or presbyter, let him be ordained; and if the confessor is angry with such an ordinance because of his confession, let him be excommunicated, for he is not only (wrong in this), but also he has denied the command of Christ, and he has become worse than an unbeliever.

⁶⁶ The fifty-fifth: Concerning the virgins and widows and exorcists. Hand shall not be laid upon a virgin, for it is not the commandment of the Lord. This is a sacred conflict, it is only by a secret resolve. It is not that marriage is depreciated, but that there may be leisure for the service of God. Concerning the widows. Hand shall not be laid upon a widow. When (there is) one whose husband has been dead a long time, and she has lived in chastity and nothing has been found against her and she has provided properly for the people of her house, like Judith and Hannah, let him put such into the rank of the widows; but if it is not a long time since her husband died, she shall not be trusted, but she shall be proved by length of time. For the solicitation even grows old [with the man] if it be not held back by a strong rein.

⁶⁷ Concerning the exorcist. The exorcist shall not be ordained, because this thing is by voluntary intention, and it is by the gift of God and Christ Jesus. For when the Holy Spirit dwells in the man [and him] who obtains the grace of healing, he is declared by the grace which is in him, which enlightens men. If necessity require that he should become bishop or presbyter or deacon, the hand shall be laid upon him. The fifty-sixth: Concerning by how many bishops it is proper to ordain a bishop. It is proper for the bishop that he should be ordained by three bishops or two. And if it was only one bishop who laid hand upon him, let him be excommunicated. And if it was done through urgent necessity by one, and it was not possible to collect an assembly because of widely extended persecution or some other cause, then let him be justified by many bishops, and they shall make it thus lawful for him, and he shall be made by their command.

⁶⁸ The fifty-seventh: The bishop shall bless and shall not be blessed, and he shall excommunicate him who is worthy of excommunication. The excommunication of the bishop, that it cannot be done by one bishop only.

And the rule of the blessing. The bishop shall bless and shall not be blessed. He shall ordain men and offer the Oblation; and the Eulogia shall be offered by the bishops and not by the presbyters. The bishop shall excommunicate every priest who is worthy of excommunication: a bishop he cannot excommunicate by himself, but only with bishops like him. The presbyter shall bless and shall not be blessed. He shall receive the Eulogia from the bishop and from his fellow-presbyter, and he also shall give to his fellow-presbyter and shall lay his hand upon men, but he shall not ordain or excommunicate, or put out him who is faulty—if there was one who deserved this punishment.

⁶⁹ The deacon shall not bless and shall not give the Eulogia, and shall take (it) from the bishop and the presbyter. He shall not baptise or offer the Oblation, and when the bishop and presbyter offer, he shall give the cup to the people. He being not priest, but servant to the priests. The fifty-eighth: It is not proper that there should be one of the priests in a rank inferior to the rank of the deacon, that he should perform any of the works of the deacon. It is not proper that there should be one in a rank inferior to the rank of the deacon, that he should perform the work of the deacon. And the deaconesses shall not bless, nor do anything of what the presbyters and the deacons do. But they (lit. she) shall guard the doors (and have) no other (duty). And they shall minister to the presbyters where they baptise the women, because this is what is proper.

⁷⁰ The fifty-ninth: Concerning the first-fruits and tithes. All firstlings shall be brought to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons for them to eat. And all tithes they shall receive that they may be for the clergy and the virgins and the widows, and everyone who is poor shall eat thereof. The first-fruits which are the firstlings (are) for the priests alone and those who minister to them. The sixtieth: Concerning what is left over of the Oblation, what is not offered at the time of the Mysteries. The Eulogiae which are left over from the Mysteries of what was not offered, let the deacons divide it among the clergy, with the oversight of the bishop and the presbyter. He shall give to the bishop four portions, and he shall give to the presbyter three portions, and the deacon two, and lastly, the subdeacons and readers and the singers and the deaconesses—he shall give to all of these one portion. This is good (and) acceptable before God. Everyone shall be honoured according to his rank, and there is no church teaching confusion but good order.

71 The sixty-first: Concerning him who wishes to partake of the Mysteries. Those who wish to partake of the holy Mysteries, which are of the service of God, let them be brought by the deacons to the bishop and presbyters, and they shall ask what cause induced them to come and hear the words of the Lord, and those who bring them shall bear testimony to them, and they shall ask them to report of their occupations with great earnestness. The sixty-second: Concerning the trades and the works. Let them ask about their occupations and manner of life with earnestness, whether they are slaves or free. If anyone is a slave, let him ask his master whether he bears testimony to him. If he shall not bear testimony to him, let him be sent away, until he shall make himself worthy that his master should bear testimony to him. If he bears testimony to him he shall be received. If he was servant of an idolater, let him be taught to please his master, that the word of the Lord may not be blasphemed. If anyone has a wife, or a woman has a husband, let them be taught to be content (with one another). If they were not married according to the law. If the master was a believer and he knew that (his slave) was committing adultery and was not married to his wife, or she was a concubine and he was not married to her, let that master be excommunicated and expelled.

72 If there was anyone who has a devil, let him be taught that he must be cured, and not be brought in to partake of the Mysteries until he is first purified. If he is on the point of death he shall be brought in. Whatever man there be who is absorbed in the (work of the) world, let him desist or let him be rejected. If an adulteress desires to come in, let her desist or be sent away. If there was anyone who made idols, and he wished to come in, let him desist or be sent away. A man or a woman who is (concerned) in a theatre, or a chariot-driver or an Olympic contender, or a chorus flute-player or a harp-player, or one who plays on the pipe, or a dancer or a huckster, let him desist or be sent away. A soldier before he comes in must be taught not to oppress or accuse falsely, and he shall be content with his pay. If he is pleased (to be so), let him be brought in. If he be not willing, then let him be sent away.

73 One who does infamous crimes, or lies with male or female, or a magician or star-gazer, or a diviner or master of the astrolabe, or one who speaks about the hours and the choice of days, or a serpent-charmer or maker of phylacteries, or one who divines with any vessel, or interpreter of movements of limbs, or who augurs by birds of the heaven, or who watches that he may collect (signs) by the lame or the blind or by proof of birds when they cry, or

who observes the words of men that they may be marks to him—these shall be proved by time, for the evil is hard to eradicate. If they desist from this occupation let them come in, and if they desist not let them be sent away. The sixty-third: Concerning the concubine of an unbeliever or believer, (and) the prohibition of many things. If the concubine of an unbeliever is a slave and kept herself to him alone, let her come in; if she was defiled by others, let her be sent away. If a believer has a concubine and she stays with him, let him desist from her if he is a Christian and marry her according to the law. If she is free, let him do with her according to the law, and if he is unwilling to do this, let him be sent away.

⁷⁴ If there is one who follows the customs of the heathen, or the fabulous words of the Jews, let him desist or be sent away. One (who) is mad after and gazes at the theatre or gladiators or places of the lions, if he desists (let him come in), or let him be sent away. Let them who begin to be instructed be instructed three years. If a man has love and good-will and he displays upright life, let him be accepted, for the matter is not concerned with time, but it is only an affair of intention and conduct. If there is a layman teaching in the words, and he is quiet in manner of life, let him teach. For they shall be all taught of God, said the prophet. The sixty-fourth: Concerning the washing of their hands with water, and the prayer. Every believing man or woman when they rise in the morning from sleep, before they do any kind of business, let them wash their hands with water and pray. And if there should happen to be the words or conference in teaching, let them choose for themselves the words of teaching as better than work.

⁷⁵ The sixty-fifth: Every believing man or woman shall be (kindly) disposed to their servants. And the rest of the sabbath and Sunday. Let every believing man or woman be disposed to his servants with kindness, as we commanded at first and have taught thus in the Epistles. Let the servants be appointed to work five days, and on the sabbaths and Sundays they shall devote themselves to the Church, that they may learn the service of God, for God rested on the sabbath day when he completed all the world. ¹⁵ The Sunday is the day of the resurrection of the Lord. The sixty-sixth: They shall not work (in) the week of the Pascha. And the mention of the feasts. ⁷⁶ They shall not work also in the week of the great Pascha and that which comes after it, the first solemnity, viz. the day in which the Lord was crucified, and the other the day on which he rose from the dead. And is there not need that they

should learn that he died and rose from the dead? They shall not work on the day of the solemnity of the Ascension, for the purpose of Christ was completed on it. They shall not work on the completion of the Pentecost, for it was the manifestation of the Holy Spirit who came down upon those who believed in Christ. They shall not work also on the day of the Birth of Christ, for on it was given favour to men. On that very day with haste when the God the Word was born for us, Jesus Christ, of Mary the Virgin, (to be) the salvation of the world. They shall not work also on the solemnity of the Bathing, for on that day was the appearance of the Divinity of Christ, and the Father bore witness to him in the Baptism, and the Holy Spirit came down upon him like a dove, which bore witness to him before those standing by, that this was the true God. They shall not work also on the day of the Apostles, for they are those who became to you teachers of the doctrine of Christ, and made you worthy to partake of the gift of the Holy Spirit. They shall not work on the day of Stephen the first martyr, (and) of the other holy martyrs who loved Christ better than their own lives.

⁷⁷ The sixty-seventh: The times of the prayers. When ye rise in the early morning, pray, (and pray) at the third hour, and pray at the sixth hour, and pray at the ninth hour, and pray (in) the evening and the time when the cock crows. In the early morning because God causes (it) to shine upon us and makes the night pass and brings us the day. The third hour, being the hour in which Pilate gave sentence upon the Lord. The sixth hour, and the Lord was crucified at that hour. And (in) the ninth hour he gave up the spirit and all the earth was shaken, and when his side was pierced there came forth blood and water, and when the Lord was crucified (all) creation was afraid and trembled before him at what the godless Jews did, and they could not endure to look upon the Lord in his being mocked. At night ye shall give thanks because he has given you rest from toil of the day, and at the time of cock-crow because already at that hour ye are told the news of the appearing of the day that ye may turn to your works, and to the works of the light that ye may do them.

⁷⁸ The sixty-eighth: If ye cannot go to the church, the bishop shall celebrate the Kiddās in his house. It is the holy man that sanctifies the church. 10 If ye cannot go to the church because of the unbelievers, thou, O bishop, celebrate the Kiddās in thy house, that the servants of God may not be gathered together with the profane; and the church does not sanctify the man, but it

is the man who sanctifies the church. If the profane make a raid on the church, flee away from it, for they have defiled it, for as it is the holy man that sanctifies the church, so also it is defiled by the impure. 20 If it is not possible to assemble together in the house or in the church, each one shall sing praise wherever he is by himself, and let him read and pray, if there are two or three, for the Lord said that in the place in which two or three are gathered in my name I am at once with them in their midst.

⁷⁹ The Faithful shall not pray with the catechumens in a house. It is not right that he should partake of the holy Mysteries if he has been defiled by those who do not partake. The servant of God shall not pray with a heretic nor in his house. What fellowship has light with darkness? If a believer, man or woman, has intercourse with slaves, let them be excommunicated and go out of the church. The sixty-ninth: 'Concerning the days on which they make celebration for those who slept. They shall keep the third for those who slept, with psalms and prayers, because of him who rose again on the third day. They shall keep the seventh for memorial of the living and the dead. They shall keep also the fulness of the month in likeness of the ancient (practice): thus mourned the people for Moses. And thus they shall also keep the fulness of the year in likeness of their memorial. They shall give to the poor of the goods of him who died as a memorial for him. This we say concerning only the servants of God. As for the profane, if everything in the world was given to the poor for him it would not profit him, because those who were enemies of God in the world, the thing is clear that they will remain to be his enemies when they go out of the world. There is indeed no hypocrisy with him, for the Lord is righteous and loveth the righteous, and also, 'Behold the man and his work.'

⁸⁰ 'And if ye are invited on a day, eat orderly and in the fear of God. It may be that ye shall pray for those who have been removed from this world. O presbyters and deacons of Christ, it is proper that ye should be watchful at all times, ye yourselves and others (also), that ye may be able to do according to the saying of the Scripture: The strong, the angry, shall not drink wine, lest they should drink and forget wisdom, and not be able to judge in uprightness. Because after God the almighty and his only Son, the presbyters and deacons are the authorities of the church. We say this, (but) we do not forbid them to drink (wine), because we cannot despise what God created for the joy of men, but that they should not drink to be drunken. The Scriptures

say not that he shall not drink wine, but what is said is that he shall not drink wine to be drunken, and also that thorns spring up in the hand of the drunkard. This is not said only to the clergy, but to all the lay Christian people, those who follow the name of our Master Jesus Christ. These are they concerning whom they say: The woe, but also trouble and contentions and sorrows who hath; and whose eyes are darkened; or wars and wounds shall be to whom? Is it not they who are assiduous in drinking wine, who ask where is the place of drink?

⁸¹ The seventieth chapter: Concerning those who are persecuted for the Faith, and concerning him who flees from city to city because of the Faith, that they should be assisted withal for the sake of the Faith. ⁸² He who flees from city to city for the sake of the remembrance of the words of the Lord, and they know that the spirit is ready and the flesh weak, (and) they flee from place to place, and they accept the spoiling of their goods that they may keep the charge of the name of Christ and not deny him. Assist them and give to them all that they have need of, and fulfil the statute of the Lord which we command (you) withal. Stand each one in the Order which is given him, and go not beyond the limits which are its limits for him. It is not for ourselves but for God the Lord, who says: He who receiveth you receiveth me, and he who receiveth me receiveth him who sent me, and he who despiseth you despiseth me, and he who despiseth me despiseth him who sent me. If there are created things which have no souls (and which) keep the order which is given them, the day and the night, and the sun and the moon and the stars, and the elements and the changes of the seasons and the months and the weeks and the hours, and these are slaves to the necessity which was defined for them as it is said:

⁸³ He made for them a limit (which) they do not pass over—and the sea I have made for it a limit, and I have made for it a barrier and doors, and I said to it, Reach as far as this, and thou shalt not pass beyond. How much more indeed is it not proper for you to move anything which has been defined for you according to the will of God; yet there are some who reckon this as nothing, that they confuse Orders. Do not ye confuse the ordination according to which each one of you was ordained to his Order, nor take by force Orders which are not given to you and pass beyond your own in an overbearing manner that ye may possess what belongs to another, over which ye have no authority. Concerning this they provoked God like the

children of Korah and king 'Uz̄ya, who took by force the priesthood without the commandment of God. The former were burnt with fire and the latter had his forehead marked with leprosy. And these (now) make angry the Lord Jesus, who commanded that this should be, and pained the heart of the Holy Spirit and despised his testimony, and they make light in truth of the charge laid upon those who do these deeds and the carelessness which they commit in regard to the Oblations and the Eucharistia, so that they are offered by means of those by whom it is not proper (to be done).

⁸⁴ They regard the honour of the priesthood which is in the likeness of the great Chief Priesthood of Jesus Christ our King that it is a work of sport. And it is necessary that we should teach them this: for (lit. and) henceforth some of them make division (inciting others to follow) after their vanities. We speak of Moses the servant of God, to whom God spoke face to face as one who talks with his companion, who said to him, I know thee more than everyone, who talked with him face to face, (not) in signs and wonders and dreams and angels and interpretation. This (was) at the time when he commanded him the holy law, and strictly defined what was proper to be completed by the priesthood, and what was proper to be (done) by the priests, and not the things which belonged to the levites, and he kept each one apart for what was suitable for him, and he arranged the service, that which was commanded to the high-priest to do and was not suitable for the priests to do, and the law did not require it; and that with which the priests were commanded the levites were not able to approach, but each one should keep to his own service which he received and not go from it. And if anyone transgressed and went out from his Order and the service which he had received his punishment was death.

⁸⁵ What happened to Saul makes this clear to us, especially when he thought to offer up victims rebelliously against the prophet and high-priest Samuel he brought on himself sin and curses for ever. But the prophet was not afraid because of the anointing with which he had anointed him to become king. God has made us know of a great deed, revealing (what) happened to Ūz̄ya. Vengeance did not wait on account of the opposition which he made, and (in) his becoming a stranger from his kingdom because of the chief priesthood which he coveted. ⁸⁶ The seventy-first chapter: Concerning the Order of the Priesthood and its limits. Ye are not ignorant of what we have defined. Ye are aware that there are some whom we have

named Bishops, and others whom we have named Presbyters, and others Deacons, with prayer and laying on of hand. And we have made for each an Order according to the difference of the name. There is none among us who desires the filling of our hands, that he may receive from us what he desires, like the priests of the calves made by Jeroboam, those which (were) an abomination before God. If there was not a law of difference of Orders, it would have sufficed to perfect all the world with one name, but since we have been taught by the Lord a series of functions we have kept apart the Bishops for the chief priesthood, and the Presbyters for the priesthood, and the Deacons for the service, the service which comes to the two, that the works of the service may be perfected withal.

⁸⁷ It is not proper for the Deacons to offer the Oblations or baptise, or give the Eulogia to great or small; nor for a Presbyter to sign, i.e. ordain, anyone, because it is not proper to alter his Order. God is not (the author) of confusion, so that the vicious may not seize for themselves with audacity what belongs to those who are (properly) chosen, and make for themselves a new law to their own destruction in their ignorance. The thing bears witness against them. They kick with their feet against the goad. Such men are not in opposition to us, but they are in opposition to the Bishop of all the earth, the Son of God, the great Priest Jesus Christ our Master. Constituted by Moses, the lover of God, were chief priests, priests, and levites, and constituted also were thirteen Apostles by the Saviour, and by the Apostles we have been constituted, Clement and James and the rest withal, not that we should describe every one of them. And we have also all of us constituted withal presbyters and deacons and readers. The first and only true Chief Priest is Christ, he who did not carry off this honour for himself, but (it was from) the Father who appointed him. He when he became Chief Priest for our sake offered up the spiritual Sacrifice to God the Father before he was crucified. And he commanded us alone to do this, and there were others with us who believed in him.

⁸⁸ But it was not given to everyone who believes in him to be priest, nor to be worthy of the Order of chief priest. After that he ascended we offered by his command the holy Oblation without blood, and we have appointed bishops and presbyters and deacons, in number, seven, among them Stephen the holy martyr; he was not less than us in the love of God, but he displayed his service of God in faith and the love which he had for Christ Jesus our

Master to such a degree that he even gave up his life for his sake, and the Jews, the murderers of the Lord, stoned him with stones and killed him. But this great man, who gushed with the Spirit, who saw the doors of the heavens opened and the Lord at the right hand of the Father, we did not observe him in any place doing what was not suitable for the deacons, or that he offered Oblations, or that he laid hand upon a man, but he kept to the Order of the deacons until the end, as was suitable for the Martyr of Christ to complete and keep the Order.

⁸⁹ And if there is anyone who blames Philip the deacon and Hananiya the faithful brother, the former because he baptised the eunuch and the other (because) he baptised me, Paul, they know not what we say. We say that no one shall seize for himself the Order of Priesthood, but should obtain it from God like Melchizedeck or James, or should obtain it from the chief priest like Aaron. He obtained it from Moses. Philip and Hananiya did not choose for themselves that they should do that. But it was Christ who chose them, the true Chief Priest of God, and there is no god like him. The Apostolic Canons were finished, and they are seventy-one Canons, but their number in the Greek is eighty-one canons, and they are those which the Apostles transmitted by the hand of Clement. To God be glory continually, and upon us be his mercy for ever. Amin.

THE SAHIDIC VERSION

THESE ARE THE KANŌNS OF OUR HOLY FATHERS, THE APOSTLES OF OUR LORD JESUS THE CHRIST, WHICH THEY APPOINTED FOR THE CHURCHES HAIL, O our sons and our daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus the Christ. Said Jōhannēs and Maththaios and Petros and Andreas, Philippos and Simōn, 10 Jakōbos and Nathanaël, Thōmas and Kyphas, Barthōlomaïos and Joudas the brother of Jakōbos. 1. According to the commandment of our Lord Jesus the Christ our Saviour, after we had assembled together; he commanded us, saying: Ye have not yet divided the 15 countries among you: before that ye divide them among you, so that each may take his place according to your number, Define the dignity (axiōma, in the plural) of the Bishops, the councils (lit. the places of sitting) of the Presbyters, the assiduous services (proskartēresis) 20 of the Deacons, the wisdom (plural) of the Readers (anagnōstēs) and the sinlessness (plural) of the Widows; and all the other works, by which it is right to establish the foundation of the Church; that they may know by them the type (typos) of the things which

are in the heavens, and keep from all defilement, Knowing that they will give account to God in the great day of the Judgment concerning all the things which they heard (and) did not keep. And he commanded us to send these words forth in all the world (oikoumenē).

2. Now (de) it pleased us to speak, each of us according as the Lord revealed to him, according to the will of God the Father, by the Holy Spirit, bearing in mind his words, that we should order them to you by way of reminder and fraternal teaching. 3. Said Jōhannēs: Men and brethren, we know that we shall give account for the things which we heard and which were ordered to us. Let not any of us accept the person of his neighbour, but if one see that his neighbour says things which are not profitable, let him put him to shame, because that which he (lit. thou) says is not good. Then (de) it pleased them that Jōhannēs should speak first. 4. Said Jōhannēs: Two ways exist, one is belonging to life and the other to death. There is great difference between these two ways. The way indeed of life is this: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God who made thee with all the heart, and glorify him, he who redeemed thee from death.' For this is the first commandment (entolē). But the second is this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The law and the prophets are depending on these two commandments (entolē).

5. Said Maththaios: All things which thou wishest not to be done to thee, thou also do them not to another. Which is this, that that which thou hatest do not do to another. Thou therefore, O Petros my brother, teach them with these words. 6. Said Petros: Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not fornicate; thou shalt not corrupt a youth; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be a sorcerer (pharmagos); thou shalt not be a diviner; thou shalt not cause abortion, nor if she should bring forth shalt thou kill him; thou shalt not covet anything of thy neighbour; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil of anyone, neither shalt thou design evil; thou shalt not be of double heart; nor shalt thou be of double tongue, for to be double-tongued is a snare of death; Thy speech shall not be vain or false; Thou shalt not be lover of the larger portion, nor an extortioner, nor hypocrite (hypokritēs), nor (of) evil heart, nor proud; Thou shalt not take an evil counsel against thy neighbour; thou shalt not hate any man, but some indeed thou shalt reprove, but on others thou shalt have pity; and for some thou shalt pray, and others thou shalt love like thy soul (psychē).

7. Said Andreas: My son, flee from all evil (ponēron), and hate all evil. Thou shalt not be wrathful, because wrath (orgē) leads to murder. For wrath is an evil demon (daimōnion). Be not jealous; be not contentious; be not quarrelsome; because from these things is begotten envy. 8. Said Philippos: My son, be not lustful, because lust leads to fornication, drawing men into it by force. For lust is a female demon (d.), And if the demon (d.) of wrath (orgē) should be united with that of pleasure (hydonē) they destroy those who will receive them. Now (de) the way of the evil (ponēron) spirit is the sin of the soul (ps.). And whenever he sees a little place of rest and goes in, he enlarges the way, and takes with him all the other evil (p.) spirits, and goes unto that soul (ps.), and he lets not the man look up at all to see the right. Let your wrath have its measure, and check it after a little interval (diastēma), and draw it back to you, lest it cast you into an evil deed. For wrath and evil pleasure (hydonē), if they remain always continuing, become demons (d.), and whenever they have dominion over the man, they swell (shafe) in the soul (ps.), and it becomes under derision; and if they should bring him into deeds of wrong they mock at him, rejoicing over the destruction of that man.

9. Said Simōn: My son, be not a speaker of evil words nor base; nor be of lofty eye; for of these things comes adultery (plural). 10. Said Jakōbos: My son, be not an interpreter (lit. sayer) of signs, since interpreting of signs leads to idolatry, nor an enchanter, nor an assigner of hours, nor maker of potions, nor a wizard. Neither be teacher or hearer of them; for of all these things comes idolatry. 11. Said Nathanaēl: My son, be not a liar; since lying leads to theft; nor a lover of money (lit. brass), nor a lover of vainglory; because of all these come thefts. My son, be not a murmurer, since murmuring draws man to blasphemy. Be not harsh, nor designer of evil; for of all these is begotten quarrelling. But rather be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Further (de), be also tender-hearted, peacemaking, merciful, cleansed in thy heart from all evil. Be unmalicious (kakia), meek, good (agathos), trembling at the words which thou heardest, and keeping them. Do not exalt thyself, nor shalt thou give heed to the proud, but be more and more (auxane) with the righteous (dikaios) and the pure. All evil things which come upon thee receive as being good, recognising that nothing will happen to thee without God.

12. Said Thōmas: My son, him who told thee the words of God and became to thee the cause of life, and gave to thee the holy seal (sphragis) which is in the Lord. Thou shalt love like the apple of thine eyes. Remember him therefore by night and day, and honour him like the Lord; For where they speak of the things of the Lord, the Lord is there: And (de) thou shalt seek his face daily, him and the other holy ones; that thou mayest rest upon their words; For he who associates with the holy will become holy. Thou shalt honour him according to thy power with thy sweat and with the toil of thy hands. For if the Lord made thee worthy that he should give to thee by him spiritual food (trophē) and spiritual drink and eternal life, It is most right that thou shouldst give to him food perishable and temporal. For the labourer (ergatēs) is worthy of his hire. For it is written: Thou shalt not muzzle an ox threshing, Nor does anyone plant a vineyard and not eat the fruit thereof.

5 13. Said Kypha: Thou shalt not make divisions; thou shalt rather reconcile them who quarrel, for peace with one another. Judge righteously without acceptance of persons, reproving him who sinned for his sin; For riches prevail not with God, nor doth he respect rank (axiōma), nor is beauty of any profit; but a just (d.) judgment is that which is before him. Be not doubtful in thy prayer, considering whether that which thou askest will happen or not. When thou art going to receive, be not stretching out thy hand, but if thou art going to give, drawing it in to thee. If thou hast anything by thy hands thou shalt give it for the ransom of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate (tisdaze) when thou art about to give, nor again when thou givest shalt thou murmur, knowing that God is the true rewarder. Thou shalt not turn away from the needy, but share (koinōnei) with the needy in all things. Thou shalt not say: Mine alone are these (things). For if ye are become sharers (koinōnos) with one another in the imperishable, how much more should ye not be in the perishable.

25 14. Said Bartholomaios: I entreat you, my brethren, while there is time (kairos), and still (aitei) being with you those to whom ye can do good, Cease not to give of any possession that ye have; for the day of the Lord draws near, that which will cause all visible things to be dissolved, and the wicked (ponēros) will perish therein. For the Lord cometh and his reward with him. Be lawgivers to yourselves: Be teachers of yourselves as God has taught you. Thou shalt keep the things which thou hast received, and not take from them, nor add to them. 15. Said Petros: Men and brethren, as for all the rest

of the doctrine the holy Scriptures suffice to teach you, but let us indeed say to them the things which have been commanded to us. Then it pleased them all for Petros to speak. 16. Said Petros: If there is a place in which are but few believing men, and the multitude is not yet large (enough) to enable them to take vote (psyphisma) for the bishop, to the number twelve men, let them write to the neighbouring Churches, where there are many believers established; that three chosen men may come from that place; And let them prove (dokimaze) carefully him who is worthy of this degree (bathmos). Whether he be one of good report among the heathen (ethnos), sinless, without wrath, lover of the poor, prudent, sober, not a drunkard, not a fornicator, not a lover of the larger portion, not a railer, not an acceptor of persons, nor any of the like. It is a good thing if he has no wife. But if he has married one wife, having his children, let him stay with her. (Let him) have a share of (meteche) all learning, being able to interpret well the Scriptures. If he knows not how to write, being meek, let him abound in love toward all men, lest haply the bishop should fall under condemnation in a matter, and become guilty at all.

17. Said Jōhannēs: The bishop who will be ordained (kathista), if he should attend to knowledge and patience (hypomonē) (with) love of God (and of) them who are with him, let him then (de) appoint (kathista) two presbyters after having proved (dokimaze) them. 18. And they all answered: Not two, but three: there are four and twenty presbyters, twelve on the right hand and twelve on the left hand. Said Jōhannēs: Well have you reminded me, O brethren: for those on the right hand having taken the vials (phialē) from the angels offer them to the Lord, while (de) those on the left hand are having power over the multitude of angels. But it is right for the presbyters to be adorned (kosmei) with the character of old age, retiring from intercourse with woman, doers of good in brotherly love, and not accepting the person of men, sharing (koinōnei) with the bishop in the Mysteries, assisting him in all things, gathering the multitude together that they may love their shepherd. Then (de) the presbyters who are on the right hand shall provide for those who work at the altar (thysiaστήριον), that they may honour them who are worthy of all honour, and rebuke (epitima) them who are worthy of being rebuked (ep.). But the presbyters who are on the left hand shall provide for the multitude that they may be quiet, and that there may be no disturbance, [and] They having learnt to be in all subjection (hypotakē). Further

(de), whenever they correct anyone, and he answers with audacity (authatēs), those who are within the sanctuary (thysiaστήριον) shall be of one heart and of one mind (gnōmē), and take vengeance on such an one according to his desert: and all the rest will fear, lest they should seek to please (ariske), and (the sinner) should consume as a cancer (gaggraina), and they all should be led away captive (aikhmālōtize).

19. Said Jakōbos: They shall appoint a Reader (anagnōstēs) after proving (dokimaze) him with a great proof (dokimazia), whether he bridles his tongue, being not a drunkard, nor a scoffer in his speech, but of respectable appearance, obedient, being first to assemble on the Lord's day (kyriakē). As minister (diaknonei), knowing that it is right for him to fulfil the work of preacher; For it is right that he who filleth the ears of others with his instructions should be all the more a doer (of the word) faithful before God.

20. Said Matthaïos: Let the Deacons be ordained (kathista) after three (persons) have borne witness to their life (bios); for it is written: 'By the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word stand.' Let them be made after having been proved (dok.) in all service (diakonia); being witnessed to by all the people (laos); having lived with one wife, rearing their children well, pure, prudent, meek, sober, quiet (esykhios), not insolent, who murmur not, not double-tongued, not wrathful, For wrath (orgē) is the ruin of wise men also; not (men) pleasers; not hard upon the poor, and respecting the person of the rich; not drinkers of much wine; willing to be sent on all ministries (dia.) good and secret, ready to encourage (protrepe), compelling the brethren who have somewhat to open their hand to give; And being themselves also benefactors, and sharers (with others, koinōnikos); that the people (l.) may reverence them and honour them with all honour and all fear, attending (prosykhe) with great diligence to them who walk unruly: And some indeed instructing and some rebuking (epeitima), but others exhorting. Further (de), let them cast out them who despise (kataphronei) and are railers, knowing that all men who gainsay, or are revilers, oppose the Christ.

21. Said Kēphas: Let them ordain (k.) three Widows, two to continue (proskartērei) together in prayer for all who are in trials (peirasmos), and to ask for revelations concerning that which they require: While (de) the other (is) to be appointed to wait upon the women who are tried (piraze) in sickness, ministering (diakonei) well, being sober (nēphe), telling the presbyters of the things which happen, not a lover of shameful gain, not a drunkard,

that she may be able to be sober (n.) so as to minister (dia.) at night: and if another woman wishes to apply herself to do good works, let her do according to the good will of her heart. For (kai gar) these are the good (agathon) things which the Lord foreordained. 20 22. Said Andreas: Let the Deacons be doers (ergatēs) of good works, coming by day and night in all places, and not exalting themselves over the poor, nor respecting the person of the rich; they shall know who is afflicted, and give to him of the abundance, compelling those who have power to do good works, to gather them in for them, Taking heed to the words of our Master (sah): 'I was being hungry, ye fed me.' For those who have ministered (dia.) without sin get for themselves much boldness (parrēsia).

30 23. Said Philippos: Let the Layman (laeikos) hearken to the precepts (prostagma) which they deliver to the laity, being in subjection to those who are occupied at the altar (thysiasērion). Let each one please God in the place which was defined for him, not liking to be at enmity with one another, not being jealous of the place defined for each (other); but let each continue in the calling in which he was called by God. Let not anyone seek to make his neighbour stumble in his course in which he runs; for neither do the angels anything beyond the commandment of the Lord. 24. Said Andreas: It is a good thing to set apart (lit. define) women to be made deacons (diakonos). 25. Said Petros: We have already defined this; but concerning the Oblations (prospora) of the Body and the Blood of the Lord we shall declare the thing with certainty.

26. Said Jōhannēs: Ye have forgotten, O brethren, on the day when our Master (sah) took the bread and the cup (potērion) he blessed them, saying: 'This is my Body and my Blood.' Ye have seen that he gave not a place to the women to assist with them. Martha answered: Concerning Maria because he saw her laughing. Said Maria: Not because (of that) I laughed; for he said to us in his teaching: 'The weak will be healed by the strong.' 27. Said Kyphas: Some say that it is right for women to pray standing up, and not to throw themselves upon the earth. 28. Said Jakōbos: Where shall we be able to set apart women for a ministry (dia.), except this ministry (dia.) of this kind only, that they should help the needy? 29. Said Philippos: Brethren, concerning the giving. He who does a work gathers in a good treasure for himself; but he who gathers in a good treasure for himself is he who gathers for him-

self the kingdom of the heavens. They will reckon him as a workman (ergatēs) of God abiding for ever.

30. Said Petros: Brethren, we are not having authority (exousia) over anyone by compulsion (anagkē), but as we have been commanded by God. I entreat you to keep the commandments (entolē) of God without taking anything from them nor adding to them, in the name of our Lord Jesus the Christ, whose is the glory for ever. Hamēn.

15. Concerning the Bishops

31. The bishop shall be ordained (kheirodonei) according to the word which we said before, having been chosen from all the multitude, and (de) being without sin. When he has been named (onōmaze) and they are pleased with him, the whole people (laos) shall assemble themselves together, and the presbyters with the deacons on the Lord's day (kyriakē), with the consent (syneudōkei) of all the bishops, who have laid their hand upon him. The presbyters also stand by, waiting, And they all hold their peace together, and pray in their heart that the Holy Spirit may come upon him. And they request (axiou) one of the bishops, while all stand up, that he should lay his hands upon him who is to be made bishop, and pray over him. And (de) when he is made bishop, let everyone give peace (eirēnē) to him with their mouth, saluting (aspaze) him. Let the deacons then (de) offer to him the Oblation (prospora). And (de) having put his hand upon the Oblation (pr.) with the presbyters let him say in giving thanks (eukharistou): The Lord with you all (o kyrios meta pantōn ymōn). And all the people (l.) say: With thy spirit (meta to pnatos sou). And he says: Lift up your hearts (anō ymōn tas kartias). And the people (l.) say: We have them with the Lord (eukhōmen pros ton k̄n). And he says again: Let us give thanks to the Lord (eukharistēsōmen ton k̄n). And all the people (l.) say: Meet and right (axion kai dikaion). And let him pray also thus and say the things which come after these according to the custom of the holy Oblation.

Concerning the Presbyters

32. Further (de), when the bishop will ordain (kh.) the presbyter he shall lay his hands upon his head, all the presbyters touching him. And let him pray over him according to the form which we said for the bishop.

Concerning the Deacons

33. Further (de), when the bishop will ordain (kathista) a deacon, who has been chosen according as we said before, the bishop shall lay his hands upon him. Why then have we said that the bishop alone is to place his hands upon the deacon? The reason (aitia) of the thing is this, that he is not to be ordained (khi.) for a priesthood, but for a service (hyperesia) of the bishop, to do the things which he shall command him. Neither is he to be ordained (kath.) to be fellow-councillor (synboulos) of all the clergy (klēros), but to take care of the sick, and to inform the bishop about them. Neither is he to be ordained (kath.) to receive the spirit of greatness, in which the presbyters share (m.), But to be worthy (axios) for the bishop to entrust to him the things which it is right (for him to entrust). For this cause the bishop alone is to ordain (kh.) the deacon, But (as for) the presbyter, the bishop sharing with him (in the gift), they (the presbyters) lay hand upon him, because the same spirit comes upon him (the presbyter) (as on them). For the presbyter receives only. He has no authority (exousia) to give orders (klēros). For this cause he is not to ordain (kath.) the clergy (klērikos). He only seals (sphragize) the presbyter, while the bishop is to ordain (kh.) him.

Concerning the Confessors

34. The confessor then (de), if he has been in chains for the name of the Lord, they shall not lay hand upon him for a ministry (diakonia) or presbyterate: for he has the honour (timē) of the presbyterate by his confession. But if he is to be ordained (kath.) bishop, then hand shall be laid upon him. But if he is a confessor who was not brought before an authority (exousia), nor was punished with chains, nor shut up in prison, nor condemned (katakrine) with any sentence (katadikē), but in a casual way he was only insulted for the name of our Lord, and he was punished with a punishment of house, though (de) he confessed, hand is to be laid upon him (for) every office (klēros) of which he is worthy. Now (de) the bishop shall give thanks (eukharistou) according to things which we said before. It is not altogether (ou pantōs) necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before, as if learning to say them by heart in his thanksgiving (eu.) to God; but according to the ability of each one he is to pray. If indeed he is able to pray sufficiently well (hikanos) with a grand prayer (proseukhē), then it is good: But if also he

should pray and recite a prayer (pr.) in (due) measure, no one may forbid him, only (monon) let him pray being sound in orthodoxy.

Concerning the Reader (Anagnōstēs)

35. The reader (a.) shall be appointed (kath.) by the bishop giving to him the book of the Apostle, and praying over him, but he shall not lay hand upon him.

Concerning the Subdeacon (Hypodiakonos)

36. They shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon (hypod.), but they shall mention his name (onomaze) that he may follow the deacon. 37. Further (de), when a widow is appointed (kath.) she shall not be ordained (khirodonei), but she shall be chosen by the name. And (de) if her husband has died a long time before, then let her be appointed (kath.). But if she has not tarried long since her husband died, trust her not. But (even) if she has become old let them prove (dokimaze) her by time (khrōnos). For often the passions even grow old with him who gives place for them in himself. Let them appoint (kath.) the widow by (mention of) the word only, and enrol (lit. bind) her with the rest, but hand shall not be laid upon her; because she does not offer the Oblation (pr.) nor conduct the public worship (litourgia). And (de) ordination (khirodonia) belongs to (lit. is with) the clergy (klēros) for the sake of public worship (lit.), But the widow indeed is appointed (kath.) for the prayer, and (de) that is the (duty) of all persons.

Concerning the Virgins

38. Hand shall not be laid upon a virgin, but her purpose (prohairesis) alone is that which makes her a virgin.

Concerning the Grace of Healing

39. Further (de), whenever anyone says: I received gifts of healing by a revelation, hand shall not be laid upon him: for the deed itself shall make him manifest if he speaks the truth. 40. Let those then (de) who shall be brought in to the new faith (pistis), to hear the word, be first brought in unto the teachers, before the people (l.) enter. And they shall inquire the cause (aitia) of the thing, namely, for the sake of what thing they come in to the faith. And let those who bring them bear witness to them, Whether they are able to hear the word. Let them inquire then (de) about their life (bios), of what sort it is; either if he has a wife; or whether he is a servant of a believer, and his master allowed him (to come), then let him hear. If his master should

not bear witness to him, that he is good, let him be rejected. If his master is a heathen (ethnikos), then instruct him to please his master, that there may be no scandal (phlasphymia). If, however (de), there is one who has a wife, or again (entof) a woman who has a husband, let the man be instructed to be contented with his wife, and the woman to be contented with her husband. But if there is one who did not live with a wife, let him be instructed not to fornicate, but either to marry a wife according to the law, or to remain (as he is) according to the law. But if there is one who hath a devil (daimōnion), he shall not hear the word of instruction until he is cleansed.

Concerning the Occupations and the Crafts (Epistymei)

41. They shall also (de) inquire about the occupations and works of those whom they bring to set them (kathista) (in the faith), as to what they are. If one is a pander, who is a supporter of harlots, either let him leave off or let him be rejected. If there is a maker of images or a painter (zōgraphos), let them be instructed not to make an idol (eidōlon), either let them leave off or let them be rejected. If one is an actor (theatrikos) or again (entof) who makes representations (oupydēxis, for apodeixis) in the theatre (thyadron), either let him leave off or let him be rejected. If he teaches little ones, it is good indeed for him to leave off: if he has no trade (tekhnē), then let him be forgiven. A charioteer (eneiokhos) similarly (hōmaios), who contends (agōnize) or who goes to the games (agōn), either let him leave off or let him be rejected. One who is a gladiator (monomakhos), or again (ent. who teaches gladiators to fight, or a hunter (kynēkos) who is occupied with hunting (kynēkion), or a public official (dymōsios) who is occupied with gladiatorial shows (monomakhion), either let him leave off or let him be rejected. One who is a priest of the idols (eidōlon), or again (ent. being a keeper of the idols (eidōlon), either let him leave off or let him be rejected. A soldier who is in authority (exousia), cause him not to kill men:

if he should be commanded (to do it) cause him not to hasten to the work, nor cause him to swear; and (de) being unwilling (to comply), let him be rejected. One who has power (exousia) over the sword, or a magistrate (arkhōn) of a city, who is clad in purple, either let him leave off or let him be rejected. If a catechumen or a believer wishes to become a soldier, let them be rejected; because they have despised (kataphronei) God. A harlot or a dissolute man, or one who castrated himself, or indeed (ent. any other who does things which it is not right to say, let them be rejected, for they are polluted.

Nor shall they bring a magician (magos) for examination (krisis). The charmer, or the astrologer (astrologos), or the diviner, or the interpreter of dreams, or the troubler of multitudes, or they (lit. singular) who spoil fringes of tunics, who are the clippers (psellistēs), or who make phylacteries (phylaktērion), either let them leave off or let them be rejected. A concubine of one, if she is his servant, if indeed she reared her children, and comes near him alone, then let her hear (instruction): if not, let her be rejected. A man who has a concubine, let him leave off and let him marry a wife according to the law: but if he is not willing, then let him be rejected. If, therefore, we have left behind any other work, the works (themselves) will instruct your mind (lit.

sight), for we all have the Spirit of God.

Concerning the Time (Khronos) of Those who Hear the Word After the (Giving Up of the) Occupations and the Crafts (Epistimoi)

42. Let the catechumens spend three years hearing the word. But if one is zealous (spondaios) and persevering (proskartērei) well in the work, they do not decide by (krine) the time (kh.); but the character (tropos) alone shall decide (krine) him. 43. Whenever the teacher leaves off his teaching (kathēgei), let the catechumens pray by themselves, separate from the believers: And let the women stand as they pray in a place in the church quite by themselves, whether female believers or female catechumens. And (de) when they finish praying, let them not give peace (eirēnē), for their kiss is not yet pure. Let the believers then (de) only salute (aspaze) one another, men with men, and women with women: but let not man salute (aspaze) woman. Moreover (de), let all the women have their heads covered with a robe (pal-lin), but (not) in any article (eidos) of linen only, for this is not a veil (kalyma).

Concerning the Manner of Laying Hand on the Catechumens

44. When the instructor after the prayer lays hand upon the catechumens, let him pray and dismiss them. Whether he is an ecclesiastic who gives (instruction) or a layman (l.), let him do (it) thus. If a catechumen should be seized for the name of the Lord, let him not be doubtful concerning the testimony; for if it should happen that they offer violence and put him to death before his sins have been forgiven, he will be justified; for he was baptised in his own blood. 45. Further (de), when they have chosen those who are set apart to be baptised, their life (bios) having been examined, whether they have lived ser-

iously (semnos) as catechumens; whether they have honoured the widows; whether they have visited the sick, whether they have completed every good work; And when those who brought them have borne witness to them, that they did thus, then let them hear the gospel (euaggelion); moreover (de), from the time that they will be separated (from the rest) let hand be laid on them daily, in exorcising (exorgize) them. And (de) when the day draws near on which they will be baptised, let the bishop exorcise (exorgize) each one of them, that he may know whether they are pure. And (de) if there is one who is not good (kalos) or pure (katharos), let him be put on one side; because he did not hear the word in faith (pistis): for it is never possible for the alien to be concealed. Then (de) let those who are set apart to be baptised be instructed to bathe and make themselves free (from the alien), and wash themselves on the fifth day of the week (sabbaton). And (de) if a woman is in the manner of women, let her be put on one side, and let her be baptised on another day. Let them who will be baptised fast on the preparation (paraskeuē) of the sabbath (sabbaton).

And (de) on the sabbath (sabbaton), when they who will be baptised have assembled in one place by the direction (gnōmē) of the bishop, let them all be commanded to pray and bend their knees. And when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise (exorgize) all alien spirits to flee away from them, and not to return to them henceforward. And when he has done exorcising (exorgize), let him breathe in their face. And when he has sealed (sphragize) their foreheads and their ears and their noses, let him raise them up. And let them spend all the night in vigil, reading to them and instructing (kathēge) them. Moreover (de), let not those who will be baptised bring any other vessel except only that which each one will bring for the Eucharist (eukharēstia): for it is right for him who was worthy, to bring his Oblation (prosphora) then.

Concerning the Tradition (Paradosis) — 15 Of the Holy Baptism

46. At the hour, then (de), when the cock will crow, let them first pray over the water. Let the water be flowing along into the tank (kolymbēthra) or descending upon it. And (de) let it be thus if there is no scarcity (anagkē): But if there is scarcity (anagkē) continuous and sudden, then use (khrō) the water which ye shall find. And (de) let them undress themselves. And ye shall first baptise the little ones. Moreover (de), all who can speak for themselves, let them speak; But for them who cannot speak, let their parents speak for

them, or any other belonging to their family (genos). And afterwards ye baptise the adult men, but last the women, who have all loosed their hair, and laid aside the gold and silver ornaments which they were wearing: let not any take any alien thing (eidōs) down to the water with them.

And (de) at the hour which is determined for baptising, let the bishop give thanks (eukharistei) over the oil, and put it into a vessel (skeos), and call it the oil of the thanksgiving (eukharēstia); and take also other oil, and exorcise it (exorgize upon it), and call it the oil of exorcism (exorgismos). And a deacon shall carry the oil of exorcism (ex. and stand on the left hand of the presbyter: And another deacon shall take the oil of the thanksgiving (eu. and stand on the right hand of the presbyter. And when the presbyter has taken hold of each one of those who will be baptised, let him command him to renounce (apotasse), saying: I renounce (ap. thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works. And when he has renounced (ap. all these, let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism (ex.), saying: Let all spirits remove far from thee. And thus let him give him to the bishop naked, or (to) the presbyter who stands at the water for baptising. Likewise also (hōmaios de) let the deacon go with him into the water, and let him say to him, helping him to say it:

I believe the only true God, the Father, the almighty (pantocrator) and his only (monogenēs) Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord and our Saviour, and his Holy Spirit, giver of life to the universe, the Trinity of the same substance (trias en homouousion), one Godhead, one Lordship, one Kingdom, one Faith, one Baptism, in the Catholic (katholikē) apostolic holy Church, life eternal. Amēn. And (de) he who receives, let him also say according to all these things: I believe thus. And he who gives (the baptism) shall put his hand upon the head of him who receives, and dip him three times, professing (homologeī) these things every time, And afterwards again let him say: Thou believest our Lord Jesus the Christ, the only (lit. one) Son of God the Father, that he became man by a miracle for our sake, in an incomprehensible unity, in his Holy Spirit, from Maria the holy virgin, without seed (sperma) of man: And that he was crucified (strou) for us in time of Pontius Pilatos; he died voluntarily for our salvation withal, he rose in the third day, he released those who were bound, he ascended into the heavens, he sat on the right hand of his good (ag. Father in the height, And he comes again to judge the living and the dead according to his appearing and his kingdom:

And thou believest the holy, good (ag.), and life-giving Spirit, purifying the universe, in the holy Church. [Again let him say: I believe.

And let them go up from the water, and let the presbyter anoint him with oil of the thanksgiving (eu.), saying: I anoint thee with an unction in holy oil in the name of Jesus the Christ. Thus having anointed each one of the rest he clothes them. And let them go into the church. Let the bishop lay his hand upon them with great earnestness (lit. desire), saying: Lord God, according as thou hast made these worthy of receiving the forgiveness of their sins unto the future life, make them worthy of being filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send down upon them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will, because thine is the glory, Father and Son and Holy Spirit in the holy Church, now and always and for ever and ever. And he shall pour some oil of the thanksgiving (eu. upon his hand and lay hand upon his head, saying: I anoint thee with an unction in holy oil by God the Father, the almighty (pantokratōr), and Jesus the Christ and the Holy Spirit. And he shall seal (sphragizin) upon his forehead, kissing him, and he shall say: The Lord (be) with thee. And he who has been sealed shall answer: And with thy spirit (ke meta tou pneumatou sou). Thus all the rest severally shall do. And let all the people pray together, and all those who receive baptism shall be praying. Let them give (lit. say) peace with their mouth.

Let the deacons bring the Oblation (prosphora) to the bishop, and he shall give thanks over bread because that (it is) the form of the Flesh (sarx) of the Christ; and a cup of wine because it is the Blood of the Christ, which will be shed for all who believe him; and milk and honey mingled in fulfilment of the promises of the fathers, because he said: I will give to you a land flowing with milk and honey. This is the Flesh (sarx) of the Christ, which he gave to us to nourish us with it like children, namely, we who believe him; It will cause the bitterness of the heart to be dissolved by the sweetness of the word (logos). All these things shall the bishop recount (logos) to him who shall be baptised. And when the bishop therefore has now broken the bread, let him give a piece (klasma) to each one of them, saying: This is the bread of heaven, the Body of the Christ Jesus. Let him also who receives answer: Hamēn. Further, if there is no [more] priest, let the deacons take hold of the cup (potērion) and stand in right order (eutaxia) and give to them the Blood of the Christ Jesus our Lord; and he who has the milk and the honey. Let

him who gives the cup (potērion) say: This is the Blood of Jesus the Christ our Lord. And he who receives also shall answer: Hamēn.

When these things have been done, let each one hasten (spoudaze) to do all that is good, and to please God, and to live (politeue) rightly, devoting himself to the Church, doing the things which he has learnt, advancing (prokoptei) in the service of God. Now (de) we have delivered these things to you in brief concerning the holy Baptism and the holy Oblation, Since they have already instructed (kathēgei) you concerning the resurrection of the flesh (sarx) and all other things according as it is written. But if there is any other thing which it is right to be told, let the bishop say it quietly to those who shall be baptised; and (de) let not the unbelievers know (it), except first they are baptised. This is the white stone (psymphos) of which Jōhannēs said, that there is a new name written on it, which no one knows except him who will receive the stone (psymphos).

Concerning the Fast (Nēstia)

47. Let the widows and the virgins fast (nēsteue) often, and let them pray in the church. Likewise (hōmaios) the presbyters and the laymen let them fast (n.) at the time when they wish. But it is impossible for the bishop to fast (n.) except on the day when all the people (l.) will fast (n.). For it will happen, that some one wishes to take some (food) to the church, and it is impossible for him to be denied (arna): and (de) having broken the bread he shall certainly (pantōs) taste the bread; and (de) eating it with other believers with him, Let them take from the hand of the bishop one piece of a loaf (lit. bread) before that each breaks his own bread. For this is a blessing, and it is not a thanksgiving (euch.) like the Body of the Lord.

Concerning the Time of Eating

48. And (de) it is right for all before they drink to take a cup and give thanks (eukharistou) over it, and drink and eat, being purified in that way. And (de) let them give to the catechumens bread of exorcism (ex.) and a cup.

Concerning that it is Not Right for the Catechumens to Eat with the Believers

49. Let not the catchumens sit down at the supper (dipnon) of the Lord with the believers. Moreover (de), let him who eats remember him who invited him, at every time they are eating; for for this cause he begged them to come in under his roof.

Concerning that it is Right to Eat Discreetly (Epistēmei) and Moderately

50. But when ye eat and drink becomingly, drink not so as to be drunken, that men may not mock you, and he who invited you be grieved (lypei) by your dissoluteness. But rather (entof) that he may pray that the holy ones should come in unto him, for He said: Ye are the salt of the earth. If to all of you should be given portions (meris) at once, then thou wilt take up thy portion alone. But if also ye shall be invited to eat, ye shall eat only what is sufficient; that he who invited thee may send the things which ye leave to whom he will, as the leavings of the holy ones; and that he may rejoice at your coming in unto him. And (de) let them who are invited eat quietly, not contentiously; but when the bishop permits (protrepe) anyone to ask for a word, let him answer him. And when the bishop speaks, let all hold their peace in modesty, until he asks them (to speak) again. If, however (de), the bishop is not there, but only believers at the supper (dipnon), let them take the Eulogia from the hand of the presbyter, if he is there; But if not, let them take from the hand of a deacon. Likewise (hōmaios) the catechumen shall take the bread of exorcism (ex.). But the laymen (l.) being with one another without the clergy (klērikos), let them eat discreetly (epistēmei); but the layman (l.) cannot give the Eulogia.

25 Concerning that it is Right to Eat with Giving of Thanks

51. Further (de), let each one eat with giving of thanks in the name of God: for this is proper for godliness, that we all should be sober (nēphe) and that the heathen (ethnos) may envy us. 52. When anyone wishes at any time to invite the widows, all who are aged, let him cause them to eat, and dismiss them before it is evening. And if they cannot come, because of the lot (klēros) which they have drawn (klērou), then let him give to them wine, and something to eat, and they shall eat in their house, as they wish.

Concerning the Fruits which it is Right to Bring (Prosynagke) to the Bishop

53. Let all hasten to bring to the bishop at all times the first fruits (aparkhē) of the fruits of the first growth (genēma).—And (de) let the bishop also take them with giving of thanks, and bless them, and name (onōmaze) the name of him who brings them to him, saying: 'We give thanks (eukharistou) to thee, Lord God, and we offer to thee the first fruits (aparkhē) of the fruits which thou hast given to us to partake of them, having perfected them by thy word; And thou hast commanded the earth to send forth all fruits for

profit and rejoicing and nourishment (trophē) of the race (genos) of men and all creatures. We bless thee, God, for these and all other things with which thou hast benefited (euergetei) us, having garnished (kosmei) all creation with various fruits: by thy holy Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord, through whom (be) glory to thee with him and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Hamēn.'

The Blessing (Eulogia) of the Fruits

54. These are the fruits which shall be blessed: the grapes, the fig, the pomegranate, the olive, the pear, (papidion), the apple, the peach (persikon), the cherry (kerasion), the almond (amēkdalon). But neither the garlic nor the leek, nor the onion, nor the gourd (pepōn), nor the apple-gourd (mēlopepōn), nor the cucumber, nor any other vegetables (lakhanōn) shall be blessed. But it will happen that flowers (anthos) are offered (prospherei): let them bring the roses and the lily (krinon), but let not others be brought. And (de) for all things which will be eaten they shall give thanks to God, and taste them to his glory.

Concerning that it is Not Right for Any Man to Taste Anything in the Paskha Before the Hour in which it is Right to Eat

55. The fast (nēstia) shall not be reckoned to such a one, if he be greedy before the hour at which the fast (n.) is completed. But if anyone is sick and cannot fast (nēsteue) for the two days, then let him fast (n.) on the day of the sabbath (sabbaton) of necessity (anagkē), and be contented moreover (de) with bread and salt and water. And if anyone is on a voyage, or again (entof) he was ignorant of the day of the Paskha, when he should know of it, let him perform his fast (n.) after Pentēkostē. For it is not a Paskha which we observe; for that which is for a type (typos) passed by. For this cause we said not, in the second month, but that when he knows the truth he shall come to the fast (n.).

Concerning that it is Right for the Deacons to Attend (Pros-Kartērei) Upon the Bishop

56. Further (de), let each one of the deacons and the subdeacons attend (pr.) upon the bishop, and tell him of all who are sick; that if it seem good (dōkei) to the bishop he may visit them. For let the sick be consoled when they see the chief priest visiting them, and that they are remembered.

Concerning the Hour at which it is Right to Pray

57. Further (de), let all believers at the hour when they wake, before they begin any work, pray to the Lord, and thus let them go to their works. And (de) if there should be the word of instruction (kathēgēsis), let them choose rather for themselves to go and hear the word of God, for the confirming of their soul. And (de) let them hasten to go to the church where the Spirit breaks forth.

Receive of the Eucharēstia Early at the Time When it Will Be Offered Up, Before Tasting Any Food

58. Further (de), let every believer hasten (spoudaze) to receive of the Eucharēstia before that he have tasted any food; For if there are believers there, who receive it, if anyone should give to him a deadly potion it will not overpower him.

Concerning that it is Right to Watch Diligently Over the Eucharēstia

59. Let all take care diligently for an unbeliever not to eat of the Eucharēstia, nor a mouse, nor any other creature, or that not any of it should fall and be lost: it is the Body of the Christ, he (lit. this) of whom all believers receive, and it is not right to despise (kataphronei) it.

Concerning that it is Not Right to Spill Any from the Cup (Potērion)

60. For having blessed the cup (potērion) in the name of God, and having received of it as (hōs) being the Blood of the Christ, give great heed to thyself, spill not from it, lest an alien (allotrion) spirit lick it up; lest God be angry with thee, seeing that (hōs) thou hast despised (kataphronei) and become guilty (aitios) of the Blood of the Christ, in despising the price with which thou hast been bought. Further (de), let the deacons and the presbyters assemble daily at the place where the bishop shall command them (to come); And let not the deacons indeed neglect (amelei) to assemble at all times, unless sickness prevents (kōlye) them. And (de) when all have assembled, let them give information to those who are in the church, and likewise having prayed, let each one go to the works which are determined for him.

Concerning the Burial Places

61. Let not men overcharge (barei) for burying men in the cemetery (koimētērion); for it is the property of all the poor; or else (plēn) let them give the wages of the workman (ergatēs) to him who digs, and the price of

the earthen vessels (*keramos*). But those who are at that place who take care (of it) let the bishop support, lest any of those who go to that place (*topos*) should be burdened (with a charge).

Concerning the Time at which it is Right to Pray

62. Further (*de*), let all believers, men and women, when they rise early (from) sleeping, before they touch any work, wash their hands and pray to God; and so let them go to their works. Further (*de*), if there should be an instruction (*kathēgēsis*) of the word of God, let everyone choose for himself to go to that place, Reckoning this in his heart, that it is God whom he hears speaking in him who gives instruction (*kathēgei*): for having prayed in the church he will be able to avoid (*parelthe*) the evil of the day. Let the pious man reckon that it is a great loss, if he should not go to the place in which they instruct (*kathēgei*); especially (*malista*) if he can read: or if the teacher should come, let none of you be deficient in coming to the church where they give the teaching. Then it shall be given to him who speaks to utter things which are profitable to all; and thou wilt hear things which thou thinkest not; and thou wilt be profited (*ōphelei*) by the things which the Holy Spirit will give to thee from him who instructs (*kathēgei*): Thus thy faith will be established upon the things which thou hast heard. And (*de*) it will be told to thee also in that place the things which it is right for thee to do in thy house. For this cause then let each one hasten (*spoudaze*) to go to the church, the place in which the Holy Spirit breaks forth.

If there is a day in which there is no instruction (*kathēgēsis*), let each one in his house take a holy book, and read sufficiently in it what seems (*dokei*) to him profitable. And if indeed thou art in thy house, pray at the third hour and bless God. If however (*men*) thou art in another place and thou comest by chance to that time (*kairos*), pray in thy heart to God. For in this hour the Christ was seen nailed to the wood. For this cause also in the old (*palaia* testament) the law commanded to offer the shew (*prothesis*) bread at every hour, as type of the Body and the Blood of the Christ; and the slaughter of the senseless (*alogon*) lamb, which was a type of the perfect (*teleion*) Lamb; for the Christ is the shepherd; he also is the Bread which came from heaven. Pray also likewise (*hom.* at the sixth hour; for the Christ having been nailed to the wood of the cross, that day divided, and a great darkness happened, wherefore (*hōste*) let them pray at that hour with a prevailing prayer, likening themselves to the voice of him who prayed, (and) caused all creation

(ktēsis) to become dark for the unbelieving Jews. And (de) let them also make a great prayer and a great blessing at the ninth hour, that thou mayest know how the soul (ps. of the righteous ones blesses the Lord the true God, he (lit. this) who remembered the holy ones, (and) sent his Son to them, who is his Word, to shine upon them. For in that hour was the side of the Christ pierced with a spear (logkē) (and) blood and water came out, and afterwards the rest of the day shone until evening. For this cause also, when thou goest to sleep, thou shalt begin (arkhisthai) another day and make the type of the Resurrection. Pray also before thou retest thyself upon the bed in thy sleeping place; and having risen up at midnight upon thy bed, wash thyself and pray; and (de) thou shalt wash thyself in pure water. Further (de) also, if thou hast a wife, pray with one another together.

But if she has not yet become a believer, withdraw (anakhōrei) thyself to a place and pray alone, and return again to thy place. And (de) thou who art bound by the marriage, be not unready to pray; for ye are not unclean. For they who have been washed have no need to be washed again, because they are pure and they are clean (katharos). Further (de), when thou breathest into thy hand, and sealest (sphragize) thyself with the spittle which thou wilt bring forth from thy mouth, thou art purified all over unto thy feet: for this is the gift (dōron) of the Holy Spirit, And the drops of the water are (those) of Baptism coming up from a fountain (pygē), which is the heart of the believer, purifying him who believed. But it is also necessary (anagkaion) for us to pray at that hour, for even the presbyters themselves delivered this work unto us, and they instructed us (lit. our sight) in this way; because in that hour all creation is quiet for blessing God. The stars and the trees and the waters are as those who stand up: all the host (stratia) of the angels offer worship (litourgei) and the souls (ps. of the righteous sing hymns (hymneue) to God the almighty (pantokratōr) at that hour. For this cause it is right for those who believe to pray at that hour. And (de) the Lord also said thus, bearing this testimony, saying:

At midnight, lo, there was a voice, Lo, the bridegroom came, come ye forth to meet him. And he spake further also, saying: For this cause then watch, because ye know not the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh. Likewise (hom. having risen up at the hour when the cock will crow, pray, because the children of Israel denied (arna) the Christ at that hour, him (lit. this) whom we have known, we who believe him, looking out

by faith with a hope of the day of eternal light, that which will shine upon us for ever in the resurrection of the dead. So (de) all ye believers, if ye perform these things and remember them, teaching one another, and instructing the catechumens to do them, nothing will tempt (piraze) you, nor will ye ever fall, remembering the Christ at all times. And (de) make proof (peira) at every hour of sealing (sphr.) 5 thy forehead in fear (of God); for this is the sign which is known and is manifest: by this the devil is ruined. If thou makest it in faith thou not only manifestest thyself before men, but in the knowledge with which thou art confident like a shield (thērōn):

since the adversary 10 (antikimenos), the devil, only sees the power of the heart, and if he should see the inner man that he is sensible (logikos), sealing (sphragize) himself within and without with the seal (sphragis) of the Word (logos) of God, then he flies, pursued by the Holy Spirit, he who is in the man who makes place for him within him. This also is what Moses the prophet taught us before by the Paskha, and the lamb which was slaughtered, he commanded that they should smear the blood on the lintel and the two door-posts, telling us of the faith which is in us now, this which was given to us by the perfect (t. Lamb. Wherewith when we seal (sphragize) our foreheads with our hand, we shall be saved from those who wish to kill us. And when ye receive these things in thanksgiving and right faith ye will be edified and eternal life will be granted to (kharize) you. These things are those which we counsel you to keep, you who have sense (lit. heart). For if all should follow the tradition (paradosis) of the Apostles, these things which they have heard, and keep them, no heretics (hairetikos) 30 will prevail to lead them astray (plana), nor any man at all. For thus the numerous heresies (hairesis) increased (auxane), because that they who were leaders (prohista) would not learn the purpose (prohairesis) of the Apostles; but according to their own pleasures (hydonē) do what they like, not what was proper (prepei).

If, then, we left out anything, our beloved, God will reveal them to those who are worthy, steering (keberna) the Church which is worthy of mooring in the quiet haven.

Concerning the Gifts (Kharisma) and the Ordinations (Khirodonia), for No One to Boast of Himself About Them

15 63. Our God and our Saviour Jesus the Christ delivered to us the great mystery of godliness, and called the Jews and all the Greeks (hellēn), that they might know the true God, the only Father; according as the Lord him-

self saith in a place, giving thanks for the salvation of those who believed on him: 'I have manifested thy name unto the men whom thou gavest to me, I have finished the work which thou gavest to me to do': And again speaking unto his Father concerning us, he says: 'My holy Father, the world knew thee not, but I have known thee, and these also have known thee.' It is now proper (prepei) for us that he should speak to us all who have been made perfect (telios) concerning the gifts (kharisma) which he gave to us by his Holy Spirit: 'These signs will follow them who will believe; they will cast out demons (daimōnion) in my name, they will speak languages, they will take up serpents in their hands, and if they should drink a deadly potion, it will not hurt them, they will lay their hands upon the sick and they shall have rest.' These gifts (kharisma) then were first given to us the Apostles at the time when we were appointed to preach the Gospel to all creation (ktēsis), for us to give them to those who should believe through us, not as a profit for us indeed who exercise them, but rather for you.

We are they who belong to God, but (the gifts) are for a profit to you for the unbelievers who are among us, that those whom the word was not able to persuade (peithe) the power of the signs might put to shame. For the signs are not for us the believers, but they are for the unbelievers Of the Jews and the Greeks (hellēn). For neither is it any gain to us, if we cast out demons (daimōnion), but the gain is for those who have been purified by the energy of the Christ Jesus our Lord. According as our God himself instructs (paideue) us in a place, making the thing plain to us, saying: 'Rejoice not in this that the spirits are subject to you, but rejoice rather (entof) because your names are written in the heavens.' Since the casting out demons (d. does not belong to our power, but the having our names written in the heavens belongs to our will and our diligence (spoudē), being assisted by him as is plain. It is not then necessary (anagkaion) now that every believer should cast out demons (d.), or raise the dead, or speak languages; but he who will be worthy of this grace will be worthy of it certainly (pantōs)

for a useful reason (aitia) in regard to the salvation of the unbelievers who are put to shame through it; for since they were unwilling to receive the declaration of the word, therefore the energy of the signs was sent to them, if haply they might be saved: for the ungodly are not even ashamed, though put to shame by the wonders. And God himself bears witness to this, as he saith in the Law: 'In other languages and with other lips I will speak to this

people (l.), and they will not hear me even thus, saith the Lord.' For neither did the Egyptians believe God when Mōysēs the prophet did those great signs and those wonders among them. Nor again did the multitude of the Jews believe him who was greater than Mōysēs, namely the Christ, when he healed all the sick of all the infirmities which were in them. Neither again did the rod put to shame those (men) when it was changed into a serpent which became a living soul (psyche) in the hand of his servant Mōysēs; or the hand which became white (with leprosy), and the water which became blood. Nor these also were the blind, who saw, able to persuade (peithe), nor the lame who walked, nor the dead who were raised. And he indeed was resisted by Jannēs and Jambrēs, while (de) the Lord also by Annas and Kaiphas. Thus then the signs do not put all to shame, but only those of good disposition (eugnōmon), and for their sake also God like a wise steward is willing that mighty works (lit. powers) should be done, not by the strength of men, but by his own will. These things then we say, that those who have received these gifts (kh.)

and graces of this kind should not exalt themselves over those who have not received them: we are speaking of the gifts (kh. of God which are (accompanied) by signs, Since there is no man who believed God through his holy Son, who did not receive a spiritual grace (kharis) or gift (kharisma) from him: For the freedom from the ungodliness (asebia) of the service of many gods, And the entrance into the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, is a gift (kh. of God; especially because we have cast away from us the veil of the Jews; and we have believed that, by the will of the Father and (of) the only (monogenēs) Son who is with his good (ag. Father before all ages (aiōn) and (of) the Holy Spirit the Life-giver, he (the Son) in the end of these days was born of the immaculate virgin Maria without seed (sperma) of man, And that he lived (politeue) among men without sin, having fulfilled all the righteousness of the law, And that by the permission (synkhōrēsis) of the Father, God the Word (logos) endured (hypominē) the cross, despising the shame, And that he died, and that he was buried, and that he rose from the dead on the third day, And that after he had risen he spent forty days with the Apostles, And after his commanding them with all commands he was taken up (analanbane) in their presence unto him who sent him, God the Father.

So (de) he who believed this, believed not thus as a matter of course (haplōs), nor irrationally either, but rather by a calling and a persuasion, having received the gift (kh. from God the Father. Thus again he who is free from all heresy (hairesis), received the same gift (kh. Nay, let not anyone then among you by any means judge one of those who became believers, that he was not worthy to do signs and wonders. For various are the graces of God which are given to men by him, And thou hast received this, and (de) another another: and one (it may be) has received a word of wisdom, or knowledge, or discrimination (diakrēsis) of the spirit, or knowing beforehand what will happen, or a word of teaching, or patience, or continence (egkraitia). For Mōysēs himself even, the man of God, who did the signs in Egypt, was not haughty over his brethren; Nor when he was called god was he haughty over his prophet Aarōn. But neither again did Jēsou of Nauē, who led the people (l. after him, exalt himself over Phinees nor over Khaleb, when he stayed the sun over Gabaōn and the moon over the valley of Elōm in the battle (polymos) with the Jebusites (ieboussaïos), because the day only did not suffice for the victory. Nor again when Samouēl did all those signs did he count David, the lover of God, to be nothing;

and yet they were both prophets, the one indeed a chief priest and (de) the other a king. And again among the seven thousand holy men who were left in Israel who kept themselves from bowing the knee to Bahal or any other, [for] only Elias (hēlias) and Elisha (elissaïos) his disciple, who lived among them, did signs and wonders. But neither did Elias deride Abdias the steward, who feared God, doing signs and wonders; Nor did Elisha his disciple despise his youth trembling at the surrounding enemies. For neither was the wise Daniel proud when he was twice saved from the mouth of the lions, Nor again did the three holy children scorn their companions when they were saved from the burning fiery furnace; For they knew that they were saved from all those evils not by their own power, but by the power of God they were doing the signs and wonders (and) escaping from those troubles. Wherefore (oukoun) let no one among you exalt himself over his brother, though he be a prophet, or do signs and wonders: for if it was given that there should not be any unbelievers anywhere, how would the working (energia) of the signs be of any use? For the man indeed to become godly belongs to his good heart, But for him to do signs and wonders belongs to the

power of God being efficacious (*energia*): And (of) these the former indeed belongs to us, but the second belongs to God who works (*energei*).

Because, moreover (*de*), of the reasons which we have said before, let not the king by any means despise the officers (*stratoigos*) who are under him, Nor let the rulers those over whom they rule; for the rulers would be nothing, if there were not those over whom they rule; and the kingdom could not stand, if there were not officers (*stratēgos*). But neither let the bishop exalt himself over deacon or presbyter, Nor let the presbyter exalt himself over the people (1.); for the establishment of our social state comes from one another: For if there was no laity (1.), over whom would the bishop be bishop? or the presbyter? And it belongs indeed to ourselves for all to become Christians, but for becoming Apostles or bishops or any other belongs not to us henceforward, but it belongs to God, who gives those graces. Lo, these things indeed we have said hitherto concerning those who have become worthy of graces and dignities (*axiōma*), but this other word we shall add to it, that all who prophesy are not godly, nor are all who cast out demons (*d.* holy. For Balaham the son of Baiōr the diviner, being godless, prophesies; And Kaiphas also, called Chief Priest, the name which he had being false. Further, the devil and also the demons (*d.* under him foretold many things, though for all that there is no sign at all (*holōs*) of godliness in them; for they persuade (*peithe*) themselves in their ignorance concerning the evil which they wish to do.

The thing is plain, that if the ungodly prophesy, they will not be able to conceal their prophecy by their ungodliness (*asebēs*); Nor if demons (*d.* cast out demons (*d.* will they be able to become holy, By the former (*lit.* these) being subject (*hypokhōrei*) to the latter (*lit.* these): for they deceive (*apata*) one another like men who, feigning anxieties for the sake of merriment, are led astray (and) lead astray others among those who will support them. And (*de*) the king, if he should be ungodly (*asebēs*) is henceforth not a king but a tyrant; and (*oude*) the bishop contented with ignorance or malice (*kakia*) is not a bishop, but the name which he had is false, and he was not appointed by God but by men, as Ananias and Samaias in Israel, And as Zedekias also and Achia, who were false prophets in [the] Babylon; and as Balaham the diviner, who was punished (*dimōrei*) because he made all Israel to sin in Beelphegōr; and as the sons also of Skeva, after trying to cast out demons (*d.*), they fled in shame, having been wounded (*plygē*) by those (demons); And as

all the kings of Israel and Judah (Iouda), who were punished (dimōrei) with every punishment (dimōria). The thing therefore is plain that even the bishops and presbyters, who are of false name, will not be able to escape from the just judgment of God; For it will be said to them again (as before):

Ye priests also who profane my holy name, I will give you to slaughter as Zedekias and Achias, whom the king of [the] Babylon slew, As Jerēmiās the prophet saith. For we are not disparaging the prophecies of the true prophets, for we know that the holy men of God are moved (energei) by the Holy Spirit, but rather are we taking away boastful pride, and we are showing them that God is wont to take away his grace from such persons. For God resists the proud, but he gives grace to the humble. Silas indeed then and Agabos became prophets in our time, and they did not exalt themselves over the Apostles, nor go beyond their measure, and yet they were the beloved of God. Further (de) also, even women prophesied in the old (testament), and Mariham the sister of Mōysēs and Aarōn, And (de) afterwards Debbōra, and after them Olla and Joudith, the one indeed in time of Jōsias, the other in time of Tarios. And (de) in the new (testament) also the Mother of the Lord prophesied, and Elisabet her kinswoman, and Anna the daughter of Phanouēl, And in our time the daughters of Philip: and these did not exalt themselves over the men, but kept (within) their measure. Wherefore (oukoun) if it be a woman indeed (de) or a man has partaken of such graces, let him be humble, that God may have pleasure in him. For he said:

Upon whom shall I look, except him who is humble and meek and those who tremble at my words? In the first (part) of this discourse (logos) we have declared concerning the gifts (kharisma) which God is wont to give to men according to his holy will, And how he rebuked the form of those who set to work to speak lies, being moved by the alien spirits; And that God is often wont to cause wicked ones (ponēros) to prophesy, and do signs and wonders. Now, then, the word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (kephalaion) of the ordinance of the Church, that ye who have been ordained bishops by us with the commandment of the Christ, when ye know this order (taxis) through us, may do every thing according to the commandment (entolē) which was delivered to you, Knowing that he who hears us is hearing the Christ, and he who hears the Christ is hearing God the Father, (to) whom (be) the glory for ever. Hamēn.

Concerning the Bishops

64. It is right then that the bishop should be ordained (*khirodonei*) as we have all in common previously commanded, being in the first place a chosen man, holy, choice in every thing, all the people (l. having chosen him: further (*de*), when he has been named and found acceptable, let all the people (l. with the presbyters and the honoured bishops assemble on the Lord's day, (*kyriakē*), And let the eldest who is among them ask of the presbyters and all the people (l. whether this man is he whom ye asked (*aitei*) to be your ruler (*arkhōn*). And when they shall have said: Yea, this is (he) in truth, Let him ask them again, whether ye all bear witness of him that he is worthy of this great leadership (*hēgemōn*), honourable and holy. And when they have established (*katorthou*) his piety (*eusebēs*) which he has toward God: And that he observed righteousness (*dikaion*) toward all men, and that he conducted (*oikonomei*) his house well, and that his whole life (*bios*) is sound, in no way reproachable, as also that of his household. And when they have all borne witness together, that such it is according to truth, and not according to an acceptance of person, God the Father and his only (*monogenēs*) Son Jesus the Christ and the Holy Spirit being judge (*kritēs*) of such things, Let them ask them again the third time, whether he is worthy of so great a kind of ministry (*litourgia*);

that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. And when they shall have said the third time that he is worthy, let them take from them all their votes (*synthyma*), And when they have given it readily, let there be a silence and stillness (*esychia*), and let one of the great bishops take with him two other bishops, while all the other bishops stand near the altar (*thysias-tērion*), praying in silence with the presbyters, (and) while all the deacons hold the holy Gospel spread open over the head of him who is ordained (*khirodonei*), Let the bishop pray to God for him: And when he has finished praying for him, let one of the bishops place the Oblation (*thysia*) upon the hands of him who is ordained (*kh.*), and let the other bishops set him upon the seat (*thronos*) which is proper (*prepei*) for him. And when they have saluted (*aspaze*) him with the salutation (*aspasmos*) which is in the Lord, let them read in the holy Gospels. And when they have finished reading the Gospel, let the bishop who has been ordained (*kh.* salute (a. all the church, saying: The grace (*kharis*) of our Lord Jesus the Christ, and the love (*agapē*) of God the Father, and the fellowship (*koinōnia*) of the Holy

Spirit (be) with you all. And let all of them answer: With thy spirit also. And when he has finished saying this, let him also speak (lit. say) to the people (l. with words of exhortation:

then (de) having finished his instruction, let the deacon mount upon a high place and proclaim (kyrisze): Let no unbeliever remain in this place. And thus when the bishop has finished all the prayers which it is right for him to make, whether for the sick and also the rest, Let the deacon say to them all: Salute (a. one another with a holy kiss. And let the clergy (klērikos) salute (a. the bishop, and let the laymen (l. salute (a. one another, and let the women also salute (a. the women. Let the children stand near the bēma; And let another deacon stand by them, that they may not make a noise (spatala) with one another, and let other deacons walk about watching (paratērei) the men and the women, that there may not be any disturbance among them, And that one should not beckon to another or whisper or go to sleep. Let a subdeacon stand at the door of the men, and let other deacons stand at the door of the women, that none may go out, and that they may not open the doors at the time of the holy Oblation (prosphora), even if it is a believer who is at the door. Then (de) let the subdeacon bring water, and let the priests wash their hands, for a sign of purity of their souls (ps.), lifted up to God the almighty (pantokratōr). And let another deacon cry out: Let no catechumen remain in this place.

Let not any of those who only hear the word, but who do not communicate (koinōnei) of the holy Mysteries, stand in this place. Let not any of the unbelievers remain. Let not any of the heretics (hairetikos) stand in this place with us to-day. Mothers hold your children. Let no one have a quarrel in his heart with another. Let none stand in this place in playing the hypocrite (hypokrine) or with hypocrisy (hypokrēsis). Be all of you sincere (lit. straight) toward the Lord God: let us stand in fear of God and trembling.

To Offer (Prospherin)

65. Further (de), when these things have been done, let the deacons bring the gifts (dōron) to the bishop at the holy altar (thysiaστήριον). And let the presbyters stand on the right hand and on the left hand of the bishop in silence (esykhia), in the form of disciples standing by their master. Let two other deacons stand on either side of the altar (th.), with thin fans in their hands made of something thin, or feathers of peacock, or again (entof) thin stoles (phakiarion), that they may cause to fly away the little flying creatures, so

that they may not go into the cup (potērion). And thus let the Chief Priest supplicate over the Oblation (prosphora), that the Holy Spirit may come upon it, And make the bread indeed Body of the Christ, and (de) the cup (p. Blood of the Christ. And when he has finished the prayers (proseukhē) which 5 it is right for him to say, let the bishop receive first, after him the presbyters, after them the deacons, And thus all the clergy (klērikos) according to order (taxis). And after them let all the people (l. receive. And (de) when the bishop gives, let him say: This is the Body of 10 the Christ, and let him who receives also answer: Hamēn. Then (de) likewise also the deacon who gives the cup (p.), let him say: This is the Blood of the Christ; this is the cup (p. of life. And let him also who receives answer: Hamēn.

And let them sing (psallei) while they are giving, 15 until all have finished communicating (synage). Further (de), when all shall have received, and when all the women also have received, and when the singer (psaltēs) has left off singing (psallei), Let the deacon call out, saying: We have all received of the Body and the precious 20 Blood of the Christ: let us give thanks (eukharistou) to him because he has made us worthy to partake (metekhe) of his Mysteries holy and immortal, belonging to the heavens. And afterwards let the bishop pray, giving thanks for the eating of the Body and the drinking 25 of the Blood of the Christ. Further (de), when he has finished praying, let the deacon say: Bend your head down to the Lord that he may bless you. And when they have received blessing, let the deacon say to them: Go in peace. Then (de) let the presbyters and the 30 deacons wrap up (systelei) the little (pieces) which will be left, being very careful (prosekhe) not to let much be over, that there may not come upon them very great condemnation (krima), like to the sons of Aarōn and the sons of Hēlei, whom the Holy Spirit smote (patasse) because they did not keep themselves from despising the sacrifice (thysia) of the Lord: How much more those who will despise (kataphronei) the Body and the Blood of the Lord, thinking that it is only bodily food (trophē) which they receive, and not spiritual.

These then (de) are the things which we command you, O bishops and presbyters and deacons, concerning the holy service of the Mysteries.

Concerning the Ordination (Kh.) of the Presbyters and the Deacons

66. But thou, O bishop, when thou ordainest (kh.) the presbyter, lay thy hand upon his head, while all the presbyters stand by and the deacons, pray and ordain (kh.) him: the deacon also thou shalt ordain (kh.) according to

the same ordinance. But as for the subdeacons and the readers (a.) and the deaconesses, we have already said that it is not right to ordain (kh.) them.

Concerning the Confessors

67. The confessor is not ordained (kh.); for this thing belongs to his resolution (gnōmē) and his endurance (hypomonē). For he is worthy of great honour, as having confessed the name of God and his Son before kings and the heathen (ethnos). But should there be need (khria) to make him bishop or presbyter or deacon, let him be ordained (kh.). If when he has not been ordained (kh.) a confessor should seize for himself the dignity (axioma) on account of his confession, let him be deposed (kathairou); for he is not an (ordained person), since he denied the commandment of the Christ, and he became worse than an unbeliever.

Concerning the Virgins

68. Let them not ordain (kh.) the virgins. We have no commandment (to do so) from the Lord. For this conflict (agōn) belongs to her purpose (prohairesis), and it is not in her case because of a despising of the marriage, but for having time for pious observances.

Concerning the Widows

69. The widows shall not be ordained (kh.). But if it is one whose husband died a long time ago, and she lived soberly, no charge being found against her, and she has taken good care of her household, like Joudith and venerable Anna, then let them enrol (tasse) her among the widows (khērikon). If indeed she has not waited long since her husband died, trust (pisteue) her not, but let her be proved (dokimaze) by time (khronos). The passions even are wont to grow old with the man who will give place for them in himself, unless they are reined in (khalinou) with a strong (lit. hard) bridle (khalinos). 70. The exorcists are not ordained (kh.); for the trial (athlon) belongs to the purposeful (prohairesis) 5 will, and to the grace (kharis) of God and the Christ Jesus, When the Holy Spirit rests on the man. For he who shall receive a grace of healing is made manifest by the revelation of God in causing the grace (kharis) of God which is in him to shine upon all men. If then there should be need (khria) for him to become bishop or presbyter or deacon, let him be ordained (kh.).

Concerning by How Many Bishops it is Right that a Bishop Should 15 Be Ordained (Kh.)

71. It is right that a bishop should be ordained (kh. by three bishops or two. And (de) if one bishop has ordained (kh. him, let him be deposed. But if necessity (anagkē) 20 obliged anyone to be ordained (kh. by one, because many could not assemble on account of persecution (diōgmos) which was outside, or for any other such cause (aitia), let him receive warrant (psiphos) from many other holy bishops, permitting (epeitrepe) this 25 (function) to him. The bishop blesses, he is not blessed, he ordains (kh.), he lays hand upon men, he offers the Oblation (prospora): he receives Eulogia from the bishops, but not from the presbyters. The bishop deposes (kathairou) every clergyman (klērikos) who is worthy to be deposed (k.): but to another bishop like himself it is impossible for him to do this alone. The presbyter also blesses, he receives Eulogia from a fellow-presbyter, and from the bishop, and he also gives to his fellow-presbyter, he lays hand upon men: but he does not ordain (kh.), 5 nor depose (k.), he puts out those who are below him: And (de) if there are any worthy to be punished (dimōrei), let him give (punishment). The deacon does not bless, nor does he give Eulogia; further (de), he receives from the presbyter and the bishop: he does not 10 baptise, nor does he offer the Oblation: But when the bishop or the presbyter offers, it is the deacon who gives the cup (potērion), not as priest, but as ministering (diakonei) to the priests:

it is not lawful (exestei) for any of the clergy (klērikos) to do the work of the deacon. The 15 deaconess does not bless, nor does she any work of those which the presbyter and deacon do, but she only keeps the doors, and does service (hyperetei) to the presbyters at the time when the women are to be baptised, because this is that which is proper (prepei). The deacon 20 shall put out the subdeacon, and reader, and singer, and deaconess, if the matter refers to them, the presbyter indeed being absent. It is not lawful (ex. for the subdeacon to put out the reader, and the singer, and the deaconess or layman, for they are the ministers of the 25 deacons.

Concerning the First-Fruits (Aparkhē) and the Tithes

30 72. All first-fruits (aparkhē) shall be brought to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons for them to eat. And (de) all tithes also shall be taken for the other clergy (klērikos) to eat, and the virgins, and the widows, and all

who are in poverty. For the first-fruits (ap.) belong to the priests alone, and those who do service (hyp.) for them.

Concerning the (Things) which Are Over of the Oblations (Prosphora) which Were Not Offered at the Time of the Mystery

73. The Eulogies (eulogia) which shall be over at the Mysteries, which were not offered, let the deacon divide among the clergy (klēros) according to the decision (gnōmē) of the bishop and the presbyters, so that four parts may be given to the bishop, and three may be given to the presbyter, two may be given to the deacon. But the others, namely, the subdeacons, and the readers, and the singers, and the deaconesses, that (one) part may be given to each; for this is good and acceptable before God, that each should be honoured (tima) according to his rank (axiōma). The Church is not the school of confusion but of good order (taxis).

Concerning Those who Come to Partake (Metekhe) of the Holy Mysteries

74. Further (de), those who will come to partake (m.) of the Mysteries of godliness, let them first be brought to the bishop or the presbyters by the deacons, And let them be asked by what cause (aitia) and for what thing have ye come to the words of the Lord: and (de) let those who bring them bear witness to them, having examined diligently about their deeds.

Concerning the Crafts (Tekhnē) and Occupations

75. Let them diligently inquire about their life: 10 whether they are slaves, and whether they are free (eleutheros). And if it is a slave, let them ask his master to bear witness to him: if he should not bear witness to him, let them reject him, until he is worthy of having witness borne to him by his master. If then (de) 15 he shall not bear witness to him, let him not be received. And if he should bear witness to him, let him be received. Further (de), if he is the slave of a heathen (hethnikos), let him be taught to please his master, that the word may not be blasphemed. And (de) if it is a 20 man who has a wife, or a woman who has a husband, let them be taught to be content with each other. But if they were not joined in marriage, let them be taught not to fornicate, but to be married according to the law. And if his master is a believer, (and) knows 25 that he fornicates, and does not give wife to him, or does not give husband to his slave, let that master be put out. Further (de), if it is one who hath a demon (daimōnion), let him indeed be taught piety (eusebēs), and (de) let him not be received to communicate 30 (koinōnei) of the Mys-

teries unless (eimētei) he has first been made clean; though (de) if death be imminent (epeige) upon him, let him be received.

If it is one who is a pander, either let him leave off his wicked form (of life) or let him be rejected. If a harlot should come, let her either leave off (her sin) or let her be rejected. If one who makes images (eidōlon) should come, either let him leave off or let him be rejected. If a man or woman who is (concerned) with the theatre (theadron) should come in, or a charioteer (eniokhos) or single combatant (monomakhos), or one who runs in the stadium (stadion), or a professional (dimōsios) single combatant (monomakhion), or engaged at Olympic games (olympiakos), or piper (chōlaurēs), or harper (kitharōtos), Or singer to the lyre (lyra), or dancing-master (orkhistēs), or huckster (kapēllos), either let them leave off or let them be rejected. If a soldier should come, let him be taught not to do violence, Nor to slander anyone; further (de), let him be taught to be satisfied with his pay (opsōnion) which is given to him: if then (de) he should be persuaded (peithe), let him be received, but if he should refuse (antilige), let him be rejected.

One who does the abomination, namely, he who lies with male, or a lascivious man, or a magician (magos), or a raiser of sedition (stasiastes), or a charmer, or an astrologer (astrologos), namely, an appointer of hours, or a diviner, or a serpent charmer, or a maker of phylacteries (ph.), or a charmer who bewitches, or an augur, or he who gives sign by any kind of vessel, or an interpreter of the movements of limbs (melos) when they twitch, or who avoids meeting the blind and lame, or who watches for (paratēreis) birds calling or cats (kalē), or one who attends to the words which men say, in order to get a sign: let such as these be proved (dok. by time (khrōnos); for this wickedness (kakia) is very hard to wash off. If indeed they should leave off doing these things, let them be received, but if they will not be persuaded (peithe), let them be rejected. A concubine (pallakē) of an unbeliever, if indeed she is his slave and devotes herself (scholaze) to him, let her be received. But if she defiles herself with others, let her be rejected. But a believer who has a concubine (pall.), if indeed she is a slave, let him put her away, and let him marry according to the law; but if she is a freewoman, let him live with her, and (de) if he is not willing, let him be rejected.

One who is a follower of heathen (hethnos) customs, or Jewish fables, either let him leave off or let him be rejected. One who is mad to gaze

(theōrei) in the theatre (th.), or the hunt (kynēkion), or in the horse-racings (hyppikos), or in the contests (agōn) (of men), either let him leave off or let him be rejected. He who is appointed to become catechumen, let him be instructed (kathēgei) three years: But if one is diligent (spoudaios), being eager for the work, let him be accepted without delay: for it is not the time (khr. which is judged (krine) but the character (trōpos). And (de) he who instructs, if he is a layman, instructing (paideue) in the word, and being respectable (semnos) in his character (trōpos), let him instruct; for they shall all be taught of God, said the prophet. Further (de), when the believing man or woman rises early from sleep, before they do any work, let them wash their hands and pray.

And (de) if there should be the instruction (kathēgēsis) of the word, let them choose the word of piety for themselves more than anything else. Further (de), let every believing man or woman behave (prosekhe) towards his slaves with mildness, according as we have commanded you in time past (lit. behind), and we instructed them thus in the Epistles (epistolē). Let the slaves spend five days doing work, but on the sabbath (sabbaton) and Lord's day (kyriakē) let them devote themselves to the church, that they may be instructed in piety (eusebēs) of godliness. The sabbath (s. indeed because the Lord rested on it from finishing all the creation, And (de) the Lord's day (k. because it is the day of the resurrection of the Lord. And (de) let them not work also in the week (hebdomas) of the great Paskha, and that which comes after it, which is the festival: the one indeed because the Lord was crucified in it, And (de) the other because he rose from the dead in it; For it is needful (khria) that they should know by the instruction who died and rose. And (de) let them not work also on the Ascension, because the dispensation (oikonomia) of the Lord was finished on that day. Nor let them work on the Pentēkostē, because of the coming (parrousia) of the Holy Spirit, which (sc. the coming) came upon us the Apostles and all who believe in the Christ.

Let them not also work on the Birthday of the Christ, because of the grace (kharis) which was suddenly given to men on that day, by God the Word (logos) of the Father being born of the holy Theodōkos, Maria the virgin, for the salvation of all the race (genos) of men. And (de) let them not work also on the festival of the washing, for that was the day when the God-head of the Christ was manifested; the Father bore witness to him at the baptism, And the Holy Spirit came upon him in likeness of dove, and he was

manifested who bore witness to those who stood by that this is the true God and the Son of God in truth. Let them not work on the days of the Apostles; for they were those who became instructors for you unto the Christ, and they caused you to be worthy to partake (metekhe) in the free gift (dōraia) of the Holy Spirit. Let them not work on the day of Stephanos the martyr and chief deacon, and the other holy martyrs, who loved the Christ more than their own lives. Further (de), when ye rise at the hour of morning, pray. Pray also at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at evening, and the hour when the cock will crow. The hour indeed of the light because the Lord enlightened us, he caused the night to pass away, he brought to us also the light of the day.

And (de) the third because Pilatos gave sentence (apophasis) upon the Lord at that hour. And (de) the sixth because the Christ was crucified (strou) at that hour, and his side having been pierced blood and water came out. And (de) the ninth also because when the Lord was crucified (st. all the earth shook, trembling at the audacity (tolmēria) of the godless Jews; it (lit. they) could not bear to see its (their) Lord derided: but at evening ye shall give thanks, because he gave to you the night for rest from the labours of the day. And (de) at the hour when the cock will crow ye shall pray, because (then) is proclaimed to you the coming (parrousia) of day, in which ye shall go to the works of light which ye will do. If ye cannot go to the church because of the unbelievers, Thou, then (de), O bishop, shalt make the synaxis (plural) in thy house, that the godly may not assemble with the impious (asebēs): for it is not the place (topos) which sanctifies the man, but it is the man who sanctifies 5 the place (topos). If the impious (asebēs) take possession of the place (topos), flee from it, because they polluted it. For as the holy men sanctify the place (topos), so also those who are not holy pollute it.

If it is impossible to assemble together either in the house or 10 in the church, let each sing (psallei) by himself, let him read, let him pray, or otherwise when there are with one another two or (ē) three. For he said: Where two or three assemble in my name I am with them in their midst. Let not the believer pray in the houses of the 15 catechumens; for it is not right (dikaion) that he who communicates (koinōnei) of the holy Mysteries should touch those who do not communicate (koi.), Nor let the godly pray in the house of the heretics (hraitikos). For what is the communion (koinōnia) of the light with the 20 darkness, or what is the part (meris) of

the Christ with Belear. If a believing man or woman should live with a servant, either let them be separated or let them be rejected from the Church.

CONCERNING WHAT ARE THE DAYS 25 WHICH IT IS RIGHT TO OBSERVE (lit. — Do) for Those who Have Fallen Asleep

76. Let them observe the third for those who have 30 fallen asleep with psalms (psalmos) and prayers, because of him who rose from the dead after three days. And let them observe their seventh, commemorating those who are alive with those who have fallen asleep. And (de) let them also observe their month, on the 5 ancient (arkhaion) pattern (typos), for thus the people (l. mourned for Mōysēs. And let them observe their year for a sign of their remembrance, giving to the poor from the goods of him who died, in memory of him. But these things we are saying concerning the godly 10 only: but as for the ungodly, even if thou gavest all the things in the world to the poor for them thou wouldst not do them any benefit (ōphelei). For to them to whom God is enemy in this world, he will still be enemy after they have gone from this world; for there is no 15 iniquity with him. The Lord is righteous, he loved righteousness, and also: Behold the man and his work. Further (de), if you should be invited on their days, eat in comely fashion and fear of God, as (hōs) having power to intercede (presbeue) for those who have 20 departed from this world: being presbyters and deacons of the Christ, Ye ought therefore to be sober (nēphe) always by yourselves and with others, that ye may be able to instruct these ignorant ones. For the Scripture says: 'These great ones are wrathful:

let them not 25 drink wine lest they drink and become forgetful of wisdom, and be unable to judge (krine) the right.' Wherefore (oukoun) after God the almighty (pantokratōr) and his beloved Son Jesus the Christ and the Holy Spirit the bishops and the presbyters are the great ones of the Church. But in saying these things we are not forbidding (kōly) them to drink, for we have no power to despise what God has made for the cheerfulness of men; but we are commanding them not to drink and be drunken. For the Scripture did not say that they were not to drink wine at all, but what does it say? 'Drink not wine,' it says, 'to be drunken.' And again: 'Thorns grow up in the hand of the drunkard': and (de) we are not saying it for the clergy (klērikos) alone, but for the lay (l. Christians also, they over whom has been pronounced the name of the Christ Jesus our Lord. For these words were also said for them: 'To whom shall be woe? And to whom confusion? and to

whom condemnation? and to whom evil babbling and gratuitous contentions? or whose eyes are bloodshot? Is it not they who wait long at wine, and seek where there may be places of drink?’

CONCERNING THOSE WHO ARE PERSE-CUTED (DIŌKEI) BECAUSE OF THE FAITH, AND THOSE WHO FLEE TOGETHER FROM CITY TO CITY BECAUSE OF THE FAITH, SO THAT THEY MAY HELP (BOĒTHEI) THEM TOGETHER 77. Receive those who are persecuted (d.) for the faith, and pursued from city to city, because of the remembrance of the words of the Lord, knowing indeed that the spirit indeed is ready, but the flesh is weak (asthenēs). For this cause they flee, and they suffer the spoiling of their goods, that they might keep for them the name of the Christ, not having denied him. Help (b.) them and give to them according to their need (khria), and fulfil the commandment (entolē) of the Lord. 78. This then (de) we prescribe (paraggeile) to you all in common, that each one should remain in the order (daxis) which was delivered to him, and that ye should not transgress the measure and limit which was limited to you; for they are not ours, but they are (the limits) of God: For the Lord said: ‘He who hears you is hearing me, and he who despiseth (athetei) you is despising me; and (de) he who despiseth me is despising him who sent me.’ For if things without life (apsychon) which he made keep their order (taxis) perfect—namely the night and the day, the sun and the moon, the stars, the elements (stoikhion), the changes (trōpē), namely the variation of the times, the months, the weeks (hebdomas), the hours, are subservient to the need (kh. whereunto he limited them, according to what he said: ‘He set for them a limit, they cannot pass over it.’ He says also concerning the sea: ‘I have set for it a limit, and (de) I have given bars to it and gates (pylē), and (de) I have said to it: Thus far shalt thou reach, and ye shall not pass it.’ If the elements (st. transgress not the limits which God the creator (dymiourgos) of the universe defined (horize) for them, much more (poly mallōn) is it right for you yourselves not to dare (tolma) to move any of those things which God defined (hōrize) for you according to his holy will.

Since many have reckoned this to be nothing, namely to confuse the orders (taxis), and to dare (t. to change the ordination (khirodonia) with which they were ordained, grasping for themselves dignities 5 (axioma) which were not given to them, And allowing (epeitrepe) themselves tyrannically (dyrannos) to grant (kharize) to others the things over which they

have no authority (exousia); For this cause they provoke God like the sons of Kore and Osias the king, who grasped for themselves the chief priesthood without (the will of) God: For this cause those indeed were burned with fire, and (de) he also was defiled in his forehead. They make the Christ Jesus indignant, he who commanded that these things should be so; and they grieve (lupei) 15 the Holy Spirit, despising (athetei) his witness. We are knowing therefore now truly the danger which is imminent upon those who do such works, and the neglect (amelia) which comes upon the sacrifices (thysia) and the eucharists, When they are offered by those who have no right to do so, who think that the honour of the chief priesthood, which resembles the great (and) true Chief Priest Jesus the Christ our King, is a thing of sport. For this cause necessity (anakgē) constrained us to give you this advice (synbouleue), for henceforth some turned away after their vanity. Further (de), we say that Mōysēs the servant of God, to whom God spoke face to face as one speaks to his friend, who said to him:

I know thee above (para) all men, Who spoke to him mouth to mouth, by his likeness and not by a resemblance, not in signs and in dreams, or (by) angels, or (in) 30 enigmas (ainigma), This one indeed, at the time when he commanded the law of the Lord, defined (hō. what things indeed it was right to be done by the priests, And (de) what also were the works of the levites, having separated that which was proper (prepei) for each and suitable for his service (litourgia). And those things which the chief priests were commanded to do, it was against the law for the priests to go to them. To those which were defined (hō. for the priests, the levites approach not. But each was keeping himself from overstepping the service which he received. When anyone took upon him (epeicheirei) to overstep the commission (paradosis) which was delivered to him, death was the punishment (epeitimia): and (de) this is made very plain by what happened to Saul. For having thought to offer sacrifice (thysia) apart from the prophet and chief priest Samouël, he brought upon himself a great sin and an everlasting curse. But not even did the prophet spare him because of the unction with which he was anointed. God also showed to us by a great work, evident in the things which happened to Ozias:

he delayed not in taking vengeance on him for the lawlessness (paranoia) which he committed, having put him out of the kingship also, because of the chief priesthood which he coveted (epithyme). And (de) it will be also

(that) ye are not ignorant of the things which have been defined. For ye know that some indeed we have called Bishop, and (de) others, Presbyter, and others, Deacon, with prayer and imposition of hand, having taught them the difference of the works by the difference of the names. For it is not indeed our wont that he who is willing to fill our hands should be able to receive from us what he wished for, after the fashion of the priests of the calves, whom Jeroboam made, those who were despicable and reprobate before God and men. For if there was no law and difference of order (taxis) it would have sufficed to perform the whole (ministration) in one name. But having been taught by the Lord a succession (akoulouthia) of the works, For the bishops indeed we assigned the chief priesthood, And (de) the presbyters also the things which belong to the priesthood, And (de) again the deacons the service (diakonia) which is done for them both (sc. bishop and priest); that the (meaner) works of the ministry might be performed in a sacred (manner). For neither is it right for the deacons to offer sacrifice (thysia), or baptise, or to give the Eulogia to small or great, Nor for the presbyters to ordain (khirodonei).

For it is not right (dikaion) to transfer the orders (daxis), For God is not (the author) of confusion, so that those of inferior order should grasp for themselves in a tyrannical (manner) (d. the things which belong to their superiors, fashioning (plasse) for themselves a new law unto their own destruction, being ignorant that it is harder for them to kick against the pricks than this. For such men oppose not us the bishops, but they are opposing the great bishop of the universe and the great Chief Priest, our Lord Jesus the Christ, the Son of God and truly God. For Chief Priests and priests and levites were appointed (kathista) by Möysēs the prophet and the lover of God. Again, the twelve Apostles also were appointed by God our Saviour. And (de) by the Apostles we were appointed, I Klēmēs and Jakōbos, and many others with us, not to mention each of all (the rest). We also ourselves all in common appointed presbyters and deacons and sub-deacons and readers (anagnostēs). The first, then, now is the true Chief Priest, the lawgiver (nomothetēs), the Christ, he who did not grasp for himself the honour, but it was the Father who appointed (k. him. He having become Chief Priest for us, and having offered the spiritual sacrifice (thysia) to God his Father before he was crucified (strou), commanded us alone to do these things. Although there were others with us who believed him:

but certainly (pantōs) it does not belong to all who believed him to become priest, nor to be worthy of the dignity (axioma) of the Chief Priesthood. After he was taken up (analambane), we, according to the grace which he gave to us, and according to his command, offered a living, holy, bloodless sacrifice (thysia), We (ean) appointed bishops and presbyters and deacons, their number being seven. Among whom was Stephanos the blessed (makarios) martyr, being not inferior to us in the love which he had toward God: but he displayed his godliness by the faith and the love (agapē) which he had toward the Christ Jesus our Lord so thoroughly, that he gave up his life (psyche) for him, When the Jews, the murderers of the Lord, stoned (and) killed him. But nevertheless (hōmos) this man of such greatness, fervent with the Holy Spirit, this so great arch-deacon, Who saw the gates of the heavens open, and Jesus the Lord standing at the right hand of God his Father, was not shown forth in any place as making use (khrō) of that which was not proper for the diaconate and those who are in it, (such as) to offer sacrifice (thysia), or lay hand upon any; but he was keeping to the order (daxis) of the diaconate until the end. For this is what was proper (prepei) for the holy martyr of the Christ to fulfil his course, keeping his right order (eutaxia).

If some, then, of you find fault with Philip the deacon and Ananias the believing brother, because the one indeed baptised the eunuch, And (de) the other baptised me, even Paul, they are ignorant of what we say. For we have said, that no one grasps for himself the dignity (ax. of the priesthood, but he receives it from God, like Melkhizedek and Jakōb the Patriarch, or he receives it from the chief priest like Aarōn, who received it from Mōysēs. Wherefore (oukoun) Philip and Ananias were not those who chose for themselves to do those things of their own accord, but it was the Christ who commissioned them, the true Chief Priest, God unto whom no other god can be compared. Finished are the Canons (kanōn) of the holy fathers the Apostles. Chapters (kephalaion) 78. Egō Zakarias boēthei āmn.

The Decrees of Pope Fabian

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

A few decrees, taken from Gratian's Decretum, that are put under the name of Pope Fabian. Like the other papal letters in this collection, they belong to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

TAKEN FROM THE DECRETAL OF GRATIAN

¹Decrees of Fabian. Taken from the Decretal of Gratian. I. That the man who refuses to be reconciled to his brother should be reduced by the severest fastings. If any injured person refuses to be reconciled to his brother, when he who has injured him offers satisfaction, he should be reduced by the severest fastings, even until he accepts the satisfaction offered him with thankful mind. II. The man is rendered infamous who knowingly presumes to forswear himself. Whosoever has knowingly forsworn himself, should be put for forty days on bread and water, and do penance also for the seven following years; and he should never be without penance; and he should never be admitted to bear witness. After this, however, he may enjoy communion. III. A man and a woman subject to madness cannot enter into marriage. Neither can a mad man nor a mad woman enter into the marriage relation. But if it has been entered, then they shall not be separated.

²IV. Marriage relations in the fifth generation may unite with each other; and in the fourth generation, if they are found, they should not be separated. Concerning relations who enter affinity by the connection of husband and wife, these, on the decease of wife or husband, may form a union in the fifth generation; and in the fourth, if they are found, they should not be separated. In the third degree of relationship, however, it is not lawful for one to take the wife of another on his death. In an equable manner, a man may be united in marriage after his wife's death with those who are his own kinswomen, and with the kinswomen of his wife. To the immediately preceding notice. Those who marry a wife allied by blood, and are separated, shall not

be at liberty, as long as both parties are alive, to unite other wives with them in marriage, unless they can plead the excuse of ignorance.

3 V. Blood connections alone, or, if offspring entirely fails, the old and trustworthy, should reckon the matter of propinquity in the synod. No alien should accuse blood connections, or reckon the matter of consanguinity in the synod, but relations to whose knowledge it pertains,—that is, father and mother, sister and brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, and their children. If, however, offspring entirely fails, the bishop shall make inquiry canonically of the older and more trustworthy persons to whom the same relationship may be known; and if such relationship is found, the parties should be separated. VI. Every one of the faithful should communicate three times a year. Although they may not do it more frequently, yet at least three times in the year should the laity communicate, unless one happen to be hindered by any more serious offences,—to wit, at Easter, and Pentecost, and the Lord's Nativity.

4 VII. A presbyter should not be ordained younger than thirty years of age. If one has not completed thirty years of age, he should in no way be ordained as presbyter, even although he may be extremely worthy; for even the Lord Himself was baptized only when He was thirty years of age, and at that period He began to teach. It is not right, therefore, that one who is to be ordained should be consecrated until he has reached this legitimate age.

OTHER DECREES

The Decrees of the Same, from the Codex of Decrees in Sixteen Books, from the Fifth Book, and the Seventh and Ninth Chapters. I. That the oblation of the altar should be made each Lord's day. We decree that on each Lord's day the oblation of the altar should be made by men and women in bread and wine, in order that by means of these sacrifices they may be released from the burden of their sins. II. That an illiterate presbyter may not venture to celebrate mass. The sacrifice is not to be accepted from the hand of a priest who is not competent to discharge the prayers or actions (*actiones*) and other observances in the mass according to religious usage.

The Epistle of Pope Anterus

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

A letter in the name of Pope Anterus on the moving of bishops from one see to another. It belongs to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

¹Pope Anterus. The Epistle. On the translation of bishops and of episcopal seats. To the brethren, most dearly beloved, constituted to be bishops in the provinces of Boetica and Toletana, Bishop Anterus sends greeting in the Lord. I should wish, my dearest brethren, always to receive the glad account of your sincere love and peace, so that the signs of your welfare might be promoted in turn by the dissemination of our letters among you, if our ancient enemy should give us quiet and deliverance from his attacks; who was a liar from the beginning, the enemy of the truth, the rival of man—in order to deceive whom he first deceived himself,—the adversary of modesty, the master of luxury. He feeds on cruelties; he is punished by abstinence; he hates fasts, and his ministers preach, to that effect, as he declares them to be superfluous, having no hope of the future, and echoing that sentence of the apostle, in which he says, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die.” O miserable boldness! O subtlety of a desperate mind! For he exhorts to hatred, and puts concord to flight. And because the mind of man is easily drawn over to the worse part, and chooses rather to walk by the broad way than laboriously to take its course by the narrow way, for this reason, brethren most dearly beloved, follow ye the better, and always leave the worse behind you. Do good, avoid evil, in order that ye may be found to be the disciples of the Lord in truth.

²Now, of the transference of bishops, on which subject it has been your wish to consult the holy seat of the apostles, know ye that that may lawfully be done for the sake of the common good, or when it is absolutely necessary, but not at the mere will or bidding of any individual. Peter, our holy master,

and the prince of the apostles, was translated for the sake of the common good from Antioch to Rome, in order that he might be in a position there of doing more service. Eusebius also was transferred from a certain minor city to Alexandria by apostolic authority. In like manner Felix, on account of the doctrine and the good life which he maintained, was translated by the common consent of the bishops and the other priests, and the people from the city in which, on the election of the citizens, he had been ordained, to Ephesus. For that man is not chargeable with shifting from city to city who does not do that of his own inclination or by the force of ambition, but who is transferred for the general good, or in virtue of some necessity, by the counsel and with the consent of the chief parties.

³ Nor can he be said to transfer himself from a smaller city to a larger, who is placed in that position not by his own self-seeking or his own choice, but either as being driven out of his own proper seat by force, or as being compelled by some necessity, and who without pride and in humility has been translated and installed there by others for the good of the place or the people: for man looketh on the countenance, but the Lord seeth the heart. And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says, "The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are vanity. That man, therefore, does not change his seat who does not change his mind. Nor does he change his city who is changed not of his own will, but by the decision and election of others. And accordingly he does not shift from city to city who does not leave his own city for the sake of gain to himself, or of his own choice, but who, as has already been said, has been translated to another city either in consequence of being driven out of his own seat, or compelled by some necessity, or in virtue of the election and injunction of the priests and people. For as the bishops have power regularly to ordain bishops and other orders of priests, so, as often as any matter of advantage or necessity constrains them, they have power in the above-mentioned manner both to transfer and to install.

⁴ As ye have asked our opinion in these matters, though they are not subjects unknown to you, we give you these things in charge to hold them, lest, through the ignorance of some, that which is better and more profitable be avoided, and what is more profitless be taken up, even as we read in the holy Gospel: "Woe unto you, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other un-

done. Ye blind guides, which strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. What is lawful is with them not lawful, and what is not lawful is lawful. Even as Jannes and Mambres resisted the truth, so do they, being reprobate in mind, and lovers of pleasure rather than of God, teach that that is unlawful which is lawful, to wit, that bishops should shift from city to city in the manner already noted; and what is unlawful they teach as lawful, to wit, to omit to show mercy to those who endure straits: that is to say, they deny that a bishop belonging to another city should be bestowed for good, or for necessity's sake, upon those who have no bishop, and who want the sacred episcopal ministry; and that another episcopal seat should be assigned to bishops who endure persecution or straits. They contradict the sacred Scripture also, which testifies that God desireth mercy rather than judgment.

5 What greater charity, I pray you, can there be, or what more profitable service of piety, on the part of any one to another, than to deliver him from the darkness of ignorance and the thick darkness of inexperience, and restore him, in fine, by the nutriment of the doctrine of the true faith, not for gain indeed, or ambition, but for instruction and edification? [For he becomes, so to speak, the hand for the maimed, the foot for the lame, the eye for the blind, who unlocks the treasure of wisdom and knowledge to one wrapped in the darkness of ignorance, and opens up to such an one the brightness of the light and the ways of the Lord.] 6 Now for both parties—namely, for those who endure a famine of the word of God, and for bishops who endure straits, when they are installed in other cities for the common good—no small degree of mercy is shown. And they who deny this, although they have the form of godliness, do yet deny the power thereof. For in such a matter I make no recognition of race (*prosapiam*). If, however, any one of the wise, whom the stress of this storm (or season) has allied with other leaders among the unwise, is stained with a participation in their deeds, yet the excellence of the wise man, although he may chance to be privy to their offences, makes him incapable of giving himself as a leader to sinners. The cause of public good and necessity is one thing, and the cause of self-seeking, and presumption, or private inclination, is another thing. On account of self-seeking, or presumption, or private inclination, bishops are not to be transferred from one city to another, but only on account of public good and necessity. And this is a matter which no one denies, except those of whom it is said, “They have erred through wine; they have not known the

seer; they have been ignorant of judgment. For if I were constrained to open up in narration things that have been brought to end, I would show you that no comfort comes from the comparison of such deeds.

7 But, most dearly beloved, “stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths of the Lord, and see what is the good way and the right, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. And, to speak according to the word of Wisdom: “Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth. Think of the Lord in goodness, and in simplicity of heart seek Him. For He is found of them that tempt Him not, and showeth Himself unto such as do not distrust Him. For froward thoughts separate from God; and His power, when it is tried, reproveth the unwise. For into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin. For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide when unrighteousness cometh in. For wisdom is a benign spirit, and will not acquit a blasphemer of His words. For God is witness of his reins, and a true beholder of his heart, and a hearer of his tongue. For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice. Therefore he that speaketh unrighteous things cannot be hid; neither shall vengeance, when it punisheth, pass by him. For inquisition shall be made into the counsels of the ungodly. And the sound of his words shall come unto the Lord, and unto the manifestation of his wicked deeds;

8 for the ear of jealousy heareth all things, and the noise of murmurings shall not be hid. Therefore beware of murmuring, which is unprofitable; and refrain your tongue from backbiting, for there is no word so secret that it shall go for nought. The mouth that beliieth slayeth the soul. Seek not death in the error of your life, and pull not upon yourself destruction with the works of your hands; for God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living. For He created all things that they might have their being, and He wished the nations of the world to be healthful. There is no poison of destruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth of the living. Righteousness is perpetual and immortal, but unrighteousness is the acquisition of death. And ungodly men with their hands and words called it to them; and when they thought to have it their friend, they consumed to nought, and made a covenant with it; because they are worthy of death who take part with it. “For they said, reasoning with themselves, but

not aright, The time of our life is short and tedious; and in the death of a man there is no remedy, neither was there any man known to have returned from the grave. For we are born of nothing, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been. For the breath in our nostrils is as smoke, and speech is a little spark for the moving of our heart;

9 which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air. And our life shall pass as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist that is driven away with the beams of the sun, and overcome with the heat thereof. And our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance. For our time is a very shadow that passeth away, and after our end there is no returning; for it is fast sealed, and no man shall come again. And for this reason every one must see to it that he keep himself with all care, and watch himself for his own good, so that when his last day and the end of his life come upon him, he may not pass over to everlasting death, but to eternal life. For the deeds of those put under us are judged by us, but our own doth God judge. Sometimes, moreover, bishops are perverted through the fault of the people, to the end that those fall more precipitately who follow them. When the head languisheth, the other members of the body are affected thereby. And viler are those who corrupt the life and morals of the good, than those who spoil the property and goods of others. Let each one take care that he have neither an itching tongue nor itching ears;

10 that is to say, that he neither be a detractor of others himself, nor listen to others in their detractions. "Thou sattest," saith he, "and spakest against thy brother; and thou didst slander thine own mother's son. Let every individual abstain from a detracting tongue, and keep a guard upon his own words, and understand that all that they say of others shall enter into the judgment wherewith they themselves shall be judged. No one readily refers to an unwilling auditor. Let it be the care of all of you, most dearly beloved, to keep not only your eyes, but also your tongue, pure. And let not another house ever know by your means what is done in any man's house. Let all have the simplicity of the dove, that they devise not guile against any one; and the subtlety of the serpent, that they be not ever thrown by the crafty designs of others. It does not belong to my humble station and measure to judge others, and to say anything unfavourable of the ministers of the churches. Far be it from me that I should say anything unfavourable of those

who are the successors to the apostolic status, and make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth; by whose instrumentality we too are Christians, and who have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and exercise judgment before the day of judgment.

¹¹ Moreover, it is contained in the ancient law, that whoever has not given obedience to the priests should either be stoned outside the camp by the people, or with his neck beneath the sword should expiate his presumption by his blood. ¹² Now, however, the disobedient is cut off by spiritual chastisement; and being cast out of the church, is torn by the rabid mouth of demons. For it becomes those who have God in their heritage, to serve God free from all the hindrances of the world, so that they may be able to say, "The Lord is the portion of mine inheritance. "O how good and pleasant is Thy Spirit, O Lord, in all things! And Thou sparest all because they are Thine, O Lord, who lovest souls. Therefore chastenest Thou them by little and little that offend, and warnest them of those things wherein they offend, and dost address them, that leaving their wickedness, they may believe on Thee, O Lord. "But Thou, our God, art gracious and true, long-suffering, and in mercy ordering all things. For if we sin, we are Thine, knowing Thy power. And if we sin not, we know that we are counted Thine. "The spirit of those that fear the Lord shall be required of him; and in His regard they shall be blessed. Wherefore, most beloved brethren, "let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption. Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice.

¹³ And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you. "Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour. But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks. For this know ye, understanding that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of

these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not ye therefore partakers with them. For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord: walk as children of light (for the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth), proving what is acceptable unto the Lord. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret. But all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever is made manifest (*manifestatur*) is light. Wherefore He saith, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.

¹⁴ See then that ye walk circumspectly, brethren, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is. And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Holy Spirit; speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord; giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ. Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the tradition of the apostles and the apostolic seat, "that our Lord Jesus Christ and our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, may comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good work and word. "Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you, and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith. But the Lord is faithful, who shall stablish you, and keep you from evil. Wherefore set your hearts continually in the strength (virtute) of God, and always resist the wicked, and tell these things, according to the word of the prophet, "to the generations following; for this God is our God unto eternity, and He will rule us for ever and ever.

¹⁵ Hence ye who are set for examples (in specula) by the Lord, ought by all means to check and keep back those who devise crafty counsels against the brethren, or excite against them seditions and slanders. For it is an easy thing to deceive man with a word, but it is not so with the Lord. Wherefore ye ought to reprehend such persons, and turn away from them, to the end that, all darkness of this manner being completely done away, the Morning Star may shine upon them, and gladness arise in their hearts. "And we have

confidence in the Lord touching you, brethren, that ye both do and will do the things which we command you. For the more ye show forth your kindnesses to them, the greater a return have ye to look for from the omnipotent God whom they serve. May the omnipotent God keep you in His protection, and grant you to maintain honour and precept; and may glory and honour be to God the Father Almighty, and to His only-begotten Son our Saviour, with the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹⁶ Given on the 12th day before the kalends of April (the 21st of March), in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximianus and Africanus.

The Epistle of Pope Urban I

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

A letter in the name of Pope Urban I to all Christians, on the property of the church. It belongs to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

PREFACE

The Epistle of Pope Urban First. To All Christians. Of the church's receiving only the property of the faithful, and not the price of the same, as in the times of the apostles; and as to why elevated seats should be prepared in the churches for the bishops; and as to the fact that no one should have intercourse with those whom the bishops excommunicate, and that no one should receive those whom they have cast out in any manner whatever. Urban, bishop, to all Christians, in sanctification of the spirit, in obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, greeting. It becomes all Christians, most dearly beloved, to imitate Him whose name they have received. "What doth it profit, my brethren," says the Apostle James, "though a man say he hath faith, and have not works?" "My brethren, be not many masters, knowing that ye receive (sumitis) the greater condemnation; for in many things we offend all." "Let him who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you, show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom."

CHAPTER 1

1 I. Of the life in common, and of the reason why the Church has begun to hold property. 2 We know that you are not ignorant of the fact that hitherto the principle of living with all things in common has been in vigorous operation among good Christians, and is still so by the grace of God; and most of all among those who have been chosen to the lot of the Lord, that is to say, the clergy, even as we read in the Acts of the Apostles: "And the multitude of

them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, the son of consolation), a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet; and so forth.

³ Accordingly, as the chief priests and others, and the Levites, and the rest of the faithful, perceived that it might be of more advantage if they handed over to the churches over which the bishops presided the heritages and fields which they were in the way of selling, inasmuch as they might furnish a larger and better maintenance for the faithful who hold the common faith, not only in present but also in future times, out of the revenues of such property than out of the money for which they might at once be sold, they began to consign to the mother churches the property and lands which they were wont to sell, and got into the manner of living on the revenues of these.

CHAPTER 2

¹ II. Of the persons by whom, and the uses for which, ecclesiastical property should be managed, and of the invaders thereof. ² The property, moreover, in the possession of the several parishes was left in the hands of the bishops, who hold the place of the apostles; and it is so to this day, and ought to be so in all future time. And out of those possessions the bishops and the faithful as their stewards ought to furnish to all who wish to enter the life in common all necessities as they best can, so that none may be found in want among them. For the possessions of the faithful are also called oblations, because they are offered to the Lord. They ought not therefore to be turned to any other uses than those of the Church, and in behoof of Christian brethren before mentioned, and of the poor; for they are the offerings of the faithful, and they are redemption moneys for sins (*pretia peccatorum*), and the patrimony of the poor, and are given over to the Lord for the purpose already named. But if any one act otherwise (which may God forbid), let him take care lest he meet the condemnation of Ananias and Sapphira, and be found

guilty of sacrilege, as those were who lied as to the price of the property designated, of whom we read thus in the before-cited passage of the Acts of the Apostles: "But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold land (agrum), and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part, and laid it at the apostles' feet.

³ But Peter said to Ananias, Why hath Satan tempted (tentavit) thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto the Lord. And Ananias, hearing these words, fell down, and gave up the ghost. And great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men arose, and removed him (amoverunt), and carried him out, and buried him. And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, and said, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. Then Peter said unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost. And the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon all the Church, and upon as many as heard these things. These things, brethren, are carefully to be guarded against, and greatly to be feared.

⁴ For the property of the Church, not being like personal, but like common property, and property offered to the Lord, is to be dispensed with the deepest fear, in the spirit of faithfulness, and for no other objects than the above-named, lest those should incur the guilt of sacrilege who divert it from the hands to which it was consigned, and lest they should come under the punishment and death of Ananias and Sapphira, and lest (which is yet worse) they should become anathema maranatha, and lest, though their body may not fall dead like that of Ananias and Sapphira, their soul, which is nobler than the body, should fall dead, and be cut off from the company of the faithful, and sink into the depths of the pit. Wherefore all must give heed to this matter, and watch in faithfulness, and avert the dishonour of such usurpation, lest possessions dedicated to the uses of things secret (or sacred) and heavenly be spoiled by any parties invading them. And if any one do

so, then, after the sharp vengeance which is due to such a crime, and which is justly to be carried out against the sacrilegious, let him be condemned to perpetual infamy, and cast into prison or consigned to life-long exile. For, according to the apostle, we ought to deliver such a man to Satan, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

CHAPTER 3

III. As to any one's attempting to take from the Church the right of holding property. By the increase, therefore, and the mode of life which have been mentioned, the churches over which the bishops preside have grown so greatly with the help of the Lord, and the greater part of them are now in possession of so much property, that among them there is not a man who, selecting the life in common, is kept in poverty; but such an one receives all necessities from the bishop and his ministers. Therefore, if any one in modern or in future time shall rise up and attempt to divert that property, let him be smitten with the judgment which has been already mentioned.

CHAPTER 4

IV. Of the seats of the bishops. Furthermore, as to the fact that in the churches of the bishops there are found elevated seats set up and prepared like a throne, they show by these that the power of inspection and of judging, and the authority to loose and bind, are given to them by the Lord. Whence the Saviour Himself says in the Gospel, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And elsewhere: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose soever sins ye remit, are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained."

CHAPTER 5

V. That no one should have intercourse with those with whom the bishop has no intercourse, or receive those whom he rejects. These things, then, we have set before you, most dearly beloved, in order that ye may understand the power of your bishops, and give reverence to God in them, and love them as your own souls; and in order that ye may have no communication with those with whom they have none, and that ye may not receive those whom they have cast out. For the judgment of a bishop is greatly to be feared, although he may bind one unjustly, which, however, he ought to guard against with the utmost care.

CHAPTER 6

¹ VI. Of the engagement made in baptism, and of those who have given themselves to the life in common. ² And in exhorting you, we also admonish all who have embraced the faith of Christ, and who have taken from Christ the name of Christian, that ye make your Christianity vain in no respect, but keep stedfastly the engagement which ye took upon yourselves in baptism, so that ye may be found not reprobate, but worthy in His presence. And if any one of you has entered the life which has all things common, and has taken the vow to hold no private property, let him see to it that he make not his promise vain, but let him keep with all faithfulness this engagement which he has made to the Lord, so that he may acquire for himself not damnation, but a reward; for it is better for a man not to take a vow at all than not to discharge to the best of his ability the vow that he has made. For they who have made a vow, or taken on them the faith, and have not kept their vow, or have carried out their life in things evil, are punished more severely than those who have carried out their life without a vow, or have died without faith, but not without doing good works. For to this end have we received a reasonable mind by the gift of nature, and the renewal also of the second birth, that, according to the apostle, we may discern (*sapiamus*) rather things above, and not things on the earth; for the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.

³ For to what, most dearly beloved, does the wisdom of this world urge us, but to seek things that are hurtful, and to love things that are to perish, and to neglect things that are healthful, and to esteem as of no value things that are lasting? It commends the love of money, of which it is said, The love of money is the root of all evil; and which has this evil in especial, that while it obtrudes the transitory, it hides from view the eternal; and while it looks on things that are outside, it does not look in upon things that lurk within; and while it seeks after strange things, it is an evil that makes itself strange to him who does it. Behold, to what does the wisdom of this world urge a man? To live in pleasures. Whence it is said: A widow that liveth in pleasure, is dead while she liveth. It urges a man to feed the flesh with the softest delights, with sins, and vices, and flames, to press the soul with intemperance in food and wine, and to check the life of the spirit, and to put into his enemy's hand the sword to be used against himself. Behold, what is the counsel which the wisdom of this world gives?

⁴ That those who are good should choose rather to be evil, and that in error of mind they should be zealous to be sinners, and should not bethink themselves of that terrible voice of God, when the wicked shall be burned up like grass.

CHAPTER 7

VII. Of the imposition of the bishop's hand. For all the faithful ought to receive the Holy Spirit after baptism by imposition of the hand of the bishops, so that they may be found to be Christians fully; because when the Holy Spirit is shed upon them, the believing heart is enlarged for prudence and stedfastness. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be made spiritual; for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that we may be wise to discern between good and evil, to love the just, and to loathe the unjust, so as to withstand malice and pride, and resist luxury and divers allurements, and impure and unworthy lust. We receive of the Holy Spirit in order that, fired with the love of life and the ardour of glory, we may be able to raise our mind from things earthly to things heavenly and divine.—Given on the Nones of September,—that is, on the fifth day of the same month, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander.

The Epistles of Pope Callistus

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

Two letters in the name of Pope Callistus, one on the fasts of the four seasons and one to the bishops of Gaul. They belong to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

TO BISHOP BENEDICTUS

Contents

1 Preface Chapter 1 Chapter 2 The Epistles of Pope Callistus. The First Epistle. To Bishop Benedictus. On the Fasts of the Four Seasons, and that no one should take up an accusation against a doctor (teacher). Callistus, archbishop of the Church Catholic in the city of Rome, to Benedictus, our brother and bishop, greeting in the Lord. By the love of the brotherhood we are bound, and by our apostolic rule we are constrained, to give answer to the inquiries of the brethren, according to what the Lord has given us, and to furnish them with the authority of the seal of the apostles. I. (Of the seasons for fasting.) 2 Fasting, which ye have learned to hold three times in the year among us, we decree now to take place, as more suitable, in four seasons; so that even as the year revolves through four seasons, we too may keep a solemn fast quarterly in the four seasons of the year. And as we are replenished with corn, and wine, and oil for the nourishment of our bodies, so let us be replenished with fasting for the nourishment of our souls, in accordance with the word of the prophet Zechariah, who says, "The word of the Lord came to me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, As I thought to punish you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, and I repented not; so again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah: fear ye not. These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; judge the truth and the judgment of peace in your gates; and let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neigh-

bour, and love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord of hosts.

³ And the word of the Lord of hosts came unto me, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The fast of the fourth month, and the fast of the fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth, shall be to the house of the Lord joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts; only love the truth and peace, saith the Lord of hosts. In this, then, we ought to be all of one mind, so that, according to apostolic teaching, we may all say the same thing, and that there be no divisions among us. Let us then be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment; in ready zeal for which work we congratulate ourselves on having your affection as our partner. For it is not meet for the members to be at variance with the head; but, according to the testimony of sacred Scripture, all the members should follow the head. It is matter of doubt, moreover, to no one, that the church of the apostles is the mother of all the churches, from whose ordinances it is not right that you should deviate to any extent. And as the Son of God came to do the Father's will, so shall ye fulfil the will of your mother, which is the Church, the head of which, as has been stated already, is the church of Rome. Wherefore, whatsoever may be done against the discipline of this church, without the decision of justice, cannot on any account be permitted to be held valid.

4 II. (Of accusations against doctors.) ⁵ Moreover, let no one take up an accusation against a doctor (teacher), because it is not right for sons to find fault with fathers, nor for slaves to wound their masters. Now, all those whom they instruct are sons of doctors; and as sons ought to love their fathers after the flesh, so ought they to love their spiritual fathers. For he does not live rightly who does not believe rightly, or who reprehends fathers, or calumniates them. Doctors therefore, who are also called fathers, are rather to be borne with than reprehended, unless they err from the true faith. Let no one, consequently, accuse a doctor by writing (*per scripta*); neither let him answer to any accuser, unless he be one who is trustworthy and recognised by law, and who leads also a life and conversation free from reproach. For it is a thing unworthy that a doctor should reply to a foolish and ignorant person, and one who leads a reprehensible life, according to the man's folly; as Scripture says, Answer not a fool according to his folly. He does not live rightly who does not believe rightly. He means nothing evil who is faithful. If anyone is faithful (a believer), let him see to it that he make no

false allegations, nor lay a snare for any man. The faithful man acts always in faith; and the unfaithful man plots cunningly, and strives to work the ruin of those who are faithful, and who live in piety and righteousness, because like seeks like.

6 The unfaithful man is one dead in the living body. And on the other hand, the discourse of the man of faith guards the life of his hearers. For as the Catholic doctor, and especially the priest of the Lord, ought to be involved in no error, so ought he to be wronged by no machination or passion. Holy Scripture indeed says, Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites; and we must resist many allurements of this world, and many vanities, in order that the integrity of a true continence may be obtained, whereof the first blemish is pride, the beginning of transgression and the origin of sin; for the mind with lustful will knows neither to abstain nor to give itself to piety. No good man has an enemy except in the wicked, who are permitted to be such only in order that the good man may be corrected or exercised through their means. Whatever, therefore, is faultless is defended by the Church Catholic. Neither for prince, nor for any one who observes piety, is it lawful to venture anything contrary to the divine injunctions. Consequently an unjust judgment, or an unjust decision (*diffinitio*), instituted or enforced by judges under the fear or by the command of a prince, or any bishop or person of influence, cannot be valid.

7 The religious man ought not to hold it enough merely to refrain from entering into the enmities of others, or increasing them by evil speech, unless he also make it his study to extinguish them by good speech. Better is a humble confession in evil deeds, than a proud boasting in good deeds. Moreover, all who live the blessed life, choose rather to run that course in the proper estate of peace and righteousness, than to involve themselves in the avenging pains of our sins. For I am mindful that I preside over the Church under the name of him whose confession was honoured by our Lord Jesus Christ, and whose faith ever destroys all errors. And I understand that I am not at liberty to act otherwise than to expend all my efforts on that cause in which the well-being of the universal Church is at stake (*infestatur*). I hope, too, that the mercy of God will so favour us, that, with the help of His clemency, every deadly disease may be removed, God Himself expelling it, and that whatever may be done wholesomely, under His inspiration and help, may be accomplished to the praise of thy faith and devotion. For all

things cannot otherwise be safe, unless, as far as pertains to the service of the divine office, sacerdotal authority upholds them. Given on the 21st day of November in the consulship of the most illustrious Antoninus and Alexander.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF GAUL

Contents

¹ Preface Chapter 1 Chapter 2 Chapter 3 Chapter 4 Chapter 5 Chapter 6 The Second Epistle. To All the Bishops of Gaul. (Of conspiracies and other illicit pursuits, that they be not engaged in, and of the restoration of the lapsed after penitence.) Callistus to our most dearly beloved brethren, all the bishops settled throughout Gaul. By the report of very many, we learn that your love, by the zeal of the Holy Spirit, holds and guides the helm of the Church so firmly in the face of all assaults, that by God's will it is conscious neither of shipwreck nor of the losses of shipwreck. Rejoicing, therefore, in such testimonies, we beg you not to permit anything to be done in those parts contrary to the apostolic statutes; but, supported by our authority, do ye check what is injurious, and prohibit what is unlawful. I. (Of those who conspire against bishops, or who take part with such.)

² Now we have heard that the crime of conspiracies prevails in your parts, and it has been shown us that the people are conspiring against their bishops; of which crime the craft is hateful, not only among Christians, but even among the heathen, and it is forbidden by foreign laws. And therefore the laws not only of the Church, but of the world, condemn those who are guilty of this crime; and not only those indeed who actually conspire, but those also who take part with such. Our predecessors, moreover, together with a very numerous body of bishops, ordained that any guilty of this offence among those who are set in the honour of the priesthood, and who belong to the clergy, should be deprived of the honour which they enjoy; and they ordered that others should be cut off from communion, and expelled from the Church; and they decreed, at the same time, that all men of both orders should be infamous (infames); and that, too, not only for those who did the deed, but for those also who took part with such. For it is but equitable that those who despise the divine mandates, and prove themselves disobedient to the ordinances of the fathers, should be chastised with severer penalties, in order that others may fear to do such things, and that all may rejoice in brotherly concord, and all take to themselves the example of sever-

ity and goodness. For if (which may God forbid) we neglect the care of the Church, and are regardless of its strength, our slothfulness will destroy discipline, and injury will be done assuredly to the souls of the faithful. Such persons, moreover, are not to be admitted to accuse any one: neither can their voice, nor that of those who are under the ban, injure or criminate any man.

³ II. (Of those who have intercourse with excommunicated persons, or with unbelievers.) Those, too, who are excommunicated by the priests, let no one receive previous to the just examination of both sides; nor let him have any intercourse with such in speech, or in eating or drinking, or in the salutation with the kiss, nor let him greet such; because, whosoever wittingly holds intercourse with the excommunicated in these or other prohibited matters, will subject himself, according to the ordinance of the apostles, to like excommunication. From these, therefore, let clergy and laity keep themselves if they would not have the same penalty to endure. Also do not join the unbelievers, neither have any fellowship with them. They who do such things, indeed, are judged not as believers, but as unbelievers. Whence the apostle says: "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel? or what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"

⁴ III. (That no bishop should presume in anything pertaining to another's parish, and of the transference of bishops.) ⁵ Let no one, again, trespass upon the boundaries of another, nor presume to judge or excommunicate one belonging to another's parish; because such judgment or ordination, or excommunication or condemnation, shall neither be ratified nor have any virtue; since no one shall be bound by the decision of another judge than his own, neither shall he be condemned by such. Whence also the Lord speaks to this effect: "Pass not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set. Moreover, let no primate or metropolitan invade the church or parish of a diocesan (*diocesani*), or presume to excommunicate or judge any one belonging to his parish, or do anything without his counsel or judgment; but let him observe this law, which has been laid down by the apostles and fathers, and our predecessors, and has been ratified by us: to wit, that if any metropolitan bishop, except in that which pertains to his own proper parish alone, shall attempt to do anything without the counsel and good-will of all the comprovincial bishops, he will do it at the risk of his position, and what he does in this manner shall be held null and void;

6 but whatever it may be necessary to do or to arrange with regard to the cases of the body of provincial bishops, and the necessities of their churches and clergy and laity, this should be done by consent of all the pontiffs of the same province, and that too without any pride of lordship, but with the most humble and harmonious action, even as the Lord says: "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. And in another passage He says: "And whosoever of you is the greater, shall be your servant," and so forth. And in like manner the bishops of the same province themselves should do all things in counsel with him, except so much as pertains to their own proper parishes, in accordance with the statutes of the holy fathers (who, although they have preceded us by a certain interval of time, have yet drawn the light of truth and faith from one and the same fountain of purity, and have sought the prosperity of the Church of God and the common advantage of all Christians by the same enlightening and guiding Spirit), that with one mind, and one mouth, and one accord, the Holy Trinity may be glorified for ever.

7 No primate, no metropolitan, nor any of the other bishops, is at liberty to enter the seat of another, or to occupy a possession which does not pertain to him, and which forms part of the parish of another bishop, at the direction of any one, unless he is invited by him to whose jurisdiction it is acknowledged to belong; nor can he set about any arrangement or ordinance, or judgment there, if he wishes to keep the honour of his station. But if he presume to do otherwise, he shall be condemned; and not only he, but those who co-operate and agree with him: for just as the power of making appointments (*ordinatio*) is interdicted in such circumstances, so also is the power of judging or of disposing of other matters. For if a man has no power to appoint, how shall he judge? Without doubt, he shall in no wise judge or have power to judge: for just as another man's wife cannot intermarry with anyone (*adulterari*), nor be judged or disposed of by any one but by her own husband so long as he liveth; so neither can it in anywise be allowed that the wife of a bishop, by whom undoubtedly is meant his church or parish, should be judged or disposed of by another without his (the bishop's) judgment and good-will so long as he liveth, or enjoy another's embrace, that is, his ordaining. Wherefore the apostle says: "The wife is bound by the law so long as her husband liveth;

8 but if he be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. In like manner also, the spouse of a bishop (for the church is called his spouse and wife) is bound to him while he liveth; but when he is dead she is loosed, and may be wedded to whomsoever she will, only in the Lord, that is, according to order. For if, while he is alive, she marry another, she shall be judged to be an adulteress. And in the same manner, he too, if he marry another of his own will, shall be held to be an adulterer, and shall be deprived of the privilege of communion. If, however, he is persecuted in his own church, he must flee to another, and attach himself to it, as the Lord says: "If they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another. If, however, the change be made for the sake of the good of the church, he may not do this of himself, but only on the invitation of the brethren, and with the sanction of this holy seat, and not for ambition's sake, but for the public good.

9 IV. (Of marriages among blood-relations, and of those who are born of them; and of accusations which the laws reject.) Moreover, marriages among blood-relations are forbidden, since all laws, both sacred and secular, forbid such. Wherefore the divine laws not only expel, but even anathematize, those who do so, and those who spring from them. Secular laws, again, call such persons infamous, and interdict them from inheriting. And we too, following our fathers, and keeping close by their footsteps, brand such with infamy, and hold them to be infamous, because they are sprinkled with the stains of infamy. Neither ought we to admit those men or their accusations, that secular laws reject. (For who doubts that human laws, when they are not inconsistent with reason and honour, are to be embraced, especially when they either further the public good or defend the authority of the ecclesiastical office, and uphold it as a help?) And we call those blood-relations whom divine laws, and those of the emperors, both Roman and Greek, name blood-relations, and whom they admit to the right of inheriting, and cannot exclude from that. Marriages, then, between such are neither lawful nor capable of holding good, but are to be rejected. (And if any such are attempted in rash daring, they come to be rescinded by apostolic authority.)

10 V. (Of those who ought not to be admitted to prefer an accusation, or to bear witness; and that evidence is not to be given but on things happening in the person's presence.) 11 Whosoever, therefore, has not been lawfully married, or has been united without the dotal title (*dotali titulo*) and the blessing of a priest, cannot by any means bring a charge against priests, or

those who are lawfully married, or bear witness against them, since every one who is polluted with the stain of incest is infamous, and is not allowed to accuse the above-named. And consequently not only they, but all those too who agree with them, are to be rejected, and are rendered infamous. We hold that the same should also be the case with robbers, or with those who assault the elderly. The laws of the world, indeed, put such persons to death; but we, with whom mercy has the first place, receive them under the mark of infamy to repentance. That infamy also with which they are stained, we are not able to remove; but our desire is to heal their souls by public penitence, and by satisfaction made to the Church: for public sins are not to be purged by secret correction. Those, again, who are suspected in the matter of the right faith, should by no means be admitted to prefer charges against priests, and against those of whose faith there is no doubt; and such persons should be held of doubtful authority in matters of human testimony. Their voice, consequently, should be reckoned invalid whose faith is doubted; and no credit should be given to those who are ignorant of the right faith.

¹² Accordingly, in judgment, inquiry should be made as to the conversation and faith of the person who accuses, and of him who is accused; since those who are not of correct conversation and faith, and whose life is open to impeachment, are not allowed to accuse their elders, neither can such permission be given to those whose faith and life and liberty are unknown. Nor should vile persons be admitted to accuse them. But a clear examination is to be made as to what kind of persons the accusers are (*rimandæ sunt enucleatim personæ accusatorum*); for they are not to be admitted readily without writing, and are never to be admitted as accusers on mere writing. For no one may either accuse or be accused by mere writing, but with the living voice; and every one must lay his accusation in the presence of him whom he seeks to accuse. And no credit should be given to any accuser in the absence of him whom he seeks to accuse. In like manner, witnesses must not prefer their evidence by writing only; but they must give their testimony truthfully in their own persons, and in matters which they have seen and do know. And they are not to give evidence in any other cases or matters but in those which are known to have happened in their presence.

¹³ Accusers, moreover, of one blood, are not to bear witness against those who are not related to the family, nor is that to be the case with domestics (*familiares*) or those proceeding from the house; but if it is their wish, and

they agree among themselves, the parents only should give evidence in such cases, and not others. Neither accusers nor witnesses should be admitted who are open to any suspicion; for the feeling of relationship, or friendship, or lordship, is wont to impede the truth. Carnal love, and fear, and avarice, commonly blunt the perceptions of men, and pervert their opinions; so that they look on gain as godliness, and on money as the reward of prudence. Let no one, then, speak deceitfully to his neighbour. The mouth of the malevolent is a deep pit. The innocent man, while he believes easily, falls readily; but though he falls, he rises; and the shuffler, with all his arts, goes headlong to ruin, whence he can never rise or escape. Therefore let every one weigh well his words, and let him not say to another what he would not say to himself. Whence the sacred Scripture says well: "Do not that to another which thou wouldest not have done to thyself. For we need time to do anything perfectly (*maturius*); and let us not be precipitate in our counsels or our works, neither let us violate order. But if any one has fallen in anything, let us not consign him to ruin;

¹⁴ but let us reprove him with brotherly affection, as the blessed apostle says: "If a man be overtaken in any fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burden, and so will ye fulfil the law of Christ. Furthermore, the sainted David had deadly crimes to repent of, and yet he was continued in honour. The blessed Peter also shed the bitterest tears when he repented of having denied the Lord; but still he abode an apostle. And the Lord by the prophet makes this promise to the sinning: "In the day that the sinner is converted, and repenteth, I will not mention any more against him all his transgressions." ¹⁵ VI. (As to whether a priest may minister after a lapse.) ¹⁶ For those are in error who think that the priests of the Lord, after a lapse, although they may have exhibited true repentance, are not capable of ministering to the Lord, and engaging their honourable offices, though they may lead a good life thereafter, and keep their priesthood correctly. And those who hold this opinion are not only in error, but also seem to dispute and act in opposition to the power of the keys committed to the Church, whereof it is said: "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven. And in short, this opinion either is not the Lord's, or it is true. But be that as it may, we believe without hesitation, that both the priests of the Lord and other believers may return to their honours after a proper satisfac-

tion for their error, as the Lord Himself testifies by His prophet: "Shall he who falls not also rise again? and shall he who turns away not return? And in another passage the Lord says: "I desire not the death of the sinner, but that he may turn, and live. And the prophet David, on his repentance, said: "Restore unto me the joy of Thy salvation, and uphold me with Thy free Spirit. And he indeed, after his repentance, taught others also, and offered sacrifice to God, giving thereby an example to the teachers of the holy Church, that if they have fallen, and thereafter have exhibited a right repentance to God, they may do both things in like manner.

¹⁷ For he taught when he said: "I will teach transgressors Thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee. And he offered sacrifice for himself, while he said: "The sacrifice for God is a broken spirit. For the prophet, seeing his own transgressions purged by repentance, had no doubt as to healing those of others by preaching, and by making offering to God. Thus the shedding of tears moves the mind's feeling (*passionem*). And when the satisfaction is made good, the mind is turned aside from anger. For how does that man think that mercy will be shown to himself, who does not forgive his neighbour? If offences abound, then, let mercy also abound; for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. In the Lord's hand there is abundance of all things, because He is the Lord of powers (*virtutum*) and the King of glory. For the apostle says: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, to declare His righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, 'I say,' at this time His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus. And David says: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.

¹⁸ Man, therefore, is cleansed of his sin, and rises again by the grace of God though he has fallen, and abides in his first position, according to the above-cited authorities. Let him see to it that he sin no more, that the sentence of the Gospel may abide in him: "Go, and sin no more. Whence the apostle says: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof: neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God.

For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under grace. What then? shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness? But God be thanked, that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness. I speak after the manner of men. For greater is the sin of him who judgeth, than of him who is judged. "Thinkest thou," says the apostle, "O man, that judgest them that do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?

19 or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering? Dost thou not know that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek: but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good. My brethren, shun not only the holding, but even the hearing, of the judgment that bans mercy; for better is mercy than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices. We have replied to your interrogations shortly, because your letter found us burdened overmuch, and preoccupied with other judgments. Given on the 8th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Antonine and Alexander."

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Note by the American Editor. See p. 613, note 1. For Callistus and his times, see the testimony of Hippolytus, vol. v. pp. 158, 159, 160; *Elucidations* X., XI., XII., XIII., XIV., XV. It must be owned that the forgery is better than the genuine productions of this forerunner of the Popes of the ninth and tenth centuries. The title "Pope," in its later sense, seems not inappropriate to such a character.

The Epistles of Pope Fabian

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

Letters in the name of Pope Fabian on the ordination of ministers and the discipline of the clergy. They belong to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

TO ALL THE MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH CATHOLIC

¹ The Epistles of Pope Fabian. The First Epistle. To All the Ministers of the Church Catholic. Of those who ought not to be admitted to clear themselves, and of the duty of having no fellowship with the excommunicated. To the dearly-beloved brethren in the ministry of the Church Catholic in all regions, Fabian sends greeting in the Lord. ² By the divine precepts and the apostolic institutes, we are admonished to watch in behoof of the position of all the churches with unwearied interest. Whence it follows that you ought to know what is being done in things sacred in the church of Rome, in order that, by following her example, ye may be found to be true children of her who is called your mother. Accordingly, as we have received the institution from our fathers, we maintain seven deacons in the city of Rome distributed over seven districts of the state, who attend to the services enjoined on them week by week, and on the Lord's days and the solemn festivals, in concert with the subdeacons, and acolytes, and servants of the succeeding orders, and hold themselves in readiness every hour for religious duty, and for the discharge of all that is enjoined upon them. In like manner ought ye also to do throughout your different cities, as may be convenient, that religious duty may be discharged zealously and regularly, without any delay or negligence. Furthermore, we have ordained in like manner seven subdeacons who shall stand by (imminere) the seven notaries, and bring into one full and accurate account the histories of the martyrs, and lay them before us for our examination. And this, too, we urge you all to do, so that no doubt or ques-

tioning of these things may arise in later times; “for whatsoever things were written, were written for our learning.

³ And whatsoever things are written in truth in our times, are directed to the learning of future times. And therefore we enjoin these duties to be put in charge of the most faithful, that nothing false may be found in them, from which an offence (which may God forbid) may arise to the faithful. For this reason also we beg it of your love in paternal benignity, that the holy Church may now find the good-will of your love in all things, and obtain the comforts of your favour whenever there is necessity. And as the goodness of your zeal affords us the assurance that we ought to distrust it in nothing, but rather commit these things in all confidence to you as to wise sons of our church; so, small importance being attached to opportune occasions, your virtue ought to exert itself the more strenuously in labours, and keep off reproaches by all possible means, and with all zeal. We exhort you also, according to the word of the apostle, to be “stedfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord; forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not vain in the Lord. And in another place: “Watch ye, and pray, and stand fast in the faith. Quit you like men, and be strong. Let all things be done with charity.

⁴ Furthermore, we desire you to know this, that in our times, as our sins embarrassed us, and that ancient enemy who always goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour, instigated him, Novatus came up out of Africa, and separated Novatianus and certain other confessors of Christ from the Church of Christ, and persuaded them into the acceptance of evil doctrine. From such persons, brethren, keep yourselves aloof, and beware of all who hold a faith and doctrine different from that which the apostles and their successors have held and taught, lest (which may God forbid) going after him ye fall into the toils of Satan, and be bound with his fetters. Wherefore with most earnest prayers we beg it of your brotherly love, that ye may deem it fit to remember our insignificance in your holy prayers, beseeching and entreating the Lord of heaven that we, as well as our holy mother the Church of Christ, redeemed with His precious blood, may be delivered from the toils of Satan, who lieth in wait for us; and from troublesome and wicked men, and that the Word of God may have free course and be glorified, and that the evil doctrine of them, and of all who teach things contrary to the truth, may be overthrown and perish.

5 We beseech you also to be zealous in praying in your pious supplications, that our God and Lord Jesus Christ, who will have all men to be saved, and no one to perish, may, by His vast omnipotence, cause their hearts to turn again to sound doctrine and to the Catholic faith, in order that they may be recovered from the toils of the devil who are held captive by him, and be united with the children of our mother the Church. Be mindful also of your brethren, and have pity upon them, and labour for them by all means in your power, that they be not lost, but be saved unto the Lord by your prayers, and other efforts of your goodness. So act therefore in these matters that ye may approve yourselves as obedient and faithful children of the holy Church of God, and that ye may obtain the recompense of reward. These men, and all else who do not teach the true doctrine, and hold not the true faith, cannot act as accusers of any true believer, because they are branded with infamy, and are cut off from the bosom of our holy mother the Church by the sword of the apostles, until their return to correct conversation and belief. Hence by apostolic authority, and in agreement with all the sons of the same apostolic and universal Church, we resolve that all who come under suspicion with respect to the Catholic faith cannot be admitted as accusers of those who hold the true creed;

6 for suspicions are always to be set aside. Rightly therefore are charges which are preferred by those who are objects of suspicion in the matter of the true faith, rejected. Neither are they at all to be credited who are unacquainted with the faith of the Trinity. In like manner we set aside and withdraw from all part in the accusing of the faithful, all those whom the decrees of the holy fathers in times past and times future alike anathematize. Accordingly, the believing ought always to be kept distinct from the unbelieving, and the righteous from the unrighteous; since the unbelieving and evil-minded, by every means in their power, are always troubling the believing, and striving to undo them; and consequently they are not to be received, but rejected and kept entirely at a distance, lest they may undo or defame the believing. For this reason, dearly beloved, beware of the pit of such persons, into which we know many have fallen. Beware of the snares (or darts) of such persons, and of the efforts of the ancient enemy, by which we have seen even those closely connected with us fall wounded before us. Watch the nooses of the liars in wait, by which they are wont to strangle associates and comrades. Follow not such, but keep them far off from you. Be ye, according to the

voice of Truth, wise as serpents and harmless as doves. See to it that ye neither run nor labour in vain;

7 but, sustained by each other's prayers and supplications, strive ye to do the will of God; and from those persons whom I have mentioned, if they show themselves incorrigible, keep yourselves separate in all things. In like manner keep yourselves separate from all those of whom the apostle makes mention when he says, "with such persons, no, not to eat; since these latter, as well as the former, are to be rejected, and are not to be admitted before they have given satisfaction to the Church. For those with whom it is not lawful to eat are manifestly separated from all intercourse with the rest of the brethren until such satisfaction is given. Wherefore they ought not and cannot be admitted to the preferring of charges against the faithful, but they ought to be debarred from their society until the satisfaction already mentioned is given, lest these too should be made like them, or underlie their excommunication; for to this effect have the apostles decreed, saying, With the excommunicated no fellowship is to be held. And if any one, setting aside the rules wittingly, sings with the excommunicated in his house, or speaks or prays in company with them, that man is to be deprived of the privilege of communion. Such persons, therefore, are in all things to be guarded against, and are not to be received, because, according to the apostle, not only those who commit such things are condemned, but also those who consent with those who do them.

8 Whence also the blessed chief of the apostles, Peter, addressing the people at the ordination of Clement, says this among other things: If this Clement is hostile to any one on account of his deeds, wait not ye for his saying directly to you, Be not on terms of friendship with this man. But mark ye carefully his will as ye ought, and second it without need of direct injunction; and separate yourselves from that man to whom ye perceive him to be inimical, and speak not with those with whom he speaks not, in order that every one who may be in fault, as he desires to possess the friendship of all of you, may be zealous in effecting a reconciliation all the more quickly with him who presides over all, so that he may return to spiritual well-being (*re-deat et salutem*) hereby, when he begins to yield obedience to the charges of the president.

9 If, however, any one is not friendly, and speaks with those with whom he (his chief) speaks not, such an one belongs to those who seek to extermin-

ate the Church of God; and though he seems to be with you in body, he is against you in mind and heart. And such an one is a much more dangerous enemy than those who are without, and who are openly hostile. For this man under the guise of friendship acts the part of an enemy, and scatters and ruins the church. And therefore, dearly beloved, in these apostolic institutes we warn and teach you, that your charity, being instructed therein (*effecta certior*), may hereafter study to act with greater care and prudence, so that perverse and unbelieving men may not have the power of injuring the faithful and well-disposed; for the hope of such, and of all the ungodly, is like dust that is blown away with the wind; and like a thin froth that is driven away with the storm; and like as the smoke which is dispersed here and there with a tempest, and as the remembrance of a guest of a single day that passeth away. With the utmost care, dearly beloved, are such persons to be guarded against, and avoided, and rejected, if they show themselves injurious. For the laws of the world, no less than those of the Church, do not admit the injurious, but reject them. Whence it is written, “The mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity.

¹⁰ And the Lord, speaking by the prophet, saith, “With the holy thou wilt show thyself holy; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward; and with the excellent thou wilt show thyself excellent (*electus*); and with the innocent man thou wilt show thyself innocent. And the apostle says, “Evil communications corrupt good manners. Wherefore, as has already been indicated, the wicked are always to be avoided and shunned, and the good and rightly-disposed are to be stedfastly followed, in order that, as far as possible, we may avoid the peril of sloth. And lest this pest may be spread abroad more widely, let us cut it off from us with all possible severity; for the temerity of presumption does not intervene where there is the diligence of piety. Let every one of you, sustained by this apostolic representation, act according to his strength, and study in brotherly love and in godly piety to keep his own manners correct, and to help each other, and to abide in charity, and to keep himself in the will of God unceasingly, in order that we may praise the Lord together, and give Him thanks always without wearying. Fare ye well in the Lord, dearly beloved, and with the Lord’s help strive to fulfil to the best of your ability the things before mentioned.—Given on the first day of July, in the consulship of the most illustrious Maximinus (or, Maximus) and Africanus.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF THE EAST

Contents

¹ Preface Chapter 1 Chapter 2 The Second Epistle. To All the Bishops of the East. That the chrism should be renewed with consecration every year, and that the old supply should be set aside to be burnt in the churches; also concerning the accusing of priests, and on the duty of the sheep not to dare to blame their shepherd unless he errs in the faith. Fabian, bishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops of the East, and to the whole body of the faithful, greeting in the Lord. Your love for the seat of the apostles requires counsels which we neither can nor ought to deny you. It is clear, moreover, that our predecessors did this for the bishops of many districts; and brotherly charity and the debt of obedience impose the duty of so doing also upon us who, by the bountiful goodness of God, are placed in the same seat. Care, therefore, is to be had by your solicitude, that neither remissness may avail to neglect, nor presumption be able to disturb, those things which have been ordained by the apostles and their successors, and established under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. But as it was proper that that should be defined which the use of right order required, so what has been so defined ought not to be violated.

² I. That new chrism should be made every year, and the old be burnt.

³ Now, among other matters, in your letter we find it stated that certain bishops of your district adopt a different practice from yours and ours, and do not prepare the chrism at the Lord's supper every year, but keep it in use for two or three, making such a supply of the holy chrism once for all. For they say, as we find in the letter referred to, that balsam cannot be got every year; and besides that, even though it were got, there would be no necessity for preparing chrism every year, but that, so long as the one preparation of chrism is sufficiently large, they have no need to make another. They are in error, however, who think so; and in making such statements they speak like madmen rather than men in their right senses. For on that day the Lord Jesus, after supping with His disciples, and washing their feet, according to the tradition which our predecessors received from the holy apostles and left to us, taught them to prepare the chrism. That washing of their feet signifies our baptism, as it is completed and confirmed by the unction of the holy chrism. For as the solemn observance of that day is to be kept every year, so the preparing of that holy chrism is to be attended to every year, and it is to be renewed from year to year and given to the faithful. For the material of

this new sacrament is to be made anew every year, and on the day already named;

4 and the old supply is to be burned in the holy churches. These things we have received from the holy apostles and their successors, and we commit them to your keeping. The holy church of Rome and that of Antioch have been guardians of these things from the times of the apostles: these things also the churches of Jerusalem and Ephesus maintain. Presiding over these churches, the apostles taught these things, and ordained that the old chrism should be burnt, and permitted them to use it no longer than one year, and commanded them thereafter to use the new, and not the old material. If any one, therefore, ventures to go against these things, let him understand that the door of indulgence is barred against him on your part and on that of all right-minded men: for the perverse doctrine of most depraved minds, while it uses the reins too indulgently, slips into the sin of presumption; and it can by no means be cast out, unless it is cleared of all support and correction on the part of the intelligent. And those usages which the holy Church throughout the whole world uniformly observes with respect to the divine mysteries, and towards the subjects of baptism, are not to be regarded with indifferent concern, lest we make way for purposeless efforts and superstitions. We ought not, therefore, to bring over the untaught minds of the faithful to such practices as we have named, because they should be instructed rather than played upon.

5 For good deeds make for our happiness, and evil deeds prick us with the stings of sorrow. But here, however we are situated, we are among the hands of robbers and the teeth of raging wolves, and the contumacious are put in the place of the true sheep. And it is by the barking of the dogs and the staff of the shepherd that the fury of the wolves is checked. Those wounds, moreover, which cannot be healed by remedies, must be cut out with the knife. Neither can we keep silence, for, in seeking here to call back some from things unlawful, we are impelled by the instinct of our office, having been set on the watch-towers by the Lord with this object, that we should prove the diligence of our watchfulness by checking things that should be prohibited, and deciding for things that should be observed. 6 II. Of the right of bishops not to be accused or hurt by detraction.

7 You desired also to consult us, as we find in the above-mentioned letter of yours, on the subject of the accusing of priest,—a thing which, as we learn

also from the same epistle, is exceedingly frequent among you. You have intimated, besides, that very many notice that not a few in places of ecclesiastical dignity do not live in a manner conformable to the discourses and sacraments with which the people are served by their means. O miserable men, who in looking at these forget Christ, who long since indeed told us how that the law of God should be obeyed, rather than that those should be looked to for imitation who do not the things which they say; and bearing with the traitor himself even to the end, He sent him also along with the rest to preach the Gospel. For the apostles had no such custom, neither did they teach that it was one fit to be had. And to like effect their successors also, foreseeing by the Spirit of God things to come, have determined largely on such subject. Besides, as you read in the Acts of the Apostles, "There was at that time among them that believed one heart and one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. For there was no laying of accusations against each other among them, except what was friendly; neither ought there ever to be such among their followers or among believers:

§ for the Lord says, "Do not that to another which thou wouldst not have done to thyself. And He says also, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and," Love worketh no ill to his neighbour. In accordance herewith, the apostles themselves and their successors decreed of old time that those persons should not be admitted to lay accusations who were under suspicion, or who but yesterday, or the day before, or a little time ago, were at enmity, as they come thus under suspicion, or who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, or who are doubtful in the matter of the true faith. In like manner is it decided to be with those whose faith and life and liberty are unknown, or who are marked with the stains of infamy, or entangled in the snares of offences. Again, those have neither the right nor the power to accuse the priests or the clergy, who are incapable themselves of being made priests legitimately, and are not of their order; for just as the priests and the other members of the clerical order are debarred from laying accusations against the secular laity, so these latter, too, should be debarred and excluded from the right of bringing charges against the former. And as the former should not be admired by the latter, so the latter should not be admired by the former:

9 for as the conversation of the priests of the Lord ought to be something separate from the conversation of these others, so should they be separate from them also in the matter of litigation; “for the servant of the Lord ought not to strive. To the utmost of your power, dearly beloved brethren, do ye prohibit such accusations, and all unrighteous and injurious emulations, because contention is to be avoided by all means. “For a just man will fall seven times in a day, and will rise again; but the wicked shall fall into mischief. Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,” saith Solomon, “and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth; lest the Lord see it, and it displease Him, and He turn away His wrath from him. Fret not thyself because of evil-doers, neither be thou envious at the wicked: for the evil have not the hope of the future, and the candle of the wicked shall be put out. Envy not evil men, neither be thou desirous to be with them; for their mind meditates rapine, and their lips speak deceits. Dearly beloved, beware of these things. Ponder these things, and minister comfort to the brethren in all things; for, as the Truth says in His own person, “By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

10 For if in things secular each man’s right and his proper position are kept for him, how much more ought there to be no confusion induced in matters of ecclesiastical order! And this is a right which will be duly observed if no deference is paid to mere power, but all to equity. Whence it is an established duty, that the bishops of each several district should exercise a watchful care over all those who live under their rule, and in the fear of God should dispose of all cases in which they are concerned, and of all matters in which they are interested. It is therefore extremely inequitable that any bishops should neglect their own cases, and mix themselves up with those of others. But those whose part it is to ordain such persons to the priesthood, and by whom they have been already ordained, ought to order the life and judgment of such by the exercise of a competent and regular administration; for, as the law says, “Cursed is every one that removeth his neighbour’s landmarks. And all the people said Amen.

11 To this therefore, brethren, has God foreordained you, and all who hold the highest office of the priesthood, that ye should put all injustice out of the way, and cut off presumption, and help those who labour in the priesthood, and give no occasion for their reproach and trouble, but bring assistance to him who endures calumny and reproach, and cut off him who works

calumny and reproach, and act for the help of the Lord in His priests. The Lord, moreover, has chosen the priests for Himself, that they should sacrifice to Him, and offer oblations to their Lord. He commanded the Levites also to be under them in their ministries. Whence He speaks to Moses in these terms: "And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary. For of these the Lord spake to Moses in this wise: "Take the Levites instead of the first-born among the children of Israel, and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle; and the Levites shall be mine: I am the Lord. If the Lord willed the Levites to be His own, how much more has He taken the priests for Himself! And of these He says: "If any stranger cometh nigh, he shall be put to death. All objects, moreover, that are the Lord's are to be handled carefully, and are not lightly to be injured;

¹² for even among men, those are reckoned faithful who attend to the interests of their masters rightly, and deal with them faithfully, and rightly observe the commands of their masters, and transgress them not. And those, on the other hand, are reputed unfaithful who deal with the interests of their masters carelessly and negligently, and despise their commands, and do not observe them as they ought. ¹³ Accordingly we have set these matters before you, in order that those who now know it not may know this; viz., that the priests, too, whom the Lord has taken to Himself from among all men, and has willed to be His own, are not to be dealt with lightly, nor injured, nor rashly accused or reprehended, save by their masters, seeing that the Lord has chosen to reserve their causes to Himself, and ministers vengeance according to His own judgment. For in these and other precepts of the Lord the faithful are distinguished, and the unfaithful at the same time disapproved. For these are rather to be borne with by the faithful than made subjects of reproach (*exprobandi*); just as there is chaff with the wheat even to the last winnowing, and as there are bad fish with good even on to their separation, which is yet to be on the shore,—that is to say, at the end of the world. By no means, then, can that man be condemned by a human examination, whom God has reserved for His own judgment, that the purpose of God, according to which He has decreed to save what had perished, may be unalterable. And consequently, as His will suffers no change, let no man presume on matters which are not conceded to him. And herein is the meaning of that word

which the apostle speaks: "Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather take wrong?"

¹⁴ why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded? To this, too, our Lord's word may refer: "And if any man will take away thy coat, and sue thee at the law, let him have thy cloak also. And in another place: "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again. Moreover, there are certain things which might be thought most trivial were they not shown in the Scriptures to be of more serious import. Who would ever consider the man who says to his brother "Thou fool" worthy of hell-fire, were it not that the Truth Himself told us so? Those, furthermore, who commit those sins whereof the apostle says, "They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God," are by all means to be guarded against, and are to be compelled to seek amendment if they do not choose it voluntarily, because they are marked with the stains of infamy, and go down into the pit, unless assistance is brought them by sacerdotal authority. Those also are to be dealt with in like manner of whom he says, "With such persons, no, not to eat; because such persons are branded with infamy until they are restored by sacerdotal authority, and reinstated in the bosom of our holy mother the Church; since those who are outside us cannot communicate with us. And it is manifest that these are outside us, and ought to be separated from us, with whom it is not lawful for us to eat or to take food.

¹⁵ In like manner also, all persons who underlie the charge of any manner of turpitude and dishonour, are rendered infamous; and all who arm themselves against fathers are rendered infamous. "Sand, and salt, and a mass of iron, is easier to bear than a man without understanding, and foolish and impious. "He that wanteth understanding thinks upon vain things; and a foolish and erring man imagineth follies. For their suspicion has overthrown many, and their opinion hath held them in vanity. "A stubborn heart shall fare evil at the last; and he that loveth danger shall perish therein. A heart that entereth two ways shall not have rest; and the evil heart in them shall be made to stumble. A wicked heart shall be laden with sorrows; and the sinner shall heap sin upon sin. The holy apostles and their successors, having such things in mind, and foreseeing, as being filled with the Holy Spirit, the course of wicked men, and having regard to the simple, determined that the accusing of priests should be a matter undertaken with difficulty, or never undertaken, that they might not be ruined or displaced by wicked men. For

if this were made an easy matter to secular and wicked men, there would remain no one, or but the scantiest few; seeing that it ever has been and still is the case—and (which is yet worse) that too in growing measure—that the wicked persecute the good, and that the carnal are hostile to the spiritual.

16 For this reason, then, as has been already said, they decreed that such should not be accused at all; or if that could not be avoided, that the accusing of such should be made a matter of great difficulty. And they determined also, as has been stated above, by what persons that function should not be assumed; and they resolved further, that bishops should not be cast out from their own proper seats and churches. But if in any way the matter of accusation should be taken in hand before their rightful seat and all their property are restored by those laws, they should by no means be accused or criminated by any one, and should not answer any one on such charges, unless they choose to do so of their own accord. But after they have been reinstated, as has been before noted, and have had all their effects restored to them by those laws, when their affairs are arranged and set in order, they should then have a long period allowed them for the disposing of their case; and thereafter, if need be, they should be regularly summoned, and so come to the suit; and if the matter seem just, they should answer the propositions of their accusers with the help of their brethren. For so long as their effects, or their churches and property, are held by their adversaries, or by any person, no manner of reason allows that any charge ought to be preferred against them.

17 And no one is at liberty by any means to bring any charge against them, whether superior or inferior, so long as they are dispossessed of their churches, effects, or powers. In like manner also it was decreed, and we too confirm the same statutes and hereby decree, that if any one among the clergy proves an enemy or traducer of his bishops, and seeks to criminate them, or conspires against them, at once, before the consideration of judicial investigation, he should be removed from the clerical order, and given over to the court (*curiæ*), to which he shall devote himself zealously all the days of his life, and shall remain infamous without any hope of restoration. And let no one ever presume to be at once accuser, and judge, or witness; for in every judicial investigation there must always be four persons present: that is, the judges elected, and the accusers, and the defenders, and the witnesses. In like manner we decree and ordain by apostolic authority, that the flock should not dare to bring a charge against their pastor, to whose care they had been

consigned, unless he falls into error in the faith; for the deeds of superiors are not to be smitten with the sword of the mouth; neither can the disciple be above the master, as the voice of Truth saith, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord."

¹⁸ And pride is hateful before God and men, and all iniquity is execrable. "The Lord hath destroyed the memory of the proud, and hath left the memory of the humble in mind. The seed of men shall be honoured, this seed that feareth God. But that seed shall be dishonoured that transgresseth the commandments of the Lord. Among brethren, he that is chief is honourable; and they that fear the Lord shall be in His eyes. My son, saith Solomon, preserve thy soul in meekness, and give honour to him whom honour beseemeth. "Blame not any one before thou examinest him; and when thou hast examined him, reprove him justly. Answer not a word before thou hearest the cause; neither interrupt with talk in the midst of thy seniors. After the example of Ham the son of Noah, they are condemned who bring the faults of their fathers into public view, or presume to accuse or calumniate them; even as was the case with Ham, who did not cover the shame of his father Noah, but exhibited it for mockery. And in like manner those are justified by the example of Shem and Japhet, who reverently cover and seek not to display those matters in which they find their fathers to have erred. For if a bishop should happen to err from the faith, he should in the first place be corrected privately by those placed under him (*a subditis suis*).

¹⁹ And if he show himself incorrigible (which may God forbid), then an accusation should be laid against him before his primates, or before the seat of the apostles. For his other actings, however, he is rather to be borne with by his flock and those put under him, than accused or made the subject of public detraction; because when any offence is committed in these matters by those put under them, His ordinance is withstood who set them before him, as the apostle says, "Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. But he who fears Almighty God, agrees in no way to do anything contrary to the Gospel, or contrary to the apostles, or contrary to the prophets or the institutions of the holy fathers. The priests therefore are to be honoured, and not to be injured or reproached. Thus read we in Ecclesiasticus: "Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and reverence His priests. Love Him that made thee with all thy strength, and forsake not His ministers. Honour God with thy whole soul, and honour the priest, and cleanse thyself before-

hand with the shoulders (*propurga te cum brachiis*). Give him his portion, as it is commanded thee, of the first-fruits; and purge thyself concerning negligence with a few things. Thou shalt offer the gift of thy shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things to the Lord. And stretch thine hand unto the poor, that thine atonement and blessing may be perfected.

²⁰ We desire these things to become known not to you only, but through you to all the brethren, that we may abide in Christ of one accord and one mind, making no claim for ourselves through strife or vainglory, and being pleasers not of men, but of God our Saviour. To Him belongeth honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

TO BISHOP HILARY

Contents

¹ Preface Chapter 1 Chapter 2 Chapter 3 Chapter 4 Chapter 5 The Third Epistle. To Bishop Hilary. That extraneous judgments should be rejected, and that the accused person should carry out his cause in his own locality; and that every one who brings forward a charge should intimate in writing his ability to prove it, and that if he fails to prove what he alleges, he should bear the penalty which he advanced. Fabian, to my dearly beloved brother Bishop Hilary. We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, who, in the compassion of His own regard, hath raised us for this reason to the summit of sacerdotal dignity, that by cleaving to His commandments, and by being set in a certain eminence as overseers of His priests, we may restrain things unlawful, and inculcate things that are to be followed. For we have heard that in those western parts in which you dwell, the craft of the devil rageth so violently against the people of Christ, and breaketh forth in delusions so manifold, that it oppreseth and troubleth not only the secular laity, but the priests of the Lord themselves also. Wherefore, involved as we are in deep grief, we cannot conceal what we ought severely to correct. Accordingly a sufficient remedy must be employed for such wounds, lest a hasty facility in the cure may prove of no service for the deadly disease of the head; and lest the trouble, by being too easily dealt with, may involve, through the defect of an illegitimate mode of cure, the hurt and the healers together in its evil.

²I. Of those who ought not to be admitted to the right of accusation. On this account, therefore, we decree and resolve, that those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is impeachable, or whose faith and life and

liberty are unknown, should not have the power of accusing the priests of the Lord, lest vile persons should thus be admitted to the liberty of accusing them. In like manner, those who are involved in any matters of accusation, or who are under suspicion, should not have a voice in laying charges against their seniors; for the voice of the suspected and the inimical is wont to oppress the truth. II. Of extraneous judgments. Moreover, by a general ordinance, and without prejudice to the authority of the apostles in all things, we prohibit extraneous judgments, because it is not fit that he should be judged by strangers, who ought to have those of his own province and those elected by himself as his judges, unless an appeal has been made. Wherefore, if any one of the bishops is accused on precise charges, he ought to be heard by all the bishops who are in the province; for it is not right that an accused person should be heard elsewhere than in his own circuit. Again, if any one is of opinion that he has a judge adverse to him, he should claim the right of appeal; and an appellant ought to be injured by no kind of oppression or detention; but an appellant ought to have the liberty of righting his case, when wronged, by the remedy of appeal. There ought also to be liberty of appeal in criminal cases. And the right of appealing ought to be denied to no one whom judgment has destined for punishment.

3 III. Of the arraigned. A person arraigned ought to plead his cause before his judge; and an arraigned person may refuse to speak, if he choose so, before one who is not his own proper judge; and indulgence (*induciæ*) should be granted to the arraigned as often as they appeal. IV. Of the case of any one bringing forward a charge in passion, or failing to prove his allegations. If, then, any one in passion brings a charge rashly against any one, mere abuse is not to be taken for an accusation. But a certain time being allowed for dealing with the matter, the person should profess his ability in writing to prove what he has alleged in passion; so that, if he should happen to think better of the things he uttered in passion, and decline to repeat or write them, the person may not be held as charged with the crime. Every one, therefore, who adduces a charge, ought to state in writing his ability to prove it. And, indeed, a cause should always be dealt with in the place where the charge is admitted; and the man who fails to substantiate his allegation, should himself bear the penalty which he advanced.

4 V. On the question of an accused bishop appealing to the seat of the apostles. 5 It is determined, moreover, that, in the case of an accused bishop

appealing to the seat of the apostles, that should be held to be a settlement which is the decision of the pontiff of that same seat. On all occasions, however, in cases concerning priests, let this form be maintained, that no one be bound by a decision pronounced by another than his own proper judge. It is the duty also of all the faithful to be ready to help the oppressed and the miserable in their distress, in order that by the manifestation of another manner of recompense (*vindictæ*) they may be able to keep the recompense (vengeance) of God from themselves. For he offers (*libat*) things prosperous to the Lord who keeps off things adverse from the afflicted. Whence it is written, “A brother aiding a brother shall be exalted. For the Church of God ought to be without spot or wrinkle, and therefore it ought not to be trodden and defiled by certain persons; for it is written, “My dove, my undefiled, is but one. Hence, again, the Lord says to Moses, “There is a place with me (*penes me*), and thou shalt stand upon a rock. What place is there that belongs not to the Lord, seeing that all things consist in Him by whom they were created? There is a place, however, with God—to wit, the unity of the holy Church—in which there is a standing upon a rock, while the perfection of the confession (*confessionis soliditas*) is held in lowliness.

¶ We admonish thee, our brother, and all our brethren who are rulers in the Church of Christ, which He hath purchased with His blood, to keep back, by whatever checks ye possess, all men from that abyss into which some brethren are slipping, in reviling the Lord’s pastors, and persecuting them both by word and deed; and we counsel you not to suffer them to be wounded with the hook of passion: for it is written, “For the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. Hence it is said again, “Let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak, and slow to wrath. Now I doubt not that with God’s help you observe all these things; but as an occasion for counsel has arisen, I also secretly attach my word to your good desires and deeds, so that what you are doing of yourselves and independently of admonition you may do presently not by yourselves alone, now that the counsellor himself is added to you. Wherefore, brethren, it becomes you and all the faithful to love each other, and not to calumniate or accuse one another: for it is written, “Love thy neighbour, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, thou shalt follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he that loseth the love of his neighbour. And as one

that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou who hast let thy neighbour go, and shalt not get him again.

7 Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he is as a roe escaped out of the snare, since his soul is wounded. Further thou wilt not be able to bind him up, and after reviling there may be reconcilment; but to bewray the secrets of a friend is the despair of an unhappy mind. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and every one will cast him off. When thou art present, he will speak sweetly, and will admire thy words. But at last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds in the deceiver. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that placeth a stone in his neighbour's way shall stumble thereon; and he that setteth a trap for another shall perish in it. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him; and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach are from the proud; and vengeance, as a lion, shall lie in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall be taken in the snare; and anguish shall consume them before they die. Wrath and fury are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both.

8 "He that desireth to be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and He will surely keep his sins in remembrance. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee; so shall thy sins also be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself, and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins from the Most High? He, though he is but flesh, nourishes hatred; and does he implore mercy from God? Who will entreat for pardon of his sins? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease. For corruption and death impend on His commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbour. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and wink at the ignorance of thy neighbour. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins. For a furious man will kindle strife, and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and will make debate among them that be at peace. For according to the trees of the wood, so will the fire burn; and according as a man's strength is, so will his wrath be; and according to his riches, his anger will rise. An hasty contention will kindle a fire; and an hasty fighting will shed blood; and a tale-bearing (testificans) tongue will

cause death. If thou blow the spark, it shall burn like a fire; and if thou spit upon it, it shall be quenched;

9 and both these come out of thy mouth. The whisperer and double-tongued is cursed; for he has destroyed many that were at peace. A backbiting (*tertia*) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation. Strong cities of the rich hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It has destroyed the strength of peoples, and has scattered strong nations. A backbiting tongue hath cast out virtuous women (*viratas*, spirited), and deprived them of their labours. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and shall never have a friend on whom he may repose. The stroke of the whip maketh marks; but the stroke of the tongue will break the bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, and hath not passed through the venom thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her bands. For the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass. The death thereof is an evil death, and the grave were better than it. Its endurance shall not abide, but it shall possess the ways of the unrighteous. In its flame it shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it; and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and devour them as a leopard.

10 Hedge thine ears (*sæpi aures*) about with thorns, and refuse to listen to the evil tongue, and make a door for thy mouth and bars for thine ears. Smelt (*confla*) thy gold and thy silver, and make a balance for thy words, and a right bridle for thy mouth. And beware lest thou slide perchance in thy tongue, and fall in the sight of thine enemies that be in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable unto death. Let all beware of these things, and “keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. “Finally, dearly beloved, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might. Put on the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places (*cœlestibus*). Wherefore take unto you the armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and to stand perfect in all (*omnibus perfecti*). Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the

preparation of the Gospel of peace; in all (in omnibus) taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

11 It is our wish, brother, that those things which we have written to you should be made known generally to all, in order that things which touch the others should be made known to all. May Almighty God protect you, brother, and all our brethren everywhere situate, even to the end,—even He who has thought good to redeem the whole world, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. Amen.—Given on the 16th day of October, in the consulship of the most illustrious Africanus and Decius.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Note by the American Editor. It should be borne in mind by the reader that the holy martyr Fabian must not be less esteemed because this forgery was put upon him long after his decease. The forger puts many good things into his work, to make it accord with the character to which he attributes good and bad together. So with all the Decretals: they are made specious by piety and texts of Scripture.

The Epistles of Pope Pontianus

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

Letters in the name of Pope Pontianus, the first on the honour due to priests. They belong to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

TO FELIX SUBSCRIBONIUS

¹ The Epistles of Pope Pontianus. The First Epistle. To Felix Subscribonius. On the honour to be bestowed on priests. Pontianus, bishop, to Felix Subscribonius, greeting. ² Our heart is exceedingly rejoiced with your goodness, in that you strive by all means in your power to carry out the practice of holy religion, and strengthen sad and destitute brethren in faith and religion. Wherefore we implore the mercy of our Redeemer, that His grace may support us in all things, and that He may grant us to carry out in effect what He has given us to aspire after. In this good thing, therefore, the benefits of recompense are multiplied just in proportion as our zeal for the work increases. And because in all these things we need the assistance of divine grace, we implore with constant prayers the clemency of Omnipotent God, that He may both grant us the desire for these good works which should ever be wrought by us, and give us power also to perform them, and direct us in that way, for the fruit of well-doing—which way the Pastor of pastors declared Himself to be—so that ye may be able to carry out through Him, without whom nothing can be done, those good works which you have begun. Moreover, with respect to the priests of the Lord whom we have heard you aid against the plots of wicked men, and whose cause you sustain, know ye that in so doing ye please God greatly, who has called them to the service of Himself, and has honoured them with so intimate a fellowship with Him, that through them He accepts the oblations of others, and pardons their sins, and reconciles them with Him.

3 They also make the body of the Lord with their own mouth (*proprio ore corpus Domini conficiunt*), and give it to the people. For of them it is said: He that hurteth you, hurteth me; and he that doeth you an injury, shall receive again that which he hath done unrighteously. And elsewhere: He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me. Hence they are not to be molested, but honoured. And in them the Lord Himself is honoured, whose commission they execute. They accordingly, if they happen to fall, are to be raised up and sustained by the faithful. And again, they are not to be accused by the infamous, or the wicked, or the hostile, or by the members of another sect or religion. If they sin, they are to be arraigned by the other priests; further, they are to be held in check (*constringantur*) by the chief pontiffs, and they are not to be arraigned or restrained by seculars or by men of evil life. Not slight, therefore, is our grief in hearing that you have to sorrow for your brother's passing away (*transitu*). For which reason we beseech Almighty God to console you by the breathing (*aspiratione*) of His grace, and keep you with heavenly guardianship from evil spirits and perverse men.

4 For if ye have to bear any turmoil of certain adversaries after his disease, do not think it strange though ye, who seek to enjoy good in your own country—that is, in the land of the living—have to bear evil things at the hands of men in a strange country. For the present life is a sojourning; and to him who sighs after the true fatherland, the place of his sojourning is a trial, however pleasant it may seem. And as to you who seek the fatherland, among the sighs which ye heave I hear the groans also of human oppression rising. And this happens by the wonderful dispensation of Almighty God, in order that, while the truth calls you in love, this present world may cast back your affection from itself through the tribulations which it brings on, and that the mind may be so much the more easily delivered from the love of this world, as it is also impelled while it is called. Therefore, as you have begun, give heed to the duty of hospitality; labour most urgently in prayer and tears; devote yourselves more liberally and freely now to those almsgivings which you have ever loved, in order that in the recompense the profit to you for your work may be greater in proportion as your zeal for the labour has risen to higher degrees here.

5 Furthermore, hailing your goodness with paternal pleasantness, we beg you not to fail in the good works which ye have begun. And may no one be

able to turn you from them; but may the clergy and servants of God, and all Christians who sojourn in those parts, fully discover by the love of Christ and Saint Peter the disposition of your charity in all things, and obtain the comforts of your favour in every necessity that may arise; to the end that all may be defended and helped by your aid, and that we, too, may owe you thanks, and that our Lord Jesus Christ may make good to you eternal glory, and that the blessed Apostle Peter, the chief of the apostles, in whose cause you spend yourselves, may open the gate of that same glory.—Given on the 10th day before the kalends of February (the 23d of January), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.

TO ALL BISHOPS

¹ The Second Epistle. To All Bishops. On brotherly love, and on avoiding the evil. Pontianus, bishop of the holy and universal Church, to all who worship the Lord aright, and love the divine worship, greeting. ² Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will. These words, most beloved, are not the words of men, but of angels; and they were not devised by human sense, but were uttered by angels at the birth of the Saviour. And from these words it can be understood without doubt by all that peace is given by the Lord, not to men of evil will, but to men of good will. Whence the Lord, speaking by the prophet, says: “How good is God to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart! But as for me, my feet were almost gone; my steps had well-nigh slipped: for I was envious at the unrighteous, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked. Of the good, however, the Truth says in His own person, “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. And they are not the pure in heart who think evil things, or things hurtful to their brethren; for he who is the faithful man devises nothing evil. The faithful man, accordingly, loves rather to hear things which are becoming, than to speak things which are not becoming. And if any one is faithful, let him see to it that he speak no evil, and lay no snares in the way of any one. In this, then, are the children of God distinguished from the children of the devil.

³ For the children of God always think and strive to do things which are of God, and give help unceasingly to their brethren, and wish to injure no one. But, on the other hand, the children of the devil are always meditating things evil and hurtful, because their deeds are evil. And of them the Lord, speaking by the prophet Jeremiah, says: “I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness. “Wherefore I will yet plead with you,

saith the Lord; and with your children's children will I plead. "Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you. These things, brethren, are greatly to be feared, and to be guarded against by all; for the man on whom the judgment of God may fall will not depart unhurt. And therefore let every one see to it carefully that he neither contrive nor do against a brother what he would not wish to have to endure himself. And let not the man of faith come under the suspicion even of saying or doing what he would not wish to have to endure himself. Wherefore persons suspected, or hostile or litigious, and those who are not of good conversation, or whose life is reprehensible, and those who do not hold and teach the right faith, have been debarred from being either accusers or witnesses by our predecessors with apostolic authority;

⁴and we too remove them from that function, and exclude them from it in times to come, lest those lapse wilfully whom we ought to keep in and save; lest not only (which may God forbid! the predicted judgment of God should fall upon both, but we also should perish (which may God forbid! through their fault. For it is written, "Have they made thee the master of a feast? Take care for them, that thou mayst be merry on their account, and receive as thy crown the ornament of esteem, and find approbation of thine election. For the evil word affects the heart, out of which proceed these four objects, good and evil, life and death; and the tongue in its assiduous action is what determines these. Wherefore the before-named parties are altogether to be avoided; and until the before-noted matters are investigated, and the parties are found to be clear of such, they are not to be received: for the right sacrifice is to give heed to the commandments, and to depart from all iniquity. "To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord, and to forsake unrighteousness is a sacrifice of praise. For it is written, "Love thy friend, and be faithful unto him. But if thou bewrayest his secrets, follow no more after him. For as a man who destroyeth his friend, so is he who destroys (loseth) the friendship of his neighbour.

⁵And as one that letteth a bird go out of his hand, so art thou that has let thy neighbour go and shalt not get him again. Follow after him no more, for he is far off. For he has escaped like a roe out of the snare, because his soul is wounded. Thou wilt not be able to bind him any more, and there is reconciliation for the reviled. But to betray the secrets of a friend is the desperation of a wretched soul. He that winketh with the eye worketh evil, and no one

will cast him off. When thou art present, he will despise his own mouth, and express his wonder at thy discourse; but at the last he will writhe his mouth, and slander thy sayings. I have hated many things, but nothing like him; and the Lord will hate him. Whoso casteth a stone on high, it will fall upon his own head, and a deceitful stroke of the deceitful will make wounds. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that setteth a stone in his neighbour's way will fall thereon; and he that placeth a snare for another will perish therein. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh on him. Mockery and reproach are from the proud; and vengeance, as a lion, shall be in wait for them. They that rejoice at the fall of the righteous shall perish in the snare, and anguish shall consume them before they die.

6 Anger and wrath are both abominations, and the sinful man shall have them both. "He that will be avenged shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely keep his sins. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, and then shall thy sins be forgiven thee when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another; and doth he ask redress of God? He showeth no mercy to a man which is like himself; and doth he ask forgiveness of the Most High for his own sins? He, though he is flesh, nourisheth hatred; and doth he ask pardon of God? Who will entreat for his sins? Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; for corruption and death impend on commandments. Remember the fear of God, and bear no malice to thy neighbour. Remember the covenant of the Highest, and look down upon (despice) the ignorance of thy neighbour. Abstain from strife, and thou shalt diminish thy sins.

7 For a furious man kindleth strife; and a sinful man will disquiet friends, and make enmity among them that be at peace. For even as the trees of the wood are, so will the fire burn; and as a man's strength is, so will his anger be; and as his riches are, so will he make his anger rise. An hastened contention will kindle a fire, and an hastening quarrel will shed blood, and a testifying (testificans) tongue will bring death. If thou blow upon the spark, it will burn like a fire; and if thou spit upon it, it will be extinguished: and both these come out of the mouth. Cursed be the whisperer and doubled-tongued, for such have troubled many that were at peace. A third (tertia) tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation: the fortified cities of the rich it hath pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men. It

has subverted the virtues of peoples, and has destroyed strong nations. A third tongue hath cast out truthful women, and deprived them of their labours. Whoso hearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, and never dwell quietly. The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue will break bones. Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not in such manner as those who have perished by their tongue.

8 Well is he that is defended from the evil tongue, who hath not passed into the anger thereof, and who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound with the bands of it; for the yoke thereof is a yoke of iron, and the band thereof is a band of brass. The death thereof is the vilest death, and the grave were better than it. The perseverance thereof shall not abide; but it shall hold the ways of the unrighteous, and its flame shall not burn the righteous. Such as forsake the Lord shall fall into it, and it shall burn in them, and not be quenched; and it shall be sent upon them as a lion, and hurt them as a leopard. Hedge thine ears about with thorns, and listen not to the evil tongue; and make a door for thy mouth, and bars for thine ears. Smelt (confla) thy gold and silver, and make a balance for thy words, and right curbs for thy mouth. And beware that thou slide not perchance in thy tongue, and fall before thine enemies that lie in wait for thee, and thy fall be irremediable even to death. "Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day. For suddenly shall His wrath come, and in the time of vengeance He will destroy thee. Set not thine heart upon goods unjustly gotten, for they shall not profit thee in the day of veiling (for execution, obductionis) and vengeance.

9 Move not with every wind, and go not into every way; for so is the sinner proved with the double-tongue. Be stedfast in the way of the Lord, and in the truth of thine understanding, and in knowledge; and let the word of peace and righteousness attend thee. Be courteous in hearing the word, that thou mayest understand it, and with wisdom give a true answer. If thou hast understanding, answer thy neighbour; if not, lay thy hand upon thy mouth, lest thou be caught in a word of folly, and be confounded. Honour and glory are in the talk of the intelligent man; the tongue of the unwise is his fall. Be not called a whisperer, and be not caught in thy tongue, and confounded. For confusion and penitence are upon the thief, and the worst condemnation upon the double-tongued. Moreover, for the whisperer there is hatred, and enmity, and shame. Justify the small and the great alike. Instead of a

friend, become not an enemy to thy neighbour. For the evil man shall inherit reproach and shame, and every sinner in like manner that is envious and double-tongued. Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart as a bull, lest perchance thy virtue be shattered in folly, and it consume thy leaves, and destroy thy fruits, and thou be left as a dry tree in the desert.

¹⁰ For a wicked soul shall destroy him that hath it, and makes him to be laughed to scorn by his enemies, and shall bring him down to the lot of the impious. Most dearly beloved, study to lift up the oppressed, and always help the necessitous; for if a man relieves an afflicted brother, delivers a captive, or consoles a mourner, let him have no doubt that that will be recompensed to him by Him on whom he bestows it all, and who says: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Strive, then, unceasingly to do what is good in such wise that ye may both obtain the fruit of good works here, and enjoy the favour of God in the future, to the intent that hereafter ye may be worthy to enter the court of the heavenly kingdom.—Given on the fourth day before the kalends of May (the 28th of April), in the consulship of the most illustrious Severus and Quintianus.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Note by the American Editor. In Bower's *History of the Popes* (ed. Philadelphia, 1847), vol. i. p. 22, may be seen an interesting note on the "Pontifical" of Bucherius, under the name of Pontianus. It was this bishop who is said to have condemned Origen. He probably shared the fate of Hippolytus in exile, and was martyred under Maximin the Thracian.

The Epistles of Pope Zephyrinus

EARLY PAPAL DECRETALS (PSEUDO-ISIDORE)

forged in the 9th century

Letters in the name of Pope Zephyrinus, the first on the final judgement of the trials of bishops. They belong to the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which were forged in the ninth century.

TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF SICILY

¹ The Epistles of Zephyrinus. The First Epistle. To All the Bishops of Sicily. Of the final decision of the trials of bishops, and graver ecclesiastical cases in the seat of the apostles. Zephyrinus, archbishop of the city of Rome, to all the bishops settled in Sicily, in the Lord, greeting. We ought to be mindful of the grace of God to us, which in His own merciful regard has raised us for this purpose to the summit of priestly honour, that, abiding by His commandments, and appointed in a certain supervision of His priests, we may prohibit things unlawful, and teach those that are to be followed. As night does not extinguish the stars of heaven, so the unrighteousness of the world does not blind the minds of the faithful that hold by the sure support of Scripture. Therefore we ought to consider well and attend carefully to the Scriptures, and the divine precepts which are contained in these Scriptures, in order that we may show ourselves not transgressors, but fulfillers of the law of God.

² Now patriarchs and primates, in investigating the case of an accused bishop, should not pronounce a final decision until, supported by the authority of the apostles, they find that the person either confesses himself guilty, or is proved so by witnesses trustworthy and regularly examined, who should not be fewer in number than were those disciples whom the Lord directed to be chosen for the help of the apostles—that is, seventy-two. Detractors also, who are to be rooted out by divine authority, and the advisers of enemies (*auctores inimicorum*), we do not admit in the indictment of bishops or in evidence against them; nor should any one of superior rank be indicted

or condemned on the accusations of inferiors. Nor in a doubtful case should a decisive judgment be pronounced; nor should any trial be held valid unless it has been conducted according to order. No one, moreover, should be judged in his absence, because both divine and human laws forbid that. The accusers of those persons should also be free of all suspicion, because the Lord has chosen that His pillars should stand firm, and not be shaken by any one who will. For a sentence should not bind any of them if it is not given by their proper judge, because even the laws of the world ordain that that be done. For any accused bishop may, if it be necessary, choose twelve judges by whom his case may be justly judged. Nor should he be heard or excommunicated or judged until these be chosen by him;

³and on his being regularly summoned at first to a council of his own bishops, his case should be justly heard by them, and investigated on sound principles. The end of his case, however, should be remitted to the seat of the apostles, that it may be finally decided there. Nor should it be finished, as has been decreed of old by the apostles or their successors, until it is sustained by its authority. To it also all, and especially the oppressed, should appeal and have recourse as to a mother, that they may be nourished by her breasts, defended by her authority, and relieved of their oppressions, because “a mother cannot,” and should not, “forget her son. For the trials of bishops and graver ecclesiastical cases, as the apostles and their holy successors have decreed, are to be finally decided along with other bishops by the seat of the apostles, and by no other; because, although they may be transferred to other bishops, it was yet to the blessed Apostle Peter these terms were addressed: “Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. And the other privileges which have been granted to this holy seat alone are found embodied both in the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, and in very many others in harmony with these. For the apostles have prefixed seventy decrees, together with very many other bishops, and have appointed them to be kept.

⁴For to judge rashly of the secrets of another’s heart is sin; and it is unjust to reprove him on suspicion whose works seem not other than good, since God alone is Judge of those things which are unknown to men. He, however, “knoweth the secrets of the heart,” and not another. For unjust judgments are to be guarded against by all, especially however by the servants of God. “And the servant of the Lord must not strive,” nor harm any one. For bish-

ops are to be borne by laity and clergy, and masters by servants, in order that, under the exercise of endurance, things temporal may be maintained, and things eternal hoped for. For that increases the worth of virtue, which does not violate the purpose of religion. You should be earnestly intent that none of your brothers be grievously injured or undone. Therefore you ought to succour the oppressed, and deliver them from the hand of their persecutors, in order that with the blessed Job you may say: "The blessing of him that was ready to perish will come upon me, and I consoled the widow's heart. I put on righteousness, and clothed myself with a robe and a diadem, my judgment. I was eye to the blind, and foot to the lame. I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out most carefully. I brake the grinders of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth; and so forth.

5 You, therefore, who have been placed in eminence by God, ought with all your power to check and repel those who prepare snares for brethren, or raise seditions and offences against them. For it is easy by word to deceive man, not however God. Therefore you ought to keep these off, and be on your guard against them, until such darkness is done away utterly, and the morning star shines upon them, and gladness arises, most holy brethren. Given on the 20th September, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus.

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF EGYPT

Contents

1 Preface Chapter 1 Chapter 2 The Second Epistle. To the Bishops of the Province of Egypt. Zephyrinus, archbishop of the city of Rome, to the most beloved brethren who serve the Lord in Egypt. So great trust have we received from the Lord, the Founder of this holy seat and of the apostolic church, and from the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, that we may labour with unwearied affection for the universal Church which has been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and aid all who serve the Lord, and give help to all who live piously by apostolic authority. All who will live piously in Christ must needs endure reproaches from the impious and aliens, and be despised as fools and madmen, that they may be made better and purer who lose the good things of time that they may gain those of eternity. But the contempt and ridicule of those who afflict and scorn them will be cast back upon themselves, when their abundance shall change to want, and their pride to confusion.

²I. On the Spoliation or Expulsion of certain Bishops. ³It has been reported at the seat of the apostles by your delegates, that certain of our brethren, bishops to wit, are being expelled from their churches and seats, and deprived of their goods, and summoned, thus destitute and spoiled, to trial; a thing which is void of all reason, since the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, and the statutes of emperors, and the regulations of laws, prohibit it, and the authority of the seat of the apostles forbids it to be done. It has been ordained, indeed, in the ancient statutes, that bishops who have been ejected and spoiled of their property should recover their churches, and, in the first place, have all their property restored to them; and then, in the second place, that if any one may desire to accuse them justly, he should do so at the like risk; that the judges should be discreet, the bishops right-minded and harmonious in the Church, where they should be witnesses for every one who seemed to be oppressed; and that they should not answer till all that belonged to them was restored to them, and to their churches by law without detriment. Nor is it strange, brethren, if they persecute you, when they persecuted even to death your Head, Christ our Lord. Yet even persecutions are to be endured patiently, that ye may be known to be His disciples, for whom also ye suffer. Whence, too, he says Himself, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake.

⁴Sustained by these testimonies, we ought not greatly to fear the reproach of men, nor be overcome by their up-braidings, since the Lord gives us this command by Isaiah the prophet, saying, "Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, my people, in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings; considering what is written in the Psalm, "Shall not God search this out? for He knoweth the secrets of the heart, and the thoughts of such men, that they are vanity," "They spoke vanity every one with his neighbour: with deceitful lips in their heart, and with an evil heart they spoke. But the Lord shall cut off all deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things; who have said, Our lips are our own; who is Lord over us? For if they kept these things in memory, they would by no means break forth into so great wickedness. For they do not this by laudable and paternal instruction (*probabili et paterna doctrina*), but that they may wreak their vengeful feeling against the servants of God. For it is written, "The way of a fool is right in his eyes; and, "There are ways which seem right unto a man, but the end thereof leads to death. Now we

who suffer these things ought to leave them to the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works; who also has thundered through His servants, saying, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay.

⁵ Assist ye, therefore, one another in good faith, and by deed and with a hearty will; nor let any one remove his hand from the help of a brother, since "by this," saith the Lord, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. Whence, too, He speaks by the prophet, saying, "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! In a spiritual dwelling, I interpret it, and in a concord which is in God, and in the unity of the faith which distinguishes this pleasant dwelling according to truth, which indeed was more beautifully illustrated in Aaron and the priests clothed with honour, as ointment upon the head, nurturing the highest understanding and leading even to the end of wisdom. For in this dwelling the Lord has promised blessing and eternal life. Apprehending, therefore, the importance of this utterance of the prophet, we have spoken this present brotherly word for love's sake, and by no means seeking, or meaning to seek, our own things. For it is not good to repay detraction with detraction, or according to the common proverb to cast out a beam with a beam (*excutere palum palo*). Be it far from us. Such manners are not ours. May the Godhead indeed forbid it.

⁶ By the just judgment of God, power is given sometimes to sinners to persecute His saints, in order that they who are aided and borne on by the Spirit of God may become more glorious through the discipline of sufferings. But to those very persons who persecute, and reproach, and injure them, there will doubtless be woe. Woe, woe to those who injure the servants of God; for injury done to them concerns Him whose service they discharge, and whose function they execute. But we pray that a door of enclosure be placed upon their mouths, as we desire that no one perish or be defiled by their lips, and that they think or publish with their mouth no hurtful word. Whence also the Lord speaks by the prophet, "I said I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue. May the Lord Almighty, and His only-begotten Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ, give you this incitement, that with all means in your power you aid all the brethren under whatsoever tribulations they labour, and esteem, as is meet, their sufferings your own. Afford them the utmost assistance by word and deed, that ye may be found His true disciples, who enjoined all to love the brethren as themselves.

7 II. On the Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons. Ordinations of presbyters and Levites, moreover, solemnly perform on a suitable occasion, and in the presence of many witnesses; and to this duty advance tried and learned men, that ye may be greatly gladdened by their fellowship and help. Place the confidence of your hearts without ceasing on the goodness of God, and declare these and the other divine words to succeeding generations: "For this is our God for ever and ever, and He will guide us to eternity." Given on the 7th November, in the consulship of the most illustrious Saturninus and Gallicanus.

NOTES BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR

Notes by the American Editor. 1. The translator's reference to Canon 73 is a mistake, and quite misleading. See vol. vii. Canon 74, p. 504. 2. It is worth while to recall who and what Zephyrinus was. See vol. v. p. 156, Elucidation V.; also same volume of this series, p. 157, Elucidation VI. This unhappy prelate was a heretic; and his decrees and opinions are worthless, as Hippolytus shows. Hence this letter, even were it genuine, would be of no value whatever. Consult also vol. v. p. 156, in Elucidation IV.; also same volume, Elucidation III. 3. On p. 610, Ep. 2, sec. 1, observe the reference to the "statutes of Emperors," where the wily forger forgot himself, as if the Cæsars of this date had legislated for the Christian Church. On the spirit of the ancient Canons, refuting all these Decretals, compare the Canons of Nicæa, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 15; of Constantinople, 2 and 3; of Ephesus, 8; and of Chalcedon, 9 and 28. To these Canons, against the claims of the Paparchy, the Church of England appealed at her Restoration.

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Of the Discipline and Advantage of Chastity

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An Exhortation to the Priesthood

English translation by Alphonse Mingana, from Woodbrooke Studies: Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshūni, edited and translated by A. Mingana, with introductions by Rendel Harris, volume 1 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1927); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1927 volume at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Rendel Harris's introduction and the Garshūni text and facsimiles are also left out. Greek words that occur in the text are given in Latin letters. No modern English version has been made. *Licence: Public domain.*

Spurious Letters Ascribed to Ignatius

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The Life of Polycarp, by Pseudo-Pionius

English translation by J. B. Lightfoot, from The Apostolic Fathers: St Ignatius and St Polycarp (1889); public domain. The text was transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection Early Church Fathers – Additional Texts (tertullian.org/fathers). SermonIndex has removed the page numbers and the footnotes and divided the text into sections; the wording is the translator's own. Greek words that occur in the text are given in Latin letters. *Licence: Public domain.*

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Apocryphal Letters: Abgarus, Lentulus, Laodiceans, and Paul and Seneca

English translation by M. R. James, from *The Apocryphal New Testament*, being the apocryphal gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses, with other narratives and fragments, newly translated by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1924 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. James's notes at the foot of the pages and the page numbers are also left out; the short introductions that he prints before each work are kept. No modern English version has been made. *Licence: Public domain.*

Fragments Attributed to Irenaeus

English translation from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe; New York, 1885–1896; public domain), translated by Benjamin Plummer Pratten, as transcribed by volunteers of English Wikisource. SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it, and no modern English version has been made. *Licence: Public domain.*

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Apology (attributed to Melito)

English translation by William Cureton, from the Syriac, in *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855); public domain. The text was transcribed for Roger Pearse's collection *Early Church Fathers – Additional Texts* (tertullian.org/fathers). SermonIndex has removed the page numbers and the footnotes and divided the text into sections; the wording is the translator's own. *Licence: Public domain.*

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The Decrees of Pope Fabian

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