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TRANSLATIONS OF

THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS

DOWN TO A.D. 325.

EDITED BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.

VOL. XX.

THE WRITINGS OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, AND ARCHELAUS.

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THE WORKS

OF

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS,

DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA,

AND

ARCHELAUS.

Translated by

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WRITINGS OF
GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

WE are in possession of a considerable body of testimonies from ancient literature bearing on the life and work of Gregory. From these, though they are largely mixed up with the marvellous, we gain a tolerably clear and satisfactory view of the main facts in his history, and the most patent features of his character. Thus we have accounts of him, more or less complete, in Eusebius (*Historia Eccles.* vi. 30, vii. 14), Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, xxix. 74; *Epist.* 28, Num. 1 and 2; 204, Num. 2; 207, Num. 4; 210, Num. 3, 5,—Works, vol. iii. pp. 62, 107, 303, 311, etc., edit. Paris. BB. 1730), Jerome (*De viris illustr.* ch. 65; in the *Comment. in Ecclesiasten*, ch. 4; and *Epist.* 70, Num. 4,—Works, vol. i. pp. 424 and 427, edit. Veron.), Rufinus (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 25), Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 27), Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vii. 27), Evagrius Scholasticus (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 31), Suidas in his *Lexicon*, and others of less moment. From these various witnesses we learn that he was also known by the name Theodorus, which may have been his original designation; that he was a native of Neo-Cæsareia, a considerable place of trade, and one of the most important towns of Pontus; that he belonged to a family of some wealth and standing; that he was born of heathen parents; that at the age of fourteen he lost his father; that he had a brother named Athenodorus; and that along with him he travelled about from city to city in

the prosecution of studies that were to fit him for the profession of law, to which he had been destined. Among the various seats of learning which he thus visited we find Alexandria, Athens, Berytus, and the Palestinian Cæsareia mentioned. At this last place—to which, as he tells us, he was led by a happy accident in the providence of God—he was brought into connection with Origen. Under this great teacher he received lessons in logic, geometry, physics, ethics, philosophy, and ancient literature, and in due time also in biblical science and the verities of the Christian faith. Thus, having become Origen's pupil, he became also by the hand of God his convert. After a residence of some five years with the great Alexandrian, he returned to his native city. Soon, however, a letter followed him to Neo-Cæsareia, in which Origen urged him to dedicate himself to the ministry of the church of Christ, and pressed strongly upon him his obligation to consecrate his gifts to the service of God, and in especial to devote his acquirements in heathen science and learning to the elucidation of the Scriptures. On receipt of this letter, so full of wise and faithful counsel and strong exhortation, from the teacher whom he venerated and loved above all others, he withdrew into the wilderness, seeking opportunity for solemn thought and private prayer over its contents. At this time the bishop of Amasea, a city which held apparently a first place in the province, was one named Phædimus, who, discerning the promise of great things in the convert, sought to make him bishop of Neo Cæsareia. For a considerable period, however, Gregory who shrank from the responsibility of the episcopal office kept himself beyond the bishop's reach, until Phædimus unsuccessful in his search, had recourse to the stratagem of ordaining him in his absence, and declaring him, with the solemnities of the usual ceremonial, bishop of his native city. On receiving the report of this extraordinary step Gregory yielded, and, coming forth from the place of concealment, was consecrated to the bishopric with all customary formalities; and so well did he discharge the duties of his office, that while there were said to be

seventeen Christians in the whole city when he first entered it as bishop, there were said to be only seventeen pagans in it at the time of his death. The date of his studies under Origen is fixed at about 234 A.D., and that of his ordination as bishop at about 240. About the year 250 his church was involved in the sufferings of the Decian persecution, on which occasion he fled into the wilderness, with the hope of preserving his life for his people, whom he also counselled to follow in that matter his example. His flock had much to endure, again, through the incursion of the northern barbarians about 260. He took part in the council that met at Antioch in 265 for the purpose of trying Paul of Samosata; and soon after that he died, perhaps about 270, if we can adopt the conjectural reading which gives the name Aurelian instead of Julian in the account left us by Suidas.

The surname Thaumaturgus, or *Wonder-worker*, at once admonishes us of the *marvellous* that so largely connected itself with the *historical* in the ancient records of this man's life. He was believed to have been gifted with a power of working miracles, which he was constantly exercising. He could move the largest stones by a word; he could heal the sick; the demons were subject to him, and were exorcised by his fiat; he could give bounds to overflowing rivers; he could dry up mighty lakes; he could cast his cloak over a man, and cause his death: once, spending a night in a heathen temple, he banished its divinities by his simple presence, and by merely placing on the altar a piece of paper bearing the words, *Gregory to Satan—enter*, he could bring the presiding demons back to their shrine. One strange story told of him by Gregory of Nyssa is to the effect that, as Gregory was meditating on the great matter of the right way to worship the true God, suddenly two glorious personages made themselves manifest in his room, in the one of whom he recognised the Apostle John, in the other the Virgin. They had come, as the story goes, to solve the difficulties which were making him hesitate in accepting the bishopric. At Mary's request, the evangelist gave him then all the instruction in doctrine which he was seeking for; and the sum of these supernatural

communications being written down by him after the vision vanished, formed the creed which is still preserved among his writings. Such were the wonders believed to signalize the life of Gregory. But into these it is profitless to enter. When all the marvellous is dissociated from the historical in the records of this bishop's career, we have still the figure of a great, good, and gifted man, deeply versed in the heathen lore and science of his time, yet more deeply imbued with the genuine spirit of another wisdom, which, under God, he learned from the illustrious thinker of Alexandria, honouring with all love, gratitude, and veneration that teacher to whom he was indebted for his knowledge of the gospel, and exercising an earnest, enlightened, and faithful ministry of many years in an office which he had not sought, but for which he had been sought. Such is, in brief, the picture that rises up before us from a perusal of his own writings, as well as from the comparison of ancient accounts of the man and his vocation. Of his well-accredited works we have the following: *A Declaration of Faith*, being a creed on the doctrine of the Trinity; a *Metaphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes*; a *Panegyric to Origen*, being an oration delivered on leaving the school of Origen, expressing eloquently, and with great tenderness of feeling, as well as polish of style, the sense of his obligations to that master; and a *Canonical Epistle*, in which he gives a variety of directions with respect to the penances and discipline to be exacted by the church from Christians who had fallen back into heathenism in times of suffering, and wished to be restored. Other works have been attributed to him, which are doubtful or spurious. His writings have been often edited,—by Gerard Voss in 1604, by the Paris editors in 1662, by Gallandi in 1788, and others, who need not be enumerated here.

PART I.

ACKNOWLEDGED WRITINGS.

A DECLARATION OF FAITH.[1]

(Gallandi, *Veterum Patrum Biblioth.*, Venice 1766, p. 385.)

THERE is one God, the Father of the living Word, (who is His) subsistent Wisdom and Power and Eternal Image (*χαρακτῆρος ἀϊδίου*): perfect Begetter of the perfect (Begotten), Father of the only-begotten Son. There is one Lord, Only of the Only (*μόνος ἐκ μόνου*), God of God, Image and Likeness of Deity, Efficient Word (*λόγος ἐνεργός*), Wisdom comprehensive (*περιεκτική*) of the constitution of all things, and Power formative (*ποιητική*) of the whole creation, true Son of true Father, Invisible of Invisible, and Incorruptible of Incorruptible, and Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal (*ἀΐδιος ἀϊδίου*). And there is One Holy Spirit, having His subsistence (*ὕπαρξιν*) from God, and being made manifest (*πεφηνός*) by the Son, to wit to men:[2] Image (*εἰκών*) of the Son, Perfect (Image) of the Perfect;[3] Life, the Cause of

[1] The title as it stands has this addition: "which he had by revelation from the blessed John the evangelist, by the mediation of the Virgin Mary, Parent of God."

[2] The words *δηλαδὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* are suspected by some to be a gloss that has found its way into the text.

[3] So John of Damascus uses the phrase, *εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὸ Πνεῦμα*, the Son is the Image of the Father, and the Spirit is that of the Son, lib. 1, *De fide orthod.* ch. 13, vol. i. p. 151. See also Athanasius, *Epist.* 1 *ad Serap.*; Basil, lib. v. *contra Eunom.*; Cyril, *Dial.* 7, etc.

the living; Holy Fount; Sanctity, the Supplier (or Leader, χορηγός) of Sanctification; in whom is manifested God the Father, who is above all and in all, and God the Son, who is through all. There is a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and sovereignty, neither divided nor estranged[1] (ἀπαλλοτριουμένη). Wherefore there is nothing either created or in servitude (δοῦλον) in the Trinity;[2] nor anything superinduced (ἐπείσακτον), as if at some former period it was non-existent, and at some later period it was introduced. And thus neither was the Son ever wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son;[3] but without variation and without change, the same Trinity (abides) ever.

[1] See also Gregory Nazianz., *Orat.* 37, p. 609.

[2] Gregory Nazianz., *Orat.* 40, p. 668, with reference apparently to our author, says: Οὐδὲν τῆς Τριάδος δοῦλον, οὐδὲ κτιστὸν, οὐδὲ ἐπείσακτον, ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν τινος λέγοντος—*In the Trinity there is nothing either in servitude or created, or superinduced, as I heard one of the learned say.*

[3] In one codex we find the following addition here: οὔτε αὔξεται μονὰς εἰς δυάδα, οὐδὲ δυὰς εἰς τριάδα—*Neither again does the unity grow into duality, nor the duality into trinity;* or = *Neither does the condition of the one grow into the condition of the two, nor that of the two into the condition of the three.*

A METAPHRASE OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

(Gallandi, *Biblioth. Vet. Patr.* iii. 387.)

CHAPTER I.

THESE words speaketh Solomon, the son of David the king and prophet, to the whole church of God, a prince most honoured, and a prophet most wise above all men. How vain and fruitless are the affairs of men, and all pursuits that occupy man! For there is not one who can tell of any profit attaching to those things which men who creep on earth strive by body and soul to attain to, in servitude all the while to what is transient, and undesirous of considering aught heavenly with the noble eye of the soul. And the life of men weareth away, as day by day, and in the periods of hours and years, and the determinate courses of the sun, some are ever coming, and others passing away. And the matter is like the transit of torrents as they fall into the measureless deep of the sea with a mighty noise. And all things that have been constituted by God for the sake of men abide the same: as, for instance, that man is born of earth, and departs to earth again; that the earth itself continues stable; that the sun accomplishes its circuit about it perfectly, and rolls round to the same mark again; and that the winds[1] in like manner, and the mighty rivers which flow into the sea, and the breezes that beat upon it, all act without forcing

[1] τὰ πνεύματα, for which some propose ῥεύματα, streams, as the ἄνεμοι are mentioned in their own place immediately.

it to pass beyond its limits, and without themselves also violating their appointed laws. And these things, indeed, as bearing upon the good of this life of ours, are established thus fittingly. But those things which are of men's devising, whether words or deeds, have no measure. And there is a plenteous multitude of words, but there is no profit from random and foolish talking. But the race of men is naturally insatiate in its thirst both for speaking and for hearing what is spoken; and it is man's habit, too, to desire to look with idle eyes on all that happens. What can occur afterwards, or what can be wrought by men which has not been done already? What new thing is there worthy of mention, of which there has never yet been experience? For I think there is nothing which one may call new, or which one, on considering it, shall discover to be strange or unknown to those of old. But as former things are buried in oblivion, so also things that are now subsistent will in the course of time vanish utterly from the knowledge of those who shall come after us. And I speak not these things unadvisedly, as acting now the preacher (*νῦν ἐκκλησιάζων*). But all these things were carefully pondered by me when entrusted with the kingdom of the Hebrews in Jerusalem. And I examined diligently, and considered discreetly, the nature of all that is on earth, and I perceived it to be most various (*ποικιλωτάτην*); (and I saw) that to man it is given to labour upon earth, ever carried about by all different occasions of toil, and with no result of his work. And all things here below are full of the spirit of strangeness and abomination, so that it is not possible for one to retrieve them now; nay, rather it is not possible for one at all to conceive what utter vanity (*ἀτοπία*) has taken possession of all human affairs. For once on a time I communed with myself, and thought that then I was wiser in this than all that were before me, and I was expert in understanding parables and the natures of things. But I learned that I gave myself to such pursuits to no purpose, and that if wisdom follows knowledge, so troubles attend on wisdom.

CHAPTER II.

Judging, therefore, that it stood thus with this matter, I decided to turn to another manner of life, and to give myself to pleasure, and to take experience of various delights. And now I learned that all such things are vain; and I put a check on laughter, when it ran on carelessly; and restrained pleasure, according to the rule of moderation, and was bitterly wroth against it. And when I perceived that the soul is able to arrest the body in its disposition to intoxication and wine-bibbing, and that temperance makes lust its subject, I sought earnestly to observe what object of true worth and of real excellence is set before men, which they shall attain to in this present life. For I passed through all those other objects which are deemed worthiest, such as the erecting of lofty houses and the planting of vines, and in addition, the laying out of pleasure-grounds, and the acquisition and culture of all manner of fruit-bearing trees; and among them also large reservoirs for the reception of water were constructed, and distributed so as to secure the plentiful irrigation of the trees. And I surrounded myself also with many domestics, both man-servants and maid-servants; and some of them I procured from abroad, and others I possessed and employed as born in my own house. And herds of four-footed creatures, as well of cattle as of sheep, more numerous than any of those of old acquired, were made my property. And treasures of gold and silver flowed in upon me; and I made the kings of all nations my dependants and tributaries. And very many choirs of male and female singers were trained to yield me pleasure by the practice of all-harmonious song. And I had banquetings; and for the service of this part of my pleasure, I got me select cup-bearers of both sexes beyond my reckoning,—so far did I surpass in these things those who reigned before me in Jerusalem. And thus it happened that the interests of wisdom declined with me, while the claims of evil appetency increased. For when I yielded myself to every allurement of

the eyes, and to the violent passions of the heart, that make their attack from all quarters, and surrendered myself to the hopes held out by pleasures, I also made my will the bond-slave of all miserable delights. For thus my judgment was brought to such a wretched pass, that I thought these things good, and that it was proper for me to engage in them. At length, awaking and recovering my sight, I perceived that the things I had in hand were altogether sinful and very evil, and the deeds of a spirit not good. For now none of all the objects of men's choice seems to me worthy of approval, or greatly to be desired by a just mind. Wherefore, having pondered at once the advantages of wisdom and the ills of folly, I should with reason admire that man greatly, who, being borne on in a thoughtless course, and afterwards arresting himself, should return to right and duty. For wisdom and folly are widely separated, and they are as different from each other as day is from night. He, therefore, who makes choice of virtue, is like one who sees all things plainly, and looks upward, and who holdeth his ways in the time of clearest light. But he, on the other hand, who has involved himself in wickedness, is like a man who wanders helplessly about in a moonless night, as one who is blind, and deprived of the sight of things by his darkness.[1] And when I considered the end of each of these modes of life, I found there was no profit in the latter;[2] and by setting myself to be the companion of the foolish, I saw that I should receive the wages of folly. For what advantage is there in those thoughts, or what profit is there in the multitude of words, where the streams of foolish speaking are flowing, as it were, from the fountain of folly? Moreover, there is nothing common to the wise man and to the fool, neither as regards the memory of men, nor as regards the recompense of God. And as to all the affairs

[1] The text is, *τυφλός τε ὢν τὴν πρόσοψιν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφῃρημένος*, for which it is proposed to read, *τυφλός τε ὢν καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους*, etc.

[2] Or, as the Latin version puts it: And, in fine, when I considered the difference between these modes of life, I found nothing but that, by setting myself, etc.

of men, when they are yet apparently but beginning to be, the end at once surprises them. Yet the wise man is never partaker of the same end with the foolish. Then also did I hate all my life, that had been consumed in vanities, and which I had spent with a mind engrossed in earthly anxieties. For, to speak in brief, all my affairs have been done by me with labour and pain, as the efforts of thoughtless impulse; and some other person, it may be a wise man or a fool, will succeed to them, I mean, the chill fruits of my toils. But when I cut myself off from these things, and cast them away, then did that real good which is set before man show itself to me,—namely, the knowledge of wisdom and the possession of manly virtue (*ἀνδρείας*). And if a man neglects these things, and is inflamed with the passion for other things, such a man makes choice of evil instead of good, and goes after what is bad instead of what is excellent, and after trouble instead of peace; for he is distracted by every manner of disturbance, and is burdened with continual anxieties night and day, with oppressive labours of body as well as with ceaseless cares of mind,—his heart moving in constant agitation, by reason of the strange and senseless affairs that occupy him. For the perfect good does not consist in eating and drinking, although it is true that it is from God that their sustenance cometh to men; for none of those things which are given for our maintenance subsist without His providence. But the good man who gets wisdom from God, gets also heavenly enjoyment; while, on the other hand, the evil man, smitten with ills divinely inflicted, and afflicted with the disease of lust, toils to amass much, and is quick to put him to shame who is honoured by God in presence of the Lord of all, proffering useless gifts, and making things deceitful and vain the pursuits of his own miserable soul.

CHAPTER III.

For this present time is filled with all things that are most contrary[1] to each other—births and deaths, the growth of plants and their uprooting, cures and killings, the building up and the pulling down of houses, weeping and laughing, mourning and dancing. At this moment a man gathers of earth's products, and at another casts them away; and at one time he ardently desireth (the beauty of) woman, and at another he hateth it. Now he seeketh something, and again he loseth it; and now he keepeth, and again he casteth away; at one time he slayeth, and at another he is slain; he speaketh, and again he is silent; he loveth, and again he hateth. For the affairs of men are at one time in a condition of war, and at another in a condition of peace; while their fortunes are so inconstant, that from bearing the semblance of good, they change quickly into acknowledged ills. Let us have done, therefore, with vain labours. For all these things, as appears to me, are set to madden men, as it were, with their poisoned stings. And the ungodly observer of the times and seasons is agape for this world (age), exerting himself above measure to destroy the image (*πλάσμα*) of God, as one who has chosen to contend against it (or *Him*) from the beginning onward to the end.[2] I am persuaded, therefore, that the greatest good for man is cheerfulness and well-doing, and that this shortlived enjoyment, which alone is possible to us, comes from God only, if righteousness direct our doings. But as to those everlasting and incorruptible things which God hath firmly established, it is not possible either to take aught from them or to add aught to them. And to men in

[1] The text reads *ἐναντιωτήτων*, for which Codex Anglicus has *ἐναντιωτάτων*.

[2] The Greek text is, *καιροσκόπος δή τις πονηρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον περιέχηνεν, ἀφανίσαι ὑπερδιατεινόμενος τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πλάσμα, ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ μέχρι τέλους πολεμεῖν χρημένος.* It is well to notice how widely this differs from our version of iii. 11: "He hath made everything beautiful in his time," etc.

general, those things, in sooth, are fearful and wonderful;[1] and those things indeed which have been, abide so; and those which are to be, have already been, as regards His foreknowledge. Moreover, the man who is injured has God as his helper. I saw in the lower parts the pit of punishment which receives the impious, but a different place allotted for the pious. And I thought with myself, that with God all things are judged and determined to be equal; that the righteous and the unrighteous, and objects with reason and without reason, are alike in His judgment. For that their time is measured out equally to all, and death impends over them, and (in this) the races of beasts and men are alike in the judgment of God, and differ from each other only in the matter of articulate speech; and all things else happen alike to them, and death receives all equally, not more so in the case of the other kinds of creatures than in that of men. For they have all the same breath (of life), and men have nothing more; but all are, in one word, vain, deriving their present condition (*σύστασιν*) from the same earth, and destined to perish, and return to the same earth again. For it is uncertain regarding the souls of men, whether they shall fly upwards; and regarding the others which the unreasoning creatures possess, whether they shall fall downward. And it seemed to me, that there is no other good save pleasure, and the enjoyment of things present. For I did not think it possible for a man, when once he has tasted death, to return again to the enjoyment of these things.

CHAPTER IV.

And leaving all these reflections, I considered and turned in aversion from all the forms of oppression (*συκοφαντιῶν*) which are done among men; whence some receiving injury weep and lament, who are struck down by violence in utter default of those who protect them, or who should by all

[1] The text is, *ᾧ τινι οὖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ἐκεῖνα φοβερά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ θαυμαστά.*

means comfort them in their trouble.[1] And the men who make might their right (χειροδίκαι) are exalted to an eminence, from which, however, they shall also fall. Yea, of the unrighteous and audacious, those who are dead fare better than those who are still alive. And better than both these is he who, being destined to be like them, has not yet come into being, since he has not yet touched the wickedness which prevails among men. And it became clear to me also how great is the envy which follows a man from his neighbours, like the sting of a wicked spirit; and (I saw) that he who receives it, and takes it as it were into his breast, has nothing else but to eat his own heart, and tear it, and consume both soul and body, finding inconsolable vexation in the good fortune of others.[2] And a wise man would choose to have one of his hands full, if it were with ease and quietness, rather than both of them with travail and with the villany of a treacherous spirit. Moreover, there is yet another thing which I know to happen contrary to what is fitting, by reason of the evil will of man. He who is left entirely alone, having neither brother nor son, but prospered with large possessions, lives on in the spirit of insatiable avarice, and refuses to give himself in any way whatever to goodness. Gladly, therefore, would I ask such an one for what reason he labours thus, fleeing with headlong speed (προτροπάδην) from the doing of anything good, and distracted by the many various passions for making gain (χρηματίσασθαι). Far better than such are those who have taken up an order of life in common (κοινωνίαν ἅμα βίου ἐστείλαντο), from which they may reap the best blessings. For when two men devote themselves in the right spirit to the same objects, though some mischance befalls the one, he has

[1] The text is, βίᾳ καταβεβλημένοι τῶν ἐπαμυνόντων ἢ ὅλως παραμυθησομένων αὐτοὺς πάσης πανταχόθεν κατεχούσης ἀπορίας. The sense is not clear. It may be: who are struck down in spite of those who protect them, and who should by all means comfort them when all manner of trouble presses them on all sides.

[2] Following the reading of Cod. Medic., which puts τιθέμενος for τιθέμενον.

still at least no slight alleviation in having his companion by him. And the greatest of all calamities to a man in evil fortune is the want of a friend to help and cheer him (*ἀναπτησομένου*). And those who live together both double the good fortune that befalls them, and lessen the pressure of the storm of disagreeable events; so that in the day they are distinguished for their frank confidence in each other, and in the night they appear notable for their cheerfulness.[1] But he who leads a solitary life passes a species of existence full of terror to himself; not perceiving that if one should fall upon men welded closely together, he adopts a rash and perilous course, and that it is not easy to snap the threefold cord.[2] Moreover, I put a poor youth, if he be wise, before an aged prince devoid of wisdom, to whose thoughts it has never occurred that it is possible that a man may be raised from the prison to the throne, and that the very man who has exercised his power unrighteously shall at a later period be righteously cast out. For it may happen that those who are subject to a youth, who is at the same time sensible, shall be free from trouble,—those, I mean, who are his elders.[3] Moreover, they who are born later cannot praise another, of whom they have had no experience (*διὰ τὸ ἑτέρου ἀπειράτως ἔχειν*), and are led by an unreasoning judgment, and by the impulse of a contrary spirit. But in exercising the preacher's office, keep thou this before thine eyes, that thine own life be rightly directed, and that thou prayest in behalf of the foolish, that they may get understanding, and know how to shun the doings of the wicked.

[1] The text is, *καὶ νύκτωρ σεμνότητι σεμνύνεσθαι*, for which certain codices read *σεμνότητι φαιδρύνεσθαι*, and others *φαιδρότητι σεμνύνεσθαι*.

[2] Jerome cites the passage in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes.

[3] *Τοὺς ὅσοι προγενέστεροι.* The sense is incomplete, and some words seem missing in the text. Jerome, in rendering this passage in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes, turns it thus: *ita autem ut sub sene rege versati sint*; either having lighted on a better manuscript, or adding something of his own authority to make out the meaning.

CHAPTER V.

Moreover, it is a good thing to use the tongue sparingly, and to keep a calm and rightly balanced (*εὐσταθούσῃ*) heart in the exercise of speech (*ἐν τῇ περὶ λόγους σπουδῇ*). For it is not right to give utterance in words to things that are foolish and absurd, or to all that occur to the mind; but we ought to know and reflect, that though we are far separated from heaven, we speak in the hearing of God, and that it is good for us to speak without offence. For as dreams and visions of many kinds attend manifold cares of mind, so also silly talking is conjoined with folly. Moreover, see to it, that a promise made with a vow be made good in fact. This, too, is proper to fools, that they are unreliable. But be thou true to thy word, knowing that it is much better for thee not to vow or promise to do anything, than to vow and then fail of performance. And thou oughtest by all means to avoid the flood of base words, seeing that God will hear them. For the man who makes such things his study gets no more benefit by them than to see his doings brought to nought by God. For as the multitude of dreams is vain, so also the multitude of words. But the fear of God is man's salvation, though it is rarely found. Wherefore thou oughtest not to wonder though thou seest the poor oppressed, and the judges misinterpreting the law. But thou oughtest to avoid the appearance of surpassing those who are in power. For even should this prove to be the case, yet, from the terrible ills that shall befall thee, wickedness of itself will not deliver thee. But even as property acquired by violence is a most hurtful as well as impious possession, so the man who lusteth after money never finds satisfaction for his passion, nor goodwill from his neighbours, even though he may have amassed the greatest possible wealth. For this also is vanity. But goodness greatly rejoiceth those who hold by it, and makes them strong (*ἀνδρείους*), imparting to them the capacity of seeing through (*καθορᾶν*) all things. And it is a great

matter also not to be engrossed by such anxieties: for the poor man, even should he be a slave, and unable to fill his belly plentifully, enjoys at least the kind refreshment of sleep; but the lust of riches is attended by sleepless nights and anxieties of mind. And what could there be then more absurd, than with much anxiety and trouble to amass wealth, and keep it with jealous care, if all the while one is but maintaining the occasion of countless evils to himself? And this wealth, besides, must needs perish some time or other, and be lost, whether he who has acquired it has children or not;[1] and the man himself, however unwillingly, is doomed to die, and return to earth in the selfsame condition in which it was his lot once to come into being.[2] And the fact that he is destined thus to leave earth with empty hands, will make the evil all the sorer to him, as he fails to consider that an end is appointed for his life similar to its beginning, and that he toils to no profit, and labours rather for the wind, as it were, than for the advancement of his own real interest, wasting his whole life in most unholy lusts and irrational passions, and withal in troubles and pains. And, to speak shortly, his days are darkness to such a man, and his life is sorrow. Yet this is in itself good, and by no means to be despised. For it is the gift of God, that a man should be able to reap with gladness of mind the fruits of his labours, receiving thus possessions bestowed by God, and not acquired by force.[3] For neither is such a man afflicted with troubles, nor is he for the most part the slave of evil thoughts; but he measures out his life by good deeds, being of good heart (*ἐνθυμούμενος*) in all things, and rejoicing in the gift of God.

CHAPTER VI.

Moreover, I shall exhibit in discourse the ill-fortune that most of all prevails among men. While God may supply a man with all that is according to his mind, and deprive him

[1] Job xx. 20. [2] Job i. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 7.

[3] *ἁρπακτικά* in the text, for which the Cod. Medic. has *ἁρπακτά*.

of no object which may in any manner appeal to his desires, whether it be wealth, or honour, or any other of those things for which men distract themselves; yet the man, while thus prospered in all things, as though the only ill inflicted on him from heaven were just the inability to enjoy them, may but husband them for his fellow, and fall without profit either to himself or to his neighbours. This I reckon to be a strong proof and clear sign of surpassing evil. The man who has borne without blame the name of father of very many children, and spent a long life, and has not had his soul filled with good for so long time, and has had no experience of death meanwhile,[1]—this man I should not envy either his numerous offspring or his length of days; nay, I should say that the untimely birth that falls from a woman's womb is better than he. For as that (birth) came in with vanity, so it also departeth secretly in oblivion, without having tasted the ills of life or looked on the sun. And this is a lighter evil than for the wicked man not to know what is good, even though he measure his life by thousands of years.[2] And the end of both is death. The fool is proved above all things by his finding no satisfaction in any lust. But the discreet man is not held captive by these passions. Yet, for the most part, righteousness of life leads a man to poverty. And the sight of curious eyes deranges (*ἐξίστησι*) many, inflaming their mind, and drawing them on to vain pursuits by the empty desire of show (*τοῦ ὀφθῆναι*). Moreover, the things which are now are known already; and it becomes apparent that man is unable to contend with those that are above him. And, verily, inanities have their course among men, which only increase the folly of those who occupy themselves with them.

[1] *θάνατον πεῖραν οὐ λαβών*, for which we must read probably *θανάτου*, etc.

[2] The text gives, *ἤπερ τῷ πονηρῷ . . . ἀναμετρησαμένῳ ἀγαθότητα μὴ ἐπιγνῷ*, for which we may read either *ἤπερ τῷ πονηρῷ . . . ἀναμετρησάμενος . . . ἐπιγνῷ*, or better, *. . . ἀναμετρησαμένῳ . . . ἐπιγνῶναι.*

CHAPTER VII.

For though a man should be by no means greatly advantaged by knowing all in this life that is destined to befall him according to his mind (let us suppose such a case), nevertheless with the officious activity of men he devises means for prying into and gaining an apparent acquaintance with the things that are to happen after a person's death. Moreover, a good name is more pleasant to the mind[1] than oil to the body; and the end of life is better than the birth, and to mourn is more desirable than to revel, and to be with the sorrowing is better than to be with the intoxicated. For this is the fact, that he who comes to the end of life has no further care about aught around him. And discreet anger is to be preferred to laughter; for by the severe disposition of countenance the soul is kept upright (*κατορθοῦται*). The souls of the wise, indeed, are sad and downcast, but those of fools are elated, and given loose to merriment. And yet it is far more desirable to receive blame from one wise man, than to become a hearer of a whole choir of worthless and miserable men in their songs. For the laughter of fools is like the crackling of many thorns burning in a fierce fire. This, too, is misery, yea the greatest of evils, namely oppression (calumny, *συκοφαντία*); for it intrigues against the souls of the wise, and attempts to ruin the noble way of life (*ἔνστασιν*) which the good pursue. Moreover, it is right to commend not the man who begins, but the man who finishes a speech;[2] and what is moderate ought to approve itself to the mind, and not what is swollen and inflated. Again, one ought certainly to keep wrath in check, and not suffer himself to be carried rashly into anger, the slaves of which are fools. Moreover, they are in error who assert that a better manner of life was given to those before us, and they fail to see that wisdom is widely different from mere abundance of posses-

[1] Prov. xxii. 1.

[2] *λόγων δέ*, etc. But Cod. Medic. reads, *λόγον δέ*, etc., = it is right to commend a speech not in its beginning, but in its end.

sions, and that it is as much more lustrous[1] than these, as silver shines more brightly than its shadow. For the life of man hath its excellence (περιγίγνεται) not in the acquisition of perishable riches, but in wisdom. And who shall be able, tell me, to declare the providence of God, which is so great and so beneficent? or who shall be able to recall the things which seem to have been passed by of God? And in the former days of my vanity I considered all things, (and saw) a righteous man continuing in his righteousness, and ceasing not from it until death, but even suffering injury by reason thereof, and a wicked man perishing with his wickedness. Moreover, it is proper that the righteous man should not seem to be so overmuch, nor exceedingly and above measure wise, that he may not, as in making some slip, (seem to) sin many times over. And be not thou audacious and precipitate, lest an untimely death surprise thee. It is the greatest of all good to take hold of God, and by abiding in Him to sin in nothing. For to touch things undefiled with an impure hand is abomination. But he who in the fear of God submits himself (ὑπείκων), escapes all that is contrary. Wisdom availeth more in the way of help than a band of the most powerful men in a city, and it often also pardons righteously those who fail in duty. For there is not one that stumbleth not.[2] Also it becomes thee in no way to attend upon the words of the impious, that thou mayest not become an earwitness (αὐτήκοος) of words spoken against thyself, such as the foolish talk of a wicked servant, and being thus stung in heart, have recourse afterwards thyself to cursing in turn in many actions. And all these things have I known, having received wisdom from God, which afterwards I lost, and was no longer able to be the same (ὅμοιος). For wisdom fled from me to an infinite distance, and into a measureless deep, so that I could no longer get hold of it. Wherefore afterwards I abstained altogether from seeking it; and I no longer thought of considering the follies and the vain counsels of the impious, and their weary, distracted life. And being thus dis-

[1] φανερωτέρα, for which φανοτέρα is proposed.

[2] 1 Kings viii. 46: 2 Chron. vi. 36; Prov. xx. 9; 1 John i. 8.

posed, I was borne on to the things themselves; and being seized with a fatal passion, I knew woman—that she is like a snare or some such other object.[1] For her heart ensnares those who pass her; and if she but join hand to hand, she holds one as securely as though she dragged him on bound with chains.[2] And from her you can secure your deliverance only by finding a propitious and watchful superintendent in God (ἐπόπτην); for he who is enslaved by sin cannot (otherwise) escape its grasp. Moreover, among all women I sought for the chastity (σωφροσύνην) proper to them, and I found it in none. And verily a person may find one man chaste among a thousand, but a woman never. And this above all things I observed, that men being made by God simple (upright, ἁπλοῖ) in mind, contract (ἐπισπῶνται) for themselves manifold reasonings and infinite questionings, and while professing to seek wisdom, waste their life in vain words.

CHAPTER VIII.

Moreover, wisdom, when it is found in a man, shows itself also in its possessor's face, and makes his countenance to shine; as, on the other hand, effrontery convicts the man in whom it has taken up its abode, so soon as he is seen, as one worthy of hatred. And it is on every account right to give careful heed to the words of the king, and by all manner of means to avoid an oath, especially one taken in the name of God. It may be fit at the same time to notice an evil word, but then it is necessary to guard against any blasphemy against God. For it will not be possible to find fault with Him when He inflicts any penalty, nor to gainsay the decrees of the Only Lord and King. But it will be better and

[1] The text is evidently corrupt: for τὴν γυναῖκα, γῆν τινά, etc., Cotelerius proposes, τὴν γυναῖκα, σαγήνην τινά, etc.; and Bengel, πάγην τινά, etc.

[2] κατέχει ἢ εἰ. This use of ἢ εἰ is characteristic of Gregory Thaumaturgus. We find it again in his *Panegyr. ad Orig.* ch. 6, ἢ εἰ καὶ παρὰ πάντας, etc. It may be added, therefore, to the proofs in support of a common authorship for these two writings.

more profitable for a man to abide by the holy commandments, and to keep himself apart from the words of the wicked. For the wise man knows and discerneth beforehand the judgment, which shall come at the right time, and sees that it shall be just. For all things in the life of men await the retribution from above; but the wicked man does not seem to know verily (λίαν) that as there is a mighty providence over him, nothing in the future shall be hid. He knoweth not indeed the things which shall be; for no man shall be able to announce any one of them to him duly: for no one shall be found so strong as to be able to prevent the angel who spoils him of his life (ψυχήν); neither shall any means be devised for cancelling in any way the appointed time of death. But even as the man who is captured in the midst of the battle can only see flight cut off on every side, so all the impiety of man perisheth utterly together. And I am astonished, as often as I contemplate what and how great things men have studied to do for the hurt of their neighbours. But this I know, that the impious are snatched prematurely from this life, and put out of the way because they have given themselves to vanity. For whereas the providential judgment (πρόνοια) of God does not overtake all speedily, by reason of His great long-suffering, and the wicked is not punished immediately on the commission of his offences,—for this reason he thinks that he may sin the more, as though he were to get off with impunity, not understanding that the transgressor shall not escape the knowledge of God even after a long interval. This, moreover, is the chief good, to reverence God; for if once the impious man fall away from Him, he shall not be suffered long to misuse his own folly. But a most vicious and false opinion often prevails among men concerning both the righteous and the unrighteous. For they form a judgment contrary to truth regarding each of them; and the man who is really righteous does not get the credit of being so, while, on the other hand, the impious man is deemed prudent and upright. And this I judge to be among the most grievous of errors. Once, indeed, I

thought that the chief good consisted in eating and drinking, and that he was most highly favoured of God who should enjoy these things to the utmost in his life; and I fancied that this kind of enjoyment was the only comfort in life. And, accordingly, I gave heed to nothing but to this conceit, so that neither by night nor by day did I withdraw myself from all those things which have ever been discovered to minister luxurious delights to men. And this much I learned thereby, that the man who mingles in these things shall by no means be able, however sorely he may labour with them, to find the real good.

CHAPTER IX.

Now I thought at that time that all men were judged worthy of the same things. And if any wise man practised righteousness, and withdrew himself from unrighteousness, and as being sagacious avoided hatred with all (which, indeed, is a thing well pleasing to God), this man seemed to me to labour in vain. For there seemed to be one end for the righteous and for the impious, for the good and for the evil, for the pure and for the impure, for him that worshipped (ἱλασκομένου) God, and for him that worshipped not. For as the unrighteous man and the good, the man who sweareth a false oath, and the man who avoids swearing altogether, were suspected by me to be driving toward the same end, a certain sinister opinion stole secretly into my mind, that all men come to their end in a similar way. But now I know that these are the reflections of fools, and errors and deceits. And they assert largely, that he who is dead has perished utterly, and that the living is to be preferred to the dead, even though he may lie in darkness, and pass his life-journey after the fashion of a dog, (which is) better at least than a dead lion. For the living know this at any rate, that they are to die; but the dead know not anything, and there is no reward proposed to them after they have completed their necessary course. Also hatred and love with the dead have their end; for their envy has perished,

and their life also is extinguished. And he has a portion in nothing who has once gone hence. Error harping still on such a string, gives also such counsel as this: What meanest thou, O man, that thou dost not enjoy thyself delicately, and gorge thyself with all manner of pleasant food, and fill thyself to the full with wine? Dost thou not perceive that these things are given us from God for our unrestrained enjoyment? Put on newly-washed attire, and anoint thy head with myrrh, and see this woman and that, and pass thy vain life vainly.[1] For nothing else remaineth for thee but this, neither here nor after death. But avail thou thyself of all that chanceth; for neither shall any one take account of thee for these things, nor are the things that are done by men known at all outside the circle of men. And Hades, whatever that may be, whereunto we are said to depart, has neither wisdom nor understanding. These are the things which men of vanity speak. But I know assuredly, that neither shall they who seem the swiftest accomplish that great race; nor shall those who are esteemed mighty and terrible in the judgment of men, overcome in that terrible battle. Neither, again, is prudence proved by abundance of bread, nor is understanding wont to consort with riches. Nor do I congratulate those who think that all shall find the same things befall them. But certainly those who indulge such thoughts seem to me to be asleep, and to fail to consider that, caught suddenly like fishes and birds, they will be consumed with woes, and meet speedily their proper retribution. Also I estimate wisdom at so high a price, that I should deem a small and poorly-peopled city, even though besieged also by a mighty king with his forces, to be indeed great and powerful, if it had but one wise man, however poor, among its citizens. For such a man would be able to deliver his city both from enemies and from entrenchments. And other men, it may be, do not recognise that wise man, poor as he is; but for my part I greatly prefer the power that resides in wisdom, to this might of the mere multitude of the people. Here, however, wisdom, as it dwells with

[1] The text gives, *κἀκεῖνην δὲ ματαίως*, etc.

poverty, is held in dishonour. But hereafter it shall be heard speaking with more authoritative voice than princes and despots who seek after things evil. For wisdom is also stronger than iron; while the folly of one individual works danger for many, even though he be an object of contempt to many.[1]

CHAPTER X.

Moreover, flies falling into myrrh, and suffocated therein, make both the appearance of that pleasant ointment and the anointing therewith an unseemly thing;[2] and to be mindful of wisdom and of folly together is in no way proper. The wise man, indeed, is his own leader to right actions; but the fool inclines to erring courses, and will never make his folly available as a guide to what is noble. Yea, his thoughts also are vain and full of folly. But if ever a hostile spirit fall upon thee, my friend, withstand it courageously, knowing that God is able to propitiate (*ἱλάσασθαι*) even a mighty multitude of offences. These also are the deeds of the prince and father of all wickedness: that the fool is set on high, while the man richly gifted with wisdom is humbled; and that the slaves of sin are seen riding on horseback, while men dedicated to God walk on foot in dishonour, the wicked exulting the while. But if any one devises another's hurt, he forgets that he is preparing a snare for himself first and alone. And he who wrecks another's safety, shall fall by the bite of a serpent. But he who removeth stones, indeed shall undergo no light labour;[3] and he who cleaveth wood shall bear danger with him in his own weapon. And if it chance that the axe spring out of the handle,[4] he who engages in such work shall be put to trouble,

[1] *κἂν πολλοῖς καταφρόνητος ᾖ*; so the Cod. Bodleian. and the Codex Medic. read. But others read *πολύ* = an object of great contempt. For *καταφρόνητος* the Cod. Medic. reads *εὐκαταφρόνητος*.

[2] The text gives *χρίσιν*, for which Cod. Medic. reads *χρῆσιν*, use.

[3] Reading *ἀλλὰ μήν* for *ἀλλὰ μή*.

[4] *στελεοῦ*, for which others read *στελέχους*.

gathering for no good (*οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ συγκομίζων*), and having to put to more of his iniquitous and shortlived strength (*ἐπαύξων αὐτὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἄδικον καὶ ὠκύμορον δύναμιν*). The bite of a serpent, again, is stealthy; and the charmers will not soothe the pain, for they are vain. But the good man doeth good works for himself and for his neighbours alike; while the fool shall sink into destruction through his folly. And when he has once opened his mouth, he begins foolishly and soon comes to an end, exhibiting his senselessness in all. Moreover, it is impossible for man to know anything, or to learn from man either what has been from the beginning, or what shall be in the future. For who shall be the declarer thereof? Besides, the man who knows not to go to the good city, sustains evil in the eyes and in the whole countenance. And I prophesy woes to that city the king of which is a youth, and its rulers gluttons. But I call the good land blessed, the king of which is the son of the free: there those who are entrusted with the power of ruling shall reap what is good in due season. But the sluggard and the idler become scoffers, and make the house decay; and misusing all things for the purposes of their own gluttony, like the ready slaves of money (*ἀργυρίῳ ἀγώγιμοι*), for a small price they are content to do all that is base and abject. It is also right to obey kings and rulers or potentates, and not to be bitter against them, nor to utter any offensive word against them. For there is ever the risk that what has been spoken in secret may somehow become public. For swift and winged messengers convey all things to Him who alone is King both rich and mighty, discharging therein a service which is at once spiritual and reasonable.

CHAPTER XI.

Moreover, it is a righteous thing to give (to the needy) of thy bread, and of those things which are necessary for the support of man's life. For though thou seemest forthwith to waste it upon some persons, as if thou didst cast thy bread upon the water, yet in the progress of time thy kind-

ness shall be seen to be not unprofitable for thee. Also give liberally, and give a portion of thy means to many; for thou knowest not what the coming day doeth. The clouds, again, do not keep back their plenteous rains, but discharge their showers upon the earth. Nor does a tree stand for ever; but even though men may spare it, it shall be overturned by the wind at any rate. But many desire also to know beforehand what is to come from the heavens; and there have been those who, scrutinizing the clouds and waiting for the wind, have had nought to do with reaping and winnowing, putting their trust in vanity, and being all incapable of knowing aught of what may come from God in the future, just as men cannot tell what the woman with child shall bring forth. But sow thou in season, and thus reap thy fruits whenever the time for that comes on. For it is not manifest what shall be better than those among all natural things.[1] Would, indeed, that all things turned out well! Truly, when a man considers with himself that the sun is good, and that this life is sweet, and that it is a pleasant thing to have many years wherein one can delight himself continually, and that death is a terror and an endless evil, and a thing that brings us to nought, he thinks that he ought to enjoy himself in all the present and apparent pleasures of life. And he gives this counsel also to the young, that they should use to the uttermost (*καταχρῆσθαι*) the season of their youth, by giving up their minds to all manner of pleasure, and indulge their passions, and do all that seemeth good in their own eyes, and look upon that which delighteth, and avert themselves from that which is not so. But to such a man I shall say this much: Senseless art thou, my friend, in that thou dost not look for the judgment that shall come from God upon all these things. And profligacy and licentiousness are evil, and the filthy wantonness of our bodies carries death in it. For folly attends on youth, and folly leads to destruction.

[1] *ὁποῖα αὐτῶν ἔσται ἀμείνω τῶν φυέντων*, perhaps = which of those natural productions shall be the better.

CHAPTER XII.

Moreover, it is right that thou shouldest fear God while thou art yet young, before thou givest thyself over to evil things, and before the great and terrible day of God cometh, when the sun shall no longer shine, neither the moon, nor the rest of the stars, but when in that storm and commotion of all things, the powers above shall be moved, that is, the angels who guard the world; so that the mighty men shall cease, and the women shall cease their labours, and shall flee into the dark places of their dwellings, and shall have all the doors shut; and a woman shall be restrained from grinding by fear, and shall speak with the weakest voice, like the tiniest bird; and all impure women shall sink into the earth; and cities and their blood-stained governments shall wait for the vengeance that comes from above, while the most bitter and bloody of all times hangs over them like a blossoming almond, and continuous punishments impend like a multitude of flying locusts, and the transgressors are cast out of the way like a black and despicable caper-plant. And the good man shall depart with rejoicing to his own everlasting habitation; but the vile shall fill all their places with wailing, and neither silver laid up in store, nor proved gold, shall be of use any more. For a mighty stroke[1] shall fall upon all things, even to the pitcher that standeth by the well, and the wheel of the vessel which may chance to have been left in the hollow, when the course of time comes to its end[2] and the ablution-bearing period of a life that is like water has passed away.[3]

[1] *καθέξει πληγή.* Œcolampadius renders it, *magnus enim fons*, evidently reading *πηγή*.

[2] The text is, *ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι παυσαμένης χρόνου τε περιδρομῆς*, for which we may read, *ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι, παυσαμενῆς χρόνων τε περιδρομῆς*. Others apparently propose for *παυσαμενῆς*, *δεξαμενῆς* = at the hollow of the cistern.

[3] The text is, *καὶ τῆς δι' ὕδατος ζωῆς παροδεύσαντος τοῦ λουτροφόρου αἰῶνος*. Billius understands the age to be called *λουτροφόρου*, because, as long as we are in life, it is possible to obtain remission for any sin, or as referring to the rite of baptism.

And for men who lie on earth there is but one salvation, that their souls acknowledge and wing their way to Him by whom they have been made. I say, then, again what I have said already, that man's estate is altogether vain, and that nothing can exceed the utter vanity which attaches to the objects of man's inventions. And superfluous is my labour in preaching discreetly, inasmuch as I am attempting to instruct a people here, so indisposed to receive either teaching or healing. And truly the noble man is needed for the understanding of the words of wisdom. Moreover, I, though already aged, and having passed a long life, laboured to find out those things which are well-pleasing to God, by means of the mysteries of the truth. And I know that the mind is no less quickened and stimulated by the precepts of the wise, than the body is wont to be when the goad is applied, or a nail is fastened in it.[1] And some will render again those wise lessons which they have received from one good pastor and teacher, as if all with one mouth and in mutual concord set forth in larger detail the truths committed to them. But in many words there is no profit. Neither do I counsel thee, my friend, to write down vain things about what is fitting,[2] from which there is nothing to be gained but weary labour. But, in fine, I shall require to use some such conclusion as this: O men, behold, I charge you now expressly and shortly, that ye fear God, who is at once the Lord and the Overseer (*ἐπόπτης*) of all, and that ye keep also His commandments; and that ye believe that all shall be judged severally in the future, and that every man shall receive the just recompense for his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil.

[1] *ἥλῳ ἐμπερονηθέντα.* The Septuagint reads, *λόγοι σοφῶν ὡς τὰ βούκεντρα καὶ ὡς ἧλοι πεφυτευμένοι*, like nails planted, etc. Others read *πεπυρωμένοι*, *igniti*. The Vulg. has, *quasi clavi in altum defixi*.

[2] *περὶ τὸ πρόσηκον*, for which some read, *παρὰ τὸ πρόσηκον*, beyond or contrary to what is fitting.

CANONICAL EPISTLE OF THE HOLY GREGORY,

ARCHBISHOP OF NEOCÆSAREIA,

SURNAMED THAUMATURGUS,

CONCERNING THOSE WHO, IN THE INROAD OF THE BARBARIANS, ATE THINGS SACRIFICED TO IDOLS, OR OFFENDED IN CERTAIN OTHER MATTERS.

(Gallandi, iii. p. 400.)

CANON I.

THE meats are no burden to us, most holy father, if the captives ate things which their conquerors set before them, especially since there is one report from all, viz. that the barbarians who have made inroads into our parts have not sacrificed to idols. For the apostle says, "Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them."[1] But the Saviour also, who cleanseth all meats, says, "Not that which goeth into a man defileth the man, but that which cometh out."[2] And this meets the case of the captive women defiled by the barbarians, who outraged their bodies. But if the previous life of any such person convicted him of going, as it is written, after the eyes of fornicators, the habit of fornication evidently becomes an object of suspicion also in the time of captivity. And one ought not readily to have communion with such women in prayers. If any one, however, has lived in the utmost chastity, and has shown in time past a manner of life pure and free from all suspicion, and now falls into wantonness through force of necessity, we have an example for our guidance,—namely, the instance of the damsel in Deuteronomy, whom a man finds in the field, and

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 13. [2] Matt. xv. 11.

forces her, and lies with her. "Unto the damsel," he says, "ye shall do nothing; there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death: for as when a man riseth against his neighbour, and slayeth him, even so is this matter: the damsel cried, and there was none to help her."[1]

CANON II.

Covetousness is a great evil; and it is not possible in a single letter to set forth those scriptures in which not robbery alone is declared to be a thing horrible and to be abhorred, but in general the grasping mind, and the disposition to meddle with what belongs to others, in order to satisfy the sordid love of gain. And all persons of that spirit are excommunicated from the church of God. But that at the time of the irruption, in the midst of such woful sorrows and bitter lamentations, some should have been audacious enough to consider the crisis which brought destruction to all the very period for their own private aggrandizement, that is a thing which can be averred only of men who are impious and hated of God, and of unsurpassable iniquity. Wherefore it seemed good to excommunicate such persons, lest the wrath (of God) should come upon the whole people, and upon those first of all who are set over them in office, and yet fail to make inquiry. For I am afraid, as the Scripture says, lest the impious work the destruction of the righteous along with his own.[2] "For fornication," it says,[3] "and covetousness (are things) on account of which the wrath of God cometh 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 light[4] 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 reproved

[1] Deut. xxii. 26, 27.
[2] Gen. xviii. 23, 25.
[3] Eph. v. 5-13.
[4] τοῦ φωτός for the received πνεύματος.

are made manifest by the light." In this wise speaks the apostle. But if certain parties who pay the proper penalty for that former covetousness of theirs, which exhibited itself in the time of peace, now turn aside again to the indulgence of covetousness in the very time of trouble (*i.e.* in the troubles of the inroads by the barbarians), and make gain out of the blood and ruin of men who have been utterly despoiled, or taken captive, (or) put to death, what else ought to be expected, than that those who struggle so hotly for covetousness should heap up wrath both for themselves and for the whole people?

Canon III.

Behold, did not Achar[1] the son of Zara transgress in the accursed thing, and trouble then lighted on all the congregation of Israel? And this one man was alone in his sin; but he was not alone in the death that came by his sin. And by us, too, everything of a gainful kind at this time, which is ours not in our own rightful possession, but as property strictly belonging to others, ought to be reckoned a thing devoted. For that Achar indeed took of the spoil; and those men of the present time take also of the spoil. But he took what belonged to enemies; while these now take what belongs to brethren, and aggrandize themselves with fatal gains.

Canon IV.

Let no one deceive himself, nor put forward the pretext of having found such property. For it is not lawful, even for a man who has found anything, to aggrandize himself by it. For Deuteronomy says: "Thou shalt not see thy brother's ox or his sheep go astray in the way, and pay no heed to them; but thou shalt in any wise bring them again unto thy brother. And if thy brother come not nigh thee, or if thou know him not, then thou shalt bring them together, and they shall be with thee until thy brother seek after them, and thou shalt restore them to him again. And in like

[1] Josh. vii.

manner shalt thou do with his ass, and so shalt thou do with his raiment, and so shalt thou do with all lost thing of thy brother's, which he hath lost, and thou mayest find."[1] Thus much in Deuteronomy. And in the book of Exodus it is said, with reference not only to the case of finding what is a friend's, but also of finding what is an enemy's: "Thou shalt surely bring them back to the house of their master again."[2] And if it is not lawful to aggrandize oneself at the expense of another, whether he be brother or enemy, even in the time of peace, when he is living at his ease and delicately, and without concern as to his property, how much more must it be the case when one is met by adversity, and is fleeing from his enemies, and has had to abandon his possessions by force of circumstances!

Canon V.

But others deceive themselves by fancying that they can retain the property of others which they may have found as an equivalent for their own property which they have lost. In this way verily, just as the Boradi and Goths brought the havoc of war on them, they make themselves Boradi and Goths to others. Accordingly we have sent to you our brother and comrade in old age, Euphrosynus, with this view, that he may deal with you in accordance with our model here, and teach you against whom you ought to admit accusations (ὧν δεῖ τὰς κατηγορίας προσίεσθαι), and whom you ought to exclude from your prayers.

Canon VI.

Concerning those who forcibly detain captives (who have escaped) from the barbarians. Moreover, it has been reported to us that a thing has happened in your country which is surely incredible, and which, if done at all, is altogether the work of unbelievers, and impious men, and men who know not the very name of the Lord; to wit, that some have gone to such a pitch of cruelty and inhumanity, as to be detaining by force certain captives who have made their escape. Dis-

[1] Deut. xxii. 1–3. [2] Ex. xxiii. 4.

patch ye commissioners into the country, lest the thunderbolts of heaven fall all too surely upon those who perpetrate such deeds.

Canon VII.

Concerning those who have been enrolled among the barbarians, and who have dared to do certain monstrous things against those of the same race with themselves. Now, as regards those who have been enrolled among the barbarians, and have accompanied them in their irruption in a state of captivity, and who, forgetting that they were from Pontus, and Christians, have become such thorough barbarians, as even to put those of their own race to death by the gibbet (ξύλῳ) or strangulation, and to show their roads or houses to the barbarians, who else would have been ignorant of them, it is necessary for you to debar such persons even from being auditors in the public congregations (ἀκροάσεως), until some common decision about them is come to by the saints assembled in council, and by the Holy Spirit antecedently to them.

Canon VIII.

Concerning those who have been so audacious as to invade the houses of others in the inroad of the barbarians. Now those who have been so audacious as to invade the houses of others, if they have once been put on their trial and convicted, ought not to be deemed fit even to be hearers in the public congregation. But if they have declared themselves and made restitution, they should be placed in the rank of the repentant (τῶν ὑποστρεφόντων).

Canon IX.

Concerning those who have found in the open field or in private houses property left behind them by the barbarians. Now, those who have found in the open field or in their own houses anything left behind them by the barbarians, if they have once been put on their trial and convicted, ought to fall under the same class of the repentant. But if they have

declared themselves and made restitution, they ought to be deemed fit for the privilege of prayer.

Canon X.

And they who keep the commandment ought to keep it without any sordid covetousness, demanding neither recompense (*μήνυτρα*, the price of information), nor reward (*σῶστρα*, the reward for bringing back a runaway slave), nor fee (*εὕρετρα*, the reward of discovery), nor anything else that bears the name of acknowledgment.

Canon XI.

Weeping (*πρόσκλαυσις*, penance) takes place without the gate of the oratory; and the offender standing there ought to implore the faithful as they enter to offer up prayer on his behalf. Waiting on the word (*ἀκρόασις*), again, takes place within the gate in the porch (*ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι*), where the offender ought to stand until the catechumens (come in), and thereafter he should go forth. For let him hear the Scriptures and doctrine, it is said, and then be put forth, and reckoned unfit for the privilege of prayer. Submission, again (*ὑπόπτωσις*), is that one stand within the gate of the temple, and go forth along with the catechumens. Restoration (*σύστασις*) is that one be associated with the faithful, and go not forth with the catechumens; and last of all comes the participation in the holy ordinances (*ἁγιασμάτων*).[1]

[1] There are scholia in Latin by Theodorus Balsamon and Joannes Zonaras on these canons. The note of the former on this last canon may be cited:—The present saint has defined shortly five several positions for the penitent; but he has not indicated either the times appointed for their exercise, or the sins for which penance is determined. Basil the Great, again, has handed down to us an accurate account of these things in his canonical epistles. Yet he, too, has referred to episcopal decision the matter of recovery through penalties.

THE ORATION AND PANEGYRIC ADDRESSED TO ORIGEN,

DELIVERED BY GREGORY THAUMATURGUS IN THE PALESTINIAN CÆSAREIA, WHEN ABOUT TO LEAVE FOR HIS OWN COUNTRY, AFTER MANY YEARS' INSTRUCTION UNDER THAT TEACHER.

(Gallandi, *Opera*, p. 413.)

INDEX TO THE CHAPTERS OF THE ORATION AND PANEGYRIC.

1. For eight years Gregory has given up the practice of oratory, being busied with the study chiefly of Roman law and the Latin language.
2. He essays to speak of the well-nigh divine endowments of Origen in his presence, into whose hands he avows himself to have been led in a way beyond all his expectation.
3. He is stimulated to speak of him by the longing of a grateful mind. To the utmost of his ability he thinks he ought to thank him. From God are the beginnings of all blessings; and to Him adequate thanks cannot be returned.
4. The Son alone knows how to praise the Father worthily. In Christ and by Christ our thanksgivings ought to be rendered to the Father. Gregory also gives thanks to his guardian angel, because he was conducted by him to Origen.
5. Here Gregory interweaves the narrative of his former life. His birth of heathen parents is stated. In the fourteenth year of his age he loses his father. He is dedicated to the study of eloquence and law. By a wonderful leading of Providence, he is brought to Origen.
6. The arts by which Origen studies to keep Gregory and his brother Athenodorus with him, although it was almost against their will; and the love by which both are taken captive. Of philosophy, the foundation of piety. With the view of giving himself therefore wholly to that study, Gregory is willing to give up fatherland, parents, the pursuit of law, and every other discipline. Of the soul as the free principle. The nobler part does not desire to be united with the inferior, but the inferior with the nobler.

7. The wonderful skill with which Origen prepares Gregory and Athenodorus for philosophy. The intellect of each is exercised first in logic, and the mere attention to words is contemned.
8. Then in due succession he instructs them in physics, geometry, and astronomy.
9. But he imbues their minds, above all, with ethical science; and he does not confine himself to discoursing on the virtues in word, but he rather confirms his teaching by his acts.
10. Hence the mere word-sages are confuted, who say and yet act not.
11. Origen is the first and the only one that exhorts Gregory to add to his acquirements the study of philosophy, and offers him in a certain manner an example in himself. Of justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. The maxim, Know thyself.
12. Gregory disallows any attainment of the virtues on his part. Piety is both the beginning and the end, and thus it is the parent of all the virtues.
13. The method which Origen used in his theological and metaphysical instructions. He commends the study of all writers, the atheistic alone excepted. The marvellous power of persuasion in speech. The facility of the mind in giving its assent.
14. Whence the contentions of philosophers have sprung. Against those who catch at everything that meets them, and give it credence, and cling to it. Origen was in the habit of carefully reading and explaining the books of the heathen to his disciples.
15. The case of divine matters. Only God and His prophets are to be heard in these. The prophets and their auditors are acted on by the same afflatus. Origen's excellence in the interpretation of Scripture.
16. Gregory laments his departure under a threefold comparison; likening it to Adam's departure out of paradise, to the prodigal son's abandonment of his father's house, and to the deportation of the Jews into Babylon.
17. Gregory consoles himself.
18. Peroration, and apology for the oration.
19. Apostrophe to Origen, and therewith the leave-taking, and the urgent utterance of prayer.

I. AN excellent[1] thing has silence proved itself in many another person on many an occasion, and at present it befits myself, too, most especially, who with or without purpose may keep the door of my lips, and feel constrained to be silent. For I am unpractised and unskilled[2] in those beautiful and

[1] *καλόν*, for which Hœschelius has *ἀγαθόν*.

[2] *ἄπειρος*, for which Hœschelius has *ἀνάσκητος*.

elegant addresses which are spoken or composed in a regular and unbroken[1] train, in select and well-chosen phrases and words; and it may be that I am less apt by nature to cultivate successfully this graceful and truly Grecian art. Besides, it is now eight years since I chanced myself to utter or compose any speech, whether long or short; neither in that period have I heard any other compose or utter anything in private, or deliver in public any laudatory or controversial orations, with the exception of those admirable men who have embraced the noble study of philosophy, and who care less for beauty of language and elegance of expression. For, attaching only a secondary importance to the words, they aim, with all exactness, at investigating and making known the things themselves, precisely as they are severally constituted. Not indeed, in my opinion, that they do not desire, but rather that they do greatly desire, to clothe the noble and accurate results of their thinking in noble and comely[2] language. Yet it may be that they are not able so lightly to put forth this sacred and godlike power (faculty) in the exercise of its own proper conceptions, and at the same time to practise a mode of discourse eloquent in its terms, and thus to comprehend in one and the same mind—and that, too, this little mind of man—two accomplishments, which are the gifts of two distinct persons, and which are, in truth, most contrary to each other. For silence is indeed the friend and helpmeet of thought and invention. But if one aims at readiness of speech and beauty of discourse, he will get at them by no other discipline than the study of words, and their constant practice. Moreover, another branch of learning occupies my mind completely, and the mouth binds the tongue if I should desire to make any speech, however brief, with the voice of the Greeks; I refer to those admirable laws of our sages by which the affairs of all the subjects of the Roman Empire are now directed, and which are neither composed[3] nor

[1] ἀκωλύτῳ, for which Bengel suggests ἀκολούθῳ.

[2] εὐειδεῖ, for which Ger. Vossius gives ἀψευδεῖ.

[3] συγκείμενοι, which is rendered by some *conduntur*, by others *confectæ sunt*, and by others still *componantur*, harmonized,—the reference

learnt without difficulty. And these are wise and exact[1] in themselves, and manifold and admirable, and, in a word, most thoroughly Grecian; and they are expressed and committed to us in the Roman tongue, which is a wonderful and magnificent sort of language, and one very aptly conformable to royal authority, but still difficult to me. Nor could it be otherwise with me, even though I might say that it was my desire that it should be.[2] And as our words are nothing else than a kind of imagery of the dispositions of our mind, we should allow those who have the gift of speech, like some good artists alike skilled to the utmost in their art and liberally furnished in the matter of colours, to possess the liberty of painting their word-pictures, not simply of a uniform complexion, but also of various descriptions and of richest beauty in the abundant mixture of flowers, without let or hindrance.

II. But we, like any of the poor, unfurnished with these varied specifics (*φαρμάκων*)—whether as never having been possessed of them, or, it may be, as having lost them —are under the necessity of using, as it were, only charcoal and tiles, that is to say, those rude and common words and phrases; and by means of these, to the best of our ability, we represent the native dispositions of our mind, expressing them in such language as is at our service, and endeavouring to exhibit the impressions of the figures of our mind (*χαρακτῆρας τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς τύπων*), if not clearly or ornately, yet at least with the faithfulness of a charcoal picture, welcoming gladly any graceful and eloquent expression which may present itself from any quarter, although we make little of such.[3] But, furthermore,[4] there is a third

then being to the difficulty experienced in learning the laws, in the way of harmonizing those which apparently oppose each other.

[1] *ἀκριβεῖς*, for which Ger. Vossius gives *εὐσεβεῖς*, pious.

[2] *εἰ καὶ βουλητόν*, etc., for which Hœschelius gives *οὔτε βουλητόν*, etc. The Latin version gives, *non enim aliter sentire aut posse aut velle me unquam dixerim.*

[3] *ἀσπασάμενοι ἡδέως, ἐπεὶ καὶ περιφρονήσαντες.* The passage is considered by some to be mutilated.

[4] The text is, *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκ τρίτων αὖθις ἄλλως κωλύει*, etc. For *ἄλλως*

circumstance which hinders and dissuades me from this attempt, and which holds me back much more even than the others, and recommends me to keep silence by all means, —I allude to the subject itself, which made me indeed ambitious to speak of it, but which now makes me draw back and delay. For it is my purpose to speak of one who has indeed the semblance and repute of being a man, but who seems, to those who are able to contemplate the greatness of his intellectual calibre (*τὸ δὲ πολὺ τῆς ἕξεως*), to be endowed with powers nobler and well-nigh divine.[1] And it is not his birth or bodily training that I am about to praise, and that makes me now delay and procrastinate with an excess of caution. Nor, again, is it his strength or beauty; for these form the eulogies of youths, of which it matters little whether the utterance be worthy or not (*ὧν ἧττων φροντὶς κατ' ἀξίαν τε καὶ μὴ, λεγομένων*). For, to make an oration on matters of a temporary and fugitive nature, which perish in many various ways and quickly, and to discourse of these with all the grandeur and dignity of great affairs, and with such timorous delays, would seem a vain and futile procedure.[2] And certainly, if it had been proposed to me to speak of any of those things which are useless and unsubstantial, and such as I should never voluntarily have thought of speaking of,— if, I say, it had been proposed to me to speak of anything of that character, my speech would have had none of this caution or fear, lest in any statement I might seem to come beneath the merit of the subject. But now, my subject dealing with that which is most godlike in the man, and that in him which has most affinity with God, that which is indeed confined within the limits of this visible and mortal form, but which strains nevertheless most ardently after the

Hœschelius gives *ἄλλα ὀή*. Bengel follows him, and renders it, *sed rursum, tertio loco, aliud est quod prohibet.* Delarue proposes, *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἓν τρίτον αὖθις ἄλλως κωλύει.*

[1] This is the rendering according to the Latin version. The text is, *ἀπεσκευασμένου ἤδη μείζονι παρασκευῇ μεταναστάσεως τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.* Vossius reads, *μετ' ἀναστάσεως.*

[2] The text is, *μὴ καὶ ψυχρὸν ἢ πέρπερον ᾖ*, where, according to Bengel, *μή* has the force of *ut non dicam.*

likeness of God; and my object being to make mention of this, and to put my hand to weightier matters, and therein also to express my thanksgivings to the Godhead, in that it has been granted to me to meet with such a man beyond the expectation of men,—the expectation, verily, not only of others, but also of my own heart, for I neither set such a privilege before me at any time, nor hoped for it; it being, I say, my object, insignificant and altogether without understanding as I am, to put my hand to such subjects, it is not without reason[1] that I shrink from the task, and hesitate, and desire to keep silence. And, in truth, to keep silence seems to me to be also the safe course, lest, with the show of an expression of thanksgiving, I may chance, in my rashness, to discourse of noble and sacred subjects in terms ignoble and paltry and utterly trite, and thus not only miss attaining the truth, but even, so far as it depends on me, do it some injury with those who may believe that it stands in such a category, when a discourse thereon is composed which is weak, and rather calculated to excite ridicule than to prove itself commensurate in its vigour with the dignity of its themes. But all that pertains to thee is beyond the touch of injury and ridicule, O dear soul; or, much rather let me say, that the divine herein remains ever as it is, unmoved and harmed in nothing by our paltry and unworthy words. Yet I know not how we shall escape the imputation of boldness and rashness in thus attempting in our folly, and with little either of intelligence or of preparation, to handle matters which are weighty, and probably beyond our capacity. And if, indeed, elsewhere and with others, we had aspired to make such youthful endeavours in matters like these, we would surely have been bold and daring; nevertheless in such a case our rashness might not have been ascribed to shamelessness, in so far as we would not have been making the bold effort with thee. But now we shall be filling out the whole measure of senselessness, or rather indeed we have already filled it out, in venturing with unwashed feet (as the saying goes) to introduce ourselves to ears into which

[1] But the text reads, *οὐκ εὐλόγως*.

the Divine Word Himself—not indeed with covered feet, as is the case with the general mass of men, and, as it were, under the thick coverings of enigmatical and obscure[1] sayings, but with unsandalled feet (if one may so speak)—has made His way clearly and perspicuously, and in which He now sojourns; while we, who have but refuse and mud to offer in these human words of ours, have been bold enough to pour them into ears which are practised in hearing only words that are divine and pure. It might indeed suffice us, therefore, to have transgressed thus far; and now, at least, it might be but right to restrain ourselves, and to advance no further with our discourse. And verily I would stop here most gladly. Nevertheless, as I have once made the rash venture, it may be allowed me first of all to explain the reason under the force of which I have been led into this arduous enterprise, if indeed any pardon can be extended to me for my forwardness in this matter.

III. Ingratitude appears to me to be a dire evil; a dire evil indeed, yea, the direst of evils. For when one has received some benefit, his failing to attempt to make any return by at least the oral expression of thanks, where aught else is beyond his power, marks him out either as an utterly irrational person, or as one devoid of the sense of obligations conferred, or as a man without any memory. And, again, though[2] one is possessed naturally and at once by the sense and the knowledge of benefits received, yet, unless he also carries the memory of these obligations to future days, and offers some evidence of gratitude to the author of the boons, such a person is a dull, and ungrateful, and impious fellow; and he commits an offence which can be excused neither in the case of the great nor in that of the small:—if we suppose the case of a great and high-minded man not bearing constantly on his lips his great benefits with all gratitude and honour, or that of a small and contemptible man not prais-

[1] ἀσαφῶν. But Ger. Voss has ἀσφαλῶν, safe.

[2] Reading ὅτῳ, with Hœschelius, Bengel, and the Paris editor, while Voss reads ὅτι.

ing and lauding with all his might one who has been his benefactor, not simply in great services, but also in smaller. Upon the great, therefore, and those who excel in powers of mind, it is incumbent, as out of their greater abundance and larger wealth, to render greater and worthier praise, according to their capacity, to their benefactors. But the humble also, and those in narrow circumstances, it beseems neither to neglect those who do them service, nor to take their services carelessly, nor to flag in heart as if they could offer nothing worthy or perfect; but as poor indeed, and yet as of good feeling, and as measuring not the capacity of him whom they honour, but only their own, they ought to pay him honour according to the present measure of their power,—a tribute which will probably be grateful and pleasant to him who is honoured, and in no less consideration with him than it would have been had it been some great and splendid offering, if it is only presented with decided earnestness, and with a sincere mind. Thus is it laid down in the sacred writings,[1] that a certain poor and lowly woman, who was with the rich and powerful that were contributing largely and richly out of their wealth, alone and by herself cast in a small, yea, the very smallest offering, which was, however, all the while her whole substance, and received the testimony of having presented the largest oblation. For, as I judge, the sacred word has not set up the large outward quantity of the substance given, but rather the mind and disposition of the giver, as the standard by which the worth and the magnificence of the offering are to be measured. Wherefore it is not meet even for us by any means to shrink from this duty, through the fear that our thanksgivings be not adequate to our obligations; but, on the contrary, we ought to venture and attempt everything, so as to offer thanksgivings, if not adequate, at least such as we have it in our power to exhibit, as in due return. And would that our discourse, even though it comes short of the perfect measure, might at least reach the mark in some degree, and be saved from all appearance of ingratitude! For a persistent silence, maintained under

[1] Luke xxi. 2.

the plausible cover of an inability to say anything worthy of the subject, is a vain and evil thing; but it is the mark of a good disposition always to make the attempt at a suitable return, even although the power of the person who offers the grateful acknowledgment be inferior to the desert of the subject. For my part, even although I am unable to speak as the matter merits, I shall not keep silence; but when I have done all that I possibly can, then I may congratulate myself. Be this, then, the method of my eucharistic discourse. To God, indeed, the God of the universe, I shall not think of speaking in such terms: yet is it from Him that all the beginnings of our blessings come; and with Him consequently is it that the beginning of our thanksgivings, or praises, or laudations, ought to be made. But, in truth, not even though I were to devote myself wholly to that duty, and that, too, not as I now am—to wit, profane and impure, and mixed up with and stained by every unhallowed[1] and polluting evil—but sincere and as pure as pure may be, and most genuine, and most unsophisticated, and uncontaminated by anything vile;—not even, I say, though I were thus to devote myself wholly, and with all the purity of the newly born, to this task, should I produce of myself any suitable gift in the way of honour and acknowledgment to the Ruler and Originator of all things, whom neither men separately and individually, nor yet all men in concert, acting with one spirit and one concordant impulse, as though all that is pure were made to meet in one, and all that is diverse from that were turned also to that service, could ever celebrate in a manner worthy of Him. For, in whatsoever measure any man is able to form right and adequate conceptions of His works, and (if such a thing were possible) to speak worthily regarding Him, then, so far as that very capacity is concerned, —a capacity with which he has not been gifted by any other one, but which he has received from Him alone, he cannot possibly find any greater matter of thanksgiving than what is implied in its possession.

[1] πανάγεσι, which in the lexicons is given as bearing only the good sense, *all-hallowed*, but which here evidently is taken in the opposite.

IV. But let us commit the praises and hymns in honour of the King and Superintendent of all things, the perennial Fount of all blessings, to the hand of Him who, in this matter as in all others, is the Healer of our infirmity, and who alone is able to supply that which is lacking; to the Champion and Saviour of our souls, His first-born Word, the Maker and Ruler of all things, with whom also alone it is possible, both for Himself and for all, whether privately and individually, or publicly and collectively, to send up to the Father uninterrupted and ceaseless thanksgivings. For as He is Himself the Truth, and the Wisdom, and the Power of the Father of the universe, and He is besides in Him, and is truly and entirely made one with Him, it cannot be that, either through forgetfulness or unwisdom, or any manner of infirmity, such as marks one dissociated from Him, He shall either fail in the power to praise Him, or, while having the power, shall willingly neglect (a supposition which it is not lawful, surely, to indulge) to praise the Father. For He alone is able most perfectly to fulfil the whole meed of honour which is proper to Him, inasmuch as the Father of all things has made Him one with Himself, and through Him all but completes the circle of His own being objectively,[1] and honours Him with a power in all respects equal to His own, even as also He is honoured; which position He first and alone of all creatures that exist has had assigned Him, this Only-begotten of the Father, who is in Him, and who is God the Word; while all others of us are able to express our thanksgiving and our piety only if, in return for all the blessings which proceed to us from the Father, we bring our offerings in simple dependence on Him alone, and thus present the meet oblation of thanksgiving to Him who is the Author of all things, acknowledging also that the only way of piety is in this manner to offer our memorials through Him. Wherefore, in acknow-

[1] ἐκπεριών in the text, for which Bengel gives ἐκπεριΐών, a word used frequently by this author. In Dorner it is explained as = *going out of Himself in order to embrace and encompass Himself.* See the *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, A. II. p. 173 (Clark).

ledgment of that ceaseless providence which watches over all of us, alike in the greatest and in the smallest concerns, and which has been sustained even thus far, let this Word (λόγος) be accepted as the worthy and perpetual expression for all thanksgivings and praises,—I mean the altogether perfect and living and verily animate Word of the First Mind Himself. But let this word of ours be taken primarily as an eucharistic address in honour of this sacred personage, who stands alone among all men; and if I may seek to discourse[1] of aught beyond this, and, in particular, of any of those beings who are not seen, but yet are more godlike, and who have a special care for men, it shall be addressed to that being who, by some momentous decision, had me allotted to him from my boyhood to rule, and rear, and train,—I mean that holy angel of God who fed me from my youth,[2] as says the saint dear to God, meaning thereby his own peculiar one; though he, indeed, as being himself illustrious, did in these terms designate some angel exalted enough to befit his own dignity (and whether it was some other one, or whether it was perchance the angel of the Mighty Counsel Himself, the Common Saviour of all, that he received as his own peculiar guardian through his perfection, I do not clearly know),—he, I say, did recognise and praise some superior angel as his own, whosoever that was. But we, in addition to the homage we offer to the Common Ruler of all men, acknowledge and praise that being, whosoever he is, who has been the wonderful guide of our childhood, who in all other matters has been in time past my beneficent tutor and guardian (for this office of tutor and guardian is one which evidently can suit[3] neither me nor any of my friends and kindred; for we are all blind, and see nothing of what is before us, so as to be able to judge of what is right and fitting; but it can suit only him who sees beforehand all that is for the good of our soul); who still at this present time sustains, and instructs, and conducts me;

[1] The text gives *μεληγορεῖν*, for which others read *μεγαληγορεῖν*.

[2] Gen. xlviii. 15.

[3] The text gives *ἐμοὶ*, etc., . . . *συμφέρον εἶναι καταφαίνεται*. Bengel's idea of the sense is followed in the translation.

and who, in addition to all these other benefits, has brought me into connection with this man, which, in truth, is the most important of all the services done me: and this, too, he has effected for me, although between myself and that man of whom I discourse there was no kinship of race or blood, nor any other tie, nor any relationship in neighbourhood or country whatsoever (things which are made the ground of friendship and union among the majority of men). But to speak in brief, in the exercise of a truly divine and wise forethought he brought us together, who were unknown to each other, and strangers, and foreigners, separated as thoroughly from each other as intervening nations, and mountains, and rivers can divide man from man, and thus he made good this meeting which has been full of profit to me, having, as I judge, provided beforehand this blessing for me from above from my very birth and earliest upbringing. And in what manner this has been realized it would take long to recount fully, not merely if I were to enter minutely into the whole subject, and were to attempt to omit nothing, but even if, passing many things by, I should purpose simply to mention in a summary way a few of the most important points.

V. For my earliest upbringing from the time of my birth onwards was under the hand of my parents; and the manner of life in my father's house was one of error (*τὰ πάτρια ἔθη τὰ πεπλανημένα*), and of a kind from which no one, I imagine, expected that we should be delivered; nor had I myself the hope, boy as I was, and without understanding, and under a superstitious father. Then followed the loss of my father, and my orphanhood, which[1] perchance was also the beginning of the knowledge of the truth to me. For then it was that I was brought over first to the word of salvation and truth, in what manner I cannot tell, by constraint rather than by voluntary choice. For what power of decision had I then, who was but fourteen years of age? Yet from this very time this sacred Word

[1] Reading ἥ δή. Others give ἤ δή; others, ἤδη; and the conjecture ἢ ἔβη, "or my youth," is also made.

began somehow to visit me, just at the period when the reason common to all men attained its full function in me; yea, then for the first time did it visit me. And though I thought but little of this in that olden time, yet now at least, as I ponder it, I consider that no small token of the holy and marvellous providence exercised over me is discernible in this concurrence, which was so distinctly marked in the matter of my years, and which provided that all those deeds of error which preceded that age might be ascribed to youth and want of understanding, and that the Holy Word might not be imparted vainly to a soul yet ungifted with the full power of reason; and which secured at the same time that when the soul now became endowed with that power, though not gifted with the divine and pure reason (λόγου), it might not be devoid at least of that fear which is accordant with this reason, but that the human and the divine reason (Word) might begin to act in me at once and together,—the one giving help with a power to me at least inexplicable,[1] though proper to itself, and the other receiving help. And when I reflect on this, I am filled at once with gladness and with terror, while I rejoice indeed in the leading of providence, and yet am also awed by the fear lest, after being privileged with such blessings, I should still in any way fail of the end. But indeed I know not how my discourse has dwelt so long on this matter, desirous as I am to give an account of the wonderful arrangement (of God's providence) in the course that brought me to this man, and anxious as nevertheless I formerly was to pass with few words to the matters which follow in their order, not certainly imagining that I could render to him who thus dealt with me that tribute of praise, or gratitude, or piety which is due to him (for, were we to designate our discourse in such terms, while yet we said nothing worthy of the theme, we might seem chargeable with arrogance), but simply with the view of offering what may be called a plain narrative or confession, or whatever other humble title may be given it. It seemed good to the only one of my parents who survived to care for me—my

[1] The text, however, gives ἀλήτρῳ.

mother, namely—that, being already under instruction in those other branches in which boys not ignobly born and nurtured are usually trained, I should attend also a teacher of public speaking, in the hope that I too should become a public speaker. And accordingly I did attend such a teacher; and those who could judge in that department then declared that I should in a short period be a public speaker. I for my own part know not how to pronounce on that, neither should I desire to do so; for there was no apparent ground for that gift then, nor was there as yet any foundation for those forces (*αἰτιῶν*, causes) which were capable of bringing me to it. But that divine conductor and true curator, ever so watchful, when my friends were not thinking of such a step, and when I was not myself desirous of it, came and suggested (an extension of my studies) to one of my teachers under whose charge I had been put, with a view to instruction in the Roman tongue, not in the expectation that I was to reach the completest mastery of that tongue, but only that I might not be absolutely ignorant of it; and this person happened also to be not altogether unversed in laws. Putting the idea, therefore, into this teacher's mind,[1] he set me to learn in a thorough way the laws of the Romans by his help. And that man took up this charge zealously with me; and I, on my side, gave myself to it—more, however, to gratify the man, than as being myself an admirer of the study. And when he got me as his pupil, he began to teach me with all enthusiasm. And he said one thing, which has proved to me the truest of all his sayings, to wit, that my education in the laws would be my greatest *viaticum* (*ἐφόδιον*)—for thus he phrased it—whether I aspired to be one of the public speakers who contend in the courts of justice, or preferred to belong to a different order. Thus did he express himself, intending his word to bear simply on things human; but to me it seems that he was moved to that utterance by a diviner impulse than he himself supposed. For when, willingly or unwillingly, I was being well instructed in these laws, at once bonds, as it were, were cast

[1] Reading *τούτῳ ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλών*.

upon my movements, and cause and occasion for my journeying to these parts arose from the city Berytus, which is a city not far distant[1] from this territory, somewhat Romanized (*Ῥωμαϊκωτέρα πῶς*), and credited with being a school for these legal studies. And this revered man coming from Egypt, from the city of Alexandria, where previously he happened to have his home, was moved by other circumstances to change his residence to this place, as if with the express object of meeting us. And for my part, I cannot explain the reasons of these incidents, and I shall willingly pass them by. This however is certain, that as yet no necessary occasion for my coming to this place and meeting with this man was afforded by my purpose to learn our laws, since I had it in my power also to repair to the city of Rome itself.[2] How, then, was this effected? The then governor of Palestine suddenly took possession of a friend of mine, namely my sister's husband, and separated him from his wife, and carried him off here against his will, in order to secure his help, and have him associated with him in the labours of the government of the country; for he was a person skilled in law, and perhaps is so still. After he had gone with him, however, he had the good fortune in no long time to have his wife sent for, and to receive her again, from whom, against his will, and to his grievance, he had been separated. And thus he chanced also to draw us along with her to that same place. For when we were minded to travel, I know not where, but certainly to any other place rather than this, a soldier suddenly came upon the scene, bearing a letter of instructions for us to escort and protect our sister in her restoration to her husband, and to offer ourselves also as companion to her on the journey; in

[1] The text is *ἀποχίουσα*. Hœschelius gives *ἀπέχουσα*.

[2] The text is, *οὐδὲν οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἡμῶν, δυνατὸν ὂν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀποδημῆσαι πόλιν*. Bengel takes *ὅσον* as *παρέλκον*. Migne renders, *nullam ei fuisse necessitatem huc veniendi, discendi leges causa, siquidem Romam posset proficisci.* Sirmondus makes it, *nulla causa adeo necessaria erat qua possem per leges nostras ad Romanorum civitatem proficisci.*

which we had the opportunity of doing a favour to our relative, and most of all to our sister (so that she might not have to address herself to the journey either in any unbecoming manner, or with any great fear or hesitation), while at the same time our other friends and connections thought well of it, and made it out to promise no slight advantage, as we could thus visit the city of Berytus, and carry out there with all diligence[1] our studies in the laws. Thus all things moved me thither,—my sense of duty (*εὔλογον*) to my sister, my own studies, and over and above these, the soldier (for it is right also to mention this), who had with him a larger supply of public vehicles than the case demanded, and more cheques (*σύμβολα*) than could be required for our sister alone. These were the apparent reasons for our journey; but the secret and yet truer reasons were these,—our opportunity of fellowship with this man, our instruction through that man's means[2] in the truth[3] concerning the Word, and the profit of our soul for its salvation. These were the real causes that brought us here, blind and ignorant, as we were, as to the way of securing our salvation. Wherefore it was not that soldier, but a certain divine companion and beneficent conductor and guardian, ever leading us in safety through the whole of this present life, as through a long journey, that carried us past other places, and Berytus in especial, which city at that time we seemed most bent on reaching, and brought us hither and settled us here, disposing and directing all things, until by any means he might bind us in a connection with this man who was to be the author of the greater part of our blessings. And he who came in such wise, that divine angel, gave over this charge (*οἰκονομίαν*) to him, and did, if I may so speak, perchance take his rest here, not indeed under the pressure of labour or exhaustion

[1] The text gives *ἐκπονήσαντες*. Casaubon reads *ἐκποιήσοντες*.

[2] *δι' αὐτοῦ*. Bengel understands this to refer to the *soldier*.

[3] The text is, *τὴν ἀληθῆ δι' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου μαθήματα*. Bengel takes this as an ellipsis, like *τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν ἐμὴν μίαν*, and similar phrases, *γνώμην* or *ὁδόν*, or some such word, being supplied. Casaubon conjectures *καὶ ἀληθῆ*, for which Bengel would prefer *τὰ ἀληθῆ*.

of any kind (for the generation of those divine ministers knows no weariness), but as having committed us to the hand of a man who would fully discharge the whole work of care and guardianship within his power.

VI. And from the very first day of his receiving us (which day was, in truth, the first day to me, and the most precious of all days, if I may so speak, since then for the first time the true sun began to rise upon me), while we, like some wild creatures of the fields, or like fish, or some sort of birds that had fallen into the toils or nets, and were endeavouring to slip out again and escape, were bent on leaving him, and making off for Berytus or our native country, he studied by all means to associate us closely with him, contriving all kinds of arguments, and putting every rope in motion (as the proverb goes), and bringing all his powers to bear on that object. With that intent he lauded the lovers of philosophy with large laudations and many noble utterances, declaring that those only live a life truly worthy of reasonable creatures who aim at living an upright life, and who seek to know first of all themselves, what manner of persons they are, and then the things that are truly good, which man ought to strive after, and then the things that are really evil, from which man ought to flee. And then he reprehended ignorance and all the ignorant: and there are many such, who, like brute cattle (*θρεμμάτων*), are blind in mind, and have no understanding even of what they are, and are as far astray as though they were wholly void of reason, and neither know themselves what is good and what is evil, nor care at all to learn it from others, but toil feverishly in quest of wealth, and glory, and such honours as belong to the crowd, and bodily comforts, and go distraught about things like these, as if they were the real good; and as though such objects were worth much, yea, worth all else, they prize the things themselves, and the arts by which they can acquire them, and the different lines of life which give scope for their attainment, —the military profession, to wit, and the juridical, and the study of the laws. And with earnest and sagacious words

he told us that these are the objects that enervate us, when we despise that reason which ought to be the true master within us.[1] I cannot recount at present all the addresses of this kind which he delivered to us, with the view of persuading us to take up the pursuit of philosophy. Nor was it only for a single day that he thus dealt with us, but for many days, and, in fact, as often as we were in the habit of going to him at the outset; and we were pierced by his argumentation as with an arrow from the very first occasion of our hearing him [2] (for he was possessed of a rare combination of a certain sweet grace and persuasiveness, along with a strange power of constraint), though we still wavered and debated the matter undecidedly with ourselves, holding so far by the pursuit of philosophy, without however being brought thoroughly over to it, while somehow or other we found ourselves quite unable to withdraw from it conclusively, and thus were always drawn towards him by the power of his reasonings, as by the force of some superior necessity. For he asserted further that there could be no genuine piety towards the Lord of all in the man who despised this gift of philosophy,—a gift which man alone of all the creatures of the earth has been deemed honourable and worthy enough to possess, and one which every man whatsoever, be he wise or be he ignorant, reasonably embraces, who has not utterly lost the power of thought by some mad distraction of mind. He asserted, then, as I have said, that it was not possible (to speak correctly) for any one to be truly pious who did not philosophize. And thus he continued to do with us, until, by pouring in upon us many such argumentations, one after the other, he at last carried us fairly off somehow or other by a kind of divine power, like people bewitched with his reasonings, and established us (in the practice of philosophy), and set us down without the power of move-

[1] The text here is, *ταῦθ' ἅπερ ἡμᾶς ἀνέσειε, μάλιστα λίγων καὶ μάλα τεχνικῶς, τοῦ κυριωτάτου, φησὶ, τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου, ἀμελήσαντας.*

[2] The text gives *ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας*, which Bengel takes to be an error for the absolute *ἐκ πρώτης*, to which *ἡμέρας* would be supplied. Casaubon and Rhodomanus read *ὁμιλίας* for *ἡλικίας*.

ment, as it were, beside himself by his arts. Moreover, the stimulus of friendship was also brought to bear upon us,—a stimulus, indeed, not easily withstood, but keen and most effective,—the argument of a kind and affectionate disposition, which showed itself benignantly in his words when he spoke to us and associated with us. For he did not aim merely at getting round us by any kind of reasoning; but his desire was, with a benignant, and affectionate, and most benevolent mind, to save us, and make us partakers in the blessings that flow from philosophy, and most especially also in those other gifts which the Deity has bestowed on him above most men, or, as we may perhaps say, above all men of our own time,—I mean the power that teaches us piety, the word of salvation, that comes to many, and subdues to itself all whom it visits: for there is nothing that shall resist it, inasmuch as it is and shall be itself the king of all; although as yet it is hidden, and is not recognised, whether with ease or with difficulty, by the common crowd, in such wise that, when interrogated respecting it, they should be able to speak intelligently about it. And thus, like some spark lighting upon our inmost soul, love was kindled and burst into flame within us,—a love at once to the Holy Word, the most lovely object of all, who attracts all irresistibly toward Himself by His unutterable beauty, and to this man, His friend and advocate. And being most mightily smitten by this love, I was persuaded to give up all those objects or pursuits which seem to us befitting, and among others even my boasted jurisprudence,—yea, my very fatherland and friends, both those who were present with me then, and those from whom I had parted. And in my estimation there arose but one object dear and worth desire,—to wit, philosophy, and that master of philosophy, this inspired man. "And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David."[1] This word, indeed, I did not read till afterwards in the sacred Scriptures; but I felt it before that time, not less clearly than it is written: for, in truth, it reached me then by the clearest of all revelations. For it was not simply Jonathan that was knit with David; but

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 1.

those things were knit together which are the ruling powers in man—their souls,—those objects which, even though all the things which are apparent and ostensible in man are severed, cannot by any skill be forced to a severance when they themselves are unwilling. For the soul is free, and cannot be coerced by any means, not even though one should confine it and keep guard over it in some secret prison-house. For wherever the intelligence is, there it is also of its own nature and by the first reason. And if it seems to you to be in a kind of prison-house, it is represented as there to you by a sort of second reason. But for all that, it is by no means precluded from subsisting anywhere according to its own determination; nay, rather it is both able to be, and is reasonably believed to be, there alone and altogether, wheresoever and in connection with what things soever those actions which are proper only to it are in operation. Wherefore, what I experienced has been most clearly declared in this very short statement, that "the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David;" objects which, as I said, cannot by any means be forced to a separation against their will, and which of their own inclination certainly will not readily choose it. Nor is it, in my opinion, in the inferior subject, who is changeful and very prone to vary in purpose, and in whom singly there has been no capacity of union at first, that the power of loosing the sacred bonds of this affection rests, but rather in the nobler one, who is constant and not readily shaken, and through whom it has been possible to tie these bonds and to fasten this sacred knot. Therefore it is not the soul of David that was knit by the divine word with the soul of Jonathan; but, on the contrary, the soul of the latter, who was the inferior, is said to be thus affected and knit with the soul of David. For the nobler object would not choose to be knit with one inferior, inasmuch as it is sufficient for itself; but the inferior object, as standing in need of the help which the nobler can give, ought properly to be knit with the nobler, and fitted dependently to it: so that this latter, retaining still its sufficiency in itself, might sustain no loss by its connection with the inferior; and that that which is

of itself without order (ἄτακτον) being now united and fitted harmoniously with the nobler, might, without any detriment done, be perfectly subdued to the nobler by the constraints of such bonds. Wherefore, to apply the bonds is the part of the superior, and not of the inferior; but to be knit to the other is the part of the inferior, and this too in such a manner that it shall possess no power of loosing itself from these bonds. And by a similar constraint, then, did this David of ours once gird us to himself; and he holds us now, and has held us ever since that time, so that, even though we desired it, we could not loose ourselves from his bonds. And hence it follows that, even though we were to depart, he would not release this soul of mine, which, as the holy Scripture puts it, he holds knit so closely with himself.

VII. But after he had thus carried us captive at the very outset, and had shut us in, as it were, on all sides, and when what was best (τὸ πλεῖον) had been accomplished by him, and when it seemed good to us to remain with him for a time, then he took us in hand, as a skilled husbandman may take in hand some field unwrought, and altogether unfertile, and sour, and burnt up, and hard as a rock, and rough, or, it may be, one not utterly barren or unproductive, but rather, perchance, by nature very productive, though then waste and neglected, and stiff and untractable with thorns and wild shrubs; or as a gardener may take in hand some plant which is wild indeed, and which yields no cultivated fruits, though it may not be absolutely worthless, and on finding it thus, may, by his skill in gardening, bring some cultivated shoot and graft it in, by making a fissure in the middle, and then bringing the two together, and binding the one to the other, until the sap in each shall flow in one stream,[1] and they shall both grow with the same nurture: for one may often see a tree of a mixed and worthless (νόθον) species thus rendered productive in spite of its past barrenness, and made to rear the fruits of the good olive on wild roots; or one may see a

[1] The text gives συμβλύσαντα ὡς, for which Casaubon proposes συμφύσαντα εἰς ἓν, or ὡς ἓν. Bengel suggests συμβρύσαντα ὡς ἓν.

wild plant saved from being altogether profitless by the skill of a careful gardener; or, once more, one may see a plant which otherwise is one both of culture and of fruitfulness, but which, through the want of skilled attendance, has been left unpruned and unwatered and waste, and which is thus choked by the mass of superfluous shoots suffered to grow out of it at random,[1] yet brought to discharge its proper function in germination (*τελειοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ βλάστῃ*), and made to bear the fruit whose production was formerly hindered by the superfluous growth (*ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*). In suchwise, then, and with such a disposition did he receive us at first; and surveying us, as it were, with a husbandman's skill, and gauging us thoroughly, and not confining his notice to those things only which are patent to the eye of all, and which are looked upon in open light, but penetrating into us more deeply, and probing what is most inward in us, he put us to the question, and made propositions to us, and listened to us in our replies; and whenever he thereby detected anything in us not wholly fruitless and profitless and waste, he set about clearing the soil, and turning it up and irrigating it, and putting all things in movement, and brought his whole skill and care to bear on us, and wrought upon our mind. And thorns and thistles (*τριβόλους*), and every kind of wild herb or plant which our mind (so unregulated and precipitate in its own action) yielded and produced in its uncultured luxuriance and native wildness, he cut out and thoroughly removed by the processes of refutation and prohibition; sometimes assailing us in the genuine Socratic fashion, and again upsetting us by his argumentation whenever he saw us getting restive under him, like so many unbroken steeds, and springing out of the course and galloping madly about at random, until with a strange kind of persuasiveness and constraint he reduced us to a state of quietude under him by his discourse, which acted like a bridle in our mouth. And that was at first an unpleasant position for us, and one not without pain, as he dealt with persons who were unused to it, and still all untrained to submit to reason, when he plied us with his argu-

[1] The text gives *ἐκεῖ*, for which Hœschelius and Bengel read *εἰκῇ*.

mentations; and yet he purged us by them. And when he had made us adaptable, and had prepared us successfully for the reception of the words of truth, then, further, as though we were now a soil well wrought and soft, and ready to impart growth to the seeds cast into it, he dealt liberally with us, and sowed the good seed in season, and attended to all the other cares of the good husbandry, each in its own proper season; and whenever he perceived any element of infirmity or baseness in our mind (whether it was of that character by nature, or had become thus gross through the excessive nurture of the body), he pricked it with his discourses, and reduced it by those delicate words and turns of reasoning which, although at first the very simplest, are gradually evolved one after the other, and skilfully wrought out, until they advance to a sort of complexity which can scarce be mastered or unfolded, and which cause us to start up, as it were, out of sleep, and teach us the art of holding always by what is immediately before one, without ever making any slip by reason either of length or of subtlety. And if there was in us anything of an injudicious and precipitate tendency, whether in the way of assenting to all that came across us, of whatever character the objects might be, and even though they proved false, or in the way of often withstanding other things, even though they were spoken truthfully,—that, too, he brought under discipline in us by those delicate reasonings already mentioned, and by others of like kind (for this branch of philosophy is of varied form), and accustomed us not to throw in our testimony at one time, and again to refuse it, just at random, and as chance impelled, but to give it only after careful examination not only into things manifest, but also into those that are secret.[1] For many things which are in high repute of themselves, and honourable in appearance, have found entrance through fair words into our ears, as though they were true, while yet they were hollow and false, and have borne off and taken possession of the suffrage of truth at our hand, and then, no long time afterwards, they have

[1] The words ἀλλὰ κεκρυμμένα are omitted by Hœschelius and Bengel.

been discovered to be corrupt and unworthy of credit, and deceitful borrowers of the garb of truth; and have thus too easily exposed us as men who are ridiculously deluded, and who bear their witness inconsiderately to things which ought by no means to have won it. And, on the contrary, other things which are really honourable and the reverse of impositions, but which have not been expressed in plausible statements, and thus have the appearance of being paradoxical and most incredible, and which have been rejected as false on their own showing, and held up undeservedly to ridicule, have afterwards, on careful investigation and examination, been discovered to be the truest of all things, and wholly incontestable, though for a time spurned and reckoned false. Not simply, then, by dealing with things patent and prominent, which are sometimes delusive and sophistical, but also by teaching us to search into things within us, and to put them all individually to the test, lest any of them should give back a hollow sound, and by instructing us to make sure of these inward things first of all, he trained us to give our assent to outward things only then and thus, and to express our opinion on all these severally. In this way, that capacity of our mind which deals critically with words and reasonings, was educated in a rational manner; not according to the judgments of illustrious rhetoricians—whatever Greek or foreign honour appertains to that title (*εἴ τι Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ βάρβαρόν ἐστι τῇ φωνῇ*)—for theirs is a discipline of little value and no necessity: but in accordance with that which is most needful for all, whether Greek or barbarian, whether wise or illiterate, and, in fine, not to make a long statement by going over every profession and pursuit separately, in accordance with that which is most indispensable for all men, whatever manner of life they have chosen, if it is indeed the care and interest of all who have to converse on any subject whatever with each other, to be protected against deception.

VIII. Nor did he confine his efforts merely to that form of the mind which it is the lot of dialectics to regulate;[1] but

[1] The text is, *καὶ μὴ τοῦθ' ὅπερ εἶδος διαλεκτικὴ κατορθοῦν μόνη εἴληχε.*

he also took in hand that humble capacity of mind, (which shows itself) in our amazement at the magnitude, and the wondrousness, and the magnificent and absolutely wise construction of the world, and in our marvelling in a reasonless way, and in our being overpowered with fear, and in our knowing not, like the irrational creatures, what conclusion to come to. That, too, he aroused and corrected by other studies in natural science, illustrating and distinguishing the various divisions of created objects, and with admirable clearness reducing them to their pristine elements, taking them all up perspicuously in his discourse, and going over the nature of the whole, and of each several section, and discussing the multiform revolution and mutation of things in the world, until he carried us fully along with him under his clear teaching; and by those reasonings which he had partly learned from others, and partly found out for himself, he filled our minds with a rational instead of an irrational wonder at the sacred œconomy of the universe, and the irreproveable constitution of all things. This is that sublime and heavenly study which is taught by natural philosophy—a science most attractive to all. And what need is there now to speak of the sacred mathematics, viz. geometry, so precious to all and above all controversy, and astronomy, whose course is on high? These different studies he imprinted on our understandings, training us in them, or calling them into our mind, or doing with us something else which I know not how to designate rightly. And the one he presented lucidly as the immutable groundwork and secure foundation of all, namely geometry; and by the other, namely astronomy, he lifted us up to the things that are highest above us, while he made heaven passable to us by the help of each of these sciences, as though they were ladders reaching the skies.

IX. Moreover, as to those things which excel all in importance, and those for the sake of which, above all else, the whole[1] family of the philosophical labours, gathering them like good fruits produced by the varied growths of all the

[1] πᾶν τὸ φιλόσοφον. Hœschelius and Bengel read πᾶς, etc.

other studies, and of long practised philosophizing,—I mean the divine virtues that concern the moral nature, by which the impulses of the mind have their equable and stable subsistence,—through these, too, he aimed at making us truly proof against grief and disquietude under the pressure of all ills, and at imparting to us a well-disciplined and stedfast and religious spirit, so that we might be in all things veritably blessed. And this he toiled at effecting by pertinent discourses, of a wise and soothing tendency, and very often also by the most cogent addresses touching our moral dispositions, and our modes of life. Nor was it only by words, but also by deeds, that he regulated in some measure our inclinations,—to wit, by that very contemplation and observation of the impulses and affections of the mind, by the issue of which most especially the mind is wont to be reduced to a right estate from one of discord, and to be restored to a condition of judgment and order out of one of confusion; so that, beholding itself as in a mirror (and I may say specifically, viewing, on the one hand, the very beginnings and roots of evil in it, and all that is reasonless within it, from which spring up all absurd affections and passions; and, on the other hand, all that is truly excellent and reasonable within it, under the sway of which it remains proof against injury and perturbation in itself[1]), and then scrutinizing carefully the things thus discovered to be in it, it might cast out all those which are the growth of the inferior part, and which waste our powers (ἐκχέοντα ἡμᾶς) through intemperance, or hinder and choke them through depression,—such things as pleasures and lusts, or pains and fears, and the whole array of ills that accompany these different species of evil: —that thus, I say, it might cast them out and make away with them, by coping with them while yet in their beginnings and only just commencing their growth, and not leaving them to wax in strength even by a short delay, but destroying and rooting them out at once; while, at the same time, it might foster all those things which are really good, and which spring from the nobler part, and might preserve them by nursing

[1] The text gives ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς, for which Bengel reads ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς.

them in their beginnings, and watching carefully over them until they should reach their maturity. For it is thus (he used to say) that the heavenly virtues will ripen in the soul: to wit, prudence, which first of all is able to judge of those very motions in the mind at once from the things themselves, and by the knowledge which accrues to it of things outside of us, whatever such there may be, both good and evil; and temperance, the power that makes the right selection among these things in their beginnings; and righteousness, which assigns what is just to each; and that virtue which is the conserver of them all—fortitude. And therefore he did not accustom us to a mere profession in words, as that prudence, for instance, is the knowledge (ἐπιστήμη, science) of good and evil, or of what ought to be done, and what ought not: for that would be indeed a vain and profitless study, if there was simply the doctrine without the deed; and worthless would that prudence be, which, without doing the things that ought to be done, and without turning men away from those that ought not to be done, should be able merely to furnish the knowledge of these things to those who possessed her,—though many such persons come under our observation. Nor, again, did he content himself with the mere assertion that temperance is simply the knowledge of what ought to be chosen and what ought not; though the other schools of philosophers do not teach even so much as that, and especially the more recent, who are so forcible and vigorous in words (so that I have often been astonished at them, when they sought to demonstrate that there is the same virtue in God and in men, and that upon earth, in particular, the wise man is equal[1] to God), and yet are incapable of delivering the truth as to prudence, so that one shall do the things which are dictated by prudence, or the truth as to temperance, so that one shall choose the things he has learned by it; and the same holds good also of their treatment of righteousness and fortitude. Not thus, however, in mere words only did this teacher go over the truths concerning

[1] τὸ πρῶτα Θεῷ ἴσον εἶναι τὸν σοφὸν ἄνθρωπον.

the virtues with us; but he incited us much more to the practice of virtue, and stimulated us by the deeds he did more than by the doctrines he taught.

X. Now I beg of the philosophers of this present time, both those whom I have known personally myself, and those of whom I have heard by report from others, and I beg also of all other men, that they take in good part the statements I have just made. And let no one suppose that I have expressed myself thus, either through simple friendship toward that man, or through hatred toward the rest of the philosophers; for if there is any one inclined to be an admirer of them for their discourses, and wishful to speak well of them, and pleased at hearing the most honourable mention made of them by others, I myself am the man. Nevertheless, those facts (to which I have referred) are of such a nature as to bring upon the very name of philosophy the last degree of ridicule almost from the great mass of men; and I might almost say that I would choose to be altogether unversed in it, rather than learn any of the things which these men profess, with whom I thought it good no longer to associate myself in this life,—though in that, it may be, I formed an incorrect judgment. But I say that no one should suppose that I make these statements at the mere prompting of a zealous regard for the praise of this man, or under the stimulus of any existing animosity[1] towards other philosophers. But let all be assured that I say even less than his deeds merit, lest I should seem to be indulging in adulation; and that I do not seek out studied words and phrases, and cunning means of laudation—I who could never of my own will, even when I was a youth, and learning the popular style of address under a professor of the art of public speaking, bear to utter a word of praise, or pass any encomium on any one which was not genuine. Wherefore on the present occasion, too, I do not think it right, in proposing to myself the task simply of commending him, to magnify him at

[1] φιλοτιμίᾳ, for which φιλονικίᾳ is read.

the cost of the reprobation of others. And, in good sooth,[1] I should speak only to the man's injury, if, with the view of having something grander to say of him, I should compare his blessed life with the failings of others. We are not, however, so senseless.[2] But I shall testify simply to what has come within my own experience, apart from all ill-judged comparisons and trickeries in words.

XI. He was also the first and only man that urged me to study the philosophy of the Greeks, and persuaded me by his own moral example both to hear and to hold by the doctrine of morals, while as yet I had by no means been won over to that, so far as other philosophers were concerned (I again acknowledge it),—not rightly so, indeed, but unhappily, as I may say without exaggeration, for me. I did not, however, associate with many at first, but only with some few who professed to be teachers, though, in good sooth, they all established their philosophy only so far as words went (*ἀλλὰ γὰρ πᾶσι μέχρι ῥημάτων τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν στήσασιν*). This man, however, was the first that induced me to philosophize by his words, as he pointed the exhortation by deeds before he gave it in words, and did not merely recite well-studied sentences; nay, he did not deem it right to speak on the subject at all, but with a sincere mind, and one bent on striving ardently after the practical accomplishment of the things expressed, and he endeavoured all the while to show himself in character like the man whom he describes in his discourses as the person who shall lead a noble life, and he ever exhibited (in himself), I would say, the pattern of the wise man. But as our discourse at the outset proposed to deal with the truth, and not with vain-glorious language,[3] I shall not speak of him now as the exemplar of the wise man. And yet, if I chose to

[1] The text is, *ἢ κακῶν ἂν ἔλεγον*, etc. The Greek *ἤ* and the Latin *aut* are found sometimes thus with a force bordering on that of *alioqui*.

[2] *ἀφραίνομεν*. The Paris editor would read *ἀφραίνω μέν*.

[3] The text is, *ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀληθείαν ἡμῖν, οὐ κομψείαν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ λόγος ἄνωθεν*. The Latin rendering is, *sed quia veritatem nobis, non pompam et ornatum promisit oratio in exordio.*

speak thus of him, I would not be far astray from the truth.[1] Nevertheless, I pass that by at present. I shall not speak of him as a perfect pattern, but as one who vehemently desires to imitate the perfect pattern, and strives after it with zeal and earnestness, even beyond the capacity of men, if I may so express myself; and who labours, moreover, also to make us, who are so different,[2] of like character with himself, not mere masters and apprehenders of the bald doctrines concerning the impulses of the soul, but masters and apprehenders of these impulses themselves. For he pressed[3] us on both to deed and to doctrine, and carried us along by that same view and method (*θεωρίᾳ*), not merely into a small section of each virtue, but rather into the whole, if mayhap we were able to take it in. And he constrained us also, if I may so speak, to practise righteousness on the ground of the personal action of the soul itself,[4] which he persuaded us to study, drawing us off from the officious anxieties of life, and from the turbulence of the forum, and

[1] The text is, *καίτοι γε εἰπεῖν ἐθέλων εἶναί τε ἀληθές*. Bengel takes the *τε* as pleonastic, or as an error for the article, *τ' ἀληθές*. The *εἶναι* in *ἐθέλων εἶναι* he takes to be the use of the infinitive which occurs in such phrases as *τὴν πρώτην εἶναι*, *initio*, *ἐκὼν εἶναι*, *libenter*, *τὸ δὲ νῦν εἶναι*, *nunc vero*, etc.; and, giving *ἐθέλων* the sense of *μέλλων*, makes the whole = And yet I shall speak truth.

[2] The text is, *καὶ ἡμᾶς ἑτέρους*. The phrase may be, as it is given above, a delicate expression of difference, or it may perhaps be an elegant redundancy, like the French *à nous autres*. Others read, *καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἑτέρους*.

[3] The reading in the text gives, *οὐ λόγων ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμονας τῶν περὶ ὁρμῶν, τῶν δὲ ὁρμῶν αὐτῶν· ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ λόγους ἄγχων*, etc. Others would arrange the whole passage differently, thus: *περὶ ὁρμῶν, τῶν δὲ ὁρμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἄγχων*. *Καὶ*, etc. Hence Sirmondus renders it, *a motibus ipsis ad opera etiam sermones*, reading also *ἄγων* apparently. Rhodomanus gives, *impulsionum ipsarum ad opera et verba ignavi et negligentes*, reading evidently *ἀργῶν*. Bengel solves the difficulty by taking the first clause as equivalent to *οὐ λόγων ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμονας . . . αὐτῶν τῶν ὁρμῶν ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμονας*. We have adopted this as the most evident sense. Thus *ἄγχων* is retained unchanged, and is taken as a parallel to the following participle *ἐπιφέρων*, and as bearing, therefore, a meaning something like that of *ἀναγκάζων*. See Bengel's note in Migne.

[4] *διὰ τὴν ἰδιοπραγίαν τῆς ψυχῆς*, perhaps just "the private life."

raising us to the nobler vocation of looking into ourselves, and dealing with the things that concern ourselves in truth. Now, that this is to practise righteousness, and that this is the true righteousness, some also of our ancient philosophers have asserted (expressing it as the *personal action*, I think), and have affirmed that this is more profitable for blessedness, both to the men themselves and to those who are with them (ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσιν), if indeed it belongs to this virtue to recompense according to desert, and to assign to each his own. For what else could be supposed to be so proper to the soul? Or what could be so worthy of it, as to exercise a care over itself, not gazing outwards, or busying itself with alien matters, or, to speak shortly, doing the worst injustice to itself, but turning its attention inwardly upon itself, rendering its own due to itself, and acting thereby righteously?[1] To practise righteousness after this fashion, therefore, he impressed upon us, if I may so speak, by a sort of force. And he educated us to prudence none the less,—teaching to be at home with ourselves, and to desire and endeavour to know ourselves, which indeed is the most excellent achievement of philosophy, the thing that is ascribed also to the most prophetic of spirits (ὃ δὴ καὶ δαιμόνων τῷ μαντικωτάτῳ ἀνατίθεται) as the highest argument of wisdom—the precept, *Know thyself*. And that this is the genuine function of prudence, and that such is the heavenly prudence, is affirmed well by the ancients; for in this there is one virtue common to God and to man; while the soul is exercised in beholding itself as in a mirror, and reflects the divine mind in itself, if it is worthy of such a relation, and traces out a certain inexpressible method for the attaining of a kind of apotheosis. And in correspondence with this come also the virtues of temperance and fortitude: temperance, indeed, in conserving this very prudence which must be in the soul that knows itself, if that is ever its lot (for this temperance, again, surely means just a sound prudence):[2] and fortitude,

[1] The text is, τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν εἶναι. Migne proposes either to read ἑαυτούς, or to supply τὴν ψυχήν.

[2] σωφροσύνην, σώειν τινὰ φρόνησιν, an etymological play.

in keeping stedfastly by all the duties (ἐπιτηδεύσεσιν) which have been spoken of, without falling away from them, either voluntarily or under any force, and in keeping and holding by all that has been laid down. For he teaches that this virtue acts also as a kind of preserver, maintainer, and guardian.

XII. It is true, indeed, that in consequence of our dull and sluggish nature, he has not yet succeeded in making us righteous, and prudent, and temperate, or manly, although he has laboured zealously on us. For we are neither in real possession of any virtue whatsoever, either human or divine, nor have we ever made any near approach to it, but we are still far from it. And these are very great and lofty virtues, and none of them may be assumed by any common person,[1] but only by one whom God inspires with the power. We are also by no means so favourably constituted for them by nature, neither do we yet profess ourselves to be worthy of reaching them; for through our listlessness and feebleness we have not done all these things which ought to be done by those who aspire after what is noblest, and aim at what is perfect. We are not yet therefore either righteous or temperate, or endowed with any of the other virtues. But this admirable man, this friend and advocate of the virtues, has long ago done for us perhaps all that it lay in his power to do for us, in making us lovers of virtue, who should love it with the most ardent affection. And by his own virtue he created in us a love at once for the beauty of righteousness, the golden face of which in truth was shown to us by him; and for prudence, which is worthy of being sought by all; and for the true wisdom, which is most delectable; and for temperance, the heavenly virtue which forms the sound constitution of the soul, and brings peace to all who possess it; and for manliness, that most admirable grace; and for patience, that virtue peculiarly ours;[2] and, above all, for

[1] The text is, οὐδὲ τῷ τυχεῖν. Migne suggests οὐδὲ τῷ θέμις τυχεῖν = nor is it legitimate for any one to attain them.

[2] The text is, ὑπομονῆς ἡμῶν. Vossius and others omit the ἡμῶν. The Stuttgart editor gives this note: "It does not appear that this

piety, which men rightly designate when they call it the mother of the virtues. For this is the beginning and the end of all the virtues. And beginning with this one, we shall find all the other virtues grow upon us most readily: if, while for ourselves we earnestly aspire after this grace, which every man, be he only not absolutely impious, or a mere pleasure-seeker, ought to acquire for himself, in order to his being a friend of God and a maintainer[1] of His truth, and while we diligently pursue this virtue, we also give heed to the other virtues, in order that we may not approach our God in unworthiness and impurity, but with all virtue and wisdom as our best conductors and most sagacious priests. And the end of all I consider to be nothing but this: By the pure mind make thyself like[2] to God, that thou mayest draw near to Him, and abide in Him.

XIII. And besides all his other patient and laborious efforts, how shall I in words give any account of what he did for us, in instructing us in theology and the devout character? and how shall I enter into the real disposition of the man, and show with what judiciousness and careful preparation he would have us familiarized with all discourse about the Divinity, guarding sedulously against our being in any peril with respect to what is the most needful thing of all, namely, the knowledge of the Cause of all things? For he deemed it right for us to study philosophy in such wise, that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written, both by the philosophers and by the poets of old, rejecting nothing,[3] and repudiating nothing (for, indeed, we did not yet possess the power of critical discernment), except

should be connected by apposition with *ἀνδρείας* (manliness). But Gregory, after the four virtues which philosophers define as *cardinal*, adds two which are properly *Christian*, viz. *patience*, and that which is the hinge of all—*piety*."

[1] The word is *προήγορον*. It may be, as the Latin version puts it, *familiaris*, one in fellowship with God.

[2] *ἐξομοιώθητι προσελθεῖν*. Others read *ἐξομοιωθέντα προσελθεῖν*.

[3] *μηδὲν ἐκποιουμένους*. Casaubon marks this as a phrase taken from law, and equivalent to, *nihil alienum a nobis ducentes*.

only the productions of the atheists, who, in their conceits, lapse from the general intelligence of man, and deny that there is either a God or a providence. From these he would have us abstain, because they are not worthy of being read, and because it might chance that the soul within us that is meant for piety might be defiled by listening to words that are contrary to the worship of God. For even those who frequent the temples of piety, as they think them to be, are careful not to touch anything that is profane.[1] He held, therefore, that the books of such men did not merit to be taken at all into the consideration of men who have assumed the practice of piety. He thought, however, that we should obtain and make ourselves familiar with all other writings, neither preferring nor repudiating any one kind, whether it be philosophical discourse or not, whether Greek or foreign, but hearing what all of them have to convey. And it was with great wisdom and sagacity that he acted on this principle, lest any single saying given by the one class or the other should be heard and valued above others as alone true, even though it might not be true, and lest it might thus enter our mind and deceive us, and, in being lodged there by itself alone, might make us its own, so that we should no more have the power to withdraw from it, or wash ourselves clear of it, as one washes out a little wool that has got some colour ingrained in it. For a mighty thing and an energetic is the discourse of man, and subtle with its sophisms, and quick to find its way into the ears, and mould the mind, and impress us with what it conveys; and when once it has taken possession of us, it can win us over to love it as truth; and it holds its place within us even though it be false and deceitful, overmastering us like some enchanter, and retaining as its champion the very man it has deluded. And, on the other hand, the mind of man is withal a thing easily deceived by speech, and very facile in yielding its assent; and, indeed, before it discriminates and inquires into matters

[1] The text is, ἧς οἴονται. We render with Bengel. The Latin interpreter makes it = Even those who frequent the temples do not deem it consistent with religion to touch anything at all profane.

in any proper way, it is easily won over, either through its own obtuseness and imbecility, or through the subtlety of the discourse, to give itself up, at random often, all weary of accurate examination, to crafty reasonings and judgments, which are erroneous themselves, and which lead into error those who receive them. And not only so; but if another mode of discourse aims at correcting it, it will neither give it admittance, nor suffer itself to be altered in opinion, because it is held fast by any notion which has previously got possession of it, as though some inexorable tyrant were lording it over it.

XIV. Is it not thus that contradictory and opposing tenets have been introduced, and all the contentions of philosophers, while one party withstands the opinions of another, and some hold by certain positions, and others by others, and one school attaches itself to one set of dogmas, and another to another? And all, indeed, aim at philosophizing, and profess to have been doing so ever since they were first roused to it, and declare that they desire it not less now when they are well versed in the discussions than when they began them: yea, rather they allege that they have even more love for philosophy now, after they have had, so to speak, a little taste of it, and have had the liberty of dwelling on its discussions, than when at first, and without any previous experience of it, they were urged by a sort of impulse to philosophize. That is what they say; and henceforth they give no heed to any words of those who hold opposite opinions. And accordingly, no one of the ancients has ever induced any one of the moderns, or those of the Peripatetic school, to turn to his way of thinking, and adopt his method of philosophizing; and, on the other hand, none of the moderns has imposed his notions upon those of the ancient school. Nor, in short, has any one done so with any other. For it is not an easy thing to induce one to give up his own opinions, and accept those of others; although these might, perhaps, even be sentiments which, if he had been led to credit them before he began to philosophize, the man might at first have admired and accepted with all readiness: as, while the mind was not yet

preoccupied, he might have directed his attention to that set of opinions, and given them his approval, and on their behalf opposed himself to those which he holds at present. Such, at least, has been the kind of philosophizing exhibited by our noble and most eloquent and critical Greeks: for whatever any one of these has lighted on at the outset, moved by some impulse or other, that alone he declares to be truth, and holds that all else which is maintained by other philosophers is simply delusion and folly, though he himself does not more satisfactorily establish his own positions by argument, than do all the others severally defend their peculiar tenets; the man's object being simply to be under no obligation to give up and alter his opinions, whether by constraint or by persuasion, while he has (if one may speak truth) nothing else but a kind of unreasoning impulse toward these dogmas on the side of philosophy, and possesses no other criterion of what he imagines to be true, than (let it not seem an incredible assertion) undistinguishing chance.[1] And as each one thus becomes attached to those positions with which he has first fallen in, and is, as it were, held in chains by them, he is no longer capable of giving attention to others, if he happens to have anything of his own to offer on every subject with the demonstration of truth, and if he has the aid of argument to show how false the tenets of his adversaries are; for, helplessly and thoughtlessly and as if he looked for some happy contingency, he yields himself to the reasonings that first take possession of him.[2] And such reasonings mislead those who accept them, not only in other

[1] The text is, *οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ (εἰ δεῖ τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν) ἔχων ἢ τὴν πρὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τάδε τὰ δόγματα ἄλογον ὁρμήν· καὶ κρίσιν ὧν οἴεται ἀληθῶν (μὴ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν ἦ) οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὴν ἄκριτον τύχην.* Vossius would read, *πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τάδε τὰ δόγματα.* Migne makes it = *nulla ei erat alia sententia (si verum est dicendum) nisi cæcus ille stimulus quo ante philosophiæ studium in ista actus erat placita: neque aliud judicium eorum quæ vera putaret (ne mirum sit dictu) nisi fortunæ temeritas.* Bengel would read, *πρὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας.*

[2] The text is, *ἐπὶ καὶ ἀβοήθητος, ἑαυτὸν χαρισάμενος καὶ ἐκδιχόμενος εἰκῇ ὥσπερ ἔρμαιον, τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσιν αὐτὸν λόγοις.* Bengel proposes *ἐνδιχόμενον . . . ἔρμαιον*, as = *lucrum insperatum.*

matters, but above all, in what is of greatest and most essential consequence—in the knowledge of God and in piety. And yet men become bound by them in such a manner that no one can very easily release them. For they are like men caught in a swamp stretching over some wide impassable plain, which, when they have once fallen into it, allows them neither to retrace their steps nor to cross it and effect their safety, but keeps them down in its soil until they meet their end; or they may be compared to men in a deep, dense, and majestic forest, into which the wayfarer enters, with the idea, perchance, of finding his road out of it again forthwith, and of taking his course once more on the open plain,[1] but is baffled in his purpose by the extent and thickness of the wood; and turning in a variety of directions, and lighting on various continuous paths within it, he pursues many a course, thinking that by some of them he will surely find his way out: but they only lead him farther in, and in no way open up an exit for him, inasmuch as they are all only paths within the forest itself; until at last the traveller, utterly worn out and exhausted, seeing that all the ways he had tried had proved only forest still, and despairing of finding any more his dwelling-place on earth, makes up his to abide there, and establish his hearth, and lay out for his use such free space as he can prepare in the wood itself. Or again, we might take the similitude of a labyrinth, which has but one apparent entrance, so that one suspects nothing artful from the outside, and goes within by the single door that shows itself; and then, after advancing to the farthest interior, and viewing the cunning spectacle, and examining the construction so skilfully contrived, and full of passages, and laid out with unending paths leading inwards or outwards, he decides to go out again, but finds himself unable, and sees his exit completely intercepted by that inner construction which appeared such a triumph of cleverness. But, after all, there is neither any labyrinth so inextricable and

[1] *καθαρῷ—ἕρκει.* Sirmondus gives *puro campo.* Rhodomanus, reading *ἀέρι*, gives *puro aëre.* Bengel takes *ἕρκος, septum,* as derivatively = *domus, fundus, regio septis munita.*

intricate, nor any forest so dense and devious, nor any plain or swamp so difficult for those to get out of, who have once got within it, as is discussion (λόγος), at least as one may meet with it in the case of certain of these philosophers.[1] Wherefore, to secure us against falling into the unhappy experience of most, he did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all, and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine. And he himself went on with us, preparing the way before us, and leading us by the hand, as on a journey, whenever anything tortuous and unsound and delusive came in our way. And he helped us like a skilled expert who has had long familiarity with such subjects, and is not strange or inexperienced in anything of the kind, and who therefore may remain safe in his own altitude, while he stretches forth his hand to others, and effects their security too, as one drawing up the submerged. Thus did he deal with us, selecting and setting before us all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false. And this he did for us, both in other branches of man's knowledge, and most especially in all that concerns piety.

XV. With respect to these human teachers, indeed, he counselled us to attach ourselves to none of them, not even though they were attested as most wise by all men, but to devote ourselves to God alone, and to the prophets. And he himself became the interpreter of the prophets (*ὑποφητεύων*) to us, and explained whatsoever was dark or enigmatical in them. For there are many things of that kind in the sacred words; and whether it be that God is pleased to hold communication with men in such a way as that the divine word may not enter all naked and uncovered into an unworthy soul, such as many are, or whether it be, that while every divine oracle is in its own nature most clear and perspicuous,

[1] The text is, *εἴ τις εἴη κατ' αὐτῶν τῶνδέ τινων φιλοσόφων*. Bengel suggests *καταντῶν*.

it seems obscure and dark to us, who have apostatized from God, and have lost the faculty of hearing through time and age, I cannot tell. But however the case may stand, if it be that there are some words really enigmatical, he explained all such, and set them in the light, as being himself a skilled and most discerning hearer of God; or if it be that none of them are really obscure in their own nature, they were also not unintelligible to him, who alone of all men of the present time with whom I have myself been acquainted, or of whom I have heard by the report of others, has so deeply studied the clear and luminous oracles of God, as to be able at once to receive their meaning into his own mind, and to convey it to others. For that Leader of all men, who inspires (ὑπηχῶν) God's dear prophets, and suggests all their prophecies and their mystic and heavenly words, has honoured this man as He would a friend, and has constituted him an expositor of these same oracles; and things of which He only gave a hint by others, He made matters of full instruction by this man's instrumentality; and in things which He, who is worthy of all trust, either enjoined in regal fashion, or simply enunciated, He imparted to this man the gift of investigating and unfolding and explaining them: so that, if there chanced to be any one of obtuse and incredulous mind, or one again thirsting for instruction, he might learn from this man, and in some manner be constrained to understand and to decide for belief, and to follow God. These things, moreover, as I judge, he gives forth only and truly by participation in the Divine Spirit: for there is need of the same power for those who prophesy and for those who hear the prophets; and no one can rightly hear a prophet, unless the same Spirit who prophesies bestows on him the capacity of apprehending His words. And this principle is expressed indeed in the Holy Scriptures themselves, when it is said that only He who shutteth openeth, and no other one whatever;[1] and what is shut is opened when the word of inspiration explains mysteries. Now that greatest gift this man has received from God, and that

[1] Isa. xxii. 22; Rev. iii. 7.

noblest of all endowments he has had bestowed upon him from heaven, that he should be an interpreter of the oracles of God to men, and that he might understand the words of God, even as if God spake them to him, and that he might recount them to men in such wise as that they may hear them with intelligence.[1] Therefore to us there was no forbidden subject of speech (*ἄῤῥητον*); for there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inaccessible to us, but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both barbarian (foreign) and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge, and investigate it, and satisfy ourselves with all kinds of doctrines, and enjoy the sweets of intellect; and whether it was some ancient system of truth, or whether it was something one might otherwise name that was before us, we had in him an apparatus and a power at once admirable and full of the most beautiful views. And to speak in brief, he was truly a paradise to us, after the similitude of the paradise of God, wherein we were not set indeed to till the soil beneath us, or to make ourselves gross with bodily nurture (*σωματοτροφεῖν παχυνομένους*), but only to increase the acquisitions of mind with all gladness and enjoyment,—planting, so to speak, some fair growths ourselves, or having them planted in us by the Author of all things.

XVI. Here, truly, is the paradise of comfort; here are true gladness and pleasure, as we have enjoyed them during this period which is now at its end—no short space indeed in itself, and yet all too short if this is really to be its conclusion, when we depart and leave this place behind us. For I know not what has possessed me, or what offence has been committed by me, that I should now be going away—that I should now be put away. I know not what I should say, unless it be that I am like a second Adam and have begun to talk, outside of paradise. How excellent might my life

[1] The text gives *ὡς ἀκούσωσιν*, with Voss. and Bengel. The Paris editor gives *ἀκούουσιν*.

be, were I but a listener to the addresses of my teacher, and silent myself! Would that even now I could have learned to be mute and speechless, rather than to present this new spectacle of making the teacher the hearer! For what concern had I with such a harangue as this? and what obligation was there upon me to make such an address, when it became me not to depart, but to cleave fast to the place? But these things seem like the transgressions that sprung from the pristine deceit, and the penalties of these primeval offences still await me here. Do I not appear to myself to be disobedient[1] in daring thus to overpass the words of God, when I ought to abide in them, and hold by them? And in that I withdraw, I flee from this blessed life, even as the primeval man fled from the face of God, and I return to the soil from which I was taken. Therefore shall I have to eat of the soil all the days of my life there, and I shall have to till the soil—the very soil which produces thorns and thistles for me, that is to say, pains and reproachful anxieties—set loose as I shall be from cares that are good and noble. And what I left behind me before, to that I now return—to the soil, as it were, from which I came, and to my common relationships here below, and to my father's house—leaving the good soil, where of old I knew not that the good fatherland lay; leaving also the relations in whom at a later period I began to recognise the true kinsmen of my soul, and the house, too, of him who is in truth our father, in which the father abides, and is piously honoured and revered by the genuine sons, whose desire it also is to abide therein. But I, destitute alike of all piety and worthiness, am going forth from the number of these, and am turning back to what is behind, and am retracing my steps. It is recorded that a certain son, receiving from his father the portion of goods that fell to him proportionately with the other heir, his brother, departed, by his own determination, into a strange country far distant from his father; and, living there in riot, he scattered his ancestral substance, and utterly wasted it; and at last, under the pressure of want, he hired himself as a swineherd; and being driven to

[1] ἀπειθεῖν. Bengel and Hœschelius read ἀπελθεῖν, withdraw.

extremity by hunger, he longed to share the food given to the swine, but could not touch it. Thus did he pay the penalty of his dissolute life, when he had to exchange his father's table, which was a princely one, for something he had not looked forward to—the sustenance of swine and serfs. And we also seem to have some such fortune before us, now that we are departing, and that, too, without the full portion that falls to us. For though we have not received all that we ought, we are nevertheless going away, leaving behind us what is noble and dear with you and beside you, and taking in exchange only what is inferior. For all things melancholy will now meet us in succession,—tumult and confusion instead of peace, and an unregulated life instead of one of tranquillity and harmony, and a hard bondage, and the slavery of market-places, and lawsuits, and crowds, instead of this freedom; and neither pleasure nor any sort of leisure shall remain to us for the pursuit of nobler objects. Neither shall we have to speak of the words of inspiration, but we shall have to speak of the works of men (a thing which has been deemed simply a bane by the prophet[1]), and in our case, indeed, those of wicked men. And truly we shall have night in place of day, and darkness in place of the clear light, and grief instead of the festive assembly; and in place of a fatherland, a hostile country will receive us, in which I shall have no liberty to sing my sacred song[2] (for how could I sing it in a land strange to my soul, in which the sojourners have no permission to approach God?), but only to weep and mourn, as I call to mind the different state of things here, if indeed even that shall be in my power. We read[3] that enemies once assailed a great and sacred city, in which the worship of God was observed, and dragged away its inhabitants, both singers and theologians,[4] into their own country,

[1] ἁπλοῦς ἀρά τις εἶναι νενόμισται ἀνδρὶ προφήτῃ. Migne refers us to Ps. xvii.

[2] Ps. cxxxvii. [3] 2 Kings xxiv. xxv.

[4] θεολόγους, used probably of the *prophets* here,—namely of Ezekiel, Daniel, and others carried into exile with the people. On this usage, see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, under the word θεολόγος, where from the pseudo-

which was Babylon; and it is narrated that these captives, when they were detained in the land, refused, even when asked by their conquerors, to sing the divine song, or to play in a profane country, and hung their harps on the willow-trees, and wept by the rivers of Babylon. Like one of these I verily seem to myself to be, as I am cast forth from this city, and from this sacred fatherland of mine, where both by day and by night the holy laws are declared, and hymns and songs and spiritual words are heard; where also there is perpetual sunlight; where by day in waking vision[1] we have access to the mysteries of God, and by night in dreams we are still occupied with what the soul has seen and handled in the day; and where, in short, the inspiration of divine things prevails over all continually. From this city, I say, I am cast forth, and borne captive to a strange land, where I shall have no power to pipe:[2] for, like these men of old, I shall have to hang my instrument on the willows, and the rivers shall be my place of sojourn, and I shall have to work in mud, and shall have no heart to sing hymns, even though I remember them; yea, it may be that, through constant occupation with other subjects, I shall forget even them, like one spoiled of memory itself. And would that, in going

Areopagite Dionysius he cites the sentence, *τῶν θεολόγων εἷς, ὁ Ζαχαρίας*, and again, *ἕτερος τῶν θεολόγων Ἰεζεκιήλ*.

[1] The text is, *καὶ φῶς τὸ ἡλιακὸν καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς, ἡμέρας ὕπερ ἡμῶν προσομιλούντων τοῖς θείοις μυστηρίοις καὶ νυκτὸς ὧν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἶδέ τε καὶ ἔπραξεν ἡ ψυχὴ ταῖς φαντασίαις κατεχομένων*. Bengel proposes *ὕπαρ* for *ὕπερ*, so as to keep the antithesis between *ἡμέρας ὕπαρ* and *νυκτὸς φαντασίαις*; and taking *ἡμέρας* and *νυκτός* as temporal genitives, he renders the whole thus: *cum interdiu, per visa, divinis aderamus sacramentis: et noctu earum rerum, quas viderat de die atque egerat anima, imaginibus detinebamur.*

[2] *αὐλεῖν*. The Jews had the harp, and so the word *ψάλλειν* is used of them in the preceding. But here, in speaking of himself, Gregory adopts the term *οὔτε αὐλεῖν, ne tibia quidem canere*. Bengel supposes that the verb is changed in order to convey the idea, that while the Jews only had to give up the use of instruments expressive of joyful feeling, Gregory feared he would himself be unable to play even on those of a *mournful* tone,—for in ancient times the pipe or flute was chiefly appropriated to strains of grief and sadness.

away, I only went away against my will, as a captive is wont to do; but I go away also of my own will, and not by constraint of another; and by my own act I am dispossessed of this city, when it is in my option to remain in it. Perchance, too, in leaving this place, I may be going to prosecute no safe journey, as it sometimes fares with one who quits some safe and peaceful city; and it is indeed but too likely that, in journeying, I may fall into the hands of robbers, and be taken prisoner, and be stripped and wounded with many strokes, and be cast forth to lie half-dead somewhere.

XVII. But why should I utter such lamentations? There lives still the Saviour of all men, even of the half-dead and the despoiled, the Protector and Physician for all, the Word, that sleepless Keeper of all. We have also seeds of truth which thou hast made us know as our possession, and all that we have received from thee,—those noble deposits of instruction, with which we take our course; and though we weep, indeed, as those who go forth from home, we yet carry those seeds with us. It may be, then, that the Keeper who presides over us will bear us in safety through all that shall befall us; and it may be that we shall come yet again to thee, bringing with us the fruits and handfuls yielded by these seeds, far from perfect truly (for how could they be so?), but still such as a life spent in civil business makes it possible for us to rear, though marred indeed by a kind of faculty that is either unapt to bear fruit altogether, or prone to bear bad fruit, but which, I trust, is one not destined to be further misused by us, if God grants us grace.[1]

XVIII. Wherefore let me now have done with this address, which I have had the boldness to deliver in a presence wherein boldness least became me. Yet this address is one which, I think, has aimed heartily at signifying our thanks to the best of our ability,—for though we have had nothing

[1] The text is, *διεφθαρμένας μὲν τῇ δυνάμει, ἢ ἀκάρπῳ ἢ κακοκάρπῳ τινί, μὴ καὶ προδιαφθαρησομένῃ δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν*, etc. Bengel reads *μέν τοι* for *μὲν τῇ*, and takes *μὴ καί* as = *utinam ne.*

to say worthy of the subject, we could not be altogether silent,—and one, too, which has given expression to our regrets, as those are wont to do who go abroad in separation from friends. And whether this speech of mine may not have contained things puerile (or) bordering on flattery, or things offending by excess of simplicity on the one hand, or of elaboration on the other, I know not. Of this, however, I am clearly conscious, that at least there is in it nothing unreal, but all that is true and genuine, in sincerity of opinion, and in purity and integrity of judgment.

XIX. But, O dear soul, arise thou and offer prayer, and now dismiss us; and as by thy holy instructions thou hast been our saviour when we enjoyed thy fellowship, so save us still by thy prayers in our separation. Commend us and set us constantly before thee in prayer (*παραδίδου καὶ παρατίθεσο*). Or rather commend us continually to that God who brought us to thee, giving thanks for all that has been granted us in the past, and imploring Him still to lead us by the hand in the future, and to stand ever by us, filling our mind with the understanding of His precepts, inspiring us with the godly fear of Himself, and vouchsafing us henceforward His choicest guidance.[1] For when we are gone from thee, we shall not have the same liberty for obeying Him as was ours when we were with thee.[2] Pray, therefore, that some encouragement may be conveyed to us from Him when we lose thy presence, and that He may send us a good conductor, some angel to be our comrade on the way. And entreat Him also to turn our course, and bring us back to thee again; for that is the one thing which above all else will effectually comfort us.

[1] *ἐμβάλλοντα ἡμῖν τὸν θεῖον φόβον αὐτοῦ, παιδαγωγὸν ἄριστον ἐσόμενον.* The Latin version makes the *ἐσόμενον* refer to the *φόβον*: *divinumque nobis timorem suum, optimum pædagogum immittens*, = and inspiring with the godly fear of Himself as our choicest guide.

[2] *οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ μετὰ σοῦ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἀπελθόντες ὑπακούσομεν αὐτῷ.* Bengel paraphrases it thus: *hac libertate quæ tecum est carebo digressus; quare vereor ut Deo posthac paream, ni timore saltem munitus fuero.*

PART II.

DUBIOUS OR SPURIOUS WRITINGS.

A SECTIONAL CONFESSION OF FAITH.[1]

(Edited in Latin by Gerardus Vossius, *Opp. Greg. Thaum.*, Paris 1662, in fol.; given in Greek from the Codex Vaticanus by Cardinal Mai, *Script. Vet.* vii. p. 170.)

I. MOST hostile and alien to the apostolic confession are those who speak of the Son as assumed to Himself by the Father out of nothing, and from an emanational origin (*οἱ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων καὶ ἀποστελλομένης ἀρχῆς εἶναι ἐπίκτητον λέγοντες τῷ Πατρί*); and those who hold the same sentiments with respect to the Holy Spirit; those who say that the Son is constituted divine by gift and grace, and that the Holy Spirit is made holy; those who regard the name of the Son as one common to servants, and assert that thus He is the first-born of the creature, as becoming, like the creature, existent out of non-existence, and as being first made, and who refuse to

[1] Vossius has the following argument: This is a second Confession of Faith, and one widely different from the former, which this great Gregory of ours received by revelation. This seems, however, to be designated as *ἐκθέσεις τῆς κατὰ μέρος πίστεως*, either because it records and expounds the matters of the faith only *in part*, or because the Creed is explained *in it by parts*. The Jesuit theologian Franc. Torrensis (the interpreter and scholiast of this *ἔκθεσις*) has, however, rendered the phrase *ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις*, by the Latin *fides non universa sed in parte*. And here we have a *fides non universa sed in parte*, according to him,—a creed not of all the dogmas of the church, but only of some, in opposition to the heretics who deny them.

admit that He is the only-begotten Son,—the only One that the Father has, and that He has given Himself to be reckoned in the number of mortals, and is thus reckoned first-born; those who circumscribe the generation of the Son by the Father with a measured interval after the fashion of man, and refuse to acknowledge that the æon of the Begetter and that of the Begotten are without beginning; those who introduce three separate and diverse systems of divine worship (ἀκοινωνήτους καὶ ξένας εἰσάγοντες λατρείας), whereas there is but one form of legitimate service which we have received of old from the law and the prophets, and which has been confirmed by the Lord and preached by the apostles. Nor less alienated from the true confession are those who hold not the doctrine of the Trinity according to truth, as a relation consisting of three persons, but impiously conceive it as implying a triple being in a unity (Monad), formed in the way of synthesis (ἐν μονάδι τὸ τριπλοῦν ἀσεβῶς κατὰ σύνθεσιν), and think that the Son is the wisdom in God, in the same manner as the human wisdom subsists in man whereby the man is wise, and represent the Word as being simply like the word which we utter or conceive, without any hypostasis whatever.

II. But the church's confession, and the creed that brings salvation to the world, is that which deals with the incarnation of the Word, and bears that He gave Himself over to the flesh of man which He acquired of Mary, while yet He conserved His own identity, and sustained no divine transposition or mutation, but was brought into conjunction with the flesh after the similitude of man; so that the flesh was made one with the divinity, the divinity having assumed the capacity of receiving the flesh in the fulfilling of the mystery. And after the dissolution of death there remained to the holy flesh a perpetual impassibility and a changeless immortality, man's original glory being taken up into it again by the power of the divinity, and being ministered then to all men by the appropriation of faith (ἐν τῇ τῆς πίστεως οἰκειώσει).

III. If, then, there are any here, too, who falsify the holy

faith, either by attributing to the divinity as its own what belongs to the humanity — progressions (*προκοπάς*), and passions, and a glory coming with accession (*δόξαν τὴν ἐπιγινομένην*)—or by separating from the divinity the progressive and passible body, as if it subsisted of itself apart,—these persons also are outside the confession of the church and of salvation. No one, therefore, can know God unless he apprehends the Son; for the Son is the wisdom by whose instrumentality all things have been created; and these created objects declare this wisdom, and God is recognised in the wisdom. But the wisdom of God is not anything similar to the wisdom which man possesses, but it is the perfect wisdom which proceeds from the perfect God, and abides for ever, not like the thought of man, which passes from him in the word that is spoken and (straightway) ceases to be. Wherefore it is not wisdom only, but also God; nor is it Word only, but also Son. And whether, then, one discerns God through creation, or is taught to know Him by the holy Scriptures, it is impossible either to apprehend Him or to learn of Him apart from His wisdom. And he who calls upon God rightly, calls on Him through the Son; and he who approaches Him in a true fellowship, comes to Him through Christ. Moreover, the Son Himself cannot be approached apart from the Spirit. For the Spirit is both the life and the holy formation of all things (*μόρφωσις τῶν ὅλων*); and God sending forth this Spirit through the Son makes the creature (*τὴν κτίσιν*) like Himself.

IV. One therefore is God the Father, one the Word, one the Spirit, the life, the sanctification of all. And neither is there another God as Father (*οὔτε Θεὸς ἕτερος ὡς Πατήρ*), nor is there another Son as Word of God, nor is there another Spirit as quickening and sanctifying. Further, although the saints are called both gods, and sons, and spirits, they are neither filled with the Spirit, nor are made like the Son and God. And if, then, any one makes this affirmation, that the Son is God, simply as being Himself filled with divinity, and not as being generated of divinity, he has belied the Word, he has

belied the Wisdom, he has lost the knowledge of God; he has fallen away into the worship of the creature, he has taken up the impiety of the Greeks, to that he has gone back; and he has become a follower of the unbelief of the Jews, who, supposing the Word of God to be but a human son, have refused to accept Him as God, and have declined to acknowledge Him as the Son of God. But it is impious to think of the Word of God as merely human, and to think of the works which are done by Him as abiding, while He abides not Himself. And if any one says that the Christ works all things only as commanded by the Word, he will both make the Word of God idle (*ἀργόν*), and will change the Lord's order into servitude. For the slave is one altogether under command, and the created is not competent to create; for to suppose that what is itself created may in like manner create other things, would imply that it has ceased to be like the creature.[1]

V. Again, when one speaks of the Holy Spirit as an object made holy (*ἡγιασμένον ποίημα*), he will no longer be able to apprehend all things as being sanctified in (the) Spirit. For he who has sanctified one, sanctifies all things. That man, consequently, belies the fountain of sanctification, the Holy Spirit, who denudes Him of the power of sanctifying, and he will thus be precluded from numbering Him with the Father and the Son; he makes nought, too, of the holy (ordinance of) baptism, and will no more be able to acknowledge the holy and august Trinity (Trias). For either we must apprehend the perfect Trinity in its natural and genuine glory, or we shall be under the necessity of speaking no more of a Trinity, but only of a Unity (Monas); or else, not numbering (*συναριθμεῖν*) created objects with the Creator, nor the creatures with the Lord of all, we must also not number what is sanctified with what sanctifies; even as no object that is made can be numbered with the Trinity, but in the

[1] This seems the idea in the sentence, *οὐ γὰρ ἐξισωσθήσεται τῷ κτίσματι αὐτὸ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον, ἵν' ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἔκτισται, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸ κτίσῃ τὰ ἄλλα.*

name of the Holy Trinity baptism and invocation and worship are administered. For if there are three several glories, there must also be three several forms of cultus with those who impiously worship the creature; for if there is a distinction in the nature of the objects worshipped, there ought to be also with these men a distinction in the nature of the worship offered. What is recent (*τὰ πρόσφατα*) surely is not to be worshipped along with what is eternal; for the recent comprehends all that has had a beginning, while mighty and measureless is He who is before the ages. He, therefore, who supposes some beginning of times in the life of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, therewith also cuts off any possibility of numbering the Son and the Spirit with the Father. For as we acknowledge the glory to be one, so ought we also to acknowledge the substance in the Godhead to be one, and one also the eternity of the Trinity.

VI. Moreover, the capital element of our salvation is the incarnation of the Word. We believe, therefore, that it was without any change in the Divinity that the incarnation of the Word took place with a view to the renewal of humanity. For there took place neither mutation nor transposition, nor any circumscription in will (*περικλεισμὸς ἐν νεύματι*), as regards the holy energy (*δύναμιν*) of God; but while that remained in itself the same, it also effected the work of the incarnation with a view to the salvation of the world: and the Word of God, living (*πολιτευσάμενος*) on earth after man's fashion, maintained likewise in all the divine presence, fulfilling all things, and being united (*συγκεκραμένος*) properly and individually with flesh; and while the sensibilities proper to the flesh were there, the (divine) energy maintained the impassibility proper to itself. Impious, therefore, is the man who introduces the passibility (*τὸ πάθος*) into the energy. For the Lord of glory appeared in fashion as a man when He undertook the œconomy[1] upon the earth; and He fulfilled the law for men by His deeds, and by His sufferings He did

[1] Meaning here the whole work and business of the incarnation, and the redemption through the flesh.—MIGNE.

away with man's sufferings, and by His death He abolished death, and by His resurrection He brought life to light; and now we look for His appearing from heaven in glory for the life and judgment of all, when the resurrection of the dead shall take place, to the end that recompense may be made to all according to their desert.

VII. But some treat the Holy Trinity (Trias) in an awful manner, when they confidently assert that there are not three persons, and introduce (the idea of) a person devoid of subsistence (*ἀνυπόστατον*). Wherefore we clear ourselves of Sabellius, who says that the Father and the Son are the same. For he holds that the Father is He who speaks, and that the Son is the Word that abides in the Father, and becomes manifest at the time of the creation (*δημιουργίας*), and thereafter reverts to God on the fulfilling of all things. The same affirmation he makes also of the Spirit. We forswear this, because we believe that three persons—namely, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—are declared to possess the one Godhead: for the one divinity showing itself forth according to nature in the Trinity (*φυσικῶς ἐν Τριάδι μαρτυρουμένη*) establishes the oneness of the nature; and thus there is a (divinity that is the) property of the Father, according to the word, "There is one God the Father;"[1] and there is a divinity hereditary (*πατρῷον*) in the Son, as it is written, "The Word was God;"[2] and there is a divinity present according to nature in the Spirit—to wit, what subsists as the Spirit of God—according to Paul's statement, "Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."[3]

VIII. Now the person in each declares the independent being and subsistence (*τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ ὑφεστάναι δηλοῖ*). But divinity is the property of the Father; and whenever the divinity of these three is spoken of as one, testimony is borne that the property[4] of the Father belongs also to the Son and

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 6. [2] John i. 1. [3] 1 Cor. iii. 6.

[4] By the *ἰδιότητα τοῦ Πατρός* is meant here the divinity belonging to the Father.—MIGNE.

the Spirit: wherefore, if the divinity may be spoken of as one in three persons, the trinity is established, and the unity is not dissevered; and the oneness which is naturally the Father's is also acknowledged to be the Son's and the Spirit's. If one, however, speaks of one person as he may speak of one divinity, it cannot be that the two in the one are as one (*οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἓν τὰ δύο ἐν τῷ ἑνί*). For Paul addresses the Father as one in respect of divinity, and speaks of the Son as one in respect of lordship: "There is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we for Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him."[1] Wherefore if there is one God, and one Lord, and at the same time one person as one divinity in one lordship (*καθ' ὃ θεότης μιᾶς κυριότητος*), how can credit be given to (this distinction in) the words *of whom* and *by whom*, as has been said before? We speak, accordingly, not as if we separated the lordship from the divinity, nor as estranging the one from the other, but as unifying them in the way warranted by actual fact and truth; and we call the Son God with the property of the Father (*τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ Πατρός*), as being His image and offspring; and we call the Father Lord, addressing Him by the name of the One Lord, as being His Origin and Begetter.

IX. The same position we hold respecting the Spirit, who has that unity with the Son which the Son has with the Father. Wherefore let the hypostasis of the Father be discriminated by the appellation of God; but let not the Son be cut off from this appellation, for He is of God. Again, let the person of the Son also be discriminated by the appellation of Lord; only let not God be dissociated from that, for He is Lord as being the Father of the Lord. And as it is proper to the Son to exercise lordship, for He it is that made (all things) by Himself, and now rules the things that were made, while at the same time the Father has a prior possession of that property, inasmuch as He is the Father of Him who is Lord; so we speak of the Trinity as One God, and yet not as if we made the one by a synthesis

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 6.

of three: for the subsistence that is constituted by synthesis is something altogether partitive and imperfect (*μέρος γὰρ ἅπαν ἀτελὲς τὸ συνθεσεως ὑφιστάμενον*). But just as the designation Father is the expression of originality and generation, so the designation Son is the expression of the image and offspring of the Father. Hence, if one were to ask how there is but One God, if there is also a God of God, we would reply that that is a term proper to the idea of original causation (*ἀρχῆς*), so far as the Father is the one First Cause (*ἀρχή*). And if one were also to put the question, how there is but One Lord, if the Father also is Lord, we might answer that again by saying that He is so in so far as He is the Father of the Lord; and this difficulty shall meet us no longer.

X. And again, if the impious say, How will there not be three Gods and three Persons, on the supposition that they have one and the same divinity?—we shall reply: Just because God is the Cause and Father of the Son; and this Son is the image and offspring of the Father, and not His brother; and the Spirit in like manner is the Spirit of God, as it is written, "God is a Spirit."[1] And in earlier times we have this declaration from the prophet David: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens stablished, and all the power of them by the breath (spirit) of His mouth."[2] And in the beginning of the book of the creation (*Κοσμοποιΐας*) it is written thus: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."[3] And Paul in his Epistle to the Romans says: "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you."[4] And again he says: "But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you."[5] And again: "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry,

[1] John iv. 24. [2] Ps. xxxiii. 6. [3] Gen. i. 2.
[4] Rom. viii. 9. [5] Rom. viii. 11.

Abba, Father."[1] And again: "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost."[2] And again: "Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, by the power of the Holy Ghost."[3]

XI. And again, writing to those same Romans, he says: "But I have written the more boldly unto you in some sort, as putting you in mind, because of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost. I have therefore whereof I may glory through Jesus Christ in those things which pertain to God. For I dare not to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit."[4] And again: "Now I beseech you, brethren, for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and by the love of the Spirit."[5] And these things, indeed, are written in the Epistle to the Romans.

XII. Again, in the Epistle to the Corinthians he says: "For my speech and my preaching was not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."[6] And again he says: "As it is written, 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. But God hath revealed them unto us by His Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."[7] And again he says: "But

[1] Rom. viii. 14, 15. [2] Rom. ix. 1. [3] Rom. xv. 13.
[4] Rom. xv. 15–19. [5] Rom. xv. 30. [6] 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.
[7] 1 Cor. ii. 9-11.

the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God."[1]

XIII. Seest thou that all through Scripture the Spirit is preached, and yet nowhere named a creature? And what can the impious have to say if the Lord sends forth His disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit?[2] Without contradiction, that implies a communion and unity between them, according to which there are neither three divinities nor (three) lordships; but, while there remain truly and certainly the three persons, the real unity of the three must be acknowledged. And in this way proper credit will be given to the *sending* and the *being sent*[3] (in the Godhead), according to which the Father hath sent forth the Son, and the Son in like manner sends forth the Spirit. For one of the persons surely could not (be said to) send Himself; and one could not speak of the Father as incarnate. For the articles of our faith will not concur with the vicious tenets of the heresies; and it is right that our conceptions should follow the inspired and apostolic doctrines, and not that our impotent fancies should coerce the articles of our divine faith.

XIV. But if they say, How can there be three Persons, and how but one Divinity?—we shall make this reply: That there are indeed three persons, inasmuch as there is one person of God the Father, and one of the Lord the Son, and one of the Holy Spirit; and yet that there is but one divinity, inasmuch as the Son is the Image of God the Father, who is One,—that is, He is God of God; and in like manner the Spirit is called the Spirit of God, and that, too, of nature according to the very substance (*φυσικῶς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν*), and not according to simple participation of God. And there is one substance (*οὐσία*) in the Trinity, which does not subsist also in the case of objects that are

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 14. [2] Matt. xxviii. 19.

[3] The text is, *οὕτω γὰρ* (*τὸ ἀποστέλλον*) *καὶ τὸ ἀποστελλόμενον, οἰκείως ἂν πιστεύοιτο, καθ' ὁ*, etc.

made; for there is not one substance in God and in the things that are made, because none of these is in substance God. Nor, indeed, is the Lord one of these according to substance, but there is one Lord the Son, and one Holy Spirit; and we speak also of one Divinity, and one Lordship, and one Sanctity in the Trinity; because the Father is the Cause (*ἀρχή*) of the Lord, having begotten Him eternally, and the Lord is the Prototype (*πρωτότυπος*) of the Spirit. For thus the Father is Lord, and the Son also is God; and of God it is said that "God is a Spirit."[1]

XV. We therefore acknowledge one true God, the one First Cause, and one Son, very God of very God, possessing of nature the Father's divinity,—that is to say, being the same in substance with the Father;[2] and one Holy Spirit, who by nature and in truth sanctifies all, and makes divine, as being of the substance of God.[3] Those who speak either of the Son or of the Holy Spirit as a creature we anathematize. All other things we hold to be objects made, and in subjection (*δοῦλα*), created by God through the Son, (and) sanctified in the Holy Spirit. Further, we acknowledge that the Son of God was made a Son of man, having taken to Himself the flesh from the Virgin Mary, not in name, but in reality; and that He is both the perfect Son of God, and the (perfect) Son of man,—that the Person is but one, and that there is one worship (*προσκύνησιν*) for the Word and the flesh that He assumed. And we anathematize those who constitute different worships, one for the divine and another for the human, and who worship the man born of Mary as though He were another than the God of God. For we know that "in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."[4] And we worship Him who was made man on account of our salvation, not indeed as made perfectly like in the like body (*ἴσον ἐν*

[1] John iv. 24.

[2] Note the phrase here, afterwards formulated, *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί.*

[3] *καὶ θεοποιὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχον.*

[4] John i. 1.

ἴσῳ γενόμενον τῷ σώματι), but as the Lord who has taken to Himself the form of the servant. We acknowledge the passion of the Lord in the flesh, the resurrection in the power of His divinity, the ascension to heaven, and His glorious appearing when He comes for the judgment of the living and the dead, and for the eternal life of the saints.

XVI. And since some have given us trouble by attempting to subvert our faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and by affirming of Him that He was not God incarnated, but a man linked with God; for this reason we present our confession on the subject of the afore-mentioned matters of faith, and reject the faithless dogmas opposed thereto. For God, having been incarnated in the flesh of man, retains also His proper energy pure, possessing a mind unsubjected by the natural (ψυχικῶν) and fleshly affections, and holding the flesh and the fleshly motions divinely and sinlessly, and not only unmastered by the power of death, but even destroying death. And it is the true God unincarnate that has appeared incarnate, the perfect One with the genuine and divine perfection; and in Him there are not two persons. Nor do we affirm that there are four to worship, viz. God and the Son of God, and man and the Holy Spirit. Wherefore we also anathematize those who show their impiety in this, and who thus give the *man* a place in the divine doxology. For we hold that the Word of God was made man on account of our salvation, in order that we might receive the likeness of the heavenly, and be made divine (θεοποιηθῶμεν) after the likeness of Him who is the true Son of God by nature, and the Son of man according to the flesh, our Lord Jesus Christ.

XVII. We believe therefore in one God, that is, in one First Cause, the God of the law and of the gospel, the just and good; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, true God, that is, Image of the true God, Maker of all things seen and unseen, Son of God and only-begotten Offspring, and Eternal Word, living and self-subsistent and active (ἐνεργόν), always being with the Father; and in one Holy Spirit; and in the glo-

rious advent of the Son of God, who of the Virgin Mary took flesh, and endured sufferings and death in our stead, and came to resurrection on the third day, and was taken up to heaven; and in His glorious appearing yet to come; and in one holy church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and life eternal.

XVIII. We acknowledge that the Son and the Spirit are consubstantial with the Father, and that the substance of the Trinity is one,—that is, that there is one divinity according to nature, the Father remaining unbegotten, and the Son being begotten of the Father in a true generation, and not in a formation by will (*ποιήσει ἐκ βουλήσεως*), and the Spirit being sent forth eternally from the substance of the Father through the Son, with power to sanctify the whole creation. And we further acknowledge that the Word was made flesh, and was manifested in the flesh-movement (*κινήσει*) received of a virgin, and did not simply energize in a man. And those who have fellowship with men that reject the *consubstantiality* as a doctrine foreign to the Scriptures, and speak of any of the persons in the Trinity as created, and separate that person from the one natural divinity, we hold as aliens, and have fellowship with none such. There is one God the Father, and there is only one divinity. But the Son also is God, as being the true image of the one and only divinity, according to generation and the nature which He has from the Father. There is one Lord the Son; but in like manner there is the Spirit, who bears over (*διαπέμπων*) the Son's lordship to the creature that is sanctified. The Son sojourned in the world, having of the Virgin received flesh, which He filled with the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of us all; and having given up the flesh to death, He destroyed death through the resurrection that had in view the resurrection of us all; and He ascended to heaven, exalting and glorifying men in Himself; and He comes the second time to bring us again eternal life.

XIX. One is the Son, both before the incarnation and

after the incarnation. The same (Son) is both man and God, both these together as though one; and the God the Word is not one person, and the man Jesus another person, but the same who subsisted as Son before was made one with flesh by Mary, so constituting Himself a perfect, and holy, and sinless man, and using that œconomical position for the renewal of mankind and the salvation of all the world. God the Father, being Himself the perfect Person, has thus the perfect Word begotten of Him truly, not as a word that is spoken, nor yet again as a son by adoption, in the sense in which angels and men are called sons of God, but as a Son who is in nature God. And there is also the perfect Holy Spirit supplied (*χορηγούμενον*) of God through the Son to the sons of adoption, living and life-giving, holy and imparting holiness to those who partake of Him,—not like an unsubstantial breath (*πνοήν*) breathed into them by man, but as the living Breath proceeding from God. Wherefore the Trinity is to be adored, to be glorified, to be honoured, and to be reverenced; the Father being apprehended in the Son even as the Son is of Him, and the Son being glorified in the Father, inasmuch as He is of the Father, and being manifested in the Holy Spirit to the sanctified.

XX. And that the holy Trinity is to be worshipped without either separation or alienation, is taught us by Paul, who says in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all."[1] And again, in that epistle he makes this explanation: "Now He which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God, who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts."[2] And still more clearly he writes thus in the same epistle: "When Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord,

[1] 2 Cor. xiii. 13. [2] 2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord."[1]

XXI. And again Paul says: "That mortality might be swallowed up of life. Now He that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit."[2] And again he says: "Approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities,"[3] and so forth. Then he adds these words: "By kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God."[4] Behold here again the saint has defined the holy Trinity, naming God, and the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And again he says: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy."[5] And again: "But ye are washed, but ye are justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."[6] And again: "What! know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God?"[7] "And I think also that I have the Spirit of God."[8]

XXII. And again, speaking also of the children of Israel as baptized in the cloud and in the sea, he says: "And they all drank of the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."[9] And again he says: "Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 15–18. [2] 2 Cor. v. 4, 5. [3] 2 Cor. vi. 4.
[4] 2 Cor. vi. 6, 7. [5] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. [6] 1 Cor. vi. 11.
[7] 1 Cor. vi. 19. [8] 1 Cor. vii. 40. [9] 1 Cor. x. 4.

word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body."[1] And again he says: "For if he who comes preaches another Christ whom we have not preached, or ye receive another spirit that ye have received not, or another gospel which ye have not obtained, ye will rightly be kept back"[2] (*καλῶς ἂν εἴχεσθε*).

XXIII. Seest thou that the Spirit is inseparable from the divinity? And no one with pious apprehensions could fancy that He is a creature. Moreover, in the Epistle to the Hebrews he writes again thus: "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard Him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost?"[3] And again he says in the same epistle: "Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith, To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness; when your fathers tempted me, proved me, and saw my works forty years. Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, They do always err in their heart; for (*διότι*) they have not known my ways: as I sware in my wrath, that they should not enter into my rest."[4] And there, too, they ought to give ear to Paul, for he by no means separates the Holy Spirit from the divinity of the Father and the Son, but clearly sets forth the discourse of the Holy Ghost as one from the person

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 3–13.
[2] Referring perhaps to Gal. i. 8, 9.
[3] Heb. ii. 3, 4.
[4] Heb. iii. 7–11.

of the Father, and thus as given expression to (εἰρημένην) by God, just as it has been represented in the before-mentioned sayings. Wherefore the holy Trinity is believed to be one God, in accordance with these testimonies of holy Scripture; albeit all through the inspired Scriptures numberless announcements are supplied us, all confirmatory of the apostolic and ecclesiastical faith.

A FRAGMENT OF THE SAME DECLARATION OF FAITH, ACCOMPANIED BY GLOSSES.

(From the book against the Monophysites by Leontius of Jerusalem, in Mai, *Script. Vet.* vol. vii. p. 147.)

From Gregory Thaumaturgus, as they say, in his Sectional Confession of Faith.

To maintain two natures (φύσεις) in the one Christ, makes a Tetrad of the Trinity, says he; for he expressed himself thus: "And it is the true God, the unincarnate, that was manifested in the flesh, perfect with the true and divine perfection, not with two natures; nor do we speak of worshipping four (persons), viz. God, and the Son of God, and man, and the Holy Spirit." First, however, this passage is misapprehended, and is of very doubtful import. Nevertheless it bears that we should not speak of two persons in Christ, lest, by thus acknowledging Him as God, and as in the perfect divinity, and yet speaking of two persons, we should make a Tetrad of the divine persons, counting that of God the Father as one, and that of the Son of God as one, and that of the man as one, and that of the Holy Spirit as one. But, again, it bears also against recognising two divine natures (φύσεις), and rather for acknowledging Him to be perfect God in one natural divine perfection, and not in two; for his object is to show that He became incarnate without change, and that He retains the divinity without

duplication (ἀδιπλασιάστως). Accordingly he says shortly: "And while the affections of the flesh spring, the energy (δύναμις) retains the impassibility proper to it. He, therefore, who introduces the (idea of) passion into the energy is impious; for it was the Lord of glory that appeared in human form, having taken to Himself the human œconomy."

FRAGMENT FROM THE DISCOURSE OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS ON THE TRINITY.

(Mai, *Spicil. Rom.* vol. iii. p. 696, from the Arabic Codex, 101.)

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, Bishop of Neocæsareia in Pontus,[1] near successor of the apostles, in his discourse on the Trinity, speaks thus:—

I see in all three essentials—substance, genus, name. We speak of man, servant, curator (*curatorem*),—man, by reason of substance; servant, by reason of genus or condition; curator, by reason of denomination. We speak also of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: these, however, are not names which have only supervened at some after period, but they are subsistences. Again, the denomination of *man* is not in actual fact a denomination, but a substance common to men, and is the denomination proper to all men. Moreover, names are such as these,—Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob: these, I say, are names. But the Divine Persons are names indeed: and the names are still the persons; and the persons then signify that which is and subsists,—which is the essence of God. The name also of the nature signifies subsistence;[2] as if we should speak of the *man*. All (the persons) are one nature, one essence, one will, and are called the Holy Trinity; and these also are names subsistent, one nature in three persons, and one genus. But the person of the Son is composite in its oneness (*unita est*), being one made up of two, that is, of divinity and humanity together, which two

[1] The Arabic Codex reads falsely, Cæsareæ Cappadociæ.

[2] Or, the name signifies the subsistence of the nature—*Nomen quoque naturæ significat subsistentiam.*

constitute one. Yet the divinity does not consequently receive any increment, but the Trinity remains as it was. Nor does anything new befall the persons even or the names, but these are eternal and without time. No one, however, was sufficient to know these until the Son being made flesh manifested them, saying: "Father, I have manifested Thy name to men; glorify Thou me also, that they may know me as Thy Son."[1] And on the mount the Father spake, and said, "This is my beloved Son."[2] And the same sent His Holy Spirit at the Jordan. And thus it was declared to us that there is an Eternal Trinity in equal honour. Besides, the generation of the Son by the Father is incomprehensible and ineffable; and because it is spiritual, its investigation becomes impracticable: for a spiritual object can neither be understood nor traced by a corporeal object, for that is far removed from human nature. We men know indeed the generation proper to us, as also that of other objects; but a spiritual matter is above human condition, neither can it in any manner be understood by the minds of men. Spiritual substance can neither perish nor be dissolved; ours, however, as is easy to understand, perishes and is dissolved. How, indeed, could it be possible for man, who is limited on six sides—by east, west, south, north, deep, and sky—understand a matter which is above the skies, which is beneath the deeps, which stretches beyond the north and south, and which is present in every place, and fills all vacuity? But if, indeed, we were able to scrutinize spiritual substance, its excellence truly would be undone. Let us consider what is done in our body; and, furthermore, let us see whether it is in our power to ascertain in what manner thoughts are born of the heart, and words of the tongue, and the like. Now, if we can by no means apprehend things that are done in ourselves, how could it ever be that we should understand the mystery of the uncreated Creator, which goes beyond every mind? Assuredly, if this mystery were one that could be penetrated by man, the inspired John would by no means have affirmed this: "No man hath seen God at any time."[3] He,

[1] John xvii. 6. [2] Matt. iii. 17. [3] John i. 18.

then, whom no man hath seen at any time,—whom can we reckon Him to resemble, so that thereby we should understand His generation? And we, indeed, without ambiguity apprehend that our soul dwells in us in union with the body; but still, who has ever seen his own soul? who has been able to discern its conjunction with his body? This one thing is all we know certainly, that there is a soul within us conjoined with the body. Thus, then, we reason and believe that the Word is begotten by the Father, albeit we neither possess nor know the clear *rationale* of the fact. The Word Himself is before every creature—eternal from the Eternal, like spring from spring, and light from light. The vocable *Word*, indeed, belongs to those three genera of words which are named in Scripture, and which are not substantial,—namely, the word *conceived* (*τὸ κατ' ἔννοιαν*), the word *uttered* (*προφορικόν*), and the word *articulated* (*ἀρθρικόν*). The word *conceived*, certainly, is not substantial. The word *uttered*, again, is that voice which the prophets hear from God, or the prophetic speech itself; and even this is not substantial. And, lastly, the word *articulated* is the speech of man formed forth in air (*aëre efformatus*), composed of terms, which also is not substantial.[1] But the Word of God is substantial, endowed with an exalted and enduring nature, and is eternal with Himself, and is inseparable from Him, and can never fall away, but shall remain in an everlasting union. This Word created heaven and earth, and in Him were all things made. He is the arm and the power of God, never to be separated from the Father, in virtue of an indivisible nature, and, together with the Father, He is without beginning. This Word took our substance of the Virgin Mary; and in so far as He is spiritual indeed, He is indivisibly equal with the Father; but in so far as He is corporeal, He is in like manner inseparably equal with us. And, again, in so far as He is spiritual, He supplies in the same equality (*æquiparat*) the Holy Spirit, inseparably and without limit. Neither were there two natures, but only one

[1] On these terms, consult the Greek Fathers in Petavius, *de Trin.* book vi.

nature of the Holy Trinity before the incarnation of the Word, the Son; and the nature of the Trinity remained one also after the incarnation of the Son. But if any one, moreover, believes that any increment has been given to the Trinity by reason of the assumption of humanity by the Word, he is an alien from us, and from the ministry of the catholic and apostolic church. This is the perfect, holy, apostolic faith of the holy God. Praise to the Holy Trinity for ever through the ages of the ages! Amen.

TWELVE TOPICS ON THE FAITH:

WHEREIN IS GIVEN ALSO THE FORMULA OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AND AN EXPLICATION IS SUBJOINED TO EACH.

(Works of Gretser, vol. xv. p. 484, Ratisbon 1741, in fol., from a manuscript codex.)

Topic I.

IF any one says that the body of Christ is uncreated, and refuses to acknowledge that He, being the uncreated Word (God) of God, took the flesh of created humanity and appeared incarnate, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could the body be said to be uncreated? For the uncreated is the passionless, invulnerable, intangible. But Christ, on rising from the dead, showed His disciples the print of the nails and the wound made by the spear, and a body that could be handled, although He also had entered among them when the doors were shut, with the view of showing them at once the energy of the divinity and the reality of the body. (Yet, while being God, He was recognised as man in a natural manner; and while subsisting truly as man, He was also manifested as God by His works.[1])

Topic II.

If any one affirms that the flesh of Christ is consubstantial with the divinity, and refuses to acknowledge that He, subsisting Himself in the form of God as God before all ages,

[1] This sentence is wanting in a very ancient copy.

emptied Himself and took the form of a servant, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could the flesh, which is conditioned by time, be said to be consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with the timeless divinity? For that is designated consubstantial which is the same in nature and in eternal duration without variableness.

Topic III.

If any one affirms that Christ, just like one of the prophets, assumed the perfect man, and refuses to acknowledge that, being begotten in the flesh of the Virgin,[1] He became man and was born in Bethlehem, and was brought up in Nazareth, and advanced in age, and on completing the set number of years (appeared in public and) was baptized in the Jordan, and received this testimony from the Father, "This is my beloved Son,"[2] even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could it be said that Christ (the Lord) assumed the perfect man just like one of the prophets, when He, being the Lord Himself, became man by the incarnation effected through the Virgin? Wherefore it is written, that "the first man was of the earth, earthy."[3] But whereas he that was formed of the earth returned to the earth, He that became the second man returned to heaven. And so we read of the "first Adam and the last Adam."[4] And as it is admitted that the second came by the first according to the flesh, for which reason also Christ is called man and the Son of man; so is the witness given that the second is the Saviour of the first, for whose sake He came down from heaven. And as the Word came down from heaven, and was made man, and ascended again to heaven, He is on that account said to be the second Adam from heaven.

[1] Reading ἐκ παρθένου for ἐκ παθόντος.
[2] Matt. iii. 17.
[3] 1 Cor. xv. 47.
[4] 1 Cor. xv. 45.

Topic IV.

If any one affirms that Christ was born of the seed of man by the Virgin, in the same manner as all men are born, and refuses to acknowledge that He was made flesh by the Holy Spirit and the holy Virgin Mary, and became man of the seed of David, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ was born of the seed of man by the Virgin, when the holy Gospel and the angel, in proclaiming the good tidings, testify of Mary the Virgin that she said, "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?"[1] Wherefore he says, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing, which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of the Highest."[2] And to Joseph he says, "Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. And she shall bring forth a son, and they shall call His name Jesus: for He shall save His people from their sins."[3]

Topic V.

If any one affirms that the Son of God who is before the ages is one, and He who has appeared in these last times is another, and refuses to acknowledge that He who is before the ages is the same with Him who appeared in these last times, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could it be said that the Son of God who is before the ages, and He who has appeared in these last times, are different, when the Lord Himself says, "Before Abraham was, I am;"[4] and, "I came forth from God, and I come, and again I go to my Father?"[5]

[1] Luke i. 34. [2] Luke i. 35. [3] Matt. i. 20, 21.
[4] John viii. 58. [5] John xiii. and xvi.

Topic VI.

If any one affirms that He who suffered is one, and that He who suffered not is another, and refuses to acknowledge that the Word, who is Himself the impassible and unchangeable God, suffered in the flesh which He had assumed really, yet without mutation, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could it be said that He who suffered is one, and He who suffered not another, when the Lord Himself says, "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be killed, and be raised again the third day from the dead;"[1] and again, "When ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the Father;"[2] and again, "When the Son of man cometh in the glory of His Father?"[3]

Topic VII.

If any one affirms that Christ is saved, and refuses to acknowledge that He is the Saviour of the world, and the Light of the world, even as it is written,[4] let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ is saved, when the Lord Himself says, "I am the life;"[5] and, "I am come that they might have life;"[6] and, "He that believeth on me shall not see death, but he shall behold the life eternal?"[7]

Topic VIII.

If any one affirms that Christ is perfect man and also God the Word in the way of separation (διαιρετῶς), and refuses to acknowledge the one Lord Jesus Christ, even as it is written, let him be anathema.

[1] Matt. xvi. 21. [2] Matt. xxvi. 64; Mark xiv. 62.
[3] Matt. xvi. 27. [4] Isa. ix.; Matt. iv.; John i. iii. viii. ix. xii.
[5] John xi. 25, xiv. 6. [6] John x. 10. [7] John viii. 51.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ is perfect man and also God the Word in the way of separation, when the Lord Himself says, "Why seek ye to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God?"[1] For God the Word did not give a man for us, but He gave Himself for us, having been made man for our sake. Wherefore He says: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. But He spake of the temple of His body."[2]

Topic IX.

If any one says that Christ suffers change or alteration, and refuses to acknowledge that He is unchangeable in the Spirit, though corruptible (or, and incorruptible) in the flesh, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ suffers change or alteration, when the Lord Himself says, "I am, and I change not;"[3] and again, "His soul shall not be left in Hades, neither shall His flesh see corruption?"[4]

Topic X.

If any one affirms that Christ assumed the man only in part, and refuses to acknowledge that He was made in all things like us, apart from sin, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ assumed the man only in part, when the Lord Himself says, "I lay down my life, that I might take it again, for the sheep;"[5] and, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;"[6] and, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life?"[7]

[1] John viii. 40. [2] John ii. 20, 21. [3] Mal. iii. 6.
[4] Ps. xvi. 10; Acts ii. 31. [5] John x. 17.
[6] John vi. 55. [7] John vi. 56.

Topic XI.

If any one affirms that the body of Christ is void of soul and understanding (ἄψυχον καὶ ἀνόητον), and refuses to acknowledge that He is perfect man, one and the same in all things (with us), let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that the body of the Lord (Christ) is void of soul and understanding? For perturbation, and grief, and distress, are not the properties either of a flesh void of soul, or of a soul void of understanding; nor are they the sign of the immutable Divinity, nor the index of a mere phantasm, nor do they mark the defect of human weakness; but the Word exhibited in Himself the exercise of the affections and susceptibilities proper to us, having endued Himself with our passibility, even as it is written, that "He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows."[1] For perturbation, and grief, and distress, are disorders of soul; and toil, and sleep, and the body's liability to wounding, are infirmities of the flesh.

Topic XII.

If any one says that Christ was manifested in the world only in semblance, and refuses to acknowledge that He came actually in the flesh, let him be anathema.

EXPLICATION.

How could one say that Christ was manifested only in semblance in the world, born as He was in Bethlehem, and made to submit to the circumcising of the flesh, and lifted up by Simeon, and brought up on to His twelfth year (at home), and made subject to His parents, and baptized in Jordan, and nailed to the cross, and raised again from the dead?

Wherefore, when it is said that He was "troubled in spirit,"[2] that "He was sorrowful in soul,"[3] that "He was

[1] Isa. liii. 4. [2] John xi. 33, xii. 27, xiii. 21. [3] Matt. xxvi. 38.

wounded in body,"[1] He places before us designations of susceptibilities proper to our constitution, in order to show that He was made man in the world, and had His conversation with men,[2] yet without sin. For He was born in Bethlehem according to the flesh, in a manner meet for Deity, the angels of heaven recognising Him as their Lord, and hymning as their God Him who was then wrapped in swaddling-clothes in a manger, and exclaiming, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will among men."[3] He was brought up in Nazareth; but in divine fashion He sat among the doctors, and astonished them by a wisdom beyond His years, in respect of the capacities of His bodily life, as is recorded in the Gospel narrative. He was baptized in Jordan, not as receiving any sanctification for Himself, but as gifting a participation in sanctification to others. He was tempted in the wilderness, not as giving way, however, to temptation, but as putting our temptations before Himself on the challenge of the tempter, in order to show the powerlessness of the tempter.

Wherefore He says, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."[4] And this He said, not as holding before us any contest proper only to a God, but as showing our own flesh in its capacity to overcome suffering, and death, and corruption, in order that, as sin entered into the world by flesh, and death came to reign by sin over all men, the sin in the flesh might also be condemned through the selfsame flesh in the likeness thereof;[5] and that that overseer of sin, the tempter, might be overcome, and death be cast down from its sovereignty, and the corruption in the burying of the body be done away, and the first-fruits of the resurrection be shown, and the principle of righteousness begin its course in the world through faith, and the kingdom of heaven be preached to men, and fellowship be established between God and men.

In behalf of this grace let us glorify the Father, who has given His only begotten Son for the life of the world. Let us

[1] Isa. liii. 5. [2] Baruch iii. 38. [3] Luke ii. 14.
[4] John xvi. 33. [5] Rom. v. 12, viii. 3.

glorify the Holy Spirit that worketh in us, and quickeneth us, and furnisheth the gifts meet for the fellowship of God; and let us not intermeddle with the word of the gospel by lifeless disputations, scattering about endless questionings and logomachies, and making a hard thing of the gentle and simple word of faith; but rather let us work the work of faith, let us love peace, let us exhibit concord, let us preserve unity, let us cultivate love, with which God is well pleased.

As it is not for us to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in His own power,[1] but only to believe that there will come an end to time, and that there will be a manifestation of a future world, and a revelation of judgment, and an advent of the Son of God, and a recompense of works, and an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, so it is not for us to know how the Son of God became man; for this is a great mystery, as it is written, "Who shall declare His generation? for His life is taken from the earth."[2] But it is for us to believe that the Son of God became man, according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen on the earth, and had His conversation with men, according to the Scriptures, in their likeness, yet without sin; and that He died for us, and rose again from the dead, as it is written; and that He was taken up to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead, as it is written; lest, while we war against each other with words, any should be led to blaspheme the word of faith, and that should come to pass which is written, "By reason of you is my name (or the name of God) continually blasphemed among the nations."[3]

[1] Acts i. 7. [2] Isa. liii. 8. [3] Isa. lii. 5.

A TOPICAL DISCOURSE BY OUR HOLY FATHER GREGORY, SURNAMED THAUMATURGUS,

BISHOP OF NEO-CÆSAREIA IN PONTUS,

ADDRESSED TO TATIAN,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SOUL.

YOU have instructed us, most excellent Tatian, to forward for your use a discourse upon the soul, laying it out in effective demonstrations. And this you have asked us to do without making use of the testimonies of Scripture,—a method which is open to us, and which, to those who seek the pious mind, proves a manner of setting forth doctrine more convincing than any reasoning of man. You have said, however, that you desire this, not with a view to your own full assurance, taught as you already have been to hold by the holy Scriptures and traditions, and to avoid being shaken in your convictions by any subtleties of man's disputations, but with a view to the confuting of men who have different sentiments, and who do not admit that such credit is to be given to the Scriptures, and who endeavour, by a kind of cleverness of speech, to gain over those who are unversed in such discussions. Wherefore we were led to comply readily with this commission of yours, not shrinking from the task on account of inexperience in this method of disputation, but taking encouragement from the knowledge of your good-will toward us. For your kind and friendly disposition towards us will make you understand how to put forward publicly whatever you may approve

of as rightly expressed by us, and to pass by and conceal whatever statement of ours you may judge to come short of what is proper. Knowing this, therefore, I have betaken myself with all confidence to the exposition. And in my discourse I shall use a certain order and consecution, such as those who are very expert in these matters employ towards those who desire to investigate any subject intelligently.

First of all, then, I shall propose to inquire by what criterion the soul can, according to its nature, be apprehended; then by what means it can be proved to exist; thereafter, whether it is a substance or an accident; then consequently on these points, whether it is a body or is incorporeal; then, whether it is simple or compound; next, whether it is mortal or immortal; and finally, whether it is rational or irrational.

For these are the questions which are wont, above all, to be discussed, in any inquiry about the soul, as most important, and as best calculated to mark out its distinctive nature. And as demonstrations for the establishing of these matters of investigation, we shall employ those common modes of consideration (ἐννοίαις) by which the credibility of matters under hand is naturally attested. But for the purpose of brevity and utility, we shall at present make use only of those modes of argumentation which are most cogently demonstrative on the subject of our inquiry, in order that clear and intelligible (εὐπαράδεκτα) notions may impart to us some readiness for meeting the gainsayers. With this, therefore, we shall commence our discussion.

1. *Wherein is the criterion for the apprehension of the soul.*

All things that exist are either known by sense (αἰσθήσει) or apprehended by thought (νοήσει). And what falls under sense has its adequate demonstration in sense itself; for at once, with the application, it creates in us the impression (φαντασίαν) of what underlies it. But what is apprehended by thought is known not by itself, but by its operations (ἐνεργειῶν). The soul, consequently, being unknown by itself, shall be known properly by its effects.

2. *Whether the soul exists.*

Our body, when it is put in action, is put in action either from without or from within. And that it is not put in action from without, is manifest from the circumstance that it is put in action neither by impulsion (*ὠθούμενον*) nor by traction (*ἑλκόμενον*), like soulless things. And again, if it is put in action from within, it is not put in action according to nature, like fire. For fire never loses its action as long as there is fire; whereas the body, when it has become dead, is a body void of action. Hence, if it is put in action neither from without, like soulless things, nor according to nature, after the fashion of fire, it is evident that it is put in action by the soul, which also furnishes life to it. If, then, the soul is shown to furnish the life to our body, the soul will also be known for itself by its operations.

3. *Whether the soul is a substance.*

That the soul is a substance (*οὐσία*), is proved in the following manner. In the first place, because the definition given to the term substance suits it very well. And that definition is to the effect, that substance is that which, being ever identical, and ever one in point of numeration with itself, is yet capable of taking on contraries in succession[1] (*τῶν ἐναντίων παραμέρος εἶναι δεκτικόν*). And that this soul, without passing the limit of its own proper nature, takes on contraries in succession, is, I fancy, clear to everybody. For righteousness and unrighteousness, courage and cowardice, temperance and intemperance, are seen in it successively; and these are contraries. If, then, it is the property of a substance to be capable of taking on contraries in succession, and if the soul is shown to sustain the definition in these terms, it follows that the soul is a substance. And in the second place, because if the body is a substance, the soul must also be a substance. For it cannot be, that what only has life imparted should be a substance, and that what imparts the life should be no substance: unless one should

[1] *παραμέρος*, here apparently = in turn, though usually = out of turn.

assert that the non-existent is the cause of the existent; or unless, again, one were insane enough to allege that the dependent object is itself the cause of that very thing in which it has its being, and without which it could not subsist.[1]

4. *Whether the soul is incorporeal.*

That the soul is in our body, has been shown above. We ought now, therefore, to ascertain in what manner it is in the body. Now, if it is in juxtaposition with it, as one pebble with another, it follows that the soul will be a body, and also that the whole body will not be animated with soul (ἔμψυχον), inasmuch as with a certain part it will only be in juxtaposition. But if, again, it is mingled or fused with the body, the soul will become multiplex (πολυμερής), and not simple, and will thus be despoiled of the rationale proper to a soul. For what is multiplex is also divisible and dissoluble; and what is dissoluble, on the other hand, is compound (σύνθετον); and what is compound is separable in a threefold manner. Moreover, body attached to body makes weight (ὄγκον); but the soul, subsisting in the body, does not make weight, but rather imparts life. The soul, therefore, cannot be a body, but is incorporeal.

Again, if the soul is a body, it is put in action either from without or from within. But it is not put in action from without; for it is moved neither by impulsion nor by traction, like soulless things. Nor is it put in action from within, like objects animated with soul; for it is absurd to talk of a soul of the soul: it cannot, therefore, be a body, but it is incorporeal.

And besides, if the soul is a body, it has sensible qualities, and is maintained by nurture. But it is not thus nurtured. For if it is nurtured, it is not nurtured corporeally, like the body, but incorporeally; for it is nurtured by reason. It has not, therefore, sensible qualities: for neither is righteousness, nor courage, nor any one of these things, something

[1] The text has an apparent inversion: *τὸ ἐν ᾧ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἴσχον καὶ οὗ ἄνευ εἶναι μὴ δυνάμενον, αἴτιον ἐκείνου εἶναι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐστί.* There is also a variety of reading: *καὶ ὁ ἄνευ τοῦ εἶναι μὴ δυνάμενον.*

that is seen; yet these are the qualities of the soul. It cannot, therefore, be a body, but is incorporeal.

Still further, as all corporeal substance is divided into animate and inanimate, let those who hold that the soul is a body tell us whether we are to call it animate or inanimate.

Finally, if every body has colour, and quantity, and figure, and if there is not one of these qualities perceptible in the soul, it follows that the soul is not a body.

5. *Whether the soul is simple or compound.*

We prove, then, that the soul is simple, best of all, by those arguments by which its incorporeality has been demonstrated. For if it is not a body, while every body is compound, and what is composite is made up of parts, and is consequently multiplex, the soul, on the other hand, being incorporeal, is simple; since thus it is both uncompounded and indivisible into parts.

6. *Whether our soul is immortal.*

It follows, in my opinion, as a necessary consequence, that what is simple is immortal. And as to how that follows, hear my explanation: Nothing that exists is its own corrupter (*φθαρτικόν*), else it could never have had any thorough consistency, even from the beginning. For things that are subject to corruption are corrupted by contraries: wherefore everything that is corrupted is subject to dissolution; and what is subject to dissolution is compound; and what is compound is of many parts; and what is made up of parts manifestly is made up of diverse parts; and the diverse is not the identical: consequently the soul, being simple, and not being made up of diverse parts, but being uncompound and indissoluble, must be, in virtue of that, incorruptible and immortal.

Besides, everything that is put in action by something else, and does not possess the principle of life in itself, but gets it from that which puts it in action, endures just so long as it is held by the power that operates in it; and whenever the operative power ceases, that also comes to a

stand which has its capacity of action from it. But the soul, being self-acting, has no cessation of its being. For it follows, that what is self-acting is ever-acting; and what is ever-acting is unceasing; and what is unceasing is without end; and what is without end is incorruptible; and what is incorruptible is immortal. Consequently, if the soul is self-acting, as has been shown above, it follows that it is incorruptible and immortal, in accordance with the mode of reasoning already expressed.

And further, everything that is not corrupted by the evil proper to itself, is incorruptible; and the evil is opposed to the good, and is consequently its corrupter. For the evil of the body is nothing else than suffering, and disease, and death; just as, on the other hand, its excellency is beauty, life, health, and vigour. If, therefore, the soul is not corrupted by the evil proper to itself, and the evil of the soul is cowardice, intemperance, envy, and the like, and all these things do not despoil it of its powers of life and action, it follows that it is immortal.

7. *Whether our soul is rational.*

That our soul is rational, one might demonstrate by many arguments. And first of all from the fact that it has discovered the arts that are for the service of our life. For no one could say that these arts were introduced casually and accidentally, as no one could prove them to be idle, and of no utility for our life. If, then, these arts contribute to what is profitable for our life, and if the profitable is commendable, and if the commendable is constituted by reason, and if these things are the discovery of the soul, it follows that our soul is rational.

Again, that our soul is rational, is also proved by the fact that our senses are not sufficient for the apprehension of things. For we are not competent for the knowledge of things by the simple application of the faculty of sensation. But as we do not choose to rest in these without inquiry (ἐπεὶ μηδὲ στῆναι περὶ αὐτὰ θέλομεν), that proves that the senses, apart from reason, are felt to be incapable of

discriminating between things which are identical in form and similar in colour, though quite distinct in their natures. If, therefore, the senses, apart from reason, give us a false conception of things, we have to consider whether things that are can be apprehended in reality or not. And if they can be apprehended, then the power which enables us to get at them is one different from, and superior to, the senses. And if they are not apprehended, it will not be possible for us at all to apprehend things which are different in their appearance from the reality. But that objects are apprehensible by us, is clear from the fact that we employ each in a way adaptable to utility, and again turn them to what we please. Consequently, if it has been shown that things which are can be apprehended by us, and if the senses, apart from reason, are an erroneous test of objects, it follows that the intellect (νοῦς) is what distinguishes all things in reason, and discerns things as they are in their actuality. But the intellect is just the rational portion of the soul, and consequently the soul is rational.

Finally, because we do nothing without having first marked it out for ourselves; and as that is nothing else than just the high prerogative (ἀξίωμα) of the soul,—for its knowledge of things does not come to it from without, but it rather sets out these things, as it were, with the adornment of its own thoughts, and thus first pictures forth the object in itself, and only thereafter carries it out to actual fact,—and because the high prerogative of the soul is nothing else than the doing of all things with reason, in which respect it also differs from the senses, the soul has thereby been demonstrated to be rational.

THE FOUR HOMILIES OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

(Works of Gregory Thaumaturgus by Ger. Voss, p. 9.)

THE FIRST HOMILY.

ON THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY.[1]

TO-DAY are strains of praise sung joyfully by the choir of angels, and the light of the advent of Christ shines brightly upon the faithful. To-day is the glad spring-time to us, and Christ the Sun of righteousness has beamed with clear light around us, and has illumined the minds of the faithful. To-day is Adam made anew,[2] and moves in the choir of angels, having winged his way to heaven. To-day is the whole circle of the earth filled with joy, since the sojourn of the Holy Spirit has been realized to men. To-day the grace of God and the hope of the unseen shine through all wonders transcending imagination, and make the mystery that was kept hid from eternity plainly discernible to us. To-day are woven the chaplets of never-fading virtue. To-day, God, willing to crown the sacred heads of those whose pleasure is to hearken to Him, and who delight in His festivals, invites the lovers of unswerving faith as His called and His heirs; and the heavenly kingdom is urgent to summon those who mind celestial things to join the divine service of the

[1] The secondary title is: The First Discourse of our holy father Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neocæsareia in Pontus, on the Annunciation to the most holy Virgin Mary, mother of God.

[2] ἀναπεπαίνισται; others ἀναπέπλασται, recovered.

incorporeal choirs. To-day is fulfilled the word of David, "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad. The fields shall be joyful, and all the trees of the wood before the Lord, because He cometh."[1] David thus made mention of the trees (ξύλα); and the Lord's forerunner also spoke of them as trees (δένδρα) "that should bring forth fruits meet for repentance,"[2] or rather for the coming of the Lord. But our Lord Jesus Christ promises perpetual gladness to all those who believe on Him. For He says, "I will see you, and ye shall rejoice; and your joy no man taketh from you."[3] To-day is the illustrious and ineffable mystery of Christians, who have willingly[4] set their hope like a seal upon Christ, plainly declared to us. To-day did Gabriel, who stands by God, come to the pure virgin, bearing to her the glad annunciation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured![5] And she cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be. And the angel immediately proceeded to say, The Lord is with thee: fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. Behold,[6] thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call[7] His name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever: and of His kingdom there shall be no end. Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?"[8] Shall I still remain a virgin? is the honour of virginity not then lost by me? And while she was yet in perplexity as to these things, the angel placed shortly before her the summary of his whole message, and said to the pure virgin, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." For what it is, that also shall it be called by all means. Meekly, then, did grace make election of the pure Mary alone out of all generations. For she proved

[1] Ps. xcvi. 11–13. [2] Matt. iii. 8. [3] John xvi. 22.
[4] Others ὁσίως, piously. [5] Luke i. 28. [6] Or, διό, wherefore.
[7] Or, καλέσουσι, they shall call. [8] Luke i. 29, etc.

herself prudent truly in all things; neither has any woman been born like her in all generations. She was not like the primeval virgin Eve, who, keeping holiday (*χόρευσα*) alone in paradise, with thoughtless mind, unguardedly hearkened to the word of the serpent, the author of all evil, and thus became depraved in the thoughts of her mind;[1] and through her that deceiver, discharging his poison and infusing death with it, brought it into the whole world; and in virtue of this has arisen all the trouble of the saints. But in the holy Virgin alone is the fall of that (first mother) repaired. Yet was not this holy one competent to receive the gift until she had first learned who it was that sent it, and what the gift was, and who it was that conveyed it. While the holy one pondered these things in perplexity with herself, she says to the angel, "Whence hast thou brought to us the blessing in such wise? Out of what treasure-stores is the pearl of the word despatched to us? Whence has the gift acquired its purpose[2] toward us? From heaven art thou come, yet thou walkest upon earth! Thou dost exhibit the form of man, and (yet) thou art glorious with dazzling light."[3] These things the holy one considered with herself, and the archangel solved the difficulty expressed in such reasonings by saying to her: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God. And fear not, Mary; for I am not come to overpower thee with fear, but to repel the subject of fear. Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. Question not grace by the standard of nature. For grace does not endure to pass under the laws of nature. Thou knowest, O Mary, things kept hid from the patriarchs and prophets. Thou hast learned, O virgin, things which were kept concealed till now from the angels. Thou hast heard, O purest one, things of which even the choir of inspired men (*θεοφόρων*) was never deemed worthy. Moses, and

[1] Or, *τῷ τῆς καρδίας φρονήματι*, in the thoughts of her heart.

[2] *ὑπόθεσιν*; others *ὑπόσχεσιν*, the promise.

[3] *καὶ λαμπάδα φωτὸς ἀπαστράπτεις.*

David, and Isaiah, and Daniel, and all the prophets, prophesied of Him; but the manner they knew not. Yet thou alone, O purest virgin, art now made the recipient of things of which all these were kept in ignorance, and thou dost learn[1] the origin of them. For where the Holy Spirit is, there are all things readily ordered. Where divine grace is present, all things are found possible with God. The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." And if He is the Son of God, then is He also God, of one form with the Father, and co-eternal; in Him the Father possesses all manifestation (*φανέρωσιν*); He is His image in the person, and through His reflection the (Father's) glory shines forth. And as from the ever-flowing fountain the streams proceed, so also from this ever-flowing and ever-living fountain does the light of the world proceed, the perennial and the true, namely Christ our God. For it is of this that the prophets have preached: "The streams of the river make glad the city of God."[2] And not one city only, but all cities; for even as it makes glad one city, so does it also the whole world. Appropriately, therefore, did the angel (or archangel) say to Mary the holy virgin first of all, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee;" inasmuch as with her was laid up the full treasure of grace. For of all generations she alone has risen as a virgin pure in body and in spirit; and she alone bears Him who bears all things on His word. Nor is it only the beauty of this holy one in body that calls forth our admiration, but also the innate virtue of her soul. Wherefore also the angel (or archangel) addressed her first with the salutation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured (or gifted with grace), the Lord is with thee, and no spouse of earth;" He Himself is with thee who is the Lord of sanctification, the Father of purity, the Author of incorruption, and the Bestower of liberty, the Curator of salvation, and the Steward and Pro-

[1] Or, *ὑποδέχου καὶ μάνθανε*, and receive thou and learn.

[2] Ps. xlvi. 4.

vider of the true peace, who out of the virgin earth made man, and out of man's side formed Eve in addition. Even this Lord is with thee, and on the other hand also is of thee. Come, therefore, beloved brethren, and let us take up the angelic strain, and to the utmost of our ability return the due meed of praise, saying, "Hail (or rejoice), thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee!" For it is thine truly to rejoice, seeing that the grace of God, as he knows, has chosen to dwell with thee—the Lord of glory dwelling with the handmaiden; "He that is fairer than the children of men"[1] with the fair (virgin); He who sanctifies all things with the undefiled. God is with thee, and with thee also is the perfect man in whom dwells the whole fulness of the Godhead. Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the fountain of the light that lightens all who believe upon Him! Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the rising of the rational Sun,[2] and the undefiled flower of life! Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the mead (*λειμών*) of sweet savour! Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the ever-blooming vine, that makes glad the souls of those who honour thee! Hail, thou that art highly favoured!—the soil that, all untilled, bears bounteous fruit: for thou hast brought forth in accordance with the law of nature indeed, as it goes with us, and by the set time of practice,[3] and yet in a way beyond nature, or rather above nature, by reason that God the Word from above took His abode in thee, and formed the new Adam in thy holy womb, and inasmuch as the Holy Ghost gave the power of conception to the holy virgin; and the reality of His body was assumed from her body. And just as the pearl[4] comes of the two natures, namely lightning and water, the occult signs of the sea; so also our Lord Jesus Christ proceeds, without fusion and without mutation, from

[1] Ps. xlv. 2.

[2] *τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου ἡ ἀνατολή*; others, *ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, the rising of the Sun of righteousness.

[3] *ἀσκήσεως*; better *κυήσεως*, conception.

[4] There is a similar passage in Ephræm's discourse, *De Margarita Pretiosa*, vol. iii.

the pure, and chaste, and undefiled, and holy Virgin Mary; perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, in all things equal to the Father, and in all things consubstantial with us, apart from sin.

Most of the holy fathers, and patriarchs, and prophets desired to see Him, and to be eye-witnesses of Him, but did not attain thereto. And some of them by visions beheld Him in type, and darkly; others, again, were privileged to hear the divine voice through the medium of the cloud, and were favoured with sights of holy angels; but to Mary the pure virgin alone did the archangel Gabriel manifest himself luminously, bringing her the glad address, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" And thus she received the word, and in the due time of the fulfilment according to the body's course she brought forth the priceless pearl. Come, then, ye too, dearly beloved, and let us chant the melody which has been taught us by the inspired harp of David, and say, "Arise, O Lord, into Thy rest; Thou, and the ark of Thy sanctuary" (*ἁγιάσματος*).[1] For the holy Virgin is in truth an ark, wrought with gold both within and without, that has received the whole treasury of the sanctuary. "Arise, O Lord, into Thy rest." Arise, O Lord, out of the bosom of the Father, in order that Thou mayest raise up the fallen race of the first-formed man. Setting these things forth (*πρεσβεύων*), David in prophecy said to the rod that was to spring from himself, and to sprout into the flower of that beauteous fruit, "Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thine own people and thy father's house; so shall the King greatly desire thy beauty: for He is the Lord thy God, and thou shalt worship Him (or, and they shall worship Him)."[2] Hearken, O daughter, to the things which were prophesied beforetime of thee, in order that thou mayest also behold the things themselves with the eyes of understanding. Hearken to me while I announce things beforehand to thee, and hearken to the archangel who declares expressly to thee the perfect mysteries. Come then, dearly beloved, and let us fall back on the memory

[1] Ps. cxxxii. 8. [2] Ps. xlv. 10, 11.

of what has gone before us; and let us glorify, and celebrate, and laud, and bless that rod that has sprung so marvellously from Jesse. For Luke, in the inspired Gospel narratives, delivers a testimony not to Joseph only, but also to Mary the mother of God, and gives this account with reference to the very family and house of David: "For Joseph went up," says he, "from Galilee, unto a city of Judea which is called Bethlehem, to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child, because they were of the house and family of David. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered; and she brought forth her son, the first-born of the whole creation (πρωτότοκον πασῆς τῆς κτίσεως), and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."[1] She wrapped in swaddling-clothes Him who is covered with light as with a garment.[2] She wrapped in swaddling-clothes Him who made every creature. She laid in a manger Him who sits above the cherubim,[3] and is praised by myriads of angels. In the manger set apart for dumb brutes did the Word of God repose, in order that He might impart to men, who are really irrational by free choice, the perceptions of true reason. In the board from which cattle eat was laid the heavenly Bread (or, the Bread of life), in order that He might provide participation in spiritual sustenance for men who live like the beasts of earth. Nor was there even room for Him in the inn. He found no place, who by His word established heaven and earth; "for though He was rich, for our sakes He became poor,"[4] and chose extreme humiliation on behalf of the salvation of our nature, in His inherent goodness toward us. He who fulfilled the whole administration (or righteousness) of unutterable mysteries of the œconomy (or the whole administration of the œconomy in an unutterable mystery) in heaven in the bosom of the Father, and in the cave in the arms of the mother, reposed in the manger. Angelic choirs encircled Him, singing of glory in heaven and of peace upon earth. In heaven He was seated

[1] Luke ii. 4–7. [2] Ps. civ. 2. [3] Ps. lxxx. 1. [4] 2 Cor. viii. 9.

at the right hand of the Father; and in the manger He rested, as it were, upon the cherubim. Even there was in truth His cherubic throne; there was His royal seat. Holy of the holy, and alone glorious upon the earth, and holier than the holy, was that wherein Christ our God rested. To Him be glory, honour, and power, together with the Father undefiled, and the altogether holy and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

THE SECOND HOMILY.

ON THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY.

The Encomium of the same holy Father Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsareia in Pontus, surnamed Thaumaturgus, on the Annunciation to the all-holy Mary, mother of God, and ever-virgin.

DISCOURSE SECOND.

It is our duty to present to God, like sacrifices, all the festivals and hymnal celebrations; and first of all, the annunciation to the holy mother of God, to wit, the salutation made to her by the angel, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" For first of all wisdom (or, before all wisdom) and saving doctrine in the New Testament was this salutation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" conveyed to us from the Father of lights. And this address, "highly favoured" (or, gifted with grace), embraced the whole nature of men. "Hail, thou that art highly favoured" (or, gifted with grace) in the holy conception and in the glorious pregnancy, "I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people."[1] And again the Lord, who came for the purpose of accomplishing a saving passion, said, "I will see you, and ye shall rejoice; and your joy no man taketh from you."[2] And after His resurrection again, by the hand of the holy women, He gave us first of all the salutation

[1] Luke ii. 10. [2] John xvi. 22.

"Hail!"[1] And again, the apostle made the announcement in similar terms, saying, "Rejoice evermore: pray without ceasing: in everything give thanks."[2] See, then, dearly beloved, how the Lord has conferred upon us everywhere, and indivisibly, the joy that is beyond conception, and perennial. For since the holy Virgin, in the life of the flesh, was in possession of the incorruptible citizenship, and walked as such in all manner of virtues, and lived a life more excellent than man's common standard; therefore the Word that cometh from God the Father thought it meet to assume the flesh, and endue the perfect man from her, in order that in the same flesh in which sin entered into the world, and death by sin, sin might be condemned in the flesh, and that the tempter of sin might be overcome in the burying[3] of the holy body, and that therewith also the beginning of the resurrection might be exhibited, and life eternal instituted in the world, and fellowship established for men with God the Father. And what shall we state, or what shall we pass by here? or who shall explain what is incomprehensible in the mystery? But for the present let us fall back upon our subject. Gabriel was sent to the holy virgin; the incorporeal was despatched to her who in the body pursued the incorruptible conversation, and lived in purity and in virtues. And when he came to her, he first addressed her with the salutation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured! the Lord is with thee." Hail, thou that art highly favoured! for thou doest what is worthy of joy indeed, since thou hast put on the vesture of purity, and art girt with the cincture of prudence. Hail, thou that art highly favoured! for to thy lot it has fallen to be the vehicle of celestial joy. Hail, thou that art highly favoured! for through thee joy is decreed for the whole creation, and the human race receives again by thee its pristine dignity. Hail, thou that art highly favoured! for in thy arms the Creator of all things shall be carried. And she was perplexed by this word; for she was

[1] Matt. xxviii. 9. [2] 1 Thess. v. 16–18.

[3] ἐν τῇ ταφῇ; others, ἐν τῇ ἁφῇ = in the touch or union of the holy body.

inexperienced in all the addresses of men, and welcomed quiet, as the mother of prudence and purity; (yet) being a pure, and immaculate, and stainless image (ἄγαλμα) herself, she shrank not in terror from the angelic apparition, like most of the prophets, as indeed true virginity has a kind of affinity and equality with the angels. For the holy Virgin guarded carefully the torch of virginity, and gave diligent heed that it should not be extinguished or defiled. And as one who is clad in a brilliant robe deems it a matter of great moment that no impurity or filth be suffered to touch it anywhere, so did the holy Mary consider with herself, and said: Does this act of attention imply any deep design or seductive purpose? Shall this word "Hail" prove the cause of trouble to me, as of old the fair promise of being made like God, which was given her by the serpent-devil, proved to our first mother Eve? Has the devil, who is the author of all evil, become transformed again into an angel of light; and bearing a grudge against my espoused husband for his admirable temperance, and having assailed him with some fair-seeming address, and finding himself powerless to overcome a mind so firm, and to deceive the man, has he turned his attack upon me, as one endowed with a more susceptible mind; and is this word "Hail" (Grace be with thee) spoken as the sign of gracelessness hereafter? Is this benediction and salutation uttered in irony? Is there not some poison concealed in the honey? Is it not the address of one who brings good tidings, while the end of the same is to make me the designer's prey? And how is it that he can thus salute one whom he knows not? These things she pondered in perplexity with herself, and expressed in words. Then again the archangel addressed her with the announcement of a joy which all may believe in, and which shall not be taken away, and said to her, "Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God." Shortly hast thou the proof of what has been said. For I not only give you to understand that there is nothing to fear, but I show you the very key to the absence of all cause for fear. For through me all the heavenly powers hail thee, the holy virgin: yea

rather, He Himself, who is Lord of all the heavenly powers and of all creation, has selected thee as the holy one and the wholly fair; and through thy holy, and chaste, and pure, and undefiled womb the enlightening Pearl comes forth for the salvation of all the world: since of all the race of man thou art by birth the holy one, and the more honourable, and the purer, and the more pious than any other; and thou hast a mind whiter than the snow, and a body made purer than any gold, however fine, and a womb such as the object which Ezekiel saw, and which he has described in these terms: "And the likeness of the living creatures upon the head was as the firmament, and as the appearance of the terrible crystal, and the likeness of the throne above them was as the appearance of a sapphire-stone: and above the throne it was as the likeness of a man, and as the appearance of amber; and within it there was, as it were, the likeness of fire round about."[1] Clearly, then, did the prophet behold in type Him who was born of the holy virgin, whom thou, O holy virgin, wouldest have had no strength to bear, hadst thou not beamed forth for that time (or, by His throne) with all that is glorious and virtuous. And with what words of laudation, then, shall we describe her virgin-dignity? With what indications and proclamations of praise shall we celebrate her stainless figure? With what spiritual song or word shall we honour her who is most glorious among the angels? She is planted in the house of God like a fruitful olive that the Holy Spirit overshadowed; and by her means are we called sons and heirs of the kingdom of Christ. She is the ever-blooming paradise of incorruptibility, wherein is planted the tree that giveth life, and that furnisheth to all the fruits of immortality. She is the boast and glory of virgins, and the exultation of mothers. She is the sure support of the believing, and the succourer (or example, *κατόρθωμα*) of the pious. She is the vesture of light, and the domicile of virtue (or truth). She is the ever-flowing fountain, wherein the water of life sprang and produced the Lord's incarnate manifestation. She is the monument of righteous-

[1] Ezek. i. 22, 26, 27.

ness; and all who become lovers of her, and set their affections on virgin-like ingenuousness and purity, shall enjoy the grace of angels. All who keep themselves from wine and intoxication, and from the wanton enjoyments of strong drink, shall be made glad with the products of the life-bearing plant. All who have preserved the lamp of virginity unextinguished shall be privileged to receive the amaranthine crown of immortality. All who have possessed themselves of the stainless robe of temperance shall be received into the mystical bride-chamber of righteousness. All who have come nearer the angelic degree than others shall also enter into the more real enjoyment of their Lord's beatitude. All who have possessed the illuminating oil of understanding, and the pure incense of conscience, shall inherit the promise of spiritual favour and the spiritual adoption. All who worthily observe the festival of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, acquire as their meet recompense the fuller interest in the message, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured!" It is our duty, therefore, to keep this feast, seeing that it has filled the whole world with joy and gladness. And let us keep it with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs. Of old did Israel also keep their festival, but then it was with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, of which the prophet says: "I will turn their feasts into afflictions and lamentation, and their joy into shame."[1] But our afflictions our Lord has assured us He will turn into joy by the fruits of penitence.[2] And again, the first covenant maintained the righteous requirements (or, justifying observances, δικαιώματα) of a divine service, as in the case of our forefather Abraham; but these stood in the inflictions of pain in the flesh by circumcision, until the time of the fulfilment. "The law was given to them through Moses" for their discipline; "but grace and truth" have been given to us by Jesus Christ.[3] The beginning of all these blessings to us appeared in the annunciation to Mary, the highly-favoured, in the œconomy of the Saviour which is worthy of all praise, and in His divine and supramundane instruction. Thence rise the

[1] Amos viii. 10. [2] Cf. Jer. xxxi. [3] Cf. John i.

rays of the light of understanding upon us. Thence spring for us the fruits of wisdom and immortality, sending forth the clear pure streams of piety. Thence come to us the brilliant splendours of the treasures of divine knowledge. "For this is life eternal, that we may know the true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent."[1] And again, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life" (or, ye will find eternal life).[2] For on this account the treasure of the knowledge of God is revealed to them who search the divine oracles. That treasure of the inspired Scriptures the Paraclete has unfolded to us this day. And let the tongue of prophecy and the doctrine of apostles be the treasure of wisdom to us; for without the law and the prophets, or the evangelists and the apostles, it is not possible to have the certain hope of salvation. For by the tongue of the holy prophets and apostles our Lord speaks, and God takes pleasure in the words of the saints; not that He requires the spoken address, but that He delights in the good disposition; not that He receives any profit from men, but that He finds a restful satisfaction in the rightly-affected soul of the righteous. For it is not that Christ is magnified by what we say; but as we receive benefits from Him, we proclaim with grateful mind His beneficence to us; not that we can attain to what is worthy therein, but that we give the meet return to the best of our ability. And when the Gospels or the Epistles, therefore, are read, let not your attention centre on the book or on the reader, but on the God who speaks to you from heaven. For the book is but that which is seen, while Christ is the divine subject spoken of. It brings us then the glad tidings of that œconomy of the Saviour which is worthy of all praise, to wit, that, though He was God, He became man through kindness toward man, and did not lay aside, indeed, the dignity which was His from all eternity, but assumed the œconomy that should work salvation. It brings us the glad tidings of that œconomy of the Saviour worthy of all praise, to wit, that He sojourned with us as a physician for the sick, who did not heal them with

[1] John xvii. 3. [2] John v. 39.

potions, but restored them by the inclination of His philanthropy. It brings us the glad tidings of this œconomy of the Saviour altogether to be praised, to wit, that to them who had wandered astray the way of salvation was shown, and that to the despairing the grace of salvation was made known, which blesses all in different modes; searching after the erring, enlightening the blinded, giving life to the dead, setting free the slaves, redeeming the captives, and becoming all things to all of us in order to be the true way of salvation to us: and all this He does, not by reason of our good-will toward Him, but in virtue of a benignity that is proper to our Benefactor Himself. For the Saviour did all, not in order that He might acquire virtue Himself, but that He might put us in possession of eternal life. He made man, indeed, after the image of God, and appointed him to live in a paradise of pleasure. But the man being deceived by the devil, and having become a transgressor of the divine commandment, was made subject to the doom of death. Whence, also, those born of him were involved in their father's liability in virtue of their succession, and had the reckoning of condemnation required of them. "For death reigned from Adam to Moses."[1] But the Lord, in His benignity toward man, when He saw the creature He Himself had formed now held by the power of death, did not turn away finally from him whom He had made in His own image, but visited him in each generation, and forsook him not; and manifesting Himself first of all among the patriarchs, and then proclaiming Himself in the law, and presenting the likeness of Himself (ὁμοιούμενος) in the prophets, He presignified the œconomy of salvation. When, moreover, the fulness of the times came for His glorious appearing, He sent beforehand the archangel Gabriel to bear the glad tidings to the Virgin Mary. And he came down from the ineffable powers above to the holy Virgin, and addressed her first of all with the salutation, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured." And when this word, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured," reached her, in the very moment of her hearing

[1] Rom. v. 14.

it, the Holy Spirit entered into the undefiled temple of the Virgin, and her mind and her members were sanctified together. And nature stood opposite, and natural intercourse at a distance, beholding with amazement the Lord of nature, in a manner contrary to nature, or rather above nature, doing a miraculous work in the body; and by the very weapons by which the devil strove against us, Christ also saved us, taking to Himself our passible body in order that He might impart the greater grace (or joy) to the being who was deficient in it. And "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." And appropriately was grace sent to the holy Virgin. For this word also is contained in the oracle of the evangelic history: "And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house and lineage of David; and the virgin's name was Mary;"[1] and so forth. And this was the first month to the holy Virgin. Even as Scripture says in the book of the law: "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month among the months of the year to you."[2] "Keep ye the feast of the holy passover to the Lord in all your generations." It was also the sixth month to Zacharias. And rightly, then, did the holy Virgin prove to be of the family of David, and she had her home in Bethlehem, and was betrothed rightfully to Joseph, in accordance with the laws of relationship. And her espoused husband was her guardian, and possessor also of the untarnished incorruption which was hers. And the name given to the holy Virgin was one that became her exceedingly. For she was called Mary, and that, by interpretation, means *illumination*. And what shines more brightly than the light of virginity? For this reason also the virtues are called virgins by those who strive rightly to get at their true nature. But if it is so great a blessing to have a virgin heart, how great a boon will it be to have the flesh that cherishes virginity along with the soul! Thus the holy Virgin, while still in the flesh, maintained the incorruptible life, and received in faith the things which were announced by the

[1] Luke i. 26, 27. [2] Ex. xii. 2.

archangel. And thereafter she journeyed diligently to her relation Elisabeth in the hill-country. "And she entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth,"[1] in imitation of the angel. "And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leapt with joy in her womb; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost."[2] Thus the voice of Mary wrought with power, and filled Elisabeth with the Holy Ghost. And by her tongue, as from an ever-flowing fountain, she sent forth a stream of gracious gifts in the way of prophecy to her relation; and while the feet of her child were bound in the womb (or, and with the bound feet of her child in the womb), she prepared to dance and leap. And that was the sign of a marvellous jubilation. For wherever she was who was highly favoured, there she filled all things with joy. "And Elisabeth spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? Blessed art thou among women."[3] For thou hast become to women the beginning of the new creation (or, resurrection). Thou hast given to us boldness of access into paradise, and thou hast put to flight our ancient woe. For after thee the race of woman shall no more be made the subject of reproach. No more do the successors of Eve fear the ancient curse, or the pangs of childbirth. For Christ, the Redeemer of our race, the Saviour of all nature, the spiritual Adam who has healed the hurt of the creature of earth, cometh forth from thy holy womb. "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." For He who bears all blessings for us is manifested as thy fruit. This we read in the clear words of her who was barren; but yet more clearly did the holy Virgin herself express this again when she presented to God the song replete with thanksgiving, and acceptance, and divine knowledge; announcing ancient things together with what was new; proclaiming along with things which were of old, things also which belong to the consummation of the ages; and

[1] Luke i. 41. [2] Luke i. 41. [3] Luke i. 42, 43.

summing up in a short discourse the mysteries of Christ. "And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour," and so forth. "He hath holpen His servant Israel in remembrance of His mercy, and of the covenant which He established with Abraham and with his seed for ever."[1] Thou seest how the holy Virgin has surpassed even the perfection of the patriarchs, and how she confirms the covenant which was made with Abraham by God, when He said, "This is the covenant which I shall establish between me and thee."[2] Wherefore He has come and confirmed the covenant with Abraham, having received mystically in Himself the sign of circumcision, and having proved Himself the fulfilment of the law and the prophets. This song of prophecy, therefore, did the holy mother of God render to God, saying, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour: for He that is mighty hath done to me great things, and holy is His name." For having made me the mother of God, He has also preserved me a virgin; and by my womb the fulness of all generations is headed up together for sanctification. For He hath blessed every age, both men and women, both young men and youths, and old men. "He hath made strength with His arm,"[3] on our behalf, against death and against the devil, having torn the handwriting of our sins. "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts;" yea, He hath scattered the devil himself, and all the demons that serve under him. For he was overweeningly haughty in his heart, seeing that he dared to say, "I will set my throne above the clouds, and I will be like the Most High."[4] And now, how He scattered him the prophet has indicated in what follows, where he says, "Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell,"[5] and all thy hosts with thee. For He has overthrown everywhere his altars and the worship of vain gods, and He has prepared for Himself a peculiar people out of the heathen nations. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree."

[1] Luke i. 46, etc. [2] Gen. xvii. 11; Rom. iv. 11.
[3] Luke i. 51. [4] Isa. xiv. 14. [5] Ib. 15.

In these terms is intimated in brief the extrusion of the Jews and the admission of the Gentiles. For the elders of the Jews and the scribes in the law, and those who were richly privileged with other prerogatives, because they used their riches ill and their power lawlessly, were cast down by Him from every seat, whether of prophecy or of priesthood, whether of legislature or of doctrine, and were stripped of all their ancestral wealth, and of their sacrifices and multitudinous festivals, and of all the honourable privileges of the kingdom. Spoiled of all these boons, as naked fugitives they were cast out into captivity. And in their stead the humble were exalted, namely, the Gentile peoples who hungered after righteousness. For, discovering their own lowliness, and the hunger that pressed upon them for the knowledge of God, they pleaded for the divine word, though it were but for crumbs of the same, like the woman of Canaan;[1] and for this reason they were filled with the riches of the divine mysteries. For the Christ who was born of the Virgin, and who is our God, has given over the whole inheritance of divine blessings to the Gentiles. "He hath holpen His servant Israel."[2] Not any Israel in general, indeed, but His servant, who in very deed maintains the true nobility of Israel. And on this account also did the mother of God call Him servant (Son) and heir. For when He had found the same labouring painfully in the letter and the law, He called him by grace. It is such an Israel, therefore, that He called and hath holpen in remembrance of His mercy. "As He spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever." In these few words is comprehended the whole mystery of the œconomy. For, with the purpose of saving the race of men, and fulfilling the covenant that was made with our fathers, Christ has once "bowed the heavens and come down."[3] And thus He shows Himself to us as we are capable of receiving Him, in order that we might have power to see Him, and handle Him, and hear Him when He speaketh. And on this account did God the Word deem it meet to take to Himself the flesh and the perfect humanity by a woman, the

[1] Matt. xv. 27. [2] Luke i. 54. [3] Ps. xviii. 9.

holy Virgin; and He was born a man, in order that He might discharge our debt, and fulfil even in Himself (μέχρις ἑαυτοῦ) the ordinances of the covenant made with Abraham, in its rite of circumcision, and all the other legal appointments connected with it. And after she had spoken these words the holy Virgin went to Nazareth; and from that a decree of Cæsar led her to come again to Bethlehem; and so, as proceeding herself from the royal house, she was brought to the royal house of David along with Joseph her espoused husband. And there ensued there the mystery which transcends all wonders,—the Virgin brought forth and bore in her hand Him who bears the whole creation by His word. "And there was no room for them in the inn."[1] He found no room who founded the whole earth by His word. She nourished with her milk Him who imparts sustenance and life to everything that hath breath. She wrapped Him in swaddling-clothes who binds the whole creation fast with His word. She laid Him in a manger who rides seated upon the cherubim.[2] A light from heaven shone round about Him who lighteneth the whole creation. The hosts of heaven attended Him with their doxologies who is glorified in heaven from before all ages. A star with its torch guided them who had come from the distant parts of earth toward Him who is the true Orient. From the East came those who brought gifts to Him who for our sakes became poor. And the holy mother of God kept these words, and pondered them in her heart, like one who was the receptacle of all the mysteries. Thy praise, O most holy Virgin, surpasses all laudation, by reason of the God who received the flesh and was born man of thee. To thee every creature, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, offers the meet offering of honour. For thou hast been indeed set forth as the true cherubic throne. Thou shinest as the very brightness of light in the high places of the kingdoms of intelligence;[3] where the Father, who is

[1] Luke ii. 7. [2] Ps. lxxx. 1.

[3] ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν νοητῶν βασιλειῶν. Others read νότου = in the high places of the kingdoms of the south.

without beginning, and whose power thou hadst overshadowing thee, is glorified; where also the Son is worshipped, whom thou didst bear according to the flesh; and where the Holy Spirit is praised, who effected in thy womb the generation of the mighty King. Through thee, O thou that art highly favoured, is the holy and consubstantial Trinity known in the world. Together with thyself, deem us also worthy to be made partakers of thy perfect grace in Jesus Christ our Lord: with whom, and with the Holy Spirit, be glory to the Father, now and ever, and unto the ages of the ages. Amen.[1]

THE THIRD HOMILY.

ON THE ANNUNCIATION TO THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY.

The Third Discourse by the same sainted Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsareia, surnamed Thaumaturgus, on the Annunciation to the all-holy Virgin Mary, mother of God.

Again have we the glad tidings of joy, again the announcements of liberty, again the restoration, again the return, again the promise of gladness, again the release from slavery. An angel talks with the Virgin, in order that the serpent may no more have converse with the woman. In the sixth month, it is said, the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a virgin espoused to a man.[2] Gabriel was sent to declare the world-wide salvation; Gabriel was sent to bear to Adam the signature of his restoration; Gabriel was sent to a virgin, in order to transform the dishonour of the female sex into honour; Gabriel was sent to prepare the worthy chamber for the pure spouse; Gabriel was sent to wed the creature with the Creator; Gabriel was sent to the animate palace of the King of the angels; Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to Joseph, but preserved for Jesus the Son of God. The incorporeal servant was sent to the virgin undefiled.

[1] The close is otherwise given thus: To whom be the glory and the power unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

[2] Luke i. 26, 27.

One free from sin was sent to one that admitted no corruption. The light was sent that should announce the Sun of righteousness. The dawn was sent that should precede the light of the day. Gabriel was sent to proclaim Him who is in the bosom of the Father, and who yet was to be in the arms of the mother. Gabriel was sent to declare Him who is upon the throne, and yet also in the cavern. The subaltern was sent to utter aloud the mystery of the great King; the mystery, I mean, which is discerned by faith, and which cannot be searched out by officious curiosity; the mystery which is to be adored, not weighed; the mystery which is to be taken as a thing divine, and not measured. "In the sixth month Gabriel was sent to a virgin." What is meant by this sixth month? What? It is the sixth month from the time when Elisabeth received the glad tidings, from the time that she conceived John. And how is this made plain? The archangel himself gives us the interpretation, when he says to the virgin: "Behold, thy relation Elisabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is now the sixth month with her, who was called barren."[1] In the sixth month—that is evidently, therefore, the sixth month of the conception of John. For it was meet that the subaltern should go before; it was meet that the attendant should precede; it was meet that the herald of the Lord's coming should prepare the way for Him. In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to a man; espoused, not united; espoused, yet kept intact. And for what purpose was she espoused? In order that the spoiler might not learn the mystery prematurely. For that the King was to come by a virgin, was a fact known to the wicked one. For he too heard these words of Isaiah: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son."[2] And on every occasion, consequently, he kept watch upon the virgin's words, in order that, whenever this mystery should be fulfilled, he might prepare her dishonour. Wherefore the Lord came by an espoused virgin, in order to elude the notice of the wicked one; for one who was espoused was pledged in fine to be her husband's.

[1] Luke i. 36. [2] Isa. vii. 14.

"In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph." Hear what the prophet says about this man and the virgin: "This book that is sealed shall be delivered to a man that is learned."[1] What is meant by this sealed book, but just the virgin undefiled? From whom is this to be given? From the priests evidently. And to whom? To the artisan Joseph. As, then, the priests espoused Mary to Joseph as to a prudent husband, and committed her to his care in expectation of the time of marriage, and as it behoved him then on obtaining her to keep the virgin untouched, this was announced by the prophet long before, when he said: "This book that is sealed shall be delivered to a man that is learned." And that man will say, I cannot read it. But why canst thou not read it, O Joseph? I cannot read it, he says, because the book is sealed. For whom, then, is it preserved? It is preserved as a place of sojourn for the Maker of the universe. But let us return to our immediate subject. In the sixth month Gabriel was sent to a virgin—he who received, indeed, such injunctions as these: "Come hither now, archangel, and become the minister of a dread mystery which has been kept hid, and be thou the agent in the miracle. I am moved by my compassions to descend to earth in order to recover the lost Adam. Sin hath made him decay who was made in my image, and hath corrupted the work of my hands, and hath obscured the beauty which I formed. The wolf devours my nursling, the home of paradise is desolate, the tree of life is guarded by the flaming sword, the location of enjoyments is closed. My pity is evoked for the object of this enmity, and I desire to seize the enemy. Yet I wish to keep this mystery, which I confide to thee alone, still hid from all the powers of heaven. Go thou, therefore, to the Virgin Mary. Pass thou on to that animate city whereof the prophet spake these words: 'Glorious things were spoken of thee, O city of God.'[2] Proceed, then, to my rational paradise; proceed to the gate of the east; proceed to the place of sojourn that is worthy of my word; proceed to that second

[1] Isa. xxix. 11. [2] Ps. lxxxvii. 3.

heaven on earth; proceed to the light cloud, and announce to it the shower of my coming; proceed to the sanctuary prepared for me; proceed to the hall of the incarnation; proceed to the pure chamber of my generation after the flesh. Speak in the ears of my rational ark, so as to prepare for me the accesses of hearing. But neither disturb nor vex the soul of the virgin. Manifest thyself in a manner befitting that sanctuary, and hail her first with the voice of gladness. And address Mary with the salutation, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured,' that I may show compassion for Eve in her depravation." The archangel heard these things, and considered them within himself, as was reasonable, and said: "Strange is this matter; passing comprehension is this thing that is spoken. He who is the object of dread to the cherubim, He who cannot be looked upon by the seraphim, He who is incomprehensible to all the heavenly (or, angelic) powers, does He give the assurance of His connection with a maiden? does He announce His own personal coming? yea more, does He hold out an access by hearing? and is He who condemned Eve, urgent to put such honour upon her daughter? For He says: 'So as to prepare for me the accesses of hearing.' But can the womb contain Him who cannot be contained in space? Truly this is a dread mystery." While the angel is indulging such reflections, the Lord says to Him: "Why art thou troubled and perplexed, O Gabriel? Hast thou not already been sent by me to Zacharias the priest? Hast thou not conveyed to him the glad tidings of the nativity of John? Didst thou not inflict upon the incredulous priest the penalty of speechlessness? Didst thou not punish the aged man with dumbness? Didst thou not make thy declaration, and I confirmed it? And has not the actual fact followed upon thy announcement of good? Did not the barren woman conceive? Did not the womb obey the word? Did not the malady of sterility depart? Did not the inert disposition of nature take to flight? Is not she now one that shows fruitfulness, who before was never pregnant? Can anything be impossible with me, the Creator of all? Wherefore, then, art thou tossed with doubt?"

What is the angel's answer to this? "O Lord," he says, "to remedy the defects of nature, to do away with the blast of evils, to recall the dead members to the power of life, to enjoin on nature the potency of generation, to remove barrenness in the case of members that have passed the common limit (*ὑπερορίοις μέλεσιν*), to change the old and withered stalk into the appearance of verdant vigour, to set forth the fruitless soil suddenly as the producer of sheaves of corn, —to do all this is a work which, as it is ever the case, demands Thy power. And Sarah is a witness thereto, and along with her (or, and after her) also Rebecca, and again Anna, who all, though bound by the dread ill of barrenness, were afterwards gifted by Thee with deliverance from that malady. But that a virgin should bring forth, without having intercourse with a man, is something that goes beyond all the laws of nature; and dost Thou yet announce Thy coming to the maiden? The bounds of heaven and earth do not contain Thee, and how shall the womb of a virgin contain Thee?" And the Lord says: "How did the tent of Abraham contain me?"[1] And the angel says: "As there were there the deeps of hospitality, O Lord, Thou didst show Thyself there to Abraham at the door of the tent, and didst pass quickly by it, as He who filleth all things. But how can Mary sustain the fire of the divinity? Thy throne blazes with the illumination of its splendour, and can the virgin receive Thee without being consumed?" Then the Lord says: "Yea surely, if the fire in the wilderness injured the bush, my coming will indeed also injure Mary; but if that fire which served as the adumbration of the advent of the fire of divinity from heaven fertilized the bush, and did not burn it, what wilt thou say of the Truth that descends not in a flame of fire, but in the form of rain?"[2] Thereupon the angel set himself to carry out the commission given him, and repaired to the Virgin, and addressed her with a loud voice, saying: "Hail, thou that art highly favoured! the Lord is with thee. No longer shall the devil be against thee; for where of old that adversary inflicted the wound, there now

[1] Gen. xviii. [2] Ps. lxxii. 6.

first of all does the Physician apply the salve of deliverance. Where death came forth, there has life now prepared its entrance. By a woman came the flood of our ills, and by a woman also our blessings have their spring. Hail, thou that art highly favoured! Be not thou ashamed, as if thou wert the cause of our condemnation. For Thou art made the mother of Him who is at once Judge and Redeemer. Hail, thou stainless mother of the bridegroom[1] of a world bereft! Hail, thou that hast sunk in thy womb the death (that came) of the mother (Eve)! Hail, thou animate temple of God! Hail, thou equal (*ἰσόῤῥοπον*) home of heaven and earth alike! Hail, thou amplest receptacle of the illimitable nature!" But as these things are so, through her has come for the sick the Physician; for them that sit in darkness, the Sun of righteousness; for all that are tossed and tempest-beaten, the Anchor and the Port undisturbed by storm. For the servants in irreconcilable enmity has been born the Lord; and One has sojourned with us to be the bond of peace and the Redeemer of those led captive, and to be the peace for those involved in hostility. For He is our peace;[2] and of that peace may it be granted that all we may receive the enjoyment, by the grace and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory, honour, and power, now and ever, and unto all the ages of the ages. Amen.

THE FOURTH HOMILY.

ON THE HOLY THEOPHANY, OR ON CHRIST'S BAPTISM.

A Discourse by our sainted Father Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsareia, surnamed Thaumaturgus, on the Holy Theophany (or, as the title is also given, on the Holy Lights).

O ye who are the friends of Christ, and the friends of the stranger, and the friends of the brethren, receive in kindness

[1] *νυμφοτόκε.* The Latin version gives it as = *sponsa, simul et mater.*
[2] Eph. ii. 14.

my speech to-day, and open your ears like the doors of hearing, and admit within them my discourse, and accept from me this saving proclamation of the baptism (*καταδύσεως*) of Christ, which took place in the river Jordan, in order that your loving desires may be quickened after the Lord, who has done so much for us in the way of condescension. For even though the festival of the Epiphany of the Saviour is past, the grace of the same yet abides with us through all. Let us therefore enjoy it with insatiable minds; for insatiate desire is a good thing in the case of what pertains to salvation—yea, it is a good thing. Come therefore, all of us, from Galilee to Judea, and let us go forth with Christ; for blessed is he who journeys in such company on the way of life. Come, and with the feet of thought let us make for the Jordan, and see John the Baptist as he baptizes One who needs no baptism, and yet submits to the rite in order that He may bestow freely upon us the grace of baptism. Come, let us view the image of our regeneration, as it is emblematically presented in these waters. "Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him."[1] O how vast is the humility of the Lord! O how vast His condescension! The King of the heavens hastened to John, His own forerunner, without setting in motion the camps (or armies) of His angels, without despatching beforehand the incorporeal powers as His precursors; but presenting Himself in utmost simplicity, in soldier-like (subaltern) form (*ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ μορφῇ*), He comes up to His own subaltern. And He approached him as one of the multitude, and humbled Himself among the captives though He was the Redeemer, and ranged Himself with those under judgment though He was the Judge, and joined Himself with the lost sheep though He was the Good Shepherd who on account of the straying sheep came down from heaven, and yet did not forsake His heavens, and was mingled with the tares though He was that heavenly grain that springs unsown. And when the Baptist John then saw Him, recognising Him whom before in his mother's womb he had

[1] Matt. iii. 13.

recognised and worshipped, and discerning clearly that this was He on whose account, in a manner surpassing the natural time, he had leaped in the womb of his mother, in violation of the limits of nature, he drew his right hand within his double cloak, and bowing his head like a servant full of love to his master, addressed Him in these words: I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?[1] What is this Thou doest, my Lord? Why dost Thou reverse the order of things? Why seekest Thou along with the servants, at the hand of Thy servant, the things that are proper to servants? Why dost Thou desire to receive what Thou requirest not? Why dost Thou burden me, Thy servitor, with Thy mighty condescension? I have need to be baptized of Thee, but Thou hast no need to be baptized of me. The less is blessed by the greater, and the greater is not blessed and sanctified by the less. The light is kindled by the sun, and the sun is not made to shine by the rush-lamp. The clay is wrought by the potter, and the potter is not moulded by the clay. The creature is made anew by the Creator, and the Creator is not restored by the creature. The infirm is healed by the physician, and the physician is not cured by the infirm. The poor man receives contributions from the rich, and the rich borrow not from the poor. I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me? Can I be ignorant who Thou art, and from what source Thou hast Thy light, and whence Thou art come? Or, because Thou hast been born even as I have been (or, because for my sake Thou hast been born as I have been), am I, then, to deny the greatness of Thy divinity? Or, because Thou hast condescended so far to me as to have approached my body, and dost bear me wholly in Thyself in order to effect the salvation of the whole man, am I, on account of that body of Thine which is seen, to overlook that divinity of Thine which is only apprehended? Or, because on behalf of my salvation Thou hast taken to Thyself the offering of my first-fruits, am I to ignore the fact that Thou "coverest Thyself with light as with a garment?"[2] Or, because Thou

[1] Matt. iii. 14. [2] Ps. civ. 2.

wearest the flesh that is related to me, and dost show Thyself to men as they are able to see Thee, am I to forget the brightness of Thy glorious divinity? Or, because I see my own form in Thee, am I to reason against Thy divine substance, which is invisible and incomprehensible? I know Thee, O Lord; I know Thee clearly. I know Thee, since I have been taught by Thee; for no one can recognise Thee, unless he enjoys Thine illumination. I know Thee, O Lord, clearly; for I saw Thee spiritually before I beheld this light. When Thou wert altogether in the incorporeal bosom of the heavenly Father, Thou wert also altogether in the womb of Thy handmaid and mother; and I, though held in the womb of Elisabeth by nature as in a prison, and bound with the indissoluble bonds of the children unborn, leaped and celebrated Thy birth with anticipative rejoicings. Shall I then, who gave intimation of Thy sojourn on earth before Thy birth, fail to apprehend Thy coming after Thy birth? Shall I, who in the womb was a teacher of Thy coming, be now a child in understanding in view of perfect knowledge? But I cannot but worship Thee, who art adored by the whole creation; I cannot but proclaim Thee, of whom heaven gave the indication by the star, and for whom earth offered a kind reception by the wise men, while the choirs of angels also praised Thee in joy over Thy condescension to us, and the shepherds who kept watch by night hymned Thee as the Chief Shepherd of the rational sheep. I cannot keep silence while Thou art present, for I am a voice; yea, I am the voice, as it is said, of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord.[1] I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me? I was born, and thereby removed the barrenness of the mother that bore me; and while still a babe I became the healer of my father's speechlessness, having received of Thee from my childhood the gift of the miraculous. But Thou, being born of the Virgin Mary, as Thou didst will, and as Thou alone dost know, didst not do away with her virginity; but Thou didst keep it, and didst simply gift her with the name of mother: and

[1] Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4; John i. 23.

neither did her virginity preclude Thy birth, nor did Thy birth injure her virginity. But these two things, so utterly opposite—bearing and virginity—harmonized with one intent; for such a thing abides possible with Thee, the Framer of nature. I am but a man, and am a partaker of the divine grace; but Thou art God, and also man to the same effect: for Thou art by nature man's friend. I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me? Thou who wast in the beginning, and wast with God, and wast God;[1] Thou who art the brightness of the Father's glory;[2] Thou who art the perfect image of the perfect Father (or, of the perfect Light; to wit, the Father); Thou who art the true light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world;[3] Thou who wast in the world, and didst come where Thou wast; Thou who wast made flesh, and yet wast not changed into the flesh; Thou who didst dwell among us, and didst manifest Thyself to Thy servants in the form of a servant; Thou who didst bridge earth and heaven together by Thy holy name,—comest Thou to me? One so great to such an one as I am? The King to the forerunner? The Lord to the servant? But though Thou wast not ashamed to be born in the lowly measures of humanity, yet I have no ability to pass the measures of nature. I know how great is the measure of difference between earth and the Creator. I know how great is the distinction between the clay and the potter. I know how vast is the superiority possessed by Thee, who art the Sun of righteousness, over me who am but the torch of Thy grace. Even though Thou art compassed with the pure cloud of the body, I can still recognise Thy lordship. I acknowledge my own servitude, I proclaim Thy glorious greatness, I recognise Thy perfect lordship, I recognise my own perfect insignificance, I am not worthy to unloose the latchets of Thy shoes;[4] and how shall I dare to touch Thy stainless head? How can I stretch out the right hand upon Thee, who didst stretch out the heavens like a curtain,[5] and didst set the earth above the waters?[6] How shall I spread

[1] John i. 1. [2] Heb. i. 3. [3] John i. 9.
[4] Luke iii. 16; John i. 27. [5] Ps. civ. 2. [6] Ps. cxxxvi. 6.

those menial hands of mine upon Thy head? How shall I wash Thee, who art undefiled and sinless? How shall I enlighten the light? What manner of prayer shall I offer up over Thee, who dost receive the prayers even of those who are ignorant of Thee?

When I baptize others, I baptize into Thy name, in order that they may believe on Thee, who comest with glory; but when I baptize Thee, of whom shall I make mention? and into whose name shall I baptize Thee? Into that of the Father? But Thou hast the Father altogether in Thyself, and Thou art altogether in the Father. Or into that of the Son? But beside Thee there is no other Son of God by nature. Or into that of the Holy Spirit? But He is ever together with Thee, as being of one substance, and of one will, and of one judgment, and of one power, and of one honour with Thee; and He receives, along with Thee, the same adoration from all. Wherefore, O Lord, baptize Thou me, if Thou pleasest; baptize me, the Baptist. Regenerate one whom Thou didst cause to be generated. Extend Thy dread right hand, which Thou hast prepared for Thyself, and crown my head by Thy touch, in order that I may run the course before Thy kingdom, crowned like a forerunner, and diligently announce the good tidings to the sinners, addressing them with this earnest call: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!"[1] O river Jordan, accompany me in the joyous choir, and leap with me, and stir thy waters rhythmically, as in the movements of the dance; for thy Maker stands by thee in the body. Once of old didst thou see Israel pass through thee, and thou didst divide thy floods, and didst wait in expectation of the passage of the people; but now divide thyself more decidedly, and flow more easily, and embrace the stainless limbs of Him who at that ancient time did convey the Jews (or, the Hebrews) through thee. Ye mountains and hills, ye valleys and torrents, ye seas and rivers, bless the Lord, who has come upon the river Jordan; for through these streams He transmits sanctification to all streams. And

[1] John i. 29.

Jesus answered and said to him: Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.[1] Suffer it to be so now; grant the favour of silence, O Baptist, to the season of my œconomy. Learn to will whatever is my will. Learn to minister to me in those things on which I am bent, and do not pry curiously into all that I wish to do. Suffer it to be so now: do not yet proclaim my divinity; do not yet herald my kingdom with thy lips, in order that the tyrant may not learn the fact and give up the counsel he has formed with respect to me. Permit the devil to come upon me, and enter the conflict with me as though I were but a common man, and receive thus his mortal wound. Permit me to fulfil the object for which I have come to earth. It is a mystery that is being gone through this day in the Jordan. My mysteries are for myself and my own. There is a mystery here, not for the fulfilling of my own need, but for the designing of a remedy for those who have been wounded. There is a mystery, which gives in these waters the representation of the heavenly streams of the regeneration of men. Suffer it to be so now: when thou seest me doing what seemeth to me good among the works of my hands, in a manner befitting divinity, then attune thy praises to the acts accomplished. When thou seest me cleansing the lepers, then proclaim me as the framer of nature. When thou seest me make the lame ready runners, then with quickened pace do thou also prepare thy tongue to praise me. When thou seest me cast out demons, then hail my kingdom with adoration. When thou seest me raise the dead from their graves by my word, then, in concert with those thus raised, glorify me as the Prince of life. When thou seest me sitting on the Father's right hand, then acknowledge me to be divine, as the equal of the Father and the Holy Spirit, on the throne, and in eternity, and in honour. Suffer it to be so now; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. I am the Lawgiver, and the Son of the Lawgiver; and it becometh me first to pass through all that is established, and then to set forth everywhere the intimations of my free gift. It becometh me

[1] Matt. iii. 15.

to fulfil the law, and then to bestow grace. It becometh me to adduce the shadow, and then the reality. It becometh me to finish the old covenant, and then to dictate the new, and to write it on the hearts of men, and to subscribe it with my blood (or, with my name), and to seal it with my Spirit. It becometh me to ascend the cross, and to be pierced with its nails, and to suffer after the manner of that nature which is capable of suffering, and to heal sufferings by my suffering, and by the tree to cure the wound that was inflicted upon men by the medium of a tree. It becometh me to descend even into the very depths of the grave, on behalf of the dead who are detained there. It becometh me, by my three days' dissolution in the flesh, to destroy the power of the ancient enemy, death. It becometh me to kindle the torch of my body for those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death. It becometh me to ascend in the flesh to that place where I am in my divinity. It becometh me to introduce to the Father the Adam reigning in me. It becometh me to accomplish these things, for on account of these things I have taken my position with the works of my hands. It becometh me to be baptized with this baptism for the present, and afterwards to bestow the baptism of the consubstantial Trinity upon all men. Lend me, therefore, O Baptist, thy right hand for the present œconomy, even as Mary lent her womb for my birth. Immerse me in the streams of Jordan, even as she who bore me wrapped me in children's swaddling-clothes. Grant me thy baptism, even as the Virgin granted me her milk. Lay hold of this head of mine, which the seraphim revere. With thy right hand lay hold of this head, that is related to thyself in kinship. Lay hold of this head, which nature has made to be touched. Lay hold of this head, which for this very purpose has been formed by myself and my Father. Lay hold of this head of mine, which, if one does lay hold of it in piety, will save him from ever suffering shipwreck. Baptize me, who am destined to baptize those who believe on me with water, and with the Spirit, and with fire: with water, capable of washing away the defilement of sins; with the Spirit, capable of making

the earthy spiritual; with fire, naturally fitted to consume the thorns of transgressions. On hearing these words, the Baptist directed his mind to the object of the salvation (or, to the Saviour's object), and comprehended the mystery which he had received, and discharged the divine command; for he was at once pious and ready to obey. And stretching forth slowly his right hand, which seemed both to tremble and to rejoice, he baptized the Lord. Then the Jews who were present, with those in the vicinity and those from a distance, reasoned together, and spake thus with themselves and with each other: Was it, then, without cause that we imagined John to be superior to Jesus? Was it without cause that we considered the former to be greater than the latter? Does not this very baptism attest the Baptist's pre-eminence? Is not he who baptizeth presented as the superior, and he who is baptized as the inferior? But while they, in their ignorance of the mystery of the œconomy, babbled in such wise with each other, He who alone is Lord, and by nature the Father of the Only-begotten, He who alone knoweth perfectly Him whom He alone in passionless fashion begat, to correct the erroneous imaginations of the Jews, opened the gates of the heavens, and sent down the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, lighting upon the head of Jesus, pointing out thereby the new Noah, yea the maker of Noah, and the good pilot of the nature which is in shipwreck. And He Himself calls with clear voice out of heaven, and says: "This is my beloved Son,"[1]—the Jesus there, namely, and not the John; the one baptized, and not the one baptizing; He who was begotten of me before all periods of time, and not he who was begotten of Zacharias; He who was born of Mary after the flesh, and not he who was brought forth by Elisabeth beyond all expectation; He who was the fruit of the virginity yet preserved intact, and not he who was the shoot from a sterility removed; He who has had His conversation with you, and not he who was brought up in the wilderness. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: my Son, of the same substance with myself, and not

[1] Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5; Mark i. 11; Luke ix. 35.

of a different; of one substance with me according to what is unseen, and of one substance with you according to what is seen, yet without sin. This is He who along with me made man. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. This Son of mine and this son of Mary are not two distinct persons; but this is my beloved Son,—this one who is both seen with the eye and apprehended with the mind. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear Him. If He shall say, I and my Father are one,[1] hear Him. If He shall say, He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,[2] hear Him. If He shall say, He that hath sent me is greater than I,[3] adapt the voice to the œconomy. If He shall say, Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?[4] answer ye Him thus: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.[5] By these words, as they were sent from the Father out of heaven in thunder-form, the race of men was enlightened: they apprehended the difference between the Creator and the creature, between the King and the soldier (subject), between the Worker and the work; and being strengthened in faith, they drew near through the baptism of John to Christ, our true God, who baptizeth with the Spirit and with fire. To Him be glory, and to the Father, and to the most holy and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

[1] John x. 30. [2] John xiv. 9. [3] John xiv. 28.
[4] Matt. xvi. 13. [5] Matt. xvi. 16.

A FRAGMENT
ON THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW.

CHAPTER VI. 22, 23.

(Gallandi, *Vet. Patr. Biblioth.* xiv. p. 119; from a Catena on Matthew, Cod. MS. 168, Mitarelli.)

"The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

THE single eye is the love unfeigned; for when the body is enlightened by it, it sets forth through the medium of the outer members only things which are perfectly correspondent with the inner thoughts. But the evil eye is the pretended love, which is also called hypocrisy, by which the whole body of the man is made darkness. We have to consider that deeds meet only for darkness may be within the man, while through the outer members he may produce words that seem to be of the light:[1] for there are those who are in reality wolves, though they may be covered with sheep's clothing. Such are they who wash only the outside of the cup and platter, and do not understand that, unless the inside of these things is cleansed, the outside itself cannot be made pure. Wherefore, in manifest confutation of such persons, the Saviour says: "If the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" That is to say, if the love which seems to thee to be light is really a work meet for darkness, by reason of some hypocrisy concealed in thee, what must be thy patent transgressions!

[1] The text is apparently corrupt here: ἄξια μὲν σκότους πράγματα ἐννοούμενον ἔσωθεν· διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔξωθεν μισῶν φωτὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντα προφέρον ῥήματα. Migne suggests ἐννοοῦμεν τόν and προφέροντα.

A DISCOURSE OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

ON ALL THE SAINTS.

(Published by Joannes Aloysius Mingarelli, Bologna 1770.)

GRANT thy blessing, Lord.

It was my desire to be silent, and not to make a public[1] display of the rustic rudeness of my tongue. For silence is a matter of great consequence when one's speech is mean.[2] And to refrain from utterance is indeed an admirable thing, where there is lack of training; and verily he is the highest philosopher who knows how to cover his ignorance by abstinence from public address. Knowing, therefore, the feebleness of tongue proper to me, I should have preferred such a course. Nevertheless the spectacle of the onlookers impels me to speak. Since, then, this solemnity is a glorious one among our festivals, and the spectators form a crowded gathering, and our assembly is one of elevated fervour in the faith, I shall face the task of commencing an address with confidence.[3] And this I may attempt all the more boldly, since the Father[4] requests me, and the church is with me, and the sainted martyrs with this object strengthen what is weak in me. For these have inspired aged men to accomplish with much love a long course, and constrained them to support their failing steps by the staff of the word (or, the

[1] The codex gives δημοσιεύουσαν, for which we read δημοσιεύειν.

[2] The codex gives ἀτελής, for which εὐτελής is read by the editor.

[3] Reading θαῤῥούντως for θαῤῥοῦντος.

[4] This is supposed by the Latin annotator to refer to the bishop, and perhaps to Phædimus of Amasea, as in those times no one was at liberty to make an address in the church when the bishop was present, except by his request or with his permission.

Word); and they have stimulated women to finish their course like the young men, and have brought to this, too, those of tender years, yea, even creeping children. In this wise have the martyrs shown their power, leaping with joy in the presence of death, laughing at the sword, making sport of the wrath of princes, grasping at death as the producer of deathlessness, making victory their own by their fall, through the body taking their leap to heaven, suffering their members to be scattered abroad in order that they might hold (σφίγξωσι) their souls, and, bursting the bars of life, that they might open the gates (or keys) of heaven. And if any one believes not that death is abolished, that Hades is trodden under foot, that the chains thereof are broken, that the tyrant is bound, let him look on the martyrs disporting themselves (κυβιστῶντες) in the presence of death, and taking up the jubilant strain of the victory of Christ. O the marvel! Since the hour when Christ despoiled Hades, men have danced in triumph over death. "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"[1] Hades and the devil have been despoiled, and stripped of their ancient armour, and cast out of their peculiar power. And even as Goliath had his head cut off with his own sword, so also is the devil, who has been the father of death, put to rout through death; and he finds that the selfsame thing which he was wont to use as the ready weapon of his deceit, has become the mighty instrument of his own destruction. Yea, if we may so speak, casting his hook at the Godhead, and seizing the wonted enjoyment of the baited pleasure, he is himself manifestly caught while he deems himself the captor, and discovers that in place of the man he has touched the God. By reason thereof do the martyrs leap upon the head of the dragon, and despise every species of torment. For since the second Adam has brought up the first Adam out of the deeps of Hades, as Jonah was delivered out of the whale, and has set forth him who was deceived as a citizen of heaven to the shame of the deceiver, the gates of Hades have been shut, and the gates of heaven have been opened,

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 55.

so as to offer an unimpeded entrance to those who rise thither in faith. In olden time Jacob beheld a ladder erected reaching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it. But now, having been made man for man's sake, He who is the Friend of man has crushed with the foot of His divinity him who is the enemy of man, and has borne up the man with the hand of His Christhood,[1] and has made the trackless ether to be trodden by the feet of man. Then the angels were ascending and descending; but now the Angel of the great counsel neither ascendeth nor descendeth: for whence or where shall He change His position, who is present everywhere, and filleth all things, and holds in His hand the ends of the world? Once, indeed, He descended, and once He ascended,—not, however, through any change (*μεταβάσει*) of nature, but only in the condescension (*συγκαταβάσει*) of His philanthropic Christhood (or benignity); and He is seated as the Word with the Father, and as the Word He dwells in the womb, and as the Word He is found everywhere, and is never separated from the God of the universe. Aforetime did the devil deride the nature of man with great laughter, and he has had his joy over the times of our calamity as his festal-days. But the laughter is only a three days' pleasure, while the wailing is eternal; and his great laughter has prepared for him a greater wailing and ceaseless tears, and inconsolable weeping, and a sword in his heart. This sword did our Leader forge against the enemy with fire in the virgin furnace, in such wise and after such fashion as He willed, and gave it its point by the energy of His invincible divinity, and dipped it in the water of an undefiled baptism, and sharpened it by sufferings without passion in them, and made it bright by the mystical resurrection; and herewith by Himself He put to death the vengeful adversary, together with his whole host. What manner of word, therefore, will express our joy or his misery? For he who was once an archangel is now a devil; he who once lived in heaven is now seen crawling like a serpent upon earth; he who once

[1] Χριστότητος, for which, however, χρηστότητος, *benignity*, is suggested.

was jubilant with the cherubim, is now shut up in pain in the guard-house of swine; and him, too, in fine, shall we put to rout if we mind those things which are contrary to his choice, by the grace and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the power unto the ages of the ages. Amen.

THE WORKS OF DIONYSIUS,

BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

FOR our knowledge of the career of this illustrious disciple of Origen we are indebted chiefly to Eusebius, in the sixth and seventh books of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and in the fourteenth book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*. There are also passages, of larger or smaller extent, bearing upon his life and his literary activity, in Jerome (*De viris illustr.* ch. 69; and *Præfatio ad Lib.* xviii. *Comment. in Esaiam*), Athanasius (*De Sententia Dionysii*, and *De Synodi Nicænæ Decretis*), Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto*, ch. 29; *Epist. ad Amphiloch.*, and *Epist. ad Maximum*). Among modern authorities, we may refer specially to the Dissertation on his life and writings by S. de Magistris, in the folio edition issued under his care in Greek and Latin at Rome in 1796; to the account given by Basnage in the *Histoire de l'Eglise*, tome i. livre ii. ch. v. p. 68; to the complete collection of his extant works in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum*, iii. p. 481, etc.; as well as to the accounts in Cave's *Hist. Lit.* i. p. 95, and elsewhere. He appears to have been the son of pagan parents; but after studying the doctrines of various of the schools of philosophy, and coming under the influence of Origen, to whom he had attached himself as a pupil, he was led to embrace the Christian faith. This step was taken at an early period, and, as he informs us, only after free examination and careful inquiry into the great systems of heathen belief. He was made a presbyter in Alexandria after this decision; and on the elevation of Heraclas to the bishopric of that city, Dionysius suc-

ceeded him in the presidency of the catechetical school there about A.D. 232. After holding that position for some fifteen years Heraclas died, and Dionysius was again chosen to be his successor; and ascending the episcopal throne of Alexandria about A.D. 247 or 248, he retained that see till his death in the year 265. The period of his activity as bishop was a time of great suffering and continuous anxiety; and between the terrors of persecution on the one hand, and the cares of controversy on the other, he found little repose in his office. During the Decian persecution he was arrested and hurried off by the soldiers to a small town named Taposiris, lying between Alexandria and Canopus. But he was rescued from the peril of that seizure in a remarkably providential manner, by a sudden rising of the people of the rural district through which he was being carried. Again, however, he was called to suffer, and that more severely, when the persecution under Valerian broke out in the year 257. On making open confession of his faith on this occasion he was banished, at a time when he was seriously ill, to Cephro, a wild and barren district in Libya; and not until he had spent two or three years in exile there was he enabled to return to Alexandria, in virtue of the edict of Gallienus. At various times he had to cope, too, with the miseries of pestilence and famine and civil conflicts in the seat of his bishopric. In the many ecclesiastical difficulties of his age he was also led to take a prominent part. When the keen contest was waged on the subject of the rebaptism of recovered heretics about the year 256, the matter in dispute was referred by both parties to his judgment, and he composed several valuable writings on the question. Then he was induced to enter the lists with the Sabellians, and in the course of a lengthened controversy did much good service against their tenets. The uncompromising energy of his opposition to that sect carried him, however, beyond the bounds of prudence, so that he himself gave expression to opinions not easily reconcilable with the common orthodox doctrine. For these he was called to account by Dionysius bishop of Rome; and when a synod had been summoned to consider the case, he promptly and humbly

acknowledged the error into which his precipitate zeal had drawn him. Once more, he was urged to give his help in the difficulty with Paul of Samosata. But as the burden of years and infirmities made it impossible for him to attend the synod convened at Antioch in 265 to deal with that troublesome heresiarch, he sent his opinion on the subject of discussion in a letter to the council, and died soon after, towards the close of the same year. The responsible duties of his bishopric had been discharged with singular faithfulness and patience throughout the seventeen eventful years during which he occupied the office. Among the ancients he was held in the highest esteem both for personal worth and for literary usefulness; and it is related that there was a church dedicated to him in Alexandria. One feature that appears very prominently in his character, is the spirit of independent investigation which possessed him. It was only after candid examination of the current philosophies that he was induced to become a Christian; and after his adoption of the faith, he kept himself abreast of all the controversies of the time, and perused with an impartial mind the works of the great heretics. He acted on this principle through his whole course as a teacher, pronouncing against such writings only when he had made himself familiar with their contents, and saw how to refute them. And we are told in Eusebius (vii. 7), that when a certain presbyter once remonstrated with him on this subject, and warned him of the injury he might do to his own soul by habituating himself to the perusal of these heterodox productions, Dionysius was confirmed in his purpose by a vision and a voice which were sent him, as he thought, from heaven to relieve him of all such fear, and to encourage him to read and prove all that might come into his hand, because that method had been from the very first the cause of faith to him. The moderation of his character, again, is not less worthy of notice. In the case of the Novatian schism, while he was from the first decidedly opposed to the principles of the party, he strove by patient and affectionate argumentation to persuade the leader to submit. So, too, in

the disputes on baptism we find him urgently entreating the Roman bishop Stephen not to press matters to extremity with the Eastern Church, nor destroy the peace she had only lately begun to enjoy. Again, in the chiliastic difficulties excited by Nepos, and kept up by Coracion, we see him assembling all the parochial clergy who held these opinions, and inviting all the laymen of the diocese also to attend the conference, and discussing the question for three whole days with all these ministers, considering their arguments, and meeting all their objections patiently by Scripture testimony, until he persuades Coracion himself to retract, and receives the thanks of the pastors, and restores unity of faith in his bishopric. On these occasions his mildness, and benignity, and moderation stand out in bold relief; and on others we trace similar evidences of his broad sympathies and his large and liberal spirit. He was possessed also of a remarkably fertile pen; and the number of his theological writings, both formal treatises and more familiar epistles, was very considerable. All these, however, have perished, with the exception of what Eusebius and other early authors already referred to have preserved. The most important of these compositions are the following:—1. *A Treatise on the Promises*, in two books, which was written against Nepos, and of which Eusebius has introduced two pretty large extracts into the third and seventh books of his *History*. 2. *A Book on Nature*, addressed to Timotheus, in opposition to the Epicureans, of which we have some sections in the *Præpar. Evangel.* of Eusebius. 3. *A Work against the Sabellians*, addressed to Dionysius bishop of Rome, in four books or letters, in which he deals with his own unguarded statements in the controversy with Sabellius, and of which certain portions have come down to us in Athanasius and Basil. In addition to these, we possess a number of his epistles in whole or part, and a few exegetical fragments.

THE EXTANT FRAGMENTS OF THE WORKS AND THE EPISTLES OF DIONYSIUS,

BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA.

PART FIRST.

CONTAINING VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE WORKS.

I.—FROM THE TWO BOOKS ON THE PROMISES, IN OPPOSITION TO NOETUS, A BISHOP IN EGYPT.[1]

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 24 and 25.)

1. BUT as they produce a certain composition by Nepos,[2] on which they insist very strongly, as if it demonstrated incontestably that there will be a (temporal) reign of Christ upon the earth, I have to say, that in many other respects I accept the opinion of Nepos, and love him at once for his faith, and his labo-

[1] Eusebius introduces this extract in the following terms: "There are also two books of his on the subject of the promises. The occasion of writing these was furnished him by a certain Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, who taught that the promises which were given to holy men in the sacred Scriptures were to be understood according to the Jewish sense of the same; and affirmed that there would be some kind of a millennial period, plenished with corporeal delights, upon this earth. And as he thought that he could establish this opinion of his by the Revelation of John, he had composed a book on this question, entitled *Refutation of the Allegorists*. This, therefore, is sharply attacked by Dionysius in his books on the Promises. And in the first of these books he states his own opinion on the subject; while in the second he gives us a discussion on the Revelation of John, in the introduction to which he makes mention of Nepos in these words: 'But as they produce,'" etc.

[2] As it is clear from this passage that this work by Dionysius was written against Nepos, it is strange that, in his preface to the eighteenth book of his Commentaries on Isaiah, Jerome should affirm it to have been

riousness, and his patient study in the Scriptures, as also for his great efforts in psalmody,[1] by which even now many of the brethren are delighted. I hold the man, too, in deep respect still more, inasmuch as[2] he has gone to his rest before us. Nevertheless the truth is to be prized and reverenced above all things else. And while it is indeed proper to praise and approve ungrudgingly anything that is said aright, it is no less proper to examine and correct anything which may appear to have been written unsoundly. If he had been present then himself, and had been stating his opinions orally, it would have been sufficient to discuss the question together without the use of writing, and to endeavour to convince the opponents, and carry them along by interrogation and reply. But the work is published, and is, as it seems to some, of a very persuasive character; and there are unquestionably some teachers, who hold that the law and the

composed against Irenæus of Lyons. Irenæus was certainly of the number of those who held millennial views, and who had been persuaded to embrace such by Papias, as Jerome himself tells us in the *Catalogus*, and as Eusebius explains towards the close of the third book of his *History*. But that this book by Dionysius was written not against Irenæus, but against Nepos, is evident, not only from this passage in Eusebius, but also from Jerome himself, in his work *On Ecclesiastical Writers*, where he speaks of Dionysius.—VALES.

[1] τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμῳδίας. Christophorsonus interprets this of psalms and hymns composed by Nepos. It was certainly the practice among the ancient Christians to compose psalms and hymns in honour of Christ. Eusebius bears witness to this in the end of the fifth book of his *History*. Mention is made of these psalms in the Epistle of the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, and in the penultimate canon of the Council of Laodicea, where there is a clear prohibition of the use of ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί in the church, *i.e.* of psalms composed by private individuals. For this custom had obtained great prevalence, so that many persons composed psalms in honour of Christ, and got them sung in the church. It is psalms of this kind, consequently, that the Fathers of the Council of Laodicea forbid to be sung thereafter in the church, designating them ἰδιωτικοί, *i.e.* composed by unskilled men, and not dictated by the Holy Spirit. Thus is the matter explained by Agobardus in his book *De ritu canendi psalmos in Ecclesia*.—VALES.

[2] ταυτῇ μᾶλλον ἢ προανεπαύσατο: it may mean, perhaps, *for the way in which he has gone to his rest before us.*

prophets are of no importance, and who decline to follow the Gospels, and who depreciate the epistles of the apostles, and who have also made large promises[1] regarding the doctrine of this composition, as though it were some great and hidden mystery, and who, at the same time, do not allow that our simpler brethren have any sublime and elevated conceptions either of our Lord's appearing in His glory and His true divinity, or of our own resurrection from the dead, and of our being gathered together to Him, and assimilated to Him, but, on the contrary, endeavour to lead them to hope[2] for things which are trivial and corruptible, and only such as what we find at present in the kingdom of God. And since this is the case, it becomes necessary for us to discuss this subject with our brother Nepos just as if he were present.

2. *After certain other matters, he adds the following statement:*—Being then in the Arsinoitic[3] prefecture—where, as you are aware, this doctrine was current long ago, and caused such division, that schisms and apostasies took place in whole churches—I called together the presbyters and the teachers among the brethren in the villages, and those of the brethren also who wished to attend were present. I exhorted them to make an investigation into that dogma in public. Accordingly, when they had brought this book before us, as though it were a kind of weapon or impregnable battlement, I sat with them for three days in succession, from morning till evening, and attempted to set them right on the subjects

[1] *κατεπαγγελλομένων, i.e. diu ante promittunt quam tradunt.* The metaphor is taken from the mysteries of the Greeks, who were wont to promise great and marvellous discoveries to the initiated, and then kept them on the rack by daily expectation, in order to confirm their judgment and reverence by such suspense in the conveyance of knowledge, as Tertullian says in his book *Against the Valentinians*.—VALES.

[2] Reading ἐλπίζειν ἀναπειθόντων for ἐλπιζόμενα πειθόντων, with the Codex Mazarin.

[3] ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ἀρσινοείτῃ. In the three codices here, as well as in Nicephorus and Ptolemy, we find this scription, although it is evident that the word should be written Ἀρσινοίτῃ, as the district took its name from Queen Arsinoe.—VALES.

propounded in the composition. Then, too, I was greatly gratified by observing the constancy of the brethren, and their love of the truth, and their docility and intelligence, as we proceeded, in an orderly method, and in a spirit of moderation, to deal with questions, and difficulties, and concessions. For we took care not to press, in every way and with jealous urgency, opinions which had once been adopted, even although they might appear to be correct.[1] Neither did we evade objections alleged by others; but we endeavoured as far as possible to keep by the subject in hand, and to establish the positions pertinent to it. Nor, again, were we ashamed to change our opinions, if reason convinced us, and to acknowledge the fact; but rather with a good conscience, and in all sincerity, and with open hearts[2] before God, we accepted all that could be established by the demonstrations and teachings of the holy Scriptures. And at last the author and introducer of this doctrine, whose name was Coracion, in the hearing of all the brethren present, made acknowledgment of his position, and engaged to us that he would no longer hold by his opinion, nor discuss it, nor mention it, nor teach it, as he had been completely convinced by the arguments of those opposed to it. The rest of the brethren, also, who were present, were delighted with the conference, and with the conciliatory spirit and the harmony exhibited by all.

3. *Then, a little further on, he speaks of the Revelation of John as follows:*—Now some before our time have set aside this book, and repudiated it entirely, criticising it chapter by chapter, and endeavouring to show it to be without either sense or reason. They have alleged also that its title is false; for they deny that John is the author. Nay, further,

[1] *εἰ καὶ φαίνοιντο.* There is another reading, *εἰ καὶ μὴ φαίνοιντο, although they might not appear to be correct.* Christophorsonus renders it: ne illis quæ fuerant ante ab ipsis decreta, si quidquam in eis veritati repugnare videretur, mordicus adhærerent præcavebant.

[2] *ἡπλωμέναις ταῖς καρδίαις.* Christophorsonus renders it, *puris erga Deum ac simplicibus animis;* Musculus gives, *cordibus ad Deum expansis;* and Rufinus, *patefactis cordibus.*

they hold that it can be no sort of revelation, because it is covered with so gross and dense a veil of ignorance. They affirm, therefore, that none of the apostles, nor indeed any of the saints, nor any person belonging to the church, could be its author; but that Cerinthus,[1] and the heretical sect founded by him, and named after him the Cerinthian sect, being desirous of attaching the authority of a great name to the fiction propounded by him, prefixed that title to the book. For the doctrine inculcated by Cerinthus is this: that there will be an earthly reign of Christ; and as he was himself a man devoted to the pleasures of the body, and altogether carnal in his dispositions, he fancied[2] that that kingdom would consist in those kinds of gratifications on which his own heart was set,—to wit, in the delights of the belly, and what comes beneath the belly, that is to say, in eating and drinking, and marrying, and in other things under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace,[3] such as festivals, and sacrifices, and the slaying of victims. But I, for my part, could not venture to set this book aside, for there are many brethren who value it highly. Yet, having formed an idea of it as a composition exceeding my capacity of understanding, I regard it as containing a kind of hidden and wonderful intelligence on the several subjects which come under it. For though I cannot comprehend it, I still suspect that there is some deeper sense underlying the words. And I do not measure and judge its expressions by the standard of my own reason, but, making more allowance for faith, I have simply regarded them as too lofty for my comprehension; and I do not forthwith reject what I do not understand, but I am only the more filled with wonder at it, in that I have not been able to discern its import.

[1] This passage is given substantially by Eusebius also in b. iii. c. 28.

[2] The text gives ὀνειροπολεῖν, for which ὀνειροπολεῖ or ὀνειροπόλει is to be read.

[3] δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾠήθη τορεῖσθαι. The old reading was εὐθυμότερον; but the present reading is given in the MSS., Cod. Maz., and Med., as also in Eusebius, iii. 28, and in Nicephorus, iii. 14. So Rufinus renders it: *et ut aliquid sacratius dicere videretur, legales aiebat festivitates rursum celebrandas.*

4. *After this, he examines the whole book of the Revelation; and having proved that it cannot possibly be understood according to the bald, literal sense, he proceeds thus:*—When the prophet now has completed, so to speak, the whole prophecy, he pronounces those blessed who should observe it, and names himself, too, in the number of the same: "For blessed," says he, "is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book; and I John (who) saw and heard these things."[1] That this person was called John, therefore, and that this was the writing of a John, I do not deny. And I admit further, that it was also the work of some holy and inspired man. But I could not so easily admit that this was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, and the same person with him who wrote the Gospel which bears the title *according to John*, and the catholic epistle. But from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the whole disposition and execution[2] of the book, I draw the conclusion that the authorship is not his. For the evangelist nowhere else subjoins his name, and he never proclaims himself either in the Gospel or in the epistle.

And a little further on he adds:—John, moreover, nowhere gives us the name, whether as of himself directly (in the first person), or as of another (in the third person). But the writer of the Revelation puts himself forward at once in the very beginning, for he says: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which He gave to him to show to His servants quickly; and He sent and signified it by His angel to His servant John, who bare record of the Word of God, and of his testimony, and of all things that he saw."[3] And then he writes also an epistle, in which he says: "John to the seven churches which are in Asia, grace be unto you, and peace." The evangelist, on the other hand, has not prefixed his name even to the catholic epistle; but without any circumlocution,

[1] Rev. xxii. 7, 8.

[2] διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης. Musculus renders it *tractatum libri*; Christophorsonus gives *discursum*; and Valesius takes it as equivalent to οἰκονομίαν, as διεξαγαγεῖν is the same as διοικεῖν.

[3] Rev. i. 1, 2.

he has commenced at once with the mystery of the divine revelation itself in these terms: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes."[1] And on the ground of such a revelation as that the Lord pronounced Peter blessed, when He said: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven."[2] And again in the second epistle, which is ascribed to John (the apostle), and in the third, though they are indeed brief, John is not set before us by name; but we find simply the anonymous writing, *The elder*. This other author, on the contrary, did not even deem it sufficient to name himself once, and then to proceed with his narrative; but he takes up his name again, and says: "I John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ."[3] And likewise toward the end he speaks thus: "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book; and I John (who) saw these things and heard them."[4] That it is a John, then, that writes these things we must believe, for he himself tells us.

5. What John this is, however, is uncertain. For he has not said, as he often does in the Gospel, that he is the disciple beloved by the Lord, or the one that leaned on His bosom, or the brother of James, or one that was privileged to see and hear the Lord. And surely he would have given us some of these indications if it had been his purpose to make himself clearly known. But of all this he offers us nothing; and he only calls himself our brother and companion, and the witness of Jesus, and one blessed with the seeing and hearing of these revelations. I am also of opinion that there were many persons of the same name with John the apostle, who by their love for him, and their admiration and emulation of him, and their desire to be loved by the Lord as he was loved, were induced to embrace also the same designation, just as we find many of the children of the faithful called by the names

[1] 1 John i. 1. [2] Matt. xvi. 17. [3] Rev. i. 9. [4] Rev. xxii. 7, 8.

of Paul and Peter.[1] There is, besides, another John mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, with the surname Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul attached to themselves as companion, and of whom again it is said: "And they had also John to their minister."[2] But whether this is the one who wrote the Revelation, I could not say. For it is not written that he came with them into Asia. But the writer says: "Now when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem."[3] I think, therefore, that it was some other one of those who were in Asia. For it is said that there were two monuments in Ephesus, and that each of these bears the name of John.

6. And from the ideas, and the expressions, and the collocation of the same, it may be very reasonably conjectured that this one is distinct from that.[4] For the Gospel

[1] It is worth while to notice this passage of Dionysius on the ancient practice of the Christians, in giving their children the names of Peter and Paul, which they did both in order to express the honour and affection in which they held these saints, and to secure that their children might be dear and acceptable to God, just as those saints were. Hence it is that Chrysostom in his first volume, in his oration on St. Meletius, says that the people of Antioch had such love and esteem for Meletius, that the parents called their children by his name, in order that they might have their homes adorned by his presence. And the same Chrysostom, in his twenty-first homily on Genesis, exhorts his hearers not to call their children carelessly by the names of their grandfathers, or great-grandfathers, or men of fame; but rather by the names of saintly men, who have been shining patterns of virtue, in order that the children might be fired with the desire of virtue by their example.—VALES.

[2] Acts xiii. 5. [3] Acts xiii. 13.

[4] This is the second argument by which Dionysius reasoned that the Revelation and the Gospel of John are not by one author. For the first argument which he used in proof of this is drawn from the character and usage of the two writers; and this argument Dionysius has prosecuted up to this point. Now, however, he adduces a second argument, drawn from the words and ideas of the two writers, and from the collocation of the expressions. For, with Cicero, I thus interpret the word *σύνταξιν*. See the very elegant book of Dionysius Hal. entitled *Περὶ συντάξεως ὀνομάτων*—On the Collocation of Names; although in this passage *σύνταξις* appears to comprehend the disposition of sentences as well as words. Further, from this passage we can see what experience

and the Epistle agree with each other, and both commence in the same way. For the one opens thus, "In the beginning was the Word;" while the other opens thus, "That which was from the beginning." The one says: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father."[1] The other says the same things, with a slight alteration: "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life: and the life was manifested."[2] For these things are introduced by way of prelude, and in opposition, as he has shown in the subsequent parts, to those who deny that the Lord is come in the flesh. For which reason he has also been careful to add these words: "And that which we have seen we testify, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us: that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you."[3] Thus he keeps to himself, and does not diverge inconsistently from his subjects, but goes through them all under the same heads and in the same phraseologies, some of which we shall briefly mention. Thus the attentive reader will find the phrases, *the life*, *the light*, occurring often in both; and also such expressions as *fleeing from darkness*, *holding the truth*, *grace*, *joy*, *the flesh and the blood of the Lord*, *the judgment*, *the remission of sins*, *the love of God toward us*, *the commandment of love on our side toward each other*; as also, *that we ought to keep all the commandments*, *the conviction of the world*, *of the devil*, *of Antichrist*, *the promise of the Holy Spirit*, *the adoption of God*, *the faith* required of us in all things, *the Father and the Son*, named as such everywhere. And altogether, through their whole course, it will be evident that the Gospel and the Epistle are distinguished by one and the same character of writing. But the Revelation is totally different, and altogether distinct from this; and I might almost say that it

Dionysius had in criticism; for it is the critic's part to examine the writings of the ancients, and distinguish what is genuine and authentic from what is spurious and counterfeit.—VALES.

[1] John i. 14. [2] 1 John i. 1, 2. [3] 1 John i. 2, 3.

does not even come near it, or border upon it. Neither does it contain a syllable in common with these other books. Nay more, the Epistle (for I say nothing of the Gospel) does not make any mention or evince any notion of the Revelation; and the Revelation, in like manner, gives no note of the Epistle. Whereas Paul gives some indication of his revelations in his epistles; which revelations, however, he has not recorded in writing by themselves.

7. And furthermore, on the ground of difference in diction, it is possible to prove a distinction between the Gospel and the Epistle on the one hand, and the Revelation on the other. For the former are written not only without actual error as regards the Greek language, but also with the greatest elegance, both in their expressions and in their reasonings, and in the whole structure of their style. They are very far indeed from betraying any barbarism or solecism, or any sort of vulgarism, in their diction. For, as might be presumed, the writer possessed the gift of both kinds of discourse,[1] the Lord having bestowed both these capacities upon him, viz. that of knowledge and that of expression. That the author of the latter, however, saw a revelation, and received knowledge and prophecy, I do not deny. Only I perceive that his dialect and language are not of the exact Greek type, and that he employs barbarous idioms, and in some places also solecisms. These, however, we are under no necessity of seeking out at present. And I would not have any one suppose that I have said these things in the spirit of ridicule; for I have done so only with the purpose of setting right this matter of the dissimilarity subsisting between these writings.

[1] The old reading was, *τὸν λόγον, τὴν γνῶσιν.* Valesius expunges the *τὴν γνῶσιν*, as disturbing the sense, and as absent in various codices. Instead also of the reading, *τόν τε τῆς σοφίας, τόν τε τῆς γνώσεως*, the same editor adopts *τόν τε τῆς γνώσεως, τόν τε τῆς φράσεως*, which is the reading of various manuscripts, and is accepted in the translation. Valesius understands that by the *ἑκάτερον λόγον* Dionysius means the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and the *λόγος προφορικός*, that is, the subjective discourse, or reason in the mind, and the objective discourse, or utterance of the same.

II.—FROM THE BOOKS ON NATURE AGAINST THE EPICUREANS.

(In Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* book xiv. ch. 23–27.)

1. *In opposition to those of the school of Epicurus who deny the existence of a Providence, and refer the constitution of the universe to atomic bodies.*[1]

Is the universe one coherent whole, as it seems to be in our own judgment, as well as in that of the wisest of the Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Pythagoras, and the Stoics and Heraclitus? or is it a duality, as some may possibly have conjectured? or is it indeed something manifold and infinite, as has been the opinion of certain others who, with a variety of mad speculations and fanciful usages of terms, have sought to divide and resolve the essential matter (*οὐσίαν*) of the universe, and lay down the position that it is infinite and unoriginated, and without the sway of Providence (*ἀπρονόητον*)? For there are those who, giving the name of atoms to certain imperishable and most minute bodies which are supposed to be infinite in number, and positing also the existence of a certain vacant space of an unlimited vastness, allege that these atoms, as they are borne along casually in the void, and clash all fortuitously against each other in an unregulated whirl, and become commingled one with another in a multitude of forms, enter into combination with each other, and thus gradually form this world and all objects in it; yea, more, that they construct infinite worlds. This was the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus; only they differed in one point, in so far as the former supposed these atoms to be all most minute and consequently imperceptible, while

[1] Eusebius introduces this extract in terms to the following effect: It may be well now to subjoin some few arguments out of the many which are employed in his disputation against the Epicureans by the bishop Dionysius, a man who professed a Christian philosophy, as they are found in the work which he composed on Nature. But peruse thou the writer's statements in his own terms.

Democritus held that there were also some among them of a very large size. But they both hold that such atoms do exist, and that they are so called on account of their indissoluble consistency. There are some, again, who give the name of atoms to certain bodies which are indivisible into parts, while they are themselves parts of the universe, out of which in their undivided state all things are made up, and into which they are dissolved again. And the allegation is, that Diodorus was the person who gave them their names as bodies indivisible into parts (*τῶν ἀμερῶν*). But it is also said that Heraclides attached another name to them, and called them *weights* (*ὄγκους*); and from him the physician Asclepiades also derived that name.[1]

2. *A refutation of this dogma on the ground of familiar human analogies.*

How shall we bear with these men who assert that all those wise, and consequently also noble, constructions (in the universe) are only the works of common chance? those objects, I mean, of which each taken by itself as it is made, and the whole system collectively, were seen to be good by Him by whose command they came into existence. For, as it is said, "God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good."[2] But truly these men do not reflect on[3] the analogies even of small familiar things which might come under their observation at any time, and from which they might learn that no object of any utility, and fitted to be serviceable, is made without design or by mere chance, but is wrought by skill of hand, and is contrived so as to meet its proper use. And when the object falls out of service and becomes useless, then it also begins to break up indeterminately, and to decompose and dissipate its materials in every

[1] *ἐκληρονόμησε τὸ ὄνομα.* Eusebius subjoins this remark: *ταῦτ' εἰπών, ἐξῆς ἀνασκευάζει τὸ δόγμα διὰ πολλῶν, ἀτὰρ δὲ διὰ τούτων,* = having said thus much, he (Dionysius) proceeds to demolish this doctrine by many arguments, and among others by what follows.—GALL.

[2] Gen. i. 31.

[3] The text is, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν τῶν συνήθων καὶ παρὰ πόδας νουθετούντων,* etc. We adopt Viger's suggestion, and read *νουθετοῦντας.*

casual and unregulated way, just as the wisdom by which it was skilfully constructed at first no longer controls and maintains it. For a cloak, for example, cannot be made without the weaver, as if the warp could be set aright and the woof could be entwined with it by their own spontaneous action; while, on the other hand, if it is once worn out, its tattered rags are flung aside. Again, when a house or a city is built, it does not take on its stones, as if some of them placed themselves spontaneously upon the foundations, and others lifted themselves up on the several layers, but the builder carefully disposes the skilfully prepared stones in their proper positions; while if the structure happens once to give way, the stones are separated and cast down and scattered about. And so, too, when a ship is built, the keel does not lay itself, neither does the mast erect itself in the centre, nor do all the other timbers take up their positions casually and by their own motion. Nor, again, do the so-called hundred beams in the wain fit themselves spontaneously to the vacant spaces they severally light on. But the carpenter in both cases puts the materials together in the right way and at the right time.[1] And if the ship goes to sea and is wrecked, or if the wain drives along on land and is shattered, their timbers are broken up and cast abroad anywhere,—those of the former by the waves, and those of the latter by the violence of the impetus. In like manner, then, we might with all propriety say also to these men, that those atoms of theirs, which remain idle and unmanipulated and useless, are introduced vainly. Let them, accordingly, seek for themselves to see into what is beyond the reach of sight, and conceive what is beyond the range of conception;[2] unlike him who in these terms confesses to God that things

[1] The text is, ἐκατέρας συνεκόμισε καίριον, for which Viger proposes εἰς τὸν ἐκατέρας, etc.

[2] The text gives, ὁράτωσαν γὰρ τὰς ἀθεάτους ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ τὰς ἀνοήτους νοείτωσαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ, etc. The passage seems corrupt. Some supply φύσεις as the subject intended in the ἀθεάτους and ἀνοήτους; but that leaves the connection still obscure. Viger would read, with one MS., ἀΐτους instead of ἀθάτους, and makes this then the sense: that those Epicureans are bidden study more closely these unregulated and stolid (ἀνοήτους) atoms, not looking at them with a merely cursory and careless

like these had been shown him only by God Himself: "Mine eyes did see Thy work, being till then imperfect."[1] But when they assert now that all those things of grace and beauty, which they declare to be textures finely wrought out of atoms, are fabricated spontaneously by these bodies without either wisdom or perception in them, who can endure to hear them talk in such terms of those unregulated (*ἀῤῥύθμους*) atoms, than which even the spider, that plies its proper craft of itself, is gifted with more sagacity?

3. *A refutation on the ground of the constitution of the universe.*

Or who can bear to hear it maintained, that this mighty habitation, which is constituted of heaven and earth, and which is called *Cosmos* on account of the magnitude and the plenitude of the wisdom which has been brought to bear upon it, has been established in all its order and beauty by those atoms which hold their course devoid of order and beauty, and that that same state of disorder has grown into this true Cosmos (Order)? Or who can believe that those regular movements and courses are the products of a certain unregulated impetus? Or who can allow that the perfect concord subsisting among the celestial bodies derives its harmony from instruments destitute both of concord and harmony? Or, again, if there is but one and the same sub-

glance, as David acknowledges was the case with him in the thoughts of his own imperfect nature, in order that they may the more readily understand how out of such confusion as that in which they are involved nothing orderly and finished could possibly have originated.

[1] Ps. cxxxix. 16. The text gives, *τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν σου ἴδωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου.* This strange reading, instead of the usual *τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν μου εἶδον* (or *ἴδον*) *οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου*, is found also in the Alexandrine exemplar of the Septuagint, which gives, *τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν σου εἶδοσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου*, and in the Psalter of S. Germanus in Calmet, which has, *imperfectum tuum viderunt oculi mei.* Viger renders it thus: *quod ex tuis operibus imperfectum adhuc et impolitum videbatur, oculi tandem mei perviderunt; i.e.* Thy works, which till now seemed imperfect and unfinished, my eyes have at length discerned clearly; to wit, because being now penetrated by greater light from Thee, they have ceased to be dim-sighted. See Viger's note in Migne.

stance (οὐσίας) in all things, and if there is the same incorruptible nature (φύσεως) in all,—the only elements of difference being, as they aver, size and figure,—how comes it that there are some bodies divine and perfect (ἀκήρατα), and eternal (αἰώνια), as they would phrase it, or lasting (μακραίωνα), as some one may prefer to express it; and among these some that are visible and others that are invisible,—the visible including such as sun, and moon, and stars, and earth, and water; and the invisible including gods, and demons, and spirits? For the existence of such they cannot possibly deny, however desirous to do so. And again, there are other objects that are long-lived, both animals and plants. As to animals, there are, for example, among birds, as they say, the eagle, the raven, and the phœnix; and among creatures living on land, there are the stag, and the elephant, and the dragon; and among aquatic creatures there are the whales, and such like monsters of the deep. And as to trees, there are the palm, and the oak, and the persea;[1] and among trees, too, there are some that are evergreens, of which kind fourteen have been reckoned up by some one; and there are others that only bloom for a certain season, and then shed their leaves. And there are other objects, again—which indeed constitute the vast mass of all which either grow or are begotten—that have an early death and a brief life. And among these is man himself, as a certain holy scripture says of him: "Man that is born of woman is of few days."[2] Well, but I suppose they will reply that the varying conjunctions of the atoms account fully for differences[3] so great in the matter of duration. For it is maintained that there are some things that are compressed together by them, and firmly interlaced, so that they become closely compacted bodies, and consequently exceedingly hard to break up; while there are others in which more or less the conjunction of the atoms is of a looser and weaker nature, so that

[1] περσία, a sacred tree of Egypt and Persia, the fruit of which grew from the stem.

[2] Job xiv. 1.

[3] The text gives διαφθορᾶς, for which Viger suggests διαφορᾶς.

either quickly or after some time they separate themselves from their orderly constitution. And, again, there are some bodies made up of atoms of a definite kind and a certain common figure, while there are others made up of diverse atoms diversely disposed. But who, then, is the sagacious discriminator (*φιλοκρίνων*), that brings certain atoms into collocation, and separates others; and marshals some in such wise as to form the sun, and others in such a way as to originate the moon, and adapts all in natural fitness, and in accordance with the proper constitution of each star? For surely neither would those solar atoms, with their peculiar size and kind, and with their special mode of collocation, ever have reduced themselves so as to effect the production of a moon; nor, on the other hand, would the conjunctions of these lunar atoms ever have developed into a sun. And as certainly neither would Arcturus, resplendent as he is, ever boast his having the atoms possessed by Lucifer, nor would the Pleiades glory in being constituted of those of Orion. For well has Paul expressed the distinction when he says: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory."[1] And if the coalition effected among them has been an unintelligent one, as is the case with soulless (*ἀψύχων*) objects, then they must needs have had some sagacious artificer; and if their union has been one without the determination of will, and only of necessity, as is the case with irrational objects, then some skilful leader (*ἀγελάρχης*) must have brought them together and taken them under his charge. And if they have linked themselves together spontaneously, for a spontaneous work, then some admirable architect must have apportioned their work for them, and assumed the superintendence among them; or there must have been one to do with them as the general does who loves order and discipline, and who does not leave his army in an irregular condition, or suffer all things to go on confusedly, but marshals the cavalry in their proper succession, and disposes the heavy-armed infantry in their due array, and the

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 41.

javelin-men by themselves, and the archers separately, and the slingers in like manner, and sets each force in its appropriate position, in order that all those equipped in the same way may engage together. But if these teachers think that this illustration is but a joke, because I institute a comparison between very large bodies and very small, we may pass to the very smallest.

Then we have what follows:—But if neither the word, nor the choice, nor the order of a ruler is laid upon them, and if by their own act they keep themselves right in the vast commotion of the stream in which they move, and convey themselves safely through the mighty uproar of the collisions, and if like atoms meet and group themselves with like, not as being brought together by God, according to the poet's fancy, but rather as naturally recognising the affinities subsisting between each other, then truly we have here a most marvellous democracy of atoms, wherein friends welcome and embrace friends, and all are eager to sojourn together in one domicile; while some by their own determination have rounded themselves off into that mighty luminary the sun, so as to make day; and others have formed themselves into many pyramids of blazing stars, it may be, so as to crown also the whole heavens; and others have reduced themselves into the circular figure, so as to impart a certain solidity to the ether, and arch it over, and constitute it a vast graduated ascent of luminaries, with this object also, that the various conventions of the commoner atoms may select settlements for themselves, and portion out the sky among them for their habitations and stations.

Then, after certain other matters, the discourse proceeds thus:—But inconsiderate men do not see even things that are apparent, and certainly they are far from being cognisant of things that are unapparent. For they do not seem even to have any notion of those regulated risings and settings of the heavenly bodies,—those of the sun, with all their wondrous glory, no less than those of the others; nor do they appear to make due application of the aids furnished through these to men, such as the day that rises clear for man's work,

and the night that overshadows earth for man's rest. "For man," it is said, "goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour, until the evening."[1] Neither do they consider that other revolution, by which the sun makes out for us determinate times, and convenient seasons, and regular successions, directed by those atoms of which it consists. But even though men like these—and miserable men they are, however they may believe themselves to be righteous—may choose not to admit it, there is a mighty Lord that made the sun, and gave it the impetus for its course by His words. O ye blind ones, do these atoms of yours bring you the winter season and the rains, in order that the earth may yield food for you, and for all creatures living on it? Do they introduce summer-time, too, in order that ye may gather their fruits from the trees for your enjoyment? And why, then, do ye not worship these atoms, and offer sacrifices to them as the guardians of earth's fruits (*ταῖς ἐπικάρποις*)? Thankless surely are ye, in not setting solemnly apart for them even the most scanty first-fruits of that abundant bounty which ye receive from them.

After a short break he proceeds thus:—Moreover, those stars which form a community so multitudinous and various, which these erratic and ever self-dispersing atoms have constituted, have marked off by a kind of covenant the tracts for their several possessions, portioning these out like colonies and governments, but without the presidency of any founder or house-master; and with pledged fealty and in peace they respect the laws of vicinity with their neighbours, and abstain from passing beyond the boundaries which they received at the outset, just as if they enjoyed the legislative administration of true princes in the atoms. Nevertheless these atoms exercise no rule. For how could these, that are themselves nothing, do that? But listen to the divine oracles: "The works of the Lord are in judgment; from the beginning, and from His making of them, He disposed the parts thereof. He garnished His works for ever, and their principles (*ἀρχάς*) unto their generations."[2]

[1] Ps. civ. 23. [2] Ecclus. xvi. 26, 27.

Again, after a little, he proceeds thus:—Or what phalanx ever traversed the plain in such perfect order, no trooper outmarching the others, or falling out of rank, or obstructing the course, or suffering himself to be distanced by his comrades in the array, as is the case with that steady advance in regular file, as it were, and with close-set shields, which is presented by this serried and unbroken and undisturbed and unobstructed progress of the hosts of the stars? Albeit by side inclinations and flank movements certain of their revolutions become less clear. Yet, however that may be, they assuredly always keep their appointed periods, and again bear onward determinately to the positions from which they have severally risen, as if they made that their deliberate study. Wherefore let these notable anatomizers of atoms (*τῶν ἀτόμων τομεῖς*), these dividers of the indivisible, these compounders of the uncompoundable, these adepts in the apprehension of the infinite, tell us whence comes this circular march and course of the heavenly bodies, in which it is not any single combination of atoms that merely chances all unexpectedly to swing itself round in this way (*οὕτω σφενδονισθέντος*); but it is one vast circular choir that moves thus, ever equally and concordantly, and whirls in these orbits. And whence comes it that this mighty multitude of fellow-travellers, all unmarshalled by any captain, all ungifted with any determination of will, and all unendowed with any knowledge of each other, have nevertheless held their course in perfect harmony? Surely, well has the prophet ranked this matter among things which are impossible and undemonstrable,—namely, that two strangers should walk together. For he says, "Shall two come to the same lodging unless they know each other?"[1]

4. *A refutation of the same on the grounds of the human constitution.*

Further, these men understand neither themselves nor what is proper to themselves. For if any of the leaders in this

[1] This sentence, which is quoted as from the Scriptures, is found nowhere there, at least *verbatim et literatim*.

impious doctrine only considered what manner of person he is himself, and whence he comes, he would surely be led to a wise decision, like one who has obtained understanding of himself, and would say, not to these atoms, but to his Father and Maker, "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me."[1] And he would take up, too, this wonderful account of his formation as it has been given by one of old: "Hast Thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me as cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favour, and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit."[2] For of what quantity and of what origin were the atoms which the father of Epicurus gave forth from himself when he begat Epicurus? And how, when they were received within his mother's womb, did they coalesce, and take form and figure? and how were they put in motion and made to increase? And how did that little seed of generation draw together the many atoms that were to constitute Epicurus, and change some of them into skin and flesh for a covering, and make bone of others for erectness and strength, and form sinews of others for compact contexture? And how did it frame and adapt the many other members and parts —heart and bowels, and organs of sense, some within and some without—by which the body is made a thing of life? For of all these things there is not one either idle or useless: not even the meanest of them—the hair, or the nails, or such like—is so; but all have their service to do, and all their contribution to make, some of them to the soundness of bodily constitution, and others of them to beauty of appearance. For Providence cares not only for the useful, but also for the seasonable and beautiful. Thus the hair is a kind of protection and covering for the whole head, and the beard is a seemly ornament for the philosopher. It was Providence, then, that formed the constitution of the whole body of man, in all its necessary parts, and imposed on all its members their due connection with each other, and measured out for them their liberal supplies from the universal re-

[1] Ps. cxix. 73. [2] Job x. 10–12.

sources. And the most prominent of these show clearly, even to the uninstructed, by the proof of personal experience, the value and service attaching to them: the head, for example, in the position of supremacy, and the senses set like a guard about the brain, as the ruler in the citadel; and the advancing eyes, and the reporting ears; and the taste which, as it were, is the tribute-gatherer (ἐδωδὴ ὥσπερ φορολογοῦσα); and the smell, which tracks and searches out its objects; and the touch, which manipulates all put under it. (For at present we shall only run over in a summary way some few of the works of an all-wise Providence; and after a little we shall, if God grant it, go over them more minutely, when we direct our discourse toward one who has the repute of greater learning.) Then we have the ministry of the hands, by which all kinds of works are wrought, and all skilful professions practised, and which have all their various faculties furnished them, with a view to the discharge of one common function; and we have the shoulders, with their capacity for bearing burdens; and the fingers, with their power of grasping; and the elbows, with their faculty of bending, by which they can turn inwardly upon the body, or take an outward inclination, so as to be able either to draw objects toward the body, or to thrust them away from it. We have also the service of the feet, by which the whole terrestrial creation is made to come under our power, the earth itself is traversed thereby, the sea is made navigable, the rivers are crossed, and intercourse is established for all with all things. The belly, too, is the storehouse of meats, with all its parts arranged in their proper collocations, so that it apportions for itself the right measure of aliment, and ejects what is over and above that. And so is it with all the other things by which manifestly the due administration of the constitution of man is wisely secured.[1] Of all these, the intelligent and the unintelligent alike enjoy

[1] The text is, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δι ὅσων ἐμφανῶς ἡ διοίκησις τῆς ἀνθρωπείου μηχανήμαται διανομῆς. Viger proposes διαμονῆς for διανομῆς, and renders the whole thus: "ac cætera quorum vi humanæ firmitatis et conservationis ratio continetur."

the same use; but they have not the same comprehension of them.[1] For there are some who refer this whole œconomy to a power which they conceive to be a true divinity,[2] and which they apprehend as at once the highest intelligence in all things, and the best benefactor to themselves, believing that this œconomy is all the work of a wisdom and a might which are superior to every other, and in themselves truly divine. And there are others who aimlessly attribute this whole structure of most marvellous beauty to chance and fortuitous coincidence. And in addition to these, there are also certain physicians, who, having made a more effective examination into all these things, and having investigated with utmost accuracy the disposition of the inward parts in especial, have been struck with astonishment at the results of their inquiry, and have been led to deify nature itself. The notions of these men we shall review afterwards, as far as we may be able, though we may only touch the surface of the subject.[3] Meantime, to deal with this matter generally and summarily, let me ask who constructed this whole tabernacle of ours, so lofty, erect, graceful, sensitive, mobile, active, and apt for all things? Was it, as they say, the irrational multitude of atoms? Nay, these, by their conjunctions, could not mould even an image of clay, neither could they hew and polish a

[1] The text is, ὧν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄφροσιν ἔχοντες οἱ σοφοὶ τὴν κρίσιν, οὐκ ἴσχουσι τὴν γνῶσιν. We adopt Viger's suggestion, and read χρῆσιν for κρίσιν.

[2] We read, with Viger, θεότητα for ἀθεότητα. The text gives οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰηθῶσιν ἀθεότητα, etc., which might possibly mean something like this: There are some who refer the whole œconomy to a power which these (others) may deem to be no divinity, (but which is) the highest intelligence in all things, and the best benefactor, etc. Or the sense might be = There are some who refer this most intelligent and beneficent œconomy to a power which they deem to be no divinity, though they believe the same œconomy to be the work of a wisdom, etc.

[3] The text is, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὕστερον ὡς ἂν οἷοί τε γενώμεθα, κἂν ἐπιπολῆς, ἀναθεωρήσομεν. Viger renders it thus: "Nos eam postea, jejune fortassis et exiliter, ut pro facultate nostra, prosequemur." He proposes, however, to read ἐπὶ πολλοῖς (*sc.* ῥήμασι or λόγοις) for ἐπιπολῆς.

statue of stone; nor could they cast and finish an idol of silver or gold; but arts and handicrafts calculated for such operations have been discovered by men who fabricate these objects.[1] And if, even in these, representations and models cannot be made without the aid of wisdom, how can the genuine and original patterns of these copies have come into existence spontaneously? And whence have come the soul, and the intelligence, and the reason, which are born with the philosopher? Has he gathered these from those atoms which are destitute alike of soul, and intelligence, and reason? and has each of these atoms inspired him with some appropriate conception and notion? And are we to suppose that the wisdom of man was made up by these atoms, as the myth of Hesiod tells us that Pandora was fashioned by the gods? Then shall the Greeks have to give up speaking of the various species of poetry, and music, and astronomy, and geometry, and all the other arts and sciences, as the inventions and instructions of the gods, and shall have to allow that these atoms are the only muses with skill and wisdom for all subjects. For this theogony, constructed of atoms by Epicurus, is indeed something extraneous to the infinite worlds of order (*κόσμων*), and finds its refuge in the infinite disorder (*ἀκοσμίαν*).

5. *That to work is not a matter of pain and weariness to God.*

Now to work, and administer, and do good, and exercise care, and such like actions, may perhaps be hard tasks for the idle, and silly, and weak, and wicked; in whose number truly Epicurus reckons himself, when he propounds such notions about the gods. But to the earnest, and powerful, and intelligent, and prudent, such as philosophers ought to be (and how much more so, therefore, the gods!), these things are not only not disagreeable and irksome, but ever the most delightful, and by far the most welcome of all.

[1] The text is, *χειρουργίαι τούτων ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εὕρηνται σωματουργῶν*. Viger proposes *σωματουργοί*, "handicrafts for the construction of such bodies have been discovered by men."

To persons of this character, negligence and procrastination in the doing of what is good are a reproach, as the poet admonishes them in these words of counsel:

"Delay not aught till the morrow."[1]

And then he adds this further sentence of threatening:

"The lazy procrastinator is ever wrestling with miseries."[2]

And the prophet teaches us the same lesson in a more solemn fashion, and declares that deeds done according to the standard of virtue are truly worthy of God (*θεοπρεπῆ*), and that the man who gives no heed to these is accursed: "For cursed be he that doeth the works of the Lord carelessly"[3] (*ἀμελῶς*). Moreover, those who are unversed in any art, and unable to prosecute it perfectly, feel it to be wearisome when they make their first attempts in it, just by reason of the novelty[4] of their experience, and their want of practice in the works. But those, on the other hand, who have made some advance, and much more those who are perfectly trained in the art, accomplish easily and successfully the objects of their labours, and have great pleasure in the work, and would choose rather thus, in the discharge of the pursuits to which they are accustomed, to finish and carry perfectly out what their efforts aim at, than to be made masters of all those things which are reckoned advantageous among men. Yea, Democritus himself, as it is reported, averred that he would prefer the discovery of one true cause to being put in possession of the kingdom of Persia. And that was the declaration of a man who had only a vain and groundless conception of the causes of things, inasmuch as he started with an unfounded principle, and an erroneous hypothesis, and did not discern the real root and the common (law of) necessity in the constitution of natural things, and held as the greatest wisdom the apprehension of things that come about simply in an unintelligent and random way, and

[1] Hesiod's *Works and Days*, v. 408.

[2] Hesiod's *Works and Days*, v. 411.

[3] Jer. xlviii. 10.

[4] The text gives, *διὰ τὸ τῆς πείρας ἀληθές*. We adopt Viger's emendation, *ἀηθές*.

set up chance (*τύχην*) as the mistress and queen of things universal, and even things divine, and endeavoured to demonstrate that all things happen by the determination of the same, although at the same time he kept it outside the sphere of the life of men, and convicted those of senselessness who worshipped it. At any rate, at the very beginning of his *Precepts* (*ὑποθηκῶν*) he speaks thus: "Men have made an image (*εἴδωλον*) of chance, as a cover (*πρόφασιν*) for their own lack of knowledge. For intellect and chance are in their very nature antagonistic to each other.[1] And men have maintained that this greatest adversary to intelligence is its sovereign. Yea, rather, they completely subvert and do away with the one, while they establish the other in its place. For they do not celebrate intelligence as the fortunate (*εὐτυχῆ*), but they laud chance (fortune, *τύχην*) as the most intelligent (*ἐμφρονεστάτην*)." Moreover, those who attend to things conducing to the good of life, take special pleasure in what serves the interests of those of the same race with themselves, and seek the recompense of praise and glory in return for labours undertaken in behalf of the general good; while some exert themselves as purveyors of ways and means (*τρέφοντες*), others as magistrates, others as physicians, others as statesmen; and even philosophers pride themselves greatly in their efforts after the education of men. Will, then, Epicurus or Democritus be bold enough to assert that in the exertion of philosophizing they only cause distress to themselves? Nay, rather they will reckon this a pleasure of mind second to none. For even though they maintain the opinion that the good is pleasure, they will be ashamed to deny that philosophizing is the greater pleasure to them.[2] But as to the gods, of whom the poets among them sing that they are the "bestowers of good gifts,"[3] these

[1] *φύσει γὰρ γνώμη τυχῇ μάχεται.* Viger refers to the parallel in Tullius, *pro Marcello*, sec. 7: "Nunquam temeritas cum sapientia commiscetur, nec ad consilium casus admittitur."

[2] The text gives, *ἡδὺ ὂν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.* Viger suggests *ἥδιον* for *ἡδὺ ὄν.*

[3] *δωτῆρας ἐάων.* See Homer, *Odyssey*, viii. 325 and 335.

philosophers scoffingly celebrate them in strains like these: "The gods are neither the bestowers nor the sharers in any good thing." And in what manner, forsooth, can they demonstrate that there are gods at all, when they neither perceive their presence, nor discern them as the doers of aught, wherein, indeed, they resemble those who, in their admiration and wonder at the sun and the moon and the stars, have held these to have been named *gods* (θεούς), from their *running* (διὰ τὸ θέειν) such courses: when, further, they do not attribute to them any function or power of operation (δημιουργίαν αὐτοῖς ἢ κατασκευήν), so as to hold them gods (θεοποιήσωσιν) from their *constituting* (ἐκ τοῦ θεῖναι), that is, from their *making* objects (ποιῆσαι), for thereby in all truth the one maker and operator of all things must be God: and when, in fine, they do not set forth any administration, or judgment, or beneficence of theirs in relation to men, so that we might be bound either by fear or by reverence to worship them? Has Epicurus then been able, forsooth, to see beyond this world, and to overpass the precincts of heaven? or has he gone forth by some secret gates known to himself alone, and thus obtained sight of the gods in the void?[1] and, deeming them blessed in their full felicity, and then becoming himself a passionate aspirant after such pleasure, and an ardent scholar in that life which they pursue in the void, does he now call upon all to participate in this felicity, and urge them thus to make themselves like the gods, preparing (συγκροτῶν) as their true *symposium* of blessedness neither heaven nor Olympus, as the poets feign, but the sheer void, and setting before them the ambrosia of atoms,[2] and pledging them in (or, giving them to drink) nectar made of the same? However, in matters which have no relation to us, he introduces into his books a myriad oaths and solemn asseverations, swearing constantly both negatively and affirmatively by Jove, and making those whom he meets, and with whom he discusses his doctrines,

[1] The text gives, οὓς ἐν τῷ κενῷ κατεῖδε θεούς. Viger proposes τοὺς for οὓς.

[2] For ἀτόμων Viger suggests ἀτμῶν, "of vapours."

swear also by the gods, not certainly that he fears them himself, or has any dread of perjury, but that he pronounces all this to be vain, and false, and idle, and unintelligible, and uses it simply as a kind of accompaniment to his words, just as he might also clear his throat, or spit, or twist his face, or move his hand. So completely senseless and empty a pretence was this whole matter of the naming of the gods, in his estimation. But this is also a very patent fact, that, being in fear of the Athenians after (the warning of) the death of Socrates, and being desirous of preventing his being taken for what he really was—an atheist—the subtle charlatan invented for them certain empty shadows of unsubstantial gods. But never surely did he look up to heaven with eyes of true intelligence, so as to hear the clear voice from above, which another attentive spectator did hear, and of which he testified when he said, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork."[1] And never surely did he look down upon the world's surface with due reflection; for then would he have learned that "the earth is full of the goodness of the Lord,"[2] and that "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;"[3] and that, as we also read, "After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with His blessings. With all manner of living things hath He covered the face thereof."[4] And if these men are not hopelessly blinded, let them but survey the vast wealth and variety of living creatures, land animals, and winged creatures, and aquatic; and let them understand then that the declaration made by the Lord on the occasion of His judgment of all things[5] is true: "And all things, in accordance with His command, appeared good."[6]

[1] Ps. xix. 1. Ps. xxiii. 5.

[3] Ps. xxiv. 1. [4] Ecclus. xvi. 29, 30.

[5] The text is, ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων χρίσει. Viger suggests κτίσει, "at the creation of all things."

[6] The quotation runs thus: καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν πέφηνε καλά. Eusebius adds the remark here: "These passages have been culled by me out of a very large number composed against Epicurus by Dionysius, a bishop of our own time."

III.—FROM THE BOOKS AGAINST SABELLIUS.

(In Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.* book vii. ch. 19.)

On the notion that matter is ungenerated.[1]

These certainly are not to be deemed pious who hold that matter is ungenerated, while they allow, indeed, that it is brought under the hand of God so far as its arrangement and regulation are concerned; for they do admit that, being naturally passive (παθητήν) and pliable, it yields readily to the alterations impressed upon it by God. It is for them, however, to show us plainly how it can possibly be that the like and the unlike should be predicated as subsisting together in God and matter. For it becomes necessary thus to think of one as a superior to either, and that is a thought which cannot legitimately be entertained with regard to God. For if there is this defect of generation which is said to be the thing *like* in both, and if there is this point of difference which is conceived of besides in the two, whence has this arisen in them? If, indeed, God is the ungenerated, and if this defect of generation is, as we may say, His very essence, then matter cannot be ungenerated; for God and matter are not one and the same. But if each subsists properly and independently—namely, God and matter—and if the defect of generation also belongs to both, then it is evident that there is something different from each, and older and higher than both. But the difference of their contrasted constitutions is completely subversive of the idea that these can subsist on an equality together, and more, that this one of the two—namely, matter—can subsist of itself. For then they will have to furnish an explanation of the fact that, though both are supposed to be ungenerated, God is nevertheless impassible, immutable, imperturbable, energetic;

[1] Eusebius introduces this extract thus: "And I shall adduce the words of those who have most thoroughly examined the dogma before us, and first of all Dionysius indeed, who, in the first book of his *Exercitations against Sabellius*, writes in these terms on the subject in hand."

while matter is the opposite, impressible, mutable, variable, alterable. And now, how can these properties harmoniously co-exist and unite? Is it that God has adapted Himself to the nature of the matter, and thus has skilfully wrought it? But it would be absurd to suppose that God works in gold, as men are wont to do, or hews or polishes stone, or puts His hand to any of the other arts by which different kinds of matter are made capable of receiving form and figure. But if, on the other hand, He has fashioned matter according to His own will, and after the dictates of His own wisdom, impressing upon it the rich and manifold forms produced by His own operation, then is this account of ours one both good and true, and still further one that establishes the position that the ungenerated God is the hypostasis (the life and foundation) of all things in the universe. For with this fact of the defect of generation it conjoins the proper mode of His being. Much, indeed, might be said in confutation of these teachers, but that is not what is before us at present. And if they are put alongside the most impious polytheists (πρὸς τοὺς ἀθεωτάτους πολυθέους), these will seem the more pious in their speech.

IV.—FRAGMENTS OF A SECOND EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, TO DIONYSIUS OF ROME;

OR OF THE TREATISE WHICH WAS INSCRIBED THE "ELENCHUS ET APOLOGIA."

From the First Book.

1. There certainly was not a time when God was not the Father.

And in what follows (says Athanasius) he professes that Christ *is* always, as being the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Power:—

2. Neither, indeed, as though He had not brought forth these things, did God afterwards beget the Son, but because the Son has existence not from Himself, but from the Father.

And after a few words he says of the Son Himself:—

3. Being the brightness of the eternal Light, He Him-

self also is absolutely eternal. For since light is always in existence, it is manifest that its brightness also exists, because light is perceived to exist from the fact that it shines, and it is impossible that light should not shine. And let us once more come to illustrations. If the sun exists, there is also day; if nothing of this be manifest, it is impossible that the sun should be there. If then the sun were eternal, the day would never end; but now (for such is not really the state of the case) the day begins with the beginning of the sun, and ends with its ending. But God is the eternal Light, which has neither had a beginning, nor shall ever fail. Therefore the eternal brightness shines forth before Him, and co-exists with Him, in that, existing without a beginning, and always begotten, He always shines before Him; and He is that Wisdom which says, "I was that wherein He delighted, and I was daily His delight before His face at all times."[1]

And a little after he thus pursues his discourse from the same point:—

4. Since, therefore, the Father is eternal, the Son also is eternal, Light of Light. For where there is the begetter, there is also the offspring. And if there is no offspring, how and of what can He be the begetter? But both are, and always are. Since, then, God is the Light, Christ is the Brightness. And since He is a Spirit—for says He, "God is a Spirit"[2]—fittingly again is Christ called Breath; for "He" [*scil.* Wisdom], saith He, "is the breath of God's power."[3]

And again he says:—

5. Moreover, the Son alone, always co-existing with the Father, and filled with Him who *is*, Himself also *is*, since He is of the Father.

From the same First Book.

6. But when I spoke of things created, and certain works to be considered, I hastily put forward illustrations of such things, as it were little appropriate, when I said neither

[1] Prov. viii. 30. [2] John iv. 24. [3] Wisd. vii. 25.

is the plant the same as the husbandman, nor the boat the same as the boatbuilder.[1] But then I lingered rather upon things suitable and more adapted to the nature of the thing, and I unfolded in many words, by various carefully considered arguments, what things were more true; which things, moreover, I have set forth to you in another letter. And in these things I have also proved the falsehood of the charge which they bring against me—to wit, that I do not maintain that Christ is consubstantial with God. For although I say that I have never either found or read this word in the sacred Scriptures, yet other reasonings, which I immediately subjoined, are in no wise discrepant from this view, because I brought forward as an illustration human offspring, which assuredly is of the same kind as the begetter; and I said that parents are absolutely distinguished from their children by the fact alone that they themselves are not their children, or that it would assuredly be a matter of necessity that there would neither be parents nor children. But, as I said before, I have not the letter in my possession, on account of the present condition of affairs; otherwise I would have sent you the very words that I then wrote, yea, and a copy of the whole letter, and I will send it if at any time I shall have the opportunity. I remember, further, that I added many similitudes from things kindred to one another. For I said that the plant, whether it grows up from seed or from a root, is different from that whence it sprouted, although it is absolutely of the same nature; and similarly, that a river flowing from a spring takes another form and name: for that neither is the spring called the river, nor the river the spring, but that these are two things, and that the spring indeed is, as it were, the father, while the river is the water from the spring. But they feign that they do not see these things and the like to them which are written, as if they were blind; but they endeavour to assail me from a distance with expressions too carelessly used, as if they were stones, not observing that on things of which they are ignorant, and which require interpretation to be understood,

[1] From Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 18.

illustrations that are not only remote, but even contrary, will often throw light.

From the same First Book.

7. It was said above that God is the spring of all good things, but the Son was called the river flowing from Him; because the word is an emanation of the mind, and (to speak after human fashion) is emitted from the heart by the mouth. But the mind which springs forth by the tongue is different from the word which exists in the heart. For this latter, after it has emitted the former, remains and is what it was before; but the mind sent forth flies away, and is carried everywhere around, and thus each is in each although one is from the other, and they are one although they are two. And it is thus that the Father and the Son are said to be one, and to be in one another.

From the Second Book.

8. The individual names uttered by me can neither be separated from one another, nor parted.[1] I spoke of the Father, and before I made mention of the Son I already signified Him in the Father. I added the Son; and the Father, even although I had not previously named Him, had already been absolutely comprehended in the Son. I added the Holy Spirit; but, at the same time, I conveyed under the name whence and by whom He proceeded. But they are ignorant that neither the Father, in that He is *Father*, can be separated from the Son, for that name is the evident ground of coherence and conjunction; nor can the Son be separated from the Father, for this word *Father* indicates association [between them]. And there is, moreover, evident a Spirit who can neither be disjoined from Him who sends, nor from Him who brings Him. How, then, should I who use such names think that these are absolutely divided and separated the one from the other?

After a few words he adds:—

9. Thus, indeed, we expand the indivisible Unity into a

[1] Ex Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 17.

Trinity; and again we contract the Trinity, which cannot be diminished, into a Unity.

From the same Second Book.

10. But if any quibbler, from the fact that I said that God is the Maker and Creator of all things, thinks that I said that He is also Creator of Christ, let him observe that I first called Him Father, in which word the Son also is at the same time expressed.[1] For after I called the Father the Creator, I added, Neither is He the Father of those things whereof He is Creator, if He who begot is properly understood to be a Father (for we will consider the latitude of this word *Father* in what follows). Nor is a maker a father, if it is only a framer who is called a maker. For among the Greeks, they who are wise are said to be makers of their books. The apostle also says, "a doer [*scil.* maker] of the law."[2] Moreover, of matters of the heart, of which kind are virtue and vice, men are called doers [*scil.* makers]; after which manner God said, "I expected that it should make judgment, but it made iniquity."[3]

Athanasius adds, 4. 21, that Dionysius gave various replies to those that blamed him for saying that God is the Maker of Christ, whereby he cleared himself, saying,

11. That neither must this saying be thus blamed; for he says that he used the name of Maker on account of the flesh which the Word had assumed, and which certainly was made. But if any one should suspect that that had been said of the Word, even this also was to be heard without contentiousness. For as I do not think that the Word was a thing made, so I do not say that God was its Maker, but its Father. Yet still, if at any time, discoursing of the Son, I may have casually said that God was His Maker, even this mode of speaking would not be without defence. For the

[1] Ex Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 20.

[2] Rom. ii. 13; Jas. iv. 12. The Greek word ποιητής meaning either *maker* or *doer*, causes the ambiguity here and below.

[3] Isa. v. 7.

wise men among the Greeks call themselves the makers of their books, although the same are fathers of their books. Moreover, divine Scripture calls us makers of those motions which proceed from the heart, when it calls us doers of the law of judgment and of justice.

From the same Second Book.

12. *In the beginning was the Word.*[1] But that was not the Word which produced the Word.[2] For "the Word was with God."[3] The Lord is Wisdom; it was not therefore Wisdom that produced Wisdom; for "I was that," says He, "wherein He delighted."[4] Christ is truth; but "blessed," says He, "is the God of truth."

From the Third Book.

13. Life is begotten of life in the same way as the river has flowed forth from the spring, and the brilliant light is ignited from the inextinguishable light.[5]

From the Fourth Book.

14. Even as our mind emits from itself a word,[6]—as says the prophet, "My heart hath uttered forth a good word,"[7]—and each of the two is distinct the one from the other, and maintaining a peculiar place, and one that is distinguished from the other; since the former indeed abides and is stirred in the heart, while the latter has its place in the tongue and in the mouth. And yet they are not apart from one another, nor deprived of one another; neither is the mind without the word, nor is the word without the mind; but the mind makes the word and appears in the word, and the word exhibits the mind wherein it was made. And the mind indeed is, as it were, the word immanent, while the word is the mind breaking forth [*emanant*]. The mind passes into the word, and the word transmits the mind to the surrounding hearers; and thus the

[1] John i. 1. [2] Ex Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 25.
[3] John i. 1. [4] Prov. viii. 30.
[5] Ex Athan. *Ep. de decret. Nic. Syn.* 4. 18.
[6] Ex Athan. *ibid.* 4. 25. [7] Ps. xlv. 1.

mind by means of the word takes its place in the souls of the hearers, entering in at the same time as the word. And indeed the mind is, as it were, the father of the word, existing in itself; but the word is as the son of the mind, and cannot be made before it nor without it, but exists with it, whence it has taken its seed and origin. In the same manner, also, the Almighty Father and Universal Mind has before all things the Son, the Word, and the discourse,[1] as the interpreter and messenger of Himself.

About the middle of the treatise.

15. If, from the fact that there are three hypostases, they say that they are divided, there are three whether they like it or no, or else let them get rid of the divine Trinity altogether.[2]

And again:

For on this account after the Unity there is also the most divine Trinity.[3]

The conclusion of the entire treatise.

16. In accordance with all these things, the form, moreover, and rule being received from the elders who have lived before us, we also, with a voice in accordance with them, will both acquit ourselves of thanks to you, and of the letter which we are now writing. And to God the Father, and His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Spirit, be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

Of the work itself Athanasius thus speaks:

17. Finally, (Dionysius) complains that his accusers do not quote his opinions in their integrity, but mutilated, and that they do not speak out of a good conscience, but for evil inclination; and he says that they are like those who cavilled at the epistles of the blessed apostle. Certainly he meets the individual words of his accusers, and gives a solution to all their arguments; and as in those earlier writings of his

[1] Sermonem. [2] Ex Basilio, *lib. de Spir. Sancto*, ch. 29.
[3] *Ibid. cap. penult.* p. 61.

he confuted Sabellius most evidently, so in these later ones he entirely declares his own pious faith.

THE EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, TO BISHOP BASILIDES.

CONTAINING EXPLANATIONS WHICH WERE GIVEN AS ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PROPOSED BY THAT BISHOP ON VARIOUS TOPICS, AND WHICH HAVE BEEN RECEIVED AS CANONS.

CANON I.

Dionysius to Basilides, my beloved son, and my brother, a fellow-minister with me in holy things, and an obedient servant of God, in the Lord greeting.[1]

You have sent to me, most faithful and accomplished son, in order to inquire what is the proper hour for bringing the fast to a close[2] on the day of Pentecost.[3] For you say that

[1] There is a Scholium in the Codex Amerbachianus which may be given here:—It should be known that this sainted Dionysius became a hearer of Origen in the fourth year of the reign of Philip, who succeeded Gordian in the empire. On the death of Heraclas, the thirteenth bishop of the church of Alexandria, he was put in possession of the headship of that church; and after a period of seventeen years, embracing the last three years of the reign of Philip, and the one year of that of Decius, and the one year of Gallus and Volusianus the son of Decius, and twelve years of the reigns of Valerian and his son Gallus (Gallienus), he departed to the Lord. And Basilides was bishop of the parishes in the Pentapolis of Libya, as Eusebius informs us in the sixth and seventh books of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

[2] ἀπονηστίζεσθαι δεῖ. Gentianus Hervetus renders this by *jejunandus sit dies Paschæ;* and thus he translates the word by *jejunare*, "to fast," wherever it occurs, whereas it rather means always, *jejunium solvere*, "to have done fasting." In this sense the word is used in the *Apostolic Constitutions* repeatedly: see Book v. ch. 12, 18, etc. It occurs in the same sense in the 89th Canon of the Concilium Trullanum. The usage must evidently be the same here: so that it does not mean, What is the proper hour for fasting on the day of Pentecost? but, What is the hour at which the ante-paschal fast ought to be terminated—whether on the evening preceding the paschal festival itself, or at cockcrowing, or at another time?—GALL. See also the very full article in Suicer, *s.v.*

[3] I give the beginning of this epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria also

there are some of the brethren who hold that that should be done at cockcrow, and others who hold that it should be at nightfall (*ἀφ' ἑσπέρας*). For the brethren in Rome, as they say, wait for the cock; whereas, regarding those here, you told us that they would have it earlier. And it is your anxious desire, accordingly, to have the hour presented accurately, and determined with perfect exactness (*πάνυ μεμετρημένην*), which indeed is a matter of difficulty and uncertainty. However, it will be acknowledged cordially by all, that from the date of the resurrection of our Lord, those who up to that time have been humbling their souls with fastings, ought at once to begin their festal joy and gladness. But in what you have written to me you have made out very clearly, and with an intelligent understanding of the Holy Scriptures, that no very exact account seems to be offered in them of the hour at which He rose. For the evangelists have given different descriptions of the parties who came to the sepulchre one after another (*κατὰ καιροὺς ἐνηλλαγμένους*), and all have declared that they found the Lord risen already. It was "in the end of the Sabbath," as Matthew has said;[1] it was "early, when it was yet dark," as John writes;[2] it was "very early in the morning," as Luke puts it; and it was "very early in the morning, at the rising of the sun," as Mark tells us. Thus no one has shown us clearly the exact time when He rose. It is admitted, however, that those who came to the sepulchre in the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week (*τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ μιᾷ Σαββάτων*), found Him no longer lying in it. And let us not suppose that the evangelists disagree or contradict each other. But even although there may seem to be some small difficulty as to the subject of our inquiry,

as it is found in not a few manuscripts, viz. *ἐπίστειλάς μοι . . . τῇ τοῦ πάσχα περιλύσει*,—the common reading being, *τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν*. And the *περίλυσις τοῦ πάσχα* denotes the close of the paschal fast, as Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 23) uses the phrase *τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις*,—the verbs *περιλύειν*, *ἀπολύειν*, *ἐπιλύειν*, *καταλύειν*, being often used in this sense.—COTELERIUS on the *Apostolic Constitutions*, v. 15.

[1] Matt. xxviii. 1. [2] John xx. 1.

if they all agree that the light of the world, our Lord, rose on that one night, while they differ with respect to the hour, we may well seek with wise and faithful mind to harmonize their statements. The narrative by Matthew, then, runs thus: "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week (*τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν Σαββάτων*), came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone, and sat upon it. And his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for He is risen, as He said."[1] Now this phrase "in the end" will be thought by some to signify, according to the common use (*κοινότητα*) of the word, the *evening* of the Sabbath; while others, with a better perception of the fact, will say that it does not indicate that, but *a late hour in the night* (*νύκτα βαθείαν*), as the phrase "in the end" (*ὀψέ*, late) denotes slowness and length of time. Also because he speaks of *night*, and not of *evening*, he has added the words, "as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week." And the parties here did not come yet, as the others say, "bearing spices," but "to see the sepulchre;" and they discovered the occurrence of the earthquake, and the angel sitting upon the stone, and heard from him the declaration, "He is not here, He is risen." And to the same effect is the testimony of John. "The first day of the week," says he, "came Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre."[2] Only, according to this "when it was yet dark," she had come in advance (*παρὰ τοῦτο . . . προεληλύθει*). And Luke says: "They rested the Sabbath-day, according to the commandment. Now, upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had

[1] Matt. xxviii. 1–6. [2] John xx. 1.

prepared; and they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre."[1] This phrase "very early in the morning" (*ὄρθρου βαθέος*) probably indicates the early dawn (*προϋποφαινομένην αὐτὴν ἑωθινὴν ἐμφανίζει*) of the first day of the week; and thus, when the Sabbath itself was wholly past, and also the whole night succeeding it, and when another day had begun, they came, bringing spices and myrrh, and then it became apparent that He had already risen long before. And Mark follows this, and says: "They had bought sweet spices, in order that they might come and anoint Him. And very early (in the morning), the first day of the week, they come unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun."[2] For this evangelist also has used the term "very early," which is just the same as the "very early in the morning" employed by the former; and he has added, "at the rising of the sun." Thus they set out, and took their way first when it was "very early in the morning," or (as Mark says) when it was "very early;" but on the road, and by their stay at the sepulchre, they spent the time till it was sunrise. And then the young man clad in white said to them, "He is risen, He is not here." As the case stands thus, we make the following statement and explanation to those who seek an exact account of the specific hour, or half-hour, or quarter of an hour, at which it is proper to begin their rejoicing over our Lord's rising from the dead. Those who are too hasty, and give up even before midnight (*πρὸ νυκτὸς ἔγγυς ἤδη μεσούσης ἀνιέντας*), we reprehend as remiss and intemperate, and as almost breaking off from their course in their precipitation (*ὡς παρ' ὀλίγον προκαταλύοντας τὸν δρόμον*), for it is a wise man's word, "That is not little in life which is within a little." And those who hold out and continue for a very long time, and persevere even on to the fourth watch, which is also the time at which our Saviour manifested Himself walking upon the sea to those who were then on the deep, we receive as noble and laborious disciples. On those, again, who pause and refresh themselves in the course as they are moved or as they are able, let us not press very hard: for all do not carry

[1] Luke xxiii. 56, xxiv. 1, 2. [2] Mark xvi. 1, 2.

out the six days of fasting[1] either equally or alike; but some pass even all the days as a fast, remaining without food through the whole; while others take but two, and others three, and others four, and others not even one. And to those who have laboured painfully through these protracted fasts, and have thereafter become exhausted and well-nigh undone, pardon ought to be extended if they are somewhat precipitate in taking food. But if there are any who not only decline such protracted fasting, but refuse at the first to fast at all, and rather indulge themselves luxuriously during the first four days, and then when they reach the last two days—viz. the preparation and the Sabbath—fast with due rigour during these, and these alone, and think that they do something grand and brilliant if they hold out till the morning, I cannot think that they have gone through the time on equal terms with those who have been practising the same during several days before. This is the counsel which, in accordance with my apprehension of the question, I have offered you in writing on these matters.[2]

Canon II.

The question touching women in the time of their separation, whether it is proper for them when in such a condition to enter the house of God, I consider a superfluous inquiry. For I do not think that, if they are believing and pious women, they will themselves be rash enough in such a condition either to approach the holy table or to touch the body and blood of the Lord. Certainly the woman who had the issue of blood of twelve years' standing did not touch (the Lord) Himself, but only the hem of His garment, with a view to her cure.[3] For to pray, however a person may be situated and to remember the Lord, in whatever condition a person may be, and to offer up petitions for the obtaining of help

[1] That is, as Balsamon explains, the six days of the week of our Lord's passion.

[2] To these canons are appended the comments of Balsamon and Zonaras, which it is not necessary to give here.

[3] Matt. ix. 20; Luke viii. 43.

are exercises altogether blameless. But the individual who is not perfectly pure both in soul and in body, shall be interdicted from approaching the holy of holies.

Canon III.

Moreover, those who are competent, and who are advanced in years, ought to be judges of themselves in these matters. For that it is proper to abstain from each other by consent, in order that they may be free for a season to give themselves to prayer, and then come together again, they have heard from Paul in his epistle.[1]

Canon IV.

As to those who are overtaken by an involuntary flux in the night-time, let such follow the testimony of their own conscience, and consider themselves as to whether they are doubtfully minded (*διακρίνονται*) in this matter or not. And he that doubteth in the matter of meats, the apostle tells us, "is damned if he eat."[2] In these things, therefore, let every one who approaches God be of a good conscience, and of a proper confidence, so far as his own judgment is concerned. And, indeed, it is in order to show your regard for us (for you are not ignorant, beloved,) that you have proposed these questions to us, making us of one mind, as indeed we are, and of one spirit with yourself. And I, for my part, have thus set forth my opinions in public, not as a teacher, but only as it becomes us with all simplicity to confer with each other. And when you have examined this opinion of mine, my most intelligent son, you will write back to me your notion of these matters, and let me know whatever may seem to you to be just and preferable, and whether you approve of my judgment in these things. That it may fare well with you, my beloved son, as you minister to the Lord in peace, is my prayer.

[1] Referring to the relations of marriage, dealt with in 1 Cor. vii. 5, etc.

[2] Rom. xiv. 23.

PART II.

CONTAINING EPISTLES, OR FRAGMENTS OF EPISTLES.

EPISTLE I.—TO DOMITIUS AND DIDYMUS.

(Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vii. 11.)

1. But it would be a superfluous task for me to mention by name our (martyr) friends, who are numerous and at the same time unknown to you. Only understand that they include men and women, both young men and old, both maidens and aged matrons, both soldiers and private citizens, —every class and every age, of whom some have suffered by stripes and fire, and some by the sword, and have won the victory and received their crowns. In the case of others, however, even a very long lifetime has not proved sufficient to secure their appearance as men acceptable to the Lord; as indeed in my own case too, that sufficient time has not shown itself up to the present. Wherefore He has preserved me for another convenient season, of which He knows Himself, as He says: "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee."[1]

2. Since, however, you have been inquiring[2] about what has befallen us, and wish to be informed as to how we have fared, you have got a full report of our fortunes; how when we—that is to say, Gaius, and myself, and Faustus, and Peter, and Paul—were led off as prisoners by the centurion and the magistrates,[3] and the soldiers and other attendants

[1] Isa. xlix. 8.

[2] Reading ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεσθε, for which some codices give ἐπεὶ πυνθάνεσθαι.

[3] στρατηγῶν. Christophorsonus would read στρατηγοῦ, in the sense of *commander*. But the word is used here of the *duumviri*, or magistrates of Alexandria. And that the word στρατηγός was used in this *civil* acceptation, as well as in the common *military* application, we see by many examples in Athanasius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others. Thus, as Valesius remarks, the *soldiers* (στρατιωτῶν) here will be the band with the centurion, and the attendants (ὑπηρετῶν) will be the civil followers of the magistrates.

accompanying them, there came upon us certain parties from Mareotis, who dragged us with them against our will, and though we were disinclined to follow them, and carried us away by force ;[1] and how Gaius and Peter and myself have been separated from our other brethren, and shut up alone in a desert and sterile place in Libya, at a distance of three days' journey from Parætonium.

3. *And a little further on, he proceeds thus:*—And they concealed themselves in the city, and secretly visited the brethren. I refer to the presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For Faustinus and Aquila, who are persons of greater prominence in the world, are wandering about in Egypt. I specify also the deacons who survived those who died in the sickness,[2] viz., Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon. And of Eusebius I speak as one whom the Lord strengthened from the beginning, and qualified for the task

[1] This happened in the first persecution under Decius, when Dionysius was carried off by the decision of the prefect Sabinus to Taposiris, as he informs us in his epistle to Germanus. Certainly any one who compares that epistle of Dionysius to Germanus with this one to Domitius, will have no doubt that he speaks of one and the same event in both. Hence Eusebius is in error in thinking that in this epistle of Dionysius to Domitius we have a narrative of the events relating to the persecution of Valerian,—a position which may easily be refuted from Dionysius himself. For in the persecution under Valerian, Dionysius was not carried off into exile under military custody, nor were there any men from Mareotis, who came and drove off the soldiers, and bore him away unwillingly, and set him at liberty again; nor had Dionysius on that occasion the presbyters Gaius and Faustus, and Peter and Paul, with him. All these things happened to Dionysius in that persecution which began a little before Decius obtained the empire, as he testifies himself in his epistle to Germanus. But in the persecution under Valerian, Dionysius was accompanied in exile by the presbyter Maximus, and the deacons Faustus, and Eusebius, and Chæremon, and a certain Roman cleric, as he tells us in the epistle to Germanus.—VALESIUS.

[2] ἐν τῇ νόσῳ. Rufinus reads νήσῳ, and renders it, "But of the deacons, some died in the island after the pains of confession." But Dionysius refers to the pestilence which traversed the whole Roman world in the times of Gallus and Volusianus, as Eusebius in his *Chronicon* and others record. See Aurelius Victor. Dionysius makes mention of this sickness again in the paschal epistle to the Alexandrians, where he also speaks of the deacons who were cut off by that plague.—VALES.

of discharging energetically the services due to the confessors who were in prison, and of executing the perilous office of dressing out and burying[1] the bodies of those perfected and blessed martyrs. For even up to the present day the governor does not cease to put to death, in a cruel manner, as I have already said, some of those who are brought before him; while he wears others out by torture, and wastes others away with imprisonment and bonds, commanding also that no one shall approach them, and making strict scrutiny lest any one should be seen to do so. And nevertheless God imparts relief to the oppressed by the tender kindness and earnestness of the brethren.

EPISTLE II.—TO NOVATUS.

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 45.)

Dionysius to Novatus[2] his brother, greeting.

If you were carried on against your will, as you say, you will show that such has been the case by your voluntary retirement. For it would have been but dutiful to have suffered any kind of ill, so as to avoid rending the church of God. And a martyrdom borne for the sake of preventing a divi-

[1] περιστολὰς ἐκτελεῖν. Christophorsonus renders it: "to prepare the linen cloths in which the bodies of the blessed martyrs who departed this life might be wrapped." In this Valesius thinks he errs by looking at the modern method of burial, whereas among the ancient Christians the custom was somewhat different, the bodies being dressed out in full attire, and that often at great cost, as Eusebius shows us in the case of Astyrius, in the *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 16. Yet Athanasius, in his *Life of Antonius*, has this sentence: "The Egyptians are accustomed to attend piously to the funerals of the bodies of the dead, and especially those of the holy martyrs, and to wrap them in linen cloths: they are not wont, however, to consign them to the earth, but to place them on couches, and keep them in private apartments."

[2] Jerome, in his *Catalogus*, where he adduces the beginning of this epistle, gives Novatianus for Novatus. So in the *Chronicon* of Georgius Syncellus we have Διονύσιος Ναυατιανῷ. Rufinus' account appears to be that there were two such epistles,—one to Novatus, and another to Novatianus. The confounding of these two forms seems, however, to have been frequent among the Greeks.

sion of the church, would not have been more inglorious than one endured for refusing to worship idols;[1] nay, in my opinion at least, the former would have been a nobler thing than the latter. For in the one case a person gives such a testimony simply for his own individual soul, whereas in the other case he is a witness for the whole church. And now, if you can persuade or constrain the brethren to come to be of one mind again, your uprightness will be (held to be) superior to your error; and the latter will not be charged against you, while the former will be commended in you. But if you cannot prevail so far with your recusant brethren, see to it that you save your own soul. My wish is, that in the Lord you may fare well as you study peace.

EPISTLE III.—TO FABIUS[2] BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 41, 42, 44.[3])

1. The persecution with us did not commence with the imperial edict, but preceded it by a whole year. And a certain prophet and poet, an enemy to this city,[4] whatever else he was, had previously roused and exasperated against us the masses of the heathen, inflaming them anew with the fires of their native superstition. Excited by him, and finding full liberty for the perpetration of wickedness, they reckoned

[1] We read, with Gallandi, *καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρεῦσαι (sic) γινομένης, ἡ ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία.* This is substantially the reading of three Venetian codices, as also of Sophronius on Jerome's *De vir. illustr.* ch. 69, and Georgius Syncellus in the *Chronogr.* p. 374, and Nicephorus Callist. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 4. Pearson, in the *Annales Cyprian.* Num. x. p. 31, proposes *θῦσαι* for *σχίσαι*. Rufinus renders it: "et erat non inferior gloria sustinere martyrium ne scindatur ecclesia quam est illa ne idolis immoletur."

[2] Certain codices read Fabianus, and that form is adopted also by Rufinus.

[3] Eusebius introduces this epistle thus: "The same author, in an epistle written to Fabius bishop of Antioch, gives the following account of the conflicts of those who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria."

[4] *καὶ φθάσας ὁ κακῶν*, etc. Pearson, *Annales Cyprian. ad ann.* 249, § 1, renders it rather thus: "et prævertens malorum huic urbi vates et auctor, quisquis ille fuit, commovit," etc.

this the only piety (and) service to their demons,[1] namely, our slaughter.

2. First, then, they seized an old man of the name of Metras, and commanded him to utter words of impiety; and as he refused, they beat his body with clubs, and lacerated his face and eyes with sharp reeds, and then dragged him off to the suburbs and stoned him there. Next they carried off a woman named Quinta, who was a believer, to an idol temple, and compelled her to worship the idol; and when she turned away from it, and showed how she detested it, they bound her feet and dragged her through the whole city along the rough stone-paved streets, knocking her at the same time against the millstones, and scourging her, until they brought her to the same place, and stoned her also there. Then with one impulse they all rushed upon the houses of the God-fearing, and whatever pious persons any of them knew individually as neighbours, after these they hurried and bore them with them, and robbed and plundered them, setting aside the more valuable portions of their property for themselves, and scattering about the commoner articles, and such as were made of wood, and burning them on the roads, so that they made these parts present the spectacle of a city taken by the enemy. The brethren, however, simply gave way and withdrew, and, like those to whom Paul bears witness,[2] they took the spoiling of their goods with joy. And I know not that any of them—except possibly some solitary individual who may have chanced to fall into their hands—thus far has denied the Lord.

3. But they also seized that most admirable virgin Apollonia, then in advanced life, and knocked out all her teeth, and cut her jaws; and then kindling a fire before the city, they threatened to burn her alive unless she would repeat along with them their expressions of impiety.[3] And although

[1] εὐσέβειαν τὴν θρησκείαν δαιμόνων. Valesius thinks the last three words in the text (= service to their demons) an interpolation by some scholiast.

[2] Heb. x. 30.

[3] τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας κηρύγματα. What these precisely were, it is not

she seemed to deprecate (or, shrink from) her fate for a little, on being let go, she leaped eagerly into the fire and was consumed. They also laid hold of a certain Serapion in his own house;[1] and after torturing him with severe cruelties, and breaking all his limbs, they dashed him headlong from an upper storey to the ground. And there was no road, no thoroughfare, no lane even, where we could walk, whether by night or by day; for at all times and in every place they all kept crying out, that if any one should refuse to repeat their blasphemous expressions, he must be at once dragged off and burnt. These inflictions were carried rigorously on for a considerable time (ἐπιπολύ) in this manner. But when the insurrection and the civil war in due time overtook these wretched people,[2] that diverted their savage cruelty from us, and turned it against themselves. And we enjoyed a little breathing time, as long as leisure failed them for exercising their fury against us.[3]

4. But speedily was the change from that more kindly reign[4] announced to us; and great was the terror of threatening that was now made to reach us. Already, indeed, the

easy to say. Dionysius speaks of them also as δύσφημα ῥήματα in this epistle, and as ἄθεοι φωναί in that to Germanus. Gallandi thinks the reference is to the practice, of which we read also in the Acts of Polycarp, ch. 9, where the proconsul addresses the martyr with the order: λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν—Revile Christ. And that the test usually put to reputed Christians by the early persecutors was this cursing of Christ, we learn from Pliny, book x. epist. 97.

[1] ἐφίστιον, for which Nicephorus reads badly, Ἐφέσιον.

[2] ἀθλίους. But Pearson suggests ἄθλους, = "when insurrection and civil war took the place of these persecutions." This would agree better with the common usage of διαδέχομαι.

[3] ἀσχολίαν τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς θυμοῦ λαβόντων. The Latin version gives, "dum illorum cessaret furor." W. Lowth renders, "dum non vacaret ipsis furorem suum in nos exercere."

[4] This refers to the death of the Emperor Philip, who showed a very righteous and kindly disposition toward the Christians. Accordingly the matters here recounted by Dionysius took place in the last year of the Emperor Philip. This is also indicated by Dionysius in the beginning of this epistle, where he says that the persecution began at Alexandria a whole year before the edict of the Emperor Decius. But Christophorsonus, not observing this, interprets the μεταβολὴν τῆς βασι-

edict had arrived; and it was of such a tenor as almost perfectly to correspond with what was intimated to us beforetime by our Lord, setting before us the most dreadful horrors, so as, if that were possible, to cause the very elect to stumble.[1] All verily were greatly alarmed, and of the more notable there were some, and these a large number, who speedily accommodated themselves to the decree in fear (*ἀπήντων δεδιότες*); others, who were engaged in the public service, were drawn into compliance by the very necessities of their official duties;[2] others were dragged on to it by their friends, and on being called by name approached the impure and unholy sacrifices; others yielded pale and trembling, as if they were not to offer sacrifice, but to be themselves the sacrifices and victims for the idols, so that they were jeered by the large multitude surrounding the scene, and made it plain to all that they were too cowardly either to face death or to offer the sacrifices. But there were others who hurried up to the altars

λείας as signifying a change in *the emperor's mind* toward the Christians, in which error he is followed by Baronius, ch. 102.—VALES.

[1] In this sentence the Codex Regius reads, *τὸ προῤῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν παραβραχὺ τὸ φοβερώτατον*, etc. = "the one intimated beforetime by our Lord, *very nearly* the most terrible one." In Georgius Syncellus it is given as *ἢ παρὰ βραχύ*. But the reading in the text, *ἀποφαῖνον*, "setting forth," is found in the Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savilii; and it seems the best, the idea being that this edict of Decius was so terrible as in a certain measure to represent the most fearful of all times, viz. those of Antichrist.—VALES.

[2] *οἱ δὲ δημοσιεύοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἤγοντο.* This is rendered by Christophorsonus, "alii ex privatis ædibus in publicum raptati ad delubra ducuntur a magistratibus." But *δημοσιεύοντες* is the same as *τὰ δημόσια πράττοντες*, *i.e.* decurions and magistrates. For when the edict of Decius was conveyed to them, commanding all to sacrifice to the immortal gods, these officials had to convene themselves in the court-house as usual, and stand and listen while the decree was being publicly recited. Thus they were in a position officially which led them to be the first to sacrifice. The word *πράξεις* occurs often in the sense of the acts and administration of magistrates: thus, in Eusebius, viii. 11; in Aristides, in the funeral oration on Alexander, *τὰ δ' εἰς πράξεις τε καὶ πολιτείας*, etc. There are similar passages also in Plutarch's *Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα*, and in Severianus's sixth oration on the Hexameron. So Chrysostom, in his eighty-third homily on Matthew, calls the decu-

with greater alacrity, stoutly asserting[1] that they had never been Christians at all before; of whom our Lord's prophetic declaration holds most true, that it will be hard for such to be saved. Of the rest, some followed one or other of these parties (already mentioned); and some fled, and some were seized. And of these, some went as far (in keeping their faith) as bonds and imprisonment; and certain persons among them endured imprisonment even for several days, and then after all abjured the faith before coming into the court of justice; while others, after holding out against the torture for a time, sank before the prospect of further sufferings.[2]

5. But there were also others, stedfast and blessed pillars of the Lord, who, receiving strength from Himself, and obtaining power and vigour worthy of and commensurate with the force of the faith that was in themselves, have proved admirable witnesses for His kingdom. And of these the first was Julianus, a man suffering from gout, and able neither to stand nor to walk, who was arraigned along with two other men who carried him. Of these two persons, the one immediately denied (Christ); but the other, a person named Cronion, and surnamed Eunus, and together with him the aged Julianus himself, confessed the Lord, and were carried on camels through the whole city, which is, as you know, a very large one, and were scourged in that elevated position, and finally were consumed in a tremendous fire, while the whole populace surrounded them. And a certain soldier who stood by them when they were led away to execution, and who opposed the wanton insolence of the people, was pursued by the outcries they raised against him; and this most courageous soldier of God, Besas by name, was arraigned;

rions τοὺς τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττοντας.' The word δημοσιεύοντες, however, may also be explained of those employed in the departments of law or finance; so that the clause might be rendered, with Valesius: "alii, qui in publico versabantur, rebus ipsis et reliquorum exemplo, ad sacrificandum ducebantur." See the note in Migne.

[1] *ἰσχυριζόμενοι* here for *διϊσχυριζόμενοι*.—VALES.

[2] *πρὸς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀπεῖπον*. It may also mean, "renounced the faith in the prospect of what was before them."

and after bearing himself most nobly in that mighty conflict on behalf of piety, he was beheaded. And another individual, who was by birth a Libyan, and who at once in name and in real blessedness was also a true Macar (a blessed one[1]), although much was tried by the judge to persuade him to make a denial, did not yield, and was consequently burned alive. And these were succeeded by Epimachus and Alexander, who, after a long time[2] spent in chains, and after suffering countless agonies and inflictions of the scraper (ξυστῆρας) and the scourge, were also burnt to ashes in an immense fire.

6. And along with these there were four women. Among them was Ammonarium, a pious virgin, who was tortured for a very long time by the judge in a most relentless manner, because she declared plainly from the first that she would utter none of the things which he commanded her to repeat; and after she had made good her profession she was led off to execution. The others were the most venerable and aged Mercuria, and Dionysia, who had been the mother of many children, and yet did not love her offspring better than her Lord.[3] These, when the governor was ashamed to subject them any further to profitless torments, and thus to see himself beaten by women, died by the sword, without more experience of tortures. For truly their champion Ammonarium had received tortures for them all.

7. Heron also, and Ater,[4] and Isidorus,[5] who were Egyp-

[1] Alluding to Matt. v. 10, 12.

[2] μετὰ πολύν. But Codices Med., Maz., Fuk., and Savilii, as well as Georgius Syncellus, read μετ' οὐ πολύν, "after a short time."

[3] Here Valesius adds from Rufinus the words καὶ Ἀμμωνάριον ἑτέρα, "and a second Ammonarium," as there are four women mentioned.

[4] In Georgius Syncellus and Nicephorus it is given as *Aster*. Rufinus makes the name Arsinus. And in the old Roman martyrology, taken largely from Rufinus, we find the form Arsenius.—VALES.

[5] In his *Bibliotheca*, cod. cxix., Photius states that Isidorus was full brother to Pierius, the celebrated head of the Alexandrian school, and his colleague in martyrdom. He also intimates, however, that although some have reported that Pierius ended his career by martyrdom, others say that he spent the closing period of his life in Rome after the persecution abated.—RUINART.

tians, and along with them Dioscorus, a boy of about fifteen years of age, were delivered up. And though at first he (the judge) tried to deceive the youth with fair speeches, thinking he could easily seduce him, and then attempted also to compel him by force of tortures, fancying he might be made to yield without much difficulty in that way, Dioscorus neither submitted to his persuasions nor gave way to his terrors. And the rest, after their bodies had been lacerated in a most savage manner, and their stedfastness had nevertheless been maintained, he consigned also to the flames. But Dioscorus he dismissed, wondering at the distinguished appearance he had made in public, and at the extreme wisdom of the answers he gave to his interrogations, and declaring that, on account of his age, he granted him further time for repentance. And this most godly Dioscorus is with us at present, tarrying for a greater conflict and a more lengthened contest. A certain person of the name of Nemesion, too, who was also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of being a companion of robbers; and after he had cleared himself of this charge before the centurion, and proved it to be a most unnatural calumny, he was informed against as a Christian, and had to come as a prisoner before the governor. And that most unrighteous magistrate inflicted on him a punishment twice as severe as that to which the robbers were subjected, making him suffer both tortures and scourgings, and then consigning him to the fire between the robbers. Thus the blessed martyr was honoured after the pattern of Christ.

8. There was also a body of soldiers,[1] including Ammon, and Zeno, and Ptolemy, and Ingenuus, and along with them an old man, Theophilus, who had taken up their position in a mass in front of the tribunal; and when a certain person

[1] *σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν.* Rufinus and Christophorsonus make it *turmam militum.* Valesius prefers *manipulum* or *contubernium.* These may have been the apparitors or officers of the *præfectus Augustalis.* Valesius thinks rather that they were legionaries, from the legion which had to guard the city of Alexandria, and which was under the authority of the *præfectus Augustalis.* For at that time the *præfectus Augustalis* had charge of military affairs as well as civil.

was standing his trial as a Christian, and was already inclining to make a denial, these stood round about and ground their teeth, and made signs with their faces, and stretched out their hands, and made all manner of gestures with their bodies. And while the attention of all was directed to them, before any could lay hold of them, they ran quickly up to the bench of judgment[1] and declared themselves to be Christians, and made such an impression that the governor and his associates were filled with fear; and those who were under trial seemed to be most courageous in the prospect of what they were to suffer, while the judges themselves trembled. These, then, went with a high spirit from the tribunals, and exulted in their testimony, God Himself causing them to triumph gloriously.[2]

9. Moreover, others in large numbers were torn asunder by the heathen throughout the cities and villages. Of one of these I shall give some account, as an example. Ischyrion served one of the rulers in the capacity of steward for stated wages. His employer ordered this man to offer sacrifice; and on his refusal to do so, he abused him. When he persisted in his non-compliance, his master treated him with contumely; and when he still held out, he took a huge stick and thrust it through his bowels and heart, and slew him. Why should I mention the multitudes of those who had to wander about in desert places and upon the mountains, and who were cut off by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts? The survivors of such are the witnesses of their election and their victory. One circumstance, however, I shall subjoin as an illustration of these things. There was a certain very aged person of the name of Chæremon, bishop of the place called the city of the Nile.[3] He fled

[1] *βάθρον*. Valesius supposes that what is intended is the seat on which the accused sat when under interrogation by the judge.

[2] *θριαμβεύοντος αὐτούς*. Rufinus makes it, "God thus triumphing in them;" from which it would seem that he had read *δι' αὐτούς*. But *θριαμβεύειν* is probably put here for *θριαμβεύειν ποιεῖν*, as *βασιλεύειν* is also used by Gregory Nazianzenus.

[3] That is, Nilopolis or Niloupolis. Eusebius, bishop of the same seat, subscribed the Council of Ephesus.—READING.

along with his partner to the Arabian mountain,[1] and never returned. The brethren, too, were unable to discover anything of them, although they made frequent search; and they never could find either the men themselves, or their bodies. Many were also carried off as slaves by the barbarous Saracens[2] to that same Arabian mount. Some of these were ransomed with difficulty, and only by paying a great sum of money; others of them have not been ransomed to this day. And these facts I have related, brother, not without a purpose, but in order that you may know how many and how terrible are the ills that have befallen us; which troubles also will be best understood by those who have had most experience of them.

10. Those sainted martyrs, accordingly, who were once with us, and who now are seated with Christ,[3] and are sharers in His kingdom, and partakers with Him in His judgment,[4] and who act as His judicial assessors,[5] received there certain of the brethren who had fallen away, and who had become chargeable with sacrificing to the idols. And as they saw that the conversion and repentance of such might be accept-

[1] τὸ Ἀράβιον ὄρος. There is a *Mons Arabicus* mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 8), which Ptolemy and others call Mons Troïcus.—VALES.

[2] This passage is notable from the fact that it makes mention of the Saracens. For of the writers whose works have come down to us there is none more ancient than Dionysius of Alexandria that has named the Saracens. Ammianus Marcellinus, however, writes in his fourteenth book that he has made mention of the Saracens in the Acts of Marcus. Spartianus also mentions the Saracens in his *Niger*, and says that the Roman soldiers were beaten by them.—VALES.

[3] As to the martyrs' immediate departure to the Lord, and their abode with Him, see Tertullian, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, ch. xliii., and *On the Soul*, v. 55.

[4] That the martyrs were to be Christ's assessors, judging the world with Him, was a common opinion among the fathers. So, after Dionysius, Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, in his fifth book, *Against the Novatians*. Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, following Chrysostom, objects to this, and explains Paul's words in 1 Cor. vi. 2 as having the same intention as Christ's words touching the men of Nineveh and the queen of the south who should rise up in the judgment and condemn that generation.

[5] συνδικάζοντες. See a noble passage in Bossuet, *Préfac. sur l'Apocal.* § 28.

able to Him who desires not at all the death of the sinner,[1] but rather his repentance, they proved their sincerity, and received them, and brought them together again, and assembled with them, and had fellowship with them in their prayers and at their festivals.[2] What advice then, brethren, do you give us as regards these? What should we do? Are we to stand forth and act with the decision and judgment which those (martyrs) formed, and to observe the same graciousness with them, and to deal so kindly with those toward whom they showed such compassion? or are we to treat their decision as an unrighteous one,[3] and to constitute ourselves judges of their opinion on such subjects, and to throw clemency into tears, and to overturn the established order?[4]

11. But I shall give a more particular account of one case here which occurred among us:[5] There was with us a certain Serapion, an aged believer. He had spent his long life blamelessly, but had fallen in the time of trial (the persecution). Often did this man pray (for absolution), and no one gave heed to him;[6] for he had sacrificed to

[1] Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

[2] Dionysius is dealing here not with public communion, such as was the bishop's prerogative to confer anew on the penitent, but with private fellowship among Christian people.—VALES.

[3] ἄδικον ποιησώμεθα is the reading of Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savil., and also of Georgius Syncellus. Others read ἄδικτον ποιησόμεθα, "we shall treat it as inadmissible."

[4] The words καὶ τὸν Θεὸν παροξύνομεν, "and provoke God," are sometimes added here; but they are wanting in Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., Savil., and in Georgius Syncellus.

[5] Eusebius introduces this in words to the following effect: "Writing to this same Fabius, who seemed to incline somewhat to this schism, Dionysius of Alexandria, after setting forth in his letter many other matters which bore on repentance, and after describing the conflicts of the martyrs who had recently suffered in Alexandria, relates among other things one specially wonderful fact, which I have deemed proper for insertion in this history, and which is as follows."

[6] That is, none either of the clergy or of the people were moved by his prayers to consider him a proper subject for absolution; for the people's suffrages were also necessary for the reception into the church of any who had lapsed, and been on that account cut off from it. And sometimes the

the idols. Falling sick, he continued three successive days dumb and senseless. Recovering a little on the fourth day, he called to him his grandchild, and said, "My son, how long do you detain me? Hasten, I entreat you, and absolve me quickly. Summon one of the presbyters to me." And when he had said this, he became speechless again. The boy ran for the presbyter; but it was night, and the man was sick, and was consequently unable to come. But as an injunction had been issued by me,[1] that persons at the point of death, if they requested it then, and especially if they had earnestly sought it before, should be absolved,[2] in order that they might depart this life in cheerful hope, he gave the boy a small portion of the Eucharist,[3] telling him to steep it in water,[4] and drop it into the old man's mouth.

bishop himself asked the people to allow absolution to be given to the suppliant, as we see in Cyprian's Epistle 53, to Cornelius, and in Tertullian, *On Chastity*, ch. xiii. Oftener, however, the people themselves made intercession with the bishop for the admission of penitents; of which we have a notable instance in the Epistle of Pope Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch about that bishop who had ordained Novatianus. See also Cyprian, Epistle 59.—VALES.

[1] In the African Synod, which met about the time that Dionysius wrote, it was decreed that absolution should be granted to lapsed persons who were near their end, provided that they had sought it earnestly before their illness. See Cyprian in the Epistle to Antonianus.—VALES.

[2] ἀφίεσθαι. There is a longer reading in Codices Fuk. and Savil., viz.: τῶν θείων δώρων τῆς μεταδόσεως ἀξιοῦσθαι καὶ οὕτως ἀφίεσθαι, "be deemed worthy of the imparting of the divine gifts, and thus be absolved."

[3] Valesius thinks that this custom prevailed for a long time, and cites a synodical letter of Ratherius, bishop of Verona (which has also been ascribed to Udalricus by Gretserus, who has published it along with his *Life of Gregory* VII.), in which the practice is expressly forbidden in these terms: "And let no one presume to give the communion to a laic or a woman, for the purpose of conveying it to an infirm person."

[4] ἀποβρέξαι. Rufinus renders it by *infundere*. References to this custom are found in Adamannus, in the second book of the *Miracles of St. Columba*, ch. 6; in Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, ch. 31, and in the poem on the life of the same; in Theodorus Campidunensis, *Life of St. Magnus*, ch. 22; in Paulus Bernriedensis, *Life of Gregory* VII. p. 113.

The boy returned bearing the portion; and as he came near, and before he had yet entered, Serapion again recovered, and said, "You have come, my child, and the presbyter was unable to come; but do quickly what you were instructed to do, and so let me depart." The boy steeped the morsel in water, and at once dropped it into the (old man's) mouth; and after he had swallowed a little of it, he forthwith gave up the ghost. Was he not then manifestly preserved? and did he not continue in life just until he could be absolved, and until through the wiping away of his sins he could be acknowledged[1] for the many good acts he had done?

EPISTLE IV.—TO CORNELIUS THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 46.)

In addition to all these, he writes likewise to Cornelius at Rome, after receiving his Epistle against Novatus. And in that letter he also shows that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop in Tarsus of Cilicia, and by the others who were with him—namely, Firmilian, bishop in Cappadocia, and Theoctistus in Palestine—to meet them at the Council of Antioch, where certain persons were attempting to establish the schism of Novatus. In addition to this, he writes that it was reported to him that Fabius was dead, and that Demetrianus was appointed his successor in the bishopric of the church at Antioch. He writes also respecting the bishop in Jerusalem, expressing himself in these very words: "And the blessed Alexander, having been cast into prison, went to his rest in blessedness."

[1] ὁμολογηθῆναι. Langus, Wolfius, and Musculus render it *confiteri*, "confess." Christophorsonus makes it *in numerum confessorum referri*, "reckoned in the number of confessors;" which may be allowed, if it is understood to be a reckoning *by Christ*. For Dionysius alludes to those words of Christ in the Gospel: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father."—VALES.

EPISTLE V., WHICH IS THE FIRST ON THE SUBJECT OF BAPTISM, ADDRESSED TO THE PONTIFF STEPHEN.[1]

Understand, however, my brother,[2] that all the churches located in the east, and also in remoter districts,[3] that were formerly in a state of division, are now made one again;[4] and all those at the head of the churches everywhere are of one mind, and rejoice exceedingly at the peace which has been restored beyond all expectation. I may mention Demetrianus in Antioch; Theoctistus in Cæsareia; Mazabanes in Ælia,[5] the successor of the deceased Alexander;[6] Marinus in Tyre; Heliodorus in Laodicea, the successor of the deceased Thelymidres; Helenus in Tarsus, and with him all the churches of Cilicia; and Firmilian and all Cappadocia. For I have named only the more illustrious of the bishops, so as

[1] In the second chapter of the seventh book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius says: "To this Stephen Eusebius wrote the first of his epistles on the matter of baptism." And he calls this the *first*, because Dionysius also wrote other four epistles to Xystus and Dionysius, two of the successors of Stephen, and to Philemon, on the same subject of the baptizing of heretics.—GALLANDI.

[2] Eusebius introduces the letter thus: "When he had addressed many reasonings on this subject to him (Stephen) by letter, Dionysius at last showed him that, as the persecution had abated, the churches in all parts opposed to the innovations of Novatus were at peace among themselves."

[3] *καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω.* These words are omitted in Codices Fulk. and Savil., as also by Christophorsonus; but are given in Codices Reg., Maz., and Med., and by Syncellus and Nicephorus.

[4] Baronius infers from this epistle that at this date, about 259 A.D., the Oriental bishops had given up their error, and fallen in with Stephen's opinion, that heretics did not require to be rebaptized,—an inference, however, which Valesius deems false.

[5] The name assigned by the pagans to Jerusalem was Ælia. It was so called even in Constantine's time, as we see in the *Tabula Peutingerorum* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*, written after Constantine's reign. In the seventh canon of the Nicene Council we also find the name Ælia.

[6] The words *κοιμηθέντος Ἀλεξάνδρου* are given in the text in connection with the clause *Μαρῖνος ἐν Τύρῳ*. They must be transposed, however, as in the translation; for Mazabanes had succeeded Alexander the bishop of Ælia, as Dionysius informs us in his Epistle to Cornelius. So Rufinus puts it also in his Latin version.—VALES.

neither to make my epistle too long, nor to render my discourse too heavy for you. All the districts of Syria, however, and of Arabia, to the brethren in which you from time to time have been forwarding supplies[1] and at present have sent letters, and Mesopotamia too, and Pontus, and Syria, and, to speak in brief, all parties, are everywhere rejoicing at the unanimity and brotherly love now established, and are glorifying God for the same.

EPISTLE VI.—TO POPE SIXTUS.

Dionysius mentions letters that had been written by him as well to the Presbyters Dionysius and Philemon as to Pope Stephen, on the baptism of heretics and on the Sabellian heresy.

1. Previously, indeed, (Stephen) had written letters about Helanus and Firmilianus, and about all who were established throughout Cilicia and Cappadocia, and all the neighbouring provinces, giving them to understand that for that same reason he would depart from their communion, because they re-baptized heretics. And consider the seriousness of the matter. For, indeed, in the most considerable councils of the bishops, as I hear, it has been decreed that they who come from heresy should first be trained in (catholic) doctrine, and then should be cleansed by baptism from the filth of the old and impure leaven. Asking and calling him to witness on all these matters, I sent letters.

And a little after Dionysius proceeds:

2. And, moreover, to our beloved co-presbyters Dionysius

[1] Alluding to the generous practice of the church at Rome in old times in relieving the wants of the other churches, and in sending money and clothes to the brethren who were in captivity, and to those who toiled in the mines. To this effect we have the statement of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in his Epistle to the Pontiff Soter, which Eusebius cites in his fourth book. In the same passage, Eusebius also remarks that this commendable custom had been continued in the Roman church up to his own time; and with that object collections were made there, of which Pope Leo writes in his *Sermones*.—VALES.

and Philemon, who before agreed with Stephen, and had written to me about the same matters, I wrote previously in few words, but now I have written again more at length.

In the same letter, says Eusebius,[1] he informs Xystus of the Sabellian heretics, that they were gaining ground at that time, in these words:

3. For since of the doctrine, which lately has been set on foot at Ptolemais, a city of Pentapolis, impious and full of blasphemy against Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; full of unbelief and perfidy towards His only begotten Son and the first-born of every creature, the Word made man, and which takes away the perception of the Holy Spirit,—on either side both letters were brought to me, and brethren had come to discuss it, setting forth more plainly as much as by God's gift I was able,—I wrote certain letters, copies of which I have sent to thee.

EPISTLE VII.—TO PHILEMON PRESBYTER OF SIXTUS.

I indeed gave attention to reading the books and carefully studying the traditions of heretics, to the extent indeed of corrupting my soul with their execrable opinions; yet receiving from them this advantage, that I could refute them in my own mind, and detested them more heartily than ever. And when a certain brother of the order of presbyters sought to deter me, and feared lest I should be involved in the same wicked filthiness, because he said that my mind would be contaminated, and indeed with truth, as I myself perceived, I was strengthened by a vision that was sent me from God. And a word spoken to me, expressly commanded me, saying, Read everything which shall come into thy hands, for thou art fit to do so, who correctest and provest each one; and from them to thee first of all has appeared the cause and the

[1] Lib. vii. ch. vi.

occasion of believing. I received this vision as being what was in accordance with the apostolic word, which thus urges all who are endowed with greater virtue, "Be ye skilful money-changers."[1]

Then, says Eusebius, he subjoins some things parenthetically about all heresies:

This rule and form I have received from our blessed Father Heraclus: For thou, who came from heresies, even if they had fallen away from the church, much rather if they had not fallen away, but when they were seen to frequent the assemblies of the faithful, were charged with going to hear the teachers of perverse doctrine, and ejected from the church, he did not admit after many prayers, before they had openly and publicly narrated whatever things they had heard from their adversaries. Then he received them at length to the assemblies of the faithful, by no means asking of them to receive baptism anew. Because they had already previously received the Holy Spirit from that very baptism.

Once more, this question being thoroughly ventilated, he adds:

I learned this besides, that this custom is not now first of all imported among the Africans alone; but moreover, long before, in the times of former bishops, among most populous churches, and that when synods of the brethren of Iconium and Synades were held, it also pleased as many as possible, I should be unwilling, by overturning their judgments, to throw them into strifes and contentions. For it is written, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which thy fathers have placed."[2]

[1] 1 Thess. v. 21. [2] Deut. xix. 14.

EPISTLE VIII.—TO DIONYSIUS, AT THAT TIME PRESBYTER OF XYSTUS, AND AFTERWARDS HIS SUCCESSOR.

He teaches that Novatian is deservedly to be opposed on account of his schism, on account of his impious doctrine, on account of the repetition of baptism to those who came to him.

For we rightly repulse Novatian, who has rent the church, and has drawn away some of the brethren to impiety and blasphemies; who has brought into the world a most impious doctrine concerning God, and calumniates our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ as if He were unmerciful; and besides all these things, holds the sacred laver as of no effect, and rejects it, and overturns faith and confession, which are put before baptism, and utterly drives away the Holy Spirit from them, even if any hope subsists either that He would abide in them, or that He should return to them.

EPISTLE IX.—TO POPE SIXTUS II.

Of a man who sought to be introduced to the church by baptism, although he said that he had received baptism, with other words and matters among the heretics.

For truly, brother, I have need of advice, and I crave your judgment, lest perchance I should be mistaken upon the matters which in such wise happen to me. One of the brethren who come together to the church, who for some time has been esteemed as a believer, and who before my ordination, and, if I am not deceived, before even the episcopate of Heraclus himself, had been a partaker of the assembly of the faithful, when he had been concerned in the baptism of those who were lately baptized, and had heard the interrogatories and their answers, came to me in tears, and bewailing his lot. And throwing himself at my feet, he began to confess and to protest that this baptism by which he had been initiated among heretics was not of this kind, nor had it anything whatever in common with this of ours, because that it was full of blasphemy and impiety. And he said that his soul was pierced with a very bitter sense of sorrow, and that he did not dare even to lift up his eyes to

God, because he had been initiated by those wicked words and things. Wherefore he besought that, by this purest laver, he might be endowed with adoption and grace. And I, indeed, have not dared to do this; but I have said that the long course of communion had been sufficient for this. For I should not dare to renew afresh, after all, one who had heard the giving of thanks, and who had answered with others Amen, who had stood at the holy table, and had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food, and had received it, and for a very long time had been a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Henceforth I bade him be of good courage, and approach to the sacred [elements] with a firm faith and a good conscience, and become a partaker of them. But he makes no end of his wailing, and shrinks from approaching to the table; and scarcely, when entreated, can he bear to be present at the prayers.

EPISTLE X.—AGAINST BISHOP GERMANUS.

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 40, vii. 11.)

1. Now I speak also before God, and He knoweth that I lie not: it was not by my own choice,[1] neither was it without divine instruction, that I took to flight. But at an earlier period,[2] indeed, when the (edict for the) persecution under Decius was determined upon, Sabinus at that very hour sent a certain Frumentarius[3] to make search for me. And I

[1] *οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' ἐμαυτοῦ βαλλόμενος.* In Codex Fuk. and in the *Chronicon* of Syncellus it is *ἐπ' ἐμαυτῷ.* In Codices Maz. and Med. it is *ἐπ' ἐμαυτόν.* Herodotus employs the phrase in the genitive form—*βαλλόμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πέπρηχε, i.e. seipsum in consilium adhibens, sua sponte et proprio motu fecit.*

[2] *ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον.* Christophorsonus and others join the *πρότερον* with the *διωγμοῦ*, making it mean, "before the persecution." This is contrary to pure Greek idiom, and is also inconsistent with what follows; for by the *αὐτῆς ὥρας* is meant the very hour at which the edict was decreed, *διωγμός* here having much the sense of "edict for the persecution."—VALES.

[3] There was a body of men called *frumentarii milites*, employed under the emperors as secret spies, and sent through the provinces to look after accused persons, and collect floating rumours. They were abo-

remained in the house for four days, expecting the arrival of this Frumentarius. But he went about examining all other places, the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected that I should either conceal myself or travel. And he was smitten with a kind of blindness, and never lighted on the house; for he never supposed that I should tarry at home when under pursuit. Then, barely after the lapse of four days, God giving me instruction to remove, and opening the way for me in a manner beyond all expectation, my domestics[1] and I, and a considerable number of the brethren, effected an exit together. And that this was brought about by the providence of God, was made plain by what followed: in which also we have been perhaps of some service to certain parties.

2. *Then, after a certain break, he narrates the events which befell him after his flight, subjoining the following statement:*—Now about sunset I was seized, along with those who were with me, by the soldiers, and was carried off to Taposiris. But by the providence of God, it happened that Timotheus was not present with me then, nor indeed had he been apprehended at all. Reaching the place later, he found the house deserted, and officials keeping guard over it, and ourselves borne into slavery.

3. *And after some other matters, he proceeds thus:*—And what was the method of this marvellous disposition of Providence in his case? For the real facts shall be related. When Timotheus was fleeing in great perturbation, he was met[2] by a man from the country.[3] This person asked the reason for

lished at length by Constantine, as Aurelius Victor writes. They were subordinate to the judges or governors of the provinces. Thus this Frumentarius mentioned here by Dionysius was deputed in obedience to Sabinus, the *præfectus Augustalis*.—VALES.

[1] οἱ παῖδες. Musculus and Christophorsonus make it "children." Valesius prefers "domestics."

[2] ἀπήντετό τις τῶν χωριτῶν. In Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savil., ἀπήντα is written; in Georgius Syncellus it is ἀπηντᾶτο.

[3] χωριτῶν is rendered *indigenarum* by Christophorsonus, and *incolarum*, "inhabitants," by the interpreter of Syncellus; but it means rather "rustics." Thus in the Greek Councils the τῶν χωρῶν πρεσβύτεροι, *pres-*

his haste, and he told him the truth plainly. Then the man (he was on his way at the time to take part in certain marriage festivities; for it is their custom to spend the whole night in such gatherings), on hearing the fact, held on his course to the scene of the rejoicings, and went in and narrated the circumstances to those who were seated at the feast; and with a single impulse, as if it had been at a given watchword, they all started up, and came on all in a rush, and with the utmost speed. Hurrying up to us, they raised a shout; and as the soldiers who were guarding us took at once to flight, they came upon us, stretched as we were upon the bare couches (*ἀστρώτων σκιμπόδων*). For my part, as God knows, I took them at first to be robbers who had come to plunder and pillage us; and remaining on the bedstead on which I was lying naked, save only that I had on my linen underclothing, I offered them the rest of my dress as it lay beside me. But they bade me get up and take my departure as quickly as I could. Then I understood the purpose of their coming, and cried, entreated, and implored them to go away and leave us alone; and I begged that, if they wished to do us any good, they might anticipate those who led me captive, and strike off my head. And while I was uttering such vociferations, as those who were my comrades and partners in all these things know, they began to lift me up by force. And I threw myself down on my back upon the ground; but they seized me by the hands and feet, and dragged me away, and bore me forth. And those who were witnesses of all these things followed me,—namely, Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. These men also took me up, and hurried me off[1], out of the little town, and set me on an ass without saddle, and in that fashion carried me away.

byteri pagorum, are named. Instead of *χωριτῶν*, Codices Maz., Med., and Fuk. read *χωρικῶν*; for thus the Alexandrians named the country people, as we see in the tractate of Sophronius against Dioscorus, and the *Chronicon* of Theophanes, p. 139.

[1] *φοράδην ἐξήγαγον*. The *φοράδην* may mean, as Valesius puts it, *in sella*, "on a stool or litter."

4. I fear that I run the risk of being charged with great folly and senselessness, placed as I am under the necessity of giving a narrative of the wonderful dispensation of God's providence in our case. Since, however, as one says, it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God,[1] I shall come to close quarters with the violence of Germanus. I came to Æmilianus not alone; for there accompanied me also my co-presbyter Maximus, and the deacons Faustus and Eusebius and Chæremon; and one of the brethren who had come from Rome went also with us. Æmilianus, then, did not lead off by saying to me, "Hold no assemblies." That was indeed a thing superfluous for him to do, and the last thing which one would do who meant to go back to what was first and of prime importance:[2] for his concern was not about our gathering others together in assembly, but about our not being Christians ourselves. From this, therefore, he commanded me to desist, thinking, doubtless, that if I myself should recant, the others would also follow me in that. But I answered him neither unreasonably nor in many words, "We must obey God rather than men."[3] Moreover, I testified openly that I worshipped the only true God and none other, and that I could neither alter that position nor ever cease to be a Christian. Thereupon he ordered us to go away to a village near the desert, called Cephro.

5. Hear also the words which were uttered by both of us as they have been put on record (*ὑπεμνηματίσθη*). When Dionysius, and Faustus, and Maximus, and Marcellus, and Chæremon had been placed at the bar, Æmilianus, as prefect, said: "I have reasoned with you verily in free speech (*ἀγράφως*), on the clemency of our sovereigns, as they have suffered you to experience it; for they have given you

[1] Tobit xii. 7.

[2] *τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνατρέχοντι*, *i.e.* to begin by interdicting him from holding Christian assemblies, while the great question was whether he was a Christian at all, would have been to place first what was last in order and consequence.

[3] Acts v. 29.

power to save yourselves, if you are disposed to turn to what is accordant with nature, and to worship the gods who also maintain them in their kingdom, and to forget those things which are repugnant to nature. What say ye then to these things? for I by no means expect that you will be ungrateful to them for their clemency, since indeed what they aim at is to bring you over to better courses." Dionysius made reply thus: "All men do not worship all the gods, but different men worship different objects that they suppose to be true gods. Now we worship the one God, who is the Creator of all things, and the very Deity who has committed the sovereignty to the hands of their most sacred majesties Valerian and Gallienus. Him we both reverence and worship; and to Him we pray continually on behalf of the sovereignty of these princes, that it may abide unshaken." Æmilianus, as prefect, said to them: "But who hinders you from worshipping this god too, if indeed he is a god, along with those who are gods by nature? for you have been commanded to worship the gods, and those gods whom all know as such." Dionysius replied: "We worship no other one." Æmilianus, as prefect, said to them: "I perceive that you are at once ungrateful to and insensible of the clemency of our princes. Wherefore you shall not remain in this city; but you shall be despatched to the parts of Libya, and settled in a place called Cephro: for of this place I have made choice in accordance with the command of our princes. It shall not in any wise be lawful for you or for any others, either to hold assemblies or to enter those places which are called cemeteries. And if any one is seen not to have betaken himself to this place whither I have ordered him to repair, or if he be discovered in any assembly, he will prepare peril for himself; for the requisite punishment will not fail. Be off, therefore, to the place whither you have been commanded to go." So he forced me away, sick as I was; nor did he grant me the delay even of a single day. What opportunity, then, had I to think either of holding assemblies, or of not holding them?[1]

[1] Germanus had accused Dionysius of neglecting to hold the assem-

6. *Then after some other matters he says:*—Moreover, we did not withdraw from the visible assembling of ourselves together, with the Lord's presence (*αἰσθητῆς μετὰ τοῦ Κυρίου συναγωγῆς*). But those in the city I tried to gather together with all the greater zeal, as if I were present with them; for I was absent indeed in the body, as I said,[1] but present in the spirit. And in Cephro indeed a considerable church sojourned with us, composed partly of the brethren who followed us from the city, and partly of those who joined us from Egypt. There, too, did God open to us a door for the word. And at first we were persecuted, we were stoned; but after a period some few of the heathen forsook their idols, and turned to God. For by our means the word was then sown among them for the first time, and before that they had never received it. And as if to show that this had been the very purpose of God in conducting us to them, when we had fulfilled this ministry, He led us away again. For Æmilianus was minded to remove us to rougher parts, as it seemed, and to more Libyan-like districts; and he gave orders to draw all in every direction into the Mareotic territory, and assigned villages to each party throughout the country. But he issued instructions that we should be located specially by the public way, so that we might also be the first to be apprehended (*ἡμᾶς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πρώτους καταληφθησομένους ἔταξεν*); for he evidently made his arrangements and plans with a view to an easy seizure of all of us whenever he should make up his mind to lay hold of us.

7. Now when I received the command to depart to Cephro, I had no idea of the situation of the place, and had scarcely even heard its name before; yet for all that, I went away

blies of the brethren before the persecution broke out, and of rather providing for his own safety by flight. For when persecution burst on them, the bishops were wont first to convene the people, in order to exhort them to hold fast the faith of Christ; then infants and catechumens were baptized, to provide against their departing this life without baptism, and the Eucharist was given to the faithful.—VALES.

[1] *ὡς εἶπον.* Codices Maz. and Med. give *εἶπεῖν*, "so to speak;" Fuk. and Savil. give *ὡς εἶπεν ὁ ἀπόστολος*, "as the apostle said." See on 1 Cor. v. 3.

courageously and calmly. But when word was brought me that I had to remove to the parts of Colluthion,[1] those present know how I was affected; for here I shall be my own accuser. At first, indeed, I was greatly vexed, and took it very ill; for though these places happened to be better known and more familiar to us, yet people declared that the region was one destitute of brethren, and even of men of character, and one exposed to the annoyances of travellers and to the raids of robbers. I found comfort, however, when the brethren reminded me that it was nearer the city; and while Cephro brought us large intercourse with brethren of all sorts who came from Egypt, so that we were able to hold our sacred assemblies on a more extensive scale, yet there, on the other hand, as the city was in the nearer vicinity, we could enjoy more frequently the sight of those who were the really beloved, and in closest relationship with us, and dearest to us: for these would come and take their rest among us, and, as in the more remote suburbs, there would be distinct and special meetings.[2] And thus it turned out.

8. *Then, after some other matters, he gives again the following account of what befell him:*—Germanus, indeed, boasts

[1] τὰ Κολλουθίωνος, supplying μέρη, as Dionysius has already used the phrase τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης. This was a district in the Mareotic prefecture. Thus we have mention made also of τὰ Βουκόλου, a certain tract in Egypt, deriving its name from the old masters of the soil. Nicephorus writes Κολούθιον, which is probably more correct; for Κολλουθίων is a derivative from Colutho, which was a common name in Egypt. Thus a certain poet of note in the times of Anastasius, belonging to the Thebaid, was so named, as Suidas informs us. There was also a Coluthus, a certain schismatic, in Egypt, in the times of Athanasius, who is mentioned often in the *Apologia;* and Gregory of Nyssa names him Acoluthus in his *Contra Eunomium*, book ii.—VALES.

[2] κατὰ μέρος συναγωγαί. When the suburbs were somewhat distant from the city, the brethren resident in them were not compelled to attend the meetings of the larger church, but had meetings of their own in a basilica, or some building suitable for the purpose. The Greeks, too, gave the name προάστειον to places at some considerable distance from the city, as well as to suburbs immediately connected with it. Thus Athanasius calls Canopus a προάστειον; and so Daphne is spoken of as the προάστειον of Antioch, Achyrona as that of Nicomedia, and

himself of many professions (of faith). He, forsooth, is able to speak of many adverse things which have happened to him! Can he then reckon up in his own case as many condemnatory sentences (*ἀποφάσεις*) as we can number in ours, and confiscations too, and proscriptions, and spoilings of goods, and losses of dignities,[1] and despisings of worldly honour, and contemnings of the laudations of governors and councillors, and patient subjections to the threatenings of the adversaries (*τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειλῶν*), and to outcries, and perils, and persecutions, and a wandering life, and the pressure of difficulties, and all kinds of trouble, such as befell me in the time of Decius and Sabinus,[2] and such also as I have been suffering under the present severities of Æmilianus? But where in the world did Germanus make his appearance? and what mention is made of him? But I retire from this huge act of folly into which I am suffering myself to fall on account of Germanus; and accordingly I forbear giving to the brethren, who already have full knowledge of these things, a particular and detailed narrative of all that happened.

Septimum as that of Constantinople, though these places were distant some miles from the cities. From this place it is also inferred that in the days of Dionysius there was still but one church in Alexandria, where all the brethren met for devotions. But in the time of Athanasius, when several churches had been built by the various bishops, the Alexandrians met in different places, *κατὰ μέρος καὶ διῃρημένως*, as Athanasius says in his first Apology to Constantius; only that on the great festivals, as at the paschal season and at Pentecost, the brethren did not meet separately, but all in the larger church, as Athanasius also shows us.—VALES.

[1] Maximus, in the scholia to the book of Dionysius the Areopagite, *De cœlesti hierarchia*, ch. 5, states that Dionysius was by profession a *rhetor* before his conversion: *ὁ γοῦν μέγας Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ ἀπὸ ῥητόρων*, etc.—VALES.

[2] This Sabinus had been prefect of Egypt in the time of Decius; it is of him that Dionysius writes in his Epistle to Fabius, which is given above. The Æmilianus, prefect of Egypt, who is mentioned here, afterwards seized the imperial power, as Pollio writes in his *Thirty Tyrants*, who, however, calls him general (*ducem*), and not prefect of Egypt.—VALES.

EPISTLE XI.—TO HERMAMMON.

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 1, 10, 23.)

1. But Gallus[1] did not understand the wickedness of Decius, nor did he note beforehand what it was that wrought his ruin. But he stumbled at the very stone which was lying before his eyes; for when his sovereignty was in a prosperous position, and when affairs were turning out according to his wish,[2] he oppressed those holy men who interceded with God on behalf of his peace and his welfare. And consequently, persecuting them, he persecuted also the prayers offered in his own behalf.

2. And to John a revelation is made in like manner:[3] "And there was given unto him," he says, "a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemy; and power was given unto him, and forty and two months" (ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες τεσσαρακονταδύο).[4] And one finds both things to wonder at in Valerian's case; and most especially has one to consider how different it was with him before these events,[5]—how mild and well-disposed he was towards the

[1] Eusebius introduces this extract thus: "In an epistle to Hermammon, Dionysius makes the following remarks upon Gallus" (the emperor).

[2] κατὰ νοῦν is the reading in the Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savil., and adopted by Rufinus and others. But Robertus Stephanus, from the Codex Regius, gives κατὰ ῥοῦν, "according to the stream," *i.e.* favourably.

[3] Eusebius prefaces this extract thus: "Gallus had not held the government two full years when he was removed, and Valerian, together with his son Gallienus, succeeded him. And what Dionysius has said of him may be learned from his Epistle to Hermammon, in which he makes the following statement."

[4] Rev. xiii. 5. Baronius expounds the numbers as referring to the period during which the persecution under Valerian continued: see him, under the year 257 A.D., ch. 7.

[5] The text is, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὡς οὕτως ἴσχε συννοεῖν· ἕως ἥπιος, etc. Gallandi emends the sentence thus: καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα πρὸ τούτων, ὡς οὐχ οὕτως ἴσχε, συννοεῖν, ἕως ἥπιος, etc. Codex Regius gives ὡς μὲν ἥπιος. But Codices Maz. and Med. give ἕως ἥπιος, while Fuk. and Savil. give ἕως γὰρ ἥπιος.

men of God. For among the emperors who preceded him, there was not one who exhibited so kindly and favourable a disposition toward them as he did; yea, even those who were said to have become Christians openly[1] did not receive them with that extreme friendliness and graciousness with which he received them at the beginning of his reign; and his whole house was filled then with the pious, and it was itself a very church of God. But the master and president (ἀρχισυνάγωγος) of the Magi of Egypt[2] prevailed on him to abandon that course, urging him to slay and persecute those pure and holy men as adversaries and obstacles to their accursed and abominable incantations. For there are, indeed, and there were men who, by their simple presence, and by merely showing themselves, and by simply breathing and uttering some words, have been able to dissipate the artifices of wicked demons. But he put it into his mind to practise the impure rites of initiation, and detestable juggleries, and execrable sacrifices, and to slay miserable children, and to make oblations of the offspring of unhappy fathers, and to divide the bowels of the newly-born, and to mutilate and cut up the creatures made by God, as if by such means they[3] would attain to blessedness.

[1] He means the Emperor Philip, who, as many of the ancients have recorded, was the first of the Roman emperors to profess the Christian religion. But as Dionysius speaks in the plural number, to Philip may be added Alexander Severus, who had an image of Christ in the chapel of his Lares, as Lampridius testifies, and who favoured and sustained the Christians during the whole period of his empire. It is to be noted further, that Dionysius says of these emperors only that they were said and thought to be Christians, not that they were so in reality.—GALLANDI.

[2] Baronius thinks that this was that *Magus* who, a little while before the empire of Decius, had incited the Alexandrians to persecute the Christians, and of whom Dionysius speaks in his Epistle to Fabius. What follows here, however, shows that Macrianus is probably the person alluded to.

[3] εὐδαιμονήσοντας. So Codices Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savil. read: others give εὐδαιμονήσαντας. It would seem to require εὐδαιμονήσοντα, "as if he would attain;" for the reference is evidently to Valerian himself.

3. *Afterwards he subjoins the following:*—Splendid surely were the thank-offerings, then, which Macrianus brought them[1] for that empire which was the object of his hopes; who, while formerly reputed as the sovereign's faithful public treasurer,[2] had yet no mind for anything which was either reasonable in itself or conducive to the public good,[3] but subjected himself to that curse of prophecy which says, "Woe unto those who prophesy from their own heart, and see not the public good!"[4] For he did not discern that providence which regulates all things; nor did he think of the judgment of Him who is before all, and through all, and over all. Wherefore he also became an enemy to His catholic church; and besides that, he alienated and estranged himself from the mercy of God, and fled to the utmost possible distance from His salvation.[5] And in this indeed he demonstrated the reality of the peculiar significance of his name.[6]

4. *And again, after some other matters, he proceeds thus:*—For Valerian was instigated to these acts by this man, and was thereby exposed to contumely and reproach, according

[1] By the αὐτοῖς some understand τοῖς βασιλεῦσι; others better, τοῖς δαίμοσι. According to Valesius, the sense is this: that Macrianus having, by the help and presages of the demons, attained his hope of empire, made a due return to them, by setting Valerian in arms against the Christians.

[2] ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων. The Greeks gave this name to those officials whom the Latins called *rationales*, or *procuratores summæ rei*. Under what emperor Macrianus was procurator, is left uncertain here.

[3] οὐδὲν εὔλογον οὐδὲ καθολικὸν ἐΦρόνησεν. There is a play here on the two senses of the word καθολικός, as seen in the official title ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων, and in the note of character in οὐδὲ καθολικόν. But it can scarcely be reproduced in the English.

[4] οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν. The quotation is probably from Ezek. xiii. 3, of which Jerome gives this interpretation: *Vae his qui prophetant ex corde suo et omnino non vident.*

[5] Robertus Stephanus edits τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, "from his church," following the Codex Medicæus. But the best manuscripts give σωτηρίας.

[6] A play upon the name *Macrianus*, as connected with μακράν, "at a distance."

to the word spoken (by the Lord) to Isaiah: "Yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their own abominations in which their soul delighted; I also will choose their mockeries (*ἐμπαίγματα*), and will recompense their sin."[1] But this man[2] (Macrianus), being maddened with his passion for the empire, all unworthy of it as he was, and at the same time having no capacity for assuming the insignia of imperial government (*τὸν βασίλειον ὑποδῦναι κόσμον*), by reason of his crippled (*ἀναπήρῳ*) body,[3] put forward his two sons as the bearers, so to speak, of their father's offences. For unmistakeably apparent in their case was the truth of that declaration made by God, when He said, "Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." For he heaped his own wicked passions, for which he had failed in securing satisfaction,[4] upon the heads of his sons, and thus wiped off (*ἐξωμόρξατο*) upon them his own wickedness, and transferred to them, too, the hatred he himself had shown toward God.

5.[5] That man,[6] then, after he had betrayed the one and made war upon the other of the emperors preceding him, speedily perished, with his whole family, root and branch. And Gallienus was proclaimed, and acknowledged by all.

[1] Isa. lxvi. 3, 4.

[2] Christophorsonus refers this to Valerian. But evidently the *οὗτος δέ* introduces a different subject in Macrianus; and besides, Valerian could not be said to have been originally unworthy of the power which he aspired to.

[3] Joannes Zonaras, in his *Annals*, states that Macrianus was lame.

[4] *ὧν ἠτύχει.* So Codex Regius reads. But Codices Maz., Med., and Fuk. give *ηὐτύχει*, "in which he succeeded."

[5] Eusebius introduces the extract thus: He (Dionysius) addressed also an epistle to Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt; and after giving an account of the wickedness of Decius and his successors, he states many other circumstances, and also mentions the peace of Gallienus. And it is best to hear his own relation as follows.

[6] This is rightly understood of Macrianus, by whose treachery Valerian came under the power of the Persians. Aurelius Victor, Syncellus, and others, testify that Valerian was overtaken by that calamity through the treachery of his generals.

And he was at once an old emperor and a new; for he was prior to those, and he also survived them. To this effect indeed is the word spoken (by the Lord) to Isaiah: "Behold, the things which were from the beginning have come to pass; and there are new things which shall now arise."[1] For as a cloud which intercepts the sun's rays, and overshadows it for a little, obscures it, and appears itself in its place, but again, when the cloud has passed by or melted away, the sun, which had risen before, comes forth again and shows itself: so did this Macrianus put himself forward,[2] and achieve access[3] for himself even to the very empire of Gallienus now established; but now he is (that) no more, because indeed he never was it, while this other (Gallienus) is just as he was. And his empire, as if it had cast off old age, and had purged itself of the wickedness formerly attaching to it, is at present in a more vigorous and flourishing condition, and is now seen and heard of at greater distances, and stretches abroad in every direction. *Then he further indicates the exact time at which he wrote this account, as follows:* —And it occurs to me again to review the days of the imperial years. For I see that those most impious men, whose names may have been once so famous, have in a short space become nameless. But our more pious and godly prince has passed his septennium, and is now in his ninth year, in which we are to celebrate the festival.[4]

[1] Isa. xlii. 9.

[2] προστάς. But Valesius would read προστάς, *adstans.*

[3] προσπελάσας is the reading of three of the codices and of Nicephorus; others give προπελάσας.

[4] Who ever expressed himself thus,—that one after his seven years was passing his ninth year? This septennium (ἑπταετηρίς) must designate something peculiar, and different from the time following it. It is therefore the septennium of imperial power which he had held along with his father. In the eighth year of that empire, Macrianus possessed himself of the imperial honour specially in Egypt. After his assumption of the purple, however, Gallienus had still much authority in Egypt. At length, in the ninth year of Gallienus, that is, in 261, Macrianus the father and the two sons being slain, the sovereignty of Gallienus was recognised also among the Egyptians. And then Gallienus gave a rescript to Dionysius, Pinna, and Demetrius, bishops of

EPISTLE XII.—TO THE ALEXANDRIANS.[1]

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 22.)

1. To other men, indeed, the present state of matters would not appear to offer a fit season for a festival: and this certainly is no festal time to them; nor, in sooth, is any other that to them. And I say this, not only of occasions manifestly sorrowful,[2] but even of all occasions whatsoever which people might consider to be most joyous.[3] And now certainly all things are turned to mourning, and all men are in grief, and lamentations resound through the city, by reason of the multitude of the dead and of those who are dying day by day. For as it is written in the case of the first-born of the Egyptians, so now too a great cry has arisen.

Egypt, to re-establish the sacred places,—a boon which he had granted in the former year. The ninth year of Gallienus, moreover, began about the midsummer of this year; and the time at which this letter was written by Dionysius, as Eusebius observes, may be gathered from that, and falls consequently before the paschal season of 262 A.D.—PEARSON, p. 72. GALL.

[1] Eusebius prefaces the 21st chapter of his seventh book thus: "When peace had scarcely yet been established, he (Dionysius) returned to Alexandria. But when sedition and war again broke out, and made it impossible for him to have access to all the brethren in that city, divided as they then were into different parties, he addressed them again by an epistle at the passover, as if he were still an exile from Alexandria." Then he inserts the epistle to Hierax; and thereafter, in ch. xxii., introduces the present excerpt thus: After these events, the pestilence succeeding the war, and the festival being now at hand, he again addressed the brethren by letters, in which he gave the following description of the great troubles connected with that calamity.

[2] *οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιλύπων* is the reading of Codices Maz., Med., and Savil.; others give, less correctly, *ἐπιλοίπων*.

[3] The text gives, *ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἴ τις περιχαρὴς ὃν οἰηθείεν μάλιστα*, which is put probably for the more regular construction, *ὃν οἴοιντο ἄν μάλιστα περιχαρῆ*. Nicephorus reads, *εἴ τις περιχαρὴς ὢν οἰηθείη*. The idea is, that the heathen could have no real festal time. All seasons, those apparently most joyous, no less than those evidently sorrowful, must be times void of all real rejoicing to them, until they learn the grace of God.

"For there is not a house in which there is not one dead."[1] And would that even this were all!

2. Many terrible calamities, it is true, have also befallen us before this. For first they drove us away; and though we were quite alone, and pursued by all, and in the way of being slain, we kept our festival, even at such a time. And every place that had been the scene of some of the successive sufferings which befell any of us, became a seat for our solemn assemblies,—the field, the desert, the ship, the inn, the prison,—all alike. The most gladsome festival of all, however, has been celebrated by those perfect martyrs who have sat down at the feast in heaven. And after these things war and famine surprised us. These were calamities which we shared, indeed, with the heathen. But we had also to bear by ourselves alone those ills with which they outraged us, and we had at the same time to sustain our part in those things which they either did to each other or suffered at each other's hands; while again we rejoiced deeply in that peace of Christ which He imparted to us alone.

3. And after we and they together had enjoyed a very brief season of rest, this pestilence next assailed us,—a calamity truly more dreadful to them than all other objects of dread, and more intolerable than any other kind of trouble whatsoever;[2] and a misfortune which, as a certain writer of their own declares, alone prevails over all hope. To us, however, it was not so; but in no less measure than other ills it proved an instrument for our training and probation. For it by no means kept aloof from us, although it spread with greatest violence among the heathen. *To these*

[1] Ex. xii. 30.

[2] Dionysius is giving a sort of summary of all the calamities which befell the Alexandrian church from the commencement of his episcopal rule: namely, first, persecution, referring to that which began in the last year of the reign of Philip; then war, meaning the civil war of which he speaks in his Epistle to Fabius; then pestilence, alluding to the sickness which began in the time of Decius, and traversed the land under Gallus and Volusianus.—VALES.

statements he in due succession makes this addition:—Certainly very many of our brethren, while, in their exceeding love and brotherly-kindness, they did not spare themselves, but kept by each other, and visited the sick without thought of their own peril, and ministered to them assiduously, and treated them for their healing in Christ, died from time to time most joyfully along with them, lading themselves with pains derived from others, and drawing upon themselves their neighbours' diseases, and willingly taking over to their own persons the burden of the sufferings of those around them (*ἀναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας*[1]). And many who had thus cured others of their sicknesses, and restored them to strength, died themselves, having transferred to their own bodies the death that lay upon these. And that common saying, which else seemed always to be only a polite form of address,[2] they expressed in actual fact then, as they departed this life, like the *offscourings* (*περίψημα*) *of all.* Yea, the very best of our brethren have departed this life in this manner, including some presbyters and some deacons, and among the people those who were in highest reputation: so that this very form of death, in virtue of the distinguished piety and the stedfast faith which were exhibited in it, appeared to come in nothing beneath martyrdom itself.

4. And they took the bodies of the saints on their upturned hands (*ὑπτίαις χερσί*), and on their bosoms, and closed (*καθαιροῦντες*) their eyes, and shut their mouths. And carrying them in company (*ὁμοφοροῦντες*), and laying them out decently, they clung to them, and embraced them, and prepared them duly with washing and with attire. And then in a little while after they had the same services done

[1] Some make this equivalent to *mitigantes.* It means properly to "wipe off," and so to become "responsible" for. Here it is used apparently to express much the same idea as the two preceding clauses.

[2] *μόνης φιλοφροσύνης ἔχεσθαι.* The phrase *περίψημα πάντων* refers to 1 Cor. iv. 13. Valesius supposes that among the Alexandrians it may have been a humble and complimentary form of salutation, *ἐγώ εἰμι περίψημά σου*; or that the expression *περίψημα πάντων* had come to be habitually applied to the Christians by the heathen.

for themselves, as those who survived were ever following those who departed before them. But among the heathen all was the very reverse. For they thrust aside any who began to be sick, and kept aloof even from their dearest friends, and cast the sufferers out upon the public roads half dead, and left them unburied, and treated them with utter contempt when they died, steadily avoiding any kind of communication and intercourse with death; which, however, it was not easy for them altogether to escape, in spite of the many precautions they employed.

EPISTLE XIII.—TO HIERAX, A BISHOP IN EGYPT.[1]

(Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 21.)

1. But what wonder should there be if I find it difficult to communicate by letter with those who are settled in remote districts, when it seems beyond my power even to reason with myself, and to take counsel with (or, for) my own soul? For surely epistolary communications are very requisite for me with those who are, as it were, my own bowels, my closest associates, and my brethren—one in soul with myself, and members, too, of the same church. And yet no way opens up by which I can transmit such addresses. Easier, indeed, would it be for one, I do not say merely to pass beyond the limits of the province, but to cross from east to west, than to travel from this same Alexandria to Alexandria. For the most central pathway in this city[2] is vaster[3] and more impassable even than that extensive and untrodden desert which Israel only traversed in two generations; and our smooth and waveless harbours have become an image of

[1] The preface to this extract in Eusebius is as follows: "After this he (Dionysius) wrote also another paschal epistle to Hierax, a bishop in Egypt, in which he makes the following statement about the sedition then prevailing at Alexandria."

[2] μεσαιτάτη τῆς πόλεως. Codex Regius gives τῶν πόλεων. The sedition referred to as thus dividing Alexandria is probably that which broke out when Æmilianus seized the sovereignty in Alexandria. See Pollio's *Thirty Tyrants*.

[3] ἄπειρος. But Codices Fuk. and Savil. give ἄπορος, "impracticable."

that sea through which the people drove, at the time when it divided itself and stood up like walls on either side, and in whose thoroughfare the Egyptians were drowned. For often they have appeared like the Red Sea, in consequence of the slaughter perpetrated in them. The river, too, which flows by the city, has sometimes appeared drier than the waterless desert, and more parched than that wilderness in which Israel was so overcome with thirst on their journey, that they kept crying out against Moses, and the water was made to stream for them from the precipitous[1] rock by the power of Him who alone doeth wondrous things. And sometimes, again, it has risen in such flood-tide, that it has overflowed all the country round about, and the roads, and the fields, as if it threatened to bring upon us once more that deluge of waters which occurred in the days of Noah.

2. But now it always flows onward, polluted with blood and slaughters and the drowning struggles of men, just as it did of old, when on Pharaoh's account it was changed by Moses into blood, and made putrid. And what other liquid could cleanse water, which itself cleanses all things? How could that ocean, so vast and impassable for men, though poured out on it, ever purge this bitter sea? Or how could even that great river which streams forth from Eden (*Ἐδέμ*), though it were to discharge the four heads into which it is divided into the one channel of the Gihon,[2] wash away these pollutions? Or when will this air, befouled as it is by noxious exhalations which rise in every direction, become pure again? For there are such vapours sent forth from the earth, and such blasts from the sea, and breezes from the rivers, and reeking mists from the harbours, that for dew we might suppose ourselves to have the impure fluids (*ἰχῶρας*) of the corpses which are rotting in all the underlying elements. And yet, after all this, men are amazed, and are at a loss to understand whence come these constant pestilences, whence these terrible diseases, whence these many kinds of fatal inflictions, whence all that large

[1] *ἀκροτόμου*. It may perhaps mean "smitten" here.

[2] Written *Γηών* in Codex Alexandrinus, but *Γεών* in Codex Vaticanus.

and multiform destruction of human life, and what reason there is why this mighty city no longer contains within it as great a number of inhabitants, taking all parties into account, from tender children up to those far advanced in old age, as once it maintained of those alone whom it called hale old men (ὡμογέροντας). But those from forty years of age up to seventy were so much more numerous then, that their number cannot be made up now even when those from fourteen to eighty years of age have been added to the roll and register of persons who are recipients of the public allowances of grain. And those who are youngest in appearance have now become, as it were, equals in age with those who of old were the most aged. And yet, although they thus see the human race constantly diminishing and wasting away upon the earth, they have no trepidation in the midst of this increasing and advancing consumption and annihilation of their own number.

EPISTLE XIV.

(From the *Sacred Parallels of John of Damascus*, Works ii. p. 753 C, edit. Paris. 1712.)

BY DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, FROM HIS FOURTH FESTIVAL EPISTLE.[1]

Love is altogether and for ever on the alert, and casts about to do some good even to one who is unwilling to receive it. And many a time the man who shrinks from it under a feeling of shame, and who declines to accept services of kindness on the ground of unwillingness to become troublesome to others, and who chooses rather to bear the burden of his own grievances than cause annoy-

[1] ἐκ τῆς δ' ἑορταστικῆς ἐπιστολῆς. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, book vii. ch. 20, Eusebius says: "In addition to these epistles, the same Dionysius also composed others about this time, designated his *Festival Epistles*, and in these he says much in commendation of the paschal feast. One of these he addressed to Flavius, and another to Domitius and Didymus, in which he gives the canon for eight years, and shows that the paschal feast ought not to be kept until the passing of the vernal equinox. And besides these, he wrote another epistle to his co-presbyters at Alexandria."

ance and anxiety to any one, is importuned by the man who is full of love to bear with his aids, and to suffer himself to be helped by another, though it might be as one sustaining a wrong, and thus to do a very great service, not to himself, but to another, in permitting that other to be the agent in putting an end to the ill in which he has been involved.

EXEGETICAL FRAGMENTS

BY DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

(See, in the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* of Gallandi, the Appendix to vol. xiv., added from the manuscripts, after the editor's death, by an anonymous scholar.)

A COMMENTARY ON THE BEGINNING OF ECCLESIASTES.

CHAPTER I.

VER. 1. "(The words) of the son of David, king of Israel in Jerusalem."

In like manner also Matthew calls the Lord the son of David.[1]

3. "What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?"

For what man is there who, although he may have become rich by toiling after the objects of this earth, has been able to make himself three cubits in stature, if he is naturally only of two cubits in stature? Or who, if blind, has by these means recovered his sight? Therefore we ought to direct our toils to a goal beyond the sun: for thither, too, do the exertions of the virtues reach.

4. "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever" (unto the age).

Yes, unto the age (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα), but not unto the ages (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας).

16. "I communed with mine own heart, saying, Lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more wis-

[1] Matt. i. 1.

dom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem; yea, my heart had great experience of wisdom and knowledge.

17. I knew parables and science: that this indeed is also the spirit's choice (προαίρεσις).

18. For in multitude of wisdom is multitude of knowledge: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth grief."

I was vainly puffed up, and increased wisdom; not the wisdom which God has given, but that wisdom of which Paul says, "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."[1] For in this Solomon had also an experience surpassing prudence, and above the measure of all the ancients. Consequently he shows the vanity of it, as what follows in like manner demonstrates: "And my heart uttered[2] many things: I knew wisdom, and knowledge, and parables, and sciences." But this was not the genuine wisdom or knowledge, but that which, as Paul says, puffeth up. He spake, moreover, as it is written,[3] three thousand parables. But these were not parables of a spiritual kind, but only such as fit the common polity of men; as, for instance, utterances about animals or medicines. For which reason he has added in a tone of raillery, "I knew that this also is the spirit's choice." He speaks also of the multitude of knowledge, not the knowledge of the Holy Spirit, but that which the prince of this world works, and which he conveys to men in order to overreach their souls, with officious questions as to the measures of heaven, the position of earth, the bounds of the sea. But he says also, "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." For they search even into things deeper than these,—inquiring, for example, what necessity there is for fire to go upward, and for water to go downward; and when they have learned that it is because the one is light and the other heavy, they do but increase sorrow: for the question still remains, Why might it not be the very reverse?

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 19.

[2] εἶπε, for which εἶδε, "discerned," is suggested.

[3] 1 Kings iv. 32.

Chapter II.

Ver. 1. "I said in mine heart, Go to now, make trial as in mirth, and behold in good. And this, too, is vanity."

For it was for the sake of trial, and in accordance with what comes by the loftier and the severe life, that he entered into pleasure. And he makes mention of the mirth, which men call so. And he says, "in good," referring to what men call good things, which are not capable of giving life to their possessor, and which make the man who engages in them vain like themselves.

2. "I said of laughter, It is mad (*περιφορὰν*); and of mirth, What doest thou?"

Laughter has a twofold madness; because madness begets laughter, and does not allow the sorrowing for sins; and also because a man of that sort is possessed with madness (*περιφέρεται*), in the confusing of seasons, and places, and persons. For he flees from those who sorrow. "And to mirth, What doest thou?" Why dost thou repair to those who are not at liberty to be merry? Why to the drunken, and the avaricious, and the rapacious? And why this phrase, "as wine" (*ὡς οἶνον*)? Because wine makes the heart merry; and it acts upon the poor in spirit. The flesh, however, also makes the heart merry, when it acts in a regular and moderate fashion.

3. "And my heart directed me in wisdom, and to overcome in mirth, until I should know what is that good thing to the sons of men which they shall do under the sun for the number of the days of their life."

Being directed, he says, by wisdom, I overcame pleasures in mirth. Moreover, for me the aim of knowledge was to occupy myself with nothing vain, but to find the good; for if a person finds that, he does not miss the discernment also of the profitable. The sufficient is also the opportune (or, temporary), and is commensurate with the length of life.

4. "I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards.

5. I made me gardens and orchards.
6. I made me pools of water, that by these I might rear woods producing trees.
7. I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had large possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me.
8. I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of kings and of the provinces. I gat me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as cups and the cupbearer.
9. And I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem: also my wisdom remained with me.
10. And whatsoever mine eyes desired, I kept not from them; I withheld not my heart from any pleasure."

You see how he reckons up a multitude of houses and fields, and the other things which he mentions, and then finds nothing profitable in them. For neither was he any better in soul by reason of these things, nor by their means did he gain friendship with God. Necessarily he is led to speak also of the true riches and the abiding property. Being minded, therefore, to show what kinds of possessions remain with the possessor, and continue steadily and maintain themselves for him, he adds: "Also my wisdom remained with me." For this alone remains, and all these other things, which he has already reckoned up, flee away and depart. Wisdom, therefore, remained with me, and I remained in virtue of it. For those other things fall, and also cause the fall of the very persons who run after them. But, with the intention of instituting a comparison between wisdom and those things which are held to be good among men, he adds these words, "And whatsoever mine eyes desired, I kept not from them," and so forth; whereby he describes as evil, not only those toils which they endure who toil in gratifying themselves with pleasures, but those, too, which by necessity and constraint men have to sustain for their maintenance day by day, labouring at their different occupations in the sweat of their faces.

For the labour, he says, is great; but the art (τέχνη) by the labour is temporary, adding[1] nothing serviceable among things that please. Wherefore there is no profit. For where there is no excellence there is no profit. With reason, therefore, are the objects of such solicitude but vanity, and the spirit's choice. Now this name of "spirit" he gives to the "soul." For choice is a quality, not a motion (ποιὸν οὐ κίνησις). And David says: "Into Thy hands I commit my spirit."[2] And in good truth "did my wisdom remain with me," for it made me know and understand, so as to enable me to speak of all that is not advantageous (περισσεία) under the sun. If, therefore, we desire the righteously profitable, if we seek the truly advantageous, if it is our aim to be incorruptible, let us engage in those labours which reach beyond the sun. For in these there is no vanity, and there is not the choice of a spirit at once inane and hurried hither and thither to no purpose.

12. "And I turned myself to behold wisdom, and madness, and folly: for what man is there that shall come after counsel in all those things which it has done?" (ὃς ἐλεύσεται ὀπίσω τῆς βουλῆς σύμπαντα ὅσα ἐποιησεν αὕτη ;)

He means the wisdom which comes from God, and which also remained with him. And by madness and folly he designates all the labours of men, and the vain and silly pleasure they have in them. Distinguishing these, therefore, and their measure, and blessing the true wisdom, he has added: "For what man is there that shall come after counsel?" For this counsel instructs us in the wisdom that is such indeed, and gifts us with deliverance from madness and folly.

13. "Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as much as light excelleth darkness."

He does not say this in the way of comparison. For things which are contrary to each other, and mutually destructive, cannot be compared. But his decision was, that the one is to be chosen, and the other avoided. To like effect is the saying, "Men loved darkness rather than

[1] Reading προστιθεῖσα for προτιθεῖσα. [2] Ps. xxxi. 5.

light."[1] For the term *rather* in that passage expresses the choice of the person loving, and not the comparison of the objects themselves.

14. "The wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness."

That man always inclines earthward, he means, and has the ruling faculty (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) darkened. It is true, indeed, that we men have all of us our eyes in our head, if we speak of the mere disposition of the body. But he speaks here of the eyes of the mind. For as the eyes of the swine do not turn naturally up towards heaven, just because it is made by nature to have an inclination toward the belly; so the mind of the man who has once been enervated by pleasures is not easily diverted from the tendency thus assumed, because he has not "respect unto all the commandments of the Lord."[2] Again: "Christ is the head of the church."[3] And they, therefore, are the wise who walk in His way; for He Himself has said, "I am the way."[4] On this account, then, it becomes the wise man always to keep the eyes of his mind directed toward Christ Himself, in order that he may do nothing out of measure, neither being lifted up in heart in the time of prosperity, nor becoming negligent in the day of adversity: "for His judgments are a great deep,"[5] as you will learn more exactly from what is to follow.

14. "And I perceived myself also that one event happeneth to them all.

15. Then said I in my heart, As it happeneth to the fool, so it happeneth even to me; and why was I then more wise?"

The run of the discourse in what follows deals with those who are of a mean spirit as regards this present life, and in whose judgment the article of death and all the anomalous pains of the body are a kind of dreaded evil, and who on this account hold that there is no profit in a life of virtue, because there is no difference made in ills like these between the wise man and the fool. He speaks consequently of these

[1] John iii. 19. [2] Ps. cxix. 6. [3] Eph. v. 23.
[4] John xiv. 6. [5] Ps. xxxvi. 6.

as the words of a madness inclining to utter senselessness; whence he also adds this sentence, "For the fool talks overmuch" (ἐκ περισσεύματος); and by the "fool" here he means himself, and every one who reasons in that way. Accordingly he condemns this absurd way of thinking. And for the same reason he has given utterance to such sentiments in the fears of his heart; and dreading the righteous condemnation of those who are to be heard, he solves the difficulty in its pressure by his own reflections. For this word, "Why was I then wise?" was the word of a man in doubt and difficulty whether what is expended on wisdom is done well or to no purpose; and whether there is no difference between the wise man and the fool in point of advantage, seeing that the former is involved equally with the latter in the same sufferings which happen in this present world. And for this reason he says, "I spake over largely (περισσόν) in my heart," in thinking that there is no difference between the wise man and the fool.

16. "For there is no remembrance of the wise equally with the fool for ever."

For the events that happen in this life are all transitory, be they even the painful incidents, of which he says, "As all things now are consigned to oblivion" (καθότι ἤδη τὰ πάντα ἐπελήσθη). For after a short space has passed by, all the things that befall men in this life perish in forgetfulness. Yea, the very persons to whom these things have happened are not remembered all in like manner, even although they may have gone through like chances in life. For they are not remembered for these, but only for what they may have evinced of wisdom or folly, virtue or vice. The memories of such are not extinguished (equally) among men in consequence of the changes of lot befalling them. Wherefore he has added this: "And how shall the wise man die along with the fool? The death of sinners, indeed, is evil: yet the memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked is extinguished."[1]

22. "For that falls to man in all his labour."

In truth, to those who occupy their minds with the dis-

[1] Prov. x. 7.

tractions of life, life becomes a painful thing, which, as it were, wounds the heart with its goads, that is, with the lustful desires of increase. And sorrowful also is the solicitude connected with covetousness: it does not so much gratify those who are successful in it, as it pains those who are unsuccessful; while the day is spent in laborious anxieties, and the night puts sleep to flight from the eyes, with the cares of making gain. Vain, therefore, is the zeal of the man who looks to these things.

24. "And there is nothing good for a man, but what he eats and drinks, and what will show to his soul good in his labour. This also I saw, that it is from the hand of God.

25. For who eats and drinks from his own resources?" (*παρ' αὐτοῦ.*)

That the discourse does not deal now with material meats, he will show by what follows; namely, "It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting."[1] And so in the present passage he proceeds to add: "And (what) will show to his soul good in its labour." And surely mere material meats and drinks are not the soul's good. For the flesh, when luxuriously nurtured, wars against the soul, and rises in revolt against the spirit. And how should not intemperate eatings and drinkings also be contrary to God?[2] He speaks, therefore, of things mystical. For no one shall partake of the spiritual table, but one who is called by Him, and who has listened to the wisdom which says, "Take and eat."[3]

Chapter III.

Ver. 3. "There is a time to kill, and a time to heal."

To "kill," in the case of him who perpetrates unpardonable transgression; and to "heal," in the case of him who can show a wound that will bear remedy.

4. "A time to weep, and a time to laugh."

[1] Eccles. vii. 2.

[2] The text gives, *πῶς δὲ καὶ οὐκ παρὲκ Θεοῦ ἀσώτων βρωμάτων καὶ μίθη.*

[3] Prov. ix. 5.

A time to weep, when it is the time of suffering; as when the Lord also says, "Verily I say unto you, that ye shall weep and lament."[1] But to laugh, as concerns the resurrection: "For your sorrow," He says, "shall be turned into joy."[2]

4. "A time to mourn, and a time to dance."

When one thinks of the death which the transgression of Adam brought on us, it is a time to mourn; but it is time to hold festal gatherings when we call to mind the resurrection from the dead which we expect through the new Adam.

6. "A time to keep, and a time to cast away."

A time to keep the Scripture against the unworthy, and a time to put it forth for the worthy. Or, again: Before the incarnation it was a time to keep the letter of the law; but it was a time to cast it away when the truth came in its flower.

7. "A time to keep silence, and a time to speak."

A time to speak, when there are hearers who receive the word; but a time to keep silence, when the hearers pervert the word; as Paul says: "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject."[3]

10. "I have seen, then, the travail which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it.

11. Everything that He hath made is beautiful in its time: and He hath set the whole world in their heart; so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning and to the end."

And this is true. For no one is able to comprehend the works of God altogether. Moreover, the world is the work of God. No one, then, can find out as to this world what is its space from the beginning and unto the end, that is to say, the period appointed for it, and the limits before determined unto it; forasmuch as God has set the whole world as (a realm of) ignorance in our hearts. And thus one says: "Declare to me the shortness of my days."[4] In this manner, and for our profit, the end of this world (age)—that is to say, this present life—is a thing of which we are ignorant.

[1] Luke vi. 25; John xvi. 20. [2] John xvi. 20. [3] Tit. iii. 10.

[4] Ps. cii. 24, *τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἡμερῶν μου ἀνάγγειλόν μοι.*

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LUKE.

CHAP. XXII. 42–48.

Ver. 42. "Father, if Thou be willing to remove (*παρενεγκεῖν*) this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but Thine, be done."

But let these things be enough to say on the subject of the will. This word, however, "Let the cup pass," does not mean, Let it not come near me, or approach me.[1] For what can "pass from Him," certainly must first come nigh Him; and what does pass thus from Him, must be by Him. For if it does not reach Him, it cannot pass from Him. For He takes to Himself the person of man, as having been made man. Wherefore also on this occasion He deprecates the doing of the inferior, which is His own, and begs that the superior should be done, which is His Father's, to wit, the divine will; which again, however, in respect of the divinity, is one and the same will in Himself and in the Father. For it was the Father's will that He should pass through every trial (temptation); and the Father Himself in a marvellous manner brought Him on this course, not indeed with the trial itself as His goal, nor in order simply that He might enter into that, but in order that He might prove Himself to be above the trial, and also beyond it.[2] And surely it is the fact, that the Saviour asks neither what is impossible, nor what is impracticable, nor what is contrary to the will of the Father. It is something possible; for Mark makes mention of His saying, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee."[3] And they are possible if He wills them; for Luke tells us that He said, "Father, if Thou be willing, remove (*παρένεγκε*) this cup from me." The Holy Spirit, therefore, apportioned among the evangelists, makes up the full account of our Saviour's whole disposition by the expressions of these several narrators together. He does not, then, ask of the Father

[1] *οὐκ ἔστι*. Migne suggests *οὐκέτι*: "Let it no more come near me."

[2] *μετ' αὐτόν*. May it be, "and next to Himself" (the Father)?

[3] Mark xiv. 36.

what the Father wills not. For the words, "If Thou be willing," were demonstrative of subjection and docility (ἐπιεικείας), not of ignorance or hesitancy. For this reason, the other scripture says, "All things are possible unto Thee." And Matthew again admirably describes the submission and the humility[1] when he says, "If it be possible." For unless I adapt the sense in this way,[2] some will perhaps assign an impious signification to this expression, "If it be possible;" as if there were anything impossible for God to do, except that only which He does not will to do. But . . . being straightway strengthened in His humanity by His ancestral (πατρικῆς) divinity, he urges the safer petition, and desires no longer that that should be the case, but that it might be accomplished in accordance with the Father's good pleasure, in glory, in constancy, and in fulness. For John, who has given us the record of the sublimest and divinest of the Saviour's words and deeds, heard Him speak thus: "And the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"[3] Now, to drink the cup was to discharge the ministry and the whole œconomy of trial with fortitude, to follow and fulfil the Father's determination, and to surmount all apprehensions. And the exclamation, "Why hast Thou forsaken me?" was in due accordance with the requests He had previously made: Why is it that death has been in conjunction with me all along up till now, and that I bear not yet the cup? This I judge to have been the Saviour's meaning in this concise utterance.

And He certainly spake truth then. Nevertheless He was not forsaken. But He drank out the cup at once, as His plea had implied, and then passed away (παρελήλυθε). And the vinegar which was handed to Him seems to me to have been a symbolical thing. For the turned wine (ἐκτροπίας οἶνος) indicated very well the quick turning (τροπήν) and change which He sustained, when He passed from His passion to

[1] The text gives κἂν τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ εἰκτικόν, etc. Migne proposes, κἂν τούτῳ πάλιν τὸ εὐκτικόν = and Matthew again describes the supplicatory and docile in Him.

[2] Reading οὕτως for οὔτε.

[3] John xviii. 11.

impassibility, and from death to deathlessness, and from the position of one judged to that of one judging, and from subjection under the despot's power to the exercise of kingly dominion. And the sponge, as I think, signified the complete transfusion (*ἀνάκρασιν*) of the Holy Spirit that was realized in Him. And the reed symbolized the royal sceptre and the divine law. And the hyssop expressed that quickening and saving resurrection of His, by which He has also brought health to us.[1]

43. "And there appeared an angel unto Him from heaven, strengthening Him.

44. And being in an agony, He prayed more earnestly; and His sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground."

The phrase, "a sweat of blood," is a current parabolic expression used of persons in intense pain and distress; as also of one in bitter grief people say that the man "weeps tears of blood." For in using the expression, "as it were great drops of blood," he does not declare the drops of sweat to have been actually drops of blood. For he would not then have said that these drops of sweat were like blood. For such is the force of the expression, "as it were great drops." But rather with the object of making it plain that the Lord's body was not bedewed with any kind of subtle moisture which had only the show and appearance of actuality, but that it was really suffused all over with sweat in the shape of large thick drops, he has taken the great drops of blood as an illustration of what was the case with Him. And accordingly, as by the intensity of the supplication and the severe agony, so also by the dense and excessive sweat, he made the facts patent, that the Saviour was man by nature and in reality, and not in mere semblance and appearance, and that He was subject to all the innocent sensibilities natural to men. Nevertheless the words, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again,"[2] show that His passion was a voluntary thing; and besides that, they

[1] The text is, *ἡμᾶς ὑγίᾳ ἔδειξεν*. Migne proposes *ὑγίασιν*.

[2] John x. 18.

indicate that the life which is laid down and taken again is one thing, and the divinity which lays that down and takes it again is another. (He says, "one thing and another," not as making a partition into two persons, but as showing the distinction between the two natures.[1]) And as, by voluntarily enduring the death in the flesh, He implanted incorruptibility in it; so also, by taking to Himself of His own free-will the passion of our servitude,[2] He set in it the seeds of constancy and courage, whereby He has nerved those who believe on Him for the mighty conflicts belonging to their witness-bearing. Thus, also, those drops of sweat flowed from Him in a marvellous way like great drops of blood, in order that He might, as it were, drain off (ἀναξηράνῃ) and empty the fountain of the fear which is proper to our nature. For unless this had been done with a mystical import, He certainly would not, even had He been[3] the most timorous and ignoble of men, have been bedewed in this unnatural way with drops of sweat like drops of blood under the mere force of His agony.

Of like import is also the sentence in the narrative which tells us that an angel stood by the Saviour and strengthened Him. For this, too, bore also on the œconomy entered into on our behalf. For those who are appointed to engage in the sacred exertions of conflicts on account of piety, have the angels from heaven to assist them. And the prayer, "Father, remove the cup," He uttered probably not as if He feared the death itself, but with the view of challenging the devil by these words to erect the cross for Him. With words of deceit that personality deluded Adam; with the words of divinity, then, let the deceiver himself now be deluded. Howbeit assuredly the will of the Son is not one thing, and the will of the Father another. For He who wills what the Father wills, is found to have the Father's will. It is in a figure, therefore,

[1] This sentence is supposed to be an interpolation by the constructor of the *Catena*.

[2] The text is, τῆς δουλείας. Migne suggests, τῆς δειλίας = "the feeling of our fear."

[3] The text is, οὐδὲ ἡ σφόδρα δειλότατος, etc. We read, with Migne, εἰ instead of ἡ.

that He says, "not my will, but Thine." For it is not that He wishes the cup to be removed, but that He refers to the Father's will the right issue of His passion, and honours thereby the Father as the First (*ἀρχήν*). For if the Fathers style one's disposition *γνώμη* (*gnomè*), and if such disposition relates also to what is in consideration hidden as if by settled purpose, how say some that the Lord, who is above all these things, bears a gnomic will (*θέλημα γνωμικόν*)? Manifestly that can be only by defect of reason.

45. "And when He rose from prayer, and was come to His disciples, He found them sleeping for sorrow;
46. And said unto them, Why sleep ye? Rise and pray, lest ye enter into temptation."

For in the most general sense it holds good that it is apparently not possible for any man (*μάλιστα ἴσως παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ*) to remain altogether without experience of ill. For, as one says, "the whole world lieth in wickedness;"[1] and again, "The most of the days of man are labour and trouble."[2] But you will perhaps say, What difference is there between being tempted, and falling or entering into temptation? Well, if one is overcome of evil—and he will be overcome unless he struggles against it himself, and unless God protects him with His shield — that man has entered into temptation, and is in it, and is brought under it like one that is led captive. But if one withstands and endures, that man is indeed tempted; but he has not entered into temptation, or fallen into it. Thus Jesus was led up of the Spirit, not indeed to enter into temptation, but to be tempted of the devil.[3] And Abraham, again, did not enter into temptation, neither did God lead him into temptation, but He tempted (tried) him; yet He did not drive him into temptation. The Lord Himself, moreover, tempted (tried) the disciples. Thus the wicked one, when he tempts us, draws us into the temptations, as dealing himself with the temptations of evil. But God, when He tempts (tries), adduces the temptations (trials) as one untempted of evil. For God, it is said, "cannot be tempted of evil."[4] The devil, therefore, drives us on by

[1] 1 John v. 19. [2] Ps. xc. 10. [3] Matt. iv. 1. [4] Jas. i. 13.

violence, drawing us to destruction; but God leads us by the hand, training us for our salvation.

47. "And while He yet spake, behold a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them, and drew near unto Jesus, and kissed Him.

48. But Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?"

How wonderful this endurance of evil by the Lord, who even kissed the traitor, and spake words softer even than the kiss! For He did not say, O thou abominable, yea, utterly abominable traitor, is this the return you make to us for so great kindness? But, somehow, He says simply "Judas," using the proper name, which was the address that would be used by one who commiserated a person, or who wished to call him back, rather than of one in anger. And He did not say, "thy Master, the Lord, thy benefactor;" but He said simply, "the Son of man," that is, the tender and meek one: as if He meant to say, Even supposing that I was not your Master, or Lord, or benefactor, dost thou still betray one so guilelessly and so tenderly affected towards thee, as even to kiss thee in the hour of thy treachery, and that, too, when the kiss was the signal for thy treachery? Blessed art Thou, O Lord! How great is this example of the endurance of evil that Thou hast shown us in Thine own person! how great, too, the pattern of lowliness! Howbeit, the Lord has given us this example, to show us that we ought not to give up offering our good counsel to our brethren, even should nothing remarkable be effected by our words.

For as incurable wounds are wounds which cannot be remedied either by severe applications, or by those which may act more pleasantly upon them;[1] so[2] the soul, when it is once carried captive, and gives itself up to any kind of[3] wickedness, and refuses to consider what is really profitable for it, although a myriad counsels should echo in it, takes no good to itself. But just as if the sense of hearing were dead within it, it receives no benefit from exhortations

[1] Some such clause as ἰαθῆναι δύναται requires to be supplied here.

[2] Reading οὕτω for οὔτε.

[3] Reading ᾠτινιοῦν for ὁτιοῦν.

addressed to it; not because it cannot, but only because it will not. This was what happened in the case of Judas. And yet Christ, although He knew all these things beforehand, did not at any time, from the beginning on to the end, omit to do all in the way of counsel that depended on Him. And inasmuch as we know that such was His practice, we ought also unceasingly to endeavour to set those right (ῥυθμίζειν) who prove careless, even although no actual good may seem to be effected by that counsel.

That the Son is not different from the Father in nature, but connatural and consubstantial with Him.[1]

The plant that springs from the root is something distinct from that whence it grows up; and yet it is of one nature with it. And the river which flows from the fountain is something distinct from the fountain. For we cannot call either the river a fountain, or the fountain a river. Nevertheless we allow that they are both one according to nature, and also one in substance; and we admit that the fountain may be conceived of as father, and that the river is what is begotten of the fountain.

ANOTHER FRAGMENT ON LUKE XXII. 42, ETC.[2]

(From the Vatican Codex, 1611, fol. 291. See also Mai, *Bibliotheca Nova*, vi. 1. 165.)

But let these things be enough to say on the subject of the will. This word, however, "Let the cup pass," does not mean, Let it not come near me, or approach me. For what

[1] From the *Panoplia* of Euthymius Zigabenus in the Cod. xix. *Nanianæ Biblioth.*

[2] This is given here in a longer and fuller form than in the Greek of Gallandi in his *Bibliotheca* xiv., Appendix, p. 115, as we have had it presented above, and than in the Latin of Corderius in his *Catena* on Luke xxii. 42, etc. This text is taken from a complete codex.

can pass from Him must certainly first come nigh Him, and what does thus pass from Him must be by Him. For if it does not reach Him, it cannot pass from Him. Accordingly, as if He now felt it to be present, He began to be in pain, and to be troubled, and to be sore amazed, and to be in an agony. And as if it was at hand and placed before Him, He does not merely say "the cup," but He indicates it by the word "this." Therefore, as what passes from one is something which neither has no approach nor is permanently settled with one, so the Saviour's first request is that the temptation which has come softly and plainly upon Him, and associated itself lightly with Him, may be turned aside. And this is the first form of that freedom from falling into temptation, which He also counsels the weaker disciples to make the subject of their prayers; that, namely, which concerns the approach of temptation: for it must needs be that offences come, but yet those to whom they come ought not to fall into the temptation. But the most perfect mode in which this freedom from entering into temptation is exhibited, is what He expresses in His second request, when He says not merely, "Not as I will," but also, "but as Thou wilt." For with God there is no temptation in evil; but He wills to give us good exceeding abundantly above what we ask or think. That His will, therefore, is the perfect will, the Beloved Himself knew; and often does He say that He has come to do that will, and not His own will,—that is to say, the will of men. For He takes to Himself the person of men, as having been made man. Wherefore also on this occasion He deprecates the doing of the inferior, which is His own, and begs that the superior should be done, which is His Father's, to wit, the divine will, which again, however, in respect of the divinity, is one and the same will in Himself and in His Father. For it was the Father's will that He should pass through every trial (temptation), and the Father Himself in a marvellous manner brought Him on this course; not, indeed, with the trial itself as His goal, nor in order simply that He might enter into that, but in order that He might prove Himself to be above the trial, and also beyond it. And surely it is the fact that

the Saviour asks neither what is impossible, nor what is impracticable, nor what is contrary to the will of the Father. It is something possible, for Mark makes mention of His saying, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee;" and they are possible if He wills them, for Luke tells us that He said, "Father, if Thou be willing, remove this cup from me." The Holy Spirit therefore, apportioned among the evangelists, makes up the full account of our Saviour's whole disposition by the expressions of these several narrators together. He does not then ask of the Father what the Father wills not. For the words, "if Thou be willing," were demonstrative of subjection and docility, not of ignorance or hesitancy. And just as when we make any request that may be accordant with his judgment, at the hand of father or ruler or any one of those whom we respect, we are accustomed to use the address, though not certainly as if we were in doubt about it, "if you please;" so the Saviour also said, "if Thou be willing:" not that He thought that He willed something different, and thereafter learned the fact, but that He understood exactly God's willingness to remove the cup from Him, and as doing so also apprehended justly that what He wills is also possible unto Him. For this reason the other scripture says, "All things are possible unto Thee." And Matthew again admirably describes the submission and the humility, when he says, "if it be possible." For unless we adapt the sense in this way, some will perhaps assign an impious signification to this expression "if it be possible," as if there were anything impossible for God to do, except that only which He does not will to do. Therefore the request which He made was nothing independent, nor one which pleased Himself only, or opposed His Father's will, but one also in conformity with the mind of God. And yet some one may say that He is overborne and changes His mind, and asks presently something different from what He asked before, and holds no longer by His own will, but introduces His Father's will. Well, such truly is the case. Nevertheless He does not by any means make any change from one side to another; but He embraces another

way, and a different method of carrying out one and the same transaction, which is also a thing agreeable to both; choosing, to wit, in place of the mode which is the inferior, and which appears unsatisfying also to Himself, the superior and more admirable mode marked out by the Father. For no doubt He did pray that the cup might pass from Him; but He says also, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." He longs painfully, on the one hand, for its passing from Him, but (He knows that) it is better as the Father wills. For He does not utter a petition for its not passing away now, instead of one for its removal; but when its withdrawal is now before His view, He chooses rather that this should be ordered as the Father wills. For there is a twofold kind (δύναμις) of withdrawal: there is one in the instance of an object that has shown itself and reached another, and is gone at once on being followed by it or on outrunning it, as is the case with racers when they graze each other in passing; and there is another in the instance of an object that has sojourned and tarried with another, and sat down by it, as in the case of a marauding band or a camp, and that after a time withdraws on being conquered, and on gaining the opposite of a success. For if they prevail they do not retire, but carry off with them those whom they have reduced; but if they prove unable to win the mastery, they withdraw themselves in disgrace. Now it was after the former similitude that He wished that the cup might come into His hands, and promptly pass from Him again very readily and quickly; but as soon as He spake thus, being at once strengthened in His humanity by the Father's divinity, He urges the safer petition, and desires no longer that that should be the case, but that it might be accomplished in accordance with the Father's good pleasure, in glory, in constancy, and in fulness. For John, who has given us the record of the sublimest and divinest of the Saviour's words and deeds, heard Him speak thus: "And the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" Now, to drink the cup was to discharge the ministry and the whole œconomy of trial with fortitude, to follow and fulfil the Father's determination, and to surmount all apprehen-

sions; and, indeed, in the very prayer which He uttered He showed that He was leaving these (apprehensions) behind Him. For of two objects, either may be said to be removed from the other: the object that remains may be said to be removed from the one that goes away, and the one that goes away may be said to be removed from the one that remains. Besides, Matthew has indicated most clearly that He did indeed pray that the cup might pass from Him, but yet that His request was that this should take place not as He willed, but as the Father willed it. The words given by Mark and Luke, again, ought to be introduced in their proper connection. For Mark says, "Nevertheless not what I will, but what Thou wilt;" and Luke says, "Nevertheless not my will, but Thine be done." He did then express Himself to that effect, and He did desire that His passion might abate and reach its end speedily. But it was the Father's will at the same time that He should carry out His conflict in a manner demanding sustained effort (*λιπαρῶς*), and in sufficient measure. Accordingly He (the Father) adduced all that assailed Him. But of the missiles that were hurled against Him, some were shivered in pieces, and others were dashed back as with invulnerable arms of steel, or rather as from the stern and immoveable rock. Blows, spittings, scourgings, death, and the lifting up in that death (*τοῦ θανάτου τὸ ὕψωμα*), all came upon Him; and when all these were gone through, He became silent and endured in patience unto the end, as if He suffered nothing, or was already dead. But when His death was being prolonged, and when it was now overmastering Him, if we may so speak, beyond His utmost strength, He cried out to His Father, "Why hast Thou forsaken me?" And this exclamation was in due accordance with the requests He had previously made: Why is it that death has been in such close conjunction with me all along up till now, and Thou dost not yet bear the cup past me (*παραφέρεις*)? Have I not drunk it already, and drained it? But if not, my dread is that I may be utterly consumed by its continuous pressure (*εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔπιον αὐτὸ ἤδη καὶ ἀνήλωσα· ἀλλὰ δέος μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἐπικειμένου καταποθείην*); and that is what would befall

me, wert Thou to forsake me: then would the fulfilment abide, but I would pass away, and be made of none effect (κεκενωμένος). Now, then, I entreat Thee, let my baptism be finished, for indeed I have been straitened greatly until it should be accomplished.—This I judge to have been the Saviour's meaning in this concise utterance. And He certainly spake truth then. Nevertheless He was not forsaken. Albeit He drank out the cup at once, as His plea had implied, and then passed away. And the vinegar which was handed to Him seems to me to have been a symbolical thing. For the turned wine indicated very well the quick turning and change which He sustained when He passed from His passion to impassibility, and from death to deathlessness, and from the position of one judged to that of one judging, and from subjection under the despot's power to the exercise of kingly dominion. And the sponge, as I think, signified the complete transfusion of the Holy Spirit that was realized in Him. And the reed symbolized the royal sceptre and the divine law. And the hyssop expressed that quickening and saving resurrection of His by which He has also brought health to us. But we have gone through these matters in sufficient detail on Matthew and John. With the permission of God, we shall speak also of the account given by Mark. But at present we shall keep to what follows in our passage.

ANOTHER FRAGMENT OF AN EXPOSITION OF LUKE XXII. 46, ETC.,

CONNECTED WITH THE PRECEDING ON CHRIST'S PRAYER IN GETHSEMANE.

(Edited in a mutilated form, as given by Gallandi, in his *Bibliotheca*, xiv. p. 117, and here presented in its completeness, as found in the Vatican Codex 1611, f. 292, *b*.)

This prayer He also offered up Himself, falling repeatedly on His face; and on both occasions He urged His request for not entering into temptation: both when He prayed, "If it

be possible, let this cup pass from me;" and when He said, "Nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt." For He spoke of not entering into temptation, and He made that His prayer; but He did not ask that He should have no trial whatsoever in these circumstances, or[1] that no manner of hardship should ever befall Him. For in the most general application it holds good, that it does not appear to be possible for any man to remain altogether without experience of ill: for, as one says, "The whole world lieth in wickedness;"[2] and again, "The most of the days of man are labour and trouble,"[3] as men themselves also admit. Short is our life, and full of sorrow. Howbeit it was not meet that He should bid them pray directly that that curse might not be fulfilled, which is expressed thus: "Cursed is the ground in thy works: in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life;"[4] or thus, "Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return."[5] For which reason the holy Scriptures, that indicate in many various ways the dire distressfulness of life, designate it as a valley of weeping. And most of all indeed is this world a scene of pain to the saints, to whom He addresses this word, and He cannot lie in uttering it: "In the world ye shall have tribulation."[6] And to the same effect also He says by the prophet, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous."[7] But I suppose that He refers to this entering not into temptation, when He speaks in the prophet's words of being delivered out of the afflictions. For he adds, "The Lord will deliver him out of them all." And this is just in accordance with the Saviour's word, whereby He promises that they will overcome their afflictions, and that they will participate in that victory which He has won for them. For after saying, "In the world ye shall have tribulation," He added, "But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." And again, He taught them to pray that they might not fall into temptation, when He said, "And lead us not into temptation;" which means, "Suffer us not to fall into temp-

[1] Reading ἤ for ἤν.
[2] 1 John v. 19.
[3] Ps. xc. 10.
[4] Gen. iii. 17.
[5] Gen. iii. 19.
[6] John xvi. 33.
[7] Ps. xxxiv. 19

tation." And to show that this did not imply that they should not be tempted, but really that they should be delivered from the evil, He added, "But deliver us from evil." But perhaps you will say, What difference is there between being tempted, and falling or entering into temptation? Well, if one is overcome of evil—and he will be overcome unless he struggles against it himself, and unless God protects him with His shield—that man has entered into temptation, and is in it, and is brought under it like one that is led captive. But if one withstands and endures, that man is indeed tempted; but he has not entered into temptation, or fallen under it. Thus Jesus was led up of the Spirit, not indeed to enter into temptation, but "to be tempted of the devil."[1] And Abraham, again, did not enter into temptation, neither did God lead him into temptation, but He tempted (tried) him; yet He did not drive him into temptation. The Lord Himself, moreover, tempted (tried) the disciples. And thus the wicked one, when he tempts us, draws us into the temptations, as dealing himself with the temptations of evil; but God, when He tempts (tries), adduces the temptations as one untempted of evil. For God, it is said, "cannot be tempted of evil."[2] The devil, therefore, drives us on by violence, drawing us to destruction; but God leads us by the hand, training us for our salvation.

A FRAGMENT ON JOHN VIII. 12.

(Edited from the Vatican Codex 1996, f. 78, belonging to a date somewhere about the tenth century.)

Now this word "I am" expresses His eternal subsistence. For if He is the reflection of the eternal light, He must also be eternal Himself. For if the light subsists for ever, it is evident that the reflection also subsists for ever. And that this light subsists, is known only by its shining; neither can there be a light that does not give light. We come back,

[1] Matt. iv. 1. [2] Jas. i. 13.

therefore, to our illustrations. If there is day, there is light; and if there is no such thing, the sun certainly cannot be present.[1] If, therefore, the sun had been eternal, there would also have been endless day. Now, however, as it is not so, the day begins when the sun rises, and it ends when the sun sets. But God is eternal light, having neither beginning nor end. And along with Him there is the reflection, also without beginning, and everlasting. The Father, then, being eternal, the Son is also eternal, being light of light; and if God is the light, Christ is the reflection; and if God is also a Spirit, as it is written, "God is a Spirit," Christ, again, is called analogously Spirit (ἀτμίς[2]).

A FRAGMENT, PROBABLY BY THE ALEXANDRIAN DIONYSIUS, ON THE RECEPTION OF THE LAPSED TO PENITENCE.

(This seems to be an excerpt from his works *On Penitence*, three of which are mentioned by Jerome in his *De Script. Eccl.* ch. 69. See Mai, *Classici Auctores*, x. 484. It is edited here from the Vatican Codex.)

But now we are doing the opposite. For whereas Christ, who is the good (Shepherd), goes in quest of one who wanders, lost among the mountains, and calls him back when he flees from Him, and is at pains to take him up on His shoulders when He has found him, we, on the contrary, harshly spurn such an one even when He approaches us. Yet let us not consult so miserably for ourselves, and let us not in this way be driving the sword against ourselves. For when people set themselves either to do evil or to do good to others, what

[1] Reading πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. The text gives πόλυ γε δεῖ.

[2] If this strange reading ἀτμίς is correct, there is apparently a play intended on the two words πνεῦμα and ἀτμίς, = if God is a πνεῦμα, which word literally signifies Wind or Air, Christ, on that analogy, may be called ἀτμίς, that is to say, the Vapour or Breath of that Wind.

they do is certainly not confined to the carrying out of their will on those others; but just as they attach themselves to iniquity or to goodness, they will themselves become possessed either by divine virtues or by unbridled passions. And the former will become the followers and comrades of the good angels; and both in this world and in the other, with the enjoyment of perfect peace and immunity from all ills, they will fulfil the most blessed destinies unto all eternity, and in God's fellowship they will be for ever (in possession of) the supremest good. But these latter will fall away at once from the peace of God and from peace with themselves, and both in this world and after death they will abide with the spirits of bloodguiltiness (τοῖς παλαμναίοις δαίμοσι).[1] Wherefore let us not thrust from us those who seek a penitent return; but let us receive them gladly, and number them once more with the stedfast, and make up again what is defective in them.

[1] Or, with the demons of vengeance.

THE REMAINS OF ARCHELAUS,

BISHOP OF CASCAR, IN MESOPOTAMIA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

A CERTAIN memorable Disputation, which was conducted by a bishop of the name of Archelaus with the heretic Manes, is mentioned by various writers of an early date. Thus Cyril of Jerusalem, in the sixth book of his *Catecheses*, § 27 and 30, tells us how Manes fled into Mesopotamia, and was met there by that shield of righteousness (ὅπλον δικαιοσύνης) Bishop Archelaus, and was refuted by him in the presence of a number of Greek philosophers, who had been brought together as judges of the discussion. Epiphanius, in his *Heresies*, lxvi., and again in his work *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, § 20, makes large reference to the same occasion, and gives some excerpts from the *Acts of the Disputation*. And there are also passages of greater or less importance in Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* ch. 72), Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 22), Heraclianus bishop of Chalcedon (as found in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. xcv.), Petrus Siculus (*Historia Manichæorum*, pp. 25, 35, 37), Photius (*Adversus Manichæos*, book i., edited in the *Biblioth. Coislin.*, *Montfaucon*, pp. 356, 358), and the anonymous authors of the *Libellus Synodicus*, ch. 27, and the *Historia Hæreseos Manichæorum* in the Codex Regius of Turin. What professes to be an account of that Disputation has come down to us in a form mainly Latin, but with parts in Greek. A considerable portion of this Latin version was published by Valesius in his edition of Socrates and Sozomen, and subsequently by others in greater completeness, and with

the addition of the Greek fragments: as by Zacagnius at Rome, in 1698, in his *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiæ Græcæ ac Latinæ;* by Fabricius, in the *Spicilegium Sanctorum Patrum Sæculi,* iii., in his edition of Hippolytus, etc. There seems to be a difference among the ancient authorities cited above as to the person who committed these *Acts* to writing. Epiphanius and Jerome take it to have been Archelaus himself, while Heraclianus, bishop of Chalcedon, represents it to have been a certain person named Hegemonius. In Photius (*Biblioth.* Cod. lxxxv.) there is a statement to the effect that this Heraclianus, in confuting the errors of the Manichæans, made use of certain Acts of the Disputation of Bishop Archelaus with Manes which were written by Hegemonius. And there are various passages in the *Acts* themselves which appear to confirm the opinion of Heraclianus. See especially ch. 39 and 55. Zacagnius, however, thinks that this is but an apparent discrepancy, which is easily reconciled on the supposition that the book was first composed by Archelaus himself in Syriac, and afterwards edited, with certain amendments and additions, by Hegemonius. That the work was written originally in Syriac is clear, not only from the express testimony of Jerome (*De vir. illustr.* ch. 72), but also from internal evidence, and specially from the explanations offered now and again of the use of Greek equivalents. It is uncertain who was the author of the Greek version; and we can only conjecture that Hegemonius, in publishing a new edition, may also have undertaken a translation into the tongue which would secure a much larger audience than the original Syriac. But that this Greek version, by whomsoever accomplished, dates from the very earliest period, is proved by the excerpts given in Epiphanius. As to the Latin interpretation itself, all that we can allege is, that it must in all probability have been published after Jerome's time, who might reasonably be expected to have made some allusion to it if it was extant in his day; and before the seventh century, because, in quoting the Scriptures, it does not follow the Vulgate edition, which was received generally throughout the West by that

period. That the Latin translator must have had before him, not the Syriac, but the Greek copy, is also manifest, not only from the general idiomatic character of the rendering, but also from many nicer indications, such as the apparent confusion between *ἀήρ* and *ἀνήρ* in ch. 8, and again between *λοιμός* and *λιμός* in the same chapter, and between *πήσσει* and *πλήσσει* in ch. 9, and the retention of certain Greek words, sometimes absolutely, and at other times with an explanation, as *cybi*, *apocrusis*, etc.

The precise designation of the seat of the bishopric of Archelaus has been the subject of considerable diversity of opinion. Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 22) and Epiphanius (*Hœres.* lxvi. ch. 5 and 7, and *De Mens. et Pond.* ch. 20) record that Archelaus was bishop *Κασχάρων*, *of Caschar*, or *Caschara*. Epiphanius, however, does not keep consistently by that scription; for elsewhere (*Hœres.* lxvi. 11) he writes *Κασχάρην*, or, according to another reading, which is held by Zacagnius to be corrupt, *Καλχάρων*. In the opening sentence of the *Acts* themselves it appears as Carchar, and that form is followed by Petrus Siculus (*Hist. Manich.* p. 37) and Photius (lib. i. *Adv. Manich.*), who, in epitomizing the statements of Epiphanius, write neither *Κασχάρων* nor *Καλχάρων*, but *Καρχάρων*. Now we know that there were at least two towns of the name of Carcha: for the anonymous Ravenna geographer (*Geogr.* book ii. ch. 7) tells us that there was a place of that name in Arabia Felix; and Ammianus Marcellinus (book xviii. 23, and xxv. 20, 21) mentions another beyond the Tigris, within the Persian dominion. The clear statements, however, to the effect that the locality of the bishopric of Archelaus was in Mesopotamia, make it impossible that either of these two towns could have been the seat of his rule. Besides this, in the third chapter of the *Acts* themselves we find the name *Charra* occurring; and hence Zacagnius and others have concluded that the place actually intended is the scriptural *Charran*, or Haran, in Mesopotamia, which is also written *Charra* in Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Misc.* xxii. 20), and that the form Carchar or Carchara was either a mere error of the transcribers,

or the vulgar provincial designation. It must be added, however, that Neander (*Church History*, ii. p. 165, Bohn) allows this to be only a very uncertain conjecture, while others hold that *Caschar* is the most probable scription, and that the town is one altogether different from the ancient Haran.

The date of the Disputation itself admits of tolerably exact settlement. Epiphanius, indeed (*De Mensur. et Pond.* ch. 20), says that Manes fled into Mesopotamia in the ninth year of the reign of Valerianus and Gallienus, and that the discussion with Archelaus took place about the same time. This would carry the date back to about 262 A.D. But this statement, although he is followed in it by Petrus Siculus and Photius, is inconsistent with the specification of times which he makes in dealing with the error of the Manicheans in his book *On the Heresies*. From the 37th chapter of the *Acts*, however, we find that the Disputation took place, not when Gallienus, but when Probus held the empire, and that is confirmed by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cateches.* vi. p. 140). The exact year becomes also clearer from Eusebius, who (*Chronicon, lib. post.* p. 177) seems to indicate the second year of the reign of Probus as the time when the Manichean heresy attained general publicity (*Secundo anno Probi . . . insana Manichæorum hæresis in commune humani generis malum exorta*); and from Leo Magnus, who in his second *Discourse on Pentecost* also avers that Manichæus became notorious in the consulship of Probus and Paulinus. And as this consulship embraced part of the first and part of the second years of the empire of Probus, the Disputation itself would thus be fixed as occurring in the end of 277 A.D. or the beginning of 278, or, according to the precise calculation of Zacagnius, between July and December of the year 277.

That the *Acts* of this Disputation constitute an authentic relic of antiquity, seems well established by a variety of considerations. Epiphanius, for instance, writing about the year 376 A.D., makes certain excerpts from them which correspond satisfactorily with the extant Latin version. Socrates, again, whose *Ecclesiastical History* dates about 439, mentions these

Acts, and acknowledges that he drew the materials for his account of the Manichean heresy from them. The book itself, too, offers not a few evidences of its own antiquity and authenticity. The enumeration given of the various heretics who had appeared up to the time of Archelaus, the mention of his presence at the siege of the city in ch. 24, and the allusions to various customs, have all been pressed into that service, as may be seen in detail in the elaborate dissertation prefixed by Zacagnius in his *Collectanea Monumentorum Ecclesiæ Græcæ*. At the same time, it is very evident that the work has come down to us in a decidedly imperfect form. There are, for example, arguments by Manes and answers by Archelaus recorded in Cyril (*Catech.* vi. p. m. 147) which are not contained in our Latin version at all. And there are not a few notes of discrepancy and broken connections in the composition itself, as in the 12th, 25th, and 28th chapters, which show that the manuscripts must have been defective, or that the Latin translator took great liberties with the Greek text, or that the Greek version itself did not faithfully reproduce the original Syriac. On the historical character of the work Neander expresses himself thus (*Church History*, ii. pp. 165, 166, Bohn): "These *Acts* manifestly contain an ill-connected narrative, savouring in no small degree of the romantic. Although there is some truth at the bottom of it—as, for instance, in the statement of doctrine there is much that wears the appearance of truth, and is confirmed also by its agreement with other representations—still the Greek author seems, from ignorance of Eastern languages and customs, to have introduced a good deal that is untrue, by bringing in and confounding together discordant stories through an uncritical judgment and exaggeration."

THE

ACTS OF THE DISPUTATION OF ARCHELAUS,

BISHOP OF CASCHAR IN MESOPOTAMIA,

WITH THE HERESIARCH MANES.

1. THE true THESAURUS (*Treasury*); to wit, the Disputation conducted in Carchar, a city of Mesopotamia, before Manippus[1] and Ægialeus and Claudius and Cleobolus, who acted as judges. In this city of Mesopotamia there was a certain man, Marcellus by name, who was esteemed as a person worthy of the highest honour for his manner of life, his pursuits, and his lineage, and not less so for his discretion and his nobility of character: he was possessed also of abundant means; and, what is most important of all, he feared God with the deepest piety, and gave ear always with due reverence to the things which were spoken of Christ. In short, there was no good quality lacking in that man, and hence it came to pass that he was held in the greatest regard by the whole city; while, on the other hand, he also made an ample return for the good-will of his city by his munificent and oft-repeated acts of liberality in bestowing on the poor, relieving the afflicted, and giving help to the distressed. But let it suffice us to have said thus much, lest by the weakness of our words we rather take from the man's virtues than adduce what is worthy of their splendour. I shall come, therefore, to the task which forms my subject. On a certain occasion, when a large body of captives were offered to the bishop Archelaus by the soldiers who held the camp in that place, their numbers being some seven thousand

[1] In Epiphanius, *Hæres.* lxvi. 10, it is Marsipus.

seven hundred, he was harassed with the keenest anxiety on account of the large sum of money which was demanded by the soldiers as the price of the prisoners' deliverance. And as he could not conceal his solicitude, all aflame for the religion and the fear of God, he at length hastened to Marcellus, and explained to him the importance and difficulty of the case. And when that pattern of piety, Marcellus, heard his narration, without the least delay he went into his house, and provided the price demanded for the prisoners, according to the value set upon them by those who had led them captive; and unlocking the treasures of his goods, he at once distributed the gifts of piety (*pietatis pretia*) among the soldiers, without any severe consideration of number or distinction,[1] so that they seemed to be presents rather than purchase-moneys. And those soldiers were filled with wonder and admiration at the grandeur of the man's piety and munificence, and were struck with amazement, and felt the force[2] of this example of pity; so that very many of them were added to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and threw off the belt of military service,[3] while others withdrew to their camp, taking scarcely a fourth part of the ransom, and the rest made their departure without receiving even so much as would defray the expenses of the way.

2. Marcellus, as might well be expected, was exceedingly gratified by these incidents; and summoning one of the prisoners, by name Cortynius, he inquired of him the cause of the war, and by what chance it was that they were overcome and bound with the chains of captivity. And the person addressed, on obtaining liberty to speak, began to express himself in these terms: "My lord Marcellus, we believe in the living God alone. And we have a custom of such a nature

[1] Nec numero aliquo nec discretione ulla distinguit. For *distinguit*, some propose *distribuit*.

[2] Reading *commonentur*, as in the text. *Commoventur* is also suggested, = "were deeply moved."

[3] On the attitude of the Christians of the primitive church towards warfare, see Tertullian's *De Corona Militis*, ch. 11, and the twelfth canon of the Nicene Council.

as I shall now describe, which has descended to us by the tradition of our brethren (in the faith), and has been regularly observed by us up to the present day. The practice is, that every year we go out beyond the bounds of the city, in company with our wives and children, and offer up supplications to the only and invisible God, praying Him to send us rains for our fields and crops. Now, when we were celebrating this observance at the usual time and in the wonted manner, evening surprised us as we lingered there, and were still fasting. Thus we were feeling the pressure of two of the most trying things men have to endure,—namely, fasting and want of sleep. But about midnight sleep enviously and inopportunely crept upon us, and with necks drooping and unstrung, and heads hanging down, it made our faces strike against our knees.[1] Now this took place because the time was at hand when by the judgment of God we were to pay the penalty proper to our deserts, whether it might be that we were offenders in ignorance, or whether it might be that with the consciousness of wrong we nevertheless had not given up our sin. Accordingly at that hour a multitude of soldiers suddenly surrounded us, supposing us, as I judge, to have lodged ourselves in ambush there, and to be persons with full experience and skill in fighting battles; and without making any exact inquiry into the cause of our gathering there, they threatened us with war, not in word, but at once by the sword. And though we were men who had never learned to do injury to any one, they wounded us pitilessly with their missiles, and thrust us through with their spears, and cut our throats with their swords. Thus they slew, indeed, about one thousand and three hundred men of our number, and wounded other five hundred. And when the day broke clearly, they carried off the survivors amongst us as prisoners here, and that, too, in a way showing their utter want of pity for us. For they drove us before their horses, spurring us on by blows from their spears, and impelling us forward by making the horses' heads press upon us. And those who

[1] Reading *cervicibus degravatis et laxis, demisso capite, frontem genibus elidit.* The text gives *demerso.*

had sufficient powers of endurance did indeed hold out; but very many fell down before the face of their cruel masters, and breathed out their life there; and mothers, with arms wearied, and utterly powerless with their burdens, and distracted by the threats of those behind them, suffered the little ones that were hanging on their breasts to fall to the ground; while all those on whom old age had come were sinking, one after the other, to the earth, overcome with their toils, and exhausted by want of food. The proud soldiers nevertheless enjoyed this bloody spectacle of men continually perishing, as if it had been a kind of entertainment, while they saw some stretched on the soil in hopeless prostration, and beheld others, worn out by the fierce fires of thirst and with the bands of their tongues utterly parched, lose the power of speech, and witnessed others with eyes ever glancing backwards, groaning over the fate of their dying little ones, while these, again, were constantly appealing to their most unhappy mothers with their cries, and the mothers themselves, driven frantic by the severities of the robbers, responded with their lamentations, which indeed was the only thing they could do freely. And those of them whose hearts were most tenderly bound up with their offspring chose voluntarily to meet the same premature fate of death with their children; while those, on the other hand, who had some capacity of endurance were carried off prisoners here with us. Thus, after the lapse of three days, during which time we had never been allowed to take any rest, even in the night, we were conveyed to this place, in which what has now taken place after these occurrences is better known to yourself."

3. When Marcellus, that man of consummate piety, had heard this recital, he burst into a flood of tears, touched with pity for misfortunes so great and so various. But making no delay, he at once prepared victuals for the sufferers, and did service with his own hand for the wearied; in this imitating our father Abraham the patriarch, who, when he entertained the angels hospitably on a certain occasion, did not content himself with merely giving the order to his slaves to bring a calf from the herd, but did himself, though advanced

in years, go and place it on his shoulders and fetch it in, and did with his own hand prepare food, and set it before the angels. So Marcellus, in discharge of a similar office, directed them to be seated as his guests in companies of ten; and when the seven hundred tables were all provided, he refreshed the whole body of the captives with great delight, so that those who had had strength to survive what they had been called to endure, forgot their toils, and became oblivious of all their ills. When, however, they had reached the fifteenth day, and while Marcellus was still liberally supplying all things needful for the prisoners, it seemed good to him that they should all be put in possession of the means of returning to their own parts, with the exception of those who were detained by the attention which their wounds demanded; and providing the proper remedies for these, he instructed the rest to depart to their own country and friends. And even to all these charities Marcellus added yet larger deeds of piety. For with a numerous band of his own dependants he went to look after the burying of the bodies of those who had perished on the march; and for as many of these as he could discover, of whatsoever condition, he secured the sepulture which was meet for them. And when this service was completed he returned to Charra, and gave permission to the wounded to return thence to their native country when their health was sufficiently restored, providing also most liberal supplies for their use on their journey. And truly the estimate of this deed made a magnificent addition to (the repute of) the other noble actions of Marcellus; for through that whole territory the fame of the piety of Marcellus spread so grandly, that large numbers of men belonging to various cities were inflamed with the intensest desire to see and become acquainted with the man, and most especially those persons who had not had occasion to bear penury before,—to all of whom this remarkable man, following the example of a Marcellus of old, furnished aid most indulgently, so that they all declared that there was no one of more illustrious piety than this man. Yea, all the widows, too, who were believers in the Lord had recourse to him, while the imbecile also could reckon

on obtaining at his hand most certain help to meet their circumstances; and the orphaned, in like manner, were all supported by him, so that his house was declared to be the hospice for the stranger and the indigent. And above all this, he retained in a remarkable and singular measure his devotion to the faith, building up his own heart upon the rock that shall not be moved.

4. Accordingly,[1] as this man's fame was being always the more extensively diffused throughout different localities, and when it had now penetrated even beyond the river Stranga, the honourable report of his name was carried into the territory of Persia. In this country dwelt a person called Manes, who, when this man's repute had reached him, deliberated largely with himself as to how he might entangle him in the snares of his doctrine, hoping that Marcellus might be made an upholder of his dogma. For he reckoned that he might make himself master of the whole province, if he could only first attach such a man to himself. In this project, however, his mind was agitated with the doubt whether he should at once repair in person to the man, or first attempt to get at him by letter; for he was afraid lest, by any sudden and unexpected introduction of himself upon the scene, some mischance might possibly befall him. At last, in obedience to a subtler policy, he resolved to write; and calling to him one of his disciples, by name Turbo,[2] who had been instructed by Addas, he handed to him an epistle, and bade him depart and convey it to Marcellus. This adherent accordingly received the letter, and carried it to the person to whom he had been commissioned by Manes to deliver it, overtaking the whole journey within five days. The above-mentioned Turbo, indeed, used great expedition

[1] At this point begins the portion of the work edited by Valesius from the Codex Bobiensis, which is preserved now in the Ambrosian Library.

[2] The Codex Bobiensis reads, *Adda Turbonem.* This Adda, or Addas, as the Greek gives it below in ch. xi., was one of those disciples of Manes whom he charged with the dissemination of his heretical opinions in the East, as we see from ch. xi.

on this journey, in the course of which he also underwent very considerable exertion and trouble. For whenever he arrived,[1] as[2] a traveller in foreign parts, at a hospice,—and these were inns which Marcellus himself had supplied in his large hospitality,[3]—on his being asked by the keepers of these hotels whence he came, and who he was, or by whom he had been sent, he used to reply: "I belong to the district of Mesopotamia, but I come at present from Persis, having been sent by Manichæus, a master among the Christians." But they were by no means ready to welcome a name unknown[4] to them, and were wont sometimes to thrust Turbo out of their inns, refusing him even the means of getting water for drinking purposes. And as he had to bear daily things like these, and things even worse than these, at the hands of those persons in the several localities who had charge of the mansions and hospices, unless he had at last shown that he was conveying letters to Marcellus, Turbo would have met the doom of death in his travels.

5. On receiving the epistle, then, Marcellus opened it, and read it in the presence of Archelaus, the bishop of the place. And the following is a copy of what it contained:[5]—

Manichæus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints who are with me, and the virgins, to Marcellus, my beloved son: Grace, mercy, and peace be with you from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ; and may the right hand of light preserve you safe from this present evil world, and from its calamities, and from the snares of the wicked one. Amen.

I was exceedingly delighted to observe the love cherished by

[1] Codex Bobiensis adds, *ad vesperam*, towards evening.

[2] The text gives *veluti peregrinans*. The Codex Bobiensis has *quippe peregrinans*.

[3] On the attention paid by the primitive church to the duties of hospitality, see Tertullian, *De præscriptionibus*, ch. 20; Gregory Nazianzenus, in his *First Invective against Julian;* also Priorius, *De literis canonicis*, ch. 5, etc.; and Thomassin, *De Tesseris hospitalitatis*, ch. 26.

[4] In the text, *ignotum;* in the Codex Bobiensis, *ignoratum*.

[5] This letter, along with the reply of Marcellus, is given by Epiphanius in his *Hæresies*, n. 6, from which the Greek text is taken.

you, which truly is of the largest measure. But I was distressed at your faith, which is not in accordance with the right standard. Wherefore, deputed as I am to seek the elevation of the race of men, and sparing,[1] as I do, those who have given themselves over to deceit and error, I have considered it needful to despatch this letter to you, with a view, in the first place, to the salvation of your own soul, and in the second place also to that of the souls of those who are with you, so as to secure you against[2] dubious opinions, and specially against notions like those in which the guides of the simpler class of minds indoctrinate their subjects, when they allege that good and evil have the same original subsistence (*ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι*), and when they posit the same beginning for them, without making any distinction or discrimination between light and darkness, and between the good and the evil or worthless, and between the inner man and the outer, as we have stated before, and without ceasing to mix up and confound together the one with the other. But, O my son, refuse thou thus thoughtlessly to identify these two things in the irrational and foolish fashion common to the mass of men, and ascribe no such confusion to the God of goodness. For these men refer the beginning and the end and the paternity of these ills to God Himself,—"whose end is near a curse."[3] For they do not believe the word spoken by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ Himself in the Gospels,[4] namely, that "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."[5] And how they can be bold enough to call God the maker and contriver of Satan and his wicked deeds, is a matter of great amazement to me. Yea, would that even this had been all the length to which they had gone with

[1] *φειδόμενος*. The Latin gives *subveniens*, relieving.

[2] The Greek text of Epiphanius gave *πρὸς τὸ ἀδιάκριτον*. Petavius substituted *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀδιάκριτον*; and that reading is confirmed by the Latin, *uti ne indiscretos animos geras*.

[3] *ὧν τὸ τέλος κατάρας ἐγγύς*. Cf. Heb. vi. 8.

[4] The text gives *ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις εὐαγγελίοις*, for which *τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις* may be proposed.

[5] Matt. vii. 18.

their silly efforts, and that they had not declared that the only-begotten Christ, who has descended from the bosom of the Father,[1] is the son of a certain woman, Mary, and born of blood and flesh and the varied impurities proper to women (*τῆς ἄλλης δυσωδίας τῶν γυναικῶν*)! Howbeit, neither to write too much in this epistle, nor to trespass at too great length upon your good nature,—and all the more so that I have no natural gift of eloquence,—I shall content myself with what I have said. But you will have full knowledge of the whole subject when I am present with you, if indeed you still continue to care for (*φείδῃ*) your own salvation. For I do not "cast a snare upon any one,"[2] as is done by the less thoughtful among the mass of men. Think of what I say, most honourable son.

6. On reading this epistle, Marcellus, with the kindest consideration, attended hospitably to the needs of the bearer of the letter. Archelaus, on the other hand, did not receive very pleasantly the matters which were read, but gnashed[3] with his teeth like a chained lion, impatient to have the author of the epistle given over to him. Marcellus, however, counselled him to be at peace; promising that he would himself take care to secure the man's presence. And accordingly Marcellus resolved to send an answer to what had been written to him, and indited an epistle containing the following statements:—

Marcellus, a man of distinction, to Manichæus, who has made himself known to me by his epistle, greeting.

An epistle written by you has come to my hand, and I have received Turbo with my wonted kindness; but the meaning of your letter I have by no means apprehended, and may not do so unless you give us your presence, and explain its contents in detail in the way of conversation, as you have offered to do in the epistle itself. Farewell.

This letter he sealed and handed to Turbo, with instructions to deliver it to the person from whom he had already conveyed a similar document. The messenger, however,

[1] John i. 18. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 35.

[3] The text gives *infrendebat*; the Codex Bobiensis has *infringebat*.

was extremely reluctant to return to his master, being mindful of what he had had to endure on the journey, and begged that another person should be despatched in his stead, refusing to go back to Manes, or to have any intercourse whatever with him again. But Marcellus summoned one of his young men (*ex pueris suis*), Callistus by name, and directed him to proceed to the place. Without any loss of time this young man set out promptly on his journey thither; and after the lapse of three days he came to Manes, whom he found in a certain fort, that of Arabion[1] to wit, and to whom he presented the epistle. On perusing it, he was glad to see that he had been invited by Marcellus; and without delay he undertook the journey; yet he had a presentiment that Turbo's failure to return boded no good, and proceeded on his way to Marcellus, not, as it were, without serious reflections. Turbo, for his part, was not at all thinking of leaving the house of Marcellus; neither did he omit any opportunity of conversing with Archelaus the bishop. For both these parties were very diligently engaged in investigating the practices of Manichæus, being desirous of knowing who he was and whence he came, and what was his manner of discourse. And he (Turbo) accordingly gave a lucid account of the whole position, narrating and expounding the terms of his faith in the following manner:[2]—

If you are desirous of being instructed in the faith of Manes by me, attend to me for a short space. That man worships two deities, unoriginated, self-existent, eternal, opposed the one to the other. Of these he represents the one as good, and the other as evil, and assigns the name of *Light* to the former, and that of *Darkness* to the latter. He alleges also that the soul in men is a portion of the *light*, but that the body and the formation of matter are parts of the *darkness*. He maintains, further, that a certain commingling or blend-

[1] Epiphanius, under this *Heresy*, num. 7, says that this was a fort situated on the other side of the river Stranga, between Persia and Mesopotamia.

[2] The section extending from this point on to ch. xii. is found word for word in the Greek of Epiphanius, num. 25.

ing (*μῖξιν δὲ ἤτοι σύγκρασιν*) has been effected between the two in the manner about to be stated, the following analogy being used as an illustration of the same; to wit, that their relations may be likened to those of two kings in conflict with each other, who are antagonists from the beginning, and have their own positions, each in his due order. And so he holds that the darkness passed without its own boundaries, and engaged in a similar contention with the light; but that the good Father then, perceiving that the darkness had come to sojourn on His earth, put forth from Himself a power[1] which is called the Mother of Life; and that this power thereupon put forth from itself *the first man*, (and) the five elements.[2] And these five elements are wind,[3] light, water, fire, and matter. Now this primitive man, being endued with these, and thereby equipped, as it were, for war, descended to these lower parts, and made war against the darkness. But the princes of the darkness, waging war in turn against him, consumed that portion of his panoply which is the soul. Then was that *first man* grievously injured there underneath by the darkness; and had it not been that the Father heard his prayers, and sent a second power, which was also put forth

[1] *προβάλλειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν.* But the Codex Bobiensis gives *produxit ex virtute*, put forth from His power one, etc. The Codex Casinensis has *produxerit et esse virtutem*, etc.

[2] The text is simply *καὶ αὐτὴν προβεβληκέναι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον, τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα.* The Latin, with emendations from the Codex Bobiensis and Epiphanius, gives *quâ virtute circumdedit primum hominem, quæ sunt quinque elementa*, etc. = with which power He begirt the first man, which is the same as the five elements, etc. With slight differences the Codex Bobiensis reads *quâ circumdedit*, and the Codex Casinensis, *quæ virtute.* Petavius pointed out that there is probably an omission in the text here. And from a passage in Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxvi. n. 45, it has been proposed to fill out the sentence thus: *προβάλλειν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ αὐτὴν προβεβληκέναι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς τόν τε πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον τὰ πέντε στοιχεῖα.* The sense might then be, that the good Father put forth from Himself a power called the *Mother of Life*, that this Mother of Life put forth the *first man*, and that the said Mother of Life and the first man put forth (or constituted) the five elements. See the note in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, v. p. 49.

[3] The Codex Bobiensis omits the *ventus*, wind.

from Himself and was called the *living Spirit*, and came down and gave him the right hand, and brought him up again out of the grasp of the darkness, that *first man* would, in those ancient times, have been in peril of absolute overthrow. From that time, consequently, he left the soul beneath. And for this reason the Manicheans, if they meet each other, give the right hand, in token of their having been saved from darkness; for he holds that the heresies have their seat all in the darkness. Then the living Spirit created the world; and bearing in himself three other powers, he came down and brought off the princes, and settled[1] them in the firmament, which is their body, (though it is called) the sphere. Then, again, the living Spirit created the luminaries, which are fragments of the soul, and he made them thus to move round and round the firmament; and again he created the earth in its eight species[2] (εἰς εἴδη ὀκτώ). And the Omophorus[3] sustains the burden thereof beneath; and when he is wearied with bearing it he trembles, and in that manner becomes the cause of a quaking of the earth in contravention of its determinate times. On account of this the good Father sent His Son forth from His own bosom[4] into the heart of the earth, and into these lowest parts of it, in order to secure for him the correction befitting him.[5] And whenever an earthquake occurs, he is either trembling under his weariness, or is shifting his burden from one shoulder to the other. Thereafter, again, the matter also of itself produced growths (τὰ

[1] The Greek gives ἱστηρίωσεν ἐν τῷ στηριώματι. The Latin version has, "crucifixit eos in firmamento." And Routh apparently favours the reading ἱσταύρωσεν = crucified them, etc. Valesius and the Codex Bobiensis have, "descendens eduxit principes Jesu, exiens in firmamentum quod est," etc.

[2] The Latin, however, gives *et sunt octo*, "and they are eight;" thus apparently having read εἰσὶ δὲ ὀκτώ, instead of εἰς εἴδη ὀκτώ.

[3] *i.e.* one who bears on his shoulders, the upholder.

[4] Reading ἐκ τῶν κόλπων, *de sinibus suis*. But the Codex Bobiensis gives *de finibus*, from His own territories.

[5] The Greek text is, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιτιμίαν δῷ. The Latin gives, "quo illum, ut par erat, coerceret." The Codex Bobiensis reads, "quod illum, ut pareret, coerceret." It is clear also that Petavius read correctly ἐπιτιμίαν for ἐπιθυμίαν in Epiphanius.

φυτά); and when these were carried off as spoil on the part of some of the princes, he summoned together all the foremost of the princes, and took from all of them individually power after power, and made up the man who is after the image of that *first man*, and united[1] the soul (with these powers) in him. This is the account of the manner in which his constitution was planned.

8. But when the living Father perceived that the soul was in tribulation in the body, being full of mercy and compassion, He sent His own beloved Son for the salvation of the soul. For this, together with the matter of Omophorus, was the reason of His sending Him. And the Son came and transformed Himself into the likeness of man, and manifested[2] Himself to men as a man, while yet He was not a man, and men supposed that He was begotten. Thus He came and prepared the work which was to effect the salvation of the souls, and with that object constructed an instrument with twelve urns (κάδους), which is made to revolve by the sphere, and draws up with it the souls of the dying. And the greater luminary receives these souls, and purifies them with its rays, and then passes them over to the moon; and in this manner the moon's disc, as it is designated by us, is filled up. For he says that these two luminaries are ships or passage-boats (πορθμεῖα). Then, if the moon becomes full, it ferries its passengers across toward the east wind, and thereby effects its own waning[3] in getting itself delivered of its freight. And in this manner it goes on making the passage across, and again discharging its freight of souls drawn up by the urns, until it saves its own proper portion of the souls.[4] Moreover, he maintains that every soul, yea, every living creature that moves, partakes of the substance

[1] ἔδησεν. The Codex Bobiensis gives, "vexit animam in eo."

[2] But certain codices read *et parebat*, "and was obedient," instead of *apparebat*.

[3] ἀπόκρουσιν. The Codex Casinensis has *apocrisin*; but the Codex Bobiensis gives *apocrusin*.

[4] The text gives τῆς ψυχῆς. But from the old Latin version, which has *animarum*, we may conjecture that τῶν ψυχῶν was read.

of the good Father. And accordingly, when the moon delivers over its freight of souls to the æons of the Father, they abide there in that pillar of glory, which is called the perfect air.[1] And this air is a pillar of light, for it is filled with the souls that are being purified. Such, moreover, is the agency by which the souls are saved. But the following, again, is the cause of men's dying: A certain virgin, fair in person, and beautiful in attire, and of most persuasive address, aims at making spoil of the princes that have been borne up and crucified on the firmament by the living Spirit; and she appears as a comely female to the princes, but as a handsome and attractive young man to the princesses. And the princes, when they look on her in her splendid figure, are smitten with love's sting; and as they are unable to get possession of her, they burn fiercely with the flame of amorous desire, and lose all power of reason. While they thus pursue the virgin, she disappears from view. Then the great prince sends forth from himself the clouds, with the purpose of bringing darkness on the whole world, in his anger. And then, if he feels grievously oppressed, his exhaustion expresses itself in perspiration, just as a man sweats under toil; and this sweat of his forms the rain. At the same time also the harvest-prince,[2] if he too chances to be captivated by the virgin, scatters pestilence[3] on the whole earth, with the view of putting men to death. Now this body (of man) is also called a *cosmos* (a microcosm), in relation to the great *cosmos* (the macrocosm of the universe); and all men have roots which are linked beneath with those above. Accordingly, when this prince is captivated by the virgin's charms, he then begins to cut the roots of men; and when their roots are cut, then pestilence commences to break forth, and

[1] The Latin version has "*vir* perfectus,"—a reading which is due apparently to the fact that the author had mistaken the ἀήρ of the Greek for ἀνήρ.

[2] ὁ θερισμὸς ἄρχων. The version of Petavius has, "Sic et princeps alter, messor appellatus." Perhaps the reading should be ὁ θερισμοῦ ἄρχων.

[3] λοιμόν. Other codices give *famem*, as reading λιμόν, famine.

in that manner they die. And if he shakes the upper parts of the root mightily,[1] an earthquake bursts, and follows as the consequence of the commotion to which the Omophorus is subjected. This is the explanation of (the phenomenon of) death.

9. I shall explain to you also how it is that the soul is transfused into five bodies.[2] First of all, in this process some small portion of it is purified; and then it is transfused into the body of a dog, or a camel, or some other animal. But if the soul has been guilty of homicide, it is translated into the body of the celephi;[3] and if it has been found to have engaged in cutting (*θερίσασα*, reaping), it is made to pass into the (body of the) dumb. Now these are the designations of the soul,—namely, intelligence, reflection, prudence, consideration, reasoning.[4] Moreover, the reapers who reap are likened to the princes who have been in darkness from the beginning,[5] since they consumed somewhat of the panoply of the first man. On this account there is a necessity for these to be translated into hay, or beans, or barley, or corn, or vegetables, in order that in these forms they, in like manner, may be reaped and cut. And again, if any one eats bread, he must needs also become bread and be

[1] *ἐὰν δὲ τὰ ἄνω τῆς ῥίζης πόνῳ σαλεύσῃ.* It may be also = And if the upper parts of the root shake under the exertion.

[2] *πῶς μεταγγίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς πέντε σώματα.* But the Codex Bobiensis reads *transferuntur;* and the Latin version gives, "quomodo et animæ in alia quoque corpora transfunduntur" = how the souls are also transfused into other bodies.

[3] The text gives *κιλιφῶν*, which is spoken of in Migne as an unknown animal, though *κίλιφος* (thus accentuated) occurs in ecclesiastical writers in the sense of a *leper*. It is proposed to read *ἐλεφαντιῶν*, "of elephants;" and so the Codex Bobiensis gives "elephantorum corpora," and Codex Casinensis has "in elefantia eorum corpora," which is probably an error for "in elephantiacorum corpora." Routh suggests *ἐλεφαντείων*.

[4] *νοῦς, ἔννοια, φρόνησις, ἐνθύμησις, λογισμός.* The Latin version renders, *mens, sensus, prudentia, intellectus, cogitatio.* Petavius gives, *mens, notio, intelligentia, cogitatio, ratiocinatio.*

[5] *τοῖς ἀπαρχῆς οὖσιν εἰς σκότος.* But the Latin version gives "qui ex materia orti," etc.—who, having sprung from matter, are in darkness.

eaten. If one kills a chicken (ὀρνίθιον), he will be a chicken himself. If one kills a mouse, he will also become a mouse himself. If, again, one is wealthy in this world, it is necessary that, on quitting the tabernacle of his body, he should be made to pass into the body of a beggar, so as to go about asking alms, and thereafter he shall depart into everlasting punishment. Moreover, as this body pertains to the princes and to matter, it is necessary that he who plants a persea[1] should pass through many bodies until that persea is prostrated. And if one builds a house for himself, he will be divided and scattered among all the bodies (εἰς τὰ ὅλα σώματα). If one bathes in water, he freezes[2] his soul; and if one refuses to give pious regard[3] to his elect, he will be punished through the generations,[4] and will be translated into the bodies of catechumens, until he render many tributes of piety; and for this reason they offer to the elect whatever is best in their meats. And when they are about to eat bread, they offer up prayer first of all, addressing themselves in these terms to the bread: "I have neither reaped thee, nor ground thee, nor pressed thee, nor cast thee into the baking-vessel; but another has done these things, and brought thee to me, and I have eaten thee without fault." And when he has uttered these things to himself, he says to the catechumen,[5] "I have prayed for thee;" and in this manner that person then takes his departure. For, as I remarked to you a little before, if any one reaps, he will be reaped; and so, too, if one casts grain into the mill, he will be cast in himself in like manner, or if he kneads he will be kneaded, or if he bakes he will be baked; and for this reason they are interdicted from

[1] Explained as a species of Egyptian tree, in which the fruit grows from the stem. The Codex Casinensis has the strange reading, *per se ad illam*, for *perseam*, etc. See also Epiphanius, num. 9.

[2] πήσσει. But the Latin version gives *vulnerat*, "wounds," from the reading πλήσσει.

[3] εὐσέβειαν. But the Latin version gives *alimenta*.

[4] εἰς τὰς γενεάς. But the Latin version has "pœnis subdetur gehennæ" = will suffer the pains of hell.

[5] But the Latin version gives, "respondet ad eum qui ei detulit" = he makes answer to the person who brought it to him.

doing any such work. Moreover, there are certain other worlds on which the luminaries rise when they have set on our world.[1] And if a person walks upon the ground here, he injures the earth; and if he moves his hand, he injures the air; for the air is the soul (life) of men and living creatures, both fowl, and fish, and creeping thing. And as to every one[2] existing in this world, I have told you that this body of his does not pertain to God, but to matter, and is itself darkness, and consequently it must needs be cast in darkness.

10. Now, with respect to paradise, it is not called a cosmos.[3] The trees that are in it are lust and other seductions, which corrupt the rational powers of those men. And that tree in paradise, by which men know the good, is Jesus Himself, (or)[4] the knowledge of Him in the world. He who partakes thereof discerns the good and the evil. The world itself, however, is not God's (work); but it was the structure of a portion of matter, and consequently all things perish in it. And what the princes took as spoil from the first man, that is what makes the moon full, and what is being purged day by day of the world. And if the soul makes its exit without having gained the knowledge of the truth, it is given over to the demons, in order that they may subdue it in the Gehennas of fire; and after that discipline it is made to pass into bodies with the purpose of being brought into subjection, and in this manner it is cast into the mighty fire until the consummation. Again, regarding the prophets amongst you,[5] he speaks thus: Their spirit is one of impiety, or of the lawlessness of the darkness which arose at the beginning. And being deceived by this spirit, they have not spoken (truth);

[1] The text is, *καὶ πάλιν εἰσὶν ἕτεροι κόσμοι τινὲς, τῶν φωστήρων δυνάντων ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ κόσμου, ἐξ ὧν ἀνατίλλουσι.* Routh suggests *οἷς τινὲς*, deleting *ἐξ ὧν*.

[2] Reading *εἴ τις*, as in the text. Routh suggests *εἴ τι*, = As to everything existing in this world, I have told you that the body thereof does, etc.

[3] But the Latin has "qui vocatur," etc. = which is called, etc. And Routh therefore proposes *ὃς καλεῖται* for *οὐ καλεῖται*.

[4] The text gives simply *ἡ γνῶσις*. The Codex Bobiensis has *et scientia*. Hence Routh would read *καὶ ἡ γνῶσις*, *and* the knowledge.

[5] Retaining the reading *ὑμῖν*, though Petavius would substitute *ἡμῖν*, us.

for the prince blinded their mind. And if any one follows their words, he dies for ever, bound to the clods of earth, because he has not learned the knowledge of the Paraclete. He also gave injunctions to his elect alone, who are not more than seven in number. And the charge was this: "When ye cease eating, pray, and put upon your head an olive, sworn with the invocation of many names for the confirmation of this faith." The names, however, were not made known to me; for only these seven make use of them. And again, the name Sabaoth, which is honourable and mighty with you, he declares to be the nature of man, and the parent of desire; for which reason the simple[1] worship desire, and hold it to be a deity. Furthermore, as regards the manner of the creation of Adam, he tells us that he who said, "Come and let us make man in our image, after our likeness," or "after the form which we have seen," is the prince who addressed the other princes in terms which may be thus interpreted: "Come, give me of the light which we have received, and let us make man after the form of us princes, even after that form which we have seen, that is to say,[2] the first man." And in that manner he (or they) created the man. They created Eve also after the like fashion, imparting to her of their own lust, with a view to the deceiving of Adam. And by these means the construction of the world proceeded from the operations of the prince.

11. He holds also that God has no part with the world itself, and finds no pleasure in it, by reason of its having been made a spoil of from the first by the princes, and on account of the ill that rose on it. Wherefore He sends and takes away from them day by day the soul belonging to Him, through the medium of these luminaries, the sun and the moon, by which the whole world and all creation are dominated. Him, again, who spake with Moses, and the Jews, and the priests, he declares to be the prince of the darkness; so that the

[1] ἀπλάριοι, in the Latin version *Simpliciores*, a name apparently given to the Catholics by the Manicheans. See Ducangii *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis.*

[2] The text gives ὁ ἐστὶ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος. Routh proposes ὅ ἐστι, etc.

Christians, and the Jews, and the Gentiles are one and the same body, worshipping the same God: for He seduces them in His own passions, being no God of truth. For this reason all those who hope in that God who spake with Moses and the prophets have to be bound together with the said deity (*μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχουσι δεθῆναι*), because they have not hoped in the God of truth; for that deity spake with them in accordance with their own passions. Moreover, after all these things, he speaks in the following terms with regard to the end (*ἐπὶ τέλει*), as he has also written: When the elder has displayed his image,[1] the Omophorus then lets the earth go from him, and so the mighty fire gets free, and consumes the whole world. Then, again, he lets the soil go with the new æon,[2] in order that all the souls of sinners may be bound for ever. These things will take place at the time when the man's image (*ἀνδριάς*) has come.[3] And all these powers put forth by God (*αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι*),—namely, Jesus, who is in the smaller ship (*πλοίῳ*), and the Mother of Life, and the twelve helmsmen (*κυβερνῆται*), and the virgin of the light, and the third elder, who is in the greater ship, and the living spirit, and the wall (*τεῖχος*) of the mighty fire, and the wall of the wind, and the air, and the water, and the interior living fire,—have their seat in the lesser luminary, until the fire shall have consumed the whole world: and that is to happen within so many years, the exact number of which, however, I have not ascertained. And after these things there will be a restitution of the two natures;[4] and the princes will occupy

[1] The text is *κάθως αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν· Ὁ πρεσβύτης*, etc. The Codex Bobiensis gives, "Sicut ipse senior scripsit: Cum manifestam feceris," etc., = As the elder himself wrote: When thou hast, etc. The *elder* here is probably the same as the *third elder* farther on.

[2] The Greek is, *ἀφίῃσι τὸν βῶλον μετὰ τοῦ νέου αἰῶνος*; but the Latin version has the strangely diverse rendering, "dimittunt animam quæ objicitur inter medium novi sæculi" = they let go the soul that is placed in the midst of the new age.

[3] But the Latin gives, "cum statuta venerit dies" = when the appointed day has come.

[4] *τῶν δύο φύσεων*. But the Latin version gives *duorum luminarium*, and the Codex Casinensis has *luminariorum*, the two luminaries.

the lower parts proper to them, and the Father the higher parts, receiving again what is His own due possession.—All this doctrine he delivered to his three disciples, and charged each to journey to a separate clime.[1] The Eastern parts fell thus to the lot of Addas; Thomas[2] obtained the Syrian territories as his heritage; and another, to wit Hermeias, directed his course toward Egypt. And to this day they sojourn there, with the purpose of establishing the propositions contained in this doctrine.[3]

12. When Turbo had made this statement, Archelaus was intensely excited; but Marcellus remained unmoved, for he expected that God would come to the help of His truth. Archelaus, however, had additional cares in his anxiety about the people, like the shepherd who becomes concerned for his sheep when secret perils threaten them from the wolves. Accordingly Marcellus loaded Turbo with the most liberal gifts, and instructed him to remain in the house of Archelaus the bishop.[4] But on that selfsame day Manes arrived, bringing along with him certain chosen youths and virgins to the number of twenty-two.[5] And first of all he sought for Turbo at the door of the house of Marcellus; and on failing to find him there, he went in to salute Marcellus. On seeing him, Marcellus at first was struck with astonishment at the costume in which he presented himself. For he wore a kind of shoe which is usually called in common speech the quadrisole;[6] he had also a party-coloured cloak, of a somewhat airy (aërina, sky-like) appearance; in his hand he grasped a very sturdy staff of ebony-wood;[7] he carried a Babylonian book under his left arm; his legs were swathed

[1] Reading κλίματα, with Petavius, for κλήματα.

[2] The Codex Casinensis makes no mention of Thomas.

[3] Here ends the Greek of Epiphanius.

[4] The words, *the bishop*, are omitted in the Codex Bobiensis.

[5] But Codex Bobiensis gives *duodecim*, twelve.

[6] But the Codex Bobiensis gives *trisolium*, the trisole. Strabo, book xv., tells us that the Persians wore high shoes.

[7] Ducange in his *Glossary*, under the word Εβέλλινος, shows from Callisthenes that the prophets or interpreters of sacred things carried an ebony staff.

in trousers of different colours, the one being red, and the other green as a leek; and his whole mien was like that of some old Persian master and commandant.[1] Thereupon Marcellus sent forthwith for Archelaus, who arrived so quickly as almost to outstrip the word, and on entering was greatly tempted at once to break out against him, being provoked to that instantly by the very sight of his costume and his appearance, though more especially also by the fact that he had himself been turning over in his mind in his retirement[2] the various matters which he had learned from the recital of Turbo, and had thus come carefully prepared. But Marcellus, in his great thoughtfulness, repressed all zeal for mere wrangling, and decided to hear both parties. With that view he invited the leading men of the city; and from among them he selected as judges (of the discussion) certain adherents of the Gentile religion, four in number. The names of these umpires were as follows: Manippus, a person deeply versed in the art of grammar and the practice of rhetoric; Ægialeus,[3] a very eminent physician, and a man of the highest reputation for learning; and Claudius and Cleobolus,[4] two brothers famed as rhetoricians.[5] A splendid assemblage was thus convened; so large, indeed, that the house of Marcellus, which was of immense size, was filled with those who had been called to be hearers. And when the parties who proposed to speak in opposition to each other had taken their places in

[1] The text is, "vultus vero ut senis Persæ artificis et bellorum ducis videbatur." Philippus Buonarruotius, in the *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di Vetro*, Florence 1716, p. 69, thinks that this rendering has arisen from the Latin translator's having erroneously read ὡς δημιουργοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ instead of ὡς δημάρχου καὶ στρατηγοῦ. Taking στρατηγοῦ, therefore, in the civil sense which it bears in various passages, he would interpret the sentence thus: "His whole mien was like that of an old Persian *tribune and magistrate*." See Gallandi's note.

[2] The text is *secretius factum*, etc. Routh suggests *secretius factus*, etc.

[3] The Codex Bobiensis reads "Ægidius."

[4] Epiphanius gives Κλεόβουλος.

[5] Codex Casinensis reads *rectores*, governors. And Epiphanius, num. 10, makes the first a professor of Gentile philosophy, the second a physician, the third a grammarian, and the fourth a rhetorician.

view of all, then those who had been elected as judges took their seats in a position elevated above all others: and the task of commencing the disputation was assigned to Manes. Accordingly, when silence was secured, he began[1] the discussion in the following terms:[2]—

13. My brethren, I indeed am a disciple of Christ, and, moreover, an apostle of Jesus; and it is owing to the exceeding kindness of Marcellus that I have hastened hither, with the view of showing him clearly in what manner he ought to keep the system of divine religion, so that the said Marcellus verily, who at present has put himself, like one who has surrendered himself prisoner, under the doctrine of Archelaus, may not, like the dumb animals, which are destitute of intellect and understand not what they do, be fatally smitten to the ruin of his soul, in consequence of any failure in the possession of further facilities for setting about the right observance of divine worship. I know, furthermore, and am certain, that if Marcellus is once set right,[3] it will be quite possible that all of you may also have your salvation effected; for your city hangs suspended upon his judgment. If vain presumption is rejected by every one of you, and if those things which are to be declared by me be heard with a real love for the truth, ye will receive the inheritance of the age to come, and the kingdom of heaven. I, in sooth, am the Paraclete, whose mission was announced of old time by Jesus, and who was to come to "convince the world of sin and unrighteousness"[4] (*injustitia*). And even as Paul, who was sent before me, said of himself, that "he knew in part, and prophesied in part,"[5] so I reserve the perfect for myself, in order that I may do away with that which is in part. Therefore receive ye this

[1] For *primum* the Codex Casinensis reads *plurima*, = he began a lengthy statement, etc.

[2] Thus far Valesius edited the piece from the Codex Bobiensis.

[3] Reading *emendato*. Codex Casinensis gives *enim dato*.

[4] John xvi. 8. This reading, *de injustitia*, may be due to an error on the part of the scribe, but is more probably to be referred to the practice pursued by Manes in altering and corrupting the sacred text to suit his own tenets. See ch. 53, and also Epiphanius on this heresy, num. 56.

[5] 1 Cor. xiii. 9.

third testimony, that I am an elect apostle of Christ; and if ye choose to accept my words, ye will find salvation; but if ye refuse them, eternal fire will have you to consume you. For as Hymenæus and Alexander were "delivered unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme,"[1] so will all ye also be delivered unto the prince of punishments, because ye have done injury to the Father of Christ, in so far as ye declare Him to be the cause of all evils, and the founder of unrighteousness, and the creator of all iniquity. By such doctrine ye do, indeed, bring forth from the same fountain both sweet water and bitter,—a thing which can in no possible way be either done or apprehended. For who ought to be believed? Should it be those masters of yours whose enjoyment is in the flesh, and who pamper themselves with the richest delights; or our Saviour Jesus Christ, who says, as it is written in the book of the Gospels, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit,"[2] and who in another place assures us that the "father of the devil (*patrem diaboli*) is a liar and a murderer from the beginning,"[3] and tells us again that men's desire was for the darkness,[4] so that they would not follow that Word that had been sent forth in the beginning from the light,[5] and (once more shows us) the man who is the enemy of the same, the sower of tares,[6] and the god and prince of the age of this world, who blinds the minds of men that they may not be obedient to the truth in the gospel of Christ?[7] Is that God good who has no wish that the men who are his own should be saved? And, not to go over a multitude of other matters, and waste much time, I may defer[8] till another opportunity the exposition of the true doctrine; and taking it for granted that I have said enough on this subject for the

[1] 1 Tim. i. 20.
[2] Matt. vii. 18.
[3] John viii. 44.
[4] Referring, perhaps, to John i. 5.
[5] The text gives, "ut insequerentur... Verbum, et inimicum," etc. The sense seems to be as above, supposing either that the verb *insequerentur* is used with the meaning of assailing, persecuting, or that the *ut* is put for *ut ne*, as is the case with the *excæcat ut* at the close of the sentence.
[6] Matt. xiii. 25.
[7] Eph. vi. 12; 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[8] Reading *differens*. But Codex Casinensis gives *disserens*.

present, I may revert to the matter immediately before me, and endeavour satisfactorily to demonstrate the absurdity of these men's teaching, and show that none of these things can be attributed to the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, but that we must take Satan to be the cause of all our ills. To him, certainly, these must be carried back, for all ills of this kind are generated by him. But those things also which are written in the prophets and the law are none the less to be ascribed to him; for he it is who spake then in the prophets, introducing into their minds very many ignorant notions of God, as well as temptations and passions. They, too, set forth that devourer of blood and flesh; and to that Satan and to his prophets all these things properly pertain which he wished to transfer (*transformare*) to the Father of Christ, prepared as he was to write a few things in the way of truth, that by means of these he might also gain credence for those other statements of his which are false. Hence it is well for us to receive nothing at all of all those things which have been written of old even down to John, and indeed to embrace only the kingdom of heaven, which has been preached in the gospel since his days; for they verily but made a mockery of themselves, introducing as they did things ridiculous and ludicrous, keeping some small words given in obscure outline in the law, but not understanding that, if good things are mixed up with evil, the result is, that by the corruption of these evil things, even those others which are good are destroyed. And if, indeed, there is any one who may prove himself able to demonstrate that the law upholds the right, that law ought to be kept; but if we can show it to be evil, then it ought to be done away with and rejected, inasmuch as it contains the ministration of death, which was graven (*informatum*), which also covered and destroyed the glory on the countenance of Moses.[1] It is a thing not without peril, therefore, for any one of you to teach the New Testament along with the law and the prophets, as if they were of one and the same origin; for the knowledge of our Saviour renews (the one) from day to day, while the other grows old and infirm, and passes almost

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 7.

into utter destruction.[1] And this is a fact manifest to those who are capable of exercising discernment. For just as, when the branches of a tree become aged, or when the trunk ceases to bear fruit any more, they are cut down; and just as, when the members of the body suffer mortification, they are amputated, for the poison of the mortification diffuses itself from these members through the whole body, and unless some remedy be found for the disease by the skill of the physician, the whole body will be vitiated; so, too, if ye receive the law without understanding its origin, ye will ruin your souls, and lose your salvation. For "the law and the prophets were until John;"[2] but since John the law of truth, the law of the promises, the law of heaven, the new law, is made known to the race of man. And, in sooth, as long as there was no one to exhibit to you this most true knowledge of our Lord Jesus, ye had not sin. Now, however, ye both see and hear, and yet ye desire to walk in ignorance,[3] in order that ye may keep[4] that law which has been destroyed and abandoned. And Paul, too, who is held to be the most approved (apostle) with us, expresses himself to the same effect in one of his epistles, when he says: "For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a prevaricator (*prævaricatorem*)."[5] And in saying this he pronounces on them as Gentiles, because they were under the elements of the world,[6] before the fulness of faith came, believing then as they did in the law and the prophets.

14. *The judges said:* If you have any clearer statement yet to make, give us some explanation of the nature (or, standard) of your doctrine and the designation (*titulo*) of your faith. *Manes replied:* I hold that there are two natures, one good and another evil; and that the one which is good dwells indeed in certain parts proper to it, but that the evil one

[1] Cf. Heb. viii. 13. [2] Luke xvi. 16.

[3] In inscitias ire vultis. It is proposed to read *inficias* = and yet ye desire to deny the truth. Routh suggests, *et odistis et in inscitiam ire vultis* = and ye hate it, and choose to take your way into ignorance.

[4] Supplying *observetis* in the clause *ut legem*, etc.

[5] Gal. ii. 18. [6] Gal. iv. 3.

is this world, as well as all things in it, which are placed there like objects imprisoned (*ergastula*) in the portion of the wicked one, as John says, that "the whole world lieth in wickedness" (or, in the wicked one),[1] and not in God. Wherefore we have maintained that there are two localities,—one good, and another which lies outside of this,[2] so that, having space therein (*in his*), it might be capable of receiving into itself the creature (creation) of the world. For if we say that there is but a monarchy of one nature, and that God fills all things, and that there is no location outside of Him, what will be the sustainer of the creature (creation)? where will be the Gehenna of fire? where the outer darkness? where the weeping? Shall I say in Himself? God forbid; else He Himself will also be made to suffer in and with these. Entertain no such fancies, whosoever of you have any care for your salvation; for I shall give you an example, in order that you may have fuller understanding of the truth. The world is one vessel (*vas*); and if[3] the substance of God has already filled this entire vessel, how is it possible now that anything more can be placed in this same vessel? If it is full, how shall it receive what is placed in it, unless a certain portion of the vessel is emptied? Or whither shall that which is to be emptied out make its way, seeing that there is no locality for it? Where then is the earth? where the heavens? where the abyss? where the stars? where the settlements?[4] where the powers? where the princes? where the outer darkness? Who is he that has laid the foundations of these, and where? No one is able to tell us that without stumbling on blasphemy. And in what way, again, has He been able to make the creatures, if there is no subsistent matter? For if He has made them out of the non-existent, it will follow that these visible creatures should be superior, and full of all virtues. But if in these there are

[1] 1 John v. 19.

[2] The text gives "extra *eum*." Routh suggests *Deum*, outside of God.

[3] The text gives simply "quod Dei substantia," etc. We may perhaps adopt, with Routh, "quod *si* Dei," etc.

[4] Sedes. Routh suggests *sidera*, luminaries.

wickedness, and death, and corruption, and whatever is opposed to the good, how say we that they owe their formation to a nature different from themselves? Howbeit if you consider the way in which the sons of men are begotten, you will find that the creator of man is not the Lord, but another being, who is also himself of an unbegotten (*ingenitæ*) nature, who has neither founder, nor creator, nor maker, but who, such as he is, has been produced by his own malice alone. In accordance with this, you men have a commerce with your wives, which comes to you by an occasion of the following nature. When any one of you has satiated himself with carnal meats, and meats of other kinds, then the impulse of concupiscence rises in him, and in this way the enjoyment (*fructus*) of begetting a son is increased; and this happens not as if that had its spring in any virtue, or in philosophy, or in any other gift of mind, but in fulness of meats only, and in lust and fornication. And how shall any one tell me that our father Adam was made after the image of God, and in His likeness, and that he is like Him who made him? How can it be said that all of us who have been begotten of him are like him? Yea, rather, on the contrary, have we not a great variety of forms, and do we not bear the impress of different countenances? And how true this is, I shall exhibit to you in parables. Look, for instance, at a person who wishes to seal up a treasure, or some other object, and you will observe how, when he has got a little wax or clay, he seeks to stamp it with an impression of his own countenance from the ring which he wears;[1] but if another countenance also stamps the figure of itself on the object in a similar manner, will the impression seem like? By no means,

[1] The reference is to the ancient custom of using wax and certain earths and clays for the purpose of affixing, by means of the ring, a seal with an impression on any object which it was desired to secure. Thus Herodotus, ii. 38, tells us how the Egyptians marked the pure victim by wrapping it round the horns with papyrus, and then smearing some sealing earth (γῆν σημαντρίδα) on it, and stamping it with a ring. See also Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, where he speaks of the *laudatio obsignata cretâ illa Asiatica;* and Plautus, *Pseudolus*, Scene i., where he mentions the *expressam in cera ex annulo suam imaginem*, etc.

although you may be reluctant to acknowledge what is true. But if we are not like in the (common) impression, and if, instead of that, there are differences in us, how can it fail to be proved thereby that we are the workmanship of the princes, and of matter? For in due accordance with their form, and likeness, and image, we also exist as diverse forms. But if you wish to be fully instructed as to that commerce which took place at the beginning, and as to the manner in which it occurred, I shall explain the matter to you.

15. *The judges said:* We need not inquire as to the manner in which that primitive commerce took place until we have first seen it proved that there are two natural principles. For when once it is made clear that there are two unbegotten natures, then others of your averments may also gain our assent, even although something in them may not seem to fit in very readily with what is credible. For as the power of pronouncing judgment has been committed to us, we shall declare what may make itself clear to our mind. We may, however, also grant to Archelaus the liberty of speaking to these statements of yours, so that, by comparing what is said by each of you, we may be able to give our decision in accordance with the truth. *Archelaus said:* Notwithstanding, the adversary's intent is replete with gross audacity and blasphemy. *Manes said:* Hear, O judges, what he has said *of the adversary.*[1] He admits, then, that there are two objects. *Archelaus said:* It seems to me that this man is full of madness rather than of prudence, who would stir up a controversy with me to-day because I chance to speak of the *adversary.* But this objection of yours may be removed with few words, notwithstanding that you have supposed from this expression of mine that I shall allow that there are these two natures.[2] You have come forward with a most extravagant[3] doctrine; for neither

[1] The text is "quid dixerit adversarii;" some propose "*quod*" or "*quia* dixerit," etc.

[2] The manuscript reading is, "tam si quidem ex hoc arbitratus est se affirmaturum." For this it is proposed to read, as in the translation, "tametsi quidem ex hoc arbitratus es me affirmaturum."

[3] The text gives *ingentem.* Routh suggests *inscientem*, stupid.

of the assertions made by you holds good. For it is quite possible that one who is an adversary, not by nature, but by determination, may be made a friend, and cease to be an adversary; and thus, when the one of us has come to acquiesce with the other, we twain shall appear to be, as it were, one and the same object. This account also indicates that rational creatures have been entrusted with free-will, in virtue of which they also admit of conversions. And consequently there cannot be (two) unbegotten natures.[1] What do you say, then? Are these two natures inconvertible? or are they convertible? or is one of them converted? *Manes*, however, held back, because he did not find a suitable reply; for he was pondering the conclusion which might be drawn from either of two answers which he might make, turning the matter over thus in his thoughts: If I say that they are converted, he will meet me with that statement which is recorded in the Gospel about the trees; but if I say that they are not convertible, he will necessarily ask me to explain the condition and cause of their intermingling. In the meantime, after a little delay, *Manes replied:* They are indeed both inconvertible in so far as contraries are concerned; but they are convertible as far as properties (*propria*) are concerned. *Archelaus then said:* You seem to me to be out of your mind, and oblivious of your own propositions; yea, you do not appear even to recognise the powers or qualities of the very words which you have been learning.[2] For you do not understand either what conversion is, or what is meant by *unbegotten*, or what duality implies, or what is past, or what is present, or what is future, as I have gathered from the opinions to which you have just now given expression. For you have affirmed, indeed, that each of these two natures is

[1] Adopting the proposed reading, "et ideo *duæ* ingenitæ naturæ esse non possunt." The text omits the *duæ*, however; and in that case the sense would be simply, And consequently there cannot be unbegotten natures; or perhaps, And so they (the creatures) cannot be of an unbegotten nature.

[2] Didicisti. But perhaps we ought to read *dixisti*, which you have been uttering.

inconvertible so far as regards contraries, but convertible so far as regards properties. But I maintain that one who moves in properties does not pass out of himself, but subsists in these same properties, in which he is ever inconvertible; while in the case of one who is susceptible of conversion, the effect is that he is placed outside the pale of properties, and passes within the sphere of accidents (*aliena*, of what is alien).

16. *The judges said*: Convertibility translates the person whom it befalls into another; as, for example, we might say that if a Jew were to make up his mind to become a Christian, or, on the other hand, if a Christian were to decide to be a Gentile, this would be a species of convertibility, and a cause of the same.[1] But, again, if we suppose a Gentile to keep by all his own (heathen) properties, and to offer sacrifices to his gods, and to do service to the temples as usual, surely you would not be of opinion that he could be said to be converted, while he yet holds by his properties, and goes on in them? What, then, do you say? Do they sustain convertibility or not? *And as Manes hesitated, Archelaus proceeded thus:* If, indeed, he says that both natures are convertible,[2] what is there to prevent our thinking them to be one and the same object? For if they are inconvertible, then surely in natures which are similarly inconvertible and similarly unbegotten there is no distinction, neither can the one of them be recognised as good or as evil. But if they are both convertible, then, forsooth, the possible result may be both that the good is made evil, and that the evil is made good. If, however, this is the possible result, why should we not speak of one only as unbegotten,[3] which would be a conception in worthier accordance with the reckoning of truth? For we have to consider how

[1] The text runs thus: "ut si dicamus, Judæus, si velit fieri Christianus, aut si Christianus velit esse gentilis, hæc species est convertibilitatis et causa."

[2] The text gives *convertibiles*. Routh suggests *inconvertibiles*, inconvertible.

[3] The text is *unum dicamus ingenitum*. Routh suggests *unum bonum*, etc. = Why should we not speak of only one unbegotten good?

that evil one became so at first, or against what objects he exercised his wickedness before the formation of the world. When the heavens had not yet appeared, when the earth did not yet subsist, and when there was neither man nor animal, against whom did he put his wickedness in operation? whom did he oppress unjustly? whom did he rob and kill? But if you say that he first appeared in his evil nature to his own kin,[1] then without doubt you give the proof that he comes of a good nature. And if, again, all these are also evil, how can Satan then cast out Satan?[2] But while thus reduced to a dilemma on this point, you may change your position in the discussion, and say that the good suffered violence from the evil. But none the more is it without peril for you to make such a statement, to the effect of affirming the vanquishing of the light; for what is vanquished has destruction near it (or, kin to it, *vicinum habet interitum*). For what says the divine word? "Who can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he be stronger than he?"[3] But if you allege that he first appeared in his evil nature to men, and only from that time showed openly the marks of his wickedness, then it follows that before this time he was good, and that he took on this quality of conversion because the creation of man[4] was found to have emerged as the cause of his wickedness. But, in fine, let him tell us what he understands by evil, lest perchance he may be defending or setting up a mere name. And if it is not the name but the substance of evil that he speaks of, then let him set before us the fruits of this wickedness and iniquity, since the nature of a tree can never be known but by its fruit.

17. *Manes said:* Let it first be allowed on your side that there is an alien root of wickedness, which God has not planted,

[1] The text is, "quod si suis eum dicas extitisse malum, sine dubio ergo ostenditur illum bonæ esse naturæ." Routh suggests, "quia istis suis adversatur qui mali sunt," etc. = The fact that he is adverse to those who are of his own kin, and who are evil, would be a proof that he comes of a good nature.

[2] Mark iii. 23.

[3] Mark iii. 27.

[4] The text is, "creati hominis causa invenitur exstitisse malitiæ," for which we read "creatio hominis," etc.

and then I shall tell you its fruits. *Archelaus said:* Truth's reckoning does not make any such requirement; and I shall not admit to you that there is a root of any such evil tree, of the fruit whereof no one has ever tasted. But just as, when a man desires to make any purchase, he does not produce the money unless he first ascertains by tasting the object whether it is of a dry or a moist species, so I shall not admit to you that the tree is evil and utterly corrupt, unless the quality of its fruit is first exhibited; for it is written, that "the tree is known by its fruits."[1] Tell us, therefore, O Manes, what fruit is yielded by that tree which is called evil, or of what nature it is, and what virtue it is, that we may also believe with you that the root of that same tree is of that character which you ascribe to it. *Manes said:* The root indeed is evil, and the tree is most corrupt, but the increase is not from God. Moreover, fornications, adulteries, murders, avarice, and all evil deeds, are the fruits of that evil root. *Archelaus said:* That we may credit you when you say that these are the fruits of that evil root, give us a taste of these things; for you have pronounced the substance of this tree to be ungenerate (*ingenitam*), the fruits of which are produced after its own likeness. *Manes said:* The very unrighteousness which subsists in men offers the proof itself, and in avarice too you may taste that evil root. *Archelaus said:* Well, then, as you have stated the question, those iniquities which prevail among men are fruits of this tree. *Manes said:* Quite so. *Archelaus proceeded:* If these, then, are the fruits, that is to say, the wicked deeds of men, it will follow that the men themselves will hold the place of the root and of the tree; for you have declared that they produce fruits of this nature. *Manes said:* That is my statement. *Archelaus answered:* Not well say you, *That is my statement:* for surely that cannot be your statement; otherwise, when men cease from sinning, this tree of wickedness will appear to be unfruitful. *Manes said:* What you say is an impossibility; for even though one or another, or several, were to cease sinning, there would yet be others doing evil still. *Archelaus said:*

[1] Matt. vii. 16.

If it is at all possible for one or another, or several, as you admit, not to sin, it is also possible for all to do the same; for they are all of one parent, and are all men of one lump. And, not to follow at my ease those affirmations which you have so confusedly made through all their absurdities, I shall conclude their refutation by certain unmistakeable counter-arguments. Do you allege that the fruits of the evil root and the evil tree are the deeds of men, that is to say, fornications, adulteries, perjuries, murders, and other similar things? *Manes said:* I do. *Archelaus said:* Well, then, if it happened that the race of men was to die off the face of the earth, so that they should not be able to sin any more, the substance of that tree would then perish, and it would bear fruit no more. *Manes said:* And when will that take place of which you speak? *Archelaus said:* What[1] is in the future I know not, for I am but a man; nevertheless I shall not leave these words of yours unexamined. What say you of the race of men? Is it unbegotten, or is it a production? *Manes said:* It is a production. *Archelaus said:* If man is a production, who is the parent of adultery and fornication, and such other things? Whose fruit is this? Before man was made, who was there to be a fornicator, or an adulterer, or a murderer? *Manes said:* But if the man is fashioned of the evil nature, it is manifest that he is such a fruit,[2] albeit he may sin, albeit he may not sin; whence also the name and race of men are once for all and absolutely of this character, whether they may do what is righteous or what is unrighteous. *Archelaus said:* Well, we may also take notice of that matter. If, as you aver, the wicked one himself made man, why is it that he practises his malignity on him?

18. *The judges said:* We desire to have information from you on this point, Manichæus, to wit, to what effect you have affirmed him to be evil. Do you mean that he has

[1] The text gives "quoniam quod futurum est nescio, homo enim sum, non tamen," etc. Routh suggests "*quonam?* quod futurum," etc. = What has that to do with the matter? The future I know not, etc.

[2] The text is, "sed homo a mala natura plasmatus manifestum est quia ipse sit fructus," etc.

been so from the time when men were made, or before that period? For it is necessary that you should give some proof of his wickedness from the very time from which you declare him to have been evil. Be assured[1] that the quality of a wine cannot be ascertained unless one first tastes it; and understand that, in like manner, every tree is known by its fruit. What say you, then? From what time has this personality been evil? For an explanation of this problem seems to us to be necessary. *Manes said:* He has always been so. *Archelaus said:* Well, then, I shall also show from this, most excellent friends, and most judicious auditors, that his statement is by no means correct. For iron, to take an example, has not been an evil thing always, but only from the period of man's existence, and since his art turned it to evil by applying it to false uses; and every sin has come into existence since the period of man's being. Even that great serpent himself was not evil previous to man, but only after man, in whom he displayed the fruit of his wickedness, because he willed it himself. If, then, the father of wickedness makes his appearance to us after man (has come into being), according to the Scriptures, how can he be unbegotten who has thus been constituted evil subsequently to man, who is himself a production? But, again, why should he exhibit himself as evil just from the period when, on your supposition, he did himself create man?[2] What did he desire in him? If man's whole body was his own workmanship, what did he ardently affect in him? For one who ardently affects or desires, desires something which is different and better. If, indeed, man takes his origin from him in respect of the evil nature, we see how man was his own, as I have frequently shown.[3] For if man was

[1] Routh, however, points differently, so that the sense is: Be assured that it is necessary to give some proof, etc. . . . For the quality of a wine, etc.

[2] The text is, "ex hominis tempore a se creati cur malus ostendatur," which is taken to be equivalent to, "ex tempore quo hominem ipse creavit," etc.

[3] The reading adopted by Migne is, "si ergo ex eo homo est, mala

his own, he was also evil himself, just as it holds with our illustration of the like tree and the like fruit; for an evil tree, as you say, produces evil fruit. And seeing that all were evil, what did he desiderate, or in what could he show the beginning of his wickedness, if from the time of man's formation man was the cause of his wickedness? Moreover, the law and precept having been given to the man himself, the man had not by any means the power to yield obedience to the serpent, and to the statements which were made by him; and had the man then yielded no obedience to him, what occasion would there have been for him to be evil? But, again, if evil is unbegotten, how does it happen that man is sometimes found to be stronger than it? For, by obeying the law of God, he will often overcome every root of wickedness; and it would be a ridiculous thing if he, who is but the production, should be found to be stronger than the unbegotten. Moreover, whose is that law with its commandment—that commandment, I mean, which has been given to man? Without doubt it will be acknowledged to be God's. And how, then, can the law be given to an alien? or who can give his commandment to an enemy? Or, to speak of him who receives the commandment, how can he contend against the devil? that is to say, on this supposition, how can he contend against his own creator, as if the son, while he is a debtor to him for deeds of kindness, were to choose to inflict injuries on the father? Thus you but mark out the profitlessness[1] of man on this side, if you suppose him to be contradicting by the law and commandment him who has made him, and to be making the effort to get the better of him. Yea, we shall have to fancy the devil himself to have gone to such an excess of

natura, demonstratur quomodo suus fuit, ut frequenter ostendi." Others put the sentence interrogatively = If man takes his origin from him, (and) the evil nature is thus demonstrated, in what sense was man his own, etc.? Routh suggests *ex quo* for *ex eo* = If the evil nature is demonstrated just from the time of man's existence, how was man, etc.?

[1] The reading is *inutilitatem*. But Routh points out that this is probably the translation of τὴν εὐτέλειαν, *vilitatem*, meanness.

folly, as not to have perceived that in making man he made an adversary for himself, and neither to have considered what might be his future, nor to have foreseen the actual consequence of his act; whereas even in ourselves, who are but productions, there are at least some small gifts of knowledge, and a measure of prudence, and a moderate degree of consideration, which is sometimes of a very trustworthy nature. And how, then, can we believe that in the unbegotten there is not some little portion of prudence, or consideration, or intelligence? Or how can we make the contrary supposition, according to your assertion, namely, that he is discovered to be of the most senseless apprehension, and the dullest heart, and, in short, rather like the brutes in his natural constitution? But if the case stands thus, again, how is it that man, who is possessed of no insignificant power in mental capacity and knowledge, could have received his substance from one who thus is, of all beings, the most ignorant and the bluntest in apprehension? How shall any one be rash enough to profess that man is the workmanship of an author of this character? But, again, if man consists both of soul and of body, and not merely of body without soul, and if the one cannot subsist apart from the other, why will you assert that these two are antagonistic and contrary to each other? For our Lord Jesus Christ, indeed, seems to me to have spoken of these in His parables, when He said: "No man can put new wine into old bottles, else the bottles will break, and the wine run out."[1] But new wine is to be put into new bottles, as there is indeed one and the same Lord for the bottle and for the wine. For although the substance may be different, yet by these two substances, in their due powers, and in the maintenance of their proper mutual relations (*dominatione et observantiæ usu*), the one person of man subsists. We do not say, indeed, that the soul is of one substance with the body, but we aver that they have each their own characteristic qualities; and as the bottle and the wine are applied in the similitude to one race and one species of men, so truth's

[1] Matt. ix. 17.

reckoning requires us to grant that man was produced complete by the one God: for the soul rejoices in the body, and loves and cherishes it; and none the less does the body rejoice that it is quickened by the soul. But if, on the other hand, a person maintains that the body is the work of the wicked one, inasmuch as it is so corruptible, and antiquated, and worthless, it would follow then that it is incapable of sustaining the virtue of the spirit or the movement of the soul, and the most splendid creation of the same. For just as, when a person puts a piece of new cloth into an old garment, the rent is made worse;[1] so also the body would perish if it were to be associated, under such conditions, with that most brilliant production the soul. Or, to use another illustration: just as, when a man carries the light of a lamp into a dark place, the darkness is forthwith put to flight and makes no appearance; so we ought to understand that, on the soul's introduction into the body, the darkness is straightway banished, and one nature at once effected, and one man constituted in one species. And thus, agreeably therewith, it will be allowed that the new wine is put into new bottles, and that the piece of new cloth is not put into the old garment. But from this we are able to show that there is a unison of powers in these two substances, that is to say, in that of the body and in that of the soul; of which unison that greatest teacher in the Scriptures, Paul, speaks, when he tells us, that "God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased Him."[2]

19. But if it seems difficult for you to understand this, and if you do not acquiesce in these statements, I may at all events try to make them good by adducing illustrations. Contemplate man as a kind of temple, according to the similitude of Scripture:[3] the spirit that is in man may thus be likened to the image that dwells in the temple. Well, then, a temple cannot be constituted unless first an occupant is acknowledged for the temple; and, on the other hand, an occupant cannot be settled in the temple unless the structure

[1] Matt. ix. 16.
[2] 1 Cor. xii. 18.
[3] 1 Cor. iii. 17; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

has been erected. Now, since these two objects, the occupant and the structure, are both consecrated together, how can any antagonism or contrariety be found between them, and how should it not rather appear that they have both been the products of subjects that are in amity and of one mind? And that you may know that this is the case, and that these subjects are truly at one both in fellowship and in lineage, He who knows and hears[1] (all) has made this response, "Let us make man," and so forth. For he who constructs[2] the temple interrogates him who fashions the image, and inquires carefully about the measurements of magnitude, and breadth, and bulk, in order that he may mark off the space for the foundations in accordance with these dimensions; and no one sets about the vain task of building a temple without first making himself acquainted with the measurements needed for the placing of the image. In like manner, therefore, the mode and the measure of the body are made the subject of inquiry, in order that the soul may be appropriately lodged in it by God, the Artificer of all things. But if any one say that he who has moulded the body is an enemy to the God who is the creator of my soul,[3] then how is it that, while regarding each other with a hostile eye, these two parties have not brought disrepute upon the work, by bringing it about either that he who constructs the temple should make it of such narrow dimensions as to render it incapable of accommodating what is placed within it, or that he who fashions the image should come with something so massive and ponderous, that, on its introduction into the temple, the edifice would at once collapse? If such is not the case, then, with these things, let us contemplate them in the light of what we know to be

[1] The reading is *scit et audit*. Routh somewhat needlessly suggests *scite audit* = he who hears intelligently.

[2] The codex gives "hic enim qui exstruis." It is proposed to read "sic enim qui exstruit" = For in this very way he who constructs.

[3] The text gives "quod si dicat quis inimicum esse eum qui plasmaverit corpus; Deus qui creator," etc. The Codex Casinensis reads *Deum*. We adopt the emendation *Deo* and the altered punctuation, thus: "quod si dicat quis inimicum esse eum qui plasmaverit corpus Deo qui creator est animæ," etc.

the objects and intents of antagonists. But if it is right for all to be disposed with the same measures and the same equity, and to be displayed with like glory, what doubt should we still entertain on this subject? We add, if it please you, this one illustration more. Man appears to resemble a ship which has been constructed by the builder and launched into the deep, which, however, it is impossible to navigate without the rudder, by which it can be kept under command, and turned in whatsoever direction its steersman may wish to sail. Also, that the rudder and the whole body of the ship require the same artificer, is a matter admitting no doubt; for without the rudder the whole structure of the ship, that huge body, will be an inert mass. And thus, then, we say that the soul is the rudder of the body; that both these, moreover, are ruled by that liberty of judgment and sentiment which we possess, and which corresponds to the steersman; and that when these two are made one by union,[1] and thus possess a unison of function applicable to all kinds of work, whatever may be the products of their own operation, they bear a testimony to the fact that they have both one and the same author and maker.

20. On hearing these argumentations, the multitudes who were present were exceedingly delighted,—so much so, indeed, that they were almost laying hands on Manes; and it was with difficulty that Archelaus restrained them, and kept them back, and made them quiet again. *The judges said:* Archelaus has given us proof sufficient of the fact that the body and the soul of man are the works of one hand; because an object cannot subsist in any proper consonance and unison as the work of one hand, if there is any want of harmony in the design and plan. But if it is alleged that one could not possibly have sufficed to develope both these objects (namely, body and soul), this is simply to exhibit the incapacity of the artificer. For thus, even though one should grant that the soul is the creation of a good deity, it will be found to be but an idle work so far as the man is concerned, unless it also takes to itself the body. And if, again, the body is held to

[1] Reading "*per* conjunctionem" for the simple *conjunctionem*.

be the formation of an evil deity, the work will also none the less be idle unless it receives the soul; and, in truth, unless the soul be in unison with the body by commixture and due introduction, so that the two are in mutual connections, the man will not exist, neither can we speak of him. Hence (we are of opinion that) Archelaus has proved by a variety of illustrations that there is but one and the same maker for the whole man. *Archelaus said:* I doubt not, Manes, that you understand this, namely, that one who is born and created[1] is called the son of him who begets or creates. But if the wicked one made man, then he ought to be his father, according to nature. And to whom, then, did the Lord Jesus address Himself, when in these terms He taught men to pray: "When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven;"[2] and again, "Pray to your Father which is in secret?"[3] But it was of Satan that He spake when He said, that He "beheld him as lightning fall from heaven;"[4] so that no one dare say that He taught us to pray to him. And surely Jesus did not come down from heaven with the purpose of bringing men together, and reconciling them to Satan; but, on the contrary, He gave him over to be bruised beneath the feet of His faithful ones. However, for my part, I would say that those Gentiles are the more blessed who do indeed bring in a multitude of deities, but at least hold them all to be of one mind, and in amity with each other; whereas this man, though he brings in but two gods, does not blush to posit enmities and discordant sentiments between them. And, in sooth, if these (Gentiles) were to bring in[5] their counterfeit deities under conditions of that kind, we would verily have it in our power to witness something like a gladiatorial contest proceeding between them, with their innumerable natures and diverse sentiments.

21. But now, what it is necessary for me to say on the

[1] Reading "natus est et creatus." The Codex Casinensis has "natus est creatus."

[2] Matt. vi. 9; Luke xi. 2. [3] Matt. vi. 6. [4] Luke x. 18.

[5] Codex Casinensis gives *introduceret;* but, retaining the reference to the Gentiles, we read *introducerent.*

subject of the inner and the outer man, may be expressed in the words of the Saviour to those who swallow a camel, and wear the outward garb of the hypocrite, begirt with blandishments and flatteries. It is to them that Jesus addresses Himself when He says: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of uncleanness. Or know you not, that He that made that which is without, made that which is within also?"[1] Now why did He speak of the cup and of the platter? Was He who uttered these words a glassworker, or a potter who made vessels of clay? Did He not speak most manifestly of the body and the soul? For the Pharisees truly looked to the "tithing of anise and cummin, and left undone the weightier matters of the law;"[2] and while devoting great care to the things which were external, they overlooked those which bore upon the salvation of the soul. For they also had respect to "greetings in the market-place,"[3] and "to the uppermost seats at feasts:"[4] and to them the Lord Jesus, knowing their perdition, made this declaration, that they attended to those things only which were without, and despised as strange things those which were within, and understood not that He who made the body made also the soul. And who is so unimpressible and stolid in intellect, as not to see that those sayings (of our Lord) may suffice him for all cases? Moreover, it is in perfect harmony with these sayings that Paul speaks, when he interprets to the following intent certain things written in the law: "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith He it altogether for our sakes?"[5] But why should we waste further time upon this subject? Nevertheless I shall add a few things out of many that might be offered.

[1] Matt. xxiii. 25; Luke xi. 39.

[2] Luke xi. 42.

[3] Matt. xxiii. 6; Mark xii. 38; Luke xx. 46.

[4] The Codex Casinensis gives a strangely corrupt reading here: "primos discipulos subitos in cœnis, quod scientes Dominus." It is restored thus: "primos discubitus in cœnis, quos sciens Dominus," etc.

[5] 1 Cor. ix. 9.

Suppose now that there are two unbegotten (principles), and that we determine fixed localities for these: it follows then that God is separated (*dividitur*), if He is (supposed to be) within a certain location, and not diffused everywhere; and He will consequently (be represented as) much inferior to the locality in which He is understood to be (for the object which contains is always greater[1] than the object which is contained in it): and thus God is made to be of that magnitude which corresponds with the magnitude of the locality in which He is contained, just as is the case with a man in a house.[2] Then, further, reason asks who it is that has divided between them, or who has appointed for them their determinate limits; and thus both would be made out to be the decided inferiors of man's own power.[3] For Lysimachus and Alexander held the empire of the whole world, and were able to subdue all foreign nations, and the whole race of men; so that throughout that period there was no other in possession of empire besides themselves under heaven. And how will any one be rash enough to say that God, who is the true light that never suffers eclipse, and whose is also the kingdom that is holy and everlasting, is not everywhere present, as[4] is the way with this most depraved man, who, in his impiety, refuses to ascribe to the Omnipotent God even equal power with men?[5]

22. *The judges said:* We know that a light shines through the whole house, and not in some single part of it; as Jesus also intimates when He says, that "no man lighting a candle puts it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light unto all that are in the house."[6] If, then, God is a light, it must needs be that that light (if Jesus is to be

[1] Reading *majus* for the inept *malus* of the Codex Casinensis.

[2] Routh refers us here to Maximus, *De Natura*, § 2. See *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, ii. 89–91.

[3] The text is "multo inferior virtutis humanæ," which is probably a Græcism.

[4] Reading *ceu* for the *eu* of the Codex Casinensis.

[5] The Codex Casinensis gives "nec quæ vellem quidem," for which "nec æqualem quidem," etc., is suggested, as in the translation.

[6] Matt. v. 16.

credited) shall shine on the whole world, and not on any portions of it merely. And if,[1] then, that light holds possession of the whole world, where now can there be any ungenerated darkness? or how can darkness be understood to exist at all, unless it is something simply accidental? *Archelaus said:* Forasmuch, indeed, as the word of the gospel is understood much better by you than by this person who puts himself forward as the Paraclete, although I would call him rather parasite than paraclete, I shall tell you how it has happened that there is darkness. When the light had been diffused everywhere, God began to constitute the universe, and commenced with the heaven and the earth; in which process this issue appeared, to wit, that the *midst* (*medietas*), which is the locality of earth covered with shadow, as a consequence of the interposition[2] of the creatures which were called into being, was found to be obscure, in such wise that circumstances required light to be introduced into that place, which was thus situated in the midst. Hence in Genesis, where Moses gives an account of the construction of the world, he makes no mention of the darkness either as made or as not made. But he keeps silence on that subject, and leaves the explanation of it to be discovered by those who may be able to give proper attention to it. Neither, indeed, is that a very arduous and difficult task. For to whom may it not be made plain that this sun of ours is visible, when it has risen in the east, and taken its course toward the west, but that when it has gone beneath the earth, and been carried farther within that formation which among the Greeks is called the *sphere*, it then ceases to appear, being overshadowed in darkness in consequence of the interposition of the bodies?[3] When it is thus covered, and when the

[1] The text gives *a quo si*, etc. Routh suggests *atqui si*, etc.

[2] Reading *objectu . . . creaturarum*, instead of *obtectu*, etc., in Codex Casinensis.

[3] The text of this sentence stands thus in Migne and Routh: "cui enim non fiat manifestum, solem istum visibilem, cum ab oriente fuerit exortus, et tetenderit iter suum ad occidentem, cum sub terram ierit, et interior effectus fuerit ea quæ apud Græcos sphæra vocatur, quod

body of the earth stands opposite it, a shadow is superinduced, which produces from itself the darkness; and it continues so until again, after the course of the inferior space has been traversed in the night, it rolls towards the east, and is seen to rise once more in its wonted seats. Thus, then, the cause of the shadow and the night is discovered in the solidity of the body of the earth,—a thing, indeed, which a man may understand from the fact of the shadow cast by his own body.[1] For before the heaven and the earth and all those corporeal creatures appeared, the light remained always constant, without waning or eclipse, as there existed no body which might produce shadow by its opposition or intervention; and consequently one must say that nowhere was there darkness then, and nowhere night. For if, to take an illustration, it should please Him who has the power of all things to do away with the quarter (*plagam*) which lies to the west, then, as the sun would not direct its course toward that region, there would nowhere emerge either evening or darkness, but the sun would be on its course always, and would never set, but would almost always hold the centre tract of heaven, and would never cease to appear; and by this the whole world would be illumined with the clearest light, in virtue of which no part of it would suffer obscuration, but the equal power of one light would remain everywhere. But on the other hand, while the western quarter keeps its position, and the sun executes (*ministrante*) its course in three parts of the world, then those who are under the sun will be seen to be illuminated more brightly; so that I might almost say, that while the people who belong to the diverse tract are still asleep, those former are in possession of the day's beginning. But just[2] as those Orientals have

tunc objectu corporum obumbratus non appareat?" The Codex Casinensis reads *quod nunc oblectu*, etc. We should add that it was held by Anaximander and others that there was a species of globe or sphere (σφαῖρα) which surrounded the universe.

[1] Reading *ex suimet ipsius umbra* for *exuet ipsius umbra*, which is given in the Codex Casinensis.

[2] The text is "Sicut autem ante," etc. Routh suggests, *Sole adeunte*, etc.

the light rising on them earlier than the people who live in the west, so they have it also more quickly obscured, and they only who are settled in the middle of the globe see always an equality of light. For when the sun occupies the middle of the heavens, there is no place that can appear to be either brighter or darker (than another), but all parts of the world are illuminated equally and impartially by the sun's effulgence.[1] If, then, as we have said above, that portion of the western tract were done away with, the part which is adjacent to it would now no more suffer obscuration. And these things I could indeed set forth somewhat more simply, as I might also describe the zodiacal circle; but I have not thought of looking into these matters at present.[2] I shall therefore say nothing of these, but shall revert to that capital objection urged by my adversary, in his affirming so strenuously[3] that the darkness is ungenerated; which position, however, has also been confuted already, as far as that could have been done by us.

23. *The judges said:* If we consider that the light existed before the estate of the creatures was introduced, and that there was no object in an opposite position which might generate shadow, it must follow that the light was then diffused everywhere, and that all places were illuminated with its effulgence, as has been shown by what you have stated just now; and as we perceive that the true explanation is given in that, we assign the palm to the affirmations of Archelaus. For if the universe is clearly divided, as if some wall had been drawn through the centre of it, and if on the one side the light dwells, and on the other side the darkness, it is yet to be understood that this darkness has been brought accidentally about through the shadow generated in consequence of the objects which have been set up in the world; and hence again we must ask who it is that has built

[1] Reading "ex æquo et justo, solis fulgore," etc. The Codex Casinensis has "ex ea quo solis fulgure."

[2] The text is altogether corrupt—*sed non intui hunc fieri ratus sum*; so that the sense can only be guessed at. Routh suggests *istud* for *intui*.

[3] Codex Casinensis gives "omni nisi," for which we adopt "omni nisu."

this wall between the two divisions, provided you indeed admit the existence of such a construction, O Manichæus. But if we have to take account of this matter on the supposition that no such wall has been built, then again it comes to be understood that the universe forms but one locality, without any exception, and is placed under one power; and if so, then the darkness can in no way have an ungenerated nature. *Archelaus said:* Let him also explain the following subject with a view to what has been propounded. If God is seated in His kingdom, and if the wicked one in like manner is seated in his kingdom, who can have constructed the wall between them? For no object can divide two substances except one that is greater than either,[1] even as it is said[2] in the book of Genesis, that "God divided the light from the darkness."[3] Consequently the constructor of this wall must also be some one of a capacity like that: for the wall marks the boundaries of these two parties, just as among people who dwell in the rural parts a stone is usually taken to mark off the portion of each several party; which custom, however, would afford a better apprehension of the case were we to take the division to refer specially to the marking out of an inheritance falling to brothers. But for the present I have not to speak of matters like these, however essential they may appear. For what we are in quest of is an answer to the question, Who can have constructed the wall required for the designation of the limits of the kingdom of each of these twain? No answer has been given. Let not this perfidious fellow hesitate, but let him now acknowledge that the substance of his duality has been reduced again to a unity. Let him mention any one who can have constructed that middle wall. What could the one of these two parties have been engaged in when the other was building? Was he asleep? or was he ignorant of the fact? or was he unable to withstand the attempt? or was he bought over with a price? Tell us what he was about, or tell us who in all the universe was the person that raised the

[1] Reading *utriusque majus.* The Codex Casinensis has *utrunque majus.*

[2] The text is *dicit*, for which *dicitur* may be adopted.

[3] Gen. i. 4.

construction. I address my appeal to you, O judges, whom God has sent to us with the fullest plenitude of intelligence; judge ye which of these two could have erected the structure, or what the one could have been doing all the while that the other was engaged in the building.

24. *The judges said:* Tell us, O Manes, who designated the boundaries for the kingdom of each, and who made the middle wall? For Archelaus begs that due importance be attached to the practice of interrogation in this discussion. *Manes said:* The God who is good, and who has nothing in common with evil, placed the firmament in the midst, in order to make it plain[1] that the wicked one is an alien to Him. *Archelaus said:* How fearfully you belie the dignity of that name! You do indeed call Him God, but you do so in name only, and you make His deity resemble man's infirmities. At one time out of the non-existent, and at another time out of underlying matter, which indeed thus existed before Himself, you assert that He did build the structure, as builders among men are wont to do. Sometimes also you speak of Him as apprehensive, and sometimes as variable. It is, however, the part of God to do what is proper to God, and it is the part of man to do what is proper to man. If, then, God, as you say, has constructed a wall, this is a God who marks Himself out as apprehensive, and as possessed of no fortitude. For we know that it is always the case that those who are suspicious of the preparation of secret perils against them by strangers, and who are afraid of the plots of enemies, are accustomed to surround their cities with walls, by which procedure they at once secure themselves in their ignorance, and display their feeble capacity. But here, too, we have something which ought not to be passed over by us in silence, but rather brought prominently forward; so that even by the great abundance of our declarations on the subject our adversary's manifold craftiness may be brought to nought, with the help of the truth on our side. We may grant, then, that the structure of the wall has been

[1] Reading "patefaceret" for the "partum faceret" of Codex Casinensis.

made with the purpose of serving to distinguish between the two kingdoms; for without this one division [1] it is impossible for either of them to have his own proper kingdom. But granting this, then it follows further that in the same manner it will also be impossible for the wicked one to pass without his own proper limits and invade the territories of the good (King), inasmuch as the wall stands there as an obstacle, unless it should chance first to be cast down, for we have heard that such things have been done by enemies, and indeed with our own eyes we have quite recently seen an achievement of that nature successfully carried out.[2] And when a king attacks a citadel surrounded by a strong wall, he uses first of all the ballista[3] and projectiles; then he endeavours to cut through the gates with axes, and to demolish the walls by the battering-rams; and when he at last obtains an entrance, and gains possession of the place, he does whatever he listeth, whether it be his pleasure to carry off the citizens into captivity, or to make a complete destruction of the fortress and its contents, or whether, on the other hand, it may be his will to grant indulgence to the captured stronghold on the humble suit of the conquered. What, then, does my opponent here say to this analogy? Did no adversary substantially—which is as much as to say, designedly—overthrow the muniment cast up between the two?[4] For in his former statements he has avouched that the darkness passed

[1] The text gives *sine hoc uno*. But perhaps Routh is right in suggesting *muro* for *uno* = without this wall.

[2] Some suppose that Archelaus refers here to the taking of Charræ by the Persians in the time of Valerianus Augustus, or to its recapture and restoration to the Roman power by the Eastern king Odenathus during the empire of Gallienus.

[3] The ballista was a large engine fitted with cords somewhat like a bow, by which large masses of stone and other missiles were hurled to a great distance.

[4] The sense is obscure here. The text gives, "non substantia id est proposito adversarius quis dejecit," etc. Migne edits the sentence without an interrogation. We adopt the interrogative form with Routh. The idea perhaps is, Did no adversary with materials such as the kings of earth use, and that is as much as to say also with a determinate plan, overthrow, etc.?

without its own limits, and supervened upon the kingdom of the good God. Who, then, overthrew that munition before the one could thus have crossed over to the other? For it was impossible for the evil one to find any entrance while the munition stood fast. Why are you silent? Why do you hesitate, Manichæus? Yet, although you may hold back, I shall proceed with the task of my own accord. For if we suppose you to say that God destroyed it, then I have to ask what moved Him in this way to demolish the very thing which He had Himself previously constructed on account of the importunity of the wicked one, and for the purpose of preserving the separation between them? In what fit of passion, or under what sense of injury, did He thus set about contending against Himself? Or was it that He lusted after some of the possessions of the wicked one? But if none of these things formed the real cause that led God to destroy those very things which He had constructed a long time before with the view of estranging and separating the wicked one from Him, then it must needs be considered no matter of surprise if God should also have become delighted with his society;[1] for, on your supposition, the munition which had been set up with the purpose of securing God against trouble from him, will appear to have been removed just because now he is to be regarded no more as an enemy, but as a friend. And, on the other hand, if you aver that the wall was destroyed by the wicked one, tell us then how it can be possible for the works of the good God to be mastered by the wicked one. For if that is possible, then the evil nature will be proved to be stronger than God. Furthermore, how can that being, seeing that he is pure and total darkness, surprise the light and apprehend it, while the evangelist gives us the testimony that "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not?"[2] How is this blind one armed? How does the darkness fight against the kingdom of light?

[1] The Codex Casinensis has "nec mirum putandum est consortio," etc. We read with Routh and others, *si ejus consortio*, or *quod ejus consortio*, etc.

[2] John i. 5.

For even as the creatures of God[1] here cannot take in the rays of the sun with uninjured eye,[2] so neither can that being bear the clear vision of the kingdom of light, but he remains for ever a stranger to it, and an alien.

25. *Manes said:* Not all receive the word of God, but only those to whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.[3] And even now[4] I know who are ours; for "my sheep," He says, "hear my voice."[5] For the sake of those who belong to us, and to whom is given the understanding of the truth, I shall speak in similitudes. The wicked one is like a lion that sought to steal upon the flock of the good shepherd; and when the shepherd saw this, he dug a huge pit, and took one kid out of the flock and cast it into the pit. Then the lion, hungering to get at it, and bursting with passion to devour it, ran up to the pit and fell in, and discovered no strength sufficient to bring him out again. And thereupon the shepherd seized him and shut him up carefully in a den, and at the same time secured the safety of the kid which had been with him in the pit. And it is in this way that the wicked one has been enfeebled,—the lion, so to speak, possessing no more capacity for doing aught injurious; and so all the race of souls will be saved, and what once perished will yet be restored to its proper flock. *Archelaus said:* If you compare the wicked one to the lion, and God to the true shepherd, tell us, whereunto shall we liken the sheep and the kid? *Manes said:* The sheep and the kid seem to me to be of one nature: and they are taken as figures of souls. *Archelaus said:* Well, then, God gave a soul over to perdition when He set it before the lion in the pit. *Manes said:* By no means; far from it. But He was moved by a particular disposition (*apprehensus est hoc ingenio*),[6] and in the future He will save that other

[1] The text gives simply, *sicut enim hæc.* Routh suggests *hæ.*

[2] Reading *illæsis oculis* for the *illius oculis* of Codex Casinensis.

[3] Matt. xix. 11.

[4] The text gives *et jam quidem* for the *etiam quidem* of the Cod. Casin.

[5] John x. 27.

[6] For *hoc* here, Routh suggests *hic* in reference to the *leo;* so that the

(the soul). *Archelaus said:* Now, surely it would be an absurd procedure, my hearers, if a shepherd who dreaded the inroad of a lion were to expose to the beast's devouring fury a lamb that he was wont to carry in his bosom, and if it were then to be said that he meant to save the creature hereafter. Is not this something supremely ridiculous? Yea, there is no kind of sense in this. For (on the supposition implied in your similitude) God thus handed over to Satan a soul that he might seize and ruin. But when did the shepherd ever do anything like that?[1] Did not David deliver a sheep out of the mouth of a lion or of a bear? And we mention this on account of the expression, *out of the mouth of the lion;* for, on your theory, this would imply that the shepherd can bring forth out of the mouth of the lion, or out of the belly of the same, the very object which it has devoured.[2] But you will perhaps make this answer, that it is of God we speak, and that He is able to do all things. Hear, however, what I have to say to that: Why then do you not rather assert His real capacity, and affirm simply His ability to overcome the lion in His own might, or with the pure power of God, and without the help of any sort of cunning devices, or by consigning a kid or a lamb to a pit?[3] Tell me this, too, if the lion were to be supposed to come upon the shepherd at a time when he has no sheep, what would the consequence be? For he who is here called the shepherd is supposed to be unbegotten, and he who is here the lion is also unbegotten. Wherefore, when man did not yet exist—in other words, before the shepherd had a flock—if the lion had then come upon the shepherd, what would

sense might be = But by this plan the lion was caught, and hereafter He will save the soul.

[1] The text is, "Quando enim pastor, nonne David de ore leonis," etc. We adopt the amended reading, "Quando enim pastor hoc fecit? Nonne David," etc.

[2] Routh would put this interrogatively = Can he bring out of the mouth or the belly of the lion what it has once devoured?

[3] This seems to be the sense intended. The text in the Codex Casinensis runs thus: "Cur igitur quod possit non illud potius asseris quod poterit propria virtute vincere leonem, si et pura Dei potentia," etc. For *si et pura* we may read *sive pura*, or *si est pura*, etc.

have followed, seeing that there could have been nothing for the lion to eat before the kid was in existence? *Manes said:* The lion certainly had nothing to devour, but yet he exercised his wickedness on whatever he was able to light upon as he coursed over the peaks of the mountains; and if at any time food was a matter of necessity with him, he seized some of the beasts which were under his own kingdom. *Archelaus said:* Are these two objects, then, of one substance —the beasts which are under the kingdom of the wicked one, and the kids which are in the kingdom of the good God?[1] *Manes said:* Far from it; not at all: they have nothing in common either between themselves or between the properties which pertain to them severally. *Archelaus said:* There is but one and the same use made of the food in the lion's eating. And though he sometimes got that food from the beasts belonging to himself, and sometimes from those belonging to the good God, there is still no difference between them as far as regards the meats furnished; and from this it is apparent that those are of but one substance. On the other hand, if we say that there is a great difference between the two, we do but ascribe ignorance to the shepherd,[2] in so far as he did not present or set before the lion food adapted to his use, but rather alien meats. Or perchance again, in your desire to dissemble your real position, you will say to me that that lion ate nothing. Well, supposing that to be the case, did God then in this way challenge that being to devour a soul while he knew not how to devour aught? and was the pit not the only thing which God sought to employ with the view of cheating him?—if indeed it is at all worthy of God to do that sort of thing, or to contrive deceitful schemes. And that would be to act like a king who, when war is made upon him, puts no kind of confidence in his own strength, but gets paralyzed with the fears of his own feebleness, and

[1] Routh takes it as a direct assertion = It follows, then, that these two objects are of one substance, etc.

[2] The text runs, "sed aliud alio longe differre ignorantiam pastori ascribimus;" for which we adopt the emendation, "sed alium ab alio longe differre si dicamus, ignorantiam pastori ascribimus."

shuts himself up within the walls of his city, and erects around him a rampart and other fortifications, and gets them all equipped, and trusts nothing to his own hand and prowess; whereas, if he is a brave man, the king so placed will march a great distance from his own territories to meet the enemy there, and will put forth every possible exertion until he conquers and brings his adversary into his power.

26. *The judges said:* If you allege that the shepherd exposed the kid or the lamb to the lion, when the said lion was meditating an assault[1] on the unbegotten, the case is closed. For seeing that the shepherd of the kids and lambs is himself proved to be in fault to them, on what creature can he pronounce judgment, if it happens that the lamb which has been given up[2] through the shepherd's weakness has proved unable to withstand the lion, and if the consequence is that the lamb has had to do whatever has been the lion's pleasure? Or, to take another instance, that would be just as if a master were to drive out of his house, or deliver over in terror to his adversary, one of his slaves, whom he is unable afterwards to recover by his own strength. Or supposing that by any chance it were to come about that the slave was recovered, on what reasonable ground could the master inflict the torture on him, if it should turn out that the man yielded obedience to all that the enemy laid upon him, seeing that it was the master himself[3] who gave him up to the enemy, just as the kid was given up to the lion? You affirm, too, that the shepherd understood the whole case beforehand. Surely, then, the lamb, when under the lash, and interrogated by the shepherd as to the reason why it had submitted to the lion in these matters, would make some such answer as this: "Thou didst thyself deliver me over to the lion, and thou didst

[1] Migne reads *irrueret*. Routh gives *irruerat*, had made an assault.

[2] The text gives *si causa traditus*, etc. Routh suggests *sive causa. Traditus*, etc.; so that the sense would be, For on what creature can the shepherd of the kids and lambs pronounce judgment, seeing that he is himself proved to be in fault to them, or to be the cause of their position? For the lamb, having been given up, etc.

[3] Reading *eum ipse* for *eum ipsum*.

offer no resistance to him, although thou didst know and foresee what would be my lot, when it was necessary for me to yield myself to his commandments." And, not to dilate on this at greater length, we may say that (by such an illustration) neither is God exhibited as a perfect shepherd, nor is the lion shown to have tasted alien meats; and consequently, under the instruction of the truth itself, it has been made clear that we ought to give the palm to the reasonings adduced by Archelaus. *Archelaus said:* Considering that, on all the points which we have hitherto discussed, the thoughtfulness of the judges has assigned us the amplest scope, it will be well for us to pass over other subjects in silence, and reserve them for another period. For just as, if[1] a person once crushes the head of a serpent, he will not need to lop off any of the other members of its body; so, if we once dispose[2] of this question of the duality, as we have endeavoured to do to the best of our ability, other matters which have been maintained in connection with it may be held to be exploded along with it. Nevertheless I shall yet address myself, at least in a few sentences, to the assertor of these opinions himself, who is now in our presence; so that it may be thoroughly understood by all who he is, and whence he comes, and what manner of person he proves himself to be. For he has given out that he is that Paraclete whom Jesus on His departure promised to send to the race of man for the salvation of the souls of the faithful; and this profession he makes as if he were somewhat superior even to Paul,[3] who was an elect vessel and a called apostle, and who on that ground, while

[1] Reading *si quis* for the simple *quis* of Codex Casinensis.

[2] Reading "quæstione *rejecta*" for the *relecta* of Codex Casinensis.

[3] This seems to be the general sense of the corrupt text here, *et non longe possit ei Paulus*, etc., in which we must either suppose something to have been lost, or correct it in some such way as this: "ut non longe post sit ei Paulus." Compare what Manes says also of Paul and himself in ch. xiii. above. It should be added, however, that another idea of the passage is thrown out in Routh. According to this, the *ei* refers to *Jesus*, and the text being emended thus, *etsi non longe post sit ei*, the sense would be: although not long after His departure He had Paul as an elect vessel, etc. The allusion thus would be to the

preaching the true doctrine, said:[1] "Or seek ye a proof of that Christ who speaks in me?"[2] What I have to say, however, may become clearer by such an illustration as the following:[3]—A certain man gathered into his store a very large quantity of corn, so that the place was perfectly full. This place he shut and sealed in a thoroughly satisfactory fashion, and gave directions to keep careful watch over it. And the master himself then departed. However, after a lengthened lapse of time another person came to the store, and affirmed that he had been despatched by the individual who had locked up and sealed the place with a commission also to collect and lay up a quantity of wheat in the same. And when the keepers of the store saw him, they demanded of him his credentials, in the production of the signet, in order that they might assure themselves of their liberty to open the store to him, and to render their obedience to him as to one sent by the person who had sealed the place. And when he could[4] neither exhibit the keys nor produce the credentials of the signet (for indeed he had no right), he was thrust out by the keepers, and compelled to flee. For, instead of being what he professed to be, he was detected to be a thief and a robber by them, and was convicted and found out[5] through the circumstance that, although, as it seemed, he had taken it into his head to make his appearance a long time after the period that had been determined on beforehand, he yet could neither produce keys, or signet, or any token whatsoever to the keepers, nor display any knowledge of the quantity of corn that was in store: all which things were so many unmistakeable proofs that he had not been sent across by the

circumstance that Manes made such a claim as he did, in spite of the fact that so soon after Christ's departure Paul was gifted with the Spirit in so eminent a measure for the building up of the faithful.

[1] Reading *aiebat* for the *agebat* of Codex Casinensis.

[2] 2 Cor. xiii. 3. The reading here is, "Aut documentum quæritis," etc. The Vulgate also gives *An experimentum*, for the Greek δοκιμή, etc.

[3] The text is, "et quidem quod dico tali exemplo sed clarius." For *sed* it is proposed to read *fit*, or *sit*, or *est*.

[4] Codex Casinensis has *quicunque*. We adopt the correction, *qui cum nec*.

[5] Reading *confutatus* for *confugatus*.

proper owner; and accordingly, as was matter of course,[1] he was forbidden admittance by the keepers.

27. We may give yet another illustration, if it seems good to you. A certain man, the head of a household, and possessed of great riches, was minded to journey abroad for a time, and promised to his sons that he would send them some one who would take his place, and divide among them equally the substance falling to them. And, in truth, not long after that, he did despatch to them a certain trustworthy and righteous and true man. And on his arrival, this man took charge of the whole substance, and first of all exerted himself to arrange it and administer it, giving himself great labour in journeying, and even[2] working diligently with his own hands, and toiling like a servant for the good of the estate. Afterwards feeling that his end was at hand,[3] the man wrote out a will, demitting the inheritance to the relations and all the next of kin; and he gave them his seals, and called them together one by one by name, and charged them to preserve the inheritance, and to take care of the substance, and to administer it rightly, even as they had received it, and to take their use of its goods and fruits, as they were themselves left its owners and heirs. If, moreover, any person were to ask to be allowed to benefit by the fruits of this field, they were to show themselves indulgent to such. But if, on the other hand, any one were to declare himself partner in the heirship with them, and were to make his demands on that ground,[4] they were to keep aloof from him, and pronounce him an alien; and further, (they were to hold) that

[1] The text gives "et ideo ut consequenter erat," etc. Codex Casinensis omits the *ut*. Routh proposes, "et ideo consequenter thesaurus," etc. = and thus, of course, the treasure was preserved, etc. Comp. ch. xxvii. and xxxiv.

[2] The text has, "sedens ipse per se," etc.; for which we adopt, "sed et ipse," etc.

[3] The Codex Casinensis gives, "deinde die moriturus," which may be either a mistake for "deinde moriturus," or a contraction for "deinde die qua moriturus"—then on the day that he was about to die, etc.

[4] The codex has, "Sin autem conderem se dicens, exposceret, devitarent persequi," etc.; which is corrected to, "Sin autem cohæredem se

the individual who desired to be received among them ought all the more on that account to do work (*opus autem magis facere debere*). Well, then, granting that all these things have been well and rightly disposed of and settled, and that they have continued in that condition for a very long time, how shall we deal with one who presents himself well-nigh three hundred years after, and sets up his claim to the heirship? Shall we not cast him off from us? Shall we not justly pronounce such an one an alien—one who cannot prove himself to have belonged to those related (to our Master), who never was with our departed Lord in the hour of His sickness, who never walked in the funeral procession of the Crucified, who never stood by the sepulchre, who has no knowledge whatsoever of the manner or the character of His departure, and who, in fine, is now desirous of getting access to the storehouse of corn without presenting any token from him who placed it under lock and seal? Shall we not cast him off from us like a robber and a thief, and thrust him out of our number by all possible means? Yet this man is now in our presence, and fails to produce any of the credentials which we have summarized in what we have already said, and declares that he is the Paraclete whose mission was presignified by Jesus. And by this assertion, in his ignorance perchance, he will make out Jesus Himself to be a liar;[1] for thus He who once said that He would send the Paraclete no long time after, will be proved only to have sent this person, if we accept the testimony which he bears to himself, after an interval of three hundred years and more.[2] In the day of judgment, then, what will those say to Jesus who have departed this life from that time on to the present period? Will they not meet Him with words like these: "Do not punish us rigor-

dicens exposcerct, devitarent atque," etc., which emendation is followed in the translation.

[1] The same sort of argument is employed against the Montanists by Theodorus of Heracleia on John's Gospel, ch. xiv. 17.

[2] It is remarked in Migne, that it is only in the heat of his contention that this statement is made by Archelaus as to the date of the appearance of Manes; for from the death of Christ on to the time of this discussion there are only some 249 years.

ously if we have failed to do Thy works. For why, when Thou didst promise to send the Paraclete under Tiberius Cæsar, to convince us of sin and of righteousness,[1] didst Thou send Him only under Probus the Roman emperor, and didst leave us orphaned, notwithstanding that Thou didst say, 'I will not leave you comfortless (orphaned),'[2] and after Thou hadst also assured us that Thou wouldest send the Paraclete presently after Thy departure? What could we orphans do, having no guardian? We have committed no fault; it is Thou that hast deceived us." But away with such a supposition in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of every soul.[3] For He did not confine Himself to mere promises;[4] but when He had once said, "I go to my Father, and I send the Paraclete to you,"[5] straightway He sent (that gift of the Paraclete), dividing and imparting the same to His disciples, —bestowing it, however, in greater fulness upon Paul.[6]

28. *Manes said:*[7] You are caught in the charge you yourself bring forward. For you have been speaking now against yourself, and have not perceived that, in trying to cast reproaches in my teeth, you lay yourself under the greater fault. Tell me this now, I pray you: if, as you allege, those who have died from the time of Tiberius on to

[1] John xvi. 8. [2] John xiv. 18.

[3] Reading "sed absit hoc a Domino nostro Jesu Christo Salvatore omnis animæ," instead of the codex's "sed absit hanc a Domino Jesu Christo Salvatore omne animæ."

[4] If the reference, however, is to 2 Pet. iii. 9, as Routh suggests, it may rather be = He was not slack concerning His promises. The text is, "non enim moratus est in promissionibus suis."

[5] John xiv. 12, xvi. 28.

[6] Reading "abundantius vero conferens Paulo," instead of the corrupt text in the Codex Casinensis, "abundantibus vero confitens Paulo."

[7] The opening sentences of this chapter are given in a very corrupt form in our Codex Casinensis. Its text stands thus: "Tuum et ipsius indicio comprehensus es; hæc enim versum te locutus, ignorans, qui dum, me vis probra conjicere majori culpæ se succumbit. Dic age mihi studias qua Tiberio usque ad Probum defuncti sunt, dicent ad Jesum nolite nos judicare," etc. We have adopted these emendations: *tuimet* for *tuum et; adversum* for *versum; ignoras* for *ignorans; in me* for *me; succumbis* for *se succumbit; si, ut ais, qui a,* for *studias qua;* and *noli* for *nolite.*

the days of Probus are to say to Jesus, "Do not judge us if we have failed to do Thy works, for Thou didst not send the Paraclete to us, although Thou didst promise to send Him;"[1] will not those much more use such an address who have departed this life from the time of Moses on to the advent of Christ Himself? And will not those with still greater right express themselves in terms like these: "Do not deliver us over to torments,[2] seeing that we had no knowledge of Thee imparted to us?" And will it only be those that have died thus far previously to His advent who may be seen making such a charge with right? Will not those also do the same who have passed away from Adam's time on to Christ's advent? For none of these either obtained any knowledge of the Paraclete, or received instruction in the doctrine of Jesus. But only this latest generation of men, which has run its course from Tiberius onward, as you make it out,[3] is to be saved: for it is Christ Himself that "has redeemed them from the curse of the law;"[4] as Paul, too, has given these further testimonies, that "the letter killeth, and quickeneth no man (*nec quemquam vivificat*),"[5] and that "the law is the ministration of death,"[6] and "the strength of sin."[7] *Archelaus said:* You err, not knowing the Scriptures, neither the power of God.[8] For many have also perished after the period of Christ's advent on to this present period, and many are still perishing,—those, to wit, who have not chosen to devote themselves to works of righteousness; whereas only those who have received Him, and yet receive Him, "have obtained power to become the sons of God."[9] For the evangelist has not said *all* (have obtained that power); neither, on the other hand, however, has he put any limit on the *time*. But this is his expression: "As many as received Him." Moreover, from the creation of the world He has ever been

[1] Supplying *missurum*, which is not in the codex.

[2] Reading "noli nos tradere tormentis," instead of the meaningless "noli nostra de tormentis" of the codex.

[3] Reading *ut ais* instead of *ut eas*.

[4] Gal. iii. 13.

[5] 2 Cor. iii. 6.

[6] 2 Cor. iii. 7.

[7] 1 Cor. xv. 56.

[8] Matt. xxii. 29.

[9] John i. 12.

with righteous men, and has never ceased to require their blood (at the hands of the wicked), from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias.[1] And whence, then, did righteous Abel and all those succeeding worthies,[2] who are enrolled among the righteous, derive their righteousness, when as yet there was no law of Moses, and when as yet the prophets had not arisen and discharged the functions of prophecy? Were they not constituted righteous in virtue of their fulfilling the law, "every one of them showing the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing them witness?"[3] For when a man "who has not the law does naturally the things contained in the law, he, not having the law, is a law unto himself."[4] And consider now the multitude of laws thus existing among the several righteous men who lived a life of uprightness, at one time discovering for themselves the law of God implanted in their hearts, at another learning of it from their parents, and yet again being instructed in it further by the ancients and the elders. But inasmuch as only few were able to rise by this medium[5] to the height of righteousness, that is to say, by means of the traditions of parents, when as yet there was no law embodied in writing, God had compassion on the race of man, and was pleased to give through Moses a written law to men, since verily the equity of the natural law failed to be retained in all its perfection in their hearts. In consonance, therefore, with man's first creation, a written legislation was prepared which was given through Moses in behoof of the salvation of very many. For if we reckon that man is justified without the works of the law, and if Abraham was counted righteous, how much more shall those obtain righteousness who have fulfilled the law which contains the things that are expedient for men? And seeing that you have made mention only of three several Scriptures, in terms of which the

[1] Matt. xiii. 35.

[2] Reading *reliqui per ordinem* for the *qui per ordinem* of the codex.

[3] Rom. ii. 15. [4] Rom. ii. 14.

[5] Reading "per hunc modum." But the Codex Casinensis gives "per hunc mundum"—through this world.

apostle has declared that "the law is a ministration of death,"[1] and that "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law,"[2] and that "the law is the strength of sin,"[3] you may now advance others of like tenor, and bring forward any passages which may seem to you to be written against the law, to any extent you please.

29. *Manes said:* Is not that word also to the same effect which Jesus spake to the disciples, when He was demonstrating those men to be unbelieving: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do?"[4] By this He means, in sooth, that whatever the wicked prince of this world desired, and whatever he lusted after, he committed to writing through Moses, and by that medium gave it to men for their doing. For "he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it."[5] *Archelaus said:* Are you satisfied[6] with what you have already adduced, or have you other statements still to make? *Manes said:* I have, indeed, many things to say, and things of greater weight even than these. But with these I shall content myself. *Archelaus said:* By all means. Now let us select some instance from among those statements which you allege to be on your side; so that if these be once found to have been properly dealt with, other questions may also be held to rank with them; and if the case goes otherwise, I shall come under the condemnation of the judges, that is to say, I shall have to bear the shame of defeat.[7] You say, then, that the law is a ministration of death, and you admit that "death, the prince of this world, reigned from Adam even to Moses;"[8] for the word of Scripture is this: "even over them that did

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 7. [2] Gal. iii. 13. [3] 1 Cor. xv. 56.

[4] John viii. 44. [5] John viii. 44.

[6] The text is "sufficit tibi hæc sunt an habes et alia." Routh proposes "sufficientia tibi hæc sunt," etc.

[7] Routh would make it = *You* will come under the condemnation . . . *you* will have to bear: he suggests *eris ergo* for *ero ego*, and *feras* for *feram*.

[8] Rom. v. 14.

not sin."[1] *Manes said:* Without doubt death did reign thus, for there is a duality, and these two antagonistic powers were nothing else than both unbegotten (*nec aliter nisi essent ingenita*).[2] *Archelaus said:* Tell me this then,—how can an unbegotten death take a beginning at a certain time? For "from Adam" is the word of Scripture, and not "before Adam." *Manes said:* But tell me, I ask you in turn, how it obtained its kingdom over both the righteous and the sinful. *Archelaus said:* When you have first admitted that it has had that kingdom from a determinate time and not from eternity, I shall tell you that. *Manes said:* It is written, that "death reigned from Adam to Moses." *Archelaus said:* And consequently it has an end, because it has had a beginning in time.[3] And this saying is also true, that "death is swallowed up in victory."[4] It is apparent, then, that death cannot be unbegotten, seeing that it is shown to have both a beginning and an end. *Manes said:* But in that way it would also follow that God was its maker. *Archelaus said:* By no means; away with such a supposition! "For God made not death; neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living."[5] *Manes said:* God made it not; nevertheless it was made, as you admit. Tell us, therefore, from whom it received its empire, or by whom it was created. *Archelaus said:* If I give the most ample proof of the fact that death cannot have the substance of an unbegotten nature, will you not confess that there is but one God, and that an unbegotten God? *Manes said:* Continue your discourse, for your aim is to speak[6] with subtlety. *Archelaus said:* Nay, but you have put forward those allegations in such a manner, as if they were to serve you for a demonstration of an unbegotten root. Nevertheless the positions which we have discussed above may suffice us, for by these

[1] Rom. v. 14.

[2] Routh, however, would read *esset* for *essent*, making it = and that death could be nothing else than unbegotten.

[3] Reading *ex tempore* for the corrupt *exemplo re* of the codex.

[4] 1 Cor. xv. 54. [5] Wisd. i. 13.

[6] The text gives *discere*, to learn; but *dicere* seems the probable reading.

we have shown most fully that it is impossible for the substances of two unbegotten natures to exist together.

30. *The judges said:* Speak to those points, Archelaus, which he has just now propounded. *Archelaus said:* By the prince of the world, and the wicked one, and darkness, and death, he means one and the same thing, and alleges that the law has been given by that being, on the ground of the scriptural statement that it is "the ministration of death," as well as on the ground of other things which he has urged against it. Well, then, I say[1] that since, as we have explained above, the law which was written naturally on men's hearts did not keep carefully by the memory of evil things, and since there was not a sufficiently established tradition among the elders, inasmuch as hostile oblivion always attached itself to the memory,[2] and one man was instructed (in the knowledge of that law) by a master, and another by himself, it easily came about that transgressions of the law engraved by nature did take place, and that through the violation of the commandments death obtained its kingship among men. For the race of men is of such a nature, that it needs to be ruled by God with a rod of iron. And so death triumphed and reigned with all its power on to Moses, even over those who had not sinned, in the way which we have explained: over sinners indeed, as these were its proper objects, and under subjection to it,—men after the type of Cain and Judas;[3] but also over the righteous, because they refused to consent to it, and rather withstood it, by putting away from themselves the vices and concupiscence of lusts,—men like those who have arisen at times from Abel on to Zacharias;[4]—death thus always passing, up to the time (of Moses), upon those after that similitude.[5]

[1] Reading *inquam* for the *iniquam* of the Codex Casinensis. But Routh suggests *iniquæ*, in reference to what has been said towards the close of ch. xxviii.

[2] The codex gives, "cum eas inimica semper memoriæ inerenis sed oblivio;" which is corrected thus, "cum eis inimica semper memoriæ inhæsisset oblivio."

[3] The text writes it *Juda*.

[4] Matt. xxiii. 35.

[5] This would appear to be the meaning of these words, "transferens

But after Moses had made his appearance, and had given the law to the children of Israel, and had brought into their memory all the requirements of the law, and all that it behoved men to observe and do under it, and when he delivered over to death only those who should transgress the law, then death was cut off from reigning over all men; for it reigned then over sinners alone, as the law said to it, "Touch not those that keep my precepts."[1] Moses therefore served the ministration of this word upon death, while he delivered up to destruction[2] all others who were transgressors of the law; for it was not with the intent that death might not reign in any territory at all that Moses came, inasmuch as multitudes were assuredly held under the power of death even after Moses. And the law was called a "ministration of death" from the fact that then only transgressors of the law were punished, and not those who kept it, and who obeyed and observed the things which are in the law, as Abel did, whom Cain, who was made a vessel of the wicked one, slew. However, even after these things death wished to break the covenant which had been made by the instrumentality of Moses, and to reign again over the righteous; and with this object it did indeed assail the prophets, killing and stoning those who had been sent by God, on to Zacharias. But my Lord Jesus, as maintaining the righteousness of the law of Moses, was wroth with death for its transgression of the covenant[3] and of that whole ministration, and condescended to appear in the body of man, with the view of avenging not Himself, but Moses, and those who in a continuous succession after him had been oppressed by the violence of death. That wicked one, however, in ignorance (of the meaning) of a dispensation of this kind, entered into Judas, thinking to slay Him by that man's means, as before he had put righteous Abel to death. But when he had entered into Judas, he was

semper usque ad tempus in similes illius," if we suppose the speaker still to be keeping Rom. v. 12–14 in view. Routh suggests *transiens.*

[1] Referring perhaps to Ps. cv. 15.

[2] Reading *interitui tradens* for the *interit ut tradens* of the codex.

[3] Reading *pacti* for the *acti* of the codex.

overcome with penitence, and hanged himself; for which reason also the divine word says: "O death, where is thy victory? O death (*mors*), where is thy sting?" And again: "Death is swallowed up of victory."[1] It is for this reason, therefore, that the law is called a "ministration of death," because it delivered sinners and transgressors over to death; but those who observed it, it defended from death; and these it also established in glory, by the help and aid of our Lord Jesus Christ.

31. Listen also to what I have to say on this other expression which has been adduced, viz., "Christ, who redeemed us from the curse of the law."[2] My view of this passage is that Moses, that illustrious servant of God, committed to those who wished to have the right vision,[3] an emblematic[4] law, and also a real law. Thus, to take an example, after God had made the world, and all things that are in it, in the space of six days, He rested on the seventh day from all His works; by which statement I do not mean to affirm that He rested because He was fatigued, but that He did so as having brought to its perfection every creature which He had resolved to introduce. And yet in the sequel it (the new law) says: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."[5] Does that

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. [2] Gal. iii. 13.

[3] Recte videre. But perhaps we should read "recte *vivere*," to lead a righteous life.

[4] The phrase is *imaginariam legem*. On this expression there is a note in Migne, which is worth quoting, to this effect: Archelaus calls the Old Testament an *emblematic* or *imaginary law*, because it was the type or image of a future new law. So, too, Petrus de Vineis, more than once in his Epistles, calls a messenger or legate a *homo imaginarius*, as Du Cange observes in his *Glossary*, because he represents the person by whom he is sent, and, as it were, reflects his image. This word is also used in a similar manner by the old interpreter of Evagrius the monk, in the *Disputation between Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and Simon the Jew*, ch. 13, where the Sabbath is called the *requies imaginaria* of that seventh day on which God rested. Hence Archelaus, in his answer to the presbyter Diodorus, ch. xli. beneath, devotes himself to proving that the Old Testament is not to be rejected, because, like a mirror, it gives us a true image of the new law.

[5] John v. 17.

mean, then, that He is still making heaven, or sun, or man, or animals, or trees, or any such thing? Nay; but the meaning is, that when these visible objects were perfectly finished, He rested from that kind of work; while, however, He still continues to work at objects invisible with an inward mode of action,[1] and saves men. In like manner, then, the legislator desires also that every individual amongst us should be devoted unceasingly to this kind of work, even as God Himself is; and he enjoins us consequently to rest continuously from secular things, and to engage in no worldly sort of work whatsoever; and this is called our Sabbath. This also he added in the law, that nothing senseless[2] should be done, but that we should be careful and direct our life in accordance with what is just and righteous. Now this law was suspended over men, discharging most sharply its curse against those who might transgress it. But because its subjects, too, were but men, and because, as happens also frequently with us, controversies arose and injuries were inflicted, the law likewise at once, and with the severest equity, made any wrong that was done return upon the head of the wrong-doer;[3] so that, for instance, if a poor man was minded to gather a bundle of wood upon the Sabbath, he was placed under the curse of the law, and exposed to the penalty of instant death.[4] The men, therefore, who had been brought up with the Egyptians were thus severely pressed by the restrictive power of the law, and they were unable to bear the penalties and the curses of the law. But, again, He who is ever the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, came and delivered those men from these pains and curses of the law, forgiving them their offences. And He indeed did not deal with them as Moses did, putting the severities of the law

[1] Reading "invisibilia autem et intrinsecus." The Codex Casinensis has "invisibili autem et trinsecus."

[2] *Absurdum*, standing probably for ἄτοπον, which may also be = flagitious.

[3] The codex reads, "ultionem fecerat retorquebat." We adopt either "ultionem quam fecerat retorquebat," or "ultionem fecit retorqueri."

[4] Num. xv. 32.

in force, and granting indulgence to no man for any offence; but He declared that if any man suffered an injury at the hands of his neighbour, he was to forgive him not once only, nor even twice or thrice, nor only seven times, but even unto seventy times seven;[1] but that, on the other hand, if after all this the offender still continued to do such wrong, he ought then, as the last resource, to be brought under the law of Moses, and that no further pardon should be granted to the man who would thus persist in wrong-doing, even after having been forgiven unto seventy times seven. And He bestowed His forgiveness not only on a transgressor of such a character as that, but even on one who did offence to the Son of man. But if a man dealt thus with the Holy Spirit, He made him subject to two curses,—namely, to that of the law of Moses, and to that of His own law; to the law of Moses in truth in this present life, but to His own law at the time of the judgment: for His word is this: "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."[2] There is the law of Moses, thus, that in this world gives pardon to no (such) person; and there is the law of Christ that punishes in the future world. From this, therefore, mark how He confirms the law, not only not destroying it, but fulfilling it. Thus, then, He redeemed them from that curse of the law which belongs to the present life; and from this fact has come the appellation "the curse of the law." This is the whole account (which needs be given) of that mode of speech. But, again, why the law is called the "strength of sin," we shall at once explain in brief to the best of our ability. Now it is written that "the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners."[3] In these times, then, before Moses, there was no written law for transgressors; whence also Pharaoh, not knowing the strength of sin, transgressed in the way of afflicting the children of Israel with unrighteous burdens, and despised the Godhead, not only himself, but also all who were with him. But, not to make any roundabout statement, I shall explain the matter briefly as follows. There were certain persons of

[1] Matt. xviii. 21. [2] Matt. xii. 32. [3] 1 Tim. i. 9.

the Egyptian race mingling with the people of Moses, when that people was under his rule in the desert; and when Moses had taken his position on the mount, with the purpose of receiving the law, the impatient people, I do not mean those who were the true Israel, but those who had been intermixed with the Egyptians,[1] set up a calf as their god, in accordance with their ancient custom of worshipping idols, with the notion that by such means they might secure themselves against ever having to pay the proper penalties for their iniquities.[2] Thus were they altogether ignorant of the strength of their sin. But when Moses returned (from the mount) and found that out, he issued orders that those men should be put to death with the sword. From that occasion a beginning was made in the correct perception of the strength of sin on the part of these persons through the instrumentality of the law of Moses, and for that reason the law has been called the *strength of sin.*

32. Moreover, as to this word which is written in the Gospel, "Ye are of your father the devil,"[3] and so forth, we say in brief that there is a devil working in us, whose aim it has been, in the strength of his own will, to make us like himself. For all the creatures that God made, He made very good; and He gave to every individual the sense of free-will, in accordance with which standard He also instituted the law of judgment. To sin is ours, and that we sin not is God's gift, as our will is constituted to choose either to sin or not to sin. And this you doubtless understand well enough yourself, Manes; for you know that, although you were to bring together all your disciples and admonish[4] them not to

[1] This is one of those passages in which we detect the tendency of many of the early fathers to adopt the peculiar opinions of the Jewish rabbis on difficult points of Scripture. See also the *Disputation between Theophilus of Alexandria and the Jew Simon*, ch. 13. In accordance with the opinion propounded here by Archelaus, we find, for instance, in the *Scemoth Rabba*, p. 157, col. 1, that the making of the golden calf is ascribed to the Egyptian proselytes. See the note in Migne.

[2] The text is *in quo nec scelerum pœnas aliquando rependeret.*

[3] John viii. 44.

[4] Reading *commonens* for *communis ne.* *Communiens* is also suggested.

commit any transgression or do any unrighteousness, every one of them might still pass by the law of judgment. And certainly whosoever will, may keep the commandments; and whosoever shall despise them, and turn aside to what is contrary to them, shall yet without doubt have to face this law of judgment. Hence also certain of the angels, refusing to submit themselves to the commandment of God, resisted His will; and one of them indeed fell like a flash of lightning[1] upon the earth, while others,[2] harassed by the dragon, sought their felicity in intercourse with the daughters of men,[3] and thus brought on themselves the merited award of the punishment of eternal fire. And that angel who was cast down to earth, finding no further admittance into any of the regions of heaven, now flaunts about among men, deceiving them, and luring them to become transgressors like himself, and even to this day he is an adversary to the commandments of God. The example of his fall and ruin, however, will not be followed by all, inasmuch as to each is given liberty of will. For this reason also has he obtained the name of *devil*, because he has passed over from the heavenly places, and appeared on earth as the disparager of God's commandment.[4] But because it was God who first gave the commandment, the Lord Jesus Himself said to the

[1] Luke x. 18.

[2] We have another instance here of a characteristic opinion of the Jewish rabbis adopted by a Christian father. This notion as to the intercourse of the angels with the daughters of men was a current interpretation among the Jews from the times of Philo and Josephus, and was followed in whole or in part by Tertullian, Justin, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athenagoras, Methodius, Cyprian, Lactantius, etc. Consult the note in Migne.

[3] We give the above as a *possible* rendering. Routh, however, understands the matter otherwise. The text is, "alii vero in felicitate hominum filiabus admisti a dracone afflicti," etc. Routh takes the phrase *in felicitate* as = "adhuc in statu felici existentes:" so that the sense would be, "others, while they still abode in the blessed estate, had intercourse," etc.

[4] Archelaus seems here to assign a twofold etymology for the name *devil*, deriving the Greek διάβολος, accuser, from διαβάλλω, in its two senses of *trajicere* and *traducere*, to cross over and to slander.

devil, "Get thee behind me, Satan;"[1] and, without doubt, to go behind God is the sign of being His servant. And again He says, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[2] Wherefore, as certain men were inclined to yield obedience to his wishes, they were addressed in these terms by the Saviour: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do."[3] And, in fine, when they are found to be actually doing his will, they are thus addressed: "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."[4] From all this, then, you ought to see how weighty a matter it is for man to have freedom of will. However, let my antagonist here say whether there is a judgment for the godly and the ungodly, or not. *Manes said:* There is a judgment. *Archelaus said:* I think that what we[5] have said concerning the devil contains no small measure of reason as well as of piety. For every creature, moreover, has its own order; and there is one order for the human race, and another for animals, and another for angels. Furthermore, there is but one only inconvertible substance, the divine substance, eternal and invisible, as is known to all, and as is also borne out by this Scripture: "No man hath seen God at any time, save the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father."[6] All the other creatures, consequently, are of necessity visible,—such as heaven, earth, sea, men, angels, archangels. But if God has not been seen by any man at any time, what consubstantiality can there be between Him and those creatures? Hence we hold that all things whatsoever have, in their several positions, their own proper substances, according to their proper order. You, on the other hand, allege that every living thing which moves is made of one (*ex uno*), and you say that every object has received like substance from God, and that this substance is capable of sinning and of being brought under the judgment; and you are unwilling to accept the word which declares that

[1] Matt. iv. 10. [2] Matt. iv. 10. [3] John viii. 44.
[4] Matt. iii. 7, 8. [5] Reading *a nobis* for the *a vobis* of the codex.
[6] John i. 18.

the devil was an angel, and that he fell in transgression, and that he is not of the same substance with God. Logically, you ought to do away with any allowance of the doctrine of a judgment, and that would make it clear which of us is in error.[1] If, indeed, the angel that has been created by God is incapable of falling in transgression, how can the soul, as a part of God, be capable of sinning? But, again, if you say that there is a judgment for sinning souls, and if you hold also that these are of one substance with God; and if still, even although you maintain that they are of the divine nature, you affirm that, notwithstanding that fact, they do not keep[2] the commandments of God, then, even on such grounds, my argument will pass very well,[3] which avers that the devil fell first, on account of his failure to keep the commandments of God. He was not indeed of the substance of God. And he fell, not so much to do hurt to the race of man, as rather to be set at nought[4] by the same. For He "gave unto us power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the strength of the enemy."[5]

33. *The judges said:* He has given demonstration enough of the origin of the devil. And as both sides admit that

[1] The sense is obscure here. The text runs, "Interimere debes judicii ratione ut quis nostrum fallat appareat." Migne proposes to read *rationem*, as if the idea intended was this: That, consistently with his reasonings, Manes ought not to admit the fact of a judgment, because the notions he has propounded on the subject of men and angels are not reconcilable with such a belief.—If this can be accepted as the probable meaning, then it would seem that the use of the verb *interimere* may be due to the fact that the Greek text gave ἀναιρεῖν, between the two senses of which—viz. to kill and to remove—the translator did not correctly distinguish. Routh, however, proposes to read *interimi*, taking it as equivalent to *condemnari*, so that the idea might be = on all principles of sound judgment you ought to be condemned, etc.

[2] The codex reads simply, *Dei servare mandata*. We may adopt either *Dei non servare mandata*, as above, or, *Dei servare vel non servare mandata*, in reference to the freedom of will, and so = they may or may not keep the commandments.

[3] The codex has *præcedit*, for which *procedit* is proposed.

[4] Reading "læderet—illuderetur." But might it not rather be "læderet—*illideretur*," not to bruise, but rather to be bruised, etc.?

[5] Luke x. 19.

there will be a judgment, it is necessarily involved in that admission that every individual is shown to have free-will; and since this is brought clearly out, there can be no doubt that every individual, in the exercise of his own proper power of will, may shape his course in whatever direction he pleases.[1] *Manes said:* If (only) the good is from (your) God, as you allege, then you make Jesus Himself a liar.[2] *Archelaus said:* In the first place, admit that the account of what we have adduced is true, and then I will give you proof about the "father of him."[3] *Manes said:* If you prove to me that his father is a liar, and yet show me that for all that you ascribe no such (evil) notion to God, then credit will be given you on all points. *Archelaus said:* Surely when a full account of the devil has once been presented, and the dispensation set forth, any one now, with an ordinarily vigorous understanding, might simply, by turning the matter carefully over in his own mind, get an idea of who this is that is here called the father of the devil. But though you give yourself out to be the Paraclete, you come very far short of the ordinary sagacity of men. Wherefore, as you have betrayed your ignorance, I shall tell you what

[1] This appears to be the general sense of the very corrupt passage, "Quo videntur ostenso nulli dubium est unusquisque in quamcunque elegerit partem propria usus arbitrii potestate." In Migne it is amended thus: "Quo evidenter ostenso, nulli dubium est, quod unusquisque in quamcunque elegerit partem, propria usus fuerit arbitrii potestate."

[2] Adopting the emendation, "si a Deo bonus, ut asseris, mendacem esse dixisti Jesum." In the Codex Casinensis it stands thus: "sic a Deo bonus ut as mendacem esse dixisti Jesus." But Routh would substitute "si a Deo *diabolus*" = if the devil is from God.

[3] The argumentation throughout this passage seems to rest on the fact that, in support of the dogma of the evil deity, Manes perverted, among other passages, our Lord's words in John viii. 44, as if they were not only "Ye are of your father the devil," but possibly also, "Ye are of the father of the devil;" and again, "He is a liar, and the father of him (is the same)." Thus what Manes urges against Archelaus is this: If only what is good proceeds from the Deity, and if He is the Supreme Good Himself, you make out Jesus to have spoken falsely, when in John's Gospel He uses expressions which imply that the devil's father is a liar, and also the Creator of the *lying* devil.

is meant by this expression, the "father of the devil." *Manes said:* I say so[1] . . .; *and he added:* Every one who is the founder or maker of anything may be called the father (parent) of that which he has made. *Archelaus said:* Well, I am verily astonished that you have made so correct an admission in reply to what I have said, and have not concealed either your intelligent apprehension of the affirmation, or the real nature of the same. Now, from this learn who is this father of the devil. When he fell from the kingdom of heaven, he came to dwell upon earth, and there he remained, ever watching and seeking out some one to whom he might attach himself, and whom, through an alliance with himself, he might also make a partner in his own wickedness. Now as long, indeed, as man was not yet existent, the devil was never called either a murderer or a liar together with his father. But subsequently, when man had once been made, and when further he had been deceived by the devil's lies and craftiness, and when the devil had also introduced himself into the body of the serpent, which was the most sagacious of all the beasts, then from that time the devil was called a liar together with his father, and then[2] also the curse was made to rest not only on himself, but also on his father. Accordingly, when the serpent had received him, and had indeed admitted him wholly into its own being, it was, as it were, rendered pregnant, for it bore the burden of the devil's vast wickedness; and it was like one with child, and under the strain of parturition, as it sought to eject the agitations[3] of his malignant suggestions. For the serpent, grudging the glory of the first man, made its way into paradise; and harbouring these pains of parturition in itself (*conceptis in se doloribus*), it began to produce mendacious addresses, and to generate death for the men who had been

[1] There are some words deficient in this sentence. The text reads, "Manes dixit: . . . . . dico: et adjecit, Omnis qui conditor est vel Creator aliquorum pater eorum . . . . . condiderit appellatur." It is proposed to supply *jam* before *dico*, and *quæ* before *condiderit*.

[2] Reading *et effectum* for the *ut effectum* of the codex.

[3] Or it may be "cogitations," reading *cogitata* for *agitata*.

fashioned by God, and who had received the gift of life. The devil, however, was not able to manifest himself completely through the serpent; but he reserved his perfection for a time, in order that he might demonstrate it through Cain, by whom he was generated completely. And thus through the serpent, on the one hand, he displayed his hypocrisies and deceits to Eve; while through Cain, on the other hand, he effected the beginning of murder, introducing himself into the firstlings of the "fruits," which that man administered so badly. From this the devil has been called a murderer from the beginning, and also a liar, because he deceived the parties to whom he said, "Ye shall be as gods;"[1] for those very persons whom he falsely declared destined to be gods were afterwards cast out of paradise. Wherefore the serpent which conceived him in its womb, and bore him, and brought him forth to the light of day, is constituted the devil's first father; and Cain is made his second father, who through the conception of iniquities produced pains and parricide: for truly the taking of life was the perpetrating of iniquity, unrighteousness, and impiety all together. Furthermore, all who receive him, and do his lusts, are constituted his brothers. Pharaoh is his father in perfection. Every impious man is made his father. Judas became his father, since he conceived him indeed, though he miscarried: for he did not present a perfect parturition there, since it was really a greater person who was assailed through Judas; and consequently, as I say, it proved an abortion. For just as the woman receives the man's seed, and thereby also becomes sensible of a daily growth within her, so also did Judas make daily advances in evil, the occasions for that being furnished him like seed by the wicked one. And the first seed of evil in him, indeed, was the lust of money; and its increment was theft, for he purloined the moneys which were deposited in the bag. Its offspring, moreover, consisted of vexations, and compacts with the Pharisees, and the scandalous bargain for a price; yet it was the abortion, and not the birth, that was witnessed in the horrid noose by

[1] Gen. iii. 5.

which he met his death. And exactly in the same way shall it stand also with you: if you bring the wicked one to light in your own deeds, and do his lusts, you have conceived him, and will be called his father; but, on the other hand, if you cherish penitence, and deliver yourself of your burden, you will be like one that brings to the birth.[1] For, as in school exercises, if one gets the subject-matter from the master, and then creates and produces the whole body of an oration by himself, he is said to be the author of the compositions to which he has thus given birth; so he who has taken in any little leaven of evil from the prime evil, is of necessity called the father and procreator of that wicked one, who from the beginning has resisted the truth. The case may be the same, indeed, with those who devote themselves to virtue; for I have heard the most valiant men say to God, "For Thy fear, O Lord,[2] we have conceived in the womb, and we have been in pain, and have brought forth the spirit of salvation."[3] And so those, too, who conceive in respect of the fear of the wicked one, and bring forth the spirit of iniquity, must needs be called the fathers of the same. Thus, on the one hand, they are called sons of that wicked one, so long as they are still yielding obedience to his service; but, on the other hand, they are called fathers if they have attained to the perfection of iniquity. For it is with this view that our Lord says to the Pharisees, "Ye are of your father the devil,"[4] thereby making them his sons, as long as they appeared still to be perturbed (*conturbari*) by him, and meditated in their hearts evil for good toward the righteous. Accordingly, while they deliberated in such a spirit with their own hearts, and while their wicked devices were made chargeable upon (*translatis in se*) themselves, Judas, as the head of all the evil, and as the person who carried out their iniquitous counsels to

[1] The text gives *parturies*. Routh suggests *parturiens*. The sense then might be, But if you repent, you will also deliver yourself of your burden like one who brings to the birth.

[2] Reading *Domine* for *Dominum*, which is given in the text.

[3] The quotation may refer to Isa. xxvi. 18.

[4] John viii. 44.

their consummation, was constituted the father of the crime, having received at their hands the recompense of thirty pieces of silver for his impious cruelty. For "after the sop Satan entered into him"[1] completely. But, as we have said, when his womb was enlarged, and the time of his travail came on, he delivered himself only of an abortive burden in the conception of unrighteousness, and consequently he could not be called the father in perfection, except only at that very time when the conception was still in the womb; and afterwards, when he betook himself to the hangman's rope, he showed that he had not brought it to a complete birth, because remorse (*pœnitentia*) followed.

34. I think that you cannot fail to understand this too, that the word *father* is but a single term indeed, and yet one admitting of being understood in various ways. For one is called father, as being the parent of those children whom he has begotten in a natural way; another is called father, as being the guardian of children whom he has but brought up; and some, again, are called fathers in respect of the privileged standing accruing through time or age. Hence our Lord Jesus Christ Himself is said to have a variety of fathers: for David was called His father, and Joseph was reckoned to be His father, while neither of these two was His father in respect of the actuality of nature. For David is called His father as touching the prerogative of time and age (*ætatis ac temporis privilegio*), and Joseph is designated His father as concerning the law of upbringing; but God Himself is His only Father by nature, who was pleased to make all things manifest in short space (*velociter*) to us by His word. And our Lord Jesus Christ, making no tarrying (*nec in aliquo remoratus*), in the space of one year[2] restored multitudes of the sick to health, and gave back the dead to the light of life; and He did indeed embrace all things in

[1] John xiii. 27.

[2] The text gives, "inter unius anni spatium," for which *intra*, etc., is proposed. With certain others of the fathers, Archelaus seems to assign but one year to the preaching of Christ and to His working of miracles. See ch. xlix.

the power of His own word.[1] And wherein, forsooth, did He make any tarrying, so that we should have to believe Him to have waited so long (even to these days) before He actually sent the Paraclete?[2] Nay, rather, as has been already said above, He gave proof of His presence with us forthwith, and did most abundantly impart Himself to Paul, whose testimony we also believe when he says, "Unto me only is this grace given"[3] (*mihi autem soli*, etc.). For this is he who formerly was a persecutor of the church of God, but who afterwards appeared openly before all men as a faithful minister of the Paraclete; by whose instrumentality His singular clemency was made known to all men, in such wise that even to us who some time were without hope the largess of His gifts has come. For which of us could have hoped that Paul, the persecutor and enemy of the church, would prove its defender and guardian? Yea, and not that alone, but that he would become also its ruler, the founder and architect of the churches? Wherefore after him, and after those who were with Himself—that is, the disciples—we are not to look for the advent of any other (such), according to the Scriptures; for our Lord Jesus Christ says of this Paraclete, "He shall receive of mine."[4] Him therefore He selected as an acceptable vessel; and He sent this Paul to us in the Spirit. Into him the Spirit was poured;[5] and as that Spirit could not abide upon all men, but only on Him who was born of Mary the mother of God, so that Spirit, the Paraclete, could not come into any other, but could only come upon the apostles and the sainted Paul. "For he is a chosen vessel," He says, "unto me, to bear my name before kings and the

[1] Referring probably to Heb. i. 3.

[2] Migne gives this sentence as a direct statement. We adopt the interrogative form with Routh.

[3] Eph. iii. 8.

[4] John xvi. 14.

[5] The text reads, "quem misit ad nos Paulum in Spiritus influxit Spiritus," etc. We adopt the emendation, "quem misit ad nos Paulum in Spiritu. Influxit Spiritus," etc. Routh suggests, "Paulum cujus in spiritum influxit Spiritus" = this Paul, into whose spirit the Spirit was poured.

Gentiles" (*in conspectu regum et gentium*).[1] The apostle himself, too, states the same thing in his first epistle, where he says: "According to the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering (*consecrans*) the gospel of God."[2] "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost."[3] And again: "For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me by word and deed."[4] "I am the last of all the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle. But by the grace of God I am what I am."[5] And it is his wish to have to deal with (*vult habere*) those who sought the proof of that Christ who spake in him, for this reason, that the Paraclete was in him: and as having obtained His gift of grace, and as being enriched with magnificent honour,[6] he says: "For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And He said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee; for strength is made perfect in weakness."[7] Again, that it was the Paraclete Himself who was in Paul, is indicated by our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel, when He says: "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray my Father, and He shall give you another Comforter."[8] In these words He points to the Paraclete Himself, for He speaks of *another* Comforter. And hence we have given credit to Paul, and have hearkened to him when he says, "Or (*aut*) seek ye a proof of Christ speaking in me?"[9] and when he expresses himself in similar terms, of which we have already spoken above. Thus, too, he seals his testament for us as for his faithful heirs, and like a father he addresses us in these words in his Epistle

[1] Acts ix. 15.
[2] Rom. xv. 15, 16.
[3] Rom. ix. 1.
[4] Rom. xv. 18.
[5] 1 Cor. xv. 9, 10. Archelaus here gives "*novissimus* omnium apostolorum" for the ἐλάχιστος of the Greek, and the "minimus" of the Vulgate.
[6] Reading "magnifico *honore*" for the "magnifico *hoc ore*" of the codex.
[7] 2 Cor. xii. 8, 9.
[8] John xiv. 15, 16.
[9] 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

in the Scriptures: and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the eleven apostles (*undecim apostolis*): after that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once: of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen of James: then of all the apostles. And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the apostles."[1] "Therefore, whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed."[2] And again, in delivering over to his heirs that inheritance which he gained first himself, he says: "But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. For if he that cometh preacheth another Christ (*Christum*), whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another Spirit, which ye have not received, or another gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him. For I suppose that I did nothing less for you than the other apostles" (*nihil minus feci vobis a cæteris apostolis*).[3]

35. These things, moreover, he has said with the view of showing us that all others who may come after him will be false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed, like an angel of light. What great thing therefore is it, if his ministers also be transformed into the ministers of righteousness?—whose end shall be according to their works.[4] He indicates, further, what manner of men these were, and points out by whom they were being circumvented. And when the Galatians are minded to turn away from the gospel, he says to them: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto another gospel:

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 3–9. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 11. [3] 2 Cor. xi. 3–5.

[4] 2 Cor. ix. 14, 15. The text gives "*velut* angelum lucis," as if the Greek had read *ὡς*. So also Cyprian, in the beginning of his book on *The Unity of the Church*.

which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would turn you away (*avertere vos*) from the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which has been delivered to you, let him be accursed."[1] And again he says: "To me, who am the least of all the apostles (*infimo omnium apostolorum*), is this grace given;"[2] and, "I fill up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh."[3] And once more, in another place, he declares of himself that he was a minister of Christ more than all others,[4] as though after him none other was to be looked for at all; for he enjoins that not even an angel from heaven is thus to be received. And how, then, shall we credit the professions of this Manes, who comes from Persis,[5] and declares himself to be the Paraclete? By this very thing, indeed, I rather recognise in him one of those men who transform themselves, and of whom the Apostle Paul, that elect vessel, has given us very clear indication when he says: "Now in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and (commanding) to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received[6] with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."[7] The Spirit in the evangelist Matthew is also careful to give note of these words of our Lord Jesus Christ: "Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. But if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs,

[1] Gal. i. 6–8.
[2] Eph. iii. 8.
[3] Col. i. 24.
[4] 2 Cor. xi. 23.
[5] The Codex Casinensis gives, "de Persida venientem monet;" for which corrupt reading it is proposed to substitute "de Perside venientem Manem," etc.
[6] Reading *percipiendum* with the Vulgate. But the Codex Casinensis has *perficiendum*.
[7] 1 Tim. iv. 1–4.

and false apostles,[1] and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: if they shall say, Behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not."[2] And yet, after all these directions, this man, who has neither sign nor portent of any kind to show, who has no affinity to exhibit, who never even had a place among the number of the disciples, who never was a follower of our departed Lord, in whose inheritance we rejoice,—this man, I say, although he never stood by our Lord in His weakness, and although he never came forward as a witness of His testament, yea rather, although he never came even within the acquaintance of those who ministered to Him in His sickness, and, in fine, although he obtains the testimony of no person whatsoever, desires us to believe this profession which he makes of being the Paraclete; whereas, even were you to do signs and wonders, we would still have to reckon you a false Christ, and a false prophet, according to the Scriptures. And therefore it is well for us to act with the greater caution, in accordance with the warning which the sainted apostle gives us, when, in the epistle which he wrote to the Colossians, he speaks in the following terms: "Continue in the faith grounded and rooted (*radicati*), and not to be moved away (*immobiles*) from the hope of the gospel, which we have heard (*audivimus*), and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven."[3] And again: "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him; rooted and built up in Him, and stablished in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving. Beware lest any one spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead."[4] And after all these matters have been thus care-

[1] These words *falsi apostoli* seem to be added by way of explanation, as they are not found either in the Greek or the Vulgate.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 4, 5, 23–26. [3] Col. i. 23. [4] Col. ii. 6–9.

fully set forth, the blessed apostle, like a father speaking to his children, adds the following words, which serve as a sort of seal to his testament: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course,[1] I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing."[2]

36. None of your party,[3] O Manes, will you make a Galatian; neither will you in this fashion divert us[4] from the faith of Christ. Yea, even although you were to work signs and wonders, although you were to raise the dead, although you were to present to us the very image of Paul himself, you would remain accursed still, O Satan.[5] For we have been instructed beforehand with regard to you: we have been both warned and armed against you by the holy Scriptures. You are a vessel of Antichrist; and no vessel of honour, in sooth, but a mean and base one, used by him as any barbarian or tyrant may do, who, in attempting to make an inroad on a people living under the righteousness of the laws,[6] sends some select vessel on beforehand, as it were destined to death, with the view of finding out the exact magnitude and character of the strength possessed by the legitimate king and his nation: for the man is too much afraid to make the inroad himself wholly at unawares, and he also lacks the daring to despatch any person belonging to his own immediate circle on such a task, through fear that he may sustain some harm. And so it is that your king, Antichrist,

[1] The text gives "*circum* cucurri," perhaps for "*cursum* cucurri." The Vulgate has "cursum consummavi."

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

[3] The text gives "ex vobis." But perhaps we should read "ex nobis" = none of us.

[4] The Codex Casinensis has "Galatam facies vicit, o nostras feras," for which we adopt the correction, "Galatam facies, nec ita nos."

[5] The Codex Casinensis gives "anathema esse ana," which may be an error, either for "anathema es, Satana," or for "anathema es et maranatha."

[6] The text is *legum*; for which *regum*, kings, is also suggested.

has despatched you in a similar character, and as it were destined to death, to us who are a people placed under the administration of the good and holy King. And this I do not say inconsiderately or without due inquiry; but from the fact that I see you perform no miracle, I hold myself entitled to entertain such sentiments concerning you. For we are given to understand beforehand that the devil himself is to be transformed into an angel of light, and that his servants are to make their appearance in similar guise, and that they are to work signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived.[1] But who, pray, are you then, to whose lot no such position of kinship has been assigned by your father Satan?[2] For whom have you raised from the dead? What issue of blood do you ever staunch? What[3] eyes of the blind do you ever anoint with clay, and thus cause them to have vision? When do you ever refresh a hungering multitude with a few loaves? Where do you ever walk upon the water, or who of those who dwell in Jerusalem has ever seen you? O Persian barbarian, you have never been able to have a knowledge of the language of the Greeks, or of the Egyptians, or of the Romans, or of any other nation; but the Chaldean tongue alone has been known to you, which verily is not a language prevalent among any great number of people,[4] and you are not capable of understanding any one of another nationality when he speaks. Not thus is it with the Holy Spirit: God forbid; but He divides to all, and knows all kinds of tongues, and has understanding of all things, and is made all things to all men, so that the very thoughts of the heart cannot escape His cognizance. For what says the Scripture? "That every man heard the apostles speak in his own language through the Spirit, the

[1] Matt. xxiv. 24.

[2] The text gives, "qui neque necessarium aliquem locum sortitus es," etc. Routh proposes "necessarii." The sense seems to be that Manes had nothing to prove any connection between him and Christ.

[3] Reading "*quos* luto," etc., for the "*quod* luto" of the codex.

[4] The text is, "quæ ne in numerum quidem aliquem ducitur."

Paraclete."[1] But why should I say more on this subject?[2] Barbarian[3] priest and crafty coadjutor of Mithras, you will only be a worshipper of the sun-god Mithras, who is the illuminator of places of mystic import, as you opine, and the self-conscious deity (*conscium*); that is, you will sport as his worshippers do, and you will celebrate, though with less elegance as it were, his mysteries.[4] But why should I take all this so indignantly? Is it not accordant with all that is fitting, that you should multiply yourself like the tares, until that same mighty father of yours comes, raising the dead (as he will profess to do), and persecuting almost to hell itself all those who refuse to yield to his bidding, keeping multitudes in check by that terror of arrogance in which he entrenches himself, and employing threatenings against others, and making sport of them by the changing of his countenance and his deceitful dealing?[5] And yet beyond that he shall proceed no further; for his folly shall be made manifest to all men, as was the case with Jamnes and Mambres.[6] *The judges said:* As we have heard now from you, as Paul himself also seems to tell us, and, further, as we have learned likewise from the earlier account given in the Gospel, an introduc-

[1] Acts ii. 6.

[2] The text gives "Quid dicabo," which may stand for "quid dicam;" or perhaps the translator intends to use "dicare" in the sense of *urge*.

[3] Reading *barbare*, for which the text offers *barba*.

[4] In this sentence the sense is somewhat obscure, in consequence of the corruptions of the text in the codex. We adopt the emendations "locorum *mysticorum*" for *mysteriorum*, and "apud eos *ludes*" for *ludis*. In the end of the clause Migne gives, as in the translation, "et tanquam *minus* elegans," etc. But Routh reads *mimus* = and like an elegant pantomimist, etc.

[5] The Codex Casinensis gives the sentence thus: "... adveniat? suscitans mortuos? pene usque ad gehennam omnes persequens, qui si ut obtemperare noluerit, plurimos deterrens arrogantiæ metu, Quod est ipse circumdatus, aliis adhibet minas vultus sui conversione circumdatio ludificat." The emendations adopted by Migne and Routh consist in removing these two interrogative marks, and in reading *qui sibi* for *quī si ut*, *noluerint* for *noluerit*, *quo est* for *Quod est*, *adhibens* for *adhibet*, and *et circumductione ludificans* for the last two words.

[6] 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9.

tion to preaching, or teaching, or evangelizing, or prophesying, is not, in this life at least, held out on the same terms to any person in times subsequent (to the apostle's):[1] and if the opposite appears ever to be the case, the person can only be held to be a false prophet or a false Christ. Now, since you have alleged that the Paraclete was in Paul, and that He attested all things in him, how is it that Paul himself said, "We know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away?"[2] What other one did he look for, when he uttered these words? For if he professes himself to be looking for some perfect one, and if some one must needs come, show us who it is of whom he speaks; lest that word of his perchance appear to carry us back to this man (Manes), or to him who has sent him, that is to say, Satan, according to your affirmation. But if you admit that that which is perfect is yet to come, then this excludes Satan; and if you look for the coming of Satan, then that excludes the perfect.

37. *Archelaus said:* Those sayings which are put forth by the blessed Paul were not uttered without the direction of God, and therefore it is certain that what he has declared to us is that we are to look for our Lord Jesus Christ as the perfect one, who[3] is the only one that knows the Father, with the sole exception of him to whom He has chosen also to reveal Him,[4] as I am able to demonstrate from His own words. But let it be observed, that it is said that when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. Now this man (Manes) asserts that he is the perfect one. Let him show us, then, what he has done away with; for what is to be done away with is the

[1] The sense is again obscure throughout this sentence, owing to the state of the text. The codex gives us this clause, "nulli alio atque posterum," etc., for which "nulli alii æque in posterum" is proposed.

[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10.

[3] Reading "*qui* solus," for the *sed*, etc., of the codex. See also Luke x. 22.

[4] Matt. xi. 27.

ignorance which is in us. Let him therefore tell us what he has done away with, and what he has brought into (the sphere of our) knowledge. If he is able to do anything of this nature, let him do it now, in order that he may be believed. These very words of Paul's, if one can but understand them in the full power of their meaning, will only secure entire credit to the statements made by me. For in that first Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul speaks in the following terms of the perfection that is to come: "Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be destroyed: for we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away."[1] Observe now what virtue that which is perfect possesses in itself, and of what order that perfection is. And let this man, then, tell us what prophecy of the Jews or Hebrews he has done away with; or what tongues he has caused to cease, whether of the Greeks or of others who worship idols; or what alien dogmas he has destroyed, whether of a Valentinian, or a Marcion, or a Tatian, or a Sabellius, or any others of those who have constructed for themselves their peculiar systems of knowledge. Let him tell us which of all these he has already done away with, or when he is yet to do away with any one of them, in this character of the perfect one. Perchance he seeks some sort of truce—does he (*inducias fortassis aliquas quærit*)? But not thus inconsiderable, not thus obscure[2] and ignoble, will be the manner of the advent of Him who is the truly perfect one, that is to say, our Lord Jesus Christ. Nay, but as a king, when he draws near to his city, does first of all send on before him his life-guardsmen,[3] his ensigns and standards and banners (*signa, dracones, labaros*), his generals and chiefs and prefects, and then forthwith all objects are roused and excited in different fashions, while some become inspired

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 8–10.

[2] Reading "non plane, non tam obscure," etc., instead of the "non plane nota," etc., of the Codex Casinensis.

[3] "Protectores," on which term consult Ducangius in his *Glossary*.

with terror and others with exultation at the prospect of the king's advent; so also my Lord Jesus Christ, who is the truly perfect one, at His coming will first send on before Him His glory, (and) the consecrated heralds of an unstained and untainted kingdom: and then the universal creation will be moved and perturbed, uttering prayers and supplications, until He delivers it from its bondage.[1] And it must needs be that the race of man shall then be in fear and in vehement agitation on account of the many offences it has committed. Then the righteous alone will rejoice, as they look for the things which have been promised them; and the subsistence of the affairs of this world will no longer be maintained, but all things shall be destroyed: and whether they be prophecies or the books of prophets, (they shall fail); whether they be the tongues of the whole race, they shall cease; for men will no longer need to feel anxiety or to think solicitously about those things which are necessary for life; whether it be knowledge, by what teachers soever it be possessed, it shall also be destroyed: for none of all these things will be able to endure the advent of that mighty King. For just as a little spark, if[2] taken and put up against the splendour of the sun, at once perishes from the view, so the whole creation, all prophecy, all knowledge, all tongues, as we have said above, shall be destroyed. But since the capacities of common human nature are all insufficient to set forth in a few words, and these so weak and so extremely poor, the coming of this heavenly King,—so much so, indeed, that perchance it should be the privilege only of the saintly and the highly worthy to attempt any statement on such a subject,—it may yet be enough for me to (be able to say that I) have advanced what I have now advanced on that theme on the ground of simple necessity,—compelled, as I have been, to do thus much by this person's importunity, and simply with the view of showing you what kind of character he is.

[1] Rom. viii. 21, 22.

[2] The text gives simply, *sicut enim parva*. We may adopt, with Routh, "sicut enim *cum* parva," etc.

38. And, in good truth, I hold Marcion, and Valentinian, and Basilides, and other heretics, to be sainted men when compared[1] with this person. For they did display a certain kind of intellect, and they did, indeed, think themselves capable of understanding all Scripture, and did thus constitute themselves leaders[2] for those who were willing to listen to them. But notwithstanding this, not one of these dared to proclaim himself to be either God, or Christ, or the Paraclete, as this fellow has done, who is ever disputing, on some occasions about the ages (*seculis*), and on others about the sun, and how these objects were made, as though he were superior to them himself; for every person who offers an exposition of the method in which any object has been made, puts himself forward as superior to and older than the subject of his discussion. But who may venture to speak of the substance of God, unless, it may be, our Lord Jesus Christ alone? And, indeed, I do not make this statement on the bare authority of my own words, but I confirm it by the authority of that Scripture which has been our instructor. For the apostle addresses the following words to us: "That ye may be lights in this world, holding (*continentes*) the word of life for my glory against the day of Christ, seeing that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain."[3] We ought to understand what is the force and meaning of this saying; for the word may suit the leader, but the effectual work suits the king.[4] And accordingly, as one who looks for the arrival of his king, strives to be able to present all who are under his charge as obedient, and ready, and estimable, and lovely, and faithful, and not less also as blameless, and abounding in all

[1] Reading "sic ut istius comparatione," for the "sicut istius paratione" of the codex.

[2] Reading *se ductores*, for the *seductores*, etc., of the codex.

[3] Phil. ii. 13.

[4] The precise meaning and connection are somewhat obscure here. The text gives, "verbum enim ducis obtinet locum, opera vero regis." And the idea is taken to be, that the actual work of thoroughly doing away with the ignorance of men was something that suited only the perfect King who was expected, and that had not been accomplished by Manes.

that is good, so that he may himself get commendation from the king, and be deemed by him to be worthy of greater honours, as having rightly governed the province which was entrusted to his administration; so also does the blessed Paul give us to understand our position when he uses these words: "That ye may be as lights in this world, holding the word of life for my glory against the day of Christ." For the meaning of this saying is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, when He comes, will see that his doctrine has proved profitable in us, and that, finding that he (the apostle) has not run in vain, neither laboured in vain, He will bestow on him the crown of recompense. And again, in the same epistle, he also warns us not to mind earthly things, and tells us that we ought to have our conversation in heaven; from which also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ.[1] And as the knowledge of the date of the last day is no secure position for us, he has given us, to that effect, a declaration on the subject in the epistle which he wrote to the Thessalonians, thus: "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you; for yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night."[2] How, then, does this man stand up and try to persuade us to embrace his opinions, importuning every individual whom he meets to become a Manichean, and going about and creeping into houses, and endeavouring to deceive minds laden with sins?[3] But we do not hold such sentiments. Nay, rather, we should be disposed to present the things themselves before you all, and bring them into comparison, if it please you, with (what we know of) the perfect Paraclete. For you observe that[4] sometimes he uses the interrogative style, and sometimes the deprecatory. But in the Gospel of our Saviour it is written that those who stand on the left hand of the King will say: "Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or in prison, and did not minister unto Thee?"[5]

[1] Phil. iii. 19. [2] 1 Thess. v. 1, 2. [3] Alluding to 2 Tim. iii. 6.

[4] Routh inserts *interdum pœnitet* = sometimes he uses the penitential style, which Migne omits.

[5] Matt. xxv. 44.

Thus they will implore Him to be indulgent with them. But what reply is that righteous Judge and King represented as making to them? "Depart from me into everlasting fire, ye workers of iniquity."[1] He casts them into everlasting fire, although they cease not to direct their entreaties to Him. Do you see, then (O Manes), what manner of event that advent of the perfect King is destined to be? Do you not perceive that it will not be such a perfection (consummation) as you allege? But if the great day of judgment is to be looked for after that King, surely this man is greatly inferior to Him. But if he is inferior, he cannot be perfect. And if he is not to be perfect, it is not of him that the apostle speaks. But if it is not of him that the apostle speaks, while he still makes the mendacious statement that it is of himself that the said word (of the apostle) was spoken, then surely he is to be judged a false prophet. Much more, too, might be said to the same effect. But if we were to think of going over in detail all that might thus be adduced, time would fail us for the accomplishment of so large a task. Hence I have deemed it abundantly sufficient thus to have brought under your notice only a few things out of many, leaving the yet remaining portions of such a discussion to those who have the inclination to go through with them.

39. On hearing these matters, those who were present gave great glory to God, and ascribed to Him such praise as it is meet for Him to receive. And on Archelaus himself they bestowed many tokens of honour. Then Marcellus rose up; and casting off his cloak,[2] he threw his arms round Archelaus, and kissed him, and embraced him, and clung to him. Then, too, the children who had chanced to gather about the place began and set the example of pelting Manes and driving him off;[3] and the rest of the crowd followed them, and moved excitedly about, with the intention of compelling Manes to take to flight. But when Archelaus observed this, he raised

[1] Matt. xxv. 46; Luke xiii. 27.

[2] The text gives the plural form *stolas*, perhaps for *stolam*.

[3] The text gives *fugere*, apparently in the sense of *fugare*.

his voice like a trumpet above the din, in his anxiety to restrain the multitude, and addressed them thus: Stop, my beloved brethren, lest mayhap we be found to have the guilt of blood on us at the day of judgment; for it is written of men like this, that "there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you."[1] And when he had uttered these words, the crowds of people were quieted again.—Now, because it was the pleasure of Marcellus that this disputation should have a place given it (*excipi*), and that it should also be described, I could not gainsay his wish, but trusted to the kind consideration of the readers, believing that they would pardon me if my discourse should sound somewhat inartistic or boorish: for the great thing which we have had in view has been, that the means of knowing what took place on this occasion should not fail to be brought within the reach of all who desired to understand the subject. Thereafter, it must be added, when Manes had once taken to flight, he made his appearance nowhere (there again). His attendant Turbo, however, was handed over by Marcellus to Archelaus; and on Archelaus ordaining him as a deacon, he remained in the suite of Marcellus. But Manes in his flight came to a certain village which was at a considerable distance from the city, and bore the name of Diodorus. Now in that place there was also a presbyter whose name likewise was Diodorus,[2] a man of quiet and gentle disposition, and well reputed both for his faith and for the excellence of his general character. Now when, on a certain day, Manes had gathered a crowd of auditors around him, and was haranguing[3] them, and putting before the people who were present certain outlandish assertions altogether foreign to the tradition of the fathers, and in no way apprehending any opposition that might be made to him on the part of any of these, Diodorus perceived that he was producing some effect by his wickedness, and resolved then

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 19.

[2] This Diodorus appears to be called Trypho by Epiphanius, on this Manichean heresy, n. 11.

[3] Reading *concionaretur* for *continuaretur*.

to send to Archelaus a letter couched in the following terms:—

Diodorus sends greeting to Bishop Archelaus.[1]

40. I wish you to know, most pious father, that in these days there has arrived in our parts a certain person named Manes, who gives out that he is to complete the doctrine of the New Testament. And in the statements which he has made there have been some things, indeed, which may harmonize with our faith; but there have been also certain affirmations of his which seem very far removed from what has come down to us by the tradition of our fathers. For he has interpreted some doctrines in a strange fashion, imposing on them certain notions of his own, which have appeared to me to be altogether foreign and opposed to the faith. On the ground of these facts I have now been induced to write this letter to you, knowing the completeness and fulness of your intelligence in doctrine, and being assured that none of these things can escape your cognizance. Accordingly, I have also indulged the confident hope that you cannot be kept back by any grudge (*invidia*) from explaining these matters to us. As to myself, indeed, it is not possible that I shall be drawn away into any novel doctrine; nevertheless, in behalf of all the less instructed, I have been led to ask a word with your authority. For, in truth, the man shows himself to be a person of extraordinary force of character, both in speech and in action; and indeed his very aspect and attire also bear that out. But I shall here write down for your information some few points which I have been able to retain in my memory out of all the topics which have been expounded by him: for I know that even by these few you will have an idea of the rest. You well understand, no doubt, that those who seek to set up any new dogma have the habit of very readily perverting into a conformity with their own notions any proofs they desire to take from the Scriptures. In anticipation, however, of this, the apostolic word marks out the case thus: "If any

[1] This epistle is also mentioned, and its argument noticed, by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 11.

one preach any other gospel unto you than that which you have received, let him be accursed."[1] And consequently, in addition to what has been once committed to us by the apostles, a disciple of Christ ought to receive nothing new as doctrine. But not to make what I have got to say too lengthy, I return to the subject directly in view. This man then maintained that the law of Moses, to speak shortly, does not proceed from the good God, but from the prince of evil; and that it has no kinship with the new law of Christ, but is contrary and hostile to it, the one being the direct antagonist of the other. When I heard such a sentiment propounded, I repeated to the people that sentence of the Gospel in which our Lord Jesus Christ said of Himself: "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it."[2] The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate (*resolvisse*) that same law, we are bound to give heed, above all other considerations, to the thing which He actually did. Then he began to cite a great variety of passages from the law, and also many from the Gospel and from the Apostle Paul, which have the appearance of contradicting each other. All this he gave forth at the same time with perfect confidence, and without any hesitation or fear; so that I verily believe he has that serpent as his helper, who is ever our adversary. Well, he declared that there (in the law) God said, "I make the rich man and the poor man;"[3] while here (in the Gospel) Jesus called the poor blessed,[4] and added, that no man could be His disciple unless he gave up all that he had.[5] Again, he maintained that there Moses took silver and gold from the Egyptians when the people[6] fled out of Egypt;[7] whereas Jesus delivered the precept that we should lust after nothing belonging to our neighbour. Then he affirmed that Moses had provided in the law, that an eye should be given in penalty for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;[8] but that our Lord bade us offer the other

[1] Gal. i. 8. [2] Matt. v. 17. [3] Prov. xxii. 2.
[4] Matt. v. 3. [5] Luke xiv. 33.
[6] Reading *cum populus* for the *cum populo* of the text.
[7] Ex. xii. 35. [8] Ex. xxi. 24.

cheek also to him who smote the one.[1] He told us, too, that there Moses commanded the man to be punished and stoned who did any work on the Sabbath, and who failed to continue in all things that were written in the law,[2] as in fact was done to that person who, yet being ignorant, had gathered a bundle of sticks on the Sabbath-day; whereas Jesus cured a cripple on the Sabbath, and ordered him then also to take up his bed.[3] And further, He did not restrain His disciples from plucking the ears of corn and rubbing them with their hands on the Sabbath-day,[4] which yet was a thing which it was unlawful to do on the Sabbaths. And why should I mention other instances? For with many different assertions of a similar nature these dogmas of his were propounded with the utmost energy and the most fervid zeal. Thus, too, on the authority of an apostle, he endeavoured to establish the position that the law of Moses is the law of death, and that the law of Jesus, on the contrary, is the law of life. For he based that assertion on the passage which runs thus: "In which also may God make us (*faciat Deus*) able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. But if the ministration of death, engraven in letters on the stones (*in litteris formatum in lapidibus*), was made in glory, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth. For if that which shall be done away is glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious."[5] And this passage, as you are also well aware, occurs in the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Besides, he added to this another passage out of the first epistle, on which he based his affirmation that the disciples of the Old Testament were

[1] Luke vi. 29. [2] Num. xv. 32. [3] Mark ii. 11.
[4] Luke vi. 1. [5] 2 Cor. iii. 6-11.

earthly and natural; and in accordance with this, that flesh and blood could not possess the kingdom of God.[1] He also maintained that Paul himself spake in his own proper person when he said: "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor."[2] Further, he averred that the same apostle made this statement most obviously on the subject of the resurrection of the flesh, when he also said that "he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh,"[3] and that according to the letter the law has in it no advantage.[4] And again he adduced the statement, that "Abraham has glory, but not before God;"[5] and that "by the law there comes only the knowledge of sin."[6] And many other things did he introduce, with the view of detracting from the honour of the law, on the ground that the law itself is sin; by which statements the simpler people were somewhat influenced, as he continued to bring them forward; and in accordance with all this, he also made use of the affirmation, that "the law and the prophets were until John."[7] He declared, however, that John preached the (true) kingdom of heaven; for verily he held, that by the cutting off of his head it was signified that all who went before him, and who had precedence over him, were to be cut off, and that what was to come after him was alone to be maintained. With reference to all these things, therefore, O most pious Archelaus, send us back a short reply in writing: for I have heard that you have studied such matters in no ordinary degree; and that (capacity which you possess) is God's gift, inasmuch as God bestows these gifts upon those who are worthy of them, and who are His friends, and who show themselves allied to Him in community of purpose and life. For it is our part to prepare ourselves, and to approach the gracious and liberal mind,[8] and forthwith we receive from

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 46–50. [2] Gal. ii. 18. [3] Rom. ii. 28.
[4] Rom. iv. 1. [5] Rom. iv. 2. [6] Rom. iii. 20.
[7] Luke xvi. 16.

[8] Reading "præparare et proximos fieri benignæ ac diviti menti" for "præparet proximus fieri benignæ hac," etc., as it stands in the Codex

it the most bountiful gifts. Accordingly, since the learning which I possess for the discussion of themes like these does not meet the requirements of my desire and purpose (for I confess myself to be an unlearned man), I have sent to you, as I have already said more than once, in the hope of obtaining from your hand the amplest solution to this question. May it be well with you, incomparable and honourable father!

41. On receiving this epistle, Archelaus was astonished at the man's boldness. But in the meantime, as the case called for the transmission of a speedy reply, he immediately sent off a letter with reference to the statements made by Diodorus. That epistle ran in the following terms:[1]—

Archelaus sends greeting to the presbyter Diodorus, his honourable son.

The receipt of your letter has rejoiced me exceedingly, my dearly beloved friend. I have been given to understand, moreover, that this man, who made his way to me before these days, and sought to introduce a novel kind of knowledge here, different from what is apostolic and ecclesiastical, has also come to you. To that person, indeed, I gave no place: for presently, when we held a disputation together, he was confuted. And I could wish now to transcribe for your behoof all the arguments of which I made use on that occasion, so that by means of these you might get an idea of what that man's faith is. But as that could be done only with leisure at my disposal, I have deemed it requisite, in view of the immediate exigency, to write a short reply to you with reference to what you have written me on the subject of the statements advanced by him. I understand, then, that his chief[2] effort was directed to

Casinensis. Routh suggests "præparare proximos fieri benignæ ac diviti menti et continuo . . . consequemur" = to take care to draw near to the gracious and liberal mind, and then we shall forthwith receive steadily from it, etc.

[1] This epistle is edited not only from the Codex Casinensis, but also by Valesius from the Codex Bobiensis. The most important varieties of reading shall therefore be noted.

[2] Summum studium. But the Codex Bobiensis reads *suum studium*.

prove that the law of Moses is not consonant with the law of Christ; and this position he attempted to found on the authority of our Scriptures. Well, on the other hand, not only did we establish the law of Moses, and all things which are written in it, by the same Scripture; but we also proved that the whole Old Testament agrees with the New Testament, and is in perfect harmony with the same, and that they form really one texture, just as a person may see one and the same robe made up of weft and warp together.[1] For the truth is simply this, that just as we trace the purple in a robe, so, if we may thus express it, we can discern the New Testament in the texture of the Old Testament; for we see the glory of the Lord mirrored in the same.[2] We are not therefore to cast aside the mirror,[3] seeing that it shows us the genuine image of the things themselves, faithfully and truly; but, on the contrary, we ought to honour it all the more. Think you, indeed, that the boy who is brought by his pædagogue to the teachers of learning[4] when he is yet a very little fellow, ought to hold that pædagogue in no honour[5] after he has grown up to manhood, simply because he needs his services[6] no longer, but can make his course without any assistance from that attendant to the schools, and quickly find his way to the lecture-rooms? Or, to take another instance, would it be right for the child who has been nourished on milk at first, after he has grown to be capable of receiving stronger meats,

[1] Reading "ex subtegmine atque stamine," etc., with the Codex Bobiensis, instead of "subtemine et, quæ stamine," etc., as it is given in the Codex Casinensis.

[2] We read here, "gloriam enim Domini in eodem speculamur." The Codex Bobiensis is vitiated here, giving *gloriam um Domini*, which was changed by Valesius into *gloriam Jesu*, etc.

[3] Reading, with the Codex Bobiensis, "speculum, cum nobis ipsam imaginem," etc., instead of "speculum nobis per ipsam imaginem," etc.

[4] Adopting "qui ad doctores a pædagogo," instead of "qui a doctore iis a pædagogo."

[5] "Dehonorare," or, as in the Codex Bobiensis, "dehonestare."

[6] Reading "opera ejus non indiget." But the Codex Casinensis gives "*ore* ejus," etc.

then injuriously to spurn the breasts of his nurse, and conceive a horror of them? Nay, rather he should honour and cherish them, and confess himself a debtor to their good services. We may also make use, if it please you, of another (kind of) illustration. A certain man on one occasion having noticed an infant exposed on the ground and already suffering excessively, picked it up, and undertook to rear it in his own house until it should reach the age of youth, and sustained all the toils and anxieties which are wont to fall to the lot of those who have to bring up children. After a time, however, it happened that he who was the child's natural father came seeking the boy, and found him with this person who had brought him up.[1] What ought this boy to do on learning that this is his real father? For I speak, of course, of a boy of the right type. Would he not see to it, that he who had brought him up should be recompensed with liberal gifts; and would he not then follow his natural father, having his proper inheritance in view?[2] Even so, then, I think we must suppose that that distinguished servant of God, Moses, in a manner something like this, found[3] a people afflicted by the Egyptians; and he took this people to himself, and nurtured them in the desert like a father, and instructed them like a teacher, and ruled them as a magistrate. This people he also preserved against the coming of him whose people they were. And after a considerable period the father[4] did come, and did receive his sheep. Now will not that guardian be honoured in all things by him to whom he delivered that flock; and will he not be glorified by those who have been preserved by him? Who, then, can be so senseless, my dearly beloved Diodorus, as to say that those are aliens to each other

[1] The Codex Bobiensis reads here, "accidit vero post tempus ut is qui . . . requireret," etc. The other codex has, "accedit vero post tempus is qui . . . requirere."

[2] Reading *pro respectu* with Codex Bobiensis. The other codex gives *prospectu.*

[3] Reading *invenisse.* The Codex Casinensis gives *venisse.*

[4] Routh suggests *pastor*, the shepherd, for *pater.*

who have been allied with each other, who have prophesied in turn for each other, and who have shown signs and wonders which are equal and similar, the one to the other, and of like nature with each other;[1] or rather, to speak in truth, which belong wholly to the same stock the one with the other? For, indeed, Moses first said to the people: "A Prophet will the Lord our God raise up unto you, like unto me."[2] And Jesus afterwards said: "For Moses spake of me."[3] You see[4] how these twain give the right hand to each other, although[5] the one was the prophet and the other was the beloved Son,[6] and although in the one we are to recognise the faithful servant, but in the other the Lord Himself. Now, on the other hand, I might refer to the fact, that one who of old was minded to make his way to the schools without the pædagogue was not taken in by the master. For the master said: "I will not receive him unless he accepts the pædagogue." And who the person is, who is spoken of under that figure, I shall briefly explain. There was a certain rich man,[7] who lived after the manner of the Gentiles, and passed his time in great luxury every day; and there was also another man, a poor man, who was his neighbour, and who was unable to procure even his daily bread. It happened that both these men departed this life, that they both descended into the grave (*infernum*), and that the poor man was conveyed into the place of rest, and so forth, as is known to you. But, furthermore, that rich man had also five brothers, living as he too had lived, and disturbed by no doubt as to lessons which they had learned at home from such a master. The rich man then entreated that these should be instructed in the superior doctrine together and at once.[8] But Abraham, knowing that they still stood in need

[1] Reading *cognata*, with Codex Bobiensis, instead of *cognita*.

[2] Deut. xviii. 18. [3] John v. 46.

[4] We adopt the reading *vides*, instead of the faulty *unde* of the Codex Casinensis.

[5] Reading *quamvis* for *quum*. [6] See Heb. iii. 5, 6.

[7] Luke xvi. 19, etc.

[8] The reading of the Codex Casinensis is, "rogavit dives simul uno

of the pædagogue, said to him: "They have Moses and the prophets." For if they received not these, so as to have their course directed by him (Moses) as by a pædagogue, they would not be capable of accepting the doctrine of the superior master.

42. But I shall also offer, to the best of my ability, some expositions of the other words referred to; that is to say, I shall show that Jesus neither said nor did aught that was contrary to Moses. And first, as to the word, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,"[1]—that is (the expression of) justice. And as to His injunction, that a man, when struck on the one cheek, should offer the other also, that is (the expression of) goodness. Well, then, are justice and goodness opposed to each other? Far from it! There has only been an advance from simple justice to positive goodness. And again, we have the saying, "The workman is worthy of his hire."[2] But if a person seeks to practise any fraud therein, it is surely most just[3] that what he has got possession of by fraud should be required of him, most especially when the hire is large. Now this I say, that when the Egyptians afflicted the children of Israel by the taskmasters who were set over them in the process of making bricks, Moses required and exacted the whole at once, with penalties, within one moment of time. But is this, then, to be called iniquity? Far from it! Surely it is the abstinence[4] of goodness, indeed, when one makes but a moderate use of what is really necessary, and gives up all that goes beyond that. Let us look, again, at the fact that in the Old Testament we find the word, "I make the rich man

tempore ut edisceret majorem doctrinam." But the other codex gives, "uno tempore discere majorem doctrinam ab Abraham" = entreated that he might learn the superior doctrine of Abraham. For *edisceret* we may read with Routh *ediscerent*.

[1] Matt. v. 32. [2] Matt. x. 10.

[3] The Codex Casinensis gives, "exige ab eo illa quæ fraudem interceperat;" the other Codex gives, "et exigi ab eo illa quæ fraude interceperat." The correct reading probably would be, "exigi ab eo illa quæ per fraudem interceperat."

[4] We adopt the conjecture of Valesius, viz. *abstinentia*. The Codex Bobiensis gives *absentia*.

and the poor man,"[1] whereas Jesus calls the poor blessed.[2] Well, in that saying Jesus did not refer to those who are poor simply in worldly substance, but to those who are poor in spirit, that is to say, who are not inflamed[3] with pride, but have the gentle and lowly dispositions of humility, not thinking of themselves more than they ought to think.[4] This question, however, is one which our adversary has not propounded correctly. For here I perceive that Jesus also looks on willingly at the gifts of the rich men, when they are being put into the treasury.[5] All too little, at the same time, is it[6] if gifts are cast into[7] the treasury by the rich alone; and so there are the two mites of the poor widow which are also received with gladness; and in that offering verily something is exhibited that goes beyond what Moses prescribed on the subject of the receipt of moneys. For he received gifts from those who had; but Jesus receives them even from those who have not. But this man says, further, that it is written, that "except a man shall forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple."[8] Well, I observe again, that the centurion, a man exceedingly wealthy and well dowered with worldly influence, possessed a faith surpassing that of all Israel;[9] so that, even if there was any one who had forsaken all, that man was surpassed in faith by this centurion. But some one may now reason with us thus: It is not a good thing, consequently, to give up riches. Well, I reply that it is a good thing for those who are capable of it; but, at the same time, to employ[10] riches for the work of

[1] Prov. xxii. 2. [2] Matt. v. 3.

[3] Reading *inflammantur*. It may perhaps be *inflantur* = puffed up.

[4] Rom. xii. 3. [5] Mark xii. 41.

[6] Reading *et parum hoc est*, with Codex Bobiensis, instead of the *et pauperum hoc est* of Codex Casinensis. We may also render it as = "but it is far from being the case that gifts are cast," etc.

[7] The Codex Bobiensis reads *inferuntur;* the other codex gives *offeruntur*, offered.

[8] Luke xiv. 33. [9] Matt. viii. 10.

[10] The text gives *sed abuti*, and the Codex Bobiensis has *sed et abuti*. But the reading ought probably to be *sed et uti*, or *sed etiam uti*. Routh, however, notices that *abutor* is found with the sense of *utor*.

righteousness and mercy, is a thing as acceptable as though one were to give up the whole at once. Again, as to the assertion that the Sabbath has been abolished, we deny that He has abolished it plainly (*plane*); for He was Himself also Lord of the Sabbath.[1] And this (the law's relation to the Sabbath) was like the servant who has charge of the bridegroom's couch, and who prepares the same with all carefulness, and does not suffer it to be disturbed or touched by any stranger, but keeps it intact against the time of the bridegroom's arrival; so that when he is come, the bed may be used as it pleases himself, or as it is granted to those to use it whom he has bidden enter along with him. And the Lord Jesus Christ Himself gave His testimony to what we affirm, when He said with His heavenly voice, "Can ye make the children of the bride-chamber fast so long as the bridegroom is with them?"[2] And again, He did not actually reject circumcision; but we should rather say that He received in Himself and in our stead the cause of circumcision (*in semetipsum causam circumcisionis excepit*), relieving us by what He Himself endured, and not permitting us to have to suffer any pain to no purpose. For what, indeed, can it profit a man to circumcise himself, if nevertheless he cherishes the worst of thoughts against his neighbour? He desired, accordingly, rather to open up to us the ways of the fullest life by a brief path,[3] lest perchance, after we had traversed lengthened courses of our own, we should find our day prematurely closing upon us in night, and lest, while outwardly indeed we might appear splendid to men's view, we should inwardly be comparable only to ravening wolves,[4] or be likened to whited sepulchres.[5] For far above any person of that type of character is to be placed the man who, although clad only in squalid and threadbare attire, keeps no evil hidden in his heart against his neigh-

[1] Matt. xii. 8. [2] Mark ii. 19.

[3] The Codex Bobiensis gives, "viæ compendiosum nobis tramitem demonstrare." We adopt the reading, "viæ spatia compendioso nobis tramite demonstrare."

[4] Matt. vii. 15. [5] Matt. xxiii. 7.

bour. For it is only the circumcision of the heart that brings salvation; and that merely carnal circumcision can be of no advantage to men, unless they happen also to be fortified with the spiritual circumcision. Listen also to what Scripture has to say on this subject: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."[1] What need, therefore, is there for me to labour (and suffer), seeing that I have been made acquainted with the compendious way of life (*compendia viæ*), and know that it shall be mine if only I can be pure in heart? And that is quite in accordance with the truth which we have learned now, to wit, that if one prevails in the keeping of the two commandments, he fulfils the whole law and the prophets.[2] Moreover Paul, the chief of the apostles, after all these sayings, gives us yet clearer instruction on the subject, when he says, "Or seek ye a proof of that Christ who speaketh in me?"[3] What have I then to do with circumcision, seeing that I may be justified in uncircumcision? For it is written: "Is any man circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Or is any in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. For neither of these is anything, but only the keeping of the commandments of God."[4] Consequently, as circumcision is incompetent to save any, it is not greatly to be required, especially when we see that if a man has been called in uncircumcision, and wishes then to be circumcised, he is made forthwith a transgressor[5] of the law. For if I am circumcised, I also fulfil the commandments of the law with the view of being in a position to be saved; but if I am uncircumcised, and remain in uncircumcision, much more in keeping the commandments shall I have life. For I have received the circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not that of the letter in the mere ink (*atramentum*), in which former there is praise, not of men, but of God.[6] Wherefore let no charge of this kind be brought against me. For

[1] Matt. v. 8.
[2] Matt. vii. 12.
[3] 2 Cor. xiii. 3.
[4] 1 Cor. vii. 18, 19.
[5] Reading "prævaricator" instead of "prædicator." The sense would seem strictly to require, *a debtor to the law.*
[6] Rom. ii. 29.

just as the man of wealth, who possesses great treasures of gold and silver, so that he gets everything which is necessary for the uses of his house made of these precious metals, has no need to display any vessel of earthenware in anything belonging to his family, and yet it does not follow from this circumstance that the productions of the potter, or the art of making vessels of pottery,[1] are to be held in abhorrence by him; so also I, who have been made rich by the grace of God, and who have obtained the circumcision of the heart, cannot by any means[2] stand in need of that most profitless (fleshly) circumcision, and yet, for all that, it does not follow that I should call it evil. Far be it from me to do so! If, however, any one desires to receive still more exact instruction on these matters, he will find them discussed with the greatest fulness in the apostle's first epistle.[3]

43. I shall speak now with the utmost brevity of the veil of Moses and the ministration of death. For I do not think that these things at least can introduce very much to the disparagement of the law. The text in question,[4] then, proceeds thus: "But if the ministration of death, engraven[5] in letters on the stones, was made in glory, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away;"[6] and so on. Well, this passage at any rate acknowledges the existence of a glory on the countenance of Moses, and that surely is a fact favourable to our position. And even

[1] The Codex Bobiensis gives, "figuli opus aufers aut fictilium." The Codex Casinensis has, "figuli opus et ars aut fictilium." We adopt "figuli opus aut ars fictilium."

[2] Adopting "nequaquam" for "nec quemquam."

[3] By this he means the Epistle to the Romans, to which the first place among the epistles of Paul was assigned from the most ancient times. In Epiphanius, under heresy 42, it is alleged as an offence against Marcion, that he put the Epistle to the Romans in the fourth place among Paul's epistles. See a note in Migne.

[4] Reading "propositus" for "propheticus."

[5] The Codex Casinensis has *formatum*; the other codex gives *firmatum*.

[6] 2 Cor. iii. 7.

although it is to be done away, and although there is a veil in the reading of the same, that does not annoy me or disturb me, provided there be glory in it still. Neither is it the case, that whatever is to be done away is reduced thereby under all manner of circumstances to a condition of dishonour.[1] For when the Scripture speaks of glory, it shows us also that it had cognizance[2] of differences in glory. Thus it says: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory."[3] Although, then, the sun has a greater glory than the moon, it does not follow that the moon is thereby reduced to a condition of dishonour. And even thus, too, although my Lord Jesus Christ excelleth Moses in glory, as the lord excelleth the servant, it does not follow from this that the glory of Moses is to be scorned. For in this way, too, we are able to satisfy our hearers, as the nature of the word itself carries the conviction[4] (*sicut et verbi ipsius natura persuadet*) with it, in that we affirm what we allege on the authority of the Scriptures themselves, or verily make the proof of our statements all the clearer also by illustrations taken from them. Thus, although a person kindles a lamp in the night-time, after the sun has once risen he has no further need of the paltry light of his lamp, on account of that effulgence of the sun which sends forth its rays all the world over; and yet, for all that, the man does not throw his lamp contemptuously away, as if it were something absolutely antagonistic to the sun; but rather, when he has once found out its use, he will keep it with all the greater carefulness. Precisely in this way, then, the law of Moses served as a sort of guardian to the people, like the lamp, until the true Sun, who is our

[1] The text gives, "neque vero omnigene in ignobilitatem redigitur," etc. The Codex Bobiensis has, "neque vero omni genere in nobilitate."

[2] Reading "scisse se differentias gloriæ," etc. Codex Bobiensis gives *scis esse*, etc. = *you know that there are differences.*

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 21.

[4] Reading "natura *persuadet.*" But the Codex Bobiensis gives *demonstrat, demonstrates.*

Saviour, should arise, even as the apostle also says to us: "And Christ shall give thee light."[1] We must look, however, to what is said further on: "Their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil in the reading of the Old Testament; it is untaken away, because it is done away in Christ (*non revelatur quia in Christo destruitur*). For even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit."[2] What, then, is meant by this? Is Moses present with us even unto this day? Is it the case that he has never slept, that he has never gone to his rest, that he has never departed this life? How is it that this phrase "unto this day" is used here? Well, only mark the veil, which is placed, where he says it is placed, on their hearts in their reading. This, therefore, is the word of censure upon the children of Israel, because they read Moses and yet do not understand him, and refuse to turn to the Lord; for it is He that was prophesied of by Moses as about to come. This, then, is the veil which was placed upon the face of Moses,[3] and this also is his testament;[4] for he says in the law:[5] "A prince shall not be wanting from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs,[6] until He come whose he is;[7] and He will be the expectation of the nations: who shall bind[8] His foal

[1] Eph. v. 14. [2] 2 Cor. iii. 14–17.

[3] Ex. xxxiv. 33; 2 Cor. iii. 13.

[4] The text is, "hoc est velamen, quod erat positum super faciem Moysi, quod est testamentum ejus," etc.

[5] Gen. xlix. 10–12.

[6] The reading in the text is, "non deficiet princeps ex Juda, neque dux de femoribus ejus usquequo veniat," etc. Codex Bobiensis coincides, only giving "de femore ejus." On the whole quotation, which is given in forms so diverse among the old versions and fathers, see Tertullian, *De Trin.* ch. 9, and Cyprian, *Adv. Judæos*, i. 21.

[7] The text gives, "veniat, cujus est," etc. Prudentius Maranus on Justin's *Apology*, i. § 32, thinks this was originally an error of transcription for *cui jus est*, which reading would correspond very much with the ᾧ ἀπόκειται of some of the most ancient authorities. See Cotelerius on the *Constitut. Apostol.* i. 1, and the note in Migne.

[8] Qui alligabit. But Codex Casinensis has "quia alligabit," and Codex Bobiensis "qui alligavit."

unto the vine, and His ass's colt unto the choice vine; He shall wash His garments in wine, and His clothes in the blood of grapes; His eyes shall be suffused[1] with wine, and His teeth white with milk;" and so on. Moreover, he indicated who He was, and whence He was to come. For he said: "The Lord God will raise up unto you a Prophet from among your brethren, like unto me: unto Him hearken ye."[2] Now it is plain that this cannot be understood to have been said of Jesus the son of Nun.[3] For there is nothing of this circumcision[4] found in him. After him, too, there have still been kings from Judah; and consequently this prophecy is far from being applicable to him. And this is the veil which is on Moses; for it was not, as some among the unlearned perhaps fancy, any piece of linen cloth, or any skin that covered his face. But the apostle also takes care to make this plain to us, when he tells us that the veil is put on in the reading of the Old Testament, inasmuch as they who are called Israel from olden time still look for the coming of Christ, and perceive not that the princes have been wanting from Judah, and the leaders from his thighs; as even at present we see them in subjection to kings and princes, and paying tribute to these, without having any power left to them either of judgment or of punishment, such as Judah certainly had, for after he had condemned Thamar, he was able also to justify her.[5] *But you will also see your life hang* (in doubt) *before your eyes.*[6]

44. Now this word also has the veil. For up to the time

[1] Suffusi oculi. Codex Bobiensis gives "effusi oculi." See, on the whole, Grabe's Dissert. *De variis vitiis LXX. interpret.* 19, p. 36.

[2] Deut. xviii. 15.

[3] We adopt the reading "Jesu *Nave*." But the Codex Bobiensis gives "Jesu Mane." See a discussion on this name by Cotelerius on the Epistle of Barnabas, ch. 12.

[4] For *circumcisionis* Routh suggests *circumstationis*, which might perhaps be taken as = these surroundings do not suit him.

[5] Gen. xxxviii. 26. We read "justificare." But the Codex Casinensis gives "justificari" = *he* (or *she*) *could be justified.*

[6] The text is, "sed et videbitis vitam vestram pendentem ante oculos vestros." The reference is apparently to Deut. xxviii. 66.

of Herod they did appear to retain a kingdom in some sort; and it was by Augustus that the first enrolment took place among them, and that they began to pay tribute, and to be rated (*censum dare*). Now it was also from the time when our Lord Jesus Christ began to be prophesied of and looked for that there began to be princes from Judah and leaders of the people; and these, again, failed just at the approach of His advent. If, then, the veil is taken away which is put on in that reading of theirs, they will understand the true virtue of the circumcision; and they will also discover that the generation of Him whom we preach, and His cross, and all the things that have happened in the history of our Lord, are those very matters which had been predicted of that Prophet. And I could wish, indeed, to examine every such passage of Scripture by itself, and to point out its import, as it is meet that it should be understood.[1] But as it is another subject that is now urgent, these passages shall be discussed by us at some season of leisure. For at present, what I have already said may be sufficient for the purpose of showing, that it is not without reason that the veil is (said to be) put upon the heart of certain persons in the reading of the Old Testament. But those who turn to the Lord shall have the veil taken away from them. What precise force all these things, however, may possess, I leave to the apprehension of those who have sound intelligence. Let us come now again to that word of Moses, in which he says: "The Lord your God shall raise up a Prophet unto you, of your brethren, like unto me." In this saying I perceive a great prophecy delivered by the servant Moses, as by one cognizant[2] that He who is to come is indeed to be possessed of greater authority than himself, and nevertheless is to suffer like things with him, and to show like signs and wonders. For there, Moses after his birth was placed by his

[1] Reading "sermonem, et ostendere ut intelligi dignum est." The Codex Bobiensis gives a mutilated version: "sermonem, ut intelligi, dignum est."

[2] Reading "Moysi scientis," which is the emendation of Valesius. But Codex Casinensis gives "scientibus," and Codex Bobiensis has "scientes."

mother in an ark, and exposed beside the banks of the river;[1] here, our Lord Jesus Christ, after His birth by Mary His mother, was sent off in flight into Egypt through the instrumentality of an angel.[2] There, Moses led forth his people from the midst of the Egyptians, and saved them;[3] and here, Jesus, leading forth His people from the midst of the Pharisees, transferred them to an eternal salvation.[4] There, Moses sought bread by prayer, and received it from heaven, in order that he might feed the people with it in the wilderness;[5] here, my Lord Jesus by His own power satisfied[6] with five loaves five thousand men in the wilderness.[7] There, Moses when he was tried was set upon the mountain and fasted forty days;[8] and here, my Lord Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness when He was tempted of the devil, and fasted in like manner forty days.[9] There, before the sight of Moses, all the first-born of the Egyptians perished on account of the treachery of Pharaoh;[10] and here, at the time of the birth of Jesus, every male among the Jews suddenly perished by reason of the treachery of Herod.[11] There, Moses prayed that Pharaoh and his people might be spared the plagues;[12] and here, our Lord Jesus prayed that the Pharisees might be pardoned, when He said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."[13] There, the countenance of Moses shone with the glory of the Lord, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look upon his face, on account of the glory of his countenance;[14] and here, the Lord Jesus Christ shone like the sun,[15] and His disciples were not able to look upon His face by reason of the glory of His countenance and the intense splendour of the light. There, Moses smote down with the sword those who had set up the calf;[16] and here, the Lord Jesus said, "I came to send

[1] Ex. ii. [2] Matt. ii. 13. [3] Ex. xiv.
[4] Mark viii. 15. [5] Ex. xvi.
[6] Adopting "satiavit.' The Codex Bobiensis gives "saturavit."
[7] Matt. xiv. [8] Ex. xxxiv. [9] Matt. iv. 2.
[10] Ex. xii. [11] Matt. ii. 16. [12] Ex. viii.
[13] Luke xxiii. 34. [14] Ex. xxxiv. 35. [15] Matt. xvii. 2.
[16] Ex. xxxii.

a sword upon the earth, and to set a man at variance with his neighbour,"[1] and so on. There, Moses went without fear into the darkness of the clouds that carry water;[2] and here, the Lord Jesus walked with all power upon the waters.[3] There, Moses gave his commands to the sea;[4] and here, the Lord Jesus, when He was on the sea,[5] rose and gave His commands to the winds and the sea.[6] There, Moses, when he was assailed, stretched forth his hands and fought against Amalek;[7] and here, the Lord Jesus, when we were assailed and were perishing by the violence of that erring spirit who works now in the just,[8] stretched forth His hands upon the cross, and gave us salvation. But there are indeed many other matters of this kind which I must pass by, my dearly beloved Diodorus, as I am in haste to send you this little book with all convenient speed; and these omissions of mine you will be able yourself to supply very easily by your own intelligence. Write me, however, an account of all that this servant of the adversary's cause may do hereafter. May the Omnipotent[9] God preserve you whole in soul and in spirit!

45. On receipt of this letter, Diodorus made himself master of its contents, and then entered the lists against Manes. This he did too with such spirit, that he was commended greatly by all for the careful and satisfactory demonstration which he gave of the fact that there is a mutual relationship between the two Testaments, and also between the two laws. Discovering also more arguments for himself, he was able to bring forward many points of great pertinency and power against the man, and in defence of the truth. He also reasoned in a conclusive manner against his opponent on verbal grounds.[10] For example, he argued with him in

[1] Matt. x. 34. [2] Ex. xxiv. 18. [3] Matt. xiv. 25. [4] Ex. xiv.

[5] Reading "in mari." But the Codex Bobiensis has *in navi* = on a ship.

[6] Matt. viii. 26. [7] Ex. xvii.

[8] The text gives *in justis*. But the Codex Bobiensis has *in istis* = in those men. The true reading may be *in injustis* = in the unrighteous. See Eph. ii. 2.

[9] But the Codex Casinensis gives "Deus omnium" = the God of all.

[10] Ex nominibus. The Codex Bobiensis offers the extraordinary reading, *ex navibus*.

the following manner:—Did you say that the testaments are two? Well, then, say either that there are two old testaments, or that there are two new testaments. For you assert that there are two unbegottens (*ingenita*) belonging to the same time, or rather eternity; and if there are in this way two, there should be either two old testaments or two new testaments. If, however, you do not allow this, but affirm, on the contrary, that there is one old testament and that there is also another new testament, that will only prove again that there is but one author for both; and the very sequence will show that the old testament belongs to Him to whom also the new testament pertains. We may illustrate this by the case of a man who says to some other individual,[1] Lease me your old house. For by such a mode of address does he not pronounce the man to be also the owner of a new house? Or, on the other hand, if he says to him, Show me (*præsta*) your new house; does he not by that very word designate him also as the possessor of an old house? Then, again, this also is to be considered, that since there are two beings, having an unbegotten nature, it is also necessary from that to suppose each of them to have (what must be called) an old testament, and thus there will appear to be two old testaments; if indeed you affirm that both these beings are ancient, and both indeed without a beginning.[2] But I have not learned doctrine like that; neither do the Scriptures contain it. You, however, who allege that the law of Moses comes from the prince of evil, and not from the good God, tell me who those were who withstood Moses to the face—I mean Jamnes and Mambres (*Jamnem dico et Mambrem*)? For every object that withstands, withstands not

[1] We read, with the Codex Bobiensis, "dicat homini, Loca mihi," etc. The Codex Casinensis has the meaningless reading, "homini diviti," etc.

[2] The text of this obscure passage runs thus: "Quia ex quo duo sunt, ingenitam habentes naturam, ex eo necesse est etiam habere unumquemque ipsorum vetus Testamentum, et fient duo vetera Testamenta; si tamen ambos antiquos et sine initio esse dicis." The Codex Bobiensis gives a briefer but evidently corrupt reading: "ex quo duo sunt ingenita habentes naturam ipsorum Testamentum, et fient," etc.

itself, but some other one, either better or worse; as Paul also gives us to understand when he writes in the following terms in his second Epistle to Timothy: "As Jamnes and Mambres withstood Moses, so have these also resisted the truth: men of corrupt mind, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly is manifest unto all men, as theirs also was."[1] Do you observe how he compares Jamnes and Mambres to men of corrupt mind, and reprobate concerning the faith; while he likens Moses, on the other hand, to the truth? But the holy John, the greatest of the evangelists, also tells us of the giving and diffusing of grace for grace[2] (*gratiam gratia præstare et differre*); for he indicates, indeed, that we have received the law of Moses out of the fulness of Christ, and he means that for that one grace this other grace has been made perfect in us through Jesus Christ. It was also to show this to be the case that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself spake in these terms: "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye hope. For had ye believed Moses, ye would indeed have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"[3] And besides all these words, there are still many other passages that might be adduced both from the Apostle Paul and from the Gospels, by which we are able to prove that the old law belongs to no other one than that Lord to whom also the new testament appertains, and which it would suit us very well to set forth, and to make use of in a satisfactory manner.[4] Now, however, the evening prevents us from doing so; for the day is drawing to its close, and it is right that we should now bring our disputation to an end. But an opportunity will be given you to-morrow to put questions

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 8, 9.

[2] John i. 16.

[3] John v. 45–47.

[4] The Codex Bobiensis gives, "exponere et a Patre ut convenit." For these meaningless words Valesius proposed to read, "exponere et aperire ut convenit." The Codex Casinensis, however, offers the satisfactory reading, "exponere et aptare convenit."

to us on any points you are pleased to take up. And after these words they went their way.[1]

46. Next morning, however, Archelaus suddenly made his appearance at this residence (*castellum*) in which Diodorus was staying, before any one was yet stirring abroad. Manes accordingly, all unconscious of the fact that Archelaus was now on the spot again, challenged Diodorus publicly to engage in a disputation with him; his intention being to crush him with a verbal display, because he perceived that he was a man of a simple nature, and not very deeply learned in questions concerning the Scriptures. For he had now had a taste of the doctrine of Archelaus. When, therefore, the multitudes had again collected in the place usually set apart for the disputation, and when Manes had just begun to reason, all on a sudden Archelaus appeared among them, and embraced Diodorus, and saluted him with an holy kiss. Then truly were Diodorus, and all those who were present, filled with wonder at the dispensation of divine providence which thus provided that Archelaus should arrive among them at the very time when the question was being raised; for in reality, as must be confessed, Diodorus, with all his religiousness, had been somewhat afraid of the conflict. But when Manes caught sight of Archelaus, he at once drew back from his insulting attitude; and with his pride cast down not a little, he made it quite plain that he would gladly flee from the contest. The multitude of hearers, however, looked upon the arrival of Archelaus as something like the advent of an apostle, because he had shown himself so thoroughly furnished, and so prompt and ready for a defence (of the truth) by speech. Accordingly, after demanding silence from the people by a wave of his right hand (for no inconsiderable tumult had arisen), Archelaus began an address in the following terms:—Although some amongst us have gained the honour of wisdom and the meed of glory, yet this I beg of you, that you retain (in your minds) the testimony of those things which have been said before my arrival.[2] For

[1] Here ends the section edited by Valesius.

[2] The text runs: "tametsi prudentiam, gloriam etiam, nostrorum

I know and am certain, brethren, that I now take the place of Diodorus, not on account of any impossibilities attaching to him (*pro ipsius impossibilitate*),[1] but because I came to know this person here at a previous time, when he made his way with his wicked designs into the parts where I reside, by the favour of Marcellus,[2] that man of illustrious name, whom he endeavoured to turn aside from our doctrine and faith, with the object, to wit, of making him an effective supporter of this impious teaching. Nevertheless, in spite of all his plausible addresses, he failed to move him or turn him aside from the faith in any one particular. For this most devout Marcellus was only found to be like the rock on which the house was built with the most solid foundations; and when the rain descended, and the floods and the winds burst in and beat upon that house, it stood firm: for it had been built on the most solid and immoveable foundations.[3] And the attempt thus made by this person who is now before you, brought dishonour rather than glory upon himself. Moreover, it does not seem to me that he can be very excusable if he proves to be ignorant of what is in the future; for surely he ought to know beforehand those who are on his own side: certainly he should have this measure of knowledge, if it be true indeed that the Spirit of the Paraclete dwells in him. But inasmuch as he is really a person blinded with the darkness of ignorance, he ran in vain when he journeyed to Marcellus, and he did but show himself to be like the star-gazer,[4] who busies himself with describing things celestial, while all the time he is ignorant of what is passing in his own

nonnulli assecuti sunt, tamen hoc vos deprecor ut eorum quæ ante me dicta sunt, testimonium reservetis." Routh suggests *prudentia* = Although by their prudence some have gained glory, etc.

[1] But Routh suggests that the *impossibilitate* is just an inexact translation of the ἀδυνατίᾳ = *impotentia*, incapacity, which may have stood in the Greek text.

[2] Reading "Marcelli viri illustris gratia." The Codex Casinensis has, "viri in legis gratia."

[3] Matt. vii. 24.

[4] The text gives "similis facere astrologo," for which Routh proposes "similis factus est," etc.

home. But lest it should appear as if I were setting aside the question in hand by speaking in this strain, I shall now refrain from such discourse. And I shall also give this man the privilege of taking up any point which may suit him best as a commencement to any treatment of the subject and the question. And to you, as I have said already, I only address the request that ye be impartial judges, so as to give to him who speaks the truth the proper honour and the palm.

47. Then Manes, after silence had been secured among all, thus began his address: Like others, Archelaus, you too smite me with the most injurious words, notwithstanding that my sentiments on the subject of God are correct, and that I hold also a proper conception of Christ; and yet the family of the apostles is rather of the character that bears all things and endures all things, even although a man may assail them with revilings and curses. If it is your intention to persecute me, I am prepared for it; and if you wish to involve me in punishment, I shall not shrink from it; yea, if you mean even to put me to death, I am not afraid: "For we ought to fear Him only who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."[1] *Archelaus said:* Far be that from me! Not such is my intention. For what have you ever had to suffer at my hands, or at the hands of those who think with us, even when you were disparaging us and doing us injury, and when you were speaking in detraction of the traditions of our fathers, and when it was your aim to work the death of the souls of men that were well established in the truth, and that were kept with the most conscientious carefulness; for which, in truth, the whole wealth of the world would not serve as a sufficient compensation?[2] Nevertheless, what ground have you for assuming this position? What have you to show? Tell us this,—what signs of salvation have you to bring before us? For the bare bravado of words will not avail to satisfy the multitude here present, neither will it be enough to qualify them for recognising which of us holds the

[1] Matt. x. 28.

[2] The text is, "quibus utique *repensari* non possunt," etc. Routh proposes *repensare*.

knowledge of the truth the more correctly. Wherefore, as you have got the opportunity of speaking first, tell us first to what particular head of the subject you wish us to direct the disputation. *Manes said:* If you do not offer a second time an unfair resistance to the positions which shall be stated with all due propriety by us, I shall speak with you; but if you mean to show yourself still in the character which on a former occasion I perceived you to take up, I shall address myself to Diodorus, and shall keep clear of your turbulence. *Archelaus said:* I have already expressed my opinion that we shall be simply abusing the occasion by the mere bandying of empty words. If any one on our side is found to offer an unfair resistance, leave that to the decision of the judges. But now, tell us what you have got to advance. *Manes said:* If you do not mean a second time merely to gainsay the positions which are stated with all due correctness by me, I shall begin. *Archelaus said: If not this,* and *if not that,* are ways of speaking which mark out an ignorant man. You are ignorant, therefore, of what is in the future. But as to this particular thing which you do declare to be still future, to gainsay or not to gainsay is a matter in my own power. How, then, will that argument about the two trees stand, in which you place your trust as in a buckler of the most approved strength? For if I am of the contrary side, how do you require my obedience? And if, on the other hand, there is in me the disposition of obedience, how are you so greatly alarmed lest I should gainsay you? For you maintain that evil remains evil always, and that good remains good always, in utter ignorance of the force of your words. *Manes said:* Have I employed you as the advocate of my words, so that you may determine also the intelligence that may suit my knowledge? And how will you be able to explain what belongs to another person, when you cannot make what pertains to yourself clear? But if Diodorus now admits himself to be vanquished, my reasonings will then be addressed to you. If, however, he still stands out, and is prepared to speak, I beg you to give over and cease from interfering with the substantiating of the truth. For

you are a strange sheep; nevertheless hereafter you will be introduced into the number of the same flock, as the voice of Jesus[1] also intimates,—that Jesus, namely, who appeared in the form of man indeed, and yet was not a man. *Archelaus said:* Are you not, then, of opinion that He was born of the Virgin Mary? *Manes said:* God forbid that I should admit that our Lord Jesus Christ came down to us through the natural womb of a woman! For He gives us His own testimony that He came down from the Father's bosom;[2] and again He says, "He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me;"[3] and, "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me;"[4] and once more, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel."[5] And there are also innumerable other passages of a similar import, which point Him out as one that *came*, and not as one that was *born*. But if you are greater than He, and if you know better than He what is true, how do we yet believe Him? *Archelaus said:* Neither am I greater than He, for I am His servant; nor can I be even the equal of my Lord, for I am His unprofitable servant; I am a disciple of His words, and I believe those things which have been spoken by Him, and I affirm that they are unchangeable. *Manes said:* A certain person somewhat like you once said to Him, "Mary Thy mother, and Thy brethren, stand without;"[6] and He took not the word kindly, but rebuked the person who had uttered it, saying, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" And He showed that those who did His will were both His mothers and His brethren. If you, however, mean to say that Mary was actually His mother, you place yourself in a position of considerable peril. For, without any doubt, it would be proved on the same principles that He had brethren also by her. Now tell me whether these brethren were begotten by Joseph or by the same Holy Spirit. For if you say that they were begotten by the

[1] Reading "sicut vox Jesu." The Codex Casinensis gives, "sicut vos Jesu." Routh suggests *servator*.

[2] John i. 18, iii. 13. [3] Matt. x. 40. [4] John vi. 38.

[5] Matt. xv. 24. [6] Matt. xii. 47.

same Holy Spirit, it will follow that we have had many Christs. And if you say that these were not begotten by the same Holy Spirit, and yet aver that He had brethren, then without doubt we shall be under the necessity of understanding that, in succession to the Spirit and after Gabriel, the most pure and spotless virgin[1] formed an actual marriage connection with Joseph. But if this is also a thing altogether absurd—I mean the supposition that she had any manner of intercourse with Joseph—tell me whether then He had brethren. Are you thus to fix the crime of adultery also on her, most sagacious Marcellus?[2] But if none of these suppositions suits the position of the Virgin undefiled, how will you make it out that He had brothers? And if you are unable to prove clearly to us that He had brethren, will it be any the easier for you to prove Mary to be His mother, in accordance with the saying of him who ventured to write,[3] "Behold, Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without?" Yet, although that man was bold enough to address Him thus, no one can be mightier or greater than this same person Himself who shows us His mother or His brethren. Nay, He does not deign even to hear it said that He is David's son.[4] The Apostle Peter, however, the most eminent of all the disciples, was able to acknowledge Him on that occasion, when all were putting forth the several opinions which they entertained respecting Him: for he said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;"[5] and immediately He names him blessed, addressing him thus: "For my heavenly Father hath revealed it unto thee." Observe what a difference there is between these

[1] The text gives, "Virgo castissima et immaculata ecclesia," = the most pure virgin and spotless church. But the word "ecclesia" is probably an erroneous addition by the hand of the scribe. Or, as Routh hints, there may be an allusion, in the word *ecclesia*, to the beginning of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse.

[2] From this it may perhaps be gathered that Marcellus had come along with Archelaus now to the residence of Diodorus.

[3] *Scribere* ausus est. Compare the end of the chapter.

[4] Matt. xxii. 42. We read *Davidis esse* for *David Jesse*.

[5] Matt. xvi. 16.

two words which were spoken by Jesus. For to him who had said, "Behold, Thy mother stands without," He replied, "Who is my mother, or who are my brethren?" But to him who said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," He makes the return of a beatitude and benediction. Consequently, if you will have it that He was born of Mary, then it follows that no less than Peter, He is Himself thus proved to have spoken falsely. But if, on the other hand, Peter states what is true, then without doubt that former person was in error. And if the former was in error, the matter is to be referred back to the writer.[1] We know, therefore, that there is one Christ, according to the Apostle Paul, whose words, as in consonance at least (*consonantibus duntaxat*) with His advent, we believe.

48. On hearing these statements, the multitudes assembled were greatly moved, as if they felt that these reasonings gave the correct account of the truth, and that Archelaus could have nothing to urge against them; for this was indicated by the commotion which arose among them. But when the crowd of auditors became quiet again, Archelaus made answer in the following manner: No one, truly, shall ever be able to prove himself mightier than the voice of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither is there found any name equal to His, as it is written: "Wherefore God hath exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name."[2] Nor, again, in the matter of testimony can any one ever be equal to Him; and accordingly I shall simply adduce the testimonies of His own voice in answer to you,—first of all, indeed, with the view of solving those difficulties which have been enunciated by you, so that you may not say, as is your wont to do, that these are matters which are not in harmony with the Person Himself (*sibi ipsi*). Now, you maintain that the man who brought the word to Jesus about His mother and His brethren was rebuked by Him as if he was in error, as the writer was in error (*secundum id quod scriptorem fefellit*).

[1] The text gives, "Quod si prior fefellit, causa ad scriptorem rejicienda est."

[2] Phil. ii. 9.

Well, I affirm that neither was this person rebuked who brought Him the message about His mother and His brethren, nor was Peter only named blessed above him; but each of these two parties received from Him the answer that was properly called forth by their several utterances, as the discourse will demonstrate in what follows. When one is a child, he thinks as a child, he speaks as a child; but when he becomes a mature man, those things are to be done away which are proper for a child:[1] in other words, when one reaches forth unto those things which are before, he will forget those which are behind.[2] Hence, when our Lord Jesus Christ was engaged in teaching and healing the race of men, so that all pertaining to it might not utterly perish together, and when the minds of all those who were listening to Him were intently occupied with these interests, it made an interruption altogether inopportune when this messenger came in and put Him in mind of His mother and His brethren. What then? Ought He, now,[3] yourself being judge,[4] to have left those whom He was healing and instructing, and gone to speak with His mother and His brethren? Would you not by such a supposition at once lower the character of the Person Himself? When, again, He chose certain men who were laden and burdened with sins for the honour of discipleship,[5] to the number of twelve, whom He also named His apostles, He gave them this injunction, Leave father and mother, that you may be made worthy of me;[6] intending by this that thenceforward the memory of father or mother should no more impair the stedfastness of their heart. And on another occasion, when a

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 11. [2] Phil. iii. 13.

[3] Reading "debuitne etiam" for the bad version of the Codex Casinensis, "debuit et etiam."

[4] The text gives, "*se* ipso judicante," for which "*te* ipso," etc., may be substituted.

[5] In the Codex Casinensis the sentence stands in this evidently corrupt form: "cum enim peccatis bonus et gravatus ad discipulatum diligit." We adopt the emendation given in Migne: "cum enim peccatis onustos et gravatos ad discipulatum delegit."

[6] Matt. x. 37.

different individual chose to say to Him, "I will go and bury my father," He answered, "Let the dead bury their dead."[1] Behold, then, how my Lord Jesus Christ edifies His disciples unto all things necessary, and delivers His sacred words to every one, in due accordance with what is meet for him. And just in the same way, too, on this other occasion, when a certain person came in with the inconsiderate message about His mother, He did not embrace the occurrence as an opportunity for leaving His Father's commission unattended to even for the sake of having His mother with Him. But in order to show you still more clearly that this is the real account of the matter, let me remind you that Peter, on a certain season, subsequent to the time of his receiving that declaration of blessedness from Him, said to Jesus, "Be it far from Thee, Lord (*propitius esto, Domine*): this shall not be unto Thee."[2] This he said after Jesus had announced to him that the Son of man must go up to Jerusalem, and be killed, and rise again the third day.[3] And in answer then to Peter He said: "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."[4] Now, since it is your opinion that the man who brought the message about His mother and His brethren was rebuked by Jesus, and that he who said a little before, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," obtained the word of blessing, mark you that Jesus (may be said to have) rather preferred that person to whom He condescended to give the more gracious and indulgent answer; whereas Peter, even after that benediction, now got no appellation expressive of indulgence addressed to him, by reason of his having failed carefully to observe the nature of the announcement that was made to him. For the error of that messenger was at once corrected by the tenor of the reply; but the dulness of this apostle's apprehension was condemned with a severer rebuke. And from this you may perceive that the Lord Jesus, observing what was proper and opportune with regard to the interrogations thus addressed

[1] Luke ix. 59, 60.
[2] Matt. xvi. 22.
[3] Matt. xvi. 21.
[4] Matt. xvi. 23.

to Him, gave to each the reply that was worthy of it, and suited to it. But supposing that, as you say, Peter was pronounced blessed on the ground of his having said what was true, and that that messenger was reproved on account of the error he committed, tell me then why it is, that when the devils confessed Him, and said, "We know Thee, who Thou art, the Holy God,"[1] He rebuked them, and commanded them to be silent?[2] Why was it not the case, if He does indeed take pleasure in the testimonies borne to Him by those who confess Him, that He recompensed them also with benedictions, as He did to Peter when he gave utterance to the truth? But if that would be an absurd supposition, it only remains that we must understand the words spoken by Him always in accordance with the place, the time, the persons, the subjects, and the due consideration of the circumstances (*pro accidentium salute*). For only this method will save us from falling into the error of pronouncing rashly on His sayings, and thus making ourselves liable to merited chastisement: and this will also help me to make it more and more intelligible to you, that the man who brought the tidings of His mother was much rather the person honoured.[3] However, in forgetfulness of the subject which was proposed to us for discussion, you have turned off to a different theme. Nevertheless listen to me for a brief space. For if you choose, indeed, to consider those words somewhat more carefully, we shall find that the Lord Jesus displayed great clemency in the case of the former of these two parties; and this I shall prove to you by illustrations suited to your capacity. A certain king who had taken up arms, and gone forth to meet an enemy, was earnestly considering and planning how he might subdue those hostile and foreign forces. And when

[1] Luke iv. 34, reading *sanctus Deus*.

[2] Reading *silere*. The Codex Casinensis gives *sinire*, which may be meant for *sinere* = give over.

[3] We have adopted Migne's arrangement of these clauses. Routh, however, puts them thus: *And that it may be made more intelligible to you*, etc., . . . (*for in forgetfulness*, etc., *you have turned off*, etc.), *listen to me now for a brief space.*

his mind was occupied with many cares and anxieties, after he had forced his way among his adversaries, and when, further, as he began afterwards to make captives of them, the anxious thought was now also pressing upon him as to how he might secure the safety and interests of those who had toiled with him, and borne the burden of the war,[1] a certain messenger broke inopportunely in upon him, and began to remind him of domestic matters. But he was astonished at the man's boldness, and at his unseasonable suggestions, and thought of delivering such a fellow over to death. And had that messenger not been one who was able to appeal to his tenderest affections in bringing the news that it was well with those at home, and that all went on prosperously and successfully there, that punishment might have been his instant and well-merited doom. For what else should be a king's care, so long as the time of war endures, than to provide for the safety of the people of his province, and to look after military matters? And even thus it also was that that messenger came inopportunely in upon my Lord Jesus Christ, and brought the report about His mother and His brethren unseasonably, just when He was fighting against ills which had assailed the very citadel of the heart, and when He was healing those who for a long time had been under the power of diverse infirmities, and when He had now put forth His utmost effort to secure the salvation of all. And truly that man might have met with a sentence like that pronounced on Peter, or even one severer still. But the hearing of the name of His mother and His brethren drew forth His clemency.

49. But in addition to all that has been said already, I wish to adduce still further proof, so that all may understand what impiety is contained in this assertion of yours. For if your allegation is true, that He was not born, then it will follow undoubtedly that He did not suffer; for it is not possible for one to suffer who was not also born. But if He did not suffer, then the name of the cross is done away with. And if the cross was not endured, then Jesus did not rise from the dead.

[1] Reading "pondus belli toleraverant," instead of the "pondus bellico tolerarant" of the Codex Casinensis.

And if Jesus rose not from the dead, then no other person will rise again. And if no one shall rise again, then there will be no judgment. For it is certain that, if I am not to rise again, I cannot be judged. But if there is to be no judgment, then the keeping of God's commandments will be to no purpose, and there will be no occasion for abstinence: nay, we may say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die."[1] For all these consequences follow when you deny that He was born of Mary. But if you acknowledge that He was born of Mary, then His passion will necessarily follow, and His resurrection will be consequent on His passion, and the judgment on His resurrection: and thus the injunctions of Scripture will have their proper value (*salva*) for us. This is not therefore an idle question, but there are the mightiest issues involved in this word. For just as all the law and the prophets are summed up in two words, so also all our hope is made to depend on the birth by the blessed Mary. Give me therefore an answer to these several questions which I shall address to you. How shall we get rid of these many words of the apostle, so important and so precise, which are expressed in terms like the following: "But when the good pleasure of God was with us, He sent His Son, made of a woman;"[2] and again, "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us;"[3] and once more, "God hath both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us together with Him by His own power?"[4] And there are many other passages of a similar import; as, for example, this which follows: "How say some among you,[5] that there is no resurrection of the dead? For if

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 32.

[2] Gal. iv. 4. The reading is, "cum autem fuit Dei voluntas in nobis." The Vulgate, following the ordinary Greek text, gives, "at ubi venit plenitudo temporis." And so Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, etc.

[3] 1 Cor. v. 7.

[4] 1 Cor. vi. 14. The text here inserts the words *cum illo*, which are found neither in the Greek, nor in the Vulgate, nor in Irenæus, *Adv. Hæres.* v. 6, 7, nor in Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* v. 7, etc. According to Sabatier, however, they are found in Jerome, *Ep. ad Amand.*

[5] Reading *in vobis*. But the Codex Casinensis seems to give *in nobis*, amongst us.

there be no resurrection of the dead, then is not Christ risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain. Yea, and we shall be found false witnesses of God; who have testified against God that He raised up Christ: whom He raised not up. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ risen: and if Christ be not raised, your[1] faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen aśleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are more miserable than all men. But now is Christ risen from the dead, the beginning (*initium*) of them that sleep;"[2] and so on. Who, then, I ask, can be found so rash and audacious as not to make his faith fit in with these sacred words, in which there is no qualification (*distinctio*) nor any dubiety? Who, I ask you, O foolish Galatian, has bewitched you, as those were bewitched "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was evidently set forth, crucified?"[3] From all this I think that these testimonies should suffice in proof of the judgment, and the resurrection, and the passion; and the birth by Mary is also shown to be involved naturally and at once in these facts. And what matters it though you refuse to acquiesce in this, when the Scripture proclaims the fact most unmistakeably? Nevertheless I shall again put a question to you, and let it please you to give me an answer. When Jesus gave His testimony concerning John, and said, "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding, he that is less (*minor*) in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he,"[4] tell me what is meant by there being a greater than he in the kingdom of heaven. Was Jesus less in the kingdom of heaven than John? I say, God forbid! Tell me, then, how this is to be explained, and you will certainly surpass yourself. Without doubt (the meaning is, that) Jesus was less than John among those that are born

[1] But the Codex Casinensis seems to make it *fides nostra*, our faith.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 12-20.

[3] Gal. iii. 1. The word in the text is *rescriptus est*. The Vulgate gives *præscriptus est*. The Vetus Itala gives *proscriptus est*.

[4] Matt. xi. 11.

of woman; but in the kingdom of heaven He is greater than he.[1] Wherefore tell me this too, O Manichæus: If you say that Christ was not born of Mary, but that He only appeared like a man, while yet He was not really a man, the appearance being effected and produced by the power that is in Him, tell me, I repeat, on whom then was it that the Spirit descended like a dove? Who is this that was baptized by John? If He was perfect, if He was the Son, if He was the Power, the Spirit could not have entered into Him;[2] just as a kingdom cannot enter within a kingdom. And whose, too, was that voice which was sent forth out of heaven, and which gave Him this testimony, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased?"[3] Come, tell me; make no delay; who is this that acquires (*parat*) all these things, that does all these things? Answer me: Will you thus audaciously adduce blasphemy for reason, and will you attempt to find a place for it (*inferre coneris*)?

50. *Manes said:* No one, certainly, who may be able to give a reply to what has just been alleged by you need fear incurring the guilt of blasphemy, but should rather be deemed thoroughly worthy of all commendation. For a true master of his art (*artifex*), when any matters are brought under his notice, ought to prepare his reply with due care, and make all

[1] It would seem that Archelaus read the passage in Matthew as meaning, *notwithstanding, he that is less, is, in the kingdom of heaven, greater than he.* Thus, *he that is less* is understood to be *Jesus* in His natural relations.

[2] Routh appends a note here which may be given. It is to this effect: I am afraid that Archelaus has not expressed with sufficient correctness the mystery of the Divine Incarnation, in this passage as well as in what follows; although elsewhere he has taught that the Lord Jesus was conceived by divine power, and in ch. xxxiv. has called the Virgin Mary *Dei genetrix*, Θεοτόκος. For at the time of the Saviour's baptism the Holy Spirit was not given in His first communication with the Word of God (which Word, indeed, had been united with the human nature from the time of the conception itself), but was only received by the Christ ἀνθρωπίνως and οἰκονομικῶς, and for the sake of men. See Cyril of Alexandria, *De Rectâ Fide*, xxxiv. vol. v. 2, p. 153, *editio Auberti.*

[3] Matt. iii. 17.

clearly to understand the points that are in question or under doubt; and most especially ought he to do so to uninstructed persons. Now since the account of our doctrine does not satisfy you, be pleased, like a thorough master of your art, to solve this question also for me in a reasonable manner. For to me it seems but pious to say that the Son of God stood in need of nothing whatsoever in the way of making good His advent upon earth; and that He in no sense required either the dove, or baptism, or mother, or brethren, or even mayhap a father,—which father, however, according to your view, was Joseph; but that He descended altogether by Himself alone, and transformed Himself, according to His own good pleasure, into (the semblance of) a man, in accordance with that word of Paul which tells us that "He was found in fashion as a man."[1] Show me, therefore, what thing He could possibly need who was able to transform Himself into all manner of appearances. For when He chose to do so, He again transformed this human fashion (*hominem*) and mien into the likeness of the sun. But if you gainsay me once more, and decline to acknowledge that I state the faith correctly, listen to my definition of the position in which you stand. For if you say that He was only man (as born) of Mary (*hominem eum tantummodo ex Maria*), and that He received the Spirit at His baptism, it will follow that He will be made out to be Son by increase (or, effect, *per profectum*) and not by nature. If, however, I grant you to say that He is Son according to increase (effect), and that He was made as a man, your opinion is that He is really a man, that is to say, one who is flesh and blood.[2] But then it will necessarily follow that the Spirit also who appeared like a dove was nothing else than a natural dove. For the two expressions are the same,—namely, *as a man* and *like* (or *as*) *a dove;* and consequently whatever may be the view you take of the one passage which uses the phrase *as a man*,

[1] Phil. ii. 7.

[2] Routh puts this interrogatively = Is it then your position that He really is a man, that is to say, one who is flesh and blood? Well, but if so, then it will follow, etc.

you ought to hold that same view[1] also of this other passage in which the expression *like a dove* is used. It is a clear matter of necessity to take these things in the same way, for only thus can we find out the real sense of what is written concerning Him in the Scriptures. *Archelaus said:* As you cannot do so much for yourself, like a thorough master of your art, so neither should I care to put this question right and with all patience to make it clear, and to give the evident solution of the difficulty,[2] were it not for the sake of those who are present with us, and who listen to us. For this reason, therefore, I shall also explain the answer that ought to be given to this question as it may be done most appropriately. It does not seem to you, then, to be a pious thing to say that Jesus had a mother in Mary; and you hold a similar view on certain other positions which you have now been discussing in terms which I, for my part, altogether shrink from repeating. Now, sometimes a master of any art happens to be compelled by the ignorance of an opponent both to say and to do things which time would (make him) decline;[3] and accordingly, because the necessity is laid upon me, by consideration for the multitude present, I may give a brief answer to those statements which have been made so erroneously by you. Let us suppose, now, your allegation to be, that if we understand Jesus to be a man made of Mary after the course of nature, and regard him consequently as having flesh and blood, it will be necessary also to hold that the Holy Spirit was a real dove, and not a spirit. Well, then, how can a real dove enter into a real man, and abide in him? For flesh cannot enter into flesh. Nay rather, it is only when we acknowledge Jesus to be a true man, and also hold him who is there said to be like a dove to be the

[1] Reading "sicut homo, hac opinione," for the "sicut homo ac opinione" of the Codex Casinensis.

[2] The Codex Casinensis reads, "hanc quæstionem diffigenter aptare tam manifestarem atque manifeste dissolverem." We follow the emendation, "hanc quæstionem diligenter aptatam manifestarem," etc.

[3] The text gives *tempus recusat.* Routh proposes *tempus requirit* = which the occasion requires.

Holy Spirit, that we shall give the correct account according to reason on both sides. For, according to right reason, (it may be said that) the Spirit dwells in a man, and descends upon him, and abides in him; and these, indeed, are things which have happened already in all due competence, and the occurrence of which is always possible still, as even you yourself (admit, inasmuch as you) did aforetime profess to be the Paraclete of God, you flint,[1] as I may call you, and no man, so often forgetful of the very things which you assert. For you declared that the Spirit whom Jesus promised to send has come upon you; and whence can He come but by descending from heaven? And if the Spirit descends thus on the man worthy of Him, then verily must we fancy that real doves descended upon you? Then truly should we rather discover in you the thieving dove-merchant (*columbarium furem*), who lays snares and lines for the birds. For surely you well deserve to be made a jest of with words of ridicule. However, I spare you, lest perchance I appear to offend the auditors by such expressions, and also most especially because it is beside my purpose to throw out against you all that you deserve to hear said about you. But let me return to the proper subject. For I am mindful of that transformation of thine,[2] in virtue of which you say that God has transformed Himself into (the fashion of) a man or (into that of) the sun, by which position you think to prove that our Jesus was made man only in fashion and in appearance; which assertion may God save any of the faithful from making. Now, for the rest, that opinion of yours would reduce the whole matter to a dream, so far as we are concerned, and to mere figures; and not that only,[3] but the very name of an advent would be done away:

[1] This is a purely conjectural reading, "ut dicam silex," etc. The Codex Casinensis gives, "ut dicam dilere non homo." But Routh, in reference to ch. xv., throws out the idea that we should read *delire* = thou dotard, or, lunatic.

[2] The text gives *suæ*. Routh suggests *tuæ*.

[3] The text is, "non solum autem, sed adventus nomen delebitur." It may perhaps be = and not the foundation, but the name, of an advent would be done away

for He might have done what He desired to do, though still seated in heaven, if He is, as you say, a spirit, and not a true man. But it is not thus that "He humbled Himself, and took the form of a servant;"[1] and I say this of Him who was made man of Mary. For what? Might not we, too, have set forth things like those with which you have been dealing, and that, too, all the more easily and the more broadly? But far be it from us to swerve one jot or one tittle from the truth. For He who was born of Mary is the Son, who chose of His own accord to sustain this[2] mighty conflict,—namely, Jesus. This is the Christ of God, who descended upon him who is of Mary. If, however, you refuse to believe even the voice that was heard from heaven, all that you can bring forward in place of the same is but some rashness of your own; and though you were to declare yourself on that, no one would believe you. For forthwith Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil; and as the devil had no correct knowledge of Him, he said to Him, "If thou be the Son of God."[3] Besides, he did not understand the reason of this bearing of the Son of God (by Mary), who preached the kingdom of heaven, whose was also (or perhaps, = which was also, *quod erat tabernaculum*, etc.) indeed a great tabernacle, and one that could not have been prepared by any other:[4] whence, too, He who was nailed to the cross, on rising again from the dead, was taken up thither where Christ the Son of God reigned; so that when He begins to conduct His judgment, those who have been ignorant of Him shall look on Him whom they pierced.[5] But in order to secure your

[1] Phil. ii. 7.

[2] The text gives "*quo* magnum," etc., for which we adopt "*quod* magnum," etc.

[3] Matt. iv. 3.

[4] The Codex Casinensis gives, "Ignorabat autem propter qui genuisset Filium Dei prædicabat regnum cœlorum, qui erat," etc. We follow generally the emendations adopted in Migne: "Ignorabat autem propter quid genuisset Filium Dei, qui prædicabat regnum cœlorum, quod erat habitaculum magnum," etc. Routh would read "genitus esset Filius Dei," etc.

[5] John xix. 37.

credence, I propose this question to you: Why was it, that although His disciples sojourned a whole year with Him, not one of them fell prostrate on his face before Him, as you were saying a little ago, save only in that one hour when His countenance shone like the sun? Was it not by reason of that tabernacle which had been made (for Him) of Mary? For just as no other had the capacity sufficient for sustaining the burden of the Paraclete except only the disciples and the blessed Paul, so also no other was able to bear the Spirit who descended from heaven, and through whom that voice of the Father gave its testimony in these terms, "This is my beloved Son,"[1] save only He who was born of Mary, and who is above all the saints,—namely, Jesus. But now give us your answer to those matters which I bring forward against you. If you hold that He is man only in mien and form, how could He have been laid hold of and dragged off to judgment by those who were born of man and woman—to wit, the Pharisees—seeing that a spiritual body cannot be grasped by bodies of grosser capacities? But if you, who as yet have made no reply to the arguments brought before you, have now any kind of answer to offer to the word and proposition I have adduced, proceed, I pray you, and fetch me at least a handful or some fair modicum of your sunlight (*pugillum plenum solis mihi affer aut modium plenum*). But that very sun, indeed, inasmuch as it is possessed of a more subtle body, is capable of covering and enveloping you; while you, on the other hand, can do it no injury, even although you were to trample it under foot. My Lord Jesus, however, if He was laid hold of, was laid hold of as a man by men. If He is not a man, neither was He laid hold of. If He was not laid hold of, neither did He suffer, nor was He baptized. If He was not baptized, neither is any of us baptized. But if there is no baptism, neither will there be any remission of sins, but every man will die in his own sins. *Manes said:* Is baptism, then, given on account of the remission of sins? *Archelaus said:* Certainly. *Manes said:* Does it not follow, then, that Christ

[1] Matt. iii. 17.

has sinned, seeing that He has been baptized? *Archelaus said:* God forbid! Nay, rather, He was made sin for us, taking on Him our sins.[1] For this reason He was born of a woman, and for this reason also He approached the rite of baptism, in order that He might receive the purification of this part (*partis*), and that thus the body which He had taken to Himself might be capable of bearing the Spirit, who had descended in the form of a dove.

51. When Archelaus had finished this speech, the crowds of people marvelled at the truth of his doctrine, and expressed their vehement commendations of the man with loud outcries, so that they exerted themselves most energetically, and would have kept him from his return.[2] Thereafter, however, they withdrew. After some time, again, when they were gathered together, Archelaus persuaded them to accede to his desire, and listen quietly to the word. And among his auditors were not only those who were with Diodorus, but also all who were present from his province and from the neighbouring districts. When silence, then, was secured, Archelaus proceeded to speak to them of Manes in the following manner: You have heard, indeed, what is the character of the doctrine which we teach, and you have got some proof of our faith; for I have expounded the Scriptures before you all, precisely in accordance with the views which I myself have been able to reach in studying them. But I entreat you now to listen to me in all silence, while I speak with the utmost possible brevity, with the view of giving you to understand who this person is who has made his appearance among us, and whence he comes, and what character he has, exactly as a certain man of the name of Sisinius, one[3] of his comrades, has indicated the facts to me; which individual[4] I am also prepared, if it please you, to summon in evidence of the statements I am about to make. And,

[1] 2 Cor. v. 21.

[2] The text is, "et ultra ei non sinerent ad propria remeare." Routh suggests *ultro* for *ultra*.

[3] Reading *unus*, instead of "*vos*, comitibus," etc.

[4] Reading "quem etiam" instead of "quæ etiam."

in truth, this person did not decline to affirm the very same facts which we now adduce,[1] even when Manes was present; for the above-mentioned individual became a believer of our doctrine, as did also another person who was with me, named Turbo. Accordingly, all that these parties have conveyed in their testimony to me, and also all that we ourselves have discovered in the man, I shall not suffer to be kept back from your cognizance.—Then, indeed, the multitudes became all the more excited, and crowded together to listen to Archelaus; for, in good sooth, the statements which were made by him offered them the greatest enjoyment. Accordingly, they earnestly urged him to tell them all that he pleased, and all that he had on his mind; and they declared themselves ready to listen to him there and then, and engaged to stay on even to the evening, and until the lights should be lit. Stimulated therefore by their heartiness, Archelaus began his address with all confidence in the following terms:—My brethren, you have heard, indeed, the primary causes (*superiores quidem causas Domini*, etc.) relating to my Lord Jesus, —I mean those which are decided out of the law and the prophets; and of the subsidiary causes also relating to my Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, you are not ignorant. And why should I say more? From the loving desire for the Saviour we have been called Christians, as the whole world itself attests, and as the apostles also plainly declare. Yea, further, that best master-builder of His, Paul himself,[2] has laid our foundation,[3] that is, the foundation of the church, and has put us in trust of the law, ordaining ministers, and presbyters,[4] and bishops in the same, and describing in the places severally assigned to that purpose, in what manner and with what character the ministers of

[1] The Codex Casinensis gives, "ipse quidem me dicere recusavit," etc. We adopt the correction in Migne, "sed ne ipse quidem dicere recusavit," etc.

[2] Reading "sed et optimus architectus ejus, fundamentum," etc. The Codex Casinensis has the corrupt lection, "sed et optimos architectos ei fundamentum," etc.

[3] Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 10.

[4] Cf. Acts xiv. 23.

God ought to conduct themselves, of what repute the presbyters ought to be possessed, and how they should be constituted, and what manner of persons those also ought to be who desire the office of bishop.[1] And all these institutions, which were once settled well and rightly for us, preserve their proper standing and order with us to this day, and the regular administration of these rules abides amongst us still. But as to this fellow, Manes by name, who has at present burst boastfully forth upon us from the province of Persia, and between whom and me a disputation has now for the second time been stirred, I shall tell you about his lineage, and that, too, in all fulness; and I shall also show you most lucidly the source from which his doctrine has descended. This man is neither the first nor the only originator of this type of doctrine. But a certain person belonging to Scythia, bearing the name Scythianus,[2] and living in the time of the apostles, was the founder and leader of this sect, just as many other apostates have constituted themselves founders and leaders, who from time to time, through the ambitious desire of arrogating positions of superior importance to themselves, have given out falsehoods for the truth, and have perverted the simpler class of people to their own lustful appetencies, on whose names and treacheries, however, time does not permit us at present to descant. This Scythianus, then, was the person who introduced this self-contradictory dualism; and for that, too, he was himself indebted to Pythagoras, as also all the other followers of this dogma have been, who all uphold the notion of a dualism, and turn aside from the direct course of Scripture: but they shall not gain any further success therein.

52. No one, however, has ever made such an unblushing advance in the promulgation of these tenets as this Scythianus. For he introduced the notion of a feud between the two unbegottens, and all those other fancies which are the conse-

[1] Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 1.

[2] Various other forms are found for this name Scythianus. Thus we find Scutianus and Excutianus,—forms which may have arisen through mere clerical errors. The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. gives Stutianus.

quences of a position of that kind. This Scythianus himself belonged to the stock of the Saracens, and took as his wife a certain captive from the Upper Thebaid, who persuaded him to dwell in Egypt rather than in the deserts. And would that he had never been received by that province, in which, as he dwelt in it for a period, he found the opportunity for learning the wisdom of the Egyptians![1] for, to speak truth, he was a person of very decided talent, and also of very liberal means, as those who knew him have likewise testified in accounts transmitted to us. Moreover, he had a certain disciple named Terebinthus,[2] who wrote four books for him. To the first of these books he gave the title of the *Mysteries*, to the second that of the *Heads* (*Capitulorum*), to the third that of the *Gospel*, and to the last of all that of the *Treasury* (*Thesaurus*). He had these four books, and this one disciple whose name was Terebinthus. As, then, these two persons had determined to reside alone by themselves for a considerable period, Scythianus thought of making an excursion into Judea, with the purpose of meeting with all those who had a reputation there as teachers; but it came to pass that he suddenly departed this life soon after

[1] This seems the general idea meant to be conveyed. The text, which is evidently corrupt, runs thus: "in qua cum eum habitaret, cum Ægyptiorum sapientiam didicisset." The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads, "in qua cum habitaret et Ægyptiorum," etc. In Migne it is proposed to fill up the lacunæ thus: "in qua cum diu habitaret, depravatus est, cum Ægyptiorum sapientiam didicisset." Routh suggests, "in qua cum ea habitaret," etc.

[2] The Codex Casinensis reads *Terbonem* for *Terebinthum*. But in Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catechesis* 6, as well as in others, we regularly find Τέρβινθον, *Terbinthum*, or *Terebinthum*, given as the name of the disciple of Scythianus. The form *Tereventus* is also given; and the Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. has Terybeneus. The statement made here as to these books being written by Terebinthus is not in accordance with statements made by Cyril and others, who seem to recognise Scythianus alone as the author. As to the name Terebinthus itself, C. Ritter, in his *Die Stupa's*, etc., p. 29, thinks that it is a Grecized form of a predicate of Buddha, viz. *Tere-hintu*, Lord of the Hindoos. Others take it simply to be a translation of the Hebrew אֵלָה, the *terebinth*. See a note on this subject in Neander's *Church History*, ii. p. 166 (Bohn).

that, without having been able to accomplish anything. That disciple, moreover, who had sojourned with him had to flee,[1] and made his way toward Babylonia, a province which at present is held[2] by the Persians, and which is distant now a journey of about six days and nights from our parts. On arriving there, Terebinthus succeeded in giving currency to a wonderful account of himself, declaring that he was replete with all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that he was really named now, not Terebinthus, but another Buddas,[3] and that this designation had been put upon him. He asserted further that he was the son of a certain virgin, and that he had been brought up by an angel[4] on the mountains. A certain prophet, however, of the name of Parcus, and Labdacus the son of Mithras,[5] charged[6] him with falsehood, and day after day unceasingly they had keen and elevated contentions (*animosa exaggeratio*) on this subject. But why should I speak of that at length? Although he was often reproved, he continued, nevertheless, to make declarations to them on matters which were antecedent to the world (*ante seculum*), and on the sphere, and the two luminaries; and also on the question whither and in what manner the souls depart, and in what mode they return again into the bodies; and he made many other assertions of this nature, and others even worse than these,—as, for instance, that war was raised with God among the elements (or, in the origins of things, *in principiis*), that the prophet himself might be believed. However, as he was hard pressed for assertions

[1] The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. inserts here, "omnibus quæcunque ejus fuerant congregatis" = gathering together all that was his.

[2] Reading "habetur." But Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. gives *habitatur*, is inhabited.

[3] The Codex Casinensis gives, "sed aliud cujusdam homine." We adopt "sed alium Buddam nomine," with which the narratives of Cyril, Epiphanius, and others agree. Routh proposes "alio Buddam nomine" = by another name, Buddas.

[4] The text gives "natum esse, simul et ab angelo." The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads, "natum se esse simulabat et ab angelo."

[5] On these Persian priests, see Epiphanius on this heresy, num. 3.

[6] Reading *arguebant*, with Routh, for *arguebat*.

like these, he betook himself to a certain widow, along with his four books: for he had attached to himself no disciple in that same locality, with the single exception of an old woman who became an intimate of his (*particeps ejus*). Then,[1] on a subsequent occasion, at the earliest dawn one morning, he went up to the top (*solarium quoddam excelsum*) of a certain house, and there began to invoke certain names, which Turbo has told us only the seven elect have learned. He ascended to the housetop, then, with the purpose of engaging in some religious ceremony, or some art of his own; and he went up alone, so as not to be detected by any one:[2] for he considered that, if he was convicted of playing false with, or holding of little account, the religious beliefs of the people, he would be liable to be punished by the real princes of the country. And as he was revolving these things then in his mind, God in His perfect justice decreed that he should be thrust beneath earth by a spirit (*sub terras eum detrudi per spiritum*); and forthwith he was cast down from the roof of the house; and his body, being precipitated lifeless to the ground, was taken up in pity by the old woman mentioned above, and was buried in the wonted place of sepulture.

53. After this event all the effects which he had brought with him from Egypt remained in her possession. And she rejoiced greatly over his death, and that for two reasons: first, because she did not regard his arts with satisfaction; and secondly, because she had obtained such an inheritance, for it was one of great value.[3] But as she was all alone, she bethought herself of having some one to attend her; and she

[1] Reading *tunc* for *nunc*.

[2] The Codex Casinensis gives, "ut inde ab aliquo convinci possit." But the Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads, "ut ne ab aliquo," etc. We adopt, therefore, "ne ab aliquo," etc., taking the idea to be, as is suggested in Migne, that Manes went up alone, because he feared that, if observed by Parcus and Labdacus, the priests of Mithras, he might expose himself to punishment at the hands of the Persian rulers for an offence against their religion.

[3] But the Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads, "erat enim multum pecuniæ arida"—for she had a great greed for money.

got for that purpose a boy of about seven years of age, named Corbicius,[1] to whom she at once gave his freedom, and whom she also instructed in letters. When this boy had reached his twelfth year the old woman died, and left to him all her possessions, and among other things those four books which Scythianus had written, each of them consisting of a moderate number of lines (*versuum*). When his mistress was once buried, Corbicius began to make his own use of all the property that had been left him. Abandoning the old locality, he took up his abode in the middle of the city, where the king of Persia had his residence; and there altering his name, he called himself Manes instead of Corbicius, or, to speak more correctly, not Manes, but Mani:[2] for that is the kind of inflection employed in the Persian language. Now, when this boy had grown to be a man of well-nigh sixty years of age,[3] he had acquired great erudition in all the branches of learning taught in those parts, and I might almost say that in these he surpassed all others. Nevertheless he had been a still more diligent student of the doctrines contained in these four books; and he had also gained three disciples, whose names were Thomas, Addas, and Hermas. Then, too, he took these books, and transcribed[4] them in such wise that he introduced into them much new matter which was simply his own, and which can be likened only to old wives' fables. Those three disciples, then, he thus had attached to him as conscious participants in his evil counsels; and he gave, moreover, his own name to the books, and deleted the name of their former owner, as if he had composed them all by himself. Then it seemed good to him to send his disciples, with the doctrines which he had committed to writing in the books, into the upper districts of that

[1] But Cyril, Epiphanius, and others, make the name Cubricus (Κούβρικος).

[2] This may express with sufficient nearness the original, "nec Manem sed Manes."

[3] The Codex Casinensis gives *sexaginta* regularly. The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads *septuaginta*, seventy.

[4] *Transfert* eos. It may be also "translated them."

province, and through various cities and villages, with the view of securing followers. Thomas accordingly determined to take possession of the regions of Egypt, and Addas those of Scythia, while Hermas alone chose to remain with the man himself. When these, then, had set out on their course, the king's son was seized with a certain sickness; and as the king was very anxious to see him cured, he published a decree offering a large reward, and engaging to bestow it upon any one who should prove himself capable of restoring the prince.[1] On the report of this, (all at haphazard,) like the men who are accustomed to play the game of cubes, which is another name for the dice,[2] Manes presented himself before the king, declaring that he would cure the boy. And when the king heard that, he received him courteously, and welcomed him heartily. But not utterly to weary my hearers with the recital of the many things which he did, let me simply say that the boy died, or rather was bereft of life, in his hands. Then the king ordered Manes to be thrust into prison, and to be loaded with chains of iron weighing half a hundredweight (*ferri talento*). Moreover, those two disciples of his who had been sent to inculcate his doctrine among the different cities were also sought for with a view to punishment. But they took to flight, without ever ceasing,[3] however, to introduce into the various localities which they visited that teaching of theirs which is so alien to the faith, and which has been inspired only by Antichrist.

54. But after these events they returned to their master, and reported what had befallen them; and at the same time they got an account of the numerous ills which had overtaken him. When, therefore, they got access to him, as I

[1] The text gives, "edictum proposuit in vita," etc. For *in vita* it is proposed to read *invitans;* and that is confirmed by the Codex Reg. Alex. Vat.

[2] We adopt the reading, "qui cubum, quod nomen est tali, ludere solent." The text gives, "qui cibum quod nomen est tale eludere solent." The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. seems to read, "qui cubum quod nomen est aleæ ludere solent."

[3] The text gives, "quique fugientes licet nunquam cessarunt," etc. Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. has, "licet nunquam cessarent," etc.

was saying,[1] they called his attention to all the sufferings they had had to endure in each several region; and as for the rest, they urged it upon him that regard ought now to be had to the question of safety;[2] for they had been in great terror lest any of the miseries which were inflicted on him should fall to their own lot. But he counselled them to fear nothing, and rose to harangue them. And then, while he lay in prison, he ordered them to procure copies of the books of the law of the Christians; for these disciples who had been despatched by him through the different communities were held in execration by all men, and most of all by those with whom the name of Christians was an object of honour. Accordingly, on receiving a small supply of money, they took their departure for those districts in which the books of the Christians were published (*conscribebantur*); and pretending that they were Christian messengers,[3] they requested that the books might be shown them, with a view to their acquiring copies. And, not to make a lengthy narrative of this, they thus got possession of all the books of our Scriptures, and brought them back with them to their master, who was still in prison. On receiving these copies, that astute personage set himself to seek out all the statements in our books that seemed to favour his notion of a dualism; which, however, was not really his notion, but rather that of Scythianus, who had promulgated it a long time before him. And just as he did in disputing with me, so then too, by rejecting some things and altering others in our Scriptures, he tried to make out that they advanced his own doctrines, only that the name of Christ was attached to them there. That name, therefore, he pretended on this account to assume to himself, in order that the people in the various communities, hearing the holy and divine name of Christ, might have no temptation to execrate and

[1] Reading "dicebam." But the Codex Casinensis gives "dicebant," and the Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. has "decebat"—as became them.

[2] Reading "converti ad salutem," for "conventi," etc., as it is given in the Codex Casinensis.

[3] Nuntios. But Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. gives "novitios," novices.

harass[1] those disciples of his. Moreover, when they[2] came upon the word which is given us in our Scriptures touching the Paraclete, he took it into his head that he himself might be that Paraclete; for he had not read with sufficient care to observe that the Paraclete had come already,—namely, at the time when the apostles were still upon earth. Accordingly, when he had made up these impious inventions, he sent his disciples also to proclaim these fictions and errors with all boldness, and to make these false and novel words known in every quarter. But when the king of Persia learned this fact, he prepared to inflict condign punishment upon him. Manes, however, received information of the king's intention, having been warned of it in sleep, and made his escape out of prison, and succeeding in taking to flight, for he had bribed his keepers with a very large sum of money. Afterwards he took up his residence in the castle of Arabion; and from that place he sent by the hand of Turbo the letter which he wrote to our Marcellus, in which letter he intimated his intention of visiting him. On his arrival there, a contest took place between him and me, resembling the disputation which you have witnessed and listened to here; in which discussion we sought to show, as far as it was in our power, that he was a false prophet. I may add, that the keeper of the prison who had let him escape was punished, and that the king gave orders that the man should be sought for and apprehended wherever he might be found. And as these things have come under my own cognizance, it was needful that I should also make the fact known to you, that search is being made for this fellow even to the present day by the king of Persia.

55. On hearing this, the multitude wished to seize Manes and hand him over to the power of those foreigners who were their neighbours, and who dwelt beyond the river Stranga,[3] especially as also some time before this certain parties had

[1] The text gives "fatigarent." But Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. gives "fugarent"—expel.

[2] The text gives "invenientes." The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. more correctly has "inveniens"—when he came upon.

[3] But Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads "*Stracum* fluvium."

come to seek him out; who, however, had to take their leave again without finding any trace of him, for at that time he was in flight. However, when Archelaus made this declaration, Manes at once took to flight, and succeeded in making his escape good before any one followed in pursuit of him. For the people were detained by the narrative which was being given by Archelaus, whom they heard with great pleasure;[1] nevertheless some of them did follow in close pursuit after him. But he made again for the roads by which he had come, and crossed the river, and effected his return to the castle of Arabion.[2] There, however, he was afterwards apprehended and brought before the king, who, being inflamed with the strongest indignation against him, and fired with the desire of avenging two deaths upon him,—namely, the death of his own son, and the death of the keeper of the prison,—gave orders that he should be flayed and hung before the gate of the city, and that his skin should be dipped in certain medicaments and inflated; his flesh, too, he commanded to be given as a prey to the birds.[3] When these things came under the knowedge of Archelaus at a later period, he added (an account of) them to the former discussion, so that all the facts might be made known to all, even as I, who have written the narrative of (*inscripsi*) these matters, have explained the circumstances in what precedes. And all the Christians, therefore, having assembled, resolved that the decision should be given against him, transmitting that as a sort of epilogue to his death which would be in proper consonance with the other circumstances of his life. Besides that, Archelaus added words to the following effect: —My brethren, let none of you be incredulous in regard to the statements made by me: I refer to the assertion that

[1] The text gives, "evadere potuit dum nemo eum insequeretur. Sed populus, cum Archelai quem libenter audiebant relatione teneretur," etc. The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. reads, "evadere potuit dum ne eum insequeretur is populus, et Archelai quem libenter audiebant relatione tenerentur." Routh suggests, "dum eum nemo insequeretur, sed populus Archelai," etc.

[2] The same Codex Vat. reads Adrabion here.

[3] The Codex Reg. Alex. Vat. ends with these words.

Manes was not himself the first author of this impious dogma, but that it was only made public by him in certain regions of the earth. For assuredly that man is not at once to be reckoned the author of anything who has simply been the bearer of it to some quarter or other, but only he has a right to that credit who has been the discoverer of it. For as the helmsman who receives the ship which another has built, may convey it to any countries he pleases, and yet he remains one who has had nothing to do with the construction of the vessel, so also is this man's position to be understood. For he did not impart its origin to this matter really from the beginning; but he was only the means of transmitting to men what had been discovered by another, as we know on the evidence of trustworthy testimonies, on the ground of which it has been our purpose to prove to you that the invention of this wickedness did not come from Manes,[1] but that it originated with another, and that other indeed a foreigner, who appeared a long time before him; and further, that the dogma remained unpublished for a time, until at length the doctrines which had thus been lying in obscurity for a certain period were brought forward publicly by him as if they were his own, the title of the writer having been deleted, as I have shown above. Among the Persians there was also a certain promulgator of similar tenets, one Basilides,[2] of more

[1] Codex Casinensis reads, "non ex Manen originem mali hujus Manes esse." We adopt the conjecture, "non ex Mane originem mali hujus manasse."

[2] The following note on this Basilides may be given from Migne:—"Although Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iv. 7) tells us that the Basilides who taught heresy shortly after the times of the apostles was an Alexandrian, and opened schools of error in Egypt, the Basilides mentioned here by Archelaus may still be one and the same person with that Alexandrian, notwithstanding that it is said that he taught his heresy among the Persians. For it may very well be the case that Basilides left Alexandria, and made an attempt to infect the Persians also with his heretical dogmas. At the same time, there is no mention among ancient authorities, so far as I know, of a Persian Basilides. The Alexandrian Basilides also wrote twenty-four books on the Gospel, as the same Eusebius testifies; and these do not appear to be different from those books of *Tractates* which Archelaus cites, and from the *Exegetics*, from the twenty-

ancient date, who lived no long time after the period of our apostles. This man was of a shrewd disposition himself, and as he observed that at that time all other subjects were preoccupied, he determined to affirm that same dualism which was maintained also by Scythianus. And as, in fine, he had nothing to advance which was properly his own, he brought the sayings of others before his adversaries.[1] And all his books contain some matters at once difficult and extremely harsh. The thirteenth book of his *Tractates*, however, is still extant, which begins in the following manner: "In writing the thirteenth book of our *Tractates*, the wholesome word furnished us with the necessary and fruitful word."[2] Then he illustrates how it (the antagonism between good and evil) is produced under the figures of a rich principle and a poor principle, of which the latter is by nature without root and without place, and only supervenes upon things.[3] This is

third book of which certain passages are given by Clement of Alexandria in the fourth book of his *Stromateis*. It is not clear, however, whether that Gospel on which Basilides wrote was the Gospel of the Apostles, or another which he made up for himself, and of which mention is made in Origen's first Homily on Luke, in Jerome's prologue to his Commentary on Matthew, and in Ambrose's prologue to the Gospel of Luke."—We may add that Gieseler (*Studien und Kritiken*, i. 1830, p. 397) denies that the person meant here is Basilides the Gnostic, specially on account of the peculiar designation, *Basilides quidam antiquior*. But his objections are combated by Baur and Neander. See the *Church History* of the latter, ii. p. 50 (Bohn).

[1] The text is, "aliis dictis proposuit adversariis." Perhaps we may read, "aliorum dicta," etc.

[2] The text is, "necessarium sermonem uberemque salutaris sermo præstavit." May it be = the word of salvation furnished the word which was requisite, etc.?

[3] The text is, "per parvulam divitis et pauperis naturam sine radice et sine loco rebus supervenientem unde pullulaverit indicat." The reading seems defective. But the general intention of this very obscure and fragmentary sentence appears to be as given above. So Neander understands it as conveying a figurative description of the two principles of light and darkness, expressed in the Zoroastrian doctrine immediately cited,—the rich being the good principle, and the poor the evil. He also supposes the phrase "without root and without place" to indicate the "absoluteness of the principle, that springs up all at once,

the only topic (*caput*) which the book contains. Does it not then contain a strange (*alium*) word;[1] and, as certain parties have been thus minded, will ye not also all be offended with the book itself, which has such a beginning as this? But Basilides, returning to the subject after an introduction of some five hundred lines (*versibus*), more or less, proceeds thus: "Give up this vain and curious variation (*varietate*), and let us rather find out what inquiries the foreigners (*barbari*[2]) have instituted on the subject of good and evil, and what opinions they have been led to adopt on all these subjects. For certain among them have maintained that there are for all things two beginnings (principles), to which they have referred good and evil, holding that these beginnings (principles) are without beginning and ungenerate; that is to say, that in the origins of things there were light and darkness, which existed of themselves, and which were not merely declared to exist.[3] While these subsisted by themselves, they led each its own proper mode of life, such as it was its will to lead, and such as was competent to it; for in the case of all things, what is proper to any one is also in amity with the same, and nothing seems evil to itself. But after they came to know each other, and after the darkness began to contemplate the light, then, as if fired with a passion for something superior to itself, the darkness pressed on to have intercourse with the light."

and mixes itself up with the development of existence."—See *Church History*, ii. 51 (Bohn). Routh confesses his inability to understand what can be meant by the term *parvulam*, and suggests *parabolam*.

[1] Routh adopts the interrogative form here, so as to make the connection stand thus: But is this the only topic which the book contains? Does it not also contain another discussion, etc.?

[2] By the *barbari* here are evidently meant the Persians.

[3] The text is, "non quæ esse dicebantur." Routh proposes, "non quæ factæ, or genitæ, esse dicebantur," = which were not declared to have been made.

A FRAGMENT OF THE ACTS OF THE SAME DISPUTATION.

(From Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, vi. § 27-29.)

The fragment is introduced by Cyril in the following terms:—He (Manes) fled from prison and came into Mesopotamia; but there he was met by that buckler of righteousness,[1] Bishop Archelaus. And in order to bring him to the test in the presence of philosophical judges, this person convened an assembly of Grecian auditors, so as to preclude the possibility of its being alleged that the judges were partial, as might have been the case had they been Christians. *Then the matter proceeded as we shall now indicate:*—

1. Archelaus said to Manes: Give us a statement now of the doctrines you promulgate.—Thereupon the man, whose mouth was like an open sepulchre,[2] began at once with a word of blasphemy against the Maker of all things, saying: The God of the Old Testament is the inventor of evil, who speaks thus of Himself: "I am a consuming fire."[3]—But the sagacious Archelaus completely undid this blasphemy. For he said: If the God of the Old Testament, according to your allegation, calls Himself a fire, whose son is He who says, "I am come to send fire upon the earth?"[4] If you find fault with one who says, "The Lord killeth and maketh alive,"[5] why do you honour Peter, who raised Tabitha to life,[6] but also put Sapphira to death?[7] And if, again, you find fault with the one because He has prepared a fire,[8] why do you not find fault with the other, who says, "Depart from me into everlasting fire?"[9] If you find fault with Him who says, "I, God, make peace, and create evil,"[10] explain to us how Jesus says, "I came not to send peace, but a sword."[11]

[1] Reading ὅπλον δικαιοσύνης. Others read ὅπλῳ = Archelaus met him with the buckler of righteousness.

[2] Ps. v. 9. [3] Deut. iv. 24. [4] Luke xii. 49.

[5] 1 Sam. ii. 6. [6] Acts ix. 40. [7] Acts v. 10.

[8] Deut. xxxii. 22. [9] Matt. xxv. 41. [10] Isa. xlv. 7.

[11] Matt. x. 34. Various of the MSS. add, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, upon the earth.

Since both persons speak in the same terms, one or other of these two things must follow: namely, either they are both good[1] because they use the same language; or, if Jesus passes without censure though He speaks in such terms, you must tell us why you reprehend Him who employs a similar mode of address in the Old Testament.

2. Then Manes made the following reply to him: And what manner of God now is it that blinds one? For it is Paul who uses these words: "In whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the gospel should shine in them."[2] But Archelaus broke in and refuted this very well, saying: Read, however, a word or two of what precedes that sentence, namely, "But if our gospel be hid, it is hid in them that are lost." You see that it is hid in them that are lost. "For it is not meet to give the holy things to dogs."[3] And furthermore, is it only the God of the Old Testament that has blinded the minds of them who believe not? Nay, has not Jesus Himself also said: "Therefore speak I to them in parables: that seeing, they may not see?"[4] Is it then because He hated them that He desired them not to see? Or is it (not) on account of their unworthiness, since they closed their own eyes? For wherever wickedness is a matter self-chosen, there too there is the absence of grace. "For unto him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have."[5]

3. But even although[6] we should be under the necessity of accepting the exegesis advocated by some (for the subject is not altogether unworthy of notice), and of saying thus, that He hath actually blinded the minds (*νοήματα*, thoughts) of them that believe not, we should still have to affirm that He hath blinded them for good, in order that they may recover their sight to behold things that are holy. For it is not said

[1] The text gives *καλοί*. Routh seems to prefer *κακοί*, evil.
[2] 2 Cor. iv. 4. [3] Matt. vii. 6.
[4] Matt. xiii. 13. The text is, *ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσι.*
[5] Matt. xxv. 29.
[6] For *εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ὡς*, etc., various codices read *εἰ δὲ δικαίως*, etc.

that He hath blinded their soul (ψυχήν), but only that He hath blinded the minds of them that believe not. And that mode of expression means something like this: Blind the whorish mind of the whoremonger, and the man is saved; blind the rapacious and thievish mind of the thief, and the man is saved. But do you decline to understand the sentence thus? Well, there is still another interpretation. For the sun blinds those who have bad sight; and those who have watery eyes are also blinded when they are smitten by the light: not, however, because it is of the nature of the sun to blind, but because the eye's own constitution (ὑπόστασις) is not one of correct vision. And in like manner, those whose hearts are afflicted with the ailment of unbelief are not capable of looking upon the rays (of the glory) of the Godhead. And again, it is not said, "He hath blinded their minds lest they should hear the gospel," but rather "lest the light of the glory of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ should shine unto them." For to hear the gospel is a thing committed (ἐφίεται) to all; but the glory of the gospel of Christ is imparted only to the sincere and genuine. For this reason the Lord spake in parables to those who were incapable of hearing, but to His disciples He explained these parables in private. For the illumination of the glory is for those who have been enlightened, while the blinding is for them who believe not. These mysteries, which the church now declares to you who are transferred from the lists of the catechumens, it is not its custom to declare to the Gentiles. For we do not declare the mysteries touching the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit to a Gentile; neither do we speak of the mysteries plainly in presence of the catechumens; but many a time we express ourselves in an occult manner, so that the faithful who have intelligence may apprehend the truths referred to, while those who have not that intelligence may receive no hurt.

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SYRIAC DOCUMENTS.

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ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THESE Documents were selected by the late Dr. Cureton, from manuscripts acquired by the British Museum from the Nitrian Monastery in Lower Egypt, of which the first portion arrived in 1841, the second in 1843, and a third in 1847. The preparation of them for publication occupied the closing days of his life. It is to be regretted that his death occurred before he was able to write a preface: the more so because, to use the words of Dr. W. Wright, the editor of the posthumous work, "he had studied the questions connected with this volume for years and from every point of view." In a note occurring in the preface to his *Festal Letters of Athanasius*, p. xxiii, he says: "I have found among the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum a considerable portion of the original Aramaic document which Eusebius cites as preserved in the archives of Edessa, and various passages from it quoted by several authors, with other testimonies which seem to be sufficient to establish the fact of the early conversion of the inhabitants of that city, and among them of the king himself, although his successors afterwards relapsed into paganism. These, together with accounts of the martyrdom of some of the first bishops of that city, forming a most interesting accession to our knowledge of the early propagation of Christianity in the East down to about A.D. 300, I have already transcribed, and hope to publish." "He was himself firmly persuaded," adds Dr. Wright, "of the genuineness of the

Epistles attributed to Abgar, king of Edessa, and our Lord: an opinion which he shared with such illustrious scholars as Baronius, Tillemont, Cave, R. Mountague (Bishop of Norwich), and Grabe."

Without attempting here to decide what degree of historical value belongs to these Documents, it may be proper to observe that the several matters contained in them are so far distinct from one another that they do not necessarily stand or fall together. Such matters are: the celebrated Epistles, the conversion of King Abgar Uchomo, the visit of Thaddæus, and the early prevalence of Christianity at Edessa. With regard to the letters said to have passed between Abgar and our Lord, it seems sufficient, without referring to the internal evidence, to remark, with Lardner and Neander, that it is inconceivable how anything written by Christ should have remained down to the time of Eusebius unknown to the rest of the world.[1] The conversion of Abgar is a distinct matter of inquiry. But on this again, doubt, to say the least, is cast by the statement that Abgar Bar Manu, who reigned between the years 160 and 170 A.D., is the first king of Edessa on whose coins the usual symbols of the Baal-worship of the country are wanting, these being replaced in his case by the sign of the Cross.[2] If this refers to a complete series of the coins of Edessa, the evidence afforded must be considered very strong. For although, to take a parallel instance, "we seek in vain for Christian emblems on the coinage of Constantine, the first Christian emperor,"[3] this may readily be accounted for by his preference of military distinction to the humbler honours conferred by his new faith, whilst it does not appear that *anti*-Christian emblems are found, and on the coins of his son and successor Christian emblems do make their appearance. The other two subjects referred to do not lie under the same suspicion. There is nothing in the nature of the case to disprove the visit of Thaddæus (or Addæus)—nothing improbable in the fact itself, whatever

[1] *Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 109 (For. Theol. Lib.).
[2] Bayer, *Historia Edessena e nummis illustrata*, l. iii. p. 173.
[3] Humphreys' *Coin-Collector's Manual*, p. 364.

judgment may be formed of the details of it presented to us here. If, however, the visit of Thaddæus also should have to be ranked among apocryphal stories, this would not affect the remaining point—that with which we are chiefly concerned in these Documents. "It is certain," says Neander, "that Christianity was early diffused in this country." How early, is not so certain. But the evidence furnished by the later portions of these Documents, which there is nothing to contradict and much to confirm, proves that early in the second century Christianity had already made many converts there. The martyrdoms of Sharbil and Barsamya are said to have occurred A.D. 113 (it should have been 115), the year in which Trajan conquered the Parthian kingdom, of which Edessa was a part; and, whilst the pagan element was plainly predominant, we find the Christians sufficiently numerous to have a bishop and presbyters and deacons. This sufficiently falls in with the proof already adduced of the conversion of even a king of Edessa about fifty years later.

To the Documents which are presumably of the ante-Nicene age, Dr. Cureton added two Metrical Homilies by Jacob of Serug, who lived in the next century. But, as they are so closely connected with the most interesting portions of the rest, the martyrdoms, and are besides of considerable merit as compositions, the decision of the editors to insert them will, it is presumed, be approved by most readers. The two supplemental portions, one from the Latin of Simeon Metaphrastes, and the other from Le Vaillant de Florival's French translation of Moses of Chorene, have also been inserted.

The translation of the Syriac portions, although made with Dr. Cureton's version constantly in sight, may fairly be considered as independent. The only matter in which his authority has been relied on is the supply of the necessary vowels, for the text is vowelless, in the case of proper names; and even to this one exception occurs, in the *Martyrdom of Barsamya*, where "Evaristus" has been adopted instead of his "Erastus." In regard to the sense, it has been frequently

found necessary to differ from him, while a style somewhat freer, though, it is hoped, not less faithful, has been employed. The Metrical Homilies also have been arranged so as to present the appearance of poetry. The results of Dr. Wright's collation of the text with the MSS. have also contributed to the greater correctness of the work.

The translator desires very thankfully to acknowledge his obligations to Dr. R. Payne Smith, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford,[1] the progress of whose *Thesaurus Syriacus* is regarded with so much satisfaction and hope, for his kindness in furnishing much valuable information respecting matters on which the lexicons are silent.

The notes in square brackets are by the translator. The others, where the contrary is not indicated, are, at least in substance, Dr. Cureton's: though their citation does not always imply approval.

[The translator takes the opportunity of correcting the error by which the preparation of Tatian's work in vol. iii. of this Series was ascribed to him. The credit of it is due in the first instance to his lamented friend Mr. J. E. Ryland, at whose request, and subsequently by that of the editors, he undertook to correct the manuscript, but was soon obliged by other engagements to relinquish the task.]

[1] Now Dean of Canterbury.

ANCIENT SYRIAC DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

THE EARLIEST ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY IN EDESSA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

[BY EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA.]

[BOOK I. CHAPTER] THE THIRTEENTH.[1]

STORY CONCERNING THE KING OF EDESSA.[2]

NOW the story relating to Thaddæus was on this wise:—

When the Godhead of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was being proclaimed among all men by reason of the astonishing mighty-works which He wrought, and myriads, even from countries remote from the land of Judæa, who were afflicted with sicknesses and diseases of every kind, were coming to Him in the hope of being healed, King Abgar[3] also, who was renowned among the

[1] The MS. from which this extract from Eusebius is taken is numbered 14,639, fol. 15 b. It is described in Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 350.

[2] [Properly *Urrhoi*, or *Orrhoi* (ܐܘܪܗܝ). It seems probable that the word is connected with *Osrhoene*, the name of the province in which Edessa held an important place, the correct form of which is supposed to be *Orrhoene*. The name *Edessa* (ܐܘܪܗܝ) occurs only once in these Documents, viz. in the "*Acts of Sharbil*," *sub init.*]

[3] "By this title all the toparchs of Edessa were called, just as the Roman emperors were called Cæsars, the kings of Egypt Pharaohs or Ptolemies, the kings of Syria Antiochi." Assem. *Bibl. Or.* vol. i. p. 261. Assemani adds: "Abgar in Syriac means *lame*." Moses of Chorene, however, with more probability, derives it from the Armenian *Avag-aïr*, "grand homme, à cause de sa grande mansuétude et de sa sagesse, et, de plus, à cause de sa taille." See below the extract from his *History of Armenia*, Book ii. ch. 26.

nations on the east of the Euphrates for his valour, had his body wasting away with a grievous disease, such as there is no cure for among men. And when he heard and was informed of the name of Jesus, and about the mighty works which He did (for every one alike bore witness concerning Him), he sent a letter of request by a man belonging to him,[1] and besought Him to come and heal him of his disease.

But our Saviour at the time that he asked Him did not comply with his request. Yet He deigned to give him[2] a letter [in reply]: for He promised him that He would send one of His disciples, and heal his sicknesses, and give salvation[3] to him and to all who were connected with him.[4] Nor did He delay to fulfil His promise to him: but after He was risen from the place of the dead, and was received into heaven, Thomas[5] the apostle, one of the twelve, as by an impulse from God, sent Thaddæus,[6] who was himself also numbered among the seventy[7] disciples of Christ, to Edessa, to be a preacher and proclaimer of the teaching of Christ; and the promise of Christ was through him fulfilled.

Thou hast in writing the evidence of these things, which is taken from the Book of Records[8] which was at Edessa: for at that time the kingdom was still standing.[9] In the

[1] Eusebius has διʼ ἐπιστοληφόρου. [See note on ταχυδρόμου, on next page.]

[2] [Lit. "deemed him worthy of."]

[3] [Gr. σωτηρίαν: and so the Syriac word, meaning "life," is generally to be translated in this collection.]

[4] Syr. "near to him;" Gr. τῶν προσηκόντων.

[5] His real name was Judas Thomas: see p. 8.

[6] The name is taken from Eusebius, but in the original Syriac treatises, which follow, he is called Addæus.

[7] In *The Teaching of the Apostles* he is said to have been one of the "seventy-two apostles." His name, like that of Thomas, seems to have been the very common one, Judas.

[8] These were kept in the archives of the kingdom, which were transferred by Abgar from Nisibis to Edessa when he made it the capital of his dominions. See Moses Chor. B. ii. ch. 27, *infra*. The archives appear to have been still kept at Edessa in A.D. 550.

[9] The kingdom of Edessa was brought to an end and entirely subjected to the Romans in A.D. 217 or 218.

documents, then, which were [kept] there, in which was contained whatever was done by those of old down to the time of Abgar, these things also are found preserved down to the present hour. There is, however, nothing to prevent our hearing the very letters themselves, which have been taken by us[1] from the archives, and are in words to this effect, translated from Aramaic into Greek.

Copy of the letter which was written by King[2] Abgar to Jesus, and sent to Him by the hand of Hananias,[3] the Tabularius,[4] to Jerusalem :—

"Abgar the Black,[5] sovereign[6] of the country, to Jesus, the good Saviour, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem: Peace. I have heard about Thee,[7] and about the healing which is wrought by Thy hands without drugs and roots. For, as it is reported, Thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk; and Thou cleansest the lepers, and Thou castest out unclean spirits and demons, and Thou healest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and Thou raisest the dead. And when I heard all these things about Thee, I settled in my mind one of two things: either that Thou art God, who hast come down from

[1] The extract from the archives was probably made by Sextus Julius Africanus, and copied by Eusebius from his *Chronographia.*

[2] Gr. τόπαρχος.

[3] Called Hanan in the original Syriac document; and so in Moses Chor.: Eusebius has Ἀνανίας, which is copied here.

[4] Gr. ταχυδρόμου. But the post held by Hananias must have been one of more dignity than that of a *courier.* He was probably a Secretary of State. In *The Acts of Addæus*, p. 35, he is called, in connection with the name Tabularius, a *sharir*, or confidential servant. [It would seem that Tabularius has been confounded with Tabellarius (a letter-carrier).]

[5] Or "Abgar Uchomo." The epithet was peculiar to this King Abgar. He was the fourteenth king: the eleventh was called Abgar Sumoco, or "the Red." [The occasion of the name "Black" is doubtful: it can hardly have arisen from the fact that Abgar was suffering, as Cedrenus asserts, from the black leprosy.]

[6] ["Head," or "chief."]

[7] Comp. Matt. iv. 24: "And His fame went throughout all Syria," etc. See also Moses Chor. B. ii. c. 30.

heaven, and [therefore] doest these things; or that Thou art the Son of God, and [therefore] doest these things. On this account, therefore, I have written to beg of Thee that Thou wouldest weary Thyself to come to me, and heal this disease which I have. [And not only so:] for I have also heard that the Jews murmur against Thee, and wish to do Thee harm. But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is sufficient for two."

Copy of those things which were written[1] by Jesus by the hand of Hananias, the Tabularius, to Abgar, sovereign of the country:—

"Blessed is he that hath believed in me, not having seen me. For it is written concerning me, that those who see me will not believe in me, and that those will believe who have not seen me, and will be saved. But touching that which thou hast written to me, that I should come to thee—it is meet that I should finish here all that for the sake of which I have been sent; and, after I have finished it, then I shall be taken up to Him that sent me; and, when I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease, and give salvation to thee and to those who are with thee."

To these letters, moreover, is appended the following also in the Aramaic tongue:—

After Jesus was ascended, Judas Thomas sent to him Thaddæus the apostle, one of the Seventy. And, when he was come, he lodged with Tobias, son of Tobias. And, when the news about him was heard, they made it known to Abgar: "The apostle of Jesus is come hither, as He sent thee word." Thaddæus, moreover, began to heal every disease and sickness by the power of God, so that all men were amazed. And, when Abgar heard the great and marvellous cures which he wrought, he bethought himself that he was the person about whom Jesus had sent him word and said to him: When I have been taken up, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thy disease. So he sent and called Tobias, with whom he was lodging, and said to him:

[1] Gr. *ἀντιγραφέντα*, "written in reply."

I have heard that a mighty man has come, and has entered in and taken up his lodging in thy house: bring him up, therefore, to me. And when Tobias came to Thaddæus he said to him: Abgar the king has sent and called me, and commanded me to bring thee up to him, that thou mayest heal him. And Thaddæus said: I will go up, because to him have I been sent with power. Tobias therefore rose up early the next day, and took Thaddæus, and came to Abgar.

Now, when they were come up, his princes happened to be standing[1] there. And immediately, as he was entering in, a great vision appeared to Abgar on the countenance of Thaddæus the apostle. And, when Abgar saw Thaddæus, he prostrated himself before him.[2] And astonishment seized upon all who were standing there: for they had not themselves seen that vision, which appeared to Abgar alone. And he proceeded to ask Thaddæus: Art thou in truth the disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who said to me, I will send to thee one of my disciples, that he may heal thee and give thee salvation? And Thaddæus answered and said: Because thou hast mightily[3] believed on Him that sent me, therefore have I been sent to thee; and again, if thou shalt believe on Him, thou shalt have the requests of thy heart. And Abgar said to him: In such wise have I believed on Him, that I have even desired to take an army and extirpate those Jews who crucified Him; [and had done so], were it not that I was restrained by reason of the dominion of the Romans.[4] And Thaddæus said: Our Lord has fulfilled the will of His Father; and, having fulfilled it, has been taken up to His Father. Abgar said to him: I too

[1] [Cureton, "were assembled and standing;" nearly as Euseb.: *παρόντων καὶ ἱστάντων*. But in 2 Sam. xx. 1, the only reference given by Castel for the word, ܩܪܐ, is used for the Heb. נקרא, "he chanced."]

[2] [ܣܓܕ, like the *προσκύνησις* of Eusebius, may be rendered "worshipped."]

[3] [ܒܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ; Gr. *μεγάλως*, lit. "greatly;" C. "nobly." But nothing more than *intensity* is necessarily denoted by either word. Compare, for the Syriac, Ps. cxix. 107, 167; Dan. ii. 12.]

[4] Compare the letters of Abgar and Tiberius, p. 26

have believed in Him and in His Father. And[1] Thaddæus said: Therefore do I lay my hand upon thee in His name. And when he had done this, immediately he was healed of his sickness and of the disease which he had. And Abgar marvelled, because, like as he had heard concerning Jesus, so he saw in deeds [wrought] by the hand of Thaddæus His disciple: since without drugs and roots he healed him; and not him only, but also Abdu,[2] son of Abdu, who had the gout: for he too went in, and fell at his feet,[3] and when he prayed over him he was healed. And many other people of their city did he heal, and he did great works, and preached the word of God.

After these things Abgar said to him: Thou, Thaddæus, doest these things by the power of God; we also marvel at them. But in addition to all these things I beg of thee to relate to me the story about the coming of Christ, and in what manner it was; and about His power, and by what power He wrought those things of which I have heard.

And Thaddæus said: For the present I will be silent;[4] but, because I have been sent to preach the word of God, assemble me to-morrow all the people of thy city, and I will preach before them, and sow amongst them the word of life; and [will tell them] about the coming of Christ, how it took place; and about His mission,[5] for what purpose He was sent by His Father; and about His power and His deeds,

[1] In the next piece, *The Teaching of Addæus, i.e.* Thaddæus, we have a portion of the original Syriac from which Eusebius' translation was made. The only portions that correspond are: in the present piece, from this place to "— accept that of others," near the end; and, in the following one, from the beginning to "— that which is not ours." Some of the variations are worthy of notice.

[2] See note 1, p. 14.

[3] This answers sufficiently well to the Greek: ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς προσλθὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν; but, as the original Syriac, p. 12, reads "he too brought [presented] his feet to him, and he laid his hands upon them and healed him," the Greek translation must have been at fault.

[4] The original Syriac has "I will not hold my peace from declaring this."

[5] So Euseb. The orig. Syr. has "His sender."

and about the mysteries which He spake in the world, and by what power He wrought these things, and about His new preaching,[1] and about His abasement and His humiliation, and how He humbled and emptied and abased Himself, and was crucified, and descended to Hades,[2] and broke through the enclosure[3] which had never been broken through [before], and raised up the dead, and descended alone, and ascended with a great multitude to His Father.[4]

Abgar, therefore, commanded that in the morning all the people of his city should assemble, and hear the preaching of Thaddæus. And afterwards he commanded gold and silver to be given to him; but he received it not, and said: If we have forsaken that which was our own, how shall we accept that of others?

These things were done in the year 340.[5]

In order, moreover, that these things may not have been translated to no purpose word for word from the Aramaic into Greek, they are placed in their order of time here.

[Here] endeth the first book.

[1] The orig. Syr. has "the certitude [or, unerring truth] of His preaching." The error seems to have arisen from the Greek translator confounding ܚܬܝܬܘܬܐ with ܚܕܬܐ. [More probably with ܚܕܬܘܬܐ, "newness (of his preaching)," which was freely translated by him (περὶ) τῆς καινῆς αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως; and this, again, was by the Syrian re-translator rendered literally, as in the text.]

[2] Or "Sheol," as in Hebrew. The orig. Syr. gives "the place of the dead."

[3] Eph. ii. 14.

[4] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 52.

[5] Valesius says that the Edessenes commenced their era with the [beginning of] the 117th Olympiad, the first year of the reign of Seleucus. The year 340 corresponds, therefore, with the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

THE TEACHING OF ADDÆUS THE APOSTLE.[1]

. . . . . .

Addæus[2] [said] to him: Because thou hast thus believed, I lay my hand upon thee in the name of Him in whom thou hast thus believed. And at the very moment that he laid his hand upon him he was healed of the plague of the disease which he had for a long time.[3] And Abgar was astonished and marvelled, because, like as he had heard about Jesus, how He wrought and healed, so Addæus also, without any medicine whatever, was healing in the name of Jesus. And Abdu also, son of Abdu, had the gout in his feet; and he also presented his feet to him, and he laid his hand upon them, and healed him, and he had the gout no more. And in all the city also he wrought great cures, and showed forth wonderful mighty-works in it.

Abgar said to him: Now that every man knoweth that by the power of Jesus Christ thou doest these miracles, and lo! we are astonished at thy deeds, I therefore entreat of thee to relate to us the story about the coming of Christ, in what manner it was, and about His glorious power, and about the miracles which we have heard that He did, which thou hast thyself seen, together with thy fellow-disciples.

Addæus said: I will not hold my peace from declaring this; since for this very purpose was I sent hither, that I might speak to and teach every one who is willing to believe, even as thou. Assemble me to-morrow all the city, and I will sow in it the word of life by the preaching which I will address to you —about the coming of Christ, in what manner it was; and about Him that sent Him, why and how He sent Him; and

[1] This fragment, extending to the lacuna on p. 14, is contained in the MS. No. 14,654, at fol. 33. It consists of one leaf only, and is part of a volume of fragments, of which the age is certainly not later than the beginning of the fifth century.

[2] [See note 1 on p. 10.]

[3] Moses Chor. says that he had been suffering seven years from a disease caught in Persia.

about His power and His wonderful works; and about the glorious mysteries of His coming, which He spake of in the world; and about the unerring truth[1] of His preaching; and how and for what cause He abased Himself, and humbled His exalted Godhead by the manhood which He took, and was crucified, and descended to the place of the dead, and broke through the enclosure[2] which had never been broken through [before], and gave life to the dead by being slain Himself, and descended alone, and ascended with many to His glorious Father, with whom He had been from eternity in one exalted Godhead.

And Abgar commanded them to give to Addæus silver and gold. Addæus said to him: How can we receive that which is not ours? For, lo! that which was ours have we forsaken, as we were commanded by our Lord [to do]; because without purses and without scrips, bearing the cross upon our shoulders, were we commanded to preach His gospel in the whole creation, of whose crucifixion, which was for our sakes, for the redemption of all men, the whole creation was sensible and suffered pain.

And he related before Abgar the king, and before his princes and his nobles, and before Augustin, Abgar's mother, and before Shalmath,[3] the daughter of Meherdath,[4] Abgar's wife,[5] the signs of our Lord, and His wonders, and the glorious mighty-works which He did, and His divine exploits, and His ascension to His Father; and how they had received power and authority at the same time that He was received up—by which same power it was that he had healed Abgar,

[1] "The certitude."—C.

[2] Eph. ii. 14.

[3] The vowels supplied in this word are conjectural, as is the case with most of the proper names in these Documents. Perhaps the name of this person is to be read Shalamtho, as there is a Σαλαμψιώ, the wife of Phasaëlus, mentioned in Jos. *Antiq.* b. xviii. c. v.

[4] Who this was, does not appear. He may have been some connection of Meherdates king of the Parthians, of whom Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 12, speaks as having been entertained at Edessa by Abgar.

[5] According to Moses Chor. b. ii. ch. xxxv., the first, or chief, wife of Abgar was Helena.

and Abdu son of Abdu, the second person[1] of his kingdom; and how He informed them that He would reveal Himself at the end of the ages[2] and at the consummation of all created things; [he told them] also [of] the resuscitation and resurrection which is to come for all men, and the separation which will be made between the sheep and the goats, and between the faithful and those who believe not.

And he said to them: Because the gate of life is strait and the way of truth narrow, therefore are the believers of the truth few, and through unbelief is Satan's gratification. Therefore are the liars many who lead astray those that see. [Liars they are:] for, were it not that there is a good end awaiting believing men, our Lord would not have descended from heaven, and come to be born, and to [endure] the suffering of death. Yet He did come, and us did He send[3] .

. . . . . .

of the faith which we preach, that God was crucified for[4] all men.

And, if there be those who are not willing[4] to agree with these our words, let them draw near to us and disclose to us what is in their mind, that, like as in the case of a disease, we may apply to their thoughts healing medicine for the cure of their ailments. For, though ye were not present at the time of Christ's suffering, yet from the sun which was darkened, and which ye saw, learn ye and understand concerning the great convulsion[5] which took place at that time, when He

[1] Probably one of the second *rank*. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 31, 32, mentions a man named Abdus, perhaps the same as this one, as possessing great authority in the Parthian kingdom.

[2] [Or "times."]

[3] The remainder of "*The Teaching of Addæus*" is taken from another MS. of the Nitrian collection in the Brit. Mus., Cod. Add. 14,644. It is one of those which were procured in the year of the Greeks 1243 (A.D. 931) by the abbot Moses during his visit to Bagdad. It appears to be of the sixth century.

[4] Both "for" and "willing" are conjectural, the MS. being damaged. —WRIGHT.

[5] [Possibly "earthquake," for which sense see Mich., p. 161; and so on p. 17.]

was crucified whose gospel has winged its way through all the earth by the signs which His disciples [my] fellows do in all the earth: yea, those who were Hebrews, and knew only the language of the Hebrews, in which they were born, lo! at this day are speaking in all languages, in order that those who are afar off may hear and believe, even as those who are near. For He it is that confounded the tongues of the presumptuous in this region who were before us; and He it is that teaches at this day the faith of truth and verity by us, humble and despicable[1] men from Galilee of Palestine. For I also whom ye see am from Paneas,[2] from the place where the river Jordan issues forth, and I was chosen, together with my fellows, to be a preacher.

. . . . . .

For, according as my Lord commanded me, lo! I preach and publish the gospel, and lo! His money do I cast upon the table before you, and the seed of His word do I sow in the ears of all men; and such as are willing to receive it, theirs is the good recompense of the confession [of Christ]; but those who are not persuaded [to accept it], the dust of my feet do I shake off against them, as He commanded me.

Repent therefore, my beloved, of evil ways and of abominable deeds, and turn yourselves towards Him with a good and honest will, as He hath turned Himself towards you with the favour of His rich mercies; and be ye not as the generations of former times that have passed away, which, because they hardened their heart against the fear of God, received punishment openly, that they themselves might be chastised, and that those who come after them may tremble and be afraid. For the purpose of our Lord's coming into the world assuredly was,[3] that He might teach us and show us that at the consummation of the creation there will be a resuscitation of all men, and that at that time their course of conduct will be portrayed in their persons, and their bodies will

[1] [Properly "miserable." Compare Rom. vii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 19.]

[2] [Otherwise Cæsarea Paneas, or C. Philippi: now Banias.]

[3] [Cureton: "the whole object of our Lord's coming into the world was." But ܟܠܗ is = *omnino*.]

be [so many] volumes for the writings of justice; nor will any one be there who is unacquainted with books, because every one will read that which is written in His own book.[1]

. . . . . .

Ye that have eyes, forasmuch as ye do not perceive, are yourselves also become like those who see not and hear not; and in vain do your ineffectual voices strain themselves to deaf[2] ears. Whilst *they* are not to be blamed for not hearing, because they are by[3] nature deaf and dumb, yet the blame which is justly incurred falls upon you,[4] because ye are not willing to perceive—not even that which ye see. For the dark cloud of error which overspreads your minds suffers you not to obtain the heavenly light, which is the understanding of knowledge.[5]

Flee, then, from things made and created, as I said to you, which are only called gods in name, whilst they are not gods in their nature; and draw near to this [Being], who in His nature is God from everlasting and from eternity, and is not something made, like your idols, nor is He a creature and a work of art, like those images in which ye glory. Because, although this[6] [Being] put on a body, [yet] is He God with His Father. For the works of creation, which trembled when He was slain and were dismayed at His suffering of death,—these bear witness that He is Himself God the Creator. For it was not on account of a man that the earth trembled,[7] but on account of Him who established the earth upon the waters; nor was it on account of a man that the sun grew dark in the heavens,

[1] A few lines are wanting here in the MS.

[2] The greater part of the word rendered "deaf" is conjectural.—WRIGHT. [The "your" looks as if it were impersonal: "it is useless for *any one* to talk to the deaf."]

[3] ["By" (ܒ) is not in the printed text.]

[4] [Lit. "the blame in which justice is involved (prop., buried) is yours."]

[5] [Comp. Prov. xix. 25.]

[6] "This" is doubtful.—WRIGHT.

[7] I have very little doubt that we should substitute ܙܥܬ ܐܪܥܐ [the earth trembled] for ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ [who is from the earth].—WRIGHT.

but on account of Him who made the great lights; nor was it for a man that the just and righteous were restored to life again, but for Him who had granted power over death from the beginning; nor was it for a man that the veil of the temple of the Jews was rent from the top to the bottom, but for Him who said to them, "Lo, your house is left desolate." For, lo! unless those who crucified Him had known that He was the Son of God, they would not have had to proclaim [1] the desolation [2] of their city, nor would they have brought down Woe! upon themselves.[3] For, even if they had wished to make light of this confession,[4] the fearful convulsions which took place at that time would not have suffered them to do so. For lo! some even of the children of the crucifiers are become at this day preachers and evangelists, along with my fellow-apostles, in all the land of Palestine, and among the Samaritans, and in all the country of the Philistines. The idols also of paganism are despised, and the cross of Christ is honoured, and [all] nations and creatures confess God who became man.

If, therefore, while Jesus our Lord was on earth ye would have believed in Him that He is the Son of God, and before ye had heard the word of His preaching would have confessed Him that He is God; now that He is ascended to His Father, and ye have seen the signs and the wonders which are done in His name, and have heard with your own ears the word of His gospel, let no one of you doubt in

[1] [Lit. "have proclaimed."]

[2] [Cureton renders: "They would not have proclaimed the *desolation* of their city, nor would they have divulged the *affliction* of their soul in crying Woe!" Dr. Wright pronounces the two words whose equivalents are given in italics to be very doubtful. Dr. Payne Smith, instead of the latter of the two (ܐܟܠ), conjectures (ܐܦ ܠܢܦܫܗܘܢ). This conjecture has been adopted. "Brought down" (ܡܛܦܝܢ) is lit. "caused to drop."]

[3] The ancient Syriac Gospel, Luke xxiii. 48, gives: "And all those who were assembled there, and saw that which was done, were smiting on their breast, and saying, Woe to us! what is this? Woe to us for our sins!"

[4] [*i.e.* Christianity.]

his mind—so that the promise of His blessing which He sent to you may be fulfilled[1] towards you: Blessed are ye that have believed in me, not having seen me; and, because ye have so believed in me, the town[2] in which ye dwell shall be blessed, and the enemy shall not prevail against it for ever.[3] Turn not away, therefore, from His faith: for, lo! ye have heard and seen what things bear witness to His faith—[showing] that He is the adorable Son, and is the glorious God, and is the victorious King, and is the mighty Power; and through faith in Him a man is able to acquire the eyes of a true mind,[4] and to understand that, whosoever worshippeth creatures, the wrath of justice will overtake him.

[1] [Or "confirmed."]

[2] [Perhaps "town" will not seem too insignificant a word if it be taken in its original sense of a fortified place, which the Syriac term also denotes. It seemed desirable to distinguish, if possible, the two words which have been rendered respectively "city" and "town" in these pages. The only exception made is in a single passage where *Rome* is spoken of.]

[3] These words are not in the letter of Christ to Abgar. They must therefore be, either a message brought by Addæus himself, or, much more probably, a later interpolation: earlier, however, than Ephraem Syrus, who alludes to them in his *Testament*. This notion of the immunity of the city of Edessa is referred to by several Syriac writers. Nor was it confined to the East: it obtained in very early times in our own country, where the letter of our Lord to Abgar was regarded as a charm. In a very ancient service-book of the Saxon times, preserved in the British Museum, the letter follows the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; and an appended description of the virtues of the epistle closes with these words, according to the Latin version of Rufinus: "*Si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit, securus ambulet* [ambulabit?] *in pace.*" Jeremiah Jones, writing of the last century, says: "The common people in England have had it [the letter] in their houses in many places in a frame with a picture before it; and they generally, with much honesty and devotion, regard it as the word of God and the genuine epistle of Christ." Even now a similar practice is believed to linger in some districts. The story of Abgar is told in an Anglo-Saxon poem, published in *Abgarus-Legenden paa Old-Engelsk* by G. Stephens, Copenhagen, 1853. [It consists of 204 lines, is a tolerably close rendering of Eusebius, and is ascribed by Stephens to Aelfric, archbishop of York from 1023 to 1052.]

[4] See Eph. i. 18.

For [in] everything which we speak before you, according as we have received of the gift of our Lord, [so] speak we and teach and declare [it], that ye may secure[1] your salvation and not destroy[2] your spirits through the error of paganism: because the heavenly light has arisen on the creation, and He it is who chose the fathers of former times, and the righteous men, and the prophets, and spake with them in the revelation of the Holy Spirit.[3] For He is Himself the God of the Jews who crucified Him; and to Him it is that the erring pagans offer worship, even while they know it not: because there is no other God in heaven and on earth; and lo! confession ascendeth up to Him from the four quarters of the creation. Lo! therefore, your ears have heard that which was not heard by you [before]; and lo! further, your eyes have seen that which was never seen by you [before].

Be not, therefore, gainsayers of that which ye have seen and heard. Put away from you the rebellious mind of your fathers, and free yourselves from the yoke of sin, which hath dominion over you in libations and in sacrifices [offered] before carved images; and be ye concerned for your endangered[4] salvation, and for the unavailing support on which ye lean;[5] and get you a new mind, that worships the Maker and not the things which are made—[a mind] in which is portrayed the image of verity and of truth, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; believing and being baptized in the triple and glorious names. For this is our teaching and our preaching. For the belief of the truth of

[1] [Lit. "obtain."] [2] [Or "lose."] [3] [Lit. "Spirit of holiness."]
[4] [Prop. "lost," or "being lost," "perishing."]
[5] [Lit. "support of your head."] The word rendered "support" is not in the dictionaries, but its derivation and form are known. Mar Jacob, *infra*, has a similar expression: "A resting-place for the head, etc." [where, however, his word is derived from a root meaning to "prop up" (ܣܡܟ), whereas the root of our word denotes to "bend itself," "bow down" (ܢܛܐ), and is often used of the declining day (as Luke xxiv. 29). It is used of the bending of the head in John xix. 30. The actual *leaning* of the head for support is not expressed in the verb, but would naturally be inferred from it].

Christ does not consist of many things.[1] And those of you as are willing to be obedient to Christ are aware that I have many times repeated my words before you, in order that ye might learn and understand what ye hear.

And we ourselves shall rejoice in this, like the husbandman who rejoices in the field which is blessed; God also will be glorified by your repentance towards Him. While ye are saved hereby, we also, who give you this counsel, shall not be despoiled of the blessed reward of this [work]. And, because I am assured that ye are a land blessed according to the will of the Lord Christ, therefore, instead of the dust of our feet which we were commanded to shake off against the town that would not receive our words, lo! I have shaken off to-day at the door of your ears the sayings of my lips, in which are portrayed the coming of Christ which has [already] been, and also that which is [yet] to be; and the resurrection, and the resuscitation of all men, and the separation which is to be made between the faithful and the unbelieving; and the sore punishment which is reserved for those who know not God, and the blessed promise of future joy which they shall receive who have believed in Christ and worshipped Him and His exalted Father, and have confessed Him and His divine Spirit.[2]

And now it is meet for us that I conclude my present discourse; and let those who have accepted the word of Christ remain with us, and those also who are willing to join with us in prayer; and afterwards let them go to their homes.

And Addæus the apostle was rejoiced to see that a great number of the population of the city stayed with him; and they were [but] few who did not remain at that time, while even those few not many days after accepted his words and believed in the gospel set forth in[3] the preaching of Christ.

[1] [Lit. "the truth of Christ is not believed in many things."]

[2] [Lit. "the Spirit of His Godhead" = His Spirit of Godhead = His divine Spirit.]

[3] [Lit. "the gospel of."]

And when Addæus the apostle had spoken these things before all the town of Edessa, and King Abgar saw that all the city rejoiced in his teaching, men and women alike, and [heard them] saying to him, "True and faithful is Christ who sent thee to us"—he himself also rejoiced greatly at this, giving praise to God; because, like as he had heard from Hanan,[1] his Tabularius, about Christ, so had he seen the wonderful mighty-works which Addæus the apostle did in the name of Christ.

And Abgar the king also said to him: According as I sent [word] to Christ in my letter to Him, and according as He also sent [word] to me, [so] have I also received from thine own self this day; [and] so will I believe all the days of my life, and in the selfsame things will I continue and make my boast, because I know also that there is no other power in whose name these signs and wonders are done but the power of Christ whom thou preachest in verity and in truth. And henceforth Him will I worship—I and my son Maanu,[2] and Augustin,[3] and Shalmath the queen. And now, wherever thou desirest, build a church, a place of meeting for those who have believed and shall believe in thy words; and, according to the command given thee by thy Lord, minister thou at the [proper] seasons with confidence; to those also who shall be [associated] with thee as teachers of this gospel I am prepared to give large donations, in order that they may not have any other work beside the ministry; and whatsoever is required by thee for the expenses of the building I myself will give thee without any restriction,[4] whilst thy word shall be authoritative and sovereign in this town; moreover, without [the intervention of] any other person do thou come into my presence as one in authority, into the palace of my royal majesty.

[1] See p. 7.

[2] Abgar had two sons of this name. This is probably the elder, who succeeded his father at Edessa, and reigned seven years. Bayer makes him the fifteenth king of Edessa

[3] Abgar's mother: see p. 13.

[4] [Lit. "reckoning."]

And when Abgar was gone down to his royal palace he rejoiced, he and his princes with him, Abdu son of Abdu, and Garmai, and Shemashgram,[1] and Abubai, and Meherdath,[2] together with the others their companions, at all that their eyes had seen and their ears also had heard; and in the gladness of their heart they too began to praise God for having turned their mind towards Him, renouncing the paganism in which they had lived,[3] and confessing the gospel of Christ. And when Addæus had built a church they proceeded to offer in it vows and oblations, they and the people of the city; and there they continued to present their praises all the days of their life.

And Avida and Barcalba,[4] who were chief men and rulers, and wore the royal headband,[5] drew near to Addæus, and asked him about the matter of Christ, [requesting] that he would tell them how He, though He was God, appeared to

[1] The vowels in this name are supplied from the treatise of Bardesan. Whiston, from the Armenian form, writes the name Samsagram. He was sent, together with Hanan and Maryhab, as envoy to Marinus. See Mos. Chor. B. ii. c. 30.

[2] See Tac. *Ann.* xii. 12.

[3] [Lit. "stood."]

[4] The son of Zati (see p. 29).

[5] [Or "the headbands of the kings." Nothing appears to be known of the derivation of the word ܣܘܕܐ, which does not occur in the ordinary lexicons. Dr. Payne Smith has favoured the translator with the following note: "ܣܘܕܐ is evidently some kind of ornament. In Ephs. ii. 379 (in the form ܣܘܕܐ) it is an ornament worn by young people. B.A. [Bar Alii *Lex. Syro-Arab.*] and K. [Georgii Karmsedinoyo *Lex.*] render it (in the form ܣܘܕܐ) مدور حجارة, which may mean 'a circlet of jewels.'" Cureton says: "These headbands of the king, or diadems, seem to have been made of silk or muslin scarves, like the turbans of orientals at the present day, interwoven with gold, and with figures and devices upon them, as was the case with that worn by Sharbil. See *Acts of Sharbil, sub init.*" The art. *Diadema* in Dr. W. Smith's *Antiqq.* seems to furnish a good idea of what is intended. The ornament was probably *white;* and this has caused our expression to be sometimes confounded with the similar ܠܒܝܫ ܣܘܕܐ. See *Teaching of Simon Cephas*, init.]

them as a man: And how, said they, were ye able to look upon Him? And he proceeded to satisfy them all about this, about all that their eyes had seen and about whatsoever their ears had heard from him. Moreover, everything that the prophets had spoken concerning Him he repeated before them, and they received his words gladly and with faith, and there was not a man that withstood him; for the glorious deeds which he did suffered not any man to withstand him.

Shavida, moreover, and Ebednebu, chiefs of the priests of this town, together with Piroz[1] and Dilsu their companions, when they had seen the signs which he did, ran and threw down the altars on which they were accustomed to sacrifice before Nebu and Bel,[2] their gods, except the great altar which was in the middle of the town; and they cried out and said: Verily this is the disciple of that eminent and glorious Master, concerning whom we have heard all that He did in the country of Palestine. And all those who believed in Christ did Addæus receive, and baptized them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And those who used to worship stones and stocks sat at his feet, recovered from the madness[3] of paganism wherewith they had been afflicted. Jews also, traders in fine raiment,[4] who were familiar with the law and the prophets—they too were persuaded, and became disciples, and confessed Christ that He is the Son of the living God.

But neither did King Abgar nor yet the Apostle Addæus compel any man by force to believe in Christ, because without the force of man the force of the signs compelled many to believe in Him. And with affection did they receive His doctrine—[even] all this country of Mesopotamia, and all the regions round about it.

[1] The same name as Berosus, who is so called in the modern Persian.

[2] These were the chief gods of Edessa, the former representing the sun, and the latter the moon.

[3] [The reference seems to be to Mark v. 15.]

[4] The "soft [clothing]" of Matt. xi. 8, where [the Peshito and] the "Ancient Recension" have the same word as appears here. Cureton renders it "silk," but remarks: "It would appear to be cotton or muslin, *lana xylina*, not *bombycina*."

Aggæus, moreover, who[1] made the silks[2] and headbands of the king, and Palut, and Barshelama, and Barsamya, together with the others their companions, clave to Addæus the apostle; and he received them, and associated them with him in the ministry, their business being to read in the Old Testament and the New,[3] and in the prophets, and in the Acts of the Apostles, [and] to meditate upon them daily; strictly charging them to let their bodies be pure and their persons holy, as is becoming in men who stand before the altar of God. "And be ye," said he, "far removed from false swearing and from wicked homicide, and from dishonest testimony, which is connected with adultery; and from magic arts, for which there is no mercy, and from soothsaying, and divination, and fortune-tellers; and from fate and nativities, of which the deluded Chaldeans make their boast; and from the stars, and the signs of the Zodiac, in which the foolish put their trust. And put far from you unjust partiality, and bribes, and presents, through which the innocent are pronounced guilty. And along with this ministry, to which ye have been called, see that ye have no other work besides: for the Lord is the work of your ministry all the days of your life. And be ye diligent to give the seal of baptism.

[1] [The text has not ܕ, but it is best to supply it.]

[2] [Cureton gives "chains," which in his notes he changes to "silks," or "muslins," adopting, with C., the reading ܦܝܪܝܐ instead of the ܦܐܪܝܐ of the printed text. Mos. Chor. calls Aggæus "un fabricant de coiffures de *soie*," according to the translation of Florival; or "quendam *serici* opificem," according to Whiston. It may be added that the word ܦܝܪܝܐ is doubtless the same as our "silk," which is only a form of *Sericum*, an adjective from *Seres*, the people whose country was the native home of the silk-worm.]

[3] These terms could only have been used here in the sense of the Law of Moses and the Gospel. If by the Acts of the Apostles is meant the work of Luke, this passage seems to show that the compiler of this account of Addæus wrote some years subsequently to the events which he relates, or that it has been added by a later interpolator. For at the earlier period of Addæus' ministry no other part of the New Testament was written than the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which is probably the Gospel here meant.

And be not fond of the gains of this world. And hear ye a cause with justice and with truth. And be ye not a stumbling-block to the blind, lest through you should be blasphemed the name of Him who opened [the eyes of] the blind, according as we have seen. Let all, therefore, who see you perceive that ye yourselves are in harmony with whatsoever ye preach and teach."

And they ministered with him in the church which Addæus had built at the word and command of Abgar the king, being furnished with supplies by the king and by his nobles, partly for the house of God, and partly for the supply of the poor. Moreover, much people day by day assembled and came to the prayers of the service, and to [the reading of] the Old Testament, and the New of the Diatessaron.[1] They also believed in the restoration of the dead, and buried their departed in the hope of resuscitation [to life]. The festivals of the church they also observed in their seasons, and were assiduous every day in the vigils of the church. And they made visits of almsgiving, to the sick and to those that were whole, according to the instruction of Addæus to them. In the environs, too, of the city churches were built, and many received from him ordination to the priesthood.[2] So that even people of the East, in the guise of merchants, passed over into the territory of the Romans, that they might see the signs which Addæus did. And such as became disciples received from him ordination to the priesthood, and in their own country of the Assyrians they instructed the people of their nation, and erected houses of prayer there in secret, by reason of the danger [which beset them] from those who worshipped fire and paid reverence to water.[3]

[1] Or "Ditornon." The reading of the MS. is not clear. It seems that it ought to be *Diatessaron* [the two words would differ but slightly in the mode of writing], which Tatian the Syrian [Assyrian] compiled from the four Gospels about the middle of the second century. This was in general use at Edessa up to the fourth century, and Ephraem Syrus wrote a commentary on it. If this be so, we have here a later interpolation.

[2] [Lit. "the hand of priesthood:" and so *passim*.]

[3] Strabo, *de Persis*, b. xv. [ch. iii.]: "They sacrifice to fire and to water"

Moreover, Narses, the king of the Assyrians, when he heard of those same things which Addæus the apostle had done, sent [a message] to Abgar the king: Either despatch to me the man who doeth these signs before thee, that I may see him and hear his word, or send me [an account of] all that thou hast seen him do in thy own town. And Abgar wrote to Narses,[1] and related to him the whole story of the deeds of Addæus from the beginning to the end; and he left nothing which he did not write to him. And, when Narses heard those things which were written to him, he was astonished and amazed.

Abgar the king, moreover, because he was not able to pass over into the territory of the Romans,[2] and go to Palestine and slay the Jews for having crucified Christ, wrote a letter and sent it to Tiberius Cæsar,[3] writing in it thus:—

King Abgar to our Lord Tiberius Cæsar: Although I know that nothing is hidden from thy Majesty, I write to inform thy dread and mighty Sovereignty that the Jews who are under thy dominion and dwell in the country of Palestine have assembled themselves together and crucified Christ, without any fault [worthy] of death [in Him], after He had done before them signs and wonders, and had shown them powerful mighty-works, so that He even raised the dead to life for them; and at the time that they crucified Him the sun became darkened and the earth also quaked, and all created things trembled and quaked, and, as if of themselves, at this deed the whole creation and the inhabitants of the creation shrank away. And now thy Majesty knoweth what it is meet for thee to command concerning the people of the Jews who have done these things.

And Tiberius Cæsar wrote and sent to King Abgar; and thus did he write to him:—

The letter of thy Fidelity towards me I have received, and it hath been read before me. Concerning what the Jews

[1] See his letter in Mos. Chor., *infra*.

[2] Dio Cassius, liv. 8: "Augustus fixed as the boundaries of the empire of the Romans the Tigris and Euphrates."

[3] See it also, with some variations, in Mos. Chor., *infra*.

have dared to do in the matter of the cross, Pilate[1] the governor also has written and informed Aulbinus[2] my proconsul concerning these selfsame things of which thou hast written to me. But, because a war with the people of Spain,[3] who have rebelled against me, is on foot at this time, on this account I have not been able to avenge this matter; but I am prepared, when I shall have leisure, to issue a command according to law against the Jews, who act not according to law. And on this account, as regards Pilate also, who was appointed by me governor there—I have sent another in his stead, and dismissed him in disgrace, because he departed from the law,[4] and did the will of the Jews, and for the gratification of the Jews crucified Christ, who, according to what I hear concerning Him, instead of [suffering] the cross of death, deserved to be honoured and worshipped[5] by them:

[1] It was Pilate's duty, as governor of Judea, to send an account to the Roman Government of what had occurred in respect to Jesus; and his having done so is mentioned by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and several other writers.

[2] The word is evidently misspelt. The name intended may have been confounded with that of the Albinus who was made governor of Judea at a later period by Nero, A.D. 62. The same person is referred to, in the *Exit of Mary, infra:* "Sabinus, the governor who had been appointed by the Emperor Tiberius; and even as far as the river Euphrates the governor Sabinus had authority." The person meant can only be Vitellius, who was then governor of Syria, who removed Pilate from the administration of Judea, sending Marcellus in his stead, and ordered him to appear before Tiberius at Rome. The emperor died before he reached Rome.

[3] No mention is made by historians of any war with Spain. But about this time Vitellius, mentioned in the preceding note, was mixed up with the wars of the Parthians and Hiberians; and, as Hiberi is a name common to Spaniards as well as Hiberians, the apparent error may have arisen in translating the letter out of Latin into Syriac.

[4] Baronius says Pilate violated the law by crucifying our Lord so soon after sentence had been passed, whereas a delay of ten days was required by a law passed in the reign of Tiberius.

[5] Tiberius is said by Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) to have referred to the senate the question of admitting Christ among the gods. This has been interpolated into the epistle of Tiberius to Abgar as given in Moses Chor., B. ii. c. 33. He also adds another letter from Abgar in reply to this.

and more especially because with their own eyes they saw everything that He did. Yet thou, in accordance with thy fidelity towards me, and the faithful covenant [entered into by] thyself and by thy fathers, hast done well in writing to me thus.

And Abgar the king received Aristides, who had been sent by Tiberius Cæsar to him; and in reply he sent him [back] with presents of honour suitable for him who had sent him to him. And from Edessa he went to Thicuntha,[1] where Claudius, the second from the emperor, was; and from thence, again, he went to Artica,[2] where Tiberius Cæsar was: Caius, moreover, was guarding the regions round about Cæsar. And Aristides himself also related before Tiberius concerning the mighty-works which Addæus had done before Abgar the king. And when he had leisure from the war he sent and put to death some of the chief men of the Jews who were in Palestine. And, when Abgar the king heard of this, he rejoiced greatly that the Jews had received punishment, as it was right.

And some years after Addæus the apostle had built the church in Edessa, and had furnished it with everything that was suitable for it, and had made disciples of a great number of the population of the city, he further built churches in the villages[3] also—[both] those which were at a distance and those which were near, and finished and adorned them, and appointed in them deacons and elders, and instructed in

[1] This word has been so much distorted and disfigured by the transcribers, that I am unable to recognise what is the place intended.—CURETON.

[2] This word may be read *Ortyka*, and may be intended for *Ortygia* near Syracuse, which was not far from the island of Capreæ, where Tiberius then resided, seldom leaving it to go farther than to the neighbouring coast of Campania.

[3] [Lit. "the *other* villages." So, in several passages of these Documents, "the rest of the other ——." The habit of including two or more distinguished notions under a class to which only one of them belongs was not unknown among classical writers also: as when, *e.g.*, Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as the most remarkable of all the wars that *preceded* it. Milton's imitation, "Fairest of all her daughters, Eve," is well known.]

them those who should read the Scriptures, and taught the ordinances and[1] the ministry without and within.

After all these things he fell ill of the sickness of which he departed from this world. And he called for Aggæus before the whole assembly of the church, and bade him draw near, and made him Guide and Ruler[2] in his stead. And Palut,[3] who was a deacon, he made elder; and Abshelama, who was a scribe, he made deacon. And, the nobles and chief men being assembled, and standing near him—Barcalba son of Zati,[4] and Maryhab[5] son of Barshemash, and Senac[6] son of Avida, and Piroz son of Patric,[7] together with the rest of their companions—Addæus the apostle said to them:—

"Ye know and are witness, all of you who hear me, that, [according to] all that I have preached to you and taught you and ye have heard from me, even so have I behaved myself in the midst of you, and ye have seen [it] in deeds also: because our Lord thus charged us, that, whatsoever we preach in words before the people, we should practise it in deeds before all men. And, according to the ordinances and

[1] The ○ (and) seems to have been altered into ? (of).—WRIGHT. [Perhaps "of" is the better reading.]

[2] It is plain from the context here, as well as wherever it occurs in these early Syriac Documents, that this title [or that of Guide alone] is precisely the same as that of Bishop, although the Greek word ἐπίσκοπος had not yet obtained in the East. The first mention we find of the title *Bishop* [in these pages] is in the *Acts of Sharbil* about A.D. 105–112, where Barsamya is called "the Bishop of the Christians," although he is more generally designated as here. It is also found in the *Teaching of Simon Cephas*, *sub fin.*, which seems to have been written early in the second century or at the end of the first. The passage in the *Teaching of Addæus*, p. 35, where it occurs, was interpolated at a much later period.

[3] Perhaps Φιλώτας.

[4] Perhaps the same as Izates: see Jos. *Antiq.* xx. ii. 1, 4; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 14.

[5] This seems to be the person spoken of by Moses Chor., B. ii. c. 30, under the name "Mar-Ihap, prince d'Aghtznik," as one of the envoys sent by Abgar to Marinus.

[6] Tacitus writes this name Sinnaces: see *Ann.* vi. 31, 32.

[7] Patricius.

laws which were appointed by the disciples in Jerusalem,[1] and by which my fellow-apostles also guided their conduct, so also [do] ye—turn not aside from them, nor diminish aught from them: even as I also am guided by them amongst you, and have not turned aside from them to the right hand or to the left, lest I should become estranged from the promised salvation which is reserved for such as are guided by them.

"Give[2] heed, therefore, to this ministry which ye hold, and with fear and trembling continue in it, and minister every day. Minister not in it with neglectful habits, but with the discreetness of faith; and let not the praises of Christ cease out of your mouth, nor let weariness of prayer at the [stated] times come upon you. Give heed to the verity which ye hold, and to the teaching of the truth which ye have received, and to the inheritance of salvation which I commit to you: because before the tribunal of Christ will ye have to give an account of it, when He maketh reckoning with the shepherds and overseers, and when He taketh His money from the traders with the addition of the gains. For He is the Son of a King, and goeth to receive a kingdom and return; and He will come and make a resuscitation [to life] for all men, and then will He sit upon the throne of His righteousness, and judge the dead and the living, as He said to us.

"Let not the secret eye of your minds be closed by pride, lest your stumbling-blocks be many in the way in which there are no stumbling-blocks, but a hateful[3] wandering in its paths. Seek ye those that are lost, and direct those that go astray, and rejoice in those that are found; bind up the bruised, and watch over the fatlings: because at your hands will the sheep of Christ be required. Look ye not for the honour that passeth away: for the shepherd that looketh to receive honour from his flock—sadly, sadly stands his

[1] These are given at pp. 38 sqq.

[2] Quoted in the *Epistle of Addæus, infra.*

[3] [Probably "wicked," the meaning being that all such wandering is wilful. Cureton makes "hateful" the *predicate:* "error is abominable in its paths."]

flock with respect to him. Let your concern be great for the young lambs, whose angels behold the face of the Father who is unseen. And be ye not stones of stumbling before the blind, but clearers of the way and the paths in a rugged country, among the Jews the crucifiers, and the deluded pagans: for with these two parties have ye to fight, in order that ye may show the truth of the faith which ye hold; and, though ye be silent, your modest and decorous appearance will fight for you against those who hate truth and love falsehood.

"Buffet not the poor in the presence of the rich: for scourge grievous enough for them is their poverty.

"Be not beguiled by the hateful devices of Satan, lest ye be stripped naked of the faith which ye have put on."[1] . .

. . . . . .

"And with the Jews, the crucifiers, we will have no fellowship. And this inheritance which we have received from thee we will not let go, but in that will we depart out of this world; and on the day of our Lord, before the judgment-seat of His righteousness, there will He restore to us this inheritance, even as thou hast told us."

And, when these things had been spoken, Abgar the king rose up, he and his chief men and his nobles, and he went to his palace, all of them being distressed for him because he was dying. And he sent to him noble and excellent apparel, that he might be buried in it. And, when Addæus saw it, he sent [word] to him, [saying]: In my lifetime I have not taken anything from thee, nor will I now at my death take anything from thee, nor will I frustrate the word of Christ which He spake to us: Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world.[2]

And three days more after these things had been spoken by Addæus the apostle, and he had heard and received the testimony concerning the teaching set forth in their preaching

[1] One leaf apparently is lost from the MS. in this place. [What follows appears to be part of the reply of those addressed—their "testimony concerning the teaching set forth in their preaching."]

[2] The reference seems to be to Matt. x. 7–10.

from those engaged with him in the ministry, in the presence of all the nobles he departed out of this world. And that day was the fifth of the week, and the fourteenth of the month Iyar.[1] And the whole city was in great mourning and bitter anguish for him. Nor was it the Christians only that were distressed for him, but the Jews also, and the pagans, who were in this same town. But Abgar the king was distressed for him more than any one, he and the princes of his kingdom. And in the sadness of his soul he despised and laid aside the magnificence of his kingly state on that day, and with tears mingled with moans he bewailed him with all men. And all the people of the city that saw him were amazed [to witness] how greatly he suffered on his account. And with great and surpassing pomp he bore [him to his grave], and buried him like one of the princes when he dies; and he laid him in a grand sepulchre adorned with sculpture wrought by the fingers—that in which were laid those of the house of Ariu, the ancestors of Abgar the king: there he laid him sorrowfully, with sadness and great distress. And all the people of the church went there from time to time and prayed fervently; and they kept up the remembrance of his departure from year to year, according to the command and direction which had been received by them from Addæus the apostle,[2] and according to the word of Aggæus, who himself became Guide and Ruler, and the successor of his seat after him, by the ordination to the priesthood which he had received from him in the presence of all men.

He too, with the same ordination which he had received from him, made Priests and Guides in the whole of this country of Mesopotamia. For they also, in like manner as Addæus the apostle, held fast his word, and listened to and received [it], as good and faithful successors of the apostle of the adorable Christ. But silver and gold he took not

[1] [Nearly answering to] May. The death of Addæus occurred before that of Abgar, which took place A.D. 45. It would appear, therefore, that his ministry at Edessa lasted about ten or eleven years.

[2] Compare the *Teaching of the Apostles*, Ordinance xviii. p. 41.

from any man, nor did the gifts of the princes come near him: for, instead of [receiving] gold and silver, he [himself] enriched the church of Christ with the souls of believers.

Moreover, [as regards] the entire state[1] of the men and the women, they were chaste and circumspect, and holy and pure: for they lived like anchorites[2] and chastely, without spot—in [their] circumspect watchfulness touching the ministry, in their sympathy[3] toward the poor, in their visitations to the sick: for their footsteps were fraught with praise from those who saw [them], and their conduct was arrayed in commendation from strangers—so that even the priests of the house of[4] Nebu and Bel divided the honour with them at all times, by reason of their dignified aspect, their truthful words, their frankness of speech arising from their noble nature, which was neither subservient through covetousness nor in bondage under [the fear of] blame. For there was no one who saw them that did not run to meet them, that he might salute them respectfully, because the very sight of them shed peace upon the beholders: for just like a net[5] were their words of gentleness spread over the contumacious, and they entered within the fold of truth and verity. For there was no man who saw them that was ashamed of them, because they did nothing that was not accordant with rectitude and propriety. And in consequence of these things their bearing was fearless as they published their teaching to all men. For, whatsoever they said to others and enjoined on them, they themselves exhibited in practice in their own persons; and the hearers, who saw that their actions went along with their words, without much persuasion became their disciples, and confessed the King Christ, praising God for having turned them towards Him.

[1] This seems to apply to those who especially belonged to the ministry of the church. [This is the only passage in the Documents in which women are spoken of as connected with the ministry.]

[2] [The reference is only to their purity of life. It is not implied that they lived in seclusion.]

[3] [Lit. "their burden-bearing."] [4] [Or "belonging to."]

[5] An allusion to Matt. iv. 19: "I will make you fishers of men."

And some years after the death of Abgar the king, there arose one of his contumacious[1] sons, who was not favourable to peace; and he sent [word] to Aggæus, as he was sitting in the church: Make me a headband of gold, such as thou usedst to make for my fathers in former times. Aggæus sent [word] to him: I will not give up the ministry of Christ, which was committed to me by the disciple of Christ, and make a headband of wickedness. And, when he saw that he did not comply, he sent and brake his legs[2] as he was sitting in the church expounding. And as he was dying he adjured Palut and Abshelama: In this house, for whose truth's sake, lo! I am dying, lay me and bury me. And, even as he had adjured [them], so did they lay him—inside the middle door of the church, between the men and the women. And there was great and bitter mourning in all the church, and in all the city—over and above the anguish and the mourning which there had been within [the church], such as had been the mourning when Addæus the apostle himself died.

[And,[3] in consequence of his dying suddenly and quickly at the breaking of his legs, he was not able to lay [his] hand upon Palut. [So] Palut went to Antioch, and received ordination to the priesthood from Serapion bishop of An-

[1] [*i.e.* refusing to accept Christianity: as a few lines before.] The person referred to would seem to be the second of the two sons of Abgar called Maanu, who succeeded his brother Maanu, and reigned fourteen years—from A.D. 52 to A.D. 65, according to Dionysius as cited by Assemani.

[2] This ignominious mode of execution, which was employed in the case of the two thieves at Calvary, seems to have been of Roman origin. The object of the king in putting Aggæus to this kind of death was, probably, to degrade and disgrace him.

[3] This paragraph is a barefaced interpolation made by some ignorant person much later (who is also responsible for the additions to the *Martyrdom of Sharbil*, and to that of Barsamya). For this Palut was made *Elder* by Addæus himself, at the time that Aggæus was appointed *Bishop*, or *Guide and Ruler*. This took place even before the death of Abgar, who died A.D. 45; whereas Serapion did not become bishop of Antioch till the beginning of the third century, if, as is here stated, he was consecrated by Zephyrinus, who did not become Pope till A.D. 201.

tioch; by which Serapion himself also ordination had been received from Zephyrinus bishop of the city of Rome, in the succession of the ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who had received [it] from our Lord, and was bishop there in Rome twenty-five years in the days of the Cæsar who reigned there thirteen years.]

And, according to the custom which exists in the kingdom of Abgar the king, and in all kingdoms, that whatsoever the king commands and whatsoever is spoken in his presence is committed to writing and deposited among the records, so also did Labubna,[1] son of Senac, son of Ebedshaddai, the king's scribe, write these things also relating to Addæus the apostle from the beginning to the end, whilst Hanan also the Tabularius, a sharir of the kings, set-to his hand in witness, and deposited [the writing] among the records of the kings, where the ordinances and laws are deposited, and where [the contracts of] the buyers and sellers are kept with care, without any negligence whatever.

[Here] endeth the teaching of Addæus the apostle, which he proclaimed in Edessa, the faithful city of Abgar, the faithful king.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.[2]

At what time Christ was taken up to His Father; and how the apostles received the gift of the Spirit; and the

[1] Moses Chor., ii. 36, calls him, in the translation of Le Vaillant de Florival, "Ghéroupna, fils de l'écrivain Apchatar;" in that of Whiston, "Lerubnas, Apsadari scribæ filius." Apchatar of the first, and Apsadar of the second, translator are evidently corruptions in the Armenian from the Adbshaddai (= Ebedshaddai) of the Syriac. Dr. Alishan, in a letter to Dr. Cureton from the Armenian Convent of St. Lazarus, Venice, says he has found an Armenian MS., of probably the twelfth century, which he believes to be a translation of the present Syriac original. It is a history of Abgar and Thaddæus, written by Ghérubnia with the assistance of Ananias (= Hanan), confidant (= sharir) of King Abgar.

[2] This work is taken, and printed verbatim, from the same MS. as

Ordinances and Laws of the church; and whither each one of the apostles went; and from whence the countries in the territory of the Romans received the ordination to the priesthood.

In the year three hundred and[1] thirty-nine of the kingdom of the Greeks, in the month Heziran,[2] on the fourth[3] day of the same, which is the first day of the week, and the end of Pentecost[4]—on the selfsame day came the disciples from Nazareth of Galilee, where the conception of our Lord was announced, to the mount which is called that of the Place of Olives,[5] our Lord being with them, but not being visible to them. And at the time of early dawn our Lord lifted up His hands, and laid them upon the heads of the eleven disciples, and gave to them the gift of the priesthood. And suddenly a bright cloud received Him. And they saw Him as He was going up to heaven. And He sat down on the right hand of His Father. And they praised God because they saw His ascension according as He had told them; and they rejoiced because they had received the Right Hand conferring on them the priesthood of the house of Moses and Aaron.

And from thence they went up [to the city], and[6]

the preceding, Cod. Add. 14,644, fol. 10. That MS., however, has been carefully compared with another in the Brit. Mus. in which it is found, Cod. Add. 14,531, fol. 109; and with a third, in which the piece is quoted as *Canons of the Apostles*, Cod. Add. 14,173, fol. 37. In using the second, a comparison has also been made of De Lagarde's edition of it (Vienna, 1856). This treatise had also been published before in *Ebediesu Metropolitæ Sobæ et Armeniæ collectio canonum Synodicorum* by Cardinal Mai. It is also cited by Bar Hebræus in his *Nomocanon*, printed by Mai in the same volume. These three texts are referred to in the notes, as A. B. C. respectively.

[1] A. omits "three hundred and." They are supplied from B. The reading of C. is 342.

[2] [This month answers to Sivan, which began with the new moon of June.]

[3] C. reads "fourteenth."

[4] The day of Pentecost seems to be put for that of the Ascension.

[5] Syr. "Baith Zaithe." Comp. Luke xxiv. 50 sqq.

[6] Comp. Acts i. 12 sqq.

proceeded to an upper room—that in which our Lord had observed the passover with them, and the place where the inquiries had been made: Who it was that should betray our Lord to the crucifiers? There also were the inquiries [made]: How they should preach His gospel in the world? And, as within the upper room the mystery of the body and of the blood of our Lord began to prevail in the world, so also from thence did the teaching of His preaching begin to have authority in the world.

And, when the disciples were cast into this perplexity, how they should preach His gospel to [men of] strange tongues which were unknown to them, and were speaking thus to one another: Although we are confident that Christ will perform by our hands mighty works and miracles in the presence of strange peoples whose tongues we know not, and who themselves also are unversed in our tongue, [yet] who shall teach them and make them understand that it is by the name of Christ who was crucified that these mighty works and miracles are done?—while, I say, the disciples were occupied with these thoughts, Simon Cephas rose up, and said to them: My brethren, this matter, how we shall preach His gospel, pertaineth not to us, but to our Lord; for *He* knoweth how it is possible for us to preach His gospel in the world; and we rely on His care for us, which He promised us, saying: "When I am ascended to my Father I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, that *He* may teach you everything which it is meet for you to know, and to make known."

And, whilst Simon Cephas was saying these things to his fellow-apostles, and putting them in remembrance, a mysterious voice was heard by them, and a sweet odour, which was strange to the world, breathed upon them;[1] and tongues of fire, between the voice and the odour, came down from heaven[2] towards them, and alighted on every one of them and sat [upon him]; and, according to the tongue which every one of them had severally received, so did he prepare

[1] The reading of B. and C.: A. reads "answered them."

[2] B. reads "suddenly."

himself to go to the country in which that tongue was spoken and heard.

And, by the same gift of the Spirit which was given to them on that day, they appointed Ordinances and Laws—such as were in accordance with the gospel of their preaching, and with the true and faithful doctrine of their teaching:—

1. The apostles therefore appointed: Pray ye towards the east:[1] because, "as the lightning which lighteneth from the east and is seen even to the west, so shall the coming of the Son of man be"[2]—[which was said] that by this we might know and understand that He will appear from the east suddenly.[3]

2. The apostles further appointed: On the first [day] of the week let there be service, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and the oblation:[4] because on the first day of the week our Lord rose from the place of the dead, and on the first day of the week He arose upon the world, and on the first day of the week He ascended up to heaven, and on the first day of the week He will appear at last with the angels of heaven.[5]

3. The apostles further appointed: On the fourth[6] day of the week let there be service: because on that [day] our Lord made the disclosure to them about His trial[7] and His suffering, and His crucifixion, and His death, and His resurrection; and the disciples were on account of this in sorrow.[8]

4. The apostles further appointed: On the eve [of the Sabbath],[9] at the ninth hour, let there be service: because

[1] On praying towards the east, comp. *Apost. Constitutions*, ii. 57, vii. 44; and Tertullian, *Apol.* 16. [*A. C.* ii. 57, contains an interesting account of the conduct of public worship. It may be consulted in connection with Ordinances 2, 8, and 10, also.]

[2] Matt. xxiv. 27.

[3] B. and C. read "at the last." Ebediesu has "from heaven."

[4] [*i.e.* the Eucharist.]

[5] C. reads "His holy angels."

[6] For Ords. 3 and 4, see *Ap. Const.* v. 13–15.

[7] B. reads "His manifestation."

[8] The reading of C., [which is preferable to that of A.: "were in this sorrow."]

[9] [Lit. "the evening," but used in particular of the evening of the

that which had been spoken on the fourth day of the week about the suffering of the Saviour was brought to pass on the eve [of the Sabbath], the worlds and [all] creatures trembling, and the luminaries in the heavens being darkened.

5. The apostles further appointed: Let there be elders and deacons, like the Levites;[1] and subdeacons,[2] like those who carried the vessels of the court of the sanctuary of the Lord; and an overseer,[3] who shall likewise be the Guide of all the people,[4] like Aaron, the head and chief of all the priests and Levites of the whole city.[5]

6. The apostles further appointed: Celebrate the day of the epiphany[6] of our Saviour, which is the chief of the festivals of the church, on the sixth day of the latter Canun,[7] in the long number of the Greeks.[8]

7. The apostles further appointed: Forty[9] days before the day of the passion of our Saviour fast ye, and then celebrate the day of the passion, and the day of the resurrection: because our Lord Himself also, the Lord of the festival,

sixth day of the week, the eve of the seventh: the evening being regarded, as in Gen. i. 5, as the first part of the day. Similarly, παρασκευή, which the Peshito translates by our word, is used in the Gospels for the sixth day, with a prospective reference to the seventh.]

[1] See *Ap. Const.* ii. 25.

[2] [Comp. *Eccl. Canons*, No. 43. The Gr. ὑποδιάκονοι is here used, though for "deacon" the usual Syriac word is employed, meaning "minister" or "servant." From Riddle, *Christian Antiqq.*, p. 301, with whom Neander agrees, it would seem that subdeacons were first appointed at the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth.]

[3] ܕܘܩܐ, equivalent, not to ἐπίσκοπος, but to σκοπός = *watchman*, as in Ezek. xxxiii. 7.

[4] For this B. reads "world."

[5] B. has "camp."

[6] See *Ap. Const.* v. 13, [where Christmas, of which no mention is made in these Ordinances, is called "the first of all," the Epiphany being ranked next to it.]

[7] [January: the Jewish Tebeth. "The former Canun" is December, *i.e.* Chisleu.]

[8] [The era of the Seleucidæ, 311 A.C., appears to be referred to. In this new names were given to certain months, and Canun was one of them. See note on the Calendar at the end.]

[9] See *Ap. Const.* v. 13–15; [also *Eccl. Can.* No. 69.]

fasted forty days; and Moses and Elijah, who were endued with this mystery, likewise each fasted forty days, and then were glorified.

8. The apostles further appointed: At the conclusion of all the Scriptures [that are read] let the Gospel be read, as being the seal[1] of all the Scriptures; and let the people listen to it standing up on their feet: because it is the Gospel of the redemption of all men.

9. The apostles further appointed: At the completion of fifty[2] days after His resurrection make ye a commemoration of His ascension to His glorious Father.

10. The apostles [further] appointed: That, beside the Old Testament, and the Prophets, and the Gospel, and the Acts [descriptive] of their exploits, nothing should be read on the pulpit in the church.[3]

11. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever is unacquainted with the faith of the church and the ordinances and laws which are appointed in it, let him not be a guide and ruler; and whosoever is acquainted with them and departs from them, let him not minister again: because, not being true in his ministry, he has lied.

12. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever sweareth, or[4] lieth, or beareth false witness, or hath recourse to magicians and soothsayers and Chaldeans, and putteth confidence in fates and nativities, which they hold fast who know not God,—let him also, as a man that knoweth not God, be dismissed from the ministry, and not minister [again].

13. The apostles further appointed: If there be any man that is divided [in mind] touching the ministry, and who follows it not with a stedfast will,[5] let not this man minister

[1] [Properly "the sealer:" for, although the word is not found in the lexicons, its formation shows that it denotes an agent. The meaning seems to be, that the Gospel gives completeness and validity to the Scriptures.]

[2] C. reads "forty."

[3] [See *Ap. Const.* ii. 57; *Teaching of Simon Cephas, ad fin.*; *Eccl. Can.* Nos. 60, 85.]

[4] B. and C., as well as Ebediesu, read "and."

[5] [Lit., "it is not certain (or firm) to him."]

again: because the Lord of the ministry is not served by him with a stedfast will; and he deceiveth man [only], and not God, "before whom crafty devices avail not."[1]

14. The apostles further appointed: Whosoever lendeth and receiveth usury,[2] and is occupied in merchandise and covetousness, let not this man minister again, nor continue in the ministry.

15. The apostles further appointed: That whosoever loveth the Jews,[3] like Iscariot, who was their friend, or the pagans, who worship creatures instead of the Creator,—should not enter in amongst them and minister; and moreover, that if he be [already] amongst them, they should not suffer him [to remain], but that he should be separated from amongst them, and not minister with them again.

16. The apostles further appointed: That, if any one from the Jews or from the pagans come and join himself with them, and if after he has joined himself with them he turn and go back again to the side on which he stood [before], and if he again return and come to them a second time,—he should not be received again; but that, according to the side on which he was before, so those who know him should look upon him.

17. The apostles further appointed: That it should not be permitted to the Guide to transact the matters which pertain to the church apart from those who minister with him; but that he should issue commands with the counsel of them all, and that that [only] should be done which all of them should concur in and not disapprove.[4]

18. The apostles further appointed: Whenever any shall depart out of this world with a good testimony to the faith

[1] The exact words of the Peshito of 1 Sam. ii. 3. The E. V., following the K'ri ולו, instead of the ולא of the text, renders "and by Him actions are weighed." [The Peshito translator may have confounded the Heb. verb תכן, which appears not to exist in Aramæan, with his own verb תקן (ܬܩܶܢ), through the similarity in sound of the gutturals כ and ק.]

[2] [See *Eccl. Canons*, No. 44.]

[3] [Comp. *Eccl. Canons*, Nos. 65, 70, 71.]

[4] [See *Eccl. Canons*, No. 35.]

of Christ, and with affliction [borne] for His name's sake, make ye a commemoration of them on the day on which they were put to death.[1]

19. The apostles further appointed: In the service of the church repeat ye the praises of David day by day: because of this [text]: "I will bless the Lord at all times, and at all times His praises [shall be] in my mouth;"[2] and [this]: "By day and by night will I meditate and speak, and cause my voice to be heard before Thee."

20. The apostles further appointed: If any divest themselves of mammon and run not after the gain of money, let these men be chosen and admitted to the ministry of the altar.

21. The apostles further appointed: Let any priest who accidentally puts [another] in bonds[3] contrary to justice receive the punishment that is right; and let him that has been bound receive the bonds as if he had been equitably bound.

22. The apostles further appointed: If it be seen that those who are accustomed to hear causes show partiality, and pronounce the innocent guilty and the guilty innocent, let them never again hear another cause: [thus] receiving the rebuke of their partiality, as it is fit.[4]

23. The apostles further ordained: Let not those that are high-minded and lifted up with the arrogance of boasting be admitted to the ministry: because of this [text]: "That which is exalted among men is abominable before God;" and because concerning them it is said: "I will return a recompense upon those that vaunt themselves."

24. The apostles further appointed: Let there be a Ruler over the elders who are in the villages, and let him be recog-

[1] See the letter of the Church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, and Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15.

[2] Ps. xxxiv. 1.

[3] [The particip. ܐܣܝܪ, though usually pass., may, like some other participles Peil, be taken actively, as appears from a passage quoted by Dr. R. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr. s.v.* This would seem to be the only possible way of taking it here.]

[4] Comp. *Ap. Const.* ii. 45 sqq.

nised as head of them all, at whose hand all of them shall be required: for Samuel also thus made visits [of inspection] from place to place and ruled.

25. The apostles further appointed: That those kings who shall hereafter believe in Christ should be permitted to go up and stand before the altar along with the Guides of the church: because David also, and those who were like him, went up and stood before the altar.

26. The apostles further appointed: Let no man dare to do anything by the authority of the priesthood which is not in accordance with justice and equity, but [let everything be done] in accordance with justice, and free from the blame of partiality.

27. The apostles further appointed: Let the bread of the oblation be placed upon the altar on the day on which it is baked, and not some days after—a thing which is not permitted.

All these things did the apostles appoint, not for themselves, but for those who should come after them—for they were apprehensive that in time to come wolves would put on sheep's clothing: since for themselves the Spirit, the Paraclete, which was in them, was sufficient [to secure] that, even as He had appointed these laws by their hands, [so] He would guide them [to act] lawfully. For they, who had received from our Lord power and authority, had no need that laws should be appointed for them by others. For Paul also, and Timothy,[1] while they were going from place to place in the country of Syria and Cilicia, committed these same Commands and Laws of the apostles and elders to those who were under the hand of the apostles, for the churches of the countries in which they were preaching and publishing the gospel.

The disciples, moreover, after they had appointed these Ordinances and Laws, ceased not from the preaching of the gospel, or from the wonderful mighty-works which our Lord did by their hands. For much people was gathered about them every day, who believed in Christ; and they

[1] Acts xvi. 4; comp. ch. xv.

came to them from other cities, and heard their words and received them. Nicodemus also, and Gamaliel, chiefs of the synagogue of the Jews, used to come to the apostles in secret, agreeing with their teaching. Judas, moreover, and Levi, and Peri, and Joseph, and Justus, sons of Hananias, and Caïaphas [1] and Alexander the priests—they too used to come to the apostles by night, confessing Christ that He is the Son of God; but they were afraid of the people of their own nation, so that they did not disclose their mind toward the disciples.

And the apostles received them affectionately, saying to them: Do not, by reason of the shame and fear of men, forfeit your salvation before God, nor have the blood of Christ required of you; even as your fathers, who took it upon them: for it is not acceptable before God, that, while ye are [of one mind] with His worshippers, ye should go and associate with the murderers of His adorable Son. How do ye expect that your faith should be accepted with those that are true, whilst ye are [found] with those that are false? But it becomes you, as men who believe in Christ, to confess openly this faith which we preach.

And, when they heard these things from the Disciples, those sons of the priests, all of them alike, cried out before the whole company of the apostles: We confess and believe in Christ who was crucified, and we confess that He is from everlasting the Son of God; and those who dared to crucify Him do we renounce. For even the priests of the people in secret confess Christ; but, for the sake of the headship among the people which they love, they are not willing to confess [Him] openly; and they have forgotten that which is written: "Of knowledge is He the Lord, and before Him avail not crafty devices."

And, when their fathers heard these things from their sons, they became exceedingly hostile to them: not indeed

[1] The belief was common among the Jacobites that Caïaphas, whose full name was Joseph Caïaphas, was the same person as the historian Josephus, and that he was converted to Christianity. See Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* vol. ii. p. 165.

because they had believed in Christ, but because they had declared and spoken openly of the mind of their fathers before the sons of their people.

But those who believed clave to the disciples, and departed not from them, because they saw that, whatsoever they taught the multitude, they themselves carried into practice before all men; and, when affliction and persecution arose against the disciples, they rejoiced to be afflicted with them, and received with gladness stripes and imprisonment for the confession of their faith in Christ; and all the days of their life they preached Christ before the Jews and the Samaritans.

And after the death of the apostles there were Guides and Rulers[1] in the churches; and, whatsoever the apostles had committed to them and they had received from them, they continued to teach to the multitude through the whole space of their lives. They too, again, at their deaths committed and delivered to their disciples after them whatsoever they had received from the apostles; also what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from Alexandria the Great, and Andrew from Phrygia, and Luke from Macedonia, and Judas Thomas from India:[2] that the epistles of an apostle[3] might be received and read in the churches that were in every place, just as the achievements of their Acts, which Luke wrote, are read; that hereby the apostles might be known, and the prophets, and the Old Testament and the New;[4]

[1] This would seem to have been written anterior to the time when the title of Bishop, as specially appropriated to those who succeeded to the apostolic office, had generally obtained in the East.

[2] [For writings ascribed to Andrew and Thomas, see vol. xvi. of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.] There is no mention here of the epistles of Paul. They may not at this early period have been collected and become generally known in the East. The Epistle of Jude is also omitted here, but it was never received into the Syriac canon: see De Wette, *Einl.* 6th ed. p. 342. [Comp. *Eccl. Canons*, No. 85.]

[3] [So the printed text. But "the apostles" seems to be meant.]

[4] It is plain from this that the epistles were not at that time considered part of what was called the New Testament, nor the prophets of the Old. [See note on p. 24.]

that [it might be seen that] one truth was proclaimed in them all: that one Spirit spake in them all, from one God whom they had all worshipped and had all preached. And the [various] countries received their teaching. Everything, therefore, which had been spoken by our Lord by means of the apostles, and which the apostles had delivered to their disciples, was believed and received in every country, by the operation[1] of our Lord, who said to them: "I am with you, even until the world shall end;" the Guides disputing with the Jews from the books of the prophets, and contending also against the deluded pagans with the terrible mighty-works which they did in the name of Christ. For all the peoples, even those that dwell in other countries, quietly and silently received[2] the gospel of Christ; and those who became confessors cried out under their persecution: This our persecution to-day shall plead[3] on our behalf, [that we be not punished] for having been formerly persecutors [ourselves]. For there were some of them against whom death by the sword was ordered; and there were some of them from whom they took away whatsoever they possessed, and let them go. And the more affliction arose against them, the richer and larger did their congregations become; and with gladness in their hearts did they receive death of every kind. And by ordination to the priesthood, which the apostles themselves had received from our Lord, did their gospel wing its way rapidly into the four quarters of the world. And by mutual visitation they ministered to one another.

Jerusalem received the ordination to the priesthood, as did all the country of Palestine, and the parts occupied by the Samaritans, and the parts occupied by the Philistines, and the country of the Arabians, and of Phœnicia, and the people of Cæsarea, from James, who was ruler and guide in the church of the apostles which was built in Zion.

Alexandria the Great, and Thebais, and the whole of Inner

[1] [Lit. "nod," or "bidding," or "impulse."]
[2] [Lit. "were quiet and silent at."]
[3] [Lit. "be an advocate."]

Egypt, and all the country of Pelusium,[1] and [the country extending] as far as the borders of the Indians, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Mark the evangelist, who was ruler and guide there in the church which he had built, [in which] he also ministered.

India,[2] and all the countries belonging to it and round about it, even to the farthest sea, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Judas Thomas, who was guide and ruler in the church which he had built there, [in which] he also ministered there.

Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, and Galatia, even to Pontus, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who himself laid the foundation of the church there,[3] and was priest and ministered there up to the time when he went up from thence to Rome on account of Simon the sorcerer, who was deluding the people of Rome with his sorceries.

The city of Rome, and all Italy, and Spain, and Britain, and Gaul, together with all the rest of the countries round about them, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who went up from Antioch; and he was ruler and guide there, in the church which he had built there, and in the places round about it.

Ephesus, and Thessalonica, and all Asia, and all the country of the Corinthians, and of all Achaia and the parts round about it, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from John the evangelist, who had leaned upon the bosom of our Lord; who himself built a church there, and ministered in his office of guide which [he held] there.

Nicæa, and Nicomedia, and all the country of Bithynia, and of Inner Galatia,[4] and of the regions round about it,

[1] C. reads "Pentapolis."

[2] A. has "the Indians;" C. "the Ethiopians."

[3] C. adds, "and built a church at Antioch."

[4] [The reading of C. The MS. A. gives what Cureton transcribes as Gothia, which is almost the same as the word rendered "Inner." Possibly this explains the origin of the reading of A. "Galatia" was perhaps accidentally omitted.]

received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Andrew, the brother of Simon Cephas, who was himself guide and ruler in the church which he had built there, and was priest and ministered there.

Byzantium, and all the country of Thrace, and of the parts about it as far as the great river,[1] the boundary which separates from the barbarians, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Luke the apostle, who himself built a church there, and ministered there in his office of ruler and guide which [he held] there.

Edessa, and all the countries round about it which were on all sides of it, and Zoba,[2] and Arabia, and all the north, and the regions round about it, and the south, and all the region on the borders of Mesopotamia, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Addæus the apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles,[3] who himself made disciples there, and built a church there, and was priest and ministered there in his office of guide which [he held] there.

The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians, and of the Armenians, and of the Medians, and of the countries round about Babylon, the Huzites and the Gelæ, as far as the borders of the Indians, and as far as the land[4] of Gog and Magog, and moreover all the countries on all sides, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Aggæus, a maker of silks,[5] the disciple of Addæus the apostle.

The other remaining companions of the apostles, moreover, went to the distant countries of the barbarians; and they made disciples from place to place and passed on; and there they ministered by their preaching; and there occurred their departure out of this world, their disciples after them going on [with the work] down to the present day, nor was any change or addition made by them in their preaching.

[1] C. has "the Danube." [2] Or "Soba," the same as Nisibis.

[3] The number seventy-two may have arisen from the supposition, mentioned in the *Recognitions* and in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, that our Lord chose them in imitation of the seventy-two elders appointed by Moses.

[4] [Or "place."] [5] See note on p. 24.

Luke, moreover, the evangelist had such diligence that he wrote the exploits of the Acts of the Apostles, and the ordinances and laws of the ministry of their priesthood, and whither each one of them went. By his diligence, I say, did Luke write these things, and more than these; and he placed them in the hand of Priscus[1] and Aquilus, his disciples; and they accompanied him up to the day of his death, just as Timothy, and Erastus of Lystra, and Menaus,[2] the first disciples of the apostles, accompanied Paul until he was taken up to the city of Rome because he had withstood Tertullus the orator.

And Nero Cæsar despatched with the sword Simon Cephas in the city of Rome.[3]

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[4]THE TEACHING OF SIMON CEPHAS[5] IN THE CITY OF ROME.

In the third[6] year of Claudius Cæsar, Simon Cephas departed from Antioch to go to Rome. And as he passed on he preached in the [various] countries the word of our Lord. And, when he had nearly arrived there,[7] many had heard [of it] and went out to meet him, and the whole church received him with great joy. And some of the princes of the city, wearers of the imperial headbands,[8]

[1] B. reads "Priscilla," C. "Priscillas." Prisca and Priscilla are the forms in which the name occurs in the New Testament.

[2] Probably the same as Manaen, mentioned in Acts xiii. 1, as associated with Paul at Antioch.

[3] C. adds, "crucifying him on a cross." C. also adds, "Here endeth the treatise of Addæus the apostle."

[4] This is found in the same MS. as the preceding, quoted as A. There is also another copy of it in Cod. Add. 14,609, referred to here as B.

[5] B. reads "the Apostle Peter."

[6] The reading of the MS. is "thirtieth."

[7] From this place to "the light," p. 51, line 22, A. is lost, and the text has been supplied from B.

[8] The MS. gives, "clad in the white."

came to him, that they might see him and hear his word. And, when the whole city was gathered together about him, he stood up to speak to them, and to show them the preaching of his doctrine, of what sort it was. And he began to speak to them thus:—

Men, people of Rome, saints of all Italy, hear ye that which I say to you. This day I preach and proclaim Jesus the Son of God, who came down from heaven, and became man, and was with us as [one of] ourselves, and wrought marvellous mighty-works and signs and wonders before us, and before all the Jews that are in the land of Palestine. And you yourselves also heard of those things which He did: because they came to Him from other countries also, on account of the fame of His healing and the report of the marvellous help He gave;[1] and whosoever drew near to Him was healed by His word. And, inasmuch as He was God, at the same time that He healed He also forgave sins: for His healing, which was open to view, bore witness of His hidden forgiveness, that it was real and trustworthy. For this Jesus did the prophets announce in their mysterious sayings, as they were looking forward to see Him and to hear His word, [as] Him who was with His Father from eternity and from everlasting; God, who was hidden in the height, and appeared in the depth; the glorious Son, who was from His Progenitor, and is to be glorified, together with His Father, and His divine Spirit, and the terrible power of His dominion. And He was crucified of His own will by the hands of sinners, and was taken up to His Father, even as I and my companions saw. And He is about to come again, in His own glory and that of His holy angels, even as we heard Him say to us. For we cannot say anything which was not heard by us from Him, neither do we write in the book of His Gospel anything which He Himself did not say to us: because this word is spoken in order that the mouth of liars may be shut, in the day when men shall give an account of idle words at the place of judgment.

[1] [Lit. "His marvellous helps."]

Moreover, because we were catchers of fish, and not skilled in books, therefore did He also say to us: "I will send you the Spirit, the Paraclete, that He may teach you that which ye know not;" for it is by *His* gift that we speak those things which ye hear. And, further, by it we bring aid to the sick, and healing to the diseased: that by the hearing of His word and by the aid of His power ye may believe in Christ, that He is God, the Son of God; and may be delivered from the service of bondage, and may worship Him and His Father, and glorify His divine Spirit. For when we glorify the Father, we glorify the Son also with Him; and when we worship the Son, we worship the Father also with Him; and when we confess the Spirit, we confess the Father also and the Son: because in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Spirit, were we commanded to baptize those who believe, that they may live for ever.

Flee therefore from the words of the wisdom of this world, in which there is no profit, and draw near to those which are true and faithful, and acceptable before God; whose reward also is laid up in store, and whose recompense standeth [sure]. Now, too,[1] the light has arisen on the creation, and the world has obtained the eyes of the mind, that every man may see and understand that it is not fit that creatures should be worshipped instead of the Creator, nor together with the Creator: because everything which is a creature is [formed to be] a worshipper of its Maker, and is not to be worshipped like its Creator. But this [Being] who came to us is God, the Son of God, in His own nature, notwithstanding that He mingled[2] His Godhead with our manhood, in order that He might renew our man-

[1] [The text A. is resumed after this word. The reading "and now that the light," etc., seems faulty. The ʔ (that) might easily have been occasioned by the ʔ of the word which it precedes.]

[2] The word so rendered is much effaced in B., but it seems to be ܡܟܡܝ, "humbled." [This, however, might require a further change of the text, such as Cureton suggests, so as to give the sense, "He humbled His Godhead *on account of* our manhood," unless we translate "*in* our

hood by the aid of His Godhead. And on this account it is right that we should worship Him, because He is to be worshipped together with His Father, and that we should not worship creatures, who were created for the worship of the Creator. For He is Himself the God of truth and verity; He is Himself from before [all] worlds and creatures; He is Himself the veritable Son, and the glorious fruit[1] which is from the exalted Father.

But ye see the wonderful works which accompany and follow these words. One would not credit it: the time lo! is short since He ascended to His Father, and see how His gospel has winged its flight through the whole creation—that thereby it may be known and believed that He Himself is the Creator of creatures, and that by His bidding creatures subsist. And, whereas ye saw the sun become darkened at His death, ye yourselves also are witnesses. The earth, moreover, quaked when He was slain, and the veil was rent at His death. And concerning these things the governor Pilate also was witness: for he himself sent and made them known to Cæsar, and these things, and more than these, were read before him, and before the princes of your city. And on this account Cæsar was angry against Pilate, because he had unjustly listened to the persuasion of the Jews; and for this reason he sent and took away from him the authority which he had given to him. And this same thing was published and known in all the dominion of the Romans. That, therefore, which Pilate saw and made known to Cæsar and to your honourable senate, the same do I preach and declare, as do also my fellow-apostles. And ye know that Pilate could not have written to the imperial government of that which did not take place and which he had not seen with his own eyes; but that which did take place and was actually done—this it was that he wrote and made known.

manhood"—neither of which renderings seems to give so good a sense as that in the text of A.] Respecting the word "mingled" (ܚܠܛ), which was supposed to countenance the Eutychian heresy, see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* vol. i. p. 81.

[1] [Or "offspring."]

Moreover, the watchers of the sepulchre also were witnesses of those things which took place there: they became as dead men; and, when those watchers were questioned before Pilate, they confessed before him how large a bribe the chief-priests of the Jews had given them, so that they might say that we His disciples had stolen the corpse of Christ. Lo! then, ye have heard many things; and moreover, if ye be not willing to be persuaded by those things which ye have heard, be at least persuaded by the mighty-works which ye see, which are done by His name.

Let not Simon the sorcerer delude you by semblances which are not realities, which he exhibits to you, as to men who have no understanding, who know not how to discern that which they see and hear. Send, therefore, and fetch him to where all your city is assembled together, and choose you some sign for us to do before you; and, whichever ye see do that same sign, it will be your part to believe in it.

And immediately they sent and fetched Simon the sorcerer; and the men who were adherents of his opinion said to him: As a man concerning whom we have confidence that there is power in thee to do anything whatsoever,[1] do thou some sign before us all, and let this Simon the Galilæan, who preaches Christ, see [it]. And, whilst they were thus speaking to him, there happened to be passing along a dead person, a son of one of those who were chiefs and men of note and renown among them. And all of them, as they were assembled together, said to him: Whichever of you shall restore to life this dead person, he is true, and to be believed in and received, and we will all follow him in whatsoever he saith to us. And they said to Simon the sorcerer: Because thou wast here before Simon the Galilæan, and we knew thee before him, exhibit thou first the power which accompanieth thee.

Then Simon reluctantly drew near to the dead person; and they set down the bier before him; and he looked to the right hand and to the left, and gazed up into heaven, saying

[1] From this place to "a gathering-place," p. 55, line 15, the text of A. is lost.

many words: some of them he uttered aloud, and some of them secretly and not aloud. And he delayed a long while, and nothing took place, and nothing was done, and the dead person was [still] lying upon his bier.

And forthwith Simon Cephas drew near boldly towards the dead man, and cried aloud before all the assembly which was standing there: In the name of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews crucified at Jerusalem, and whom we preach, rise up thence. And as soon as the word of Simon was spoken the dead man came to life and rose up from the bier.

And all the people saw [it] and marvelled; and they said to Simon: Christ, whom thou preachest, is true. And many cried out, and said: Let Simon the sorcerer and the deceiver of us all be stoned. But Simon, by reason that every one was running to see the dead man that was come to life, escaped from them from one street to another and from house to house, and fell not into their hands on that day.

But the whole city took hold of Simon Cephas, and they received him gladly and affectionately; and he ceased not from doing signs and wonders in the name of Christ; and many believed in him. Cuprinus,[1] moreover, the father of him that was restored to life, took Simon with him to his house, and entertained him in a suitable manner, while he and all his household believed in Christ, that He is the Son of the living God. And many of the Jews and of the pagans became disciples there. And, when there was great rejoicing at his teaching, he built churches there, in Rome and in the cities round about, and in all the villages of the people of Italy; and he served there [in] the rank of the Superintendence of Rulers twenty-five years.[2]

And after these years Nero Cæsar seized him and shut him up in prison. And he knew that he would crucify him;

[1] Perhaps Cyprianus, which is found written in Syriac in the same manner as the word here.

[2] This is the time usually allotted to Peter's episcopate at Rome, although it is certain that he did not constantly reside there during that period: we find him the year after at Jerusalem.

so he called Ansus,[1] the deacon, and made him bishop in his stead in Rome. And these things did Simon himself speak; and moreover also the rest, the other things which he had [in charge], he commanded Ansus to teach before the people, saying to him: Beside the New Testament and the Old let there not be read before the people[2] anything else,[3] [a thing] which is not right.

And, when Cæsar had commanded that Simon should be crucified with his head downwards, as he himself had requested of Cæsar, and that Paul's head should be taken off, there was great commotion among the people, and bitter distress in all the church, seeing that they were deprived of the sight of the apostles. And Isus the guide arose and took up their bodies by night, and buried them with great honour, and there came to be a gathering-place there for many.

And at that very time, as if by a righteous judgment, Nero abandoned his empire and fled, and there was a cessation for a little while from the persecution which Nero Cæsar had raised against them. And many years after the great coronation[4] of the apostles, who had departed out of the world, while ordination to the priesthood was proceeding both in all Rome and in all Italy, it happened then that there was a great famine in the city of Rome.[5]

Here endeth the teaching of Simon Cephas.

[1] B. has Lainus = *Linus*, the person undoubtedly meant. The error arose chiefly from the ⲗ (L) being taken as the sign of the accusative case, [which may be omitted]. Below, the name appears as Isus, and in the *Acts of Barsamya*, p. 90, we have Anus.

[2] In canon x. (see next note) it is said "in the pulpit of the church;" and in the *Teaching of Addæus* it is said that "a large multitude of the people assembled for the reading of the Old Testament and the New." The inhibition seems, therefore, to refer only to public reading.

[3] This agrees with the tenth canon in the *Teaching of the Apostles*.

[4] That is, their martyrdom. But B. reads "labour."

[5] This abrupt termination seems to indicate that there was something more which followed. The famine referred to seems to be the same as that mentioned in the interpolated passage at the end of the *Acts of Sharbil*.

ACTS OF SHARBIL,[1] WHO WAS A PRIEST OF IDOLS, AND WAS CONVERTED TO THE CONFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHRIST.

In the fifteenth year of the Sovereign Ruler[2] Trajan Cæsar,[3] and in the third year of King Abgar the Seventh,[4] which is the year 416 of the kingdom of Alexander king of the Greeks, and in the priesthood of Sharbil and Barsamya,[5] Trajan Cæsar commanded the governors of the countries under his dominion that sacrifices and libations should be increased in all the cities of their administration, and that those who did not sacrifice should be seized and delivered over to stripes, and to [the tearing of] combs, and to bitter inflictions of all [kinds of] tortures, and should afterwards receive the punishment of the sword.

Now, when the command arrived at the town of Edessa of

[1] There are two MSS. from which this piece is taken. The first is Cod. Add. 14,644, fol. 72 vers. This, which is referred to as A., has been copied exactly, except that a few manifest errors have been corrected and some deficiencies supplied from the other. This latter, quoted as B., is Cod. Add. 14,645. It is some three or four centuries later than the first.—[The Latin *Acta*, to which the Greek *ὑπομνήματα* here employed corresponds, was used to denote the authorized records of judicial proceedings.] They were first taken down by shorthand-writers, called *notarii* (notaries), [*actuarii*,] or [at a later period] *exceptores*, by which name they are mentioned towards the end of this extract; the Greeks called them *ταχυγράφοι*. They were then arranged in proper order by persons called by the Greeks *ὑπομνηματογράφοι*, and by the Romans *Ab Actis*.—The use of *ὑπομνήματα* and other Greek words seems to show that these Acts were originally written in that language.

[2] [*Αὐτοκράτωρ*.]

[3] That is, A.D. 112. But the Greek era commences 311 or 312 B.C., and therefore A.G. 416 would answer to A.D. 105. There appears to be some error in the date.

[4] The king reigning in the fifteenth year of Trajan was Maanu Bar Ajazath, the seventh king of Edessa after Abgar the Black.

[5] It would thus appear that Paganism and Christianity were tolerated together in Edessa at this time, equal honour being attributed to the head of each religious party. Comp. *Teaching of Addæus*, p. 23: "Neither did King Abgar compel any man by force to believe in Christ."

the Parthians, there was a great festival, on the eighth of Nisan, on the third [day] of the week: the whole city was gathered together by the great altar[1] which was in the middle of the town, opposite the Record office,[2] all the gods having been brought together, and decorated, and sitting in honour, both Nebu and Bel together with their fellows. And all the priests were offering incense of spices and libations,[3] and an odour of sweetness was diffusing itself around, and sheep and oxen were being slaughtered, and the sound of the harp and the drum was heard in the whole town. And Sharbil was chief and ruler of all the priests; and he was honoured above all his fellows, and was clad in splendid and magnificent vestments; and a headband embossed with figures of gold was set upon his head; and at the bidding of his word everything that he ordered was done. And Abgar the king, son of the gods, was standing at the head of the people. And they obeyed Sharbil, because he drew nearer to all the gods than any of his fellows, and as being the one who [according to] that which he had heard from the gods returned an answer to every man.

And, while these things were being done by the command of the king, Barsamya, the bishop of the Christians, went up to Sharbil, he and Tiridath the elder and Shalula the deacon; and he said to Sharbil, the high-priest: The King Christ, to whom belong heaven and earth, will demand an account at thy hands of all these souls against whom thou art sinning, and whom thou art misleading, and turning away from the God of verity and of truth to idols [that are] made and deceitful, which are not able to do anything with their hands—moreover also thou hast no pity on thine own soul, which is destitute of the true life of God; and thou declarest to this people that the dumb idols talk with thee; and, as if thou wert listening to

[1] A little before the passage quoted in the last note it is said that this altar was left standing when the altars to Bel and Nebu were thrown down.

[2] Perhaps this is the same as the "Archives" mentioned p. 7.

[3] B. adds, "before the god Zeus."

something from them, thou puttest thine ear near to one and another of them, and sayest to this people: The god Nebu bade me say to you, "On account of your sacrifices and oblations I cause peace in this your country;" and: Bel saith, "I cause great plenty in your land;" and those who hear [this] from thee do not discern that thou art greatly deceiving them—because "they have a mouth and speak not, and they have eyes and see not with them;" it is ye who bear up them, and not they who bear up[1] you, as ye suppose; and it is ye who set tables before them, and not they who feed you. And now be persuaded by me touching that which I say to thee and advise thee. If thou be willing to hearken to me, abandon idols made [with hands], and worship God the Maker [of all things], and His Son Jesus Christ. Do not, because He put on a body and became man and was stretched out on the cross of death, be ashamed of Him and refuse to worship Him: for, all these things which He endured—it was for the salvation of men and for their deliverance [that He endured them]. For this [Being] who put on a body is God, the Son of God, Son of the essence of His Father, and Son of the nature of Him who begat Him: for He is the adorable brightness of His Godhead, and is the glorious manifestation of His majesty, and together with His Father He existed from eternity and from everlasting, His arm, and His right hand, and His power, and His wisdom, and His strength, and the living Spirit which is from Him, the Expiator and Sanctifier of all His worshippers. These [are the] things which Palut taught us, with whom thy venerable self[2] was acquainted; and thou knowest that Palut was the disciple of Addæus the apostle. Abgar the king also, who was older than this Abgar, who himself worshippeth idols as well as thou, he too believed in the King Christ, the

[1] B. adds here: "And in all these things thou hast forgotten God, the Maker of all men, and because of His long-suffering hast exalted thyself against His mercy, and hast not been willing to turn to Him, so that He might turn to thee and deliver thee from this error, in which thou standest."

[2] [Lit. "thy old age."]

Son of Him whom thou callest Lord of all the gods.[1] For it is forbidden to Christians to worship anything that is made, and is a creature, and in its nature is not God: even as *ye* worship idols made by men,[2] who themselves also are made and created. Be persuaded, therefore, by these things which I have said to thee, which things are the belief of the church: for I know that all this population are looking to thee, and I am well assured that, if thou be persuaded, many also will be persuaded with thee.[3]

Sharbil said to him: Very acceptable to me are these thy words which thou hast spoken before me; yea, exceedingly acceptable are they to me. But, as for me, I know that I am outcast from[4] all these things, and there is no longer any remedy for me. And, now that hope is cut off from me, why weariest thou thyself about a man dead and buried,[5] for whose death there is no hope of resuscitation? For I am slain by paganism, and am become a dead man, [the property] of the Evil One: in sacrifices and libations of imposture have I consumed all the days of my life.

And, when Barsamya the bishop heard these things,[6] he fell down before his feet, and said to him: There *is* hope for those who turn, and healing for those that are wounded. I myself will be surety to thee for the abundant mercies of the Son Christ: that He will pardon thee all the sins which thou hast committed against Him, in that thou hast worshipped and honoured His creatures instead of Himself. For that Gracious One, who extended Himself on the cross of death, will not withhold His grace from the souls that comply [with

[1] The Peshito, for Ζεύς in Acts xiv. 12, has "Lord of the gods."

[2] B. has "the work of men's hands."

[3] [B. makes a considerable addition here, which it is hardly necessary to quote, the words being in all probability only an interpolation. Cureton elsewhere remarks: "I have almost invariably found in these Syriac MSS. that the older are the shorter, and that subsequent editors or transcribers felt themselves at liberty to add [to] occasionally or paraphrase the earlier copies which they used"—a remark unhappily of very wide application in regard to early Christian literature.]

[4] [Or "destitute of."] [5] [Lit. "a hidden dead man."]

[6] B. adds, "from Sharbil, his tears flowed and he wept."

His demands] and take refuge in His kindness which has been [displayed] towards us: like as He did towards the robber, [so] is He able to do to thee, and also to those who are like thee.

Sharbil said to him: Thou, like a skilful physician, who [himself] suffers pain from the pain of the afflicted, hast done well in that thou hast been concerned about me. But at present, because it is the festival to-day of this people, of every one [of them], I cannot go down with thee to-day to the church. Depart thou, and go down with honour; and to-morrow at night I will come down to thee: I too have henceforth renounced for myself the gods made [with hands], and I will confess the Lord Christ, the maker of all men.

And the next day Sharbil arose and went down to Barsamya by night, he and Babai his sister; and he was received by the whole church. And he said to them: Offer for me prayer and supplication, that Christ may forgive me all the sins that I have committed against Him in all this long course of years. And, because they were in dread of the persecutors, they arose and gave him the seal of salvation,[1] whilst he confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

And, when all the city had heard that he was gone down to the church, there began to be a consternation among the multitude; and they arose and went down to him, and saw him clad in the fashion of the Christians.[2] And he said to them: May the Son Christ forgive me all the sins that I have committed against you, and all [the instances in] which I made you think that the gods talked with me, whereas they did not talk; and, forasmuch as I have been to you a cause of abomination, may I now be to you a cause of good: in-

[1] B. adds, "of baptism, baptizing him." [The "seal" (σφραγίς) is probably explained by such passages as Eph. iv. 30, that which bore the seal being regarded as the property of him whose seal it was. Thus Gregory Naz. (Orat. 40) speaks of baptism. See Riddle's *Christian Antiqq.* p. 484.]

[2] B. adds, "and he sat and listened to the Scriptures of the church, and the testimonies which are spoken in them, touching the birth and the passion and the resurrection and the ascension of Christ; and, when he saw those that came down to him—"

stead of worshipping, as formerly, idols made [with hands], may ye henceforth worship God the Maker [of all things]. And, when they had heard these things, there remained with him a great congregation of men and of women; and Labu also, and Hafsai, and Barcalba, and Avida, chief persons of the city. [And] they all said to Sharbil: Henceforth we also renounce that which thou hast renounced, and we confess the King Christ, whom thou hast confessed.

But Lysanias,[1] the judge of the country, when he heard[2] that Sharbil had done this,[3] sent by night[4] and carried him off from the church. And there went up with him many [of the] Christians. And he sat down, to hear him and to judge him, before the altar which is in the middle of the town, where he used to sacrifice to the gods. And he said to him: Wherefore hast thou renounced the gods, whom thou didst worship, and to whom thou didst sacrifice, and to whom thou wast made chief of the priests, and lo! dost to-day confess Christ, whom thou didst formerly deny? For see how those Christians, to whom thou art gone [over], renounce not that which they have held,[5] like as thou hast renounced that in which thou wast born. If thou art assured of [the existence of] the gods, how is it that thou hast renounced them this day? But, if on the contrary thou art not assured, as thou declarest concerning them, how is it that thou didst [once] sacrifice to them and worship them?

Sharbil said: When I was blinded in my mind, I worshipped that which I knew not; but to-day, inasmuch as I have obtained the clear eyes of the mind, it is henceforth impossible that I should stumble at carved stones, or that I should

[1] In B., in a passage added further on, he is styled "Lysinas," and in the *Martyrdom of Barsamya*, p. 81, "Lysinus" or "Lucinus." In the *Martyrologium Romanum* he is called "Lysias præses." Tillemont supposes him to be Lusius Quietus. But the time does not agree. The capture of Edessa under this man was in the nineteenth year of Trajan, four years later than the martyrdom.

[2] B. adds, "from the Sharirs of the city."

[3] B. has added several lines here.

[4] B. adds, "the Sharirs of the city."

[5] [Lit. "in which they stand."]

any longer be the cause of stumbling to others. For it is a great disgrace to him whose eyes are open, if he goes and falls into the pit of destruction.

The judge said: Because thou hast been priest of the venerable gods, and hast been partaker of the mystery of those whom the mighty emperors[1] worship, I will have patience with thee, in order that thou mayest be persuaded by me, and not turn away from the service of the gods; but, if on the contrary thou shalt not be persuaded by me, by those same gods whom thou hast renounced I swear that, even as on a man that is a murderer, so will I inflict tortures on thee, and will avenge on thee the wrong done to the gods, whom thou hast rebelled against and renounced, and also the insult which thou hast poured upon them; nor will *I leave* [untried] any kind of tortures which I will not inflict on thee; and, like as thine honour formerly was great, so will I make thine ignominy great this day.

Sharbil said: I too, on my part, am not content that thou shouldest look upon me as formerly, when I worshipped gods made [with hands]; but look thou upon me to-day and question me as a Christian man renouncing idols and confessing the King Christ.

The judge said: How is it that thou art not afraid of the emperors, nor moved to shame by those who are listening to thy trial, that thou sayest, "I am a Christian?" But promise that thou wilt sacrifice to the gods, according to thy former custom, so that thy honour may be great, as formerly —lest I make to tremble at thee all those who have believed like thyself.

Sharbil said: Of the King of kings I am afraid, but at [any] king of earth I tremble not, nor yet at thy threats towards me, which lo! thou utterest against the worshippers of Christ: whom I confessed yesterday, and lo! I am brought to trial for His sake to-day, like as He Himself was brought to trial for the sake of sinners like me.

The judge said: Although thou have no pity on thyself, still I will have pity on thee, and refrain from cutting off

[1] [Lit. "kings:" and so throughout.]

those hands of thine with which thou hast placed incense before the gods, and from stopping with thy blood those ears of thine which have heard their mysteries, and thy tongue which has interpreted and explained to us their secret things. Of those [gods] lo! I am afraid, and I have pity on thee. But, if thou continue thus, those gods be my witnesses that I will have no pity on thee!

Sharbil said: As a man who art afraid of the emperors and tremblest at idols, have thou no pity on me. For, as for me, I know not what thou sayest: therefore also is my mind not shaken or terrified by those things which thou sayest. For by thy judgments shall all they escape from the judgment to come who do not worship that which is not God in its own nature.

The judge said: Let him be scourged with thongs,[1] because he has dared to answer me thus, and has resisted the command of the emperors, and has not appreciated the honour which the gods conferred on him: inasmuch as, lo! he has renounced them.—And he was scourged by ten [men], who laid hold on him, according to the command of the judge.

Sharbil said: Thou art not aware of the scourging of justice in that world which is to come. For thou wilt cease, and thy judgments also will pass away; but justice will not pass away, nor will its retributions come to an end.

The judge[2] said: Thou art so intoxicated with this same Christianity, that thou dost not even know[3] before whom thou art being judged, and by whom it is that thou art being scourged—[even] by those who formerly held thee in honour, and paid adoration to thy priesthood in the gods. Why dost thou hate honour, and love this ignominy? For, although

[1] The Syriac is ܛܘܪܝܣ (*toris*), and is a foreign word, probably the Latin *loris*, which the Syriac translator, not understanding it or not having an equivalent, may have written *loris*, and a subsequent transcriber have written *toris*. It is plain that the later copyist to whom the text B. is due did not know what is meant: for he has omitted the word, and substituted "Sharbil."

[2] B. reads "governor" (ἡγεμών), and so generally in the corresponding places below.

[3] B. reads "discern."

thou speakest contrary to the law, yet I myself cannot turn aside from the laws of the emperors.

Sharbil said: As *thou* takest heed not to depart from the laws of the emperors, and if moreover thou depart [from them] thou knowest what command they will give concerning thee, so do I also take heed not to decline from the law of Him who said, "Thou shalt not worship any image, nor any likeness;" and therefore will I not sacrifice to idols made [with hands]: for long enough was the time in which I sacrificed to them, when I was in ignorance.

The judge said: Bring not upon thee punishment[1] in addition to the punishment which thou hast [already] brought upon thee. Enough is it for thee to have said, "I will not sacrifice:" do not [further] dare to insult the gods, by calling them idols made [with hands]—[gods] whom even the emperors honour.

Sharbil said: But, if on behalf of the emperors, who are far away and not near at hand and not conscious of those who treat their commands with contempt, thou biddest me sacrifice, how is it that on behalf of idols, who lo! are present and are seen, but see not, thou biddest me sacrifice? Why, hereby thou hast declared before all thy attendants[2] that, because they have a mouth and speak not, lo! thou art become a pleader for them: [gods] "to whom their makers shall be like," and "every one that trusteth upon them" [shall be] like thee.

The judge said: It was not for this that thou wast called before me—that, instead of [paying] the honour which is due, thou shouldst despise the emperors. But draw near to the gods and sacrifice, and have pity on thyself, thou self-despiser!

Sharbil said: Why should it be requisite for thee to ask me many questions, after that which I have said to thee: "I will not sacrifice?" Thou hast called me a self-despiser?

[1] [Or "judgment."]

[2] The word used is the Latin "officium" [=officiales, or corpus officialium], which denoted the officers that attended upon presidents and chief magistrates. The equivalent Gk. τάξις is used below, p. 93.

But would that from my childhood I had had this mind, and had thus despised myself,[1] which was perishing!

The judge said: Hang him up, and tear him with combs on his sides.—And while he was being torn he cried aloud and said: [It is] for the sake of Christ, who has secretly caused His light to arise upon the darkness of my mind. And, when he had thus spoken, the judge commanded again that he should be torn with combs on his face.

Sharbil said: It is better that *thou* shouldest inflict tortures upon me for not sacrificing, than that I should be judged *there* for having sacrificed to the work of men's hands.

The judge said: Let his body be bent backwards, and [for this purpose] let straps be tied to his hands and his feet; and, when he has been bent backwards, let him be scourged on his belly.—And they scourged him in this manner, according to the command of the judge. Then he commanded that he should go up to the prison, and that he should [there] be cast into a dark dungeon. And the executioners,[2] and the Christians who had come up with him from the church, carried him, because he was not able to walk upon his feet in consequence of his having been bent backwards. And he was in the gaol many days.

But on the second of Ilul,[3] on the third day of the week, the judge arose and went down to his judgment-hall by night; and the whole body of his attendants was with him; and he commanded the keeper of the prison, and they brought him before him. And the judge said to him: [All] this long while hast thou been in prison: what has been thy determination concerning those things on which thou wast questioned before me? Dost thou consent to minister to the gods according to thy former custom, agreeably to the command of the emperors?

Sharbil said: This has been my determination in the prison, that that with which I began before thee, I will [go on

[1] [Or "soul."]

[2] The Latin "quæstionarii," [those who officiated at a "quæstio," or examination by torture].

[3] *i.e.* Heb. אֱלוּל, from the new moon of September to that of October.

with and] finish even to the last; nor will I play false with my word. For I will not again confess idols, which I have renounced; nor will I renounce the King Christ, whom I have confessed.

The judge said: Hang him up by his right hand, because he has withdrawn it from the gods that he may not again offer incense with it, until his hand with which he ministered to the gods be dislocated, because he persists in this saying of his.—And, while he was suspended by his hand, they asked him and said to him: Dost thou consent to sacrifice to the gods? But he was not able to return them an answer, on account of the dislocation of his arm. And the judge commanded, and they loosed him and took him down. But he was not able to bring his arm up to his side, until the executioners pressed it and brought it up to his side.

The judge said: Put on incense, and go whithersoever thou wilt, and no one shall compel thee to be a priest again. But, if thou wilt not [do so], I will show thee [tortures] bitterer than these.

Sharbil said: [As for] gods that made not the heavens and the earth, may they perish from under these heavens! But thou, menace me not with words of threatening; but, instead of words, show upon me the deeds of threatening, that I hear thee not again making mention of the detestable name of gods!

The judge said: Let him be branded with the brand of bitter fire between his eyes and upon his cheeks.—And the executioners did so, until the smell of the branding reeked forth in the midst of the judgment-hall: but he refused to sacrifice.

Sharbil said: Thou hast heard for thyself from me, when I said to thee "Thou art not aware of the smoke of the roasting of the fire which is prepared for those who, like thee, confess idols made [by hands], and deny the living God, after thy fashion."

The judge said: Who taught thee all these things, that thou shouldest speak before me thus—a man who wast [once] a friend of the gods and an enemy of Christ, whereas lo! thou art become his advocate?

Sharbil said: Christ whom I have confessed, He it is that hath taught me to speak thus. But there needeth not that I should be His advocate, for His own mercies are eloquent advocates for guilty ones like me, and these will avail to plead[1] on my behalf in the day when the eternal sentences shall be [passed].

The judge said: Let him be hanged up, and let him be torn with combs upon his former wounds; also let salt and vinegar be rubbed into the wounds upon his sides. Then he said to him: Renounce not the gods whom thou didst [formerly] confess.

Sharbil said: Have pity on me [and spare me] again from saying that there be gods, and powers, and fates, and nativities. On the contrary, I confess one God, who made the heavens, and the earth, and the seas, and all that is therein; and the Son who is from Him, the King Christ.

The judge said: It is not about this that thou art questioned before me—[viz.:] what is the belief of the Christians which thou hast confessed; but this [is what] I said to thee, "Renounce not those gods to whom thou wast made priest."

Sharbil said: Where is that [vaunted] wisdom of thine and of the emperors of whom thou makest thy boast, that ye worship the work of the hands of the artificers and confess them, whilst the artificers themselves, who made the idols, ye insult by the burdens and imposts which ye lay upon them? The artificer standeth up at thy presence, to do honour to *thee;* and thou standest up in the presence of the work of the artificer, and dost honour it and worship it.

The judge said: Thou art not the man to call [others] to account for[2] these things; but from thyself a strict account is demanded, as to the cause for which thou hast renounced the gods, and refusest to offer them incense like thy fellow-priests.

Sharbil said: Death on account of this is true life: those who confess the King Christ, He also will confess before His glorious Father.

[1] [Lit. "to be a plea."] [2] [Or "thou art not the avenger of."]

The judge said: Let lighted candles[1] be brought, and let them be passed round about his face and about the sides of his wounds. And they did so a long while.

Sharbil said: It is well that thou burnest me with this fire, that [so] I may be delivered from "that fire which is not quenched, and the worm that dieth not," which is threatened to those[2] who worship things made instead of the Maker: for it is forbidden to the Christians to honour or worship anything except the nature of Him who is God Most High. For that which is made and is created is [designed to be] a worshipper of its Maker, and is not [itself] to be worshipped along with its Creator, as thou supposest.

The governor said: It is not this for which the emperors have ordered me to demand an account at thy hands, whether there be judgment and the rendering of an account after the death of men; nor yet about *this* do I care, whether that which is made is to be honoured or not to be honoured. What the emperors have commanded *me* is this: that, whosoever will not sacrifice to the gods and offer incense to them, I should employ against him stripes, and combs, and sharp swords.

Sharbil said: The kings of this world are conscious of this world only; but the King of all kings, He hath revealed and shown to us that there is another world, and a judgment in reserve, in which a recompense will be made, on the one hand to those who have served God, and on the other to those who have not served Him nor confessed Him. Therefore do I cry aloud, that I will not again sacrifice to idols, nor will I offer oblations to devils, nor will I do honour to demons!

The judge said: Let nails of iron be driven in between the eyes of the insolent [fellow], and let him go to that world which he is looking forward to, like a fanatic[3] [as he

[1] [Lit. "candles of fire."]

[2] The passage from this place to "in the eyes," below, is lost in A., and supplied from B.

[3] Or "dealer in fables," if the word employed here, which is a foreign one, be the Latin "fabularius," which is not certain.

is]. And the executioners did so, the sound of the driving in of the nails being heard as they were being driven in sharply.

Sharbil said: Thou hast driven in nails between my eyes, even as nails were driven into the hands of the glorious Architect of the creation, and by reason of this did all orders of the creation tremble and quake at that season. For these tortures which lo! thou art inflicting on me are [as] nothing in view of that judgment which is to come. For [as for] those "whose ways are always firm," because "they have not the judgment of God before their eyes,"[1] and [who] on this account do not even confess that God exists—neither will He confess them.

The judge said: *Thou* sayest in words that there is a judgment; but I will show thee in deeds: so that, instead of [fearing] that judgment which is to come, thou mayest tremble and be afraid of this one which is before thine eyes, in which lo! thou art involved, and not multiply thy speech before me.

Sharbil said: Whosoever is resolved to set God before his eyes in secret, God will also be at his right hand; and [therefore] I too am not afraid of thy threats of tortures, with which thou dost menace me and seek to make me afraid.

The judge said: Let Christ, whom thou hast confessed, deliver thee from all the tortures which I have inflicted on thee, and am about further to inflict on thee; and let Him show His deliverance towards thee openly, and save thee out of my hands.

Sharbil said: This is the true deliverance of Christ [imparted] to me—this secret power which He has given me to endure all the tortures thou art inflicting on me, and whatsoever it is settled in thy mind still further to inflict upon me; and, although thou hast plainly seen [it to be] so, thou hast refused to credit my word.

The judge said: Take him away from before me, and let him be hanged upon a beam the contrary way, head downwards; and let him be beaten with whips while he is hang-

[1] [Ps. x. 5.]

ing.—And the executioners did so to him, at the door of the judgment-hall.

Then the governor commanded, and they brought him in before him. And he said to him: Sacrifice to the gods, and do the will of the emperors, thou priest that hatest honour and lovest ignominy instead!

Sharbil said: Why dost thou again repeat thy words, and command me to sacrifice, after the many [times] that thou hast heard from me that I will not sacrifice again? For it is not any *compulsion* on the part of the Christians that has kept me back from sacrifices, but the truth they hold: this it is that has delivered me from the error of paganism.

The judge said: Let him be put into a chest[1] of iron like a murderer, and let him be scourged with thongs like a malefactor.—And the executioners did so, until there remained not a sound place on him.

Sharbil said: [As for] these tortures, which thou supposest to be bitter, out of the midst of their bitterness will spring up for me fountains of deliverance and mercy in the day of the eternal sentences.

The governor said: Let small round pieces of wood be placed between the fingers of his hands,[2] and let these be squeezed upon them vehemently.[3]—And they did so to him, until the blood came out from under the nails of his fingers.

Sharbil said: If thine eye be not [yet] satisfied with the tortures of the body, add still further to its tortures whatsoever thou wilt.

The judge said: Let the fingers of his hands be loosed, and make him sit upon the ground; and bind his hands upon

[1] [So Cureton. Dr. Payne Smith remarks: "Cureton's 'chest' is a guess from ܩܐܒܘܬܐ. The only sense of ܩܒܐ with which I am acquainted is *cadus*, a cask." The word occurs again in the *Martyrdom of Habib*. In both places it seems to refer to some contrivance for *holding fast* the person to be scourged. The root appears to be ܩܒܐ, *custodivit*, *retinuit* (Castel).]

[2] The martyr Minias, about A.D. 240, had the same [?] torture inflicted on him: "ligneis verubus præacutis sub ungues ejus infixis, omnes digitos ejus præcepit pertundi." See Surius, *Sanctt. Vit.*

[3] [Or "bitterly."]

his knees, and thrust a piece of wood under his knees, and let it pass over the bands of his hands, and hang him up by his feet, [thus] bent, head downwards; and let him be scourged with thongs.—And they did so to him.

Sharbil said: They cannot conquer who fight against God, nor may they be overcome whose confidence is God; and therefore do I say, that "neither fire nor sword, nor death nor life, nor height nor depth, can separate my heart from the love of God, which is in our Lord Jesus Christ."

The judge said: Make hot a ball of lead and of brass, and place it under his armpits.—And they did so, until his ribs began to be seen.

Sharbil said: The tortures thou dost inflict upon me are too little for thy rage against me—unless thy rage were little and thy tortures were great.

The judge said: Thou wilt not hurry me on by these things which thou sayest; for I have room in my mind[1] to bear long [with thee], and to behold every evil and shocking and bitter thing which[2] I shall exhibit in the torment of thy body, because thou wilt not consent to sacrifice to the gods whom thou didst [formerly] worship.

Sharbil said: [Even] those things which I have said and repeated before thee, thou in thine unbelief knowest not how to hear: now, [then], supposest thou that thou knowest those things which are in my mind?

The judge said: The answers which thou givest will not help thee, but will [rather] multiply upon thee inflictions manifold.

Sharbil said: If the several stories of thy several gods are by thee accepted as true, [yet] is it matter of shame to us to tell of what sort they are. For one had intercourse with boys, which is not right; and another fell in love with a maiden, who fled for refuge into a tree, as your shameful stories tell.

The judge said: This [fellow], who was formerly a respecter of the gods, but has now turned to insult them and

[1] Here a few lines have been torn out of A., and are supplied from B.

[2] ["Which" is not in the printed text.]

has not been afraid, and has also despised the command of the emperors and has not trembled—set him to stand upon a gridiron[1] heated with fire.—And the executioners did so, until the under part of his feet was burnt off.

Sharbil said: If thy rage is excited at [the mention of] the abominable and obscene tales of thy gods, how much more does it become thee to be ashamed of their acts! For lo! if a person were to do what one of thy gods did, and they were to bring him before thee, thou wouldest pass sentence of death upon him.

The judge said: This day will I bring thee to account for thy blasphemy against the gods, and thine audacity in insulting also the emperors; nor will I leave thee alone until thou offer incense to them, according to thy former custom.

Sharbil said: Stand by thy threats, then, and speak not falsely; and show towards me in deeds the authority of the emperors which they have given thee; and do not thyself bring reproach on the emperors with thy falsehood, and be thyself also despised in the eyes of thine attendants!

The judge said: Thy blasphemy against the gods and thine audacity towards the emperors have brought upon thee these tortures which thou art undergoing; and, if thou add further to thine audacity, there shall be further added to thee inflictions bitterer than these.

Sharbil said: Thou hast authority, as judge: do whatsoever thou wilt, and show no pity.

The judge said: How can he that hath had no pity on his own body, so as to avoid suffering in it these tortures, be afraid or ashamed of not obeying the command of the emperors?

Sharbil said: Thou hast well said that I am not ashamed: because near at hand is He that justifieth me, and my soul is caught up in rapture towards Him. For, whereas I

[1] The word used looks like a corruption of the Latin *craticula*. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1, uses the Gk. word for this (τήγανον) in describing the martyrdom of Attalus, who "was set in the τήγανον, and scorched all over, till the savour of his burnt flesh ascended from his body."

[aforetime] provoked Him to anger by the sacrifices of idols, I am this day pacifying Him by the inflictions [I endure] in my person: for my soul is a captive to God who became man.

The judge said: It is a captive, then, that I am questioning, and a madman without sense; and with a dead man who is burnt, lo! am I talking.

Sharbil said: If thou art assured that I am mad, question me no further: for it is a madman that is being questioned; nay, rather, I am a dead man who is burnt, as thou hast said.

The judge said: How shall I count thee a dead man, when lo! thou hast cried aloud, "I will not sacrifice?"

Sharbil said: I myself, too, know not how to return thee an answer, since thou hast called me a dead man and [yet] turnest to question me again as if [I were] alive.

The judge said: Well have I called thee a dead man, because thy feet are burnt and thou carest not, and thy face is scorched and thou holdest thy peace, and nails are driven in between thine eyes and thou takest no account of it, and thy ribs are seen between the [wounds inflicted by the] combs and thou insultest the emperors, and thy whole body is mangled and maimed with stripes and thou blasphemest against the gods; and, because thou hatest thy body, lo! thou sayest whatsoever pleaseth thee.

Sharbil said: If thou callest *me* audacious because I have endured these things, it is fit that thou, who hast inflicted them upon me, shouldest be called a murderer in thy acts and a blasphemer in thy words.

The judge said: Lo! thou hast insulted the emperors, and likewise the gods; and lo! thou [now] insultest me also, in order that I may pronounce sentence of death upon thee quickly. But instead of this, which thou lookest for, I am prepared yet further to inflict upon thee bitter and severe tortures.

Sharbil said: Thou knowest what I have said to thee many times: instead of denunciations of threatening, proceed to show upon me the performance of the threat, that thou mayest be known to do the will of the emperors.

The judge said: Let him be torn with combs upon his

legs and upon the sides of his thighs.—And the executioners did so, until his blood flowed and ran down upon the ground.

Sharbil said: Thou hast well done in treating me thus: because I have heard that one of the teachers of the church hath said, "Scars [are] on my body, that I may come to the resurrection from the place of the dead." Me too, who was a dead man out of sight, lo! thine inflictions bring to life again.

The judge said: Let him be torn with combs on his face, since he is not ashamed of the nails which are driven in between his eyes. And they tore him with combs upon his cheeks, and between the nails which were driven into them.

Sharbil said: I will not obey the emperors, who command that to be worshipped and honoured which is not of the nature of God, and is not God in its nature, but is the work of him that made it.

The judge said: Like as the emperors worship, so also worship thou; and that honour which the judges render, do thou render also.

Sharbil said: Even though *I* insult that which is the work of men and has no perception and no feeling of anything, [yet] do not *thou* insult God, the Maker of all, nor worship along with Him that which is not of Him, and is foreign to His nature.

The judge said: Does this your doctrine so teach you, that you should insult the very luminaries which give light to all the regions of the earth?

Sharbil said: Although it is not enjoined upon us to insult them, yet it is enjoined upon us not to worship them nor honour them, seeing that they are things made: for this were an insufferable[1] wrong, that a thing made should be worshipped along with its Maker; and it is an insult to the Maker that His creatures should be honoured along with Himself.

The judge said: Christ whom thou confessest was hanged on a tree; and on a tree will I hang thee, like thy Master.—And they hanged him on a tree[2] a long while.

[1] [Or "bitter."]

[2] [Or "beam."]

Sharbil said: [As for] Christ, whom lo! thou mockest—see how thy many gods were unable to stand before Him: for lo! they are despised and rejected, and are made a laughing-stock and a jest by those who used formerly to worship them.

The judge said: How is it that thou renouncest the gods, and confessest Christ, who was hanged on a tree?

Sharbil said: This cross of Christ is the great boast of the Christians, since it is by this that the deliverance of salvation has come to all His worshippers, and by this that they have had their eyes enlightened, so as not to worship creatures along with the Creator.

The governor said: Let thy boasting of the cross be kept within thy own mind, and let incense be offered by thy hands to the gods.

Sharbil said: Those who have been delivered by the cross cannot any longer worship and serve the idols of error made [with hands]: for creature cannot worship creature, because it is itself also [designed to be] a worshipper of Him who made it; and that it should be worshipped along with its Maker is an insult to its Maker, as I have said before.

The governor said: Leave alone thy books which have taught thee [to speak] thus, and perform the command of the emperors, that thou die not by the emperors' law.

But Sharbil said: Is this, then, the justice of the emperors, in whom thou takest such pride, that we should leave alone the law of God and keep their laws?

The governor said: The citation of the books in which thou believest, and from which thou hast quoted—it is this which has brought upon thee these afflictions: for, if thou hadst offered incense to the gods, great would have been thine honour, like as it was formerly, as priest of the gods.

Sharbil said: To thine unbelieving heart these things seem as if they were afflictions; but to the true heart "affliction imparts patience, and from it [comes] also experience, and from experience likewise the hope",[1] of the confessor.[2]

The governor said: Hang him up and tear him with combs upon his former wounds.—And, from the fury with

[1] [Rom. v. 4.] [2] [Lit. "of confessorship."]

which the judge urged on the executioners, his very bowels were almost seen. And, lest he should die under the combs and escape from still further tortures, he gave orders and they took him down.

And, when the judge saw that he was become silent and was not able to return him any further answer, he refrained from him a little while, until he began to revive.

Sharbil said: Why hast thou had pity upon me for even this little time, and kept me back from the gain of a confessor's death?[1]

The governor said: I have not had pity on thee at all in refraining for a little while: thy silence it was that made me pause a little; and, if I had power [to go] beyond the law of the emperors, I should like to lay [other] tortures upon thee, so as to be more fully avenged on thee for thine insult toward the gods: for in despising me thou hast despised the gods; and I, on my part, have borne with thee and tortured thee thus, as a man who so deserves [at my hands].

And the judge gave orders, and suddenly the curtain[2] fell before him for a short time; and he settled and drew up the sentence[3] which he should pronounce against him publicly.

And suddenly the curtain was drawn back again; and the judge cried aloud and said: As regards this Sharbil, who was formerly priest of the gods, but has turned this day and renounced the gods, and has cried aloud "I am a Christian," and has not trembled at the gods, but has insulted them; and, further, has not been afraid of the emperors [and] their command; and, though I have bidden him sacrifice to the gods according to his former custom, has not sacrificed, but has treated them with the greatest insult: I have looked [into the matter] and decided, that towards a man who doeth these things, even though he were [now] to sacrifice, it is not fit that any mercy should be shown; and that it is not fit that he should [any longer] behold

[1] [Lit. "of confessorship."]

[2] The Latin "velum," or rather its plur. "vela."

[3] The Gk. *ἀπόφασις*.

the sun of his lords, because he has scorned their laws. I give sentence that, according to the law of the emperors, a strap [1] be thrust into the mouth of the insulter, as into the mouth of a murderer, and that he depart outside of the city of the emperors with haste, as one who has insulted the lords of the city and the gods who hold authority over it. I give sentence that he be sawn with a saw of wood, and that, when he is near to die, then his head be taken off with the sword of the headsmen.

And forthwith a strap was thrust into his mouth with all speed, and the executioners hurried him off, and made him run quickly upon his burnt feet, and took him away outside of the city, a crowd of people running after him. For they had been standing looking on at his trial all day, and wondering that he did not suffer under his afflictions: for his countenance, which was cheerful, testified to the joy of his heart. And, when the executioners arrived at the place where he was to receive the punishment of death, the people of the city were with them, that they might see whether they did according as the judge had commanded, and hear what Sharbil might say at that season, so that they might inform the judge of the country.

And they offered him some wine to drink, according to the custom of murderers to drink. But he said to them: I will not drink, because I wish to feel the saw with which ye saw me, and the sword which ye pass over my neck; but instead of this wine, which will not be of any use to me, give me a little time to pray, while ye stand. And he stood up, and looked toward the east,[2] and lifted up his voice and said: Forgive me, Christ, all the sins I have committed against Thee, and all [the instances in] which I have provoked Thee to anger by the polluted sacrifices of dead idols; and have pity on me and save me,[3] and deliver me from the judgment to come; and be merciful to me, as Thou wast

[1] The expression χαλινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν is used similarly in the life of Euthymus in *Eccl. Græc. Monumenta*, vol. ii. p. 240.

[2] [See *Teaching of the Apostles*, Ordinance 1, p. 38.]

[3] [Lit. "have pity on my salvation."]

merciful to the robber; and receive me like the penitents who have been converted and have turned to Thee, as Thou also hast turned to them; and, whereas I have entered into Thy vineyard, [though] at the eleventh hour, instead of judgment, deliver me from justice: let Thy death, which was for the sake of sinners, restore to life again my slain body in the day of Thy coming. And, when the Sharirs of the city heard these things, they were very angry with the executioners for having given him leave to pray.

And, while the nails were [still] remaining which had been driven in between his eyes, and his ribs were seen between the [wounds of the] combs, and while from the burning on his sides and the soles of his feet, which were scorched and burnt, and from the [wounds of the] combs on his face, and on his sides, and on his thighs, and on his legs, the blood was flowing and running down, they brought carpenters' instruments, and thrust him into a wooden vice, and tightened it upon him until the bones of his joints creaked with the pressure; then they put upon him a saw of iron, and began sawing him asunder; and, when he was just about to die, because the saw had reached to his mouth, they smote him with the sword and took off his head, while he was still squeezed down in the vice.

And Babai his sister drew near and spread out her skirt and caught his blood; and she said to him: May my spirit be united with thy spirit in the presence of Christ, whom thou hast known and believed.

And the Sharirs of the city ran and came and informed the judge of the things which Sharbil had uttered in his prayer, and how his sister had caught his blood. And the judge commanded them to return and give orders to the executioners that, on the spot where she had caught the blood of her brother, she also should receive the punishment of death. And the executioners laid hold on her, and each one of them severally put her to torture; and, with her brother's blood upon her, her soul took its flight from her, and they mingled her blood with his. And, when the executioners were entered into the city, the brethren and

young men[1] ran and stole away their two corpses; and they laid them in the burial-place of the father of Abshelama the bishop, on the fifth of Ilul, the eve [of the Sabbath].

I wrote these Acts on paper—I, Marinus, and Anatolus, the notaries; and we placed them in the archives of the city, where the papers of the kings are placed.[2]

[This Barsamya,[3] the bishop, made a disciple of Sharbil the priest. And he lived in the days of Binus,[4] bishop of Rome; in whose days the whole population of Rome assembled together, and cried out to the prætor[5] of their city, and said to him: There are too many strangers in this our city, and these cause famine and dearness of everything: but we beseech thee to command them to depart out of the city. And, when he had commanded them to depart out of the city, these strangers assembled themselves together, and said to the prætor: We beseech thee, my lord, command also that the bones of our dead may depart with us. And he commanded them to take the bones of their dead, and to depart. And all the strangers assembled themselves together to take the bones of Simon Cephas and of Paul, the apostles; but the people of Rome said to them: We will not give you the bones of the apostles. And the strangers said to them: Learn ye and understand that Simon, who is called Cephas, is of Bethsaida of Galilee, and Paul the apostle is of Tarsus, a city of Cilicia. And, when the people of Rome knew that this matter was so, then they let them

[1] By a transposition of letters, B. reads "laics."

[2] B. has several lines here in addition.

[3] The passage hence to the end is evidently a later addition by a person unacquainted with chronology: for it is stated at the beginning of these Acts that the transactions took place in the fifteenth year of Trajan, A.D. 112; but Fabianus (see next note) was not made bishop of Rome till the reign of Maximinus Thrax, about the year 236.

[4] B. reads "Fabianus:" in A. the first syllable, or rather letter, has been dropped.—The mention of Fabianus probably arose from the fact of his having instituted notaries for the express purpose of searching for and collecting the Acts of Martyrs.

[5] [The Greek ἔπαρχος.]

alone. And, when they had taken them up and were removing them from their places, immediately there was a great earthquake, and the buildings of the city were on the point of falling down, and [the city] was near being overthrown. And, when the people of Rome saw it, they turned and besought the strangers to remain in their city, and that the bones might be laid in their places [again]. And, when the bones of the apostles were returned to their places, there was quietness, and the earthquakes ceased, and the winds became still, and the air became bright, and the whole city became cheerful. And, when the Jews and pagans saw it, they also ran and fell at the feet of Fabianus, the bishop of their city, the Jews crying out: We confess Christ, whom we crucified: He is the Son of the living God, of whom the prophets spoke in their mysteries. And the pagans also cried out and said to him: We renounce idols and carved images, which are of no use, and we believe in Jesus the King, the Son of God, who has come and is to come again. And, whatever other doctrines there were in Rome and in all Italy, [the followers of] these also renounced their doctrines, like as the pagans had renounced theirs, and confessed the gospel of the apostles, which was preached in the church.]

[Here] end the Acts of Sharbil the confessor.

FURTHER, THE MARTYRDOM OF BARSAMYA,[1] THE BISHOP OF THE BLESSED CITY EDESSA.

In the year four hundred and sixteen of the kingdom of the Greeks, that is the fifteenth year of the reign of the sovereign ruler, our lord, Trajan Cæsar, in the consulship of Commodus and Cyrillus,[2] in the month Ilul, on the fifth day of the month,

[1] This is taken from the MS. cited as B. in the *Acts of Sharbil*. There is an Armenian version or extract of this still in existence: see Dr. Alishan's letter referred to on p. 35.

[2] This is a mistake for Cerealis, and the consulate meant must be that

the day after Lysinus,[1] the judge of the country, had heard [the case of] Sharbil the priest; as the judge was sitting in his judgment-hall, the Sharirs of the city came before him and said to him: We give information before thine Excellency concerning Barsamya, the leader of the Christians, that he went up to Sharbil, the priest, as he was standing and ministering before the venerable gods, and sent and called him to him secretly, and spoke to him, [quoting] from the books in which he reads in the church where their congregation meets, and recited to him the belief of the Christians, and said to him, "It is not right for thee to worship many gods, but [only] one God, and His Son Jesus Christ"—until he made him a disciple, and induced him to renounce the gods whom he had formerly worshipped; and by means of Sharbil himself also many have become disciples, and are gone down to the church, and lo! this day they confess Christ; and even Avida, and Nebo,[2] and Barcalba, and Hafsai, honourable and chief persons of the city, have yielded to Sharbil in this. We, accordingly, as Sharirs of the city, make [this] known before thine Excellency, in order that we may not receive punishment as offenders for not having declared before thine Excellency the things which were spoken in secret to Sharbil by Barsamya the guide of the church. Thine Excellency now knoweth what it is right to command in respect of this said matter.

And, immediately that the judge heard these things, he sent the Sharirs of the city, and some of his attendants with them, to go down to the church and bring up Barsamya from the church. And they led him and brought him up to the judgment-hall of the judge; and there went up many Christians with him, saying: We also will die with Barsamya, because we too are of one mind with him in respect to the doctrine of which he made Sharbil a disciple, and in

of Commodus Verus and Tutilius Cerealis, which was in the ninth (not fifteenth) year of Trajan, which agrees with the 416th year of the Greeks, or A.D. 105.

[1] See note on p. 61.

[2] Called Labu at p. 61.

all that he spoke to him, and in all [the instruction] that Sharbil received from him, so that he was persuaded by him, and died for the sake of that which he heard from him.

And the Sharirs of the city came, and said to the judge: Barsamya, as thine Excellency commanded, lo! is standing at the door of the judgment-hall of thy Lordship;[1] and honourable chief-persons of the city, who became disciples along with Sharbil, lo! are standing by Barsamya, and crying out, "We will all die with Barsamya, who is our teacher and guide."

And, when the judge heard those things which the Sharirs of the city had told him, he commanded them to go out and write down the names of the persons who were crying out, "We will die with Barsamya." And, when they went out to write down [the names of] these persons, those who so cried out were too many for them, and they were not able to write down their names, because they were so many: for the cry kept coming to them from all sides, that they "would die for Christ's sake along with Barsamya."

And, when the tumult of the crowd became great, the Sharirs of the city turned back, and came in to the judge, and said to him: We are not able to write down the names of the persons who are crying aloud outside, because they are too many to be numbered. And the judge commanded that Barsamya should be taken up to the prison, so that the crowd might be dispersed which was collected together about him, lest through the tumult of the multitude there should be some mischief in the city. And, when he went up to the gaol, those who had become disciples along with Sharbil continued with him.

And after many days were passed the judge rose up in the morning and went down to his judgment-hall, in order that he might hear [the case of] Barsamya. And the judge commanded, and they brought him from the prison; and he came in and stood before him. The officers said: Lo, he standeth before thine Excellency.

The judge said: Art thou Barsamya, who hast been made

[1] [Lit. "authority."]

ruler and guide of the people of the Christians, and didst make a disciple of Sharbil, who was chief-priest of the gods, and used to worship them?

Barsamya said: It is I who have done this, and I do not deny it; and I am prepared to die for the truth of this.

The judge said: How is it that thou wast not afraid of the command of the emperors, [so] that, when the emperors commanded that every one should sacrifice, thou didst induce Sharbil, when he was standing and sacrificing to the gods and offering incense to them, to deny that which he had confessed, and confess Christ whom he had denied?

Barsamya said: I was assuredly[1] made a shepherd of men, not for the sake of those only who are found, but also for the sake of those who have strayed from the fold of truth, and become food for the wolves of paganism; and, had I not sought to make Sharbil a disciple, at my hands would his blood have been required; and, if he had not listened to me, I should have been innocent of his blood.

The judge said: Now, therefore, since thou hast confessed that it was thou that madest Sharbil a disciple, at thy hands will I require his death; and on this account it is right that thou rather than he shouldest be condemned before me, because by thy hands he has died the horrible deaths of grievous tortures for having abandoned the command of the emperors and obeyed thy words.

Barsamya said: Not to my words did Sharbil become a disciple, but to the word of God which He spoke: "Thou shalt not worship images and the likenesses of men." And it is not I alone that am content to die the death of Sharbil for his confession of Christ, but also all the Christians, members of the church, are likewise eager for this, because they know that they will secure their salvation before God thereby.

The judge said: Answer me not in this manner, like Sharbil thy disciple, lest thine own torments be worse than his; but promise that thou wilt sacrifice before the gods on his behalf.

Barsamya said: Sharbil, who knew not God, I taught to

[1] [See note 3 on p. 15.]

know [Him]: and dost thou bid *me*, who have known God from my youth, to renounce God? God forbid that I should do this thing!

The judge said: Ye have made the whole creation disciples of the teaching of Christ; and lo! they renounce the many gods whom the many worshipped. Give up this way of thinking,[1] lest I make those who are near tremble at thee as they behold thee to-day, and those also that are afar off as they hear of the torments to which thou art condemned.

Barsamya said: If God is the help of those who pray to Him, who is he that can resist them? Or what is the power that can prevail against them? Or thine own threats—what can they do to them: to men who, before thou give commandment concerning them that they shall die, have their death [already] set before their eyes, and are expecting it every day?

The judge said: Bring not the subject of Christ before my judgment-seat; but, instead of this, obey the command of the emperors, who command to sacrifice to the gods.

Barsamya said: Even though we should not lay the subject of Christ before thee, [yet] the sufferings of Christ are portrayed indelibly[2] in the worshippers of Christ; and, even more than thou hearkenest to the commands of the emperors, do we Christians hearken to the commands of Christ the King of kings.

The judge said: Lo! thou hast obeyed Christ and worshipped him up to this day: henceforth obey the emperors, and worship the gods whom the emperors worship.

Barsamya said: How canst thou bid me renounce that in which I was born? when lo! thou didst exact [punishment] for this at the hand of Sharbil, and saidst to him: Why hast thou renounced the paganism in which thou wast born, and confessed Christianity to which thou wast a stranger? Lo! even before I came into thy presence thou didst thyself give testimony [on the matter] beforehand, and saidst to Sharbil: The Christians, to whom thou art gone [over], do not renounce that in which they were born, but continue

[1] [Lit. "this mind."]

[2] [Lit. "portrayed and fixed."]

in it. Abide, therefore, by the word, which thou hast spoken.

The judge said: Let Barsamya be scourged, because he has rebelled against the command of the emperors, and has caused those also who were obedient to the emperors to rebel with him.

And, when he had been scourged by five [men], he said to him: Reject not the command of the emperors, nor insult the emperors' gods.

Barsamya said: Thy mind is greatly blinded, O judge, and so also is that of the emperors who gave thee authority; nor are the things that are manifest seen by you; nor do ye perceive that lo! the whole creation worships Christ; and thou sayest to me, Do not worship Him, as if I alone worshipped Him—Him whom the watchers[1] above worship on high.

The judge said: But if *ye* have taught *men* to worship Christ, who is it that has persuaded those above to worship Christ?

Barsamya said: Those above have themselves preached, and have taught those below concerning the living worship of the King Christ, seeing that they worship Him, and His Father, together with His divine Spirit.[2]

The judge said: Give up these things which your writings teach you, and which ye teach also to others, and obey those things which the emperors have commanded, and spurn not their laws—lest ye be spurned by means of the sword from the light of this venerable sun.

Barsamya said: The light which passeth away and abideth not is not the true light, but is [only] the similitude of that true light, to whose beams darkness cometh not near, which is reserved and standeth fast for the true worshippers of Christ.

The judge said: Speak not before me of anything [else]

[1] [Comp. Dan. iv. 13. This designation was given to angels after the captivity, in which the Jews had become familiar with the doctrine of tutelary deities.]

[2] [Lit. "the Spirit of His Godhead."]

instead of that about which I have asked thee, lest I dismiss thee from life to death, for denying this light which is seen and confessing that which is not seen.

Barsamya said: I cannot leave alone that about which thou askest me, and speak of that about which thou dost not ask me. It was thou that spakest to me about the light of the sun, and I said before thee that there is a light on high which surpasses in its brightness that of the sun which thou dost worship and honour. For an account will be required of thee for worshipping thy fellow[-creature] instead of God thy Creator.

The judge said: Do not insult the very sun, the light of creatures, nor set thou at nought the command of the emperors, nor contentiously resist the lords of the country, who have authority in it.

Barsamya said: Of what avail is the light of the sun to a blind man that cannot see it? For without the eyes of the body, [we know], it is not possible for its beams to be seen. [So] that by this thou mayest know that it is the work of God, forasmuch as it has no power [of its own] to show its light to the sightless.

The judge said: When I have tortured thee as thou deservest, then will I write word about thee to the Imperial government, [reporting] what insult thou hast offered to the gods, in that thou madest a disciple of Sharbil the priest, one who honoured the gods, and that ye despise the laws of the emperors, and that ye make no account of the judges of the countries, and live like barbarians, [though] under the authority of the Romans.

Barsamya said: Thou dost not terrify me by these things which thou sayest. It is true, I am not in the presence of the emperors to-day; yet lo! before the authority which the emperors have given thee I am now standing, and I am brought to trial, because I said, I will not renounce God, to whom the heavens and the earth belong, nor His Son Jesus Christ, the King of all the earth.

The judge said: If thou art indeed assured of this, that thou art standing and being tried before the authority of

the emperors, obey their commands, and rebel not against their laws, lest like a rebel thou receive the punishment of death.

Barsamya said: But if those who rebel against the emperors, [even] when they justly rebel, are deserving of death, as thou sayest; for those who rebel against God, the King of kings, even the punishment of death by the sword is too little.

The judge said: It was not that thou shouldest expound in my judgment-hall that thou wast brought in before me, because the trial on which thou standest has but little concern with expounding, but much concern with the punishment of death, for those who insult the emperors and comply not with their laws.

Barsamya said: Because God is not before your eyes, and ye refuse to hear the word of God; and graven images that are of no use, "which have a mouth and speak not," are accounted by you as though they spake, because your understanding is blinded by the darkness of paganism in which ye stand—

The judge [interrupting] said: Leave off those things thou art saying, for they will not help thee at all, and worship the gods, before the bitter [tearings of] combs and harsh tortures come upon thee.

Barsamya said: Do thou [too] leave off the many questions which lo! thou askest me, and [at once] give command for the stripes and the combs with which thou dost menace me: for thy words will not help thee so much as thy inflictions will help me.

The judge said: Let Barsamya be hanged up and torn with combs.

And at that very moment there came to him letters from Alusis[1] the chief proconsul, father of emperors.[2] And he commanded, and they took down Barsamya, and he was not torn with combs; and they took him outside of the hall of judgment.

[1] This seems to be *Lusius* Quietus, Trajan's general in the East at this time.

[2] [Or "kings."]

And the judge commanded that the nobles, and the chief persons, and the princes, and the honourable persons of the city, should come before him, that they might hear what was the order that was issued by the emperors, by the hand of the proconsuls, the rulers of the countries under the authority of the Romans. And it was found that the emperors had written by the hand of the proconsuls to the judges of the countries:[1] "Since our Majesty commanded that there should be a persecution against the people of the Christians, we have heard and learned, from the Sharirs whom we have in the countries under the dominion of our Majesty, that the people of the Christians are persons who eschew murder, and sorcery, and adultery, and theft, and bribery and fraud, and those things for which the laws of our Majesty also exact punishment from those who commit them. We, therefore, in our impartial justice, have commanded that on account of these things the persecution of the sword shall cease from them, and that there shall be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom and no man hindering them. It is not, however, towards them that we show clemency, but towards their laws, agreeing as they do with the laws of our Majesty. And, if any man hinder them after this our command, that sword which is ordered by us to descend upon those who despise our command, the same do we command to descend upon those who despise this decree of our clemency."

And, when this command of the emperor's clemency was read, the whole city rejoiced that there was quietness and rest for every man. And the judge commanded, and they released Barsamya, that he might go down to his church. And the Christians went up in great numbers to the judgment-hall, together with a great multitude of the population of the city, and they received Barsamya with great and exceeding honour, repeating psalms before him, according to

[1] We have here probably the most authentic copy of the edict of Trajan commanding the stopping of the persecution of the Christians, as it was taken down at the time by the reporters who heard it read.

their custom; [there went] also the wives of the chief of the wise men. And they thronged [about him], and saluted him, and called him "the persecuted confessor," "the companion of Sharbil the martyr." And he said to them: Persecuted I am, like yourselves; but from the tortures and combs of Sharbil and his companions I am clean escaped.[1] And they said to him: We have heard from thee that a teacher of the church has said, "The will, according to what it is, so is it accepted."[2] And, when he was entered into the church, he and all the people that were with him, he stood up and prayed, and blessed them and sent them away to their homes rejoicing and praising God for the deliverance which He had wrought for them and for the church.

And the day after Lysinas[3] the judge of the country had set his hand to these Acts, he was dismissed from his authority.

I Zenophilus and Patrophilus are the notaries who wrote these Acts, Diodorus and Euterpes,[4] Sharirs of the city, bearing witness with us by setting-to their hand, as the ancient laws of the ancient kings command.

[This[5] Barsamya, bishop of Edessa, who made a disciple of Sharbil, the priest of the same city, lived in the days of Fabianus, bishop of the city of Rome. And ordination to the priesthood was received by Barsamya from Abshelama, who was bishop in Edessa; and by Abshelama ordination was received from Palut the First; and by Palut ordination was received from Serapion, bishop of Antioch; and by Serapion ordination was received from Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome; and Zephyrinus of Rome received ordination from Victor of the same place, [viz.] Rome; and Victor received ordination from Eleutherius; and Eleutherius received it from Soter; and Soter received it from

[1] [Lit. "am far removed."]

[2] [2 Cor. viii. 12. Both the Peshito and the Greek (if τίς be rejected) have "what it *hath*:" not "what it *is*."]

[3] [See note on p. 61.]

[4] Perhaps "Eutropius."

[5] What follows, down to the end, is a much later addition, evidently made by the same ignorant person as that at p. 79 above: see note there.

Anicetus; and Anicetus received it from Dapius;[1] and Dapius received it from Telesphorus; and Telesphorus received it from Xystus;[2] and Xystus received it from Alexander; and Alexander received it from Evartis;[3] and Evartis received it from Cletus; and Cletus received it from Anus;[4] and Anus received it from Simon Cephas; and Simon Cephas received it from our Lord, together with his fellow-apostles, on the first day of the week, [the day] of the ascension of our Lord to His glorious Father, which was the fourth day of Heziran,[5] which was [in] the nineteenth[6] year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, in the consulship of Rufus and Rubelinus, which year was the year 341; for in the year 309 occurred the advent[7] of our Saviour in the world, according to the testimony which we ourselves have found in a correct register[8] among the archives, which errs not at all in whatever it sets forth.]

[Here] endeth the martyrdom of Barsamya, bishop of Edessa.

[1] That is "Pius." The blunder arose from taking the prefix D (?) as a part of the name.

[2] [*i.e.* "Sixtus."]

[3] [Or "Eortis." The person referred to is "Evaristus." Cureton reads "Erastus:" it does not appear why.]

[4] [*i.e.* "Linus:" see note on p. 55.]

[5] [See note on p. 36.]

[6] Put by mistake for "sixteenth," which agrees with the statement of Julius Africanus as to the date of our Lord's death; also with the year of the consulate of Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus (the persons intended below), and with the year of the Greeks 341, which was A.D. 29 or 30.

[7] [Prop. "rising," as of the sun.]

[8] The Greek *πλαστάριον*: see Du Fresne, *Glossarium*.

MARTYRDOM OF HABIB THE DEACON.[1]

In the month Ab,[2] of the year six hundred and twenty of the kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian, in the consulate of Licinius and Constantine,[3] which is the year in which he[4] was born, in the magistracy[5] of Julius and Barak, in the days of Cona[6] bishop of Edessa, Licinius made a persecution against the church and all the people of the Christians, after that first persecution which Diocletian the emperor had made. And Licinius the emperor commanded that there should be sacrifices and libations, and that the altars in every place should be restored, that they might burn sweet spices and frankincense before Zeus.

And, when many were persecuted, they cried out of their own accord: We are Christians; and they were not afraid of the persecution, because these who were persecuted were more numerous than those who persecuted [them].

Now Habib, who was of the village of Telzeha[7] and had been made a deacon, went secretly into the churches which were in the villages, and ministered and read the Scriptures, and encouraged and strengthened many by his words, and admonished them to stand fast in the truth of their belief, and not to be afraid of the persecutors; and gave them directions [for their conduct].

And, when many were strengthened by his words, and received his addresses affectionately, being careful not to renounce the covenant they had made, and when the Sharirs of the city, the men who had been appointed with reference to this particular matter, heard of it, they went in and in-

[1] This is found in the same MS. as the preceding: Cod. Add. 14,645, fol. 238, vers.

[2] [August.] [3] They were consuls together in A.D. 312, 313, 315.

[4] [It does not appear who is meant.]

[5] The Greek στρατηγία, with a Syriac termination. Στρατηγοί was used for the Latin *Magistratus* or *Duumviri*.

[6] He laid the foundation of the church at Edessa A.D. 313: see Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* vol. i. p. 394.

[7] Called "Thelsæa" by Metaphrastes, *infra*.

formed Lysanias, the governor who was in the town of Edessa, and said to him: Habib, who is a deacon in the village of Telzeha, goes about and ministers secretly in every place, and resists the command of the emperors, and is not afraid.

And, when the governor heard these things, he was filled with rage against Habib; and he made a report, and sent and informed Licinius the emperor of all those things which Habib was doing; [he wished] also to ascertain[1] what command would be issued respecting him and [the rest of] those who would not sacrifice. [For] although a command had been issued that every one should sacrifice, yet it had not been commanded what should be done to those who did not sacrifice: because they had heard that Constantine, the commander[2] in Gaul and Spain, was become a Christian and did not sacrifice. And Licinius the emperor [thus] commanded Lysanias the governor: Whoever it is that has been so daring as to transgress our command, our Majesty has commanded that he shall be burned[3] with fire; and that all others who do not consent to sacrifice shall be put to death by the sword.

Now, when this command came to the town of Edessa, Habib, in reference to whom the report had been made, was gone across [the river] to the country of the people of Zeugma,[4] to minister there also secretly. And, when the governor sent and inquired for him in his village, and in all the country round about, and he was not to be found, he commanded that all his family should be arrested, and also the inhabitants of his village; and they arrested them and put them in irons, his mother and the rest of his family, and also some of the people of his village; and they brought them to the city, and shut them up in prison.

And, when Habib heard what had taken place, he considered

[1] [Lit. "learn and see."]

[2] [The word used is probably ἐπιτολικός = *præfectus*: see Dr. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*]

[3] [Dr. Wright's reading, by the change of a letter, for "shall perish."]

[4] [This place was on the right bank of the Euphrates, and derived its name from a bridge of boats laid across the river there. It was about forty miles from Edessa.]

in his mind and pondered anxiously in his thoughts: It is expedient for me, [said he], that I should go and appear before the judge of the country, rather than that I should remain in secret and others should be brought in [to him] and be crowned [with martyrdom] because of me, and that I should find myself in great shame. For in what respect will the name of Christianity help him who flees from the confession of Christianity? Lo! if he flee from this, the death of nature is before him whithersoever he goes, and escape from it he cannot, because this is decreed against all the children of Adam.

And Habib arose and went to Edessa secretly, having prepared his back for the stripes and his sides for the combs, and his person for the burning of fire. And he went immediately[1] to Theotecna,[2] a veteran[3] who was chief of the band of attendants[4] on the governor; and he said to him: I am Habib of Telzeha, whom ye are inquiring for. And Theotecna said to him: If so be that no one saw thee coming to me, hearken to me in what I say to thee, and depart and go away to the place where thou hast been, and remain there in this time [of persecution]; and of this, that thou camest to me and spakest with me and that I advised thee thus, let no one know or be aware. And about thy family and the inhabitants of thy village, be not at all anxious: for no one will at all hurt them; but they will be in prison a few days only, and [then] the governor will let them go: because against *them* the emperors have not commanded anything serious or alarming. But, if on the contrary thou wilt not be persuaded by me in regard to these things which I have said to thee, I am clear of thy blood: because, if so be that thou appear before the judge of the country, thou wilt not escape from death by fire, according to the command of the emperors which they have issued concerning thee.

[1] [Cureton has ܒܪܝܬܐ, which he renders "alone." Dr. Payne Smith considers this a mistake for ܒܪ ܫܥܬܐ.]

[2] In Latin, "Theotecnus."

[3] [Or "an old man."]

[4] The Gk. τάξις here used corresponds to the Latin *officium*. See note on p. 64.

Habib said to Theotecna: It is not about my family and the inhabitants of my village that I am concerned, but for my own salvation, lest it should be forfeited. About this too I am much distressed, that I did not happen to be in my village on the day that the governor inquired for me, and that on my account lo! many are put in irons, and I have been looked upon by him as a fugitive. Therefore, if so be that thou wilt not consent to my request and take me in before the governor, I will go alone and appear before him.

And, when Theotecna heard him speak thus to him, he laid hold of him firmly, and handed him over to his assistants,[1] and they went together to conduct him to the judgment-hall of the governor. And Theotecna went in and informed the governor, and said to him: Habib of Telzeha, whom thine Excellency was inquiring for, is come. And the governor said: Who is it that has brought him? and where did they find him? and what did he do where he was? Theotecna said to him: He came hither himself, of his own accord, and without the compulsion of any one, since no one knew anything about him.

And when the governor heard [this], he was greatly exasperated against him; and thus he spake: This [fellow], who has so acted, has shown great contempt towards me and has despised me, and has accounted me as no judge; and, because he has so acted, it is not meet that any mercy should be shown towards him; nor yet either that I should hasten to pass sentence of death against him, according to the command of the emperors concerning him; but it is meet for me to have patience with him, so that the bitter torments and punishments [inflicted on him] may be the more abundant, and that through him I may terrify many [others] from daring again to flee.

And, many persons being collected together and standing by him at the door of the judgment-hall, some of whom were members of the body of attendants, and some people of the city, there were some of them that said to him: Thou hast done badly in coming and showing thyself to

[1] [Or "domestics."]

those who were inquiring for thee, without the compulsion of the judge; and there were [others], again, who said to him: Thou hast done well in coming and showing thyself of thine own accord, rather than that the compulsion of the judge should bring thee: for now is thy confession of Christ known to be of thine own will, and not from the compulsion of men.

And those things which the Sharirs of the city had heard from those who were speaking to him as they stood at the door of the judgment-hall—and this circumstance also in particular, that he had gone secretly to Theotecna and that he had not been willing to denounce him, had been heard by the Sharirs of the city—everything that they had heard they made known to the judge.

And the judge was enraged against those who had been saying to Habib: Wherefore didst thou come and show thyself to the judge, without the compulsion of the judge himself? And to Theotecna he said: It is not seemly for a man who has been made chief over his fellows to act deceitfully in this manner towards his superior, and to set at nought the command of the emperors, which they issued against Habib the rebel, that he should be burned with fire.

Theotecna said: I have not acted deceitfully against my fellows, neither was it my purpose to set at naught the command which the emperors have issued: for what am I before thine Excellency, that I should have dared to do this? But I strictly questioned him as to that for which thine Excellency also has demanded an account at my hands, that I might know and see whether it was of his own free will that he came hither, or whether the compulsion of thine Excellency brought him by the hand of others; and, when I heard from him that he came of his own accord, I carefully brought him to the honourable door of the judgment-hall of thy Worship.[1]

And the governor hastily commanded, and they brought in Habib before him. The officers said: Lo! he standeth before thine Excellency.

[1] [Lit. "rectitude."]

And he began to question him thus, and said to him: What is thy name? And whence art thou? And what art thou?

He said to him: My name is Habib, and I am from the village of Telzeha, and I have been made a deacon.

The governor said: Wherefore hast thou transgressed the command of the emperors, and dost minister in thine office of deacon, which thou art forbidden by the emperors to do, and refusest to sacrifice to Zeus, whom the emperors worship?

Habib said: We are Christians: we do not worship the works of men, who are nothing, whose works also are nothing; but we worship God, who made the men.

The governor said: Persist not in that daring mind with which thou art come into my presence, and insult not Zeus, the great boast of the emperors.

Habib said: But this Zeus is an idol, the work of men. It is very well for thee to say that I insult him. But, if the carving of him out of wood and the fixing of him with nails proclaim aloud concerning him that he is made, how sayest thou to me that I insult him? since lo! his insult is from himself, and against himself.

The governor said: By this very thing, that thou refusest to worship him, thou insultest him.

Habib said: But, if because I do not worship him I insult him, how great an insult, then, did the carpenter inflict on him, who carved him with an axe of iron; and the smith, who smote him and fixed him with nails!

And, when the governor heard him speak thus, he commanded him to be scourged without pity. And, when he had been scourged by five [men], he said to him: Wilt thou now obey the emperors? For, if thou wilt not obey [them], I will tear thee severely with combs, and I will torture thee with all [kinds of] tortures, and then at last I will give command concerning thee that thou be burned with fire.

Habib said: These threats with which lo! thou art seeking to terrify me, are much meaner and paltrier than those

which I had already settled it in my mind to endure: therefore[1] came I and made my appearance before thee.

The governor said: Put him into the iron cask[2] for murderers, and let him be scourged as he deserves. And, when he had been scourged, they said to him: Sacrifice to the gods. But he cried aloud, and said: Accursed are your idols, and so are they who join with you in worshipping them like you.

And the governor commanded, and they took him up to the prison; but they refused him permission to speak with his family, or with the inhabitants of his village, according to the command of the judge. On that day was the festival of the emperors.

And on the second of Ilul the governor commanded, and they brought him from the prison. And he said to him: Wilt thou renounce the profession thou hast made[3] and obey the command which the emperors issue? For, if thou wilt not obey, with the bitter tearings of combs will I make thee obey them.

Habib said: I have not obeyed them, and moreover it is settled in my mind that I will not obey them—no, not even if thou lay upon me punishments still worse than those which the emperors have commanded.

The governor said: By the gods I swear, that, if thou do not sacrifice, I will leave no harsh and bitter [sufferings untried] with which I will not torture thee: and we shall see whether Christ, whom thou worshippest, will deliver thee.

Habib said: All those who worship Christ are delivered through Christ, because they worship not creatures along with the Creator of creatures.

The governor said: Let him be stretched out and be scourged with whips, until there remain not a place in his body on which he has not been scourged.

Habib said: [As for] these inflictions, which thou supposest to be [so] bitter with their lacerations,[4] out of them are plaited crowns of victory for those who endure them.

[1] [Lit. "then."]
[2] [See note on p. 70.]
[3] [Lit. "Wilt thou renounce that in which thou standest?"]
[4] [Lit. "scourgings."]

The governor said: How call ye afflictions ease, and account the torments of your bodies a crown of victory?

Habib said: It is not for thee to ask me concerning these things, because thine unbelief is not worthy to hear the reasons of them. That I will not sacrifice I have said [already], and I say [so still].

The governor said: Thou art subjected to these punishments because thou deservest them: I will put out thine eyes, which look upon this Zeus and are not afraid of him; and I will stop thine ears, which hear the laws of the emperors and tremble not.

Habib said: To the God whom thou deniest here belongs that other world; and there wilt thou [be made to] confess Him with scourgings, though thou hast again denied *Him*.

The governor said: Leave alone that world of which thou hast spoken, and consider anxiously now, that from this punishment to which lo! thou art being subjected there is no one that can deliver thee; unless indeed the gods deliver thee, on thy sacrificing to them.

Habib said: Those who die for the sake of the name of Christ, and worship not those objects that are made and created, will "find" their life in the presence of God; but those who love the life of time more than that—their *torment* will be for ever.

And the governor commanded, and they hanged him up and tore him with combs; and, while they were tearing him with the combs, they knocked him about. And he was hanging a long while, until the shoulderblades of his arms creaked.

The governor said to him: Wilt thou comply even now, and put on incense before Zeus there?[1]

Habib said: Previously to these sufferings I did not comply with thy demands: [and] now that lo! I have undergone them, how thinkest thou that I shall comply, and thereby lose that which I have gained by them?

The governor said: By punishments fiercer and bitterer than these I am prepared to make thee obey, according to the command of the emperors, until thou do their will.

[1] [Pointing to the image.]

Habib said: Thou art punishing me for not obeying the command of the emperors, when lo! thou thyself also, whom the emperors have raised to greatness and made a judge, hast transgressed their command, in that thou hast not done to me that which the emperors have commanded thee.

The governor said: Because I have had patience with thee, [therefore] hast thou spoken thus, like a man that brings an accusation.

Habib said: Hadst thou not scourged me, and bound me, and torn me with combs, and put my feet in fetters,[1] there *would* have been room to think that thou hadst had patience with me. But, if these things take place in the meanwhile, where is the patience towards me of which thou hast spoken?

The governor said: These things which thou hast said will not help thee, because they all go against thee, and they will bring upon thee inflictions bitterer even than those which the emperors have commanded.

Habib said: Had I not been sensible that they would help me, I should not have spoken a single word about them before thee.

The governor said: *I* will silence thy speeches, and at the same time as regards thee pacify the gods, whom thou hast not worshipped; and I will satisfy the emperors in respect to thee, as regards thy rebellion against their commands.

Habib said: I am not afraid of the death with which thou seekest to terrify me; for, had I been afraid of it, I should not have gone about from house to house and ministered: on which account [it was that] I did so minister.[2]

The governor said: How is it that thou worshippest and honourest a man, but refusest to worship and honour Zeus there?

Habib said: I worship not a man, because the Scripture teaches me,[3] "Cursed is every one that putteth his trust in

[1] [Or "the stocks." The word is of the most indefinite kind, answering to ξύλον and *lignum*.]

[2] [For this sense, which appears to be the one intended, it is necessary to change ܡܛܠܠ into ܡܛܠܠܗ.]

[3] [Lit. "it is written for me."]

man;" but God, who took upon Him a body and became a man, [Him] do I worship, and glorify.

The governor said: Do thou that which the emperors have commanded; and, as for that which is in thy own mind, if thou art willing to give it up, [well]; but, if thou art not willing, [then] do not abandon it.

Habib said: To do both these things [together] is impossible: because falsehood is contrary to truth, and it is impossible that that should be banished from my thoughts which is firmly fixed in my mind.

The governor said: By inflictions bitter and severe will I make thee dismiss from thy thoughts that of which thou hast said, It is firmly fixed in my mind.

Habib said: [As for] these inflictions by which thou thinkest that it will be rooted out of my thoughts, by means of these it is that it grows within my thoughts, like a tree which bears fruit.

The governor said: What help will stripes and combs give to that tree of thine? and more especially at the time when I shall command fire against it, to burn it up without pity.

Habib said: It is not on those things at which thou lookest that I look, because I contemplate the things which are out of sight; and therefore I do the will of God, the Maker [of all things], and not that of an idol made [with hands], which is not sensible of anything whatever.

The governor said: Because he thus denies the gods whom the emperors worship, let him be torn with combs in addition to his former tearings: for, amidst the many questions which I have had the patience to ask him, he has forgotten his former tearings.

And, while they were tearing him, he cried aloud and said: "The sufferings of this time are not equal to that glory which shall be revealed in"[1] those who love Christ.

And, when the governor saw that even under these inflictions he refused to sacrifice, he said to him: Does your doctrine so teach you, that you should hate your own bodies?

Habib said: Nay, we do not hate our bodies: the Scrip-

[1] [Rom. viii. 18.]

ture distinctly teaches us, "Whosoever shall lose his life shall find it."[1] But another thing too it teaches us: that we should "not cast that which is holy to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine."[2]

The governor said: I know that in speaking thus thy sole object is that my rage and the wrath of my mind may be excited, and that I may pronounce sentence of death against thee speedily. I am not going, then, to be hurried on to that which thou desirest; but I will have patience: not, indeed, for thy relief, but so that the tortures inflicted on thee may be increased, and that thou mayest see thy flesh falling off before thy face by means of the combs that are passing over thy sides.

Habib said: I myself also am looking for this, that thou shouldst multiply thy tortures upon me, even as thou hast said.

The governor said: Submit to the emperors, who have power to do whatsoever they choose.

Habib said: It is not of men to do whatsoever they choose, but of God, whose power is in the heavens, and over all the dwellers upon earth; "nor is there any that may rebuke His hands[3] and say to Him, 'What doest Thou?'"

The governor said: For this insolence of thine, death by the sword is too small [a punishment]. I, however, am prepared to command [the infliction] upon thee of a death more bitter than that of the sword.

Habib said: And I, too, am looking for a death which is more lingering than that of the sword, which thou mayest pronounce upon me at any time thou choosest.

And thereupon the governor proceeded to pass sentence of death upon him. And he called out aloud before his attendants, and said, whilst they were listening to him, as were also the nobles of the city: This Habib, who has denied the gods, as ye have also heard from him, and furthermore has reviled the emperors, deserves that his life should be blotted out from beneath this glorious Sun, and that he should not

[1] [Matt. x. 39.] [2] [Matt. vii. 6.]

[3] [Chaldee, "restrain [lit. smite] His hand." See Dan. iv. 35.]

[any longer] behold this luminary, associate of gods; and, had it not been commanded by former emperors that the corpses of murderers should be buried, it would not be right that the corpse of this [fellow] either should be buried, because he has been so insolent. I command, that a strap be put into his mouth, as into the mouth of a murderer, and that he be burned by a slow lingering fire, so that the torment of his death may be increased.

And he went out from the presence of the governor, with the strap thrust into his mouth; and a multitude of the people of the city ran after him. And the Christians were rejoicing, forasmuch as he had not turned aside nor quitted his post;[1] but the pagans were threatening him, for refusing to sacrifice. And they led him forth by the western archway, over against the cemetery,[2] which was built by[3] Abshelama,[4] the son of Abgar. And his mother was clad in white, and she went out with him.

And, when he was arrived at the place where they were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, as did all those who came out with him; and he said: "O King Christ, since Thine is this world, and Thine the world to come, behold and see, that, while I might have fled from these afflictions, I did not flee, in order that I might not fall into the hands of Thy justice: may this fire, in which I am to be burned, serve me for a recompense before Thee, so that I may be delivered from that fire which is not quenched; and receive Thou my spirit into Thy presence, through Thy Divine Spirit, O glorious Son of the adorable Father!" And, when he had prayed, he turned and blessed them; and they gave him the salutation, weeping [as they did so], both men and women; and they said to him: Pray for us in the presence of thy Lord, that He would cause peace among His people, and restoration to His churches which are overthrown.

And, while Habib was standing, they dug a place, and

[1] [Or "departed from his covenant."] [2] [The Gk. κοιμητήριον.]

[3] [Cureton's "for" seems not so good, the reference not being to a single tomb.]

[4] Probably that in which Sharbil and Babai were buried: see p. 79 above.

brought him and set him within it; and they fixed up by him a stake. And they came to bind him to the stake; but he said to them: I will not stir from this place in which ye are going to burn me. And they brought fagots, and set them in order, and placed them on all sides of him. And, when the fire blazed up and the flame of it rose fiercely, they called out to him: Open thy mouth. And the moment he opened his mouth his soul mounted up. And they cried aloud, both men and women, with the voice of weeping.

And they pulled and drew him out of the fire, throwing over him fine linen cloths and choice ointments and spices. And they snatched away some of the pieces of wood [which had been put] for his burning, and the brethren and some persons of the laity[1] bore him away. And they prepared him for interment, and buried him by Guria and Shamuna the martyrs, in the same grave in which they were laid, on the hill which is called Baith Allah Cucla,[2] repeating over him psalms and hymns, and conveying his burnt body affectionately and honourably [to the grave]. And even some of the Jews and pagans took part with the Christian brethren in winding up and burying his body. At the time, too, when he was burned, and also at the time when he was buried, there was one spectacle of grief overspreading those within and those without; tears, too, were running down from all eyes: while every one gave glory to God, because for His name's sake he had given his body to the burning of fire.

The day on which he was burned was the eve [of the Sabbath],[3] the second of the month Ilul—the day on which the news came that Constantine the Great had set out from the interior of Spain, to proceed to Rome, the city of Italy, that he might carry on war with Licinius, that [emperor] who at this day rules over the eastern portion of the terri-

[1] [Lit. "secular persons," or "men of the world."]

[2] In Simeon Metaphrastes, whose copy would seem to have had a slightly different reading, it is written *Bethelabicla*, and is said to lie on the north side of the city.

[3] [*i.e.* the sixth day of the week. See note on p. 38.]

tories of the Romans; and lo! the countries on all sides are in commotion, because no man knows which of them will conquer and continue in [the possession of] his imperial power. And through this report the persecution slackened for a little while from the church.

And the notaries wrote down everything which they had heard from the judge; and the Sharirs of the city wrote down all the other things which were spoken outside the door of the judgment-hall, and, according to the custom that existed, they reported to the judge all that they had seen and all that they had heard, and the decisions of the judge were written down in their Acts.

I, Theophilus, who have renounced the evil inheritance of my fathers, and confessed Christ, carefully wrote out a copy of these Acts of Habib, even as I had formerly written out [those] of Guria and Shamuna,[1] his fellow-martyrs. And, whereas he had felicitated them upon their death by the sword, he himself also was made like them by the fire in which he was burnt, and received his crown. And, whereas I have written down the year, and the month, and the day, of the coronation of these martyrs, it is not for the sake of those who, like me, were spectators of the deed, but with the view that those who come after us may learn at what time these martyrs suffered, and what manner of men they were; [even as they may learn] also from the Acts of the former martyrs, who [lived] in the days of Domitianus and of all the other emperors who likewise also raised a persecution against the church, and put a great many to death, by stripes and by [tearing with] combs, and by bitter inflictions, and by sharp swords, and by burning fire, and by the terrible sea, and by the merciless mines. And all these things, and things like them, [they suffered] for the hope of the recompense to come.

Moreover, the afflictions of these martyrs, and of those of

[1] As Simeon Metaphrastes, *infra*, evidently made use of these *Acts of Habib* in his account of that martyr, it is probable that his narrative of the martyrdom of Guria and Shamuna also was founded on the copy of their "Acts" to which Theophilus here refers.

whom I had heard, opened the eyes of me, Theophilus, and enlightened my mind, and I confessed Christ, that He is the Son of God, and is God. And may the dust of the feet of these martyrs, which I received as I was running after them at the time when they were departing to be crowned, procure me pardon for having denied Him, and may He confess me before His worshippers, seeing that I have confessed Him now!

And at the twenty-seventh question which the judge put to Habib, he gave sentence against him of death by the burning of fire.

[Here] endeth the martyrdom of Habib the deacon.

HOMILY ON HABIB THE MARTYR, COMPOSED BY MAR JACOB.[1]

Habib the martyr, clad in flame, hath called to me out of the fire,
That for him likewise I should fashion an image of beauty among the glorious.
Comrade of conquerors, lo! he beckoneth to me out of the burning,
That, as for the glory of his Lord, I should sing concerning him.
In the midst of live coals stands the [heroic] man, and lo! he calleth to me,
That I should fashion his image: but the blazing fire permits me not.

His love is fervid, glowing is his faith;
His fire also burneth, and who is adequate to recount his love?
Nay, by reason of that love which led the martyr into the fire,
No man is able to recount his beauties divine.

[1] The MS. from which this is taken is Cod. Add. 17,158, fol. 30 vers. Mar Jacob, bishop of Sarug, or Batnæ, was one of the most learned and celebrated among all the Syriac writers. He was born A.D. 452, made bishop of Sarug A.D. 519, and died A.D. 521. He was the author of several liturgical works, epistles, and sermons, and, amongst these, of numerous metrical homilies, of which two are given here. Assemani enumerates no less than 231. Ephraem Syrus also wrote a similar homily on Habib, Shamuna, and Guria. [The metre of the original in this and the following homily consists of twelve syllables, or six dissyllabic feet; but whether they were read as iambs or trochees, or as

For who shall dare enter and see in the blazing fire
To whom he is like, and after what pattern he is to be fashioned among the glorious?

Shall I fashion his image by the side of the youths, the children of the furnace?
With Hananiah shall I reckon Habib? I know not.
Lo! these were not burned there: how, then, is he like?
He, [I say], like them, when he was burned, and the youths not?
Which, I ask, [the more] beautiful—Habib the martyr, or Azariah?
Difficult for me is the image: how I am to look upon it, I know not.
Lo! Michael was not burned by the flame;
But Habib was burned: which, then, [the more] beautiful to him that looketh upon him?
Who shall dare say that this is repulsive, or that;
Or not so comely this as that, to him that beholdeth him?

Three [there are] in the fire, and the flame cometh not near them;
But one was burned: and how shall I suffice to tell
That the Fourth [form] is that of Him who went down into the midst of the furnace,
That He might fashion an image for Habib there along with [those of] the three?
He giveth a place in the fire to him who was burned,
That he may be, instead of Him the Fourth, by the side of the conquerors.

And, if of the three the beauties be glorious, though they were not burned,
How shall not this one, who *was* burned, be mingled with the glorious?
If a man have the power either to be burned or not to be burned,
Of this man, who was burned, more exalted was the beauty than that of the three.
But, inasmuch as of the Lord is the control [of all things],
He is to be praised, [both] where He rescues and where He delivers up.

both, appears to depend on the nature of the Syriac accentuation, which is still an unsettled question. Hoffmann, in his slight notice of the subject (*Gram. Syr.* § 13), merely says: "Scimus, poësin Syriacam non quantitatis sed *accentus* tantum rationem habere, versusque suos *syllabarum numero* metiri. Quâ tamen poëseos Syriacæ conditione *varietas morarum in pronuntiandis vocalibus observandarum* non tollitur."]

Moreover, too, the will of the three who were not burned,
And of him who was burned, is one and the same, in this case and in that;[1]
And, had its Lord commanded the fire to burn them,
[Even] those three on their part, burned they would have been;
And, if he had signified to it that it should not burn that one man also,
He would not have been burned; nor had it been of himself that he was rescued.
To go into the fire was of their own will, when they went in;
But that they were not burned—[because] the Lord of the fire willed and commanded it.
Therefore one equal beauty is that of him who was burned,
And that of him who was not burned, because the will also was equal.

Beloved martyr! exalted is thy beauty; exalted is thy rank:
Graceful too thy crown, and mingled thy story with [that of] the glorious.
Choice gold art thou, and the fire hath tried thee, and resplendent is thy beauty.
And lo! into the King's crown art thou wrought, along with the victorious.
Good workman! who, in the doctrine of the Son of God,
Pursueth his course like a valiant[2] man, because of the beauty of his faith.

Habib the martyr was a teacher of that which is true;
A preacher also, whose mouth was full of faith.
Watchful was he, and prompt [for service]; and he encouraged with his teaching
The household of the house of God, through his faith.
Of light was he full, and he wrestled with the darkness
Which overspread the country from the paganism which had darkened it.
With the gospel of the Son was his mouth filled in the congregations;
And as it were a leader of the way did he become to the villages when he arrived in them.

[1] [Lit. "here and there."]

[2] [Cureton has "prosperous," which Dr. Payne Smith condemns, remarking: "ܛܪܩܐ I find generally used for the Gk. ἄριστος, and once or twice for κράτιστος. It answers more frequently to *strenuus* = courageous, heroic."]

Zealous he was, because he was concerned for the doctrine
  Divine, that he might establish the adherents [1] of the faith.
At the time when the winds of the pagans blew, a lamp was he,
  And flamed forth whilst they blew upon him, and went not out.
All on fire was he, and filled with the love of his Lord, and was concerned
  For this—that he might speak of him without hindrance.[2]

The thorns of error sprang up in the land from paganism;
  And, as much as in him lay, he rooted them out by his diligence.
He taught, admonished, and confirmed in the faith,
  The friends of Christ,[3] who were harassed by persecutors.
Against sword and against fire did he wrestle,
  With love hot as the flame, and was not afraid.
Like a two-edged brand,[4] keen was
  His faith, and against error did he contend.
Leaven did he prove to be in this land which had become exhausted [5]
  Through fondness for the idols of vanity which error had brought in.
He was like salt by reason of his savoury doctrine
  To this region, which had become insipid through unbelief.

[1] [Lit. "the party" or "side."]

[2] [As in Gal. v. 7, answering to the Gk. *ἐγκόπτω*. The verb ܟܘ (Pa.) properly means to *disquiet* (as in John xiv. 1), then to *hinder*.]

[3] [The ordinary word for "Christians" in these documents is the borrowed Χριστιανοί: here a native word is used, formed from the one which we read as "Messiah."]

[4] [A corruption of the word *σαμψηρά* is used here. It is said by Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 2. 3, to have been the name given by the Assyrians to some kind of sword. Suidas mentions it as a barbarian word for *σπάθη*, a *broadsword*. Cureton's "scimetar" would be preferable, as being somewhat more distinctive, if it appeared that a scimetar could have two edges.]

[5] [The temptation was strong to render ܚܠܐ "became unleavened" (or "tasteless"), a sense apparently required by the decided figure employed and by the language of the next couplet, where "insipid" corresponds to "salt." The word ܠܐ ܚܠܐ (= *ἄζυμον*), moreover, if not the Arabic فطر (to which Schaaf, though it does not appear on what authority, assigns the meaning "*sine fermento* massam subegit"), seems to point in the same direction. Dr. Payne Smith, however, is not aware of any instance of the proposed meaning: he says, "My examples make ܚܠܐ = *ἐκλείπω*, to fail."]

A deacon was he, and filled the place of a high-priest
By the preaching and teaching of that which is true.
He was to the flock a good shepherd whilst he was [its] overseer;
And his life laid he down for the flock while he tended it.
He chased away the wolf, and drove off from it the beast of prey.
And he repaired the breaches, and gathered the lambs into their folds.
He went out secretly [and] encouraged the congregations:
He strengthened them, and exhorted them, and held them up.
And he forged armour of faith, and put it on them,
That they might not be ignominiously overthrown[1] by the paganism which abounded.
The flocks of the fold of the Son of God were being laid waste
By persecutors: and he encouraged the lambs and the ewes.
And he was an advocate to the household of faith;
And he taught them not to be daunted by persecutors.
He taught them to run to meet death,
Without being afraid either of sword or of fire.
In the teaching of the Son of God he prospered,
So that his faith pursued its course without dread.

Then error grew envious, became furious, and was maddened, because of him;
And she pursued after him, that she might shed upon the earth innocent blood.
The Defamer, who hates the race of men,
Laid snares for him, that he might rid the place of his presence.[2]
He who hateth the truth pursued after him to put him to death,
That he might make his voice to cease[3] from the teaching of the house of God.
And error raised an outcry [demanding] that Habib should die, because she hated him;
Vexation goaded her on, and she sought to take away his life.

His story was talked about[4] before the pagan judge of the country,
And the dear fame of him reached the king: who in great rage,
And because the diadem was interwoven with paganism, decreed[5] death
Against Habib, because he was full of faith.

[1] [Or "brought to contempt."]
[2] [Lit. "society."]
[3] [Or "that his voice might cease."]
[4] [Lit. "mooted."]
[5] Lit. "reached the king in great rage (*i.e. so as to cause* great rage, ܠܘܬ being often = εἰς denoting result), and, because . . ., he decreed."—Dr. Payne Smith.

And, when the command reached the judge, he armed himself
With rage and fury; and, with a mind thirsting for blood,
And like hunters who lay nets for the young stag,
After Habib did they go out to catch [him].

But this man was a preacher of the faith,
Who in the highway of the crucifixion was prospering;
And, that he might benefit by his teaching the children of his people,
His work embraced the countries round about him.
So, when error went out after him, she found him not:
Not that he was fled, but that he had gone out to preach the gospel.
Then, because of the fury of the pagans, which was great beyond all that was meet,
His kindred and his mother did they seize for his sake.

Blessed art thou, O woman! mother since thou art of the martyr.
For wherefore was it that they seized thee [and] bound thee, iniquitously?
What do they require of thee, O thou full of beauty? What, [I ask], have they required of thee?
Lo! they require of thee that thou bring the martyr, that he may be a sacrifice.
Bring, oh bring thy sweet fruit to the place of the oblation—
[The fruit] whose smell is fragrant, that it may be incense to the Godhead.
Fair shoot, thy cluster bring from where it is,
That its wine may be for a libation whose taste is sweet.

The lamb heard that they were seeking him, that he might be a sacrifice;
And he set out and came to the sacrificers rejoicing.
He heard that others also were being afflicted for his sake,
And he came that he might bear the suffering which was his, in the stead of many.
The lot fell on him, to be himself alone a sacrifice;
And the fire that was to offer him up was looking out [for him] until he came.
Of the many who were bound for his sake
Not one single person was seized to die, but only he.
He it was that was worthy, and for him was martyrdom reserved;
And to snatch the martyr's place no man was able.
And therefore of his own will did he present himself
To the judge, that he might be seized, and die for Jesus' sake.

He heard that they sought him, and he came that he might be seized, even as they sought him:
And he went in of himself before the judge, and dauntless was his look.
He hid not himself, nor did he wish to flee from the judge:
For with light was he imbued, and from the darkness he would not flee.

No robber [was he], no murderer, no thief,
No child of night: but all his course was run in open day.
Wherefore from his flock should the good shepherd flee,
And leave his fold to be devoured by robbers?
Wherefore should the physician flee, who goeth forth to heal diseases,
And to cure souls by the blood of the Son of God?
A fearless countenance [1] did the [brave] man carry with him, and a great heart;
And to meet death he ran, rejoicing, for Jesus' sake.

He went in, he stood before the judge, saying to him:
I am Habib, whom ye sought: lo! [here] I stand.
And the pagan trembled, and amazement seized him, and he marvelled at him—
At the man who was not afraid, either of sword or of fire.
While he thought that he was fleeing apace, he entered in and mocked him;
And the judge shook, for he saw him courageous in the [very] face of death.

A disciple he of that Son of God who said:
"Rise, come, let us go: for he that betrayeth me lo! is here."
And to the crucifiers, again, He said: "Whom seek ye?"
They say: "Jesus." And He said to them: "I am He."
The Son of God of His own will came to the cross;
And on Him the martyr looked, and presented himself [uncompelled] before the judge.

And the pagan beheld him, and was smitten with fear, and was exasperated [against him].
His rage was excited, and he began in his fury to put to him questions.[2]

[1] [Lit. "openness of countenance."]
[2] [Prop. "agitate questions."]

And, as if he had been one who had shed on the ground the blood of the slain,
He proceeded to question the saintly man, but he was not ashamed:
Menacing him, and trying to terrify him, and to frighten him,
And recounting the sufferings which were being prepared by him on his account.

But Habib, when questioned, was not afraid,
Was not ashamed, and was not frightened by the menaces [he heard].
Lifting up his voice, he confessed Jesus, the Son of God—
That he was His servant, and was His priest, and His minister.[1]
At the fury of the pagans, roaring at him like lions,
He trembled not, nor ceased[2] from the confession of the Son of God.

He was scourged, and the scourgings were very dear to him,
Seeing that he bore a little of the stripes of the Son of God.
He was put into bonds,[3] and he looked on his Lord, whom also they had bound;
And his heart rejoiced that in the path of His sufferings he had begun to walk.
He ascended the block,[4] and they tore him with combs, but his soul was radiant with light,
Because he was [deemed] worthy that on him should come the agony of the sufferings of crucifixion.

In the pathway of death had he set his face to walk,
And what could he desire to find in it but sufferings?
The fire of sacrifice[5] was betrothed to him, and for her did he look;
And she [on her part] sent him combs, and stripes, and pains, to taste.
All the while that she was coming, she sent him sufferings, that by means of them
He might be prepared, so that when she met him she might not dismay him.
Sufferings purged him, so that, when the blazing fire should put him to the proof,
There might not be any dross [found] in his choice gold.
And he endured the whole of the pains that came upon him,
That he might have experience [of suffering], and in the burning stand like a brave man.

[1] [Or "deacon."]
[2] [Or "so as to cease."]
[3] [Lit. "he entered into bondage."]
[4] [The *equuleus* is meant.]
[5] [Or "of the sacrifices."]

And he accepted rejoicing the sufferings which he had to bear:
For he knew that at their termination he should find death.
And he was not afraid, either of death or of sufferings:
For with that wine of the crucifixion his heart was drunk.
He despised his body, while it was being dragged along by the persecutors;
And his limbs, while they were being torn asunder in bitter agony.[1]
Scourges on his back, combs on his sides, stocks on his feet,
And fire in front of him: still was he brave and full of faith.

They taunted him: Lo! thou worshippest a man;
But he said: A man I worship not,
But God, who took a body and became man:
Him do I worship, because He is God with Him that begat Him.
The faith of Habib, the martyr, was full of light;
And by it was enlightened Edessa, the faithful [city].
The daughter of Abgar, whom Addæus betrothed to the crucifixion—
Through it is her light, through it her truth and her faith.
Her king is from it, her martyrs from it, her truth from it;
The teachers also of [her] faith are from it.
Abgar believed that Thou art God, the Son of God;
And he received a blessing because of the beauty of his faith.
Sharbil the martyr, son of the Edessæans, moreover said:
My heart is led captive by God, who became man.
And Habib the martyr, who also was crowned at Edessa,
Confessed these things: that he took a body and became man;
That He is the Son of God, and also is God, and became man.
Edessa learned from teachers the things that are true:
Her king taught her, her martyrs taught her, the faith;
But to others, who were fraudulent teachers, she would not hearken.
Habib the martyr, in the ear of Edessa, thus cried aloud
Out of the midst of the fire: A man I worship not,
But God, who took a body and became man—
Him do I worship. [Thus] confessed the martyr with uplifted voice.
From confessors torn with combs, burnt, raised up [on the block], slain,
And [from] a righteous king, did Edessa learn the faith,
And she knows our Lord—that He is even God, the Son of God;
She also learned and firmly believed that He took a body and became man.

[1] [Lit. "bitterly."]

Not from common scribes did she learn the faith:
Her king taught her, her martyrs taught her; and she firmly believed them:
And, if she be calumniated as having ever worshipped a man,
She points to her martyrs, who died for Him as being God.
A man I worship not, said Habib,
Because it is written: "Cursed is he that putteth his trust in a man."[1]
Forasmuch as He is God, I worship Him, yea submit to be burned
For His sake, nor will I renounce His faith.
This truth has Edessa held fast from her youth,
And in her old age she will not barter it away as a daughter of the poor.
Her righteous king became to her a scribe, and from him she learned
Concerning our Lord—that He is the Son of God, yea God.
Addæus, who brought the bridegroom's ring and put it on her hand,
Betrothed her thus to the Son of God, who is the Only[-begotten].
Sharbil the priest, who made trial and proof of all gods,
Died, even as he said, "for God who became man."
Shamuna and Guria, for the sake of the Only[-begotten],
Stretched out their necks [to receive the stroke], and for Him died, forasmuch as He is God.
And Habib the martyr, who was teacher of congregations,
Preached of Him, that He took a body and became man.
For a man the martyr would not have [submitted to be] burned in the fire;
But he was burned "for the sake of God who became man."
And Edessa is witness that thus he confessed while he was being burned:
And from the confession of a martyr that has been burned who is he that can escape?
All minds does faith reduce to silence and despise—
[She] that is full of light and stoopeth not to shadows.
She despiseth him that maligns the Son by denying that He is God;
Him too that saith "He took not a body and became man."
In faith which was full of truth he stood upon the fire;
And he became incense, and propitiated with his fragrance the Son of God.
In all [his] afflictions, and in all [his] tortures, and in all [his] sufferings,
Thus did he confess, and thus did he teach the blessed [city].

[1] [Jer. xvii. 5.]

And this truth did Edessa hold fast touching our Lord—
  Even that He is God, and of Mary became a man.
And the bride hates him that denies His Godhead,
  And despises and contemns him that maligns His corporeal nature.
And she recognises Him [as] One in Godhead and in manhood—
  The Only[-begotten], whose body is inseparable from Him.
And thus did the daughter of the Parthians learn to believe,
  And thus did she firmly hold, and thus does she teach him that listens to her.

The judge, therefore, full of [zeal for] paganism, commanded
  That the martyr should be led forth and burned in the fire which was reserved for him.
And forthwith a strap was thrust into his mouth, as [though he had been] a murderer,
  His confession being kept within his heart towards God.
And they hurried him away, and he went out from the judgment-hall, rejoicing
  That the hour was come when the crown should be given to his faith.
And there went out with him crowds of people, that they might bear him company,
  Looking upon him, not as a dead man accompanied [to his burial],
But as a man who was going away that by means of fire he might become a bridegroom,
  And that there might be bestowed the crown which was by righteousness reserved for him.
They looked upon him as upon a man entering into battle,
  And around him were spears, and lances, and swords, but he vanquished them.
They beheld him going up like a champion from the contest,
  And in his triumph chaplets were brought to him by those who beheld.
They looked upon him as he vanquished principalities and powers,
  Which all made war with him, and he put them to shame.
The whole congregation of the followers of Christ exulted over him,
  Because he raised up the friends[1] of the faith by the sufferings which he bore.
There went forth with him the church, a bride full of light;
  And her face was beaming on the beloved martyr who was united to her.

Then did his mother, because it was the marriage-feast for her son,
  Deck herself in garments nobler than her wont.

[1] [Lit. "side," or "party."]

Since sordid raiment suited not the banquet-hall,
In magnificent [attire] all white she clad herself right tastefully.
Hither to the battle came down love to fight
In the mother's soul—[the love] of nature, and [the love] of God.
She looked upon her son as he went forth to be put into the flame;
And, forasmuch as there was in her the love of the Lord, she suffered not.
The yearnings of her mother's womb cried out on behalf of its fruit;
But faith silenced them, so that their tumult ceased.
Nature shrieked over the limb which was severed from her;
But the love of the Lord intoxicated the soul, that she should not perceive it.
Nature loved, but the love of the Lord did conquer in the strife
Within the soul of the mother, that she should not grieve for her beloved.
And, instead of suffering, her heart was filled with all emotions of joy;
And, instead of mourning, she went forth in splendid apparel.
And she accompanied him as he went out to be burned, and was elate,
Because the love of the Lord vanquished that of nature.
And [clad] in white, as for a bridegroom, she made a marriage-feast—
[She] the mother of the martyr, and was blithe because of him.
"Shamuna the Second" may we call this blessed [one]:
Since, had seven been burned instead of one, she had been well content.
One she had, and she gave him to be food for the fire;
And, even as that one, if she had had seven, she had given [them all].
He was cast into the fire, and the blaze kindled around him;
And his mother looked on, and grieved not at his burning.
Another eye, which gazeth upon the things unseen,
Was in her soul, and by reason of this she exulted when he was being burned.
On the gems of light which are in martyrs' crowns she looked,
And on the glory which is laid up for them after their sufferings;
And [on] the promised blessings which they inherit yonder through their afflictions,
And [on] the Son of God who clothes their limbs with light;
And [on] the manifold beauties of that kingdom which shall not be dissolved,
And [on] the ample door which is opened for them to enter in to God.

On these did the martyr's mother look when he was being burned,
And she rejoiced, she exulted, and in white did she go forth with him.
She looked upon him while the fire consumed his frame,
And, forasmuch as his crown was very noble, she grieved not.

The sweet root was thrown into the fire, upon the coals;
And it turned to incense, and cleansed the air from pollution.
With the fumes of sacrifice had the air been polluted,
And by the burning of this martyr was it cleansed.
The firmament was fetid with the exhalations from [1] the altars;
And there rose up the sweet perfume of the martyr, and it grew sweet thereby.
And the sacrifices ceased, and there was peace in the assemblies;
And the sword was blunted, that it should no more lay waste the friends of Christ.
With Sharbil it began, with Habib it ended, in our land;
And from that time [2] even until now not one has it slain, since he was burned.
Constantine, chief of conquerors, took the empire,
And the cross has trampled on the diadem of the emperor, and is set upon his head.
Broken is the lofty horn of idolatry,
And from the burning of the martyr even until now not one has it pierced.
His smoke arose, and it became incense to the Godhead;
And by it was the air purged which was tainted by paganism,
And by his burning was the whole land cleansed:
Blessed be he that gave him a crown, and glory, and a good name!

[Here] endeth the Homily on Habib the martyr, composed by Mar Jacob.

A HOMILY ON GURIA AND SHAMUNA, COMPOSED BY MAR JACOB.

Shamuna and Guria, martyrs who made themselves illustrious in their afflictions,
Have in love required of me to tell of their illustrious deeds.
To champions of the faith the doctrine calleth me,
That I should go and behold their contests and their crowns.

[1] [Lit. "the sacrifices of."] [2] [Lit. "from him."]

Children of the right hand, who have done battle against the left,
Have called me this day to recite the marvellous tale of their conflicts:—

Simple old men, who entered into the fight like heroes,
And nobly distinguished themselves in the strife of blood:
Those who were the salt of our land, and it was sweetened thereby,
And its savour was restored, which had become insipid through unbelief:
Candlesticks of gold, which were full of the oil of the crucifixion,
By which was lighted up all our region, which had turned to darkness:
Two lamps, of which, when all the winds were blowing
Of every [kind of] error, the lights were not put out:
Good labourers, who from the spring of day laboured
In the blessed vineyard of the house of God right duteously:
Bulwarks of our land, who became to us as it were a defence
Against all spoilers in all the wars that surrounded us:
Havens of peace, a place also of retreat for all that were distressed,
And a resting-place for the head of every one that was in need of succour:
Two precious pearls, which were
An ornament for the bride of my lord Abgar, the Aramæan's son.

Teachers they were who practised their teaching in blood,
And whose faith was known by their sufferings.
On their bodies they wrote the story of the Son of God
With [the marks of] combs and scourges which thickly covered them.
They showed their love, not by words of the mouth alone,
But by tortures and by the rending of their limbs asunder.
For the love of the Son of God they gave up their bodies:
Since it beseemeth the lover that for his love he should give up himself.
Fire and sword proved their love, how true [it was];
And more beautiful than silver tried in [a furnace of] earth were their necks.

They looked on God, and, because they saw His exalted beauties,
Therefore did they look with contempt upon their sufferings for His sake.
The Sun of righteousness had arisen in their hearts;
And they were enlightened by it, and with [His] light chased they away the darkness.

At the idols of vanity, which error had brought in, they laughed,
  Instinct with the faith of the Son of God which is full of light.
The love of the Lord was as a fire in their hearts;
  Nor could all the brambles of idolatry stand before it.
Fixed was their love on God unchangeably:[1]
  And therefore did they look with scorn upon the sword,[2] all athirst as it was for blood.

With guilelessness and [yet with] wisdom stood they in the judgment-hall,
  As they had been commanded by the Teacher of that which is true.
Despising as they did kindred and family, guileless were they;
  Forasmuch, also, as possessions and wealth were held in no account by them.
[Nor guileless only]: for in the judgment-hall with the wisdom of serpents [too]
  They were heedful of the faith of the house of God.

When a serpent is seized and struck, he guards his head,
  But gives up and leaves exposed all his body to his captors:
And, so long as his head is kept [from harm], his life abideth in him;
  But, if the head be struck, his life is left [a prey] to destruction.
The head of the soul is men's faith;
  And, if this be preserved [unharmed], by it is also preserved their life:[3]
Even though the whole body be lacerated with blows,
  [Yet], so long as faith is preserved, the soul is alive;
But, if faith is struck [down] by unbelief,
  Lost is the soul, and life has perished from the man.

Shamuna and Guria of the faith as men[4]
  Were heedful, that it should not be struck [down] by persecutors:
For they knew that, if faith is preserved,
  Both soul and body are preserved from destruction.
And, because of this, touching their faith were they solicitous,
  That that should not be struck [down] in which their very life was hidden.

[1] [Or "who changes not."] [2] [Σαμψηρά.]
[3] [Or "salvation:" a different word from that used in speaking of the serpent.]
[4] [Lit. "as a man."]

They gave up their bodies both to blows and to dislocation,[1]
Yea to every [kind of] torture, that their faith should not be stricken [down];
And, even as the serpent also hides his head from blows,
So hid they their faith within their hearts;
And the body was smitten, and endured stripes, and bore sufferings:
But overthrown was not their faith which was within their hearts.

The mouth betrayeth the soul to death when it speaks,
And with the tongue, as with a sword, worketh slaughter.
And from it spring up both life and death to men:
Denying [a man] dies, confessing he lives, and [the mouth] hath power over it.
Denial is death, and in confession is the soul's life;
And power hath the mouth over them both, like a judge.
The word of the mouth openeth the door for death to enter in;
This, too, calleth for life, and it beameth forth upon the man.
Even the robber by one word of faith
Won him the kingdom, and became heir of paradise,[2] all fraught with blessings.
The wicked judges too, from the martyrs, the sons of the right hand,
Demanded that by word of mouth only they should blaspheme;
But, like true men holding fast the faith,
They uttered not a word by which unbelief might be served.

Shamuna, beauty of our faith, who is adequate to [tell of] thee?
All too narrow is my mouth for thy praise, too mean for thee to be spoken of by it.
Thy truth is thy beauty, thy crown thy suffering, thy wealth thy stripes,
And by reason of thy blows magnificent is the beauty of thy championship.
Proud of thee is our country, as of a treasury which is full of gold:
Since wealth art thou to us, and a coveted store which cannot be stolen [from us].

Guria, martyr, staunch hero of our faith,
Who shall suffice thee, to recount thy beauties divine?
Lo! tortures on thy body are set like gems of beryl,
And the sword on thy neck like a chain of choice gold.
Thy blood upon thy form is a robe of glory full of beauty,
And the scourging of thy back a vesture with which the sun may not compare.

[1] [Or "rending asunder."]

[2] [Lit. "the garden."]

Radiant thou art and comely by virtue of these thy sufferings, so abounding;
And resplendent are thy beauties, because of the pains which are [so] severe upon thee.

Shamuna, our riches, richer art thou than the rich:
For lo! the rich stand at thy door, that thou mayest relieve them.
Small thy village, poor thy country: who, then, gave thee
That lords of villages and cities should court thy favour?
Lo! judges in their robes and vestments
Take dust from thy threshold, as [though it were] the medicine of life.
The cross is rich, and to its worshippers increaseth riches;
And its poverty despiseth all the riches of the world.

Shamuna and Guria, sons of the poor, lo! at your doors
Bow down the rich, that they may receive from you [supplies for] their wants.
The Son of God in poverty and want
Showed to the world that all its riches are as nothing.
[His disciples], all fishermen, all poor, all weak,
All men of little note, became illustrious through His faith.
One fisherman, whose *village* too was a home of fishermen,[1]
He made chief over the twelve, yea head of the house.[2]
One a tentmaker, who aforetime was a persecutor,
He seized upon, and made him a chosen vessel for the faith.

Shamuna and Guria came from villages that were not wealthy,
And lo! in a great city became they lords;
And its chief men, its judges also, stand before their doors,
And they solicit their charity to satisfy their wants.
From their confession of the faith of the Son of God
These blessed men acquired riches beyond compute.
Poor did He Himself become, and the poor made He rich;
And lo! enriched is the whole creation through His poverty.

The chosen martyrs did battle against error,
And in the confession of the Son of God stood they firm like valiant men.
They went in and confessed Him before the judge with look undaunted,[3]
That He too might confess them, even as they confessed Him, before His Father.

[1] [*i.e.* "Bethsaida."] [2] [Or "steward."]
[3] [Lit. "with openness of countenance."]

There arose against them the war of pagans like a tempest;
But the cross was their helmsman, and steered them on.
They were required to sacrifice to lifeless images,
But they departed not from their confession of the Son of God.
The wind of idolatry blew in their faces,
But they themselves were as rocks piled up against the hurricane.
Like a swift whirlwind, error snatched at them;
But, forasmuch as they were sheltered by the crucifixion, it hurt them not.
The Evil One set on all his dogs to bark, that they might bite them;
But, forasmuch as they had the cross for a staff, they put them all to flight.

But who is sufficient to tell of their contests,
Or their sufferings, or the rending asunder of their limbs?
Or who can paint the picture of their coronation,[1]
How they went up from the contest covered with glory?

To judgment they went in, but of the judge they took no account;
Nor were they anxious what they should say when questioned.
The judge menaced [them], and multiplied his words of threatening;
And recounted tortures and all [kinds of] inflictions, that he might terrify them.
He spake great words,[2] that by fright and intimidation,
By menaces too, he might incline them to sacrifice.
Yet the combatants despised the menaces, and the intimidations,
And the sentence of judgment, and all bodily deaths;
And they prepared themselves for insult and stripes, and for blows,
And for provocation, and to be dragged along, and to be burnt;
For imprisonment also, and for bonds, and for all evil things,
And for all tortures, and for all sufferings, rejoicing all the while.
They were not alarmed nor affrighted, nor dismayed,
Nor did the sharpness of the tortures bend them to sacrifice.
Their body they despised, and as dung upon the ground accounted they it:
For they knew that, the more it was beaten, the more would its beauty increase;
And, the more the judge increased his menaces to alarm them,
The more did they show their contempt of him, having no fear of his threats.
He kept telling them what tortures he had prepared for them;
And they continued telling him about Gehenna, which was reserved for him.

[1] [Lit. "portray the image of their crowns."]
[2] [Lit. "magnified his words."]

By those things which he told [them] he tried to frighten them to sacrifice;
And they spoke to him about the fearful judgment yonder.
Truth is wiser than wise words,
And very hateful, however much it may be adorned, is falsehood.
Shamuna and Guria went on speaking truth,
While the judge continued to utter falsehood.
And therefore were they not afraid of his threatening,
Because all his menaces against the truth were accounted [by them] as empty sound.[1]

The intercourse of the world they despised, they contemned and scorned, [yea] they abandoned;
And to return to it they had no wish, or to enter it [again].
From the place of judgment they set their faces to depart
To that meeting-place for them all, the life of the new world.
They cared neither for possessions nor for houses,
Nor for the advantages of this world, so full of evil.
In the world of light was their heart bound captive with God,
And to *that* country did they set their face to depart;
And they looked to the sword, to come and be a bridge
To let them pass over to God, for whom they were longing.
This world they accounted as a little tent,
But that yonder as a city full of beauties;
And they were in haste by the sword to depart hence
To the land of light, which is full of blessing for those who are worthy of it.

The judge commanded to hang them up by their arms,
And without mercy did they stretch them out in bitter agony.
A demon's fury breathed rage into the heart of the judge,
And embittered him against the stedfast ones, [inciting him] to crush them;
And between the height and the depth he stretched them out to afflict them:
And they were a marvel to both sides, [when they saw] how much they endured.
At the old men's frame heaven and earth marvelled,
[To see] how much suffering it bore nor cried out for help under [their] affliction.
Hung up and dragged along are their feeble bodies by their arms,
Yet is there deep silence, nor is there one that cries out for help or that murmurs.

[1] [Lit. "as breath."]

Amazed were all who beheld their contests,
[To see] how [calmly] the outstretched forms bore the inflictions [laid upon them].[1]
Amazed too was Satan at their spotless frames,
[To see] what weight of affliction they sustained without a groan.
Yea, and gladdened too were the angels by that fortitude [of theirs],
[To see] how patiently it bore that contest [so] terrible that was.
But, as combatants who were awaiting their crowns,
There entered no sense of weariness into their minds.
Nay, it was the judge that grew weary; yea, he was astonished:
But the noble men [before him] felt no weariness in their afflictions.

He asked them whether they would consent to sacrifice;
But the mouth was unable to speak from pain.
Thus did the persecutors increase their inflictions,
Until they gave no place for the word to be spoken.
Silent was the mouth from the inflictions laid on their limbs;
But the will, like that of a hero, was nerved with fortitude from itself.
Alas for the persecutors! how destitute were they of righteousness!
But the children of light—how were they clad in faith!
They demand speech, when there is no place for speaking,
Since the word of the mouth was forbidden them by pain.
Fast bound was the body, and silent the mouth, and it was unable
To utter the word when unrighteously questioned.

And what should the martyr do, who had no power to say,
When he was questioned, that he would not sacrifice?
All silent were the old men full of faith,
And from pain they were incapable of speaking.
Yet questioned they were: and in what way, if a man is silent
When he is questioned, shall he assent to that which is said?
But the old men, that they might not be thought to assent,
Expressed clearly by signs the word which it behoved them to speak.
Their heads they shook, and, instead of speech, by a dumb sign they showed
The resolve of the new man that was within.
Their heads hung down, signifying amidst their pains
That they were not going to sacrifice, and every one understood their meaning.

[1] [Lit. "how much the outstretched forms bore in consequence of the inflictions."]

As long as there was in them place for speech, with speech did they confess;
But, when it was forbidden them by pain, they spake with a dumb sign.
Of faith they spoke both with the voice and without the voice:
So that, when speaking and also when silent, they were [alike] stedfast.

Who but must be amazed at the path of life, how narrow it is,
And how straight to him that desires to walk in it?
Who but must marvel [to see] that, when the will is watchful and ready,
It is very broad and full of light to him that goeth therein?
About the path are ditches; full also is it of pitfalls;
And, if one turn but a little aside from it, a ditch receives him.
That dumb sign only is there between the right and the left,
And on *Yea* and *Nay* stand[1] sin and righteousness.
By a dumb sign only did the blessed men plainly signify that they would not sacrifice,
And in virtue of a single dumb sign did the path lead them to Eden;
And, if this same dumb sign had inclined and turned down but a little
Toward the depth, the path of the old men would have been to Gehenna.
Upwards they made a sign, [to signify] that upwards were they prepared to ascend;
And in consequence of that sign they ascended and mingled with the heavenly ones.
Between sign and sign were Paradise and Gehenna:
They made a sign that they would not sacrifice, and they inherited the place of the kingdom.

Even while they were silent they were advocates for the Son of God:
For not in multitude of words doth faith consist.
That fortitude of theirs was a full-voiced confession,
And as though with open mouth declared they [their] faith by signs;
And every one knew what they were saying, though silent,
And enriched and increased was the faith of the house of God;
And error was put to shame by reason of two old men, who, though they spake not,
Vanquished it; and they kept silence, and their faith stood fast.
And, though tempestuous accents were heard from the judge,
And the commands of the emperor were dreadful, yea violent,

[1] [Or "depend."]

And paganism had a bold face and an open mouth,
And its voice was raised, and silent were the old men with pain,
[Yet] null and void became the command and drowned was the voice of the judge,
And without speech the mute sign of the martyrs bore off the palm.
Talking and clamour, and the sound of stripes, on the left;
And deep silence and suffering standing on the right;
And, by one mute sign with which the old men pointed above their heads,
The head of faith was lifted up, and error was put to shame.
Worsted in the encounter were they who spoke, and the victory was to the silent:
For, voiceless they uttered by signs the discourse of faith.

They took them down, because they had vanquished while silent;
And they put them in bonds, threatening [yet] to vanquish them.
Bonds and a dungeon void of light were by the martyrs
Held of no account—yea [rather] as the light which has no end.
[To be] without bread, and without water, and without light,
Pleased them well, because of the love of the Son of God.

The judge commanded by their feet to hang them up
With their heads downwards, by a sentence all unrighteous:
Hanged up was Shamuna with his head downwards; and he prayed
[In] prayer pure and strained clear by pain.
Sweet fruit was hanging on the tree in that judgment-hall,
And its taste and smell made the very denizens of heaven to marvel.
Afflicted was his body, but sound was his faith;
Bound fast was his person, but unfettered was his prayer over his deed.
For, prayer nothing whatsoever turneth aside,
And [nothing] hindereth it—not even sword, not even fire.
His form was turned upside down, but [his] prayer was unrestrained,
And straight was its path on high to the abode of the angels.
The more the affliction of the chosen martyr was increased,
The more from his lips was all confession heard.
The martyrs longed for the whetted sword affectionately,
And sought it as a treasure full of riches.

A new work has the Son of God wrought in the world—
That dreadful death should be yearned for[1] by many.
That men should run to meet the sword is a thing unheard of,
Except they were those whom Jesus has enlisted in His service by His crucifixion.

[1] [Or "beloved."]

That death is bitter, every one knoweth lo! from earliest time:
To martyrs alone is it not bitter to be slain.
They laughed at the whetted sword when they saw it,
And greeted it with smiles: for it was that which was the occasion of their crowns.
As though it had been something hated, they left the body to be beaten:
Even though loving it, they held it not back from pains.
For the sword they waited, and the sword went forth and crowned them:
Because for it they looked; and it came to meet them, even as they desired.
The Son of God slew death by His crucifixion;
And, inasmuch as death is slain, it caused no suffering to the martyrs.

With a wounded serpent one playeth without fear;
A slain lion even a coward will drag along:
The great serpent our Lord crushed by His crucifixion;
The dread lion did the Son of God slay by His sufferings.
Death bound He fast, and laid him prostrate and trampled on him at the gate of Hades;
And [now] whosoever will draweth near and mocketh at him, because he is slain.
These old men, Shamuna and Guria, mocked at death,
As at that lion which by the Son of God was slain.
The great serpent, which slew Adam among the trees,
Who could seize, so long as he drank not of the blood of the cross?
The Son of God crushed the dragon by His crucifixion,
And lo! boys and old men mock at the wounded serpent.
Pierced is the lion with the spear which [pierced] the side of the Son of God;
And whosoever will trampleth on him, and despiseth him, yea mocketh at him.

The Son of God—He is the cause of all good things,
And Him doth it behove every mouth to celebrate.
He did Himself espouse[1] the bride with the blood which flowed from His wounds,
And of His wedding-friends He demanded as a nuptial gift[2] the blood of their necks.

[1] [Lit. "purchase."]

[2] ܪܘܡܝܢܐ, though not in the lexicons, is the same word that appears in Castel as ܪܘܡܝܘܢܐ.

The Lord of the wedding-feast hung on the cross in nakedness,
And whosoever came to be a guest, He let fall His blood upon him.
Shamuna and Guria gave up their bodies for His sake
To sufferings and tortures and to all the various forms of woe.[1]
At Him they looked as He was mocked by wicked men,
And thus did they themselves endure mockery without a groan.

Edessa was enriched by your slaughter, O blessed ones:
For ye adorned her with your crowns and with your sufferings.
Her beauty are ye, her bulwark ye, her salt ye,
Her riches and her store, yea her boast and all her treasure.
Faithful stewards are ye:[2]
Since by your sufferings ye did array the bride in beauty.
The daughter of the Parthians, who was espoused to the cross,[3]
Of *you* maketh her boast: since by your teaching lo! she was enlightened.
Her advocates are ye; scribes who, though silent, vanquished
All error, whilst its voice was uplifted high in unbelief.

Those old men[4] of the daughter of the Hebrews were sons of Belial,[5]
False witnesses, who killed Naboth, feigning themselves [to be true].
Her did Edessa outdo by her two old men full of beauty,
Who were witnesses to the Son of God, and died like Naboth.
Two were there, and two here, old men;
And these were called witnesses, and witnesses those.
Let us now see which of them were witnesses chosen of God,
And which city is beloved by reason of her old men and of her honourable ones.
Lo! the sons of Belial who slew Naboth are witnesses;
And here Shamuna and Guria, again, are witnesses.
Let us now see which witnesses, and which old men,
And which city can stand with confidence[6] before God.

[1] [Lit. "to the forms (σχήματα) of all afflictions."]

[2] [This seems preferable to Cureton's "Ye are the stewards of (her) faith." The expression exactly corresponds in form to that in Luke xvi. 8 (Peshito): "the steward of injustice" = "the unjust steward."]

[3] [Lit. "crucifixion."]

[4] [Or "elders."]

[5] [By this name the men referred to (not, however, the elders, but the two false witnesses suborned by them) are called in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13. The expression in the text is literally "sons of iniquity," and is that used by the Peshito.]

[6] [Or "have an open countenance."]

Sons of Belial were those witnesses of that adulterous woman,
And lo! their shame is all portrayed in their names.
Edessa's just and righteous old men, her witnesses,
Were like Naboth, who himself also was slain for righteousness' sake.
They were not like the two lying sons of Belial,
Nor is Edessa like Zion, which also crucified [the Lord].
Like herself her old men were false, yea dared
To shed on the ground innocent blood wickedly.
[But] by these witnesses here lo! the truth is spoken.—
Blessed be He who gave us the treasure-store of their crowns!

[Here] endeth the Homily on Guria and Shamuna.

A CANTICLE OF MAR[1] JACOB THE TEACHER ON EDESSA, WHEN SHE SENT TO [REQUEST] OUR LORD TO COME TO HER.[2]

Edessa sent to Christ by an epistle to come to her and enlighten her. On behalf of all the peoples did she make intercession to Him that He would leave Zion, which hated Him, and come to the [other] peoples, who loved Him.

She despatched a messenger to Him, and begged of Him to enter into friendship with her. By the righteous king she made intercession to Him, that He would depart from the [one] people, and towards the [other] peoples direct His burden.

From among all kings one wise king did the daughter of the peoples find. Ambassador she made him. To her Lord she sent by him: Come Thou unto me; I will forget in Thee all idols and carved images.

The harlot heard the report of Him from afar, as she was standing in the street, going astray with idols, playing the wench with carved images. She loved, she much desired Him, when He was far away, and begged Him to admit her into His chamber.

[1] [Or "My Lord," or "Mr."]
[2] This is taken from Cod. Add. 17,158, fol. 56.

Let the much-desired Bridegroom kiss me: with the kisses of His mouth let me be blessed. I have heard of Him from afar: may I see Him near; and may I place my lips upon His, and be delighted by seeing Him with mine eyes.

Thy breasts are better to me than wine: for the fragrance of Thy sweetness is life for evermore. With Thy milk shall I be nourished; with Thy fragrance shall I grow sweet from the smoke of idols, which with its rank odour did make me fetid.

Draw me after Thee into Thy fold: for I am a sheep gone astray in the world. After Thee do I run, and Thy converse do I seek: that in me may be completed that number of a hundred, by means of a lost one which is found.

Let Gabriel rejoice and be exceeding glad, with the company of all the angels, in Thee, the Good Shepherd, who on Thy shoulders didst carry the maimed sheep, that that number of a hundred might be preserved.

Thy love is better than wine; than the face of the upright Thy affection. By wine let us be reminded of Thee, how by the cup of Thy blood Thou didst grant us to obtain new life, and the upright did celebrate Thy love.

A church am I from among the peoples, and I have loved the Only-begotten who was sent [by God]: whereas *His* betrothed hated Him, I have loved Him; and by the hands of Abgar the Black[1] do I beseech Him to come to me and visit me.

Black am I, yet comely. Ye daughters of Zion, blameless is your envy, seeing that the Son of the Glorious One hath espoused me, to bring me into His chamber. Even when I was hateful [to see], He loved me, for He is able to make me fairer than water.

Black was I in sins, but I am comely: for I have repented and turned me. I have put away in baptism that hateful hue, for He hath washed me in His innocent blood who is the Saviour of all creatures.

[Here] end the Extracts from the Canticle on Edessa.

[1] See note on p. 7.

EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS BOOKS CONCERNING ABGAR THE KING AND ADDÆUS THE APOSTLE.

I.[1]

Of the blessed Addœus the apostle. From his Teaching which he gave in Edessa before Abgar the king and the assembly of the city.

And, when he had entered the sepulchre, he was raised to life again, and came forth from the sepulchre with many [others]. And those who were guarding the sepulchre saw not how He came forth from the sepulchre; but the watchers from on high—they were the proclaimers and announcers of His resurrection. For, had He not [so] willed, He had not died, because He is Lord of death, the exit [from the world]; nor, had it not pleased Him, would He have put on a body, inasmuch as He is Himself the framer of the body. For that will which led Him to stoop to be born of the Virgin, likewise caused Him further to descend to the suffering of death.—*And a little after* [*we read*]: For, although His appearance was that of men, yet His power, and His knowledge, and His authority, were those of God.

II.[2]

From the Teaching of Addœus the apostle, which was spoken in the city of Edessa.

Ye know that I said unto you, that none of the souls which go forth out of the bodies of men are under [the power of] death, but that they all live and continue to exist, and that there are for them mansions and an abode of rest. For the reasoning [power] of the soul does not cease, nor the knowledge, because it is the image of the immortal God. For it is not without perceptions, after the manner of the bodily frame, which has no perception of that corruption which has acquired dominion over it. Recompense, however, and reward it will not receive apart from its bodily form,

[1] Taken from Cod. Add. 14,535, fol. i.

[2] From Cod. Add. 12,155, fol. 53 vers.

because what it experiences belongs not to itself alone, but to the bodily form also in which it dwelt for a time. But the disobedient, who have not known God, will then repent without avail.

III.[1]

From the Epistle of Addæus the apostle, which he spake in the city of Edessa.

Give heed to this ministry which ye hold, and with fear and trembling continue ye in it, and minister every day. Minister ye not in it with neglectful habits, but with the discreetness of faith. And let not the praises of Christ cease out of your mouth, and let not any sense of weariness come over you at the season of prayers. Give heed to the verity which ye hold, and to the teaching of the truth which ye have received, and to the teaching of salvation which I commit to you. Because before the tribunal of Christ will it be required of you, when He maketh reckoning with the pastors and overseers, and when He shall take His money from the traders with the usury of what they have taught.[2] For He is the Son of a King, and goeth to receive a kingdom, and He will return and come and make a resuscitation to life of all men.

IV.[3]

Addæus preached at Edessa and in Mesopotamia (he was from Paneus[4]) in the days of Abgar the king. And, when he was among the Zophenians, Severus the son of Abgar sent and slew him at Agel Hasna, as also a young man his disciple.

V.[3]

71. and Narcissus. For they did not suffer that selection of the Seventy-two to be wanting, as likewise neither that of the Twelve. This [man] was [one] of the Seventy-two: perhaps he was a disciple of Addæus the apostle.

[1] From Cod. Add. 17,193, fol. 36. [See p. 30.]

[2] [Or "of the doctrines."]

[3] Extracts IV. and V. are from Cod. Add. 14,601, fol. 164, written apparently in the eighth century.

[4] [*i.e.* Paneas.]

VI.[1]

From the Departure of Marath[2] Mary from the World, and the Birth and Childhood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Book the Second.

In the year three hundred and forty-five, in the month of the latter Tishrin,[3] Marath Mary went out from her house, and went to the sepulchre of Christ: because every day she used to go and weep there. But the Jews immediately after the death of Christ seized the sepulchre, and heaped great stones at the door of it. And over the sepulchre and Golgotha they set guards, and commanded them that, if any one should go and pray at the sepulchre or at Golgotha, he should immediately be put to death. And the Jews took away the cross of our Lord, and those two other crosses, and that spear with which our Saviour was struck, and those nails which they drove into His hands and into His feet, and those robes of mockery in which He had been clad; and they hid them: lest, as they said, any one of the kings or of the chief persons should come and inquire concerning the putting to death of Christ.

And the guards went in and said to the priests: Mary cometh in the evening and in the morning, and prayeth there. And there was a commotion in Jerusalem on account of Marath Mary. And the priests went to the judge, and said to him: My lord, send and command Mary that she go not to pray at the sepulchre and at Golgotha. And while they were deliberating, lo! letters came from Abgar, the king of the city of Edessa, to Sabina the procurator[4] who had been appointed by Tiberius the emperor, and as far as the river Euphrates the procurator Sabina had authority. And,

[1] From Cod. Add. 16,484, fol. 19. It consists of an apocryphal work on the Virgin, of the fifth or sixth century.

[2] [*i.e.* "My Lady" or "Madam" (= mea domina): it is the feminine form of "Mar."]

[3] [Beginning with the new moon of October. The *former Tishrin* was the month immediately preceding.]

[4] [The Greek ἐπίτροπος is used.]

because Addæus the apostle, one of the seventy-two apostles, had gone down and built a church at Edessa, and had cured the disease with which Abgar the king was afflicted—for Abgar the king loved Jesus Christ, and was constantly inquiring about Him; and, when Christ was put to death and Abgar the king heard that the Jews had slain Him on the cross, he was much displeased; and Abgar arose and rode and came as far as the river Euphrates, because he wished to go up against Jerusalem and lay it waste; and, when Abgar came and was arrived at the river Euphrates, he deliberated in his mind: If I pass over, there will be enmity between me and Tiberius the emperor. And Abgar wrote letters and sent them to Sabina the procurator, and Sabina sent them to Tiberius the emperor. In this manner did Abgar write to Tiberius the emperor:

From Abgar, the king of the city of Edessa. Much peace to thy Majesty, our lord Tiberius! In order that thy Majesty may not be offended with me, I have not passed over the river Euphrates: for I have been wishing to go up against Jerusalem and lay her waste, forasmuch as she has slain Christ, a skilful healer. But do thou, as a great sovereign who hast authority over all the earth and over us, send and do me judgment on the people of Jerusalem. For be it known to thy Majesty that I desire that thou wilt do me judgment on the crucifiers.

And Sabina received the letters, and sent them to Tiberius the emperor. And, when he had read them, Tiberius the emperor was greatly incensed, and he desired to destroy and slay all the Jews. And the people of Jerusalem heard it and were alarmed. And the priests went to the governor, and said to him: My lord, send and command Mary that she go not to pray at the sepulchre and Golgotha. The judge said to the priests: Go ye yourselves, and give her what command and what caution ye please.

VII.[1]

From the Homily composed by the holy Mar Jacob, the teacher, on the Fall of Idols.

To Edessa he made his journey, and found in it a great work [going on]:
For the king was become a labourer for the church, and was building it.
The apostle Addæus stood in it like a builder,
And King Abgar laid aside his diadem and builded with him.
When apostle and king concurred the one with the other,
What idol must not fall before them?
Satan fled to the land of Babylon from the disciples,
And the tale of the crucifixion had got before him to the country of the Chaldeans.
He said, when they were making sport of the signs of the Zodiac, that he was nothing.

VIII.[2]

From the Homily about the town of Antioch.

To Simon was allotted Rome, and to John Ephesus; to Thomas India, and to Addæus the country of the Assyrians.[3] And, when they were sent each one of them to the district which had been allotted to him, they devoted themselves[4] to bring the [several] countries to discipleship.

[1] From Cod. Add. 14,624, apparently written in the ninth century.

[2] From Cod. Add. 14,590, of the eighth or ninth century.

[3] [This is probably the correct reading: the printed text means "among the Assyrians."]

[4] [Lit. "set their faces."]

APPENDIX.

MARTYRDOM[1] OF THE HOLY CONFESSORS SHAMUNA, GURIA, AND HABIB, FROM SIMEON METAPHRASTES.[2]

In the six hundredth year from the empire of Alexander the Macedonian, when Diocletian had been nine years sovereign of the Romans, and Maximian was consul for the sixth time, and Augar son of Zoaras was prætor, and Cognatus was bishop of the Edessenes, a great persecution was raised against the churches in all the countries which were under the sway of the Romans. The name of Christian was looked upon as execrable, and was assailed and harassed with abuse; while the priests and the monks, on account of their staunch and unconquerable stedfastness, were subjected to shocking punishments, and the pious were at their wits' end with sadness and fear. For, desiring as they did to proclaim the truth because of their yearning affection for Christ, they yet shrunk back from doing so for fear of punishment. For those who took up arms against true religion were bent on making the Christians renounce Christianity and embrace the cause of Saturn and Rhea, whilst the faithful on their part laboured to prove that the objects of heathen worship had no real existence.

[1] This piece, [which Cureton gives in Latin], is taken from the well-known work of Surius, *De probatis Sanctorum vitis*. It does not appear who made this Latin translation.

[2] [A celebrated Byzantine writer, who lived in the ninth and tenth centuries. He derives his name from having written paraphrases, or metaphrases, of the lives of the saints. Fabricius gives a list of 539 lives commonly attributed to him.—Dr. W. Plate, in Smith's *Dict. Biog. and Myth.*]

At this period it was that an accusation was preferred before the judge against Guria and Shamuna. The former was a native of Sarcigitua, and the latter of the village of Ganas; they were, however, both brought up at Edessa—which they call Mesopotamia, because it is situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris: a city previously to this but little known to fame, but which after the struggles of its martyrs obtained universal notoriety. These holy men would not by any means spend their lives in the city, but removing to a distance from it, as those who wished to be at a distance from its turmoils, they made it their aim to be manifest to God only. Guria's purity and lovingness were to him a precious and honourable possession, and from his cultivation of the former the surname of *the pure* was given him: so that from his name you would not have known who he was, but only when you called him by his surname. Shamuna devoted his body and his youthful and active mind to the service of God, and rivalled Guria in excellence of character. Against these men an indictment was laid before the judge, to the effect that they not only pervaded all the country round about Edessa with their teaching and encouraged the people to hold fast their faith, but also led them to look with contempt on their persecutors, and, in order to induce them to set wholly at nought their impiety, taught them agreeably to that which is written: "Trust not in princes—in the sons of men, in whom is no safety."[1] By these representations the judge was wrought up to a high pitch of madness, and gave orders that all those who held the Christian religion in honour and followed the teaching of Shamuna and Guria, together with those who persuaded them to this, should be apprehended, and shut up in safe keeping. The order was carried into effect; and, seizing the opportunity, he had some of them flogged, and others tortured in various ways, and induced them to obey the emperor's command, and then, as if he were behaving kindly and mercifully, he allowed others to go to their homes; but [our two] saints, as being the ringleaders and those who had communicated their piety to

[1] [Ps. cxlvi. 3.]

others, he ordered to be still further maltreated in prison. They, however, rejoiced in the fellowship of martyrdom. For they heard of many in other provinces who had had to pass through the same conflict as themselves: among them Epiphanius and Petrus and the most holy Pamphilus, with many others, at Cæsarea in Palestine; Timotheus at Gaza; at Alexandria the Great [another] Timotheus; Agapetus at Thessalonica; Hesychius at Nicomedia; Philippus at Adrianopolis; at Melitina Petrus; Hermes and his companions in the confines of Martyropolis: all of whom were also encircled with the crown of martyrdom by Dux Heraclianus, along with other confessors too numerous for us to become acquainted with. But we must return to the matters of which we were before speaking.

Antonius, then, the governor of Edessa, having permitted others to return to their homes, had a lofty judgment-seat erected, and ordered the martyrs to be brought before him. The attendants having done as they were bidden, the governor said to the saints: Our most divine emperor commands you to renounce Christianity, of which you are followers, and to pay divine honour to Jupiter by offering incense on the altar. To this Shamuna replied: Far be it from us to abandon the true faith, whereby we hope to obtain immortality, and worship the work of men's hands and a [lifeless] image! The governor said: The emperor's orders must by all means be obeyed. Guria answered: Our pure and divine faith will we never disown, by following the will of men, who are subject to dissolution. For we have a Father in heaven whose will we follow, and He says: "He that shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father who is in heaven; but he that shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father and His angels."[1] The judge said: You refuse, then, to obey the will of the emperor? But can you for a moment think, that the purposes of ordinary men and such as have no more power than yourselves are to be really carried into execution, while the commands of those who possess supreme power

[1] [Matt. x. 33.]

fall to the ground? They, said the saints, who do the will of the King of kings spurn and reject the will of the flesh. Then, on the governor's threatening them with death unless they obeyed, Shamuna said: We shall not die, O tyrant, if we follow the will of the Creator: nay rather, on the contrary, we shall live; but, if we follow the commands of your emperor, know thou that, even though thou shouldest [not] put us to death, we shall perish miserably all the same.

On hearing this, the governor gave orders to Anovitus the jailor to put them in very safe keeping. For the mind which is naturally inclined to evil cannot bear the truth, any more than diseased eyes the bright beams of the sun. And, when he had done as he was commanded, and the martyrs were in prison, where many other saints also had been previously shut by the soldiers, the Emperor Diocletian sent for Musonius the governor of Antioch and ordered him to go to Edessa and see the Christians who were confined there, whether they were of the common or of the sacred class, and question them about their religion, and deal with them as he should see fit. So he came to Edessa; and he had Shamuna and Guria first of all placed before the tribunal of judgment, and said to them: This, and no less, is the command of the lord of the world, that you make a libation of wine and place incense on the altar of Jupiter. If you refuse to do so, I will destroy you with manifold punishments: for I will tear your bodies to pieces with whips, till I get to your very entrails; and I will not cease pouring boiling lead into your armpits until it reaches even to your bowels; after that, I will hang you up, now by your hands, now by your feet, and I will loosen the fastenings of your joints; and I will invent new and unheard of punishments which you will be utterly unable to endure.

Shamuna answered: We dread "the worm," the threat of which is denounced against those who deny the Lord, and "the fire which is not quenched," more than those tortures which thou hast set before us. For [God] Himself, to whom we offer rational worship, will, first of all, strengthen us to bear these manifold tortures, and will deliver us out of thy

hands; and, after that, will also give us to rest in a place of safety, where is the abode of all those who rejoice. Besides, it is against nothing whatever but the body that thou takest up arms: for what possible harm couldst thou do to the soul? since, as long as it resides in the body, it proves superior to torture; and, when it takes its departure, the body has no feeling whatever left. For, "the more our outward man is destroyed, the more is our inward man renewed day by day;"[1] for by means of patience we go through with this contest which is set before us. The governor, however, again, with a kind of protestation, in order that, in case they did not obey, he might with the more justice punish them, said: Give up your error, I beg you, and yield to the command of the emperor: ye will not be able to endure the tortures. The holy Guria answered: We are neither the slaves of error, as thou sayest, nor will we ever obey the command of the emperor: God forbid that we should be so weak-minded and so senseless! For we are His disciples who laid down His life for us, so manifesting the riches of His goodness and His love towards us. We will, therefore, resist sin even to death, nor, come what may, will we be foiled by the stratagems of the adversary, by which the first man was ensnared and plucked death from the tree through his disobedience;[2] and Cain was persuaded, and, after staining his hands with his brother's blood, found the rewards of sin to be wailing and fear. But we, listening to the words of Christ, will "not be afraid of those that kill the body but are not able to kill the soul:" Him rather will we fear "who is able to destroy our soul and body."[3] The tyrant said: It is not to give you an opportunity of disproving my allegations by snatches of your own writings that I refrain from anger and show myself forbearing; but that you may per-

[1] [2 Cor. iv. 16.]

[2] [Or "through his disobedience in the matter of the tree," if *per ligni inobedientiam* are the real words of the translator, who is not, generally speaking, to be complimented for elegance or even correctness, but seems to have made a servile copy of the mere words of the Greek.]

[3] [Matt. x. 28.]

form the command of the emperor and return in peace to your homes.

These words did not at all shake the resolution of the martyrs; but, approaching nearer: What, said they, does it matter to us, if thou *art* angry, and nursest thine anger, and rainest tortures upon us like snow-flakes? For then wouldst thou be favouring us all the more, by rendering the proof of our fortitude more conspicuous, and winning for us a greater recompense. For this is the crowning point of our hope, that we shall leave behind our present dwelling, whch is but for a time, and depart to one that will last for ever. For we have "a tabernacle not made with hands"[1] in heaven, which the Scripture is accustomed also to call "Abraham's bosom," because of the familiar intercourse with God with which he was blessed. The governor, seeing that their firmness underwent no change, forthwith left off speaking and proceeded with the threatened punishments, giving orders to the jailor Anuinus that they should be severally hung up by one hand, and that, when their hands were dislocated by having to bear the entire weight of the body, he should further suspend a heavy stone to their feet, that the sense of pain might be the sharper. This was done, and from the third hour to the eighth they bore this severe torture with fortitude, uttering not a word, nor a groan, nor giving any other indication of a weak or abject mind. You would have said that they were suffering in a body which was not theirs, or that others were suffering and they themselves were nothing more than spectators of what was going on.

In the meantime, whilst they were hanging by their hands, the governor was engaged in trying other cases. Having done with these, he ordered the jailor to inquire of the saints whether or not they would obey the emperor and be released from their torture; and on his putting the question to them, when it was found that they either could not or would not return an answer, he ordered that they should be confined in the inner part of the prison, in a dark dungeon, dark both in name and in reality, and that their feet should be made

[1 2 Cor. v. 1.]

fast in the stocks. At dawn of day, their feet were loosened from the confinement of the stocks; but their prison was close shut up, so that not a single ray even of sunlight could make its way in; and the jailors were ordered not to give them a bit of bread or a single drop of water for three whole days. So that, in addition to all the rest, the martyrs were condemned to a dark prison and a long privation of food. When the third day arrived, about the beginning of the month of August, the prison was opened to admit light, but they were detained in it still up to the 10th of November. Then the judge had them brought up before his tribunal: Has not all this time, said he, sufficed to induce you to change your minds and come to some [more] wholesome decision? They answered: We have already several times told thee our mind: do, therefore, what thou hast been commanded. The governor forthwith ordered that Shamuna should be made to kneel down on one side[1] and that an iron chain should be fastened on his knee. This having been done, he hung him up head downwards by the foot with which he had made him kneel; the other he pulled downwards with a heavy piece of iron, which cannot be described in words: thus endeavouring to rend the champion in twain. By this means the socket of the hip-bone was wrenched out of its place and Shamuna became lame. Guria, however, because he was weak and somewhat pale, he left unpunished: not that he regarded him with friendly eyes—not that he had any compassion on his weakness; but rather by way of sparing for another opportunity one whom he was anxious to punish: lest perchance, as he said, through inadvertence on my part he should be worn out before he has undergone the torments in reserve for him.

By this time two hours of the day had passed since Shamuna had been hung up; and the fifth hour had now arrived, and he was still suspended on high—when the soldiers who stood around, taking pity upon him, urged him to obey the emperor's command. But the compassion of sinners had no effect upon the saint. For, although he suffered bitterly

[1] [Lit. "with one foot."]

from the torture, he vouchsafed them no answer whatever, leaving them to lament at their leisure, and to deem themselves rather, and not him, deserving of pity. But, lifting his eyes to heaven, he prayed to God from the depth of his heart, reminding Him of the wonders done in old time: Lord God, he said, without whom not even a poor little sparrow falls into the snare; who didst cheer the heart of David amid his afflictions; who gavest power to Daniel even against the lions; who madest the children of Abraham victorious over the tyrant and the flame: do Thou now also, O Lord, look on the war which is being waged against us, acquainted as Thou art with the weakness of our nature. For the enemy is trying to turn away the workmanship of Thy right hand from the glory which is with Thee. But regard Thou us with looks of compassion, and maintain within us, against all attempts to extinguish it, the lamp of Thy commandments; and by Thy light guide our paths, and vouchsafe us the enjoyment of that happiness which is in Thee: for Thou art blessed for ever, world without end. Thus did he utter the praise of the Umpire of the strife; and a scribe who was present took down in writing what was said

At length the governor ordered the jailor to release him from his punishment. He did so, and carried him away all faint and exhausted with the pain he suffered, and they bore him back to his former prison and laid him down by the side of the holy Guria. On the 15th of November, however, in the night, about the time of cock-crowing, the judge got up. He was preceded by torches and attendants; and, on arriving at the Basilica, as it is called, where the court was held, he took his seat with great ceremony on the tribunal, and sent to fetch the champions Guria and Shamuna. The latter came in walking between two [of the jailors] and supported by the hands of both: for he was worn out with hunger and weighed down with age: nothing but his good hope sustained him. Guria, too, had also to be carried in: for he could not walk at all, because his foot had been severely galled by the chain on it. Addressing them both, the advocate of impiety said: In pursuance of the permission which

was granted, you have, [I presume], consulted together about what it is expedient for you to do. Tell me, then, whether any fresh resolution has been come to by you, and whether you have in any respect changed your mind in regard to your former purpose; and obey the command of the most divine [emperor]. For thus will you be restored to the enjoyment of your property and possessions, yea of this most cheering light also. To this the martyrs reply: No one who is wise would make any great account of continuing for a little while in the enjoyment of things which are but transient. Sufficient for us is the time already past for the use and the sight of them; nor do we feel the want of any of them. That death, on the contrary, with which thou art threatening us will convey us to imperishable habitations and give us a participation in the happiness which is yonder.

The governor replied: What you have said has filled my ears with great sadness. However, I will explain to you what is determined on: if you place incense on the altar and sacrifice to the image of Jupiter, all will be well, and each of you will go away to his home; but, if you still persist in disobeying the command of the emperor, you will most certainly lose your heads: for this is what the great emperor wills and determines. To this the most noble-minded *Sha*muna replied: If thou shalt confer upon us so great a favour as to grant us deliverance from the miseries of this life and dismissal to the happiness of the life yonder, so far as in us lies thou shalt be rewarded by Him who lays out our possessions on what is for our good. The governor replied to this somewhat kindly, as it seemed, saying: I have patiently endured hitherto, putting up with those long speeches of yours, in order that by delay you may change your purpose and betake yourselves to what is for your good, and not have to undergo the punishment of death. Those who submit, said he, to death which is only for a time, for the sake of Christ, will manifestly be delivered from eternal death. For those who die to the world live in Christ. For Peter also, who shines so brightly among the band of apostles, was condemned to the cross and to death; and James, the son of thunder,

was slain by Herod Agrippa with the sword. Moreover, Stephen also was stoned, who was the first to run the course of martyrdom. What, too, wilt thou say of John [the Baptist]? Thou wilt surely acknowledge his distinguished fortitude and boldness of speech, when he preferred death rather than keep silence about conjugal infidelity, and the adulteress received his head as a reward for her dancing?

Again the governor said: It is not that you may reckon up your saints, as you call them, that I bear so patiently with you, but that, by changing your resolution and yielding to the emperor's commands, you may be rescued from a very bitter death. For, if you behave with such excessive daring and arrogance, what can you expect but that severer punishments are in store for you, under the pressure of which you will be ready even against your will to do what I demand of you: by which time, however, it will be altogether too late to take refuge in compassion? For the cry which is wrung from you by force has no power to challenge pity; whilst, on the other hand, that which is made of your own accord is deserving of compassion. The confessors and martyrs of Christ said: There needs not many words. For lo! we are ready to undergo all the punishments thou mayest lay upon us. What, therefore, has been commanded thee, delay not to perform. For we are the worshippers of Christ the true God, and (again we say it) of Him of whose kingdom there shall be no end; who also is alone able to glorify those in return who glorify His name. In the meantime, whilst these things were being said by the saints, the governor pronounced sentence against them that they should suffer death by the sword. But they, filled with a joy beyond the power of words to express, exclaimed: To Thee of right belongeth glory and praise, who art God of all, because it hath pleased Thee that we should carry on to its close the conflict we have entered upon, and that we should also receive at Thy hands the brightness that shall never fade away.

When, therefore, the governor saw their unyielding firmness, and how they had heard the final sentence with exulta-

tion of soul, he said to the saints: May God search into what is being done, [and be witness] that so far as I was concerned it was no wish of mine that you should lose your lives; but the inflexible command of the emperor to me compels me to this. He then ordered a halberdier to take charge of the martyrs, and, putting them in a carriage, to convey them to a distance from the city with some soldiers, and there to end them with the sword. So he, taking the saints out at night by the Roman gate, when the citizens were buried in profound slumber, conveyed them to Mount Bethelabicla on the north of the city. On their arrival at that place, having alighted from the carriage with joy of heart and great firmness of mind, they requested the halberdier and those who were under his orders to give them time to pray; and it was granted. For, just as if their tortures and their blood were not enough to plead for them, they still by reason of their humility deemed it necessary to pray. So they raised their eyes to heaven and prayed earnestly, concluding with the words: God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, receive in peace our spirits to Thyself. Then Shamuna, turning to the halberdier, said: Perform that which thou hast been commanded. So he kneeled down along with Guria, and they were beheaded, on the 15th of November. This is the account of what happened to the martyrs.

But forasmuch as the number sought for a third in order that in them the Trinity might be glorified, it found, oh admirable providence! Habib—at a subsequent time indeed: but he also, along with those who had preceded him, had determined to enter on the journey, and on the very day[1] of their martyrdom reached his consummation. Habib, then, great among martyrs, was a native of the same place as they, namely of the village of Thelsæa;[2] and he had the honour of being invested with the sacred office of the diaconate. But, when Licinius swayed the sceptre of the Roman empire and Lysanias had been appointed governor of Edessa, a persecution was again raised against the Christians, and the

[1] [*i.e.* the anniversary.]

[2] [In the Syriac account "Telzeha:" see p. 91.]

general danger threatened Habib. For he would go about the city, teaching the divine Scriptures to all he met with, and courageously seeking to strengthen them in [the practice of] piety. When this came to the ears of Lysanias, he gave information of it to the Emperor Licinius. For he was anxious to be himself entrusted with the business of bringing the Christians to trial, and especially Habib: for he had never been entrusted with it before. The emperor, then, sent him a letter and commanded him to put Habib to death. So, when Lysanias had received the letter, search was made everywhere for Habib, who on account of his office in the church lived in some part of the city, his mother and some of his relations residing with him. When he got intelligence of the matter, fearing lest he should incur punishment for quitting the ranks of martyrdom, he went of his own accord and presented himself to a man who was among the chief of the body-guard, named Theotecnus, and presently he said: I am Habib for whom ye are seeking. But he, looking kindly at him, said: No one, my good man, is as yet aware of thy coming to me: so go away, and look to thy safety; and be not concerned about thy mother, nor about thy relations: for they cannot possibly get into any trouble. Thus far Theotecnus.

But Habib, because the occasion was one that called for martyrdom, refused to yield to a weak and cowardly spirit and secure his safety in any underhand way. He replied, therefore: It is not for the sake of my dear mother, nor for the sake of my kinsfolk, that I denounce myself; but I have come for the sake of the confession of Christ. For lo! whether thou consent or no, I will make my appearance before the governor, and I will proclaim my [Lord] Christ before princes and kings. Theotecnus, accordingly, apprehensive that he might go of his own accord to the governor, and that in this way he might himself be in jeopardy for not having denounced him, took Habib and conducted him to the governor: Here, said he, is Habib, for whom search has been made. When Lysanias learned that Habib had come of his own accord to the contest, he concluded that this was

a mark of contempt and overweening boldness, as if he set light by the solemn dignity of the judicial seat; and he had him at once put on his trial. He inquired of him his condition of life, his name, and his country. On his answering that he was a native of the village of Thelsæa, and intimating that he was a minister of Christ, the governor immediately charged the martyr with not obeying the emperor's commands. He insisted that a plain proof of this was his refusal to offer incense to Jupiter. To this Habib kept replying that he was a Christian, and could not forsake the true God, or sacrifice to the lifeless works of [men's] hands which had no sensation. The governor hereupon ordered, that his arms should be bound with ropes, and that he should be raised up high on a beam and torn with iron claws.[1] The hanging up was far more difficult to bear than the tearing: for he was in danger of being pulled asunder, through the forcible strain with which his arms were stretched out.

In the meantime, as he was hanging up in the air, the governor had recourse to smooth words, and assumed the guise of patience. He, however, continued to threaten him with severer punishments unless he should change his resolution. But he said: No man shall induce me to forsake the faith, nor persuade me to worship demons, even though he should inflict tortures more and greater. On the governor's asking him what advantage he expected to gain from tortures which destroyed his whole[2] body, Habib, Christ's martyr, replied: The objects of our regard do not last merely for the present, nor do we pursue the things that are seen; and, if thou too art minded to turn thy look towards our hope and promised recompense, possibly thou wilt even say with Paul: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is to be revealed in us."[3] The governor pronounced his words to be the language of imbecility; and, when he saw that, notwithstanding all the efforts he made, by turns using smooth words and assuming

[1] [Compare the "combs" of the Syriac, *supra.*]
[2] [Reading "totum" for "solum."]
[3] [Rom. viii. 18.]

the part of patience, and then again threatening him and menacing him with a shocking[1] death, he could not in either way prevail with him, he said, as he pronounced sentence upon him: I will not inflict on thee a sudden and speedy death; I will bring on thy dissolution gradually by means of a slow fire, and in this way make thee lay aside thy fierce and intractable spirit. Thereupon, some wood was collected together at a place outside the city on the northward, and he was led to the pile, followed by his mother, and also by those who were otherwise by blood related to him. He then prayed, and pronounced a blessing on all, and gave them the kiss in the Lord; and after that the wood was kindled by them, and he was cast into the fire; and, when he had opened his mouth to receive the flame, he yielded up his spirit to Him who had given it. Then, when the fire had subsided, his relatives wrapped him in a costly piece of linen and anointed him with unguents; and, having suitably sung psalms and hymns, they laid him by the side of Shamuna and Guria, to the glory of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, who constitute a Divine Trinity, which cannot be divided: to whom is due honour and worship now and always, and for evermore, Amen. Such was the close of the life of the martyr Habib in the time of Licinius, and thus did he obtain the privilege of being laid with the saints, and thus did he bring to the pious rest from their persecutions. For shortly afterwards the power of Licinius waned, and the rule of Constantine prospered, and the sovereignty of the Romans became his; and he was the first of the emperors who openly professed piety, and allowed the Christians to live as Christians.

[1] [Lit. "bitter."]

MOSES OF CHORENE.[1]

HISTORY OF ARMENIA.

BOOK II.—CHAPTER XXVI.

Reign of Abgar—Armenia becomes completely tributary to the Romans —War with Herod's troops—His brother's son, Joseph, is killed.

Abgar, son of Archam, ascends the throne in the twentieth year of Archavir, king of the Persians. This Abgar was called Avak-aïr (great man), on account of his great gentleness and wisdom, and also on account of his size. Not being able to pronounce well, the Greeks and the Syrians called him Abgar. In the second year of his reign, all the districts of Armenia become tributary to the Romans. A command is given by the Emperor Augustus, as we are told in the Gospel of St. Luke, to number all the people in every part. Roman commissioners, sent for that purpose into Armenia, carried thither the statue of the Emperor Augustus, and set it up in all the temples. At this very time, our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into the world.

At the same period there was trouble between Abgar and Herod: for Herod wished that his statue should be erected near to that of Cæsar in the temples of Armenia. Abgar withstood this claim. Moreover, Herod was but seeking a pretext to attack Abgar: he sent an army of Thracians and Germans to make an incursion into the country of the Persians, with orders to pass through the territories of Abgar. But Abgar, far from submitting to this, resisted, saying that the emperor's command was to march the troops into Persia through the desert. Herod, indignant, and unable to act by himself, overwhelmed with troubles, as a punishment for his wicked conduct towards Christ, as Josephus relates, sent his nephew to whom he had given his daughter, who had been

[1] This extract is taken from the edition, in two volumes, printed at Paris, of which the following is the title: MOÏSE DE KHORÈNE, *auteur du Ve Siècle:* HISTOIRE D'ARMÉNIE, TEXTE ARMÉNIEN ET TRADUCTION FRANCAISE, *avec notes explicatives et précis historiques sur l'Arménie,* par P. E. LE VAILLANT DE FLORIVAL.

married in the first instance to Phéror, his brother. Herod's lieutenant, at the head of a considerable army, hastened to reach Mesopotamia, met Abgar at the camp in the province of Pouknan, fell in the combat, and his troops were put to flight. Soon afterwards, Herod died: Archelaus, his son, was appointed by Augustus ethnarch of Judæa.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Founding of the town of Edessa—Brief account of the race of our Illuminator.

A little while afterwards, Augustus dies, and Tiberius becomes emperor of the Romans in his stead. Germanicus, having become Cæsar, dragging in his train the princes of the kingdom of Archavir and of Abgar, celebrates a triumph in respect of the war waged with them, in which these princes had killed Herod's nephew. Abgar, indignant, forms plans of revolt and prepares himself for combat. He builds a town on the ground occupied by the Armenian army of observation, where previously the Euphrates had been defended against the attempts of Cassius: this new town is called Edessa. Abgar removed to it his court, which was at Medzpine, all his gods, Naboc, Bel, Patnicagh, and Tarata, the books of the schools attached to the temples, and even the royal archives.

After this, Archavir being dead, Ardachès, his son, reigns over the Persians. Though it is not in the order of the history with respect to time, nor even the order according to which we have begun these annals, yet, as we are treating of the descendants of the king Archavir, even of the blood of Ardachès his son, we will, to do honour to these princes, place them, by anticipating the time, near to Ardachès, in order that the reader may know that they are of the same race, of the race of the brave Archag; then we will indicate the time of the arrival of their fathers in Armenia, the Garenians and the Sourenians, from whom St. Gregory and the Gamsarians are descended, when, following the order of events, we come to the reign of the king under whom they appeared.

Abgar did not succeed in his plans of revolt; for, troubles having arisen amongst his relatives in the Persian kingdom, he set out at the head of an army to allay and bring to an end the dissension.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Abgar comes into the East, maintains Ardachès upon the throne of Persia—Reconciles his brothers from whom our Illuminator and his relations are descended.

Abgar, having gone to the East, finds on the throne of Persia Ardachès, son of Archavir, and the brothers of Ardachès contending against him: for this prince thought to reign over them in his posterity, and they would not consent to it. Ardachès therefore hems them in on all sides, hangs the sword of death over their heads; distractions and dissension were between their troops and their other relations and allies: for king Archavir had three sons and one daughter; the first of these sons was King Ardachès himself, the second Garene, the third Sourene; their sister, named Gochm, was wife of the general of all the Ariks, a general chosen by their father Archavir.

Abgar prevails on the sons of Archavir to make peace; he arranges between them the conditions and stipulations: Ardachès is to reign with his posterity as he proposed, and his brothers are to be called Bahlav, from the name of their town and their vast and fertile country, so that their satrapies shall be the first, higher in rank than all the satrapies of Persia, as being truly a race of kings. Treaties and oaths stipulated that in case of the extinction of male children of Ardachès, his brothers should come to the throne; after the reigning race of Ardachès, his brothers are divided into three races named thus: the race of Garene Bahlav, the race of Sourene Bahlav, and the race of their sister, the race of Asbahabied Bahlav, a race thus called from the name of the domain of her husband.

St. Gregory is said to have sprung from the race Sourene Bahlav, and the Gamsarians from the race Garene Bahlav.

We will relate in the sequel the circumstances of the coming of these personages, only mentioning their names here in connection with Ardachès, in order that you may know that these great races are indeed the blood of Vagharchag, that is to say, the posterity of the great Archag, brother of Vagharchag.

Everything being thus arranged, Abgar takes with him the letter of the treaties, and returns to his dominions, not in perfect health, but a prey to severe suffering.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Abgar returns from the East—He gives help to Aretas in a war against Herod the tetrarch.

When Abgar had returned from the East, he learnt that the Romans suspected him of having gone there to raise troops. He therefore made the Roman commissioners acquainted with the reasons of his journey to Persia, as well as the treaty concluded between Ardachès and his brothers; but no credence was given to his statement: for he was accused by his enemies Pilate, Herod the tetrarch, Lysanias and Philip. Abgar having returned to his city Edessa leagued himself with Aretas, king of Petra, and gave him some auxiliary troops under the command of Khosran Ardzrouni, to make war upon Herod. Herod had in the first instance married the daughter of Aretas, then had repudiated her, and thereupon taken Herodias, even in her husband's lifetime, a circumstance in connection with which he had had John the Baptist put to death. Consequently there was war between Herod and Aretas on account of the wrong done to the daughter of Aretas. Being sharply attacked, Herod's troops were defeated, thanks to the help of the brave Armenians; as if, by divine providence, vengeance was taken for the death of John the Baptist.

CHAPTER XXX.

Abgar sends princes to Marinus—These deputies see our Saviour Christ—Beginning of the conversion of Abgar.

At this period Marinus, son of Storoge, was raised by the emperor to the government of Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Abgar sent to him two of his principal officers, Mar-Ihap prince of Aghtznik, and Chamchacram chief of the house of the Abahouni, as well as Anan his confidant. The envoys proceed to the town of Petkoupine to make known to Marinus the reasons of Abgar's journey to the East, showing him the treaty concluded between Ardachès and his brothers, and at the same time to call upon Marinus for his support. The deputies found the Roman governor at Eleutheropolis; he received them with friendship and distinction, and gave this answer to Abgar: "Fear nothing from the emperor on that account, provided you take good care to pay the tribute regularly."

On their return, the Armenian deputies went to Jerusalem to see our Saviour the Christ, being attracted by the report of His miracles. Having themselves become eye-witnesses of these wonders, they related them to Abgar. This prince, seized with admiration, believed truly that Jesus was indeed the Son of God, and said: "These wonders are not those of a man, but of a God. No, there is no one amongst men who can raise the dead: God alone has this power." Abgar felt in his whole body certain acute pains which he had got in Persia, more than seven years before; from men he had received no remedy for his sufferings; Abgar sent a letter of entreaty to Jesus: he prayed Him to come and cure him of his pains. Here is this letter:—

CHAPTER XXXI.

Abgar's letter to the Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Abgar, son of Archam, prince of the land, to Jesus, Saviour and Benefactor of men, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting:

"I have heard of Thee, and of the cures wrought by Thy hands, without remedies, without herbs: for, as it is said, Thou makest the blind to see, the lame to walk, the lepers to be healed; Thou drivest out unclean spirits, Thou curest unhappy beings afflicted with prolonged and inveterate diseases; Thou dost even raise the dead. As I have heard of all these wonders wrought by Thee, I have concluded from them either that Thou art God, come down from heaven to do such great things, or that Thou art the Son of God, working as Thou dost these miracles. Therefore have I written to Thee, praying Thee to condescend to come to me and cure me of the complaints with which I am afflicted. I have heard also that the Jews murmur against Thee and wish to deliver Thee up to torments: I have a city small but pleasant, it would be sufficient for us both."

The messengers, the bearers of this letter, met Jesus at Jerusalem, a fact confirmed by these words of the Gospel: "Some from amongst the heathen came to find Jesus, but those who heard them, not daring to tell Jesus what they had heard, told it to Philip and Andrew, who repeated it all to their Master."

The Saviour did not then accept the invitation given to Him, but He thought fit to honour Abgar with an answer in these words:—

CHAPTER XXXII.

Answer to Abgar's letter, which the Apostle Thomas wrote to this prince by command of the Saviour.

"Blessed is he who believes in me without having seen me! For it is written of me: 'Those who see me will not believe in me, and those who do not see me will believe and live.' As to what thou hast written asking me to come to thee, I must accomplish here all that for which I have been sent; and, when I shall have accomplished it all, I shall ascend to Him who sent me; and when I shall go away I will send one of my disciples, who will cure thy diseases, and give life to thee and to all those who are with thee." Anan, Abgar's courier, brought him this letter, as well as the portrait of the

Saviour, a picture which is still to be found at this day in the city of Edessa.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Preaching of the Apostle Thaddeus at Edessa—Copy of five letters.

After the ascension of our Saviour, the Apostle Thomas, one of the twelve, sent one of the seventy-six disciples, Thaddeus, to the city of Edessa to heal Abgar and to preach the gospel, according to the word of the Lord. Thaddeus came to the house of Tobias, a Jewish prince, who is said to have been of the race of the Pacradouni. Tobias, having left Archam, did not abjure Judaism with the rest of his relatives, but followed its laws up to the moment when he believed in Christ. Soon the name of Thaddeus spreads through the whole town. Abgar, on learning of his arrival, said: "This is indeed he concerning whom Jesus wrote to me;" and immediately Abgar sent for the apostle. When Thaddeus entered, a marvellous appearance presented itself to the eyes of Abgar in the countenance of the apostle; the king having risen from his throne, fell on his face to the earth, and prostrated himself before Thaddeus. This spectacle greatly surprised all the princes who were present, for they were ignorant of the fact of the vision. "Art thou really," said Abgar to Thaddeus, "art thou the disciple of the ever-blessed Jesus? Art thou he whom He promised to send to me, and canst thou heal my maladies?" "Yes," answered Thaddeus; "if thou believest in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the desires of thy heart shall be granted." "I have believed in Jesus," said Abgar, "I have believed in His Father; therefore I wished to go at the head of my troops to destroy the Jews who have crucified Jesus, had I not been prevented by reason of the power of the Romans."

Thenceforth Thaddeus began to preach the gospel to the king and his town; laying his hands upon Abgar, he cured him; he cured also a man with gout, Abdu, a prince of the town, much honoured in all the king's house. He also healed all the sick and infirm people in the town, and all

believed in Jesus Christ. Abgar was baptized, and all the town with him, and the temples of the false gods were closed, and all the statues of idols that were placed on the altars and columns were hidden by being covered with reeds. Abgar did not compel any one to embrace the faith, yet from day to day the number of the believers was multiplied.

The Apostle Thaddeus baptizes a manufacturer of silk head-dresses, called Attæus, consecrates him, appoints him [to minister] at Edessa, and leaves him with the king instead of himself. Thaddeus, after having received letters patent from Abgar, who wished that all should listen to the gospel of Christ, went to find Sanadroug, son of Abgar's sister, whom this prince had appointed over the country and over the army. Abgar was pleased to write to the Emperor Tiberius a letter in these words:—

Abgar's letter to Tiberius.

"Abgar, king of Armenia, to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greeting:

"I know that nothing is unknown to your Majesty, but, as your friend, I would make you better acquainted with the facts by writing. The Jews who dwell in the cantons of Palestine have crucified Jesus: Jesus without sin, Jesus after so many acts of kindness, so many wonders and miracles wrought for their good, even to the raising of the dead. Be assured that these are not the effects of the power of a simple mortal, but of God. During the time that they were crucifying Him, the sun was darkened, the earth was moved, shaken; Jesus Himself, three days afterwards, rose from the dead and appeared to many. Now, everywhere, His name alone, invoked by His disciples, produces the greatest miracles: what has happened to myself is the most evident proof of it. Your august Majesty knows henceforth what ought to be done in future with respect to the Jewish nation, which has committed this crime; your Majesty knows whether a command should not be published through the whole universe to worship Christ as the true God. Safety and health."

Answer from Tiberius to Abgar's letter.

"Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, to Abgar, king of the Armenians, greeting:

"Your kind letter has been read to me, and I wish that thanks should be given to you from me. Though we had already heard several persons relate these facts, Pilate has officially informed us of the miracles of Jesus. He has certified to us that after his resurrection from the dead he was acknowledged by many to be God. Therefore I myself also wished to do what you propose; but, as it is the custom of the Romans not to admit a god merely by the command of the sovereign, but only when the admission has been discussed and examined in full senate, I proposed the affair to the senate, and they rejected it with contempt, doubtless because it had not been considered by them first. But we have commanded all those whom Jesus suits, to receive him amongst the gods. We have threatened with death any one who shall speak evil of the Christians. As to the Jewish nation which has dared to crucify Jesus, who, as I hear, far from deserving the cross and death, was worthy of honour, worthy of the adoration of men—when I am free from the war with rebellious Spain, I will examine into the matter, and will treat the Jews as they deserve."

Abgar writes another letter to Tiberius.

"Abgar, king of the Armenians, to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greeting:

"I have received the letter written from your august Majesty, and I have applauded the commands which have emanated from your wisdom. If you will not be angry with me, I will say that the conduct of the senate is extremely ridiculous and absurd: for, according to the senators, it is after the examination and by the suffrages of men that divinity may be ascribed. Thus, then, if God does not suit man, He cannot be God, since God is to be judged and justified by man. It will no doubt seem just to my lord

and master to send another governor to Jerusalem in the place of Pilate, who ought to be ignominously driven from the powerful post in which you placed him; for he has done the will of the Jews: he has crucified Christ unjustly, without your order. That you may enjoy health is my desire."

Abgar, having written this letter, placed a copy of it, with copies of the other letters, in his archives. He wrote also to the young Nerseh, king of Assyria, at Babylon:—

Abgar's letter to Nerseh.

"Abgar, king of the Armenians, to my son Nerseh, greeting:

"I have received your letter and acknowledgments. I have released Beroze from his chains, and have pardoned his offences: if this pleases you, give him the government of Nineveh. But as to what you write to me about sending you the physician who works miracles and preaches another God superior to fire and water, that you may see and hear him, I say to you: he was not a physician according to the art of men; he was a disciple of the Son of God, Creator of fire and water: he has been appointed and sent to the countries of Armenia. But one of his principal companions, named Simon, is sent into the countries of Persia. Seek for him, and you will hear him, you as well as your father Ardachès. He will heal all your diseases and will show you the way of life."

Abgar wrote also to Ardachès, king of the Persians, the following letter:—

Abgar's letter to Ardachès.

"Abgar, king of the Armenians, to Ardachès my brother, king of the Persians, greeting:

"I know that you have heard of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom the Jews have crucified, Jesus who was raised from the dead, and has sent His disciples through all the world to instruct men. One of His chief disciples, named Simon, is in your Majesty's territories. Seek for him, and you will find him, and he will cure you of all your maladies,

and will show you the way of life, and you will believe in his words, you, and your brothers, and all those who willingly obey you. It is very pleasant to me to think that my relations in the flesh will be also my relations, my friends, in the spirit."

Abgar had not yet received answers to these letters when he died, having reigned thirty-eight years.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Martyrdom of our Apostles.

After the death of Abgar, the kingdom of Armenia was divided between two: Ananoun, Abgar's son, reigned at Edessa, and his sister's son, Sanadroug, in Armenia. What took place in their time has been previously told by others: the apostle's arrival in Armenia, the conversion of Sanadroug and his apostasy for fear of the Armenian satraps, and the martyrdom of the apostle and his companions in the canton of Chavarchan, now called Ardaz, and the stone opening to receive the body of the apostle, and the removal of this body by his disciples, his burial in the plain, and the martyrdom of the king's daughter, Santoukhd, near the road, and the apparition of the remains of the two saints, and their removal to the rocks—all circumstances related by others, as we have said, a long time before us: we have not thought it important to repeat them here. In the same way also what is related of the martyrdom at Edessa of Attæus, a disciple of the apostle, a martyrdom ordered by Abgar's son, has been told by others before us.

The prince who reigned after the death of his father, did not inherit his father's virtues: he opened the temples of the idols, and embraced the religion of the heathen. He sent word to Attæus: "Make me a head-dress of cloth interwoven with gold, like those you formerly used to make for my father." He received this answer from Attæus: "My hands shall not make a head-dress for an unworthy prince, who does not worship Christ the living God."

Immediately the king ordered one of his armed men to

cut off Attæus' feet. The soldier went, and, seeing the holy man seated in the chair of the teacher, cut off his legs with his sword, and immediately the saint gave up the ghost. We mention this cursorily, as a fact related by others a long while ago. There came then into Armenia the Apostle Bartholomew, who suffered martyrdom among us in the town of Arepan. As to Simon, who was sent into Persia, I cannot relate with certainty what he did, nor where he suffered martyrdom. It is said that one Simon, an apostle, was martyred at Veriospore. Is this true, or why did the saint come to this place? I do not know; I have only mentioned this circumstance that you may know I spare no pains to tell you all that is necessary.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Reign of Sanadroug—Murder of Abgar's children—The Princess Helena.

Sanadroug, being on the throne, raises troops with the help of the brave Pacradouni and Ardzrouni, who had exalted him, and goes to wage war upon the children of Abgar, to make himself master of the whole kingdom. Whilst Sanadroug was occupied with these affairs, as if by an effect of divine providence vengeance was taken for the death of Attæus; for a marble column which the son of Abgar was having erected at Edessa, on the summit of his palace, while he was underneath to direct the work, escaped from the hands of the workmen, fell upon him and crushed his feet.

Immediately there came a message from the inhabitants of the town, asking Sanadroug for a treaty by which he should engage not to disturb them in the exercise of the Christian religion, in consideration of which, they would give up the town and the king's treasures. Sanadroug promised, but in the end violated his oath. Sanadroug put all the children of the house of Abgar to the edge of the sword, with the exception of the daughters, whom he withdrew from the town to place them in the canton of Hachdiank. As to the first of Abgar's wives, named Helena, he sent her to his town at Kharan, and left to her the sovereignty of the whole

of Mesopotamia, in remembrance of the benefits he had received from Abgar by Helena's means.

Helena, pious like her husband Abgar, did not wish to live in the midst of idolaters; she went away to Jerusalem in the time of Claudius, during the famine which Agabus had predicted; with all her treasures she bought in Egypt an immense quantity of corn, which she distributed amongst the poor, a fact to which Josephus testifies. Helena's tomb, a truly remarkable one, is still to be seen before the gate of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Restoration of the town of Medzpine—Name of Sanadroug—His death.

Of all Sanadroug's doings and actions, we judge none worthy of remembrance except the building of the town of Medzpine; for, this town having been shaken by an earthquake, Sanadroug pulled it down, rebuilt it more magnificently, and surrounded it with double walls and ramparts. Sanadroug caused to be erected in the middle of the town his statue holding in his hand a single piece of money, which signifies: "All my treasures have been used in building the town, and no more than this single piece of money is left to me."

But why was this prince called Sanadroug? We will tell you: Because Abgar's sister, Otæa, while travelling in Armenia in the winter, was assailed by a whirlwind of snow in the Gortouk mountains; the tempest separated them all, so that none of them knew where his companion had been driven. The prince's nurse, Sanod, sister of Piourad Pacradouni, wife of Khosran Ardzrouni, having taken the royal infant, for Sanadroug was still in the cradle, laid him upon her bosom, and remained with him under the snow three days and three nights. Legend has taken possession of this circumstance: it relates that an animal, a new species, wonderful, of great whiteness, sent by the gods, guarded the child. But so far as we have been informed, this is the fact: a white dog, which was amongst the men sent in search, found the child and his nurse; the prince was therefore

called Sanadroug, a name taken from his nurse's name (and from the Armenian name, *dourk*, a gift), as if to signify the gift of Sanod.

Sanadroug, having ascended the throne in the twelfth year of Ardachès, king of the Persians, and having lived thirty years, died as he was hunting, from an arrow which pierced his bowels, as if in punishment of the torments which he had made his holy daughter suffer. Gheroupna, son of the scribe Apchatar, collected all these facts, happening in the time of Abgar and Sanadroug, and placed them in the archives of Edessa.

[NOTE referred to on p. 39.—The following list of the Syrian names of months, in use in the empire and during the era of the Seleucidæ, several of which have been mentioned in these Documents, is taken from *Caswinii Calendarium Syriacum*, edited in Arabic and Latin by Volck, 1859. The later Hebrew names also are here added for comparison. It must, however, be noticed that "the years employed [in the Syrian Calendar] were, at least after the incarnation, Julian years, composed of Roman months." (See *L'Art de vérifier les dates:* Paris, 1818, tom. i. p. 45.) The correspondence with the Hebrew months, therefore, is not so close as the names would indicate, since these commenced with the new moons, and an intercalary month, Veadar, following their twelfth month Adar, was added.

	SYRIAN.	HEBREW.
October, . . .	Tishri prior.	Tishri (or Ethanim).
November, . . .	Tishri posterior.	Bull (or Marcheshvan).
December, . . .	Canun prior.	Chisleu.
January, . . .	Canun posterior.	Tebeth.
February, . . .	Shubat.	Shebat.
March, ...	Adar.	Adar.
April, ...	Nisan.	Nisan.
May, ...	Ajar.	Zif (or Iyar).
June, ...	Chaziran.	Sivan.
July, ...	Tamuz.	Tammuz.
August, ...	Ab.	Ab.
September, . . .	Elul.	Elul.]



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