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*Albrecht Berger (Ed.)*

**LIFE AND WORKS OF  
SAINT GREGENTIOS,  
ARCHBISHOP OF TAPHAR**

MILLENNIUM-STUDIEN / MILLENNIUM STUDIES

Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar



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Life and Works of  
Saint Gregentios,  
Archbishop of Taphar

Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation

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## Preface

The present edition and translation of the Dossier of Saint Gregentios of Taphar is the result of a research project funded by a Heisenberg scholarship of the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), which I held between 1998 and 2002. I owe great thanks to the DFG and also to Diether Roderich Reinsch, who gave me the permission to use the library and the other facilities of the seminar for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin.

Evelyne Patlagean and Gianfranco Fiaccadori allowed me to use their unpublished theses on the *Nomoi* and the *Bios* respectively, for which I owe them great thanks.

Gianfranco Fiaccadori contributed to this publication the entire chapter on “Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites” which forms actually the central and most important part of the introduction. He also thoroughly revised the bibliography and brought it into its present shape.

The whole project would not have been possible without the help and the valuable suggestions of numerous friends and colleagues, to whom I also extend my warmest thanks. These are, in alphabetical order, Patrick Andrist, Friederike Berger, Tilman Berger, Wolfram Brandes, Igor Čičurov, Johannes Georg Deckers, Vincent Déroche, Paolo Eleuteri, Vera von Falkenhausen, Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, Geoffrey Greatrex, Giuseppe de Gregorio, István Hajdú, Sergey Ivanov, Matthias Kappler, Sofia Kotzabassi, Euthymios Litsas, Wolfgang Maaz, Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis, Helena Papadimitriou, Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath, Diether Roderich Reinsch, Jean-Marie Sautter, Claudia Sode, Paul Speck (†), Dimitri Theodoridis, Raimondo Tocci, Erich Trapp, Giuseppe Veltri, Werner Voigt and Roly Zylbersztein. Many thanks also to David Toalster for the revision of the English text.

The preparation of this edition could not have been achieved without *Classical Text Editor*, a really ingenious word processing programme written by Stefan Hagel from the Austrian Academy of Sciences (<http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kvk/cte/>). Stefan Hagel also answered many of my questions and constantly improved the programme, sometimes even, if I am right, removing bugs I had found, or adding new features I had asked for.

It is inevitable that in a manuscript of such an excessive length many mistakes will have remained. The responsibility for all them is, of course, exclusively mine.

Although I hope to demonstrate in the following study that Saint Gregentios is a legendary person and has never existed, nevertheless he consumed a lot of my time and exercised great influence on my life for over six years. This book is therefore also dedicated to his memory.

Munich, August 2006

Albrecht Berger

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# I. Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar

Three texts are traditionally connected with the name of Saint Gregentios, archbishop of Taphar, which are either transmitted together or separately: his biography, his laws for the Homerites and his disputation about the true faith with the Jewish law-teacher Herban.<sup>1</sup> These texts will thereafter be referred to as *Bios*, *Nomoi* and *Dialexis* respectively.<sup>2</sup> The question how they are related to each other, that is, whether they were originally written together as a corpus or independently, can be solved only by a discussion of their content and possible circumstances of origin.

## 1. The *Bios*

### Summary

- 1 Gregentios is born as the son of a man called Agapios in Lyplianes in the country of the Avars, a town at a distance of two days from the highway to the northern sea, on a sixth December, the feast day of Saint Nikolaos. His mother sees an old bishop in a dream who puts a gospel on the baby's chest. Gregentios is baptised and named after a wise man who lives on a mountain nearby. At the age of seven, he comes to school and distinguishes himself by his diligence and piety. At the age of ten, he is pushed into a river by a buck, but saved miraculously. He retires to the desert; there a holy man appears to him, who instructs him and predicts his future.

After the death of his mother Eusebeia he is given to the priests who had baptised him, and is adopted by one of them who is married, but childless. When barbarians attack the surroundings of Lyplianes and the inhabitants flee to the fortress of Korada, Gregentios is outside in the vineyards, but enters unnoticed during the siege together with the holy man through the Rhomanesios gate, and appears in the house of his distressed foster-parents.

Some time later, after the retreat of the barbarians, a fiery and a white pillar appear to Gregentios outside the town which turn into visions of the Mother of God and of John the Evangelist, and an angel predicts his future. His foster-mother dreams that Saint Paul

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<sup>1</sup> About another work allegedly written by Gregentios, see below, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> References will be made to the chapters of the *Bios* (1–10), the *Nomoi* (N) and the five days of the *Dialexis* (A B Γ Δ E), plus line numbers; on the division of the *Bios* into chapters see below, p. 185. The excerpt of K is represented by K, the entry in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople by S (on which see below, pp. 804 and 810).

speaks to him, and that angels clothe him as a bishop and lead him in a procession. She tells this dream to some friends on the invitation of a certain Sergios. An old man called Niketas explains the dream to her and predicts the conversion of a fourfold people by Gregentios.

- 2 One day, the holy man from the desert appears and departs with Gregentios for Moryne, where they stay with a man called Sabbatios. Gregentios' foster-parents seek him desperately, and a holy fool called Petros addresses him in Moryne and speaks to him about this. When the bishop learns about Gregentios' spiritual gifts, the holy man urges him to depart, and they travel to Antenora, where they stay in *ta Petrolou* in the house of a man called Theodoretos. The bishop of Moryne has Gregentios sought after, but in vain.

Gregentios teaches and reads in church; when asked by the Bishop Eulogios, he calls Moryne his native place. He is made a deacon and appointed as a lector. A pious old woman called Theodora speaks to him about the distress of his foster-parents and exhorts him to steadfastness.

After some time, the holy man appears again and travels with Gregentios to Agrigentum on the island of Sicily, where they stay overnight at a church of the Mother of God at *ta Protolou*, outside of the town. When a priest asks him, Gregentios calls Antenora his native place. The bishop of Antenora also has sought him after in vain.

Together with his host, the priest Stephanos, Gregentios visits the hermitage of the pious ascetic Eirene who has died recently. Two pine trees stand there which used to bow together with Eirene at prayer. When Gregentios approaches her grave, a fiery rod comes out of it which turns into her shape. She resembles the picture which is set up at her grave, and speaks to Gregentios.

On the following day, Gregentios goes to the church of John the Precursor in the west of Agrigentum. On the way, when he wants to visit the chapel of the Mother of God at *ta Kyritonos*, he meets a great crowd of people. They listen to a woman who stands on the balcony of her house and either reproaches them for their sins or praises their virtues. When she sees Gregentios, she addresses him, reveals his native place and predicts his travel to Egypt and to the Homerites.

- 3 Shortly thereafter, the holy man appears and departs hastily together with Gregentios, who has not even the time to say farewell to his host. They pass Rome by boat and go to Milan, where they stay with a man called Niketas. The holy man proceeds to the castle of Largention, which lies at a distance of thirty miles from Milan, and leaves Gregentios on his own.

Gregentios goes to the grave of Saint Ambrose, prays there and reads his writings. On the way to the cathedral he is addressed by name by a poor man called Konstantinos. Having arrived there, he meets a monk and a cleric who are discussing the question, whether everyone's way of death is predestined by God or not. Gregentios offers them proofs from the Scriptures for both opinions, but does not decide the dispute.

Gregentios befriends a boy of fourteen years, called Leon, who attaches himself to Gregentios as his disciple. Soon, though, Leon is taken to Rome by his uncle and is made governor of the district (or town) of Melike, where he is murdered after a short time. After having prayed in the chapel of Saint Stephanos, Gregentios has a vision of the underworld in the following night: a man shows him a great and beautiful house where the souls of those, who were killed before their predestined time of death, are kept until the time comes and they are shown their place of rest until the Last Judgement. He also sees Leon who asks him to celebrate his memory.

4 Again the holy man appears, and when Gregentios asks him for the reason of his long absence, he tells him that he was always invisibly at his side, and also that he was the man who led him through the underworld. They travel to Carthage and stay with a man called Konstantinos.

Gregentios sees an old woman called Philothea lying under a tree, who does not speak, but utters only barks and sighs. He asks the holy man who tells him her story: as a young girl, Philothea was seduced by a young man when she went out for water, but by the intervention of God she came back to her senses and henceforth acted as if possessed, so that the young man was terrified and ran away from her. When Gregentios visits her, she speaks to him clearly and wisely without any sign of madness.

Together with a young man called Georgios, Gregentios frequently visits a chapel of Saint Anastasia on the north side of the city walls which, according to local tradition, had been built on the property of her family which originated from Rome. A holy old woman greets him by name and mentions his native town Lyplianes in the region of Asia close to the country of the Avars. When Georgios also wants to hear something about himself, she reproaches him for his sins and also enumerates the names of the women involved.

A holy old man called Basileios addresses him in the great church by name. A young man called Pothetos, who has come to town from Thrace together with his father-in-law, asks Gregentios to write down his spiritual advice. Thereupon Gregentios writes sixteen homilies. When reading them, Pothetos deeply regrets his marriage and does not want to return home, but is convinced by Gregentios to do so.

The holy man appears again and departs with Gregentios to Rome. At a rest on the way in the valley of Patherolymna, when the holy man falls asleep for a short time, the devil appears in the shape of a black pillar with eyes floating above it, but is driven away by Gregentios' prayers.

5 In Rome they stay with a man called Benediktos close to the Great Portico. On the way to the church of Saint Peter, the monk Abramios greets Gregentios by name and enumerates the stations of his journey, mentioning also Perithoua, the harbour of Milan where Gregentios had landed when travelling there. He accompanies him to the church, and Gregentios prays at the grave of the apostle.

One day, when Gregentios stays in the chapel of Saint John the Precursor, a visitor has himself announced to the doorkeeper. It is Saint Peter who had been absent when Gregentios was at his grave, because he had gone to Negra together with the Mother of God and the other apostles to succour the martyrs there. On the way back he had travelled together with Saint Paul until Tarsos, where Paul separated from him and went to Jerusalem. Peter goes with Gregentios to his apartment, and asks him on the way about the holy man who had brought him there. Gregentios says that he does not know his name, but praises his wondrous works. Thereupon Peter says that the time has not yet come for Gregentios to know his identity.

On the request of the beggar Zacharias, Gregentios heals a young man called Basileios from his eye complaint. On the way to the church of Saint Paul a consecrated woman addresses him by name as the prophet of the Homerites. In the church Gregentios falls into ecstasy at the grave of the apostle; in the following night he sees Paul leading a procession and presenting him oil and pallia for his future task of consecrating priests and bishops.

On the following day and often thereafter Gregentios visits the church of Christ in the *Konstantianai*, the first church of Rome which was built by Constantine the Great close to the Patriarchate, and venerates the icon of Christ which is kept there. One day the image is

surrounded by a fire-glow, Christ moves his eyes as if alive and pours heavenly honey out over Gregentios. Shortly thereafter, Gregentios is addressed by a monk called Gregorios on the way back from church, who had seen the encounter with the icon of Christ in a vision and remembers the words which Gregentios spoke at this occasion.

An old slave of Benediktos called Elisabet, who is sexually molested every night by a demon, asks Gregentios for help. He writes a formula of expulsion on a piece of paper, and the demon is unable to harm her any more.

Gregentios goes out for prayer to the church of Saint Bonifatius and Aglais. On the way he meets a man called Ioannes, who is thought to be insane because he throws stones on the people passing by. Ioannes addresses Gregentios by name. He had formerly been a monk in a monastery, but left it fearing the thirst for fame, and decided to live as a fool in Christ.

- 6 In the church of Bonifatius Gregentios learns from a priest that a hermit called Michael lives three miles away from there, and sets out for him on the following day. Michael, who had foreseen his arrival, greets him by name and prophesies his fate. When two monks ask him the fate of a friend, he confirms his death to them. Michael instructs his disciple to bring Gregentios to another hermit on a mountain, whose foot is six miles and whose summit another thirteen miles to the north of his hut, and the disciple accompanies him until a place called "the Dry Lakes".

Gregentios goes up to the cave of the hermit Artados, who addresses him by name and tells him his past and his future fate in Egypt and the land of the Homerites. Doing so he mentions the names of Emperor Ioustinos, King Elesboam and of the Patriarch Proterios, and speaks about the conversion by Gregentios of the four people of pagans, Jews, Homerites and Maurousians. After two days Gregentios returns to Rome and to Benediktos, and also visits the hermit Michael and the priest Basileios at the church of Bonifatius on his way.

At the church of Saints Caecilia, Tiburtius and Valerianus, Gregentios meets a young man called Stephanos who comes from a rich family, but gave away all his property, escaped from his parents' house and now lives as a beggar. He talks to Gregentios and, blessed, dies soon thereafter.

Gregentios takes part in the matins at Saint Peter's and sees the Pope Felix. On the way home he meets the holy man again, and they depart together to Augustopolis.

- 7 In Augustopolis they stay with a pious widow called Euphemia. After the holy man has left him, Gregentios goes to the cathedral which is dedicated to the Mother of God. A rich man called Andreas invites him, and he becomes sponsor at the first shearing of his son's hair.

During the meal after the ceremony a priest, who is also present there, asks Gregentios to tell an edifying story. Gregentios relates: At the time of his stay in Milan a rich man was going to die. His house was bombarded with stones by demons day and night, until he confessed his great sin to a cleric, and after his death he found peace in his grave only after the holy eucharist had been celebrated over it.

On the market place, which is called Milentos, an Armenian preacher greets him by name and prophesies his travel to Egypt and to the Homerites. When they meet on the next day in the cathedral, the Armenian tells him about his origin from the church of Gregorios at Artazat in Greater Armenia. In the evening at his house, Gregentios persuades a man called Ioannes to become a monk.

On the way to the church of Saint Mokios in the west of the city, he meets a poor man called Georgios who greets him by name, which he has learned from Gregentios' holy companion, and exhorts him. After some days, again the holy man appears and pushes Gregentios to depart.

- 8 Gregentios and the holy man board a ship from Leukas. During their travel on the open sea, the holy man makes the northern wind blow and gathers clouds to protect them against the heat of the sun.

When they arrive in Alexandria, a female slave greets Gregentios by name on the square of Theonas. She prophesies to him his vocation by Proterios as the result of a letter from the king of Ethiopia. Gregentios and the holy man are hosted at *ta Boukolou* by a man called Leontios.

In the monastery of Alexandros and Antonina, Gregentios talks with the abbot, a eunuch called Epiphianos. One night, when Gregentios is sitting in the courtyard together with the monk Kosmas, the devil throws stones at them, but is driven away by the prayers of Gregentios. Gregentios relates how he landed at Pavia after his departure from the island of Agrigentum and met a priest from the East in a chapel there, who told him the following story: In his native town lived an Arian who insulted the Mother of God often and very heavily. She appeared to him again and again in a dream and warned him without success; finally, in the third dream she moved her hands along his arms and legs. When he awoke, his limbs were cut away and the stumps had already healed up.

A woman called Archontia greets Gregentios by name when he goes to the church of Saint Menas.

- 9 In the time of Ioustinos Emperor of the Romans, Elesboam King of Ethiopia, Dounaas King of the Homerites and Proterios Patriarch of Alexandria, Dounaas conquers the city of Negra in the kingdom of the Homerites, kills the Christians living there together with their leader Arethas, and concludes a treaty with the king of Persia. On the request of Ioustinos, Elesboam starts an expeditions against the Homerites, defeats and kills their king and baptises the people. Elesboam asks Proterios to send a bishop; Saint Mark appears to Proterios in a dream and draws his attention to Gregentios. Gregentios is brought before Proterios who shows him the letter of Elesboam. Proterios consecrates him as a priest and as a bishop against his will, and Gregentios departs together with the envoys of Elesboam.

After a short stay in Amlem, the capital of Ethiopia, they cross the sea of Saba to the cave of Medekion and go from there to Taphar. They do not meet the king there, because he has gone to Negra to destroy the pagan temples in that town. The king builds a church of the Resurrection in Negra at a place called Nephoth, a church of the Mother of God in *ta Tademos* and a church of Arethas and the other martyrs close to Arethas' former house. In Taphar he builds the great church of the Holy Trinity at the king's palace, a church of the Mother of God at a place called Dana and a church of the Apostles at the western city gate; in Akana a church of the Resurrection, a church of Saint John the Precursor and a church of Saint Thomas; also churches at Atarph, Legmia, Azaki and Iouze.

Elesboam, who has just appointed the son of Arethas as a local ruler in Negra, hears about the arrival of Gregentios and receives him. Gregentios consecrates the churches of Negra and installs a priest in each of them, then he does the same in the other cities.

After a stay of 36 months in the kingdom of the Homerites, Elesboam returns to Ethiopia. Before leaving, he appoints Abraam as the new king of the Homerites, whom God has shown to him after a prayer of Gregentios, and leaves an army of 15,000 men behind. In



Ethiopia he gives the throne to his son Atherphotham and retires as a hermit into a small cell on the mountain Ophra.

Near the mountain, a young monk is threatened with death by a talking serpent because of his sins, but when he calls Elesboam's name, the serpent is killed by lightning.

Gregentios appoints bishops for all cities of the country and orders the people to be baptised by threat of death penalty, whereupon they all become Christians.

The end of the *Bios* follows after the *Dialexis* as E 709–745.<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Although the *Bios* of Gregentios BHG 705–706i is of highly legendary character, full of contradictions and anachronisms,<sup>2</sup> it is possible, by an analysis of its various sources and layers of content, to establish its time of origin, its religious and political tendency.

As we will presently see, a number of internal references and some peculiarities of vocabulary suggest that the whole text was written in the mid-tenth century by one single author.<sup>3</sup> However, the account about the youth of Gregentios and his travels in chapters 1–8, and that about his mission in Yemen in chapter 9 differ considerably due to the sources used for their composition:

Chapters 1–8 are a hagiographical novel which is staged in a Christian and late Roman setting of undetermined chronology, and which has the main function of providing the missing case history for the following report about Gregentios' mission in Yemen:<sup>4</sup> he departs secretly from his native place, and led by a mysterious holy man, he undertakes a journey through different cities of Italy; at all stations of his way, he meets men or women with prophetic gifts or has visions of saints who predict his future fate in southern Arabia.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> It has been called a “roman hagiographique fort suspect” by Sansterre, *Moines*, 133. Parkes, *Conflict*, 283–285 called also the frame setting of the *Dialexis* a “religious novel”; on which see below, p. 93. Peeters, review of Vasiliev, “Žitie”, 109 and Grégoire, “Mahomet”, 115, call the *Bios*, in a somewhat melodramatic way, “condamné sans appel”.

<sup>3</sup> See also Sansterre, *Moines*, 183; in the addenda to Patlagean, “Moines”, in Ead., *Structure sociale*, no. XIII, 3 the author takes a “tradition plus complexe encore” into consideration under the impression of Christides, “War”. — On the vocabulary, see below, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 31 calls these two main sections the Mediterranean and the Arabian part of the *Bios*. — Stories about the youth of a saint, which were later added to an old account of martyrdom, can often be found in Greek hagiography. An instructive example for such an addition are the Greek and Latin lives of Saint Mamas of Kaisareia BHG 1019 and BHL 5166, where the same ancient text is completed by two entirely different introductions; see Berger, “Viten”.

A saint's pious behaviour and his inclination to learning even during childhood,<sup>5</sup> moreover his secret flight from his country of birth are well-known topic motifs in Christian hagiography.<sup>6</sup> Also, the characters of the pious bishop, the visionary man or woman, the possessed, the holy fool, the hermit and so on, which appear in the *Bios*, are hagiographical set pieces,<sup>7</sup> so that there is no actual connection between the different prophecies to Gregentios and the places where they were supposedly made to him.

The names given to the various minor persons of the story are mostly of Greek origin or common in the Greek East,<sup>8</sup> and it appears that the number of names to choose from was rather limited, since five of them are assigned to two persons at different places.<sup>9</sup> These persons have nothing to do with a possible historical framework, but are simply introduced to provide the narrative with a higher degree of plausibility — a goal achieved elsewhere, for example, by mentioning various kinds of trees and plants with their correct botanical names (2.270, 274; 4.7, 318–319; 5.383).

Historical events or names of rulers appear only within the prophecies which Gregentios receives during his travels (2.362; 5.194; 6.136–154). They all refer to the story of the mission in Yemen in chapter 9, which has been described there using a contemporary source from the early sixth century (especially 9.1–29).<sup>10</sup> The references in chapters 1–8 have obviously been adopted from there, and this is probably also true for the Pope Felix who is mentioned at Gregentios' stay in Rome rather *en passant* (6.264), and does not appear again in chapter 9.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Kalogeras, "Children", 10, where Gregentios is mentioned as an example of a *puer senex*. The motif also appears in many other hagiographical lives, among which are the *Bios* of Mamas (see preceding note) and that of Gregorios of Agrigentum (see below, p. 26). Kalogeras dates Gregentios' childhood into the late fifth century, thus obviously accepting the *Bios* as a 'historical' text.

<sup>6</sup> Since in this context the search for the hero by his parents and others is stressed, an influence of the Life of Gregorios of Agrigentum seems possible here, see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 346. — On the motifs, see also Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 90–92, 113–116.

<sup>7</sup> Mostly these persons are portrayed in a very stereotyped way. The fact that the holy man Abramios at Rome is twice characterised with exactly the same words (5.22–26, 52–55) points to the use of a pre-existing source or of a preliminary draft of the author's own.

<sup>8</sup> With the exceptions of Benediktos in Rome, see below, p. 34, and Sabbatios in Moryne, see below, p. 19. — On Petros and Protolos, the eponyms of two places in Antenor and Agrigentum, see below, note 88.

<sup>9</sup> Niketas in Lylianes and Milan (1.436 and 3.12), Stephanos in Agrigentum and Rome (2.245, 318, 374, 387 and 6.193, 253), Konstantinos in Milan and Carthage (3.46, 50 and 4.2), Georgios in Agrigentum and Augustopolis (4.102, 191 and 7.195, 279), and Basileios in Carthage and Rome (4.211 and 5.160; 6.132, 183).

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 48–49.

Not only is the external chronology of this whole section entirely obscure, but so also is the internal, for after Gregentios' pious youth, when he is ten years old (1.83), no mention of his age is made again, and it is never stated how long he stays at the various stations of his travels. Only his ordinations as a lecturer and deacon in Moryne (2.160, 164) and as a priest in Alexandria (9.108–109) give us a vague indication, since the minimal age required for these ecclesiastical ranks was twenty-five and thirty years respectively, though exceptions to this rule seem to have been made often.<sup>12</sup>

The author of the *Bios* does not claim to have known his hero personally (1.22–23),<sup>13</sup> and he mentions the death of Gregentios at the end of his story (E 740). It would therefore be natural to assume that the *Bios* was written shortly thereafter.<sup>14</sup> A number of details within the text, however, show clearly that the *Bios* is the product of a much later time, and was composed long after the datable events in southern Arabia which are described in chapter 9:

Gregentios comes from the country of the Avars who invaded the Balkan peninsula around the year 580<sup>15</sup>, a statement which already contradicts the dating of his alleged mission in Yemen into the time of the Emperor Ioustinos I (518–527) in chapter 9.<sup>16</sup> In Rome he venerates the icon of Christ in the Lateran Basilica (5.262–301) which is not attested there before 752;<sup>17</sup> he visits the church of Caecilia, Tiburtius and Valerianus (6.192–193) whose relics were brought there only during the time of Pope Paschalis I (817–824);<sup>18</sup> and the church of Saint Peter, which is described as being within the city walls (5.7), was included there only in the years 848–852.<sup>19</sup> Also, the holy man who leads him on his way can most probably be identified with Saint Nikolaos whose great veneration as a 'general saviour' was inexistent before the mid-ninth century.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> As fixed by Ioustinianos, *Novella* 123.13; *Trullanum*, ch. 14 and 15.

<sup>13</sup> But see below, p. 35 the episode with the miraculous icon in the Lateran Church (5.272–301), which was allegedly told to the author by the saint himself. This section is probably based on another source which the author failed to adapt completely to the new context.

<sup>14</sup> See the arguments for the date of the *Dialexis* below, p. 91.

<sup>15</sup> See Pohl, *Awaren*; about the occupation of the region around Ljubljana (see below, p. 14) *ibid.* 148.

<sup>16</sup> On which see below, p. 48. — Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Paralipomena", 512–513 tried to solve this problem by suggesting the province of Moesia on the lower Danube as Gregentios' country of origin, and by assigning the attack of the Avars, which is mentioned subsequently, to the Bulgars.

<sup>17</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 443.2–3.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, II, 56.22–31. — These earliest possible given dates have been established by Patlagean, "Moines", 593. Another argument of minor importance is that Gregentios goes to sing a *kanon* at church in Agrigentum (2.254–255), a form of ecclesiastical poetry which became popular only in the eighth century.

<sup>19</sup> See below, pp. 34–35.

<sup>20</sup> Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos* 460–466; Ševčenko, *Life*, 18–24. — See also below, p. 11–13.

Jean-Marie Sansterre's argument that the stress which is put on Gregentios' veneration of icons indicates a date not long after the end of Iconoclasm in 843,<sup>21</sup> is acceptable only as a *terminus post quem* after that date, and actually some elements of dating in the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis* point to a time of composition in the late ninth century, or even later.<sup>22</sup> In addition to the story of the Lateran icon, there is also the scene at the grave of the ascetic Eirene at Agrigentum where special attention is paid to one central idea of icon worship, that of the similarity between picture and prototype (2.305–310).<sup>23</sup>

As we will see below, the mention of the monastery of Alexandros and Antonina in Alexandria and its abbot Epiphanius (8.53–60) is an allusion to Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century and offers a clear proof that the *Bios* was written at this time.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, a safe *terminus ante quem* for the *Bios* is provided by the fact that an excerpt of it, which is already based on a short version of the text, appears in the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople by the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>25</sup>

The *Bios* also contains a number of edifying stories which are inserted into it without actual connection to the plot, and a theological debate supposedly held in Milan about the predestination of the manner of death (3.63–202). The point of controversy in this discussion is resolved only some time later by a vision of Gregentios in which he travels to the underworld (3.368–397).<sup>26</sup>

At the end of the long introductory section before Gregentios' departure to Arabia, the author's method of endowing the narrative with the desired extent by inserting edifying stories reaches a new dimension: whereas the heroes of these episodes had before appeared themselves and come into contact with Gregentios, two anecdotes are narrated during his stays in Augustopolis and in Alexandria, which Gregentios himself had heard earlier on his travels from others, and which have nothing to do with the sequence of the story (7.55–115; 8.140–209).

One of the most bewildering characteristics of the *Bios* of Gregentios is the fact that obviously its plot has been attached to an itinerary which was taken from other sources, a procedure which can also be observed in other hagiographical texts.

A typical case is, for example, the legendary *Bios* of Alexandros of Drizipara, a work of unknown date which is staged in the time of Maximianus (286–305).<sup>27</sup> There the saint is

21 Sansterre, *Moines*, 133–134; see also below, p. 44.

22 See below, pp. 85 and 89.

23 On this, see below, p. 28; Gregentios' veneration of icons in general is also mentioned at 1.75 and 3.242.

24 See below, p. 40.

25 *Synaxarium CP*, 328.8–331.11, and below, p. 810. See Fiaccadori, "Proterio", 304–305, and below, p. 44.

26 On this, see below, pp. 132–133.

27 *Bios of Alexandros of Drizipara*, 143–159; the text is tentatively dated by the editor into the fifth or sixth century, see *ibid.* 120; but see also the following footnote.

arrested in Rome, but then brought via Carthage to (eastern) Illyricum where he suffers his martyrdom at Drizipara/Büyük Karıştıran in Thrace. For the description of the way from Sardike/Sofia to Drizipara and beyond to Tzorollon/Çorlu, apparently a fourth-century itinerary or road map has been used containing not less than sixteen place names in their correct geographical order. On the other hand, a motif is presented neither for the travel to the East nor for the detour to Carthage;<sup>28</sup> nothing is said about the sea travels which would be necessary for a visit to northern Africa, and no place name in Illyricum appears in the text before Sardike is mentioned.

In our case, however, the itinerary is geographically confused and therefore has caused some irritation in scholarly literature.<sup>29</sup> Gregentios travels within one day (!) from his native city Lyplianes/Ljubljana in the country of the Avars (1.31–33 ec.)<sup>30</sup> to Moryne/Murano (2.5–97), then to Antenora/Padua (2.98–223)<sup>31</sup> and Agrigentum (2.223–396),<sup>32</sup> from there by boat to Pavia (mentioned in a retrospective at 8.140)<sup>33</sup> and to Milan (3.1–523),<sup>34</sup> then to Carthage (3.523 – 4.315),<sup>35</sup> by foot on land to Rome (4.315–6.276)<sup>36</sup> and from there via Augustopolis (7)<sup>37</sup> to Alexandria in Egypt (8).<sup>38</sup>

This itinerary is certainly not the reminiscence of a bishop's travels through the Roman dioceses, as it has been assumed,<sup>39</sup> but has mainly the function of giving a structure to the various encounters and visions by introducing occasional changes of location. It is therefore a typical example for the "hagiography of travel" which became a literary fashion in the ninth century.<sup>40</sup>

The route of the itinerary is, as it seems, the result of a schematic combination of two sources, of which the first describes a journey westward from modern Slovenia through northern Italy to Milan, and the second a journey from Agrigentum to Carthage

<sup>28</sup> The fact that Carthage appears here as a station on the way from Italy to the East clearly points to a date of composition after the Roman reconquest in 533, or rather after the Slavic invasion on the Balkan peninsula in 582, after which the direct route over Greece became practically impassable. The confused geographical notions of the text, which is, in this respect, quite similar to the *Bios* of Gregentios, suggest that it was actually written even later and probably in the East. On Carthage in the itinerary of Gregentios see below, p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> As in Sansterre, *Moines*, 200.

<sup>30</sup> See below, pp. 14–15.

<sup>31</sup> On these places, see Patlagean, "Moines", 586 note 14–15, and below, p. 17–19.

<sup>32</sup> See below, pp. 26–28.

<sup>33</sup> See below, pp. 21–22.

<sup>34</sup> See below, pp. 20–21.

<sup>35</sup> See below, pp. 31–32.

<sup>36</sup> See below, pp. 33–33.

<sup>37</sup> See below, pp. 23–25.

<sup>38</sup> See below, pp. 39–40.

<sup>39</sup> Patlagean, "Moines", 596.

<sup>40</sup> On this phenomenon see Efthymiadis, "Ταξιδιωτές", 160, 162–164. — On the motif of travel and pilgrimage in Byzantine hagiography see also Yannopoulos, "Pérégrinations"; Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 150–154.

and Rome. By this method, Gregentios receives a very extensive fictitious biography which is more than eight times longer than the partially historical section of the *Bios* in chapter 9 — a biography, however, containing no biographic details which might be traced back behind the literary activity of the author.<sup>41</sup>

The peculiar construction of the *Bios* along a fictitious itinerary of its protagonist has also the effect that the various visions and prophecies play an important part in the story, while miracles do not. Miracles in which Gregentios is involved, or which are worked by him, are the following: as a boy, Gregentios is saved miraculously from being drowned in a river (1.84–112), and is invisible to the barbarians when they attack his naive town (1.261–269). Two times, on the way to Rome and in Alexandria, he drives away the devil by his prayers (4.315–334; 8.133–209), and he heals the sick Basileios and the possessed Elisabet in Rome (5.160–185, 339–362). A number of other miracles, such as that of the holy ascetic Eirene and the two pine trees (2.266–291),<sup>42</sup> of Saint Nikolaos during the sea travel (8.1–15),<sup>43</sup> and of the young monk and the talking serpent (9.257–280), are told within the course of the story, while others are, as mentioned above, only loosely connected to it, such as the story of the sinful man in Milan who is attacked by demons throwing stones (7.55–115),<sup>44</sup> and the miracle which was worked by the Mother of God on an Arian (8.140–209).<sup>45</sup>

Gregentios' secret escape from his native country and his way from town to town and from land to land also could have served as a pretext to add another well-known motif to the story, namely that of a saint's recognition by his family or friends after a long time of absence.<sup>46</sup> However, the motif is not introduced, although it appears in fact in one of the author's literary models, the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum.<sup>47</sup>

### Gregentios' Invisible Guide

The itinerary is bound together by the figure of the holy man who leads Gregentios away from his native country and appears to him eight times before his departure to Egypt, pressing him to continue on his way (2.1–5, 85–97, 218–223, 377–382; 3.493–

<sup>41</sup> Sansterre, *Moines*, 136.

<sup>42</sup> See below, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> See below, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> The catalogue of his sins (7.78–89) has a parallel in the catalogue of demons in Theodora's vision in the *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 16.14–28.11; on which see below, pp. 40–41.

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> On the development of which see Boulhol, *Άναγνωρισμός*.

<sup>47</sup> Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 25, 45 and 50, and Berger, *ibid.* 65.

500; 4.309–313; 6.267–274; 7.280–297).<sup>48</sup> He is often invisible to all persons except Gregentios (2.102–106), and sometimes even to him, for once, when Gregentios asks him where he had been so long, he says that he had always been invisibly at his side (3.505–518).<sup>49</sup>

Although the holy man himself announces his arrival together with Gregentios in the town “which the Lord has allotted to us” (2.91–92), and although we are told later that he left him at some point (5.2), a concluding scene which we should expect, in which the holy man says farewell to Gregentios and reveals his identity, does not follow in the text of the *Bios* as we have it today, and it is probable that it never existed. Gregentios himself, at least according to the *Bios*, never learns who his invisible companion is. However, it cannot have escaped the notice of an attentive reader that he is nobody else than Saint Nikolaos of Myra.

When Saint Peter meets Gregentios in Rome, he asks him about this invisible man and then tells him that the holy man is also the one who had put the Gospel on his chest immediately after his birth (5.124–126). Gregentios is born on the sixth December, the feast of Saint Nikolaos (1.40). The man, who appears to Gregentios’ mother in the following vision and puts the Gospel on the baby’s chest, must be identified with this saint, though this is not explicitly stated by the *Bios*, for he is described as a bishop with a white robe and the Gospel in his hands (1.41–58).<sup>50</sup>

Saint Nikolaos became one of the most popular saints of the Orthodox Church from the ninth century onwards, and was regarded as being second in rank only to Christ himself and to the Mother of God. In the scene just mentioned, Saint Peter also says to Gregentios: “It is of no benefit for you for the time being to understand who this man is, that your mind may not be overwhelmed by fear.” (5.147–148) That Saint Nikolaos of Myra is higher in rank and more awe-inspiring than Saint Peter, is also indicated by the fact that the latter, before his visit to Gregentios, announces himself to the door-keeper and tells him his name, and Gregentios understands his real identity at once and speaks freely to him (5.63–159).

<sup>48</sup> A similar role is played, for example, by the monk Markos in the *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, see Berger, *ibid.* 24. — On the motif of a travel by twos, but neither alone nor in a larger group, see Yannopoulos, “Pérégrinations”.

<sup>49</sup> A saint’s ability to make himself invisible is a frequent motif in middle-Byzantine hagiography. Gregentios himself enters his native town unnoticed during a siege, together with his invisible guide; see below, p. 16. For comparable scenes, see the *Bios of Konstantinos Iudaios*, 638E–639A. The saint’s invisibility is mentioned also in the *Bios of Antonios Neos*, 213.29–214.9; *Bios of Saint Nikon*, 128.20–21; for additional examples, see the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiographical Database* (<http://www.doaks.org/Hagio.html>).

<sup>50</sup> The cross he holds in his right hand (1.43) is no standard element of the iconography of Saint Nikolaos. Where the saint is shown alone or in a group, he is usually dressed as a bishop, has a Gospel in his left hand and raises his right hand with a blessing gesture. On the iconography of Saint Nikolaos, see Ševčenko, *Life*.

Unlike most other saints, Nikolaos is not invoked in special situations or dangers, but has the function of a ‘general saviour’ who helps in all kinds of trouble.<sup>51</sup> The episode, in which Gregentios is saved from being drowned in a river by a mysterious man who lifts him out of the water (1.84–104), should therefore also be connected to Saint Nikolaos. Since Saint Nikolaos is also the special patron of sailors,<sup>52</sup> the holy man’s behaviour during sea travels can be regarded as an additional argument for the identification with Saint Nikolaos, for it is told on two occasions that he calms storms, cares for favourable winds and gathers clouds which protect the crew against the heat of the sun (5.137–143; 8.1–15).

In the *Bios*, Nikolaos is mentioned by name only at the birth of Gregentios, and as the patron of a chapel in Moryne (2.51).

An instructive parallel for the role, which is played here by Saint Nikolaos, is the *Bios* of Petros Scholarios, a semi-legendary saint of the mid-ninth century whose biography was later blended with that of Saint Petros Athonites into the *Bios BHG* 1505: Petros falls into Arab captivity and is deported to Samarra in Mesopotamia. As the result of his invocation, Nikolaos appears several times to him in visions, frees him miraculously and brings him to Rome. There, the pope to whom Saint Nikolaos has revealed his arrival makes him a monk.<sup>53</sup>

### Visionaries and Holy Fools

According to the *Bios*, Gregentios himself is surprised how often he encounters visionaries, but, as the hagiographer says, this has been arranged for him by God for his spiritual education (4.245–248).

It is mostly not said in the *Bios* how the various visionary men and women learn about Gregentios before they first see him, with two exceptions: In Rome, the monk Gregorios sees Gregentios in a dream before he actually meets him (5.302–325),<sup>54</sup> and the arrival of Gregentios in Alexandria is revealed to the Patriarch Proterios by Saint Mark (9.46–54). In the other thirteen cases,<sup>55</sup> we may assume that the invisible holy

<sup>51</sup> Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 496–498.

<sup>52</sup> For the maritime tales connected to Saint Nikolaos, see Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 415–420; Ševčenko, *Life*, 95–103.

<sup>53</sup> Lake, *Early Days*, 18–23; on the relations between the two persons and their biographies, see Papachryssanthou, “La Vie ancienne”.

<sup>54</sup> On this vision, see also below, p. 30.

<sup>55</sup> These are Petros in Moryne (2.58–62), Theodora in Antenora (2.196–206), Konstantinos in Milan (3.50–56), the nun in Carthage (4.123–149), Abramios, a pious woman and Ioannes in Rome (5.9–15, 193–201, 380–383), Michael and Artados outside Rome (6.14–20, 118–119, 135–154), the Armenian and Georgios in Augustopolis (7.139–157, 201–202), the slave girl and Archontia in Alexandria (8.40–43, 218–240).



man, i.e. Nikolaos, has appeared to the visionaries previously and told them about Gregentios.

Four of these holy men and women, namely Petros in Moryne (2.52–84), the anonymous woman in Agrigentum (2.340–376), Ioannes (5.380–445) and Stephanos (6.202–237) in Rome, and in addition also Philothea in Carthage to whom no prophecy is ascribed (4.6–53), are portrayed as *saloi*, that is, as holy fools who hide their spiritual gifts behind a mask of folly, or at least they display characteristics of this type of saint. The first holy fools appear in sixth-century Syria — the well-known *Bios* of Symeon Salos by Leontios of Neapolis being a work of the mid-seventh century<sup>56</sup> —, but the *saloi* continued to exist in later times, until in the tenth century the literary cliché was further elaborated in Constantinople by the composition of two fictitious biographies, that of Saint Andreas Salos and that of Basileios the Younger.<sup>57</sup> A clear textual parallel between the *Bios* of Gregentios and that of Basileios the Younger demonstrates that the *Bios* of Gregentios, as well as the other parts of the Dossier, was written in Constantinople in the mid-tenth century.<sup>58</sup>

### Lyplianes and Korada

The first of the supposed main sources for the itineraries of Gregentios, which will hereafter be called the northern Italian source, is unknown from any independent tradition, and we can conclude its existence only from the *Bios* of Gregentios. It must have described a travel from Ljubljana in modern Slovenia, through Friuli and Venetia to Milan, touching Murano, Padua and Pavia.

The native place of Gregentios, Lyplianes, is probably identical to Ljubljana in Slovenia, as the location in the country of the Avars and the apparently short distance from there to northern Italy suggest.<sup>59</sup> The ‘highway to the northern sea’ at a distance of two days from Lyplianes may be the Roman road usually called the *via Iulia Augusta*, which began at Aquileia, ran along the Tagliamento river to the north and then across the Alps into Noricum,<sup>60</sup> and the ‘northern sea’ is identical to the Baltic Sea.

<sup>56</sup> On the *saloi* in general, see Ivanov, *Vizantiyskoe yurodstvo*; Id., *Holy Fools*; Gagliardi, “Saloi”; Déroche, *Études*; on the *saloi* in the *Bios* of Gregentios, see now Ivanov, *Holy Fools* 148–151.

<sup>57</sup> *Bios of Andreas Salos*; *Bios of Basileios the Younger*, on their dates and internal relationship see Rydén, “The Life of St. Basil”. — On the holy fools in this time see Ivanov, *Holy Fools*, 139–173; Déroche, *Études*, 203–213.

<sup>58</sup> See below, pp. 40 and 43. — On the parallels of vocabulary between the *Bios* of Gregentios and that of Andreas Salos see below, p. 138.

<sup>59</sup> But see below, p. 25.

<sup>60</sup> See Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, 15–18.

The Slavic settlement Ljubljana was founded on the site of the Roman town of Emona which had developed out of a Roman *castrum*. Emona was destroyed by the Huns in 452, but resettled thereafter on a modest scale in the later Roman and Ostrogothic Age. A great part of the population of this and of other towns in the region, however, took refuge in new settlements in badly accessible mountain regions.<sup>61</sup> Finally, Emona fell into the hands of the Avars, probably between 577 and 599.<sup>62</sup> It is not mentioned thereafter under its old name,<sup>63</sup> and it seems that the formerly fortified area was not continuously inhabited from the Roman to the Slavic period.<sup>64</sup>

Since the name Ljubljana is not attested in any other text before the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>65</sup> the *Bios* of Gregentios is by far the earliest source where it appears.

More difficult to identify is the fortified site (ἄστυ) called Korada where the inhabitants of Lyplianes take refuge during a barbarian attack (1.243). The search for a suitable place name, which can possibly have been distorted to Korada in the tradition of the Greek text, leads to no secure result. An identity with the former Roman military base of Carrodunum/Pitomača is impossible, for it lay at a distance of 160 km east of Ljubljana and thus closer to the centre of Avar power,<sup>66</sup> and it is also difficult to imagine that the ancient name should have stood in the same source in which Ljubljana appears under the new one. But there are two other candidates, lying much closer to Ljubljana, namely Carnium/Kranj (Krainburg) and Korinj: Carnium or Carniola, which has preserved its old name until today, lies 25 km to the north of Ljubljana and appears in sources of the seventh and eighth centuries as a Langobardic border fortress against the Avars and Slavs.<sup>67</sup> Korinj lies 35 km to the south-east and is actually one of the sites where recent excavations have revealed the existence of a sixth-century refugee settlement.<sup>68</sup>

61 A list of such settlements in present Slovenia is given by Buora & Plesničar Gec, *Aquileia Emona*, 58–60, and Ciglencečki, “Archaeological Investigation”, 119–122.

62 On the possible time of abandonment, see also Plesničar-Gec, “Architektur”.

63 Šašel, “Emona”, 576–568; Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, 73 and 232: in 572/77 bishop Patricius of Emona was present on a synod in Grado, and in 599 we find a bishop named Ioannes in Novigrad/Cittanova in Istria who had taken refuge there after his evacuation from Pannonia, and probably had been the last bishop of Emona.

64 No Slavic remains from the early phases were found on the territory of former Emona which was probably resettled only in the eleventh or twelfth century, see Šašel, “Emona”, 560–561. — On the history of the region in the Early Middle Ages, see Štih, “Strukture”.

65 1144 in the German, 1146 in the Slovenian form, see Štih, “Ljubljana”.

66 In the late Roman Age, Carrodunum was a station on the highway along the Drava river and an important strategic point, see Ihm, “Carrodunum”.

67 Tomaschek, “Carniola”; Hödl, “Krainburg”. — On the archaeological remains from this time there, see Martin, “Sax und Gürtel”.

68 Ciglencečki, “Archaeological Investigation”, 122–125; also Buora & Plesničar Gec, *Aquileia Emona*, 59.

In the following passage of the text, Gregentios is led by his invisible guide through the barbarian army and meets his family within a fortified town. Here it is unclear whether Lyplianes or Korada is intended, that is, whether a part of the population had stayed in Lyplianes during the raid, which must then also have been fortified, and was not conquered at this occasion.

Lyplianes is depicted by the *Bios* in a somehow undetermined way as a Roman or Byzantine provincial town with a Greek-speaking Christian population.<sup>69</sup> Gregentios' parents Agapios and Eusebeia definitely have Greek names (1.62, 126), as does the old visionary Niketas (1.436). The barbarians who attack its surroundings (1.241–311) must either be the Avars themselves, whose reign came to an end with the expedition of Charlemagne in 795/96, or the Hungarians who appeared for the first time in 863, though in this case the designation as country of the Avars would already be an anachronism. At all events, Gregentios himself or his possible historical prototype in the northern Italian source must then have been a member of the already Christianised Slavic population, which implies that he lived at a time when proselytisation in this area had already begun, that is, towards the end of the eighth century.<sup>70</sup>

One of the reasons for the invasion of the Avars was the departure of the Langobards to Italy in 568;<sup>71</sup> as a result of their invasion, Italy was divided into a number of Langobardic principalities, with the remaining Roman territories being partially separated from each other.<sup>72</sup> Nothing of this difficult political situation can be gleaned from the description of Gregentios' travels, and as the remarks on the uncle of his friend Leon show (3.281–284), Milan, which was actually conquered by the Langobards soon after the invasion, is apparently still imagined as a part of the Roman Empire.

Several writers, who copied the text in later centuries, failed to identify Lyplianes correctly, as we can see from the various name forms in some manuscripts and, in manuscript D, from the location in the country of the Arabs instead that of the Avars (1.34; 4.126). This uncertainty may also be the reason why the entry in the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople omits Lyplianes altogether, so that Milan becomes the native town of Gregentios.<sup>73</sup>

Later on his voyage, Gregentios meets a holy old woman in Carthage who addresses him by name and mentions his native town of Lyplianes in the region of Asia (4.126

<sup>69</sup> On the problem of languages in the *Bios* see below, p. 45–47.

<sup>70</sup> A Slavic origin of Gregentios was already assumed by Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 200, though without any detailed argumentation.

<sup>71</sup> On which see now Jarut, “Langobarden”.

<sup>72</sup> On the Langobardic invasion of Italy, see, for example, Chrestou, *Byzanz und die Langobarden*. — For some decades after the invasion, also a number of fortresses held out in the Langobardic parts of northern Italy, on which see Conti, *Italia*, and Zanini, *Italie*, passim.

<sup>73</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, 328.9–10 (see below, p. 812); from here also the statements in Dareste, “Lois”, 159; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 302.

τῶν μερῶν Ἀσιανῶν).<sup>74</sup> This is perhaps not simply the product of a scribe's ignorance, as one might assume: since the Langobardic duchies of northern Italy were called Neustria and Austria in the eighth century following the example of Frankish Gaul, the mention of Asia may well be a corrupted reference to the duchy of Austria, a territory which had Forum Iulii/Cividale di Friuli as its capital and roughly corresponded to modern Friuli, and which retained the name of Austria for a considerable time after the Frankish conquest, that is, at least until the ninth century.<sup>75</sup>

The only topographical detail mentioned by the *Bios* in Lyplianes — or perhaps in Korada — is a city gate, the *Rhomanesiou pyle*; its name has probably been taken over from the homonymous gate of Antiocheia, which the author may have known from Palladios' Life of Ioannes Chrysostomos.<sup>76</sup>

### Moryne and Antenora

The first two stations of Gregentios' way through northern Italy, Moryne and Antenora, can clearly be identified as Murano and Patavium/Padua.

As it is known, the islands of the Venetian lagoon and the litorals around it were only sparsely populated until the Late Roman Age. Before Cassiodorus' letter to the *tribuni maritimum* written in 537,<sup>77</sup> nearly nothing is known about life in this region, and most of the settlements existing today were founded only at the time of the Langobard conquests in the early seventh century by refugees from the mainland. When Patavium/Padua was destroyed by the Langobards in 601 or 602, the population, guided by the bishop, emigrated to Metamaucum/Malamocco on the Lido island.<sup>78</sup> After the sack of Opitergium/Oderzo in 639, the coastal town of Civitas Nova emerged which later became the capital of the remaining Byzantine possessions in this area, probably in 669

<sup>74</sup> The excerpt K 5 refers to Lyplianes (in the form Lopliane) as being located "in the bordering region of Avars and Asians", probably by combining the indications provided by the full version of the *Bios*. — The holy woman, who had previously visited Gregentios' parents in Lyplianes (4.132–133), thereafter goes to Rome and, before leaving, also says to Gregentios that she would perhaps meet him there again (4.188); such a meeting, however, does not take place later.

<sup>75</sup> Austria appears, for example, in King Liutprand's laws from the years 712–729: prol. a. 1, 5, 8, 14, 17 and a. 12, lex 8 (61) (= *Edictus* 86, 88, 91, 109, 112, 125), and in Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 159.15. — See also Krahwinkler, *Friaul*, 55 note 128 and 144.

<sup>76</sup> Palladios, *Dialogos*, 114; also mentioned by Athanasios, *CPG* 2137, *PG* 26, 820A; Ioannes Chrysostomos, *CPG* 4342, *PG* 50, 441B; Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 153.22–23 [8, 16].

<sup>77</sup> Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 12.24.

<sup>78</sup> Barzon, *Padova*, 192–196; Simioni, *Storia*, 128–129.

when Opitergium was finally destroyed in the course of a second attack.<sup>79</sup> Later, in 742, the seat of the governor was shifted to Malamocco, and finally, at the time of the Frankish attack of 812, to Rialto where the present city of Venice began to rise.<sup>80</sup>

Why the itinerary of the northern Italian source touches Murano and not one of these greater urban centres is unclear. A possible explanation is that Murano appears here because it was the most important settlement on the Venetian lagoon before the foundation of Civitas Nova, which would date the northern Italian source before 639. However, such an early date is improbable, for as we have seen, the mention of the Langobardic duchy of Austria points to a later time, and it would be difficult to imagine that the Slavic name *Lyplianes*, if it at all existed already, was used by a Latin or Greek source at a time when Emona must still have been in the living memory of the people.

The solution of this problem is probably much simpler: Padua is the first major town on the Italian mainland mentioned by the northern Italian source, and it is probable that it was intended to be the first main station there. Since Murano was the closest harbour in the region from which Padua was accessible overland, the stay there, which may have been only a short stopover in the original context, also makes perfect sense at a time when Nova Heraclea and Malamocco already existed.<sup>81</sup> In this case, we can only conclude a vague *terminus ante quem* for the composition of this source, namely the rise of Rialto in the early ninth century which replaced Murano as the main centre of settlement on the islands inside the lagoon.

After its destruction in 601 or 602, Patavium/Padua was uninhabited for a long time, and it seems that the town was only resettled following the return of the bishop after the Frankish conquest in 774.<sup>82</sup>

According to the Roman legend, Patavium had been founded by the Trojan hero Antenor in 1184 BC, and this tradition was still alive in the Middle Ages.<sup>83</sup> No source

<sup>79</sup> Brown, Bryer & Winfield, "Cities of Heraclius", 15–38 (the name *civitas Heracliana* does not appear before the tenth century); see also Cracco Ruggini, "Acque" 73–79; Pavan & Arnaldi, "Origini" 419–422.

<sup>80</sup> On these events, see for example Cracco Ruggini, "Acque"; Fritsch, *Markuskult*, 26–27. — On the history of the Rialto region before this time, see now Ammerman, "Venice".

<sup>81</sup> Note the reading 2.94 Ἀντιγόραν] ἀπέναντι DF: though the designation as "the town opposite" seems to fit perfectly into the context, it cannot have belonged to the archetype, for at 2.98 the arrival in Antenora is mentioned with the remark "as it has been said".

<sup>82</sup> Barzon, *Padova*, 192–206; Simioni, *Storia*, 136–138. — The Bishop Ursinus of Patavium in the province of Istria (!), who was present at the Roman synod in 680 (*Concilium CP III*, 154.30–32), most probably had his residence in Malamocco, see Barzon *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> On the legend of Antenor and its development in the Early Middle Ages see Braccesi, *Leggenda*; Capozza, "Padova", 137–149; Pianezzola, "Antenor", 172–178.

except the *Bios* of Gregentios, however, gives Patavium a completely new, but antiquarian name derived from Antenor.<sup>84</sup>

Most of the buildings and persons mentioned in Moryne and Antenora are probably invented by the author and have no historical prototype: these are in Moryne the house of Sabbatios, the chapel of Saint Nikolaos and the old man Petros (2.8, 51, 52), in Antenora the house of Theodoretos at *ta Petrolou*, the bishop Eulogios and the woman Theodora (2.100, 143., 171, 196).<sup>85</sup> The name Sabbatios was quite common in the East,<sup>86</sup> but is attested in Italy only very rarely;<sup>87</sup> we may assume therefore that it did not appear in the northern Italian source, but was subsequently introduced by the author of the *Bios* who wrote in the East. In the case of *ta Petrolou* the parallel to *ta Protolou* in Agrigentum is obvious;<sup>88</sup> the name of Eulogios, on the other hand, has probably been borrowed from the well-known Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria (580–607).<sup>89</sup> This may indicate that the author had not only some knowledge of patristic literature, as the mention of the *Rhomanesiou pyle* suggests, and was occasionally inspired by it, but also possessed some informations about older church history before the rise of Islam.<sup>90</sup>

### Ravenna

Surprisingly enough, Ravenna is not mentioned in the *Bios* of Gregentios, although the city was the capital of the exarchate and the centre of Roman power in northern Italy until the mid-eighth century. But it is possible that the *Melikioton enoria* or *Melike po-*

<sup>84</sup> The only possible hint that such a use actually existed is perhaps the fact that the pro-Frankish *dux* of the Venetian lagoon Obelierio (805–810), whose family came originally from Patavium, is called *Antenoreo* or *dei Antenori* by later Venetian chronicles, see Marin Sano, *Vite*, 107.13 with apparatus; but this may well be a 14th- or 15th-century fiction.

<sup>85</sup> But see for Theodora also below, p. 43 with note 228.

<sup>86</sup> Prokopios, *Anekdotai*, 12.18 and Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 139.9 (father of Ioustinianos I); Ioustinianos, *Novella* 35; *PMBZ*, # 6242–6245, 6827, 6828, 7165–7170.

<sup>87</sup> For a bishop from Campania who was present in 649 at the Lateran Council, *ibid.* # 6245. — The name Sabbatios (in Armenian Smbat, also Hellenised to Symbatios) is actually that of Sabazios, an ancient god from Asia Minor, see Johnson, “Sabazios”; on the distribution of his cult in Roman times, see also *Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii*.

<sup>88</sup> On this, see below, p. 27. — The names of these two founders or possessors, Petrolos and Protolos, have a clear Latin flavour, and are apparently not attested by any Byzantine source.

<sup>89</sup> Eulogios even maintained good relations with Pope Gregory I, see the letters in Gregorius I, *Registrum*, I, 24; V, 41; VI, 58; VII, 31. 37; VIII, 28, 29; IX 175; X 14, 21; XII, 16; XII, 44, 45, and was therefore well-known in the West.

<sup>90</sup> See below, p. 101.

*lis*, where later in the story Gregentios' friend Leon is appointed as a local ruler (3.341, 349–350), can be identified with it:

The place is apparently imagined as a district of Rome or as a town nearby. The name is probably given here in a distorted form which makes identification difficult. From the designation as *Melikioton enoria* we may conclude that its inhabitants were called *Melikoi*, which can either be associated with a Slavic tribe of the Peloponnese, the *Melingoi* or *Melinkoi*,<sup>91</sup> or, rather, with the name *Melisenses* which is occasionally attested for the inhabitants of Ravenna.<sup>92</sup>

If we recall that Padua appears in the northern Italian source under the otherwise unknown name Antenora,<sup>93</sup> we may assume that this source had a certain tendency to use such antiquarian designations for cities usually known by other names, and that therefore the *Melike polis* may be identified with Ravenna.

### Milan

During his stay in Milan Gregentios visits the grave of Saint Ambrose (3.27–43) and leads a discussion with two monks in the cathedral (3.44–202);<sup>94</sup> thus the northern Italian source was aware of the fact that these were two different places. Ambrose himself was also venerated in the Byzantine Orthodox church, and his biography was known there through several Greek lives and hymns;<sup>95</sup> however, there is no mention of a homily written under such circumstances as described in the *Bios* of Gregentios, where it is said that Ambrose delivered it in front of the people by God's inspiration, and it was written down by stenographers (3.37–39).<sup>96</sup>

The mention of a third place in Milan, the chapel of Saint Stephanos, strongly suggests that the author of the northern Italian source actually knew the city. This chapel is the baptistry of Saint Stephanos in the north-east of the old cathedral, a fourth-century structure which was dismantled in the fourteenth century when the present cathedral was constructed on the site.<sup>97</sup>

Though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish those parts of the story which are based on the northern Italian source from those probably invented by the author of the

91 On the possible etymology of which see Georgacas, "Mediaeval Names", 301–327.

92 Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 139, 141, 153, 167.

93 See above, pp. 18–19.

94 See below, p. 132.

95 See Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, and the *Bios of Ambrosios*, which is based on Theodoretos. On the Byzantine picture of Ambrose, see also Irmischer, "Ambrosius in Byzanz"; Trisoglio, "Sant' Ambrogio".

96 The closest parallel is the report of Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, ch. 42, according to which Ambrose fell down in ecstasy when he explained a psalm in the presence of his biographer.

97 On this, see for example David, "Stefano".

*Bios*, it is likely that the persons who appear in Milan belong to the latter: the prophetic poor man called Konstantinos, whom Gregentios meets on his way to the cathedral, calls Milan “the town which lies below here” (τὴν κάτω ὧδε πόλιν 3.53); since the word “below” in this context usually means south,<sup>98</sup> this suggests that the author of the *Bios* had no exact idea where in Italy Milan lay. Also, Gregentios’ host Nīketas (3.12) and the the whole episode of the boy Leon, whose beauty is described with a slight homoerotic undertone (3.203–492), are most probably products of the author’s imagination.

### Piacenza, Pavia and Perithoua

A number of other places in northern Italy is mentioned in other contexts outside of the course of Gregentios’ itinerary:

The castle Largention (3.16) can easily be identified with Placentia/Piacenza because of its similar name, although the actual distance of this place to Milan is closer to 40 than to 30 miles.

Pavia, the old Roman town Ticinum, is mentioned later in a retrospective when Gregentios is already in Alexandria (8.140). The town was conquered by the Langobards in 572 and later became the capital of their kingdom in northern Italy, until it fell to the Franks in 774. The new name Papia does not appear before the late seventh century, though the etymology, which is clearly Roman, suggests that it is in reality much older.<sup>99</sup> In the *Bios* of Gregentios the town is called *Pabea*, obviously a rendering of Pavia, the later vernacular form of its name. This is first attested in the late eighth century by a group of Frankish annals,<sup>100</sup> but Papia also thereafter remains the standard name in Latin texts.

Since the narrative makes it the harbour where Gregentios lands shortly before reaching Milan,<sup>101</sup> we can conclude that the northern Italian source actually described a journey by boat upstream on the rivers Po and Ticino, during which the hero passed Piacenza and then disembarked at the closest point to Milan.

<sup>98</sup> See for example Herodotos, *Historiai*, 1.142. — Later in the text, Negra (9.4) and Alexandria (9.65) are described in a similar way. In these cases it is possible, however, that instead of κάτω κειμένην πόλιν we should read κατωκημένην πόλιν, that is, “(densely) inhabited city”.

<sup>99</sup> *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*, 190b5; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 81.20–21. — On the name, see Gabba, “Nome”. The toponym is probably derived from the name of the original founder who may have been a member of the Roman family of Papiae.

<sup>100</sup> As *Paueia* in the entry on the Frankish conquest of 774: *MGH Scriptores* I, 40; Lendi, *Untersuchungen*, 154–155. See also Hoffmann, *Untersuchungen*.

<sup>101</sup> On the importance of Ticinum/Pavia as a harbour on the river Po in the late Roman and early Mediaeval time, see Bargnesi, “Inland navigation”.



In Pavia, a miracle is told to Gregentios which the Mother of God had worked on an Arian (8.140–209). Though the story is put into the mouth of a priest “from the East” and allegedly took place in his unnamed native country (8.144–146), we may assume that the episode was inserted here because the northern Italian source contained a remark about the role of Pavia as the last major stronghold of Arianism in the Lombardic kingdom at the end of the seventh century, a remark which cannot, however, have had an immediate connection to the plot of the story. The discussions between Arians and “Orthodox” Christians, which are mentioned at the beginning of the episode (8.147–148), may well be an allusion to the synod of Pavia held in 698. This synod was convoked by King Kuninkpert to terminate the so-called Schism of the Three Chapters, which had lasted in Italy for nearly 150 years, and effectively also put an end to Arianism among the Lombards.<sup>102</sup>

At an earlier point of the narrative, when Gregentios is in Rome, a holy monk called Abramios speaks to him of his previous travels and mentions that he had disembarked on the way to Milan at a place called Perithoua (5.13). The name Perithoua is not mentioned by any other source. The place is probably not identical to Pavia, for this would imply that the name of the town appeared in the northern Italian source both in the correct and a distorted form. A possible hypothesis for the presence of the name is that in the original context Perithoua was not the place where the protagonist of the story left the boat on which he travelled upstream, but where he embarked on it:

If we assume that he went southward from Padua on one of the known Roman overland roads, he must have reached the river Po either at modern Ficarolo or at Hostilia/Ostiglia; a distortion of these names to Perithoua, however, is very improbable. Another possible candidate is Ferrara which was founded in the early seventh century as an outwork for the defence of Ravenna against the Lombards,<sup>103</sup> but is not mentioned with this name before 753/54, when it had already passed into their hands.<sup>104</sup> Ferrara lay on the northern shore of the Po, until the rupture of a dam at Ficarolo deviated the river into its present bed in 1152. According to a later local tradition, the name goes back to a Roman settlement called *Forum Alieni* which developed to Ferrariola and finally to Ferrara.<sup>105</sup> A hypothetical intermediate form \*Feraliona, which the author of the northern Italian source may have had before his eyes in a Greek transcription, can quite easily be etymologised by replacing Fera- with Peri-, and misread to Perithoua.

<sup>102</sup> On this synod see, for example, Bertolini, “Riflessi”, 786–788. It is certainly identical to the synod held in Aquileia according to Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 168.7–169.6, and the *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 376.8–12.

<sup>103</sup> On the early history of Ferrara, see Patitucci Uggeri, “Aspetti”, 403–410, and “Castr”, 433–440.

<sup>104</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 455.16; Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*, 201.27.

<sup>105</sup> Patitucci Uggeri, “Castr”, 432–434; Zanini, *Italie*, 78–80, 123–126.

## Augustopolis

The harbour of Augustopolis, from which Gregentios departs to Egypt after his stay in Rome, also appears in the early seventh century in the geographical work of Georgios of Cyprus.<sup>106</sup> For this town, two identifications have been proposed, either with the settlement called Augusta in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which lay about 18 km to the north of Ravenna at the modern estuary of Reno in the Po delta,<sup>107</sup> or with the town of Ioustinopolis/Koper (Capo d'Istria) on the northern shore of Istria.<sup>108</sup>

Both identifications require the assumption that Augustopolis was originally mentioned in the northern Italian source as a station *en route* from Ljubljana to Milan, and that the shifting to another context in the *Bios* is caused by the fact that Augustopolis was described as a harbour where the protagonist of the story embarked on a ship in the course of his travel.

The change of the form of the name from Augusta to Augustopolis can also be observed in the case of several homonymous towns in the Roman Empire.<sup>109</sup>

The Augusta of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* lay on the channel called *Fossa Augusta*, by which the late antique and early mediaeval main estuary of the river Po was connected to Ravenna. Even in the case that the journey described in the northern Italian source was not made partially overland from the lagoon of Venice to the Po, as proposed above, but rather by boat along the coast to this point and then upstream, an itinerary involving this place would have been a long detour, for which the reason only could have been a visit to nearby Ravenna which is not mentioned by the *Bios*.<sup>110</sup> And moreover: excavations at the point indicated for Augusta by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* brought to light the remains of a great Roman villa which was probably already abandoned in the fifth century, but no traces of a town with a market-place, churches and a harbour as described by the *Bios*, which could still have existed in the Early Mediaeval period.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Georgios of Cyprus (Honigmann), 53 no. 617; see also Patlagean, "Moines", 586 note 16.

<sup>107</sup> Georgios of Cyprus *ibid.* — On the silting up of the lagoons around Ravenna and the change of river beds in this area see Deichmann, *Ravenna*, II/3, 11–13; Patitucci Uggeri, "Aspetti", 392–399; Fabbri, "Controllo". The name Augusta was still applied to a fishing pond in this region in the tenth century, see Fabbri, "Controllo", 13, 17; the document in Cavarra, "Archivi", 505 no. 313.

<sup>108</sup> *Georgios of Cyprus* (Gelzer) 96–97; Conti, *Italia*, 101–103. — See also Cosentino, *Proso-pografia*, 505.

<sup>109</sup> Such as Augusta in Cilicia, on which see Hild & Hellenkemper, *Kilikien*, 201–202, or Caesaraugusta/Zaragoza in Spain, on which see below, p. 25 with note 120.

<sup>110</sup> But see above, pp. 19–20.

<sup>111</sup> Uggeri, "Insediamenti", 37 (map), 73–77.

The identification with Ioustinopolis, as suggested by the geographical order of Georgios' work, is also problematical,<sup>112</sup> for the change from Ioustinopolis to Augustopolis or *vice versa* cannot be explained on plausible phonetical or palaeographical grounds,<sup>113</sup> and the proposals which were made to find a historical reason for such a change are highly hypothetical.<sup>114</sup> However, it can be ruled out that the northern Italian source depended on Georgios of Cyprus or a common source, or that the assumed change of name is a later mistake of transmission which occurred independently both in the work of Georgios and in the *Bios*. It is probable therefore that the name Augustopolis was actually applied in the early seventh century to the town which had before been called Ioustinopolis. Recent archeological research has demonstrated that no settlement existed on the island today occupied by the town of Koper before the fifth century,<sup>115</sup> that is, probably not long before Ioustinos II (565–578) after whom the new town was named.

It must be admitted, at all events, that a location of Augustopolis in Istria fits much better into the itinerary of the northern Italian source than one in the Po delta would do. A departure from Istria would not only fill the geographical gap between Ljubljana and Murano, but possibly it would also give an explanation for the travelling time of one day between the two, if we assume that in the original context this referred to the sea voyage from Istria to Murano. The first harbour mentioned in the northern Italian source, from which the pilgrimage to Milan began, would thus have become the departing point for the journey to the Orient in the *Bios* of Gregentios.

Since we have no detailed informations about Augustopolis in literary sources except the *Bios* of Gregentios, nor archaeological remains at Ioustinopolis/Koper that would give us an idea of the urban context,<sup>116</sup> we cannot determine whether the cathedral dedicated to the Mother of God, the market place Milentos<sup>117</sup> and the church of Saint Mokios<sup>118</sup> are taken from the assumed source about northern Italy, or whether

<sup>112</sup> If the identifications of place names given by Conti are correct, Augustopolis belonged to a group of three towns no. 616–618 in and around Istria, together with Tergestra/Trieste and Talbitaou/Rijeka (Fiume); see also Zanini, *Italie*, 122–123.

<sup>113</sup> As by Gelzer, in *Georgios of Cyprus* (Gelzer), *ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Conti, *Italia*, *ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Cunja, *Koper*, 193–194; Guček & Stokin, "Aegida".

<sup>116</sup> The oldest surviving structure in Koper, the so-called Rotunda Carmine, is usually dated between the tenth and twelfth century.

<sup>117</sup> Patlagean, "Moines", 586 note 16 connects it hypothetically to the designation of the people of Ravenna as *Melisenses* which is attested by Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 139, 141, 153, 167. See also above, note 91 on the *Melingoi*.

<sup>118</sup> On the veneration of this saint in the West, see Delchaye, "Martyrologe Hieronymien", 36–37; *Id.*, *Origines*, 234–235: the cult of Saint Mokios is attested in the fourth and fifth centuries in Gaul and Spain, but his alleged veneration in Milan (!), which was deduced from an entry in a sixth-century Syrian calendar, cannot be proven.

they are also completely invented (7, especially 12–13, 132, 193–194). The latter is almost certainly the case for the hostess of Gregentios, the widow Euphemia, for the rich Andreas and the poor Georgios (7.1, 14, 195, 279).

Two other towns called Augustopolis, which lay in Phrygia and in the Roman province Palaestina III respectively, cannot have anything to do with the place in question here.<sup>119</sup> The name Augustopolis appears also in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople in the entry on Saint Bikentios/Vincentius, a martyr in the time of Diocletian, as a variant for the Augustia of the original *Bios BHG* 1866, that is, Augusta or Caseraugusta/Zaragoza in Spain.<sup>120</sup> If the name Gregentios was actually formed by combining Gregorios and a name ending with *-entios*, as proposed below,<sup>121</sup> it seems possible that the author of the *Bios* knew the name and legend of Bikentios. And if so, he must have believed that the towns in Spain and Italy were identical, and therefore added an allusion to the patron saint of the Spanish Augustopolis to his story, although it is actually staged in Italy.

Finally, it is unclear why the ship, which brings Gregentios and his invisible companion from Augustopolis to Egypt, is called “a ship from Leukas” (8.2).<sup>122</sup> Since it is probable that ships from the Ionian island were involved in maritime traffic on the Adriatic Sea in the early Middle Ages, we may assume that the origin from Leukas is a detail which originally also belonged to the context of the northern Italian source.

If we sum up the evidence we have about the northern Italian source, we realise that the few clear indications in the text point to a date of origin in the first decades after the Frankish conquest of the kingdom of the Langobards in 774. On the other hand, the special veneration of Saint Mark around the Venetian lagoon, which was established by the translation of his relics in 828 from Alexandria to the new residence at Rialto,<sup>123</sup> is not mentioned on the occasion of Gregentios’ visit to Murano (2.6), although Saint Mark later plays an important role in the story, when he appears to the Patriarch Proteorios in Alexandria and through him gives the final order to Gregentios to go to Yemen (9.44–96). Evelyne Patlagean concluded from this fact that the whole *Bios* was written before the year 828,<sup>124</sup> but it must be stated that this *terminus ante quem* is valid only for that single source, and that an *argumentum e silentio* is generally unsuitable to fix

119 On Augustopolis in Phrygia see Belke & Mersich, *Phrygien*, 196–197; on Augustopolis in Palestine, which is perhaps identical to ancient Thaiman (on which see below, p. 99 note 45), see Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, 43 (ch. 721.3).

120 *Synaxarium CP*, 414.9. On Saint Vincentius see now Saxer, *Saint Vincent*. — A parallel case is here the rendering of the province name *Augustoeuphratesion eparchia*, which appears in the *Bios* of Sergios and Bakchos *BHG* 1624, as Augustopolis in *Synaxarium CP*, 115.31.

121 See below, pp. 28–30.

122 Note the late adjective form *Λευκαδηνός* instead of the ancient *Λευκάδιος*.

123 On the translation, see now Fritsch, *Markuskult*, 48–56.

124 Patlagean, “Moines”, 593.

the date of a historical source. As we will presently see, there are also other strong chronological contradictions in the *Bios* which were caused by the use of different sources.

Another question, for which an answer cannot be offered here, is how the northern Italian source, which was most probably written in Latin, found its way to the East where the *Bios* was composed.<sup>125</sup> The author of the *Bios* must have used it in a Greek translation,<sup>126</sup> and it is also unclear when, where and by whom this translation was carried out.

As a result, we gain the general impression that the author simply borrowed only a number of place names and some informations about the churches of Milan from this northern Italian source, and that everything else in this part of the *Bios* is the product of his fancy.

### Agrigentum

The second main source for the travels of Gregentios is probably the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, which can be dated roughly between 750 and 828 and thus supplies an additional, but vague *terminus post quem* for the *Bios* of Gregentios.<sup>127</sup> The *Bios* of Gregorios, though it has a historical core, is in large parts legendary: the saint travels from Agrigentum first to Carthage, then to the Holy Land, and returns later to Agrigentum after visits to Constantinople and Rome, where he is appointed as bishop of his native town. In addition to these stations of their travels, the figures of Gregentios and Gregorios are also connected by the dates of their liturgical commemorations:<sup>128</sup> the memory of Gregorios of Agrigentum is celebrated on the 24th November together with Caecilia whose church he visits in Rome;<sup>129</sup> Gregentios has his feast on the 19th December together with Bonifatius, who is commemorated occasionally also on the 24th November,<sup>130</sup> and in Rome he visits both the churches of Bonifatius and of Caecilia (5.381; 6.1, 19, 130, 192–193).

An additional point of connection, which was, however, introduced subsequently into the text, is the name of Gregentios' mother who is called Theodote instead of Eusebeia (1.126) in the excerpt of the manuscript family  $\alpha$  and in the *Synaxarion* of the

<sup>125</sup> See below, pp. 43–45.

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 22 on the possible origin of the place name Perithoua.

<sup>127</sup> On the date, see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 47–48.

<sup>128</sup> Patlagean, “Moines”, 584; Berger, *ibid.* 74–75.

<sup>129</sup> Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 88.5 and commentary, p. 391.

<sup>130</sup> This date lies one day after the feast of Saint Felicitas, in whose church outside the gates of Rome Pope Bonifatius I was buried; the commemoration on this day therefore already presupposes the confusion between the martyr Bonifatius and the pope, on which see below, p. 36.

church of Constantinople which depends from it, and thus bears, in this branch of the tradition, the same name as the mother of Gregorios of Agrigentum. It cannot be discerned whether this agreement is the result of some intention or of simple coincidence.<sup>131</sup>

The mention of churches in Rome for the purpose of giving a hint to the feast of a saint is a peculiarity of both lives which must be explained by their legendary character.<sup>132</sup> However, there is an essential difference: the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, though most parts of it are fictitious, contains a core which actually pertains to a historical person and probably goes back to a local tradition of Agrigentum, and to which the date of his death given in the life may also belong.<sup>133</sup> In the case of Gregentios, the possible historical core is much less defineable,<sup>134</sup> and the exact reason why his commemoration was established on the 19th December is unclear.

By the contamination of sources mentioned above, the city of Agrigentum has been transferred to northern Italy, to a place in the Po valley somewhere between Padua and Milan. At the same time it lies on the island of Sicily (2.224–245), and on the way by boat from there to Milan Rome is touched (3.9–10). In a later retrospective, when Gregentios has already arrived in Egypt, Agrigentum is called an island (8.140), but this may be simply a confused reference to its location in Sicily.

At all events, it is very improbable that the author of the *Bios* knew Agrigentum himself. The detailed topographical indications about this city in the complete version of the text are not taken from the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, and if there were no additional sources unknown to us, we must assume that they are a product of the author's imagination, as it is probable in the parallel cases of Lyplianes and the cities of northern Italy:<sup>135</sup> we hear about the church of the Mother of God at *ta Protolou* outside the walls (2.225–226), and inside about a rectangular square surrounded by porticoes (*tetrastoon*) with a church of Saint John the Precursor close to it, and the church of the Mother of God at *ta Kyritonos* (2.333–335). In the case of the portico and the church of Saint John, their description as lying in the west of the town is somewhat suspicious, for the same relative location is also assigned to churches in Augustopolis and in Taphar (7.194; 9.153–154).

131 *Synaxarium CP*, 328.10; see also Vasiliev, "Žitie", 67. — On some possible allusions at the beginning of the *Bios* of Gregentios (1.63–69) to Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 2.9–11.32, see Berger *ibid.* 75.

132 The reports about travels of Greek saints to Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries in *BHG* 278, 580, 581, 711, 944, 1505 and 2430, most of which have a historical core, do not mention the churches of the city except those of Peter and Paul (*BHG* 2430) and the monastery of Kaisarios, to which Blasios of Amorion retires (*BHG* 278).

133 Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 57.

134 On which see below, p. 48.

135 See above, p. 10.

The main episode during the stay in Agrigentum is Gregentios' visit to the grave of the ascetic Eirene which has some importance for the dating of the *Bios* because of its clear statement concerning the theology of icons.<sup>136</sup> In her lifetime, Eirene had been the member of an *asketerion*, that is, an ascetic community with a status different from that of an ordinary nunnery.<sup>137</sup> The story about the two pine trees which bow at prayer together with the saint (2.262–281) resembles the well-known legend about the Mother of God who was venerated shortly before her death in this way by the trees on the Mount of Olives.<sup>138</sup> In a form quite similar to the *Bios* of Gregentios, it appears also in the *Bios* of Saint Eirene BHG 952, abbess of the monastery of Chrysobalanton in Constantinople, a work of the tenth century.<sup>139</sup> Since also the *Bios* of Gregentios was composed there and at the same time, as we will see presently, it is probably no coincidence that the story of the bowing trees is told in both texts about a saint by the name of Eirene.<sup>140</sup>

Gregentios' host in Agrigentum, the priest Stephanos, is probably a fictitious person (2.245, 318, 374, 387).

### Excursus I

#### The name Gregentios

According to the *Bios*, Gregentios received his name from a holy man who lived on a mountain close to his native town Lyplianes (1.59–61). This name is not attested at any other place than in the Dossier of the saint, and it appears that it was also regarded as problematical by later manuscript writers, for it was changed sometimes to Gregorios,<sup>141</sup> to Gregentinos or even Rhegentinos.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>136</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>137</sup> In sixth-century Constantinople, the *asketeria* were an institution supported by the state, whose members acted as professional wailers at funerals, see Ioustinianos, *Novella* 59; they had to take part in certain services at Hagia Sophia as late as the ninth century, see *Typicon*, I, 287.

<sup>138</sup> Ioannes of Thessalonike, 379.18–21, 407.15–19; Wenger, *L'assomption*, 212.6–8; see also Jugie, *Mort*, 144. — See also the date-palms at the hut of the anonymous hermit in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 26.21.

<sup>139</sup> *Bios of Eirene of Chrysobalanton*, 76.17–25. — In this text the trees are identified as cypresses, as it is to be expected, for reasons of symbolism, also in the *Bios* of Gregentios.

<sup>140</sup> See below, p. 42.

<sup>141</sup> In the manuscripts L and K (see below, p. 170) and in the Slavic tradition which depends on K; see Patlagean, *Lois*, 5; Eadem, "Moines", 584; Vasiliev, "Žitie", 24–25. Also in the Arabic translation of the *Dialexis*, on which see Graf, *Geschichte*, I, 370. — See also below, p. 812 note 9.

<sup>142</sup> Gregentinos in N, see below, p. 144, and in some manuscripts of the *Synaxarion*, see below p. 812 note 9. — Rhegentios in M.

At first sight, the most plausible etymology of Gregentios is *Agrigentios*, or rather *Agrigentius*, a “man from Agrigentum”. The fact that it has a Latin suffix<sup>143</sup> does not necessarily indicate a western origin, since such suffixes were already used in vernacular Greek during this time.<sup>144</sup> We may assume that either the author already found the name Gregentios in one of his sources, which seems unprobable, or that he invented it when he wrote his text, thus establishing a connection with Gregorios of Agrigentum. He did this apparently by combining the name Gregorios either with the appellation *Akragantinos* or *Agrigentius*,<sup>145</sup> or with the name of another person whose name ended with *-entios*. This may have been the unknown protagonist of the northern Italian source, or Bikentios/Vincentius of Augustopolis in Spain, as proposed above.<sup>146</sup>

The “holy Gregorios, archbishop of the Homerites” (Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν) also appears on a fresco from the late twelfth century in the church of Saint Ioannes Chrysostomos at Koutsoveni in Cyprus,<sup>147</sup> in a group of four saints called Gregorios, that is, together with Gregorios of Agrigentum, Gregorios of Akritas and Gregorios Thaumaturgos. The cult of Gregentios probably arrived in Cyprus only about one decade earlier when the manuscript S, which is now on Mount Sinai, was copied in a nearby monastery. In this manuscript, however, he still bears his original name.<sup>148</sup> Similar groups of saints called Gregorios, but without a “Gregorios of the Homerites”, are known from other painted church decorations from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.<sup>149</sup> The fresco in the church of Koutsoveni is, as far as I know, the only representation of Saint Gregentios/Gregorios from Byzantine times.



It is remarkable in this context that in later times nobody with the name Gregentios is attested except in the 19th century on Mount Athos. One of them was an archimandrite

<sup>143</sup> The Latin character of the name was first noticed by Lequien, *Oriens christianus*, II, 665.

<sup>144</sup> See, for example, the name Stylianos which appears in Byzantium in the ninth century and is obviously derived from the Greek word *Stylites*; on which see Berger, “Sightseeing”, 185.

<sup>145</sup> In all manuscripts, the name Gregentios is consistently written with η in the first syllable. — On compound words of the ‘portmanteau’ type, see Carroll, *The Hunting of the Snark*, Preface.

<sup>146</sup> See above, p. 25.

<sup>147</sup> Mango & Hawkins, “Report”, 339 note 102 and plate 44; Mango, “Monastery of St. Chrysostomos”, 92–93 and plate 7a.

<sup>148</sup> See below, p. 147.

<sup>149</sup> For example, in the so-called Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike and the Pammakaristos church in Constantinople.



of Batopedi who wrote two letters to Minoides Mynas in the April of 1842;<sup>150</sup> the *Bios* and *Dialexis* were well-known in his monastery, since a manuscript of the *Dialexis* is kept in the Skete of Saint Demetrios which belongs to it,<sup>151</sup> and Modern Greek paraphrases of the *Bios* and *Dialexis* in two codices of the monastery itself.<sup>152</sup> The other Gregentios was a monk in the Skete of Hagia Anna who died in 1879 at the age of 69, and whose skull is still preserved in the bone house of the monastery;<sup>153</sup> the Skete belongs to the Megiste Laura where a number of manuscripts of the *Bios* and *Dialexis* are preserved.<sup>154</sup>

The assumption made above, that the name Gregentios is the result of a contamination of two words, seems quite plausible, for the name can hardly be retraced to one of the other supposed main sources, as it does neither fit well in the context of Slovenia and northern Italy, nor in that of southern Arabia.<sup>155</sup> The name of Gregentios' opponent in the *Dialexis*, Herban, which was probably invented by the same author, is also attested by no other source.<sup>156</sup>

That the author himself invented the name Gregentios and regarded it as a derivative of or a substitute for Gregorios, is also suggested by the fact that the *Bios* contains a number of allusions to persons of this name.

If Gregentios, for example, writes a set of sixteen homilies (4.264–268), this is probably an allusion to Gregorios of Nazianzos, for sixteen of his homilies were often transmitted together in a so-called liturgical edition, that is, in calendar order of the feasts and the events discussed. The origin of this type of collection is usually dated into the tenth century.<sup>157</sup> Another saint called Gregorios, who is mentioned in the *Bios*, is Gregorios of Artašat (7.171–172).<sup>158</sup>

The mysterious relationship with Gregorios of Agrigentum is further illustrated by another episode in the *Bios*: Gregentios had left his native country on the invitation of his invisible guide (2.1–5) without a preceding vocation scene, such as we find it in the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum.<sup>159</sup> But a very similar scene, which is only loosely

150 These letters have survived in the manuscript Par. Suppl. gr. 1251, see Astruc & Concasty, *Supplément grec* 3, 475.

151 See below, p. 143.

152 See below, pp. 157–158.

153 A photograph of it appeared in the *National Geographic* 164 (1983), 741.

154 See below, p. 142.

155 If anything, only its first component may be taken from the report of the mission in Yemen; see below, p. 60.

156 See below, p. 108.

157 Galavaris, *Illustrations*, 6–12. — Sermons about chastity and the Last Judgement, which are mentioned here in the *Bios* of Gregentios (4.268–269), do naturally not exist in this collection.

158 See below, p. 46.

159 Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 4.

connected to the main story, is inserted much later during Gregentios' stay in Rome, and its protagonist is a monk called Gregorios (5.319–325).<sup>160</sup>

In this context, Evelyne Patlagean put forward the hypothesis that the excerpt of K, in which the saint is called Gregorios, was the original text which was expanded later, so that the life of a “Grégoire de Oulpiana” stands at the beginning of the whole tradition.<sup>161</sup> But this is impossible, for the short form of the *Bios* stood only in the family  $\alpha$  and not in the archetype; within this family, C and X always call the saint Gregentios, so that this reading is safely confirmed for the archetype. After the end of the *Bios* the name appears in the *Dialexis* as Gregorios at A 492 and B 1225 in K and in the surviving parts of L, from which K was copied. However, at  $\Gamma$  430 the protagonist is again called Gregentios; the end of the *Dialexis*, in which the name appears three more times at E 690, 729, 736, is lost both in L and K.

Gregorios is therefore clearly a *lectio facillior* for the original Gregentios which was introduced into a manuscript of the family  $\alpha$  by a writer who then failed to carry through his own correction completely. He was probably the same one who changed the emperor's name to Ioustinianos (9.16).

A priority of the short *Bios* of K is impossible also for other reasons: though the way through Agrigentum is missing there as a result of the heavy abridgements, the allusion to Gregorios of Agrigentum, which is achieved by mentioning the names of the saint's parents, has been kept. It is, after all, much easier to assume that the episode in Agrigentum existed already in the original and was introduced to explain the name Gregentios, than to find a reason why it should have been added later together with the introduction of the *lectio difficilior* Gregentios.

### Carthage

If we believe the *Bios*, the next station of Gregentios, Carthage, lay in Italy somewhere between Milan and Rome and closer to the latter (3.523). The indication  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$  τὴν Ῥώμην may have already been present in the source from which the name was taken; there, however, it must have been used in a meaning different from the one the author of the *Bios* of Gregentios believed it to have, for in other sources the phrase is used to distinguish Carthage from Cartagena in Spain.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>160</sup> In both cases, the scene of the vocation of Samuel in 1 Reg. 3 is imitated. See also Berger, *ibid.*, 346.

<sup>161</sup> Patlagean, *Lois*, 5–8; on the assumed origin of Gregentios from Ulpiana/Lipljan see below, pp. 43–44.

<sup>162</sup> On the confusion between these two cities and on the form of name Kart(h)agena, see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 347.

The church or chapel of Saint Anastasia where Gregentios prays during his stay in Carthage (4.97–100) is not attested by any other text.<sup>163</sup> The Roman origin of the saint is especially mentioned, and it is even said that the chapel was built inside her former property which she had inherited from her ancestors. Carthage, therefore, is obviously imagined as being an old Roman town somewhere in the vicinity of the capital.

The figure of the young Pothetos from Thrace, whom Gregentios befriends in Carthage (4.251), may have been inspired by the legendary Saint Potitus, a native of Serdica/Sofia, who allegedly suffered martyrdom at Rome in the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161) and was widely venerated in southern Italy from the ninth century onwards.<sup>164</sup> But his cult is known exclusively through Latin texts, and was inexistent in the East, where the name Pothetos is very rarely attested.<sup>165</sup> Moreover, the province of Thrace, in which Serdica lies, is not mentioned in any of his *vitae*. Alternatively, the mention of Thrace may be a reminiscence of the mountain Thrake in the *Bios* of the hermit Markos *BHG* 1039–1041 which could have found its way here via the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum.<sup>166</sup> The cult of Saint Markos is apparently of Syrian origin and spread into the Orthodox Greek and the Monophysitic Ethiopic church, but not into the Coptic church of Egypt. The mountain Thrace lay, according to the Syriac text (where it appears as Tharmaqa), in Ethiopia, and can be located, from the itinerary described, on the Red Sea coast, not far from Adulis and Aksum.<sup>167</sup> Although Gregentios' journey later leads him through this region, in a passage which is based on the Arabic source used for the last section of the *Bios* the tenth-century Constantinopolitan author of the Dossier, who knew presumably only the Greek version of the text, may not even have been aware of this fact.<sup>168</sup>

The remaining persons mentioned in Carthage, such as Gregentios' host Konstantinos, the old woman Philothea and the young sinful Georgios, are probably invented by the author (4.2, 9, 65, 102, 191). The case of the old visionary Basileios (4.211), however, may be somewhat different, as we will presently see.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Since this church is omitted in the excerpts from the *Bios* published by Vasiliev, "Žitie", 51, it is also missing in the lists of the churches known from literary sources in Carthage, which were assembled by Vaultrin, *Basiliques*, 145–168; Christern, "Karthago", 1163–1165. — On the possible mention of this chapel as an allusion to the church of Saint Anastasia in Constantinople, see below, p. 42.

<sup>164</sup> See Del Re, "Potito"; the various Latin *vitae* *BHL* 6908–12.

<sup>165</sup> It appears, however, on four funeral inscriptions from the Parthenon in Athens, of which one is dated to the year 918, see Orlandos & Branousses, *Χαράγματα*, no. 19, 186, 188, 191.

<sup>166</sup> *Bios of Markos*, 37–39; cp. Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 85.7.

<sup>167</sup> See Lourié, "S. Alypius". — Saint Markos reaches the mountain after a long march through a desert, while Gregentios takes the sea route to Ethiopia.

<sup>168</sup> See below, pp. 49–50.

<sup>169</sup> But see, for Basileios, below, pp. 42–43.

## Rome and Surroundings

The detailed knowledge of the *Bios* about the topography of Rome and the surrounding countryside contrasts in an astonishing way with the unclear geographical notions the author has about Italy in general.<sup>170</sup> It is obvious that a separate source about Rome has been used here, which has to be considered as the third main source of the *Bios*. The existence of it is clearly indicated by the narration about the miracle of the icon of Christ in the Lateran Basilica, where the author suddenly reverts to the first-person narrative when rendering what the saint himself told him later about this event (5.272–301), and the reference to Bonifatius<sup>171</sup> suggests that it also contained information about the commemoration of various saints in a number of churches.

This source may either have been a pilgrim's report or a description of Rome which was written in the city for the needs of foreign pilgrims. We cannot determine whether it was originally composed in Greek, or in Latin and subsequently translated. In the former case, the author could have been a pilgrim from the East or a Greek monk who lived in the city.

Gregentios makes his way from Carthage to Rome on foot and has a vision on the way in a deep gorge called Therolymna or Patherolymna (4.309–334). A place with this or a similar name is not attested any other source.

Since any journey from Carthage to Italy must always have been made by ship from the very beginning, while Rome had to be approached overland by various routes, one should assume that a historical counterpart of this gorge must, if it exists at all, be sought in the vicinity of Rome. The visit to Mount Soracte, which is described later in the *Bios*, is a clear proof that the author's source contained valuable information about the region around Rome.

Possible candidates for the identification of this gorge can perhaps be found on the so-called *via Francigena*, a road which approached Rome from the north-west. The *via Francigena* was probably constructed, despite its name, in the early eighth century by the Langobards, with the intention of avoiding the territory still under Roman control and partially on the old course of the Roman *via Cassia*. At two points, about 78 and 27 km before Rome, it is cut deeply into the rock, thus leading through artificial narrow gorges.<sup>172</sup> There is no way, however, to find a further confirmation for this hypothesis or any explanation for the strange name.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>170</sup> On the district or town of Melike, which is described by the *Bios* as being close to Rome, see above, pp. 19–20.

<sup>171</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>172</sup> Mosca, *Via Cassia*, 86–87, 115–116.

<sup>173</sup> But see also below, p. 39.

In the vision of Gregentios, while his companion is sleeping, the devil appears to him in the shape of a black column with two eyes hovering above, which is said to resemble an iota with trema in writing (4.326–328). This is certainly one of the most bizarre descriptions of such a vision in Byzantine hagiography.

During his stay in Rome Gregentios lives in the house of a certain Benediktos close to the *meḡas embolos* (5.1–2). This structure is probably identical to the *porticus* of Saint Andrew, a courtyard surrounded by peristyles immediately to the south of the old church of Saint Peter.<sup>174</sup> It is not very probable that private houses ever existed at this location, and accordingly the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, a work which was perhaps actually written in Rome, mentions the courtyard only as the meeting place of a synod.<sup>175</sup> Obviously the author of the *Bios* of Gregentios misunderstood the word *embolos* in the more usual sense of a colonnaded street, a fact which suggests that he was never in Rome himself. The mention of a chapel of Saint John the Precursor in the house of Benediktos probably points to the same direction: although this house is clearly described as a private residence, it is tempting to identify the chapel with that of Saint John the Baptist in the well-known Greek monastery of Saint Anastasios at Aquae Salviae, which lay, however, outside of Rome.<sup>176</sup>

Benediktos is the only character in the Italian part of the *Bios* with a name of clearly western origin, a fact which perhaps indicates that a person with this name was already mentioned in the source used by the author.<sup>177</sup> In contrast to this, most other persons introduced at Rome appear to be completely invented; these are the visionary monk Abramios, the young Basileios and the beggar Zacharias, the unnamed “consecrated woman”,<sup>178</sup> the monk Gregorios, the old slave Elisabet, the priests Ioannes and Basileios and the ascetic Stephanos (5.160, 164, 305, 319, 339, 383, 436; 6.132, 183, 193, 253).

In Rome, Gregentios first of all visits the churches of Saint Peter (5, 7–52) and of Saint Paul (5.6, 186, 208–218). The fact that the church of Saint Peter is described as containing the saint’s grave inside Rome, in contrast to the church of Saint Paul outside (5.5–8), provides us with another *terminus post quem*, namely the construction of the

<sup>174</sup> Mentioned in the Salzburg itinerary, in De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, 140; *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 127.31–128.1.

<sup>175</sup> Here it is called “the *meḡas embolos* of Saint Andrew”: Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 84.4–5; see Berger, *ibid.*, 388–389.

<sup>176</sup> On this chapel, see Sansterre, *Moines*, I, 108; on the monastery of Aquae Salviae, *ibid.* I, 13–17, 30–31; on its role in the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, where it is mentioned without its name, see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 351–352.

<sup>177</sup> Cosentino, *Prosopografia*, lists 22 persons of that name in the sixth to eighth century. — See also above, p. 7.

<sup>178</sup> On the meaning of the word *καυονική*, see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v.

Leoninian Wall around the Vatican district in the years 848–852. For the case of Saint Paul, the distance given of six miles (= ca. 9 km) to the city walls is far too great and must be explained by a mistake of the tradition.<sup>179</sup>

Gregentios visits also the Lateran Basilica (5.262–301), the church of Saints Bonifatius and Aglais, and that of Caecilia, Tiburtius and Valerianus (5.380–381; 6.1, 19, 130, 183). Since these churches are not mentioned in the *Bios* of Gregorios except for the latter,<sup>180</sup> it is clear that this text cannot have been the only source here.

The Lateran Basilica plays an important role in the Roman episode of the *Bios* because of Gregentios' vision at the miraculous *acheiropoietos* icon of Christ.<sup>181</sup> The legend about this icon, which is still today kept in the chapel of the Papal Palace close to the basilica,<sup>182</sup> may also be the reason why the church is only called that of the Saviour, and the later patrocinium of John the Baptist, which gradually replaced the original one after the sixth century, is not mentioned.

The Lateran Basilica is described by the *Bios* as being the first church of the whole world, a foundation of Constantine, and as lying near the patriarchate (5.262–266). This description is so closely related to that in the Greek life of Pope Martin (649–655) *BHG* 2259<sup>183</sup> that it must be based on it or on a common source. The life of Martin is usually dated to the mid-eighth century and probably an extract of the lost Greek *Acta Martini*.<sup>184</sup> There the passage on the Lateran church may be based on a papal document originally written in Latin which was incorporated there in a Greek translation. How it found its way into the Roman source of the *Bios* of Gregentios is unclear. The usual designation as *basilica Constantiniana*, the “Constantinian church”,<sup>185</sup> is misunderstood in the *Bios* of Gregentios at the first mention as a “church called that of *Konstantiana*” (5.262–263), but later rendered correctly (5.309).<sup>186</sup> Using the name of a nearby

<sup>179</sup> The author's source may have indicated one mile and six stadia (= ca. 2.5 km), which is very close to the actual distance of ca. 2.2 km. The church may be identical to the “flame-like house of very great dimensions” mentioned at 5.219.

<sup>180</sup> See above, pp. 8 and 26.

<sup>181</sup> On this vision, see also above, p. 8.

<sup>182</sup> On the icon, see Andaloro, “Acheropita”; Bauer, *Bild*, 76–80. — On Gregentios' encounter with the icon, see also note 65 to the translation.

<sup>183</sup> Noticed by Sansterre, *Moines*, I, 133, 138. — *Bios of Martin*, 255: ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Σωτήρος τῇ ἐπονομαζομένη Κωνσταντινιανῇ, ἣτις πρώτη ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκτίσθη καὶ καθιδρύνθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἣ ἐστὶν πλησίον τοῦ ἐπισκοπέιου.

<sup>184</sup> Mango, “Culture”, 703–704; Sansterre, “Moines”, II, 171 note 244; the Roman origin has been doubted by Conte, *Sinodo*, 245–248. See also Chiesa, “Biografie”, 222–225; *PMBZ Prolegomena*, 173–174.

<sup>185</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 172.7; 227.3; 233.18 ec.

<sup>186</sup> In both cases, however, a syllable has dropped out, so that the church appears to be a foundation of Constans instead of Constantine. But see the correct tradition in the *Bios of Martin* above, note 183.

house or property of the founder for a church is a practice common in the East,<sup>187</sup> but unattested in Rome.

The only known church of Bonifatius and Aglais lay inside Rome on the Aventine Hill.<sup>188</sup> The *Bios* of Gregentios, however, locates it outside the city. This is also the case in the *Martyrion* of Bonifatios of Tarsos, where the Greek text *BHG* 279–282 gives the distance from the city walls as fifty stadia without further commentary, and the Latin version *BHL* 1413–17 as five stadia on the *via Latina*.<sup>189</sup> The original text was certainly not written in Rome,<sup>190</sup> and actually it seems that the location is the result of a confusion between the saint and Pope Bonifatius (I, 418–422) who was buried in a church built by himself over the catacomb of Felicitas on the *via Salaria*, outside Rome on the northern side of the walls.<sup>191</sup> If this assumption is correct, it follows that the *via Latina* was not mentioned in the original *Martyrion* of Bonifatios, but only the distance of the church from Rome which was actually about five stadia (ca. 900 m).<sup>192</sup>

Finally, the mountain close to Rome on which Gregentios' travel to the land of the Homerites is predicted by a hermit for the last time before his departure (6.62–179), is without doubt the Soracte (691 m), about 35 km north of Rome. The route leading there from the city is described in a surprisingly exact manner, if we compare it to other passages of the *Bios*: if we assume that Gregentios — or to be exact, the author or protagonist of his Roman source — took the shortest way from the alleged church of Bonifatius and Aglais, he first went up the *via Salaria* to Fidena/Castel Giubileo, crossed the Tiber valley there and went on through the hills using the *via Flaminia*.

The hut of the hermit Michael, which is described as being three miles from the church of Bonifatios and Aglais, can then be located at Fidena/Castel Giubileo, where one of the oldest known churches of the Archangel Michael in the region around Rome

<sup>187</sup> For Constantinople, see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 166–171, 180–182.

<sup>188</sup> On which see Di Gioia, “Leggenda”, especially 203–205 on the possible ways by which the Greek name Aglais found its way into the story.

<sup>189</sup> *Martyrion of Bonifatios*, 332.

<sup>190</sup> Duchesne, “Notes”, 226–234; Franchi de' Cavalieri, “Bonifazio”. — On other aspects of this text, see Ludwig, “Bonifatios”.

<sup>191</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 228.7; on this, see Patlagean, “Moines”, 593 note 40; Sansterre, *Moines*, II, 168 note 213. — On the catacomb of Felicitas, see also Chiumenti & Bilancia, *Nomentana*, VI, 87–88.

<sup>192</sup> Since the anonymous itinerary from Salzburg mentions a grave of Bonifatius in the church of Felicitas without any further commentary, it is probable that the confusion between the saint of Tarsos and the pope had already occurred by the ninth century: De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, I, 142.23.

stood on a hill later called *mons Sancti Angeli*.<sup>193</sup> The “entrance to the mountain” six miles from there is without doubt the four-sided triumphal arch on the *via Flaminia* at modern Malborghetto, which was probably built at the site of Constantine’s vision in the night before the battle at the Milvian Bridge in 312.<sup>194</sup> Also the following distance of thirteen miles from there to the peak of the Soracte is indicated correctly.

The Soracte plays an important role in Christian legend as the place where Pope Silvester had allegedly sought refuge from Constantine’s persecution, as the *Acta Silvestri* report.<sup>195</sup> Silvester’s name and his monastery on this mountain, which existed there from the sixth century onward and was refounded by the former Frankish *maiordomus* Karlmann around 750, do not appear in the *Bios* of Gregentios.<sup>196</sup> However, it seems that the source, which was used by the author, described the summit region of the Soracte quite exactly: as a result of the carstic geological situation, a number of caves exist there, of which one is today connected with the legendary saint Romana, a virgin from Rome allegedly baptised there by Silvester.<sup>197</sup> The Xerolimnai, that is, the “Dry Lakes”, which are mentioned by Michael when he advises his disciple how to lead Gregentios to the hermit on the mountain, may well be the group of three dolines close to this cave which still exist today.

However, the same name also appears, in the singular as Xerolimne, in another geographically different, yet still hagiographical, context, and still referring to a person called Michael: Saint Michael Maleinos, the uncle of the future Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969) and teacher of Athanasios Athonites, settled around the year 921, according to his *Bios*, at a place called Xerolimne in Paphlagonia, near ancient Prousius and modern Düzce, and lived alone in a small cell in the vicinity of a local hermit. Since his presence attracted a great number of followers, a Lavra was founded there, which he soon left and retired to Bithynia.<sup>198</sup> If we assume that the Xerolimnai in the description of Gregentios’ visit to Mount Soracte are inspired by the person of Michael Maleinos,

<sup>193</sup> Mentioned in the time of Leo III (795–816): *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 12.24, and in the Salzburg itinerary, De Rossi, *ibid.*, 142.30. The location at the seventh milestone, which is given there, refers to the old Roman system in which the distances were calculated from the Forum. See also *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, [127]. — On the *mons Sancti Angeli*, see Chiumenti & Bilancia, *Nomentana*, 251–252; on the church of the Archangel Michael, see now also Bianchini & Vitti, “La basilica”.

<sup>194</sup> Töbelmann, *Bogen*; Messineo, *Via Flaminia*, 269–282; Mühlbrock, *Tetrapylon*, 132–136.

<sup>195</sup> *Acta Silvestri*, 272–273.

<sup>196</sup> See Grisar, “Sorakte”; G. Zucchetti in *Chronicon di Benedetto*, X–XIX; Levison, “Konstantinische Schenkung”, 185; Sansterre, *Moines*, I, 82–83. — On Silvester see also below, pp. 112–113.

<sup>197</sup> Caraffa, “Romana”.

<sup>198</sup> *Bios of Michael Maleinos*, 558.19–560.1; on this, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 115–118; Belke, *Paphlagonien*, 282.



this would provide further support for the date of the composition of the whole *Bios* of Gregentios which will be established below.<sup>199</sup>

The name Artados given to the hermit on the Soracte is not attested elsewhere. Though the beginning with Arta- suggests an Armenian origin, nothing is said here about the native country of the hermit, in contrast to the story of the unnamed Armenian preacher in Augustopolis.<sup>200</sup>

A direct connection between the cults of Silvester and Saint Michael was established not later than the ninth century by a legend, according to which the pope, during his stay on the Soracte, witnessed the appearance of Saint Michael at his cave on mount Tancia (1282 m),<sup>201</sup> which lies about 20 km to the east and close to the *via Salaria*. Saint Silvester was originally buried in the catacomb of Priscilla on the *via Salaria*, about 2 km behind the church of Bonifatius on the way out of Rome, but was transferred into the city in the time of Pope Paul I (757–767).<sup>202</sup> The presence of the church at the *mons Sancti Angeli* may therefore perhaps be explained by the fact that it lay on the road which connected Silvester's first grave with the cave of the archangel.<sup>203</sup>

The church of Saint Michael, the arch of Constantine and the monastery on the Soracte were probably still mentioned in the source of the *Bios*, but omitted in the new context: only the topographical framework of the pilgrimage from Rome to the sanctuaries of Latium has been retained, but all other details are suppressed and replaced by a stereotyped story about two holy hermits in an imaginary desert, of whom the first sends the wandering hero to the second, greater one where he receives instruction.<sup>204</sup>

In reality, the *via Flaminia* to Spoleto and, as a result of the Langobardic occupation, also the *via Amerina*, which branched off from it north of Mount Soracte and led to Perugia and the exarchate of Ravenna through a corridor remaining under Byzantine control until the year 728,<sup>205</sup> were the most frequently used routes of access to Rome. Most Frankish and German kings and their armies, merchants, pilgrims and innumerable other visitors since the eighth century passed along Mount Soracte. Karlmann himself felt so much molested by the great number of noble Frankish pilgrims who

<sup>199</sup> See below, pp. 43–45. — It is perhaps worth mentioning that the *Bios* of Michael Maleinos and that of Saint Nephon (on which see below, p. 45) are listed in 1059 in the testament of Eustathios Boilas as a part of his library; see Lemerle, “Le testament”, 25 l. 161.

<sup>200</sup> See below, p. 46. — Perhaps his mention alludes to the presence of Armenian hermits in tenth-century Paphlagonia.

<sup>201</sup> Poncelet, “San Michele”; Grisar, “Sorakte”, 218–219.

<sup>202</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 464, 12–14; see also Chiumenti & Bilancia, *Nomentana*, 94–100.

<sup>203</sup> Mara, “Contributo”.

<sup>204</sup> See a very similar episode in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 26 and 27. — On the motif of a saint's visit to another saint, see also Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 156–157.

<sup>205</sup> On this region in the early and high Middle Ages, see Menestò, *Corridoio*, especially the contributions Ermini Pani, “Corridoio bizantino”, and Del Lungo, “Corridoio bizantino”.

came to see him on their way to Rome that he soon left his own foundation and decided to retire to the monastery of Montecassino which lay on Langobardic territory.<sup>206</sup>

If our previous hypothesis is correct that the valley Patherolymna of the *Bios*, where Gregentios and his invisible companion take a rest before their arrival in Rome, lay on the so-called *via Francigena*, we should also assume that the report of the anonymous pilgrim, which served as a source for this part of the *Bios*, already contained these details in the same order: the itinerary probably did not include Mount Soracte on the way to Rome, but used the *via Francigena*, and the excursion to the Soracte was made later during the author's stay.

### Alexandria

The beginning of the account about Gregentios' stay at Alexandria in Egypt still belongs to the context of the first part of the *Bios* in which his travels before the final vocation are described, for the saint continues to do the same things there as at the previous stations, that is, he visits churches and speaks to holy men and women who prophesy his future. Except for the monastery of Alexandros and Antonina (8.53–54) all buildings in the city or its surroundings are so well-known that their mention here does not necessarily imply the use of a separate source on Alexandria.

Gregentios enters the city at its western end close to the church of Theonas, one of the biggest churches of Alexandria which is often mentioned in early Christian literature.<sup>207</sup> Strangely enough, the *Bios* does not speak about the church as such, but only about a public square of the same name (8.28). *Ta Boukolou*, where Gregentios stays in the house of a certain Leontios (8.49), is the place where according to tradition the Evangelist Mark was buried.<sup>208</sup> Leontios is probably an invented figure, as are the unnamed slave girl (8.29–47) and the holy woman Archontia (8.218–253, with her name at 231).<sup>209</sup> The account of Gregentios' visit to Saint Mark's grave (8.69–71) is no proof that the whole *Bios* was written before the translation of relics to Venice in 828.<sup>210</sup>

A church of Saint Menas in Alexandria, which is visited by Gregentios (8.218–219), is unknown from other sources. It must be probably identified with the fa-

<sup>206</sup> Einhardus, *Vita Karoli magni*, ch. 2. — See also Grisar, "Sorakte", 223.

<sup>207</sup> First in Athanasios, *CPG* 2129, *PG* 25, 613AB, see Calderini, *Dizionario*, 169–170.

<sup>208</sup> *Index apostolorum*, 115.20–116.3; *Chronicon Paschale*, 471.4–7 and elsewhere, see Calderini, *ibid.*, 105.

<sup>209</sup> The name Archontia appears occasionally in documents, but not before the late thirteenth century, see for example *Actes de Lavra*, II, no. 73.81, 74.64, 77.91, 91 II 26.

<sup>210</sup> See above, p. 25.

mous centre of pilgrimage at Karm Abu Mena which actually lies at a distance of more than 40 km from the city.<sup>211</sup>

Neither a monastery of Alexandros and Antonina in Alexandria<sup>212</sup> nor its old abbot Epiphanius, a eunuch, are attested by another source. The legendary *Bios* of Alexandros and Antonina *BHG* 50 consists mainly of hagiographical stereotypes: it does not mention any dates or names, except that of a governor called Phestos (Festus) and Antonina's place of birth Brodamnos or Krodamnos, which is otherwise unknown.<sup>213</sup> There is no obvious connection to Egypt and Alexandria, and no relation to the person of Gregentios can be established by the date of their commemoration on the 2nd May or the 9th June, as was the case for the churches of Rome.<sup>214</sup> Although the *Bios* apparently tries to explain the non-existence of relics by stating that the saints were burned alive, their grave was later venerated in the Constantinopolitan monastery of Saint Maximinos.<sup>215</sup>

### The Constantinopolitan Connection

The mention of a monastery of Alexandros and Antonina therefore suggests that the *Bios*, as well as the whole Dossier of Saint Gregentios, was composed in Constantinople, and this assumption can also be supported by other evidence.

According to the *Bios*, Epiphanius had been brought to the monastery by his parents at the age of six, and had already spent eighty years there when Gregentios meets him (8.55–60). Now a monk called Epiphanius, who lives in the monastery of Maximina in Constantinople, appears also in the *Bios* of Basileios the Younger.<sup>216</sup> The adventures of this legendary *salos* in Constantinople are told in three chronologically incoherent episodes that can be dated from the historical events mentioned to the years 896, around

<sup>211</sup> On this complex, see for example Krause, "Karm Abu Mena". — Note the designation of Menas as καλλικέλαδος, a word which is applied to the saint also in the *kontakion* sung at his feast day on the 10th December. This *kontakion* is based on the legendary *Bios BHG* 1270–1271, a work probably of Constantinopolitan origin.

<sup>212</sup> See the list of known Christian buildings in the city at Calderini, *Dizionario*, 165–178.

<sup>213</sup> Lucchesi, "Alessandro e Antonina": this name may point to an origin of the cult in Asia Minor, and the mention of a governor Festus to the region of Ephesus.

<sup>214</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>215</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, 741.10–742.2.

<sup>216</sup> *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 305.19–31 and 163.16–25. — Janin, *Églises*, 323 insisted that the monasteries of Maximinos and Maximina should be distinguished. The confusion, however, between the male and the female form of a founder's name is not an unusual phenomenon; a more prominent case in Constantinople is that of *ta Paulinou* or *ta Paulines*, on which see Mango, "On the cult". The monastery appears under this name also in the so-called Logothete chronicle in the story about the baptism of the future Patriarch Photios, see Ps.-Symeon, *Chronographia*, 669.11–13.

913, and between 931 and 944.<sup>217</sup> In fact Basileios died, according to his *Bios*, shortly before the deposition of Emperor Romanos I Lakapenos, which he had predicted. The text was written around 959 or perhaps 963 by a certain Gregorios, that is, shortly after the death of Konstantinos I Porphyrogennetos or of Romanos II. Gregorios claims to have met Basileios personally only towards the end of the saint's life, that is, around the year 940, soon after the death of Epiphanius, his first spiritual father. Epiphanius was a eunuch,<sup>218</sup> he had been brought to the monastery as a child of six, and was about eighty years old when he met him, having spent already there seventy-four years.

Obviously, Epiphanius is the same person in the *Bios* of Basileios the Younger and the *Bios* of Gregentios, and his mention in the latter proves definitely that this text originates from Constantinople.<sup>219</sup> It is true, however, that the *Bios* of Basileios bears all the marks of a "hagiographical novel": the historical information given in it is often incorrect, even the historical existence of its hero is doubtful, and, in addition to that, it was written long after most of the events it describes. Nevertheless, the presence of Epiphanius suggests us a *terminus ad quem* for the *Bios* of Gregentios: despite the slight difference concerning Epiphanius' age, it must be based on the *Bios* of Basileios, or both texts rely on a common source or oral tradition. Therefore, if the historical context of Epiphanius within the last episode of the *Bios* of Basileios were "correct", this would place the *Bios* of Gregentios roughly in the mid-tenth century. We may even assume that Epiphanius was a historical person whose impressive appearance resulted in his being portrayed in more than one "hagiographical novel" of the time.<sup>220</sup>

The monastery of Maximinos is first mentioned in 518 and still existed when the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople was compiled in the tenth century.<sup>221</sup> Its location within Constantinople is unknown, but since in 536 its abbot Zosimos signed the documents of a synod together with the abbots of the monasteries of Bassianos and

<sup>217</sup> Angelide, *Bios*, 86–95; Rydén, "The Life of St. Basil", 571–572.

<sup>218</sup> On the high prestige of eunuchs in the Byzantine society and church of this time, see Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant*, esp. 123–125. Characteristic in this regard is the story of the pious peasant Metrios (*Synaxarium CP*, 720/1.24–724/5.45), in which the castration of his young son Konstantinos is authorised by God himself as a necessary and acceptable precondition for service at the imperial court. On the historical background see Ringrose, *ibid.*, 188–191, and Rydén, "The Life of St. Basil", 575–576; on childhood castration and subsequent assignment to a monastery in order to advance a career in the church, see Ringrose, *ibid.* 62.

<sup>219</sup> This is also true for the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis*, see below, pp. 88–89 and 105. — Vasiliev's extract in "Žitie", 58 includes the name of Epiphanius and of the monastery in Alexandria, so that it would have been possible to establish this link to Constantinople also without knowing the complete text of the *Bios*.

<sup>220</sup> The young Epiphanius in the *Bios* of Andreas Salos, who, according to the text, was a disciple of the saint and later became patriarch of Constantinople (520–535), is perhaps also a remote reminiscence to him.

<sup>221</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 323.

Hermione, which lay in the vicinity of the Romanos gate and the Deuteron respectively,<sup>222</sup> it is probable that the monastery of Maximinos also lay there, somewhere in the northwest of the city.

The clear reference to this monastery and thus to monastic life in tenth-century Constantinople in general suggests that the text also contains other similar, though less manifest, allusions. The following possible cases are, however, highly hypothetical:

The monk Kosmas, who lives in that same monastery of Alexandros and Antonina and is present when Gregentios repels an attack of the devil (8.85–186, named at 8.88), may be a reminiscence of the well-known monk Kosmas, former chamberlain of the Emperor Alexandros (912–913), who appears also in the *Bios* of Basileios the Younger.<sup>223</sup> He later became abbot of a monastery on a mountain beyond the Sangarios river in north-western Asia Minor and had a famous vision there in 933 which was, according to the text, recorded thirty years later, that is around 963.<sup>224</sup>

Before Gregentios' alleged stay in Alexandria, there is the case of the Xerolimne on Mount Soracte: it refers perhaps in reality to a place in Paphlagonia, somewhat to the east of the Sangarios, which is mentioned for the year 921 in the *Bios* of Michael Maleinos, a work written some time after his death in 961.<sup>225</sup>

Furthermore, the same miracle story is told in the *Bios* of Gregentios about an ascetic called Eirene in Agrigentum, and in the *Bios* of the abbess Eirene of Chrysobalanton in Constantinople, another work written in the late tenth century.<sup>226</sup> The church of Saint Anastasia or Anastasis in Constantinople, which is described as a kind of mental hospital in the *Bioi* of Andreas Salos and Basileios the Younger, of Eirene of Chrysobalanton and also in the *Bios* of Nephon, is perhaps reflected in the chapel or church of Saint Anastasia in Carthage, where Gregentios goes to pray.<sup>227</sup> We might even venture to suggest that the old visionary Basileios in Carthage (4.198–245) is, in fact, a portrait of

<sup>222</sup> On these monasteries, see Janin, *Églises*, 60–61, 115; on the synod, see *Collectio Sabbatica*, 145.5–14, 165.6–10, 172.23–27.

<sup>223</sup> *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a 315.3–316.17 and 171.9–172.13.

<sup>224</sup> *Synaxarium CP*, 107/8.49–113/4.51; on which see Rydén, “The *Life* of St. Basil”, 575, and Mango, *Byzantium*, 151–153.

<sup>225</sup> See above, p. 37. — On the prominent role of Paphlagonia in the *Bios* of Basileios, see Rydén, “The *Life* of St. Basil”, 583.

<sup>226</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>227</sup> *Bios of Andreas Salos*, l. 108–129; *Bios of Basileios the Younger* b, 68, 70. *Bios of Eirene of Chrysobalanton*, 62.8, on which see Rydén, “A Note”, and “The *Life* of St. Basil”, 581. *Bios of Nephon*, 15.12–17.3, on which see Rydén, “The *Date*”, 38–39; Ivanov, “K datirovke”. On the *Bios* of Nephon see also below, p. 45 with note 238. — On the church, see Janin, *Églises*, 22–25.

the same person which also served as a literary model for the figure of Basileios the Younger himself.<sup>228</sup>

### Author and Date

The actual name and identity of the author of the Dossier will, in all likelihood, remain unknown to us. But we may work on the assumption that the *Bios* was composed by a monk who lived in the monastery of Maximina, or at least had the opportunity to visit it and to use its library, like Gregentios himself in Alexandria (8.53–55). If so, the fact that he had access to the so-called northern Italian source and to a pilgrim's guide of Rome can perhaps be explained by the presence of these books in its library, both already in a Greek version.

As to the date and place of origin, it was generally accepted until now that the *Bios* as a whole was written about one century earlier, that is, in the mid-ninth century, and in the circles of the Greek monks of Rome. This opinion was based on the work of Evelyne Patlagean who analysed the *Bios* together with a series of other hagiographical lives that were written in that time, paying special attention to their position in respect to the primate of the pope.<sup>229</sup>

During his stay in Rome, Gregentios is appointed as a missionary to Yemen by the Apostles Peter and Paul who appear to him (5.63–112, 219–261). Saint Peter even visits him privately at his house, since he had been to Negra/Najrān, when Gregentios first prayed at his grave, and had helped the Arabian martyrs there.<sup>230</sup> According to Patlagean, this is an indication that the pope claimed the primate over all Christian churches, in the East as well as in the West. But this is certainly not the case, as the order for a mission outside the Roman diocese does not necessarily imply a claim for ecclesiastical sovereignty there. Gregentios in particular is definitely only appointed in Alexandria by Proterios after his vision of the Apostle Mark (9.40–54); moreover, the visit of Saint Peter in Negra is made, as the *Bios* states explicitly, together with the Mother of God and the other apostles, of whom Paul is especially mentioned.

According to Patlagean, an additional hint at the primate of the pope was the mention of Lyplianes, Gregentios' place of birth, since she identified it, following Vasiliev,

<sup>228</sup> See above, p. 32. — Also, Theodora in Antenora (2.71, 196) may be an allusion to the visionary of that name who plays such an important role in the *Bios* of Basileios the Younger. But this is very hypothetical, given the commonness of this name during the whole Byzantine period.

<sup>229</sup> Patlagean, "Moines", 586, 593; Sansterre, *Moines*, I, 134, 183.

<sup>230</sup> On the historical events, see below, pp. 61–63.

with Ulpiana/Lipljan in the region which is now the Kosovo.<sup>231</sup> This town lies in eastern Illyricum outside the undisputed diocese of the pope, so that its mention would clearly support his claims to this region.<sup>232</sup> Actually Lyplianes must be identical to Ljubljana in modern Slovenia, as we have already seen.<sup>233</sup>

If we sum up the evidence up to this point, we can state that the *Bios* of Gregentios was not written in Italy, neither in Rome nor in Sicily,<sup>234</sup> but certainly in Constantinople, and that this was done by using as sources the *Bios* of an unknown saint which was staged in Slovenia and northern Italy, the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum, and a pilgrim's guide of the city of Rome.<sup>235</sup>

The late dating of the *Bios* into the mid-tenth century can also be supported by a number of additional observations: the text has not been reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes, there is no excerpt of it in the Menologion of Basileios II (976–1025), and it appears in the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople only in the eleventh century.<sup>236</sup> The inexistence of a metaphrasis, however, could also simply be explained by the length of the *Bios* which made it unsuitable for such a reworking, especially since it had been transmitted from the beginning together with the *Dialexis*.<sup>237</sup> On the other hand, the excessive length and the combination with texts of different genres, as in our case the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis*, appears to be a literary fashion of this time, as we can see from the *Bioi* of Andreas Salos and Basileios the Younger mentioned above, and

231 Vasiliev, "Žitie", 36; also Bury, *History*, 327, and still Szádeczky-Kardoss, "Paralipomena", 512. — Ulpiana was renamed Iustiniana Secunda in the time of Ioustinianos I (527–565), but modern Lipljan clearly preserves the memory of the original name.

232 Patlagean, "Moines", 585–587. The so-called 'transfer of the Illyricum' from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome to that of Constantinople was completed around 730, following a political confrontation between the pope and the emperor; on which see now Zuckerman, "Learning", 85–107.

233 See above, pp. 14–15.

234 As suggested by Christides, "Martyrdom", 68, 70.

235 The fact that southern Italian manuscripts of the Gregentios Dossier do not exist is, however, probably insignificant here, for there is at least one case, that of Gregorios of Agrigentum, where the Italian tradition of a work is based on an eastern archetype, so that the text must have been re-exported to the West; see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 93.

236 Fiaccadori, "Proterio", 304. — The excerpt see below, p. 812.

237 See below, pp. 109–110. — Sansterre, *Moines*, II, 167 note 211 argues that the *Bios* may have already been written shortly after the end of Iconoclasm and became known in the East only later because of its origin from Rome, a view which cannot be maintained on the base of our observations.

also the *Bios* of Nephon, a bishop of the fictitious town of Konstantiana in Egypt who supposedly lived in the fourth century.<sup>238</sup>

The legendary style and the almost complete absence of historical indications in chapters 1–8 of the *Bios* contrast sharply with the following chapter 9. This striking difference also had consequences for the way in which the text was abridged by the family  $\alpha$ , where only chapter 9 is given completely, while the preceding part has been reduced to a short excerpt.<sup>239</sup> Nevertheless, chapter 9 is connected so closely with the preceding part of the text, last but not least by the name and person of Gregentios himself, that it must be the work of the same author. The entirely different scenery of this chapter, that is, southern Arabia before the rise of Islam, may therefore also lead us to another assumption concerning the possible identity of the author.<sup>240</sup>

## Excursus II

### The Problem of Languages

A characteristic feature of the genre of the hagiographical novel is that the existence of different languages within the Roman Empire or outside of it is ignored. In the case of the *Bios* of Gregentios, apparently all persons from the ‘country of the Avars’, Italy and northern Africa down to Egypt and Yemen speak the same language.<sup>241</sup> Nevertheless, the existence of certain problems of understanding is indicated at two places in the *Bios*:

In Augustopolis, an Armenian<sup>242</sup> preaches in his mother tongue, before he begins to speak by the grace of the Holy Ghost “in the language of the Romans” (τῆ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ) which is obviously also understood by Gregentios (7.132–138). The idea that a holy man learns a foreign language by a miracle also appears in the legendary *Bios* of Philippos of Agyrion *BHG* 1531, a work of the late ninth century. Philippos

<sup>238</sup> On Andreas and Basileios see above, p. 14. On the *Bios* of Niphon and the close parallels to the *Bios* of Andreas Salos, see Rydén, “Date”, and Ivanov, “Žitie sv. Nifonta”; Id., “K datirovke”. — Nephon’s father, Agapetos, bears a name similar to that of Gregentios’ father Agapios (1.62 ec.), see *Bios of Nephon*, ch. 1 (4.20). Also, a long passage in the *Bios* argues for the acceptance of Ethiopians, that is, according to contemporaneous terminology, of African people in general, as human beings with equal rights and spiritual abilities, see *ibid.*, ch. 75–77 (69.5–75.6); on Ethiopia and the Ethiopians in the *Bios* of Gregentios, see below, pp. 58–71.

<sup>239</sup> See also above, p. 6.

<sup>240</sup> See below, p. 80–81.

<sup>241</sup> On this phenomenon see Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 66–67.

<sup>242</sup> The name Andreas is given to him only in the title of S H at 7.132, perhaps by a confusion with the pious man Andreas of the preceding scene (7.14).



knows only Syriac, but suddenly starts to speak Latin in Rome. However, the bilingualism of Latin and Greek is ignored here as usual, and Byzantine circumstances of life are naively transposed to Rome.<sup>243</sup> Gregentios, for his part, has no difficulty to read the works of Saint Ambrose (3.39–43), which are actually written in Latin, during his stay at Milan.

If we take this into consideration, another episode in the *Bios* of Gregentios is even more remarkable: at Carthage a monk first speaks to him, apparently in Greek, before he addresses the surrounding congregation in the “language of the Romans” (4.207). This shows that the author was well aware of the fact that there were problems of understanding between the inhabitants of the Roman Empire who spoke Latin and Greek respectively. But as these problems are not mentioned at Lyplianes and in the Italian cities, the impression prevails that he had no exact notion of how these languages were geographically distributed.

The meeting with the Armenian preacher has probably been inserted into the narrative with the main intention to give an opportunity to mention the church of Saint Gregorios the Illuminator at Artasāt (7.171–172),<sup>244</sup> the oldest capital of Armenia. According to the legend of this saint, Gregorios had spent fourteen years there in a well during the time of persecutions, before the conversion of Armenia to Christianity.<sup>245</sup> Gregorios the Illuminator was well-known in the Byzantine Church by the Greek translation of his *Bios* BHG 712–713, and was greatly venerated.<sup>246</sup>

The Armenian origin of the hermit Artados on Mount Soracte and of the preacher at Augustopolis is a part of the hagiographical fiction here and probably has no historical background. It should be mentioned, however, that Armenians lived in considerable numbers in Byzantine southern Italy since the seventh century,<sup>247</sup> and may have also extended their presence to Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna.

The method to increase the reputation of the own protagonist by introducing more prominent saints with the same name into a hagiographical life has also been employed in the *Bios* of Gregorios of Agrigentum.<sup>248</sup> Here, however, the fact that the person men-

<sup>243</sup> *Bios of Philippos of Argyrion*, text l. 121–145; pp. 137 note 33, 139 note 36; Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 67 note 167.

<sup>244</sup> The usual transcription of this name into Greek is Artaxat or Artaxata, the rendering as Artazat in the *Bios* of Gregentios probably being caused by the mistake of a scribe who confused the Greek letters ξ and ζ.

<sup>245</sup> Agathangelos ch. 54.12–19, 91.

<sup>246</sup> See Garsoïan & Patterson Ševčenko, “Gregory the Illuminator”. — On the numerous versions of his life in Greek, see BHG and BHGNA, 712–713.

<sup>247</sup> See van Esbroeck & Zanetti, “Dossier hagiographique”, 164–165.

<sup>248</sup> Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 66; a similar case is the mention of churches in Rome, see above, pp. 26–27.

tioned is called Gregorios again throws a characteristical light on the obscure origins of the name Gregentios.<sup>249</sup>

### Excursus III Cosmological Symbolism

Before turning now to Gregentios' journey to the country of the Homerites, we may add one final remark about the preceding part of the *Bios*.

Twice during his travels, first before his departure from the land of the Avars and then again on the mountain close to Rome, Gregentios receives a prophecy concerning his mission to southern Arabia which is not fulfilled when he arrives there. It is the conversion of the "people of four tongues" (1.443) or "of four nations" (1.446), namely the "fourfold people" of pagans, Jews, Homerites and Maurousians (6.148). The concept of such a "fourfold people" with its implicit cosmological symbolism is otherwise unknown,<sup>250</sup> and the enumeration of people given here is remarkable because of its confusion of religious, linguistical and ethnic identity, a phenomenon which can be observed already in the well-known development of the word Ἑλλην from 'Greek' to 'pagan'. The term 'Maurousian' was originally applied to the inhabitants of Mauretania, but later also used for non-Ethiopian black people in Africa in general,<sup>251</sup> and in the Byzantine age, also for the Islamic Arabs.<sup>252</sup> It is probable that the word appears in this sense in the *Bios* of Gregentios. The universal character of Gregentios' mission is also stressed by the dream of his foster-mother, in which she sees a procession with participants in white, blue, red and green robes (1.399–413, 446–447). This refers to the cosmological symbolism of seasons, out of which the traditional colours of circus factions and finally the ceremonial garments of the Byzantine court evolved.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>249</sup> See above, p. 27.

<sup>250</sup> On the symbolism of the number four, see below, p. 96–97; on the concept of "threefold people" in the *Acta Silvestri*, see below, p. 113.

<sup>251</sup> Ethiopians and Maurousians are mentioned together, for example, in Strabon, 17.3.1.

<sup>252</sup> For example, in the *Bios of Athanasia*, a work written in the second half of the ninth century.

<sup>253</sup> On this, see for example Cameron, *Circus factions*, 45–73.

## 2. Gregentios in the Land of the Homerites

by Gianfranco Fiaccadori\*

The scene of chapter 9, the last section of the *Bios*, is the land of Ḥimyar, an ancient South Arabian state in nowadays Yemen/al-Yaman, the Arabia Felix of the classical authors. Towards the end of the first decade of the fourth century AD, Ḥimyar had brought together the old kingdom of Saba/Saba' and a large portion of the adjoining kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt to the East, along the coast of the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup>

The narrative opens with the establishment of a Christian rule over Ḥimyar as a result of the defeat of the local Jewish King Dounaas, i.e. Dhū Nuwās, by the Aksumite King Elesboam, i.e. 'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa, also known by the biblical name Kālēb/Caleb,<sup>2</sup> and continues with Gregentios' mission there, the consecration of several churches by him together with Elesboam, and then his activity as a bishop at the side of Abraam, i.e. 'Abreha, the newly appointed Ethiopian viceroy, in restoring Christian Orthodoxy all over the country. Owing to the later insertion of the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis*, in the manuscript tradition known to us, this section, namely the Arabian part of the *Bios* (as it shall be referred to hereafter), appears to be detached from the previous one and appended to the *Dialexis* — just before its present end (E 709–745), with further biographical hints on Gregentios and Abraam — as an epilogue to the entire Dossier.<sup>3</sup>

The account of the Ethiopian expedition and its aftermath contains the only clear historical information scattered through the whole Dossier. A few at least of the sources used here by the author seem to have escaped the arbitrariness of further elaborations, and definitely hark back to local sixth-century materials: as we shall presently see, through an Arabic intermediary ultimately familiar with eighth/ninth-century Palestinian or Sinaitic milieus.

In sharp contrast with the obscure chronology given in the preceding section, chapter 9 begins with an unambiguous dating of the subsequent events to the time of the Roman Emperor Ioustinos (I, 518–527), the Ethiopian King Elesboam, the Homerite King Dounaas and the Patriarch of Alexandria Proterios (9.1–4). The Roman Pope Felix, mentioned once in the first part of the *Bios* (6.264), was certainly associated with

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\* The following pages are dedicated, as a late but proper homage, to Vera von Falkenhausen and Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, the advisors of my dissertation in the late 1970s who never abandoned the hope that I would have turned a part of it into publication, for which I gratefully acknowledge my debt with Albrecht Berger.

1 See Müller, "Ḥimyar", 303–304, and Robin, "Sheba", 1139–40.

2 Num. 13.6 &c.

3 See below, p. 115.

them in the source of this dating, and should be identified with Pope Felix IV (526–530).<sup>4</sup>

So detailed a chronological outline is followed by a characteristic story on Gregentios' miraculous appointment as bishop: at the request of the victorious King Elesboam, Patriarch Proterios of Alexandria is in search of a bishop for the Homerites; appearing to him in a dream, Saint Mark suggests the name of Gregentios (9.40–54). A typical feature of hagiographical legends,<sup>5</sup> this dream does not belong to the properly 'historical' sequel with the mission in South Arabia, but is as fictional as the *Bios* itself up to the chronological outline, and was rather written or redacted along with this portion of the work. Here and below in the text, passages based on real historical occurrences are combined with purely hagiographical pieces: e.g., the episode of the talking serpent (9.257–280). By natural implication, the present Arabian part, albeit distinguished by peculiar traits from the rest of the *Bios*, is not a coherent product drawing on more or less contemporary late-antique materials, but actually a narrative also concocted at a much later time, when fact and fiction could more freely intermingle.<sup>6</sup>

This assumption proves to be supported by other clues: Gregentios is appointed in Alexandria as a bishop, but styled as archbishop as soon as he holds office in Taphar/Zafār (9.207), no rank elevation being mentioned, however, before or after in the text.<sup>7</sup> Yet, having being ordained, the new bishop sails to Ethiopia, and on his way stops at the capital city Amlem (Αμλέμ), i.e. Aksum/'Aksum (9.139): from Arabic \*'l'ksm = \*al-Aksum (exceptionally with the article)<sup>8</sup> misread \*'l'ism and via Greek

<sup>4</sup> Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Leben des Gregorios von Agrigent*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> It appears, e.g., in the *Acta Silvestri* (see below, pp. 112–113), in Leontios Presbyteros, *Leben des Gregorios von Agrigent*, 192–193 [ch. 40], and in the *Bios of Petros Athonites*, 18–25. Only in the *Acta Silvestri*, however, a picture of the person in question is also shown, so that the scene bears some relevance to the theology of icons; on this, cp. Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Leben des Gregorios von Agrigent*, 369–370.

<sup>6</sup> Christides, "War", 134–136, and "Martyrion", 67–68, has instead assumed that the author wrote in Greek, but lived in sixth-century Arabia (see below, p. 81 and note 210). According to Fowden, *Empire*, 115, only a few, not better defined parts of the text were written in this time; but cp. Shahîd, "Byzantium", 37, and Fiaccadori, "Gregentios", 874*b*, and "Gregentius", 890*a*.

<sup>7</sup> The previous designation as 'archpriest' (ἀρχιερεύς) at 9.125 and 194 is not strictly technical, and could apply to an archbishop, a bishop or even a simple priest, as evident from the entry in Lampe, *Lexicon*, 238–239.

<sup>8</sup> Cp., however, *bilād al-Aqsūm* — from \*ὁ Ἀξωμίτης (viz. χώρος, τόπος; see Fiaccadori, "Sembrouthes", 111–113)? — in the Arabic translation [§ 10] of the Greek *Bios of Kyriakos* by Kyrillos of Skythopolis (the text of which, lost for this part in Greek, is preserved also in Georgian): Garitte, "Vie", 100 (= 670), which escaped the attention of Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 73–74, still based on Garitte, "Version", 404–406, 415.

\*ΑΛΛΑΑCM > ΑΜΑΑCM<sup>9</sup> — which immediately typifies the dependency on Greek material written in uncial and based, in turn, on Arabic sources that is characteristic of the last section of the *Bios*, as will be seen from further instances.<sup>10</sup>

The obvious political and ecclesiastical tendency of this section makes sense only if the Arabic (and then Greek) text underlying it was written either not too long after the events or in a milieu likely to keep their memory alive, but certainly long before the late tenth century, when the *Bios* was compiled as a whole and the name Gregentios introduced into it with the date of the Saint's *depositio*, 19th December.<sup>11</sup>

The first decades of the ninth century, witnessing the decline and abandonment of the uncial book script (which, in its upright form, continued to be used for religious texts until the tenth/eleventh century),<sup>12</sup> provide a *terminus ante quem* for the chronology of the Greek material from which details concerning an unnamed bishop were quarried for the Arabian part of the *Bios*, attaching to him other pieces and stories. The second “hagiographical coordinate”, i.e. the place of the Saint's *depositio*, Taphar, seems still to reflect the connection of that bishop with South Arabia.

Gregentios' way from Aksum to the Homerite capital Taphar/Zafār, leads him across the Red Sea, which is called “Sea of Saba” (9.141),<sup>13</sup> and thereafter through the Medekion (Μηδέκιον) or Daikkeon antron (Δαικκεὸν ἄντρον, at 9.141–142). The expression Medekion includes another Arabic designation for Bāb al-Mandab, the ancient \*Maddabān (*Mdb*<sup>n</sup> in South Arabian epigraphy), i.e. the passage between the southern end of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean: *Maḏīq*, literally “strait, canal”, which is also found in the Arabic version of the *Martyrion of Arethas*, likely to date from before the tenth century.<sup>14</sup> It renders here στενὸς τόπος (“narrow place”) of the Greek original,

<sup>9</sup> See Fiaccadori, “Gregentius”, 890a. Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 91–92, thinks that, given the “striking resemblance” of *Aksum* to *Amlem* in Syriac or Arabic writing, “erroneous transliteration” is solely responsible for changing the former to the latter.

<sup>10</sup> See below, pp. 52, 55–58, 66 and 69.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 26.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., Perria, “Scrittura”, 23–27 (= 69–73).

<sup>13</sup> It might be worth remembering here the twin “Sea of Libā” occurring in Ethiopic sources on the sixth-century events, where “Libā and Sabā” mark together the extreme boundaries of the world: Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 73–75 (cp. 17–19 note 52).

<sup>14</sup> Lenora, “Version”, 122 and note 56; *ibid.*, 105–110, and Shahîd, *Martyrs*, 181–199, on this translation, with previous literature. For the medieval toponomastics of the coast in the strait district (Khawr Ghurayrah: present bay of Shaykh Sa'īd), cp. Robin, “Tihāma”, 225 and notes 22–23 (234), 232, and Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 34–35 and note 83. See also below, p. 59 and note 73.

almost contemporary to the events in Najrān,<sup>15</sup> and becomes *Madiq* in the ensuing Ethiopic translation, not later than the thirteenth century.<sup>16</sup> The original form of the name in the *Bios* must have been Μηδέκιον, as transmitted by D F; ἄντρον, “cave”, but also “inner chamber, closet”,<sup>17</sup> seems to be a gloss, albeit a peculiar one, of *Maḏīq*, conveying the same meaning: “place of depth, narrowness or straitness”, i.e. στενὸς τόπος – as an outlet or passage to go through.<sup>18</sup> The most important harbour in this area is Mocha/al-Mukhā, the ancient \*Mukhawān (*Mkhw* in South Arabian inscriptions),<sup>19</sup> which provides the closest access to Taphar/Zafar, and then to Ṣan‘ā’ via Dhamār, overland.<sup>20</sup>

Thus Gregentios lands on the coast of the Homerites and reaches Taphar, but the Negus is still in Negra/Najrān, where he is building certain churches, as he previously had erected or re-erected the cathedral in Taphar (near the former palace of Dounaas) and several other churches in different places. The bishop is received by him at Negra; afterwards, they both cross the country consecrating the churches built by the king and establishing a bishop in “all surrounding towns” (9.180–189) — which may well explain the label of “archbishop” accorded to Gregentios.

<sup>15</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 748F [ch. 7 (§ 32)]. For the text (*BHG* 166), a new edition of which is being prepared by Marina Detoraki, see chiefly Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 198–231; van Esbroeck, “Ethiopic”, 118–135; Beucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 26–29; Fiaccadori, “Πρόσοψις”, 184–185, with further literature (232–233), to which add Detoraki, “Métaphrase”.

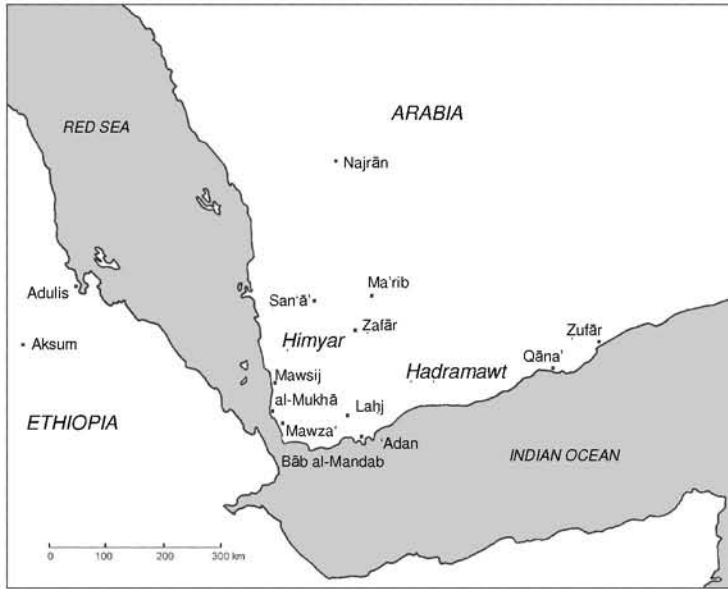
<sup>16</sup> *Historia dos martyres*, 115.16–17 text = 160.3 trans. [§ 32]; cp. Esteves Pereira, *ibid.*, 160 note 1, on στενὸς τόπος, and Rodinson, “Éthiopien”, 140. For this translation, included in the slightly later collection known as *Gadla samā‘tāt* “(Spiritual) Contending of the Martyrs” (Bausi, “Versione”, 7–8 and note 20, and “Gädlä säma‘ētat”, 645a), see Fell, “Christenverfolgung”, 48–74; Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 193–200; Marrassini, “Note”, 180 and notes 70–71 (192).

<sup>17</sup> In the Septuaginta version of 3 Reg. 16.18 it renders Hebrew *‘armôn* “fortified tower of palace”.

<sup>18</sup> Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 91–94, who only knew the reading *Daikkeon antron* (after Vasiliev’s excerpts of the *Bios*, based on S), explained it as a mistake of a Syrian translator who read the Arabic *ghawr ‘Akk* “lowland of ‘Akk” as *ghar ‘Akk* “cave of ‘Akk”, and rendered it as *m‘artā dhe-‘Akk* “cave of ‘Akk”. When this again would have been taken over into Greek, the relative adjective (= “‘Akkite”) was used to express the genitive relation, but the Syriac preposition *dh<sup>e</sup>-* was not eliminated: it crept into the adjective, *ai* being an attempt to represent “the guttural [viz. faryngeal] Semitic *‘ayn* by a diphtong”. Hence his conclusion that this part of the *Bios* is depending upon a Syriac source in turn translated from Arabic.

<sup>19</sup> See Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 419–420; van Donzel, “al-Mukhā”, 513a; Robin, “Tihāma”, 225 and note 17 (234), 229.

<sup>20</sup> Christides, “War”, 121; cp. *Burchardts Jemen*, 9. According to Sergew Hable Sellassie, *History*, 133 and note 49, al-Mukhā is one and the same as the unidentified place Boulikas mentioned by Prokopios, *Bella* 1, 19, 21, as the harbour of the Homerites opposite to that of the Adoulites, i.e. to Adulis (present Zula, in the homonymous bay), on which see literature in Fiaccadori, “Sembrouthes”, 154.



### The Christian Topography of South Arabia

A part of the Arabian section of the *Bios* that certainly goes back to a much older source is Gregentios' itinerary with the detailed list of churches built by Elesboam and consecrated by the new (arch)bishop in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. This wealth of information about the Christian topography of South Arabia is still of value even if Gregentios should have been no historical person at all.<sup>21</sup> While drawing attention to an almost forgotten province of the Christian Orient, the toponyms of that list provide further examples of words transmitted into Greek via Arabic.<sup>22</sup> The matter has been discussed by Vassilios Christides and then, more extensively, by Irfan Shahîd.<sup>23</sup> Neither, however, had the complete text of the *Bios* at his disposal, so that it seems necessary to complete their pioneering investigations, and to improve on them in a few points.

**Negra/Najrān.** — For each of the three most important towns of the Homerite kingdom, three churches are mentioned: at Najrān, a major caravan centre — formed by a series of oases — in northern Yemen that mediated trade between South Arabia and the

21 Shahîd, "Byzantium", 35, 94; cp. Christides, "Martyrdom", 72–73.

22 See above, pp. 49–50 and note 10.

23 See Christides, "War", 121–122 (143–144), and Shahîd, "Byzantium", 38–53.

Mediterranean, those of the Resurrection of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of the local martyr Saint Arethas (Hārīth b. Ka‘b, actually a tribe name).<sup>24</sup>

The church of the Resurrection, which may have been the local cathedral of the new bishop (one of the several temples consecrated by him), is said to be at an unknown place called Nephoth (9.148).<sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy that a church of “Christ’s Resurrection”, along with that of “the saint anchorite Shallitā”, appears at Najrān, for the year 1260, in the so-called *Unpublished Statistics of the Ancient Chaldeo-Nestorian Church*, an interesting Arabic compilation of ca. 1700 from an older Damascus manuscript that lists the historical bishoprics and shrines of what is presently known as the (Assyrian or Apostolic) Church of the East.<sup>26</sup>

In the case of the temple of the Mother of God (9.148–149), it is unclear whether its location ἐν τοῖς Ταδημέρωσ or τὰ Δημέρωσ, literally “in the property of (Ta)demeros”, given by D F is correct, or whether we should read ἐν τοῖς σταδίου μέρος (recte μέρεσι), that is “in the parts (= neighbourhood) of (the) *stadion*”, with S H; but σταδίου, without the article τοῦ before, looks rather like a toponym (cp., e.g., ἐν τοῖς Στουδίου for the whereabouts of the famous Constantinopolitan monastery of the Prodomos of Stoudios).<sup>27</sup> In the context of the urban topography of Najrān, the term *stadion* could nonetheless designate a race-course for horses or any other ‘area’, including the ancient *agora* or ‘market place’.<sup>28</sup> In both cases, however, it may have been the site at which, according to the *Book of the Himyarites*, “the freeborn (Christian) men had been brought together” to be martyred during the persecution by Dhū Nuwās.<sup>29</sup> While the second reading (ἐν τοῖς σταδίου μέρος), somehow *facilior* and yet ungrammatical, is likely to be already a scribal conjecture, the first one (ἐν τοῖς Ταδημέρωσ) might obscure the Arabic name of the city of Palmyra, restored by Ioustinianos in 527 as a stronghold of the eastern frontier: *Tadmur* (with a Greek ending -οῖς misread -ωσ?), alluding to a “Palmyrene quarter” so named after the presence of warehouses for merchants from

<sup>24</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 38–42. On the name, see Guidi, “Lettera”, 488–489 and note 3 (= 26–27 and note 2).

<sup>25</sup> The passage containing this toponym is missing in S H and the excerpts of Vasiliev, “Žitie”, 63, and therefore not considered by Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 38–42.

<sup>26</sup> *Statistics*, 8.3–5 text = 7.22–26 trans. [2, 3]. Cp. Fiaccadori, “Yemen”, 168 and note 61 (210). On the Church of the East, see now, e.g., Seleznev, *Cerkov’*, with literature, and Baum & Winkler, *Kirche*, 11–12 in particular.

<sup>27</sup> Since Vasiliev, “Žitie”, 63, has τοῖς σταδίου μέρεσι, the case of Ταδημέρωσ is not examined by Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 40. As it can be observed in some other instances (see below, p. 168), the hyparchetype γ tends to leave out passages that were unclear already in the archetype ω. This may be also the reason for both the omission at 9.157 (below, p. 57) and the possible conjecture here.

<sup>28</sup> See Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 40 and notes 44–45.

<sup>29</sup> *Book of the Himyarites*, 28b.9–10 text = cxix.36 trans. [ch. XX]. Cp. Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 40–41.



there — and thus reminiscent of the old Syrian long distance trade with Arabia.<sup>30</sup> On account of its specially offensive dedication, the church of the Mother of God might have been redevoted to “the saint anchorite Shallitā” by the Nestorians, whose hierarchy was definitely to take over after the Persian conquest of the country.<sup>31</sup>

The church of Saint Arethas and the other Martyrs, built at or in Arethas’ former house (9.150), is most probably identical to the *martyrion* of Najrān: a building called Ka’bah in later Arabic sources that can be reconstructed as a square structure covered by a dome.<sup>32</sup>

The second text of the Gregentios Dossier, the *Nomoi*, also contains a number of topographical indications about Negra. As we shall see in the following chapter, it rather seems that none of them is based on more than the author’s imagination and a fabricated analogy with Constantinople. The only toponym plausibly taken from an older source is Trikanon (Τρίκανον), for the place in which the slave market was held (N 325).<sup>33</sup>

**Taphar.** — In Zafār, the ancient Homerite capital where a church had been founded by Theophilus Indos, a fourth-century diplomat and missionary to the courts of Aksum and Ḥimyar,<sup>34</sup> three temples were erected by King Kālēb: the great church of the holy Trinity close to the royal palace (9.151–152), the church of the Mother of God ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Δάνας “in the mid of Dana” (9.153), and the church of the Apostles at the western city gate (9.154–155).<sup>35</sup> The main question concerns here the ‘toponym’ Dana: the explanation that follows in the text, πλατείας οὕτω προσαγορευομένης “a square being so called” or “this being the name for ‘square’”, could only be a gloss, indicating most probably a derivation from Arabic *maydān* “square, market-place” (cp. *Medekion* versus *Daikkeon*), and thus definitely ruling out the assimilation, proposed by Walter Müller, to Wādī Dhanah (‘*dhnt*’ in South Arabian inscriptions, *Adhanah* in the tenth-century Arab geographer al-Hamdhānī), on which the town of Ma’rib is situated where ‘Abreha “had a church consecrated” (*wqds w b ‘t*) according to his long inscription from the local

30 See, e.g., Young, *Rome*, 136–186. Two Palmyrenes (*tdhmry*), the ambassadors Khayrī and ‘Aziz<sup>um</sup> (*Khyry w-‘dhdh<sup>m</sup>*), attended the enthroning of Ilī‘azz Yaluṭ, king of Ḥadramawt, just before AD 218 (*RÉS* 4859 = *Ja* 931.1): see Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 70 and note 199.

31 Fiaccadori, “Yemen”, 198–199.

32 Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione*, 26 note 2; Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 70–74; Tardy, *Najrān*, 167.

33 See below, p. 85.

34 Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, XXII–XXIII and note 32, 7 and note 10. On Theophilus, see Id., “Teofilo”, with literature; Papathanassiou, “Missions”, 135; Tardy, *Najrān*, 76–82; Müller, “Zafar”, 379b; Gajda, “Monothéisme”, 617–619.

35 Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 43–47; Müller, “Zafar”, 380a.

Great Dam.<sup>36</sup> For his own part, Shahîd argued that Dana — indeed to be sought within Zafâr, not at Ma'rib — is “almost certainly” identical to the second part of the name *Raydân*, the royal palace in Zafâr, so that πλατεία (‘square’) of the gloss must be corrected to παλάτιον (‘palace’), this being the same as the palace mentioned earlier (9.152: τῶν παλατίων] τοῦ παλατίου K): therefore, there was a church next to it, and another inside.<sup>37</sup> Yet, if Dana were the actual name of the king’s palace, it should have been introduced at the latter’s first, not second mention; and Shahîd’s hypothesis, however, entails both an odd splitting of *Raydân* and a heavier correction from πλατείας οὕτω προσαγορευομένης to παλατίου οὕτω προσαγορευομένου.

Archeological surveys in the modern settlement of Zafâr, a small hamlet on one of the four hills with the ruins of the ancient town about 17 km south-west of Yarîm, have been resumed over the past few years.<sup>38</sup> The present conditions of the site are so poor that almost no church remains could be safely identified, except for the long-known fragmentary set of architectural elements (capitals or columns with capitals) from the local hill of al-‘Asabî and the near village of Mankath (closely associated with Yarîm), where their possible reemployment in Christian context is suggested by the evidence of late Ethiopic monograms.<sup>39</sup> Next to the Raydân complex, on the homonymous steep hill of Huṣn Raydân (or al-Qaṣr) and its southern slope, with a series of building remnants concealing underground structures (among which a large rock-cut gallery likely to be a royal tomb), beneath the old cube mosque lies a stepped chamber that was tentatively identified as either “a Christian baptistery or a Jewish ritual bath”.<sup>40</sup>

**Akana.** — This toponym (Ἀκάνα) seems to fit ancient and modern Qāna’ or Qāni’ (Qn’, with the fortress of *Mwyt*, in South Arabian inscriptions, Κάνη or Κανή/*Cane* in classical geography: present Bi’r ‘Alī),<sup>41</sup> rather than Ṣan‘ā’:<sup>42</sup> in this case, from \*ACCANA, i.e. *aṣ-Ṣan‘ā’* (with an unusual Arabic article), read \*AICANA > AKANA.<sup>43</sup> The mention of Qāna’, one of the main ports of departure for India in Ḥaḍramawt, near the prominent cape of Huṣn al-Ghurāb, would clearly prove that ‘Abreha’s rule exten-

<sup>36</sup> *CIH* 541.66–67. See Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione*, 26 note 2; Müller, review of Shahîd, *Martyrs*, 188; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 78.

<sup>37</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 46.

<sup>38</sup> See Costa 1973 and 1976, with previous literature, and now Yule, “Zafar”. Cp. also Müller, “Zafar”, 379a–b.

<sup>39</sup> Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, XXI–XXIV.

<sup>40</sup> Yule, “Zafar”, 25.

<sup>41</sup> E.g., Ptolemaios, *Geographia*, 6, 7, 10, and 8, 22, 9. Cp. Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 6 note 8. In Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 49–51, Qāna’ is suggested to be the “town of Ḥaḍramawt” (the latter being literally, however, the name itself of the town: *Ḥaṣramawt/-mûth m<sup>e</sup>dhîntâ* “the city [of = called] Ḥaḍramawt”) mentioned in the *Book of the Himyarites*, 5b.2 text = ciii.21 trans. [Index of accounts, ch. (XXIX)]; cp. liii and xc.

<sup>42</sup> On which, see below, p. 57 and notes 60–62.

<sup>43</sup> As proposed by Christides, “War”, 122; but see now Id., “Martyrdom”, 72.

ded over this region, a part of the Homerite kingdom in earlier times.<sup>44</sup> No source other than the *Bios* of Gregentios records the “three churches” inaugurated in this town by the king and his bishop (9.154, 182): namely, those of the Ascension, of Saint John the Baptist and Precursor, and of Saint Thomas (9.156–157).<sup>45</sup>

If Akana were really identical with Qāna’, the existence of this church of Saint Thomas, dedicated to the famous first-century apostle of India whose wonder-working sepulchre was at Mylapore,<sup>46</sup> would presuppose both the influence of Mesopotamian or Syrian elements, so important in the origins of Indian Christendom,<sup>47</sup> and a constant intercourse with South-East Arabia and the Persian Gulf — where a monastery of Saint Thomas had probably been established not far from Ra’s Musandam, facing Hormuz/Hurmūz, as early as in the first half of the fourth century.<sup>48</sup>

The hypothesis of Eduard René Hambye comes here to mind that Qāna’ on the Arabian coast is the place of origin — or better, of departure to India — of the lay leader of the Christian immigration to Cranganore (Kranganūr, the ancient Muziris) in AD 345, who is usually deemed to hail from Cana in Galilee.<sup>49</sup> In fact, Portuguese records from 16th-century India speak of him as of the “Syrian” or “Armenian” merchant and missionary “Thomas (of) Cana” (viz. “Caná” or “Canané”);<sup>50</sup> but the latter is an obvious western rendering of a surname that in the Malabar tradition applies to members of the “Southist” community of the Saint Thomas Christians, and is handed down as *Qināyi* or *Qnāy(i)*, *Qinān*.<sup>51</sup> If this person, Qināyi Thomas (or Thomas Qinān), is not a later fiction,<sup>52</sup> and his surname “is indicative at all of the place of his origin or provenance”,<sup>53</sup> we may rather assume that he came from the town of Qōnay or (Dayrā dh<sup>c</sup>-)Qōnī (Arabic [Dayr] Qunnī) in the district of Bêth ’Aramāyê, about 35 km from Seleukeia/Ktesiphon.<sup>54</sup>

**Other towns.** — Atarph (Ἀτάρφ) or Atephar (Ἀτεφάρ) is presumably Zūfār, always in Ḥaḍramawt (9.157, 184)<sup>55</sup>. Legmia (Λεγμία) has been equated with Lahj(um), a town and district already known in early Islamic and medieval times, called *Lhgm* in South

44 See above, p. 48 and note 1.

45 Cp. Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 47–49.

46 Christides, “Martyrdom”, 72. On the apostle’s legend see Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, XVII–XVIII and note 10, 67–68 and note 69, with literature.

47 See Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, XVII–XVIII and note 11.

48 Ibid., XX–XXII; cp. now King, “Islam”, 78–79.

49 Hambye, “Hypothèse”. Cp. Gillman & Klimkeit, *Christians*, 159–166; Baum & Winkler, *Kirche*, 17–19, 51–52. On the date of the immigration, see esp. Kollaparambil, *Origin*, 89–107.

50 Kollaparambil, “Thomas”, 389–390, and *Origin*, 4–7, 86–89.

51 Id., “Thomas”, 385–388, and *Origin*, 2–4, 12–19, 83–86.

52 Baum & Winkler, *Kirche*, 52.

53 Kollaparambil, *Origin*, 1.

54 Ibid., 8–11, 19–21, and already Id., “Thomas”, 384–385, 390–391.

55 Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 51–52.

Arabian inscriptions, which lay about 40 km north-west of Aden/‘Adan (9.158, 185).<sup>56</sup> Such a sound equation has been opposed by Shahîd, but he produced no better results in attempting to trace Legmia either to the Syriac (*Ha*)*garên* (< Arabic *\*al-Hajarayn?*) of the *Book of the Himyarites* (a place in Ḥaḍramawt: cp. *al-Hajarān* of the Islamic sources),<sup>57</sup> as a “hopelessly corrupted reading” of this toponym, or to Mocha, the main Red Sea port in the western part of the Ḥimyarite kingdom,<sup>58</sup> or else to Arabic *‘ajam* “foreigner(s)”, namely Persian(s), with reference to the town’s probable location in the eastern regions of South Arabia: hence *\*al-‘Ajamiyyah*, “the (place/port) of the ‘Ajam”.<sup>59</sup> In fact, if we assume that there is a geographical order in the list of churches under scrutiny, Legmia could be also sought in Ḥaḍramawt. Yet, one should first resist the temptation of rationalising Gregentios’ itinerary. Then, in terms of speculation, Legmia might even be Ṣan‘ā’ (*Ṣn’* in South Arabian inscriptions), with the famous *Qalīs* or *Qul(l)ays* (according to the Arab grammarians), the church of ‘Abreha:<sup>60</sup> if so, ACCANA, i.e. *aṣ-Ṣan‘ā’* (again, though, with the unusual Arabic article), would have been mistakenly read ΛΕΓΜΙΑ.<sup>61</sup> For Ṣan‘ā’, the *Unpublished Statistics* mentions the existence of three (Nestorian) churches dedicated to the Holy Cross, saint George and saint Anthony respectively, but gives no chronological details.<sup>62</sup>

The last two towns in which King Kālēb built churches according to the *Bios*, Azaki and Iouze (9.157), are missing in S H and Vasiliev’s excerpts, and therefore unknown to Shahîd. As to Azaki (Ἀζακι), it might be Aden (ancient Ἄδανα/*Adana*, possibly the Roman emporion with at least a church founded by Theophilus Indos):<sup>63</sup> from Arabic *\*dn* misread *\*zq*. Not altogether implausible, however, a connection with Azāl, the name of Ṣan‘ā’ in medieval Islamic tradition:<sup>64</sup> if so, the Arabic *\*z’l* would have been easily mistaken for *\*z’k*.

Likewise, Iouze (Ἰουζή) could be either Mawza’ (Musà) or Mawsij (Mōshi), 30 km south-east and, respectively, 50 km north of Mocha: from Arabic *\*Mwz’* or *\*Mwsj* misread *\*Ywz’* or *\*Ywsj* (*\*Yws’?*), with /s/ arguably rendered by ζ — albeit Greek trans-

<sup>56</sup> Müller, review of Shahîd, *Martyrs*, 188. Cp. Smith, “Lahđj”, 601b–602a.

<sup>57</sup> *Book of the Himyarites*, 5b.11–12 text = ciii.28 trans. [Index of accounts, ch. XXXII]; cp. liii–liv.

<sup>58</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 52–53 and note 76. For Mocha, see above, p. 51 and notes 19–20, but also below, p. 75 and note 168.

<sup>59</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 53 and note 80.

<sup>60</sup> Smith, “Ṣan‘ā’”, 1a, with literature (3a), and “al-Yaman”, 271b; see now Finster & Schmidt, “Kirche”. Cp. also below, pp. 67 and note 119, 75 and notes 167–168.

<sup>61</sup> Cp. above, p. 75.

<sup>62</sup> *Statistics*, 7.16–19 text = 7.13–18 trans. [2, 1]. Cp. Fiaccadori, “Yemen”, 158 and note 59 (210).

<sup>63</sup> Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 6 and note 8, 43, 51–52, and now Bowersock, “Ḥaḍramawt”, 264. See above, pp. 53 note 27, 54 and note 34.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, “Ṣan‘ā’”, 1a.

formations such as \*MOYZH > (\*ΓΙΟΥΖΗ >) IOYZH or \*MOYZIT > (\*ΓΙΟΥΖΙΙ >) IOYZH might also be involved. Mawsij, on the coast, has possibly better chances than Mawza' to be the Μούζα (Μοῦσα) ἐμπόριον/*Muza emporium* of the classical authors that is sometimes erroneously identified with Mocha/al-Mukhā itself.<sup>65</sup> However, both Mawza' and Mawsij should balance the otherwise striking absence of the zone of Mocha — where a church built by the Ethiopians was destroyed at the onset of the persecution — in the list of the *Bios*.<sup>66</sup>

### Between Arabia and Ethiopia

The quantity and quality of information condensed in the Arabian part of the *Bios* are not surprising, since the anonymous bishop, later to be called Gregentios, was concerned with quite remarkable events to which the *Dialexis* and the *Nomoi*, instead, are only tangentially related. In both texts these events merely provide a remote and exotic setting for ideological and theological messages clearly stemming from tenth-century Byzantium.<sup>67</sup> Yet, however legendary, the *Dialexis* and the *Nomoi* clearly allude to a long religious struggle between Christianity and Judaism that reflects the imperialist designs of Byzantium and Persia on the Red Sea area, and is already emerging in the contemporary accounts on the sixth-century persecutions and martyrdoms witnessed by the southern part of the Arabian peninsula as well as, long before, in the pages of Philostorgios on Theophilos Indos,<sup>68</sup> and in such an invaluable Ethiopic document as the *Gadla 'Azqir* or “Life of 'Azqir”, a Christian priest and martyr in Zafār,<sup>69</sup> which

<sup>65</sup> See Grohmann, *Arabien*, 4 and note 5; Huntingford in *Periplus*, 100; Robin, “Tihāma”, 225 and notes 15–18 (234). On σ/ζ and ζ/σ, cp. Gignac, *Grammar*, 121 and 123 respectively; on Mocha, above p. 51 and notes 19–20.

<sup>66</sup> It is rather indicative that Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 52, tentatively proposed to identify al-Mukhā with Legmia.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 43, and below, pp. 83–91, 91–109. The different view of Irvine, “Homicide”, 290–291, has been widely revived by Papathanasiou, «*Νόμοι*», 69–150, and “Missions”, 137–140.

<sup>68</sup> Philostorgios, 33.10–35.23 [3, 4]: 34.8–10. See Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 418; Mar-rassini, “Note”, 178, and “Bisanzio”, 181; Tardy, *Najrān*, 79–80; Robin, “Judaïsme de Ḥimyar”, 103–104, 154; Bowersock, “Ḥadramawt”, 268, 272; above, pp. 54 and note 34, 57 and note 63.

<sup>69</sup> Conti Rossini, “Documento”, text and trans., anticipated by Winckler, “Geschichte”, abridged trans. On this text, included in the already mentioned *Gadla samā 'tāt* (above, p. 51 and note 16), see Hirschberg, “Sources”, 324–329; Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 421 and note 45, 437–438, 443 and note 150; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 295–296 and note 18; Shahīd, *Fifth Century*, 370–372, 375–376; Tardy, *Najrān*, 85–90; and now Robin, “Judaïsme de Ḥimyar”, 139–141, and Bowersock, “Ḥadramawt”, 269–271, with the literature in Witakowski, “Azqir”, 421b: esp. Beeston, “Azqir”.

provide a most reliable glimpse into the Homerite kingdom of the first half of the fourth century and, respectively, the third quarter of the fifth century.<sup>70</sup>

Elements embodied in the Arabian section that are likely to hark back to earlier (how mutual, is hard to say) sources appear as well, long before, in the sixth-century *Martyrion of Arethas*, transmitted independently from the *Bios*, but somehow continued in it, first and foremost as an amplification on the church building activity of the Aksumite King Elesboas so briefly described there.<sup>71</sup> This activity is also celebrated in the inscription he wrote in order to commemorate his expedition against the 'Agwēzāt: "... He (God) gave me a great name so that I fight against Ĥimyar. [...] and I founded a sanctuary (*māqs*) in Ĥimyar, at 'qn'l",<sup>72</sup> the latter place being identified either with a mooring point in the zone of Bāb al-Mandab or with the site itself of \*Maddabān, corresponding to ancient \*Οκηλις/*Ocelis*.<sup>73</sup>

In the most ancient and authoritative Greek sources, Kālēb is called Elesboam/Ellesboas, Elesba(a)s or Ellestheastios (viz. Ellesbeaios: \*ΕΛΛΕCΒΕΑΙΟC > ΕΛΛΕCΘΕ-ΑΙΟC), which are as many renderings of his Ethiopic throne name 'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa;<sup>74</sup> Dhū

<sup>70</sup> Bowersock, "Ḥaḍramawt", 270. On Judaism and Christianity in South Arabia, see Ryckmans, "Christianisme"; Robin, "Judaïsme et christianisme"; Id., "Judaïsme de Ĥimyar", 125–155; Beaucamp & Robin, "Christianisme"; Marrassini, "Bisanzio", 177–183; Bowersock, "Inscription"; Gajda, "Monothéisme", 614–622.

<sup>71</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758DE [ch. 9 (§ 38)]. See Shahîd, *Martyrs*, 230, and "Byzantium", 27–28, 35; below, p. 76.

<sup>72</sup> *RIĒth* 191.34–35. See Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, "Persécution", 38–40.

<sup>73</sup> Drewes, "Kaleb", 29–30 and notes 13–14 (32), alluded to in Shahîd, *Fifth Century*, 378–379, note 196. Cp. Hahn, "Spurensuche", 58, 61–62; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, "Persécution", 35 note 83, 39–41 and notes 105–106; above, p. 50 and note 14; below, p. 62 and note 87. On the inscription, see Munro-Hay, *Aksum*, 230; Fiacadori, "Πρόσοπις", 204; Lusini, "Philology", 96.

<sup>74</sup> Nöldeke in at-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, 188 note 1. See [*Ist.* 7708bis =] *RĒS* 3904.6: 'l 'ṣḥbḥh "'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa"; and now *RIĒth* 191.7–8: *klb 'l 'ṣbh* "Kālēb 'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa", on which already Schneider, "Inscriptions", 771–773. On 'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa's life and personality, cp. Irvine & Sergew Hable-Selassie, "Kalēb"; Shahîd, "*Kebra Nagast*", 150–157; Munro-Hay, *Aksum*, 13–14, 84–89, 151–152. Such other names for the king as Andas in Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 358.6 and 363.15 text = 248.14 and 252.3 trans. [18, 9 and 15], 'Endās in John of Nikiou, *Chronique*, 157 [277].27–159 [279].2 text = trans. 391 [511].18–392 [512].20, and Charles, *Chronicle*, 141.31–142.29 [90, 71–78], Adad in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 223.10–17 text = 323.24–28 trans., or 'Aydūg (= 'Andūg, Syriac *n* being easily mistaken for *y*) in John of Ephesos, i.e. Ps.-Denis of Tell Maḥrê, 54.15–56.19 text = 41.11–42.11 trans. [AD 534/5, § 1–2], 'Anzūg in Michael the Syrian, 273a.22–274b.9 text = 183a.13–184a.27 trans. [9, 17], have been often referred to Kālēb 'Ella 'Aṣbeḥa as mere distortions, through time and scribal errors, of a same original, albeit not better defined: Nöldeke in at-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, 174–175 note 3, 185–186 note 1; Guidi, "Lettera", 488–489 note 3 (= 26–27 note 2); Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 80–81. Other scholars, however, have suggested that the event described in these passages — a war between the Aksumites and the Homerites — occurred in the time of Emperor Anastasios (491–518): Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, "Persécution", 30 note 66, with previous literature (cp. already

Nuwās appears as Dounaas, Dimnos or Damianos<sup>75</sup>. The forms Elesboas and Dounaas are common to the *Bios* and the *Martyrion of Arethas* alone, which confirms the close relationship of the two texts. We are reminded of one of Evelyne Patlagean's arguments to prove that the whole *Bios* was written in Italy along with a group of accounts illustrating the Roman thesis on papal primacy and its relevance to coeval Byzantium: namely, that a Latin translation of the *Martyrion* was circulating there already in the ninth century, and could have been used in Rome by the author of the *Bios*.<sup>76</sup> Still, the events and data preserved in the latter about the history of Yemen are not found exclusively in the *Martyrion*;<sup>77</sup> nor is there any evidence that such other important segments of the *Bios* as the itinerary of Gregentios in South Arabia or the list of churches built there by King Elesboam were known in ninth-century Italy. These segments cannot simply be attributed to the author's imagination, but clearly show a certain degree of acquaintance with the country. As a result, the source used by the author of the *Bios* may rather have been a Greek text that continued and integrated the narrative of the *Martyrion*, and even concealed the name of the missionary sent to the far remote land of the Homerites.

If we accept the name Gregentios to be combination of *Gregorios* and *Bikentios*,<sup>78</sup> it seems possible that a missionary and first bishop of Ḥafār called Gregorios did play a role in the lost source to chapter 9.<sup>79</sup> Instead of a "Grégoire de Oulpiana",<sup>80</sup> therefore, a

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Mordtmann, "Miscellen", 67–69, and "Kriege", 709–710). In keeping with their suggestion (confirmed by what immediately follows in John of Ephesos, 56.20–57.3 text = 42.12–22 trans. [§ 3], alluding to the death of the Christian Homerite king Ma'dikarib Ya'fur and the preliminaries of the persecution: below, p. 62 and note 87), one may wonder whether the 'original' name of the 'Aksumite ruler, vowing to convert in case of victory, is not here 'Amidā, i.e. \*AMIDAC > \*AΛIDAC (> \*AΛIDAC) > ANΔAC (read also \*ANΔAΓ: hence 'Andūg, 'Anzūg), which would clearly point to Negus 'Ella 'Amidā (II), the predecessor of Kālēb's father Tāzēnā, and the king under whom Monophysitism was introduced into Ethiopia by the Nine Saints and the whole group of the Ṣadqān, the "Righteous ones" (Fiaccadori, "Ēllā 'Amida", 260; see also below, p. 65 and notes 104–105). If so, the victorious king would have converted not from paganism to Christianity, but precisely from Orthodoxy to Monophysitism. (The identification of the sole Andas with 'Ella 'Amidā, yet as father of \*Ṣāzānā/Tāzēnā, in turn substituted to 'Ēzānā, was already guessed in the most confused paper by Pirenne, "Imbroglia", 51–53, on which Schneider, "A propos", 41–43.)

75 Cp. Althem & Stiehl, *Christentum*, II, 338. On Dhū Nuwās and the forms of his name see below, pp. 61–62 note 85.

76 Patlagean, "Moines", 600.

77 Christides, "War", 134.

78 See above, pp. 25 and 28.

79 The proposal of Brakmann, *Einwurzelung*, 89, that the name Gregentios may have been transferred from a later historical bishop to the fictitious missionary, doesn't contribute to the solution of these problems. Nor does it bear any interest here that the oldest mosque of Ḥadramawt was that of *Nabī 'llah Jarjis*, i.e. "God's Prophet Georgios"— who is Sergios or, even worse, Gregentios for Shahîd, "Byzantium", 85–87, on the building and the pos-

“Gregorios of Zafār” may have stood at the beginning of the tradition, indeed forming the historical core of it.

The Ethiopian expeditions against Himyar are known from a wide range of epigraphic and literary sources in Greek and other Christian oriental languages — their content “varying according to their biases or distances from the events”, which have been recorded confusedly already in the sixth century.<sup>81</sup> The Byzantine share ranges from the most reliable historical report of Prokopios<sup>82</sup> to such half-legendary accounts as the *Martyrion of Arethas*<sup>83</sup> and the *Bios* of Gregentios (9.16–28).<sup>84</sup> Names and dates are often difficult to reconcile: any attempt to do that would be out of proportion to the present study. Nonetheless, for the sake of this presentation, the story could be summarised as follows.

Shortly after June/July 517, or 522 according to a recently validated chronology, the Jewish convert Dhū Nuwās — i.e. Yūsuf As’ar Yath’ar or Masrūq, as he is named in South Arabian inscriptions or, respectively, in Syriac (and then Christian Arabic) literary texts<sup>85</sup> — expelled the Ethiopian garrison stationed in Zafār, and made himself

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sible identity of the personage it had been associated with. Along with the classic pattern of a Christian church being turned into a Muslim sanctuary, the popular figure of al-Khaḍir/Khiḍr, often identified with St. George (or even Prophet Elijah), should be considered instead: see, e.g., Fiaccadori, “Situazione”, 102–103, with literature (105), and now Saccone, “Profeta”.

<sup>80</sup> See above, p. 31.

<sup>81</sup> Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 78, 80.

<sup>82</sup> Prokopios, *Bella* 1, 19–20. Cp. Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 30–31.

<sup>83</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 742D–756D [ch. 6–9 (§ 25–39)]. Cp. Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 26–29.

<sup>84</sup> See in particular, for chronology problems, Marrassini, “Note”, 179–186 (190–196), and now Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, both with full list and discussion of the sources, also presented in Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 77–81: 78–79 note 207, and Robin, “Sheba”, 1141–43. Further literature in Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 47 note 13, xxv note 37, complemented in Id., “Πρόσωπις”, 232–233. Among others: Moberg in *Book of the Himyarites*, xxiv–lxxvii; Smith, “Events”; Ryckmans, *Persécution*; Id., “Christianisme”, 419–440; Id., “Les rapports de dépendence”; Rubin, *Zeitalter*, 305–319; Altheim & Stiehl, *Christentum*, I, 438–453, and II, 337–339, 344–345; Devos, “Aspects”; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 294–304; Vööbus, *History*, 266–272; de Blois, “Notes”; Letsios, “Kriege”; Id., “Remarks”; Brakmann, *Einwurzlung*, 84–94; Fowden, *Empire*, 114–116; Shahīd, *Sixth Century*, 1/2, 728–732; Robin, “Paganisme”, 150–152; Papathanasiou, «Νόμοι», 23–45; Tardy, *Najrân*, 115–148; Christides, “Martyrdom”; Retsö, *Arabs*, 558–566; Bausi, “Denarius”, 85–91.

<sup>85</sup> For traditional Arabic exegesis, Dhū Nuwās is a nickname, “The one with (pending) locks”, hinting at a hair fashion still worn by Orthodox Jews, to which the Syriac *Masrūq* (“Curly”: literally, “Combed”) provides an exact semantic equivalent (pace Shahīd, “*Kebra Nagast*”, 150, and already *Martyrs*, 260–266 [but see 266 and note 1], followed by Christides, “Martyrdom”, 75 and note 127): Moberg in *Book of the Himyarites*, lxxii note 4; Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 430 and notes 85–86; *ibid.* and note 88 on the king’s name before conversion, *Zur’ah*. Yet, it may well be that, in keeping with the ancient South Arabian custom, Dhū Nuwās (a theophoric



king of Ḥimyar: namely, “of all tribes”, pending formal investiture by the assembly of the great of the kingdom.<sup>86</sup> In the meanwhile, the Christian Homerite King Ma’dikarib Ya’fur, appointed by the Ethiopian conquerors who “killed” (?) his Jewish predecessor (... ]n’ēl *neguša Ḥamēr se’ur* “... ]n’ēl, the deposed king of Ḥimyar”), had possibly died.<sup>87</sup> In 518 or 523, the new king started a cruel persecution of Christians, to the exclusion of Nestorians (actually involved as his allies), that culminated a year after in the seizure of the city of Najrān and the massacre of its inhabitants, among whom al-Ḥārith b. Ka’b, Saint Arethas in the Greek sources. Yūsuf was soon to establish contacts with the Sasanians (possibly through his Nestorian friends, of Persian obedience), asking them for military aid: as a reaction to the Aksumite and Roman expansionism, a Sasanian intervention in South Arabia might have led to further expeditions to the Red Sea shores; in turn, the encroaching Persian presence in such a crucial area would have blocked the commercial route from the Roman empire to Ethiopia and India, thus hindering the Byzantine trade between the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.<sup>88</sup>

On behalf of Ioustinos I, the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria Timotheos III (517–535) had ’Ella ’Aṣḥēba persuaded to organise a military reaction to restore the

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name for Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 297 note 21, with reference to the god *Nuwāsh* of *CIH* 551.4, in *CIS* 320–322: 321, on which Aigrain, “Arabie”, 1244), is a kinship indication relevant to a clan or family name well attested in Yemen, *Nu’as*, which would have been turned into *Nuwās* by North Arabian traditionists unaware of its real meaning: Conti Rossini, “Dhū Nuwās”, 717a. Cp. van Esbroeck, “Ethiopie”, 123 and note 44 (followed by Marrassini, “Note”, 180 and note 67, 191), and Müller, “Ḥimyar”, 313, on Arabic *Dhū Nah(ā)s* “Bringer of mischief, Grim” (to which Ethiopic *Fineḥas* is also traceable) as a possible misunderstanding of Greek *Dounaas* and, respectively, a paronymological form rendered by the latter. For the king’s historical person, see Irvine, “Dhū Nuwās”; al-Assouad, “Dhū-Nuwās” (on which Levi Della Vida, “Leggende”, 142 note 7); Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 76–77.

<sup>86</sup> Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 35. *Ibid.*, 65–68 and 73 esp., on chronology, favouring 110 vs. (109 and) 115 BC as the beginning year for the era of Ḥimyar.

<sup>87</sup> *RIÉth* 195/II.16–17. In Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 40–41 and notes 105–106, the inscription is referred to what should be rather considered a subsequent Ethiopian expedition; and the possible reading ‘q.]n’ēl, suggested by Drewes, “Kaleb”, 29–30 and notes 13–14 (32), is accordingly resumed and interpreted as a toponym, after ‘qn’l of *RIÉth* 191.35–36, in turn directly identified with ancien Ὠκελις/*Ocelis*: see *ibid.*, 39–40 and notes 102–103 (above, pp. 59–60 and notes 71–74); for the position of the verb *qatala* (“he [King Kālēb] killed”), somehow far from its object, cp. Marrassini, “Note”, 185–186.

<sup>88</sup> Christides, “Martyrdom”, 78, and Bowersock, “Ḥaḍramawt”, 264–266, also for the political framework, on which see already Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 445–453, and Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 296–297, as well as Letsios, “Remarks”, and Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 47 note 13, with previous literature. Cp. now Apostolopoulou, “Außenpolitik”; Greatrex, *Rome*, 226–240; Retsö, “Shade”; Morin, “Presence”, 433–434. On the position of the Nestorians, flanking the Jews, see Fiaccadori, “Yemen”, 196–197 and notes 25–26 (203), and van Esbroeck, “Manuscrit”, 27, 29; on Byzantine maritime trade with the East, Mundell Mango, “Trade”, 153–156 for the respective roles of Aksum and Ḥimyar.

Ethiopian suzerainty over the country. Thanks to the support of the Roman fleet, too, the Aksumites crossed the Red Sea and landed in South Arabia. Yūsuf was defeated and executed; Sum(ū)yafa‘ Ashwa‘, called Esimiphaios in Prokopios, a local ruler who had possibly changed over to the Ethiopian side, was made king. Within the complex framework of relationships between the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of Aksum, the joint Roman-Ethiopian enterprise and the consequent Christianisation of South Arabia brought this country definitely into the sphere of influence of Byzantium — until the dramatic changes around or shortly after 570, with the Persian occupation of South Arabia.<sup>89</sup> Having built churches in the most important cities of Ḥimyar, ’Ella ’Aṣbeha entrusted them to Ethiopian notables and priests, and went then back to his own land. This was after about seven months of absence according to the *Book of the Himyarites*,<sup>90</sup> three years according to the *Bios* of Gregentios (9.191–192).<sup>91</sup>

In 530/31, “when he was reigning over the Homerites”, Sumyafa‘ Ashwa‘ received an embassy from emperor Ioustinianos I that was headed by Ioulianos.<sup>92</sup> A few years later — around 535, if not already by the end of 531 — a revolt broke out probably led by a former “slave of a Roman citizen engaged in the business of shipping in the Ethiopian town of Adulis”: ’Abreha, at that time a soldier or an officer in the Aksumite army occupying Ḥimyar. He was a Christian, and tried successfully to free the Homerites from the Ethiopian yoke. Sumyafa‘ Ashwa‘ was confined in one of the fortresses there; ’Abreha became king, and was later able to repel two subsequent expeditions launched against him by ’Ella ’Aṣbeha, and to consolidate his rule over Ḥimyar, but finally had to acknowledge vassalage to Aksum by paying tribute to the successor of Kālēb.<sup>93</sup>

After Kālēb’s return from Yemen,<sup>94</sup> news of his triumphal expedition inspired the legend about him bringing Christianity to Ethiopia,<sup>95</sup> a country in his time already Christian for generations, as it had been evangelised by Phroumentios or Salāmā around

<sup>89</sup> On the dating of these events, see below, pp. 67–68 and notes 119–123.

<sup>90</sup> *Book of the Himyarites*, 56a.5–6 text = cxlii.5 trans. [ch. XLVIII]. See Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 61 and note 184.

<sup>91</sup> Cp. Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 61 and note 103; Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 85–86 and note 227.

<sup>92</sup> Prokopios, *Bella*, 1, 20, 9.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 20, 3–8. See Ryckmans, *Persécution*, 6–7; Beeston, “Abraha”; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *History*, 145–153; *Id.*, “Abraha”; Kropp, “Abreha”; Greatrex, *Rome*, 235–240; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 77–82, with previous literature; and now Sima, “Abraha”, and Nebes, “Inscription”. On the date(s), cp. below, p. 73 and notes 158–162.

<sup>94</sup> The Ethiopian troops he left behind according to the *Bios* (9.269–271) are also mentioned in the *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758E [ch. 9 (§ 38)], the number of soldiers being here, however, fifteen thousand instead of ten thousand.

<sup>95</sup> First found with no name in Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 362.78–363.16 text = 251.2–252.4 trans. [18, 15]. See Brakmann, *Einwurzelung*, 97–107, paying almost no attention, however, to the problem of the religious differences between Orthodox and Monophysite Christians.

330, under King ʿĒzānā.<sup>96</sup> The deeds of this sovereign and his brother Šeʿāzānā were in fact confused with those of Kālēb — whose father's predecessor too, like ʿĒzānā's father, bore the name *'Ella 'Amidā*, which comes immediately before *'Ella 'Ašbeḥa* in some of the traditional “king lists”<sup>97</sup> — and his lieutenant in South Arabia, giving rise to the muddled traditions on the “God fearing” brother-kings ʾAbreha and ʾAšbeḥa, also founders of Maryam Šeyon cathedral in Aksum.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, as their names could respectively be understood as “He [= the one who] made light” and “He brought about the morning” (but, rather, “He collected tribute”), they came to be seen as perfect companions for Salāmā, venerated as *Kasātē Berhan* (“Revealer of the Light”) in the Ethiopian Church.<sup>99</sup>

According to a few hagiographical sources, namely the *Martyrion of Arethas*,<sup>100</sup> the *Bios* of Gregentios (9.245–256) and the Ethiopic *Kebrā nagašt* (“Glory of the Kings”),<sup>101</sup> assembled in the first half of the fourteenth century on the basis of much older materials,<sup>102</sup> Kālēb abdicated in order to end his life as a hermit next to his monastic mentor, *abbā* Zonainos (Ζώννεος, viz. Ζώναινος/Zovāinos = Arabic *Zunayn*,

<sup>96</sup> Schneider, “Les actes d’abouna Salama”; but see Getatchew Haile, “Homily”, 309–319, on which Munro-Hay, “Shadows”, 148 and note 29. Cp. Vööbus, *History*, 272–275; Fiaccadori, “Epigraphica”, 332 note 4, and “Sembrouthes”, 156–157, with literature.

<sup>97</sup> See Fiaccadori, “Ēllā ‘Amida”, 259–260; above, pp. 59–60 note 74.

<sup>98</sup> Summary of their unpublished *Gadl* (“Life”) in Marrassini, “*Gadla Abreha*”. See Munro-Hay, “Abreha and Ašbeḥa”, with literature, to which add Conti Rossini, “Note etiopiche”, 143–146, e *Storia*, 153–154, 258–260, and now Lusini, “Philology”, 95–96 (but cp. Fiaccadori, “Πρόσοψις”, 204), and Hahn, “Ezanas”.

<sup>99</sup> Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 259; Ullendorff, “Note”. The name *'Ella 'Ašbeḥa* has been unconvincingly explained as “Guardian, protector of the sacred place” (on the basis of the Ethiopic root \*'/hwly “to guard, to preserve” and of the Amharic word *atbiyā* “parish”) by Lusini, “Note”, 71 and note 24: see Fiaccadori, “Πρόσοψις”, 109–110; Bausi, “Etiopico 'ellē”; Id., “Numismatica”, 168 note 29; Id., “Features”, 160–161 and notes 34–37.

<sup>100</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758r [ch. 9 (§ 39)]. The *Mikron biblion* of Nikon of the Black Mountain (after 1087), where these events are equally mentioned, cod. Sin. Gr. 441, 315<sup>v</sup> (an edition of this text is currently being prepared by Kirill Maksimovič), is here depending upon the *Martyrion of Arethas*. See also the latter's Ethiopic version, *Historia dos Martyres*, 112.3–113.23 text = 165.14–33 trans. [§ 39], repeated in the *Senkessār* commemoration of Kālēb: *Synaxarium Ae*, 298.26–302.14 text = 299.32–303.14 trans. [20th Genbot = 15th (Jul.)28th (Greg.) May]; *Book of the Saints*, 913.33–914.15. Same commemoration, for that part, in the later (sixteenth-century?) Dabra Bizan recension of the *Senkessār* published by Sapeto, *Viaggio*, 422–425: 423.9–425.5 text = 423.23–424.11 trans. [12th Genbot = 7th/20th May]. Cp. *ibid.*, xx and xxiv; Colin, “Synaxaire”, 299 note 83; Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 72–73.

<sup>101</sup> *Kebrā nagašt*, 170b.22–171a.4 text = 136.32–137.3 trans. [ch. 117]; *Queen of Sheba*, 226.29–34; *Gloire des Rois*, 109.22–25. Cp. Shahîd, “*Kebrā Nagast*”, 166–172, and Brakmann, *Einwurzelung*, 96.

<sup>102</sup> See Shahîd, “*Kebrā Nagast*”; Lusini, “Église”, 554–556, and “Elementi”, 49–52; Fiaccadori, “Sembrouthes”, 139, 156, with literature on the text and its age.

diminutive form of *Zannah*, Greek Ζάννος) in the *Martyrion of Arethas*, where he appears as a native of Aila, i.e. ‘Aylah/’Ēlath on the eastern slopes of Sinai, living “in the Ethiopian town of Sabi (Σαβί)”.<sup>103</sup> Indeed identical with the *abbā* Paṅtalēwon of the Ethiopic sources (including the Ge‘ez version of the *Martyrion*), which offer no further clues in this connection, he is numbered among the Nine Saints, the official introducers of Monophysitism to Aksum under King ‘Ella ‘Amidā (II) who are said to have fled from the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire to escape persecution<sup>104</sup> — most probably, in the context of the monastic reaction to the Henotikon, i.e. the “Edict of Unity” issued by the emperor Zenon in 482 to the aim of enforcing reconciliation between Chalkedonians and Monophysites, but abrogated by Ioustinos I in 519.<sup>105</sup>

‘Ella ‘Aṣbeḥa’s abdication may well have happened already in 523/4, as indicated by the mention of Patriarch Ioannes III of Jerusalem in the *Martyrion of Arethas*, to whom the king sent his crown to suspend on the Holy Sepulchre after his victory.<sup>106</sup> If so, Kālēb would have emerged from retirement only briefly to repress, albeit unsuccessfully, the revolt of ‘Abreha — who came to terms only later with the king’s successor.<sup>107</sup> However, Kālēb must have first withdrawn before or within the year 246 of Diocletian’s era (= AD 529/30), when Zonainos/Paṅtalēwon died, as stated in his Ethiopic hagiography, the *Gadla Paṅtalēwon*, written in the (late?) fourteenth century.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758F–759A and 748DE [ch. 9 (§ 39) and 7 (§ 31)]. Cf. *supra*, p. 54 and note 36. The name is found in inscriptions and papyri from sixth/seventh-century Palestine: e.g., Kirk & Welles, “Inscriptions”, 195–196, and note; Kraemer, *Nessana*, 336c–337a (Ζωνάινος, Ζωννος), 353c (“Zanna, Zunain”); Negev, *Wadi Haggag*, 31, no. 98.4, and notes 102–103 (88); Id., *Negev*, 64–65, no. 72.2, and notes 200–201. See also Wuthnow, *Menschennamen*, 49 (Ζαναθος, Ζαναθ), 51 (Ζωνάινου) and 144a–b (z<sup>h</sup>nn, i.e. znn = znn); Harding, *Index*, 302 (ZN) and 394 (ZNN). These data, fitting in with a Palestinian, not Syrian, relais, are altogether ignored by Marrassini, “Considerations”, 35–38 (43–44), and “Problema”, 326–328.

<sup>104</sup> Conti Rossini, “Afṣē”, and *Storia*, 158–161; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ethiopian History*, 115–119; Irvine, Meinardus & Seifu Metaferia, “Zā-Mika’él”, with literature; Irvine & Seifu Metaferia, “Pāntalēwon”; Vööbus, *History*, 275–278; Munro-Hay, *Aksum*, 207–208, and *Ethiopia*, 75–77, as well as “Shadows”; Marrassini, “Una Chiesa africana”, 197, and “Problema”, 326–328: 326 note 4; Nosnitsin, “Gädlä Pāntalēwon”, 98 and note 24. For the Ethiopic version of the *Martyrion*, see *Historia*, 113.26 text = 158.30–31 trans. (§ 31).

<sup>105</sup> Fiaccadori, “Etiopi”.

<sup>106</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758F–759A [ch. 9 (§ 39)]. See Fiaccadori, “Πρόσοψις”, 184–185, 232–233 (the year 835 “of the Greeks”, i.e. of the Alexandrian era of Seleucia = AD 523/4), but also Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 62, 64 and note 188.

<sup>107</sup> See above, p. 63 and note 93.

<sup>108</sup> The date of the saint’s death, showing towards the end of the printed edition of the *Gadla Paṅtalēwon*, 60.19–21, text = 56.3–5, trans. [ch. 12], based on an eighteenth-century MS from Dabra Demaḥ (Eritrea), is “237” in four out of six known testimonies of the *Gadl* (I owe this information to Alessandro Bausi), among them EMMML 7602 (AD 1382–1413: Fiaccadori, “Aethiopia”, 150, 161–162); the relevant passage is omitted, however, in MS

The *Martyrion* has it that Kālēb's cell was attached to the monastery of Zonainos, raised on a "mountainous high ground" (ὄρεινὸν ὑψηλόν), i.e. to the well-known 'Endā Abuna Paṅtalēwon or Bēt(a) Paṅtalēwon, standing north-east of Aksum, to the south of the Māy Qoḥo massif — where the disputed toponym Sabi, hardly relevant to a "(costal) town" (either Saba/-at or Sabai), should be also located.<sup>109</sup> In the *Bios* (9.250), the place to which Kālēb retired is named Ophra (Ὀφρά), and said to be a mountain (βουνός). The toponym Ophra, found in no other source, might be traced to the Ethiopic word *dabr* ("mountain") via an Arabic transcription, \**dbr* (glossed as *jabal*, i.e. βουνός?), mistakenly read as \**wfr*.<sup>110</sup> In the *Gadla Paṅtalēwon*, the Saint's monastery is indeed placed on a high *dabr* — actually, a small hill — that is simply designated as such.<sup>111</sup> Two underground granite-built tombs, customarily attributed to King Kālēb and his son Gabra Masqal, lie about 2 km to the north-west of the monastery, as parts of an imposing funerary complex with ruined superstructures that is locally called Bēta/'Endā Kālēb (Negus'), and has been fully revealed by recent excavations.<sup>112</sup>

In the *Bios*, the son and immediate successor of Kālēb (E 249–250) bears the name Atherphotham, in which a deformation of Ethiopic *Gabra Masqal* can be easily detected: from Arabic \**Ghbrmsql* read \**'thrfth'l* and then via Greek \*ΑΘΕΡΦΟΘΑΑΑ > ΑΘΕΡΦΟΘΑΜ.<sup>113</sup> As a matter of fact, Gabra Masqal is likely to have been identical to King "W'zb, son of Kālēb" known from a fragmentary inscription in Aksum,<sup>114</sup> and to have reigned from 534 at the latest.<sup>115</sup> If so, he was plausibly preceded on the throne by his brother 'Esra'ēl/'Ella Gabaz, or Za-Gabaz(a 'Aksum), with whom he had a long-

EMML 1479 (AD 1459/60): Nosnitsin, "*Gädlä Paṅtalēwon*", 93 note 7, 106 note 69. Ibid., 96 and note 13, 106–107, a thirteenth-century date for the composition of the *Gadl*, formerly attributed to the Metropolitan Yeṣḥaq, ca. 1481/2–1508 (cp. Fiaccadori, "Ms. Parigi", 682 and note 18), is advocated, but the possibility should be considered that the *G. Paṅtalēwon* of the 1292 book inventory from Dabra Ḥayq 'Eṣṭifānos, pivotal in this connection, is the Ethiopic Life of Pantaleon ("the Magician") of Nikomedeia, as we read it in the *Gadla samā 'tāt*. Bausi, "Versione", 8 and note 23, and Id., "*Gädlä sāma'ētat*", 645 (above, p. 51 and note 16). Not really informed Munro-Hay, "Shadows", 162 and note 59.

<sup>109</sup> *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758F [ch. 9 (§ 39)]. Cp. Monneret de Villard, *Aksum*, 5–6; Philipson, *Monuments*, 165–168; and esp. Munro-Hay, *Aksum*, 46, for "a small village called Saba or Sabaim" situated "near to Auxum or Aczum" according to Tellez, *Travels*, 71. On the classical Saba/-at and Sabai, and the medieval Ethiopic title *ṣeyyuma Sābā* "lord of Sābā", see, however, Lusini, "Source", 346–348 and notes 19–29 (351).

<sup>110</sup> Fiaccadori, "Gregentius", 890b.

<sup>111</sup> *Gadla Paṅtalēwon*, 45.26–48.5 = 41.26–44.4 [ch. 3]. Cp. Nosnitsin, "*Gädlä Paṅtalēwon*", 92 note 6; Heyer, "Asboberg", 199–202, with literature.

<sup>112</sup> See Curtis & Red., "Ēnda Kaleb", and Munro-Hay, "Gabra Masqal", 624a–b, with the literature in Fiaccadori, "Epigrafe", 246 note 12.

<sup>113</sup> See already Fiaccadori, "Gregentius", 890b.

<sup>114</sup> *RIĒth* 192.5–7.

<sup>115</sup> Fiaccadori, "Ēsra'el", 387a.

sustained struggle — hinted at in a few local sources — that must have been triggered by Kālēb’s abdication, and then settled in favour of Gabra Masqal: hence the negative characterisation of ’Ella Gabaz in Ethiopic hagiography.<sup>116</sup>

As for ’Abreha, he is well attested in 542/43 or 547/49, when he had his two inscriptions carved on the Ma’rib Dam that record its collapse and subsequent repair, as well as a series of other historical events (among which an insurrection supported by a son of the unseated Sumyafa’ Ashwa’);<sup>117</sup> and in 547 or 552, when he led a military expedition against other Arabian principalities, defeating (the Banū) Ma’add at Ḥulubān, and advancing as far as Mecca/Makkah to the north.<sup>118</sup> This was in the *’Ām al-fīl* or “Year of the Elephant” (after the beast of war reportedly mounted by him), which is also the birth year of Muḥammad for the Islamic tradition, crediting ’Abreha with envy of the Meccan sanctuary and a futile attempt to substitute his most celebrated church, the *Qalīs* in Ṣan’ā’, as the pilgrimage place for all Arabia.<sup>119</sup> As a matter of fact, ’Abreha’s attack on Mecca must have happened long before the late 570s, when there is better reason to believe that the Prophet may have been born; and, had ’Abreha really led such an expedition, alluded to in the *Qur’ān*, Sūrah 105, it would rather have been the first move of a projected aggression to the Persian dominions, as a result of his rapprochement with Ethiopia under Kālēb’s successors.<sup>120</sup> ’Abreha is still mentioned in a South Arabian inscription describing repair-works at the Great Dam in November 553 or 558.<sup>121</sup>

For the later Arab historians, however, he died after that expedition, and was followed on the throne by his two sons: first Yaksūm (*’ksm dh-M’h|r bn mlk* “Aksum Dhū Ma’āhir, son of the king” in the longest known of the Dam inscriptions) and then Masrūq,<sup>122</sup> eventually deposed around or shortly after 570 (in no way, then, the “Year of the Elephant”), with the help of a Persian army, by his maternal half-brother, the legendary Arab *qayl* or ‘prince’ (Abū Murrāh) Sayf b. Dhī Yazan or, with a royal name

116 Id., *Teofilo*, 73–75, 91, and “Esra’el”, 387a.

117 *CIH* 541 (above, p. 66 and note 113) and *DAI GDN* 2002–20, in Nebes, “Inscription”, with literature, to which add Sima, “Notizen”; but cp. now Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 79, with a different chronology, on which see above, p. 62 note 86.

118 *Ry* 506. See Kister, “Ḥulubān”, 427–428; Loundine, “Sur les rapports”, 319–320; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 73 and note 211. On the Ma’addite Arabs (the Μαδδηνοί of Prokopios, *Bella* 1, 19, 14 and 20, 9–10), cp. Honigmann, *Barṣaumā*, 136–137, no. 80, and Shahīd, *Fourth Century*, 43 and note 50, and *Fifth Century*, 383–384.

119 Graf, *Geschichte*, 23 and note 7; Beeston, “Abraha”, 102b; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ethiopian History*, 151–153. See also above, p. 57 and note 60; below, p. 75 and notes 167–168.

120 Kister, “Ḥulubān”, 426–427; Buhl & Welch, “Muḥammad”, 361. Cp. Trimmingham, *Islam*, 41–42 and note 6; Beeston, “Abraha”, 102.

121 *Ja* 544–547: 545.1–4. See Sergew Hable-Sellassie, “Abraha”, 6; Robin, “Sheba”, 1143; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 79; Sima, “Abraha”, 42b.

122 *CIH* 541.82–83. See Sergew Hable Sellassie, *History*, 152–156; Belaynesh Michael, “Masrūq”, and “Yaksum”, with literature; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 305 and note 49; Robin, “Sheba”, 1143; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 79–82.

of the deposed Homerite dynasty, Ma'dikarib b. Dhī Yazan — who had first gone to the Byzantine court, but without success, since the Ethiopians were traditional Roman allies.<sup>123</sup> According to Arabic sources, he was the son of 'Abreha's wife Rayḥānah b. 'Alqamah b. Mālik (b. Zayd b. Kahlān), a Yemenite noblewoman, by her first husband Abū Murrah Dhū Yazan, a scion of one of the ancient "eight (ruling) families" of Ḥimyar (*Yz'n* in South Arabian inscriptions).<sup>124</sup> This powerful clan, originally from Ḥaḍramawt, was indeed tied to Dhū Nuwās, as also implied by the names of his *qayls* in South Arabian inscriptions from Kawkab and Bi'r Ḥimā:<sup>125</sup> among them Sharah'il Yaqbul Dhū Yazan (*Shrh'l Yqbl dh-Yz'n*), to be identified with the Jewish "(chief?) commander" of the king's army at Najrān, the "wicked" and "impious Dhū Yazan", "crucifier" of the Christians in the *Book of the Himyarites*.<sup>126</sup> Thus Sayf, himself most likely a Jew, became lord of newly freed Ḥimyar — although, by expelling the hated Ethiopians, he was to favour the Persian seizure of his country.<sup>127</sup>

The pre-Islamic picture and chronology yielded by those later Arab historians is nonetheless contradictory: among others, Ibn Hishām (died AD 828 or 833) assigns seventy-three years of reign to Abrahah b. aṣ-Ṣabah ("son of [ʿElla] ʿAṣbeḥa"), a Homerite king whom he distinguishes from Abrahah al-Ashram ("Split-face"), a homonymous Ethiopian rebel who also became king and was succeeded by his son Yaksūm;<sup>128</sup> at-Ṭabarī (explicitely after Ibn Hishām) provides no tenure length for 'Abreha or his sons, while attributing — with an obvious exaggeration — seventy-two years to the

<sup>123</sup> See Trimingham, *Christianity*, 305 and notes 48, 50; Shahīd, *Sixth Century*, I/1, 364–366 and note 198, 369–372, with literature; Greatrex, *Frontier*, 137 and note 15 (280). The date of ca. 575, proposed first by Smith, "Events", 434, on the mere assumption that, according to Muslim tradition, and assigning a reign of only two and, respectively, three years to Yaksūm and Masrūq (cp. below, pp. 70–71), Abreha's campaign against Mecca took place ca. 570 (Belaynesh Michael, "Masruq", 114), is somehow included by Morony, "Sasānids", 78b: "between 575 and 577"; but cp. also Robin, "Sheba", 1143, et "Judaïsme de Ḥimyar", 112: "dans les années 570".

<sup>124</sup> Nöldeke in at-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, [2]20 and note 4, 227–229, 249–250 and note 1. Sergew Hable Sellassie, *History*, 154–156; Belaynesh Michael, "Sayf", 147–148; Abel, "Ethiopie", 417–418; Shahīd, *Sixth Century*, I/1, 364–372, and *Martyrs*, 223 note 3, on a son of 'Abreha being called Masrūq (for whose name see above, pp. 61–62 and note 85); van Donzel, "Ethiopia", 9. On the later (fifteenth/sixteenth-century) saga, cp. at least Guillaume, "Sayf", with literature, and *Adventures*.

<sup>125</sup> Ry 508 and, respectively, Ja 1028 and Ry 507.

<sup>126</sup> *Book of the Himyarites*, 25b.28–30a.17, 44b.4–25 text = cxvii.22–cxxi.12, cxxxiv.5–17 trans. [chs. XIX–XX, XXIII]; cp. lxxxvii–viii. See Marrassini, "Note" 181–182 and note 91 (194); Tardy, *Najrān*, 115–116; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, "Persécution", 36, 49 and note 134, 58 and note 174. (Cp. also Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 261 note 3, 265–266, on Dhū Nuwās as a *qayl* belonging to the Yazan/Yaz'an tribe, and therefore an ancestor of Sayf.)

<sup>127</sup> See now Bowersock, "Ḥaḍramawt", 266–267 and note 14, also on Sayf's Judaism, rejected by Christides, "Martyrdom", 77–78 and notes 137 and 140.

<sup>128</sup> Ibn Hishām, 300.7–9 and 303.1–17 respectively. Cp. Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 230.

overall duration of the Ethiopian rule in Yemen, from Aryāt (i.e., here, Sumyafa‘ Ash-wa‘?) to Masrūq;<sup>129</sup> Abū ‘I-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (died AD 967) credits Abraha with twenty-three, Yaksūm with nineteen, Masrūq with twelve years of reign;<sup>130</sup> according to al-Maṣ‘ūdī (died AD 956), ‘Abreha ruled forty-three, Yaksūm and Masrūq only two and three years respectively, and the Ethiopian lordship lasted in all seventy-two years.<sup>131</sup>

Leaving aside other similar witnesses, too garbled to be retrieved, at the end of the *Dialexis* (E 734), which is the actual conclusion of the Arabian part of the *Bios*,<sup>132</sup> we are told that ‘Abreha died having been on the throne for thirty years, and then his son Ser(d)idos took over; shortly afterwards, on the 19th December, Gregentios too died, and was buried in the cathedral church (E 741). This evidence, involving the king and his son, as well as his bishop, cannot be easily dismissed. Far from going back to a Syriac root,<sup>133</sup> the name Serdidos proves simply to be a misreading for Serailos (\*CEPAIAOC > CEPΔIAOC),<sup>134</sup> corresponding to “Sharāhīl (b. Abrahah b. aṣ-Ṣabah)” of the Ḥimyaritic tradition.<sup>135</sup> According to Nashwān b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyarī (died AD 1178?), he divided the kingdom with his brother Yaksūm, and his son Abū Shamīr b. aṣ-Ṣabah the Younger was to be later a prophet.<sup>136</sup> Sharāhīl can thus be identical with Masrūq son of ‘Abreha and, thereby, with the mysterious Sanatourkes, as the king of the time is called in the only Greek source about the end of the dynasty — Theophanes of

<sup>129</sup> aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 945.21–946.3; Id., *Geschichte*, [2]20.10–15; Id., *History*, 236.8–16. Same situation, e.g., in al-Azraqī (died AD 834?), 98.4–8, but with thirty years of indistinct Ethiopian rule by ‘Abraha, his two sons and an anonymous fourth king: Aryāt? See Nöldeke in aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, 190–191 note 3; Belaynesh Michael, “‘Ariāt”; Munro-Hay, “Aryāt”.

<sup>130</sup> al-Iṣfahānī, 75.11–12. Cp. Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 195.

<sup>131</sup> al-Maṣ‘ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 161.6–162.6 and 166.10–167.2 text = 161.12–162.8 and 166.19–167.2 trans. [ch. 47]; Id., *Prairies*, II, 387.15–26 and 389.15–17 [§§ 1014–15 and 1019]. The chronology is here most unclear, as the year given for ‘Abreha’s expedition to Mecca is 882 of the (Alexandrian) era of Seleucia = AD 570/71, i.e. the date of the Persian invasion (see also above, pp. 63 and note 89, 67 and notes 118–120), and a reign of forty-three years *after* this event is attributed to him.

<sup>132</sup> See above, p. 6, and below, pp. 109–110, 115.

<sup>133</sup> Christides, “War”, 129.

<sup>134</sup> It should be noted that the form Σέρδιδος appears in the textual tradition of the *Bios* only late in the family μ (on which, see below, p. 165), while all older manuscripts read Σέρριδος. Yet, apart from any likely dittography (δ–δ), the closer correspondance of *Serdidos* to the south Arabian name *Sharāhīl* makes it plausible to assume that this was the reading of the original text.

<sup>135</sup> von Gutschmid, “Bemerkungen”, 742–743. Cp. Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 230, and now Fiac-cadori, “Gregentius”, 890b.

<sup>136</sup> See von Kremer, *Sage*, 100, 133–134 and note 1. On the value of local historiography concerning southwestern Arabia as cultivated by Yemenite authors, “in direct proportion to the growing isolation of the country with regard to the rest of the Muslim world”, see Rosenthal, “History”, 158–159.



Byzantium.<sup>137</sup> *Sanatourkes* is in fact a corruption of *Masrūq*, from an original \**Mastroukes*.<sup>138</sup> The alteration from \**Μαστρούκης* to \**Σανατρούκης* may have been favoured by the popularity of the ‘Indian’ King Sanatrūq (actually of Ḥaṭrā, in Mesopotamia), often associated with the Apostle Thaddaios, one of the Twelve.<sup>139</sup>

As an average round figure, a rule of thirty years had been long since inferred for ‘Abreha in scholarly literature:<sup>140</sup> yet, twenty-tree years (al-İşfahānī) seem to be all the more sound as they could match a very short tenure of Yaksūm (two years in al-Maṣ‘ūdī) and a longer one of Masrūq/Sharāhīl (twelve years in al-İşfahānī), which is also indirectly supported by the latter’s distinct mention in what is the actual end of the Arabian section of the *Bios*, with a rather artificial chronology. One is reminded here of Kālēb’s three years abroad of the *Bios*, versus seven months in the *Book of the Himyarites*.<sup>141</sup> Considering the Persian invasion around 570 or in the early 570s, this would put Yaksūm’s death to ca. 558/60, ‘Abreha’s to 556/8, more or less in keeping with his last inscription on the Ma’rib Dam.<sup>142</sup> The division of the kingdom between the two brothers, as reported by al-Maṣ‘ūdī, may even suggest the existence of parallel chronological traditions concerning the respective realms and merging into one another after the accession of Masrūq/Sharāhīl as sole king of Ḥimyar — a situation echoed, with the eloquent omission of Yaksūm, in the *Bios* and perhaps already in its sources.<sup>143</sup>

The allegedly longer reign of ‘Abreha may well include the historical rule of Sumyafa‘ Ashwa‘, whose person has also completely disappeared in the *Martyrion of Arethas* and the *Bios* of Gregentios, as well as in the chronicles of Theophanes<sup>144</sup> and Michael the Syrian,<sup>145</sup> where ‘Abreha is appointed immediately by the victorious Ethiopian king. The motivation behind the omission of Sumyafa‘ Ashwa‘ by these authors — an unhistorical featuring that conflicts fundamentally with the evidence of both Prokopios and the inscriptions — is rather obvious: to present the first Homerite

137 In Photios, *Bibliothēke*, 78 [26b: cod. LXIV] = *FHG* IV.271, trans. in Greatrex, *Frontier*, 137.

138 As already perceived by Nöldeke in at-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, [2]20 note 2. Cp. Shahīd, *Sixth Century*, I/1, 366, 370–371 and note 231; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persecution”, 79 and note 232; Greatrex, *Frontier*, 137 and notes 17–18 (280).

139 See Shahīd, *Sixth Century*, I/1, 370–371 and note 231. Cp. van Esbroeck, “Apôtre”, and Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 80, XXXIV note 64.

140 See already Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, 145.

141 Cp. above, p. 63 and notes 90–91.

142 See above, p. 67 and note 121.

143 For the last years of the kingdom, see Conti Rossini, *Storia*, 195–198, and Ryckmans, *Institution*, 320–325.

144 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 222.33–223.27 text = 323.13–41 trans.; the date 542 given here is apparently the result of a confusion between the Alexandrian and Byzantine eras that were both used in his sources, since the war is already mentioned *ibid.*, 169.13–16, under the year 526, at which occasion the king of Ethiopia is called Elesbaas.

145 Michael the Syrian, 284a.6–9 text = 184a.22–27 trans. [9, 18].

king and his quarrel with 'Abreha, clearly a usurper, would have belied the latter's characterisation "as a model of ideal Christian behaviour".<sup>146</sup> Thus the Christian sources depict the relationships between 'Abreha and the Negus Kālēb, "actually known to be strained, as cordial".<sup>147</sup> Such distortions of the events and their political outcomes may ultimately depend upon an official version circulated by the Homerite court and aimed at legitimising 'Abreha's insurrection.

A likewise remote origin could be surmised for the complete conversion of the land of the Homerites as asserted in the Dossier of Gregentios, whereas Arabic accounts about the Islamisation of South Arabia suggest that in no way had Christianisation been achieved by 629/30, when Bādhān or Bādhām, the fifth and last Persian governor of the then Iranian province of Samrān, went over to Islām and ruled in the name of the Prophet.<sup>148</sup> More than hundred years after the end of Dhū Nuwās, the population of Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt — the easternmost part of the Homerite kingdom — was still to a large extent, if not massively, Jewish.<sup>149</sup> Christianity seems to have been represented, however scarcely, by the usual denominations: Nestorians, destined to last down to the fourteenth century, and small but significant groups of Monophysites, chiefly immigrants from Ethiopian and Phantasiasts or Julianists, i.e. followers of Ioulianos of Hali-karnassos, a primary exponent of Aphthartodocetism.<sup>150</sup> The latter teaching, aimed at seeing in Christ — whose suffering, contrary to the nature of his flesh, would have been the result of a *phantasia*, a miraculous 'illusion' — only divine substance, soon spread to the East, especially to (and from) Egypt, where Ioulianos' friend Gaianos propagated it, but also to Aksum and Arabia, and left then its traces in the *Qur'ān*, Sūrah 4, 156.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Christides, "War", 129, and "Martyrion", 69.

<sup>147</sup> Id., "War", 129, and "Martyrion", 69–70. Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 228–330, and "Byzantium", 34–35, tried to save the credibility of these sources by assuming that no reference to Esim-phaios/Sumyafa' Ashwa' was made because he adopted the name Abra(h)am in baptism, upon his appointment as the Christian king of Ḥimyar, so that two subsequent rulers with most similar names — *Abraham* and *Abraha* — would have to be distinguished.

<sup>148</sup> Fiaccadori, "Yemen", 197 and note 54 (209), with literature; Smith, "al-Yaman", 271*b*.

<sup>149</sup> See Lecker, "Judaism", 635–636, and above, p. 68 and note 127, on Sayf b. Dhī Yazan's Judaism.

<sup>150</sup> See Fiaccadori, "Yemen"; *ibid.*, 196 and note 32 (204–205), for the Julianists, also in Id., *Teofilo*, 13 note 33, as well as in Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 302 and note 41, and Tardy, *Najrān*, 172–185, with a useful survey of the Nestorian presence in South Arabia, 102–109 (linguistic complements in Contini, "Orizzonti", 52–54). On the latter's ecclesiastical history, cp. now Bowersock, "Ḥaḍramawt", 264–271.

<sup>151</sup> Grégoire, "Mahomet", 112–114; Honigmann, *Évêques*, 130–131; Henninger, "Influence", 394–395; Fiaccadori, "Yemen", 196 and note 3 (204–205), and *Teofilo*, xxxv note 64, 13 note 33, 86–87; Robinson, *Christ*, 119–122, 134–135.

### A Bishop for the Homerites

On the whole, the description of the events found in the *Bios* of Gregentios, the *Martyrion of Arethas* and a few other Greek and Oriental sources cannot be easily reconciled with the historical evidence summarised above. Apart from the specific hints given so far, in the *Bios* and the interlinked texts the political problems of an alliance between the Chalkedonian Roman empire and the already Monophysite Aksumite kingdom have been completely obliterated; a picture of peaceful harmony within Orthodoxy is provided instead. The patriarch of Alexandria by whom Gregentios is appointed bears here, in the *Bios*, the name of Proterios: that is, of the last Chalkedonian patriarch of the city, murdered in 457 by the Monophysite Timotheos II;<sup>152</sup> but, at the time of the Ethiopian expedition to Yemen, the see of Alexandria was held by Timotheos III (possibly confused with the previous one), who in fact complied with Kālēb's request of missionaries and a bishop for the Homerites immediately after the war.<sup>153</sup> An abstract of John of Ephesos concerning this particular issue is preserved in the *Chronicle* of Ps.-Denis of Tell Maḥrē:<sup>154</sup>

... He (the king of the Ethiopians) had sent to Alexandria for a bishop, and received one from there before the (doctrine of the) Chalkedonian Synod had penetrated those parts. This bishop, after being in this country briefly, paid his debt to nature. And the king of the Homerites, having learned that the (doctrine of the) Chalkedonian Synod had been introduced into Alexandria and that Theodosios had been expelled on account of his faith and deposed because he recoiled from embracing the Synod, (the king), himself offended by this, refused to accept a bishop from Alexandria.

The bishop received from Egypt is Ioannes Paramonarios, well-known from other sources: the Chalkedonian Ioannes Malalas and Theophanes, as well as the Monophysite John of Nikiou and Michael the Syrian.<sup>155</sup> Ioannes Paramonarios was in fact dispatched

<sup>152</sup> Patlagean, "Moines", 593. The manuscripts D A F confirm this identification by the following marginal notice: "Here begins the story of the blessed Gregentios, how he became bishop under Patriarch Proterios of Alexandria, who was orthodox after the heretic Dioskoros [444–451], sat six years on the seat of the archpriest and was slain at the holy baptismal font."

<sup>153</sup> Vasiliev, *Justin*, 298; Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 334; Shahîd, *Martyrs*, 227; Engelhardt, *Mission*, 171; Christides, "Martyrdom", 66–67 and notes 72–73. On the replacement of Timotheos by Proterios and its possible reasons see Fiaccadori, "Proterio".

<sup>154</sup> Ps.-Denis of Tell Maḥrē, 68.27–69.5 text = 51.14–21 trans. [AD 534, § 6]: here, revised text of my own translation, anticipated in Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 86 (and based then on the Syriac in Assemani, *Bibliotheca*, 383–384); cp. Witakowski, *Chronicle*, 63.29–64.5.

<sup>155</sup> See Brakmann, *Einwurzlung*, 98–99 note 493, and Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 88. The person of this bishop has been discussed, with untenable reference to Ethiopia, by Carpentier in *Martyrion of Arethas*, 697D–698B [§ 11 (nos. 121–23)], followed by Shahîd, "Byzantium", 90; cp. also Christides, "War", 125 note 79, and Id., "Martyrdom", 66.

to Kālēb by the patriarch of Alexandria, as recorded before in the same *Chronicle*,<sup>156</sup> where the bishop's appearance (and personality) has been doubled owing to a confusion of events, but can be readily understood in the light of those sources.<sup>157</sup> However, the anonymous bishop of the *Chronicle* lived until about 536, the date of Patriarch Theodosios' deposition — followed by the “outrageous” installation of the Chalkedonian Paulos the Tabennesiote in Alexandria. If Gregentios were that bishop, he could have had almost no relation at all with 'Abreha, whose tenure started only later: in principle, between 530/31, when Sumyafa' Ashwa' received the already mentioned embassy from Ioustinianos,<sup>158</sup> and 543 or 548, when 'Abreha himself had his inscriptions carved on the Ma'rib Dam.<sup>159</sup> The neglected statement by al-Maṣ'ūdī that 'Abreha revolted against the Negus during the reign of the Persian King Kawād, who died on 13th September 531, would plead, however, for an earlier chronology.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, if 'Abreha died at an unknown date not much after 556–558,<sup>161</sup> his rule of twenty-three years must have begun around 533/34–535/36, which substantially agrees with, or better confirms, the dating to ca. 535–558 previously advanced on different grounds for his reign (he was therefore already in office at the time of Theodosios' exile).<sup>162</sup> Again, had Gregentios been that bishop, he ought to be definitely connected with 'Abreha's predecessor.

On account of both the Saint's *depositio* and the prevailing tone of the *Bios*, extolling the marvellous harmony between the king and his bishop, one is led to believe in the basic truth of Gregentios' association with 'Abreha, who was then to participate in the same hagiographical fate, as a protagonist of episodes onto which he had been projected by a piece of interested fiction. Nevertheless, the indications offered in the *Bios* are in sharp contrast with the narrative by John of Ephesos, both because in this way we stray far from the Ethiopian intervention and because, soon after that, the see of Zafār was vacant. If the exact overlapping of the bishop's and the king's tenures could simply be the result of a later synchronisation, the question remains as to when Gregentios' ministry began.

<sup>156</sup> Ps.-Denis of Tell Maḥrē, 56.6–19 = 41.32–42.11 [AD 533, § 2]: *Plwmnr'* of the Syriac (= “Polymenra”) must be restored here to *Pymwnr'* = *Firmūnārā*, i.e. Παράμωναριος, the “concierge” of a church (as already in Assemani, *Bibliotheca*, 362 and note 2), on account of Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 363.5–16 text = 251.25–252.4 trans. [18, 15]. Cp. Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 82, 85.

<sup>157</sup> Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 88.

<sup>158</sup> See above, p. 63 and note 93.

<sup>159</sup> See above, p. 67 and note 117.

<sup>160</sup> al-Maṣ'ūdī, III, 158.10 text = 158.19 trans. [ch. 43]; Id., *Prairies*, II, 386.12–13 [§ 1009]. See Fell, “Christenverfolgung”, 44, on which Ryckmans, *Persécution*, 7 and note 27; above, p. 63 and note 93.

<sup>161</sup> See above, p. 70 and note 142.

<sup>162</sup> Lundin, *Aravija*, 86. Cp. also the termini of Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 77–82: “v. 535 – v. 565”; and Sima, “Abraha”, 42: “between 531 and 542 A.D.” and “after 553 A.D.”, taking 115 BC as the beginning year for the era of Ḥimyar (see above, pp. 62 note 85, 67 and note 117).

Now, having reported the unnamed bishop's death and the king's refusal to accept any bishop from Egypt after Theodosios' deposition, John of Ephesos continues:<sup>163</sup>

... At that time, a terrible fear rose in these kingdoms, out of the lack of priests for the Ethiopians (*Kūshāyê*), Homerites and Indians. In fact, every year without fail they sent to the emperor Ioustinianos ambassadors with lavish gifts, requesting thereby that he give them a bishop who would not accept the Synod of Chalcedon. For his part, although they unceasingly solicited him regarding this matter, the emperor, as a zealous supporter of the Synod, kept on urging and admonishing them to receive as bishop one who had embraced the Synod and was waiting in Alexandria. On no account, however, would they be persuaded to receive anyone who approved the Synod; conversely, they would welcome a bishop who condemned it. Yet, (the emperor) himself ordered it not to be conceded according to their wishes. Thus every year they went back (to the issue), and ambassadors came to him from the three aforesaid kingdoms and were dismissed (having accomplished nothing), up to about twenty-five years, until finally all the priests had died out and disappeared from these people. Since they were exhausted in struggling for so long without obtaining a bishop opposed to the Synod, they eventually reached the point that, against the prescription of the canons, having convened the presbyters, they held the Gospels over the head of one of them: "Here he is", they said, "invested with episcopacy"; for they thought that in this way the ordering of a bishop had been performed — without even taking into consideration the rank of the laymen. But most people were offended by such (way of) ordering, rejected it and did not acknowledge its legitimacy. Hence great dissension arose among them. So, because of the lack of a bishop, a further heresy was born and came to prevail in those lands: the error of Melchizedekians, who temerarily asserted the identity of Melchizedek and Christ. Owing to the conduct of one and the same people, not only was the Church divided, but the kingdom also was split into two parts; and wars, schisms and seditions were to spread throughout those countries for a long time to come. Lastly, Phantasiasts from the sect of Iulianos and Gaianos poured into those regions and infected them (with their errors).

Thus did the Homerites — like the Ethiopians and the Indians: here, respectively, the Nubians and the Ethiopians<sup>164</sup> — ask for a bishop who had to be an opponent of the council of Chalcedon; but, since they could not get a bishop such as they had requested, the clergy chose and consecrated one from among themselves. We may wonder whether the historical "Gregentios" was not, in fact, this bishop who must have been a contemporary of 'Abreha, and whose election against the canons seemed to John of Ephesos to be the cause of the ecclesiastical and political division of the kingdom. A situation that is recalled, albeit indirectly, by the mention of Serdidos, i.e. Masrūq/Sharāhīl, the prince

<sup>163</sup> Ps.-Denys of Tell Maḥrê, 111.12–112.20 text = 84.1–32 trans. [AD 543, § 7]: here, revised text of my own translation, anticipated in Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 87 (and based then on the Syriac in Assemani, *Bibliotheca*, 385–386); cp. Witakowski, *Chronicle*, 100.22–102.2.

<sup>164</sup> For the usual confusion between these 'labels', see Dihle, "India"; Fiaccadori, *Teofilo*, 13 note 33; Mayerson, "Indias"; Schneider, *Éthiopie*, 289–361.

who shared the kingdom with his brother Yaksūm, omitted in the *Bios* as well as, possibly, in its sources.<sup>165</sup>

All other relevant evidence except the *Bios* has in common that a person called Gregentios is unknown in it. In particular, the Arabian section of the *Bios* seems to give an identity both to the presbyter invested with episcopacy by the Homerite clergy in the already quoted fragment of John of Ephesos, and to the “holy and Orthodox bishop” only hinted at in the *Martyrion of Arethas*,<sup>166</sup> where the Christian mission to Yemen after the Ethiopian victory is described as it actually took place — without the Chalkedonian tendency of the *Bios*.

In principle, as he came from Alexandria just after Kālēb’s conquest, the bishop of the *Martyrion* should also be equated with Ioannes Paramonarios, but the presence of the Negus and of ’Abreha, to whom the reign passes here directly, is clearly due to a falsification for polemical reasons, and points therefore to a different solution.

One may debate on the number of years John of Ephesos gives for “the lack of a bishop”: twenty-five sounds like an exaggerated round figure, indistinctly applied, moreover, to the three kingdoms (“Ethiopians, Homerites and Indians”); and it seems quite improbable that ’Abreha, the most Christian king who in 543 or 548 claims to have received, among other ambassadors, those of Byzantium, Persia and Aksum (not in a synchronous occurrence, however true his statement may be), had no bishop for such a long period. The ministry of “Gregentios” in Ḥimyar must have started some time prior to 543 or 548.

The Byzantine inclination of ’Abreha’s reign is well known: to decorate his *Qalīs* in Ṣan‘ā’, probably built after March 544 or 549, the emperor Ioustinianos sent both marbles and Syrian craftsmen for the mosaics;<sup>167</sup> and the name itself of this church, also employed in South Arabian inscriptions for the churches burned by Dhū Nuwās at Zafar and Mocha, is immediately derived from the Greek *ekklesia*, thus affording a mark of the Byzantine origin of Christianity in south-western Yemen.<sup>168</sup> Unlike the mission of Ioannes Paramonarios, carried out at the instigation of the Ethiopians, the quest for a bishop after 536 witnessed the official involvement of the Roman emperor: as the great patron of Christians everywhere, he was not at all inflexible towards Mono-

<sup>165</sup> See above, pp. 67–68.

<sup>166</sup> See above, p. 72.

<sup>167</sup> Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione*, 26 and note 2; Serjeant & Lewcock, “Church”, 44–48; Christides, “War”, 122 and note 59 (144); King, “Wall-mosaics”; Smith, “Ṣan‘ā’”, 1a; Trimmingham, *Christianity*, 304 and note 45; Tardy, *Najrān*, 163–165 and note 44. See above, pp. 57 and note 60, 67 and note 119. On the “Byzantine background” of South Arabia, see Shahīd, *Fifth Century*, 360–376 (Najrān) and 376–381 (Ḥimyar).

<sup>168</sup> Ry 507.4 and 598.3–4. See Ryckmans, “Le christianisme”, 419–420 and notes 39–41; Sergew Hable Sellassie, *History*, 150 and note 20; Müller, “Ḥimyar”, 313; Beeston, “Loan-words”, 43; Beaucamp, Briquel-Chatonnet & Robin, “Persécution”, 79.

physites, whom the common political interest often made allies and friends,<sup>169</sup> but this part is obviously suppressed by such fervently Chalkedonian texts as the *Martyrion of Arethas* and, with still greater reason, the *Bios* of Gregentios. This contradicts the assumption that the bishop later named Gregentios was dispatched “to the Himyarite capital Zafār as a representative of Byzantine Orthodoxy”,<sup>170</sup> or that ‘Abreha turned from Monophysite to Chalkedonian creed during his reign, and Gregentios may have lived and worked with him thereafter.<sup>171</sup> Nor is there any need, in order to explain the original denomination of the bishop then active in South Arabia, to present him as a Monophysite Byzantine monk from the Balkans.<sup>172</sup> If Gregentios’ person has a historical core at all, this must have been the anonymous bishop uncanonically elected by the Homerites.

According to the *Martyrion*, Elesboas/’Ella ‘Aṣbeḥa announced his victory to the patriarch of Alexandria, whose name is missing, and then, through him, to the emperor, but it was the patriarch who sent to the negus an Orthodox bishop.<sup>173</sup> A deeper insight into the sixth-century religious and political framework makes it possible to understand the Arabian section of the *Bios* as a substantial follow-up to the *Martyrion*. Both within and alongside the same apologetic invention that, by Ella Aṣbeḥa’s presence, legitimised the rule of the usurper ‘Abreha, the *Bios* here achieved the transformation of his heretical bishop into the Orthodox envoy of the (last) Chalkedonian patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>174</sup>

Now let us briefly turn to the occasion of such a hagiographical invention. As partially also in the *Martyrion of Arethas*,<sup>175</sup> in the *Bios* the martyrs were executed by being thrown into fire (9.6–10). The emphasis of the *Bios* on this form of death recalls the much disputed verse of the *Qur’ān*, Sūrah 85, 5: *an-nār“ dhāt‘ l-waqūd‘* “the fire fed (abundantly) with fuel”, a peculiar expression that resembles the πυρκαϊᾶ σφοδρῶτάτη, the “very strong fire” of the *Bios* (9.7–8). However the passage of the *Qur’ān* is understood, most of the ancient commentators take it to be a reference to the persecution of Christians in Najrān,<sup>176</sup> but this could hardly be brought into direct relation with the *Ukhdūd* in the previous verse 85, 4 as with the “pit (of fire)”, for the term itself is

169 Vasiliev, “Justin I”, 73; Id., *Justin the First*, 283–239; Munro-Hay, *Ethiopia*, 83; Christides, “Martyrdom”, 52.

170 Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 200, 256.

171 Lundin, *Aravija*, 63, 121–122. Cp. Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 32 and note 19, and *Fifth Century*, 369–370 note 166; but see below, p. 78 note 188, for an equally improbable shift of ‘Abreha to Nestorianism.

172 Vasiliev, *Justin the First*, 298.

173 *Martyrion of Arethas*, 758D [ch. 9 (§ 38)]. Brakmann, *Einwurzelung*, 88, tried to avoid this problem by speaking of a “Graecophone” bishop; see also Engelhardt, *Mission*, 171–173.

174 See above, pp. 59 and note 71, 70–71 and notes 146–147.

175 *Martyrion of Arethas*, 738F, 739E [ch. 5 (§ 21, 22)].

176 See Nöldeke in aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte*, 177 note 3, 185–186 note 1, and review of Guidi, “Lettera”; Levi Della Vida, “Leggende”, 141–142; Shahīd, *Martyrs*, 193.

relevant to an agricultural device: a “deep track, trench” (usually caused by a stream flowing through it),<sup>177</sup> after which the fortified citadel of al-Ukhdūd, now the main historical site in the Najrān oases, was named — and then remembered in the *Qurʾān* as the theatre of the persecution.<sup>178</sup>

In keeping with the key role of fire in punishment in South Arabia, the death by fire seems to be a typical element of the Islamic legend,<sup>179</sup> as we read it first in Ibn Ishaq’s *Sīrah* (the earliest ‘Life’ of the Prophet, composed within 768) according to the Yemenite scholar Ibn Hishām’s recension<sup>180</sup> — upon which aṭ-Ṭabarī’s account also depends.<sup>181</sup>

On this point, the Arabic tradition, usually a reflection of Syriac and Byzantine sources,<sup>182</sup> is instead mirroring a local and national saga, as well as an oral account that must have flourished for a long time among the inhabitants of Najrān, especially after the Caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634–44) expelled them — at once with the Jews of Khaybar — from South Arabia.<sup>183</sup> For obscure reasons, he established those people in Mesopotamia, not far from al-Kūfah, a town founded in 638 close to the great Christian centre of al-Ḥīrah (Hêrtâ dh<sup>e</sup>-Na‘mān in Syriac), the ancient capital of the Lakhmīd ruler al-Mundhir.<sup>184</sup> The new settlement of the South Arabian émigrés was thereafter named Najrān al-Kūfah (i.e. Najrān of Kūfah) or, sometimes, an-Najrāniyyah.<sup>185</sup> It was the main destination of the Najrānite diaspora, which also reached the western part of the Fertile Crescent in Syria, with a new Najrān in the Lajā (Trachonitis).<sup>186</sup> At Najrān al-Kūfah, however, the sad memories of the years of King Dhū Nuwās were kept alive also because of the proximity of al-Ḥīrah: soon eclipsed by Islamic al-Kūfah, that place was full of Christian remains and associations, and played an important role in both the sixth-century South Arabian events and the formation of the Najrān literary cycle.<sup>187</sup>

177 See Moberg in *Book of the Himyarites*, xxxi–xxxii, xlvi–xlvii, lvi; Andrae, “Ursprung”, 159–161, 166–172 = *Origines*, 19–20, 25–31; Hirschberg, “Sources”, 331, 334; Paret, “Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd”; and esp. Serjeant, “Ukhdūd”, 572–573.

178 Tardy, *Najrān*, 12, 24, 28–29, 32 note 14, 44, 47, 104–105 and note 34, 127–128.

179 Conti Rossini, “Documento”, 744 note 2; Moberg in *Book of the Himyarites*, lvi; Christides, “War”, 125–127 (146).

180 *Sīrah*, 24.15–25.1; *Life of Muḥammad*, 17.29–40.

181 aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 924.3–18; Id., *Geschichte*, 185.3–187.15; Id., *History*, 236.8–16. Cp. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 129.7–130.5 text = 129.13–130.8 trans. [ch. 6]; Id., *Prairies*, I, 55.9–19 [§ 129]. As a local specimen, see the Yemenite *Qaṣīdah* by Nashwān b. Saʿīd (above, p. 69 and note 136): al-Ḥimyarī, 20.1–2 text = 21.1–4 [vs. 88–89]; *Ode*, 166 (and 172).

182 Guidi, “Lettera”, 476 (= 9); Hirschberg, “Sources”, 330–331.

183 Caetani, *Annali*, 350–354 (§ 220–221), 359–365 (§ 234–238). Cp. Conti Rossini, “Documento”, 724–725; Moberg in *Book of the Himyarites*, liv–lv; Fiey, *Assyrie*, 227–228.

184 Rothstein, *Lakhmīden*, 12–17; Djāit, *Al-Kūfa*, 11–17.

185 Fiey, *Assyrie*, 226–230, with list of the sources, and *Oriens Christianus*, 114. See also Massignon, *Mission*, 50.

186 Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 59, 78–79.

187 Hirschberg, “Sources”, 338; Shahīd, “Byzantium”, 77.



It has been maintained that these last Najrānites were Nestorians.<sup>188</sup> Against such a widely accepted opinion, it would be worth remembering that here can be no doubt about the prevailing Monophysite character, with a strong Phantasiast impact, of the Homerite Christendom already in the sixth century, when Michael the Syrian and other sources enable us to reconstruct a veritable hierarchy of the followers of Ioulianos in Yemen.<sup>189</sup> It is therefore symptomatic that John of Ephesos, complaining about that uncanonical election of the bishop, speaks of Phantasiasts “from the sect of Ioulianos and Gaianos” who “poured into those regions and infected them”;<sup>190</sup> and a further piece of evidence, for Najrān al-Kūfah, is provided by Anastasios of Sinai (died after 700), while reporting the fierce contention between Severos and Gaianos: “The Gaianites, the Julianists and the Najrānites have one and the same faith”.<sup>191</sup> This statement also invalidates the well-known thesis of Tor Andrae that the entire Christian population of South Arabia passed to Nestorianism after the Persian conquest of ca. 570.<sup>192</sup> Such Nestorianisation — at the time of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan<sup>193</sup> — was quite shallow. As a matter of fact, the Najrānites remained Phantasiasts until the time of Muḥammad and even long after, in their Mesopotamian home: here, almost a century after Anastasios, the Nestorian Katholikos Timothy I found them still “affected by the heresy of Ioulianos”, and converted them by sending as bishop a certain Ḥadhbʿshabbā or Kyriakos who succeeded in bringing over to Nestorianism “thirteen churches, forming a community of more than two thousand souls” (791/92).<sup>194</sup> Kyriakos’ mission, however, must have been not so effective: after Timothy’s death (823), thanks to Michael the Syrian, it is possible to draw a list of Jacobite bishops of the see of Maʿad(d)āyê and Negrāyê or Negrāyê and Taghlibāyê, beginning with Salomon, appointed by Patriarch John III (846–873).<sup>195</sup> Since Maʿad(d)āyê and Taghlibāyê are clearly the names of the tribes of the Maʿaddites (Banū Maʿadd) and Taghlibites (Banū Taghlib), whose bishoprics were

188 Hirschberg, “Sources”, 335. According to Beeston, “Abraha”, 102b, ‘Abreha himself had possible “Nestorian leanings”. See above, p. 76 and note 171.

189 See Grégoire, “Mahomet”, 117–118, and Ryckmans, “Christianisme”, 452–453, but esp. Honigmann, *Évêques*, 127–131.

190 Above, p. 74; see Andrae, “Ursprung”, 163–170 = *Origines*, 21–29.

191 Anastasios Sinaites, *Viae dux*, 305–306 [23, 1.13–14]. Cp. Maspero, *Histoire*, 38 and note 1; Aigrain, “Arabie”, 1246; Tardy, *Najrān*, 173 and note 67, 184.

192 Andrae, “Ursprung”, 164–166 = *Origines*, 24–25.

193 See above, p. 68 and notes 123–127.

194 Timothy I, *Epistulae*, 151.3–9 text = 102.15–20 trans. [XXVII (29)]; cp. Bidawid, *Lettres*, 46.26–28 text = 124.26–28 trans. [XLI (30): AD 792/93]. See *ibid.*, 28, 33, 60, 74, 83; Guidi, “Lettera”, 481–482 note 4 (= 18–19 note 3); Fiey, *Assyrie*, 228 and notes 1–3; Tardy, *Najrān*, 173 and note 68.

195 Honigmann, *Barsaumā*, 136–137, 138 and note 4–6, 148–149, notes 80, 86, 114; Fiey, *Assyrie*, 229 and notes 2–5, and *Oriens Christianus*, 114; Fedalto, *Hierarchia*, 918 (no. 80.24.17).

in ‘Irāq, toward al-Anbār (Pêrôz Shābūr) and at ‘Ānā respectively, Negrāyê must refer to the Najrānites settled near Kūfah.<sup>196</sup>

The similarities between the Arabian section of Gregentios’ *Bios* and the early Islamic tradition, as well as the few examples discussed of Greek words betraying a ‘prototype’ in Arabic, suggest that in the same Monophysite milieu of Najrān al-Kūfah — or even in Syria, where, unlike in Mesopotamia, Monophysitism was wide-spread — the Saint’s memory was also preserved and first elaborated as a part of the South Arabian heritage of the local Christian community. It is precisely the mission sent by Timothy I to Najrān, if not the return of this bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Monophysite patriarch after Timothy’s death, that could have aroused both the revival of a figure such as that later named Gregentios and the Alexandrian inspiration of the relevant hagiographical invention, presupposing the second part of the *Martyrion of Arethas* — a narrative that is unaware of the Sasanian presence on the Red Sea, and should be definitely traced, along with the rest of the same work, to the contemporary Sinai or Palestinian milieus.<sup>197</sup> Thus the scope of the already mentioned oral tradition can be assigned to the new Najrān, where the Arabic text detectable under the last section of the *Bios*, concerning the land of Ḥimyar, also took shape.

### From Arabia to Byzantium

In this perspective, it is interesting that some manuscripts attribute the *Bios* to a bishop of Najrān: according to K, he is Bishop Ioannes of Negra, according to D, Bishop Palladios of Negra. In C and L the beginning of the text is missing, but L is the direct prototype of K, and the name Ioannes may have well stood there too. Possibly, it was indicated also in C, and thus in the whole family α. From among the family β, D is the only testimony in which the beginning of the *Bios* has survived. In the family γ, the latter is anonymous. Both names, Ioannes and Palladios, can therefore go back to ψ or even to ω, but may also be additions of the subordinate families α, β or γ.<sup>198</sup>

Since in the sources Ioannes is the name of a sixth-century bishop sent to Ḥimyar from Alexandria, it has been assumed that in K it applies to the missionary himself:<sup>199</sup> but as those sources clearly refer to Ioannes Paramonarios,<sup>200</sup> it would be hard to explain how his name slipped into the *Bios*. Ioannes, therefore, is probably an own conjecture of K or L, where the name Gregentios has also been changed into Gregorios,<sup>201</sup> as in the

<sup>196</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie*, 229. For the Ma‘addites, see above, p. 67 and note 118.

<sup>197</sup> See Fiaccadori, “Πρόσωπις”, 184–185.

<sup>198</sup> On the stemma, see below, p. 181.

<sup>199</sup> Patlagean, “Moines”, 584.

<sup>200</sup> See above, pp. 72–73 and notes 155–176.

<sup>201</sup> See above, pp. 28–29.

barely known Arabic version of the *Dialexis* (where he is bishop of a city called *Kursī 'l-Habašah* “the See of [the] Abyssinia[ns]”).<sup>202</sup>

The origin of the name Palladios — a reading not definitely established, however, because of the scanty tradition at this place — can be easily accounted for: he is the notary and lawyer from Alexandria mentioned in the *Dialexis* who came to the Homerites with Gregentios and wrote the account of the disputation with Herban (E 393–396). As Palladios is not present at Gregentios’ departure from Egypt, it is obvious that he was introduced in the *Dialexis* alone, whence he has found later his way into the title of the *Bios*.

Should Ioannes deserve our attention, at least as a *lectio difficilior*, it might be tempting to identify this “author” with the homonymous bishop of Ma‘adāyê and Nagrāyê, i.e. Najrān al-Kūfah, to be included in the aforesaid Monophysite list: he came from Qarqaptā, and was ordained by Patriarch Basil after August 923.<sup>203</sup> Yet, in spite of the fact that the figure of Saint Gregentios appears in Byzantine tradition still some decades later, such a tenth-century date for the Arabic source(s) underlying the last section of the *Bios* seems to be untenable: not so much because of the uncial letters already surmised for the writing of the subsequent Greek intermediary,<sup>204</sup> as because of the latter’s production, requiring a bilingual environment most probably to be sought in the eighth/ninth-century Chalkedonian (Melkite) communities of Sinai or Palestine under Islamic rule — where the practice of Greek all but died out in the course of the ninth century.<sup>205</sup>

This would in turn confirm that the Orthodox revision of the legend had been already done before the old Greek source was used by the author of the *Bios* in Constantinople after the mid of the tenth century.<sup>206</sup> Nothing certain can be said as to his identity, but he must have been equally at home with Italian and Near Eastern matters, namely with Arabia, Palestine and related traditions. In this connection, Vera von Falckenhausen has called our attention to the personality of the Melkite patriarch of Jerusalem Orestes, ascended between 15th January and 3rd February 986: his sister was the favourite of (or had probably married) the Fāṭimide Caliph al-‘Azīz, and he was sent to Constantinople for peace negotiations by his own nephew, the latter’s son and successor

<sup>202</sup> Graf, *Geschichte*, 370. See below, p. 163; p. 131 on Ethiopia in apocalyptic tradition

<sup>203</sup> Cp. Honigmann, *Baršaumā*, 137, and Fiey, *Assyrie*, 229. See above, p. 77 and note 185.

<sup>204</sup> See above, p. 50 and note 12.

<sup>205</sup> Mango, “Culture”, 148–151 (cp., however, Nasrallah, *Histoire*, III/1, 77–78), with the literature in Fiaccadori, “Πρόσοψις”, 233–234; moreover, Auzépy, “Palestine”, 192 and note 73, 215–216, and now Lemming, “Melkites”. For the special position of the Melkite communities within the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate (collapsed in the tenth century), and their literary, namely hagiographical, production, see Kennedy, “Church”, 329–332 (341–342), and, respectively, Nasrallah, *Histoire*, II/2, 154–168.

<sup>206</sup> As assumed by Fiaccadori, “Proterio”, 304–305, who speaks about “a previous Catholic revision of the Najrān cycle” — that must have been made within the same Sinaitic or Palestinian milieus. Cp. now Id., “Πρόσοψις”, 184–185, 203–204, 232–233; and already, albeit in a different perspective, Paret, *Vie*, 110–111.

al-Hākīm, before April 1000; having entrusted the administration of the see of Jerusalem to his brother Arsenios, patriarch of Alexandria, Orestes stayed in the Byzantine capital until his death around 1005.<sup>207</sup> It may even be that he was a Sicilian who moved to Egypt (and only then to Palestine) with the Faṭimides; indeed, he had been living for a while in Calabria, frequenting the local monastic milieu, and establishing with them relationships that were to last even after he left the country.<sup>208</sup> He is the author of the lives of three Italo-Greek saints from Sicily who were active in northern Calabria: Sabas, whom he personally met, and Christophoros and Makarios of Collesano (Sabas' father and brother respectively).<sup>209</sup>

At all events, as a result of political considerations, in the *Bios* the Christian past was adapted to Byzantine Orthodoxy by claiming that, in the early sixth century, Yemen had been converted by Chalkedonian, not Monophysite Christians. The question as to when and under what circumstances this falsehood would have made sense is, admittedly, not easy to answer. The *Bios* has been even thought to originate from Greek traders in the entourage of the Saint, that is in a time when 'Abreha's dynasty was still powerful in Najrān.<sup>210</sup> Yet, rather than going over the same ground again, one may doubt that such a linguistically stratified work of propaganda, so obviously contradictory to reality, could have been written there directly in Greek.

In general, a Chalkedonian line is more likely to have been imposed by the author of the *Bios*, as also suggested by the description of Gregentios' travels in the western Mediterranean: that author simply had no idea whatsoever about the religious situation in Egypt, Ethiopia and Yemen in pre-Islamic times. In this case the purpose, far from being political, would just have been to conform to Byzantine Orthodoxy.

In the light of the above considerations and their sequel in tenth-century Constantinople, priority in the confessional reassignment of the text (with the telling substitution of Patriarch Proterios for Timotheos III) should be given, instead, to the Greek intermediary, the chronology of which, nonetheless, must fall within the first half of the ninth century at the latest.<sup>211</sup>

One question still remains, namely how the Greek version of the Arabic source or sources found its way to Constantinople: it must have been brought there by an Orthodox Greek, possibly a monk, who came to the Byzantine Empire with an embassy or as

<sup>207</sup> Jacob, "Date", 115–118; cp. Burgarella, "Chiese", 203 and note 54, 205–207, 211–212, with literature.

<sup>208</sup> von Falkenhausen, "Vita", 294–295; Jacob, "Date", 119–121.

<sup>209</sup> *BHG* 1611 and 1611b, and 312. See Jacob, "Date", 119–120; Burgarella, "Chiese", 201–202 and note 49, with literature.

<sup>210</sup> Christides, "War", 136 (see above, p. 49 and note 6), whose hypothesis that the author later retired as a monk to Mount Sinai is based on the fact that the oldest manuscript (S) is preserved there. Actually, this manuscript was written in the island of Cyprus in 1180, and brought to Sinai only afterwards, at an unknown date (see below, p. 147).

<sup>211</sup> See above, p. 50.

a refugee, possibly in the late eighth or early ninth century. One should not go any further into the kaleidoscope of identifications. Yet, well-known such persons in this time are Georgios Synkellos, who was in Palestine and Syria and came to Constantinople in the time of the Patriarch Tarasios (784–806), bringing with him a chronicle for the time up to AD 284 and most of the material for the continuation to his own time,<sup>212</sup> and Michael Synkellos, a native of Jerusalem who arrived to the Byzantine capital in ca. 814 and was later famous as confessor of the cult of images during the second Iconoclasm;<sup>213</sup> and equally known are the Palestinian brothers Theodoros and Theophanes Graptoi, both also defenders of icon veneration, who went on a journey to Constantinople in 813, just as Iconoclasm was revived, and were then believed to have been Michael's disciples and travel companions.<sup>214</sup>

### 3. The *Nomoi*

#### Summary

Since the *Nomoi* are not composed in a particularly strict order, the following summary has been rearranged thematically. Besides a number of general considerations and exhortations (N 55–59, 85–88, 136–143, 156–163, 182–188, 285–290, 345–347, 433–436) the *Nomoi* contain prescriptions on the following subjects:

**Morals, marriage and family:** Homosexuality (N 35–39). — Fornication of two unmarried persons, healable by marriage with the benediction of a priest (N 60–68); fornication with a married woman (N 69–72), of a married man (N 73–77) or woman (N 78–84), of a free man or woman with a slave (N 89–96), and with godfathers (N 366–368). Procurement of fornication with adolescents and eunuchs (N 115–122), and providing an apartment for fornication (N 123–135). — Rape in the street (N 144–147), indecent behaviour in public (N 148–156). — Refusal to marry healthy children over twelve years of age (N 97–109), or to give slaves a husband or wife (N 437–446); recommendation of second and interdiction of third marriage for widowed men and women, retirement to a monastery as an alternative (N 361–365); chaste life only with written document (N 447–452). — Beating the wife (N 189–200), insult of or violence against men by women (N 348–360); neglecting to visit the church with the family (N 476–485).

**Slavery:** Transport of goods by slaves on feast days and Sundays (N 369–376); starvation and maltreatment of slaves, permitted resistance of slaves against illegal acts of their lords (N 380–389).

<sup>212</sup> See Mango, “Theophanes”; Id. & Scott in *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, xliii–lxiii.

<sup>213</sup> *Bios of Michael Synkellos*. Cp. Huxley, “Erudition”, 215–217.

<sup>214</sup> See now Sode, *Jerusalem*, 299–303.

**Right of employment:** Prohibition of selling (N 213–220) and transport (N 221–225) of goods except food, and working (N 226–231. 465–471) on feast days and sundays; spoiling prices when dealing with poor merchants (N 232–237); calumny of guild members (N 328–331); illegal retainment of wages (N 377–379).

**Culture and social life:** Drunkenness (N 201–206); gaming and loafing about of adolescents (N 298–311); frays (N 244–250); acting with masks (N 258–266); playing of cithara or lyre, singing and dancing (N 267–280); gambling, dance and table-games (N 281–284); cursing (N 291–297).

**Cruelty against animals:** Overburdening (N 207–212) and beating (N 251–257) of animals.

**Rental law:** General lowering of rents to two thirds (N 414–422); raising rents and expulsion of tenants (N 423–432).

**Various:** Sorcery and poisoning, false testimony (N 40–43); theft (N 44–54); denouncing of illegal acts (N 110–114); chastisement of criminals without official commission (N 164–181); embezzlement of heritages reserved for the king (N 312–319); infringement of church asylum (N 320–327); two months in the working house for all criminals (N 339–344); prohibition of begging for inmates of poorhouses (N 397–413).

**Officials:** Infringement of neutrality by officials during open law cases (N 332–338); infringement of law by the *geitoniarches* (N 453–464).

### Character and Date of the Collection

The so-called Laws of the Homerites (Νόμοι τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν) BHG 706h have long since already attracted the attention of scholars,<sup>1</sup> and have been regarded partly as a genuine collection of laws from pre-Islamic southern Arabia, partly as a later fiction originating from the Byzantine Empire. A short review may illustrate the problems of this text.<sup>2</sup>

The *Nomoi* do not cover all spheres of public life, but show great thematical omissions. The law of succession, for example, which plays such an important role in other law collections, is touched only in one short passage (N 312–319).<sup>3</sup> The laws are evidently intended for an urban society in the capital Negra/Najrān, where the rural population plays no significant role. The division of the town into districts, their administration and taxation are organised completely after the model of Byzantium.<sup>4</sup> Laws concerning morals and marriage are given much attention, and violations are heavily

<sup>1</sup> For the earlier editions and translations see below, pp. 159–160.

<sup>2</sup> A thorough commentary, which compares the *Nomoi* to other legal texts of the Late Roman and Byzantine period, is offered by Patlagean, *Lois*, 21–72. The very erudite, but also very circumstantial analysis by Papathanasiou, “Οἱ ‘Νόμοι’ ” mainly emphasises the role of the *Nomoi* allegedly played during the Christian mission of southern Arabia. — See also Christides, “Martyrdom”, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Papathanasiou, “Οἱ ‘Νόμοι’ ”, 213–222 explains these omissions by the assumed missionary character of the legislation, on which *ibid.*, 289–292.

<sup>4</sup> Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 204–205.

punished, often by mutilation. The definitions of delicts and crimes are extremely simplified, and mitigating circumstances are not admitted; for example, no difference is made between voluntary and involuntary homicide (N 31–32), or between simple theft and armed robbery (N 44–54). Also, there are no regulations for the questions of indemnity which necessarily follow from these crimes.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the collection contains prescriptions of great philanthropy, as for example against the beating of spouses (N 189–200) or even the maltreatment of animals (N 207–212, 251–257).<sup>6</sup>

The laws are justified by Christian doctrine, but although there is a sensible influence of canonical law, there are no prescriptions taken directly from there.<sup>7</sup> The “divine canones” as the source of a prescription are mentioned only once, when a third marriage is generally forbidden (N 363–363).<sup>8</sup> Although the first section (N 35–84) is arranged in a way similar to a penitentiary, still the punishments are those of civil and not of canonical law.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, a number of prescriptions which ban dancing, singing and the playing of musical instruments, as well as gambling and table-games (N 267–284) have obvious parallels in the canones of the Council *in Trullo* which was held in Constantinople in 691/92.<sup>10</sup>

This evidence shows clearly that the author was no professional lawyer, but probably a monk or cleric. As Jean Juster stated, the *Nomoi* are obviously inspired by “the ascetic fancy of a Christian”<sup>11</sup> to an extent which makes them unsuitable for practical use. Or, to use the words of John B. Bury: “The Code of laws bears some internal marks of genuineness, though we may hope, for the sake of the Homerites, that it was never enforced.”<sup>12</sup> The origin of the text from religious circles becomes also clear from the concluding episode in which the written copies of the *Nomoi* are distributed to the *geitoniarchai* by a supernatural force (N 487–519).

Strangely enough, however, monasticism and eremitic life as institutions are nearly absent from the *Nomoi*: monasteries appear only as places of retirement for widowed persons (N 361–365), and chaste life only in connection to a strange prescription, according to which it is allowed to laymen only after having signed a document which

<sup>5</sup> Patlagean, *Lois*, 48–49.

<sup>6</sup> The legal protection of animals against cruelty is a concept almost unknown to Byzantine civil and canonical law, see Troianos, “Τὰ ζῶα”, 86–88.

<sup>7</sup> D’Emilia, “Νόμοι”, 195.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly with reference to Saint Basileios, ch. 50, as confirmed by *Trullanum*, ch. 2. — On the interdiction of third marriages in civil legislation, see below, p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> Patlagean, *Lois*, 32. — On sorcery and the punishments for it in the early Byzantine age, see Magoulias, “The Lives”, 230–246.

<sup>10</sup> *Trullanum*, ch. 50, 51, 62.

<sup>11</sup> Juster, *Juifs*, 71 note 4.

<sup>12</sup> Bury, *History*, 327; also *ibid.* 413: “... even if they were never issued or enforced, they illustrate the kind of legislation at which the ecclesiastical spirit, unchecked, would have aimed.”

threatens them with death in case of transgression (N 447–452).<sup>13</sup> The controversial issue of married clerics is not addressed in the *Nomoi* at all.<sup>14</sup>

Direct references to the country of the Homerites are rare; they are confined to the mention of those “who before have badly administered the matters of the Homerites” (N 415–416), and of the “laws of the Homerites” themselves (N 441). If the *Nomoi* should ever have existed as an independent text without connection to the *Bios* of Gregentios, these two passages must have been added when they were taken into the Dossier. The place Trikanos or Trikanon, where the slave market is held (N 325), is not attested elsewhere, so that it is impossible to say whether such a locality actually existed in Negra.

The first doubts whether the *Nomoi* are actually an authentic text from pre-Islamic Yemen have already been raised by Jean Baptiste Pitra in 1864.<sup>15</sup> However, as late as 1969 Nina Pigulevskaya tried, by attributing a number of particularities in the *Nomoi* to the special conditions of this time and region, to prove that the text can actually be dated into this period:<sup>16</sup> according to her, the strict Christian moral laws should be regarded as a reaction to the life in great families and strong clans prevailing in southern Arabia;<sup>17</sup> if we believe the *Nomoi*, slavery played a much greater role in Yemen than in Byzantium during the same period,<sup>18</sup> and the prohibition of magical practices and all kinds of public entertainment must be seen in connection with the Christian mission.<sup>19</sup> Pigulevskaya concluded that the *Nomoi* were written in the Eastern Roman Empire at the time when the mission in the kingdom of the Homerites took place, but never became a valid law book there.<sup>20</sup> This hypothesis presupposes that the — originally Monophysite — mission was organised by the Eastern Roman State, but, as we have already seen in our discussion of the *Bios*, this was not the case.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>13</sup> On monasticism and eremitical life according to the *Trullanum*, see there ch. 40–47.

<sup>14</sup> Regulated, for example, by *Nomokanon*, 8.14, and *Trullanum*, ch. 3, 6, 12, 13, 26, 30, 48. — On the origin and age of the *Nomokanon*, see Stolte, “Challenge”, 194–195; on the prescriptions of the *Trullanum*, see also Pitsakis, “Clergé”.

<sup>15</sup> Pitra, *Historia*, L.— This was the reason why he excluded them from his publication; many of the later arguments against the historicity of the *Nomoi* were already formulated by him as hypothetical questions. See also Duchesne, *Églises*, 319; Juster, *Juifs*, 71 note 4; Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 25; Graf, *Geschichte*, 22–23.

<sup>16</sup> In this sense also Fowden, *Empire*, 115–116; Zenević, “Kažnjavanje”. — The *Nomoi* were considered as a historical document by Dareste, “Lois”, 159; Irvine, “Homicide”, 290–291; Papastathes, “Περὶ τῶν ‘Νόμων’”, 122–124; Papathanasiou, “Οἱ ‘Νόμοι’”, 52–68 (see below, p. 89).

<sup>17</sup> Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 205–207, 209.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 207–209.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 209–210.

<sup>20</sup> Irvine, “Homicide” and Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 33–35 support the authenticity of the *Nomoi* with similar arguments.

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 63.



Although punishment by mutilation had already come into use in the Roman Empire by the sixth century,<sup>22</sup> this practice was not yet as common as in later centuries, and its excessive prescription by the *Nomoi* makes their authenticity doubtful.<sup>23</sup> If the dating of the *Nomoi* into this time is correct, the use of such punishments must therefore point to an origin from an “Oriental” environment outside the empire. In reality it seems that the opposite is the case, namely that the *Nomoi* were later composed in the Byzantine Empire, presupposing the legislation of the Syrian dynasty like the *Ekloge* of Leon III (741), in which mutilation punishments are prescribed as a norm.<sup>24</sup>

The *Nomoi* also mention the rather odd punishment of being suspended headlong and smoked to death by burning hay (N 453–458); this might be regarded as a typical example of inhuman “Oriental” practices, but is actually attested by eighth- and ninth-century non-judicial sources in Byzantium.<sup>25</sup>

We can also observe that in several cases the punishments of the *Nomoi* are much heavier than those prescribed for similar delicts, for example, by the *Ekloge*.<sup>26</sup> Particularly strange is the punishment of the cutting of the ears for minor sexual offences, which corresponds to the cutting of the nose in the *Ekloge*, and the cutting of the female breast in cases of adultery and similar offences; it is obviously intended as a pendant to the castration of men, which appears in the *Ekloge* only as a punishment for the abuse of animals.<sup>27</sup>

This is probably another proof that the *Nomoi* were the work of a radical monk or cleric and never had any practical importance. An origin from these circles is also suggested by the unusual prescription about chaste life, which we have mentioned above, and which is probably inspired by the vows which had to be taken by monks when entering a monastery. And another passage of the *Nomoi* is, at least according to Byzan-

22 As pointed out by S. P. Troianos in his remarks to Berger, “Dossier”, in *BZ* 97 (2004), bibliography no. 1971, referring to *Iust. Nov.* 13.6, 17.8, 42.1.2, 128.20, 134.13, 154.1.

23 This was already noticed by Daresté, “Lois”, 159–160; Juster, *Juifs*, 69–73. Pigulevskaja, *Byzanz*, 203 does not discuss the problem in detail and refers only generally to the legal norms of the time of Ioustinianos.

24 As suggested by Juster, *Juifs*, 72; see also Patlagean, *Lois*, 50–56. On mutilation as punishment in Byzantine law see Troianos, “Strafen”, 66–67, and also Patlagean, “Byzance”. — The *Bios* of Gregentios mentions two cases of self-mutilation with the intention of avoiding divine punishment (4.6–53; 7.193–200), and one of mutilation as such a punishment (8.196–205).

25 Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, 39.10–11, describing events in the first reign of Ioustinianos II (685–695), and the *Bios of Antonios Neos*, 203.30 – 204, 1; on which see Patlagean, *Lois*, 59. — On the role of punishment by fire in south Arabia, see above, p. 77 with note 179.

26 Compare the draconic punishment in N 60–68 for adultery between unmarried people if the culprits refuse a subsequent marriage, to *Ekloge*, 17.29, where the man has to pay in this case one pound of gold or half of his fortune to the girl.

27 N 60–72, 366–368; *Ekloge*, 17.25–32, 39. — The removal of the female breast appears as divine punishment in the *Bios of Stephanos the Younger*, 175.10–20.

tine standards, almost polemical in tone by insisting heavily on the rights of the clergy (N 345–347): “It is necessary that the king takes counsel in great things with holy men and asks the holy God through them, and it is good if that be done what seems right to him. For whoever does so will not be put to shame forever.”<sup>28</sup>

A number of law prescriptions in the *Nomoi* concerning marriage represents the ecclesiastical position on these issues which was adopted by civil law not before the *Eisagoge*, which was collected, though probably not promulgated, in 885 or 886,<sup>29</sup> and the novels of Leon VI (886–912).<sup>30</sup> These are the benediction by a priest as the constitutive element of a marriage ceremony (N 65–68),<sup>31</sup> the recommendation of a second and prohibition of a third marriage (N 361–365),<sup>32</sup> the prohibition of sexual relations between spiritual relatives — which here appears, *nota bene*, only in the context of fornication, not of marriage (N 366–368)<sup>33</sup> — and the extension of the slave status to spouses of slaves (N 89–91).<sup>34</sup>

It should be emphasised that although nuptial law is treated in a relatively broad way by the *Nomoi*, a number of fundamental issues are not addressed there at all, such as the assignment of property in the case of remarriage, the problem of divorce or that of marriages between blood-relatives, which play such an important role in Byzantine canonical law.<sup>35</sup>

In another passage of the *Nomoi* a general reduction of rents for houses by a third is prescribed (N 414–422). As it stands here, this regulation makes no sense, since a previ-

<sup>28</sup> See Patlagean, *Lois*, 37: this passage seems to originate rather from a *Fürstenspiegel* than from a lawbook, and it has also the form of an excerpt beginning with ὅτι.

<sup>29</sup> On the date and the correct name (as opposed to *Epanagoge*) see Schminck, *Rechtsbücher*, 12–15.

<sup>30</sup> On their relation to the canones of the *Trullanum*, see Troianos, “Canones”.

<sup>31</sup> Leon VI, *Novella* 89 (ed. 295–297). — On the development of the church ceremony at marriages, see Ritzer, *Mariage*, 134–141; Heiser, *Responsa*, 277–286; Laiou, “Consensus”, 195–196. On the novels of Leon VI, see Troianos, *Πηγές*, 160–167.

<sup>32</sup> Leon VI, *Novella* 90 (ed. 297–299). — Third marriages had already been prohibited by canon law for a long time (see above, note 8), but were generally permitted by civil law, such as *Ekloge* 2, 8, 1 and *Eisagoge* 13, 2, until this novella was issued; see Laiou, “Consensus”, 197–198. The contradicting legislation of Empress Eirene (797–802) was apparently not implemented and unknown in the late ninth century; see Burgmann, “Novellen”, 26. See also *Nomokanon* 13.2.

<sup>33</sup> Leon VI, *Novella* 24 (ed. 93–95). — Cp. here *Codex Iustinianus*, 5.4.26.2 to *Trullanum*, ch. 53; see Heiser, *Responsa*, 290–293.

<sup>34</sup> Leon VI, *Novella* 100 (ed. 329–333). — On these problems, see also D’Emilia, “Νόμοι”, 195–196; Patlagean, *Lois*, 16, 34–35.

<sup>35</sup> Regulations concerning marriages between blood-relatives: *Trullanum*, ch. 53, 54, 87, 92, 98; also *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, ch. 2. On the omission of divorce from the *Nomoi*, see also Papatianasiou, “Οἱ ‘Νόμοι’”, 245. — Patlagean, *Lois*, 36 concluded from the latter fact that the Dossier was written outside of the empire, that is, according to her general opinion, in Rome; see above, p. 43.

ous amount is not indicated. Evelyne Patlagean proposed to see it in a context with a law of the *Eisagoge*, according to which a creditor was allowed to retain not more than a third of the debtor's income, so that two thirds remained for his livelihood.<sup>36</sup>

The alleged references to the society in the kingdom of the Homerites, which were claimed by Pigulevskaja, do actually not exist, for the preferential treatment of the fields of law mentioned above is a result of the clearly emphasised Christian and clerical character of the collection,<sup>37</sup> and does not have the conditions of life in a real country in mind. Instead, a large number of indications point to an origin from the Byzantine Empire:<sup>38</sup>

The self-designation of the king as “our majesty”, “the serenity of our piety” or similarly is clearly styled after that of the Byzantine emperor. At some points, the description of the urban topography and society of Negra imitates the model of Constantinople in so much detail that an origin from pre-Islamic Yemen is practically impossible: Negra is the “residential city” (N 21–23), its districts are *rhegeones* or *geitoniai*;<sup>39</sup> there is a *praitorion* (N 32, 41) and a city prefect (*hyparchos* N 36, 50, 461, 463; *eparchos* N 436), and the fact that begging for bread is expressly prohibited on the main road, the Mese, implies the existence of bakeries there (N 398).<sup>40</sup> The word *geitoniarches* is used also in other texts to designate the administrators of districts in Constantinople, the former *curatores regionum*,<sup>41</sup> but appears only rarely in a context outside the capital.<sup>42</sup> The number of districts in Constantinople was originally fourteen,<sup>43</sup> but later apparently

<sup>36</sup> *Eisagoge*, 28.2; Patlagean, *Lois*, 47–48.

<sup>37</sup> See also Papathanasiou, as in note 2 above.

<sup>38</sup> See also Patlagean, *Lois* 21, 24–25, 43.

<sup>39</sup> Some divergences in the textual tradition suggest that later scribes had no idea what the term *ῥεγεών* actually meant, see N 28. — The number of 36 districts is taken from the transition (10.55), not from the text of the *Nomoi*.

<sup>40</sup> On the *Artopoleia* of Constantinople see Janin, *Constantinople*, 315–316, 328–329.

<sup>41</sup> Oikonomides, *Listes*, 113.17, 179.13, 209.22–25; with commentary, 321 note 194. — The Lexicon of Hesychios offers the word in the form *γειτονίαρχος* as an explanation for *ῥεγεονάρχιος*; Hesychios, s.v. P 170; *ῥεγεονάρχιος* and *ῥεγεονάρχης* are both attested in the fifth and sixth centuries. — Another use is that for officials of the circus factions, who had become functionaries of the imperial court by the ninth and tenth centuries: Oikonomides, *ibid.* 125.2, 161.4, with commentary, 326; Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cerimoniis*, 269.16, 271.5–10, 272.16, 717.10, 720.15, 738.14, 772.19–22, 799.1, 803.20.

<sup>42</sup> As in Chrysippos, *Enkomion*, 33.5, where it is used metaphorically for John the Baptist, or in *Actes de l'Athos*, I, no. 53.17.

<sup>43</sup> In the *Notitia urbis CP*; on this text, see Janin, *Constantinople*, 49–64; Berger, “Regionen”.

reduced to the symbolic number of twelve.<sup>44</sup> The number of thirty-six districts in *Negra* is without doubt the result of a similar cosmological symbolism.<sup>45</sup>

All this suggests that the *Nomoi* actually had Constantinople in mind and used it as a prototype for the description of *Negra*. As we have demonstrated already for the *Bios*, the *Nomoi* are of Constantinopolitan origin and from a monastic milieu.<sup>46</sup> Certain important features of urban life in Constantinople in the tenth century, however, do not appear in the *Nomoi* at all, such as the role of the circus factions in state ceremonial<sup>47</sup>, or are strongly neglected, such as the organisation of craftsmen in guilds (*systemata*, mentioned only at N 328–331).<sup>48</sup>

The vicinity of the *Nomoi* to the ecclesiastical and civil legislation of the Macedonian dynasty supports the dating of it, together with the *Dialexis* and the *Bios*, into the tenth century<sup>49</sup>. If an original Dossier of Gregentios should have existed into which the *Nomoi* were inserted some time after its composition,<sup>50</sup> it is probable that this was done by the same author, for a passage in the *Dialexis* about the repayment of the fourfold amount as a punishment for theft, which is put into Herban's mouth (E 173–184),<sup>51</sup> suggests that the author of it had a certain interest in legal matters.<sup>52</sup>

Concerning the date, a compromise has recently been proposed by Athanasios N. Papatasiou: he believes in a sixth-century date of the *Nomoi*, but concludes from several details, such as the mention of the king's *hetaireia* (N 167, 184) or the coronation ceremony in the preceding chapter of the *Bios* (9.219–238), that the text was revised in

44 The later sources quoted in note 41 above mention only twelve γειτονίαρχαι; on this see Berger, *ibid.* 352–354.

45 For example, in hermetic texts the twelve signs of the Zodiac were subdivided into three decans each. Examples for the symbolic use of the number thirty-six were collected by Patlagean, *Lois*, 25 with notes.

46 Mordtmann, “Miscellen”, 69 proposed Syria without detailed argumentation. — Patlagean, *Lois*, 31 concluded from minor differences between the description of urban administration in Najrān, as given by the *Nomoi*, and our knowledge about Constantinople that this text was written in Rome, in accordance with her general localisation of the whole Dossier, on which see above, p. 43 and 60 note 76.

47 The circus factions are only implicitly mentioned in the *Bios* (1.399–413, 446–447) in the description of a procession which Gregentios' mother sees in a vision. The circus factions lost their independent political role after the seventh century; on their functionaries in later times, see above, note 41.

48 As described by the *Book of the Prefect*; on which see Koder in Leon VI, *Book of the Prefect*, esp. 20–22.

49 See below, p. 107.

50 See below, p. 110, and also Patlagean, *Lois*, 17–21.

51 The closest parallel to this is Ex. 21.37–22.14. See also the note on the translation.

52 The passage begins with the words “it is written in the law”, but it is not explained which law is meant here, as in the case of the “local law” in Δ 474. For a comparable passage in the *Bios*, see there 3.436–440.

the ninth century or later, and that the terminology in it was brought up to date at this occasion.<sup>53</sup> A similar compromise, though based on other arguments, was suggested by Spyros N. Troianos who believes that the *Nomoi* are in principle a “historical” text from the sixth century, but assigns the punishments by mutilation to a later revision.<sup>54</sup> However, since the concept of punishments is very uniform throughout the text, this would mean that the catalogue of offences belongs completely to the first, that of the punishments to the second phase, which is rather implausible.

Given the character of the *Nomoi* as a collection of moral or religious prescriptions clothed in the form of a statute-book which has been revealed by a divine force, the closest literary parallels to it are the so-called *Didascalía of Christ to the Apostles*<sup>55</sup> and the *Letter of Christ fallen from heaven*,<sup>56</sup> both texts which are usually dated to the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>57</sup>

Though the text of the *Nomoi* can thus be dated to the tenth century with a high degree of plausibility, it is, at least in the form transmitted to us, not free from later additions. Evelyne Patlagean pointed to several places in the *Nomoi* where western European influence can possibly be observed. The most remarkable case is the verb form τζουίτζέσθωσαν (N 279): it is apparently derived from τζουίτζα which belongs to Latin *iudicium* > mediaeval Latin *juisium*, and must therefore be translated as “they shall be subjected to an ordeal”.<sup>58</sup> The word is here essentially a gloss, albeit an improper one, to πυρπολείσθωσαν.<sup>59</sup> As it seems, the author of it thought that this expression meant an ordeal by fire, that is, by walking on hot ploughshares or by carrying a hot iron.<sup>60</sup>

The word τζουίτζα does not appear in other sources of Greek language before the *Assizes* of the kingdom of Cyprus, a statute book from the fourteenth century, where it is used to designate ordeals in the western European style.<sup>61</sup> Its presence there suggests that the common archetype of the *Nomoi* and the other parts of the Dossier was written or annotated in a region strongly influenced by western European culture, that is, pro-

53 Papathanasiou, “Οι ‘Νόμοι’”, 65–66, 106–109, 173–174.

54 Troianos, Πηγές, 98–99; also in his remark to Berger, “Dossier”, see above, note 21.

55 Nau, “Didascalie”.

56 Bittner, *Brief*, van Esbroeck, “Lettre”.

57 This parallel was drawn by Patlagean, *Lois*, 61–68; “Byzance et son autre monde”, 214.

58 On which see Bartlett, *Ordeal*.

59 τζουίτζέσθωσαν stands in a parenthesis beginning with ἤγουν = that is.

60 On this, see Bartlett, *Ordeal*, 13–33. — On the general estimation of ordeals in Byzantium, see Fögen, “Heißes Eisen”, 88–89; Troianos, “Gottesurteil”.

61 *Assizes*, ch. A 128, 250–252, 269–270; B 125, 248–250, 266–268; see also the translation and notes by Coureas, *ibid.* On the τζουίτζα in the *Nomoi*, see Patlagean, *Lois*, note to N 279; on the τζουίτζα in the *Assizes*, see now also Troianos, “Gottesurteil”, 488–489. — Another less plausible etymology is from modern Greek τσούζω = to cause pain, to burn, from ancient Greek σίζω = to sizzle (?). Boissonade’s edition and its reprint in the *Patrologia graeca* wrongly read τζουκτζέσθωσαν for τζουητζέσθωσαν, as the word is spelled in C and all other manuscripts.

bably in Palestine or Syria in the time of the Crusaders, and thus only a few decades before the manuscript S which was written in 1180 on the island of Cyprus.<sup>62</sup> Given the clearly Constantinopolitan origin of the whole Dossier, this assumption may seem somewhat surprising, but cannot be excluded altogether.<sup>63</sup>

Another possible case of western influence to which Patlagean draws our attention is the place Trikanos mentioned above; the word appears otherwise only in a southern Italian gloss which explains τρικάνη as τρίβολος (bindweed).<sup>64</sup>

A problem of interpretation is perhaps posed by the passage where the jugglers who appear with leather masks are called falsifiers of the Christian faith ὡς τοῦ σατανᾶ τὴν αἰδῶ ἀσπαζόμενοι (N 259). This may be translated “as if embracing the shame of Satan”, but also “as if kissing the private parts of Satan”. If the second were correct, the author would imply the conclusion of a contract with the devil, in a way which is known only from western European sources and not before the thirteenth century.

#### 4. The *Dialexis*

The *Dialexis* (CPG 7009)<sup>1</sup> contains only few hints to its time of origin and therefore has mostly been dated in older literature<sup>2</sup> not by indications from the text itself, but from the last part of the *Bios* which follows at its end. However, as we have seen, this part is based on an old source from the sixth century and cannot be used for dating the whole *Bios*, not to speak about the *Dialexis*.<sup>3</sup>

The first doubts, whether the *Dialexis* is actually the record of a discussion held in southern Arabia in the sixth century, were already expressed in 1689 by Antonio Pagi who compared the text in this regard to the alleged dialogue between Athanasios of Ale-

<sup>62</sup> We may assume that a number of similar explanations are also later additions, such as N 46, 350, 547. — Patlagean also mentions the use of the male form N 525 φαμίλιον which can likewise be found in the pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues, BHG 1445y–1448b, 4.32 (where it is corrected in PL 77, 390 to the female form), but this may be simple a coincidence.

<sup>63</sup> The tradition of the texts (on which see below, p. 141–185) begins about twohundred years after they were written. Most manuscripts, whose origin can be located, are presently kept at other places, and if a group of them is today in the same region, as on Mount Athos, they or their prototypes were apparently brought there on various ways and at various times.

<sup>64</sup> Alessio, “Calchi”, 292. — But see also N 281 with note about the game called *tribolin*.

<sup>1</sup> A summary see below, pp. 114–115.

<sup>2</sup> A summary in Déroche, “Polémique” a, 276–277.

<sup>3</sup> Reversely, the refutation of Monotheletism by the *Dialexis* (A 420–421, see below) has also influenced the dating of Déroche, “Polémique” b, 155, since it seems to point to a date not before ca. 640 and to an origin outside of Constantinople and the empire.

xandreia and Areios, but did not propose an alternative dating.<sup>4</sup> An actual debate about the authenticity did not take place in the following centuries, and it must be stated that such a debate on the base of Gulonius' defective edition would not have produced any useful result.<sup>5</sup> And as we will presently see, this lack of a solid textual base has been a handicap for all research on the *Dialexis* up to the present day.<sup>6</sup>

Let us, first of all, consider the evidence for the date given by the *Dialexis* itself. It follows clearly from the text that it was written some time after the death of Gregentios, that is, about thirty years after the discussion between Gregentios and Herban and after the forced baptism of the Jews which is mentioned at the end of the *Bios* (E 682–708). Calculating from the date of the Ethiopian expedition as given above, the discussion must have taken place around 520/30, and the recording of it around 550/560. A date around 560 has still recently been assumed by Vincent Déroche and, following him, by Andreas Külzer.<sup>7</sup>

- 4 Pagi, *Critica*, in Baronius, *Annales*, VII, 899–901 (a. 523, v–VIII); see also below, p. 184. Pagi, who knew the *Dialexis* from Le Duc's bilingual edition Paris 1624 (see below, p. 161) and Lambecius (see the following note), discusses it in his comments on Baronius, *Annales*, VII, 101–113 and 119–123 (a. 522, XXII–LXVI, and a. 523, XVI–XXXI); there, a description of the mission in Yemen is given which is basically a summary of the *Martyrion of Arethas* and does not mention Gregentios. Pagi also argues against the historicity of the text by stating that 'Abraha's predecessor Sumyafa' Ashwa' is omitted, contrary to the assertion of the contemporary historian Prokopios (see above, p. 61), and that the scene of Christ's miraculous apparition (E 607–626) is unbelievable. — The only earlier mention of the *Dialexis* in modern scholarly literature which I have been able to find, is that by Barthius, *Adversaria*, II, 15 (= ch. 81: translation of the poem Χριστὲ τῶν θνητῶν βασιλεῦ, on which see below, p. 160) and V, 3 (= ch. 211–212: emendation of E 621 εἶχετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διπλοῦδος] εἶχετο ἑαυτοῦ μ Gulonius, το εἶχετο σταυροῦ οἱ εἰκόνα σταυροῦ).
- 5 Gulonius' edition was already criticised as being done "mendosé & mutilé" by Lambecius, *Commentarii*, V, 128, who compared its text to the Vienna manuscript (V). The beginning and end of the great lacuna Γ 383 – Δ 1196 (on which see below, p. 172) are marked in V with short vertical lines, perhaps by Lambecius' hand. Lambecius believed that the *Dialexis* was a contemporary document from the mid-sixth century, and conjectured that it had been written by Nonnosos, the Roman legate to the Ethiopians and Homerites in the time of Ioustinianos I (527–565), to whom he also ascribed the *Martyrion of Arethas*, see *ibid.* VIII, 387. Nonnosos' report about his embassy to the *Ameritai*, in which also king Elesboam of Ethiopia is mentioned, is known only from the summary of Photios, *Bibliothèque*, 4–7 [cod. III].
- 6 In his short entry about the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis*, Karl Krumbacher rightly remarked already in 1897: "A new edition is the precondition for the required investigation"; see Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 59.
- 7 Déroche, commentary to the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 269–270; Déroche, "Polémique" a, 277; Külzer, *Disputationes* 128–129; also Schreckenberg, *Adversos-Iudaeos-Texte*, 397–399. — Krauss & Horbury, *Jewish-Christian Controversy*, 48–49 date the *Dialexis* "ca. 480", probably by a confusion with the assumed year of Gregentios' birth.

Even if this chronology should be correct, the distance of time between the discussion and its recording is so great that it can hardly have been covered by the memory of a person who had been present at the original event. The author never claims that he knew Gregentios personally, nor that he was himself present at the royal court of the Homerites when the discussion took place. But as we have seen above, a first recording of the discussion by the notary Palladios is mentioned in the text, which might have been used by the author of the *Dialexis*.<sup>8</sup>

The early dating of the *Dialexis* has already been doubted for a considerable time: In 1880, Alfred v. Gutschmid dated the whole Dossier to the time around 630,<sup>9</sup> and in 1889, Arthur C. McGiffert believed that it was “certainly later than his (Gregentios’) time”;<sup>10</sup> both authors, however, did not give a detailed explanation for their opinion. In 1913, Jean Juster proposed a date not before the end of the seventh century because of several historical mistakes and, again, because of the mutilation punishments prescribed by the *Nomoi*.<sup>11</sup> A similar date has been assumed in 1987 by Alfredo M. Rabello.<sup>12</sup>

As it will be demonstrated below, the *Dialexis* has been inserted into the already existing *Bios*, though it is probably a work of the same author.<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact, we can observe that the historical settings of the *Bios* were already taken into consideration by the *Dialexis*: the kingdom of the Homerites and the city of Taphar are not mentioned in it, but the king, his nobility and the “senate” appear in the connecting passages between the single days which are most probably a part of the original text, although they do not have any impact on the plot.

Nevertheless, it may be useful for methodical reasons to assume that the *Dialexis* was originally an independent text which was not connected to the *Bios*. If we then try to date it only from indications contained in the text itself without referring to the fictitious setting in the country of the Homerites, we soon reach the result that the text must

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 79.

<sup>9</sup> v. Gutschmid, “Bemerkungen”, 742. — A reason for this dating is not given, but it is probable that the author, who speaks about the Dossier with very depreciating words, simply chose the latest possible date before the rise of Islam. v. Gutschmid also proposed also that the *Acta Silvestri* were one of the sources for the *Dialexis*, on which see below, pp. 112–113.

<sup>10</sup> McGiffert, in *Dialogue of Papiskos and Philon*, 16–17.

<sup>11</sup> Juster, *Juifs*, 69–73; thereafter also Hulen, *Dialogues*, 65. As an example for a historical mistake, Juster mentions *ibid.* 72 note 3 that the length of ’Abreha’s reign contradicts the account of Prokopios, which is actually not the case, see Prokopios, *Bella*, 1, 20. On the punishments see Juster, *ibid.*, 72 note 4; see also above, pp. 85–86. — Williams, *Adversos Iudaeos*, 142 disregarded the indications of the *Bios* and dated the *Dialexis* to the years before the conversion of the Jews in Yemen, that is, around 510/20.

<sup>12</sup> Rabello, *Giustiniano*, 189 note 28.

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 109. — This hypothesis about the origin of the Dossier of Saint Gregentios was already proposed by Juster, *Juifs*, 69.



have been composed much later than the supposed sixth-century context of the *Bios* pretends.

### Religious and Political Tendencies in the *Dialexis*

One obvious reason for such a late dating is that the *Dialexis* does not only mention the two natures of Christ and thus rejects Monophysitism (B 951–955; E 152–153), but, as David M. Olster remarked, it speaks also in a Christological passage about the two wills in Christ (A 420–421), a fact which makes clear that it must be dated after the beginning of the Monotheletical controversy, or rather after its end on the Council of Constantinople in 680/81.<sup>14</sup>

Recently, Vincent Déroche accepted this later dating and now suggests that the name Threlleton, which the *Dialexis* gives to the hall or courtyard in the royal palace of Negra where the discussion between Gregentios and Herban takes place (A 5), is perhaps an allusion to this council, or rather to the following Synod in Trullo of 691/92,<sup>15</sup> which were both held in a domed hall of the emperor's palace called *Troullos* or *Oaton*, or later also *Tholoton*.<sup>16</sup> The word *Threlleton* is not attested by any other source, but definitely the reading of the archetype, and it is tempting to explain it as a contamination of *Tholoton* with *Troullos* or *Troulloton*.<sup>17</sup>

However, the *Dialexis* is also distinguished by its clear Orthodox tendency from the "authentic" anti-Jewish dialogues of the seventh centuries such as the *Tropaia* or the *Papiskos*, where dogmatical questions play only a subordinate role because of their mainly political approach.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 140. The mention of two wills was already noticed by Radius, *Discussion*, 210a note 104a/1, but regarded as an insufficient evidence for dating the text. — The 400 martyrs who were killed by the Jews (B 553) are probably the victims of the uprising of Theoudas mentioned in Acta 5.37, and not the alleged 4,000 victims of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614 as suggested by the reading of  $\mu$  in PG 86, 685A. On the events of 614, see now Cameron, "Blaming the Jews", 61–63; Id., "Jews".

<sup>15</sup> Déroche, "Polémique" b, 151–152.

<sup>16</sup> On the building, see Janin, *Constantinople*, 112. The name *Tholoton* appears first in 1094 as *tholoton Oaton*, see *Ius Graecoromanum*, I, 334, but may have already been in use some centuries before. The well-known anecdote about the death of Emperor Anastasios I (491–527) — on which see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 267 — was located in the *Oaton* in the tenth century by the so-called Logothete chronicle, see Leon Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, 120.10–14, and in the *Tholoton* by Ioannes Zonaras, III, 143.9; Ephraem, *Historia*, v. 1100.

<sup>17</sup> *Troulloton* was already proposed by Lambecius, *Commentarii*, V, 129, as the right reading at this place. The reading *Tho(e)loton* in VM is obviously a later conjecture. See also Christides, "War", 122, and translation, note to A 5.

<sup>18</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 141.

A clear indication concerning the date of the *Dialexis* is the discussion about the veneration of icons and saints on the fourth day ( $\Delta$  232–492). Since this passage falls in the great lacuna  $\Gamma$  383 –  $\Delta$  1196 of the hyparchetype  $\beta$ , on which the 1586 edition of Nicolaus Gulonius depends which was reprinted by the *Patrologia graeca*,<sup>19</sup> the absence of any mention of the iconoclastic controversy has recently been proposed as a *terminus ante quem* for its composition.<sup>20</sup> It is still debated, how long before the introduction of Iconoclasm as the official policy of the Byzantine State under Leon III (717–741) and Konstantinos V (741–775) the theological discussion about the veneration of icons had already begun.<sup>21</sup> At all events, the fact that it appears in the *Dialexis* safely establishes a date not before the seventh, and more probably in the eighth or ninth century.

And moreover: at three instances (A 68–70, 92–93;  $\Delta$  1128–1130), Gregentios mentions *en passant* that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and a fourth time he alludes to this idea ( $\Delta$  874–877). This refers without any doubt to the *filioque* debate which began in the West and arrived in the Byzantine East only in 860, and thus suggests that the *Dialexis* was written not before this time.<sup>22</sup> The formula “that proceeds from God Father and rests ... in his Son” ( $\Delta$  1128–1130, with a paraphrase at A 68–70) may have been intended as a compromise between the two main positions. It seems not to appear in any other text, and indeed it is not very helpful for the discussion, since it may be understood in the sense that the Holy Ghost, after having taken his rest in the son, does not transcend beyond him any more.

19 Given the unsystematic structure of the *Dialexis* with its many unexpected changes of the topic of discussion, it is understandable that no scholar has hitherto observed the existence of this and the preceding smaller lacuna of  $\mu$  at  $\Gamma$  286–354. — After the first lacuna, Gregentios gives an interpretation of Joel 4, 18–21, in which he quotes the text inserting short explanations into the single verses and between them, while Herban’s preceding full quotation of Joel 4, 14–21 and the first part of Gregentios’ interpretation are lost in  $\mu$ . Such interpolated interpretations are quite frequent in the *Dialexis*, and are often preceded by a full quotation of the text put into Herban’s mouth ( $\Gamma$  754–784;  $\Delta$  891–914), but not always (e. g.  $\Gamma$  488–562).

20 Déroche, “Polémique” a, 277; b, 152.

21 In case the apology *CPG* 7885 against the Jews, which was read on the council of Nicaea in 787, is an authentic work of Leontios of Neapolis, who lived in the seventh century, it is the oldest text in which the question of images is discussed. While Déroche believes in its authenticity, Speck assumed an origin in the late eighth century, and claimed in addition that all passages about the theology of images in anti-Jewish polemics are connected to the council of 787 or were written thereafter, so that in older texts they must always be interpolated; see Speck, “Zu dem Dialog”, “Der Dialog”, “Schweinefleisch”; on the other hand, Déroche, “Authenticité”, “Polémique” a, 278 note 4; see also Brubaker, “Icons”, 1249 note 110.

22 On this debate see now Sode, *Jerusalem*, 163–202, especially 196–199.

A late date of the *Dialexis* is also suggested by some allegorical interpretations of passages from the Old Testament, for these are presented here in a fully developed form for which parallels can only be found in sources from the ninth century and later.

An example of this is the interpretation of the closed book in Is. 29.11 (B 83–91) which is mostly connected in patristic literature to the holy scriptures of Christianity,<sup>23</sup> but sometimes already to the Virgin Mary.<sup>24</sup> This explanation was gradually expanded since the eighth century: the man who reads the book, but does not understand it, is first interpreted as Joseph in a sermon of Ioannes of Damaskos,<sup>25</sup> and Joseph's first marriage, which has been drawn from the *Protevangelium Iacobi* 8.3 and 9.2, appears first in this context in a sermon on the annunciation of the Virgin Mary which was composed probably not before the ninth century.<sup>26</sup> Finally, in an anti-Jewish text of the early tenth century the passage is treated in a way very similar to the *Dialexis*.<sup>27</sup>

Another even more remarkable case is the interpretation of the timber brought from Lebanon in Is. 60.13 (Γ 904–911). This passage has been referred to the Holy Cross from the ninth century onward,<sup>28</sup> but without assigning different kinds of wood to its various parts, as this is done by the *Dialexis*: according to this text, the upright beam of it consisted of cypress, the cross-beam of pine and the footstool of cedar-tree. This explanation is expressly singled out from the surrounding interpretation of the long passage Is. 60.1–16, for after Herban has quoted the entire passage, Gregentios first asks for the meaning of this special verse before beginning his own interpretation (Γ 788–811). Deviating from his usual practice, he opens his explanation of this verse with the words “people say” (Γ 909), which indicates that the author himself felt that it was novel in some way. The concept of such an assignment appears also in the West in the

<sup>23</sup> Origenes, *Commentarii in Matthaem*, 11.11; see especially Theodoretos, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, ch. 8.290–328.

<sup>24</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 374.20–375.4, 24–27; Ps.-Ephraem Graecus, 530D; Andreas of Crete, *CPG* 8173, *PG* 97, 869D.

<sup>25</sup> Ioannes of Damaskos, *Sermo*, 176, ch. 7.1–5; on the authenticity of this text see Hoeck, “Stand und Aufgaben”, 37 note 2.

<sup>26</sup> *CPG* 4519, *BHG* 1128fg, *PG* 10, 1173A–B and *PG* 50, 793; on this text, which has been attributed to Gregorios Thaumaturgos, Proklos or Ioannes Chrysostomos, see Leroy, *Homilétique*, 270 note 49. — On the motif in western mediaeval literature, see also Schreiner, “Maria”; Id., *Maria*, 157–161; Kesting, “Maria”.

<sup>27</sup> *Anonymus Hostens*, X 387–419.

<sup>28</sup> In the pseudo-Chrysostomic homily *CPG* 4539, *PG* 52, 839 (of which the greatest part, but not the passage in question is compiled from the authentic homilies on Matthew *CPG* 4424, no. 54 and 55); and in a Kanon of the Triodion, see Gretser, *De sancta cruce*, ch. 5; a later example is Nikolaos Kallikles, no. 7. — On the veneration of the Holy Cross see also Gretser, *De sancta cruce*, 12–14; Sieper, “Mysterium”, *passim*. Generally, in later times the veneration of the Holy Cross takes a development parallel to that of relics, in the sense that its material existence is increasingly emphasised; see Külzer, *Disputationes*, 264–265; Thümmel, *Frühgeschichte*, 118–127; Cameron, “Blaming the Jews”, 70–73.

twelfth century,<sup>29</sup> but this can be regarded as a parallel only with great reservation, for the implicit trinitarian symbolism of the number three is replaced there by the cosmological symbolism of the number four; also, other kinds of wood are mentioned, so that the passage of Isaiah is not quoted in this context.<sup>30</sup> The same assignment of woods as in the *Dialexis* appears again in the East in the Late Byzantine Age.<sup>31</sup>

A possible hint for the dating of the *Dialexis* can also be found in the scene at the end of the fourth day, where Herban sees Moses in a dream standing before Jesus and praying with his hands placed together (Δ 1296–1279).<sup>32</sup> It is unknown when and where this gesture of prayer appeared first, which replaced the former style of prayer with raised hands in western Christianity by the end of the first millennium. But we know that it was still completely refused by the official Byzantine Orthodox Church in the ninth century and also never became popular there in later times.<sup>33</sup> Since nothing points to a western origin of the *Dialexis*, we must assume that this text was composed by an author for whom praying with the hands put together was quite a normal practice, and who was not aware of the discussions of the mid-ninth century about which we are informed, among other sources, by the *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum* of Pope Nicolaus I dating from 866.<sup>34</sup>

#### Islam in the *Dialexis*

The latest detailed investigation of the anti-Jewish literature of the seventh century is David M. Olster's study *Roman Defeat, Christian Response and the Literary Construc-*

<sup>29</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vitis mystica*, ch. 163, *PL* 184, 732d–733B; an older proof in St. Bede's *Collectanea*, as mentioned by Gretser *ibid.*, could not be verified. — On the western legends see Zöckler, *Kreuz Christi*; Meyer aus Speyer, "Geschichte"; Kampers, *Sagen*.

<sup>30</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux lets the base consist of cypress, the upright beam of cedar, the upper beam bearing the inscription of olive and the cross-beam of palm wood. This symbolism is inspired, among other sources, by Eph. 3.18. — On the symbolic meaning of numbers in general, see Meyer & Suntrup, *Lexikon*.

<sup>31</sup> Nikolaos of Otranto, *Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, Par. gr. 1225, fol. 89<sup>r</sup> (a critical edition is currently being prepared by L. Hoffmann); Ioannes Kantakouzenos, *Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*, 7.742–757; *Contra Mahometem Apologia* III, *PG* 154, 528C–529A. — There is no indication that the authors of these texts knew the *Dialexis*. The discussion about the cross is not present in Ioannes' western source, Riccoldo de Monte Croce; see Todt, *Kantakouzenos*, 197–230, 266–281.

<sup>32</sup> A quite similar scene, in which Moses appears in a vision before a congregation of Jews and confesses his belief in Jesus Christ, while the Jews refuse to be converted, is contained in the *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 107.37–113.15.

<sup>33</sup> See Ohm, *Gebetsgesten* 269–275; Demisch, *Erhobene Hände*, 140–148. — Folded hands as a gesture of greeting or reverence to a person appear in the *Bios* at 2.69, 312; 3.240.

<sup>34</sup> *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, ch. 54; on this see Heiser, *Responsa*, 142–144.

tion of the Jew from 1994. It has been received critically by several scholars because of its one-sided political interpretation of these texts, without sufficient consideration of their literary form and of theological questions.<sup>35</sup> Among other things, Olster suggested that in these texts the discussions with the Jews actually conceal an argument against Islam.<sup>36</sup> In the case of the *Dialexis*, however, which Olster dates into this time, the allusion to Islam which he gathered from a passage of the text is inexistent, for God's protection ἀπὸ συμπτώματος [καὶ] δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ (B 604) is not a protection "from the invasion, that is, from the demonic south",<sup>37</sup> but "from the mishaps of the demon of midday", and has nothing to do with the Arabs and Islam.<sup>38</sup>

Nevertheless, a number of other passages point to Islam. One of them is the polemical answer to Herban's question why Christ was not freed by angels and carried up into heaven (Δ 1011–1014), which may be understood as a reaction to corresponding Islamic notions of Jesus' death.<sup>39</sup> The interpretation of the herds of camels going to Jerusalem in Is. 60.5–6 as "the large number of people from the tribe of Ismael that will believe in the future" (Γ 841–842) is a clear allusion to the Islamic Arabs, and these also are without doubt the "hated Agarenes" in the prayer of Gregentios before Christ's appearance (E 584). However, the base of the tradition is so narrow there that we cannot state clearly whether this passage already stood in the archetype.<sup>40</sup> Another possible allusion to a discussion with Islam is the opinion imputed implicitly to Herban that Jesus was of Arab rather than of Jewish origin (B 894–896).

Yet these scattered remarks do not give us the impression that a debate about Islam was a central concern of the *Dialexis*, and they do certainly not allow the conclusion drawn by Olster that the text was written in a milieu in which Christian theology had some special reason for such a debate, that means, in the circles of the Orthodox Christian minority in the early Califate.

<sup>35</sup> Olster, *Defeat*; on this see Cameron, "Byzantines"; Déroche, "Polémique" b.

<sup>36</sup> Cameron, "Byzantines", 258–260.

<sup>37</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 141. — Unprecise or heavily interpreting translations of quotations, which are made fitting to a preconceived opinion, are generally a weak point of Olster's work.

<sup>38</sup> Déroche, "Polémique" b, 149–150. — This quotation from Psalm 90.6, in which the demon of midday is identified with that of indifference (ἀκηδία), is often commented in patristic literature, as by Athanasios of Alexandria, *CPG* 2140, *PG* 27, 401AB; Euagrius Pontikos, *Praktikos logos*, ch. 21.1 and 36.5; Kyrillos, *CPG* 5202, *PG* 69, 1220AB; Neilos, *CPG* 6077, *PG* 79, 1456D; also in the *Bios* of Gregentios 1.465–466, 4.344–345 and 7.26–28. Also the following words on the "remaining tyranny of Satan" therefore do not refer to the Arabs. — The word καὶ in the passage quoted stands in μ and therefore in Gulonius's edition, but was missing in the archetype.

<sup>39</sup> On this, see for example Griffith, "Anastasios", 353–355.

<sup>40</sup> On the question of Judaism and Islam in Byzantine theological polemics see Cameron, "Byzantines", 270–273.

Together with the “Agarenes”, in his prayer Gregentios only mentions the Jews and Montanists as religious groups hostile to the Christians (E 582–583). A Judaizing Christian group in Phrygia designated as Montanists, which was probably not identical to the sect of the same name flourishing from the second to fifth century, held out until the ninth century despite massive prosecutions, allegedly undergoing forced baptism together with the Jews in 722.<sup>41</sup> The mention of the Montanists at this place, therefore, does not contribute much to the dating of the *Dialexis*.

It can be observed, however, that outside the strictly theological argumentation the fiction of an origin of the *Dialexis* in pre-Islamic Yemen is maintained consequently: the Romans are the last in the list of people who brought the Jews under their domination (B 620), and among the Christian kingdoms of the present time those of the Romans, Indians, Homerites and Ethiopians are mentioned by name,<sup>42</sup> whereas the remaining states are summed up as “the other nations” (Γ 821–822).<sup>43</sup> Given the probable date of the *Dialexis*, it is also worth mentioning that the famous picture of Christ is described as still being in Edessa (Δ 482–492), that is, before its translation to Constantinople after the victorious Byzantine campaign in 944.<sup>44</sup>

The contradiction between the dating of the *Dialexis* according to either historical or to theological aspects becomes especially obvious in the passage where Gregentios explains the word “God will come from Thaiman” (Hab. 3.3) as referring to Christ who comes from paradise which lies in the East. When Herban correctly objects that Thaiman means south,<sup>45</sup> Gregentios reproaches him for praying in reality to the West (B 296–319). A Jewish direction of prayer to the South is also mentioned in a very similar context in one of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* and in the *Tropaia*.<sup>46</sup> In scholarly literature this has been explained by the Jewish custom of turning the face to Jeru-

<sup>41</sup> In fact, no Judaizing traits are ascribed to the Montanists of the second century; on the later sect, see Sharf, “Jews”; Gouilland, “Hérésie”, 308–312; Dagron & Déroche, “Juifs et Chrétiens”, 44; Dagron, “Judaïser”, 366–367. — Jews and Montanists appear together also in the *Bios of Pankratios*, 75, 88; on this passage, see now Acconcia Longo, *Ricerche*, 59 with note 30; Brandes, “Gold”, 189 with note 70.

<sup>42</sup> The land called India in early Byzantine sources must often be identified with Ethiopia or the country of the Homerites; on this problem of terminology see above, p. 74 note 164. In the passage of the *Dialexis* discussed here, however, these geographical regions and India are clearly distinguished.

<sup>43</sup> On a second enumeration of Christian empires see below, p. 131.

<sup>44</sup> See note 101 to the translation.

<sup>45</sup> Thaiman is often mentioned in the Old Testament; the ‘land of Thaiman’ appears in Jer. 49, 20 and Ezek. 25.13; see also Eusebios, *Onomasticon*, 260.155, and above, p. 25 note 119.

<sup>46</sup> *Quaestiones*, 617D–620B; *Tropaia*, 250.4–254.5.

salem at prayer,<sup>47</sup> and has been used as an argument for originating both texts north of Jerusalem, that is in Syria. Olster and Déroche assumed that in this passage actually the Islamic orientation of prayer to the South-East is intended, and that this has to be understood as a reaction to the Islamic concepts of paradise.<sup>48</sup>

It is true that this passage of the *Dialexis* probably is based on a text similar to the *Tropaia*, and indeed this is another proof for a date after the rise of Islam. However, it appears that the author of the *Dialexis* himself was not aware of the hidden allusion to Islam, as we see from the final remark of Gregentios about the alleged Jewish direction of prayer to the West. The reason for this remark may be that in the imagination of the author the discussion took place somewhere east of Jerusalem, which means in Arabia. In this case, it would here also have the purpose of supporting the fiction of an origin in the kingdom of the Homerites, and thus before Islam. But it is more probable that the remark has to be explained in an entirely different way: it is simply a case of anti-Jewish polemic, for it alludes to the old idea that the West was the seat of the devil and the demons.<sup>49</sup>

### Date and Place of Origin

A last attempt to prove the origin of the *Dialexis* from Arabia and the traditional dating into the sixth century has been made by Irfan Shahîd with two independent arguments which, however, exclude each other at closer examination: on the one hand he assumed that the *Dialexis* in its preserved form might be the result of an Orthodox revision in Rome or elsewhere in the Roman Empire, of a text which was originally Monophysitic in character;<sup>50</sup> on the other hand he considered the possibility that 'Abreha might have changed the religious orientation of his kingdom in his later years, so that the Orthodox character of the *Dialexis* would be no proof against its authenticity. According to Shahîd, the fact that there was evidently an autocephalous archbishopric of Najrân, that

<sup>47</sup> Since Late Antiquity, all synagogues in Palestine and adjacent territories belonging to the Jewish congregation of Jerusalem are oriented to the Temple Mount, those of the Samaritans to the Holy Mountain at Sichem; see, for example, *Ancient Synagogues*.

<sup>48</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 124–125; Déroche, “Polémique” b, 157. — Referring to this debate Thaiman is occasionally translated as ‘east’, see for example Herodianos, *Partitiones*, 56.17. See also Hoyland, *Islam*, 83 note 95.

<sup>49</sup> See for example Kyrillos (or Ioannes II) of Jerusalem, *CPG* 3586, I 4; on this, see Dölger, *Sonne*, 3, 44, 80–81. — Radius, *Discussion*, note 241 thought that Gregentios reproaches the Jews for praying to an earthly place, that is, Thaiman in the sense of Herban’s preceding explanation.

<sup>50</sup> The remark may be allowed here that not even my late teacher Paul Speck, who had the gift to detect interpolations in virtually all Byzantine literary texts, succeeded in doing so when reading an early version of the edited text of the *Dialexis*.

means outside the capital *Zafār*, may point to the simultaneous existence of a monophysitic and an Orthodox hierarchy, similar to that in Syria or Egypt at the same time.<sup>51</sup> John Trimmingham weakened this hypothesis by speaking about the existence of a ‘foreign community’ in *Najrān*, which probably means a Syrian or Greek Orthodox community.<sup>52</sup>

However, as we have already seen, the historical setting of the *Dialexis* is clearly taken over from the *Bios* in which the Orthodox tendency must have been present from the very beginning, first of all in the scene where Gregentios is dispatched to Yemen by an Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria. This contradicts the hypothesis that the Orthodox *Dialexis* as it is preserved today is based on a Monophysitic earlier form. Also, there is no reason to assume that ‘Abreha changed his religious policy, as proposed by Shahîd, for arguments have been found both for a re-orientation towards Orthodoxy and towards Nestorianism.<sup>53</sup> But since the mention of Monotheletism proves a date after the rise of Islam, the argument is useless at all events.

All this demonstrates clearly that, if an earlier version of the *Dialexis* should have existed, the religious tendency of it must already have been Orthodox. Indeed the allusions to Monophysitism and Monotheletism, which are now present in the *Dialexis*, may point to the existence of such an early version, as these topics had become completely irrelevant at the time of the assumed composition in the tenth century. Yet such polemical comments may simply be the result of a certain literary tradition and the use of older sources, but are no indication that an Orthodox early version of the *Dialexis* actually existed.

Moreover, Shahîd explained the repeated mentions of an imminent return of the Jews into the Promised Land by Herban (B 388–393, 642–655; E 118–120) as traces of a local South Arabian tradition, and Gregentios’ invitation to Herban to go to Jerusalem and to see the complete destruction of the temple with his own eyes (Γ 56–58) as an indication that the *Dialexis* was composed there in pre-Islamic times, or at least before the construction of the Dome of the Rock in 691.<sup>54</sup> But there is nothing specifically Arabic in the first argument, and the second one does not carry very far if we assume that the fictitious historical setting mentioned above was taken into consideration here also, especially if the *Dialexis* should have been composed outside of Palestine or the Arabian countries, in which case the author may not even have known the Islamic buildings of Jerusalem, such as the Dome of the Rock.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 32. 39–40 note 42.

<sup>52</sup> Trimmingham, “Christianity”, 302–303. — But see above, p. 76.

<sup>53</sup> See Lundin, *Juznaja Aravija*, 121–122, in contrast to Beeston, “Abraha”, 102.

<sup>54</sup> Shahîd, “Byzantium”, 32–33 note 22.

<sup>55</sup> In this sense also Déroche, “Polémique” b, 151.



A dating which takes into consideration all historical indications from the hitherto known parts of the text, that is, including the mention of Monotheletism and Islam, has first been proposed by David M. Olster: since the *Dialexis* does not speak about a hope for the restoration of the Roman Empire, as we still find it in anti-Jewish texts from the first decades of Islam such as the *Tropaia* or the *Papiskos*, Olster concluded that it was written some time after the conquest of Palestine, say around 680. Also he interpreted the role of Jerusalem as an indication that it originates from there, or at least from Palestine, for the political hope for a return of the Romans has been replaced in the *Dialexis* by the hope for spiritual redemption of every single believer, and the political centre Constantinople by the religious centre Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

However, such a hope cannot have played a role in the arguments of Gregentios, since the author lets the discussion take place in Southern Arabia and in a time when Jerusalem still belonged to the Roman Empire. Taken as a single evidence, the fact that it is missing cannot even be considered as a *terminus post quem* after the early seventh century. It is true that the *Dialexis* argues mainly theologically and does not speak more or less openly about the political situation of the time, as the genuine seventh-century texts do; but this may also be the consequence of the actual origin in a much later time, which is in fact suggested by the allegorical interpretations mentioned above.<sup>57</sup>

When attempting to prove his once established theory about the date and place of origin from other passages of the *Dialexis* as well, Olster overshoots the mark by far. For example, he tries to explain the comparatively conciliatory tone, which the *Dialexis* adopts towards the Jewish community despite all polemic, as an indication that this text originates in Jerusalem, since this tone resulted from the hope for a common attitude against the Arabs of both Christians and Jews. Gregentios' statement that converted Jews had to be regarded as worthier than the pagan proselytes to Christianity because of their origin from a people who brought salvation to the nations (B 802–805),<sup>58</sup> and another statement that he hoped for the conversion of the Jews not only from Jerusalem, but from all over the world (B 682–686) are interpreted by Olster as a sign of a special acquaintance with the Jewish community of Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> However, in the given context this is nothing else than another attempt to justify the translation of the divine inheritance to the Christians, and the mention of Jerusalem does not necessarily indicate a real connection to this city, for the name may have entered the text simply because of its

<sup>56</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 138–157. — A Syrian origin was already assumed by Mordtmann, “Miscellen”, 69 without detailed argumentation.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 96.

<sup>58</sup> In this passage, “Jew” and “Hebrew” are clearly used in the same sense, and there is no distinction between these two terms; on this problem see Arazy, *Appellations*, especially II, 1–119.

<sup>59</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 148–149: Thus the baptism of the Jews of Taphar also becomes an argument for the baptism of the Jews of Jerusalem.

function as a spiritual centre of Christianity and Judaism.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, there is no reason to relate Herban's statement that the Jews were repelled only recently and for a short time (B 809–811), or his words "If we come in, you thrust us out, and if we then go out, you make us enter again" (Γ 43–44) to their short expulsion after the Roman reconquest of Jerusalem in 629.<sup>61</sup> This is also true for the allusion assumed by Olster to the Jewish restoration in the Persian time between 619 and 629, and to the following forced baptism (E 141–143).<sup>62</sup>

Olster's statement that the remarks of the *Dialexis* about Jerusalem reveal a "detailed knowledge" of the city<sup>63</sup> is hardly correct, for the only building mentioned there is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre founded by the empress Helena, which was known in the whole Christian world (Γ 49–80). In the Christian ideological concept the Church of the Holy Sepulchre<sup>64</sup> was the successor of the Temple of Solomon, as it is expressly stated by Gregentios also.<sup>65</sup> Thus this passage is no indication of a detailed knowledge of Jerusalem or of a local tradition, but rather the opposite. That the author himself did not know the Holy Land also becomes clear from the fact that in a discussion about the material origin of the Holy Cross, which is based on Ps. 109.2, apparently Mount Zion and Mount Sinai are equated (B 39–50).<sup>66</sup> Incidentally, also the list of places of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, which is missing in the old edition of the *Dialexis* and thus unknown to Olster, is no proof of such a personal knowledge; in this list, the cave of the Nativity, Golgatha, the tomb of Lazaros and the river Jordan are mentioned, that is, indirectly also the towns of Bethlehem and Bethania (Γ 918–922).

<sup>60</sup> Déroche, "Polémique" b, 152.

<sup>61</sup> As assumed by Olster, *Defeat*, 147–148. The expulsion is mentioned only by Theophanes, *Chronographia* 328.26–28; its historicity has been doubted by Speck, *Dossier*, 70–71 note 129, 159 note 303. On the event, see also Déroche, "Polémique" b, 152 note 55, and now Cameron, "Blaming the Jews", 64–69.

<sup>62</sup> The translation of Olster, *Defeat*, 149 is based here on the defective text of Gulonius' edition; instead of "Let the islands rejoice, it says, when you are called back from them, because they rejoice that they are released from your tyranny when we call you brother believers" we must read: "Will the islands rejoice, when you will be recalled from them, for being redeemed from your tyranny, or rejoicing together with you because you will be recalled as our brother believers?" See also Déroche, "Polémique" b, 153.

<sup>63</sup> Olster, "Defeat", 146–147.

<sup>64</sup> On the history of the church see, for example, Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, 33–37; Krüger, *Grabeskirche*.

<sup>65</sup> On the ideological relation between the Temple and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre see Schwartz, "Encaenia". At the time of the Islamic conquest, a temple of the Capitoline Zeus stood on the Temple Mount; on the fate of the place in the seventh century before the construction of the Dome of the Rock see Mango, "Temple Mount"; Flusin, "Esplanade"; Déroche, "Polémique" b, 151 note 47.

<sup>66</sup> This interpretation contradicts the detailed explanation of Is. 60.13 which follows later in the text (Γ 909–915), on which see above, p. 96.

If the *Dialexis* states that Christian Jerusalem is full of churches (B 477) and the destination of the pilgrimage of the nations as predicted by Isaiah (B 833–838), this has nothing to do with the existing city, but leads us again to the function mentioned above as a spiritual centre of Christianity and Judaism. Thus Olster's observation that Jerusalem has here replaced Constantinople as the centre of Christianity (B 781–783) does not allow the conclusion that the *Dialexis* was also actually composed there.

Finally, there is no way to prove Olster's assumption that the miraculous appearance of Christ at the end of the *Dialexis*, which leads to the baptism of the Jews (E 476–689), indicates the important role of the bishop as a mediator between his community and Christ, and that the scenery at the royal court does the same in respect to the relation between the community and the secular power. He regarded this as a hidden allusion to the bishop's role as the only Christian authority remaining after the invasion of the Arabs, and more concretely as a reminiscence to the fate of the bishops Zacharias, Modestos and Sophronios at the time of the Persian and Arab occupation of Jerusalem.<sup>67</sup> The fact that a bishop assumed the duties of an absent civil government, however, is already occasionally attested in the fifth century, and such cases appear later, though rarely, also in regions of the Byzantine Empire which were never conquered by the Arabs or another power.<sup>68</sup>

When Gregentios speaks about a corporeal destruction of the law by the Assyrians, Persians and Romans, and of a spiritual one by the demons of the Jewish heresies (B 619–620), Olster tries to see this as an allusion to the situation of the Christians in the seventh century, and even as a cautious attempt of the Orthodox Christians of Jerusalem to dissociate themselves from the official policy of the Monotheletic emperors.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 151–152. On the possible death of Sophronios as a martyr, see Woods, "The 60 Martyrs". — Olster also adds the following passages of the *Bios* as illustrations for the great role of the bishop: Herban equates the wonder-working power of Gregentios to that of the desert fathers (E 102–104), Christ appears according to his own words because of Gregentios' intercession (E 634–635), and Gregentios gives counsel to the king in all matters (E 723–730); the last quotation, however, is not part of the *Dialexis*, but the end of the *Bios*, on which see above, p. 102 and below, p. 109. B 789–791, which Olster connects to the apostolic succession of bishops, actually refers to the missionaries who were sent out by the apostles.

<sup>68</sup> The observations made by Claude, *Stadt*, 121–139 are mainly based on western evidence.

<sup>69</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 150–151. — According to Olster, *Defeat*, 153 note 61 the disappearance of the connection between Christianity and the Roman Empire can also be deduced from the designation as χριστιανισμός in the *Dialexis* (B 380, 683, 685) which is otherwise not used in anti-Jewish dialogues. However, the mention of Christianity as a religious phenomenon should be explained by the rather religious than political character of the text and does not allow such a conclusion (in addition to the references given by Olster the word appears at more than a dozen other places).

The *Dialexis* clearly originates from an Orthodox environment, but after the observations made here, this may well have been within the Byzantine Empire and not in Palestine or Syria, as Olster had proposed. In fact, there is strong evidence that both *Bios* and *Nomoi* are of Constantinopolitan origin, and that the author of the *Dialexis* is identical to the author of the *Bios*, perhaps also to the author of the *Nomoi*.<sup>70</sup> The *Dialexis*, therefore, was most probably written in the mid-tenth century in Constantinople, as these texts are.

In this case, the closest parallels to it are the anti-Jewish passages in the fictitious biographies of Saint Andreas Salos and of Basileios the Younger.<sup>71</sup> All these texts are, as it seems, based on a literary fashion inspired by an event which had taken place more than two generations earlier, namely the last forced baptism of Jews in the time of Emperor Basileios I (867–886).<sup>72</sup>

We are informed about this campaign, which began probably in the year 873/74, mainly through the *Vita Basilii* and a treatise written by Gregorios Asbestas.<sup>73</sup> Its main objective was apparently the conversion of the economically important Jewish minority in Constantinople and other great cities. As the *Vita Basilii* states, there was no use of force, instead attempts were made to convince the Jews by theological debates and also by gifts of money. Western and Jewish sources, however, present another picture, declaring that the conversion was carried out in a most compulsive and cruel way. Actually, it seems that a large part of the Jewish population of the Byzantine Empire took refuge in regions which were controlled by the Arabs.<sup>74</sup>

Later, in the eleventh century, a Jewish chronicle from Southern Italy reports that the rabbi Šefatiya from Oria (close to Brindisi) was invited to Constantinople to a discussion with Emperor Basileios I and defeated him, whereupon Basileios started a great prosecution of the Jews in his empire.<sup>75</sup> Even if the details of this story may be legen-

<sup>70</sup> See above, pp. 43 and 89, and below, p. 107.

<sup>71</sup> See Rydén, “The *Life* of St. Basil”. — Another example of anti-Jewish propaganda in a hagiographical context is the *Bios of Nikon*, ch. 33, 35.68–83.

<sup>72</sup> For the following section, see Dagron, “*Traité de Grégoire*”, 347–353. On the possible pre-history of this undertaking, see now also Bonfil, “*Visione*”, 34–38. — Déroche stated in his commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 269–270 that the *Dialexis* should be regarded as “a kind of justification for a possible forced baptism of the Jews of Byzantium” before a Christian public. If so, this forced baptism never took place, at least we do not know about any attempt to convert the Jews of the Byzantine Empire after the late ninth century.

<sup>73</sup> *Vita Basilii* (attributed to emperor Konstantinos VII) in *Theophanes Continuatus*, 341–342; Dagron, “*Traité de Grégoire*”. — Relevant texts translated by Starr, *Jews*, 127–148.

<sup>74</sup> Dagron, “*Traité*”, 350; Ciccolella, “*Basil I*”, 87. — On the Jewish emigration to Islamic countries, see Ankori, *Karaites*, 160; on the events in Constantinople, see also Bonfil, “*Visione*”, 38–42.

<sup>75</sup> *Mediaeval Jewish chronicles*, 116–117; Starr, *Jews*, 128–131 (ch. 64–66); Sharf, *Jewry*, 87–90; Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire*, 307–309; Krauss & Horbury, *Jewish-Christian Controversy*, 64; Ciccolella, “*Basil I*”, 87–88.

dary, we still can understand from it how great the impression must have been which the public debates in the time of Basileios had left in the Jewish community.

The conversion campaign, however, had no lasting success, for as the *Vita Basilii* states, most of the Jews returned to their old faith after the emperor's death. Though his son and successor Leon VI (886–912) resumed Basileios' anti-Jewish policy and issued a novella, in which he praised his father's activities and gave order to the Jews to live according to the Christian religion,<sup>76</sup> Jewish sources state at the same time that he gave permission to the Jews to return to their former religion.<sup>77</sup> Perhaps the only lasting result of this last great attempt to convert and to assimilate the Jews in the Byzantine Empire was, after all, the cult of a new saint, namely Konstantinos, a converted Jew from Nikaia who later lived as a monk in his native town and on Mount Olympos in Bithynia.<sup>78</sup>

A very long and detailed anti-Jewish treatise, the so-called *Anonymus Hostens*, was probably written as a reaction to these events, for it is dated to 907/08.<sup>79</sup> Clearly a contemporary product of this time are the two poems by a certain *protoasekretis* Christophoros, which exhort the Jews to baptism, and of which one is styled as a dialogue between Emperor Basileios I and a Jew.<sup>80</sup> It may be true that except for these texts there was no "relevant contemporary production of apologetic literature" in the time of Basileios' attempted conversion.<sup>81</sup> But as we have stated above, the incident caused an atmosphere hostile to the Jews which lasted for a long time, and is reflected in hagiographical texts. It has also been believed that some other texts, which are usually dated into the seventh century, were actually composed or thoroughly redacted at the same occasion, such as the *Doctrina Iacobi*<sup>82</sup> and the anti-Jewish treatise usually ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Leon VI, *Novella* 55 (ed. 209–211).

<sup>77</sup> *Mediaeval Jewish chronicles*, 117–118; Starr, *Jews*, 140 (ch. 78).

<sup>78</sup> "Vita Sancti Constantini" ed. Delchaye; on which see Efthymiadis, "Παρατηρήσεις". On his cult in Constantinople, which included the veneration of his grave in a convent founded by Empress Theophano († 897), Leon's first wife, see Majeska, "The Body". — Nikaia was a major centre of Jewish life in the ninth century, as the *Bios* of Konstantinos the Jew and Gregorios' treatise show.

<sup>79</sup> *Anonymus Hostens*. — The work is dated 883 years after the crucifixion of Christ, *ibid.*, II 505–507. A short treatise, the *Anonyma testimonia*, which contains obvious parallels to this text, was recently published by de Groot.

<sup>80</sup> Ciccolella, "Basil I".

<sup>81</sup> As assumed by Ciccolella, *ibid.*, without reference to the *Anonymus Hostens*.

<sup>82</sup> Speck, "Doctrina Iacobi", 436–439. — But see Déroche, commentary to the *Doctrina Iacobi*; also Stemberger, "Zwangstaufen", 108–109.

<sup>83</sup> Ps.-Anastasios Sinaites, *Disputatio adversus Iudaeos*, CPG 7772, PG 89, 1204–1281; see Ciccolella, "Basil I", 91 note 59; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, 221–22, on the authentic evidence from the late seventh century in this text.

The assumption that the *Dialexis* and the *Bios* are the work of the same author is made on the following grounds: several theological passages are inserted into the *Bios* which are very similar to the *Dialexis* in their style and technique of argumentation.<sup>84</sup> The same rather rare quotation from Basileios the Great appears in both parts of the Dossier (1.160 and B 987–988).<sup>85</sup> Both texts use a complete set of quotations from the Old Testament, probably from some sort of florilegium, though at both instances in a different context (3.174–177, 189–190 and A 239–242).<sup>86</sup> Also, they share a number of linguistic peculiarities.<sup>87</sup>

It must be admitted, however, that the general level of style in the *Dialexis* is considerably higher than in the *Bios*. The number of deviations from the classical norm, that is, of odd grammatical constructions and unclear or entirely incomprehensible passages is much higher in the *Bios* than in the *Dialexis*, a fact which can hardly be explained by the requirements of the different genres or the narrower base of the textual tradition in the *Bios*.<sup>88</sup>

If both texts are the work of one author, it also follows that the *Bios* was mainly written with the intention of providing a historical framework for the *Dialexis*. The circumstances, under which the Dossier of Gregentios was composed, may therefore be reconstructed as follows:

When the *Dialexis* was written, approximately in the middle of the tenth century or shortly thereafter, by an anonymous author, he also took the decision to set it into the fictitious historical context of a remote past. This was rather unusual in this genre, for although, as we have seen, most anti-Jewish dialogues do not record historical events, their imaginary date is normally close to the actual time of composition. In fact, the *Dialexis* is the only anti-Jewish text where the alleged events described and the real author are separated by more than fourhundred years.

The author must have searched the library of his monastery, which can probably be identified with the Constantinopolitan monastery of Maximina,<sup>89</sup> for possible sources for the life of a fictitious Christian participant in the discussion. The result of his investigations are the figure of Saint Gregentios and his *Bios*. For the final part of this text, the author used a source about the mission of Yemen in King Kālēb's time, which provided an ideal pseudo-historical background for the *Dialexis*. The staging of this

<sup>84</sup> See below, pp. 131–134.

<sup>85</sup> From Basileios, *CPG* 2836, *PG* 29, 224c.

<sup>86</sup> Reg. 20.1–16; *Ascensio Isaiae*, 3.19; Jer. 45.6; Mt. 2.16; Protev. Iacobi 22.1–2; Mt. 23.35, Lc. 11.51 and Protev. Iacobi 23, with different additions at both places. — For the possible use of florilegia, see also below, p. 128.

<sup>87</sup> See below, pp. 135–140.

<sup>88</sup> See below, p. 135.

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 40.

event in pre-Islamic Yemen is, therefore, caused only by the sources used for the *Bios*, and has nothing to do with the theological content of the debate.

At all events, the *Dialexis* is a mainly literary work which does not intend to mirror the reality of its time of origin in detail. The circumstances of the discussion as described there have nothing in common with the attempts to convert the Byzantine Jews in the time of Basileios I, at least if they were as moderate as they are described by Byzantine sources: in the transition between *Bios* and *Dialexis*, the Jews are only given the choice between baptism and death, without respect to the result of the discussion (10.3–5), so that the base for a just debate does not exist,<sup>90</sup> and the laws allegedly issued by the king after the forced baptism, forcing the Jews to give completely up their cultural identity and to become assimilated (E 701–708),<sup>91</sup> are unrealistically strict.

The name of the Jewish interlocutor, the law teacher Herban, presents us with another problem. A person bearing this name or a similar one is not attested, neither in the alleged nor the historical time of origin. Two hypotheses seem possible, namely either that the name was formed from the word *Hebraios* by a metathesis, a procedure similar to that which we have assumed above for the formation of the name Gregentios from Gregorios and a name ending in *-entios*.<sup>92</sup>

Alternatively, the Greek *Herban* might well be from *\*hā-rabbān*, artificially formed by the Hebrew article + *rabbān* usurped as a personal name. Since Talmudic times, in both Rabbinic Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, *rabbān(ā)* ‘lord’ was used both as a designation of the Exilarch or a member of his family, the head of the *yeshiva* (Talmudic school), and as a more general title of respect.<sup>93</sup> In principle, such a formation from *rab(bā)* + suffix of pronoun would oppose a Hebrew definite article preceding it, but in medieval Hebrew writings dating around 1000 we do find, sometimes, the definite article before a proper name, according to, i.e. by the influence of the Greek use: e.g., *hā-Šidqiyyāh* ‘Zedekyah’.<sup>94</sup>

In both cases, the word Herban would be an appellative which was used, deliberately or as the consequence of a misunderstanding, as a personal name.

A question which arises in this context is also why Gregentios assigns to Herban in baptism the new name Leon (E 692). William Th. Radius speculated that this may have been done “in memory of pope Leo I (440–461) whose famous doctrinal letter, the so-

<sup>90</sup> Since the menace of violence was already made shortly before in the *Bios* (9.283–286), this has no significance for the circumstances of origin of the *Dialexis*, as assumed by Déroche, commentary to the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 270; Déroche also makes reference to the violent conversion of the Jews in Severus of Minorca 92–110, on which see also Stemberger, “Zwangstaufen”, 86–90. — See also below, p. 124.

<sup>91</sup> See Dagron, “Judaïser”, 362; Déroche, “Polémique” b, 153.

<sup>92</sup> See above, pp. 28–29.

<sup>93</sup> Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 1053b, s.v.

<sup>94</sup> de Lange, *A thousand years*, 158. — G.F.

called *tomus Leonis*, formed the basis for the settlement of Chalcedon in favor of Dyophysitism".<sup>95</sup> However, the issue of Mono- and Dyophysitism plays only a marginal role in the *Dialexis*, and no historical details about this debate are mentioned.<sup>96</sup> Given the date of the Dossier, we may rather assume that this is an allusion to the emperor Leon VI and his baptism of Jews. But since Leon was a very common name in this time, these reasonings probably lead to no useful result.

## 5. The Dossier of Saint Gregentios

The question how the *Bios*, the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis* have been put together to form the Dossier of Saint Gregentios we have today, can only be clarified in connection with the textual tradition.

*Bios*, *Dialexis* and *Nomoi* are transmitted as a continuous text only in manuscript C in the following sequence:

1	<i>Bios</i>	1–9	end with the baptism of Jews
2	<i>Bios</i>	10.1–46	mention of the remaining unbaptised, introduction of Herban and preparation of the discussion
3	<i>Bios</i>	10.47–66	Gregentios' request for the order to compose the laws, division of the country into 36 regions by the king
4	<i>Bios</i>	10.67–86	pious works of King Abraham, peace and justice in his kingdom
5	<i>Nomoi</i>	N 1–485	<i>Nomoi</i>
6	<i>Nomoi</i>	N 486–534	proclamation of the <i>Nomoi</i> , transition to the <i>Dialexis</i>
7	<i>Dialexis</i>	A 3 – E 708	<i>Dialexis</i>
8	<i>Dialexis</i>	E 709–745	end of <i>Bios</i> : justice of the king, deaths of Abraham and Gregentios

Sections 2–4 of this list actually do not belong to the *Bios*, but are counted in this edition as chapter 10 of the *Bios* for purely practical reasons.

If we put together the actually biographic parts of this Dossier, that is sections 1 and 8, we have a narrative which makes perfect sense without any connection to the *Nomoi* and the *Dialexis*. It is possible therefore that the *Bios* was originally conceived as an independent text. Section 4, however, is problematical, since it seems to belong also to the *Bios*, but partially coincides in content with the beginning of section 8; both sections can hardly have stood together in the *Bios* at a time when *Nomoi* and *Dialexis* had not

<sup>95</sup> Radius, *Discussion*, note 848a.

<sup>96</sup> See above, p. 101.



been inserted yet, and as we will presently see, it is probably section 4 which was introduced at a later date.

The *Dialexis* was very probably not composed independently, but connected from the beginning to the *Bios* in its complete form, for the scenery in the land of the Homerites is inspired by the Arabian part of the *Bios* and is an original part of the text.<sup>1</sup> Not only the beginning and end of the *Dialexis*, but also the transitions between the single days clearly refer to the *Bios*. And even in those manuscripts, where the *Dialexis* is transmitted without the *Bios*, we have no independent tradition of it, since it always ends with section 8 which is a part of the *Bios*.<sup>2</sup>

As we have seen above, a number of similarities between the *Bios* and the *Dialexis* show that they are the work of the same author, and that the *Bios* was written with the explicit intention to provide the fictitious historical background for the *Dialexis*.<sup>3</sup> This is also suggested by the fact that the future discussion with the Jews is already mentioned once in a prophecy to Gregentios (6.149–151). However, the *Bios* in its original form did not contain a suitable place for the insertion of the *Dialexis*, since the baptism of all Jews in the kingdom of the Homerites is mentioned only shortly before the end without further details (9.282–291). To create such a place, section 2 was inserted in which an unbaptised group of Jews and their leader Herban are introduced, who could then serve as the discussion partner of Gregentios in the following *Dialexis*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus it seems possible that in an early stage the Dossier consisted only of *Bios* and *Dialexis*, that is, of sections 1, 2, 7 and 8.

The *Nomoi*, which may well be also a work of the same author as the *Bios* and the *Dialexis*,<sup>5</sup> were inserted into this version of the Dossier exactly before the point where previously the *Dialexis* had been inserted, with the result that the genitive absolute at the end of the preceding passage in 10.50–52 lost its connection to the beginning of the *Dialexis*.

The *Nomoi* are connected to *Bios* and *Dialexis* by a number of short passages: section 3 is added before them which begins in C with the words “When the fixed preparation time had ended”, a nearly literal quotation from the beginning of the *Dialexis*.<sup>6</sup> The following section 4 is obviously used as a retarding element, that is, it

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Reversely, the young manuscript Vatop. 92, which contains only the *Bios* in a modern Greek metaphrasis, ends with section 4 at 10.86, although the religious dispute does not follow.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> In case the *Dialexis* should have once existed as an independent text without connection to the *Bios*, also the passage E 393–396, which refers to Gregentios’ stay in Alexandria, must have been added at this occasion.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Only the manuscripts D A F restore a stringent grammatical construction by removing the word οὖν, so that the genitive absolute refers to this sentence.

suggests that some time has elapsed in which the *Nomoi* were composed. It ends with the words: "I have decided to add the venerable law to this narration which saint Gregentios composed, so to speak, on the order of the king."<sup>7</sup> Then the text of the *Nomoi* follows in section 5, from which another connecting passage leads to the *Dialexis*, namely section 6, containing the miracle of the announcement of the laws. This section is skilfully connected to the *Dialexis* by an genitive absolute which provides a substitute for the absolute genitive which had been detached at the beginning by the insertion of the *Nomoi*.

The hyparchetype  $\gamma$ <sup>8</sup> also contains the *Nomoi*, but these follow after the end of *Dialexis* and *Bios* and begin with an own title and section 5, whereas the introducing sections 3 and 4 are omitted. In S the *Nomoi* are written by the same writer as the main text, but on some later attached leaves, and a marginal remark in S and H at 10.45, where the *Nomoi* should be positioned according to the context of the *Bios* and where they approximately do appear in C, points to this place: "The holy king gave order to the archbishop that he as well should compose a law from the Old and New Testament. Look for the law at the end of the book."

In S and H, the only manuscripts of  $\gamma$  which contain the *Bios*, the narration continues into the *Dialexis* without any break or logical leap, that is directly from section 2 to section 7, as we have assumed for an early stage of the Dossier. However, it is clear that the *Nomoi* originally had their place before the *Dialexis* here also: on the one hand, two numbers of an old count of chapters, which was continued from the *Bios*, still stand in S and V,<sup>9</sup> and on the other hand the *Nomoi* here also end with the scene of their announcement which makes sense only in the context of the *Bios* and *Dialexis*; the genitive absolute at the end, which has lost the original point of reference, here leads into a doxology without a finite verb. The older form of the hyparchetype is designated in the stemma as  $\gamma'$ .<sup>10</sup>

In the manuscripts which depend on the hyparchetype  $\psi$  and which are related more closely to C, the *Nomoi* are missing, but it can be demonstrated that they were removed subsequently: in K section 3 and the beginning of section 4 have been kept, and in D A F, the only manuscripts containing the *Bios* in family  $\beta$ , which in turn depends on  $\psi$ ,<sup>11</sup> sections 3 and 4 are complete, although the *Nomoi* do not follow, and end with a doxology.

<sup>7</sup> The abrupt transition from the preceding text was already noticed by Boissonade, but explained by him with a lacuna in the text, since it lies exactly between folia 4 and 5 of C; see *PG* 86/1, note 63 to 581A.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 176.

<sup>9</sup> See below, pp. 167–168.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 176.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 172.

The contaminated group  $\delta^{12}$  takes the beginning of the *Dialexis* from  $\alpha$ , starting with the end of the preceding announcement scene, while the rest of the text is taken from  $\gamma$  where the announcement forms the end of the *Nomoi*, so that the last lines appear twice in this group of manuscripts.

It is clear therefore that the arrangement of the text in C is the original one, and that it was given up by the remaining tradition. The reason for this was probably that the insertion of the *Nomoi* had disrupted the course of the narration too strongly. The fact that *Bios* and *Dialexis* were also separated in parts of the later tradition can be explained by the great length of both texts, and also by their different character. A consequence of this excessive length are also the heavy cuts of about 30%, mainly in the *Dialexis*, which were made in the hyparchetype  $\gamma$ . On the other hand, the loss of about 40% of the text in  $\beta$ , upon which a great part of the surviving manuscripts depends, is the result of mechanical damage.<sup>13</sup>

Since the *Dialexis* has been designed from the beginning for the context of the *Bios* and has been united with it by connecting texts, it also does not possess a clear beginning. This is the reason why in the separate tradition of the *Dialexis*, which starts from three different points of the stemma, the text also begins at slightly different places: in N and the group  $\mu$ , the beginning at A 1 results from the procedure described above by which the *Nomoi* were removed from the hyparchetype  $\beta$ ; in X the *Dialexis* begins at A 14, in Al and P at A 16, and in V M at N 532<sup>14</sup>.

The Dossier of Saint Gregentios is quite an unusual work of literature due to the different character of its three components and its enormous size. The only text which can be compared to it regarding the insertion of such a long anti-Jewish treatise into a hagiographical life, are the legendary *Acta Silvestri*, known in the Byzantine East through the Greek version BHG 1628–1630.<sup>15</sup> As in the Dossier of Gregentios, the religious dispute is inserted shortly before the end of the vita, also being longer. The *Acta Silvestri* go back to the fifth century, but have been revised and extended during the course of their transmission.<sup>16</sup> While the alleged baptism of Constantine the Great by Silvester must be

<sup>12</sup> See below, pp. 180–181.

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 172.

<sup>14</sup> These last lines of the transition are also repeated at the end of the *Nomoi*, so that the same text forms the beginning and the end of the Corpus of *Dialexis* and *Nomoi*, as transmitted by the hyparchetype  $\delta$ .

<sup>15</sup> This text has played a surprisingly small role in the discussion of Byzantine anti-Jewish texts; but see, for example, Schreckenberg, *Adversos-Judaeos-Texte*, 255–257; Külzer, *Disputationes*, 181–182. — On the similarities to the Dossier of Gregentios, see also Patlagean, *Lois*, 66.

<sup>16</sup> Levison, “Konstantinische Schenkung”; Pohlkamp, “Silvesterakten”; Lieu, “From History to Legend”, 136–149.

an original part of the legend, it seems that the scene, where Peter and Paul appear to Constantine in a dream and he recognises them later on pictures shown to him by Silvester, is not attested before the letter of Pope Hadrian I, written in 786.<sup>17</sup>

The religious discussion in the *Acta Silvestri*, on the other hand, is most probably an original part of the text, for its formal conception is very different from that of all later Byzantine anti-Jewish dialogues: in the oldest versions, the conversation is styled as a regular Roman civil-law suit, where Constantine is the counsel of the Christians and his mother Helena the one of the Jews; also there are twelve pagan judges who direct a series of twelve discussions with Jewish scholars. Especially the idea of a division of mankind into the three *genera* of Christians, Jews and pagans leads us back here into a time before the complete Christianisation of the Roman Empire.<sup>18</sup> In addition to this, there is no allusion to such topics as the veneration of images and saints, which would allow us to conclude a later date of origin.

At all events, there is no indication that the author of the Dossier of Gregentios knew the Greek translation of the *Acta Silvestri*. In the *Bios*, Gregentios visits a hermit on a mountain close to Rome which can clearly be identified as the Soracte where Silvester took refuge during Constantine's persecution of the Christians (6.57–179). But Silvester is not mentioned with a single word, and what the author knows about this mountain was probably taken from a description of Rome, which was the source for this part of the *Bios*.<sup>19</sup>

17 See Kazhdan, "Constantin", 209–210, and on the letter recently Lamberz, "Studien". — Fowden, "Constantine", concludes from *Anthologia Graeca*, I 10.70–76 that the story of the dream was known already in the early sixth century; however, the allusion is unclear, and no images are mentioned. Speck, *Interpolationen*, 174–176, assumed that the story of the dream is already interpolated in Hadrian's letter.

18 Pohlkamp, "Silvester-Akten", 160–167, 173–179. — The *Bios* of Gregentios mentions the "fourfold people" instead, who are to be converted by the saint; on these, see above, p. 47.

19 See above, p. 33.

## 6. The *Dialexis* as a Theological Treatise

### Summary

- A** 1–15 Introduction; 16–62 the chosen people (1); 63–111 the Trinity in the Old Testament; 112–142 the chosen people (2); 143–245 Jesus Christ the Messiah; 246–275 the Holy Cross in the Old Testament (1); 276–340 the coming of Christ (1); 340–404 King Solomon; 405–491 the coming of Christ (2); 492–501 conclusion.
- B** 1–31 continuation of A 501; 32–47 the Holy Cross in the Old Testament (2); 47–78 the coming of Christ (3); 79–108 the Virgin giving birth (1); 109–126 the passion of Christ (1); 127–136 the people of Israel (1); 136–211 the passion of Christ (2); 212–235 the unbelieving Jews; 236–297 the old and the new law (1); 298–319 the direction of prayer; 320–337 Christ, God and man (1); 338–387 the dispersion of the Jews (1), the value of Judaism before Christ, the new law and the rejection of the Jews (1); 388–411 the loss and restoration of Jerusalem to the Jews; 412–434 the chosen people (3); 434–480 the dispersion of the Jews (2); 480–496 the coming of Christ (4); 497–551 the new people of Israel (1); 551–557 martyrs from the New Testament; 558–583 the coming of Christ (5) and heavenly Zion; 583–607 Christ, light and protector of the world; 607–641 the rejection (2) and dispersion (3) of the Jews; 642–689 the return of the Jews to Jerusalem (1); 689–694 the Holy Cross in the Old Testament (3); 695–713 the old and the new law (2); 714–748 the coming of Christ (6); 749–805 the calling of the nations (1); 806–852 Jerusalem among the nations; 853–953 God’s love for the new people of Israel; 954–980 Christ, God and man (2); 981–1038 the unbelieving Jews and the coming of Christ; 1039–1065 Herban: God’s love for Israel; 1066–1206 Gregentios: God’s cursing on Israel; 1206–1221 the baptism; 1221–1226 conclusion.
- Γ** 1–18 The rejection of the Jews (2); 19–44 God’s love for Israel; 45–72 the temple and church of the Holy Sepulchre; 73–101 the coming of Christ (7) and the Antichrist; 102–117 the coming of the Messiah as seen by the Jews; 118–129 the coming of Christ (8); 129–219 the enlightenment of the Jews through captivity and submissions; 220–258 transition; 259–295 the old and the new people of Israel (1); 296–388 the old and the new people of Israel (2) and the heavenly Jerusalem, Judas is Jesus; 389–487 the calling of the nations (2); 488–556 the rejection of the Jews (3); 556–562 Christ’s judgement over the Jews; 563–574 Herban: God, not Christ is the judge; 575–618 the rejection of the Jews (4); 618–623 the calling of the nations (3); 624–632 the chosen people (4); 633–673 Christ, the new law; 674–696 worship of God only through Christ; 697–753 the conversion of the Jews, containing also: Jerusalem, personified by an archangel, speaks to God (715–721); 754–787 transition; 788–804 the Holy Cross in the Old Testament; 805–811 transition; 812–820 the coming of Christ (9); 820–853 the conversion of the nations; 853–876 Christian Jerusalem (1); 876–902 the new people of Israel (2); 902–905 Christ’s victory over the demons; 905–918 the Holy Cross in the Old Testament (5); 918–929 Christian Jerusalem (2); 929–948 the new people of Israel (3); 949–952 conclusion.

- Δ 1–31 The new people of Israel (4); 32–42 transition; 43–92 the new people of Israel (5) and the coming of Christ (10); 92–106 the church, the new Zion; 106–135 the new people of Israel (6); 135–205 the rejection of the Jews (5) and the conversion of the nations (4); 206–231 the Last Judgement; 232–289 the worship of icons (1); 290–360 the worship of saints (1); 360–394 the worship of icons (2); 394–408 the worship of saints (2); 409–492 the worship of icons (3) and the Abgar legend; 493–499 Christ, the God of Abraham; 500–532 the death and resurrection of Christ; 533–538 the Jews in Gehenna; 539–547 transition; 548–557 the rejection of the Jews (6); 558–599 the coming of Christ (11); 600–700 the old and the new law (3); 701–714 the Virgin giving birth (2); 714–730 Christ, God and man (3); 731–779 the worship of icons (4); 780–800 Christ, the Lord of creation; 801–826 circumcision and the Sabbath; 827–835 the prohibition of pork; 836–888 the old and the new law (4); 889–934 the people of Israel (2); 935–973 Christ, the new David; 974–1081 the passion of Christ (3), containing: the old and the new law (5) (987–996), the impossibility of Christ’s release by the angels (1011–1014), David’s tomb (1075–1081); 1082–1144 the rejection of the Jews (7), containing also the fate of Judas (1105–1116); 1145–1185 the old and the new law (6); 1185–1199 the calling of the nations (5); 1200–1209 the coming of Christ (12); 1210–1262 the old and the new people of Israel (3), containing: the ascension of Christ (1215–1220); 1263–1286 conclusion, Herban’s vision of Moses.
- E 1–53 The rejection of the Jews (4); 53–78 the calling of the nations (6); 79–96 Christ, the God of the nations; 97–106 polemic and discussion; 107–133 the return of the Jews to Jerusalem (2) 134–161 the coming of Christ (13); 162–172 transition; 173–189 the old law; 190–225 transition, exhortation to baptism; 226–274 the life and achievements of Christ, the reassumption; 275–314 the passion of Christ (4); 315–329 Christ’s wonders; 330–356 Christ, God and man (4); 357–359 transition, mention of the secretary Palladios; 360–366 the Jews as infants; 367–421 the imperfection of the old law; 421–464 its fulfillment through Christ.  
464–505 Discussion about the appearance of Christ; 506–606 prayer of Gregentios; 607–649 appearance of Christ; 650–681 the loss of eyelight, baptism and healing of the Jews; 682–694 repentance of Herban, his reception into the clergy; 695–708 baptism of the remaining Jews, laws concerning assimilation.

### **End of *Bios*<sup>1</sup>**

709–730 Abraha reigns justly over the Homerites with the advice of Gregentios; 731–736 he dies after a reign of thirty years and is buried in Taphar, his son Seridos succeeds him on the throne; 737–745 shortly thereafter, on the 19th December Gregentios also dies and is buried in the main church.

### Anti-Jewish Texts

The central point of discussion in all anti-Jewish treatises and also in the *Dialexis* is the question whether Christianity, having emerged from Judaism, has also inherited the promise and claim for God’s salvation, or not. Is Jesus Christ really the Son of God and the

<sup>1</sup> On this section see above, pp. 6 and 109.

Messiah expected by the Jews? Who are the chosen people of Israel, the Jews or the nations who have converted to Christianity? Is the old covenant of the Israelites with God still valid, or has it been replaced by the new covenant with the Christians? Is the Mosaic law still valid, or has it been replaced by the laws of the Christians?<sup>2</sup>

Although these basic topics of discussion are similar in all anti-Jewish works, it can be observed that the argumentation in detail is made in very different ways. On the other hand, the number of central biblical passages, which are quoted regularly by these texts for the discussion of certain themes, is rather limited:<sup>3</sup>

The rejection of the Jews	Is. 3.9–10 (Γ 527–529)
The Trinity in the Old Testament	Gen. 1.26 (—); Deut. 6, 4 (A 88–89, B 219–221)
The two persons of God	Gen. 19.24 (—)
Christ, the new law	Bar. 3.36–38 (Γ 647–652)
Jesus Christ the Messiah	Gen. 49.10 (A 191–193, Δ 72–73); Deut. 28.66 (A 175–176); Is. 11.10; Bar. 3.36–38 (A 210–220)
Jesus Christ, the Son of God	Ps. 2.7 (A 444)
The coming of Christ	Ps. 17.10–11 (—); 46.9 (Δ 1200–1201); 71.6 (A 314–315, E 511); 86.5 (—); 109.1 (A 483–484, B 15. 27–30, Δ 553–554); 109.3–4 (B 60–72); 117.26 (—); 28.16 (B 1026–1027)
The birth of Christ	Is. 7.14 (B 73–74); 9.5 (Δ 562–570)
The Virgin giving birth	Ex. 3.2 (B 101)
The passion of Christ	Ps. 68.22 (B 165–166); Is. 50.6 and 53.7, 9 (B 147–148, 200–203, 279–280); Amos 8.9 (B 168–169)
The resurrection	Ps. 15.10 (A 409–410)
The Holy Ghost	Zach. 12.10 (—)
The Last Judgement	Ps. 32.6 (Δ 222)
The old and the new law	Hab. 3.3 (B 289–290, 296–297)
The worship of icons	Ex. 32.4 (Δ 379–380)

Some of these quotations have already served as proofs for the Christian faith in the New Testament.<sup>4</sup> However, in addition to these basic passages, a large number of very different texts from the Old Testament has been quoted in Christian anti-Jewish literature, especially from Isaiah and the Psalms.<sup>5</sup> Given the fact that these discussion mostly treat the same basic themes, the similarities between them are actually not as close as one might expect.

<sup>2</sup> See Hulen, “*Dialogues*”, 65.

<sup>3</sup> The passages quoted in this list are those used in the discussion of the given context by at least three of the anti-Jewish texts mentioned in the bibliography. Passages not quoted by the *Dialexis* are marked with —. For other passages from the Old Testament which are quoted frequently in anti-Jewish texts, see Külzer, *Disputationes*, 254–258.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. 15.10 in Acta 2.31 — Ps. 109.1 in Mt. 22.44; Mc. 12.37; Lc. 20.43; Io. 2.35 — Is. 7.14 in Mt. 1.23 — Is. 53.7 in Acta 8.32–33.

<sup>5</sup> On the central importance of Isaiah in the Christian appropriation of the Old Testament see for example Sawyer, *Fifth Gospel*, especially 1–125.

The main points listed here are discussed more than once in most anti-Jewish texts, and every time in a slightly different way. For the arrangement of the material two main principles are used: Either a topic is discussed using more than one biblical passage, or a longer section of the Scripture serves as a starting point for the discussion of a number of different themes. However, since it is impossible to apply these principles on a completely separate basis, they are normally used side by side, with the result that the composition of the texts makes a rather unsystematic impression. This is also the case with the *Dialexis*.

The lack of systematic arrangement is partially also the result of the dialogue form<sup>6</sup> which has been used by most of the anti-Jewish texts of the early and middle Byzantine time, and be it only in the reduced form of the *Erotapokriseis*. This form lends itself for the confrontation of two religions, and therefore, with good reason, has become a literary tradition. However, it has the disadvantage that a logical termination cannot be reached: The miraculous conversion at the end of the *Dialexis*, which has many parallels in anti-Jewish literature, is thus a suitable way to give the story a satisfying end.<sup>7</sup>

After all, it must be stated that the dialogue form is not compulsory and is not applied exclusively in Christian anti-Jewish literature. The so-called *Anonymus Hostens*, a work written roughly at the same time as the *Dialexis*, indeed falls out of the usual framework not only by its excessive length (it surpasses that of the *Dialexis* again by half), but also by its systematic arrangement of the discussion in which dialogue elements are nearly inexistent.<sup>8</sup>

The abrupt change of subjects contributes in most of the dialogues to a vivid and authentic impression of the discussion so that the lack of systematic arrangement is less sensible than in other literary forms. Different points of view can be stated here without any obligation to treat them in full or to justify them.<sup>9</sup>

A common characteristic of nearly all anti-Jewish texts since the beginning of the genre is also that they are purely literary products and can in no case be the record of a discussion that actually took place. If they were real witnesses of a theological debate between Christianity and Judaism at all,<sup>10</sup> they could in the best case have been written to provide some help for argumentation, and it is probable that they were rather addressed to Christians of weak faith than actually to Jews. There is no indication that any of

<sup>6</sup> On dialogues without anti-Jewish polemics in older Christian literature, see Voss, *Dialog*.

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 124–125.

<sup>8</sup> *Anonymus Hostens* \*17–21; see also Külzer, *Disputationes*, 175–179: A frame story and contributions of a Jewish interlocutor are missing, the dialogue elements are confined to the insertion of the address ὦ Ἰουδαῖε and some indirect questions.

<sup>9</sup> Külzer, *Disputationes*, 314.

<sup>10</sup> In the Byzantine empire, the number of Jews was significant enough to let us assume that a religious discussion with them was actually regarded as necessary. The presence of anti-Jewish literature, therefore, is not *A Grin without a Cat* as A. Pereswetoff-Morath called his book on the tradition of these texts in medieval Russia.



these discussions between Christians and Jews was ever conducted under the circumstances described in the texts. The fictitious Jewish participants of these discussions actually do not know the Jewish traditions very well, and mostly the dialogue ends with their conversion.<sup>11</sup> Also, with few exceptions,<sup>12</sup> the Christian participants do not possess any substantial knowledge of Judaism and Jewry. All this shows, to use Averil Cameron's words, "the willingness on the part of the Christian writers to use the literary image of the Jew to point their own ideological lessons."<sup>13</sup>

### The *Dialexis*

The *Dialexis* of Gregentios and Herban was written, as we have seen, in the mid-tenth century,<sup>14</sup> more than two generations after the last forced baptism of Jews under Basileios I (867–886) and the public discussions held on that occasion. Nevertheless, in contrast to most other anti-Jewish texts, we get the impression, when reading the *Dialexis*, that the author was acquainted with the arguments of the Jewish side, and Roly Zylbersztein suggests in a forthcoming study that this was actually the case.<sup>15</sup>

The *Aggadat Bereshit*, a homiletic Midrash on the Book of Genesis from the tenth century,<sup>16</sup> contains, among other passages unparalleled in rabbinic literature, also the following anti-Christian interpretation of the sacrifice of Abraham (Gen. 22): God felt compassion for Isaac and did not allow his slaughter. If he had a son, "as the deceivers say", how could it then be possible that he allowed his death? While other Christian texts give purely christological explanations for the sacrifice of Abraham,<sup>17</sup> the *Dialexis* apparently reacts to this Jewish argument by stating that Jesus "will be slaughtered and not be slaughtered, and that he will die and not die" (A 71–82) — in other words, by suggesting that his death was soon annihilated by his resurrection. Another passage of the *Aggadat Bereshit* insists that the contract between Abraham and God concerning circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath is still the condition for the salvation of

11 McGiffert, in *Dialogue of Papiskos and Philon*, 3–4; Hulen, "Dialogues", 63–64; Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 272–273.

12 Such as the Kephalaia, see Déroche, "Kephalaia", *passim*; Külzer, *Disputationes*, 158–160.

13 Cameron, "Blaming the Jews", 75.

14 See above, p. 107.

15 R. Zylbersztein, *Byzantine Views on the Jews: Studies in Polemical Discourse in the Byzantine Empire from the beginning of the Seventh Century through the Eleventh Century* (forthcoming PhD dissertation).

16 Teugels, *Aggadat Bereshit*, 100 (ch. 31); see also Teugels, "Background".

17 According to the *Doctrina Iacobi*, V 13, for example, the slaughter of the ram prefigures the crucifixion of Jesus, and the carrying of the wood for the offering prefigures the carrying of the cross.

Israel,<sup>18</sup> while the *Dialexis* claims that the new law of the Christians has invalidated these old commands, so that even Abraham, if he would live today, would not obey to them (Δ 645–665).

In most of its parts, however, the *Dialexis* shares a deep ignorance of Jewish theology with most anti-Jewish literature of the Byzantine age, as we will presently see.

The various references to contemporary theology and history, which are contained in the *Dialexis*, have already been discussed above in connection with the date and possible circumstances of origin.<sup>19</sup> It became apparent that there is a contradiction between the alleged origin of the text from a time when the Roman Empire still possessed world supremacy (B 620, 821), that is before the rise of Islam, and certain points of the theological argument, such as the mention of Monotheletism (A 420–421), the long discussion about the veneration of images and saints (Δ 232–492), the *filioque* debate (A 68–70, 92–93, Δ 874–876, 1128–1130), and the hidden dispute with Islam (Γ 841–842, Δ 1005–1011, E 583–584).

If we try to classify the Byzantine anti-Jewish texts, we may use the distribution proposed by Amos B. Hulen who assigned these texts to three main types: In the first, the aim of the Christian disputant is mainly the conversion of his Jewish partner by demonstrating the truth of Christianity with proofs from the Old Testament. In the second, the apology of Christianity against Jewish objections stands in the centre of the discussion, and in the third the Jews are depicted as a people forsaken by God which cannot be converted and saved.<sup>20</sup> Since the conversion of the Jews, which the Christians still had expected in the first centuries, failed to take place, the third group became predominant in later times; nevertheless, all three lines of reasoning were continued for a long time, disregarding the change of general conditions which had taken place.

The *Dialexis* of Gregentios and Herban especially shows the characteristics of the first two groups in a very detailed argumentation. In fact, Arthur C. McGiffert speaks about “a highly developed theology and Christology”, and adds that the work “abounds in abstruse discussions upon doctrinal points”.<sup>21</sup>

As to the subjects of the discussion, the lack of systematical arrangement, which is so characteristic for most of the anti-Jewish dialogues, can also be observed in the *Dialexis*: On the first day and at the beginning of the second day mainly the question of the divinity of Christ is discussed, his coming and life on earth. The questions concer-

<sup>18</sup> Teugels, *Aggadat Bereshit*, 106 (ch. 34).

<sup>19</sup> See above, pp. 94–97.

<sup>20</sup> Hulen mentions as examples for the first group Cyprianus’ *Three Books of Witnesses* (in Latin), Eusebios’ *Demonstratio evangelica*, CPG 3487, for the second group Iustinos Martyr’s *Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon*, CPG 1076, and for the third Ioannes Chrysostomos’ *Eight sermons against the Jews*, CPG 4327; see also Waegeman, “Traités”, 296–297.

<sup>21</sup> McGiffert, in *Dialogue of Papiskos and Philon*, 16–17.

ning the true Israel and the old and new covenant are introduced at B 217 and are thereafter treated alternating with Christological subjects.<sup>22</sup>

Also, thematically coherent sections alternate with passages in which a number of themes are discussed on the base of a single, long biblical quotation:

By far the longest of the inserted thematical sections is that on the fourth day, where questions of cult are discussed, such as circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath, the prohibition of pork, and the veneration of images and saints (Δ 232–838).

Where long passages of biblical text are quoted, citation and commentary alternate repeatedly, and when the quote is continued, often the last words of the preceding section are repeated, obviously with the intention of achieving a formal connection with the preceding text. Characteristical examples for the discussion of several subjects on the base of one single quotation are the following:

— Is. 4.2–6 is interpreted as referring to the new Christian people of Israel, the coming of Christ, the heavenly Zion and Christ as the light and protector of the world (B 511–607);

— Is. 60.1–2 is interpreted as referring to the coming of Christ, 3–7 to the conversion of the nations including the “large number of people from the tribe of Ismael”,<sup>23</sup> 8–9 to monasticism in Christian Jerusalem, 10–12a to the new people of Israel, 12b to Christ’s victory over the demons, 13 to the Holy Cross, and finally 14 again to Christian Jerusalem and 15–16 to the new people of Israel (Γ 788–948);

— Ps. 46.8 is interpreted as referring to the calling of the nations, 9 to the coming of Christ in body, 4–5 to the old and new people of Israel, 6 to the ascension of Christ and 2 again to the people of Israel (Δ 1189–1249).

That the *Dialexis* is not the recording of a real discussion becomes apparent, among other things, by the fact that Gregentios quotes the apocryphal prophetic book of Baruch under the name of Jeremiah, without protest from Herban’s side (A 210–212, 219–220; Γ 630–688), although it had never been considered as canonical in Jewish tradition.<sup>24</sup> Baruch is quoted in patristic literature sometimes under his own name, sometimes under

<sup>22</sup> The enumeration of prevailing themes of discussion the summary of Külzer, *Disputationes* 125–126 does not conform to reality and may be the result of a self-imposed pressure to offer a systematic disposition of contents.

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 98.

<sup>24</sup> First used as an argument against the authenticity of the text by Pagi, see above, p. 92 with note 4; also by Cellier, *Histoire*, 280; see also Radius, *Discussion*, note 42. — The attribution of a quotation from Baruch to Ezekiel, probably instead of Jeremiah, in A 210–212 is a mistake of the archetype which has been corrected by parts of the later tradition.

that of Jeremiah, in which case he is simply often called “the prophet”.<sup>25</sup> This happens outside of apologetical texts as well; the attribution to Jeremiah, where it appears in anti-Jewish texts, is therefore certainly not an attempt to ascribe the passage Bar. 3.36–38, which is often quoted as a proof for the coming of Christ, to a prophet acknowledged by the Jews.<sup>26</sup> It is also unclear whether the allegedly Jewish interpretations of Ps. 2 to David (A 443–473) and of Ps. 71 to Solomon (A 311–325), which are rejected by various Christian apologetical texts,<sup>27</sup> actually go back to the Rabbinic tradition, as it has been assumed; at least there is no proof for this hypothesis from Jewish literature.<sup>28</sup>

Most of the Jewish polemical literature against the Christians, which was written in the later Roman or in the Byzantine Empire, is lost.<sup>29</sup> But the surviving examples of it still give us some idea about the arguments used in Judaeo-Byzantine anti-Christian texts, so that we are not confined to the distorting mirror of Christian anti-Jewish texts. Besides the *Aggadat Bereshit* mentioned above, there is the so-called *Qiṣṣat Mujādalat al-Uṣquf*, a Jewish polemical treatise from the ninth century which was originally written in Arabic and is now mostly known as the *Polemic of Nestor the Priest*.<sup>30</sup> Many of the polemical arguments which can be found here are the same as in Christian anti-Jewish texts, though they are applied in the opposite sense. Other Jewish arguments, however, are completely ignored by Christian texts, especially those in which the *Qiṣṣat* makes ample use of the New Testament. These arguments, for example, concern the contradictions within the New Testament such as those between the genealogies of Jesus in Mt. 1.1–16 and Lc. 3.23–38 which both end with Joseph, or Jesus’ statements concerning his divine nature, or the various indignities of Jesus’ life.

To the contrary, in Christian anti-Jewish literature mainly the Old Testament and its Jewish and Christian interpretation are discussed under the points of view already mentioned. From the New Testament, if anything at all, only the virginity of the Mother of God is disputed (in the *Dialexis* B 81–108; Δ 701–711). A debate on the contradictions

<sup>25</sup> See Feuerstein, *Baruch*, 112–201, especially 190–191. A remarkable expression is βαρὺν ὁ ἐν Ἱερεμίᾳ at Ioannes Chrysostomos, *CPG* 4369, *PG* 51, 37c. — *Dialogus Athanasii et Zacchaei*, ch. 24.4: “Jeremiah is written into one book together with Baruch, the Lamentations and the Letter, and these four books together are called Jeremiah.” On this passage, see Andrist, *Dialogue*, 199, 261.

<sup>26</sup> As assumed by Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 253.

<sup>27</sup> Ps. 2 also in *Doctrina Iacobi* II 1.10–12; *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, \*15. — Ps. 71 also in the *Dialogues of Athanasios and Zacchaios*, ch. 100–109; *Dialogue of Papiskos and Philon*, 67. On the more common christological interpretation of Ps. 71 see Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 191–197.

<sup>28</sup> Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 253 and note 134.

<sup>29</sup> Hulen, “*Dialogues*”, 58.

<sup>30</sup> *Nestor the Priest*; see Lasker & Stroumsa, *ibid.* 33–34. — For the twelfth-century fragment of another Jewish anti-Christian text, see de Lange, “Fragment”.

within the New Testament, as we have it in the *Qiṣṣat*, is inexistent in Byzantine anti-Jewish literature,<sup>31</sup> but passages from the New Testament are often introduced by the Christian participators as proof of the divine power of Christ. This is also the case in the *Dialexis*: Gregentios quotes the New Testament only in a polemical passage about Jewish cruelties allegedly committed to the first confessors of Christianity (B 551–557).

Herban, on the other hand, quotes the New Testament only once explicitly with the famous verse “I go to my Father and to your Father, and to my God and to your God” (Io. 20.17). But he declares immediately thereafter that he had borrowed the book from a Christian friend only under the pretext of being interested in a conversion (E 330–336).<sup>32</sup>

Phrases from the New Testament, which are not indicated as quotations and are not used for theological arguments, appear not only in Gregentios’ speeches, where we can reasonably expect them, but occasionally also in the Herban’s dialogue sections, such as “to God everything is possible” (Δ 262), “God does not hear sinners” (Δ 504) or “to fall away from the living God” (Δ 619). These phrases are of rather general character and thus cannot be recognised immediately as quotations from the New Testament which they actually are (Mt. 19.26; Io. 9.31; Hb. 3.12). In the *Dialexis*, the first of them goes under the rubric “it is written”, which is perhaps an indication that the author himself failed to assign it to the New Testament.

As we will see below, quotations from the Old Testament are sometimes presented in the *Dialexis* not as they stand in the Septuagint, but in the slightly different form of the New Testament. It is not surprising that this is also true for a verse first introduced by Herban (A 114–115).<sup>33</sup>

If we compare the *Dialexis* to other anti-Jewish texts, we observe that Herban is portrayed here in a quite vivid manner. Although his dialogue sections are considerably shorter than those of his adversary, he often takes the opportunity, starting with the first exchange of arguments (A 16–20), to spread out his views and to refute the interpretations of the prophecies in the Old Testament “more successfully than any other opponent”.<sup>34</sup> Again and again, Herban rejects the allegoric interpretations of these prophecies to the New Testament, which are introduced by Gregentios. For example, he applies Deut. 28.66 to the imminent captivity of Israel, not as Gregentios does to the Holy Cross (A 175–189); Ps. 15.10 to God’s servant who calls for help, not to the resurrection of Christ (A 416–419); Ezech. 36.22–28 to the occupation of the Promised Land by the Jews, not the Christians (B 752–773) etc. Also, he states himself that several prophecies contradict each other (B 1032–1034, Δ 184–186).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Hulen, “Dialogues”, 60–62.

<sup>32</sup> Herban’s contacts to Christians and his discussions with them are also mentioned at Δ 801–804.

<sup>33</sup> See below, p. 128.

<sup>34</sup> Hulen, “Dialogues”, 65. — See also below, p. 124.

<sup>35</sup> Hulen, “Dialogues”, 65–66.

By these contributions to the discussion, Herban criticises the well-known use of *loci probantes* which are taken out of their original context and used for apologetic purposes. Such a use was made possible by the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and consequently Herban also criticises his Jewish forefathers who had made this translation (A 44–45): “It was bad that our fathers consented to translate the books of Israel into the elaborated language of the Greeks, so that you employ them to shut us up.” This thought also appears in Rabbinic literature.<sup>36</sup>

At many of these places, Herban’s path of argumentation makes a much more rational impression to the modern reader than that of his opponent. We often get the feeling that the author of the *Dialexis* used his person as a pretext to introduce his own doubts concerning the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament without taking an own risk. A fairly modern approach to the problem of religious coexistence can be observed at two occasions, where Herban proposes that Christians and Jews should stay with their respective faith, since it were impossible to prove the superiority of one religion (B 236–242; Γ 220–221).<sup>37</sup>

As we have already mentioned in the discussion about the possible date of the *Dialexis*, the idea of a possible restoration of the Roman Empire plays no essential role in the arguments of Gregentios,<sup>38</sup> and the typological comparison drawn by other texts between the salvation of the Empire and the salvation of the Jews in the Old Testament is missing as well.<sup>39</sup> The reason for this is, among other things, also Herban’s active role in the discussion, for he expects a restoration of the Jewish kingdom (B 388–393, 467–472,<sup>40</sup> 642–655; E 118–120), which comes with a judgement of God on the Christians (Γ 102–113) — *nota bene*, a judgement on an apostate religious community and not, as it is the case in Jewish apocalyptic texts, on the Romans as the dominators of the last world empire before the coming of the Messiah.<sup>41</sup> While Gregentios claims that the dispersion of the Jews was the punishment for their sins (B 261–267), Herban speaks about the repentance which will lead to the recovery of Jerusalem and of the kingdom (Γ 19–35).<sup>42</sup>

Another central concept of Herban is that of the ethnic identity of the Jews with the true people of Israel (A 18–20, 112–118 and thereafter), to which Gregentios opposes the concept of a supernational Christian people, brought together from all nations of the

<sup>36</sup> Schreckenberg, *Adversos-Iudaeos-Texte*, 399.

<sup>37</sup> See Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 269.

<sup>38</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>39</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 75–79, 145.

<sup>40</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 144 argues that Herban’s interpretation of Micha 4.6–7 on the restoration of the state of Israel is referred by Gregentios to the nations (B 473–476), so that he admits the defeat of the Romans. Actually it becomes clear from the following text that these nations are actually the Christian Romans (B 476–480). See Déroche, “Polémique” b, 150.

<sup>41</sup> See Strack & Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV 2, 799–976.

<sup>42</sup> Hulen, “Dialogues”, 68; Déroche, “Polémique” b, 143–144.

world by their belief (A 59–62).<sup>43</sup> By a reversion of the ethnic argument, Gregentios even declares the Jews to be the real pagans, since they have allegedly mixed up with the other nations and given up their laws (B 426–428),<sup>44</sup> and puts into God’s own mouth the words: “Whatever you do and practise in your Jewish ways, all this my soul hates” (B 1174–1175).<sup>45</sup>

The final consequence of the idea that the Jews are rejected by God is the polemical reproach that in reality they adore the devil. This is mostly not stated directly in anti-Jewish texts, but suggested in the *Dialexis* at B 352–353 in a concealed form.<sup>46</sup>

Despite all this, we get the impression at several occasions that the author of the *Dialexis* had strong sympathies for the Jewish people. On two occasions, for example, Gregentios alludes to the second half of the verse Io. 4.22, “for the salvation comes from the Jews” (B 364–365. 804), without any of those allegorical interpretation which were often attached to it.<sup>47</sup>

### Gregentios and Herban

If we regard the text as a whole, we can state that the author tries to give a well-balanced picture, which is quite remarkable if we take the supposed circumstances of origin into consideration: The arguments of both opponents balance each other, and the discussion ends in a stalemate, which can be solved only by divine intervention.<sup>48</sup> Finally the conversion of the Jews is not achieved by Gregentios’ victory in the discussion, but by a miracle:<sup>49</sup> Already at the end of the fourth day Herban reports to his fellow Jews a dream he had in the previous night, where he saw Moses standing in adoration before Christ (A 1270–1286). On the fifth day he calls on Gregentios to ask Christ for his appearance; Christ appears on a cloud, the Jews are stricken with blindness, but healed after receiving baptism (E 465–689).

<sup>43</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 142.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* 149 note 44.

<sup>45</sup> See Dagon, “Judaïser”, 379 note 97.

<sup>46</sup> By reproaching them for praying to the west, see above, pp. 99–100.

<sup>47</sup> Kutschera, *Heil*, 23–60. The most important Byzantine commentary on this verse can be found in Ioannes Chrysostomos, *CPG* 4425/33, *PG* 59, 187–189.

<sup>48</sup> Margoliouth, *Relations*, 66–67, even speaks of a “curious fairness”.

<sup>49</sup> A miracle also ends the discussion with the Jews in the *Acta Silvestri*, 329–336: The Jewish magician (Iambres) kills a bull by a magic formula, but cannot bring it back to life, which is achieved thereafter by Silvester. A still closer parallel to the *Dialexis* is the miracle at the conversion of the Jews of Minorca which is described by a letter allegedly written in 418 by Severus of Minorca 110–114; see Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 270–271: A shining figure appears over the church, and it rains manna. The authenticity of this letter is still debated, see the remarks in Bradbury’s edition, 9–15.

The fiction of an actual dialogue is not only established by the introduction, the transitions between the single days and the conclusion, but also supported occasionally by interspersed remarks of the participants. The “surrounding crowd” is mentioned once by Gregentios at the beginning of a dialogue section (Γ 812), and the discussion is recorded by a secretary (E 357–359).<sup>50</sup>

Mostly the partners in the discussion treat each other politely, Herban even addresses Gregentios repeatedly as “great lord” (B 874; Γ 408, 412, 773; E 482). Again and again, Gregentios reproaches Herban for his lack of understanding and also occasionally calls him “shameless” or the like, but there are only few polemical abuses which do not emerge directly from the topic of the discussion (for example B 197–198).<sup>51</sup> Herban protests only once, when Gregentios, in an openly polemical manner, compares the circumcision of the Jews to the marking of pigs by cutting their ears, and when the archbishop reacts to his objection by offering the docking of dogs and the branding of horses, mules and asses as alternative examples, he is strongly indignant and answers by comparing Gregentios himself to a pig (Δ 801–829).

At several occasions, Herban praises Gregentios for his great erudition, but also reproaches him repeatedly for distorting the true sense of the quoted passages (B 853–855; Γ 19–20, 810–811; Δ 5–7), and for his forced allegorical interpretations (A 257–258, 275–276, B 749–750). This reflects an old prejudice of Christian anti-Jewish literature, namely that allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament were generally rejected by Jewish theology — a reproach which is certainly true if ‘allegory’ is defined as the Christian method to interpret scenes of the Old Testament as prefigurations of the New Testament.<sup>52</sup> Strangely enough, Herban calls the method of allegorical interpretation ‘arguing by etymology’ (ἐτυμολογεῖν), while the term ‘allegory’ is used in a similar, but still more negative sense by Gregentios when he reproaches Herban (Γ 699; Δ 933).

Herban remains speechless for a long time after a talk of Gregentios (B 212–213), he gets a headache as the result of the discussion (Γ 83, similarly Δ 499), and also he blames him for having prepared the discussion long before by extended studies

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> However, some polemical remarks of Gregentios were added subsequently in the hyparchetype β, and some more in μ, see below, pp. 173–174. A remarkable general rejection of polemics in religious debates can be found in *Tropaia*, 216.11–217.4.

<sup>52</sup> Within the Jewish rabbinic tradition, allegorical interpretations in a wider sense were in use during the late antique and early mediaeval period, while ‘historical’ exegesis became predominant only after the tenth century; on this see, for example, Weiss Halivni, *Peshat and Derash*, 23–28.



( $\Delta$  361–362, 801–802).<sup>53</sup> Finally, at some places the serious debate is replaced by a sort of light theological skirmish ( $\Gamma$  220–221;  $\Delta$  32–42; E 162–172).

### Sources of the *Dialexis*

Though the *Dialexis* stands in a long tradition of anti-Jewish literature, the parallels to other texts are not close enough, despite all thematic similarities, to demonstrate clearly the knowledge of any of them by the author.

The most obvious parallels are those to the *Doctrina Iacobi*, a work which was allegedly written at the occasion of a forced baptism of Jews, just as the *Dialexis*:<sup>54</sup> In both texts the discussion begins (A 18–20) with the comparison of the arrival of Christ to the rising of the “sun of righteousness” (Mal. 4.2),<sup>55</sup> and Herban’s vision of Moses ( $\Delta$  1270–1286) corresponds to a similar dream of Ioustos.<sup>56</sup> Similar ideas and formulations can also be observed where Gregentios reproaches the disregarding of the Sabbath regulations by the Jews (B 261–264), where he compares the not yet baptised Jews to the lees in the wine jars (B 365–367), and where he remarks that most Jews have already been converted (B 580–586).<sup>57</sup> But these agreements are no convincing proof that the author of the *Dialexis* knew the *Doctrina Iacobi*.<sup>58</sup>

Another text which shows some parallels to the *Dialexis* is the *Dialogues of Athanasios and Zacchaios*. The discussion whether Ps. 71 can be applied to King Solomon

<sup>53</sup> In fact, the hermit Artados on Mount Soracte gave Gregentios the advice already to begin with his preparations for the future discussion with the Jews in the country of the Home-rites (6.149–151). Whether Gregentios actually prepared himself thereafter is, of course, not mentioned in the text.

<sup>54</sup> For the following passage, see Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 255; since he still assumed at that time that the *Dialexis* was a sixth-century text, he claimed that the *Dialexis* depended on the *Doctrina*. — Speck, “*Doctrina Iacobi*”, tried to conclude from an exact analysis of this text that it is no authentic document from the mid-seventh century, but was assembled only in the ninth century from older sources, possibly at the occasion of the forced baptism of Jews in the time of Basileios I (on which see above, pp. 105–106).

<sup>55</sup> On the “sun of righteousness” see Wallraff, *Christus verus Sol*, 21 and *passim*.

<sup>56</sup> *Doctrina Iacobi*, I 5.1–2; V 3.6–13.

<sup>57</sup> See *ibid.* I 6.13–16; IV 3.36–38; III 6.34–36 and IV 3.27–30. Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 255 mentions also A 248–253 and B 689–694 as parallels to *Doctrina* I 34 where wood the as instrument of salvation is connected only to the Holy Cross, not to the images; but see  $\Delta$  256–286 in the previously unpublished part.

<sup>58</sup> An important figure of the *Doctrina Iacobi*, the devil Hermolaos, is mentioned in the Slavonic translation of the *Dialexis* in an addition to E 474. This addition may already go back to the manuscripts L K, where this part of the text is lost; see below, pp. 171–172.

(A 316–385), and especially about his sinful end (A 318–320), is similar in both texts.<sup>59</sup> It cannot be said with certainty, however, whether the *Dialexis* actually depends on it, or whether both texts use a common source<sup>60</sup>.

The use of a great number of disparate sources lies in the nature of the literary genre. It must be stated therefore that the designation of the *Dialexis* as a cento<sup>61</sup> can actually be applied to all comparable texts as well.

The only source of which the existence can possibly be deduced from the *Dialexis* is an otherwise unknown commentary to Isaiah.<sup>62</sup>

### Quotations in the *Dialexis*

As most other texts of the genre,<sup>63</sup> the *Dialexis* quotes a number of passages from the Old Testament which do not appear elsewhere connected to a certain topic. This is true in particular for some longer sections from Isaiah where it seems possible that a commentary on Isaiah, which is now lost, has served as a source of the *Dialexis*: Of the long passage Is. 3.1–14 (Γ 487–562) usually only verses 9–14 are discussed, of 66.18–24 (B 786–827) only verse 24; 41.4–14 (B 857–939) and 60.1–16 (Γ 754–948) are almost unconsidered by other anti-Jewish texts.<sup>64</sup> Some details of the commentary date this source, if it actually should have existed, into the middle Byzantine age.<sup>65</sup>

A great number of quotations from the Old Testament are produced in the *Dialexis* by Gregentios and Herban to support their arguments. Most of them appear there as they stand in the Septuagint, while others are replaced by paraphrases. A very common type of paraphrase consists in a nearly literal rendering with interpolated explanations. Sometimes, however, the text is adapted to the new context by changes of tense or speaking

<sup>59</sup> *Dialogues of Athanasios and Zacchaios*, ch. 99–110 and 82; see Conybeare, *ibid.* 45 note 3 and 51 note 3.

<sup>60</sup> The editor, F. C. Conybeare, doesn't mention the *Dialexis* in his chapter on the literary traces of the *Dialogues of Athanasios and Zacchaios* in Christian literature, *ibid.* xxxiv–xxxvii, but indicates a number of parallels in the notes to his edition, and twice suggests that the *Dialexis* depends on it directly: *ibid.* 32 note 4 he declares that A 441–473 echoes the *Dialogus*, ch. 49–51; 52 note 7 he compares A 196–197 to the *Dialogus*, ch. 106 and states: “The dialogue is an expansion of that of Pseudo-Athanasius.”

<sup>61</sup> As by Janin, “Gregenzio”; Fiaccadori, “Gregentius”.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 116 and below.

<sup>63</sup> See above, p. 116.

<sup>64</sup> The quote Is. 60.1–4 in *Doctrina Iacobi*, I 38.11 is not explained there in detail.

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 98 on the possible interpretation of Is. 60.5–6 on the Arabs and Islam, and the discussion about the Holy Cross based on Is. 60.13.

person, or even paraphrased so freely that it is sometimes difficult to identify the underlying place in the Scripture.<sup>66</sup>

A number of quotations from the Septuagint appear in the *Dialexis* as they are transmitted in the New Testament, that is, with some slight revisions, additions and omissions:

A 158–160; B 243–245	Lev. 23.29	→ Acta 3.23
B 220	Dt. 6.13	→ Mt. 4.10
B 698–699	Dt. 27.26	→ Gal. 3.10
Δ 1013	3 Reg. 19.18	→ Rom. 11.46 <sup>67</sup>
B 587	Is. 6.10	→ Io. 12.40
B 73–75	Is. 7.14	→ Mt. 1.23
A 114–115	Osee 11.1	→ Mt. 2.15
B 122–124	Zach. 11.1	→ Mt. 27.9–10 <sup>68</sup>
Δ 731–732	Ps. 103.4	→ Hb. 1.7

Where the Byzantine *vulgata* text of the Septuagint differs from the version established by modern critical editors, the *Dialexis*, as we should expect, follows the Byzantine tradition. This is most striking in the case of Isaiah, whose text has apparently been used by the author of the *Dialexis* in a version very similar to that quoted by Theodoretos' commentary.<sup>69</sup>

It is possible that for the selection of quotations from the Old and New Testament florilegia were used, though a safe indication of this is missing. The great number of nearly, but not perfectly literal quotations and especially the wrong attribution of Is. 40.13 to Jesus Sirach (Δ 33–34)<sup>70</sup> suggest that the author mostly quoted the biblical text

<sup>66</sup> An analysis of the shape of scriptural quotations in the *Dialexis* has been provided by Radius, *Discussion*. The value of his study, however, is rather limited since the author had only the printed text of the *Patrologia graeca* at his disposition and therefore discusses a large number of problems which disappear on their own with the use of a better text. Radius' work, which has great merits in other passages, was accepted as a PhD thesis in September 1939. This date explains sufficiently why it was never printed, and consequently ignored in scholarly literature. — In the notes to the translation, only those deviations from the standard text of the Septuagint will be discussed which do not appear in the apparatus of the Göttingen edition (Septuaginta G) or give the text a clearly different sense.

<sup>67</sup> Here the wrong attribution to Isaiah already goes back to the Gospel of Matthew.

<sup>68</sup> No literal quotation. The pagan god Baal appears often in the Septuagint and once in Rom. 11.4 as female (ἡ Βάαλ), a result of the custom to replace his name by the word 'shame' (αἰσχύνη). This is, however, not the case in 3 Reg. 19.18 to which Rom. alludes here. See Blass & Debrunner, *Grammatik*, § 53 note 15.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, in the long quotation Is. 60.1–16 (Γ 754–784) the additions 757 τῆς ἀνατολῆς, 759 καὶ χάρισει, 766 ἐπ' – ἐμὲ (on which see also the note to the translation) and 776 καὶ – 777 σε, which also appear in Theodoretos, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, ch. 19.52, 74, 133, 218–219.

<sup>70</sup> On the similar case of Mt. 19.26 see above, p. 122.

by heart. This may also be the reason why sometimes the relative place of two quotations within a biblical book is indicated wrongly (B 132; Δ 124–125. 1210).

The *Dialexis* also contains a number of *agrapha*, that is, quotations allegedly taken from the Old or New Testament which actually do not exist there:<sup>71</sup>

A 491 Ὅπλα πολέμου δικαιοσύνη καὶ φυλακὴ ἐντολῶν (+ τήρησις L K). — This word, of which the first half is also quoted in N 175–176, is attributed to David or Solomon in the group μ by the marginal remark ὅρα· τοῦ ποιητοῦ. The closest parallel known to me is the passage φυλακὴ δὲ τῶν ἐντολῶν τήρησις οὐσα αὐτῶν ἀβλαβής, which stands in Klemens of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II 18 (80.1–2), after a series of quotations from the Proverbs. The biblical prototype is probably 2 Cor. 6.7 and 10.4.<sup>72</sup>

B 211 Οὐ βούλει ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον. — Also designated as a quotation in μ by the marginal remark τοῦ ποιητοῦ

B 414–415 Ἀπολεῖσθε οἱ μὴ νόμον εἰς βοήθειαν αἴροντες. — Allegedly a saying of Moses, probably based on Deut. 8.20.

B 1056–1057 Ἐποίησε κύριος κρῖμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι καὶ ὀδυνώμενος εἶμι ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν — Allegedly a saying of Elisaios, the beginning based on Ps. 9.17.

B 1058–1059 Οἴμοι, κύριε, ἀπολεῖς σὺ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ — Allegedly a saying of Isaiah.

Γ 254–255 ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ... εἰς τὸ εἶναι. — Allegedly a saying of Isaiah.<sup>73</sup>

Δ 510 Θεὸς εἶμι καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ παναληθής. — Allegedly a saying of Jesus.

Δ 982–983 Φρονίμω αὐταρκέσει εἰς λόγος, μωρῶ δὲ ὁ ἐξηγούμενος οὐ πείσει τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. — Designated as a quotation by Gregentios' preceding words ἀλλ' οὖν γέγραπται καθότι, this imitates in style and content the Proverbs or Jesus Sirach.

In addition to the Old and New Testament some apocryphal texts are quoted by the *Dialexis* as well: The story about the martyrdom of Isaiah is taken from the Ascension of Isaiah *CAVT* 218 = *CANT* 315 (A 240; Δ 377),<sup>74</sup> the discussion about Solomon refers to his apocryphal testament *CAVT* 162 (A 357–364), and the *Protevangelium Iacobi* *CANT* 50 (A 241; E 414) and Pseudo-Matthew *CANT* 51 (E 521) are quoted for the story of Jesus' youth.

<sup>71</sup> For a collection of *agrapha* from the Old Testament see Resch, *Agrapha*, 295–335, for those declared as words of Jesus see Jeremias, *Jesusworte*; none of both groups appears in the *Dialexis*.

<sup>72</sup> Patlagean, *Lois*, note to N 158–159.

<sup>73</sup> But see below, note 81 to the translation.

<sup>74</sup> On which see Knight, *Disciples*, especially 54–55; Sawyer, *Fifth Gospel*, 45–47; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 363–390. — On the martyrdom by a wooden saw see *Ascensio Isaiae*, commentary, II, 289–290.

E 554–555 speaks about Christ “who ordered the sphinx of stone to go away and to call Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that they may refute the faithless scribes, Pharisees and Saducees” (ὁ τῆ λιθίνῃ σφιγγί κελεύσας ἀπέναι καὶ φωνῆσαι Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἵνα ἐλέγξωσι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους καὶ Σαδουκαίους). This story is unknown from other sources, but may have been taken from a lost apocryphal Gospel.<sup>75</sup>

Since the passages from the Apocrypha are not quoted literally, it is possible that they were taken from a secondary tradition. The story about the fall of the pagan idols in the temple of Hermoupolis in Egypt through the power of the boy Jesus (E 523–524), for instance, is also known from the *Church History* of Sozomenos and the *Akathistos Hymnos*.<sup>76</sup>

Literal quotations of longer passages from patristic literature do not exist in the *Dialexis*. Where a parallel is given in the apparatus, this merely indicates that the great similarity of the *Dialexis* to this passage suggests that the author knew it.

That the works of Ioannes Chrysostomos were one of the stylistic models can be seen from pleonastic formulae such as εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην (B 263, 1148, 1202; Γ 656; E 166), ἄθλιοι or ἐλεεινοὶ καὶ ταλαίπωροι (Γ 587; Δ 26), βαρὺ καὶ φορτικόν (Δ 36, 38).<sup>77</sup> We also encounter the above-mentioned phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι (Γ 254–255) which is so well-known from patristic literature.<sup>78</sup> The use of the phrase κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα (A 21; E 352) for man in his relation to God is somewhat surprising, for in Orthodox patristic texts it is a current reproach to the Arians that they described the relation between Christ and God by these words.<sup>79</sup> Very common in patristic literature is also the designation of divinity as ἄτρεπτος καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος (B 959).<sup>80</sup>

### Apocalyptic Elements

The ideas of Christian apocalypticism are often present in anti-Jewish literature, but commonly do not play a central role there.<sup>81</sup> A remarkable exception are the two tenth-

<sup>75</sup> Judging from the position within the prayer of Gregentios, the episode probably belongs to Jesus' adult age. A possible source or parallel is the Alexander romance, but a discussion with a sphinx doesn't appear in any of the known versions.

<sup>76</sup> Sozomenos, 229.3–18; *Akathistos Hymnos*, 11.1–4; see Külzer, *Disputationes*, 268–269.

<sup>77</sup> The first of these appears over 170 times in the works of Ioannes Chrysostomos, the second 11 times and the third 25 times.

<sup>78</sup> See above, note 73.

<sup>79</sup> For example, at Athanasios, *De decretis*, 20.6.

<sup>80</sup> See below, note 63 to the translation.

<sup>81</sup> See Déroche, commentary on the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 263–268; Külzer, *Disputationes*, 279–283.

century *Bioi* of Andreas Salos and of Basileios the Younger; in the *Bios* of Basileios the Younger, for example, the fate of the Jews at the end of time is an important issue.<sup>82</sup> As the *Bios* of Saint Gregentios, and therefore the whole Dossier, is closely related to these texts,<sup>83</sup> it should not surprise us that apocalyptic ideas appear also in the *Dialexis*:

The Messiah expected by the Jews is the Antichrist (Γ 86) whose coming will allow the scattered Jews to return to Jerusalem (B 455–457).<sup>84</sup> The rhetorical question posed by Gregentios, why God didn't preclude the work of Jesus if he was the Antichrist, must refer to a Jewish reverse form of this concept (Δ 509–513).

At another place Gregentios enumerates the empires of the Romans, the Libyans, Egyptians and Ethiopians as the Christian empires existing in his time (Γ 897–899). Such a compilation, of course, has nothing to do with the historical reality of the sixth and century or any other age. It appears to be based on a well-known Jewish and Rabbinic concept, which originated from a combination of Daniel 11.43 and 7.8 and passed into Christian apocalypticism, according to which the coming Antichrist will defeat three great 'kings', namely those of Egypt, Libya and Ethiopia.<sup>85</sup> Here, however, four Christian empires of equal rank are listed together without distinction.<sup>86</sup>

Also remarkable is the interpretation of the verse "Righteousness will rise in his days and abundance of peace until the moon will be taken away" (Ps. 71.7): This supposedly refers to the peace of the churches; among them, the moon is the universal and apostolic church which will be lifted at the end of times by God's own peace (A 336–342). "Church" is understood here as an earthly, not a divine and eternal institution, whose existence will be ended by the return of Christ.<sup>87</sup>

### Theological Passages in the *Bios*

Although theology is not the main interest of the *Bios* of Gregentios, theological passages have been inserted into the narrative at some points which are very similar to

<sup>82</sup> *Bios of Andreas Salos*, I, 3805–4131; *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 56.32–59.3, 107.37–114.19, 247.28–254.15. On which see Rydén, "The Life of St. Basil", 584.

<sup>83</sup> See above, pp. 40–41.

<sup>84</sup> Bousset, *Antichrist*, 108–112; Hill, "Antichrist".

<sup>85</sup> See Bousset, *Antichrist*, 102–103: First Christian mentions at Irenaios, *CPG* 1306, 5.26.1; Hippolytos, *CPG* 1872, 51.27.7. — The text of Daniel is not directly quoted in the *Dialexis*, neither here nor elsewhere. On the book in Christian anti-Jewish literature see also Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie*, 43–49, especially footnote 270.

<sup>86</sup> On a mention of Libya (*libā*) in a similar context in the *Kebrā nagāst*, 109, see above, p. 50 note 13.

<sup>87</sup> Olster, *Defeat*, 153.

those in the *Dialexis*. This is one of the reasons for our assumption that *Bios* and *Dialexis* are works of the same author.<sup>88</sup>

One example for such a theological passage is the exhortation of the holy man to Gregentios based on Ps. 90.5–8 (4.343–366), in which a part of the text is quoted literally, the rest as a paraphrase, and then explained line by line. This procedure is very similar to the discussion of Ps. 109.1–4 and 46.4–9 in the *Dialexis* (B 15–72; Δ 1215–1262).

The most impressive theological passage in the *Bios* treats two subjects which are entirely foreign to anti-Jewish polemic literature, namely the predestination of the way of death (3.63–202<sup>89</sup>) and the fate of souls between death and the Last Judgement (3.368–482).<sup>90</sup>

The debate in the *Bios* about the predestination of the way of death<sup>91</sup> is a variant of the well-known debate about the predetermination of the hour of death, the ὄρος ζωῆς. It is styled here as a discussion between a cleric and a monk in Milan, to whom Gregentios gives an answer based on biblical examples. Gregentios' statement belongs to the rather small group of texts on this subject in which proofs from the Scriptures are offered for both possible alternatives, that is, whether God predeterminates the way of death or not, without giving preference to one of them.<sup>92</sup>

In this context, also a list of examples for deaths not predestined by God is given (3.172–190) which reappears in the *Dialexis* in a passage about alleged atrocities of the Jews against their own prophets (A 239–242), and thus provides a clear literary connection between these two parts of the Dossier.<sup>93</sup>

The solution of the dichotomy is only offered some time later in a vision of Gregentios, in which he descends to the underworld after the death of his friend Leon: There he sees a house in which the souls of those are stored up who have died by violence before the time God had assigned for them, until this time comes and God gives them a resting place where they await the Last Judgement (3.368–383).<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>89</sup> The formula “let it not be” (μὴ γένοιτο), which is frequent in the *Dialexis* (16 instances), appears in the *Bios* only in this passage, but here four times (3.168, 172, 175, 190).

<sup>90</sup> Discussed by Paret, “Parallèle”, 147–150.

<sup>91</sup> A survey of this debate in Byzantium can be found in W. Lackner's introduction to Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Vorherbestimmung*, \*43–84.

<sup>92</sup> See also, for example, Anastasios Sinaites, *Quaestiones* 16, 28, 29 (= 23–27, 56–74, 77–79), or Theophylactus Simocates, *Predestined Terms*.

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 107.

<sup>94</sup> A house or palace where the deceased are entertained is mentioned also in the vision of the other world attributed to the monk Kosmas, see *Synaxarium CP*, 111/2.46–113/14.25, but without the theological implications made here; on Kosmas see above, p. 42.

From the earliest times, travels to the underworld are a well-known literary topic.<sup>95</sup> Ideas about an intermediate stage between death and the Last Judgement were often exposed in Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic literature using the form of an underworld vision, that is, a close-to-death experience or a dream. Visions of the underworld also enjoyed special popularity in the tenth century, that is, the probable time of composition of the *Bios* of Gregentios. Examples dating from this time can also be found in the *Bioi* of Andreas Salos and of Basileios the Younger.<sup>96</sup> The genre of underworld visions or travels is later quite prominent in Byzantine secular literature, but mostly treated in a satirical manner and without theological components.<sup>97</sup>

The oldest texts of this genre describe the underworld as a place where the souls are kept in chambers and wait for the Last Judgement. Later it is mostly depicted as a place where the souls of the blessed already enjoy their rewards, and those of the wicked are punished.<sup>98</sup>

The vision of Gregentios describes the resting place of the souls between their ‘right’ time of death and the Last Judgement in a dogmatically neutral, but very suggestive way.<sup>99</sup> A special place where the souls are entertained during this period, does not appear in any other source.<sup>100</sup> There is no mention of a purgatory in which less grave sins are punished before the Last Judgement, so that by this Judgement the soul will be released and go to Paradise. Though the concept of Purgatory developed from ideas of Greek patristic literature, it played no significant role in Byzantine Orthodox theology,<sup>101</sup> and it became an issue in the debate between the Orthodox and Catholic churches only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 19–32.

<sup>96</sup> *Bios of Andreas Salos*, l. 2323–2380; *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 10.3–35.35 and 81.18–200.32. See also the vision of the monk Kosmas in *Synaxarium CP*, 107/8.49–113/4.51, and the mid-tenth century (?) text in Radermacher, *Anonymus*. — On the underworld vision in the *Bios of Basileios the Younger*, see also above.

<sup>97</sup> See Lampakes, *Καταβάσεις*, especially 40–82. — On the Byzantine concept of Hades and the underworld in general, see Alexiou & Ševčenko, “Hades”; Podskalsky, “Hell”.

<sup>98</sup> Lampakes, *Καταβάσεις*, 70, 86.

<sup>99</sup> On the problem of the ‘middle state’ and resting place of the souls in Byzantine theological literature see Conostas, “Sleep”. — At another place in the *Bios*, this resting place is simply called the “mental chambers” (1.155; see also the *Dialexis* Δ 1030, 1041).

<sup>100</sup> Conostas, “Sleep”, 269 note 5.

<sup>101</sup> The basic study on this subject is still Michel, “Purgatoire”. — It is also unclear what the “explanations” (ἐξηγήσεις) are with which this house is decorated (3.373–374). Possibly a wall painting of the Last Judgement is intended here.

<sup>102</sup> See Dagron, “Débuts”.



Another idea which appears in the context of this story, namely that an early death may be desirable for a man, for it saves him from falling into sin in his later life (3.430–436), has a number of parallels in Byzantine hagiographical texts.<sup>103</sup>

Gregentios also talks to his friend during the vision, and Leon tells him about the consolation which he has received by the prayers and intercessions offered for him on earth by Gregentios and by his own parents (3.368–482). The question whether intercessions from the living contribute to the redemption of the souls of the deceased is repeatedly discussed in patristic and Byzantine theological literature.<sup>104</sup>

Finally, it should be mentioned that the *Bios* also contains an *agraphon*, namely an alleged quotation from the Scriptures which imitates the Psalms in tone, but does not exist there or in another book of the Old Testament: 3.443 πατάξω τὸν ἀσεβῆ διὰ χειρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ στραφεῖς ἐκδικήσω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ.

A still more irritating case is the episode of David's defeat at Gilgal in 3.136–148 for which, at least according to my knowledge, no known prototype exists at all, neither in the Old Testament nor in the later Jewish or Christian tradition.

<sup>103</sup> Mioni, "Pratum", 87–88 (ch. 96); Leontios of Neapolis, *Bios of Ioannes Eleemon*, c. 25.50–60; Anastasios Sinaites, as above, footnote 92. — Also *Qur'ān*, Sūrah 18.59–81, on which see Paret, "Parallèle".

<sup>104</sup> Such intercessions are first mentioned in 2 Macc. 12.42–43. A middle Byzantine text of basic importance for this subject is the homily *CPG* 8112, *PG* 95, 247–277 usually attributed to John of Damaskos which is perhaps a work of Michael Synkellos († 846); see Hoeck, "Stand", 39 with note 3. — See also Michel, "Purgatoire", 1245–1247.

## 7. The Language of the Dossier of Gregentios<sup>1</sup>

All three parts of the Dossier of Saint Gregentios are written in a language which is typical for middle Byzantine religious literature of middle or attempted high stylistic level: On the one hand, the Septuagint, the Greek New Testament and early Byzantine patristic literature are imitated in style and vocabulary. On the other hand, there is a great uncertainty concerning the correct use of case, of conjunctions and of all kinds of verbal constructions, with the result that, compared to the standards of ancient Greek, the grammatical structure is frequently incorrect. The impression prevails that the authors of these texts had read great quantities of Christian literature, but were unable to master the language of it themselves actively.

In addition to the characteristics which appear in much of the religious literature of the middle Byzantine age, the language of the Dossier also has some peculiarities. These are one of the reasons for the assumption made above that all three parts, or at least *Bios* and *Dialexis*, are the work of one author.

One example for this is the frequent use of κέκτημαι in the sense of “to have” and εἰσπράττω in the sense of “to do”, which is especially idiosyncratic in the expression καλῶς κέκτημαι instead of καλῶς ἔχω (7.208), or where it is used in periphrastical verbal constructions.<sup>2</sup> Another peculiarity is the constant use of καθότι instead of ὅτι.<sup>3</sup>

As it has been observed above, the number of deviations from the “classical” norms of ancient Greek is remarkably higher in the *Bios* than in the *Dialexis*, although some characteristic features of both texts support the hypothesis that they were written by the same author.<sup>4</sup>

In any case, the possibility must be taken into account that certain linguistic features of the text do not go back to the author or the authors, but are the result of later changes during the textual tradition from the original to the archetype and to the preserved manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> The following chapter does not contain a detailed analysis, but only tries to present a short linguistic characterisation.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> See the case of Δ 715–716, where ὅτι in final sense is repeated after a short parenthesis as καθότι.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 107.

## Morphology

## Verbs

Low-level forms: (3rd person plural) 3.391 προσκαρτεροῦν

Aspiration missing: ἀπεορῶν 2.320; ἀπώρμησαν 3.1; superfluous: καθαπολαύσας 6.2 – καθεμφέρεσθαι 6.234

Augment missing: ἐπαίνει 2.346 – αἰδοῦντο 3.6 – ἐπιτελεῖτο 3.22 – ἐπερώτα 4.115 – κατέπειγεν 4.280 – ἐπίμπλατο 7.10 – misplaced: ἐσυντόμευσαν 2.227 – ἐπαρόργισα 9.275; superfluous: ἀπεορῶν 2.320 – ὠκοδομουμένη 4.102 – ὠκονόμησον 1.373; 4.240; double ἐναπεκατέστησεν E 445

Reduplication missing: ἀποδημηκέναι 2.106; before ρ: ῥερίφθαι 1.301; 3.145 – ῥερυσιδωμένων E 582

Participles, female forms: ἐοικῶσα 2.309 – εἰρηκῶσα 4.186; neuter forms: χρηματίζοντα 8.137 – θέλοντας Δ 110

Contracta: ἐκδικᾶ 3.442 – ἐκκληρεῖν 6.165 – ἡγεῖσα Δ 1195 – καθορᾶσα Δ 699

Athematic verbs: φησὶν (plural) 1.247; 4.98; 5.227 – φησὶν (2nd person singular) 5.315; thematic forms: ἀνταποδίδωσιν (plural) 3.356 – δεικνύω 4.208 – παραδίδωσιν (plural) N 121 – παραδίδειν N 265 – ἐξανιστᾶν Γ 32 – ἰστᾶν Γ 540 – τιθεῖς Γ 599 – συνίομεν Δ 270 – ἀνοίγειν Δ 501 – ἀπόλλωμαι Δ 582 – συνῶ Δ 1187 – ἐξιστᾶ (2nd person singular) E 217; used correctly: δείκνυμι E 492 – δείκνυσιν E 332, 485 – ὑποδείκνυσιν 1.11 – δίδωσιν Δ 500, 506, 1145

Forms of εἰμί: εἶη (2nd person) 3.303 – ἦς (2nd person singular of imperfect) 3.503; 4.175, 343; 7.122; B 566 – ἤμεθεν 5.94 – ἤμην 1.426, 428; 7.130; compounds: προσήμην 1, 426 – παρήμην 5.95; ἔνι as copula N 431 (used correctly at A 120)

Periphrastic constructions: Frequent. Auxiliary verb εἰμί substituted: ποιούμενος εἰσπράττεις 2.252 – προσῆν τελευτήσας 6.33 – περιῆν προσομιλήσας B 87 – περίεστι κεκτημένος E 659–660; auxiliary verb ἔχω substituted by κέκτημαι: ἐκέκτητο ἀκοῦσαι 4.86 – καλῶς κέκτησαι 7.208

## Nouns

*samprasarana* forms: ἀθιβόλιν E 136 (S) – ἐνοῖκιν N 423, 425 – κανίκλης E 694 – N 281 κανίριν – κύρις 2.387; 5.12, 436; 6.58; 7.169; B 876; E 482 – τριάδιν N 284 – N 281 τριβόλιν

declension: ἀκόμονα (accusative of neuter) 1.3 – ἄστν (plural) 1.137 – δάδαν Δ 453 – δαίμοναν 4.355 – θεραπαινίδα (nominative) 8.29 – πλήρης (accusative and dative) 1, 8; 5.256

## Pronouns

personal pronouns: τον (enclitical) Γ 151

relative pronouns: τὸ (for ὃ) Δ 170, 1231

relative pronoun used as indefinite pronoun: ὅστις 5.415

## Various

superfluous aspiration: καθ' ἔπος 9.35, 66

## Syntax

## Verbs

Optative as substitute for conjunctive or future: Frequent, typical example E 193–202; Δ 859–860 optative both in main and subordinate clause

Infinitive perfect for present: ἀναδεδραμηκέναι 3.60 – ὑπομεμενηκέναι 3.301 – ἀνακεχωρηκέναι 3.498 – παραγεγονέναι 4.313

## Clauses

change of subject N 104–106 – change of number between subject and verb 9.171–173 – nominative absolute 9.55 – dative absolute instead of absolute genitive 3.44–45, 368–369; 5.63–64; 6.14; 7.13–14; 8.87 – dative absolute instead of conjunct participle 5.219; 7.187; N 201–202 – accusative absolute 7.92; 9.149–150

negation with μή instead of οὐ A 312

Clauses with ἵνα – Final clauses: νόμος δὲ προὔκειτο, ἵνα ... λέγη τοῖς ἱερεῦσι B 1216; ἵνα as conjunctive marker: ἵνα μόνον παραγένηται 5.371–372; ἵνα εἵξης 9.73; τί ἵνα γένηται E 673–674; as substitute for imperative: ἵνα οὖν γινώσκης B 927

Subordinate clauses – Final clauses with ἵνα: εὐρομεν, ἵνα τις ... προσαγορεύσῃ B 21; οὐ μὴ ποιήσει τὴν τυραννίδα ταύτην, ἵνα ... δώσῃ ἑτέρω Γ 567–568; Ἐώρακας θεὸν πώποτε, ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ Δ 975–976; – ἴσως as conjunction (for ὅπως?) 1.138, 397; Γ 510; E 338

clause with ἐπειδὴ continued with genitive absolute Δ 706–707

relative clause substantivated by preceding περὶ δέ (without τὸ) Δ 374, 811

### Vocabulary

The vocabulary of the Dossier has a distinct middle-Byzantine flavour, and indeed there is a number of words which are also attested by other texts of the ninth and tenth centuries, so that their use supports the dating into this time:<sup>5</sup>

ἀβλεπῶ 1.27

ἀδιάντροπος B 1132

ἀχριστιανός B 703

γαληνομόρφως 1.429; 2.195; 3.267; 4.228

ἐργοδόσιον N 240, 249, 262, 280, 310, 330, 340

εὐσεβοφρόνως Δ 80, 631

θεοπύρσευτος 4.247

καθαροπότιον N 27

μωροποιία 5.404

σαγιόμαλον 6.223

στρατοπεδαρχῶ 3.137

χριστεπώνυμος E 148

χριστοπόθητος 6.242

Of these words, ἀδιάντροπος, γαληνομόρφως, καθαροπότιον, μωροποιία and σαγιόμαλον appear also in the *Bios of Andreas Salos*, a text reliably dated into the mid-tenth century.<sup>6</sup> Note also at 10.62, 72 the use of the word ῥόγα for an annual payment of non-military character.<sup>7</sup>

Characteristical forms of low-level Greek, such as the nouns with *samprasarana* endings mentioned above or 8.170; N 242; E 132 the particle ᾗς are avoided in the Dossier and therefore appear only very rarely.

The *hapax legomena* in the Dossier can be divided into a number of different types. The division proposed in the following list is, however, not always indisputable, since some words may reasonably be assigned to more than one category. Words explained in the notes to the translation are marked with <sup>T</sup>, those explained in the the Index Graecitatis with <sup>I</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> According to the dictionaries of Liddell & Scott, Lampe, Demetrakos, and the *LBG*, as listed in the bibliography below.

<sup>6</sup> *Bios of Andreas Salos*, l. 1508; *PG* 111, 668D; *Bios of Andreas Salos*, l. 352 ec., 1202, a 42. — Rydén, “The Life of St. Basil”, 585 points to the formula πορνεία καὶ μοχεία καὶ ἀρσενικοικία which appears in these both texts, but also in a slightly expanded form in the *Bios* at 7.84.

<sup>7</sup> On the semantic development of this word, see Nichoff-Panagiotides, “Byzantinische Lebenswelt”, 88–94.

## 1) Words known from other sources, but appearing here in an unusual sense

ἀκούω – to listen to a name, to be called **B** 507

ἀπογράφω – to remove from a list **B** 550

ἐκμυῶ – to drive away **B** 373

ἐπαναβιβάζω – to raise (a rent) **N** 423

Ἰλινυφικός – linen-maker **N** 472

μονολογῶ – to declare (God) to be one **A** 105

## 2) Words in a form slightly different from that attested to by other sources

ἐνασχόλημα for ἐνασχόλησις **1.179**

Ἰζωήχιον for ζοχίον (?) **4.318**

Ἰιδιόπισμος for ιδιόπιστος (?) **B** 1187

καθηγουμένη for (ἡ) καθηγεμών **2.299**

καθιστορίζω for καθιστορῶ **Δ** 330

κηροπλασία for κηροπλαστία **Δ** 300

οἰωνοῦμαι for οἰωνίζομαι **1.70**

περιρρεμβάζομαι for περιρρέμβομαι **B** 891

χλότινος for χλοερός **1.410**

## 3) Words unknown from other sources which are formed correctly

Ἰανάμυρα **A** 384

ἀνπιλιθάζω **5.385**

Ἰδυστρεβλῶ **Δ** 63

εἰσάκουσις **B** 239

ἐναπάγω **Δ** 1046

ἐνσυντίθημι **1.416**

Ἰἐπάφορμος **3.32**

ἐπιμετάμελος **Γ** 712

εὐσυμπαθέστατος **E** 744

εὐσυμπαθήτως **Δ** 90; **E** 287

καθεμφέρομαι **6.234**

κατεισφέρω **3.273**; **Δ** 1065

κατεύδηλος **6.63**

κατοδεύομαι **Δ** 5

κοινομερῶς **Γ** 728

Ἰκροτιστής **N** 277

μεγαλοφηνῶ **8.243**

παντεξαίσιος **Δ** 1210

παντουργοδύναμος **Δ** 850

πεδιάζω **2.270**

περισκέπασμα **1.417, 419**

σκυλώδης **5.344**

Ἰσυγγογγύζω **E** 394

τετραστοιχηδής **1.446**

τριάζω **A** 102, 109

## 4) Words with unusual application of prefixes or suffixes, or unusual superlative forms

ἀτοιμασία 7.110

ἐαυτόθι 2.277

ἐχθίστως Γ 63; Δ 854; Ν 414

θεεγγείρητος 1.445

θεοκελεύστατος Ε 730

κακοθήκη 3.279

πενηθεία Α 110

πλουτότης Α 105

Ἰταλικώτατος 5.275

## 5) Words probably intentionally coined by the author or redactor

ἀπεβραῖος and συναπεβραῖος Ε 702

ἀπεριόδευτος Β 628

Ἰαρξέτης (C) Ν 436

ἐρημοβάτευτος (δ) Β 891

ὑπεκκλησίων Ε 693

## 6) Technical vocabulary

ἐξωπράτης Ν 467

ἡμίτιμιον Ν 232

κτηνοφθορία Ν 33

λωροτύπτω Ν 306

## 7) Low-level vocabulary

Ἰβρόνθηδος 8.106

Ἰκανίριν Ν 281

κυθράριον 1.257

πουδήποτε 4, 62

Ἰτζουίζω Ν 279

Ἰτριάδιν Ν 284

Ἰτριβόλιν Ν 281

## II. The Tradition

### 1. The Manuscripts

Manuscripts indicated by one letter in the following catalogue are used for the constitution of the text; those with a siglum of two letters are examined only in this chapter.<sup>1</sup>

**AI Alexandreia, Library of the Patriarchate, cod. 123 (160.1055)**

year 1575 509 fol. 21 × 16 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 418<sup>v</sup>–483<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Charitakis, “Κατάλογος”, 148–155; Moschonas, “Κατάλογος”, 81–82

*Remarks*: Probably copied from H.

**K Athos, Karakallou, cod. chart. 42**

14th century 294 fol. 29 × 20 paper

*Bios* fol. 204<sup>r</sup>–212<sup>v</sup>, *Dialexis* fol. 212<sup>v</sup>–294<sup>v</sup> (until E 207)

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 132; *Bios of Kyrillos Phileotes*, 23–25.

*Remarks*: Also contains the end of the *Bios of Saint Synkletike* BHG 1694 and the *Bios of Kyrillos Phileotes* BHG 468, both written by another roughly contemporary hand; the latter text is dated by a scribe’s notice to 1341. Chapters 1–8 of the *Bios* are reduced to a short excerpt; the saint is called Gregorios until B 1225, but again Gregentios at Γ 430. Probably copied from L. — Fol 289–291 originally followed after fol. 294.

**D Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 183**

16th century 191 fol. 24 × 16 paper

*Bios* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–104<sup>v</sup>, *Dialexis* fol. 104<sup>v</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 356

*Remarks*: In the Prooimion of the *Bios* room for later supplements has been left free, which indicates that the prototype was illegible at these places.

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<sup>1</sup> See also Andrist, “Pour un répertoire”, 285–288.



**Ib Athos, Iberon, cod. 348**

16th century paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–82<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, II, 92–93

*Remarks*: Also contains several hagiographical, homiletical and chronographical texts.

**L Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 276 (Γ 36)**

12th century 101 fol. 22 × 18 parchment

*Dialexis* (fragment A 312 – Δ 261)

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 36

*Remarks*: The saint is called Gregorios until B 1225, from Γ 430 onwards Gregentios.

**A Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 347 (Γ 107)**

13th/14th century 72 fol. 25 × 16 parchment

*Bios* fol. 1–14<sup>v</sup> (fragment beginning 8.63), *Dialexis* 15<sup>r</sup>–72<sup>v</sup> (until E 272)

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 47.

**Aa Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 616 (E 154)**

year 1563 172 fol. 36 × 25 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 167<sup>r</sup> – 172<sup>r</sup> (fragment until B 139)

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 92

*Remarks*: Written by Ioannes Malaxos, lector at the Chrysopege church in Galata.<sup>2</sup>  
— Contains, besides the *Dialexis*, mainly Canones and commentaries on them.

**Athos, Philotheou 109**

15th century 179 fol. 20 × 14 paper

**F<sup>1</sup>** *Akolouthia* (beginning missing) fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup>, *Bios* fol. 11<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>r</sup> (I.1–288)

**F** *Bios* fol. 26<sup>r</sup>–152<sup>r</sup> (from I.221), *Dialexis* fol. 152<sup>r</sup>–162<sup>v</sup> (fragment until A 302)

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 159

*Remarks*: The *Akolouthia*, the fragment of the *Bios* and the rest of the manuscript are written by three different hands; the first two parts (which are designated together as F<sup>1</sup>) belong to a tradition similar to S H, the third is apparently directly copied from A. The codex was probably assembled from fragments of older manu-

<sup>2</sup> The Chrysopege church, one of the most important churches in Galata in the early Ottoman age, was destroyed by a fire in 1660, and the property later bought by the patriarchate of Jerusalem, see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα*, 281. — On Ioannes Malaxos, see De Gregorio, “Studi II”.

scripts at a later time, with the intention to create a collection of all available texts about Gregentios.

**Dm Athos, Skete Hagiou Demetriou, cod. 7**

16th century 190 fol. 20.5 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 135<sup>r</sup>–169<sup>r</sup>

*Catalogue*: Lamberz & Litsas, *Κατάλογος*, 31–32

*Remarks*: Also contains works of Symeon of Thessalonike and of Pseudo-Gregorios Kerameus of Taormina.

**X Chalke Panagia, cod. 64**

13th/14th (catalogue: 12th) century 351 fol. 26 × 15.5 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 232<sup>r</sup>–281<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Tsakopoulos, “Κατάλογος”, 294

*Remarks*: Great and thematically very diverse anthology written by a learned hand. Badly preserved, first seven fascicles missing. In the range of the *Dialexis*, the older of the two folio numberings is confused and fragmentary, the younger conforms to the present order of leaves and to the numbering of fascicles λδ' to μ'; however, the correct place of fascicle λε' (fol. 240–248) is after λζ' (fol. 256–263). The interchange of fascicles therefore goes back to a first rebinding, and the confusion of folia, which happened at a second rebinding, was only partially undone at a third one. The lacuna Γ 260–261 was probably caused by the omission of one line and therefore suggests that the direct prototype of X already had a similar layout.

**Cm Cheltenham, cod. 6973** (now in the British Museum, London)

15th century 4° paper

*Catalogue*: *Catalogus Phillipps*, 105.

**H Jerusalem, Library of the Patriarchate, cod. Hieros. 467**

year 1487 268 fol. 22 × 15 paper

*Akolouthia* (beginning missing) fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup>, *Bios* fol. 22<sup>r</sup>–140<sup>v</sup>, *Dialexis* fol. 141<sup>r</sup>–248<sup>v</sup>, *Nomoi* fol. 249<sup>r</sup>–268<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Τεροσολυμτική βιβλιοθήκη*, I, 433–434

*Remarks*: According to the notice on fol. 263<sup>v</sup>, the manuscript was written in Gaza by the monk Dionysios Maidos from Corinth at the expenses of a Cypriot called Kyriakos, and finished on the 20th June 1487. — *Akolouthia* written by another hand and probably added to the volume later.

**Ha Jerusalem, Library of the Patriarchate, cod. Hieros. 63**

16th century 276 fol. 20 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 195<sup>r</sup>–247<sup>r</sup>

*Catalogue:* Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, I, 146–148

*Remarks:* The *Dialexis* is written by three hands, namely 1) 195<sup>r</sup>–201<sup>v</sup>, 2) 202<sup>r</sup>–211<sup>v</sup> and 220<sup>v</sup>–238<sup>r</sup>, 3) 212<sup>r</sup>–219<sup>v</sup> and 238<sup>v</sup>–247<sup>r</sup>. — Also contains the letters of Ioannes Zonaras and works of Leon VI.

**Ld Leiden, University Library, cod. Voss. gr. Q 41**

16th century 108 fol. 21 × 15.5 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–24<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue:* de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani*, 149.

**N Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos, cod. 593**

14th century 345 fol. 23 × 14 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 287<sup>r</sup>–330<sup>v</sup> (fragment until Γ 247)

*Catalogue:* Bees, *Χειρόγραφα*, 685

*Remarks:* Also contains works of Ioannes of Damaskos, the commentary on *Ekklesiastes* by Olympiodoros *CPG* 7454, and numerous short texts mostly of a religious character. — The name of the saint is given as Gregentinos; this form appears also in two manuscripts of the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, of which the older one, dated to 1063, was in Cyprus at least since the 12th century, whereas the younger one was written there in 1329.<sup>3</sup> In N, a possessor's notice from 1441 and some leaves pasted in at the end suggest that the manuscript was kept for some time in a non-monastic environment under strong Italian influence, the manuscript therefore may also originate from Cyprus.

**Mo Moscow, State (former Lenin) Library, cod. 131 (339)**

15th century 80 fol. paper

Excerpt from the *Bios* fol. 51<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>v</sup> (3.63–183), *Dialexis* fol. 54<sup>r</sup>–80<sup>v</sup> (A 230 προλαβών εἴρηκα] θαυμαζῶ – Δ 395 καὶ π|)

*Catalogue:* Každan, *Rukopisi*, 108; Papoulides, *Ελληνορωσικά*, 23

*Remarks:* The texts on Gregentios are not mentioned in these inventories, but only in an unpublished catalogue by M. Richard which is kept in the library; on which see also Patlagean, *Lois* 8.

**Mq Moscow, Library of the Patriarchate, Sinod. 422**

11th/12th century 22 × 14.5 parchment

*Dialexis* fol. 245<sup>r</sup>–257<sup>v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>–2<sup>v</sup> (fragments B 178–255, 279–338)

<sup>3</sup> Par. gr. 1590 and Ox. Cod. Auct. E 5 10, see *Typikon*, \*5–7 and 192 app.

*Catalogue:* Vladimir, *Opisanie*, 635

*Remarks:* From the monastery of Batopedi on Mount Athos.

**Pa Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. gr. 1060**

year 1518 21.5 × 15 241 fol. paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue:* Omont, *Inventaire*, I, 213

*Remarks:* Also contains the Book of Revelation of John and the first Letter of John, the homily *CPG* 3010/39 by Gregorios of Nazianzos and the legend about the finding of the True Cross *BHG* 396. — From the monastery of Anastasia Pharmakolytria on the Mega Bounon.<sup>4</sup> Written by three roughly contemporary hands: 1) 1<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>v</sup>, 127<sup>r</sup>–176<sup>v</sup>, 2) 177<sup>r</sup>–207<sup>v</sup> and 3) 208<sup>r</sup>–241<sup>v</sup>; the date on fol. 177<sup>r</sup>, therefore, has not been written by the writer of the *Dialexis*.

**Pb Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. gr. 1061**

16th century 21 × 15 158 fol. paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* Omont, *Inventaire*, I, 213; Gamillscheg & Harlfinger, *Repertorium*, 2, A 153, B 152–153, C plate 222.

*Remarks:* Prototype of the edition, brought to Paris from Constantinople in 1584.

**Pc Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. gr. 1095**

year 1575 21 × 15.5 165 fol. paper

*Dialexis* fol. 29<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue:* Omont, *Inventaire*, I, 339

*Remarks:* Also contains the *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Maximos Homologetes *CPG* 7689, the Barlaam novel *CPG* 8120 and liturgical texts.

**Px Fragment**

12th century 19 × 15 parchment 2 columns

(a) **Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. gr. 2575**

*Dialexis* fol. 130<sup>r</sup>–131<sup>v</sup> (fragment A 1–110, 310–444)

*Catalogue:* Omont, *Inventaire*, II, 213, in which the *Dialexis* is not mentioned; a handwritten catalogue leaf by M.-L. Concasty is enclosed with the manuscript

(b) **Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. suppl. gr. 1035**

*Dialexis* fol. 38<sup>rv</sup> (fragment Γ 948 – Δ 121)

<sup>4</sup> On this monastery, which lies on the Chalkidike peninsula about 20 km southeast of Thessalonike, see Glabinas, *Μοναστήρι*, on the manuscripts there, see Darrouzès, “Manuscripts”, 45–57, on Pa *ibid.* 50.

*Catalogue:* Astruc & Concasty, *Supplement grec*, 137

*Remarks:* Two fragments probably from book covers. The upper two lines and the outer half of the outer columns are lost. The fragments belonged to the same manuscript, in which (a) formed the outer leaves of the first quaternio. (a) is nearly illegible, except the left half of fol. 131<sup>r</sup> = A 342–353 and the right half of fol. 131<sup>v</sup> = A 468–471.

**C Paris, National Library of France, cod. Par. Coisl. 255**

13th/14th (catalogue: 12th/13th) century 118 fol. 27 × 18.5 parchment

*Bios* (fragment beginning 9.213) fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, *Nomoi* fol. 5<sup>r</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>, *Dialexis* fol. 17<sup>v</sup>–118<sup>v</sup> (until E 690)

*Catalogue:* Devreesse, *Fonds Coisl. 233–234*

*Remarks:* A great number of scrawlings and marginal remarks at the beginning and end of the fascicles show that the manuscript was kept unbound for some time. It is also damaged by the cutting away of strips of parchment without loss of text. The fascicle number β' on the present, partially illegible fol. 1<sup>r</sup> indicates that in the beginning only one quaternio is missing; the *Bios*, therefore, must have stood here in an abridged version similar to that of K.

The preserved part has been confused at a rebinding, the original sequence of leaves being as follows: 1–24, lacuna of 3 (= A 325–457), 36–37, lacuna of 2 (= B 40–127), 33–35, lacuna of 3 (= B 253–383), 31, 38, 32, 39–46, 25, 27, 28, lacuna of 2 (= B 976–1060), 29, 30, 26, 49–113, lacuna of 1 (= E 368–408), 114–118, 48, 47. — The original numbering of fascicles is preserved, except δ', ε' and ια'. Fascicles β'–δ' correspond to fol. 1–24. Of fascicle ε' only the inner bifolium (fol. 36–37) and the last leaf (fol. 33), of fascicle ζ' the two outer bifolia (fol. 34, 35, 38, 32) and the sixth leaf (fol. 31) are preserved; both were combined at the rebinding to form the fascicle fol. 31–38. Fascicle ζ' corresponds to fol. 39–46, fascicle η', of which the inner bifolium is missing, was confused and inserted as fol. 25–30 after fascicle δ'. After η' the bifolium fol. 47–48 and the following fascicle fol. 49–56 are not counted.<sup>5</sup> Fascicles θ'–ιζ' correspond to fol. 57–118 (of which fascicle ιδ' consists only of the seven leaves 97–103) and are complete except for one leaf after fol. 113. The sequence of the folio numbers which were added after the rebinding has been confused at a later repair by putting fol. 48–47 after fol. 114, that is, into fascicle ιζ'.

Since the missing end would have fit on a bifolium, the original extent of the manuscript can be calculated as 139 folia.

<sup>5</sup> A corrected numbering, which is increased by 1, was added by a later hand on the extreme lower end of the leaves beginning with fol. 57<sup>r</sup>.

**S Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, cod. Sin. gr. 541**

year 1180 134 fol. 27 × 19 parchment

*Bios* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–63<sup>v</sup>, *Dialexis* fol. 63<sup>r</sup>–123<sup>r</sup>; iambic verses and subscription of the writer Michael, son of Epiphanius, “from (those of) Sipides” fol. 123<sup>v</sup>; *Nomoi* fol. 124<sup>r</sup>–132<sup>r</sup>, later added by the same hand.

*Catalogue*: Gardthausen, *Catalogus*, 123.

*Remarks*: Michael’s verses before the subscription are addressed to the first possessor of the book, the abbot Iakobos, and dated to the 20th February 1180. They mention also Georgios, the abbot and founder of Prinikkos, apparently Iakobos’ uncle. An invocation of Saints Ioachim, Anna and Ioannes Chrysostomos follows. — The monastery of Saint Ioannes Chrysostomos at Koutsoveni in Cyprus, where the only surviving Byzantine portrait of “Saint Gregorios of the Homerites” is preserved,<sup>6</sup> was founded on the 9th December 1190, the day of the conception of Saint Anne, and the memory of its founder Georgios was celebrated there on the 26th April.<sup>7</sup> It is probable, therefore, that Prinikkos was another, slightly older foundation in the vicinity of Koutsoveni, and that the manuscript was copied there.<sup>8</sup>

The manuscript was rebound in the 16th century by a monk named Ionas (note on fol. 132<sup>r</sup>). At this occasion the damaged folia 1<sup>v</sup> and 131<sup>r</sup>–132<sup>r</sup> were replaced by copies written by two different hands. At some places, the inner margins were repaired, and missing letters and words on these were completed by a third hand, probably that of Ionas, not without mistakes.

**T Turin, National University Library, cod. Taurin. gr. 200 (B III 11)**

13th/14th century 383 fol. 22 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 102<sup>v</sup> (fragment N 532–534), 103<sup>r</sup> (A 67–75); *Bios* fol. 103<sup>v</sup> (fragment 1.1–42); *Dialexis* fol. 104<sup>r</sup>–156<sup>r</sup>; *Nomoi* fol. 156<sup>r</sup>–165<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Pasinus, *Codices*, 297–301; Eleuteri & Rigo, *Eretici*, 81–82. 93–95

*Remarks*: Anthology of anti-Jewish treatises similar to V. Learned hand, very badly preserved, the script damaged by humidity and nearly extinct on some leaves already in the time of Pasinus. Often the first line or the first two lines together with the upper margin are lost.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> According to the unpublished typikon, Cod. Par. gr. 402, fol. 56<sup>r-v</sup> and 146<sup>r</sup>; see Mango & Hawkins, “Report”, 334 note 58–59.

<sup>8</sup> Harlfinger, Reinsch & Sonderkamp, *Specimina*, 57–58 and plate 149–151, tentatively assigned its provincial style of writing to southern Italy. They interpreted the name of the writer as Michael, son of Epiphanius and grandson (?) of Sipides, and Prinikkos or Prinikon (which appears in the genitive *Prinikkou* only) as the abbot’s family name Prinikkos. It is much more probable, however, that this is a toponym, and Sipides a family name or a toponym as well. — On this connection to Cyprus, see already Fiaccadori, *La «Vita»*, 92 with notes 70–71.

**Va Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 687**

16th century 263 fol. 22 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Devreesse, *Codices III*, 148

*Remarks*: Collection of anti-Jewish texts, contains among others the *Disputatio de religione* CPG 6968 and *De sacerdotio Christi* BHG 810–812 = CANT 54.

**Vb Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 1128**

16th century paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: none

*Remarks*: Contains the first three texts of Va and Vo.

**Vc Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 172**

16th century 82 fol. 20 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 34<sup>r</sup>–80<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Giannelli, *Codices*, 106–107

*Remarks*: Also contains works of Ioannes Pediasimos and Heron of Alexandria.

**Vd Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 2606**

16th century paper

*Dialexis* fol. 37<sup>r</sup>–86<sup>v</sup> (from A 119)

*Catalogue*: none

*Remarks*: Lacuna A 234–390

**Vo Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. Ottob. 267**

15th century 292 fol. 22 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–167<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Feron & Battaglini, *Codices Ottoboniani*, 150; de Gregorio, *Malaxos*, 175–176; Id., “Studi” 131; Gamillscheg & Hunger, *Repertorium*, A 154–155

*Remarks*: Written in the circle of Manouel Malaxos probably in Rome, see de Gregorio *ibid.* — Contains the same texts as Va except BHG 810–812.

**P Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. Pal. 363**

15th century 414 fol. paper

*Dialexis* fol. 188<sup>v</sup>–233<sup>v</sup> (until Γ 256, followed by excerpts from Γ 478 – Δ 404 and Δ 1270–1286).

*Catalogue*: Stevenson, *Codices Palatini*, 216–222.

*Remarks*: Collection of theological, astronomical and some ancient texts.

**Vr Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. Reg. 43**

16th century 189 fol. in fol. paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Stevenson, *Codices Reginae Suecorum*, 31–32

*Remarks*: Contains after the *Dialexis* also the two anti-Jewish treatises following in Va und Vo, thereafter various mostly religious works. — A letter which is bound into the manuscript at the beginning indicates that it was still in Constantinople in 1642.

**Ma Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. Marc. gr. II 6**

16th century 74 fol. 80 fol. 37 × 26 paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue*: Mioni, *Codices in classes*, 90.

**M Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. Marc. gr. 521**

13th/14th century 200 fol. 26 × 17.5 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 172<sup>r</sup>–182<sup>v</sup> (fragment until B 400)

*Catalogue*: Mioni, *Thesaurus antiquus*, 390–393.

*Remarks*: Learned hand, Gregentios always called Rhegentios, composition as in V. Anthology of very diverse content; the *Dialexis* stands at the end, together with the anti-Jewish treatises of Theodoros Abu Qurra and Pseudo-Anastasios Sinaites *CPG* 7772.

**V Vienna, Austrian National library, cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 306**

13th/14th century 182 fol. 24 × 18 parchment

*Dialexis* fol. 131<sup>r</sup>–170<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Hunger, Lackner & Hannick, *Katalog*, 373–383, here 380–382; Eleuteri & Rigo, *Eretici*, 82–83 and 93–95

*Remarks*: Anthology with anti-Jewish treatises similar to T. Learned hand; begins before the title with three excerpts A 63–112, B 951–961 and 305–307, of which the first is omitted at the right place, whereas the others are repeated without an additional notice. — Bought by Augerius von Busbeck between 1555 and 1562 in Constantinople.



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 Eliminated Manuscripts<sup>9</sup>

The following manuscripts were not analysed and used for the edition because of their late date (after 1600) or bad state of preservation.

**Athens, Library of Parliament, cod. 66**

17th/18th century 409 fol. 22 × 17 paper

Excerpts from the *Dialexis* fol. 301<sup>r</sup>

*Catalogue*: Lampros, “Κατάλογος κωδίκων Βουλῆς”, 466.

**Athens, Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, cod. 215**

17th century 232 fol. 19 × 14 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, IV, 186.

**Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 252 (3786)**

17th century 128 fol. 8° paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 384.

**Athos, Iberon, cod. 329 (4449)**

16th century 8° paper

fol. 69<sup>r</sup>–81<sup>v</sup> excerpts from the *Dialexis*: **A** 210–245, 483–491; **B** 17–91, 296–337, 991–1133; 511–748.

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, II, 84–87; handwritten notice by J. Paramelle in the microfilm collection of the CNRS, Paris (pochette 21788–89)

**Athos, Iberon, cod. 767 (4887)**

18th century 16° paper

No. 5: Γρηγεντίου προσευχή περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, No. 6: *Dialexis*

*Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, II, 224.

**Athos, Koutloumousiou, cod. 52**

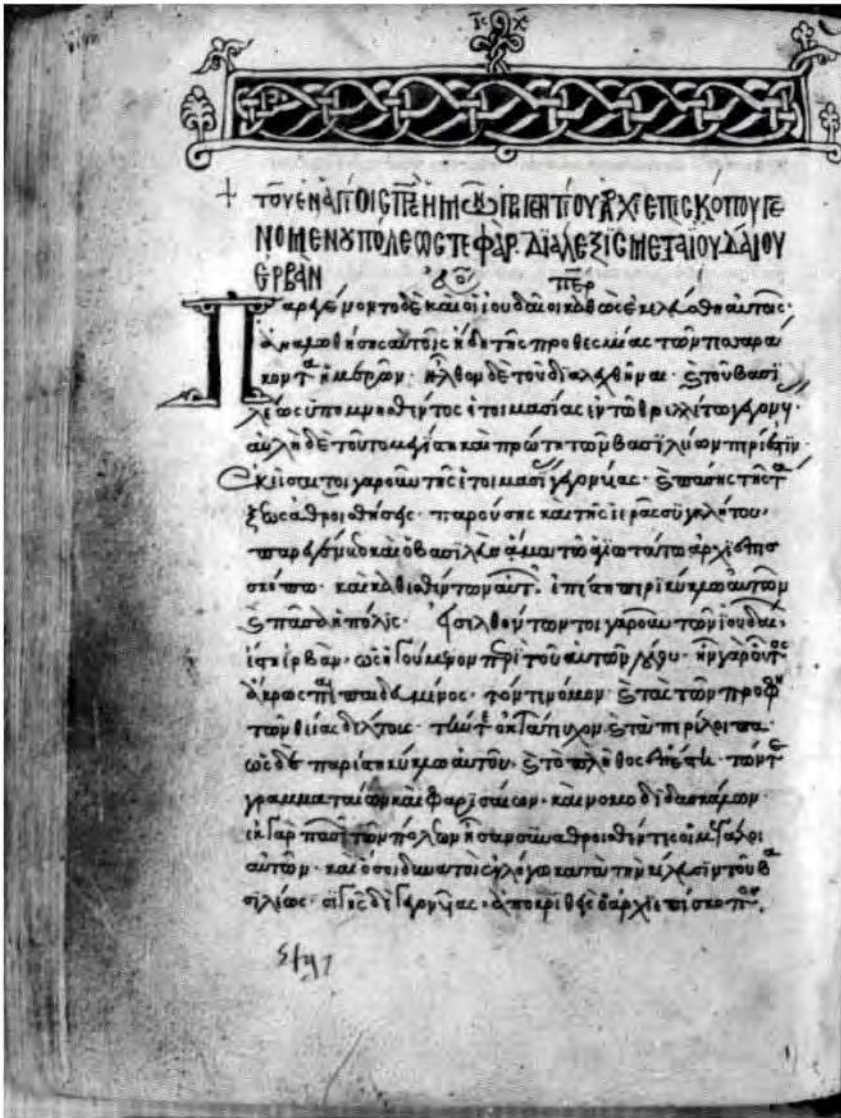
late 17th century 216 p. 14, 5 × 9, 5 paper

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<sup>9</sup> This list is based in parts on Sinkewicz, *Manuscript Listings*. The letter W indicates manuscripts of western origin which are not exactly dated. — In the manuscript Jerusalem Abraham 20, 64<sup>r</sup>–133<sup>v</sup>, which has been listed for the *Dialexis* by Sinkewicz, the text actually doesn't exist. Also, Vat. Reg. 117, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup> couldn't be identified as a work of or about Gregentios.



Paris, Par. Coisl. 255, fol. 17v

Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 183, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>



Sinai, cod. Sin. gr. 541, fol. 63r



Vienna, cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 306, fol. 131r

p. 1–94 *Bios* (beginning mutilated)

*Catalogue*: Polites, *Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι*, 33.

**Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 129 (B 9)**

W

fol. 1<sup>r</sup> poem on Gregentios, fol. 2<sup>r</sup> poem on Christ,<sup>10</sup> thereafter *Dialexis*

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 13.

**Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. (E 169)**

15th century 31 × 20 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 336<sup>r</sup>–347<sup>v</sup> (fragment)

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 95–96

*Remarks*: Manuscript containing 71 different texts, fol. 1–258<sup>r</sup> works of Euthymios Zegadinos, also several works of Kyrillos of Alexandria.

**Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 1127 (I 43)**

18th century 64 fol. 21 × 15 paper

excerpt from the *Dialexis* fol. 43<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>: Ἐκ τῆς διαλέξεως τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ Ἑρβᾶν

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 182.

**Athos, Megiste Laura, cod. 1204 (I 120)**

year 1600 163 fol. 21 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>r</sup> (fragment)

*Catalogue*: Lauriotes & Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 201.

**Cambridge, University Library, cod. L. I. V. 2, 3 (2200–1)**

18th century 380 p. folio paper

*Nomoi* p. 34–38

*Catalogue*: *Catalogue of Cambridge*, 80: Copy from a manuscript in Vienna (= V?).

**Elassona, Monastery of Olympiotissa, cod. 189**

16th century 174 fol. 15 × 10 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 157<sup>r</sup>–158<sup>r</sup> (excerpt on Solomon)

<sup>10</sup> The presence of these poems indicates that the manuscript depends on the printed edition, for these were written by Federicus Morellus, the printer of Gulonius' 1586 edition, and published there at the beginning of the *Dialexis*, see below, note 14.

*Catalogue*: Skoubaras, *Ὀλυμπιώπισσα*, 370

*Remarks*: Collection of various excerpts written by different hands.

**Lesbos, Gymnasion Mitylenes, cod. 24 (26)**

16th century 296 fol. 21 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 3<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>r</sup>

*Catalogue*: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Κατάλογος γυμνασίου Μιτυλήνης”, 140–141; Tsernoglou, “Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος”, 355–356

*Remarks*: Badly damaged and nearly illegible.

**London, Lambeth palace library, cod. 763**

W

*Nomoi* fol. 43<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>r</sup>

*Catalogue*: Todd, *Catalogue*, 190: Copy from a manuscript in Vienna (= V?).

**Meleai, Δημοτική σχολή, cod. 105**

17th century 156 fol. 16 × 11 paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue*: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Κατάλογος τῆς ἐν Μηλέαις βιβλιοθήκης”, 62

*Remark*: Place name as πόλις Ταφρών.

**Moscow, Library of the Patriarchate (Sinod), Sinod. 235**

year 1627 20 × 14.5 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 231<sup>r</sup>–318<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Vladimir, *Opisanie*, 306

*Remarks*: from the monastery of Iberon on Mount Athos.

**Moscow, Library of the Patriarchate (Sinod), Sinod. 435**

17th century 21 × 15.5 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 280<sup>r</sup>–327<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Vladimir, *Opisanie*, 662.

**Thessalonike, Mone Blatadon, cod. 85**

17th century 100 fol. 21 × 15 paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Eustratiades, *Κατάλογος*, 132.

The following manuscripts are lost, but known from older catalogues:

**El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, cod. gr. 220 (Γ. V. 14)**

W 4° paper (?)

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos*, 100.

**El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, cod. gr. 596 (Λ. IV. 11)**

old 4° paper (?)

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* de Andrés, *ibid.*, 271.

### Manuscripts of the Modern Greek Paraphrases

**Ann Arbor, University of Michigan gr. 40**

16th century 141 fol. 20 × 14 paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* de Ricci & Wilson, *Census*, 1111

*Remarks:* Beginning damaged.

**Athos, Skete Hagias Annas, 85 4**

19th century 739 p. 37 × 26 paper

volume 2, p. 1–14 *Akolouthia*, p. 15–142 *Bios*, p. 143–242 *Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* Mikragiannanites, “Κατάλογος”, 104–136, here 123.<sup>11</sup>

**Athos, Batopediou, cod. 92**

year 1876 555 p. 21 × 17 paper

p. 1–238 *Bios*

*Catalogue:* Eustratiades, *Catalogue of Vatopedi*, 25–26

*Remark:* Ends on p. 236 at 10.86; a new conclusion is added, in which on p. 237 the patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem (1661–69) is mentioned as an authority for the continuing existence of the Christian Homerites up to his time.

**Athos, Batopediou, cod. 138**

18th century 155 fol. 21 × 15 paper

*Dialexis*

*Catalogue:* Eustratiades, *ibid.*, 34.

<sup>11</sup> The texts concerning Gregentios are not mentioned by Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 11.



**Athos, Iberon, cod. 481 (4601)**

18th century paper

*Dialexis**Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, II, 152.**Athos, Kausokalybia, cod. 258**

year 1858 1170 p. 32 × 21 paper

p. 25–48 *Akolouthia*, p. 49–231 *Bios*, p. 252–350 *Dialexis**Catalogue*: Kourilas, *Κατάλογος Κανσοκαλυβίων*, 129–130*Remarks*: Paraphrasis of the monk Iakobos.**Athos, Philotheou, cod. 1906**

year 1845 25 + 270 p. folio paper

p. 1/1–25 *Akolouthia*, p. 2/1–239 *Bios**Catalogue*: Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, I, 161*Remarks*: Text similar to that of Athos, Skete Hagias Annas, 85 4 above.**Bucharest, Academy, cod. gr. 367 (330)**

18th century

*Dialexis**Catalogue*: Litzica, *Catalogul*, 194.**Cambridge, University Library, cod. O o. VI. 91 (3163)**

18th century paper

*Dialexis* text no. 24*Catalogue*: *Catalogue of Cambridge*, 512.**London, British Museum, cod. add. 28,827**

16th century 116 fol. paper

*Dialexis* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>v</sup> (fragment B 383 – Δ 1269)*Catalogue*: *Catalogue of Additions*, 562.

### Other Works Ascribed to Gregentios

In a manuscript which is now kept in Athens, a treatise against the Azyrna is ascribed to Gregentios. Given the topic discussed, it is certainly the work of a much later time:

**Athens, Metochion Panagiou Taphou, cod. 179<sup>12</sup>**

15th century 21 × 16 paper

fol. 44<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>r</sup> Γρηγεντίου λόγος κατὰ τῶν τὰ ἄζυμα φρονούντων, inc. Ὁ περὶ τῶν ἄζύμων λόγος

*Catalogue*: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, V, 127.

Another manuscript of the same collection contains the same text without the mention of an author:

**Athens, Metochion Panagiou Taphou, cod. 145**

16th century 22 × 15 paper

fol. 367<sup>r</sup>–416<sup>v</sup>

*Catalogue*: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ibid.*, 150.

Since this treatise is styled as a letter, it may also be identical to the “letters of Gregentios” which were once in the possession of the French humanist Dionysius Petavius (Denis Petau, 1583–1652).<sup>13</sup>

### Editions and Translations

**Bios**

Vasiliev, “Žitie”, 39–66 — extracts

Fiaccadori, *La «Vita»* — unpublished, edition of chapters 9 and 10

<sup>12</sup> This manuscript is mentioned by Christides, “Martyrdom”, 64–65, as ‘Codex Jerusal., Graec. 179’.

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned in a catalogue from 1660, see Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca*, 65. — After Petavius’ death, his library was sold to queen Christina of Sweden who took parts of it with her when she went to Rome in 1655. The “letters of Gregentios”, however, today do not exist in the collection of the *Codices Regimenses* in the Vatican library.

*Nomoi*

Νόμοι τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, ed. J. F. Boissonade, in *Anecdota Graeca*, V, Paris 1833, 63–116 — Reprint: J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 86, Paris 1860, 567–620 (with Latin translation)

Νομοθεσία τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως (τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν) Ἀβραμίου, ed. J. Müller, in Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgeschichte*, 577–600. — German translation, *ibid.*, 601–620.

Daresté, “Lois” (French translation)

Patlagean, *Lois* (unpublished, with French translation)

*Dialexis*

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου Τεφρών, Διάλεξις μετὰ Ἰουδαίου Ἐρβᾶν τοῦνομα. — S. patris nostri Gregentii archiepiscopi Tephrensensis Disputatio cum Herbano Iudaeo, nunc primum graecè edita cum interpretatione Nic. Gulonii [Nicolas Goulu] Carnutis, literarum Graecarum professoris Regii, notis illustrata (Paris: Federicus Morellus [Federico Morelli] 1586, <sup>2</sup>1603); 8°, 8 (unnumbered) + 204 fol.

*Unnumbered folia*

- 2<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>      dedicatory letter of Nicolaus Gulonius to Aegidius Noallius  
 5<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup>      poem on Aegidius Noallius by Ioannes Auratus  
 6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>r</sup>      poem on Aegidius Noallius  
 7<sup>r</sup>          poem on Ioannes Auratus and Nicolaus Gulonius by Ioannes Calvimontanus  
             Lemouix [Jean de Calvimont]  
 7<sup>v</sup>          approbation by the theological faculty and royal privilege  
 8<sup>r</sup>          *variae lectiones* from an older Greek codex<sup>14</sup>  
 8<sup>v</sup>          poem on the *Dialexis* in pentametric disticha by Federicus Morellus

*Numbered folia:*

- 1<sup>r</sup>          poem on Christ in Sapphic verses, inc. Χριστέ, τῶν θνητῶν βασιλεῦ  
 1<sup>v</sup>–204<sup>r</sup>    *Dialexis* with Latin translation.

<sup>14</sup> These *variae lectiones* were probably added by Federicus Morellus, for a remark in the text states that the correction A 23 τίνες > τίνος had already been proposed by the translator, who is therefore not identical with the author of this list. Also, the poem on Christ, which follows shortly thereafter, is most probably Morellus' work.

Edition of Nicolaus Gulonius, Beginning of the *Dialexis*

## Reprints of the Latin text only

M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, V, Cologne 1618, 919–944

M. de la Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, VI, Lyon 1677, 1014–1040

## Reprints of the Greek and Latin text

F. Le Duc, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum seu scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, I, Paris 1624, 194–273

M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, XI, Paris 1644, 194–273

A. Galland, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum graeco-latina*, XI, Venice 1776, 599–661<sup>15</sup>

J.-P. Migne, *PG* 86, Paris 1860, 621–784

<sup>15</sup> The page numbers of this edition are inserted into the Latin text of the *Patrologia Graeca*.

### Modern Greek Paraphrases

Διάλογος τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κεφρῶ γενόμενος μετὰ Ἑβραίου τινὸς Ἑρβᾶν ὀνομαζομένου, Venice: Ioannes Antonius Iulianus 1646. 4°, 144 p. — *Dialexis* p. 1–91; contains also paraphrases of the homily of Eriphanios of Cyprus *CPG* 3768 = *BHGNA* 808e, the Martyrium of Marina *BHG* 1165–68, and the Testament and Miracles of Nikon *Metanoieite* *BHG* 1308.<sup>16</sup>

Reprints: Venice, Nikolaos Seros 1709; Venice, Antonio Bortoli 1747; Venice, Nikolaos Glykys 1780;<sup>17</sup> Hermoupolis/Syros 1869.

### Translations

Translation into Turkish in Greek letters (*Karamanlidika*):<sup>18</sup>

Πεγιοῦκ Ἀραπισταντὰ Κεφρὸ σεχεριντὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἅγιος Γρηγέντιος τὴν μουτζελεσι Γιαουτι Ἑρβάνηλαν, İstanbul 1800.<sup>19</sup> — Translation based on the Modern Greek paraphrase, by Chrysaphios, priest from Kayseri, revised by Seraphim from Ankara,<sup>20</sup> and printed by the press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Also contains the *Thysia tou Abraam* in Turkish.<sup>21</sup>

Διάλογος τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου ἐπισκόπου Αἰθιοπίας, γιάνι Πεγιοῦκ Ἀραπισταντὴν Κεφρὸ ναμιντὲ ὀλάν σεχεριντὲ ἄζιζ πετεριμιζιν Γιαχουτιλεριν Ἑρβᾶν ναμιντὲ πῖρ μεσχούρ διδάσκαλοσλαρη ἰλὲ ἔττιγι ντῖν μουτζατελεσινὶν μονκιαλημεσι ντίρ κι, İstanbul 1844.<sup>22</sup> — Revised reprint of the previous edition. Note the difference between the Turkish and the Greek title added in this edition, where Gregentios is called a bishop of Ethiopia.<sup>23</sup>

A ‘theatrical piece’ called *Ervan–Ayos*, which consists of three acts and ends with Herban’s conversion, is known from the literature of the Urum, an Orthodox Christian ethnical group of Turkish language around Mariupol in the Donetz area.<sup>24</sup> Since it is mentioned after another piece called *Abraham*, which must be identical to the *Thysia tou Abraam*, this text probably depends from the printed Turkish translation.

<sup>16</sup> On which see Lampides, *Nikon*, 241–260.

<sup>17</sup> See Legrand, *Bibliothèque Hellénique du dix-septième siècle*, II, 32–34; idem, *Bibliothèque Hellénique du dix-huitième siècle*, I, 69–70. 347; II, 324–325.

<sup>18</sup> On the method of transcription in the so-called Karamanlidical literature see now Kappler, “Note”, especially 312–314.

<sup>19</sup> Salaville & Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika*, 108–109.

<sup>20</sup> On his person see Eckmann, “Karamanlidische Literatur”, 823.

<sup>21</sup> On this Turkish translation, see *Thysia tou Abraam*, 3–5.

<sup>22</sup> Salaville & Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika*, 278–281.

<sup>23</sup> The seat of Gregentios is located there also in the title of F, on which see above, p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> Garkavec, *Tjurskie jazyki*, 41.

Translation into Arabic:

Various manuscripts.<sup>25</sup>

Translation into English:

Radius, *Discussion*, 48–200. — Based on the text of *PG* 86.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. The History of the Text

The Dossier of Saint Gregentios has come down to us in three manuscript families which will subsequently be called  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ . Family  $\alpha$  contains the *Bios* as an excerpt, and only C includes all parts of the Dossier; in family  $\beta$  the *Nomoi* are omitted and about 40 % of the text of the *Dialexis* is lost as the result of mechanical damage; in family  $\gamma$  the *Nomoi* have been transposed to the end, and both *Bios* and *Dialexis* are abridged first slightly, then increasingly towards the end.

How these three families depend from the archetype  $\omega$  is difficult to establish, since there are nearly no ‘right’ readings in one family in opposition to obviously wrong ones in the other two. The hypothesis, that both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  depend from a hyparchetype  $\psi$  and thus are opposed to  $\gamma$ , is supported among other arguments by the fact that even this abridged family contains two pieces of text in the *Dialexis*, Γ 654 οὐκοῦν – 655 θεοῦ and E 320 καὶ – 321 ἐπετέλει, which are not preserved elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

The date of the archetype  $\omega$  is also difficult to determine: on the one hand, a reading in the *Nomoi* (N 279) suggests that it was written not more than some decades before the oldest surviving complete manuscript S, dated to 1180, and possibly in the Holy Land.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, it is obvious that the *synaxarion* of Gregentios, which appears first in the mid-eleventh century, depends on a manuscript from the family  $\alpha$ .<sup>29</sup>

### The Textual Tradition of the *Bios*

The greatest part of the *Bios* until 8.63 is transmitted only by D F S H.<sup>30</sup>

It is obvious from the text that the archetype of the *Bios* already contained a great number of corruptions, for some of them have found their way into all of these four

<sup>25</sup> Cheiko, *Catalogue*, 155; Sbath, *al-Fihris*, 428; Graf, *Geschichte*, 570.

<sup>26</sup> On the work of Radius, see above, p. 128 note 66.

<sup>27</sup> The following chapter tries to establish the textual history of the Dossier by discussing selected readings of the manuscripts, which form, however, in no way complete lists of variants.

<sup>28</sup> See above, pp. 90–91.

<sup>29</sup> See below, p. 172.

<sup>30</sup> For the short fragment 1.1–42 in T see below, p. 180.

manuscripts, such as 8.135 εἰρηκῶς|εἰρηνικῶς. They also share the omission of a dialogue section after 3.482. At 8.128 and probably also at 2.328 marginal remarks have been included in the text.

It also appears that some inconsistencies were already caused by a lack of systematic redaction by the author himself: the sentence 5.195–198, for example, contains three possible alternatives for the grammatical connection between main and subordinate clause. The fact that 5.21–24 is literally repeated at 5.47–50 also shows that the author used some written sources or records for his work.

In F, the mutilated text begins at 1.221, but is preceded by a fragment from another manuscript F<sup>1</sup> which ends at 1.288. Where both F<sup>1</sup> and F are preserved, the two main groups D F and F<sup>1</sup> SH can be clearly distinguished at 1.256 ἐσοῦβλιζον|ἐπούγλιζον DF. Other readings common to F<sup>1</sup> SH at the beginning of the *Bios* are:

1.13 ὡς – 15 ἐπάξιος|ὅσα τε μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ θεράπων.94 ὑποδύς – παῖδα <, 134 καὶ – 135 ἄπασι <, 181 αὐτῶν – σωθῶμεν <.

The fragment F<sup>1</sup> shares 1.257 ἕτεροι – ἠκόντιζον < and other readings with H. However, H is no direct copy of it, since F<sup>1</sup> has a number of own mistakes such as 1.3 ἀκύμονα – καταστοχαζομένου|ταχοστοχαζομένου, 34 θεσπεσίου|θαυμασίου.

Throughout the text, the groups D F and S H are distinguished from each other by a large number of readings. S and H are slightly abridged, the longest omissions being:

2,165 ἐτοῖμον – 169 ὄξυδερκέστερον, 284 ἐὰν – 291 θαυμάζοντες; 4.136 πολλὰ – 146 οὐρανῶν, 153 τὰς<sup>1</sup> – 163 Σαβᾶῶθ; 5.310 καὶ – 319 ἔφασκον; 7.146 Ἰωάννη – 153 κύριος, 209 ἀληθῶς – 216 ἐμεγάλυνεν; 8.104 οὐδέπω – 135 τρόπω.

A number of passages, which are missing in S H, are grammatically unclear in D F; we may assume therefore that this was already the case in the archetype, and that they were omitted for this reason:

2.65 ὥστε – 67 ἡμέλει; 6.84 ἀλλ' – 87 καὶ<sup>3</sup>; 7.146 Ἰωάννη – 153 κύριος; 8.23 ἀνιστάμενον – 25 κατευφραίνετο; 8.208 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 209 αὐτοῖς.

S and H are the only manuscripts which contain the complete Dossier of Saint Gregentios, though not in its original order.<sup>31</sup> Both are exactly dated, and their places of origin and the names of their scribes are known.<sup>32</sup> In the range of the *Bios*, the most obvious peculiarity of S H is the addition of numbered chapters with subtitles. These subtitles do not intend to give the text a systematic structure, but rather try to draw the reader's attention to certain interesting sections.<sup>33</sup> The chapters were apparently introduced by a common prototype, but omitted again by F<sup>1</sup>. Beginning from chapter κγ', there is a difference in numbering between S and H: κα' and κβ' are counted in both

<sup>31</sup> See below, p. 168.

<sup>32</sup> See above, pp. 147 and 143.

<sup>33</sup> The original manuscript of the *Bios* was most probably written as a continuous text without a division into chapters, as it is still the case in D F. On the chapters of this edition, see below, p. 186.

manuscripts as κβ' and κγ', thereafter S continues with κγ', H with κδ'; H also adds some new chapter numbers at the end.

The question how S and F<sup>1</sup> H are related to each other cannot be answered clearly<sup>34</sup>. At a number of places, the writer of S added words over the line, as in 1.217 + πάθη and 226 + οἶσαν,<sup>35</sup> or on the margins, as 6.265 παρόντος + πλήθος and 8.170 ὡς + ψευδῶς, and all these additions appear in the continuous text of H or F<sup>1</sup> H respectively. Also, the words 1.257 ἕτεροι – ἠκόντιζον were omitted and then supplied on the upper margin by S, but are missing in F<sup>1</sup> H. This evidence suggests a direct relation S > H, but this is impossible, because S contains a number of own readings and obvious mistakes which do not appear in H, such as

2.90 πράγμα] πρόσταγμα; 3.125 ἡ πέτρα] ἑσπέρα; 9.31 πάση τῇ βασιλείᾳ] πασιλείᾳ, corr. in margine.

Within the group D F, some readings demonstrate clearly that D cannot have been copied from F:

2.164 ἦγουν – 165 αὐτῶ < F; 4.126 ἐκ κώμης Λυπλιανῶν < F; 5.302 ἐκεῖσε – 303 αὐτῶ < F; 7.274 αὐτὸς – καὶ<sup>5</sup> < F.

The text of A, which begins at 8.63, is very similar to that of D F and especially to F. Common readings of A F, which do not appear in D, are:

8.192 μιᾷ + ἐν; 9.141 Σαββά] Σαββάτου, 158 Ἀτεφάρ] Τετάρφ D Τάρφ AF; 10.52 ἐκθέμεθα] ἐκθώμεθα.

F has probably been copied directly from A, for A does not contain own readings, except for two small mistakes at 9.133 and 146 which may have been corrected by the scribe.

In K, chapters 1–8 are reduced to a short excerpt, to which a place in the stemma cannot be assigned.<sup>36</sup> Gregentios is called Gregorios in the *Bios* and in parts of the *Dialexis*.<sup>37</sup> In the excerpt from the *Bios* Lyplianes appears as Lopliane (K 4), and the saint's mother is called Theodote (K 5). Most episodes of the story are omitted, including the stays at Moryne, Antenora and Agrigentum. By the phrase "leaving for Rome he comes to Milan" (K 23) both cities are blended to one single location: the visit to the unnamed hermit (6.14–191) takes place on a mountain thirty stadia from there (K 24), which is obviously a reminiscence of the thirty miles between Milan and Largention/Piacenza mentioned in 3.15–16.<sup>38</sup> But the same hermit also mentions the church of Bonifatius and Aglais (K 43–44), which actually lies close to Rome (6.130), and also

<sup>34</sup> In the writer's notice of H, the scribe Dionysios Maïdos apologises for the bad state of the manuscript from which he had copied the text. This applies for S before the repair of the sixteenth century, though chiefly for the first and last leaves.

<sup>35</sup> These words heal clear corruptions of the prototype.

<sup>36</sup> See below, pp. 804–810.

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 28 and below, p. 170–171.

<sup>38</sup> See above, p. 21.



predicts the way to the East via Augustopolis (K 44–45 and 6.135). The sea travel to Egypt is not described, so that it is unclear how Gregentios has come there before his appointment by Proterios. The text of chapter 9 is complete in a form slightly different from that of D A F S H; the changes include the reformulation of complete passages such as 9.26 και<sup>2</sup> – 28 ἔθνῶν, 157 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 160 καταστησάμενος, 179 οὖν – 187 ἀγιάσαντες.

C begins shortly before the end of the *Bios* at 9.213 with a text similar to that of K. C and K, therefore, form a third group independent of D A F and S F<sup>1</sup> H, and since only one fascicle of C is lost at the beginning,<sup>39</sup> chapters 1–8 of the *Bios* must have been contained in the common hyparchetype as an excerpt similar to the one preserved by K. Characteristic common readings of C K are:

9.216 χρήσιμος ἀπὸ τούτων] ἐστὶν ἄξιος CK, 271 και<sup>1</sup> – 272 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ-τρομος ὢν ὡς τὸ πρότερον πάλιν ὠρkiζεν αὐτὸν και μεθ' ὄρκου παρεκάλει C sim. K, 277 τοῦτον – ὄφει] τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ ὄφης, θαῦμα τι γέγονε μέγα και παράδοξον CK.

However, the text of C is closer to the remaining tradition than that of K which has a number of own typical readings:

9.229 ἐγεγόνει] γέγονεν post 228 μέτοχος, 231 εἰρήκασιν – ἑπταπλάσιον <, 233 εἰρή-κασιν – δεκάκις <, 238 πλουσίως – ἐπιχωρηγούντες <.

We can assume therefore that most own readings of K before the point where C begins are peculiar to this manuscript and not to the whole group. This is also true for the change of the hero's name to Gregorios, for C always has the original name Gregentios, beginning with its first appearance in the preserved text at 9.235.

A large part of the dispute between the monk and the archdeacon in Milan (3.63–183) is also transmitted separately by the manuscript Mo (up to 3.182 ἀναιρούμενος). The excerpt begins with the title Διάλεξις μοναχοῦ και ἀρχidiaκόνου ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν κριμάτων εἰ θεοῦ εἰσὶν κᾶντε ἀγαθὰ κᾶντε πονήρως ἔχοντα, και λύσις τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγεντίου. While Gregentios' words are reproduced with few variants in a form similar to S H,<sup>40</sup> most of the introduction and the transitions are reduced to short summaries as follows:

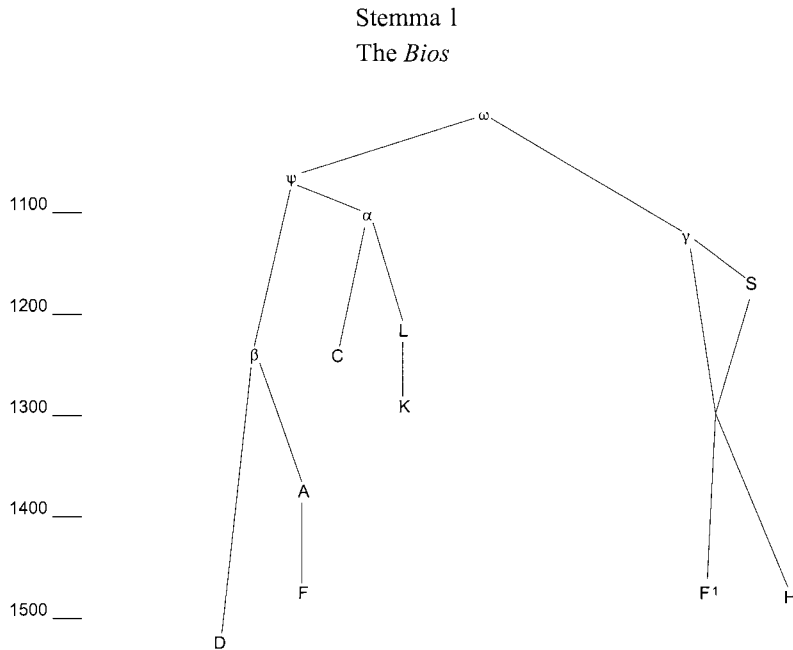
3.63 μετὰ – 67 φιλονεικούντες] μοναχοῦ και κληρικοῦ διαμαχομένου συνόντων και πολλῶν ἀκρωμένων, ὁ μονάζων και ὁ κληρικός ἀντέπιπτον φιλονεικούντες; 3.83 τούτου – 102 αὐτοῦς] τούτων οὕτως διαλεγόμενων και μὴ δυναμένων ἐν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ διαλυθῆναι, ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Γρηγέντιος παρακληθεὶς ἐξείπεν τὴν λύσιν τούτων λέγων; 3.155 λαοῦ – 159 ἀληθείας] ἔφη ὁ ἅγιος τῷ ἀρχidiaκόνῳ· Μὴ αὐχοῦ, ἀδελφέ, ἐπὶ τὸ σὸν μέρος καλῶς διήλθες.

<sup>39</sup> See above, pp. 146–147.

<sup>40</sup> Note the reading 3.131 Ἀμαληκίτας] Ἀμανίτας Mo, on which see below, note 34 to the translation.

It is probable that this excerpt is based on the same contaminated tradition to which the following long fragment of the *Dialexis* in Mo belongs.<sup>41</sup>

The three groups C K, D A F and S F<sup>1</sup> H, which are thus established, correspond to the hyparchetypes  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  in the tradition of the *Dialexis*. The tradition of the *Bios* corresponds fully to the richer one of the *Dialexis*<sup>42</sup>, from where the designations  $\psi$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  have been taken over into the following stemma:



The tradition of the *Nomoi* can be classified into C on the one hand and the hyparchetype  $\gamma$  on the other hand, the latter being represented by S H T V.

In both groups the text is divided into chapters, but in different ways: in C the chapters are only numbered; here the number  $\mu\alpha'$  has dropped out, probably together with the passage N 307 οἱ τρεῖς – 311 ἀπολυέσθωσαν, which indicates that this numbering was already introduced by a prototype of C and not by the writer of this particular ma-

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> See below, p. 169.

nuscript. In S H T V, also subtitles are added similar to those in the *Bios*: in an earlier stage of the tradition their numbering had been continued from the *Bios*, since the numbers  $\nu\alpha'$  and  $\nu\zeta'$  have survived in the text of S, and  $\nu\alpha'$  in V. This indicates that the numbering of chapters in both *Bios* and *Dialexis* was done by the same redactor, and that the *Nomoi* originally also had still their place between *Bios* and *Dialexis* in  $\gamma$ .<sup>43</sup>

C and S H T V also differ in a great number of readings. Among them there is a great number of corrupt places where the sense of the text was already disturbed in the archetype, and of which some have therefore been omitted by S H T V, such as N 282 ἅπαντα – 284 παραπλήσια. In C the already mentioned passage N 307–311 is missing, in S H T V 348 ἀνήρ – 360 προσάττομεν.

Within S H T V the groups S H and T V can be distinguished:

N 87 παρακελεύεται] ἐστίν TV, 100 ἐστίν] λίτρας TV, 163 ἡμῖν post ἡμῶν TV, 187 ἠδυνήθης – εὐρήσωμεν < TV, 259 αἰδῶ] ὁδὸν TV, 267 λυρισται] λησταί TV, 395 πλουσίως – 396 αὐτῶν bis TV, 478 ἔν τε – 527 ἐσπερινῶ] ἐσπέρα τοῦ σαββάτου TV, γειτονι-αρχῶν] ἀρχόντων SH

Also, some corrupt readings of the hyparchetype  $\gamma$  still stand in SV, but were independently corrected by HT: N 28 ῥεγεῶνα recte C] λεγεῶνα HT λιγεῶνα SV, 41 δρῶντα HT] ἀνδρῶν SV, 105 ὑπαρξις HT] υἱοὶ παρεξῆς SV

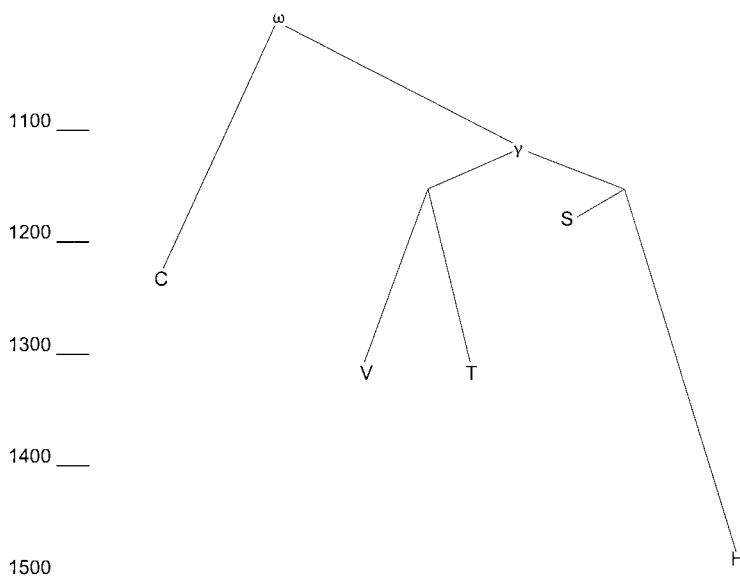
Since the hyparchetype  $\beta$ , from which S H T V depend, has revised and abridged the whole text of the Dossier, the version of C is probably closer to the original, though S H T V must be used here as a base for corrections more often than in the other parts.<sup>44</sup>

The result is the following stemma for the *Nomoi*, to which again the hyparchetypes from the stemma of the *Dialexis* have been added:

<sup>43</sup> See above, p. 163.

<sup>44</sup> Patlagean, *Lois*, 8–13 examined only the tradition of the *Nomoi* and preferred the version of S H V (T was unknown to her at that time) because of the higher number of glosses and obvious mistakes in C. A result of this is, for example, the exclusion of N 348–360, about which she writes *ibid.* 36: “Le remanieur de C a imité la manière des Lois de Grigentios.”

Stemma 2  
The *Nomoi*



### The Textual Tradition of the *Dialexis* and the Archetype ω

The textual tradition of the *Dialexis* can be established more clearly than that of the other parts of the Dossier because of the greater number of manuscripts, and the conclusions drawn from here can be applied to these other parts as well.

The archetype of the whole tradition, ω, already contains a number of errors and inconsistencies: **A** 398 και – 400 ούθέν, **B** 624 ἔθνικῶς and **B** 894 ἐπειδὴ – ἐφύτευσεν were probably marginal glosses which have intruded into the text. Sometimes the redundant way of expression makes it difficult to decide whether a passage originally belonged to the text or was a marginal gloss which later found its way into it; a typical example for this is **Δ** 345 ἦ – 347 ἐβλάστησεν. Clear corruptions in the archetype are **B** 396 ὁ κύριος] recte Κῦρος; **B** 1079 εἶναι] recte εἶπεν (cf. the conjecture in the family μ and ἀπέδειξεν εἶναι in α); **B** 1216 και] recte εἰ; **Γ** 346 εὐηρέστησαν] recte εὐαρεστήσαντος (?).

The fluctuation between the forms Μωσῆς and Μωσῆς already goes back to ω, where the nominative Μωσῆς is preferred to Μωσῆς (21:8 cases), and inversely the genitive Μωσέως to Μωσέως (29:3 cases); the remaining cases Μωσῆ/Μωση, Μωσέα and Μωσῆ are statistically irrelevant.

The archetype  $\omega$  also already contained already the titles of the single days which were omitted later in a part of the manuscript tradition. However, the transition from the third to the fourth day suggests that they were no original part of the text, for the frame story connects these days in a way which leaves no suitable place for such titles. Nevertheless, a title has been added here by various manuscripts at slightly different places, with the result that in the hyparchetype  $\gamma$  it now stands in the middle of a sentence. For practical reasons the division of the *Dialexis* into five days has been preserved in this edition.

### The Hyparchetype $\alpha$

The manuscripts C X L K, the beginning of the text in the contaminated group  $\delta^{45}$  and perhaps the fragment Px depend on a hyparchetype  $\alpha$ . C contains the whole Dossier, X only the *Dialexis*, whereas in K the *Nomoi* are omitted. L, which goes from A 312 to  $\Delta$  261, is the fragment of a manuscript which probably was the direct prototype of K.

Only the hyparchetype  $\alpha$  contains the complete *Dialexis* without heavy abridgements and long lacunae; but C and K break off shortly before the end, and X is nearly illegible in the final part. C X L K are connected by a large number of common readings, among them many small omissions:

A 91 εἰς – 92 πατήρ <, 305 ἴσως αἰσθητῶς τοῦτο <, 342 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 344 ἡλίω <, 354 σῶος – 355 διαμένει <; B 875 ἄκουσον – ἀναπλέους <, 907 δυναστεία + ἡ μᾶλλον ὡς ἄνθρωπῳ ἂν ἐχθίστως; Γ 294 ὅτι – 295 ἐξῆς <, Δ 1259 οὗτος – 1260 σου <.

C X form a subgroup within the family:

A 251 αὐτὸν – 252 πιστεύοντας <; B 14 νομοθετηθέντα καὶ καλῶς <, 161 ὅτι – 163 με post 164 μου, 486 τὸν – προερχόμενον <; Γ 125 ὅπως – τέρατα <, 231 ὁ – 232 λέγει <, Γ 833 τοῦτ' ἔστι – 834 ἀναβιβασθήσονται <; Δ 47 καὶ – οἰκτηρίσουσι <, 569 τίσπερ – 570 αἰῶνος <, 614 ἐρήμω – 615 ἡμῖν <.

The passage E 612–626 about the appearance of Christ on the fifth day has been abridged and completely reformulated in C X; since L K break off beforehand, this is possibly a peculiarity of the whole hyparchetype.

Differently from most other manuscripts, C begins every dialogue section with a new paragraph. One result of this is that often the word ἔφη is omitted after ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, for the formulae ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη – Ἐρβᾶν λέγει are usually put at the end of the preceding paragraph where sometimes the space is insufficient.

In the second subgroup L K the protagonist is called Gregorios at A 492 and B 1225, as K already did before in the excerpt from the *Bios*, and on the first two days the dialogue sections are introduced only by the words ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος — ὁ Ἐρβᾶν. At B

<sup>45</sup> See below, pp. 180–181.

223, L K return to the usual formula, and at Γ 430 also to the name Gregentios. At numerous places L has been corrected by a second hand: the heaviest intervention is at A 443, where the second half of a line was erased and replaced by another, longer text which is continued on the outer margin. Other corrections are:

B 267 ὡσεὶ > ὡς εἰς, 595 τοῦτ' ἔστι deleted, 618 τοῖς deleted before φραγμοῖς and added again over the line before κύκλω, 894 τὸν added over the line, 1063 ὑπερ- deleted, 1201 τὰς supplemented before εἰκῆ over the line; Γ 253 εἴρηται| εἶται > νοεῖται, 367 κορεννύς > κορεννούουσα, 388 ἀντισκοτεῖ > ἀντισκοτίζει, 428 χαρὰ deleted, 698 εἶπερ > εἰ ποῦ, 719 τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι > ἐπικαλούμενος and ἐπικαλούμενος > ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, 832 ὑπόλοιποι > ὑπόλοιποι, 943 προημαρτημένα > προμεμαρτυρημένα; Δ 9 τοῖς υἱοῖς > οἱ υἱοί; 63 καὶ σὺ before περὶ added over the line; 237 προσοῖσαντες > προσοῖετε.

Towards the end of the fragment, often forms of the aorist subjunctive are changed to those of the future, as for example Γ 861 πράξωσιν > πράξουσιν and Δ 89 οἰκτειρήσωσι > οἰκτειρήσουσι.

Since K took over all these corrections and most, but not all own readings of L<sup>46</sup> into the continuous text, it is probable that this manuscript depends directly on L. This is also suggested by the omission of some lines of L in K by *homoioteleuton*, as for example B 337,349–350, 377. However, the ductus of K shows that the writer is not identical with the corrector of L. At some places own readings of L have disappeared by independent corrections of K: Δ 40 ante ἀτελευτήτους + τὰς, 58 παρασιώπησας. Only at the beginning of L, at A 312 ἀσοφίας L] ἀσαφείας K cett., such an assumption is problematic.

The translation of the *Bios* and *Dialexis* into Slavonic is the work of a Serbian monk on Mount Athos called Antonij and can be dated to between 1360 and 1390.<sup>47</sup> It depends on the branch of the tradition represented by L K: Gregentios is called Gregorios, and also includes the addition mentioned above at A 443. It is probable therefore that the translator used K rather than L as the basis of his work.

In the final part of the *Dialexis*, which is today missing in L and K, a remarkable addition to the text can be found in the Slavonic version that may already have been present in these Greek manuscripts: after “the prophets have foretold” (E 474) the words “the deceiver Hermolaos” are added, a clear allusion to the devil Hermolaos mentioned

<sup>46</sup> For example, B 615 δέοι + ἡγουν ἐκδέχεται L, Γ 765 οἱ δὲ + ἦτοι οὐδὲ L<sup>margin</sup> are missing in K.

<sup>47</sup> Not into the eleventh century, as has been assumed. On this see Pereswetoff-Morath, *Grin*, 176–187; a list of manuscripts *ibid.*, 177–179. The translator Antonij has also been identified with Antonij/Arsenij Bagaš († 1406), a Serbian nobleman who refounded the monastery of Saint Paul on Mount Athos in the 1360s. The Slavonic version reached Russia in the 1430s and later acquired great popularity in 16–17th century Muscovy.

in the *Doctrina Iacobi*, who will come before the end of the world and prosecute the Christians.<sup>48</sup>

Though the place of the fragment Px in the stemma can not be established clearly because of the heavily altered and abridged text, it is clear that the omissions in it are independent from those of the epitome γ:

A 342 καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης – 344 τῷ ἡλίῳ <, 349 Ἐρβᾶν – 378 συνομολογήσαι <; Γ 946 ταῦτα – 948 ἡμῖν <, 950 τό τε – 956 ἀναχωρησάντων <, Γ 957 μείνον – Δ 2 ἀθροισθέντων <, Δ 11 Ἐρβᾶν – 31 ὀδόντων <, 33 τίς – 43 καὶ <.

Since Px shares the first of these omissions and the reading A 456 τὰ τῆδε] ταῦτα with C X L K, it is possible that the prototype of this manuscript belonged to the family α as well.

A *terminus ante quem* for the hyparchetype α is provided by the fact that the entry about Gregentios in the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople clearly depends on it. The oldest manuscript of the *Synaxarion* which contains this entry, the Med. Laur. 787, is dated to the year 1050.<sup>49</sup>

### The Hyparchetype β

This hyparchetype can only be reconstructed from its subgroups λ and μ. The most striking difference to the remaining tradition is the great lacuna of about 40% of the entire text, which goes from Γ 384 to 1196 and must be the result of a mechanical loss of seven or eight quaternios in the hyparchetype. Although the logical break in the discussion is obvious at closer inspection, the lacuna cannot be recognised at first sight, since the writer apparently omitted the mutilated sentences at the breaking points.<sup>50</sup> Besides that, the hyparchetype β contains a large number of own readings, as for example:

A 11 Ὁκτάτευχον] Πεντάτευχον, 22 πρόδηλον] δηλονότι + αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς, 240 ἐδιώξατε + τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ὀδόν, 259 ἀντεχόμενος + πρόσεχε τοῖς λεγομένοις, 464 ποῖοι – τρόμῳ <; B 55 καταλιπόντα – 56 ἐχθρῶν <, 187 τί – 189 ἰάθημεν <, 190 ὁ – 191 κύριος <, 194 προσέχεις – 195 αὐτοῦ <, 461 πορεύσομαι – 463 παντοκράτορος <; Γ 246 κατεργάζη + ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέξομαί σου τοῦ λοιποῦ· εἰπέ γάρ μοι; Δ 1218 ἀλαλαγμῶ + κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος, 1267 οὐκοῦν – 1248 ἀγαλλιάσεως <; E 130 ὅτι ἡμεῖς] εὐφρανθῆναι αὐτὰς τῇ ἀνακλήσει ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν, 679 τὸ – 680 ἐλογίσθησαν] προσήλθον τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ λαβόντες τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα κατελογίσθησαν μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν.

<sup>48</sup> *Doctrina Iacobi*, I 5.8; III 9.5; IV 3.39; V 1.8, 22, 35; V 2.34; V 4.16; V 5.14; V 16.14. — See Pereswetoff-Morath, *Grin*, 174–175; on the identity of Hermolaos, see Déroche, commentary to the *Doctrina Iacobi*, 264–265; Speck, “*Doctrina Iacobi*”, 379.

<sup>49</sup> See below, p. 812.

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 95 note 19.

In the addresses of Gregentios to Herban polemics are sometimes intensified: **A** 218 ἀπιστεῖς + ὦ ἀσύνετε, 231 ὑμῶν + ἄθλιε; **B** 662 προσέχεις + ἀπαίδευτε καὶ ἀδίδακτε, 771 Ἐρβᾶν + ἀλογώτατε.

### The Group λ

This group consists of the manuscripts D A F N, of which D A F also contain the *Bios*. The *Dialexis*, however, breaks off in F on the first, in N on the third and in A on the fifth day. D is therefore the only manuscript which contains, together with X, the complete and unabridged text of the *Dialexis*. D A F N differ from the remaining tradition and from μ by the following readings:

**A** 41 εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω <, 132 ante ὁ1 + ναί φησιν, 249 καὶ – 250 κιβωτὸς <; **B** 39 ἦν – 40 οὖν <, 277 διὰ – αὐτοῦ <, 309 οὐ – λέγει <, 482 κᾶν – 483 αἰῶνος <, 751 λέγειν + καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν ἀποστομίζειν ἡμᾶς ἀλλ’; **Γ** 26 καὶ – σου <, 215 καὶ – 216 αἰχμαλωσίας <.

D A F have the following readings in common in opposition to N: **A** 12 καὶ τὸ πληθὸς ἐπέστη, 19 λεγόμενα.

A and F form another subgroup by readings such as **A** 128 πρεσβύτερον] πρεσβύτην, 212 αὐτήν] αὐτόν. Since F, in addition to a number of own mistakes, also contains all readings of A, it is probable that it was copied directly from it. Given the fragmentary state of A, however, F has been used for this edition.

After the end of F the remaining manuscripts D A have, for example, the following readings in common: **B** 229 τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσι <, 336 καὶ – ἐπιγνωσθήση <, 731 Ἄράμ – βασιλεὺς <.

D, A and N sometimes share readings with the group μ, but independent from each other. It seems possible therefore that the hyparchetype λ has been corrected using a manuscript similar to μ: **B** 338 συνετώς + μὲν A μ, 481 ἐξελεύσεται + ἡγούμενος D<sup>pe</sup> μ. μ cannot, however, depend only from a manuscript of the group λ, since a great number of readings is present only there.

N calls the saint Gregentinos instead of Gregorios, and also contains a remarkable addition at **B** 1131 in which the preceding exegesis of Is. 1.8 is completed by an allegorical interpretation of the words σικυήλατον and ὄπωροφυλάκιον.

### The Group μ

The group μ, which contains only the *Dialexis*, consists of at least 17 manuscripts of the 15th and 16th century, and all younger ones which were written after 1600.

The long lacuna of δ is preceded at **Γ** 286–254 by a smaller one, which was probably produced by the loss of one leaf in the prototype. The fifth day is shortened in μ by



ca. 20 %, and especially Gregentios' long prayer at E 505–606 has been radically cut down. The dialogue sections begin uniformly with the words *καὶ ὁ ἅγιος* – Ἐρβάν. Besides that, the text of  $\mu$  is nearly complete, but differing from the remaining tradition by many small changes and transpositions. In addition to a great number of short omissions there are also several modifications and interpolations:

A 54 οὗτοι – χρηματίζουσιν] φημί καὶ γὰρ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἀληθῶς εἰσι; B 78 γεγέννηται + ἢ μόνος ὁ δεσπότης μου καὶ θεός μου καὶ κύριος, 380 φημί + ἐλθὼν ὁ Χριστός μου καὶ κύριος οὗτος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθὴς δικαιοσύνη· ἐπιστρέφει δὲ, 492 ἔστιν + ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, 1164 οὐκοῦν – ἡμῶν post 1161 προσθήσασθε; Γ 32 ὅτι – 34 νόμου] τὰ τοιαῦτα; E 410 τοὺς τῆς Βάαλ] τῆς αἰσχύνῃς ἦτοι τοῦ Βάαλ πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους.

Additional elements of polemic are inserted into the addresses of Gregentios to Herban: A 231 τοῦτο + τυφλέ; B 200 ἀθλιότητος + ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, 822 προσέχεις + ἀσύνετε; Γ 126 παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων. A number of readings like B 385 ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης] Τίτος<sup>51</sup> and Γ 208 Μακεδόνων] Μήδων are obviously the result of a deliberate redaction.

The majority of the manuscripts of this family has been written by experienced writers who tried to copy their prototype exactly. The textual differences within the family are therefore small, and a reconstruction of the stemma is difficult. Omitted passages are sometimes supplied on the margins. On the one hand small mistakes which disturbed the sense were corrected independently, and on the other hand obvious peculiarities and mistakes of the models were copied mechanically. A good example for this is the marginal note *γράφει κέλευσιν* at A 14, by which *πρόσταξιν* is corrected to the reading of the remaining tradition; it appears in several manuscripts, but disappears again after a number of copying processes, in which it has not led to a change in the text.

The representants of the group  $\mu$ , which will be examined here, are the manuscripts Vr Ib Vd Va Vb Vo Aa Pc Pa Dm Ha Ld Ma Vc Pb.<sup>52</sup> The relationship between these will be demonstrated by examples from the first day.

First of all,  $\mu$  can be divided into two subgroups  $\mu_1$  and  $\mu_2$ ;  $\mu_1$  consists of Vr Ib Vd Va Vb Vo Aa Pc,  $\mu_2$  of Pa Dm Ha Ld Ma Vc Pb:

A 4 τῶν] ὧν  $\mu_1$ , 196 μεστός] μεστὰ, 482 τοῦ θεοῦ] αὐτοῦ  $\mu_1$  — A 111 βλέπει] βλέπεις, 150 ante ἔστιν + οὐκ, 283 τὰ <, 298 ἀναστήναι + τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, 307 τοῦ <, 326 ἀγίων + τοῦ θεοῦ, 378 πρόσχεσ δὲ τί κατωτέρω λέγει μ] πρὸς σὲ δὲ τί κατωτέρω λέγω, 381 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη <, 491 in margine + σκόπει· τοῦ ποιητοῦ  $\mu_2$ .

<sup>51</sup> Titus and Vespasian are often mentioned as destroyers of Jerusalem in anti-Jewish texts, see for example *Tropaia*, 230.6; 270.12; *Quaestiones*, 685C.

<sup>52</sup> Microfilms of the manuscripts Ab and Cm could not be obtained.

The subgroup  $\mu_1$  is again divided into Vr Ib Vd Va Vb Vo and Aa Pc, as the following readings show: **A** 264 ὑμετέρου] ἡμετέρου Vr Ib Va Vb Vo — **A** 72 μόνοις] μόνον, 164 ἄρα] ὄρα, 208 ναί] καὶ Aa Pc, 432 ἀποφθεγγόμενος] ἐπιφθεγγόμενος.

Then, Vr stands alone against the remaining manuscripts Ib Vd Va Vb Vo which have, for example, **A** 39 ἥσθιες] ἥσθιον in common. Ib and Vd both omit the word καὶ in the formula καὶ ὁ ἅγιος and share readings like **A** 215 ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ] τοῖς αὐτοῦ, 408 διαγορεύει μ] διαγορεύεις; on the other hand, the close relationship between Va, Vb and Vo is obvious from the nearly identical content of these manuscripts and, in the case of the *Dialexis*, from readings as **A** 91 παρεμφαίνει] παρεμφαίνον, 130 ἐπτερνίσατε] ἐπτερνίσατο. Va and Vb share a number of readings against Vo, such as **A** 119 Ἰσραήλ – πρωτότοκος <, 252 ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ, 406 εἰς – σου < μ] suppl. Va<sup>margin</sup>Vb

However, the filiation within this first subgroup cannot be established with safety, since the differences are only small and may in parts be the result of coincidence.

In the second subgroup Pa is opposed to the rest: **A** 1 πόλεως <, 308 κᾶντε] κᾶν, 372 ἡρμήνευσας] ἐδήλωσας, 458 ἠνίξατο] προηνίξατο, 539 ἐβασίλευσεν] ἐβασίλευεν Dm Ha Ld Ma Vc Pb. Some readings like the additional capture ὁ ἅγιος at **A** 16, which stand only in Pa and Dm, may have disappeared again by coincidence in the subsequent tradition, so that they are no proof for a close relationship between these two manuscripts.

On fol. 138<sup>v</sup>, Dm is apparently corrected from the first subgroup: at **A** 372 ἐρμήνευσας the marginal note γράφε ἡρμήνευσας is added, and at **A** 381 the words πάντα τὰ ἔθνη are supplied on the margin. The source of these corrections may have been similar to Vr, where at **A** 397 instead of διαφθαρεις in the text διεφθάρη is proposed on the margin, whereas in Dm διαφθαρεις is suggested as an alternative reading for διεφθάρη.

Ha Ld Ma Vc Pb differ from Dm by **A** 143 σὺ <, 239 παραγενέσθαι μ] γενέσθαι, 284 ἐξήρεν + ἐν, 361 ναὸν <, 459 κατεκράτησε] κεκράτησε.

Ld Ma Vc Pb again form a group opposed to Ha: **A** 96 πρόσωπον, 105 εἰσφέρετε] ἐκφέρετε λ μ ἐκφέροντες Ld Ma Vc Pb.

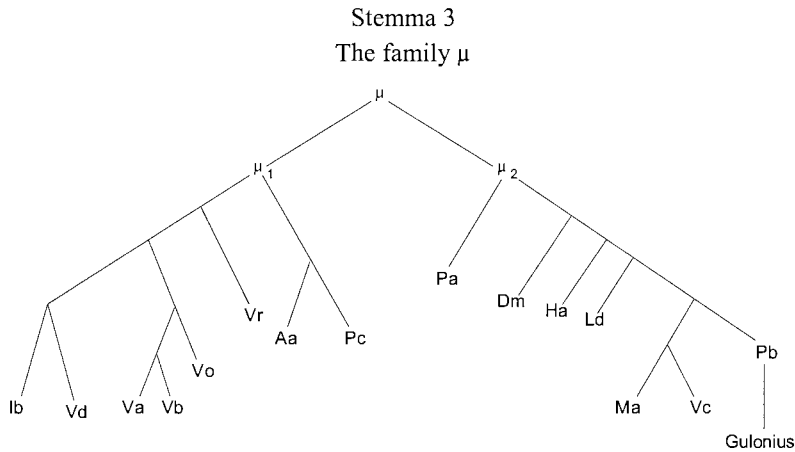
Readings such as **A** 15 πᾶσαν μ + τοῦ, 50 ἐχρημάτιζον] ἐχρημάτισαν separate Ma Vc Pb from Ld. This assumption is contradicted by **A** 94 οὐκ ἔστι] ἔνεστιν Ld Ma Vc, but this reading perhaps already belonged to the hyparchetype of the subgroup and was corrected by Pb as being obviously wrong.

The close relationship of Ma and Vc becomes also clear from **A** 80 οὐκ<sup>2</sup> + κᾶν, 83 ὁ θεὸς κύριος <, 477 λοιπὸν] λοι.

In Pb, some words are corrected to the readings of the tradition outside  $\mu$  by the writer of the text himself and with the same ink: **A** 76 προαχθεις > προσταχθεις, 111 ἐπίσης > ἐξ ἴσης, 459 κεκράτησε > κεκράτηκε. Pb is the base of the edition by Nicolaus

Gulonius;<sup>53</sup> it is identical, therefore, with the manuscript mentioned in the preface which was brought from Turkey only in 1584.

The stemma of the group  $\mu$  results as follows:



In the critical apparatus of the present edition only the readings common to the whole family  $\mu$  are given, which were established by the collation of Vo and Pa.

### The Hyparchetype $\gamma$

The hyparchetype  $\gamma$  is represented by S H A I P T V M, Mo and the short fragment Mq. The text is cut down in this family by about 30%. The tradition of the *Bios* and the *Nomoi* in S H shows that these abridgements and the addition of numbered subtitles belong to an older intermediate stage  $\gamma'$ , and the transposition of the *Nomoi* to the end of the Dossier to  $\gamma$ , properly speaking.<sup>54</sup>

The abridgements in the *Dialexis* are insignificant at the beginning, but increase from the middle of the third day, until they reach nearly 50% on the fourth and fifth day. Here as well the prayer of Gregentios at E 506–633 has been cut down heavily, and has also been completely reformulated together with the preceding text, beginning with E 364.

<sup>53</sup> See below, p. 182.

<sup>54</sup> See above, pp. 111 and 167–168.

During the process of abridging the text, the dialogue sections were mostly retained, but on the fourth day some sections are missing altogether,<sup>55</sup> with the result that occasionally the context of the discussion is lost: Δ 38–43 (1), 550–554 (2), 635–669 (3), 722–725 (2), 764–772 (2), 778–790 (3), 842–845 (1), 919–922 (2), 980–982 (1), 1145–1181 (2), 1245–1262 (3). Only once, however, at the obvious omission E 136–146 within a speech of Gregentios, the scribe of S remarks on the margin “this is what the prototype has” (οὕτως ἔστι τὸ ἀθιβόλιν<sup>56</sup>), thus indicating that he had realised a certain lack of logical coherence in the text of his prototype.

Occasionally pieces of text are also transposed, such as A 344 ποῦ – 348 ἐχρημάτιζεν, which has become an own dialogue section after 351 ἡσφαλίσατο, and B 100 καὶ – 102 διέμεινεν after 104 ἄπιστον.

Towards the end of the *Dialexis* the redactor of γ was sometimes negligent, and the inconsistencies resulting were only partially corrected by later scribes: at the beginning of the fourth day, the text jumps from Δ 11 ποιήσαντι to Δ 14 ποιήσαντι, so that the transition from a dialogue section of Herban to one of Gregentios is lost. Later writers tried to heal the obvious corruption by removing the words Δ 11 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει. But as it seems, this happened independently in the subgroups S H and T V, for these words were originally written in S and erased there only subsequently. A similar case is Δ 842–845, where a speech of Herban is omitted; the following words ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη were written and erased in S and are missing in H, but still stand in T V. On the fifth day, two alternative variants of a sentence stand in the text after each other at E 88–90, and also at E 173 we read Ἐρβᾶν λέγει in the middle of a speech of Herban instead of ἐν τῷ νόμῳ.

S H Al P and the main part of T (on which see below) have a nearly identical text. A number of readings suggest that H Al P depend directly from S, as this was the case already in the *Bios* for H alone:<sup>57</sup> The omission A 42 τοῖς λέβησι – 43 μισήσαντες in H Al P corresponds exactly to one line in S. Some minor additions and corrections in S appear within the text of H and, before the end of Al P, in these manuscripts as well: B 930 + οὐδεῖς, Γ 598 + ἦ, Γ 819 + ἐμ-(φανίζεται), E 18 ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκας| λελάληκεν εἶρηκα γ| ὅς λελάληκεν εἶρηκά σοι S<sup>p</sup>H, E 218 πεισθῆναι > βαπτισθῆναι; and at B 1079 only the last two letters of the word ὀρᾶς have survived in S after a repair of the inner margin, and were read by H Al P as ᾶς.

But as in the *Bios*, it is impossible that H depends directly from S alone, among other reasons, because the formulae ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη — Ἐρβᾶν λέγει have often been altered to ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος λέγει — Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη in S alone and not in H.

<sup>55</sup> The number of omitted dialogue sections is added in brackets. The omission of Δ 11 αὐτόν – 14 ποιήσαντι, by which the beginning of the section at Δ 13 is lost, is the result of a *homoioteleuton* and not of a deliberate abridgement.

<sup>56</sup> On the low-level word ἀθιβόλιν see Kriaras, *Λεξικό* s. v.; *LBG*, s. v. ἀντιβόλαιον.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 164.

Since a number of other own readings in S or in S T do not appear in H A1 P as well, the text of the latter manuscripts' common prototype must be the result of a comparison with another member of the same family, that is  $\gamma$ :

**A** 33 Χάλεβ H cett.] Χάμελ S T Χάβελ P; **B** 183 ἐνωτίσθητι H P cett. (H -στητι)] ἐνωτίσθη S T, 225 οἶμαι H P cett.] ἄμα S, 876 ἐντραπήσονται H P cett.] ἐνποίσονται S.

An interesting case is that of the words καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, which stand in the text of S at **B** 72, appear in H on the margin and are absent in A1 P.

A1 contains only the *Dialexis*, P a major part of it; both begin with **A** 16, but have different titles,<sup>58</sup> and as we will presently see, A1 is probably copied from H, while P is not. It is clear therefore that the *Dialexis* has been taken out of the narrative context independently in both manuscripts.

A1 shares all omissions of  $\gamma$  and H, such as **A** 34–35, 69, 437–438; **B** 871–872; **G** 165–166, 400–401, 412–416, 417–418, 634–635; **Δ** 995–996. It contains remarks similar to those of H at the beginning and end of the fifth day, that is, at **E** 4 and 745;<sup>59</sup> also reproducing all its errors, except in a number of cases where the text may have been corrected by the scribe:

**B** 1063 ἀπάντων A1 cett.] ὑπάντων H; **G** 162 ἐρμήνευσας  $\gamma$ , < H, habet post ῥῆμα A1, 693 οὐ ποιήσωσιν  $\gamma$ ] οὐτοὶ ἤσωσιν H; **Δ** 397 ἀνοιξαντες A1 cett.] ἀνεψξαντες  $\gamma$ , 703 σαρκίνης] σαρνης H σαρκικῆς A1, 1264 διελέχθη  $\gamma$ ] διελύθη A1 cett.

Some omissions in A1 were apparently produced by skipping lines in the process of copying the prototype. Since the required length of these lines does not correspond to that of H, it is probable that A1 was not copied directly from there, but from a lost intermediate manuscript. Examples of this phenomenon are **B** 972 ἐν – 975 ἔστι; **G** 127 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 128 οἰκουμένης (where the missing text has been supplied in A1 on the margin), and **E** 762 τὰ – 763 ὕ (first letter of ὑπερετίμα).

A1 also has a considerable number of own mistakes or readings, such as **E** 693 ὑπεκκλησίονα] εἶναι πλησίον, and contains minor additions, like **B** 1211 καρδίας + τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φαγεῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστιν. The introductions to the dialogue sections have often, but not always been changed to ὁ ἐπίσκοπος – Ἐρβᾶν.

Since A1 depends directly or indirectly on H, the manuscript has not been used for the present edition.

P contains the first half of the *Dialexis* until **G** 256. The long passage **B** 759–1022, which begins and ends in the middle of a sentence, has been transposed to **B** 1066; this must be the result of a preceding confusion caused by a rebinding of the direct proto-

<sup>58</sup> The title of A1 (the readings of which will not be given in the apparatus, see below) is: Ἀρχὴ διαλέξεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Γρηγεντιου.

<sup>59</sup> The text has been adapted here in the following way: τέλος τῆς δ' διαλέξεως καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ε' διαλέξεως μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ Ἐρβᾶν **E** 4; τέλος εἰληφεν ἡ διάλεξις τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τοῦ βιβλίου ὅλου ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐου β' ἔτους ζπγ' ἦ γ' **E** 745.

type. The excerpts  $\Gamma$  479 –  $\Delta$  404 and  $\Delta$  1270–1286, which follow after the continuous text, include major abridgements and therefore have not been used for the present edition. H and P also share a large number of minor changes and omissions, as for example **A** 346 Σολομῶντα – 347 γεγέννηκε <, **B** 719 οἱ – 720 ἐβασίλευον,  $\Gamma$  119 ἐν – 120 ποιῶν. However, P cannot be a direct copy from H because of the numerous readings particular to this manuscript: **A** 437 δοῦλος – 438 τοῦ < H, **B** 702 οἱ – 703 ἀχριστίανοι < H,  $\Gamma$  165 πῦρ – 166 ὡς < H.

The fragmentary manuscript Mo also belongs to the family  $\gamma$ , but has plenty of own readings and omissions in addition to those of the standard text of this family. Some of the omissions are marked by a vertical line, which may have been added either by the writer himself or by a later reader:

**B** 143 τότε – 209 αὐτοῦ (with marginal remark ὄψει), 225 ἦδει – 392 προφητείαν;<sup>60</sup>  
 $\Gamma$  267 οὐ – 295 ἐξῆς.

In a number of cases, however, Mo follows a textual tradition different from that of  $\gamma$ , and even contains some passages which are missing there. Since these passages are all short, it is probable that a manuscript of the  $\gamma$  family served as a base for the collation with another version.

Within  $\gamma$ , the model of Mo may have been more similar to T V than to S H P, as suggested by the absence of the repetition of the phrase  $\Gamma$  558 βούλεται αὐτὸς ἦξειν και λαβεῖν κρίσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν, which appears only in S H P. The other prototype of Mo probably depended from  $\alpha$ , for the passage **B** 779 ἄρα – ἐθνῶν in C X L K appears here also; the reading **B** 1093 μήνιδος] μήνης may indicate that it was similar rather to C X than to L K.

The contamination in Mo is evident at two places: in  $\gamma$ , the passage  $\Delta$  11 αὐτόν – 14 θεῶ was omitted by a *homoioteleuton* and the transition to Gregentios' next speech lost.<sup>61</sup> In order to restore a sense to the text, the redactor of Mo supplied the rest of Herbans' dialogue section and the following words ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη from  $\alpha$ , but not Gregentios' following words, repeating instead the beginning of Herban's preceding statement. At  $\Delta$  391–392, shortly before the end of the fragment, the text appears in the form of C X K ὡς σεμνεῖα θυσίαις αὐτοῖς διηνεκῶς, but is partially repeated immediately thereafter in the version of S H T V ὡς ἐν μνεῖα διηνεκῶς.

The transitions between the single days, especially **B** 1222 τούτων –  $\Gamma$  3 αὐτόν and  $\Gamma$  950 τό τε –  $\Delta$  1 ἐπαύριον, have drastically been cut down. The obvious lack of interest in these parts of the text is also a characteristic of the excerpt from the *Bios* in the same manuscript.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> This long omission may have been caused by the loss of four folia in the prototype.

<sup>61</sup> On this passage see above, p. 177.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 166–167.

The short fragment Mq belongs also to the family  $\gamma$ : 316 τοῖς ἐκεῖσε] κάκεισε, **B** 195 και<sup>2</sup> – 196 κακόν <, 200 διὰ – 205 ἀνθρώπων <. Within the family, it is closely related to T: **B** 298 διαγορεύει] λέγει, 315 κάκεινος] ἐκείνος. Mq is perhaps the oldest manuscript of the *Dialexis* of which fragments do still exist, but has not been used for the edition, given the shortness of the surviving part.

### The Contaminated Hyparchetype $\delta$

T V M are big theological anthologies from the beginning of the 14th century, whose heavily contaminated texts suggest that their time and place of origin lay close together.<sup>63</sup> Most probably they were written in Constantinople where V was kept until the middle of the 16th century. These manuscripts are also distinguished from the remaining tradition by the use of a learned type of handwriting with many abbreviations, which in the remaining tradition of the *Dialexis* appears only in X and is otherwise rather unusual for religious texts.

The use of more than one prototype is especially obvious in T: here the *Dialexis* begins at the end of fol. 102<sup>v</sup> with the title and text of V M, about which we will presently speak; on fol. 103<sup>r</sup>, after a lacuna which is probably caused by the loss of one leaf, the text continues with **A** 67–75 and then breaks off. On the rest of the leaf a fragment from the *Bios* in the version of S H follows (**1**, 1–42), and after another lacuna the *Dialexis* begins again on fol. 104<sup>r</sup>, this time in the version of S H. It is not clear how many leaves are missing between fol. 103 and 104, that means how much of the *Bios* the manuscript originally contained.

Until **B** 400, where M breaks off, V and M are based on a common prototype hereafter called  $\delta$ , in which a text of the family  $\alpha$  is combined with readings from  $\gamma$ , and which also have characteristic own readings such as **A** 16 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν] ἵνα τί τῆ ἀγνωσίᾳ ἐμμένετε αὐτοὶ καὶ. Shortly after the end of M, however, V changes its main prototype and at least from **B** 404 follows only  $\gamma$  in a version similar to T; a common feature of V and T is, for example, the transposition of **B** 585–690 after **B** 740.

Since in V a number of excerpts from the later text appear at the beginning of the first day, it is possible that  $\delta$  did not go much farther than to **B** 400 and was never intended to be a complete manuscript of the whole text. V begins with three excerpts **A** 63–112, **B** 951–961 and **B** 305–307 under the common title Ἐκ τῆς διαλέξεως τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ Ἐρβᾶν. The first of these excerpts is missing at the right place, but short connecting texts provide references both to the beginning and back to the place where the text continues. Herban's last dialogue section, **A** 112 stands there twice, namely in the excerpt and and at the original place. The second and third excerpt are repeated at

<sup>63</sup> On the relation between T and V, see Eleuteri & Rigo, *Eretici*, 78–80.

the original place without further commentary. The source of M must have contained the text in the same arrangement, since the writer removed the first excerpt from the beginning and, following the references, put it back to the right place, yet retaining the title which makes no sense there. The second and third excerpt, which stood in V without a reference, follow immediately thereafter, before the text continues after the repetition of A 112. Another excerpt from an unidentified anti-Jewish dialogue stands in V and M at the end of the first day.<sup>64</sup>

The last place where  $\delta$  follows  $\alpha$  is the omission of B 395  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  – 396  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ ; the text sometimes agrees with  $\gamma$  already before, especially after the beginning of the second day: B 180  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , 212  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ]  $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . On the one hand,  $\delta$  shares the lacunae A 198  $\epsilon\iota$  – 200  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon$  and B 67  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  – 70  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu\sigma\acute{\alpha}$   $\sigma\epsilon$  with  $\gamma$ ; on the other hand, text passages which were missing in  $\alpha$  are supplemented from  $\gamma$ , such as A 156  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ; 305  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma$   $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ , 342  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  – 344  $\eta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ , 354  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\omicron\varsigma$  – 355  $\delta\iota\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ . Within  $\gamma$ , the prototype of  $\delta$  must have been very similar to that which was used by V alone after B 372, or it was even identical to it.

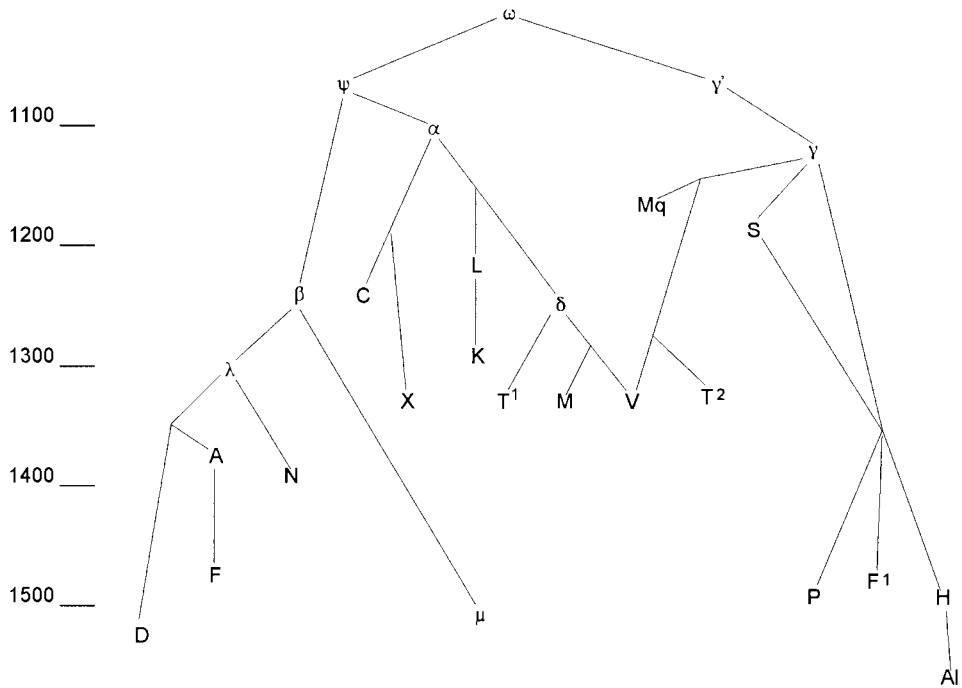
One result of the contamination is that V sometimes shares the readings of the remaining tradition, but differs from T and M: A 323  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon$ ]  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$  SHPV  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  TM, 357  $\delta\iota\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  V cett.]  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  SH TM, 391  $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ]  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$  T  $\acute{\omicron}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu$  M; B 143  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon$  –  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  < SHT M. Besides that, M does not have all own readings of V, and it contains the passage A 21  $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  – 23  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ , which is missing in V, as a supplement at the end of the page.

The fact that several own readings from C X L K are missing in  $\delta$  may be explained by a contamination with  $\gamma$ , or it indicates that  $\delta$  goes back to an early stage of  $\alpha$  before these manuscripts branched off. Since  $\delta$ , against the rest of the tradition, agrees at some places with K (or L K after the beginning of L at A 312), its relation to these was probably closer than to C X, so that the first assumption is more plausible: A 208  $\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$ ]  $\eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ , 247  $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ , 306  $\rho\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\theta\alpha\iota$ ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\theta\alpha\iota$ , 430  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ <sup>1</sup> – 431  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$  habent.

<sup>64</sup> This excerpt may have been part of an anti-Jewish treatise which was transmitted by  $\delta$  or in the common prototype of V and T.



Stemma 4  
The Dossier of Saint Gregentios



For the *Synaxarion*, see below, p. 794. – Since P and F<sup>1</sup> have no part of the text in common, their exact relation to each other and to H cannot be established. For the contaminated manuscript Mo, which is omitted here, see above, p. 170–171.

### The Edition of Nicolaus Gulonius

The *Dialexis* was first edited in print in 1586 by Nicolaus Gulonius (Nicolas Goulu). Gulonius was born in 1530 near Chartres and was professor at the Collège de France in Paris from 1567 until his death in 1601.<sup>65</sup> His edition is most probably based, as we have seen, on the manuscript Par. gr. 1061 (Pb). Gulonius' preface is dated to the 1st September, 1586, and gives us the following information: the manuscript had been brought from Turkey in 1584 by the French ambassador Aegidius Noallius (Gilles

<sup>65</sup> See Ferrier, "Goulu"; Merlet, "Goulu".

1524–1597), and Gulonius received by the intervention of his father-in-law and predecessor in office, Joannes Auratus (Jean Dorat, 1508–1588).<sup>66</sup> The publication had to be postponed for some time because of other obligations; in fact, the printing permission of the ecclesiastical authorities is dated already to the 6th July, the royal privilege to the 5th November 1584.

The relation to Pb will be demonstrated here again by examples from the first day: first of all, the edition and this manuscript share the lacuna A 342 και πρὸ – 344 ἡλίω. Other common readings are, for example, A 21 τίνος] τίνες, 104 σύνεσιν] σύνθεσιν, 455 ματαιοκοπέις μ] ματαιολογεῖς. That the edition depends directly from Pb is also made clear by the fact the the above-mentioned readings, which were produced by subsequent corrections, have all been adopted by it.

Occasionally, Gulonius also offers readings from a *vetus codex* in his footnotes which are those of the remaining family μ. This *vetus codex* is not described, but may be identical with the prototype of the manuscript Pc, for the reading A 348 Ἀδάμ] Δαυιδ appears there too; Pc itself, however, was written only 1575 and could hardly already have been called a *vetus codex* in 1586.

Whenever readings of Pb do not appear in the edition, they are obvious mistakes or inconsistencies which were easily corrected without consulting other manuscripts: A 57 ἡμῶν και ὑμᾶς, 330 τίνος; note also the addition of και in the formula και ὁ ἅγιος at A 132, 145, 149, 158, 178, 191. Deliberate corrections of the text transmitted by Pb are also A 116 ὡς περικάθαρμα] ὡσπερ κάθαρμα, 309 μοι] μοι δὲ μ δέ μοι Pb, δέον] εἰδέναι μ σε δεῖ Pb.

For the first day alone, the edition contains more than twenty small omissions and misreadings, such as 331 γεηρά] νεκρά. That Gulonius was not very familiar with the Greek handwriting of his time is shown by the fact that the compendium for ἡγουν is read at three occurrences in three different ways: A 183 τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἡγουν μ ἢ Pb, 338 ἴνα] ἡγουν μ και Pb, 366 εἴτε] ἡγουν μ ἐν Pb.

Gulonius' edition was reprinted several times in the 17th and 18th century,<sup>67</sup> and finally appeared in volume 86 (1860) of Jean-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* as a reprint from A. Galland's *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (1776). On this long way, again about the same number of omissions and mistakes was added; among them are on the first day A 202 εἰ] τί, 269 Ἀμαλέκ, 286 δορι, 371 and 444 εἶ <, 409 προεφήτευσεν.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Limouzin-Lamothe, "Dorat". — On the preface, the Latin and the Greek poems at the beginning of the edition, see above, p. 160.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 161.

<sup>68</sup> Obviously, the first augment has been removed here only in the proofs of the *Patrologia Graeca*, as the gap of one letter at the beginning of the line shows.

In the 17th and 18th century, reference to the *Dialexis* is made in several works on ecclesiastical history, such as those of Antonio Pagi in 1689 and of Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati in 1694.<sup>69</sup>

### The Modern Greek Paraphrases

Two different paraphrases of the *Dialexis* into Modern Greek, both independently based on a text of group  $\mu$ , have come down to us in a number of manuscripts. Two of them, kept today at Ann Arbor and in the British Museum, were already written in the 16th century.

The Ann Arbor text appears to be an early version of the paraphrase printed in Venice in 1646, and similar versions can also be found in most of the later manuscripts listed above. Here the name of Gregentios' seat in the kingdom of the Homerites has become Κεφρώ, Κεφρών or Κεφρών.<sup>70</sup> A short introduction about the preparation of the discussion has been added, which does not offer any new details, but lets the beginning of the *Dialexis* appear less abrupt. The paraphrase mostly, but not always, follows the original text word by word. Here and there small explanations are added, and on the other hand, long quotations and arguments are abridged. Also, a number of entirely new passages have been inserted, as for example one about the salvation of Adam after A 440. Numerous minor omissions, which are different in the Ann Arbor manuscript and the printed text of the 1646 edition, demonstrate that both are based on a lost archetype. The source within  $\mu$  belonged rather to the group  $\mu_1$  than to  $\mu_2$ ; this is suggested by the fact that some additions of  $\mu_2$ , such as A 150 ante ἔστιν + οὐκ and 298 ἀναστῆναι + τρίτη ἡμέρα, are missing in the paraphrase. The archetype may have been similar to Aa and Pc, since it shares the reading A 208 ναί] καὶ with these manuscripts.

In both paraphrases, verses from the Bible are normally quoted according to the Septuagint, where it was still understandable for a 16th- or 17th-century reader. Where this was not the case, the biblical text was translated into Modern Greek, or repeated as a paraphrase after the original quotation. The second procedure is regularly applied in the manuscript now kept in the British Museum, the length of which, before it was fragmented, must therefore have exceeded that of the original text by far.

An independent and entirely different paraphrase of the *Akolouthia*, *Bios* and *Dialexis* of Saint Gregentios is preserved in three manuscripts on Mount Athos, namely Skete Hagias Annas 85 4, Philotheou 142 and Kausokalybia 258. Of these manuscripts, the

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 92 note 4; Imbonatus, *Bibliotheca*, 58–62 (contains E 469 ὡς – 704 χριστιανῶν as an extract from Gulonius' translation). On the remarks by C. Barthius in his *Adversaria* (1624), see above, p. 92 note 4.

<sup>70</sup> The title and most of the introduction are lost in the Ann Arbor manuscript.

second is dated to 1845, the third to 1858.<sup>71</sup> The author of it, a monk called Iakobos, is mentioned in the Kausokalybia codex only. He is known also as the author of a number of other paraphrases of Byzantine hagiographical works, including the *Bios* of Andreas Salos and that of Saint Basileios the Younger,<sup>72</sup> and probably identical to the monk Iakobos of Batopedi who wrote a paraphrase of the *Bios* in the manuscript Athos Batopediou 92 dated to 1876. This paraphrase is based on the tradition of D A F; it contains own subtitles in the *Bios* which differ from those of S H, and a number of explanatory footnotes.

The entry about Gregentios in the *Megas Synaxaristes* of K. Ch. Doukakes (1896) combines the standard text of the *Synaxarion*<sup>73</sup> with the scene of the miraculous conversion at the end of the *Dialexis* and the following conclusion of the *Bios* (E 465–745).<sup>74</sup> This excerpt is taken from the printed Modern Greek paraphrase mentioned above, as the form of the name Κεφρών for Taphar shows.

### About this Edition

As a result of the filiation established above, the present edition follows the accord of  $\alpha$   $\beta$ ,  $\alpha$   $\gamma$  or  $\beta$   $\gamma$ , where all three families  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  transmit the text.

In those parts of the *Bios* where  $\alpha$  is missing,  $\beta$  is used as a base instead. The *Nomoi* are only transmitted by C and  $\gamma$ . Due to the great number of corrupt places in both groups an understandable text could only be established by a combination of them. But it cannot always be discerned whether the sections missing in C or in  $\gamma$  belonged to the archetype or were later additions of the respective other group.

At some places in the *Dialexis* the manuscripts X T A are illegible, and on most leaves of T the first line or the first two lines are missing. This is not mentioned in the apparatus; instead it is assumed in such cases that the missing lines are identical to those of the other members of the family or group. Also, the presence of small *lacunae*, which are caused by holes or other mechanical damages, is disregarded in the apparatus.

Towards the end of the *Dialexis* the base of the tradition becomes more and more narrow, since the manuscripts of  $\alpha$  break off there except for X, which is hardly legible on the last leaves. In this part, therefore, larger use is made of  $\beta$ , as represented by D.

<sup>71</sup> Since no manuscript on Mount Athos contains the *Nomoi*, this part of the Dossier is missing from Iakobos' collection.

<sup>72</sup> Athos, Panteleemonos, cod. 276, dated to 1858; see Lampros, *Κατάλογος*, II, 347–348; *Bios of Basileios the Younger* a, 347–349.

<sup>73</sup> See appendix below, p. 812.

<sup>74</sup> Doukakes, *Μέγας Συναξαριστής*, 484–490.

Variants of accents and spelling are not mentioned in the apparatus as long as they are not audible in the contemporaneous Byzantine and modern pronunciation,<sup>75</sup> except if they give the text a different meaning. The frequent confusion of personal pronouns such as ἡμᾶς and ὑμᾶς are corrected from the context without further notice. The *ny ephelkystikon* is treated according to modern use, while the *enklitika* follow the well-established Byzantine practice.<sup>76</sup> In S, also the wrong completions of a later hand have been disregarded, where text on the inner margin was lost due to a repair.

Literal or nearly literal quotations in the text have been set in Italics.

Since the only existing old chapter numbering, that of S H, was unsuitable for the present edition, the text has been divided into ten large chapters for purely practical reasons:

- 1 Gregentios' youth in Lopianes
- 2 travels in northern Italy
- 3 stay in Milan
- 4 stay in Carthage
- 5 stay in Rome
- 6 visit to Mount Soracte
- 7 stay in Augustopolis
- 8 travel to Egypt and stay in Alexandria
- 9 travel to Yemen and mission there
- 10 transitions to *Nomoi* and *Dialexis*<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> This concerns also the occasional fluctuation between -στ- and -σθ-.

<sup>76</sup> See Berger in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, 81–82; Noret, “Quand donc”.

<sup>77</sup> See above, p. 109.

## Text and Translation

### Conspectus codicum

C	Par. Coisl. 255	saec. XII–XIII		
X	Chalke Pan. 64	saec. XIII–XIV		
L	Athos Lavra 276 (Γ 36)	saec. XII		
K	Athos Caracallu chart. 40	saec. XIV		
D	Athos Dionysiu 183	saec. XVI		
A	Athos Lavra 347 (Γ 107)	saec. XIII–XIV		
F	Athos Philotheu 109	saec. XV		
N	Meteor. 593	saec. XIV		
μ	varii codices	saec. XV–XVI		
S	Sin. gr. 541	a. 1180		
H	Hieros. gr. 467	a. 1487		
P	Vat. Pal. 363	saec. XV		
T	Taurin. gr. 200 (B III 11)	saec. XIV		
V	Vindob. theol. 306	saec. XIII–XIV		
M	Marc. gr. 521	saec. XIII–XIV		
[	incipit	< >		addidi e manuscripto
]	desinit	{ }		seclusi
( )	excerptum habet			
+	addit			
<	omittit	###		textus intellegibilis
del	delet	§		locus dubiae originis
±	addit et delet			
ac	ante correctionem			
pc	post correctionem			
marg	in margine			

# 1 Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου

Βίον ἀσκητικόν, ἀγαπητοί, πατρὸς θεαρέστου τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος  
εὐθέτως ἀπηρτισμένον καὶ εἰς ἀκύμονα πέρας φαιδροφανῆς μετηγμένον καταστοχαζομέ-  
νου μου τοῖς νοεροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου κατὰ τὸν μέγαν ἐκείνον πάλαι Μωυσῆα, ἐν ἔσπι μοι  
5 φάναί καὶ φράσαι εἴτε πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἴσως ἀγάπην, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τὰ ἐκείνω  
κατὰ τὴν πάλαι βάτον τότε καθοραθέντα τε καὶ λεχθέντα. Διαβάς, φημί, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑμαυ-  
τοῦ περιπασμῶν τε καὶ μερίμων ὄψομαι τὸ ὄραμα τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τοῦ παναρίστου βίου  
τοῦ αἰοδίου Γρηγορίου, τὴν πρακτικὴν τε καὶ θεωρίας πλήρης ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν πνεύ-  
ματι. Καίτοι τῷ μὲν προφήτῃ τὸ ὄραμα τὸ κατὰ τὴν βάτον, ὅπερ διαβάς τεθεώρηκεν, τοῦ  
10 θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν ἐδήλου τὴν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας. Τὸ δὲ  
τοῦ θεράποντος ἐκείνου σεβάσμιον ὄνομα ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς εὐ φρονουσὶν ὑποδείκνυσιν τρί-  
βον σωτήριόν τε καὶ εὐθετον ἀναβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.  
Καὶ μὴν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ μου ὡς ἄτε μέγιστός τις καὶ ἐπάξιός τὸ φρικωδέστατον  
μυστήριον ιδέσθαι καὶ κατανοεῖν ἠξίωτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς εὐτελέστατός τις καὶ παρεϊμένος κα-  
15 τὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ κίνησιν τε καὶ δύναμιν τῷ τοῦ ἐπηγγελμένου ὑμῖν ὁράματος ὀρμήματι καὶ  
διηγήματι ἐπιβήσομαι, ἵνα γνῶσεσθε τίς τε ἦν καὶ ὁποῖος καὶ τίνα τὰ ἐκείνου κατὰ θεὸν  
διαβήματά τε καὶ κινήματα. Ἀρμόττει γὰρ ἡμῖν τότε πρὸς φωτισμὸν θεοσεβείας καθ' ὃν  
τρόπον σελήνης φανούσης τοῖς ἐν τῷ ζόφῳ τῆς νυκτὸς πορευομένοις, ἦτε καὶ ἡλίου ἐπι-  
φαίνοντος τρανότερον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀδρανῆς καταλαμπρύνοντος φαιδρότερον.  
20 Λέξωμεν δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σεβασμίου ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὅσα ἐκείνω ἐσπούδαστο καὶ κατῶρθωτο  
(πολλὰ γὰρ χαίρειν εἰπὼν τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως τοῦ λέγειν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀνακε-  
χώρηκεν), ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μόνα εὐθέτως διηγησόμεθα, ὅσα τε ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἔγνωμεν καὶ οἱ  
πατέρες ἡμῶν διηγήσαντο ἡμῖν. Ἐπειδὴ δέ, ἀγαπητοί, μέτριοι τῷ λόγῳ πεφήναμεν καὶ

5 τὰ – 6 λεχθέντα cf. Ex. 3.2

## D F<sup>1</sup> S H

1 καὶ πολιτεία < D F<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀγίοις] ἀγίου F ὁσίου S πατρὸς ἡμῶν < F ἀρχιεπισκόπου] ἐπισκόπου  
D, + γενομένου πόλεως Τεφάρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρίτην, συγγραφῆς παρὰ Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου  
πόλεως Νεγρά· εὐλόγησον πάτερ D, + τοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἑβραίου Ἐρβάν διάλεξιν περὶ πίστεως  
ποιήσαντος F<sup>1</sup> *secunda manu* + Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πόλεως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας· πάτερ εὐλόγησον H  
| 2 ἀσκητικόν] πνευματικόν D παναγίου + καὶ ζωοποιοῦ D ἀγίου H | 3 εὐθέτως] εὐθεῶς D  
ἀκύμονα – καταστοχαζομένου] ταχοστοχαζομένου F<sup>1</sup> φαιδροφανῶς D καταστοχαζομένῳ D |  
4 μου<sup>1</sup>] μοι F<sup>1</sup> S, < D νοεροῖς + ἄτε D μου<sup>2</sup> – ἔστι < F<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἔσπι] ὄν ἔσται D μοι φάναί < S |  
5 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἀγάπην < SH εἴτε<sup>1</sup>] μήτε F<sup>1</sup>, + καὶ D εἴτε<sup>2</sup> + μὴν ἄτε D ἐκείνω + τὰ DF<sup>1</sup> S | 6 πάλαι <  
SH τότε + καὶ D τε < H διαλεχθέντα D | 7 μερίμων – 8 πλήρης D in lacuna | 8 ἐργασίαν +  
αὐτοῦ D | 9 μὲν – ὄραμα D in lacuna | 10 λόγον SH ἀειπαρθένου οἶμαι D θεοτόκου] θεοῦ S |

## The Life and conduct of archbishop Gregentios, our father of holy memory<sup>1</sup> 1

When I look with my mental eyes upon the ascetic life, my beloved ones, of a father who pleased God, a life which conveniently depended on the power of the all-Holy Ghost and was brought to a calm and brightly shining end, there is one thing for me to declare and to tell, be it perhaps to your love, be it to me as well, according to the example of the great Moses, what he had seen once ago at the burning bush and what had been told to him. Departing, I say, from my distractions and cares I will see this great vision of the most virtuous life of the glorious Gregentios, his spiritual work which was practical and full of contemplation. While the vision at the burning bush, which the prophet saw when he went by, revealed to him the incarnation of the word of God from the Virgin and Mother of God Mary, it is the adorable name of that servant of God which indicates to me and the prudent ones a convenient path of salvation, which leads up to the kingdom of heaven. And truly, since he was very great and respectable, he was deemed worthy to see and to understand the most awe-inspiring mystery of my God, whereas I, being very mean and weak, will begin to occupy myself with and to narrate the vision which I have announced to you, according to my capability and power, so that you may know who he was and of what sort, and which were his paces and moves in accordance with God. This contributes to our enlightenment concerning our fear of God, just in the way as the shining moon does to those who walk in the darkness of the night, or also the sun which shines more clearly and makes the gloom of the day brighter. So let us speak about this adorable man, not about the things he undertook and achieved (for saying farewell to all, he retired from his struggles before we were able to speak), but let us tell only those things conveniently, which we have heard and understood and which our fathers have told us. Since we appear to be of moderate eloquence and worthless in our narrations,<sup>2</sup> my beloved ones, I appeal to you to show your-

11 ὄνομα] ὅσον ἐπ' S ὄραμα H | 12 ἀναβαίνουσα S ἀναβαίνουσιν H | 13 ἐκείνῳ S μὲν – μου < SH ὡς ἄτε] ὅσα τε H μέγιστός – ἐπάξιος] μέγας τοῦ θεοῦ θεράπων F<sup>1</sup> SH | 14 ἐδέσθαι S κατανοῆσαι SH | 15 τε < D ἐπαγγελλμένου D ὀρήματος D | 16 γνῶτε F<sup>1</sup> SH τίνος D | 17 τε < D τόγῃ] τό τε D θεοσεβείας + καὶ μάλα γε D | 18 φανούσης] θεούσης F<sup>1</sup> SH καὶ ἡλίῳ] κἀν ἡλίῳ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 19 τὸ < D | 20 ἐλέξωμεν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 21 πρὸ] πρὸς F<sup>1</sup> SH | 22 τε καὶ D

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> On the following formulae of modesty, see also Pratsch, *Der hagiographische Topos*, 52–53.



- οὐδαμινὸι ταῖς διηγήσεσιν, ἀντιβολῶ μὴ μεμπτέοι μήτε ἐξουθενούντες, ἀλλ' εὐμενεῖς τε  
 25 καὶ εὐσυμπάθητοι φάνητε ἀποδεχόμενοι τῆς ἡμετέρας μετριότητος τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν,  
 ὅπερ καὶ τῷ θεῷ φίλον καὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν εὐαπόδεκτον. Κρεῖσσον γὰρ μικρᾶ ράνιδι  
 φωτὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐγάζεσθαι ἢ παντελῶς ἀβλεπεῖν καὶ ἐν σκότει πορευέσθαι καὶ ἄνευ  
 κριθῆς ἄρτου ἐν καιρῷ λιμοῦ διαστρέφεσθαι ἢ παντάπασι τῇ ἀτροφίᾳ διαφθείρεσθαι,  
 ἐνίστε τῇ ἐμῇ ἀνικανότητι καὶ τόγε ἐφάρμωστον.
- 30 Ὁ Ἄρξομαι τοιγαροῦν λοιπὸν διηγούμενος τὰ τοῦ θεράποντος Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξά τε καὶ  
 ὑπέριπτα καὶ κατὰ θεὸν ἀνδραγαθήματα. Κώμη τις ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις Ἀβάρων  
 κειμένη, δύο ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον θαλάσσης ὁδοῦ διακειμένη, τελοῦσα δὲ εἰς τὸ  
 αὐτὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνος Λυπλιανῆς οὕτω προσαγορευομένη. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν οἱ γεννήτο-  
 35 ρες τοῦδε τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀνδρὸς ἐφύησαν δὲ καὶ ἐτράφησαν καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον  
 κυρίου τιμίῳ γάμῳ ἀλλήλοις συνήφθησαν. Τεκόντες τοιγαροῦν δύο κόρας ἄρρενος παιδὸς  
 ἡμοῖουσαν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ μικρῶς ἠδολέσχουν. Τί οὖν ποιοῦσι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος;  
 Πρὸς τὸν τῆς φύσεως δημιουργὸν καταφεύγουσιν καὶ αἰτοῦνται τοῦ ποθουμένου τυχεῖν,  
 καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ γεννώμενον ὑπσχοῦνται καθιερεῖν τῷ δεδωκότι, καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἢ ποτὲ  
 40 Ἄννα τὸν Σαμουήλ, καὶ οἶμαι τετυχήκασιν. Τεχθέντος τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Δεκέ-  
 βριον μῆνα ἕκτη τοῦ μηνός, ἐν ἣ τοῦ ἱεροκῆρυκος Νικολάου τελεῖται ἡ ἔνθεος πανήγυρις,  
 ἑώρα ἢ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ κατ' ὄναρ ἄνδρα γηραλέον περιδέξιον στολήν λευκὴν ἡμφιεσμένον  
 καὶ εὐαγγέλιον κρατοῦντα τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ λίθοις τιμίοις καὶ μαργαρίταις κεκαλλωπι-  
 σμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ σταυρὸν κραταῖον καὶ εἰς μῆκος ἐπηρμένον κατέχοντα· καὶ  
 45 *πρόσωπον* ἦν *ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου*· καὶ τὸ θυμιατήριον δέ, ὃ κατεῖχεν, πύρινον, καὶ οἱ  
 ἄνθρακες οἱ ἐν τῷ θυμιατηρίῳ αὐτοῦ ὡσανεὶ ῥόδα μυρίπνοα ἐχρημάτιζον. Ἐβλεπεν οὖν,  
 καὶ ἰδοὺ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διανοιχθείσης τῆς στέγης κατῆε δρόσος ἐπὶ τὸ παιδίον, ποτὲ  
 δὲ καὶ ἀκτίνες ὡς ἐξ ἡλίου· ἄλλοτε ὡς σίτος πολὺς λευκὸς ὡσεὶ χιών κατῆε ὠραῖος ἐπάνω  
 αὐτοῦ. Καὶ πάλιν ἔβλεπεν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ πλῆθος κηρῶν καιομένων μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων  
 50 καὶ πολυέλαιον καὶ κανδήλας φωταγωγοῦσας τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ μαφόρια καὶ ὠμοφόρια,  
 ἐπιτραχήλιά τε καὶ ὀράρια περικύκλω αὐτοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμὸς. Ἐώρα οὖν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ  
 γέρων ὁ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κρατῶν ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν προσευξάμενος καὶ κατασφραγίσας τὸ  
 παιδίον τρίτον, πῆξας τε τὸν σταυρὸν πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐκτενωῶς προσευξά-

39 Ὁ Ἄννα – Σαμουήλ cf. 1 Reg. 1.1 | 44 τὸ – 45 ἀγγέλου cf. Acta 6.15

#### D F<sup>1</sup> SH

24 μήτε ἐξουθενούντες < F<sup>1</sup> SH εὐμενεῖς H | 25 φανείτε F<sup>1</sup> SH τὸ < D | 26 ἀπόδεκτον D  
 κρεῖσσον| ὅσον D ράνιδα F<sup>1</sup> SH | 27 ἢ παντ| D in lacuna ἀβλεπτι S ἀβλεπεῖν F<sup>1</sup> H και<sup>2</sup> – 29  
 ἐφάρμωστον < SH ἄνευ D in lacuna | 30 Ὁ Ἄρξομαι τοιγαροῦν διηγούμενος τὰ τοῦ θεράποντος  
 Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξά τε καὶ ὑπέριπτα καὶ κατὰ θεὸν ἀνδραγαθήματα | 31 Ἀβάρων| Ἀράβων D | 32 πρὸς ἄρκτον| μεσημβρίας D τελοῦσα –  
 33 προσαγορευομένη < H | 33 Ἀβάρων| Ἀκαθάρτων D Λυπλιανῆς D Μπλιανῆς S προσαγο-  
 ρευομένη| προσαγορευομένη S | 34 τοῦδε| τούτου F<sup>1</sup> οὗτοι S θεσπεσίου| θαυμασίου F<sup>1</sup> ἔφυσαν D  
 F<sup>1</sup> ac δέ| τε D τῷ| τὰ H τὸν νόμον| νόμων F<sup>1</sup> SH | 35 τοιγαροῦν| γὰρ οὖν F<sup>1</sup> | 38 γεννώμενον|

self neither reproachable nor setting me at naught, but favourable and compassionate, accepting what my humbleness did according to its power, which is also dear to God and well received by the prudent ones. For it is better that the face should be enlightened by a small beam of light than not to see anything and to walk in darkness, and to spend one's life without having barley for bread in a time of famine than to be corrupted entirely by starvation, as it can be said sometimes about my insufficiency.

Therefore I will now begin to tell the glorious and most worthy deeds of the servant of Christ which were done in accordance with God. There is a town in the border region to the Avars at a distance of two days from the highway leading to the northern sea, which is tributary to this same nation of the Avars and is called Lyplianes.<sup>3</sup> In this town the parents of this marvellous man were reared and grew up, and were joined with each other in worthy marriage according to the law of the Lord. Having born two daughters, they were in want of a male child and were quite concerned about it. So what do they do about this matter? They take refuge with the creator of all nature and ask to gain the desired thing, and promise to dedicate the child to the one who gave it, in the same way as once Anna did with Samuel, and, I think, they succeeded. So when he was born in December on the sixth day of the month, on which the God-inspired feast of the holy herald Nikolaos is celebrated,<sup>4</sup> his mother in a dream saw an old and experienced man who was dressed in a white robe, kept a Gospel in his left hand which was embellished with precious stones and pearls, and held a mighty cross in his right hand raising it up, and similarly also a youth wearing a tunic and a stole, whose *face was like the face of an angel*; and the censer he held was fiery, and the charcoals in the censer were like sweetly smelling roses. So she looked there, and behold, dew went down upon the child as from heaven through the opened roof, and sometimes also rays as from the sun, and at another time much beautiful grain came down over him which was white like snow. And again she saw around him a large number of small and great burning candles, a candelabrum and lamps which enlightened the place close to him, and veils and pallia, scarves and stoles around him which were beyond any number. So she looked, and behold, the old man who held the Gospel prayed for a long time and made the sign of the cross three times over the child, set the cross up before himself and prayed again

γινόμενον D ἢ ποτέ < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 39 καὶ οἶμαι τετυχήκασιν < F<sup>1</sup> SH Δεκέμβριον H | 41 γηραιὸν D  
 γηραλαῖαν H περιδέξιον < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 42 μαργάροις D κεκοσμημένον H | 43 κατέχοντα < F<sup>1</sup> SH |  
 44 νεανίσκον D λευκοῦν D | 45 δέ] αὐτοῦ D πύρινον] ὡς πῦρ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 46 αὐτοῦ < F<sup>1</sup> SH  
 ἐχρημάτιζον < D | 47 τῷ παιδίῳ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 48 καὶ < F<sup>1</sup> SH ἀκτῖνας D ὡς ἐξ ἡλίου] θεουργεῖς D  
 ἄλλοτε] ἀλλ' ὅτε F<sup>1</sup> SH ὡς<sup>2</sup> < D | 49 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < H πάλιν] ἐνίστε D κηρῶν – καί<sup>2</sup>] κόρων τε  
 D | 50 πολυέλαιον] ὀλοέλαιον D πολυέλαιον – αὐτὸν] ὄλαι οἱ κανδηλαὶ φωταγωγοῦσαι περὶ  
 αὐτὸν F<sup>1</sup> SH καί<sup>2</sup> < D αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ D ὠμόφορα D ἐμόφορα H | 51 ἦν] ἔφερον D |  
 52 πολλοστήν D τό<sup>2</sup> – 53 τρίτον] τρις τὸ παιδίον D | 53 καὶ – 56 αὐτοῦ < D

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 14–17.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 11–13.

μενος και τῷ στήθει αὐτοῦ θεις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀσπασάμενός τε αὐτὸ ἀνεχώρησεν. Ὁ δὲ  
55 τὸ σιχάριον φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄραριον καὶ αὐτὸς προσευξάμενος καὶ θυμιάσας τὰ περὶ  
κύκλου τοῦ βρέφους, κρεμάσας πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ θυμιατήριον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέπτη.  
Ταῦτα ἑωρακυῖα πρωΐας διηγείτο αὐτὰ ταῖς συνελθούσαις πρὸς αὐτὴν γυναιξίν καὶ ἐξ-  
ίσταντο ἀκούουσαι.

Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ φωπισθέντος αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι Γρηγέντιον αὐτὸν ἐπωνό-  
60 μασαν, γέροντος ἀγίου ἐν τῷ πλησίον ὄρει τῶν ἐκείσε ἀσκοῦντος τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ  
τοῦτον σεμνύναντες. Γεγόνασι γὰρ ἱερεῖς καὶ λευῖται ἀνάδοχοι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου  
βαπτίσματος, καὶ ἠψφράνθησαν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ πανδημεῖ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀγαπίου  
τούτους ξενίσαντος. Γεγονότος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ παρέδωκαν αὐτὸν οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς  
τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐκμανθάνειν τὰ ἱερά γράμματα. Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ παῖς πάνυ εὐφυῆς, καὶ  
65 πόθος ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκόρεστος, ὥστε βίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐξέλκειν τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ,  
ὀπηνίκα αὐτοῖς ἐκάλει καιρὸς τοῦ φαγεῖν ἄρτον. Ὅπηνίκα δὲ πάλιν ἀπῆει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
μετὰ τῶν παιδοτριβούντων αὐτῶν, εἴτε ἐν τῷ ὄρθρῳ, εἴτε ἐν τῷ ἑσπερινῷ, ὃν τρόπον  
γέρων τις πεπαλαιωμένος ἴσατο ἐν συνέσει συνεχῶς τὰς χεῖρας εἰς ὕψος αἴρων καὶ τὸ  
στήθος τύπτων καὶ ἐκ βαθέων στεναγμοὺς ἀναπέμπων πρὸς κύριον, ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείσε  
70 παρατυγχάνοντας τοὺς μὲν θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐξίστασθαι, τοὺς δὲ οἰωνεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ λέγειν· “Ὅντως, τί ἄρα ἔσται προβαίνοντι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸ παιδίον τοῦ-  
το;” Τινὲς δὲ καὶ ὡς μετριοπαθοῦντες τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτὸν ὀρώντες καθεισπράττοντα τῷ  
μειδιάσματι συνεχόμενοι ἐπερωτᾶν ἐπέειπον, “δι' ἦν αἰτίαν”, φησίν, “ἐκ βαθέων τοὺς  
στεναγμοὺς οὕτως, ὦ παιδίον, ἀνοιμώτεις;” Ὁ δὲ ἐκάστοτε σιωπῇ ἅπαντας ἀπεκρούετο.  
75 Τοὺς δὲ σταυροὺς καὶ τὰς τιμίας καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας τοσοῦτον ἐπόθει, ὥστε, εἴποτε ἐσχό-  
λαζεν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθημάτων, διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας ταύταις ἐνητένιζεν καὶ κατησπά-  
ζετο γνησίως καὶ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τὴν τερπνότητα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐκορέννυτο. Φιλοπόνως δὲ  
πάντοτε ἀνεγίνωσκεν καὶ θεῖω ἔρωτι ἐτέθη ἀκριβῶς τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τί τῶν λεγομέ-  
νων. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο βρέχειν τοῖς δάκρυσι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
80 κατεχομένην δέλτον, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς φύλλοις τῆς δέλτου ἐγγεγραμμένα ἀπὸ  
τῶν δακρύων αὐτοῦ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ κάμπτειν αὐτὸν γόνυ τῇ μετανοίᾳ πρὸς κύριον,  
τίς ἄρα γε τῶν ἐκείσε ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν τοσαύτην σπουδὴν ἐκτήσατο καίπερ νέος ὢν καὶ ἀτελέ-  
στατος, δέκατον ἔτος ἀπάρτι ἄγων τῇ ἡλικίᾳ;

Μία οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν εὐκαιρήσας ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ποιμένων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ  
85 ἐρήμῳ εἰς τὰ ποιμνία καὶ ἦν ἐκείσε μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἶα παιδίον μετεωριζόμενος. Τράγος δὲ  
μέγας ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀγέλῃ καὶ τηλικούτος ἦν, ὥστε εἴποτε ἔδει περάσαι τοὺς ποιμένας δύσβα-  
τον ποταμὸν ἀντὶ ὄνου αὐτὸν λαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐπικαθήμενοι οὕτω διεπέρουν τὸν ποτα-

## D F<sup>1</sup> SH

55 περὶ + τοῦ F<sup>1</sup> | 56 φρέφους F<sup>1</sup> κρεμάσας + τε H | 58 ἀκούσασαι D | 59 δὲ] οὖν F<sup>1</sup> SH |  
60 τῶν] τῷ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 61 γεγόνασι γὰρ] ἐγεγόνευσαν δὲ D | 62 ἠψφράνθησαν + ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ D |  
63 παραδέδωκασιν D | 64 ἐγεγόνει δὲ τὸ παιδίον D εὐφυῆς F<sup>1</sup> S<sup>ac</sup>, + εἰς τὴν μάθησιν D καὶ - 75  
ὥστε < D | 65 ἐξέλκειν + πρὸς H | 66 καιρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκάλει H | 70 παρατυγχάνοντας S | 71 τὸ

fervently putting the Gospel on his breast and embracing it, and went away. The one who wore the tunic and stole prayed as well and incensed around the baby, and having suspended the censer before it he flew away as well. Having seen this, she told it in the morning to the women that came to her, and hearing this they were astonished.

A short time thereafter, when he was enlightened by the holy baptism, they called him Gregentios, honouring him with the name of a holy old man who lived as a hermit on a mountain there.<sup>5</sup> For priests and levites became his sponsors in divine baptism, and they rejoiced on that day with all the people, with his father Agapios entertaining them. And when he had become seven years old, his parents gave him to a school to learn the holy writings thoroughly. The boy became very well-educated and had an insatiable longing at church, so that his parents could hardly drag him out when the time to eat bread called them. And when he went to church again together with his educators, be it at matins or at vespers, he stood there in his wisdom like an old man who had become aged, continually raising his hands up, beating his breast and sending deep sighs to the Lord, so that some of those present there wondered and were astonished, and some made foretellings about him, and making assumptions they said: “Truly, what will become of this child when it grows up?” Some others, as if having compassion, when they saw how he did these things, were seized with a smile and hastened to ask him: “For which reason, o child, do you utter your deep sighs?” But he always drove them all away with his silence. And he loved the crosses and the worthy and venerable icons so much that, whenever he had time off from his lessons, he stared at them all day long, embraced them sincerely and was not satiated with looking at their pleasantness.<sup>6</sup> He always read diligently and accurately put his mind to divine desire in order to understand something of the things said. When he was reading he did not cease to moisten the book he held with his tears, so that often even the texts which were written on the leaves of the book were spoiled by his tears; and when he bowed his knee in repentance to the Lord, who among those present there had such zeal greater than his, although he was young and immature, being only in the tenth year of his age?

Now one day he went out in good time with the shepherds of his father into the desert to the flocks and stayed there with them, being like a child in high spirits. There was a large buck in the flock, and he was so large that, whenever the shepherds had to cross a river that was hard to traverse, they crossed the river using him instead of an ass

παιδίον] τοῦ παιδός F<sup>1ac</sup> τοῦτο] τούτου codd. | 72 καὶ < F<sup>1</sup> κατεισπράττοντες codd. | 73 βαθέων] βαρέων F<sup>1</sup> | 74 οὕτω F<sup>1</sup> S | 76 ἐνετένιζεν D ἐνατένιζεν H | 78 ἐτίθη F<sup>1</sup> SH τὸ λεγόμενον F<sup>1ac</sup> | 79 βρέχων D | 82 ἀτελέστατος δέκατον ἔτος] ἀτελής ταῖς φρεσίν ἔτι δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν D | 85 σὺν τοῖς ποιμνίοις D ὡς οἶα] ὡσεὶ H οἶα] οἶ F<sup>1</sup> S τράγος] αἰγός D | 86 ἦν<sup>1</sup>] ἐχηρημάτιζεν F<sup>1</sup> SH ἀγγέλη F<sup>1</sup> ἦν<sup>2</sup>] ὦν F<sup>1</sup>, < D ἔδει περάσαι] διαπεράσαι D | 87 διεπέρουν H

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> On the veneration of icons in the *Bios*, see above, p. 6.

μόν. Κατέχοντας δὲ αὐτοῦ κλάσμα ἄρτου ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσθιοντος πλησίον ὄχθης ποταμοῦ τινός, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ τράγος (ἦν γὰρ σὺνήθης αὐτῷ ἐσθίειν ἄρτον) ὥρμη-  
 90 σεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ παιδίον θεασάμενον, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥρμησεν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κλάσμα ἄρτου. Φαγὼν δὲ τὸ κλάσμα ἔτι ἀπήτει παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ φυγὰς ἐτρέπετο τὴν περι τὴν ὄχθην ὁδὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διανύων. Καταδιώξας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τράγος καὶ φθάσας, ἐμπειρία πρόδηλον τοῦ διαβόλου ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο αὐτοῦ μηρῶν ὑποδύς τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ κουφίσας τὸν παῖδα μέσον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αὐτὸν  
 95 ἠκόντισεν. Τῶν δὲ ποιμένων μήκοθεν ὄντων καὶ εἰσδραμόντων πρὸς τὸ διασώσασθαι αὐτόν, ὡς πλησίον ἐγένοντο ὀρώσιν, καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ χεῖρες ἀνθρώπου ἐκτεταμένας τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς ὕψος καὶ ἀβλαβῆ τὸν παῖδα κατέχουσαι, αἵτινες καὶ εἰς τὸ πέραν αὐτὸν διασώσασαι ἀβρόχως συνετήρησαν καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἔδυσαν πάλιν τῷ ποταμῷ. Τῶν δὲ ποιμένων θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ ὄραματι καὶ ἀντιπερασάντων πρὸς  
 100 αὐτὸν καὶ κατασπαζομένων αὐτὸν καὶ διερευνοῦντων μήτι πονηρὸν πέπονθεν, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτούς· “Οὐδέν”, φησί, “λυπηρὸν μοι ἐγένετο· ἀνὴρ γάρ τις ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐκτείνας ὑπεδέξατό με καὶ ἔλεγεν πρὸς με· ‘ Ὦντως, ἐπειδὴ δοῦλος εἶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ <τοῦ> υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, τούτου χάριν ὑπηρετῶν σοι παρέστηκα καὶ οὐδέν σοι χαλεπὸν συμβήσεται.’ ” Γεναμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν  
 105 τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐξηγοῦντο τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν οἱ ποιμένες τὸ γεγονός παράδοξον θαῦμα, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἐξίσταντο καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεόν.

Ἐπόθει δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὁ μακάριος ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἐν τῷ μελετᾶν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ μήκοθεν ἐν ἰδιάζοντι τόπῳ μακρυνόμενος τῶν συσχολιτῶν αὐτοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν διεξῆει αὐτοῦ τὰ μαθήματα. Οὐδέπω δὲ ἠγάπα ἀναμειγνύσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ παίξειν, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς ὡς προλέλεκται τὴν ἡσυχίαν ποθῶν ἐν εὐκαιρούσαις ἡμέραις καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναχωρῶν  
 110 ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ ἐρημίαις καὶ τόποις δασείοις καὶ κατασκίοις ἠλιζέτο μελετῶν τὸν νόμον κυρίου καὶ συντηρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀτάραχον καὶ ἀθόλωτον ἐν εὐθύτητι.

Ἐποιοῦτ' αὐτοῦ ἔθει διὰ παντός σεμνυνομένου ἀνὴρ τίς ὠραῖος τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα, ὁπότεν ἔσχεν αὐλιζεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (πόθεν μελήσει τῷ κυρίῳ) παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 115 καὶ προσωμίλει αὐτῷ οὐράνια πινὰ καὶ θεῖα μυστήρια διδάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ διηγούμενος. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, ὅτι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἦδει τίς ἐστιν ἢ πόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγίνεται. Διηγείτο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβαίνειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέ-

111 ἐν – κατασκίοις cf. Hab. 3.3 μελετῶν – 112 κυρίου cf. Ps. 118.70, 77, 92, 97, 174

#### D F<sup>1</sup> SH

88 δὲ] οὖν F<sup>1</sup> SH αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < D | 89 θεασάμενον D τράγος] αἰγὸς D συνήθης αὐτοῦ F<sup>1</sup> S αὐτῷ < H | 90 πρὸς αὐτὸν] ὠθήσαι F<sup>1</sup> SH ἔδωκεν] δέδωκεν F<sup>1</sup> SH αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ H τὸ κλάσμα τοῦ D | 91 τὸ κλάσμα] αὐτὸ F<sup>1</sup> SH μὴ] οὐ F<sup>1</sup> οὐκέτι SH τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ δοῦναι D | 92 ἐτρέπετο – ὁδὸν] ὤχετο· τὴν δὲ παράλιον D ὄχθην F<sup>1</sup> SH τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁδὸν H ἀνύων F<sup>1</sup> SH | 93 δὲ < D τράγος] αἰγὸς D ἐμπειρία codd. πρόδηλον < D τοῦ < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 94 ὑποδύς – παῖδα < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 95 ὄντων καὶ εἰσδραμόντων] πελότων D | 96 ὡς + δὲ H ἐγένετο F<sup>1</sup> | 97 ἀβλαβῶς F<sup>1</sup> SH καί<sup>2</sup> < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 98 διαπεράσασαι F<sup>1</sup> SH | 100 καὶ κατασπαζομένων αὐτὸν < D ἔπαθεν H | 101 τις < D |

and rode on him. When <Gregentios> held a piece of bread in his hand and ate from it, sitting close to the shore of a river, the buck saw him (for he had the habit of eating bread) and attacked him. When the child saw him attacking, he gave him a piece of bread. But having eaten the piece, he demanded yet another one from him; and since he had nothing to give to him anymore, he turned to flight and ran away on the way along the river shore. The buck pursued and reached him and, clearly by craft of the devil, slipped in with his horns between his two thighs, lifted the boy up and threw him into the river. When the shepherds, who had been far away, ran there to save him, they looked when they approached, and behold, the hands of a man were stretched out of the depth of the waters of the river, holding the boy up unharmed, which also brought him to the other side safely, keeping him undampened and then submerging themselves again in the river. The shepherds wondered at the miraculous spectacle, crossed over to him, embraced him and asked him whether he had suffered anything evil, and the blessed Gregentios said to them: “Nothing distressing has happened to me, for some man stretched out his hands from the depths of the river, held me and said to me: ‘Truly, because you are a servant of Jesus Christ the Son of the living God, therefore I was present to serve you, and nothing bad will happen to you.’”<sup>7</sup> When they came home, the shepherds explained the incredible wonder that had happened to him to all people, and hearing it they were astonished and glorified God.

The blessed one was constantly longing for silence, and during his meditations he always went far away from his fellow pupils to a solitary place and studied his lessons privately. He did not love it at all to be in the company of the boys of his age, but, as it has been said before, he was continuously longing for silence, and on convenient days, retiring privately to the mountains, deserts and rough and shady woods, he dwelled there and meditated upon the law of the Lord, keeping his soul untroubled and unstained in straightness.

While he constantly excelled through such a custom, a man of very beautiful shape came to him when he dwelled in the desert (from where be the care of the Lord), announcing heavenly things to him and teaching and telling him divine mysteries.<sup>8</sup> And the miracle was that not even the boy knew who he was, nor from where he had come to him. That man told him the things which were going to happen to him in all days of his

102 αὐτοῦ < H | πρὸς με < D | 103 ὄντως ἐπειδὴ] ἐπει D εἶ < F<sup>1</sup> τοῦ<sup>1</sup> supplevi υἱοῦ < D | 104 παρέστηκα] καθέστηκα D δὲ < F<sup>1</sup> | 105 τὰ < F<sup>1</sup> SH θαῦμα < D | 107 τῷ] ᾧ D αἰ] πάντοτε F<sup>1</sup> S αἰ μήκοθεν] πάντοθεν H | 108 κατ’ ἰδίαν < D | 109 οὐδέποτε F<sup>1</sup> SH δὲ < H | 111 τὸν νόμον] ἐν νόμῳ D | 113 ὁ β’· περι τοῦ δόσιου τοῦ ὠφθέντος τῷ δόσιῳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ SH διὰ παντὸς < F<sup>1</sup> SH σφόδρα < D | 114 πόθεν – κυρίῳ < D | 115 τινὰ καὶ θεῖα < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 116 ὅτι < D | 117 ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ D

<sup>7</sup> This is Saint Nikolaos, see above, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> See above, pp. 11–13.

120 ραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπαίδευεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὀρθὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγματα ἐκδιδάσκων αὐτόν, τό τε εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστο-  
 λον, ὅπως τε ὀφείλει βιοῦν καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ἔπι δὲ βάδισμα καὶ βλέμμα καὶ  
 στάσιν καὶ ὁμιλίαν καὶ αἰδῶ ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅπως δεῖ αὐτὸν προσεύχεσθαι πρὸς  
 κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὖν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν χάριν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης  
 125 συνεχῶς ἀπῆι ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἐρήμου τόποις, ἵν' ὅπως θεάσῃται καὶ τὸν θεόπεμπτον ἄνδρα  
 ἐκείνον τὸν κατὰ τοιαύτην σχολὴν ὀπτανόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἐκείνα μυσταγω-  
 οῦντα αὐτῷ, οὐπνος καὶ ἐφάπαξ κατηξιούτο.

Τῆς οὖν μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐσεβείας τοῦ τῆδε βίου ἀπαναστάσης ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέν-  
 130 πος πάνυ αὐτὴν ἐθρήνει· ἄγαν γὰρ ἦν συμπαθῆς καὶ γλυκὺς τὰ θεῖα ὁ σεμνότατος. Ἐκτο-  
 τε οὖν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀναδεξαμένοις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βαπτί-  
 σματος ἱερεῦσιν πρὸς τὸ ἐκείσε εἶναι μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ δουλεύειν τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπερισπάστως  
 ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ὁ δὲ πάνυ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐτέρφθη καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ ἦν  
 135 ἔκτοτε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπερισπάστως προσευχόμενος καὶ ταῖς  
 ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἀδεῶς ἐνασχολούμενος. Ἐπόθουν τε αὐτὸν ἅπαντες καὶ  
 ἐφίλουν σφόδρα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἥσυχον καὶ πρᾶον, ταπεινὸν καὶ γαληνόν, ἡμερον καὶ  
 πᾶσιν τὰ πάντα πέλοντα καὶ τιμῶντα πάντας, καὶ ἀγαπῶντα ἴσως καὶ προσκυνοῦντα καὶ  
 140 τὸ δέος ἐφ' ἴσης κεκτημένον ἐν ἅπασιν. Ἦν δὲ λαλητὸς ὁ σεβάσιμος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ περιχώρῳ  
 ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν, καίτοι δι' αὐτὸν μόνον αἱ περικύκλω αὐτοῦ  
 χῶραι καὶ τὰ ἄστου τοὺς ἄρρενας αὐτῶν παῖδας χάριν παιδείας τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς κατ-  
 ἔχουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων παρεδίδουν, οἴομενοι ἴσως καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ μιμηταὶ  
 145 γενήσονται. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θαῦμα παράδοξον· ὄν τρόπον γὰρ πρόβατα ποιμένα ἦγε ἀρνία  
 ἐπὶ πόαν χλοεράν, οὕτω κατόπιν αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες ἠκολούθουν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ αὐτὸν  
 ὀπαδὸς ἰχνηλατοῦντες. Τὰ γὰρ χεῖλη τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ψαλμικῶς εἶπεν κηρίον μέλιτος  
 αὐτοῖς ἔσταζον καὶ τὰ ἦθη καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι αὐτοῦ ἄλλος φωτισμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐχρημάτιζον. Τὸ  
 γὰρ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀναπαυόμενον, ὅθεν καὶ πᾶσα ὠφέλεια ἐξ  
 αὐτοῦ ἐξεπορεύετο. Ἔλεγε δὲ ἐκάστοτε τοῖς αὐτῷ συνεπομένοις παιδίοις λόγον ὠφελείας  
 145 ἐπέχων·

Τ' "Ἀδελφοί μου πνευματικοί, γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὁ παρὼν βίος  
 ἀλλ' ἢ σκία καὶ ἐνύπνιον, ὅθεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὁδὸν ἐλόμεθα Χριστοῦ. Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ὡσεὶ  
 150 χόρτος, αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτοῦ, ἦγουν τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς, ὡσεὶ ἄνθος τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὕτως ἐξανθή-  
 σαι τῷ καιρῷ γὰρ τούτῳ σπείρεται καὶ φύει, καὶ τῷ ἐπόντι ἀπανθεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται.  
 Πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐπήλθεν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐ παραμένον, ἀλλ' οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐκβλησκόμενον καὶ

134 πᾶσιν – πέλοντα cf. 1 Cor. 9.22 | 141 κηρίον μέλιτος cf. Ps. 18.11 | 147 ἄνθρωπος – 149  
 ἐξανθήσει Ps. 102.15

#### D F<sup>1</sup> S H

118 τῆς ζωῆς < D | 120 βιοῖν F<sup>1</sup> S H, + αὐτὸν H | 121 αἰδῶ] ὀδῶ H προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν H |  
 123 θεόπεμπτον D S | 124 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν D S | 126 Τ γ'· περὶ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ S H |  
 127 ἐθρήνησεν F<sup>1</sup> S H | 128 τοὺς ἀναδεξαμένους D | 132 ὑπερεσίαις F<sup>1</sup> S ἀνασχολούμενος H |

life from the Lord God, and in addition to this he educated him, advising him on the right teachings of piety, the Gospel and the divine Apostle, how he should live and lead his life in this world; also he showed him how to walk, to look and to stand, how he should speak and show reverence, and how he should pray to the Lord his God. So in the days of the holy feasts he went out continually for this reason into the places of the desert, so that he could see that God-sent man who appeared to him in such a time of rest and initiated him into those ineffable things, and to whom he had entirely been deemed worthy.

Now when his mother Eusebeia departed from this life, the blessed Gregentios bewailed her greatly, for the most noble one was very compassionate and sweet about divine things. Thereafter his father gave him to the priests who had received him from divine baptism, that he should be there with them and serve Christ in the holy church without distraction. He was very delighted about this and rejoiced in his spirit, and was thereafter in the house of the Lord day and night, praying without distraction and being occupied confidently with his ecclesiastical duties. And all people were longing for him and loved him much, because he was silent and gentle, humble, calm and civilised, being all for all men and honouring all, and loved and worshipped them, and also was feared among all men. The adorable one was renowned in all that region because of his virtuous conduct, so that only because of him the surrounding villages and towns gave their male children to the priests for education who kept him rather than to others, hoping that they would perhaps become imitators of his virtue. And an incredible wonder was to be seen: for just as sheep or lambs follow a shepherd on the green pasture, so did the boys follow him, tracking him with fear and trembling as his attendants. For the lips of his mouth, to say it with the Psalm, dripped wax and honey, and his manners and doctrines were just another enlightenment to them. For the holy Ghost rested in his heart, for which reason all benefit proceeded from him. And he also spoke constantly to the children that followed him, offering them a word of benefit:

“My spiritual brothers, I want you to know that the present life is nothing other than shadow and dream, for which reason we should choose the right way of Christ. For *man is like grass, his days*, that is of the life here, *will fade like a flower of the field*; for it is sown in this time and grows, and in the coming one it fades and vanishes. For the spirit went into him not for to last, but for to be expelled and for to depart a short time thereafter to a places he does not know. He is led away by others, whereas *the flesh decays*

133 ἡσύχιον F<sup>1</sup> SH και<sup>1</sup> < D και<sup>2</sup> < D και<sup>3</sup>] ἐν D | 134 τιμώντα] τιμών τοὺς F<sup>1</sup> SH και<sup>2</sup> – 135 ἅπασι < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 135 σεβάσμιος] μακάριος F<sup>1</sup> SH | 136 αὐτὸν + και F<sup>1</sup> SH | 137 τοῖς<sup>2</sup> < D | 140 πᾶν χλοερᾶν] τὸ ἐρᾶν D | 142 αὐτοῖς ἔσταζον] ἐστάλαζον F<sup>1</sup> SH και<sup>1</sup> – ἐχρημάτιζον < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 144 ἐξεπορίζετο D ἐκάστοτε < D τοῖς < F<sup>1</sup> SH αὐτῷ] αὐτὸς τοῖς H συνεπομένους < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 146 <sup>T</sup> νουθεσία τοῦ ὁσίου πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ SH (τοῦ ὁσίου < S) οὐδὲν ἐστίν] οὐκ ἔστιν H | 147 ἐλόμεθα + και D S<sup>ac</sup> ὡσει] ὡς F<sup>1</sup> | 148 ἤγουν – ζωῆς] αἱ ἐνταῦθα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ D ἄνθος + γὰρ F<sup>1</sup> S | 149 σπείρεται] σπείρα τε D ἐπανθεῖ D | 150 ὑπήλθεν D ἀλλὰ F<sup>1</sup> SH



ἀναχωροῦν ἐν τόποις οἷς οὐκ ἐπίσταται. Ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄλλων ἀπάγεται, ἡ δὲ *σὰρξ ὡς ἰμάτιον παλαιοῦται ἐν τῷ μνήματι* καὶ ἀναλύει εἰς τὸν πρότερον χοῦν, καθότι γῆ πέφυκεν καὶ φθορὰ καὶ *εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσεται*. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ καὶ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὀλόκληρον μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς μικρᾶς νοτίδος ἐκείνης, ἐν ἣ ἔφθαρτο, ἀναβήσεται, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκάστου ἐκ τῶν νοητῶν ταμείων ἀπολυθὲν ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ σῶματι ἐνωθήσεται. Καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν ὁ δίκαιος κριτῆς καταβήσεται ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ δόξης φοβερᾶς καὶ καθίσει εἰς κρίσιν καὶ τηλικαῦτα *ἀποδώσει ἕκαστῷ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*. Οὐκοῦν νέοι πεφυκότες μὴ βαδίσωμεν ἐπ' ὄρη σκοτεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, μήτε δουλωθῶμεν ἡθεσιν ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ μιαιοῖς. Ἦθη γὰρ πονηρὰ καὶ παλαιωθέντα πάθη καὶ μήκει χρόνου κακῶς βεβαιωθέντα δυσίατα γίνονται ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίατα. Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ, ὀδῶ βασιλικῇ βαδίσωμεν καὶ καλῶς τὸν τῆδε δρόμον διανύσωμεν καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμφῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργασώμεθα ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ γῶπταν καὶ ἀφὴν συνέσει χαλινουῦντες καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ θάνατος. Μακάριος γάρ, ὅστις τὸ ἄνθος τῆς νεότητος αὐτοῦ οὐ προέδωκεν τῷ διαβόλῳ εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μήτε εἰς μολυσμὸν τοῖς πάθεσιν, ὅτι οὕτως καλῶς 165 διανοηθεὶς τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἐντὸς ἔσται καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας ἀγαλλιαθήσεται.”

Ταῦτα λέγων ἔτι δὲ καὶ μείζονα τούτων καλῶς ἐρύθμισεν τοὺς ἐπομένους αὐτῷ παῖδας καὶ εἰς ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν ἀνήγεν καὶ περισσοτέραν κατάστασιν. Πάντες δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὑπὲρ περισσοῦ ἐτίμων καὶ ἐσέβοντο αὐτόν, εἰδικῶς δὲ συναπτόμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ 170 ἐπαινοῦντες ἐμακάριζον αὐτόν, καὶ μάλα παρ' ἐκείνου περισσότερον καὶ ἐπαινούμενοι καὶ τιμώμενοι.

Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὖν τοῦ ἔαρος καὶ θέρους καὶ μετοπώρου λαμβάνων τοὺς χρησιμωτέρους ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων κατὰ τὸ σύνθηδες ἐξῆει ἅμα αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελώσι καὶ ταῖς ἀρούραις τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἦν ἰδιαζόντως μετ' αὐτῶν προσευχόμενος κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ. Μετὰ 175 δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὸ σύνθηδες εὐχὰς καθεζόμενος ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς τὰ μέτρα τῆς νεότητος καὶ ὅτι “Βιαστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστίν”, φησίν, “ἀκινδύνως παραδραμεῖν τὸ ἄνθος τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ἐὰν μὴ νηστείας καθοπλίσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς προσευχαῖς τε καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν, ἐκάστοτε φροντίδα πνευματικὴν παραβάλλοντες τὴν ψυχὴν. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ φιλοπόνως ἔγκειται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἀρδουμένη καρποφορεῖ εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνασχολήμασιν, 180 εἴτε καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ σώματος πάθεσι καὶ ἀτοπήμασι. Διὰ τοῦτο”, φησίν, “τῇ πνευματικῇ μελέτῃ δεσμήσωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ὡς θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι χρηματίσαι· σωθῶμεν καὶ ζηλώσωμεν τὸ εἶναι καλοί, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς εἰσὶν τὰ ἡμέτερα. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι

151 σὰρξ – 152 παλαιοῦται Sir. 14.17 | 153 εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσεται Iob 34.15; Sir. 41.10 | 157 ἀποδώσει – αὐτοῦ cf. Ps. 61.13; Pr. 24.12 | 159 μήκει – 160 ἀνίατα cf. Basilius, CPG 2836, PG 29.224c; B 1096–1097

#### D F<sup>1</sup> SH

151 ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ F<sup>1</sup> S ἀπάγεται S ὑπάγεται H | 152 καὶ φθορὰ < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 153 ἀπελεύσεται + F<sup>1</sup> SH δὲ < D | 154 ἀναστήσεται H τὸ δὲ] δὲ τὸ D ἕκαστος H | 155 ἴδιον H ἐνωθήσονται D οὕτως D | 159 καὶ μιαιοῖς < F<sup>1</sup> SH πονηρὰ + ὡς ἄλλα χρέη D | 161 ἀνύσωμεν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 163 ἐξ] δι' H |

*like a garment* in the tomb and dissolves into the former dust, for it is earth and corruption and *will go into the earth*. But on the last and great day, our complete body will proceed from that little moisture, by which it was corrupted, and also the spirit of every man will be released from the mental chambers, and will be united with his own body. And so the righteous judge will then come down from the heavens in frightening glory and will sit for judgement and will at that time *repay everyone according to his works*. So since we are young, let us not go unto the dark and impassable mountains of sin, so that we may not be enslaved by impure and abominable customs. For evil customs and passions, which have become old and badly accustomed by the length of time, become hard to heal or entirely unhealable. Therefore I ask you, let us walk on the royal path and accomplish our way in this world well, and let us achieve our salvation in fear and trembling, bridling with wisdom our eye, tongue, touch and the other things, from which death comes. For blessed is he that did not give the flower of his youth to the devil for his pleasure nor to the passions for pollution, for if he considers well in this way, he will be within the kingdom of heaven and will rejoice with all saints for endless ages.”

Saying these and other words better than these, he directed the boys well that followed him, and led them up to a virtuous conduct and a greater perfection. And all the boys honoured him exceedingly and adored him, and being especially attached to him for themselves, they praised and blessed him, and were both praised and honoured by him even more.

Now in the days of spring, summer and autumn he used to take the most capable ones of the boys and went out with them into the vineyards and fields of the land, and prayed privately to the Lord God with them. And after the usual prayers he sat down and taught them about the state of youth and said: “It is hard for us to pass the prime of our first age without danger if we do not arm ourselves by fasting, prayers and readings, thus always providing spiritual care for the soul. For from those things, to which the soul is devoted diligently, it will also bear fruit when it is well watered, be it in the occupations of righteousness, be it in the passions and indecencies of the body. Therefore”, he said, “let us bind their mind by spiritual study and be like men of God; let us save ourselves and desire to be good, since our reward is in heaven. For in the present

164 μήτε + δὲ F<sup>1</sup> SH πάθεισιν + ἀλλόκοτα D ὅτι + ὁ D οὕτω H | 167 ἠρίθμησε D ἐρύθμιζεν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 168 ἐνήγεν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 169 ἐτίμουν D F<sup>1</sup> δὲ < D | 170 ἐμακάριζον] καὶ μακαρίζοντες D καί<sup>1</sup> – 171 πτώμενοι < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 172 οὖν < H ἔαρος] ἔαρ D ἀέρος F<sup>1</sup> SH τοῦ θέρους H μεθοπώρου F<sup>1</sup> SH | 173 τὸ < F<sup>1</sup> SH ἑαυτοῖς D | 175 τὰς] ταῖς D | 176 φησὶν < D φησὶν ἀκινδύνως παραδραμεῖν < H | 177 ἑαυτοῦς + καὶ SH προσευχαῖς τε] προσευχὰς F<sup>1</sup> SH | 178 ἐγγιγεται F<sup>1</sup> SH | 179 ἀρδουμένη < H τοῖς τῆς δικαιοσύνης] ταῖς δικαιοσύναις H τῆς < F<sup>1</sup> S | 180 καί<sup>1</sup> < D | 181 θεσπίσωμεν H αὐτῶν – σωθῶμεν < F<sup>1</sup> SH καί<sup>1</sup> an τοῦ ? | 182 τὸ] τοῦ H

οὐδὲν ἡμέτερον κεκτήμεθα· *γυμνοὶ γὰρ ἐξήλθωμεν ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἡμῶν, γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀπελευσόμεθα ἐκεῖ*, ὅπου δέον εἶναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας, εἴτε δοξαζομένους κατὰ  
 185 τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ, εἴτε καὶ τιμωρουμένους κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πλημμελημάτων ἡμῶν.”

Ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα νοουθετῶν τοὺς παῖδας ἔπειτα πάλιν μετ’ αὐτῶν ἔνδον ὑπέστρεφεν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ φιλοπόνως ἐπιμελείτο. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς δοξολογίαις οὐδὲ ὅλως ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐκάθητο, ἀλλ’ ἦν ἰστάμενος καὶ προσευχόμενος κατ’ ἰδίαν τῷ πνεύματι, τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ μικρόν τι κινουμένων. Ἦδει γὰρ θεοπαρόχους προσευχάς, ὥσπερ ἦν αὐτῷ διδάξας ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, ὀπηνίκα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ παρεγίνετο, καὶ τηλικαύτας προσευχάς, ὥστε ἐνίστε ἔλεγεν αὐτὰς φανερώς· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἵστατο τρόμῳ συνείχετο καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες ἀπὸ τῶν συσχολαστῶν αὐτοῦ δέει καὶ φόβῳ παρευθὺς ἐβάλλοντο. Εἰ δὲ τις ἦν πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον κεκτημένος, εὐθέως ἐρίσσετο ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 190 πνεύματος καὶ ἀφρίζων ἐβόα, εἰ μὴ που ὁ σεβασμιώτατος ἐσχόλαζεν τὴν εὐχήν, καὶ εὐθέως ὁ πάσχων ἐσιώπα. Ὅποταν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔσχεν τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι, ἀσολοικίστως ἀνεγίνωσκεν ποτὲ μὲν τοῖς δάκρυσι συνεχόμενος, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ποῖ μιδιασμάσιν σεμνυνόμενος· καταλλήλως γὰρ τοῖς νοήμασιν τῶν ἀναγινωσκομένων ἐφαιδρύνετο. Ὑπνου δὲ μεταλαμβάνων ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ πᾶν ἀναπαύετο, καὶ τότε λεληθότως διὰ τοὺς  
 200 κεκτημένους αὐτόν.”

Ἐξ ἑξῆς ἡμετέροις ἀδελφοῖς ἐπελεον οἱ ἀναδεξάμενοι αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς υἱὸν γνήσιον κεκτημένοι αὐτὸν πλούσιοι σφόδρα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μὲν εἰς ἄζυγος ἔπελεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος γυναικὶ συνέζη θεαρέστῳ καὶ σωφρονεστάτῃ. Τέκνον δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὑπῆρχεν τὸ σύνολον, τὸν δὲ μακάριον Γρηγέντιον ὡς γνήσιον υἱὸν αὐτῶν καὶ φίλτατον τέκνον ἀνέτρεφον προσδοκῶντες αὐτὸν ἔχειν καὶ κληρονόμον τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῶν, εἴ γε οὐκ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς. Ὅταν γὰρ ἀνακεχώρηκεν, ὡς φιλότατη τεκοῦσα καὶ γηυσία μήτηρ, οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλόκληρον ἐπένησεν τὸ σεπτότατον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὄντως θεάρεστον γύναιον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ὁμόζυγος αὐτῆς ἀπάρτι ἀπάρας ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆδε βίου πρὸς τὸν κύριον. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠγάπα καὶ τηλικούτον ἐπόθει, ὥστε συνεχῶς εἰς αὐτόν, ὅποταν ἦν ἔνδον, ἐνατενίζουσα διὰ τὴν παράδοξον ἐκεῖνου κατάστασιν ἐμακάριζεν τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἧ αὐτὸς ἐκ  
 210 γαστρὸς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον προεχώρησεν, καὶ κατεφίλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἠλόγει τὸν κύριον παρακαλοῦσα αὐτὸν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. Ἐδόκει γὰρ ὅτι πάντως καὶ ὡς οἶα πνευματικὸς αὐτῆς υἱὸς συνέσται αὐτῇ ἕως τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς.

183 γυμνοὶ<sup>1</sup> – 184 ἐκεῖ cf. Iob 1.21

#### D F<sup>1</sup> S H

183 οὐθέν F<sup>1</sup> S H τῆς κοιλίας τῆς F<sup>1</sup> S H | 184 δέον + ἐστὶν D | 185 τῶν χειρῶν < F<sup>1</sup> S H καὶ τιμωρουμένους] κατηγορημένους F<sup>1</sup> S H | 187 ἔπειτα < F<sup>1</sup> S H μετ’ αὐτῶν] μετὰ τῶν D ἔνδον < H | 188 τῶν] τῷ D φεροπόνως F<sup>1</sup> S H δὲ] τε F<sup>1</sup> S | 190 ἄπερ H | 191 αὐτῷ < D | 193 συσχολαστικῶν F<sup>1</sup> S H | 194 ἦν] ἐπέβαλεν D, < F<sup>1</sup> | 195 ἀφρίζων + καὶ H ἐσχόλαζεν ὁ σεβάσμιος H σεβάσμιος F<sup>1</sup> S H ἐσχόλαζεν] κατέπαυε D καί<sup>2</sup> < H εὐθέως + καὶ F<sup>1</sup> S H | 197 ἀνεγίνωσκεν S μὲν] δὲ καὶ D

age we do not possess anything ourselves, for *we went out naked from the womb of our mother, and naked we will also go there*, where we have to stay for endless ages, either being glorified according to the works of our hands in the Lord, or also being punished according to the multitude of our trespasses.”

After he had exhorted the boys by these and other words, he returned into <the town> with them again and cared diligently for the ecclesiastical things. At the nocturnal laudations he did not sit at all as it is the custom, but stood upright and prayed privately in his spirit, only moving his lips a little. For he knew God-given prayers, which that man had taught him when he came to him into the desert, and such prayers, that he said them sometimes openly; and then the place where he stood was seized by trembling, and those of his fellow pupils who heard him were at once struck by fright and fear. If there was anybody who had an impure spirit, he would immediately be oppressed by the spirit and would have screamed foaming, if not the most adorable one had devoted himself to prayer, and immediately the sick would be silent. When he was reading in church, he read without a mistake, sometimes being seized by his tears, sometimes also excelling by his spiritual smile; for he was inspired in a way corresponding to the meaning of the lecture. When he had some sleep, he always rested on the floor, and that secretly because of those who had him <in their house>.

For those who had received him <from baptism> and had him as their true son were two priests and brothers of the same blood who were very rich, and of whom one was unmarried, while the other lived together with a woman that was pleasing to God and very chaste. They did have no child at all, but they brought the blessed Gregentios up as their true son and dearest child, hoping also to have him as the heir of their property, although this did not happen to them. For when he went away, this most noble woman that was truly pleasing to God lamented him for a complete year, like the dearest one that had given birth to him and like a true mother, for her husband had also just departed from this life to the Lord. She loved him so much and desired him in such a way, that when he was at home, she continually stared at him because of his miraculous conduct and blessed the hour at which he had proceeded out of the womb of his mother into the world; she kissed his eyes and hands and praised the Lord, deprecating him to pray for her. For it seemed that at all events he would stay with her as a spiritual son until her last breath.

| 198 ἀναγιγνωσκομένων + και D | 199 ὕπνου – 200 αὐτόν < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 201 Ἐ δὲ· περι τῶν δύο ἱερέων τῶν ἀναδεξαμένων τὸν ὄσιον SH ἱερεῖς + οἱ αὐτοὶ D ἐτύγχανον F<sup>1</sup> SH αὐτόν < F<sup>1</sup> SH και<sup>2</sup> – 202 γνήσιον] οἷ τε D | 202 ἔπελεν] ἦν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 203 θεαρέστῳ και σωφρονεστάτῃ] και τᾶλλα θεαρέστως και σωφρονεστάτῃ βιώσει D δέ] γὰρ D τὸ σύνολον < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 204 υἱὸν < D | 205 αὐτοῖς + ἡ D | 206 ὅταν γὰρ] ὀπόταν D | 207 θεοσέβαστον F<sup>1</sup> SH και γὰρ και] κᾶν μέντοι D | 208 ἀπάρτι < F<sup>1</sup> SH ἦν < D τὸν < D | 209 γὰρ – τηλικούτων] δὲ ἡγάπα τὸν μακάριον και F<sup>1</sup> SH ὀπόταν ἦν ἔνδον < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 212 εὐλόγει D παρακαλοῦσα] παρακαλεῖ τε F<sup>1</sup> SH | 213 πάντως ὅτι D αὐτῆς < F<sup>1</sup> SH συνέσται] και συνίσταται D τῆς < D

- 215 Μιᾶ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν εἶδεν κατ' ὄναρ ἡ πνευματικὴ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ, ὡς ὅτι ἦν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς παράλιον τινὰ μεγίστης θαλάσσης, καὶ περιεπάτει ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων. Τῆς δὲ φωνούσης αὐτὸν ἔξω, μήποτε τί πονηρὸν συναντήσῃ αὐτόν, ἐκείνος μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον προχωρῶν καὶ αὐτῇ προετρέπετο ἐπακολουθῆσαι αὐτῷ. Ἡ δὲ φόβῳ συνεχομένη ὡς δῆθεν τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων φορᾶς οὐκ ἐπήρκεσεν αὐτῷ ἀκολουθῆσαι, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω προκόψας ἄφαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκείνης ἐγένετο. Αὐτὴ δὲ ὡς δῆθεν θρηνοῦσα δι' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον αὐτῆς τρυχομένη ὑπέστρεψεν. Πρωΐας οὖν γεγонуίας τεταραγμένη ἐτύγχανεν περὶ τούτου σφόδρα· ἐδόκει γὰρ ὅτι πάντως τελευτήσῃ καὶ αὐτός, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου πατὴρ ὁ πνευματικὸς, καὶ ἀποστερεῖται ἐκείνη καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς πνευματικῆς αὐτοῦ παραμυθίας, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ αὐτῆς μνηστήρος τὸ πρότερον.
- 220 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐωθινοῦ ὕμνου εὐκαιρήσας εἰσήει πρὸς αὐτὴν προσκυνήσων, καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὴν τεταραγμένην ἐπυθάνετο τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς σκυθρωπότητος. Ἡ δὲ ὄντως Ἄννα, ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Σαμουὴλ πνευματικὴ μήτηρ, ἀπεριέργως αὐτῷ ἐξείπεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ὁ δὲ πνευματικῆς διακρίσεως ἔμπλεος πέλων συνῆκεν τοῦ ὀραθέντος τὴν δύναμιν, οὐκ ἀπεκάλυπεν δὲ αὐτῇ ὅμως, μᾶλλον δὲ διέβαλε χυδιάσας τὸ ὄναρ, καὶ ὅτι· “Οὐ δέον,” φησίν, “ὦ μήτηρ μου τιμία, χριστιανοῖς οὖσιν ἡμῖν ὄνειροπολεῖσθαι ὡς ἐν ἀληθείαις τοῖς ὁράμασιν. Εἰ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ εἰς φῶς ἐξερχόμενα, πλὴν ἄδηλον τὸ ἐξευρεῖν τὴν ἀψευδῆ αἰτίαν τῆς τούτων συγκρίσεως. Θεοῦ γὰρ μόνου τούτου ἐστὶν συνιδεῖν, πότερον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν τὸ δηλωθὲν ἤδη, εἴτε ἀπὸ πειρατηρίου δαιμόνων καὶ χλεύης εὐρημάτων, εἴτε καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα καὶ φανταστικῆς ἐννοίας ἐξεύρεμα.” Ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα τινὰ προσειπὼν αὐτῇ, μόλις αὐτῆς τὸ κατηφές τε καὶ σκυθρωπὸν διέλυσεν. Ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίνατο· “Σὺ εἰ, τέκνον, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τοῦ βαρυτάτου ἐλαφρότης καὶ στήριγμα, καθότι ἐμοί, τέκνον, ἕτερον οὐ πρόσεσπιν εἰς παραμυθίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος παῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγους παρακλητικοὺς αὐτὴν ἐπιστηρίζας καὶ ἀγαθύνας οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπήει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσευχόμενος.
- 230 Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βαρβάρων πλῆθος τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις ἐπρρίψαν πάντα τὰ περικύκλω τῆς κώμης ἐκείνης ἦσαν τε καὶ ἠχμαλώτευσαν. Τῶν δὲ τῆς κώμης ἐπὶ τὸ πλησίον ἄστου Κοραδῶν μόλις προσπεφευγόντων ὁ μακάριος παῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐ συνῆκεν τὸ γεγονὸς κατὰ τὴν ὥραν. Μήκοθεν γὰρ τῆς κώμης ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελώσιν ἦν εὐκτῆριον τοῦ
- 245 ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ, κάκεισε ἦν τῇ προσευχῇ σχολάζων. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἐγίνωσκον,

227 Ἄννα – Σαμουὴλ cf. 1 Reg. 1.1

**D F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 221 τεταραγμένη [ **F**

216 μέγιστον **D** | 217 ἔξωθεν **H** συναντήσῃ αὐτόν] πάθη **F<sup>1</sup> S<sup>super lineam</sup> H** ἐκείνος – 218 προχωρῶν < **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 218 ταύτην **D** | 219 ἀκολουθῆσαι] συνοδεῦσαι **D** | 220 ἄφαντος + ἐγένετο **D** ἐγίνετο **F<sup>1</sup>** | 221 ἐτύγχανεν] ἦν **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 222 καθ' – 224 παραμυθίας < **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 224 σαρκικοῦ] πνευματικοῦ **D** αὐτῆς < **DF** | 225 εἰσήει] εἰσὶν **F** | 226 προσκυνήσων – αὐτῇν] οὖσαν **F<sup>1</sup> S<sup>super lineam</sup> H** | 228 πέλων] ὦν **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 229 ὁμως] ὀλως **H** | 230 δέον] ἐστὶν **D**, < **S H** ἡμετερ **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 231 ἐν < **D** ἐν ἀληθείαις] ἐν ἀληθῆς **D** ἀληθῆς **F** τῇ ἀληθείᾳ] ἀληθῆ **F<sup>1</sup> S H** | 232 τὸ] τοῦ **D** διακρίσεως **H**

Now one day his spiritual mother saw in a dream that she was with the boy on the shore of a very great sea, and he walked on top of the waters. When she called him out, in order that nothing evil should happen to him, he proceeded into it instead and gave her the order to follow him. She was seized by fear, it appeared to her, because of the onrush of the waters, and did not dare to follow him, whereas he went ahead and disappeared from her eyes. And as it appeared to her, she returned to her home, being consumed and lamenting him. So when morning came she was troubled very much about this, for it seemed to her that he would die at all events in the same way as his spiritual father, and she would rather be deprived of his spiritual consolation in the same way as of her fleshly consort before.

The blessed Gregentios went in to her in good time after the morning hymn to honour her, and when he saw her troubled he asked for the reason of her sadness. And this true Anna, the spiritual mother of the second Samuel, simply told him the truth. Being full of spiritual knowledge he understood the power of what she had seen, but nevertheless he did not reveal it to her, but rather calumniated the dream declaring it to be worthless, and said: "My worthy mother, since we are Christians, we should not interpret dreams as if they were true visions. Although many things are true and come to light, it is yet unclear how to find out a way for their interpretation without error. For only God understands whether the revealed things are actually his, or come from the temptation of demons and the jest of coincidence, or even are a product of our own mind and an invention of our phantastic thought." Saying these and some other words to her he was hardly able to dissolve her dejection and sadness. And she answered him: "My child, you are the light of my eyes which makes this very hard life easier and supports me, and there is nothing else, my child, for my consolation and relief." The blessed boy of Christ comforted her with consolating words gladdening her, and so left her and went to church for prayer.

A short time thereafter a large number of barbarians invaded that region and took everything around that town captive.<sup>9</sup> While the inhabitants of the town were able with toil and pain to flee to the nearby fortified place of Korada,<sup>10</sup> the blessed boy of Christ did not realise what had happened at this hour. For there was a chapel of the archangel

τοῦτο < D | 233 ἤδη < F<sup>1</sup> SH εἶτε] εἶγε F<sup>1</sup> SH δαιμόνων + ἐστὶν DF καὶ χλεῦς δαιμόνων  
εὐρεμα F<sup>1</sup> SH | 235 τὸ κατηφές αὐτῆς H τε < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 236 ἀπεκρίθη D τῶν] ὦν F<sup>1</sup> | 237 τούτου]  
τοῦδε F<sup>1</sup> S ἐλαφρόντης F<sup>1</sup> | 239 ἐπιστηρίδας + καὶ ἰλαρύνας F ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐξῆλθεν F<sup>1</sup> SH |  
241 ἐπιρρίψαν – 242 ἐκείνης < H τὰ < F<sup>1</sup> | 242 τε < DF τὸ < DF | 244 ἦν] ὑπῆρχεν εἰς DF |  
245 ἀσχολούμενος F<sup>1</sup> ἐνασχολούμενος SH οἱ] γὰρ DF ἐγίνωσκαν D

<sup>9</sup> Apparently the Avars themselves, see above, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> For a possible identification, see above, p. 15.

ὄτε ἀνακεχώρηκεν, ποῦ γε ἄρα ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἵνα προσφωνήσωσιν αὐτόν. Ἐδόκουν γὰρ ὅτι “ἴσως προέγγω”, φησίν, “καὶ ἀνακεχώρηκεν”. Μετὰ οὖν τὸ προσεῦξασθαι τὸν μακάριον ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου, ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ πρὶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ εἰδικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενόμενος καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τέκνον Γρη-  
 250 γέντιε, ἔξελθε ταχέως τῶν ἐνταῦθα, μήποτε ἐμπέσης εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀθέων βαρβάρων.” Καὶ διηγήσατο αὐτῷ τὸ συμβάν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ. Ἐξελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐκτηρίου ἐπάραντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ὄρωσιν ἔνθεν κάκειθεν περικύκλω αὐτῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐλαύνοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ζῶα καὶ ὄρνεις καὶ χοίρους συλλαμβάνοντας, ἐτέρους δὲ ἔλκοντας αἰχμαλώτους χειροπέδαις δεδεμένους, ἄλλους ἰχνηλατοῦ-  
 255 τας θάμνη καὶ οἰκίας, εἶπου ἀποκρυβέντα εὕρωσιν. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰ ἄωρα βρέφη ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντων μητέρων αὐτῶν πάλοις ὀξέσιν ἐσουβρίζον, ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ταῦτα ἠκόντιζον· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν κυθάρια μεμεστωμένα ὀξύσαντα γάλακτος καὶ τυρῶν χλοερῶν ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις τῶν ποιμνίων εὐρίσκοντες ταῦτα ταῖς πέτραις προσέτριβον ἀλαλάζοντες καὶ θορυβοῦντες καὶ ὅσα ἔξεσπιν εἰσπράττειν βαρβάρ-  
 260 ροις πολεμισταῖς.

Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα τὰ μέγιστα καὶ τραγωδίας ἀνάπλεα ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἑώρακεν, ὅλος δακρύων ἐπληρώθη καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἐληλυθότα πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου, πόθεν ἄρα ὀδεύσωμεν, ἵνα διαδράσωμεν τὰς χεῖρας τῶν παρανόμων τούτων; Ὡς ὄρῳ γὰρ κύκλω ἡμῶν ὡσεὶ πρόβατα περιέπονται.” Ἐφη πρὸς αὐτόν ἐκεῖνος· “Μηδὲν σοι, ὦ τέ-  
 265 κνον, πρὸς ταῦτα· οὐ γὰρ κέκτηνται χώραν παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καθότι κύριος φυλάσσει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀμαρτωλῶν ῥύσεται αὐτοῖς.” Καὶ τοῦτο εἰρηκῶς ἀπήει μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κάστρον εὐθείαν ὁδὸν ἀπάγουσαν. Περιήεσαν δὲ μέσον τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ δυνάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἄραι χεῖρα ἐπ’ αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξίστατο Γρηγέντιος. Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος διανύων τὴν ὁδὸν μετ’ αὐτοῦ προσωμίλει αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου μακαριότητος λέγων αὐτῷ· “Τέκνον μου φί-  
 270 τατον, σπούδασον εὐαρεστήσῃαι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς σου, διότι οὐράνιοι καὶ αἰώνιοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀτελεύτητοι ὀφείλομεν εἶναι μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἐάνπερ καλῶς ἐνταῦθα τῷ θεῷ λειτουργήσωμεν καὶ γενώμεθα ναὸς τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος. Ἀπολαύσωμεν δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἐν χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀκραιβνεστάτῃ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὅπου ἄγγελοι ἐκπλήττονται καὶ ἀρχάγγελοι ἐν στολαῖς ἀπορρήτοις περιπατοῦσιν ἡμφιεσμένοι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένοι ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ὅπου ἀπόστολοι κάθηνται ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνων ὑπερλάμπρων καὶ πυριμόρφων, καὶ ἡ καλλονὴ αὐτῶν δρόσος καὶ μέλι ἀσύγκρι-

265 κύριος – 266 αὐτοῦς Ps. 96.10 | 273 γενώμεθα – 274 πνεύματος cf. 1 Cor. 6.19

#### D F<sup>1</sup> F S H

246 ὄτε] ὅτι D ἀνεχώρηκεν D ἀνακεχώρηκασιν F<sup>1</sup> S, + ἢ H προσφωνήσουσιν H | 247 φησίν < F<sup>1</sup> SH ἀνεχώρηκεν D | 248 πρὶν] πρῶην F<sup>1</sup> SH | 249 παραγενόμενος F<sup>1</sup> SH καὶ – αὐτόν < DF | 250 τῶν<sup>1</sup> < F | 251 αὐτοῦ < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 252 ἐπάρας – αὐτοῦ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 254 δὲ < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 255 εἶπου] ὅπου F<sup>1</sup> SH, + τὸ οἰονοῦν DF ἀποκρυβέντας H εὐρήσωσιν DF | 256 ἐπούγλιζον DF | 257 ἕτεροι

Michael far away from the town in the vineyards, and there he devoted himself to prayer. But not even his people knew when he had gone away and where he was, so that they could have called him. For they said: “Perhaps he foresaw it and went away.” Now when the blessed one had prayed in the chapel of the archangel, behold, that man appeared who had come to him before privately in the desert, went into the chapel and said to him: “My child Gregentios, leave this place quickly that you may not fall into the hands of the godless barbarians.” And he told him what had happened to his native town. And when they left the chapel and raised their eyes, they saw here and there the attacking barbarians around them; some of them took cattle, chicken and pigs away with them, others dragged captives about which were bound with handcuffs, others searched bushes and houses, whether they could find someone who had hidden himself. Some of the barbarians even robbed the young babies from their captive mothers and impaled them on sharp spits, others threw them into the river; and some of them smashed the earthen pots full of sour milk and fresh cheese, which they had found at the folds of the flocks, on the rocks, shouting loud and making a tumult and whatever barbarian warriors usually do.

Now when the blessed Gregentios saw these great and tragic events, he was completely filled with tears and said to the man who had come to him: “My lord, where can we go that we may escape the hands of these unlawful men? For you see that they surround us in a circle like sheep.” That man said to him: “Do not care about this, my child, for they have not been given way from the Lord to us, for *the Lord guards the souls of his holy ones and will redeem them from the hands of the sinners.*” And when he had said this, he went with the boy the straight way that led to the castle. They passed between the battle-line of the barbarians, and there was none of them who would have been able to raise his hands against them, and Gregentios was astonished. And that man accomplished the way with him speaking to him about eternal bliss, and said to him: “My dearest child, be eager to please the Lord our God well in all the days of your life, for we must be heavenly and eternal men without end after we have passed away from this world, if we want to serve God there well and to become a temple of the all-holy Ghost. Let us rejoice forever and ever together with our Lord Jesus Christ himself in the great and pure joy of the kingdom of heaven, where angels are astonished and archangels walk around, clad in ineffable robes and beautiful like the sun, where the apostles sit on twelve exceedingly bright and fiery thrones, and their beauty is incomparable dew

– ἡκόντιζον] S<sup>margin</sup>, < F<sup>1</sup> H ἐκόντιζον H και – 259 προσέτριβον < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 259 εισπράττοντες F<sup>1</sup> SH | 261 μέγιστα και] μεγίστης DF ἀνάμπλεα D | 262 μου < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 263 τὰς χείρας] ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν DF παρανόμων τούτων] βαρβάρων F<sup>1</sup> SH | 264 περιέποντα DF ὦ < F<sup>1</sup> SH πρὸς ταῦτα τέκνον H | 266 τὰς < DF και < DF ῥύεται F<sup>1</sup> SH | 267 ἐπὶ] πρὸς D τοῦ κάστρου H | 268 δὲ] τε F<sup>1</sup> SH | 269 χεῖραν F διανῶν F ὁδὸν + αὐτοῦ D μετ’ < F<sup>1</sup> | 272 και αἰῶνιοι ἄνθρωποι < DF | 274 ἀγίου F<sup>1</sup> SH | 275 ἀκραίφνεσάτη < F<sup>1</sup> SH τῆς βασιλείας] και τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ DF βασιλείας + αὐτοῦ F<sup>1</sup> SH | 277 και < DF κάθηται F



τον ταῖς ἐπουρανόαις δυνάμεσιν. Ἐκεῖ, τέκνον μου, ἐορτῆ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλη οὐδέποτε  
 280 τέλος παραδεχομένη καὶ γλυκύτης ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας ἀνερμήνευτος, ἥς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν κορεσθῆναι, ὅπου μάρτυρες καὶ προφήται καὶ ἀπόστολοι,  
 ὅσοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνακληθήσονται πράγματα  
 ἐσθίοντες, ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπων λαλήσαι γλώσση γηῖνη, πράγματα δὲ νοητὰ καὶ ἀπόρρη-  
 285 τα, ἅπερ ἡ τριάς ἡ ἁγία πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου δεδημιούργηκεν ταῖς φιλοθέοις ψυχαῖς  
 ταῖς διὰ παντὸς μισούσας τὴν βδελυρὰν ἁμαρτίαν. Ἄμαρτίαν γὰρ ποιήσας ὁ πρῶτος  
 ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ Ἑδὲμ ἐδιώχθη τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ τῆς τρυφῆς· μέγα γὰρ χαλεπὸν ἁμαρτία,  
 ἐπικατάρατον εἶδος ψυχᾶς ἀποκταίνουσα καὶ χωρίζουσα θεοῦ ἐν μιᾷ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ.”  
 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ προσομιλοῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ μόνου γνωστόν, ὅσπς ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος. Τὸ δὲ  
 290 παιδίον Γρηγέντιος δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχε τὸ θεοειδὲς αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ·  
 “Δέομαί σου, μὴ παύσῃ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην ἐκτενωῶς καθικετεύων διὰ  
 παντὸς καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ οἴκετου σου, ὅπερ εὐδοῶσει κύριος.”

Οὕτως οὖν αὐτῶν προσομιλούντων προσήγγισαν τῷ ὀχυρώματι καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰσέναι αὐ-  
 τοὺς διὰ τῆς Ῥωμανησίου πύλης ὁ θεοδώρητος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.  
 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἀπῆει πρὸς τοὺς γνησίους αὐτοῦ καὶ εὗρεν αὐτοὺς πενθοῦντας  
 295 καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντας δι’ αὐτόν. Ἡ δὲ πνευματικὴ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου, ὡς  
 ἐθεάσατο αὐτόν, ὄλη χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἐγένετο ἀνάπλεος καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς  
 εὐθέως εἰς ὕψος ἄρρασα τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ὑπερεδόξαζεν. Ἐδόκει γὰρ ἄνευ παντοίας  
 ἐπινοίας ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸν περιπεπτωκέαι, φέρουσα εἰς βεβαίωσιν καὶ τὸ  
 ὄναρ, ὅπερ ἦν πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας θεασαμένη δι’ αὐτόν, καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· “Ποῦ διῆγες, ὦ  
 300 τέκνον παμφίλτατον, καὶ ὀδύνη χαλεπωτάτη περιέσπειράς μου τὴν καρδίαν; Προσεδο-  
 κοῦμεν γὰρ μηκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεσθαί σε διὰ τὸ ἐμπεπτωκέαι σε ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ἐπαρά-  
 των καὶ ἀθέων βαρβάρων.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτήν· “Αἶ εὐχαί σου,  
 κυρία μου, βοηθέ μου, ἐν κινδύνοις κατώφθησαν· μέσον γὰρ τῶν διακοπῶν αὐτῶν παρήκα  
 καὶ οὐ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀδικῆσαι με.” Τοῦτο μὲν εἶρηκεν, τὸν δὲ τέλειον  
 305 σκοπὸν ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτῇ εἰδῶς φυλάσσειν μυστήρια. Εὐχαριστησάντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἀμφο-  
 τέρων τὸν θεὸν παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὸν σκοπὸν μεμάθηκεν ἠγαθήσθη-  
 σεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐκ τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς αὐτὸν ῥυσάμενον, καὶ προσελθὼν  
 κατεφίλει τοῦ φιλάτου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄμματα ἐναγκαλιζόμενος αὐτὸν γνησίως καὶ δα-  
 κρύων εὐμενῶς.

310 Οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ οὖν καὶ τὸ μιαρὸν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ὑπεχώρησεν, καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐν ἁ-  
 δεῖα ὡς τὸ πρότερον ἐχρημάτιζον. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει

**D F<sup>1</sup> F S H** | 288 ἦν **F<sup>1</sup>**]

279 μου] ἐμόν DF οὐδέπω DF | 280 καὶ καρδίας < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 281 τῶν οὐρανῶν < D ὅπου – 284  
 ἀπόρρητα < F<sup>1</sup> SH | 285 μισοῦσιν F<sup>1</sup> SH | 286 γὰρ + καὶ F<sup>1</sup> S | 287 ἐπικατάρατον εἶδος < F<sup>1</sup> SH |  
 288 γνωστόν] ἐγνωσταί SH ἦν] εἶη DF | 290 ἐμοῦ] ἡμῶν F τῶν ὄλων] κύριον καὶ SH διὰ παντὸς  
 < SH | 291 τῆς < DF ὅπερ εὐδοῶσει κύριος < SH εὐδοῶσειεν DF | 292 οὖν < SH προσήγγισαν  
 H | 293 ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος SH | 295 δι’ αὐτόν καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντας SH | 296 ἐγεγόνει DF ἀνάπλεος

and honey for the heavenly powers. There, my child, is a feast of the saints which never has an end, inexplicable sweetness of soul and heart, by which the angels of heaven themselves desire to be satiated, where martyrs, prophets and apostles, holy and righteous men and all the chosen ones of heaven will recline, eating things which the earthly tongue of men cannot tell, mental and ineffable things which the holy Trinity has made before the creation of the world for the God-loving souls which hate abominable sin forever. For when the first man sinned in Eden, he was expelled from joy and sweetness, for sin is a very bad thing, something accursed which kills the souls and separates them from God within one moment of time.” This is what he spoke to him, and it was known to God alone who that man was. And the child Gregentios moistened his God-like face with tears and said to him: “I pray you do not cease to forever entreat the Master of all earnestly for me and for the salvation of your servant, for which the Lord may find a way.”

Now while they were speaking to each other, they approached the fortification, and when they went in through the Rhomanesios gate,<sup>11</sup> that God-given man disappeared from him. The blessed Gregentios went to his family and found them lamenting and being sad about him. His spiritual mother was completely filled with joy and gladness by the miracle of seeing him, and raised up her hands immediately and greatly glorified the Saviour and Lord. For she believed without any further thought that he had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, presenting as a proof also the dream she had seen before that day about him, and she said to him: “Where did you stay, my dearest child, and have wound the worst pain around my heart? For we expected that we would never see you again anymore because you had fallen into the hands of the accursed and godless barbarians.” And the blessed one answered and said to her: “Your prayers, my lady, my helper, were received in dangers, for I went through between their divisions, and the Lord did not allow them to do me wrong.” This he said to her, but hid the complete event, since he knew to keep secrets. When they had both thanked God, his father also came, and when he learned about the event, he also thanked God who had redeemed him from such a misfortune, approached and kissed the eyes of his dearest son, embracing him sincerely and weeping kindly.

Now a short time thereafter that abominable people also withdrew, and thereafter they lived again without fear as before. The blessed Gregentios persisted in prayer and

D | 297 εὐθέως < SH | 299 ἦγες D | 300 παμφίλτατον] παμφιλέστατον F μου φίλτατον SH | 301 τοῦ λοιποῦ DF | 302 αἱ εὐχαί] εὐχαῖς SH | 303 καθώφθησαν SH | 305 σκοπὸν + αὐτοῦ H αὐτῆ] αὐτὴν DF, + ὡς H οὖν < F | 308 υἱοῦ < F H υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ S ἐναγκαλιζόμενος + τε SH | 310 ἐκεῖνο < D ἔπειτα < DF ἐν ἀδείᾳ πάλιν SH

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 17.

προσεκαρτέρει νηστείαις σχολάζων και σκληραγωγίαις νύκτωρ και μεθ' ἡμέραν, και ταῖς μελέταις τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἐνασχολούμενος ἠδέως ἐκστήθιζεν και τὸ θεῖον ψαλτήριον.

- Μιᾶ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἕαρος ἡμέραις, καθὰ εἰώθη πολλάκις μεταναστεύειν  
 315 κατὰ μόνας ἐν ἡσυχῇ τόπῳ και προσεύχεσθαι, πορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀμπελώσιν τῆς πνευματικῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς κατ' ἰδίαν ἦν ἐκεῖσε προσέχων κατὰ ἀνατολὰς και ἐστῶς και προσευχόμενος. Ὅταν Μετὰ οὖν ἰκανὴν ὥραν ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκτενέστερον προσήχετο, και γεγονότος αὐτοῦ ἐξαίφνης ἐν ἐκστάσει βλέπει στύλον πυρὸς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς, οὐτινος ἢ κορυφή ἔπελεν φθάνουσα ἕως τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ  
 320 ἔπειτα πάλιν ὄρα στύλον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιῶν δεξιόθεν τοῦ πυρίνου στόλου, οὐτινος ἢ κορυφή ἠρτητο ἕως ἡμίσεως τοῦ στόλου τοῦ πυρίνου. Καὶ ἐν τῷ προσέχειν αὐτὸν τῇ θεωρίᾳ ὄρα, και ἰδοὺ ἠλλάγησαν αἱ ὁμοιώσεις τῶν στόλων ἑκατέρων· και ὁ μὲν πυρίνος στύλος ἐγγεγόνει πορφυροειδῆς ἐχρῴσμενος ἀπ' ἄνωθεν ἕως τῶν κατωτάτω ὠραιόμορφος σφόδρα, ὁ δὲ στύλος ὁ πέλων λευκὸς ὡσεὶ χιῶν ἐγένετο και αὐτὸς κεκαθαρμένος ἐπταπλάσιον ὑπὲρ τὸ χρυσοῖον τὸ διάπυρον. Ὅταν δὲ κατοπτεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην θεωρίαν και ἐκπληττομένου ἐπὶ τῇ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐναλλαγῇ αὐτῶν προσσχῶν ἐπὶ ἅπαξ ὄρα, και ἰδοὺ ὁ  
 325 πορφυρόχρους στύλος ἐκεῖνος ἀθρῶν μετατραπεῖς αὐτοφυῆς, και καθαρὰ ὠράθη αὐτῷ ἢ ὑπερένδοξος και ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος και ἀειπαρθένος Μαρία. Ὅταν δὲ ὠραία τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα, πᾶσαν ἐννοίαν τῇ φαιδρότητι τῆς καλλίστης εὐμορφίας ὑπερακοντίζουσα και τῇ  
 330 ἀπορρήτῳ λαμπρότητι πᾶσαν ὄρασιν ὑπερεκπίπτουσα. Τὸ δὲ μήκος αὐτῆς ὡς προλέεσται ἐπημέμενος ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη μέχρι τῶν ἀψίδων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ὅρα δὲ πρὸς τὸν νεανίαν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἦν ἐστῶς και προσευχόμενος. Ὅταν δὲ διάλευκος στύλος ὁ εἰς τιμαλφέστερον εἶδος χρυσοῖου μεταβληθεὶς και ἀλλοιωθεὶς και αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ἐγγεγόνει εἰς ὁμοιότητα ἐνός τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν τοῦ κυρίου· ὁ τῆς βροντῆς γὰρ γόνος Ἰωάννης οὗτος ἦν, τό τε γὰρ εὐαγγέλιον κατεῖχεν και τὸ ἰσαγγέλιον εἶδος δηλοποιῶν αὐτὸν ὑπεδείκνυεν.

- Ὅταν οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως εἶχε τὸν τρόπον, εἰς τίς νεανίας πόθεν ἐλθὼν ἔστη ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκείνων φαιδρότητας, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡς τὸ φῶς. Προσομιλήσας τε ἐκεῖνος ἴδια πινὰ μυστήρια πρὸς τὸν παῖδα κυρίου παρεγένετο και ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 340 “Γρηγένπε, βλέπεις τοὺς ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου ἐστῶτας; Οὗτοι εἰσὶν οἱ σὲ περιφανῶς ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι και τὰ σὰ διαβήματα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς συντηροῦντες. Ἐπίγνωθι οὖν αὐτούς, εἰ ἄρα συνίης τίνες ἄρα οὗτοι πεφήνασιν.” Ὅταν δὲ συνήκεν αὐτούς και ἀπηγγέλει αὐτῷ τίνες εἰσὶν, ἔπειτα ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεανίας·

334 βροντῆς – Ἰωάννης cf. Mc. 3.17

### DFSH

312 σχολάζων post σκληραγωγίαις H νύκτωρ τε SH | 313 ἀπεστήθιζεν SH | 314 ἐν μιᾷ SH [ἕαρος] ἕαρ DF ἄερος SH πολλάκις post μόνας D μεταναστεύειν < D | 316 μητρὸς] κυρίας DF κατὰ] πρὸς SH και ἐστῶς < SH | 317 Ἐ· περι τῆς ὀπτασίας τῶν δύο σπηλιῶν, τοῦ πυρίνου και τοῦ λευκοῦ SH τὴν χεῖρα S | 318 αἰφνης SH | 319 ἔπελεν] ἦν SH | 320 ἔπειτα < SH | 321 πυριπλούου στόλου DF | 322 στόλων + τῶν SH και<sup>2</sup> – στόλος bis F | 323 ἐγένετο H

supplication, devoting himself to fasting and austerity by night and day, and being engrossed into the study of the divine Scriptures he sweetly learned the divine Psalter by heart.

Now one day in the days of springtime, as he often used to wander alone to a silent place and pray, he went to the vineyards of his spiritual mother and was there privately, looking to the east, standing there and praying. Now after a considerable time he stretched out his hands to the height of heaven and prayed fervently, and when he suddenly fell in ecstasy he saw a pillar of fire in the east, whose top reached the clouds of the sky. And then again he saw a pillar white as snow to the right hand of the fiery one, whose top reached half the height of the fiery pillar. And when he looked at the vision, behold, the appearances of both pillars changed, and the fiery pillar became coloured in the colour of purple from above down to the lowest part and was very beautiful, whereas the pillar which was white as snow also became pure, seven times more than the flaming gold. And when he still looked at this vision and was astonished by their sudden change, watching it once more he looked, and behold, that purple-coloured pillar was suddenly transformed by itself, and the most glorious and most holy Mother of God and perpetual Virgin Mary clearly appeared to him. She was of very beautiful shape, surpassing all understanding by the splendour of her beautiful form and exceeding all sight by her ineffable brightness. And her stature, as it has been said before, was exalted into the heights until the arches of heaven. And she looked unto the youth, to the place where he stood and prayed. Also the white pillar, which had been changed and altered into the shape of precious gold, acquired by this miracle the similarity of one of the four Evangelists of the Lord; for he was John, the son of thunder, who held the Gospel revealing his angel-like shape, and pointed to him.

Now when all this had happened in such a way, a youth who had come from somewhere appeared in front of their splendour, and his shape was white as the light. And announcing some mysteries to the boy of the Lord, he approached him, answered and said to him: “Gregentios, do you see those who stand before your eyes? These are the ones that evidently help you and direct your paces in the name of the Lord towards the good things. Now try to recognise them, whether you understand who these appear to be.” After he recognised them and announced to him who they were, the youth answered and said to him:

πορφυροειδῆ F ἔχροασμένος SH ἀπ’ ἐπ’ DF κατωτάτω ὠραιόμορφος] κατωτάτων καὶ ἔπλεον ὡς τὸ οἶον ὠραιόμορφον DF | 324 πέλων] ὦν SH κεκαθαρμένος καὶ αὐτὸς SH | 325 αὐτήν F | 327 καὶ καθαρὰ ὠράθη] καθωράθη SH | 328 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < H | 330 ὡς προλέλεκται] ὡσπερ λέλεκται H | 331 δὲ + τὰ DF | 332 ἦν < DF εἰς τιμαλφέστερον εἶδος] τιμαλφέστερος εἶδους SH | 333 χρυσοῦ + περιφανέστερος DF καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DF | 335 καὶ – 336 ὑπεδείκνυεν < D δηλοποιοῦν SH αὐτήν DF | 337 οὖν + δὲ SH τὸν τρόπον < SH εἰς τίς] εἴστη H ἐλθὼν + οὐ γινώσκω H | 338 τε] δὲ D ἐκείνους SH | 339 ἔφη] ἔ H | 340 εἰσὶν < D | 341 διανοήματα D τηροῦντες D | 342 οὖν < SH ἄρα<sup>1</sup> + καὶ SH ἄρα<sup>2</sup> < D οὐτοὶ < F | 343 αὐτούς] τοῦσδε εἶναι SH εἰσὶν] εἶεν DF ἔπειτα < SH

“Γινώσκων γνῶθι, ὅτι οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τῆσδε τῆς πατρίδος ἀποξενωθήσει καὶ τὸ ὑπό-  
 345 λοιπὸν ἔτος τῆς ἐν γῆ διατριβῆς σου ξένην βιωτὴν βιωτεύων ἐπὶ ξένης λοιπὸν διατρίψεις.  
 Πλὴν χεὶρ κυρίου ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ’ οἷς  
 σὺ ἐνδιάγεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τέλους ἄξει σε τὰ κρίματα τῆς ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ χλό-  
 ην ζωῆς πανενδόξου. Καὶ ὑψωθήσει ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου καὶ γενήσει  
 350 στάθμη δικαιοσύνης τῶν διανοημάτων σου, καὶ ἀλήθειαν γράψει κύριος ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις  
 τῶν φυλῶν τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ εἰλίσει σωφροσύνην τῇ ὀσφύϊ σου, καὶ εὐθύτης ἦξει σοι  
 παρ’ αὐτῷ διὰ γνώσεως καὶ νίκης τρόπαια ἰσχυροτάτως ἐν ἀνδρεία βραβεύσει σοι καὶ  
 ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου σου ὡς ποταμὸς βλυστάνων πηγὴν ῥέουσας μέλι καὶ γάλα ὀμβρηθή-  
 355 σεται σοι, θυρεὸς τε σοι δοθήσεται ὡς διὰ χρυσοῦ πεπυρακτωμένου καὶ μάχαιρα δίστο-  
 μος ὡς σίδηρος πεπυρωμένη καὶ ἡ περικεφαλαία ὡς ἀστραπὴ ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἡ διανομὴ  
 τοῦ λόγου ὡς φωνὴ βροντῶσα καὶ καταράσσουσα τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. Καὶ πᾶς ἐχθρὸς καὶ  
 πολέμιος ὡς ὁ χοῦς τῆς γῆς πεσεῖται ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας σου, καὶ ἔσται σοι δόξα καὶ τιμὴ καὶ  
 εὐπρέπεια καὶ ὠραιότης καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ κράτος πνευματικῶν καὶ σωτηρία καὶ τὰ ταύτης  
 ἀσύγκριτα καὶ ἀναρίθμητα ἔγγονα. Οὐκοῦν πράξις αἰσθητὴ καὶ νοερά ὡσεὶ βοτάνη τίς  
 360 ξηρά σοι ἐγχειρισθήσεται, καὶ ἄρτος αἰσθητὸς καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων σοι ἐμπιστευθήσεται,  
 οἶνος τε ὁ τοῦ σωτηρίου καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ τῆς ἐντεύξεως καὶ τὸ νᾶμα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὸ χρί-  
 σμα καὶ τὸ μῦθρον, καὶ τὴν δρόσον τὴν Ἀερμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος σοι παρέξουσιν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Καὶ  
 λειτουργήσεις αὐτῷ τῷ ἐν τριάδι θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπηρετήσεις αὐτῷ καὶ δουλεύσεις χρίων  
 365 καὶ τελειῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐτοιμάζων τῇ χρηστότητι αὐτοῦ λαὸν περιούσιον, μέχρις ὅτε τρα-  
 φῆς ἐν γῆρι πίονι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπελεύσει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου τευξόμενος  
 τῆς μεγίστης χαρᾶς τοῦ κυρίου σου διὰ παντός, καὶ τὸ *εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ* ἐνω-  
 τίσθησει γηθόμενος καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς ἀσχολούμενος.” Ταῦτα αὐτῷ εἰρηκῶς ὁ νεανίας ἐκεῖ-  
 370 κετο πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστείλαντας, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις εὐθέως ἀφίπτατο ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.

Εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ γεγονῶς ὁ τιμώτατος παῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀποκαλυφθέντα αὐτῷ  
 παρὰ κυρίου καταστοχασάμενος, ἐκ βαθέων στενάξας καὶ οἰμωξάμενος ἔφη· “Κύριε  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, τὰ σοὶ δόξαντα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναξίῳ παιδί σου ὠκονόμησον· κύριε, ποιητὰ οὐρα-  
 375 νοῦ καὶ δημιουργὲ τῆς γῆς, τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι εὐδόκησον· σὺ γὰρ  
 εἶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, θεὸς τε καὶ κύριος, θεὸς τοῦ ἔλεεῖν καὶ σώζειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν  
 τοῖς ταπεινοῖς σὴ κελεύσει καὶ σὴ προστάξει τὰ πάντα εὐμαριζῶν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ κἄντε ἐνταῦ-

348 ὑψωθήσει – βουνῶν cf. Is. 2.2 | 360 ἄρτος – ἀγγέλων cf. Ps. 77.25 | 362 τὴν<sup>1</sup> – Ἀερμῶν cf.  
 Ps. 132.3 | 366 ἀπελεύσει – σου cf. Gen. 15.15 | 367 εὖ – πιστὲ Mt. 25.23 | 374 σὺ – 375 ἡμῶν cf.  
 Is. 63.16

#### D F S H

345 βιωτεύων] ξενητεύων SH λοιπὸν < SH | 346 ἔστω F | 347 ἐνδιάξεις S διάξεις H ἄξει σε|  
 ἄξεται F | 348 οὐρανῶν DF | 349 ἑῶα < H ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν F και<sup>2</sup> – 356 ὑπεναντίους < SH |

“Know that after a short time you will be estranged from your native country and will live a life as a stranger in a strange land for the remaining time of your sojourn on earth. But the hand of the Lord will be with you in every moment and every place of his realm where you stay, and finally the judgements of his ineffable power will lead you to the green meadow of your all-glorious life. And you will be exalted above the mountains of this world, and you will become most glorious and famous at the eastern borders of the world under heaven, which will be girded by the righteous rule of your thoughts, and the Lord will write truth into the outlets of the tribes of your heart and will gird your loins with prudence, and straightness will come to you from him by his knowledge, and he will issue trophies of victory to you, being most strong in manliness, and words of your eternal life will be raining on you like a river which gushes forth a source flowing with honey and milk, and a shield will be given to you as gold tempered by fire, and a double-edged sword proved like iron, and a helmet like a bolt of lightning from the east, and your distribution of the word will be like a thundering voice which breaks the enemies to pieces. And every hostile enemy will fall under your feet like the dust of the earth, and there will be glory and honour for you, magnificence and beauty, peace and spiritual power and salvation and all the incomparable and innumerable descendants of it. So a perceptible and mental task will be handed over into your hand like a dry plant, and bread, perceptible and that of the angels will be entrusted to you, and the wine of salvation, the water of intercession and the liquid of life, the unguent and anointment and the dew of Hermon will be offered to you by the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God. And you will serve and do service to God who is in the Trinity, anointing and appointing and preparing his elected people in his goodness, until you will reach a high age, and then you also will pass away to your fathers, attaining the great joy of your Lord forever, and you will hear the word *Well, my good and faithful servant*, being engaged with good things.” When that youth had said this to him adding “peace to you, servant of our saviour Jesus Christ”, he went to him and to those who had sent him, and immediately the vision flew away from his eyes.

When the most worthy boy of Christ had regained conscience and considered the things that had been revealed to him by the Lord, he said sighing deeply and lamenting: “Lord Jesus Christ, decide on your unworthy child what seems right to you; Lord, maker of heaven and creator of the earth, find pleasure to let the good and useful things happen to me, for you are our Father, God and Lord, the God of mercy and salvation, who arranges all for the benefit of us humble ones by your order and command. For

350 δικαιοσύνη DF | 357 και τιμή < D | 359 ὡσεὶ] ὡς SH | 360 και<sup>1</sup> – ἐμπιστευθήσεται < DF  
 πιστευθήσεται S ἐμπιστευθήσεται H | 361 και<sup>3</sup> < SH | 362 δρόσον τε DF | 363 και<sup>1</sup> < DF |  
 365 αὐτῷ < SH ὅτε] ὅτι DF | 367 ἀγαθὲ < D ἐνωτίσει DF | 368 αὐτῷ εἰρηκῶς] αὐτοῦ εἰρηκῶτος  
 DF | 370 ἀφίπτετο DF | 371 γενόμενος DF παῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ < SH | 372 στοχασάμενος D  
 στενάξας καὶ] τε στεναγμῶν DF | 376 εὐμαρίζων] εὐάρμωσον DF

θα ἔσομαι, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἀποστείλεις τὸν δοῦλον σου, καὶ ὡσαύτως δοῦλος σου εἰμί, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πνευματικῇ σου ἐργασίᾳ χαρήσομαι καὶ ἀδολεσχῆσω ἀπὸ πρῶϊας μέχρι ἐσπέρας. Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ γέγραπται τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν· *Ἐξελεύσεται*, φησὶν, 380 *ἄνθρωπος* ἐκ γαστρὸς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον *ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ* τὸ πνευματικόν, τὸ νενομοθετημένον αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίου, *καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ* τὴν ἐνάρετον ἕως τῆς τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ *ἐσπέρας*. Τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; *Πάντα γὰρ ματαιότης τὰ σύμπαντα*, ὁ δὲ βίος σκιά καὶ ἐνύπνιον.”

Ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλογισάμενος ηὐχαρίστησεν τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ γεγονῶς ἔνδον 385 αὐτοῦ καὶ λαβόμενος βιβλὸν καὶ καθεσθεὶς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τὸν βίον ἀνεγίνωσκεν. Ἡ δὲ πνευματικὴ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἅμα ταῖς θεραπαίνισιν αὐτῆς καθεζομένη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἠδέως αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν ἀναγινώσκοντος καὶ ἐγεγήθει εὐφραينوμένη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. Τῆς δὲ ὥρας τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀπαντησάσης καὶ τινων φίλων αὐτῆς ἐλληλυθότων ἢ ὄντως φιλόξενος πρὸς ἐστίασιν αὐτοῦ προετρέφατο. Ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ εὐχαριστούντων τῷ κυρίῳ 390 καὶ τινα πνευματικὰ προσομιλούντων (πνευματικοὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανον οἱ παραγεγονότες) ὑπολαβοῦσα ἡ πνευματικὴ μήτηρ τοῦ θεοπεσίου Γρηγεντίου ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς ἀνακεκλημένους τοῦ παιδὸς ἤδη ἔξαναστάντος· “Κύριοί μου, παράδοξόν τι ἐν ὁράματι τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς τεθέαμαι περὶ τοῦ φιλάτου μου παιδὸς Γρηγεντίου. Καὶ μέντοι βούλομαι εἰρηκέναι, καθότι ἐκ θεοῦ πρόσεσπιν ἡ τηλικαύτη περὶ τοῦδε δήλωσις, καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν λογιζομαι, μήποτε ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας τόδε περίεσπιν. Ἐν τούτοις μερίζεται μου ἡ διάνοια 395 καὶ τί πάθω οὐκ οἶδα.” Εἷς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦνομα Σέργιος ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον δηλοποίησον ἡμῖν, ὅπερ ἑώρακας δι’ αὐτόν, ἴσως εἰσόμεθα καὶ ἐροῦμεν τῇ κυρίᾳ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὠφέλειαν.”

Ἡ δὲ σεμνοτάτη ἐκείνη γυνὴ ἀποκριθεῖσα ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ὁμην ἐστάναι ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ καὶ ἰδοῦ, ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἔμπροσθέν μου ἴστατο καὶ ὡσεὶ τόξου βολῆ· ἐβλέπομεν δὲ οἱ ἀμφότεροι πρὸς ἀνατολάς. Ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ἰδοῦ, ἀπὸ δεξιόθεν ἀνὴρ τίς παρεγένετο πρὸς τὸν παῖδα ἑοικώς εἰς πάντα τῷ θεοπεσίῳ Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἔστη πλησίον αὐτοῦ ὑποψιθυρίζων ὡς πρὸς τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ τινα μυστήρια. Βλέπω οὖν, καὶ ἰδοῦ πληθὸς λευσημονούντων ἐξ ἀνατολῶν κηροῦς ὑφάπτοντες καὶ σίγνα καὶ 405 σταυροῦς χρυσοῦς κατέχοντες· καὶ ἦλθον καὶ ἔστησαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ παιδίου ψάλλοντες· *Κύριε φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου, τίνα φοβηθήσομαι* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ ψαλμοῦ. Ὁρῶ οὖν

379 *ἐξελεύσεται* – 382 *ἐσπέρας* Ps. 103.23 | 382 *πάντα* – 383 *σύμπαντα* cf. Ps. 38.6; Eccl. 1.2 ec. | 406 *κύριε* – φοβηθήσομαι Ps. 26.1

#### DFSH

377 *δοῦλον*] *παῖδα* SH καὶ ὡσαύτως < SH | 378 *χαρήσομαι* καὶ < SH | 379 *πρῶϊας μέχρι*] *πρῶϊ* ἕως SH *μέχρις* F οὕτω SH καὶ < SH *φρονοῦσιν* + ὅτι SH *φησὶν* post ὅτι SH, post *ἄνθρωπος* F | 380 *γαστρὸς*] *τῆς* H | 381 *αὐτοῦ* < H | 384 *λογισάμενος* H | 385 *καὶ*<sup>1</sup> < DF *καθίσας* DF | 386 *πνευματικὴ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ*] *κυρία αὐτοῦ* DF | 387 *φαιδρυνομένη* DF | 390 *ἐτύγχανον*] *ὑπῆρχον* SH | 391 *ὑπολαβοῦσα* < SH ἢ + δὲ SH *μήτηρ*] *κυρία* DF *θεοπεσίου ἁγίου παιδὸς* S *παιδὸς* H | 392 *τῆσδε* < DF | 393 *περὶ* + δὲ DF | 394 *τηλικαύτη*] *περὶ ταύτη* DF *τοῦδε*] τοῦ τούτου S τούτου

whether I will be here or you send your servant elsewhere, I am your servant in the same way, my Lord God, and will rejoice and converse in your spiritual work from morning until evening. For so it is written for the prudent ones: *Man*, it is said, *will go out* of the womb of his mother into this world *for his* spiritual work which has been ordained to him by the Lord, *and on earth for his* virtuous work until the evening of his death. For what is this to me and the world? *For all is idle*, and life is a shadow and a dream.”

When he had considered this by himself, he thanked the Lord, and when he had come home, he took a book, sat down and read the Life of our father Basileios of holy memory.<sup>12</sup> His spiritual mother sat at work together with her maidens and listened sweetly to his reading and enjoyed herself and was pleased with him. When mealtime approached and some of her friends came, this truly hospitable woman invited them to the meal. And when they ate and thanked the Lord and spoke about some spiritual things (for those who had come were spiritual people), the spiritual mother of the marvellous Gregentios took the word and said to those who reclined, when the boy had already stood up: “My lords, I have seen something miraculous in a vision this night about my dearest boy Gregentios. And though I want to say that this announcement about him comes from God, then again I think that it comes perhaps from a demonic force. My mind is divided in this issue, and I do not know what I suffer.” And one of them called Sergios answered and said to her: “For the sake of the Lord, reveal to us what you have seen about him, perhaps we will understand it and say something that is useful to our lady.”

And that most honourable woman answered and said to them:<sup>13</sup> “I believed to stand on a flat place, and behold, my beloved son stood before me at a distance of about one bowshot, and we both looked eastward. I looked, and behold, a man came to the boy from the right side who resembled in all things the marvellous apostle Paul, and he came, stood close to him and wsoftly hispered some mysteries into his ear. I looked, and behold, a crowd of people dressed in white came from the east, burning candles and holding banners and golden crosses, and they came and stood in front of the boy, singing *The Lord is my enlightenment, whom shall I fear* and the rest of the psalm. Now I loo-

Η ἔπειτα < SH | 395 μήπως ἐκ περιεργείας δαιμονικῆς ἐστὶν καὶ SH | 396 οἶδα] ἐπίσταμαι SH ἔφη] εἶπεν SH | 397 δῆλον ποίησον DF ἄπερ τι καθεώρακας SH ἐσόμεθα F | 399 γυνή < DF ἀποκριθεῖσα < D αὐτόν + ὄραμα ὃ εἶδεν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἢ πνευματικῆ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ F | 400 ἀγαπητός μου υἱός SH καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SH βολήν SH | 401 δὲ<sup>2</sup>] οὖν SH | 403 ὑποψιθυρίζων] ψιθυρίζων αὐτῷ DF βλέπων D | 404 ἐφάπτοντας D ὑφάπτοντας F | 405 κατέχοντας DF

<sup>12</sup> Reading the Life of Saint Basileios as a preparation for spiritual life appears as a motif also in Leontios Presbyteros, *Bios of Gregorios of Agrigentum*, ch. 3.26–27; on the various lives of Basileios, see Berger, *ibid.*, 344–345.

<sup>13</sup> On the following vision, see above, p. 47.



ἐπι ἅπαξ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες λευκοὶ σπιχηδὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενόμενοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἕτεροι βένετα περιβεβλημένοι καὶ ἤκοντες. Βλέπω τοιγαροῦν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ἄλλοι  
 410 ρούσια, ἦγουν φλόγινα ἠμφιεσμένοι ἤκοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ σπιχηδὸν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγε-  
 νόμενοι. Ὅμοφώνως οὖν ἔψαλλον· 'Ὡσαννὰ τῷ παιδί κυρίου, εὐλογητὸς κύριος ἐκ Σιών ὁ  
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ ἀναπαυόμενος.' Ὡς οὖν τὸ πλῆθος ἄπειρον τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀθροισθὲν  
 ἐγένετο αἶνον θαυμαστὸν τῷ τῶν ὄλων θεῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ προσανέπεμπον. Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 415 οὖν ὄρω, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄρμα διὰ βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ἠτοιμασμένον ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 ἵπποι λευκοὶ ὡσεὶ χιών προσόντες τῷ ἄρματι· ἔπειτα ὄρω καὶ ἰδοὺ, στολὴ ἐν ποικιλίαις  
 χρυσοῦφάντοις ἐνσυνθεμένη καὶ λίθοις τιμίαις κεκαλλωπισμένη καὶ μαργαρίταις ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 ἄρματος, περισκέπασμά τε φοβερὸν καὶ ὑποδήματα ξενικώτατα. Περιαθροισθέντων οὖν  
 420 πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ περικύκλω αὐτοῦ πλῆθος, λαβόντες τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐνέδυσαν τὸν φίλτατόν μου  
 παῖδα, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα δεξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ· ἄραντές τε καὶ τὸ περι-  
 σκέπασμα ἀπόρητον πέλον περιέβαλον τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ προσεγγίζοντες αὐτῷ εἰς  
 καθεὶς ἐν ἀχράντοις μεδιάμασιν περιτερόμενοι αὐτὸν κατησπάζοντο τὸν παῖδα μου καὶ  
 425 ἔφασκον τὸ 'ἀμήν'. Ὅποταν οὖν αὐτὸν ὠραίως κατεστολίσαντο, ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ ἐκάθηκαν, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἀρμόδιον τότε καὶ πρέπον εἰς δόξαν ἀνεκλάλη-  
 τον. Ἐπειρώμην τοιγαροῦν κἀγὼ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνεκλαλήτου μου χαρᾶς προσεγγίσει τῷ ἀγα-  
 430 πητῷ μου ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου οὗ περιϊστάμην καὶ κατασπάσασθαι τὸν φίλτατόν μου, καὶ  
 ἀοράτως ἦμην κρατουμένη καὶ προσήμην παντάπασιν ὡς ἀκίνητος· ἐπι δὲ καὶ ἅπαξ βιαζο-  
 μένης μου τοῦτο δρᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου οὗ περιϊστάμην ἐνέμενον ὡς πρόπολαι ἀμετεώρι-  
 στος. Ὡς οὖν τότε τὸ παράδοξον τεράστιον ἐώρων καὶ ἐν θάυματι ἦμην, τὸ πλῆθος τὸ  
 435 περιάγον κύκλω αὐτοῦ κινήσαντες τὸ ἄρμα γαληνομόρφως καὶ ψάλλοντες πρὸς ἀνατολὰς  
 ὠραίοις τοῖς ποσίν αὐτῶν ὥχοντο πορευόμενοι διαγορευόντες καὶ ὀψικεύοντες αὐτῷ, οἱ  
 μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προέβαινον. Οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ οὖν καὶ εἰσδύν-  
 τες εἰς τὸ φοβερὸν μήκος τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης ἀπέστησαν ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου.  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς μηκέτι ὀφρομένη αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἤδη ἀπολωλότα ἐθρήνουν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν  
 435 διυπνισθεῖσα τοῦ ὁράματος ἔληξα. Τί τοίνυν τότε πρόσεσπιν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι."

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διηγείτο ἡ σεβασμιωτάτη, ξένον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν καὶ παράδοξον τὸ ἀφ-  
 ηγούμενον ἐχρημάτιζεν, καὶ ἠτόνουν τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι τὴν σύγκρισιν. Εἰς δὲ τις Νικήτας  
 τοῦνομα πολὺς τὴν τρίχα, ἐννεὸς ἐπὶ πολλοστήν ὥραν γενόμενος (σεβάσμιος γὰρ τοῖς  
 τρόποις εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἐχρημάτιζεν), ἐκείσε ἤδη τοῦ παιδὸς ἄρτι εἰσεληλυθότος πλη-

411 ὡσαννὰ – κύριος cf. Mc. 11.9; Io. 12.13 ὁ – 412 ἀναπαυόμενος cf. Is. 57.15

#### DFSH

407 πρὸς – 408 ἕτεροι < SH παραγενόμενοι F | 408 καὶ ἰδοὺ < SH ἀπ' αὐτοὺς] ἀπὸ τούσδε SH |  
 409 ρούσια] σπικὰ DF φλόγινα DF ἤκοντες < SH σπιχηδὸν καὶ < DF παραγενόμενοι < DF |  
 410 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς] ἀπὸ τούσδε SH χληνὰ D χλόινα SH ἠμφιεσμένοι] φοροῦντες SH καί<sup>2</sup> –  
 παραγενόμενοι] ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ SH | 411 οὖν < SH | 414 οὖν + καὶ S ὄρω < DF |  
 415 λευχοὶ F | 416 καί<sup>1</sup> – κεκαλλωπισμένη < D καλλωπισμένη H τοῦ < H | 417 φοβερώτατον SH

ked there once more, and behold, there were white men reaching him in rows, and with them others dressed in blue and coming to him. So I looked, and behold, after them there came others clad in red, that is in the colour of fire, in rows as well and reaching him, and after them another crowd clad in green robes and reaching him. Now they sang with one voice: ‘Hosianna to the boy of the Lord, the Lord be praised out of Zion *who rests in his holy place.*’ Now when the crowd that had gathered around him became innumerable large, they sent up a wonderful praise of him to the God of all. Now after a short time I looked, and behold, there was a chariot, being prepared with silk and purple before him, and horses white as snow harnessed to the chariot; then I looked, and behold, there was a robe on the chariot, composed of various cloths interwoven with gold and embellished with precious stones and pearls, a shocking headpiece and most peculiar shoes. Now when the surrounding crowd was gathered around him, they took the garment and dressed my dearest boy, and receiving the shoes they put them on his feet, and taking the headpiece, which was ineffable, they put it on his head. And they approached him one by one being delighted with an immaculate smile, embraced my child and said ‘amen’. Now when they had dressed him beautifully, they brought him up on the chariot and placed him there, and this was suitable and fitting for him for his unutterable glory. So I tried as well out of my ineffable joy to get close to my beloved one from the place where I was standing and to embrace my dearest one, but I was being kept invisible and was immovable altogether, and when I attempted once more to get away by force from the place where I was standing, I remained unmoving as before. Now when I saw this incredible wonder and was amazed, the crowd that stood around him calmly moved the chariot and went singing to the east with their beautiful feet, speaking to him and obeying his commands, some of them before him, some behind him, and thus went ahead. Now after a short time they entered the frightful length of that highway and disappeared from the sight of my eyes. And since I did not see him any more, I bewailed him as if I had already lost him, and at this point I awoke and so put an end to the vision. Now I do not know what this means.”

When the most adorable one said this, her account was strange and incredible to those who heard it, and they were unable to give an interpretation. But one of them called Niketas, a greyhaired man, stood speechless for a long time (for he was adorable in his character more than anyone else), and when the boy already had come in again, he

περιαθροισθέν SH | 419 ὑποδεξάμενοι H | 420 προσεγγίζων S προσέγγιζον H | 421 αὐτὸν < SH μου] αὐτοῦ F | 422 οὖν αὐτὸν < SH | 423 καὶ ἐκάθηκαν < SH τόγε < DF δόξαν < DF | 425 περιστάμην] περιστάμην F παριστάμην S | 426 προσήμην] ἤμην SH δὲ < D | 427 περιστάμην F SH ἀμετεωρίστως DF | 428 ἑώρου DF τὸ περιάγον κύκλω] τῶν περικύκλω DF | 430 ὄχοντο] εἶχοντο DF διαγυρεύοντες DF αὐτῶ] αὐτὸν DF οἱ – 431 προέβαινον < H | 431 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D | 432 ἀπέδυσαν DF ἐκ] ἀπὸ SH προσώπου < H | 434 τόγε < SH ἐπίσταμαι + τέλος τοῦ ὁράματος F | 435 ὑφηγούμενον DF | 436 καὶ – σύγκρισιν < SH | 437 γενάμενος SH | 438 ἐκεῖσε + τε SH

σθεις πνεύματος αγίου ἀπιδὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· “*Καὶ σὺ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ.*” Ἐπιστραφείς τε λέγει τῇ γυναικί· “Πρακτικὴν ἐργασίαν ἐξαιρετον καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐπιτελέσει καὶ *τὸ πρόσωπον* αὐτοῦ *λιτανεύουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ.*” Ἔσται δὲ ἄρχων καὶ ἡγούμενος λαοῦ πνευματικοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ λάβη κρίσιν γένη τεσσάρων γλωσσῶν. Σοῦ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀποξενωθήσεται καὶ ἐξ ἄλλοδαπῆς χώρας εἰς ἄλλοδαπὴν καταντήσας, εἰς ἄλλοτριαν τε κατασκηνώσας τὸ κράτος ἔξει θεεγγεῖρητον. Καὶ τὸ ὄναρ ἀληθές καὶ πιστὴ ἄρδην ἢ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ. Τὸ γὰρ ἄρμα θρόνου ἐπίβασις πέφυκεν, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες ἵπποι τέσσαρα γένη ἐθνῶν· τὸ τετραστοιχηδὲς τῶν παραγεγονότων καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀμφίων ἐναλλαγὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τετραγενὴ λαὸν ὑποσημαίνει, ἦτε σύνθεσις τῆς στολῆς διὰ τε μετάξωος καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργαρίτων τὸ παρόμοιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραγενοῦς πλήθους κατακράτησιν δείκνυσιν. Καὶ οὕτως οὐ διαφεύξει τὸν παρόντα βίον ἀναλύσας μέχρις ἂν ταῦτα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ εἰς πέρασ ἀποβήσεται.”

Ταῦτα θεόθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ἐμπνευσθεὶς ὡς τῇ Ῥεβέκκα ποτὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ αὐτῆς δύο λαῶν, παραπλησίως καὶ αὐτὸς τῆδε τῇ γυναικὶ θεοφορούμενος ἀπήγγειλεν. Ἦ δὲ ὄντως θεόφρων ἐκείνη καὶ φιλόστοργος καὶ πνευματικὴ μήτηρ τοῦ θειοτάτου παιδὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσασα καὶ σύνδακρυς γενομένη τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς ὕψος ἄρασα ἐκ βαθέων τε οἰμῶξασα στεναγμῶν ἔφη· “Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ ἀπροσίτου φωτός, εἰ τὸ πνευματικόν μου τέκνον μέλλει ἐκπίπτειν ἀπὸ τῶν κόλπων τῶν ἐμῶν ζωσῆς τῆς δούλης σου καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ αἰῶνι χρηματιζούσης, διαδέξεται θάνατος τὴν ζωὴν μου, εἴπερ ἐγὼ ἀπολέσω τὴν ἐν σοὶ τῷ κυρίῳ παραμυθίαν μου.”

Τούτων οὕτως παρ’ αὐτῆς ῥηθέντων, διερωτήσας αὐτὴν ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος καὶ μαθὼν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡς οἶα καὶ πρόπαλαι ὡς ψευδὲς τὸ ὄναρ διέβαλεν καὶ εἰς εὐθυμίαν τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα μετεποίησεν. Ἀναστάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀνακεχωρηκότων, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει προσεκαρτέρει ἐκδυσωπῶν τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην φυλάξαι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ *ἐκ παγίδος τῶν θηρευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχῶδους καὶ δαμονίου* κατὰ τὴν Γραφὴν *μεσημβρινοῦ.*

**2** Ἰ Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πλησίον κοιλάδι τῆς κόμης ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πεμπόμενος αὐτῷ παραγενάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ τὰς συνήθεις διατάξεις ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “*Ἀνάστα, τέκνον, πορευθῶμεν τὴν πρόπαλαι παρὰ κυρίου ὁδὸν*

439 καὶ – 440 κληθήσῃ Odae 9.76; Lc. 1.76 | 441 τὸ<sup>2</sup> – 442 λαοῦ<sup>1</sup> cf. Ps. 44.13 | 452 ὡς – 453 λαῶν cf. Gen. 25.22 | 465 ἐκ – 466 μεσημβρινοῦ Ps. 90.5–6

#### DFSH

439 ἀπειδώς DF | 441 τελέσειεν D ἐπιτελέσειεν F | 442 ἔσται| ἔτι F ἔσται δὲ < D | 443 σοῦ] σῆς SH | 444 εἰς<sup>2</sup> – κατασκηνώσας < D τε < H | 445 θεοχειρήτον DF | 448 μετάξωος SH καὶ λίθων τιμίων] λίθων καὶ τιμίων F | 449 μαργαρίτου S μαργαρίτων H δείκνυται DF | 450 οὐ] οὐν DF | 452 ἀνὴρ] ἄνθρωπος SH ἐμπλησθεὶς DF | 453 τῆ<sup>1</sup> < D δύο F | 454 θεόφρων ἐκείνη καὶ < D

was filled with the Holy Ghost and said looking onto him: “*And you, my child, will be called a prophet of the Highest.*” And turning to the woman he said: “This child will perform a remarkable and most wonderful practical work for the Lord our God, *and the rich men of the people will seek his favour.* He will be a ruler and leader of a spiritual people, and from his mouth the people of four tongues will take their judgements. He will be alienated from you, and <parting> from one foreign land he will arrive in another one, and dwelling in a foreign land he will receive the power from the hand of God. And this dream is true and its interpretation is utterly sure. For the chariot is the ascension to a throne, and the four horses are the four races of people; the procession of those arriving in four rows and the change of robes mean that same fourfold people, and the composition of his garment from silk, gold, precious stones and pearls similarly shows his domination of this same fourfold crowd.<sup>14</sup> And so he will not escape from this present life and pass away, before this will be accomplished to him completely.”

Just as once the priest had announced to Rebecca about the two people in her womb, so that man, inspired and moved by God, announced this to the woman. And when that truly pious and tenderly loving spiritual mother of the most divine boy heard this, she was moved to tears, raised her hands up, sighed deeply and said: “Lord Jesus Christ, son of the inaccessible light, if my spiritual child will drop out of my bosom while your servant is still alive and lives in this world, death will follow my life, if I lose my consolation, which is in you, my Lord.”

When such things had been said by her in this way, the blessed Gregentios asked her and learned the power of the things that had been said between them, but then calumniated the dream as a lie as before and changed the mind of his spiritual mother cheerfulness. When they had stood up from the meal and the friends had gone away, the blessed Gregentios devoted himself to prayer and supplication and implored the Master of all to guard his soul *from the trap of the hunters, from a disturbing word and the demon of midday*, as the Scripture says.

Now one day, when he was in the valley close to the town, that God-bearing man who was sent to him by God came to him and said to him after the usual admonitions: “Rise, my child, let us go the way which has been prepared for us by the Lord a long time ago,

2

ἐκείνη < F | 455 γεναμένη SH | 456 ἔφησεν SH | 457 πνευματικό F | 458 διαδέχεται SH, + δὲ S θάνατος + καὶ μᾶλλον DF | 460 αὐτῆ SH | 462 καὶ – μετεποίησεν < H τὴν post πνευματικὴν D μητέρα | κυρίαν DF | 463 ἀνακεχωρηκέναι DF | 464 ὄλων + θεὸν καὶ H | 465 παγίδων F λόγους H

1<sup>T</sup> ζ´· ὁ θαυμαστός ἀνὴρ ὁ ὀφθεῖς τῷ ὀσίῳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἦρεν αὐτόν SH κυκλάδι F ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος SH | 2 αὐτῷ < DF παραγενόμενος D διατάξεις | λέξεις SH

<sup>14</sup> A vocation scene, inserted at this place in comparable texts, is missing here; see above, p. 30.

5 ἡμῖν τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην, περὶ ἧς καὶ πολλάκις διελέχθην τῇ σῇ ἀγιότητι.” Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος παῖς  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς ἀρνίον τῷ ποιμένι ἐπόμενος ἀναστὰς ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. Πορευθέντες δὲ  
 ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μίας ἤλθον ἐν Μορύνῃ τῇ πόλει ἄγνωστοι εἰς τὸ παντελὲς χρηματίζοντες. Ὁ  
 δὲ μακάριος συνεχῶς ἀπῆει ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς οὖσαις ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰς  
 συνήθεις ἰκεσίας προσαναπέμπων. Κατέμενον δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ τινὸς Σαββατίου οὕτω προσαγο-  
 10 ρευομένου, φιλοξένου πέλοντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ φιλοχρίστου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ταῖς κατὰ θεὸν  
 ἀρεταῖς ἐπισεμνυμένου. Ἡμέρα οὖν καὶ ἡμέρα πελότων αὐτῶν ἐκεῖσε οἱ τῆς πόλεως  
 ὄρωντες τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ νεανία καὶ τὸ ἐπίμονον τὸ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐθαύμαζον μεγά-  
 λως. Ὁ γὰρ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ὁ ὀδηγῶν αὐτὸν συνῆν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδιαλείπτως·  
 ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων θεαθῆναι ἦκιστα συνεχωρεῖτο, εἰ μὴ γε παρὰ μόνου τοῦ  
 15 μακαριωτάτου Γρηγεντίου, καὶ τότε ὅποταν ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἠβούλετο. Ἐπρωτῶν  
 οὖν αὐτὸν πλειστάκις οἱ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας λέγοντες: “Διὰ τὸν κύριον,  
 ἀνάγγειλον ἡμῖν ποίου γένους ὑπάρχεις καὶ ποίου τόπου, ὁποῖον δέ σου τὸ ὄνομα σαφή-  
 νισον ἡμῖν.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος: “Ξένος”, φησὶν, “εἰμὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένοις ἅμα τοῦ πατρὸς μου  
 κατανηθῆσας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ οὐ μετ’ ὀλίγον καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀπανιστάμεθα.” Ἀκούοντες δὲ  
 20 οἱ παρόντες καὶ ἐπερωτῶντες αὐτὸν, ὅτι καὶ πατέρα συνοδοιπόρον κέκτηται μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ,  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίσταντο ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐπερωτῶντες αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνον ἐθαύμα-  
 ζον ἐπὶ τῇ συνέσει αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πνευματικῇ καταστάσει καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀσπαζόμενοι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν νέμοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ προθυμοποιού-  
 ντες αὐτόν.

25 Τούτων οὖν οὕτως γεγονότων καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου τῶν ἰδίων ἀνακεχωρηκό-  
 τος, οἱ αὐτοῦ ἐρευνησαντες πάντα τόπον καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες αὐτὸν ποτὲ μὲν ὑπενόουν καθ-  
 ὅτι θηριάλωτος γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ ἔθος εἶχεν κατὰ μόνας μεταναστεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον, ἄλλο-  
 τε δὲ ἦκειν αὐτὸν οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ προσεδόκουν· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἀπογινώσκοντες τὰ κατ’ αὐ-  
 τὸν ἐπὶ τινὶ μοναστηρίῳ ἀνδρῶν ἡσυχαστῶν ὑπελάμβανον αὐτὸν χάριν τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι  
 ἀνακεχωρηκέναι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἐννοίαις προσεκαρτέρουν. Ἡ δὲ πνευματικῇ  
 30 αὐτοῦ μήτηρ θρήνῳ τὸν θρήνον κατεπείγουσα οὐχ ὑπέφερεν, ἀλλ’ ἦν ὀλόκληρον ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ὡς οἶα καὶ προλέλεκται ἀποδυρομένη σφοδρῶς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν δι’ αὐτόν. Ἀπερ-  
 χομένη γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧπερ ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ἔθος ἔσχεν τοῦ καθεύδειν ταῖς  
 νυξίν, ἐκεῖσε τὰς τιμίας τρίχας αὐτῆς κατέτειλεν ὑπεράνω τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ ἀνακαλουμέ-  
 35 νη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ὑποφέρουσα. Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτός, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας τὸν  
 φίλτατον αὐτοῦ ἀπόλωλεν, ἐν πένθει καὶ στεναγμοῖς τε καὶ δάκρυσιν τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
 τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διετέλεσεν. Πολλάκις γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀρίστου μετὰ καὶ φίλων πινῶν καθεζόμενος,  
 εἶπου ἔσχεν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἐλθεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, δάκρυσιν πλουσιωτάτοις ὄλην ὡς εἶπειν τὴν

#### D F S H

4 τὴν < SH διηλέχθην D ἐλέχθην F ὀσιότητι SH | 5 τῷ < SH ἠκολούθησεν F | 6 μίας S Μυρίνη  
 DF χρηματίζοντες F χρηματίζουσιν SH | 8 προσανέπεμπεν SH Σαββατίου τινὸς SH |  
 9 πέλοντος τοῦ ὄντος SH ἀνδρὸς S και<sup>2</sup> – 10 ἐπισεμνυμένου < SH | 10 πελότων] ὄντως S  
 ὄντων H | 12 συνῆν + μὲν F | 13 ἦκιστα < SH μὴ + που DF γε < F | 14 καὶ τότε < SH ἐκεῖνος <

about which I have also spoken often to your holiness.” And the holy boy of Christ, like a lamb following the shepherd, rose and went after him. After a day’s march, they came to the town of Moryne,<sup>15</sup> being completely unknown. The blessed one went continually into the holy churches that were there, sending up the usual supplications to God. They stayed in the house of a man called Sabbatios, who was hospitable, loved Christ and besides that was praised for the other Godly virtues. When they were there day by day, the people of the town saw the venerable behaviour of the youth and his persistence at prayer, and they wondered greatly. For that God-bearing man, who guided him, was with the boy incessantly; he did not allow anybody at all to see him, except only the most blessed Gregentios, and this only when that God-bearing man wanted it. Now the members of the clergy of the holy church asked him very often: “For God’s sake, tell us of which race and place you are, and explain clearly to us what your name is.” The blessed one said: “I am a foreigner and have arrived here in a foreign land together with my father, and after a short time we will leave from here as well.” When those who had asked him heard that he also had his father as his fellow-traveller, they stayed away from him and henceforth did not ask him about this, but only admired his wisdom, his spiritual condition and his answers, and embraced him giving what was necessary, and encouraged him in the better things.

When these things had happened in this way and the blessed Gregentios had separated from his family, his relatives searched every place and did not find him, but never thought that he had been caught by wild beasts, for he had the custom to go alone into the desert, and for a short time thereafter they supposed that he would return at another time; when they gave up hope for him, they assumed that he had retired to a monastery of monks in order to rest there, and so they waited for him with these two reasonings. His spiritual mother insisted in her lament by lamenting and did not bear it, but as it has been said before, she bewailed him for a whole year by night and day. For she went into his room where he had usually slept during the nights, and there she tore her worthy hair over his bed, calling his name and not bearing it. His father lamented also from the day when he had lost his most beloved one, and spent his whole lifetime in sighs and tears. For often, when he sat at a meal with some friends, whenever something came into his mind about him, he moistened, so to say, the table with plenty of tears, and immediately

SH | 15 ἀγίας < DF | 17 εἰμι] ἡμῖν F τῷ πατρὶ SH | 18 ἐνταῦθα<sup>2</sup>] ἐντεῦθεν SH | 19 παρόντες καὶ < SH | 20 ἐπερωτοῦντες F περι] ἐπὶ F | 22 τὸ ἀγαθὸν SH | 24 οὖν < DF οὕτω SH | 26 ἐπεὶ ἔθος εἶχεν] ἔθος γὰρ εἶχεν SH | 27 ἀπογινώσκοντες – αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup>] ἀπεγίνωσκον SH αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> + ἦ D | 28 τινα μοναστήριον SH | 30 ἐνιαυτὸν + ἕνα H | 31 νύκτωρ – αὐτόν < SH ἀνερχομένη SH | 32 αὐτοῦ < SH ἐν ᾧ περ] ἐνθα SH πρὸς ἔθος < SH ἔθος] ἦθος F | 33 αὐτῆς ante τὰς SH, < F ἐπάνω SH | 35 πένθοις F τε < SH | 36 καθήμενος SH

<sup>15</sup> See above, pp. 17–19.

τράπεζαν κατέβρεχεν καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ τε τροφή καὶ ἢ πόσις ἀφίσταντο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ εὐθέως καὶ ἡρεμεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ποῖαν γὰρ ὁδὸν διήνυεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπένοιε τὸν ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐν  
 40 ποίῳ δὲ τόπῳ ἴστατο καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος οὐ κατέβρεχεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσιν; Συμπαθῆς  
 γὰρ ἄγαν ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλεήμων τε καὶ φιλόχριστος, φιλόξενος καὶ φιλομόναχος καὶ φιλό-  
 πτωχος, καὶ τηλικούτων, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν θεόπνευστον Γραφὴν *κάλαμον συντετριμμένην οὐ*  
*κατέαξεν* πώποτε καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τεθέακεν πώποτε τινα τύπτοντα, ἐδάκνυε τὴν  
 ψυχὴν· εἰ δὲ γε καὶ ἐπὶ κτήνους τοῦτο πράττοντά τινα ἔτυχεν αὐτὸν θεάσασθαι, μείζονι  
 45 πόνῳ τὴν καρδίαν κατεπιτρώσκειτο· τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν εὐσυμπάθητος ὁ ἀνὴρ.

Τοῦ δὲ παιδός, ὡς προλέλεκται, ἐν Μορύνῃ τῇ πόλει ὑπάρχοντος φήμη τίς ἐκείσε  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ διεδορήθη, καὶ ὁπόταν ἔσχεν ἀπέειπε ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ τὴν σὺναξιν αὐτοῦ  
 ἐπιτελεῖσαι, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἰκοδομοῦμενοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐμακάριζον αὐτὸν παριόντα. Ὁ  
 δὲ δίκαιος πάνυ τοῦτο ἀπετρέπετο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπεῖν τὰς ἐθωνιάς  
 50 αὐτοῦ ἐπετέλει συνάξεις, ὅτε δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου τῆς οὔσης ἐκείσε,  
 ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου ἀπῆι χάριν τῆς ἐσπερινῆς δοξολογίας.

Ἦ ἄνῃρ δὲ τις ἅγιος ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ τοῦνομα Πέτρος, ὅστις διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων δόξαν προσεπειεῖτο μωραίνειν, ἀκτῆμων μὲν λίαν ὑπάρχων, ἐν ἐρημοῦσι δὲ τόποις  
 τῆς πόλεως λεληθότως ποτὲ μὲν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν μέσοις αὐτῆς ἐνασχολούμενος· ἡγνοεῖτο  
 55 παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθότι δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπῆρχεν. Μιᾶ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ  
 μακαρίου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπελθόντος, ὄντος ἐκείσε καὶ τοῦ ὀσίου Πέτρου μετὰ τὸ  
 προσεύξασθαι τὸν παῖδα Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τινι σκάμῳ τῶν ἐκείσε ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ καθ-  
 εσθῆναι, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ὁ ὀσιος Πέτρος λέγει· “Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, τέκνον Γρηγέντιε· ὁ  
 πατήρ σου καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ σου μήτηρ πάνυ πενθοῦσιν διὰ σὲ μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν καὶ σκυ-  
 60 θρωπάζουσιν ἕνεκα σοῦ. Ἄλλ' οὖν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς μεγίστην δόξαν σε καὶ τιμὴν ἤδη  
 προσεκαλέσατο. Θάρσει οὖν, τέκνον, καλῶς τῶν ἰδίων διὰ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν  
 ἀποξενούμενος.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ταῦτα ἀκούσας κατεπλάγη τοῦ ὀσίου ἀν-  
 δρός τὴν πρόρρησιν καὶ ὑποκλιθεὶς ἔβαλεν αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν. Κατανοῶν δὲ τὴν ὄρασιν  
 αὐτοῦ ἐξίστατο· ἦν γὰρ λίαν ταπεινὸς καὶ καταπεπονημένος ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἐγκρατείας,  
 65 ὥστε ὡς τὰ ξηρὰ καὶ μόνον εἶναι αὐτόν. Ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐξαίρετον καὶ συγκύπτων εἰς τὸ παντε-  
 λές καὶ μὴ ἀνανεύων, καὶ τηλικούτῳ πτώματι ὧν ὁ σεβάσμιος βεβλημένος εἶχετο τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς καὶ οὐκ ἡμέλει. Ὁ δὲ ὀσιος Πέτρος προετρέπετο τὸν δίκαιον καθεσθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ

42 κάλαμον – 43 κατέαξεν Mt. 12.20

### D F S H

38 αὐτὴ ἢ τε] ἢ SH πόσις] πάσις F ἀφίστατο H καὶ ἡρεμεῖν εὐθέως SH | 39 ἡρεμῶν D ἠδύνατο  
 F ἡνεῖχετο SH | 40 οὐκ ἔβρεχεν SH τοῖς δάκρυσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ H | 41 ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἄγαν καὶ  
 ἐλεήμων φιλόχριστος τε καὶ φιλόξενος SH καί<sup>2</sup> – φιλόπτωχος < SH | 42 ὥστε] ὅτε D  
 θεόπνευστον < SH | 43 κατέαξεν H πώποτε<sup>1</sup>] ποτὲ SH τὸ] τὰ H ἐθεάσατο SH πώποτε<sup>2</sup>] ποτὲ  
 F, < SH | 44 τοῦτο < DF αὐτὸν < SH μείζονα H | 46 Μυρίνη D | 47 αὐτοῦ διεδορήθη] αὐτόν  
 ἐπεδόθη SH τοῦ < H | 48 ὀκοδομοῦμενοι SH αὐτῷ] αὐτόν SH | 49 ὅτε μὲν < SH ἐν τῷ  
 ἐπισκοπεῖν post αὐτοῦ H | 50 ἐπετέλει + καὶ H ὅτε] ποτὲ H ἁγίας S τῆς<sup>2</sup>] τῆ H οὔση SH | 52 Ἦ

could not even retain food and drink,<sup>16</sup> and was unable to stay calm. For which way did he go without lamenting his beloved one, at which place did he stay and did not moisten the floor with his tears for his sake? For the man was very pitiful, merciful and Christ-loving, hospitable, loving the monks and the poor, and in such a way that according to the God-inspired Scripture he never *broke a bruised reed* and so on. And whenever he saw someone beating, he was bitten in his heart; if it happened to him that he saw someone doing this to an animal, his heart was wounded by still greater pain, for the man was so compassionate.

When the boy stayed in Moryne, as it has been said before, a rumour spread there about him, and when he went to church to perform his devotion, those on the street, being edified by him, blessed him when he went by. The righteous one rejected this heavily, and therefore he performed his devotions at dawn in the bishop's palace, or he went to the church of the most holy Mother of God which was there, or sometimes also to the chapel of Saint Nikolaos for the evening hymn.

There was a holy man in that town called Petros who pretended to be a fool because <he repudiated> the glory of men and was very poor;<sup>17</sup> sometimes he stayed secretly at desolate places of the town, sometimes he was occupied in the middle of it, and it was unknown to the people that he was a servant of Christ. Now on one day, when the blessed one went to the great church, the holy Petros was also there, and when the boy of Christ, after having prayed, stood up and sat down on one of the benches there, the holy Petros said when he saw him: "Welcome, my child Gregentios, your father and your spiritual mother lament greatly because of you together with their people, and are sad because of you. But now Jesus Christ has already invited you to the greatest glory and honour. So have courage, my child, for you have been estranged in good time from your family for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ." When the blessed Gregentios heard this, he was amazed by the prophetic gift of the holy man, and stepping aside he bowed before him. And when he understood his vision he was astonished, for he was very humble and subdued by his extreme asceticism, so that he was, so to speak, entirely wizened. The adorable one was so remarkably bowing and not looking up, and being in such a state he was held by his virtue and did not neglect it. The holy Petros invited the righteous one to sit on the bench, but it was rather that he invited the holy one, although

ζ· περι τοῦ ὀσίου Πέτρου SH τις < S | 53 μὲν] δὲ D | 54 λεληθότως < SH αὐτῆς] αὐτὸς D, + ἀδεῶς F ἀνασχολούμενος H | 55 ὑπάρχει + ἐν SH | 56 μακαριωτάτου SH και < DF | 57 Χριστοῦ] κυρίου SH τῶν ἐκεῖσε < SH | 58 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸς H | 59 μήτηρ S<sup>margin</sup> κυρία DF μετὰ – 60 σοῦ < SH | 60 σε post 61 προσεκαλέσατο ἤδη < SH | 61 θάρσει τέκνον θάρσει SH διὰ τὸν κύριον < H τὸν < DF Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν < SH | 64 καταπεποιημένος και λίαν ταπεινός SH | 65 ὥστε – 67 ἡμέλει < SH | 67 τοῦ < H

<sup>16</sup> Literal translation: "And immediately food and drink kept away from him."

<sup>17</sup> On the holy fools in the *Bios* of Gregentios, see above, pp. 13–14.



σκάμνου· αὐτὸς δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν ὄσιον προετρέπετο καίτοι τῇ ὑπακοῇ σεμνυνομένου τοῦ  
 70 τιμίου παιδός, καὶ καθεσθέντος ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος δεδεμέναις χερσὶ τῷ παιδί κυρίου  
 παρίστατο. Ὁ δὲ σεβάσμιος νεανίας ἔφριπτεν κατανοῶν τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῦ ταπεινώσιν καὶ  
 κατὰ νοῦν ἐκέκτητο τοῦ ἀναστήναι καὶ ἀποδράσαι. Συνιείς δὲ ὁ ὄσιος Πέτρος ἔφη πρὸς  
 αὐτόν· “Ὁὐ διὰ σέ, τέκνον μου πνευματικόν, ἴσταμαι καὶ οὐ κἀθημαι, ἀλλὰ γε τὸν σὺν σοὶ  
 ὄντα θεωρῶν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ πολλῶ καταπλήττομαι. Ὡς μακάριος εἶ σὺ καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐν  
 ἧ σὺ ἐκ γαστροῦ μητρὸς σου εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον προέβης, καθότι οἰκειώσατό σε εἰς  
 75 πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὡς γνησίῳ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ καὶ φιλάτῳ καὶ ἀγαπητῷ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ  
 ἐπακολουθήσει σοι καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς βασιλείας κληρονόμον σε  
 ἀναγορεύσειεν.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος συνιείς, ὅτι διὰ τὸν φοβερὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον  
 λέγει αὐτῷ τὸν συνεπόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ μωδῶντα αὐτόν εἰς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος μυστή-  
 80 ρια, ᾧπι καὶ ποθήσας τῶν ἰδίων ἀνακεχώρηκεν κἀκείνῳ ἠκολούθησεν, ἐθαύμαζεν μεγά-  
 λως τὸ διορατικόν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐξίστατο ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ νοῦς αὐτοῦ,  
 ὡς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρελάνθανεν, ἀλλὰ γε ὡς προφήτης κυρίου πάντα τὰ κατ’  
 αὐτὸν ἀπαρολείπτως ἀπηγγέλλει αὐτῷ. Ἐφ’ ἱκανὴν οὖν ὥραν προσδιαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις  
 πνευματικῶς καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα εἰς σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ὁμιλήσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἑαυτοὺς  
 τῷ ἀγίῳ φιλήματι ἀνεχώρησαν.

85 Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος ἐμφανίσας ἑαυτὸν τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ ἔφη πρὸς  
 αὐτόν· “Ἀνάστα, τέκνον, μετάβωμεν ἐντεῦθεν· ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως μέχρι  
 τῆς σήμερον οὐ παρῆν ἐνταῦθα, ἀρτίως δὲ πάρεστιν, καὶ πινες τὰ περὶ σοῦ αὐτῷ διηγέ-  
 90 κασιν πολλοστὸν ἔπαινον κενώσαντες αὐτῷ. Κατὰ πρόσωπον βούλεται τοιγαροῦν προσ-  
 ομιλῆσαι σοι, κατασχεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι σε καὶ ἀφιερῶσαι τῇ ἐνταῦθα ἀγιωτάτῃ  
 ἐκκλησίᾳ, καίτοι παρὰ κυρίῳ ἀστεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐν ἡμῖν τόγε οὐ πρόσεστιν. Οὐκοῦν  
 ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν καθὲν πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον ἀπαντήσωμεν. Δεῖ γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς ἱκανὰς πόλεις περαιώσαντες τὴν παρὰ κυρίου ἡμῖν κεκληρωμένην καταλαβεῖν.”  
 Ἀναστάντες οὖν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατήλθον ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καὶ κατ’ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 95 ἑτοίμου πλοοῦς εὐρεθέντος, εἰσελθόντες ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀνηνόραν πόλιν ἀπέπλευσαν.  
 Ἐδίδου δὲ ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ παιδός ἀναλισκόμενα  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις χάριν τοῦ ναύλου, περὶ τε δαπάνης, παρα-  
 πλησίως καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.

### DFSH

68 τὸν ὄσιον μᾶλλον DF | 69 δεδεγμένος F δεδεμένος SH | 70 σεβάσμιος] μακάριος SH νεανίας]  
 Γρηγέντιος H τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ τὴν SH | 71 κατὰ νοῦν] κατανοῶν D | 72 μου < DF καὶ  
 οὐ κἀθημαι < DF | 73 ὡς – 77 ἀναγορεύσειεν < SH | 76 βασιλείας] παρουσίας F | 77 Γρηγέντιος  
 < SH συνιείς SH | 78 ἐπόμενον H καὶ – 79 ἠκολούθησεν < SH αὐτόν] αὐτῷ D | 79 ἠκολούθησεν]  
 ἀκολουθήσας F | 81 αὐτῷ – παρελάνθανεν] αὐτόν ἐλάνθανεν SH | 82 οὖν < D διαλεχθέντες  
 ἀλλήλους SH | 83 πνευματικῶς – ἑαυτοὺς < SH | 85 Ὁ· πάλιν ὁ θεοφόρος ἀνὴρ ἐμφανίζεται τῷ  
 ἀγίῳ SH (ἐμφανίζεται] ἐμφανίζων ἑαυτὸν H) ἐφανίσας F αὐτόν D αὐτῷ F ἑαυτῷ S μακαρίῳ <  
 SH πρὸς αὐτόν] αὐτῷ SH | 86 τῆσδε < SH | 87 οὐ] τοῦ D τὰ < DF | 88 καιρώσαντες D αὐτῷ]  
 αὐτόν D αὐτοῦ SH τοιγαρ S γὰρ H προσομιλῆσαι σοι] προσομιλήσεται F | 89 κατασχεῖν τε] καὶ

the worthy boy was praised for his obedience, and when he sat down, the blessed Petros stood before the boy of God with folded hands. The venerable youth shuddered when he understood his great contrition, and had in his mind to stand up and run away. But the holy Petros realised this and said to him: “It is not because of you, my spiritual child, that I stand and do not sit, but because I am amazed with great fear and trembling, seeing the one that is with you. How blessed are you and the day on which you proceeded from the womb of your mother into this world, for he has entrusted you with all his things and will follow you, that is, his true and dearest and beloved son at all times, and he will declare you to be the heir of his belongings on the frightful day of the kingdom.” The blessed Gregentios understood that he was speaking about that awe-inspiring man that followed him and had initiated him into the mysteries of the Divine Ghost, longing for whom he had also separated from his family and followed him, and wondered greatly at the prophetic gift of the man of God and was astonished at the clearness of his mind, that nothing of his affairs was unknown to him, but like a prophet of God he announced to him all the things concerning him without any omission. After they had talked to each other spiritually for a considerable time and had spoken about the things which contribute to the salvation of the soul, they embraced each other with the holy kiss and parted.

But that God-bearing man, making himself appear to the blessed Gregentios, said to him: “Rise, my child, let us leave from here: For the bishop of this town has been absent from here until today, but now he is here, and some people have told him about you and poured out much praise to him. So he wants to speak with you personally, in order to keep you, to make you a cleric and to assign you to the most holy church here, although this is no graceful thing for us from the Lord. So let us depart from here, o child, and respond one by one to the things that await us. For we have to pass through many towns and then to reach the one which the Lord has allotted to us.” So they rose at the same hour, went down to the shore and, having found a ready ship by the power of God, they embarked and sailed off to the town of Antenora. That God-bearing man took everything for the boy’s needs from the fold of his robe, what he spent on the ships for the fare and the provisions, and similarly also in the towns.

κατασχῆν SH ἀγιωτάτη ἐνταῦθα SH | 90 πρᾶγμα] πρόσταγμα S | 92 περαιώσασθαι καὶ SH κληρομένην D παραλαβεῖν DF | 93 καὶ < SH τοῦ] δὲ SH | 94 πλοῶς] πλοίου SH Ἄντηνώραν] ἀπέναντι DF κατέπλευσαν SH | 95 ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος SH | 96 περὶ – 97 πόλεσιν < SH

Ὡς οὖν εἰρήται, ὅτι κατήντησαν ἐν Ἀντηνόρᾳ πόλει, κατελθόντες τῆς νηὸς καὶ εἴσω  
 γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τὰ Πετρώλου οὕτω προσαγορευομένοις ἐν οἴκῳ πινὸς φιλοχρίστου  
 100 τοῦνομα Θεοδωρήτου κατεσκήνωσαν. Ἐδείκνυ γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν πρώτοις ἐν  
 οἷς ἔμελλον καταλύειν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, καὶ τόπον ἐποίει τῷ δικαίῳ, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως,  
 ὅτε μὲν καὶ οἷς ἐβούλετο ἐδείκνυεν ἑαυτόν, οἷς δὲ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἀθέατος παντάπασιν  
 ἐχρημάτιζεν. Ὅποταν οὖν οὐκ ἑώρατο παρὰ τῶν ξενιζόντων αὐτοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν  
 παῖδα λέγοντες· “Ποῦ ἄρα γε ὁ πατήρ σου περίεστιν;” Ὁ δὲ νεανίας βλέπων αὐτὸν ἄμα  
 105 αὐτῷ παρόντα ἐθαύμαζεν, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι παρόντα οὐκ ἔβλεπον, καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς  
 ἀπολογίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ πνι διακονία αὐτόν, φησίν, ἀποδημηκέναι καὶ ἔπειτα ἦξεν.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γεγονότων ὁ τῆς Μορυναίων πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος πολλὰ ἐρευνήσας  
 καὶ μὴ εὐρὼν τὸν παῖδα Γρηγέντιον πάνυ ἐν λύπῃ ἐγεγόνει περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἔλεγε γάρ, ὅτι  
 “διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου”, φησίν, “οὐ κατηξιώθη κἄν θεάσασθαι αὐτόν”, μαθὼν γάρ ἦν  
 110 ὅτι ἐν πλοίῳ εἰσεληλυθὼς ἀπεδήμησεν.

Πάλιν οὖν κάκεισε ὁ μακάριος νεανίας οὐκ ἐπαύετο νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀσχο-  
 λούμενος ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν τοῦ ἐκδυσωπεῖν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον· ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ μόνας ἐν ᾧ  
 τόπῳ ἐξενίζετο, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς οὖσαις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, ὅτε  
 δὲ καὶ μήκοθεν τῆς πόλεως ἀναχωρῶν ἐν ἡσυχῇ τόπῳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐστῶς ἐν χύσει δα-  
 115 κρύων προσήχετο παρακαλῶν τὸν κύριον δοῦναι αὐτῷ ἄνεσιν καὶ παραμυθίαν ἐν τῇ  
 ξενιτείᾳ αὐτοῦ. Πάνυ γάρ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ περίλυπος ἐχρημάτιζεν, δι' ὧν ἀθρόως οὕτως  
 ἐχωρίσθη τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅποιον κέντρον τοῦτο πρόσεστιν τοῖς ἀπαλοῖς τε  
 καὶ ἀσυνήθεσιν οἱ πεπειραμένοι ἐπίστανται.

Διατρίβοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν προσ-  
 120 ἔχοντος (ἐδίδου γὰρ αὐτῷ βιβλία λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὁ ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτούς),  
 καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συνηθοίζοντο μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι ὠφελείας χάριν μάλιστα ἐν  
 ταῖς τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἡμέραις. Ἦν δὲ ὁ μακάριος συνετῶς ἀναγιγνώσκων καὶ τὰ  
 δάκρυα ὡς μαργαρίτας ραίνων ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς περικύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ὄρων-  
 τας αὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα καὶ αὐτοὺς συνέχεσθαι τοῖς δάκρυσιν καὶ εἰς κατάνυξιν ἄγε-  
 125 σθαι πνευματικῇ. Διερμήνευεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ραδίως τὴν θείαν Γραφήν καὶ ἀπηγγέλει αὐτοῖς  
 τὰ μυστήρια τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας φανερῶν, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου πάλιν κάκεισε φημισθῆναι  
 τὸν μακάριον καὶ ἀγαπηθῆναι παρὰ πάντων ὑπὲρ διήγησιν. Πολλοὶ οὖν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει

## D F S H

98 ἐν Ἀντηνόρᾳ πόλει] τὴν Ἀντηνόραν πόλιν H Ἀντηνορᾶ S καὶ < DF | 99 γενόμενοι H  
 Τρώλου H προσαγορευομένου DF H προσαγορευομένους S | 101 ἔμελλον SH εἶθ' < DF |  
 102 ἐδείκνυεν – ἐβούλετο<sup>2</sup> < DF ἐβούλετο<sup>2</sup>] ἠβούλετο SH | 103 ἐπερώτων SH | 104 αὐτόν] αὐτῷ  
 F S | 105 ὅπως – ἔβλεπον < SH | 106 τινὰ διακονίαν SH αὐτόν] αὐτῷ F, < SH ἀποδημηκέναι  
 DF ἀπῆλθεν H, < S | 107 οὕτω D γεγονότων] ἐχόντων D ὁ < D Μυριναίων DF | 108 ἐν λύπῃ -  
 ἐγεγόνει] ἐλυπεῖτο SH γάρ] πᾶν F, < S | 109 φησίν < SH καταξιώθη D κἄν < SH μαθὼν] καθ'  
 ὧν DF ἦν < H | 110 ὅτι] ἀπαξ DF ἐν + τῷ SH | 111 ἐκέισε SH σχολούμενος SH | 112 τοῦ]  
 αὐτοῦ SH φιλόανθρωπον + θεόν D | 113 ταῖς<sup>2</sup> – ἐκείνῃ < SH | 114 ἐν<sup>1</sup>] ἐφ' SH τόπῳ + καὶ SH |  
 115 κύριον] θεόν H ἄνεσιν καὶ < SH | 116 οὕτως < D | 117 ἐχωρίσθη D S μᾶλλον < SH κέντρον

Now, as it has been said, they arrived at the town of Antenora,<sup>18</sup> disembarked from the ship, and having entered the town they dwelled at the place called *ta Petrolou* in the house of a Christ-loving man named Theodoretos. For first the man that was with him showed himself to those in the house, where he wanted to take his lodge, and prepared a place for the righteous one, and thereafter he showed himself to those he wanted, but was entirely invisible to those by whom he did not want to be seen. So when he could not be seen by those that entertained them, they asked the boy saying: “Where is your father?” And since the boy saw him being present together with him, he wondered that those did not see him though he was present, and gave them an answer saying that he had left for some service, he said, and would come later.<sup>19</sup>

While all this happened, the bishop of the town of Moryne, after having searched a lot and not having found the boy Gregentios, became very much grieved about him, for he said that “because of my sins I have not even been deemed worthy to see him”, for he learned that he had embarked on a ship and left.

There again the blessed youth did not cease by night and day to engage in his prayers to implore the one that loves mankind; sometimes he stood alone at the place where he was entertained, sometimes also in the holy churches which were in that town, and sometimes also far from the town, having retired by himself to a silent place, and prayed shedding tears and asking the Lord to give him relief and consolation in his living abroad. For his heart was very grieved because he had been separated so suddenly from his family. And indeed, those who have made the experience know what a pain this is to the tender ones that are not used to it.

During his stay in that town he studied the divine Scriptures carefully (for the one who had received them gave him books which he took from the churches), and many people assembled at him for their benefit, young and old, especially on the feast days of the holy church. The blessed one was reading wisely and shed tears into the fold of his robe like pearls, so that also those that surrounded him were themselves seized by tears when they saw him doing this and were led to spiritual contrition. And he explained and announced the divine Scripture to them easily, announcing to them the secrets of Christ’s kingdom and revealing them, so that again the blessed one became famous by this and was loved by all beyond telling. Now many of the rich in that town sent their

F | 118 οἱ] ὑπὸ F | 119 δὲ < F καὶ – προσέχοντος < SH | 120 ἐδίδουν H ἐδίδου – αὐτούς post 121 συνηθορίζοντο SH γὰρ] δὲ SH | 121 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH μικροί – 122 ἡμέραις < SH | 122 καὶ – 124 δάκρυσιν < SH | 124 ποιούντος D αὐτοῦς] αὐτοὶ D τῶν δακρῶν D ἄγασθαι πνευματικὴν] ἦγεν τοὺς ἀκούοντας SH | 125 αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> < F ἀπήγγελεν H | 126 φανότερον SH | 127 ὑπὲρ διήγησιν < SH

<sup>18</sup> See above, pp. 17–19.

<sup>19</sup> See above, p. 12 with note 49.

ἐκείνη πλουσίων ἀπέστελλον πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν χάριν ὠφελείας, οὓς καὶ ἐπεστήριζεν πρὸς τήρησιν τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν ἐπωφελῆ τόνον τῆς  
 130 θείας ἀναγνώσεως διδάσκων ὑπερεδείκνυεν, τῶν παιγνίων αὐτοὺς νουθετῶν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἄλλης νεωτερικῆς ζηλοτυπίας τε καὶ προσπαθείας καὶ βδελυρότητος, πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν δὲ σπεύδειν αἰεὶ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ ἐνασχολεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀναγνώσεως ἐπακροῖσθαι καὶ τὸ στόμα φυλάσσειν ἀπὸ αἰσχρολογίας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπὸ βλαβε-  
 135 ῶς θεωρίας ἀπέχεσθαι, μὴ συναυλίζεσθαι δὲ μετὰ ἀκαθάρτων ἁμαρτωλῶν, διότι ἐν ῥίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ μεταλαμβάνει τίς, φησίν, ἀπὸ τῶν βεβήλων τε καὶ σφαλερῶν, ἤπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐθέτων τε καὶ ἐναρέτων. Ἐν τοῖς ὄρθροις οὖν τῶν μεγάλων ἑορτῶν οἱ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου κλήρου τῆς ἐκείσε ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας κατὰ νοῦν κεκτημένοι τὸν μακάριον, προετρέποντο αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης τιμῆς εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι. Ὁ δὲ μετ' εὐμενείας πολλῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς πνευματικῆς ἀπῆει χαίρων, ἵνα καὶ οὐ τὸν τυχόντα ὠφελήσει τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ  
 140 Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν θεῖον μισθὸν κομίσηται παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἀναγινώσκοντας δὲ αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία αἶνον ἐδίδου τῷ παντοκράτορι· ἐνωτίζοντο γὰρ τὰ λόγια κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐκ στόματος θεοῦ.

Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐλόγιος τερφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν καὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄχθῆναι. Ὡς δὲ παρέστη, προσ-  
 145 ἔπεσεν εὐθέως τοῖς ποσὶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ ἴστατο ἐν κατηφείᾳ κάτω νεύων καὶ τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτοῦ προσέχων αὐτῷ. Ἔφη οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· “Ἀνάγγειλον δὴ μοι, ὦ τέκνον, ποίας πόλεως ὑπάρχεις, τί δὲ τὸ ὄνομά σου, πῶς δὲ ἐνταῦθα παραγέγονας.” Καὶ ὁ μακάριος λέγει· “Ἐκ τῆς Μορυναίων πόλεως, δέσποτά μου τίμιε, ἅμα τῷ πατρί μου ἐνταῦθα χάριν πραγματείας πινὸς ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀπηντήκαμεν καὶ οὐ μετ' οὐ  
 150 πολὺ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχωροῦμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Θέλεις οὖν εἶναι παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; Καὶ ἐν προκοπῇ ἔση μεγίστη· διὰ γὰρ τὴν σύνεσίν σου πάνυ σε ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἠγάπησεν. Εἰ τοίνυν κελύεις καὶ συντάσσει μοι, ἐτοιμάσθητι τὴν σήμερον μετᾶραι πρὸς με πάντα τὰ σά.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος λέγει· “Ἐπερωτήσω, πάτερ ἅγιε, τὸν πατέρα μου, καὶ εἴ τι δόξη αὐτῷ τοῦτο καὶ γίνεται.”

155 Ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἑωθινοῦ ὕμνου ἐν τῷ μιτάτῳ αὐτοῦ ὁ νεανίας ὑπέστρεψεν, ἔλθων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεόθεν αὐτῷ συνεπόμενος λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τὰ καὶ τὰ σοι Εὐλόγιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσωμίλησεν. Τοίνυν εἴξον τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, τέκνον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἴσως ὠφελήσει, οὐδὲν δὲ παραβλάψηται.”

134 ἐν – 135 ὀφθαλμοῦ I Cor. 15.52

#### DFSH

129 πρὸς τήρησιν < SH σωτήρος < SH καὶ – 136 ἐναρέτων < SH | 135 ἀπό<sup>2</sup> < F | 136 τιμίου SH | 138 πολλοστής SH | 139 πνευματικῆς < SH ἵνα – 140 αὐτοῦ < SH | 140 τοῦ] κυρίου F | 141 ἐδίδουν H | 142 στόματος<sup>2</sup> + αὐτοῦ τοῦ F | 143 τῇ < H | 144 ἀπόλυσιν] ἀνάγνωσιν DF πρὸς αὐτόν < H πάρεστιν SH | 145 εὐθέως < SH κατηφεία πολλῆ H καί<sup>2</sup> – 146 αὐτῷ < SH | 146 διαλογισμοῖς F | 147 ὦ < D πῶς δέ] καὶ πῶς SH | 148 καὶ ὁ] ὁ δὲ SH Μυρναίων DF | 149 ἐνταῦθα < SH κατηντήσαμεν SH | 150 τῶν] ἄγαν SH ὁ δέ] καὶ ὁ SH | 151 σου] ἤνπερ

children to him for their benefit, whom he also admonished to keep the divine commandments of the Saviour Christ, and showed them the useful way of divine reading by teaching it, exhorting them to keep away from the games and all other youthful rivalry, passion and abomination, but to hasten to church always, to be engaged with praying, to listen to the divine reading, to guard their mouth from abuse and keep away their eyes from a harmful sight and not to stay together with impure sinners, for *in the twinkling of an eye* one partakes, he said, of the profane and perilous ones, rather than of the reasonable and virtuous ones. At matins on the great holidays the most worthy clerics of the holy church there had the blessed one in their mind and invited him to enter with the befitting honour and to read. And he went there gladly with great pleasure and spiritual obedience in order to help the flock of Christ greatly and to receive the divine reward from the Lord his God. And when he read, all the church gave praises to the Almighty, for they heard God's words from his mouth as from the mouth of God.

The bishop Eulogios,<sup>20</sup> being delighted about his manners and the way he sang at his lecture, ordered to bring him to him after the dismissal. And when he stood before him, he fell immediately before the feet of the bishop, and stood there in dejection, looking downward and listening to his speeches. Now the bishop said to him: "Tell me, o child, from which town you are, what your name is and how you came here." And the blessed one said: "I have arrived here some days ago from the town of Moryne, my worthy lord, together with my father for some business, and after a short time we will depart from here." The bishop said: "Do you want to stay with me and become a cleric of the church? This will be of great advantage for you, for my soul has loved you much because of your wisdom. So if you decide to settle with me, prepare today to bring all your belongings to me." The blessed one said: "My holy father, I will ask my father, and what seems right to him, that will happen."

When the youth returned into his lodging after the completion of the morning hymn, the one who followed him, being sent by God, went to him and said: "This and this the bishop Eulogios has said to you. So give way to his words, my child, for this will perhaps help us, and will do no harm."

Now the blessed one rose immediately and went to the bishop's palace, and on that day the bishop spoke the prayer without hesitation and made him a lecturer. For until

κέκτησαι SH | 152 ἡγάπησεν] ἐπεπόθησεν SH | 153 πάντα τὰ σά] παντάπασαν D παντάπασιν F  
 δὲ < DF πάτερ ἅγιε post μου τῷ πατρὶ DF | 154 γενήσεται SH | 155 ὡς – ὕμνου] ἐλθὼν οὖν SH  
 τῆν] τῆς D μετὰ τω D ὑπέστρεψεν < SH, + καὶ H | 156 πρὸς<sup>2</sup> < SH καὶ τὰ] κατὰ SH |  
 157 τέκνον τοῦτο < SH | 158 ἕως ἡμᾶς SH οὐδὲν δὲ παραβλάφηται < SH

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 19.

- 160 Ἐυθέως οὖν ἀναστάς ὁ μακάριος ἀπήει ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μη-  
 ἡμέρας ἐκείνης λαϊκῶ σχήματι προσῆν περιάγων ὁ σεβασμιώτατος. Ὑῆρχεν οὖν ἔκτοτε  
 μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ πνευματικῶ ἀδολεσχοῦμενος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς  
 ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ἀκολουθίαις πάνυ καλῶς διαπρέπων, ὥστε οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸν ἐπίσκο-  
 165 πον καὶ εἰς διακόνου αὐτὸν βαθμὸν ἀνάξει, καὶ τὰς διοικήσεις ἀπάσας, ἤγουν τὸ οἰκονο-  
 μεῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐτοίμου ὄντος τοῦ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ. Τοιαύτην δὲ εὐθύτητα ὁ δίκαιος  
 ἐκέκτητο ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτοῦ, καθότι περισπώμενος ἐν ταῖς διατάξεσιν τοῦ ἐπισκό-  
 που αὐτοῦ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐξετέλει ἀπαρλείπτως πάσας κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐπτε-  
 λουμένας προσευχάς, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀξύτερον αὐτὸν γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς  
 διανοήμασιν καὶ ὀξυδερκέστερον.
- 170 Ὅντος τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπείῳ καὶ θεαρέστως ἐν κυρίῳ ἀναστρεφομένου,  
 Ἐγραῦς τίς κατῴκει πλησίον τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου τοῦνομα Θεοδώρα, ἥτις ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν  
 τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπηρετήσασα νηστείας καὶ προσευχαῖς καὶ δάκρυσι καθ' ἑκάστην νύκτα καὶ  
 ἡμέραν — καὶ ἔτι ἠσυχολεῖτο ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐνεδίδου τῶν πνευματικῶν  
 175 ἀγώνων ἀνδρὶ νομίμῳ γάμῳ, ὡς ἔφησαν, μὴ ζευχθεῖσα τὸ σύνολον, ἐν νεότητι δὲ μικρὸν  
 παροιστήσασα καὶ ἔξω τοῦ δέους ἐκνεύσασα, τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆς μετα-  
 νοίας εἰσπηδήσασα καὶ καλὸν ὀψώνιον ἑαυτῇ δρεψαμένη, τὸ διορατικόν τε καὶ σεμνότα-  
 τον χάρισμα, τοῦ θεοῦ μόνου τοῦτο ἔλεει καὶ φιλανθρωπία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιστρέφουσιν οἰκονο-  
 μούντος, ἵνα δειχθῇ ὅποσα ἢ μετάνοια δύνатаι. Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι κατῴκει πλησίον τοῦ  
 ἐπισκοπείου, ἐν τῷ εἰσέναι καὶ ἐξίεναι τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγέντιον πνεύματι ἀγίῳ  
 180 ἐλλαμφθεῖσα τὸ πᾶν τε περὶ αὐτοῦ συνιούσα ἐν τῷ ἐξίεναι μῖα τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀποκριθεῖσα  
 ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τέκνον Γρηγέντιε, πολλὸν καύσωνα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐν τῷ ἀνακεχωρηκέναι  
 σε κατέλιπας. Ὡ πόσον νῦν, φίλτατε, περὶ σοῦ ἀποδύρεται ἢ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ κτησαμέ-  
 νη σε, τέκνον, πόσων τε δακρῶν, ἀγαπητέ μου, διὰ σέ καθ' ἑκάστην κρουνηδὸν προχέει  
 Ἄγάπιος ὁ πατήρ σου! Ὡ τέκνον παμφίλτατον καὶ ἡγιασμένον ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας, ὦ  
 185 σπέρμα εὐλογημένον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς σου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς  
 ἀμετρήτοις ἐκλελεγμένον· πολλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ οἶκος ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ περὶ σέ, τέκνον, μεγάλα  
 εἰσὶν τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ τὰ περὶ κύκλῳ σου, γενόμενα φῶς τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. Φοβερὰ ἐστὶν  
 καὶ ἡ πρόνοια ἢ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἢ τὰ περὶ σέ, μάκαρ, φιλανθρώπως περιοδεύσασα. Ὡ ἄνθος  
 νεότητος, νοητῶν τε καὶ πεπερίων βοτρῶν ἀνάπλεος· ὑπόμεινον, τέκνον, ὑπόμεινον ἐν τῇ  
 190 διὰ κύριον ξενιτεῖᾳ σου καλλίστην ὑπακοὴν τῷ σέ θεοπρεπῶς ἄγοντι ἐνδεικνύμενος.

### DFSH

159 Ἐ ἄ· χειροτονεῖται ὁ ἅγιος ἀναγνώστης καὶ διάκονος SH μηδὲν SH | 160 αὐτὸν < SH |  
 161 λαϊκῶν SH | 162 πνευματικῶ < SH μᾶλλον < SH | 163 ἀκολουθίαις] ὑπηρεσίαις D ἱστορίας  
 SH | 164 ἄξει SH ἀπάσας S ἤγουν – 165 αὐτῷ < F | 165 ἐκκλησίας + ἐπικρατῶν H ἐτοίμου –  
 169 ὀξυδερκέστερον < SH | 166 περισπώμενοι F | 168 γεγόναι F | 170 αὐτῷ SH | 171 Ἐ ἰ· περὶ  
 τῆς ὀσίας Θεοδώρας SH ὅστις DF πλείστοις SH | 172 νηστείας – 174 ἀγώνων < SH |  
 173 ἡμέρα F ἐνεδίδου F | 174 ἀνδρὶ + μὲν SH ἔφασκεν DF ἔφασαν Ss ζευχθῆναι DF μικρὸν τι  
 S | 175 τυμπανοιστρώσασα H δέους] δαίμονος DF δεὸς S δέος H ἐκνέψασα SH τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τὰ codd.

that day the most adorable one had been going around in common dress. So he was conversing henceforth with the bishop in all spiritual work and moreover distinguished himself very well in the ecclesiastical services, so that after a short time the bishop raised him to the rank of deacon and was ready to entrust him with all administrative matters, that is with the direction of the church. The righteous one possessed such a righteousness in his prayers that, though being distracted by the commands of his bishop, according to his mind he performed all the prayers as usual without any omission, so that by this he also became sharper in spiritual thought and more sharp-sighted.

So when he was in the bishop's palace and dwelled there in a way pleasing to God the Lord, an old woman lived close to the bishop's palace called Theodora who had served the Lord many years by fasting and prayers and tears every night and day,<sup>21</sup> and the woman of God was still engaged and did not desist from her spiritual struggles. She had never been joined to a man in legal marriage, as people said, had kicked over the traces a little in her youth and behaved indecently, but then leaped into Christ's harbour of repentance and harvested a good fruit for herself, namely the most noble gift of prophetic sight, which God only bestows by his mercy and love to mankind upon those that return to him, so that it may be shown what repentance can do. Now as it has been said, she lived close to the bishop's palace, and when the servant of God Gregentios went in and out, she was enlightened by the Holy Ghost and understood all about him, and when he went out one day she answered and said to him: "My child Gregentios, you have left behind a great heat of fire to your family when you left. O how much, my dearest one, does she now lament you that possessed you in the Holy Ghost, my child, how many tears, my beloved one, does your father Agapios shed in streams for you every day! O all-dearest child that has been sanctified from his young age, o blessed seed that has been chosen from the womb of your mother and by the Almighty for innumerable goods, Great is the compassion of the Saviour for you, my child, great are his mercies around you that have become the light of my eyes. Also the providence of the Highest is frightful, you blessed one, which cares for you in a man-loving way. O prime of youth, full of mental and ripe fruits: Be patient, my child, be patient in your living abroad for the sake of the Lord, and display the best obedience to the one that leads you in a way

δὲ] πάλιν SH | 176 ἐπιπηδήσασα SH | 177 τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας SH ὠκονομοῦντος S | 178 δεικνύται DF | 179 θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ SH | 180 ἐλλαμφείσα D τὸ – ἡμερῶν < SH σνιοῦσαν DF | 182 πόσα SH περὶ σοῦ < SH ἀποδύρεταί σου SH | 183 δάκρυον SH<sup>pc</sup> | 184 Ἀγάπιος – σου] ὁ πνευματικός σου πατήρ DF πανφίλτατον F | 185 σου] αὐτοῦ S | 186 πολὺς – 189 ἀνάπλεος < SH | 189 ἀνάμπλεος D τέκνον < SH

<sup>21</sup> This anacolouth should perhaps be removed by adding ἦν before ὑπερετήσασα.



Ἄγων γὰρ καὶ περιάγων καταντήσεις εἰς τὴν σὲ περιμένουσαν πόλιν τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ κατεργάσασθαι.”

Ταῦτα τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης γραίδος λεγούσης ὁ ἀγιώτατος Γρηγόριος ἐκπληττό-  
 195 μένος μὲν καὶ τὸ διορατικὸν χάρισμα τῆς ἀειμνήστου ἐκείνης καὶ ὁσίας, ὑπομνηθεὶς δὲ  
 μάλα καὶ περὶ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ ἴστατο γαληνομόρφως ἐνωπιζόμενος τὰ ῥήμα-  
 τα τῆς ἀγίας καὶ φιλησύχως καταφέρων ὡς μαργαρίτας τὰ δάκρυα. Ἡ δὲ ὁσία Θεοδώρα  
 ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν “Μὴ οὕτω,” φησὶν, “ὦ τέκνον, θρήνηι, εἰδὼς ὅτι ξένα τὰ πάντα καὶ  
 ἀλλότρια· σήμερον γὰρ ἦτε αὔριον κἂν μὴ βουλόμενοι τῶν ματαίων τούτων καὶ  
 προσκαίρων λοιπὸν ἀφιστάμεθα καὶ τοῖς αἰωνίοις καὶ αἰδίοις τε χωροῦμεν. Ὡστε μηδὲν  
 200 τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐργασίας προτιμήσεις, μὴ φίλους, μὴ γονεῖς, μὴ κτήματα, μὴ χρυσόν, μὴ  
 ἄργυρον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ὑπομνήσκω οὖν, τέκνον, τὴν σὴν ἀγιοσύνην, οὐ διδάσκω·  
 ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ πλήρη χάριτος θεοῦ σε εἶναι καὶ σοφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ συνέσεως. Πλὴν διὰ τὸν  
 κύριον, μέμνησό μου ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν χάριτι Χριστοῦ ἀκέραιος φυλασσόμενος. Ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἤδη, ὡς ὀρθῶς, ὦ τέκνον, πρὸς δυσμὰς τοῦ θανάτου προέφθασα καὶ ἤδη σπένδομαι τοῦ  
 205 ἀναλύσαι πρὸς κύριον· σὺ δὲ ἡ χρυσότατος ρίζα ἐπιμικρὸν καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆσδε μετανα-  
 στεύσεις καὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν χώραν ἀποδημήσεις, καὶ ἔσται ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ.”

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος φησὶν· “Παράθου με, ὦ μῆτερ ὁσία, τῷ θεῷ διὰ τῶν  
 τιμίων εὐχῶν σου, καὶ τὸ θέλημα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος γενέσθω μοι.” Ἡ δὲ ὁσία τὰς  
 210 χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς ὕψος ἄρασα καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν τριάδα ἐπκαλεσαμένη, ἐπευξαμένη τε  
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσπασαμένη αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσεν. Ἐκτοτε οὖν ὁ δίκαιος πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν ἀναχω-  
 ρῆσαι συνεχῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπῆι καὶ ἐκομίζετο τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅτι δ’ ἂν πρὸς χεῖρα  
 ἐκέκτητο, ἐδίδου αὐτῇ πενομένη. Ἡ δὲ μακαρία συνεχῶς αὐτῷ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης  
 προσωμίλει, ὑπεμύνησκέν τε πραότητος ἔχεσθαι, ἀοργησίας τε καὶ ἀμνησικακίας, τὸ  
 παραπλήσιον λέγουσα, ὅτι “κύριος ψυχὰς λογικὰς σοι μέλλει, ὦ τέκνον, ἐμπιστεύειν, καὶ  
 215 ὀφείλεις ἀπ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ἐτοιμάζειν τὴν καρδίαν σου ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς, ἵνα ποιμανεῖς αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ ποιμνιον ἐν καθαρότητι ψυχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς διανοίας σου ἐγρηγόρσει, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν  
 πολυπλάσιον κομίσει ἐν τῇ ἀνεσπέρῳ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.”

Ἐχρόνου δὲ οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος παρωχηκότος καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου καλῶς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 220 θεὸν δοξαζόντων καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀκατάσχετον πόθον εἰς αὐτὸν κεκτημένου, ὁ θεοφό-

203 ἐγὼ – 205 κύριον cf. 2 Tim. 4.7

#### DFSH

191 γὰρ < H αὐτῷ D | 194 δὲ μάλα | τε SH | 195 γαληνομόρφος SH τὰ < F | 196 μαργάρους SH  
 δὲ < DF | 197 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη DF, < SH φησὶν· μὴ οὕτως SH πάντα bis F | 198 ἦτε < SH |  
 199 λοιπὸν < SH μὴθὲν SH | 200 χρυσόν μὴ ἄργυρον | χρήματα SH | 201 οὖν | σε H, < S  
 ἀγιοσύνην bis S | 202 πλήρη | ὅτι πλήρης DF πλήρης SH ὁμοῦ < SH | 203 γὰρ | δὲ H | 204 τέκνον  
 + ἡ F προέφθασεν F τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SH | 205 ρίζα ἡ χρυσότατος SH ταύτης ἀναχωρήσεις SH |  
 206 χώραν < SH | 207 φησὶν Γρηγόριος S παρὰ θεοῦ F μήτηρ S | 208 τιμίων ἁγίων H μοι <  
 SH | 209 καὶ < SH | 210 αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> < DF | 211 ὅτι | εἶτι H δ’ ἂν < SH εἰς χεῖρας SH | 212 πενομένης

worthy of God. For going around and wandering you will arrive at the town that awaits you, in order to do there the things pleasing to God.”

When that blessed old woman said this, the most holy Gregentios was astonished about the gift of prophetic sight of that holy woman of eternal memory, and when he was reminded about his parents who were fearing God, he stood there, hearing calmly the words of the holy woman and silently letting his tears drop down like pearls. And the holy Theodora said to him: “Do not cry so much, o child, for you know that all things are strange and foreign; for today or tomorrow we will be separated even unwillingly from these vain and temporary things and will proceed to the eternal and everlasting ones. So do not prefer anything to the spiritual work, neither friends nor parents, nor possessions, nor gold, nor silver and so on. Now, my child, I call to mind your holiness and do not teach you, for I know that you are full of the grace of God together with wisdom and understanding. But for God’s sake, remember me when you will be kept unharmed over many years by the grace of Christ. For as you see, o child, I have already reached the west of death,<sup>22</sup> and am already offered to pass away to the Lord; there is still a short time, and you most golden root will part from this town as well and go to another land, and the Lord will be with you.”

The blessed Gregentios said: “My holy mother, entrust me to God by your worthy prayers, and the will of his goodness shall be done to me.” And the holy one raised her hands up and invoked the life-giving Trinity, prayed for him, embraced and dismissed him. Now the righteous one henceforth went to her continually before his departure and received her prayers, and whatever he had at hand he gave to her, since she was poor. The blessed woman spoke to him continually about humbleness and reminded him to be gentle, free from anger and forgiving, saying something like this: “The Lord will entrust you, o child, with rational souls, and you have to prepare your heart already from now on for the good things, so that you will tend his flock in the pureness of your soul and the vigilance of your mind, and you will receive multiple reward at the day of his kingdom which is without evening.”

A considerable time had passed, and the blessed one lived well in the church and in his paces according to God, and all praised God because of him and the bishop had an insatiable longing for him. Then that God-bearing man came to him privately, made

D πενουμένης F, + τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ SH μακαριωτάτῃ SH προωμίλει περι ταπεινοφροσύνης H | 213 ἀοργησίας τε] και ἀοργησίας SH | 214 παραπλησίων SH ὦ τέκνον < SH | 217 ἐν < DF ἀνεσπέρῳ < H βασιλείας αὐτοῦ H | 218 ἴα’· πάλιν ὁ θεοφόρος ἀνήρ αἴρει τὸν ὄσιον εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν SH (αἴρειν S) | 219 και<sup>1</sup> – διαβήμασιν < SH

<sup>22</sup> On the concept of west as the direction of death, in opposition to the east where Christ comes from, see Eusebios of Kaisareia’s comment on Ps. 67.5 in *CPG* 3467, *PG* 23, 688, and Wallraff, *Christus Verus Sol*, 120–121.

- ρος ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος κατ' ἰδίαν προσελθὼν καὶ ἐμφανίσας αὐτὸν τῷ μακαρίῳ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Καιρός, τέκνον, ἦκει, ἵνα καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχωρήσωμεν· ἀλλ' οὖν πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ καὶ μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω.” Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς αἰσίου πλοὸς αὐτοῖς εὐρεθέντος μηδὲν μεμεληκότες, εἰσελθόντες ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἰκανῶς διαπλεύσαντες πόλιν τὴν Ἀκράγαντον κατέλαβον τῆς Σικελῶν νήσου. Ἀποστάντες τοιγαροῦν τοῦ πλοὸς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγονότες εἰς τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης τὰ Προτώλου ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου κατέλαβον. Ἦν γὰρ ἐσπέρα καὶ οὐκ ἐσυντόμευσαν ποιῆσαι ἔρυναν μιτάτου ἕνεκα. Τῇ δὲ ἔωθεν τοῦ ξύλου κρούσαντος καὶ τοῦ ἑωθινοῦ ὕμνου ἐπιτελουμένου, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος εἰσήει ἔνδοθεν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιτελέσων τὸν κανόνα. Κατανοῶν δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε μετὰ παρρησίας ἐστῶτας καὶ ψάλλοντας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς οἶα ξένον καὶ ἀπόδημον καὶ τῶν καθορωμένων ἀλλότριον, τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς ὕψος αἴρων πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατοικοῦντα δάκρυσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ θεοειδὲς πρόσωπον κρουνηδὸν κατέβρεχεν καὶ ἐκ βάθους τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ στεναγμὸν ἀνοιμώπτων τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ὑπερεδόξαζεν· τηλιοῦτον γὰρ ἢ ἐν ξενιτείᾳ διάγουσα ψυχὴ τὴν τε κατάνυξιν καὶ τὰ δάκρυα καὶ τοὺς στεναγμοὺς πλουσιωτάτως ἐκέκτητο. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὄρωντες αὐτὸν οὕτω τοῖς δάκρυσιν τὸ πρόσωπον βρέχοντα ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κατεπλήττοντο καὶ μάλιστα μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι τίσπερ εἶη. Τινὲς μὲν ἔλεγον, ὅτι “Πειρασμῷ τινὶ ἴσως οὗτος ὁ ξένος περιπέπτωκεν καὶ τούτου χάριν οὕτως πικρῶς ὀδύρεται”, ἕτεροι δὲ, ὅτι “Οὐχί,” φησὶν, “ἀλλὰ θεοσεβῆς ἐστὶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχικῶν αὐτοῦ συντριμμάτων οὕτως ὀξέως ὀδύρεται.” Ὁ δὲ τίμιος Γρηγέντιος συνιείς ὅτι περὶ αὐτοῦ προσομιλοῦσιν, ἐντραπείς ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἀπῆει γωνίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κάκεισε ἦν ἐστῶς καὶ εὐχόμενος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάντων ἀναχωρήσαντων ἐξελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον καὶ τὸ φαλτήριον αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἐξ Ἀθηνόρας τῆς πόλεως ἦν κομισάμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, διανοίξας ἐκάθητο μελετῶν.
- Εἷς δὲ τις τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκείνῃ προεδρευόντων ἱερέων τοῦνομα Στέφανος, ἀνὴρ ἅγιος καὶ πανευλαβέστατος, θεασάμενος τὸν μακάριον οὕτω κατὰ μόνας καθεζόμενον καὶ τῷ φαλτηρίῳ ἐπασχολούμενον, συνιείς δὲ ὅτι καὶ πνευματικὸς περίεστιν, προσελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πλησιάσας αὐτῷ λέγει· “Χαίροις, τέκνον, ἐν κυρίῳ.” Ὁ δὲ ἀναστάς ἔβαλεν αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν καὶ φησὶν· “Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάτερ τίμει, εἶη μετὰ σοῦ.” Λέγει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, πόθεν χρηματίζεις;” Ὁ δὲ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐξ Ἀθηνόρας τῆς πόλεως, ὦ τίμει πάτερ, πέφυκα.” Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς· “Καὶ ποῦ γε ἄρα, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰσπράττεις;” Ὁ δὲ μακά-

### DFSH

221 ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ H αὐτόν] αὐτῷ F πρὸς αὐτόν] αὐτῷ SH | 222 σεαυτὸν D | 223 εὐρεθέντος + καὶ D μηθὲν F | 224 ἡμεληκότες SH καὶ < DF | 225 τῆς Σικελῶν νήσου < SH ἀποστάντος H<sup>pc</sup> | 227 κατέμειναν DF ἦν – ποιῆσαι] εἰς SH | 228 μακαριώτατος S | 229 ἔνδοθεν τοῦ ναοῦ < SH | 231 καὶ – ἀλλότριον] δακρῶν οὐκ ἐπαύετο καὶ SH | 232 δάκρυσιν – κατέβρεχεν < SH | 233 στεναγμὸν < SH ὑπερεδόξαζεν τηλιοῦτον] ἐδόξαζεν τοιοῦτον SH | 234 ἐν + τῇ SH | 235 ἐπικέκτητο F ἐπικέκτηται S οὕτως DF | 236 καὶ μάλιστα < SH | 237 τίσπερ εἶη] τίς ἐστιν SH μὲν + οὖν SH | 238 πικρῶς < SH ἀλλὰ γε θεοσεβῆς τίς SH | 239 συντριμμάτων] θρεμμάτων F

himself appear before the blessed one and said to him: “My child, the time has come to depart from here as well; but now take care that no one will notice it.” And after three days, when they had found a favourable passage, they embarked without hesitation, and after having sailed a sufficient time they reached the town of Agrigentum on the island of Sicily.<sup>23</sup> So they disembarked from the ship, and when they came to <the town>, they arrived at the porch of the church of the most holy Mother of God which is called *ta Protolou*. For it was evening and they did not have the time to look for a lodge. In the morning, when the wood was beaten and the morning hymn was performed, the blessed Gregentios went into the church to perform the liturgy as well. When he perceived how all people there were standing and singing with confidence, and how he himself was a stranger and emigr  who was foreign to those he saw, he raised his hands up to the one who dwells in heaven, moistened his God-like face with streaming tears and praised the holy God, uttering a loud sigh deeply from his heart; for the soul that stayed abroad possessed contrition so abundantly, such tears and sighs. When some of those in the church saw him moistening his face with his tears in such a way, they wondered and were amazed, and especially since they did not know who he was. Some said: “Perhaps this stranger has fallen to some temptation and therefore laments so bitterly”, others said: “No, he rather fears God and laments so sharply about the afflictions of his heart.” When the worthy Gregentios understood that they were talking about him, he was ashamed and went into a hidden corner of the church, and there he stood and prayed. And after the dismissal of the church, when all had gone away, he came out himself into the forecourt, opened the psalter, which he had brought with him from the town of Antenora, and sat down for meditation.

When one of the pre-eminent priests in that church, called Stephanos, a holy man who feared God very much, saw the blessed one sitting so alone and being engaged with the psalter, he understood that he was a spiritual person, came to him, approached him and said: “Be joyful, my child, in the Lord.” <Gregentios> stood up, bowed before him and said: “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, worthy father.” Now the priest said to him: “For the sake of the Lord, where do you come from?” And he said to him: “I am from the town of Antenora, my worthy father.” And the priest: “And where, o child, will you be making your journey?” The blessed one said: “To Milan, if God

ὁξέως] ὁ ξένος H, < D ἀποδύρεται SH | 240 συνεις SH | 241 κάκεισε – ἐκκλησίας<sup>2</sup> < D προσῆν SH δὲ] μὲν F | 242 καί<sup>2</sup> < DF | 243 ὅπερ – ἑαυτοῦ < SH ἀνοίξας SH (ante 242 τὸ H) | 245 προεδρευόντων ἱερέων] προεδρεύων SH | 246 πάνυ εὐλαβέστατος H καθεζόμενος S<sup>ac</sup> | 247 καί<sup>1</sup> – καί<sup>2</sup>] συνεις ὅτι SH ἐστίν SH | 248 πρὸς αὐτὸν < SH αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν SH τέκνον < SH | 249 κυρίου – Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ SH | 250 εἶη] εἶτω SH οὖν < D | 251 πρὸς αὐτόν < SH | 252 ὦ < SH τέκνον + μου H ποιούμενος εἰσπράττεις] στελλόμενος εἰσπράττει SH δὲ < DF

<sup>23</sup> See above, pp. 26–28.

ριος ἔφη· “Ἐπὶ Μεδιόλانا, εἴ γε ὁ θεὸς εὐδώσῃ καὶ αἱ τιμίαι σου εὐχαί, ὦ παναγιώτατε  
 255 πάτερ.” Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Παρακαλῶ σε διὰ τὸν κύριον τοῦ καταλύσαι  
 τέως ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καί, μέχρις ὅτε κελεύεις τοῦ διαρκέσαι ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, τοῦ ὑπάρ-  
 χειν σε ἅμα ἐμοί.” Ὁ δὲ παμμακάριστος μηδὲν μελήσας ἀναστάς ἐπορεύθη μετ’ αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖσε μέχρι τοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης.

Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀντηγορατῶν πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὸν δίκαιον τῶν  
 ἐκεῖσε πολλὰ ἐρευνήσας, ὥστε καὶ ἐν Μορύνῃ τῇ πόλει αὐτὸν ἀποστεῖλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 260 μηδὲν εὐρηκῶς, ὡς ἐπὶ γνησίῳ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ καθεσθῆεις οὕτω μετὰ πικρῶν δακρύων ἐθρήνει τὴν  
 ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν σχεδὸν σκυθρωπάσαι δι’ αὐτὸν μετ’ αὐτοῦ.

Τοῦ μακαρίου τοίνυν Γρηγεντίου ἐν τῇ Ἀκραγαντῶν πόλει χρηματίζοντος πάλιν  
 κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ προσῆν εὐθέως  
 ἀπὸ εὐκτηρίου οἴκου πρὸς εὐκτήριον μεταβαίνων ἐν ἐκστάσει πνευματικῇ καὶ προσευχό-  
 265 μενος. Οἴκαδε ἐπανερχόμενος ὁ σεβάσμιος ἔπειτα τὰς θεοπνεύστους βίβλους τῶν Γρα-  
 φῶν λαμβάνων μετὰ χειρας ἀνεγίνωσκεν. Μιᾶ τοίνυν τῶν ἡμερῶν πορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ  
 τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον πύλῃ τῆς πόλεως παρόντος ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς πρεσβυτέρου, ἐν  
 ὥπερ καὶ ἐξενίζετο, χάριν τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖσε εὐκτηρίῳ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων προσεύξα-  
 σθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐπορεύοντο καὶ τινα πνευματικὰ χάριν ὠφελείας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διελογίζοντο,  
 270 συναντῶσιν τόπῳ τινὶ πεδιάζοντι καὶ χλοηφόρῳ, ἐν ᾧπερ δύο φυτὰ πεύκης οὐ πολὺ ἀπ’  
 ἀλλήλων διεστῶτα ἐχρημάτιζον· ὑπῆρχον δὲ εὐμηκέστατα ἀνυ. Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου Γρη-  
 γεντίου θαυμάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷ μήκει αὐτῶν καὶ ἡρέμα ἐν τῷ διοδεύειν ἐναποσκοποῦντος  
 πρὸς αὐτά, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος πρεσβύτερος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Βλέπεις ταῦτα τὰ  
 275 πεύκη, ὦ τέκνον ἐμὸν πνευματικόν;” Τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, ὅτι “ὡς ἐκέλευσας”, ἀποκριθεὶς  
 ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν·

“Ἀσκητήριον ἐστὶν θεῖον ὀλίγων μοναστριῶν· Ἰγρᾶς δὲ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ  
 τοῦνομα Εἰρήνη, περὶ ἧς ἀρετὰς ἐξαισίους ἑαυτόθι αἱ ἀδελφαὶ διηγούνται. Ἐν δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πολλῶν σοὶ διηγῆσομαι· Ἔθος οὖν εἶχεν ἡ ἀείμνηστος ἐκείνη ταῖς νυξὶν ἐξιέναι κατὰ  
 280 μόνας εἰς τὸ προαύλιον αὐτόθι, ἐν ᾧπερ τὰ φυτὰ ταῦτα καθορᾶς ἐστῶτα, τοῦ προσεύξα-  
 σθαι· ὁπόταν δὲ ἔσχεν ἐξιέναι, ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο φυτῶν, ὧνπερ βλέπεις, ἴστατο καὶ  
 προσήχητο. Κατὰ δὲ ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τερατουργοῦ πνεύματος, ὁπόταν εἶχεν  
 κλίνει τὸ γόνυ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῆς, ὃν τρόπον δύο ἄνδρες λογικοὶ οὕτω  
 καὶ τὰ φυτὰ, ἃ νῦν ὄρθς ἅμα αὐτῇ, μετὰ δέους τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτῶν ὑποκλίνοντα σὺν αὐτῇ  
 285 προσεκύνουν ἕως ἐδάφους τῆς γῆς τῷ κυρίῳ. Ἐάν τε οὖν ἔκειτο πρηνῆς ἡ ὄσια ἐν τῇ γῇ,  
 ἔκειντο καὶ αὐτὰ τὸ καθόλου μὴ ἀνανεούοντα· εἴτε πάλιν ἴστατο ἢ μακαριωτάτη, καὶ αὐτὰ

## DFSH

253 Μεδιολάνων SH εὐδώσειεν DF | 254 καὶ ὁ] ὁ δὲ SH πρὸς αὐτόν] αὐτῷ S σε] σοι DF |  
 255 καὶ < D τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SH | 257 αὐτόν < SH | 258 ὁ – 262 πάλιν SH | 263 αὐτῷ περὶ] αὐτῶν SH  
 τῶν < S καὶ – 266 ἀνεγίνωσκεν < SH | 266 ἐπὶ – 267 πρεσβυτέρου < SH | 267 τὴν – πύλην SH  
 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ F, < D ἐν – 269 προσεύξασθαι < SH | 269 ἂν] οὖν λοιπὸν SH διελέγοντο SH |  
 270 καὶ < SH ᾧπερ + τόπῳ SH | 271 διεστῶτα ἐχρημάτιζον] ἴστατο post 270 πεύκης, ὑπῆρχον]

guides me aright, and <with> your worthy prayers, o all-holy father.” And the priest said to him: “I ask you for the sake of the Lord to take your lodging in my house for the time being and to be with me, as long as you decide to stay in this town.” And the all-blessed one rose without hesitation and went with him, and was there until he departed from this town.

After the righteous one had departed from Antenora, the bishop of that town searched much, and also sent messengers to the town of Moryne because of him; and when he found nothing, he sat down and bewailed his departure like that of his own true son with bitter tears, but nearly the whole town also was sad together with him because of him.

Now when the blessed Gregentios was in the town of Agrigentum, he searched again for the holy churches according to his custom, and immediately went around, wandering from chapel to chapel in spiritual ecstasy and prayer. When the adorable one had returned home, he thereafter took the God-inspired books of the Scriptures into his hands and read them. Now one day he went to the northern gate of the town together with the God-loving priest, by whom he was entertained, to pray there in the chapel of the holy Apostles. And when they walked and said some spiritual things to each other for their benefit, they came to a level place bearing green grass on which two pine trees stood, not very distant from each other; and they were very tall. When the blessed Gregentios wondered about their height and calmly looked at them when going by, the most God-loving priest noticed this and said to him: “Do you see these pines, my spiritual child?” And when he said “as you order”, he answered and said to him:<sup>24</sup>

“This is a divine ascetic community of a small number of nuns; there was an old woman in this nunnery called Eirene, about whom the sisters tell extraordinary virtues at this place. And one of these many I will tell you: That woman of eternal memory had the custom to go out alone in the nights for prayer into the forecourt, where you see these trees standing, and when she went out, she stood between the two trees which you see, and prayed. By the power of the divine and wonder-working Spirit, when she bowed her knee to the east to the Lord her God, so did the two trees, which you now see together with her, bending their tops with fear like rational men bowed down to the soil of the earth before the Lord. Now if the holy one lay with her face downwards, they lay also and did not rise at all; if the most blessed one stood again, they as well rose simi-

ἦσαν SH | 272 ἐναποσκοποῦντι DF | 273 ὑπολαβὼν + δὲ H | 274 ὦ – πνευματικὸν < SH ὡς < SH ἀποκριθεὶς + ἔπειτα F | 276 ἐστὶν θεῖον] πρόσσετιν αὐτόθι SH ὁ ἰβ’· περὶ τῆς ὁσίας Εἰρήνης SH δὲ < D H προσῆν SH | 277 αἱ < F S διηγούντο H | 278 οὖν – ἀείμνηστος] ἐκέκτητο τῇ μακαρίᾳ SH | 279 τοῦ προσεύξασθαι < SH | 281 θεοῦ καὶ τερατουργῶ] ἀγίου SH | 282 πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς < SH τῷ θεῷ αὐτῆς < SH | 283 ὑποκλίναντα SH αὐτῆ<sup>2</sup> + καὶ H | 284 ἔάν – 291 θαυμάζοντες < SH ἐν < D

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 28.

παραπλησίως συναίσταντο αὐτῇ ὀρθοτομούμενα κατὰ τὴν νῦν ὀρωμένην διάστασιν αὐτῶν. Ὅποταν τοιγαροῦν ἀσέληνος ὑπῆρχεν ἢ νύξ τοῦ παραδόξου τούτου σημείου γενομένου, οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν τότε βλέπειν ἠδύνατο· σελήνης δὲ καθαρῶς θεούσης καὶ τὸ ζοφῶδες τῆς νυκτὸς φωτιζούσης, πάντες οἱ περικύκλω τῆς μονῆς καταμένοντες καθαρῶς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ἐξαισίου τούτου θαύματος ἐθεώρουν ἐκπληττόμενοι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπαίροντες τὸ ‘κύριε ἐλέησον’ ὑπεφώνουν θαυμάζοντες.”

Ὁ δὲ σεβάσμιος Γρηγόριος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ καταπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ διηγήματι αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ ἀνέπεμψεν καὶ φησὶν πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον· “Δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, περίεστιν ἔτι ἐν τῷ βίῳ περὶ ἧς ταῦτα ὑπαγορεύει ἢ γε παρήκε τὸν τῆδε βίον;” Καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος· “Πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τῆδε βίου μετέστη καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀσκητηρίῳ.” Καὶ ὁ δίκαιος φησὶν· “Ὅποταν κελεύεις, πορευσώμεθα αὐτόθι τοῦ κἄν τὸν ἱερόν τάφον αὐτῆς περιπτύξασθαι.” Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος φησὶν· “Πορευσώμεθα νῦν.” Ἀπελθόντων οὖν ἐν ᾧπερ εὐκτηρίῳ ἐπορεύοντο καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτῶν ἀποπληρώσαντες, τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐκέισε κατέλαβον, καὶ τῆς καθηγουμένης τῆς μονῆς ὑπομνησθείσης εὐθέως ἔνδον ἐχώρησαν. Καὶ ὡς προσηύξαντο ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ, ἐπορεύθησαν καὶ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ προσῆν τῆς πανοσίας ἐκείνης τὸ λείψανον.

Τοῦ οὖν πρεσβυτέρου εὐξαμένου καὶ πρὸς τὴν καθηγῆτριαν ἐληλυθότος χάριν ψυχωφελοῦς διηγήσεως, ὁ ἀγιώτατος Γρηγόριος ἐπιμείνας ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον προσήχετο. Καὶ δὴ παραχρῆμα ἤσθετο τῆς εὐοσμίας καὶ ἔνθους γεγονῶς ἐν κατανύξει τε γενάμενος ἤρξατο κατάγειν κρουνηδὸν τὰ δάκρυα. Εὐθέως οὖν ὄρᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ τρισμοῦ πινὸς γεγονότος ὡς ἐν τῷ μνήματι αὐτῆς, παραχρῆμα ἐξῆι ὄν τρόπον ῥάβδος πυρίνη ἀπὸ τῆς σοροῦ καὶ ἔστη κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦ δὲ ἐκπληττομένου ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θεάματι, ἡ ῥάβδος ἐκείνη ἢ πυρίνη μετασκευασθεῖσα καθαρὸν τοῦ σώματος εἶδος τῆς ὀσίας ἀπετέλεσεν, μοναδικῶ ὁχήματι αὐτὸ περιβεβλημένη καὶ κατωφθεῖσα, ἐοικῶσα εἰς 310 ἅπαξ τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτῆς τῆ οὖση πρὸς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τιμίου τάφου αὐτῆς. Ὡς οὖν τηλικαύτην ἀλλοίωσιν ἢ πυρίνη ῥάβδος ἐκείνη ἐνεδείξατο, ὄρᾳ ἔτι καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλα δύο μονάζουσαι πόθεν γενόμεναι ὄπισθεν αὐτῆς παρέστησαν ἐν τῷ τὰς χεῖρας δεσμῆν ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὸ τῆς ὑποταγῆς πρόσχημα προδήλως σημαίνουσαι.

Φησὶν δὲ ἡ ὁσία πρὸς αὐτόν· “Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγόριε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ φίλτατον· ὡς ὠραῖοι οἱ πόδες σου, τέκνον, καὶ ἀστεία ἢ ὁδός σου, ἦν πορεύῃ σήμερον. Τί δὲ ὅτι κατηξίωκας φθάσαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν μετριότητα χάριν φιλίας πνευματικῆς, δηλονότι καὶ ἐντεύξεως. Χθὲς γάρ σου ἠσθόμην τὴν ἐνταῦθα πάρ-

315 ὡς – σου<sup>1</sup> Rom. 12.15

D F S H | 317 |ξεως D|

290 καὶ < D | 292 σεβασμιώτατος SH τῷ + παραδόξῳ H | 293 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἀνέπεμψεν] ἔδωκεν τῷ θεῷ SH | 294 ἔτι < SH ὑπαγορεύει – 295 βίον] διαγορεύει SH | 295 μετέστη – 296 ἀσκητηρίῳ] μεθέστηκεν SH | 296 ὅποταν + δὲ D κελεύει D S | 297 τοῦ < SH ἱερόν < SH αὐτῆς τάφον D φησὶν] ἔφη H | 298 νῦν < SH ἀπελθόντων] πορευθέντες SH ὅπερ εὐκτηρίον SH | 299 ἐπορεύθησαν SH μονῆς + ὑπομονῆς F | 300 ἔνδον ἐχώρησαν] ἐνεχώρησαν S ἀνεχώρησαν H ἐνεχώρησαν S ἀνεχώ-

larly together with her, upright and in the distance in which they now can be seen. So if the night was moonless when this miraculous portent happened, nobody at all could see it; if the moon shone clearly and enlightened the gloom of the night, all those that lived around the nunnery clearly saw the portent of this extraordinary wonder, were astonished, and raising their hands to the height of heaven they called out the ‘Kyrie eleison’ wondering about this.”

When the adorable Gregentios heard this, he was amazed about this narration, and sent praise and glory up to the Almighty God and said to the priest: “I beseech you, my lord, is she still alive about whom you tell this, or has she already passed away from this life?” And the priest: “Some few days ago she departed from this life and was buried in this nunnery.” And the righteous one said: “If you so order, let us go there, so that we can at least embrace her holy grave.” And the priest said: “Let us go now.” So they went away to the chapel to which they were going, and performed their prayer; they arrived <at the nunnery> on the following day, and having informed the abbess of the nunnery, they immediately proceeded inside. And when they had prayed in the chapel, they also went to the place where the body of that all holy one was.

Now when the priest had prayed and gone to the abbess for narrations helpful for the soul, the most holy Gregentios still remained there and prayed even more fervently. And suddenly he felt her sweet odour, became inspired by God and, being brought to contrition, he began to let his tears run down in streams. Now he looked there immediately, and behold, a grating sound was heard as from her tomb, and on the spot she came out of her shrine like a fiery rod and stood before his eyes. When he was astonished about the miraculous sight, that fiery rod changed its shape and became a clear form of the body of the saint, which was dressed and to be seen in monastic habit, resembling entirely her image that stood at the head of her worthy grave. When that fiery rod displayed such a transformation, he still looked there, and behold, two other nuns that had come from somewhere also stood behind her, clearly indicating their visible submission by putting their hands together over her.

And the holy woman said to him: “Welcome, you servant of God Gregentios, you dearest lamb of Christ; *how beautiful are your feet*, my child, and *your way is graceful*<sup>25</sup> which you go today. How does it happen that you have been deemed worthy to come to our humbleness as well for the sake of spiritual friendship, and clearly also for

ρησαν H και – 301 και < SH προσήξατο F | 301 ἦν SH ἐκείνης < H | 302 ἀνεληλυθότος F | 304 τῆς] τινός SH ἐν – γενάμενος] και κατανώξεως DF | 305 κατάγειν] χέεσθαι DF τοῖς δάκρυσιν DF εὐθύς SH ὄρα και ἰδοὺ < SH τινός < SH | 306 ὡς < SH ἀπὸ τῆς σοροῦ < SH | 308 θαύματι SH | 309 σχῆμα DF περιβεβλημένη και < SH καθωφθεῖσα SH | 310 τῆς οὐσης DF | 311 ἔτι + ἀπαξ H ἰδοὺ + και D | 312 γενάμεναι SH παρέστησαν < SH αὐτῇ D | 313 πρόδηλον SH | 314 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – 317 ἐντεύξεως < SH

<sup>25</sup> The word ἀστεῖος means ‘perverse’ in the original context.



οδον καὶ ὅσα σοι Στέφανος ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ διαβαίνειν ὑμᾶς περὶ ἐμοῦ ὑπηγόρευεν. Τού-  
 του χάριν κατώφθην σοι τοῦ καὶ τοῦ δέους ἀπονεῖμαι τῇ σῇ ἐναρέτῳ λαμπρότητι.” Καὶ ἐν  
 320 τῷ ὁμιλεῖν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ μακάριος ἴστατο ὡς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἀπεορῶν πρὸς αὐ-  
 τὴν καὶ ὄλος χαρᾶς τε καὶ θυμηδίας πληρούμενος. Ἡ δὲ ὁσία ἐκείνη ἐπιστραφεῖσα πρὸς  
 τὰς μετ’ αὐτὴν ὄν τρόπον ζώσης αὐτῆς σωματικῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου παιδὸς αὐταῖς  
 ὑπηγόρευεν, ὅθεν τε ἔστιν ἀπαγγέλουσα αὐταῖς καὶ ἐν οἷς ἔφω καὶ ἐτράφη καὶ ὅπως τὰ  
 πάντα ὡς ὄναρ λογισάμενος τῷ καλέσαντι αὐτῷ προθύμως ἠκολούθησεν. Ἐν τούτοις οὖν  
 325 ἔληξεν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ γεγονῶς τῆς ἐκστάσεως οὐκεπὶ ἑώρακεν οὐδέν.  
 Καταπτύξας τε φίλτρῳ ζέοντι καὶ θείῳ ἔρωπι τὴν τιμίαν σορὸν τῆς ὁσίας Εἰρήνης τοῦ  
 πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὸν φωνήσαντος χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ὡς ἀπὸ εὐφρασίας πινὸς  
 μεγίστης ἀνάπλεος γεγονῶς οἴκαδε ἐπανάστρεψεν. Καθ’ ἑαυτὸν δὲ γεγονότος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ  
 ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ (περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς ἑώρακεν) ἐθαύμαζεν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων τερπνότητα καὶ  
 330 τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεγεν· “Ὅντως ἐπ’ ἀληθὲς θαυμαστός ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐ-  
 τοῦ, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ζῶσιν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ κινου-  
 νται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτῶν ἐπ’ ἀδείας εἰσπράττουσιν.”

Τῇ ἐπαύριον οὖν ἀναστάς ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ τετράστων κατὰ δυσμὰς τῆς πόλεως  
 κειμένου ἐν τῷ ἐκείσε ναῷ τοῦ Προδρόμου προσεύξασθαι. Ὡς οὖν τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ  
 335 ἐκείσε ἐξετέλεσεν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πορευθῆναι καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου  
 εὐχῆς χάριν, τῷ ἐπονομαζομένῳ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίωνος. Καὶ προβάντος αὐτοῦ μικρὸν τί τῆς  
 ὁδοιπορίας, βλέπει καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας πλῆθος λαοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτες, οἱ δὲ καθήμε-  
 νοι, μεμιγμένοι τῇ φύσει ἄνδρες τε γυναῖκες καὶ νεανίσκοι. Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τῷ γελοῖῳ  
 ἔποντο, ποτὲ δὲ σιγῇ προσεκάρτερον. Τοῦτο δὲ προσὴν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀθροίσεως τὸ αἶπιον  
 340 καὶ τοῦ θεάτρου· γύναιον γὰρ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐκείσε οἰκούντων ἄνωθεν ἐξ ἠλιακοῦ πινὸς διακύ-  
 πτον ἐπὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν (εἶτε ἐκουσίως παρατραπὲν μόνῳ τῷ κυρίῳ γνωστόν, εἶτε δὲ καὶ τῷ  
 τοῦ πύθωνος πνεύματι ληφθεῖσα κατὰ θεῖαν Γραφήν, θεῷ καὶ τόγε ἐφορατόν), τοῖς τὴν  
 ὁδὸν ἐκείνην διοδοῦουσιν, εἶτε ἀνδράσιν εἶτε γυναιξὶν εἶτε μικροῦς εἶτε μεγάλους τὰ κρυ-  
 345 πτὰ ἔργα τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ διοδοῦειν καὶ πλησίον τῆς στάσεως αὐτῆς γενομένης  
 ἀπαραλείπτως ἀπηγγέλει, ὥστε καὶ τινὰς βαρυτάταις ἁμαρτίας ὑπαιτίους ὄντας ἀποτό-  
 μως ἐλέγχουσα ἐταλάνιζεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρετὰς κεκτημένους ἐπευφήμει καὶ ἐπαίνει ἐν τῷ διέρ-  
 χεσθαι. Ὅποταν οὖν περὶ μοιχειῶν καὶ περὶ πορνείας τινὰς ἐφατρίαζεν, ἀπαγγέλουσα καὶ

330 θαυμαστός – 331 Ἰσραὴλ Ps. 67.36 | 341 τῷ<sup>2</sup> – 342 ληφθεῖσα cf. Acta 16.16

**F S H | 347 μοιχειῶν [D**

318 ἱερεὺς] ἱερὸς F διαμένειν SH | 319 κατώφθην SH δέος S | 320 ὡς < F ἀπεόρων S ἀπορῶν  
 H + τὰ F | 321 ἐπιστραφεῖσα τε SH | 322 τὰς] ταῖς SH, < F ζώσης αὐτῆς] ζώσαις ποῖν SH  
 αὐτῆς] αὐτὴν F | 323 ὑπηγόρευεν SH αὐτοῖς H ἐφύη τε καὶ SH καί<sup>3</sup> – 324 ἠκολούθησεν < SH |  
 325 αὐτῷ] αὐτῆς SH τῆς ἐκστάσεως γεγονῶς F οὐθέν SH | 326 Εἰρήνης < SH | 327 χαρᾶς – 329  
 αὐτοῦ] εἶκα διαλογιζομένου αὐτοῦ SH | 329 περὶ – ἑώρακεν titulus e margine intrusus, vide  
 notam | 330 αὐτῶν + καὶ SH καὶ < DF θαυμαστός + ἔστιν S | 331 ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ < SH καί<sup>2</sup> <  
 SH | 332 καὶ – εἰσπράττουσιν < SH | 333 ἰγ’· περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐλεγχούσης τὰ τῶν

intercession? For yesterday I felt that you passed here and what the priest Stephanos told you about me when going by. Therefore I have appeared to you, so that I may also offer my reverence to your virtuous brightness.” And when she told this to him, the blessed one stood as in ecstasy looking on her, being filled completely with joy and gladness. Turning to the ones that were with her, that holy woman, as if she were living in her body, told them about the most holy boy, announcing to them where he came from, where he was born and nourished and how he readily followed the one that had called him, considering all things to be a dream. At this point his vision ended, he came to himself from his ecstasy and did not see anything anymore. He embraced the worthy shrine of the holy Eirene with burning love and divine desire, and when the priest called him, he returned home filled with joy and gladness as from a very great cheer. And when he came to himself in his lodge {About the vision he saw},<sup>26</sup> he wondered at the pleasantness and power of the saints and said: “Truly, *God is really wonderful in his holy ones, the God of Israel*, that such people even continue to live after their death, move and accomplish their matters freely.”

On the following day he rose and went to the colonnaded square in the west of the town to pray in the church of the Precursor which is there. Now when he had performed his prayer there, it came into his mind to go also to the chapel of the most holy Mother of God for prayer, which is called *ta Kyritonos*. And when he had proceeded a little on his way, he looked and behold, there was a crowd of people on the main street, some of them standing, others sitting, of mixed sex, men, women and adolescents. And sometimes they were laughing, sometimes they waited silently. And this was the reason for their meeting and spectacle: The wife of one of those that lived there leaned out from above from a balcony to the main street (whether she did this willingly is known only to the Lord, or whether she was possessed by the spirit of Python according to the divine Scripture is seen by God as well) and announced to those that went by on this way, be they men or women, young or old, the secret works of their hearts without any omission, when they went by and came close to the place where she stood; addressing some of them suddenly, she accused them of being guilty of very grave sins and called them miserable, and praised and exalted those that possessed virtues when they went by. Now

ἀνθρώπων ἔργα SH τετράστων] τεράστιον F | 335 καὶ < SH | 336 Κίρτωνος SH τί < SH | 337 πλήθους F δὲ + καὶ S | 338 μεμιγμένοι – νεανίσκοι SH ποτὲ – 339 ποτὲ] ὅτε – ὅτε SH | 339 ἐπόντο F πρῶην F αὐτῷ SH | 340 οἰκούντων ἐκέισε SH | 341 τῷ κυρίῳ μόνῳ SH τῷ τοῦ < H | 342 τοῦ] τὸν S πυθῶνος DF κατὰ θεῖαν Γραφήν < SH θεῶ καὶ τόγῃ] καὶ τοῦτο θεῶ SH ἐφόρατον DF | 343 εἶτε<sup>3</sup> – μεγάλους < SH μεγάλους] ἄλλους F | 344 τῶν καρδιῶν SH γενομένων H | 345 ἀπέγγελεν SH ἀπήγγειλεν H ὑπαιτιοῦς SH | 346 τοὺς – ἐπαίνει < F | 347 τινὰς < SH

<sup>26</sup> These words probably were a marginal note, incorporated into the archetypal version of the text.

τὰ σύσσημα καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔπραττον, οἷον  
 350 ἔστιν ὁ ἀπαιδευτος λαός, τῷ γελοίῳ ἔποντο ἀλαλάζοντες. Ὅποταν δὲ τῶν ἐναρέτων τὰς  
 ἀρετὰς παραπλησίως πάλιν ἀνήγγειλεν, καταπληττόμενοι σιγῇ προσεκαρτέρου ἀποθαυ-  
 μάζοντες. Ὡς οὖν λοιπὸν δι' ἐκείνης ἔμελλεν διαβῆναι ὁ δίκαιος, προσεκαρτέρου ὄρων-  
 τες αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον ἰδεῖν τίνα λαλήσει περὶ αὐτοῦ. Πλησιάσαντος οὖν αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικί  
 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ δύο τινὲς ἐπορεύοντο· εἰρήκει δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ αὐτῶν μέμψεις πόρνον αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἃ μὴ θέμις ἀποκαλοῦσα καὶ ἄσωτον, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ἀποκριθεῖσα λέγει· “Ἔτερος”,  
 355 φησὶν, “κύριος ἔστιν τῆς γυναικός σου· σὺ δὲ τὸν κώδωνα φέρεις ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ  
 τοῖς κέρασι παίεις ἔντεχνα μετὰ τῶν αἰγῶν. Καταδεξάμενος γὰρ κατεδέξω παταγείς τὸν  
 νοῦν ἐκ συνθήματος.”

Ἐντραπέτων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναχωρησάντων, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνων παρεγένετο. Τὸ δὲ γύναιον, ὡς ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν παραγενόμενον, ἐκτείνασα τὰς  
 360 χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκ βάθους στενάξασα τῆς καρδίας λέγει μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ·  
 “Δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς. Ὡ πρᾶγμα φοβερὸν καὶ ἐξάσιον, ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγέντιος ἐκ μακρᾶς χώ-  
 ρας τῶν Ἀβάρων παρεγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. Ἀνάστητε οὖν πάντες καὶ προσπέσατε  
 τῷ ἀγαπητῷ παιδί Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, διότι μεγάλην παρρη-  
 365 σίαν πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην οὗτος κέκτηται, εἰ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτει. Ἅγιος  
 ἔστιν καὶ παναγιώτατος οὗτος, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἄπεισιν ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν παιδοτριβού-  
 μενος, μέχρις ἂν καταντήσῃ ἐπέκεινα Αἰθιοπίας καὶ κατασκηνώσει ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν  
 κατασκηνώμασιν.”

Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου προκόφαντος ἐν ἥπερ ὁδῷ ἐπορεύετο, ἀκμήν τὸ γύναιον περὶ αὐ-  
 370 τοῦ θυλλεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύετο. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν περιεστώτων καὶ ἀκούοντων ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς ῥήμασι τοῖς λαουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῆς γυναικός καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔφασκον·  
 “Θεάσασθε, οἶα μυστήρια τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο περὶ τοῦ ξένου τούτου λελάληκεν; Τίς ἄρα  
 ἐπίσταται, εἰ ἀληθὴ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῆς, ἄπερ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσηγήσατο;” Τινὲς δὲ ἔφασκον,  
 ὅτι “παρὰ Στεφάνῳ”, φησὶν, “τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ οὗτος ξενίζεται.” Τοῦ δὲ ἀγιωτάτου Γρη-  
 375 γεντίου τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποπληρώσαντος καὶ οἰκάδε δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν ξενίαν  
 αὐτοῦ ὑποστρέψαντος, καθεσθεις ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως αὐτοῦ φερεπόνως ἐπεμελεῖτο.

Ἐπίπλιν οὖν ἐπιφανείς αὐτῷ ὁ κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῷ ὀπτανόμενος καὶ ἀπαίρων μετ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τέκνον ἐμὸν ἀγαπητόν, ἀνάστα καὶ ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν· οὕτω γὰρ  
 ἔδοξεν τῇ ἀγιότητι τοῦ σε κλήσει ἀγία καλέσαντος.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος σὺν τῷ ῥήματι

361 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 362 αὐτοῖς Ex. 20.11; Ps. 145.6

#### D F S H

348 καὶ<sup>3</sup> – ἔπραττον] ἡμάρτανον τὸ τηρικαῦτα SH οἷον ἔστιν < H | 349 ἐπόντο DF S ἀλλά-  
 ζοντες F | 350 καταπληττόμενοι < SH ἔκαρτέρου H ἀποθαυμάζοντες < SH | 351 ἠμελλεν SH  
 διαβαίνειν H ὄρωντες – 352 ἰδεῖν < SH | 352 τίνα] τί SH οὖν] δὲ SH | 353 τινὲς < H | 354 ἃ <  
 SH τῷ – λέγει < S ἀποκριθεῖσα λέγει] ἔφησεν H ἔτερος φησὶν < H | 355 ἔστιν < SH τραχήλου

when she spoke like a conspirator about their adultery and fornication, announcing also the proofs for it, the place and the names of those with whom they had committed the sin, being uneducated people, they began to laugh with great noise. But when she announced again the virtues of the virtuous ones in a similar way, they were amazed, waited in silence and wondered. Now when the righteous one was going to pass close to her, they waited when they saw him coming, for to see what she would say about him. Now when he approached the woman, two men were walking in front of him; she reproached one of them calling him a fornicator and unlawful and profligate, and to the other one she answered and said: "Someone else is the lord of your wife, and you wear the bell around your neck and with your horns play artfully with the goats. For you have suffered this being stricken in your mind, as it was predestined <for you>."

So when they had been put to shame and had gone away, after them the blessed Gregentios approached. The woman, when she saw him coming, stretched her hands out to heaven, sighed deeply from her heart and said with loud voice: "Glory to you, God, *who has made heaven and earth, the sea and all that is therein*. O frightful and extraordinary thing, the servant of God Gregentios has come here from the far away country of the Avars into our town. Now rise all and fall to the feet of the beloved boy of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, for this man has great confidence in the Master of all, even if he hides himself. He is holy and all-holy, my brothers, and he goes from town to town for his education, until he will arrive at a land beyond Ethiopia and will settle in the settlements of the Homerites."

And when the blessed one advanced on the way he was going, still the woman did not cease to babble about him. The surrounding crowd listened to her and wondered about the words that had been said about him by the woman and said to themselves: "Do you see which mysteries this woman told about this stranger? Who knows whether her words are true that she spoke about him?" And some said: "He is entertained by the priest Stephanos." When the most holy Gregentios had accomplished his prayer and had returned to his lodge by another way, he sat down and took care of his reading patiently.

Now the one that used to appear to him made himself visible, went away with him and said to him: "My beloved child, rise, and let us depart from here, for this seemed right to the holiness of the one that has called you with his holy call." Upon hearing this word,

σου H | 356 ἐντέχνα DF αἰγίδων S παταγεις] ὑποταγῆς DF | 357 συνθέματος SH | 358 οὖν D αὐτῶν < SH | 359 ὡς < DF παραγενάμενον F, < SH ἐκτεῖναν S ἐκτεῖνας H | 360 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ S, < DF ἐκ – καρδίας < SH λέγει post φωνῆ SH (ἔλεγεν H) | 361 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 362 αὐτοῖς < SH | 362 θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ SH | 363 ἐν – ἡμῶν] πρὸς ἡμᾶς SH οὖν < SH | 364 τοῦ<sup>3</sup> – 365 ἀποκρύπτει < SH | 368 τόποις SH | 369 περὶ αὐτοῦ < SH | 370 θρυαλῶν DF τὸ – 374 ξενίζεται < SH | 374 δὲ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου SH | 375 ἀποπληρώσαντος ante 374 δὲ SH καὶ οἴκαδε < SH | 376 ἐπὶ – φερεπόνως] φερεπόνως τῆς ἀναγνώσεως SH ἐπιμελεῖτο F | 377 <sup>T</sup> ἰδ'· τετάρτη ἀποδημία τοῦ δόσιου σὺν τῷ θεοφόρῳ SH (τῷ δόσιῳ H) καθοπτανόμενος SH | 378 ἐμὸν] μου SH ἀνάστηθι καὶ μετὰβωμεν SH, + καὶ S | 379 τῇ ἀγιότητι < SH τοῦ] τῷ H, < S τοῦ σε] τοὺς D καλέσαντας D

380 πτύξας τὴν δέλτον ἐξανέστη μὴ μελήσας καὶ περιπλακεῖς τῷ θαυμασίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀνδρὶ  
κατεφίλει αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀχράντους χεῖρας καὶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ τὸ στήθος ἀπολαύων κἀντεῦ-  
θεν τῆς ὁσμῆς τοῦ θείου μύρου, τὸν χρότον τῶν ἐξαισίων χιτωνίσκων αὐτοῦ. Ἔλεγεν γὰρ  
περὶ τούτου τοῦ ὀσίου ἀνδρὸς ὁ σεβάσμιος, καθότι “ὄν τρόπον”, φησί, “ὀπώρας ὠρίμου  
385 πολυτελοῦς, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀπίων καὶ μήλων καὶ κυδῶνων θαυμασιωτάτων, οὕτω διὰ παντὸς  
εὐωδιάζων, ἤγουν μυρίζων <ἦν> ξένως τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ.” Μετὰ οὖν τὸ περιπτύξασθαι  
αὐτὸν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κελεύεις, κύριέ μου, καὶ πορευθεὶς συντάξωμαι τῷ  
κυρῷ Στεφάνῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ.” Οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ὁ  
δὲ φησί πρὸς αὐτόν· “Οὐχί, τέκνον, ἐπέιχθητι δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ πορευσώμεθα· πλοῖον γὰρ  
πρόσεσπιν ἔτοιμον τοῦ ἀποδημησαί, μήποτε ἀναχωρήσαν ἐάση ἡμᾶς. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
390 τῷ σὲ ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ ἀναπαύσαντι ἀνταποδώσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ καρπῶν  
σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου αὐτῶν ἐν πολλοσπῆι δαψιλίᾳ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς  
αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀτελεύτητον, καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἔσται διὰ παν-  
τὸς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.” Ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς καὶ σφραγίσας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πρε-  
σβυτέρου, λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ μακαρίου ὑπεχώρησαν. Κατεθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ  
395 τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ εὗρον πλοῖον ἔτοιμον, καὶ προσλαλήσαντες τοῖς ναύ-  
ταις ἀνεληλύθασιν.

**3** Εὐθέως οὖν κουφίσαντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῆς Ἀκραγαντῶν πόλεως ἀπώρμησαν. Ὁ δὲ  
μακάριος ἐν τῷ πλείον αὐτοῦς τὸ ψαλτήριον αὐτοῦ διακατέχων προσωμίλει τῷ θεῷ, καὶ  
μνησκόμενος τῆς ξενιτείας αὐτοῦ γαληνοτάτως τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπεδάκρυν.  
Ὅποταν δὲ ἔσχεν προφθάσαι ἢ προεικασμένη ὥρα ἐκάστης εὐχῆς, ἀνίστάμενος σὺν τῷ  
5 θεοφόρῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀνδρὶ μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπετέλει αὐτάς. Ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ ναυτικοὶ  
τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν πολιτείαν σφόδρα αἰδοῦντο αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπερετίμουν θεραπεύοντες  
αὐτούς, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρῶντες αὐτοῦς ταῖς νυξὶν ἀπαραλείπτως ἐπιτελοῦντας τὸν κανόνα  
τὸν πνευματικόν. Αἰσίου δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀνέμου διαπνεύσαντος πολὺν τε πλοῦν ἐν ἡμέραις  
πολλαῖς διανύσαντες, πολλὰς τε πόλεις τῆς ἐσπερίου γῆς παραπλεύσαντες καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν  
10 Ἑρῶμην, ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ κατήνησαν, καὶ τῆς νηὸς ἀποστάντες πεζοποροῦντες ἔνδον αὐ-  
τῆς προσεχώρησαν.

Ἄνθρωπος δὲ τις ὀνόματι Νικήτας ὑπεδέξατο αὐτοὺς χαίρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἦν  
γὰρ πάνυ φιλόξενος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ εὐμετάδοτος. Κατασκηνοσάντων αὐτῶν  
τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου, ὁ θεοφόρος ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος, σχηματισάμενος

#### DFSH

380 πτύξας + καὶ D ἀνέστη SH θαυμασίῳ] μακαρίῳ SH | 381 αὐτοῦ – 382 αὐτοῦ] αὐτόν SH |  
383 τούτου + αἰ F τοῦ ὀσίου ἀνδρὸς < DF μακάριος SH καθότι – 384 ἀπίων] ὅτι ὡς ὠρίμου  
ὀπώρας ἄππεων SH | 384 κυδῶνων S κυδωνίων H | 385 εὐωδιάζων – ξένως] ἐμύρίζων SH ἦν  
supplevi | 386 ἔφην H καὶ < SH | 388 ἐπέιχθητι δὲ] ἀλλ’ ἐπέιχθητι SH γὰρ < SH | 389 ἐστὶν SH  
ναχωρήσαν D ἀποδημησαν παρεάση SH (ἀποδημήση H) | 390 ἀνταποδώσειεν DF καρποῦ H |  
391 αὐτῶν – δαψιλίᾳ < SH τῆς ζωῆς < SH | 392 ἀτελεύτητον D καὶ – 393 αὐτοῦ < SH ἡ  
εἰρήνη] εἰρήνην F | 393 σφραγίσας D σφραγισάμενος SH τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου] αὐτοῦ F | 395 τὸ

the blessed one closed his book, stood up without delay, embraced that wonderful man, kissed his immaculate hands, his knees and his breast, there also enjoying the smell of the divine unguent, the surface of his extraordinary garments. For the adorable one used to say about this holy man: “Like a precious ripe fruit, that is, most wonderful pears, apples and quinces, so his garments were odoriferous, that is fragrant in a strange way.” Now when he had embraced him, he answered and said to him: “Give me the order, my lord, and I will go and say farewell to the lord Stephanos the priest.” For he was not in his house, but at church. But he said to him: “No, my child, rather hasten, and let us go, for there is a ship ready to set off, that it may not depart and leave us behind. The Lord God may repay the man, that has received you and made you rest, with goods from the fruits of wheat, wine and oil with great abundance in all the days of his life, and in the future one with the eternal life, and the peace of God shall be forever in his house.” Having said this, he made the sign of the cross over the house of the priest with his right hand, took the hand of the blessed one, and they went away. When they came down to the shore, they found a ship ready according to his words, addressed the sailors and embarked.

Now they raised the foresail immediately and sailed away from the town of Agrigentum. The blessed one held his psalter during the travel and spoke to God, and when he was reminded of his living abroad he wept most gently with his eyes. When the fixed hour for every prayer came, he rose together with that God-bearing man and performed them with fear and joy. When the sailors saw their virtuous conduct, they stood in great awe of them and honoured them exceedingly by serving them, and especially when they saw how they performed the spiritual hymns without any omission during the nights. A favourable wind blew for them and they made a long passage in many days, and so they sailed past many towns of the western earth and even Rome herself, and arrived at Milan,<sup>27</sup> disembarked from the ship and entered there on foot.

A man called Niketas received them gladly in his house, for the man was very hospitable, merciful and generous. So when they dwelled in the house of this man, that God-bearing man pretended before their host that he would leave because of some legal

πλοῖον SH | 396 ἀνεληλύθασιν] ἀνέβησαν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ H

1 Ἀκραγάντων SH ἐπώρμησαν DF | 2 κατέχων SH | 4 προεικασμένη] ὀρισμένη SH ἐκάστης εὐχῆς < SH | 5 ἐκείνω < SH και χαρᾶς < SH ἰδόντες SH δὲ + αὐτὸν S ναυτιλοῖ S | 6 ἡδοῦντο αὐτοῦς SH ἐτίμουν D ὑπερετίμων SH θεραπεύοντες – 8 πνευματικόν < SH | 8 διαπνεύσαντος – 9 πολλαῖς] εὐρεθέντος ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις SH (εὐρεθέντος + και H) | 9 διαπλεύσαντες D | 12 αὐτοῖς F χαιρων < SH | 13 αὐτῶν < SH | 14 ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ SH σχηματισάμενοι F

<sup>27</sup> See above, pp. 20–21.

15 κατενώπιον τοῦ ξενίσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τινὶ ἀποκρίσει ἐν τῷ πρὸς τριάκοντα μιλιῶν κάστρω Λαργεντίῳ τῆς Μεδιολάνων πόλεως κειμένων ἀπέναι, παρεκάλεσεν εἶναι τὸν πανένδοξον Γρηγέντιον ἅμα αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς ὑπεχώρησεν. Ὁ δὲ φιλόχριστος ἀνὴρ ἐκείνος βλέπων τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πολλὴν κατάστασιν, τὴν τε ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐπίμονον, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἀπλόττη τῶν φερό-

20 μενος ἠγάπησεν, ὥστε εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποχωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀπῆει τοιγαροῦν κάκεισε ὁ μακάριος ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις καὶ προσήχητο, περισπωτέρως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπέῳ, καθότι πολλοστὴ δοξολογία καὶ ὕμνος ἐπτελεῖτο καθ' ἑκάστην παρά τε τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἀθροιζομένων εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου τριάδος, ὥστε καὶ χαρὰς αὐτὸν πληροῦσθαι καὶ θυμηδίας καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσεως,

25 ἐνωπιζόμενον τὴν τερπνότητα κυρίου τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ψαλμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνσημαιομένην τῶν ἁδόντων καὶ μελωδούντων.

Ἀπῆει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀμβροσίου καὶ περιπτυσόμενος αὐτὸν καθίκετευσέ λέγων· “Πάτερ ὅσιε καὶ ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλε τῆς ἀληθείας, εὐξαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν σωτήρα καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα καὶ λυτρωτὴν Ἰησοῦν

30 Χριστόν, ὅπως διατηρήσῃ με ἀσινῆ καὶ ἄτρωτον ἀπὸ τῶν βεβήλων παγίδων τοῦ δολίου δράκοντος. Ἐκ νεότητος γάρ, ἅγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐχθρὸς με πειράζων φλέγει ταῖς ἀναιδέσιν ἐπιθυμίαις, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπάφορμον ὡς πῦρ ὕλην δεχόμενος καὶ τὰ μεγάλα φυσῶν. Ἄλλ' ἴκετέω καὶ ἀντιβόλῳ τῇ σῇ πατρότητι καὶ μακαριότητι, σαῖς λιταῖς καὶ ἐντεύξεσιν καὶ δεήσεσιν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν ὄλων δεσπότην κατευνάσαι μου τὸν τάραχον καὶ στήσαι τὴν

35 καταγίδα εἰς αὐραν γαλήνης.” Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια μετὰ δακρύων προσήχητο, ὅπταν ἂν ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀμβροσίου παραγενέσθαι. Ἀνεγίνωσκέν τε καὶ τὴν θεῖαν δέλτον αὐτοῦ, ἣνπερ αὐτὸς ἔτι περιῶν ἐν σαρκὶ θεῖω πνεύματι τὰ χεῖλη κινῶν ὡς νευρὰς θεοπνεύστως τῷ λαῷ ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ οἱ ταχυγράφοι καθ' ἐν ἐκλαμβανόμενοι συνεστήσαντο. Ἀναγίνωσκων δὲ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις ἦκων, τοῖς τε ἦθεσιν

40 περιτυγχάνων τοῦ θεοπεσίου πατρὸς, τὸ ζηλωτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὲς τὸ περὶ τῶν δογμάτων τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ τε ἐλεγκτικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς πίστεως θερμὸν κατανοῶν ἐξεπλήττετο· λογιζόμενος ὁποῖος ἦν τῇ θεοσθενείᾳ ὁ σεβάσμιος καὶ τούτοις ἐναμβρυνόμενος, ἐαυτὸν καταμεμφόμενος ἐταλάνιζεν καθὼςπερ μὴ κεκτημένος ἀρετὴν.

Μιᾶ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπόντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τοῦ ἐπισκοπέου, καὶ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ταμείῳ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ τὸ ψαλτήριον στιχολογοῦντι — Ἰπένης τίς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνακείμενος ἐπὶ τῆς καλύβης αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα Κωνσταντῖνος, ὡς

## DFSH

15 κάστρω + τοῦνομα H | 16 Μεδιολανῶν SH κειμένων F πανένδοξον| μακάριον SH | 17 μέχρις S | 18 τὴν – 19 πολιτείαν < SH | 19 ταῖς < S τῶν H | 22 δὲ| τε SH ὕμνος + ἐπτελεῖτο SH καθ' □ 3 24 τριάδος < SH | 25 ἐνωπιζόμενος SH ἀπὸ] διὰ SH αὐτῷ SH τῶν<sup>2</sup> – 26 μελωδούντων < SH | 27 ἐν ἀγίοις] ὀσίου SH | 29 σωτήρα] δεσπότην SH | 30 τοῦ + ἐχθροῦ καὶ F | 31 πειράζων] πειράζει H ἀνωδέσιν DF | 33 σαῖς] ταῖς D καὶ ἐντεύξεσιν < SH | 34 τῶν<sup>1</sup> + τῶν S κατεύνασόν H μου] μοι F S | 35 αὐρα S | 36 ἂν ἔσχεν < SH ἡμῶν < S παρεγίνετο SH | 37 θεῖαν < D | 38 νευρὰς + τῷ D θεοπνεύστως τῷ] θεοπνεύστῳ DF | 39 ἐναλβόντες SH ἀνεγίνωσκεν H ταῖς γνώμαις

cause for the castle of Largention which lies thirty miles from Milan,<sup>28</sup> asking him to let the all-glorious Gregentios remain with him until his return, and having said this he went away. When that Christ-loving man saw the great perfection of the righteous one, his virtuous conduct and his persistence in prayer, he loved him very much being moved by the simplicity of his manners, so that if possible he did not separate from him. So the blessed one went to the holy churches of God there as well and prayed, and most frequently to the bishop's palace, for great laudations and hymns were performed there every day by the clergy and those who were assembled for the glory and praise of the consubstantial and indivisible Trinity, so that he was filled with joy, gladness and exultation when he heard the pleasantness of the Lord which was displayed by the singers and chanters.

He went also to the grave of our father Ambrose of holy memory,<sup>29</sup> and embracing it he entreated him earnestly and said: "Holy father, shepherd and teacher of truth, pray for me to our common saviour, protector and redeemer Jesus Christ, that he may keep me unharmed and unwounded from the profane traps of the deceitful dragon. For since my youth, you saint of God, the enemy tempts and burns me with shameless desires, taking the inclinations of nature as fire takes wood and boasting greatly. But I entreat you and appeal to your fatherhood and bliss, that you may appease my trouble with your supplication, your intercession and prayer to the Lord of all and convert the thunderstorm to a wind of tranquillity." He prayed these and things similar to these with tears, whenever he happened to come to the grave of our holy father Ambrose. He also read the divine book which <Ambrose> explained to the God-inspired people when he was still in his flesh,<sup>30</sup> moving his lips through the Holy Ghost like sinews, and which the stenographers collected taking them down word by word. When he read, he arrived at his sayings and came across the customs of this marvellous father, and when he understood his zeal and exactness concerning the teachings of truth, his argumentation and his warmth towards the faith, he was astonished; and considering how the venerable one was in his God-given strength, and exulting about this, he reproached himself and called himself miserable as if he had no virtue.

Now one day, when he went to the great church, which is that of the bishop's palace,<sup>31</sup> and was reciting the psalter in the hidden chamber of his heart, there was a poor man called Konstantinos lying on the street before his hut, as experience showed, a holy

ἤκων < SH τε < SH | 41 τό] τῶν Η ἐκλεκτικόν SH | 42 ὁποῖον DF καὶ τούτοις ἐναμβρυνόμενος < DF | 43 μὴ < SH | 45 στιχολογοῦντος D | 46 Ὁ ἱεὺς· περὶ τοῦ ὁσίου Κωνσταντίνου SH ἐπὶ – Κωνσταντῖνος < DF

28 See above, p. 21.

29 See above, p. 20.

30 See above, p. 46.

31 See above, p. 20.



ἔδειξεν ἡ πείρα ἀνὴρ ἅγιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, θεασάμενος παριόντα τὸν δίκαιον, ἄπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ διερχόμενος ἐστιχολόγει, ἐκεῖνα ἀποκριθεὶς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ φανερὸν συνέβαλλεν αὐτῷ. Συνεῖς δὲ ὁ μακάριος τὸ διορατικὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ  
 50 παριέναι ἡμέρως πῶς ἐπιστρεφόμενος αὐτῷ ἀνακειμένῳ ἠτένιζεν. Ὁ δὲ τίμιος Κωνσταντῖνος θεασάμενος αὐτὸν προσηνώως καὶ μελιρρῦτως ἐνατενίζοντα ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Καλῶς ἄπεισιν ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγόριος. Τί, ὅτι τέκνον ἐμὸν ποθεινότατον πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως μεταναστεύων ἐπὶ τὴν κάτω ὡδε πόλιν διαπεφοίτηκας; Ὡς μακαρία ἡ ὁδός σου, ὦ θεράπων Χριστοῦ, ἧς ἀφίκεται πρὸς φωτισμὸν ἀπέιρων ἐν σκότει καθεζο-  
 55 μένων ἔθνων. Πορεύου, ὦ τέκνον, πορεύου ἐν προθυμίᾳ μεγίστη, καὶ ἔσται ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος μετὰ σοῦ.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις παρήκεν ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐγένετο λογιζόμενός τε καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος τὴν τῶν θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν καὶ τελειότητα. Εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν κατανύξει τε πολλῇ αὐτοῦ γεγονό-  
 60 τος ἐν χύσει ἀπέιρων δακρῶν ἦν ἐστῶς καὶ προσευχόμενος, στοχαζόμενος ὅτι δράσειεν πρὸς τὸ ἀναδεδραμηκέναι αὐτὸν εἰς τηλικούτον ὕψος ἀρετῆς τε καὶ θεωρίας ἐν πνεύματι, καὶ τοῦ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν τηλικούτον ὀηλικίους ἀνδράσιν. Καὶ αὐτὸς μετανα-  
 στεύων τόπον ἐκ τόπου προσωμίλησεν.

Ἐμετὰ οὖν τὸ προσεύξασθαι αὐτὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσόντων καθέδρων κεκάθικεν, πνῶν δὲ ἐκεῖσε διαμαχομένων οὐκ ἔχθρα, ἀλλὰ γε ῥήμασιν γραφικ-  
 65 οῖς καὶ ἀμφισβητήμασι διανοημάτων, κληρικῶν πνὸς προσόντος καὶ μονάζοντος, ἰκανῶν τε καὶ ὄντων περὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐτέρων τῶν ἐπακρουωμένων τῆς διαλέξεως, ὅτε μονάζων καὶ ὁ κληρικὸς ἐτέρως τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἀντέπιπτον φιλονεικοῦντες. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ μονάζων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τῷ οἰωδῆποτε τρόπῳ τελευτῶντι θεὸς κελεύει καὶ βούλεται τοῦ τηλικούτω ἕκαστον θανάτῳ τετελευτηκέναι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ διάφοροι θάνατοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμ-  
 70 βαίνουσιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡ ἀγχόνῃ, ἄλλοις αἱ μαχαῖραι, πῖσιν δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ πνιγμονὴ καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς φρέασιν, ἐτέροις τὸ πῦρ καὶ αἱ ῥάβδοι, καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παραδείγματα. Ὁ δὲ γε κληρικὸς ἔφασκεν· “Οὐχί,” φησὶν, “ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐκτὸς θεοῦ θάνατοι ἄωροι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνειν εἰώθασιν κατὰ τὸν φάσκοντα προφήτην περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, πεσόντος ἐκ πλείστων διαφθορῶν ἐν παγίδι θανάτου. Τί ὅτι, φησὶν, συμπεπτώκατε  
 75 τραυματίαι διαφόρων θανάτων, ἐν οἷς θεὸς οὐκ ἐπεσκόπευσεν; Καὶ ἔπειτα *πεσοῦνται ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρω αὐτῶν οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, κατὰ μόνας εἰμι ἐγώ, ἕως ἂν παρέλθω*, φθεγγόμενος καὶ τόγε· Μὴ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς φονεὺς ἐστὶν ἢ περ ἐπινοητῆς διαφόρων εἰδῶν θανάτου, ὁ λέγων

74 παγίδι θανάτου cf. Ps. 17.6 | 75 πεσοῦνται – 76 παρέλθω Ps. 140.10

#### D F S H

47 θεόν] κύριον S | 50 ἀνακειμένως F | 51 αὐτὸν + πρὸς αὐτόν D καὶ μελιρρῦτως < DF πρὸς < S πρὸς αὐτόν] αὐτῷ H | 52 θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ SH ἐμὸν] μου SH | 53 πεφοίτηκας SH | 54 θεράπων + τοῦ SH ἐν σκότει καθεζομένων < SH | 55 ὦ < SH μεγίστη] πολλῇ H | 56 ἐγένετο] γενόμενος H | 57 τε < SH | 60 ἀναδεδρακέναι καὶ DF | 61 καὶ – 62 προσωμίλησεν < SH | 63 ἰς· S + περὶ τοῦ κληρικῶν καὶ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τῶν ἀντιβαλλόντων SH ἐν τῇ < S | 65 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – διανοημάτων] ἔ ἀμφισβητήμασι νοημάτων F | 66 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH ἐπακρουῶντων H τε<sup>2</sup> < SH | 67 ἕτερος H ἀντέπιπτον

man that feared God. And when he saw the righteous one going by, he answered to what he recited in his heart when passing, and sang himself together with him openly. When the blessed one understood the man's prophetic gift, he turned somehow calmly to him when he went by, and stared at him as he lay there. When the worthy Konstantinos saw how he stared at him gently and in a honey-flowing way, he answered and said to him: "The servant of God Gregentios goes well on his way. How does it happen that you, my most desired child, have arrived in this town which lies below here,<sup>32</sup> wandering from town to town? How blessed is your way, o servant of Christ, which will lead to the enlightenment of countless people that sit in the dark. Go, my child, go with great readiness, and the grace of the Holy Ghost will be with you." As he said this, the blessed one passed by and went into the church, considering this and being astonished about the virtuous conduct and perfection of the God-bearing men. When he entered the church, he came into great contrition and stood there shedding countless tears and prayed, considering what he should do to reach such a height of virtue and spiritual contemplation, and how he could become like these men. And he wandered from place to place and preached sermons.

Now after prayer he went to one of the chairs that stood in the church and sat down, for some people were contending there against each other, not out of hatred, but using words of the Scripture and discussing interpretations.<sup>33</sup> A cleric was there and a monk, and a considerable number of other people around them as well that listened to the discussion, and the monk and the cleric contradicted each other striving to win. For the monk said, that God gives an order in every case whatsoever when a man dies, and wants everyone to die a certain death, and that in this way the different kinds of deaths happen to men, to some strangling, to others the sword, to others being drowned in the sea and in wells, to others fire and rods, and as it seems also other examples. But the cleric said: "No, immature deaths are wont to happen to men without God's participation, according to the saying of the prophet about Israel, when he fell into the trap of death because of his many corruptions. How have you fallen, he said, as victims of various deaths into which God has not been involved? And thereafter *the sinners will fall into their own net, and I alone will be saved*, saying this as well: For God is no murde-

< D φιλονεικούντων SH | 68 οίφδῃ SH και βούλεται < SH τηλικούτου SH | 69 ἐκάστην F θανάτου SH τελευτηκέναι DF + διάλεξις κληρικοῦ και μοναχοῦ περι ἄωρου θανάτου και ὄρος ἔχοντος ἢ μὴ ἔχοντος F<sup>marg</sup> | 70 ἡ<sup>1</sup> < H μάχαιραι H τῆ < H | 71 ἡ < F ἐπι] ἐν H ὡς + οἶα SH ὡς – λοιπὰ] τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς εἰκός F εἰκός] κός S παραπτώματα SH | 74 πεσῶτος F S διαφορῶν S<sup>ac</sup> | 75 διαφθορῶν D διαφορῶν F ἔπειτα + λέγει H ἐν<sup>2</sup>] ἐ D | 76 ἀφιβλήστρω F ἕως – παρέλθω] ἐάν παρέλθωσιν DF ἄν] οὐ H | 77 τόγε] τοῦτο SH θεός + φησίν F ἡ SH διαφορῶν DF S

<sup>32</sup> On this expression, see above, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> On the following scene, see above, pp. 132–133.

ὅτι οὐ θελήσει θέλω τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς.” Τοῦ δὲ μονάζοντος φέροντος εἰς βεβαίωσιν τὸ Ἑσαίου ῥητὸν τὸ φάσκον: “Ὁ ἐκφέρων”, φησίν, “κατὰ ἀριθμὸν τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκφαίνων κακά, ἃ οὐ κατέβη παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ· κύριός τε, φησίν, θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια.”

Τούτου τοιγαροῦν οὕτως, ἐκείνου δὲ ἄλλως ἀνθισταμένων ἑαυτοῖς καὶ φιλοπραγμα-  
 ούντων οὐ προσῆν ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν ὁ τὴν στραγγαλιὰν αὐτῶν διευθῆναι δυνάμενος.  
 85 Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου πολλακίς ἀνήνεγκαν καὶ λύσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ  
 ἐδέξατο. Καὶ ἐφ’ ἑτέρων δὲ ἱκανῶν κινηθείσης τῆς διαλέξεως ἢ αὐτῆ ἀμφιβολία ἀπαρ-  
 εγχείρητος διέμεινεν. Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι πλησίον ἐκέισε κεκάθικεν ὁ ὄσιος, μετὰ τὸ  
 προσεῦξασθαι αὐτὸν τινὲς τῶν ἐκέισε εἰδότες αὐτόν, καθότι λόγιός ἐστιν καὶ ἄκρος ἐν  
 συνέσει (συνωμίλησαν γὰρ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἑωρακότες αὐτὸν ἀναγινώσκον-  
 90 τα Ἀμβροσίου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις τὰ θεόπνευστα λόγια), διεσάφησαν αὐτοῖς, τῷ τε κληρικῷ  
 καὶ τῷ μονάζοντι, καθότι “δυνατός”, φησίν, “ἐστὶν ἐν λόγῳ ἀληθείας τοῦ λῦσαι ὑμῶν τὴν  
 ἐπιφιλόνηκον ἄμιλλαν, εἴπερ καὶ θελήσειεν, εἶγε πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγένησθε.” Μηδὲν οὖν  
 μελήσαντες ἀναστάντες ἀπῆλθον καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ γεγονάσιν, καὶ ἀπαρλείπτως τὰ  
 95 καθ’ ἑαυτῶν τούτῳ ἐγνώρισαν δυσωποῦντες τοῦ ἐπιλῦσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν δυσέυρετον σύγκρι-  
 σιν, “εἶγε καὶ ἀληθῶς συνέσεως ἢς ἀνάπλευς”.

Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: “Διὰ τὸν κύριον συμπαθήσατε  
 τὴν ἐμὴν ἐλεεινότητα· τίς γὰρ καὶ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὡς ἐπιλύσω ὑμῖν σύνθεσιν κριμάτων ἀπορρη-  
 των τοῦ παντοκράτορος; Γέγραπται γάρ, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κρίματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἄβυσσος πολλή.”  
 Τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τοῦ δικαίου συνιέντων, καθότι δυνάμεως ἔχεται ῥημάτων,  
 100 προσελθόντες ἔπειτα ἐξελιπάρουν μὴ ἀπώνασθαι τὸ ἀγαθὸν δι’ εὐλάβειαν, ἀλλὰ γε διηγῆ-  
 σασθαι καὶ ὠφελῆσαι τὰ μέγιστα. Εἴξας οὖν τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς  
 αὐτούς:

“Ἰκαναὶ μὲν τιμωρία γίνονται διαφόρων θανάτων ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄνωθεν, ἐκ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ἐρχομένης δικαίως ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς. Καὶ σκοπήσατε, ὅσας πληγὰς  
 105 ἐπήγαγεν θανάτου θεὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐκάκουν ἐν  
 σκληρωτάτοις ἔργοις τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Σκοπήσατε δὲ καὶ τὰ Σόδομα· οὐχ ὠδοποίησεν θεὸς  
 τότε τρίβον τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δι’ ἀγγέλων καὶ διώδευσαν καὶ ἐνεπύρισαν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν  
 καὶ τὰς πόλεις; Καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰώβ δὲ σκοπήσατε, ὅπως ἡ δεκάς τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἐν μιᾷ  
 καιροῦ ῥοπῇ ἐν ἐνὶ συμπτώματι μιᾶς οἰκίας ὄλωλεν θανάτῳ καὶ διέφθειρεν, θεοῦ πάντως

78 οὐ – ἁμαρτωλοῦ Ez. 18.23 | 79 ὁ – 80 αὐτοῦ Is. 40.26 | 80 ὅτι – 81 Ἱερουσαλήμ cf. Mich. 1.12 | 81 κύριός τε – ζωογονεῖ 1 Reg. 2.6; Odae 3.6 | 98 τὰ – πολλή Ps. 35.7 | 104 ὅσας – 106 Ἰσραήλ cf. Ex. 7.19 – 12.30 | 106 τὰ – 108 πόλεις cf. Gen. 19.1–25 ὠδοποίησεν – 107 αὐτοῦ Ps. 77.49 | 108 τὸ – 109 διέφθειρεν cf. Job 1.18–19

#### D F S H

78 τὸ] τὰ H | 79 τὸ<sup>1</sup>] τοῦ F ῥῆμα SH | 80 φαίνων SH | 81 τε < D | 83 οὕτω SH | 85 γὰρ < DF | 86 ἐφ’] ὑφ’ D ἀπερεγχείρητος S | 87 μετὰ – 88 αὐτόν < SH | 88 ὅτι SH | 89 ἐν – αὐτόν < DF

rer or inventor of various kinds of deaths, the one who says: *I do not want the death of the sinner willingly*, and so on.” As a proof the monk brought up the word of Isaiah that says: “*He who leads out his army in great number*, he is not the one who does bad things that did not come down from the Lord to the city of Jerusalem, and *God*, he says, *brings death and life*, and things similar to these.”

Now, as this man in such and that man in another way withstood each other and discussed, nobody was able to settle their point of discussion. For they presented this often to the archbishop, and the matter did not receive a solution. And although the discussion was extended to a considerable number of other subjects, this ambiguity remained unsettled. Now as it has been said, the holy one sat close there, and when he had finished his prayer, some of the people there who knew that he was learned and great in his wisdom (for they had talked to him in his lodge, when they saw him reading the God-inspired words of Ambrose of holy memory), they declared to them, that is to the cleric and to the monk, that “he is able”, they said, “to solve your contentious struggle with the word of truth, if he wants to do so, and if you come to him.” So they rose without hesitation, went away and came close to him, and made their issue known to him without any omission and besought him to solve this difficult problem for them, “if you are truly full of wisdom”.

The most blessed one answered and said to them: “For God’s sake, have compassion with my pitifulness; for who am I that I should be able to resolve for you the complexity of the ineffable judgements of the Almighty? For it is written, my brothers, that *the judgements of God are of a great depth*.” Since they understood from the answer of the righteous one that he possessed the power of words, they came to him and supplicated him not to enjoy the good for himself through his reverence, but to tell it and to help them in the greatest way. So yielding to their words he answered and said to them:

“Adequate punishments of various deaths are imposed to many people from above, in which the sentence rightly comes to them from God. And consider, how many deadly wounds God inflicted to the Egyptians for the sake of their sins, because they afflicted Israel with very hard labours. Consider also Sodom: did not *God prepare a way for his anger* through the angels, and they went there and set the whole country and the towns on fire? And consider Job, how his ten children perished by death and were corrupted at one time through the collapse of a house, with God assenting to all events. Consider Da-

ἀναγινώσκοντος D | 90 θειότατα SH λόγια + και SH διεσάφησεν F | 91 φησίν < D τήν| τὰ F | 92 εἰ SH παραγίνεσθε H μηθὲν S | 93 ἀπῆλθον και < SH | 95 ἀληθείς H συνέσεως + φησίν SH ἀνάμπλεος D | 96 μακάριος D ἀποκριθεὶς < SH | 97 ἀνικανότητα SH αὐτος ἔγω γε SH | 98 τοῦ θεοῦ] φησίν κυρίου S | 99 ἔχει H | 100 τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἀπώνασθαι F | 101 αὐτῶν + ὁ τιμώματος SH | 104 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς SH | 105 ὁ θεὸς DF + διὰ F ἀνθ’ – 106 Ἰσραήλ < SH | 106 δὲ και| δ’ οὖν SH θεὸς < D, ὁ θεὸς F | 107 διώδευσεν H ἐνεπύρισεν H | 108 τὸ < D | 109 διέφθορον S

- 110 τόγε συγχωρήσαντος. Τά τε κατὰ τὸν Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ἐννοήσατε, ὁποίοις κρίμασιν κυρίου παρευθὺς κατεπόθησαν διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν. Πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοήσατε δέον καὶ τὰς ἑξακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅπως μετὰ τὸ παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς δι' Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σινᾶ τὰ κῶλα αὐτῶν ἐν ἐρήμῳ θεὸς κατεστρώσατο, μὴ παρεάσας ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἀπ' αὐτῶν πεπατηκέναι τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας πάρεξ Χάλεβ
- 115 τοῦ δικαιοτάτου ἀνδρὸς καὶ προσφιλοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ. Καὶ μοσχοποιησάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ ἀποστάντων Χάλεβ ὁ δικαιοτάτος οὐ κεκοινώνηκεν αὐτῶν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, διέρρηξεν τε μᾶλλον τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλότριον ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν πεποίηκεν, ὅθεν τὴν καλλίστην αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν κύριος ἰδὼν τοῦτον μόνον ἄξιον ἔκρινε κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
- 120 τεχθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ περασάντων τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν Θάλασσαν, μήτε γοῦν θεασαμένων τὴν Αἴγυπτον. Πρόσεσπιν οὖν καταστοχάσασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄμφω δύο ἱερεῖς, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου προσενέγκαντες πῦρ ἀλλότριον τῷ θεῷ — πῦρ ἄνωθεν κατελθὼν ὡσεὶ φλόξ ἀστραπῆς, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου πρὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς σκηνῆς τούτους κατετέφρωσεν. Καὶ τὸν Μωσῆα δὲ θεὸς δι' ὧν ἐγόγγυσεν μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν γῇ ἀνύδρω καὶ
- 125 οὐκ ἐν πραότητι ἤτησεν ὕδωρ, ἀλλ' ἐν σκληρότητι, ὅπότεν ἡ πέτρα διερράγη καὶ ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα καὶ χεῖμαρροι κατεκλείσθησαν, τούτου ἕνεκα οὐκ εἶασεν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς δι' ἕνα μόνον γογγυσμὸν βηματίσαι τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ γε ἀνταπόδομα αὐτῷ ἔνθεν ἀνταποδοὺς εἴρηκεν Ἀνάβαινε, φησί, μόνος καὶ *τελευτα ἐν τῷ ὄρει* ἐν ᾧ ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, λήθη παραδοθεὶς τὸ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ πρόσεσπιν ἡ σορὸς τοῦ λειψάνου
- 130 αὐτοῦ. Ἀξιόχρεόν τε ἔνεσπιν σκοπῆσαι καὶ τοὺς Χαναναίους καὶ τοὺς Γεργεσαίους, τοὺς τε Εὐαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀμωραίους καὶ τοὺς Φερεζαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας καὶ τοὺς Ζιφαίους, τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔθνη, ἅπερ θεὸς μὲν παραδέδωκεν, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτοῦ μαχαίρα κατηνάλωσεν. Δέον τε καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ἥλι τοῦ ἱερέως τὸν οἴκιστον θάνατον καταστοχάσασθαι, ὅπως διὰ τὴν τῶν υἰῶν παρανομίαν, δι'
- 135 ὧν οὐκ ἐνουθέτει παιδεύων αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ χειρὶ ἀοράτῳ ἄνωθεν παταχθεὶς βαρὺς τε ἄγαν τῷ σώματι χρηματίζων καταπεσὼν τετελεύτηκεν. Σκοπήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Δαυὶδ τὸν βασιλέα· στρατοπεδαρχήσας δὲ ποτὲ ἐν Γαλγάλοις καὶ

110 τά – 111 αὐτῶν cf. Num. 16. 23–35 | 112 τὰς – 115 Ναυῆ cf. Num. 14.20–38 | 115 μοσχοποιησάντων – 121 Αἴγυπτον cf. Ex. 32; Num. 14.6 | 121 τοὺς – 124 κατετέφρωσεν cf. Lev. 10.1–2 | 124 τὸν – 127 ἐπαγγελίας cf. Ex. 17.1–7 | 127 ἀνταπόδομα – 130 αὐτοῦ cf. Deut. 32.48 – 34.6 | 130 τοὺς<sup>1</sup> – 133 κατηνάλωσεν cf. Ios. 3.10 | 133 Ἥλι – 136 τετελεύτηκεν cf. I Reg. 4.13–18 | 137 τὰ – 148 ἀναيرهθέντας §

#### DFSH

110 τόγε < DF τά τε τά D νοήσατε ποταποῖς SH | 111 κυρίῳ SH ἐννοήσατε D | 112 ἑβδομήκοντα + καὶ πρὸς SH ὅπως < H παριέναι H αὐτοῦ S | 113 Ἐρυθρᾶ S ἐν<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶν bis S Σινᾶ + ὅπως S ἐν ἐρήμῳ] ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ S<sup>del</sup>, < H ὁ θεὸς H | 114 παρέασεν D Χάβελ F Χάμελ S | 115 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – θεοῦ < SH Ἰησοῦ < DF καὶ<sup>3</sup> < SH μοσχοποιησάντων + γὰρ SH | 116 Χάβελ F Χάμελ S | 117 τε μᾶλλον] γὰρ H, < S | 118 πεποίηκεν] ἀπεφήμισεν SH προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ D ἰδὼν ὁ κύριος H | 120 τεχθέντος DF | 121 οὖν < D τοὺς] τοῖς DF δύο] δὲ DF | 123 ὡς

than and Abiram, by whom judgements of the Lord they were immediately swallowed because of their iniquity. In addition to this you should also think of the sixhundred and seventy thousands of Israel, how God let their remains perish in the desert of Sinai after they had crossed the Red Sea, and did not let a single one of them walk in the Promised Land except Kaleb the most righteous man, who was beloved to God, and Josuah the son of Nun. And when they made a calf in the desert and fell away from the living God, Kaleb did not share their sin, but rather tore his garments and made himself estranged from their sin, wherefore the Lord, seeing his very good decision, judged him alone worthy to inherit the Promised Land together with those that were born in the desert from them and had not crossed the Red Sea, and also had not seen Egypt at all. We should also look upon the two priests who offered a fire foreign to God in the tabernacle of the congregation, and a fire came from above like the flame of a lightning and turned them to ashes at the altar before the entrance of the tabernacle. And because Moses murmured together with the people in a waterless land and did not ask for water in a gentle way, but rudely, when the rock broke and the waters flowed out and the torrents were closed, therefore God did not even let him walk in the Promised Land because of only one murmur, but repaying his repayment for this he said to him: Go up alone and *die on the mountain*; so he went up and died and fell into oblivion, regarding the place where the shrine of his remains is. It is also worth to consider the Canaanites and Girgashites, the Perezites, Amalekites and Ziphites, the seven people whom God delivered, and Josuah the son of Nun together with his armies consumed by the sword.<sup>34</sup> We should also look upon the most pitiable death of Eli the priest because of the transgressions of his sons, because he had not exhorted and chastised them, how he, sitting on a high throne, was stricken from above by an invisible hand, fell down, being of excessive weight, and died. Let us also consider King David:<sup>35</sup> Once, when he encamped at Gilgal and saw the great number of his armies *above the sand on the sea-shore*, to say it with

< SH | 124 Μωυσέα D ὁ θεός SH γῆ] τῆ F | 125 ἡ πέτρα] ἐσπέρα S | 126 ὁ < F | 127 αὐτῶν F | 128 ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ τελευτά SH ἐν ᾧ] ἔνθα SH | 130 αὐτοῦ + οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ θεός μόνος H ἔστιν SH καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH Γεργεσίους S τοὺς τε] καὶ τοὺς H | 131 Ἀμανηκίτας DF Ζιφάιους τὰ ἑπτὰ] τὰ ἑπτὰ μὲν SH | 132 ὁ θεός SH ἐπαρέδωκεν SH ὁ < SH | 133 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH | 135 ἄνωθεν < SH | 137 τὰ < D δὲ<sup>2</sup>] γὰρ SH

<sup>34</sup> These names do not completely correspond to those in the book of Josuah, for the Hittites and Jebusites mentioned there are replaced in the *Bios* by the Amalekites and Ziphites. — Instead of Ἀμαληκίτας perhaps Ἀμανίτας should be read as in the fragment Mo (see apparatus and above, p. 158); the Ammonites are sometimes identified by later authors with the Homerites, for example by Theophrastus, 333.21.

<sup>35</sup> On this episode, see above, p. 134.

θεασάμενος τὰ πλήθη τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς  
 θαλάσσης γραφικῶς εἶπεῖν, εὐθὺς μέγα ἐπήρθη τῷ φρονήματι καὶ φησὶν· ‘ Ἀβάλα, πᾶσαι  
 140 αἱ βασιλεῖαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτοις οὐ συναντήσουσιν.’ Εὐθὺς οὖν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἀπ-  
 εστάλη πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγων· ‘ Δαυὶδ, ἡμάρτηκας τῷ κυρίῳ μὴ τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει τεθαρρη-  
 κῶς, ἀλλὰ γε τῇ τῶν στρατευμάτων πληθύνει. Λέξον τοιγαροῦν, ἐπὶ τίνι τὴν ὄργην κυρίου  
 παρ’ αὐτοῦ σταλεῖς ἄρτίως παρεκχέω, ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ λέξαντι ἢ γε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι τῷ  
 145 παραιτίῳ πεφηνότι τοῦ λέξει σοι.’ Ὁ δὲ γε Δαυὶδ τὴν ἀθρώων αὐτῷ ἐπενεχθεῖσαν μάστι-  
 γα καταπλαγεῖς καὶ ἐφ’ ἱκανὴν ὥραν στοχασάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν ῥερίφθαι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τὴν  
 ὄργην ὑπέφηνεν. Συμβαλὼν τοιγαροῦν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν συναντησάντων αὐτῷ πολεμίων  
 καὶ τρίτην μοῖραν τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀποβαλὼν φυγὰς ὤχετο, τοῦ θεοῦ εὐδῆλον παρα-  
 δόντος διὰ τὸ ἐν βασιλεῖ ὑψηλὸν τοῦ πεσεῖν τοὺς ἀναρεθέντας. Ἔλθωμεν τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ  
 150 τὸν Ἥλιαν τὸν προφήτην, ὅπως πῦρ ἤτησεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν διπλὴν πεντηκοντάδα  
 σὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν κατετέφρωσεν, τοῦ παντοκράτορος πρόδηλον ἐπινεύσαντος τῇ  
 τούτου αἰτήσει. Καὶ τί ἔτι ἔχω ἐπὶ πλείον τοῦ λέγειν; Ἐκ τούτων δέον τεκμείρασθαι, ὅτι  
 θεοῦ κρίναντος κρίσει ἀγιωτάτη καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια συμβαίνειν ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ὁπότεν  
 τελευτῶμεν, εἰώθασιν.”

Ταῦτα τοῦ δικαίου εἰρηκότος ἠύχησεν ὁ μονάζων ὡς τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὀμιλούμενα τοῦ  
 155 ἀγίου προκρίναντος. Λαοὺ δὲ πλείστου ἐκέισε παρόντος καὶ πάντων θαυμαζόντων ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις καὶ τοῦ κληρικοῦ καταισχυθέντος ἀποκριθεὶς τῷ μονάζοντι  
 ἔφη ὁ μακάριος· “ Ἐταῖρε, μὴ αὐχῆ ὡς τῆς νίκης ἤδη δεδραγμένους· σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἐνὶ  
 μέρει καλῶς πεφρόνηκας, τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ οὐ τὸ σύνολον πέλεις ἐνκάτοχος. Ἀκήκοας  
 τοιγαροῦν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ πάλαι λεγόμενα, ὅπως ἔχεται τῆς ἀληθείας· ἄκουσον δὲ πῶς ὁ  
 160 κληρικός καλῶς ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολογεῖται τὸ ἴδιον μὲν γινώσκων, τὸ σὸν δὲ μέχρι  
 τοῦ νῦν ἡγνοηκῶς. Εἰσὶν οὖν θάνατοι, οὐσπερ θεὸς οὐ προστάσει γενέσθαι καὶ γίνονται.  
 Ποίω τρόπῳ; τῇ ὑποβολῇ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ γνώμῃ, ἤτοι κακίᾳ τῶν ἐλεινῶν  
 καὶ ταλαιπώρων ἀνθρώπων. Σύνες τοιγαροῦν ἐνταῦθα· Εἰ ἄρα θεὸς παρεκελεύσατο τοῦ  
 ἀποκτεῖναι Κάνιν Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, οὐδαμῶς, οἶμαι, τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς εὐφρονου-  
 165 σιν ῥηθήσεται. Εἰ γὰρ θεὸς τοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οὕτως τῷ ἐπιτιμῷ τοῦ στένειν  
 καὶ τρέμειν πεποιήκεν. Τῷ Λάμεχ θεὸς προστέταχεν ἄνδρα ἀποκτεῖναι ἀθῶως καὶ πρὸς  
 τούτοις καὶ νεανίσκον, ὅστις καὶ τὸ ἴδιον σφάλμα ἐπγνοὺς ἐξαγόρευων καὶ θρηνῶν ἀπ-  
 οδύρετο; μὴ γένοιτο! Δέδεικται γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἐκδεδίκηται ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ παρὰ τοῦ μὴ  
 170 κρίναντος τοῦτο γενέσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ. Τῷ Μωσῆ θεὸς προστέταχεν τοῦ πατάξει τὸν  
 Αἰγύπτιον καὶ χῶσαι παρὰ τὴν ἄμμον; Οὐδαμῶς, οἶμαι· εἰ μὴ γὰρ νεύσει τοῦ φυλάσσειν-

138 ὑπὲρ – 139 θαλάσσης cf. Odae 7.36; Dan. 3.36 | 149 Ἥλιαν – 151 αἰτήσει cf. 4 Reg. 1.9–12 |  
 163 τοῦ – 164 αὐτοῦ cf. Gen. 4.8 | 165 στένειν καὶ τρέμειν cf. Gen. 4.12. 14 | 166 τῷ – 169  
 αὐτοῦ cf. Gen 4.23–24 | 169 τῷ – 170 ἄμμον cf. Ex. 2.12

#### D F S H

139 εὐθὺς – φησὶν < D μεγάλα ἐπαρθεῖς SH ἀβάλε F | 140 συναντήσουσιν + καὶ H | 141 αὐτοῦ  
 δυνάμει] δυνάμει αὐτοῦ H | 144 σοι] σε SH ἀθῶως SH | 145 ῥερίφθεν F | 146 συλλαβῶν SH

the Scripture, he was at once greatly exalted in his mind and said: 'Oh, all the kingdoms of men will not be able to resist them.' Now immediately an angel of the Lord was sent to him and said: 'David, you have sinned against the Lord, for you have trusted not in his might, but in the number of your armies. Therefore tell me upon whom I shall now pour out the anger of God, being sent by him, upon you who has said this, or upon the army which appears to be the reason why you have said this.' David was amazed at the scourge that had been afflicted to him so suddenly, and when he had considered the case for a considerable time, he told the angel to throw the anger on the people. Therefore, when he began a war against the enemies that encountered him, he lost the third part of his armies and fled, and God clearly delivered those who were killed to death because of the king's presumption. Now let us come to the prophet Elijah, how he asked for fire from heaven and twice turned a body of fifty to ashes together with their leaders, and to whose request clearly the Almighty gave his consent. And what do I have more to say? We have to accept this as a proof that when God judges with his most holy judgement, also things similar to these are wont to happen to us when we die."

When the righteous one had said this, the monk was glad because the holy one preferred what he had told. A very great number of people was present there, and all wondered about the things he had said, and the cleric was put to shame. But the blessed one answered and said to the monk: "Comrade, do not boast as if you had already won the victory, for you have thought well about the one side, but are not at all aware of the other one. So you have heard the things once said by you, how they possess truth; now hear how also the cleric himself answers partially well knowing his own things, but ignoring yours until now. There are deaths which God does not order to happen, but they do happen. In which way? By the deceit of the devil and free decision, that is the wickedness of pitiable and miserable men. Therefore understand this here: That God ordered Kain to kill his brother Abel, was not said in any way, I believe, by the prudent ones. For if God had announced this, he would not have done it to him in this way with the punishment of sighing and trembling. Did God give the order to Lamech to kill an innocent man, and in addition to that also an adolescent who even acknowledged his fault and lamented confessing and bewailing it? Let it not be! For it is shown by the fact that revenge was taken on him seventy-seven times by the one who judged that this should not have been done by him. Did God give Moses the order to strike the Egyptian

συνανησάντων] σὺν H | 147 μοῖρα DF | 148 ἐν + τῷ SH ἀναιρεθάντας S | 151 τούτου SH | 152 θεὸν SH ἀγιωτάτη] ὑγιωτάτη S + τὰ καὶ τὰ SH | 153 τελευταῖον DF | 154 λαλούμενα SH | 157 ὁ μακάριος ἔφη H | 158 ἐνκάτοχος sic codd. | 159 δὲ < D ὁ – 160 καλῶς] καλῶς καὶ ὁ κληρικὸς SH | 160 μὲν < SH | 161 οὖν < SH ὁ θεὸς SH γενέσθαι < SH | 163 εἰ < SH ὁ θεὸς H | 164 τῷ Κάιν ante 163 ἄρα SH Ἄβελ < DF τοῦτο < SH τοῖς] ταῖς D τῶν H φρονούντων H | 165 ἐδήλωσεν] ἦν ὄρισα SH αὐτὸς SH οὕτως < SH | 166 πεπαίδευκεν SH προσέταχθεν DF ἀθῶως ἀποκτεῖναι D καί<sup>2</sup> < SH | 169 τοῦτο] τόγε SH θεὸς < SH προσέταχθεν D προτέταχθεν F προσέταχεν S προσέταξεν H, + ἄρα SH | 170 παρὰ] ὑπὸ S ἐπὶ H



τος αὐτὸν διαπέφευγεν, οὐκ ἂν καὶ οὗτος τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τῆς τόλμης αὐτοῦ διέδρασεν.  
 Τῷ Δαυὶδ θεὸς προστέταχεν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Οὐρίαν καὶ ἀρπάσαι τούτου τὴν γυναῖκα; μὴ  
 γένοιτο· διορθούμενος γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πλημμελήσαντος ψυχὴν Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην ἀπέ-  
 σταλκε πρὸς αὐτόν. Τὸν Ναβουθαὶ τῇ Ἰεζάβελ θεὸς ἄρα προώρισεν τοῦ ἀρπάσαι τὸν  
 175 ἀμπέλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτον ἀποκτεῖναι; μὴ γένοιτο! Τὸν Ἡσαΐαν τὸν προφήτην αὐτὸς  
 ἐβούλετο τοῦ πρίσαι αὐτὸν Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ξυλίνῳ πρίονι ὄρθριον; οὐ μὲν οὖν. Τὸν  
 Ἰερεμίαν ὁμοίως θεὸς προεξένησεν βληθῆναι ἐν βορβόρῳ; οὐδαμῶς. Τόγε ὑπολειπτέον  
 πρόσεστιν· θεὸς γὰρ ἀγαθῶν μὲν παντοίων παραίτιος πέφυκεν πᾶσιν, πονηρῶν δὲ οὐδα-  
 μῶς, εἴ γε οὐς μὲν παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀχράντοις αὐτοῦ κρίμασιν εἰς τρώμιον καὶ  
 180 πάνδεινον θάνατον, ἐν οἷς δὲ βλέπων ἀναβάλλεται τὴν ἀντίληψιν, ἵνα καὶ ἡ κακία τῶν  
 ἀπλῶς πονηρευομένων κορυφωθείη καὶ τέλειον δέξηται καὶ τὴν κατάκρισιν ὁ πονηρευό-  
 μενος, καὶ διαδήματος βασιλείας οὐρανοῦ ἀξιωθείη καὶ ὁ ἀδίκως παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναιρούμενος. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ πᾶσιν ὅρα καὶ ταῦτα· Τοὺς  
 185 τρεῖς παῖδας καὶ Δανιὴλ τὸν προφήτην θεὸς ἄρα ἐνέβαλεν τοὺς μὲν ἐν καμίνῳ τοῦ πυρός,  
 τὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λάκκου τῶν λεόντων; Οὐ μὴν, οὐδαμῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βεβληκότες αὐτοὺς  
 τὴν ἰδίαν πονηρίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὸ σφαλερὸν ἐκεῖνο τόλμημα εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεδείξαντο,  
 ἀπολέσαι τούτους πρόδηλον πειρώμενοι. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα διὰ πολλὴν  
 φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος ἐκ τῆς βιαιωτάτης ἀνάγκης ἐκείνης, ἐπειδὴ ἠβουλήθη,  
 ἐρρύσατο αὐτούς. Καὶ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὁ θεὸς ἄρα ἐκέλευσεν ἀπολέσαι τὰ τῆς Ῥαχὴλ νήπια  
 190 καὶ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἀποσφάξαι; Μὴ γένοιτο, κύριος  
 κύριος! Οὐκοῦν μήτε σὺ αὖχῃ, ἀδελφέ, κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἐπαιρόμενος, μήτε δὲ  
 πάλιν αὐτὸς φρυαττέσθω κατὰ σοῦ ὡς τὰ τέλεα φρονῶν καὶ φθεγγόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σὺ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ συντείνοντα μὲν ἀποφθέγγεσθε, ἐκάτερος δὲ τοῦ ἐκατέρου δι' ἀπειρίαν  
 ἠγνόηται τὰ λεγόμενα.”  
 195 Ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου διηγησαμένου, κρότος οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐγεγόνει ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐκείσε ἀθροισθέντων καὶ τῇ ἐξηγήσει δι' ἀκροάσεως ἐνδελεχούντων. Ὁ μονάζων καὶ ὁ  
 κληρικός ἀποπεισθέντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εἰς ἄγαν πληροφορηθέντες ἀσπαζόμενοι τὸν  
 μακάριον ἐμακάριζον τὴν σχολὴν ἐκείνην, ἐν ἧ αὐτὸς τὴν θεόπνευστον Γραφήν ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 ἐξεπαιδεύετο, καὶ ἔκτοτε προσφιλῶς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν διέκειντο. Καὶ ὁπότε ἂν ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ  
 200 ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ξενίας αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι, ἦκοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι

172 τῷ – γυναῖκα cf. 2 Reg. 11 | 173 διορθούμενος – 174 αὐτόν cf. 2 Reg. 12.1–15 | 174 τὸν<sup>1</sup> –  
 175 ἀποκτεῖναι cf. 3 Reg. 20.1–16 | 175 τὸν<sup>1</sup> – 176 ὄρθριον cf. *Ascensio Isaiae*, 3.19 | 176 τὸν –  
 177 βορβόρῳ cf. Ier. 45.6 | 183 τοὺς – 185 λεόντων cf. Dan. 3.12–23, 6.16–23 | 189 τῷ – νήπια  
 cf. Mt. 2.16; Protev. Iacobi 22.1–2 | 190 τὸν – ἀποσφάξαι cf. Mt. 23.35; Lc. 11.51; Protev.  
 Iacobi 23

#### DFSH

171 πέφευγεν SH ἀντιμισθίαν S διέδρασεν] ἀντέλαβεν SH | 172 προστέταχεν D προστέταχεν  
 F προσέταχεν S | 173 τοῦ πλημμελήσαντος τὴν D | 174 πρὸς αὐτόν < SH τὸν<sup>1</sup> | τῷ DF ἄρα θεός  
 S ἄρα ὁ θεός H προσωρισάτο SH | 176 ἠβούλετο ἵνα πρίση SH ὄρθριον F οὖν + τόγε SH | 177 ὁ

and to bury him under the sand? In no way, I think, for if he had not run away with the consent of the man that guarded him, he as well would not have escaped the reward for his boldness. Did God give David the order to kill Uriah and to seize his wife? Let it not be, for amending the soul of the trespasser he sent the prophet Nathan to him. Did God predestine that Iezabel should rob the vineyard of Naboth and kill him? Let it not be! Did he wish that the prophet Isaiah should be sawed in twain by the King Manasse with a wood-saw at daybreak? No, in no case. Did God similarly arrange that Jeremiah was thrown into the dirt? In no way. This is what we have to assume: God is the reason for all kinds of good things for all men, and in no way for the evil ones, for looking upon those whom he himself delivers by his immaculate judgements a fearful and horrible death, he puts aside his support for them, so that the badness of those that are simply wicked reaches its peak, and the wicked one receives his complete condemnation, and also the one, that has unjustly been executed by men and not because of the judgements of God, is deemed worthy of the crown of the kingdom of heaven. In addition to all this see also these examples: Of the three boys and the prophet Daniel, did God throw the ones in a fiery furnace, the other into the midst of the den of the lions? In no way, for those who threw them in showed that perilous boldness to them displaying their own wickedness and clearly trying to destroy them. God, showing his own goodness because of his great love for mankind, redeemed them from that most violent torture, since he wanted to do so. And did God give order to Herodes to destroy the children of Rachel and to slaughter Zacharias between the temple and the altar? Let it not be, Lord, o Lord! So you as well be not proud, brother, exalting yourself against these brothers, and again he should not boast to you as if thinking and speaking perfectly. For both you and he say the things contributing to your point, but for lack of experience the one ignores what the other says.”

When the blessed one said this, those that were assembled there applauded him greatly and followed his explanation through their listening. The monk and the cleric were convinced for themselves, and being deeply instructed they embraced the blessed one and blessed that school in which he had initially been educated in the God-inspired Scripture and were henceforth kindly affectioned to him. And when he arrived from his

θεός ὁμοίως προσέταξεν SH ἐν + τῷ SH | 178 μέν < D τοῖς ἅπασιν SH | 179 αὐτὸς] αὐτό S αὐτῶν H τρομαίων S | 180 πάνδεινον ± αὐτοῦ F ἴνα] ἦν DF εἶναι H καὶ < D τῶν] τοῦ S | 181 κορυφωθεῖεν DF τέλειον DF καί<sup>2</sup> < SH | 182 οὐρανόσι SH ἀξιοθεῖκεν D ἀξιοθεῖεν F καί<sup>2</sup> < SH | 183 ἐνταῦθα SH | 184 καὶ < DF | 185 αὐτοῦς < DF | 186 ἰδίαν] οἰκείαν SH ἐπιδειξάμενοι D | 188 βιωτάτης F H βουλήθη S<sup>sc</sup> ἡβουλήθη S<sup>pc</sup> H | 189 ὁ] τε SH | 190 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < S κύριος κύριος < SH | 191 ἀδελφὲ αὐχῆ H τούσδε < SH τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ SH | 192 ὥστε SH φθεγόμενος S | 193 συν-όντα SH | 194 ἠγνόει SH | 195 ἐπ’ αὐτῷ] δι’ αὐτὸν F | 196 τῆ – ὀ<sup>1</sup>] τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀκηκοῶτων· ὁ δέ γε SH (ἐξηγίας S) | 199 ἐπεπαίδευτο SH ἂν ἔσχεν] εἶχεν S εἶχον H

αὐτὸν καθεζόμενοι κατ' ἰδίαν τὰ δέοντα πρὸς σωτηρίαν συνωμίλουν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξελι-  
 πάρουν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

Τ' ὄντος τοιγαροῦν τοῦ μακαρίου ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεδιολάνων καὶ τὸν τῆς ξενιτείας ἀγῶ-  
 να προμηθεΐα κυρίου διανύοντα διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, βου-  
 205 λόμενος αὐτὸν παραμυθῆσασθαι ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς καὶ τὴν μονότητα αὐτοῦ τὴν δι' αὐτὸν  
 παρακλησίει ἀγία κἄν πρὸς βραχὺ ἀγαθῆναι, ὤκονόμησεν τί τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι εἰς αὐτόν.  
 Ὅντος οὖν αὐτοῦ μιᾶ τῶν νυκτερινῶν κανόνων ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τὴν  
 ὀφειλὴν ἀποπληροῦντος τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν θείων συνάξεων, παῖς τίς ὡς ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων  
 210 πρὸς αὐτὸν χάριν πνευματικῆς καὶ ψυχωφελοῦς ὁμιλίας τοῦνομα Λέων. Ὡς δὲ προσεκύ-  
 νησεν αὐτὸν καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσωμίλησεν ἅμα αὐτοῦ, ἀγαθῶν δηλονότι  
 γονέων κλάδος χρηματίζων. Ἐκτοτε οὖν συνεχέστερον ἀπήει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ  
 ἐπορεύετο ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ πνευματικῷ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἦν δὲ ὁ  
 νεανίας πάνυ ἡδύς καὶ μελίρρυτος καὶ τοῖς μὴ θεασασμένοις αὐτὸν ἤπερ τοῖς ὀρώσιν καὶ  
 215 ἀκούουσιν τε μόνον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐναρέτου αὐτοῦ πολιτείας, φίλτατος καὶ περι-  
 δέξιος καὶ ἐπιπόθητος εἰς ἄγαν. Τὸ γὰρ ἡδὺ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ὀρά-  
 σεως τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, τὸ τε πρᾶον καὶ εὐθές καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ταπεινὸν τῆς καρδίας  
 αὐτοῦ πάντι συνετῷ κατάδηλον αὐτὸν ἀπειργάσατο. Πορευομένων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἐν  
 ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις πάνυ τὸ τιμώτατον παιδίον Λέων παρεκάλει τὸν μακάριον ἐκά-  
 220 στοτε λέγων "Δέομαί σου, δοῦλε τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δίδαξόν με, ὅπως ὀφείλω εἶναι ἐν τῷ  
 κόσμῳ τούτῳ, τίνα δὲ ἐπιδείξωμαι ἔργα ἀγαθὰ εἰς ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, πῶς δὲ διευθύνω μου καὶ τὸν τῆδε βίον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν με εἰς τὰ ἔργα τῆς  
 ἀμαρτίας. Ναί, παρακαλῶ, δίδαξόν με, ἵνα διὰ παντός μεμνημένος τῶν ἀγίων σου νουθε-  
 σίων πράττω τὰ δέοντα καὶ ποιῶ τὰ εὐάρεστα τῷ Χριστῷ." Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος  
 225 ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ περὶ τε ἀγνείας καὶ εὐχῆς καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης ἀπηγγέλει αὐτῷ διδά-  
 σκων καὶ νουθετῶν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν προτρεπόμενος αὐτόν.

Ἐκτοτε τοιγαροῦν ὁ νεανίας ἐξαισία πράγματα ἐπετέλει· ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς γὰρ τῆς  
 πόλεως εἰσερχόμενος τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς κατεχομένοις ἐδίδου τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ ἐψυχα-  
 γῶγει παραμυθούμενος μεγάλως τοὺς ἐνδημοῦντας τῇ πόλει ξένους ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτῶν  
 230 φιλοχωρῶν, καὶ μυρία ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῖς κατεργάζετο τρέφων, ποτίζων, λούων καὶ τῶν  
 κτηνῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενος. Τοῖς γείτοσιν ἀπειροπλάσια ἀγαθὰ παραπλησίως ἐπεδεί-  
 κνυτο, πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν γὰρ ἠτήσαντο παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκέκμητο μὴ ἀναβαλλόμενος παρείχεν

#### D F S H

201 αὐτὸν < SH κατ' ἰδίαν καθεζόμενοι SH δέοντα < SH | 203 τ' ἰς· περὶ τοῦ ἐναρέτου παιδὸς  
 Λέοντος SH καὶ – 204 θέλησιν < SH | 205 καὶ < SH τὴν<sup>2</sup> – 206 ἀγαθῆναι < SH αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup>] αὐτοῦ  
 F | 206 εἰς] ἐπ' DF | 207 οὖν < SH | 208 ἀποπληροῦντες DF συντάξεων S | 209 ἄτε < SH περὶ <  
 H | 211 αὐτόν] αὐτῷ S ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ S ἅμα < H αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] αὐτῷ SH δηλονότι < SH | 212 οὖν  
 + ὁ νεανίας SH πρὸ S | 213 καὶ < SH μεγάλῃ] τοῦ θεοῦ H, < S | 214 εὐειδῆς H ἤπερ] ὑπὲρ SH  
 καὶ<sup>3</sup> < SH | 215 τὰ] τῆς DF καὶ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DF | 216 καὶ ἐπιπόθητος εἰς < DF τὸ<sup>2</sup> < DF |  
 217 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἡμερον < SH | 218 ἀπειργάζεται SH | 219 πάνυ] πάντοτε SH Λέων < SH ἐκάστοτε <

lodge in the church, they came to him, embraced him, sat down privately and spoke with him about the things necessary for salvation, and supplicated him to pray for them.

So when the blessed one was in the town of Milan and accomplished the struggle of his living abroad by the forethought of the Lord, because of his goodness and according to his own will, the God of all, wanting to console him by his holy intercession and to gladden him in his loneliness, which he suffered for his sake, though only for a short time, decided that such a thing should happen to him: When he was in the holy church of God for one of the nocturnal liturgies and accomplished his due of the divine devotions to the Lord, a very beautiful and honourable boy of about fourteen years called Leon, who had heard about his reputation, came to him for the sake of spiritual conversation which helps the soul.<sup>36</sup> He bowed before him, and having recognised him, he spoke with him, being clearly the offspring of good parents. Henceforth he often went to him and walked with him in every spiritual work, and especially into the great and holy church. The youth was very sweet and honey-flowing and very dear, handsome and desired even by those that did not see him, or by those that only saw and heard about him and his virtuous conduct. For the delightfulness of his eyes and the sweetness of the sight of his face, his gentle, straight, mild and humble heart made him manifest to every wise man. So when they went into the holy churches the most worthy child Leon always asked the blessed one saying: "I beseech you, servant of Christ, teach me how I have to be in this world, which good works I have to display to please our Lord Jesus Christ, how I have to direct my life on this world so that I may not fall to the machinations of sin. Yea, please teach me so that I always remember your exhortations and do what is deserved and what pleases Christ well." And the blessed Gregentios, opening his mouth, spoke to him about chastity, prayer and mercy, teaching, exhorting and inviting him to every good work.

Henceforth therefore the youth performed extraordinary things, for he went into the prisons of the town and gave to those that were held captive in bonds according to their need, spiritually encouraged the strangers that dwelled in the town consoling them greatly and enjoying to stay in their lodge, and did thousands of good things to them, feeding them, giving them to drink, bathing them and caring for their animals. Similarly he displayed infinitely many good things to the neighbours, for everthing they asked

SH | 220 Χριστοῦ] κυρίου F πῶς F | 222 διευθύνων F και < SH τῆδε < DF ἐκπεσεῖν DF | 223 ἀγιωτάτων F σου < H, + και σοφωτάτων SH | 224 πράττω δε D μακάριος Γρηγόριος] μακαριώτατος SH | 225 προσευχῆς SH | 226 και<sup>2</sup> < D | 227 τοιγαροῦν] οὖν D | 230 και<sup>1</sup> < SH κατειργάσατο DF | 231 ἐπιδείκνυτο H | 232 ἄν γὰρ < SH ἐκέκνητο D

36 See above, p. 21.

- αὐτοῖς· τοῖς δὲ πενομένοις ἐν τῇ πόλει τί οὐ παρείχεν ἐσπέρας ἀργύριον, ἄρτους, οἶνον, σῖτον, σιμίδαλιν, ἄλευρον, χιτῶνας καὶ ὅσα εἰκὸς ἕξεισιν παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις; Πάντα μετ' εὐμενεῖας ἐδίδου αὐτὸς οἰκείοις ποσὶν ἀπῶν καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐξυπηρετῶν. Τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δὲ συναντῶν ἕως ἐδάφους γῆς προσεκύνει, μονάζουσιν διὰ κύριον προσομιλῶν ἐξελιπάρει ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσεύχεσθαι, κληρικούς ὑπερετίμα, ἐπισκόποις τὸ σέβας ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ ἀπεδίδου. Τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφικτὸν προίστατο, γέροντας λίαν ἐτίμα καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἠγάπα καθέζεσθαι καὶ προσομιλεῖν· τοῖς γείτοσιν καὶ πρῶτῳ καὶ ἐσπέρας ἐν τῷ συναντῶν δεσμεύων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸν αὐχένα κλίνων πρῶτος τὸ 'χαίρε' ἀπένειμεν, τοῖς γονεῦσιν τὴν πρέπουσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμεν, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνεχῶς κατελάμβανεν, τοὺς χαρακτήρας τῶν ἀγίων ἐπέθοι, τοὺς φίλους ἠγάπα· ἐχθρόν, ἐὰν εἶπω, πάρεξ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος οὐκ ἐκέκτητο, πάντας ἠγάπα, πάντας ἐτίμα, πάντας ἐσέβετο, ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ πολλοστοῦ φίλτρου καὶ πόθου, ὄνπερ εἶχον θεραπευόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν χρυσοῦν καλλίπαιδα Λέοντα αὐτὸν ὀνομάζοντες προσηγόρευον. Περὶ τῆς γλυκυτάτης αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἐκάστοτε διηγούμενος ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐκορέννυτο. Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἠγάπα τὸν μακάριον, ὥστε εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ ἀχώριστον αὐτὸν εἶναι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Ὅποσον γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐμπόδιον ἐπὶ τινὶ ὑπηρεσίᾳ οἰαδήποτε ἡμέρα, ἦν μὴ παραγενόμενος τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου θεᾶς καὶ ψυχωφελοῦς ὁμιλίας ἀπήλαυσε.
- Ἡγάπα δὲ αὐτὸν πάνυ καὶ ὁ δικαιοτάτος Γρηγόριος, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτόν, καθότι ὄλον τὸν κόσμον κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν κυρίῳ ἐκέρδισεν. Ἐκέκτητο γὰρ αὐτὸν φίλτατον παραμυθίαν ἐν τῇ ξενιτεῖᾳ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν σχέσει καὶ τῇ ἠδυτάτῳ ἀγάπῃ πάσης τῆς θλίψεως καὶ τῆς λύπης ἐπλαθέσθαι καὶ χαίρειν χαρὰν πνευματικὴν καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐπιτελεῖν τὰς τε κατὰ τὸ σῆθηδες προσευχὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα κατὰ τὸν κανόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν πνευματικόν. Πολλοὶ οὖν θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ Γρηγεντίῳ συνεχῶς ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις διημερεύοντα τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον εὐχαριστοῦντες ὑπερεδόξαζον, καθότι ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁδηγὸν πνευματικόν, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτου ἡ ψυχὴ ὁδηγηθῇ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.
- Χρόνου δὲ πινος μεταξὺ αὐτῶν δεδραμηκότος ἡ ἀγάπη αὐτῶν ὡς μέλι οὐράνιον ἐπλεόναζεν καὶ ἡ φιλία αὐτῶν ὡς μῦθρον τίμιον ἐπὶ πλείον εὐδιόξουσα ἐπηύξει καὶ ὁ πόθος αὐτῶν ὁ πνευματικὸς εἰς ἀλλήλους ὡς πῦρ ἐκαίετο καὶ ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῶν ὡς ἄνθη καὶ ῥόδα καὶ

251 ὄλον – ἐκέρδισεν cf. Mt. 16.26

#### DFSH

233 γενομένοις DF, + τοὺς H τί] εἴπερ DF post παρείχεν rasura S ἐσπέρας] ὀπώρας SH | 234 σιμίδαλιν SH ἐπιδομένοις S | 235 ἐδωρεῖτο SH καὶ ταῖς < SH τοῖς ἰδίαις D | 236 ἐξυπηρετεῖ SH δὲ < SH ἐδάφους S γῆς < SH διὰ + τὸν H | 237 κληρικούς ὑπερετίμα < SH ἐπισκόπους DF | 238 τῶν – προίστατο < SH | 239 λίαν < SH καί<sup>2</sup> < SH γείτοσιν + τὸ χαίρε DF | 240 καί<sup>1</sup> < SH δεσμῶν SH δεσμεύων τὰς < F πρῶτος – 241 ἀπένειμεν<sup>1</sup>] προσεφθέγγετο SH | 241 τοῖς – ἀπένειμεν<sup>2</sup> post 244 ἐσέβετο SH | 242 ἐπόθει S κατεπόθη H | 243 δαίμονος + ἐκεῖνος S οὐκείνος H | 244 πολλοῦ SH | 245 αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup>] αὐτῷ SH | 246 περὶ – 247 ἐκορέννυτο < SH |

him for and which he possessed, he offered to them without hesitation; and what did he not offer to the poor of the town in the evening, money, bread, wine, flour, meal, garments and what usually should be offered to the needful? He gave them everything with pleasure, going there on his own feet and serving the aforementioned people with his own hands. When he met priests, he bowed down to the soil of the earth, he adressed the monks entreating them for the sake of the Lord to pray for him, he honoured the clerics exceedingly and payed reverence to the bishops as if to Christ himself. He defended those in need as well as he could, honoured the old men greatly and loved it to sit down and to speak with them; when he met his neighbours in the morning or the evening, he said the ‘hail’ first putting his hands together and bowing his neck, he payed the fitting honour to the parents, he went to church continuously, he desired the icons of the saints, he loved his friends; he did not possess an enemy, if I may say so, except the wicked demon, he loved all, honoured all, venerated all, so that because of the great love and longing, which the people, being pleased, had for him, they adressed and called him the golden good boy Leon.<sup>37</sup> Nobody could be satiated every time he was speaking about his sweetest conduct. And he loved the blessed one so much that, if possible, he was inseparable from him by day and night. How greatly he was hindered to do any service on a day, during which he could not come to the blessed one and enjoy his divine speech which was helping the soul!

Also the most righteous Gregentios loved him very much, so that it seemed to him that he had won the whole world in the Lord according to the saying. For he had him as his dearest consolation in his living abroad, so that he forgot all his affliction and sorrow by the relationship for him and his sweetest love, he rejoiced in spiritual joy, exulted about him and and performed his usual prayers and the remaining things according to his spiritual order with all readiness. So when many people saw him living continually together with the most holy Gregentios and spending the days in the holy churches offering thanks to the holy God, they glorified him greatly, for the Lord God had sent him a spiritual leader so that his soul also might be led into the kingdom of heaven.

When some time had passed for them, their love multiplied like heavenly honey, their love increased like a worthy unguent that smelt more and more, their spiritual longing for each other burned like fire and their honour smelt virtuously like flowers,

247 ἦν] εἶναι H | 248 αὐτόν + τοῦτον S, τοῦ H ὀπόσον – 249 ἀπήλαυσεν < SH ὑπηρεσίαν DF | 250 αὐτόν < SH | 252 τῇ ἡδυτάτῳ < SH | 253 τῆς<sup>1</sup> < D θλίψεως + αὐτοῦ SH χαίρειν < DF | 254 τάς – 255 κατὰ < SH | 256 Γρηγεντίῳ < SH ἐκκλησίαις < SH | 258 ὄδηγόν + φησίν SH | 260 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup>] αὐτῷ DF δεδρακότος D<sup>a</sup>F οὐρανίων S οὐρανίῳ H | 261 ἐπηύξειεν DF ἠπηύξει H και<sup>2</sup> – 263 ἐμύριζεν < SH

<sup>37</sup> The word καλλίπαις here and at 3.281, 345, 352 is normally used to describe a property of someone’s parents, in the sense of “who has good children”.

κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐναρέτως ἐμύριζεν. Μεμηνότες γὰρ τῇ ἀπλήστῳ φιλίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ  
 ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ὅποταν συνήπτοντο ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς μύρον  
 265 τίμιον καὶ μέλι πνευματικόν, οὕτως ἑαυτῶν ἐνετρύφουν, τῇ τε αἰδῶ ἑαυτῶν φιλιτάτως  
 ἀποσκοποῦντες καὶ τοῖς τιμίοις ῥήμασιν ὡς μαργάρους ἀχράντοις μελιρρῦτως βάλλοντες  
 ἑαυτοὺς γαληνομόρφως καὶ θεαρέστως τῷ γλυκεῖ τῶν νοημάτων πνευματικῆς λαβίσι  
 ἐμπιπλῶντες ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἐκορέννυντο. Ὅποταν δὲ ἤθελον ἀποχωρισθῆναι ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν  
 πληρωσάντων αὐτῶν τὴν πνευματικὴν λειτουργίαν, δάκρυσιν ἔβρεχον τὰ τίμια αὐτῶν  
 270 πρόσωπα καὶ εὐμενῶς ἰστάμενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐώρων μὴ βουλόμενοι κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ  
 χωρισθῆναι αὐτῶν· τοσαύτη ἦν ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν τιμίων παιδῶν. Ἐνδον δὲ πάλιν ἕκαστος  
 αὐτῶν γινόμενοι καὶ μὴ ὀρῶντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν τῷ φίλτρῳ καιόμενοι δεινῶς  
 ἐνύττοντο τὰ ἐνδόσθια, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ὁμοίως ὡς μέλι τῶν ὀμμάτων κατεισφέροντες  
 ἕκαστος τοῦ ἐτέρου τὸ ὄνομα φιλιτάτως ὀνομάζοντες ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ μόνης τῆς προσηγο-  
 275 ρίας τοῦ περιποθήτου τὴν παραμυθίαν εἰσεκομίζοντο.

Καίτοι ἵνα μὴ βραδύνωμεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀκούσατε οἶα ἡ διάζευξις τούτων ἐγένετο καὶ  
 ποταπὸς ὁ χωρισμὸς καὶ ποία ἡ θλίψις τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Γρηγεντίῳ ἕνεκα τούτου προσ-  
 ἐγένετο. Ὅπου γὰρ ἀγάπης πληθὸς καὶ φιλίας πλεονάζουσα εἰ καὶ μάλιστα πνευματικῆ,  
 ἐκεῖσε λύπη ἀφόρητος καὶ στεναγμὸς, ἐκεῖσε ὁ δόλιος ὄψις καὶ δεινός, ἡ ἐπάρατος κακο-  
 280 θήκη τῶν βλαβερῶν, τὴν μιανὰν οὐρὰν παμποικίλως εἰλίσσας τὸν κονιορτὸν τῆς ὀδύνης  
 ἐκπινάσσει. Τὸ τιμώτατον ἄρνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ Λέων ὁ καλλιπαις πατράδελφον γὰρ  
 ἐκέκτητο ἐνδοξότατον πάνυ καὶ ἓνα τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων μεγαλοπόλει μεγιστάνων. Οὗτος  
 διὰ παρόδου τινὸς ἐπιστὰς τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ, ἤγουν ἐν τῷ τοῦ  
 μακαριωτάτου Λέοντος πατρὶ εὐθέως ἀπλήκευσεν. Ὅντος οὖν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐκεῖσε  
 285 βλέπων τὸν χρυσοφυῆ ἐπ' ἀληθῆς νεανίαν, φημί τὸν κάλλιστον Λέοντα, ἄρτι μὲν ὡσεὶ  
 κυπάρισσον τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀναθάλλοντα, ἄρτι δὲ καὶ ὡς καλὴν ἀναδενδράδα τοῖς κλήμασιν  
 τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν καλλιπρεπῶς ὠραϊζόμενον (ἔπελεν γὰρ ὡς κόρη τίς ὠραιότατη  
 ἦπερ καὶ νύμφη μεμυρισμένη ὡς ἀπὸ θαλάμου ἐπ' ἀληθείας φράσαι), ἠρώτα τὸν πατέρα  
 αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸς βᾶρος τόγε κέκτηται, ἵνα ἄρη τὸν παῖδα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τιμῆς μεγίστης  
 290 ἀξιώσειν, ἦπερ οὐ κέκτηται· ὑπενόει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἴσως διὰ τὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μὴ  
 καταδέχεσθαι τούτου τὸν πατέρα. Ὁ δὲ γε πατὴρ τοῦ παιδὸς ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οἶον  
 ἐστὶν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ἡμῖν ἀνθρώποις τῆς ἐπικύρου δόξης αἰεὶ ἐφίεσθαι θάττον τῇ αἰτήσει

### D F S H

265 οὕτω SH ἐνετρύφον S<sup>ac</sup> αἰδῶ] ὀδὸν H ἑαυτῶν<sup>2</sup> < D | 267 γαληνομόρφως καὶ θεαρέστως <  
 DF γλυκὺν SH | 268 ἐμπιπλῶντες H χωρισθῆναι S<sup>ac</sup> ἀναχωρισθῆναι S<sup>ac</sup> | 269 πληρωσάντων –  
 λειτουργίαν < SH | 270 ἐώρων DF | 271 τοσαύτη – παιδῶν < SH < D ἐνδον δὲ] ἕκτοτε DF +  
 οὖν D δὲ] τε H | 272 γενόμενοι H | 273 δόσθια F τὰ<sup>2</sup> < SH καταφέροντες SH | 275 ἐκομίζοντο  
 SH | 276 καίτοι] καὶ SH ἐν τῷ S τὸν λόγον H ἡ < SH | 277 ποταπὸς < SH ὁποία SH < D  
 μακαριῷ SH εἵνεκα S ἐγένετο SH | 279 ἡ – 280 βλαβερῶν < SH | 280 οὐρὰν < SH | 281 ἐκπινάσ-  
 σειν DF τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄρνιον SH (τοῦ < S) γὰρ < SH | 282 μεγαλοπόλει Ῥωμαίων F πόλει SH |  
 283 τινὰς D Μεδιολάνων F | 284 μακαρίου D ἠπλήκευσεν SH αὐτῶν F | 285 φημί < DF ὡς SH  
 | 286 ἄρτι δὲ < SH ὡσεὶ SH καλὴν < DF | 287 καλλιπρεπῶς D ἔπελεν] ἦν SH τίς < H | 288 ἡ

roses and lilies of the field. For each of them was reminding his friend of the insatiable friendship and love, when they joined in the parish church, and they delighted in each other like a worthy unguent and spiritual honey, and looking in a most loving way upon their awe and addressing each other with worthy words as with immaculate pearls in a honey-flowing way, they were not satiated with filling each other calmly and in a way pleasing to God with sweet thoughts and spiritual apprehension. And when they had to separate from each other when they had fulfilled their spiritual liturgy, they moistened their worthy faces with tears, and standing there in good favour they looked upon each other, for they did not want to separate not even for a short time: Such was the love of the worthy boys. And when they went home again and did not see each other, they were burned in their heart and their intestines were pricked terribly, and letting their tears flow like honey from their eyes, each of them called the name of the other in a most loving way and received consolation already by only mentioning the name of the desired one.

However, in order not get into delay with our story, hear how their separation happened, which their departing was and what affliction overcame the most blessed Gregentios because of this. For where there is abundance of love and plenty of friendship, and especially a spiritual one, there is also unbearable sorrow and sighing, there is the deceitful and terrible serpent, the accursed chest of harms, which stirs up the dust of pain rolling its abominable tail in many various ways. For the most worthy lamb of Christ, Leon the good boy, had an uncle from his father's side who was very glorious<sup>38</sup> and one of the grand men in the great city of Rome. He came to Milan by another way and took his lodge in the house of his brother, that is the father of the most blessed Leon. Now when he had been there some days, he saw that youth of truly golden nature, I say the most beautiful Leon who had grown up like a cypress and was adorned beautifully with the limbs of his body as his branches like a climbing vine (for to tell the truth, he was like a very beautiful girl or also like a perfumed bride that comes out of the bride-chamber), and asked his father whether he would be offended, if he would take the boy with him and deem him worthy of the greatest honour, or would not; for he thought that his father would perhaps not accept it because of the separation from his child. But when the father of the boy heard this, as we humble men always try to reach an actually effective glory, he quickly gave his consent to the request of his brother.

SH μρισμένη Η ὡς ἀπὸ θαλάμου < SH | 289 τόγε + οὐ SH | 290 ἤπερ οὐ κέκτηται < SH γὰρ αὐτόν] δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς SH | 291 τούτου τὸν] τοῦτον DF | 292 ἐστίν] ἐπὶ DF ἀφίεσθαι Η

<sup>38</sup> Though the word ἐνδοξότατος is used here as a simple adjective, the phrase may be an allusion to an alleged senatorial rank of Leons' uncle as *gloriosus*; on which see Koch, *Beamtentitel*, 58–73; Kazhdan, “Gloriosus”.



τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπένευσεν. Ἀναχωροῦντος τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκεῖσε, φημί τοῦ  
 πατραδέλφου τοῦ παιδός, προετρέπετο καὶ τῷ τιμωτάτῳ παιδί Λέοντι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπ-  
 295 ιένα. Τῷ δὲ βαρὺ τοῦτο εἰς ἄγαν ἐφαίνετο· ἐνενοεῖτο γὰρ τὸν χωρισμὸν τοῦ μακαρίου  
 Γρηγεντίου καὶ φρίττων ἰλιγγία καὶ συνεχῶς μέντοι ἐδάκρυν· οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ τί ὅμως δια-  
 πράξασθαι. Πορευθεὶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θᾶπτον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπήγγειλεν, καὶ καθεσθέντες  
 ἀμφότεροι ἐλεινοῖς δάκρυσιν τῆς ἀνεκκλήτου αὐτῶν φιλίας τὸν χωρισμὸν ἀπωδύροντο.

“Ὅμως μέντοι ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος·  
 300 “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, ἀδελφέ, ἠρεμήσωμεν· εἴτε γὰρ οὕτως, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως ἡμεῖς τόγε κἂν  
 πρῶτον, κἂν ὕστερον ὑπομεμενηκέναι ὀφείλομεν. Ἐμὲ γὰρ, ἀγαπητέ μου, ὡς ὄρᾳς, ἔπι  
 ὀλίγον καὶ μεθίστησιν με τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ὁ κύριος, καὶ κἂν οὕτως χωρίζεσθαι μέλλομεν.  
 Μὴ οὖν ἀθύμει, ἀδελφέ μου, παρακαλῶ, ἀλλ' ὅπου δ' ἂν εἴη, σπουδάσον εὐαρεστεῖν τῷ  
 κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα ἐπιτύχῃς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρα-  
 305 νῶν. Ὁ γὰρ βίος πρόσκαιρος καὶ τὰ πράγματα μάταια, ἥτε φύσις ἢ ἡμετέρα ἐμπαθῆς καὶ  
 μάλα ὀπότεν ἐσμέν ἐν νεότητι, καὶ φοβητέον, μὴ πταίσαντες καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀπολέσαντες  
 οἰκήσωμεν μετὰ τέλος τὴν δύστηνον Γέενναν τοῦ πυρός. Ἐκάστοτε δέ, ἀγαπητέ μου,  
 μέμνησόν μου ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐντεύξεσίν σου μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης σου ἀναπνοῆς,  
 κἀγὼ δὲ ὁμοίως τοῦτο ποιήσω περὶ σοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς μου. Σὺ δὲ  
 310 γινώσκων γνῶθι, ὅτι πρότερόν μου ἐκδημήσεις τοῦ τῆδε βίου, ὡς ὁ κύριός μου ἐν ὁράματι  
 τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐγνώρισεν. Ἰσθι οὖν ἄγρυπνος πρὸς θεὸν καὶ συνετὸς πρὸς τὰς μεθο-  
 δείας τοῦ διαβόλου, ἐργήγορος καὶ εὐεπίδεκτος πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἔσται ὁ  
 κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως πιστεύω τῷ θεῷ καὶ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, εἴπερ εὐοδώσῃ τὴν ὁδὸν μου ἐν τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ διατηρή-  
 315 σει τὴν ἐμὴν ἐλεινότητα ἀπὸ τῶν παγίδων τοῦ ἄλλοτρίου. Ἥλπισα ἐπὶ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ,  
 ἤλπισα, ὅτι ἀχώριστοι καὶ ἅμα ἐσόμεθα.”

Τοῦτοις οὖν τοῖς ῥήμασιν παραθαρρύνας τὸν ἐπιπόθητον αὐτοῦ καὶ μελίρρυτον  
 Λέοντα ὁ ἀγιώτατος Γρηγέντιος, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγίῳ φιλήματι καὶ ἐφ' ἰκανὴν  
 ὥραν ἐπαναπαυσάμενοι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτοῦ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ ἔπειτα πολλο-  
 320 στὰ δάκρυα καταγαγόντες καὶ θάτερος θατέρου τὰ φίλτατα ὄμματα μετὰ πολλοῦ καύσω-  
 νος καὶ λύπης καταφιλήσαντες καὶ εἰρηκότες ἀλλήλοις· “Σώζου, ἀδελφέ, καὶ μέμνησόν μου  
 διὰ παντός”, ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ὁ μὲν μακάριος ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ,  
 ὁ δὲ γε τιμωτάτος Λέων ἀπῆγε ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Τούτων τοιγαροῦν οὕτω γεγονότων ἐν ἀπείρῳ σκυθρωπότητι προσῆν ὁ μακάριος  
 325 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς διὰ τὸν φίλτατον αὐτοῦ Λέοντα, ὅτι οὕτω θάτερος ἐχωρίσθη ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ. Ἀπερχόμενος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηριοῖς οἴκοις τῶν ἁγίων μονώτατος, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ καθορῶν τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἅμα τῷ ἀγαπητῷ αὐτοῦ

#### D F S H

293 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < S | 295 τῷ δὲ βαρὺ | βαρὺ δὲ SH κατεφαίνετο SH ἐνενόητο D | 296 ἰλιγγίᾳ F δὲ |  
 τε SH ὅμως τί F διατάξασθαι D | 297 δὲ + καὶ F θᾶπτον + αὐτῷ SH | 298 οἱ ἀμφότεροι SH  
 ἀπεδύροντο SH | 300 καὶ < D H ἡμεῖς < SH | 301 πρότερον SH κἂν] ἢ DF χωρισθῆναι SH ἔπι]

Therefore, when he departed from there, I say the uncle of the boy from the father's side, he also ordered the most worthy boy Leon to go with him. This seemed very hard to him, for, considering the separation of the blessed Gregentios, he shuddered, became dizzy and wept continually; however, there was nothing he could do. So he went quickly to him and announced the thing, and they both sat down and lamented the separation of their unutterable friendship with pitiful tears. However, the blessed said to him:

“For the sake of the Lord, let us be silent, brother, for we will have to suffer that either in this or in another way sooner or later. For as you see, my beloved one, there is only a short time left, and the Lord will take me away from this town, and we will be separated in this way as well. So do not be disheartened, my brother, please, but wherever it may be, try to please our Lord Jesus Christ well through good works, so that you may attain the kingdom of heaven. For life is temporary and things are vain, our nature is subject to passions, especially when we are in our youth, and we must fear that, by committing sin and loosing all, after our end we will inhabit the disastrous Gehenna of fire. Remember me always, my beloved one, in your intercessions to God until your last breath, and similarly I will do this for you in all days of my life. You should know that you will depart from this life before me, as my Lord has made me know this night in a dream. So be wakeful towards God and wise towards the crafts of the devil, attent and eager to listen to every good work, and God will be with you. On the day of repayment, I believe in our God and Lord Jesus Christ that he will prepare my way and will keep my pitifulness away from the traps of the adversary in his Holy Ghost. I hope in my God, yes I hope that we will be inseparable and together.”

Now when the most holy Gregentios had encouraged his desired and honey-flowing Leon with these words, they embraced each other with a holy kiss and both rested for a considerable time at the neck of each other, let many tears run down, the one kissed the other's most beloved eyes with great fervour and sorrow, and having said to each other “Farewell, brother, and remember me forever” they separated from each other, and the blessed one returned to his lodge, the most worthy Leon went away on his travel abroad.

Therefore, when these things had happened in this way, the blessed one was in infinite sadness by day and night because of his most beloved Leon, that he was separated from him in such a way. For when he went to the chapels of the saints all alone and especially to the great church, and saw the places where he had stood before toge-

ὅτι H | 302 κἄν + ὡς SH ἐμέλλομεν χωρίζεσθαι SH | 303 μου + ἀγαπητέ SH εἶη] ἦ SH | 304 καὶ < SH | 305 τὰ < D | 306 μάλιστα SH ἐν + τῇ F ἀπολέσωμεν D | 308 σου<sup>1</sup> < DF | 310 ὅτι < H πρότερός SH | 311 τὸν θεὸν SH | 312 διαβόλου + καὶ SH | 314 Χριστοῦ S καὶ < DF | 315 ἦλπισα – 316 ἦλπισα < SH | 317 οὖν < SH καὶ μελίρρυτον Λέοντα < SH | 318 ἅγιος SH | 319 αὐτοῦ < SH ἔπειτα < DF | 320 θάτερος θατέρου] ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτοῦ SH | 321 ἀλλήλους H | 322 ἀπ' ἀλλήλων < SH | 323 γε < SH ἀπήει < SH | 324 οὕτως DF, < H | 325 ὅτι – 326 αὐτοῦ < DF | 327 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DF τύπους DF οἷς] ᾧ SH

πρώην ἴστατο καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς ἐπετέλουν, τῇ τῆς ἀγάπης πυρκαϊᾷ ἀνα-  
 φλεγόμενος καὶ τῷ ἀπλήστῳ κέντρῳ τῆς φιλίας νυττόμενος, γοεροῖς δάκρυσιν τὸ ἱερὸν  
 330 ἔδαφος ἐκείνο τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας κατέβρεχεν, ὥστε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς οὐθὲν  
 βλαβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπείρων ἐκείνων δακρύων. Ἀνωμολογεῖτο δὲ τῷ θεῷ  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ πάντοτε ὁ σεβάσιμος καὶ ἔλεγεν· “Κύριε, ποιητὰ οὐρανοῦ, δημιουργὲ τῆς γῆς,  
 ταῖς ἀχράντοις σου περιοδείαις καὶ τοῖς ἀφράστοις σου κρίμασιν πολυτρόπως ἔλκυσον  
 τὸν φίλτατόν μου Λέοντα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μὴ παραχωρήσῃ αὐτὸν ἢ  
 335 δυνάμεις σου ἢ ἀγία ταῖς ματαιότησιν τοῦ βίου περιπλεχθέντα πλήθος ἀκανθῶν καὶ τριβό-  
 λων ἑαυτῷ ἐπισωρεῦσαι ἀνομημάτων καὶ τῆς δυσαχθοῦς ἀπωλείας ἐντὸς τῷγε τρόπῳ  
 χρηματίσαι.”

Ταῦτα ἢ καὶ ἕτερα αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λιτανεύοντος,  
 ἀκούσατε ὅποιον ἐγγένοι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μελήσει τῷ κυρίῳ ὅποιος κρίμασιν τῆς μεγαλοπρε-  
 340 ποῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ. Ὡς γὰρ εἴρηται, ὅτι ἀπεδήμησεν ἅμα  
 τῷ πατραδέλφῳ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, αὐτὸς μὴθὲν μελήσας τῆς Μελικιωτῶν ἐνορίας ἄρχον-  
 τα τοῦτον κατέστησεν. Ἐκέισε τοιγαροῦν αὐτοῦ φιλαρέτως τὸν βίον μεπόντος καὶ εὐθέ-  
 τως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ ἰθύνοντος, τὰ πλήθη τὰ ἐκεῖσε κατοικοῦντα ὑπερεμεγάλουνον  
 αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν τε καὶ κατάστασιν. Ὁ δὲ μισόκαλος δράκων καὶ  
 345 φθορεὺς τοῦ ἀνθρωπίου γένους οὐκ ἤνεγκεν πρᾶως τοῦ καλλιπαιδὸς νεανία τὴν εὐπρα-  
 γίαν· πέφυκε γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ μιᾶρῳ ἐκάστοτε δαίμονι ταῖς τῶν θεοσθηρίκτων ἀνδρῶν  
 θεοπαρόχοις εὐπραγίαις ἐκ μήνης καὶ κακίας ἀντικεῖσθαι πάντοτε. Εὐρῶν γὰρ μιᾶρὸν  
 σκευὸς ἄξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ βδελυρίας καὶ εἰσελθῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δι’ ἐκείνου αὐτῷ τὸν οἴκτιστον  
 θάνατον ἐκέρασεν. Κληρικός γὰρ τις δαιμόνων καὶ οὐ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἄξιον φάναι τῆς  
 350 Μελικῆς πόλεως πέλων, φιλιωθείς αὐτῷ τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Λέοντι τῇ ὑποβολῇ, τοῦ ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ σεβασμίου παιδὸς διαδεχθέντος ἄρχοντος ὀρεγομένου ἐπιᾶξ τῆς πρώην αὐτῷ  
 οὐσης ἀρχῆς, ἣν ὁ καλλιπαιδὴς εἴληφεν Λέων, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου ποσότητα λαβῶν ἐπ’  
 ἄριστον τὸν ἄρχοντα προτρεψάμενος, φάρμακα δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐν ἐσχάτῳ κεράσματι οἴνου  
 ἐν ποτηρίῳ θάπτων ἀπῆλλαξεν τοῦ ζῆν. Ἀλλά γε μὴ εὐφρανθεῖη ὁ ἀλιτήριος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ  
 355 αὐτοὶ οἱ τῷ ἀθῶν παιδί τὰ δηλητήρια κεράσαντες ἀντάξια ὑπὸ τοῦ κειμένου νόμου ἀπο-  
 κτανθέντες τὰ ὀψώνια ἐδρέψαντο. Οὕτω γὰρ ἀνταποδίδωσιν οἱ δαίμονες τοῖς φίλοις  
 αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπάρατα.

Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος Γρηγόριος καὶ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν αὐ-  
 τοῦ ἀκηκῶς, τὸν θεὸν μὲν τὸν ἅγιον ὡς ἄτε ἕτερος Ἰῶβ ὑπερεδόξαζεν, δεινῶς δὲ τῇ  
 360 καρδίᾳ ἔπαθεν τὸν ἀπροσδόκητον θάνατον ἀκούσας αἰφνιδίως τοῦ πεποθημένου αὐτοῦ.

## D F S H

328 ἐπετέλει SH ταῖς – πυρκαϊαῖς SH | 329 κέντρῳ] φίλτρῳ D | 330 δάπεδον SH | 331 τοῦ πλή-  
 θους post ἐκείνων F ἐκείνων < SH θεῷ + καὶ SH | 333 ἀφθάστοις F | 335 περιπλακέντα D  
 περιπλαχθέντα F πλήθους – τριβόλων] τριβόλων πλήθος SH | 336 ἑαυτῶν F ἐπρεῦσαι H τῷγε +  
 τῷ SH | 337 χρηματίσειεν DF | 338 ἢ < H αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < SH αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> + τὰ DF | 339 αὐτῷ + καὶ SH  
 μελήσειεν H ὅποιος] ποταποῖς SH | 341 μὴθὲν H | 342 τοῦτον] αὐτὸν SH φιλαρέτως < SH

ther with his beloved one, and they had performed the usual prayers to the Lord, he was burned again by the fire of love and pricked by the insatiable sting of friendship, and moistened that sacred floor of the holy church with mournful tears, his eyes did not suffer at all from the infinite amount of those tears. And the adorable one constantly confessed to God about him and said: “Lord, maker of heaven, creator of earth, draw my dearest Leon into the kingdom of heaven in various ways by your immaculate practices and your inexpressible judgements, and your holy power may not allow him to accumulate a great amount of the thistles and thorns of sin, by being involved with the vanities of life and, in this way, getting into the most grievous perdition.”

But as he was entreating these and other things to God for his beloved one, hear what happened to him through God’s care and by which judgements of his magnificent and ineffable power and strength. For as it has been said before, he went to Rome together with his uncle from his father’s side, who appointed him without hesitation as ruler of the district of the Melikiotes.<sup>39</sup> So he led his life there virtuously and exercised his rulership in an appropriate way, and the crowds that lived there praised him greatly because of his virtuous conduct and perfection. But the serpent who hates the good and corrupts the human race did not bear gently the success of the good youth, for it is at all times a peculiarity of the abominable demon that he opposes the God-given successes of the God-supported men because of his wrath and badness. So he found an impure vessel worthy of his abomination, and entering it he prepared for him the most pitiable death through that man. For he, being a cleric of the demons, as it should be said, and not of the church of the town of Melike, pretended to be a friend of the most blessed Leon, but having received a sum of gold and silver from the ruler, whom the adorable boy had succeeded and who once more desired his former office which the good boy Leon had taken over, and inviting the <new> ruler for dinner, he gave him poison in the last potion of wine in a cup and quickly deprived him of his life. But the wicked one was not to rejoice, for those who had also mixed the venom for the innocent boy harvested a worthy fruit, being executed according to the written law. For this is the way how the demons repay their friends that do their accursed works.

When the most blessed Gregentios heard also about this misfortune of his beloved one, he glorified the holy God greatly like a second Job, though he suffered terribly in his heart when he suddenly learned about the unexpected death of his desired one. I do

εὐθέτως SH | 344 τε < D δράκων] δαίμων S<sup>ac</sup> | 345 ἀνθρωπίνου D τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τῷ SH καλλίπαιδος] κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς H νεαίου S, < H | 346 γὰρ + πῶς SH | 347 θεοπαρόχους DF εὐπραγίας D ἀντίκεισθαι DF | 348 δι’ ἐκείνου αὐτῷ < DF | 349 δαιμονῶν SH οὐ] οὐκ ante ἄξιος SH φάναι < SH | 350 μακαρίῳ SH | 354 εὐφρανθεῖν SH | 355 ὑπὸ – ἀποκτανθέντες] ὑποκτανθέντες DF | 358 μακάριος D<sup>ac</sup> | 360 ἀκούσας αἰφνιδίως < DF αὐτοῦ < F

<sup>39</sup> See above, pp. 19–20.

Τίς δὲ καὶ ἔπειτα τὰς θλίψεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀφόρητα δάκρυα, ἅπερ καὶ πάλιν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀναίρεσιν ἐπήγαγεν, ἄξιως καταγράφηται οὐδαμῶς οἶμαι. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀκηκοέ-  
 365 ναὶ αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου ἐν τόποις ἀποκρύφους κατ' ἰδίαν ἀναχωρῶν στεναγμοῖς ἐκ βαθέων ἀνοιμώπτων ἐλεεινῶς, οὕτω τὸν ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπωδύρετο, οὐχ ὅτι ἀπώλετο ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀληθὴς ἀγάπη, ἡ ὄντως ἀγάπη ἢ καὶ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ σωτήρος τὴν ἑαυτῆς ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων τιθεῖσα καὶ σαφῶς προκινδυνεύουσα.

Ἐμὶ αὖτ' οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστῶπι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ προσευ-  
 χόμενῳ, μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸ σῆμα εὐχὴν ἐδέετο τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 370 νεανία ψυχῆς, ὅπως αὐτὴ ἀπέβη μετὰ τὴν ἐντεθῆν ἀπαλλαγὴν. Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ὄρα  
 πινὰ ἄνδρα κατ' ὄναρ λέγοντα αὐτῷ: “Δεῦρο ἅμα ἐμοὶ καὶ δείκνυμί σοι αὐτὸς ἔγωγε τοῦ  
 ἀγαπητοῦ σου Λέοντος τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ γνώσει τίπερ ἀπέβη αὐτῷ.” Κατεῖχεν δὲ λαμπάδα  
 καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἐπορεύοντο. Ἔρχονται τοίνυν ἐν οἴκῳ πνι θαυμασιωτάτῳ ἐξηγήσεις τινὰς  
 375 φοβερὰς κεκτημένῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν. Ἡρώτα τοίνυν τὸν  
 ὁδηγὸν αὐτοῦ ὁ δίκαιος “Τίς ὁ οἶκος οὗτος”, φάσκων, “ὁ ἐξοχώτατος παντὸς τοῦ κό-  
 σμου τῶν οἰκημάτων; Τοιαύτην γὰρ οἰκίαν”, φησὶν, “ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ οὐχ ἑώρακα τέχνη καὶ  
 λαμπρότητι θαυμαστῶς κατασκευασμένην.” Ὁ δὲ γε ἀνὴρ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν “Αὕτη ἔστιν  
 ἡ οἰκία, ὧ τέκνον, ἐν ἧ τῶν παρὰ γνώμην θεοῦ τελευτώντων τὰ πνεύματα πρὸς καιρὸν  
 380 θησαυρίζονται. Ὅποτεν δὲ πληρωθῶσιν τὰ ἔτη ἐκάστης ψυχῆς, ἅπερ ἤμελλεν ζήσασα  
 βιώσαι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸ τῆνικαῦτα ἐξέρχεται τὸ πρόσταγμα προσκαλούμενον τὴν ψυχὴν,  
 καὶ λαμβάνων αὐτὴν ὁ ἄγγελος ἄπεισιν αὐτὴν τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ φοβερῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ  
 σωτήρος, καὶ τὸ τῆνικαῦτα λοιπὸν γνωρίζει τὴν μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας παρουσίας τοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ κατάπαισιν αὐτῆς. Τὰ δὲ πλήθη ταῦτα, ἅπερ νῦν ὄρας αὐτόθι χρηματίζοντα, τῶν  
 385 ἀδίκως ἀποκτανθέντων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν παρὰ πονηρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων ἀν-  
 θρώπων. Καὶ αἱ μὲν μαχαίρα τοῦ σώματος ἐξεχωρίσθησαν, αἱ δὲ δι' ἀγχόνης, ἄλλα περι-  
 εργεῖα δαιμόνων ἐξ αἰτήσεως ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀνθρώπων εἴτε ἐν μνημείοις τῆς ἐπαοιδίας  
 γενομένης, εἴτε ἐν θαλάσῃ τῆς μαγίας ῥιφείσης, εἴτε ἐν ποταμοῖς, εἴτε ἐν λίμναις, εἴτε ἐν  
 φρέασιν, εἴτε ὑποκάτω πέτρας τεθείσης τῆς περιεργείας, εἴτε ἔνδον τοῦ ἱματίου ῥαφείσης,  
 390 εἴτε ἐν τυλοπροσκεφάλῳ ἀσφαλισθείσης, εἴτε ἐν δένδρῳ ὑποκαρφωθέντος καὶ περιεργα-  
 σθέντος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἀπλῶς ὄν τρόπον σοι εἶρηκα τῶν ἐκτὸς γνώμη θεοῦ ἐπιβουεου-

366 τὴν – τιθεῖσα cf. Io. 15.13

#### D F S H

361 καὶ ἔπειτα < SH ἔπειτα] ἔπει D καὶ πάλιν < SH | 362 ἐπήγαγεν] ἐπίσησεν F ὑπέστην post  
 ἅπερ SH καταγράψαι DF οὐδαμῶς οἶμαι < SH | 364 οὕτως DF ἀπεδύρετο SH αὐτοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ  
 μὴ γένοιτο F | 365 ὄντως – καὶ < SH καὶ < F | 366 σωτήρος + τῆς H ἑαυτοῦ H τιθεῖσα F  
 τίθουσα SH | 368 Ἐμὶ αὖτ'· περὶ τῆς ὀπτασίας ἧς εἶδεν ὁ ὄσιος διὰ τὸν ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ Λέοντα SH  
 τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ < DF προσευχόμενος D | 370 αὐτὴ ἀπέβη] ἀπέβη αὐτῷ DF ἐνθένδε D  
 ἐνθένδεν F καὶ + δὴ SH ἐκείνην F | 371 κατ' ὄναρ < H λέγων DF αὐτὸς – 372 γνώσει < H |  
 372 τίπερ] τί SH | 373 ἐξηγήσεις τινὰς φοβερὰς < DF | 374 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DF ἦσαν] ἔπελεν DF τε + καὶ

not know who then should be able to write down in a worthy way his afflictions and his unbearable tears which he shed again because of the murder of that boy. For when he had heard about this, he went away privately to secret places and bewailed his beloved one, uttering sighs deeply and miserably, not because <Leon's> soul had perished, let it not be, but because true love is so great, the truthful love which, according to the word of the Saviour, gives away the own soul for its friends and well takes the first risk.

Now one day, when he stood in the chapel of the First Martyr and prayed, he begged God after the usual prayer to reveal him the fate of the youth's soul, how it went away after its separation from this world. And in that night he saw a man in a dream who said to him: "Come on with me, and I myself will show you the spirit of your beloved Leon, and you will know what has happened to him."<sup>40</sup> And he held a torch, and both went away. So they came to a most wonderful house which possessed some frightful paintings, and in it was a large number of men and women. And the righteous one asked his leader saying: "What is this house which is more excellent than the houses of all the world? For I have never seen", he said, "such a house in the world which was so wondrously made in its art and brightness." The man said to him: "This is the house, o child, where the spirits of those are temporarily stored that have died without God's will. When the years of every soul are fulfilled which it should have spent living in the world, then the order goes out inviting the soul, and the angel takes it and brings it to worship the frightful throne of the Saviour, and then it learns about its place of rest until the second arrival of Christ. The crowds you see now being here are the souls of those that have unjustly been killed by evil and impure men. And some of them have been separated from their body by the sword, others by strangling, others by the charm of demons due to the request of sinful men, in which the sorcery happened either in graves, or the spell was thrown into the sea, into rivers, lakes or wells, or the charm was put below a rock or sewed into a garment or enclosed in a pillow, or it has been nailed to a tree and charmed by them. And simply as I told you, <the souls> of those that have been plotted against by demons and bad men without the will of God wait here, which would live in this world if there would have been no plot against them; but since they have

παιδων D | 375 ὀδηγοῦντα αὐτὸν SH τοῦτος F φάσκων < H | 376 οἰκίαν] οἰκεί S, < DF φησὶν < H κόσμῳ + οὐκ εἶδον ἀλλ' H τέχνην καὶ λαμπρότητα DF | 377 θανμαστῶ S κατεσκευασμένην S ἄνερ DF αὐτῆ < DF | 378 τῶν < S πρὸς < SH | 381 ὁ ἄγγελος ἄπεισιν < DF | 382 σωτήρος] πατρὸς SH τὸ < DF | 383 χρηματίζοντα] ὄντα SH | 384 ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ < D ἐν - ἀνθρώπων < H | 385 καὶ < SH μαχαίραι H ἐχωρίσθησαν SH περιεργεῖαι DF | 387 γεναμένης SH θαλάσσης S | 388 τῆς περιεργείας < SH | 389 εἶτε<sup>1</sup> - ἀσφαλισθείσης < SH ἐν<sup>2</sup> + τῷ SH ὑποκαρφωθέντος] καρφωθέντων SH καὶ < DF | 390 ἀπ'] ἐπ' H προείρηκα SH θεοῦ γνώμης SH

<sup>40</sup> On the following scene, see above, pp. 132–134.

μένων ἀνθρώπων παρά τε δαιμόνων καὶ κακούργων ἀνθρώπων ἐνταῦθα προσκαρτεροῦν, ὧν εἰ μὴ ἐπιβουλεύθησαν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἡμελλον ζῆσαι· ἐπιβουλεύομεναι γὰρ ταμιεύονται, καὶ ὁπόταν μία ὑπὲρ μίαν ἄνωθεν ζητηθῶσιν ἐκπορεύονται. Ὅσοι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει εἴτε ἀποπνίξωσιν, εἴτε μαχαίρα ἀνέλωσιν ἢ ἐν κρημνῷ ἀκοντίσωσιν, εἴτε ἐν θαλάσσει, εἴτε ἐν φρέατι ρίψωσιν καὶ τελευτήσωσιν, εἴτε ἐτέρως πῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναλώσωσιν, εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων πορεύονται οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐκδίκησιν παρὰ τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ.”

Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλει ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, πορρωτέρω τῷ πλάτει τῆς οἰκίας προέβησαν καὶ ἀναβλέψαντες ὀρώσιν πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς ἐλαίαν διηνησιμένην, συκὴν τε πλησίον αὐτῆς καρπὸν ὠριμώτατον φέρουσαν, ἐν οἷς τὸ μέλι πέπειρον ἀπὸ τῶν συκῶν διέρρεεν. Ὅρῶσιν τοιγαροῦν ὑποκάτω τῆς ἐλαίας νεανίαν τινὰ ἰστάμενον λευκὴν στολὴν ἡμφιεσμένον, ὠραῖον τε τῷ κάλλει ὑπὲρ ἄγαν· κατεῖχε δὲ ῥάβδον λευκὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἐπεστηρίζετο. Ὅρῶντων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν τὸ ποίψ τρόψω τὸν νεανίαν ἐκεῖνον ἰστάμενον, αὐτὸς ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιστροφόμενος κατὰ ἀνατολὰς προσήχετο, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν συκὴν ἠδέως λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτῆς ἤσθιεν εὐλογῶν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐσθίειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς συκῆς ἐκείνης ὁ μὲν καρπὸς αὐτῆς ἐπλεόναζεν ἐφ’ ἅπαξ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὄλος χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐπληροῦτο καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ ἐσθάναι μαιδιῶν καὶ εὐφραϊνόμενος. Ἐδόκει τοιγαροῦν ὁ μακάριος ἐρωτᾶν τὸν ὀδηγοῦντα αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ὀρωμένου, τίς ἄρα περίεσπιν· ὀρᾶν γὰρ τὴν καλλονὴν τῆς ὠραιότητος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐκορέννυτο. Λέγει τοιγαροῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ὀδηγῶν αὐτόν· “Εἰ ἴδης, ὦ τέκνον, τίς οὗτος ἐστίν, μεγάλως ἂν τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν δεσπότην καὶ θεὸν ἀπηυχαρίστησας.” Τοῦ δὲ ἐνισταμένου καὶ ἐκλιπαροῦντος μαθεῖν τὸ τίς ἄρα ἐστίν (οὐ γὰρ ἔφερεν ἢ ὄρασις τοῦ φαινομένου νεανία τὴν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ οὖσαν αὐτῷ σωματικὴν πρόσοψιν, ἴν’ ἐκείθεν ἀνιστορήσας τὸν πάλαι ποθοῦμενον κατανοήσῃ· ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς δὲ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ὄρασις νεύσει θεοῦ διανοιγόντων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ καθορᾶτο) ἀποκριθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Οὗτος ἐστίν, ἀγαπητέ μου, Λέων ὁ ἀγαπητός σου καὶ φίλτατος, περὶ οὗ τὰ ἀπλήρωτα ἐκεῖνα ἐξέχεας δάκρυα. Ἐπι δὲ ἔμελλεν εἶναι ἐν τῇ προσκαίρῳ ζωῇ, εἰ μὴ προφθάσας ὁ βάσκανος ἐκεῖνος δαίμων δι’ ἐργάτου ἰδίου τοῦτον τοῦ κόσμου κεχώρηκεν. Ἐσπιν δὲ ἔτι ἐνταῦθα περιμένων τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ, ἴν’ ὁπόταν ζητήσωσιν αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν τὸ τηλικαῦτα ἐντεῦθεν ἀναδράμη καὶ εἰς τὴν τελείαν αὐτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν κατασκηνώσκειν κατάπαυσιν. Ἡ δὲ συκὴ, ἥνπερ ὀρᾶς πλησίον αὐτοῦ, τὰ τε μελίρρυτα σῦκα τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ χρηματίζοντα, αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη καὶ αἱ φίλταται εὐποιΐαι ἐκεῖναι. Τὰ

395 εἰς – 396 ἐξώτερον Mt. 8.12, 22.13, 25.30

#### D F S H

391 παρά – ἀνθρώπων<sup>2</sup> < SH προσκαρτεροῦν] προσκαρτερῶν D καρτερῶν F προσκαρτεροῦν ὧν] πρόκαιρον S, < H | 392 ἐπεβουλεύθησαν F ἤθελον SH γὰρ] δὲ SH | 394 εἴτε<sup>1</sup> < SH ἀνελῶσιν SH ἦ] εἴτε SH κρημῷ D | 395 καὶ τελευτήσωσιν < SH εἴτε<sup>2</sup>] ἢ SH πῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναλώσωσιν] προσαναλώσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς SH | 396 πορεύονται μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων SH οὐκ

been plotted against, they are stored up here, and when they will be called one by one they will go out. But those who either drowned themselves by their own decision, or killed themselves by the sword or precipitated themselves from a steep place or threw themselves into the sea or into a well and died, or consumed themselves in some other way, those go to the outer darkness with the demons and will not receive revenge through God the Almighty.”

Now when that man announced this to him, they went further on along the house, and when they looked up, they saw a flowering olive-tree at the front side of it, and close to it a fig-tree bearing ripe fruit where the sweet honey dripped down from the figs. And below the olive-tree they saw a youth, standing there clad in a white robe and exceedingly beautiful. He held a white and large rod in his hands bearing the worthy cross on top of it, and leaned onto it. So while they saw how that youth stood there, he turned to the east at one time and prayed, at another time he stretched his hands out to the fig-tree, sweetly took from its fruit and ate praising the one who loves mankind. And when he ate from the fruits of that fig-tree, its fruit suddenly multiplied, and he was filled completely with joy and gladness in his heart, and was smiling and rejoicing as he stood there. It seemed to the blessed one that he asked his leader about the things he had seen, what they were, for he was not satiated in seeing the beauty of his bloom of youth. And his leader said to him: “If you would see, my child, who he is, you would thank greatly our common Master and God.” When he insisted and supplicated him to learn who he was (for the vision did not evoke the corporeal person of the appearing youth which he had been in the world, so that he could thence make himself a picture and recognise his former desired one, but rather the vision of his soul was seen with his eyes that had been opened by God’s will), that man answered and said to him: “My beloved one, this is your beloved and dear Leon for whom you have shed those infinite tears. He would still be in the temporary life, if that calumniating demon had not come before and separated him from this world through his own servant. Now he is still here awaiting the completion of his years, so that he can go up, when they will call him then from above, and will dwell henceforth at his final place of rest. The fig which you saw close to him and the honey-flowing figs which are on it, these are his mercies, his love and his

ἔχοντες] οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν H | 398 τῷ πλάτει] τὸ πλάτος S, D in lacuna | 400 τὰ σῦκα SH | 402 δὲ] τε SH καὶ < SH | 404 αὐτῷ F τὸ ποίω] ἀν τοιοῦτω ? ποίω] ποίω δὲ SH ἐπιστηριζόμενος D, + καὶ H | 406 φιλόανθρωπον + θεόν D | 407 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν] τὸν καρπὸν SH τοῦ καρποῦ D αὐτῆς < SH | 409 μειδιῶν] δι’ ὧν DF ὁ – 410 γὰρ < H | 410 ὄραν γὰρ] ὄρων τοιγαροῦν S | 411 ὦ < SH οὐτος < H | 412 ἀπευχαρίστησας SH | 414 ἀνιστορήσας] κατανοήσας D | 415 κατανοήση post 414 ἀνιστορήσας SH ἢ – 416 καθορᾶτο < SH | 417 ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἀπλήρωτα SH | 418 ἤμελλεν SH | 419 ἐκεῖνος < SH ἐργάτου + τοῦ H κόσμου + οὐ H | 420 ζητήσουσιν SH | 421 ἀναδράμειεν DF τὸ < D κατασκηνώσει SH | 422 αὐτῇ] αὐτῷ DF | 423 ἢ < F οἱ φίλτατοι SH



τε ἔργα αὐτοῦ τὰ θεάρεστα, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔτι περιῶν ἀπειργάζετο καὶ παραμυθούμενοι  
 425 εὐφραίνουσιν καὶ διατρέφουσιν αὐτόν. Ὅταν δὲ ἀπέλθῃ κληθεὶς πρὸς κύριον, τὸ τηνικαῦ-  
 τα ἐκεῖνος ἐπίσταται, ὅποια εἶδη ἀγαθὰ διὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα αὐτοῦ παρέξει αὐτῷ. Τὸ τε  
 φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας, ὅπερ καθορᾶς ὑπεράνω αὐτοῦ ὠραίως διηνησιμένον καὶ σκιαζόν  
 αὐτόν, τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ φιλανθρώπου ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ χρηστότης τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος, δι' οὗ  
 ἐλεοῦνται οἱ τοὺς πένητας εὐεργετοῦντες καὶ μακαρίζονται οἱ ἐλεήμονες.”

430 Καὶ ὁ μακάριος φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου, μίαν ἐρώτησιν ἐπερωτήσω σοι· Δι’ ἣν  
 αἰτίαν τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ φιλάνθρωπος κύριος, ἵνα τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου κατ-  
 ισχύσουσιν οἱ πονηρευόμενοι;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐμελλεν, ὦ τέκνον, ταῖς τοῦ  
 βίου πραγματείαις ἐμπλεκόμενος ἐπισωρεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ πληθὺν ἀπείρων πλημμελημάτων  
 καὶ ζημιῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν. Ὁ δὲ φιλάνθρωπος κύριος τὸ συμβάν αὐτὸ παρεχώρησεν  
 435 γενέσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ ἄθροισῃ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἑαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσῃ  
 ὅτι *‘ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου’*. Καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν δὲ τούτοις καὶ λόγον κέκτηται  
 ὡς οἱ μάρτυρες ἐκδικήσεως πρὸς τοὺς φονεῖς παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἑβδομηκοντά-  
 κικς ἑπτὰ ἐκδεδίκηται παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἄθῳον αἷμα, ὅπερ τῇ ὑποβολῇ τῇ δικαίᾳ τοῦ  
 δικαίου κριτοῦ πολλακίς πινὰς κακούργους ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτως προδιδόντος διὰ τὰς οἰκείας  
 440 ἁμαρτίας ὑποβαλλόμενον οὐ πέφυκεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ προδίδωσιν ἀσεβεῖς ὁ θεὸς κρίσει  
 δικαίᾳ εἰς θάνατον διὰ τὸ φοβερὸν πλῆθος τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἑβδομηκοντάκικς  
 ἑπτὰ ἐκδικᾷ τὸν τοιοῦτον θάνατον, εἰ μήτοι γε ἐν ἐνὶ μόνῳ ἐκδικήματι κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον  
*Πατάξω τὸν ἀσεβῆ διὰ χειρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ στραφεῖς ἐκδικήσω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ*. Τὸ δὲ  
 τοῦ ἄθῳου αἵματος ἀνόμημα φοβεράν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν οὐρανοῖς κέκτηται, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ τῇ  
 445 ἀπορρήτῳ μετανοίᾳ σχολάσῃ καὶ δέξηται ἔνθεν τὴν συγχώρησιν. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἐξαίφνης  
 συλληφθῇ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομηκοντάκικς ἑπτὰ ἐν ἐκδε-  
 δίκηται· τὰ δὲ ἑβδομηκοντάκικς ἑπτὰ παρὰ ἐν χρεωστῇ ἀποτίσαι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως.  
 Κέκτηται δὲ καὶ ἕτερον λόγον, ὦ τέκνον, πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν δεσπότην ὁ ἀγαπητὸς οὐδὲν  
 ἅπαξ χρηματίζων, ἔρει γὰρ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως· ‘Κυρίε, ἐστερήθην τῶν  
 450 ἐπιγείων διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου· μὴ στερήσῃς με τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὴν  
 πολλὴν σου ἀγαθότητα.’ ”

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ὠμίλει ὁ ὁδηγὼν τὸν μακάριον πρὸς αὐτόν, πλησίον τοῦ νεανία γεγόνα-  
 σιν. Ἐπιγνοῦς τε ἐκεῖνος τὴν τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πρὸς αὐτόν παρουσίαν, ὄλος χαρᾶς καὶ  
 ἀγαλλιάσεως ἐπληρώθη ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἐδόκει περιπλέκεσθαι καὶ κατασπάζεσθαι τὸν  
 455 ἀγαπητόν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτόν περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῦ. Καὶ αὐτὸς λυγηρῶ φθογγῇ καὶ  
 οὐ τῇ τοῦ σώματος διηγεῖτο αὐτῷ ἐξαίσια καὶ ἀπόρρητα θαύματα καὶ ὁποῖω τρόπῳ ἐκδη-

429 μακαρίζονται οἱ ἐλεήμονες cf. Mt. 5.7 | 436 ἀπέλαβες – σου<sup>2</sup> Lc. 16.25 | 437 ἑβδομηκοντά-  
 κικς – 438 αἷμα cf. Gen. 4.24 | 443 πατάξω – αὐτοῦ §

#### D F S H

424 ἔτι < SH ἀπειργάζετο SH | 425 καὶ διατρέφουσιν < H δὲ < D πρὸς + τὸν SH | 426 ἐπίστατο  
 SH τό τε | τὸ δὲ H | 428 ἔλαιον SH αὐτοῦ < F | 430 μίαν + ταύτην DF | 431 παρεχώρησεν  
 τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ D κύριος < S | 433 ἐμπλακῆναι H ἑαυτῷ ἐπισώρευσιν S ἑαυτῷ ἐπισωρεύσειεν H

dearest good works. His God-pleasing works, which he did when he was still alive, please and feed him with their consolation. When he will be called to the Lord and go, then the latter will know which kinds of goods he will grant him because of his goodness. And the olive-tree which you see above him flowering beautifully and shading him is the mercy of the one who loves mankind and the honesty of his goodness, by whom those who do good to the poor receive mercy, and the merciful are blessed.”

And the blessed one said to him: “My lord, if may I ask you a question: For which reason did the Lord, who loves mankind, allow the wicked to gain power over my beloved one in such a way?” And he said to him: “O child, being involved in the affairs of life he would have accumulated an infinite number of trespassings and have suffered damage to his soul. Therefore the Lord who loves mankind let this happen to him, so that he could not gather many bad things for himself on earth and hear the word ‘*you have received your good things in your life*’. And in addition to all that he has also the threat of revenge to the murderers, as the martyrs do have: The innocent blood has been revenged seventy-seven times by the Lord God. This is, however, a thing that was not planned by the just plan of the righteous judge who often invisibly delivers some wicked men because of their own sins, for God delivers many faithless to death by his righteous judgement because of the frightful multitude of their evil deeds, and does not avenge such a death seventy-seven times, if not by one single revenge according to the saying, *I will beat the godless through the hand of the sinner and will turn and avenge his blood*. The sin against the innocent blood is repayed frightfully in heaven, except that <the sinner> devotes himself to ineffable repentance and receives forgiveness in this world. For if such a man is suddenly arrested and executed, of the seventy-seven times he suffers revenge only one time by the law, and so has to repay the seventy-seven minus one on the Day of Judgement. And your beloved one, o child, can now also speak another word to our common Master being there, for he will say to the Lord on the Day of Judgement: ‘Lord, I have been deprived of the things on earth because of my sins, do not deprive me of your heavenly good for the sake of your great goodness.’”

While the leader of the blessed one was saying these things to him, they came close to the youth. And when <the youth> realised that the most holy one had come to him, <Gregentios> was filled completely with joy and exultation in his spirit, and it seemed that he embraced and kissed his beloved one and asked him about his death. And with a

ἀπειρών πλημμελημάτων] ἀμαρτιῶν SH | 434 καὶ – ψυχὴν < SH | 435 ἵνα<sup>1</sup> – ἑαυτῷ < SH | 436 ὅτι < D H καὶ < SH | 437 ἑβδομηκοντάκις + γὰρ SH | 438 θεῷ τὸ < D τῆ<sup>1</sup> < D τῆ<sup>2</sup> < D | 439 κακουργίας ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων προιδόντων DF | 440 ὑποβαλλομένων DF ἀποβαλλομένων H πέφηνεν SH | 442 ἐκδικᾷ τὸν τοιοῦτον] διὰ τῶν τοιοῦτων τὸν SH μήτοι] μὴ SH | 443 ἀσεβῆν F | 444 ἐν + τοῖς SH ἐκτὸς < SH | 445 ἀπορρήτω < SH σχολάσειεν DF + τις SH καὶ + οὐ SH οὐ δέξεται DF αἴφνης SH | 446 ἐν – 447 ἐπτα < SH | 447 χρεωστῆι ἀποτίσαι] χρεωστῆς ἐστίν S<sup>ac</sup> χρεώστης ἐστίν S<sup>pe</sup>H ἡμέρα + ἐκείνη S | 448 ὦ τέκνον < D οὖν ἅπαξ χρηματίζων] σου Λέων SH | 452 αὐτόν] τὸν D | 453 ἀγίου SH | 455 φθογγῆ] φωνῆ D | 456 πράγματα S

μεί τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ, καὶ ὅπως ὑπὸ μιαρῶν δαιμόνων σφοδρῶς παρενοχλεῖται. Περι-  
 πλεκόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ ὡς νεανία ὠραίῳ ὄν τρόπον φλόγα πυρός ἤπερ ἀκτίνα ἡλίου κρατῶν  
 οὐθὲν ἐκράτει· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις οὐσία τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἐκείνος δὲ τῷ μακαρίῳ ὡς ἅτε  
 460 σάρκα φοροῦντι τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ τρανοτέρως ὡσανεὶ περιεπλέκετο  
 καταφιλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτὸν ὡς σωθεὶς ταῖς ὁδηγίαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι “μέγα  
 ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν”, φησὶν, “τὸ καταλιπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐκείνον ἐν σωτηρίᾳ καὶ εἶναι ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐκτὸς θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δεσπότη ἀγαθοῖς ἐπευφραίνεσθαι”. Ἐκδυ-  
 σωπεῖ τε καὶ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μακαρίου φάσκων· “Δέομαί σου,” φησὶν, “μὴ καταλίπης παρ-  
 465 ἔχειν τῷ ποτὲ φιλιῶν σου τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις προσκομιζομένην προσφορὰν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναμνήσεως· ἡσθόμην γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς φαίνεται, παρὰ τῶν γονέων μου  
 κἂν ποσάκις τὴν ἀναφορὰν ταύτην τῷ θεῷ προσαχθεῖσαν διαφορὰν ἀπόρρητον καὶ ἐξ-  
 αίρετον. Νεανίας γὰρ πόθεν παραγενόμενος ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ, ὅπότεν αἱ προσφοραὶ ἐν τῷ  
 κόσμῳ ἐκείνῳ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τῷ δεσπότη προσεκομίζοντο, μέλι νοητὸν καὶ ὀπώραν ἐπου-  
 470 ράνιον πᾶσαν ἔνοιαν τῇ ἡδύτηι ὑπερεκλίπτουσαν μοι ἐψώμιζεν, ῥόδοις τε καὶ κρίνοις  
 καὶ ἄνθεσιν ἀμαραντίνοις κατεγλύκανέν μου τὴν ὄσφρησιν, καὶ μεγάλα γεγηθῶς ἐξιστά-  
 μην τῷ πνεύματι. Πολλάκις τοιγαροῦν ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν· ‘Τίς ἄρα εἰ σύ, κύριέ μου, ἢ πό-  
 θεν ἐνταῦθα παραγενόμενος τὰ ἀνερμήνευτα ταῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἐπικομίζεις μοι;’ Καὶ ἔλεγεν·  
 ‘Ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης’, φησὶν, ‘τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου· ἀναφορὰν γὰρ δόντες ἐκείσε οἱ  
 475 σοὶ γεννήτορες διὰ τοῦ ἀμωμήτου σώματος καὶ τοῦ ἀπορρήτου αἵματος τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς  
 αἰῶνας ἔδυσώπησαν λιπαρήσαντες, καὶ μνησθεὶς καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς τὰ τῆδε σοὶ  
 ἐπαπέστειλεν.’ Δέομαί σου τοιγαροῦν, κύριέ μου, καὶ καθικετεύω· εἰ ἐκείσε ἀπέρχῃ, μὴ  
 φθονήσεις μοι ὥστε τοῖς ἐμοῖς γονεῦσιν δῆλον τότε καταστήσει· ὑπαγόρευσον γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 ὡς ἐξ ἐμοῦ πυκνοτέρως μέμνησθαί μου καὶ τὴν θείαν ἀναφορὰν συνεχέστερον προσκομι-  
 480 ζειν τῷ δεσπότη ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. Τηλικούτων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐκείνου  
 μεταχωρήσασιν πρὸς τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μετάστασιν ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἰδίων  
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἕνεκα ἰλασμοῦ ἕτερον ὡς ἔπος εἰς ἀνεκκάλητον εὐφροσύνην οὐ πέφυκεν.”

Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ὠμίλει Γρηγόριος ἐν ὄραματι τῷ αἰοιδίμῳ, τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ, ἀνεσπᾶσθη τῆς ὁράσεως καὶ ἐγρήγορεν τὸ λοιπόν. Ἐξίστατο δὲ καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν  
 485 συνορῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὄραμα καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον μεγάλως ὑπερεδόξαζεν τὸν χαρι-  
 σάμενον αὐτὸν φρικτὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητον παράκλησιν διὰ τῆσδε τῆς ὀπτασίας ἕνεκα τοῦ  
 ἀγαπητοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἀπελθὼν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπαραλείπτως αὐτοῖς τὸ  
 ὄραμα διηγείτο. Πενθοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μεγάλα σκυθρωπάζουσι· καίτοι οὐ τὰ τυχεύοντα

### DFSH

457 ψυχῆ + φησὶν SH πανοχλεῖται D | 458 ὠραῖον ὄν τρόπῳ F ἤπερ] ἢ SH | 459 οὐθὲν] οὐδὲν  
 SH τοιοῦτον DF τῆς < D | 460 φοροῦντα D δυνάμει + τῇ DF τρανότερος SH | 461 αὐτόν<sup>2</sup> <  
 DF ὡς σωθεὶς] κἂν ὡς ὅπως οὖν DF δηγίαις S | 462 ἐστίν < D εἶναι] ἵνα DF | 463 ἐδυσώπει SH |  
 464 τε] δὲ SH τῷ μακαρίῳ SH παρέχειν < SH | 466 καὶ < SH ὡς φαίνεται] ὀσφραίνεσθαι D |  
 468 ποθὲν D γενόμενος D<sup>pc</sup> | 469 νοητῷ SH οὐράνιον H | 470 τῇ ἡδύτηι < SH τε] δὲ SH |  
 471 κατεγλύκανέν H | 472 ἐπηρώτων] εἶπον πρὸς H, < S τίσιερ D τίς τε F ἄρα < SH |  
 473 παραγινομένης S | 475 τοὺς < SH | 476 καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς < DF | 477 ἐπαπέστειλαν DF

soft voice which was not that of his body <the youth> told him extraordinary and ineffable wonders, how the soul departs from the body, and how it is molested greatly by abominable demons. And when he embraced him in the shape of a beautiful youth, as if holding a flame of fire or a ray of the sun he held nothing, for so immaterial is the substance of the soul. <The youth> embraced and kissed the blessed one, who was in his flesh, more distinctly with the power of his spirit, thanked him for being saved by his guidance, and said: "It is a very good thing to leave that life in salvation, to be here, far away from the trouble and confusion, and to rejoice in the goods of the Master." And he implored the blessed one because of another thing saying: "I beg you, do not cease to offer the sacrifice, which is brought forth in the holy churches, for your former dearest one and for my memory, for I have also perceived this, as it appears, namely the offering which has been brought to God so many times by my parents, this ineffable and extraordinary thing. For on every day, when the offerings in that world were brought to the Master for me, a youth came from somewhere and fed me with mental honey and heavenly fruit which surpassed all understanding by its sweetness, sweetened my sense of smell with unfading roses, lilies and flowers, and I enjoyed myself greatly and was astonished in my spirit. So I often asked him: 'Who are you, my lord, or where do you come from and bring me these inexplicable goods?' And he said: 'From the table of the great king, for your parents gave an offering there through the blameless body and the ineffable blood to the one that lives forever, and besought and supplicated him, and he remembered you, felt pity for you and sent you this.' Therefore I pray to you, my lord, and entreat you earnestly: If you go there, do not be jealous of me and announce this to my parents; tell them from me to remember me frequently and to bring the divine offering often to the Master for my sake. For there is no other such good, so to say, for our unutterable gladness, for us who have come over from that world to this one, than from the things which are done for us to God by our people for his atonement."

And when Gregentios had said this in the vision<sup>41</sup> to the glorious spirit of his beloved one, he was drawn away from the vision and awoke thereafter. He was astonished and wondered when he considered the vision by himself, and glorified the highest God greatly who had given him through this vision such a awe-inspiring and ineffable consolation for his beloved one. He went also to his parents and told them of the vision without any omission. They lamented him and were very sad; however, this helped them

κύριέ μου < H | 478 τότε καταστήσει] τοῦτο καταστήσαι SH γὰρ] δὲ SH | 479 ὡς < SH μεμνήσθαι D | 480 τῷ δεσπότη < SH | 482 εἶνεκα SH | 483 Γρηγεντίῳ τῷ αἰοιδίμῳ ἐν ὄραματι SH | 484 ἀνεπάσθη τῆς ἐκράσεως F | 486 φρικτῆν] φωτὸς D ἔνεκα – 487 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < SH | 487 καὶ < SH αὐτοῖς < SH | 488 διηγῆσατο SH πενθοῦσι – 489 ὀνίησιν < SH

<sup>41</sup> Since Leon, not Gregentios, speaks first, it is probable that a passage containing Gregentios' answer has dropped out in between. The correction of S H, which lets Leon address Gregentios, restores a text logical only in respect to the preceding section.

αὐτοῖς ὄννησιν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν σφόδρα ἐπόθουν, δι' ὧν τὴν ἄπειρον ἐκείνην ἀγάπην  
 490 ἐκέκτητο μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου αὐτῶν. Ἐκτοτε τοιγαροῦν συνεχέστερον προσεκόμιζον οἱ  
 ἀμφοτέροι ὑπὲρ τε ἀνέσεως καὶ κοιμήσεως καὶ θυμηδίας ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν θείαν προσφο-  
 ρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δοξάζοντες τὸν ὑπεράγαθον κύριον.

Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεδιολάνων ὑπάρχοντος καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν ταῖς συνεχέσι προσευχαῖς καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἀενάως ἐνδεδε-  
 495 χοῦντος καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγαπωμένου καὶ τιμωμένου, παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεοφόρος  
 ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, ὧπι καὶ πειθόμενος συνοδοιπόρον αὐτὸν κεκτημένος τῶν ἰδίων ἀνακεχώ-  
 ρηκεν, καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Καιρός, ὦ τέκνον ἐμὸν ἀγαπητόν, τοῦ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς  
 ἀνακεχωρηκέναι· ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ καὶ ἐνταῦθα διαπρέψαι. Ἦδη γὰρ καὶ χάριτι Χριστοῦ  
 πολλοὶ δι' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κατάστασιν εἰς τὸν φόβον τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλειότητος  
 500 κατενύγησαν. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ τέκνον, ἄπειμεν ἐντεῦθεν, ἄπειμεν.” Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος διὰ  
 χρόνου ἰκανοῦ θεασάμενος τὸν φωστῆρα αὐτοῦ τὸν σεβασμιώτατον, σύνδακρυς γενό-  
 μενος καταφιλῶν τε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἐνεκάλει αὐτὸν περὶ τῆς βραδύτητος  
 καὶ ἔφασκεν· “Ποῦ ἦς μέχρι τῆς δευρο, κύριέ μου, καὶ ὠδύνησάς με μεγάλως ἐν τῷ μὴ  
 καθορᾶν σε τὸ τέκνον σου;”

Ὁ δὲ γε θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Οὐκ ἐγώ, τέκνον, τοσοῦτον σε λελύπη-  
 505 κα, ὅσον καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ σχοῖσα σε συμφορὰ περὶ τοῦ πεποθουμένου σοι παιδὸς Λέοντος.  
 Ἄλλὰ θάρσει, τέκνον, δοκίμια γὰρ ταῦτα εἰσὶν καὶ λυπητήρια καὶ πειρατήρια, ἵνα ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ νῦν γινώσκων ἐπίστασαι, ὀπηλικὸν κέκτηται καύσωνα ἢ ἐπαληθῆς ἀγάπῃ κατὰ τὸν  
 ζῶντα λόγον καὶ κείμενον. Οὐκοῦν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐγώ σε ἦρα καὶ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἐκείνῳ  
 510 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπορεύθημεν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν φίλτατόν σοι παῖδα ἀπαραλείπτως σοι δέδειχα;  
 Οὐκ ἐμὲ ἐπερώτας, ὁπότεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκείνῃ οἰκίᾳ ἰστάμεθα, περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖσε  
 χρηματιζόντων; Ἐώρακας τὴν συκὴν ἐκείνην, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν τὰ γλυκεῖα ἐκεῖνα σῦκα φέ-  
 ρουσαν, ἀφ' ὧν ἦσθιεν ὁ ἀγαπητός σου; Προσέβλεψας τὴν διηνησιμένην ἐκείνην ἐλαίαν,  
 ὁποῖα πανώραιος ἐχρημάτιζεν; Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄπερ σοι ὠμίλει τῷ πνεύματι ὁ νεανίας, οὐκ  
 515 ἐγὼ ἔπελον μετὰ σοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι οὐκ ἐστῶτες ἠκούομεν; Πῶς οὖν λέγεις, ὅτι ‘ποῦ  
 διέτριβες μέχρι τῆς δευρο;’ Ἐγὼ ἀχώριστος εἰμὶ τῆς καλλίστης σου νεότητος, ὦ τέκνον,  
 ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός· κἄν γὰρ φαίνεται σοι, ὅππερ καταλιμπάνω σε καὶ ἀναχωρῶ, ἀλλὰ  
 γε ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτως μετὰ σοῦ εἰμὶ διὰ παντός.”

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα προσωμίλει αὐτῷ ὁ θεοφόρος ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος, ἰλιγγιῶν ὁ σεβασμιώτατος  
 520 ἐπὶ ταῖς θεολόγοις ὁμιλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐφριττεν καὶ δειλία κατασχεθεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμησεν αὐ-  
 τῷ ἀνπιφθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἴστατο ἐννεὸς διαλογιζόμενος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὸ “τίσπερ”,

## DFSH

489 σφόδρα < SH δι' ὧν] διὰ SH ἐκείνην < SH ἀγάπην + ἦν SH | 490 τοιγαροῦν] οὖν SH |  
 491 τε < SH τῆς ψυχῆς SH | 493 ὁ· πέμπτη ἀποδημία τοῦ ὄσιου σὺν τῷ θεοφώρῳ SH  
 Μεδιολάνῳ S καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 494 ἡμέραν < SH | 494 συνεχέσι < SH καὶ – Γραφῶν < SH ἀδολεσχοῦντος  
 D ἐκδεδεχοῦντος SH | 495 ἀγαπωμένῳ καὶ τιμωμένῳ SH | 496 συνοδοιπόρον αὐτὸν κεκτημένος <  
 SH ἐκέκτητο D | 497 ὦ < D ἐμὸν] ἡμῶν F μου SH ἐνταῦθα SH ἡμᾶς < SH | 498 ἀρκεῖ – 500

greatly, for they desired him very much as well since he had that infinite love to their child. So henceforth they both more often brought the divine sacrifice to the holy, universal and apostolical church for the relaxation, dormition and gladness of his soul, and glorified the Lord who is perfectly good.

When the blessed Gregentios was in the town of Milan, he persisted by night and day with his continuous prayers and the study of the divine Scriptures without end and was loved and honoured by all men. But then that God-bearing man came to him, whom he trusted and whom he had as his fellow-traveller, thus leaving his people, and said to him: "O my beloved child, it is time that we depart also from here, for it was enough to us to distinguish ourselves here as well. For through of the grace of Christ many have already been incited to fear his greatness by us and our conduct. Therefore, o child, let us now leave from here, let us leave." When the most blessed one had regarded his most adorable luminary for a considerable time, he was moved to tears, kissed his hands and breast and reproached him for his slowness saying: "Where have you been until now, my lord, and have caused me great pain, because your child did not see you?"

And that God-bearing man said to him: "I have not grieved you so much, my child, but rather the misfortune that befell you because of your desired boy Leon. But have courage, my child, for these are trials, which cause you sorrow and tempt you, that you should know from now on which heat true love brings forth according to the living and written word. So did not I take you in that night, and we went together to that world and I showed you all about your dearest boy without any omission? did not you ask me, when we stood at that great house, about all those that were there? Did you see that fig-tree, o child, which bore those sweet figs from which your beloved one ate? Did you also see that flowering olive-tree, how all-beautiful it was? And as to the things which the youth told you through his spirit, was not I with you, and did not we both stand there and listen? So how do you say 'where did you stay until now?' I am not separated from your most beautiful youth, o child, by day and by night, for even if it appears to you that I leave you behind and go away, yet I am invisibly with you all the time."

When that God-bearing man said this to him, the most adorable one became irritated by his God-speaking words, shuddered, was caught by timidity and did not dare anymore to answer him, but stood there, being speechless and considering in his heart,

ἄπειμεν<sup>2</sup> < SH | 500 μακάριος SH | 501 τὸν σεβασμιώτατον < SH γενάμενος SH | 502 αὐτὸν | αὐτῷ DF | 505 ἔφησεν H | 506 ὄσον + γε F και μάλλον < SH σοι F | 507 λυπητήρια + ἕαρα F | 508 γινώσκειν H ὀπληλικὴν τέκνηται H | 510 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ < SH παῖδα + οὐχὶ F | 511 ἠρώτας SH ὅταν D | 512 χρηματιζόντων] ὄντων SH ἐκείνην ὡ τέκνον < SH | 513 ὦν] οὐ H προσέβλεψας δὲ τῇ διηνηθισμένη ἐκείνη ἐλαίᾳ SH | 514 και < H, + τὰ SH | 515 ἐπελον] ἤμην SH ποῦ + γε SH | 516 ὦ < DF τέκνον + και S | 517 τε < SH κἂν - 518 παντός < SH | 519 αὐτῷ < DF ἀνὴρ < DF | 520 ἐτόλμα H | 521 ἀντιφέξασθαι S τίσπερ] τίς ἐστιν SH

φησίν, “ὁ φοβερὸς οὗτος περίεσπιν;” Ὡς δὲ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐκεῖνος κατέπαυσεν, ἀπάραντες ἀπὸ Μεδιολάνων εἰς Καρταγέναν κατήντησαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην. Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἐξαίσιον τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξηγεῖτο τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπορρήτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν ὑψίστοις ἐπουρανίων δυνάμεων, καὶ ὅτι συντάξουσιν καὶ ὑπηρεσίας παριστάμενοι λειτουργοῦσιν τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ παντουργῷ τριάδι τῆς θεότητος φησίν. Ἐνωπιζόμενος δὲ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὄλος χαρᾶς ἐπληροῦτο ὁ σεβασμιώτατος Γρηγόριος ὡς ἐνθεότατον σύνεσιν καὶ σοφίαν πνευματικὴν ἄκρως παρ’ αὐτοῦ παιδευόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον σωματικὰ ἦθη καὶ γνώμας πρὸς περισσοτέραν κατάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξεπαίδευσεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ γε, ὡς προλέλεκται, καὶ τὰ ἐπουράνια μυστήρια παραγυμνῶν ἀπεκάλυπτεν αὐτῷ.

- 4 Παραγεγονότων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐν τῇ Καρταγενῶν πόλει, εἴσω γεγονότες ἐδέχθησαν παρὰ τὴν πύλην τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ εὐλαβοῦς ἀνδρὸς τοῦνομα Κωνσταντίνου. Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ διὰ τὸ τὸν μακάριον εἶναι κεκμηκότα ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας οὐκ ἐξήεσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ξενίας, ἀλλ’ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ δοθέντι αὐτοῖς οἰκίσκῳ ἡσύχως πέλοντι ἡμεροῦντες 5 ταῖς πνευματικαῖς ὁμιλίαις ἐνετρήφω.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον οἱ ἀμφότεροι ἐξήεσαν πορευθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ προσεύξασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀπαντῶσιν τινὶ ῥύμῃ τῆς πόλεως· προσῆν δὲ φυτὸν ἐκείσε ζιζυφείας. Ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ γραῖς τίς πενιχρὰ ἔκειτο ἐκείσε ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦνομα Φιλοθέας, ἥτις ἦν μὴ βλέπουσα τὸ φῶς. Καὶ αὕτη ποτὲ μὲν ἔκειτο ἐπὶ πρόσωπον 10 ῥέγγουσα καὶ στένουσα, ποτὲ δὲ ἀνακαθημένη τοῖς δυσὶν γρόνθοις, ὅση δυνάμει ἐκέχρητο τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς, ἔτυπτεν αὐτῆς ἀνιλεῶς τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ μετέπειτα πάλιν κατέπτεν, καὶ τότε προσῆν ἡ ἐργασία αὐτῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτί. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος, ὡς ταύτην ἐθεάσατο, ἅμα τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ θεοφόρῳ ἔστησαν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐναποσκοποῦντες. Ἐτέρα δὲ τις γραῖς παρεκάθητο τῇ πασχούσῃ ὑπηρετοῦσα αὐτῇ. Ὡς δὲ οὗτοι ἐστῶτες 15 ἐναπεσκόπουσαν αὐτῇ, πλαγίῳ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ ἡ κειμένη τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς μικρὸν τι ἀπὸ τῶν χαμαὶ αἴρουσα λαθραίως πῶς αὐτοῖς ἐναπεσκόπει καὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἡρέμα πῶς ἐπαναστρέφουσα μειδιῶσα τῷ προσώπῳ ἅμα καὶ χαριεντιζομένη προσεκύνει αὐτοῖς. Ἐφῆ δὲ Γρηγόριος τῇ πρὸς αὐτῇ παρακαθημένῃ· “Κυρία ἀμμά, διὰ τὸν κύριον, τίπερ, εἰπέ μοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς συμβέβηκεν αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐνέχεται κρίμασιν;” Ἦ δὲ γραῖς 20 ἀποκριθεῖσα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Παιδιόθεν ταῦτη οὕτως, ὦ τέκνον, συμβέβηκεν· μεσημ-

#### DFSH

522 φησίν < D περίεσπιν] ἄνθρωπος SH ἐκείνην H | 523 Καρτάγεναν D H Καταργεναν F | 524 τινὰ < SH κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν post μακαρίῳ SH καὶ ἔπειτα < SH τε < SH | 525 ἀπορρήτων < SH καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 527 φησίν < SH | 528 πεπαιδευμένος παρ’ αὐτοῦ SH | 529 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – μόνον] οὐ μόνον γὰρ SH ἦθη < SH | 530 ἐξεπαίδευσεν SH | 531 αὐτόν DF SH

1 Καταργενῶν F πόλει + καὶ SH | 2 ἀνὴρ D Κωνσταντίνος S | 3 ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας < SH ἐξήεσαν] εἶασαν SH | 4 ξενίας + ἐξιέναι SH ἐνδοθέντι DF ἡσύχως D πέλοντι] ὄντι SH | 5 ἐνετρήφουν DF | 6 Ὡς κ’· περὶ τῆς ὁσίας Φιλοθέας SH τοῦ < DF | 7 ἀπαντῶσιν + αὐτῷ F τινὶ] ἐν τινὶ H φυτὸν δὲ προσῆν SH (ἦν H) ζυγαίας DF | 8 ἐκείσε < SH | 9 ἦν μὴ] ἔπελεν DF αὕτη < SH |

saying: “Who is this frightful man?” When that man had ended his speech, they departed from Milan and arrived at Carthage which is close to Rome.<sup>42</sup> On the way, that God-bearing man explained to the blessed one some extraordinary wonders, and then told him about the ineffable goods in heaven and about the heavenly powers in the highest, and that they serve the ineffable Trinity of God which accomplishes all, standing before it in orders and attending it. When he heard the words of his mouth, the most adorable Gregentios was completely filled with joy, for he was instructed with the most God-inspired understanding and spiritual wisdom by him. For he not only taught him corporeal customs and doctrines for a still greater perfection of his soul, but also, as it has been said before, he exposed the heavenly mysteries and revealed them to him.

So when they arrived, as it has been said, in the town of Carthage, they went inside and were received at the gate of the town by a pious man called Konstantinos. And since the blessed one was tired from the travel, on that day they did not leave their lodge, but stayed in the room that had been given to them, which was quiet, and they rested and delighted in spiritual talks. 4

On the following day both went out to go to the most holy church for prayer, and came to some lane of the town where a jujube tree was. And below the tree there lay a poor old woman on the ground on her face called Philothea, who did not see the light.<sup>43</sup> And sometimes she lay on her face snoring and sighing, sometimes sitting upright she beat her face unmercifully with her two fists, using all the power she had in her hands, and thereafter she fell down again; and this was her work at day and night. When the blessed Gregentios saw her, he stood still together with the God-bearing man that was with him, and they looked on her. And another old woman sat close to the suffering one attending her. And when they stood there and looked on her, the one that lay, lifting her head a little from the ground, looked somehow surreptitiously at them with here eyes sideways, and turning her head somehow calmly, with smiling face and gladly she bowed before them. And Gregentios said to the one that sat beside her: “My lady and mother, for God’s sake, tell me from the beginning, what has happened to her that she is possessed by such tribulations?” And the old woman answered and said to him: “This has happened when she was still a girl, my child, for she once went out to the well at

10 στενάζουσα SH ἄνω καθημένη SH | 11 ἀνιλεῶς αὐτῆς D μετέπειτα < SH κατέπιπεν H | 12 τόγε προσῆν] αὐτῆ ἦν SH ἐν – νυκτί] ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός SH μακαριώτατος SH | 13 συνόντι αὐτῷ] προσειπὼν τῷ πέλοντι post ἐθεάσατο DF ἔστησαν + τὰ DF ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποσκοποῦντες SH (προσαποσκοποῦντες H) | 14 δὲ γραῖς τίς S | 15 ἡ < DF αὐτῆς < SH τι < DF | 16 πῶς<sup>1</sup> < D αὐτοῖς + ὡς D κεφαλὴν H | 17 τὸ πρόσωπον F ἅμα καὶ < DF προσεκύνει < SH | 18 δὲ < DF αὐτὴν SH | 19 συνέχεται D | 20 ταύτην DF οὕτως < DF συμβέβηκεν + αὐτῆ SH

42 See above, pp. 31–32.

43 See above, p. 14.



βρίας γὰρ ἐν θέρει πορευθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ὕδωρ ἀντλήσαι ἀντέστρεψεν τότε κεκτημένη μέχρι τὴν σήμερον.” Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐκείνη ἔφησεν, δόντες αὐτῇ ἔλεημοσύνην ὑπεχώρησαν.

Ἦρώτα δὲ ὁ μακαριώτατος τὸν θεοφόρον ἐκείνον ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι περὶ αὐτῆς ὡς πάντα εἰδόπι διηγῆσασθαι αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ταύτης, πόθεν ἄρα ἔχεται τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτῃ. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “ ὦ τέκνον, εἰ ἴδης ταύτης τὴν μεγάλην ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ, μεγάλως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἠυχαρίστησας. Βλέπεις γὰρ ταύτην· πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῆς φάσκουσιν, ὡς ὅτι ‘ταρταροῦχον’, φησὶν, ‘χαλεπὸν δαίμονα αὕτη κέκτηται.’ Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἔνδοθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀμίχλη τῆς ἀγνοίας τυφλώττοντες οὐκ ἴσασι τί φάσκουσιν, αὕτη δὲ τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἐν κυρίῳ τρέχουσα σπεύδει ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τοῦτον διανύουσα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως μεταξὺ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀγίων στεφανωθῇ. Πῶς δὲ τοῦτο πέπονθεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρῶ σοι τὰ νῦν. Ἔθος ἐκέκτητο ἀπέναι καὶ γεμίζειν ὕδωρ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς· ἐκείνη ἦν ἡ γραῦς ἡ ἐγγυς αὐτῆς παρακαθημένη. Νεανίας δὲ τις ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι αὐτὴν καὶ γεμίζειν τὸ ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐκάστοτε παρενοχλεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου μίξεως κοινω- νία. Τῆς δὲ τοῦτο μὴ καταδεχομένης μιᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὡς ἐκολάκευσεν αὐτήν, οἷον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσθένεια τῆς φύσεως τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐβαραθρώθη αὐτῆς ἡ προαίρεσις, καὶ ἠττηθεῖσα ἐπορεύετο ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐν τόπῳ ἀποκρύφῳ τελέσαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν θάνατον ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι ἔτρεψεν αὐτῆς τὴν προαίρεσιν τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἀναδεξαμένη σχηματισμένη τε ἑαυτὴν ὡσανεὶ δαίμονι ληφθεῖσα ἤρξατο ῥέγγειν καὶ ὑλακτεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νεανία. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ, ὡς τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον ἐθεάσατο, τρόμῳ ἀσχέτῳ ληφθεὶς, ὡς οἶα πάλληξ ταχινοῖς ποσὶν εὐθέως τῶν ἐκεῖ τρέχων ὑπανεχώρησεν. Ἡ δὲ τοιοῦτῳ σχήματι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα πορευθεῖσα ἔκτοτε ἠγάπησεν ἐκ προαιρέσεως τὸν ὄνπερ βλέπεις ἀγῶνα ἀναλαβέσθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν ἐν μέσῳ κόσμου τὸν κόσμον καὶ σχήματι δαιμονώσης δουλεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ, καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν αὐτῷ ἐν κρυπτῷ ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ. Ὅπόσους τοιγαροῦν κόπους καὶ πόνους ἐν τοῖς τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσιν αὕτη διήνυσεν (ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ τύπτουσα τοῖς δυσὶν γρόνοις τὸ μέτωπον ἐκ τῶν καθ’ ἐν τοὺς ἄμφω ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῆς διὰ τὸν κύριον ἀπώλεσεν), ὅποσον καύσωνα ἐν θέρει καὶ πόσον ψῆχος ἐν χειμῶνι, ὅποσην ἀγρυπνίαν, ἀλουσίαν, σκληραγωγίαν, πείναν, δίψαν, στενοχωρίαν, βίαν, ἀνάγκην, ὄνειδισμόν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἢ ἐκλεκτῇ τῷ θεῷ ὑπέμεινεν! Ὡς γὰρ προλέλεκται, ἐν τῷ διαστήματι τῶν τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν πολλὰ καθυπέμεινεν, ὥστε βεβαιοῖ σε, τέκνον, ἡ δέουσα ἀλήθεια· ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον γὰρ διαλάμπει αὐτῆς τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ καθαρότητι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τίμιον πρόσ- ὡπον.”

29 τὸν – 31 στεφανωθῇ cf. 2 Tim. 4.7 | 37 ὁ – 38 ἁμαρτωλῶν cf. Ez. 33.11

#### D F S H

21 ἀντλήσασα H | 23 μακάριος SH | 24 αὐτῷ < H ἔρχεται SH | 26 θεῷ < DF εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας < D γὰρ < SH | 27 οἱ < SH χαλεπὸν < SH | 28 αὕτη] αὕτη F, < SH | 29 ἀγνοίας] καρδίας DF οἶδασι H | 31 τὰ νῦν < SH | 32 ἀπέναι + αὐτὴν SH τῇ – 33 παρακαθημένη < DF | 33 νεανίας – ὕδωρ] τίς δὲ νεανίας DF | 34 τῆς < SH | 35 μιᾶ + οὖν SH | 37 τόπῳ < DF τελειῶσαι DF |

midday in summer to draw water, and returned suffering this until today.” And when that woman said this, they gave her alms and went away.

And when they went away, the most blessed one asked that God-bearing man that he, being omniscient, should tell him about her, why she was possessed by this chastisement. And he answered and said to him: “O child, if you would see her great work in the Lord, you as well would thank the living God greatly and forever. For you see her: All people say about her that ‘she has a bad demon from hell’. And whereas men, since their inner eyes are blinded by the fog of ignorance, do not know what they are saying, it is her that hastens to the good fight in the Lord to bring it to an end secretly, so that she will be crowned in public on the Day of Judgment between angels and saints. I will tell you now from the beginning how she suffered this. She had the custom to go and to fetch water for her mother, who was that old woman sitting close to her. But when she went and fetched water, some youth did not stop molesting her every time and pressing her to unlawful intercourse. She did not accept this, but one day when he flattered her, as is the weakness of female nature, her good intention was ruined, and being defeated she went away with him to a secret place to commit the sin. But God, who does not want the death of us sinners, changed her intention while she was going, in order not to sin against the Lord, and returning to her mind, she dissimulated and began to snore and bark before the youth as if possessed by a demon. When he saw this portent, he was seized by uncontrollable trembling, and he escaped at once running away from there on swift feet like a boy. She went to her mother in such a shape, and since then it pleased her to intentionally take up the fight you see, to leave the world within the world, to serve the living God in the shape of one possessed, and to please him secretly until today for thirty-six years. How many labours and pains she went through in so many years (for beating her forehead by compulsion with her two fists one by one she has lost both her eyes for the sake of the Lord), how much heat in summer and cold in winter, how much sleeplessness, lack of baths, austerity, hunger, thirst, oppression, violence, need, reproach and distress did the chosen one of God endure! For as it has been said before, she has suffered much in the course of so many years, as the befitting truth confirms to you, my child; for the worthy face of her soul shines brighter than the sun by her ineffable pureness.”

38 ἔστρεψεν S ἐπέστρεψεν H | 39 ἀμαρτάνειν SH ἀναδεξαμένη + αὐτὸν SH ἐαυτήν] καὶ DF | 41 ὡς οἶα πάλληξ < SH ταχινοῖς + τοῖς H | 42 ἐκέισε D ἀπανεχώρησεν F ἐπανεχώρησεν SH | 43 ὅπερ codd. | 44 δαιμονιώσης D θεῶ ζῶντι H | 45 ἐν κρυπτῷ < SH αὐτῇ S πόσους D | 46 γὰρ < SH | 48 ἀπόλωλεν DF πόσον ψυχῶς] κρύος S κρήνη H χειμῶνι + ὑποφέρει SH ὀπόσην – 50 προλέλεκται < SH | 50 ὑπομένηκεν D | 51 πολλὰ καθυπέμεινεν < SH ἡ ἀλήθεια D ἀλήθειαν H | 52 γὰρ < SH λάμπει SH ἀπορρήτῳ] ἀπίρω SH τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ D

Ἵς δὲ ταῦτα προσωμίλουν περιπατοῦντες, ἔφθασαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ μονότητι ἐν  
 55 αὐτῇ εὐρηκότες, ἔνδον γενόμενοι ἔστησαν εἰς προσευχήν. Τοῦ δὲ θεοφόρου ἐκείνου τὰς  
 χεῖρας αὐτοῦ μικρὸν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκτείναντος φῶς αὐτοὺς οὐρανόθεν περιήστραφεν  
 καὶ εὐωδία τίς ἀνεκλάλητος κατέναντι αὐτῶν μυστικῶς ἀνεδόθη φρένα καὶ νοῦν καὶ  
 διάνοιαν τῇ ἡδύτητι ἀπείρως καταπλήττουσα, ὥστε πεσόντα τὸν μακάριον ἐπ' ὄψεσιν  
 60 αὐτὸν παρεμπαρήναι καὶ ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου γεγονότα ὡσανεὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ παραδείσῳ εἰκάζειν  
 αὐτὸν χρηματίζειν. Προσευξαμένων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἐκέισε καὶ ἔνδον ἔπειτα ὑποστρε-  
 φάντων, ὁ θεοφόρος καὶ πάλιν πουδῆποτε ἀπιέναι σχηματισάμενος παραθέμενος τὸν ἀγι-  
 ὡτατον Γρηγέντιον τῷ ξενίσαντι αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύθη.

Ἵ δὲ μακαριώτατος Γρηγέντιος ἄδειαν ὡς οἶα βουλόμενος εὐρηκῶς συνεχέστερον  
 65 ἔκτοτε ἀπήει πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἀγίοις ἐκείνην καὶ ὄντως θεοῦ δούλην Φιλοθέαν κομιζόμενος  
 καὶ τὰς τιμιωτάτους εὐχὰς αὐτῆς. Καὶ ὡ τοῦ παραδόξου θεάματος ἢ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις ἔτε-  
 σιν ὀρθῶς πνὶ μὴ συντυχοῦσα ἅμα τῷ δικαίῳ διαλεγομένη τὴν κακουργίαν καὶ τὰς ποικί-  
 λας παρατάξεις τῶν ματαίων δαιμόνων ἔχειν αὐτὸν κατὰ νοῦν, ὁποῖω τρόπῳ τοῖς ἀγони-  
 ζομένοις ἦκοντες πολεμεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἐξεπαίδευεν. Προσην δὲ ἢ μακαρία ἐν τῷ ὀμιλεῖν  
 70 αὐτὴν πάνυ κατὰτερπνος καὶ ἰσάγγελος· τό τε πρόσωπον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιῶν φέρουσα καὶ  
 τῇ ὀμιλίᾳ ὡσανεὶ παιδίον ψελλίζον ἐν σεμνότητι ἀποφθεγγομένη ἐπροθυμοποιεῖ τὸν δού-  
 λον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ προετρέπετο λέγουσα·

“Ὁρκῶ σε εἰς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὡ τέκνον, πλὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 75 ἔτερον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ μὴ ἀγαπήσης. Καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν προσομίλει  
 αὐτῷ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ δεήσεως, καὶ ὁπότεν σοι ἔλθῃ πειρασμός, σύντριψόν σου τὴν  
 καρδίαν καὶ ἐπίθες ἐπάνω τῆς κορυφῆς σου τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου. Καὶ γεγονῶς ἔμπροσθεν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ κατάκρινον σεαυτὸν καὶ ἔλεγξον καὶ προσονείδισον καὶ ἐξουθένισον καὶ τύπον  
 καὶ ὕβρισον ἐνώπιον κυρίου σεαυτὸν, καὶ εὐθὺς λοιπὸν καταπαύεται ὁ χεμῶν καὶ ὁ  
 κλύδων ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ γενήσεται σοι ἴλεως ὁ κύριος καὶ μετὰ αἰσχύνῃς ἀπείρου ἀποδιώξει  
 80 ἀπὸ προσώπου σου πάντας τοὺς μισοῦντας σε.”

Τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ μακαρία, θεωροῦσα τῷ πνεύματι πλήθη δαιμόνων ἐκ  
 τῶν ἀοράτως ἐρχομένων καὶ ἐπιστρατευομένων καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐπιχειρούντων τῷ τιμιω-  
 τάτῳ καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς κύριον στοργὴν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἔθος ἔχουσιν τοῦ ποιεῖν  
 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεόν. Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος Γρηγέντιος ταῦτα ἐνωπιζόμενος

80 πάντας – σε Dt. 7.15; Ps. 20.9

#### D F S H

54 ὀμίλουν D ἔφθασαν – 55 γενόμενοι < SH μονότητι F | 55 αὐτῇ] αὐτοῦ F γενάμενοι F |  
 56 μικρὸν post οὐρανὸν F εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν < SH αὐτοῖς DF | 57 ἀνεκδιήγητος SH ἐπεδόθη SH  
 φρέναν DF φρένα – 58 καταπλήττουσα < SH | 58 πεσῶτα F S | 59 ἀπείρου SH | 60 αὐτὸν]  
 αὐτὴν D ἄλλον + καὶ S παραδείσῳ ἄλλῳ SH | 61 χρηματίζειν] εἶναι SH εὐξαμένων D ἔνδον <  
 H ὑπεστρεφάντων S | 62 μετασχηματισάμενος D παραθέμενος < SH | 63 αὐτοὺς + ἀφιέμενον H  
 | 64 ὡς – βουλόμενος < DF | 65 ἔκτοτε < D ἀπήει ἔκτοτε F θεοῦ δούλην < DF | 66 καὶ < SH

Speaking such things on their way they arrived at the church, and finding solitude in it, they went inside and stood for prayer. And when that God-bearing man had stretched out his hands a little to heaven, light flashed around them from heaven and an unutterable sweet smell was produced before them in a mysterious way which amazed infinitely both mind and understanding by its sweetness, so that the blessed one fell on his face to the earth, and from his ineffable joy he was enraptured into the ecstasy of divine thoughts and visions, and going out of himself he imagined to be as in another paradise. So when they had prayed there and returned home, the God-bearing man again pretended to go to some place, entrusted the most holy Gregentios to their host, and departed.

The most blessed Gregentios, finding a pretext, so to say willingly, went often thereafter to that woman of holy memory and true servant of God Philothea, receiving also her most worthy prayers. And behold this miraculous spectacle: She who had not spoken correctly to anybody for so many years, when meeting with the righteous one taught him to have in his mind the wickedness and the various assaults of the vain demons, how they try to make war by attacking those who fight. When the blessed woman spoke, she was very delightful and angel-like; bearing her face white like snow and faltering in her speech like a child, speaking solemnly she made the servant of Christ eager for good and invited him saying:

“I bind you by oath in the name of the Son and Word of the living God, o child, do not love anybody in this world except Christ. And speak to him at every hour and day by prayer and supplication, and when temptation comes to you, be of afflicted heart and put your sins on your head. And when you come before God, condemn, accuse and reproach yourself and set yourself at naught, beat and insult yourself before the Lord, and then the winter and storm will immediately desist from you, and the Lord will be gracious to you and will drive away with infinite shame *all those that hate you* from your face.”

The blessed woman said this to him, and saw in her spirit great numbers of demons coming from invisible places, making war and plotting against the most worthy one, and fighting him because of his affection to the Lord, as they use to do to all those who love God. When the most blessed Gregentios heard this, he was very much delighted about

τιμωτάτους < SH θαύματος SH | 67 ὀρθῶς < D τισίν SH ταῖς ποικίλαις DF | 69 μακαρίτης SH | 71 ἀποφθέγγεσθαι SH | 72 εἰς – προετρέπετο < SH | 74 καὶ ἡμέραν < SH | 76 σταθεῖς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ post σεαυτὸν SH | 77 ὀνειδίσον SH τύπον – 78 καταπαύεται| δάκρυσον καὶ ἰκέτευσον αὐτὸν καὶ εὐθέως παύσεται SH | 79 γίνεταί H | 80 προσώπου < SH | 81 ἡ μακαρία πρὸς αὐτὸν SH | 82 ἐπιστρατευόντων SH ἐπβουλεύειν < SH τῷ – 83 αὐτὸν] πολεμᾶν τῷ τιμωτάτῳ SH (ἀγιωτάτῳ H) | 83 τὸν κύριον H ἔχουσιν DF τοῦ] τοῦτο SH | 84 μακάριος D

85 πάνυ ἡδέως ἐκέκτητο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνθέοις ῥήμασιν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις διὰ τῶν χειλέων αὐτῆς. Ἡ τε μήτηρ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι παρ' αὐτῆς, ἃ μηδέποτε ἤκουσαν· ἐξενίζοντο ἀποθαυμάζουσαι, ὅπως ὠμίλει τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ παιδί κυρίου ὡς ἐχέφρων καὶ ἐν συνέσει καὶ ὡς μηδὲν πονηρὸν κεκτημένη τὸ σύνολον. Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα, ὅποταν ἔσχεν πρὸς τὴν μακαρίαν ἀπέναι, εὐωχοῦμενος ἅμα αὐτῇ ἐνουθετεῖτο  
90 παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ τὰ τυχόντα ὠφελούμενος ἀνεχώρει ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ δοξάζων τὸν θεόν. Τηλικούτον δὲ ἦν πρὸς ὕψος ἐνθέου ἀρετῆς ἢ ὅσα ἐκείνη ἀνεληλυθῆα, ὥστε πολλὰκις εὐχομένου τοῦ δικαίου ἐν ᾧπερ οἰκίσκῳ ἐξενίζετο ταῖς νυξὶν κατ' ἰδίαν, ἐκείσε αὐτὴν εὐρίσκεσθαι μεταστοιχειουμένην τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ καθορωμένην ὄν τρόπον μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου αὐτῆς σώματος ἅμα αὐτῷ καὶ προσευχομένην σὺν αὐτῷ, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐ  
95 μικρῶς θαυμάζειν καὶ ἐξίστασθαι τὸν δίκαιον καὶ αἶνον καὶ εὐχαριστίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπονέμειν τῷ θεῷ.

Εὐκτήριος δὲ οἶκος πρόσεσιν τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας κατὰ ἄρκτον ἐν τῷ προτειχίσματι τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης. Φησὶν δὲ τινες τῶν ἐκείσε, καθότι Ῥωμαίας οὔσης τῆς ἀγίας προγονικὸν αὐτῆς κτήμα κατὰ τῶν πρόπαλαι χρόνων ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧπερ προσῆν ὁ  
100 εὐκτήριος αὐτῆς οἶκος, ἐχρημάτιζεν. Ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πολλὰκις ἀπόντος καὶ προσευχομένου (ἐπὶ σεμνοτάτῳ γὰρ τόπῳ καὶ εὐαέρῳ ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία ᾧκοδομουμένη), συνεπορεύετο αὐτῷ καὶ τις νεανίας τοῦνομα Γεώργιος ἴδιος τοῦ ἔκπαλαι ξενίσαντος αὐτὸν χρηματίζων· ἠγάπα δὲ τὸν τίμιον παῖδα τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλέπων αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐν πραότητι καὶ ἡρεμίᾳ καὶ ἀταράχῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καθ' ἐκάστην περιπολούντα, καὶ  
105 μέντοι καὶ δυσανασπάστως πῶς ἐκέκτητο τοῦ ἀποχωρίζεσθαι αὐτόν. Ὡς οὖν μιᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ εὐξασθαι ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ ἀμφοτέροι ἀπήνηταν, ἐνουθετεῖ τὸν νεώτερον ὁ μακάριος συμπορευόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ ἀγνείας ὑπομιμνήσκων αὐτὸν καὶ φιλαρέτου γνώμης. Ὁ δὲ συγγνώσκων ἑαυτῷ πινὰ ὀφλήματα, περὶ ὧν ἐνουθετεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ δικαίου, τῆς νεότητος τὴν ἀκμὴν εἰς ἀπολογίας τρόπον προεβάλετο, νέον μὲν φάσκων χρηματίζοντα  
110 μῆτοι τοιοῦτον δύνασθαι κατορθωκέαι.

Τούτων οὖν καὶ ἐτέρων ῥηθέντων ἐν τῷ ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν εἶσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας χωρήσαντες καὶ τὴν ὀφειλὴν τῆς εὐχῆς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδόντες, ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς πύλης τῶν προθύρων τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐπὶ πνι σκάμνῳ τῶν ἐκείσε ἐκαθέσθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοθεν. Ὡς δὲ ἐκείσε καθεζόμενοι πινὰ ῥήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰσέβαλον (ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
115 ἐπερώτα καὶ ἐπειράζεν παχυτέροις πῖσιν καὶ ἀνωμάλοις ῥήμασιν, ὁ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος διέλυεν ῥαδίως ἐρμηνεύων καὶ θεοπρεπῶς ὁμαλίζων τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα), ἰδοὺ τίς γραῦς

## DFSH

86 ἢ τε] ἢ δὲ SH καὶ – ἐκέκτητο] ἐκέκτητο ἀδελφὴν DF (ἐκέκτητό τε F) γὰρ + καὶ H, < DF | 87 ἀποθαυμάζοντες DF ἀγιωτάτῳ D | 89 πλείω SH εἶχεν SH ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ DF ἅμα αὐτῇ < SH | 92 εὐχομένου D τοῦ δικαίου < SH κατ' – 93 εὐρίσκεσθαι < SH | 94 σώματος αὐτῆς H καί<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup>] ἰσταμένη προσεύχεσθαι SH οὐ < H | 95 μικρῶς < SH καὶ ἐξίστασθαι < SH αἶνον – 96 ἀπονέμειν] εὐχαριστεῖν SH | 97 δὲ < DF ἄρκτον] ἄρκτον μέρους SH | 98 προτειχίσματι F φασὶν SH ὅτι SH | 100 οἶκος αὐτῆς SH | 101 γὰρ post καὶ DF ἀέρῳ H | 102 ᾧκοδομηθεῖσα SH συνεπορεύετο + δὲ SH | 103 δὲ < DF | 104 ὄντως D οὕτω SH καί<sup>2</sup> – ψυχῇ] ψυχῆς καὶ ἀταράχῳ

the God-inspired words that came out through her lips. Her mother and her sister<sup>44</sup> heard from her what they had never heard before; they were surprised and wondered how she spoke to the most worthy boy of the Lord, being prudent, wise and having nothing evil in her at all. He was exhorted by these and many other things, being in good cheer together with her, when he went to the blessed one, and receiving great help he returned to his lodge praising God. That holy woman had reached a height of God-inspired virtue, so that often, when the righteous one prayed privately during the night in the room where he stayed, she was found there with him, being transformed by the Holy Ghost and visible as with her holy body, and praying with him, so that the righteous one wondered not little about this as well, was astonished and offered great praise and thank to God.

There is a chapel of the great martyr Anastasia to the north in the outwork of that town. Some people say that in very old times, since the saint was a Roman, the place where her chapel was had been her property inherited from her ancestors.<sup>45</sup> Now when the most blessed one went often to this chapel and prayed (for the church was built at a very noble place with good air), a youth went with him called Georgios, one of the people of the man that had once entertained him; for he loved the worthy boy of Christ when he saw how he went around every day so gently and calmly with undisturbed soul, and he could hardly bear it to be separated from him. Now when they both arrived one day at the martyr's chapel for prayer, the blessed one exhorted the youth when he was going with him reminding him about chastity and the virtue-loving mind. But he pardoned himself for some transgressions for which he had been admonished by the righteous one, and presented the bloom of his youth as a kind of excuse, saying that he was young and not yet able to achieve such a thing.

Now when these and other things had been said between them, they proceeded into the church, payed the debt of their prayer to the Lord, and sat down at the entrance, at the outer door of the martyr's chapel on a bench there, when they came back from inside. When they sat there and said some words to each other (for the one asked and tempted with some quite heavy and unusual words, and the other solved the questions explaining them easily and making them plain in a way worthy of God), behold, an old

τὸ SH + καὶ S καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 105 αὐτόν < H | 107 συμπορευομένου DF συμπορευομένῳ SH καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH αὐτόν] αὐτῷ DF | 108 ἑαυτὸν τινῶν ὀφλημάτων SH | 110 μήτοι] μὴ SH | 111 ὤ κβ'· περὶ τῆς διορατικῆς μοναχῆς SH εἰσον S | 112 τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς εὐχῆς H | 113 ὑποστρέφαντες – 116 ἐπερωτώμενα < SH | 115 ἀνταπολογούμενος F | 116 καὶ ἰδοὺ SH

<sup>44</sup> A sister of Philothea is not mentioned before. See also the text of D F which is probably corrected here.

<sup>45</sup> See above, pp. 32 and 42.

- μοναχικά περιβεβλημένη εἰσῆι προσεύξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνήκεν τῷ πνεύματι, καθότι ἀπὸ τῶν εὐλαβῶν καὶ ὁσίων γυναικῶν μία πρόσεστιν· καὶ ἐν τῷ τελείῳ αὐτὴν τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ὁρμῶν τοῦ ἐξέναι, ἐξαναστὰς ἔβαλεν αὐτῇ μετάνοιαν καὶ
- 120 προτετίμηκεν ἅμα αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν κύριον ὀλίγον καθεσθῆναι. Ἡ δὲ ὄντως εὐλαβεστάτη μονάζουσα καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ δικαίῳ βαλοῦσα μετάνοιαν, ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῆς ἀναστήσασα τὸν μακάριον, ὡς ἔπειτα καὶ πάλιν βάλλοντα αὐτῇ μετάνοιαν φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κέλευσον, ὦ τέκνον Γρηγέντιε, κέλευσον, ἀνάστηθι, καθεσθῶμεν δὴ.” Ὡς δὲ ἐκαθέστηκε, ἀποκριθεῖσα ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν·
- 125 “Ὅντως ἀγαθῆς ρίζης ἀγαθὸς καὶ ὁ κλάδος· διὰ τὸν κύριον, οὐχὶ σὺ εἶ ὁ Ἀγαπίου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καὶ ἐλεήμονος υἱὸς ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν Ἀσιανῶν πλησίον Ἀβάρων ἐκ κώμης Λυπλιανῶν χρηματίζων; Οὐχὶ τῶν γονέων σου μηδὲν ἐπισταμένων ἀπέδρας τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀκολουθήσας καλῶς τῷ καλῶς καλέσαντι καλλίστῳ ποιμένι; Οὐκ ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μεταναστεύων τοῖς ὧδε πεφοίτηκας ὁ τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ ἀγαπητὸς παῖς καὶ
- 130 φίλτατος. Ὅντως, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ζῆ χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ σὺ φῶν ἐκείνη γυνή, περὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς σου μητρὸς λέγω τῆς σὲ ἔρωπι θεῖω καὶ φίλτρῳ πνευματικῷ ἀναθρεψάσης. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκέθην τὴν ἀπαροδὸν κεκτημένη θεθεῖμαι τούτους καὶ οὕτως ἐντεῦθεν κατήνησα. Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα τέξασά σε τῶν ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀπεβίω κρίμασιν ἀχράντοις τοῦ οὕτω κελεύσαντος καὶ οἰκονομήσαντος θεοῦ. Ἄλλ’ οὖν χάρτε, τέκνον, καὶ
- 135 εὐλαβοῦ κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν δουλεύων αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν *εἰδώς, καθότι ὁ κόπος μου οὐκ ἔστιν κενός ἐν κυρίῳ*. Πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ μετὰ σοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς σου, πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Οἶδας γὰρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερον βελτίω ὡς τὸ δουλεύειν ζῶντι θεῷ καὶ ὑπέικειν ἐν προθυμίᾳ μεγάλη τοῖς προστάγμασιν αὐτοῦ. Δωρεῖται γὰρ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ πρῶτον μὲν βίον ἀνεπίληπτον, εἶτα καρπὸν πίστεως, ἐλπίδος, ἀγαθοεργίας, πτωχείας πνευματικῆς καὶ θεῶν δακρύων, πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην μετ’ εὐμενείας καὶ καθαρότητος, σοφίαν, σύνεσιν, ἀγιασμόν ἐν φαιδρότητι καὶ χρηστότητι, φῶς ἰλαρόν, ἔλαιον δαφιλές, πλοῦτον θεωρίας καὶ τὴν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος καθαρῶς πλουσιοπάροχον δωρεάν καὶ ἀπειροπλάσιον, οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τέλος καὶ τὴν μετὰ παρρησίας ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀμώμητον ἡμῶν νυμφίον, κύριον
- 145 φωτοφόρον Ἰησοῦν καὶ μόνον βασιλέα καὶ πατέρα τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο, τέκνον ἐμόν, μὴ ὀκνήσης, ἀλλὰ σπεῦδε, δίωκε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τρέχε εἰς θεὸν ἀεὶ. Κολληθήτω δὴ ἡ ψυχὴ σου ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ, ἵνα γένηται ἀμώμητος ἔπι καὶ ἔπι, ἵνα γένηται καθαρὰ καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρος, *πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.”

135 εἰδώς – 136 κυρίω cf. 1 Cor. 15.58 | 148 πλήρης – ἀληθείας Io. 1.14

#### D F S H

118 ἐστίν SH | 119 αὐτὴν] αὐτῇ D | 120 διὰ τὸν κύριον < DF | 122 βαλόντα SH αὐτὴν S | 123 κέλευσον < D δὴ < SH | 125 εἶ ὁ < DF | 126 ὁ υἱὸς SH Ἀβάρων D ἐκ κώμης Λυπλιανῶν < F | 127 Λυπλιανῶν D μηθὲν SH | 129 τοῖς bis F παῖς] σε DF | 130 ὦ < SH χάριτι Χριστοῦ post 131 μητρὸς] μήτηρ SH ἐκείνη ἢ H | 131 περὶ – λέγω] ἢ πνευματικῆ σου μήτηρ SH τῆς<sup>2</sup> – 132

woman dressed like a nun came in for prayer. And the servant of Christ understood in his spirit that she was one of the pious and holy women, and when she had accomplished her prayer and rushed to the way out, he rose and bowed before her, and she agreed to sit down a little together with him for the Lord's sake. And the truly most pious nun bowed as well before the righteous one, raised the blessed one with her hands, and when he bowed again thereafter before her, she said to him: "Please, o child Gregentios, please rise, and let us sit down." And when they sat she answered and said to him:

"Truly, of a good root the branch is good as well. For the sake of the Lord, are not you the son of the most pious and merciful Agapios who comes from the region of Asia close to the Avars from a village called Lyplianes?<sup>46</sup> Did not you run away from there without the knowledge of your parents, following well the most beautiful shepherd that has called you well? Did not you wander from town to town and arrive her, you beloved and dearest boy of Christ? Truly, o child, also your father lives through the grace of Christ, and also that chaste woman, I speak about your spiritual mother that brought you up with divine desire and spiritual love. For I have seen them when I passed through there, and so I have arrived here. For the one that has born you in the flesh has deceased from here by the immaculate judgements of God who ordered and decided so. But now rejoice, my child, fear the Lord our God serving him by night and day, *for you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord*. For his mercies with you are great, now and in all days of your life, and much more in the future one. For you know that there is nothing better than to serve the living God and to obey his orders with great readiness. For he gives to such a man first blameless life, then the fruit of faith, of hope, of good works, of spiritual poverty and divine tears, gentleness and righteousness with good favour and pureness, wisdom, understanding, sanctity in brightness and honesty, gracious light, abundant oil, wealth of contemplation and clearly the richly given and infinite gift of the most Holy Ghost, and surely then finally also the departure from here with confidence to our blameless bridegroom, the light-bearing Lord Jesus, the only king and father of the future world and the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, my child, do not hesitate, but hasten, pursue Jesus Christ, run to God always. Your soul may closely join his back so that it will be blameless more and more, that she will be pure and exceedingly bright, *full of grace and truth* forever and ever."

ἀναθρεψάσης < SH | 132 οὕτω ἐνταῦθα κατήνηκα SH | 133 τέξασά σε – δέ] σε τέξασα ταχὺ τῶν ἐνθένδε SH ἀπεβίωκεν H | 134 οὕτως F ὠκονομήσαντος DF χαίρου SH | 135 κύριον] ἐν κυρίῳ F αὐτῷ < DF | 136 μου < DF πολλά – 146 οὐρανῶν < SH | 138 βελτίον F | 139 τὸ τοιοῦτον F | 146 ἐμόν] μου SH ἀλλὰ] ἀλλ' οὖν SH τρέχε εἰς Χριστόν SH | 147 θεὸν αἰεὶ < SH δὴ < SH ἵνα – 148 ἔτι<sup>2</sup> < SH | 148 πλήρες S

<sup>46</sup> See above, pp. 16–17.



150 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τῷ μακαρίῳ ἢ αἰοιδίμος προσωμίλει, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ σεμνότατος τῷ διορα-  
 τικῷ ὄμματι αὐτῆς καταπληττόμενος· καὶ τὴν κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ ἡρέμα ὑποκλίνων τῷ βλέμ-  
 ματι κάτω νεύων καὶ προσκυνῶν καὶ ἱκετεύων ἐξελιπᾶρει αὐτὴν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Ἡ  
 δὲ σεμνοτάτη ἀποκριθεῖσα ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ὁ ἐπουράνιος θεός, ὦ τέκνον, τὰς μυριά-  
 δας καὶ τὰς χιλιάδας τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ τοῦ διαφυλάξασθαί σε  
 155 ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου. Ἡ δὲ πρεσβεία τῆς ἀχράντου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ  
 ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἐνθέων αὐτῆς ἄρει σε, *μήπω προσκόψης πρὸς ἐφάρμο-  
 στον λίθον τὸν πόδα σου*. Ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλεονάσει ἐν σοὶ τὰ θεῖα  
 αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα, ὑπὲρ τοὺς σταλαγμοὺς τῶν ὄμβρων καὶ ὑετῶν ἐκχέει αὐτοῦ τὰ πλούσια  
 ἐπὶ σοὶ ἰάματα ὁ μεγαλόδωρος κύριος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ὕδατα τῆς θαλάσσης ῥανεῖ ἐπὶ σὲ ὕδωρ  
 160 καθαρὸν, ὕδωρ ζωῆς, ὕδωρ ἀθανασίας καὶ χαρᾶς αἰδίου καὶ δόξης καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ λαμ-  
 πρότητος. Ὑπὲρ τὸν χοῦν τῆς γῆς τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπαυξήσει σοι, ὑπὲρ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν βοτα-  
 νῶν τὰ πνευματικὰ ὅσα ἀνατελεῖ σοι, ὑπὲρ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων τὰ πλούσια αὐτοῦ  
 ἐλέη κερανεῖ σοι ὁ ὢν θεός, ὁ εὐλογημένος Χριστός, ὁ δεδοξασμένος κύριος Σαβαώθ·  
 ἄσπιλον καὶ ἄτρωτον καὶ ἀμώμητον διατηρήσει σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς σου  
 165 τῇ πρεσβείᾳ καὶ προστασίᾳ τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα αὐτῆς προσειπούσης τῷ μακαρίῳ αὐτὸς καὶ πάλιν κλίνας τὴν κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ  
 προσεκύνησεν ἀπευχαριστῶν αὐτήν. Θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ νεανίας ὁ συνὼν τοῖς ἐκέισε τῷ  
 δικαίῳ, ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπηύξατο ἢ ἀθρῶν ἀναφανείσα αὐτοῖς ὅσια, καὶ ὅτι ἅπαντα τὰ κατ’  
 αὐτόν καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτοῦ, ὅθεν τε ἔφυ, ἐν οἷς τε εἶσει, ποίων τε γονέων περίεστιν  
 170 ἐγνώρισεν αὐτῷ, ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, εἶπέ κάμοι τί τῶν συντει-  
 νόντων μοι εἶπερ ἐπίστασαι. Μόνω γὰρ τούτῳ λαλεῖς κάμοι οὐ τὸ σύνολον προσομιλεῖς.”  
 Ἡ δὲ ὅσια ἐκείνη ἀποκριθεῖσα ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἦ τέκνον, ἐὰν ἐρῶ σοὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 χολάσαι μέλλεις; πιστευσον γὰρ μοι λεγούσῃ, ὅτι οὐκ εἰ ἄξιος τὴν σκιὰν τοῦδε τοῦ μετὰ  
 σοῦ καθεζομένου ὄρᾶν. Πόθεν; καὶ γὰρ *μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἁμαρτωλῶν σωτηρία*. Σὺ γὰρ εἰς  
 175 οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἐν εὐκαιρίας ἤπερ ὡς τὸ περιέναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὡσανεὶ σκύλακα ἰχθυλα-  
 τεῖν, ποῦ ἄρα γε πόρνη ἵνα κτήσεις ἑαυτῷ φίλην καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ἐκτελέσεις τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.  
 Καὶ οὐκ ἀναδέχει εἰς νοῦν τὸ φοβερὸν ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀπροσωπόληπτον κριτήριον τοῦ φοβε-  
 ροῦ κριτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς μέλλει ἦκειν κρῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κατακαύσει  
 ἐν πυρὶ ἀσβέστω φαρμακοὺς καὶ μάντας καὶ ἐπαιδοῦς, πόρνοους καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ σοδο-

156 μήπω – 157 σου Ps. 90.12 | 159 ῥανεῖ – 160 καθαρὸν cf. Ez. 36.25 | 160 ὕδωρ ζωῆς Aroc. 22.17 | 174 μακρὰν – σωτηρία Ps. 118.155 | 178 κατακαύσει – 179 ἀσβέστω cf. Mt. 3.12; Lc. 3.17

#### D F S H

150 ἐδάκρυσεν SH | 151 κεφαλὴν SH ἡρέμα < SH τῷ – 152 ἱκετεύων < SH βλέμματι < F | 152 αὐτῇ SH | 153 σεμνοτάτη < DF ὦ < SH τὰς – 163 Σαβαώθ < SH | 158 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < D σταλαγμοὺς + καὶ F | 159 ἐπὶ σοὶ < D | 164 ἄσπιλον – σου] διαφυλάξῃ σε ἄτρωτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ τῆς παναγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ SH | 166 εἰρηκίας SH καὶ πάλιν < DF κεφαλὴν H | 167 ἀπευχαριστῶν < DF αὐτήν] αὐτῇ D τοῖς

When the glorious woman said this to the blessed one, the most honourable one wept, being amazed by her prophetic eye, and calmly bowing his head, looking downward, worshipping and supplicating he entreated her to pray for him. And the most honourable woman answered and said to him: “God in heaven, o child, will give the command to the tenthsousands and thousands of the heavenly powers to guard you in all your ways. The intercession of our immaculate Lady, the Mother of God and Perpetual Virgin Mary, will raise you on her God-inspired hands *that you may not dash your foot against a fitting stone*. The munificent Lord will give his divine gifts to you abundantly above the stars of heaven, above the falling of rains and showers he will pour out his divine remedies, he will sprinkle pure water on you above the waters of the sea, water of life, water of immortality, of eternal joy, glory, sweetness and brightness. He will increase your virtues above the dust of earth, he will raise your spiritual bones above the multitude of plants, he will offer you his abundant mercies above the springs of water, the true God, the praised Christ, the glorified Lord Sabaoth: He will keep you faultless, unwounded and blameless in all days of your life by the intercession and care of the wise apostles and all his saints.”

When she had said this to the blessed one, he again bowed his head, worshipped and thanked her. When the young man that stayed there with the righteous one saw how this saint prayed for him that had suddenly appeared to them, and that she had made known to him everything about him and his departure, where he came from, where he would go in the future and who his parents were, he answered and said to her: “For God’s sake, tell me also what refers to me, if you know it. For you speak only to this man and do not address me at all.” And that holy woman answered and said to him: “O child, if I tell you the truth you will become angry; for believe me when I tell you that you are not even worthy to see the shade of the one who sits here with you. Why? because *salvation is far from the sinners*. For you did not use your leisure for anything else than for going around in town and scouting like a dog where to find a harlot, so that you may have her as your girlfriend and commit the sin with her. And <the expectation of> that frightful judgement of the frightful judge, which is without respect to a person, does not bring you back to your mind, that he will come to judge the world in righteousness, and will burn in his inextinguishable fire poisoners, diviners and enchanters, fomi-

ἐκέισε < SH | 168 αὐτοῖς ἀναφανείσα SH και – 170 αὐτῶ < SH | 170 συνόντων DF | 171 μόνον F κάμοι – προσομιλεῖς < H | 172 ἀποκριθεῖσα < D ὦ < SH | 173 μέλλεις] ἔχεις SH μοι γάρ DF λεγούσης H ἄξιος + πρὸς SH τοῦδε – 174 καθεζομένου] τοῦ καθεζομένου τοῦδε μετὰ σοῦ F | 174 ὄραν < SH μακρὰ DF | 175 οὐθὲν S οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢς < H περιεῖναι F σκύλακας DF σκάλακα SH | 176 ἴνα] ἦν DF κτήση αὐτήν SH ἐπιτελέσης S τελέσης H | 177 ἐκεῖνο τὸ φοβερόν D | 178 ἦκειν < SH κρίναι + πᾶσαν F δικαιοσύνην F και – 180 ἀμαρτίας < SH | 179 ἐπάοιδας FD

180 μίτας και τὰ λοιπὰ ἀκροθίνια τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Καὶ εἰ ἀπιστεῖς μοι, λέγω σοι και τὰ γύναια μεθ' ὧν ἀμαρτάνεις· τὸ δὲ παχύτερον παρεάσω.”

Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ὠμίλει, ἤρξατο αὐτῷ καθαρῶς λέγειν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἑταιρίδων και τὴν προσωνομίαν και τὴν καταμονὴν αὐτῶν, μεθ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν σωματικὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐπετέλει, ὥστε οὖν ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀκροότα ἔντρομον γεγονέναι και ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως πεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς τιμίους αὐτῆς πόδας και καθικετεύειν αὐτὴν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. 185 Τούτων οὕτω τελεσθέντων ἡ μὲν ὁσία συνταξαμένη τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ και εἰρηκῶσα αὐτῷ, ὅτι “οὐ μακρὰν και ἔρχεται ὁ κύριός σου και ὁδηγός σου και λαμβάνει σε και ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀπέρχεσθε και ἴσως κάκεισε βλέπωμεν ἀλλήλους”, ἀσπασαμένη τε αὐτὸν ἐπορεύθη τῆς πόλεως και πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφίκετο.

190 Γεγονότων δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τῆς ἀγίας ἐνδοτάτω διηγείτο ἐπὶ τραπέζης ὁ Γεώργιος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι προσεύξασθαι, ὅπως τε ἡ ὁσία ἐκείνη μονάζουσα ἅπαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς θεοφορουμένη ἀπήγγειλεν. Καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἐκείνοι ταῦτα ἀκούοντες, μομφὴν τε και οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐποιοῦντο αὐτῷ, δι' ὧν αὐτὴν οὐ παρέλαβεν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐνδοτάτω και ἤγαγεν ἵνα 195 “κὰν ἄρτον,” φησὶν, “ἐγεύσατο μεθ' ἡμῶν”. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὖν ἐκείνη οὐκέτι ἐξῆι τῆς ξενίας αὐτοῦ ὁ μακάριος, ἀλλ' ἐνδοτάτω ἡσύχως καθεζόμενος και δεχόμενος μετὰ χεῖρας ἱεράν βίβλον ἀνεγίνωσκεν.

Τῇ δὲ ἔωθεν ὀρθρίσας ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπορεύθη τοῦ τὸν κανόνα ἐπιτελέσαι. Καὶ ὡς ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἡ ἐκκλησία ἔθος ἐκέκτητο μὴ καθεζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὄρθριος ἴστασθαι και 200 ἐπακροᾶσθαι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. Οὕτως οὖν και τὸ τηνικαῦτα εἰσπράττοντος αὐτοῦ, γέρων τίς ὄσιος μονάζων δι' ἡμερῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παραβαλὼν ἐκείσε προσῆν ὀρθρίσας και ἐκαθέζετο. Ἦν δὲ τίμιος τῷ κυρίῳ και σεβασμιώτατος. Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι ἴστατο ὁ μακάριος και ἐπηκροᾶτο τῆς ἀναγνώσεως, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν μήκοθεν ἐκείνος συνῆκεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ πνεύματι και ἀναστάς πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. Ἀσπασάμενός τε αὐτὸν τῷ ἀγίῳ φιλή- 205 ματι ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἴδου ὁ ἀδελφός μου Γρηγέντιος.” Εἶτα καταφιλήσας αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄμματα ἔλεγεν· “Ἴδου ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὁ φίλτατος, ὃν με θεάσασθαι ἠξίωσεν ὁ κύριος.” Προσέχων δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκείσε τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ ἔφασκεν πρὸς αὐτούς· “Δεικνύω ὑμῖν, ὦ τέκνα, ἄγγελον κυρίου.” Καὶ ἔπειτα κατασπαζόμενος αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· “Καλῶς, καλῶς τὸ τέκνον ἐμὸν τὸ φίλτατον.” Καὶ συμπαραλαβὼν αὐτὸν εἰς μέρος τῆς ἐκκλη-

#### D F S H

180 σοι] σου S | 181 μεθ'] περὶ D | 183 αὐτὸς] αὐτῆς DF | ἐξ ἀρχῆς < D | ἀσωτίαν + μετ' αὐτῶν DF | 184 ἐπετέλει + ἐργαζόμενος οὖν < SH | ἔντρομον] ἐν τρώμῳ SH | 185 πεσῶν H | τιμίους αὐτῆς πόδας] πόδας αὐτῆς τοὺς τιμίους SH | αὐτῇ D S | 186 οὕτως DF | εἰρηκῶς DF | 187 και ὁδηγός σου < SH | 190 τὸ μαρτύριον H | διηγείτο post 191 Γεώργιος S | ἐπὶ – 191 Γεώργιος] ὁ Γεώργιος ἐπὶ τραπέζης D | 191 ἑαυτοῦ] μετ' αὐτοῦ H | περὶ] ἐπὶ DF | συβεβηκότων F | αὐτοῖς < DF | 192 τε < D | ἐκείνη + ἡ D | αὐτῶν H | 193 ἀπήγγειλεν SH | και < SH | 194 αὐτὸν H | αὐτὴν] αὐτόν S | τὸν μακάριον H | παρέλαβεν + και F | ἑαυτοῦ] ἑαυτῷ F | ἐνδοτάτω < SH | και ἤγαγεν] διηγάγετο DF | 195 ἄρτῳ F | τῇ + δὲ H | οὖν < SH | οὐκέτι] οὐκ SH | 196 ἡσύχῳ H | και < SH | 198 ὁ κγ'· περὶ τοῦ ὄσιου γέροντος Βασιλείου SH | τῇ + ἀγιωτάτῃ H | τελέσαι H | 199 ἔθος] εὐθέως DF | ὄρθριος

cators, adulterers, sodomites and the other peaks of sin. And if you do not believe me, I will also tell you the women with whom you commit sin, but will leave the worst aside.”

And when she had said this, she began to tell him clearly the names of the courtesans, their surnames and dwelling-places, with whom he had committed the corporeal profligacy from the beginning, so that he was filled with fear when he heard this and fell to her worthy feet because of his consternation and entreated her to pray for him. When this had been done so, the holy woman said farewell to the blessed Gregentios and told him that “shortly your lord and leader will come and take you, and you will go to Rome, and perhaps we will see each other there as well”, and having embraced him she left the town and went to Rome.

When the boys had returned home from the martyr-chapel of the saint, Georgios told his friends at table all that had happened to them when they went for prayer, how that holy nun had announced everything to them, being moved by God. And they wondered when they heard this, and reproached him greatly because he had not taken her home with him and brought her so that “she could at least have eaten some bread with us”, they said. On that day the blessed one did not go out of his lodge anymore, but sitting at home quietly, he took a holy book in his hands and read.

On the next morning he rose at dawn and went to the great church to perform the liturgy. And when he read <the gospel>, it was the custom in this church not to sit, but to stand upright and so to listen to the reading. Now when he also did so at that time, a holy old monk, who had arrived in town some days before, was there; he had risen at dawn and now had sat down. He was worthy before the Lord and very adorable. As it has been said, the blessed one stood there and listened to the reading; and when that man saw him from far, he understood about him in his spirit, rose and went close to him. He embraced him with the holy kiss and said to him: “Behold, my brother Gregentios.” Then he kissed his eyes and said: “Behold, my most beloved and dearest one whom the Lord has deemed me worthy to see.” And taking notice of those that stood there he said to them in the language of the Romans:<sup>47</sup> “I show you, my children, an angel of God.” And thereafter he embraced him and said: “Well, well, my dearest child.” And he took him with himself to a place in the church, sat down with him and sweetly spoke the divine words with him, and when he stared at him, also the most holy

DF ἴσταται F | 200 ὑπακροᾶσθαι D οὕτω SH και < D | 201 ἐν < SH παραλαβῶν D και < H | 203 ἐπακροᾶτο D αὐτὸν + ὁ F | 204 αὐτῷ F | 205 καταφιλῶν SH αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄμματα] αὐτὸν και τὰ ὄμματα αὐτοῦ SH | 206 ὁ κύριος ἠξίωσεν H ὁ<sup>3</sup> < F | 208 ἔπειτα < SH αὐτὸν < SH | 209 ἐμὸν] μου SH

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 46.

210 σίας ἐκαθέσθη σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠδέως ἅμα αὐτῷ προσωμίλει τὰ θεῖα ῥήματα, καὶ στοχαζόμενος αὐτὸν ἐξεκαίετο εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀγιώτατος Βασιλεῖος· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ὀσίῳ γέροντι. Τῆς δὲ ἀναγνώσεως τελεσθείσης ἔπειτα ὁ τίμιος γέρων ἀσπασάμενος τὸν μακάριον φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν·

215 “Τέκνον, μακάριος εἶ, ἐάνπερ τὸν δρόμον τοῦτον, ὄνπερ ἀνύεις διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς σου, εἰς τέλος διατηρήσης. Ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς παρελεύσεται καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ὡσπερ ὄναρ ἀφανισθήσονται, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀξίαι ὡσπερ καπνὸς αἰθάλης καμίνου ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπολοῦνται, καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ τρυφή τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ὡς σκιὰ καὶ ὡσεὶ ἐνύπνιον λογισθήσονται καὶ διαλυθήσονται· ἀναλάβει δὲ ἐπὶ τέλος ἡ καθολικὴ ἀνάστασις τῶν κεκοιμημένων καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ κριτὴς καὶ 220 ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τότε ζητήσῃ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντας τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσάξει αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ παλάτια, εἰς ἃ ἀκμὴν οὔτε οἱ ἄγγελοι τῶν οὐρανῶν παρέκυψαν ἢ ἔνδον τὸ σύνολον γεγόνασιν. Διαμεριεῖ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀνεκκλάητα ἐκεῖνα ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἔνδον ἀποκείμενα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ 225 εἶδεν καὶ οὐκ οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἃ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη ἔτι, καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν σὺν αὐτῷ φοροῦντες διάδημα κάλλους εὐπρεπειας ὠραιότητος κυρίου εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους καὶ ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ κατατρυφήσουσιν ἐπὶ πλήθει εἰρήνης τῶν μελιρρῦτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐπαπολεύσουσι γαληνομόρφως τῶν ἀκηράτων γερῶν. Οὐκοῦν, τέκνον ἐμὸν πνευματικόν, ὡς εἰς τιμὴν μεγίστην μέλλοντός σου ἀνίεναι ἔλεει καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ὑπομιμήσκομεν, οὐ διδάσκομεν. Ὅπότεν σε στήσῃ κύριος οἰκονόμον ψυχῶν ἀναριθμήτων, σπουδάσον οὖν καλῶς διοικῆσαι τὸ ἐμπιστευθέν σοι τάλαντον, τοῖς πᾶσιν γενοῦ τὰ πάντα, πατήρ ὀρφανῶν, χηρῶν 235 προασπιστής, ἀντιλήπτωρ θλιβομένων, ὑπέρμαχος τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις, καταπονουμένων βοηθός, δίκαιος καὶ ἄμεμπτος καὶ ὄσιος ἅμα καὶ ἄκακος. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ ἐρεῖς βιαστὸν ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ σωθῆναι, ἀλλ’ οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ ὑγιαινώσεως ψυχῆς. Μέγα μὲν πλοῖον ἐπ’ ἀληθείας μεγάλως καὶ ζημιοῦται, ὅπότεν κινδυνεύσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ μέγα πλοῖον καλῶς τοῦ ναυκλήρου κυβερνοῦντος ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πᾶν εὐδοῦντος μεγάλως εἶδεν διαφορὰν ἐκάστη ἐν τῷ πλέειν τὰ μακρὰ πελάγη καὶ ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν εἰσβαλεῖν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τὴν 240 πραγματείαν. Οὕτως τοιγαροῦν καὶ σύ, ὦ τέκνον, νυνὶ πειραζόμενος καὶ διδασκόμενος ἅμα καὶ παιδευόμενος, τότε φρόνησον καλῶς, ψκονόμεσον καλῶς διὰ τῶν ἐπιγείων

215 ὁ – παρελεύσεται cf. Mt. 24.35; Mc. 13.31; Lc. 16.17, 21.33 | 219 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – μνημείοις Odae 5.19; Is. 25.19 | 224 ἃ – 225 ἀνέβη 1 Cor. 2.9 | 226 διάδημα κάλλους cf. Sap. 5.16 | 232 τοῖς – πάντα cf. 1 Cor. 9.22

#### DFSH

210 στοχασάμενος D | 211 καὶ < SH | 212 ἔπειτα < SH | 214 ἐάνπερ + καὶ H δρόμον + σου D | 215 διατηρήσῃ DF ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς] καὶ ἡ γῆ DF | 216 αἱ<sup>1</sup> – 218 λογισθήσονται] πάντα σχεδὸν ὡσεὶ κόπρος τῆς γῆς μεμισσημένα καταργηθήσονται SH (σχεδὸν + εἰπεῖν H, μεμισσημένῳ S) αἰθάλης] εὐθαλής F | 217 καμίνου < D | 218 ἀναβλέψει DF | 219 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – μνημείοις < SH | 220 καὶ –

Basileios was incited to love him, for this was the name of the holy old man.<sup>48</sup> After the reading had been accomplished, the worthy old man embraced the blessed one and said to him:

“My child, you are blessed, if you keep to this way, which you have undertaken for the salvation of your soul, until the end. For heaven will pass and the goods of this world will disappear like a dream, and the honours and dignities will be lost at once like the smoke of a furnace, and the glory and sweetness of this world will be considered as a shadow and like a vision in your sleep and will be dissolved; and in the end the common resurrection of those that sleep will shine up and *those in the tombs will be raised* and the judge will come and the kingdom of heaven with him. And then he will call for his chosen ones, his beloved ones, his sons and heirs of his goodness and simply all his friends, and will lead them into the ineffable palaces of his kingdom, into which not even the angels of heaven have yet peered into, or have entered at all. He will divide among them those unutterable goods that lie in there, *which an eye has not seen and an ear has not heard and which have not come up yet to the heart of man*, and they will reign with him bearing the beautiful crown of the magnificence of the Lord’s grace for the endless and infinite ages of ages, and they will enjoy the abundance of peace of the honey-flowing goods and rejoice calmly in the undefiled rewards. So, my spiritual child, since you will go up to the highest honour in the future by the mercy and love for mankind, which the great God and Saviour of our souls possesses, we remind you and do not teach you. When the Lord will appoint you as the administrator of innumerable souls, be eager to manage the talent well that has been entrusted to you, be all for everyone, father of orphans, defender of widows, protector of the afflicted, fighter for those in need, helper of the subdued, righteous, without reproach and both holy and innocent. And if you will say that it is hard for a rich man to be saved, it is not so for a healthy soul. Truly, a great ship also suffers great damage when it comes into danger, but also a great ship, when the captain steers it well or God guides it completely aright, profits greatly every day when it sails on the wide seas, goes from town to town and takes its cargo. So therefore, o child, you also that are now tempted and both taught and educated, think then well and decide well, building through the earthly goods the heavenly

222 αὐτοῦς < SH | 222 τὰ – παλάτια] τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν SH | 223 εἰς – γεγόνασιν < SH | 224 καὶ διαμεριεῖ SH ἀγαθὰ ἐκεῖνα SH ἀποκείμενα ἐναποκείμενα F | 225 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < S ἃ < SH ἀνέβησαν SH βασιλεύσωσιν SH | 226 φοροῦντες – κυρίου < SH | 227 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 228 γερῶν < SH | 229 ἐμὸν] μου SH μέλλοντά σε SH καὶ bis F | 230 ὑπομνησκόμεν – 231 ἀναριθμητῶν < SH | 231 οὖν < SH | 233 ἀντιλήπτωρ – ἀνάγκαις < SH καταπονουμένων SH | 234 δίκιος F ὄσιος καὶ ἄμemptος SH ἅμα < SH καὶ<sup>4</sup> – 245 προσευχόμενος < SH ἐρεῖς] ἱερεῖς F ἐν τῷ] τῷ ἐν F | 235 πλοῖο D

<sup>48</sup> See above, pp. 42–43.

ἀγαθῶν κτίζων τὰ ἐπουράνια, διὰ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια καὶ διὰ τῶν φθειρομένων τὰ αἶδια καὶ ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀτελεύτητα κτῶμενος ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὰ.”

245 Ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπευξάμενος πάλιν ἐκέισε ἐπορεύθη, ὅθεν ἦν τὸ πρῶην πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενόμενος· καὶ ἦν ἐστῶς μετὰ τῶν ἁδόντων καὶ ψαλλόντων προσευχόμενος. Ὁ δὲ ἀγιώτατος Γρηγέντιος ἐθαύμαζεν μεγάλως τοῖς διορατικοῖς ἅτε πατράσιν συν-  
εχέστερον συναντῶν καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων, ὡς οἶμαι, τότε οἰκονο-  
μοῦντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἵνα συνεχῶς τοῖς τοιοῦτοις προσδιαλεγόμενος ἐκ ζήλου θεοπυρσεύτου  
γένηται αὐτῶν καὶ θεοφιλέστατος μιμητής. Τοῦ δὲ ὄρθρου ἐπιτελεσθέντος ἔπειτα ὁ  
σεβασμιώτατος ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύθη καὶ προσῆν καθεζόμενος καὶ τὴν τῆς Γενέ-  
250 σεως βίβλον ἀνεγίνωσκεν.

Νεανίας δὲ τις τοῦνομα Ποθητὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Θρακίων μερῶν προσῆν τῇ Καρταγένῃ  
φοιτήσας οὐ πρὸ βραχέως ἅμα καὶ τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ χάριν πινὸς ἀναγκαίας αὐτοῖς  
προφάσεως· ἔπελον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πλησίον ποῦ ἐκέισε ξενιζόμενοι. Ὁ οὖν Ποθητὸς βλέπων  
255 συνεχῶς τὸν μακάριον ταῖς δέλτοις ἐνδελεχοῦντα καὶ ἐκάστοτε ἀναγινώσκοντα καὶ τῆς  
εὐχῆς ἐνθέως ἐπιμελούμενον, πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐπόθησέν τε καὶ ἠγάπησεν, ὥστε ὀπηνίκα ἦν  
ἔνδον ἀχώριστον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀπρόιτον. Ἦν δὲ ὁ νέος ἐτῶν ὡσεὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα. Ἐξ-  
ελιπάρει τε ἐκάστοτε τὸν δίκαιον ψυχωφελῆ τινὰ προσομιλεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα  
εἰς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν λαλεῖν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ τούτων μὴ μελήσας τὸ καθ’ ἐκάστην εἰς-  
επράττετο καὶ ἔτι πλέον προσετίθει τὴν φλόγα καὶ τὴν ἄπειρον φιλίαν ἐπὶ τὸν μακάριον.  
260 Καὶ πορευόμενος ἐκόμιζεν αὐτῷ μέλαν καὶ χάρτην, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλήσεως  
ἐδυσώπει αὐτὸν ἕασαι τὴν τε εὐχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ συντάξαι αὐτῷ λόγους ἀγίους  
διδασκαλίας, ἵνα τούτους κέκτηται ἅμα αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ παρηγορίαν  
τῆς τε ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῆς ἀπλήστου ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ἦν ἐκέκτητο πρὸς αὐτόν.  
265 Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ὁ δικαίωτατος καὶ πεποίηκεν· καθεσθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ συνέτα-  
ξεν αὐτῷ λόγους διαφόρους ψυχωφελεῖς καὶ θεοπνεύστους, πάσης σοφίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης  
τε καὶ συνέσεως ἀναπλέους χρηματίζοντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑξκαίδεκα, ὥστε, ὀπηνίκα αὐτοῦς  
ὁ Ποθητὸς καθεζόμενος ἀνεγίνωσκεν, οὐκ ἐπαύετο τοῖς δάκρυσιν βρέχων αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσω-  
πον. Καὶ διεξιὼν τοὺς περὶ ἀγνείας λόγους μετεμελεῖτο, ὅτι ἔγημεν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα·  
ἐνωπιζόμενος δὲ ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς κρίσεως λόγον ἐζήτηι τόπον φυγῆς καὶ ἔντρομος  
270 ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐχρημάτιζεν. Ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν δίκαιον, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὴ ὄρων ἕτεραν βίβλον  
οὕτως ἄφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καθεζόμενος ἔγραψεν συντάσων τοὺς θείους λόγους, καὶ ἰλιγγίῳν ἐξ-  
ίστατο καὶ ἀποθαυμάζων ἔλεγεν· “Ζῆ κύριος, εἰ ἔστιν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύ-

#### DFSH

241 καὶ < D | 242 καὶ<sup>1</sup> bis F | 243 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν DF καὶ < D ὅθεν < D | 245 ἅτε < SH | 246 προσ-  
διαλεγόμενος S ὠκονομοῦντος DF | 247 ἵνα – 248 μιμητής < SH | 248 ἔπειτα < SH |  
250 ἀναγινώσκων SH | 251 Θρασίων DF Καταργένη F | 252 οὐ] οὖν F πρὸ] πρὸς DF |  
253 ἔπελον] ἦσαν SH δὲ < D ποῦ < SH | 254 ταῖς] τοῖς H | 255 ἐνθέως bis S ἐπιμελούμενος F  
SH αὐτὸν – ἠγάπησεν] ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν SH | 256 αὐτὸν + τοῦτον DF εἶναι αὐτὸν H | 257 τε <  
D τῷ δικαίῳ DF | 258 σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς SH λαλεῖν μετ’ αὐτοῦ < SH τούτων] τοῦτο SH τὸ < D  
εἰσπράττετο SH | 259 ἔτι] ἐπὶ D προετίθει D μακάριον] δίκαιον SH | 260 μετὰ πολλῆς παρακλή-

ones and acquiring for yourself through the temporary goods the eternal ones and through the corrupted the eternal, incorruptible and endless ones.”

When he had said this to him and had prayed, he went again to the place from where he had come to him before, and stood there praying with the singers and chanters. The most holy Gregentios wondered greatly that he met so often with prophetic fathers and spoke to them, a thing which the God of all, I think, had arranged for him, so that he, by talking to such men continuously, might also become their most God-loving imitator through his God-incended zeal. When matins had been performed, the most adorable one went to his lodge thereafter, sat down there and read the book of Genesis.

There was a young man from the regions of Thrace, called Pothetos,<sup>49</sup> who had arrived at Carthage for some urgent affair some time before together with his father-in-law, and they were accommodated somewhere nearby. Now when Pothetos saw how the blessed one continually studied his books, read always and cared for his prayer in a God-inspired way, he desired and loved him greatly, so that as soon as he had entered his house, he was inseparable from him and did not go out. The young man was about eighteen years old. He supplicated the righteous one always to tell him something which helped the soul and to announce him the things that contribute to the salvation of the soul. And he did so every time without hesitation, and increased the flame and the immense friendship with the blessed one even more. And he went and brought him ink and paper and entreated him with great supplication to let his prayer and reading aside and to compose holy sermons of teaching for him, so that he would have them with him forever for the comfort and consolation of his soul, of his friendship and insatiable love which he had for him. And the most righteous one also did this, for he sat down there in silence and wrote various God-inspired sermons for him which helped he soul, being full of all wisdom, knowledge and understanding, sixteen in number,<sup>50</sup> so that when Pothetos sat there and read them, he did not stop moistening his face with tears. And studying the sermons about chastity he repented that he had taken a wife; and thereafter, when he listened also to the sermon about the Judgement, he looked for a place to escape and was full of fear the whole day. When he saw the righteous one, how he sat there and wrote out of himself without seeing another book, composing the divine words, he was irritated and astonished, wondered and said: “As true as God lives, if

σεως < SH | 261 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ DF τὴν < DF ἁγίου F | 262 ἅμα – παντός < SH | 263 τῆς<sup>1</sup>] τῆ F  
 ἦν – αὐτόν < SH | 264 τοῦτο – πεποίηκεν] ὁ καὶ πεποίηκεν ὁ δίκαιος SH ἔν – 265 αὐτῷ < SH |  
 265 ψυχωφελείας DF | 266 τε < SH ἀναμπλέους D αὐτοὺς post 267 καθεζόμενος SH | 267 ἀνε-  
 γίνωσκε καθεζόμενος F βρέχειν SH | 268 δεξιῶν H μετεμελείτο + γὰρ H | 269 ἔπειτα < DF τῆς  
 < D λόγον + ἀνεγίνωσκεν καὶ H φυγεῖν DF ἔντρομος] ἐν τρόμῳ SH | 270 ὅπως αὐτὸς < D |  
 271 ἄφ’] ἐφ’ D ἑαυτῷ DF

<sup>49</sup> See above, p. 32.

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 30.



ταις ἐπι τὶς τοιοῦτος, μὴ σὼν μερίδα μετὰ τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν πεπιστευκότων.” Καὶ περιήει παντὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐκήρυττεν αὐτὸν  
 275 δοῦλον τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεφηνέναι καὶ ἓνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν τῆς ἀπορρήτου αὐτοῦ θεότητος.

Τῆς δὲ προφάσεως αὐτῶν διοικηθείσης καὶ τοῦ πενθεροῦ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια ἀναλῦσαι, ὁ Ποθητὸς ἀποχωρισθῆναι τοῦ δικαίου οὐκ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ’ οὖν παρεκάλει αὐτὸν ἔχειν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γονικὴν αὐτοῦ κληρονομίαν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τῷ πενθερῷ αὐτοῦ· “Μόνον”, φησὶν, “ἔασόν με συνεῖναι τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ ἕως τῆς ἐσχάτης μου ἀναπνοῆς.”  
 280 Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτο ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ γε κατέπειγεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀναλῦσαι. Ἐφασκε γάρ, ὅτι “ἀμφότεροι ἐνταῦθα πεφυκότες πάντα ἡμῖν ἔνδον ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κατελίπομεν”, φησὶν· ἐχρημάτιζον γὰρ περιούσιοι ἄνδρες. Ὁ δὲ γε Ποθητὸς μεγάλως ἐναντιοῦτο τοῦ πάντως ἐναπομεῖναι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἅμα τῷ μακαρίῳ. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος λόγους παραιναιτικοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησάμενος μόλις ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναλῦσαι. Πορευόμενος δὲ μετὰ οἰμωγῶν καὶ πικρῶν στεναγμῶν ἀποδουρόμενος ἔλεγεν·  
 285 “Οἴμμοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ καὶ ταλαιπώρῳ, πῶς καταλίπω τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πορεύσωμαι, πῶς ἀποξενωθείς τοῦ διδασκάλου μου, πῶς ἀναχωρήσας ἐάσω τὸν γλυκύτατόν μου φωστῆρα, τὸν φίλτατόν μου ἀγαπητόν, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐσκοτισμένων μου ὀφθαλμῶν, τὸν πνευματικὸν πατέρα καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον καὶ ἀδελφὸν καὶ κύριον καὶ δεσπότην μου;” Προπέμπων δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος ἐνουθέτει μὴ οὕτως παρὰ τὸ δέον αὐτὸν εἰσπράττειν. “Τί γάρ”, φησὶν, “καὶ ὀδυνᾶσαι; Ἐχεις αὐτόθι τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου ἐγγεγραμμένα· ὁπότεν μου ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ γένη, λαμβάνων τὰ τεύχη ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἅμα ἐμοὶ ὁμίλει καὶ ἔξεις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν σοὶ προσγινομένην παράκλησιν. Τοῖς ῥήμασί μου γὰρ προσομιλῶν ἐμοὶ προσομιλεῖς,” φησὶν. Τούτων οὖν ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν ῥηθέντων, ἀσπασάμενοι  
 295 ἀλλήλους τῷ ἁγίῳ φιλήματι ἕκαστος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύθησαν.

Διασωθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὁ Ποθητὸς μεγάλως διεφίμμιζεν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε τὸν δίκαιον δεικνύων τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τὰ τίμια τεύχη ἐκεῖνα, ἐν οἷσπερ ἦν συντάξας τοὺς σεβασμίους ἐκείνους λόγους τοὺς πλήρης σοφίας καὶ κατανύξεως πνευματικῆς χρηματίζοντας. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τὸ κλίμα ἐκεῖνο ἐπιθυμητῶς πάντας ἐξαιτοῦντας τὰ τεύχη ἐκεῖνα πρὸς τὸ  
 300 ἀναγνῶναι τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐμφερόμενα, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐπιζητεῖται κατὰ τὸν Παροιμιστὴν *χρυσίον καὶ ἄργυρον* ὑπὲρ τὴν σοφίαν· ἐπιζητοῦντες γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινώσκοντες μεγάλως ἐψυχαγωγοῦν τὸν λαόν, πνευματικῶς τοὺς πενομένους κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον μελιρρῦτως δι’ αὐτῶν ἀποστρέφοντες καὶ ποτίζοντες καὶ ἐνδύοντες. Συνεχῶς τε κάκεινος ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς Καρταγένου τὸν μακάριον ἀναχωρήσαι προτρεπόμενος αὐτὸν εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμοίως λόγους παρα-  
 305

298 πλήρης – πνευματικῆς cf. Acta 6.3 | 301 χρυσίον – ἄργυρον Sap. 13.10

#### DFSH

273 μὴ – πεπιστευκότων < SH Ἰησοῦν < D, post ἡμῶν F | 274 ἐκήρυσεν S | 275 πεφυκέναι H ἀγαθότητος SH | 277 ἐπαναλύειν SH | 280 τοῦτον F ἠνέσχετο] ἠνείχετο SH αὐτῷ DF | 281 γάρ – 282 φησὶν SH | 282 κατελίπαμεν F γάρ] δὲ H, < S | 283 παντὸς SH τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἅμα < SH | 284 παραιναιτικοῖς + τὰ DF ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα] ἔπειτα SH οἰκεῖα | 285 πορευόμενοι F |

there is another such man in the whole world in these days, I will not get a share among those that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ.” And he went around everywhere and proclaimed with confidence that <Gregentios> had appeared as a servant of Christ and one of the chosen of his ineffable divinity.

When their affair had been managed and his father-in-law wanted to return home, Pothetos did not want to separate from the righteous one, but asked him, that is his father-in-law, to keep all the heritage from his parents, and said: “Only let me be together with this righteous man until my last breath.” But he did not even want to hear this, but urged him to return quickly to their land. For he said: “While being here, we both have left behind all our things at home in neglect”, for they were wealthy men. Pothetos refused strongly, wanting to stay there at all events together with the blessed one. Though using exhortatory words to him, the most blessed Gregentios hardly convinced him to set off for his own land. And when he went away with wailing and bitter sighs, he said lamenting: “Woe to me sinner and miserable man, how can I leave the chosen one of Christ and go away, how can I, being estranged from my teacher, depart and leave my sweetest luminary, my dearest and beloved one, the light of my darkened eyes, my spiritual father, relative, friend, brother, lord and master?” Escorting him the righteous one exhorted him not to behave in such an improper way. “For why”, he said, “do you suffer pain? Here you have the written words of my mouth; whenever you desire me, take these volumes in your hands, speak with me, and a great consolation will come to you. If you speak with my words, you speak with me,” he said. When these things had been said between them, they embraced each other with the holy kiss, and everyone went his own way.

When Pothetos arrived at home, he praised the righteous one greatly before the people there showing those worthy volumes to everyone, in which he had composed those venerable sermons that were full of wisdom and spiritual contrition. And it could be observed in that region that everybody demanded those volumes with great desire for to read the things contained in them, as if in this way *gold and silver* was asked for more than wisdom according to the book of Proverbs; for asking for these and reading them in the holy churches they encouraged the people spiritually, turning away from sin those that were needful according to their inner man in a honey-flowing way, giving them to drink and dressing them. He also wrote to him continually before the blessed one left Carthage, asking him to pray for him, and he replied to him similarly with

286 καταλίπον F | 287 πῶς<sup>1</sup> – 290 μου < SH | 290 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> < DF | 292 τὴν τεύχην D τὴν τευχὴν F | 293 ὁμιλεῖς DF | 294 οὖν < SH | 295 ἑαυτοῦ ὁδὸν S | 297 ἅπασι SH | 298 λόγους ἐκείνους H πλήρη F | 299 τεύχη] σχέδη DF | 300 συμφερόμενα D εἶπερ – 301 σοφίαν < SH | 302 ἐψυχαγωγούν τὸν λαόν] ἐψυχαγωγούντο DF πνευματικῶς < D τοὺς πενομένους < DF | 303 ἐνδύοντες καὶ ποτίζοντες SH | 304 Καρταγένους D Καταργενοῦς F ἀποχωρῆσαι D | 305 αὐτῷ DF

κλήσεως ἀντέγραφεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτὸν ἔχεσθαι πόθου θεϊκοῦ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως, ἐπιμελείσθαι τε αὐτὸν νουνεχῶς καὶ τῆς ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας εἰς τὸ μὴ κατασχνυθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

310 Ἐτούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐν τῇ Καρταγενῶν πόλει χρηματίζοντος, παρεγένετο πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ σεβάσμιος καὶ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὀδηγῶν αὐτὸν καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Δεῦρο δὴ, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρήσωμεν· χρεία γὰρ ἡμῖν πρόσεστιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ κορυφαίους τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει Ῥώμῃ παραγεγονέναι.” Καὶ συνταξάμενος ὁ δίκαιος τοῖς ἐν οἷς ἐξενίετο χαίρων ἐπορεύετο τῆς Καρταγενῶν πόλεως ἅμα τῷ φωστῆρι αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπίεγετο. Πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπαντῶσι φάραγγι πνὶ βαθυτάτῃ τὰ Παθηρόλυμα προσαγορευομένην. Ἐρημος δὲ ἦν καὶ ἄγριος ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος παντάπασιν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ προσειπίσαντο διαμεῖναι κεκμηκότες ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν γὰρ ἦν. Καὶ δὴ ὡς τοῦτο πεποίηκαν μεταλαβόντες ἄρτου καὶ ὠμῶν βοτανῶν, ἤγουν ζωηρίων καὶ πικρίδων, τέθηκαν ὑποκάτω φυτοῦ ὀστράας (καὶ) τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοὺς μικρὸν μεταλαβεῖν. 320 Τοῦ οὖν θεοφόρου ἐκεῖνου ὡσανεὶ ἠδέως καθευδήσαντος καὶ τῷ ὕπνῳ παραχρήμα καταποθέντος, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος τῇ ἀγρυπνίᾳ συσχεθεὶς καθευδήσαι ὡς ἔπος ἤπερ ὑπνῶσαι οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ἐκεῖνου οὖν καθεύδοντος αὐτὸς ἀναστὰς ἤρξατο ἀπαύστως πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄλων δεσπότην καὶ θεὸν ἐν ἐκτενίᾳ προσεύχεσθαι. Καὶ δὴ τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἐπιστραφεὶς ὄρᾳ στῦλον μέγαν εἰς ὕψος ἀφόρητον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἐγγερμένον καὶ 325 πρὸς αὐτὸν μήκοθεν ὡσανεὶ ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσεγγίζοντα. Σελήνης δὲ καθαρώς ἐπιθεούσης ὄρατο ὁ στῦλος μέγας ἠσβολωμένος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὡς ὁ διάβολος· ἦν δὲ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὄν τρόπον ἰῶτα τὸ ἐν γραφαῖς, δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπεράνω αὐτοῦ, οὕτω τὰ κατακεντήματα καθὼςπερ ἄστρα φέγγοντα κεκτημένον. Ὡς οὖν τοῦτο θεεάσατο ὁ μακάριος, ἔγνω τῷ πνεύματι ὅτι ὁ ἔχθρὸς τῶν δικαίων ἐστίν. Καὶ ἐκτείνας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ μεγάλως τε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἀντίληψιν αὐτοῦ, 330 ἐπιστραφεὶς κατέναντι αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν διεχάραξεν. Ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος δαίμων ἐκεῖνος μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τοῦ σημείου τὴν δύναμιν, πτήξας καὶ τὸν ἄερα διαχυθεὶς ὄν τρόπον κονιορτὸς ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐξέλιπεν. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἴστατο ἐν ἰλαρότητι καὶ τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔπος ἐπετέλει ἀταράχως.

321 καθευδήσαι – ὑπνῶσαι cf. Pr. 3.24

#### D F S H

306 ἔχεσθαι – 307 αὐτὸν < H | 307 τε] δὲ D | 309 ἰ κγ' SH<sup>ac</sup> κδ' H<sup>pc</sup> + ἕκτη ἀποδημία τοῦ ὀσίου σὺν τῷ θεοφόρῳ SH οὖν < SH Καταργενῶν H | 310 ἔπειτα πάλιν SH | 313 μεγάλη DF μεγαλόπολι SH | 314 Καταργενῶν F θεοφωστῆρι F καὶ + τὰ DF | 315 φάραγγα DF τὰ < SH | 316 Θερόλυμα DF προσαγορευομένην DF ἐκεῖνος < SH | 317 καὶ < SH προσειπίσαντο + διαμεῖναι D διαμεῖναι < D μεταλαβῆναι DF πρὸς ἐσπέραν] ἐσπέρα SH | 318 πεποίηκαν] εἰσεπράξατο S<sup>ac</sup> εἰσεπράξαντο S<sup>pc</sup>H ὠμῶν + ἅμα τῷ ἄρτῳ SH ἤγουν – 319 πικρίδων < SH ζωηρίων F | 319 καὶ seclusi ὑποκάτου SH αὐτοὺς < SH αὐτοῖς DF μεταλαβῆναι DF | 320 οὖν] δὲ S, < H παραχρήμα + καθάπερ SH | 321 ὡς – ὑπνῶσαι < SH | 322 καθευδήσαντος SH

words of consolation, exhorting him that he should be kept by divine longing, virtue and wisdom, and should also care with understanding for his spiritual salvation, so that he would not be put to shame on the Day of judgement before the throne of Christ.

Now when these things were so and the righteous one stayed in Carthage, again that venerable and God-bearing man, that led him, came to him and said to him: “Come on, o child, and let us depart from here as well; for we have also to come to the great princes of the apostles in the great city of Rome.” And the righteous one said farewell to those that had entertained him, gladly went out of the town of Carthage and hastened to Rome together with his luminary. As they walked, they came on their way to a very deep gorge called Patherolymna.<sup>51</sup> That place was entirely desolate and wild, and there they decided to rest, being tired from the way, for evening approached. And doing so, they ate bread and raw herbs, that is sowthistles and oxtongues,<sup>52</sup> and settled themselves under a hop hornbeam tree to get some sleep. Now whereas that God-bearing man lay resting sweetly and was immediately overwhelmed by sleep, the blessed Gregentios was kept by sleeplessness and was unable to lie resting or to sleep, as the word says. So while that man rested, he rose and began to pray incessantly and fervently to the Master of all and God. And now at one time, when he turned to the left, he saw a great pillar which rose to an immense height into the air and seemed to come from afar and to approach him. In the clear shine of the moon the pillar appeared black and covered with soot, that is like the devil; and his shape was like that of an iota in writing, having the punctuations as two eyes above him like shining stars.<sup>53</sup> Now when the blessed one saw this, he understood in his spirit that it was the enemy of the righteous. And stretching out his hands into heaven he loudly invoked Christ for his help and support, and turning against him he made the sign of the worthy cross. And that very bad demon did not bear the power of this sign, was overwhelmed by fear and, dispersing himself in the air as dust, he disappeared like smoke. And the righteous one stood in cheerfulness and, as the word says, he performed his prayer undisturbed.

ἀπαύστως – 323 θεὸν < SH πρὸ D | 324 μέγα SH ἀφόρητον < SH ἐγηγερμένου SH | 325 καὶ] τε DF | 326 ἐπιθεούσης SH ὡς < DF | 327 τὸ] τε SH αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> + ὡς DF τὰ < DF κεντήματα SH | 328 φέγγοντας SH κεκτημένον < DF τοῦτο] οὕτω D | 329 ὅτι < DF τῶν δικαίων < SH ἐκτείνας – 330 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SH | 331 διεγχαράξεν F διεχάραττεν S | 332 πτήξας – διαχυθεὶς < SH | 333 κονιορτὸς + καὶ SH καὶ – 334 ἀταράχως] ἐπιτελῶν ἀταράχως τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ SH

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>52</sup> The ζώηχιον or ζώηχον of the text must be the herb usually called ζοχίον, ζόχος or ζώηχος (see *LBG*, s.v., and *Kyranidai*, 5.6). Both herbs mentioned here, *sonchus olearius* and *picris echoides*, are very common in the Mediterranean area and beyond. They were in medical use (see the references given in *LBG*), but otherwise not regarded as edible.

<sup>53</sup> See above, p. 34.

335 Μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἀναστὰς καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ὡσαυτεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου λέγει·  
 “Δεῦρο δὴ, ὦ τέκνον, σελήνης θεούσης πορευσώμεθα.” Καὶ ὡς ἐπορεύοντο ἐν ἁωρίᾳ τῆς  
 νυκτὸς μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ προσωμίλει αὐτῷ ὁ θαυμαστός ἐκεῖνος περὶ τοῦ φανέντος  
 αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι τῇ νυκτὶ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος καὶ ἔφασκεν· “Μηδέπω φοβη-  
 340 καθ’ ἡμῶν δύναται· παραχωρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλάκις πονηρεύεσθαι καθ’ ἡμῶν, ὅποταν ἀμαρ-  
 τάνομεν καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς πονηρίας εἰσπράττομεν, ὥστε διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας δύναται καθ’  
 ἡμῶν ὁ παμμίαιρος. Ἀμαρτίας δὲ μὴ οὔσης ἐν ἡμῖν οὐδ’ ἂν θεάσασθαι ἡμᾶς δύναται ὁ  
 παμμίαιρος· οὐκοῦν φοβοῦ πάντοτε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δαίμονα μὴ φοβηθῆς.  
 Εἰ γὰρ ἦς ἔξω ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ, οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν τῶν  
 345 ὅπερ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ καὶ θεάσαι, ἀλλ’ οὖν οὔτε ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας. Βέλος  
 γὰρ αὐτοῦ πληθυντικὸν φημί τὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ αἱ πεπυρωμένοι ἐπιθυμίαι τῆς σαρκός, ἐν αἷς  
 ἡμᾶς τοξεύειν διὰ μιαρῶν λογισμῶν οὐκ ἀποκάμνει ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀποτυγχάνων ἢ  
 καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνων ἀπὸ πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου· πρᾶγμα ἢ ἀμαρτία διὰ τὸ  
 350 πρᾶττεσθαι ἐν σκοτομήνῃ τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ σκοτίσῃ τὸν νοῦν ἡμῶν ὁ ἐπικατά-  
 ρατος βυθίσας αὐτὸν εἰς ὀμίχλην τῆς ἀλογίας, πραγματεύεσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν τὰ ἄρεστὰ ἐκείνω  
 οὐ δεδύνηται ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ· συμπτώματος μὲν ψυχικοῦ  
 νοητοῦ παντοῦ ἐν τῷ διὰ πάντων τῶν αἰσθήσεων πτοηθῆναι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ πεσεῖν μὴ  
 ἐνέγκοντας τοῦ μεσημβρινοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν ἔκβασιν ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἡμέρας. Τότε  
 μᾶλλον κέκτηται καὶ ἐκλύει τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιτηδέστερα πρὸς γαργαλι-  
 355 σμὸν συνουσίας ἀπεργάζεται. Ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας τὸν τῆς πυρώσεως δαίμονα τὸν  
 τοὺς νεφροὺς ἡμῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην πυροῦντα εἰς αἰσχρὰς ἐπιθυμίας μεσημβρινὸν ὁ προ-  
 φήτης ὠνόμασεν. Ἐὰν οὖν ἀμαρτία ἐν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔσται τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος  
 ἀλλοιούσης αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ἰκετεύειν ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ, πεσεῖται ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους σου χιλιάς, τοῦτ’  
 360 ἔστιν ἐξ εὐωνύμων σου προσκρούσει σοι χιλιάς δαιμόνων. Μύριοί τε παραπλησίως  
 ἀριστερῶν διὰ φαύλης ἐννοίας καὶ πονηρῶν ἐνθυμήσεών τε καὶ ματαίων διαλογισμῶν καὶ  
 συμβουλιῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντες, οἱ δὲ γε ἐκ δεξιῶν δεξιοῖς πσῖν λογισμοῖς νομιζόμενοι τοὺς  
 ἀπίερους βάλλοντες. Ἰσασιν γὰρ διὰ τῶν ἐκατέρων πολεμεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἱ τοιοῦτοι  
 καὶ τηλικούτοι· ἐν δυνάμει ἀπορήσαντες πρὸς σέ οὐκ ἐγγιούσιν, πλὴν τοῖς νοεροῖς ὀφθαλ-  
 365 μοῖς σου κατανοήσεις τὴν τούτων εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην ταλαιπωρίαν, ἣν πρὸς σέ πολεμοῦντες  
 καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντες ἐκλύονται τοῦ μεγάλου βραχίωνος ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκτεινομένου καὶ

344 οὐ – 345 ἡμέρας Ps. 90.5 | 348 ἀπὸ – διαπορευομένου Ps. 90.6 | 351 ἀπὸ – μεσημβρινοῦ  
 ibid. | 358 πεσεῖται – χιλιάς Ps. 90.7 | 359 μύριοι – 360 προσπελάσουσιν cf. ibid. | 364 πρὸς –  
 365 κατανοήσεις Ps. 90.7–8

#### D F S H

335 καὶ < DF τοῦ < DF ὕπνου + καὶ H | 336 δὴ < DF ἐν – 337 νυκτὸς < SH | 337 ὡμίλει SH |  
 338 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ SH ἐν – νυκτὶ < SH μηδέποτε SH | 339 τέκνον μου SH πονηρὸν < SH ἐὰν]  
 ἂν SH ὁ < DF αὐτῷ – οἰονοῦν] οὐ DF | 340 καθ’<sup>1</sup> – δύναται] δύναται καθ’ ἡμῶν DF | 341 τῆς<sup>1</sup>

After a short while that God-bearing man also rose as if from sleep and said: “Come on, o child, let us go as the moon shines.” And while they walked in the middle of the night, that wonderful man spoke to him with a smiling face about the impure spirit that had appeared to him during his nocturnal prayer, and said: “do not fear, my child, a wicked demon. For if God does not allow him, he cannot do anything against us; but he often allows him to do wicked things against us, when we sin and do the works of wickedness, so that the utterly abominable one can act against us through sin. If there is no sin in us, the utterly abominable one cannot even see us; so fear sin always and do not fear the wicked demon. For if you are without fault, *you will not be frightened from nocturnal fear*, for this is what you have seen in this night, but also not even *from an arrow flying by day*. For I call the arrow of the enemy in plural the fiery lusts of flesh, in which he does not cease to shoot at us with impure reasonings all day, either without or with success *from a thing going by in the dark*; the thing is sin because it is done in the moonless night of sin. For if the accursed one does not darken our mind by throwing it into the mist of folly, he is unable to achieve in us the things he is pleased with *from the mishap of the demon of midday*, that is all kind of mental mishap of the soul, for all senses fear sin and do not bear the demon of midday to pass over into the whole day. Then he rather possesses the bodies of men, sets them free and makes them more accessible for the temptation of intercourse. For this reason the prophet called the incendiary demon, who daily incites our kidneys to shameful desires, that of midday. So if there will be no sin in us, because the goodness of God will change these since we entreat him, *a thousand will fall at your side*, that is a thousand demons will attack you from the left side. And similarly tens of thousands of demons will approach you from the right side, that is, they will pour out, which means that the ones from the left will plot against you through bad thoughts, vain reasonings and counsels, and those from the right are believed to beat these infinite numbers by some right reasonings. For these so-and-so many ones know to fight man from both sides; being unable despite their power, *they will not come close to you, but you will see with your mental eyes* their idle and vain distress, by which they fail when fighting against you miserably, when the great arm is stretched out from heaven and helps you. Therefore, as it has been said

< S πονηρίας] ἀτιμίας SH | 342 ἐν ἡμῖν < DF δύναται ἡμᾶς D | 343 παμμίαρος] ἀλητήριος SH | 344 οὗτος – 345 τεθέασαι < DF ἔσται H | 345 οὖν < DF βέλος + ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου (Ps. 90, 2) F<sup>ματβ</sup> | 346 σαρκός] ἀμαρτίας SH | 347 ἀποκάμει DF ἡ<sup>2</sup> + τε SH | 348 ἀπὸ – διαπορευομένου < SH | 349 ἀμαρτίας] διανοίας SH ἐπισκοπίῃ F κατάρατος SH | 351 δεδύνηται SH | 352 ποιηθῆναι DF τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ F SH μὴ – 353 ἔκβασιν] ὄν τρόπον γὰρ ταῖς θεριναῖς ἡμέραις μεσημβρίας ὁ ἥλιος τὴν ἔκκασιν SH | 354 μάλλον < SH ἐπιτηδυστέρα F γαργαλισμόν] γὰρ γαληνισμόν SH | 355 γὰρ < DF δαίμοναν DF | 356 μεσημβρινὰς H | 358 χιλιάς + καὶ μυριάς H | 359 σου < D | 360 προπελάσουσιν F προσρυσήσονται DF οἱ] ὁ DF | 361 φαύλων ἐννοιῶν SH τε < SH | 362 ἐπιβουλεύοντας DF νομιζόμενοις D τοὺς] δι’ H | 363 βάλλοντας DF ἐγκατέρων S | 364 ἀπορήσαντές τε SH | 366 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DF

βοηθοῦντος σοι. Τοιγαροῦν ὡς προεῖρηται, ὦ τέκνον, μηδέπω φοβηθεῖς δαίμονα φοβου  
 δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ ἔκκλινον ἀπ' αὐτῆς. Ὁ γὰρ διάβολος ἐκφοβεῖν μόνον ἐπιχει-  
 370 ρεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἄν τε μὴ δέξηται ἄνωθεν ἀπόφασιν κατεργάσασθαι τινὶ πονηρὸν οὐ  
 δεδύνηται, ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὔτε χοίρων ἐξουσιάζει ὁ κατάρατος ταῦτα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδά-  
 σκοντος· 'εἰ ἐκβάλλεις γὰρ ἡμᾶς,' ἔφασκεν ὁ λεγεὼν τῷ σωτῆρι, 'ἐπίτρεψον ἡμῖν κἄν εἰς  
 τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων ἀπελθεῖν.'”

Ἐν τούτοις οὖν τοῦ φωστήρος ἐκείνου τῷ ἀγαπητῷ αὐτοῦ ἀρνίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν ἐνθέοις ῥήμασιν ἀμιλλομένου πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην παρεγένοντο καὶ  
 375 τὸν παραρρέοντα αὐτῇ ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἔνδον αὐτῆς εἰσεχώρησαν. Κατανοῶν δὲ τὰς  
 οἰκοδομὰς αὐτῆς ὁ μακάριος ἀπεθαύμαζεν, καθότι ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσιν τηλικαύτην κατὰ-  
 στασιν οὐκ ἦν θεασάμενος. Ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ὀνόματι Βενεδίκτος ὑπεδέξατο αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν  
 οἶκον αὐτοῦ χαίρων, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὕτως τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκέκτητο δεξιούμενος καὶ τιμῶν καὶ τὰ συντείνοντα μετὰ πίστεως καὶ προθυμίας ἠδέως  
 380 ἐπιχορηγῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πνευματικῇ χρεῖα αὐτῶν, οἷον τόπον ἥσυχον, κηρούς, ἔλαιον, βίβλους  
 καὶ τὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιτηδείως παραπλήσια.

**5** Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου οὖν Γρηγεντίου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπιδημήσαντος καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου  
 Βενεδίκτου οἴκῳ προμηθεῖα κυρίου ξενισθέντος πλησίον τοῦ μεγάλου ἐμβόλου, ὁ σὺν  
 αὐτῷ πορευόμενος καὶ μετέπειτα παρεάσας αὐτὸν ἀνακεχώρηκεν προφασισάμενος ὡς  
 ἐπὶ τινὶ ἀποκρίσει πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα ἤκειν. Ὁ οὖν μακαριώτατος μονωθεὶς τῇ ἐπαύ-  
 5 ριον ἐξελλθὼν ἀπῆει εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον προσεύξασθαι. Οὐ γὰρ κείνται ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ οἱ  
 θεοφόροι ἀπόστολοι, ἀλλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐπανεπαύσατο ἀπὸ ἕξ μιλίων  
 τῆς Ῥώμης ἴδιον ναὸν κεκτημένος, ἔνδον δὲ τῆς πόλεως Ῥώμης ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστό-  
 λων Πέτρος.

Ὡς οὖν ἀπῆει τοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ἐν τῷ  
 10 παριέναι αὐτὸν τὴν πλατεῖαν τῆς πόλεως Ἰὲν τινὶ ρύμῃ τῆς πόλεως μοναχὸς τις ἰστάμενος  
 καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν παραγεγονότα τοῦνομα Ἀβράμιος μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ ἀποκρι-  
 θεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐλλήλυθεν καὶ ὁ κύρις Γρηγέντιος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ καλῶς ἐλήλυθεν.  
 Τῇ προτεραίᾳ γὰρ ἡμᾶς παραπλεύσας καὶ τὴν Μεδιολάνα ἀποβάς τῆς νηὸς ἐν Περιθούα  
 καταδιώξας, ἔπειτα πάλιν καταδραμῶν τὴν Καρτάγεναν, εἶθ' οὕτως πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγέ-  
 15 γονας. Δεῦρο τοιγαροῦν, ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον βαδίσωμεν.” Ὡς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ  
 μακάριος παρ' ἐκείνου ἀκήκοεν, ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς δάκρυα καταγαγὼν κατανύξως ἀναβλέ-

370 οὔτε – 372 ἀπελθεῖν cf. Mt. 8.30–32; Mc. 5.11–13; Lc. 8.32–33

#### D F S H

367 σοι + καὶ δόξαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀναπέμψαι τῷ παντοκράτορι SH προεῖρηκα SH ὦ < SH |  
 368 ἐκφοβεῖ codd. | 369 δεῖξεται F | 370 ἐπεὶ] ὅπου SH | 371 γὰρ < DF | 373 οὖν < SH |  
 374 ἀμιλλομένου + τὰ DF | 375 κατανοῶν] κατὰ νοῦν D | 376 ἐθαύμαζεν SH κατασκευὴν SH |  
 377 χαίρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ SH | 379 ἐκέκτητο SH καὶ προθυμίας ἠδέως < SH |  
 380 ἐπιχορηγῶν + αὐτοῖς SH αὐτῶν < DF οἷον – ἔλαιον] οἶνον ἔλαιον κηρούς τόπον ἥσυχον H

before, o child, do not fear a demon, but rather fear sin and turn away from it. For the devil only tries to frighten man. And if he does not receive permission from above to do it, he cannot do anything wicked, for the cursed one does not even have authority over the pigs, as the Gospel teaches; ‘for if you expel us,’ said the legion to the Saviour, ‘allow us to go at least into the herd of pigs.’”

Now while that luminary discussed with his beloved lamb on the way with these and many other God-inspired words, they arrived at Rome, crossed the river that flows past and went inside. When the blessed one saw her buildings he wondered greatly, for in other towns he had not seen such perfection. A man called Benediktos received them in his house gladly, and as to the apostles of Christ himself, so he behaved to them, entertaining and honouring them, and with faith and readiness supplying them sweetly with the necessary things for their spiritual need, such as a quiet place, candles, oil, books and similar convenient things.

When the most holy Gregentios stayed in Rome<sup>54</sup> and was entertained in the house of the Christ-loving Benediktos by the forethought of the Lord close to the great portico, the one, who went with him and left him thereafter, separated from him, pretending to go on some legal cause and to return later. Now the most blessed one, being left alone, went out the following day to pray at Saint Peter’s. For the God-bearing apostles do not lie in one house, for the blessed Paul found his rest somewhere else, having an own church six miles from Rome, and the prince of the apostles Peter inside the city of Rome.

Now as he went out to offer his prayer to the Lord and to the apostle, when he went along the main street of the city, a monk called Abramios stood in a lane of the city and saw him coming, and with a smiling face he spoke up and said to him: “The lord Gregentios has also come to Rome, and he is welcome. For you have recently sailed past us and gone to Milan, disembarking from the ship at Perithoua,<sup>55</sup> and thereafter again you reached Carthage and then came to us. So come on, let us go together to Saint Peter.” Now when the blessed one heard this from him, he let tears of contrition flow down because of his joy, looked up to heaven and said to the Lord: “I thank you, Lord my

1 ἁγίου SH τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < D φιλοχρίστου < H | 2 ὁ < DF | 3 καὶ – προφασισάμενος < SH | 4 μακαριώτατος + καὶ ἔπειτα SH | 5 προσελθὼν DF Πέτρον < H οἴκῳ] τόπῳ SH | 6 γὰρ < DF ἀναπέπαιται SH | 9 ἀπήειν F τοῦ < SH αὐτοῦ < F κυρίῳ] θεῷ SH | 10 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ SH τὴν – πόλεως<sup>1</sup> < DF Ἦ κδ’ S κε’ H + περὶ τοῦ ὀσίου Ἀβραμίου SH ἔν – πόλεως<sup>2</sup> post τις SH τινὶ ῥύμῃ] τῇ Ῥώμῃ H | 11 παράγοντα SH μειδιῶ F ἀποκριθεὶς < SH | 14 Καταργέναν F οὕτως + τὰ DF πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγέγονας] τὰ ἐνθάδε κατέλαβεν SH | 15 τοιγαροῦν + καὶ S τὸν] τοῦ S | 16 παρ’] περ’ F

<sup>54</sup> See above, pp. 33–36.

<sup>55</sup> See above, p. 22.



φας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν φησὶν πρὸς τὸν κύριον· “Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, τῷ ἀγαπητῷ μου, τῷ δεσπότη μου, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου τοὺς ἀγαπητούς σου φωστῆρας ἐμοὶ τῷ ἀναξίῳ ἀνακαλύπτειν οὐκ ἠμέλησας.” Καὶ σὺν τῷ ῥήματι πλησιάσας  
 20 τῷ ἀγίῳ ἔβαλεν αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ ὁμοθυμαδὸν πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Πέτρον παρεγένοντο. Ἦν δὲ καταπεπονημένος ὁ ἅγιος ἐκεῖνος γέρων λίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλείρου ἐγκρατείας καὶ σκληραγωγίας, ὄντινα κατανοῶν ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος στεναγμὸν ἀπὸ βάθους ἀνοιμώττων καρδίας ἐκπληττόμενος τὸ εὐτονον τῆς ἀσκήσεως αὐτοῦ μεγάλως τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἐδόξαζεν.

25 Ἐνδον οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ χωρησάντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐφ’ ἰκανὴν ὥραν δεηθέντων τοῦ κυρίου ἀπήεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον τάφον τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Καὶ ὡς ἐθεάσατο τοῦτον ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος, ἀφθεῖς ἔρωπι θείῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἑαυτὸν ἀκοντίσας πρὸ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σοροῦ, φημί τοῦ κλειδοῦχου τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, κείμενος ἔφασκεν·

30 “Πέτρε ἀπόστολε τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ φωστῆρ ὁ ἀκοίμητος τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀνπλαβοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλεεινότητος καὶ ταλαιπωρίας καὶ πρέσβευσον τὸν δεσπότην καὶ κύριον ἵλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις μου· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ψάμμον θαλάσσης τὰ ἐμὰ πλημμελήματα. Σῶσον δὴ τὸν ξένον ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ξένοις, ἀγαπητέ τοῦ σωτήρος, καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ἰκεσίαις κυβερνήσον μου τὴν ταλαίπωρον ζωὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀκύμαντον λιμένα τῆς ἀνωτάτω μακαριότητος. Ἐλέησον, μάκαρ, καὶ διατήρησον, συμπάθησον ἅμα καὶ διαφύλαξον. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ  
 35 δεῦτερος ποιμὴν τοῦ σωτήρος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λογικῶν καὶ θείων προβάτων. Ναὶ μὴν ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ὡς τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν, ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν τῇ ἐμῇ ἀνικανότητι συμπαθήσας στήριζόν με ἐπὶ τὴν ἄσειστον πέτραν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου τῆς ἀληθείας ἐδράσας, καὶ διαπέτασόν μοι τὰς ἄνω πύλας εὐχαΐς καὶ ἰκεσίαις σου, μακαριώτατε, ἵνα κἀγὼ διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν σου  
 40 σωθεὶς αἶνον καὶ δόξαν ἀναπέμπω τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.”

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ προσεύξασθαι αὐτὸν κατασπασάμενος τὴν ἀγίαν θήκην καὶ ἡδέως ἐπαπολάυσας, ὄμματα τε καὶ χεῖλη καὶ πρόσωπον σχεδὸν ἅπαν τῇ ἐνθέῳ προσπαύσει καθ-  
 45 πορευθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου γέροντος ἐκεῖνου ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν προσόντων σκαμνίων ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπανεπαύσαντο περὶ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ γέροντος λίαν ὑπαγορεύοντος καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγορίου ἐπιποθῆτως σαφῶς εἰσακούοντος. Ἦν δὲ καταπεπονημένος ὁ ἅγιος γέρων ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφάτου ἐγκρατείας καὶ σκληραγωγίας, ὄντινα κατανοῶν ὁ

### DFSH

17 εἰς] πρὸς F φησὶν post κύριον SH (ἔφησεν H) | 20 ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ < SH ὁμοθυμαδὸν + τὰ F | 21 πρὸς] εἰς SH ἦν – 24 ἐδόξαζεν < SH | 26 ἀπήεσαν DF καὶ < D ἅγιον < SH ὁ μακάριος < SH | 27 ἀφθεῖς] ἐξαίφνης DF ἐδάφους + τε SH αὐτὸν D πρὸς DF H | 29 τοῦ < SH | 30 κύριον] θεὸν SH | 31 ἁμαρτίαις μου] ἐμαῖς ἁμαρτίαις SH ψάμμον γὰρ SH | 32 δὴ < SH ἐμὲ < SH | 33 ταλαίπωρον < SH | 34 μάκαρ < SH ἅμα < SH | 35 τοῦ σωτήρος ὁ] καὶ SH καὶ < SH | 36 ναὶ – ἀληθείας < SH | 37 ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν] ψυχῶν ἡμῶν SH οὖν – ἀνικανότητι] καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνικανότητα SH | 38 τῶν ἐντολῶν σου < SH | 39 μακαριώτατε < SH | 40 καὶ τῷ υἱῷ < DF | 42 ἐπ-

God, my beloved one, my Master, that you have not neglected to show your beloved luminaries in every place of your realm to me unworthy one.” And with this word he approached the holy man and bowed before him, and having embraced each other with the holy kiss they arrived in good harmony at Saint Peter.<sup>56</sup> That holy old man was subdued greatly by his immense asceticism and austerity; when the blessed Gregentios saw him he uttered a sigh deeply from his heart, being astonished by the vigour of his asceticism, and greatly praised the holy God.

Now when they had proceeded into the church and had prayed to the Lord for a considerable time, they also went to the holy grave of the apostle. And when the blessed Gregentios saw it, he was incended by divine desire and threw himself to the floor before his holy shrine, I mean of the key-keeper of the kingdom of heaven, and said lying there:

“Peter, apostle of the Lord, unsleeping luminary of the world, help my pitifulness and distress, and intervene for me with the Master and Lord to be gracious and favourable to my sins, for my trespasses are more numerous than the sand of the sea. Save me stranger among strangers, you beloved one of the Saviour, and by your supplications direct my miserable life to the calm harbour of the upper bliss. Have mercy, you blessed one, and keep me, have compassion with me and guard me. For you are the second shepherd of the Saviour, the bishop of the rational and divine sheep. Yea, since you have truly been entrusted with the holy church by the great God and Saviour of our souls himself, have compassion with my insufficiency and make me stand fast, settling me on the unshakable rock of your commandments of truth, and open the upper gates for me by your prayers and supplications, you most blessed one, so that I as well, being saved by your intercessions, send praise and glory up to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost now and always and forever and ever, Amen.”

And after his prayer he kissed the holy shrine and enjoyed it sweetly, sanctifying eyes and lips and almost his whole face by the God-inspired touching, and taking from the divine oil into his hands he anointed all his limbs, went away with that holy old man, sat down for himself on one of the benches that stood in the church, and they rested there. The old man spoke much about the salvation of the soul, and the blessed Gregentios listened desiring it clearly. That holy old man was subdued greatly by his inexpressible asceticism and austerity; when the blessed Gregentios saw him he uttered

απολαύσας] αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσας SH | 43 ὄμματα] ὄμμα D τε < DF σχεδὸν ἅπαν < DF ἀγίασας  
DF | 45 πορευθέντες SH ἐκείνου < D ἰδικῶς < SH ἐν<sup>1</sup> < DF σκάμνων SH ἐν<sup>2</sup> < SH |  
46 ἀνεπαύσατο DF λῖαν < SH ἐπαγορεύοντος F καὶ – 47 εἰσακούοντος < H | 47 σαφῶς < S ἦν  
– 50 ἐδόξαζεν < DF

<sup>56</sup> For the churches of Rome, see above, pp. 34–36.

μακάριος Γρηγόριος στεναγμὸν ἀπὸ βάθους ἀνοιμώτων ἐκκληττόμενος τὸ εὐτονον τῆς  
50 ἀσκήσεως αὐτοῦ μεγάλως τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἐδόξαζεν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς θείας λει-  
τουργίας ἐπιτελεσθείσης τὰς ὁσίας εὐχὰς τοῦ ὁσίου γέροντος ὁ μακάριος κοιμισάμενος  
ἐνδον ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπεχώρησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Βενεδικτός πίστιν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν κεκτημένος εἰς τοὺς πνευματικούς ἀνδρας  
πάρεξ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ τὸν δίκαιον οὐκ εἶα τοῦ γεύσασθαι. Ἐκέκτητο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
55 οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐκτήριον οἶκον τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου πάνυ τερπνότατον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ  
προσῆν ὁ μακάριος ἡσυχάζων καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐντυγχάνων καὶ φιλησύχως ἀεὶ  
προσευχόμενος. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Βενεδίκτου παῖδες καὶ οἱ δούλοι καὶ αἱ παιδίσκαι ὀρώντες τὸν  
δίκαιον οὕτως ἐν πλήθει κατορθωμάτων κομῶντα καὶ ἐκάστην ὥραν μὴτὲν ἕτερον ἐπι-  
δεικνύμενον, εἰ μὴ ἀναγινώσκοντά τε καὶ προσευχόμενον, λίαν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως  
60 μεγάλου πάντες ἠγάπησαν, ὥστε ἱκανοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῦτον μιμουμένους εὐχὰς εἰσπράτ-  
τειν καὶ γονυκλισίας τε καὶ ἐλεημοσύνας. Ἐτίμων δὲ αὐτὸν σφόδρα καὶ ἐπεπόθουν γνησί-  
ως καὶ ἐξελιπάρουν πλουσίως εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πάντων.

Τῆς οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡσυχάζοντι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ εὐκτηρίῳ τοῦ τιμίου Προ-  
δρόμου καὶ τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ μελέτῃ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν ἐνθεῶς ἐνδεδεχοῦντι, ἀνέρχεται  
65 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ὀστιάριος τοῦ οἴκου καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· “Κυρίε μου, τίς ἀνθρωπος φωνεῖ σε  
πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος;” Ὁ δὲ στοχασάμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καθότι “Τὸν οἰονοῦν αὐτός”, φησὶν,  
“ἔγωγε ἐνθάδε λοιπὸν ὡς οὐ κέκτημαι, τίς ἄρα γε ὁ περὶ ἐμοῦ ἔρευναν εἰσπράττων καὶ  
ψηλαφῶν με;”, καὶ ἐπιστραφείς λέγει τῷ ὀσπιρίῳ· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, ὁποῖος τῇ ὁράσει  
πρόσεσπιν ὁ τὴν περὶ ἐμοῦ ἔρευναν ὡς εἴρηκας εἰσπραττόμενος;” Ὁ δὲ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν·  
70 “ὦ κύριε μου, τίς μὲν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι· ἐλήλυθεν δὲ καὶ εἰρηκέν μοι εἰρήνη σοι,  
τέκνον’, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀνέβλεψα καὶ εἶδον τὸ ἐξαίσιον εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, φόβος καὶ  
τρόμος ἦλθεν ἐπ’ ἐμέ, καὶ φρίζας μέγα εἴρηκα πρὸς αὐτόν· ‘Καλῶς ὁ κύριος παραγέγο-  
νας.’ Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη μοι· ‘Ἐνταῦθα αὐλίζεταί Γρηγόριος ὁ ξένος καὶ διάκονος;’  
Ἐγὼ δὲ εἴρηκα· ‘Ὡς ἐκέλευσας, ὁ κύριος.’ Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη μοι· ‘Προσαγόρευσον τῷ  
75 παιδί μου καὶ εἶπε αὐτῷ· Ἐένος τίς φωνεῖ σε πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦνομα Πέτρος· Δεῦρο δὴ,  
φησὶν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ θεάσομαί σε. Ὅποταν γὰρ παραγέγονας ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου προσευξό-  
μενος, οὐ παρήμην ἐκεῖσε· ἀρτίως δὲ φοιτήσας καὶ συνιείς τὴν ἱκεσίον σου δέησιν καὶ τὴν  
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου παρουσίαν σου ἐλήλυθα τὸ δέος ἀποδώσαι σοι.’ Ταῦτα οὖν εἴρηκεν πρὸς  
με, κέλευσον δὲ τί ἀπολογήσωμαι αὐτῷ.”

80 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος συνιδὼν ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ γνοὺς τῷ πνεύματι τίς ὁ παραγενό-  
μενος ἐτέρφθη τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τεθαύμακεν μεγάλως καὶ ὀξυποδήσας κατέβη σπουδαίως,

71 φόβος – 72 ἐμέ Ps. 54.6

#### DFSH

51 ὁ μακάριος τοῦ ὁσίου γέροντος SH | 54 εἶα τοῦ] εἶατο DF τοῦ < SH γεύεσθαι SH < SH |  
55 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D | 56 ἀεὶ < SH | 57 εὐχόμενος H Βενεδίκτου + οἶτε SH | 58 οὕτω SH ἐκάστη ὥρα  
μὴδὲν DF | 59 μὴ < SH τε < SH εὐχόμενον H | 60 μεγάλων SH ἠγάπου DF ὥστε] καὶ DF  
μιμούμενοι F | 61 γονυκλισίας H τε < SH ἐτίμων DF καὶ ἐπεπόθουν γνησίως < SH | 62 πλου-

a sigh deeply from his heart being astonished by the vigour of his asceticism, and greatly praised the holy God. Thereafter, when the divine liturgy had been accomplished, the blessed one offered the holy prayers of the holy old man and went home to his lodge.

Benediktos had great faith in the spiritual fathers and did not let the righteous one eat except at his table. He had also in his house a very delightful chapel of John the Baptist, and the blessed one rested there, reading the sacred books and always praying in a quiet-loving way. When the children, the servants and maidens of Benediktos saw how the righteous one thus flourished in the multitude of his virtues and did not display any other activity at every hour than to read and to pray, they all loved him exceedingly from young to old, so that a considerable number of them imitated him by performing prayers, bowing the knee and giving alms. They honoured him greatly and desired him sincerely, and supplicated him to pray abundantly for them all.

Now one day when he rested in the aforementioned chapel of the worthy Precursor and persisted in a God-inspired way in the study of the holy Scriptures, the door-keeper of the house went up to him and said: “My lord, a man calls you before the gate.”<sup>57</sup> And he considered by himself that “since I do not have anybody here whatsoever, who is it that searches after me and looks for me?”, turned to the door-keeper and said: “For the sake of the Lord, who can be seen there seeking me, as you have said?” And he said to him: “O my lord, I do not know who he is. He came and said to me ‘peace be with you, my child’, and when I looked up and saw the extraordinary beauty of his face, *fear and trembling came upon me*, and shuddering greatly I said to him: ‘Welcome, my lord.’ And he answered and said to me: ‘Does the stranger and deacon Gregentios dwell here?’ I said: ‘As you order, my lord.’ And he answered and said to me: ‘Address my child and tell him: A stranger calls you before the gate called Peter, saying: Come on, my child, and I will visit you. For when you came into my house for prayer, I was not there; now I have arrived and learned about your entreating prayer and your presence in my house, and have come to give you what you deserve.’ This is what he said to me, so give me order what I shall answer to him.”

When the blessed Gregentios had considered by himself and understood in his spirit who the man was that had come, he was delighted in his soul and wondered greatly, and

σίως < SH πάντων < SH | 63 Ἦ κε' S κς' H + περι τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου SH τμίου < SH | 64 τῶν – ἐνθεῶς < SH | 66 τὸν] τὸ D τὸν οἰονοῦν] τινὰ SH οἰονεῖ F | 67 ἐγὼ SH λοιπὸν < SH γε + καὶ SH ἐμοῦ + ἔννοιαν καὶ F | 68 ἐπιστραφεῖς] ἀποκριθεὶς SH | 69 τὴν] τὰ SH εἰσπραττόμενος ὡς εἶρηκας F φησὶν] ἔφη SH | 72 φρίξας μέγα < SH καλῶς + καὶ SH | 73 ὁ – διάκονος] ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἕξενος SH | 74 ὡς < SH ἐκέλευσας] ὁ κελεύσας F ὁ κύριος] κύριε H τῷ παιδί μου] αὐτὸν SH | 75 αὐτῷ < SH δὴ < DF | 76 σε] σοι D παραγέγονας post μου SH | 77 σου – τῆς < SH | 78 σου < SH δέον SH ἀποδώσω S ἀποδώσω H εἶρηκέν μοι SH | 79 δὲ] οὖν SH

<sup>57</sup> On the following vision of Saint Peter, see above, p. 12.

ἀναβλέψας δὲ μήκοθεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ἐν δόξῃ πολλῇ ἐστῶ-  
 τα, ἄνδρα εὖοπτον, ἐμβριθὴ τῷ μειδιάματι, φοβερώτατον τῇ αἰδῷ, εὐμήκη δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ,  
 σεμνότατον πάνυ, πολὺν τὴν τρίχα, πορφυροῦν χιτῶνα ἠμφιεσμένον καὶ τὴν κορυφὴν  
 85 ἀκατακάλυπτον ἔχοντα. Ὡς οὖν ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος, εἰσδραμῶν ἔρριπεν ἑαυτὸν  
 εἰς τοὺς τιμίους πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκειτο μὴ ἀνιστάμενος, μόνον δὲ ἔφασκεν· “Εὐλόγησον  
 δὴ, ὦ δέσποτα τῶν πατέρων καὶ πατριαρχῶν, τὸ εὐτελές σου παιδάριον Γρηγένπον.” Ὁ  
 δὲ ἡρέμα πῶς ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ὑποκληθεὶς ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· “Κέλευσον,  
 τέκνον, κέλευσον· τριάς ἢ ἀγία ἐλεήσει καὶ βοηθήσει καὶ εὐλογήσει σου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ  
 90 σῶμα καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἥδει καὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.” Καὶ ἐσφρά-  
 γισεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ μακαρίου μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ ὡς ὑποχαριεντιζό-  
 μενος καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν·

“Τῇ προτεραῖᾳ παραγέγονας, ὦ τέκνον, κατοπτριζόμενος τὸν τοῦ σκήνους μου τύμ-  
 βον, ὡς μεμάθηκα. Οὐ γὰρ παρήμην ἐκεῖ, μετὰ γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἤμεθεν πάντες  
 95 οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πορευθέντες ἐν Νεγρᾷ τῇ πόλει καὶ προϊστάμεθα ἐκείσε τῶν  
 διὰ κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἠθλικότων. Ἐβραῖος γὰρ τίς βασιλεὺς παρανομώτατος τρόπῳ ὑπεισελ-  
 θὼν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, τὸν ταύτης ἔξαρχον καὶ πάντα τὰ πλήθη τὰ ἐκείσε, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἰου-  
 δάισαν, ἐν στόματι ῥομφαίας ἀπέκτεινεν, μάρτυρας κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ὁ ἀλιτήριος τούτους,  
 ὡς κἂν οὐκ ᾔετο, ἀπεργασάμενος. Τοῖνυν, ὦ τέκνον, ἐκείθεν ἄρτι παραγέγονα, ὡς ὄρᾳς·  
 100 συνῆν δέ μοι καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν ὠρμησεν τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐκείσε  
 ναῶ αὐτοῦ τινὰ ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ ἔνεκεν ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐχωρίσθη  
 μου. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν, σὺ μὲν, ὦ τέκνον, καλῶς εἰσπράττεις τὴν σεαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν  
 μετὰ φόβου κυρίου ἀπεργαζόμενος καὶ συνετῶς, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ θεοπρεπῶς. Σπούδασον,  
 σπούδασον· οὐχὶ νεῦμα ὀφθαλμοῦ ὁ βίος, οὐχὶ σκιά καὶ ἐνύπνιον, οὐχὶ τέφρα καὶ κόνις,  
 105 οὐχὶ ῥέει ὀξύτερον ποταμιαίων ρευμάτων; Ὡς μακάριος εἶ, ὦ τέκνον, ἐάνπερ ὡς πορεύῃ  
 καὶ τελειώσης μηδενὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δεθείς. Παρακαλῶ σοι, ἐκάστοτε ἄνω ἔχε σου τὸν  
 νοῦν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν· τήρησόν σου τὸν νοῦν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πολλῇ, ἵνα μὴ κοινωνήσῃ δι’  
 αἰσchrῶν λογισμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀνυφοράτων τοῖς πονηροῖς δαιμονίοις. Πάντοτε ταπεινοῦ σεαυ-  
 τὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ταπεινόφρονας ὁ κύριος. Μηδέπω κρίνε τὸν  
 110 πλησίον, ὦ τέκνον, μηδέπω μέμψῃ αὐτοῦ, μηδέπω αἰτιάσῃ, μηδέπω ὀργισθῆς. Νῆστειε,

104 νεῦμα ὀφθαλμοῦ cf. Is. 3.16

#### D F S H

82 θεασάμενος SH | 83 εὖοπτον] εὐόματων SH | μειδιάματι] διαδήματι SH | δὲ < SH |  
 84 σεμνότατον πάνυ < SH | τρίχα + προσῆν δὲ SH | πορφυροῦν + τὸν D | καὶ – 85 ἔχοντα < H |  
 85 ἀκατάληπτον κεκτημένος SH | οὖν] δὲ SH | δραμῶν SH | 87 δὴ < D | 89 ἢ < SH | ἐλεήσει – καί<sup>2</sup>  
 < DF | σου < SH | 90 ἥδει < SH | καρδίαν + τῆς νεότητός SH | 91 ὡς ὑποχαριεντιζόμενος < SH |  
 93 καταπτυσσόμενος SH | 94 ἐκεῖ < SH | ἤσμεν ἅπαντες SH | 95 τῶν διὰ] διὰ τῶν H | 96 παράνο-  
 μος H | 98 τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ S | θεῷ < H | 99 κἂν < DF | οὔετο F | 100 ἀπόστολος] μακάριος SH  
 ὀρμήσας DF | τοῦ] τοῦς SH | 101 τινὰ < H | ἐχωρίσθη SH | 102 σὺ < H | μὲν < SH |  
 103 κατεργαζόμενος SH | θεοπρεπῶς + νουθεσία Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον

went down eagerly and with haste and looked up from afar with his eyes and saw him stand in great glory, a good-looking man with a grave smile and most frightful awe, of tall stature, very solemn, greyhaired, clad in a purple garment and with uncovered head.<sup>58</sup> Now when the blessed one saw him, he ran to him and threw himself before his worthy feet, lay there and did not stand up, but only said: “O lord of the fathers and patriarchs, bless your humble child Gregentios.” <Saint Peter> stretched his hands out somehow calmly, bowed a little and raised him saying: “As you order, my child, as you order: The holy Trinity will have mercy, will help and bless your soul, body and mind; it knows also your heart from now on and forever.” And with his right hand he made the sign of the cross over the head of the blessed one with a smiling face as if being pleased and said to him:

“You came yesterday, o child, to behold the tomb of my temporary body, as I have learned. However, I was not present there, for together with the mother of the Lord all we apostles travelled to the town of Negra, and there we supported those that have suffered for the Lord Jesus. For a most unlawful Hebrew king took that town by treachery and killed her ruler and all the crowds of people there, because they did not become Jews, by the blade of the sword, so that this wicked man made them martyrs for God, although he did not intend to do so. So, my child, I have arrived from there just now, as you see; the apostle Paul was also with me, but he went to Tarsos to visit someone in his church there, and for this reason he separated from me after Jerusalem. And for all this you do well, my child, achieving your salvation with the fear of the Lord wisely and in a way worthy of God. Hasten, hasten; is not life a wink of an eye, is not it a shadow and a dream, ashes and dust, does not it flow quicker than the streams of a river? How blessed are you, o child, if you go and so achieve this, being bound by nothing in life. Please, always have your mind and heart above; keep your mind in great safety, so that it will not have unsuspected community with the wicked demons by shameful reasonings. Always humiliate yourself before God, for the Lord loves the humble ones much. do not judge your neighbour, o child, do not reproach him, do not

Γρηγέντιον F<sup>margin</sup> | 105 οὐχὶ – βρυμάτων < SH | 106 ἐν < F τῷ < DF δεθείς] θείς D τιθείς F σοι  
σε SH τὸν νοῦν καὶ < DF | 107 τήρησόν – πολλῇ < SH κοινωνοῖ SH δι’ τῶν D διὰ SH | 108 ἀν-  
υφοράτως SH ταπεινὸς F H | 109 ὁ κύριος < SH μηδέποτε H κρίνης SH | 110 ὦ < S μηδέπω<sup>1</sup>  
μηδέποτε H αὐτοῦ < SH

<sup>58</sup> This description of Saint Peter does not follow the usual canon transmitted by chronicles or painter’s books (on which see Jeffreys & Jeffreys, “Portraits”); cp. for example Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 193.92–96; Chatzedakes, “Ἐκ τῶν Ἐλπίου”, 411–12 (l. 53–58). The mention of a purple garment, which symbolises imperial power, is unusual and probably refers to Peter’s position as lord of Rome. For a description of Saint Paul, see below K 90–92.

εὔχου, ταπεινοφρόνει, *καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα φρουρήσει σου τὴν καρδίαν ἄσπιλον ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.*”

- Ἦς δὲ ὠμίλει αὐτῷ ἰδιαζόντως, λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἄγωμεν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ θεασόμεθα τὸν τίμιον οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ περ ἡσυχάζεις.” Καὶ κινήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο· ἔλεγεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι· “Τίς ἐστιν, τέκνον, εἴπερ ἀγαπᾷς με, εἰ ἄρα γε γινώσκεις, ὅστις σε ἠπάτησεν καὶ πεπλάνηκεν χωρισθῆναι σε τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κλίμασιν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως πεφοίτηκέν σοι παρασκευασθῆναι, ὃς πεφανέρωκέν σοι ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἅπασιν συνοδοιπόρος σου γενόμενος· Ἀνάγγελον δὴ μοι, τίς ἐστιν εἰ αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος τρόμῳ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου δέσποτα, μεγάλαί εἰσιν αἱ εὐεργεσίαι τοῦ ἀγνωτάτου μου φωστήρος. Ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τῆς νεότητος τοῦ οἰκέτου σου ἀνπλήπτωρ μου ἐγεγόνει, ἔλεός μου καὶ καταφυγή μου, ὑπερασπιστῆς μου, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἤλπισα. Τίς δὲ πρόσεστιν οὐ πεφανέρωκέν μοι, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε τετόλμηκα ἐξερευνησα αὐτόν ‘σὺ τίς εἶ;’ ἐπιστάμενος αὐτὸν ξένον εἶναι ἐν ἀχράντοις θεολογίαις καὶ δόγμασιν.” Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· “Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ἐπάνω σου τὸ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον, ὁπότεν σε ἡ τεκοῦσα σε ἐν τῇ κούρῃ ἀνέκλινεν, καθώσπερ πολλάκις οἱ τῆς μητρός σου ἀκηκόετες τόγε ἀποκαλυφθείσης καὶ προσομιλούσης αὐτοῖς σοι διηγήσαντο.” Ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος τόγε ἀκούσας ἐθαύμαζεν καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν·
- “Δέσποτα, τίσπερ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἦδεν, πλὴν μέγας ἐστὶν καὶ φοβερός οὗτος. Ἐπάνω γὰρ τῶν ὑδάτων πολλάκις ἔμπροσθέν μου περιεπάτησεν, ὁπότεν ἔσχομεν συναντήσῃαι ἐν τῷ διοδεύειν ἡμᾶς ποταμῷ ἢ τε λίμνεσιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ πῦρ ἐδημιούργει καὶ τῷ ἀνέμῳ πνέοντι πολλάκις ἐπετίμησεν ἀναβλέψας καὶ ἡσύχασεν. Ἀργυρίον τε καὶ χρυσίον καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν λίθων δεχόμενος καὶ τῇ χειρὶ σφραγίζων αὐτὰ τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ πεπυρωμένον καὶ καθαρὸν ἐναπετέλει παραχρῆμα καὶ ἀνήλισκεν αὐταῖς ἐν οἷς ἐδέησαν εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῶν. Τὸ ὕδωρ τε ἐπιθυμήσαντός μου πλειστάκις εὐλογῶν εἰς οἶνον μετασκεύαζεν, καὶ πύλας λόγῳ πόλεως πλειστάκις ἐν ἄωρίᾳ διανοίγων κεκλεισμένας οὔσας ἐξηρχόμεθα καὶ πάλιν ἔμενον κεκλεισμένα. Θηρία τε βλέποντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ αὐτὸν ἐκυλίνοντο πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ὁμαλίζων αὐτά. Ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ δὲ πλεόντων ἡμῶν καὶ ζάλης μεγίστης ἐγειρομένης ἐνὶ ἐμβριμῆματι κατεσίγαζέν τε καὶ κατεπράυνεν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰ κύματα. Τῇ δὲ θαλάσῃ ἔλεγεν· ‘Δὸς ἡμῖν ἕνα ἰχθὺν ἵνα φάγωμεν’, καὶ ἐδίδου. Ταῖς νεφέλαις διώριζεν φεύξασθαι καὶ ‘λαμπάτω ὁ ἥλιος’, καὶ ἐγένετο. Καὶ

111 καὶ – 112 καρδίαν cf. Phil. 4.7 | 120 ἀνπλήπτωρ – 121 μου<sup>4</sup> cf. Ps. 58.17 | 128 μέγας – φοβερός cf. Ps. 88.8

#### DFSH

111 ταπεινά φρόνει SH ἡ<sup>2</sup> – ὑπερέχουσα < SH τὴν καρδίαν σου SH | 113 δὲ + καὶ DF αὐτῷ – πρὸς < SH ἰδιαζόντος F αὐτόν + εἶπεν αὐτῷ H ὦ < H θεάσομαι SH | 114 ᾧ περ] ᾧ SH | 115 τέκνον < DF εἴπερ] εἰ SH εἰ – γινώσκεις < SH ὅστις – 116 χωρισθῆναι] ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ποιήσας τὴν σὴν εὐλάβειαν SH (δ<sup>1</sup> < S) ἠπάτησεν] ἠγάπησεν D | 117 πεφοίτηκέν – ὃς] πεφοιτηκέναι ἄρα SH συνοδοιπόρῳ SH | 119 αἰ] καὶ F | 120 ἀγίου SH | 121 γέγονεν SH ἔλεός – ἤλπισα < SH | 122 ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ] ἢ πάλιν SH | 123 αὐτόν<sup>1</sup> + οὐδέπω SH εἶναι] τινὰ SH, < DF | 124 καὶ < SH |

accuse him, do not become angry. Fast, pray, be humble, *and the peace of God that passes every mind will keep your heart* faultless from evil.”

And as he spoke to him privately, he said to him: “Let us go, o child, and let us see the worthy house where you rest.” And they moved on and went away, and he said to him on the way: “My child, if you love me, who is the man, if you know it, who betrayed and deceived you, so that you separated from your family, and let you settle yourself in the most remote regions, those of this city, who made himself appear to you and has become your fellow-traveller in all things? Tell me who he is, if you know it.” The blessed one answered with trembling and said to him: “My lord and master, great are the benefits of my most holy luminary. For from the bloom of the youth of your servant he has become my protector, my mercy and refuge, my supporter, and I have hoped in him. He has not revealed to me who he is, nor also did I dare myself to ask him ‘who are you?’, for I knew that he was of strange nature in his immaculate theology and teachings.” And that <saint> answered and said to him: “This man is the one that has placed the holy Gospel on you when your mother laid you into your cradle, as the friends of your mother have often told you, having heard what had been revealed to her and what she had told them.” When Gregentios heard this he wondered, and opening his mouth he said to him:

“Master, I do not know who he is, but only that he is great and frightening. For he walked often before me on the waters, when we happened to come to a river or lake on our way. But he also made fire with his word and often censured the blowing wind by looking up, and it stopped. When he took gold and silver and small stones<sup>59</sup> and marked them with his hands, he immediately produced a pure and clear picture of the worthy cross on them, and spent them for our needs where it was necessary. When I desired it, he often changed water into wine by blessing it, and very often he opened city gates in the middle of the night that were closed, and we went out and they still remained closed. Animals that saw him in the desert rolled before his feet, and he placated them with his hands. When we sailed on the sea and a very great storm arose, with one indignant look he put the waves of the sea to silence and calmed them. He said to the sea: ‘Give us a fish that we may eat’, and it gave us one. He gave the clouds order to leave and said

125 σε<sup>2</sup> + γενήσασα SH κλίνη ἀνέθηκεν SH | 126 τόγε – αὐτοῖς < SH σοι < H ἐδιηγῆσαντο S | 127 τόγε] τοῦτο SH ἐθαύμασεν SH λέγει] εἶπε H | 128 τίσπερ] τίς μὲν SH ἦδριν] οἶδα SH μέγας τίς καὶ φοβερὸς ἐστίν SH γὰρ < D | 130 τε < SH ἀλλὰ < SH | 131 τε < H καὶ<sup>3</sup> < SH | 133 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 134 ἡμῶν < SH ἀνήλισεν D | 134 ἐπιθυμήσαντός – οἶνον < DF | 135 πόλεως] τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν H πλειστάκις < SH ἐν ἀωρίᾳ] ἀοράτως H | 136 πάλιν ἔμενον] ἔπειτα ἐναπέμενον SH κεκλεισμέναι + αἱ πύλαι SH αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ SH ἐκυλινδοῦντο SH | 137 τῶν < DF ταῖς – αὐτὰ < SH δὲ] τε SH | 138 ἐν] ἐν DF κατεσίγησεν SH τε < SH κατεπράνας H | 139 τῆς θαλάσσης] αὐτῆς post κύματα SH τῇ – ἔλεγεν] καὶ ἔλεγεν τῇ θαλάσσει SH | 140 καὶ<sup>1</sup> + εὐθέως D

<sup>59</sup> It is not clear whether the expression τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν λίθων means small or rather precious stones. As far as we know, stone coins or tokens were not in use in the Byzantine age.



καύσωνος ἔπειτα χρηματίζοντας τοῖς νέφεσιν προσέταττεν παραγεγονέναι ἐξ ἀνατολῶν τάχει ἥπερ ἐκ δυσμῶν καὶ κατακαλύψαι σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ στερεώματι τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ὑπήκουον. Περὶ δὲ μυστηρίων οὐρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ ὑπερουρανίων ὅσα μοι ἀνήγγειλεν, ὦ κύριέ μου, εἴπερ ἐρῶ σοι αὐτά, δοκῶ ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μου, ἐκ θεμελίων αὐτῶν σεισθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ.” Ἔφη τε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος· “Ἦδειν κάγω τὰ τοιαῦτα, καθότι οὕτως  
145 ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἀγνοεῖς αὐτόν, τούτου χάριν ἐπέιχθην τοῦ ἐπερωτήσαι σε, καὶ μέντοι γε, τέκνον, οὔτε συμφέρεи σοι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τοῦ συνιέναι τίσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἵνα μὴ φόβῳ πτήξῃ σου ἡ διάνοια.”

Καὶ ὡς ὠμίλουν ταῦτα, ἔφθασαν ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ, καὶ Γρηγέντιος μὲν εἰσήκει ἔξωθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσήει ἔνδοθεν. Καὶ κλινάντων αὐτῶν τὸ γόνυ καὶ δεηθέντων τῷ κυρίῳ, ἅπαν τὸ θυσιαστήριον πῦρ ἐγεγόνει. Τοῦ δὲ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ συνεχόμενου, ἀναβλέψας ἰδεῖν, ἔπειτα ὡς ἦν κεκλικῶς τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἀνακλιθεὶς, εἰς φέγγος ἀστραπῆς ἐκεῖνος ἀλλοιωθεὶς, ἦτον μετατραπεῖς ὥχето οὐκέτι θεαθεὶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ. Ἔπι δὲ μειζόνως τῷ φόβῳ συσχεθεὶς καταπλήττετο τὴν ἀπόρρητον δύναμιν τῶν  
155 ἀγίων, καὶ καθότι, ὅπως φησὶν, ὅπερ ἂν τι καὶ βούλοιντο, εὐθυβόλως καὶ εἰσπράττουσιν. Δοξάσας οὖν τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνεφίκτοις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς ταῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομέναις παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιτελουμέναις, λαβὼν μετὰ χεῖρας τὴν δέλτον ἐκαθέσθη τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι. Καὶ ἦν διαλογιζόμενος περὶ τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ, καὶ δακρύων καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος ἐταλάνιζεν ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἀνάξιος ὢν καὶ τηλικούτοις μυστηρίοις ἐνδελεχῶν.

Παῖς δὲ τις ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐκείνῳ τοῦνομα Βασίλειος· οὗτος ἤλγει τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. ἸΜιᾶ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος ἐστῶτος τοῦ προειρημένου Βενεδίκτου καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκεῖνου τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, προσῆν τίς ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἕτερος πένης ἄρτον αἰτῶν, μικρὸς μὲν ὅσον τὴν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἄτε δεῦτερος Ζαχαρίας, τοῦνομα Ζαχαρίας. Ἐκαθέζετο δὲ πλησίον ἐκεῖσε, ὅπου γε ὁ  
165 δίκαιος ἴστατο. Λέγει οὖν ὁ μακάριος τῷ πένητι ἐκείνῳ· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον ποίησον ἀγάπην, ἀδελφέ, καὶ θεράπευσον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς τοῦδε τοῦ νεανία· σοῦ γὰρ τοῦτο δυναμένου ποιῆσαι ἐφάμαρτον ἐστίν, ἵν’ οὕτως ἀλγεί τὰς κόρας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ.” Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Συγχώρησόν μοι, δοῦλε τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γρηγέντι, μείζον γὰρ κατ’ ἐμὲ τὸ ἐγγεῖρημα.” Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἔφη· “Μὴ κρύπτε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὦ κύριέ μου, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ οἰκέτου σου ἤδη παρακαλούμενος. Καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἐν οὐδενὶ  
170 βλαβήσῃ τοῦτο εὐεργετήσας, προσέτι γὰρ εἰ καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄγνωστος καὶ οὗτος ὁ παῖς οἰκέτης ἐστὶν καὶ κἂν διηγῆσεται οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀκροώμενος.” Μόνον δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν

## DFSH

142 ταχὺ ἦτε SH κατακάμψαι SH αὐτῷ < SH ὑπήκουον F | 144 εἴπερ] εἰ SH σοι < SH σεισθήσονται D | 145 τε < SH καθότι < SH | 146 τὸν τρόπον < SH ἐπειδὴ + ὅτι SH σε] σοι DF | 147 γε < SH συμφέρον DF τίσπερ ἐστὶν] τίς SH | 151 θυσιαστηρίῳ F γέγονεν SH | 152 ἔπειτα < SH | 153 ἦτον μετατραπεῖς < SH ὥκετο μηκέτι SH | 154 τῷ φόβῳ μειζόνως SH | 155 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH εὐβόλως S εὐκόλως H | 156 οὖν] τε SH οὖν τὸν] αὐτόν F τε καὶ SH αὐτοῦ < D | 157 γενομέναις < SH καὶ < SH ἐκάθισε H<sup>ac</sup> | 158 διαλογιζόμενος + τὰ DF καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DF | 159 ἐταλάνιζεν – ἐνδελεχῶν < SH ἐνδελεχῶν F | 160 δὲ ἦν τίς SH ἐκεῖσε SH | 161 Ὡς S κς’ H + περὶ τοῦ

‘the sun shall shine’, and it happened. And thereafter, when there was heat, he told the clouds to come from the east quickly or from the west and to cover the sun together with the firmament, and they obeyed.<sup>60</sup> What he told me about the mysteries of heavens, earth and above heavens, o my lord, if I would tell you this, I believe in my contrition, heaven and earth would be shaken from their foundations.” And that man said to him: “I know as well that these things are so. But since you do not know him, therefore I hastened to ask you; and yet, my child, it is of no benefit for you for the time being to understand who this man is, that your mind may not be overwhelmed by fear.”

And while they spoke these things, they arrived at the chapel, and Gregentios stood outside the sanctuary, whereas he went inside. And when they bowed their knee and prayed to the Lord, the whole sanctuary became a-flame. The blessed Gregentios was seized by fear and joy, looked up for to see, and then, as he bowed his knee and rested, that man was altered into the shine of a brilliant light, that is transformed, went away and was not seen anymore by him. And he was seized even more by fear and was amazed by the ineffable power of the saints and, as he said, that they achieve accurately whatever they want. So he glorified the creator of heaven and earth for the unattainable graces that had happened to him and also had been performed by him, and taking the book in his hand he sat down to read. And he considered the man that had appeared to him, and weeping and being astonished he called himself miserable as being unworthy and yet involved into such mysteries.

There was a boy in that house called Basileios who suffered from his eyes. Now one day the blessed Gregentios stood before the gate of the aforementioned Benediktos, and also that boy who suffered from his eyes. There was also another poor man there asking for bread, of small stature like a second Zacchaeus, called Zacharias. He sat close to the place where the righteous one stood. Now the blessed one said to that poor man: “For the sake of the Lord, do love, brother, and heal the eyes of this young man; for since you can do this, it is a sin that he suffers from his eyes.” That man answered and said to him: “Excuse me, servant of Christ Gregentios, this undertaking is to great for me.” The righteous one said: “do not hide God’s gift, o my lord, and especially since you have already been asked by me, your servant. For you wo not suffer any damage by doing this good thing, and in addition you are unknown to nearly everybody, and this boy is a servant, and even if he would tell it, nobody would listen to him.” Since only these three were present there, that man obeyed immediately, spat on the fingers of his

πένητος Ζαχαρίου SH τῶν ἡμερῶν < DF | 163 ὀφθαλμούς + αὐτοῦ SH ἄρτου F ἄρτον αἰτῶν] ἐνδεής ἄρτον SH ὄσον] ἦν H τῆ ηλικία DF | 164 δὲ – 165 ἴστατο < DF | 166 τοῦδε < H σοῦ – 167 αὐτοῦ < SH τοῦτου F | 168 δὲ < SH | 169 κρύπτει D κρύπτειν F | 170 μάλλον < SH ἤδη < SH σὺ] σοῦ SH οὐθενί SH | 171 προσέτι] πρὸ σὲ τίς (= προσαίτης?) SH ἄγνωστον DF | 172 ἔσται] ἔστιν H ὁ < S

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 13.

τριῶν ἐκεῖσε πελότων ὑπακούσας εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος, πτύσας τε τοὺς ἄμφω δακτύλους τῆς δε-  
 175 ζιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπικαλεσάμενος ἐπέχρισεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 τοῦ νεανία, καὶ παραχρήμα ὑγιή τοῦτον ἀπεκατέστησεν. Δοξασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν  
 τὸν ἅγιον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι παραδόξῳ θαύματι παρασχὼν αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος ἐλεημοσύνην,  
 δυσωπήσας τε αὐτὸν διὰ τὸν κύριον εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν.

Θεωροῦντες δὲ τὸν παῖδα ὑγιή ἄφνω γενόμενον οἶτε σύντροφοὶ καὶ ἕτεροὶ πινές,  
 ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἐπηρώτων τε αὐτὸν φάσκοντες: “Πῶς”, φησίν,  
 180 “ἐθεραπεύθησάν σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί;” Ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐδιδάχθη παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου  
 ἀνταπεκρίνατο: “Ἅγιον ἔλαιον”, φησίν, “ἐκ τῆς κανδήλας τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου ἄρας  
 ἐπέχρισά μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀχράντων πρεσβειῶν αὐτῆς καὶ δι' εὐχῶν ὑμῶν  
 ἀρτίως βλέπω.” Καὶ τέως ἐν ἐστὶν θαυμάσαι, ὁπόσους κρυπτοὺς δούλους κέκτηται ὁ θεὸς  
 185 ὁ ἅγιος καὶ παρ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναξίων ἐπιγινώσκονται, εἰ μὴ που γε παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων  
 αὐτῶν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μακάριος ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου  
 προσεύξασθαι. Καὶ ὡς ἀπῆει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συναντᾷ πνὶ γυναικὶ τῶν κανονικῶν μετὰ  
 καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν λαϊκῶν καὶ σεμνῶν κοσμικῶν γυναικῶν. Ἡ δὲ κανονικὴ ξένα πινὰ καὶ  
 ἀπόρρητα ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς διδάσκουσα ἐν τῷ διοδεύειν. Ὡς οὖν εἴρηται, ὅτι συνήτησεν  
 190 αὐτῇ ὁ μακάριος, μήκοθεν ἐκείνη αὐτὸν ἐπιγνοῦσα τῷ πνεύματι τίσπερ εἶη, τοῖς συμπο-  
 ρευομένοις αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ προσωμίλει ἐξαίσια πινὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἐκδιδάσκουσα  
 αὐτοὺς τὴν θεάρεστον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν προκαταγγέλουσα. Ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἀλλήλων  
 ἐγένοντο, τὰ ταπεινὰ φρονήσας Γρηγέντιος ἔβαλεν αὐτῇ μετάνοιαν. Ἡ δὲ ὄντως ὁσία καὶ  
 195 ἐκλεκτὴ τῷ κυρίῳ βοῇ τρανοτέρᾳ χρησαμένη λέγει: “Γρηγέντιος τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν ὁ φανώ-  
 τατος προφήτης ἐναυθῆα πρὸς ἡμᾶς παρεγένετο. Ἄλλ' ὡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀετοῦ τοῦ ἐν  
 τοῖς μεταφρένοις αὐτοῦ ἐν σοὶ ἐπισκιάζοντος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ τοῖς ἀχράντοις αὐτοῦ πτέρυξιν,  
 οἷς ἠλπικῶς οὐπὲρ πνος ἢ ἀπόρρητος σαφῶς ἀλήθεια ὡς ἀκαταμάχητον ὄπλον κυκλοῦσα  
 σε καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σοὶ ῥαγδαίως ἅμα διασκεδάζουσα ἀλίσκει ἅμα καὶ ἐκδαφίζει.  
 Τοιγαροῦν εὐφραίνου, γήθει μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ χάριν τοῦ  
 200 προσεύξασθαι πορευόμενος. Ὡς μακαρία ἡ ὁδός σου, Γρηγέντιε· μνήσθητι δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν  
 διὰ τὸν κύριον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν δεήσεσιν καὶ ἐντεύξεσιν.”

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς ὁσίας ἐκείνης ἀκούσας βαλὼν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μετάνοιαν  
 τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων ἐν κυρίῳ ἐπορεύετο ἐπαπορῶν ἤδη καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς δι-

195 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – 197 ἠλπικῶς cf. Ps. 90.4

#### D F S H

173 πελότων] ὄντων SH ὑπακούσας + δὲ H ἐκεῖνοις F<sup>pc</sup> | 175 τὸν θεὸν < F | 176 γεγονότι < H  
 αὐτόν F | 177 αὐτόν < SH ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν < F | 178 αἴφνης γεγονότα SH | 179 ἐπ' αὐτῷ < SH  
 αὐτῷ] αὐτόν D ἐπηρώτων F ἐπερώτων SH τε] δὲ SH φάσκοντες] τὸ SH φησίν < SH | 180 ἐθε-  
 ραπεύθησάν – ὀφθαλμοί] ἐθεραπεύθη SH ἐδιδάχθη F SH μακαρίου] ἁγίου SH |  
 181 ἀπεκρίνατο D ἁγίας S | 182 καί<sup>2</sup> – ὑμῶν < SH | 183 ἄρτι SH ἐν < DF | 186 ἰ κς' S κη' H +  
 περὶ τῆς κανονικῆς SH δὲ] ποτὲ SH Παύλου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου S ἀποστόλου Παύλου H

right hand and, invoking the holy name of the Lord, he anointed the eyes of the youth and restored him to health on the spot. They praised the holy God for the incredible wonder that had happened, and the blessed one gave him alms, besought him for the sake of the Lord to pray for him always, and dismissed him.

When his companions and some other people saw that the young man had suddenly become healthy, they wondered what had happened to him. And they asked him saying: “How were your eyes healed?” He answered, as he had been taught by the blessed Gregentios, and said: “I took holy oil from the lamp of the most holy Mother of God, anointed my eyes, and now I can see through her immaculate intercessions and your prayers.” And so one thing has to be admired, how many hidden servants the holy God has, and they are not recognised by any of the unworthy, but only by those that are similar to them.

The blessed one stood up and went to the church of the holy apostle Paul for prayer. And when he went away, he met one of the consecrated women on the way, together with other laymen and honourable worldly women. The canoness taught them strange and ineffable things while they were going. Now as it has been said, the blessed one met her, and she recognised him in her spirit from afar, who he was, and said extraordinary and ineffable things to her company about him, teaching and announcing to them beforehand his God-pleasing conduct. And when they came close to each other, Gregentios, being humble-minded, bowed before her. And this truly holy woman that was chosen by the Lord said with a clear voice: “Gregentios the brightly shining prophet of the Homerites has come to us. But oh, the great eagle that overshadows you with his back, under whose immaculate wings the ineffable truth clearly surrounds you like an invincible weapon and furiously disperses your enemies altogether, attacks and destroys them.<sup>61</sup> Therefore rejoice, enjoy yourself, you that go to the holy apostle Paul for prayer. How blessed is your way, Gregentios; remember us also for the sake of the Lord in your prayers and intercessions.”

When the blessed one heard this from that holy woman, he bowed before her and went on his way rejoicing in the Lord, being bewildered and astonished already about

τοῦ ἀποστόλου < D | 188 ἐτέρων < DF ἀνδρῶν + τε SH | 189 ὀδεύειν D ὡς – 192 προκαταγγέλουσα < SH | 190 αὐτὸν < D | 193 τὰ ταπεινὰ φρονήσας] ταπεινοφρονήσας SH | 194 τρανοτάτη SH ἔλεγεν H ὁ ante τῶν SH | 195 πρὸς ἡμᾶς < SH ἀλλ’ – 198 ἐκδαφίζει < SH | 197 κυκλοῦσα σε] κυκλοῦσασθαι F | 199 ἀγίω] ναῶ H τῶ<sup>2</sup> + ἀγίω H | 200 ὡς – Γρηγέντιε < SH μνήσθητι δέ] μνησθεῖς SH | 202 ἀκούσας ἐκείνης F ἀκούσας post μακάριος SH ἔπειτα αὐτῆ βαλῶν SH | 203 ἐν κυρίῳ < SH ἦδη < SH

<sup>61</sup> This sentence is garbled in all manuscripts. It seems that in the author’s draft the phrases ὕψ’ οὐ – πτέρυξιν, οἷς ἠλπιτικῶς and οὐτέρ τινος were given as alternatives, but came into the final text together although they exclude each other. The translation follows the first possible alternative, the other ones being “whose ineffable truth clearly surrounds you ...” and “hoping in which the ineffable truth clearly surrounds you ...”.

205 ορατικοῖς ῥήμασιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅπως οὐ διαστέλλει πρόσω-  
πον ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ εἴτε ἀνδράσιν, εἴτε καὶ γυναιξιν ἐφ'  
ἴσοις διανέμει τὰς δωρεὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς πλουσίας καὶ ἐν ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν παρέχει ἀπροσω-  
πολήπτως τὰ χαρίσματα αὐτοῦ.

Ἐγένετο δέ, ὅταν ἐπλησίασεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου, χάρις τίς  
θεία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιπολάσασα ἠϋφραναν τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ μεγάλως,  
210 καὶ ἠδυνόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς γλυκάσμασιν τοῦ ἀπορρήτου θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν ἐλέει καὶ  
οἰκτιρμοῖς, οὕτως λοιπὸν χαριεντιζόμενος ἀπῆι ἔνδον προσευξόμενος. Ὡς δὲ τὸν τάφον  
τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου περιεπτύξατο, ἦσθετο πινὸς ἀπορρήτου ἠδύτητος, ὥστε δοκεῖν  
αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι, καθότι ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανοῖς αὐτὸς ἀρτίως ἐλέφ κυρίου παντοκράτορος  
215 αὐλίζεται. Ἐπὶ πολλοστήν δὲ ὥραν ἐκ τῆς ἀνεκλαλήτου ἀγαλλιάσεως ὡσανεὶ ἄλλος ἐξ  
ἐτέρου γενόμενος οὐκ ἠθελεν καταλιπεῖν τὴν πνευματικὴν τροφήν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀναχω-  
ρησαὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου καὶ ζῶντος μνήματος. Ἰστατο δὲ ὡσανεὶ μεθῶν τῇ χάριτι,  
μέχρις ἂν καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ὥρα τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς παρήλθεν. Καὶ τὸ τηρικαῦτα καὶ αὐτός,  
οἶμαι, ἀπολυθεὶς παρὰ τῆς κατεχούσης αὐτὸν ἐφέσεως ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Ἐπὶ τῇ δὲ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ καθεύδοντι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ βλέπει οἶκον τινὰ φωτοειδέστατον  
220 καὶ πάνυ τῷ ἐκτάματι εὐμηκέστατον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ καὶ μόνον ἐκεῖσε χρηματίζοντα. Ὡς οὖν  
ἴστατο ὄρᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ εἰσήεσαν πινὲς λευκὰ ἡμφιεσμένοι, νέοι καὶ ὠραῖοι τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα  
χρηματίζοντες. Κατεῖχον δὲ ἀνὰ λαμπάδος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν φωτιζούσης καὶ διέβαινον  
λιτανεύοντες· κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῶν προσῆν καὶ Παῦλος ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἐρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς  
λιτανεύων. Ὡς οὖν παρεγένοντο πλησίον αὐτοῦ, ἴσαντο εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ἀναμένοντες καὶ  
225 ἠρώτουν ἑαυτοὺς φάσκοντες· “Δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν”, φησὶν, “ἐνταῦθα παρεγενόμεθα;” Καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἔλεγον· “Ὅτι ἐπισκέψασθαι ὀφείλει ἴσως τὸν οἶνον ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος ἀπόστο-  
λος.” Ἐτεροι δὲ ἔφασκον· “Διὰ Γρηγέντιον”, φησὶν, “τὸν διάκονον τοῖς ἐνθάδε παραγίνε-  
ται ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος.” Καὶ δοὺς εἰρήνην ἔστη πλησίον τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου.

Τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἑκάτεροι δύο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατεῖχον ὁ μὲν εἰς  
230 κανδήλαν μεγίστην ἁγίου ἐλαίου ἀνάπλεον πέλουσαν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος αὐτῶν ὠμόφορα τινὰ  
ἀναριθμητὰ ἐπισκόπων. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε οὗτοι μόνου τοῦ ἀποστό-  
λου μὴ χωριζόμενοι. Λαβῶν δὲ τὴν κανδήλαν, ὡς ἦν πεπλησμένη τοῦ ἐλαίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
κατέχοντος αὐτὴν ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτὴν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Γρηγεντίῳ καὶ  
φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Λάβε τοῦτο τὸ ἔλαιον, ἵνα ἔχῃς παρὰ σεαυτῷ εἰς τὸ χρεῖν καὶ τελει-  
235 εῖν ἱερεῖς ἅμα καὶ ἐπισκόπους.” Ὁ δὲ τοῦτο προθύμως ἐδέξατο. Εἶτα οὖν δεξάμενος καὶ

#### D F S H

204 κυρίου + ἡμῶν S | 205 ἀλλ’ οὖν SH αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν F καὶ<sup>2</sup> < D H | 206 διανέμειν F καὶ – 207  
αὐτοῦ < SH | 208 ὁπότεν SH ἐπλησίασεν + εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου D<sup>margin</sup> ἁγίου < SH  
Παύλου < SH | 209 θείας DF παναγίου SH εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιπολάσασα] αὐτῷ ἐπιφοιτήσασα SH, +  
καὶ DF μεγάλως – 214 αὐλίζεται < SH | 210 γλυκάσμασιν + δι’ εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν,  
κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ἀμήν D ἐν<sup>2</sup> < D | 214 ὡσανεὶ – 215 ἐτέρου < SH |  
215 γενόμενος] ἀγαλλιώμενος F γενόμενος οὐκ ἠθελεν] εὐφραίνόμενος οὐ καθεῖλεν SH τροφήν  
D | 216 ἁγίου SH ἴστατο – χάριτι < SH | 217 ἂν] οὐ SH αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ SH | 218 οἶμαι < SH

the prophetic words of the chosen ones of the Lord Jesus Christ, how he does not make a difference between male and female persons, but distributes his rich gifts equally to those that serve him, be they men or women, and offers his favours to both of them without respect to their person.

When he approached the church of the holy apostle Paul, it happened that some divine grace of the Holy Ghost came over him and pleased his heart greatly, and so, being seasoned by the good sweetnesses of our ineffable God in mercy and compassion, he gladly went inside thereafter for prayer. And when he embraced the grave of the blessed Paul, he felt some ineffable sweetness so that it seemed to him in his spirit that he dwelt already in heaven by the mercy of the Lord Almighty. For a long time he was as if standing beside himself by this unutterable exultation, and did not want to leave this spiritual sweetness and to go away from that most holy and living tomb. He stood there as if drunk by the grace, until even the hour of holy communion had passed. And thereafter, I think, he returned into his lodge, being released from the rapture that had held him.

When he rested that night, he saw in his sleep a flame-like house of very great dimensions, and himself being there alone.<sup>62</sup> Now as he stood there he looked, and behold, some people went inside clad in white, young and of very beautiful shape. Everyone of them held a burning torch, and they went in a procession, and behind them came also the most holy Paul, walking in the procession. Now when they arrived close to him, they stood one awaiting the other, and asked each other: “For which reason did we come here?” And some of them said: “Perhaps because our lord, the holy apostle, has to visit someone.” Others said: “Because of the deacon Gregentios the apostle Paul comes here.” And offering peace he stood close to the blessed Gregentios.

There were two people out of those that were with the apostle, and the one of them held a very big lamp full of holy oil, and the other one of them innumerable pallia of bishops. And only these did not separate from the apostle of all the people there. The apostle Paul took the lamp, full as it was with oil, from the one that held it, gave it to the most holy Gregentios and said to him: “Take this oil, so that you may have some with you to anoint and to consecrate priests as well as bishops.” And he received it readily.

παρὰ – ἐφέσεως] ἐν χαρᾷ SH | 219 Ἦ κη' S κθ' H + περι τῆς ὀπτασίας τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου SH αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν D | 220 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – εὐμηκέστατον < DF | 222 λαμπάδας SH διαβαίνων H | 223 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH ἀγιώτατος] ἀπόστολος SH ἐρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς < DF | 224 ἴστατο F | 225 αὐτοὺς SH ἐνταῦθα φησὶν F | 226 ἐπεσκέψασθαι DF ὀφείλει ἐπισκέψασθαι τινὰ SH ἴσως τὸν οἰοῦν < SH τὸν] τὸ DF οἰοεῖ F ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν post ὅτι SH ὁ ἄγιος ἀπόστολος < SH | 227 ἔφασκον] ἔλεγον SH φησὶν < SH τοῖς < DF | 228 Παῦλος < DF μακαρίου] ἁγίου SH | 230 ἁγίου] ἄγαν DF ἀνάμπλεον D πέλουσαν] οὔσαν SH | 232 πεπληρωμένη D τὸ ἔλαιον DF | 233 Παῦλος < SH | 234 ἴν' F | 235 ἄμα < SH εἶτα] ἔπειτα SH

<sup>62</sup> On this house, see above, p. 35 note 179.

- τὰ ὠμοφόρια πεφόρτωκεν αὐτὰ τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτοῦ καὶ φησὶν· “Δέξαι, τέκνον, καὶ ταῦτα, ὅπως κέκτησαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιθῆναι τοῖς οἴσπερ ὀφείλεις τῇ κελεύσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χειροθετῶν ἀποστέλλειν ποιμένας.” Ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς εἰπεῖν σὺν προθυμίᾳ ὑπεδέξατο. Εὐθέως οὖν ἐκεῖ λιτανευόντων ἅμα καὶ τῷ Γρηγεντίῳ ὡς ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες προεπορεύοντο ψάλλοντες τὸ “*Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδιά μου λόγον ἀγαθόν*”, καὶ ὅτι “*ἡ γλῶσσα μου κάλαμος γραμματέως ὀξυγράφου*” φθεγγόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι “*ὠραῖος κάλλι παρά τοὺς υἱούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*”, καὶ ἔπειτα “*ἔξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου*,” φησὶν, “*διὰ τοῦτο εὐλόγησέν σε ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου· ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρά τοὺς μετόχους σου*” καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.
- 240
- 245 Ὁ δὲ Γρηγέντιος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐβάδιζεν κατέχων ἅμα καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ ἐπιδοθέντα. Καὶ τὸ ὄραμα παράδοξον· ἡ γὰρ κανδήλα πλήθος ἐλαίου ὡς ἐπορεύοντο ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ κατεχομένη ἐβλύζεν, ὥστε πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτωθεν πλήρης ἐλαίου κεχρηματικένοι καὶ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἐκχεῖσθαι τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος συμφύρεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἀπόστολος κατόπιν ἐκατέρων ἐπορεύετο,
- 250 ἀπῆει δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὸ οὖς Γρηγεντίου συνεχέστερον ὑποψιθυρίζων αὐτῷ τινὰ πρὸς τούτοις ῥήματα καὶ μυστήρια. Καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ὑπεχώρει εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πρὸς ἑαυτόν, καὶ μετέπειτα πάλιν ἀπῆει πλησίον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑπομιμήσκων αὐτῷ τὰ προαγγελθέντα μυστήρια καὶ πάλιν ὑπεχώρει, εἶτα προσήγγιζεν αὐτῷ ὡς πρὸς τὸ οὖς μυστηριαζόμενος. Οὐδεὶς δὲ τῶν συμπορευομένων αὐτοῖς ἐπίστατο τίνα εἰσὶν, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν μυστηρίαζον-
- 255 ται. Οὕτως οὖν πορευομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἐκεῖνα βουλευομένων ἔτυχον καθὼς περ ἐπὶ τινὶ ἱερῷ εἰσιόντες πλήρης δόξης καὶ θυμηδίας χρηματίζοντι. Καὶ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως γεγονυίας καὶ πάντων ὁμοφώνως παρά τῷ κυρίῳ τὸν ἔλεον αἰτησάντων, μετεστάλη τῆς ὀπτασίας ὁ μακάριος, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ἐλογίζετο ποταπῆ ἄρα ἡ δῆλωσις τοῦ ὁράματος. Διακρίσεώς τε χρηματίζων ἀνάπλεος συνήκεν, καθότι μέλλει αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος
- 260 πιστεῦειν τοὺς οἵακας τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τάγε πέφυκεν τὰ προδηλωθέντα αὐτῷ ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός.
- Ὁρθρίας δὲ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἀπῆει ἐν τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ ἐν Κωνσταντιανῇ οὕτω ὀνομαζομένη, ἥτις πρώτη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκκλησίας ἰδρυθεῖσα ὠκοδομητῆ παρα τὸ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πρώτου
- 265 ἐν βασιλευσὶν χριστιανικῶς διαπρέφαντος. Ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη πλησίον τοῦ πατριαρχείου πάνυ κατὰτερπνος ἐκ μαρμάρων καὶ ψηφίδος μουσουργημένη ξεντροπῶς. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν

240 ἐξηρεύξατο – 241 ἀγαθόν Ps. 44.2 | 241 ἡ – 243 θεός<sup>1</sup> Ps. 44.2–3 | 243 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 244 σου Ps. 44.8 | 262 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 265 πατριαρχείου cf. *Vita Martini* 255

#### D F S H

236 ὠμόφορα SH αὐτὰ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὤμοις SH ταῦτα ὅπως] τάδε ἵνα SH | 237 ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιθῆναι] ἐπιτιθεῖναι SH οἴσπερ SH | 238 ἀποστέλλεις codd. ὡς εἰπεῖν < SH δεξάμενος H, + γράφε ὑπεδέξατο H<sup>margin</sup> | 239 τῶν ἐκεῖ λιτανευόντες SH καί<sup>1</sup> < SH καί<sup>2</sup> – 240 προεπορεύοντο < SH | 240 ἐξηρεύξατο F | 241 καί<sup>1</sup> – 244 σου < SH | 245 τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου < SH | 247 ὡς < SH ἐπορεύετο ἐν SH ἐβλύστανεν SH τὰ < SH ἀπὸ – 248 κάτωθεν < SH | 248 πλήρης SH χρημα-

Then he received also the pallia, <the apostle> burdened his shoulders with them and said: “Take those as well, my child, so that you have them for to put them onto those that you will have to send out as shepherds, appointing them by the order of the Holy Ghost.” He accepted them, so to say, with readiness. Now they went immediately from there to another place in a procession together with Gregentios. And all the others went in front singing: “*My heart is inditing a good word*”, and saying “*my tongue is the pen of a ready writer*”, and “*he is fairer in his beauty than the sons of men*”, and thereafter they said “*his grace has been poured into your lips; therefore God has blessed you, your God, with the oil of exultation above your fellows*” and so on.

Gregentios proceeded to the place of the holy apostle Paul, holding also the things that had been given to him. And the vision was miraculous, for while they were walking, the lamp, being held in his hands, gushed forth oil abundantly, so that all his dress was full of oil from above until below and the rest was poured out on his feet and the floor was messed up. The blessed apostle walked behind them and went close to the ear of Gregentios, often whispering softly some additional words and mysteries to him. And then again he withdrew backward to his place, and thereafter again he went close to him reminding him of the mysteries that had been announced before, and withdrew again, then he approached his ear as if telling him mysteries. No one of their company knew what these ineffable things were which they told to each other. Now when they walked in this way and discussed these secrets they seemed to enter some sanctuary which was full of glory and gladness. And when the loudly spoken prayer was done and all asked the Lord for mercy with one voice, the blessed one was summoned back from his vision, and returning to himself he considered what the meaning of the vision was. And since he was full of the power of discrimination he understood that the Lord would entrust him with the helms of his holy church, and that it was this which had been foretold to him by night in a vision.

Having risen at dawn on the following day, he went to the church of the Saviour which is called that of Constantiana,<sup>63</sup> which was founded and built as the first church of Rome, above all other churches of the world by the most pious Constantine of blessed memory, the first among the emperors that was eminent as a Christian. It lies close to the patriarchate and is very delightfully decorated with marbles and mosaic in a

τικένα D και – 249 συμφύρεσθαι < SH | 249 ἐδάφη F | 250 οὐς + τοῦ H τούτοις] τὸ οὐς DF | 251 ῥήματα και < SH ἔπειτα < DF και<sup>2</sup> – 253 μυστηριαζόμενος < SH | 254 ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν < SH μυστηριάζονται] ὠμίλουν SH | 255 οὕτω SH ἐκείνων DF εὐβουλευομένων F | 256 εἰσιέμενοι SH πλήρες S ἐκφωνήσῃ S | 257 και < SH παρά < SH | 258 ἐν ἑαυτῷ SH διελογίζετο SH | 259 διακρίσεως – 261 νυκτός < SH ἀνάμπλευς D | 262 τὰ ἐν Κωνσταντιανῇ < SH | 263 τὰς + ἄλλας H | 264 τοῦ<sup>1</sup>] τῷ SH εὐσεβεστάτου και < SH | 265 ταύτη SH | 266 ἐκ] εἰς SH μουσουργουμένη D ξενικώτατα SH οὐν < SH

<sup>63</sup> See above, p. 35.



ἀπήει ὁ μακάριος προσευζόμενος· προσήν δὲ ἐκεῖ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐνίστο-  
ρος, ἀπόρρητος ὑπὲρ τὴν διήγησιν. Πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιγαροῦν ἀπήει συνεχέστερον ὁ Γρηγόρι-  
πος, καὶ ἐναποσκοπῶν αὐτῷ ὡς αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μονογενῆ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, προσέχων οὕτως  
270 μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ ἐπετέλει τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξομολογή-  
σει καὶ χύσει δακρύων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνθομολογούμενος αὐτῷ.

Ξένον δὲ μυστήριον ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐν μυστηρίῳ διηγήσατο τὴν μίαν ταύτην ὁ σεβασμιώτα-  
τος περὶ τῆς ἀχράντου ἐκείνης καὶ σεβασμίας εἰκόνας, καίτοι ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν βιάζοντος καὶ  
ὑπεραναγκάζοντος ψυχωφελεῖς διηγήσασθαι μοι διηγήσεις καὶ τινα τῶν ὠφελίμων.  
275 “Ὅπόταν ἔσχον”, φησὶν, “ἱκανὰς ὥρας διανύσαι ἐκέῖσε ἰστάμενος καὶ ἅπαξ ταλικωτάτου  
τοῦ σώματος χρηματίζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ ξενιτεῖα κακουχίας, ἡσθένουν οἱ πόδες ἰσχύος  
μὴ οὔσης. Καὶ βουλομένου μου”, φησὶν, “τὴν εὐχὴν καταπαῦσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡσυχά-  
σαι, αἴφνης ἐώρων αὐραν πυρὸς τὰ περικύκλω τῆς εἰκόνας πόθεν παραγενομένην γαλη-  
νῶς τε καὶ ἡμέρως θέουσαν, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδυτάτης θεωρίας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι με τὰ ἄλλα  
280 καὶ τὴν ἀτονίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἔπ εὐπροθύμως ἴστασθαι μετὰ χαρᾶς. Μετὰ μικρὸν δέ,”  
φησὶν, “ὑπεχώρει ἡ λαμπρότης τῆς θείας αἴγλης ἐκείνης, καὶ ἔπειτα μετετρέπετο ὁ χαρα-  
κτήρ τῆς εἰκόνας εἰς ἄνδρα πνὰ ὠραῖον καὶ πανώρειον ζῶντα ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, κινῶν τε γὰρ  
ἦν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ βλέφαρα καὶ περιστρεφόμενος ἔνθεν κάκειθεν, ὄν τρόπον  
ἀνὴρ τίς ἐστὼς καὶ ἡδέως ἀποσκοπῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς καλλονῆς τῆς ὀράσεως τοῦ προσώπου  
285 αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἦν ἀπόρρητος, οὐκ ἐνεπιπλάμην τοῦ βλέπειν, κἄν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἰστά-  
μην”, φησὶν, “μὴ ἀναχωρῶν καὶ κατανοῶν τὸ φρικτὸν κάλλος ἐκείνο, ὥστε ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν  
ἕως κάτω, ἴν’ οὕτως εἶπω, μέλιτι οὐρανίῳ περιεκέχυτό μου ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ καρδία  
καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ αἱ χεῖρες καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς καὶ οἱ πόδες καὶ αἱ κνήμαι καὶ οἱ μηροὶ καὶ  
290 ἅπαν μέλος τοῦ σώματός μου. Ἔλεγον δέ”, φησὶν, “ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὴν ἀνεκλάλητον  
ἐκείνην καὶ μελίρρυτον γλυκύτητα αἰσθόμενος· Ἐβασιλείαν οὐρανῶν τινὲς λέγουσιν· ἴδε  
βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ἴδε παράδοξος γλυκασμὸς καὶ ἀνεκλάλητος ἔφεσις. Παρά-  
δεισον τίνες προσαγορεύουσιν· ἴδε παράδεισος καὶ δόξα καὶ τρυφὴ καὶ ἀνεξερεύνητος  
ἀπόλαυσις τοῖς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ ἐλπίζουσιν. Ζωὴν φάσκουσιν τινὲς αἴδιον  
εἶναι ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ φαιδρὰν εὐπρέπειάν τε καὶ ὠραιότητα· ἴδε εὐπρέπειαν, θέασαι

### D F S H

267 ἐκέῖσε SH | 268 ἐπήει S ὁ < S | 269 αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup>] αὐτὸν H οὕτω SH | 270 πολλοῦ < SH ἐκταίνων  
F | 271 καί<sup>2</sup> < SH | 272 μυστηρίων S τὴν μίαν ταύτην < SH σεβασμιώτατος] μακάριος Γρηγόρι-  
πος SH | 273 αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ DF καὶ ὑπεραναγκάζοντος < SH | 274 ψυχωφελὲς SH διηγήσεις <  
SH τινα] τί SH | 275 ἔσχον D εἶχα F ἔχων H ἐκέῖσε < SH ἅπαξ ταλικωτάτου] λίαν ἀσθενοῦς  
μου SH | 276 ἐν τῇ ξενιτεῖα] ξενιτείας καὶ H τῇ < S μὴ οὔσης ἰσχύος SH | 277 φησὶν < SH καὶ –  
ἡσυχάσαι < SH | 278 ἐώρουν F SH παραγενομένην F | 279 θεοῦσαν DF με] μοι H | 280 δέ < SH |  
282 εἰκόνας + ἐκείνης D ὠραῖον καὶ < SH τε γὰρ ἦν] τοιγαροῦν SH | 283 τὰ βλέφαρα ante τῶν  
SH | 284 τῆς ὀράσεως < SH | 285 ὡς ἦν ἀπόρρητος < SH ἐνεπιπλάμην DF ἐνεπιπλάμην SH  
κἄν] καὶ SH | 286 καὶ – ἐκείνο < SH ἄνω SH | 287 ἴν’ οὕτως εἶπω < D περιεκέχυται SH |  
288 καί<sup>1</sup> – μηροὶ < SH | 289 πᾶν SH μέρος F μου < DF | 290 ἐκείνην καὶ μελίρρυτον < SH  
αἰσθόμενος + ἦν H | 291 βασιλείαν SH παράδεισον – 292 ἴδε < SH | 292 καὶ τρυφὴ < SH |

strange fashion. Now the blessed one went there for prayer; there was also a picture of our Lord Jesus Christ, ineffable beyond telling. So Gregentios went often to him, and gazing upon him as to the only born Son of God himself, he watched him in this way and performed his prayers, stretched out his hands in confession to him shedding tears, and confessed before him.

The most adorable one told me a strange mystery as a secret about that immaculate and adorable icon, when I urged and forced him to tell me narrations that are helpful to the soul, and also some beneficial ones.<sup>64</sup> “When I had spent”, he said, “a considerable number of hours standing there, suddenly my body became very wretched because of the mortification by my stay abroad, and my feet were weak because they had no strength. And when I wanted to end my prayer,” he said, “and to rest there, suddenly I saw a flame of fire around the icon which had come from somewhere, shining mildly and gently, so that I forgot the pains and the debility of my body through this sweetest sight and still stood there readily with joy. Shortly thereafter,” he said, “the brightness of that divine light disappeared, and then the picture of the icon was transformed into a beautiful and all-beautiful man that was truly alive, for he moved the lids of his eyes and turned here and there, like a man that stands and looks around sweetly.<sup>65</sup> And I would not have been satiated with looking because of the beauty of the vision of his face, how ineffable it was, even if I would have stood all year”, he said, “without going away and looking upon that awe-inspiring beauty, so that my soul, so to say, was poured from top to bottom with heavenly honey, my mind, heart, face, hands, innards, feet, legs, thighs and every limb of my body. And I said in that hour”, he said, “feeling that unutterable and honey-flowing sweetness: ‘Some say there is a kingdom of heaven: Behold, here is the kingdom of heaven in truth, behold, here is miraculous sweetness and unutterable desire. Some speak about paradise: Behold, here is paradise and glory, sweetness and unexplorable pleasure for those that hope in his holy name. Some say that there is eternal life in heaven, bright magnificence and beauty: Behold, here is magnificence, you see the beauty, my soul, behold the heavenly mystery as you have

293 ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον] ἅγιον ὄνομα SH ζῶν – 294 ὠραιότητα < SH | 294 τε < D θέασαι] θέα γε F

<sup>64</sup> Note that the author here falls into the first person. On the vision, see above, p. 35.

<sup>65</sup> Icons with moving eyes appear in several post-iconoclastic hagiographical texts. One of them is the icon of Christ in the chapel of the Holy Well at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which is mentioned in a miracle story later interpolated into the works of Anastasios Sinaites (c. 690); text edited by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 204\*–207\*, 229.17\*\*–231.4\*\*, on which see Flusin, “Démons”, 387, 392; Speck, “Teufelsschloß”; Brubaker, “Icons”, 1250–51 note 114. Another case is the icon of the Mother of God over the Bosphorion gate of Constantinople which allegedly drove back the Arabs at the siege of 717/18, see Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm*, 181–186.

295 ὠραιότητα, ἴδε ψυχὴ μου μυστήριον ἐπουράνιον, οἶον οὐδέποτε κατενόησας. Καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰς διηνεκὴ ἀπόλαυσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις χρηματίζουσα, βαβαὶ τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου καὶ πᾶσαν ἔνοιαν ὑπερβαίνοντος θαύματος!’” Ταῦτα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ ἔνδον διαλογιζόμενος ἀναχωρεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖσε οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπλῶς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ που ὁ γλυκασμὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐνθεώτατος συνεχώρησεν αὐτῷ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν  
300 συσταλεῖς καὶ ὡς τὸ πρότερον παρεάσας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ταυτότητι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν ὑπεχώρει, ὡς ἐμοὶ διηγήσατο, ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

ἸΜιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε αὐτοῦ πορευθέντος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ συνήθειαν αὐτῷ σημεῖοις τετυχηκότος ἀνεθείς μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐντευξέως ὑπέστρεφεν ἔνδον ἰλαρὸν κεκτημένος τὸ πρόσωπον. Καὶ συναντῶ αὐτῷ τίς μοναχὸς τοῦνομα Γρηγόριος, καὶ ὡσανεὶ διὰ παντὸς ἅμα αὐτῷ συναναστρεφόμενος, οὕτω θαρσαλέως ἐγγίσας αὐτῷ ἠσπάσατο αὐτὸν ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν: “Σὺ εἰ Γρηγένπιος ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὄνπερ μοι ὁ κύριος ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης ἀπεκάλυψεν. Εἶδον γάρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ βαθέως καθεύδων, ἐστῶτα σε ἔγγιστα τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρακτηῖρος τοῦ πέλοντος ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὠραιότατως ἰστορισμένου. Καὶ σὺ μὲν αὐτῷ δεήσεις καὶ ἰκεσίας προσήγαγες, αὐτὸς δὲ κηρίον μέλιτος ἐπουρανοῦ κατέχων ἐν ταῖς ἀχράντοις χερσὶν αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών, ἀποτεμῶν μαχαίρα πνευματικῇ ἠδέως πῶς ἐφώμιζεν σοι. Καὶ ἐσθίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνεκκλήτου χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυμηδίας τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ προσγινομένης σοι κατεπλήττου τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάμβει βαλλόμενος, καὶ ῥητὰ δέ, εἰ μὴ σφάλλω, τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐκπληττόμενος ἔλεγες: ‘Βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν’, φησί, ‘πνὲς λέγουσιν εἶναι’ ἴδε ἐπ’ ἀληθείας βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν.’ Τὸ γὰρ ἀμώμητον κάλλος τοῦ ἀχράντου νυμφίου, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θεασάμενος καὶ καταστοχαζόμενος αὐτῷ ὡς ὠραῖον κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ εἶπερ καὶ ἔπι ὑπεραρρήτῃ δόξῃ τε καὶ λαμπρότητι χρηματίζων καταπληττόμενος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔφασκες. Εἶπεν οὖν πρὸς με ὁ κύριος: ‘Γρηγόριε, Γρηγόριε!’ Ἐκεῖσε γάρ που  
315 πλησίον ὦμῃν ἐστάναι: ἐγὼ δὲ εἶρηκα: ‘Ἴδου ἐγώ, κύριέ μου, τίνα ὑπαγορεύεις τῷ σῷ οἰκέτῃ;’ Ὁ δὲ φησὶν: ‘Δείξω σοι τὸν παῖδα μου Γρηγένπιον, καὶ προσεύξει περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ μου τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὃν τρόπον ὑπέδειξα αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέροις ἁγίοις καὶ ἐκλεκτοῖς μου, οἵπνες καὶ προσευξάμενοι παρέθεντο αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ μου τε καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι. Τοιγαροῦν ἤλπισα ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἀψευδῆ τὰ ῥήματα κυρίου, καὶ ὡς  
320 ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη καὶ ἐθεασάμην σε.’”

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς ἤρξατο εὐλογεῖν τὸν κύριον καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπί τι νὴ δὲ ῥύμη διὰ τὸ ἥσυχον ἐκνευσάντων αὐτῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφ’ ἱκανὴν ὥραν ἐνετράφουν πρὸς

317 ὡς – ἀνθρώπων cf. Ps. 44.3 | 319 εἶπεν – 321 οἰκέτη cf. 1 Reg. 3.4; Ios. 5.14

#### DFSH

295 ψυχὴ μου < D οὐράνιον SH οὐδέπω SH κατενόησας F καὶ – 297 θαύματος < SH εἰ < D | 298 ἀπλῶς ἀφ’] αὐτὸς παρ’ SH | 299 ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ SH | 300 καὶ – αὐτοῦ < SH οὕτως DF λοιπὸν + κάκεινος SH | 301 ἀνεχώρει SH | 302 Ἰ κθ’ S λ’ H + περὶ τοῦ ὀσίου Γρηγορίου SH δὲ] οὖν H αὐτῷ < SH ἐκεῖσε – καὶ] πορευθεὶς ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἔπειτα SH ἐκεῖσε – 303

never seen one before. And if the kingdom of heaven is made for the continuous delight of the saints in such a way, bless me, what an incomprehensible wonder that passes all understanding!” When he said this to himself in his spirit inside, he would have been unable to leave from there simply by himself, if that most God-inspired sweetness would not have allowed him, withdrawing to itself and leaving him as before in his identity. And so he went away, as he told me, to his lodge.

One day, when he went there according to his custom and attained the usual portent, he returned home relieved and with cheerful face after the completion of his intercession. And a monk called Gregorios encountered him,<sup>66</sup> and approached him courageously as if he had lived with him always, embraced him with the holy kiss and said to him: “You are Gregentios the servant of the highest God whom the Lord has revealed to me in a vision this night. For I saw you sleeping deeply in this night, standing very close to the immaculate and life-giving icon which is in Constantine’s church and painted very beautifully. And you yourself offered him prayers and supplications, and he had wax and heavenly honey in his immaculate hands which was white as snow, and cutting with a spiritual knife he gave you pieces from it somehow sweetly. And eating from the unutterable joy, gladness and cheer which he gave you, you were terrified, being struck by fear and amazement and, if I am not mistaken, you said such words as if being astonished: ‘Some say there is a kingdom of heaven: Behold, here is the kingdom of heaven in truth.’ For seeing the blameless beauty of the immaculate bridegroom, our Lord Jesus Christ, and looking upon him as being fairer in his beauty than the sons of men, and also being amazed by his more than ineffable glory and brightness you said these things. Now the Lord said to me: ‘Gregorios, Gregorios!’ For I believed to stand somewhere nearby; and I said: ‘Behold, here I am, my Lord, what do you say to your servant?’ And he said: ‘I will show you my child Gregentios, and you will pray for him to my Father who is in heaven, in the same way as I have also shown him to other saints and chosen ones that have entrusted him to me by their prayer, together with my Father and the all-holy Ghost. Therefore I have hoped in the Lord, that the words of the Lord are without deceit, and today I have also seen you.’”

And having said this, he began to praise the Lord and to pray for him. They turned aside to some lane to find silence, and then they delighted for a considerable time

αὐτῷ < F | 303 τετυχηκῶς DF ἀνεθείς < SH ὑπέστρεψεν D | 304 ἰλαρῶς F | 305 ἀναστρεφόμενος SH | 307 τοῦ ὑψίστου < SH ὄνπερ] ὄν SH τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης] τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς SH | 308 καθεύδοντά με DF | 309 αὐτοῦ post 308 ἔγγιστα SH πέλοντος] ὄντος SH | 310 ἱστορισμένος D SH ἱστορισμένον F καί<sup>1</sup> – 319 ἔφασκες < SH | 314 τοιαῦτα + δὲ D | 315 ἀληθείαν F | 318 ὑπεραρρήτω] ὑπὲρ ἐν ἀρρήτῳ F | 319 ἔφασκεν codd. ὁ κύριος πρὸς με SH που < H | 320 ἤμην ἐστάνας H μου < SH τίνα] τί SH | 322 μου < H καί<sup>2</sup> < D | 323 μου τε < SH | 324 ἦλπισα – ὅτι < SH | 327 ῥύμη + τῶν ἐκεῖσε SH

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 30.

330 έαυτούς διαλεγόμενοι περί τῶν μεγαλειῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ θεοῦ, καὶ οὕτω τὰς  
 335 ὁσίας εὐχὰς ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος κοιμισάμενος οἶκαδε ἐπανάστρεψεν. Ἐν ἑαυτῷ δὲ  
 ζωγραφῶν τὰ τίμια ἦθη τοῦ τιμίου γέροντος ἐκείνου ἐξεπλήττετο, ὅπως ἦν πραότατος,  
 ταπεινός τε καὶ ἡδύτατος, σύννους καὶ ἐχέφρων καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν εἰς ἄγαν εὐτά-  
 κτως τε καὶ μελιρρῦτως, καὶ ζηλοτυπῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπηράτο καὶ αὐτὸς τηλικούτοις ἦθεσιν  
 αἰεὶ ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι. Κατὰ νοῦν δὲ κεκτημένος καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἀγίων τὴν ἐνάρετον  
 πολιτείαν, οὐσπερ τὰ πρόπαλαι ὑπέδειξεν αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μετ-  
 335 αναστεύοντι, ἐποτινάτο καὶ ἠνιάτο καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἄχρειον ἐταλάνιζεν, ἐκείνους δὲ  
 γνησίως ἐμακάριζεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἐδυσώπει μὴ ἀποξενῶσαι καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς μερί-  
 δος αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνεκδιήγητον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυεύσπλαγχρον ἀγαθότητα, ἀλλὰ καταξιῶ-  
 σαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

340 Ἐτραυρὸς τίς ἦν οἰκέτης ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Βενεδίκτου τοῦνομα Ἐλισάβετ. Αὕτη ἐκέκτητο σχη-  
 μαπιζόμενον εἰς ἀρρενότητα δαίμονα παιδιόθεν. Καὶ ὁπότεν ἔσχεν ἀπίνεαι τοῦ καθευδη-  
 σαι ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτῆς ἀωρίας ἐπιλαμβάνουσης, μετασημαπιζόμενος ἑαυτὸν ὁ  
 παμμίαρος δαίμων ἐκείνος εἰς εὐειδῆ νεώτερον παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ  
 τῆς κλίνης αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν φαντάζων αὐτὴν διεπράττετο τὴν ἀμαρτίαν μετ' αὐτῆς ὁ  
 345 αἰμοβόρος καὶ σκυλώδης καὶ φίλος τῆς κοπρίας καὶ τῆς ὄζομενίας, ὁ καταλιπὼν τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ πεσὼν ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ φιλήσας τὴν φθορὰν καὶ  
 ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀμαρτίας <...> ἐτοιμάσας τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ κατάρτος  
 ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πορνεύειν καὶ μοιχεύειν καὶ μετὰ εὐνούχων καὶ μετὰ ἀρρένων  
 350 παιδῶν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν εἰσπράττειν, ὅπως διώξη μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάκει-  
 ται δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπαναπαύεται ὡς οἶα καὶ βούλεται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν. Τοιγαροῦν  
 ὡς εἴρηται, ὅτι μετασημαπιζόμενος εἰς ὠραῖον νεανίαν φαντασιαστικῶς ἐπετέλει τὴν  
 ἀμαρτίαν καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπάρτι συνηγάσας αὐτῇ ἔπελεν.

355 Ὡς οὖν προσῆν ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἐκείσε καὶ ἡ φήμη περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καθότι  
 δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστίν, ἀναλογισάμενον τὸ γύναιον προσέρχεται αὐτῷ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ  
 προσπεσοῦσα αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν αἰτίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἐξομολογήσατο αὐτῷ μηδὲν  
 ἀποκρύψασα, ὅθεν καὶ ἐξελιπάρει αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι αὐτῇ, ὅσον δυνάμει ἐσχηκεν. Ὁ δὲ  
 δίκαιος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτήν· “Συγχώρησον, κυρία ἀδελφή, οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι *ἀμαρτωλῶν ὁ θεὸς  
 οὐκ εἰσακούει*, πλὴν διὰ τὴν πίστιν σου ποιήσειεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετὰ σοῦ.”

356 ἀμαρτωλῶν – 357 εἰσακούει Ιο. 9.31

## DFSH

328 τῶν μεγαλειῶν < H οὕτως DF | 329 ὁ μακάριος | τοῦ μακαρίου γέροντος ὁ SH | 330 τιμίου |  
 ἀγίου SH προσῆν SH | 331 ἡδύτατος σύννους καὶ < SH καί<sup>3</sup> – 332 μελιρρῦτως < SH | 332 τε <  
 D μελίρρυτος D ἦθεσιν + οἱ μὲν F + εἰς DF | 333 κεκτημένος | ἐνθυμούμενος SH | 334 τὰ  
 πρόπαλαι < SH αὐτῷ ± ὁ H | 335 καὶ ἠνιάτο < SH μὲν | δὲ H ἄχρειον | ἀνθρώπων SH ἐκείνους  
 – 336 ἐμακάριζεν < SH | 337 ἀνεκδιήγητον – πολυεύσπλαγχρον | πολλὴν αὐτοῦ SH ἀλλὰ – 338  
 οὐρανῶν < SH | 339 Ὑ λ' S λα' H + περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ὑπὸ ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος ὀχλουμένης  
 SH Ἐλισάβετ + περὶ τῆς γραΐδος τῆς μετὰ τοῦ δαίμονος πορνευσάσης F<sup>mag</sup> | 340 εἶχεν SH

talking to each other about the great deeds of our Saviour and God, and so the blessed Gregentios returned home after having received the holy prayers. When he depicted the worthy manners of that worthy old man by himself, he was astonished, how he was so gentle, humble and sweet, thoughtful and prudent, and exceedingly well-ordered and honey-flowing in his answers, and emulating these achievements he swore that he would always adorn himself as well with such manners. Having in mind also the virtuous conduct of the remaining saints whom the Lord had shown him before when he wandered from town to town, he cried aloud and was distressed, called himself miserable as being worthless, and called those truly blessed and beought the holy God that he should not estrange him from his share because of his ineffable and most merciful goodness, but deem him worthy as well, together with those of the kingdom of heaven.

There was servant in the house of Benediktos, an old woman called Elisabet. She had a demon from her childhood that had taken the shape of a man. And when she went to rest in the evening on her bed, in the middle of the night that impure demon changed his shape into that of a beautiful young man, came to her and went up into her bed, and as it seemed, deluding her he committed the sin with her, this bloodthirsty and dog-like friend of filth and stench that left heaven and all the goods in there, fell to earth, loved corruption and prepared his resting-place in the <bed> of sin.<sup>67</sup> For therefore the cursed one makes men fornicate and perform adultery and commit the sin with eunuchs and male children, so that he expels the Holy Ghost from them; and he reclines and rests in their hearts as he likes. Therefore, as it has been said, he had changed his form into that of a beautiful young man and committed the sin by means of imagination, and had already grown old together with the woman.

Now when the blessed Gregentios stayed there, and there was a rumour about him that he was a servant of Christ, the woman thought about it and went to him privately, fell before his feet and confessed to him all the cause that was in her without hiding anything, wherefore she also supplicated him to help her with all the power he had. And the righteous one said to her: "Excuse me, my lady and sister, I know that *God will not listen to the sinners*; however, because of your faith God may have his mercy on you."

ἐσπέρας τοῦ καθευδῆσαι SH | 341 ἀορασίας H | 342 εὐειδῆν F SH νεωτέρῳ SH παρεγίνετο S αὐτήν F | 343 ἔπραττεν H | 344 σκυλώδης] δυσώδης SH καί<sup>2</sup> – ὀζομενίας < SH τῶν οὐρανίων DF | 345 τὰ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶ] τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ SH ἐν αὐτῶ] ἑαυτῷ F καί<sup>4</sup> – 349 αὐτῶν < SH | 346 post ἁμαρτίας lacunam indicavi (vide notam) | 347 ποιεῖν F | 350 φανταστικῶς ἐτέλει SH | 351 καὶ < SH τῆς < D συνηράσας sic codd. ἔπελεν] ὑπῆρχεν SH | 352 καὶ ἡ < SH φήμη + ἡ DF ἦν] ἐγένετο SH | 354 τῆν<sup>2</sup> – ἑαυτῇ < SH αὐτῇ F | 355 αὐτῇ] αὐτήν DF ὅσον δυνάμειος ἔσχηκεν < SH | 356 οἶδα μὲν] οἶδαμεν SH | 357 ποιήση SH ὁ κύριος D

<sup>67</sup> After ἁμαρτίας a noun is missing, perhaps κλίνη as translated here.

Εὐθέως οὖν μὴ μελήσας λαβὼν χάρτην καὶ μέλαν ἔγραψεν· “Πονηρὲ δαίμων καὶ σαπρὲ καὶ ἀκάθαρτε, μῆκέτι προσεγγίσης τῷδε τῷ γυναιίῳ· Ἰησοῦς γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς σε διώκει.  
 360 Ἀποδίδρασκε, ὦ ταλαίπωρε.” Ταῦτα οὖν σημηνάμενος καὶ ἐπιδοὺς τῷ γυναιίῳ, φορεῖν ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ προσέταξεν. Καὶ ἀπέλυσεν παραγγείλας αὐτῇ μηδενὶ τὸ οἰονοῦν περὶ τῶν γραφέντων αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπιδοθέντων ἀπαγγεῖλαι.

Τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ οὖν ἐκείνη, ὡς ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτῆς ἀπῆι τοῦ ἀναπαθῆναι, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ  
 365 μιάρος δαίμων ἐκεῖνος βουλόμενος τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν αὐτῷ πραττόμενα ἐπιτελέσαι. Καὶ μήκοθεν ποῦ στὰς πλησιάσαι αὐτῇ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὁ ταλαίπωρος· ἐν οἷς ἀπορήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀόρατον δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀνπιστῆναι τὴν ἀποσοβοῦσαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ῥῆτὸν τὸ φερόμενον παρὰ τῆς γραΐδος ἐγγράφως τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγορίου, ἐπειδὴ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν ἐστὶν καὶ πονηρότατον, συνῆκεν πονηρευθεὶς, πόθεν τὸ κώλυμα αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ὀλολύξαν πικρῶς ἀνεβόησεν· “<sup>1</sup>Ω ἀπὸ τοῦ πλανήτου καὶ λάτρου Γρηγορίου, καὶ ὅπερ τί μοι  
 370 εἰργάσατο μεσότοιχον φραγμοῦ στήσας ἀναμεταξὺ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀμνάδος μου! Τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἔχω τὴν σύμβιον μου, μεθ’ ἧς τὸ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡγαλιώμην καὶ ἠφφραϊνόμην, καὶ ἵνα μόνον παραγένηται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐαὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀναθέματος ὁ ἀλιτήριος οὗτος καὶ ξένος· παρανομῶν ἠνόμησεν ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ κεχώρικέν με τῆς συνεύνου μου.”

Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἕτερα θρηνωδῶν ὁ παμμίαιρος ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ εἰς  
 375 τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, μῆκέτι τολμήσας τῇ γυναικὶ ἐκείνῃ ἄτε προσεγγίσαι ἢ τὸ σύνολον παρενοχλήσαι αὐτῇ. Καὶ τέως ἀπηλλάγη ἡ οὐδαμινὸς ἐκείνη τοῦ χαλεπῶς αὐτὴν τυραννοῦντος πνεύματος καὶ ζήσασα ἀνέθαλεν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ μέχρις ὅτε ἦν ὁ μακάριος ἐκείσε, οὐκ ἐπαύετο προσπίπτουσα αὐτῷ ἀνθομολογουμένη καὶ ἀπευχαριστοῦσα αὐτῷ.

Ἐξελθὼν δέ ποτε τῆς καταμονῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ  
 380 ἀγίου Βονιφατίου προσεύξασθαι· ἔστιν δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἄστεως Ῥώμης. Ὡς οὖν ἀπῆι διὰ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως, ὄρᾳ ἄνδρα τινὰ παραφρονοῦντα μήκοθεν ἐπὶ τινὶ κήπῳ ἀνεπιμελήτῳ πεφνητότι, ὀνόματι Ἰωάννην. Ἰστατο δὲ ὑποκάτω καρύας χλοηφορούσης καὶ σχηματιζόμενος ἔβαλεν λίθους κατὰ τῶν ὀδευόντων τὴν λεωφόρον ἐκείνην. Ἰκανοὶ τε  
 385 παῖδες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς οἶα μωραίνοντες μήκοθεν ἐστῶτες δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἀντελίθαζον, κὰν μέντοι ἐκεῖνου μὴ κατ’ αὐτῶν λιθάζοντος, ἀλλὰ γε προσήματι μόνον· βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀκοντίσαι λίθον ἐπ’ ἄνθρωπον, εἰς μέρος ποῦ αὐτὸν τρῶπῳ ἀπέρριπτεν καὶ τοὺς διοδεύοντας οὐκ ἔλυμαινετο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ μακάριος ἤγγισεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος πλησίον

374 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – αἰώνιον Mt. 25.41 εἰς<sup>2</sup> – 375 ἐξώτερον Mt. 8.12, 22.13, 25.30

#### D F S H

359 γὰρ ὁ < SH ὁ < D | 360 ὦ < SH οὖν < SH | 361 προσέταξεν καὶ < SH αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν F | 362 αὐτῇ] αὐτῷ DF ἐπιδοθέντα ἀναγγεῖλαι SH | 363 ὡς – τοῦ < DF | 364 ἐκεῖνος δαίμων F πραττόμενα + μετ’ αὐτῆς D | 365 πλησιάσαι + τε SH αὐτῇ] αὐτῷ S ἐξαπορήσας SH | 367 φαινόμενον DF | 368 πορευθεὶς SH γέγονεν SH ὀλολύξαντι D | 369 πικρῶς < SH λάτρους D ὅπερ] ὡσπερ DF | 370 ἀνάμεσον H | 371 ἀγαλιώμην H εὐφραϊνόμην D H ἵν’ H | 372 παραγίνεται F τοῦ ἀναθέματος] ἀνάθεμα SH παράνομον SH | 373 ἠνόμησεν] εἰργάσατο H

Now he took paper and ink immediately without hesitation and wrote: “Wicked, rotten and impure demon, do not get close to this woman anymore: For Jesus Christ drives you out. Run away, you miserable one.” Having written this, he gave it to the woman and ordered her to wear it around her neck. And he went away, giving her the command not to announce anything to anyone about the things he had written for her and given to her.

Now that evening, when she went into her bed to rest, that abominable demon came as well, wanting to accomplish what he usually did. And when the miserable one stood at some distance, he was unable to approach her; therefore, since he could not withstand the invisible power of our God that drove him off through the word of the blessed Gregentios, which the old woman wore in writing, and since he was a weak and very wicked spirit, being in a bad condition he understood where his hindrance had come from, and cried out bitterly with a loud voice: “O the seducer and hired servant Gregentios, what did he do to me, building a wall between me and my lamb! I have been living with my companion so many years with whom I rejoiced and was pleased every day, only <to see> that this wicked stranger comes here out of woe and curse, sinned against me by his transgressions and separated me from my bed-fellow!”

Lamenting with these and other words the utterly abominable one went away *into the eternal fire and into the outer darkness*, and did not dare anymore to come close to this woman or to molest her at all. And so that worthless person was freed from the spirit that had oppressed her badly and, while being alive, recovered in her soul and spirit, and as long as the blessed one was there, she did not cease to fall before his feet confessing and thanking him.

Once, when the righteous one left his dwelling-place, he went to the martyr’s church of Saint Bonifatius for prayer, which is far from the city of Rome.<sup>68</sup> Now when he went along the main street of the city, he saw a delirious man from afar in a garden which seemed neglected, who was called Ioannes.<sup>69</sup> He stood under a nut tree with green leaves, and dissimulating he threw stones on those that went along that avenue. A considerable number of boys, being like fools themselves, stood far from there and threw back stones on him in a terrible way, although he did not throw stones against them, but only pretended to do so; for whenever he wanted to hurl a stone on a man, he

ἐν ἐμοί] εἰς ἐμέ SH τῇ συνεύῳ DF | 374 οὖν < SH ὁ παμμίαρος < SH | 375 ἄτε < SH τὸ σύνολον < SH | 376 οὐδαμινός] δαμινῶς DF ταπεινὴ SH χαλεποῦ SH | 377 ἀνέθαλεν + καὶ SH | 378 ἐκέϊθεν F ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπευχαριστεῖν SH | 380 Ὑ λβ’ H + περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ σχηματιζομένου δαιμονίζειν SH (δαι<sup>μν</sup> S δαιμονιζόμενος H) δέ < SH μονῆς H | 382 τίνα κῆπον SH | 383 ὀνόματι] τοῦνομα F καρυῶς SH | 384 λεωφόρον] ὁδόν SH τε] δέ SH | 385 δεινῶς] δεῖ ὡς SH ἀντελίθαζον + ὁ F | 386 κατ’ αὐτῶν] κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ SH αὐτῶν λιθάζοντος] αὐτοῦ λιθαζόμενος F προσχήματι] πρὸς σχήματι DF μόνον < SH | 387 λίθους SH ποῦ] τοῦ SH τρῶπῳ < H ὀδεύοντας H | 388 καὶ < H

<sup>68</sup> See above, p. 36.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 14.



αὐτοῦ, ἐπεφώνουν αὐτῷ οἱ μήκοθεν ἐστῶτες εἰρημένοι παῖδες· “Μὴ πλησιάσης,” φησίν,  
 390 “ὦ ἀδελφέ, τῷ δαιμονῶντι, μήποτε τοῖς λίθοις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταβληθήσῃ.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος  
 μὴ εἶξας τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐκνεύσας τῆς ὁδοῦ ἥσπερ διώδευεν πλησίον αὐτοῦ  
 ἐγεγόνει. Καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν πλήσαντα τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς σωροῦ τῶν λίθων καὶ  
 ἔτοιμον πέλοντα τοῦ σχήματι βαλεῖν λίθους κατὰ τῶν δι’ ἐκείνης παρεῖαν ἐπιχειρούντων.  
 Λέγει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος· “Χαίροις, ἀδελφέ ἐν κυρίῳ.” Ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν  
 395 εὐθύς μὴ μελήσας ρίπτει μὲν τοῦ κόλπου τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους, κλίνας δὲ τὰ γόνα-  
 τα εὐμενῶς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησεν, καὶ ἀναστὰς περιεπλάκη τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ κατ-  
 ασπαζόμενος αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν· “Ἴδε ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγέντιος ἠξίωκεν ὄλως πρὸς με  
 παραγεγονένα. Πῶς ἔχεις, ἀγαπητέ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πῶς ὑγιαίνεις, ἀξιοθαύμαστε, πῶς τὴν  
 400 ὁδὸν σου ἐν κυρίῳ διήνυσας καὶ μέντοι γε καὶ διανύεις, μακαριώτατε; Τοῦτο οὖν ἀπαξ  
 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ δεσπότη μου καὶ θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδειξεν μοι σήμερον ἕνα τῶν κληρονόμων τῆς  
 ἐπουρανοῦ βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.” Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐλάλει ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἠγαθύνετο ἡ ψυχὴ αὐ-  
 τοῦ, εἶτα ἐναποσκοπῶν πρὸς τὸν μακάριον ἀπεθαύμαζεν.

Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἀντασπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου, οὐκ ἦν σοι ἐπιτη-  
 δεϊότερον ἐτέρως πῶς εὐαρεστήσαι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ’ ἦ διὰ τῆς μωροποιίας ταύτης;  
 405 Ἀπόρρητος γὰρ πρόσεσπιν ἡ ταύτης ἐργασία ἐν πόνοις τε καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ στενοχωρίαῖς  
 καὶ θλίψεσιν.” Ἐώρα γὰρ αὐτὸν σφόδρα καταπεπονημένον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν σκληραγωγίας  
 καὶ κακουχίας· οὐ βαλανεῖψ γὰρ ἐκέχρητο, οὐ κλίνην εἶχεν, οὐ καλύβην, οὔτε πινὰ τῶν  
 ψυχαγωγούντων· πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς δαιμονῶντα ἐβδελύττοντό τε καὶ ἀπεστρέφοντο.  
 Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἦμην οὖν πρότερον, ὦ φίλτατέ μου, ἐν μονα-  
 410 στηρίῳ δουλεύων κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τιμὴν εἶχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρὰ ἀν-  
 θρώποις, φοβηθεὶς τοῦ ὑψαυχένου δράκοντος τὸ πολυμήχανον ὄρμημα, μνησθεὶς δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, φάσκοντος καθότι *τὸ μωρόν*, φησίν, *τοῦ θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν*, ἔκρινα ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐλέσθαι ἦν ὄραξ, μόνον μὴ ἀποπέσω τοῦ θεοῦ·  
 ἐπίσταται γὰρ ἡ ἐν κυρίῳ τιμία ψυχὴ σου, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως τοῦ δικαίου  
 415 κριτοῦ οὐκ ὠφελήσει ἡμῖν τίς, οὐ βοηθήσει ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς, οὐ κελεύσει ἡμᾶς ὅστις ἐπὶ τὸ  
 αὐτό. Πλὴν εἴ που πέρ τις πρὸ τοῦ ἀπάραι καὶ ἀναλῦσαι τοῦ τῆδε βίου ἐν ἀσθενίαις  
 πνευματικαῖς ἠδυνήθη κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον ἐμπεριπατήσας σταυρωθῆναι τῷ

412 τὸ<sup>2</sup> – 413 ἐστίν 1 Cor. 1.25 | 417 σταυρωθῆναι – 418 τούτῳ cf. Gal. 6.14

#### DFSH

390 ὑπ’ < DF | 391 εἶξας] ἀκούσας SH τῶν λεγομένων] τοῖς λεγομένοις D ὑπ’ ἐπ’ F ὑπ’ αὐτῶν]  
 αὐτῷ SH | 392 γέγονεν SH | 393 ἐτοιμῶν F πέλοντα] ὄντα SH παρεῖαν] διωδευέν SH | 395 τοῦ  
 κόλπου < SH | 396 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < H | 397 ἴδε < SH | 398 παραγενέσθαι SH ἀξιοθαύμαστε < SH |  
 399 σου ἐν] τοῦ H γε < SH μακαριώτατε < SH οὖν < SH | 400 θεῷ + μου SH μοι + τὴν SH |  
 401 αὐτοῦ βασιλείας SH ὁ ἄνθρωπος < SH ἡ – 402 εἶτα < SH | 402 ἐναποσκοποῦντα DF ἀπ-  
 εθαύμαζεν < SH | 403 αὐτὸν < SH πρὸς αὐτόν < D ἐπιδεέστερον SH | 404 κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ] τῷ  
 κυρίῳ SH | 405 ἀπόρρητος – ταύτης < DF ἐργασίας DF ἐν – 406 θλίψεσιν < SH καὶ ὀδύναις <  
 D | 407 καὶ κακουχίας < DF οὐ τὸ οἰονοῦν ψυχαγωγούντα SH | 408 πάντες γὰρ αὐτόν bis F δαι-

threw it aside to another place and did not hurt those that went by. When the blessed one approached him when walking his way, the aforementioned boys that stood far away called him and said: “Do not approach the possessed, brother, that you may not be struck down by the stones he throws.” But the blessed one did not yield to their words, turned aside from the way he went, and came close to him. And he found him filling the fold of his robe from a stone heap and pretending to be ready to throw stones on those that tried to go along there. Now the righteous one said to him: “Hail, brother in the Lord.” When he saw him, immediately without hesitation he threw the stones from his fold to the soil, and bowing his knees graciously to the earth he worshipped him, then he rose, embraced the blessed one, kissed him and said: “Behold, Gregentios, the chosen one of God has finally decided to come to me. How are you, beloved one of Christ, how is your health, you wonder-worthy one, how did you accomplish your way in the Lord and still accomplish it, you most blessed one? Now at once I thank my Master and God for this, that he has shown me today one of the heirs of his heavenly kingdom.” And when the man said this, his soul was gladdened, and then he stared upon the blessed one and wondered greatly.

And the righteous one kissed him in return and said to him: “My lord, would not it have been more convenient for you to please the Lord God well in some other way than by this foolish dealing? For doing this is full of ineffable pains and labours, distress and affliction.” For he saw how he was subdued by his exceeding austerity and his mortification; for he did not take baths, did not have a bed nor a hut, nor anyone of those that encourage us spiritually,<sup>70</sup> for all detested and rejected him for being possessed.” But he answered and said to him: “Formerly, my dearest, I was serving the Lord my God in a monastery, but since I was honoured greatly by men, fearing the inventive onrush of the haughty serpent and remembering also the word of the apostle which says that *the foolishness of God is more wise than men*, I decided to choose the way which you see, only that I may not fall away from God. For your soul, which is worthy in God, knows that in the hour of repayment of the righteous judge no one will be of use for us, no one will help us, nor will anybody then give us orders.<sup>71</sup> But if someone has been able, according to the apostle Paul, before departing and parting from this life in spiritual weakness, to walk around and to be crucified for this world and please the Lord God

μονούτα F δαιμονιώντα S ἐβδελύπτοντό τε καὶ < SH | 409 οὖν < SH ὦ φίλτατέ μου < SH | 410 κυρίῳ – μου] τῷ θεῷ SH εἶχον post τυχοῦσαν SH | 411 φοβηθεὶς + οὖν DF ὑψαυχένος SH δὲ καὶ < SH | 412 φάσκοντος] τὸ φάσκον S ὅτι SH φησὶν < H τῶν] παρὰ F | 413 ἐλέσθαι < SH τοῦ < S | 415 οὐ<sup>1</sup> – ὅστις] οὐδὲ διεκδικήσει SH (ἐκδικήσει H) | 416 εἶ που πέρ] οὐπερ SH | 417 ἠδυνήθην DF ἠδυνήθη SH

<sup>70</sup> That is, a spiritual father.

<sup>71</sup> ὅστις seems to be used here as an indefinite pronoun.

κόσμῳ τούτῳ καὶ εὐαρεστήσαι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔξει ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν φιάν-  
 θρωπον θεὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις αὐτοῦ. Τούτου χάριν, κύριέ μου ἀγαπητέ, ταύτην ἦνπερ  
 420 ὄρῳς ὁδὸν ἐξελεξάμην μετὰ θεόν, καὶ ἰκετεύω τὸν κύριόν μου καὶ δεσπότην, ὅπως ἐξάρη-  
 μαι τοῦ πονηροῦ σκότους καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ ταρτάρου καὶ τοῦ ὀδυνηροῦ σκώληκος καὶ τῆς  
 Γεέννης τῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τῆς φοβερᾶς καὶ τῶν ὀδόντων τοῦ βρυγμοῦ καὶ  
 τῶν δακρύων τῶν ἀφορήτων καὶ τῆς δίψης τῆς ἐλεινήσῃς καὶ τοῦ καύσωνος τοῦ πικροῦ τοῦ  
 ἀνηλεῶς ἐκείνου, τοῦ παραπλησίως τῷ πλουσίῳ τῷ ἐν φλογὶ Γεέννης κατακάεντι καὶ ἀπὸ  
 425 πικρᾶς δίψης τὴν γλώσσαν τηγανισθέντος, ἐμπυρίζειν μέλλοντος τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀπει-  
 θεῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς τοὺς μὴ ἐντεῦθεν μετανοήσαντας καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ εὐαρεστήσαντας.”

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος κατανυγείς ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐτοῦ  
 ἴστατο ἡσύχως καὶ ἐξέχεεν δάκρυα ἀποδυρόμενος ὡσανεὶ τὴν ἐλεινότητα αὐτοῦ. Ἔλε-  
 γεν γὰρ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ “Μυστήριον”, φησὶν, “φοβερόν, πῶς οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τῷ θεῷ  
 430 φρικτὴν ὁδὸν βαδίζουσιν καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνα καὶ κρύπτειν τῷ θεῷ μόνῳ ἀρέσαι καὶ ἐπιποθοῦν-  
 τες καὶ σπεύδοντες. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ταπεινὲ Γρηγόριε, οὔτε ἐν κρυπτῷ, ἀλλ’ οὔτε εἰς τὸ  
 φανερόν πεποιήκαμεν τί ἀγαθὸν ἐν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν. Ἄλλ’ οὐαὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς  
 ἀνταποδόσεως!” Ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰρηκῶς καὶ προσπεσὼν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀνδρὶ ἔφη  
 πρὸς αὐτόν “Καλῶς ποιεῖς, ὦ κύριέ μου, καλῶς, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀγιωσύνην  
 435 σου· μνεῖαν ποιοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἶ καὶ εἶρηκα, ἀλλ’ οὖν παραφρονῶν ὡς  
 εἷς τῶν ἀφρόνων ἐλάλησα.” Ταῦτα οὖν εἰρηκῶς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην,  
 ἐπευξάμενοί τε ἀλλήλοις, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἀπῆει τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ αἰνῶν  
 καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ. Οἱ τε παῖδες ἐκείνοι, οἵτινες τῷ δικαίῳ ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 ἔφασκον μὴ πλησιάσαι, φησὶν, “τῷ δαιμονῶντι ἐκείνῳ, ἵνα μὴ λίθοις σε καταβάλῃ”, θεα-  
 440 σάμενοι ὅπως ἡμέρωσ καὶ προσηνῶς τῷ δικαίῳ προσωμίλησεν, ἐθαύμαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 λέγοντες “Οὗτος ὁ διάκονος ἢ μάγος τίς ἐστὶν καὶ ἐπασιδὸς ἢ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἅγιος, καθ-  
 ὅτι ὁ ἄγριος δαίμων οὗτος ὁ ἐν τῷ ταλαιπώρῳ τούτῳ προσὼν ἡμερώθη καὶ ὑπετάγη  
 αὐτῷ.” Δοκιμάζοντες δὲ τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴπερ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σεσωφρόνηκεν, ἀπεκίνουν καὶ  
 445 αὐτοὺς καὶ σκορπιζῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγριώτερος παρὰ τὸ πρότερον γενόμενος.

**6** Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος διασωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Βονιφατίου καὶ τὴν  
 εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ πληρώσας ἐν κυρίῳ, καθαπολαύσας τε καὶ τοῦ τιμίου λειψάνου τοῦ μάρτυ-

424 τοῦ – 425 τηγανισθέντος Lc. 16.23–24

#### D F S H

418 ὁ τοιοῦτος] ὅτι οὗτος S καὶ εὐμενῆ < SH | 419 κύριε ἀγαπητέ μου SH | 420 ὄρῳς + τὴν S  
 σὺν θεῷ SH κύριον – δεσπότην] μου τὸν κύριον SH ἐξάρημαι – 421 πονηροῦ] ἐξαιρήσεται μου  
 τοῦ πικροῦ SH | 421 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SH δεινοῦ] πικροῦ SH καὶ<sup>2</sup> – σκώληκος < SH | 422 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 423 ἐλε-  
 εινῆς < SH | 424 ἀνηλεῶς] ἐλεινοῦ SH τῷ πλουσίῳ < SH τῷ<sup>2</sup>] τοῦ SH κατακάεντι] καὶ ἐν τῇ S,  
 < H ἀπὸ + τῆς H | 425 τῇ γλώσσᾳ F τηγανισθέντι SH ἐμπυρίζειν – 426 ἁμαρτωλοὺς < H  
 μέλλοντι S ἀσεβεῖς καὶ < S | 428 ἡσυχος H | 429 αὐτοῦ + ὅτι SH φησὶν < SH | 430 βαδίζουσιν]

well, — for such a man God, who loves mankind, will be gracious and kind to his sins. Therefore, my beloved lord, I have chosen the way to God you see, and I entreat my Lord and Master, that he may take me out of the evil darkness, the terrible nether world, the painful worm and the painful Gehenna, out of the frightful decision and the gnashing of teeth and the unbearable tears, the pitiful thirst and that bitter and merciless heat, which, in a way similar to the rich man that is burned in the flames of Gehenna and whose tongue is fried from his bitter thirst, will set to fire the faithless and disobedient sinners that did not repent in this world and did not please the Lord well.”

When he had said this, the blessed Gregentios was bewildered about his words, stood there silently and shed tears as if lamenting his misery. For he said in his heart: “It is a frightful mystery, how the chosen ones of God go an awful way, and also desire and hasten to hide themselves in order to please God alone. We, o humble Gregentios, have not done anything good, neither secretly nor in public, in the Lord our God. But woe upon us on the day of repayment!” Having said this to himself, he fell before the feet of that holy man and said to him: “You do well, o my lord, you do well, and I beseech your holiness for me: remember me before the Lord. For although I have said something, I have talked as delirious like one of the fools.” Having said this, he embraced the lord Ioannes, they prayed for each other, and the blessed Gregentios went his way gladly praising and thanking the Master Christ. And those boys who had said to the righteous one in the beginning not to approach that possessed one, “that he may not strike you with his stones”, when they saw how he spoke calmly and gently to the righteous one, wondered among each other and said: “Either this deacon is a magician and enchanter, or he is very holy, for the wild demon in that wretch was tamed and submitted.” They examined him whether he had become of sound mind in truth, went away and approached him. But again he gathered stones and pursued them throwing stones, and scattered them and behaved more wild than before.

When the blessed Gregentios had arrived at the martyr’s church of Saint Bonifatius, he accomplished his prayer in God and also enjoyed the worthy relic of the martyr; then he

6

άνουσι SH και<sup>1</sup> – 431 σπεύδοντες < SH κρύπτειν] αν κρύπτουσι ? | 431 ω < SH εν + τω SH εις] εν H | 432 εν<sup>1</sup> – ήμων] τω κυριω SH ήμιν + εξει γενέσθαι SH | 433 και < DF άνδρι – 434 αυτόν] εφησεν SH | 434 καλω<sup>1</sup> + και DF την αγιωσύνην σου < SH | 435 ειρηκα] λελάληκα H παραφρονων < SH | 436 λελάληκα SH ουν < SH | 437 και επευξάμενοι αλληλους SH και < SH | 438 δεσποτη Χριστω] θεω SH τω δικαιο < D | 439 πλησιάσειεν DF φησιν < SH | 440 πως SH | 441 εστιν post επαιδος SH η<sup>2</sup>] ηπερ S η υπερ H | 442 ο<sup>2</sup> < DF προσων DF | 443 τα προς αυτον < SH ειπερ] υπερ S εσωφρόνηκεν DF και ουτοι] ετι SH | 444 αλιν τους] επειτα SH βαλων επ’] βάλλων SH | 445 σκορπιζων + η SH γενόμενος υπερ το πρότερον SH (γινόμενος S) πρώτον DF

I T λβ’ S λγ’ H + περι του όσιου Μιχαήλ του εγκλειστου SH | 2 αυτου πληρώσας] αποπληρώσας H εν κυριω < SH προσκυνύσας τε το τιμιον λειψανον SH και < D

ρος κατέλυσε ἐν τῇ κέλλῃ τοῦ ἐκείσε προσπαρεδρεύοντος πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐξυπηρετοῦντος. Μετὰ μέντοι τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἀγίας λειτουργίας καθεσθέντων  
 5 αὐτῶν τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν ἄρτον ὠμίλου πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὰ συντείνοντα εἰς σωτηρίαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν μακάριος Γρηγόριος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἐξαίρετα ἀπηγγέλει αὐτῷ, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἀπὸ πείρας καὶ πληροφορίας ἔσχηκεν τόπον ἐκ τόπου ἀμείβων. Ὁ δὲ γε πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἀγρῷ τινὶ μήκοθεν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τριῶν μιλίων διηγήσατο αὐτῷ εἶναι πινὰ ἐγκλειστον, ἄνδρα ἅγιον καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὀλοσχερῶς προσανακείμενον τοῦνομα Μιχαήλ, περὶ οὗ μεγάλα πινὰ διηγήσατο  
 10 θαύματα καὶ ἐξαισία πράγματα. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος τῇ ἐπαύριον μηθὲν μελήσας τὴν ὁδηγίαν ἀκριβῆ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰληφῶς παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, συνταξάμενος αὐτῷ ἀπήει πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον ἐκείνον τοῦ κάκεινου τὴν τιμίαν εὐχὴν ἐν κυρίῳ κομίσασθαι. Πάνυ γὰρ ἐσέβετο καὶ ἐτίμα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐγεγήθει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

Πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπόντι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν ὁδὸν μεσοπορησάντι, ἔγνω  
 15 ἐκείνος τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τούτου ἄφιξιν καὶ φωνήσας τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ ἔφη· “Τὴν σήμερον, ὦ τέκνον, διάκρισιν ὀφείλομεν εἰσπράξασθαι· ἄπελθε οὖν, τέκνον, καὶ σύλλεξον ὀλίγα λάχανα καὶ ἐτοίμασον ἡμῖν τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν. Ἦδη γὰρ ὁ δούλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γρηγόριος ὁ διάκονος ἐκ μακρᾶς τῆς χώρας ἀπαντήσας τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῇ χθὲς κατήχη τῶν ἁγίων Ἀγλαῆς καὶ Βονιφατίου, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ σήμερον παρὰ τοῦ  
 20 πρεσβυτέρου ὁδηγηθεὶς καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγίνεται.” Καὶ ὁ μὲν μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ θάττον τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἐπλήρου. Μετ' ὀλίγα δὲ παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Γρηγόριος, ὃν καὶ φιλοφρόνως δεξάμενος ἐγεγήθει καὶ ἠὲφραίνετο ἡδέως προσομιλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ προσδιαλεγόμενος. Τηλικούτων δὲ ἐκέκτητο χάρισμα ὁ τίμιος γέρων, ὥστε τὰ κρυπτὰ ἔργα τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενομένων πνεύματι ἁγίῳ φαιδρυνόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθαι. Καὶ  
 25 ἀπήγγελεν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ, ποῦ τε ἔφυ, ἐν οἷς τε καὶ τὰς περιόδους εἰσπράξατο ἀνελλιπῶς διηγήσατο. Τῆς δὲ ὥρας ἀπαντησάσης, ἀναστάντες τὰς συνήθεις εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀνέπεμψαν καὶ κατακλιθέντες, τεθείσης τραπέζης ἄρτου μετέλαβον.

Τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ ἀγάπην, ἔφη ὁ γέρων τῷ μαθητῇ αὐτοῦ· “Δύο πινὲς  
 30 ἀδελφοὶ παραγεγονότες πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος ἴστανται.” Ἐξελθὼν οὖν εἰσῆγαγεν αὐτούς· προετρέπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς μεταλαβεῖν ἄρτου. Αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπακοὴν μὴ ἐπιτελούντων — ὑπῆρχον δὲ σκυθρωποὶ ἐπὶ τινὶ πράγματι αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότι· φίλος γὰρ αὐτῶν τίς προσῆν ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τελευτήσας καὶ ἐδυσπίστου τὴν ἀγγελίαν, χάριν δὲ πληροφορίας ἦσαν παραγεγονότες πρὸς τὸν ὅσιον, ἐπειδὴ βλέπων ἦν κυρίου καὶ ἐγίνωσκον αὐτόν. Οὐ

### DFSH

3 ἐκεῖ H παροδεύοντος DF πρεσβυτέρου – 4 ἐξυπηρετοῦντος < SH | 4 μέντοι | δὲ SH ἀγίας | θείας H | 5 τοῦ < SH | 6 μὲν<sup>2</sup> < SH | 7 μεταμείβων H | 8 αὐτοῦ < DF εἶναι < SH | 9 ἀνακείμενος SH διηγῆτο SH | 10 καὶ < SH πράγματα < SH μηδὲν D | 11 αὐτῷ | αὐτὸν SH ἀπήει + τὰ DF | 12 ἐν | τῷ SH | 13 τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> F ἐπ' αὐτοῖς | πρὸς αὐτούς D | 14 πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν H μεσοπορησάντες H | 15 ἐκείνος | ἐκεῖ SH ἄφιξιν τούτου SH τῆν<sup>2</sup> | τῇ D | 16 ἀπελθὼν D ἄπειθι SH τέκνον<sup>2</sup> < DF | 17 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < SH | 18 Ῥωμαίων + καὶ D | 19 παρὰ | ὑπὸ SH | 20 καὶ<sup>1</sup> + τὰ DF ἡμᾶς | ἡμῶν DF καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 21 παρεγένετο < SH | 22 καὶ ἠὲφραίνετο | ἐπ' αὐτῷ SH εὐφραίνετο D ὀμιλῶν SH

took his lodge in the cell of the priest who was in office there and served the martyr. After the completion of the holy liturgy they sat down to eat bread and spoke to each other about the things that contribute to salvation. And the blessed Gregentios related to him many extraordinary things from those he had learnt by his experience and instruction, changing from one place to another. And the priest told him that there was an hermit in a field far away from him at a distance of three miles, a holy man called Michael who was wholly devoted to God, about whom he told him some great wonders and extraordinary things.<sup>72</sup> On the next morning Gregentios, having received a precise description of the way from the priest, said farewell to him and went without hesitation to that holy man to receive his worthy prayer in the Lord as well. For he adored and honoured the servants of Christ much and enjoyed them.

When he went out to him and had already made half of the way, that man understood that he would come, and calling his disciple he said: “Today, o child, we will need the power of discrimination; now go, my child, and collect some herbs and prepare them for us as a meal. For the servant of Christ, the deacon Gregentios, has already arrived at our city of the Romans and yesterday went down to the martyr’s church of the Saints Aglais and Bonifatius; but today, being guided by the priest, he will come to us as well.” And his disciple obeyed him quickly. Shortly thereafter Gregentios also came to him; he received him kindly, rejoiced and was pleased, speaking to him sweetly and talking with him. That worthy old man was so gifted that he knew the secret works of those that came to him, being enlightened accurately by the Holy Ghost. And he announced to them, as well as to the blessed one, what had happened to him from the beginning, and told him without any omission where he was born and where he had made his journeys. When the hour had come, they rose, sent the usual prayers up to the Lord, sat down, and when a table had been set up, they ate bread.

Now when they had accomplished the love in the Lord, the old man said to his disciple: “Two brothers have arrived here and stand before the gate.” Now he went outside and led them in, and invited them to eat some bread. But then they did not obey him — they were sad because of something that had happened to them: For a friend of theirs had died on a journey abroad, and since they did not believe the message, they had come to the holy man to be assured about it, for he was one who saw the Lord, and

διαλεγόμενος SH | 23 κρυπτά < H | 24 πρὸς αὐτόν] μήκοθεν SH παραγινομένων SH ἐπίστατο DF | 25 ἀπαγγέλειν S ἀπήγγειλεν H ὡς καὶ] ὥστε SH τὰ < F αὐτῶ < DF | 26 καὶ < SH | 30 παραγεγονότες post πυλῶνος SH παραγεγονῶσι F πρὸ] οὖν < SH | 31 δέ<sup>1</sup> < SH αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς ὁ ὄσιος SH δέ<sup>2</sup>] γὰρ SH μὴ τὴν ὑπακοὴν αὐτοῦ SH | 32 ὑπῆρχον δέ] ἦσαν γὰρ SH | 33 προσῆν] πρὸς κύριον H ἐδυπίστουν SH | 34 παραγεγονότες + τὰ DF ἦν + ἐκ H

<sup>72</sup> See above, pp. 36–37.

35 μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀσίου γέροντος σφόδρα προσφιλῆς ἐχρημάτιζεν ὁ τελευτή-  
 σας. Ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη τοῖς παραγεγονόσιν· “Ὑμεῖς περὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἀδελφοῦ  
 παραγεγόνατε δέξασθαι πληροφορίαν, πότερον ζῆ ἢπερ ἐτελεύτησεν.” Τῶν δὲ εἰρηκότων  
 ὅτι “ἐκέλευσας”, ἀποκριθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς· “Δέον ἦν αὐτῷ ὑπακοῦσαι μου τῆς  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγελίας, καὶ ἐν τῷ τέως ἐν γῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τὸν βίον οὐκ ἂν κατέλυσεν. Ἀναχω-  
 40 ροῦντι γὰρ αὐτῷ προείρηκα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἀκήκοεν, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν,  
 ἀληθῆς ἐστίν, ὧ τέκνα, ἡ ἀγγελία ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ. Τέθνηκεν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐκέτι ὀρώμεν  
 αὐτόν.” Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτούς λαλῶν κατέπαυσεν, ἤρξατο καθεζόμενος βρόχθους  
 δακρῶν σταλάζειν. Ὅμως μέντοι καταστείλας ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πένθους, ἀγαθύνας τε  
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ παρακλήσειεν ἡμερώσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς μεταλαβεῖν  
 45 ἄρτου.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἀναχωρησάντων καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου ἐκέισε ἔτι χρηματίζοντος,  
 ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ ἀγαπητ-  
 ῷ μου Γρηγεντίῳ ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ὁδοιορίας τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔνεκα,  
 ὅτι ὄλως κατηξίωσας παραγεγονέναι καὶ θεάσασθαι ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀμαρτίας ὄλον τὸν  
 50 βίον δαπανήσαντα; Ἀληθῶς, ποτήριον νοητὸν σωτηρίου καθικετεύσω τῷ κυρίῳ λήψεσθαί  
 σε, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ εὐφροσύνη τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπικαλέσομαι διὰ  
 σὲ εὐδοῦσαι σου τὰ πρὸς θεὸν διαβήματα ἀπροσκόπως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός. Ἀποστελῶ σε  
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον τίμιον καὶ ὄλον οὐράνιον γέροντα, ὅπως κάκεινου τὴν τιμίαν εὐχὴν ἐν  
 κυρίῳ κληρονομήσης ὡς υἱὸς γνήσιος καὶ πνευματικὸς ἰδίων καὶ γνησίων πατέρων καὶ  
 55 ὄλως πνευματικῶν. Οὗς γὰρ συνάπτει εὐγένεια ἀρετῆς καὶ τρόπος χρηστότητος, τούτους  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τῆς Εὕας ἰδίους καὶ αἵματος φορὰ.”

Ἐκαὶ ὡς ταῦτα εἰρήκει, καλέσας τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Παραλαβὼν  
 τὸν κύβιν Γρηγέντιον διάσωσον αὐτόν μέχρι Ξηρολίμνας ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὑποδείξας αὐτῷ  
 μήκοθεν τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος ἀναχώρησον.” Ὑπῆρχεν δὲ μέχρι τῆς εἰσβά-  
 60 σεως ὡς κατὰ ἄρκτον φημί τοῦ ὄρους ἀπέχων τῆς κέλλης τοῦ ὀσίου Μιχαὴλ μίλια ἕξ, ἀπὸ  
 δὲ τῆς εἰσβάσεως τοῦ ὄρους μέχρι τοῦ εἰρημένου σπηλαίου μίλια τρισκαίδεκα. Προσὴν δὲ  
 τὸ σπήλαιον εἰς βάθος ἐνδοτάτω, μεγίστη ἢ κορυφῆ τοῦ ὄρους εἰς ὕψος ἐπηρμένη· καὶ ὡς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦδε κατεύδηλον ἦν, ποῦγε τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ γέροντος ἐχρημάτιζεν. Παραλαβὼν δὲ  
 τὸν μακάριον ἐκεῖνος ἐπορεύθη μετ’ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ὄρους εἰσβάσεως καὶ εἰρηκῶς

50 ποτήριον – 51 σε cf. Ps. 115.4 | 51 καὶ – ἐπικαλέσομαι Ps. 115.4

#### DFSH

36 δεῖνος DF | 37 παρεγόνατε D πότερον] πρότερον H + ἦ SH | 38 αὐτῷ] αὐτόν D μου < DF |  
 39 ἀγγελίας S οὐκ ἂν < D οὐκ ἂν κατέλυσεν] οὐ καντέλυσεν F | 40 δὲ < DF οὐκ] οὐδὲ F  
 ἀκήκοεν D H | 41 ὧ τέκνα < SH ἢ<sup>1</sup> < S ἢ περὶ < SH ἐκεῖνος < SH | 42 πρὸς αὐτούς < SH  
 κατέπαυσεν + τὸν λόγον H ἤρξατο καθεζόμενος] ἤρξαντο κλαίειν καὶ H βρόγχθους DF +  
 ἐκχέων H | 43 δακρῶν – πένθους < SH, + ὁ δὲ γέρων H τε < H | 44 παράκλησιν H αὐτοὺς < S  
 μεταλαβεῖν] μετασχεῖν D, + καὶ F | 45 ἄρτου] τὸν ἄρτον D | 46 ἀναχωσάντων D ἔτι ἐκέισε D ἔτι  
 < SH χρηματίζοντος] ὄντος SH | 47 Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ SH | 48 τῆς<sup>2</sup> – ἐμὲ] αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς με SH

they knew him. And not only this, but the deceased had also been a close friend of the holy old man. The old man answered and said to those that had arrived: “You have come because of such and such a brother, to get certainty whether he lives or has died.” When they said “as you order”, he answered and said to them: “He needed to obey what I announced to him, and so he would not have ended his life in a foreign land. For when he departed I foretold him <this>; since he did not listen, but did the things that pleased him, the message about him is true, o children. For that man has died and we wo not see him again.” And when he ended his speech to them, he sat down and began to drop down streams of tears. However, he repressed his lament, comforted them and calmed their hearts with intercessions, and persuaded them to eat some bread.

Thereafter, when those had left and the blessed one was still there, the servant of Christ Michael answered and said to him: “How shall I repay to my beloved Gregentios in the name of the Lord for his labour and his journey to me, that you have finally been deemed worthy to come here and see a man that has spent all his life in sins? Truly, I entreat the Lord that you will receive a mental cup of salvation, which is the gladness of the Holy Ghost, *and I will invoke the name of the Lord* for you, that he guides your paces to God aright without offence by day and night. I will also send you to another worthy and altogether heavenly old man, so that you may also inherit his worthy prayer in the Lord as a true and spiritual son of his own and true parents who were spiritual altogether. For those whom the nobleness of virtue and honest manners join together, these same also the motion of blood from Adam and Eve will join together.”

And when he had said this, he called his disciple and said to him:<sup>73</sup> “Take the lord Gregentios and bring him to the Dry Lakes on the mountain, show him the cave of the holy old man from afar and go away.” The distance to the foot which lay to the north, I mean of the mountain, was six miles from the cell of the holy Michael, and from the foot of the mountain to the aforementioned cave thirteen miles. The cave was deep inside, and the peak of the mountain was very great and exalted to the hight, and from this it was entirely clear where the cave of the old man was. That man took the blessed one

εἶνεκα S | 49 κατηξίωσεν παραγενέσθαι SH τὸν βίον ὄλον DF | 51 σε < H ὅπερ] ὡσπερ DF ὄνομα + τοῦ F | 52 εὐδοέσαι S θεὸν] αὐτὸν SH ἀπροσκόπως < SH | 53 τιμίαν + καὶ ἁγίαν SH | 54 καί<sup>2</sup> < DF | 55 ὄλων SH οὖς – 56 φορά < SH | 56 τοῦ < D φοράν DF | 57 <sup>†</sup> λγ’ S λδ’ H + περὶ τοῦ ὀσίου γέροντος Ἀργάδου τοῦ ἀναχωρητοῦ SH λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν] καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ H πρὸς < S | 58 Ξηρελίμνας DF | 59 ἁγίου < SH ἑάσεως DF | 60 ὡς < SH φημι < SH | 61 εἰρημέ- νου < SH δέ<sup>2</sup> + ἐν ᾧ SH | 62 ἐνδότατον SH μεγίστη + δὲ ἦν H | 63 τοῦγε S κατάδηλον SH τοῦ γέροντος < SH | 64 μετ’ αὐτοῦ < SH ἐκβάσεως DF καὶ – 65 ὁδοῦ post ὄρους SH (καὶ post αὐτῷ, σύσσημα] συστήματα) εἶρκεν D εἰρήκας F

73 On the following description, see above, pp. 37–38.



65 αὐτῷ τὰ σύσσημα τῆς ὁδοῦ, δείξας τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ὕψος τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους βαδίζειν παρεκελεύσατο.

Ἄπῃ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν χαίρων ὁ δίκαιος καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον συνεχῶς ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ψαλτήριον ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι σπηλαιῶν. Κατέλαβεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ νύξ βαδίζοντα ἐνδοτάτω τοῦ ὄρους ἐπὶ τινὶ καταλύματι, καὶ δὴ ἡσυχάσας ἐκεῖ μέχρι πρωτῆ ἐξαναστὰς  
 70 ἀνήχθη ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους. Ὡς δὲ νεύσει θεοῦ ὁδηγηθεὶς κατέλαβεν τὸ σπήλαιον κόπῃ, ἐρευνήσας οὐχ εὔρεν ἐκεῖσε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τινα ἕτερον. Μόνος γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖσε μετὰ τῶν ἀγρίων θηρῶν διατρίβων, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔδειξεν. Εἶπεν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὁ δίκαιος· “Μεῖνω ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἔστω καθ' ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀνέλθεται ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος, πάντως ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεται.” Καὶ ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε ὥραν ἰκανὴν ἀναβλέψας ὡς  
 75 πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐνδοτάτω τοῦ ὄρους ὄρᾳ στῆλον πυρὸς καιόμενον φθάνοντα ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν ἕως τῶν ὑψωμάτων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔντρομος ἐγεγόνει. Θαυμάζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκπληττομένου τὸ τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο, ἀναστὰς ἀπῆει μαθεῖν τὸ μυστήριον πειρώμενος. Ὡς δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἀπιδὼν τῷ πράγματι ὄρᾳ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ γῆ ὡσανεὶ ἐπὶ κλίνης βασιλικῆς ἐπαναπαυόμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ περιεστήρικτο καὶ ὁ στῆλος  
 80 τοῦ πυρός. Διὰ πάσης γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔθος εἶχεν ἀγρύπνως ἴστασθαι καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, πρωΐα δὲ ὀλίγον τί καθεύδειν καὶ ἐπαναπαύεσθαι. Ἐπι δὲ καὶ πλησιέστερον γενόμενος, καθαρώτερον ἔστοχάζετο τοῦ θεοῦ πυρὸς ἐκείνου τὴν θεῖαν ἀκτίνα τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅσιον ἐκείνον ἐφαπλουμένην τε καὶ θέουσαν. Κατανοῶν δὲ ἐξεπλήττετο· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε πῦρ ἦν οὔτε ἡλίου ἀκτίς, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἴρις ἢ κατ' οὐρανὸν πολλακίς ἀναφαινομένη ἐπάνω  
 85 τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ ὡς οἶα πυραμῖς πυρακτίζουσα, ἀλλ' ἔπελον ἡ διαυγεία τοῦ φωτὸς αὐτοῦ μυριοπλάσιον λευκάδα κεκτημένη καὶ πυρρίδα, ἑτέραν εὐχροίαν λεπτὴν καὶ πυρρὴν, καὶ ἑτέραν ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλην ἑτέρως, ἑκάτερα δὲ ἰδίαις χροιαῖς λευκαῖς καὶ πυρίναις ὁμοίως ἐξαστράπτοντα καὶ φαίοντα καὶ διανυγίζοντα. Στοχασάμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῷ δέει βληθεὶς πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπάρας ὑπέστρεψεν, λογισάμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ· “Ἀπά-  
 90 ρας”, φησὶν, “πορεύσομαι ἐπὶ τὴν καταμονὴν αὐτοῦ κάκεισε αὐτὸν ἐκδέξομαι, μήπως ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὴν ἐγγήγορσιν αὐτοῦ διαναστὰς εὔρομαι, καὶ ὡς τῷδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαρεσκομένου βαρυνθῆ ἴσως κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπάξω ἐμαυτῷ κατάραν καὶ οὐκ εὐλογίαν.”

Ὡς δὲ πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου γεγονῶς ἡσύχασεν, ἀναβλέψας ἔπειτα ὄρᾳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπέστη τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὁ πολυειδῆς ἐν λευκῇ ὡσεὶ χιῶν εὐχροία πυρὸς στῆλος ὁ κατενώπιον  
 95 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἴστασθαι παρὰ κυρίου ἀφ' ὑψόθεν οὐρανοῦ κελευσθεὶς. Εὐθύς οὖν συνῆκεν, ὅτι ἐγγηγορήσας ἀνέστη ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος. Μετ' ὀλίγα δὲ προσέσχεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἤρχετο ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου οὐπερ ἐκάθευδεν ὡς πρὸς τὸ σπήλαιον. Ξένον δὲ τὸ λεγό-

#### DFSH

65 βαδίζων SH | 67 τὸ λοιπὸν < SH ὁ δίκαιος χαίρων D καὶ < SH | 68 ἐν τῷ ἀπέναι < SH δὲ < H βαδίζοντι SH | 69 ἐπὶ – 70 ὄρους < H καλύματι S ἡσυχάσας + αὐτῷ S ἐκεῖ μέχρι πρωτῆ ἐκεῖσε πρωΐας S μέχρι ἐκεῖ F ἐξαναστὰς + ἔπειτα S | 70 ἀνήχθη] ἀνῆει post ὄρους SH | 71 κόπῃ πολλῶ ἐρευνήσας δὲ H | 72 θηρίων SH δὲ] οὖν D αὐτῷ S | 73 ὄσιος SH ἔστω καθ' < SH | 74 παραγίνεται] ἀπαντᾷ SH | 75 τῆς γῆς μέχρι τῶν ἀψίδων SH | 76 τοῦ bis H γέγονεν SH |

and went with him to the foot of the mountain, told him the marks of the way, and having shown him also the height of the peak of the mountain, he gave him order to go.

So the righteous one then went away gladly, invoking the holy God continually and chanting the holy Psalter while going. Night befell him when he went into the inner parts of the mountain to some cabin, and having rested there until dawn, he rose and went up to the peak of the mountain. When he reached the cave with great labour, being led by God's will, and seeking the man of God, he did not find him, but no one else as well. For he stayed there alone with the wild animals, as truth showed. And the righteous one said by himself: "I will stay here, and wherever the man of God may dwell, he will come here at all events." And when he had been there for a considerable time, looking up into heaven, he saw in the south in the inner part of the mountain, a burning pillar of fire which reached from the earth to the heights of heaven, and he was frightened about this. Wondering and being astonished what this should be, he rose and went away, trying to understand the mystery. And when he came close to it and looked on the thing, he saw the man of God resting on the earth as on a royal bed, and the pillar of fire also rested on him. For he used to stand without sleep all night long and to pray, and to lie down and rest a little at dawn. When he came still closer he saw the divine ray of that divine fire more clearly which had spread from heaven over that holy man and shone. When he perceived it he was astonished, for it was neither fire nor a ray of sunlight, nor a rainbow such as it appears often in the sky above the clouds and burns like a pyramid, but the splendour of its light possessed whiteness and redness ten thousand fold, another fine and flame-coloured colour, one in this and one in that way, and both of them flashing, shining and resplending similarly with their own colours. When he had stared upon this for a long time and had been struck by fear, he went away again and returned to the cave, thinking by himself: "I will depart and go to his dwelling-place and await him there, that I may not be found standing here by his vigilance, and if he dislikes this, he might perhaps be offended by me and I will inflict a curse on myself and no blessing."

And when he came close to the cave he rested, and then glancing up he looked, and behold, the pillar moved away from there, having appeared in many forms in fine white colour of fire like snow, and had been ordered by the Lord from the height of heaven to stand before the man of God. Now he understood immediately that the man of God had awoken, and rose. Shortly thereafter he looked there, and behold, he came to the cave

77 τὸ<sup>1</sup> < SH πειρώμενος – 78 ἐγεγόνει < H | 78 γέγονεν S ἀπιδὼν τῷ πράγματι | 79 ἀναπαύομενον SH ἐπεστήρικτο S | 80 εἶχεν] εἶχον codd. | 81 πρωίας SH ἀναπαύεσθαι SH καί<sup>2</sup> < SH γενόμενος] στεναγμός F γενάμενος SH | 82 ἀκτίαν DF | 83 ἐκείνον] γέροντα SH θεούσαν DF | 84 ἀλλ' – 87 καί<sup>1</sup> < SH | 86 κεκτημένη καὶ] κεκτημένης DF | 87 ἄλλην] ἀλλ' ἦν SH ἐκάτερα δὲ < SH χροίαις S χροαίς H πυρραίς SH ὁμοίαις SH | 88 καὶ φαίοντα < SH ἐπὶ πολὺ < SH | 91 διὰ] μετὰ SH ἀναστάς SH ἀπαρασκομένου D | 92 βαρυθῆ F SH | 93 ἐγεγόνει SH ἔπειτα < DF | 94 ἀπέπτῃ SH | 95 ἀφ' – κελουσθεῖς < DF | 96 ὀλίγων SH προσέχει SH

μενον και πασαν εννοιαν καταπληττον· ἐρχόμενος γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς περιεπάτει, ἀλλ' ὡσανεὶ δύο πήχας ἀπὸ τῶν χαμαὶ εἰς ὕψος ἐγηγερμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος κούφως περιπατῶν  
100 οὕτω γαληνῶς πῶς καὶ ἡμέρωσ ἀνέβαινεν.

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος φόβῳ πολλῶ συσχεθεὶς διελογίζετο, μήπως πνεῦμα ἐστὶν  
καὶ φαντάζει αὐτόν, καὶ στραφεὶς κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς ὕψος ἄρας εἶ-  
105 πεν· “Ἡ φοβερὰ δύναμις, κύριε, τὸ φρικτὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν κράτος τῆς παναρέτου τριάδος, ὁ κραταιὸς ἐν πολέμοις, ὁ ὢν θεός, τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ἡ τρισυπόστατος ἐνάς καὶ μονὰς τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπεραρρήτου καὶ ἀπροσίτου καὶ ἀνερμηνεύτου καὶ ἀνε-  
110 ξιχνιάστου καὶ μεγαλοδυνάμου θεότητος, ὁ ὑψηλὸς βραχιῶν ὁ πατάσων λεγεῶνας ἐναντίων, ὁ συντρίβων πολεμίους ἐν ἰσχύει κύριος, ἐλθέ, ἡ δύναμις ἡ ὑψίστη, ἐλθέ εἰς ἀντίληψιν, εἰς ὄπλον, εἰς σκέπη, εἰς καταφυγὴν τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀχρείου οἰκέτου σου Γρηγεντίου, καὶ ἀποκάθαρόν μοι τὸ καθορώμενον, πότερον σὸν ἐστιν ἢ περ τῆς ἀντικει-  
115 μένης δυνάμεως.” Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς τρίς κατέναντι αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι λεληθότως, ἐσφράγισεν τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ δακτύλοις νοητοῖς χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠλλοιοῦτο, ἀλλὰ γε τῷ παραδόξῳ ἐκείνῳ βαδίσματι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος βαδίζων ἀφίκετο.

Καὶ ὡς πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου παρεγένετο, καταβάς τοῦ ἀέρος πρῶτα τοῖς ποσὶν  
115 τὴν γῆν πεπατηκῶς πρὸς τὸν μακάριον παρεγένετο. Μηλωτῆ δὲ προσῆν ἡμφιεσμένος κατὰ τὸν πάλαι προφήτην Ἡλίαν. Ὁ οὖν μακάριος Γρηγέντιος προσδραμῶν ἔρριπεν ἑαυ-  
τὸν εἰς τοὺς τιμίους αὐτοῦ πόδας λέγων· “Εὐλόγησον, τίμιε πάτερ, τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον παῖδα σου.” Ὁ δὲ γέρων ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν λέγων· “Τέκνον Γρηγέντιε, κέλευσον, ἀνάστηθι.” Ὡς δὲ ἀνέστη, πορευθέντες ἔγγιστα τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐκαθέσθησαν. Ἐφη οὖν  
120 πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τίς σοι παρέσχεν κόπους, ὦ τέκνον, τοσαύτην ὁδὸν στείλασθαι τοῦ θεάσασθαι εὐτελὲς καὶ παρεμὲνον γερόντιον; Μιχαὴλ οἶμαι ὁ πνευματικὸς ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ, μάλλον δὲ αὐτὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν μεθοριῶν τῶν Ἀβάρων πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἐγείρας σε καὶ ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως καὶ τόπον ἐκ τόπου μετερχόμενον καὶ μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν κατὰ δυσμὰς πόλεων ὡς αἰτὸς νοσοσὶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσκέ-  
125 πασέν τε καὶ διεφύλαξεν, καὶ μέχρις ἐμοῦ τοῦ τάλανος ὡς ἡ ὥρα αὕτη ἐρρωμένον τε καὶ ὑγιῆ παρέστησεν. Χάρις τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ μεσημβρίας καὶ νότου καὶ θαλάσσης προσκαλεῖται τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ.” Εἶτα τε ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐν τῷ Βενεδίκτου οἴκῳ ἦς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπληκευόμενος;” Καὶ ὁ Γρηγέντιος· “Ὡς ἐκέλευσας,” φησὶν,

104 κραταιὸς ἐν πολέμοις cf. Ps. 23.8 ὄνομα<sup>1</sup> – ὄνομα<sup>2</sup> Phil. 2.9 | 115 μηλωτῆ – 116 Ἡλίαν cf. 3 Reg. 19.13. 19 | 124 ὡς – ἐσκέπασέν cf. Dt. 32.11 | 126 ἀπὸ – 127 θαλάσσης Ps. 106.3

#### D F S H

101 διελογίσαστο SH | 102 καὶ στραφεὶς] στραφεὶς δὲ SH ἐπάρας SH | 103 φρικτὸν – κράτος] φοβερὸν ὄνομα SH τῆς – 104 θεός < D παναρήτου F ἀγίας SH | 104 τὸ<sup>1</sup> – 106 θεότητος < SH | 107 πολέμους SH ὑψηλὴ SH ἐλθέ < SH εἰς ὄπλον εἰς ἀντίληψιν SH | 108 οἰκέτου] δούλου H σου < F | 109 τὸ καθορώμενον post ἐστιν SH ὀρώμενον D πότερον + εἰ SH ἢ περ] ὑπὲρ H |

from the place where he had rested. It is a strange saying which amazes all understanding: for when he came, he did not walk on the earth, but was lifted about two cubits high into the air from the ground, and went up walking lightly, somehow gently and calmly.

Seized by great fear the blessed Gregentios considered whether this was a spirit and he only imagined him, and he turned to the East, lifted his hands up high and said: “The frightful power, Lord, the awe-inspiring and strong might of the all-virtuous Trinity, he who is mighty in battle, the true God, the great name which is above every name, the oneness and unity in three substances of the ineffable and more than ineffable, the inaccessible, inexplicable, inscrutable and almighty divinity, the high arm that strikes legions of enemies, the Lord that shatters the warriors in his strength, come, you highest power, come to support me, as a weapon, a shelter and refuge of your humble and worthless servant Gregentios, and make clear to me what I have seen, whether it is yours or from the opposing power.” And saying this he turned around and made the sign of the worthy cross thrice in his spirit secretly with the mental fingers of his hands. And <the old man> did not change his appearance, but arrived walking in the air with that miraculous pace.

And when he arrived close to the cave, he descended from the air, stepped on the earth with his most gentle feet and came to the blessed one. He was dressed in a sheepskin as once the prophet Elijah. Now the blessed Gregentios ran to him, threw himself before his worthy feet and said: “Worthy father, bless your sinful and unworthy child.” The old man raised him and said: “My child Gregentios, please, rise.” And when he had risen, they went together and sat down very near to the cave. Now he said to him: “Who did cause you such labours, o child, that you were sent such a long way to see a humble and weak little old man? It was Michael, I think, our spiritual brother in the Lord, or rather the Lord our God himself who raised you from the borders of the Avars by his Holy Ghost and protected and kept you like an eagle his nest, as you were going from town to town and from place to place until today, and also to this queen of cities among those in the West, and has brought you to me miserable man at this hour soundly and healthy. Grace be to his ineffable goodness that he invites his chosen ones *from East and West and North*, from the arctic regions and those of midday, from the South *and the sea* into the kingdom of heaven.” Then he answered and said to him: “Did you take

110 στραφεις SH τρις < SH | 111 τιμίου < SH νοητής χειρός H | 112 βαδισματι εκείνω SH | 114 εαέρος F | 115 μηλωτήν SH | 116 αὐτόν F | 117 τιμίους < SH πόδας αὐτοῦ SH | 120 αὐτόν + ὁ γέρων H τοῦ θεάσασθαι post 121 γερόντιον F | 121 έντελής DF ἡμῶν < DF | 122 δέ < F ὀ<sup>2</sup> < DF τῶν<sup>2</sup> < H | 123 ἡ < DF ἡμέρα ταύτη DF και<sup>2</sup> – τόπου < SH μετερχόμενος SH μετερχόμενον και < DF | 124 δυσμῶν πόλεως DF ὡς – 125 και<sup>1</sup> < SH | 125 ὡς – και<sup>3</sup> < SH | 126 ἀγαθότητι < F ἀνατολῶν – 127 θαλάσσης] περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης SH | 128 εἶτα τε] και ἔπειτα SH τε < D | 129 ἀπληκευόμενος D ἠπλικευόμενος SH ὡς < SH

- 130 “πάτερ ἄγιε.” Καὶ ὁ γέρων· “Ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ ἢς τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀγλαίδος καὶ Βονιφατίου προσευξάμενος;” Καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριος· “Οὕτως μοι, ὡς ἐκέλευσας, τίμει πάτερ.” Καὶ ὁ γέρων· “Βασίλειος ὁ πρεσβύτερος σοὶ ὑπηγόρευσεν ἕνεκα τοῦ ὀσίου γέροντος Μιχαὴλ τοῦ αὐτόν σε καθιδέσθαι;” Καὶ ὁ Γρηγόριος· “Οὕτως πρόσεσπιν, πάτερ ἄγιε.” Καὶ ὁ γέρων ἀποκριθεὶς ἔπειτα λέγει·
- 135 “Τέκνον, εἰς Αὐγουστόπολιν δεῖ σε πορευθῆναι, κάκειθεν δὲ ἀποπλεῖν σε εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἔπειτα ἐκ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίαν δεῖ σε ἀπᾶραι καὶ μετέπειτα καταλαβεῖν σε τὴν πόλιν Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκέισε ἢ κατὰπαυσίς σου παρὰ κυρίῳ ἐτοίμασται. Βασιλεὺς γὰρ τίς τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν Ἑβραῖος παρανομώτατος Νεγρὰν πινὰ πόλιν δόλῳ ἀφελόμενος, πλήθη χριστιανῶν ἐν ταύτῃ εὐρῶν καὶ μὴ εἴξαντα τοῦ γενέσθαι
- 140 κατ’ αὐτόν καὶ ἰουδαῖσαι πυρὶ τε καὶ στόματι ῥομφαίας ἀπέκτεινεν ἅπαντας, ἐν οἷς εἰσηγήσει τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως Ἰουστίνου Ἐλεσβοάμ ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς τῷ μιαρῷ ἐκείνῳ Ἰουδαίῳ, φημι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐτοιμάζων τὰ ἴδια στρατόπεδα παρασκευάζεται εἰς πόλεμον. Καὶ μὲν γε τὴν νίκην δέξεται παρὰ κυρίου καὶ χειρώσεται τὸν ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἀνελεῖ αὐτόν καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ
- 145 ἅπασαν μισμμάτων, καὶ Προτερίῳ τῷ πάπᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας χαράξει στέλαι αὐτῷ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ἐκέισε ἔθνων καὶ λαῶν, ἐτοιμῶν πελότων τοῦ ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς κύριον καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι. Καὶ ὁ κληρὸς ἐπὶ σὲ ψήφῳ θεοῦ, ὦ τέκνον, ἀναβήσεται καὶ σταλεῖ σε ἐκεῖ, καὶ φωτίσεις τετραγενῆ λαὸν τὸν ἐκέισε, Ἑλλήνας τε καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ὀμηρίτας καὶ Μαυρουσίους. Πλὴν κόπους σοὶ οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας παρέξει ἐν λέξεσιν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων,
- 150 καὶ δέον σοὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως ὀφείλεις διαλεχθῆναι μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιστρέφαι πρὸς κύριον τὴν σκληρότητα αὐτῶν. Ὅμως μέντοι εὐδοώσει σοὶ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, οἷῳ γε κρίματι βούλεται. *Αὐτὸς γὰρ σοφοὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ ἀνορθοὶ κατερραγμένους, φυλάσσει δὲ τοὺς προσηλύτους καὶ ἀγαπᾷ δικαίους· ὀρφανὸν καὶ χήραν ἀναλήφεται καὶ ὀδὸν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀφανιεῖ.*”
- 155 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος βαλὼν τῷ ὀσίῳ γέροντι μετάνοιαν ἔφη· “Πάτερ ἄγιε, διὰ τὸν κύριον, εἴπερ καὶ εὐδοκεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτήσῃ τοῦ παιδός σου, μᾶλλον συνοικήσω σοὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης μου ἀναπνοῆς, ἵν’ εὐδοκήσαι με δυνηθῶ καλῶς ἔναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ πλήθη τῶν πλημμελημάτων μου τὰ ἐν κρυφῇ μοὶ ἐξεργασμένα θρηνηῖσαι τε καὶ ἀποκαθάραι. Ἐπει τοίνυν πρὸς με τὰ παρὰ σοῦ μοι λεγόμενα περὶ

152 αὐτὸς – 154 ἀφανιεῖ cf. Ps. 145.8

#### DFSH

130 τῶν ἁγίων < DF Ἀγλαῆς DF | 131 προσευξόμενος SH οὕτως μοι ὡς < SH | 132 εἵνεγκα S ὀσίου < SH | 133 πρόσεσπιν] ἔχει SH | 134 ἔπειτα < DF | 135 δὲ < SH | 136 ἔπειτα < DF ἐκ] ἀπὸ SH δεῖ σε ἀπᾶραι ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίαν SH (ἐπὶ] εἰς H) | 137 κυρίου ἠτοίμασται SH | 139 ὀφελόμενος SH εὐρηκῶς SH εἴξαντας DF | 140 τε καὶ] καὶ ἐν SH ἅπαντας] αὐτοῦς H, < S | 141 Ἰουστίνου post 140 εἰσηγήσει SH Ἐλεσβαῖαν DF ὁ < D | 143 μὲν γε < SH παρὰ κυρίου δέξεται SH | 144 ἀνελεῖν F | 145 τῷ ante Προτερίῳ DF χαράξειεν DF τοῦ στέλαι αὐτῶν SH | 146 πελότων] ὄτων SH | 147 ψήφῳ θεοῦ post τέκνον SH καί<sup>1</sup> – 149 Μαυρουσίους < SH | 149 λέξεσιν]

your lodge in town in the house of Benediktos?” And Gregentios said: “As you told me, holy father.” And the old man: “Were you in the martyr’s church of the Saints Aglais and Bonifatius yesterday for prayer?” And Gregentios said: “It is as you say, worthy father.” And the old man: “Did the priest Benediktos tell you about the holy old man Michael, and that you should see him?” And Gregentios: “It is so, holy father.” And then the old man answered and said:

“My child, you must go to Augustopolis and from there by boat to Alexandria, then you must leave from Alexandria to Ethiopia and thereafter reach the town Tephar of the Homerites, and there your rest will be prepared by the Lord. For a most unlawful Hebrew, a king of the Homerites, took a town called Negra by a stratagem, and killed all the mass of people he found in there, who did not accept his faith and become Jews, by fire and the blade of the sword. Therefore Elesboam, the king of the Ethiopians, prepared himself for war in these days by the admonition of Ioustinos, the emperor of the Romans, making his own armies ready against that abominable Jew, I mean the king of the Homerites. And he will receive victory from the Lord, will subdue this faithless one and kill him, and will purify his kingdom from all stains, and will write to Proterios the pope of Alexandria to send him a bishop for the nations and people living there which are ready to return to the Lord and be baptised. And the lot will fall on you by God’s vote, o child, and he will send you there, and you will enlighten the fourfold people there, pagans and Jews, Homerites and Maurousians.<sup>74</sup> But the race of the Jews will cause you great labours by their words, and therefore you should prepare yourself from now on, for you will have to discuss with them and return their hardness to the Lord. However, the Lord our God will prepare your way well by whatever judgement he wants. *For he makes the blind wise and erects those that are bowed down, he guards the strangers and loves the righteous; he will relieve orphan and widow and make the way of the sinner disappear.*”

The blessed Gregentios bowed before the holy old man and said: “Holy father, for the sake of the Lord, if you find pleasure in the request of your child, I will rather stay with you in this desert until my last breath, so that I can find pleasure well before the Lord our God and bewail and clear away the multitude of my trespasses which I have committed secretly. So since what you have said to me about these things will come

λείξουσιν DF λέγεις γάρ H | 150 και δέον < DF ἐπιστρέφεις DF | 151 εὐοδώσαι σε SH | 152 κύριος – ἡμῶν] ὁ κύριος S, < H κρίματι + και SH σοφίῃ γάρ DF + και F ἀνορθοῖ + τοὺς SH | 153 δὲ < SH ἀγαπᾷ + τοὺς SH | 154 δδὸν + τῶν SH | 155 γέροντι < SH | 156 και < SH ἐπὶ – μάλλον < SH συνοικήσω] οικήσω ἅμα SH νῦν < SH | 157 ἴν’ – 158 μου] και ἀποκλαῦσαι SH | 158 ἐξαιρεγασμένα] πεπραγμένα SH | 159 θρηνήσας DF θρηνήσαι – ἀποκαθᾶραι < SH τοίνυν] τῆ SH

74 See above, p. 47.

- 160 τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς φροντίσιν τῶν  
κατὰ γῆν προκοπῶν; Ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἄρκετόν καὶ τὸ τὴν γῆν μεμολυσμένοις ποσὶν τέως βηματί-  
ζειν τε καὶ μολύνειν καὶ τὸ τὸν ἀέρα ἀναπνεῖν ἀκαθάρτοις μυκησμοῖς.” Ὁ δὲ ὄσιος γέρων  
ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Μὴ προσθήσης, ὦ τέκνον, τὴν ὑπακοὴν ὀφείλομεν αἰεὶ κατασπάζεσθαι·  
δοῦλοι γὰρ ἐσμέν τοῦ δεσπότητος θεοῦ, τὰ κελευόμενα ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δεσποτείας  
165 θάπτον ἐν χαρᾷ ὀφείλομεν ἐκπληρεῖν. Ἡ ἐπιλέησαι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου τοῦ  
ἀγιωτάτου πρὸ βραχέως εἰς τὸ φανερόν εἰρημένα; Πόθεν σοι εἶρηκεν, ὅτι ‘παραγέγονα  
τὸν τόπον σοι σημηνάμενος ἐν ᾧπερ αὐτὸς ὀφείλεις ἀπελθεῖν’; Τίνα δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἐν ὄραματι  
τῆς νυκτὸς Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος κατ’ αὐτοῦ ὑπέδειξεν, ὁπότεν σοὶ τὴν τε κανδή-  
λαν ἀνάπλεον ἐλαίου πεπίστευκεν καὶ τὰ ἄπειρα ὠμοφῶρια τοῖς ὤμοις πεφόρτωκεν; Οὐχὶ  
170 περὶ τούτων σοὶ ὑπεδείκνυον ἑκάτεροι; Παῦσαι τοῖνυν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ μὴ ἀντίπραττε δε-  
σποτικαῖς ψήφεισιν ἐναντιούμενος.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθείσιν αὐτοῦ  
παρὰ τοῦ ὀσίου γέροντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον καταπλαγεῖς, καθότι καὶ τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις, ἃς αὐτῷ  
οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι πεφανέρωκαν, ἀναφανδὸν αὐτῷ διηγήσατο, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου  
εἰρηκῶς γενέσθαι ἠσύχασεν.
- 175 Δύο τε ἡμέρας παρὰ τῷ ἁγίῳ γέροντι Ἀρτάδῳ (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ) διαμείνας  
καὶ τὰς ὀσίας εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ κομισάμενος καὶ ἰκανῶς νουθετηθεὶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγοις  
μυστηριώδεσιν ἀρδευθεὶς ὑπὲρ διήγησιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, προτραπεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ὅθεν ἦκεν οἰμώ-  
των ἀνακεχώρηκεν. Ἀγαπήσας γὰρ λίαν τὸ συνέιναι τῷ ὀσίῳ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε, εἴ γε οὐκ ἀφήθη  
ἔνεκα τούτου, ὀλοφυρόμενος ἀνακεχώρηκεν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν πρὸς  
180 τὸν ὀσιώτατον Μιχαὴλ καὶ τὴν τιμίαν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ κομισάμενος, ἅπαντά τε αὐτῷ καθ’  
ἔπος ἐξηγήσατο, ὅσα τε θεάσατο καὶ συνέβη αὐτῷ ἐωρακέναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐράνιον  
ἐκείνον καὶ ἰσαγγελοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον. Μεγάλως ἀπευχαριστῶν αὐτῷ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου  
μάρτυρος Βονιφατίου μαρτύριον κατέλαβεν, κάκεισε ἐπευξάμενος καὶ τῷ κυρῷ Βασιλείῳ  
τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τὰ συναντήσαντα αὐτῷ ἀπαρалаίπτως ἐξηγησάμενος εἰς αἶνον καὶ δόξαν  
185 τοῦ τῶν ὄλων θεοῦ τοῦτον ἐκίνησεν, συνταξάμενός τε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν  
πόλιν ὑπέστρεψεν. Ἐλθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Βενεδίκτου συντρέχοντες  
κατησπάζοντο αὐτὸν ἐγκαλοῦντες· “Ποῦ γε ἄρα μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο”, φησὶν, “ἐνδιέτριβες;”  
Ἄπαντες γὰρ ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου· προσεδόκουν γὰρ, ὅτι παντάπα-  
σιν ἀνεχώρηκεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἀπελογήσατο

### D F S H

160 τί<sup>1</sup> + γὰρ SH και<sup>1</sup> < H | 161 προσκοπῶν DF ἐμοὶ – 162 μυκησμοῖς < SH | 162 ὄσιος < SH |  
163 μὴ προσθήσης < D προσθεῖς F ὦ < SH ὑπακοὴν + ἐν ἅπασιν SH αἰεὶ κατασπάζεσθαι|  
ἀσπάζεσθαι SH | 164 γὰρ < SH θεοῦ] και SH | 165 ἐν χαρᾷ < SH τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου < SH |  
166 πρὸ] τί DF | 167 σοι] σε DF ἐν<sup>1</sup> + ᾧ H σοὶ < D και < SH | 168 τῆς νυκτὸς] και SH ἀπόστο-  
λος < SH κατ’ αὐτοῦ] κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ SH τε < H | 170 περὶ] ὑπὲρ D | 172 ὄσιος < SH καθότι –  
173 διηγήσατο < SH | 173 τὸ – 174 ἠσύχασεν] εἶπεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω SH |  
175 τοῦ ἁγίου γέροντος Ἀρτάδου SH Ἀπάρδω DF | 176 εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ S και<sup>3</sup> – 177 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> <  
SH | 178 ἀνεχώρησεν SH ἀγαπήσας – 179 ἀνακεχώρηκεν < SH καφέθη F | 179 ἐν – ἐλθὼν]  
ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν SH | 180 ἅπαντά – 181 ἐξηγήσατο < DF αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν SH |

upon me, what do I have to do with this world, what do I have to do with the cares concerning the achievements on earth? For it is sufficient for me to walk on the earth for the time being with my polluted feet, to pollute it and to breathe air with impure breaths.” The holy old man said to him: “Say no more, o child, we always have to embrace obedience, for we are servants of the Master God, and have to fulfill the commandments of his power quickly and with joy. Or did you forget what the most holy apostle Peter has said to you openly a short time ago? Why did he say to you, ‘I have come to indicate to you the place where you have to go’? What did also the great apostle Paul show you in a vision by night about himself, when he entrusted you with the lamp full of oil and burdened your shoulders with these innumerable pallia? Did they not both instruct you on these things? So stop, o child, and do not seek to counteract, being hostile to the decisions of your Master.” The blessed Gregentios was even more amazed about the things that had been said to him by the holy old man, for he told him openly of the visions as well which the holy apostles had revealed to him, and was silent, saying that God’s will should be done.

When he had stayed two days with the holy old man Artados (for this was his name)<sup>75</sup> and had also received his holy prayers and had been exhorted considerably by him, and had been irrigated by him beyond telling with mysterious words, by his order he went away lamenting where he had come from. For he had loved it very much to stay there with the holy one, and although he was not dismissed for this reason, he went away lamenting. On his way back he came to the most holy Michael, and having received his worthy prayer he related everthing word by word, what he had seen and how it had happened to him that he saw all about that heavenly and angel-like man of God. And thanking him greatly he arrived at the martyr’s church of the holy martyr Bonifatius, and having prayed there too, he related to the lord Basileios the priest also what had happened to him without any omission, and moved him to praise and glorify the God of all; and having said farewell to him as well and embracing him he returned to the city. When he came to his lodge, those in the house of Benediktos ran together, embraced him and complained saying: “Where did you stay until now?” For they all loved him from young to old; for they all had supposed that he had entirely gone away,

181 ἐξηγησάμενος SH | 182 τοῦ θεοῦ < SH ἀπευχαριστεῖν SH | 183 κάκεισε + οὖν DF | 184 εἰς – 185 συνταξάμενος < H | 185 τοῦτον ἐκίνησεν < S αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν SH καί<sup>2</sup> < H ἀσπασάμενος + τε αὐτὸν F | 187 ἐγκαλοῦντες + τὸ SH ἄρα < SH διέτριβες SH | 188 αὐτὸν ἐφίλουν SH αὐτὸν < F μικροῦ + καὶ S μεγάλων S | 189 καὶ – αὐτῷ < SH ἀπελογοῖτο SH

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 38.



190 αὐτοῖς φάσκων· “Ἐπί τινα”, φησίν, “πατέρα γέροντα πνευματικὸν γενάμενος ἐκρατήθη καὶ διέμενον ἐκεῖ.”

Τ’Ἐτέρωθι εἶτα πορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῶν ἁγίων Κικιλίας καὶ Τιβουρτίου καὶ Βαλεριανοῦ ἦν ἐκεῖσε νεανίας τις προσαιτῶν ἐλεημοσύνην τοῦνομα Στέφανος. Ὅποταν δὲ ἀπήει τοῖς ἐκεῖσε χάριν τοῦ προσεύξασθαι ὁ μακαριώτατος, συνεχῶς ἑώρα  
195 καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἐκείνον τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει προσκαρτεροῦντα, καὶ πάντοτε ἐπερείδεται τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀγαπᾶν αὐτόν, ἐν οἷς, ὁπότεν ἔσχεν τί κεκτημένος, ἐδίδου αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην. Ἐκάστοτε δὲ ὁ σεβάσμιος ἐκείνος ἀθορύβῳ σιγῇ καὶ πραότητι τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἀνεστρέφετο, ὥστε κλέος ἔχειν αὐτόν καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε οὐκ ὀλίγην. Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ πινος τῶν συνήθως τῷ δικαίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ προσομιλεῖν εἰωθότων  
200 προσδιαλεγομένῳ αὐτῷ, μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ διαλεχθέντι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπηρώτησεν ὁ δίκαιος φάσκων· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, τίς καὶ πόθεν οὗτος ὁ νεανίας, καθότι αὐτόν πάνυ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἀγαπᾷ;” Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Οὗτος, κύριέ μου, ἐνὸς τῶν μεγιστάνων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ υἱὸς μονογενῆς ἐστίν. Ὅποσα γὰρ κτήματα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ κέκτηται, κινήτα τε καὶ ἀκίνητα, πόσα προάστεια, πόσα τε ἐργαστήρια καὶ προχειρία καὶ  
205 προσόδους καὶ πλήθος οἰκετῶν καὶ πλήθος σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ πλήθος χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου, οὗτος δὲ ἐκεῖνα πάντα διαπτυσάμενος πάντως, ὡς ὄρῳς τὸ ὄπως, διατρίβει ἐν τῇ γῆ.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Πρᾶγμα μοι διήγησαι, ἀδελφέ, ὅπερ οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀβραάμ ἠδυνήθη ἂν κατορθώσασθαι. Ἀλλὰ γε, παρακαλῶ, ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα οὐ προστατεύει αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔλκει αὐτόν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, οὐ βιάζεται, οὐ παρακαλεῖ αὐτόν τοῦ συνεῖναι μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ γε οὕτως ἔρημον καταλιπὼν εἶασεν πορεύεσθαι; Καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ εἰς ὄνειδος καὶ αἰσχύνῃν τόγε τὸ πρᾶγμα λογίζονται.” Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ἐκείνος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν·

“Ἀλλὰ γε μίαν ἢ δεύτερον ἢ τρίτον περιεκάκησεν καὶ ἤνυσεν οὐδέν· κομιδῇ γὰρ νήπιος πέλων καὶ ἐπὶ τραπέζης τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καθήμενος οὐκ εἶα ἄρτον, ὃν οὐ παρέ  
215 εἶχεν τοῖς ὄπισθεν παρεστῶσιν οἰκέταις, ἢ δὲ καὶ τμήματα ὄψου παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ ὀπώραν, ἢπερ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδιδόμενον αὐτῷ ποτήριον οἴνου ἀνάπλεον πέλον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐδίδου τοῖς πένησιν. Καίτοι ἐνέδυνον αὐτόν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξερχόμενος τὸν πυλῶνα λεληθότως ἐδίδου αὐτὰ τοῖς πένησιν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐνέδυνον αὐτόν καὶ μετέπειτα ἐδίδου αὐτά· καὶ πάλιν νουθετοῦντες αὐτόν μὴ οὕτω πράττειν ἐνέδυνον αὐτόν, ὁ  
220 δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆνικαῦτα ἐκδουόμενος ἐσκόρπιζεν αὐτά. Παρήγγαλλον καὶ τῷ ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι ὄστι-

### D F S H

190 γέροντα < SH | 191 διέμεινον SH | 192 Τ λδ’ S λε’ H + περὶ τοῦ θαυμασίου Στεφάνου SH εἶτα < SH Κικιλίας D Κικίλια F Τιβουρτίου F | 194 τοῖς ἐκεῖσε χάριν < SH ὁ μακαριώτατος < SH συνεχῶς + γὰρ D | 195 καί<sup>1</sup> < SH νεανία SH προσκαρτεροῦντα] κεκραμμένον DF | 196 τὸ < SH κατὰ + τὴν DF | 197 καί<sup>1</sup> < SH ἐκάστοτε – σεβάσμιος < SH ἐκείνος + δὲ SH ἀθορύβως S ἀθορύβως H καί<sup>2</sup> + ἐν SH | 198 αὐτόν < H | 200 προσδιαλεγομένῳ αὐτῷ < SH περὶ αὐτοῦ < SH ἐπερώτησεν H | 201 αὐτόν post 202 μου H πάνυ αὐτόν S | 204 τε<sup>2</sup> < SH καί<sup>2</sup>] πόσα SH | 205 πλήθος<sup>1</sup>] πλήθος F καί<sup>2</sup> – ἐλαίου < SH | 206 καὶ ἀργυρίου < DF ἐκεῖνα < H διαπτύσσασ SH ὡς < F S ὄπως] πῶς SH | 207 ἐν τῇ γῆ < SH λέγει] εἶπε H μοι] με H διηγείσαι SH |

and therefore they complained to him. But the blessed Gregentios answered to them saying: “I went to some spiritual old father, was kept by him and stayed there.”

Then he went somewhere else, namely to the martyr’s church of the Saints Caecilia, Tiburtius and Valerianus, and there was a youth called Stephanos that asked for alms.<sup>76</sup> When the most blessed one went there for prayer, he also saw how the youth devoted himself continually to prayer and supplication, and always insisted to love him in his soul, wherefore, whenever he had something in his possession, he also gave him an alm. That adorable youth dwelt in undisturbed silence and gentleness, so that he also had no little fame and honour among the people there. One day, when the righteous Gregentios talked to one of those that habitually used to discuss with him, the righteous one thereafter asked the man he had discussed with about him and said: “For the sake of the Lord, who is this young man and where does he come from, that my soul loves him so much?” And he answered and said to him: “This man, my lord, is the only son of one of the grand men in this city. For all the movable and immovable possessions his father has, all estates, workshops, enterprises, incomes and the large number of servants, the great amount of grain, wine and oil and the great amounts of gold and silver, those he all despised completely, just as you see the way he does it, and so dwells on earth.” The blessed one said to him: “You tell me a thing, my brother, which not even Abraham would have been able to achieve. But please, does not his father protect him, does not he drag him to himself, does not he urge him, does not he ask him to stay with him, but lets him go, leaving him so solitary? Those in this life will rather take this as a reproach and a shame.” And that man answered and said to him:

“He was distressed once or twice or thrice and did not achieve anything; for when he was still a child and sat at the table of his father, he left no bread which he did not offer to the servants that stood behind him, or even portions of all kinds of dishes or fruits, or even the cup full of wine that had been given into his hand, which he did not give to the poor. When they dressed him with his garments, he went out of the gate and gave them secretly to the poor. And they dressed him again, and thereafter he gave them away; and again they exhorted him not to do so, dressed him, and then also he took them off and scattered them. They gave order to the door-keeper at the gate not to let

208 αὐτὸς δ] ὁ αὐτὸς SH ἄν + καὶ αὐτὸς F, < SH παρακαλῶ < H | 209 ἄρα – αὐτόν < SH αὐτόν < DF ἑαυτόν] αὐτόν D | 210 συνείναι SH ἀλλά – 211 μάλλον] ἵνα μὴ SH | 211 τῷ < SH τούτῳ + καὶ F καί<sup>2</sup> + εἰς F τὸ < F | 213 περιεκάκησεν + τότε εἰ SH οὐθέν SH | 214 πέλων] ὧν SH οὐκ εἶα] οἷον SH | 215 δὲ < SH καὶ + ὁ DF τμήματα] τὸ μῆμα τοῦ F ἄφου D | 216 ἥπερ] ἢ SH τῆ < D αὐτῷ < SH | 217 πέλων] ὃν SH ὅπερ – πένησιν] οὐ παρέιχεν τοῖς ὄπισθεν παρεστῶσιν οἰκέταις SH | 218 λεληθότως < SH | 219 μὴ – αὐτόν < DF | 220 καὶ τὸ τηρικαῦτα < SH παρήγγελον D παρήγγειλεν S παρήγγειλαν H καί<sup>2</sup>] τε SH ἐν] ἐπὶ SH τῷ<sup>2</sup> < DF ὀστιαρίῳ < SH

<sup>76</sup> See above, pp. 35 and 14.

αρίω μὴ εἶν αὐτὸν ἐξέρχεσθαι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνέδυν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τῶν προσόντων θυρί-  
 δων ἄνωθεν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀποδύομενος ἔρριπτεν κάτω τοῖς πένησιν καὶ κατελίμπανεν αὐτὸν  
 ἀνένδυτον. Καὶ αὐτὸς λαμβάνων σαγιόμαλον τῆς κλίνης ἢ καὶ προσκεφάλαιον ἢ τί ἐγκοί-  
 225 πιον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρου, ἢ τε πολλάκις τῶν γονέων τί ἕτερον εἶδος διεδίδου τοῖς πένη-  
 σιν. Ἐν οἷσπερ κακήσαντες ὁ τε πατήρ καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἀποκλείουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν κουβουκλείῳ,  
 ὁ δὲ διαλαθῶν ἐξῆι τοῦ κοιτῶνος λεληθότως καὶ ἀποδράς λάθρα τοῦ οἴκου ὡς ὄρας  
 οὕτω πεπολίτευται. Ἐπειτα οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ οἰκείαν αἰσχύνην τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 διαγωγῆν αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενοι, ἀποστείλαντες βία ἔλκουσιν αὐτὸν ἔνδον καὶ ἐν τῷ βαλα-  
 230 νείῳ εἰσάγοντες λούουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐναλλάσσωσιν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἔπειτα λαθῶν καὶ  
 ἀποδράς πάντα ὅσα ἐφόρει διεδίδου τοῖς πενομένοις. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐκπέμψας ὁ  
 πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἐνέδυσεν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ μετέπειτα πάλιν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς χρεῖαν  
 κεκτημένοις ἐσκόρπισεν. Ἐν πολλαῖς τοιγαροῦν περιόδοις τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελε-  
 σθέντα, περιλυπος ἐγεγόνει ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς δυσανασπάστως κέκτηται ἀπολαθεῖν  
 τῶν τοιούτων ἔξεων ἰδὼν, κἂν μὴ βουλόμενος κατέλιπεν αὐτὸν τῷ οἰκείῳ σκοπῷ καθεμφέ-  
 235 ρεσθαι καὶ ὄν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ πολιτεύεσθαι. Ἐκτοτε οὖν νηστεύων καὶ ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου  
 εἰς οἶκον θεοῦ μεθιστάμενος καὶ τὰ ἀρεστά, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μετιέμενος  
 διανύει θεοπρεπῶς τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος κατανυγεῖς ἐδάκρυσεν καὶ ἐκ βάθους τῆς  
 240 καρδίας αὐτοῦ στενάξας πρὸς κύριον εἶπεν· “Δόξα σοι ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, ὁ μόνος κύριος Ἰη-  
 σοῦς Χριστός, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ ἀπόρρητον γέννημα, ὅτι καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ματαιότητος τοῦ  
 τῆδε βίου κέκτησαι τοὺς περιφανῶς εὐαρεστοῦντας σοι.” Ἐκάστοτε τοιγαροῦν καὶ  
 ἔκτοτε, ὅποταν ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἐν τινι εὐκτηρίῳ τυχεῖν προσευχόμενον, ζέων τῷ φίλτρῳ τῆς  
 χριστοποθίτου ἀγάπης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἴστατο εὐμενῶς καὶ μειδιῶντι προσώπῳ ἐναποσκο-  
 245 πῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἠδύτητι ψυχῆς ἀγαθυνόμενος ἠὲ φραίνετο. Ἐκεῖνος τε καθαρὰς διανοίας  
 χρηματίζων ἐνενοεῖ τὰ περὶ τὸν μακάριον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς δοῦλος τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐχρημάτιζεν·  
 πλησιάζων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· “Κυρίε μου, ἐγὼ οὖν τίσπερ ἦς καλῶς νῦν ἐπίσταμαι· ἀλλὰ παρα-  
 καλῶ, μέμνησέ μου διὰ παντός ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν δεσπότην ἀγίας σου ἐντεύ-  
 250 ξεσιν, ἵνα εὐδώσῃ μοι κύριος τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἠρξάμην καὶ συμπαθηθῶ μὲν τὰς ἀπίερους  
 θαλάσσας τῶν ἐμῶν πλημμελημάτων, τύχη μοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐλέους τῆς χρηστότητος  
 αὐτοῦ.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ· “Σύ, ἀγαπητέ μου, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τὰ  
 σὰ καλῶς προσηύξω καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐχῆς ἢ τε ἄλλου τινὸς οὐκ ἐπίδεσαι· πλὴν διὰ τὸν  
 κύριον αὐτὸς μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δυσωπεῖν μὴ διαλίπης πρὸς κύριον.”

#### DFSH

222 ἄνωθεν + ἐν F τῷ οἴκῳ ἄνωθεν SH καὶ < SH κατελίμπανεν + δὲ πάλιν SH | 223 σαγιόμαλον  
 τῆς] σαγίω μαλατῆς DF καὶ < SH ἠ<sup>2</sup>] ἢ γε SH ἐγκοίτιον] τῶν ἐγκοιτίων SH | 224 ἑαυτοῦ DF  
 καὶ – πολλάκις] ἢ SH γονέων + αὐτοῦ D | 225 οἷσπερ – ἀποκλείουσιν] οἷς περικακήσαντες οἱ  
 γονεῖς κλείουσιν SH | 226 διαλαθῶν ἐξῆι] λάθρα ἀποδράς SH | 227 οὕτως DF πεπολίτευτο SH |  
 229 εἰσαγαγόντες SH λούωσιν F λούουσιν – καί<sup>1</sup>] αὐτὸν καὶ λούουσιν καὶ H αὐτὸν < S τὰ <  
 SH ἀλάσσωσιν ἱμάτια SH ἐναλλάσσωσιν F | 230 καὶ – 231 αὐτόν < H μετὰ ταῦτα < SH  
 πέμψας S | 231 αὐτοῦ < SH αὐτόν < S δὲ + καὶ SH μετέπειτα πάλιν < DF χρεῖας S<sup>ac</sup> |

him go out and thereafter dressed him, but he took them off and, through the windows which were above in the house, he threw them down to the poor, and left himself behind undressed. And he took a woolen cover from his bed and a pillow or one of his blankets and not of somebody else, but often some other thing from his parents as well, and distributed it to the poor. His father and his family were distressed about this and shut him into a chamber, but he went out of the chamber secretly, ran away unnoticed from the house and leads his life now as you see. Then his parents, considering his conduct towards the public as their own shame, sent someone out and dragged him home by force, led him to the bath, washed him and changed his garments. And thereafter as well, he ran away secretly and distributed all he wore to the poor. And after this again his father sent out someone, brought him home and dressed him, and thereafter again, he scattered them as well to those in need. So when this had been done to him at many occasions, his father became very grieved, and seeing that it would be very hard for him to make him forget such a habit, he let him persist, though unwillingly, in his aim and to lead his life as he desired. Since then he spends his days in a way worthy of God, fasting and going from the house of the Lord to the house of God, offering to God, so to say, the things which please him.”

When the blessed Gregentios heard this, he was bewildered, wept, and sighing deeply from his heart he said to the Lord: “Glory be to you, you only holy one, you only Lord Jesus Christ, the ineffable offspring of the father, that you possess also in the midst of the vanity of this life those that please you well conspicuously.” So whenever he happened to meet him thereafter praying in some chapel, he stood there burning with the affection of Christ-desiring love towards him, and looking upon him graciously with a smiling face, he rejoiced greatly, being comforted by the sweetness of his soul. That man, since he was of clear mind, understood that the blessed one also was a servant of the Highest, approached him and said: “My lord, now I know well who you are; but please remember me always in your holy intercessions to our common Master, that the Lord may prepare my way which I have begun, so that I find compassion for the infinite seas of my transgressions, and may also attain the mercy of his goodness.” The blessed Gregentios said to him: “You, my beloved one, have prayed well on your behalf in the name of the Lord and do not need my prayer or that of anybody else; but for the sake of the Lord, rather do not cease to beseech the Lord for me.”

232 πολλοῖς F | 233 γεγονώς SH ἀποσπάσως SH ἀπολαθών SH | 234 οἰκείῳ] ἰδίῳ SH καθεμ-  
φέρεσθαι] καθ’ ἕν φέρεσθαι SH | 235 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – πολιτεύεσθαι < SH οὖν] τοιγαροῦν SH οἴκων SH |  
236 μεθιστάμενος θεοῦ SH μετώμενος DF | 240 τοῦ πατρὸς < SH τὸ] τοῦ S<sup>ac</sup> | 241 καὶ < F καὶ  
ἔκτοτε < SH | 242 εἶχεν SH φίλτρῳ] πόθῳ S πνεύματι H | 243 ἀγάπης + τὰ DF καὶ < SH  
μειδιῶντι] μειδιῶν τῷ DF (μειδιῶ F) | 244 εὐφραίνετο D | 245 ὑπίστου – 246 πλησιάζων] θεοῦ  
χρηματίζει καὶ ὅτε ἐπλησίαζεν SH | 246 οὖν < SH ἧς] εἰ S εἴη H νῦν < SH | 247 δεσπότην ἡμῶν  
DF | 248 ἐνηρξάμην S καὶ – 250 αὐτοῦ < SH συμπαθηθῶ F | 251 ἧ – τινὸς < DF ἐπιδέησαι DF

Ἵντος τοιγαροῦν ἔπι τοῦ δικαίου ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ, ὁ καλὸς νεανίας Στέφανος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγωνίσμασιν ἀναστρεφόμενος ὑπεξῆλθεν τὸν βίον. Προκειμένου δὲ τοῦ  
 255 τιμίου αὐτοῦ λειψάνου ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς σκληραγωγίας καὶ ἀλουσίας ὑπῆρχεν τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον βερυπωμένον καὶ ἀειδέστατον. Ἐγένετο δέ, ὁπότεν ἐλούσθη καὶ ἔψαλλον αὐτὸν τὰ ἐξόδια ῥήματα, ἐξαίφνης ἠλλάγη ἡ ὄψις τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο λευκὴ ὡσεὶ χιών, εὐωδία τέ τις διεδόθη ἐκ τοῦ λειψάνου αὐτοῦ τοῦ τιμίου, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς τυχόντας ἐκεῖσε ὀσφραινομένους τὸ τηλικούτον ἀπόρρητον ἀγαθὸν θαυμάζειν καὶ  
 260 καταπλήττεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος μεγάλως τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐδόξαζεν, καθότι κατηξιώθη καλῶς ἀποτελέσας τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πορευθῆναι ἤδη πρὸς κύριον.

Κυριακῆς δὲ ἡμέρας χρηματίζουσης καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου ὀρθρίσαντος, πατριαρχοῦντος τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ Φίλικος τοῦ  
 265 ἀγιωτάτου καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε παρόντος, καθορῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν τάξιν τὴν μετὰ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ κλήρου ὁ δίκαιος θαυμάζων καὶ ἐκπληττόμενος ἐδίδου αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ.

Ἐτῆς δὲ ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας μετὰ ταῦτα τελεσθείσης καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου μέλλοντος ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑποστρέφειν, παρεγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκείνος, μεθ' οὗ ὑπῆρχεν μεταναστεύων τόπον ἐκ τόπου, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Πεπληρώκαμεν, ὦ τέκνον, καὶ τὴν  
 270 ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ διαγωγὴν. Δεῦρο δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μετάρωμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου χαρᾶς ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου γενόμενος ἐτέρφθη τὴν ψυχὴν ἄγαν καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Κυρίε μου, καλῶς ἦκας· πορευθῶμεν οὖν πορευόμενοι ἐν οἷς ἂν εὐδοκῆς. Πάσαι γὰρ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ σου πνευματικῇ φίλτατος ἐγενόμην, ἐπιποθῶ δὲ τοῦ συνεδριάζειν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ εἶναι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.” Ὁ δὲ φοβερὸς ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ ἰλαρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ,  
 275 γλυκεῖα τε τῇ προσβλέψει κρατήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπαναστάντες ἐν ἡμέραις πσὶν τὴν Αὐγουστόπολιν κατέλαβον.

7 Ἐξενίσθησάν τε κάκεισε παρὰ γυναικὶ θεοσεβεῖ ἐν χηρείᾳ διαγοῦση τοῦνομα Εὐφημία, καὶ προσῆσαν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἰδιάζοντες ἐν ἡσυχῷ οἰκίσκῳ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσπευδεν ἀπογυμνῶν αὐτῷ τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ῥυθμίζων αὐτῷ λόγον καὶ νοῦν καὶ πράξιν καὶ θεωρίαν, ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐμπήξεως ἐτίθη τὸν νοῦν τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποκλίνων, καὶ τὰ ἐπαδόμενα  
 5 αὐτῷ ἀσμένως παρεδέχετο καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις προσέχων ὡς γῆ λιπαρὰ καὶ πῶν εὐθὺς καὶ βαθύγειος τὸν οὐράνιον σπόρον ἐναποκλείουσα παραχρήμα καὶ τὴν βλάστην ἀπειρ-

5 γῆ – 6 βαθύγειος cf. Ioannes Chrysostomus, *CPG* 4343, *PG* 50.467; Id., *CPG* 4411, *PG* 54, 657; Id., *CPG* 4413, *PG* 55.283

#### D F S H

253 ἔπι < SH | 254 ἀναστρεφόμενος < SH ὑπεξελεθὼν S τοῦ βίου H | 255 ὑπῆρχεν] ἦν post 256 πρόσωπον SH | 256 ἐλούθη D ἐλούσθη S ἔλουσαν H | 257 αὐτόν] ἐπ' αὐτῷ S αὐτὸν ante καὶ H αἴφνης SH | 258 τέ] δὲ D, < H τοῦ τιμίου < SH | 259 τὸ – ἀγαθὸν < SH | 260 μακάριος] ἅγιος SH ὑπὲρ] περὶ SH | 261 ἐδόξαζεν SH καθότι + καὶ F ἀποτελέσαι DF βίον] δρόμον SH | 262 ἤδη < SH | 264 μεγάλης] ἁγίας SH Φιλίκου H | 265 παρόντος + πλῆθος S<sup>margin</sup>H αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> <

When the righteous one was still in that city, the good youth Stephanos, while existing in such struggles, passed away from life. When his worthy corpse lay there, his worthy face was sordid and extremely ugly because of his great austerity and lack of baths. But when he had been washed and they sang the funeral sentences, it happened that the appearance of his face changed suddenly and became white like snow, and a sweet smell spread from his worthy corpse, so that all those that happened to be there smelling it wondered at such an ineffable good and were amazed. The blessed Gregentios praised the holy God greatly for him, that he had been deemed worthy to finish his life in peace and to go to the Lord already.

On a Sunday, when the righteous one was in the church of Saint Peter for matins, the most holy Felix, who was at that time the patriarch of the great church of the Romans,<sup>77</sup> was present there, and seeing his entrance together with his most worthy clergy the righteous one wondered and was amazed, and gave praise and glory to the Lord Jesus.

Thereafter, when the holy liturgy had been finished and the blessed one wanted to return to his lodge, that God-bearing man, with whom he had wandered from place to place, came to him and said to him: “O child, we have fulfilled our stay in this city as well. Come on now, let us leave from here as well.” He went out of himself as from an unexpected joy, was delighted and said to him: “My lord, welcome, let us go where you please. For I have become your dearest one in spiritual desire, and I wish to sit with you and to be with you by day and night.” And with cheerful face and looking sweetly that fear-inspiring man took his hand, and departing from Rome they reached Augustopolis<sup>78</sup> within some days.

They were hosted there as well by a pious woman that led her life in widowhood, called Euphemia, and they stayed in a solitary cell privately for themselves. And <the holy man> hurried to reveal to him the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, training his word and mind, practice and theory, and <Gregentios> set his mind firmly inclining his ear, and received the things sung to him gladly and, listening to what he said, enclosed the heavenly seed like fertile and fat, ripe and deep soil, and brought forth the flowering and

DF | 266 κλήρου < H δίκιος F | 267 Ἰ λε' S λς' H + ἕβδομος ἀποδημία τοῦ ὀσίου SH | 268 ὑπήρχεν] ἦν SH | 270 δὴ < SH | 271 γενόμενος SH | 272 ἦκας] εἰρηκας D<sup>ac</sup> οὖν < SH | 273 φίλτατος < SH ἐπιποθῶ – 274 νυκτός < SH συνδυάζειν F | 274 φοβερός] φωσφόρος SH | 275 γλυκεῖα – προσβλέπει < SH τῆς χειρός αὐτοῦ H ἀπάραντες SH  
1 κάκειθεν DF διάγουσα DF διαγούσης H | 2 προσέειπεν SH ἐνδιδάσκοντες SH ἐπαιδευσεν DF | 3 βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν SH ῥυθμίζων – 4 θεωρίαν < SH αὐτῶ<sup>2</sup>] αὐτὸν D | 4 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 5 παρεδέχετο < SH | 5 λιπαρὴ DF καὶ πίων εὐθὺς < SH

<sup>77</sup> See above, pp. 48–49.

<sup>78</sup> See above, pp. 23–26.

γάζετο καὶ μετέπειτα καὶ τὸν φίλτατον στάχυν ὠριμώτατον. Μεθ' ἡμέρας δέ τινας ὁ μὲν θεόθεν ἀποστελλόμενος αὐτῷ τίμιος ἀνὴρ τῷ εἰωθότι προσήματι πορευθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν μόνον τῇ ξενίᾳ παρέϊασεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ μετέπειτα τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει παρ-  
 10 ησχολεῖτο καὶ τοῦ μελετᾶν τὰ λόγια κυρίου οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλατο κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ τῶν φαλμῶν πυξίῳ, τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, φησὶν, *μελετήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*

Ἀπήει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις τιμᾶται καὶ ἐπισημνύεται τῇ ἀμωμήτῳ προσηγορίᾳ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ. Ἐν ἧ διανυκτερεύοντι αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος τίς τοῦνομα Ἀνδρέας, ἄτε καὶ πλούσιος πέλων ἐκεῖσε τε  
 15 ὀρθρίζων, κατανοήσας τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου τό τε σπουδαῖον καὶ τὸ ἐν προσευχαῖς ἐπίμονον, καὶ θερμῶς τῷ φίλτρῳ καὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρημα-  
 τίζων, μιᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν προσελθὼν ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ λέγων· “Παρακαλῶ σε, δούλε τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ ἀπαξιώσης σήμερον παραγενέσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ δούλου σου, ὅπως προσεύξῃ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν διαφε-  
 20 ρόντων μοι. Ἐπ' ἀληθείας γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ κρυβῆναι οὐ δύναται.” Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Μὴ οὕτως εἴσπραττε, ἀδελφέ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐσμεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ, δεόμενοι τοῦ ἐλέους κυρίου.” Καὶ αὐτὸς οὖν πρὸς ἐκείνον· “Ἐντεινόν σου τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ ἔσται σοι ὁ κύριος ἴλεως, καὶ ὁ φυλάσσων πόλιν καὶ ὁ οἰκοδομῶν οἶκον, οὐπνιος ἄνευ οἱ φυλάσσοντες πόλιν εἰς μάτην ἠγρύπνησαν, οἱ τε οἰκοδομοῦντες  
 25 οἶκον πάρεξ αὐτοῦ εἰς κενὸν κεκοπίακαν, αὐτὸς οὖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον σου καὶ πάντα τὰ δια-  
 φέροντά σοι ἐπιτηρήσῃ καὶ φυλάξῃ ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ψυχοφθόρου ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ πράγματος, φησὶν, ἀκαθάρτου ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀπὸ συμπτώ-  
 ματος ψυχικοῦ τε καὶ σωματικοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου δαίμονος. Καὶ γένηταί σοι ἀνπλήπτωρ καὶ καταφυγὴ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου.”

30 Ὁ δὲ φιλόχριστος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ προσπεσὼν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπαξιώσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει προσκαλούμενος αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ παῖδα ἐκέκτητο ἄρρενα, καὶ ἔμελλεν αὐτῷ κεῖρῃν ὡς ἔθος ἔχουσιν ἐν πρώτοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὸ ἱερέως τὴν τρίχα. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος συνειὶς τοῦ πράγμα-  
 35 τος τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Τοῦ παιδός σου βούλει νεαρῶς ταῖς θριξίν ἐπβαλεῖν τὴν φαλίδα, καὶ οἶει με ἀνάδοχον γεγονέναι, ξένον ἄνθρωπον, ἀγαπητέ, καὶ ἀλλότριον, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ προσαίτην χρηματίζοντα;” Ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔτι πλέον παρεβιάζετο καὶ ἐξελιπάρει τοῦ παραγενέσθαι αὐτόν. Ἔθος γὰρ ἐκέκτητο πάντοτε τοιοῦτον ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος· ἐν ταῖς ἀναδοχαῖς τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ ἀγίους

11 ἐν – νυκτός Ps. 1.2 | 23 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 25 κεκοπίακαν cf. Ps. 126.1 | 26 ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> – 28 δαίμονος cf. Ps. 90.6 | 29 ἀνπλήπτωρ καὶ καταφυγὴ cf. Ps. 90.2

#### DFSH

7 καί<sup>1</sup> – ὠριμώτατον < SH καί<sup>2</sup> < D | 8 αὐτῷ + ὁ H | 9 καὶ μετέπειτα < DF προσασχολεῖτο D | 10 καί – 11 νυκτός < SH ἐνεπίμπλατο DF | 12 μεγίστη SH | 14 ἄτε καὶ < SH ἐκεῖ H | 15 μάκαρος S τό – καί < SH | 16 ἐπίπον SH Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ SH | 17 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] ἑαυτοῦ F, < SH | 18 Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ SH σήμερον < SH | 20 ἐπ' – δύναται < SH | 21 εἴσπραττε] ποιεὶ SH αὐτοὶ <

thereafter also the most beloved ripe ear of corn. After some days the worthy man, who had been sent to him from God, went away from him in the usual manner and left him alone in his lodge. He devoted himself thereafter also to prayer and supplication and was not satiated with the study of the words of the Lord, according to the saying in the book of Psalms which says *He will study in the law of God by day and night*.

He went into the great church of the bishop's palace which is honoured and praised in that town with the blameless name of the perpetual Virgin and Mother of God Mary. When he passed the night there, a man called Andreas, who was rich and came there for matins, saw the zeal and persistence in prayer of the blessed Gregentios, and since he had a warm love and desire toward the servants of Christ, one day he came to him, threw himself before his feet and entreated him saying: "I beseech you, servant of Christ, do not refuse today to come to the house of your servant that you may pray for me to the Lord and for all that belong to me. For truly, a man of God cannot remain hidden." The righteous one raised him and said to him: "Do not do such a thing, brother, for also we are sinful men and pray for the mercy of the Lord." And then he said to him: "Extend your hopes, and the Lord will be gracious to you, and he that guards the city and builds the house, without whom the guards watch in vain and those that have built a house without him labour for nothing, he shall now keep your house and all which belongs to you, and guard it *from the flying* soul-destroying *arrow by day, from an impure thing*, he says, *that goes out by the night* of sins, *from a mishap* of soul or body and the attack of the hostile demon. And he may become your protector and refuge in all days of your life."

The Christ-loving man fell before his feet and asked him not to deem his request unworthy. He did this inviting him, for he had a male child and, as the custom is, wanted to have his hair cut for the first time by a priest in the church of God. The blessed Gregentios understood what the thing meant, answered and said to him: "You want to put the scissors to the hair of your child now, and intend me to be the sponsor, a foreign man and a stranger, my dear, who is even almost a beggar?" Wondering about his prophetic gift, he urged and supplicated him even more to come. For that man always had such a custom: When his children were baptised he invited holy, blessed and righteous

SH | 22 τοῦ ἐλέους τοῦ D | 23 καί<sup>1</sup> – 25 κεκοπίακαν < SH | 24 φυλάσσουντες + πόλιν F πόλιν < F | 25 αὐτὸς οὖν] ὃς SH σου < DF | 26 ἐπιτηρήσειεν DF φυλάξειεν DF, + σε SH βέλους – 28 δαίμονος] παντὸς κακοῦ SH | 29 καὶ καταφυγὴ < SH | 30 ἀνήρ] πάλιν SH παρὰ – αὐτοῦ < SH | 31 αὐτὸν < SH τὰ < SH ποιεῖ F | 32 ἄρρεν DF αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ SH ἔχωσιν DF ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 33 τρίχα] ὑπὸ ἱερέως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν τρίχα ἐν πρώτοις SH | 33 Γρηγέντιος < SH | 34 ἀποκριθεὶς < SH τοῦ – 36 καί<sup>2</sup>] ἀνάδοχόν με βούλει, ἀγαπητέ, τῶν τριχῶν τοῦ παιδός σου ποιῆσαι ξένον ἄνθρωπον SH | 35 τῆ ψαλίδι D | 36 προσαιτῆ F προσαιτήν SH | 37 ἔτι] ἐπὶ D παρεβιάζετο καὶ < SH αὐτόν < SH | 38 πάντοτε < SH ἐκεῖνος < SH



καὶ ὁσίους καὶ δικαίους ἄνδρας προσκαλεῖσθαι τοῦ ταῦτα εἰσδέχεσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ  
 40 συνήθειαν διδομένου δόματος παρὰ τῶν ἀναδόχων παρέχειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ  
 τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τιμίας δεήσεις αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐντεύξεις καὶ προσευχὰς αὐτῶν.

Ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, ὁ ὄντως ὑπὸ κυρίου τὴν θείαν ὑπακοὴν δεδιδου-  
 γμένος ὑποκληθεὶς ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ γεγονότων αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεσθείσης καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς καρέντος, ὁ μακάριος μεθ'  
 45 ἑτέρου πινὸς ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ αὐτοῦ φημιζομένου ἀνάδοχος τῶν τριῶν αὐτοῦ γέγονεν·  
 καὶ δὴ πρὸς ἐστίασιν αὐτοὺς ὁ φιλόχριστος ἀνὴρ προετρέψατο. Εὐφρανθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 καὶ ἀγαθυνθέντων ἐπὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς τοῦ πανοικτίρμονος, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ κείρας τὸν παῖδα ἅμα  
 αὐτοῖς ἐσθίων μυθεῖς παρὰ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου ἐκείνου ἀνδρός τὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου Γρηγεν-  
 τίου, καθότι ἐκλεκτὸς τῷ κυρίῳ κεκηρύχθη, προετρέπετο αὐτῷ παρακαλῶν προτείνειν  
 50 λόγον ψυχοφελῆ κατέναντι αὐτῶν καὶ ὠφελῆσαι αὐτοῖς. Τοῦ δὲ διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης  
 ἀναβαλλομένου, ὁ ἱερεὺς τινὰ μέτρια ἀπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς προεβάλλετο, καὶ καθεζόμενοι  
 ὠφελοῦντο ἀμφότεροι. Εἶτα τοῦ ἱερέως ἔπι παρακαλοῦντος ἀκοῦσαι λόγον ἀγαθὸν παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ, λιπὴν διήγησιν αὐτοῖς εἶξας προεβάλλετο ὁ μακάριος· οὐ γὰρ ὑπῆρχον ἔγκριτοι  
 τινὲς ἐκεῖ, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τούτοις ἀπογυμνώσῃ.

55 Ἦ "Ὀντος μου", φησὶν, "ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεδιολάνων, ἄνθρωπος τίς ἀσθενήσας οὐ τὰ  
 τυχόντα θάπτον παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἀπηγορεύθη. Ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔσχατα πνέοντος, παρα-  
 λαβὼν ὁ διάβολος πλήθη δαιμόνων, καὶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ που γε τοῦ οἴκου, ἐν ᾧπερ ἐκεῖνος  
 κατέκειτο, γενάμενοι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λίθοις αὐτοῦ ἀνεנדότως τὸν οἶκον ἔβαλλον, τὴν  
 δὲ οἰκίαν ἐν ἧπερ αὐτὸς κατέκειτο ἐκπερισσῶς ἔτυπτον διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐ-  
 60 τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιάλῳ χάριν διακονίας διοδεύοντας καπόντες οἱ λίθοι κατὰ κεφαλὰς ἐξαι-  
 μάτου, οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκήματα πέλοντες ἐξελεθεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμου. Καὶ ἦν τὸ γινόμε-  
 νον ἔλεεινὸν καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον· πάντες γὰρ τότε ἀκούοντες φεύγοντες  
 ἀπεδίδρασκον τῶν ἐκείσε. Τινὸς δὲ πνευματικοῦ ἀνδρός τοῖς ἐκείσε παροδεύοντος, ὡς  
 ἀκήκοεν ταῦτα πινῶν αὐτῷ ἐκείσε διασαφησάντων, ὄξewis ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν ἄρροστοῦντα  
 65 τῶν λίθων σφοδρῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔπι καταφερομένων καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα κονιορτὸν δίκην  
 ἀποτελούντων. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἀπάρτι τὰ ἔσχατα πνέοντα, ὅμως  
 μέντοι καὶ ἀδρανὲς τί πρὸς τοὺς παρακειμένους αὐτὸν ἀποφθεγγόμενον. Ἐφη οὖν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος ἐκεῖνος· 'Ἐξηγόρευσας σὺ ποτὲ τὰς ἀνομίας σου ἠπερ οὐδαμῶς· Ὁ δὲ  
 μόλις ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη· 'Οὐδαμῶς, κύριέ μου, τινὶ ἐξηγόρευσα πώποτε.' Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς

### D F S H

39 καὶ ὁσίους < SH προσκαλεῖσθαι + καὶ D τοῦ<sup>1</sup> - 41 αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> < SH | 42 ὁ - κυρίου < SH  
 πεπαιδευμένος SH | 43 καὶ < SH | 45 καὶ αὐτοῦ < SH | 46 ἀνὴρ < SH | 47 παῖδα + αὐτοῦ F |  
 48 ἀνδρὸς < SH Γρηγεντίου < SH | 49 κεκηρύχθη D αὐτῷ αὐτὸν H | 50 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦ SH  
 | 51 θείας Γραφῆς H καθεζόμενοι < SH | 52 ἀμφότεροι < SH παρακαλοῦντος ἔπι SH |  
 53 αὐτοῖς] παρ' αὐτοῖς D αὐτοῦ SH εἶξας < SH προεβάλλετο ὁ μακάριος] ὁ δίκαιος  
 προεβάλλετο H δίκαιος S ὑπῆρχον] ἦσαν SH | 54 ἐκείσε SH τούτοις < DF | 55 Ἦ λς' S λς' H +  
 διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου περὶ τελευταίας πονηροῦ ἀνθρώπου SH | 56 ἱερῶν D ὑπαγορεύθη D ἀπαγο-  
 ρεύθη F παραλαβὼν + φοβερόν D<sup>margin</sup> | 57 δαιμονίων SH<sup>pc</sup> + ἅμα αὐτῷ SH αὐτοῦ που γε < SH

men to receive them, so that the sponsors, instead of the gift that is usually given by them, offered his children their worthy supplications for them to God, their intercessions and prayers.

And the disciple of the holy apostles, who had truly been taught divine obedience by the Lord, went with the man being invited. And when they went to church, after the completion of the divine liturgy the child was shorn, and the blessed one became the sponsor of his hair together with someone else who was famous for his piety as well, and then the Christ-loving man invited them to a meal. And when they had rejoiced and been gladdened about the gifts of the All-merciful, the priest that had shorn the child ate with them, having been informed by that Christ-loving man about the righteous Gregentios, that he was a chosen one of the Lord, and invited and asked him to hold a speech before them, which was helpful for their souls, and so to help them. When he hesitated because of his humbleness, the priest recited some fitting passages from the Scripture, and they both sat down and received help. Thereafter, since the priest still asked to hear a good speech from him, he yielded and presented them a simple narration; for there were no educated people among them to whom he could have revealed his wisdom.

“When I was”, he said, “in the city of Milan, a very sick man had quickly been given up by the physicians. While he was still lying in his last breath, the devil took a large number of demons, and having come to a place somewhere close to the house in which that man lay, they threw stones at his house by day and night incessantly, especially hitting the room in which he lay from the air.<sup>79</sup> And the falling stones hit the heads of those that went through the courtyard to perform some service making them bloody, and those inside the house did not dare to go out. And the thing was miserable and also nearly inconsolable, for all that heard it fled and ran away from there. Some spiritual man who came along there, when he heard this, as some people there related it to him, quickly went up to the sick, while the stones were still falling down from the air and made all the place as if full of dust. When he went in to him, he found him already lying in his last breath, but still talking feebly to those around him. Now that righteous man said to him: ‘Did you ever confess your unlawful deeds or not?’ And he answered and said with toil and pain: ‘I have never confessed to anybody, my lord.’ And he

ἐκεῖνος] αὐτὸς SH | 58 τὴν – 59 ἔτυπτον < SH | 60 κεφαλῆς SH | 61 πέλοντες] ὄντες SH  
ἐτόλμων S ἐδύναντο H | 62 μικροῦ δεῖν] μικρὸν δ’ ἦν H και<sup>2</sup> < D | 63 ἐκεῖσε<sup>1</sup>] ἐκεῖ SH  
περιοδεύοντος DF ὡς < DF | 64 τινῶν – διασαφηνάτων < SH | 65 κονιόντων DF δίκην < SH |  
66 πρὸς αὐτὸν < SH ἀπάρτι < SH | 67 παρακειμένους αὐτὸν] καθημένους SH | 68 σὺ < SH  
ἤπερ] ἠ SH | 69 οὐδαμῶς – τινὶ < F ποτέ SH

<sup>79</sup> The motif of the throwing of stones by the devil also appears below at 8.92. — Stones thrown by a “supernatural force” are mentioned as an omen before the death of Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenetos (944–959) in Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 247.84–90.

70 ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· ‘Οὐκ ἄρα γινώσκεις, ταλαίπωρε, ὅτι εἰς τὰ τελευταῖα κατήνησας τοῦ θανάτου;’ Ὁ δὲ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· ‘Ναί, κύριέ μου, οὕτως ἔχει.’ Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· ‘Οὐκοῦν λέγε τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, ὅσα σὺ γινώσκεις σεαυτῷ ἀνομήματα, λέγε μοι πάντα ἀνευδοιάστως. Ὅρθῳ γάρ, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, ὅτι ἐπανεστήσαν σοι πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα ἐπισυναχθέντες καὶ φοβερῶς κατὰ σοῦ ὀπλισθέντες κατὰ τὸ

75 εἰρημένον, ἀποστολὴν δι’ ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν ὁδοποιῆσαι τρίβον τῇ ὀργῇ τῇ δικαίᾳ. Λέγε οὖν, ὅτι εἰς ὀλίγον, ταπεινέ, ἀποκτενοῦσιν σε. Καὶ τίς σοι τὰ συμβαίνοντα κακὰ μετέπειτα διηγήσεται;’

“Μικρὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνείς ἀπήρξατο ἐνώπιον πάντων ἐξαγορεύειν. Τούτου δὲ ἐξομολογούμενον περισσῶς ἔξωθεν οἱ πονηρευόμενοι δίκην βροχῆς ἤπερ χαλάζης τοὺς

80 λίθους ἄνωθεν ἔβαλον. Μετὰ μέντοι τοῦ ἐξαγορευσαί αὐτὸν τὰ λεπτά, οἶον ὄρκους, ψεύσματα, δόλους, ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, ἀρπαγὰς, μίσος, ἔριν, φθόνον, θυμόν, ὀργήν, μῆνιν, ὕβριν, λοιδορίαν, καταλαλίαν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὡς εἰπεῖν παραπλήσια, δευτέρας ὥρας χρηματιζούσης ἀπήρξατο καὶ τὰ τραχύτερα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰσφέρειν, φημί γὰρ πορνείας, μαλακίας, μοιχείας, ἀρσενοκοιτίας, ἐπαιδίας, μαντίας καὶ τὰ τούτοις παρεπό-

85 μενα. Ἀπήρξατο δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων διηγείσθαι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων οὐσπερ φάρμακα πονηρά, ἦγον δηλητήρια κρυφίως κεράσας θάττον καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ζωῆς ἀπεστέρησεν· ἐπέμεινεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας ὥρας περὶ τῶν ἀποκτανθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξομολογούμενος ἕως ὥρας ἑβδόμης, ὅσους μὲν τρόπῳ οἶψι τίς διηγήσεται, οἶα δὲ προφάσει ἐτέρους παρὰ τῶν μιαρῶν δαιμόνων δελεαζόμενος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν φαρμακοποιαῖς ὁ ἄθλιος.

90 Ἐξομολογούμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τὰ δεινὰ τὰ πάσης θλίψεως καὶ πικρῶν δακρῶν ἐπάξια φρίκη κατέσχευεν τοὺς λαχόντας τότε ἐκέισε παρῆναι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα τὰ ἀτοπήματα, πλέον γὰρ τριακοσίων φόνων πράκτορα αὐτὸν ἐλεινῶς γεγονότα. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ εὐχῆς ἐπιτελεσθείσης, διὰ πολλὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ δεσπότου τῶν ὅλων οἱ λιθασμοὶ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἐν τῷ τέως ἡρεμίαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἐδέξαντο, αὐτὸς δὲ

95 μετὰ μικρὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἀπελθόντων δὲ τοῦ θάψαι αὐτοῦ τὸ δύστηνον σῶμα ἢ γῆ αὐτὸ οὐδαμῶς παρεδέχετο, ἀλλ’ ἔβραζεν ἔξω καὶ ἀνέπτυνεν. Τινὸς δὲ οὕτως ὑπαγορευσάντος ἐπιτελέσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνάμακτον θυσίαν, ἕνα μαργαρίτην τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συγκομίσαντες αὐτῷ, θάττον τοῦ ἔρπειν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατεπαύσατο.

75 ἀποστολὴν – δικαίᾳ cf. Ps. 77.49–50

#### D F S H

70 οὐκ < DF ταλαίπωρε < SH κατήνησας] ἦς SH | 71 μου < SH δε<sup>2</sup> < S | 72 οὐκοῦν – σὺ] λέγε μοι φησὶν ὅσα SH σεαυτῷ < SH λέγε<sup>2</sup> – 73 ἀνευδοιάστως < SH | 73 ὦ < SH | 74 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 75 δικαίᾳ < SH | 75 τῇ<sup>1</sup> – δικαίᾳ] τῇ δικαίᾳ ὀργῇ D | 76 ὅτι εἰς] ἴσως SH ἀποκτενοῦσιν σε SH τίς σοι] τί σου SH | 78 μετὰ < SH ἀνείς ἤρξατο SH | 79 δίκην – χαλάζης post 80 ἔβαλλον SH (ἤπερ] ἦ) | 80 μέντοι τοῦ] δὲ τὸ SH ψέσματα F | 81 δόλον ἀδικίαν πλεονεξίαν SH μῆνιν < SH | 82 ἅτε δὴ < SH ὡς εἰπεῖν < SH | 83 τραχύτερα – εἰσφέρειν] βραχύτερα ἐκφέρειν SH φημί γὰρ < SH | 84 μαντίας < DF συναρεπούμενα SH | 85 τούτων] τούτοις F καὶ < DF περὶ] παρ’ H | 87 ἐπέμει-

answered and said to him: ‘do not you know, you wretch, that you have arrived at the extreme border of death?’ And he said to him: ‘Yes, my lord, it is so.’ And that man answered and said to him: ‘So tell me in this hour all your sins whatsoever you know, tell me all without hesitation. For you see, o wretch, that all your enemies have risen against you, have come together and armed themselves against you frightfully according to the saying, *by sending evil angels to prepare a way for his just anger*. Now speak, you wretch, for they will kill you in a short time. And who will then tell you the bad things that will happen?’

“And recovering a little thereafter he began to confess in the presence of all. And while he was confessing, outside the wicked ones threw even more stones from above like a rain or hail. And after he had confessed the lighter things,<sup>80</sup> such as perjuries, lies, deceits, injustices, advantages, robberies, hate, quarrel, envy, bad temper, anger, wrath, abuse, insult, slander and, so to say, the things similar to these, he began at the second hour to bring forward the harsher sins as well, I say fornication, onanism, adultery, homosexuality, sorcery, divination and what follows it. And thereafter he began to tell about those whom he had quickly and suddenly deprived from this life by giving them evil poisons, that is by secretly mixing venoms; and he insisted from the second hour onward about those he had killed, and confessed until the seventh hour how many people he wretched man had killed by poisonous potions, namely on the one hand, in whatever ways one might tell, and on the other hand, for what reasons, being decoyed by the abominable demons. When he confessed these terrible things which were worthy of all affliction and bitter tears, awe kept those that happened to be present there and to hear these offences, for he had become the perpetrator of more than threehundred murders in a miserable way. When this had happened and a prayer had been performed, by the great love to mankind of the Master of all the stone-throws of the evil demons ended for the time being and found silence and calm, and he died after a short time. When they went away to bury his wretched body, the earth received it in no way, but boiled it up and spat it out. When someone had proposed to do so, they performed the bloodless sacrifice over him, and buried one pearl of the holy body and the worthy blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with him, and quickly he stopped creeping out of the earth.

νεν D ἔμεινεν SH | 88 τρόπῳ + καὶ F οἴῳ τρόπῳ D τίς διηγῆσθαι < SH διηγῆσται D οἶα] οἴῳ H | 89 δελεαζόμενος < SH ἐναπέκτεινεν ἐν φαρμακοποσίσις F ἐν < SH ὁ ἄθλιος < SH | 90 ἐξομολογησαμένου SH | 91 παρίεναι H ταῦτα τὰ ἀτοπήματα < SH | 92 γὰρ < SH ἐλεινῶς + ὡς S | 94 ἠρέμισαν DF | 95 ἀπελθόντες SH αὐτῷ τοῦ θάψαι τὸ δύστηνον αὐτοῦ F | 96 οὐ παρεδέξατο SH ἔβρασεν SH καὶ – ὑπαγορεύσαντος < SH | 97 ἐπιτελέσαντες + δὲ S | 98 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – Ἰησοῦ < SH συνθάψαντες SH | 99 ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς] αὐτὸν τὴν γῆν SH κατεπαύσαιτο SH

<sup>80</sup> On the following catalogue of sins, see above, p. 11 note 44.

100 “Ἔσπιν οὖν ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι, ὁπόσων κακῶν ἢ ἀμαρτία τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τέλους παραίτιος γίνεται. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν τὸ ἔχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐκάστοτε καὶ προῤῥέπειν ὁμοῦ καὶ βιάζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἀληθῆ δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἀνετοίμους ἡμᾶς εὐρῶν ὁ θάνατος θάττον παραπέμψη τῷ πυρί. *Γρηγορεῖτε* γάρ φησιν ὁ κύριος *καὶ προσεύχεσθε, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν οὐδέ τὴν ἡμέραν,*  
 105 *ἐν ἧ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.* Καὶ πάλιν, *εἰ ἦδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης, ποῖα ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, ἐγγηγόρησεν ἄν’* κλέπτης δὲ ἀπατεῶν ὁ διάβολος ἐστίν, ἅτε δὴ παραπλησίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος. Χρὴ οὖν κατὰ διάνοιαν γρηγορεῖν καὶ ῥυθμίζειν τοὺς διαλογισμούς, ἵνα νοῶμεν πότε ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος καὶ πολεμεῖ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα συνιέντες ἀποστρεφόμεθα τὰς ἐπαράτους ἐπιβουλάς αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνωμεν. Χρὴ δὲ σκοπεῖν καὶ τὸν κλέπτην αἰεὶ, τὸν θάνατον  
 110 λέγω, ἵνα μὴ κλέψῃ ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀτομασίας καὶ παραπέμψη τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρί. Πάντοτε οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ προετοιμάζειν ἑαυτὸν δι’ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν. Δι’ οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἡμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον παρήγαγεν, εἰ μὴ ἵνα δουλεύσωμεν καὶ ἀναπαύσωμεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπαύσῃ ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν ἡμᾶς τὸν τῆδε βίον, φημί ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 115 κόλλοις τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ.”

Ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου εἰρηκῆτος φόβῳ οὐ τῷ τυχόντι πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖσε συνεσχέθησαν, καὶ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει καὶ κατηφεία τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν κύριον. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος καὶ ἔπι πλείονας λόγους αὐτοῖς ἐπαναθέμενος ψυχωφελοῦς διηγήσεως καὶ ἐξαισίσως θαυμασθεις παρ’ αὐτῶν, συνταξάμενός τε τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ ἐκείνῳ ἀνδρὶ εἰς τὴν ξενίαν  
 120 αὐτοῦ ὥρμησεν ἀπελθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν φάσκων· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, μὴ μελήσης συνεχέστερον ἐπισκέψασθαι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ δούλου σου, εἴτε καὶ καταθύμιόν σοι ἐστίν, μέχρις ὅτε ἦς ἐν τῆδε τῇ πόλει, παραγενέσθαι ἐνταῦθα. Παντάπασι εὐδόκησον καὶ εἶναι σὺν ἐμοί· εἴτε καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως κελεύεις τοῦ εἶναι ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, καὶ χαρμονῆς μεγίστης τοῦτο ὑπόθεσις· χάριτι τοῦ φιλοικτίρμονος θεοῦ οὐκ ἐκλείψῃ σοι πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν καὶ θελήσης  
 125 ἀπὸ τῶν παρὰ κυρίου δεδωρημένων τῷ δούλῳ σου.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος τὴν φιλόχριστον αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἀποδεξάμενος φησὶν· “Ὁ δημιουργήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσει τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ μόνης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ὑποσχέσεως. Περὶ ἐμοῦ δέ, κύριέ μου, μηδὲν σοι ἔνεκα τούτου. Ἐγὼ γὰρ σήμερον εἰμί ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐτέρωθι εἰς αὔριον πορεύσομαι· μέχρις ὅτε δέ  
 130 ἤμην ἐνταῦθα, εἴτερ εἰμί ἄξιος ἔχω σε ἀφικόμενος θεωρεῖν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μηδὲν ἀθυμῆσης.” Ταῦτα οὖν εἰρηκῆτος φιλήματι ἀγίῳ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἐπορεύθη.

103 γρηγορεῖτε – 105 ἔρχεται cf. Mt. 24.42, 25.13, 26.41 | 105 εἰ – 106 ἄν Lc. 12.39 | 126 τὸν – 127 αὐτοῖς Ex. 20.11

#### DFSH

100 κακῶν + ἐστὶν SH | 101 διὰ – 107 θάνατος < SH | 105 ὁποῖα F | 109 ὑποβολὰς αὐτῶν DF  
 χρὴ – 117 κύριον < SH | 111 ἑαυτοῦς D | 112 ὁ δεσπότης < D | 118 ἐξαισίσως < SH | 119 τῷ  
 αὐτῷ D<sup>ac</sup> | 120 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ SH ἀμελήσης S | 121 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι SH εἴτε – 123 ἐμοί < SH σοι +  
 τότε F | 123 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D ἐν < S εὐφροσύνῃ + μοι SH | 124 τοῦτο] τούτου DF, < H χάριτι – 125

“Now we can understand from this of what great and bad things sin is the reason in the end for those that do it. Therefore it is good to have your mind always, to exhort and urge it for good and to work the true righteousness of God, so that death does not find us unprepared and sends us quickly into the fire. For the Lord says, *Watch and pray, for you know neither the hour nor the day on which our Lord comes. And again if the master of the house had known at which hour the thief would come, he would have watched;* the thief is the betrayer, the devil, and similarly also death. It is necessary to watch in your mind and to direct your reasoning, so that we understand when the devil comes and fights against us, so that understanding this we may avert his accursed attacks and do not do sin. It is also necessary always to consider the thief, I mean death, so that he may not steal us because we are unprepared and send us to the eternal fire. Now it is always good to fear God and to prepare oneself by good works. For the Master has sent us into this world for no other reason than for to work and to make him rest in good works, so that he may make us rest there, when we will have passed from this life, I say in the sweetness of paradise and in the bosom of the Patriarch Abraham.”

When the blessed one had said this, all those present there were seized by great fear, and beating their breasts in confession and dejection, they invoked the Lord. The righteous one presented them yet more speeches with narrations useful for the soul; he was admired by them exceedingly, said farewell to that Christ-loving man and hurried to go away to his lodge. But he asked him and said: “For the sake of the Lord, do not hesitate to visit the house of your servant often, if it is your wish to come here, as long as you are in this town. Find pleasure by all means to be with me; even if you should order incessantly to live in gladness, this would be the reason of great delight <for me>, and by the grace of the all-compassionate God you would not miss anything, whatever you want from the things that have been given by the Lord to your servant.” The blessed one said, accepting his Christ-loving intention: “The one that has created *heaven and earth and the sea and all which is therein*, the same will also perform his great mercies with you, and that only because of his good promise. As to me, my lord, do not care about such things. For today I am here and will go elsewhere tomorrow; as long as I am here, I will come to see you, if I am worthy, and therefore you should not be disheartened.” Now having said this, he embraced him with the holy kiss and went away.

σου < SH | 125 δεδωρημένω D | 126 φησίν] ἔφη H | 127 αὐτὸς < DF ποιήσειεν DF | 128 αὐτῆς SH  
 SH περι – 129 τούτου < SH | 129 γὰρ σήμερον] δὲ μέχρις ὅτε SH καὶ – 130 ἐνταῦθα] παρῶν  
 SH δὲ < D | 130 καὶ – ἀθυμίας < SH | 131 οὖν < SH φιλήματί τε S

Τ Γεγονότι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ λεγομένῃ Μιλήντῳ εὗρεν ἐκεῖσε συναγωγὴν λαοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πόδας κωλύσας τοῦ βαδίζειν ἔστη ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κελευθεῖς. Καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὀρᾷ μέσον τοῦ πλήθους ἐκείνου ἄνδρα γεγυμνωμένον μὲν τῷ σώματι, τῇ δὲ  
 135 τῶν Ἀρμενίων διαλέκτῳ προσομιλοῦντα μυστήρια· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους ἐχρημάτιζεν. Ὡς δὲ ὠμίλει τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, ἡσυχάσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς βραχὺ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐλλαμφθεῖς ἀπήρξατο τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ τὰ περικύκλω αὐτοῦ συνηλεγμένα πλήθη νοουθετεῖν καὶ καθοδηγεῖν εἰς τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἴστατο μήκοθεν ποῦ γε αὐτὸν στοχαζόμενος. Πληρώσας δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὴν πρὸς τὰ συνηλεγμένα  
 140 πλήθη νοουθεσίαν, νυγεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν θεόθεν ἀναβλέψας κατέναντι τοῦ μακαρίου εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐστῶτα, καὶ ἔπι πλησθεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου φησὶν πρὸς τοὺς παρεστῶτας· “Ὁ κύριός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς Γρηγόριος, ὦ ἀδελφοί, ὁ φίλος ὁ μελίρρυτος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὀρᾶτε ποῦγε περίεστιν.” Καὶ ἀρξάμενος κατὰ λεπτὸν διηγήσατο τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ· “Οὗτος ἐστίν,” φησὶν, “μεθ' οὗ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀενάως, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὄνπερ φιλοῦσιν  
 145 οἱ ἀπόστολοι, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν ἡ μεγάλη παρθένος καὶ θεοτόκος κατὰ χάριν υἰοποιήσατο ἅμα τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ μαθητῇ Ἰωάννῃ, οὗτος ἐστὶν, ἀγαπητοί, περὶ οὗ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις οἱ προφηταὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὴν δέησιν πληθύνουσιν, περὶ οὗ δυσωποῦσιν οἱ ὅσοι· οὗτος ἐστὶν περὶ οὗ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατέναντι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου περιχαρῶς χορεύοντες οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ μνεῖαν ποιοῦσιν. Τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου ὡς πρόσωπον  
 150 βασιλικόν· ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ ὑψίστου θεωρίαν πνευματικὴν πεπλουτισμένη, καὶ νοερῶν φιλιτάτων ὀφθαλμῶν θεωροῦσα τὸν κύριον. Ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ τοῦ μύρου καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου διάδημα φοροῦσα ταπεινοφροσύνης ἁγίας, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸν σπλαγχνισθεῖς ἐπέβλεψεν ὁ ὑψίστος κύριος. Ἄπεισιν δὲ ὀδὸν εὐθείαν καὶ βασιλικὴν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς κυρίου ἀδολεσχοῦμενος, ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ  
 155 τὴν γῆν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν, ἄπεισιν λύχνος διάχρυσος τοῖς ἐν σκότει ἀμαρτημάτων· πορεύεται φῶς ἡλίου καὶ δικαιοσύνης τοῖς τελευτῶσιν <εἰς> τὰ κρῆν τῆς ἀνομίας, πορεύεται ἀγιάσαι τὰ ἐκεῖσε πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν.”

Ταῦτα λέγων πρὸς τὰ πλήθη ἐξίσταντο πάντες· ἐδείκνυεν δὲ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ τὸν μακάριον καὶ ἔλεγεν· “Ὀρᾶτε, περὶ ἐκείνου γάρ”, φησὶν, “ταῦτα λέγω”, ἐμφαίνων αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 160 τὰ σύσσημα αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ, ἐν ὄσῳ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀγνώστως προσωμίλει τοῖς ὄχλοις περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἴστατο κατανοῶν τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν· ἐπειδὴ ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν δακτυλο-

### DFSH

132 Ὡς < S λη' H + περὶ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Ἀνδρέου SH συναγωγῆ SH | 133 ὡς < SH ἁγίου < DF | 134 γυμνόν SH | 136 ἡσυχάσας – 137 διαλέκτῳ < SH | 139 ποῦ γε < DF | 140 νοουθεσίας H θεόθεν < SH | 141 ἔπι < SH φησὶν] ἔφησεν H | 142 ὦ < SH | 143 πάρεστιν H διηγέιτο SH | 144 μεθ' – ἐστίν<sup>2</sup>] λέγων SH φιλοῦν DF | 145 ἐστίν + λέγων SH μεγάλη] ἁγία H | 146 Ἰωάννη – 153 κύριος < SH | 149 ποιούμενοι DF | 150 πεπλουτισμένη DF | 151 θεωροῦντες DF | 152 καὶ < D | 153 ἄπεισιν] ἄπεισιν DF δὲ < SH | 154 ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>] εἰς H ἄπεισιν<sup>2</sup> bis DF, < SH ἄπεισιν<sup>3</sup> – 155 Ὀμηριτῶν < SH | 155 πορεύεται – 157 ἡμῶν < SH | 156 εἰς supplevi | 158 ἐξίστα πάντας SH | 159 γάρ < SH ταῦτα < D λέγων S | 160 ἀγνώστων SH | 161 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] ἐκείνου SH ἐπειδὴ] ἐπεὶ δὲ SH αὐτόν] αὐτῷ F S δακτυλοδεικνοῦντα SH

When he came to the market-place which is called Milentos,<sup>81</sup> he found a congregation of people there, and preventing his feet from walking he stood fast as if by order of the Holy Ghost. And looking up he saw in the midst of that crowd a man with a naked body who announced mysteries in the language of the Armenians, for he was from this race. And as he was talking in his language, he refrained from it for a short time and, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, he began to exhort the crowds, that were gathered around him, in the language of the Romans, and to lead them to the fear of God.<sup>82</sup> The blessed Gregentios stood somewhere far away and stared at him. When that man had accomplished the exhortation to the gathered crowds, his mind was awakened by God, and looking up before the blessed one he saw him standing there, and still being filled with the Holy Ghost he said to those standing around: "My beloved lord Gregentios, o brothers, the honey-flowing friend of the highest God, look where he is." And he began to describe in detail his virtues and said: "It is he with whom the Son of God is without end, it is he whom the apostles love, it is he whom the great Virgin and Mother of God has adopted according to her grace together with the beloved disciple Ioannes,<sup>83</sup> it is he, my beloved ones, for whom the prophets multiply their supplication to God, for whom the saints do beseech; it is he whom the angels of God remember when they dance joyfully in heaven before the face of the Lord. His face is like the face of a king in the name of the Lord; his soul is rich in spiritual vision by the mercy of the Highest, seeing the Lord with its mental and dearest eyes.<sup>84</sup> His heart is full, wearing a crown made of both unguent and oil, which is that of holy humbleness, because the highest Lord has looked upon him in his pity. He goes a straight and royal way conversing in the commandments of the Lord, he goes to Alexandria, he goes to Ethiopia, he goes to the land of the Homerites, he goes out to be a golden lamp for those that live in the darkness of sin; he walks around as the light of the sun and righteousness for those that die in the cold of iniquity, he walks around to sanctify all the things there in the name of our king Jesus Christ."

When he said such things to the crowds they were all astonished; he also pointed to the blessed one with his hand and said: "Behold, for I say this about that man", indicating to them also his marks of recognition. As long as he spoke to the crowds about <Gregentios> as about some unknown person, he stood there and considered his virtuous conduct; but when he saw how he showed him to the surrounding people with his

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 24 with note 117.

<sup>82</sup> See above, pp. 45–46.

<sup>83</sup> See above, 1.314–336.

<sup>84</sup> This sentence is evidently corrupted. Instead of *πεπλουτισμένην* we should probably read *πεπλουτισμένη* as printed in the text, and the words *νοερῶν φιλάτων ὀφθαλμῶν* are translated as if being a dative.



δεικτοῦντα αὐτὸν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν, ῥύμης ἐκέισε οὔσης ὄξυποδήσας δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνακεχώρηκεν. Ἔτι δὲ ἐκείνου περισσῶς τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀναγγέλοντος τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγάλως αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντος ὁ μακάριος ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ παρεγένετο.

- 165 Τῇ ἐπαύριον δὲ ὀρθρίσαντος τοῦ δικαίου Γρηγεντίου ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου, παρεγένετο κάκεινος ὅθεν ηὐλίζετο τοῖς ἐκεῖ χάριν τοῦ προσεύξασθαι. Καὶ δὴ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἐκαθέσθη ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν σκάμων τοῦ ἀναπαῆναι. Ἐλθὼν δὲ κάκεινος πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἔβαλεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους μετάνοιαν. Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἀναστὰς ἀνησπάσατο αὐτὸν καὶ φησὶν “Κέλευσον, ὁ κύρις, κέλευσον.” Καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκαθέσθησαν. Ἐπληρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος “Πόθεν ἡ ἀγάπη;” φησὶν. Ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνατολῶν ἐγώ, ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἐν Ἀρταζάτ, ἦτοι ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ, ἐκέισε καὶ φύς καὶ μνηθεὶς καὶ ἀνατραφεὶς καὶ τὰ ἱερά γράμματα παιδευθεὶς ἱερέως υἱὸς γενονῶς.” Ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος· “Καὶ πῶς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ τηλικούτου διαστήματος κατήνησας;” Ἔφη ἐκείνος· “Συνιεις ἀπὸ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν,
- 175 ὅτι σκιά καὶ ἐνύπνιον τὰ παρόντα, συνιδῶν κατέλιπον τὰ πάντα καὶ οὕτως ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μεταναστεύων, τρυγῶν κἀντεῦθεν τὴν τῶν σεβασμίων ἐκκλησιῶν προσκύνησιν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τοῖς ἐνθάδε ἀπήνηκα.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἔφη· “Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, ἀδελφέ, διὰ τὸν κύριον μνεῖαν ποιοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον καὶ θεὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις σου δεήσεσιν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀναξίου, ἵνα ἴλεως γένηται τῇ ἐμῇ ἀνικανότητι. Ἐν ἀνομίαις γὰρ ἐγεννήθην ὅλος
- 180 ἐγὼ ὁ ταλαίπωρος, καὶ ἔκτοτε *προσώζεσαν καὶ ἐσάπησαν οἱ μῶλωπες* τῆς ψυχῆς μου καὶ *οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασις* ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου.” Ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκείνος· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, συγχώρησόν μοι, ἀγαπητὲ τοῦ σωτήρος· αὐτὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς τὰς ἐγκρίτους δεήσεις παιδευθεὶς οὐρανόθεν προσάγειν ταύτας κυρίῳ δι' αὐτῶν κάμοι ἴλεων καὶ εὐμενῇ τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν δεσπότην ἀπέργασε.” Οὕτως οὖν ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ διὰ τῆς ἡδύστης ταπεινοφροσύνης
- 185 ἐγκελευόμενοι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων προσεύχεσθαι, διελθόντες καὶ ἑτέρας τινὰς ψυχωφελεῖς ὁμιλίας συνταξάμενοι ἀλλήλους πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπορεύθησαν.

- Γεγονότι δὲ τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ εὗρεν τινὰ ἐκέισε ἄνθρωπον ἐκδεχόμενον αὐτόν, ἄγνωστον μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντα χρηματίζοντα, Ἰωάννην δὲ προσαγορευόμενον· ἐξ ἀκοῆς δὲ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενάμενος. Καθεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατ' ἰδίαν
- 190 καὶ λόγων τινῶν ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν κινήθωντων, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ὠφέλησεν ὁ δίκαιος, ὥστε

179 ἐν – ἐγεννήθην cf. Ps. 50.7 | 180 προσώζεσαν – μου cf. Ps. 37.6 | 181 οὐκ ἔστιν ἴασις cf. Ps. 37.4. 8

#### DFSH

162 ῥύμης ἐκέισε οὔσης < SH δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ < DF | 163 ἔτι – 164 ἐγκωμιάζοντος < SH | 164 παρεγένετο < SH | 165 δικαίου < DF | 166 τοῖς ἐκεῖ < SH δὴ < SH | 167 ἐκαθέσθη H ἐν < DF | 168 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους < SH ἀνασπάσατο SH | 169 κύριος DF ἀμφω SH | 170 ἐπληρωτῆ H δέ<sup>1</sup> τε SH | 171 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DF ἐν<sup>2</sup> < D Ἀρταζάτ sic F SH Ἀναρζάτ D | 172 τραφεὶς SH | 173 καὶ < DF ἐκ < D | 174 θείων ἀγίων S | 175 τὰ<sup>2</sup> < DF οὕτω S ἐκ < SH | 176 τρυγῶ SH καὶ – 177 ἀπήνηκα < SH | 178 ποιοῦ + τὰ DF πρὸς – θεὸν < SH καί<sup>2</sup> < D | 179 τοῦ – 181 μου < SH | 180 μῶλωπες μου τῆς ψυχῆς F | 182 δὲ < SH ὡς – 184 ἀπέργασε] ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὡς ὢν ἄξιος δούλος

finger, he ran quickly into a lane, which was there, and went away by some other way. And while that man was still telling them much about him and praised him greatly, the blessed one arrived in his lodge.

On the following day, when the righteous Gregentios was in the church of the bishop's palace for matins, he also came there for prayer from the place where he dwelt. And after the dismissal the blessed one sat down on one of the benches to rest. And that man also came close to him and bowed down to the floor. The righteous one rose, embraced him and said: "Please, my lord, please." And both sat down together. The blessed one asked him: "From where is your love?" He answered and said to him: "I am from the land of the East, for I have been born, educated and brought up there, and was taught the holy Scriptures at the church of Saint Gregorios in Artaxat,<sup>85</sup> that is in Greater Armenia, being the son of a priest."<sup>86</sup> The righteous one said to him: "And how did you arrive here from such a great distance?" He said: "I understood from the divine Scriptures that the present world is a shadow and a dream, and considering this I left everything behind and wandered from town to town, collected the worship of the adorable churches there as well, and arrived here from there." The blessed one said: "Praised be God, brother, for the sake of the Lord, remember me unworthy one before the Lord God in your holy supplications as well, so that he may be gracious to my insufficiency. For I miserable one have been born completely in iniquities, and since then *the weals* of my soul *have stunk and putrified*, and *there is no healing* in my heart." He said to him: "For the sake of the Lord, excuse me, you beloved one of the Saviour, since you have been taught from heaven to offer the accepted supplications to the Lord, make our common Master gracious and kind by them to me as well." Now in this way one gave order to the other with the sweetest humbleness that they should pray for each other, they went through some other sermons which were helpful for the soul, and saying farewell to each other they went to their own places.

When the blessed Gregentios arrived at his lodge, he found there a man that waited for him, who was completely unknown to him and was called Ioannes; he had come to him because of the things he had heard. They sat down privately, and when some words had been exchanged between them, the righteous one helped him so much that he went

τοῦ κυρίου εὐχου SH | 184 ἐτέρως DF ἕτερος τῶ < SH ἐτέρω] ἐκατέρων H | 185 τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων] ἀλλήλοις H ἀλλήλων – 186 ἀλλήλους < H διελθόντες – 186 ὁμιλίας < S | 186 ἀλλήλοις S | 187 Γρηγεντίω < SH ἐκέισε τινά H ἄνθρωπον < DF | 188 ἄγνωστον μὲν αὐτῷ < DF αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν H | 190 τοσοῦτον + δὲ H

<sup>85</sup> See above, p. 30 and 46.

<sup>86</sup> In the Armenian church, only sons of priests were ordained as such, a custom which was rejected on the *Trullanum* by the Byzantine Orthodox church, see *Trullanum*, ch. 33.

ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν λάθρα ἐν μοναστηρίῳ καὶ παραχρημα γενέσθαι μοναχόν. Καὶ οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ στενωτάτῳ ἐγκλείσας ἑαυτὸν καλῶς τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἀπηγάγετο.

Τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπορεύθη πάλιν ὁ μακάριος ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Μωκίου· ἔστιν δὲ κατὰ δυσμὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης. Καὶ ὡς τὴν εὐχὴν ἀποδέδωκεν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτὸν συναντᾶ τινὶ πένητι κατὰ τὴν πλατείαν. Γεώργιον δὲ τοῦτον ἐκάλουν· ἐνὶ δὲ ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐφωτίζετο, τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον ἐσβεσμένον ἐκέκτητο. Ἔφασκον δέ, ὅτι ὀπόταν ἦν νεώτερος, σκανδαλισθέντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τινὶ πόρῃ γυναικὶ διὰ τῆς ὁράσεως εἰς ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τὸ τοῦ κυρίου λόγιον, *εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζη σε*, φησὶν, *ἔκτειλον αὐτόν*, λαβὼν λίθον ὄξυν ἔξωσε τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν εὐαγγελικῶς καταλιπὼν νῦν καὶ *πᾶσαν βιωτικὴν μέριμναν* καὶ ἡσύχως ἰδιάζων ὑπῆρχεν. Ὡς οὖν εἰρηται, ὅτι συνήτησεν αὐτῷ ὁ δίκαιος, παριῶν ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Χαίροις, δοῦλε τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγέντιε.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος συνιείς, ὅτι εἰς τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν κύριον ἐστίν, βαλὼν αὐτῷ μετάνοιαν ἔφη· “Ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἀγαπητέ μου, ἐν κυρίῳ μετὰ σοῦ.” Λέγει ἐκεῖνος· “Τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα τῆς τρισυποστάτου καὶ προανάρχου θεότητος φρουρήσει, ὦ τέκνον, τὰ κατὰ θεὸν σου διαβήματα. Κέλευσον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγον καθεσθῶμεν ἐκεῖσε.” Εἷξαντος δὲ τοῦ δικαίου κατωτέρῳ ποῦ πορευθέντες ἐκαθέσθησαν. Ἔφη οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ γέρων· “Πῶς καλῶς κέκτησαι, τέκνον, πῶς τὴν ὁδὸν σου διανύεις τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ, φίλτατέ μου; Ἀληθῶς *μέγας κύριος καὶ αἰνετός σφόδρα*, ὁ πλήθην οἰκτηρμῶν καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ μεγέθη ἄφατα κενώσας ἐν ἡμῖν. Ὡντως *δίκαιος κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας ἠγάπησεν*, ὄντως *φυλάσσει κύριος τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτόν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς ἐξολοθρεύσει.*”

Ταῦτα δὲ φάσκων καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν καρδίαν καθορῶν τοῦ μακαρίου, στοχαζόμενος τὰ τε ἦθει καὶ τὰς ἐναρέτους γνώμας τῆς τιμίας αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, ὄλοσχερῶς τὸν κλίνοντα εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐναρέτων ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ποταμὸν εἰρήνης ὑπερδοξάζων ἐμεγάλυνεν. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Διὰ τὸν κύριον, εἰπέ μοι πόθεν με γινώσκεις; ἦδειν γὰρ ἐγὼ καθότι οὐδέποτε με ἐώρακας.” Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη ἐκεῖνος· “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδαμῶς πώποτε σε ἐώρακα, ἀλλ' ὁ ὢν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ συνοδεύων ἅμα σοί, ἐκεῖνος μοι ἐγνώρισεν καὶ τὰ κατὰ σέ.” Λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δίκαιος· “Ἐὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, πάτερ μου πνευματικέ, ὁ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνικανότητα ἐν πλήθει οἰκτηρμῶν ἀντιλαμβάνόμενος. Οὐκ ἐπαύσατο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον πόλιν ἐπὶ πόλιν πορευο-

199 εἰ – αὐτόν cf. Mt. 5.29, 18.9; Mc. 9.47 | 201 πᾶσαν βιωτικὴν μέριμναν e Hymno Cherubico, ed. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 377 | 209 μέγας – σφόδρα Ps. 47.2, 95.4, 144.3 | 210 δίκαιος – 211 ἠγάπησεν Ps. 10.7 | 211 φυλάσσει – 212 ἐξολοθρεύσει Ps. 144.20 | 215 τὸν – εἰρήνης cf. Is. 66.12

#### D F S H

191 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ S | 192 καὶ < SH στενωτάτῳ < H ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν D αὐτῷ F ἀπηνέγκατο SH | 193 Ὡς γὰρ H + περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Γεωργίου SH μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς < DF ὁ μακάριος < SH | 196 τὸν – 197 ἐκέκτητο < SH | 197 ὅτι < SH | 198 ἑαυτὸν + οὖν H | 199 λόγιον + τὸ ὅτι SH ὄξυν λίθον SH | 200 τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐτοῦ] αὐτόν SH διὰ – 201 ὑπῆρχεν < SH | 201 οὖν < H |

secretly into a monastery and became a monk on the spot. And after a short time, having shut himself up in a very narrow cell, he went away to the Lord happily.

When things had happened in this way, after some days again the blessed one went to the martyr's church of Saint Mokios; it lies in the west of that town. And when he had offered his prayer to the Lord, on the way back he met a poor man on the main street. He was called Georgios, and his face was illuminated by one eye, for the other one was extinguished. People said that when he was a young man he was offended by a harlot through his eyelight, and considering by himself the word of the Lord which says, *if your eye offends you, pluck it out*, he took a sharp stone and wrenched it out. For he left behind *all care of his life*, as the Gospel says, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, and lived silently and solitarily. So as it has been said, the righteous one met him, and when he went by and saw him he said: "Hail, servant of God Gregentios." The blessed one understood that he was one of those that fear the Lord, bowed before him and said: "The grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost, my beloved one, be with you in the Lord." And he said: "The holy name of the divinity which is in three substances and before all times, o child, may guard your paces according to God. Please, let us sit down here a little." The righteous one yielded to him, and they went and sat down at some more remote place. Now the old man said to him: "Are you well, my child, and how do you accomplish your way in the Lord, o my dearest one? Truly, *the Lord is great and greatly to be praised*, he that has abundantly poured out compassion, love to mankind and inexpressible greatness upon us. Indeed, *the Lord is righteous and loves righteousness*, indeed *the Lord guards those that love him and will utterly destroy the sinners.*"

Saying these and many other things he looked into the very heart of the blessed one, and considering his manners and the virtuous doctrines of his worthy soul he greatly praised and utterly magnified the one that inclines himself into the hearts of his virtuous men like a stream of peace. The blessed Gregentios said to him: "For the sake of the Lord, tell me where you know me from, for I know that you have seen me never before." And he answered and said: "I have never seen you before, but the one that is with you and travels with you, that man has told me about you." The righteous one said to him: "Praised be God, my spiritual father, who has helped my insufficiency by the multitude of his compassions. For his holy name didn't cease to show me always his chosen ones, when I went from town to town, so that I may learn something spiritual

202 αὐτῶ] αὐτὸν H αὐτὸν + ἐκεῖνος SH θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ SH | 203 συνιεῖς ὅτι εἰς] συνιεῖς αὐτὸν καθότι ἐκ SH αὐτὸν S | 205 ἅγιον < D καὶ προανάρχου < SH | 206 ὦ < SH τέκνον post σου SH καὶ < D | 207 δικαίου + καὶ DF κατωτέρου F οὖν] δὲ SH | 209 ἀληθῶς – 216 ἐμεγάλυνεν < SH | 210 ἀφάτῳ DF | 213 ὁρῶν D | 214 ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ F | 217 εἰπέ] εἶπον S ὅτι SH με<sup>2</sup>] μοι DF καὶ < SH | 218 πώποτε < SH συνδιοδεύων S | 219 ἅμα < SH καὶ < SH | 220 μου πνευματικέ < SH | 221 οὐκ – 222 μοι<sup>1</sup> <, + καὶ SH

μένω μοι δεικνύναι μοι τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ πάντοτε, ἵνα τί μάθω πνευματικὸν ἀπ' αὐ-  
 τῶν καὶ ἵνα τί παιδευθῶ, ἀφ' ὧν ἐπιποθεῖ ὁ αἰώνιος ταῖς ἀγίαις προσευχαῖς αὐτῶν. Καί  
 τότε πρόδηλον, ὃ αὐτὸς τοιγαροῦν καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸν κύριόν μου τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ εἴλκυσεν  
 225 πρὸς με, ὅπως εὐξῆ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀναξίου παιδός σου, κατευθυνθῆναι μοι τὰ κατὰ θεὸν  
 διαβήματα.” Ἐφη οὖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι “καὶ κατεύθυνε,  
 τέκνον, τὰ διαβήματά σου, καὶ ἐπιλοιπὸν κατευθυνεῖ. Πλήν τὴν ψυχωφελὴ ταύτην ὁδὸν  
 ἦνπερ ἀρτίως βαδίζεις, παρακαλῶ, εἰς τὴν μᾶλλον κατὰ τόνδε τὸν αἰῶνα ἀνατρέχει  
 230 τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ χαμυνίαν μηδαμῶς παρακρούση, τῷ ἐλέῳ τῷ περὶ τοὺς πένητας  
 ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος. Πρῶτος ἔσω καὶ μέτριος, φυλάττων αἰεὶ τὸ ἀόργητον· μὴ γὰρ εἴπῃς, ὅτι  
 ‘πρὸς ὑποχειρίους μοι ὀργίζομαι’, πνευματικοῖς γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἂν εἴῃ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς,  
 καὶ εἴπερ οὖν τεθανάτωκεν τὸ τυραννικὸν φρόνημα, ὑποχείριος οὐ πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ πάν-  
 235 τες ἀδελφοί. Τὰς προσευχὰς ἄσπερ ὁ ὢν μετὰ σοῦ σοὶ πεπαιδευκεν, βλέπε μὴ καταπαύ-  
 ση. Λάλει δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ προσεύχου ἕως τῆς ἐσχάτης σου ἀναπνοῆς· φρίσσει γὰρ ὁ διάβολος  
 ταῦτα ἀκούων, διότι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰσὶν τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφίμ. Κρυπτῶς δὲ  
 ὁμίλει αὐτὰς κυρίῳ· μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων γνώτω, καθότι μυστικὰ κυρίου πεφήνασιν καὶ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κρείττονες καὶ ἀπορρήτως σωτηρίας ἐχόμενοι. Τὰ ταπεινὰ αἰεὶ  
 240 φρόνησον, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται· ἀγαθὸς ἔσω, πρᾶς, ἡμερος, εὐμετά-  
 δοτος, προσηγής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος. Πονηροὺς φίλους τοὺς  
 μέλλοντάς σοι ὑποβάλλειν πονηρὰ ἐν ἡμέραις συμβουλιῶν μὴ παραδέξει, σημειούμενος δὲ  
 τοὺς τοιοῦτους πόρρω βάλει ἀπὸ σοῦ. Γέγραπται γάρ,” φησὶν, ὅτι “*υἰέ, μὴ πορευθῆς μετ’*  
*αὐτῶν ἐν ὁδῷ*, ἡκεῖς γὰρ διὰ σῶν φίλων εἰς κακά. Μιμητὰς ἐναρέτων πράξεων καὶ σοφοῦς  
 245 πνευματικῆ διακονίᾳ, ἴσως τε καὶ σωματικῆ, ἀνεργέσιν δὲ καὶ ἀνωφελέσιν καὶ ἀποϊήτοις  
 μήτε ἀναργύρως παραχωρήσης ὡς ἔν τι, καθότι οὐκ ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω  
 σκίαν καὶ σκοτός, ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ φαίνειν σκοτίζειν τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ’ ἔθετο ἥλιον καὶ  
 σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας ὁμοίως διαλάμποντας, ὥστε φαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ φωτίζειν καὶ  
 250 φαιδρύνειν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Τὸν θάνατον αἰεὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν προσδόκα καὶ σπού-  
 δασον καλῶς διοικῆσαι τὰ πράγματα τὰ μέλλοντά σοι παρὰ κυρίου πιστεῦσθαι, ἵνα μετὰ  
 χαρᾶς καὶ ἀμεριμνίας ἀπέλθῃς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅταν ἀποστείλας μετακαλέσει σε, καὶ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν ἔση ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπαναπαυόμενος. Βλέπε οὖν, ὦ τέκνον, εἰς τὸ ἀρέσαι

226 κατεύθυνε – 227 σου cf. Ps. 39.4 | 239 ὅτι – ταπεινωθήσεται Lc. 14.11, 18.14 | 242 μὴ – 243  
 ὁδῷ Pr. 1.15

#### DFSH

222 δεικνύων SH πάντοτε] πόλιν εἰς πόλιν πορευομένων SH πνευματικὴν F | 223 καὶ – 224  
 πρόδηλον SH | 224 καί? < SH | 225 εὐξῆ] ἔξει S ἐμοῦ < SH σου + καὶ D κατευθυνθῆναι – 226  
 διαβήματα < SH | 226 ἔφη οὖν] εὐ εἰδῶς DF οὖν < S ὅτι – 227 τέκνον] τέκνον κατευθύνῃ SH |  
 227 καὶ – κατευθυνεῖ < SH | 228 παρακαλῶ < H μᾶλλον] μέλλων SH ἀνατρέχειν SH |  
 229 μεγίστην < SH μὴ] καὶ H, < S γε – 230 πένητας < SH τε < F | 230 παρακρούσειεν DF

from them and be taught what the Eternal One desired through their holy prayers. And it is clear that the same one has drawn both you and my lord to me at the same hour, so that you may pray for me, your unworthy child, to make my paces straight according to God.” Now that man that was praised forever said: “Make your paces straight, my child, and you will still be directed from now on. But please go this way, which helps the soul and which you walk now, in this world for your greatest honour. Do not commit violence, do not become vain, be not diverted from fasting, lack of baths, sleeplessness and sleeping on the ground, abounding in your mercy towards the poor. Be gentle and moderate, always keep yourself free from anger; do not say ‘I am angry about my subjects’, for if there were a king for spiritual men, and if he would have put the tyrannic thought to death, then there is no subject, but we are all brothers. Be careful not to put an end to the prayers which the one, that was with you, has taught you. Say them and pray until your last breath, for the devil shudders when he hears them, because they are from heaven, from Cherubim and Seraphim. Tell them to the Lord secretly; no man should know it, for they appear to be secrets of the Lord, better than the heavenly sanctuary and containing salvation in an ineffable way. Always be humbleminded, *for everyone that exalts himself will be humiliated*; be good, gentle, mild, generous, kind, keeping yourself away from all evil things. Do not accept evil friends that will propose evil things to you on the days of counsel, but take note of such people and drive them away far from you. For it is written”, he said, “my son, *do not walk in a way with them*, for you will arrive at bad things through your friends. Appoint freely the imitators of virtuous deeds, wise, good and virtuous men that give good counsel for every spiritual, perhaps also for every corporeal service, do not allow the inefficacious, the useless and worthless to do anything, not even without payment, for God has not set up shade and darkness above in heaven, so that he darkens earth instead of illuminating it, but he set up sun, moon and stars that shine similarly, so that they shine on earth and enlighten all the face of earth making it bright. Always await death every day and hasten to administer the things well which will be entrusted to you by the Lord, so that you may go to him with joy and free from care went he sends out to summon you, and henceforth you will rest in the glory of the Lord. Now look, o child, how to please the Lord God, do not

τῶ<sup>2</sup>] τοὺς D | 231 ἐπιδαφιλευόμενος] μὴ δαφιλευόμενος – 234 ἀδελφοί post 240 προσηγῆς SH  
 πῶος – μέτριος < SH φύλασσε SH ἀεὶ < SH | 232 εἶη] ἦ SH | 233 εἶπερ οὖν τεθανάτωκεν]  
 ὑπερτεθανάτωκεν SH | 234 τὰς – 238 τὰ < SH | 235 τῆς < D | 238 ἀεὶ < SH | 239 ἡμερος < SH |  
 240 ἀπεχόμενος] ἀπέχου SH | 241 σοι] σε SH ἐν ἡμέραις συμβουλιῶν < SH σημειούμενος – 242  
 σοῦ < SH | 242 γάρ post πορευθῆς SH ἐν ὁδῶ μετ’ αὐτῶν, + καὶ ἔπειτα SH | 243 μιμητὰς] μιμοῦ  
 τὰς – 245 σωματικῆ post 249 προσδόκα SH ἐναρέτους πράξεις SH | 244 καὶ ἐναρέτους < SH  
 εὐαρέστους F | 245 ἀνεργέειν – 249 γῆς < SH | 249 ἀεὶ < SH, + καὶ F καὶ < SH |  
 250 διοικήσαντα DF πιστεύεται F ἵνα – 252 ἐπαναπαυόμενος < SH | 252 οὖν ὦ < SH εἰς] ὡς S

κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ἕτερόν τι μὴ προτιμήσης. Μεγάλη ἡ ἀγάπη αὐτοῦ ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀγαπήσω-  
 255 μεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς· πολλὰ τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ τὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν, θεραπεύσωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς.  
 Πλὴν αὐτοῦ μηδὲν προτιμησώμεθα, πλὴν αὐτοῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑποβληθῶμεν, μηδένα οὕτως  
 ἀρέσαι σπουδάσωμεν. Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ οὐχ  
 εὐρήσωμεν.”

Ταῦτα τοῦ δικαίου ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν μακάριον παρακλητικῶς ὑπεξεληθόντος, μάλλον  
 δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα ἐνωπιζόμενος ἐδάκρυνεν ὁ μακάριος καὶ φησὶν· “Οὐχί, εἴτε ἐσμὲν  
 260 ἡμεῖς, ὦ πάτερ τίμιε, ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν θεοπρεπῶς δουλεύσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν  
 ἀγίων καὶ ἀενάων ὑμῶν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντεύξεων καὶ δεήσεων· δεῖ ὑμᾶς γὰρ τοὺς  
 ἀγίους αὐτοῦ συνήθως σπλαγχνίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός. Ὅμως μέντοι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ  
 κυρίου γενέσθω· ζῆ γὰρ κύριος καὶ ζῶσιν καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ ἄχραντοι καὶ τιμαὶ τῶν ἀγίων  
 265 τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος. Ὅτι ἐὰν δῶῃ μοι κύριος ἄρτον καὶ ἰμάτιον ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐκείνῃ, ψωμίσω αὐτὸν  
 καὶ ἐνδύσω αὐτὸ πένησίν τε καὶ ἀδελφοῖς· ἐὰν δὲ δῶῃ μοι κύριος χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον,  
 διανείμω αὐτὸ χήραις τε καὶ ὀρφανοῖς, καὶ ἐὰν δῶῃ μοι κύριος ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, τὸν οἶνον  
 κεράσομαι γηραιοῖς καὶ γηραιαῖς, ἀδυνάτοις καὶ ἀσθενέσιν. Οἱ γὰρ νέοι πίνοντες αὐτὸ  
 μωραίνουσιν ἐν τῇ γῆ. Τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον ἐκχέω ἐν τοῖς λύχνοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἄψομαι καν-  
 270 δήλαν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου εἰς τὸ βλέπειν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν θυσίαν τῶν φώτων μου,  
 καὶ μεμυρισμέναις ἀκτίσιν θεότητος αὐτοῦ *φωπιεῖ καὶ συνεπιεῖ* πάντως τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μου  
 αἰσθητήρια καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτόν μου διαβήματα. Καὶ ἐὰν δῶῃ μοι κύριος γῆν καὶ χώραν καὶ  
 ἀγρούς καὶ ἀμπελώνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ ἀγαθὰ, δουλώσω αὐτὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου  
 καὶ προσάξω αὐτὰ δῶρον τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ θύσω αὐτὰ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς  
 275 αὐτόν, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ προσθήσω οὐκέτι τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν, ὅτι αὐτὸς θεός μου καὶ σωτὴρ  
 μου καὶ πατήρ μου καὶ κύριος καὶ λυτρωτὴς μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ μου, βοηθός μου καὶ  
 ῥύστης μου καὶ ὑπερασπιστής μου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.”

Ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν ἀγίων ῥηθέντων ἕτερος τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἕτερον μεγάλως  
 ἀποθαυμάζοντες ἐδόξαζον ἅμα τὸν κύριον, καὶ εὐχῆς ἐν τῷ ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν γεγονυίας  
 ἀσπασάμενος Γρηγέντιος τὸν μακάριον Γεώργιον οἴκαδε ἐπανήλθον.

280 Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις δὲ τινῶν διαδεδραμηκότων παρεγένετο καὶ μετέπειτα πάλιν ὁ θεοφόρος  
 ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Καλῶς εὔρον τὸ τέκνον μου τὸ κατὰ ἀπρόσιτον  
 χάριν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀγάπης.” Ὁ δὲ θεὸς Γρηγέντιος πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
 κατὰ πρόσωπον τοὺς ἀχράντους αὐτοῦ πόδας κατασπαζόμενος ἔλεγεν· “Εὐλόγῳ καὶ

270 φωπιεῖ – συνεπιεῖ Ps. 118.130 | 274 θεός – 276 μου<sup>2</sup> cf. Ps. 17.3, 27.7, 69.6, 143.2

#### D F S H

253 κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ] τῷ κυρίῳ SH προθυμῆσης F ἀγαπήσωμεν – 257 εὐρήσωμεν < SH |  
 255 ὑποκλιθῶμεν F οὕτω F | 258 μάλλον δὲ] ἀλλά τε SH | 259 ἐδάκρυνεν D H σεβάσμιος SH  
 εἴτε ἐσμὲν] ἀπ οὐκ ἔχομεν ? | 260 ἡμεῖς < SH | 261 καὶ ἀενάων < SH δεήσεων καὶ ἐντεύξεων SH |  
 263 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 264 αἰῶνος ? SH καὶ<sup>2</sup>] αἱ F | 264 κύριος] ὁ θεός post ἄρτον SH αὐτόν] αὐτὸ SH  
 αὐτόν – 265 ἐνδύσω < DF | 265 αὐτὸ] αὐτόν SH τε < SH ἐὰν – 273 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < SH | 270 τὰ τε F |  
 272 δουλεύσω F | 273 θύσω αὐτὰ] πάντα θύσω αὐτῷ SH αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> + καὶ SH | 274 οὐκέτι τοῦ] ἔτε-

prefer anything else. His love for us is great, let us love him as well; his mercy upon us is great, let us please him also. Let us not prefer anything except him, let us not subject ourselves to anybody else, let us not hasten to please anybody in this way. For good such as him we will not find anywhere in heaven and on earth.”

When that righteous man had explained this to the blessed one for his consolation, the blessed one, after having listened to many other things as well, wept and said: “No, o worthy father, we do not need to serve<sup>87</sup> the Lord from ourselves in a way worthy of God except through the holy and ever-lasting intercessions and supplications of you, his chosen ones; for you, his holy ones, must usually be full of pity, and God with us. However the will of the Lord may be done; for the Lord lives, and the immaculate and worthy souls of the saints of all times live as well. If the Lord should give me bread and a garment on this earth, I will make pieces of it and dress the poor and the brothers with it; if the Lord should give me gold and silver, I will distribute them to widows and orphans, and if the Lord should give me oil and wine, I will offer them to the old men and women, to the weak and the sick. For the young, when they drink it, become foolish on earth. I will pour the oil into the candelabra of the church and light a lamp for the Lord my God, that he may see from heaven the sacrifice of my lights, and by the sweetly smelling rays of his divinity *he will enlighten and make wise* by all means the senses of my soul and the steps I take according to him. And if the Lord should give me earth and land, fields, vineyards and all the goods on earth, I will subject them to the Lord my God and bring them as an offering to his name, and will sacrifice his own things to him which came from himself, and without him I will not love anybody anymore, for he is my God, my saviour and father, my lord, redeemer and protector, my helper, supporter and defender forever and ever, amen.”

When these things had been said between the holy men and each of them had admired the other greatly, they praised the Lord together, and when they had prayed among each other and Gregentios had embraced the blessed Georgios, they went home.

When some days had passed, that God-bearing man came to him again and said to him: “I have found my child well according to the inaccessible grace of the heavenly Father’s love.” The divine Gregentios fell to the ground on his face, and kissing his immaculate feet he said: “I bless and praise and worship the one that lives forever, for

ρον SH αὐτὸς – 275 καί<sup>4</sup> < F | 275 καί<sup>1</sup> – κύριος < SH μου<sup>4</sup> + καὶ SH καὶ ῥύσσης μου < SH | 277 μεταξὺ SH ῥηθέντα ἐτέρως S τὰ κατὰ < SH | 278 ὑπερθαιμάζοντες D ἅμα < SH | 279 ἐπ-  
ανήλθεν SH | 280 Ὑ λθ’ S μ’ H + ὀγδόη ἀποδημία τοῦ ὀσιου σὺν τῷ θεοφόρῳ SH + ἐκείνῳ H  
διαδραμῶτων S διαδραμῶντων H καὶ μετέπειτα] ἔπειτα καὶ SH | 281 ἐκείνος ἀνὴρ S πρὸς αὐτὸν  
καὶ φησὶν SH μου < F τὸ<sup>2</sup> – 282 ἀγάπης < SH | 282 πεσῶν – γῆν post πρόσωπον SH |  
283 κατὰ] ἐπὶ SH ante τοὺς + εἰς SH εὐλογῶ F καὶ αἰνῶ < SH

<sup>87</sup> The phrase εἶτε ἐσμεν – δουλεύσαι makes no sense and should probably be read as οὐκ ἔχομεν – δουλεύσαι.



αίνῳ καὶ προσκυνῶ τὸν ζῶντα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὅτι καὶ πάλιν εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸν  
 285 εὐλογημένον πατέρα καὶ δεσπότην μου. Πολλὰ σε ἐπεπόθησα, ὦ κύριέ μου, καὶ ἐπεθύ-  
 μουν τοῦ θεάσασθαί σου τὸ φίλτατον καὶ τίμιον πρόσωπον. Καὶ νῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς εἰς-  
 ἤκουσεν τῆς δεήσεώς μου καὶ παραγέγονας πρὸς με, ὅπως ἂν ἰλαρυνθῶ καὶ ἀγαθυνθῶ  
 καὶ πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἀνάπλεος γένωμαι. Ὅποταν γὰρ σε βλέπωσιν οἱ ὀφθαλ-  
 μοί μου, ὦ κύριέ μου, λογίζομαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν κεκτηῖσθαι με παρ' ἐμαυτῶ καὶ  
 290 οὐκ ἔστιν τέλος τῆς εὐφροσύνης μου, μὴ καθορωμένου σου δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑπονοοῦμαι εἶναι  
 με ξένον καὶ ὀρφανὸν παντάπασιν καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ ταλαίπωρον." Ὁ δὲ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖ-  
 νος ἐγένερας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὡς περ εὐφραϊνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν λέγει: "Ἀγαπητόν  
 μου τέκνον, δεῦρο δὴ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν μετάρωμεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πέραν γῆν ὄξυποδηώμεν.  
 Ἐφθασεν γὰρ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἐκείσε χωρήσωμεν, ὅπως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἓνα  
 295 τε καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν γένηται τὸ ἅγιον θέλημα τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ σωτῆρος." Ὁ δὲ θεοπέσιος Γρη-  
 γένπος λέγει: "Τῷ κυρίῳ μου καὶ ποιμένι ἀκολουθήσω σοι, ὅπου δ' ἂν κελεύεις μοι καὶ  
 προτρέπεις τῷ οἰκέτῃ σου."

**8** Καὶ κινήσαντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ πραεῖσι τοῖς βήμασιν, ἐξῆλθον τῆς Αὐγουστοπόλεως καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐχώρησαν· εὐρόντες δὲ πλοῖον Λευκαδινὸν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ γεγονότες  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὤρμησαν. Ὦντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ καύσωνος σφοδροῦ χρημα-  
 τίζοντος, ἡλίου τε ἄνωθεν ὑποτήκοντος τῇ ἀκτίνι καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου οὐ μικρῶς  
 5 ἀγανακτοῦντος, ὁ τίμιος ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεοφόρος θεασάμενος αὐτὸν μὴ ὑποφέροντα  
 τὴν τοῦ καύσωνος φλόγα (καθότι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα πεφήναμέν τε καὶ ῥέομεν), ἀναβλέψας  
 ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ βορρᾶ ἐν γαλήνῃ μεγάλῃ λέγει: "Δεῦρο δὴ, λέγω σοι", φησὶν, "δεῦρο,  
 λῦσον ταχέως." Καὶ εὐθὺς σὺν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ βορρᾶς ἄνεμος βίαιος ἔπνευσεν, καὶ ἀνα-  
 ψυχὴν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο εὐφραϊνόμενοι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτή-  
 10 δειος. Τοῦ δὲ ἡλίου ὅσον δ' ἂν ἦν ἐπι σφοδρῶς ὑποκαίοντος ὁ θεοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀναβλέ-  
 ψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βορρᾶν ἔφη: "Στρατηγέ, ἀπόστειλον τὴν  
 παράταξιν." Παραχρήμα οὖν ἐστρατοπέδευσαν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ αἱ νεφέλαι ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν μερῶν τοῦ βορρᾶ, καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν  
 τὸν ἥλιον καὶ συνέστειλαν πάσας τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τὸ τηρικαῦτα τελείως τοῦ καύ-  
 15 σωνος ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἠὲ φραίνετο λίαν ὀρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν σκεπαστὴν καὶ βοηθὸν  
 καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐξαισία πράγματα πράττοντα. Οἱ τε ναυτικοὶ  
 περιστελλόμενοι σφοδρῶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλως μὲν ἐσέβοντο αὐτόν, περισσώτερος τε καὶ

16 σκεπαστὴν καὶ βοηθὸν cf. Sir. 51.1

#### DFSH

285 πατέρα – μου<sup>1</sup> | μου δεσπότην καὶ πατέρα SH σε | γὰρ SH ἐπόθησα D καὶ ἐπεθύμουν < SH  
 ἐπεθύμου F | 286 φίλτατον καὶ < SH καί<sup>2</sup> – 291 ταλαίπωρον < SH | 288 ἀνάπλεος D | 289 με <  
 D | 294 καί<sup>1</sup> < SH ὅπως – 295 σωτῆρος < SH | 295 τῆς ἀγάπης < D θεοπέσιος – 296 σοι < SH |  
 296 μοι < DF

again my eyes have seen my blessed father and master. I have desired you much, o my lord, and longed for to see your most beloved and worthy face. And now the Lord God has lent an ear to my prayer, and you have come to me, so that I may be gladdened and comforted and be all filled with joy and good cheer. For when my eyes see you, o my lord, I think to possess heaven and earth myself, and there is no end of my gladness; but if I do not see you being with me, I think that I am a stranger and orphan altogether, humble and miserable.” That God-bearing man raised him from the ground and said as if rejoicing over him: “My beloved child, come on, let us leave from here as well and go with quick steps to the land beyond the sea. For the time has come as well for us to go there, so that the holy will of the Saviour’s love be done one by one with us as well.” The marvellous Gregentios said: “I will follow you, my lord and shepherd, to wherever you give order and invite your servant.”

And moving at this same hour with gentle steps, they left Augustopolis and proceeded to the sea; they found a ship from Leukas,<sup>88</sup> embarked and set out for Egypt. When they were in the ship, there was a great heat and the sun burned down with its rays, and the blessed Gregentios was greatly vexed. That worthy and God-bearing man, when he saw that he could not bear the fiery heat (for we are flesh and blood and in perpetual change) he looked up to the northern regions and said with great tranquillity: “Come on, I tell you, come on, and release yourself quickly.” And with this word a violent northern wind blew immediately, and they were greatly relieved and went on rejoicing; for it was useful to them. And when the sun was still burning vehemently as much as it could, again that God-bearing man looked up to the north and said: “Commander, send your troop.” And on the spot the clouds in heaven marched up from the northern regions, and they filled all the face of heaven, turned away the sun and hid all its rays. And thereafter they were completely delivered from the heat.<sup>89</sup>

The blessed Gregentios rejoiced greatly seeing his protector, helper and supporter making these portents and extraordinary things. The sailors, since they were strongly protected by him, adored him greatly and embraced him in awe and fear, for he had a

1 ῥήμασιν F | 2 καὶ < D αὐτὸ] αὐτῶν H<sup>ac</sup> | 3 καὶ < SH | 4 τε < H | 5 καὶ θεοφόρος < SH | 6 τὴν – φλόγα < SH τε < SH | 7 ἐν] ἦν γὰρ DF μεγάλη] + καὶ DF, < SH λέγει post βορρᾶ SH δὴ – σοι] λέγων SH | 8 εὐθύς < SH βίαιος < SH ἐπέπνευσεν F | 10 ὅσον – ἦν < SH | 11 πάλιν < SH τὸν + αὐτὸν SH στρατηγέ + φησὶν SH | 12 ἄνωθεν < SH | 13 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < DF ἀπέκρυσαν SH | 14 τὸ < D | 16 σκεπαστήν] ὀδηγόν SH | 17 καὶ ἀντιλήπτορα < SH ταῦτα καὶ < SH πράγματα bis F, < SH εἰσπράττοντα SH τε] δὲ SH | 18 μεγάλως + ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν καὶ H αὐτόν] καὶ τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐκείνον ἄνδρα H τε] δὲ SH

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 25.

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 13.

ἐκατέπτυσον αἰδούμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, ὅτι φοβερὸς τίς ἦν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ  
 20 ξένος τῇ ὀράσει, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ μεγάλοι σφόδρα, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ χαροποὶ γλυκυ-  
 τάτην ὁμοῦ καὶ φοβερὰν τινα αἰδῶ κεκτημένοι. Καθεζόμενον γὰρ αὐτόν ἰδεῖν ἀκόρεστον  
 ἦν τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ γλυκὺ σφόδρα. Ἀναπεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνακειμένου λέοντος ὡς  
 φοβερὸν τὸ ἔκταμα αὐτοῦ κατεφαίνετο· ἀνιστάμενον δὲ αὐτόν καὶ ὄρθιον ἐστῶτα ὠνητὰ  
 25 τῇ λαμπροτάτῳ ὀράσει κατεφαίνετο.

Τ' Ἐντὸς οὖν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔφθασαν τὴν Ἀλεξανδρεῖαν πλεύσαντες. Ἐξεληθόντες δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου μεσημβρίας χρηματιζούσης εἰσέβαλον εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ διοδεύοντες τὴν τοῦ  
 Θεωνᾶ πλατείαν οὕτω προσαγορευομένην, ζητοῦντες ξενίαν τοῦ καταλῦσαι ἐν αὐτῇ.  
 Ἐγένετο δὲ, ὀπνηκίκα ὀλίγον τι προέβησαν, θεραπαινίδα τίς σμήχουσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ λινὰ  
 30 τῶν κυρίων αὐτῆς, καίπερ ἔνδον χρηματιζούσα θεασαμένη τοὺς ἄγιους διὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε  
 περιοδεύοντας, ὄξυτάτοις ποσὶν ἐκπηδήσασα πρὸς τοὺς τιμίους πόδας τοῦ θεοφόρου  
 ἐκείνου ἑαυτὴν ἀκοντίσασα ἔλεγεν· “Ἐλέησόν με, δέσποτα, τὴν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ τάλαινα,  
 καὶ χάρισαι μοι τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀντίληψιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀπώληταί μου ἡ ψυχὴ  
 35 διὰ τὰς πολλὰς μου ἁμαρτίας.” Ὁ δὲ λαμπρότατος ἐκεῖνος ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ  
 ἐσφράγισεν αὐτὴν τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ φησὶν· “Ἐν εὐλογίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ  
 καὶ ἁμωμίῳ πολιτεία τρηθηεὶ σου τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ζωῆς, ὦ θύγατερ.” Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεφθέγγετο, ἀναστᾶσα ἐκείνη πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ληφθεῖσα χαριεντὶ προσώπῳ  
 πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Γρηγέντιον ἀπεσκόπει. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἀνοίξασα τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς  
 40 λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ· “Ἴδε ὃν ὁ θεὸς φυλάσσει, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁδηγεῖ, ὃν ἐδίδασκεν τὰ πολλὰ  
 γράμματα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.” Καὶ ἔπειτα ἔλεγεν ἐκείνων πορευομένων· “Ἴδε,” φησὶν,  
 “Γρηγέντιος ὁ μέγας φωστὴρ τῶν Ὀμηριῶν, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσεν, περὶ οὗ γράφει ὁ τῶν  
 Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς, ὃν Προτέριος ὁ πατριάρχης ἡμῶν οὐ μικρῶς ἀναζητήσει καὶ χειρωσά-  
 45 μενος ὁ τίμιος χρίσει τῷ τιμίῳ μύρῳ καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τῷ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεῖ.” Ταῦτα  
 τοιγαροῦν αὐτῆς λεγοῦσης καὶ προφητεούσης τῆς τιμίας θεραπαινίδος ἐκείνης, εἰ γὰρ  
 καὶ δούλη ἢ ἁγία ἐκείνη ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ προφητείας προσῆν ἠξιωμένη ἢ θαυμα-  
 σιώτατος, δεικνύντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι τῷ βουλομένῳ εἶναι ἀγαθῷ, εἴτε δούλος εἴη εἴτε ἐλεύ-  
 θερος, οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμποδίζον κατέστηκεν.

Καὶ ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκείνης προφητεούσης οὗτοι προέκοψαν ἐν τῷ διοδεύειν, καὶ γεγο-  
 νότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Βουκόλου ἐξενίσθησαν παρὰ ἄνδρι τινὶ θεοσεβεῖ τοῦνομα Λεοντίῳ.  
 50 Καὶ ἦν ὁ μακάριος ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως οὐ μικρῶς ἐπιμελούμενος, μεμνημένος τὸ εἰρη-

### DFSH

19 ἔπτυσον SH καὶ φοβούμενοι < SH ὅτι] διότι SH τίς < SH | 20 καὶ < SH ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ] καὶ  
 SH | 21 ὁμοῦ < SH τινα] τὴν SH κεκτημένος H καθεζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν ἀκόρεστος SH |  
 22 γλυκὺ σφόδρα] γλυκύτατος SH ἀναπεσῶτος S δὲ < SH λέοντες D | 23 ἐφαίνετο H  
 ἀνιστάμενον – 25 κατεφαίνετο < SH ὄρθιον DF | 24 καὶ < D | 26 Ἰ με' H + περὶ τῆς ἐν  
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παιδὸς καὶ προφήτιδος SH (Ἀλεξανδρείας S) οὖν < SH ἐξεληθῶν DF | 27 ἀπὸ <  
 SH διοδευόντων D διοδεύων F SH τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DF | 28 Θεωνᾶν D πλατείαν + αὐτὴν SH ξενία SH |  
 31 περιοδεύοντας SH | 32 ἑαυτὴν < H ταλαίπωρον D τάλαιναν F | 33 τὴν σὴν<sup>2</sup> < D | 35 τὸ

fear-inspiring face and a strange look, and his eyes were very large, delightful eyes which possessed a very sweet and frightful awe. For it was something insatiable and very sweet to see him sitting. When he lay down and reclined, his tallness appeared to be as frightening as that of a lion, and when he rose and stood upright all accessible things were subject to him, if it should be understood in this way, and he seemed most distinct and great by his most bright appearance.<sup>90</sup>

Now within few days they arrived at Alexandria by boat.<sup>91</sup> When they disembarked from the ship at midday, they went inside, and passing through the market-place which is called that of Theonas, they looked for a lodge to take quarters there. And when they proceeded a little, a maiden washing the linen of her lords in the house saw the saints, though being inside, when they walked along there, ran out on quick feet, threw herself before the worthy feet of that God-bearing man and said: “Have mercy upon me sinner and miserable one, master, and give me your help and support, so that my soul may not perish because of my many sins.” And that bright man stretched out his right hand, made the sign of the life-giving cross over her and said: “The rest of your life, o daughter, may be guarded in blessing, peace and blameless conduct.” When he said this to her, she rose and, seized by the Holy Ghost, she looked upon the blessed Gregentios with joyful face. And on the spot she opened her mouth and said about him: “Behold the one whom God guards, whom Christ leads, to whom the Holy Ghost has taught all his learning.” And thereafter she said while they were going away: “Behold, Gregentios, the great luminary of the Homerites whom God has called, about whom the king of the Ethiopians will write, for whom our Patriarch Proterios will perform no small search, and whom the worthy one will subdue and anoint with the worthy unguent, and send to the king of the Ethiopians.” So that worthy maiden spoke prophetically, for although that holy woman was a slave, still this most wonderful one was deemed worthy of the gift of prophecy, and so God shows that there is no hindrance for one that wants to be good, be he a slave or a free man.

And as it has been said, while she prophesied they advanced on their way, and when they came to *ta Boukolou*, they were entertained by a pious man called Leontios. And the blessed one took great care for the readings, remembering the word of the pro-

σημείον H ζωοποιου < SH | 36 και ἀμωμήτω πολιτεία < SH ταῦτα] τὰ DF | 37 ἀπεμφθέγγατο ἀναστάς F πνεύματι τε F ἐλλαφθείσα SH προσώπω + τὰ DF | 38 ἐναπεσκόπει post προσώπω SH | 39 ὁδηγεῖ δν] ἀγαπᾷ ὄνπερ SH | 40 ἐκείνος S<sup>ac</sup> | 41 φωστήρ + ὁ SH | 42 Αἰθιοπίων] Ὀμηριτῶν SH ἀναζητήσειεν DF | 43 ὁ τίμιος] ἐντίμος SH χρίσειεν DF τῶ<sup>2</sup>] τῶν F | 44 ἐκείνης] ἐκείνος D, < SH | 45 δούλη] δουλίδης DF προσῆν] πρώην DF ἦν SH θαυμασιωτάτη SH | 46 ὅτι < H εἶη < SH εἶτε<sup>2</sup> + και SH | 47 οὐθὲν SH | 48 και γεγονότων] γεγονότων δὲ SH | 49 πνὶ θεοσεβεί < SH | 50 και – 52 μου < SH

<sup>90</sup> The sentence is grammatically unclear. In the translation, the phrase ἀνιστάμενον – κεχηματικέναι is treated as a parallel to the genitive absolute in the preceding sentence.

<sup>91</sup> See above, p. 39.

μένον παρά τοῦ προφήτου, ὅτι ὁ νόμος σου μελέτη μου ἐστίν, τότε ἂν ἀπολώμην, φησίν, ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μου.

Ἐπιμοναστήριον δὲ προσῆν ἐκείσε πλησίον τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνας. Πρὸς τὴν ἐκείσε οὖν ἀδελφότητα συνεχῶς ἀπῆει ὁ Γρηγένπιος καὶ βίβλους δὲ 55 ἱεράς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐκείθεν δεχόμενος ἀναπτύσσει, ὡς εἴρηται, ὠφελεῖτο τὰ μέγιστα. Ἦγετο δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς ἐκείνης εὐνοῦχος τίς τῇ φύσει, Ἐπιφάνιος οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος, ἀνὴρ ἅγιος, τά τε ἄλλα περιφανέστατος, ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος ἄγων ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ. Ἐλεγον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ αὐτόθι, ὅτι “ἐξαετῆ”, φησίν, “ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ὑποσχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ οἱ γονεῖς ἀποκείραντες ἀνέθεντο”, τοσοῦτων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν χρηματίζοντος πράγματι ἐσεμνύετο. Πολλάκις γὰρ σελήνης τῇ νυκτὶ δαδουχούσης αἰθρίου 60 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χρηματίζοντος, λαμβάνων μετὰ χεῖρας δέλτον τινὰ ἐν τῷ ἰλαστηρίῳ τοῦ ἡγουμενίου, ἐξίων τῆς σελήνης φωτιζούσης αὐτῷ καθεζόμενος ἀνεγίνωσκεν ἄνευ λύχνου καὶ κηρίου. Πρὸς τοῦτον τοιγαροῦν ἀπῆει ὁ μακάριος χάριν ψυχικῆς ὠφελείας, καθότι λόγιος περιῆν καὶ πρακτικὸς ὁ γέρων. Πάνυ δὲ ἠγάπα καὶ ἐσέβετο καὶ ὑπερετίμα τὸν 65 θειότατον Γρηγέντιον οὗτος ὁ θεοφόρος ἡγούμενος καὶ παρεκάλει, εἰ δυνατόν, μὴ ἐξίεναι αὐτὸν χάριν παρακλήσεως μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤλατο, ἀλλὰ γε τὰ εὐαγῆ μοναστήρια καὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν λίαν ἠγάπα καταδιώκειν καὶ ἐν τούτοις προσαναφέρειν τῷ δεσπότη τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ.

Ἀπῆει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρκου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ προσήχετο 70 δεόμενος τοῦ ἐλέους κυρίου καὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἔπειτα, ὁπότεν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, πάλιν ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Ἐπιφάνιον ἀνέκαμπτειν.

Ὅρων δὲ ὁ ὄσιος γέρων τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Γρηγεντίου σπουδῆν, ἥνπερ ἐκέκτητο πρὸς τὸν κύριον δεόμενος αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ὁπότεν ἔσχεν αὐτὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι προσκαλούμενος κατ’ ἰδίαν τὴν ἀδελφότητα νοουθετῶν καὶ διδάσκων ἐπέπληττει αὐτοῖς, καὶ διηγούμενος τὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ὑπεμίνησκεν, ὡς ὅτι “Θεάσασθε”, φησίν, “τὸν ξένον καὶ 75 πλανήτην τὸν μὴ περιβεβλημένον ἐν τῷ τέως μοναδικῶν σχῆμα, ὅπως τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει προσκαρτερεῖν ἀδιαλείπτως οὐ παύεται; Καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ αὐτόχθονες, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι χρηματίζοντες, οἱ τὴν προτέραν συνθήκην τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀθετήσαντες, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον βάπτισμα τὸ τῆς μετανοίας ἐλθόντες ὀκνῶμεν καὶ ἀμελοῦμεν καὶ οὔτε 80 κἂν παραπλήσια τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σπουδάζομεν. Καὶ πιστεύσατέ μοι, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ σπουδάσωμεν εὐαρεστήσαι καλῶς κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μείζονα τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ

51 ὁ – 52 μου Ps. 118.92 | 60 σελήνης – δαδουχούσης cf. Theodoretus, *CPG* 6211, *PG* 83, 585D; Basilus Seleucensis, *CPG* 6656, *PG* 85.128A, 385C; Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomus, *CPG* 4562, *PG* 56.529

**D F S H** | 63 ὁ **[A]**

53 Ὡς ὁ ὄσιος γέρων τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Γρηγεντίου σπουδῆν, ἥνπερ ἐκέκτητο πρὸς τὸν κύριον δεόμενος αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ὁπότεν ἔσχεν αὐτὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι προσκαλούμενος κατ’ ἰδίαν τὴν ἀδελφότητα νοουθετῶν καὶ διδάσκων ἐπέπληττει αὐτοῖς, καὶ διηγούμενος τὰ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ὑπεμίνησκεν, ὡς ὅτι “Θεάσασθε”, φησίν, “τὸν ξένον καὶ πλανήτην τὸν μὴ περιβεβλημένον ἐν τῷ τέως μοναδικῶν σχῆμα, ὅπως τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει προσκαρτερεῖν ἀδιαλείπτως οὐ παύεται; Καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ αὐτόχθονες, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι χρηματίζοντες, οἱ τὴν προτέραν συνθήκην τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀθετήσαντες, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον βάπτισμα τὸ τῆς μετανοίας ἐλθόντες ὀκνῶμεν καὶ ἀμελοῦμεν καὶ οὔτε κἂν παραπλήσια τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σπουδάζομεν. Καὶ πιστεύσατέ μοι, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ σπουδάσωμεν εὐαρεστήσαι καλῶς κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν, κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μείζονα τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ

phet, that *unless your law had been my care, I would then have perished in my contrition.*

A monastery was there nearby of the holy martyrs Alexandros and Antonina.<sup>92</sup> Now Gregentios went often to the brotherhood there, and having received many books from there and reading them, he was helped greatly. The abbot of that holy monastery was a eunuch called Epiphanius, a holy man and besides that very distinguished, who already spent his eightieth year in the monastery. The people there said of him, that “his parents, who had promised him to God, tonsured and offered him to that monastery at the age of six years”, and he was indeed honoured being of such an age. For often, when the moon was holding its torch in the night and the sky was clear, he took a book from the chapel of the abbot’s cell, went out, sat down, and with the moon shining on him he read without a lamp or a candle. So the blessed one went to him for the sake of benefit for his soul, for the old man was both learned and practical. This God-bearing abbot loved, adored and honoured the most divine Gregentios greatly, and he asked him not to leave, if possible, but to pray together with him. And he did not leave, although he loved it much to go to the holy monasteries and the precincts of churches and to offer his prayers to the Master in those.

He went also to the tomb of the holy apostle Mark and prayed there, asking for the mercy of the Lord and for his intercession. And thereafter, when it seemed right to him, he returned again to the monastery to the blessed Epiphanius.

The holy old man saw the zeal of the righteous Gregentios which he had for the Lord praying to him by day and night, and when he had left one time, he called the brotherhood together privately and admonished them by his exhortation and teaching, and telling them about the righteous one he informed them saying: “Do you see this stranger and wanderer, who has not taken the monastic habit until now, how he does not cease to devote himself to prayer and supplication? And we local people that stay in our native country, who have despised the former covenant of baptism, who come to the second baptism, that of repentance, we hesitate and neglect and do not even try to do something which is similar to the things in this world. And believe me that if we do not try to please the Lord our God well, from now on we will suffer a greater punishment

63 πρὸς – ὠφελείας post 64 γέρων SH τοιγαροῦν] οὖν SH μακάριος + Γρηγόριος SH χάριτι DF | 64 περιήν] ὑπερείη D περιείη F ἦν SH τὸν θειότατον Γρηγόριον] αὐτὸν SH | 65 ἐπαρεκάλει H, + αὐτὸν SH | 66 χάριν παρακλήσεως] τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἀλλὰ ἔνδον εἶναι SH γε < SH | 67 λίαν < SH καταδιώκειν < SH | 68 προσευχὰς SH | 69 τοῦ ἁγίου < S τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – ἀποστόλου] τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου H | 70 καὶ ἔπειτα] δὲ post ὅπταν SH ἔδοξεν – 73 ὅπταν < SH | 73 εἶχεν SH | 74 ἀδελφότητα + ὁ ἡγούμενος SH ἐπέπληττεν – διηγούμενος < SH | 75 τὰ – δικαίου post ὑπεμίμησεν SH ὡς < SH καὶ πλανήτην < SH | 76 περιβεβλημένον + βλέπε· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ (?) D<sup>margin</sup> ἐν τῷ < D | 78 χρηματίζοντες < SH | 79 τὸ<sup>2</sup> < SH ἀμελώμεν SH | 80 ἔαν] ἄν SH

<sup>92</sup> See above, pp. 40–42.

τῶν παρανόμων κόλασιν ἔχωμεν ὑποσπῆναι κατὰ τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν καὶ ὥραν τῆς δικαιοκρισίας αὐτοῦ.” Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ τίμιος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἰσάγγελος γέρων νοουθετῶν προσωμίλει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.

85 Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἔργον ἀκατάπαυστον εἶχεν τὴν θείαν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ φαλτῆρος μελέτην, τό τε ἀδιάλειπτον τὸ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς διηνεκῶς ἐκέκτητο. Ἐν οἷς μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὄντι αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μοναστηρίῳ, ἐσπέρας κατῆι πρὸς τινα ἀδελφὸν τοῦνομα Κοσμᾶν, καθότι κάκεινος λίαν ἠγάπα αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θύραν τῆς κέλλης οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ περιούλιῳ οἱ ἀμφότεροι καθεζόμενοι πνευματικὰ πινὰ μυστήρια  
90 διελέγοντο, παρέτειναν δὲ τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου σελήνης καθαρῶς δαδουχούσης, ὁ πονηρὸς διάβολος ἀγανακτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θεαρέστῳ αὐτῶν διαλέξει, ὡς ἔθος τό γε ἐκάστοτε κέκτηται φθονεῖν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ, λίθους ἄρας ἐλίθαζεν τοὺς δικαίους, οἰόμενος ὁ μιαρὸς ὅτι πτοηθέντες, ἦτον δειλιάσαντες καταπαύσωσιν τὸν λόγον καὶ πορευθέντες ἀναπαύσονται. Τοῦ δὲ εἰρημένου ἀδελφοῦ ἄγαν πτήξαντος τότε καὶ βουλομένου εἶσω  
95 γεγονότα τῆς κέλλης ἀποκλείσαι τὴν θύραν, ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ μακάριος: “Καθεζοῦ μὴ ἀναχωρῶν, ἀγαπητέ, τοῦτο σε πτοεῖ εὐτελοῦς ἀλώπεκος λίθασμα;” Καὶ σὺν τῷ ῥήματι ἐξαναστὰς μήκοθεν αὐτῶν ποῦ γε ὡσεὶ πρὸ μιᾶς βολῆς τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐχάραξεν καὶ φησὶν: “Μέχρι τῶν ὧδε καὶ περαιτέρω οὐ προβήσει.” Τοῦτο εἰρηκῶς ἔπειτα καθεζόμενοι ὠμίλουν τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

100 Ὁ δὲ διάβολος ἐπισχεῖν τὸν λίθασμὸν οὐκ ἐπαύετο· ἔρριπτε δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς παραπλησίως τοὺς λίθους. Οἱ δὲ λίθοι μέχρις ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ διεχάραξεν τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ δίκαιος ἐρχόμενοι περαιτέρω προβαίνειν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλ’ οὖν μέχρι τῶν ἐκεῖσε βιαίως ἀκοντιζόμενοι βροντηδὸν τε παραγενόμενοι ὡσανεὶ ἐπὶ τοίχῳ προσκρούοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους κατέπιπτον. Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο σημεῖον καθεζόμενος ἐξίστατο· οὐδέπω  
105 γὰρ ἦν τί τοιοῦτον ἐν οὐδενὶ θεασάμενος. Προσσχὼν δὲ ὁ σατανᾶς, ὅτι κατήργηται τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ, ἐτέραν μηχανὴν ἐπιτηδεύσατο· ποιήσας γὰρ ἑαυτὸν βρόνθηδον πετόμενον, ὄνπερ τινὲς καλιγάριον ἐκ τῶν ἀγροικωτέρων καλεῖν εἰώθασιν, ἐπιπετόμενος αὐτοῖς ἄνωθεν βρυγμὸν ἐποίει καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνῆι καὶ τηνικαῦτα κατῆι καὶ πάλιν βρυγμὸν ἐπετέλει. Καὶ τότε ἐφ’ ἱκανὴν ὥραν τοῦτο αὐτοῖς εἰσπράττοντος αὐτοῦ, διαπονηθεὶς ὁ  
110 δίκαιος ἀναστὰς προσήξατο καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ κατέναντι τοῦ αἰθέρος τὸν

96 εὐτελοῦς ἀλώπεκος cf. Ca. 2.15 et Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomus, CPG 4693, PG 63.969

#### DAFSH

83 ἐκεῖνος < H καὶ ἰσάγγελος < SH | 85 εἶχεν < DF | 86 τό – ἐκέκτητο] καὶ τὸ ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀδιάλειπτον SH | 88 αὐτόν] τὸν δίκαιον SH | 89 προαύλω F καθεζόμενοι post διελέγοντο SH μυστηριακὰ D | 90 δὲ < DF | 91 ὁ + δὲ SH ὡς – 92 ἀγαθῷ < SH | 92 ὁ μιαρὸς < DF | 93 πτοηθήσονται D ἦτον δειλιάσαντες < SH καταπαύσονται D καὶ πορευθέντες ἀναπαύσονται < SH | 94 τότε < SH | 96 εὐτελής ἀλώπεκος λίθασματα SH | 97 ποῦ – βολῆς < SH | 98 προβήσειεν DF | 99 ἔπειτα < SH | 100 ἐπαύετο] ᾤετο SH | 102 ἐτόλμων SH ἀλλ’ οὖν] ἀλλὰ SH | 103 παραγιόμενοι AF | 104 οὐδέπω – 135 τρόπῳ < SH | 109 αὐτοῖς < D αὐτοῦ εἰσπράττοντος D

than the faithless and unlawful on the frightful day and hour of his righteous judgement.” And this is what that worthy and angel-like old man spoke of to his disciples exhorting them.

The blessed Gregentios had the divine reading and study of the Psalter as his incessant work and was continuously performing his prayer without intermission. And doing this, one day, when he was in that same monastery, he went down in the evening to a brother called Kosmas, for that man also loved him much.<sup>93</sup> When they sat down at the door of the cell, which was in the courtyard, and discussed some spiritual mysteries and extended their talk until midnight as the moon was bearing its torch clearly, the wicked devil was vexed about their God-pleasing discussion, since he always has the custom to be jealous of every good work, and took stones and threw them on the righteous ones; for the abominable one thought that they would be afeared, that is timid, would end their talk, would leave and go to rest. When the aforementioned brother feared this much and wanted to go inside his cell and close the door, the blessed one said to him: “Sit down and do not go away, my beloved one, does the stone-throwing of this mean fox<sup>94</sup> frighten you?” And with this word he rose, scratched the worthy cross into the floor somewhere far from them at the distance of about one stone-throw, and said: “Until here and no further.” When he had said this, they sat down thereafter and spoke of the Holy Ghost.

The devil, however, did not stop going on throwing stones, and threw stones upon them in a similar way <as before>.<sup>95</sup> And when the stones arrived at the place where the righteous one had scratched the cross, they did not dare to go further, but being thrown there with violence they came down like a thunder, and fell to the ground as if they had hit a wall. When the brother, sitting there, saw this miraculous portent, he was astonished, for he had not yet seen such a thing at any time. When Satan realised that his devices had failed, he tried another plot: By turning himself into a flying *bronthodos*, which some of the uneducated people usually call a shoe-maker,<sup>96</sup> he flew above them, made noise, then went up and thereafter down, and again made noise. And when he had done this to them for a considerable time, the righteous one, being troubled, rose and

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>94</sup> The fox is a well-known symbol of sin and the devil, see for example the *Physiologos* 57–60, 239–240.

<sup>95</sup> On the throwing of stones by the devil, see also above, note 79.

<sup>96</sup> It is impossible to identify this animal with certainty. The name *bronthodos* is not attested elsewhere, but may perhaps be related to the ancient Greek name of an unknown bird *brenthos* (Aristoteles, *Historia Animalium*, 609a23). On the other hand, an insect called ‘shoe-maker’ (καλιγάριος) appears in an exorcism at Goar, *Euchologion*, 555.



τίμιον σταυρὸν διεχάραξεν τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, καὶ παραχρῆμα κατηργήθη καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐκφόβησις αὐτοῦ.

Συνιδῶν δὲ ὁ διάβολος, ὅτι καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐπίνοια αὐτοῦ εἰς τέλος κατήρηται καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ὤνησεν, μετασηματίσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀναιδεστάτην ἀλώπεκα δρόμον ἐποιεῖτο  
 115 μήκοθεν κατέναντι αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποστρέφων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάλιν ὡς  
 ἤθην ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς τὰ πρὸς αὐτούς ἐναπέτρεχεν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἄπαξ, ἀλλὰ γε πλη-  
 θυντικῶς αὐτοῦ τόγε εἰσπράττοντος. Ἐδείκνυ ὁ μακάριος τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν  
 μιὰν αὐτοῦ ἀναίδειαν καὶ ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Θέασαι, ἀδελφέ, τοῦ φθοροποιοῦ  
 120 δαίμονος τὰ μηχανήματα, ὅπως πάντα τρόπον οἶεται ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι καθ’ ἡμῶν τοῦ μόνου  
 ἐκκόψαι αὐτόν τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ πνευματικὴν ἡμῶν συντυχίαν· τοῦτο γὰρ εἰσπράττεται νῦν,  
 ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐναποσκοποῦντες ἀπολέσωμεν τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναμαρτυκίαν ὠφέλειαν.”  
 Ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου φάσκοντος μετετρέπη ὁ σατανᾶς εἰς λαγῶν, ἤρξατο πηδᾶν καὶ  
 ὀρχεῖσθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ συνὼν ἀδελφὸς βλέπων τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τὴν  
 ἀναίδειαν ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Δέομαί σου, κύριέ μου, ἐπιτίμησον τῷ μιᾶν τούτῳ δαίμονι  
 125 ἀποστήναι ἀφ’ ἡμῶν· ὀρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι ὡσανεὶ καταφρονῶν ἡμῶν <ἐστίν>.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος  
 Γρηγόριος ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· “Κυρίέ μου ἀγαθέ, φίλιτάτέ μου Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀοράτου καὶ ἀπροσίτου θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, ἐπιτίμησον τῷ  
 μιᾶν τῷγε θηρίῳ {πεφυτευμένη ἀνθρώπων πληθὺς} καὶ ἀπόστρεφον αὐτὸν καταισχυνό-  
 μενον ἀφ’ ἡμῶν, ὅτι αἰνετὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.” Ταῦτα οὖν φησὶν  
 130 προσευξάμενος, καὶ ὡσανεὶ σφόδρα τεθαρρηκῶς τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 δαίμονος ἐπιφυσιωμένου ἀναστάς ἤρπασε ῥάβδον ἐκείσε ποῦ κειμένην καὶ καταδιώξας  
 ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἤρξατο αὐτὸν τύπτειν.

Ὁ δὲ ὡς οἶα πνεῦμα χρηματίζων ἀλλοιωθεὶς τοῦ φαινομένου σχήματος καὶ εἰς τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ μιὰν οὐσίαν γεγονῶς ψόφον καὶ κοινορτὸν δυσώδη ἀποτελέσας φυγὰς ᾤχετο.  
 135 Τούτου τοιγαροῦν δραπετευθέντος τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ, ἔπειτα εἰρηνικῶς καθεζόμενοι ὠμί-  
 λουν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν συντείνοντα. Ἐν δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὧνπερ προσωμίλουν λίαν  
 ὠφέλιμον χρηματίζοντα πειράσσομαι διηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην· πολλὰ μὲν  
 ἕκαστος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν διελέγετο, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ μακάριος ἔφη πρὸς τὸν  
 ἀδελφόν·

140 Ἐ“Τῆς Ἀκραγαντῶν νήσου”, φησὶν, “ἀποπλεύσαντός μου καὶ πλησίον Παυέας ἐπὶ  
 τινι μεγίστῳ χωρίῳ τῆς παραλίας τῆς νηὸς προσορμισσάσης, ἐξεληθόντων πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ

114 ἀναιδεστάτην ἀλώπεκα cf. supra ad lin. 96

#### DAFSH

111 διεχάραξεν F | 115 αὐτῶν] αὐτῷ F | 116 ἀναπέτρεχεν F | 121 ἵνα + τὰ DA τὴν] τῆς D ἐκ +  
 τῆς AF ἀναμαρτυκίας codd. | 122 σφάσκοντος F | 123 ἀδελφός + τῷ διαβόλῳ DF | 125 ἐστίν  
 suprleni | 128 πεφυτευμένη ἀνθρώπων πληθὺς glossa e margine intrusa, vide notam κα-  
 τηρηθέντων D | 131 πεφυσιωμένου D | 135 ἔπειτα + οὖν SH εἰρηνικῶς] εἰρηνικῶς codd. κα-  
 θεζόμενος F<sup>ac</sup> | 136 ὧνπερ] ὧν SH | 137 χρηματίζον DF μὲν < H, + γὰρ SH | 138 ἑαυτοῦς διελέ-  
 γοντο SH | 140 Ἐ μβ' S μγ' H + περὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ θαύματος τῆς ὑπεραγίας θεοτόκου SH

prayed, and stretching his hand out into the air he made the sign of the worthy cross invoking the Lord Jesus, and on the spot that scare ceased as well.

When the devil understood that this attack had also failed completely and was of no use to him, changing his shape into that of a most shameless fox he approached them from afar before their eyes, then he returned back and again ran towards them as if pretending to frighten them, and this he did not once, but repeatedly. The blessed one showed his abominable shamelessness to that brother who was with him, and said to him: “You see, brother, the contrivances of the demon that causes corruption, how he intends to try every method against us, only so he can disrupt our spiritual meeting in the Lord; for he does this now, so we may look upon him and lose the benefit that has been brought forth by them.” When the blessed one said this, Satan was transformed into a hare and began to jump and to dance before them.<sup>97</sup> When the brother, who was with him, saw the shamelessness of the wicked demon, he said to him: “I entreat you, my lord, punish this abominable demon and make him desist from us, for you see that he despises us.” The blessed Gregentios looked up into heaven and said: “My good Lord, my dearest Jesus Christ, son of the great, invisible and inaccessible God and Father, punish this abominable beast {the innate multitude of men}<sup>98</sup> and turn it away from us ashamed, for your name is praised forever.” This he said praying, and as if encouraged greatly by the name of the Lord his God he rose, while the demon was still boasting, took a rod lying around somewhere, pursued him and began to beat him.

And he, being a spirit, changed the form in which he appeared, returned to his abominable substance making great noise and foul-smelling dust, and fled. And so, after he had escaped in such a way, they sat down thereafter in peace and spoke about the things pertaining salvation. I will try to tell your love one of all the things they said, which is very useful: Both of them told many things to each other, and in addition the blessed one also answered and said to the brother:

“When I sailed off from the island of Agrigentum<sup>99</sup> and came close to Pavia,<sup>100</sup> the ship anchored at a very large village on the shore, and when all those that were in the

Ἀκραγάντων SH μου ἀποπλεύσαντος DF | 141 προσομίσας SH πάντων < DAF

<sup>97</sup> In Christian literature the hare (or rabbit?) is mostly a symbol of the weak Christian who flees from the devil to Christ, see for example the *Physiologos*, 252–253, 294. However, there is another current, more negative symbolism, based on its fertility and unchastity, see Klemens of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, CPG 1376, 2.10.

<sup>98</sup> The words *πεφτυεμένη ἀνθρώπων πληθύς* appear here in all manuscripts, but do not fit into the context of the passage and must originally have been a marginal gloss containing an additional thought in a form not yet grammatically adapted.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 27.

<sup>100</sup> See above, pp. 21–22.

- πλοίῳ χάριν ἀναψύξεως ἐξήλθον κἀγώ”, φησίν, “ἅμα τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ συμπαρεπομένῳ μοι. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείσε εὐκτηρίῳ ἡμῶν χάριν τοῦ *δεηθῆναι τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου* παρεισβαλλόντων, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ τοῖς ἐκείσε προσεδρεύων, ἐκ γῆς ἀνατολῶν χρηματίζων, ὁμιλούντων ἡμῶν ψυχωφελῆ τινὰ μετὰ τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀποκριθεὶς κἀκεῖνος ἔφη πρὸς ἡμᾶς:
- 145 ‘Πρὸ τοῦ με ἐνταῦθα’, φησίν, ‘παραγεγονένα ἐχρημάτιζον ἐν τῇ πόλει μου, καὶ τίς ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ Ἀρειανὸς τὴν θρησκείαν. Πολλάκις δὲ διαλέξεως ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένης ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀναμεταξὺ αἰρετικῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων ὁ προειρημένος ἀνὴρ μεγάλως ἐβλασφήμει τὴν ὑψηλότεραν τῶν οὐρανίων δυνάμεων, τὴν μεγάλην καὶ πανάχραντον
- 150 δέσποιναν ἡμῶν τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον, ὑβρίζων αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξουθενῶν καὶ αἰσχροῖς ῥήμασιν βάλλων αὐτὴν, ἁμαρτωλὸν αὐτὴν ὁ ἔλεεινὸς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀθέμιτόν τινα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σιωπήσωμεν. Πολλῶν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπιτιμούντων αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ μὴ προπετῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀποφθέγγεσθαι, ἀτιμάζων περιάγων ἐβλασφήμει αὐτὴν πανταχοῦ ὁ ταλαίπωρος.
- 155 ‘Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὡς ἔκειτο ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καὶ ὕπνου μετελάμβανεν, παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ βλασφημουμένη καὶ στᾶσα πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν πραεῖα τῇ φωνῇ· ‘Γνωρίζεις με, τίς εἰμι ἄρα ἐγώ;’ Ὁ δὲ ἔδοξεν στοχάζεσθαι τὸ φιλάγαθον καὶ γλυκύτατον αὐτῆς πρόσωπον καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν· ‘Οὐχί, φησίν, <οὐδαμῶς ἐπίσταμαι τίσπερ χρηματίζεις.> Ἀποκριθεῖσα ἐκείνη λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν·
- 160 ‘Καὶ ἄρα οὐ γνωρίζεις με, τίσπερ εἰμι ἐγώ καὶ ὅπως οἶδας, ὅτι οὐ γνωρίζεις με; Εἰ οὖν οὐ γνωρίζεις με, πῶς με λοιδορεῖς περιάγων; Εἰ οὐκ ἐπίστασαι με, πῶς με καταλαλεῖς καὶ βλασφημεῖς πορευόμενος;’ Ὁ δὲ ἔδοξεν λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὴν· ‘Ἀδύνατα λέγει· νόει’, φησίν, ‘ὡς οὐχ ἐώρακά σε πώποτε, πῶς ἡ ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἂν σε λοιδορήσας κατελάλησα;’ Ἡ δὲ πάλιν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· ‘Ταπεινέ, τί κακὸν σοι ἐποίησα; Μῆτι ἀφειλόμην ἀπὸ σοῦ, μὴ
- 165 ἠδίκησά σε, μὴ τί σοι παρηνόλησα, μὴ ὕβριν σοι ἐπήγαγον, μὴ τι γε ὠργίσθην σοι ἢ ὠνεῖδισά σε ἢ ἐξεπείρασά σε ἢ ἐρράπισά σε. Πῶς οὖν περιάγων ἐξουθενεῖς καὶ ἀτιμάζεις με; Ἐώρακάς με ποτὲ πράττουσαν τί πονηρὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν; Οἶδας με ποτὲ ἁμαρτάνουσαν; Ἐγὼ δὲ φημί, ὅτι οὐδέποτε με ἐώρακας· περιάγων οὖν πῶς ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκαλῶν ἤδη προσαγορεύεις με, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ
- 170 εἰμι Μαριάμ ἡ ἁμαρτωλός, ἀπάρτι ὡς λέγεις. Ἄς εἰμί, φησί, <καὶ ἁμαρτωλός· παραγγέλω σοι, ἀδελφέ, διὰ τὸν κύριον ἔλεοῦσα καὶ συμπαθοῦσα τὴν ἀναισθησίαν σου, ἀπόστηθι οὖν τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν ἀθῶν καὶ βλασφημῶν Ἀρειανῶν, παῦσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ προπετῶς ἀναθε-

143 δεηθῆναι – κυρίου Zach. 8.21

#### DAFSH

142 φησίν < SH | 144 προσεδρεύων SH | 145 τινὰ ψυχωφελῆ D | 147 δὲ – αὐτὸ] διελέξεως αὐτῶν SH | 149 ἐπουρανίων SH τὴν<sup>2</sup> – 150 ἡμῶν < SH | 150 ὑπεραγίαν H | 151 καὶ ἀθέμιτόν τινα < SH | 153 ἀτιμάζων < SH μείζων DAF | 155 νυκτὸς] ἐν νυκτὶ SH | 156 πρὸς αὐτόν<sup>1</sup> < H | 157 ἄρα < SH | 159 φησίν < SH τίσπερ] τίς SH | 160 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D τίσπερ] τίς SH ὅτι < H εἰ – 161 με<sup>1</sup> < D | 161 πῶς<sup>1</sup> – με<sup>3</sup> < DAF εἰ + οὖν H | 162 ἔδοξεν λέγειν] ἔλεγεν SH ἀδύνατα – φησίν < SH | 163 ὡς < H κατελάλησα < F | 164 λέγει < SH πρὸς < DAF αὐτόν + ἔφη H πεποίηκα SH

ship went out for recreation, I went out as well”, he said, “together with my lord that followed me. And when we entered the chapel there *to pray before the face of the Lord*, there was a priest serving there, who came from the country of the East, and when we told some things which help the soul after prayer, he also said to us:<sup>101</sup>

‘Before I came here’, he said, ‘I was in my town, and there was a man of the Arian faith in that town. Often, when a discussion was held there at a meeting between the heretics and the Orthodox, the aforementioned man greatly slandered the highest of heavenly powers, our great and all-pure lady the holy Mother of God, insulting her, setting her at naught and smiting her with shameful words; the miserable man called her a sinner and unlawfull, and let us be silent about the rest. And so, although many of the Orthodox rebuked him and asked him to be silent and not to say such things imprudently, the wretch dishonoured her, went around and slandered her everywhere.

‘Now one day, when he lay in his bed by the night and slept, the slandered one came to him, and standing at his head she said with a gentle voice: <Do you know me, who I am?> And it seemed to him that he stared into her sweetest face which loves goodness, answered and said to her: <No, I do not know at all who you are.> And she answered and said to him: <And how do not you know me, who I am, and know altogether that you do not know me? Now if you do not know me, why do you go around and insult me? If you are not aware who I am, why do you speak evil of and slander me walking around wickedly?> And he seemed to say to her: <You say something impossible; behold, since I have never seen you before, how or in which way did I speak evil of and slander you?> And she again said to him: <You wretch, what bad did I do to you? I did neither take anything away from you, nor did I do anything wrong to you, nor did I molest you, nor did I insult you, nor did I become angry about you, nor reproached or tempted or beat you. Why do you now go around and set me at naught and dishonour me? Did you ever see me doing anything bad or good? Did you see me committing sin? I say that you have never seen me; so how can you go around and, calling me impure and a sinner before all people and the crowd, even adress me as the sinner Maria, as you say now? Let me even be a sinner,> she said, <I give you the advice, brother, since I have mercy upon you for the sake of the Lord and have compassion with your obtuseness, refrain from the heresy of the godless and slandering Arians, stop cursing and insulting and using foul language to dishonour me imprudently, for you do not know which bad and evil thing will befall you.> Having said this she disappeared from him. And when

ἀφειλάμην SH | 165 ἐδικησά σε H σε + τί SH παρήγαγον SH σοί<sup>3</sup>] σε DAF ἦ – 166 σε<sup>3</sup> < D | 166 σε<sup>1</sup> – σε<sup>2</sup> < SH σε<sup>3</sup> < SH | 167 τί < SH | 168 δὲ < SH οὐδέπω F με] μεθ’ DAF πῶς οὖν περιάγων SH | 169 ἐναντίον] κατέναντι – λαοῦ post με SH καί<sup>1</sup> – ἤδη < SH προαγορεύεις D ὡς καί < SH | 170 Μαρία SH ὡς + ψευδῶς S<sup>mar</sup>H ἄς – ἀμαρτωλός < SH | 171 ἀδελφέ < SH οὖν < SH | 172 καὶ βλασφήμων < SH δὲ] τε SH τοῦ] τὸ SH ἀνεθεματίζεις F

<sup>101</sup> On the following story, see above, pp. 21–22.

- ματίζειν καὶ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ αἰσχρολογεῖν καὶ ἀτιμάζειν με, ἐπεὶ τί σοι ἔξει συναντήσαι χαλεπὸν καὶ πονηρὸν οὐκ οἶδας.) Ταῦτα εἰρηκυῖα ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Διυπνισθεὶς δὲ ἐκεί-  
 175 νος καὶ κατανοήσας τὴν θέσιν τοῦ ὁράματος, περιάγων ἔπι δεινότερως αὐτὴν καὶ πικροτέ-  
 ρως ὁ ἔλεινός ἐβλασφήμει μήτε ὅλως κατὰ νοῦν τὰς παραγγελίας αὐτῆς δεξάμενος. Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ πινὰς πάλιν καθεύδοντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ παρίσταται αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπο-  
 κριθεῖσα λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· «Οὕτως ἐφύλαξας τὰς παραγγελίας μου, μάταιε; Ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἄπερ σοι προεφωνησάμην ταῖς προλαβούσαις ἡμέραις; Ἐγὼ ὅλη ἀγαθὴ εἰμί καὶ ὅλη καλὴ  
 180 καὶ ὅλη φιλάγαθος. Ποσάκις γὰρ σε ἡμελλεν πατάσσειν ὁ θεὸς δι' ἐμέ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀπέστρεψα τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν δικαίαν ἀπὸ σοῦ, κρίνασα μήτι κακὸν σοι γένηται δι' ἐμέ. Παρακαλῶ σε οὖν, παῦσον κἄν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ μηκέτι περισύρῃς μου τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτὸ ἐν βδελυρίαις, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτὸ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐδόξασεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Περι δὲ ὧν ἀποκαλεῖς με, ὅτι αἰσchrῶς διεπραξάμην, ἀπολογεῖσθαι σοι, ὅτι ζῆ  
 185 κύριος, οὐθὲν τοιοῦτον κατεδεξάμην ἀναλογήσασθαι ποτὲ ἦτε καὶ εἰς ἔννοιάν μου τοῦτο ὅλως παρεισδέξασθαι· ἐμὲ γὰρ παρθένον καὶ κεχαριτωμένην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς δευροῦ ἐσφράγισεν ὁ θεός. Παῦσαι οὖν διὰ τὸν κύριον, ὅτι οὐ καυχῶμαι· ἀλήθειαν δὲ ὑπαγορεύω σοι, ὅτι μείζονα ἐμοῦ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τοιαῦτα μεγαλεῖα οὐ πεποίηκεν ὁ κύριος ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς.» Ταῦτα εἰπούσα καὶ ἔπι μακροθυμήσασα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
- 190 ‘Ὁ δὲ ἀναδὴς καὶ ἄνους καὶ ἀφρονέστατος οὐδὲ τότε συνῆκεν' μείζονως δὲ περιάγων ἔργον ἐποιεῖτο τὴν βλασφημίαν εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον εὐκαιρῶν ἢ τὸ περιάγειν καὶ βλασφημεῖν αὐτὴν. Μετὰ δὲ καιρὸν πνὰ μιᾶ νυκτὶ ὡς ἀδεῶς ἐκάθευδεν ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ἀμέριμνος καὶ ὑπνου μετελάμβανεν, ὁρᾷ αὐτὴν παραγενομένην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγουσαν αὐτῷ· «Ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸν τὸν φάρυγγα μετὰ τῆς γλώττης σου κατασπάσαι διὰ τῆς ἀπορ-  
 195 ρήτου σου βλασφημίας· πλὴν ἀπάρτι παρεῶ σοι τὴν ὁμίλιαν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν σοὶ παρακολουθήσαντα δυστυχήματα πρὸς παιδείαν καὶ ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἄλλοις διηγῆσῃ.» Τοῦτο εἰρηκυῖα μικρὸν τί τὸ παλλίον τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἱεράς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον παρωθήσα-  
 σα, τὸν βραχίονά τε τὸν ἄχραντον ὀλίγον προτείνασα τοὺς ἄμφω τε δακτύλους ὃν τρόπον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῷ σφραγίζειν ἀνατυπώσασα, λαβομένη τῶν χειρῶν ἐκείνου διεχάραξεν  
 200 αὐτὰς ὡσανεὶ μαχαίρα τοῖς ἀχράντοις δακτύλοις αὐτῆς, παραπλησίως τε καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων, καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν. Ὑπνῷ δὲ βαθυτάτῳ ἐκείνου ἀμερίμνος καθεύδοντας, πρωΐας ἀναστὰς εὗρεν αὐτοῦ τὰς τε χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀποκεκομμένους καὶ μήκοθεν κειμένους, καὶ φρίζας ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου τρέμων ἐκάθητο. Θαῦμα δὲ ὅτι ὡσανεὶ ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τὰ τμήματα οὕτωπερ ὑγίη καὶ συνουλωμένα ἠϋρέθησαν, τῶν τε  
 205 ποδῶν αὐτοῦ φημί καὶ τῶν χειρῶν. Τούτου τοῦ σημείου τότε γεγονότος καὶ προφανῶς ἐν

## DAFSH

173 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἀτιμάζειν < H ὑβρίζειν S συναντήσαι < DAF | 174 πονηρὸν + ὅθεν H οὐκ οἶδας < DAF | 175 πικροτέρως SH | 177 πάλιν < SH αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> – 178 αὐτόν] καὶ φησὶν SH | 178 μου + καὶ τὴν ἐντολήν μου H | 179 προεφωνησάμην + καὶ AF καὶ < D καλὴ] ἀγαθὴ SH | 180 ὅλη < SH ἔμελλεν D καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 181 ἐμέ < H | 181 γενέσθαι S | 182 σε] σοι DAF κἄν] γὰρ DAF καὶ < DAF αὐτὸ < SH | 183 ὁ<sup>2</sup> < S ἐμεγάλυνεν + οὖν AF αὐτόν H οὐρανῷ SH ἐδόξασεν + αὐτὸ S, +

that man awoke and understood the meaning of the vision, the miserable one still went around and slandered her even worse and more bitterly, for he had not at all received her commandments into his mind. After some days, when he was sleeping again in his bed, she appeared before him, answered and said to him: <Is this the way you kept my commandments, you foolish man? Is this what I have told you the days before? For I am all-good, all-beautiful and loving goodness. How often did God want to strike you for my sake, and I have averted his just anger from you, for I preferred nothing bad to happen to you because of me. Now I ask you, make an end, at least from now on, and do not drag my holy name around in abominations, for the great and glorious God has magnified it in heaven and glorified it on earth. And concerning that what you say about me, that I did something shameful, I answer you, that as true as God lives, I have never accepted thinking about such a thing or admitting this at all to my thought; for God has sealed me as a virgin and as being full of grace, from the beginning until now. So make an end for the sake of the Lord, for I do not boast; I tell you the truth, that the Lord has not done greater things to me than to anybody else in heaven and on earth.> Saying this and still being patient she disappeared from him.

‘But not even then this shameless, silly and foolish man understood; he went around even more, did his work of slander and had no other proposal than to go around and to slander her. After some time in one night, when the wretch lay there without fear and care and slept, he saw her coming to him and saying to him: <I wanted to tear out your throat together with your tongue because of your ineffable blasphemy, but now will let you keep the gift of speech henceforth, so that you can tell of the misfortunes, which will come upon you, to others also for their chastisement and benefit.> Having said this she pulled the sacred mantle back a little from her sacred right hand and stretched her immaculate arm out a little. Then she formed her two fingers, as the priests do when making the sign of the cross, took his arms and cut them as with a sword with her immaculate fingers, similarly also his legs at the knees, and went away. He lay in deepest sleep without care, but when he rose in the morning, he found that his hands and feet had been cut off and lay at a distance from him, and sat there shuddering and trembling from fear. And the wonder was that the cuts were found healed and cicatrised as if they were many years old, I say of his legs and arms. When this wonder had happened

αὐτὸν H | 185 οὐδὲν H ἤτε] ἢ S και] γὰρ D εἰς < S μου τοῦτο < SH | 186 ἀρχῆς + τῆς H | 187 δέ] γὰρ H | 188 μείζων codd. ἐμοῦ] μου F κύριος] ὑψιστος SH | 189 ἔτι] ἔπειτα SH ἐπ' αὐτῷ < SH | 190 και<sup>2</sup> < F | 191 εἰς – 192 αὐτήν SH εὐκαιρῶν] οὐκ ἔρων D | 192 μᾶ + ἐν AF | 193 και<sup>1</sup> < SH παραγεγονῶσαν SH λέγουσα F | 194 μετὰ – σου post κατασπάσαι F σου < S ἀνασπάσαι SH τῆς<sup>2</sup> – 195 βλασφημίας] τὰς ἀπορρήτους βλασφημίας σου SH | 195 παραρέω SH | 196 διηγῆσειεν DAF | 197 τῆς δεξιᾶς < D | 198 τὸν<sup>1</sup> – προτεινασα < H | 200 αὐτὰς < SH | 202 τε < SH ἀποκεκομμένας DAF | 203 καὶ μήκοθεν κειμένουσ < DAF φρίζασα H τρέμων < H ὅτι < SH | 204 οὕτωπερ ὑγιῆ] οὕτω παρεγγυῆ F και < D εὐρέθησαν D | 205 φημί < SH τότε] τούτου DAF ἐν < SH

ἅπασιν ἀκουσθέντος, πάντες συνέτρεχον μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι τοῦ θεάσασθαι αὐτόν. Διηγουμένου τε ἐκείνου, ὅπως τὸ τῆδε συνέβη αὐτῷ, ἔφριττον οἱ ἀκούοντες καὶ μεγάλως ἐξίσταντο, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔπειτα λαβομένων τοῦτο τῶν ὀρθοδόξων καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ συνεχῶς ὄνειδιζόντων καὶ ἐπιπλησόντων αὐτοῖς.’”

210 Ταῦτα τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα ἅμα τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ ἀδελφῷ χάριν ὠφελείας ψυχικῆς διαλεγομένων, τῆς ὥρας προκοπάσης ἀναστάντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν προσεχώρησαν. Καὶ ὀλίγου τοῦ ὕπνου μετασχόντες εἰς τὸ ἀποτελέσαι τοὺς ἑθνηνοὺς ὕμνους ἐξανέστησαν. Πρωΐας δὲ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν αὐτοῦ πορευθέντος ὁ εἰρημένος ἀδελφὸς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν  
215 παρακολουθήσαντα ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς διηγήσατο, ὥστε θαυμάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καταπλαγῆναι καὶ μεγάλως δοξάσαι τὸν φιλόανθρωπον κύριον τὸν φυλάσσοντα τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

Ἐπιπλέον δὲ τῷ μακαρίῳ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μηνᾶ, γύναιον πενιχρόν, μάλα τε καὶ ἐκλεκτὸν τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ εἰσβαλλούσῃ λεωφόρῳ  
220 τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἐπὶ τινὶ εὐτελεστάτῳ κελλίῳ καταμένον, ὡς ἐθεάσατο αὐτὸν παροδεύοντα χαρᾶς ἀφάτου ὡσανεὶ καὶ θυμηδίας πλησθεῖσα ἔλεγεν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε· “Ἴδε ὁ κύριός μου Γρηγόριος, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποῦ παροδεύει; Ἄπεισιν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ καλλικελάδου ἡμῶν καὶ φωστῆρος Μηνᾶ τοῦ προσεύξασθαι.” Καὶ πάλιν μετέπειτα ἔλεγεν· “Ἀγαλλιάσθω νῦν ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις  
225 σήμερον, ὅτι ὁ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ τούτῳ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιδημήσας τοῖς ἀχράντοις βήμασιν τῶν τιμίων ποδῶν αὐτοῦ παραδόξως πῶς εὐοδιάσας ἠγίασεν ἅπαντας.” Καὶ ἔπειτα ἔλεγεν· “Ὡ πόσον ὀνίνησιν ὀλοκλήρῳ πόλει ἐνὸς παρουσία ἀγίου ἀνδρός· ἐπιστηρίζει γὰρ κύριος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ χάριν τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.” Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα τῆς ὁσίας ἐκείνης φασκούσης παρήκεν ἐκείνος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἀγίου  
230 γενάμενος τῶν μελιρρῦτων καὶ ἡδέων κατὰ ψυχὴν πνευματικῶς δι' ἐντεῦξενος ἀπολαβῶν ἀντείχετο. Ἡ δὲ μακαρία Ἀρχοντία (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ αἰοιδίμῳ ἐκείνῃ γυναικί) ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε κατόπιν τοῦ δικαίου βαδίσασα ἐξαίσια καυχωμένη τοῖς παροῦσιν τὰ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου διελέγετο ὅλον τῷ θεῷ αὐτὸν ἀνακείμενον διαφημίζουσα, καὶ μιμητὰς  
235 τούτου τοὺς ἀκούοντας αὐτῆς τῶν ῥημάτων παρεκάλει γενέσθαι, “σπουδάσατε”, λέγουσα, “πάντες ἀδελφοί, ἔργον τὴν προσευχὴν κεκτήσθαι, ἐπιστήμην τε τὴν θεόρρητον μελέτην τῶν θείων Γραφῶν, ὡς οὗτος ὁ ξένος ὑπόστασιν τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν τὴν

216 κύριον – 217 αὐτὸν cf. Ps. 144.20

#### DAFSH

206 αὐτόν – 207 ἔφριττον < SH | 207 οἱ] καὶ SH καὶ < SH | 208 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 209 αὐτοῖς < SH | 210 πλείω SH | 211 ψυχικῆς] ψυχῆς SH, + αὐτῷ F | 212 αὐτῶν < H ἐπὶ] εἰς SH ὑπεχώρησαν SH καὶ – 213 ἐξανέστησαν < SH | 214 προειρημένος D | 216 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DAF φιλόανθρωπον < SH | 217 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός < SH | 218 Ἐ μγ' S μδ' H + περὶ τῆς μακαρίας Ἀρχοντίας SH δὲ < SH τῷ μακαρίῳ] τοῦ μακαρίου DAF ἐν < SH ἀγίου < SH | 219 μάλα τε καὶ < SH ἐν – 220 ἐκεῖσε < SH | 220 εὐτελεστάτῳ < SH | 221 ὡσανεὶ καὶ θυμηδίας < SH πλησθεῖσα + ἀποκριθεῖσα SH |

at that time and had become known among all people, they all ran together, young and old, to see him. And when he told how this had happened to him, those that heard it shuddered and were astonished greatly, especially since the Orthodox took this incident thereafter, and reproached and reproved them by this continually.’”

The blessed one and the brother that was with him said this and many other things together for the benefit of their souls, and since the time had advanced, they rose and prayed, and each of them went to his own bed. And when they had taken some sleep, they rose to accomplish the morning hymns. When the righteous one went to his lodge in the morning, the aforementioned brother told everything which had happened between them in the night to his brothers at church, so that they wondered about this and were amazed greatly, and glorified the Lord that loves mankind and keeps those that love him by day and night.

One day, when the blessed one went to the church of the great martyr Menas,<sup>102</sup> a poor woman, a chosen one of the Lord that lived in a very mean hut on the avenue leading there, when she saw him coming along, said to the people there as if she had been filled with inexpressible joy and gladness: “Behold, my lord Gregentios, the beloved one of our great God and Lord Jesus Christ, where does he go? He goes to the martyr’s church of our highly celebrated luminary Menas for prayer.” And again she said thereafter: “The town of Alexander shall exult today, for the man that arrived here together with this righteous one has sanctified all, guiding us aright with the immaculate steps of his worthy feet in some miraculous way.” And then she went on saying: “O how much does the presence of one holy man help a whole town, for the Lord directs his eyes on it for the sake of this righteous one in that city.” When that holy woman had said these and many other things, he passed by, and having arrived at the church of the saint, he cared for the honey-flowing and sweet things which he received spiritually in his soul by his intercession. The blessed Archontia (for this was the name of that glorious woman) went into the church there after the righteous one, and exulting exceedingly she spoke to the people present there about the blessed one, praising him as being wholly devoted to God, and asked those that listened to her words to become his imitators, saying: “Hasten, all my brothers, to possess prayer as your work and the study of the divine Scriptures, which is uttered by God, as your knowledge, as this stranger has

222 μεγάλου < H και κυρίου < H ἡμῶν και κυρίου S | 223 ἀγίω < SH τοῦ – φωστῆρος post Μηνᾶ SH ἡμῶν post φωστῆρος SH και < D ante Μηνᾶ + τοῦ ἀγίου SH | 224 πάλιν < SH ἔπειτα SH νῦν < SH | 225 ἐνταῦθα < DAF τοῖς – 226 πῶς < SH | 226 εὐοδίας SH ἡγίασεν] ἤγαγεν DF ἅπαντας] αὐτήν post πῶς DF | 227 ὀνίησιν] ὀνήσιν SH ἀνδρὸς ἀγίου παρουσία ἐπιστηριεῖ SH | 228 οὖν < SH και ἕτερα πλείω post 229 ἐκείνης SH | 230 ἐντεύξεων D | 231 ἐκείνη γυναικί] και SH | 232 τὰ < SH | 234 τούτους SH αὐτῆς τῶν ῥημάτων < D | 235 κέκτησθαι S θεοδώρητον SH

<sup>102</sup> See above, pp. 39–40.



ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, τὴν ξενιτείαν καὶ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην ἐκτήσατο. Ὁ οὐρανὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναβαίνειν δοκιμάζοντας ἄνευ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων κατορθωμάτων παρεισδέχεσθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταται,” φησίν, “καθότι δοκιμῆς εἰσὶν τὰ πράγματα, ἐργασίας τε ὁ καιρὸς καὶ καμάτων καὶ πόνων καὶ ἰδρώτων ἢ παροῦσα διάβασις.”

Τούτοις οὖν καὶ ἄλλοις πλείοσιν ἡ ἀγία ἐκείνη θειοτάτοις ῥήμασιν ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μηνᾶ ψυχαγωγούσα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ὁ μακάριος ἐσαινετο μὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὅτι μεγαλοφημοῦσα αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλει· οὐκ εἶχεν δὲ τί διαπράξασθαι ὅμως, σιγῇ δὲ τὸ ἔργον τῆς προσευχῆς αὐτοῦ διανύων ἐτέλει. Διηγούντο δὲ οἱ λαχόντες ἐκεῖσε τῆς ἀγίας ἐκείνης τὰ κατορθώματα, ὡς ὅτι “ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς”, φησίν, “οὐδὲν ἐκτίσατο τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐν τρίχινον ὄπερ ἐφόρει.” Διὰ πάσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς οὐκ ἠρέμει, ἀλλ’ ἴστατο προσευχομένη· μετὰ τὸ διαφᾶσαι τὸ τηλικαῦτα τὴν ἡμέραν μικρὸν τι τοῦ ὕπνου ἀπεγεύετο. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χειμερινῇ τροπῇ ταῖς νυξὶν μάλα ἐπὶ τὸ αἶθριον ἐξερχομένη διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς χιονιζομένη καὶ παγουμένη τε καὶ στυφουμένη διεκαρτέρει, καὶ ὡς ἀνάπαυσιν τοὺς πόνους ἠσπάζετο καὶ ὡς χαρὰν τὰς θλίψεις καὶ ὡς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν πείναν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν δίψαν καὶ τὴν ξηροκοίτιαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἐλογίζετο. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν ὁ δίκαιος ἐν τῇ ξενίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπέστρεψεν καὶ ἔπειτα ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἦν ἐνδελεχῶν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς.

9 Τ’ ὄντος τοιγαροῦν τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰουστίνου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἐλεσβοᾶμ βασιλέως Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Δουναᾶ βασιλέως τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Προτερίου πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, Δουναᾶς ὁ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαῖος τὴν θρησκείαν χρηματίζων παρέλαβεν δόλω Νεγρὰν τὴν κάτω κειμένην πόλιν. Καὶ προσεκαλείτο ὁ ματαιόφρων πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ ἀρνήσασθαι μὲν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἀσπάσασθαι δὲ τὴν λατρείαν τοῦ νόμου. Πάντων δὲ ἀντειπόντων τῷ προστάγματι αὐτοῦ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ δυσσεβέστατος ἐπὶ διάστημα ἱκανὸν πυρκαϊᾶν σφοδρότατην ἀναφθῆναι κελεύσας ἐκεῖσε τὸ ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐκεῖνο τοῦ λαοῦ κατετέφρωσεν καὶ ἀπόλωλεν· τινὰς δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγρόνη ἀπέπνιξεν, τοὺς προύχοντας δὲ αὐτῶν ξίφει ἀνεῖλεν. Ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν τιμιώτατον ἐθνάρχην αὐτῶν πολὺν τῇ φύσει, τοῦνομα Ἀρέθαν

#### DAFSH | 1 ὄντος | K

237 εἰρήνην + καὶ SH ἐκτήσατο < SH | 239 προσδέχεσθαι S προδέχεσθαι H ἐπίστασαι S<sup>ac</sup> | 240 καμάτων καὶ] καύχημα τῶν DAF | 241 οὖν < SH πλείοσιν < SH ἐκείνη + τοῖς DAF | 242 μεγαλομάρτυρος < SH τυχόντας SH | 243 μὲν] δὲ H μεγαλοφημοῦσα] μεγάλως ἐπαινοῦσα SH τὰ < SH ἑαυτοῦ SH ὅμως τί διαπράξασθαι SH | 244 διανύων ἐτέλει] διετέλει SH | 245 ὡς < SH ἐν – 246 φησίν < SH ταῖς] τῆς D | 246 αὐτῆς] αὐταῖς F φησίν < D | 247 οὐκ ἠρέμει ἀλλ’ < SH μετὰ + δὲ SH | 248 τὴν ἡμέραν < SH ἐναπεγεύετο D | 249 μάλα < SH δι’ ἀπάσης S χιονιζομένη DAF | 250 τε καὶ στυφουμένη < SH ὡς – 252 εἰκὸς] πάντα τὰ λυπηρὰ ὡς τρυφήν SH | 253 ἔπειτα < SH βίβλοις ± σε D ἦν ante ταῖς SH ἐνδελεχῶς D τε < SH

I in initio + ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ἢ ἱστορία τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου, ὅπως ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν ὑπὸ Προτερίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὃς ἦν ὀρθόδοξος μετὰ Διόσκορον τὸν αἰρετικόν, ἀρχιερα-

possessed love and peace, the life abroad and poverty as his property, wealth and glory. For heaven does not know how to receive those that try to go up to it from earth without these God-inspired achievements, for these events are full of trials, this time is one of work, and the present journey is one of labours, pains and sweat.”

When this holy woman spiritually encouraged the people that were present in the most venerable church of the great martyr Menas with these and many other most divine words, the blessed one felt loathing about the fact that she spoke about him praising him so greatly; however, there was nothing he could do, and so he accomplished his work of prayer in silence. Those that happened to be there told the achievements of that holy woman, saying that “in all days of her life she possessed nothing of this world except the one garment of hair she wore.” She did not rest during all the night, but stood in prayer and took a little sleep thereafter at the dawn of the day. She went out at the winter solstice into the open air at night and held out all night covered with snow, freezing and becoming stiff, and she embraced pains as her rest, afflictions as her joy, and regarded her hunger, thirst and sleeping on hard soil as her fitting honour, glory and wealth. When this happened, the righteous one returned to his lodge, and then he continued to study the holy books by day and night.

So when the blessed Gregentios was in Alexandria in the days of Ioustinos, emperor of the Romans, and Elesboam, king of Ethiopia, and Dounaas, king of the Homerites, and Proterios, pope of Alexandria, the king of the Homerites Dounaas who, regarding his faith, was a Jew, took by treachery Negra, the town that lies in the south.<sup>103</sup> And this vainglorious man invited all inhabitants of the town to deny our Lord Jesus Christ and to embrace the veneration according to the law. When they all spoke up against his edict, the most impious king became furious, and giving order to light a very strong fire for a sufficient time, he turned that innumerable multitude of people there to ashes and destroyed them; some of them he also choked by strangling, and the eminent ones among them he executed by the sword. Among them he also had the venerable head of

9

τεύσας χρόνους ζ' ἐν τῇ θείᾳ κολυμβήθρα σφαγεῖς D<sup>marg</sup>A<sup>marg</sup>F<sup>marg</sup> T μδ' S με' H + περι τῶν μαρτυρησάντων μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀρέθα ἐν τῇ Νεγρᾷ SH + πόλει H ὄντος - Ἀλεξανδρεία < K ἐν<sup>2</sup> + δὲ K Ἰουστινιανοῦ K, + τοῦ K H | 2 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DAF Ἐλεσβαᾶν K DAF Δουναᾶν K Δουναᾶς DAF | 4 τὴν θρησκείαν χρηματίζων] ὦν τὴν θρησκείαν K Νεγρὰν post κειμένην SH κάτω κειμένην περιφανῆ καὶ μεγάλην K τὴν πόλιν SH | 6 δὲ<sup>1</sup>] τε SH νόμου + τῶν Ἰουδαίων K ἀντειπόντων] μὴ ὑπακούσαντων K ἀντιπιπτόντων D | 7 ὀργισθεῖς + δὲ SH δυσσεβῆς K ἐπὶ διάστημα ἱκανόν < K | 8 ἀναφθῆναι] γενέσθαι K ἀναπτῆναι SH κελεύσας] προστάσσει post 7 δυσσεβῆς K ἐκείσε] καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐμβληθῆναι K ἐκείνο < SH τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκείνο F κατετέφρωσεν καὶ ἀπόλωλεν] καὶ πάντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πυρᾷ ἐμβληθέντες ἐτελειώθησαν ἐν κυρίῳ K | 9 ἀπ' < K δὲ πρῶτοντας K | 10 πολίων - τοῦνομα < K φύσει + πεφηνότα DAF Ἀρέθαν + τὸν ἔνδοξον post διαλέξεις K

<sup>103</sup> See above, pp. 48–49.

μετὰ τὰς ἱκανὰς διαλέξεις, ἃς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐποίησατο, ξίφει καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰδέσιμον  
 κάραν ἀπέτεμεν. Τέλος δὲ τοῦ λόγου, πάντα τὰ ἐκέισε κονιορτοῦ δίκην λικμήσας ὁ κατ-  
 ἄρατος πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ὑπέστρεψεν γράψας καὶ ταῖς περικύκλω αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαις·  
 οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐξᾶραι παντάπασιν τὸ γένος τῶν χριστιανῶν  
 15 ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, “ὄν τρόπον”, φησίν, “τόγε κἀγὼ πεποίηκα.”

Συνιείς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος γράφει μετὰ ἀπέριου ἐμπήξεως  
 Ἐλεσβοᾶμ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Αἰθιοπίας εἰς τὸ ἐγεῖραι τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 βασιλείας καὶ συμβαλεῖν πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ παρανόμου Ἑβραίου καὶ ἐκδικῆσαι τὸ τίμιον  
 καὶ ἁθῶν αἷμα τῶν δικαίων τῶν διὰ τὴν ἀμώμητον πίστιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χρι-  
 20 στοῦ γενναίως ὑπερθληκώτων. Ὁ δὲ ὁ πανεύφημος βασιλεὺς πεποίηκεν· συναγαγὼν δὲ  
 πᾶν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον καὶ κινήσας πόλεμον κατ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τὰ  
 μὲν στρατεύματα αὐτοῦ, φημί τοῦ παρανόμου, εἰς τέλος ἠφάνισεν, συνέλαβεν δὲ αὐτὸν  
 τὸν παράνομον Ἑβραῖον μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τούτους ξίφει ἀνεῖλεν. Παρέλαβεν  
 δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ φρούρια τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ. Ἔλαβεν  
 25 δὲ δορυάλωτον καὶ Τεφάρ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, καὶ ἔνδον αὐτῆς  
 χωρήσας ἐσκύλευσεν πάντα τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς φόβον πλείστους ἐκέισε  
 ἀνεῖλεν τῶν ὑπολοίπων φοβηθέντων, καὶ συνθεμένων αὐτῷ τοῦ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα δέξα-  
 σθαι, Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ ἄλλοδαπῶν ἔθνων.

Ἐπισκόπου τε ἐν τοῖς ἐκέισε μὴ ὄντος οὔτε ἱερέως οὔτε διακόνου, ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐτέρου  
 30 πινός τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας (ἅπαντας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἦν ἀπαλείψας  
 ὁ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος ἐχθρός, ὥστε μήτε μνημόσυνον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων εὐρίσκεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν προτετελευτηκώτων ἀπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ἐν σοροῖς τιμαῖς ἤδη συνεσταλμένων ἐξαγαγὼν τὰ ἅγια λείψανα πυρὶ καὶ ταῦτα κατετέ-  
 φρωσεν), γράφει τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρίτου Ἐλεσβοᾶμ ὁ ἀγιώτατος βασιλεὺς Προ-  
 35 τερίῳ τῷ πάπᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας καθ’ ἔπος περὶ πάντων καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
 κατεῦδωσεν. Γράφει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ ἐπιλέξασθαι αὐτὸν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν  
 πατριαρχίᾳ ἄνδρα πινὰ σοφόν, λόγιον καὶ συνετὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα, ἀκριβῶς ἡσκημένον

#### K D A F S H

11 τὰς < K ἃς – ἐποίησατο < K καὶ < K αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰδέσιμον] τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ K | 12 ἀπέτεμεν  
 post 11 ξίφει K τέλος – λόγου] καὶ τέλος K καταράρατος F | 13 πρὸς] εἰς K ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεία K  
 ὑπέστρεψεν post κατάρατος K ταῖς] τοῖς K ἐξουσίαις] ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὖσιν τὰ ὅμοια  
 διαπράξασθαι K | 14 μὴν] μόνον DAF βασιλεῖ + πρὸς τὸ K παντάπασιν] παντελῶς K τῶν  
 χριστιανῶν γένος K | 15 ἀπὸ – πεποίηκα < K αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν SH | 16 συνιείς] μαθῶν K συνιείς H  
 Ἰουστινιανός K ἀπέριου] ἐμπύρου SH ἀπέριου ἐμπήξεως] πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ θερμοῦ ζήλου K |  
 17 Ἐλεσβαῶ K Ἐλεσβαῶν DAF ἀγιωτάτῳ] χριστιανικωτάτῳ K ἐγεῖραι – 18 βασιλείας]  
 ἐξαποστελεῖαι τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτοῦ K ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ D | 18 τίμιον – 19 δικαίων] αἷμα τὸ ἅγιον  
 K | 19 τῶν δικαίων < DAF τῶν διὰ] τῷ διὰ τῷ F διὰ – πίστιν] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμωμῆτου πίστεως SH |  
 20 ἐνηθλικώτων K ἠθλικώτων H ὁ δὲ ὁ] ὁ δὲ K δὴ + καὶ SH πεποίηκεν ὁ πανεύφημος βασιλεὺς  
 SH πεποίηκεν] Ἐλεσβαῶς ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ἐνωπισθεῖς K δὲ] γὰρ SH, < K | 21 αὐτοῦ DAF  
 στράτευμα K κινήσας – αὐτοῦ] παραταξάμενος K | 22 αὐτοῦ < K DAF φημί + τὰ DAF, < K  
 παρανόμου + συνεργεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ K ἠδάφισεν DAF δὲ + καὶ DAF αὐτὸν < K | 24 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < H

their most worthy ruler cut off by the sword, a greyhaired man called Arethas, after a considerable number of discussions he had with him. And the end of the story: Having scattered everything there like dust, this cursed one returned to his palace, writing also to the powers around him, and not only to these, but also to the king of the Persians, to remove completely the race of the Christians from his kingdom, “just in the way”, he said, “in which I also have done it.”

When Ioustinos, the emperor of the Romans, learned about this, he wrote with immense emphasis to Elesboam, the most holy king of Ethiopia, to raise the armies of his kingdom, to make war against the unlawful Hebrew and to avenge the worthy and innocent blood of the righteous ones that had suffered so bravely for the blameless faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. And the all-praiseworthy king did this: He gathered all his army, began a war against him by land and sea and completely destroyed his armies, I say of the unlawful one, and also arrested the unlawful Hebrew himself together with his relatives and executed them by the sword. He took also his kingdom and all castles unto his kingdom. He also took Tephar by storm, the residential town of the Homerites, entered it and plundered all the property of his kingdom, and killed a great number of people there to terrify them, so that the remaining ones were afraid and agreed with him to receive holy baptism, Jews and other foreign nations.

And since there was no bishop there nor a priest or deacon, but also nobody from the clergy of the most holy church (for the enemy of the holy and consubstantial Trinity had wiped out nearly all of them, so that not even their remembrance could be found in all his kingdom, for he even removed the holy remains of those of them that had died before and already rested in their worthy shrines, and turned them to ashes by fire as well), therefore the most holy King Elesboam wrote from the country of the Homerites to Proterios, the pope of Alexandria, telling him all word for word, and how the Lord God had prepared his way. And thereafter he also wrote to him to choose from all his patriarchate a wise, learned, intelligent and understanding man who was educated tho-

καί<sup>1</sup> – 26 αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἅπαντα K | 25 τῆν<sup>2</sup> < DAF | 26 καὶ – 28 ἐθνῶν] πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀνέιλε πρὸς τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας Ἰουδαίους διὸ καὶ ἄκοντες ὑπισχνοῦνται προσελθεῖν τὸ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι οὐ μόνον οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παντοῖα ἔθνη K | 27 ὑπολοίπων + δὲ H συνθεμένου DAF τοῦ < D | 28 ἀλλώπων DAF | 29 τε] δὲ K ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε < K ὄντος + ἀλλ’ DAF οὔτε<sup>1</sup>] ἢ K οὔτε<sup>2</sup>] ἢ K οὔτε<sup>3</sup>] οὐδὲ K | 30 ἀγιωτάτης] ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ K ἀπαλείψας] ἀπωλέσας καὶ ἀφανίσας K | 31 ἀγίας] κακίας H μήτε] μηδὲ K πάση τῇ βασιλείᾳ] πασιλείᾳ S, corr. in margine | 32 εὑρίσκεται F καί<sup>2</sup> < D προτελευταϊκῶτων DAF | 33 τιμίαις ἤδη συνεσταλμένων] τεθαμμένων K ἐξαγαγῶν] ἐξῆρε K τὰ < S ἅγια + αὐτῶν K πυρὶ < K | 34 τοῦ] τῆς H Ὅμηριτοῦ SH Ἐλεσβαὰς K Ἐλεσβαὰν D Ἐλεσβαὰμ F Προτερίῳ < DAF | 35 καθ’ ἔπος] λεπτομερῶς K | 36 δὲ] τε SH μετὰ ταῦτα] μετέπειτα SH, < K ἐν – 37 πατριαρχία < K | 37 σοφόν + τε καὶ K ἐπιστήμονα + καὶ K

τήν τε παλαιάν καί τήν νέαν διαθήκην, καί χειροτονῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπίσκοπον καί ἀποστείλαι αὐτῷ μετὰ καί τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπάσης χρείας τε καί ἀκολουθίας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς.

40 Ἐτῶν γραμμάτων τοιγαροῦν φοιτησάντων πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πνὰς ἔρευναν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ πατριάρχης περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐξαποστείλασθαι, τὸ ποῦ ἄρα εὔροιεν τηλικούτον ἄνδρα ἀξιόλογον, δυνατὸν ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πνεύματος ἀγίου πεπληρωμένον, ἐκλεκτὸν κυρίῳ χρηματίζοντα καὶ τῷ δεσπότη πεφηνότα ἐράσμιον. Καὶ δὴ πνῶν ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλων ἐτέρους ὡς ἀξιοπρεπεῖς τῷ πάπᾳ ὑποβάλλοντάς τε καὶ ὑποτιθεμένων τοῦ χρίσαι καὶ ἀποστείλαι, ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ παρεκλίνετο τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν χειροθετῆσαι κἂν ἓνα καὶ ἀποστείλαι. Προστάσει οὖν νηστείαν γενέσθαι καὶ παννύχιον δοξολογίαν· καὶ τούτων τελεσθέντων, τῇ ἐπαύριον καθεῦδοντι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φαίνεται αὐτῷ Μάρκος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἀπόστολος κατ' ὄναρ λέγων· “Ἰνα τί, ἀδελφέ Προτέριε, περίλυπος εἶ καὶ ἵνα τί σκυθρωπάζων καθεῦδεις

45 ἄμηχανῶν περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου; Ἀναστάς ταχέως ζήτησον Γρηγέντιον διάκονον ξένον πνᾶ, οὐ πρὸ βραχέως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐπιδημήσαντα. Ξενίζεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς τὰ Βουκόλου ἐν οἴκῳ πνὸς τοῦνομα Λεοντίου· τοῦτον λαβὼν καὶ θεοπρεπῶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίας χρίσας ἀπόστειλον. Κύριος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τῆς χρείας ταύτης ἕνεκα μακρόθεν αὐτὸν ἐγείρας ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἀπαντῆσαι πεποίηκεν.”

50 Ὁ δὲ πάπας ἔωθεν ἀναστάς καὶ ὀξέως ἔρευνήσας, εὔρον οἱ ἀποσταλέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν μακάριον Γρηγέντιον καὶ δῆλα τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν τῷ πατριάρχῃ πεποιήκασιν. Ὁ δὲ προστάσει τοῦ παραστήναι αὐτὸν κατέναντι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τμῆς μεγίστης. Καὶ τούτου γεγονότος ἀναστάς ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος χαριεντὶ ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος ἐπέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ πάπα καὶ φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· “Εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὸν ἀνάξιον δοῦλον σου.” Ὁ δὲ πάπας ἐγείρας αὐτόν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγέντιος, τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας.” Καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ χειρός, ἅμα τε πορευθέντες κατ' ἰδίαν

61 σῶμα – 62 ἐκκλησίας cf. Col. 1.18

#### K D A F S H

38 τήν < K D χειροτονήσας K αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν K F καὶ ἀποστείλαι αὐτῷ] στεῖλον πρὸς ἡμᾶς K | 39 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν H καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ < K πάσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χρείας τε καὶ ἀκολουθίας K | 40 Ἐ με' S μς' H + περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ ὀσίου Γρηγεντίου SH πάπα F Ἀλεξανδρείας SH | 41 ἔρευναν + οὐκ ὀλίγην SH μέλλοντος + ἐπισκόπου K, + τὰ DAF ἀποσταλῆναι K ἐξαποστελέσθαι SH | 42 τὸ ποῦ] εἰ K ἄρα] ἂν SH τοιοῦτον K | 43 πνεύματος ἀγίου πεπληρωμένον] πάση εὐλαβείᾳ εἶτα μάλιστα K ἀποστείλειεν εἶγε καὶ μάλα ἐν καὶ DAF κυρίῳ] κυρίου K δεσπότη] βασιλεῖ K | 44 ἄλλων – πάπα] ἄλλους προσαγόντων τῷ πάπᾳ ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας K ὑποβάλλοντάς – 45 ὑποτιθεμένων < K | 45 ὑποτιθεμένῳ SH χρῆσθαι εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἀποσταλῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ K αὐτῶν + ἠρέσκετο ὁ πάπας οὔτε K, < SH | 46 παρεκαλεῖτο K παρεκλείσκετο DAF τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τὸ DAF τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτῶν < K κἂν ἓνα < SH οὖν + ὁ πάπας K | 47 γενέσθαι καὶ < K καὶ<sup>1</sup> + μετὰ τὴν νηστείαν DAF πάννυχον K καὶ τούτων] τούτων οὕτως K καθεῦδοντι – 48 αὐτοῦ < K | 48 ἀπόστολος < K DAF | 49 Ποτέριε F καὶ – 50 ἄμηχανῶν < SH | 50 Γρηγόριον K ξένον πνᾶ διάκονον SH | 51 πνᾶ οὐ < K οὐ πρὸ] οὕτω SH ἐν<sup>1</sup> – ἐπιδημήσαντα] ἐπιδημήσας

roughly in the Old and New Testament, and to appoint him as bishop and to send him to him with all his requirements and with ecclesiastical company.

So when the letters arrived at the pope of Alexandria, the patriarch searched some days for someone that could be sent out to the king, where he would find such a worthy man, powerful in deed and word and full of the Holy Ghost, who was a chosen one of the Lord and seemed pleasant to the Master. And when some people brought one candidate to the pope and others a different one, proposing them as being suitable and suggesting that he should anoint them and send them out, his spirit did not rest on a single one of them, so that he would have been able to appoint him and send him out. So he gave order that a fasting should be held and a laudation which lasted all night; and when this had been accomplished, on the following day, when he was sleeping on his bed, the most holy apostle Mark appeared to him in a dream and said: “Brother Proterios, why are you grieved so much, and why do you lie so sad and do not know what to do about the man you are searching for? Rise quickly and ask for the deacon Gregentios, a foreigner who has arrived in this town some time ago. He is entertained at *ta Boukolou* in the house of a man called Leontios; take him, do the necessary things with him, anoint him and send him out. For the Lord our God has raised him from afar because of this our need and made him come to this town by various stations.”<sup>104</sup>

When the pope rose in the morning and let search for him quickly, those he had sent out found the blessed Gregentios and made him known to the patriarch. He ordered to bring him before him with the greatest honour. And when this happened, the archbishop rose and received him gladly. The blessed Gregentios threw himself before the feet of the pope and said to him: “Master, bless your unworthy servant.” The pope raised him, embraced him and said: “Welcome, you servant of God Gregentios, the worthy body of the holy church of God.” And he took his right hand, they walked together and sat down privately, and it was difficult for the pope to convince the blessed

ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ SH ἐπιδημήσαντος DAF δὲ] γὰρ SH τοῖς < DAF | 52 καὶ < SH ὠκονομήσας SH | 53 χρίσας + ἐπίσκοπον K ὁ – 54 πεποίηκεν] οἰκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ SH | 54 ἐγείρας – ἐν] ἐγείρει κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ K | 55 καὶ < SH ὀξέως < K οἱ < F ἀποσταλμένοι SH | 56 Γρηγέντιον] Γρηγόριον K, < SH | 57 κελεύει τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν K ἑαυτὸν S κατέναντι αὐτοῦ] πρὸς αὐτὸν K, < SH μετὰ τιμῆς μεγίστης] μετὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς post 58 αὐτὸν K τούτου γεγονότος < K | 58 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] πάπας K χαριέντι S, < K αὐτὸν + προσδραμῶν καὶ συναντήσας DAF Γρηγέντιος] Γρηγόριος K, < DAF | 59 ἐπέβαλεν] ἔρριψεν SH ἐπέβαλεν – αὐτὸν] προσεκύνησεν τῷ πάπᾳ προσειπὼν τὸ K ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν AF + κάτω DAF τοὺς + τιμίους DAF πρὸς αὐτὸν < SH | 60 αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> + ἐκ τῆς γῆς SH καὶ ἀσπασάμενος < K DAF αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> < DAF K | 61 ἐλήλυθας K θεοῦ<sup>1</sup>] Χριστοῦ SH Γρηγέντιος K τὸ – 62 ἐκκλησίας < SH ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ < K | 62 λαβόμενος – πορευθέντες] λαβὼν αὐτὸν K χειρὸς < SH τε < SH πορευθέντες + ἐνδοτάτω DAF

<sup>104</sup> See above, pp. 39 and 49.

ἐκαθέσθησαν, βίᾳ τοῦ πάπα ἐπὶ τοῦτο πείσαντος τὸν μακάριον. Καθεσθέντων τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἤρξατο ὁ πατριάρχης ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν μακάριον, πόθεν τε ἐστὶν καὶ ποίων μερῶν καὶ  
65 ὅπως τε, φησὶν, “τὴν κάτω κειμένην πόλιν ταύτην κατέλαβες.” Ὁ δὲ μακάριος ἅπαντα αὐτῷ καθ’ ἔπος διηγήσατο, ὅθεν τε ἔσπιν καὶ ἐν ποίοις τόποις διώδευσεν καὶ ὅπως πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην πεφοίτηκεν. Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ πατριάρχης μεγάλως τεθαύμακεν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτοὺς περὶ τούτων λέγει ὁ πατριάρχης πρὸς τὸν δίκαιον·  
“Ἐπίστασαι, τέκνον, δι’ ἣν αἰτία σε μετεστειλάμεθα; Οἶδας γὰρ αὐτός, ὅτι οὔτε ἐπίστα-  
70 μεθα τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ’ οὔτε ὅστις εἶ, ἢ ὅτι ἐπεδήμησας ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ. Πλὴν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ κατὰ σὲ ἀπεκάλυψε.” Καὶ σὺν τῷ ῥήματι ἀπεγύμνωσεν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, δείξας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πεμφθέντα αὐτῷ γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐλεσβοάμ. “Καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὸν κύριον”, φησὶν, “ὦ τέκνον, ἵνα εἴξης τῇ πνευματικῇ ταύτῃ διακο-  
75 στῶ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ πορεύσῃ τοῖς ἐκείσε χρισθεῖς τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ποιμὴν καὶ νομεὺς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ποιμανεῖς τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς πατήρ, καὶ ἀγωνίσει ἐν κυρίῳ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ σου ἐπιστρέψαι τὰ πεπλανημένα καὶ συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐσκορπισμένα καὶ φωτίσαι τὰ ἐσκοπισμένα, ἵνα ὡς καλὸς πλεονάσας τὸ τάλαντον ἀκού-  
80 σης τοῦ κυρίου, τὸ *εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστέ, ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω*. Ναί, ὦ τέκνον, διὰ τὸν κύριον, μὴ ὑπερβῆ τῶν εἰρημένων σοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὑπήκοος ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ γενόμενος δείξον καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε πρόθυμον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τὸ εὐήκοον τῆς πρὸς τὸν κύριον ὑπακοῆς τε καὶ ὑποταγῆς σου.”

Ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου παρακλητικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν χρῆσα-  
μένου, ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος κατὰ νοῦν λαβόμενος πάντας τοὺς ὄπισθεν αὐτῷ εὐαγ-  
85 γελισαμένους, ὁπότεν περιώδευσεν ἐκ πόλεως κυρίου εἰς πόλιν, περὶ ταύτης τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὑπαγορευομένης αὐτῷ ὑποθέσεως· καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μυστικῶν ἐκείνων ῥημάτων ὑπομνησθεῖς τοῦ ἁγίου ἐκείνου γέροντος, ὅστις κατὰ τοῦ φάραγγος τοῦ ὄρους

79 εὖ – καταστήσω Mt. 25.21, 23

#### K D A F S H

63 ἐκαθέσθησαν – 64 αὐτῶν < K τοιγαροῦν] δὲ SH | 64 ἤρξαντο F ὁ – μακάριον] διερωτᾶν K τὸν μακάριον] αὐτὸν SH τε ἐστὶν] εἰ τέκνον DAF μερῶν + τυγχάνεις DAF και<sup>2</sup> < SH | 65 τε < K φησὶν post κειμένην DAF πόλιν ταύτην < F κατέλαβε K μακάριος + Γρηγόριος DAF πάντα K | 66 ἔπος] ἐξῆς K ὅθεν – 67 πεφοίτηκεν < SH ποίοις τόποις] οἷς DAF ὅπως + τὰ DAF | 67 τὴν – και] ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν ἐφοίτησε K και] τούτων K ἅτινα SH πατριάρχης] πάπας SH μεγάλως τεθαύμακεν] τὸν θεὸν ἐδόξασε K τεθαύμακεν + και ἐξίστατο ὅλως DAF | 68 μετὰ – τούτων] εἶτα K δὲ τὸ] μέντοι τοῦ DAF ὁ – δίκαιον] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατριάρχης K πατριάρχης] πάπας SH | 69 ἐπίστασαι] οἶδας K, + ὦ DAF τέκνον + τὸ DAF σε – αὐτός] μετεστειλάμεθά σε· αὐτός γὰρ γινώσκεις K οὔτε] οὐκ K | 70 ἀλλ’ οὔτε] οὐδὲ K εἰ ἢ] εἶη DAF ἐπεδήμησας + και ἤλθεσ DAF ἐπιδημήσας SH + ἦς S ἐν < K πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην DAF ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει SH πλὴν + ὅτι K | 71 ἡμῶν < K τὰ – ἀπεκάλυψε] ἀπεκάλυψε ἔμοι τῷ ἐλαχίστῳ τὰ κατὰ σὲ ἅπαντα K πᾶσαν < F | 72 αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> < K Ἐλεσβοᾶν τοῦ τῶν Αἰθιοπίων βασιλέως DAF Ἐλεσβαᾶ K | 73 ὦ τέκνον] τέκνον ἔμον DAF | 74 χαρίσης K τιμίω – 75 κυρίου] ζυγῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ K και χρηστῷ

one to do this. So when they had sat down, the patriarch began to ask the blessed one, where he came from and from which regions, and how “have you reached this city that lies in the south”, he said. The blessed one told him all word for word, where he came from, through which places he had passed and how he had arrived at that city. And when the patriarch heard this, he wondered greatly.

After they had spoken about these things, the patriarch said to the righteous one: “Do you know, my child, for what reason we have sent for you? For you know yourself that we knew neither your virtue, nor also who you are, nor that you have arrived in this city. But the Lord our God has revealed to us all about you.” And with this word he laid the whole truth open to him, showing him also the letters that had been sent to him by the King Elesboam. “And for the Lord’s sake,” he said, “o child, yield to this spiritual duty and give yourself as a present to us and submit your neck to the worthy and honest yoke of the Lord, go there anointed by the Holy Ghost as a shepherd and herdsman of the reasonable sheep of Christ, and you will tend his flock as a good father, and will fight in the Lord with all your heart to bring back those that have gone astray, to gather those that were scattered and to enlighten those that were darkened, so that you as a good servant, having multiplied your talent, will hear the Lord saying: *Well done, my good and faithful servant, you have been faithful over a few things, I will set you over many things.* Yes, o child, for the sake of the Lord, do not set yourself above the things I have told you, but obey as a subject in all good work and show here also the readiness of your divine virtue, and that you accept your obedience and submission to the Lord willingly.”

Now when the archbishop had spoken these and many other things to him for his consolation, the blessed Gregentios in his mind thought of all those that had announced to him before, when he had gone from one town of the Lord to another, about this matter of which the archbishop had told him, and especially he remembered those secret words of that holy old man who had come to him in the gorge of the mountain, walking

ζυγῶ DAF χρῆστῶ] Χριστῶ SH | 75 πορεύση τοῖς ἐκέισε < SH ποιμῆν – 76 προβάτων] ποιμαίνεν τὰ λογικά πρόβατα K | 76 καὶ – πατήρ < K | 77 ἐν<sup>2</sup> – σου < SH καί<sup>2</sup> + ὀδηγήσαι τὰ πεφυρμένα K | 78 καὶ < K ἴνα + οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἐπαινεθεῖς παρὰ τε ἀγγέλων καὶ ἁγίων, ἀλλ’ οὖν DAF (ἁγίων καὶ ἀγγέλων F) καλῶς + τραπεζίτης K πλεονάσας + σου K τάλαντον + τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου DAF ἀκούσης] εἰσακούση DA εἰσακούσης F ἀκούση παρὰ K, < SH, + καὶ τῆς μακαρίας φωνῆς ἐκείνης κατὰ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἡμέραν ἐκείνην DAF | 79 κυρίου + ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅποταν ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς DAF τὸ < K καὶ πιστέ < K | 80 ναί – 82 σου < SH ὦ < DAF διὰ – κύριον < K ὑπέρθη K σοι < K | 81 τε < K τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς < K τὸ < K | 82 τε < K σου < DAF | 83 οὖν < K SH πλείω K SH ἀρχιεπισκόπου] πατριάρχου K παρακλητικῶς < D παρακλητικοῖς λόγοις K, + τὰ SH χρῆσάμενος K | 84 Γρηγόριος K αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ AF | 85 περιώδευσεν] περιῶν K περιώδευεν SH ± αὐτῷ S κυρίου < K περι – 86 ὑποθέσεως < SH παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου < K | 86 ὑπαγορευθείσης K αὐτῷ < K μυστικῶν] τιμίων K μυστικῶν ἐκείνων < SH | 87 ἐκείνου < K DAF ὅστις – 95 λοιπὰ < SH κατὰ] αὐτῷ K



90 ἐρχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος πραέοις τοῖς ποσὶν βηματίζων πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεγένετο, δεικνύντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἐν νεφέλαις ἄρπάζονται οἱ τὸν κύριον ἀγαπήσαντες καὶ  
 95 τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ φυλάξαντες καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἄερα ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ ἅγιοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου κήρυκος φωνὴν Παύλου. Τούτου οὖν τοῦ ὁσίου γέροντος τῶν ἐνθέων ῥημάτων ὑπομησθεις, ὅπως εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι “ἐκ Ῥώμης πορεύσῃ ἐπὶ Αὐγουστόπολιν κάκειθεν”, φησίν, “βαδίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· Προτερίος τε ὁ πάπας ἀποστελεῖ σε ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν κάκειθεν καταλάβεις τὴν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν κειμένην χώραν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν” καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ λοιπὰ, δάκρυσιν βρέχων τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἡρεμῶν ἐκαθέζετο.

Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἔτι πλέον παραινούντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος τοῦ μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν, μήτε μὴν ἀπανήσασθαι, ἔτι δὲ πυθομένου καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρῶν λιβάδος τὸ αἴτιον, μόλις ἐξεῖπεν ὁ μακάριος λεπτομερῶς αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον γέροντα  
 100 ἐκεῖνον διηγησάμενος καὶ ὅπως, φησίν, “ταῦτα πάντα προειρηκῶς μοι ἀπεγύμνωσεν”. Κατὰ νοῦν γὰρ δεξάμενος τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν προρρήσεων αὐτοῦ, βληθεὶς τῷ δέει συνεσχέθη τοῖς δάκρυσιν “καὶ ἤξω”, φησίν, “κἂν μὴ βουλόμενος· καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γενέσθω καὶ ὁ δεσπότης μου σύ, πρᾶττε ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ὑπαγορευθέντα σοι.” Τούτων οὖν ἀπάντων ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν ῥηθέντων καὶ συνθεμένου τοῦ τιμίου Γρηγεντίου  
 105 ἠυφράνθη λίαν ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ εὐθύς μὴδὲν μελήσας ἔσπευδεν πληρῶσαι τὸ δηλωθέν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέως διὰ τάχους, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατήπειγον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνου. Κατελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ὅσα πεφύκασιν ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις γενέσθαι, πρεσβύτερον αὐτὸν καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως ἐπίσκοπον κεχειροτόνηκεν.

110 Ἐθαύμα δὲ ἐξᾶσιον λειτουργοῦντι αὐτῷ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατεφάνη· διὰ πάσης γὰρ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ἀπὸ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ καπνὸς εὐωδίας ἐκφέρεσθαι, ὃν τρόπον ξυλοαλώων ἡπερ ἀλειπτὰ ἢ γε σύνθετα ἀτίμητα θυμιάματα θυμίωντων. Πάντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ εὐοσμίας ἐκείνης πληρωθέντες ξένῳ τρόπῳ κατεπλήττοντο, πᾶσαν ἔνοιαν ὑπερβαινούσης τῆς θείας ὁσμῆς ἐκείνης τῇ ἀνεκκλήτῳ ἡδύτῃ. Τότε  
 115 τε πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐναλλαγὴν λευκὸν ὥσει χιῶν ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς τρισαγίου δοξολογίας,

89 ἐν νεφέλαις ἄρπάζονται cf. 1 Thess. 4.17 | 90 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – ἄερα 1 Thess. 4.17

#### K D A F S H

88 ἐπὶ] ἀπὸ DAF πρᾶέως K | 89 ὅπως] ὅτι K ἄρπάζονται – 90 ἔρχονται < DAF | 90 ἐν – 91 ἅγιοι < K | 91 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – Παύλου] φωνὴν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἀρπαγήσονται DAF οὖν < K | 92 μνησθεις K ἐκ + τῆς K | 93 ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>] εἰς D βαδίσεις ἐπὶ τὴν] βαδιεις εἰς K | 94 τε] δὲ K ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν] ἐν Αἰθιοπία K σημβρίαν F | 95 πρὸς < F | 97 ἀρχιεπισκόπου] πάπα K ἔτι πλέον] ἐπὶ πλεῖον DAF ἔτι – καὶ < K παραινούντος καὶ < H παρακαλοῦντος καὶ παραινούντος S παρακαλοῦντος + καὶ ἰκετεύοντος K τοῦ < K | 98 μήτε – δὲ] αὐτὸς δακρῶν ἐπληροῦτο K μὴν] νῦν SH ἀπανήσασθαι AF καὶ] δὲ K | 99 ὁ μακάριος < K αὐτῷ + ἅπαντα K, < SH τὰ – 100 ἀπεγύμνωσεν < K ἐκεῖνον γέροντα SH | 101 κατὰ – 102 δάκρυσιν] διὸ καὶ καταπειθῆς γεγωνῶς ἀπεκρίνατο K | 102 κἂν] καὶ K καὶ<sup>2</sup> < H τοῦ < K | 103 ἐμοὶ + τῷ ἀναξίῳ DAF | 104 οὖν < K SH καὶ < DAF Γρηγορίου K | 105 εὐθύς < K ἔσπευδεν + γὰρ DAF ἔσπευδεν – 106 καὶ < SH τὸ

in the air with gentle feet, whereby God showed that those who love the Lord and keep his commandments are taken away in clouds, and that the saints come *to meet the Lord in the air* on the last day according to the voice of the great herald Paul. Now he remembered the God-inspired words of this holy old man, how he had said to him that “you will go from Rome to Augustopolis and from there”, he said, “you will proceed to Alexandria, and the Pope Proterios will send you out to Ethiopia, and from there you will reach the country of the Homerites which lies in the south” and also the other remaining things, and he sat down silently, moistening the fold of his robe with tears.

When the archbishop exhorted him still more and asked him not to refuse his request nor to reject it, and also inquired for the reason of his streaming tears, the blessed one told him with toil and pain in detail about that holy old man and how, he said, “he has revealed all this foretelling it to me.” For when he thought in his mind about the fulfilment of his predictions, being struck by fear he was seized by his tears saying: “And I will come, though unwillingly; and the will of the Lord be done, and you are my master, do with me what has been advised to you by the Lord.” When all these things had been said between them and the worthy Gregentios had agreed, the patriarch rejoiced greatly and hurried immediately without hesitation to fulfil quickly what the king of the Ethiopians had announced to him, for those that had been sent by him also urged him much. So he went down into the church, and when all the usual things had been accomplished which are done at ordinations, he appointed him as a priest and thereafter as a bishop.

And an extraordinary wonder happened when he performed the liturgy over him: For during the whole divine liturgy a sweetly smelling smoke did not cease to come forth from his garments, as if eagle-wood or anointments or invaluable composed incenses were being burnt. All those that were in the church were filled with that heavenly sweet odour and were amazed in a strange way, for that divine smell exceeded all understanding by its unutterable sweetness. And his face changed and became white as snow until the laudation of the Trishagion, and he appeared like a burning and shining

δηλωθὲν] τὰ γραφέντα K | 106 τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέως] χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Αἰθιόπων Ἐλεσβαῖ K διὰ τάχους < K ἐπεὶ καὶ] ὅτι DAF ἐπεὶ – 107 ἐκείνου] ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι κατήπειγον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα K κατέπειγον DAF SH + γὰρ SH αὐτὸν + καὶ SH | 107 ὑπ’ ἐκείνου] παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως SH δὲ] οὖν K, < DAF | 108 ὅσα – γενέσθαι < K γίνεσθαι SH αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον K | 109 κειροτόνηκεν] ἐποίησεν post 107 ἐπιτελεσθέντων K | 110 Ὡς··· περὶ τοῦ θαύματος τοῦ γεναιμένου ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ τοῦ ὁσίου Η λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῷ K ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατεφάνη < D κατεφάνη ἐπ’ αὐτῷ AF | 111 ἐπιφέρεισθαι DAF | 112 τρόπον + τινῶν DAF ξυλαλώας K ξυλαλώα F ξυλοαλῶαν SH ἤπερ] ἢ K γε] ἕτερα K συνθετὰ K SH ἀτίμητα] εὐώδη K θυμιάματα < SH θυμιώντων < K δὲ] γὰρ D | 113 οἱ < Η ξένω τρόπῳ] ξενοπρέπῳ S ξενοπρεπῶς H | 114 ὀσμῆς AF | 115 ὡσεὶ χιῶν λευκὸν ἐφαίνετο K τῆς + τοῦ K

καὶ ὡσεὶ πῦρ φλέγον καὶ φωτοβολὸν κατεφαίνετο φαιδρυνόμενος τῇ χάριτι τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ θαύματος τούτου κύκλω τῶν κιγκλίδων τοῦ θεοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ποταμηδὸν συρρέειν τὰ πλήθη, γλιχομένου ἐκάστου αὐτῶν μόνον κὰν τῆς ἡδυτάτης αὐτοῦ ὀράσεως ἐμφορηθῆναι. Ἐξίστατο δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος σὺν τῷ τιμίῳ αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζοντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐνδοξαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ.

Λεληθότως δὲ ἐκάλεσεν καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοπροσώπως θεάσασθαι τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι αὐτοῖς ἐπισκόπῳ παράδοξον σημεῖον παρὰ κυρίου, ὅπως μὴ ἔξωσιν λέγειν μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι “ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τυχόντων ἓνα χειροτονήσας δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέα”· ἐροῦσιν δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅποια τεράστια χρισμένου αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίου γεγόνασιν. Οἵπινες τοῖς ἐκέισε πλησιάσαντες καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸ παράδοξον ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεόν.

Τούτων οὕτως τελεσθέντων καὶ οὕτω παρακολουθησάντων ἐπὶ τὸν μακάριον Γρηγέντιον, τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τελεσθείσης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν, ὁ πατριάρχης δουὸς αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν εὐφρασίαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἐστὶν σύνηθες ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐσθίειν λαμπροφανῶς ἡτοιμάσατο. Εὐφρανθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγαλλιασθέντων τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ πᾶσα ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐνωπιζομένη τὰ περὶ τὸν μακάριον ἐδίδουν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ. Καίτοι εἰς πέρας τῆς παρὰ τὸν δίκαιον χειροτονίας γεγονυίας, Προτέριος ὁ πάπας ἠτρέπιζεν τοῦ ἀποστελεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς παραγεγονότας ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐτοιμασθέντων δουὸς τῷ ἀγίῳ ὁ πάπας ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἅμα τε καὶ τοῖς συναποδημῖν αὐτῷ βουλομένοις, ἀπασάμενος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Τῷ αἰσίῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ πλοοὸς εὐρεθέντος ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν κατέλαβον. Καὶ ὀλίγον ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ Ἀμλέμ πόλει τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἀναπαυσάμενοι καὶ τινας χρεῖας ἃς ἐκελεύσθησαν ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα ἄραι λαβόμενοι, ἔπειτα τῇ νηὶ ἐπιβάντες καὶ ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας πλεύσαντες τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σαβᾶ πέλαγος κάκειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ Μηδέκιον διαπεράσαντες ἄντρον, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν κατέλαβον. Εὗρον δὲ τὸν

#### K D A F S H

116 καὶ<sup>1</sup> + τὸ τηκαῦτα DAF, < K ὡσεὶ] ὡς K D ὡς εἰς AF φωτοβολὸν K S κατεφαίνετο] ἀπεδείκνυτο K φαιδρυνόμενος κατεφαίνετο SH φαιδρῦνον DAF φαιδρυνόμενον K ἀγίου SH | 117 ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ K τούτου] τοῦ DAF κύκλω – θυσιαστηρίου] ἔξωθεν κυκλώσει τὸ θυσιαστήριον SH κυκλίδων DAF θεοῦ < F SH | 118 συρρέων DAF συρρεῦσαν SH αὐτῶν] τοῦ K κὰν] καὶ K ἡδυτάτης] ἰσχύσει τῆς DAF ὀράσεως αὐτοῦ DAF | 119 δὲ + καὶ SH καὶ < K ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] πατριάρχης K τιμίῳ] τιμιωτάτῳ H, < K | 120 κλήρῳ αὐτοῦ K μεγάλως K θαυμάζοντες – 121 αὐτοῦ] δοξάζοντες τῷ ἀγίῳ θεῷ ἠὲ χαρίστουν SH τὸν θεὸν < DAF ἐνδοξαζόμενον – 121 ἀγίοις] δοξάζοντα τοὺς ἀγίους K | 121 αὐτοῦ + ἐκπληττόμενοι DA, + ἐκπληττόμενος F | 122 ἐκάλεσεν + ὁ πάπας K καὶ < SH παρὰ] ἀπὸ K αὐτοπροσώπῳ DAF | 123 γινόμενον H | 124 ἔξωσιν] δόξωσι K ἀπὸ < K ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν] ἄπολιν D ἀπ’ ὅλων AF + τῶν πόλεων F καὶ + τῶν K ἓνα χειροτονήσας < K | 125 μᾶλλον] καὶ SH | 126 γένοινται DAF ἐγένετο SH τοῖς] τότε K καὶ < DAF SH | 127 θεασάμενοι τὸ παράδοξον < D θεὸν + τὸν ἅγιον DAF | 128 οὕτως] οὖν SH οὕτω] οὕτως DAF οὕτω – Γρηγέντιον < SH ἐπὶ – Γρηγέντιον] τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγορίῳ K | 129 ἐπιτελεσθείσης

fire, brightened by the grace of the all-Holy Ghost, so that because of this wonder the crowds streamed together like a river around the chancel screens of the divine sanctuary, and everyone of them tried to get at least a glimpse of his sweetest appearance. The archbishop was also astonished about this together with his worthy clergy, and they wondered greatly and praised God who is glorified in his saints.

Secretly he also called those that had been sent out by the king, to see with their own eyes the incredible portent of the Lord that had befallen the bishop who had been appointed for them, so that later they should not say, that “he has appointed and given us an archpriest from the many ones and the first they met”; but they would rather report to the king which wonders happened to him when he was anointed. And when they approached and saw the miracle, they glorified God.

When these things had been accomplished and happened in this way to the blessed Gregentios, and when the divine liturgy had been accomplished and the remaining usual things, the patriarch gave him everything from himself, and splendidly prepared a festivity for him and what is usually eaten at such occasions. They rejoiced and exulted on that day, and hearing about the blessed one all Alexandria offered praise to God. However, when the ordination of the righteous one had come to an end, the Pope Proteorios prepared to send those that had come from the king back to him thereafter together with the blessed one, and when they were all ready, the pope gave the holy one according to his need, and also to those that wanted to depart with him, and embracing them he dismissed them in peace.

They found a favourable passage and reached Ethiopia within few days.<sup>105</sup> And having rested a little in Amlem, the residential town of the Ethiopians, and having taken some necessary things by order of the king, thereafter they embarked on a ship; and sailing a considerable number of days they reached the end of the sea of Saba and from there crossed to the cave of Medekion, and reached Tephra, the residential town of the

DAF | 130 δούς – 133 γεγυονίας] ἅπαντας εἰς ἐστίασιν προετρέπατο· πέρας δὲ λαβούσης τῆς χειροτονίας K αὐτῶ<sup>1</sup> < DAF αὐτῶ<sup>2</sup>] τε SH | 131 ἀγαλλιασαμένων SH | 132 πᾶσα – 133 γεγυονίας < SH | 133 Ποτέριος A | 134 πάπας] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων DAF τὸ λοιπὸν < K τοὺς παραγεγονότας] παρὰ τοὺς γεγονότας F παραγεγονότας] ἀπεσταλμένους K ἀπὸ] παρὰ K, < D | 135 πρὸς αὐτὸν] Ἐλεσβαᾶ K μακαρίῳ] ἐπισκόπῳ Γρηγορίῳ K δὴ πάντων ἐτοιμασθέντων < K τῶ<sup>2</sup> – ἅπαντα] αὐτοῖς K ὁ πάπας] πάπα F, + ἀνελλιπῶς S πάντα SH | 136 ἅμα – βουλομένοις] καὶ K ἀσπασάμενος + αὐτὸν SH | 138 Ἰ μη´ περι τῆς ἀποδημίας τοῦ ὄσιου ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς Αἰθιοπίαν H εὐρεθέντος ἐντὸς] γεγονότος δι´ K τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν < K | 139 ὀλίγον] δι´ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν H ὀλίγον – 142 ἄντρον < K Ἀμλέμ] Ἀμέλι H, < DAF καί – 140 λαβόμενοι < DAF | 140 τῶν βασιλέων SH ἔπειτα] τὸ τῆνικαῦτα DAF | 141 διαπλεύσαντες DAF ὄξυν DAF Σαββάτου AF πέλαγος + κατέλαβον H Μηδέκιον] Δαικκεὸν SH | 142 Τεφάρ] Ταφάρων K τῶν Ὀμηριῶν κατέλαβον < K εὐρον – 143 προσῆν] ἐν ἧ τὸν βασιλέα οὐχ εὐρον ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει Νεγρᾶν K δέ] τε SH

<sup>105</sup> On the following description of Ethiopia and Yemen, see above, pp. 49–58.

βασιλέα οὐκ ἐν τῇ Τεφάρ πόλει, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει προσῆν, ἐν ἧ τοὺς ἀγίους μάρτυ-  
 ρας ὁ παράνομος Ἰουδαῖος Δουναὰς ἦν ἀποκτείνας. Ἦν δὲ καταλύων τῶν περίξ πόλεων  
 145 τὰ ἱερά τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐθνῶν τὰ εἰδωλεῖα καὶ κτίζων ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τῷ  
 ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἐκπῆσεν τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Νεγρᾶ πόλει περικαλλε-  
 στάτην ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Ἀναστάσεως ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ  
 τὰ Νεφῶθ. Ὁκοδόμησεν τε καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τοῖς  
 150 Ταδημέρωσ· ἔκπῆσεν τε καὶ ἄλλην ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων καὶ Ἀρέθα τοῦ αἰοιδί-  
 μου πλησίον τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, κήπον θαυμασιώτατον τὸν τόπον πρῶην πεφηνότα. Ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ Τεφάρ παραπλησίως ὤκοδόμησεν τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας Τριά-  
 δος πλησίον τῶν παλατίων, ἐφ' οἷς κατῴκει ὁ αἰμοβόρος βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων, καὶ  
 ἑτέραν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Δάνας, πλατείας οὕτω προσαγορευομένης, ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς δεσποίνης  
 ἡμῶν θεοτόκου Μαρίας, καὶ ἄλλην ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ δυσμὰς πύλην τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' ὀνόματι  
 155 τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων. Καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνᾳ τε πόλει τρεῖς ἐκκλησίας ὤκοδόμησεν, τοῦ  
 σωτήρος ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς Ἀναλήψεως καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καὶ  
 προδρόμου, καὶ ἕτερον ναὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀτάρφ  
 πόλει καὶ ἐν τῇ Λεγμιά καὶ ἐν Ἀζακί καὶ ἐν Ἰουζῆ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν διασκορ-  
 πίσας τὰ στρατεύματα τοὺς τε ἐντοπίους ἀγγαρεύσας πανταχοῦ τὰς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας  
 160 ἀνέστησεν, τοὺς μεγιστάνας αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάτας τῶν ἔργων καταστησάμενος.

Ἐπι δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐν τῇ Νεγρᾶ χρηματίζοντος (προσῆν γὰρ εὐωχίαν τελέ-  
 σας, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀρέθα τὸν υἱὸν ἐθνάρχην ἦν χειροτονήσας), ἦλθαν αὐτῷ τὰ εὐ-  
 αγγέλια, ὅτι “παρεγένοντο,” φησὶν, “δέσποτα, οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν χάριν ἐπισκόπου  
 165 ἐπὶ σκόπου.” Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα καὶ ἀναστάς  
 κατέβη εἰς συνάντησιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Ἦν γὰρ λίαν ὁ εὐσεβέστατος καὶ φιλόχριστος  
 βασιλεὺς εἰς ἄγαν ταπεινόφρων, εἰ καὶ τίς ἕτερος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν Αἰθιοπία βασιλευσάν-  
 των. Τοῦ βασιλέως οὖν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῶν βασιλείων γεγονότος, οἱ σὺν τῷ μακαρίῳ ἀφι-  
 κόμενοι μήκοθεν αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὑπέδειξαν.

### K D A F S H

143 τῇ Τεφάρ τῇ SH προσῆν] προσηνῶς AF | 144 παρανομώτατος DAF Ἰουδαῖος < SH  
 Δουναὰς < K ἦν<sup>1</sup>] ἔπελεν DAF ἦν ἀποκτείνας] ἀπέκτεινεν K ἦν δὲ < K | 145 τὰ<sup>1</sup> – Ἰουδαίων]  
 τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν εἰδωλείων SH (τῶν<sup>2</sup> bis S) λοιπῶν K εἰδωλεῖα AF | 146 Χριστοῦ + τοῦ  
 σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος DAF ἐκτίζεν DAF τε] δὲ DAF H καὶ < K τῇ  
 Νεγρᾶ τῇ A πόλει Νεγρᾶν K πόλει < SH περικαλλέστατον K | 147 ἐκκλησίαν < SH ὀνόματι +  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ SH ἀγίας καὶ < SH ἐν – 148 Νεφῶθ < SH | 148 Πανεφῶθ K  
 Νεφῶς F ἔκπῆσεν SH τε] δὲ S καὶ < K ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι < K DAF ἐπὶ – Θεοτόκου post 149  
 Ταδημέρωσ] σταδίου μέρος SH ἀγίας SH ἐν – 149 τε < K | 150 πεφηνότα] ὄντα K | 151 Τεφάρ  
 παραπλησίως] Ταφάρ ὁμοίως K | 152 τοῦ παλατίου ἐν φῶ K | 153 πλατεῖαν DAF προσαγο-  
 ρευομένην D ὀνόματι + καὶ αὐτὴν DAF τῆς<sup>2</sup> + ἀμμητόν DAF τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν] ἀγίας SH |  
 154 θεοτόκου + καὶ ἀειπαρθένου K Μαρίας < SH | 155 ἁγίων + καὶ σεπτῶν DAF Ἀκάνᾳ τε]  
 Ἀνᾶ τῇ K ὤκοδόμησεν] τὴν τε K | 156 σωτήρος + ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ DAF ἐπ'] ἐν DAF τῆς  
 + ἀγίας αὐτοῦ DAF τοῦ προφήτου] προφητεῖον K, < SH τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ < SH προδρόμου καὶ

Homerites. They did not find the king in the city of Tephars, but he was in the town where the unlawful Dounaas had killed the holy martyrs. He destroyed the Jewish sanctuaries of the surrounding towns and the idol temples of the remaining nations, and built churches in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the town of Negra he also built a very beautiful church in the name of the holy and life-giving Resurrection at a place called Nephoth. He also constructed another church in the name of the most holy Mother of God at *ta Tademeros*; and he built another one in the name of the holy martyrs and the glorious Arethas close to his house, at a place which had been a most wonderful garden before. Similarly he constructed the great church in Tephars in the name of the holy Trinity close to the palace, where the bloodthirsty king of the Hebrews had dwelt, and another one in the middle of Dana, a main street which was so called, in the name of our holy Lady and Mother of God Maria, and another one at the western gate of the city in the name of the holy Apostles. And he constructed three churches in the town of Akana, one of the Saviour in the name of his Ascension, one of the prophet John, the Baptist and Precursor, and another church in the name of the holy apostle Thomas. In the town of Atarph, in Legmia, Azaki and Iouze and in the other towns he scattered his armies, and pressing the local people into service he erected holy churches everywhere, making his grand men the overseers of these works.

When he was still in Negra, as it has been said (for he was celebrating a feast, at which occasion he also appointed the son of the holy Arethas as ruler), the good news came to him that “they have arrived,” they said, “master, whom your majesty has sent out to Alexandria because of a bishop, and they bring someone with them whom they have received as our bishop.” When the king heard this, he was filled with great cheer, rose and went down to meet the bishop. For the most pious and Christ-loving king was extremely humble, more than any other among those that had reigned before him in Ethiopia. Now when the king came into the courtyard of the palace, those that had arrived together with the blessed one showed him to him from afar.

βαπτιστοῦ K | 157 ναὸν ἐπ’ ὀνόματι < K SH Θωμᾶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου SH ἐν – 160 καταστησάμενος] ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπανταχοῦ πόλεις K Ἀρτάρφ H | 158 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – Ἰουζῆ < SH ἐτέραις] παραπλήσιον SH πόλεσιν + παραπλησίως DAF | 159 τοὺς – ἀγγαρεύσας] ἀγκαρεύσας τε τοὺς ἐντοπίους SH (ἐγκαρεύσας H) τὰς] τῆς F ἀγίας < SH | 160 μεγιστάνους D καταστήσας SH | 161 αὐτοῦ + ἐν D χρηματίζοντος] ὑπάρχοντος K προσῆν – 162 οἷς < K γὰρ < D | 162 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀρέθα K ἦν] ἔπελεν DAF ἦν χειροτονήσας] πεποιηκότος K χειροτονῶν H ἤλθαν] ἐμυήθη K ἤλθον D, + οὖν DAF αὐτῷ < H τὰ < K | 163 ὡ δέσποτα DAF | 164 ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ S ἀποσταθέντες DAF φέροντες – τινα < SH αὐτῶν K τινα + ἄνδρα K ἐψηφίσαντο K ἐκομίσαντο ἐπίσκοπον] καὶ μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν SH | 165 ταῦτα < SH χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα] λίαν SH | 166 ἦν] ἔπελεν DAF καὶ < K D φιλόχριστος < K DAF | 167 ἕτερος – βασιλευσάντων] ἄλλος K βασιλευσάντων ἐν Αἰθιοπία SH | 168 τῶν βασιλειῶν] τοῦ παλατιοῦ K βασιλέων SH

- 170 Ἐγγισάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ὁ μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος προσδραμῶν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἐπηύξατο τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἀντασπασάμενος λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς κατοικίζετο ἀνεληλύθησαν. Καθεσθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου ἔγγιστα αὐτοῦ ἐπέδωκαν οἱ παραγεγονότες τὰ γράμματα Προτερίου τοῦ πάπα τῷ βασι-
- 175 λεί, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ, ἅπερ ἦν αὐτῷ ἀποστείλας. Καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον πλεῖον ἐχάρη, καὶ προσδιελέγετο μετὰ δέους τῷ δικαίῳ ἀπείρου εὐφροσύνης πληρούμενος. Συνεῖς γὰρ ἦν ὅτι ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ αὐτὸν λαβῶν χειροθετήσας τοῦτον λέπομφεν, καὶ ὅτι χειροτονουμένου αὐτοῦ ποταπὰ τεράστια ἔδειξεν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ὁ θεός. Δοξάσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι τὸν ὑψιστον παραλαβῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον
- 180 ἀπήει ἐγκαινίσων τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἅσπερ ἦν οἰκοδομήσας τῷ κυρίῳ. Ἁγιασθέντων οὖν πρῶτον τῶν ἐν Νεγρᾷ τῇ πόλει σεπτῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Γρηγεντίου, παραλαβῶν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς παραγίνεται ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνᾳ πόλει καὶ ἐγκαινίζει κακεῖ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ θείου Γρηγεντίου ἐκάστη ἐκκλησία ἓνα ἱερέα ἐν τῷ διαβαίνειν καὶ ἀγιάζειν χειροτονούντος καὶ ἐγκαθίζοντος τῷ θείῳ ἰλαστηρίῳ. Εἶτα ἔρχονται ἐν Ἀτεφάρ
- 185 καὶ ἐν τῇ Λεγμία, ἀγιάζοντες τοὺς θεοὺς ναοὺς καὶ εὐωχούμενοι μεγάλως. Καὶ ἔπειτα τὰς περὶ πόλεις ἀπάσας διαδραμόντες καὶ τὰ ἱερά τεμένη ἐγκαινίσαντές τε καὶ ἀγιάσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν Τεφάρ παρεγένοντο, καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενοι ἡμέρας <πνάς>, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε σεβασμίους οἴκους ἐδραιώσαντες χαρᾷ καὶ εὐφροσύνῃ ἤγον εὐφραϊνόμενοι καὶ ἐορτάζοντες.
- 190 Τοῦ δὲ ἀγιωτάτου βασιλέως Ἐλεσβόαμ σπεύδοντος ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία βασιλεῖα ἐπανακάμψαι (ικανὸν γὰρ χρόνον προσῆν διατρίψας ἐν τῷ Ὀμηρίτῃ, ὡς ἔφασάν τινες, ἐξ ὅτε τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἐπεστράτευσεν μῆνας ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἔξ), Ἐπροσκαλεσάμενος τὸν μακάριον Γρηγέντιον καὶ πάντας τοὺς μεγιστάνας αὐτοῦ καὶ σατράπας, συνέδριον ποιησάμενοι προκαθίσαντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιερέως, ἀπεφθέγγατο
- 195 ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ συγκλήτῃ· “Τίνα”, φησίν, “οἴεσθε καταλείψωμεν ἐνταῦθα χρισιαντες εἰς βασιλεῖα;” Τῶν δὲ εἰρηκότων, ὅτι “μείζων τῆς σῆς βασιλείας οὐδεὶς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐν συνέσει, ὦ

#### K D A F S H

170 Ἐ μθ’ Η δὲ αὐτῶν < DAF μακαριώτατος < K δραμῶν K καὶ ἀσπασάμενος > ἀσμένως DAF, < K | 171 τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως > αὐτὸν K τῷ] τε H | 172 ἀντασπασάμενος > κατησπάζετο· εἶτα K λαβόμενος + δὲ H αὐτοῦ – χειρὸς > τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ K | 173 ἀνεληλύθησαν > εἰσήλθοσαν post 172 αὐτοῦ K δὲ > οὖν SH ἐπὶ – αὐτοῦ < K | 174 πάπα + Ἀλεξανδρείας K | 175 ἅτε δὴ > ὡσαύτως K ἔτι δὲ SH αὐτοῦ – ἀποστείλας > τὰ ἀποσταλέντα παρὰ τοῦ πάπα K αὐτῷ < D | 176 αὐτοῦ < K μακάριον πλεῖον ἐχάρη > ἅγιον Γρηγόριον ἐχάρη λίαν K μετὰ – δικαίῳ > τῷ δικαίῳ μετὰ δέους πολλοῦ καὶ K | 177 ἐπληροῦτο· συνεῖς K ἦν < K αὐτὸν θεοῦ SH αὐτὸν λαβῶν > τοῦτον λαβῶν K | 178 χειροθετήσας > κεχειροτόνηκε K χειροτονήσας D τοῦτον > καὶ K τοῦτο S ποταπὰ > θαυμαστά K ἔδειξεν > δέδειχεν DAF ἦν SH | 179 ὁ θεός < SH οὖν – 187 ἀγιάσαντες > ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις παραλαβῶν αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀγιάσας ἀπάσας ἄς πανταχοῦ ἀνωκοδόμησεν τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσεν ἀπάραντες οὖν ἦλθον K πᾶσι < SH | 180 ἐγκαινίζων DAF | 181 πρώτης DAF τῇ Νεγρᾷ τῇ SH ἀγίου SH | 182 παραλαβῶν – 183 Γρηγεντίου < DAF | 184 καὶ – ἰλαστηρίῳ < SH Ἀτεφάρ > Τετάρφ D Τάρφ AF | 186 πόλεις > χώρας DAF

When they had approached each other, the most blessed bishop went to the pious king, embraced him and prayed for him. In turn the king himself embraced the saint in the same way as well, took his right hand, and they went up to the place where he dwelt. When the king had sat down on his throne and the blessed one very close to him, those that had arrived gave the letters of the Pope Proterios to the king, and also his gifts which he had sent him. And when he had learned from his letters about the blessed one, he rejoiced even more, and addressed the righteous one with fear, being filled with infinite gladness. For he had understood that he had taken and sent him, having him ordained because of a vision of God, and which wonders God had shown to him when he was appointed. So he glorified the Highest for all this, took the bishop and went away to inaugurate the churches he had built for the Lord. Now when first the noble churches in the town of Negra had been consecrated by the most holy bishop Gregentios, the king took him, went to the town of Akana and inaugurated the churches there as well; and the divine Gregentios appointed a priest for every church, when he passed through and consecrated it, and installed him in the divine sanctuary. Then they came to Atephar and Legmia, consecrated the divine shrines and were in good cheer. And thereafter they went through all the surrounding towns, and having inaugurated and consecrated the holy precincts, they came to Tephar, the residential town of the Homerites, and having rested some days, they also established the adorable houses there and lived in joy and gladness, rejoicing and celebrating feasts.

Since the most holy King Elesboam hastened to return to his own kingdom (for he had spent a considerable time in the country of the Homerites, that is, as some say, about thirty-six months since he had begun his war there), he invited the blessed Gregentios and all his grand men and satraps. They assembled with the most pious king and the most holy archpriest presiding, and the king said to the senate: "Whom do you think we should leave behind here, having anointed him as king?" When they said that "there is nobody among us of greater wisdom than your majesty, o master; therefore, whom

ἀπάσας < H | 187 τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πόλιν DAF Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν SH Ταφάρ K παρεγένοντο] ἐγένοντο SH, < K | 188 τινάς supplevi ex K ἔπειτα < K σεβασμίους < D σεβασμίους – 189 ἐορτάζοντες] ναοὺς καθιερώσαντες τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθεντο K | 189 εὐφραίνόμενοι + ἅμα DAF | 190 ante τοῦ + ἵνα δὲ μὴ κατατρίψωμεν ἐν τούτοις μακρῷ λόγῳ χρονοτριβήσαντες ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἔπος διηγῆσιν DAF δὲ < DAF SH ἀγιωτάτου < K Ἐλεσβαᾶ K Ἐλεσβαᾶμ D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ F σπεύδοντας SH σπεύδοντας – ἐπανακάμψαι] πάντα καλῶς διαπραξαμένου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν ἐπιγομένου K βασιλεία D ἀνακάμψαι D | 191 προσῆν] ἦν K τῷ – 192 ἐπεστράτευσεν] τοῖς ἐκείσε ὡς γὰρ ἔφησαν τινὲς ὅτι ἀφ' οὐπερ ἐστράτευσεν κατὰ τοῦ παρανόμου Ἑβραίου K ἐξ – 192 ἐπεστράτευσεν < SH | 192 ὡσεὶ] ὡς S ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἔξ] πεποίηκεν ἐξ πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα K Ἦ μζ' S ν' H + ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις βασιλεὺς Ἐλεσβοᾶμ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιερεὶ Γρηγεντίῳ προβάλλονται βασιλεῖα Ἀβράμιον τὸν μακάριον SH προσκαλεσάμενος + δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς SH | 193 Γρηγόριον K μεγιστάνους D H αὐτοῦ post σατράπας DAF συνέδριον – 194 ἀρχιερέως < K | 194 εἶπεν K ἀπεμφθέγατο AF | 195 τῇ συγκλητῷ] πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον K τίνα + δὲ SH εἰς < K | 196 σῆς βασιλείας] βασιλείας σου DAF οὐδεὶς + ἐστιν K



δέσποτα· ὄνπερ τοιγαροῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐμβαλεῖ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, τοῦτον καὶ παρα-  
 σχεῖν κέλευσον.” Ὁ δὲ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς προσβλεψάμενος τῷ ἀγίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ  
 λέγει· “Τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον σὸν ἐστίν, ὦ δέσποτα τίμει καὶ ποιμὴν ἡμῶν· ἰδοὺ οὖν κατέναντι  
 200 τοῦ προσώπου σου πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ τε μεγιστάνες καὶ οἱ σατράπαι, μικροὶ τε καὶ  
 μεγάλοι. Ἐπικαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λῆψον σεαυτῷ εἰς βασι-  
 λέα ἐκ τούτων ἀπάντων, ὡνπερ ἐμβιβάσει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου κύριος ὁ θεός. Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς  
 ἅπαντες τῶν ἔθνων ἀναχωρεῖν ἔξομεν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ, ὅποιον γὰρ  
 ἐπιλέξεις σαυτῷ, εἴτε πονηρὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἴτε ἀγαθός. Ἐκλεξαι οὖν λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τούτων  
 205 ἀπάντων τὸν σοὶ ποθοῦμενον.”

Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καλῶς ὑπέλαβες, ὦ φιλόχριστε δέσποτα· ὄν τρόπον γὰρ  
 ἡ καρδία σου ὡς βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ, παραπλησίως καὶ τότε σου τὸ ῥῆμα παρὰ  
 κυρίου κεχάρισται. Ἀγαθὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ καὶ πράγματι ἐν πρώτοις  
 ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως καθὼς ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμά-  
 210 σειεν μετέρχεσθαι.”

Ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς ὁ μακάριος καὶ παραχρήμα ἐξαναστάς, ὀλίγον τε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποχω-  
 ρήσας, τό τε γόνυ κλίνας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς κύριον διαπετάσας εἶπεν· “Ἡ δύναμις ἡ  
 μεγάλη, τὸ φοβερὸν ὄνομα, ἡ ἀπόρρητος θεοῦ σοφία καὶ σύνεσις, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ δυνάστης, ὁ  
 568A ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ εἰς τὸν πένητα ἀποβλέπων, τὸ βλέφαρον τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐξετάζον τὸν δίκαιον  
 215 καὶ τὸν ἀσεβῆ· ἰδέτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ σου οἱ ἀκοίμητοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν συνηλεγμένων  
 κατέναντι τοῦ προσώπου σου, ὅποιοις χρήσιμος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον. Καὶ  
 569A ποιήσον μετ’ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθόν, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δοξασθῆ σου τὸ πανάγιον  
 ὄνομα.”

Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα προσήξατο, δύναμις κυρίου ἤρπασεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος τὸν ἄξιον καὶ ἤγα-  
 220 γεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔστησεν κατέναντι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ Ἐλεσβοᾶμ τοῦ βασιλέως. Θεασάμενοί  
 τε πάντες τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο σημεῖον ἐξεστήσαν καὶ ἀνεβίων ἐκπληττόμενοι τὸ “κύριε  
 ἐλέησον”. Ὁ δὲ τιμώτατος ἐπίσκοπος ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ· “Τοῦτον ὃν σοι ὑπέδει-  
 ξεν ὁ κύριος, εὐσεβέστατε, δεξιᾷ σου τιμήσας ἀπόδος μοι, καὶ ἐσόμεθα ἅμα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό,  
 225 ὡς ὁ κύριος εὐοδώσει καὶ ἡ φιλόχριστός σου πραότης συνεργήσει.” Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν  
 569B μελήσας παραχρήμα ἐνέγκας στολὴν βασιλικὴν ἐνέδυσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπευξαμένου τοῦ

207 βασιλέως – θεοῦ Pr. 21.1 | 208 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – τόπῳ Sap. 19.22 | 214 ἐξετάζον – 215 ἀσεβῆ cf. Ps. 10.5 | 217 ποιήσον – ἀγαθόν Ps. 85.17

#### K D A F S H | 213 θεοῦ | C

197 ὄντινα οὖν K ὄνπερ – 198 κέλευσον < SH ἐμβάλλει K παρασχεῖν + δίδαξον F παρασχεῖν κέλευσον] παράθου ἐνταῦθα K | 198 περιβλεψάμενος K ἀγίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ λέγει] ἐπισκόπῳ ἔφη K | 199 τίμει δέσποτα K τίμει < DAF οὖν] γὰρ K | 201 οὖν] τοιγαροῦν SH, < K λῆψον σεαυτῷ] χρίσον αὐτὸν K σεαυτὸν AF βασιλέα + καὶ DAF | 202 ἐκ – θεός < K ἐμβιβάσειεν DA καὶ γὰρ καὶ AF καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς] ἡμεῖς γὰρ K | 203 πάντες SH ἐνθένδε DAF μεταχωρεῖν D ἔξομεν] μέλλομεν K ἐκεῖνος – 205 ποθοῦμενον < K δέ] τε DAF ἔστω AF γὰρ] τοιγαροῦν SH | 204 ἐπιλέξειεν DAF σαυτῷ] σαυτὸν F ἑαυτῷ H + σὸν ἐστίν τότε DAF ὁ τοιοῦτος < H οὖν < SH

the Lord God will throw into your heart, give order that this man be appointed.” And the most pious king looked upon the holy Gregentios and said: “This is your work, o our worthy master and shepherd; behold, all rulers, grand men and satraps stand before your face, young and old. Now invoke our Lord Jesus Christ and take <a man> for yourself as king, out of all those whom the Lord God will lead to your heart. For we all also have to depart from here. The one you will choose for yourself shall stay here with you, be this man bad or good. Now choose from all these the one you desire.”

And the archbishop said: “You have made a good proposal, o Christ-loving master; for in the same way as your heart is like that *of a king in the hand of God*, similarly also this word has been offered by the Lord. For it is always good *at every time and place* and thing, first to ask our father in heaven, and then to do as he has approved.”

Having said this, the blessed one rose immediately and went away a little from them, bowed his knee and said spreading out his arms to the Lord: “You great power, you fear-inspiring name, you ineffable wisdom and understanding of God, you holy one, you powerful ruler, you eye that looks upon the poor, you holy eye which examines the righteous and the faithless: Let your unsleeping eyes see, who among these people, that have gathered before your face, is capable of the task. And *give through him a sign for good*, so that your all-holy name may be glorified for this as well.”

And when he prayed thus, the power of the Lord raised the worthy one up into the air, carried him and put him before the righteous one and the King Elesboam. And when all the people saw this incredible wonder, they were astonished and in ecstasy cried out the “Kyrie eleison”. And the most worthy bishop answered and said to the king: “Honour this man whom the Lord has shown you, you most pious one, with your right hand and give him to me, and we will be here together, as the Lord will guide us aright and your Christ-loving gentleness will support us.” On the spot, without hesitation, the king brought a royal robe, dressed him, and after the archbishop had spoken a prayer

λοιπὸν < D | 205 ἀπάντων τὸν σοι| τὸν πάλαι σοι DA | 206 καὶ ὁ| ὁ δὲ K φιλόχριστε| τίμιε K θεόληπτε DAF δέσποτα| βασιλεῦ DAF | 207 ὡς βασιλέως < K βασιλέως + φησὶν DAF παραπλησίως| οὕτως K, < SH τόγε < K σου<sup>2</sup>| σοι F, post ῥῆμα K, < H | 208 κυρίου + σοι DAF αἰεὶ ἐν| ἐστι K ἐν<sup>1</sup> – πράγματι < SH τρόπῳ DAF καὶ πράγματι < K ἐν πρώτοις| πρώτων K | 209 ἡμῶν| σου K ἄν < D κελεύσειε K δοκιμάσει ἔρχεσθαι SH | 211 ταῦτα + οὖν DAF ὁ μακάριος < SH παραχρημα < K ἀναστάς K ἀποχωρήσας| διαστάς K | 212 τε < K πρὸς – εἶπεν| εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄρας ἠῤῥατο λέγων K πετάσας D ἐκτείνας SH | 213 σύνεσις| δύναμις SH ὁ<sup>1</sup> – δυνάστης < SH | 214 ἐπιβλέπων K | 215 ἰδέτωσαν + οὖν DAF ἀπό – 216 σου < SH τούτων| πάντων K τῶνδε DAF | 216 χρήσιμος + καὶ ὠφελιμώτερος DAF χρήσιμος ἀπὸ τούτων| ἐστὶν ἄξιος CK τούτων + ἀπάντων SH | 217 σου < F | 218 ὄνομα + εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν K | 219 ὡς < DAF προσηύξατο + καὶ DAF κυρίου + ἐλθοῦσα CK | 220 καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτὸν CK καὶ<sup>2</sup> < K Ἐλεσβαῆ CK Ἐλεσβαῆν D Ἐλεσβαῆμ AF τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < C | 221 πάντες < DAF ἀνεβόουν DAF ἐβόουν H | 222 ἀποκριθεὶς < K SH ἔφη| εἶπεν CK τοῦτον ὄν| τοῦτον οὖν ὄνπερ DAF | 223 εὐσεβέστατε + ἀναξ DAF, < SH τῆ δεξιᾷ σου χειρὶ K τιμίας DAF | 224 εὐδοώσειεν DAF καὶ – συνεργήσει < SH ἐνεργήσειεν D συνεργήσειεν AF | 225 ἐπευξαμένου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου < CK DAF

ἀρχιεπισκόπου διάδημα βασιλείας ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ δὲ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῶν γεγονότων τῆς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος οἰκοδομηθείσης, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας ἐπτελεσθείσης μέτοχος τῆς προελεύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ θείῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ θείας εἰσόδου καὶ ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῷ εὐσεβετάτῳ βασιλεῖ Ἐλεσβοᾶμ ἐγεγόνει.

230 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν εὐφήμησεν τὸ στρατόπεδον· “Ἐλεσβοᾶμ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου βασιλέως Αἰθιοπίας πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἔτη.” Εἰρήκασιν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπταπλάσιον. Καὶ ἔπειτα εὐφήμησαν· “Ἀβραᾶμ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν χρηστὰ καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη.” Εἰρήκασιν δὲ αὐτῷ ὡς ἐπὶ νέῳ βασιλεῖ δεκάκις. Καὶ πάλιν εὐφήμησαν εἰπόντες· “Ἐλεσβοᾶμ καὶ Ἀβραᾶμ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν 235 βασιλέων πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη. Γρηγεντίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένος εἰρηνικὰ καὶ ὑγιῆ καὶ ὀλόκληρα, πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἔτη.” Ταῦτα τοῦ στρατοπέδου εὐφήμησαντος ὑποστρεφάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ πρὸς ἄριστον ἐτράπησαν πλουσίως τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιχορηγοῦντες.

Πεποίηκεν τοιγαροῦν Ἐλεσβοᾶμ ὁ δικαίωτατος μετὰ τὸ προβάλλεσθαι αὐτὸν βασι- 240 λέα τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν τὸν φιλόχριστον Ἀβραᾶμ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τριάκοντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Ἄπαντά τε καλῶς διαθέμενος τὰ ἐκείσε, νουθετήσας τε πολλὰ τῷ νέῳ βασιλεῖ Ἀβραᾶμ εὐσεβῶς διοικεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὑπέειπεν τε κατὰ πάντα ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ πατρὶ Γρηγεντίῳ, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡσεὶ πεντεκαίδεκα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν κατέλι- 245 πεν αὐτοῖς χάριν παραφυλακῆς αὐτῶν.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀνέζευξεν, ἐν ἧ καὶ διασωθεὶς ὁ εὐσεβεστάτος χάριν ὀφείλων τῷ ἀγαθῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι οὐ χρυσόν, οὐκ ἄργυρον, οὐ λίθους τιμίους καὶ μαργαρίτας αὐτῷ καὶ μόνον ἑκαρποφόρησεν, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ὄλον ἑαυτὸν θυσίαν ἄμωμον 250 φοθᾶμ Ἐαὐτὸς ἐν τρίχινον σιχάριον ἀναλαβόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀφρᾶ βουνὸν τὸν ταῖς νεφέ-

250 τὸν<sup>2</sup> – 251 εἰρημένον cf. Iulius Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 9.20

### CKDAFSH

226 αὐτοῦ + καὶ ὑποδήμασι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ CK δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ K δὲ < SH | 227 παραγεγονότων CK τῆς<sup>1</sup> < DAF ὀνόματι + δὲ DAF, + τε S ὀκοδομηθείσης DAF τῆς<sup>3</sup> + θείας καὶ H | 228 προσελεύσεως SH τῆς<sup>2</sup>] τῇ SH, < DAF θείω < SH | 229 καὶ ante θείας DAF Ἐλεσβαῶ CK Ἐλεσβαν D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF ἐγεγόνει] γέγονε post 228 μέτοχος K | 230 στρατόπεδον + οὕτως CK Ἐλεσβαῶ CK Ἐλεσβαν D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF | 231 καὶ ἀγαθὰ < K εἰρήκαν DAF εἰρήκασιν – ἐπταπλάσιον < K δὲ < SH τοῦτο] τόγε εἰς τὸ DAF ἐπτάκις CK και<sup>2</sup> < CK και<sup>2</sup> – 233 δεκάκις < DAF | 232 Ἀβραμίου τοῦ SH χρηστὰ – 233 και<sup>2</sup> < K | 233 και<sup>2</sup> < C εἰρήκασιν – δεκάκις < K δὲ αὐτῷ] καὶ τοῦτο SH ἐπὶ < C δεκάκις] ἐπὶ τὸ δεκαπλάσιον SH | 234 εὐφήμησαν + τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους CK εἰπόντες] οὕτως K λέγοντες DAF, < SH Ἐλεσβαῶ CK Ἐλεσβαν D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF Ἀβραμίου SH καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν < SH φιλοχρίστων] πιστωτάτων K DAF ἡμῶν < C βασιλέων ἡμῶν K | 235 ἔτη + εἶτα συνήσαν ἐξῆς K Γρηγορίου K ἐπισκόπου SH | 236 ὑγιῆ] ἐγγιεί F ὀλόκληρα + τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ DAF, < SH πολλὰ + καὶ ὀλόκληρα F και<sup>3</sup> – ἀγαθὰ < K και<sup>4</sup> – ἔτη] τὰ ἔτη αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγια F | 237 ὑποστρεφάντων τῶν βασιλέων] ὑπέστρεψαν K παλατίῳ +

over him, he put a royal crown on his head. They went into the great church, which had been built in the name of the holy Trinity, and when the holy liturgy had been performed, the new king also took part in the procession and the divine entrance into the divine sanctuary together with the most pious King Elesboam.

After the completion <of the service> the army exclaimed: “To the most holy King Elesboam of Ethiopia, many good years!” And they said this seven times. And thereafter they exclaimed: “To the Christ-loving King Abraam of the Homerites, many efficient and pious and good years!” And they said this as to a new king ten times. And again they exclaimed saying: “To Elesboam and Abraam, our most pious and Christ-loving kings, many years. To our most holy archbishop and shepherd Gregentios, many peaceful, healthy and complete, holy and good years!” When the army had exclaimed this, the kings returned into the palace and went to a meal, offering rich presents to the army.

So the most righteous Elesboam, after having presented the Christ-loving Abraam as king of the Homerites, stayed in that country thirty-three days. And having arranged everything there well, and having exhorted the new King Abraam much to govern the kingdom piously and also to obey always and in all things to the most holy father Gregentios, he selected fifteen thousand men from the army and left them behind for them as their guard.

And he himself returned to Ethiopia, and having arrived there, the most pious one, owing an offer of thanks to the good God, did not only present him only with gold or silver, precious stones or pearls, but offered himself completely as a pure sacrifice and rational veneration to the creator, with God not allowing another greater one from his subjects.<sup>106</sup> For he handed over his kingdom to his own son Atherphotham,<sup>107</sup> took

καὶ K πρὸς + τὸ CK | 238 πλουσιῶς – ἐπιχορηγοῦντες < K τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ] καὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς C καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπῆει DAF | 239 ἐποίησεν οὖν CK Ἐλεσβαᾶ C Ἐλεσβαᾶς K Ἐλεσβαᾶν D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF δικαιοῦτατος] ἀγιώτατος DAF προβαλέσθαι K S | 240 Ἀβράμιον τὸν φιλόχριστον post 239 αὐτὸν SH τριάκοντα + καὶ C τριάκοντα τρεῖς ἡμέρας] ἡμέρας τριάκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ K τρεῖς < SH | 241 ἅπαντά τε – ἐκέισε < SH τε<sup>1</sup> ] οὖν K διατιθέμενος DAF τὰ ἐκέισε < K τε πολλὰ < K πολλὰ + καὶ DAF, < SH τὸν νέον βασιλέα Ἀβράμιον SH Ἀβραᾶμ + τοῦ CK | 242 τὰ βασιλείαν F ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ < K ἀγιωτάτῳ + καὶ πνευματικῷ K | 243 Γρηγορίῳ ἐκλεξάμενος K ἐπιλεξάμενος + δὲ καὶ C πεντεκαίδεκα] πέντε C ἀνδρῶν + Αἰθιοπίων CK | 244 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς C αὐτῶν < K | 245 ἐπανεξέουξεν SH ὁ εὐσεβεστάτος < K εὐσεβεστάτος + βασιλεὺς SH | 246 ὀφείλω D τοῦ < SH καὶ] οὐ K | 247 ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ C αὐτῷ – καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SH καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K | 248 προσήγαγεν DAF εἶασεν ὁ θεός] ἴσμεν τὸν θεὸν CK εἶασεν – 249 ἕτερον] ἀπαιτεῖ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἑτέρων SH | 249 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ C αὐτῶν F SH Ὁθερφοθάμ F | 250 Ἰμη’ S + ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἐλεσβοᾶμ μοναχικὰ περιβάλλεται SH αὐτὸς] οὗτος δὲ SH τὸν Ὁφρά] τὴν Ἀφρά DAF, + λεγόμενον CK

<sup>106</sup> On the abdication and monastic life of Elesboam, see above, pp. 64–66.

<sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 66–67.

255 λαις ἀμιλλώμενον μικροῦ δεῖν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις πέλοντα ἀναδραμῶν,  
 ἐκείσε ἑαυτὸν ἐν σκοτεινῷ οἰκίσκῳ τῆς γῆς ἀποκλείσας παντάπασιν, τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ  
 σπηλαίου ἀναφράξας πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ μήτε ἑωρακῶς τινά, μήτε προσ-  
 572C  
 255 το δι' ὀπῆς τινὸς παρὰ τῶν ἐκείσε κατοικούντων μοναχῶν, τιθεμένου ταύτην τοῦ ἀνερ-  
 χομένου ἀπὸ τῆς κατωτέρου τοῦ βουνοῦ μονῆς καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποστρέφοντος.  
 Ἐν οἷς φέρεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μοναστηρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἦν τίς ἀδελφὸς νεώτερος, καὶ ἀποστελ-  
 λόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ διακονίαν πορνεύων καὶ ἀδεῶς τοῦ οἴνου ἐμφορούμενος  
 οὕτως εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ὑπέστρεφεν. Μιᾶ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ  
 260 εἰωθὸς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀπίντι ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον, Ἐπὶ φάραγγά τινα αὐτὸν γενά-  
 μενον ὄφιν εὐμεγέθης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλους δρόμῳ ἀπειρῶ ἐξελεθὼν κατεδίωκεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν  
 αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν φεύγων κάκειθεν ἀποδιδράσκων λαθεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Στενω-  
 573A  
 265 θέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δράση μὴ ἔχοντος (συνεῖχεν γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦ καταφαγεῖν) εἰς ἔν-  
 νοιαν ἐλθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἐλεσβοᾶμ ἐπιστραφεὶς ἔφη τῷ ὄφει· “Τὴν εὐχὴν σοι,  
 265 τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ δικαίου Ἐλεσβοᾶμ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπόστηθι ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ μηκέτι με  
 καταδιώξεις.” Ὁ δὲ ὄφιν αἰσχυρθεὶς τὸν λόγον, ὃν ὥρκωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἔστη καὶ  
 ἀποκριθεὶς ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ποίω τρόπῳ ἄρα καὶ φείσωμαί σου, ὅτι  
 ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λελάληκε πρὸς με τοῦ καταφαγεῖν σε διὰ τὴν ἀκαθαροσί-  
 270 σου καὶ τὴν πορνείαν σου, ὅτι συνθεμένος κυρίῳ δουλεύειν περιήεις μολύνων τὸ σῶμα  
 σου καὶ παροργίζεις τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον.” Τοῦ δὲ ἔτι ἐστῶτος μὲν καὶ  
 573B  
 275 ἀκούοντος καὶ ἐκπληττομένου ὅτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐλάλει αὐτῷ, καὶ ὑποτρέμοντος καὶ κατὰ  
 τὸν πρῶτον λόγον ἐνορκούντος αὐτὸν φείσασθαι αὐτοῦ, ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ὄφιν ἔφη πρὸς  
 αὐτόν· “Ὡμωσόν μοι, ὅτι οὐκέτι πράττεις τὴν ῥυπαρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν, δι' ἧς ἡ πρώτη πτώσις  
 τῷ κόσμῳ γέγονεν, καὶ ἀπαλλάσσομαί σου.” Ἐπὶ ὅ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὤμωσεν εἰπὼν· “Μὰ τὸν ἐν  
 οὐρανοῖς κατοικούντα καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ὀσίου Ἐλεσβοᾶμ τοῦ βασιλέως,

### CKDAFSH

251 ἀμιλλώμενον + τοῦ οὐρανοῦ CK δεῖ DAF πέλοντα] ὄντα C, < K | 252 τῆς γῆς < K  
 παντάπασιν < K, + καὶ CK | 253 ἀποφράξας C μήτε<sup>1</sup>] μὴ H τινά] τινί C τὸ οἰονοῦν D τὸ οἰονεῖ  
 AF, < SH μήτε<sup>2</sup> + μὴν DAF | 254 τινί < CK καὶ + οὕτως C πρὸς κύριον + καθαρὸς τε καὶ  
 ἄμεμπτος CK (post ἐπορεύθη, τε < K) δέ] τε DA S τε δὲ F | 255 δι' ὀπῆς τινὸς < F παρὰ < SH  
 οἰκούντων CK τιθεύοντος C τιθέντος K τιθεμένων DAF ἐνερχομένου C | 256 κατωτέρω CK τοῦ  
 < C | 257 φέρεται] φαίνεται K SH, + τοιοῦτον CK | 258 ἐν – διακονία K τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ < CK  
 διακονία SH οἴνου] ὑπνοῦ DAF ἐμφορούμενος + καὶ H | 259 οὕτως – ὑπέστρεφεν < K μοναστή-  
 ριον + αὐτοῦ SH ὑπέστρεφεν] ἀπῆει DAF | 260 εἰωθὸς] ἔθος CK καὶ < D ἀπίντος K ἐπ<sup>1</sup>] ἐν  
 F Ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄφιν H φάραγγι τινά H αὐτοῦ γενομένου K γενόμενον C | 261 ἀπειρῶ] πολλῷ  
 CK τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τοῦτον F | 262 κάκειθεν φεύγων CK ἐκείθεν SH ἀποδιδράσκων < CK | 263 ὅτι] ὅπου  
 DAF ὅτι – ἔχοντος] μὴ ἔχων ὅτι καὶ δράσειεν C δράσειεν K δράσαι SH συνεῖχεν – καταφαγεῖν <  
 SH γὰρ < K | 264 ἐλθὼν] λαβὼν SH τὰ κατὰ] περὶ CK τοῦ μακαρίου K Ἐλεσβαᾶ K Ἐλεσβαᾶν  
 C D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF ἐπιστραφεὶς – 265 βασιλέως < DAF | 265 Ἐλεσβαᾶ CK τοῦ βασιλέως < K  
 καταδιώξης με SH | 266 τῷ λόγῳ ᾧ ὥρκισεν DAF ὥρκωσεν – ἀδελφός] ἤκουσεν K | 267 ἀπο-  
 κριθεὶς + ὁ ὄφιν CK ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ < DAF λέγει] ἔφη H ante ποίω + καὶ DAF ἄρα τρόπῳ

himself one tunic of hair and went up to the mountain Ophra which nearly competes with the clouds, as the saying goes, and lies in the desert; there he shut himself up completely in a dark cell in the earth, blocked up the entry of the cave and spent all the days of his angel-like life without seeing anybody or speaking to anybody, and so went to the Lord. And he received food through a small hole from the monks that lived there, which was put there by someone that came up from the monastery at the foot of the mountain and returned thereafter.

It is also told<sup>108</sup> that there was a young brother in that monastery, and when he was sent out into the world on some duty, he fornicated and devoted himself to drinking wine without scruple, and so returned to the monastery. Now one day he went according to his custom to the monastery through the desert, and when he came to some gorge, a great serpent emerged from the grove with immense speed and pursued him wanting to kill him. He fled here and ran away there, but could not escape it. When he was in great difficulty and did not know what to do (for it held him already in order to devour him), the righteous King Elesboam came into his mind, and he turned around and said to the serpent: “By the prayer of the most holy and righteous King Elesboam, desist from me and do not pursue me anymore.” The serpent was ashamed by the word by which the brother had sworn before him, stood still and, answering with a human voice, it said to him: “How should I spare you, since an angel of the Lord has told me from heaven to devour you because of your impurity and fornication, that although you had promised to serve the Lord, you went around polluting your body and made God’s Holy Ghost angry?” When he still stood there and listened and was astonished that it had talked to him like a man, and trembled and enjured him according to his previous word to spare him, the serpent answered and said to him: “Swear to me that you will give into this dirty desire anymore, by which the first fall happened to the world, and I will release you.” The brother swore saying: “By the one that dwells in heaven and the prayer of the worthy and holy King Elesboam, I will not make my Lord angry, whom I have badly

DAF και < DAF | 268 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ < DAF φαγεῖν C καταφάγει DAF | 269 σου<sup>1</sup> < CK τὴν < CK πορνείαν] ῥυπαρίαν K σου<sup>2</sup> + και C SH ὅτι συνθεμένος < F τῷ κυρίῳ K δουλεύειν + αὐτῷ CK περιάγεις CK περιεῖς DAF | 270 τοῦ θεοῦ < K SH ἔτι < K μὲν < D μὲν και < K | 271 και<sup>1</sup> < DAF ἐκπληττομένου + δὲ σφόδρα DAF (δὲ] μὲν F) ὡς < H αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν SH και<sup>2</sup> – 272 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπότρομος ὦν ὡς τὸ πρότερον πάλιν ὥρκιζεν αὐτὸν και μεθ’ ὄρκου παρεκάλει CK (ὦν + και, πάλιν post και, ὀρκίζων K) | 272 αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ AF αὐτοῦ] αὐτόν C SH ἀποκριθεὶς + δὲ πάλιν CK ἔφη] λέγει DAF | 273 ῥυπαρὰν + ταύτην DAF ἦς] ἦν C | 274 ἐγένετο D T περι τοῦ ὄρκου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ H δὲ < S | 275 οὐρανοῖς + ἀεὶ DAF κατοικοῦντα + θεὸν CK τὴν + ἁγίαν DAF τῶν εὐχῶν K ὀσίου και τιμίου F ὀσίου] ἁγίου CK Ἐλεσβαὰν D Ἐλεσβαὰμ AF Ἐλεσβαὰμ τοῦ βασιλέως] βασιλέως Ἐλεσβαὰ CK τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DAF

<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 49.

- οὐκέτι παροργίζω μου τὸν κύριον, ὃν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κακῶς ἐπαρόργισα πορνεύων καὶ ἄσωτέων.” Ἐγένετο δέ, ὀηνικά τὸν λόγον τοῦτον λελάληκεν αὐτὸς τῷ ὄφει, πῦρ πεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενώπιον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κατέφαγε τὸν ὄφιν. Ὁ δὲ φόβου καὶ τρόμου πλησθεὶς τρέμων ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὸ μοναστήριον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκέτι προσέθετο τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτων τάδε. 573c
- 280 Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος Γρηγόριος μετὰ τὸ ἀναχωρήσαι τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα Ἐλεσβοᾶμ μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πάντας πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τοὺς λογιωτέρους ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπλεξάμενος κατὰ πόλιν ἐπίσκοπον χειροτόνηκεν κελεύσας ἅμα τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεὶ Ἀβραᾶμ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν χρηματίζοντας 285 ἢ καταλιπόντας τὴν ματαίαν αὐτῶν θρησκείαν βαπτίζεσθαι, ἢ ἐμμένοντας κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποπεσεῖν. Τούτου τοιγαροῦν τοῦ προστάγματος ἐξεληθόντος ἦν ἰδεῖν πάντας σὺν 573d γυναιξίν αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνοις κατασπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον λουτρόν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προσερχομένους τῷ Χριστῷ. Ἐβάπτιζον γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πάντας τοὺς προσερχομένους αὐτοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν μετὰ καθαρᾶς προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐφωτίζετο ὁ 290 λαός, καὶ πολλὰ ζημίαι ἐγένοντο τῷ διαβόλῳ.
- 10 Τούτων οὕτω φωτιζομένων καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας αὐτομολούντων, ἀνέστησαν οἱ 576a Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκ πάσης πόλεως τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκείνην καὶ συνήλθον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς φάσκοντες· “Τί ποιήσωμεν; Ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ βαπτισθῶμεν, ὡς ἐξῆλθεν τὸ δόγμα τοῦ νέου βασιλέως, ἀποκτείνωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ σατράπαι αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα ὃ παρ’ αὐτοῦ 5 εἰλήφασιν.” Ἀποροούντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἔφασκον, ὅτι “ποιήσωμεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν ἄωρος, καὶ μετέπειτα πάλιν κρατῶμεν τὴν πίσπιν ἡμῶν.” Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον· “Ἄλλὰ γὰρ κἂν τοῦτο δράσωμεν οὐ βλέπει ὁ θεός, ὅτι πα- 576b τοῦμεν τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων ὑπάρχων ἀνταπόδομα ἀνταποδώσει ἡμῖν καὶ πάντες μειζόνως ἀπολλώμεθα;” Ἄλλοι ἔλεγον· “Ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκέτι χρεῖαν ἡμῶν 10 ὁ θεὸς ἔχει ἀπάρτι, ὅτι τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα ἡμῶν Δουναᾶν ταῖς χερσίν τοῦ Ἐλεσβοᾶμ

290 πολλὰι – διαβόλῳ cf. E 752–753 | 1 εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας 1 Tim. 2.4; 2 Tim. 2.25; 3.7 | 8 θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων Ps. 93.1 ἀνταπόδομα – 9 ἡμῖν cf. Ps. 93.2

#### CKDAFSH

276 παροργίσω F μου < F μέχρι τοῦ < K παρώργισα SH | 277 ἀσελαίνων D ἀσελγῶν AF ἡνίκα CK τοῦτον – ὄφει] τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ ὄφεις, θαῦμα τι γέγονε μέγα καὶ παράδοξον CK (τι γέγονε < K) πῦρ + γὰρ CK | 278 κατέναντι DAF ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ post ὄφιν C ἀδελφοῦ + καὶ H φόβου καὶ τρόμου ληφθεὶς CK τρόμου + ἀφάτου DAF | 279 τρέμων post ἀνεχώρησεν K, < DAF ἐπὶ] εἰς CK ἑαυτοῦ μοναστήριον K προσέθετο μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσαι K ἁμαρτεῖν SH | 280 τοῦ θεοῦ] κυρίου ἀλλ’ ἐτελεῦτησεν ἐν μετανοίᾳ CK + δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ K τὰ] ταῦτα CK τούτων] τούτου K SH τάδε < CK | 281 μακάριος DAF Γρηγόριος] ἐπίσκοπος K | 282 Ἐλεσβαᾶ C Ἐλεσβαᾶν K D Ἐλεσβαᾶμ AF πάντας] ἅπαντας K, < SH ἐκκλησιῶν + καὶ CK | 283 ἀπ’] ἐξ CK | 284 τιμιωτάτῳ < K Ἀβραμίῳ SH αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ K SH χρηματίζοντας] ὄντας Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας K | 285 ἦ] ἢ DAF ἐμμένοντας < K κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν H | 286 πράγματος C ἅπαντας DAF | 287 αὐτῶν < K, post τέκνοις DAF ἐπισπεύδοντας C σπεύδοντας K τῷ θείῳ

made angry until now by fornication and profligacy.” And it happened that when he said this word to the serpent, fire fell down from heaven before the brother and devoured the serpent. And he was filled with fear and trembling, and quivering he returned to his monastery and did not continue to sin before God. And so much about this.

After the most pious King Elesboam had left, the most blessed Gregentios gathered all priests of all churches, chose the most learned ones of them and appointed them as bishops in the towns, and also gave order, together with the most worthy King Abraam that all those under his power should either leave their vain faith and be baptised or, if they persisted, should be subject to capital punishment. Therefore, when this order went out, one could see them all hasten with their wives and children to the divine bath of rebirth, and come to Christ by it. For all bishops baptised all those that came to them in every town with pure intentions, and the people were enlightened, and much damage was done to the devil.

When these were enlightened in this way and attached themselves to *the knowledge of truth*, the Jews of all towns under that reign arose, came together and said: “What shall we do? For if we do not let ourselves be baptised, following the decree of the new king, his satraps will kill us according to the order they received from him.”<sup>109</sup> And as they were bewildered by this, some of them said: “Let us do what the king wants so that we do not die before the time, and thereafter keep our faith again.” Others said: “But if we should do this, will God not see that we trespass against his law, and since he is a *God of revenge*, will exact his retribution, and we will perish even worse?” And others said: “As it seems, God has just no need of us anymore, because he has given our pious king Dounaas into the hands of Elesboam, to be killed together with his army. Come on now,

10

λουτρῶ K SH | 288 αὐτοῦ] αὐτοὺς F ἐβάπτιζον – 290 διαβόλω < K SH πάντες < DAF ἐπίσκοποι + ἀνελλιπῶς DAF | 289 μετὰ καθαρᾶς προαιρέσεως < DAF ἐφωτίζοντο C | 290 ἀναρίθμητοι ἐγένοντο αἱ ζημίαι DAF

1 οὕτω + γινομένων καὶ CK οὕτως DAF SH φωτιζομένων + πολλῶν CK μολούτων DAF ὁμολογούτων SH ἀνέστησαν] συναχθέντες CK + δὲ C | 2 τῆς – ἐκείνην < K συνήλθον] προσήλθον SH, < CK | 3 φάσκοντες] συναθροισθέντες συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες ἔφασκον πρὸς ἀλλήλους CK ποιήσωμεν + ἡμεῖς οἱ περιλειφθέντες C ὅτι < K ὡς] καθὼς CK τοῦ νέου] τὸ νέον F νέου < C, + τοῦδε τοῦ DAF | 4 βασιλέως + τούτου SH ἀποκτενοῦσιν CK κατὰ] καθὰ καὶ DAF κατὰ – 5 εἰλήφασιν < SH τοῦ προστάγματος οὐ K ὁ παρ' < DAF | 5 ἐξειλήφασιν DAF τούτων CK S | 6 τοῦ βασιλέως] αὐτοῦ SH ἄωρως] βιαίως DAF μετέπειτα] ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ CK κρατῶμεν] κρατοῦμεν K, + ἐν κρυπτῷ SH | 7 ἀλλὰ] ἀλλ' οὐν CK γὰρ < CK H ὁ θεός] θεὸς τὰ γινόμενα καὶ K | 8 νόμον] λόγον K αὐτὸς – 9 πάντες < SH θεός < C | 9 πάντως K ἀπολλύμεθα K οὐκέτι χρεῖαν] οὐ χρεῖαν ἔτι C ἔχει ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν K ἔχει ἡμῶν ὁ θεός H | 10 ἔχει < S ἀπάρτι < K ἐν ταῖς SH Ἐλεσβαᾶ CK Ἐλεσβαῶν DAF

109 See above, p. 108.



15 παραδέδωκεν ἀποκτανθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῦ. Δεῦτε οὖν, καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, λάθρα λαβόντες τὰ ἡμῶν εἰς καθεῖς ἐξέλθωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων τούτων, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπολέσωμεν.” Ὁ ἕτεροι δὲ εἶπον· “Ἐὰν βουληθῶμεν ἀναχωρῆσαι ὃν τρόπον εἰρήκατε καὶ ἐπιγνώσωνται ταῦτα οἱ Χριστιανοί, ἄπερ ἡμῖν ἐνδείξονται πάντως ἐπίστασθε.”

15 Εἷς δὲ τις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τοῦνομα Ἑρβᾶν, ἀνὴρ νομοδιδάσκαλος λόγιος πανούργος πάνυ, ἐπιστάμενος εἰς ἅπαξ τὴν Παλαιὰν σφόδρα, μετέχων τε πινὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἕξω παιδείας, ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοῦς· “Ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες διακενῆς λελαλήκατε τὰ μηδὲν ὠφελούντα εἰς μέσον παραθέμενοι. Εἰ τοῖνυν προσέχετε μοι, δεῦτε καὶ ἐροῦμεν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Γρη- 20 γεντίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ παρασχέσθαι ἡμῖν τοὺς βουλομένους ἅμα ἡμῖν διαλεχθῆναι, ὅπως εἰ μὲν πείσωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐξ εὐλόγου γινώμεθα ἅπαξ κατὰ πείραν χριστιανοί, εἴ τε οὐ πείσωσιν γνῶσωνται κἀκεῖνοι, ὅτι τέως κατὰ τυραννίδα βιάζονται ἡμᾶς ἀποστήναι τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἴσως τί γίνεται. Τέως δὲ πειράσωμεν αὐτοὺς καὶ γνῶσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὅποια ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις αὐτῶν καὶ, εἰ μὲν ἀληθὴς ἐστί, πιστεύωμεν. Τί γὰρ οἶδαμεν, πολλάκις μήπο- 25 τε ἦλθεν ὁ Μεσσίας καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωμεν ἡμεῖς; Εἰ δὲ γε πρόσεστιν ψευδής, τέως γινώσκομεν, ὅτι διὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀποθνήσκομεν καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἀσπαζόμεθα τὸν θάνατον.”

30 Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος ἐθροήθησαν ἅπαντες καὶ λέγουσιν τῷ Ἑρβᾶν· “Ὡς ὀρώμεν, ὅτι τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ αὐτὸς προίστασαι. Οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν ἀληθὴς ἐστίν; Καὶ πῶς αὐτὴν καταλείψωμεν;” Ἑρβᾶν ἔφη· “Οὐδέν, ἀδελφοί, πονηρὸν λελάληκα· ὀράτε γὰρ, ὅτι κἂν οὕτως κἂν ἐτέρως ἀναγκάζουσιν ἡμᾶς τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι. Εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἀκούετε μου, ἀθῶως εἰμι ἀπὸ ἐκάστου ὑμῶν. Πάντως γὰρ κἂν οὐ πειράσῃτε τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκτὸς πειρασμοῦ πιστεύσητε, ἐποιήσατε ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐκέλευσαν· εἴτε οὐ πιστεύσητε, γινώ- σκετε ὅτι ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀποθνήσκομεν.”

35 Ἐπεκλήθησαν τοιγαροῦν τοῦ εἰσακοῦσαι τοῦ Ἑρβᾶν, καὶ ἀναθέμενοι τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν ἐν πιττακίῳ ἐπέδωκαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λύσας καὶ ἀναγνοὺς τὸ πιττάκιον τὸ ἐπιδοθὲν αὐτῷ ἐθυμώθη κατ’ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς. Ὁμοως μέντοι ἀνεὶς ὀλίγον, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι. Ἀνα- γνοὺς δὲ αὐτὸ ὁ μακάριος ἄριστα ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑπέλαβεν καὶ λέγει τῷ βασιλεῖ· “Καλῶς

31 εἰμι – ὑμῶν cf. Mt. 27.24

### CKDAFSH

11 παρέδωκεν DAF SH μετὰ – αὐτοῦ SH καὶ < CK καὶ εἰ] εἰ καὶ DAF | 12 καθεῖς] καθ’ ἕξῃς C ἀπὸ] ἐκ CK χωρῶν K | 13 δὲ < CK Ἐὰν] ἂν SH ἐπαναχωρῆσαι DAF | 14 εἰρήκαμεν DAF καὶ ἐπιγνώσωνται bis S γνῶσωνται CK ταῦτα < SH ἀ μέλλωσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐνδείξασθαι κακὰ C ἀ μέλλουσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς κακὰ ἐνδείξασθαι K | 16 ἀπ’] ἐξ K λόγιος + καὶ CK | 17 τε < DAF πινὰ < K ἀπὸ < K | 18 πάντες K διακενῆς] κενὰ CK ἐμελετήσατε C ἐλαλήσατε K τὰ < DAF μηθὲν SH ὠφελούντα + καὶ C | 19 εἰς μέσον παραθέμενοι < SH μοι] μου DAF Γρηγορίῳ K | 20 ἐπισκόπῳ + αὐτοῦ K ὅπως] ὅμως SH | 21 ἐξ εὐλόγου] εὐλόγως CK ἅπαξ κατὰ πείραν < K πείσωσιν<sup>2</sup> + ἡμᾶς SH | 22 τέως < K ἡμῶν πίστεως K | 23 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτούς < C πειράζομεν SH γνῶμεν K γινώσκομεν SH ἡμεῖς ὅποια ἐστὶν < SH | 24 ἐστὶν < DAF καὶ < SH μὲν < SH ἀληθὴς ἐστί] ἀλη- θῆ DAF ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς S ἐστί < H πιστεύσωμεν CK μήποτε πολλάκις C πολλάκις < K | 25 εἰ –

and if you want, let us take our belongings secretly, every single one, and leave these regions, so that we may not lose our souls together with our bodies.“ And again others said: “If we want to go away in the way you have said and the Christians notice this, you know at all events what they will do to us.”

And one of them called Herban, a very learned and clever teacher of the law who knew the Old Testament very well and had also partaken in some pagan education, answered and said to them: “You all have spoken in vain, introducing useless things into our midst. So if you listen to me, let us speak to the king and the bishop Gregentios that he shall give us people that want to discuss with us, so that, if they convince us with good reasons, we will at once become Christians according to experience, and if they will not convince us, they will understand as well that they have now forced us by tyranny to fall away from our faith, and perhaps then something will happen. For the time being let us try them, and let us know ourselves what their faith is, and if it is true, let us believe. For do we know whether the Messiah has come often and we did not recognise him? And if it is false, we will understand now that we die for God’s sake, and embrace death with readiness.”

When he had said this, they all were terrified and said to Herban: “As we see, even you defend the Christians yourself. Do you know not that our faith is true? And how shall we abandon it?” Herban said: “My brothers, I have not said anything bad, for you see that they will force us to be baptised in the one or the other case. Now if you do not listen to me, I am innocent of every single one of you. For at all events, if you do not investigate their faith and believe without trial, you will have done as they have ordered; if you do not believe, you know that they will kill us and we will die.”

So they discussed whether they should give ear to Herban, and they drew up their words together on a tablet and gave it to the king. When the king opened and read the tablet which had been given to him, he became furious with them and wanted to kill them. However, he refrained a little, called for the archbishop and gave him the tablet to read. When the blessed one read it, he realised that it was very good, and said to the

26 θάνατον < SH γνωσώμεθα C | 27 τοῦτο DAF τῷ τὸν DAF Ἐρβᾶ K | 28 καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν  
 χριστιανῶν SH προϊστασαι + καὶ DAF | 30 ὅτι < DAF ἀναγκάζωσιν C ἀναγκάσωσιν K | 31 πάν-  
 τως – 33 ἀποθνήσκομεν < SH κἂν] εἰ καὶ K πειράσετε DAF | 32 πείρας K ἐποίησατε < DAF  
 ἐκέλευσαν] κελεύσωσιν DAF εἴτε] εἰ δὲ καὶ DAF πιστεύσητε<sup>2</sup>] πιστεύσετε CK | 33 καὶ  
 ἀποθνήσκομεν < K | 34 ἐκλήθησαν SH ἐπεκλήθησαν – εἰσακοῦσαι] καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος CK  
 Ἐρβᾶν] Ἐρβᾶ K, + ὑπήκουσαν τοιγαροῦν ἅπαντες C, + ἐποίησαν ἅπαντες K καὶ ἀναθέμενοι <  
 K ἀναθέμενοι post 35 πιττακίω C ante τὰ + πάντα C | 35 αὐτῶν] τοῦ Ἐρβᾶ K ἐν] ἐπὶ D ἐπέ-  
 δωκαν] καὶ ἔδωκαν K ἀπέδωκαν H λύσας καὶ < K τὸ < C τὸ – 36 αὐτῷ < SH πιττάκιον post  
 αὐτῷ C | 36 τὸ ἐπιδοθέν αὐτῷ < K δοθέν C ἐθυμώθη – ὀλίγον] θυμωθεὶς ἠθέλησεν αὐτοὺς  
 ἀνελεῖν ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπισχῶν ἑαυτὸν K ἀνεῖς D | 37 ἐπίσκοπον K τοῦ < SH τοῦ ἀναγνώνα < CK  
 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ] ὄπερ ἀναγνοὺς K καὶ ἀναγνοὺς DAF | 38 αὐτὸ < K ἄριστα – καὶ] ἄριστα ἔχει καὶ  
 ante καλῶς K λέγει] ἔφη K φησὶν DAF τῷ βασιλεῖ < DAF

φάσκουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι τὸ ἐκ προαιρέσεως πιστεύειν μείζον ἐστὶν τοῦ κατὰ βίαν. Ἐα-  
 40 σον οὖν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν διαλεχθῆναι ὡς ὀρέγονται, καὶ ὁπότεν πείσωμεν αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχωνται τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι, τὸ τηλικαῦτα διέληθαι αὐτοὺς, ὡς κελεύει ἡ ἐν κυρίῳ  
 βασιλεία σου.”

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς διωρίαν μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἵνα  
 ἐπὶ ταύταις διασκευάμενοι οὔσπερ βούλοιντο ἐπλεξάμενοι εἰς διάλεξιν ἐκπέμψωσιν πρὸς  
 45 αὐτόν. Τούτων τοιγαροῦν πορευθέντων καὶ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πατριάς αὐτῶν ἐρευνοῦντων 577c  
 τοὺς ὀφείλοντας ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν διάλεξιν τῷ βασιλεῖ συναντήσασθαι,

Πληρουμένης τῆς ὀρισθείσης αὐτοῖς προθεσμίας ὁ μακαριώτατος Γρηγόριος τοιαύτας  
 συμβουλίας ἐδίδου τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κοινῷ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ  
 εὐσεβῶς τὰς διατάξεις εἰσπράττεσθαι. “Κέλευσον,” φησὶν, “ὦ δέσποτα, κατ’ ἐκλογὴν  
 50 τιμίαν ἐκάστῳ ῥεγεῶνι ἄρχοντα ἐπδοθῆναι, ἐν πρώτοις ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει τῶν  
 Ὀμηριτῶν, εἶθ’ οὕτως καὶ ταῖς ἐτέραις ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ταῖς οὔσαις ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 σου διὰ τῶν προσόντων ἐν αὐταῖς μεγιστάνων. Καὶ ὁπότεν ταῦτα γένηται, τὸ τηλικαῦτα  
 ἐκθέμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐγγράφως ὅποια ὀφείλουσιν παραφυλάττεσθαι.”

Τοῦ οὖν βασιλέως εὐθέως ἀριθμήσαντος ἐν πρώτοις τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν Νεγρὰν 577d  
 55 εἰς τριακονταεξ ῥεγεῶνας παραυτὰ κατέστησεν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ῥεγεῶνι τοὺς λεγομένους γει-  
 τονιάρχας τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριακονταεξ. Καὶ προσέταξεν ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὸ ἴδιον  
 σέκρετον ἐν τῇ λαχούσῃ αὐτῷ γειτονίᾳ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἀναγράφτους τὰς οἰκίας  
 ἀπάσας, ὥσπερ ἐπικρατοῦσιν, κελεύσας κεκτῆσθαι, ἵνα ἐπίστανται ἕως τίνος ἕκαστος 580a  
 αὐτῶν ἐξουσιάζουσιν καὶ μὴ περιπλανῶνται ἕτερος εἰς ἕτερου γειτονίαν παρακύπτοντες  
 60 καὶ διαταττόμενοι. Καὶ τούτου γεγονότος στρατεύσας ταξεύτας ἀνὰ ἐξακάδεκα στραπι-  
 τῶν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν παρεκατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν. Καὶ τούτων ἐτοιμα-  
 σθέντων προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ λαμβάνειν ρόγας τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀνώννας καὶ  
 65 πρᾶττειν καλῶς μετ’ εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβῳ θεοῦ, προστάξας τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Γρηγεντίῳ  
 ἀνάγραπτον διάταξιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστασθαι τίνα  
 ὀφείλωσιν παραφυλάττεσθαι. Καθεσθεῖς δὲ ὁ μακάριος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἀπῆρξατο  
 συντάττειν τὰ προσαχθέντα αὐτῷ.

**C K D A F S H** | 46 συναντήσασθαι] desinit **S H**, sequitur *Dialexis A 3* | 48 συμφέροντα  
 desinit **K** (vide apparatus criticum), sequitur *Dialexis A 3*

39 λέγουσιν **K** τὸ < **DAF** ἐκ] εἰς **D<sup>ac</sup>F<sup>ac</sup>** | 40 οὖν < **C DAF** πρὸς] κατὰ **DAF** πρὸς τὸ παρὸν]  
 πρώτον **K** ὡς – 41 βαπτισθῆναι < **K** ὀρέγομαι + καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν καὶ αὐτοὶ **DAF** | 41 τὸ < **C** τὸ  
 τηλικαῦτα] εἶθ’ οὕτως **K** διέληθαι] ὑπέξελθε **C** ἐπέξελθοιτο **K**, + εἰς **H** ὡς ἂν κελεύσει **K** κυρίῳ]  
 Χριστῷ **CK** | 43 ἔδωκεν **K SH** αὐτοῖς] αὐτόν **K** μέχρι < **K** ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα **K** | 44 ἐπὶ] ἐν  
**K** ἐπὶ ταύταις] ἐνταῦθα **C** οὔσπερ + καὶ **SH** βούλονται **K** ἐβάλλοντο **DAF** ἐπιλέξωνται **K**  
 ἐκπέμψωσιν πρὸς αὐτόν < **K** | 45 τούτων <, + ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ ἅγιος προσέταξεν τῷ ἀρχι-  
 επισκόπῳ, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῆσῃ νόμους ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς Νέας· ζῆτει ὅπισθεν τοῦ βι-  
 βλίου τὸν νόμον **S<sup>marg</sup>H<sup>marg</sup>** πορευθέντες **SH** πάσαις **CK** ἐρευνώντων **CK** ἐρευνήσαντες εὐρον  
**SH** | 46 ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ τὰ < **SH** καὶ – 47 προθεσμίας < **K** τὴν < **DAF** συναντήσασθαι]

king: “The Jews speak well that it is better to believe by conviction than by force. So let them discuss now as they desire, and if we convince them and they still do not accept baptising, then do with them as your majesty in God will order.”

When the king heard this, he gave them a time of up to forty days, so that they might consider well whom they wanted to choose for the discussion and send them to him. So they went out and searched in all their clans for those that should meet and prepare for the discussion with the king.

When the fixed preparation time had ended, the most blessed Gregentios gave this counsel to the righteous and most pious king, as he was caring for the public and obeyed his commandments piously: “Give order”, he said, “o master, that a ruler shall be given to every district according to your worthy choice, first in this residential city of the Home-rites, and then also in all the other towns which are under your reign, through the grand men that live in them. And when this will has happened, then we will explain to them in writing what they have to care of.”

Now the king immediately first divided the ruling city of Negra into thirty-six districts, and straightaway appointed for every district the so-called *geitoniarchai*, thirty-six in number. And he gave order that every single one of them should have his own office in the neighbourhood allotted to him in the middle of the main street, commanding that all houses should be registered, with who was in charge of them, so that they should know until where every single one of them had his authority, and should not roam around into the neighbourhood of another, looking about and giving commands there. And when this had happened, he assigned a troop of sixteen guardsmen each to every district and stationed it there for their service. And when these things had been arranged, the king ordered them to accept payments and munificences and annual donations, and to do well with reverence and fear of God; and he ordered the most blessed Gregentios to make out a written command and to give it to them, so that they might know exactly what they had to take care of. And the blessed one sat down immediately and began to compose in tranquillity what had been ordered to him.

παρίστασθαι SH | 47 πληρουμένης + οὖν C αὐτοῖς < C ὁ – 48 βασιλεῖ] ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ἐνουθέτει τῷ εὐσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντα K | 48 ἐπιλείσθαι C | 49 εὐσεβῶς] καθεισπράττειν DAF εἰσπράττεσθαι < DAF | 50 ῥεγῶν C ῥίγιον D ῥιγόνι AF ἄρχοντι C | 51 Ὀμηριτῶν + καὶ C ταῖς<sup>1</sup> – ἀπάσαις] τὰς ἐτέρας πάσας DAF τῶν οὐσῶν C | 52 ἐν < C | 53 ἐκθῶμεθα AF ὀφείλωσι C | 54 βαλέως D εὐθέως < C Νεγρὰν < DAF | 55 ῥιγιόνας DAF παρατὰ < DAF ἐν] ἀνά C ῥίγιον DAF τοὺς < DAF | 56 τῷ ἀριθμῷ D τριακονεξ F καὶ + παραντικά DAF | 57 ἐν μέσῳ] μέσον C | 58 ἐπίσταται DAF ἕκαστος < DAF | 59 ἐξουσιάζωσιν F ἐξουσιάζειν C παρακύπτειν καὶ διατάττεσθαι C | 61 ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν < C αὐτοὺς < C | 62 τοῦ – 63 προστάξας < DAF | 63 μακαριωτάτῳ] μακαρίῳ DAF | 64 εἰς – ἐπίστασθαι] ἵνα ἀκριβῶς ἐπίστανται DAF | 65 παραφυλάξασθαι C ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ < C | 66 τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ < DAF

- Ὁ δε εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς γηροκομεία καὶ νοσοκομεία καὶ πτωχοτροφεία καὶ ξενώνας  
 διὰ τάχους πεποίηκε πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς θησαυρίσας. Τὰς τε γὰρ εἰσόδους τῶν μεγάλων  
 70 ἐκείνων προαστείων, ἅπερ ἦν συστησάμενος Δουναὰς ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ λόγου αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκνεύσας πάντας τοὺς πένητας καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν ἀνάγκαις, γηραιούς τε καὶ ἀδυνάτους, χωλούς τε καὶ τυφλοὺς πλουσιοπαρόχως ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐθεράπευε τε καὶ ἐπανάπαυεν ῥόγας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος παρέχων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐνδύματα  
 καὶ σῖτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ὀπώρας καὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀγαθόν, ὥστε κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ  
 75 ἡ αἴνεσις. Τὸν γὰρ πατριάρχην δεύτερον Ἀβραὰμ ἐκάλουν καὶ δεύτερον Ἰὼβ τὸν βασι-  
 λέα διὰ τὴν φιλοξενίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐποίαν τὴν ἀπλήρωτον. Ἐπιτελῶν γὰρ τὰς μνείας  
 580c τῶν ἁγίων δύο τραπέζας τίθεσθαι προσέταττεν, μίαν μὲν πενήτων καὶ ἑτέραν τοῖς μεγα-  
 στασίν αὐτοῦ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ τῶν πενήτων ἐκάστοτε μετὰ τῶν  
 πενομένων ἀνακλινόμενος ἦσθιεν, ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε παρέχων πλουσιοπαρόχους  
 δωρεάς.
- 80 Πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἐὰν παρεγένετο ἐξαιτῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ, εὐθέως ὑπή-  
 κουνε καὶ ἐδίδου αὐτῷ μετὰ προθυμίας τὰ αἰτούμενα, ὥστε ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας  
 αὐτοῦ πένητα μὴ εἶναι τὸ σύνολον ἐν οἷς ἐβασίλευεν, μήτε δὲ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα κατὰ τὸ  
 γεγραμμένον ἢ τὸν ἀδικούμενον. Ἐφίμωσέν τε ὁ θεὸς καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐν τοῖς περικύκλω  
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ πόλεμος οὐκ ἀνέστη, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ χαρὰ καὶ  
 85 εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἐπιμέλεια πενήτων καὶ χηρῶν προασπισμὸς καὶ ὀρφανῶν καὶ δικαιοσύνης  
 ἀφάτου καὶ ἐορτῶν πνευματικῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ κατάστασις ὑπερβαλλόντως.

**N** Τὸν δὲ λεπτὸν νόμον, ὃνπερ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος συντέταχεν ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως,  
 προεθέμην προσθῆναι τῇ διηγήσει ταύτῃ. Ἔστι δὲ οὕτως:

### <Νομοθεσία τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Ἀβραμίου>

- 5 Τοῦ λυτρωτοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ δι' ἄφατον ἀγαθότητα καὶ πολλὴν φιλαν-  
 θρωπίαν ἐπισκεψαμένου τὴν ἡμῶν εὐτέλειαν καὶ ἐξεγείραντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕψος  
 τῆσδε τῆς περιφανεστάτης καὶ αὐτοκρατορικῆς ἐξουσίας, οὐ δέον οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀχαρι-

73 κατὰ – 74 αἴνεσις cf. Ps. 47. 11 | 82 τὸν – 83 ἀδικούμενον cf. Sir. 4. 9

**C D A F** | 86 ὑπερβαλλόντως desinit **D A F**, sequitur *Dialexis A* | 3 νομοθεσία [**S H T V**

67 εὐσεβέστατος < C ξενεώνας **D** | 68 πεποίηκε] ποιήσας καὶ **DAF** ἀγαθὰ < C γὰρ < **DAF** | 69 ἐκείνων προαστείων] αὐτοῖς προαστείων ἐκείνων **F** Δουναὰς < **DAF** | 70 ἐπὶ λόγου] λόγῳ **C** ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκνεύσας < **C** | 71 ἐν<sup>1</sup>] ἐπ' **DAF** χωλούς – καί<sup>2</sup>] καὶ χωλούς καὶ **DAF** | 72 ἐθεράπευε – καί<sup>1</sup> < **DAF**, + ἐπανεκρυσεν **F** ἐπανεπαυε **C** πᾶν < **DAF** παρέχων sic **C** ἐνδύματα καὶ σῖτον] τὰς ἐνδύσεις αὐτῶν **DAF** | 73 ὀπώραν **C** | 74 δεύτερον<sup>1</sup> < **DAF** Ἀβραὰμ + αὐτὸν **DAF** τὸν βασιλέα δεύτερον Ἰὼβ **C** | 75 ἄπειρον **DAF** | 76 δύο] διὰ **C** μὲν + τῶν **D** καὶ < **D** | 77 ἐκάστοτε

The most pious king swiftly built homes for old people, hospitals, poorhouses and hostels, bestowing many goods upon them. The incomes of those great estates, which the king of the Hebrews Dounaas and his grand men had brought together, he directed to them on their account, and cured and brought to rest there magnificently, the poor and those in need, the old and the weak, the lame and the blind, giving them payments all year by year, garments, grain and wine, oil and fruit and all kinds of goods, so that the praise was according to the name: For they called the patriarch a second Abraham and the king a second Job because of his hospitality and his immense beneficence. For celebrating the memories of the saints he ordered to two tables to be set up, one for the poor and the other one for his grand men. At the hour of a meal he always ate reclining with the poor, and always gave munificent gifts to both of them.

Every time a man came asking him for something of good, he obeyed and gave him readily what he had demanded, so that in the times of his reign there were no poor at all where he was king, nor one who committed or suffered injustice according to the Scripture. And God silenced every nation around him as well, and no war arose in his days, but there was deep peace, joy and gladness, care for the poor and protection of the widows and orphans, an exceedingly good state of inexpressible righteousness, spiritual feasts and churches.

**N** I have decided to add the compendious law,<sup>1</sup> which the holy Gregentios composed as **N** from the king himself, to this narration. It is as follows:

<Legislation of saint Gregentios as by procurement  
of the most pious King Abramios><sup>2</sup>

Since our redeemer and almighty God visited our humbleness because of his inexpressible goodness and great love for mankind, and raised us to the exceeding height of this most famous and imperial power, it is not right that we should remain in ingratitude to

τῶν πενήτων DAF μετὰ τῶν πενομένων < C | 78 πενουμένων AF ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε] ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ C | 80 αἰτῶν C ἀγαθῶν DAF παρ' αὐτοῦ < C | 81 αὐτῷ < C τὰ αἰτούμενα < C αὐτοῦ βασιλείας C | 82 τὸ σύνολον < C δὲ < C | 83 ἐγγεγραμμένον AF ἢ] μήτε D ἤτε AF ἐν τοῖς] ἀπὸ τῶν C | 84 ἀλλ' + ἦν D, + ἦ F βαθεῖα < DAF καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 86 ὑπερβαλλόντως] καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. τέλος, ἀμήν DAF

1 τὸν – 2 οὕτως habet C λεπτόν] σεπτόν Boissonade | 3 νομοθεσία – 4 Ἀβραμίου habent SHTV | 7 οὐ – οὔτε] οὐδὲ ἐν τούτῳ δεῖ C οὔτε < V

<sup>1</sup> Boissonade here emended λεπτός to σεπτός 'venerable'.

<sup>2</sup> Title added by S H T V. — See above, p. 82.

- στία διαμεῖναι τὰ περι τὸν εὐεργέτην, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἐπέραστον καὶ δυνατὸν ἀποθεραπεύσαι αὐτόν. Οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν τε καὶ τὴν δόξαν  
 10 (τί ποτ' οὖν χρεωστοῦν ἡμῖν;) ἀπλῶς ἡμᾶς ἐξήγειρε δούς ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν Ὀμηριῶν περιφανέ- 581B  
 στατον κράτος, ἀλλ' ἵνα σαφῶς ὑπήκοοί τε γενόμενοι τῶν ἀχράντων αὐτοῦ προσταγμά-  
 των μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου καὶ χαρᾶς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν κελεύόμενα ἐν συντομίᾳ ἐπιτε-  
 λέσωμεν, ἑαυτούς, ὡς οἶμαι, διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐγχειρίσεως εὐεργετοῦντες τὰ μέγιστα οὐ  
 15 *μόνον ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.* Διαμαρτυράμενος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυ-  
 σῆ τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύ-  
 πτου, τάδε ἐπὶ τέλους εἰρήκει πρὸς αὐτόν· *Ἐὰν ἀκοῇ ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ*  
*σου καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτοῦ ποιήσῃς, πᾶσαν νόσον ἦν ἐπήγαγον τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐκ ἐπάξω*  
*ἐπὶ σέ.* Διὰ ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς πειραθῶμεν ὡς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς δικαίας  
 αὐτοῦ ἀπειλῆς, μετὰ φόβου ἐπιτελέσωμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ δικαιώματα.  
 20 ° Τοῖνυν προστάττει ἡ γαληνότης τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβίας πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν 581C  
 γειτονιῶν τῆσδε τῆς βασιλευούσης τῶν πόλεων ἐμπεπιστευμένους μετ' ἐξουσίας φρικωδε-  
 στάτης κατόρθωσιν μεγίστην ἐν τάχει γεγενῆσθαι ἐν πρώτοις ἐν τῆδε τῇ βασιλευούσῃ τῶν  
 πόλεων καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν  
 25 χρηματίζουσιν. Προσάττομεν δὲ τάδε ὑμῖν τοῖς τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν ὑπηκόοις ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ  
 τοῦ παραφυλάττεσθαι καθεζόμενοι τῇ πρεπούσῃ τιμῇ ἐν τοῖς δεδωρημένοις ὑμῖν παρὰ  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας γαληνότητος ἀγοραίοις τόποις. Ὅρατε ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὸ κοινόν, τὰς πλα-  
 30 τεῖας τῆς πόλεως, τὰς ῥύμας, τὰ καθαροπότα, τοὺς οἴκους, τὰ ὠνούμενα πάντα, ἄρτον 581D  
 τέ φημι καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ πᾶν εἶδος. Καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν λαχόντα αὐτῷ ῥεγεῶνα ἀκρι- 584A  
 βῶς τηρεῖτω. Ἔτερον γὰρ εἰς τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τὴν διοίκησιν τε καὶ ἐπικράτειαν οὐδ' ἂν  
 παρακύψαι προσάττομεν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ὀρίζομεν τηρεῖν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.  
 Τὸ Σκοπητέον οὖν μὴ γενέσθαι φόνον. Ἄν τε καὶ γένηται, συλλαμβάνοντες τὸν δρῶν-  
 τα εὐθέως τῇ μείζονι ἐξουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ παραπέμπετε.  
 Ὅρατε μὴ γένηται μοιχεία, αἰμομιξία, κτηνοφθορία. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τολμηθῶσι πώποτε, τῷ  
 πραιτωρίῳ αὐτοὺς παραπέμπετε. ° Ὅρατε μὴ γένηται ἡ τῶν Σοδόμων ἀσέλγεια. Εἰ δὲ καὶ  
 35 φωραθεῖ τις, συλλαμβάνοντες τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ ὑπάρχῳ παραπέμπετε, ἵν' ἐκεῖνος τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον διεξέρχεται αὐτοῖς. Δίκαιον γὰρ ἐσπιν ἀποκτείνεσθαι τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ἵνα  
 μὴ ζῶντες τῷ μιάσματι τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ βδελυγμίας αὐτῶν, ἵν' οὕτως εἶπω, μιάνωσιν καὶ

12 μετὰ – χαρᾶς cf. 2 Cor. 5.17; Eph. 6.5; Phil. 2.12; Mt. 28.8 | 13 οὐ – 14 μέλλοντι cf. Mt. 12.32 | 16 ἐὰν – 18 σέ Ex. 15.26 | 26 τὰς – 27 ῥύμας cf. Lc. 14.21

### C S H T V

8 τὰ περι < T | 9 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – τε < C τὴν<sup>3</sup> < HTV | 10 χρεωστὸν SH, < TV | 11 ὑπήκοοί] οἱ πικροὶ SHTV γενόμενοι C | 12 καὶ τρόμου < SHTV | 13 εὐεργετοῦνται SHTV | 14 μόνον + δὲ C | 15 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] αὐτῶν SHTV ἐξ < T | 16 τοῦδε STV τέλους] τοῦ λαοῦ C | 17 ἀρεστὰ] + ἐνώπιον C πᾶσαν – Αἰγυπτίοις post 18 σέ C νόμον S | 18 πειρασθῶμεν SHTV | 19 σικαιώματα S | 20 ° ἀρχὴ τοῦ νόμου] κεφάλαιον πρώτων C | 21 ἰτονίων V βασιλευούσης τῶν πόλεων] πόλεως τῶν πόλεων βασιλευούσης C ἐμπεπιστευμένους – 23 πόλεων bis S | 22 τάχει] ταύτη C γεγενῆσθαι C ἐν<sup>2</sup> <

the benefactor, but should serve him as it is attainable, acceptable and possible for us. For he has not simply raised us because of his honour, delight and glory (for what obligation does he have to us?) giving us the most famous state of the Homerites, but that we may safely obey to his immaculate orders and quickly do the things commanded to us by him *with fear and trembling and joy*, and so, I think, do well to ourselves greatly by such an undertaking *not only in this world, but also in the future one*. For when God revealed his orders and his statutes to Moses at the time of his exodus from Egypt, he finally said unto him: *If you listen with your ears to the voice of the Lord your God and do the things pleasing to him, I will not inflict upon you all the diseases which I have inflicted upon the Egyptians*. Therefore, that we may not make the experience of his righteous threat for this reason like the Egyptians, let us follow his statutes.

Accordingly, the serenity of our piety gives order to those to whom the rule of the neighbourhoods of this residential city has been entrusted, that great improvements shall quickly be introduced with awe-inspiring authority first in this residential city and then also in every town and village which is under our kingdom. We give order to you, the subjects of our power, to keep watch accurately, sitting with the honour befitting in the public places which have been given you to by our serenity. Look securely unto the public, the main streets of the city, the lanes, the inns, the houses and all things that are bought, I mean bread, wine, oil and all other items. And everyone shall keep accurately to the region which has been allotted to him. We do not allow anybody else to look upon the administration and domination of his neighbour, but command that everybody stays in his region.

Now care has to be taken that murder does not occur. And if one should happen, arrest the culprit and send him immediately to the higher authority into prison.

See to it that no adultery, incest or bestiality do happen. And if they ever should dare to do this, send them into prison. See that the licentiousness of Sodom does not happen. If someone is caught, arrest such a man and send him to the prefect, that he may apply the regulations of the law to them. For it is just that such men be killed, so that they may not live and spoil other unpolluted souls of innocent people as well with the

SHTV πρώτον T | 23 πόλεων + ἐμπειστευμένους C SHV και<sup>2</sup> < C | 24 τάδε ὑμῖν < C τοῖς – 25 ὑμῖν < V ὑπηκόοις τοῖς C ὑπηκόους SHTV | 25 καθεζομένους C | 26 ὁράτε + οὖν C | 27 καθαροποτία C καθαροτόπια T τα<sup>2</sup> – 28 και<sup>4</sup> < SHTV | 28 ἐκάστω SHTV αὐτὸν SH λιγεῶνα SV λεγεῶνα HT ἀκριβῶς τηρείτω < SHTV | 29 ἕτερον – ἂν < V τοῦ] τὸν C τε < SHTV οὐδ' ἂν] οὐδὲ C | 30 παρανίψας V | 31 T περι φόνου και μοιχείας και ἀρσενοκοιτίας SHTV (ἀρσενομανίας H) κεφάλαιον δεύτερον C συλλαμβάνοντες SHTV δρώντα] ποιήσαντα C ἄνδρα V | 32 ἐξουσία + παραδόντες και C παραπέμπετε ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ T παραπέμπειν C | 33 ὁράτε – 34 παραπέμπετε < SHTV | 34 ° γ' C ἀσελγεία SHTV εἰ δέ] εἶτε SHTV | 35 φωραθῆ H συλλαμβάνοντες SHTV ἐπάρχω H | 36 νόμον + κυρίου C αὐτοῦς C ἀποκτένεσθαι C ἀποκτείναι SH τοῦς τοιοῦτους] αὐτοῦς C | 37 και βδελυγμίας < SHTV οὔτω C εἶπω μιάνωσιν] ὑπομιάνωσιν SHTV



ἄλλας ἀμιάντους ψυχὰς ἀθώων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰς ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτῶν κατενέγκωσιν.

40 Τ<sup>ο</sup> Ὅρατε μὴ ἔστω γοητεία ἢ φαρμακεία καὶ ἐπαιδία· εἴτε καὶ φωραθεῖεν ποτέ, τῷ 584B  
πραιτωρίῳ τὸν ταῦτα δρῶντα αἰθις παράδοτε, ἵνα πυρὶ οἱ ταῦτα δρῶντες κατακαίωνται.  
Ὅρατε μὴ ἔστω ψευδομαρτυρία· εἴτε καὶ τολμηθεῖεν ποτέ, παραπεμπόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ  
τὸ ἄκρον τῆς γλώττης αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμένεσθω.

οἰ Ὅρατε ἐν ἐγρηγόρσει πολλῇ, καὶ παρατηρητέον καὶ τοὺς κλέπτας. Καὶ τοὺς ὑπο-  
45 δεχομένους καὶ συλλαμβανομένους ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐν πρώτοις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα διπλῶν αὐτοὺς  
διεξέρχεσθε, εἴτα σημείω τινί, ἤγουν σφραγίδι σιδηρᾷ σφραγίσαντες πεπυρακτωμένη ἐπὶ  
τοῦ μετώπου, οὕτω δημεύσαντες ἀχίτωνα ἀπολύετε παραγγέλοντες αὐτῷ· Ὅρατε 584C  
σεαυτῷ, ἀδελφέ, μηκέτι κλέψης, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθεῖς ἐπὶ μείζονι ἐλευσίᾳ τιμωρίᾳ. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ  
μετέπειτα κρατηθῇ ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ αἰτίᾳ ὁ τοιοῦτος (κατάδηλον γὰρ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ ἐν τῷ  
50 μετώπῳ πρότερον γὰρ γεγυῖα σφραγίς ἐναποτελέσειεν), τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἀπαγέσθω καὶ  
νευρόμητον τὸν ἀριστερὸν πόδα αὐτοῦ ἀποτελείτω, ἵνα κἂν βουλευθῇ κλέψαι μηκέτι  
δυνηθῇ, ἀργοῦ μείναντος τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν πτωχο-  
τροφείῳ καταταττέσθω τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν ἐξῆ τὴν ἐφήμερον  
τροφίην.

οἰ Πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα φεύγειν τὴν ἄσωτον πορνείαν προστάττομεν.  
Ἐκαστος ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω καὶ ἕκαστον γυναῖον τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ἐχέτω,  
καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς λόγος εἰς ἀπολογίαν, ὅπερ πολλοὶ φάσκουσιν· Πένης εἰμί καὶ οὐ δύνα-  
μαι ἔχειν γυναῖκα. Πρὸς οὖς ἀπολογούμεθα· Οὐ βούλει νομίμως γάμῳ προσομιλήσαι, 584D  
οὐδ' ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς βιάζομεν.

Τ<sup>ο</sup> Ὅρα δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῆς μετὰ πορνῶν ἀμαρτάνων καὶ κινδυνεύσης παραχρήμα. Κελεύει 585A  
γὰρ ἡ γαληνότης τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ πορνείας κρατούμενον, εἴτε  
ἀρρένα εἴτε θῆλυ πεφυκότα, δέχεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον μάστιγας ἑκατόν· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τὸ  
ἀριστερὸν οὖς αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμένεσθω, δήμευσίν τε ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπομείνας ἀπολύεσθω. Τὸ  
αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πᾶσα γυνή, ἣς οὐ κέκτηται ἄνδρα, κατασχεθεῖσα παραπλησίως ὑπομενέτω.  
65 Ἐὰν δὲ κατασχεθῇ ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα μὴ κεκτημένος μετὰ γυναικὸς ἴδιον ἄνδρα μὴ κεκτημέ-  
νης, καὶ βούλοιντο κἂν ἔκτοτε νομίμως ζευχθῆναι καὶ ἡρεμεῖν ἐν φρονήσει, φωνουμένου

47 πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ ἀδελφέ cf. Ex. 34.12 ec.; 1 Thess. 5.21 | 56 ἕκαστος – ἐχέτω<sup>2</sup> cf. 1 Cor. 7.2

#### C S H T V

38 ψυχὰς ἀμιάντους C ἀθώων] καὶ ἀθώους SHTV θεοῦ + καὶ SV ἐφ' < H τὰς] τῆς C |  
39 ἀμαρτίας V | 40 Τ<sup>ο</sup> περὶ γοητείας καὶ ψευδομαρτυρίας καὶ κλεψίας SHTV ° δ' C ἐπαιδία +  
ἀλλ' C ἐπαιδία SHTV | 41 δρῶντα] ἀνδρῶν SV παραδότε C παραδίδοτε T κατακαίωνται]  
παραδίδωνται V | 42 ἔστω + γοητεία ἢ C εἰ δὲ C τολμηθῇ ποτε SHTV παραπεμπόμενος +  
οὕτως C | 44 ° ε' C ὄρατε < SHTV ἐν < C καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SHTV παρατηρητέον + οὖν TV καὶ<sup>2</sup> < C  
καὶ<sup>3</sup>] ἢ T ὑποδεχομένους καὶ < SHTV | 45 λαμβάνοντας C αὐτοὺς < SHTV | 46 εἴτα] καὶ  
SHTV ἤγουν] ἢ T φραγίδι H | 47 οὕτω < SHTV αὐτῷ < SHTV | 48 σεαυτὸν H ἀδελφέ σεαυτῷ  
STV+ καὶ SH | 49 κρατυνθῆ V τῇ τοιαύτῃ C ὁ τοιοῦτος post μετέπειτα C τοιοῦτος + ὅτι οὐ V

stain of their sin and abomination, if I may say so, and bring the anger of God down upon us because of their impurity.

See to it that there be no sorcery or poisoning or enchantment; if ever anyone is caught, again send the culprit into prison, so that those that do this may be burned by fire. See that there be no wrong testimony; if ever anyone should dare this, he shall be sent to the authority, and the tip of his tongue shall be cut off.

Look with great vigilance, and also the thieves have to be observed. And to those of them that are held and arrested, first give fifty double blows each, then brand them on their forehead with a stamp, that is an iron seal which is made glowing, confiscate their property and dismiss them undressed giving them such advice: 'Take care of yourself, brother, do not steal anymore so that you wo not be arrested and receive a greater punishment.' And if such a man should be arrested thereafter for such a reason (for the seal which has been stamped on his forehead before will make him manifest), he shall be led away to the prefect, and the sinew of his left foot shall be cut, so that even if he wants to do so, he cannot steal anymore, because his foot will remain lame when he walks. And thereafter he shall be sent to a poorhouse of our majesty, that he may receive his daily food there henceforth.

We command that every man and woman shall flee profligate fornication. Every man shall have his own wife and every woman shall have her own husband, and there shall be no reason of excuse, as many people used to say: 'I am poor and cannot afford a wife.' To these we answer: if you do not want to be legally married, we also shall not force you.

See to it that you be not found sinning with harlots and come into danger immediately. For the serenity of our majesty orders that everybody that is arrested at fornication, be he male or female, that such a person shall receive one hundred lashes; and thereafter his left ear shall be cut off, and having suffered confiscation such a person shall be dismissed. And every woman, who has no husband, shall suffer a similar thing if caught. If a man, who has no wife, be caught with a woman that has no husband, and they then want to be legally married and to live calmly and prudently, a priest shall be called by those that have caught them, and having received the blessing, they shall be

τοιούτων + και C | 50 γὰρ < C ὑπαγέσθω T ἀπάγεσθαι V | 51 αὐτοῦ πόδα ἀριστερὸν T ἀποτελεῖτε C | 52 μηκέτι δυνηθῆ] μὴ ἰσχύειν post εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν] ἐμπεριπατεῖν C ἐν + τῷ T | 53 ἴν' C ἔξη + κἂν C | 55 ° ζ' C γυναῖκαν SHTV | 56 και – ἐχέτω² < C | 57 μηδεῖς] μὴ ἔστω C πολλά S οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν C δεδύνημαι STV | 58 νομίμως C | 59 οὐδ' ἂν και] οὐδὲ C | 60 Ὅ περὶ πορνείας SHTV + να' SV δὲ < SHTV κινδυνεύης SHTV | 61 πορνεία C T | 62 θῆλυ πεφυκότα] θήλειαν C πληγὰς ἑκατὸν ἦττον μάλιστα SHTV | 63 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ SH δημεῦσιν H δημευθεῖς TV | 65 μὴ ἔχων κεκτημένος γυναῖκα C | 66 ἔκτοτε] ἐκτός τε C ἐρεμῆν C φρονήσει] σωφροσύνη C

ιέρως παρὰ τῶν κατασχόντων αὐτούς εὐλογοῦμενοι ἀπαθῶς ἀπολυέσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιντο ζευχθῆναι τὴν τιμωρίαν δεχόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν.

70 Τ<sup>ο</sup> ὅ εἰς γυναῖκα ὑπανδρον εὐρεθείς τεμνέσθω τὸ ἐργαλεῖον τοῦ σώματος, μεθ' οὗ 585B  
τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εἰσπράττεται, ἀφαιρέσθω τε καὶ ὁ εὐώνυμος μασθός τῆς γυναικός, ἀνθ' ὧν  
κατέλιπε τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἴδιον καὶ ἐμίγη τῷ σατανᾷ. *Συμφέρει γάρ*, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, *ἵνα ἐν*  
*τῶν μελῶν σου ἀπόληται ἔνθεν καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα σου ἐμβληθῆ ἔν Γεέννη* πυρός.

75 ὁ Πᾶς ὁ κεκτημένος γυναῖκα νομίμως καὶ ἔων αὐτὴν καὶ πορνεύων ἑτέραν τεμνέσθω  
μεθ' οὗ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν εἰσπράττεται. Εἰ δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύμβιος φωραθῆ φάσκουσα ὅτι Ὅυ  
λογίζομαι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τῷ ἀνδρί μου, κἂν μυριάκις μοι δόλον κατεργάσῃται, ἀλλὰ τὸν  
ἄνδρα μου ἀτιμώρητον ἔχειν βούλομαι', δεχέσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος μάστιγας διακοσίας, τὸ τε  
οὗς αὐτοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀφαιρέσθω καὶ δημευθείς ἀποδιδόσθω τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ. 585C

80 ὁ Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικός μοιχευάσης· ἀντὶ τοῦ μασθοῦ τὸ ὠτίον τεμνέσθω, εἴπερ  
ἄρεστον ἐστὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἔκτοτε συνοικεῖν μετ' αὐτῆς. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ  
αὐτὰ φωραθῶσι κατεργαζόμενοι τὴν πρώτην τιμωρίαν ὑπομενέτωσαν, ἡ μὲν τὸν μασθόν,  
ὁ δὲ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀφαιρούμενος. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ μετέπειτα φωραθῆ τὸ γύναιον τὰ αὐτὰ  
πάλιν ἐργαζόμενον, πτερνιζομένη ἢ τοιαύτη ἐξοριζέσθω τῆς πόλεως. Καὶ πᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ  
αἰτία ὁ κρατούμενος καὶ τιμωρούμενος μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπίπτων ἐξοριζέσθω  
τῆς πόλεως.

85 Τ<sup>ο</sup> Ἐὰν ἐρασθῆ πλουσίου υἱὸς πενιχρᾶς κόρης, οἱ δὲ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ οὐ βούλωνται διὰ  
τὸ μὴ οἰκτειρηθῆναι πενιχρὰν καὶ ἀτιμωθῆναι, ὁ νόμος ἀρμωζέτω αὐτούς, παρεχόντων 585D  
τῶν γονέων σώαν τὴν προῖκα τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῶν, καθότι κέλευσις βασιλικὴ παρακελεύεται. Τὸ  
αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ κόρης πλουσίας, εἴπερ ἄρεσθῆ ἐπὶ νεωτέρῳ πενιχρῷ, παρακολουθεῖτω.

90 Ἐὰν ἄνηρ ἐλεύθερος, ὁ ἔαν ἄγαμος ἢ καὶ κατασχεθῆ δούλην ἄλλοτριαν φθειρῶν, προσ- 588A  
οικειούσθω τὴν δουλείαν τῇ κυρίᾳ ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ τῆς θεραπεινίδος. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλευθέ-  
ρας γυναικός τελείσθω, ὅποταν εἰς δούλον παραλόγως ἐμβιβάσῃ αὐτήν. Ὅ γὰρ ἄρας τὰ  
μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὰ μέλη πόρνῆς, ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ οἰκέτης ἀνθρώπου χρη-  
ματίσαι, ἵνα γνῶ πόσον κακὸν ἢ ἁμαρτία καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει νομίμως γαμῆσαι καὶ μὴ παρα-  
νόμως. ὁ Ἐκαστον προστάττομεν ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μόνον γυναῖκα καὶ ἀποφεύγειν

71 συμφέρει – 72 Γεέννη Mt. 5.29 | 91 ὦ – 92 πόρνῆς cf. 1 Cor. 6.15

### C S H T V

67 ἀπαθῶς < C εἰ – 68 ἀπολυέσθωσαν < C HT | 69 Τ<sup>ο</sup> περὶ μοιχείας SHTV ὁ ζ' C τεμνέσθω] εὐθέως C | 70 εἰσπράττει SHTV τε] ἀλλὰ C, < V ἀνθ' ὧν] μεθ' οὗ C | 71 τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα C ὁ κύριος φησὶν H | 72 ἔνθεν] ἐντεῦθεν C ὅθεν S ἐμβληθῆ] ἐμβιβασθῆ ἐκεῖθεν SHTV | 73 ὁ η' C ἔων] καταλιπὼν T | 74 δὲ γε H σύμβιος αὐτοῦ SHTV φωραθείη C, < T ὅτι < SHTV | 75 τοῦ ἀνδρός TV κἂν] καὶ SHV ἀλλὰ – 76 μου < SHTV | 76 διακοσίους καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον οὗς αὐτοῦ T | 77 ἀφαιρέσει C ἀποδόστω SHV ἀποδότω T | 78 ὁ θ' C μοιχευθείσης C T τοῦ < T | 79 ἔκτοτε] καὶ T, < C ἂν SHTV τὰ < SH τὰ αὐτὰ < C | 81 ἂν τε STV | 82 καὶ – 84 πόλεως < C | 83 μετὰ δὲ SHTV | 85 Τ<sup>ο</sup> περὶ πλουσίῳ ἐπιθυμούντων πενομένας SHTV ὁ ι' C πλουσίῳ υἱὸς] πλούσιος SHTV οἱ δὲ] καὶ οἱ SHTV διὰ – 86 ἀτιμωθῆναι < SHTV | 86 αὐτοῖς S | 87 παρακελεύεται] ἐστὶν TV | 88 ἐρασθῆ C | 89 Τ<sup>ο</sup> περὶ ἐλευθέρων εἰς δούλον παραπιπτόντων

dismissed unpunished; if they do not want to be married, they shall receive the punishment and then be dismissed.<sup>3</sup>

From a man that is found with a married woman, the tool of the body by which he committed the sin shall be cut off, and also the left breast of the woman shall be removed, because she has left her own husband and had intercourse with Satan. *For it is better*, says the Lord, *that one of your limbs be lost in this world and not your whole body be thrown into the Gehenna of fire.*

From every man who has a wife legally, leaves her and fornicates with another one, the <tool of the body> by which he committed the sin shall be cut off. And if his wife is found saying: 'I do not regard as a sin by my husband, even if he has deceived me ten thousand times, but want to have my husband unpunished', such a man shall receive two hundred lashes, and his left ear shall be removed, and after the confiscation of his property he shall be returned to his wife.

The same thing also to a woman that commits adultery: instead of the breast her ear shall be cut off, if it pleases to her husband to live with her thereafter. But if they be caught thereafter again doing the same thing, they shall suffer the previous punishment, that is, removing her breast and his member. And if the woman should be caught thereafter doing the same thing again, she shall be kicked and banished from the city. And everybody that is arrested and punished for any reason and later falls to the same <sin>, shall be banished from the city.

If the son of a rich man falls in love with a poor girl, and his parents do not want this because they do not have compassion with someone poor and disregard her, the law shall be applied to them that the parents have to give the complete dowry to their son, for a royal decree orders this. The same shall also happen to a rich girl, if she pleases a poor young man.

A free man, if he is unmarried and caught ravishing a foreign slave girl, shall become a slave of the mistress or the lord of this maiden. The same shall also be done to a free woman, if she gives herself away to a slave against reason.<sup>4</sup> For the one that takes away the members of Christ and makes them members of a harlot, is also worthy to be the servant of a man, so that he may know how bad sin is, and that it is of more benefit to have intercourse legally than illegally. We order that everyone shall have his one and

SHTV ° ια' C ἄγαμος ἦ | γάμος ἐστίν C δούλην – 90 τήν < C | 90 τήν | τῆ SH τῆ δουλεία τῆς κυρίας TV ἐπί < C ἐλευθέρους S | 91 ὁπότα S ἐαυτήν TV | 92 ἔσται T ἔστι V | 93 καί<sup>1</sup> – παρὰ νόμῳ < C | 94 ° ιβ' C γυναῖκα καὶ μόνην C μόνην T

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 87.

- 95 τῆς ἐπαράτου πορνείας, δι' ἧς ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὁ δὲ παραβαίνων ἤκουσε πάντως τίνα ὀφείλει τιμωρούμενος ὑποδέχεσθαι.
- Τὸ Κελεύει ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ ἡμῶν βασιλεία πᾶσι γονεῦσιν ἀπὸ δεκαετοῦς μέχρι δωδεκαετίας τὰ ἴδια τέκνα συνάπτειν πρὸς γάμον, ἐκτὸς ἀσθενείας. Ὁ δὲ παραβαίνων παρεχέτω, εἰ 588b μὲν πολὺ πλούσιος ἐστί, λίτρας ἕξ χρυσοῦ τῷ ἐν τῷ ῥεγεῶνι αὐτοῦ ἐξάρχοντι, εἴτε μέσος
- 100 τίς ἐστὶν τρεῖς, εἴτε καταδεέστερος μίαν ἡμισυ· εἴτε καὶ ἐλαχιστότερος ὑπὲρ τούτου λίτραν μίαν, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε νομίσματα τριακονταεξ, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀκτωκαίδεκα, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἑννέα, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τέσσαρα ἡμισυ, καὶ ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ τρίτον, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἓν καὶ ἕκτον, καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡμισυ. Καὶ τὸ τηλικαῦτα προθεσίαν ἅπαντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι μὴ ζητείωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τάχει τελείωσαν τὰ κελευόμενα. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβαλλόμενος 588c πρὸς ταῦτα, ἡ ὑπαρξὶς αὐτοῦ τοῖς πένησι νεμέσθω, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ συννέσεως βασιλικῆς ἐξοριζέσθω τῆς πόλεως. ° Ἐκαστον προστάττομεν τὸν παραβαίνοντα τῆς εἰρηνοποιουδς ἡμῶν βασιλείας τὰ θεῖα ἐντάγματα κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐπορίαν ζημιούσθαι τὰ προγεγραμμένα. Τὰ δὲ ἀπαιτούμενα ἐχέτω ὁ ἐπιτροπεύων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γειτόνων ἐξουσίας μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν παρεδρευόντων αὐτῷ.
- 110 ° Ἀνθρώπῳ θεωροῦντι τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ παντοίῳ καὶ ἀθεμίτῳ πράγματι καὶ μὴ κατάδηλον αὐτὸν ποιοῦντι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ γειτονιάρχῃ, δηλοποιούμενος ὁ τοιοῦτος, εἰ μὲν πλούσιός ἐστι, δεχέσθω δημοσίως πληγὰς ἑβδομηκονταδύο, εἴτε καὶ πένης τίς ἐστί, ζημιούσθω νομίσματα τέσσαρα, εἴτε καταδεέστερος ἐστί τρία, εἴτε τοῦδε πενέστερος δύο, καὶ ὁ πλήρης πένης ἓν.
- 115 Τὸ Ἀνθρώπῳ προξενοῦντι μοιχείαν εἴτε μεσιτεῦντι εἰς τὴν κοπρώδη συμπλοκὴν τῶν 588d τε παίδων καὶ εὐνούχων, μεθ' ὧν εἰώθασιν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἀνομίαν οἱ ἄφρονες, ἂν τε 589A ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πορνείαν, εἴτε ἄνδρες εἴτε καὶ γυναῖον εἴτε κἂν οἰονδήποτε πρόσωπον, καὶ φωραθῆ ὁ τοιοῦτος ταῦτα δρῶν, προστάττομεν τὴν γλώτταν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ μέσον τμηθῆναι, ἵνα κἂν βουληθῆ ἕκτοτε ὑπηρετῆσαι τῷ σατανᾷ ὡς ὁ ὄφις ποτὲ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ
- 120 διὰ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ, μὴ δυνηθῆ. Ἐπικατάρτατοι γὰρ πεφύκασιν οἱ ἀθέμιτοι οὗτοι διὰ τῶν χειλέων αὐτῶν τῶν ματαίων ἐκβιβάζωσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας καὶ παραδίδωσιν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ ἀθλίῳ δαίμονι εἰς ὄλεθρον ψυχῆς.

95 δι' – θεοῦ cf. Col. 3.15 | 119 ὑπηρετῆσαι – παραδείσῳ cf. Gen. 3

### C S H T V

95 πονηρίας V | 96 πάντως < SHTV ὑποδέχεσθαι ὀφείλει τιμωρούμενος T | 97 T περὶ τοῦ ζευγενεῖν τὰ τέκνα οἱ γονεῖς πρὸς γάμον ἀπὸ ἐτῶν δέκα ἢ δώδεκα SHTV ° ιγ' C παντὶ γονέω C | 98 ἴδια < SHTV παρεχέτω post ἐστί T | 99 πολὺ < C T ἕξ λίτρας SHTV (ἕξι S) ῥιγεῶνι SHTV εἴτε] εἰ δὲ T | 100 ἐστὶν] λίτρας TV εἴτε<sup>1</sup>] εἰ δὲ C μίαν ἡμισυ] μίσους S ἡμίους HTV εἴτε<sup>2</sup>] εἰ δὲ C τούτων C τούτους H μίαν λίτραν SH | 101 ἀπὸ τοῦδε<sup>1</sup>] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ C τριακονταεξ νομίσματα SHTV ὁ<sup>2</sup> < H | 102 ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup>] ἂ H τέσσαρα – αὐτοῦ < SHTV και<sup>3</sup> < C τρίτον] τῆ<sup>δ</sup> H | 103 ἐν και] ἀνά C ἡμίους SHTV τὸ] τὸν C | 104 μὴ ζητείωσαν] οὐ κεκτήσθωσαν SHTV | 105 ἡ ὑπαρξὶς] υἱοὶ παρεξῆς SV ἡ – νεμέσθω] εἰσκομιζέσθω C συνέσεως C | 106 ° ιδ' C τῆς<sup>2</sup>] τοὺς SHTV | 107 αὐτοῦ TV ἐμπόριον και SHTV τὰ προγεγραμμένα < SHTV | 108 τῆς – ἐξουσίας] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γειτονίαν C τοῦ γειτόνων ἐξαρχίας SHV τῆς ἐξαρχίας τῶν γειτόνων T | 110 ° ιε' C τὸν]

only wife and flee the accursed fornication, by which the anger of God comes from heaven upon the sons of men. And at all events, the transgressor has heard what he will suffer when he is punished.

Our majesty, who comes from God, gives order to all parents to join their children in marriage between the age of ten and twelve, except in case of illness. The transgressor <of this law> shall pay, if he is very rich, six pounds of gold to the ruler in his district, if he is of middle state three, if he is a needy person, one and a half; if he is still less wealthy that that, one pound, the one after him thirty-six *nomismata*, the one after him eighteen, the one after him nine, the one after him four and a half, the one after him two and a third, the one after him one and a sixth, and the one after him a half. And in such a case all such persons shall not ask for a delay, but quickly fulfill what they have been ordered. And if he hesitates to do this, his property shall be distributed to the poor, and he shall be banished from the city by royal consent. We order that everyone that transgresses the divine commandments of our peace-making majesty shall be fined in the way described before according to his wealth. And the administrator of the authority over his neighbours shall receive the sum that has been demanded together with the soldiers that attend him.

If a man sees his neighbour doing any kind of evil and unlawful thing, and does not make him manifest to his *geitoniarches* and is denounced, he shall receive, if he is rich, seventy strokes in public, and if he is poor, he shall be fined four *nomismata*, if he is more needy three, if he is poorer than this two, and he that is entirely poor one.

If a man arranges adultery or promotes the dirty entanglement of boys and eunuchs, with whom the fools are wont to commit their iniquity, or thereafter even fornication, be it men or a woman or any person whatsoever, and such a person is caught doing this, we order that his tongue shall be cut off from the middle, so that even if he should want to serve Satan thereafter, as once the serpent in Paradise, by his tongue, he will be unable to do so. For these unlawful people are accursed: by their vain tongue they drive out man from his mind and give him to the wretched demon for the perdition of his soul.

τὸ TV πονηρῷ παντοίῳ] παντὶ πονηρῷ C παντοίῳ] τινὶ TV | 111 ποιοῦντα τῷ αὐτοῦ C ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ C, < TV γειτονιάρχοντι H | 112 δημοσία H ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο T εἴτε] εἰ δὲ TV | 113 νομίσματα χρυσᾶ C εἴτε!] εἰ δὲ C εἴτε καὶ SH τρεῖς T εἴτε τοῦδε] εἰ δὲ C | 114 καὶ ὁ] εἴτε C καὶ – ἔν] εἰς ὅπερ ἐπλημμέλησεν H πληρεπένης S πένης πλήρης T ἕν] μίαν T ἦν α' V | 115 T περὶ μαστροπῶν SHTV ° ις' C μεσιτεύων C μεσιτεύοντος SHTV | 116 ἄν – 117 πορνείαν] καὶ ἀσύνετοι καὶ ἀσεβεῖς C | 117 ἄνδρες] ἀνὴρ ἔστι C ἄνδρες εἶεν T καὶ! < C T κἂν < C ὁδήποτε STV | 118 τὸ < C | 120 σεαυτοῦ SH ἑαυτοῦ TV πεφήνασιν SHTV οὔτοι + ὄτι C, + οὔτοι V | 121 ματαίων χειλέων T ἐκβιβάζωσιν] ἐκβάλλωσιν C ἐκβιβάζουσιν V τὸν < SHTV ἑαυτοῦ H | 122 παραδιδόασιν C ἀθλίῳ δαίμονι] διαβόλῳ C

125 ° Οί τε ἐργαζόμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν οἰκίας καταγῶγια τῶν πορνευόντων καὶ τοὺς ποιούν-  
 130 τας τὴν ἀνομίαν ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ συσκιάζοντες, πάντες οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 135 φωραθέντες εἰσκομιζέσθωσαν παρὰ τοῦ γειτονιάρχου πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ  
 ἐξοριζέσθωσαν τῆς πόλεως, πράττοντες καὶ ἰδιόχειρα κεφαλικῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ μηκέτι  
 παρεμβαιεῖν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν. Θεραπευτὰς γὰρ δαιμόνων  
 ἢ ἡμετέρα γαληνότης ἐν ταῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν βασιλευομέναις πόλεσιν εἶναι οὐ βούλεται. Ὅν  
 τρόπον γὰρ τὰ πρόπαλαι ἐδίωξεν ὁ παμπόνηρος δαίμων διὰ τῶν εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα μανέντων  
 βασιλέων τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς λάτρας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πεφιλόνεικε τοῦ  
 ἐξᾶραι καὶ τὴν ἀώμητον πίσπιν ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς, οὕτω  
 παραπλησίως ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ἐξᾶραι πάσας τὰς πομπὰς τοῦ πεσόντος ἐκ  
 τῶν οὐρανῶν δράκοντος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς καὶ ἐκδιῶξει (αὐτοὺς) κατὰ τὸ  
 δυνατὸν πᾶσαν κακίαν καὶ πονηρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς Χριστόν. Ἡ χριστιανὸς  
 γὰρ, φησιν, χρημάτιζε, ἢ μὴ παίζε τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ.

135 ° Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄρκον, ὃν ὤμοσεν θεὸς πρὸς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν πληροφορῶν, 589B  
 140 145 150 πθέμεθα καθότι οὐ παυσόμεθα πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἀναριθμητὰ κακὰ ἐνδει-  
 κνύμενοι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὴν ἀνομίαν καὶ τὸν θεόδοτον ἡμῶν τόνδε νόμον παρὰ  
 πόδας τιθεμένοι, εἴπερ οὐ παύσονται τοῦ ποιεῖν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν· εἴτε ἡμεῖς οὐ παρασιωπή-  
 σωμεν τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῖν αὐτοὺς. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος Δαυὶδ τὰ ἴσα τούτοις διαπρατ-  
 τόμενος τῷ κόσμῳ γράφων ἀπεφθέγγετο· *Εἰς τὰς πρώϊας ἀπέκτενον πάντα τοὺς ἀμαρ-  
 τωλοὺς τῆς γῆς, φησίν, τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ἐκ πόλεως κυρίου πάντα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους  
 τὴν ἀνομίαν.*

145 150 Τὸ Οἱ ὀδοστατοῦντες γυναικας καὶ βίᾳ συγγινόμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς λησταὶ καὶ ἐχθροὶ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλεγχόμενοι παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σὺν ὄρκῳ, δεχέσθωσαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν διπλῶν καὶ  
 τὰ ἀμφοτέρα ὄτα τεμνόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰ αὐτὰ φωρα-  
 θῶσιν ποιούντες, ἀνὰ διακοσίῳ διπλῶν δεχόμενοι καὶ δημευόμενοι ἐξοριζέσθωσαν. 592A

150 ° Οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ καὶ πλατεῖαν ὁδὸν βαδίζοντες καὶ ἀπλοῦντες τὰς χεῖρας ἑαυ-  
 τῶν ἀναιδῶς εἰς διερχομένας ἐλευθέρας γυναικας χάριν μοιχείας καὶ αἰσχρὰς ἐπιθυμίας  
 καθορώμενοι, εἴτε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐγκαλοῦσης – κομιζέσθω ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐβδομηκονταδύο  
 μᾶσπιγας μέσον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὅπου ὁ ὄχλος καὶ δημευθεὶς παραγγελίαν τε εἰληφῶς ἀπολυ-

123 τοὺς – 124 ἀνομίαν cf. Iob 31.3 | 136 ὄρκον – ἡμῶν Lc. 1.73 | 141 εἰς – 143 ἀνομίαν Ps. 100.8

### CSHTV

123 ° ιζ' C οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν οἰκίας ἐργαζόμενοι C | 124 συσκιάζοντες SH | 125 φωραζόμενοι  
 σκομιζέσθωσαν SHTV (κομιζέσθωσαν T) παρὰ] ἀπὸ TV | 126 πράττοντες] ποιούντες C |  
 127 ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἢ παρεμβάλλειν C παραμβαιεῖν V | 128 γαληνότης] βασιλεία SHTV ταῖς +  
 ἡμετέρας H βασιλευομένοις SHT δύναται C βούλομαι TV | 129 τὰ<sup>1</sup> < H τὰ πρόπαλαι] πρὸ  
 πολλοῦ C | 130 ἀγαπητοὺς + καὶ C καὶ πεφιλόνεικε τοῦ < C πεφίλονεϊκησε T | 131 ἐξᾶραι]  
 ἐξαιαὶ δὲ καὶ < H τῶν – προσώπου] ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκ C προσώπου + πάσης H  
 οὕτως H | 132 τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν SH ἡμετέρα + ἐκ θεοῦ C | 133 αὐτοὺς seclusi αὐτοῦ C |

Of all those who make their houses dwelling-places of fornicators and receive those that do their iniquity there and cover them, if they are caught doing this, all their property shall be confiscated by the *geitoniarches* and they shall be banished from the city, writing also with their own hand a document which threatens them with capital punishment, that they will never again enter into the country in all the days of their life. For our serenity does not want attendants of demons to be in the towns under our reign. For in the same way as once the very bad demon drove out the beloved venerators of our Lord Jesus Christ by the kings that had remained with the idols, and endeavoured also to remove the blameless faith of us Christians from the face of the earth, similarly it also seemed right to our authority to remove all the pomp of the dragon, that has fallen from heaven, from the face of our earth, and to drive away as far as possible all badness and wickedness from those that believe in Christ. For he says, either be a Christian, or at least do not fool with the Lord Christ.

We swear the oath, which God swore to our father Abraham instructing him, that we will not cease in all the days of our life to display innumerable bad things to all those that do iniquity and tread our God-given law with their feet, if they do not cease to commit sin, nor will we pass over them in silence in order to destroy them. For the marvellous David also, doing the same thing, said to the world writing thus: *In the morning I have killed all the sinners of the earth*, he said, *to destroy all those that do iniquity from the city of the Lord*.

Those that waylay women and have intercourse with them by force, if they are accused as robbers and enemies of God by the woman with an oath, shall receive one hundred double blows each and, after both their ears have been cut off, they shall be dismissed. And if they should be caught thereafter doing the same thing, they shall receive twohundred double blows each, their property shall be confiscated and they shall be banished.

As to those that are seen walking over the market-place or a broad street and stretching out their arms shamelessly to free women, who pass by, for the sake of adultery and shameful desire, if the woman accuses them — such a man shall receive seventy-two lashes in the middle of the market-place, where the crowd is, his property shall

134 χριστιανός γάρ φησιν] γάρ χριστιανός C | 136 ° κεφάλαιον ιη' C δν ὄρκον C ὁ θεός C H, < TV πληρῶν V | 137 τὰ κακά C | 138 τόνδε τὸν C | 139 πιθεμένους STV οὐ<sup>1</sup> < C ἀμαρτίαν] ἀνομίαν SHTV εἶτε] εἰ δέ γε C καὶ T | 141 κόσμῳ < T γράφων < C ἀποκταίνων πάσας T | 142 φησὶν < T | 144 T περι ὀδοστατοῦντας γυναῖκας SHTV (ὀδοστατοῦντας S) + νζ' S ° κεφάλαιον ιθ' C βίβ] μηδέν H, < T ληστὰς H | 145 ὄρκῳ + δὲ C | 146 ἀποτεμνόμενοι HT μετὰ + αὐτὰ T τὰ<sup>2</sup> < SHV | 147 ποιοῦντες] τολμῶντες SHTV καὶ δημεύόμενοι < C δημεύόμενοι + ἀπολυέσθωσαν καὶ T | 148 ° κ' C ἡ καὶ] ἦτοι C καὶ<sup>1</sup>] κατὰ T | 149 διερχομένας εἰς H μοιχείας] βακχείας C | 150 καθορώμενοι] διὰ τινῶν θεωρούμενοι C καθαρῶμενοι V κατεγκαλούσης SHTV ἑβδομήκοντα SHTV



- έσθω. Εἴτε πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ φωραθῆ τελῶν, χειροκοπέσθω ὡς ἀναδέστατος. Ἦ γὰρ ἡμετέ-  
 592B  
 155 ρα γαληνότης ἐκέλευσεν ἕκαστον κεκτῆσθαι τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίας δὲ χεῖρα  
 μὴ αἶρειν, εἰ δυνατὸν μῆτε ἐννεύειν ὀφθαλμῶ. ° Χριστιανούς γὰρ πόρνους, εἴτε μοιχοῦς  
 εἴτε σοδομίτας εἴτε μάγους καὶ ἐπασιδούς καὶ τὰ τούτων ὅμοια ποιοῦντας ἢ ἡμετέρα  
 βασιλεία κεκτῆσθαι οὐκ ἀνέχεται. Διὰ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρα-  
 νοῦ τὴν ὄργην αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἐκτρίψαι καὶ εἰς τέλος ἀφανίσει ἡμᾶς διὸ οὔτε ἐν ταῖς  
 ὁδοῖς τῶν πολέμων κατευοδούμεθα διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἁμαρτίας. ° *Ὅπλα γάρ, φησί, πολέμου*  
 160 *δικαιοσύνη, καὶ Εἰ ὁ λαὸς μου ἤκουσέν μου, Ἰσραὴλ ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου εἰ ἐπορεύθῃ ἐν τῷ*  
*μηδενὶ ἂν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν ἐταπείνωσα καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θλίβοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπέβαλλον ἂν*  
 592C  
*τὴν χεῖρα μου,* φησὶν ὁ θεός. Διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσα κακία καὶ πονηρία ἀρθήτω ἐκ μέσου ἡμῶν  
 καὶ πολιτεῦσθω πᾶσα ἀρετὴ καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀλήθεια, ἵνα καὶ τὰ περικύκλω ἡμῶν  
 ἔθνη ὑποτάξῃ ἡμῖν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.  
 ° Ἀνθρώπων πλασθέντι παρὰ κυρίου ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πάσῃ αἰτίᾳ διεκδικεῖν οὐ προστά-  
 165 τομεν, ἂν μὴ λάβῃ πρότερον ἐπιτροπὴν παρὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐπερωτήσας τὸν νόμον, ὡς κε-  
 λεύει ὁ νόμος. Οἱ δὲ τοῦτο τολμῶντες ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, κἂν τε μεγιστάνος ἦ, κἂν τε  
 πλούσιος τίς εἴτε καὶ πένης, εἴτε δηλᾶτωρ εἴτε ταξεώτης, εἴτε καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐταιρίας ἢ  
 στρατιώτης ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν χρηματιζόντων, καὶ τύψῃ ἢ  
 592D  
 170 ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ νόμου εἴτε ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς εἴτε ἐν ὁδῷ εἴτε ἐν οἴκῳ πάρεξ τῶν τὰς ἐπιστήμας  
 593A  
 καὶ τέχνας παιδεύοντων μετὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἴτε καὶ δεσπότης τὸν δούλον αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 πατῆρ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ δικαίαν πρόφασιν καὶ μὴ ὡς  
 πινες θυμῶδεις πέλοντες βουλόμενοι παιδεύειν ἀποκτείνωσιν ἄνθρωπον. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοὺς  
 τοιαῦτα παιδεύοντας προστάττομεν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ἰδιόχειρα παρὰ τῶν γειτονιάρχων μὴ  
 175 διδάσκειν. Εἰ τοίνυν τὴν κέλευσιν ἡμῶν παραβαίνοντες καὶ παραχαράττοντες καὶ τυραν-  
 νίδι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπλῶς καὶ τυχόντων μασιγούντες ἢ τύπτοντες φωραθῶσι, δεχέσθωσαν  
 593B  
 ἀνὰ τριακονταεξ μαστιγῶν καὶ τεμνέσθω εἰς δάκτυλος τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ τοιοῦτου, καὶ  
 δημεύομενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν γνῶσιν πόσον πόνον ἔσχε τὸ ἐν ῥάπισμα ἢ περ

158 ὅπλα – 159 δικαιοσύνη § cf. A 541 | 159 εἰ<sup>1</sup> – 161 μου Ps. 80.14–15 | 162 περικύκλω ἡμῶν  
 ἔθνη cf. Ez. 36.7

### C S H T V

152 εἴτε] εἰ δὲ C τὰ αὐτὰ φωραθῆ] φωραθῆ ταῦτα C | 153 κέκτησθαι C εἰς ἄλλοτρίαν SHTV δὲ  
 < H χεῖρας SHTV | 154 μῆτε] δὲ μηδὲ C ὀφθαλμῶ ἐννεύειν T ° κεφάλαιον κα' C εἴτε] ὑπὲρ SV  
 καὶ T | 155 εἴτε<sup>1</sup>] ἢ TV ἐπασιδούς V τὰ – ποιοῦντας] τὰ λοιπὰ SHV τοὺς λοιποὺς T |  
 156 κέκτησθαι C τὰ κακὰ < C ἀποστέλλει SH ἀποστελεῖ TV ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ post 157 αὐτοῦ H  
 | 157 τοῦ – ἡμᾶς<sup>2</sup>] καὶ ἄρει φίλον σὺν ἐχθρῷ SHTV (ἄρειν TV, φίλῳ V) διὸ] καὶ SHTV ταῖς]  
 τοῖς C T | 158 ὁδοῖς τῶν πολέμων] πολέμοις ἡμῶν SHTV διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ταύτας  
 κατευοδούμεθα SHTV ταύτας] ἡμῶν T πολέμου] πολέμων H | 159 εἰ<sup>1</sup> post μου V εἰ<sup>2</sup> < T |  
 160 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ C ἐταπείνωσαν S | 162 καί<sup>2</sup> + πᾶσα C | 163 ἡμῖν post ἡμῶν TV | 164 °  
 κεφάλαιον κβ' C πᾶσιν H | 165 ἂν] εἰ C | 166 ἡμέρας] ἡμετέρας C μεγιστάνος ἢ] μεγιστᾶν ὡσι  
 SH | 167 εἴτε<sup>1</sup>] ἢ C εἴτε<sup>2</sup>] ἢ V εἴτε δηλᾶτωρ < T | 168 τύψειν ἢ ῥαπίσειν ἢ λακτίσει C | 170 εἴτε<sup>1</sup>]

be confiscated and he shall be dismissed, having received an exhortation. If he should be caught thereafter doing the same thing, his hand shall be cut off, since he is most shameless. For our serenity has ordered that everyone shall have his own companion of life, shall not raise his hand against another one and, if possible, shall not even to look upon her with his eye. For our serenity does not bear our kingdom to have Christian fornicators, adulterers and sodomites, nor magicians, enchanters or those that do things similar to these. For because of these bad things God has sent his anger upon us from heaven, to wipe us out and to make us disappear altogether; therefore we do not even rest in the ways of war because of these sins. *For the weapons of war*, he says, *are righteousness*, and *if my people would hear me, if Israel would have walked in my ways, I would have humiliated its enemies for nothing and would have put my hand upon those that afflict them*, says God. Therefore all badness and wickedness shall be removed from our midst, and all virtue, righteousness and truth shall live, so that the Lord our God may also submit the surrounding nations to us.

We do not permit that any man, that has been created by the Lord, shall defend himself <by force> for any reason whatsoever, if he has not received a commission of the law before by asking the law, as the law orders. Those that dare to do so from this day onwards,<sup>5</sup> be he a nobleman, be he rich or poor, a prosecutor or a guardsman, be he from our retinue<sup>6</sup> or a soldier or anybody else out of those that are under our authority, and beats or kicks or hits or cudgels or flogs someone, be it justly or unjustly, without commission of the law, be it on the market-place or in a street or in a house, except those that teach knowledge and arts including letters, be it the master to his servant or the father to his son and daughter, and these only with a just reason and not like those furious ones, that want to chastise a man and kill him instead. And we order that those who teach such things will be asked for a document written by their own hand from the *geitoniarches*, that they will not teach anymore. So if they are caught transgressing our order, falsifying it and flogging and beating people, who simply came across their way, by their tyranny, they shall receive thirty-six lashes each, and one toe of the foot of such a man shall be cut off, and their property shall be confiscated and they shall be dismissed, so that they may know from this how great pain one beating or one rod caused,

εἴτ' Τ τῶν < C | 171 τῶν < TV εἴτε] εἰ SH, < TV | 172 αὐτοῦ < H θυγατέραν SH οὔτοι + δὲ C | 173 ἀποκτένωσιν C STV | 174 δαιδεύοντας H ἰδιοχείρως Τ γειτονιαρχῶν SHT | 175 post διδάσκειν lacunam indicavit Patlagean τοῖνον τήν] τοιαύτην SH τήν τοιαύτην TV κέλευσιν] παιδευσιν TV παραχαράττοντες καὶ παραβαίνοντες SHTV (καὶ < H) | 176 μαστιγούτων H τύπτοντας SHTV φωραζόμενοι SHTV | 177 ἓνα δάκτυλον Τ τοῦ ποδὸς αὐτοῦ] τῶν ποδῶν TV αὐτοῦ < C τοῦ τοιοῦτου < TV | 178 ἐξ αὐτῶν < SHTV ἥπερ] ἢ C

<sup>5</sup> The following sentence has no real end, and the logical connection to the next one is rather loose.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 89.

180 ἡ μία ῥάβδος, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οὗτος ἐπόνησε τὸν εὐτελεῖ δάκτυλον τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία πρόβατα εἶναι πάντας ἐπιποθεὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐρίζοντα οὐδὲ κραυγάζοντα, οὐχὶ δὲ θηρία ἰοβόλα ἀλλήλους κατεσθίοντα.

° Ἄρχων εἶ; οὐκ ἐπετράπης τύπτειν τὸν παρόμοιον σου ἄνθρωπον· μὴ τύπτε οὖν, ἵνα μὴ ἔλθῃς εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν. Ἄνθρωπος εἶ μεγιστάνου; μὴ τεθαρρηκῶς ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπερηφάνῳ δεσπότη σου κατὰ κεφαλῆς παῖε τὸν πένητα. Τῆς ἐταιρείας εἶ τε δηλάτωρ; εἶ μὴ κελεύσῃ 185 ὁ νόμος, μὴ δέρε. Πλούσιος εἶ καὶ ἠτιμάσθῃς; ἐντυχὲ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ἐκείθεν δέχου ἐκδίκησιν. Δυνάστης εἶ; ἀγαθοποιήσον καὶ μὴ κακοποιήσῃς. Πένης εἶ; τὸν ὅμοιον σου πένητα μὴ ῥάπιζε. Ἡδικήθῃς; ἐγκάλεσον καὶ ἐὰν μὴ διοικηθῇς πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραγενοῦ, καὶ εὐρήσομεν 593c εἰς ὄνπερ ἐνέτυχες, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως στερεῶ σου τὸ δίκαιον, εἴπερ δίκαιον ἔχεις.

Το Ἄνδρὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπομεν τύπτειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα. Πορνεύοντες γὰρ παραγίνονται οἰκοὶ ὥρα μεσονυκτίου, καὶ ἐγκαλοῦσης τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν βραδυτῆτα μὴ φέροντες τὸν ὄνειδισμόν αὐτῆς τύπτειν ἀπάρχονται. Εἴτε δὴ καὶ τὸ γύναιον πορνεύει, οὔτε οὕτως ἐπιτρέπομεν τὸν ἄνδρα τύπτειν· πυκτευέτω δὲ αὐτήν. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ αὐτῆς εὐρισκομένη τὴν τῶν μοιχαλίδων γυναικῶν ποινήν ὑπομενέτω παρὰ τοῦ νόμου. Ἐὰν δὲ τις εὐρεθῇ 596a παραβαίνων τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας, εἰ μὲν πλούσιος ἐστίν, δεχέσθω μάλιστα τριακονταεξὶ καὶ παραγγελίαν εἰληφῶς ἀπολυέσθω· εἴτε πένης ἐστί, ζημιούσθω κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. Εἴτε καὶ μετέπειτα τὰ αὐτὰ κατατολήσῃσι καὶ φωραθήσονται, εἰσκομιζέσθωσαν ὡς βασιλικῆς κελεύσεως ἀλογήσαντες καὶ τὴν ὑπαρξίν αὐτῶν, εἰ μὲν καταδεεστέρα ἐστί, διαμεριζέσθω αὐτήν ὁ γειτονιάρχης μετὰ τῶν συνεπομένων αὐτῷ στραπιωτῶν· εἴτε βαρεῖα τίς ἐσπὶ καὶ ὑπέρογκος, τῷ ταμείῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ προσαγέσθω καὶ 195 αὐτοὶ ἐξοριζέσθωσαν τῆς πόλεως.

Το Ἄνθρώπῳ μεθυσθέντι ἀκορέστως, εἴτε καὶ γυναίῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διοδεύοντι 596b καὶ συμποδιζομένῳ, τοίχῳ τε πρὸς τοῖχον προστρίβοντι — κελεύομεν κρατεῖσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον καὶ ἀποκλείεσθαι καὶ φρουρεῖσθαι μέχρι πρωΐας. Καὶ ὁπότε ἀνανήψῃ τῆς

180 πρόβατα – θεοῦ cf. Ιο. 21.16 οὐκ – 181 κραυγάζοντα cf. Μτ. 12.19

### C S H T V

179 ἐπόνησε καὶ οὗτος H ἐποίησε C αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος T | 180 ὡς πρόβατα H ἐπιποθεὶ πάντας εἶναι STHV | 181 οὐτε SH θηρία + καὶ T | 182 κατεσθίοντας SHTV ° κεφάλαιον κγ' C ἄρχων εἶ < C οὐκ ἐπετράπης τύπτειν] καὶ οὐ τρά H οὐκ ἐπιτράπης TV τύπτειν post ἄνθρωπον C τύπτε – 183 ἔλθῃς] τύπτεις καὶ ἤξεις SHTV | 183 εἰς] ἐπ' STV περιφάνῳ V | 184 παῖεις SH πέσεις TV τοῦ πένητος SHTV εἴη SH εἰ ἴδη TV δηλητήρια T εἰ] ἐὰν C εἰ – 185 νόμος] ἂν μὴ κελευόμενος SHTV | 185 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SHTV ἠτιμάσθητι T τὴν ἐκδίκησιν C | 186 δυνατὸς SH καὶ ἀγαθοποιήσον C σοι SH | 187 ἠδικήθῃς – εὐρήσομεν < TV ἐγκάλησον SH ἂν SH παραγίνου S | 188 εἰς] τὸν SHTV ἔτυχες TV δίκαιον<sup>1</sup>] δικαστήριον C | 189 T περὶ τοῦ μὴ τύπτειν ἄνδρας τὰς ἰδίας γυναῖκας SHTV ° κεφάλαιον κδ' C ἑαυτοῦ] ἰδίων TV πορνεύονται SHTV | 190 οἰκοί] ἔνδον SHTV βραδυτῆτα HTV φέροντες T | 191 δὴ < SHTV οὕτω SHTV | 192 πυκτευέτω] ὑποπτευέτω prorsuit Patlagean | 193 ποινήν] τιμωρίαν SHTV εὐρεθήσεται SHTV | 195 εἰληφῶς] δεχέσθω H εἴτε] εἰ δὲ C πένης τίς SHTV | 196 εἴτε] εἰ δὲ C κατατολήσῃσι SHTV καὶ φωραθήσονται < C | 197 σκομιζέσθωσαν SHTV μὲν] με SHTV | 198 ἐστί + διὰ τῶν

in the same way as he suffers pain from the mean toe of his body. For our majesty desires that all shall be sheep of Christ and God which are neither contentious nor do cry aloud, nor that they are venomous animals that devour each other.

Are you a ruler? You have not been allowed to beat a man who is similar to you, so do not beat that you do not fall into wrath. Are you the kinsman of a nobleman? Do not smite a poor man on his head trusting in your arrogant master. Are you the prosecutor of the retinue? If the law does not order to do so, do not maltreat him. Are you rich and have been dishonoured? Consult the law and receive your revenge from there. Are you powerful? Do good and no evil. Are you poor? Do not beat the poor who is similar to you. Have you suffered injustice? Complain, and if you do not receive your right, come to us, and we will find the man with whom you had the case, and thereafter I confirm your right, if you are right.

We do not permit a husband to beat his wife. For after having fornicated they come home at the hour of midnight, and when their wife complains about there being late they do not bear her reproach and start to beat her. And even if the wife fornicates, we do not allow her husband to beat her, instead he shall <only> threaten her.<sup>7</sup> And if she is caught sinning, she shall suffer the punishment for adulterous women. If someone should be found transgressing the commandment of our majesty, if he is rich, he shall receive thirty-six lashes and be released, having received an exhortation; if he is poor, he shall be fined according to his wealth. And if they should dare thereafter to do the same and be caught, their property shall be confiscated for disregarding the royal decree, and the *geitoniarches* shall divide their property, if it is modest, together with the soldiers that follow him; if it is heavy and of great weight, it shall be added to the royal treasury, and they shall be banished from the city.

If a man is drunk immoderately, or also a woman, and walks around in the marketplace and is entangled and scratching along from one wall to the other, we order that such a man be arrested, shut in and be guarded until the morning. And when such a man will have recovered from his drunkenness, then he shall be led out and receive sixty

συνεπομένων αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν C γειτονιάρχων H γειτονιάρχος V | 199 εἶτε] εἰ δὲ C εἶ γε T τῶ<sup>1</sup>  
< SHTV καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ H | 201 Ἔ περι μεθύοντων καὶ τῶν φορτούντων τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν φορτία  
βαρέα SHTV ° κεφάλαιον κε' C καὶ<sup>1</sup> < H γυναῖον T | 202 συμποδιζόμενον C τοίχον] τοίχῳ C  
V συντρίβοντι C τὸν τοιοῦτον] τοῦτον C | 203 φρουρεῖσθαι] εἶναι C ὅποτε H ἀνάψη C  
ἀνανήψη τῆς μέθης post αὐτὸς T

<sup>7</sup> Though the verb *πικτεύω* means actually “to fight with the fist”, the context requires the proposed translation.

μέθης ὁ τοιοῦτος, τότε ἐξαγέσθω καὶ λαμβανέτω πληγὰς ἐξήκοντα, εἰ δὲ θῆλυ ἐστὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ παραγγελίαν κομιζόμενος ἀπολύεσθω. Γέγραπται γὰρ ὅτι *μέθυσοι βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.*

° Παρατηρήσθωσαν δὲ οἱ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν φορτοῦντες φορτία βαρέα καὶ δυσβάστακτα, εἴτε δ' οὖν καὶ ἑαυτούς. Οἱ τοιοῦτοι κρατείσθωσαν καὶ ἀνὰ τριακονταεξήμιστον δεχόμενοι ἀπολύεσθωσαν παραγγελίαν λαμβάνοντες. Ὁ γὰρ δυνατὸς ἡμίονος φορτούσθω δώδεκα μετρητάς, ὁ καταδεέστερος δέκα καὶ τὸ ὄναριον ὀκτώ, εἴτε καὶ ταλαίπωρον ἕξ. Τῷ τοιοῦτῳ γε τρόπῳ τὸν γόμον δεχέσθωσαν. Γέγραπται γὰρ· *Δίκαιος οἰκτῖρει ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνελεήμονα.*

Τοῦ ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς δεσποτικῆς ἤπερ ἐν ἡμέρα τῆς ἀγίας καὶ χριστοφόρου κυριακῆς κελεύομεν μηδὲν ἕτερον πιπράσκεσθαι πλὴν τὰ ἐν δαπάνῃ ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ κτηνῶν ἀριθμούμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπόλοιπα ἀργεῖωσαν. Ὁ δὲ παραβαίνων πᾶν ὅπερ προτέθεικεν ἐκτὸς τῶν προστεταγμένων ἐδωδύμων εἰς τὸ διαπρᾶσαι αἰρέσθω ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκδικέσθω. Τὸ δὲ λαμβανόμενον, εἴτε ἄλογον εἴτε βοῦς εἴτε πρόβατον εἴτε τί ἕτερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιζώντων καὶ μεγάλων ζώων πάρεξ τῶν ἐν μακέλλῳ τεθειμένων καὶ ὀρνίθων τῶν πιπρασκομένων, εἴτε ἰμάτιον εἴτε τι ἕτερον εἶδος πάρεξ τῶν βρωμάτων, ταῦτα εἰς διάφορον ἔστω τοῦ γειτονιάρχου καὶ τῶν παρεδρευόντων αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν.

° Ἐν ἡμέρα ἑορτῆς μεγάλης ἢ ἀγίας κυριακῆς, πᾶς ὅστις φόρτον ἄγει πάρεξ ἐδωδύμων καὶ τῶν ἀποδημούντων εἰς χώραν εἴτ' εἰς πλοῖον, εἴτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ εἴτε δι' ἑτέρου, εἴτε διὰ ὑποζυγίου, εἰσκομιζέσθω τὸν φόρτον, εἰ ἔστι καὶ τὸ κτήνος καὶ σὺν τῷ φόρτῳ. Καὶ οὕτω ῥαπιζόμενος ἐκδικέσθω καθότι χριστιανὸς ὢν ὁ τοιοῦτος οὔτε κἂν ἴσα τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐτίμησε τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτοῦ.

° Οὐ βούλεται τοιγαροῦν ἡ ἡμετέρα θειότης πινὰ πιπράσκειν ἢ φόρτον ἄγειν ἢ σκάπτειν ἢ κάμνειν ἢ τί ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ κυριακῇ καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν δώδεκα ἀγίων ἀποστολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγίων. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἡμῶν ἀφήμι. Οἱ τε παραβαίνοντες τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα καὶ τὰ παρασχόμενα ἀφαιρούμενοι ἀνὰ εἴκοσιτεσσάρων τε ῥαπισμάτων δεχόμενοι ἀπολύεσθωσαν.

° Οἱ χάριν προστασίας ἀρχόντων ἢ βασιλείας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀφωνίοις τὰ ἡμιτίμια ρίπτοντες τοῖς πιπράσκουσι πένησι πραγματευταῖς κατὰ τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν αἴροντες καὶ

205 μέθυσοι – 206 κληρονομήσουσιν 1 Cor. 6.10 | 211 δίκαιος – 212 ἀνελεήμονα Prov. 12.10

### C S H T V

204 ὁ τοιοῦτος] αὐτοῦ H τοιοῦτος] αὐτὸς STV ἀναλαμβάνετω H εἰ – τριάκοντα < SHTV | 205 ἀπολύεσθω + ὁ τοιοῦτος SHTV | 207 ° κεφάλαιον κς' C δὲ] καὶ SHTV οἱ < T βαρέα καὶ < SH καὶ < V | 208 εἴτε – ἑαυτούς < T δ' οὖν < C οἱ – και²] κρατούμενοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι SHV οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὖν T | 209 ὁ] καὶ SH ἡμίονος S | 210 καταδεέστερος] δὲ ἐλαττότερος C καὶ τὸ] τὸ δὲ μικρόν C εἴτε] εἰ δὲ C και²] χαλεπὸν H καὶ ταλαίπωρον] καταλαίπωρον S ταλαίτερος T ταλαίπωρον V | 211 ἐξί T γε] δὲ TV ὁ δίκαιος οἰκτῖρει] δίκαιος ἀνὴρ ἡδικήσει SHTV (ἡδικήσει) ἐλεεῖ TV] οἰκτῖρει] οἰκτῖρεῖ C | 212 τὰ – ἀνελεήμονα < SHTV | 213 Ὡς περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρᾶσκεσθαι τί

strokes, if it is a woman, thirty, and shall be dismissed after having received an exhortation. For it is written that *the drunkards will not inherit the kingdom of God*.

Those that burden their animals or also themselves with heavy and unbearable burdens shall be observed. Such men shall be arrested, receive thirty-six lashes and be dismissed, having received an exhortation. For the strong mule shall be burdened with twelve measures, the weaker with ten and the ass with eight, if it is feeble with six. And in such a way they shall receive their load. For it is written: *The righteous has compassion with the souls of his animals, but the heart of the unfaithful is merciless*.

On a feast day of the Lord or a holy and Christ-bringing Sunday we order that nothing else be sold except the things that are counted among provisions for men and animals, and the others shall rest. Anything offered for sale except the prescribed foodstuffs shall be taken away from the transgressor, and he himself shall be driven out. And everything that has been taken away, be it a horse or an ox or a sheep or any other of the great animals that are still alive, except those that have <already> been given to the butchery and the chicken that are sold, be it a garment or any other item except victuals, this shall belong to the *geitoniarches* and the soldiers that attend him.

On the day of a great feast or a holy Sunday, from everybody that carries a load except foodstuffs, and except those that are on a journey on land or sea, whether <he does this> himself or by someone else or with a pack animal, the load shall be confiscated, and if there is one, also the animal together with the load. And so he shall be beaten and driven out, for he, though being a Christian, has honoured his feast not even as a Jew does.

Therefore our divinity does not want anybody to sell or carry a load or dig or labour or work anything on the holy Sunday, and then also on the great feasts of the Lord, on those of the Mother of God, of the twelve holy apostles of our God, Christ and Saviour, and of the remaining saints. I leave this to our decision. And the carried load and the things offered shall be taken away from the transgressors, and they shall receive twenty-four strokes each and be dismissed.

Those that by their tyranny pay only half the price to the poor dealers selling when doing their purchases because of their being protected by their rulers or the majesty, and

ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς ἢ κυριακῆς SHTV (ἑορτῆ ἢ κυριακῆ S) ° κεφάλαιον κζ' C ἤπερ] ἢ T ἤπερ – ἡμέρα<sup>2</sup>] ἦτοι C τῆς ἀγίας < H καὶ χριστοφόρου < C χριστοφόρω SH | 214 διακελευόμεθα SHTV μὴθὲν SV πλὴν] ἢ C | 215 ἀργέτωσαν TV προτίθησιν SHTV | 217 δὲ < SHTV βόες SHTV | 218 πιθεμένων T | 219 ἰματίων C εἴτε<sup>2</sup>] ἢ S εἶδος + ἀπὸ παντός εἶδους SHTV ταῦτα] πάντων H διαφορὰν C | 220 αὐτῶν SHTV | 221 ° κεφάλαιον κη' C ἀγίας καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς καὶ χριστοφόρου C πᾶς ὄστις] εἴ τις C | 222 χώραν μακράν C εἴτ'] ἢ SHTV ἑαυτοῦ – ἑτέρου] αὐτοῦ C εἴτε<sup>3</sup> καὶ V | 223 διὰ τοῦ C σκομιζέσθω SHTV καί<sup>2</sup> < C φόρτον H | 224 οὔτε κἂν] οὐκ ἂν T | 225 ἐτίμασε C τῆ ἑορτῆ V | 226 ° κεφάλαιον κθ' C | 227 καί<sup>1</sup> – καί<sup>2</sup>] ἢ C | 228 καί<sup>2</sup> + φόρους ποιεῖν ἢ C ταῖς<sup>1</sup> < C καί<sup>3</sup>] ἢ C τῶν < T ἀγίων < H | 229 σωτήρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ H καί<sup>3</sup>] ἢ C ἀγίων τὰ δὲ] τῶν SHTV | 230 ἡμῶν < SHTV πιπρασκόμενα C παρασκόμενα SH | 231 τε < C | 232 ° κεφάλαιον λ' C ῥίπτοντας S

235 πορευόμενοι καὶ ἢ καὶ τινὰ φθέγγονται καὶ τύπτοντες, φωραζόμενοι οἱ ταῦτα δρώντες ἀνά δώδεκα διπλῶν δεχόμενοι καὶ δημεύόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία ἀποστερητὰς καὶ ἀδικητὰς τε καὶ ἄρπαγας ὑπηρετάς κεκτηῖσθαι οὐκ ἀνέχεται. Ἄρῃσκει σοὶ τὸ εἶδος, πάρεχε τὸ δίκαιον τίμημα καὶ ἄρον αὐτὸ καὶ πορευέθητι.

οἱ Νομοθετοῦμεν τοίνυν· Πᾶς ὅστις φωραθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τόλμῃ καὶ παιδευθεὶς καὶ 597c  
δημειθεὶς καὶ μετέπειτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπαξ κεκρημένος, εἰ πάλιν κατασχεθῆ ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐν 240  
τῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐξουσίας ἐργοδοσίῳ προστάττομεν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀποδιδόσθαι ἐπὶ ὀλο-  
κλήρῳ τετραμήνῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε κατειλεγμένων ἐργάζεσθαι. Μωρὸς γὰρ πέλει καὶ  
θρασύς, καὶ ἄς παιδεύεται. Καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως ἀπολυέσθω ἐπιστάμενος οἷω κόπῳ κτῶνται τὸν  
ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον οἱ πένητες.

Τοῖς Οἱ κατὰ γειτονίαν μάχην εἰσπράττοντες εἴτε ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς, κρατούμενοι οἱ ἀμφότε- 245  
ροι ἀνά τεσσαράκοντα μαστίγων κομιζέσθωσαν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἀνάρχως ἐτόλμησαν εἴτε χεῖρας 597d  
ἐπάραι κατὰ ἀλλήλων, εἴτε καὶ ῥάβδον, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρως πῶς. Εἴτε τὸ ἐν μέρος πτοηθέν  
τὸν νόμον ὑποταγῆ καὶ χεῖρας οὐκ ἐκτείνῃ εἰς ἄμυναν, σύρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ  
τυφθῆ κατὰ πῖνα τρόπον, αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἀνεύθυνος ἀπολυέσθω· ὁ δὲ τοῦτον ἀμυνάμενος,  
ὅστις δ' ἂν εἴη, ὀγδοήκοντα μάστιγας κομιζόμενος ἐπὶ δύο τε μῆσι τῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ ἡμῶν 600a  
250 ἐργάζεσθω ἐγκλειόμενος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολυέσθω.

Τοῖς Οἱ τὰ ἄλογα περιάγοντες εἴτε πεφορτωμένα εἴτε ἀπόλυτα, εἴτε καὶ ἕτερον κτήνος, 255  
ὀρώμενοι ὅτι ἐν θυμῷ τύπτουσιν αὐτὰ ἀνηλεῶς, κρατούμενοι ἀνά τριάκοντα διπλῶν ἐν  
δυνάμει δεχέσθωσαν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀλγήσαντες, ἦτοι πονήσαντες συνῶσιν ὅσον χαλεπὸν  
ἔστι τὸ δέρεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ κτήνη, κἄν οὐκ ὀμιλῶσι καὶ φθέγγονται, ἀλλὰ γε παρα-  
255 πλησίως ἡμῖν πονῶσι μασπιζόμενα. Πρόδηλόν τε ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων πρόσεσπιν ὅτι, ὡς οὐκ  
οἰκτεῖρωσιν ἐλεοῦντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὰ ἴδια κτήνη, οὕτω παραπλησίως οὔτε ἄνθρωπον  
ἐλεήσωσιν.

οἱ Τοῖς τὰ δερμάτινα πρόσωπα ἄνδρες ἀναιδεῖς ἐνδιδυσκόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δαι- 600b  
260 μονιῶντες καὶ παίζοντες ὡς τοῦ σατανᾶ τὴν αἰδῶ ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ τὸ εἶναι χριστιανοὶ  
παραχαράττοντες καὶ τὸ Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ σατανᾶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ αὐτοῦ δημοσίως

260 ἀποτάσσομαι – αὐτοῦ ε formula renuntiationis ante baptismum, cf. Cyrillus (vel Ioannes II) Hierosolymitanus, *Mystagogiae*, 88; Ioannes Chrysostomus, *CPG* 4331, *PG* 49.239; Nilus, *Epistolae*, *CPG* 6043, *PG* 79.525B; Goar, *Euchologion*, 277

### C S H T V

234 πονηρούμενοι SHTV καὶ<sup>1</sup> < C φθέγγονται καὶ φθέγγονται ἢ C καὶ<sup>3</sup> < T τύπτοντες καὶ  
φωραθῶσιν C ταῦτα] οὕτω SHTV | 235 δέκα καὶ δύο SHTV καὶ δημεύόμενοι < H | 236 τε < C |  
237 σοι] σε SHTV παρέσχε SHTV πορεύου C | 238 ° κεφάλαιον λα' C τοίνυν < SHTV  
φωραθῆ S φωραθείη TV τῆ < SH τόλμᾳ SHTV | 239 αὐτοῖς] τοιαύτοις C ἅπας T εἰ] εἴτα καὶ  
SHTV κατασχεθεὶς T | 240 ἀποδίδοσθαι C | 241 τετραμηναίῳ T ὡς γὰρ μωρὸς πέλων C |  
242 καὶ ἄς παιδεύεται] οὕτω χρῆ παιδεύεσθαι C ἄς παιδεύεται] ἀπαιδευτος T εἶθ' < C  
ἐπιστάμενος] πιστωθεὶς C | 244 Ὑπερὶ μαχομένων SHTV ° κεφάλαιον λβ' C ἐπὶ H οἱ < C H |  
245 κομιζόμενοι SHTV εἴτε < C | 246 κατ' C εἴτε<sup>2</sup>] εἰ SHTV ἕτερός πως C εἴτε<sup>3</sup>] εἰ δὲ C |  
247 τῷ νόμῳ H συρηται C | 248 πῖνα] τινος H μὲν] δὲ H ἀμυνόμενος C τύψας T | 249 δ' < C

take their belongings and go away and, if they say anything, even beat them, if those are caught when doing this, they shall receive twelve double blows each, their property shall be confiscated, and they shall be dismissed. For our majesty does not bear to have cheaters, wrong-doers and robbers as his servants. If the item pleases you, give the just price, take it and go away.

So we give the following law: everyone that is caught at such a boldness shall be chastised and his property shall be confiscated, and if he does the same thereafter once again and is caught, we order that such a man be given to the working house of our majesty, to work for a full period of four months together with those that have been assigned there. For he is foolish and bold, so let him be chastised. And thereafter he shall be dismissed, knowing by which hard labour the poor earn their bread.

Those that begin combats in their neighbourhood or on the market-place, if they are both arrested, shall receive forty lashes each, because they have dared insubordinately to raise their hands against each other, or also a rod, or in some other way. If one of the parties fears the law, submits to it and does not extend their arms to defend themselves, and is dragged around by the adversary and beaten in some way, he will be dismissed as being innocent; but he that defends himself, whoever he is, shall receive eighty lashes and work for two months being shut up in our working house, and then be dismissed.

Those that lead their horses about, either burdened or unburdened, or another animal as well, if they are seen beating them mercilessly in their anger, shall be arrested and receive thirty double blows with all strength, so that they also may suffer, that is feel pain, and understand how bad it is to be maltreated. For also the animals, although they do not speak and talk, nevertheless feel pain in a way similar to us when they are flogged. It is clear from such things that such men, just as they do not have mercy and compassion for their own animals, similarly will not have mercy for a man as well.

Those shameless men that put on leather masks, are possessed and play as if embracing the shame of Satan,<sup>8</sup> corrupt their Christian faith and in public declare the word *I renounce Satan and all his pomp* to be false,<sup>9</sup> shall receive two-hundred lashes each,

δύο τε] δυσι C | 250 ἐργάζεσθαι SHTV και < SHTV | 251 Τ περι τοῦ μή τύπτειν ἐν θυμῷ ἄλογον και περι τῶν παιζόντων SHTV (κυθαρίζοντων SH περαζόντων V, < T) ° λγ' C ἄλογα + περεάζοντες V ἔτερον + ὡς ἀπό HV, + ὡς ἐπὶ S (ὡς ἔπος prorosuit Patlagean) κτήνος + ὡς δημοτοῦν T | 252 ὀρώντες C ἐρώμενοι H ἀφορώμενοι T | 253 ἦτοι] ἦγουν SH ἦτοι πονήσαντες < TV | 254 οὐκ STV οὐ H ὀμιλοῦσι TV μιλῶσιν H | 255 ὡς < T | 256 οἱ τοιοῦτοι] οὔτοι C οἱ τοιαῦτοι SHV οὔτω] οὔτε SHTV οὔτε < HTV | 257 ἐλήσουσιν TV | 258 ° κεφάλαιον λδ' C ἐνδουδασκόμενοι SHTV | 259 σατάν STV αιδῶ] ὀδόν TV τὸ] τοῦ V χριστιανούς C | 260 ἀποτάσσωμεν T ἀπατάσσωμεν V δημοσίας H

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 91.

<sup>9</sup> On this expression, see for example Jürgens, *Pompa diaboli*.



διαφειδόμενοι δεχέσθωσαν ἀνά μαστίγων διακοσίων, καὶ πυρὶ προσαγέσθω αὐτῶν ἦτε θριξὶ καὶ ἡ γενειὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ δημευθέντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ ἀπαγέσθωσαν ἐπὶ ἐνιαυσαίου χρόνου, ὑπηρετοῦντες τῷ ἔργῳ, εἴ τύχοι, εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τύχῳσι χρηματίζοντες, ἐπιστάμενοι ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ κυρίου ἐκάστοτε περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ τὰ τῶν εἰδωλοατρῶν ἔργα μετερχομένους ἀπωλεία παραδίδειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν.

265 ° Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ κιθαρωδοὶ καὶ οἱ λυρισταὶ καὶ οἱ τραγωδοὶ καὶ οἱ κροτοῦντες χερσὶ καὶ οἱ ὀρχοῦμενοι ὑπομενέτωσαν, κἄν τε ἄνδρες, κἄντε γυναῖκες, εἴτε κόραι καὶ νεανίσκοι. 600c  
 270 Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ βασιλείας ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀνεχόμεθα, οὐδ' ἂν παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος. Ἐν γὰρ πάσῃ πόλει καὶ χώρᾳ τῇ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βασιλευομένη οὔτε κιθαρωδὸν χρῆζομεν εἶναι οὔτε λυρωδόν, ἀλλ' οὔτε, ὡς ἔπος, τραγωδὸν ἢ ὀρχήστριαν, εἴτε ἄνδρα εἴτε γυναῖκα, εἴτε νεώτερον εἴτε νεωτέραν, ἀλλ' οὔτε μέγαν· πάντας δὲ φιλοῦμεν εἶναι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον. Ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ εὐθυμεῖν, ψαλλέτω. 601A  
 275 'Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι', φησὶν, 'ψάλλειν'· τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἔμαθες τὰς ἐπωδὰς μὴ οὔσας ἐν βίβλῳ πινὶ γεγραμμένας, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν γεγραμμένην περιόσασιν οὐ μανθάνεις;

° Ἄπαντα τραγωδὸν καὶ κροπιστὴν καὶ ὀρχοῦμενον καὶ πᾶν παίγιον μιὰρὸν καὶ αἰσχροὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν εἶναι οὐ βουλόμεθα. Οἱ δὲ παραβαίνοντες κατασχεθῆτωσαν καὶ μαστιζέσθωσαν καὶ πυρπολείσθωσαν, (τοῦτ' ἔστι τζουϊζέσθωσαν,) καὶ δημευόμενοι τῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ ἐπὶ ὀλόκληρον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπουργεῖν καταδικαζέσθωσαν.

280 ° Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ τὸ κανίριν παίζοντες καὶ οἱ τὸ τριβόλιν καὶ οἱ τοὺς χοροὺς τῆς ἀσώτίας χορεύοντες καὶ ὀρχοῦμενοι καὶ καταλέγοντες. Ἄπαντα βαλλόμενον οὐ προστάττομεν, εἴ μὴ γε πρὸς μετριοφροσύνην πολλὰκις πινῶν τὰ ἀπὸ νοῦς καὶ τῇ χειρὶ μετακινούμενα, οἶον τριάδιν καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. 601c

274 ἐν – ψαλλέτω cf. Iac. 5.13 | 275 τοῦ – 276 μανθάνεις cf. Ioannes Chrysostomus, *De inani gloria*, 450–451

### C S H T V

261 ψευδόμενοι SHTV παραγέσθω SHV περιγενέσθω T | 262 θριξὶ + τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ T τῆς κεφαλῆς < C τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ H βασιλικῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ] δημοσίῳ βασιλικῷ T ἐργοδοσίῳ S | 263 ἐνιαυσαίου χρόνου C χρόνου] ἔργῳ T ἔργου V εἰ τύχοι < SHTV δοῦλοι + εἶεν C T | 265 εἰδωλοατρῶν C μετερχομένους] κεκτημένους T μεπεμένους V | 267 ° λε' C τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ < C λυρισταὶ] λησταὶ TV | 268 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < V ἄνδρες + ὡς C, + ἡ SH | 269 βασιλείας καὶ εὐσεβείας T ταῦτα] τὰ τῆδε SHV τὰ τοιάδε T | 270 οὐδ' ἂν] οὐδὲ C γὰρ post 271 οὔτε<sup>1</sup> SHTV τὴν – βασιλευομένην C ὑφ'] ἀφ' V | 271 οὔτε<sup>2</sup> δὲ S λυρωδόν] μελωδόν T ὡς ἔπος < C ἔπος] ἐπὶ TV | 272 τραγωδῶν ἢ ὀρχηστῶν V νεώτερον] καὶ νέον SHTV (καὶ < T) εἴτε<sup>4</sup> καὶ SH ἀλλ' + οὔτε μικρὸν C ἀλλ' οὔτε μέγαν < T | 273 δὲ<sup>1</sup>] γὰρ T ὀφείλομεν TV ἀγαθοὶ – φοβούμενοι T εὐσεβοῦς SHTV δὲ<sup>2</sup>] γὰρ TV | 274 εὐφραίνεσθαι < TV ἐν τῷ < T ἐνθυμεῖν SH | 275 δαίμων V ἔπαθες SH πινὶ < C | 277 ° κεφάλαιον λζ' C ἄπαντά τε SH πᾶν] πάντα C | 279 τοῦτ' ἔστι τζουϊζέσθωσαν glossa e margine intrusa, vide notam | 281 ° κεφάλαιον λζ' C οἱ<sup>1</sup> – παίζοντες] τοῖς κύβοις σχολάζοντες C παιγνιάζοντες SH καὶ οἱ<sup>2</sup>] οἱ τε SHTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 282 χορεύοντες < H οἱ<sup>3</sup> < TV | 282 καταγελέγοντες H ἄπαντας C ἄπαντα – 284 παραπλήσια < SHTV | 283 τὰ] τὸ C

and their beard and hair of their head shall be given to the fire, and the property of such men shall be confiscated, and they shall be led away into the royal working house for the time of one year, and shall do service for the work, if it happens so, be they slaves or free men, that they may know how to walk always in piety and fear of the Lord and not to give away their souls to perdition by doing the works of the worshippers of idols.

The cithara and lyra players,<sup>10</sup> those that sing, play castanets<sup>11</sup> and dance shall also suffer the same, be they men or women, girls or boys. We do not bear that this be done in the days of our piety and majesty, not even if someone only does it by chance. For in every town and country which is ruled by us we do not need neither a cithara player nor a lyra player, but also no singer or female dancer, as they say, be they a man or a woman, a young man or girl, but also no adult; we love it if all are good and pious and fear the Lord. If someone wants to rejoice when he is of good spirits, he should chant psalms. ‘But I do not know how to sing’, he says: You have learnt the songs of the wicked demon which are not written in any book, and do not learn to sing the psalms of God which are written down?

We do not want to have any singer, anyone that claps his hands, any dancer and any kind of abominable and shameful play in the country of our majesty. The transgressors shall be caught, flogged and scorched, {that is subjected to an ordeal,<sup>12</sup>} their property shall be confiscated, and they shall be condemned to serve in the working house for a whole year.

The same also to those that play *kanirin* and *tribolin*,<sup>13</sup> leap, dance the dances of profligacy and recite. We do not allow any game where <dices> are thrown, but only those often played for the modest entertainment of the some people, where they are moved by the mind and the hand, like nine men’s morris and the like.

<sup>10</sup> If we accept the ninth-century date of the *Nomoi*, it is probable that a bowed instrument similar to the Arabian *rabāb* is intended here, in contrast to the plucked cithara mentioned before. The existence of such instruments in Byzantium is observed for the first time by Ibn-Khurdādhbih († 893); on this, see Farmer, “Ibn Khurdādhbih”, and Bachmann, *Ori-gins*, 33–40.

<sup>11</sup> This translation of the term \*κροτιστής has been proposed by the *LBG* (see above, p. 139).

<sup>12</sup> See above, pp. 90–91.

<sup>13</sup> Both games are still known in modern Greece: *kaniri* is a game in which knucklebones are thrown using a dicecup; *triboli* is played with three dices or stones which are thrown at the same time (the explanation as “a game involving three throws of dices” by Lampe *s. v.* is therefore incorrect). For the word *kanirin*, see Hesychios *s. v.* κυνοῦραι ἀστράγαλοι. — See also above, p. 84.

285 ° Προστάττομεν τοὺς βουλομένους μετεωρίζεσθαι πνευματικῶς τοῦτο γίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκκλησίαις, οἷον διὰ προσευχῆς, διὰ ἀναγνωσμάτων, διὰ ψαλμωδίας καὶ δι' ἐλεημοσύνης. Ἐν τούτοις εὐφραίνεσθε ἅπαντες ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθὲς χριστιανοί, ὡς δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ, ὡς τέκνα φωτός, ὡς κληρονόμοι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· λιτανεύετε ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἐπὶ οἶκον θεοῦ πορευόμενοι καὶ προσευχόμενοι εὐφραίνεσθε, ἀγαπῶντες ἀλλή-

290 λους ἀπαστράπτοντες ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὡς ὁ ἥλιος.

Τ° Οἱ ἀτιμίαις καὶ ὕβρεσι βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους, κρατούμενοι ἀνὰ εἰκοσιτεσσάρων μαστίγων δεχόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν, εἴτε ἄρρεν ἐστὶν εἴτε θῆλυ. Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ μὲν εἰς ὕβρεσιν τὸν ἕτερον βάλλη ἢ καὶ τοξεύῃ, ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ προστάγματος ἡμῶν σιωπήσας προσέλθῃ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐντύχη τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, δεχέσθω ὁ ὕβριστας τεσσαρακονταοκτὼ μαστίγας καὶ δημευθεὶς ἀπολυέσθω. Κελεύει γὰρ ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία, καθὼς φάσκει ὁ ἀπόστολος, τῇ πμῆ ἀλλήλους προηγουμένοι, καὶ μηκέτι ἔχειν ὑμᾶς τοιαύτην ἄδειαν ὕβρεσιν βάλλειν ἀλλήλους· τιμᾶτε γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε καὶ μὴ ἀτιμάζετε.

Τ° Πάντας τοὺς παῖδας ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαιδευτῶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡμέραις συναθροίζεσθαι καὶ παιγνιάζειν παραυτὰ προστάττομεν κωλύεσθαι. Συναναφερόμενοι γὰρ τοῖς ἀλόγοις παιγνίοις ἐκ δαιμονικῆς ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ μιὰς μίξεις προτρέπονται ἀλλή-

300 λους, πορνείαν παιδευόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐπάρατον τῶν Σοδόμων ἀσελγείαν, κλοπὴν καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ μῆνιν καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ χαύνωσιν. Τί χρῆ καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ λοιπά; Διὸ κελεύομεν μηδὲ τὸ καθόλου παρεᾶν αὐτὰ ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ παίζειν. Ἄλλ' οὖν καὶ αἱ διατριβαὶ ἅπασαι ἀκριβῶς παρατηρήσθωσαν, μήποτε ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν

305 ἀναβλαστήσειεν τιποτοῦν πονηρὸν καὶ ἐφάμαρτον.

Τ Ὅι δὲ ἐν παιγνίοις εὐρισκόμενοι ἀνὰ εἰκοσιτεσσάρων λωροτυπτόμενοι καὶ παραγγελίαν δεχόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν. Οἱ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες νεώτεροι ἐν ἁωρίᾳ διοδοῦντες κατασχεθέντες ἐταξέσθωσαν, διὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν ἐν ἁωρίᾳ διοδοῦσιν· καὶ ἐὰν ἐπὶ διακονίαν πορεύονται μὴ κωλύεσθωσαν, εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ πορνείαν ἢ ἐπ' ἄλλω τί ἐφάμαρτῳ, ἀνὰ

310 εἰκοσιτεσσάρων μαστίγων δεχόμενοι ἐπὶ τριακονταεξὶ ἡμέρας τῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ ταλαιπωρεῖσθωσαν, ἐκεῖθεν τε παραγγελίαν δεχόμενοι ἀπολυέσθωσαν.

288 ὡς τέκνα φωτός Eph. 5.8 ἐξ – 289 θεοῦ cf. Ps. 133.1, 134.2 | 290 ἀπαστράπτοντες – ἥλιος cf. Mt. 13.43 | 296 τῆ – προηγουμένοι Rom. 12.10

### C S H T V

285 ° λη' C προστάττομεν τοὺς βουλομένους] πρὸς τὸ SHTV (τὸ) τὰ SHV | 286 διὰ<sup>2</sup>] δι' SH | 287 εὐφραίνεσθε ἅπαντες] εὐφραίνεσθαι δεῖ ἅπαντας C ἐπ' ἀληθῆς] ἀληθῶς C ἀληθείας H χριστιανούς – δοῦλους – κληρονόμους C | 288 τοῦ φωτός SHTV λιτανεύοντας ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἐξέρχεσθαι C | 289 ἀγαπῶνται S | 290 ὡς ὁ ἥλιος] ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον SHTV | 291 T περὶ τῶν ὕβριζόντων ἀλλήλους SHTV ° κεφάλαιον λθ' C | 292 ἄρρενες τύχοιεν C δὲ ὁ μὲν] μὲν ὁ T | 293 βάλλη ἢ καὶ < SHTV σιωπήσας TV | 294 μᾶλλον < SHTV | 295 διακελεύει S ἐξουσία καθὰ φάσκει καὶ SHTV | 296 προηγήσθε SHTV ἔχειν < T ἡμᾶς C ὕβρεσιν] τὸ καὶ ὕβριν SHTV | 297 βαλεῖν TV γὰρ < T καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε < C | 298 T περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἔαν τοὺς παῖδας παίζειν ἐν ἑορταῖς SHTV (μὴν S μὴ παίζειν τοὺς παῖδας T) ° μ' C ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀπαιδευτῶς] κέκτηται SHTV | 299 παίζειν T πάραυτα SHTV κωλυθῆναι SHTV συναναφυρόμενοι C | 300 τοῖς + ἰδίους TV

We command that those, who want to exalt themselves, do that spiritually in the holy churches, that is by praying, by reading, by singing psalms and by giving alms. Please all people by this as true Christians, as servants of Christ, as children of the light, as heirs of the kingdom of heaven; go in procession from the house of the Lord to the house of God, rejoice in your prayer, loving each other and resplending in your virtues as the sun.

Those that smite each other with offences and insults, if they are arrested, shall receive twenty-four lashes and be dismissed, be they male or female. And if one smites the other with insults or also aims at him, and that man keeps silent because he fears our order, he shall rather come to the authority and present himself, and the one that has insulted him shall receive forty-eight lashes, his property shall be confiscated, and he shall be dismissed. For our majesty orders, as the apostle says, *anticipating each with honour*, and that it is not allowed to you anymore to smite each other with insults; for honour and love one another, and do not dishonour.

We command that all the boys shall be hindered straightaway to meet without supervision on feast days and to play, as it is their custom. For occupying themselves together with foolish games they invite each other by a demonic force to abominable intercourse, and are taught to fornicate and to commit the accursed licentiousness of Sodom, theft and lie, wrath and abuse, idleness and indolence. So what more do we have to say? Therefore we command that they shall not be allowed at all to meet and to play. But now also all places of amusement shall be observed accurately, whether anything bad and sinful arises from their midst.

Those that are found playing shall be beaten twenty-four times each with thongs, receive an exhortation and be dismissed. If three or four young men are caught while walking around in the middle of the night, they shall be questioned for which reason they walk around in the middle of the night; and if they went out on some duty they shall not be hindered, but if they did so for fornication or some other sinful thing, they shall receive twenty-four lashes each and shall miserably be kept in the working house for thirty-six days, and shall be dismissed from there having received an exhortation.

παιγνίους και ἀλόγοις V ἐνεργείας + και SHTV ἐπὶ < T μίξεως SHTV πρὸς ἀλλήλους T | 301 παιδευόμενα C τῶν < SHTV ἀσθένειαν SHTV | 302 ψεύδος] σθένος T μῆνιν] μύναν TV και<sup>2</sup> < C τί χρη| και] τί και χρη C τί – λέγειν < T | 303 τὸ] τὸν C ταῦτα C συναθροίζεσθαι TV | 304 ἀλλ' οὖν < SHTV | 305 φάμαρτον V | 306 <sup>T</sup> περι τῶν ἐν παιγνίοις εὐρισκομένων και περι τῶν ἐν ἀωρία ὀδονύτων SHTV δὲ < SHTV λώρων τυπτούμενοι C | 307 οἱ – 311 ἀπολυέσθωσαν < C | 308 ἔαν < T | 309 μὴ κωλύεσθωσαν] ἀπολυέσθωσαν SH ἐπ' < V

- ° Οί τὰς μεγάλας ὑποστάσεις ἐν τῷ τελευτῶν καταλιμπάνοντες πάρεξ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
 βασιλείας ἕτερον ἐπιτροπεύσαι αὐτὰς οὐ τὸ καθόλου προστάττομεν. Δέον γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν 604C  
 ταῦτα καλῶς διοικεῖσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ ψυχικὰ αὐτῶν τοῖς τὰ χρέη κεκτημένοις ἐν τῇ  
 315 πόλει ἀδελφοῖς ἡμῶν εὐσεβῶς διανέμεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐπιτροπὰς καταπιστευόμενοι  
 ὀλοσωμάτως αὐτὰς καταπίνοντες οὔτε μίαν ὥνησιν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος κατεργά-  
 ζονται. Εἴ τε δηλωθῆ ἔν ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ὅτι τινὲς ἐν τῷ λεληθότι πάρεξ ἡμῶν ταῖς τοι-  
 αῦταις ἐπιτροπαῖς ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτὰς κατενεμήσαντο, εἰσκομιζόμενοι ἅπασαν αὐτῶν  
 τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐπὶ τέλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξοριζέσθωσαν.
- 320 ° Οἱ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἰκέτας εἴτε καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ προσ-  
 πεφευγέναι αὐτοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ βίᾳ ἐκέιθεν ἀποσπώντες καὶ μαστίζοντες εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρως πως  
 αὐτοῖς ἀνταποδιδοῦντες, ἐπιγινωσκόμενοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὁ μὲν οἰκέτης ἐλευθερίας τυχανέ- 604D  
 τω· εἰ δὲ ἐλεύθερος εἶεν ὁ ἐκέιθεν ἀποσπασθεὶς καὶ μαστιχθεὶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τολμήματος ὡς 605A  
 325 Τρικιάνω τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ σώματα ὠνοῦνται, ἐν δύο μονήταις πιπρασκέσθω, ἵνα κἂν ἐντεῦ-  
 θεν καταισχυνηθῆ τὸ ἀναιδὲς αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ὅτι ὄλως ἐτόλμησεν ἀποσπᾶσαι ἐκ χειρὸς  
 κυρίου τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ κατ' εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀνταποδοῦναι αὐτῷ.
- ° Ἐπὶ πάσης ἐπιστήμης ἐὰν τεχνίτης τεχνίτην φθονῶν λοιδορεῖ εἴτε καὶ διαβάλλει, ἢ  
 καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς πραγματείαις ἀντιβαδίζει, δέκα καὶ δύο μάστιγας λαμβάνων ὁ τοιοῦ-  
 330 τος, τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ παραδοθεὶς ταλαιπωρεῖσθω ἐκμανθάνων μὴ φθο-  
 νεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν.
- ° Ταξιώτην ἢ μανδάτορα ἢ τινα ἐτέραν ἄλλην ἔκταξιν πρὸ τοῦ τελείως εἴτε ἐκτάξει 605B  
 εἴτε ἐκτελέσαι αὐτὸν τὴν ὀφειλομένην αὐτῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἔχοντι ὑπηρεσίαν, οὐ προστά-  
 ττομεν τὸ οἰονοῦν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ μέχρις ἂν τελειώσῃ τὴν δουλείαν, καὶ τὸ τηλικαῦτα  
 335 κομιζέσθω τὸ ὀψώνιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν πρέπουσαν δικαιοσύνην καὶ μὴ παρὰ  
 τὸ δέον. Οἱ τε παραβαίνοντες καὶ οἱ εὐρισκόμενοι, ὅτι ἐσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τὰ δύο μέρη, ἐκδι-  
 κέσθωσαν τῆς ἀξίας καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν ὡς μεμνηότες φαγάδες μαστιζόμενοι, καὶ ἀντ'  
 αὐτῶν εὐσεβεῖς εἰσαγέσθωσαν.

327 τὸν – ἄνθρωπον cf. Gen. 1.26–27

### C S H T V

312 ° κεφάλαιον μβ' C | 313 βασιλείας ἕτερον ἐπιτροπεύσαι] ἐξουσίας ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι C οὐ]  
 οὐδὲ C τὸ] τῶν V | 314 μᾶλλον < SHTV χρέα C | 316 ὀλοσωμάτως SHTV ὀλοσωμάτους αὐτοῦς  
 C ὥνησιν] ὠφέλειαν C κατεργάζοντες SHTV | 317 εἴ τε] ἐὰν δὲ C | 318 αὐταῖς C σκομιζόμενοι  
 SHTV | 319 τὴν < SV | 320 ° Τ περι τῶν ἀποσπώντων βίᾳ τοὺς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφεύγοντας SHTV  
 (ἐν < V ἐκκλησίας S) ° κεφάλαιον γγ' C αὐτῶν C τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ T προσ-  
 φευγέναι C | 321 εἴτε] εἴ γε SHTV πως] πρὸς T | 323 εἶεν] ὑπάρχη C | 324 ἀσεβῆς] ἀσβῆς S  
 ἀσβῆς H καὶ καταφρονητής < T ὁ τότε] οὕτω C | 325 ἐν δύο μονήταις < T πιπρασκέτω C |  
 327 αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup>] αὐτῷ T | 328 ° κεφάλαιον δδ' C ἐὰν τε SV τεχνίτης < C φθονῶν + καὶ C  
 λοιδορήσῃ SHTV καὶ < C | 329 ἀντιβαδίζει vel ἀντιβαδίζει H<sup>a/c/bc</sup> δεκαδύο C μαστίγων πείραν  
 SHTV λαμβάνειν C τοιοῦτος + καὶ C | 332 ° κεφάλαιον με' C ἢ] ἦτοι C μανδατάριον T ἄλλην  
 < C ἔκταξιν] ἐκ τ' ἔκταξιν H τάξιν T ἢ τάξει ἢ τελέσαι T | 333 εἴτε] ἢ πρὸ τοῦ C αὐτῷ] an τῷ ?

Concerning those that leave great properties behind when dying, we order that nobody shall manage them at all except our majesty.<sup>14</sup> For it is necessary that they are administered well by us, and that rather the spiritual things of them are distributed piously to our brothers in this city, who are in debt. For many, to whom commissions have been entrusted, have devoured them completely, and did not achieve any benefit for the soul of the deceased. And if it should be finally declared to us that some people have secretly undertaken such a commission without our knowledge and distributed them, all their property shall be confiscated, and in the end they themselves shall be banished.

If those are detected who drag their servants or also free men out of a church by force, where they have sought asylum, and flog them or take vengeance on them in some other way, the servant shall attain freedom; if the man is free that has been dragged out from there and been flogged, then the one who dared to do this, as being faithless, a transgressor and despiser and enemy of God, because of his boldness shall be sold for two pieces of money at the place Trikanon,<sup>15</sup> where the slaves are sold, so that his shameless face may be put to shame by this as well, that he has dared to drag a man out of the hand of the Lord, who is similar to him according to his image, and took vengeance with him.

In all professions, if one craftsman is jealous of the other and insults or calumniates him, or also obstructs him when he is doing his business, such a man shall receive twelve lashes, shall be given to the working house for thirty days and miserably be kept there, that he may learn thoroughly not to be jealous of his brother.

We command that no guardsman or tax collector or any other official, before he has completely accomplished or performed the service he ought to the man who was in the right, shall get anything from him until he has finished his work, and only then shall he receive his fee, and that according to the fitting law and not above the correct amount. And those, that transgress and are found to be fed by both parties, shall be driven out of their office and rank, be flogged as being mad gluttons, and instead of them pious men shall be installed.

οὐ] μὴ ante λαβεῖν C | 334 λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ] λαμβάνειν SHTV | 336 οἱ τε] ὅτε C παραβαί-  
νοντες + τό γε C οἱ < V | 337 φαγάδας C, < T

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> See above, pp. 55 and 85. — In texts of the early and middle Byzantine time, *μονήτα* means either “mint, minted money”, for example at Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, 237.13–14; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 23.18 and 365.14, or also “standard coin of a currency system”, as at Kosmas Indikopleustes, 11.18 and in the *Martyrion of Arethas*, 723B. This second meaning must be intended here. If the word is not simply a synonym for the Byzantine *nomisma* (which appears in the *Nomoi* at N 101, 113, 417), it may be identified with the Homeric *helkas* mentioned by the *Martyrion of Arethas*.

340 ὁ Πᾶς ὁ δίκην λαμβάνων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου δικαίως καταδικαζόμενος, ἐπὶ δύο  
 605c μῆσιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐργοδοσίῳ προσαγέσθω ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ἵνα  
 ἔκτοτε μάθῃ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν πλησίον οὐκέτι. Εἰ δέ γε ἐτέρως πῶς ἐστιν ἡ δίκη, δικαιοθεὶς  
 ὁ τὸ δίκαιον κεκτημένος ἀνέγκλητος ἀπολυέσθω. Ἔτερον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀδικῆσαι τὸ οἰον-  
 οῦν καὶ ἀρπάσαι καὶ τύψαι καὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ ἕτερον πέφυκε τὸ ἐπὶ ἀγνοουμένοις  
 πράγμασι νόμον ἐπερωτᾶν.

345 ὁ Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων βουλευέσθαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγίοις καὶ δι'  
 αὐτῶν ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον καὶ οὕτω τὰ ἐκείνῳ δόξαντα διαπράττεσθαι ἄμεινον.  
 Ὁ γὰρ οὕτω ποιῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ καταισχυθήσεται.

350 ὁ Ἄνῆρ γυναικὸς κεφαλὴ. Γύναιον οὖν, κἂν οἰκέτης ἢ αὐτῆς τῆς γυναικός, καὶ περι-  
 605d ἐστιν ἄρρεν· οὐ προστάττομεν αὐτῇ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐνυβρίσαι ἢ περ ἐξουδενῶσαι. Νοουμένη  
 355 τε ἡ τοιαύτη ὅτι ἐνυβρίζει τοὺς ἄρρενας, τεμνέσθωσαν αἱ τρίχες, ἦγουν ἡ κόμη, ὅπθην  
 τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς καὶ δημευθεῖσα ἀπολυέσθω. Εἰ δέ γε μετέπειτα ἀναιδῶς ἴσταται καὶ  
 ἐνυβρίζει τοὺς ἄρρενας, ἐπιγινωσκομένη τεμνέσθω τὸ ἔξοχον τῆς γλώττης αὐτῆς τῆς 608a  
 ἄφρονος καὶ ἀπολυέσθω. Εἴτε καὶ χεῖραν αἶρει τοῦ τύψαι τὸ τυχόν ἄρρεν, πάρεξ δὲ ἔτε-  
 355 κεν, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὕβρει ποινήν ὀρισθεῖσαν ὑπομενέτω. Κἂν μὴ κατασταλῇ ἔκ-  
 τοτε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ γε πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ κατεργάζεται τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν εἰς οὐδὲν  
 πθεμένη, τεμνέσθω ἡ χεὶρ αὐτῆς, ὅτι δόξα ἀνδρὸς χρηματίζουσα ἐτόλμησεν ἄραι τὴν  
 δόξαν αὐτῆς κατὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ· δόξα γὰρ θεοῦ ὁ ἀνὴρ. Εἴτε χάριν παιδεύσεως  
 360 τινὸς ταῦτα ὑποτίθενται οἱ καὶ πληθοὺς οἰκετῶν κεκτημένοι, παιδευέτω μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄν-  
 δρας, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ γυναικας, ἦγουν τὰς θεραπαινίδας αὐτῆς. Πόδας γὰρ ἡμεῖς κελεύομεν τύ-  
 πτειν, κεφαλὴν οὐδόλως προστάττομεν.

365 ὁ Τὸ Γυνὴ χήρα ἐπὶ δεῦτερον γάμον ὀρμάτω ἢ ἐν μοναστηρίοις τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρτίως 608b  
 συσταθεῖσιν ἀποτασέσθω, ἂν μὴ βούλοιο γάμῳ προσορμῆσαι, μὴ ποτε πειράσῃ αὐτὴν ὁ  
 σατανᾶς. Εἰ δέ γε ἀπὸ διαγαμίας ἐχῆρυσεν κἂν μὴ βουλομένη ἀποτασέσθω· οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ  
 κανόνες τρίτῳ ἀνδρὶ γυναικᾶ ζευχθῆναι οὐκ ἀνέχονται. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν χηρευ-  
 365 σάντων γινέσθω.

ὁ Οἱ τὰς ἑαυτῶν συντέκνους ἀσώτως μετερχόμενοι, ὅποταν ἐν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ αὐτῶν  
 κατασχεθῶσιν ἢ μὲν τὸν μασθόν, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐργαλεῖον τῆς ἁμαρτίας παραυτὰ ἀποτεμνέσθω  
 καὶ ἀπολυέσθω.

347 ὁ – καταισχυθήσεται cf. Ps. 30.1, 70.1 | 348 ἀνὴρ γυναικὸς κεφαλὴ cf. 1 Cor. 11.3; Eph. 5.23 | 357 δόξα – ἀνὴρ cf. 1 Cor. 11.7 | 362 μή – 363 σατανᾶς cf. Mc. 1.13; 1 Cor 7.5

### CSHTV

339 ὁ κεφάλαιον μζ' C | 340 ἴν' SHTV | 342 ὁ] καὶ C | 343 πλεονεκτῆσαν C πράγμασι νόμους ἐπὶ ἀγνοουμένοις T | 344 νόμους V | 345 ὁ κεφάλαιον μζ' C | 348 ὁ κεφάλαιον μη' C ἀνὴρ – 360 προστάττομεν < SHTV κεφαλὴν C | 353 αἶρειν C | 361 ὁ Τὸν γυναικῶν νέων χηρευσασῶν SHTV (γυναικῶν + καὶ V) ὁ κεφάλαιον μθ' C γάμον δεῦτερον T ἢ] εἴτε C | 362 ἄν] εἰ C ἐὰν TV προσορμῆσαι] ap προσομιλῆσαι ? | 364 γυναικᾶ < C | 365 γενέσθω TV | 366 ὁ Τὸν περὶ τῶν μαιονόντων συντέκνους καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποστελλόντων τοὺς δούλους ἐν ἑορταῖς εἰς δουλείαν SHTV (συντέκνων

Whoever has received a trial and was condemned rightfully by the law, shall be brought to the royal working house for two months to work and to stay there miserably, so that he may learn thereafter not to do injustice to his neighbour. And if the judgement turns out differently and the man who is in the right is justified, he shall be dismissed without reproach. For it is one thing to do injustice in some way, to rob, to beat and take advantages, and another to ask the law about unknown things.

It is necessary that the king take counsel in great things with holy men and ask the holy God through them, and it is good if that be done what seems right to him. For whoever does so will not be put to shame forever.<sup>16</sup>

The man is set ahead of the woman. So if there is a female, a male person is her master, even if he should be a servant of this same woman: we do not allow her to insult such a man nor to despise him. If it should be perceived that such a woman insults male persons, her hair shall be cut, that is her locks, at the back of her head, her property shall be confiscated and she shall be dismissed. If she still stands around thereafter shamelessly, insults male persons and is detected, the tip of the tongue of this foolish woman shall be cut off, and she shall be dismissed. And if she raises her hand to beat a male person, except one she has born, she shall first suffer the punishment that has been established for insult. And if thereafter she does not refrain from such things, but does the same thing again and sets our law at naught, her hand shall be cut off, for she, although she is the glory of the man, has dared to raise her glory against the glory of God; for the man is God's glory. If those that have a great number of servants intend to chastise them, the husband shall chastise the men, the wife the women, that is her maidens. And we order to beat their feet, never their head.

A widowed woman shall quickly contract a second marriage, or she shall retire to one of the monasteries which we have recently established, if she does not want to be married, so that Satan may not tempt her. If she is widowed after a second marriage, she shall retire, even if unwillingly, for the divine laws do not allow for a woman to be joined to a third husband. The same shall also happen to widowed men.<sup>17</sup>

If those that have profligate intercourse with their godfathers are caught sinning, the breast <of the woman> shall at once be cut off, and also the tool of sin <of the man>, and they shall be dismissed.

HP<sup>c</sup>) ° ν' C τὰς] ταῖς SHV τοὺς T ἀσώτως < H | 367 κατασχεθῶσιν + μετ' αὐτῶν C, < T  
 πάντα SHV ἀποτεμνέσθω καὶ ἀπολυέσθω] ἀποτεμνέσθωσαν SHTV

<sup>16</sup> See above, pp. 86–87.

<sup>17</sup> On this and the following paragraph, see above, p. 87.



370 ° Οἱ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἰκέτας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς μεγάλης εἶτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ κυριακῇ ἀπο-  
 στέλλοντες φέρειν ἀγωγήματα ἢ κουβαλεῖν χόρτον ἢ ξύλα ἢ οἶνον πάρεξ τοῦ ποτίμου, τὰ 608C  
 ἦγοντα αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν προαστείων αὐτῶν εἶτε καὶ ἐξ ὠνήσεων ἐκτὸς καὶ τοῦ ὄψωνιου·  
 κρατούμενοι οἱ οἰκέται εἶτε καὶ αἱ θεραπαινίδες αἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἃ μὲν ἀποφέρονται ἀρεί-  
 σθωσαν εἰς ὄφελος τῷ γειτονιάρχη καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐλευθερίας καταξιούμενοι  
 375 καὶ ἀρᾶται, μαρτυρουμένου τοῦ πράγματος ξίφει ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαττέσθω,  
 εἰδῶς πείθεσθαι κυρίῳ καὶ βασιλικαῖς διατάξεσιν.

Τ° Οἱ κρατοῦντες μισθὸν μισθωτοῦ· ἐγκαλοῦντος τοῦ ἡδικομένου, ἀνθ' ὧν μετὰ  
 καλοῦ οὐ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ γε ἠβουλήθη ἀποστερηθῆαι αὐτόν, ὁ  
 ἀδικήσας ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι ἀπαιτεῖσθω τὸν μισθὸν καὶ δεχέσθω αὐτὸν ὁ ἀποστερηθεῖς. 608D

380 ° Ἐὰν τις εὐρεθῇ λιμώττων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας ἢ πάλιν ἀποτόμως τύπτων καὶ οὐ  
 609A κατὰ πρακτικὴν παιδείαν, καθαροποιουμένου τοῦ σφάλματος αὐτοῦ καὶ φανερωμένου αἰ-  
 ρέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τὰ οἰκετικὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐλευθερίας τυγχάνοντα ἀπολυ-  
 ἔσθωσαν, ἀπαιτουμένων καὶ τῶν ἐγκοιτίων αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν. Γέγραπται  
 γάρ, ὅτι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔστι δούλος, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐλεύθερος, πάντες δὲ ἐν χρηματίζο-  
 385 μεν οἱ σωθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀνελλιπῶς ἔχη οἰκέτης τὰς χρείας αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑπέικη  
 τοῖς δικαίοις προστάγμασιν τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐφ' αὐτῷ (πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν,  
 οἵπνες προτρέπονται τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῶν συνεργεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πορνείᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλοις  
 ἔργοις πονηροῖς), ὁ δὲ μὴ ὑπέικων ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ κυρίῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐάσθω εἴπερ ἐγκαλεῖ  
 ἀνεκδίκητος.

390 ° Οἱ ὠμῶς τε καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας αὐτῶν διακείμενοι ἐλευθερουμένων τῶν 609B  
 οἰκετῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαιτεῖσθωσαν καὶ ιδιόχειρα τοῦ μηκέτι ὠνεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἑτέρους οἰκέτας.  
 Ἐὰν δὲ τὰ σφαλῆρα ἔθῃ διορθοῦνται τοῦ μηκέτι ὠμῶς καὶ ἀπανθρώπως διακεῖσθαι  
 αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεάσθωσαν οἱ οἰκέται καὶ μὴ ἐλευθεροῦσθωσαν. Παραβλεπέ-  
 σθωσαν δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ διπλάσιον παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἰμάτιον καὶ ὑποδήματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν  
 395 χρεῖαν ἀνὰ ἔτος οἱ κύριοι αὐτῶν πλουσίως καὶ τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐὰν  
 μὴ ὑπέικωσιν ὡς τὸ δέον τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτούς.

384 οὐκ – ἐλεύθερος cf. Gal. 3.28 | 396 οὐκ – αὐτοὺς Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomus, CPG 4622, PG 60.736 in fine

### CSHTV

369 ° να' C καὶ < C | 370 ἀγωγίσματα SHTV ἢ κουβαλεῖν] εἶτε C ποτίου TV | 371 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς HV αὐτῶν T αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς C εἶτε] εἶ γε SHTV και<sup>2</sup> < C τοῦ < H | 372 εἶτε – αἰ<sup>1</sup>] καὶ HTV ἃ – 374 ἀπολυέσθωσαν] τὰ μὲν ἐπιφερόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφαιρείσθωσαν C | 373 αὐτῷ] αὐτῶν SHTV | 377 T περι τῶν ἀποστερόντων μισθὸν μισθωτοῦ καὶ περι τῶν τοὺς δούλους κακοποιούντων SHTV (μισθωτοῖς T) ° κεφάλαιον νβ' C | 378 καλῆς SHTV τὸν μισθὸν] τὴν χειμασίαν SHTV | 380 ° κεφάλαιον γγ' C εὐρεθῆ] ἢ ὁ SHTV ἑαυτῶν S αὐτῶν H πάλαι C | 381 πρακτικὴν] πατρικὴν C φανερουμένου S | 382 τυγχάνοντα ἀπολυέσθωσαν] τυγχανούσθωσαν T | 383 ἐκκοιτίων SH ἐκκοιτίων TV | 384 Ἰησοῦ < C ἀλλ' < T χρηματίζομεν post 385 αὐτῷ T χρηματίζομεν οἱ] χρηματίζόμενοι SH | 385 οἱ < V δὲ < SHTV ἐαλλειπῶς SH ὁ

Those who sent out their servants on a great feast day or on the holy Sunday to carry wares or to transport hay or wood or wine except for drinking, and what comes to them from their estates or also from purchases except for food: their servants or also their maidens who were with them shall be arrested, and what they carry around shall be taken away for the benefit of the *geitoniarches* and his people, and they themselves shall be deemed worthy of freedom, and shall be dismissed. And if anybody resists our authority and contradicts, murmurs and curses, and if the case is testified, he shall be deprived of his life by the sword, for he knows that he has to obey the Lord and the royal commandment.

Those that retain the payment of a hired servant: if the one that has suffered injustice complains that <his lord> has not given the payment to him for good, but wanted to deprive him, the one that committed injustice will be demanded a payment of the double amount, and the deprived one shall receive it.

If someone should be found to let his servants hanger, or again beats them suddenly and not for chastisement by deed, if his mistake has been made clear and becomes manifest, the house personnel of such a man shall be taken away, shall be set free and dismissed, and may also demand their bedcloths from their lords. For it is written, that there is no slave in Jesus Christ, but also no free man, but all that are saved in him are one. If a servant has all he needs without lacking anything and does not obey the just orders of his lord, though they are not sinful (for there are many that invite their slaves to work together with them at fornication and other evil works), and he does not obey his lord for good, he shall be unavenged when he complains.

The servants of those that behave in a cruel and terrible way to their servants shall be freed, and documents written by their own hands shall be demanded that they will not buy other servants. If they correct their wrong customs, so that they do not behave in a cruel and inhuman way to them anymore, their servants shall be left in their possession and not be freed. And their lords shall be observed that they give them the double amount of garments and shoes and of the remaining necessary things every year richly, and also give them their provisions; and if they will not obey their lords as they should, there will be nobody that has mercy upon them.

οικέτης C οικέτης| ούκέτις S ούκέτι H ούχι T ύπεικει S | 386 αὐτοῦ < T ἐμάρτοις V | 387 τοὺς  
 δούλους – αὐτοὺς C πονηρία TV καὶ < H | 388 πορνικοῖς TV δὲ < SHTV ἐτάσθω V εἶπερ| εἰ  
 καὶ C | 390 ° κεφάλαιον νδ' C τε| δὲ SHTV πρὸς – αὐτῶν| τοῖς οἰκέταις ἑαυτῶν SHTV |  
 391 αὐτοὺς ὠνεῖσθαι C αὐτοῦ SHTV | 392 ἐὰν δὲ| ἂν τε SHTV ὡμῶς| ὅμως SHTV διακείσθαι  
 – 393 αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup>| αὐτοὺς τύπτειν C | 393 παραβλεπέσθωσαν δὲ τοῦ| παρέχωσι δὲ αὐτοῖς C |  
 394 παρέχειν αὐτοῖς < C | 395 πλουσίως – 396 αὐτῶν bis TV παρέχων H ἐὰν| ἂν SHTV |  
 396 ὡς τὸ δέον post αὐτῶν C

° Τῶν πενήτων ἀπάντων καταγέντων εἰς τὰ πτωχοτροφεία καὶ εἰς τὰ γηροκομεία, οὐ  
 προστάττομεν οὐδὲ τῷ τυχόντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπαιτεῖν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῆς μέσης εἴτε ἐν ἐκκλησίαις 609C  
 εἴτε ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ. Ὁ γὰρ λόγος ὁ ἐμὸς βοᾶ καθ' ἐκάστην· Πᾶς ὁ πεινῶν καὶ ὁ διψῶν  
 400 καὶ ὑστερούμενος ἐρχέσθω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου δεχέσθω τὴν κατάλληλον  
 χειραγωγίαν παραμυθούμενος. Καταμέμφονται γὰρ ἡμῶν τὰ ἄλλοδαπὰ ἔθνη ἐνταῦθα  
 παραγενόμενα λέγοντες· Ἐσπλαγχνοί, φησίν, ἡ χρηματίζουσιν οἱ χριστιανοί, καθότι οἱ 612A  
 ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἄρτον καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτούς. Ἡμεῖς ἐλεήσωμεν τοὺς  
 ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ δεσπότας καὶ κυρίους.  
 405 ° Ὅσοι οὖν εἰσὶ τεταγμένοι καὶ κομίζονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν χρείας, μήτε τὸ καθόλου ἐπαι-  
 τήτωσαν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ποτὲ φωραθῆ ἔπαιτῶν κἂν εἷς, τυπτέσθω πληγὰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ  
 ἀποκλειέσθω ἐν τῷ γηροκομείῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραγγελίαν δεχέσθωσαν οἱ τοῦ πτωχοτρο-  
 φείου προϊστάμενοι τοῦ μηδὲ τὸ καθόλου ἔαν αὐτὸν τοῦ γηροτροφείου ἐξέρχεται. Ὁ δὲ  
 410 μὴ ὢν τεταγμένος προσαγέσθω ἡμῖν, καὶ εἰσπραττέσθω ἔλεος μετ' αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ γε βουλό-  
 μενοι ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνας ἀπόντες ἐν τοῖς πτωχοτροφείοις τε καὶ γηροκομείοις ἐκεῖσε  
 αὐτῶν τὴν εὐποιίαν εἰσπραττέτωσαν. Εἴ τε τυχὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν σιωπῶντα καὶ δι- 612E  
 οδεύοντα πένητα θεάσοιτό τις οὐ κραυγάζοντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διακονίαν διήκοντα, καὶ βούλοι-  
 το, ἐλεείτω αὐτόν.  
 ° Τὰ οἰκήματα πάντα τῆς πόλεως, ὅσαπερ εἰσὶν ἐνοικιαζόμενα, ἐχθίστως ἀυξηθέντος  
 415 αὐτῶν παραλόγως τοῦ ἐνοικίου ἀπὸ τῶν πρόπαλαι χαλεπῶς κεκρατηκότων τὰ τῶν Ὀμη-  
 ριτῶν πράγματα, μετὰ θεὸν προστάττομεν τὰ ἐνοίκια ἐλαττοῦσθαι. Ὁ διδοὺς ἐννέα  
 νομίσματα παρεχέτω τὰ ἕξ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφειλείσθωσαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τριμοιρού-  
 σθωσαν τὸ ἐν ὑφελέσθω καὶ τὰ δύο παρεχέτωσαν. Ὁ παρέχων ἕξ τὰ τέσσαρα διδότη καὶ  
 420 τὰ δύο κατεχέτω. Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παραπλησίως ἀρηθμείσθωσαν καὶ τὰ δύο διδότησαν καὶ  
 τὸ ἐν ἀποκρατείῳ, τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ τολμῶντος ἀπὸ τῶν οἰονοῦν ἐμπροσθεῖναι ἐνοίκιον, ἀλλ' 612C  
 ὥσπερ προστετάχαμεν τηλικούτῳ ὄρω διοικείσθωσαν, μήτε ὑφειλμὸν μήτε προσθήκην  
 δεχόμενα.

Πᾶς ὅστις δὲ οὖν τολμήσει ἐνοίκιον ἐπαναβιβάσαι ἢ δώροις πσιὴν ἐξωθήσεται ἐνοικον  
 καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνου εἴτε ἕτερον συναγαγεῖν, εἴτε καὶ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ποσὸν αὐτὸς κρατήσῃ, φημί,

399 πᾶς – 400 ἡμᾶς cf. Io. 6.35

### C S H T V

397 ° νε' C [καταγέντων] καταγέντων S, an καταταγέντων? γεροκομεία SHTV | 398 οὐδὲ –  
 ἀπαιτεῖν] υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ἀπαιτεῖν SHTV [τῆς μέσης] μέσεως SHTV εἴτε – 399 εἴτε ἐν] ἢ – ἢ ἐπ'  
 C | 399 καὶ πᾶς H πᾶς < C ὁ' < SHTV | 401 χειραγωγίαν παραμυθούμενος] παραμυθίαν SHTV  
 παραμυθούμενοι C | 402 παραγινόμενα SHTV οἱ χριστιανοὶ χρηματίζουσιν SHTV | 403 αὐτῶν <  
 SHTV ἐπαιτοῦσιν C | 404 δὲ] τοὺς SHV | 405 ° κεφάλαιον νς' C εἰσὶ < TV αὐτῶν SHTV μηδὲ  
 C ἐπαιτείσθωσαν C | 406 φωραθείεν C εἷς < S | 407 γεροκομείῳ SHTV δεχέσθω ὁ  
 – προϊστάμενος C | 408 γηροτροφείου S γεροτροφείου H | 409 εἰσπραττέσθαι SHTV] ποιούμεν C |  
 410 γηροκομείοις + καὶ C | 411 καί<sup>1</sup> < C | 413 ἐλεάτω SHTV ἐλεοῦνται αὐτὸν κελεύομεν C |  
 414 ° κεφάλαιον νς' C ἐχθίστως] καλῶς καὶ C ἐχθίστων SHTV ἀυξηθέντων C S ἀυξηθέντων  
 HTV | 415 ὑπὸ SH | 416 ἐνοίκια H | 417 παρεχέσθω TV τὰ<sup>1</sup> < STV ὑφειλούσθωσαν C | 418 τὸ

When all poor will have been brought to the poorhouses and homes for old people, we will not allow anybody to ask for bread neither on the main street,<sup>18</sup> nor in the churches nor at any other place. For my word rings out daily: everyone that is hungry and thirsty and wanting shall come to us, and shall receive the fitting guidance in the name of the Lord and be consoled. For the foreign nations that come here reproach us and say: ‘The Christians are merciless, for their brothers ask for bread, and there is nobody that has mercy with them.’ Let us have mercy with our brothers, and even more with masters and lords.

Now all those that have been placed there and receive what they need may not beg at all. And if ever one<sup>19</sup> should be caught when begging, he shall receive eighteen lashes and be shut in his home for old people, and the directors of the poorhouse shall be exhorted not to let him leave the home for old people at all. And he that is not placed there shall be brought to us, and we will have mercy with him. And those that want to give alms, shall go to the poorhouses and the homes for old people, and do their good work there. And if someone happens to meet someone poor on the street, who is silent and walks around without crying aloud, but performing some service, may have mercy with him, if he so wants.

We command that of all houses in the city which are rented, and of which the rent has most hatefully and unreasonably been raised by those that before have badly administered the matters of the Homerites,<sup>20</sup> the rent shall be lowered with God. He that gave nine *nomismata* shall give six, and the rest is what has been subtracted from the overall sum, that is, by being divided by three: one part shall be subtracted and two shall be paid. He that pays six shall give four and keep two. And the remaining cases shall be reckoned in a similar way, and two shall be given and one shall be kept, and nobody shall dare henceforth to raise the rent, but they shall be administered in such a way as we have ordered, and neither a subtraction nor an addition shall be accepted.<sup>21</sup>

Now of anybody that dares to raise the rent or to expel a tenant through some bribe and to install somebody else instead of him, even if he should be willing to keep, I say,

– παρεχέτωσαν < C τριμερούσθωσαν SH | 419 κατεχέτωσαν H ἀριθμήτωσαν H και<sup>1</sup> + ὁ παρέχων τρία H | 420 ἀποκρατείτωσαν SHTV τολμώντες SHTV τῶν οἰονοῦν ἐπιπροσθεῖναι τοῦ νῦν προσθεῖναι C ἐνοίκιον C T ἐνοίκουν H | 421 προστετάχωμεν C προστετόχαμεν SHTV τηλικούτω] τῷ αὐτῷ C ὑφειλμὸν] ὑφ’ ἡμῶν SHTV | 423 ὅστις δὲ οὖν] δὲ ὅστις C ἐνοίκιον C T ἐπαναβιβάσαι] οὐ παραβιβάσαι SHTV τισὶν] τίς εἰς V ἐνοίκον SHTV | 424 εἶτε<sup>1</sup> < C εἰσάγει C εἰς < H τὸ] τὸν V κρατήσαι – 425 τῷ bis C

18 See above, p. 88.

19 Note the use of κἄν εἰς here and at A 296, which corresponds to Modern Greek κανείς.

20 See above, p. 85

21 See above, pp. 87–88.

- 425 τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνοίκιον ἐν τῷ οἰκίματι προθυμηθεῖεν, πρῶτον μὲν εἰσκομιζέσθω τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς μισάδελφος καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐγνωκῶς τὸ *Ὅπερ σὺ μισεῖς, ἐτέρω μὴ ποιήσης* ἐκδιωκέσθω τῆς πόλεως. Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ δεσπόζων τοῦ οἰκήματος χρεωποιῆται αὐτὸ εἰς ἰδίαν ἀνάπαυσιν, ἄδεδον ἐχέτω ποιεῖν πρὸς ὃ βούλεται· κατὰ χάριν δὲ ἵνα ἐξεώση τοῦτον, εἰσαγάγη δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς ἐνοικίου προκειμένου, μὴ τολμάτω τοῦτο 612D
- 430 τὸ σύνολον. Οὐ γὰρ προστάττομεν πάρεξ εἰ μὴ ἔστιν ὁ ἐνοικος μαχιμὸς τις καὶ θορυβώδης καὶ πνέων ταραχὴν καὶ μισαδελφίαν ἢ μᾶλλον μισανθρωπίαν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα πινὰ ἐπὶ κακίᾳ προχειρότατος. 613A
- ° Ἐκάστῳ γειτονιάρχῃ προστάττομεν τὰ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις γινόμενα πολυτρόπως κατανοεῖν ὑμᾶς. Καὶ εἰ σφάλματα πινὰ μάθετε γινόμενα, ἀναφέρετε ταῦτα τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου, καὶ παραχρήμα διορθοῦσθωσαν. Ἐὰν δὲ παρακούῃ, εὐθέως ἡμῖν τοῦτο δῆλον διὰ τοῦ ἐπάρχου καταστήσατε.
- ° Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος δότω τῷ οἰκῆτῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ σύντροφον, καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος αὐτοῦ σχίπτω γυναῖκα. Καὶ ταῖς θεραπαίνισι δότε συντρόφους, ἵνα ἔξει ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παραμυθίαν καὶ μὴ ἀμαρτάνωσιν. Ὁ δὲ παραβαίνων τότε τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἡμῶν πρόσταγμα ἀφαιρείσθω τὸν ἄζυγον οἰκῆτην καὶ ζημιούσθω τὴν μὴ ἔχουσαν σύντροφον θεράπειαν, ὅτι πρόσταγμα βασιλείας ἠκύρωσε καὶ νόμον τῶν Ὀμηριῶν ἠθέτησεν. Τὰ δὲ ἀφαιρούμενα οἰκετικὰ πρόσωπα προσαγέσθωσαν τῷ ταμείῳ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπομνησκομένων ἡμῶν καὶ καθὼς περ ἀποφαίνομεν. Εἰ δὲ τινες ἀπολογοῦνται φάσκοντες, ὅτι ‘πένης εἰμί’, φησί, ‘καὶ οὐ δύναμαι τῷ οἰκῆτῃ μου ὠνήσασθαι σύντροφον’, προστάττομεν λέγοντες· Εἰ πένης εἶ, πώλησον καὶ τὸν ἕνα σου οἰκῆτην· διὰ γὰρ σὲ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας τὰς καθ’ ἐκάστην γινόμενας οὐ παρεῶμεν φρυάττεσθαι.
- ° Τοῖς βουλομένοις παρθενεύειν μὴ ἐμποδίσῃ τις, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀγνεύειν μὴ κωλύσῃτε. Ἰδιόχειρά τε ἀπαιτεῖσθωσαν τοῦ μὴ τρόπῳ ταῦτα προσομιλεῖν ἐξ ὑποκρίσεως, ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ δὲ ἀνομῆν καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν· περιεχέτω δὲ τὸ ἰδιόχειρον αὐτῶν κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν. Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω. Καταλαμβανόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰδιόχειρον αὐτῶν ὑπομενέτωσαν· φαρισαίους γὰρ καὶ ὑποκριτὰς τοὺς εἰς κύριον Ἰησοῦν πεπιστευκότας εἶναι οὐ βουλόμεθα ἐπισταμένους ψεύδεσθαι θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῦσι.
- ° Πᾶς γειτονιάρχης, ὃς οὐ τηρήσει τότε ἡμῶν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας θεοκέλευστον πρόσταγμα μετὰ τρόμου καὶ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ἀλλὰ ἀμελῶν ἦτε καὶ δώροις παραπατῶν

426 ὅπερ – 427 ποιήσης cf. Tob. 4.15; Septem Sapientes 216.23; *Aprophthegmata*, c. 253; Didymus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, 223.22; idem, *Commentarii in Zachariam*, 3.212.7 | 450 ὁ – χωρεῖτω Mt. 19.12 | 451 φαρισαίους – ὑποκριτὰς cf. Mt. 23.13–29

#### C S H T V

425 ἐνοίκιον C ἐνοῖκιν – οἰκήματι] οἰκήμα SHTV προθυμηθεῖεν SHTV σκομιζέσθω SH σκομιζεσθαι TV | 426 τὰ πάντα SH | 427 τοῦ οἰκήματος < T | 428 αὐτὸ < SHTV ἀνάπαυσιν + τῇ ἀληθείᾳ X ἄδεδον ἐχέτω] ἐχέτω βουλήν C δ] ἄν V ἴν’ SHTV ἀξιώση SHTV | 429 καὶ ἐνὸς < C ἐνοικί C τολμήτω SHTV | 430 προστάττομεν C καὶ θορυβώδης] καθορυβιστής S θορυβιστής HTV | 431 ἦ] καὶ SHV ἐνὶ S ἐνὶ HTV | 433 ° κεφάλαιον νη’ C πολυτρόπως – 434 γινόμενα <

that rent at the same amount, first all his belongings shall be confiscated, and he shall be expelled from the city for hating his brother and not knowing the word *What you hate do not do to anyone else*. If the master of the house claims it for his own rest, he shall be free to do what he wants; but he shall not dare at all to expel him for his pleasure and to install someone else with one and the same rent. For we do not allow this except in case the tenant is troublesome, makes noise and breathes trouble and hates his brothers or rather men, and is also most willing to do some other bad works.

We give order to every *geitoniarches* to look in various ways upon the things that happen in the houses. And if you learn that if any mishaps occur, report them to the master of that house, and they shall be corrected on the spot. And if he refuses to hear you, make this immediately known to us through the prefect.

Every man shall also give a companion to his servant, and the free man shall have his own wife. Also give companions to the maidens, so that everyone has his consolation and they will not commit sin. From the one that transgresses this our pious order, the unmarried servant shall be taken away, and the maiden that has no companion shall be confiscated as a punishment, because he has transgressed an order of our majesty and despised the law of the Homerites. And the house personnel that has been taken away shall be added to the treasury of our majesty, and we will also remember what we have declared. And if some people apologise saying ‘I am poor and cannot buy a companion for my servant’, we give order and say: if you are poor, sell your one servant also, for we will not let these dealings, that happen daily, stand proud because of you.

Nobody shall thwart those that want to live a virgin life, and you do not hinder those that want to live in chastity. Of them shall be demanded documents written in their own hand, declaring that they are not doing this by hypocrisy in some way, and do injustice and sin secretly, and their document shall contain <the threat> of capital punishment. *He who can achieve it, shall achieve it*. And if they are caught, they shall suffer according to their document, for we do not wish that those who believe in the Lord Jesus be Pharisees and hypocrites, who know to lie to God and the kings.<sup>22</sup>

We command that every *geitoniarches* who does not keep this God-given order of our majesty with trembling, awe and reverence, but is found to neglect it, or also trans-

SHTV | 435 παραχρήμα] δι' ἐκείνου Η διορθούσθω SHTV τοῦτο] τόγε SHTV | 436 ἀρξέτου ἦγουν τοῦ ἐπάρχου C (ἀρξέτου = ἀρχηγέτου? Patlagean) ὑπάρχου TV | 437 ° κεφάλαιον νθ' C διδώτω V και<sup>1</sup> < C | 438 θεραπεινίταις STV θεραπεινίταις Η ἐρεῖ C ἔξεις S | 439 ἀμαρτάνουσιν SHTV οἱ δὲ παραβαίνοντες Η | 440 θεράπεινα SHTV | 441 προστάγματα SHTV βασιλείας + ἀγίας STV ἀφελούμενα TV | 442 προσαγαγέτωσαν C προσαγέσθωσα S τῷ βασιλικῷ C ἡμῖν και καθώσπερ ἀποφήνομεν γενήσεται C | 444 δεδύνηται SHTV προσάττοντες αὐτοῖς λέγομεν C | 445 πούλησον SHTV | 447 ° κεφάλαιον ξ' C ἐμποδιστή C | 448 ἀποκρίσεως SHTV | 450 δυνόμενος SHTV | 451 γὰρ < SHTV τοὺς < C πεπιστευκότες Η<sup>ac</sup> | 453 ° κεφάλαιον ξα' C θεῶ κελευστὸν SHTV | 454 ἀλλὰ < SHTV ἦτε και] και ἦτε C παρορῶν C

22 See above, p. 84.

- 455 τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐν τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ προθέματι φανεροποιούμενος, μετέωρον αὐτὸν κε-  
λεύομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ποδὸς δεθέντα ἀρθῆναι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ κεφαλῆς  
ἐπὶ στύλου, ἦγουν ἐπὶ δοκὸς τῆς οἰασδοῦν, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ ἀχύρου καπνιζόμενον ἀποθα- 613D  
νεῖν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε σωφρονιζόμενοι παιδεύωνται. Συμφέρει γὰρ ἵνα ὁ  
λεπρωθεὶς εἷς ἔριφος ἀρθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγέλης ἐξολοθρευθῆ καὶ μὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀγέλη τοῦ ποι- 616A  
μνίου λωβηθεῖσα ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς τέλος ἀπόληται. Τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθω εἰς αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ  
ὑπάρχου. Ἐὰν δὲ τὸν γειτονιάρχην ὁ ὑπαρχος ταῦτα τὰ προστάγματα ἡμῶν παραβαίνον-  
τα οὐ τιμωρήσῃ, οὐδὲ ποιήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τότε ἡμῶν τὸ εὐσεβέστατον καὶ δικαιώτατον  
πρόσταγμα, τὰ ἅπερ ἔμελλεν ὑπομένειν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς πάθῃ ὁ ὑπαρχος, τῆς ἡμετέρας γα-  
ληνότητος τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν ἐπισπώμενος.
- 465 ° Ἐκαστος γειτονιάρχης τὰς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεία πραγματείας γινομένας ἀκριβο-  
λογοῖτω, ἵνα δικαίως πιπράσκωνται. Ἐταζέτω δὲ τὰς ἀγοράς, ὅπως παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων  
ὠνηθῆ τὰ εἶδη· καὶ μάλιστα καὶ οἱ πιπράσκοντες αὐτοῖς, φημί οἱ ἐξωπράται, ἐταζέσθω-  
σαν· καὶ οὕτω κατὰ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰ εἶδη πιπρασκέτωσαν. Πολλάκις  
γὰρ πλουσιῶς ὠνοῦνται καὶ πολλάκις ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πολλάκις· κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν  
οὖν ἀκριβολογούμενα καὶ πιπρασκέτωσαν, ἵνα μήτε ὁ πιπράσκων ἀκερδῆς ᾖ, μήτε ὁμοίως 616B  
καὶ ὁ ὠνούμενος παραβλάπτεται.
- Τοῦ Πάντα λιφυφικὸν ἦτοι ὑφαντὴν καὶ πάντα τεχνίτην ἀπάσης ἐπιστήμης τῇ ἀγία  
κυριακῇ μιᾶς τριχὸς ἔργον ὡς ὅπως οὖν ἄψασθαι οὐ προστάττομεν. Τὸν δὲ εὐρισκόμενον  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ κελεύομεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐργαλεῖα αὐτῶν πυρὶ κατ-  
αναλίσκεσθαι.
- 475 ° Τοὺς μὴ παραλαμβάνοντας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν φαμίλιον ταῖς μεγάλας ἑορταῖς καὶ  
τῇ ἀγία κυριακῇ καὶ ἀπερχομένους ἐν τῇ ἀγία ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τε τῷ σαββάτου  
ἐσπερινῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρθρῳ τῆς ἀγίας κυριακῆς, ἐν τε τῇ λειτουργίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐσπε-  
ρινῷ, τούτοις ἐπὶ δις καὶ τρίς κατ' ἐνώπιον ἀξίων τριῶν προσώπων φωνεῖτω ὁ γειτονιάρ- 616C  
χης ὑπέικειν τῇ θείᾳ κελευσεῖ. Καὶ ἐὰν ἔκτοτε μὴ κατεργάζωνται τὰ προστεταγμένα  
αὐτοῖς, ἀφαιρείσθωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν καὶ διανεμέσθωσαν τὰ ἡμίσιους αὐτοῖς  
° τοῖς ἐν τοῖς πτωχοτροφείοις τεταγμένοις ἀδελφοῖς, τό τε περιλοιπὸν αὐτῶν κατασχῆτω  
ὁ τῶν ἐκεῖσε γειτονιάρχης εἰς ἑαυτοῦ κέρδος μετὰ τῶν παρεδρευόντων αὐτῷ στραπωτῶν,  
ἵνα καὶ προθυμίαν κέκτηνηται τοῦ ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἔρευναν εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ πάντων τῶν  
485 προστεταγμένων αὐτοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν.

## C S H T V

455 τῷδε] τῷ δέει SHTV προθέματι + καὶ C | 457 ἦγουν] ἡ SHTV οἰασδοῦν C οὕτω ὑπὸ ἀχύρων  
SHTV καπνιζόμενος H | 458 λοιποὶ < SH ὁ < C | 460 λωβηθεῖσα C ἀπολήται C γινέτω εἰς  
αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ SHTV ἐπάρχω SH | 461 τὸν] γνῶτω SHTV ταῦτα] τάδε SH ἡμῶν < SH | 462 οὐ  
τιμωρήσῃ < SHTV οὐδὲ] καὶ οὐ SHTV τὸ] καὶ C εὐσεβές τε SHTV | 463 τὰ ἅπερ] τότε ὑπὲρ C  
μέλλει ὑπομεμενηκέναι αὐτὸς ποιήσεται οὗτος SHTV | 465 ° κεφάλαιον ξβ' C τῇ] αὐτῇ H |  
466 ὅπως] πῶς C | 467 ὠνήθη C καὶ μάλιστα < SHTV πρᾶσκοντες SHTV | 468 καὶ<sup>1</sup> –  
πιπρασκέτωσαν < V τὴν < C πρᾶσκέτωσαν SHTV | 470 οὖν] ποιοῦν C ἀκερδῆς ᾖ] νὰ κερδίση  
SHTV | 471 ὁ < SHTV | 472 † περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι ἔργον δηποτοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀγία κυριακῇ

gressing what has been written down in this our edict by taking bribes, shall be hanged up high in the air bound headlong with his left foot to a column, that is to a beam, and so to be choked to death by smouldering hay, so that the others also shall become prudent and be educated. For it is of benefit that one kid that suffers from leprosy be removed from the flock and killed, and the whole flock does not perish in the end, being infected by it. And this shall be done to him by the prefect. And if the prefect does not punish the *geitoniarches* when he transgresses these our orders, and does not follow this our most pious and most righteous order to him, then the prefect shall suffer himself what that man was to suffer, attracting the wrath of our serenity.

Every *geitoniarches* shall inspect the business that is being done in his realm, so that they sell correctly. He shall examine the markets, how the items are bought by the merchants, and especially also those that sell to them, I say the foreign merchants, shall be examined, and so the items shall be sold according to fitting justice. For often they sell for a high price and often expensively, and often in between; on the market the wares shall now be sold under inspection, so that neither the seller be without profit, nor also the buyer suffer damage.

We do not allow that any linen-maker, that is a weaver, and any craftsmen of all profession should do the work of one single hair on the holy sabbath. And if one of them is found doing this, we order that his work and his tools shall be devoured by fire in the middle of the market-place.

Those that do not take their whole family with them on the great holidays and the holy Sunday and do not go to church in good harmony to the vesper on Saturday and to matins on the holy Sunday, to mass and to vespers, these the *geitoniarches* shall invite in the presence of three worthy persons obey to the divine order. And if they still do not do what they have been ordered, all their property shall be taken away from them, and half of it shall be distributed to the brothers that have been placed in the poorhouse, and the *geitoniarches* shall keep the rest of it for his own profit together with the soldiers that attend him, so that they will be ready to inquire accurately about all things that have been ordered to them by us.

SHTV (δηποτοῦν] δὴ τῷ τε S) ° ξγ' C λιυφικὸν ἦτοι < SHTV ὑφάντην C | 473 τῶν δὲ εὐρισκο-  
μένων V | 474 προσάττομεν SHTV ἐν < SHTV ἐν μέσῳ] μέσον TV μέσω τῆς ἀγορᾶς repetit  
post 473 προσάττομεν S αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> < S τὰ<sup>2</sup> < S αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> < V ἀναλίσκειν C | 476 ° ξδ' C αὐτῶν <  
C | 477 ἐν τε – 478 ἐσπερινῶ] ἐσπέρα τοῦ σαββάτου TV τῷ] τοῦ SH σαμβάτου H | 478 και<sup>1</sup> –  
αὐτῆς < TV ἐν τε] και ἐν C | 479 αὐτοῖς τούτοις SH δυσὶν HSTV και τρις < C ἀξίων] ἐξιῶν  
STV προσώπων φωνεῖτω] προφωνεῖτο S | 481 τὴν ὑπόστασιν C ἡμίσι αὐτῶν C | 482 ° ξε' C τὰ  
περίλοιπα C αὐτοῖς SHTV κατεχέτω C κατασχέτω TV | 483 τῶν<sup>1</sup>] τοῖς SHTV γειτοναρχῶν S  
γειτοναρχῆς H<sup>p</sup> παραδρευόντων SHTV αὐτὸν SH | 485 αὐτοῖς] ὑμῖν TV ἡμῶν + τέλος τοῦ  
νόμου C



Ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τόμῳ καινῷ γράφας ὁ μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γρηγέντιος, προσελθὼν ἐπέδωκεν αὐτὰ τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ Ἀβραάμ. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὰ κατέναντι αὐτοῦ ἀναγνωσθῆναι. Ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτέρφθη λίαν καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι. Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεφίλει τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ μακαρίου, μεθ' ὧν 616D  
490 αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνα γεγράφηκε, καὶ εἶπεν· “Εὐλογημένη ἡ ὥρα ἐκεῖνη τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐν ἧ εἶπον περὶ 617A  
σου, ὅτι *ἰδοὺ ἄρρην*.” Ὁ δὲ μακαριώτατος ὑπέθηκε τῷ βασιλεῖ μεταγραφῆναι ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐτέροις πλείστοις τόμοις πρὸς τὸ ἕκαστον γειτονιάρχην κεκτῆσθαι τὸ ἴδιον.

Καὶ τούτου γενομένου προσέταξεν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πάντας τοὺς γειτονιάρχας ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τοῦ τε βασιλέως ἐκέισε παραγεγονότος μετὰ τῆς συγκλήτου 495 καὶ πάσης τῆς πόλεως, μετὰ τὸ τελειωθῆναι τὴν ἀγίαν προσκομιδὴν δεξάμενος τὸν τόμον, ὃν ἰδίαις χερσίν ἦν γράφας, φημί ὁ τιμώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, εἶπεν τοῖς γειτονιάρχαις·  
Τ “Δεῦτε, ἀγαπητοί μου, καὶ δέξασθε τὰς διατάξεις ταύτας ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου, ἵνα γνῶτε 617B  
ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος εἰσὶν ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' οὖν παρὰ κυρίου αὐτὰς παρεληφότες ἐγχειρίζομεν ὑμῖν.” Καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς τόμους ἀνέγνω αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον πάντων.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναγνωσθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν προσενεχθῆναι πάντας τοὺς μεταγραφέντας 500 τόμους καὶ, ὡς ἠνέχθησαν, τέθεικεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ. Τεθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν κλίνας τὰ γόνατα προσηύξατο ὁ μακάριος καὶ φησὶν· “Καρδιογνώστα, δίκαιε, ἀπόρρητε, φοβερὲ, ἰσχυρὲ, μεγαλοδύναμε, ἅγιε κύριε, ἔκτεινον τὸν βραχιόνά σου τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἅγιον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ μέγαν, καὶ ἐπλαβόμενος τούτων τῶν τόμων τῶν πρὸ 505 τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου τῶν ἀχράντων προκειμένων διαμέρισον αὐτοὺς τούτοις τοῖς δούλοις σου, ὡς ποτὲ ἐπὶ Μωυσέως τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἀνδράσι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς τοῖς ἀγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις τὰς πυρίνας γλώσσας.”

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ προσευξαμένου πνοὴ βιαία ἐπνευσε παρὰ κυρίου ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς τόμους, καὶ ἐπάρασα αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου οὗ ἔκειντο ὡσανεὶ φύλλα 510 ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν γειτονιάρχῶν κουφίσασα τούτων τοὺς κόλπους 617C αὐτῶν ἐναπέθετο. Τούτου τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος γεγονότος φόβου καὶ ἐκστάσεως ἅπαντες οἱ ἐκέισε σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπληρώθησαν. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν

488 ἡγαλλιάσατο τῷ πνεύματι Lc. 1.47, 10.21 | 491 ἰδοὺ ἄρρην Iob 3.3 | 506 ὡς<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶν cf. Num. 11.17 καὶ – 507 γλώσσας cf. Acta 2.3

### CSHTV

486 Τ περὶ τοῦ τόμου ὃν ἔγραψεν ὁ ἅγιος Η μακαρίτης C | 487 Ἀβραάμ < SHTV | 489 ὁ βασιλεὺς < SHTV | 490 αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνος γέγραψεν καὶ ἔλεγεν STHV εἶπαν SHTV | 491 ἄρρην < V ὑπέθηκε] προσηγόρευσε SHTV | 493 γεναμένου SHTV γειτονιάρχαις SH | 494 παραγεγονότος + καὶ SHTV | 495 ἀπάσης SHTV καὶ μετὰ C μετὰ δὲ H | 496 φημί < C | 497 Τ περὶ τοῦ θαύματος τοῦ γεγονότος ἐν τοῖς τόμοις ἐν οἷς οἱ νόμοι ἐγράφησαν SHTV γνόντες C | 498 αὐτὰς < TV | 499 καὶ – πάντων] καὶ ὡς ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεφθέγγετο λαβόμενος τῆς ἀναγνώσεως ἐπανέγνωσεν αὐτοῖς τούτους SHTV (τούτους] τούτων Η ταῦτα T) | 500 τὸ ἀναγνωσθῆναι] ταῦτα SHTV πάντας < C τὸς – 501 αὐτοὺς T | 501 τόμους] νόμους SHTV συνέχθησαν V αὐτοὺς + πάντας SHTV ἀγίῳ < SHTV | 502 τὸ γόνυ C καὶ φησὶν] οὕτως ἰ λέγων T φησὶν + εὐχή C, + προσευχὴ τοῦ ἀγίου Η | 503 καὶ ἅγιον < SHTV | 504 μέγα C | 506 ποτὲ] ὁ τοῦ Η αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς

When the most blessed archbishop Gregentios had written all this into a new volume, he came to the most pious King Abraham and gave it to him. The king gave order that it be read in his presence. And when it had been read, he was greatly pleased and delighted in his spirit. And the king came, kissed the hands of the blessed one with which he had written this, and said: “That hour be blessed to the Lord in which I said about you, *behold, a man.*” And the most blessed one suggested to the king that it should be copied to a great number of other volumes, so that every *geitoniarches* should possess his own copy.

And when this had happened, the archbishop gave order that all *geitoniarchai* should meet in the church.<sup>23</sup> When the king came there together with his senate and all the city, after the completion of the holy offering he received the volume which he had written with his own hands, I mean the most worthy archbishop, and said to the *geitoniarchai*: “Come, my beloved ones, and receive these commandments from the hand of the Lord, so that you may know that they are not simply made by the first we met and as it happened, but that we hand them over to you having received them from the Lord.” And he took the volumes and read them in the presence of all.

And when he had read them, he ordered that all the copied volumes should be brought, and when they were brought, he put them into the holy sanctuary. And when they had been put there, bowing his knee the blessed one prayed and said: “You that know our hearts, you righteous, ineffable, fear-inspiring, strong, powerful holy Lord, stretch out your high and holy and strong and fear-inspiring and great arm, take these volumes that lie before your immaculate eyes and distribute them to these your servants, as once in the time of Moses the spirit to the seventy men which lay on them, and the fiery tongues to your holy apostles.”

When he had prayed thus, a violent wind blew from the Lord from the sanctuary to the volumes, took them up from the place where they lay into the air like the wind does leaves, and put them unto every single one of the *geitoniarchai*, lifting the folds of their robes. When this incredible wonder happened, all those present there were filled with fear and ecstasy together with the king and his noblemen. And one could see them all

Η αὐτῷ TV | 508 βιαία] νέα TV | 509 τόμους] νόμους Η ἐπάρας V τοῦ < C | 510 ἄνεμος] ἀν-  
ίπτοντο Η τῶν + αὐτῶν SH ἀρχόντων SH γειτονιάρχων V κουφίσασα] ἐκριφήσασα SH τού-  
των] τούτου V τοῖς κόλποις αὐτῶν τεθησαύρικεν SHTV | 511 αὐτῶν] αὐτούς C | 512 ἅπαντες]  
πάντες SH σὺν – αὐτοῦ] καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων SHTV ἦν] μὴν SHTV

<sup>23</sup> On the following scene, see above, p. 90.

αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας ἐκπληττομένους καὶ τὸν δεσπότην κύριον Σαβαώθ τῇ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν ὑπερυψοῦντας καὶ μεγαλύνοντας.

515 Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν “ Ἴδετε, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς τόμοις θείας παραγγελίας ἐδέξασθε. Τὸ λοιπὸν μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου διατηρήσατε αὐτάς, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ζήσωμεν κυρίου παντοκράτορος ἡμῖν τοῦτο νέμοντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ ζωὴν τὴν ἀτελεύτητον κληρονομήσωμεν.”

520 Ταῦτα τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ ἕτερα πλείω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποφθεγξαμένου ἀπῆλθον 620A  
ἅπαντες εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπὶ τῷ ἀριστήσῃ ἀνακεχώρηκε. Καθεσθέντες οὖν οἱ ἄρχοντες μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ λαχούσῃ αὐτῶν γειτονίᾳ προκειμένων τῶν βασιλικῶν διατάξεων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἔπραττον μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ τρόμου καὶ εὐλαβείας, καθὼς περ αὐτοῖς τὰ διατάγματα 525  
παρεκελεύοντο. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐντήμους μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἥτοι ὡς τὸ χρυσίον τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον. Περιεπάτουν γὰρ μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς τόμοις κἂν τάχα οἱ πλείους ἐξετέλουν 620B  
ἄκοντες καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι, ὥστε τὸ τηνικαῦτα πληρωθῆναι καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένον θεῖον λόγιον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ Οὐκ ἔστι κατάπτωμα φραγμοῦ οὔτε κραυγῆ οὔτε διέξο-  
530 δος ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμακάρισαν τὸν λαόν, φησίν, ᾧ ταῦτα ἐστὶν μακάριος ὁ λαὸς οὗ κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ.

Τούτων οὕτω γινομένων καὶ οὕτω παρακολουθησάντων καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰνούντος τὸν κύριον καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ ἀδικεῖν τὸ οἰονοῦν μὴ τολμώντων καὶ πάντων ἀπέριφω χαρᾷ εὐφραινομένων ...

517 ἤρεμον – ζήσωμεν 1 Tim. 2.2 | 526 τὸ<sup>1</sup> – ἄδολον cf. Is. 13.12 | 529 οὐκ – 531 αὐτοῦ Ps. 143.14–15

C S H T V | 532 τούτων et sequentia in initio Dialexeos ponunt T V M

513 αὐτοὺς < C ἐκτάσει SHTV | 514 ὑπερύψουν SH ὑπερυψοῦντες TV μεγαλύνοντες TV | 516 φόβου + θεοῦ C | 517 διάγωμεν καὶ ζήσωμεν T | 518 ἡμῖν < HT | 520 πλεῖα SH ἀπεφθεγξαμένου S ἀπεφθεγξάμενος T ἀπεφθεγξάμενα V ἀπῆλθον – 521 θεόν] ἐλύθη ἡ πανήγυρις SHTV | 521 τῆς χειρὸς < SHTV | 522 μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου C ἀνακεχώρηκασιν SHV μετὰ ταῦτα] τὸ λοιπὸν ἕκαστος SHTV | 524 αὐτοὺς C | 525 παρακελεύοντας SHTV | 526 ἦτοι ὡς] τότε ὑπὲρ SHTV τότε ἢ TV καθαρὸν καὶ ἄδολον] διάπυρον SH ἄπυρον TV γὰρ < T | 527 ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ SHTV κἂν – πλείους < SHTV | 528 ἄκοντες] ἀποπληροῦντες SHTV τὸ<sup>1</sup>] τὰ S τὸ<sup>2</sup>] τὰ S τῷ προφήτῃ SHTV | 529 ἐκεῖνο < C | 530 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς SHTV καὶ < SHTV ἐμακάρισεν C ἐστὶν + καὶ C | 531 αὐτοῦ < SHTV | 532 οὕτως γεγονότων SHTV | 533 αἰνούντων SH ἀδικεῖν] δίκην SH μὴ] οὐ SHTV | 534 εὐφραινομένων + βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν SHTV (βασιλεύοντος – Χριστοῦ) ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν TV ᾧ – κράτος < S νῦν – <sup>4</sup>καὶ < SH τῶν αἰώνων] αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα S) + δόξα / τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδόντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος / ἀρχῆς καλλίστης ἀγαθὸν δί<ν>εἰς τέλος / ἢ τρισσοπαντέλειος ἀγαθαρχία· δόξα τῷ θεῷ, ἀμήν H τέλος T

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being astonished, exalting the Master and Lord Sabaoth by extending their arms and extolling him.

And the archbishop said to the rulers: “Look, my beloved ones, how you have received the divine exhortations from the Lord our God in these volumes. Keep them henceforth with fear and trembling, so that we may lead a calm and silent life in this world also, since the Lord has granted that to us, and will inherit the eternal life in the future one.”

When the archbishop had said these and many other things to them, they all went away into their houses praising God. And the king took the hand of the blessed one and went away to have a meal. Now when the rulers sat thereafter in the neighbourhood, which had been allotted to them, with the royal commandments before them, they did their work with awe, trembling and reverence, as the commandments ordered them to do. And one could see these men *being rather worthy* according to the Scripture, that is *like pure and unadulterated gold*. For they all went about with fear and trembling and did the things which were written in the royal volumes, although most of them unwillingly and not wanting this, so that the divine word was fulfilled at that time that had been said by the prophet: *There is no destruction of a fence, neither crying nor any going around in their main streets*, and then *blessed is that people*, he says, *to whom this is the case: Blessed are that people whose God is Lord*.

When these things had been done and happened in this way, and the king had praised the Lord for this and his nobleman did not dare to do injustice in any way and all rejoiced with infinite joy ...

<Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
γενομένου πόλεως Τεφάρ, διάλεξις μετὰ Ἰουδαίου Ἐρβάν>

Παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καθὰ καὶ ἐκελεύσθη αὐτοῖς, ἀναλωθείσης αὐτοῖς ἡδη τῆς  
προθεσμίας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν. Παρεγένοντο δὲ τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι καὶ τοῦ  
5 βασιλέως ὑπομνησθέντος, ἐτοιμασίας ἐν τῷ Θρελλέτῳ γεγνουίας· αὐλή δὲ τοῦτο μεγίστη  
καὶ πρώτη τῶν βασιλείων περίεστιν. Ἐκεῖσε τοιγαροῦν τῆς ἐτοιμασίας γεγνουίας καὶ  
πάσης τῆς τάξεως ἀθροισθείσης, παρουσίας καὶ τῆς ἱεράς συγκλήτου, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ. Καὶ καθεσθέντων αὐτῶν ἐπέστη περὶ κύκλω  
αὐτῶν ἀθρόως καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις. Εἰσελθόντων τοιγαροῦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔστησαν Ἐρβάν  
10 ὡς ἡγούμενον τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου. Ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἄκρως πεπαιδευμένος τόν τε νόμον  
καὶ τὰς τῶν προφητῶν θείας δέλτους, τὴν τε Πεντάτευχον καὶ τὰ περιλοιπα. Ὡς δὲ παρ-  
έστη κύκλω αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τε γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων καὶ νομοδιδασκάλων (ἐκ  
γὰρ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν συναθροισθέντες οἱ μεγάλοι αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅσοι δυνατοὶ ἐν  
15 εἶπεν τῇ συναγωγῇ αὐτῶν·

**X D A F N μ P** | 3 παρεγένοντο [C K S H V M

1 τοῦ – 2 Ἐρβάν] διάλεξις τινός Ἰουδαίου μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου P ἐν ἀγίοις] ὁσίου X πατρός  
ἡμῶν < N Γρηγεντίνου N ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου] κυρίου ἐπισκόπου X | 2 γενομένου < X N  
τῆς Ὀμηριτῶν πόλεως Ταφάρ X πόλεως Τεφάρ κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρίτην N Τεφρῶν μ διάλεξις + α' X  
μετὰ Ἰουδαίου] πρὸς τὸν Ἐβραῖον X τοῦ Ἰουδαίου N Ἐρβάν + εὐλόγησον πάτερ DAF, +  
τοῦνομα μ | 3 παρεγένοντο] ἦλθον K παρεγένοντο – 4 διαλεχθῆναι] ἀναλωθείσης – ἡμερῶν  
παρεγένοντο καθὰ ἐκελεύσθη αὐτοῖς SH τελεσθείσης ἡδη – ἡμερῶν παρεγένοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦ  
διαλεχθῆναι ὡς ἐκελεύσθησαν μ παρεγένοντο – 14 βασιλέως < X παρεγένοντο – 15 αὐτῶν < P  
δὲ < C VM καθὼς D και<sup>2</sup> < K DAFN SH ἀναλωθείσης] διελθούσης C ἀναλωθείσης – 4 ἡμε-  
ρῶν] καὶ τῆς διωρίας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν πληρωθεισῶν ante ἦλθον K | 4 παρεγένοντο]  
ἦλθον DAFN παρεγένοντο δὲ] ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο C τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι] πρὸς τὴν διάλεξιν post 3  
Ἰουδαῖοι K διαλεχθῆναι + ἔνεκα VM και – 5 ὑπομνησθέντος < μ | 5 ὑπομνησθέντος + και K και  
τῆς SH ἐτοιμασίας] δοκιμασίας μ ἐτοιμασίας – γεγνουίας] ἐκέλευσεν ἐτοιμασίαν – γενέσθαι SH  
Θρελλέτῳ] θεάτρῳ C Θεραλέτρῳ K Θριλλέτῳ N Θεοελτῳ V Θεολτῳ M | 6 τῶν βασιλείων] τοῦ  
παλατίου K βασιλέων C βασιλείων μ περίεστιν] ἔστι μ ἐκεῖσε τοιγαροῦν < K ἐκεῖσε – γεγνουίας  
< μ τοιγαροῦν] οὖν C SH τῆς < VM και πάσης] πάσης τε μ | 7 τῆς<sup>1</sup> < C παρούσης – ἱεράς]  
μετὰ τῆς K και<sup>2</sup> < μ SH | 8 ἅμα] μετὰ VM ἐπισκόπῳ CK VM ἐπέστησαν K ἐπέστη – 9 και]  
κύκλωθεν αὐτῶν περίεστιν post 9 πόλις SH περὶ – 9 αὐτῶν < VM | 9 ἀθρόως ante πᾶσα μ, < K D  
εἰσελθόντες οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μ Ἰδαίων F ἔστη D τὸν Ἐρβάν H | 10 ὡς < VM τοῦ περὶ] περὶ  
τοῦ D περὶ αὐτῶν < SH περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου] λόγου αὐτῶν μ οὗτος] αὐτός μ, < SH ἀκρο-  
πεπαιδευμένος S | 11 Πεντάτευχον] Ὀκτάτευχον μ ἐπίλοιπα N περιλοιπτα SH ὡς δὲ παρέστη]  
παρέστησαν δὲ CK παρέστησαν H | 12 περὶ κύκλω K τὸ] τὸ τε CK τὸ πλῆθος] καὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
ἐπέστη DAF τε < CK μ και νομοδιδασκάλων < SH | 13 πασῶν γὰρ N περίεσαν CK περιῆσαν

A

<The Disputation of our Father Gregentios of holy memory,  
Archbishop of the City of Tephra, with the Jew Herban><sup>1</sup>

So there the Jews came also as they had been ordered, when the preparation time of those forty days had been spent. They came to the disputation, after the king had been informed and the preparation had been made in the Threlleton, which is a very large and important courtyard<sup>2</sup> of the palace. Therefore the preparation had been made there, and all the hierarchy had assembled, and the holy senate was also present, and the king also came together with the most holy archbishop. And when they sat down, at once all the city assembled around them in a crowd. Then, when the Jews came to court, they presented Herban as the leader of the discussion about them. For he was highly educated in the law and the divine books of the prophets, the Pentateuch and the remaining ones. When the crowd of the scribes and the Pharisees and teachers of law stood around him (for their noblemen had gathered from all towns and all who were powerful chiefs, according to the order of the king), and when it had become silent, the archbishop spoke up and said to their congregation:

AFN συνηθροισμένοι μ SH οί τε CK οί – και < SH | 14 τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν N μ δὲ < X VM, + πολλῆς CK γινομένης C γενομένης K ἀποκριθεῖς V, < K μ ἐπίσκοπος VM | 15 εἶπεν] φησὶ μ ἔφη SH τῆ – αὐτῶν] πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦτοι πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων μ αὐτῶν + τέλος πεφύκασιν αἱ πράξεις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἄρχομαι τὴν διάλεξιν πρὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναθροισθέντων· ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἄρχεται τὴν διάλεξιν τούτων H

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 91 and 114.

<sup>2</sup> The word αὐλή may be translated either as ‘hall’ or as ‘courtyard’. Since no change of location is mentioned later, and in the scene of the miraculous conversion Jesus Christ appears on a cloud in the air and is visible to the congregation (E 607–626), a translation as ‘courtyard’ has been preferred here; see Radius, *Discussion*, note 1; Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 141.

“Τῆς νυκτὸς διελθούσης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀνατείλαντος, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν φιλονεικεῖτε τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ ἐναντιούμενοι, μὴ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνέτειλε καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ εἰς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου πιστεύοντες, 624A  
ὡς σὺ λέγεις, ἐναντιούμεθα τῷ φωτὶ αὐτοῦ, πόσω μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἔθνη, ἅπανα  
20 ἀλλότρια χρηματίζετε τοῦ θεοσδότου ἡμῶν νόμου τε καὶ θείου;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τίνος ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἄρα οἱ ἐξ ἔθνων καὶ κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοῦ θεοῦ πρόδηλον.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ποῖαν οὖν προτίμησιν λοιπὸν ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἄρα κέκτησθε;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οἷαν ἔσχομεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.”

25 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καλῶς εἶπας ὅτι ‘οἷαν ἔσχομεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους’. Δεῖ-  
ξον οὖν τὴν προτίμησιν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ ἀνέγνως τὰ μεγάλα θαυμάσια, ἅπερ ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Ἐρυ- 624B  
θρᾷ θαλάσση καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέως τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἑτερατούργησε,  
πνίξας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ αὐτὸν διασώσας;”

30 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐδεμία διαφορά ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Ἐκείνους γὰρ  
ἔπνιξεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσση καὶ ὑμᾶς κατέστρωσεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ οἱ διαβάντες τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν  
θάλασσαν ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐναυαγήσατε κακῶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τελευτήσαντες·  
ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἑξακοσίων χιλιάδων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐπέκεινα, Χάλεβ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ,  
οὗτοι μόνοι οἱ δύο κατηξιώθησαν κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. Ἴδε οὖν πῶς  
35 ὑμᾶς προετιμήσατο ὁ θεὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τίني τὸ μάννα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔβρεξεν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἢ 624C  
τῷ γένει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σὺ δὲ ποῖον οἶει πεφηνέαι τιμώτερον, τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἅπερ  
ἦσθιες ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ τὸ μάννα τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ;”

40 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸ μάννα δηλονότι.”

16 ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης cf. Mal. 3.20 | 33 ἀπὸ – 34 ἐπαγγελίας cf. Num. 14.38 | 36 τὸ – ἐρήμῳ  
cf. Num. 11.7–8

**C X K D A F N μ S H P V M** | 16 τῆς<sup>1</sup> [T

16 ante τῆς<sup>1</sup> + πρώτη διάλεξις· προκατήρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἐρβᾶν διάλεξιν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος  
Γρηγόριος· ἐρώτησις· C, + τοῦ ὄσιου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου κυρίου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ὁμηριτῶν  
πόλεως Ταφάρ α’ διάλεξις πρὸς τὸν Ἑβραῖον Ἐρβᾶν X, + ἀρχὴ τῆς διαλέξεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ST + Διάλεξις τινὸς Ἰουδαίου μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου P τῆς<sup>2</sup> – ἀνατεί-  
λαντος] ἀνατείλαντος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μ ἐξανατείλαντος DAFN δι’ – αἰτίαν] ἵνα τί τῇ ἀγνοία  
ἐμμένετε αὐτοὶ καὶ VM (τί + ἔτι M) | 17 μὴ C<sup>pc</sup>] οὐ M καὶ μὴ DAF μ VM, < T | 18 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K  
λέγει] Ἰουδαῖος ἀπεκρίθη C, < μ VM εἰ post καὶ VM, < SHPT εἰ οὖν DAFN ἐξανέτειλε DAFN  
μ καὶ + εἰ V M<sup>pc</sup> πιστεύομεν T | 19 λέγεις] φῆς μ πόσω γε AFN μ λεγόμενα] λεγόμενα DAF  
ἀλλότρια μ, < K | 20 ἡμῶν < SHP, ἡμῖν N νόμου ἡμῶν μ τε < μ M τε καὶ θείου < SHPT | 21 ὁ  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K τίνος – 23 ἔφη < V, in fine paginae M  
καὶ<sup>1</sup> < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ποίημα < SHPT | 22 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K Ἐρβᾶν Ἰουδαῖος C λέγει] ἔφη DAFN, < K μ  
πρόδηλον] δηλονότι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐποίησεν ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς DAFN μ | 23 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη]

“As the night goes by and the sun of righteousness rises, for which reason are you contentiously opposing his light and not believing in him?”

Herban said: „If the sun has risen and we, who believe in the God of the law, as you say, oppose his light, how much more do you oppose, the so-called nations who are foreign to our god-given and divine law?“

The archbishop said: “Whose creation and work are we who descend from the nations?”

Herban said: “Clearly of God.”

The archbishop said: “Now which honour do you then possess above us?”

Herban said: “The one we had above the Egyptians.”

The archbishop said: “You said well, ‘the one we had above the Egyptians.’ Now show me that honour.”

Herban said: “Did you not read about the great miracles which God worked in Egypt and in the Red Sea and the desert through Moses at the exodus of Israel, drowning the Egyptians under the water and saving him?”

The archbishop said: “There is no difference between you and the Egyptians. Those he drowned in the sea, and you he let perish in the desert; and you that had crossed the Red Sea as through dry land suffered shipwreck in the harbour, dying hard in the desert: for out of the sixhundred thousand people and more only Caleb and Joshua the son of Nun were deemed worthy to inherit the Promised Land. Now look how God has preferred you over the Egyptians.”

Herban said: “And to whom did the manna rain from heaven in the desert, to Israel or to the race of the Egyptians?”

The archbishop said: “What do you think to appear worthier, the food you ate in Egypt or the manna in the desert?”

Herban said: “Clearly the manna.”

καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ποία SH οἶα Μ οὖν < Μ λοιπὸν < μ ἡμᾶς] ἡμῶν DAF μ ἄρα < μ | 24 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει] ἔφη DAFN S, < Κ μ VM ἔχομεν μ ὑπὲρ < Ρ | 25 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ καὶ ὁ χριστιανός Ρ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < DAF V καλῶς – Αἰγυπτίους < μ Ρ ὅτι – Αἰγυπτίους < SHPT οἷαν ἔσχομεν < Κ ἔσχετε Ν | 27 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει < Κ μ Μ ἔγνωσ μ θαύματα Ν γῆ] τῆ VM, < Ρ Αἰγύπτου CX | 28 ἐν τῆ < Ρ τῆ<sup>1</sup> < μ SHPT ὁ < CK DAFN Μωσέως μ Ν SHPTV ἐν τῆ<sup>2</sup> Μ ἑτερατούργησε] ἑθαυματούργησε VM | 29 ὑπὸ τὸ ὕδωρ] ἐν τῆ θαλάσση SHPT | 30 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < Κ οὐδεμία] οὔτε μία DAF SHPT, + ὑπάρχει Τ διαφορὰ + μεταξύ VM γὰρ < Μ | 31 τῆ<sup>1</sup> < Τ και<sup>2</sup> – 32 τελευτήσαντες < SHPT | 32 τῆ < μ τῆ ἐρήμῳ] τῷ λιμένι DAF, < Ν τελέσαντες μ | 33 χιλιάδων C H καὶ ἐπέκεινα ante χιλιάδων μ τῶν ἐπέκεινα DAFN Χαλῆβ CX Η μ ὁ Χαλῆβ Κ Χάβελ Ρ Χάμελ ST ὁ Ἰησοῦς Μ ὁ < Ν ΗΜ | 34 οὔτοι] ἦτοι Ν οὔτοι γὰρ HP οἱ δύο < μ SHPT | 35 ὁ < DAF τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὁ θεός μ | 36 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει < Ν λέγει < Κ μ TVM καὶ τίνι < C ἐκ τοῦ] ἐξ Ν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ < SHPT ἐν τῆ ἐρήμῳ ἔβρεξεν SHPT ἐν < Μ ἐν – ἐρήμῳ < Ν τῆ < DAF | 37 τῷ – Αἰγυπτίων] τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μ | 38 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < Κ Τ δὲ < μ | 39 ἐν<sup>1</sup> < Η τῆ<sup>1</sup>] γῆ DAF, < Κ Ν ἦ] ἥπερ SHP τὸ<sup>2</sup> < μ SHPTVM τῆ<sup>2</sup> < DAFN | 40 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει] ἔφη CX DAFN SV, < Κ μ TM δῆλον C Τ



Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ πῶς ἐστράφητε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, ἐπιθυμήσαντες κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ ὕεια κρέατα ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Αἰγύπτιον τροφήν, μισήσαντες τὸ μάννα;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Κακῶς μετέστρεψαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐκοντὶ τὰς βίβλους τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡσκημένην γλώτταν, ἵνα ταύταις ἐμφιλοχοροῦντες ἡμᾶς ἐπιστοιμίζετε.” 624D

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐωρακῶς ὁ θεός, ὅτι οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς, πολυτρόπως ἡμῖν αὐτὰς ἐταμιεύσατο.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἴπερ οὐκ εὐδοκιμήσαμεν, πόθεν κατάγονται οἱ προφήται;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οἱ προφήται παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄγγελοι τινὲς ἀπεστάλησαν, σαφηνίζοντες ὑμῖν τοῦ παντοκράτορος τὸ βούλημα, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζον.” 50

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Μωσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Σαμφῶν καὶ Σαμουὴλ καὶ Δαυὶδ καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτούς, ἄρα οὐκ εἰσὶ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ;” 625A

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὗτοι, ναί, κατὰ πείραν ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας χρηματίζουσιν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ δικαίως υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ὀνομάζονται· ὑμεῖς δὲ πόρρω ἀπέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν δικαιοπραγιῶν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν κατέπαυσεν τὰ ὑμῶν ὁ θεός καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξανέστησε τοῦ εἶναι τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Εἶρηκε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. Ἰδοὺ οὖν ὁ λελάληκε καὶ ἐγένετο. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης πιστεύσαντες 60 λαοί, φυλαὶ καὶ γλώσσαι εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, εὐλογοῦνται παρὰ τοῦ παντοκράτορος διὰ τὴν καλὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν σὺν τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ πιστῷ θεράποντι τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ.” 625B

42 κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα cf. Num. 11.5 | 58 ὅτι – γῆς Gen. 12.3, 28.14

### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

41 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < C X K N P T ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ < K εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑμῶν VM εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω < DAFN | 42 κρόμμυα – 43 τροφήν] κρομμύων καὶ σκοροδίων, τῶν ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν τε ὑείων κρεῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τροφῆς μ καί<sup>2</sup> < X DAFN VM κρέατα] κρέη C P κρέη τὰ DAFN V κρέα K T τοῖς] ταῖς D τοῖς – 43 μισήσαντες < HP | 43 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων K τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ VM Αἰγύπτου S | 44 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ M κατέστρεψαν μ M ἐκοντὶ] ἐκ τῶν DAF τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ] τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν N | 45 τὴν τῶν C X K AF τὴν τῶν τὴν SHP Ἑλλάδα] Ἑλληνίδα X Ἑλλήνων K ἡσκημένην X μ] ἡσκημένων cett. γλώτταν ἡσκημένην C γλώσσαν μ ταῦτα DAF ταύτας N ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς X ἡμῖν DAF SHPTVM ἐπιστοιμίζετε X μ VM, + πάντας ἡμᾶς DAFN μ | 46 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ὁ ἅγιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K P οὐκ < C εὐδοκεῖτε C X K αὐταῖς] αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός C | 47 αὐτὰς] ταύτας μ VM, < H | 48 Ἐρβᾶν] Ἰουδαῖος C ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K Ἐρβᾶν λέγει < N λέγει] ἔφη DAF SHP, < K μ TM εἴπερ] εἰ SHP ὡς T ἠὲδοκιμήσαμεν X ἐταμιεύσαμεν SHPT, + ὡς σὺ φῆς μ | 49 ὁ < T ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K AF VT παρὰ κυρίου post τινὲς M ὡς ἄγγελοι τινὲς πρὸς ὑμᾶς μ τινὲς < SHPT | 50 ἡμῖν μ HTM τὸ ante τοῦ M, < SHPT, + θέλημά τε καὶ μ οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζον ἐξ ὑμῶν VM | 52 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη < N ἔφη] λέγει HP, < K μ VM Μωσῆς VM καί<sup>2</sup> – Σαμφῶν < VM καί<sup>2</sup> – Δαυὶδ < SHPT Σαμφῶν] Συμειῶν K | 53 αὐτοῦς] αὐτοῦ M ἄρ’ C τοῦ] τῷ VM, < DAFN M | 54 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ

The archbishop said: “And how did you turn back in the desert with your mind, longing for onions and garlic and the pork meat in the kettles and all the Egyptian food, hating the manna?”

Herban said: “It was bad that our fathers consented to translate the books of Israel into the elaborated language of the Greeks, so that you employ them to shut us up.”<sup>3</sup>

The archbishop said: “When God saw that you did not hold them in honour, he stored them up for us in various ways.”

Herban said: “If we did not hold them in honour, where do the prophets come from?”

The archbishop said: “The prophets were sent to you by the Lord as messengers, explaining clearly to you the will of the Almighty, because they did not belong to you.”

Herban said: “So Moses and Aaron and Joshua and Samson and Samuel and David and those after them are no seed of Abraham?”

The archbishop said: “Yes, as we know, these are truly from the loins of Abraham according to experience. For they themselves have pointed out the works of Abraham and are rightfully called his sons; but you are far away from the righteous dealings of Abraham. Thence God has put an end to your ways and has raised us to be the children of Abraham. For he said to him that *all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in you*. Behold now what he said and what has happened. For from the ends of the earth people, tribes and languages believing in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are blessed by the Almighty for their good faith, together with the worthy and faithful servant of God Abraham.”

Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K PTV οὔτοι – 55 χρηματίζουσιν] φημί καὶ γὰρ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἀληθῶς εἰσι μ κατὰ πείραν < K πείραν] σειρὰν M ἐκ τῆς] ἐξ DAFN τοῦ < S ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ante ἐκ M ἐπ’ – 55 Ἀβραάμ < HP | 55 χρηματίζουσιν + ἐξ ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν οὐ χρηματίζουσιν CX και<sup>2</sup> < DAFN VM δικαίως + και CXLK VM | 56 ὑμεῖς – Ἀβραάμ < SHPT δὲ < C ἀπὸ < μ V | 57 ἐντεῦθεν οὖν < C ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑμῶν K μ SHPT ἡμᾶς] ὑμᾶς V τέκνα] σπέρμα P τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τῷ CK | 58 εἰρήκει μ αὐτὸν + ὁ θεὸς D μ ὅτι] και μ ὅτι – γῆς < P | 59 ὁ] ὅτι K ὁ Ἀβραάμ T, < DAFN μ SH λελάληκε + ὁ θεὸς VM και < M ἀπὸ] και VM ἐκ τῶν M | 60 και<sup>2</sup> < M πνεῦμα ἅγιον μ | 61 παντοκράτορος θεοῦ N διὰ – αὐτῶν < SHPT πιστῶ αὐτοῦ και τιμίου μ θεράποντι + αὐτοῦ ἡγουν τοῦ P τοῦ θεοῦ < μ VM

<sup>3</sup> A general rejection of the Septuagint cannot be observed before the sixth century and was apparently limited to some strict Jewish circles; see Veltri, *Tora*, 213–219, and Id., “Novelle 146”. On some inaccurate translations in the Septuagint and on a number of later Christian additions to the text, see Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, \*23–24.

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Πόθεν ἐξελάβετε πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν πιστεύειν καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ εἰσφέρετε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τρεῖς θεοὺς ἀλλοκότους;”

65 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὡς βλέποντες τοῖς τῆς διανοίας ὀφθαλμοῖς, οὕτω φρονούμεν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἕνα ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις καὶ τρισὶν ὑποστάσει. Τρεῖς δὲ θεοὺς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπικατάρατος. Τὸν γὰρ νοῦν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ὡς αἴτιον πάντων πατέρα ὀνομάζομεν· τὸν δὲ λόγον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ γεννώμενον υἱὸν προσαγορεύομεν· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ μὲν ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἀναπαυόμενον καὶ ἐμφε-  
70 ρόμενον καὶ ζωὴν τοῖς πᾶσι χαριζόμενον πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὀνομάζομεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Τῷ Μωυσῆ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις πῶς οὐκ ἐξέθετο ὁ θεὸς πιστεύειν εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ εἰς ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀλλ’ ἢ μόνοις ὑμῖν νεωστὶ τοῦτο ἐξευρηκόσιν, ὡς φατέ, εἶρηκεν;” 625c

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἐν τύπῳ ἔδειξεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι υἱὸν ἔχει καὶ ὅτι 75 μέλλει ἄνθρωπος γίνεσθαι καὶ ὅτι μέλλει σφάττεσθαι καὶ οὐ σφάττεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι μέλλει ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκειν. Τὸν γὰρ Ἰσαὰκ ἔνεκα ἀγάπης θεοῦ προσταχθεὶς σφαγιάσαι ὁ Ἀβραάμ τῇ προαιρέσει ἔσφαξεν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔσφαξεν, ἐτελείωσεν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐτελείωσε. Ζῶντα γὰρ αὐτὸν λαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπροσδοκῆτως ὑπέστρεψεν. Οὕτω καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἔσφαξε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ κόσμου· ἀλλὰ γε τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνα-  
80 στάς, φημί, κἂν ἐσφάγη, οὐκ ἐσφάγη, κἂν ἀπέθανεν, οὐκ ἀπέθανεν· νικήσας γὰρ τῇ σφαγῇ τὴν σφαγὴν καὶ ἠττήσας τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον ὡς θεὸς ἀληθὴς καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ἔδειξεν ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, ὅτι υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐχρημάτιζεν. Καὶ ὁ Μωυσῆς δὲ λέγει ἐν τῇ 85 κοσμοποιίᾳ ἐμφαίνων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· *Καὶ εἶπε*, φησί, *κύριος ὁ θεός*. Κύριος ὁ υἱός, θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὅπερ λελάληκε, τὸ πνεῦμα περίεσπιν· ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἄνευ πνεύματος ξηρὸς ὡς θέμις οὐκ οἶδε προέρχεσθαι.” 625d

76 τὸν – 78 ὑπέστρεψεν cf. Gen. 22.1–18 | 83 καὶ – θεός Gen. 2.18

**C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M** | 63 Ἐρβᾶν – 113 ἀντιφθέγγεσθαι in initium disputationis ponunt et hic verba sequentia inserunt VM: ζητεῖ ὀπισθεν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν πλήρης ἔνθα γέγραπται Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· Πόθεν οὖν ἐξελάβετε πατέρα, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι μέχρις ἂν εὕρῃς σημεῖον τοιοῦτον \* καὶ πάλιν ὑπόστρεψον καὶ ἐλθέ ἐνταῦθα καὶ εἰπέ V ἐκ τῆς διαλέξεως τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ Ἐρβᾶν M | 67 παντοκράτορος – 75 γίνεσθαι fragmentum T<sup>1</sup> in initio

63 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K ante Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη + ἐκ τῆς διαλέξεως τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου καὶ Ἐρβᾶν V ἔφη] λέγει HP, < K μ TM πόθεν + οὖν μ παρελάβετε C X K ἐξελάβεσθε DAF μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> < PM πιστεύειν ante πατέρα C, post πνεῦμα X μ VM, < P ἅγιον πνεῦμα PVM | 64 ἐν – μεταξὺ] εἰς τὸ μέσον μ τρεῖς θεοὺς ἀλλοκότους < N ἀλλοκότους] ἀλλοκότως K SHT, < P | 65 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K τῆς < μ H, bis P οὕτως DAFN VM τοῦτο T | 66 τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἕνα] ἕνα τὸν θεὸν N τὸν ἕνα θεὸν SHPTVM τρισὶ προσώποις καὶ < C | 67 πιστεύων] εἰσφέρων μ τὸν – παντοκράτορος < K | 68 υἱὸν + ἀξίως DAFN μ τὸ δὲ] καὶ τὸ AF δὲ<sup>2</sup> < V | 69 μὲν < μ ἐν – 70 καὶ < H τῷ λόγῳ δὲ M καὶ ἐμφερόμενον < μ ἐκφερόμενον X K DAF SHPT<sup>1</sup> | 70 χαριζόμενον] παρεχόμενον K μ ἅγιον < μ | 71 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K ἔφη] λέγει HP, < K μ τῷ] μῶ V, < M | 72 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DAF εἰς < C X K μ εἰς τὸ SHPTVM ἅγιον < DAFN ἡμῖν DAFN | 73 ὑμεῖς φατε DAFN μ εἶρηκεν < DAFN μ | 74 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M, < T<sup>1</sup> ἔφη < X K P Ἀβραάμ + μὲν μ ὑπέδειξεν

Herban said: “From where did you accept the belief in a Father and Son and Ghost, and meanwhile have introduced three absurd gods?”

The archbishop said:<sup>4</sup> “As we see with the eyes of our mind, so we believe in one God in three persons and three substances; he that believes in three gods is accursed. For the mind of the Almighty, which is the cause of all, we call Father; the word, which has come from the mind, we address as Son; and the Holy Ghost, which proceeds from the mind, but rests in the word and is contained there and gives life to all, we call Holy Ghost.”

Herban said: “Why did God not explain to Moses and the prophets to believe in Father and Son and Holy Ghost, but has said this only to you who have discovered that only recently, as you say?”

The archbishop said: “God showed Abraham in an archetype, that he has a son and that he will become a man, and that he will be slaughtered and not be slaughtered, and that he will die and not die. For when Abraham received the order to slaughter Isaac for his love towards God, he slaughtered him by purpose, but did not slaughter him, he killed him, but did not kill him. For he took him alive unexpectedly and returned. In the same way our Lord God slaughtered his son for the salvation of the world; but since he rose on the third day, I say, although he was slaughtered, he was not slaughtered, and although he died, he did not die. For winning victory over the slaughter by slaughter and defeating death by death, he showed truly as true God and perfect man that he was the Son of God. And Moses says in the Book of the Creation indicating the Son of God: *And the Lord God said.* The Lord is the Son, God is the Father, and that has spoken is the Holy Ghost; for the word without the Ghost is dry, as the custom is, and cannot go forth.”

DAFN μ | 75 ἄνθρωπος – μέλλει<sup>2</sup> < DAFN SHPT ἄνθρωπος – μέλλει<sup>3</sup> < N σφάττεσθαι<sup>1</sup> – σφάττεσθαι<sup>2</sup>] σφαγιάζεσθαι καὶ οὐκ σφαγιάζεται DAFN σφαγιάζεσθαι μ καὶ οὐ σφάττεσθαι < SHPT | 76 καὶ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκειν < DAFN τὸν – 80 ἀπέθανεν<sup>2</sup> < SHPT ἔνεκεν K N εἶναι καὶ DAF εἶνεκα VM ἔνεκα ἀγάπης] δι’ ἀγάπην μ θεοῦ < C προαχθεῖς μ | 77 ὁ < DAFN μ VM προθέσει CK προστάξει X ἔσφαξεν<sup>1</sup> – ἔσφαξεν<sup>2</sup>] ἔσφαττεν – ἔσφαττεν X ἄλλ<sup>1</sup> – ἄλλ<sup>2</sup>] καὶ – καὶ μ | 78 γὰρ < C λαβῶν + εἰς X, < μ ἑαυτὸν] ἐκ τῶν DAFN μ VM ἀπροσδοκῆτων AFN μ VM | 79 τῆς < K τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας N ἡμέρας F | 80 φημί < μ νικήσας] ἐνίκησε μ τῆ σφαγῆ < N μ | 81 ὡς] ὁ SHPT ἄληθῶς T καὶ ἄνθρωπος τέλειος < SHPT τέλειος ἄνθρωπος μ | 82 ἐν ἀληθεία μ τοῦ θεοῦ VM θεοῦ ἐχρημάτιζεν] ἦν θεοῦ μ ἐχρημάτισεν M καὶ – 85 προέρχεσθαι < SHPT λέγει < K ἐν < DAFN V | 83 ἐμφαίνων] ἐμφαίνει αὐτὸν K κύριος ὁ θεός < CXK | 84 ὁ θεός K τὸ < K τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον περίεστιν μ | 85 ξηρὸς] ξένος K ὡς θέμις < μ θέμις F

<sup>4</sup> On this passage, see above, p. 95.

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ οὖν οὕτω περίεστιν, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν λελάληκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ λαῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ οἰκείῳ αὐτοῦ στόματι τὴν λεγομένην Δεκάλογον, ἐν οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον· Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ· κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, κύριος εἷς ἐστὶ, καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερος θεός;”

- 90 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁμολογῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει· ὁπόταν γὰρ εἶπη κύριος, τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱὸν ὀνομάζων παρεκφαίνει· καὶ ὁπόταν λέξη τὸ ὁ θεὸς εἷς ἐστὶ καὶ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ πατήρ. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον καθὰ σοὶ προεῖρηκα τὸ σὺν τῷ λόγῳ προϊὼν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ νοῦ καὶ πατρός. Οὐ δοκεῖ σοὶ ἔχειν νοῦν τὸν θεόν, οὐ δοκεῖ σοὶ ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ λόγον; Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁ θεός; Ταῦτα ἡμεῖς τρία πρόσωπα ἐκλαμβάνομεν, ἕκαστον πρόσωπον τὴν ἰδίαν κεκτημένον ὑπόστασιν πιστεύοντες· συντελοῦσι δὲ τὰ τρία πρόσωπα εἰς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεότητα. Τριάδα οὖν ὁμολογοῦμεν προσώπων, ἦτοι ὑποστάσεων ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ θεότητι, ἕνα θεὸν τὰ ἑκάτερα πιστεύοντες. Μαρτυρεῖ γὰρ μοι τῷ ῥήματι καὶ ὁ θεοπάτωρ Δαυὶδ ἀληθεύων, καθὼς περὶ κἀγὼ ἀποφθέγγομαι· *Τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου, φάσκων, οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν*· οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. *Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν*. Τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ λέγει, ὅτι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τίς ἢ χρεια πολυπραγμονεῖν τὴν θεότητα, καὶ τριάζειν αὐτὴν μίαν αὐτὴν χρηματίζουσας;”

- 105 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ Δαυὶδ τριάζει αὐτὴν κἀγὼ μὴ τριάσω; Ὅρα δὲ μοι σύνεσιν· Ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μονολογοῦντες τὴν θεότητα, πενίαν εἰσφέρετε τῇ ταύτης πλουτοτητι, εὐτελῶς τὰ περὶ τῆς θεότητος διατιθέμενοι. Οἱ τε Ἑλλήνων παῖδες τοῖς ματαίοις εἰδώλοις προσκυνοῦντες καὶ πληθύνοντες τὴν θεότητα, πολλοῖς θεοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης προσκείμενοι ἐναντιούμενοι ἀλλήλοις, εἰς τὴν ἀπάτην τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας ἐκκυλίσονται. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ χριστιανοὶ τριάζοντες τὴν θεότητα, ὑπέρογκον αὐτὴν ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ δυναστείᾳ κηρύσσομεν· ἕνα δὲ θεὸν τὸ τριαδικὸν ὁμολογοῦντες, ὑμῶν τὴν πενηθεῖαν κἀκείνων τὴν πολυθεῖαν ἐξ ἴσης ἀποκρούμενοι διαφεύγομεν. Βλέπε οὖν σύνεσιν χριστιανῶν.”

88 ἄκουε – 89 θεός Deut. 6.4, 4.35, 39; Mc. 12.29, 32 | 98 τῷ<sup>2</sup> – 100 αὐτῶν Ps. 32.6

#### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

86 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ εἰ – περίεστιν] καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἐστὶ μ οὖν < VM οὕτως DAFN μ τοῦτο T ἐστὶ μ δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν] διὰ τί N λελάληκεν V τῷ οἰκείῳ αὐτοῦ στόματι ὁ θεὸς τῷ λαῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μ τὸν λαὸν T λαῷ + αὐτοῦ P | 87 ἐρήμῳ αὐτοῦ F αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < K αὐτοῦ στόματι] στόματι αὐτοῦ F | 88 τοιοῦτον] τοιοῦνδε ἐστὶν CXK τὸ τοιοῦτον SHP σου < VM κύριος<sup>2</sup> < DAFN SHPTVM | 89 θεός ἕτερος DAFN μ P | 90 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < CXK καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι] κἀγὼ VM ἔχειν V γὰρ < SHP | 91 αὐτοῦ] τοῦτον SHP τὸν υἱὸν μ ὀνομάζει P παρεκφαίνει CX μ προεκφαίνει N λέξη F τὸ] ὅτι VM ὁ < M εἷς < VM εἷς – 92 πατήρ < CXK | 92 καὶ < μ τούτου M τούτῳ – λόγῳ<sup>2</sup> < SHPT καθὼς CXK καθὰ σοὶ προεῖρηκα post 93 θεὸν μ σοὶ + καὶ DAFN τὸ < DAFN VM τὸ – 93 πατρός < μ | 93 τοῦ πατρός HP σοὶ<sup>1</sup> + οὖν K νοῦν – ἔχειν<sup>2</sup> < DAFN ἔχειν<sup>2</sup> < V | 94 οὐκοῦν < CXK οὐκ < SHPT ὅ] καὶ K ὁ θεός < μ ταῦτα + οὖν DAFN τὰ τρία μ HP | 95 ἕκαστον + γὰρ C ἕκαστον – 97 ὑποστάσεων < SHPT κέκτηται DAFN κεκτημένον ὑπόστασιν] ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν

Herban said: “Now if the matter is so, for what reason did God speak to the people in the desert the so-called Decalogue with his own mouth, where the first saying of it is thus: *Hear, o Israel: The Lord ist your God, the Lord is one, and there is no other God beside him?*”

The archbishop said: “I confess myself that the matter is so, for when he says *Lord*, he indicates his word calling it also Son, and when he says *the Lord is one*, he also calls him Father by this word. As I have told you before, the Holy Ghost comes only out of the mind and Father together with the word. Does it not seem to you that God has a mind, does it not seem to you that he also has a word? So is God not also a Ghost? We accept these three persons, believing that each person possesses his own subsistence, as the three persons belong to one and the same divinity. Now we confess a trinity of persons, that is of substances within one and the same divinity, believing all to be one God. For also the ancestor of God David testifies to me speaking the truth with his word: *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made*; this word is the son of God. *And by the breath of his mouth all the host of them*. This Ghost of which he says that it comes out of his mouth, this is the Holy Ghost.”

Herban said: “And what is the need to inquire closely into the divinity and triplicate it that is one?”

The archbishop said: “David triplicates it, and I shall not triplicate it? Look at my wisdom: by declaring the divinity to be one, you Jews introduce poverty to its multiplicity making the discussion about divinity cheap. The sons of the pagans worship the vain idols and multiply the divinity, being necessarily devoted to many gods who are opposed to each other, and become victims of the deceit of idololatriy. But we Christians by triplicating the divinity proclaim it as exceedingly great in wealth and power; confessing the triple nature of God we escape both your small number of gods and their polytheism, equally rejecting it. Now look on the wisdom of the Christians.”

μ | 96 πρόσωπα < M και < D | 97 μιᾶ < N και < DAFN μ αὐτῆ] αὐτοῦ P τὰ < K | 98 μοι] μου μ τῷ ῥήματι < C XK ἀληθεύων] λέγων VM καθώσπερ – ἀποφθέγγομαι < C XK VM | 99 φάσκων < C VM οὗτος – θεοῦ < D P ἐστίν < HP | 100 αὐτοῦ + φησίν SM αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ M τὸ < SH τὸ πνεῦμα < VM λέγει] λόγου C ὅτι < C XK M | 101 τοῦτο ἐστι < K τὸ<sup>1</sup> – ἅγιον] τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα K | 102 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ TVM ἡ < C XK τριάζειν] τριχῶς λέγειν C τρισῶς λέγειν XK | 103 αὐτὴν < X μ SHPT M | 104 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < XK ὁ<sup>2</sup> < P τριάζειν P μὴ] με P οὐ μὴ X δέ μοι] δὲ τὴν μ τὴν σύνεσιν DAFN, + τοῦ λόγου DAFN μ | 105 ὑμεῖς + οὖν DAFN, + μὲν μ μονολογοῦντες ὁμολογοῦντες μ P θεότητα + μονωτάτην μ θεότητα P ἐκφέρετε DAFN μ ταύτης] αὐτῆς X μ πλουτότητι] ἀπλότητι μ | 106 ἀτελῶς M τὰ < C περι < P Ἑλλήνων παῖδες] Ἑλληνας μ | 107 πληθυνόντες P πολλοῖς – 108 ἀλλήλοις < SHPT | 108 ἐκκυλιόντες H | 109 τῆ θεότητι P κηρύττομεν K | 110 ἔναν P δὲ < SHPTM τὸ] τὸν VM ὁμολογοῦντες τῷ τριαδικῷ SHPT ὁμολογοῦντες + κράτος μ πενοθεῖαν CX πενίαν N SHPT πενητοθεῖαν V μονοθεῖαν M κάκειν AF | 111 ἐξ ἴσης < N ἀποκρούμενοι διαφεύγομεν] ἀποκρούμεθα K βλέπεις K μ βλέπε Ἰουδαῖε C και βλέπε V οὖν < CK SHP χριστιανοῦ M

115 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καλῶς μὲν φάσκεις, καὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν περὶ τοῦδε τὸ οἰονοῦν ἀντιφθέγ-  
 ξασθαι. Πλὴν ἄκουσον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τῷ διαμαρτύρασθαι τῷ Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι φιλεῖται  
 ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· *Πρωτόκοκός μου υἱός*, φησίν, *Ἰσραήλ*, καὶ ἔπειτα· *ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*, λέγων, *ἐκά-*  
*λεσα τὸν υἱόν μου*. Εἰ τοίνυν πρωτόκοκον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὀνομάζει ὁ θεὸς καὶ υἱόν, πῶς 628D  
 ὑμεῖς τὰ πεπλανημένα ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα ἠγείσθε αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰσραήλ ὡς περὶ κάθα-  
 ρμα καὶ μιᾶρον τινὰ καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, τιμᾶν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὀφείλοντες τοῦναντίον καὶ οὐχὶ  
 ἀτιμάζειν;”

120 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἀρνούμαι ὅτι πρωτόκοκός υἱὸς Ἰσραήλ· ἐν ἀληθείᾳ  
 πρωτόκοκος, καὶ οὐκ ἐνὶ τοῦ διαφύσασθαι. Καὶ ὅτι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην  
 ἐκλήθητε δουλείας ἀπαλλαγέντες, οἶμαι τοῦτο κἀγὼ σφόδρα. Πλὴν ἐπτέρνισεν ὁ νεώτε-  
 ρος υἱὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ναὶ ἢ οὐχί; Τὰ τε πρωτοτόκια αὐτοῦ εἴληφεν· ἦρε δὲ καὶ τὴν 629A  
 εὐλογίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας εἰς ἄλλην χώραν, φημί,  
 εἰς τὴν θεάρεστον ἔκθεσιν τῆς τιμίας πίστεως τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.”

125 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ Ἰακώβ ἐπτέρνισε μᾶλλον τὸν Ἡσαῦ. Καὶ ἵνα τί αὐτὸς ἀλλότριον  
 πτερνισμόν ἰδιοποίησω;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Προοίμιον ἦν ὁ πτερνισμὸς ἐκεῖνος τοῦ ἡμετέρου πτερνι-  
 σμοῦ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπτέρνισεν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ νεώτερος  
 ὄχλος τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπτέρνισε λαόν.”

130 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰς τί ἡμᾶς ἐπτερνίσατε; Μὴ ἰουδαίσατε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλληνίσασμεν; Οὐχὶ  
 Ἑβραῖοι ἐσμέν, ὡς ἐσμέν, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐχὶ ἔθνη ἐστέ, ὡσπερ ἦτε;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρα- 629B  
 νοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ὑπεδέξασθε αὐτόν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ ὑπεδέξασθε αὐτόν, εἶασεν ὑμᾶς  
 τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ παρανόμους καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπεδεξάμεθα αὐτόν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν

114 πρωτόκοκός – Ἰσραήλ Ex. 4.22 ἐξ – 115 μου Osee 11.1; Mt. 2.15 | 121 ἐπτέρνισεν – 123  
 χώραν cf. Gen. 25.31–33, 27.35–45

**C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M** | 112 Ἐρβᾶν – ἀντιφθέγγασθαι bis habent VM hic et in initio,  
 ubi sequuntur **B** 1055–1066 et 339–341 (**B** 1055 ἔφη + ἕως ὧδε καὶ πάλιν ὑπαγε ἔμπροσθεν V)

112 λέγει < K μ T | 113 διαμαρτύρεσθαι XK τῷ<sup>2</sup> τὸν μ SHPTVM | 114 ὁ πρωτόκοκός DAF  
 υἱός φησίν] φησίν ὁ υἱός μ φησίν υἱός VM λέγων < D μ P | 115 πρωτόκοκον αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς καὶ  
 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ SHPT αὐτὸν < SHPT ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ D ἑαυτὸν SHP, < F T ὀνομάζειν P ὁ – υἱόν<sup>2</sup>  
 post αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ SHPT, ante ὀνομάζειν DA, < CXK F υἱὸν αὐτοῦ SHPT καὶ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν ὁ  
 θεὸς VM | 116 τὰ<sup>1</sup> < SHPT ἔθνη < K τὰ μὴ νόμον < H τὸν] τῷ F | 117 ὀφείλοντες τιμᾶν αὐτὸν  
 μᾶλλον μ τοῦναντίον < K μ τοῦναντίον – 118 ἀτιμάζειν < H καὶ οὐχί] δὲ D ἢ AFN μ οὐχί] οὐκ  
 K | 119 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος ἔφη V Ῥηγέντιος M  
 ἔφη < K P ἀρνούμεθα DAFN μ υἱός < μ Ἰσραήλ υἱός K Ἰσραήλ + ἢ DAFN μ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ  
 πρωτόκοκος < K ἀληθεία + γὰρ DAFN μ | 120 τοῦ] τοῦτο K φεύσασθαι H Παλαιστίνην +  
 φησίν DAFN | 121 κἀγὼ τοῦτο SHPT κἀγὼ] καλῶς K ὁ – 122 πρεσβύτερον] υἱὸς τὸν  
 πρεσβύτερον ὁ νεός C | 122 ναὶ ἦ] καὶ SHPT οὐχί] οὐ CXK τὰ τε] καὶ τὰ X εἴληφεν < P ἦρε –  
 123 αὐτοῦ < VM δὲ < μ | 123 ἀπὸ προσώπου < P προσώπου < N χαρὰν CX SHPT φημί ante  
 124 ἔκθεσιν μ | 124 θεάρεστον] θάρευτον μ ἔκπτωσιν SHPT | 125 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει] ἔφη X, < K  
 μ TM ὁ < M μᾶλλον < HP τὸν Ἡσαῦ μᾶλλον μ Ἡσαῦ] Ἰσαάκ P αὐτὸς] αὐτὸν SHP ἑαυτὸν S<sup>pc</sup>

Herban said: “You speak well, and we do not have any contradiction whatsoever concerning this. But hear what God says when he assured Israel that he is beloved by him: *Israel is my firstborn son*, and thereafter: *I have called my son from Egypt*. Accordingly, if God calls him his firstborn and his son, how do you mislead nations that do not have a law believe Israel himself to be refuse and something polluted and impure, although you should rather honour and not dishonour him?”

The archbishop said: “I do not deny that Israel is the firstborn; he is truly firstborn, and there is no reason to be mistaken. And I know myself very well that you were called from Egypt to Palestine being released from slavery. But did the younger son supplant the older, yes or no? He took the birthright, and he also took his blessing away and escaped from the face of the lawful veneration<sup>5</sup> into another land, I say, into the proclamation pleasing to God of the worthy faith of the only begotten Son of God.”

Herban said: “Jacob rather supplanted Esau. And why should I myself appropriate a foreign supplantation?”

The archbishop said: “That supplantation was the prefiguration of our supplantation: there the younger son supplanted the older, here the younger people supplanted the older.”

Herban said: “In which thing did you supplant us? Did you become Jews and we became pagans? Are we not Jews as we are, and are you nations not as you were before?”

The archbishop said: “God sent his only begotten Son from heaven to you, and you did not receive him. Now since you did not receive him, he left you behind as faithless and unlawful, and came to us and we received him. Now since we received him, he took

| 126 περιεποιήσω μ | 127 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < Κ V | 128 πρεσβύτην ΑF δέ] γὰρ μ | 129 λαὸν ἐπτέρνισεν ΔΑΦΝ μ (ἐπτέρνικεν Δ Α<sup>pc</sup> F) υἰὸν ἐπτέρνισεν ΗP λαὸν < SPT | 130 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει < Κ μ Τ Μ ἡμᾶς] οὖν μ ἐπτερνίσαστο Τ ἑλληνίσωμεν CX ἑλληνίζομεν ΔΑΦΝ μ οὐχὶ – 131 ἐσμέν<sup>2</sup> < Κ | 131 ὡς ἐσμέν < ΔΑΦΝ μ ἐσμέν<sup>2</sup>] ἴσμεν CX οὐχὶ < SHPT ἔθνος Ν ὡσπερ] ὅπερ CXX, + καὶ CXX SH | 132 ante ὁ<sup>1</sup> + καὶ φησὶν ΔΑΦΝ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < Κ Ν V ante ἀπέστειλεν + ἀλλ’ Ν μ τὸν υἰὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ Ν SHPT ἐκ < X ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ < SHPT | 133 ἐπει – αὐτόν<sup>2</sup> < ΔΑΦΝ μ SHPT ἔασεν SHPT εἶασεν οὖν Ν ὑμᾶς<sup>2</sup> + ὁ θεός μ | 134 τοὺς] ὡς μ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ < Κ ὑπεδεξόμεθα CX SPT ἐπει – 135 αὐτόν] καὶ ΔΑΦΝ μ, < HP

<sup>5</sup> That is, the veneration of his brother as being the older one. The case of Jacob was unique in the Old Testament, see Gen. 25.23; Rom. 9.12.



- 135 ὑπεδεξάμεθα αὐτόν, ἦρε τὰ ὑμῶν πάντα καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐξεδίωξε καὶ διεσκόρπισεν εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἀπηλλοτριώθητε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίνα ἔλαβεν ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ παρέδωκεν ὑμῖν;”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἦρεν ἐν πρώτοις τὸ βασιλεῖον, ἦρε τὸν νόμον, ἦρε τὰς προφητείας, τὰς λατρείας, τὴν θυσίαν· ἦρεν ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ ἱερόν, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά, τὴν βάτον, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ὃ τίμιον ὑμῖν προσῆν, τοῦτο ἦρε καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς χριστιανοῖς, 629c  
 Ὑμᾶς δέ, καθὼς λελάληκε ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ὅτι *διασπερῶ αὐτούς*, διέσπειρε, καὶ ὅτι *παύσω ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν*. Ὅρας πάντως ὅτι κατέπαυσεν.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸν Ναζωραῖον λέγεις σύ, ὅτι μονογενῆς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν; Ἐκεῖνος ἄνθρωπος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν ὡς κακοῦργον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν.”  
 145 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθη οὕτως ἀπλῶς ὡς σὺ ὑπαγορεύεις· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον νεκροὺς ἐξήγειρεν, ἐξ ὧν εἷς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ τετραήμερος Λάζαρος.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ τὸν Λάζαρον ἐγειράς, καθὼςπερ σὺ λέγεις, ποίῳ τρόπῳ αὐτὸς 629d  
 σταυρωθεὶς ἀπέθανεν;”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀνωτέρω ἐπληροφορήθης ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς θεοῦ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα 150  
 λέγεις ὅτι ὁ Ναζωραῖος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἶρηκας ὅτι ‘τρισσεύομεν τὴν μίαν θεότητα’, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον περὶ τούτου ἀντίρρησιν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸν κατάκριτον λέγεις εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν ἐπίστανται τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καθὰ προεμαρτύρατο ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ἐσαρκώθη, 632a  
 155 ἐσταυρώθη, ἀπέθανε, ἐτάφη καὶ ἀνέστη μετὰ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Λέγε λοιπὸν τὰς αποδείξεις, ποῦ γε καὶ οἷως καὶ ὅπως προεμαρτύρατο.”

141 διασπερῶ αὐτούς Deut. 4.27 | 142 παύσω – αὐτῶν Deut. 32.26 | 146 ὁ τετραήμερος Λάζαρος cf. Io. 11.17, 43

### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

135 ὑπεδεξάμεθα] ὑπεδεξόμεθα CX SPTVM ἅπαντα DAFN μ ἔδωκεν DN μ δέδωκεν AF ἐξεδίωξε] ἐξέστησέ τε DAFN μ και<sup>2</sup> + παρὰ πάντα VM + τὰ ἔθνη V | 136 ἐσκόρπισεν μ ἀλλοτριώθητε H ἀπ’ < V | 137 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει] ἔφη N, < K μ TM καὶ τίνα DAFN μ τίνα] τί CX, + ἐστὶν ἂ C X K ἔλαβεν] ἀφειλατο DN ἀφείλατε AF ἀφείλετο μ ἐπῆρεν SHPT ἀπῆρεν VM ὑμῶν CX δέδωκεν DAFN ἔδωκεν μ ὑμῖν + ὁ θεός DAFN | 138 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K N ἦρεν + οὖν DAF, + ἐξ ὑμῶν DAFN μ τὰ βασιλεία M ἦρε<sup>1</sup> < P ἦρε τὸν νόμον < H τὰς προφητείας] τοὺς προφῆτας μ | 139 τὰς θυσίας K DAFN μ VM πόλιν] πολιτείαν SHPT τὸ<sup>2</sup> – Σινά] τὸ Σινά ὄρος C μ τὸ<sup>3</sup> < K | 140 ἅπαξ ἀπλῶς K ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν DAFN μ πᾶν < SHP ὃ τι DAFN μ τίμιον ὃ ἦν ὑμῖν CX ὃ ἦν τίμιον ὑμῖν K προσῆν ἐν ὑμῖν M προσῆν] πρὸς ὃν V τοῦτο < P τοῦτο – χριστιανοῖς < T ἦρε ἐξ ὑμῶν DAFN μ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν DAFN μ SHP τοῖς < C X K V | 141 λέγει τὸ Δευτερονόμιον C X K διασπερῶ DAFN διασπείρω SHP | 142 πάντως πᾶν πάντως P, < K ὅτι πάντως M | 143 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ TVM σύ < SHPT σὺ δὲ M υἱὸς < K H τοῦ θεοῦ υἱός C | 144 ἐξ οὗ < VM ὡς κακοῦργον < T | 145 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < C X K V οὐκ – ὑπαγορεύεις < P ἀπέκτειναν μ ὡς σὺ] ὡσεὶ SH σὺ < C X T λέγεις K | 146 ἐξήγειρεν] ἠγειρεν

everything away from you and gave it to us, and he expelled and scattered you to the ends of the earth, and you were alienated from him.”

Herban said: “What did he take away from us and gave it to you?”

The archbishop said: “First he took away the kingdom, he took the law, the prophecies, the veneration, the sacrifice; he took away your city, the sanctuary, Mount Sinai, the burning bush, and simply everything which was worthy to you, that he took away and gave it to the Christians. And as he had said in the Deuteronomy, *I will scatter them*, he scattered you, and *I will make the remembrance of them cease from among men*. You see at all events that he has put an end to it.”

Herban said: “You say that the Nazarene is the only begotten Son of God? That one was a man, for which also our fathers killed him as an evildoer.”

The archbishop said: “He was not killed simply as you say, but he rather raised the dead, of which one is Lazarus who had been dead for four days.”

Herban said: “The man who raised Lazarus, as you say, in which way was he crucified and died?”

The archbishop said: “Before you have been instructed that he is the Son of God, and here you say that the Nazarene is the Son of God.”

Herban said: “You said, ‘we triplicate the one divinity’, and I had no contradiction against this. But here you say that the condemned one is the word of God, about whom the ends of the earth know that he was crucified and died.”<sup>6</sup>

The archbishop said: “As the law and the prophets have predicted, he became flesh, was crucified, died, was buried and rose on the third day.”

Herban said: “Then tell the proofs, where and how they have predicted this.”

DAF μ ἐξανέστησεν P ἐξ < μ M καὶ < CXK ὁ Λάζαρος τετραήμερος K Λάζαρος + ὁ μακάριος DAFN μ | 147 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει] ἔφη C, < K μ TVM ὁ + οὖν CXK ἐξεγείρας DAFN ἀναστήσας μ καθὼς C P ὡς μ λέγεις] φῆς μ ὑπαγορεύεις P αὐτὸς τρόπῳ μ αὐτὸς post 148 σταυρωθεὶς X, < SHPTVM | 149 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K PV ἐπληροφόρηθης] πληροφορηθεὶς CXK υἱὸς ἐστίν M υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐστίν P τοῦ θεοῦ μ M καὶ < CXK καὶ – 150 θεοῦ] καὶ νῦν ἀπαναίνη τὴν ἀλήθειαν N, < SHPT | 150 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < F VM Ναζωραῖος + ὅτι οὐκ μ ἔστιν – θεοῦ] ἄνθρωπος ἐχρημάτισεν K δ<sup>2</sup> < DAFN μ τοῦ < D | 151 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει] ἔφη X DAFN V, < TM προεῖρηκας SHP μίαν < N μ SHPTVM ἔχων μ S ἔχομεν P | 152 τοῦτον τὸν<sup>1</sup> VM, < N εἶναι λέγεις D υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λόγου C ἐπίσταται DAFN μ V | 154 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < CXK V καθάπερ ἐμαρτύρατο SHP | 155 ἀπέθανε < P ἀπέθανε ἐτάφη] ἐτάφη ἀποθανῶν C, < K ἐτάφη] τῆ σαρκὶ οὐ τῆ θεότητι DAFN μ τὴν < CK SHPT τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ VM τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ P | 156 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει] ἔφη X DAFN S, < K μ TM τὰς < VM τὰς ἀποδείξεις < CXK γε] σε M, < N μ οἴως] οἶα μ ὅπως καὶ οἶοι VM ὅπως] ὅλως SHPT προεμαρτύρατο CXK P ἐμαρτύραντο μ

<sup>6</sup> So that, after the death of Jesus Christ, there is no Trinity anymore.

160 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μωσῆς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· *Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ. Ἔσται οὖν πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἥτις οὐκ ἀκούσει τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς.* Τίς οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖνος, περὶ οὗ εἶρηκεν;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πάντως περὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγει. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μωυσέως ἴσως τούτου ἐγήγερται.”

165 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄρα ὡς Μωσῆς ἐστὶ καὶ Δαυὶδ; Οὐδαμῶς· ὅτι ὁ μὲν γὰρ 632b προφήτης ὑπῆρχε καὶ νομοθέτης, οὐ βασιλεὺς δέ, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πλάκας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸ μάννα παρέβαλεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· ὁ δὲ ἐκ πενίας ἀνήχθη εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ πολέμοις σχολάσας, ψαλτήριόν τε συντεθεικῶς τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο. Πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ κατὰ Μωσέα; οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς.”

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Ἄρχοντες λαοῦ ἀμφοτέροι καὶ προφήται τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς λαοῦ.”

170 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δαυὶδ ἐν φόνῳ καὶ μοιχείᾳ ὠλίσθησε, Μωσῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδαμῶς.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ Μωσῆς φόνον εἰργάσατο, εἰ καὶ οὐ μοιχείαν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄλλόφυλον Μωσῆς ἀποκτείνας ἀθῶος φόνου κεχηρμάτικεν.” 632c

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Περὶ Χριστοῦ μοι λέγε καὶ παρέασον τοὺς προφήτας.”

175 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μωσῆς λέγει· *Ὁψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν κρεμαμένην ἀπέναντι πῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ποῦ ἄρα ἐκρεμάσθη;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, ὃν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐκρεμάσατε τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν.”

180 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μωσῆς οὐ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν, ὅτι *Ὁψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν κρεμαμένην*, ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς αὐτῶν, ἦν ἔμελλον ὑπο-

158 Μωσῆς – 159 ἐμέ cf. Deut. 18.15 | 159 ἔσται – 160 αὐτῆς Acta 3.23; cf. Lev. 23.29 | 175 ὄψεσθε – 176 ὑμῶν Gregorius Nyssenus, CPG 3221, PG 46.213c; Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomos, CPG 4539, PG 52.839; *Dialogus Athanasii et Zacchaei*, 36.6; 37.3 et al.; cf. Deut. 28.66

#### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

158 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K | 159 ἐμέ + φησὶν DAFN ἔστω C X K εἰσακούσει SHPT | 160 ἀπὸ] ἐκ Δ μ VM αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ T περίεστιν DAFN | 161 οὐ + ταῦτα M εἶρηται C | 162 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει<sup>1</sup> < K μ TVM λέγει<sup>2</sup> λέγεις T Μωσέως X K SHPTVM ἴσως τούτου] εἰς τοῦτον μ | 163 τούτῳ M ἐγήγερται + μὴ γένοιτο DAFN μ | 164 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη] λέγει DAF, < K ἄρα οὖν DAFN μ ὁ Δαυὶδ K ὁ<sup>2</sup> < SHPTVM γὰρ < K μ | 165 ὑπῆρχε] ἦν SHPTVM, < μ P οὐ βασιλεὺς δέ] καὶ οὐ βασιλεὺς N δέ] τε K μὲν H, < X μ γῆς] τῆς VM | 166 ἐξ] ἐκ τοῦ M τὸ < DAFN μ παρέβαλεν] ἔθρεψε μ τοὺς υἱούς DAF μ ὁ δὲ + Δαυὶδ K | 167 ἀνήχθη – καὶ] εἰς βασιλείαν ἀνήχθη P πολέμους DAFN χαλάσας SHPT τε < DAF P | 168 Μωσέα] Μωσέα D, ± ἐχρήσατο P οὐ μὴν < DAFN μ HP | 169 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K Ἐρβᾶν – 171 οὐδαμῶς < P ἔφη] λέγει SHPV, < K μ TM καὶ προφήται < C X K N SHT προφήται + ἀμφοτέροι DAF VM αὐτοῦ – λαοῦ<sup>2</sup>] λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς F ἐνός] ἱεροῦ K | 170 ὁ

The archbishop said: “The prophet Moses says: *The Lord your God will raise up to you a prophet from your brothers, as to me. And every soul that will not hear that prophet will be destroyed utterly from his people.* Who is that prophet now about whom he spoke?”

Herban said: “At all events he speaks about David, for perhaps after Moses nobody else has risen.”

The archbishop said: “So David is also like Moses? In no way, because the one of them was a prophet and lawgiver, though no king, but he led the people out of Egypt and received the tables from heaven and distributed the manna to the children of Israel: the other one was brought up from poverty to kingship and died after having devoted his time to wars and having composed a Psalter. How can you now compare David to Moses? In no way, never.”

Herban said: “Both were rulers of the people and prophets of one and the same people.”

The archbishop said: “David slipped in murder and adultery, but Moses never in such things.”

Herban said: “And Moses committed a murder, though not adultery.”

The archbishop said: “Since Moses killed a foreigner he was guiltless of murder.”

Herban said: “Tell me about Christ and leave the prophets aside.”

The archbishop said: “Moses says: *You will see your life hanging in front of your eyes.*”<sup>7</sup>

Herban said: “What is life and where was it hung up?”

The archbishop said: “Jesus Christ is the life, whom you hung up on the wood of the cross in front of your eyes.”

Herban said: “Moses did not speak about this, when he said that *you will see life hanging*, but spoke about the continuous captivity and their deportation, which they

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < Κ V δέ] τε CVM τε καὶ X | 172 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ Ἐρβᾶν – 173 κεχρημάτικεν < VM λέγει] ἔφη DAFN, < Κ εἰ < DAFN μ Ρ | 173 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ ἔφη < ΧΚ Ρ Μωσῆς CX | 174 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ ἔφη] λέγει SHP, < Κ μ TVM τοῦ Χριστοῦ Κ SHPT λέγε μοι Μ τοὺς προφῆτας ἔασον CΧΚ | 175 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος C Τ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη] λέγει DAF, < ΧΚ PV Μωσῆς Μ τὴν ζωὴν ὄψεσθε Μ | 176 ὑμῶν < Τ | 177 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει < Κ μ ΤΜ τί Ν καὶ ποῦ] ἢ ποῦ γε SHP ἄρ' μ ἀπεκρεμάσθη DAFN | 178 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < ΧΚ Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός μ ὁ Χριστός μου Ν ὄν] τῶν S ἦν TVM ἐπὶ ξύλου] ἀπ' ἐναντίας Μ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ Κ ὑμεῖς ἐκρεμάσατε DAFN μ ἐκρεμάσατο Τ τοῦ σταυροῦ] ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ DAFN μ, < VM | 180 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν Κ λέγει] ἔφη X DAFN, < μ TVM | 181 γε < μ SHPT ὑπαγωγῆς μ ὑποφέρειν + καὶ C

<sup>7</sup> This passage alludes to Deut. 28.66, but is no literal quote. In the form given here it is found frequently in patristic writers (the apparatus only indicates some examples) and also later, as in *Anonymus Hostens*, 9.3.

φέρειν προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων παραβαίνοντες. Τὸ γὰρ *ῥησθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν κρεμαμένην* ἐκρίνατε, τοῦτ' ἔστιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπαγόμενοι ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ δυσ- 632D  
 τυχῶς ἔξετε περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἢ ἀποκτείνωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀπάγοντες ἢ γε περιποιήσονται.”

185 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄνωμαλον ῥῆσιν εἰσάγεις τῷ ῥήματι. Κρεμαμένη γὰρ εἶρηκε τὴν ζωὴν, ὅτι ῥησθε. Πάν δὲ τὸ κρεμάμενον ἢ σῶμα ἢ ὕλη τίς ἐστίν· ἄνευ τοῦ κατ-  
 έχοντος αὐτὰ βία καὶ κρεμῶντος, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κρεμασθῆναι οὐ δύναται. Ἄναμφίβολον τοι-  
 γαροῦν ἐστίν, ὅτι περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο εἶρηκεν,  
 ὅτι μέλλει κρεμασθῆναι σαρκὶ ἐπὶ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ.”

190 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁν τρόπον σὺ τοῖς ἐμοῖς οὐ πείθῃ, παραπλησίως οὔτε ἐγὼ τοῖς σοῖς.” 633A  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἶπεν Ἰακῶβ εὐλογῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ· *Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρ-  
 χων ἐξ Ἰουδα*, φησίν, *οὔτε ἠγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται· καὶ  
 αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἔθνῶν*. Τί οὖν λέγεις περὶ τούτων, ἄρα γε οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω ταῦτα;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οἴδαμεν ὅτι μέλλει παραγίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὔπω ἦκεν· ὁπότεν δὲ ἔλθῃ,  
 195 πιστεύομεν εἰς αὐτόν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πλήρης εἶ μεστός ἀνοίας· προσέχεις ὅτι λέγει, *προσδοκία  
 ἔσται ἔθνῶν ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, καὶ φάσκεις ὅτι οὔπω ἦλθεν. Εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν τὰ ἔθνη εἰς  
 αὐτόν, καθὼς εἶπεν Ἰακῶβ, εὐλόγως ἂν λέγεις, ὅτι οὐ παρεγένετο. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν προφη-  
 τεῖαν τοῦ πατριάρχου τὰ ἔθνη ἠλπισαν εἰς αὐτόν, πρόδηλόν ἐστιν ὅτι καὶ ἐλήλυθε καὶ 633B  
 200 παρεγένετο, καὶ μάτην ληρωδεῖτε ματαιοσκοποῦμενοι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Θαυμάζω ὅτι ἐπ' ἀτιμία τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐσαρκώθη, δι'  
 οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, εἰ μὴ ἵνα συλληφθῆ καὶ αὐξήθῃ, γεννηθῆ καὶ προδοθῆ  
 καὶ κρατηθῆ καὶ ῥαπισθῆ καὶ κριθῆ καὶ φυλακισθῆ καὶ μαστιγωθῆ καὶ ἐμπτυσθῆ καὶ τυ-  
 φθῆ καλᾶμψ καὶ ἀκάνθαις στεφανωθῆ καὶ σταυρωθῆ καὶ πῆ ὄξος καὶ χολὴν καὶ λόγχην

191 οὐκ – 193 ἔθνῶν Gen. 49.10

### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

182 ὑπὸ τῶν < N παραβαίνοντες < K μ παραμένοντες H | 183 ἐκρίνετε C ἐκρίνητε M ἐκρίνατε –  
 ὀφθαλμῶν] τοῦτο δηλοῖ ἢ μ ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ] αἰχμαλωσίαν SHPTM | 184 ἔξετε DAF SHPTM  
 περὶ < CXK τὴν ζωὴν VM ζωῆς ὑμῶν μ ἀποκτενοῦσιν μ SHPTVM ἢ γε] ἢ CK μ εἶτε X | 185 ὁ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K V ῥῆσιν] λύσιν XK  
 SHPTV ῥῆμα μ συνεισάγεις μ | 186 τὴν ζωὴν ante εἶρηκε VM, < T ὅτι bis S, < P ἢ<sup>1</sup>] καὶ V  
 σῶμα + ἐστίν D T ἐστίν τις M ante ἄνευ + ἄτινα DAFN μ ὅπερ VM, + δὲ X μέντοι DAFN |  
 187 αὐτὰ] αὐτόν SHPT αὐτό VM, < μ καὶ] οὐ μ, < C V κρεμῶνται CX V κρέμανται DAFN μ T  
 ἑαυτῶν DAFN μ, + γὰρ C μ κρέμασθαι C κρεμάσθαι X δεδύνηται C δεδύνηται X δύναται  
 DAFN μ τοιγαροῦν] γὰρ SHPT | 188 ὅτι] ἀλλὰ N μονογενοῦς < N τοῦ θεοῦ + τοῦ γεναμένου  
 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀνθρώπου N, < μ | 189 κρεμάσθαι CX SHP σαρκὶ < D | 190 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει] ἔφη  
 CX, < K μ TVM οὔτε] οὔτως D οὔτω SHPT + καὶ H οὐδὲ μ VM καὶ ἐγὼ HP σοῖς + πείθομαι  
 D<sup>ac</sup>AFN μ οὐ πείθομαι D<sup>pc</sup> | 191 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος  
 M ἔφη] λέγει C DAFN SHP, < K μ V εἶπεν post αὐτοῦ μ ἐπευλογῶν μ | 192 φησίν οὔτε] καὶ μ  
 ἂν < P | 193 λέγει P τούτου μ T οὔτω] οὔτως DAFN SHP, < μ | 194 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει] ἔφη X  
 DAFN S, < K μ TVM παραγενέσθαι VM ἦκει SHPT | 195 πιστεύομεν X N μ STVM | 196 ὁ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K PV πλήρης εἶ μεστός]

were about to suffer with the time going by from the enemies for their transgressions. You have understood the word *you will see your life hanging*, that is, you will have an unfortunate life being deported into captivity in front of your eyes, or those that have deported you will kill you or keep you there.”

The archbishop said: “You give an incorrect meaning to the word. He called life hanging, because you will see. Whatever hangs is an object or a matter, which cannot hang without somebody keeping it by force and make it hanging. Therefore there is no doubt that he spoke about the humanity of the only begotten Son of God, that he will hang in his flesh on the wood of the cross.”

Herban said: “In the same way you are not convinced by my words, similarly I am not convinced by yours.”

The archbishop said: “Jacob said when he blessed his his sons: *No ruler will be missing from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes to whom it belongs, and he is the expectation of the nations*. Now what do you say about this, is it not all so?”

Herban said: “We know that he will come, but has not yet arrived; but when he will come, we will believe in him.”

The archbishop said: “You a filled up with folly. You hear that he says, *he who comes is the expectation of the nations*, but then you say that he has not come yet. Now if the nations did not believe in him, as Jacob said, you say with good reason that he has not come. But if according to the prophecy of the patriarch the nations hoped for him, it is clear that he did come and is here, and you talk in vain frivolously and exercise useless arts.”

Herban said: “I wonder that God has become flesh for the dishonour of his face, and that he came into the world for nothing else than to be conceived and raised, to be born and betrayed and arrested and beaten and judged and imprisoned and flogged and spat upon and beaten with a reed and crowned with thorns and crucified, to drink vine-

μεστός εἶ μ εἶ μεστός < N και μεστός VM ἀνοίας + τὰ λεγόμενα N λέγει] φάσκει SHPT + και P προδοκία S | 197 ἔσται < N μ φάσκεις] λέγεις μ SHPT ὅτι < K μ SHPT | 198 ὁ Ἰακώβ DAFN μ ἔλεγες C λέγεις K λέγει μ ἀντιλέγεις VM εἶ – 200 παρεγένετο < SHPTVM, + λοιπὸν P προφητείαν C | 199 ἤλπισεν XK ἔστιν < μ ὅτι + και ἦλθεν C τε και<sup>2</sup> DAF | 200 ληρεῖτε μ λοιδορεῖτε T, + ὑμεῖς DAFN μ ματαιοπονούμενοι DAFN μ ματαιοσκοποῦντες SHT ματαιοπονοῦντες P | 201 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει < K μ TM τοῦ < SHPT ὁ < N μ ὁ θεός < C | 202 οὐθὲν AFN εἰσελθὼν DAFN μ εἰ μὴ ἴνα] ἴνα μὴ N ἀἔξηνη DN μ ἀἔξηθεις SH ἀἔξηνηθεις P γεννηθεις DAFN μ, < K προδοθῆ και κρατηθῆ] κρατηθεις και προδοθεις οὕτω DAF πραθεις και κρατηθεις μ κρατηθεις και παραδοθεις οὕτως N | 203 και κρατηθῆ] κρατηθεις ante μαστιγωθῆ CXX (κρεμασθῆ K) και ῥαπισθῆ post μαστιγωθεις N, hic et post ἐμπυσθῆ V, post ἐμπυσθῆ M, < DAF SHPT και<sup>2</sup> – κριθῆ < μ κριθῆ και φυλακισθῆ] κριθεις εἰκῆ και φυλακισθεις DAF, < CXX και<sup>5</sup> < CXX και<sup>5</sup> – ἐμπυσθῆ] και μαστιγωθεις N, < DAF και<sup>5</sup> – 204 στεφανωθῆ < μ SHPT τυφθῆ – 204 στεφανωθῆ] τυφθεις τῷ καλᾶμω και ἀκάνθαις στεφανωθεις DAFN | 204 σταυρωθεις DAFN μ πῆ] πίεται DAF πῶν N μ (post χολῆν τε N) πῆται CX SHPT ποτισθῆ VM και<sup>5</sup> – 205 κράξεται < N λόγγην C F SHPTV

205 νυγῆ τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ κράζεται καὶ ἀποθάνῃ. Θαυμάζω ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα, ὦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπε, ὡς φάσκες, παρεγένετο. Ἄμεινον ὅτι οὔτε ὑμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐπίστασθε τίνα εἰσίν, ἅπερ διαγορεύετε.”

Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· “Ναί, ἐπ’ ἀτιμία τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἦκεν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἀτιμίας ταύτης τιμηθῶσιν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ῥυσθέντες τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς ἐν Ἐδέμ παραβ- 633c  
210 ἄσεως. Πλὴν Ἰεζεκιὴλ τί λέγει προφητεύων περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνδόξου παρουσίας; *Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*, φησὶν, *οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐξεῦρε πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.”*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου πάντως τοῦτο ἔφησε· καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς βοήθειαν ἀρμόττει αὕτη ἡ λέξις· πᾶσαν γὰρ ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης ἡμῖν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰακώβ ἐξευρῶν δέδωκεν 215 ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ κληρονόμοις.”

Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· “Ἰσραὴλ ὁ ἡγαπημένος ὁ κύριός μου πέφυκεν, καὶ Ἰακώβ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ περίεστιν. Ὑμᾶς δὲ υἱοὺς ἀλλοτρίους διὰ Δαυιδ 633d  
220 κατωνόμασε καὶ διὰ Ἰωάννου *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν*. Καὶ εἰ ἀπιστεῖς, τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ στίχου σκόπησον τί λέγει· *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, φησὶν, *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὠφθῆ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναν- εστράφη*. Μετὰ ποῖα ταῦτα; Μετὰ τὸ τὸν νόμον δοῦναι, μετὰ τὸ προφήτας παρασχεῖν, μετὰ τὸ τελέσαι παντὰ ὅσα ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γενέσθαι ἠθέλησεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὑποτοπάζεις ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑμῶν, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι *οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν;*”

Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· “Προσέχεις ὅτι λέγει· *οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*, καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ὁ 636a  
225 αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὠφθῆ*, φησὶ, *καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη*· καὶ λέγεις, ‘ὑποτοπάζεις’; Πῶς δὲ ὠφθῆ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, γυμνῇ τῇ θεότητι; Οὐδαμῶς· τίς γὰρ δύναται θεὸν γυμνὸν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ὡς ἔστι, θεάσασθαι; Οὐδεὶς, οἶμαι, εἰ μὴ πάντως ἐθελουσίως ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος.”

210 οὗτος – 212 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> Baruch 3.36–37 | 217 υἱοὺς ἀλλοτρίους cf. Ps. 17.45–46 | 218 γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν Mt. 3.7, 12.34, 23.33; Lc. 3.7 | 219 μετὰ – συνανεστράφη Baruch 3.38

#### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

205 νυγεις DAF SHPT κράζεται SHP κεκράζεται M κεκραγῶς ἀποθανῶν μ ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα post ἀρχιεπίσκοπε K | 206 ὡς + σὺ μ παρεγένετο ὡς φάσκες CXX ὅτι] οὖν K ὥστε N οὔτε] οὐδὲ SHPT, < CXX τίνα περ DAF S τίνα εἰσίν] τὴν ἀπόρρησιν HPT ἅπερ + νῦν DAF μ | 208 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπε] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ῥηγέντιος M εἶπε < K P V αὐτοῦ < P ἦκεν] ἦλθεν K V M ἀτιμίας] ἀτιμασίας H | 209 ταύτης] αὐτοῦ μ οἱ] οὐ T τῆς ἀτιμίας < N ἐν < M Ἐδέμ] ὁδῶ F | 210 Ἰεζεκιὴλ] ὁ προφήτης Ἰερεμίας C Ἰερεμίας K<sup>msB</sup> DAFN μ λέγων προφητεύει DAFN μ προφητεύων < P M ἐνδόξου αὐτοῦ V M ἐνδόξου ± ἀναστάσεως P | 211 ἡμῶν < P φησὶν < μ | 212 αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν F, < μ H | 213 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ T M πάντως τοῦτο] ταῦτα πάντα K τοῦτο εἶπεν πάντως V M εἶπε + Ἐρβᾶν T εἰς] εἰ V | 214 ἡ λέξις αὕτη T λέξις F δέδωκεν N | 215 αὐτοῦ post υἱοῖς P καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K καὶ τέκνοις καὶ < SHPT υἱοῖς καὶ < μ καὶ<sup>3</sup> < C | 216 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἶπε] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ῥηγέντιος M εἶπε < K P ὁ<sup>2</sup> < N πέφυκεν + ὁ ἀνόητε DAFN μ τὸ παιδίον] τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ K | 217 Ἰησοῦς] ὁ DAF ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ M ἐστιν CXX μ τοῦ Δαυιδ DAFN | 218 κατωνόμαζε K κατωνόμασεν SHPT Ἰωάννου + ἐπωνόμασεν ἡμᾶς DAFN εἰ ἀπιστεῖς] ἀσπίδων N ἀπιστεῖς + ὦ ἀσύνετε DAF καὶ τὸ N σκόπησον τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ στίχου K |

gar and gall, to be pricked into his side with a lance, to cry and to die. I wonder that he has come because of this, o archbishop, as you say. It is better that not even you Christians know what the things are which you declare.”<sup>8</sup>

The archbishop said: “Yes, he came for the dishonour of his face, so that those who believe in him be honoured through this dishonour and be redeemed from the dishonour of the transgression in Edom. But what does Ezekiel say prophesying his glorious arrival? *This is our God*, he says, *and no other will be reckoned beside him; he has found all the way of knowledge and given it to his child Jacob and to his beloved Israel.*”

Herban said: “At all events he said this about the God of the law, and this word is fitting to help me; for God has found all the way of knowledge and gave it to us, the sons of Jacob, because we are his beloved ones and children and sons and heirs.”

The archbishop said: “Israel the beloved one was my Lord, and Jacob is the child Jesus Christ, the Son of God. And you he called the foreign sons through David, and through John *offspring of vipers*. And if you do not believe, consider what the following part of the verse says: *After this he appeared on earth and lived among men*. After what? After he had given the law, after he had offered prophets, after he had worked everything he wanted to be done in the law.”

Herban said: “Do you suppose that this man is your Christ, about whom the prophet said that *no other will be reckoned besides him?*”

The archbishop said: “You listen to what he says: *This is our God*, and that the same man after this *appeared on earth and lived among men*, and you say ‘you suppose’? How did he appear to men, in his naked divinity? In no way, for who can see God naked in his substance, as he is? Nobody, I think, if he did not become a man at all events by his own will.”

219 σκόπησον + ὦ ασύνετε N τί λέγει σκόπησον N τί λέγει < μ | 220 μετά<sup>1</sup> – 221 ἠθέλησεν < SHPT ταῦτα ποῖα C τὸ<sup>1</sup> < CX AF τὸν νόμον δοῦναι] ὄνομα δοθῆναι N προφητείας N | 221 τελέσαι] γενέσθαι VM ὅσα – νόμω] τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμω ὅσα N ἐν τῷ νόμω] ὁ νόμος F γενέσθαι < μ VM | 222 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < CK μ TM Χριστὸς ὑμῶν] θεὸς ἡμῶν μ ὑμῶν < M ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν HP | 224 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K PV προσέχεις – λέγει < F ὅτι<sup>1</sup>] ὁ SHPT λέγεις X λέγει + ὅτι CXX VM ἐκεῖνος < HP ὁ<sup>3</sup> < DAN μ SHPTM | 225 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς < VM τῆς < XK φησί < DAFN μ PVM συναεστράφη – 226 ἀνθρώποις < C λέγεις] λέγεις P λέγειν T | 226 ὅτι ὑποτοπάζεις DAFN καὶ οὐδαμῶς AF δύνανται F ἠδύνατο SHPT, + θεὸν SHPTVM | 227 θεὸν < DAFN μ γυμνὸν – θεάσασθαι] τῆ θεότητι θεάσασθαι ὡς ἔστι τῆ οὐσίᾳ θεός N εἶ] ἵνα SHPT πάντως < K

<sup>8</sup> The meaning is: It is better that you Christians do not realise how ignominious the facts of the life of your Christ are.



230 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Προλαβὼν εἶρηκα, ὅτι εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶ, περὶ οὗ ταῦτα προεφήτευσαν οἱ προφῆται, θαυμάζω ὅτι ἐπ’ ἀτιμία καὶ ὕβρει ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον παρεγένετο.”

Ἐπισημειωθεὶς ἔφη· “Ὑβρις ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τοὺς λεπροὺς ὑμῶν παραγενόμενος ἐθεράπευσεν, ὅτι τοὺς παραλύτους ὑμῶν συνέσφιγξεν, ὅτι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου ἐξήγειρεν, αἰμόρρουν ἰάσατο, Χαναanaίαν ἠλέησεν, ὅτι *πάσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν* ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσθενούντων ἐν ὑμῖν ἐφυγάδευσε καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν δαιμονίων ἀπήλασεν, ἐπὶ 636b  
θαλάσσης τε ἐπέζευσε καὶ ἐκ πέντε ἄρτων πεντακισχιλίου ἐχόρτασε; Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν οὐ προσέχετε αὐτῷ, τὸναντίον δὲ μᾶλλον θλίψαντες αὐτὸν κατεκρίνατε καὶ ἐσταυρώσατε. Καὶ φάσκετε ὅτι ἠτιμάσθη; Διὰ τοῦτο ἠνέσχετε ἀτιμασθῆναι, ἵνα ἐκ τούτου φανῇ καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα κακία, ἣν καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ περιφέρετε, δι’ ἧς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν Ναβουθαὶ ἐλιθοβολήσατε, τὸν Ἡλίαν τὸν φοβερὸν ἐμβριμήματι ἐδιώξατε, τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἐπρίσατε, τὸν Ἰερεμίαν ἐν βορβόρῳ ἠκοντίσατε, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νηπίων κατεσφάξατε, τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀνείλατε καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀπεκεφαλίσατε. Τί ὅτι καὶ τὸν δεσπότην αὐτὸν ἐφονεύσατε; Ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τὰ λοιπαζόμενα. Πῶς οὖν λέγεις, ὅτι ἐπ’ ἀτιμία ἑαυτοῦ παρεγένετο;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Θεὸς ὢν διὰ τί, ἐπεὶ ἠδύνατο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τὸν σταυρόν;” 636c

245 Ἐπισημειωθεὶς ἔφη· “Εἰ ἀνεβάλλετο, πῶς ἤμελλον πληροῦσθαι αἱ προφητεῖαι;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀπαγγέλιον δὴ μοι τὰς περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ προφητείας, καὶ ποῖοι προφῆται περὶ τούτου λελαλήκασιν.”

Ἐπισημειωθεὶς ἔφη· “Προδηλοποιῶν τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ θεὸς ζύλω τῷ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ἔσωσε τὸ κατάλειμμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε. Ξύλον γὰρ ἢ κιβωτὸς καὶ ξύλον ὁ

233 αἰμόρρουν ἰάσατο cf. Mt. 19.20 Χαναanaίαν ἠλέησεν cf. Mt. 15.22 *πάσαν*<sup>1</sup> – *μαλακίαν* Mt. 4.23, 9.35, 10.1 | 234 ἐπὶ – 235 ἐπέζευσε cf. Mt. 14.26 | 235 ἐκ – ἐχόρτασε cf. Mt. 14.17–21; Mc. 6.41–43; Lc. 9.13–14; Io. 6.9–10 | 239 τὸν Ναβουθαὶ ἐλιθοβολήσατε cf. 3 Reg. 20.1–16 τὸν<sup>2</sup> – 240 ἐδιώξατε cf. 3 Reg. 19.3–4 | 240 τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἐπρίσατε cf. *Ascensio Isaiae* 3.19 τὸν<sup>3</sup> – 241 ἠκοντίσατε cf. Ier. 45.6 | 241 τὸ – κατεσφάξατε Mt. 2.16; Protev. Iacobi 22.1–2 τὸν Ζαχαρίαν ἀνείλατε cf. Mt. 23.35; Lc. 11.51; Protev. Iacobi 23 Ἰωάννην ἀπεκεφαλίσατε cf. Mt. 14.10 | 248 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 249 Νῶε cf. Gen. 6.13–8.22

#### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

229 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ TVM εἶρηκας D<sup>pc</sup> ὅτι – 230 θαυμάζω < μ εἰ < K DAF VM προεφήτευσαν + οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν καὶ C | 230 θαυμάζω δὲ K D ἑαυτὸν K αὐτοῦ DAFN μ, < T ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν κόσμον T ἐγένετο HP | 231 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K μ PV τοῦτο + τυφλέ μ ὅτι – 232 ἐθεράπευσεν < C ὑμῶν + ἄθλια DAFN μ παραγινάμενος SHT παραγινόμενος VM ἐκαθαίρισε παραγενόμενος μ | 232 ὅτι<sup>1</sup> – 233 ἠλέησεν < μ SHPT τοὺς<sup>1</sup> < C νεκροὺς + ὑμῶν DAF | 233 ἐξήγειρεν] ἀνέστησεν K DAFN ὅτι] καὶ SHPT *πάσαν νόσον καὶ* < VM *πᾶσαν*<sup>2</sup> < DAFN P | 234 ἐν ὑμῖν ἀσθενούντων C ἐν ὑμῖν] ὑμῶν VM, < K δαιμόνων C<sup>ac</sup>XK μ P δαιμονιώντων C<sup>pc</sup> ἀπήλασεν] ἰάσατο ἀπελαύνων ταῦτα C, + ὅτι DAFN μ | 235 τε] δὲ K, < DAFN μ P χορτάσας C διέθρεψε καὶ ἐχόρτασε DAFN μ τοσοῦτοις μ | 236 ἅπασιν] πᾶσιν DAFN μ, < SHT ἅπασιν – αὐτὸν < P προσέχετε XK προσεσχίκατε DAFN μ προσέχατε SH προσείχετε M αὐτῶν SHPT δὲ] τε VM, < SHT μάλα SHTM θλίβοντες SHT αὐτὸν < VM καὶ κατεκρίνατε K κατεκρίνατε + μάτην DAFN μ

Herban said: “I have said before that if it is Christ, about whom the prophets spoke, I wonder that he came into the world for his dishonour and shame.”

The archbishop said: “Is this a shame that he came and cured your lepers, that he restored your paralytics to health, that he raised the dead as from sleep, healed the woman with an issue of blood, had mercy upon the woman from Canaan, that he banished from you weak ones *all sickness and all disease* and drove away the multitude of demons, walked on the lake and fed the five thousand from five loaves? And because of all this you did not listen to him, instead you rather afflicted him and condemned and crucified him. And you say that he was dishonoured? He suffered it to be dishonoured, so that by this also your badness might appear, which you carry about in your heart even without him, and through which already before his arrival to you you stoned Naboth, you expelled Elijah in your indignation, you sawed Isaiah, you threw Jeremiah into the filth, you slaughtered the multitude of infants, executed Zachariah and beheaded John.<sup>9</sup> And what about this, that you have murdered the Master himself? I leave it aside to say the rest. Now how do you say that he came here for his dishonour?”

Herban said: “If he was God, why did he not, if he was able, throw off the cross?”

The archbishop said: “If he threw off the cross, how would the prophecies have been fulfilled?”

Herban said: “Now announce to me the prophecies about the cross and which prophets have spoken about it.”

The archbishop said: “God prefigured the cross through the wood of the ark, when he saved the remnant of men in the time of Noah. For the ark was wood and the

ἐκατεκρίνατε P και ἐσταυρώσατε] σταυρωθῆναι K, + αὐτόν SHPT | 237 και] τοῦτο οὖν DAFN διὰ τοῦτο οὖν μ τὸ δὲ SHPVM, < T φάσκεις] λέγεις K φάσκεις δὲ T φάσκων VM ὅτι + ἐσταυρώθη και P τοῦτο + μάλλον DAF οὖν μάλλον N μ ἠνέσχετο ἀτιμασθῆναι] ἠτιμάσθη M ἐν τούτῳ CXXK τούτων VM | 238 ἦν – ἦς] και ἡ αὐτοῦ μακροθυμία δι' ἦν κακίαν K και<sup>2</sup> < DAF μ αὐτοῦ] ἐκείνων CX, + ### X ὑμῶν <, περιφέρετε αἰεὶ μ αἰεὶ < HP VM ἐπιφέρετε H | 239 παραγενέσθαι αὐτόν μ πρὸς] εἰς K DAFN μ M ὑμᾶς] τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀξίους ἐπεδείξασθε K Ναβουθεῖ C | 240 τῷ φοβερῷ μ, < SHPT ἐμβριθήματα μ ἐμβιθήματα P ἐμβριμήσαντες T ἐδιώξατε + τεσσαράκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν DAF μ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν N ἐνεπρίσατε C βορβόρῳ] λάκκῳ βορβόρου K | 241 ἀκοντίσατε D τὸ – κατεσφάξατε < SHPT ἀνείλετε CK ἀνείλιτε M και] τὸν K DAFN μ TM | 242 και] εἰ CX εἰ και SHT ἴδιον δεσπότην SHPT λειπόμενα CXXK λοιπά μ | 243 ἐπ' ἐν P αὐτοῦ K N μ SHPT | 244 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν] K λέγει < K μ TVM θεός] κύριος SHPT ὦν + ὡς σὺ λέγεις CXXK ἐπειδὴ SHPTVM | 245 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P πῶς P ἡμελλεν C ἔμελλον TVM | 246 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ TVM ἀνάγγελον μ SHPT τὰς ἀπτε προφητείας μ τοῦ σταυροῦ] Χριστοῦ VM προφητείας < N και < SHPTVM | 247 ἐλάλησαν K VM | 248 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < CK V πρόδηλον ποιῶν P ζύλων M τῷ ζύλῳ τῆς T τῆς] κόσμῳ K | 249 τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατάλειμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Νῶε μ τὸ τῶν DAF SM και – 250 κιβωτός < DAFN και ὁ CXXK

<sup>9</sup> On this enumeration, see above, p. 107.

- 250 σταυρός. Ἡ κιβωτὸς τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ὅτι ἔσται κατακλισμοῦ πανωλεθρία καὶ εἰσελ-  
θόντας ἐν αὐτῇ παραδόξως διέσωσε. Καὶ ὁ σταυρὸς δὲ ὁ τίμιος τοὺς προσκυνούντας  
αὐτὸν καὶ πιστεύοντας εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ προσηλωθέντα λυτροῦται ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος τοῦ 636D  
σατανᾶ καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως. Καὶ τὸ φυτὸν δὲ τοῦ Σαβέκ, ἐν ᾧ ὁ κριὸς ἦν προσ-  
δεθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, σωτηρίαν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ πορησάμενον τὸν σταυρὸν προετύπου τὸν  
255 τίμιον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κριὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν προσηλωθεῖσαν σάρκα τῷ σταυρῷ προετύ-  
που, τὸ δὲ φυτὸν τοῦ Σαβέκ ἐδήλου τὸν σταυρὸν.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πολλὰ μεμαθηκῶς εὐθέτως ἐτυμολογεῖς τὰ σοὶ συμφέροντα.”
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐτυμολογῶ, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς Γραφῆς πείθω 637A  
σε τῆς ἀληθείας ἅπαξ ἀντεχόμενος. Ἰακώβ οὖν ὁ πατριάρχης μέλλων εὐλογεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς  
αὐτοῦ, οὐχὶ ὀλίγον ἀνασχὼν ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης ἐν ἧ κατέκειτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ τῆς ῥάβδου  
260 αὐτοῦ ἐπιστηριχθεὶς, ἥτις ἐδήλου τὸν σταυρὸν, οὕτως ἠὺλόγει αὐτούς, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας δὲ  
τὴν εὐώνυμον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐστῶπι παιδί, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πεφηνότι  
παρεκτείνων; Οὐχὶ προδηλοποιῶν τὸν τίμιον σταυρὸν ἐν τῷ σταυροῦν τὰς χεῖρας οὕτως  
ἠὺλόγει αὐτούς; Οὐχὶ τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν καταλιπὼν, ὅστις ἦν εἰκὼν τοῦ ὑμετέρου λαοῦ, ἐπὶ  
265 τὸν δεῦτερον τὸ πᾶν τῆς εὐλογίας παρέκτεινεν, ὅστις ἔπελεν εἰκὼν τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν  
λαοῦ; Τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωσήφ πραχθέν σοι ὑπαγορεύω. Τοῦ Μωσέως ἡ ῥάβδος, δι’ ἧς  
ἐτέλει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, οὐχὶ τὸν σταυρὸν προετύπου; Τὸ ξύλον ὃ ἔβαλεν Μωσῆς εἰς  
Μερρᾶς καὶ ἐγλυκάνθη τὰ ὕδατα, οὐχὶ τὸν σταυρὸν προετύπου τὸν τίμιον; Ὅτε τὰς 637B  
χεῖρας σταυροειδῶς ἐκτείνων Μωσῆς τὸν Ἀμαλῆκ ἐτροποῦτο, οὐχὶ τὸν σταυρὸν προ-  
ετύπου;”

253 τὸ – 254 πορησάμενον cf. Gen. 22.13 | 259 Ἰακώβ – 264 αὐτούς cf. Gen. 48.13–20 | 266 τοῦ  
– 267 τέρατα cf. Ex. 4.2 et passim | 267 τὸ – 268 ὕδατα cf. Ex. 15.25 | 268 ὅτε – 269 ἐτροποῦτο  
cf. Ex. 17.11–12

### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

250 κιβωτὸς + τότε DAF μ ὅτε N πιστεύσαντες T ὅτι – πανωλεθρία < SHPT κατακλισμὸς  
πανωλέθριος DAFN μ εἰσελθόντων K | 251 παραδόξως < SHPT ἔσωσε K καὶ ὁ < VM δὲ < D  
μ προσκυνούντας – 252 καὶ < K | 252 αὐτὸν – πιστεύοντας < CX προσπαγένητα AFN παγένητα  
D μ τυραννίδος] παγίδος N | 253 καί<sup>2</sup> – 256 σταυρὸν < SHPT ὁ κριὸς < μ | 254 πορησάμενος X  
N μ προετύποι C προδιετύπου VM | 255 τίμιον] ἅγιον K τὴν ante τοῦ μ προδηλωθεῖσαν D  
προετύποι C AFN προδιετύπου VM | 257 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ SHPTM πολλὰ + σὺ DAFN  
μ σοὶ < K DAFN μ HVM | 258 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγνέσιος  
M ἔφη < K PV ἐγὼ < C, + μὲν AFN μ οὐκέτι P ἀλλ’ οὖν] οἶμαι VM ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς K |  
259 ante τῆς + τέως DAFN μ ἅπαξ < DAFN μ ἀντεχομένης + πρόσεχε δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις  
DAFN μ ἀντεχόμενος ante τῆς SHPTVM οὖν] μὲν K T, < N μ ὁ < CX | 260 ἀπὸ < SHPT τὸ  
ἄκρον D μ HPTVM | 261 ἐπιστηριχθεὶς S ἐπιστήρικτο H ἐπιστήρικτο P τὸν – 263 προδηλο-  
ποιῶν < μ τίμιον σταυρὸν DAFN εὐλόγει K D καὶ – 266 ὑπαγορεύω < SHPT τῶν χειρῶν N M  
δὲ] δὴ C | 262 ἐπι<sup>1</sup> < M ἐκ δεξιῶν] δεξιὸν DAFN παιδί] παιδίον N ἐτίθη V, + ὅς ἐστιν Ἐφραὴμ  
ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ C ἐξ < C DAFN V ἀριστερώτερον DAF ἀριστερώτερος N ἀριστερῷ  
M πεφηνότι + ὅς ἐστιν ὁ δεῦτερος υἱὸς Μανασσῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσήφ C | 263 παρεκταίνων  
DAFN σταυρὸν + ἦν M σταυροῦν] σταυροῖν N χεῖρας αὐτοῦ DAFN μ | 264 εὐλόγει μ υἱὸν <

cross is wood. The ark miraculously saved those who believed that there would be total destruction by a flood, and they went into it. And the worthy cross redeems those, who worship it and believe in the one that was nailed to it, from the tyranny of Satan and of eternal punishment. And also the tree of Sabek,<sup>10</sup> to which the ram was bound in the time of Abraham and which brought salvation to Isaac, prefigured the worthy cross. For the ram prefigured the flesh of the word of God which was nailed to the cross, and the tree of Sabek meant the cross.”

Herban said: “You have learned a lot and argue by etymology<sup>11</sup> for the things that are useful to you in a convenient way.”

The archbishop said: “I do not argue by etymology, but I convince you from your Scriptures, holding up truth once for all. Now when the patriarch Jacob wanted to bless his sons,<sup>12</sup> did he not rise from his bed on which he lay and blessed them leaning onto the top of his rod, which meant the cross, extending the left of his hands to the child that stood to the right and the right one to the one that appeared to the left? Did he not prefigure the worthy cross by crossing his hands? Did he not leave aside the first son, who was an image of your people, and extend his whole blessing to the second one, who was an image of the people of Christians? I tell you what was done to the sons of Joseph. Did not the rod of Moses, by which he worked portents and wonders, prefigure the cross? Did not the wood, which Moses threw in the Marah and the waters became sweet, prefigure the worthy cross? Did not Moses, when he turned Amalek to flight stretching his hands out crosswise, prefigure the cross?”<sup>13</sup>

DAFN μ ὅστις ἦν| ὅς ἐστιν C λαοῦ < M ἐπὶ + δὲ DAF | 265 παρέκτεινεν CX ἀπέκτεινεν K παρεκτείνεται DAF VM παρέτεινεν μ παρεξέτεινε N ἔμελλεν CK ὑπῆρχεν VM εἰκῶν + εἶναι K τῶν χριστιανῶν| χριστιανικοῦ M | 266 καὶ τὸ N τὸ – ὑπαγορεύω < K τῶν υἰῶν| τῷ μ Ἰωσήφ + ὡς προείρηκα ὡς C εἰσπραχθέν X DAFN διαγορεύω CX προαγορεύω N τοῦ < HP τοῦ δὲ CXK Μωυσέως C | 267 ἐτελείτο K προετύποι C A SHPTM ἐτύπου μ προδιετύπου M τὸ – 268 προετύπου < C τὸ – 270 προετύπου < SHPT εἰς| ἐκ DAF ἐν μ | 268 Μερρὰν N τὸ ὕδωρ μ προετύποι C AFN V προδιετύπου M ὅτε – 270 προετύπου < X | 269 ἐκτείνων Μωσῆς σταυροειδῶς D Μωσῆς σταυροειδῶς ἐκτείνων μ ἐκτείνων| ἐτύποι V ἐτύπου M Μωυσῆς N M καὶ τὸν<sup>1</sup> VM προετύποι C AN V προδιετύπου M

<sup>10</sup> Sabek (Gen. 22.13) is actually a botanical name meaning ‘bramble’ or ‘thicket’, but was often interpreted by patristic and Byzantine texts as ‘forgiving’ (first by Pseudo-Meliton of Sardeis, *CPG* 1093, frag. 12). The author of the *Dialexis* apparently did not know either explanation and misunderstood the word as a place name.

<sup>11</sup> Here and at B 749, actually ‘allegory’ instead of ‘etymology’ is intended; on the use of these terms, see above, p. 125.

<sup>12</sup> Actually his grandsons, the sons of Joseph, see below.

<sup>13</sup> The events at the waters of Marah and the defeat of the Amalekites were regarded already by Tertullianus as prefigurations of the cross, *Adversus Iudaeos*, ch. 13 and 10.

Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Σὺ ἔνθα εὗρης ξύλον χρησιμεύσαν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ, ὅρα ἀφομοίωσον αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρόν σου.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐ μόνον τὰ ξύλα προετύπωσαν τὸν σταυρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπάρσεις χειρῶν καὶ πολέμων συμβολαὶ καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια.”

275 Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Προλαβὼν εἶρηκα, ὅτι πολλὰ μαθὼν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ἐτυμολογεῖς τὰ σοὶ συμφέροντα.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ὅτε τὸν φοβερόν πόλεμον ἐκείνον ἐκρότησε μετὰ τῶν ἔθνων, ἐσπέρας αὐτὸν καταλαβούσης οὐκ ἔστησε τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ Γαβαῶν καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατὰ φάραγμα, μέχρις οὗ τὴν νίκην κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἤρατο; Τοῦτο δὲ 637c τοῦ πάθους τοῦ ἐνδόξου κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσῆν προτύπωσις· Ἰησοῦς γὰρ ἐκεῖ, Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐνταῦθα. Ἀρχιστράτηγος ἐκείνος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, βασιλεὺς καὶ οὗτος ὁ θεὸς οὐ μόνον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης. Ἐκείνος ἔθνη ἐτροποῦτο, καὶ οὗτος τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων στρατεύματα. Ἐκείνος τὸν ἥλιον ἔστησε καὶ τὴν σελήνην, 280 μέχρις ὅτου ἐξῆρην ἀπάσας τὰς φάλαγγας τῶν ὑπεναντίων. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πάθει τοῦ κυρίου μου ἥλιος ἔφριξε καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη, καὶ ἡ σελήνη οὐ δέδωκε τὸ φέγγος αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας κἄν 637d τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου εἰς νύκτα μετελθούσης. Ἐκείνος λόγῃ τὰ ἔθνη ἀνήρει καὶ δόρατι· οὗτος δυνάμει τῆς θεότητος συνέτριψε τὰ κλειθρα τοῦ ἄδου καὶ τῷ τιμῷ αὐτοῦ σταυρῷ ἀπετέφρωσε τοὺς δαίμονας. Ἐκείνος μετὰ πλήθους στρατευμάτων ταῦτα κατῴρθου, ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν πλεῖον τούτου ἠδύνατο· οὗτος δὲ μόνος, μᾶλλον δὲ διπλοῦς 290 ὡς εἰς ὧν καὶ αὐτός, θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *ληνὸν ἐπάτησα*, φησί, *μονώτατος, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθνων ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν μετ’ ἐμοῦ*. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ σταφυλὴν καὶ ληνὸν καὶ τρυγὴν νοητῶς ὠνόμασε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσι μέλλει 640a εἶναι τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ σωτηρία, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων συναγωνίζεται αὐτῷ, ἐπήγα-

277 Ἰησοῦς – 279 ἤρατο cf. Ios. 10.12–13 | 285 ἥλιος – αὐτῆς cf. Is. 13.10; Mt. 24.29; Mc. 13.24 | 290 ληνὸν – 291 ἐμοῦ Is. 63.3

#### C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M

271 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει < K μ TM ἔνθα] ἐνταῦθα εἰ S<sup>p</sup>HPT ἄν εὗρης μ χρησιμεύσον K χρησιμεύον DAFN μ χρησιμεύσαντα M ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ χρησιμεύσαν SHPT ὅρα < C VM ἀφομοιοῦν μ ἀφομοίωσας VM | 272 αὐτὸ] τὸ X αὐτὸν S αὐτὰ M ἐπὶ < SHPT ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρόν] τῷ σταυρῷ μ M τὸν < HP | 273 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < CXK PV προδιετύπωσαν VM καὶ < CX | 274 τῶν χειρῶν VM παραπλήσια τούτοις N | 275 ὁ Ἐρβάν K λέγει] ἔφη DAFN, < K μ TM ὅτι + σὺ N μ μεμαθηκῶς μ VM σοὶ < DAFN SHPT M συμφέροντά σοι C μ | 277 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < XK D PV ἐκείνον πόλεμον N ἐκρότησε] ἐποίησε κατὰ K ἐνίκησεν P<sup>ac</sup> | 278 αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ DAFN, < μ VM Γαβαῶ μ SHP Γαβαῶθ VM | 279 σελήνην + ὁμοίως DAFN μ κατὰ<sup>1</sup>] καὶ τὴν F μέχρι D οὐ] ὅτου DAFN μ, + νίκηση καὶ N κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων < DAF SHPT ὑπεναντίων K τοῦτο δέ] τούτου γὰρ SH καὶ τούτου γὰρ P | 280 τοῦ πάθους < N τοῦ ἐνδόξου < VM ἐνδόξου + τοῦ CXK DN SHPTVM μου] ἡμῶν N SHPT ἦν X P προτύπωσις ἦν K DAFN μ T ἡ προτύπωσις VM γὰρ < K D | 281 ἐκείνος μ καὶ<sup>1</sup>] Χριστὸς K, < N ἐκείνος] οὗτος SHPT τοῦ] τῷ DAFN βασιλεὺς – 282 Ἰσραήλ < K καὶ οὗτος ὁ] οὗτος καὶ X DAFN μ M καὶ οὗτος καὶ V | 282 ἀλλά γε] ἀλλ’ οὗτος K γε < μ ἐκείνος – 295 αὐτοῦ < SHPT | 283 τὰ < μ ἐκεῖ N ἔστησε

Herban said: “Wherever you find some wood that is useful to you in the Old Testament, you take care to compare it to your cross.”

The archbishop said: “Not only the woods prefigured the cross, but also the raisings of hands, outbreaks of wars and things similar to these.”

Herban said: “I have said before that you have learnt a lot and argue straightforward by etymology with the things that are useful to you.”

The archbishop said: “When Joshua the son of Nun started that frightful war against the nations, did he not, when evening befell him, let the sun stand still upon Gibeon and the moon in the valley, until he had won the victory against his enemies? This was a prefiguration of the suffering of my glorious Lord Jesus Christ, for one Jesus was there and one Jesus here. That man was the commander-in-chief of Israel, and this our God is king not only of Israel, but of the whole world. That man turned the nations to flight, and this one the armies of the demons. That man let the sun and moon stand still, until he had defeated all the battle-array of the enemies. But on the suffering of my Lord the sun shuddered and was darkened and the moon did not send out its shine,<sup>14</sup> the day itself presently being turned by fear into night. That man destroyed the nations by lance and spear, this one by the power of his divinity shattered the locks of hell and by his worthy cross turned the demons into ashes. That man achieved this with a great army, for he was a man and could not do more than that; this one did it alone, or rather two-fold, being God and man at the same time. For the prophet says about him: *I have trodden the winepress all alone, and no man from the nations was with me.* For since he mentally called his suffering grapes and winepress and vintage, and that his suffering will be the salvation of the nations, and that none of the nations shared his fight with

post σελήνην N | 284 διεξήρε πάσας VM | 285 ὁ ἥλιος DAFN μ τε και<sup>1</sup> DAFN μ ἐσκότασε μ οὐκ ἔδωκε CXK μ κἂν < μ κἂν τάχα] κἀνταῦθα X | 286 τάχα < K VM νύκταν C σκότος μ δόρυ και λόγῃ ἀνείλε τὰ ἔθνη μ τὰ ἔθνη < CXK ἀνείλεν D μ ἀνῆρεν AFN | 287 τῆ δυνάμει N αὐτοῦ τῆς θεότητος DAFN θεότητος αὐτοῦ μ συνέτριβε V τοῦ ἄδου τὰ κλειθρα DAFN μ | 288 ἀπετέφροιν V ἀπετέφρου M τοὺς < DAFN μ VM ἐκείνος + μὲν οὖν DAFN κατὰ πλήθος μ | 289 οὐθ' ἐν VM πλεῖον τούτου] πλεον DAFN μ δε<sup>1</sup> < C μόνος < K μάλλον δὲ διπλοῦς < VM | 290 ὡς εἶς < K ὡς – ἄνθρωπος] κατὰ τὴν θεότητά τε και ἀνθρωπότητα DAFN μ (τὴν θεότητά τε] τε θεότητα μ) και αὐτός] ὁ αὐτός και VM, < K γὰρ και DAFN ὅτι < μ | 291 φησί < μ ἐξ < μ M οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ DN μ ἐμέ DA | 292 και<sup>1</sup> – τρυγὴν < μ και τρυγὴν] τρυγεῖς DAF τρυγᾶν N νοητῶς < M ὠνόμασε + μέχρις ὅτου ἐξήγαγεν πάσας τὰς φάλαγγας τῶν ὑπεναντιῶν VM (ἐξήρε M) και<sup>3</sup> – 293 σωτηρία < C | 293 συναγωνίσηται DAFN συναγωνίζεται μ VM συναγωνίζεται – 294 ἔθνων < X

<sup>14</sup> Note that the moon is not mentioned in the account of the crucifixion in the New Testament, but only in Is. 13.10 to which the text alludes here and at B 152.

γε, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, φησίν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔστιν μετ' ἐμέ. Οὐχ ὅτι ἔχρηζεν αὐτὸς βοηθείας  
295 ἐθνῶν, ἅπαγε, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐδήλου σεσῶσθαι τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πῶς οὐκ εἶπε παρρησίᾳ κᾶν εἰς προφήτης, ὅτι μέλλει ὁ λόγος τοῦ  
θεοῦ κατελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ γυναικὸς Μαρίας καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσῃ  
καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά;”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὡ ἀνόητε καὶ βραδὺς τῇ καρδίᾳ, οὐχὶ παρρησίᾳ βοᾷ Ἡσα-  
300 ἴας ὁ προφήτης πάντα περὶ αὐτοῦ; Οὐχὶ κράζει ὁ Δαυὶδ τοῖς ψαλμοῖς ἐν δυνάμει καὶ οἱ 640b  
λοιποὶ προφήται; Ἄκουσον τί λέγει Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης περὶ τῶν πατέρων σου, προδη-  
λοποιῶν οἶψ τρόπῳ ἤμελλον συμβουλευέσθαι κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν· Δεῦτε καὶ  
ἐμβάλωμεν, φησίν, ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτρίψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ζώντων. Καὶ  
ἀνωτέρω· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι οὐκ ἔγνω. Δεῖξον μοι τοιγαρ-  
305 οῦν σὺ ποῦ ἐσφάγη Ἰερεμίας, ἢ ποῦ ἐνέβαλον ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ· ἴσως αἰσθητῶς  
τοῦτο. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχεις, ἐν βορβόρῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐρίσκομεν βερίφθαι καὶ μόνον. Περὶ δὲ  
Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ ταῦτα εὐδῆλον προφητεύων ἔλεγεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ταῦτα αἰνιγματωδῶς εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας κᾶντε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, κᾶντε περὶ 640c  
ἑτέρου, ἐμοὶ τί τὸ μελετήεν. Λέξον μοι τοῦτο ὃ σε ἐπερωτῶ· Ποῖος εἶπε παρρησίᾳ καὶ  
310 οὐχὶ παροιμίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν μου;”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐπ' ἀληθείας σαρκικὸς ὢν σαρκικὰ ἐπιζητεῖς καὶ τὰ νοή-  
ματα. Μὴ γὰρ τῆς ἀμαθείας σου ἐχρημάτιζον οἱ προφῆται ἢ τῆς ἀσφαλείας σου, ἵνα  
προεβάλλοντο κοινὰ ῥήματα ἀπλῶς προφητεύοντες. Ἄκουσον οὖν τί λέγει ὁ Δαυὶδ περὶ  
τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ καταβάσεως ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον ἕνεκα τοῦ σαρκωθῆναι· Καταβή-  
315 σεται, φησίν, ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον καὶ ὡσεὶ σταγῶν ἢ στάζουσα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Σολομώντος εἶρηκεν ὁ Δαυίδ· καὶ ποῦ ἄρα ταῦτα  
μεθαρμόττεις;”

294 καὶ – ἐμέ Is. 63.4 | 302 δεῦτε – 304 ἔγνω Ier. 11.19 | 306 ἐν – μόνον cf. Ier. 45.6 |  
314 καταβήσεται – 315 γῆν Ps. 71.6

**C X K D A F N μ S H P T V M** | 302 συμβουλευέ| **F** | 312 ἢ **[L**

294 ἀπὸ τῶν] τῶν ἀπ' K τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν DAF τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν N, < μ VM φησίν < μ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ μ  
ἐμοῦ X μ VM βοήθειαν N | 295 ἅπαγε < DAFN μ VM σῶσαι N διὰ] ἀπὸ VM | 296 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν K  
λέγει < K μ TM πῶς + οὖν DAF προφήτης] ἐκ τῶν προφητῶν DAFN (ἐκ < D, + αὐτοῦ F) κανεὶς  
τῶν προφητῶν παρρησίᾳ μ τοῦ θεοῦ < VM | 297 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατελθεῖν K καί<sup>2</sup> ante ἐκ  
DAFN | 298 καὶ ἀναστῆναι < P | 299 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < CK P ὦ < C M καὶ – καρδίᾳ < μ βραδὺ VM Ἡσαίας < D ὁ προφήτης  
Ἡσαίας T | 300 πάντα < K SHPT πάντα + τὰ D μ οὐχὶ – 301 προφήται < SHPT ὁ<sup>2</sup> < K τοῖς]  
ἐν C τῇ δυνάμει τῶν ψαλμῶν VM, + ὁμοίως M ἐν δυνάμει post προφήται μ, < C | 301 καὶ  
ἄκουσον N τίνα λέγει καὶ CXK τί – Ἰερεμίας] τοῦ Ἰερεμίου P ὁ προφήτης < SHPT πρόδηλον  
ποιῶν bis P | 302 τὸ οἶψ SHPT ὅποιψ DAFN μ ἔμελλον M | 303 ἐνβάλωμεν P φησίν < K μ καὶ –  
305 αὐτοῦ < V ἐκτρέψωμεν SHPT ἀπὸ] ἐκ μ γῆς] τῶν M | 304 δὲ] μὲν μ γὰρ<sup>δὲ</sup> M μοι] με H σὺ  
τοιγαροῦν μ | 305 σὺ] τὸ K ἐσφάγη] φθέγγει N ὁ Ἰερεμίας CX ἢ < μ ἔβαλον SHPT ἴσως  
αἰσθητῶς τοῦτο < CXK | 306 τοῦτο] ποῦ M ἀλλ' < μ T ἔχεις + δεῖξαι N εἰπεῖν μ VM  
εὐρίσκομεν αὐτὸν μ ἐρρίφθαι K PVM ἐρριφέναι μ μόνω X περὶ bis P τοῦ δὲ M | 307 τοῦ

him, he went on, *and no man from the nations was with me*. It was not because he would have needed the help of the nations, o no, but because he meant that the nations would be saved by his sufferings.”

Herban said: “Why did not even one prophet say explicitly, that the word of God will come down from heaven and become flesh from the woman Mary and become a man and be crucified and die and rise again and so on?”

The archbishop said: “O you, a fool and dull in your heart, does the prophet Isaiah not cry out all about him explicitly? Does not David call out loudly in the Psalms, and the other prophets? Hear what the prophet Jeremiah says about your fathers, prefiguring in which way they would hold counsel against their lord: *Let us throw, he says, wood into his bread and let us whipe him out from the land of the living*. And before: *But I was like an innocent lamb that was brought to be sacrificed and did not know it*. Therefore show me where Jeremiah was slaughtered or where they threw wood into his bread. Perhaps this is meant physically. But you will not be able to do so, for we find only that he was thrown into the dirt. It is clear that he said this, prophesying about Christ and his suffering.”

Herban said: “Jeremiah said this speaking in riddles, but why should I care whether he said this about himself or about somebody else? Now tell me what I have asked of you: Who of my prophets spoke explicitly and not in a comparison about your Christ?”

The archbishop said: “Since you are in truth of flesh, you also ask for fleshly thoughts. However, the prophets were not as uneducated or as obscure as you, so that they would have put forth simple words when they were prophesying. Now hear what David says about his descent from heaven upon the Virgin for the sake of incarnation: *He will come down, he says, like rain upon the grass and like rain dropping to earth*.”<sup>15</sup>

Herban said: “David said this about Solomon, and where do you transfer that to?”

Χριστοῦ SHPT τοῦ < μ ταῦτα < K μ P εὔδηλον ταῦτα VM ἔλεγεν προφητεύων N ἐβόα DA | 308 ὁ Ἑρβᾶν K λέγει < K μ TM ὁ Ἱερεμίας M κᾶν – κᾶν μ H αὐτοῦ C SHPT | 309 ἐμοὶ – μελητέον] οὐ μέλει μοι μ τί τὸ] οὐ CXXK μελετέον N πλὴν λέξον C δεῖξον SHP λέξον V μοι δὲ μ τοῦτο] τό γε DAN SHPTV τόδε M ὅ] ἐν ᾧ DAN STVM ὅ – 310 παροιμία < H σε] σοι μ, < CXXK ποῖος – 310 παροιμία < N | 310 περὶ – σου < T μου < P | 311 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < K PV τὰ < P | 312 ἀσοφίας L ἀσαφείας σου] σῆς ἀσαφίας DAFN σῆς ἀσοφίας μ \* καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας DAN τε καὶ ἀνοίας μ | 313 προβάλλονται CXXK τὰ κοινὰ TVM κοινὰ] κενὰ LK, < T ἀπλῶς < CXXK A, ante προεβάλοντο T οὖν < LK T τίνα DA | 314 αὐτοῦ < N συγκαταβάσεως μ εἵνεκα HP ἕνεκα τοῦ] διὰ τὸ P | 315 φησὶν < μ PT ὡσεὶ] ὡς ἡ N V | 316 ὁ Ἑρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM εἶρηκεν] λέγει N SHPT ἄρα + γε HP, < μ ταῦτα + σὺ μ | 317 μεθαρμόζεις μ, + αὐτὰ N

<sup>15</sup> In the following discussion, no allusion is made to the more common christological interpretation of Ps. 71; see above, p. 121 note 27.



320 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Προῖων ὁ ψαλμὸς τί λέγει; *Ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ* 640D  
δικαιοσύνη. Καί τις ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγξει αὐτὸν περὶ ἁμαρτίας; Σολομὼν δὲ ποιήσας τὸ πονη-  
ρὸν ἔναντι κυρίου ἐτελεύτησεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διχοστασιῶν μυρίων αἴτιος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν  
ἐγένετο.”

325 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀβάλε, τὰς ἀσθενείας ὑμῶν ἰάτο καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασε  
καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑμῶν ἀνίστα, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὡς κύνες λυσσῶντες κατεμαίνεσθε αὐτοῦ. Τίς  
οὖν λοιπὸν αἴτιος τῶν θορύβων, ὑμεῖς ἢ αὐτός; Ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς· *Κατακυριεύσει* 641A  
*ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης.* Οὐκοῦν  
οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως; Οὐ καταλάμπει ἡ πίστις ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης;  
*Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προπεσοῦνται Αἰθίοπες.* Οὐχὶ πᾶσα ἡ Αἰθιοπία ἐπίστευσεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ  
καθ’ ἡμέραν προσκυνεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς θεὸν ἀληθινόν; *Καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ χοῦν λείξουσιν.*  
330 Τίνες δὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλλ’ ἢ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, χοῦν λείχοντες ἀπὸ πολλῆς πείνης,  
τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ γεηρὰ καὶ χοϊκὰ καὶ σαρκικὰ καὶ ἐμπαθῆ, φημί, νοήματα ἀπὸ τῶν χριστιανι-  
κῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν νοημάτων φαγεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὑψηλὴν γλῶτταν κεκτημένος ταῦτα ἐπίστασαι τοῦ ἀποφθέγγεσθαι. 641B  
Τί δὲ ἐμφαίνει αὕτη ἡ περιοχὴ τοῦ στίχου· *Καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης ἕως οὐ ἀνταναιρεθῆ ἢ*  
335 *σελήνη;* Τίς ἐστὶν ἡ σελήνη καὶ τί τὸ πλῆθος τῆς εἰρήνης;”

340 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πλῆθος εἰρήνης ἐμφαίνει τὴν πολλὴν ἀγάπην τῶν ἁγίων  
ἐκκλησιῶν, ἣν μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων κέκτηνται. Σελήνην δὲ τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν  
ἐκκλησίαν ἐμφαίνων ὠνόμασεν. Ἔως ὅτε δὲ ἦξη, ἵνα παρέλθῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἕως τότε ἔσται  
ἢ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιπολάζουσα ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Ὅποταν δὲ παρέλθῃ ἢ  
ἐκκλησία, φημί, τότε καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐκ μέσου γένηται τῆς συντελείας ἧδη ἐγγισίας. Ἴνα δὲ  
340 ἐκ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ τοῦδε ἱκανῶς ὠφελῆθῃς, πρόσεχε τί ἀνωτέρω λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς ψαλμὸς· *Καὶ* 641C

318 ἀνατελεῖ – 319 δικαιοσύνη Ps. 71.7 | 319 τίς – ἁμαρτίας cf. Io. 8.46 | 325 κατακυριεύσει –  
326 οἰκουμένης Ps. 71.8 | 328 ἐνώπιον – 329 λείξουσιν Ps. 71.9 | 334 καὶ – 335 σελήνη<sup>1</sup> Ps. 71.7 |  
341 καὶ – 343 γενεῶν Ps. 71.4–5

C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M | 325 αἴτιος C]

318 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < HP ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ὁ Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] πατριάρχης C ἔφη < LK P | 319 δικαιοσύνην DAN, + καὶ τὰ λοιπά VM τίς|  
οὐδεὶς VM ἐξ ὑμῶν < N δέ] ὁ C | 320 κυρίῳ N | 321 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει] ἔφη X S, < LK μ M  
δεκαμυρίων N αἴτιος] ἔτοιμος SHP τοῖς] τοῦ M | 322 ἐγένετο + οὗτος DAN μ | 323 ὁ  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] πατριάρχης C  
ἔφη < LK P ἀβάλα DAN SHPV ἀλλὰ TM + ὅτι DAN μ καὶ τὰς<sup>1</sup> DA ἰάσατο SHPT ἐβάσταζε  
CXLK ἐβάστασε – ἰάτο μ | 324 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < LK ὑμῶν < LK M ἀνέστησεν HP λυτῶντες DAN μ M  
κατενέμεσθε SHT | 325 οὖν + ἦν CX N αἴτιος] αἴνους P πολλῶν θορύβων XLK ἄκουσον δέ] ἀλλ’  
ἄκουσον XLK δὲ + μόνον SHPV καὶ κατακυριεύσει X κατακυριεύσει + γὰρ φησὶν DAN μ |  
326 ποταμῶν] περάτων X οὐκοῦν – 327 οἰκουμένης P | 327 ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ XLK DA |  
328 καὶ ἐνώπιον VM ante αὐτοῦ + γὰρ φησὶν N, + φησὶν A | 329 καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν DAN μ  
αὐτῷ PTV θεῶ ἀληθινῷ XLK SHPTV καὶ + πάλιν X πάλιν ὁ Δαυὶδ LK | 330 δέ] οὖν VM, < LK  
DAN SHPT αὐτοῦ < P ἀλλ’ ἢ] οὐχ μ ἢ < X SHPTVM λίσσοντες LK DA P λισσῶντες S

The archbishop said: “What does the psalm say when it continues? *Righteousness will rise in his days*. And who of you will question him about sin? Solomon died having done evil before the Lord.”

Herban said: “In his times, he was the origin of thousands of dissensions for our fathers.”

The archbishop said: “Alas, that he healed your weaknesses and bore your sicknesses and rose your dead, and you rage against him like mad dogs. Now who is the origin of these troubles, you or he? But hear also the following: *He will have dominion from sea to sea and from the rivers unto the end of the world*. So is it not like that? Does the faith not shine in him until the end of the world? *The Ethiopians will bow before him*. Did not all Ethiopia believe in him and worships him daily as the true God? *And his enemies will lick the dust*. Who are his enemies if not you Jews that lick dust because of your great hunger, that is the earthly and dusty and fleshly and passionate thoughts, since you cannot eat from the Christian and spiritual thoughts?”

Herban said: “You know how to express your opinion using an elevated language. What does this passage of the verse indicate: *And abundance of peace until the moon will be taken away*? What is the moon and what is the abundance of peace?”

The archbishop said:<sup>16</sup> “By the abundance of peace he indicates the great love of the holy churches which they have between each other. He spoke about the moon indicating the universal and apostolical church. Until he will come and the church will pass away, until then the peace of God will prevail among the churches. But when the church will pass away, then also peace will depart from among them, because the end of the world will already draw near. But in order to be adequately aided by this psalm, ob-

λειχώντες T | 331 τὰ – χοϊκά < LK γεγρά τε DAN σαρκικά και χοϊκά X και σαρκικά < T και<sup>2</sup> – φημί] σαρκικοί και έμπαθείς όντες LK σαρκικά τε DAN μ φημί δή DA φημί < N μ από] έκ P, + γάρ μ τών < P χριστιανών DAFN μ χριστιανικών και < SHPT | 332 και < μ τε και LK DAN τών πνευματικών DA ού] μή VM δύνασθε LK | 333 ό Έρβάν LK λέγει] έφη DAN, < LK μ TM γλώσσαν DAN του < μ VM του αποφθέγγεσθαι] τὰ αποφθέγματα LK, < SHPT | 334 έμφαίνει post περιοχή M αύτη] αύτη N P ή<sup>2</sup> < AN | 335 τίς – σελήνη<sup>2</sup> < XLK N HP τί + ούδ έστι μ, < P | 336 ό άρχιεπίσκοπος έφη] και ό άγιος μ άρχιεπίσκοπος T Έργέντιος M έφη < LK P τὸ πλήθος μ έμφαίνει] παραδηλοί LK έμφαίνεται SHPT άγιών < DN P πολλών έκκλησιών και άγιών T | 337 τε και DA και αποστολικήν < SHPT | 338 έμφαίνει P, < T ότε] ποτε SHPT ότου μ VM ίνα] ήγουν μ έσαι + και AN μ VM | 339 ή<sup>1</sup> < X | 340 φημί post 339 παρέλθη A VM, post 339 δε SHPT, < D μ γενήσεται DAN μ γίνεται HPT ήδη της συντελείας T ήδη] δηλονότι DAN μ ήδη έγγισάσης] διεγγισάσης P έγγιζούσης XLK δε < T | 341 έκ – τούδε < N του < M τούδε] τούτου μ ίκανά X SHTVM πρόσεχε + τοίς λεγομένοις μ ό αυτός] ούτος μ ό αυτός ψαλμός < LK

<sup>16</sup> On this passage, see above, p. 131.

ταπεινώσει, φησί, συκοφάντην, και συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ, και πρό τῆς σελήνης γενεᾶς γενεῶν. Σὺ οὖν λέγεις, ὅτι περὶ Σολομώντος ταῦτα εἴρηται. Δείξον μοι οὖν, ποῖον συκοφάντην Σολομών ἐταπεινώσεν, ποῦ δὲ συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ. Ὅρθῳ γὰρ ὅτι ἐτελεύτησε.  
 345 Ποῦ δὲ ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς χρηματίζων πρό τῆς σελήνης; Τετάρτη γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ κοσμοποιίᾳ σελήνην και ἀστέρας θεὸς δεδημιούργηκε, Σολομώντα δὲ ποῦ ποτε Δαυὶδ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου γενένηκε. Ποῦ τε ἦν πρό τοῦ ἡλίου διαμένον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; Οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ ἐχρημάτιζεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅτι μὲν ἐταπεινώσε, λέγεις, συκοφάντην, ἔχω σοι δεῖξαι, καθότι οὐχ  
 350 ἓνα μόνον ἐταπεινώσεν, ἀλλὰ γε ἀπίρους μὲν τυράννους πτοήσας ὑπέταξε· πάντων δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων ἐκράτησε και δεσμεύσας αὐτοὺς ἠσφαλίσατο. Ὅτι δὲ συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ, λαμπρότητα ἠνίξατο βασιλείας διὰ τὸ στρατηγὸν εἶναι τὸν ἡλίον τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφομοιώσας τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ τῷ ἡλίῳ. Πρώτην δὲ σελήνης εἴρηκεν ἡμέραν τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ. Και ἔκτοτε, φησί, διαμενεῖ σῶος εἰς γενεᾶς γενεῶν, και ὡσαύτως τὸ πρό τοῦ  
 355 ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστι, πρό τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ ἔξει τὸ γέρας και τὴν τιμὴν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σολομών ἐταπεινώσε δαίμονας; Οὐκ οἶδας τί διαγορεύεις.  
 644A Πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν ἠσφαλίσατο τούτους ἐν τοῖς ἀγγελίοις και σφραγίσας κατέχωσεν. Ἀλλὰ γε τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα μοι σκόπει, καθότι νοητῶς καταπολεμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαιμόνων  
 360 και ἠττηθεὶς τὰ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ ἐκινδύνουσεν, ὡς ἡ Γραφή μαρτυρεῖ. Συναθροίσας γὰρ ὡς ἵππος θηλυμανῆς ἀγέλην γυναικῶν, κτίζει ναὸν τοῖς εἰδώλοις και θυμιάσας τὰ βδελύγματα τῆς πλάνης και τῇ ἄλλοφύλῳ αἰσχροῦς συμμιγείς, καταλαβὼν τὰ βασιλεία

347 ἦν – αὐτοῦ cf. Ps. 71.17 | 358 πρὸς – κατέχωσεν cf. *Testamentum Salomonis*, 15.6 P; 16.7; 25.7 B | 359 νοητῶς – 364 δυνηθεὶς cf. 3 Reg. 11.1–8.43; *Testamentum Salomonis*, 26.1–7 | 361 ἵππος θηλυμανῆς cf. Ier. 5.8

#### XLK DAN μ SHPT VM

342 φησί < N SHPT παραμενεῖ DA συμπαραμενεῖ S τῷ – σελήνης] τῇ σελήνῃ και τῷ ἡλίῳ M και<sup>2</sup> – 344 ἡλίῳ < XLK τῇ σελήνῃ V | 343 λέγεις – οὖν<sup>2</sup> < SHPT ὅτι < M ταῦτα εἴρηται] λέγει ταῦτα N εἴρηται] ἐρρέθη VM | 344 ὁ Σολομών DAN ποῦ – 348 ἐχρημάτιζεν post 351 ἠσφαλίσατο (in initio + ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη, in fine + Ἐρβᾶν λέγει) SHPT | 345 ἦν post χρηματίζων N ὁ < XLK μ VM τετάρτην γὰρ ἡμέραν μ γὰρ < N | 346 σελήνης SHP σελήνην και ἀστέρες VM ὁ θεὸς N μ ἃ θεὸς VM ἐδημιούργησε μ Σολομών S VM Σολομώντα AN S Σολομώντα – 347 γενένηκε < H ποτε + ὃν V ἦν ὃν M ὁ Δαυὶδ LK | 347 γενένηκε + γυναικός M πρό τοῦ ἡλίου ποῦ ἦν DAN μ (πρὸ γοῦν N ἡλίου δὲ μ) τε] γε C τότε LK, < DAN μ διαμένον < μ αὐτὸς] ταῦτα μ | 349 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM λέγει X DAN, < LK μ ἔχω σοι] ἔχουσι V σοι < LK ὅτι μ SHPTVM οὐχ ἓνα] οὐδένα LK | 350 ἀλλὰ γε] ἀλλ' μ μὲν] μὴ P τυράννους < SHPT πτοήσας] ποιήσας LK, < N ἐπέταξεν D πάντων – 351 ἐκράτησε < SHPT | 351 δεσμίους μ VM συμπαραμενεῖ S | 352 τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βασιλείας ἠνίξατο μ | 353 αὐτοῦ τὸ κράτος μ πρῶτον LK A πρῶτης SHPTV πρό δὲ τῆς M δὲ < SHPTVM ἡμέραν εἰρηκῶς XK εἰρηκῶς ἡμέραν L τὴν γέννησιν μ τῆς γεννήσεως VM | 354 διαμενεῖ DAN, < SHPT σῶος < HP σῶος – 355 διαμενεῖ < XLK και – τὸ] ὡσαύτως γὰρ M τὸ < μ | 355 τοῦτ' ἔστι] τοῦτο δηλοῖ μ, < XLK πρό τῆς] πρῶτης τῆς LK πρῶτιστον βασιλείαν post κόσμῳ M τῶν < μ | 356 κέρας P τὴν < T | 357 ὁ

serve what the same psalm says before: *And he will humiliate the oppressor and will rest with the sun and before the moon from generation to generation.* Now you say that this has been said about Solomon. Now show me which oppressor Solomon humiliated, and where he rests with the sun. For you see that he has died. And where was he before the moon? God created the moon and the stars on the fourth day of creation, but David begot Solomon from the wife of Uriah. Where did <Solomon's> name rest before the sun? For he was not even the first man, Adam."

Herban said: "I will show you that, as you say, he humiliated an oppressor, for he did not humiliate only one, but terrified and submitted countless tyrants, he arrested all the wicked demons and secured them by binding them. When saying that he rested with the sun, he spoke obscurely about the brightness of his kingdom, because the sun is the commander of the day, comparing his might to the sun. He called the first day that of the moon by his birth.<sup>17</sup> And henceforth, he says, *he will rest* safely from generation to generation, and similarly *his name rests before the sun*, that is, his name will have the reward and honour of all the world before the kingdom."

The archbishop said: "Solomon humiliated the demons? You know not what you are saying. He secured them in the vessels for a time, sealed and buried them. But consider what happened after that; for being materially subdued by these same demons and defeated, he endangered his own salvation, as the Scripture testifies. For he assembled a flock of women like a mad stallion, built a temple for the idols, burned incense for the abominations of deceit, and after having had shameful intercourse with a foreign wo-

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < XLK DA PV Σολομὼν + μὲν DA λέγεις SHPTM | 358 ἐν τοῖς] ἐν τισιν LK ἀγγείοις] ἁγίοις Ρ καὶ σφραγίσας < SHPT σφραγίσας < Ν | 359 γε < Ρ μετὰ ταῦτα] τηνικαῦτα DAN μ ὅτι μ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν μ αὐτῶν < Ν HP | 360 τὰ – σωτηρίας] περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν μ ἐκινδύνευεν SHPT | 361 γυναικῶν βδελυκτῶν XLK κτίζειν Η κτίσας Ρ καὶ – 362 πλάνης < D θυσίας Μ | 362 καὶ καταλαβῶν DA καταλαβῶν – 363 αἴφνης < Ν

<sup>17</sup> Here the text is certainly corrupt. A possible reconstruction of the original is: *Πρὸ τῆς σελήνης* δὲ εἶρηκεν ἐμφαίνων τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ, i.e.: "And *before the moon* he said indicating the day of his birth." The corruption was already noticed by Radius, *Discussion*, 67 who proposed to translate the text as follows: "<In saying that he lived before the> moon he says <that he lived on> the first day <of creation, thus indicating> his origin." The sense is clearly that Herban supports the idea of Solomon's birth or origin on the first three days of creation, before sun and moon (Gen. 1.16).

- αἴφνης καταλύει τὸν βίον ἔναντι κυρίου τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργασάμενος, μήτε ἴχνος μετανοίας ἐπιδείξασθαι δυνηθεῖς. Τὸ δὲ *συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ* οὐ διαγορεύει λαμπρότητα βασι-
- 365 λείας, ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ παρεδήλωσεν, ὅτι συμπαραμενεῖ τῷ ἡλίῳ, 644b εἴτε ἡ ἄχραντος ἀνθρωπότης αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀπορρήτῳ λαμπρότητι τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ἣν διπλοῦς ἦν καὶ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἴτε καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ ἀναληφθεῖς εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως. Τὸ δὲ *πρὸ τῆς σελήνης* οὐκ ἐμφαίνει πρῶτην σελήνης ἡμέραν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, ἀλλὰ γε τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν
- 370 ἐκκλησίαν ὀνομάζει σελήνην. Πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ ταύτην, φησί, γενέσθαι, συμπαρῆν τῷ ἰδίῳ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενεαῖς, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων. Τὸ δὲ *πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* ἀδήλως καὶ τόγε ἡρμήνευσας· οὐ γὰρ ἐμφαίνει πρῶτιστον βασιλείαν ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλ' οὖν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀπεριέργως φάσκει, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν ἥλιον τοῦτον ἦν, φησίν, τὸ θαυμαστὸν ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.”
- 375 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Σὺ περὶ σεαυτοῦ σπεύδεις τὸ πᾶν καὶ καθέλκεις τὴν ἐμὴν ἐρμηνείαν, 644c κἀγὼ τε περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀγωνιζόμενος οὐ δέχομαί σου τὴν σαφήνειαν.”
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἡ ἀλήθειά σε ἐλκύσει κἂν μὴ βουλόμενον τοῦ κατανεύσαι καὶ συνομολογήσαι. Πρόσεχε οὖν τί κατωτέρω λέγει· *Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται*, φησίν, *ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν.* Καὶ ἄνωτέρω· *Ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* Λέξον μοι τοιγαροῦν ἀρτίως σὺ, ποῦ ποτὲ ἐνευλογήθησαν ἐν τῷ Σολομώντι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, ἢ ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐμακάρισαν αὐτὸν ἢ τε γοῦν ἐν ποίοις αἰῶσι πέφυκεν εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ; Τίς γὰρ πρόσεστιν ὁ καὶ εὐλογῶν Σολομῶντα; Ἄπαντες γὰρ κατάκριτον κέκτηνται αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πονηρὸν πεποικῶτα κατέναντι κυρίου καὶ παραβάντα, καὶ οὔτε εἰς ἀνάμυρα λογιζονται αὐτόν.”
- 385 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ ἐξέθετο Σολομῶν τὸν Ἐκκλησιαστήν ἐγγράφως καὶ ἄπασαν τὴν Παροιμίαν; πρόδηλον ὅτι ὄντως. Οὐκοῦν ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀναγινώσκονται αὐτοῦ τὰ 644d

378 καί<sup>2</sup> – 380 αἰῶνας Ps. 71.17

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

363 αἴφνης < M | μήτε| μηδὲν M | 364 οὐ – 365 ἡλίω < LK | λαμπρότητα διαγορεύει μ | 365 γε < μ | συμπαραμένει S | 366 εἴτε| ἦγουν μ | ἡ < AN SHTVM | ἡ – αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> | ἡ ἄχραντος αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότης post αὐτοῦ | τῇ < T | τῇ – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < VM | ἐφ' ἣν| αἴφνην S | ἦν| ᾧ μ ἢ P | 367 καί<sup>1</sup> < SHPT | εἴτε – 371 αἰώνων < SHPT | ἡλίῳ| ἰδίῳ DAN μ | τοὺς οὐρανοὺς VM | 368 τὸ δὲ| καὶ τὸ XLK | καὶ πρὸ AN V | οὐκ ἐμφαίνει| ἐκφαίνει N | 369 πρῶτης LK | καί<sup>1</sup> < , δευτέραν τε καὶ D | 370 γεγονέναι μ | ἰδίῳ| ἡλίῳ XLK VM | καὶ θεῷ N | τῷ θεῷ VM | πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ μ | 371 ἀρχαῖς X D μ | γε < μ | τῶν αἰώνων X M | 372 διαμενεῖ XLK | καὶ < XLK | τόγε| αὐτὸ XLK | τοῦτο μ | ἐρμήνευσας LK DAN | 373 πρῶτιστον < μ | ἀλλ' οὖν| ἀλλὰ μ | καὶ < P | γίνεσθαι X | 374 φησίν ἦν X | φησίν < μ | ὄνομα αὐτοῦ θαυμαστὸν μ | αὐτῶν HP | 375 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK | λέγει < LK μ | TM | σεαυτοῦ XLK | ἐμὴν < N | 376 τε| δὲ μ | τὰ VM | ἑαυτοῦ P | ἐρμηνείαν SHPT | 377 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ | ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T | Ῥηγέντιος M | ἔφη < LK PTV | σε ἐλκύσει σε X | ἔλκει μ | κἂν| καὶ N μ | VM | βολόμενον SH<sup>2</sup>P | τοῦ – 378 συνομολογήσαι < LK | κατευνᾶσαι DA | 378 συνομολογήσασθαι HP | πρόσεχε οὖν| πρόσχες δὲ μ | φησίν post αὐτῷ D, < μ | ἐν αὐτῷ < PT | 379 ἄνωτέρω + πάλιν λέγει

man<sup>18</sup> he suddenly ended his life when he reached his palace, having done evil before the Lord without the chance to show a trace of repentance. *He will rest with the sun* does not mean the brightness of his kingdom, but he insinuated at my Christ and Lord, that either his immaculate humanity will rest with the sun with the ineffable brightness of his divinity, in which he was twofold both God and man, or also that he will be assumed into heaven to his own Father and God, and sits to the right of his power. *Before the moon* does not indicate the first day of the moon and second and third, but he calls the universal and apostolic church moon. For before it was made, he says, it was together with the sun God and Father not only in the generations in the beginning, but also before all times. *His name rests before the sun* you explained also in an unreasonable way, for first of all the sun does not indicate the kingdom, but he says clearly and simply that his wonderful name was there before this sun came into being.”

Herban said: “You strive eagerly for yourself in all things and destroy my explanation, and I fight for myself and do not accept your explanation.”

The archbishop said: “Truth will draw you even unwillingly to assent and confess with me. Now listen what he says below: *And all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him, all the nations will call him blessed*. And before: *His name will be blessed forever*. Therefore you tell me now, when were all the tribes of the earth blessed in Solomon, or at which time did all nations call him blessed, or in which ages was his name blessed? Is there anybody who would also bless Solomon? Everybody believes him to be condemned, because he did evil before the Lord and transgressed, and does not even take him into consideration for a second anointing.”<sup>19</sup>

Herban said: “Did not Solomon explain the Ecclesiastes in writing and all the Proverbs? It is clear that he actually did so. Are his writings not read in all the world? It

X και ἔσται T | 380 λέγξον HP ἄρτι VM σύ post μοι μ ποῦ και πότε XLK | 381 εὐλογήθησαν LK μ ἡ ἐν] εἶπερ D ἐν<sup>2</sup> < N μ SHPTVM πάντα τὰ ἔθνη < μ SHPT | 382 μακαριοῦσιν DAN ἡ τε] ἦτοι LK ἡ μ | 383 γὰρ<sup>1</sup>] γὰρ και DAN δὲ μ ἐστιν μ και < LK μ VM Σολομῶν εὐλογῶντος P Σολομῶντος SHT ἅπαντες – 385 αὐτόν < SHPT γὰρ<sup>2</sup>] οὖν DAN κέκτηνται] ἔχουσιν μ | 384 ἀπέναντι X ἔναντι μ και<sup>1</sup> – 385 αὐτόν < μ παραβάντος X DAN VM παραβάτην LK και<sup>2</sup> – 385 αὐτόν < LK | 386 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει] ἔφη DAN S, < LK TVM ἔθετο LK ἐγγράφως + ἀλλὰ DA μ | 387 πρόδηλόν ἐστι και ἀληθές XLK ὄντως] οὗτος DA μ τῷ < P οὐκ ἀναγινώσκονται XLK AN μ ἀναγινώσκειται N

<sup>18</sup> The mention of a single woman probably refers to the later Jewish and Islamic tradition that Solomon († 932 BC) had a relationship with the Queen of Sheba or even married her, and that the offspring of their union was the Assyrian King Nebuchadnezzar (604–562 BC), who destroyed the temple of Jerusalem, or, in the Ethiopian tradition, King Menelik. — A similar, though much shorter discussion about Solomon can also be found in the *Bios of Andreas Salos*, II 434 (Appendix f).

<sup>19</sup> The word ἀνάμυρα is a *hapax legomenon*, but the related verb ἀναμυρίζω is attested, e.g. in Photios, *Epistolae*, 2.80, 269; 297.29 (= ed. I 42, 49; III 164).

συγγράμματα; πρόσεσιν ὅτι ναί. Ἴδε οὖν ὅτι ἐν οἷς τόποις περιηχῆται αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας  
 τὸ χάρισμα, αἰνεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων καὶ δοξάζεται παρὰ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων καὶ  
 390 εὐλογεῖται παρὰ τῶν συνιόντων τὰ ἐκείνου σοφίσματα· πῶς δὲ σὺ εἴρηκας, ὅτι οὐδεὶς  
 ἐστιν, ὅστις τοῦτον εὐλογεῖ;

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ λέγει εὐλογημένον ὁ ψάλλον ἐν πνεύματι 645A  
 καὶ οὐ μόνον εὐλογημένον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας; Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὖν ἔσται εὐλο-  
 γημένον τὸ ὄνομα Σολομώντος, ἀνθρώπου ἐν ἀμαρτίαις τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον καταλύσαντος;  
 395 Μὴ γένοιτο. Μὴ γὰρ θεὸς ἦν ἢ υἱὸς θεοῦ, ὃν τρόπον ὁ κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός; Καὶ  
 γὰρ οὐθενὸς ἐτέρου διαρκές ἐστι τὸ τίμιον ὄνομα ἐν εὐλογίαις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀλλ’ ἢ  
 μόνου τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος μου. Σολομών δὲ διεφθάρη πρὸς τὰ τέλη  
 καὶ ὄλωλε τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ ἀφειδήσας καὶ ταῖς ἀσελγείαις τῶν δαιμόνων κοληθείς.  
 (Καὶ εἰ μὴ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὅτε σταυρωθεὶς καὶ θανὼν κατέβη εἰς τὸν  
 400 ἄδην, χεῖρα αὐτῷ σωτηρίας δέδωκεν, ἔσχηκεν οὐθέν.) Οὐ μόνον γὰρ οὐκ εὐλογημένον  
 ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ὡς λέγεις, εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας 645B  
 τιμωρηθῆσεται μετὰ τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ὡς παραβάτης τε καὶ ἔκπτωτος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ Χριστός σου οὖν καὶ ἀποθανῶν δύναμιν ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ σώζειν; Θέα-  
 σαι πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐρρύσατο, ἀρτίως καὶ Σολομώντα ἔσχε τοῦ ἐξερρύσασθαι;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τί οὖν φάσκει ὁ προφήτης Δαυὶδ καὶ περὶ τίνος λέγει, ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ πάντως φάσκει, ἰκετικῶς παρακαλῶν τὸν θεόν.”

#### XLKDAN μ SHPTVM

388 πρόσεσιν] πρόδηλον X πρόσεσιν ὅτι ναί < DAN μ οἷς] οἷοις μ τόποις < XLK αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 σοφίας μ | 389 ὑπὸ μ ἀπὸ P ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουόντων] παρ’ αὐτῶν N | 390 συνιόντων D μ T δὲ < N |  
 391 ἐστιν ὅστις < N δς μ ὁ εὐλογῶν τοῦτον T ὁ τοῦτον εὐλογῶν M | 392 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη]  
 καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK P λέγει post πνεύματι μ  
 ψάλλον] ψαλμὸς P | 393 γε < K μ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας<sup>2</sup> < C N μ οὖν] οὐκοῦν N ἔσται < DAN |  
 394 τοῦ Σολομώντος μ P ἀνθρώπου < μ ἑαυτοῦ < N VM βίον αὐτοῦ μ ὄλον ἑαυτοῦ βίον P βίον  
 ἑαυτοῦ T | 395 μὴ γένοιτο < DAN μ ἦν] εἰ P ἦ] ἦπερ DAN, < T καὶ ὁ LK | 396 οὐθενὸς M  
 διαρκές] διαρκέσαι XLK, < μ SHPT ἐστι post οὐ θεός μ τὸ < XLK τίμιον < μ ὄνομα + ἔσται  
 DA ἐν εὐλογίαις] εὐλογημένον μ PM | 397 μόνον μ SHPTM τοῦ κυρίου < D κυρίου μου XLK μ  
 VM καὶ] τοῦ D μου < LK μ πρὸς < K | 398 μόνου θεοῦ SHPTVM ἀφειδιάσας LK N χωρισθεὶς  
 μ καί<sup>2</sup>] ἐν M | 399 ὁ κύριος] κύριος ὁ θεός K SHPTV ὁ κύριος καὶ θεός M μου N M ὅτε] ὁ PV  
 τε καὶ T | 400 χεῖραν L DAN αὐτῶν S σωτηρίας αὐτῶν HP οὐ δέδωκεν SHPT δέδωκεν + οὐκ μ  
 T ἔσχεν DAN μ TV ἔσχηκεν ἂν C οὐδὲν DAN μ VM οὐ μόνον γὰρ] καὶ οὐ μόνον VM οὐκ < μ  
 | 401 ὡς + σὺ LK τοὺς ἀτελευτήτους DAN μ | 402 κολασθῆσεται καὶ τιμωρηθῆσεται M τε < LK  
 DAN μ HP ἔκπτωτος + τοῦ παντός DAN μ | 403 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM οὖν < μ TM  
 καὶ < SHPT ἀποθανῶν + εἶπέ μοι DAN μ τὸ] τοῦ DA θέασον P θεάσασθε T, + οὖν SHPT θέα-  
 σαι πῶς] καὶ πῶς δς οὐκ X καὶ πῶς οὐχ LK | 404 ἀρτίως – ἐξερρύσασθαι] καὶ ὁ ἑαυτὸν μὴ  
 δυνηθεὶς ρύσασθαι τὸν Σολομώντα ἐξείλετο; οὐδαμῶς XLK ἔσχε] εἶχε VM, < N τοῦ < μ  
 ἐξερρύσασθαι] ἄρτι ρύσασθαι T ρύσασθαι VM | 405 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπί-  
 σκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK P οὖν + εἶπέ μοι DAN μ φάσκει] πάσχει X  
 Δαυίδ] τῷδε τῷ ῥήματι SHPTM τόδε τὸ ῥήμα V, < DAN μ περὶ τίνος] πρὸς τινα X λέγει]

proves that this is the case. Now look that in those places, where the gift of his wisdom is celebrated, his ingenious contrivances are praised by those that hear them, glorified by those that read them and blessed by those that understand his ingenious devices. How do you say that there is nobody that blesses him?"

The archbishop said: "Does he that sings in the spirit call his name blessed, and not only blessed, but also blessed forever? Will the name of Solomon now be blessed forever, of a man who ended his life in sin? Let it not be! Was he a God or a son of God in the same way as my Lord Jesus Christ? For the worthy name of no one else lasts in blessings forever, if not of my Lord and saviour Jesus Christ alone. Solomon was corrupted in the end and perished, neglecting the love of God and being attached to the licentiousness of the demons. {And if not our Lord Jesus Christ, when he was crucified, died and went down to hell, had given him his hand of salvation, he would have nothing.} <sup>20</sup> For not only is his name not blessed continuously, as you say, but he will also be punished for endless ages together with the sinners as a transgressor and abject."

Herban said: "Now did your Christ, even when he died, have the power to save? Look how he redeemed himself, and then he should be able to redeem Solomon?"

The archbishop said: "Now what does the prophet David say and about what is he speaking, saying *that you will not leave my soul in hell, nor will you give away your holy one to see corruption?*"

Herban said: "He speaks surely about himself, deprecating to God as a suppliant."

λέγων LK φησίν DAN, < μ SHPTVM ὅτι < H | 406 οὐ καταλείψεις H εἰς - σου < μ οὔτε X δώης SHP | 407 ὁ Ἑρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TM περὶ ἑαυτοῦ < X αὐτοῦ V πάντα T τὸν θεὸν παρακαλῶν VM

<sup>20</sup> This passage contradicts the general tendency of the text, which is hostile towards Solomon, and especially the following sentence, as already noticed by Radius, *Discussion*, note 101. We should assume therefore that it is a later addition to the original which was, however, already present in the archetype. — Solomon appears on pictures of the Resurrection of Christ, together with his father David, not before the first quarter of the ninth century; see Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 186–203, on the ideological background and the development of this iconography. In the oldest literary tradition, the apocryphal Gospel of Nikodemos, ch. 5 (21), only David is present in the scene of Christ's descent into hell, and Solomon plays practically no role in later texts; see Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 189 note 97.



Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κακῶς διεφεύσω· οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστι τὸ μνήμα τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐν τῇ 645c  
 Παλαιστίνῃ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἄρα οὐ πέλει ἐν τῷ μνήματι; Πῶς οὖν διαγορεύει, ὅτι οὐκ  
 410 ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην καὶ ὅτι οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν,  
 οὐδαμῶς ἀναστὰς, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ἔτι κατακείμενος καὶ διαφθαρεῖς; Ἄλλ’ ἡ ἀλήθεια  
 δείκνυσιν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ ταῦτα προηγιγαστο, εἰδὼς ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν  
 ἀναστήσεται, μὴ ὑπομείνας φθοράν ὡς δυνατός· ἰδιοποιήσατο δὲ τὸ λύτρον λέξας ὡς περὶ  
 415 ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ αὐτοῦ ἔσται τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνιστά-  
 μενος.”

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Τέως εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει καθὼς λέγεις, οὐ δεσποτική φωνὴ τὸ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγ-  
 καταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην, ἀλλ’ οὖν οἰκέτου τινὸς ἢ καταδεεστέρου ὡς πρὸς τὸν 645d  
 μείζονα καθὼς περ παράκλησιν προσάγοντος. Εἰδέναι τοιγαροῦν δέον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι υἱὸς  
 θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὖν οἰκέτης θεοῦ.”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἐμὸς θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος κεκρημάτικε, δύο  
 φύσεις κεκτημένος καὶ δύο οὐσίας καὶ δύο θελήματα, μίαν τε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόστασιν.  
 Διὰ οὖν τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ὡς κτιστὰς πεφηνώσας καὶ  
 ἠνωμένας τῇ τε φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς θεότητος, ὡς ὑποτακτικωτέρας τήνδε τὴν ὑποτα-  
 κτικὴν φωνὴν ὡς οἶα παράκλησιν δι’ αὐτὰς τέθεικε. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο σκάνδαλον· ἡ γὰρ 648a  
 425 ἀνάστασις τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐάθη ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαφθαρήναι ἐν τῷ  
 μνήματι ὑπὸ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, δηλονότι τοῦτο ἐνηργήθη εἰς τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα. Ὅταν οὖν ἡ ἀνθρωπότης αὐτοῦ παρακαλεῖ αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, ἐγὼ  
 οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἐστίν, λοιπὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ δοῦλος καὶ δεσπότης· καὶ  
 430 ἐπάναγκες αὐτῷ, ἵνα προσπταιῇ ὡς δοῦλος ὁ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὡς δεσπότη καὶ ἵνα καὶ ἀμοί-  
 βηται ὁ κύριος τῷ οἰκέτῃ.”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ματαιολογεῖς ἀποφθεγγόμενος. Ὅτι μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ δοῦλος  
 καὶ δεσπότης, οὔτε ἐγὼ ἀπαναίνομαι. Εἷς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὸ εἶναι

408 οὐκοῦν – 409 μνήματι cf. Acta 2.29 | 409 ὅτι – 410 διαφθοράν Ps. 15.10

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

408 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγένπος M ἔφη < LK  
 μ P κακῶς διεφεύσω] ὀρθῶς ἐφεύσω κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας DAN μ, < VM τοῦ Δαυὶδ τὸ μνήμα X  
 τοῦ < DAN μ | 409 τὸ δέ] καὶ τὸ μ M τὸ τε SHPV τὸ τε τὸ T ἄρα < T ἄρα οὐ πέλει < μ οὐ πέλει  
 ἄρα SHP πέλει] τελεί VM διαγορεύεις V | 410 ἐγκαταλείψεις SH μου + λέγων μ VM καὶ ὅτι οὐ]  
 οὐδὲ μ VM ὅτι < DAN δώης SHP | 411 ἔτι] ἔστιν P κατακείμενος καὶ] κατακείται LK  
 διαφθαρεῖς + ἄρδην DAN μ | 412 ἠνίξαστο DAN μ εἰδὼς οἶα προφήτης N εἰδὼς – 415 ἀνιστά-  
 μενος < SHPT ὅτι<sup>2</sup> < DA τὴν τρίτην N M | 413 ἀναστήσει X λύτρον] ῥήτον μ ὡς<sup>2</sup> < VM |  
 414 αὐτοῦ μ V ὁ < XL μ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος X, ἀνιστάμενος < LK, + ἄφθαρτος DAN μ | 416 ὁ  
 Ἐρβᾶν LK ἔφη] λέγει HP, < LK μ TM ὡς K σὺ λέγεις LK φωνὴ < P τὸ] τί SHPTV ὅτι < μ P  
 ἐγκαταλείψει P | 417 ἄδην + οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν VM οὖν] οὐ P, < XLK  
 N μ πρὸς μείζονα παράκλησιν ἄγοντος μ | 418 καθάπερ XLK εἰσάγοντος X δέον] εἰδέναι μ  
 ἔστιν LK ἦν DAN μ | 419 οὖν < μ TVM θεοῦ<sup>2</sup> < μ | 420 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ

The archbishop said: “You are badly mistaken, for is not the tomb of David still in Palestine, and is his body not in the tomb?<sup>21</sup> How does he declare now *that you will not leave my soul in hell* and that *you will give away your holy one to see corruption*, if he has risen in no way, but still lies in his grave and is corrupted? But truth shows that he foretold this in dark words about my Christ, knowing that he would rise after the third day not having suffered corruption by being mighty; he won over the ransom by speaking about himself, knowing that from his loins Christ would arise in the flesh.”

Herban said: “Even if it would be so as you say for the time being, then *you will not leave my soul in hell* is no word of the Master, but of some servant or a needy person who brought this to a higher authority as an intercession. Therefore we should know that he is not a son of God, but a servant of God.”

The archbishop said: “My Master was God and man, possessing two natures and two substances and two wills, but one and the same subsistence.<sup>22</sup> Through the substance of humanity and its nature which appeared to be created and united with the nature and the substance of divinity, and because these were more submissive, he put this submissive word as an intercession through them. And this is no scandal, for the resurrection of his body and the fact that his flesh was not left to corruption in the tomb, this was effected to his humanity by the divine power of his divinity. Now, when his humanity deprecates his divinity, I am not ashamed.”

Herban said: “Now if this is so, the same one is both slave and master, and necessarily the same one has to contend with himself as master, and also the lord has to recompensate for his servant.”

The archbishop said: “You say idle things in your answer. Not even I do reject that he his both slave and master. He is one and the same and also the Son of God, because

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK μ P θεός < T | 421 κεκτημένος post  
 θελήματα SHPT θελήματα δύο N τε| δὲ μ ὑπόστασιν + ἔχων SHPT | 422 διὰ – 427 ἀνθρω-  
 πότητα < SHPT οὐσίαν| φύσιν μ και<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῆς < μ κτιστὴν μ πεφυκίας X VM πεφνούσας LK  
 πεφνώτας DA πεφνώσαν N | 423 ἠνωμένην μ ἠνωμένας ἀλλήλαις DAN τε < K φύσει –  
 θεότητος| θεότητι μ και τῆς DAN ὡς – τήνδε| ταύτην μ ὑποτακτικώτερας < X μ τήνδε| τὴν τε  
 LK τήνδε τὴν < X | 424 ὡς < μ δι’ αὐτάς < μ αὐτῆς LK | 425 ὅτι – διαφθαρῆναι| τὸ μὴ φθαρῆ-  
 ναι τὴν σάρκα αὐτοῦ μ ἐκάθη X εἰάθη K ἔστι N τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < D VM | 426 αὐτοῦ < N δηλονότι < μ  
 δηλονότι – 427 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < VM τοῦτο < DAN ἐνεργήθη D μ | 427 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < D ἀνθρωπότητα  
 αὐτοῦ μ ἐνανθρωπότητα X ὅποταν T γοῦν D αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> < VM τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ μ τῆ θεότητι  
 DAN SHP ἐγὼ + λοιπὸν DAN μ | 429 ὁ Ἐρβάν LK λέγει| ἔφη N S, < LK TVM οὖν < μ SHPT  
 M οὕτως| ὅπως M, < D λοιπὸν < N | 430 προσπαίη S προσπέση HPT ὁ < μ δεσπότης SHPT  
 και<sup>1</sup> – 431 οἰκέτη K VM, < X DAN μ SHPT ἀμοίβεται VM | 432 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| και ὁ  
 ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ὁ – 436 διὰ τί < X ἔφη < LK P μὲν| γὰρ μ  
 και < μ | 433 οὐτε| οὐδὲ LK οὐδ’ μ οὐτ’ HP ἀπανήναμαι DAN SP ἀπανίσταμαι H

21 On David’s tomb, see below, note 110.

22 On this allusion to Monotheletism, see above, p. 94.

- 435 ἐν τε τῇ θεότητι αὐτοῦ, ἐν τε τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι αὐτοῦ μίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν, καθότι ὁ λόγος  
 τοῦ θεοῦ σὰρξ ἐχημάτισε, ὡς φησὶν ἡ Γραφή, *καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.*" 648B  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Δεσπότης ἴσως, καλῶς· δοῦλος δὲ διὰ τί;"  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Δεσπότης μὲν ὡς καὶ προϋπάρχων, δοῦλος δὲ διὰ τοῦτο βου-  
 λόμενος ἐγένετο, ἵνα ἐν τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ παλαιάσας τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἠττήσας  
 αὐτὸν ἐλευθερώσῃ τῆς δουλείας καὶ τῆς κατάρας τὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ κακῶς δουλω-  
 440 θέντα τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ καὶ θάνατον ὠδινήσαντα διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως."  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Ἰλιγγῶ καὶ ἐξισταμαι, εἰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς τοῦ τέκνονος καὶ Μαρίας  
 τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος."  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Οὕτως οἶμαι. Περὶ αὐτοῦ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τοῦ προ-  
 φῆτου εἶρηκε λέγων· *Κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με· υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.*" 648C  
 445 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Ὅσα εἶρηκεν ὁ Δαυὶδ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ὑμεῖς σφετερίζεσθε αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν  
 Χριστὸν ὑμῶν."  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ληρεῖς μὴ κατὰ πείραν συνιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Πρόσεχε δὲ τί  
 λέγει μετὰ ταῦτα· *Αἰτήσαι, φησί, παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ  
 τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.*"  
 450 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Καὶ μὴν ὀλίγων ἐθνῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἤρξε  
 Δαυὶδ νικήσας καὶ ὑποτάξας;"  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Καὶ ἡ κατάσχεσις αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐγε-  
 γόνει; Πάντως Παλαιστίνης μόνον ἐκράτησε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, περάτων δὲ τῆς γῆς οὐδα- 648D  
 μως. Εἶτε καὶ ἔθνη πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ὑπέταξεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲν διὰ παντός· ἕτερον οὐδὲν κλῆρος  
 455 καὶ ἄλλο τὸ δορυάλωτον ἐλέσθαι ἴσως ἔθνος ὀλόκληρον. Ματαιοσκοπεῖς τοιγαροῦν πρὸς  
 ταῦτα· εἰς γὰρ τὸν κύριόν μου Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὰ τῆδε ἀναφέρεται. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπέλθῃς εἰς  
 τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εὐρήσεις τὸν Χριστὸν πνευματικῶς βασι-  
 λεύοντα. Περὶ τούτου γὰρ ὁ Δαυὶδ ἠνίξατο. Πρόσεχε γὰρ ὅτι πανταχοῦ ὁ χριστιανισμὸς  
 460 δὲ οὐ περὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ μου, ἄκουσον τίνα τὸ

434 ὁ – 435 ἡμῖν cf. Io. 1.14 | 444 κύριος – σε Ps. 2.7 | 448 αἴτησαι – 449 γῆς Ps. 2.8

**X L K D A N μ S H P T V M** | 457 | κῶς βασιλεύοντα [C

434 τε<sup>1</sup> < μ ἐν τε<sup>2</sup>] καὶ μ καὶ ἐν τε SHPT αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DAN μ ἐν μιᾷ τῇ ὑποστάσει DAN μ |  
 435 ἐχημάτισε] ἐγένετο LK καθὼς μ | 436 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TM δεσπότης – δοῦλος] ὁ  
 δεσπότην ἴσως καλεῖν δοῦλον T ἴσως] ὁ σός μ, < DAN VM δέ] τε SHPT | 437 ὁ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P καὶ <  
 DAN μ δοῦλος – 438 τοῦ < H βουληθείς LK | 438 ἵνα + καὶ P ἐν < X | 439 ἐλευθερώσειε AN  
 τῆς δουλείας καὶ < SHPT τῷ < DA | 440 καὶ – ὠδινήσαντα < μ καὶ – παραβάσεως < SHPT  
 παρακοῆς M | 441 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TM ὁ υἱὸς X μ SPTVM τοῦ τέκνονος ὁ υἱὸς N  
 τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] καὶ T | 442 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < D μ | 443 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος  
 V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P οὕτως οἶμαι] οὐκ ἐκ σπέρματος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου  
 ἐγεννήθη ὁ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου μητρὸς υἱὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς L<sup>mag</sup>K οἶμαι] ἐστὶν X οἶμαι – προ-  
 φῆτου < P γὰρ < μ M στόματος < VM, + Δαυὶδ K | 444 λέγων < μ | 445 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει <

he is of one subsistence both in his divinity and his humanity, for *the word* of God *became flesh*, as the Scripture says, *and dwelt among us.*”

Herban said: “Perhaps he was a master, well, but why a slave?”

The archbishop said: “As a master he was preexisting, and therefore willingly became a slave, that he might fight the adversary in the shape of a servant, defeat him and liberate man from slavery and accursedness, who had badly been enslaved in paradise by his sin and suffered death because of his transgression.”

Herban said: “I am irritated and astonished that the son of the carpenter Joseph and his wife Mary is the Son of God who will come into the world.”

The archbishop said: “This is what I think. For about him God said through the mouth of the prophet: *The Lord said to me: You are my son, today I have begotten you.*”

Herban said: “What David said about himself, you appropriate for your Christ.”

The archbishop said: “Your speak foolishly, because you do not understand the truth by your experience. Listen what he says after this: *Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession.*”

Herban said: “And did David in the days of his kingdom rule over few nations after having defeated and submitted them?”

The archbishop said: “And did his possessions extend to the ends of the world? At all events, he held only Palestine and reigned there, but in no way the ends of the earth. And although he submitted the nations for a time, this did not last forever, for to inherit is one thing, and it is something else to take perhaps a whole nation by storm. Therefore you exercise useless arts in this, for this refers to my Lord Jesus Christ. For if you go away to the ends of the world, you will find Christ reigning spiritually in all nations. For about this David spoke obscurely. For listen, everywhere Christianity has overcome and in all nations churches have been erected to him who was crucified. And that the word

LK μ TM ό < DAN T αὐτοῦ LK σφετερίζετε N ταῦτα μ εἰς] πρὸς D | 447 ό ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ό ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK P μὴ < D ἀλήθειαν] γραφὴν DAN μ | 448 και μετὰ DAN φησί < LK N μ HPM | 450 ό Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TM ἐν – αὐτοῦ post 451 Δαυὶδ VM, < DAN μ ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας < SHP | 451 ό Δαυὶδ μ VM πατάξας μ VM | 452 ό ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ό ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη] λέγει DAN, < LK P πῶς ἐγεγόνει VM ἐγένετο XLK | 453 μόνης LK N και Ἰουδαίων ἐκράτησε και ἐβασίλευσε SHPT Ἰουδαίων ἐβασίλευσε μ δὲ < X τῆς < N μ | 454 εἰ LK εἰ δὲ μ VM εἶτε – 455 λόκληρον < SHPT οὐν<sup>1</sup> < μ οὐν<sup>2</sup>] γὰρ ἐστι LK κλήρος] καιρός DAN τὸ πέρας μ | 455 ἴσως < K ματαιοκοπεῖς μ τοιγαροῦν < T | 456 μου] ἡμῶν μ P τὰ < V τὰ τῆδε] ταῦτα XLK τοιάδε H | 457 ἢ εἰς XLK εἰς – ἔθνη < μ P εὐρήσεις – 458 ἠνίξατο repetit post 459 ἔθνη M | 458 τούτου γὰρ ό] τοῦ P γὰρ<sup>1</sup>] οὐν DAN μ, < SHPTVM ό Δαυὶδ < D πρόσεχε – 459 ἔθνη < V γὰρ<sup>2</sup>] τοιγαροῦν T ό χριστιανισμός πανταχοῦ CXLK μ | 459 ἐκράτησεν N περικράτησεν P αἶ] και DA και αἶ N VM, < μ P ὅτι δὲ οὐ] οὐδὲ ό P | 460 οὐχ ὑπὲρ N γε < μ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – μου] κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ μου CXLK V κυρίου] Χριστοῦ N κυρίου και < SHPT θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ SHPT μου + ἐστίν XLK τί μ SHPTVM

- τέλος τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ὑποφαίνει· *Ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ*. Ῥάβδος δὲ σιδηρὰ ὁ 649A  
σταυρός. Καὶ τίνας ποιμανεῖ; Περὶ ὧν εἶπεν, ὅτι *καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, σύνετε, παιδεύθητε,*  
*πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Δουλεύσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρώ-*  
465 *μῳ*. Ποῖοι τοιγαροῦν βασιλεῖς τῷ Δαυίδ δεδουλεύκασι καὶ ἠγαλλιάσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν  
*τρώμῳ*; Ἐπειτα λέγει· *Δράξασθε παιδείας, μὴ ποτε ὀργισθῆ κύριος καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ*  
*δικαίας*. Τίνα οὖν ἐμφαίνει ὁ Δαυὶδ κύριον, ἑαυτὸν ἄρα; Οὐδαμῶς, περιττὸς ὁ λόγος. Οὐ-  
δεῖς γὰρ ἑαυτὸν τῶν εὐ φρονούντων κύριον προσαγορεύσειε, καὶ μάλα ἐγγράφως. Ἄλλ'  
οὖν καὶ ἠλικὸς προφήτης ἔμελλεν εἶναι, εἰ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἑαυτῷ  
ἔσφετερίζετο, ἢ πάλιν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ προεφήτευσεν; Ἐνώπια τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τέλους, τί-  
470 *να διαγορεύει· Ὅταν ἐκκαυθῆ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ, μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποηθότες ἐπ’*  
*αὐτῷ*. Τί οὖν τοῦ Δαυὶδ ὁ θυμὸς, ὅταν ἐκκαυθῆ; Μακάριοι ἔσονται πάντες οἱ πεποηθότες 649B  
*ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν, μὴ γὰρ θεὸς ἐστιν; Ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὡσπερ εἰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ καὶ*  
*προφήτης ἐχημάτιζεν· Ὅραξ ὅπως οὐθέν εἰσιν ἃ διαγορεύεις.*  
Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μωυσῆς ὁ προφήτης, εἰ τὴν Πεντάτευχον ἀνέγνως, μεγίστην κατάραν  
475 τέθεικεν ἡμῖν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, στηλώσας καὶ πάντα  
τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ κατάραν, εἴ ποτε ἕτερον θεὸν ὑποδεξώμεθα πάρεξ τοῦ  
θεοῦ τῶν πατέρων. Τί οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν πολυπραγμονεῖς; Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ  
προφήτου λέγει παρεγγυῶν ἡμῖν· *Οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ θεὸς πρόσφατος, οὔτε μὴν προσκυνή-*  
*σεις θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ ἀναγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου*. Τί  
480 οὖν σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα;”  
Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Περὶ τῶν γλυπτῶν Χαναάν σοι τὰ τῆδε ἐνετάλη, ὅτι οὐ 649C  
προσκυνήσεις θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ, οὐχὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. Τίνα οὖν ὁ  
Δαυὶδ παρεισάγων ὑποσημαίνει λέγων· *Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν*

461 ποιμανεῖς – σιδηρᾷ Ps. 2.9 | 462 και<sup>2</sup> – 464 τρώμψ Ps. 2.10–11 | 465 δράξασθε – 466 δικαίας  
Ps. 2.12 | 470 ὅταν – 471 αὐτῷ Ps. 2.13 | 474 Μωυσῆς – 477 πατέρων cf. Deut. 28 | 478 οὐκ –  
479 Αἰγύπτου Ps. 80.10–11 | 483 εἶπεν – 484 σου<sup>2</sup> Ps. 109.1

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

461 ὑπεμφαίνει D ποιμανεῖς – 462 και<sup>2</sup> < SHPT αὐτούς + φησὶν N δὲ < DAN μ VM |  
462 τίμιος σταυρός DAN μ και<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ VM εἶπεν < C ὅτι < μ VM | 464 ποῖοι – 465 τρώμψ  
< DAN μ βασιλεῖς τοιγαροῦν C και < T ἐν < LK | 465 ἔπειτα δὲ C ἔπειτα λέγει < N ἔπειτα –  
469 προεφήτευσεν < SHPT ὁ κύριος X | 466 ἐκφαίνει M ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐμφαίνει LK ἑαυτὸν ἄρα <  
VM οὐδαμῶς < DAN μ VM | 467 ἑαυτὸν ante κύριον LK μ M αὐτὸν N προσαγορεύει M  
μᾶλλον DAN μ ἐγγράφως N | 468 ἠλικός] ποταπὸς CXLK ὁ προφήτης DAN μ ἤμελλεν X καὶ  
θεοῦ < M εἰς ἑαυτὸν DAN μ ἐν ἑαυτῷ M | 469 πάλαι DAN αὐτοῦ N ἐπροεφήτευσεν LK μ  
ἐπροφήτευσεν DA V M τί SHPTVM | 470 διαγορεύει + λέγων CXLK ὅταν ἐκκαυθῆ repetit post  
θυμὸς T ἐγκαυθῆ M αὐτοῦ] μου M, < T καὶ μακάριοι CX | 471 αὐτόν CXLK HP τί – 472 αὐτῷ  
< N μ PT ἐγκαυθῆ M ἔσονται < SHP M | 472 αὐτόν C LK DA S ἄνθρωπος + γὰρ CXLK μ M  
ἄ] ἄπερ VM, < P | 474 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει] ἔφη V, < LK μ M εἰ] εἰς LK D HPT ἀνέγνως < LK  
μεγέθη DAN μ SHT κατάραν < μ | 475 ἡμῖν < LK τε τοῦ < μ τοῦ < H ἀγγέλων + τῶν ἁγίων μ  
στηλώσας] θεῖς μ στηλώσας – 476 κατάραν < SHPT | 476 τῆς] τὰ M ἐπὶ DA τοῦ θεοῦ < LK |

is not about David, but about my Lord and God, hear what the end of the psalm shows: *You will tend them with a rod of iron*, the rod of iron being the cross. And whom will he tend? Those about whom he wrote, *now, kings, be wise, be educated, all you judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice in him with trembling*. Therefore, which kings were subjected to David and rejoiced in him with trembling? Then he says: *Show obedience to him, lest the Lord become angry and you should perish from the righteous way*. Now whom does David indicate as a lord, is it himself? In no way, it is superfluous to say this. For nobody of those prudent would call himself lord, and that in writing. But now, what kind of prophet would this be, if he appropriated the name of his Lord and God for himself, or instead spoke prophecies about himself? So listen finally to what he says: *When his anger will be kindled quickly, blessed are those that trust in him*. Now what is the anger of David when it is kindled? Will not those be blessed that trust in him for that reason, because he is God? He was a man like one of men, although he was a prophet. You see that it is nothing what you declare.”

Herban said: “The prophet Moses, if you have read the Pentateuch, placed a very great curse on us, the sons of Israel, from God and the angels, and also bewitched all the elements under heaven placing them under a curse, if we should ever accept another God except the God of our fathers.<sup>23</sup> So why do you still inquire? For also God himself says through the prophet exhorting us: *There will be no new god in you, nor will you worship any foreign god. For I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt*. Now what do you think about this?”

The archbishop said: “This has been commanded to you about the carven images of Canaan that you should not worship a foreign god, but not about the only begotten Son of God. Now which hints does David give when he says: *The Lord said unto my lord:*

477 πατέρων ἡμῶν VM τὸ < LK μ P λοιπὸν < C πολυπραγμονεῖς λοιπὸν M καὶ<sup>2</sup> < N αὐτὸς < LK | 478 παρεγγυᾷ ἡμῖν λέγων μ παρεγγυᾷ M ἔστιν A P σοὶ + φησὶν X θεὸς + φησὶν C S πρόφατος S | 479 ἀνάγων V | 481 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη] λέγει S, < XLK Χαναάν σοι < N σοι < SHPT σοι – τῆδε] ταῦτα σοι LK τὰ τῆδε] ταῦτα X, < C τῆδε] τοιάδε HP τῆδε – 482 περὶ < P ἐντετάλη CXLK ἐντέταλται DAN διεντέλλεται μ | 482 ὁ < A ὁ Δαυὶδ] < μ | 483 παρειαγάγει λέγων K λέγει ὑποσημαίνων SHT λέγει ὑπὸ σήμερον P

<sup>23</sup> Possibly an allusion to Deut. 4.25–26, see below B 993 and note. Radius, *Discussion*, note 528 proposed to see here a possible trace of an apocryphal Testament of Moses. In the text known to us, however, no mention is made of a curse such as mentioned here, see Charles, *Apocrypha*, II, 407–424; on the Testament of Moses, see Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 75–77.

μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Ποῖος οὖν κύριος, καὶ πρὸς  
485 τίνα κύριον ταῦτα λελαληκέναι ὑπολαμβάνετε; Ἀρτίως ἀναδίδαξον.”

Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Κύριος ἦν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ  
οὐρανῷ, κύριος ἦν καὶ Δαυὶδ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς, ἧς  
ἐβασίλευσεν. Εἶρηκεν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων, Ἐν τοῖς δεξιούσ μου καθέξου, τοῦτ’ ἐστι, μὴ  
490 τὸν νόμον· κἀγὼ ὑποτάξω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου. Λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι  
ὄπλα πολέμου δικαιοσύνη καὶ φυλακὴ ἐντολῶν.” 649D

Τούτοις ἅπασιν ῥηθεῖσιν ἀναμεταξὺ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Γρηγεντίου καὶ  
Ἐρβᾶν τοῦ νομοδιδασκάλου, παρόντος τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ  
τοῦ τιμίου κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πάσης τῆς  
495 πόλεως, λύσιν ἢ ἀμφιβολία οὐκ ἔσχηκεν. Ἐσπέρας γὰρ ἤδη ἐπιγενομένης διέκοψεν αὐτῶν  
τὴν διάλεξιν. Ἐχαιρον δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρβᾶν, ὅτι ὄλως ἠτύαρχησε στήναι μετὰ  
τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐν λέξεσιν, καὶ κατεφίλουν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἀσπαζόμενοι. Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν  
ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· “Εὐξώμεθα, ἀδελφοί, ὅπως βοηθήσῃ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου, καθότι ὁ  
ἐπίσκοπος ὁρᾶτε ὅτι πολυμήχανος ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ καὶ βία τίς ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἵνα πείσωμεν  
652A

486 ἐπουρανίων – καταχθονίων cf. Is. 45.23; Phil. 2.10 | 491 ὄπλα – ἐντολῶν § cf. N 175–176  
φυλακὴ ἐντολῶν §, cf. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, II 18 (80.1)

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

484 οὖν < μ καὶ < M | 485 τίνα] τὸν P κύριον < N λέγει κύριον ταῦτα C λελαληκέναι κύριον  
ταῦτα VM λελαληκέναι ταῦτα D ταῦτα λελαληκέναι ταῦτα A ἀναδίδαξον καὶ εἶπέ DAN μ ἀνα-  
δίδαξόν μοι M | 486 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK ἔφη] λέγει CX P, < LK μ TM κύριος] θεὸς M ἦν] οὖν K ὁ μ  
ὁ θεὸς ὁ C | 487 κύριος] καὶ SHPT κύριος ἦν καὶ] καὶ ἦν PT τῆς<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας  
μ αὐτοῦ < V ἀπάσης τῆς γῆς < CLK γῆς + αὐτοῦ X AN SHP | 488 αὐτὸς ἐβασίλευσεν VM  
ἐβασίλευεν C DAN μου < μ | 489 δεξιᾶ ἦ < N ἀπὸ – μου < SHPT μου < LK μ γε < HPM |  
490 νόμον + μου HPM ὑποτάξω + πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ μ ὑποτάξω – σου<sup>2</sup>] ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν  
σου θήσω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου N σου<sup>2</sup> + ποιήσω μ γάρ] δὲ P ὅτι < DA μ P | 491 πολέμων DAN μ  
SHT δικαιοσύνης μ καὶ δικαιοσύνη post ἐντολῶν T ἐντολῶν τήρησις L ἐντολῶν τήρησιν K ἐν-  
τολῶν] ἐν τῷ λαῷ DAN μ ἐντολῶν + σκόπει· τοῦ ποιητοῦ μ | 492 τούτων πασῶν ῥηθειῶν μεταξὺ  
μ πᾶσι DA τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν HP ἀγιωτάτου < VM ἀρχιεπισκόπου] ἐπισκόπου D M, < P  
Γρηγορίου K Γρηγεντίου N Ῥηγεντίου M | 493 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < VM καὶ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> DAN μ εὐσεβεστάτου  
CXLK μ βασιλέως + Ἀβραάμ N καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων < LK τῶν] τιμῶν μ T, < DAN θεοφιλῶν  
ἐπισκόπων CX ἐπισκόπων τιμῶν συμπαρόντων DAN ἐπισκόπων + τινὰς SHP καὶ κλήρου τοῦ  
τιμίου post συγκλήτου 494 LK καί<sup>2</sup> – 494 συγκλήτου < μ | 494 τινῶν τοῦ<sup>1</sup> VM συνόδου D  
πάσης] παντὸς LK ἀπάσης SHPTVM | 495 ἢ ἀμφιβολία λύσιν μ ἀμφιβολή H ἀφιβολία P ἔσχηκεν  
DAN μ HPVM ἔσπερα γὰρ καταλαβοῦσα ἔκοψεν μ ἔσπερας – 501 φοβεῖσθαι < P γάρ] δὲ D, <  
N ἐπιγενομένης CX γενομένης DA γεναμένης N διέκοψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς LK ἑαυτῶν DA |  
496 δίκη μ διάλυσιν SHT καὶ ἔχαιρον δὲ V δὲ] οὖν D οἱ < X Ἐρβᾶ K | 497 ἐπισκόπου M ταῖς  
διαλέξεσιν διὸ CXLK εὐμενῶς ἀσπαζόμενοι DAN μ (ἀσπαζόμενοι < μ) | 498 εἶπεν μ εὐξώμεθα  
+ μάλλον μ ὁ θεὸς ὁ V ὁ τοῦ νόμου θεὸς C ὅτι μ ὡς ὁρᾶτε ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος μ M | 499 ὡς  
ὁρᾶτε ὅτι DAN ὡς ὁρᾶτε post ἐστὶ SHT ἄνθρωπος < VM ἐστὶ + ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς μ καὶ – 500  
ἡμῶν < SHT ἔσται ἡμῖν] ἐστὶν DA, + οὐ μικρὰ μ πείσωμεν] πιστεύσωμεν εἰς N

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*Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies my footstool.* Now who is the Lord and to which lord do you assume that this was said? Teach me now.”

Herban said: “The Lord was the God *of things in heaven and on earth and under the earth*, and David in the time of his kingdom was also the lord of all the land over which he reigned. So God said to him: *Sit at my right hand*, that is, do not turn away to the right or left from the rightful orders of my law, but keep the law, and I will submit your enemies to be your footstool. For it is said that *the weapons of war are righteousness and the keeping of the commandments.*”

When all this had been said between the most holy archbishop Gregentios and Herban the teacher of the law, in the presence of the pious king and of the bishops and the worthy clergy and the holy senate and the crowd of Jews and all the town, there was no solution to the ambiguity. For since the evening was already approaching, the discussion was interrupted.<sup>24</sup> And the Jews rejoiced over Herban that he had completely withstood the archbishop in the discussion, and they all embraced and kissed him. But Herban said to them: “Let us pray, brothers, that the God of the law may help us, for you see that the

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<sup>24</sup> This old topos goes back to ancient pagan dialogue literature, and appears frequently in Christian dialogues, beginning with Minucius Felix; see Voss, *Dialog*, 41–42.



500 αὐτόν. Ὁρατε γάρ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐπίσταται τὰ ἡμῶν.” Οἱ δὲ ἐθαρσοποιοῦν αὐτόν τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.

**B** Καὶ τῇ ἔωθεν πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς κροτηθῆναι τὸ συνέδριον, καὶ ἐτοιμασίας  
γενομένης καὶ προκαθίσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ἦλθον καὶ οἱ Ἰου- 652B  
δαῖοι, καὶ ἔπειτα παρέστησαν τὸν Ἐρβᾶν. Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν  
“Χθὲς εἶπας, ὅτι Μωυσῆς ὁ προφήτης κατάραν τέθεικε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
5 καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν στοιχείων· οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀμφιβάλλω. Καὶ καλῶς πεποίηκεν ὑμῖν ὁ  
προφήτης, εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ ὀλισθηρὸν καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὸ ἄστατον. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τούτου γενο-  
μένου τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐθύσατε τοῖς δαιμονίοις, τί οὐκ ἂν ἐνεδείξασθε,  
εἰ ταύτην τὴν ἄραν οὐ τεθησαύρικεν; Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ χριστιανοὶ μὴ γὰρ εἰς εἰδῶλα  
πιστεύομεν, μὴ γὰρ ἄλλότριον θεὸν εἰς τὸ μέσον εἰσφέρομεν, τὸν λόγον τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ  
10 ἑνὸς θεοῦ τοῦ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἀγαπήσαντος καὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύμα- 652C  
τος ἀγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου ἐγνωκότες διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ  
θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι ἕνα θεὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ προσκυνούμεν καὶ λατρεύομεν  
οὔτε ὑφελόντες τί οὔτε προσπιθέντες. Πλήν τρανότερον καὶ καθαρώτερον ὑμῶν ἐπεγνω-

4 Μωυσῆς – 5 στοιχείων cf. Gen. 28 | 7 τοὺς – δαιμονίοις cf. Ps. 105.37

**C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M** | 501 in fine + infra □ VM

500 ὁρατε γάρ] ὑμεῖς οἴδατε μ τοῦ < μ SHT | 501 in fine + τέλος τῆς πρώτης διαλέξεως C τέλος τῆς πρώτης διαλέξεως καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς δευτέρας HP (καὶ τέλος P), + infra □ VM

1 in initio + ἀρχὴ τῆς δευτέρας διαλέξεως C δευτέρα διάλεξις τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων SHPTVM (ἐξέτασις ἦτοι διάλεξις VM ἀρχιεπισκόπου Γρηγεντίου V ἐπισκόπου Ἡρηγεντίου M) καὶ < μ καὶ τῇ < C ἔωθεν] ἐπαύριον μ πάλιν – βασιλεὺς] τοῖνον ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβραὰμ πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν C καὶ ἐτοιμασίας] ἐτοιμασίας οὖν N ἐτοιμασίας + λοιπὸν DAN μ | 2 γεναμένης N SHPV γινομένης T τοῦ βασιλέως < DAN καί<sup>2</sup> <, μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου M ἦλθον] ἔλθοντες CLK ἐλθόντος X, + β’ διάλεξις D<sup>mag</sup> καί<sup>3</sup> < μ δὲ καὶ L | 3 καὶ ἔπειτα < CXLK καί<sup>1</sup> – Ἐρβᾶν < N ἔπειτα] εἶθ’ οὕτως DA μ, < P τὸν < DA μ νομοδιδάσκαλον Ἐρβᾶν C καί<sup>2</sup> + προστάξας μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] ἅγιος μ πρὸς αὐτόν < DAN μ | 4 ante χθὲς + Ἐρβᾶ, ὅρα τί σοι λέγω C τῇ χθὲς P τέθεικε] δέδωκε T τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ N | 5 καί<sup>1</sup> < LK τῶν<sup>2</sup> < CXLK καὶ οὐδ’ X<sup>pc</sup> DAN μ M οὐδὲ M αὐτὸς ἐγὼ DAN ὑμῖν < K μ | 6 καί<sup>1</sup> – τὸ<sup>2</sup>] τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως DAN μ | 8 εἰς C ταύτην] μὴ LK οὐ < C θησαυρὸν τε θησαυρισθῆναι C ἐτεθησαύρικεν K τεσαύρικεν D ἐτεθησαυρίσθη P οὖν + αὐτοῖς M γὰρ εἰς < μ M εἰς < K | 9 μὴ γάρ] καὶ C προσφέρομεν SHPT μὴ – εἰσφέρομεν < VM γὰρ < μ καὶ ἑνὸς < μ | 10 ἀπ’] ὑπ’ P σαρκωθέντος μ VM | 11 παρθένου + καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος LK P, + καὶ πανάγνου θεοτόκου μ ἐγνωκότες CX ἐγνωκότες post σωτηρίαν LK (ἐγνωκότες L) | 12 θεῷ] πατρὶ LK καὶ πατρὶ μ τῷ < μ αὐτοῦ < LK M πνεύματι αὐτοῦ X μ καί<sup>2</sup> < μ προσκυνούμεν καὶ λατρεύομεν] προσκυνούντες καὶ πιστεύοντες ὁμολογοῦμεν LK | 13 οὔτε<sup>1</sup> – 15 ἀποδεχόμενοι < SHPT ἀφελόντες LK N μ ὀφείλοντες DA ἄλλ’ οὔτε<sup>2</sup> CX A μ προσπέντες LK τρανότερον γὰρ C καὶ καθαρώτερον < CXLK ἐπεγνωκότες ἡμῖν τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν θεότητα M

501 □ Εἶπεν (εἰπέ V) ὁ χριστιανὸς τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ὅτι: “Θέλεις μείζονα πληροφορίαν; ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς ὅπλων καὶ στρατοῦ καὶ χρημάτων ποτὲ πόλεον καὶ χωρῶν

bishop is an inventive man, and it will be hard for us to convince him. For you see that he knows our matters better than we do.” But they encouraged him not to be afearred.<sup>25</sup>

And in the morning the king again ordered that the meeting should be assembled, and when the preparation had been made and the king and the archbishop had sat down to preside, the Jews also came and presented Herban. And the archbishop said to him:

“You said yesterday that Moses the prophet placed a curse unto the Jews from God and the angels and the elements,<sup>26</sup> and I have no doubt about that. And the prophet did well to you, knowing your slipperiness and your unstable mind. For since, although this had happened, you sacrificed your sons and daughters to the demons, what would you have displayed if he had not stored up this curse for you? Now we Christians do not believe in idols, for we do not introduce a foreign God into our midst, since we know for our salvation the Word of the great and only God who loved Abraham and his offspring, who became flesh from the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and together with God himself and his Holy Ghost we worship and venerate one true God, neither taking anything away nor adding something. Save that we believe, recognising the divinity

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(πόλεις και χώρας V) και ἔθνων (και ἔθνων < M) περιεγένετο και πιστεῦσαι εἰς αὐτὸν πεποίηκεν, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ Χριστός, ἐπεὶ και Μωυσῆς και Ἰησοῦς ὁ (ὁ < M) τοῦ Ναυῆ και πάντες ἐκεῖνοι και διὰ στρατοῦ και ὄπλων τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους ὑπέταξαν, καιτοί γε ἔχοντες τὸν θεὸν σύμμαχον και χωρὶς ὄπλου και στρατοῦ πάντες ὑποκλῖναι δυνάμενος. Δεύτερον τῆς Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ τότε ἐπὶ πλείον πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε κήρυγμα, ὅπερ θεοῦ ἐστὶ σημεῖον και οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπου ψιλοῦ. Τρίτη ἀπόδειξις ὅτι διὰ ιδιωτῶν και ἀγραμμάτων (cf. Acta 4, 3) βασιλεῖς και φιλοσόφους δεινοὺς ἐχειρώσαντο ἐν τῇ πίστει. Ἔτερον ὅτι τυπτόμενοι και διωκόμενοι ἤνυσαν τὸ κήρυγμα ἐστερέωσαν οἱ κήρυκες. Πέμπτον ὅτι νόμον βαρῶν (βαρῶν < M) κηρύττοντες παρὰ τὸν Μωσαϊκὸν νόμον ἔπεισαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δέξασθαι εὐαγγέλιον· ἐκεῖ γάρ, μὴ μοιχεύσης, ὦδε, μηδὲ ὄψει γυναικὸς (γυναῖκα M) ἐμπαθῶς (+ μὴ M) ἐμβλέψης· ἐκεῖ, μὴ ἐπιορκήσης, ὦδε, μηδὲ ὄλωσ ὁμόσης.”

25 Addition of VM:

□ The Christian said to the Jew: “Do you want a better instruction? No man in the world ever became lord of towns, countries and nations without weapons, an army and money, and made them believe in him, except only Christ; for Moses, Joshuah the son of Nun and all those submitted the foreigners by an army and weapons, although they had God as their ally who can make all bow before him even without weapon and army. Second, the power of Christ: After his death his preaching became even more master of the whole world, which <demonstrates that it> is a sign of God, and not of a plain man. The third proof is that kings and frightful philosophers where subdued by simple and uneducated men. Another, that the heralds, though they were beaten and expelled, undertook to confirm the preaching. Fifth, that although they announced a law which was heavier than that of Moses, they convinced the people to receive Christ’s Gospel, for there <it is written>, thou shalt not adulterate, here, do not even look into the face of a woman with desire; there, thou shalt not swear false oaths, here, do not swear at all.

26 This is not quite the same as Herban’s statement at A 474–480.

- 15 κότες τὴν θεότητα πιστεύομεν, Μωσέα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα καὶ  
καλῶς πληρωθέντα καὶ καταπαύσαντα ἀποδεχόμενοι. Τὸ δὲ *Ἔειπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου*  
ὁ Δαυὶδ λελάληκεν. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ χθές κατανήσαντες ἡσυχάσαμεν, καὶ δέον ἐντεῦθεν  
πάλιν ἄρξασθαι. Εἰ οὖν Δαυὶδ κύριος ἦν τῆς γῆς, ἄρα ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτοῦ κύριον προσηγό-  
ρευε; Πλήρης ἀνοίας τὸ ἐννόημα· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κύριος ἦν τῆς γῆς ἡς ἐβασίλευεν, ὁμολογῶ,  
20 κύριος δὲ σκιάς ἀνάπλεος καὶ ἐνυπνίου, ὡς καὶ πάντες ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Ὅτι δὲ ἑαυτὸν  
ἑαυτοῦ κύριον προσηγόρευεν, ἀβέβαιον. Οὐ γὰρ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς,  
ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐν τοῖς νέοις ἀνδράσιν εὔρομεν πώποτε, ἵνα τις ἑαυτὸν κύριον ἑαυτοῦ προσαγο-  
ρεύῃ. Εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱῷ τῷ ἐνανθρωπήσαντι καὶ παθόντι καὶ ἀπο-  
θανόντι καὶ ταφέντι καὶ ἀναστάντι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἀπὸ  
25 τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναληφθέντι ἐνώπιον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν ἁγίων  
αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων καὶ παρελθόντι πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων σύνταξιν καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ  
30 τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ καθίσαντι. Τοῦτο εἶπεν ἡ δύναμις τῆς θεότητος τῇ ἀχράντῳ ἄν-  
θρωπότητι αὐτοῦ λέγουσα· *Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου*, ἕως ἂν ἤξη τὸ τέλος τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ  
ἀποστελῶ σε κριτὴν ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. Καὶ τότε *κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπι-  
γαίων καὶ καταχθονίων* τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου, καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί σου τεθήσονται ὡς καταπάτημα,  
35 *ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, καὶ ἀποδώσεις ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ*. Ταῦτα ἡ ἀληθὴς  
ἐρμηνεία, εἶπερ καὶ βούλει καταδέξασθαι.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μεγάλην βλασφημίαν εἰσφέρεις σὺ εἰς τὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον  
λέγων εἶναι ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δι’ ὧν ἐσταύρωται, τούτου σοι ἔνεκα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ πέφη-  
35 νε σκάνδαλον; Ἴνα δὲ βεβαιωθῆς, ὅτι καλῶς ἡρμήνευσα τὸ *Ἔειπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου*,  
πρόσεχε τὸν ἐξῆς στίχον, ὅπως χάριν τοῦ σταυροῦ ὑποφαίνει, περὶ οὗ σὺ νῦν προαιρεῖς  
σκανδαλίζειν· *Ῥάβδον*, φησίν, *δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι κύριος ἐκ Σιών, καὶ κατακυρίευσεν*  
*ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου*.”

15 εἶπεν – μου Ps. 109.1 | 27 κάθου – 30 αὐτοῦ Ps. 109.1 | 28 κάμψει – 29 καταχθονίων Is.  
45.23 | 30 καὶ – αὐτοῦ Ps. 61.13 ec. | 37 ῥάβδον – 38 σου Ps. 109.2

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

14 Μωσέα μ Μωσέως Μ γὰρ] δὲ μ καλῶς] πάντα Μ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ καλῶς < CX καί<sup>2</sup> –  
15 πληρωθέντα < V καί<sup>2</sup> – 15 καταπαύσαντα < M | 15 καὶ καταπαύσαντα ἀποδεχόμενοι] κατὰ  
πάντα δεχόμεθα LK ἀποδεχόμεθα μ κυρίῳ μου ὁ < SHPT | 16 γὰρ] τὸ Ν, < LK τὸν λόγον  
κατανήσαντες μ ἐνταῦθα LK DA | 17 ἀπάρξασθαι Ν<sup>pc</sup> μ κύριός ἐστι LK ἄρα – 18 γῆς < μ  
κύριον ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτοῦ VM ἑαυτοῦ < DAN κύριον ἑαυτοῦ S<sup>pc</sup>HP κύριον < S<sup>ac</sup> προσηγόρευσεν  
DAN προηγόρευεν S | 18 ἐννόημα] αἰνίγμα LK γὰρ < N ἦν κύριος τῆς γῆς Μ ἦν τῆς γῆς κύριος  
V ἐβασίλευσεν N SHPTM | 19 δὲ<sup>1</sup> – ἐνυπνίου] μὲν λέγεται LK ὡς] καθὼς μ ὡσπερ VM καί<sup>2</sup> <  
VM πάντες] ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκῳ post ἄνθρωποι LK δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ μ ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν D P  
κύριον ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτοῦ M | 20 ἑαυτοῦ < DAN μ κύριον ἑαυτοῦ CX SHPTV προσηγόρευεν  
SHPTV ἀβέβαιον] ἀμφίβολον X τοῦτο ἀβέβαιον LK ἀβέβαιον καὶ ἀνίσχυρον DAN μ + καὶ  
ἀσύγκριτον μ οὐ – 22 προσαγορεύῃ < SHPT ἐν – 21 ἀνδράσιν < μ | 21 ἀλλ' < M τοῖς + χρόνους  
τοῖς VM εὔραμεν CX κύριον ἑαυτὸν μ ἑαυτοῦ κύριον VM προσαγορεύσειεν CXLK προσαγο-

more distinctly and more clearly than you, and accepting Moses and the laws he made and fulfilled well, and which have now been annulled. For David said *The Lord said unto my lord*. We stopped yesterday when we had reached this point, and should start again from there. Now if David was the lord of the earth, did he address himself as his own lord? This thought is full of folly, for I consent that he was the lord of the land he reigned, but a lord full of shadow and dream, as we men all are. It is implausible that he addressed himself as his own lord, for we have never yet found such a custom, neither in the old nor in the younger writers, that someone addressed himself as his own lord. The Lord said to his word and son, who became man, suffered, died and was buried, who rose on the third day, was accepted after forty days into heaven from the Mount of Olives before the eyes of his holy apostles, surpassed all the company of the upper powers, and sits at the right hand of his greatness. This is what the power of his divinity said to his immaculate humanity: *Sit on my right hand*, until the end of the world will come, and I will send you to judge the living and the dead. And then *every knee of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth will bow* before your power, and your enemies will be trampled under your foot to be *your footstool*, and you will give to *everyone according to his works*. This is the true explanation, if only you wish to accept it.”

Herban said: “You introduce a great blasphemy into the world if you say that the crucified sits to the right hand of the divine power in the highest.”

The archbishop said: “Does his cross appear as a scandal to you, because he was crucified? In order to convince you that I have explained well the word *The Lord said to my lord*, listen to the following verse, where he speaks about the cross by which you now prefer to be offended: *The Lord*, he says, *will send out the rod of your power from Zion, gain dominion in the midst of your enemies.*”

ρεύση μ | 22 ό < CXLK τῷ υἱῷ τῷ D τῷ<sup>2</sup> + καὶ μ καὶ παθόντι < LK DAN μ καὶ ἀποθανόντι < CX θανόντι LK | 23 καὶ ταφέντι < LK μ μετὰ – 24 Ἐλαιῶν < SHPT | 24 τοὺς < DAN μ HVM ἀναληφθέντα V ἐνώπιον – 25 σύνταξιν < SHPT τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν < LK μ | 25 μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων μ παρελθόντα V ἄνω] ἀγίων CX | 26 τοῦτο + γὰρ μ αὐτοῦ θεότητος D μ ἀχράντω + καὶ ST αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητι μ | 27 μου + ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου M | 28 καί<sup>2</sup> – 29 σου<sup>1</sup> < SHPT | 29 σου<sup>1</sup>] τῇ σῆ μ τεθήσονται + ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας σου SHPT ὡς < LK | 30 ὑποπόδιον < P ἀποδόξης VM τὰ < D ταῦτα] αὕτη N VM ἀλήθεια ἐρμηνεύει μ | 31 εἶπερ καὶ] εἰ D δέξασθαι P | 32 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει] ἔφη AN, < LK μ TM φέρεις N | 33 εἶναι λέγων LK M τῇ δεξιᾷ μ θείας] θεϊκῆς VM, < μ ὡς ἐν<sup>2</sup> CX | 34 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἔφη V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK P δι' ὧν] δι' ὁ XLK VM δι' οὐ DAN εἰ μ ἐσταυρῶται N τούτῳ D H ἔνεκεν N μ εἵνεκα SHPT πέφηκε μ VM, < DA | 35 ἡρμηνεύσαμεν X ἐρμήνευσα DA SHPT μου + κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου μ | 36 πρόσεχε + καὶ DAN μ τῷ ἐξῆς στίχῳ μ χάριν + περι M ὑποφαίνει] ὑποφέρει SHPT, < LK περι – 37 σκανδαλίζειν < SHPT νῦν < μ προαιρή X N μ M προαιρεῖν V προαιρεῖς σκανδαλίζειν] σκανδαλίξει LK | 37 σκανδαλίζει DA σκανδαλίεσθαι N μ φησὶν < H γὰρ φησὶν AN δυνάμει φησὶν LK μ ἐξαποστεῖλαι P

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὴν ῥάβδον οὖν, ἣν φάσκων προσαγορεύει, σταυρὸν σὺ αὐτὴν ὑπο-  
 40 λαμβάνεις· Εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἦν, ἔδει αὐτὸν σταυρὸν εἰρηκέναι καὶ οὐκέτι ῥάβδον. Ἄλλ’ ὅτι δὲ  
 καὶ ἐκ Σιών ὑπαγορεύει ἀποσταλῆναι τὴν ῥάβδον, οὐκοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ ἐτμήθη τὸ  
 ξύλον ἐκεῖνο, ἀφ’ οὗ ὁ σταυρὸς πεπελέκηται; Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔχεις τοῦ δεῖξαι περὶ τούτου.” 653c

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀναγωγικῶς ὁ προφήτης τὴν ῥάβδον σταυρὸν ἠνίξατο· ὃν  
 τρόπον οὖν ἡ ῥάβδος ἀφ’ ἑαυτῆς κινηθῆναι οὐ δύναται καὶ τυπῆσαι τὸ οἰονοῦν, μὴ οὐ-  
 45 σης χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐνδυναμούσης αὐτὴν τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἀφῆι, παραπλησίως καὶ ὁ τίμιος  
 σταυρὸς. Αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἐδέετο δὲ δυνάμεως ἐκ Σιών, ἵνα ἀρθῆ κατὰ τῶν  
 ἐχθρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦ πλάσματος τοῦ βασιλέως. Τὸ δὲ  
 ἐκ Σιών ἀκούων μὴ κάτω περιβλέπου τὸ Σινᾶ ὄρος κατὰ νοῦν λογιζόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ  
 ἀναγωγικῶς εἶρηκεν· Σιών γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄνω μητρόπολις κυρίου, ἐν ἧπερ αὐτὸς κατοικεῖ  
 50 καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ. Παρεγένετο τοιγαροῦν ἡ θεία δύναμις ἐκ τῆς ἄνω Σιών,  
 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἤρε τὴν ῥάβδον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸν σταυρὸν,  
 καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιᾶν αὐτοῦ, τὸν ὑψηλὸν βραχίονα, ἐπάταξε πάντας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους  
 καὶ νενίκηκε· τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸν ἄδην, τὸν θάνατον, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ κατάκριμα καὶ αὐτὸν  
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν κακότροπον ὄφιν, φημί, τὸν τὴν Εὐᾶν σὺν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἐν τῇ Ἐδέμ ἐξαπατήσαν-  
 55 τα· καὶ εὐθέως κατεκυρίευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ. Καταλιπόντα γὰρ πάντα τὰ  
 ἔθνη τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπηρεσίαν, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὴν μουσαρὰν λατρείαν τῆς  
 εἰδωλολατρείας, αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα θεὸν ἐπεγνωκότα ἀληθινὸν ἐπιστραφέντα προσεκύ-  
 νησαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κρῖναι τὸν κόσμον 656a  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅποταν ἦξει τὸ τέλος καὶ ἀνάστασις γένηται, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγιοι περὶ κύκλῳ αὐ-  
 60 τοῦ ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς φωστῆρες. Ὅρα πῶς ἐπάγει λέγων· *Μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς  
 δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ἁγίων σου.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ γεννηθέντα λέγεις, ὅτι ἦξει τοῦ κρῖναι τὸν κόσμον;  
 Βαβαὶ τῆς περιπλανήσεως!”

53 αὐτὸν – 55 ἐξαπατήσαντα cf. Gen. 3.1–15 | 60 ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς φωστῆρες cf. Phil. 2.15 μετὰ  
 – 61 σου<sup>2</sup> Ps. 109.3

C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M | 40 εἰ C ]

39 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει| ἔφη DAN S, < LK μ TVM οὖν < μ ἦν – 40 οὖν < DAN φάσκω C  
 ἔφασκον P, < μ φάσκων προσαγορεύει| φάσκεις VM προσαγορεύεις CXLK αὐτὴν| αὐτὸν LK  
 P, < μ | 40 οὖν < SHP εἰ οὕτως N αὐτὸν < P οὐκέτι| οὐ LK μ VM ἀλλ’ μ | 41 καὶ < μ ἀλλ’ – 41  
 ῥάβδον < DAN ὑπαγορεύει post ῥάβδον μ διαγορεύει XLK ἀπαγορεύει VM οὐκοῦν| μὴ μ  
 ἐτμήθη D | 42 πεπελέκητο X πεπελέκισται DA, < μ οὐκ ἂν| οὖν κἂν PT ἔχει DA τοῦ < DAN μ  
 VM | 43 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη <  
 LK P προφήτης + ἀνόητε DAN μ σταυρὸν < SHPT | 44 οὖν| γὰρ DAN μ (post τρόπον μ) ἦν  
 SH, < PT καί| οὐ DA οὔτε N ἢ μ τυπῆσας DA τὸ| τὸν AN τὸ οἰονοῦν| πινά SHPTVM |  
 45 ἀνθρώπου| τῆς μ τοῦ ἐνδυναμοῦντος LK τίμιος < LK | 46 μὲν < SHPT ἴν’ SHPT κατὰ + τῆς  
 δυνάμεως SHPT | 47 βασιλέως<sup>1</sup> Χριστοῦ DAN μ μᾶλλον – βασιλέως<sup>2</sup> < M δέ<sup>1</sup> < P τοῦ  
 πλάσματος < H βασιλέως<sup>2</sup> κυρίου DAN μ τὸ < DAN μ τὸ δέ| καὶ τοῦτο C δὲ ἐκ Σιών| ἐκ Σιών  
 δὲ DAN μ | 48 καὶ – 49 εἶρηκεν < SHPT γὰρ| γε DA, < μ | 49 εἶρηται μ γὰρ < X ἐν ἧπερ|

Herban said: “Do you assume that the rod which he addresses in his speech is the cross? Now if it would be so, he should have said cross and not rod anymore. But since he tells us also that the rod was sent out from Zion, was that wood cut on Mount Sinai from which the cross was hewn?<sup>27</sup> But you will not be able to show this.”

The archbishop said: “The prophet anagogically called the rod a cross speaking obscurely: In the same way in which the rod cannot move by itself and beat in any way, if there is no hand of a man giving strength to it by holding it, it is also similar to the worthy cross. For it came from the earth and needed the power from Zion to be raised against the enemies of the king, or rather against the enemies of the creature of the king. Now if you hear ‘from Zion’ do not look to the ground thinking of Mount Sinai in your mind, for he said this anagogically as well. For Zion is the upper metropolis of the Lord, in which he dwells with all his angels. Therefore the divine power came down from the upper Zion, that is, the word of God from heaven, took away the rod from the earth, the cross, and stretching out his right hand, the elevated arm, he beat all his enemies and defeated them, that is hell, death, sin, the condemnation and this malignant serpent himself, I say, who betrayed Eve together with Adam in Eden, and immediately gained dominion in the middle of his enemies. For all nations leaving the service of the enemies of the king, that is the disgusting veneration of idololatry, recognised the king as their true God and returning worshipped him, for God Father entrusted this king to judge his world, when the end will come and the resurrection will take place and all the saints will shine around him like luminaries. Look how he goes on, saying: *The rule is with you in the day of your power in the brightnesses of your saints.*”

Herban said: “Do you say that he who was begotten from Joseph will come to judge the world? Bless me, what an aberration!”

ἐπεὶπερ X ἦνπερ LK ἦπερ] ἦ DAN | 50 οἱ < SHVM τοῖνον μ | 51 λόγος] υἱὸς LK τοῦ θεοῦ < X  
καὶ ἦρε DAN μ τὸν + τίμιον λέγω DAN μ + καὶ ζωοποιὸν μ | 52 ἐκτείνασα SHPTVM αὐτοῦ]  
χεῖρα DAN μ αὐτῆς SHPTVM ἦγουν τὸν N καὶ τὸν μ | 53 τοῦτ’ – 58 αὐτῶ < SHPT καὶ αὐτὸν  
ἐκείνον < VM | 54 φημί < μ M σὺν τῷ] καὶ τὸν LK ἐν τῇ Ἐδέμ < K | 55 εὐθέως < LK αὐτῶν  
ἐχθρῶν LK N αὐτοῦ < LK N καταλιπόντα – 56 ἐχθρῶν < DAN καταλιπόντα – 58 αὐτῶ < μ  
πάντα < LK | 56 τῆν<sup>1</sup> < X τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας] τῶν εἰδώλων LK | 57 εἰδωλομανίας M αὐτὸν <  
LK βασιλέα] ἀληθῆ LK ἐπιγινῶντες LK ἀληθινὸν ἐπιστραφέντα < LK | 58 αὐτῶ] αὐτὸν DAN  
M, < LK ὅτι] ἔτι DAN μ δέ] καὶ P, < X τούτῳ < LK ὁ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς δέδωκεν M τοῦ] τὸ VM  
| 59 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> + ἅπαντα μ ἢ τὸν T πάντες + οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ LK κύκλω αὐτοῦ post 60 φωστῆρες  
LK | 60 λάμπουσιν D ἐκλάμπουσιν A ἐκλάμψουσιν T λάμπουσιν μ M καὶ ὄρα μ | 62 ὁ Ἐρβάν LK  
λέγει < LK μ λέγει VM τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < LK DAN μ PV κρινεῖ M | 63 πλανήσεως SHPT

27 Here and in the following passage Zion and Sinai are equated; see above, p. 103.

65 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τυφλώτων ἥλιον βλέπειν οὐ δύναται. Ἰωσήφ δὲ τὸν ἐμὸν  
θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἔσπειρε, μὴ γένοιτο καθὰ σὺ μυωπάξεις φρεναπατούμενος. Ἄλλ’  
οὖν ἐρῶ σοι, πόθεν ὁ ἀγαπητός μου κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνεβλάστησε. Λέγει ὁ θεὸς περὶ  
αὐτοῦ· Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι φιλῶ λόγῳ ἐρρέθη, 656B  
ἐπήγαγεν· Ὡμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται. Ἴνα οὖν ἔπειτα μὴ ἔρεις, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπήγαγεν, ὅτι Ὡμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται,  
70 διὸ φησὶν· Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. Ὡμοσε, φησὶν, ὁ θεός, ὅτι Ἐκ τῆς  
οὐσίας μου εἶ σύ.’ Ἐπειτα ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι οὔτε ἱερωσύνη μετατίθεται τοῦ Ἀαρῶν,  
ἠνίξατο· Σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ. Ὅπως δὲ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης  
αὐτοῦ προέβη εἰς τὸν κόσμον, Ἡσαΐας λέγει· Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήφεται καὶ  
75 ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. Ἐκεῖσε τοιγαροῦν λέγει ὁ Δαυὶδ, ὅπως γυμνῆ τῇ θεότῃ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸ  
ἑωσφόρου ἐγεννήθη· ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἡσαΐας περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ  
λέγει, ὅπως ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου. Εἰ δὲ ἄ λέγει Δαυὶδ εἰς αὐτὸν ταῦτα μετάγεις,  
85 Δαυὶδ ἢ τίς ἕτερος πρὸ ἑωσφόρου γεγέννηται;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅϊδα ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς σου ἐγεννήθη, ἀλλ’ ὅτι πάντως ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰω-  
80 σήφ, παντὶ που δῆλον, ὡς προεῖρηκα.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ σολοικίζε· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ, ὡς σὺ νομίζεις,  
ἀλλ’ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου γεγέννηται. Λελάληκε γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦδε ὁ προφήτης, ὑποδει-  
κνύων ὅτι οὐκ ἐφθάρη παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, φημί, ἡ παρθένος. Προεφήτευσε γὰρ τάδε· 656D  
85 Δοθήσεται τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον βιβλίον ἀνδρὶ εἰδότι γράμματα, καὶ ἐρεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ· Οὐ δύνα-  
μαι ἀναγνῶναι, τὸ γὰρ βιβλίον ἐσφράγισται. Τί τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἡ

67 ἐκ – σε *ibid.* | 68 ὦμοσε – μεταμεληθήσεται Ps. 109.4 | 72 σὺ – Μελχισεδέκ *ibid.* | 73 ἰδού – 74  
Ἐμμανουήλ Is. 7.14 ἰδού – 75 θεός Mt. 1.23 | 84 δοθήσεται – 85 ἐσφράγισται cf. Is. 29.11 | 85 τί  
– 89 αὐτῆς cf. Ioannes Damascenus, *Sermo*, c. 7.1–5; *Homilia CPG* 4519, PG 10.1173A–B

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

64 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη] λέγει  
P, < LK ὁ τυφλώτων LK ἐπ’ ἀληθείας τυφλώτων DAN μ τυφλώτων τις μ τυφλὸς SHPTVM  
τὸν ἥλιον SHPVM τοῦ βλέπειν τὸν ἥλιον T δὲ] γὰρ LK, < μ | 65 θεὸν καὶ < HP δεσπότην καὶ  
θεὸν ST τε καὶ X N M δεσπότην καὶ θεὸν ST καθάπερ μ σὺ < N μυωπάζων φῆς μ  
φρεναπατούμενος D | 66 οὖν] ὅμως DAN μ ἐρῶ] ἐρωτῶ D ἀγαπητός < SHPT κύριός μου SHPT  
καὶ κύριος VM Ἰησοῦς < VM Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς DAN μ ἐβλάστησε μ λέγει + γὰρ LK, + τοῖνον  
DAN μ | 67 ἑαυτοῦ DA γεγέννηκά σε X SHTV καὶ – 70 σε < SHPTVM εἶπῃς + καὶ DAN + σὺ  
ὁ ἀσύνετος DAN μ λόγῳ φιλῶ μ | 68 οὖν] δὲ καὶ DAN ἔπειτα] μετὰ ταῦτα DAN μ μὴ post οὖν]  
δὲ μ ἔρεις] εἴπῃς μ | 69 τοῦ θεοῦ] αὐτοῦ LK τὸ αὐτὸ < DAN μ ἀντεπήγαγεν DAN μ ὦμοσε –  
70 φησὶν<sup>1</sup> < μ κύριος – 70 φησὶν<sup>1</sup> < X | 70 γεγέννηκά σε XLK ὁ θεός < SHPT θεὸς ἡμῶν DAN  
μ | 71 σὺ εἶ T ὅτι < μ οὐδὲ μ ἡ ἱερωσύνη L N VM εἶπεν ἡ μ μετατεθήσεται N οὐ μετατίθεται  
SHPT οὐ μεθίσταται V μεθίσταται M τοῦ Ἀαρῶν μετατίθεται εἶρηκεν μ | 72 αἰῶνα + καὶ εἰς τὸν  
αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος SH<sup>mas</sup> δὲ < P | 73 ὁ Ἡσαΐας μ, < M ἔξει ἡγουν λήφεται N λήφεται] ἔξει VM |  
74 τέξεται] τέξει LK καλέσωσιν ST<sup>ac</sup> μεθερμηνεύμενον < SHPT | 75 τοιγαροῦν] οὖν μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> < μ  
πῶς μ τοῦ < DAN μ πατρὸς] γαστρὸς μ | 76 γεγέννηται DA ἐγέννησά σε μ δὲ καὶ DAN κατὰ

The archbishop said: “A blind man cannot see the sun. Joseph did not beget my God and Master, let it not be, as you believe being shortsighted and deceived. But now I will tell you, from where my beloved Lord Jesus rose up. God says about him: *I have begotten you from the womb before the morning star.* And so you may not say that he spoke with plain speech, he went on: *The Lord has sworn and will not repent.* Now, so you will not say later that he is not from the substance of God, he went on with this same saying: *The Lord has sworn and will not repent,* and therefore he says: *I have begotten you from the womb before the morning star.* He has sworn, he says: ‘You are from my substance.’ Then, so that you may not say that the priesthood of Aaron is transferred, he said obscurely: *You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.* That his humanity went out into the world, Isaiah says: *Behold, the Virgin will become pregnant and bear a son, and they will call his name Emmanuel, which means translated, God with us.* Therefore David there says that he was begotten in his naked divinity from the Father before the morning star, and here Isaiah says about the birth of his humanity that he was born from the perpetual Virgin. If you transfer to David the things he says, was then David or anybody else begotten before the morning star?”

Herban said: “I know that your Christ was begotten, but it is altogether clear that he was at all events from the seed of Joseph, as I have said before.”

The archbishop said: “Do not commit an error; for he was begotten not from the seed of Joseph, as you believe, but from the Holy Ghost. For the prophet spoke also about this, indicating that the Virgin was not spoiled by Joseph, I say, for he prophesied: *The sealed book will be given to a man who knows to read, and the man will say: I cannot read, for the book is sealed.*<sup>28</sup> What else is the sealed book but the Virgin and

σάρκα γενήσεως DAN μ τῆς<sup>2</sup>] και N < μ ἀνθρωπότητος] ἐνανθρωπήσεως DAN, < μ | 77 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ πῶς μ ἀειπαρθένου] παρθένου P, + και θεοτόκου DAN μ (και < N) εἰ δέ] ἴδε DAN &] οὖν ἄπερ N προλέγει DAN μ ὁ Δαυὶδ X ταῦτα μετάγεις] ποῦ ἢ VM μετάγεις] μὴ ἄγεις X μοι ἄγεις LK μετάγει DA | 78 τίς < P ἕτερος τίς V ἐγεννήθη LK VM οὐ γεγέννηται DAN μ, antea + πλὴν τοῦ κυρίου μου N, postea + ἢ μόνος ὁ δεσπότης μου και θεός μου και κύριος μ | 79 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM σου < DA VM πάντως < X M | 80 ὡσπερ προεῖρηται μ | 81 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος ἔφη V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK μὴ οὖν DA σολοικίζε] σὺ λολοικίζε P σπέρμα P | 82 ante λελάληκε + και ἄκουσον τί N γὰρ και < N και < LK μ τοῦδε] τούτου LK P αὐτοῦ DAN μ προφήτης] ἀφήτης N και ὑποδεικνύων μ ὑποδεικνύων – 83 τάδε] φάσκων ὅτι SHT λέγων ὅτι P | 83 καθότι X DAN παρ’ αὐτοῦ] παρὰ X μ παρ’ – Ἰωσήφ < LK φημί post ἢ παρθένος N, < LK μ προφητεύει X προεφήτευσε γὰρ τάδε] τάδε φησὶν μ | 84 δοθήσεται + φησὶ DAN ὁ ἀνὴρ < LK ὅτι οὐ SHPTVM | 85 τοῦτο ἀναγνῶναι DAN P τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι SHT και τί XLK ἀλλ’ ἢ] ἢ μὴ P

<sup>28</sup> This is no literal quotation of Is. 29.11, but a paraphrase of the text. The first sentence of it appears also literally in the homily CPG 4519, BHG 1128fg, on which see above, p. 96.



- παρθένος τε καὶ θεοτόκος; Τίς ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ' ἢ Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων; Τί δὲ ὅτι ἦδει γράμματα, τοῦτ' ἔστι γάμψ ἐν ἄλλῃ γυναικὶ περιῆν προσομιλήσας, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅπαξ ἐκέκτητο; Τί δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὴν θείαν δέλτον ἀναγνῶναι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, οὐκ ἠδύνατο συγγενέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς, θεόθεν κατανοήσας, ὅτι τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ πρόσεσπιν ἐκλελεγμένη τε καὶ τηρουμένη ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, ὅπως ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου σαρκοφόρος θεὸς καὶ βροτὸς γεννηθῆ ἔξ αὐτῆς;”
- 90 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐπει δὲ πλείστα ἐμελέτησας πάντως, ἵνα ταῦτα ἐξεύρης· ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἅπαξ ἢ Μαρία γεγέννηκε καὶ οὐ θεόν. Ποίῳ τρόπῳ τοιγαροῦν σὺ θεὸν ἐπονομάζεις τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα;”
- 95 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν γεγέννηκεν.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ ἄρα πῶς ἐχώρεσεν ἢ μήτρα τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ φοβερὸν μέγεθος τῆς θεότητος;”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὡς ἐχώρεσε τὸν θεὸν ἢ σκηνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε κατέβη καὶ συνεσπίασάτο αὐτῷ.”
- 100 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ πῶς οὐ κατέφλεξε τὴν μήτραν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ πῦρ τῆς θεότητος;”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὡς οὐ κατέφλεξεν τὴν βάτον τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ γε πρὸς τούτοις παρθένος ἐγέννησε καὶ μετὰ τόκον παρθένος σώα διέμεινε.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Λοιπὸν ἐν φαντασίᾳ τε καὶ δοκῆσει ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγεννήθη καὶ οὐκ ἄληθείᾳ· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παντάπασιν ἄπιστον.”
- 105 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις πῶς εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Ἀβρααμ πρὸς τὸν Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῶν λεόντων τῆς θύρας τοῦ λάκκου δεσμοῖς καὶ σφραγίσιν περιεσφιγμένης; Ἀπάγγελον δὴ μοι πῶς εἰσῆλθεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐξῆλθε καὶ οὔτε τὴν θύραν ἠνέωξεν, ἀλλ' οὔτε τὰς σφραγίδας ἐλυμήνατο.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὰς ἀντιρρήσεις ἐξεῦρες ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος· πλὴν τὸ βιοθάνατον γεγονέναι τὸν Χριστὸν σου σκανδαλίζει τὸ πνεῦμα μου.”
- 110

98 ὡς – 99 αὐτῷ cf. Gen. 18.1–8 | 100 καὶ – θεότητος cf. Pseudo-Epiphanius, *CPG* 3771, *PG* 43.493D–495A; Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomus, *CPG* 4519, *PG* 50.794; Id., *In natale domini* ch. 22 | 101 οὐ – ἐρήμῳ cf. Ex. 3.2 | 105 εἰσῆλθεν – 107 περιεσφιγμένης cf. Bel et Draco 33–39

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

86 τε < DAN μ τε καὶ θεοτόκος < HP ἀλλ' ἢ] ἀλλ' οὖν X ἀλλά γε SHPTVM + ὁ P, < μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 88 ἐκέκτητο < SHPT τέκτων DAN μ ἦδει γράμματα] καὶ γράμματα εἰδοῖσι DAN μ | 87 τοῦτ' ἔστι < LK γάμψ + ἄτε X VM περιῆει X ἢν VM περιῆν προσομιλήσας] προσομιλήσαντι μ ἐξ ἧς] ἐφ' ἢ DAN μ ἐξ ἧς καὶ < LK M ἐπὶ – 88 ἅπαξ < LK DAN μ | 88 πεποίηκε LK τὴν θείαν δέλτον < T ἀναγνῶναι τὴν θείαν δέλτον τὸ βιβλίον μ θείαν < LK τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι SHPVM τοῦτ' – 89 αὐτῆς < SHPT | 89 ἔστιν ἐγκεκλεισμένη μ τηρουμένη καὶ ἐκλελεγμένη LK | 90 τε < X ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ < LK ὁ θεὸς < μ | 91 βροτὸς + τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν μ, P<sup>del</sup> γεννηθεὶς μ αὐτῆς + τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν DAN | 92 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TM ἐπει] ἔτι μ κατεμελέτησας DA μ μελετήσας P ἐξεύρης ταῦτα SHPT | 93 ἅπαξ] πάντως SHPT ἢ Μαρία ἅπαξ K Μαριάμ VM καὶ ποίῳ DA ποίῳ – 94 γεννηθέντα < N τοιγαροῦν] οὖν post ποίῳ LK ὀνομάζεις LK | 94 ἐκ Μαρίας] ἐξ αὐτῆς LK | 95 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < L PV αὐτὸν + ἀξίως

Mother of God? Who else is the man but Joseph the master-builder? What does it mean that he knew to read, that is, that he had been married to another woman, of whom he already had children before? What does it mean that he was not able to read the divine book, that is, that he could not come together with her? For he had perceived from God that she was chosen for the Lord Jesus and kept incorrupted, so that God may be born from her from the Holy Ghost in the flesh and as a mortal man.”

Herban said: “Since you have studied a lot to find that out: Mary has once born a man and not a god. Therefore, with what intention do you call God the man who was born from Mary?”

The archbishop said: “She gave birth to the same as God and man.”

Herban said: “And how did the womb of the woman have room for the frightful greatness of divinity?”

The archbishop said: “As the tent of Abraham had room for God, when he came down and ate with him.”

Herban said: “And how did the fire of divinity not burn the womb of the woman?”

The archbishop said: “As the fire did not burn the bush in the desert, in addition to this the Virgin gave birth and remained an intact virgin even after giving birth.”

Herban said: “Well then, he was born from her in fancy and imagination and not in truth, for this is impossible and entirely unbelievable.”

The archbishop said: “How did Habakkuk in those days go to Daniel into the den of the lions, the door of the den being firmly closed with latches and seals? Tell me how that man went in and out and not only did not open the door, but also did not break the seals?”

Herban said: “You have found your gainsaying as readily as no one else, but still it offends my spirit that your Christ was executed.”

DAN μ | 96 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM ἄρα < μ ἐχώρησεν DAN μ VM ἦ < M | 98 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ὁ ἄρχων ἔφη τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς DAN ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ὁ – 100 θεότητος < μ ἔφη < LK P ὡς] πῶς K S ἐχώρησε DAN PVM τὸν θεὸν < DAN τοῦ < VM ὅτε] οὕτω X καὶ συνεστίασας] εἰς συνεστίασιν DAN | 99 αὐτόν N | 100 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK Ἐρβᾶν λέγει < SHPT λέγει < LK M καὶ – 102 διέμεινεν post 104 ἄπιστον SHPT καὶ πῶς] πῶς δὲ SHPT τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ σῶμα XLK | 101 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη] λέγει DA, < LK P ὡς] πῶς K οὐ < HP ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸ πῦρ μ γε < μ | 102 μετὰ τὸν < LK τὸν τὸν X post τὸν + πάλιν μ σώα καὶ παρθενός N σώα < LK μ | 103 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK Ἐρβᾶν λέγει < T λέγει] ἔφη V, < LK μ M ἐν] θεὸν V τε < LK DAN μ δοκῆσει] δοκιμασία SHT δοκιμῆ P + ὅτι DAN γεγέννηται LK | 104 τοῦτον P παντάσῃ + ἄγνωστον καὶ P | 105 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M, < SHPT ἔφη < LK ἡμέραις < N, + δὲ SHPT ὁ<sup>2</sup> < DAN μ M Ἀμβακούμ XL A STVM πρὸς τὸν Δανιήλ < D | 106 τὸν < X AN μ VM περιεσφραγισμένης X | 107 δὴ] δὲ V, < M τὰς θύρας VM θύραν + οὕτε P | 108 ἀνέωξεν XLK μ ἀλλ’ < LK μ M ἐσάλειυσεν LK | 109 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < LK μ TVM ἐρήμου X ἐφεῦρες M οὐχ] οὐδεὶς DAN μ οὐκ SHP ἕτερός τις XLK τὸ] τὸν HP βιαίῳ θανάτῳ LK βιαιοθάνατον N<sup>pc</sup> τὸν βίον ὁ Χριστός σου θάνατον P | 110 γενέσθαι LK SHPT τὸν Χριστόν σου < P μου τὸ πνεῦμα SHPT

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄγνων τὸ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ πάθους τε καὶ θανάτου αὐτοῦ  
 μυστήριον εἰκότως σκανδαλίζη. Ἄκουσον δὲ τί ὁ προφήτης λέγει ἐν πρώτοις περὶ τοῦ 657C  
 προδότου Ἰούδα· *Ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου, φησὶν, ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ’ ἐμέ πτερνισμόν.* Καὶ  
 μετέπειτα λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρόμενος· *Ἐνεδύσατο κατάραν ὡς ἰμάτιον καὶ εἰσῆλθεν*  
 115 *ὡσεὶ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡσεὶ ἔλαιον ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις αὐτοῦ· καθότι οὐκ ἠθέλη-*  
*σεν εὐλογίαν καὶ μακρυνθῆσεται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.* Καὶ περὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ  
 τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν τῆς κατὰ τὸν κύριον λέγει· *Κατ’ ἐμοῦ ἐπιθύριζον πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί μου,*  
*κατ’ ἐμοῦ ἐλογίζοντο κακὰ μοι, λόγον παράνομον κατέθεντο κατ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἔθεντό μοι*  
 120 *κακὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ μίσος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀγαπήσεώς μου.* Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει Ἡσαΐας ἐκ  
 προσώπου ὑμῶν τῶν ἀσεβῶν· *Δήσωμεν, φησὶ, τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστί.* Καὶ 657D  
 περὶ τοῦ τιμήματος αὐτοῦ φάσκει Ἰερεμίας, ὅπερ τίμημα δεδώκατε Ἰούδα τῷ προδότῃ  
 μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μαιφονίας· *Καὶ ἔλαβον, φησὶ, τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τεπιμη-*  
*μένου, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμῆως,*  
*καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι κύριος.* Καὶ περὶ τῆς προδοσίας λέγει· *Ἴνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ*  
 125 *ἐμελέτησαν κενά; Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ*  
*αὐτό, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.”*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἔθνος ἡμεῖς ποῖον; λαὸς ἴσως κекλήμεθα. Βασιλεῖς τε δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν 660A  
 καὶ ἄρχοντες κατὰ τίνα τρόπον ὀνομαζόμεθα;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὅδ’ ἐλεάληκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι ποιήσω σε εἰς ἔθνος  
 130 *μέγα καὶ πολὺ;* Ἐκ τούτου οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔθνος προσαγορεύεσθε. Καὶ Μωυσεῖ δὲ οὐκ εἶπε  
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὅτι· *Καὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ λαὸς σου παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη;* Καὶ  
 μετέπειτα, *καὶ γνῶσομαι,* φησὶν, *ὅτι λαὸς σου τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο·* ἰδοὺ καὶ λαὸς καὶ ἔθνος. Τὸ  
 δὲ παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ  
 κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡς μὲν βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα προσαγορευθέντες παρὰ

113 ὁ – πτερνισμόν Ps. 40.10 | 114 ἐνεδύσατο – 116 αὐτοῦ Ps. 108.18, 17 | 117 κατ’ – 118 ἐμοῦ<sup>2</sup>  
 Ps. 40.8–9 | 118 καὶ – 119 μου Ps. 108.5 | 120 δήσωμεν – ἐστί Is. 3.10 | 122 καὶ – 124 κύριος Mt.  
 27.9–10; cf. Zach. 11.12; Jer. 18.2–12 | 124 ἴνα – 126 αὐτοῦ Ps. 2.1–2 | 129 ποιήσω – 130 πολὺ  
 Gen. 12.2 | 131 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἔθνη Ex. 33.16 | 132 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἔθνος<sup>2</sup> cf. Ex. 33.13 | 134 ὡς – 135 βασιλεῖς  
 cf. Ex. 16.9 ὡς – 136 ἄρχοντες cf. Ex. 19.6, 23.22

**X L K D A N μ S H P T V M** | 127 τε[C

111 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK PV τὸ post  
 αὐτοῦ N, < SHPT τιμίου αὐτοῦ < DAN μ αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < HPTVM τε καὶ] καὶ τοῦ DAN τοῦ μ τε –  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < LK | 112 θεῖον μυστήριον DAN μ ἄκουσον δὲ] καὶ ἄκουσον VM τίνα X DAN μ ἐν  
 πρώτοις < LK τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ προδότου M | 113 φησὶν post πτερνισμόν N, < μ SHPT |  
 114 ἔπειτα λέγει πάλιν M περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρόμενος < SHPT ἐπαρόμενος] καὶ DAN μ |  
 115 καθότι] διότι P | 116 περι + τῆς SHP γραμματέων τε X VM καὶ τῆς < SHPT | 117 τῆς<sup>1</sup> < N  
 βουλῆς αὐτῶν post κύριον μ SHPT (αὐτῶν < P), post λέγει VM αὐτῶν < N τῆς<sup>2</sup> < μ VM κατὰ  
 τὸν κύριον] περὶ τοῦ κυρίου LK κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου μ τὸν < DA λέγει post αὐτῶν DA, post 116 καὶ  
 N πάντες < H μου + φησὶ XLK | 118 κατ’<sup>1</sup> – ἐμοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SHPT μοι<sup>2</sup>] κατ’ ἐμοῦ μ | 119 Ἡσαΐας  
 λέγει VM ὁ Ἡσαΐας N μ P ὡς ἐκ H | 120 τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὑμῶν P τῶν ἀσεβῶν < LK δήσωμεν]  
 ἐνεδρεύσωμεν μ φησὶ < N μ M ἐστιν ἡμῖν μ ἐστί + καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ἡμῶν N |

The archbishop said: “You are reasonably offended, since you do not know the mystery of his worthy suffering and death. Hear what the prophet says first of all about the traitor Judas: *The one who ate my bread, he says, has lifted his heel against me.* And thereafter he says about him praying: *He put on a curse as his garment, and it came like water into his bowels and like oil into his bones, for he did not want a blessing, so it will be far from him.* And about the scribes and archpriests and their counsel against the Lord he says: *All my enemies whispered against me, they devised bad things against me, they set an unlawful word against me, they did me evil for good and gave hatred for my love.* And elsewhere Isaiah says in the place of you faithless ones: *Let us bind the righteous one, for he is inconvenient for us.* And Jeremiah says about the price which you gave to the traitor Judas as reward of his murder: *And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the sons of Israel did value, and gave them for the potter’s field, as the Lord appointed me.* And about the treachery he says: *Why do the nations boast and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth presented themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and his anointed.”*

Herban said: “Which kind of nation are we? We are perhaps called a people.<sup>29</sup> And for which reason are we called kings and in which way rulers?”

The archbishop said: “Did not say God to Abraham, *I will make you a great and numerous nation?* Now for this reason you too are addressed as a nation. And did not Moses say to God: *And I and your people will find grace among all nations?* And thereafter he says,<sup>30</sup> *and I will understand that this nation is your people:* Behold, <he calls them> both people and nation. *The kings of the earth presented themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and his anointed* means that the royal

121 τιμήσαντος K ὅπερ] ὡσπερ P ἐδώκατε μ τῷ Ἰούδα M | 122 μισθὸν X μισθοῦ ἔνεκα μαιφονίας < SHPT εἶνεκα V φησὶ < μ P | 123 ὄν - Ἰσραὴλ < SHPT ἀπ’ X | 124 προδοσίας αὐτοῦ AN μ λέγει + ὁ κύριος καὶ προφήτης Δαβὶδ N | 125 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ < P | 126 αὐτῶν N VM | 127 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν] LK λέγει < LK μ TM οἶον ἡμεῖς N οἶον μ ποῖος VM λαοὶ X DAN μ ὠνομάσθημεν μ τε] δὲ DAN μ, < SHPT | 128 καὶ ἄρχοντες post 127 τε K καὶ - τρόπον < DAN μ κεκλήμεθα μ | 129 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος δ’ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK P οὐκ ἐλάληκεν SHP οὐκ ἐλελάληκεν T ὅτι] λέγων μ, < VM | 130 πολὺν A SHPV ἐκ τούτου] ἔκτοτε V οὖν < N μ ἔθνος καὶ ὑμεῖς μ SHPT καλεῖσθε LK καὶ<sup>3</sup> < D Μωσῆς μ δὲ < LK | 131 κύριον N ὅτι] λέγων CXLK VM καὶ<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ ἐνδοξαστήσομαι + φησὶν DA ἐγὼ τε - 132 γνώσομαι < N ὁ < V σου] οὗτος μ, < A παρὰ - 132 σου < VM παρὰ - 132 τούτου < SHPT | 132 ἰδοὺ post λαός CX, < μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DA | 133 δὲ < N τῆς γῆς < LK καὶ - 134 αὐτοῦ < P ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ post 134 αὐτοῦ T | 134 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C SHPTVM προσαγορευθέντες + ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ M παρὰ τοῦ Μωσέως < LK

<sup>29</sup> Herban’s reluctance to admit Gregentios’ statement is correct, given the otherwise clear distinction between ‘nation’ (ἔθνος) and ‘people’ (λαός), that is, between a pagan nation outside Judaism and God’s chosen people.

<sup>30</sup> Actually ‘before’.

- 135 τοῦ Μωσέως βασιλεῖς, ὡς δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκλεχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
ἄρχοντες. Συνήχθητε δὲ κατὰ μὲν κυρίου ὡς θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ 660B  
αὐτῶν ὡς υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐπ' ἀληθές βροτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ θεὸς ἦν καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει ὁ  
κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Εἰ δὲ βούλει τρανότερον ταῦτα συνιέναι· Ἡρώδης καὶ Πιλᾶ-  
τος παρέστησαν καὶ Ἄννας καὶ Καϊάφας σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ  
140 Χριστοῦ αὐτῶν. Ἴνα δὲ βεβαιωθῆς, ὅτι περὶ θεοῦ ἐφρυάξαντο οὗτοι, τὸ ἀνταπόδομα  
αὐτῶν τὸ παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ ἕνεκα τῆς φρυάξεως αὐτῶν ἀντινεμηθὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπάγων μετέπειτα  
ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκγέλάσεται αὐτούς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐκμυκτηριεῖ  
αὐτούς. Τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτούς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταραξεί αὐτούς.  
Ὅρθς τὴν κατὰ τῶν σταυρωσάντων αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀγανάκτησιν; Ὅτι δὲ 660C  
145 ἐψευδομαρτύρουν κατ' αὐτοῦ, λέγει ὅτι ἐπανέστησάν μοι μάρτυρες ἄδικοι καὶ ἐψεύσατο ἡ  
ἀδικία αὐτῆ. Ὅτι δὲ ἐμαστίγωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρράπισαν καὶ ἐνέπτυσαν, λέγει Ἡσαΐας·  
Τὸν νῶτον μου δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ράπισματα· τὸ δὲ πρόσω-  
πόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπτυσμάτων. Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃς, ὅτι Ἡσαΐας ταῦτα  
ὑπομεμένηκεν, οὐχ εὐρήσεις. Ὅτι δὲ ἦγετο εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι μηδὲν ἀντιλέγων, εἶπε καὶ  
150 πάλιν Ἡσαΐας· Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος  
αὐτὸν ἄφρωνος. Ὅτι δὲ ἐνέπαιξαν αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν καὶ συνεσκοτάσε  
τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ζόφον περιεβάλλοντο, ὄξος τε καὶ χολὴν ἐποτίσατε αὐτὸν 660D  
καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ διεμερίσαντο, προεῖπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ, ὅτι ἐξεμυκτηρίσάν με μυκτηρισμῷ,  
ἔβρυξαν ἐπ' ἐμέ τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτῶν. Κύριε, πότε ἐπόψει; Καὶ Ἱερεμίας δὲ περὶ τοῦ σταυ-  
155 ροῦ· Δεῦτε καὶ ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτρίψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς  
ζώντων, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ μνησθῆ ἔτι. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄνειδιζόντων αὐτὸν, ὅτε  
ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου, Δαυὶδ λέγει· Πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντες με ἐξεμυκτηρίσάν με· ἐλάλη- 661A  
σαν ἐν χεῖλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν· Ἦλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν, σωσάτω αὐτόν,

142 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 143 αὐτούς<sup>2</sup> Ps. 2.4–5 | 145 ὅτι – 146 αὐτῆ Ps. 26.12 | 147 τὸν – 148 ἐμπτυσμάτων Is. 50.6 | 150 ὡς<sup>1</sup> – 151 ἄφρωνος Is. 53.7 | 151 ἐνέπαιξαν – 153 διεμερίσαντο cf. Mt. 27.33–36; Mc. 15.24. 33; Lc. 23.36, 44 | 153 ὅτι – 154 ἐπόψει Ps. 34.16 | 155 δεῦτε – 156 ἔτι Jer. 11.19 | 157 πάντες – 159 αὐτόν Ps. 21.8–9

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

135 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ Μωσέως P δὲ < P παρὰ θεοῦ LK πρῶτον M ὑπὸ] παρὰ X DA ἀπὸ SHTV ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ < LK μ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < X N παρὰ] ὑπὲρ XLK | 136 δε<sup>1</sup>] μὲν C μ TM, < P κυρίου μὲν μ τοῦ κυρίου DA μ P σωτήρος] πατρὸς LK | 137 αὐτῶν < LK DAN μ ὡς + οἶα βροτοῦ καὶ SHPT (οἶα < P) υἱοῦ < DAN μ καὶ ἀνθρώπου K καὶ<sup>1</sup> – βροτοῦ] ἀληθοῦς μ, < SHPT ἀληθεία X ἦν] ἐστὶν DAN ἦν post ἄνθρωπος LK ἐγεγόνει] ἐγένετο C γέγονεν M, < LK ὁ – 138 Χριστός < DAN μ | 138 ὁ Χριστός LK Χριστός < SHPT ταῦτα < μ | 139 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – κατὰ<sup>2</sup> < SHPT | 140 αὐτοῦ DAN μ SHM δὲ] δὲ καὶ DAN καὶ μ περι] κατὰ LK μ τοῦ θεοῦ μ SHPTM τοιοῦτο μ τό<sup>1</sup> τε X | 141 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup>] αὐτοῦ M τοῦ θεοῦ μ P τό<sup>2</sup> < LK μ τὸ ἕνεκα] τοῦνεκα CX ἕνεκα] εἵνεκα S<sup>e</sup>VM εἶνα κατὰ S<sup>e</sup>HPT αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> < N ἀντανεμηθὲν CLK ἀντενεμηθὲν DA ἀντενεμήθη N ἀνταπονεμηθὲν V ἀνταποδοθὲν T ἀντινεμηθὲν αὐτοῖς < SHPT | 142 λέγει] λέγων M αὐτούς] αὐτῷ A καὶ – 143 αὐτούς<sup>1</sup> < LK ἐμυκτηρίει S ἐμυκτηρίει H | 143 αὐτούς<sup>1</sup>] αὐτοῖς DA τότε – αὐτούς<sup>2</sup> < SHPM | 144 θυμὸν καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν LK δὲ + καὶ DAN μ | 145 κατ' αὐτοῦ] αὐτόν N

priesthood was addressed by Moses as kings and, as being chosen first by God from among all nations, as rulers. You have taken counsel together against the Lord as God and Saviour, and against their anointed as the Son of Man and truly mortal man, because my Lord Jesus Christ was God and became man. So if you want to understand this more distinctly: Herod, Pilate, Hannas and Caiphas presented themselves together with the others against the Lord and their anointed. And to demonstrate to you that they boasted to God, the prophet says thereafter, introducing their repayment which they received from God because of their boasting: *He that dwells in heaven will laugh at them and the Lord will mock them. The he will speak to them in his anger and trouble them in his wrath.* Do you see the wrath of God Father against those that crucified him? And also he says that they were false witnesses against him, *that false witnesses have risen up against me, and injustice lied to itself.* On that they flogged him, beat him and spat upon him, Isaiah says: *I gave my back to the whips and my cheeks to the beats, I did not turn my face away from the shame of spitting.* And if you say that Isaiah suffered this, you will not find that written anywhere. On that he was brought to the crucifixion without contradicting, Isaiah again said: *He was brought like a sheep to the slaughter and silent like a lamb before his shearer.* That the soldiers mocked at him and crucified him, and the light became dark and sun and moon put on darkness, that you gave him vinegar and gall to drink, and that his garments were divided, David foretold that *the mockers mocked me and gnashed with their teeth upon me. Lord, when will you look upon me?* And Jeremiah says about the cross: *Let us throw wood into his bread and let us whipe him out from the land of the living, and his name be remembered no more.* And about those who reproached him when he hung on the wood, David says: *All those that saw me mocked me; they spoke with their lips, they shook their head saying:*

SHPT λέγει| λέγων P μοι + φησί DAN και - 146 έαυτῆ| < SHPT | 146 έαυτῆς D αὐτῆς A έαυτήν N δέ < P έρράπισαν| έπέρασαν P και ένέπτυσαν < SHPT λέγει| προφητεύει DAN μ ό 'Hσαίας N μ | 147 τόν - 148 'Hσαίας < P έδωκα μ τās - 148 έμπτυσμάτων| και τὰ έξῆς SHT μου<sup>2</sup> < μ | 148 άπεστράφη M έμπτυσμάτων αὐτῶν DAN είπης + έξ άφροσύνης DAN ότι + και C, + έξ άφροσύνης μ και 'Hσαίας C 'Hσαίας < μ | 149 ύπέμεινεν LK ύπομένηκεν SHT ύπομένει και P άντιλέγει C ό 'Hσαίας πάλιν λέγει SHPT και < LK N VM | 150 πάλιν 'Hσαίας| ό αὐτός LK ό 'Hσαίας A άμνός + άκακος H κείραντος DAN μ | 151 δέ και DAN αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup>| αὐτῶ DAN και<sup>1</sup> - 153 διεμερίσαντο < SHPT | 152 ό ήλιος και ή σελήνη DAN μ ζόφον| ζόφω μ M περιέβαλοντο| περιεβάλετο X M έπότισαν LK αὐτῶ DA | 153 και + ότι N διεμερίσασθε μ προείπεν + πάλιν CXLK ό < DA STPVM μυκτηρισμόν SHPTVM | 154 έβρυξαν - έπόψει < SHPT έπόττει V έπόψει + είπε πάλιν ό Δαυίδ LK ό 'Ιερεμίας μ δέ + λέγει N SHPT, < μ | 155 δευτε οὖν DA έμβάλωμεν + φησίν DA έκτρέψωμεν N | 156 τὸ όνομα αὐτοῦ post μνησθή SHPT και<sup>2</sup> - 160 έκρέμασαν < SHPT ότι M | 157 έκρεμάτο C έπί τοῦ ξύλου| έν τῷ σταυρῶ K τοῦ < DA μ με<sup>1</sup> < A | 158 κεφαλάς DAN VM ήλιζεν μ

- ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν. Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡλίων λέγει, ὡς περὶ ἡλῶσαν εἰς τε τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας  
 160 αὐτοῦ, ὅτε αὐτὸν ἐκρέμασαν τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτος καὶ  
 θεωροῦντος· *Περιεκύκλωσάν με*, φησί, *κύνες πολλοί*. Ὅτι δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἦσαν τῆς  
 κεκατηραμένης τῆς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ἄκουσον· *Συναγωγή*, φησί, *πονηρευομένων περιέσχον με*.  
 Καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡλίων λέγει· *Ἔρυσαν χεῖρας μου καὶ πόδας μου, ἐξηρίθμισαν πάντα τὰ*  
 165 *ὀστά μου*. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει, ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτὰ διμερίσαντο σφετερισάμενοι· *Διμερίσαντο*, φησί, *τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ*  
*τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον*. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὄξους, οὗ ἔπεν, καὶ τῆς χολῆς ὁ αὐτὸς  
 λέγει· *Ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμα μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος*. Καὶ περὶ  
 τοῦ σκοτασμοῦ τῆς ἡμέρας Ἀμμῶς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· *Δύσεται ὁ ἥλιος μεσημβρίας καὶ*  
 170 *σσκοτάσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ φῶς* καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ. Ὅτι δὲ τελευτήσῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυ-  
 ροῦ, Ἡσαΐας λέγει· *Ὅν τρόπον ἐκστήσονται πολλοὶ ἐπὶ σέ* σημεῖα σε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους  
 ὀρώντες τελούντα, *οὕτως ἀδοξήσει ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶδος σου, καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ θαυμάσου-*  
*σιν ἐπὶ σέ· εἶδομεν αὐτόν καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος, οὔτε κάλλος οὔτε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος*  
 175 *αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον, ἐκλείπον τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν υἰῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ*  
*ῶν*. Ὅτι δὲ περὶ ὧν ἐκεντήθη τὴν πλευρὰν τῇ λόγχῃ λέγει· *Ἀνθρωπος*, φησίν, *ἐν πληγῇ*  
*ῶν καὶ εἰδῶς φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστρεπται τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, ἠτημάσθη καὶ οὐκ*  
 180 *ἐλογίσθη*. Ἰνα δὲ δείξῃ σοι ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι ἔκειτο αὐτὸν παθεῖν, οὐ δι' ἑαυτόν (οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἐκέκτητο αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας), ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐπάγει προφη-  
 τεύων· *Αὐτός*, φησίν, *τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνάται, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογ-*  
*σάμεθα αὐτόν ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν κακώσει*. Αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας  
 ἡμῶν ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. Προσέχεις σύ, ὦ Ἐρβάν  
 Ἰουδαίε, τί λέγει Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης περὶ τῶν παθῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ δι' ἦν αἰτίαν ἔπα-

161 περιεκύκλωσάν – πολλοὶ Ps. 21.17 | 162 συναγωγή – 164 μου Ps. 21.17–18 |  
 165 διμερίσαντο<sup>2</sup> – 166 κλῆρον Ps. 21.19 | 167 ἔδωκαν – ὄξος Ps. 68.22 | 168 δύσεται – 169  
 φῶς Amos 8.9 | 170 ὄν – 174 ὦν cf. Is. 52.14–15, 53.2–3 | 174 ἀνθρωπος – 176 ἐλογίσθη Is. 53.3  
 | 178 αὐτός – 180 ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> Is. 53.4–5; cf. Mt. 8.17

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

159 ὅτι] εἰ CX ante καὶ<sup>1</sup> + ὁμοίως N λέγει] φησίν DAN, < μ ἄπερ CX οἷσπερ VM εἰς – 160  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>] αὐτόν DAN τε < μ εἰς τὰς CX VM | 160 αὐτόν < μ τοῦ – 161 θεωροῦντος] περὶ δὲ τῶν  
 κυκλωσάντων ὅτε ἐσταυροῦτο καὶ θεωροῦντων SHPT παντὸς < μ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ post κύκλῳ μ  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < μ | 161 φησί post θεωροῦντος μ, < DAN P ὅτι – 162 με post 163 μου<sup>2</sup> CX δὲ + καὶ N  
 μ, < M | 162 κατηραμένης DAN μ P ἡμῶν SHPT φησί < DAN μ | 163 περὶ – 168 ἡμέρας < LK  
 λέγει < DAN μ VM ἐξηρίθμισαν – 164 μου < CX VM | 164 μου + αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ  
 ἐπέδον με T διαμερισμοῦ CX αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς < P ὁ αὐτὸς < T ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει < DAN μ ὅπως]  
 ὅπερ VM ὅπως – 165 σφετερισάμενοι < DAN μ SHPT αὐτὰ οἱ στρατιῶται VM | 165 αὐτὰ]  
 ἑαυτοῖς M φησί < μ SHPT | 166 τοῦ < SHPTV ἐποτίσθη DAN μ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει < DAN μ |  
 167 ἔδωκαν + φησίν DAN ἔδωσαν μ με] μὲν SH καὶ περὶ] περὶ δὲ T | 168 λέγει] ἠνίξατο DAN μ  
 δύσεται + φησίν DAN μεσημβρίας] μεσημβρίας P, + εἰπὼν μ | 169 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς < M τῆς < N τὸ <  
 VM καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ < DAN μ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς VM δὲ < μ τοῦ < D μ | 170 ὁ Ἡσαΐας DAN ἐπὶ σὲ  
 πολλοὶ μ SHPT σημεῖα σε] σημειώσα D M σε] τε N πρὸ τοῦ πάθους < SHPT | 171 ὀρώντες <

*He trusted in God, let him redeem him, let him save him, if he wants him.* And he said about the nails, which they nailed into his feet and hands when they hung him up and all the people of Israel stood around him and looked: *Many dogs surrounded me.*<sup>31</sup> And hear that they were also from your cursed congregation: *The congregation of the wicked has inclosed me.* And he says about the nails: *They pierced my hands and my feet, and numbered all my bones.* And about the dividing of his garments the same says, that the soldiers divided and appropriated them: *They divided my garments among them, and cast lots about my vesture.* And about the vinegar which he drank and the gall the same says: *They gave me gall in my food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.* And about the darkening of the day the prophet Amos says: *The sun will go down at noon, and the light will become dark on earth in the day,* and so on. That he will die on the cross, Isaiah says: *As many will be astonished at you seeing that you made portents before your passion, so your shape will be held in contempt from men, and many nations will wonder at you; we saw him and he had no shape, neither beauty nor glory, but his shape was dishonoured. His face disappeared from the children of men, a smitten man.* And of his side being pierced with a lance, he says: *A man, smitten and acquainted with disease, for his face was turned away, he was dishonoured and not esteemed.* And in order to show you that he had to suffer not for himself (because he did not possess any sin), but for our sins, the prophet goes on: *He bears our sins and suffers pain for us, and we esteemed him in pain, smitten of God and afflicted. But he was injured for our sins and had grief for our sins.* You listen, o you Jew Herban, to what the prophet Isaiah says about the sufferings of Christ, for which reason he suffered, and

C τελούμενα DAN ούτω HP θαυμάσωσιν N SHT θαυμάσονται μ | 172 εἶδομεν + γάρ DAN μ εἶχεν + οὗτος X εἶδομεν – 176 ἐλογίσθη < SHPT οὔτε<sup>1</sup>] οὐδὲ N μ VM οὔτε δόξαν < VM | 173 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < N ἄνθρωπος – 174 ὦν < μ | 174 ὦν + και εἶδος φέρει μαλακίας N ὅτι] τί DA ὅτι – 175 ὦν < VM περί ὦν < μ φησὶν < X μ | 175 εἶδος C DA φέρει N μαλακίαν + φησὶν VM + ὁ προφήτης M οὐκ ἀπέστρεψε LK ἀπέστρεπτο DAN μ ἀπέστραπται M τὸ < D | 176 δὲ < μ σοι < μ ὁ προφήτης < LK M ὅτι ante ὁ DAN ἔκειτο] ἔδει LK ἐκὼν εἶπεν DA ἐκὼν N αὐτόν] ἑαυτόν T, < C ἑαυτόν] ἑαυτοῦ DAN SHPT οὔτε] οὐ LK SHPVTM οὐδὲ DAN μ | 177 ἐκέκτητο αὐτὸς] ἐποίησεν LK ἁμαρτίαν LK DAN μ M γε < μ VM διὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἁμαρτήματα μ ἁμαρτιῶν VM προφητεύων] λέγων μ, < DAN | 178 φησὶν < μ αἶρει M περί] ὑπὲρ μ PT ἐλογισόμεθα C SHT εὐλογισόμεθα P | 179 αὐτόν < P ἐν<sup>2</sup> < μ πληγῆ + εἶναι N<sup>mar</sup> ὑπὸ θεοῦ post κακώσει μ P ἐν<sup>3</sup> < VM | 180 ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> + πάσχει μ διὰ – ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> < DAN μ ἁμαρτίας TVM σὺ] οὐν ἀκριβῶς DA οὐν μ ἀκριβῶς post 181 Ἰουδαίε N ὦ < CXLK | 181 ὁ Ἡσαίας N SPT, < M ὁ προφήτης < DAN SHPTV τὸ] καὶ τὸ DAN καὶ μ ἔπαθε] πέπονθε DAN μ

<sup>31</sup> Probably it is intended that this was said about the Jews who watched Jesus' crucifixion, and not about the nails.



θε, καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις, ὅτι 'Δι' ὧν ἔπαθε καὶ ἐσταυρώθη σκανδαλίζομαι τῷ πνεύματι';  
 Ὁρᾶς ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον. Ἐνωτίσθητι τῶν ἐξῆς:  
 Παιδεία, φησίν, εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ· πταισάντων ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαιδεύθη, 661D  
 185 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκεῖνος, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταλλάξῃ τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἔχθραν τῆς παραβάσεως ἀποκτείν-  
 νας ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παθήμασιν, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Ἄκουσον  
 τοῦ προφήτου, Ἐρβᾶν, καὶ πείσθητι· *Τῷ μῶλωπι αὐτοῦ*, φησίν, *ἡμεῖς πάντες ἰάθημεν*. Τί  
 οὖν σε λοιπὸν σκανδαλίζει ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παθήματα; Προσέχεις, *τῷ μῶλωπι*  
*αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἰάθημεν*. Ὁ γὰρ κύριος παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς θάνατον διὰ τὰς ἁμαρ-  
 190 τίας ἡμῶν. Ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, φησίν, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἦκει εἰς θάνατον*.  
 Ἄκουε καὶ μὴ σκανδαλίζου, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη ὁ κύριος· *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου*, 664A  
 φησίν, *ἦκει εἰς θάνατον, καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐν πλεο-*  
*νασμῷ ἀδικιῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὔτε εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν*  
*τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ*. Προσέχεις τί λέγει ὁ θεὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ· *Οὐχ εὐρέθη*, φησί, *δόλος ἐν τῷ*  
 195 *στόματι αὐτοῦ*. Καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ φάσκει· *Ὅς οὐκ ἐδόλωσεν ἐν γλώσση αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε*  
*τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ κακόν*. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ βλέποντες τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρ-  
 τύρησαν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τυφλοὶ, οἱ ἄφρονες, οἱ ἀνόητοι, οἱ κακότροποι, οἱ μωροὶ, οἱ ἄπστοι  
 καὶ λωβοὶ καὶ φρενήρεις καὶ πεφυρμένοι ἐλέγετε αὐτῷ, *Δαιμόνιον ἔχεις*, φησί, καὶ ἄραντες  
 λίθους κατεδιώκετε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ φάσκοντες· *Περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε, ἀλλ' ὅτι*  
 200 *σὺ ἄνθρωπος ὧν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν*. Ὡς τῆς ὑμῶν ἀθλιότητος! Ὅμως πρόσεχε, *οὐχ*  
*εὐρέθη*, φησί, *δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ* ὑπὲρ ὧν, φησί, ἔπαθεν· ὁ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς τοῦτο 664B  
 λέγει διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἀναμάρτητος ὧν, τοῦτ' ἔστι περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. *Δώσω αὐτῷ*  
*τοὺς ἐν πλούτῳ ἀδικιῶν* εἰς σωτηρίαν· οἵπνές εἰσι τελῶναι καὶ πόρνοι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, καὶ  
 205 πεπιστεύκασι τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν κατεδέξατο ταφῆναι ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός τε καὶ φίλτατος διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων,

184 παιδεία – αὐτῷ Is. 53.5 | 185 τὴν – ἀποκτείνας cf. Eph. 2.16 | 187 τῷ – ἰάθημεν ibid. |  
 190 ἀπὸ – 194 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> Is. 53.8–9 | 195 ὅς – 196 κακόν Ps. 14.3 | 198 δαιμόνιον ἔχεις Io. 8.48 |  
 199 περὶ – 200 θεόν cf. Io. 10.33 | 200 οὐχ – 201 αὐτοῦ Is. 53.9 | 202 δώσω – 203 ἀδικιῶν cf. Is.  
 53.9

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

182 αὐτὸς] σὺ HP, < VM ὅτι – ἔπαθε < VM δι' ὃ X ἐφ' ᾧ μ καὶ ἐσταυρώθη post 181 ἔπαθε<sup>1</sup>  
 VM, < μ σκανδαλίζομαι + μάλλον DAN μ τὸ πνεῦμα P | 183 ὄρᾶς + μάλλον N ἁμαρτίας +  
 ἡμῶν ἦτοι μ τοῦ κόσμου] ἡμῶν ἐτραυματίσθη καὶ μεμαλάκισται καὶ N ἐνωτίσθητι + λοιπὸν CX +  
 καὶ X DAN μ ἐνωτίσθη ST τῶν] τὸ DA μ SHPTV | 184 παιδεία] παιδείας D, + γὰρ DAN μ  
 παιδεία – αὐτῷ < SHPT αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν LK N, + τοῦτ' ἔστι μ τῶν ἀνθρώπων < μ | 185 τοῦτ' ἔστιν  
 post 184 ἡμῶν N, post ἐκεῖνος P ἔστιν + φησὶ D καταλλάξῃ + τὴν ἔχθραν μ | 186 ἐν < P αὐτοῦ  
 LK ὅπως – θεόν] ἵνα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν λοιπὸν εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν N εἰρήνην] εἶρηκεν P τὸν < μ ἄκου-  
 σον + σου X σὺ DA τοῖνον μ | 187 τοῦ σοῦ προφήτου LK ὦ Ἐρβᾶν DAN μ Ἐρβᾶν] Ἐρβαῖε post  
 πείσθητι P φησίν] λέγοντος μ, < DA ἡμεῖς < LK P οἱ πάντες M πάντες < H τί – 189 ἰάθημεν <  
 DAN μ | 188 σε post σκανδαλίζει T προσέχεις] βλέπεις P | 189 ἡμεῖς < X γὰρ] καὶ X κύριος  
 γὰρ T κύριος ἡμῶν DAN μ αὐτὸν STVM εἰς θάνατον ἑαυτὸν N διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας] ταῖς ἁμαρτί-  
 ας AN μ VM | 190 ὁ – θάνατον < SHPT ὁ – 191 κύριος < DAN μ φησίν post θεὸς VM μου +

say: ‘My spirit is offended, because he suffered and was crucified’?<sup>32</sup> You see that he was given to death for the sins of the world. Listen to what follows: *The chastisement of peace*, he says, *was upon him*; because we men have sinned, he was chastised, that is this man, that he may reconcile us with his father, killing the hatred of transgression in his own sufferings, so that we have peace with God henceforth. Hear the prophet, Herban, and be convinced: *And through his weals*, he says, *all we are healed*. Now why does his cross and sufferings still offend you? You listen, *through his weals we all are healed*. For the Lord gave himself to death for our sins. God Father, he says, *came to death from the iniquities of my people*. Hear and do not be offended that the Lord was crucified: *From the iniquities of my people*, he says, *he came to death, and I will give the wicked for his burial and those full of sins for his death, for he did not commit any sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth*. You listen to what God says about him: *There was no deceit found*, he says, *in his mouth*. And David says: *He that did not beguile with his tongue and did not do evil to his neighbour*. And they who saw his truth testified that, but you blind, silly and foolish, you malignant, stupid, unbelieving, abusive, stubborn and confused people said to him: *You have a demon*, took stones and hunted him saying: *For a good work we do not stone you, but because you, being a man, make yourself God*. Oh your wickedness! But still listen: *There was*, he says, *no deceit found in his mouth* for which he suffered, he says. God Father says this through the prophet <that he is> without sin, that is about his son. *I will give those full of sins* for his salvation, that is the publicans and fornicators and sinners, and they believed in his name. And since my dear and beloved one accepted to be buried like the sons of man for the salvation of mankind, I will give him all nations which are vain in the wicked-

φησί VM | 191 ἀπὸ ὑπὲρ P ἄν V ἁμαρτιῶν M τοῦ λαοῦ < μ μου < X | 192 φησί < LK HP αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς P τοῦς<sup>2</sup>] τὰς CX τῶν LK ἐμ SHP | 193 ἀτικίων X ἀνομίαν] ἁμαρτίαν LK οὐδέ C μ ἠῦρέθη S | 194 προσέχεις – 195 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < DA μ ὁ θεός < N οὐχ – 195 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < N φησί < SHPT γάρ φησιν VM δόλος post 195 αὐτοῦ V | 195 καί<sup>1</sup> – 196 κακόν < SHPT ὁ < X ἐν < X | 196 τῷ] τὸν A οἱ < D περὶ αὐτοῦ < SHPT | 197 οἱ ἄφρονες < CXLK οἶς] καὶ LK οἱ κακότεροι < P οἱ μωροὶ < SHPT ἄπιστοι] ἀπληστοὶ N | 198 καί<sup>1</sup>] οἱ μ P καί<sup>1</sup> – φρενήρεις < SHPT λωβοὶ] λοιμοὶ LK καὶ φρενήρεις καὶ] οἱ μ φρενοβλαβεῖς C φρενόληπτοι LK πεφυρμένοι + καὶ ἐσκοτισμένοι μ αὐτῷ] πρὸς αὐτὸν DAN μ φησί < μ M αἶροντες SHPT | 199 κατεδιώκατε DA ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸν SHPT αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν V κράζοντες ὅτι LK ἔργου < SHPT οὐ ante περὶ N, < HP ἀλλ’ ὅτι] ἀλλὰ M | 200 σὺ + εἶ T ἑαυτὸν C SHPTVM ἀθεότητος CXLK, + ἐλεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων μ πρόσσεχε + τοῖς λεγομένοις DAN μ πρόσσεχε – 205 ἀνθρώπων] ὁ θεός καὶ πατὴρ λέγει SHPT | 201 ὑπὲρ] περὶ LK ὑπὲρ ὧν] ἀνθ’ ὧν D ἀνθ’ ὅσον AN μ VM ὑπὲρ – ἔπαθεν post 202 αὐτοῦ μ πατὴρ] σωτήρ N | 202 διὰ στόματος μ ἀναμάρτητος – ἔστι < μ τοῦτ’ ἔστι] καὶ πρόσσεχε τέ φησιν ὁ πατὴρ N μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ μ αὐτὸν DA M αὐτῶν V | 203 τοῦς] τὸν D καί<sup>1</sup> < N πόρνοι C LK M μ | 204 ὧν] ὅσον DAN μ VM οἱ < C DA VM | 205 ὁ ἀγαπητός μου K τε < LK

32 Reference to B 109–110.

δώσω αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἅπνὰ εἰσιν ἐν πονηρίᾳ εἰδώλων μεματαιωμένα καὶ πιστεύ-  
σωσιν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καταξιοθήσονται. Μισθόν, φησί, τούτους  
πάντας παρέξω αὐτῷ, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπαθεν ἀναμάρτητος ὧν ὁ υἱός μου, καὶ ἀντ' αὐτῶν νενίκη-  
κε τὸν παλαιὸν πτερνησιτὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα, ὦ Ἐρβᾶν, οὕτως  
210 ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ κάλλιον ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλ' ἔκοντι ἀρνεῖσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
καὶ οὐ βούλει ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον.”

Ἐξέστη οὖν ὁ Ἐρβᾶν τούτων ἐπακούσας, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὥραν ἐννεὸς εἰστήκει μὴ 664C  
δυνάμενος τί ἀπολογήσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸ ἐσὸς καὶ ἀκούον κατε-  
πλήττετο, γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν φωνῶν Ἡσαίου αὐτοὺς κατεδίκασεν. Οἱ τε χριστιανοὶ  
215 κρότοις μεγάλοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις τιμίους ἔβαλον τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ  
μεγιστᾶνες ἔχαιρον ἀκούοντες ἃ μηδέποτε καθαρῶς οὕτως ἀκηκόασιν.

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἰλιγιῶ καὶ ἀπορῶ μὴ ἔχων τί διαπράξασθαι, καὶ γὰρ μερίζεται μου ἡ  
διάνοια ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὁπότεν γὰρ ἀκούσω Μωσέως λέγοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ *Ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεός σου, κύριος εἷς ἐστί καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ*  
220 *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος θεός*, καὶ ἔπειτα *κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λα-* 664D  
*τρεύσεις*, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν τὸν Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἡσαίαν φάσκοντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ περὶ τοῦδε  
τοῦ νομιζομένου Χριστοῦ, τί διαπράξασθαι οὐ κέκτημαι.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Διὰ τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν πάλιν Ἡσαίας λελάληκεν εἰδὼς ὑμῶν  
τὸ εὐόλισθόν τε καὶ ἄπιστον· *Κύριε, φησί, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ βραχίων* 665A  
225 *κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;* Οὐχ ἑτέροις, οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Ἥδει Ἡσαίας τὴν  
ὑμῶν ἀπιστίαν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐτέρωθι λέγει ὡς πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν οἶμαι ἀναίδειαν· *Ἀκοῇ*  
*ἀκούσητε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψητε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρ-*  
*διά τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὧσιν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν*

211 οὐ – συμφέρον § | 219 ἄκουε – 220 θεός Deut. 6.4 | 220 κύριον – μόνῳ Deut. 6.13; Mt. 4.10 |  
224 κύριε – 225 ἀπεκαλύφθη Is. 53.1 | 226 ἀκοῇ – 230 αὐτοῦς Is. 6.9–10; cf. Io. 12.40

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

206 διὰ τοῦτο δώσω LK δώσω οὖν D μ ματαιούμενα μ πιστεύουσιν XLK D μ VM |  
207 ἀξιοθήσονται N φησί < SHPT τούτους πάντας] τούτοις μ | 208 ἅπαντας DAN αὐτῷ]  
αὐτόν μ ὧν] ὧν ὡς D ὅσον AN μ SHPTVM ἀναμάρτητον P ὁ < M ἐνίκησε N | 209 οὖν < X N  
μ πάντα] ἅπαντα DAN μ πάντα post Ἐρβᾶν N, < LK HP | 210 ἔχει<sup>1</sup>] ἔχειν N καὶ – ἔχει<sup>2</sup> <  
SHPT αὐτὸς] αὐτὴν N γὰρ < LK N μ VM καλλίων N κάλλιστα VM, < CXLK ὅτι < X ὅτι  
οὕτως ἔχει] τὴν ἀλήθειαν N ἔκοντι] ἐθέλοντι μ ἀρνεῖσθαι θέλεις X ἀρνή μ VM | 211 ἐπὶ + τὴν  
ἀλήθειαν καὶ DA συμφέρον + τοῦ ποιητοῦ μ<sup>margin</sup> | 212 ἐξέστην P ἔξεστιν T ὁ < μ STVM τούτων  
πάντων ἀκούσας DAN μ πολλοστήν N ἐννεὸς + γεγωνῶς SHPT ἴστατο DAN μ |  
213 κεκμημένος SHPTVM ἔχων P τῆ] μὴ τι P, < K κατεπλήττοντο DAN μ κατεπλήττετο – 214  
ἀπὸ] θαυμάζοντες γινώσκον ὅτι ἐκ P | 214 φωνῶν Ἡσαίου] ἰδίων προφητῶν SHPT ἑαυτοὺς μ  
κατεδίκασεν αὐτοὺς SHPT κατεδίκασεν X οἱ δὲ μ SHPT M | 215 κρότοις μεγάλοις καὶ < μ  
τιμίους H, < CXLK μ M ἔβαλον] ἔστεφον μ M ἔλεγον P τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ DAN P τὸν  
ἀρχιερέα μ καί<sup>2</sup> – 216 ἔχαιρον] σὺν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν ἔχαιρε μ | 216 ἔχαιρον + σφόδρα DAN μ  
ἀκούων – ἀκήκοε μ οὐδέποτε CXLK καθαρῶς οὕτως < SHPT οὕτως < X VM ἀκηκόασιν]  
ἤκουον P, + ὑπό τινος DA παρά τινος N μ | 217 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν LK λέγει < μ M καί<sup>1</sup> – ἔχων < DAN μ

ness of idols, and they will believe in him and will be deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven. I will give, he says, all these to him as a reward for those things which his son has suffered being innocent, and for which he defeated the old supplanter<sup>33</sup> and his power. Now all this, o Herban, is so, and you know it very well yourself, that it is so; but you willingly deny truth and do not want it to come to your benefit.”

When Herban heard this he was was astonished and stood speechless for a long time, being unable to answer anything. And the crowd of the Jews which stood there and listened was struck with amazement, knowing that he had condemned them from the words of Isaiah. The Christians overwhelmed the archbishop with great applause and worthy praise, and the king and his grand men rejoiced when they heard things they had never heard so clearly before.

Herban said: “I am irritated and bewildered and do not know what to do, for my mind is divided in these things. For when I hear Moses say, or rather God himself, *Hear Israel, the Lord is your God, God is one, and there is none else beside him*, and then, *you will worship the Lord your God and venerate him alone*, and then again David and Isaaiah when they speak in truth about this supposed Christ, I do not know what to do.”

The archbishop said: “Therefore and for this reason Isaiah spoke again knowing your unsteadiness and unbelief. *Lord*, he says, *who has believed our ears, and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed?* To no one else, I think, than to all nations.<sup>34</sup> Isaiah knew your unbelief, therefore he also says elsewhere, I think, to your shamelessness: *Hear with your ears and understand not, and looking there see and see not; for the heart of this people has become fat, and they hardly heard with their ears and closed*

SHPTV μή – διαπράξασθαι post 218 διάνοια C τί] τίνα D<sup>p</sup>A γάρ < C N μ | 218 τούτοις τοῖς] τοῖς τοιοῦτοις DAN μ ὅταν μ ἀκούσομαι DAN ἀκούω μ Μωυσέως μ H | 219 τὸ < μ ἄκουσον C σου < S<sup>a</sup>P κύριος<sup>2</sup> < SHPT | 221 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] οὐκ X, < μ ἐνταῦθα μ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν μ φάσκοντος T τοῦδε < P | 222 τοῦ < N οὐ κέκτημαι] οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι DAN μ οὐκ ἔχω P | 223 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C P τοιγαροῦν < X πάλιν post Ἡσαΐας D μ M ὁ Ἡσαΐας DA μ M λέγει C | 224 ἄπιστον + κατὰ πάντα μ φησὶ γὰρ κύριε DAN φησὶ κύριε μ φησὶ < T τίς φησὶν SHP | 225 οὐκ CL DAN SHP οἶμαι] ἄλλοις N ἦδει + γὰρ DAN μ | 226 καὶ διὰ μ ἐτέρωθι + ἔπειτα CXLK λέγων P ὡς < DAN μ οἶμαι] ἅμα S, < DAN μ ἀναΐδειαν] ἐπικατάρατον συναγωγὴν N διάνοιαν SHPT | 227 ἀκούσετε M καρδία ἡμῶν M | 228 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup>] αὐτοῦ A ὡμῶν M, < D μ SHPT τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μ

<sup>33</sup> The word *περηνιστής* appears in a similar context also in the ninth-century *Bios of Elisabet*, as remarked by F. Halkin, *ibid.*, 251 note 3.

<sup>34</sup> That is, to everybody except the Jews.

230 *ἐκάμμισαν, μήποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσι καὶ ἀκούσωνται τοῖς ὡσὶ καὶ  
 πατέρες ὑμῶν νεκροὺς αὐτῶν ἐγείραντα, παραλύτους συσφίγγοντα ἐθεάσαντο, τυφλοῖς  
 τὸ βλέπειν χαριζόμενον, ἐκ πέντε ἄρτων πεντάκις χιλίους χορτάζοντα, ἐπάνω τῶν κυμά-  
 των τῆς θαλάσσης ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ πεζεύοντα καὶ ἕτερα ἕτερα ἀπόρρητα ἐργαζόμενον· εἰ  
 ταῦτα αὐτὸν τελούντα θεασάμενοι οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν, ὑμεῖς τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τὰ γεννήματα μη- 665B  
 235 δὲν τοιοῦτον θεασάμενοι ἐξ ἀκοῆς μόνης ἐξήτε εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεῦσαι; Οὐ μὴν, οὐδαμῶς.”*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄκουσον, ἀρχιεπίσκοπε, τὰ μὲν ῥήματά σου ἀληθῆ εἰσίν· ἀπεριέργως  
 γὰρ λέγεις καὶ κατ’ ἔπος καὶ οὐκ ἔστι δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματί σου. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σεαυτοῦ  
 διαλεγόμενος πείθεις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ γε ἀπὸ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν τοῦ νόμου. Διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰ  
 πόθου καὶ εἰσακούσεως. Πλὴν διὰ τὸ ἐν πρώτοις τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον δοθῆναι ἡμῖν καὶ  
 240 μετέπειτα τὸν ὑμέτερον, δοκῶ τοίνυν τὸν ἐν πρώτοις δοθέντα ἐπικρατέστερον πεφηνέναι.  
 Ἄναγκαῖον τοιγαροῦν ἐστὶν λοιπὸν ἡμᾶς μὲν τηρεῖν τὸν ἡμέτερον, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἔπειτα τὸν  
 ὑμέτερον.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοῦ Μωσέως λέγοντος, ὅτι *Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύρι- 665C  
 245 ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι νομοθέτην, ἔσται οὖν πᾶσα ψυχὴ,  
 ἥ τις οὐκ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς*, τοῦτου  
 οὖν οὕτως λέγοντος, πρόδηλον ἐστὶν ὅτι μέχρι τοῦ ἐρχομένου προφήτου προσῆν εὐαπόδε-  
 κτος ὁ νόμος. Παραγεγονότος δὲ τοῦ ζητουμένου καὶ ἕτερον νόμον εἰσφέροντος, ἔδει  
 λοιπὸν τὸν πρότερον νόμον σιγήσαντα καταπαῦσαι. Οὐκοῦν οὐκέτι εὐδοκεῖ κύριος ἐν τῷ  
 νόμῳ ὑμῶν, κἂν ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐργάζεσθε αὐτόν.”

250 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ λίαν εὐδοκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ κύριος, ἐπειδὴ λέγει διὰ τοῦ προφήτου περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ· *Ὁ νόμος κυρίου, φησίν, ἄμωμος ἐπιστρέφων ψυχὰς*. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐπιστρέφει ψυχὰς  
 τοῦ συνιέναι τὸν θεόν, πῶς οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδοκεῖ κύριος;” 665D

232 ἐκ – χορτάζοντα cf. Mt. 14.17–21; Mc. 6.41–43; Lc. 9.13–14; Io. 6.9–10 ἐπάνω – 233  
 πεζεύοντα cf. Mt. 14.26 | 234 τῶν – γεννήματα cf. Mt. 3.7, 12.34, 23.33, Lc. 3.7 | 243 προφήτην  
 – 244 ἐμέ Deut. 18.15 | 244 ἔσται – 245 αὐτῆς Acta 3.23; cf. Lev. 23.29 | 251 ὁ – ψυχὰς Ps. 18.8

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

229 τοῖς<sup>1</sup> – νοήσωσι < DA καὶ νοήσωσι τῇ καρδίᾳ post 230 ὡσὶ N, < SHPTVM νοήσωσι τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ C ἀκούσωσι μ P τοῖς ὡσὶν ἀκούσωσι VM καὶ<sup>3</sup> + τῇ καρδίᾳ μ VM καὶ συνιώσι < N |  
 230 συνώσι μ ἐπιστρέψω X ἐπιστρέψουσι TVM αὐτοῦς] αὐτοῖς P οὐκοῦν < P εἰ] οἱ DN VM οἱ  
 < DAN VM | 231 ἐγείραντος DAN ἐγείροντα SHP + καὶ T συσφίγγαντος DA σφίγγαντος N  
 σφίγγαντα μ συνφίγγοντα V ἐθεάσαντο P τυφλοῦς DAN V + δὲ DAN τυφλοῖς – 233 πεζεύοντα  
 < μ | 232 καὶ ἐκ DAN ἐκ – χορτάζοντα post 233 πεζεύοντα SHPT χορτάσαντα DAN VM καὶ  
 ἐπάνω DAN τῆς θαλάσσης κυμάτων DAN VM | 233 τῆς – ποσὶ < SHPT πεζεύσαντα DAN VM  
 τινα] τε μ, < SHP εἰς V εἰ – 234 θεασάμενοι < SHPT | 234 θεασάμενον C τὰ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν DAN  
 μ μηθὲν SV | 235 μόνης + καὶ VM ἐξήτε XK μ V οὐ μὴν < DAN μ | 236 λέγει < μ TM ὡ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπε DA μ ἐπίσκοπε M σου < T εἰσίν] τυγχάνουσιν καὶ βεβαιώτερα DAN μ (βέβαια μ),  
 < SHPTVM | 237 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < CXLK N καθ’ DAN SHPTVM ἔπος + τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα DAN μ δόλος  
 + πιστεύων VM σεαυτοῦ X DAN ἑαυτοῦ LK | 238 πεποίηκας D μ πέποικας AN ἐπέιθης HP ἀλλ’  
 V γε < VM ἀπὸ < SHPT ἀξίως H | 239 πόθου] πειθῶ DAN SHPT πειθοῦσιν μ πειθοῦς VM

*their eyes, lest they see with their eyes and perceive<sup>35</sup> and hear with their ears and understand and return to me, and I heal them.* Now is it not so? For if your fathers saw him raising their dead and restoring their paralytics to health, giving sight to the blind, feeding the five thousand with five loaves of bread, walking with unmoistened feet upon the waves of the lake and doing other ineffable things as well: If they did not believe when they saw him working these, how will you offspring of vipers believe in him only from hearsay, having seen nothing of this kind yourself? In no way, never.”

Herban said: “Hear, archbishop, your words are true, for you speak in a simple way and in the literal sense, and there is no deceit in your mouth. For you do not convince us by lecturing from your own thoughts, but from the divine Scriptures of the law. Therefore you deserve to be loved and listened to. But because our law was given first and thereafter yours, I think accordingly that the one given first is more valid. Therefore it is necessary that we keep our law, and you then yours.”

The archbishop said: “When Moses said, *God will raise up unto you a prophet from among your brothers like me*, that is a law-giver, *now every soul, that will not hear that prophet, will be destroyed utterly from among his people*, now when he said this, it is clear that until the coming of the prophet the law was well received. But when the man who was asked for came and introduced a new law, henceforth the older law had to be silent and to cease. So the Lord does not find pleasure in your law, even if you should be working on it all day long.”

Herban said: “God finds high pleasure in it, for he says through the prophet about it: *The law of the Lord is pure, bringing back souls.* Now as it brings souls back to understand God, how should the Lord find no pleasure in it?”

εἰσακούσεως P εἰσακούη M τὸν τὸν D ἐν – νόμον] τὸν ἡμέτερον δοκῶν νόμον ἐν πρώτοις N τὸν ἡμέτερον] ἡμέτερον post 240 τὸν<sup>3</sup> D ἡμᾶς καὶ ἔπειτα μ τὸν – 240 πρώτοις < SHPT νόμον – 240 ὑμέτερον < DA | 240 δοκῶ < N τοῖνον < DAN μ VM τὸν<sup>2</sup> + ἡμέτερον D, < N πεφυκέναι X M εἶναι μ | 241 τοιγαροῦν] τοῖνον μ οὖν V λοιπὸν < μ M ἡμᾶς + δὲ P μὲν < N τηρεῖν < VM ἡμέτερον] ὑμέτερον P, + νόμον DA ἔπειτα < DAN μ τῶν ὑμετέρων P | 243 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < X PV Μωυσεως SHPT | 244 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < X ἐκ – ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < DAN μ ἔσται] ἔστι M | 245 εἰσακούση LK N ἀκούσεται SHT εἰσακούσεται P ἀπὸ] ἐκ DAN μ PVM αὐτῆς] τούτου C αὐτοῦ XLK αὐτὸς T οὐτοῦ S | 246 οὖν + τούτου V τοῦτο M ἦν μ προσὸν V | 247 ἐτέρω νόμω A | 248 τὸν < T πρῶτον DAN μ σιγήσαντα + καὶ C HPT, + τοῦ X DAN S, + τοῦτον LK καταπαύσαντα C οὐκοῦν οὐκέτι εὐδοκεῖ] σιγήσαι μ οὐκέτι] καὶ C HP τοῦτον LK, < X VM ἐν] ἐπὶ DAN μ | 249 ὀλην] ὀλίγον SHPT ἐργάζησθε X M | 250 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TVM ἠδῶκεσεν VM κύριος ἐν αὐτῷ SHPT κύριος ὁ θεός C κύριος < VM περὶ αὐτοῦ < SHPT | 251 φησὶν post νόμος ST, < μ HPM ἐπεὶ – ψυχᾶς < X N μ | 252 τοῦ] τῷ LK θεόν] κύριον μ οὐκ] ἐκ C εὐδοκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ μ εὐδοκεῖ κύριος ἐν αὐτῷ SHPT

<sup>35</sup> The words ‘and perceive’ (καὶ νῶήσωσι) are missing in the text of the Septuagint and probably came here from the free quotation of Is. 6.9 in Io. 12.40, where they are followed by ‘with their heart’ (τῇ καρδίᾳ).

255 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν πρώτοις νόει περί ποίου νόμου ὁ προφήτης λελάληκεν, καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως τὸ κύρος ἐπίστελλε καὶ μὴ ἀπ’ ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τὰ περί σέ περιστρεφε τὰ γε-  
γραμμένα. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ προφῆται οὐ περί τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ὑπαρξάντων πραγμάτων  
προεφήτευσαν, ἀλλὰ περί τῶν μελλόντων. Τοῦτο γὰρ εἰρηκῶς ὁ προφήτης περί τοῦ βρα-  
βευθέντος νόμου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἶρηκεν· Ὁ νόμος γὰρ κυρίου, φησίν, ἄμωμος ἐπιστρέφων  
ψυχάς. Ποίας οἶμαι ψυχάς ἐπιστρέφων καὶ ἔθεν, καὶ ποῦ ἄρα ὀδηγῶν αὐτάς;” 668A

260 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὰς πλανωμένας ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἐν τῷ ἀναπτύσσεισθαί  
αὐτὸν θάττον ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀδηγεῖ.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀτάκτως ἀπατάσαι πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς πλανᾶσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ  
νόμου μοιχείαις καὶ ἀνδρομανίαις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀπάταις ἀλισκόμενοι, εἶτα καθ’ ἕκα-  
στον σάββατον ὑμῶν ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ’ εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην· οὔτε μία γὰρ ψυχὴ  
ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστρέφεται πρὸς κύριον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. Τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν νόμον;  
265 Οἶμαι οὐδεὶς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀπεστράφη ἀφ’ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξεδίωξεν ὑμᾶς καὶ διεσκορ-  
πισεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης. Δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν γάρ, εἶπέ μοι, διεσκορπίσθητε εἰς  
τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐστὲ ὡσεὶ κατάρα ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν;” 668B

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν πρόδηλον τοῦτο.”

270 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ἐπεὶ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν διεσκορπίσθητε διωχθέντες  
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, πῶς εἶρηκας, ὅτι ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν  
τοῦ δεσπότου τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν; Τοὺς ἀρέσκοντας οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἄρα ἀπωθεῖται καὶ  
διασκορπίζει; Ὅρᾳς πῶς ἂ φάσκετε διαβολὴν ἀπλήρωτον κέκτηνται.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ λέγε αὐτός, τίνα δηλοῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον.”

275 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ νόμος κυρίου πέφυκεν ὁ ἐμὸς Χριστὸς, ὅστις καταβάς ἐκ  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας πλήθος υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς  
ἀγαθότητα χριστιανίζειν παιδεύσας, ὧν πρῶτος Πέτρος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ γε  
καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων μυριάδας καὶ χιλιάδας ἐπέστρεψε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ  
διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος ἐπίγνωσιν. Τηλικούτων δὲ προσήν

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V M | 254 καὶ<sup>1</sup> C ]

253 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἐν < SHP  
ἐν πρώτοις] πρῶτων DAN μ TVM νόησον DAN μ περί + τοῦ μ | 254 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < μ ἐπέστελλε N τὰ<sup>1</sup>  
< X τὰ περί σέ < μ περιστρεφε post γεγραμμένα μ περιστρέφου X ἐπίστρεφε T καὶ τὰ<sup>2</sup> DA τὰ  
< TVM ἐγγεγραμμένα N | 256 προεφήτευσαν μ προηγόρευσαν VM γὰρ + φησίν DA | 257 γὰρ <  
D φησίν κυρίου μ M φησίν post ἄμωμος T | 258 οἶμαι] οἶει X, < LK μ πόθεν T ποῦ] ὅπου DA  
ποῦ ἄρα] ἄρα ὅπου N | 259 λέγει] ἔφη DAN S, < μ TVM τὰς] διάγων M ἀπὸ] ἐκ P ὁ < LK  
νόμος < LK | 260 ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν LK ὡς < μ VM ὀδηγεῖ + πάντας DAN μ | 261 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος  
ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < LK ἀτάκτως + οὖν DA  
ἐξαπατάσαι N ἀπατᾶ μ VM ἀπατάσαι – 262 νόμου] ἀπατάσθε ἀπὸ τῷ νόμου πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς  
P τοῦ < M | 262 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – ἀλισκόμενοι < μ εἶτα] ἡδονῆς LK εἶτα – 263 μάτην < SHPT |  
263 ἀναγινώσκετε DAN, < XLK καὶ τὸν X VM τὸν νόμον < LK οὔτε γὰρ μία DN TVM  
οὐδεμία γὰρ μ μία < X | 264 ἀφ’] ἐξ VM ἐπιστρέφει VM κύριον] θεὸν K ἐν < P καὶ < DAN μ  
M | 265 ὡς οἶμαι DAN μ οὐδεὶς + καὶ VM καὶ<sup>1</sup> post θεὸς SHPVTM, < LK ἐπεστράφη T ἀφ’  
< N μ ἐσκορπίσεν X | 266 ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς T ὑμᾶς < VM καὶ δι’ ἦν V γὰρ αἰτίαν μ εἰς<sup>2</sup> < X D

The archbishop said: “First understand about which law the prophet spoke, then confirm its validity and thereafter do not twist anymore the things that have been written about you. For also the prophets did not prophesise about the things that had happened before them, but about those in the future. Saying this the prophet spoke about the law which had been issued for the nations: *The law of the Lord is pure*, he said, *bringing back souls*. But bringing back which souls, I think, and where from and leading them where?”

Herban said: “The souls that went astray from the law, the same law will bring them back quickly when you ponder it, and through it lead them to God.”

The archbishop said: “You are deceived in a disorderly way, for all you go astray from the law being decoyed by adultery, lust after men and the other deceits, and then reading your law every Sabbath, but without reason and in vain; for in reality not even one soul is brought back from you to the Lord. Is there anybody among you that observes the law? I think nobody. Therefore God has turned himself away from you, has expelled you and scattered you to the ends of the earth. For what reason, tell me, were you scattered into the four winds of heaven and are like a curse among all nations?”

Herban said: “This is clearly because of our sins.”

The archbishop said: “And since you were scattered and expelled from the Promised Land because of your sins, how did you say that ‘our law brings back our souls to the approval of the Master’? Now does God cast off and scatter those with whom he is pleased? You see that the things you say contain an immense slander.”

Herban said: “So say yourself what the section means.”

The archbishop said: “The law of God is my Christ who, coming down from heaven and becoming a man, returned a large number of the sons of Israel to the goodness of the Father by teaching them to be Christians, out of whom the first were Peter and the others. And not only that, but he also returned ten thousands and thousands of all nati-

VM | 267 τέσσαρεις SHPT ἔστε DAN μ SHPT ὡσεὶ] ὡς εἰς L<sup>o</sup>K ὡς VM | 268 λέγει] εἶπεν DAN, < μ TM διὰ τὰς] δι’ N καὶ πρόδηλον LK τοῦτο < μ | 269 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P καὶ + ἐγὼ προείπον ὑμῖν DAN μ ἐπεὶ] ὅτι DAN μ ἐπειδὴ T τὰς < μ SHPTVM ἐσκορπίσθητε DAN μ M διωχθέντων D | 270 πῶς δὲ DAN μ ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν DN HPT M, < μ ἐπιστρέφει] ἐπιστρέφειν P + τὰ X DA SHPT | 271 τὰς < VM ὑμῶν μ TVM ἄρα post 272 κέκτηται M, < μ | 272 ὁρᾶς] ὅρα μ SHPT, < D πῶς < N ἂ < P λέγεις DAN μ ἄπειρον DAN μ κέκτηται A PM | 273 λέγει < μ VM καὶ < HP καὶ λέγει] λέγει δὴ SHPT αὐτός σὺ DA μ τί μ | 274 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < PV Ἰησοῦς Χριστός μ δς XLK ἐκ τοῦ] ἐξ VM | 275 καὶ < M πρὸς] εἰς VM πατρὸς] πνεύματος N VM | 276 πρῶτος < P πρῶτος Πέτρος] Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος N Πέτρος πρῶτος T ὁ Πέτρος DA γε < μ | 277 χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας μ P ἀγίῳ πνεύματι N | 278 διὰ – αὐτοῦ < DAN τηλικούτων] τοσοῦτον XLK τηλικούτος μ τηλικούτων δὲ < T ἦν μ προσην ὁ νόμος HP



280 ἄμωμος, ὅτι ἐκέκραγεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων· *Καὶ αὐτός*, φησὶν, *ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὔτε εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ μὲν προφήτης ἀρετὰς ἐνταῦθα ἀπαριθμήσας τάδε λελάληκεν· ἐπειδὴ προσέθηκε πρὸς τούτοις τὸ *Ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου ἐν τῷ διαμαρτυρεῖν πιστή, σοφίζουσα νήπια· τὰ δὲ δικαιώματα κυρίου εὐθεία, εὐφραίνοντα καρδίαν καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ κυρίου καὶ ὁ φόβος* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Σὺ δὲ πάντα μαγγανείαις τισὶ καὶ πανουργίαις, τέχνη τε τινὶ ὀξυδερκε- 668D  
285 στάτη τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισύρεις εὐθεία γλώττη ἐπισυνάγων τροπικῶς πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ βοήθειαν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἀκούεις τὸν Ἀββακούμ τίνα λέγει περὶ ὧν εἶρηκας, ὅτι ἀρετὰς ἀπαριθμήσας ὁ προφήτης λελάληκεν. Αἱ γὰρ ἀρεταὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ μου ἦσαν ἅς ἀπαριθμήσε, περὶ οὗ εἰρήκει καὶ ὁ Ἀββακούμ, ὅτι *Ἐκάλυπεν οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ* 290 *αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πλήρης ἡ γῆ.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο πάντως εἶρηκεν. Τίς γὰρ ἴσος τούτου 669A  
ἐν ἀρεταῖς;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ τις σε πεπλάνηκεν, ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζε θεὸς τοῦ νόμου; Μηθὲν σοι πρὸς ταῦτα, 295 μάνζηρε. Ὁ γὰρ ἐμὸς κύριος καὶ τοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς νόμου κύριος ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς νέας χάριτος θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς. Λέγει γὰρ Ἀββακούμ· *Ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Θαμιὰν ἤξει καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους κατασκίου δασέος.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸ Θαμιὰν τί δηλοῖ, τὸ τε ὄρος τὸ δασύ τε καὶ κατάσκιον τί διαγορεύει;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ Θαμιὰν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω δηλοῖ αὐτὸν ἤκειν, ἦτοι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρα- 300 νοῦ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῆς ἀνατολῆς. Ὡς τε ἀλήθεια δείκνυσιν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ παρθενικοῦ σώματος φάσκει αὐτὸν ἤξειν τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει, καθὼς καὶ παρεγένετο ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας δέσποινης 669B

279 καὶ – 280 αὐτοῦ Is. 53.9 | 282 ἡ – 284 φόβος Ps. 18.8–9 | 289 ἐκάλυπεν – 290 γῆ Hab. 3.3 | 296 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 297 δασέος *ibid.*

### XLKDANμSHPTVM

279 ἄμωμος] ἀκουόντων T κέκραγεν K VM καὶ κέκραγεν N μ λέγων] φάσκων DAN SHPTVM, < μ φησὶν < μ M | 280 οὐδὲ μ T δόλος post αὐτοῦ M | 281 λέγει < μ TVM ἐπαριθμήσας μ τάδε] ταῦτα XLK | 282 πρὸς] παρὰ X, < μ πρὸς τούτοις < SHPT τούτους V ἢ < P ἐν τῷ διαμαρτυρεῖν < μ SHPT διαμαρτεῖν D διαμαρτύρειν VM πίστει DA | 283 δὲ] τε X, < LK M εὐθέα X N μ VM τὴν καρδίαν M καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 284 φόβος < SHPT | 284 δὲ πάντα] δὲ δέσποτα X δέσποτα LK παγγανείαις N μαγγανείαις – 285 ἑαυτὸν < SHPT τε < XLK N τινὶ] κοινῇ DA, < XLK | 285 τὰ < μ VM ἐπισύρεις post καὶ πᾶν νόημα SHPT εὐθέα XLK εὐθεία + γὰρ μ ἐπισυνάπτων XLK τροπικῶς μ καὶ πᾶν SHPT ἅπαν μ | 286 ἑαυτοῦ DAN VM | 287 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < PV οὐκ < N ἀκούει SHP τὸν] τοῦ X M ὁ Ἀββακούμ post λέγει μ Ἀμβακούμ LK A SVM Ἀβραάμ P τίνα] τί DAN μ SHPTVM περὶ – 288 λελάληκεν < P ὅτε LK | 288 ὁ προφήτης < μ SHT μου] ἡμῶν VM | 289 ὑπῆρχον XLK ἅς ἀπαριθμήσε < SHPT ἀπηρήθησε N VM ἐπαρίθησε μ περὶ οὗ εἰρήκει < DAN μ εἶρηκε SHPTVM καὶ < SHPT Ἀμβακούμ LK A SVM οὐρανὸν μ | 290 πλήρης] πᾶσα T | 291 λέγει < μ TVM τοῦ θεοῦ < H εἶρηκεν πάντως μ γὰρ καὶ DAN μ V ἴσον LK SHP ἦσαν T | 292 ἀρεταὶ P | 293 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέν-

ons by his Holy Ghost through his disciples to the knowledge of the Holy Trinity. He was so pure that Isaiah cried out about him saying: *And he did not do any sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth.*"

Herban said: "The prophet said that reckoning the virtues, for he added to these, *The testimony of the Lord when he testifies is sure making the infants wise; the statutes of the Lord are rightful, pleasing the heart, and the order of the Lord and the fear* and so on. You draw all to yourself by tricks and knaveries and some sharp-sighted art, with a straight tongue gathering every thought for your help in a comparison."

The archbishop said: "You do not hear what Abraham says about the thing you said, that the prophet spoke reckoning the virtues. For it was the virtues of my Christ and God which he reckoned, about which also Habakkuk said: *His virtue covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his wisdom.*"<sup>36</sup>

Herban said: "At all events he spoke about the God of the law. For who is equal to him in virtues?"

The archbishop said: "Has somebody led you astray, that the Word of God which came down from heaven and was incarnated was not the God of the law? Nothing for you concerning this, you bastard.<sup>37</sup> For my Lord is both the Lord of your law and the God and king of the new grace. For Habakkuk says: *God will come from Thaiman, and the holy one from a shady and rough mountain.*"<sup>38</sup>

Herban said: "What does Thaiman mean, and what does the shady and rough mountain signify?"

The archbishop said: "Thaiman means that he comes from above, namely from heaven, that is from the east. Truth shows that he tells him to come out of the body of the Virgin at his incarnation, as he came in fact out of our holy Lady, the Mother of God and perpetual Virgin Mary. The shady mountain is the Virgin herself, out of which he

τιος Μ ἔφη < Ρ τί Σ περιπεπλάνηκεν DAN S | 294 καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας < μ μηδέν Χ Μ πρὸς < Ν | 295 μάνζηρε] ὁ νοῦς ἐξόφωτε Τ | 296 τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> ΧΛΚ ὁ Ἄββακούμ DAN μ Ἄμβακούμ L SPVM ὁ Ἄμβακούμ Α | 298 λέγει < Α μ VM τε<sup>1</sup> < Μ δασύ τε καὶ < μ τε<sup>2</sup> < L DAN PTVM καὶ τὸ D τι<sup>2</sup>] τίνα Ν διαγορεύει] λέγει Τ | 299 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη] λέγει DA, < Ρ τὸ + μὲν ΧΛΚ VM ἐκ τῶν < Ρ αὐτὸν ἦκειν < SHPT τῶν οὐρανῶν SHPT | 300 ἢ τε] ἡ δὲ μ | 301 ἔξεν D<sup>ac</sup>AN μ ἦξει Ρ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν μ Ρ καὶ < Κ SHPT καὶ ἐκ DA μ ἐκ – 302 Μαρίας < SHPT

<sup>36</sup> Note that the Septuagint's 'praise' is replaced by 'wisdom' (αἰνέσεως by συνέσεως). This reading appears also in some manuscripts of the Septuagint and, for instance, in the pseudo-Chrysostomic Psalm catena, CPG 4551, PG 55, 673c.

<sup>37</sup> The insulting address to a Jew with the Hebrew word μάνζηρος appears first in Leontios of Neapolis, *Bios of Symeon*, 97.12; according to Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 417.19, it was also polemically used by Konstantinos V for Ioannes of Damaskos.

<sup>38</sup> On the following discussion, see above, p. 99.

ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας. Ὁρος δὲ τὸ κατάσκιον αὐτῆ ἢ παρθένος ἐστίν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ προήλθεν. Λέγει δὲ αὐτὴν ὄρος διὰ τὸ ὡς ἐν τῷ Σινᾷ ὄρει παραπλησίως καταβη-  
 305 βηκέναι ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατασκηνῶσαι, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀδιόδευτον τῆς παρθενίας, ἐπειδὴ τὸ κατὰ πείραν δάσος τῶν ὄρεων δύσβατόν ἐστιν ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀδιόδευτον. Κατάσκιον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνει διὰ τὸ σκιάζειν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρετῶν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἑαυτῆς παρθενίας πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαγινώσκεισθαι ποίῳ τρόπῳ γεγέννηκεν. Παρθένος γὰρ ἔτεκε καὶ μετὰ τόκον παρθένος σῶα πάλιν διέμεινεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ’ οὔτε περὶ ἧς αὐτὸς ἀπη- 669c  
 310 ριθμῶσ παρθένου, ἀλλὰ γε περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾷ τῷ Μωυσῆ κατεμφανισθέντος. Εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ἦν, ἔδει αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· Ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ Θαιμᾶν ἦξει, καὶ οὐχὶ ὁ θεός. Θαιμᾶν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐν οἷς, ὅθεν ἀναπνεῖ ὁ νότος, τὸν τόπον προσαγορεύομεν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἡμεῖς, ὅθεν προσκυνούμεν, Θαιμᾶν τοῦτο προσαγο-  
 315 πλεύομεν. Κατὰ γὰρ ἀνατολὰς ἐδιδάχθημεν προσεύχεσθαι, διότι ἐκεῖ εὕρισκομεν τὸν θεὸν πλάσαντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ποιήσαντα. Πρόδηλον ὅτι κάκεῖνος ὁ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν τοῖς ἐκέισε ἐναυλίζεται. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅθεν προσκυνεῖτε, Θαιμᾶν τοῦτο προσαγορεύετε; Ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν γὰρ προσκυνεῖτε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀμφίβολον περὶ τούτου. Ἀνοίας δὲ 669d  
 320 ῥήματα σὺ εἰσφέρεις μὴ καλῶς διαγινώσκων τὴν προφητείαν. Ὁ θεός, εἶρηκεν, ἀπὸ Θαιμᾶν ἦξει καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρους. Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός καὶ τίς πέφυκεν ὁ ἅγιος, διήγησαι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Θεὸς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ἅγιος, δύο προσηγοριῶν κειμένων ἐν ἐνὶ πρά-  
 γματι.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ποῖον ἐστὶ μείζον, τὸ θεὸς ἢ τὸ ἅγιος;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸ θεὸς μείζον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Βλέπε πῶς ἐμπίπτεις καὶ οὐ διαγινώσκεις. Ἀνωτέρω γὰρ 672A  
 325 εἶρηκας, ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει τὸ θεὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιος, καὶ νῦν εἶρηκας, ὅτι τὸ θεὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπικρατέστερον πέφυκεν. Ἔστιν οὖν ἐν τῷ θεῷ ὄνομα μικρὸν καὶ μέγα;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ διήγησαι αὐτός, τί δηλοῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον.”

303 ὡς – 304 θεὸν cf. Ex. 19.18–20

**X L K D A N μ S H P T V M** | 306 κατάσκιον – γεγέννηκεν bis habet V hic et in initio (V<sup>1</sup>), in initio M (vide A 123)

302 θεοτόκου < LK τὸ < DN μ αὐτῆ K ἐστὶν ἢ παρθένος N | 303 καὶ < T προήλθεν + ἀφρά-  
 στως σαρκωθείς DAN μ ὄρος δὲ αὐτὴν λέγει μ αὐτὴν < N ὄρει] ὄρος M | 304 τὸν θεὸν < D  
 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < X παρθένου M | 305 ἐπειδὴ – ἀδιόδευτον < SHPT κατὰ πείραν < μ | 306 δὲ < K συ-  
 σκιάζειν ἐν αὐτῇ μ ἐναρέτων SH | 307 αὐτῆς DAN μ VM παρθενίαν LK διαγινώσκειν T  
 γεγέννηκεν + αὐτῆ DAN μ οὐ γεγέννηκεν M primo loco | 308 τὸν τόκον X N παρθένος < P  
 πάλιν σῶα N VM | 309 λέγει<sup>1</sup>] ἔφη N, < μ TVM οὐ – λέγει<sup>2</sup> < DAN τοῦ < μ λέγει<sup>2</sup>] φησὶν μ  
 ἀλλ’ < SHPT οὔτε] οὐ N ἀπαριθμῆς SHPT | 310 παρθένου + τοῦτο εἶρηκεν N ὄρει < VM  
 Μωυσῆ] Μωσῆ N | 311 ἐμφανισθέντος XLK TVM κατεμφανισθέντος SHP εἰ] οὐ T γὰρ] δὲ VM  
 ἦν ἔδει] εἶναι δι’ SHPT | 312 ἐν οἷς < μ VM ὅθεν ἀναπνεῖ] εἴωθεν ἀναπνεῖν SHPT ὅθεν – τὸν  
 post 314 τόπον μ τὸν τόπον < D | 313 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
 Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < PV Θαιμᾶν δὲ ἡμεῖς ὅθεν προσκυνούμεν μ ὅθεν] ἐν οἷς SHPT τοῦτο <

came. He calls her mountain, because God came down to her in a similar way as on Mount Sinai and dwelt with her, or also because of the impenetrability of her virginity, since according to experience the mountain wood is impassable or even completely impenetrable. And he declares her to be shady, because the mystery of her virginity is shaded by the multitude of her virtues so that it cannot be understood in which way she gave birth. For she brought forth as a virgin and continued to be an intact virgin even after giving birth.”

Herban said: “He does not say this about Christ and also not about the Virgin you were speaking of, but about the God of the law who appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai. For if it were like that, he would have said: Christ will come from Thaiman, and not God. Thaiman we call the place where the southern wind blows from.”

The archbishop said: “We address the place where we worship to as Thaiman. For we were taught to pray to the east, because we find that God created man there and made the paradise. It is clear that he that fulfills all is also dwelling there. And you address this as Thaiman, where you worship to? For you worship to the west, and there is no doubt about that. You introduce words of folly, because you do not understand the prophecy. *God*, he says, *will come from Thaiman and the holy one from the mountain*. Who is God and who happens to be the holy one, tell me.”

Herban said: “God and the holy one are the same, two names being applied to one thing.”

The archbishop said: “Which one is greater, God or holy?”

Herban said: “God is greater than holy.”

The archbishop said: “Look how you fall into the trap and do not understand. For you have said before that God and holy means the same, and now you said that God is more powerful than holy. Now is there a small and a great designation for God?”

Herban said: “Then tell yourself what the section means.”

SHPT | 314 ἀνατολάς γάρ μ ἀνατολῆς P εὐρίσκομεν ἐκεῖ M | 315 ἄνθρωπον + καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον HT πρόδηλον οὖν X μ ἐκεῖνος T | 316 τοῖς ἐκεῖσε] κάκεῖσε T καὶ ὑμεῖς] ὑμεῖς δὲ D καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ LK N ὄθεν] δι’ ὧν X ἐν οἷς LK Θαμῖαν – 317 προσκυνεῖτε < P τοῦτο < SHPT | 317 προσκυνεῖτε < T post γάρ + ὑμεῖς DAN μ δὲ] γάρ τὰ μ | 318 ῥήματα + ἔπειτα XLK πέπληστο ἃ μ σὺ < SHPTVM παρεισάγεις DAN μ διαγινώσκων καλῶς SHPT γινώσκων DAN μ VM τὰς προφητείας μ εἶρηκεν] λέγουσαν VM | 319 πέφυκεν] ἔστιν μ διήγησαί μοι DAN μ | 320 λέγει < μ TVM ὁ θεός V ὁ < μ SHPT ἔστι < VM κειμένων < K P | 322 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T καὶ ὁ – 323 ἅγιος < VM ἔφη < P ποῖον XLK ποῖος DA τὸ<sup>1</sup> – τὸ<sup>2</sup>] ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ DA | 323 λέγει < μ T ὑπὲρ < LK ὑπὲρ τοῦ] ἢ τὸ μ τοῦ καὶ DAN SHP ἅγιος + ἐπικρατέστερον ἔστιν L<sup>margin</sup>K | 324 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἐπιπίπτεις P οὐ < M | 325 ὅτι<sup>1</sup> < N τὸ<sup>1</sup> < T τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνει post ἅγιος P τὸ<sup>2</sup> < DAN τὸ θεός<sup>1</sup>] τῷ θεῷ S τὸ<sup>3</sup> < LK DAN ὅτι<sup>1</sup> – εἶρηκας<sup>2</sup> < μ τὸ<sup>4</sup> < V τὸ<sup>4</sup> – ἅγιος<sup>2</sup>] τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ DA ὁ θεός τοῦ ἁγίου M θεός<sup>2</sup> + καὶ P τοῦ] τῷ SHP | 326 ἐπικρατέστερος VM ἐν τῷ θεῷ < N καὶ] ἢ μ | 327 λέγει < μ TM καὶ < D διήγησαί μοι DAN μ τίνα XLK N

330 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐπεὶ φησὶν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἤξει, καὶ πρόδηλον ὅτι ἤξει, ἀλλὰ γε  
 διὰ σώματος. Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον οὐ μεταβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου ὡς τὰ σώματα. Τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 ἅγιος ἐξ ὄρουσ, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, ἤξει καὶ μετὰ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς θεότητος ἐκ τῆς  
 ἀμιάντου κοιλίας τῆς αἰπίαιδος καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας. Λέγει μὲν οὖν τὸ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὴν  
 οὐσίαν τῆς θεότητος· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, ἐπειδὴ καθὼς  
 ἀνωτέρω λελάληκα διπλοῦς ἦν ὁ κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς καὶ θεὸς τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. Λέγει γὰρ 672B  
 335 ἀναμεταξὺ τῶν δύο οὐσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκατέρων φύσεων εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ὁ  
 ἐνυπόστατος ἐπιγνωσθήσειε. Καὶ ὅτι ἤξει καὶ οὐ χρονεῖ, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ἐγγίξειν τὰ ἔτη ἐπι-  
 γνωσθήσει ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσει.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Συνετῶς ἀποκρίνη. Πλὴν ἀνώμεθα διὰ παντὸς ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τὸ  
 καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρῶαν πίστιν καὶ προσελθεῖν τῇ νεαζούσῃ. Οἶνος γὰρ παλαιὸς κρείττων  
 340 ὑπὲρ τὸν νέον.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Παλαιὸς οἶνος ὁ νόμος ὑμῶν, ἀλλ’ ὀξύσας ἠχρεῖωται. Πλὴν  
 οἶδα ὅτι κάλυμμα διὰ παντὸς κεῖται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔα ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἀνανεῦσαι 672C  
 πρὸς τὴν δέουσαν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀκούειν τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ πιστεῦειν. Ὅμως δικαίως  
 ἀπειπῶν τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ προφήτης λελάληκεν· Κύριε, ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἀπὸ γῆς διαμέρισον  
 345 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν· κατάστησον δέ, κύριε, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη νομοθέτην, γνώτωσαν καὶ  
 ταῦτα ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσίν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ ἄλλης τινὸς ὑποθέσεως ὁ προφήτης εἶρηκεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὁ  
 αὐτὸς λέγει· Λύτρωσαι, ὁ θεός, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἔπειτα,  
 Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὸν κύριον, αἶνει τὸν θεόν σου, Σιών, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσε τοὺς μοχλοὺς  
 350 τῶν πυλῶν σου, εὐλόγησε τοὺς υἱούς σου ἐν σοί. Καὶ ὁ Ἡσαΐας, Ἰσραὴλ, φησί, σώζεται 672D  
 ὑπὸ κυρίου.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ Ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἀπὸ γῆς διαμέρισον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐ-  
 τῶν, τοῦτο σημαίνει, φημί, τὸν διασκορπισμὸν ὑμῶν τὸν ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὸν εἰς  
 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κατ’ ὀλίγον γεγονότα. Τὸ δὲ Κατάστησον, κύριε, νομοθέτην ἐπ’ αὐτούς,

334 ἐν – γνωσθήσει Hab. 3.2 | 336 ἐν – 337 ἀναδειχθήσει ibid. | 342 κάλυμμα – ὑμῶν cf. 2 Cor.  
 3.14 | 344 κύριε – 345 αὐτῶν Ps. 16.14 | 345 κατάστησον – 346 εἰσίν Ps. 9.21 | 348 λύτρωσαι –  
 αὐτοῦ Ps. 24.22 | 349 ἐπαίνει – 350 σοί Ps. 147.12–13 | 350 Ἰσραὴλ – 351 κυρίου Is. 45.17

#### XLKDANμSHPTVM

328 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P  
 ἐπεὶ φησὶν < DAN μ ὅτι<sup>1</sup> μὲν N ὁ<sup>2</sup> < μ καὶ < DAN πρόδηλον ἔστιν N καὶ – ἤξει<sup>2</sup> < μ  
 SHPTVM γε < μ | 329 σώματος + ἤξει VM οὐ] μεταβάλλεται· οὐ γὰρ SHPT τὸ σῶμα N καὶ <  
 D ὁ < L SHPT | 330 καὶ < DA μ τῆς θεότητος < T ἐκ – 332 θεότητος < D | 331 αἰπίαιδος]  
 ἀειπαρθένου SHP αἰπίαιδος καὶ < VM λέγει μὲν] λέγομεν μ οὖν < VM | 332 τὸ δὲ < V τὸ δὲ  
 καὶ] καὶ τὸ M καὶ ὅ] < LK T ὁ < SHP διὰ < P καθὼς] καὶ SHPT | 333 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] Χριστὸς M, < K  
 D SHPTV τε < SHPT λέγει – 337 ἀναδειχθήσει < SHPT | 334 φησὶ < N μ M τοῦτ’ ἔστιν] ἦγουν  
 N | 335 τῶν<sup>2</sup> < M εἰς] αἰς X ὁ<sup>1</sup> < XLK μ ἐνυπόστατος λόγος N | 336 ἐπιγνωσθήσει DA μ V  
 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἐπιγνωσθήσει < DA M | 337 καὶ ἐν XL VM ἐν – ἀναδειχθήσει < K | 338 λέγει < μ TM

The archbishop said: “Since he says that God will come, it is also clear that he will come, but in his body. For divinity does not move from place to place as the bodies do. *And the holy one from the mountain*, that is humanity, will come with the substance of divinity out of the unpolluted womb of the perpetual maiden, the Mother of God Mary. He says *God* on the one hand about the substance of his divinity, and *the holy one* on the other hand about the substance of his humanity, for as I have said before, my Lord Jesus was twofold, both God and man. For the same prophet says before about him: *You will be known between two animals*, that is, one and the same substantial word of God should be known between the two substances and both natures. And that he will come and not stay, *when the years come near you will be known, when the time has come you will be shown.*”

Herban said: “You answer wisely. But we Jews are very much distressed to leave the faith of our fathers and go over to the new one. For old wine is better than the new one.”

The archbishop said: “Your law is old wine, but it became sour and undrinkable. But I know that always a veil lies on your hearts and does not let you turn to the needful truth and hear the word of life and believe. Nevertheless, the prophet rightfully said refusing your faith: *Lord, separate those from few men on the world in their life. Appoint a lawgiver over the nations, Lord, that they too may know that they are but men.*”

Herban said: “The prophet spoke about some other subject, because the same says about you: *Redeem Israel, o God, out of all his afflictions. And then, Praise the Lord, Jerusalem, praise your God, Zion, for he has strengthened the bars of your gates, he has blessed your children in you. And Isaiah says, Israel is saved by the Lord.*”

The archbishop said: “*Separate those from few men in the world in their life*, that means, I say, your scattering from the Promised Land into all nations which happened within a short time. *Appoint a lawgiver over the nations, Lord, that they too may know*

συνετώς + μὲν AN μ | τὸ τοῦ DAN μ | 339 καταλείπειν SHP πρώτην ἦτοι τὴν M τῇ νεαζούση] τὴν νεαράν DAN μ κρείττων ἐστὶν N | 340 τὸν < K | 341 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < P οἶνος παλαιὸς μ ὑμῶν + ἐστὶν μ ἀλλ’ – 342 ὑμῶν < M ὀξύσας μ, + λοιπὸν DAN μ πλήν – 343 πιστεύειν < SHPT | 342 κώλυμα X κεῖται διὰ παντός post ὑμῶν VM τοῦ < D μ VM | 343 τοὺς λόγους DAN μ ζωῆς + καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ὄντως μ πιστεύειν ἀξίως DAN ἀξίως πιστεύειν μ ὅμως] ὅπως T, + μέντοι DAN μ | 344 ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup>] ἀπ’ P | 345 κατάστησον – νομοθέτην < VM δέ < DAN μ P ἐπὶ – νομοθέτην] νομοθέτην ἐπ’ αὐτούς DN μ νομοθέτην αὐτοῖς A ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη νομοθέτην ST καὶ ταῦτα] ἔθνη DAN μ | 346 ταῦτα] αὐτοὶ VM αὐτὰ P | 347 λέγει < μ TVM ὁ προφήτης ὑποθέσεως P εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης < SHPTVM | 348 ἔπειτα < SHPTVM | 349 μοχλοῦς – 350 τοὺς < K | 350 ὁ < N ὁ Ἰσραὴλ μ σωθήσεται μ | 351 ἀπὸ HP τοῦ κυρίου T | 352 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < DA P ἐν – αὐτῶν < μ SHPT | 353 σημαίνειν M σημαίνει φημί] δηλοῖ μ φημί post ὑμῶν N, < μ τὸν<sup>2</sup> – ἐπαγγελίας < SHPT τῆς γῆς AN μ VM τὸν<sup>3</sup> < N | 354 ἅπαντα H κατ’ ὀλίγον γεγονότα] κατολιγονότα P

- 355 γνώτωσαν ἔθνη ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσί, περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο ὁ προ-  
φήτης εἶρηκεν. Αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κατέστησεν ἐν τῷ ἀπειθεῖν ὑμᾶς καὶ μὴ καλῶς πολι- 673A  
τεύεσθαι νομοθέτην ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης· Λύτρωσαι ὁ θεὸς τὸν  
Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν παράδοξον, ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους παρ-  
εκάλει. Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ χριστιανοὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δέον φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον καθ' ἐκάστην  
360 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμεθα, ἵνα ἐπιγνῶτε τὸ συμφέρον. Τὸ δὲ Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὸν  
κύριον, αἶνει τὸν θεὸν σου, Σιών, ὅτι εὐλόγησε τοὺς υἱούς σου ἐν σοί, καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθές  
ἐστί. Πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ γενέσθαι τὸν χριστιανισμὸν ἤρμοζε τὸ ῥῆμα, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀνπλέγω.  
Καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ παραγεγενῆαι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τὸν κύριόν μου Ἰησοῦν  
Χριστόν, κἀγὼ εἶπερ ἤμην, Ἰουδαίος ἂν ἐγενόμην. Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις, φημί, ἐν  
365 τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μόνῃ ἐχρημάτιζεν ἡ σωτηρία. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκας Ἐκείνων ὁ παλαιὸς  
οἶνος ὑπὲρ τὸν νέον, πεπλήρωται ὁ παλαιὸς οἶνος ἐκείνος καὶ οὐδὲν κατελείφθη ἐν τοῖς 673B  
πίθεις ὑμῶν πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας κατὰ τὸν προφήτην. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης περὶ τού-  
του τοῦ κεφαλαίου, ὅτι Ποτήριον, φησὶν, ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσμα-  
τος· καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο. Ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ νόμου ἔκλινεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸν νέον  
370 τῆ ἀποπληρώσει τὰς μελιρῦτους ῥήσεις τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν νοημάτων, φημί. Καὶ  
οὐδὲν πλέον ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ κενωθείσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν νέαν ἐναπέμεινεν ὑμῖν πλὴν ὁ  
τρυγίας, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, αἱ πληρωθεῖσαι γραφαί· τὸ λοιπὸν διακενής.”  
Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Σὺ παντελῶς ἐκμυεῖς τὰ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ κυρίου καὶ τὰ σὰ προσοικει-  
οῖς διὰ τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου τῷ παντοκράτορι μὴ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου τὸ φάσκον,  
375 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει.” 673C  
Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς τῆς περιοχῆς τοῦ στίχου πῶς οὐκ ἀναγινώσκεις;  
Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ  
οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. Πλὴν ἕως πότε λέξον, ὁ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς λέξεως  
ταύτης στίχος διορισμὸν προθεσμίας ἐπικέκτηται, ἕως πότε φάσκων· πρόδηλον, ἕως οὗ  
380 δικαιοσύνη ὁ Χριστὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπιστρέψη εἰς κρίσιν πνευματικὴν, φημί δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν χριστιανι-  
σμόν, τοὺς ὑπηκόους· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῆς τῆς νέας χάριτος, οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ

364 ἐν – 365 σωτηρία cf. Ιο. 4.22 | 367 πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας Ps. 74.9 | 368 ποτήριον – 369 τοῦτο ibid.  
| 375 ὅτι – ἐγκαταλείπει Ps. 93.14 | 379 ἕως<sup>2</sup> – 382 καρδιά Ps. 93.15

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V M

355 γνώτωσαν – εἰσί] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ, < SHPT σωτῆρος] κυρίου P Ἰησοῦ A<sup>p</sup>, < D | 356 ἠνίξατο  
DAN μ λελάληκεν SHPT + ὁ προφήτης T κατέστησεν ὁ πατὴρ μ καὶ < μ V καὶ – πολιτεύεσθαι  
< SHPT | 357 ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη νομοθέτην VM δὲ < HP | 358 ἐκ – αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ γὰρ < SHPT  
παρεκάλει τὸν κύριον DAN μ | 359 καὶ < μ καὶ – κύριον < N οἰ<sup>2</sup>] οὐ SH οἰ<sup>2</sup> – δέον] ὡς εἰκῶς μ  
τὸ < X τὸν θεὸν φοβούμενοι μ ἕκαστον XLK ἐκάστην + δὲ καὶ N | 360 εὐχόμεθα DA δὲ < μ |  
361 αἶνει – σοί] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ ὅτι – σοί < SHPT ηὐλόγησε X καὶ τοῦτο < VM τοῦτο] τόγε  
DAN SHPT ἀληθές ἐστι] ἀληθέστερον XLK | 362 γὰρ τοῦ μ οὐδ' αὐτός] οὐδαμῶς VM |  
363 παραγενέσθαι XLK μ γεγονέναι P μου] ἡμῶν VM μου Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν < μ | 364 εἶπερ] εἰ  
SHTV, < P ἤμην] ἔπελον DAN, + γεννηθεῖς SHPTVM Ἰουδαίος ἂν] ἴσως ἂν Ἰουδαίος VM  
τοῖς καιροῖς < VM φημί < μ | 365 νόμῳ] ὀνόματι DA μόνον μ | 366 ὑπὲρ] παρὰ DAN μ T |

*that they are but men*, this the prophet said about our saviour Jesus Christ. For since you were disobedient and did not lead a good life, the Father appointed him as the lawgiver of the nations. That the prophet said, *Redeem Israel, o God, out of all his afflictions*, is no miracle, for he prayed for his own people. And we Christians who fear the Lord as we should, pray every day for you, that you may know what is for your benefit. *Praise the Lord, Jerusalem, praise your God, Zion, for he has blessed your children in you*, that is also right, since before Christianity came into being, the word was fitting, and even I do not contradict you. For if I would have lived before my Lord Jesus Christ came from heaven into the world, I too would have become a Jew. For in those times, I say, salvation was only in the law of Israel. When you said ‘The old wine is better than the new one’: that old wine is spent and nothing is left in your jars *except the lees*, as the prophet says. For the same prophet says about this section: *There is a cup in the hand of the Lord, full of a mixture with undiluted wine, and he turns from one to the other*. God has poured the honey-flowing sayings of the prophets and their thoughts from the old law into the new one by fulfilling it, I say. And nothing remained in the old one, when it was emptied into the new one, and for you nothing but lees remained, that is, the fulfilled scriptures, which are henceforth idle.”

Herban said: “You drive Israel away completely from the Lord, and through the crucified one associate yourself with the Almighty, not knowing the word of the Lord which says, *that God will not cast away his people, nor will the forsake his inheritance*.”

The archbishop said: “And why do you not read the following passage of the verse? For I know well that the Lord will not cast away his people and will not forsake his inheritance. Say also until when, for the verse following this word defines a fixed time saying *until when*: Clearly *until the justice Christ will return* his subjects *to the spiritual judgement*, I say unto Christianity, for these *do possess this new grace, the upright in*

367 τρυγίας + αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξεκενώθη Ν κατὰ – 368 κεφαλαίου] καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει SHPT ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 368 κεφαλαίου < μ VM | 368 φησὶν < Ν μ VM πλήρεις DA | 369 τοῦ < μ | 370 τῆ – φημί < SHPT μελιρρύτους ῥήσεις τῶν] τῶν μελιρρύτων ῥήσεων Ν μ θείων προφητῶν μ και<sup>2</sup> < μ | 371 αὐτῆς εἰς < Ρ νέαν + διὸ XLK και Ν ἔμεινεν XLK ἀπέμεινεν μ ὕμιν < SHPT πλήν] μόνος LK μόνος post τρυγίας X | 372 τὸ δὲ LK τὸ λοιπὸν] τῶν λοιπῶν SHPT τῶν προφητῶν VM διακενῆς + ἔμεινεν X | 373 λέγει < μ TM ἀπὸ] παρὰ LK DAN ἀπὸ τοῦ Μ ἀπὸ κυρίου < μ και τὰ σὰ < X | 374 διὰ < Ρ μῆ] και Ν και μῆ μ τοῦ κυρίου μ τὸ<sup>2</sup> < DAN VM φάσκον] κραυγάζον DA μ VM | 376 ὁ – ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V Ῥηγέντιος Μ ἔφη < X Ρ και < D τοῦ στίχου τῆς περιοχῆς μ οὐκ < DA, Ν<sup>mag</sup> ἀνέγνω μ | 377 γὰρ < SHPT κύριος – και < K εὐ + οὐκ Ρ οἶδα + ἢ σύ μ | 378 τὸ ἕως πότε XLK γὰρ – 379 φάσκων < VM | 379 ταύτης < SHPT προθυμίας Ρ πρόδηλον < μ SHPT | 380 ὁ + ἦτοι XLK Χριστὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπιστρέψει < μ φημί < SHTP δὴ < DAN SHPTVM δὴ – 381 τοὺς] τὸν χριστιανισμὸν φημί· ἐλθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς μου και κύριος οὗτος ἐστὶν ἡ ἀληθὴς δικαιοσύνη· ἐπιστρέψει δὲ μ | 381 οἱ<sup>1</sup> – χάριτος < K HP δεχόμενοι Ν ἐρχόμενοι V αὐτοῦ TM τῆς νέας χάριτος < ST χάριτος + τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν Ν



- καρδία, οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεπιστευκότες εἰς αὐτόν. Περὶ δὲ 673D  
 ὑμῶν τῶν ἀπίστων Ἰουδαίων λέγει ὁ προφήτης: *Τίς ἀναστήσεται μοι ἐπὶ πονηρευομένοις,*  
 ἢ τίς συμπαροστήσεται μοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὴν ἀνομίαν; Ἀνέστη δὲ πάντως πρόδη-  
 385 λον ἐπ' ἐσχάτων Οὐεσπασιανὸς ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν καὶ ἠφάνισεν ὑμᾶς·  
 καὶ τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὀδυνώμενοι ἐλέγετε καθὼς ὁ Ἡσαίας προεφήτευσεν, *Νῦν τὴν κρίσιν μου,*  
 φησὶν, *ἦρε κύριος καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀλλότρισι κατεσθίουσιν ἡμᾶς.*"
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Πάλιν ἀναστησόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἰσραηλίται καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οἰκοδομη- 676A  
 θήσεται καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Χριστὸν κηρύττοντες αἰσχυνηθήσεσθε. Γέγραπται γὰρ ἡμῖν παρὰ κυ-  
 390 ρίου, ὅτι *Οἰκοδομῶν*, φησὶν, *Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὁ κύριος τὰς διασπορὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπισυνάξει,*  
*ὁ ἰώμενος τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῆ καρδία καὶ δεσμεύων τὰ συντρίμματα αὐτῶν.* Κἂν οὖν  
 ἐν πρώτοις, εἴτε ἐπὶ τέλους τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο πληρωθήσεται· καὶ *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ* τὸ λοιπὸν,  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπε;"
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ἐὰν μίαν ὠκοδομήθη, ἐὰν μίαν συνήχθητε, τί σοι μᾶλλον  
 395 ἤπερ ἐμοί; Οὐ Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἠχμαλώτευσεν τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἀπῆρε τὸν λαὸν  
 αὐτῆς καὶ ταύτην κατέστρεψεν; Οὐχὶ ἔπειτα σπλαγχνισθεὶς ὁ κύριος αὐτὴν ὠκοδόμησεν 676B  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς διασπαρέντας ἐπισυνήγαγεν; Οὐ παρεδόθη ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ Ἱερεμίου καὶ Βαρούχ  
 τῶν προφητῶν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις καὶ κατεσκάφη καὶ πάλιν φιλανθρωπίας ἀξιωθείσα οὐχ  
 οἰκοδομήθη; Οὐ παρελήφθη τὸ τελευταῖον, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῆς κινδύνους λέγω,  
 400 ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὄλωλε διὰ παντός; Τί οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναμένεις προφητείαν πληρω-  
 θεῖσαν δις καὶ τρίς παρακαθήμενος, μηδὲν τὸ λοιπὸν βέβαιον ἔχουσαν; Οὐκοῦν ἄκουσον  
 τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ἣν εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς καθολικῶς περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ καρδίας  
 αὐτοῦ ὑμᾶς ἀπώσατο ὁ θεός. Ἰδὼν γὰρ ὅτι τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ὀφελήσετε τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 συνελῶν εἶρηκεν· Ἀπάρτι, φησὶν, *οὐ μὴ συναγάγω τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδ'*  
 405 *οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ* τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν *διὰ χειλέων μου.* Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐρχομένης αὐτῷ κληρο- 676C  
 νομίας εἶπεν αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, *Σὺ εἶ ὁ ἀποκαθιστῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν*

383 τίς – 384 ἀνομίαν Ps. 93.16 | 386 νῦν – 387 ἡμᾶς cf. Is. 40.27, 1.7 | 390 οἰκοδομῶν – 391  
 αὐτῶν Ps. 146.2–3 | 392 τί – σοὶ Io. 2.4; cf. Mc. 1.24 | 404 οὐ – 405 μου Ps. 15.4 | 406 σὺ – 407  
 ἐμοί Ps. 15.5

**X L K D A N μ S H P T V M** | 383 τῶν] [C | 400 τὸ M]

382 οἱ τε<sup>1</sup> – ἐθνῶν] οἱ K οἱ τε<sup>2</sup> + καὶ X SHP VM, καὶ οἱ μ εἰς] ἐπ' D δὲ < P | 383 ὁ αὐτός  
 προφήτης μ μοι < μ | 384 μοι < μ M τοὺς ἐργαζομένους μ VM πρόδηλον < M | 385 ἐσχάτων +  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν DA ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης] καὶ Τίτος μ κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν < SHPT τὸν προφήτην N  
 ὑμᾶς] αὐτοῦς μ | 386 τὸ < M ὁ < N μ Ἡσαίας προφήτης M | 387 φησὶν] εἰπὼν μ, < SHPT  
 εἶρηκε M ὁ κύριος D P ἡμᾶς + καὶ εἰκότως DAN, + καὶ μάλα εἰκότως μ | 388 λέγει < μ TVM  
 ὠκοδομηθήσεται N | 389 ὑμεῖς + οὖν DA καταισχυνηθήσεσθε C γὰρ < N ἡμῖν παρὰ κυρίου <  
 SHPT παρὰ] περὶ C | 390 ὅτι < N T φησὶν post Ἰερουσαλὴμ CX, < N μ SHPTVM | 391 ὁ –  
 αὐτῶν < SHPT τρίμματα D | 392 ἐν] ἐπὶ M εἶτε καὶ DAN εἶτε] κἂν μ TV καὶ M εἶπης P τέλει N  
 τὸ<sup>2</sup> < D τὸ λοιπὸν] ὦ SHPT | 393 ἐπίσκοπε M | 394 καὶ ὁ DAN ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ  
 ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ῥηγέντιος M ἔφη < XL V ἐάν<sup>1</sup>] ἂν SHPTV οὐ M μίαν<sup>1</sup>] μὴ V μὴν T  
 ὠκοδομήθητε LK DA οἰκοδομήθητε V μὴν ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται M ἐάν<sup>2</sup>] καὶ ἐὰν DAN καὶ εἰς μ

*heart* that were formerly Jews and from the nations and believed in him. But about you unbelieving Jews the prophet says: *Who will rise up for me against the wicked, or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?* It is clear at all events that finally Vespasian rose up from Rome according to this prophecy and made you disappear, and then you said with pains as Isaiah prophesied: *Now the Lord has taken away my judgement and has separated from me, and foreigners devour us with their teeth.*"

Herban said: "We Israelites will rise again, and our city will be rebuilt and you that proclaim Christ will be ashamed. For it has been written for us from the Lord: *When God will rebuild Jerusalem, he will gather the outcasts of Israel, he that heals the broken in heart and binds up their afflictions.* This word will be fulfilled, be it at once or in the end. And then, what will that mean to you and me, archbishop?"

The archbishop said: "If <Jerusalem> was rebuilt once, if you were gathered once, what will that mean to you more than to me? Did Nebuchadnezzar not take Jerusalem captive, lead the people away and destroy her? Did the Lord<sup>39</sup> not feel pity thereafter, rebuild her again and gather you who were scattered? Was the city not given to the enemies in the times of the prophets Jeremiah and Baruch and razed to the ground, and again deemed worthy of God's love to mankind and rebuilt? Was she finally not taken by the Romans, not to speak about her numerous other dangers, and did perish forever? Why do you now sit here and wait for a prophecy which has been fulfilled twice and thrice, and after all, which has nothing certain in it? Hear the sentence which God generally gave about you, so that you know that God has cast you off from his heart. For when he saw that you still did not do what you should give him, he said briefly: Henceforth *I will not gather their congregation from their blood, nor will I make mention of their names with my lips.* And about the inheritance coming to him his only begotten Son said to God himself: *It is you that will restore my inheritance to me.* You see,

μίαν<sup>2</sup>] μῆ DA VM μῆ εἰ T συναχθῆτε V αἰσχυνθεῖτε M σοι] ἐσὺ DA | 395 ἐμοῦ N οὐ] τὸ N ὁ VM καὶ – 396 αὐτῆς < SHPT | 396 κατέστρεψεν αὐτήν SHPT οὐχί] οὐ μ ἔπειτα] μετὰ ταῦτα DA μ σπλαχνισθεὶς S κύριος] an Κύρος ? σωτήρ N αὐτήν < SHPT | 397 διασπασθέντας V συνήγαγεν CXLK οὐ] καὶ CXLK | 398 πάλιν < HP καταξιώθεισα M οὐχ] οὐχί CX, < VM | 399 ἠκοδομήθη X μ VM οὐ παρελήφθη] καὶ μ οὐ – 400 παντός < SHPT τελευταῖον + ὑπὸ Τίτου καὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ N πολλά λέγω κινδύνους αὐτῆς μ | 400 ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ C καὶ < DAN μ τὸ < X N | 401 καὶ δις καὶ DAN μ παρακαθήμενος post 400 λοιπὸν μ, < SHPT παραθέμενος D καὶ μηδὲν μ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν SHPT | 402 καθολικῶς post ὑμῶν V, < SHPT ἐπίστασαι] ἐπιγνώση ἀκριβῶς μ τῆς καρδίας HP | 403 ἀπόσατο ὑμᾶς N μ ἰδὼν – 404 συνελῶν] τοῦτο SHPT οὐκ ὀφελήθησεται τὸ λοιπὸν μ ὀφελήθητε LK N V | 404 ἀπάρτι φησὶν < μ SHPTV συναγαγῶ CX V ἔξ αἱμάτων < T οὐδ' οὐ] οὐδὲ S | 405 περὶ – 407 ἐμοὶ post 407 θεός SHPTV ἐπομένης μ αὐτῶ] αὐτοῦ LK αὐτῶν N

<sup>39</sup> Although 'the Lord' is the lecture of the archetype here, it is probable that 'Kyros' should be read, that is, Κύρος instead of κύριος, as already proposed by Gulonius (*PG* 86, 675 note 43). The Persian King Cyrus allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem and to rebuild the temple, see Esdr. 1–3.

μου ἐμοί. Βλέπεις, Ἐρβᾶν, ὅπως ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ μεμίσηκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀπεφῆναιτο κατὰ πασῶν τῶν συναγωγῶν ὑμῶν; Οὐ μὴ συναγάγω γάρ, φησί, τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν ἐξ αἰμάτων, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν διὰ χειλέων μου. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδὲ διὰ χειλέων ὑμᾶς μεμνησθαι βούλεται ὁ θεός, τίνος ἐστὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄξιοι, σκοτεινοί, τυφλοὶ καὶ πεφυρμένοι πεφυκότες καὶ ἀμνημόνευτοι;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ ἰδοὺ λέγει ὁ προφήτης, *Μακάριος οὗ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ, ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ*; Καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπήγαγεν, 676D  
*Ἀπολείσθε, ἔθνη, ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ*. Οὐκ ἰδοὺ λέγει καὶ Μωσῆς, *Ἀπολείσθε οἱ μὴ νόμον εἰς βοήθειαν αἶροντες*, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ, *ὅτι ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκὸς βουλή ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη*. Οὐκ ἰδοὺ καὶ Ἡσαΐας λέγει· *Μὴ εὐφρανθεῖτε πάντες οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι· συνετρίβη γὰρ ὁ ζυγὸς τοῦ παιόντος ὑμᾶς*; Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀπηγορευμένοι ἐστὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν, μάτην αὐχεῖτε εἰς κενὰ προσδοκῶντες.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πρῶτον διάγνωσ τὰ εἰρημένα τίνα δηλοῦσιν, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως 677A  
420 ἡμῶν καταγίνωσκε. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ *Μακάριος οὗ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ* περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ ἐρρέθη, οὐ περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου εἶτε καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τοῦτο λέγει. Τί καυχᾶσαι; Τὸν θεὸν γὰρ ἐμακάρισε καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐρεῖς, ὅτι ἡ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ κύριον πέφυκε, καθὰ σημαίνει, κάγω λέγω, ὅτι ἦν τὸ παλαιόν, οὐκέτι δὲ ἀρτίως. Ἐλπίς γὰρ ἦδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπόλωλεν ἐξ ὑμῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἠρνήσασθε τὴν καλὴν ἐλπίδα τε καὶ θεῖαν, ἣν ἀπέστει- 425  
λεν ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Περὶ δὲ ὅτι φάσκει, *Ἀπολείσθε, ἔθνη, ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ*, οὐ περὶ ἡμῶν τοῦτο λέγει ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' οὖν περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ κακῶς ἐχρήσασθε τῷ δεδομένῳ ὑμῖν νόμῳ καὶ ἐμίγητε τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἐμάθετε τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, 677B  
ἔθνη, ἀνυετα, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐκάλεσε. Καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλον δὴ μοι, τίς ἀπώλετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς ἢ ὑμεῖς οἱ παραβάται καὶ ἀρνησῖθες, καθὼς ὑπαγορεύεις; Οὐκ ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν 430  
πατέρων ὑμῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀναστρεφόμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς παρανόμους διώκων ἐξεδίωξεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἅτινα εἶπεν ὑμῖν κύριος τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι καὶ οἰκῆσαι ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξολοθρεύσατε αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἐμίγητε αὐτοῖς καὶ παραπλησίως ἐμάθετε τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν; Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦτε ταλαίπωροι, ὅτι οὔτε ἰδίαν

412 μακάριος – 413 θεὸν Ps. 145.5 | 414 ἀπολείσθε<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ Ps. 9.37 ἀπολείσθε<sup>2</sup> – 415 αἶροντες § | 415 ὅτι – 416 ἐπιστήμη Deut. 32.28 | 416 μὴ – 417 ὑμᾶς Is. 14.29

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

407 μου habet K<sup>pc</sup>, < L βλέπεις + ὦ N, + οὖν ὦ DA μ ὅπως] πῶς μ ὅτι SHPTV αὐτοῦ < μ SHPTV μιμίσηκεν D | 408 καὶ κατὰ DA μ κατὰ] διὰ T πασῶν < SHPT ὑμῶν < CXLK γὰρ φησί < μ | 409 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup>] ὑμῶν μ οὐδ' – μου] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHPT καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς V | 410 οὐδὲ] οὐ A οὐ δ' ἂν SHPT, < V βούλεται μεμνησθαι ὑμᾶς μ ὁ θεὸς βούλεται M τὸ λοιπὸν] τοῦ λοιποῦ DAN μ, < K | 411 καὶ τυφλοὶ καὶ μ συμπεφυρμένοι DAN μ τυγχάνοντες DAN ὑπάρχοντες μ καί<sup>2</sup> < X | 412 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TV οὐ] σοῦ D | 413 ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ < SHPTV αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup>] αὐτῶν L καὶ – 414 αὐτοῦ post 415 αἶροντες μ ἐπήγαγεν + Δαυὶδ μ | 414 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν CXLK οὐκ – 418 προσδοκῶντες < SHPTV οἱ < CX | 415 ἔχοντες μ ἐν ἐτέρῳ] πάλιν Μωσῆς μ ἀπολελωκός C DN βουλῆς D βουλὴν N μ ἐν<sup>2</sup> < DA | 416 οὐχ N καὶ < μ | 417 πεσόντος N ἐπεὶ] εἰ C ἀπηγορεύθητε ἀπὸ μ | 418 κατακαυχᾶσθε DAN καυχᾶσθε μ αὐχεῖτε < μ κενὰ < C | 419 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ

Herban, how God has hated you out of his own heart and made that known to all your congregations? For *I will not gather their convent from their blood*, he says, *nor will I make mention of their names with my lips*. Now since God does not want to make mention of you, not even with his lips, of what are you then still worthy, being obscure, blind, confused and unremembered?”

Herban said: “Behold, does the prophet not say, *Blessed is he that has the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God*? And about you nations he went on, *Perish, you nations, out of his land*. Behold, does Moses not also say, *Perish you that do not hold up the law for their help*, and elsewhere, *that they are a nation void of counsel, and there is no knowledge in them*. Behold, does also Isaiah not say: *Do not rejoice, all you foreigners, for the yoke of him that smote you is shattered*? Now since you have been condemned by the prophets, you boast in vain expecting empty things.”

The archbishop said: “First understand what these said things mean, and then condemn us. For *blessed is he that has the God of Jacob* was spoken about the patriarch Jacob, he does not say that about you, his descendants, or maybe about us. Why do you boast? For he has called God blessed and not Jacob. And if you will say that our hope is in the Lord, just at he points out, then I say that this was formerly the case, but not now any more. For hope has finally perished out of you, since you have denied the good and divine hope, which God sent you from heaven. And that he says, *perish, you nations, out of his land*, this he does not say that simply about us, but rather about you the Jews. For since you have badly used the law which had been given to you and intermingled with the nations and learnt their work, he also called you nations, you man without understanding. And announce to me, who perished out of his land, we, or you transgressors and deniers of God, as you say? Behold, are we not present in the land of your fathers from the beginning until now, whereas the Lord God has expelled you, the unlawful, from the land of the nations which the Lord had told you to destroy and to settle in their own land, and you did not destroy them, but intermingled with them and similarly learnt their works? For you were so miserable that you did not ever possess an

ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ ἔφη < V διανάγνωθι μ τί SHPTV καὶ < μ | 420 οὐ] σοῦ DA περι –  
 Ἰακώβ<sup>2</sup> < K | 421 εἶρηται DA μ εἶρηκεν N οὐ – 422 Ἰακώβ < DAN μ ὑμῶν δὲ SHPTV εἶτε] εἰ  
 δὲ LK αὐχάσαι SHV | 422 γὰρ post 421 τὸν LK, < CX εἰ δὲ < DAN μ εἰ – 425 οὐρανοῦ <  
 SHPTV ἔρεῖς σὺ AN σὺ ἔρεῖς μ | 423 κάγω + δὲ DAN ἐγὼ δὲ μ ὅτι < μ ἄρτι ὡς CX | 424 ἐπειδὴ  
 γὰρ DAN ἐλπίδα καλὴν μ | 425 ὅτι φάσκει] οὐ φάσκει ὅτι μ λέγει CXLK | 426 λέγει τοῦτο μ  
 ἀλλ’ οὐν] ἀλλὰ μ ὑμῶν + μάλλον μ ἐπειδὴ μ | 428 ἔθνη + τε SHPTV καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K SHPTV ἐκάλεσε  
 ὑμᾶς SHPTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV | 429 ἢ ὑμεῖς < X ὑμεῖς + οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι SHPTV καθὼς – 433 αὐτῶν  
 < SHPTV | 430 ἀπ’ – τῆς] τοῦ μ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς C καὶ μέχρι DAN | 431 ἐκ < μ  
 ἄτινας DAN ὑμῖν < C κύριος<sup>2</sup>] παραδώσειμ μ, < LK | 432 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἐξολοθρεύσατε < DA |  
 433 παραπλησίως < μ γὰρ < HP ἦτε] ὑπάρχετε CXLK ὅτι – 434 οὐν < C οὐδὲ μ

- γὴν ἐκτίσασθε πώποτε. Ἴδου οὖν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον παρὰ κυρίου, ὅτι εἶπον· Διασπερῶ  
 435 αὐτούς, διεσπάρητε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἔστε εἰς ὄνειδισμόν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπώλειαν. Περὶ  
 δὲ οὐ λέγει Ἡσαΐας, *Μὴ εὐφρανθεῖητε, πάντες οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι*, περὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν  
 Ἀσσυρίων τότε ἠνίξατο. Κατωτέρω γὰρ ἐμφαίνει περὶ τοῦδε· *Ὅν τρόπον γάρ, φησί, 677C*  
*βεβούλευμαι, οὕτως μενεῖ, τοῦ ἀπολέσαι με τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ*  
*ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων μου, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς καταπάτημα.* Τί οὖν σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα;”
- 440 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πρὸς σπερμολόγον ἄνδρα τίς ἱκανὸς χρήσασθαι ῥήμασιν; Ὅσα γὰρ  
 ἂν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς σέ, τὰ πάντα διαβάλλεις. Τίνα οὖν λέγει ὁ προφήτης Ζαχαρίας ἐκ  
 προσώπου κυρίου; *Ἴδου ἐγὼ σώζω τὸν λαόν μου ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς δυσμῶν,*  
*καὶ εἰσάξω αὐτούς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ κατασκηνώσουσιν ἐν μέσῳ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ*  
*ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.* Καὶ  
 445 μετὰ τινα ἕτερα λέγει· *Καὶ ἔσται, ὃν τρόπον ἦτε ἐν κατάρα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οἶκος Ἰούδα 677D*  
*καὶ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, οὕτως διασώσω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔσεσθε ἐν εὐλογίᾳ. Θαρσεῖτε καὶ κατισχύετε*  
*ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑμῶν, διότι λέγει κύριος· Ὅν τρόπον διενεώθη τὸ κακῶσαι ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ*  
*παροργίσει με τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν, οὕτω παρατέταγμα καὶ διανε-*  
*νόημαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις τοῦ καλῶς ποιῆσαι τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα.*  
 450 *Θαρσεῖτε, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.* Τί οὖν ἐρεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, ἐπίσκοπε;”
- Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· καὶ δις καὶ τρις γὰρ  
 ἀνεκλήθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων καὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπελάβετε καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἐν εὐλογίαις  
 διαρκέσαντες ἔπειτα εἰς διαρπαγὴν παρεδόθητε καὶ προνομήν ἐξαμαρτήσαντες καὶ εἰς  
 κατάραν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Οὐκοῦν ἀνωτέρω οὐκ ἀπρηθίμησά σοι ποσάκις ἠχμαλῶτευται  
 455 Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ποσάκις ἀνεκλήθητε; Καὶ νῦν τὸ τελευταῖον τόγε, ἐδιώχθητε καὶ διεσπάρητε  
 καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀνακληθῆτε οὐκέτι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, οὐκ ἂν μὴ ὀπότεν παραγένηται ὁ σατὰν εἰς  
 680B τὸν κόσμον, ὁ λεγόμενος ἀντίχριστος. Ἀπεδοκιμάσθητε γὰρ καὶ εὐρέθητε πλήρεις ἀποίη-  
 τοι. Ὅτι δὲ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἔθνη ἀντὶ ὑμῶν, ἄκουσον τοῦ Ἡσαΐου λέγοντος· *Τάδε*  
*λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, ὅτι ἤξουσι λαοὶ πολλοὶ κατοικοῦντες πόλεις πολλὰς καὶ*

434 εἶπον διασπερῶ αὐτούς Odae 2.25; Ier. 15.7 | 435 ἔστε – ἀπώλειαν cf. Ier. 51.12 | 436 μὴ – ἀλλόφυλοι Is. 14.29 | 437 ὄν – 439 ταῦτα Is. 14.24–25 | 442 ἰδου – 444 δικαιοσύνη Zach. 8.7–8 | 445 καὶ – 450 θεοῦ Zach. 8.13–15 | 458 τάδε – 463 παντοκράτορος Zach. 8.20–23

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

434 παρὰ] ὑπὸ SHPTV τοῦ κυρίου D εἶπε μ διασπείρω D SHPTV διασπειρώ A | 435 αὐτούς + παύσω διἑξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυον αὐτῶν TV ἅπασιν LK τοῖς < CXLK ἐν αὐτοῖς CXLK ἑαυτοῖς μ | 436 οὐ δὲ C οὐ] ὦν DAN μ ὅτι SHPTV λελάληκεν μ πάντες < SHPTV | 437 Ἀσσυρίων + προφητεύων CX A μ τότε] τάδε DAN μ τοῦτο SHPTV τοῦδε] αὐτοῦ DAN μ φησί < K | 438 οὕτω DAN μ μενεῖ] ἔσται D μένει AN SHPTV με < D TV | 439 ὄρεων μ ἔσται HP δοκεῖ σοι μ | 440 λέγει < μ TV πρὸς – ῥήμασιν < D γὰρ < K | 441 ἐροῦμεν + τὰ SHPTV, ἐροῦμαι C τὰ < DAN μ πάντα + σὺ DA τί μ SHPTV λέγει post Ζαχαρίας μ ὡς ἐκ μ | 442 τοῦ κυρίου DA σώζω – μου post ἀνατολῶν C καὶ – δυσμῶν < μ | 443 αὐτὸν μ | 444 κάγω C DAN μ ἐν<sup>2</sup> < μ | 445 ἕτερα λέγει < μ ἐστὲ LK ἐν<sup>1</sup> < D | 446 οὕτω TV δώσω μ διασώσαι V εἰς εὐλογίαν μ θαρσεῖτε] χαιρέτε K | 447 τάδε λέγει μ ἐν<sup>2</sup> < LK | 448 παρόργισαί με C T οὕτως μ SHPTV |

own land. Now behold, according to that which has been said by the Lord, *I said, I will scatter them*, he scattered you in all nations, and you are their reproach and destruction. And what Isaiah said, *Do not rejoice, all you foreigners*, this he has said darkly about the destruction of the Assyrians. For below<sup>40</sup> he declares: *For as I have decided, so it will stay, that I will let perish the Assyrians out of my land and of my boundaries, and I will trample them under foot*. Now what do you think about this?"

Herban said: "Who can say adequate words to a gossiping man? For whatever we say to you, you calumniate all. Now what does the prophet Zechariah say in God's place: *Behold, I save my people from the land in the east and from land in the west, and will lead them in their land, and they will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem and will be my people, and I will be their God in truth and righteousness*. And after some other words he says: *And it will happen, that just as you were a curse among the nations, o house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you and you will be a blessing. Have courage and let your hands be strong, for the Lord says: As I had thought to punish you when your fathers made me angry and did not repent, so I have decided and thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem and the house of Judah. Have courage, these are the words of the Lord*. Now what will you say about this, bishop?"

The archbishop said: "Truly the prophet said this, and you were recalled twice and thrice from the nations, received Jerusalem back, and after you had remained in his blessings for some time, thereafter you were given to plundering and foraging because of your sins, and to be a curse among the nations. Did I not enumerate above to you how many times Israel was taken captive and how many times you were recalled? And now the last point is this: You were expelled and scattered and will not be recalled forever, except when Satan will come into the world, the so-called Antichrist. For you have been rejected and were found completely useless. Of God calling the nations instead of you, hear what Isaiah says:<sup>41</sup> *Thus says the Lord the Almighty: Many people will come, the*

449 ἐν] ἐπὶ CXLK τῆ] τὴν V τῆ Ἱερουσαλήμ] τῷ Ἰσραὴλ DAN τὸν Ἰσραὴλ μ οἴκω] υἱῷ CXL, < K | 450 ὦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπε μ | 451 καὶ ὁ<sup>1</sup> DA ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V ταῦτα < X ὁ προφήτης εἶπε ταῦτα C ὁ προφήτης ἠνίξαστο DAN μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < HP γὰρ < DAN μ P | 452 ἐκλήθητε HP τὴν < X καὶ<sup>2</sup> < CX ἐν < DA | 453 ἔπειτα – προνομήν < LK ἀπεδόθητε CX καὶ προνομήν ἐξαμαρτήσαντες < SHPTV καὶ<sup>1</sup> + εἰς μ ἐξαμαρτήσαντες post ἔθνεσιν μ, < LK SHPTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ, post προνομήν C | 454 ἐν < μ ἀπαριθμησά σοι SHPTV ἠμαλώτεται – 455 ποσάκις < SHPTV | 455 ἀνεκλήθη CXLK καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 456 ἀνακληθῆτε < μ τὸ τελευταῖον < X | 456 ἔτι C τὸν αἰῶνα μ ἔως οὐκ C οὐκ ἄν] οὐκουν εἰ μ γένηται DA παραγίνεται TV ὁ σατάν < LK σατανᾶς μ TV εἰς τὸν κόσμον D<sup>pc</sup>, post ἀντίχριστος μ | 457 ὁ λεγόμενος] καὶ μ HP γὰρ καὶ εὐρέθητε < LK πλήρεις] τελείως μ πλήρες SHPTV ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀποίητοι DAN μ ἀποίμαντοι SHPT | 458 δὲ < μ ὁ θεὸς < LK καὶ ἄκουσον μ

40 Actually the following quote stands in the book of Isaiah before.

41 The reason for the attribution to Isaiah is unclear.

460 *συνελεύσονται μίαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν λέγοντες· Πορευθῶμεν πορευόμενοι δεηθῆναι τοῦ  
προσώπου κυρίου καὶ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου παντοκράτορος. Πορεύσομαι ἀγῶ  
καὶ ἤξουσι λαοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου παντοκράτορος ἐν  
Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ἐξιλιάσασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου παντοκράτορος. Βλέπεις ὅπως τὴν  
ὀρμὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν προεῖπεν Ἡσαίας, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ θεὸς· Ἠξουσι, φησί,  
465 *λαοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου παντοκράτορος. Τί οὖν σοι  
δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα;*”*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μιχαίας ὁ προφῆτης λέγει· *Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, λέγει κύριος,  
συνάξω τὴν συντετριμμένην καὶ τὴν ἀπλωμένην εἰσδέξομαι. Καὶ καλέσω οὐς ἀπλωσάμην* 680C  
*καὶ θήσομαι τὴν συντετριμμένην εἰς ὑπόλειμμα καὶ τὴν ἀπλωμένην εἰς ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν, καὶ  
470 βασιλεύσει κύριος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν ὄρει Σιών ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* Οὐκοῦν οὐ  
δοκεῖ σοι, ὅτι ὀψὲ ποτὲ ἀνακαλεῖται κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ πάλιν ὄν ἀπώσατο, καὶ  
δείκνυσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν καὶ βασιλεῖον φοβερώτατον;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σφάλλεις, Ἐρβᾶν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος τὴν προφητεῖαν φά-  
σκειν σφετεριζόμενος. Συντετριμμένην γὰρ εἰπὼν τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν παροικίαν ἀπέικασε, καὶ  
475 ἀπλωμένην εἰρηκῶς τὴν διὰ μοχθηρίαν εἰδωλολατρείας ἀπλωθεῖσαν φύσιν τῶν αὐτῶν  
ἐθνῶν ἠνίξατο. Καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία εἰς ἔθνος ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ μέγα;  
Οὐπέπλησται Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ θείων τεμένων τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου; Οὐχὶ ἐκ 680D  
Βηθλεέμ προέβη Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἀρνεῖσθε; Οὐ βασιλεύει περᾶ-  
των καὶ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους Σιών, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους  
480 τοῦ ἐπουρανίου; Πρόσεχε γὰρ τί λέγει Μιχαίας μετὰ ταῦτα· *Καὶ σύ, φησί, Βηθλεέμ οἶκος  
τοῦ Ἐφραθᾶ, μὴ ὀλιγοστός εἶ ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰουδα· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς* 681A  
*ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, αἱ ἐξοδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος.* Κἂν γὰρ, φησὶν, ὡς  
ἄνθρωπος ἀρτίως ἐγεννήθη, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἐξοδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος, καθότι καὶ θεὸς ὁ  
πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων πέφυκε· *διὰ τοῦτο δώσει αὐτοῖς ἕως καιροῦ πικτούσης,* τοῦτ’ ἔστι, δώσει  
485 ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κρατύνειν τὸν νόμον Μωσέως ἕως καιροῦ πικτούσης, τὸν θεῖον ἡγού-

467 ἐν – 470 αἰῶνα Micha 4.6–7 | 480 καὶ – 482 αἰῶνος Micha 5.1 | 484 διὰ – 488 Ἰσραὴλ  
Micha 5.2

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

460 μίαν<sup>1</sup> < μ πορευθῶ TV τὸ πρόσωπον μ | 461 καὶ – κυρίου<sup>2</sup> H<sup>marg</sup> P<sup>marg</sup>, < CX μ πορεύσομαι  
– 463 παντοκράτορος < DAN μ | 463 ἐξιλιάσεσθε C τοῦ κυρίου T τὴν – 464 ἐθνῶν post 464  
θεὸν μ | 464 τὴν < μ τὴν – θεὸν < N λαοὶ πολλοὶ φησὶ N | 467 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TV λέγει<sup>2</sup>] εἶπεν μ |  
468 καλέσω < C | 470 ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς post Σιών V, < LK D ὄρει] ὄρησι S, < D μ V οὐ δοκεῖ] οὐκ  
εὐδοκεῖ C ὅτι οὐκ εἶ D | 471 ὀψὲ] ἔρχεται μ ποτὲ + γοῦν SHPT τοῦ ἀνακλήσαι μ κύριος ὁ < LK  
πάλιν < D πάλιν ὄν ἀπώσατο < SHPTV | 472 δείκνυσιν] δεῖ μ καὶ αὐτὸν μ SHPTV αὐτὸν +  
ἔπειτα CXLK βασιλείαν DA φοβερωτάτην D | 473 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχι-  
επίσκοπος T σφάλλει N SHPTV ὦ Ἐρβᾶν DAN μ + ἀσφαλῶς μ φάσκειν] φάσκεϊς X SHPTV  
(post ἔθνος SHPTV), < C N μ | 474 γὰρ < HP | 475 εἰρηκῶς σὺ N τὴν διὰ μοχθηρίαν] τῇ ἰδίᾳ  
μοχθηρίᾳ DAN διὰ μοχθηρίαν < μ εἰδωλολατρείαν μ φύσιν] φησὶ μ | 476 ἡ < N τῶν + ἐθνῶν  
ἡγουν τῶν N μέγα καὶ ἰσχυρόν μ SHPTV | 477 ἐκκλησιῶν < SHPTV τεμένων + κυρίου Ἰησοῦ

inhabitants of many cities, and<sup>42</sup> will come together in one city saying: *Let us go to pray before the face of the Lord and to seek the face of the Lord the Almighty. I too will go, and many people and nations will come and seek the face of the Lord the Almighty in Jerusalem and implore the face of the Lord the Almighty.* You see how Isaiah, or rather God himself, foretold the onrush of the nations to God: *Many people and many nations will come to seek the face of the Lord the Almighty.*<sup>43</sup> What do you think about this?”

Herban said: “The prophet Micah says: *In those days, says the Lord, I will gather her that is shattered, and will receive her that is cast off. And I will call back whom I drove out and will make her that shattered a remnant and her that was cast off to be a strong nation, and the Lord will reign over them in mount Zion henceforth and forever.* Now do you not think that the Lord will at some later time recall Israel whom he drove out, and show her to be a strong nation and a very fear-inspiring kingdom?”

The archbishop said: “You are wrong, Herban, if you appropriate this prophecy as speaking about your own nation. For calling her shattered he compared her to the dwelling-place of the nations, and calling her cast off he spoke obscurely about the nature of these same nations which was cast off because of the wickedness of idololatriy. And now, is not the kingdom of the Romans a strong nation? Is not Jerusalem full of churches and divine temples of the crucified? Did not Jesus Christ the Son of God come from Bethlehem, whom you deny? Does he not reign the ends of nearly all the world from mount Zion, that is from the heavenly heights? For listen what Micah says after this: *And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephratah, you are not few among the thousands of Judah, for out of you he will come to be a ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from the beginning, from everlasting.* For although he was born recently as a man, he says, his ogoings forth are from everlasting, because he was also God before all times. *Therefore he will give them until the time of her that gives birth, that is, he will give it to you Jews to be strong in the law until the time of her that gives birth, to the divine ruler*

Χριστοῦ C ἑσταυρωμένου + Χριστοῦ μ ἐκ] ἐν LK μ H ἐμ STV | 478 Ἰησοῦς < DA ὁ Χριστός ὁ D SHPTV ἠρνήσασθε DAN μ, + καὶ ἑσταυρώσατε N οὐ – 480 ἐπουρανίου < SHPTV | 479 σχεδὸν καὶ πάσης μ ἀπό<sup>2</sup> < μ | 480 οὐρανοῦ LK γὰρ] δὲ N, < DA φησί < μ | 481 Εὐρανθᾶ XL A V εἶ + τοῦ εἶναι C HP ἐκ σοῦ XLK N μ ἐξελεύσεται + ἡγούμενος D<sup>p</sup>eN μ | 482 ἄρχοντας A ἐν τῷ < μ αἰ] οἱ DAN SHPTV, < LK κᾶν] καὶ LK μ κᾶν – 483 αἰῶνος < DAN φησὶν < SHPTV | 483 ἐγεννήθη ἀρτίως X ἐγεννήθην C γεννηθῆ SHPTV οἱ] αἰ CX μ, < LK ὅτι μ ὁ – 484 αἰώνων] προαιώνιος μ | 484 τῶν < DAN πέφηνεν SH<sup>a</sup>cTV αὐτοῦς HP τοῦτ’ – 485 τικτούσης < K | 485 κρατῦναι CXL νόμον καὶ ἡγούμενον μ

<sup>42</sup> Here the Septuagint reads ‘those that inhabit five cities’ (κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις). While the omission of κατοικοῦντες is peculiar to the *Dialexis*, the reading πέντε πόλεις] μίαν<sup>1</sup> appears also in some Septuaginta manuscripts.

<sup>43</sup> Note that here the words ‘in Jerusalem’ are omitted.



- μενον τὸν ἐκ Βηθλεὲμ προερχόμενον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας. *Τέξεται* ἡ κόρη τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ νέου Ἰσραὴλ *καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ*. Γέγραπται γάρ, ὅτι *οὔτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξ Ἰωσήφ εἶναι νομιζόμενοι ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν*. *Καὶ αὐτὸς δέ, φησί, στήσεται καὶ ὄψεται*, ποῖον ἄρα ἔσται τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἴδη, ὅτι τὰ ἔθνη ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ *καὶ ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰσχύι κύριος, καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ ὀνόματος κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρξουσιν τὰ ἔθνη· διότι νῦν μεγαλυνθήσεται ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν μέχρι τῆς συντελείας. *Καὶ εἰ βούλει ἀντειπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἐμεγαλύνθη ὁ ποιμαίνων τὰ ἔθνη Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἴδε, ὅπως μεγαλύνεται ὁ κύριος μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μέχρι τῆς συντελείας*. Τοῦτο γάρ δηλοῖ ὅτι *μεγαλυνθήσεται ἕως ἄκρων τῆς γῆς*”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “*Καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἐστί, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι ἐξ οὗ μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπήγαγεν,*” 681b
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “*Νοῦς ὀρών τὸν θεὸν τὸ Ἰσραὴλ ἐρμηνεύεται. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ποτὲ νοῦς ὀρών τὸν θεὸν πεφυκότες παραγενομένου πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκουσίᾳ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐκαμμύσατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν τοῦ μὴ ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπετυφλώθητε εὐθέως καὶ ἀπωλέσατε τοῦ εἶναι νοῦς ὀρών τὸν θεόν, ὅπερ Ἰσραὴλ ἐρμηνεύεται. Ἄνθ' ὧν δὲ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ποτὲ τυφλὰ χρηματίζοντα ἀνένευσαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἐπίστευσαν τῷ μονογενεῖ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψαν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα δεξάμενα, καὶ εὐθέως ἐπετέθη αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἰσραὴλ ὄνομα, χειρὶ θεοῦ ἀρθέν ἀφ' ὑμῶν. Ἀρτίως γοῦν οἱ θεὸν ὀρώντες ἀληθείᾳ Ἰσραὴλ προσαγορεύονται· οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀποτυφλωθέντες ἀπώλεσαν τὸ εἶναι καὶ ἀκούειν Ἰσραὴλ. Ἐπεὶ οὖν μετετέθη τὸ ὄνομα ἐξ ὑμῶν τὸ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης τοῦ νέου Ἰσραὴλ εὐδηλον, ὅτι *ἐξελεύσεται ὁ κύριος τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ νέῳ Ἰσραὴλ*.”* 681c
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “*Πλείστα λέγεις εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐνάγων τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦ μηκέτι προσδοκᾶν ἀνακληθῆναι. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀνέξομαι σου τῶν ῥημάτων, ἐπειδὴ ἀκούω*” 681d
- 684a

488 οὔτε – 489 αὐτόν Io. 7.5 | 489 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 492 γῆς Micha 5.3 | 499 νοῦς – θεὸν cf. notam

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

486 τὸν – προερχόμενον < CX ἐκ] ἐν L DAN μ ἐκ τῆς DAN μ ἀειπαρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου μ τέξεται γὰρ DAN μ + φησὶν DAN κόρη + φησὶν μ | 487 νέου < μ καὶ – 488 Ἰσραὴλ < DAN μ οἱ < V αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν V, < X | 488 γέγραπται – 496 γῆς < SHPTV οὔτε + γὰρ CXLK Ἰωσήφ + αὐτῷ DAN μ | 489 ποῖον] τὸ ποίμνιον LK | 490 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 491 ἰσχύι < N | 491 κύριος bis DAN μ δόξῃ + τοῦ C αὐτοῦ post ὀνόματος N ὑπάρξουσιν N | 492 ἐμεγαλύνθη D ὁ ποιμὴν bis D τοῦτ' ἔστιν + ἐκ τῆς παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας μ | 493 κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μ | 494 καὶ ἴδε post ἀνάβλεψον μ πῶς DA | 495 μου] ἡμῶν μ ὁ Χριστὸς N τοὺς αἰῶνας X | 496 τὸ ὅτι μ | 497 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ TV ἐξ οὗ] ἐκ σοῦ X N μ | 499 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V νοῦς – θεὸν post ἐρμηνεύεται CX τὸν < X DA τὸ] ὁ LK, < N μ ἐπεὶ – 503 ἐρμηνεύεται < N | 500 οἱ<sup>2</sup> < CX TV τὸν < DA θεὸν < D | 501 τῇ < SHPTV ἐκαμμύσαντα T | 502 αὐτόν] τὸ ἀνέσπερον φῶς DA μ τοῦ] τὸ μ ὅπερ Ἰσραὴλ ἐρμηνεύεται < μ | 503 δὲ < μ ἀναβλέψαντα CX ἀνέδραμον LK ἀνένευσε DA STV τὰ πρὸς DAN | 504 υἱῷ – πατρός] αὐτοῦ

who will come out of Bethlehem, that is the Mother of God Mary. The Virgin will give birth to the ruler of the new Israel, and his remaining brothers will return to the sons of Israel. For it is written that not even his brothers, who were supposed to be from Joseph, believed in him. And he himself will stand and see, he says, which will be his flock, and he will see that the nations will have been handed over to him, and the Lord will tend his flock in his strength, and the nations will be in the glory of the name of the Lord his God, for now the good shepherd will be great unto the ends of the earth, that is until the end of the world. And if you want to contradict that Jesus Christ, the Son of God who tends the nations, has not become great, look around with your eyes unto the ends of the world and see, how my Lord Jesus Christ is great from now and forever until the end of the world. For this is what *he will be great unto the ends of the earth* means.”

Herban said: “And if this is so, for what reason did the prophet not say *out of you he will come to be a ruler* among the nations, but went on *in Israel*?”

The archbishop said: “Israel is translated as ‘mind seeing God’.<sup>44</sup> Now since you Jews that were formerly a mind seeing God, when his only begotten Son came to you, willingly closed your eyes so as not to see him, you were blinded at once and lost the quality of being a mind seeing God, which is translated as Israel. Instead, the nations which had formerly been blind, when they turned to God and believed in the only begotten Son of God Father, recovered their sight on the spot when receiving the holy baptism,<sup>45</sup> and at once also the name Israel was applied to them, which had been taken away from you by the hand of God. Now at least those that see God in truth are addressed as Israel, whereas those that have been blinded by their unbelief have lost to be and to be called Israel. Now since the name Israel was taken away from you and was used for the nations, it is clear what the prophet said about the nations of the new Israel that *out of you he will come to be a ruler in the new Israel*.”

Herban said: “You say many things to drive the race of the Jews into despair, so that they have no hope to be recalled. But I will not be content with your words, for I

νίῳ μ πατρός] πατρι CXLK και παραχρήμα CX ἀναβλέψαντες – ἐδέξαντο μ | 505 δεξάμενα post 504 ἀνέβλεψαν T | 506 ἀληθεία Ἰσραήλ] ἐπ’ ἀληθείας Ἰσραήλ ἀξίως DAN μ | 507 Ἰσραήλ + ἔστιν AN ἐπει – 508 Ἰσραήλ < D | 508 τὸ Ἰσραήλ < SHPTV και < μ ἐπετέθη D ἐν] ἐπὶ N, < DA | 509 Ἰσραήλ<sup>1</sup>] λαοῦ N TV εὐδηλον ante 508 εἶπεν DAN μ εὐδηλον – Ἰσραήλ<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV ὁ < C N νέω < CX μ | 510 λέγει < μ TV ἐνάγων] ἐμπείρων DAN μ φέρων STV φέρεις HP γένος] πλήθος H τοῦ] τὸ HP | 511 ἀνακλήσεως μ ἀκούων ἐγὼ DAN

<sup>44</sup> A frequent interpretation in patristic literature, see Athanasios of Alexandria, *CPG* 2140, *PG* 27, 296A; Makarios, *Homiliae*, 47.6; Kyrillos, *CPG* 5201, *PG* 69, 85B; Pseudo-Leontios, *CPG* 6823, *PG* 86, 1196D; Maximos Homologetes, *CPG* 7688, *PG* 90, 753B.

<sup>45</sup> This idea is expanded in the scene of the miraculous conversion at E 607–681.

τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου λέγοντος· Ἐπιλάμψει ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν βουλή μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σιών καὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Ἅγιοι κληθήσονται πάντες οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ μετέπειτα ἐπάγει λέγων, ὅτι ἐκπλυνεί κύριος τὸν ῥύπον τῶν υἰῶν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Σιών, καὶ τὸ αἷμα Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως. Οὐκοῦν δεῖ ἡμᾶς, καθὼς ἀκούεις τῆς προφητείας, ἀνακληθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ εἰς περισσοτέραν. Τὸ λοιπὸν μηκέτι μοι πολυλογία χρώμενος ἀντίπιπτε, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσον ὅτι οὕτως ἔσται κἂν πρῶτον κἂν ὕστερον.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ συνιών τῆς θείας Γραφῆς τὴν ἀληθῆ σαφήνειαν λόγοις κибδῆλοις καὶ ἀνωφελέσιν ἐννοίαις δελεαζόμενος ἑαυτὸν χαροποιεῖς. Τὸ γὰρ ἐπιλάμψει ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν βουλή μετὰ δόξης ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοῦ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἤδη γεγένηται καὶ ἤδη τετέλεσται. Λάμπας γὰρ ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐδόξασε καὶ ὕψωσε τὸ κατάλειμμα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Πνευματικῶς δὲ ἐδόξασε τοῦτο καὶ οὐχὶ σωματικῶς, ὡς σὺ ὁ σαρκικὸς Ἰουδαῖος φαντάζει. Τί δὲ τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πόθεν καταλειφθὲν καὶ διὰ τίνος γραφὴν καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ ζωῇ καταγραφὴν πρόσεχε, ἵνα μάθης τί ἀγαθὸν καὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν σοι, εἴπερ καὶ βούλει, ἐπιτήδειον. Τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πιστεῦσαν πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων περίεσι· κατελείφθη γὰρ παρὰ κυρίου, ἦγον ἐκλεχθὲν ἐτηρήθη νοητῶς ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων προλήψει παθῶν μιαρῶν δαιμόνων τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς ἀπολεῖται ἀπιστήσαν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἑβραίων. Λέγει γὰρ περὶ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τούτου ὁ προφήτης· Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος, φησὶν, ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὠμοιώθημεν, σημαίνων τοὺς ἐξ ὑμῶν πιστεῦσαντας καὶ σωθέντας. Τὸ δὲ γραφὴν εἰς ζωὴν εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον ζωὴν γραφὴν παρὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ σημαίνει. Ὅτι δὲ ἐπλυσε τὸν ῥύπον τῶν υἰῶν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων Σιών, φημί τῶν πιστευσάντων, καὶ τὸ αἷμα Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκάθαρεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι, οὐδεὶς ὁ ἀνταίρων. Λέγει γὰρ Ἡσαίας περὶ τούτου· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε

512 ἐπιλάμψει – 515 Ἱερουσαλήμ<sup>2</sup> Is. 4.2–3 | 515 ὅτι – 517 καύσεως Is. 4.4 | 535 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ὠμοιωθήμεν Is. 1.9 | 539 λούσασθε – γίνεσθε Is. 1.16

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

512 Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου CLK ἐν] ἐμ A | 513 τοῦ δοξάσαι CXLK τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – 514 ἐν<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV Σιών + καὶ ἔσται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ DAN καταλειφθὲν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ N | 514 Ἱερουσαλήμ<sup>1</sup> Ἰσραὴλ TV γράφοντες N στραφέντες TV | 515 ἐπάγει λέγων < μ | 516 Ἱερουσαλήμ Ἰσραὴλ CXLK | 517 δεῖ] δι' N TV τῆς] τὰς μ ἀνακληθῆναι post ἡμᾶς C μ | 518 εἰς<sup>2</sup> < μ μηκέτι μοι < SHPTV | 519 μοι < X οὕτω C | 521 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V συνιῆ μ ἀληθῆ σαφήνειαν] θεῖαν σαφήνειαν D ἀκριβείαν μ | 522 καὶ – δελεαζόμενος < SHPTV δελεαζόμενος < μ ἑαυτὸν + ἤδη DAN σεαυτὸν χαροποιεῖς μ ἐπιλάμψει + φησὶν DA μ | 523 ἐν τῇ D ἐν] ἐμ HP ὑψῶσαι καὶ < SHPTV τοῦ δοξάσαι CXL A | 524 καὶ ἤδη τετέλεσται < DAN μ ἤδη<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV λάμπας – 526 Ἰσραὴλ < N γὰρ < D |

hear the prophet Isaiah saying: *On that day God will shine in his counsel with glory on the earth to exalt and glorify the remnant of Israel in Zion and the remnant in Jerusalem. All those that are written into life in Jerusalem will be called holy.* And thereafter he goes on saying *that the Lord will wash out the sordidness of the sons and daughters of Zion, and he will clear the blood of Jerusalem out of their midst with the spirit of judgement and the spirit of burning.* So, as you hear the prophecy, we must be recalled and come again into our old honour, rather into a higher one. Therefore do not resist me anymore being loquacious, but believe me that it will be so, either now or later.”

The archbishop said: “Because you do not understand the true explanation of the holy Scripture, you delight yourself being caught by base words and useless thoughts. For that *God will shine in his counsel with glory on the earth to exalt and glorify the remnant of Israel*, that has already happened and is already accomplished. For shining out of the Holy Virgin the only begotten Son of God has glorified and exalted the remnant of Israel in Jerusalem. He glorified this spiritually and not corporeally, as you fleshly Jew imagine. Now listen what is the remnant of Israel and from where it was left behind and why it was written and into which life, so that you may learn what is good for you and, if only you want, useful for your salvation. The remnant of Israel is the host of the Jews, who believed when Christ appeared; for it was left behind by the Lord, that is, the human race was chosen to be preserved mentally from the abominable demons which were oppressing them by the anticipation of sufferings in order to believe in the Son of God and be saved, so that the unbelieving race of the Jews might not be lost completely. For the prophet says about this section: *And if the Lord would not have left us behind his seed, we would have become like Sodom and similar to Gomorrah*, meaning those of you that believed and were saved. *Written into life* means, written by the only begotten Son of God into the heavenly life. That he *washed out the sordidness of the sons and daughters of Zion*, I say of those that believed, *and cleared the blood of Jerusalem out of their midst* by the worthy and holy baptism, no one will rise up against that. For Isaiah said about this: *Wash you, make you clean*, and so on. That he says with

525 παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου μ | 526 πνευματικῶς – 528 καταγραφέν < SHPV πνευματικῶς – 529 Ἰσραὴλ < T ὁ < D μ | 527 τοῦ – καταλειφθέν<sup>2</sup> DAN μ | 528 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – καταγραφέν < DAN μ πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς ἵνα γνῶς DAN μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < CXLK εἰς < V σοι] σου μ εἶπερ] εἶπεν εἶπερ καὶ βούλει < D | 529 καὶ < μ ἐπιτήδειον < SHPV τῆ < V πιστεύσαντες N | 530 αὐτῶν] εἰς αὐτὸν N SHPTV, < μ X ἀπὸ < μ ἐστὶ μ κατελείφθη – 532 σωθῆναι < SHPTV γὰρ] δὲ DAN μ παρὰ] ὑπὸ μ | 531 νοητῶς post τυρρανούτων μ μιαρῶν < μ | 532 εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι] ἵνα πιστεύσῃ μ σωθῆναι ἵνα] σωθῆ] ὅπως μ | 533 ἀπόληται μ SHPTV ἀπιστήσαντος N γὰρ < DA τοῦ κεφαλαίου τούτου LK ὁ < μ | 534 καὶ < μ φησὶν < μ ἐγενήθητε – ὁμοιώθητε μ | 535 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ὁμοιωθήμεν < N πιστεύοντες K τὸ – 537 σημαίνει < SHPTV | 536 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – γραφέν<sup>2</sup> < DAN γραφέν ζωὴν μ | 537 δέ] καὶ CXLK δὴ μ, < D φημί] φησί post πιστευσάντων μ | 538 Ἰερουσαλήμ] Ἰσραὴλ LK ἐκάθηρεν XLK μ αὐτῶν] αὐτῆς SHPTV καὶ ἀγίω < HP | 539 ἀντερῶν L<sup>o</sup> ὁ Ἡσαίας X περὶ τούτου < SHPTV λούσασθε + καὶ DA TM

540 και τὰ ἐξῆς. Ὅτι δὲ λέγει πνεύματι κρίσεως φιλανθρωπία διακρίνας πνεύματι ἀγίῳ και  
 εὐρῶν τὸ τηλικούτον ἀγαθόν· ὅτι δὲ πνεύματι καύσεως τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ ἰδίου πνεύματος  
 καταφλέξας τῶν διὰ πίστεως προσερχομένων τῇ κολυμβήθρα τὰ ὀφλήματα, καυστικόν  
 γὰρ μολυσμάτων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸ δὲ ὑψῶσαι καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ καταλειφθέν πληθος 685A  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπιστίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ παρὰ τοῦ σατὰν (καθὼς αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐνεβριμήσατο, δι'  
 545 ἀπιστίας βαλόντι πᾶν τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων), εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ τοσοῦτον  
 ὑψώθη καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, καθότι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πιστεύοντα εἰς τὸν κύριον μου καὶ θεὸν  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔκτοτε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευρο τιμῶσιν καὶ δοξάζωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐκτη-  
 ρίους οἴκους αὐτοῖς ἀνεγείρωσιν καὶ ἀγίους καὶ δικαίους ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς  
 ἀγίας αὐτῶν μνείας κατ' ἔτος ἐπιτελοῦσι, καθὰ καὶ γέγραπται, ὅτι ἄγιοι πάντες κληθήσονται,  
 550 παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν δηλονότι, οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι τοῦ νόμου καὶ γραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν, ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, τῇ πίστει καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι. Ἐχεις τοίνυν τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστό-  
 λους, ἔχεις τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἔχεις τοὺς δισχιλίους, ἔχεις τοὺς τρισχιλίους, ἔχεις τοὺς  
 πεντακισχιλίους τοὺς φαγόντας τοὺς ἄρτους, ἔχεις τοὺς τετρακοσίους οὐδὲ πάντας ἀπ-  
 555 σαι καὶ ἄλλαι ψυχαὶ πολλάι, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκες, οἵτινες ἐξ Ἰουδαίων  
 ἀπεστράφησαν καὶ προσῆλθον τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι. Περὶ ὧν πάντων καὶ πασῶν ἔγραψεν  
 ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι τὸ ἐγκατάλειμμα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται, φησὶν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐξ εὐθείας μὲν μετέστρεψας τὰ ῥήματα τῆς προφητείας τῇ ἐρμηνείᾳ  
 εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀντίληψιν. Πλήν εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, πότε ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος περιπατῶν ἐν  
 560 Ἱερουσαλήμ, καθὼς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπάγει ὁ προφήτης, τὰ περὶ κύκλῳ τῆς Σιών ἐσκόιασε νε-  
 φέλη ἡμέρας καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ ὡς φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτός· Πότε δὲ ἐγένετο  
 αὐτὸς πάση δόξῃ σκέπων καὶ εἰς σκιὰν ἀνατέλλων ἑαυτὸν ἡμέρας τοῖς ὑπὸ σκίοις ἀπὸ 685C  
 καύματος καὶ ἐν σκέπῃ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἀπὸ σκληρότητος ὑετοῦ; Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸ αἶμα

549 ἄγιοι – 550 ζωὴν Is. 4.3 | 551 ἔχεις – ἀποστόλους cf. Mt. 10.1; Mc. 3.14; Lc. 6.13 |  
 552 ἔχεις τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα cf. Lc. 10.1 ἔχεις τοὺς δισχιλίους cf. Mc. 5.13 et notam ἔχεις τοὺς  
 τρισχιλίους cf. Acta 2.41 ἔχεις<sup>4</sup> – 553 ἄρτους cf. Mt. 14.17–21; Mc. 6.41–43; Lc. 9.13–14; Io.  
 6.9–10 | 553 ἔχεις – 554 ἀπεργασάμενοι cf. Acta 5.37 | 560 τὰ – 561 νυκτός Is. 4.5 | 562 ἀπὸ –  
 563 ὑετοῦ Is. 4.6 | 563 τὸ – 564 καύσεως Is. 4.4

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

540 ὅτι – 543 ἅγιον < SHPTV δὲ < μ λέγει < DAN μ | 541 ἐξευρῶν DAN μ δὲ < μ | 542 ἀγία  
 κολυμβήθρα N ὀφειλήματα DAN | 543 καὶ δοξάσαι < CXLK | 544 τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ + ἐστὶν ὅπερ  
 ἐσθὲν post 543 τὸ πληθος μ σατανᾶ μ SHPTV αὐτῷ] αὐτὸς DAN αὐτῷ – ἐνεβριμήσατο] εἶπεν  
 αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐμβριμούμενος C ὁ θεὸς post καθὼς N, post ἐνεβριμήσατο μ | 545 βάλλοντι DA  
 καλόντι N τὸ<sup>1</sup> bis D τῶν Ἰουδαίων] τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν CXLK εἰς – Χριστῷ < μ μὴ πιστεῦσαι LK |  
 546 καθότι] ὥστε μ κύριον + μου L μου post θεόν CXX καὶ θεὸν post 547 Χριστὸν DA θεὸν +  
 μου L | 547 τῆς] τοῦ CLK δοξάζουσιν X DAN μ | 548 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς μ ἀνεγείρουσιν X DAN μ  
 αὐτοῦς ὀνομάζουσιν SHPTV καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 549 μνείας post 547 αὐτοῦς DA | 549 μνήμας D μ κατ' ἔτος  
 ἐπιτελοῦσι < μ ἐπιτελώσι CLK καθά] οὐ X καθὼς μ καθά – 557 φησὶν < SHPTV καὶ < μ  
 κληθήσονται πάντες C | 550 ἀπογραφάμενοι DAN μ τῷ νόμῳ D μ | 551 ἀγίῳ < μ ἔχεις τοίνυν]  
 καὶ ἔχεις DAN μ | 552 ἔχεις τοὺς τρισχιλίους < C ἔχεις<sup>3</sup> – 553 πεντακισχιλίους < DAN μ τρισ-

*the spirit of judgement*, that is because he decided so in his love for mankind through the Holy Ghost, finding such a great good; *in the spirit of burning*, because by the fire of his own spirit he burnt the guilt of those that came to the baptismal font through their belief. For the Holy Ghost is capable of burning stains. *To exalt and glorify the remnant* of the people, away from the unbelief *of Israel* which was the work of Satan (as God rebuked him because he seduced all the race of the Jews by his unbelief), that is, when they believed in Christ they were exalted and glorified so much, that all nations which believe in my Lord and God Jesus Christ henceforth and until now honour and glorify <these people> and built chapels for them and call them holy and righteous men, and celebrate their holy memories every year, as is also written that they *all* will be called *holy*, that is from the nations, that were removed from the law and were *written into life*, which is Christ, through their belief and the holy baptism. Accordingly, you have the twelve apostles, you have the seventy, you have the two thousand,<sup>46</sup> you have the three thousand, you have the five thousand who ate the loaves of bread, you have the four-hundred whom you all killed, making them martyrs of my Lord Jesus Christ. And there are also many other souls, not only men, but also women, who turned away from Judaism and came to the holy baptism. About all of these the prophet wrote, that *the remnant of Israel will be saved.*”

Herban said: “You have straightaway reinterpreted the words of the prophecy for your own support. But even if it were so, when did the crucified one, walking around in Jerusalem, as the prophet goes on after this, *overshade the surroundings of Zion with a cloud*<sup>47</sup> *by day and as with smoke and the light of a burning fire by night?* When did he appear covering with all his glory and rising in the shade of the day to his subjects, *from the heat and for a shelter and a hiding-place from the hardness of the rain?* For the

χιλίους] τετρακισχιλίους X | 553 τετρακοσίους] τετρακισχιλίους μ έναπεκτείνετε DA άποκτείναντες N | 554 αυτούς < N χρηματίζουσι] εισίν μ | 555 πολλὰ ψυχὰι LK αίτινες X DAN μ | 556 έπεστράφησαν DA μ | 557 φησίν post έγκατάλειμμα C, < μ | 558 λέγει < μ μέν < N μ τή έρμηνεία < μ | 559 σαυτοῦ μ περιπατῶν] περι πάντων SHPTV | 560 τής < HP έπεσκίασε DAN μ | 561 φωτός < CXLK πυρός < μ | 562 πάση + τή DAN, + τιμή και SHPTV, < TV δόξα VM έαυτοῦ CXLK υποκόοις V από – 565 προφήτης < SHPTV | 563 και<sup>2</sup> < N και ύετοῦ μ τοῦ] και DAN τοῦ τὸ < CXLK αίματος LK

<sup>46</sup> Unclear allusion; the only two thousand in the New Testament are the possessed pigs that drown themselves in the sea according to Mc. 5.13.

<sup>47</sup> Note how the quotation is adapted here to the new context: The tense has been changed from future to past, and Christ has become the subject of the sentence instead of ‘cloud’ (νεφέλη) as in the text of the Septuagint.

Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκκαθαριεῖ ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν πνεύματι κρίσεως καὶ πνεύματι καύσεως ταῦτα  
565 ἐπάγει ὁ προφήτης.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σὺ τοιγαροῦν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ ἦς καὶ  
ἔβλεπες, κἄν τε νεφέλη ἐσκίαζε, κἄντε πυρὸς φωτὶ καιομένου ἐφώτιζεν εἴτε καὶ ἕτερόν τι  
διέπραττεν, ὅτι ταῦτα φληναφείς περὶ αὐτοῦ; Μὴ εἰδῶς γὰρ τὸν ἀληθῆ νοῦν τῆς θείας  
Γραφῆς ἅπαντα σωματικοῖς νοήμασιν ἐπισπεύδεις διακρίνειν. Πρόσεχε δὲ τίνα δηλοῦσι  
570 τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπεὶ σύ, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, δοκῶν σῦκα συνάγειν τριβόλους καρπίζει. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ  
προφήτης ὅτι ἦξει κύριος, καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ ὅτι ἐλήλυθε. *Καὶ ἔσται,* 685D  
φησί, *πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιών καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ κύκλῳ αὐτῆς.* Ἡ Σιών ἐκείνη ὄρος  
πέφυκε καὶ ὄρος ὑψηλόν. Σιών δὲ καὶ ὄρος μοι νόει τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μητρόπολιν Σιών  
καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐξ ἔθνῶν. Ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶς τόπος τοῦ ὄρους Σιών καὶ τὰ  
575 περικύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σιών, μαρτύρεται ἡ ἀλήθεια. Χριστοῦ γὰρ  
σαρκωθέντος ἀπετάξατο πᾶς τόπος τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ εἶξε τῇ ὑποταγῇ ὑποκάτω τῆς ἄνω 688A  
Σιών τῷ κυρίῳ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πιστεύσας. Καίτοι ἀνάγγειλον δὴ μοι αὐτός, ἔστι τόπος  
ὑποκάτω τῆς ὑπ’ οὐρανόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκκλησία οὐ πεφύκασι τῷ ἔσταυρωμένῳ; Πνευματικῶς  
γὰρ νοοῦνται τὰ πράγματα καὶ οὐχὶ σωματικῶς. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκεν· *Σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας,*  
580 *γέγραπται,* ὅτι ἡνίκα μετεμορφώθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Θαβώρ κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν μαθητῶν  
αὐτοῦ, νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀναληφθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς  
εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν γέγραπται, ὅτι *Καὶ νεφέλη,* φησί, *ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν*  
*ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν,* τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῶν μαθητῶν. Ὅτι δὲ *Καὶ ὡς καπνοῦ καὶ ὡς φωτὸς πυρὸς*  
*καιομένου νυκτὸς* ἐφώνει ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὅτι *πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ σκεπασθήσεται,* τοῦτο δηλοῖ  
585 Ὡς μὲν *καπνοῦ* διὰ τὸν γνόφον λέγει τὸν νοητὸν ἦτοι τὸ σῶμα, ὃ φορῶν ἐκάλυπτε τὴν 688B  
θεότητα ἀπὸ ὑμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἀπίστων, σημεῖα τελῶν τοῦ μὴ γνωσθῆναι, ἵνα πλη-  
ρωθῇ καὶ ἃ εἶπεν Ἡσαίας, ὅτι *Πεπώρωκεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καὶ ὁ Δαυίδ·  
*Καὶ ἔθετο σκότος,* τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ σῶμα, *ἀποκρυφῆν αὐτῶν,* ἡγοῦν τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ  
τῶν ἀπίστων. Καπνὸς γὰρ καὶ σκότος οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἴσασιν ἐνεργεῖν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

570 δοκῶν – καρπίζει cf. Athanasius Alexandrinus, *CPG* 2239, *PG* 27.1357D–1360A | 571 ἦξει κύριος cf. *Zach.* 14.5 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 572 αὐτῆς *Is.* 4.3 | 579 σκιάσει νεφέλη ἡμέρας *Is.* 4.5 | 580 ἡνίκα – 581 αὐτοῦ cf. *Mt.* 17.2; *Mc.* 9.3; *Lc.* 9.29 | 582 καὶ – 583 αὐτῶν *Acta* 1.9 | 583 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 584 σκεπασθήσεται *Is.* 4.5 | 587 πεπώρωκεν – καρδίαν *Io.* 12.40; cf. *Is.* 6.10 | 588 καὶ – αὐτῶν *Ps.* 17.12

**C X L K D A N μ S H P T V** | 585 ὡς – 690 σταυρὸς post 740 κατεκληρονόμησε TV

564 Ἱερουσαλήμ] Ἰσραὴλ X ἐκ μέσου < D | 566 ὁ < V ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη] λέγει DAN τοῖνον μ γὰρ SHPTV | 567 ἐπεσκίαζε μ κἄν μ πυρὸς φωτὶ] πυρὶ D καιομένου SHPV καὶ < μ | 568 ὅτι] ἅπανα S ὅτινα V ταῦτα < μ αὐτό C θείας] ἀληθείας LK, < DA | 569 ἐπιτηδεύεις μ διακρίνειν + καὶ σπεύδεις· ἀλλὰ μ δέ] οὖν SHPTV, < μ τί SHPVM | 570 εἰρημένα] κεφάλαια N σύ] σῦκα μ Ἰουδαίε τυφλέ μ δοκῶν σῦκα] σὺ δοκῶν μ σῦκα] σὺ καὶ C, < SHPTV συνάγειν + οἰόμενος N καρπίζειν T γὰρ < CXLK | 571 οἱ χριστιανοὶ < μ | 572 τὸ ὄρος T τὰ < STV | 573 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < CXLK N μητρόπολις DA | 574 τὴν ἐξ<sup>2</sup>] τῶν μ δὲ < X | 575 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς μ τῆς] τὴν μ, < N SHPTV μαρτυρεῖται DAN μαρτυρεῖ μ Χριστοῦ] τοῦ

prophet goes on with these words from the passage *he will clear the blood of Jerusalem out of their midst with the spirit of judgement and the spirit of burning.*”

The archbishop said: “So were you present in the days when he appeared and saw, whether a cloud was shading there, or he shone with the light of a burning fire or did something else, that you babble about him like this? For you hurry to judge everything with corporeal thoughts, because you do not know the real spirit of the holy Scripture. Listen what the said things mean, for you, o Jew, harvest thorns while believing to gather figs. For the prophet says that the Lord will come, and we Christians know that he has already come. *And there will be*, he says, *all places on mount Zion and all its surroundings*. That Zion is a mountain, and indeed a high mountain. Understand the words Zion and mountain as the metropolis of Zion in heaven, and the church of the nations coming out from there. That all places of mount Zion and its surroundings are under the domination of Zion itself, truth does testify. For when Christ became flesh, all places renounced Satan and yielded in submission under the upper Zion, believing in my Lord Jesus Christ. However, tell me yourself, is there a place under heaven where there are no churches of the crucified? For things have to be understood spiritually and not corporeally. That he said, *he will shade with a cloud by day*, this is written, because when he was transfigured on mount Thabor before his disciples, a shining cloud overshadowed them. And again, when he was received from earth to heaven, it is written that *a cloud took him away from their eyes*, that is of the disciples. That the prophet called out *and as with smoke and the light of a burning fire by night*, and that *he will be covered with all his glory*, this means: *As with smoke* he says about the mental gloom, that is, the body, which he bore to hide his divinity before you unbelieving Jews, and did portents in order to remain unknown, so that what Isaiah said might be fulfilled: *He has made their heart hard* and so on. And David: *And he made darkness*, that is the body, *their hiding-place*, that is his divinity from the unbelieving. For smoke and darkness can have no other effect than to obscure the eyes and make them blind, so that the

κυρίου DAN μ | 576 πᾶς < μ | 577 καίτοι < μ δῆ] δέ μ | 578 ἐσταυρωμένῳ + θεῷ DA μ Χριστῷ N | 579 οὐχί] οὐ μ εἶρηκες CX εἶρηται μ + ὅτι CXLK σκιάσει] σκιαν εἶναι DA σκιάς εἶναι N σκιάσαι μ ἡμέρα νεφέλης C ἡμέρας νεφέλη μ | 580 γέγραπται + γὰρ N SHTV, + δὲ P Θαβῶρ < D κατὰ πρόσωπον post 581 αὐτοῦ D | 581 καὶ – 583 αὐτῶν < D δὲ < N μ SHPTV ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς < μ ἀπὸ – 582 οὐρανὸν < SHPTV | 582 πάλιν post 581 αὐτὸν μ πάλιν δὲ CXLK A καὶ < μ SHPTV φησὶν < μ ὑπέλαχεν X ἀπὸ – 583 αὐτῶν < AN | 583 αὐτῶν τοῦτ’ ἔστι < μ μαθητῶν ὁρώντων N μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ μ ὡς<sup>1</sup> – καὶ<sup>2</sup> < CXLK | 584 νυκτὸς καιομένου μ ἐφώνησεν μ SHPTV τοῦτο δὲ μ | 585 ὡς] τὸ μ ὡς μὲν τὸ C λέγει < SHP τὸ < μ ὁ φορῶν] ἄφθορον CXLK | 586 τῶν Ἰουδαίων < SHPTV τῶν ἀπίστων Ἰουδαίων μ σημεῖα – 591 ἀπίστων < SHPTV | 587 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D Ἰσαΐας + περὶ αὐτοῦ N | 588 τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἦγουν μ τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ σῶμα post αὐτῶν N αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ N μ ἦγουν τὴν θεότητα] τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῆς θεότητος μ | 589 γὰρ καὶ] δὲ μ ἕτερον < D μ ἴσασιν] ἴσον CXLK εἶασεν μ



- 590 δριμύττειν καὶ τυφλοῦν πρὸς τὸ μὴ καλῶς ὄραν τὸν καπνιζόμενον ἦτοι τῷ σκότῳ βαλ-  
 λόμενον αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν. Ἄει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἀπίστων καὶ χυδιαζόντων τυφλοὶ τὰ  
 νοήματα. Ὡς δὲ φωτὸς πυρὸς καιομένου νυκτὸς φῶς αὐτὸς ἦν, ὅτι καὶ ἔλεγεν· *Ἐγὼ φῶς*  
*εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλήλυθα.* Ἐκαίετο δέ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐξέλαμπε τῇ ἀπροσίτῳ θεότητι διὰ τῶν  
 σημείων καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τοῖς ἐν νυκτί τοῦ βίου τότε Ἰουδαίους χρηματίζουσιν, οἱ καὶ 688c
- 595 ὀρώντες, τοῦτ' ἔστι πολλοὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν φωτιζόμενοι ἐπίστευον. Τὸ δὲ *πάση τῇ δόξῃ σκεπα-*  
*σθήσεται*· σταυρωθεὶς δηλονότι τοσοῦτον ἐδοξάσθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοσοῦτον  
 ἐτιμήθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ βασιλεῖαι τῆς ὑπ'  
 οὐρανὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον καὶ δεσπότην καὶ βασιλέα καὶ λυτρωτὴν ὁμολογοῦ-  
 σαι τιμῶσι καὶ σέβονται καὶ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ λατρεύουσιν. Ὅτι δὲ λέγει, ὅτι *ἔσται εἰς*  
 600 *σκιάν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ καύματος*, ἡμέραν λέγει τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐργασίαν, καῦμα δὲ τὰ βέλη  
 τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα. Ὁ κύριός μου οὖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ αἰῶνος  
 τούτου αὐτὸς σκιάζει καὶ φρουρεῖ καὶ φυλάσσει πάντας τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτόν, οὐ μόνον  
 ἀπὸ καύσωνος πονηροῦ, ἦτοι νοητοῦ, τοῦ ἐκκαίοντος τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ  
 ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν ἀνομίαν τοῦ διαβόλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ *ἀπὸ συμπτώματος δαιμονίου μεσημβρι-* 688d  
 605 *νοῦ* καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς τυραννίδος τοῦ σατανᾶ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σκληρότης καὶ ὑετὸς πονηρός·  
 διαστροφή δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἔννοιαι ἄλογοί τε καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι. Ταῦτα, ὦ Ἐρβᾶν, οὕτως ἐρμη-  
 νεύει καὶ οὕτως συγκρίνεται. Περὶ δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρόσεχε τίνα  
 προβαίνων ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης λέγει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προφητείᾳ· *Τάδε λέγει κύριος· ἐφύτευσα,*  
*φησὶν, ἄμπελον σωρήχ·* σωρήχ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται κληματὶς δεξιᾶ, διὰ τὸν Ἀβραάμ τοῦτο  
 610 πρόδηλον. *Καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκα καὶ ἐχαράκωσα, καὶ ὠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν* 688A  
*μέσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ προλήνιον ὠρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησε δὲ*  
*ἀκάνθας. Καὶ νῦν, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλήμ, κρίνατε ἐν ἐμοὶ*  
*καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἀμπελώνου μου. Τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελῶνι μου καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ,*  
*διότι ἔμεινα ἵνα ποιήσῃ σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας;* Ἐπάγων δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑμῶν  
 615 καὶ τὸ τί δεοί γενέσθαι περὶ ὑμῶν λέγει· *Νῦν οὖν ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν, φησί, τί ἐγὼ ποιήσω τῷ*  
*ἀμπελῶνι μου.* Ἐνταῦθα πρόσεχε, Ἐρβᾶν, τὴν ἀκριβῆ τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑμῶν κατάλυσιν.  
*Ἄφελῶ γάρ, φησί, τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγὴν.* Καὶ τίς ὁ φραγμὸς Πάν-

592 ἐγὼ – 593 ἐλήλυθα Io. 12.46 | 599 ἔσται – 600 καύματος Is. 4.6 | 600 τὰ – 601 πεπυρωμένα  
 Eph. 6.16 | 604 ἀπὸ – μεσημβρινῶν Ps. 90.6 | 605 σκληρότης καὶ ὑετὸς cf. Is. 4.6 | 608 τάδε –  
 609 σωρήχ Is. 3.16, 5.2 | 610 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 614 ἀκάνθας Is. 5.2–4 | 615 νῦν – 616 μου Is. 5.5 |  
 617 ἀφελῶ – διαρπαγὴν ibid.

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

590 τυφλεῖν DAN μ ἢ τὸν σκότον μ σκότει X DAN βαλλόμενοις N | 591 τὰ<sup>1</sup> < μ καὶ  
 χυδιαζόντων < μ τυφλᾶν C τυφλᾶ XLK | 592 δὲ καὶ μ | 593 ἐκαίετο – 595 ἐπίστευον < SHPTV  
 τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἦγουν μ ἀπροσίτῳ + δόξῃ καὶ τῇ C | 594 χρηματίζουσιν Ἰουδαίους μ οἱ – 595  
 ἐπίστευον < μ | 595 αἵροντες DA τοῦτ' ἔστι L<sup>del</sup>, < K σκεπασθήσεται + τοῦτο δηλοῖ μ | 596 ὁ  
 σταυρωθεὶς DA δηλονότι] γὰρ μ τοσοῦτον<sup>2</sup>] τηλικούτων DAN SHPTV, < μ | 597 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς <  
 SHPTV τῆς<sup>1</sup> < N μ ἐπ' ἀληθείας] ἀληθῶς μ | 598 οὐρανῶν A καὶ λυτρωτὴν ὁμολογοῦσαι N  
 ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ DA | 599 τιμῶσαι N καὶ τιμῶσι καὶ DA καὶ σέβονται < μ SHPTV προσκυνῶσιν

man standing in the smoke, that is the one thrown into darkness, cannot see well the things before him. For God always blinds the minds of the unbelieving and vulgar people. He himself was light like the light of a burning fire by night, for he said also: *I came as a light into the world*. He burned, that is, he shone on the inaccessible divinity through the signs and wonders to the Jews of that time which were in the night of life, who saw, that is, out of whom many were enlightened and believed. *He will be covered with all his glory*: When he was crucified he was glorified so highly by the Father and honoured so much on earth by the men being with truth, that all kingdoms under heaven honour him, confessing him to be the true God and Lord, master, king and saviour, that they adore, worship and venerate him. When he says that *he will be in the shade of the day from the heat*, he calls the spiritual work day, and the inflamed arrows of the evil heat. Now on all days of this age my Lord himself shades and guards and watches all those who love him, not only from the heat of evil, that is of the mind, which incites the souls of men to work the iniquities of the devil, but also *from the mishap of the demon of midday* and the remaining tyranny of Satan, which is hardness and bad rain; for this is distortion, irrational and impure thoughts. This, o Herban, is explained and interpreted in that way. Listen what the prophet says about the congregation of you Jews going on in the same prophecy: *Thus says the Lord: I have planted a Sorech vinestock*, Sorech is translated as ‘right vine-twigg’,<sup>48</sup> clearly speaking about Abraham. *And I fenced and fortified it and built a watch-tower in the midst of it, I made a wine-press in it and waited that it should make grapes, but it made thorns. And now, man of Judah and you inhabitants of Jerusalem, judge between me and my vineyard. What more should I do to my vineyard that I have not done to it, for I waited that it should make grapes, but it made thorns?* And he goes on to tell of your destruction and what should happen to you saying: *Now I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard*. Here listen precisely, Herban, to the dissolution of your congregation. *For I will take away*, he says, *the fence and leave it to plundering*. And what is the fence? At all events is the law which surrounds

καὶ λατρεύουσιν T ἔστιν μ | 601 μου] μὲν μ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου] τοὺς N | 602 αὐτὸς] αὐτῷ DAN +  
μετὰ φόβου δουλεύοντας N πρὸς δὲ και<sup>2</sup> N φυλάττει μ οὐ – 606 ἀκάθαρτοι < SHPTV | 603 τοῦ  
πονηροῦ μ ἦτοι νοητοῦ < μ τοῦ < K καίοντος μ | 604 καὶ δαιμονίου DA μ | 606 διαστρέφει  
CXLK ἐννοῖαι C ἄλογοί] ἄλλη DA | 607 συγκρίνεται μ πρόσχες μ τί SHPTV | 608 προφαίνων  
CXLK αὐτῇ] αὐτοῦ μ | 609 φησὶν < μ ἀμπελὸν N SHPTV κλήμα τῆ δεξιᾷ CXLK τὸν] τοῦ T  
τοῦτο + οὖν DAN ἦν μ | 611 ὑπολήγιον μ ἐν < C HP | 612 ἄνθρωποι μ κατοικοῦντες μ ἐν  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ X μ TV | 613 ἀναμέσον τοῦ ἀμπελώνος] τῷ ἀμπελῶνι μ και<sup>2</sup> – αὐτῷ < D | 614 ἵνα  
ποιήσῃ] τοῦ ποιήσαι LK D ἐπάγει CXLK | 615 δέοι] δέ LK + ἦγουν ἐκδέχεται L<sup>marg</sup> περὶ ὑμῶν  
γενέσθαι SHPTV ἀναγγελῶ] ἀναγγεῖλον C ἀναγγεῖλω DA ἀπαγγεῖλω N ὑμῖν] μοι CX ἐγὼ < μ |  
616 ἐνταῦθα δὲ N ὧ Ἑρβάν μ T τῆ ἀκριβεῖ μ V καταλύσει μ | 617 γάρ < CX SHPTV φησὶ γάρ  
LK φησὶ < C μ και<sup>2</sup> < μ

<sup>48</sup> The word is actually a proper name, but was often understood in Patristic literature in the sense of ‘chosen’.

- τως ὁ νόμος ὁ περιορίζων κύκλω τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῖς φραγμοῖς τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου 689B  
 μεταρθέντα ἀμπελώνα πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. Τίνες οἱ διαρπάσαντες; Αἰσθητῶς  
 620 μὲν Ἀσσύριοι, Πέρσαι, Ῥωμαῖοι, νοητῶς δὲ οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες εἰς τὰς αἰρέσεις· καὶ γὰρ  
 ὑμεῖς ἐν ποικίλαις αἰρέσεσι κατὰ καιροὺς τὸν νόμον Μωσέως παρετρῶσατε. *Καὶ καθελῶ,*  
*φησί, τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα.* Τίς ὁ τοῖχος; ἡ τοῦ ὑψίστου δεξιὰ, ἡ  
 προπύργιον καὶ ἀσφάλεια τῶν ἀγαπώντων αὐτὸν χρηματίζουσα. Τίνες οἱ καταπατοῦντες;  
 οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ἐχθροί, οἷτε νοητῶς, οἷτε καὶ αἰσθητῶς ἄρξαντες (ἐθνικῶς) τῆς συν-  
 625 αγωγῆς ὑμῶν, ὧν ἐπὶ τέλους ὄρω Πιλάτον καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ. *Καὶ ἀνήσω,* φησί, *τὸν*  
*ἀμπελώνα μου,* τοῦτ' ἔστι καταλείπω ἔρημον· *καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῆ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σκαφῆ,* τοῦτ'  
 ἔστιν οὐκ ἐπάξω ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. *Καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς χέρσον ἄκανθα,* 689C  
 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀρθῆ, φησίν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμαρτία πολλή ὡς εἰς ἔθνος ἄνομον καὶ ἀπεριόδευτον  
 ἐν πολλῇ ἄλογίᾳ καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ χρηματίζον. *Καὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐντελοῦμαι τοῦ μὴ βρέξει*  
 630 *εἰς αὐτὸν ὑετόν.* Τί δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ νεφέλαι; αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου, βροχὴ δὲ  
 οἱ λόγοι καὶ ὑετὸς τὰ νοήματα. Ταύταις ἐντέλλομαι, φησίν ὁ θεός, τοῦ μὴ παρέχειν ὑμῖν  
 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εὐκόλως τὰ νοήματα. Πλήρης γὰρ ἀπετυφλώθητε καὶ οὐδὲ δύνασθε δια-  
 γνῶναι τὸν ἀληθῆ νοῦν τῆς θείας Γραφῆς ὑμῶν. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ εἴπησ, ὅτι περὶ ἐτέρου τινὸς  
 κεφαλαίου ὁ προφήτης ταῦτα ἠνίξατο καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς ὑμῶν, τρανώσας τὴν  
 635 προφητείαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καθαραποποίησας ἐπήγαγεν· *Ὁ γὰρ ἀμπελών,* φησί, *κυρίου Σαβαώθ*  
*οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔστι καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰούδα νεόφυτον ἠγαπημένον,* τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ ἐξ 689D  
 Ἰούδα βασιλικὴ γενεαλογία τοῦ Δαυίδ. Ταῦτα οὖν οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει περὶ ὑμῶν, ὧ ἄπιστε  
 Ἰουδαῖε; Καὶ σὺ κατέζη καὶ ἐκδέχη ἔτι ἀνακληθῆναι. *Μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἀμαρτωλῶν σωτηρία.*  
 Εἰ γὰρ ἂ κατέλυσεν ὁ θεός, μᾶλλον δὲ πεπλήρωκε, ταῦτα μέλλει ἔπειτα οἰκοδομεῖν, τολ-  
 640 μηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι παραβάτην ἑαυτὸν συνίστησι. Θεὸς δὲ παραβάτης οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ποτέ,  
 οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐπιλαθεῖν ὡς ὑμεῖς.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πλείστα μεμάθηκας πολυλογεῖν, ἔξω βάλλων τὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐλπίδα. 692A  
 Ἄλλ' ἐμὲ οὐ τὸ καθόλου πτοήσεις, ἐπειδὴ λέγει Ἡσαΐας περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνακλήσεως

621 καὶ – 622 καταπάτημα *ibid.* | 622 τοῦ ὑψίστου δεξιὰ cf. Ps. 76.11 | 625 καί<sup>2</sup> – 626 σκαφῆ Is. 5.6 | 627 καὶ – ἄκανθα *ibid.* | 629 καί<sup>2</sup> – 630 ὑετόν *ibid.* | 635 ὁ – 636 ἠγαπημένον Is. 5.7 | 638 μακρὰν – σωτηρία Ps. 118.155

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

618 τοῖς post κύκλω L<sup>p</sup>K | 619 τὴν < CX οἱ διαρπάσαντες] εἰ διάρπασαν HP | 620 οἱ εἰς DAN μ αἰρέσεις + ὑμᾶς αἰχμαλιτήσαντες N ἀρπάσαντες μ | 621 καὶ ὑμεῖς DAN καιρὸν μ τὸν Μωσέως LK τοῦ Μωσέως μ καὶ < CXLK | 622 φησί post αὐτοῦ SHPTV | 623 προπύργιον καὶ] προπύργιος DAN μ ἀσφάλεια SHPTV χρηματίζουσα < DAN μ | 624 οἱ ἐχθροὶ οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες ὑμᾶς N οἷτε<sup>1</sup>] οἱ μ οἷτε<sup>2</sup>] τε μ καὶ < D αἰσθητῶς] ἐθνικῶς SHPTV ἐθνικῶς] αἰσθητῶς D, < μ SHPTV | 625 τοὺς] τοῖς LK αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦς SHPTV | 626 τοῦτ' ἔστι < V καταλείπω N μ οὐδ' οὐ] οὐδὲ SHP | 627 ἐν αὐτῷ CXLK εἰς αὐτόν μ ὡς εἰς] ὡσεὶ N μ SHPTV | 628 τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἦγουν μ ἀρθῆσεται N φησὶν < μ ὡς εἰς] ὡσεὶ HPTV | 629 ἄνομία μ | 630 ὑετόν εἰς αὐτόν HP τί δέ] τίπερ DAN τίνες SHPTV δέ<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ βροχαὶ N μ | 631 ὁ ὑετὸς CXLK ὑετοὶ μ ταύταις οὖν ἐντελοῦμαι DAN ταύταις – 632 νοήματα < μ ταύταις – 632 ἀπετυφλώθητε < SHPTV |

the vineyard which was shifted from Egypt to the Promised Land fencing it with a circle of orders. Who are the plunderers? Of the senses, the Assyrians, Persians, Romans, of the mind, the wicked demons of the heresies; for you have violated the law of Moses by various heresies. *And I will demolish its enclosure*, he says, *and it will be trampled under foot*. What is the enclosure? The right hand of the Highest which is the outwork and safeguard of those that love him. Who are those that trample under foot? The enemies that take you captive and rule your congregation either mentally or physically, {being nations,}<sup>49</sup> of which I see finally Pilate and those before him. *And I will give up my vineyard*, that is, I will leave it desolate, *and it will not be pruned nor dug*, that is, I will not take care of it. *And thorns will come up there as in a dry land*, that is, great sin will be found in it, he says, as in a unlawful and untended nation which lives in great folly and ignorance. *And I will command the clouds not to rain on it*. What are the clouds? The prophecies and the books of the law, and rain is the words and showers the thoughts. These I command, says God, that they do not offer the thoughts easily to you Jews. For you have been completely blinded and cannot understand the real sense of your holy Scripture. And so you do not say that the prophet said this obscurely about another section and not about your congregation, he went on making the prophecy plain, or rather more pure: *For the vineyard of the Lord Sabaoth*, he says, *is the house of Israel, and the man of Judah a beloved new plant*, that is David's royal genealogy from Judah. Now is this not so concerning you, you unbelieving Jew? And you sit here and still await to be recalled. *Salvation is far away from the sinners*. For if God will rebuilt later what he has dissolved, or rather brought to completion, it is bold to say that he makes himself a transgressor. God can never become a transgressor, for he does not forget as you do."

Herban said: "You have learnt to be very loquacious and to drive out the hope of Israel. But you will not terrify me at all, for Isaiah says making clear the truth about the

632 πλήρης] παντελῶς μ και οὐδὲ] οὐδὲ γὰρ SHPTV οὐδὲν C οὐ μ δύνησθε C ἀναγνῶναι μ | 633 ὑμῶν < SHPTV τινός < μ SHPTV | 634 ταῦτα < LK HP τῆς συναγωγῆς < SHPTV | 635 μᾶλλον δὲ καθαροποιήσας < SHPTV ἄμπελον X φησί post Σαβαώθ μ, < LK N SHPTV | 636 νεὸν φυτὸν LK DA ἠγωνημένον X τοῦτ' – 637 Δαυὶδ < SHPTV ἢ < C DA | 637 βασιλικοῦ ἢ C γεναρχία K ὅτως SHP ἀνόητε και ἄπιστε DAN μ | 638 ἔτι < μ SHPTV ἀνακληθῆναι + ταλαίπωρε και πανάθλιε SHPTV σωτηρία + κατὰ τὸν προφήτην SHPTV | 639 πεπλήρωκεν δὲ μᾶλλον SHPTV ταῦτα < μ ἔπειτα + και νῦν DAN μ, < SHPTV | 640 ὅτι < HP ἐμαυτὸν T γένηται S γένηταί ποτε DAN μ HPT | 641 οὐ – ὑμεῖς < SHPTV ἐπλαθεῖν] ὑπὸ λήθην DAN μ ὑμεῖς + οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες αὐτὸν N | 642 λέγει < μ TV πλείστα < N μεμαθηκῶς DAN βαλῶν DA βάλλεις N | 643 οὐ τὸ] οὐπω DAN μ τὸ καθόλου οὐ SHPTV τὸ < LK ποιήσεις LK πτοήσει N SHPTV

<sup>49</sup> ἐθνικῶς is apparently a *varia lectio* to αἰσθητῶς written on the margin of the archetype, which was included in the text of families α and β as an addition instead of replacing the original word as in γ.

καθαροποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· *Καὶ ἔσται*, φησί, *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, προσθήσει κύριος τοῦ δεῖ-*  
 645 *ξαι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζηλώσει καὶ ζητήσῃ τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ ἐὰν*  
*καταλειφθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας*  
*καὶ ἀπὸ Ἑλαμιτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀραβίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων τῆς*  
*θαλάσσης. Καὶ ἄρει σημεῖον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ συνάξει τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ τοὺς*  
 650 *δισεπαρμένους Ἰούδα συνάξει ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων περὺγων τῆς γῆς. Καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεται ὁ*  
*ζῆλος Ἐφραὶμ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα ἀπολοῦνται. Καὶ ἔσται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὡς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ*  
*ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Καὶ ἐρεῖς, φησὶν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· Εὐλογῶ σε, κύριε, διότι*  
*ὠργίσθης μοι, καὶ ἔπειτα· ἀπέστρεψας τὸν θυμὸν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἠλέησάς με. Εἰ τοίνυν*  
*οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, δεῖξον. Οὐδὲ μόνον γὰρ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνακληθήσεται, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ*  
 655 *ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα, οἵτινες ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ χρισπανοί, ἀπολοῦνται. Ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ἡ ἀψευδὴς*  
*προφητεία, εἴπερ μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ προφήτης.”*

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ συμφέρον σοι λελάληκας, καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἐμοὶ παρεσιώ-  
 πησας. Τί δὲ φάσκει ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ρηθέντων παρὰ σοῦ ὁ προφήτης;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τίνα λέγει; Ἀποκρίθητι αὐτός.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “*Οὕτως λέγει, φησί, κύριος· Ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ρίζα*  
 660 *τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλποῦσιν. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς,*  
*ὅτι ἐναντίος τίς ἐστί τῷ θεῷ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐκ τῆς ρίζης ἔσται τοῦ Ἰεσσαί,*  
*ἐπήγαγε, καὶ ἔσται, φησὶν, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ τιμῆ. Προσέχεις, ὅτι τιμὴν ἔνθεον τὴν*  
*ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῦ ὁ προφήτης εἴρηκεν. Οὐκοῦν τέως πληροφορήθητι, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ*  
*ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τιμὴ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ ὠνομάσθη. Ὅτι δὲ ἐπάγει*  
 665 *μετὰ ταῦτα, καθότι Ἄρει σημεῖον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, φησί, καὶ συνάξει τοὺς ἀπωσμένους Ἰσρα-*  
*ἡλ καὶ τοὺς δισεπαρμένους Ἰούδα συναγάγει, προλαβὼν εἴρηκα, ὅτι οὔτε μίαν, οὔτε*  
*δεύτερον ὑμᾶς συνήγαγεν, ἀλλ' οὖν πολλάκις. Ἄλλ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπειθείᾳ ἔπειτα διαμεί-*  
 670 *ναντες εὐκαίρως πάλιν δισεσκορπίσθητε καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διασκορπισμῷ μέχρι τῆς δευρο*  
*διαμένετε. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐδόθη σοι εἰς ἀπολογίαν κατὰ τὸ σὸν ῥήμα παρ' ἐμοῦ. Εἰ δὲ*  
*βούλει τὸ ἀληθὲς μαθεῖν τί δηλοῖ ἡ προφητεία αὕτη καὶ τί σαφῶς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σημαίνει,*

644 καὶ – 651 Αἰγύπτου Is. 11.11–13 | 651 καὶ – 652 με Is. 12.1 | 659 οὕτως – 660 ἐλποῦσιν Is.  
 8.11, 11.10 | 662 καὶ – τιμῆ ibid. | 665 ἄρει – 666 συναγάγει Is. 11.12

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

644 κύριος προσθήσει τοῦ διδάξαι C | 645 λαοῦ] Ἰσραὴλ D<sup>ac</sup> ὁ καὶ μ ὄπερ ἄν κατελείφθη LK |  
 646 κατελείφθη CXLK καὶ<sup>1</sup> – Βαβυλῶνος post 647 Ἑλαμιτῶν μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> – Αἰθιοπίας < D ἀπὸ<sup>2</sup> <  
 DAN μ ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> < AN | 647 ἀπὸ<sup>2</sup> < N | 648 ἄρει N μ σημεία μ ἀπολλυμένους CXLK ἀπωσμένους  
 SHPTV | 649 δισεπαρμένους] ἀπωσμένους SHPTV ἄξει CX τεσσάρων] ἀπωσμένων SHPTV  
 περάτων N | 650 Ἐφρέμ S καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 655 προφήτης < SHPTV | 651 εὐλογῆσω DAN μ | 652 μοι]  
 μου A μ | 654 ἡ ἀψευδής] ἡ ψευδής DAN ἡ ἀψευδής προφητεία] ἡ ψευδεῖς οἱ προφήται μ |  
 655 εἴπερ – προφήτης < μ μὴ καὶ DA καὶ μὴ N | 656 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA SHP σὺ μὲν τὸ<sup>1</sup> DA μ σοι + μόνον DA μ καὶ  
 τὸ] τὸ δὲ DAN μ ἐμοὶ] ἡμῖν DAN | 657 τί] τίς μ ἐν τῷ SHPTV ὁ προφήτης < DAN μ |  
 658 Ἐρβᾶν – 659 ἔφη < K λέγει] ἔφη S καὶ < μ αὐτός] αὐτὰ σύ DAN ταῦτα σύ μ | 659 ὁ

recalling of Israel: *And on that day it will come to pass that God will again stretch out his hand desiring to recover the remaining remnant of the people and to seek for it,<sup>50</sup> that will be left from the Assyrians and from Egypt, from Babylon and Ethiopia, from the Elamites and from the rising sun, from Arabia and the islands in the sea. And he will set up a sign for the nations and will gather the lost people of Israel, and he will gather the scattered people of Judah from the four wings of the earth. And the envy of Ephraim will be taken away and the enemies of Judah will perish. And it will be to Israel as on the day when he went out of Egypt. And you will say, he says, on that day: I praise you, Lord, because you were angry with me, and later: You have turned your anger away from me and had pity on me.* Now show me whether this is not so. For not only will Israel be recalled, he says, but also the enemies of Judah, who are you Christians, will perish. This is the content of the unerring prophecy, if the prophet does not lie.”

The archbishop said: “You have said the things useful to you, and passed over in silence the things useful for me. What does the prophet say in the section quoted by you?”

Herban said: “And what does he say? Answer yourself.”

The archbishop said: “*Thus says the Lord, he says: It will happen on that day there will be the root of Jesse and the one that stands up to rule the nations; in him the nations will trust.* And that you do not say that the one that stands up to rule the nations is an enemy of God, he went on that he is from the root of Jesse, and that, he says, *his rest will be glorious.* Listen that he, the prophet, called the divine honour his rest. Now be assured that the one that stood up to rule the nations came from God, for his rest was also called honour. And if he goes on after this that *he will set up a sign for the nations and will gather the outcasts of Israel, and he will bring together the scattered people of Judah,* I have said before that he did not gather you once or twice, but often. But since you have remained in the same disobedience afterwards, you were scattered again in good time and have remained in the same scattering until now. And this has been given to you from me as an excuse according to your word. But if you want to learn the truth, what this prophecy reveals and what it means clearly in truth, listen: *Thus says the Lord,*

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA οὔτω μ λέγει] ὁ λόγος CXLK κύριος] και C ὁ κύριος X DA | 660 τῶν ἐθνῶν μ ἐθνῶν + ἐκ τῆς ρίζης ἔσται τοῦ Ἰησοῦ N ἐπ' – 661 ἐθνῶν < T | 661 ἐναντιώτης τίς SHP τίς < LK N τῷ θεῷ < CXLK τῶν ἐθνῶν μ ἔσται < C | 662 προσέχεις + ἀπαίδευτε και ἀδίδακτε DAN μ προσέχεις – 663 εἶρηκεν < SHPTV | 663 τοῦ < D μ τῷ θεῷ K | 664 τῶν ἐθνῶν μ ἐπάγει TV | 665 ὅτι μ ἄρει σημεῖον] ἐράσμιον DAN ἀπολλυμένους D<sup>pc</sup> | 666 συνάγει DAN μίαν] ἄπαξ μ | 667 δευτερον] δις μ δευτεραν HP ὑμᾶς < μ ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀλλὰ και DAN μ ἀλλ'<sup>2</sup> + ὑμεῖς DAN μ τῇ αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ τῇ D αὐτῇ < CXLK ἀπαθεία V ἀπειθεία + ἐστὲ DA μ ἔπειτα < N SHPTV | 668 ἐν καιρῷ μ τῷ αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ τῷ D τῆς] τοῦ CXLK | 669 και – ἐμοῦ < SHPTV εἰς] πρὸς μ κατὰ – ῥῆμα] τοῦ σοῦ ῥήματος μ | 670 μαθεῖν τὸ ἀληθές μ SHPTV τί<sup>1</sup> – σημαίνει] τῆς προφητείας ταύτης και τὸ σαφές μ δηλοῖ] διαλύει CXLK αὐτῇ < SHPTV και – σημαίνει < SHPTV

50 *And to seek for it* (και ζητησαι): Septuagint G App.

- πρόσχε· Οὕτως λέγει, φησί, κύριος· Ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσοαὶ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν. Τίς ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσοαὶ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡ ἐμὴ δεσποινα καὶ θεοτόκος 693A  
 Μαριάμ ἡ ἐκ φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰεσοαὶ χρηματίζουσα; Τίς ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν; Ἰησοῦς 693A  
 Χριστὸς ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρκωθεὶς. Ὅτι δὲ ἄρχει τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὄρας πάντως, ὅτι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 675 ἔθνη ἐλπίζουσι, βλέπεις. Ὅτι δὲ πέφυκεν ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ πμῆ, κόρος οὐκ ἔστιν. Ἀνά-  
 παυσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίμησιν λέγει, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν θάνατον, ὃν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμά-  
 μενος δέδωκε. Καὶ ἐπάγει εὐθέως ὁ προφήτης καὶ λέγει· Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.  
 Ποῖα ἡμέρα; Πρόδηλον ἐν ἧ ἀνίσταται ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν. Εἰ δὲ ἐρεῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἐν  
 680 ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, δεῖξον σὺ περὶ ποίας λέγει. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ συντελείας εἴπης τὴν ἡμέραν, ἔδει  
 καὶ τὸν προφήτην συντέλειαν ὀνομάσαι. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχεις τοῦτο παραστήσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο  
 Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, φησί, προσθήσει κύριος τοῦ δεῖξαι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ. Τίτι προσθήσει 693B  
 κύριος ὁ δεξάμενος, φησί, τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιστραφέντα; Προσθήσει καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς  
 ἀληθινούς Ἰσραηλίτας τοὺς καὶ τὸν νόμον καλῶς τηρήσαντας καὶ εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμὸν  
 685 προθύμως ἐκένυσαντας, διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν πίστεως ἀνακαλέσασθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκλέξα-  
 σθαι καὶ μεταστήσαι εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμὸν οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐκ  
 πάντων τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης. Διασπαρέντων γὰρ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς  
 δώδεκα ἀνέμους τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν, πολὺ πλῆθος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διασκορπι-  
 σθέντων Ἰουδαίων ἐπίστευσαν πανοικί καὶ συνήχθησαν μετὰ τῶν πιστευσάντων ἐθνῶν ἐν  
 690 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Οὐκοῦν λέγει, ὅτι καὶ ἄρει σημεῖον εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. Τί τὸ σημεῖον ἀλλ' ἡ ὁ τίμιος  
 σταυρός; Δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ συνάξει εἰς σωτηρίαν τοὺς ἀπωσμένους Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοὺς ἀπωσμέ- 693C  
 νους Ἰουδα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Εἰ δὲ ἐρεῖς· Ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ  
 σημεῖον ὠνομάσθη;', λέγει ὁ Δαυὶδ πρὸς κύριον προφητεύων περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· Ποίησον,  
 φησί, μετ' ἐμοῦ σημεῖον εἰς ἀγαθόν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει βεβαίως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 πνεύματος θεῖαν διάκρισιν.”  
 695 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ προφήτης καθολικῶς εἶρηκεν ὅτι· τοῦ ζητῆσαι τὸ καταλειφθὲν ὑπό-  
 λοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ. Καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις, ὅτι τοὺς ἀποσπασθέντας ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ Χρι-  
 στῷ πεπιστευκότας, τοὺτους μόνους ἀσφαλῶς ἠνίξατο;”

681 ἐν – αὐτοῦ Is. 11.11 | 692 ποιήσον – 693 ἀγαθὸν Ps. 85.17 | 695 τοῦ – 696 λαοῦ Is. 11.11

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

671 πρόσχε ὡδε· οὕτω μ | 672 τῶν ἐθνῶν μ τίς – 673 ἐθνῶν < TV ἡ < SHP ἐμὴ < HP καὶ < D |  
 673 Μαρία DA μ SHP ἡ < N SHP τῶν ἐθνῶν μ | 674 ὁ Χριστὸς μ γεννηθεὶς μ δέ<sup>1</sup> < D ὁ  
 ἄρχειν DA ὄρας < D δέ<sup>2</sup> < N καὶ ἐπ' DAN μ ἔθνη ἐπ' αὐτῷ K | 675 ἐλπίουσι DAN μ σὺ  
 βλέπεις DAN δὲ < D P ἔστιν] ἐνι SHPTV | 676 φυσίζωον θάνατον N ὃν < C τοῦ < DA SHPTV  
 | 677 καὶ ὅτι ἐνάγει CXLK καὶ λέγει| λέγων DAN μ | 678 ἴστατο μ ἐθνῶν < μ δὲ + καὶ DAN  
 οὐκ ἐρεῖς ὅτι LK | 679 ἡμέρα + λέγει μ λέγει| λέγεις SHP τῆς συντελείας N συντελείαν μ εἶπε  
 CXLK εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν SHPV τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι T τὴν ἡμέραν < DAN μ ἔδει] ἔχει D |  
 680 συντελείαν SHP ὀνομάσαι – τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> < N στήσαι N | 681 φησί < N προσθήσει<sup>1</sup>] προσθήη N  
 τοῦ – 682 κύριος < N τίτι] τί ἐστι DA τί ἐνι SHPTV | 682 κύριος + ἦγουν μ φησί] λέγει N, < μ  
 δὲ καὶ μ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ < SHPTV | 683 ἀληθινούς < SHPTV καί<sup>1</sup> < N SHPTV | 684 διὰ – 685  
 χριστιανισμὸν < SHPTV ἀνακαλέσασθαι δὲ N τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκλέξασθαι < μ | 685 μόνον + δὲ καὶ

he says: *It will happen on that day there will be the root of Jesse and the one that stands up to rule the nations.* What else is the root of Jesse but my Lady and Mother of God Mary who was from the tribe of Jesse? Who is the one that stands up to rule the nations? Jesus Christ who became flesh from her. You observe at all events that he rules the nations, and see that the nations trust in him. And there is no satiety in it that *his rest will be glorious.* He calls his passing away rest, that is his death, which he gave hanging on the cross. And the prophet goes on immediately and says: *It will happen on that day.* On which day? Clearly the one on which he rises and stands up to rule the nations. If you will say that it was not on this day, show me about which day he speaks. For if you say that this day is the end of the world, the prophet should also have called it the end of the world. But you will not be able to assert this. Therefore *on that day God will again stretch out his hand.* To whom will God add the returning nations when he receives them? He will also add from Israel the true Israelites that kept the law well and readily went over to Christianity, because they believed in him, that is, he chose them and brought them over to Christianity not only from Jerusalem, but also from all ends of the world. For when his disciples were dispersed into the twelve winds, which are under heaven,<sup>51</sup> also a large number of the Jews that were scattered in all the world believed in him with their whole house and were gathered with the believing nations in the church. Now he says that *he will set up a sign for the nations.* What else is the sign but the worthy cross? For through it *he will gather the outcasts of Israel* unto salvation, *and he will bring together the outcasts of Judah* into the kingdom of heaven. But if you will say: ‘And where was the cross called a sign in the Old Testament?’, then David says to God prophesying about the cross: *Show me a sign for good* and so on. This is certainly so according to the divine judgement of the Spirit.”

Herban said: “The prophet has said to *search for the remaining remnant of the people* in a general sense. And you say that he spoke securely only about those that were dragged away from the law and believed in Christ?”

N γε < μ | 686 πάντων τῶν περάτων] πάσης N μαθητῶν < C εἰς – 687 οὐρανόν < SHPTV | 687 τῆς] τοὺς X πολὺν SHPV καὶ < D ἐν – κόσμῳ post 688 Ἰουδαίων TV | 688 μετὰ – ἐθνῶν] τῶν ἐθνῶν LK (post 689 ἐκκλησίᾳ K) | 689 καὶ < μ SHPTV ἀρεῖ N εἰς – σημείον<sup>2</sup> < CX τίμιος καὶ ζωοποιός μ | 690 εἰς < DAN εἰς σωτηρίαν post Ἰσραὴλ μ τοὺς ἀπωσμένους] τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις DAN τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους μ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ DA μ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ N Ἰσραὴλ – ἀπωσμένους<sup>2</sup> < CX καὶ < CX τοὺς ἀπωσμένους] τοῖς ἀπωσμένοις DAN | 691 εἰ δέ] εἶτε SHPTV δέ + καὶ DAN μ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ὁ σταυρὸς N | 692 ὠνομάσθειεν D λέγει] γὰρ μ τὸν κύριον SHPTV | 693 φησί < μ ὄντως C | 694 θεῖαν < N | 695 λέγει < μ TV λέγει καθολικῶς μ ὅτι τοῦ < μ τοῦ < N SHPTV ζητῆσαι post 696 λαοῦ SHPTV, < N | 696 φάσκεις SHPTV ὅτι < μ τοὺς < D ἀπωσθέντας LK SHPTV ἀπὸ < μ | 697 μόνους < TV ἠνίξατο + καὶ πῶς τοῦτο DAN μ

<sup>51</sup> The mention of twelve winds is required here the by number of Christ’s disciples, whereas at B 267 and Γ 726 the usual four winds are mentioned.



Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τίνα γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ νόμου; Ἐπκατάρατος, φησί, πᾶς  
 ὅστις οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτά. Οὐκοῦν οἱ μὴ φυλάσσοντες  
 700 τὸν νόμον οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄξιοι μετὰ τοῦ φυλάσσοντος λαοῦ τὸν νόμον καταριθμηθῆναι· ὃν τρόπον  
 καὶ οἱ χριστιανοὶ πάντες μὲν χριστιανοὶ ὀνομάζονται, ἀλλὰ οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὰ τῶν 693D  
 χριστιανῶν παραγγέλματα, οὗτοι μόνου χριστιανοὶ ἀξίως ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ μὴ φυλάσ-  
 στοντες ἀχριστιανοὶ μᾶλλον ἄξιοι εἰσὶ τοῦ ὀνομάζεσθαι. Οὕτω καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεί-  
 νας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ὅσοι ἀκριβῶς ἐφύλασσαν τὸν νόμον Μωσέως, παραγεγονότος τοῦ Χρι-  
 705 στοῦ μόνον ἤκουσαν εὐθέως καὶ κατενύγησαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου καὶ πεπιστεύκα-  
 σιν εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν καὶ φίλτατον. Ὅσοι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἐφύλατ-  
 τον τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὑπουργοῦν τῷ διαβόλῳ διὰ τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, ἰδὼν 696A  
 ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου καθότι ὡς οὐκ ὠφέλησαν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως, ὁμοίως οὔτε πιστεύσαν-  
 τες τῷ Χριστῷ ὠφελήσωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἄπερ ἔπραττον παράνομα ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον χρηματίζον-  
 710 τες, ταῦτα καὶ χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες ἐπιτελέσωσιν. Ἀπετύφλωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ  
 σκληρύναν πεπώρωκεν, οἴπινες καὶ ἀπιστήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν  
 τοὺς τελείους ὁ προφήτης καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε μόνους καὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ λαὸν θεοῦ καὶ Ἰούδα  
 ἐλόγως ἂν ὠνόμασεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τίνα ἐρεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν λελάληκεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι καὶ  
 715 ἀφαιρεθήσεται, φησὶν, ὁ ζῆλος Ἐφραὶμ καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα ἀπολοῦνται; Τίς ἐστὶν 696B  
 Ἐφραὶμ καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα; Ἀνάγγειλον δὴ.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οἱ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Ἐφραὶμ Ἑβραῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ προ-  
 φήτου Ἡσαίου μονοτρόπως μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φυλῶν ἀποσχίσαντες τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἐβα-  
 σίλευον· οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἄπασαν κατακρατοῦντες  
 720 ἐβασίλευον. Ζῆλον τοιγαροῦν οὐ τὸν τυχόντα ἢ βασιλεία Ἐφραὶμ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ἰούδα,  
 ἦγον τοῦ Δαυὶδ βασιλείαν ἐκέκτητο τηλικούτον, ὥστε ἐμφυλίους πολέμους ἀναμεταξὺ  
 αὐτῶν κρατυνθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἑώρα ὁ Ἡσαίας ὡς οἶα προφήτης, ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ μέλλει ὁ

698 ἐπκατάρατος – 699 αὐτά Gal. 3.10; Deut. 27.26 | 710 ἀπετύφλωσεν – 711 πεπώρωκεν cf.  
 Io. 12.40 | 714 καὶ – 715 ἀπολοῦνται Is. 11.13

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

698 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < K περὶ] παρὰ  
 XLK D πᾶς < CXLK | 699 ὃς μ τοῦ νόμου < LK | 700 τοῦ λαοῦ SHPTV τὸν νόμον<sup>2</sup> < μ  
 συναριθμηθῆναι μ | 701 καὶ < K πάντες bis N ὀνομάζοντες SV ἀλλ’ CXLK μ ἀλλὰ – 702  
 ὀνομάζονται < N | 702 ἀξίως < CX DAN μ ὀνομάζονται] εἰσὶν μ ὀνομάζοντες S οἱ – 703  
 ὀνομάζεσθαι < HPTV | 703 ἀχριστιανοὶ sic A μᾶλλον – ὀνομάζεσθαι < DAN μ ἄξιοι –  
 ὀνομάζεσθαι] ἀξίως ὀνομάζοντες S καὶ < μ SHPTV | 704 ἀκριβῶς post Μωσέως μ παρα-  
 γενομένου μ Χριστοῦ μου μ | 705 ὡς μόνον CXLK ἤκουσαν μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> < LK μ | 706 καὶ φίλτατον  
 υἱὸν μ καὶ φίλτατον < SHPTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> – Χριστοῦ post 707 θεοῦ T ἐφύλασσαν μ STV | 707 ἀλλὰ  
 CX ἀλλ’ ἢ V διαβόλῳ + τε καὶ σατὰν CXLK εἰδῶς μ | 708 ὅτι μ ὡς < C N μ SHPTV ὁμοίως]  
 οὕτως DAN μ, < SHPTV οὔτε] οὐδὲ μ οὔτε πάλιν SHPTV ὠφελήσωσιν πιστεύσαντες τῷ  
 Χριστῷ SHPTV | 709 ὠφελήσωσιν DAN μ ἀλλ’ – 710 ἐπιτελέσωσιν < SHPTV ἄνομα X |  
 710 ἐπιτελέσωσιν D μ ἀπετύφλωσεν γὰρ N μ αὐτῶν – 711 σκληρύναν] αὐτοῦς ἢ κακία καὶ

The archbishop said: “What is written about the law? *Accursed be everyone*, he says, *who does not continue*<sup>52</sup> *in the book of the law to do it*. Now those who do not keep the law are not worthy to be reckoned with the people that keep it. In the same way, though all the Christians are called Christians, only those that keep the commandments of the Christians are worthy to be called Christians, and those who do not keep them should rather be called unchristians. And so in those days in truth only the people who kept the law of Moses precisely, listened immediately to Christ when he came, were bewildered by the God of the law and believed in his only begotten and beloved Son. So the God of the law saw that those who did not keep the law of God before Christ, but served the devil by their evil works, would also in the same way, as they did not fulfill their duty according to the law of Moses, similarly not fulfill their duty when believing in Christ, but would perform the unlawful things they had done being under the law also after having become Christians. He blinded their heart and made it hard, and they did not believe and perished. For this reason, the prophet and also I myself have called with good reason and still do call only the perfect ones Israel and God’s people and Judah. But you, what will you say about this?”

Herban said: “If this is so, for what reason did the prophet say, that *the envy of Ephraim will be taken away and the enemies of Judah will perish*? Who is Ephraim and who are the enemies of Judah? Tell me.”

The archbishop said: “The Hebrews from the tribe of Ephraim in the days of the prophet Isaiah reigned separately, having split off from the tribe of Judah together with the other tribes, and those of the tribe of Judah, having conquered all of Palestine, reigned there. Therefore the kingdom of Ephraim was so strongly envious against Judah, that is the kingdom of David, that internecine wars broke out between them. Now when Isaiah, being a prophet, saw that Christ will arise in truth from the tribe of Judah,

σκληρύνας τὴν καρδίαν Ν | 712 ἔγωγε] ἤγαγε CXLK και<sup>4</sup> – 713 ἄν < SHPTV | 713 ὠνομάσαμεν CXLK κατωνόμασεν DAN μ και ὠνομάζομεν < μ ἡμεῖς ὠνομάζομεν Ν αὐτὸς δέ] και αὐτὸς DAN μ αὐτὸς – ταῦτα < SHPTV τίνα] σὺ τί DAN μ | 714 λέγει < μ TV και εἰ μ οὕτως] τοῦτον μ οὕτως ἔχει] οὕτω και οὕτω χρηματίζειεν CXLK ἔχει + τὸν τρόπον DAN μ | 715 φησὶν post ζήλος CX Ν, < SHPTV | 716 ὁ Ἐφραὶμ DAN μ τίνες] τίς TV δὴ + μοι X, + δὴ μοι ἄρτιως DAN μ (δὴ < μ) | 717 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < DA τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ Ἐφραὶμ ἀνόητε Ἐβραῖοι ἐτύχχανον DAN μ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου και DAN μ | 718 μετὰ < Ν SHPTV ἀποσχισθέντων μ ἀποσχισθέντες Ν SHPTV τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς < SHPTV | 719 οἱ τε] οἱ δὲ μ οἱ – 720 ἐβασίλευον < HP και αὐτοὶ < μ τὴν] τῶν X τῆς Παλαιστίνης πάσης μ Παλαιστινῶν CXLK κατακρατοῦντες < TV | 720 τοιγαροῦν] γὰρ SHPTV τοῦ < μ | 721 ἐκέκτηντο LK DAN τηλικούτην DA και τηλικούτων Ν μ ὥστε και DAN μ ἐμφυλίους] ἐκ φιλίου V μετὰξὺ μ | 722 κρατηθῆναι Ν HPT κροτηθῆναι μ ὁ<sup>1</sup> < LK DAN ὡς < Ν μ προφήτης θεοῦ DAN μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> < DAN

<sup>52</sup> Here the words *in all things that are written* (πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις), which stood there in the version of Deut. 27.26 at Gal. 3.10, were already omitted by the archetype of the *Dialexis*.

Χριστός ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἀνίστασθαι, οὐτινος ἡ βασιλεία διὰ τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μένει  
 725 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ τοῦτον ἀνίστασθαι τὴν Ἐφραὶμ βασιλείαν καταλύε- 696C  
 σθαι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἐπήγαγεν, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, φησίν, ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς ἀνα-  
 τέλλοντος ἀφαιρεθήσεται ὁ ζῆλος Ἐφραὶμ τὸ λοιπόν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ ἔχθρα καταλυομένης  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας· καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα  
 ἀναβαίνοντος κυρίου καὶ βασιλέως, εὐθέως ἀπολοῦνται. Ποῦ γὰρ καὶ προφητεύων Ἡσα-  
 730 τίας περὶ τῆς παρελεύσεως τῆς βασιλείας Ἐφραὶμ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἠνίκατο; Ὅποταν ἐν  
 ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀχαζ τοῦ Ἰωάθαμ, τοῦ Ὀζίου βασιλέως Ἰούδα, ἀνέβη Ῥαασὴν βασιλεὺς  
 Ἀράμ καὶ Φακεὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ῥομελίου βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ, ἤγουν ἐκ φυλῆς Ἐφραὶμ, τοῦ  
 πολιορκῆσαι τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τάδε λέγει, φησί, κύριος Σαβαώθ· Οὐ μὴ μείνη ἡ βουλή  
 735 αὕτη. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα, Καὶ ἔτη ἐξήκοντα, φησί, καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐκλείπει ἡ βασιλεία Ἐφραὶμ 696D  
 ἀπὸ λαοῦ. Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν εἶρηκεν, ὅτι ἀφαιρεθήσεται ὁ ζῆλος Ἐφραὶμ καὶ τὰ  
 ἐξῆς.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν ἐπάγει ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης καὶ λέγει, ὅτι Καὶ ἔσται,  
 φησί, τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὡς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου; Παραπλήσιον γὰρ τὴν  
 ἔξοδον ταύτην τῇ πάλαι ἐξόδῳ τῇ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνεφάνησεν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σωματικῶς μὲν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἰσραὴλ ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἐλευθε-  
 740 ρωθεὶς σωματικῆς δουλείας τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας κατεκληρονόμησε. Νυνὶ δὲ νοητῶς 697A  
 ἐξελθὼν τῆς ἀμαρτίας, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου λελύτρωται· ἔπειτα καὶ τὸν  
 παλαιὸν χιτῶνα τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπεκδυσάμενος ἐνεδύσατο τὸν νέον τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον  
 δι’ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος· καὶ ἐξελθὼν τελείως πάσης ἀμαρτίας ὡς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου κατ-  
 ὤκησεν ἐν τῇ νέᾳ Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. Καὶ τηλι-  
 745 κοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ τέρψιν μεγίστην, ὥστε καὶ κρείττονα τῆς ἐκ γῆς  
 Αἰγύπτου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν ἐξαίσιον ἐκείνην αὐτῶν χαρὰν πνευματικῶς κατακληρώσα-  
 σθαι. Διὰ ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν λελάληκεν ὁ προφήτης ὅτι· Καὶ ἔσται τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὡς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,  
 ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, φησίν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Προλαβὼν εἶρηκα, καθότι πρὸς ἐτυμολόγον κεκτημένοι τὴν διάλεξιν  
 750 οὐκ ἄν ποτε περικρατεῖς τοῦ ζητουμένου γενοίμεθα, ὅσας κἂν τάχα μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τε 697B

729 ἐν – 731 Ἰσραὴλ Is. 7.1 | 732 τάδε – 734 λαοῦ Is. 7.7–8 | 736 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 737 Αἰγύπτου Is. 11.16

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

723 Χριστός + τὸ κατὰ σάρκα DAN μ τῆς + τοῦ CLK | 724 τῷ < V | 725 τόνδε] τοῦτον μ  
 ἐπήγαγεν] ἐπίστασε TV ὅτι τοῦ < T Ἰησοῦ + Χριστοῦ X Ἰησοῦ] θεοῦ T φησίν < μ  
 ἀνατείναντος < DAN μ | 726 τὸ λοιπόν < DAN μ τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἤγουν μ | 727 οἱ < HP τοῦ] τὸν P,  
 < D τοῦ Ἰούδα<sup>2</sup> N | 728 τοῦ κυρίου D καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K SHPTV καὶ ἀπολοῦνται DA SHPTV ποῦ –  
 προφητεύων] προφητεύων γὰρ A μ Ἡσαΐας] προφήτης A ὁ προφήτης μ | 729 τῆς παρελεύσεως  
 < SHPTV παρελεύσεως τῆς βασιλείας] συντελείας μ τόνδε – λόγον < HP ὁπότεν – 735 ἐξῆς <  
 SHPTV | 730 Ἰωάθαμ – Ἰούδα] υἱοῦ βασιλέως Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἰωάθαμ C Ῥασὴν CX Ῥαασὴμ DAN  
 μ | 731 Ἀράμ – βασιλεὺς < DA ὁ < K βασιλέως DAN μ ὁ ἐκ CX | 732 τὴν < X φησὶ λέγει μ  
 φησὶ < C κύριος φησὶ N βουλή] βασιλεία DA | 733 καὶ πέντε φησὶ DAN μ ἡ βασιλεία] ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς N | 734 τοῦ λαοῦ DA μ | 736 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < C μ TV αἰτίαν ἔπειτα CXLK ἐπάγει + οὗτος V

whose kingdom remains forever through Christianity, and the kingdom of Ephraim will be dissolved on the spot when he will arise, he carried on with the following word, that when the Lord Jesus will arise, he says, out of the tribe of Judah, *the envy of Ephraim will be taken away* henceforth, that is the hatred, his kingdom being dissolved, and they *will perish* being *the enemies of Judah*, that is of the Lord and king that arises from the tribe of Judah. For where did Isaiah speak obscurely this word about the passing away of the kingdom of Ephraim? When *in the days of Ahaz the son of Joatham, the son of Ozias king of Judah, Rezin the king of Aram and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel*, that is from the tribe of Ephraim, *went up* to besiege Jerusalem, *thus said the Lord Sabaoth: This counsel will not endure*. And a little later, *and after sixty-five years the kingdom of Ephraim will disappear from the people*. For this reason he said, that *the envy of Ephraim will be taken away* and so on.”

Herban said: “And for what reason does the same prophet go on and says: *And it will be to Israel as on the day when he went out of Egypt?* For he has displayed this exodus in a way similar to the old exodus from Egypt.”

The archbishop said: “Corporeally Israel went out of Egypt and, being liberated from corporeal slavery, inherited the Promised Land. But now, by mentally leaving sin, he was redeemed from the curse of the law; then he also put off the old garment of sin and put on the new one, which was renewed by water and spirit; and leaving all sin completely behind like the land of Egypt, he settled in the new Jerusalem, in the church, as in another Promised Land. And this was such a gladness and delight for him, inheriting this extraordinary joy spiritually, which is even better than the exodus from Egypt. Therefore the prophet said: *And it will be to Israel as on the day when he went out of Egypt.*”

Herban said: “I have said before that discussing with an etymologist we will not master the matter in question, however many testimonies from the law and the prophets

αὐτὸς < DA μ TV καὶ λέγει] λέγων DAN μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DAN μ ἔστιν DA | 737 ὅτε] ἢ DAN μ ἐκ γῆς] ἐξ LK γῆς] τῆς T παραπλήσιως μ παραπλήσιον – 738 Αἰγύπτου < LK | 738 τῆς πάλαι ἐξόδου HP παλαιᾶ HP τῆ<sup>2</sup>] τῆς DAN μ ἐξ < N μ ἐνέφανεν DA ἐνεφάνησεν N μ | 739 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < DA μὲν οὖν DAN Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου K γῆς] τῆς CXLK Ἰσραὴλ < C ὁ Ἰσραὴλ DAN μ ἐλευθερωθεὶς + ἐκ τῆς DAN μ | 740 νῦν N νοητῶς < SHPTV | 741 κατεξελθὼν LK ἐκ τῆς<sup>1</sup> μ ἔπειτα δὲ DAN μ | 743 τέλειος DAN (post ἁμαρτίας N) ἐκ πάσης < μ | 744 ἐν<sup>2</sup> < μ τῇ γῆ DA καὶ – 747 κατακληρώσασθαι < SHPTV τηλικούτον – 745 μεγίστην] τοιαύτη ἐγένετο εὐφροσύνη καὶ τέρψις μεγίστη μ | 745 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DA κρεῖττονα τῆς] κρεῖττον αὐτῆς CL κρεῖττον αὐτῆς τῆς K | 746 ἐξαισίαν μ αὐτῶν < K μ χώραν DAN μ πνευματικῶς < μ | 747 τοιγαροῦν] γοῦν μ ὅτι < N καὶ < D | 748 ὅτε] ἢ N μ ἢ ὅτε SHPTV φησὶν post ἐξῆλθεν LK, < μ SHPTV | 749 λέγει < μ TV ὅτι μ ἐτυμολογῶν κεκτημένος DA κεκτημένοι + σαφῶς DAN διάλεξιν LK | 750 οὐκ ἄν] κὰν V γενώμεθα DA κὰν] γὰρ SHPTV τάχα] πόσας LK τε < X N

τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν παραγάγωμεν. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἐπι ἔχων τοῦ λέγειν οὐκ ἀναπαύσω μου τὴν λαλίαν. Ἰεζεκιήλ ὁ προφήτης τί διαγορεύει; *Τάδε λέγει, φησί, κύριος· Λήψομαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀθροίσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν γενεῶν καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ῥανῶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ὕδωρ καθαρὸν καὶ καθαρισθήσεσθε ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν εἰδώλων ὑμῶν καὶ καθαριῶ ὑμᾶς. Καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν καρδίαν καινήν καὶ πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἀφελῶ τὴν καρδίαν τὴν λιθίνην ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν καρδίαν σαρκίνην, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα μου δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ποιήσω, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαίωμασί μου πορευέσθε καὶ τὰ κρίματά μου φυλάξητε καὶ ποιήσητε· καὶ κατοικήσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς δέδωκα τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς λαόν, κἀγὼ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς θεόν. Εἰ τοίνυν οὐ λέγει οὕτως ὁ προφήτης, ἀπόδος λόγον. Ἴδου γὰρ καθαρὰ μαρτυρία μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ κεκτημένη ἀντίρρησιν.*

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐγὼ οὐ πολυλογίαν εἰσάξω περὶ τῆς προφητείας ταύτης τοῦ πείσαι σε. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ Ἰουδαίων λελάληκεν Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς κλήσεως τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἐπειδὴ εἶρηκεν, ὅτι *καθαριῶ ὑμᾶς, φησίν, καὶ ἐκ πάντων τῶν εἰδώλων ὑμῶν.* Καὶ ἀνάγειλον δὴ μοι, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ οὖν ἄρα ἐκάθηρεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων ἢ τὰ εἰδώλους λατρεύσαντα ἔθνη; Λιθίνην καρδίαν τὰ πλανώμενα ἔθνη ἐκέκτηντο ἢ οἱ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον διὰ νόμου Μωσέως λατρεύοντες; Ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις δικαίωμασιν οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν πρώτοις ἢ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα; Μηδέπω λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ προὔπηρξεν Ἰσραὴλ ἢ, ὡς ἐπαγγέλλεται ὁ προφήτης, μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι αὐτὸν λαὸν θεοῦ ὡς μηδέποτε ὑπάρξαντα; Ἄρα οὐδέπω ἐδέξατο Ἰσραὴλ πνεῦμα θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταῦτα χρεωστεῖται τοῦ δεῖξασθαι; Μάτην προσδοκᾶς, Ἐρβᾶν· ὁ γὰρ προφήτης οὗτος περὶ προσδοκωμένων λελάληκεν καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ τῶν ἔκπαλαι παρωχηκότων.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “*Λήψομαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, λέγει, καὶ εἰσάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν*· καὶ αὐτὸς διαγγέλλει ἀλλόκοτα. *Καὶ κατοικήσετε, φάσκει, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς δέδωκα τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν*· καὶ αὐτὸς σαφηνίζει ἀλλότρια. Λέξον μοι οὖν αὐτός, ἔθνη ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀθροίσαιεν ἄρα κύριος ὁ θεός, καθὰ λέγεις, εἴπερ ἔθνη κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν; Τίς γὰρ κοινωνία ἔθνεσι πρὸς Ἑβραίοις; Δίκαια φάσκει, ὦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπε; Οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, οὐκ ἔστιν.”

752 τάδε – 760 θεόν Ezech. 36.22, 24–28

C X L K D A N μ S H P T V | 759 κἀγὼ – 1022 νεώτερον post 1066 ἐγὼ ponit P

751 καί] ἀπό τε μ παρηγάγομεν DA παράγομεν N παρεισάγομεν μ ἐπι < T ἔχω μ SHPTV τοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τί T λέγειν + καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν ἀποστομίζειν ἡμᾶς ἀλλ' DAN (ἐρμηνεύειν + ἐτοίμως N) | 752 μου + τὸν λογιζομένον οὐδὲ DAN μ (οὔτε N) τί] τίς A, < LK μ φησί < DAN μ | 753 διαθροίσω TV καί<sup>2</sup> – 755 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < T | 755 καί<sup>1</sup> – ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < X καί<sup>1</sup> – ὑμᾶς < SHPTV | 756 ἐν < DAN μ T καί<sup>2</sup> – 757 ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> < X λιθίνην – 757 καρδίαν < C | 757 ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup>] εἰς ὑμᾶς D μου < μ ἐν < N ἵνα < μ | 758 φυλάξητε] φυλάξετε X φυλάξεσθε μ καὶ ποιήσητε < DAN μ ποιήσετε CX STV κατοικήσεται D | 759 ἦς] ἦν LK ἔδωκα LK DA μ καὶ ἐγὼ μ | 760 οὐ] οὖν TV οὕτως STV, < DA ὁ προφήτης οὕτως μ | 761 μηδεμίαν ἐν < HP κεκτημένος N | 762 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < A ante περι + τὰ CL<sup>del</sup> SHPTV | 763 ποιήσαι T Ἰεζεκιήλ] ὁ προφήτης μ κλήσεως] ἐκκλησίας μ | 764 φησίν < N μ V καί<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ πάντων < N

we may introduce. But now, since I yet have something to say, I will not stop my speech. What does the prophet Ezekiel declare? *Thus says the Lord*, he says: *I will take you from the nations and will gather you from all tribes and will lead you into your own land, and I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you will be cleared from all your impurities and from all your idols, and I will clean you. And I will give you a new heart, and a clean spirit I will give you, and I will take away the heart of stone from your flesh and will give you a heart of flesh, and I will give my spirit to you, and I will cause you to walk in my statutes and keep my judgments and do them. And you will settle in the land which I gave to your fathers, and you will be my people, and I will be your God.* Now if the prophet does not say so, explain it. For behold, this is a clear testimony which contains no contradiction whatsoever.”

The archbishop said: “I will not begin to say many words about this prophecy in order to convince you. For Ezekiel did not speak of the Jews, but about the vocation of the nations, for he said that *I will clean you from your idols*. And now tell me, did God really clear Israel from their idols, or the nations which venerated idols? Did the nations which went astray possess a heart of stone, or those that worshipped the holy God through the law of Moses? Did the Israelites first walk in the lawful statutes, or the nations which had no law? Was Israel not God’s people before, or only later called God’s people, as the prophet says, not having been so previously? Had Israel not yet received the Spirit of God, but had a claim to get it later? You expect in vain, Herban, for this prophet spoke about things expected and not about things that have happened long ago.”

Herban said: “*I will take you from the nations*, he says, *and will lead you into your own land*; and you declare absurdities. *And you will settle*, he says, *in the land which I gave to your fathers*; and you explain strange things. Now tell me yourself, should God gather nations from nations, as you say, if he will settle the nations in the land of their fathers? What do the nations and the Hebrews have in common? Do you speak right, archbishop? It is not so, it is not.”

καί² < CXLK | 765 δὴ < μ τὸν] τοῦ DA οὖν] γὰρ T, < DAN μ ἄρα < X μ ἐκάθαρεν DA HP ἥπερ DAN εἶδωλα ἐλάτρευεον τὰ N λατρεύοντα μ | 766 πλανώμενα – ἦ] ἔθνη ἐκέκτηντο τὰ πλανώμενα ἦ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται μ ἔθνη² + ἐπ’ ἀληθείας N ἐκέκτηντο ἐκέκτητο CX<sup>ae</sup>KL οἱ < C | 767 λατρεύοντας H λατρεύσαντα P ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἰσραηλίται C | 768 ἐν πρώτοις] πρώτον μ, < SHPTV ἔξανα SHPTV οὐδέπω HP τοῦ < SHPTV ὁ Ἰσραὴλ X μ | 769 αὐτὸν < C μηδέπω CXLK | 770 οὐδέποτε N μ Ἰσραὴλ < μ ταῦτα τοῦτο μ | 771 τοῦ] τοῦτο DA μ μάτην οὖν DAN μ ὦ Ἐρβᾶν ἀλογώτατε DAN μ οὗτος < μ τῶν προσδοκωμένων μ προσδοκωμένων AN SHP | 772 περὶ < μ παρῳηκόντων + μὴ γένοιτο DAN μ | 773 λέγει¹ < μ TV λέγει²] φησὶν post ὑμᾶς μ, < C | 774 διαγγέλειεν DA διαγγέλει N SHPTV ἀλλοκώτατα DAN κατοικήσητε D SHPV φάσκει < μ δέδωκε CX N ἔδωκα μ STV | 775 σαφηνίζειεν DA σαφηνίζη N ἀλλοτρίῳ N οὖν μοι C DAN ἀθροίσει SHPTV | 776 ὁ θεός < μ σὺ λέγεις C εἰπέ μ κατακιεῖ SV | 777 γὰρ + καὶ DAN SHPTV Ἑβραίους LK DAN μ πάσχεις X

780 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰρηκας ὅτι ἔθνη ἐξ ἔθνων ἄρα ἐκλέξεται ὁ θεός. Ναί, ἔθνη  
 ἐξ ἔθνων ἐξελέξατο. Ποίω τρόπῳ; τὰ πιστεύσαντα ἔθνη ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπιστησάντων ἔθνων ἐξ-  
 ελέξατο. Ὅτι δὲ εἰρηκας· ‘Ἄρα ἔθνη κατοικιεῖ κύριος ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰερουσαλήμ ὡς ἐν τῇ  
 700b γῆ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν’, εἰ οὖν οὐκ εἶχες ὀφθαλμούς ἐμέλετό μοι. Ἀνάβλεπον γὰρ καὶ  
 ἴδε, ὅπως πᾶσα Ἰερουσαλήμ χριστιανῶν πεπλήρωται καὶ Ἰουδαίων οὐδαμῶς. Τὸ γὰρ  
 λόγιον τοῦτο πρὸς Ἀβραάμ εἰρημένον πρόσεσι παρὰ κυρίου, ὅτι *Ἐνευλογηθήσονται,*  
 785 *φησίν, ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,* κρίνας ὁ θεός ἐκπεπλήρωκεν. Ὅτι δὲ εἰρηκας· ‘Τίς κοινωνία  
 ἔθνεσι πρὸς Ἑβραίοις’, ἐνώπσαι τίνα Ἡσαΐας λελάληκε· *Τάδε λέγει, φησί, κύριος· Ἰδοὺ*  
*συναγαγεῖν ἔρχομαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλώσσας, καὶ ἤξουσι καὶ ὄφρονται τὴν δόξαν*  
*μου καὶ καταλείψω ἀπ’ αὐτῶν σημεῖον καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσωσμένους εἰς τὰ*  
*ἔθνη.* Καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐξ ἔθνων σεσωσμένοι, οὓς ἀποστελεῖ κύριος; Οἱ κήρυκες Χριστοῦ, οἱ  
 790 ἱεράρχαι οἱ παρὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων χειροτονηθέντες ποιμαίνειν τὰς ἐν πανταχοῦ  
 ἔθνεσι ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Ἀποστελῶ, φησίν, ἐξ αὐτῶν σεσωσμένους εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, εἰς*  
*Θαρσεῖς καὶ Φοῦδ καὶ Λοῦδ καὶ Μοσόχ καὶ εἰς Θοβέλ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ εἰς τὰς*  
*νήσους τὰς πόρρω, αἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασί μου τὸ ὄνομα οὔτε ἐωράκασί μου τὴν δόξαν· καὶ*  
*ἀναγγελοῦσι τὴν δόξαν μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ ἄξουσι τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν ἐκ πάντων τῶν*  
 795 *ἔθνων δῶρον τῷ κυρίῳ μεθ’ ἵππων καὶ ἀρμάτων.* Προσέχεις, Ἐρβᾶν, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς παρου-  
 σίας Χριστοῦ ἀγαπητοῖς θεῷ Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγόμενος Ἡσαΐας ἔφασκεν· *Ἄξουσι, φησί,*  
*τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων δῶρον τῷ κυρίῳ,* ὥστε οἱ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας  
 700c Χριστοῦ πιστοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ πιστεύσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ  
 ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ἐπίστευσαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ  
 800 ὁμαίμονες πεφύκασι φίλτατοι καὶ φιλαλήθεις καὶ ἐράσμοι, καθὰ καὶ Ἡσαΐας μαρτύρεται.  
 Σὺ τοίνυν ποίω τρόπῳ εἰρηκας, ὅτι· ‘Τίς κοινωνία πρὸς Ἑβραίοις ἔθνεσιν;’ Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀλη-  
 θές βούλει μαθεῖν, οὐδεὶς κοινωνία χριστιανοῖς πρὸς Ἑβραίοις Χριστῷ μὴ πιστεύουσιν.

784 ἐνευλογηθήσονται – 785 ἔθνη Gen. 12.3 | 786 τάδε – 789 ἔθνη Is. 66.18–19 | 791 ἀποστελῶ – 795 ἀρμάτων Is. 66.19–20 | 801 τίς – ἔθνεσιν cf. 2 Cor. 6.14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

779 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < V ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < DA ἄρα – 780 ἔθνων<sup>1</sup>  
 < DAN SHPTV ἐκλέξεται μ | 780 ποίω δὲ N ἀπιστευσάντων μ ἔθνων ἐξελέξατο<sup>2</sup> < μ | 781 εἰρη-  
 κας + ὅτι μ SHPTV ἄρα < SHPTV κατοικιεῖ D κατοικιεῖ SHPV τῇ<sup>1</sup> < μ T Ἰερουσαλήμ] Ἰσραήλ  
 X SHPV ἐν<sup>2</sup> < μ | 782 οὖν] μὲν LK, < μ οὐκ < X ἔχεις LK ὀφθαλμούς + ἀναγγεῖλόν μοι C  
 ἔμελλέ μοι CLK ἔμβαλέ μοι X γὰρ] οὖν N | 783 χριστιανοῖς N | 784 πρὸς] πρὸ X πρόσεστιν  
 εἰρημένον DA πρόσεστι] ἐστὶ μ | 785 φησίν < μ ἐν] ἐπὶ CXLK πεπλήρωκεν HP | 786 πρὸς <  
 CXLK Ἑβραίοις DAN μ τί SHPTV ὁ Ἡσαΐας μ κύριος φησίν μ ὁ κύριος D | 788 ἀπ’] ἐπ’ μ  
 ἐξ] ἐπ’ C | 789 καὶ < N ἔθνων] αὐτῶν DA οὓς ἀποστελεῖ κύριος < N ἀποστέλλει SHPTV ἀλλ’ ἢ  
 οἱ<sup>2</sup> μ | 790 οἱ < μ ποιμαίνειν < T τὰς] τοῖς HP τὰς T ἐν < LK DAN πανταχῇ N SHPTV  
 ἀπανταχοῦ μ | 791 ἔθνων LK τοῦ < T ἀποστέλλω CX ἐξ αὐτῶν φησίν ἀποστελῶ DAN μ  
 (ἐξαποστελῶ μ) ἐξ αὐτῶν < XLK | 792 Ταρσεῖς A Ταρσοῦς μ καὶ Λοῦδ < μ Μοσόχ μ  
 Θοβέλ CXLK μ εἰς<sup>3</sup> < X | 793 τὰς < μ τὸ – μου<sup>2</sup> < μ οὔτε] οὐδέ TV | 794 ἐκ – 795 ἔθνων < N |  
 795 μετὰ XLK μεθ’ – 797 κυρίῳ < C προσέχεις + τοίνυν DAN τοιγαροῦν μ ὦ Ἐρβᾶν N μ  
 Ἐρβᾶν + πῶς CXLK τοῖς πρὸ < μ πρὸ τῆς] πρώτης TV | 796 τοῦ Χριστοῦ μ ὁ Ἡσαΐας μ

The archbishop said: “You said that God chooses nations from nations. Yes, he has chosen nations from nations. In which way? He selected the believing nations out of the unbelieving. And concerning what you said, ‘will he settle the nations in the city of Jerusalem in the land of their fathers?’, I should be concerned whether you have no eyes. For look around and see, how all Jerusalem is full of Christians and in no way of Jews. For this word has been said to Abraham from the Lord, *All nations will be blessed in you*, and God has fulfilled it by his judgement. And concerning what you said, ‘What do the nations and the Jews have in common?’, listen to what Isaiah said: *Thus says the Lord, he says: Behold, I come to gather all nations and languages, and they will come and see my glory, and I will leave a sign among them and will send out those of them that have been saved to the nations*. And who are those of the nations that have been saved, whom the Lord will send out? The heralds of Christ, the hierarchs that have been appointed by the twelve apostles to tend the churches of Christ everywhere. *I will send out*, he says, *those that have been saved to the nations, to Tarshish, Phud and Lud, to Mosoch<sup>53</sup> and Thobel, to Greece and the distant islands, which did not hear my name nor see my glory; and they will tell my glory among the nations and will bring your brothers from all nations as an offering to God, with horses and chariots*. Listen, Herban, Isaiah said this speaking to those Jews that were beloved by God before the arrival of Christ: *They will bring your brothers from all nations as an offering to God*, so that the faithful Jews before the arrival of Christ and those living later, that believed in him when he came, and all those out of the nations that believed in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, became most beloved brothers and related by blood, loving truth and being beloved, as Isaiah also testifies. So with what intention did you say, ‘What do the nations and the Hebrews have in common?’ If you want to learn the truth, there is nothing in common between the Christians and those Hebrews that do not believe in Christ. But Hebrews that believe in Christ are regarded as worthier than those that be-

ἄγουσι X ἄροσι LK φησί < μ | 797 ἀδελφούς + τοὺς ἐξ μ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας N | 798 τοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup> CX μ Ἰουδαίους C οἱ < DA ἐλθόντες C N, + κατελθόντος C τοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>2</sup> CX μ Χριστοῦ + γεννηθέντος καὶ N | 799 τῷ<sup>1</sup> – πνεύματι] εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα SHPTV καὶ τῷ υἱῷ < CXL καὶ ὁμαίμονες < μ | 800 φίλτατοι – ἐράσμιοι < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – μαρτύρεται < SHPTV φιλαληθεῖς DA μεμαρτύρηκεν DAN μ | 801 τοίνυν] δὲ μ ὅτι < μ ἔθνεσι πρὸς Ἑβραίους μ εἰ – 802 πιστεύουσιν < μ | 802 οὐδεμία X Ἑβραίους C D SHPTV μὴ < DA

<sup>53</sup> Correctly Somoch; the wrong reading of the archetype has been corrected only in μ.



Ἐβραῖοι δὲ πιστεύοντες Χριστῷ τιμώτεροι καθορῶνται τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων πιστεούντων τῷ Χριστῷ, ἡ ἀφορμὴ ἐπειδὴ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν τῶν ἔθνων ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο.

805 Ἐὰν οὖν μὴ φθέγγωμαι κατὰ πείραν, ἔλεγχον.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐπαινῶ σου, ζῆ κύριος, τὰ ῥήματα ἐν συνέσει ἐξηγούμενου καὶ κατὰ πείραν. Πλὴν πάλιν λέγει Ἡσαΐας· *Εἶπε κύριος*, φησίν, *Ἐξάξω τὸ ἐξ Ἰακώβ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄρος μου τὸ ἅγιον*. Ἐπεὶ οὖν κληρονομίαν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τίς ἄρα ἔσται ὁ ἀνταίρων ἢ καὶ ἀντιλέγων; Πρὸς βραχὺ ἢ καὶ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον ἐξεδιώχθημεν· ἀλλ’ οὖν πάλιν τὰ ἡμῶν ἀποληφόμεθα πάντως καὶ κληρονομήσομεν ὡς τὸ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς.”

701A

810 Ὅ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡσαΐας λέγει· *Εἶπεν κύριος*, φησί, *Ἀνενέγκωσί μοι ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ οἱ ἐξ ἔθνων τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ ψαλμῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν λήψομαι ἐμοὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας*. Ὅρα πῶς ὁ πληρώσας τὸν νόμον κύριος

815 καὶ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τῆς ἱερουσίνης προδεδήλωκε διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ. *Καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν*, φησί, *λήψομαι ἱερεῖς, εἶπε κύριος*. Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἶπε κύριος, τί λοιπὸν κελεύεις αὐτό; *Ὅν τρόπον*, φησίν, *ἔσται ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ μένειν ἐνώπιόν μου, λέγει κύριος, οὕτως στήσεται τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι διὰ πίστεως

701B

820 Χριστοῦ, οἵπνες εἰσὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν πεπιστευκότες τῷ Χριστῷ. *Καὶ ἔσται*, φησί, *μῆνα ἐκ μηνός, τὰς ποικίλους ἑορτάς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐμφαίνων, καὶ σάββατον ἐκ σαββάτου*, αἱ ἀναστάσιμοι ἡμέραι, *καὶ ἦξει*, φησί, *πᾶσα σὰρξ προσκυνῆσαι ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, εἶπε κύριος*. Προσέχεις, *πᾶσα σὰρξ*, φησίν, *ἦξει*. Ὅ λέξας ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ὅτι Ὁ συν- ἀλλάξης ἐν οὐδενὶ μετὰ ἐθνικοῦ, οὐ πραγματεύση μετ’ αὐτοῦ, οὐ φάγης, οὐ πίης· καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει· *Ἦξει*, φησί, *πᾶσα σὰρξ προσκυνῆσαι ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ,*

701C

825 *εἶπε κύριος, καὶ ἐξελεύσονται καὶ ὄφονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῶν προκατοικησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων, φησίν, καὶ τελευτησάντων ὄφονται τὰ κῶλα, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ ὀστά. Ὅτι δὲ συνῆς, ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ ἀπόσθη Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀποίητον αὐτοῦ ἐβδελύχθη καὶ ἐμισήθη καὶ παρεδόθη εἰς παντελῆ

804 ἡ – ἐγένετο cf. Io. 4.22 | 807 εἶπε – 808 ἅγιον Is. 65.9 | 812 εἶπεν – 814 Λευίτας cf. Is. 66.20–21 | 816 ὄν – 818 ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> Is. 66.22 | 819 καὶ – 822 κύριος Is. 66.23 | 824 ἦξει – 825 ἀνθρώπων Is. 66.23–24

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

803 πιστεύοντες μ τῷ Χριστῷ D μ SHPTV | 804 τῷ < N ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀφορμὴ K ἡ – ἐγένετο < DAN μ ἐπειδὴ] γὰρ SHPTV ἐπειδὴ + καὶ CXL<sup>del</sup> ἡμῶν < CX | 805 μῆ] οὐ LK ἔλεγχον + ὦ ἀνόητε DAN μ | 806 λέγει < μ TV κύριος ὁ θεός DAN μ συνέσει πολλῇ DAN ἐξηγούμενα DAN μ ἐξηγουμένῳ SHPTV | 807 πείραν μεγίστην DAN μ ὁ Ἡσαΐας D<sup>pc</sup>AN ὁ κύριος DA κύριος ὁ θεός N καὶ < C | 808 τὸ ἅγιόν μου D κληρονομίαν + φησὶ LK ἔδωκε LK ἡμῖν δέδωκε SHPTV ἡμῖν < LK N | 809 ἄρα ἔσται < μ ἀντερῶν DAN TV ἀνταίρων ἢ καὶ < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup>] ὁ DAN ἦ<sup>2</sup> ante πρὸς N, < DA μ ἐπ’ ἀπ’ C ἐξ DA | 810 πάλιν + οἶμαι DA μ ἡμῶν + οἶμαι N ἀποληφόμεθα ἀν DAN μ πάντως καὶ κληρονομήσομεν] καὶ κληρονομήσομεν πάντα DAN μ | 812 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA πάλιν < DAN μ λέγει] σαφῶς προκατήγγειλε DAN μ εἶπεν κύριος post φησὶ γὰρ DAN, < μ φησὶ γὰρ μ | 813 μοι] μου C ἐν]

lieved from the nations, the reason being that the salvation for us, the nations, came from the Jews.<sup>54</sup> Now examine whether I did not speak according to experience.”

Herban said: “I praise your words, as God lives, when you explain them wisely and according to truth. But again Isaiah says: *God said: I will lead the seed of Jacob and of Judah out, and he will inherit my holy mountain.* Now since God gave us Jerusalem as our inheritance, who will be there to resist or also to contradict? We were expelled for a short and small time, but now we will receive our property back and will inherit it as in the beginning.”

The archbishop said: “Again the same Isaiah says: *The Lord said: Those of the sons of Israel that come from the nations*<sup>55</sup> *will bring me their offerings, with psalms into the house of the Lord, and from them I will take priests and Levites for me.* Look how the Lord, who has fulfilled the law, has also foretold the change of priesthood through his prophets. *And from them, he says, I will take priests, said the Lord.* Now since the Lord has spoken, why do you still give orders yourself? *As the heaven, he says, will be new and the earth will be new, which I make to endure before me, says the Lord, so will your seed and your name be firm,* that is through the belief in Christ, those of you that have become believers in Christ. *And it will happen that from one moon to the other,* indicating the various feasts of the Christians, *and from Sabbath to Sabbath,* the days of the resurrection,<sup>56</sup> *all flesh will come, he says, to worship before me in Jerusalem, said the Lord.* Listen, he says *all flesh will come.* The one who said to you Jews, ‘Do not have dealings in anything with a foreigner, do not do any business with him, do not eat or drink’ and so on, the same one says: *All flesh will come to worship before me in Jerusalem, said the Lord, and they will go out and will see remains of men,* that is of the unlawful Jews that had lived in this place before, he says, and they will see the remains of those that died, that is their bones. And that you may understand that Israel was cast

ἐπὶ N κυρίου] μου μ | 814 ἐμοί] σου CX μοι LK, < SHPTV τὸν νόμον < SHPTV | 815 ἱερωσύνης] δικαιοσύνης C ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ D<sup>pc</sup>A και<sup>2</sup> – 816 κύριος<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV | 816 φησί < LK N λήψομαι ἐμοί DAN μ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας μ εἶπε<sup>1</sup>] λέγει DAN μ ὁ κύριος<sup>1</sup> K εἶπε κύριος τί] λέγει τί οὖν μ λοιπὸν < V | 817 μένει C N SHP | 819 οἱ ἐξ N μ ἐξ ὑμῶν < SHPTV τῷ < LK | 820 ποικίλας XLK N μ σάββατον] σαββάτω DA καὶ αἱ C αἱ ἀναστάσιμοι ἡμέραι < V ἀναστάσιμα μ | 821 ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐνώπιόν μου N μου] λαοῦ X | 822 προσέχεις + ἀσύνετε μ προσέχεις – 825 κύριος < N ἤξει φησὶν X | 823 ἐν] ἐπ’ CXLK πιεῖς A | 824 ἐν < LK | 825 εἶπε] λέγει μ τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἤγουν μ τῶν<sup>2</sup> < μ | 826 ἐν < SHPTV παρανόμων < SHPTV φησὶν post παρανόμων D, < μ καὶ – 827 ὅσα] τὰ ὅσα τῶν προτελευτησάντων καὶ post 825 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν μ | 827 συνίης + ὁ μὴ συνιών μ | 828 Ἰσραήλ < C και<sup>1</sup> – ἐμισήθη < SHPTV ἄχρηστον μ ἐβδελύχθη καὶ < μ

<sup>54</sup> On this passage, see above, p. 102.

<sup>55</sup> The text of the Septuagint has been altered here to fit the argument by replacing the words *the sons of Israel* with ‘those of the sons of Israel that come from the nations’.

<sup>56</sup> That is, the Sundays.

- 830 τῶν παραβεβηκότων, φησί, τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ νόμου ὄψονται οἱ ἐκ πάσης σαρκὸς ἐρχόμενοι προσκυνῆσαι θεῷ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὅσα εἰς αἰσχύνῃν αὐτῶν περισσοτέραν γεγυμνωμένα προκειμένα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσῃ καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται· ἔσονται γὰρ εἰς ὄρασιν πάσης σαρκὸς. Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης τοῦ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, ὅτι *ἰδοὺ συναγαγεῖν ἔρχομαι πάντα τὰ*  
 835 *ἔθνη καὶ τὰς γλῶσσας*· καὶ ὅτι *ἤξει πᾶσα σὰρξ τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*, μηκέτι μοι λέγε τί, ἀλλ' οὖν θέασαι, ὅτι ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γλῶσσαι εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστεύουσαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνεχῶς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ προσκυνήσωσι τοὺς ἀπιστήσαντας Ἰουδαίους ταλανίζοντες. Ταῦτα ὁρῶν σιώπα, καὶ εἶξον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ μὴ θεομαχεῖς. Περι δὲ ὧν εἶρηκας, ὅτι *εἶπε κύριος· Ἐξ-*  
 840 *άξω τὸ ἐξ Ἰακώβ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ἰουδα καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄρος μου τὸ ἅγιον*, πρόσχε· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐρμηνεύεται ὡς ὑπέλαβες, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑποφαίνω. Τὸ ἐξ Ἰακώβ σπέρμα δωδεκάφυλον πέφυκε· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἓνα τῶν σπερμάτων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐμνημόμευσεν, ἀλλ' οὖν τὸ ἐξ Ἰουδα. Ὁ οὖν Ἰουδας πρόσσει σπέρμα Ἰακώβ· ὁ δὲ κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὑπάρχει ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰουδα. Πᾶς δὲ χριστιανὸς νοητὸν σπέρμα Χριστοῦ,  
 845 τοῦτ' ἔστιν πνευματικόν. Περι τούτου οὖν τοῦ σπέρματος εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης τοῦ ἐγκεντρισθέντος διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σπέρματι τοῦ Ἰουδα καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὅτι· Ἐξάξω αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐργασίαν κοιμήσει τοῦ τῆδε βίου καὶ κληρονομήσει τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ἐπ' ἀληθὲς τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἅγιον ἢ ἄνω μητρόπολις Σιών Ἱερουσαλήμ. Τὸ γὰρ ὄρος τὸ Σιών τὸ ἐν τῇ γῆ γερὸν πέλον οὐκ, οἶμαι, ἅγιον ὀνομασθήσεται, χῶς τῆς γῆς χρηματίζων καὶ τέφρα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τις αὐτὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικούντων πάλαι κεκληρονόμηκε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκεῖσε παροικήσαντες παρήκαν καὶ οἱ νῦν τελευτῶσι καὶ οἱ πρόπαλαι τετελευτήκασιν.”

830 τῶν – νόμου Is. 66.24 | 832 ὁ – 833 σαρκὸς *ibid.* | 839 εἶπε – 840 ἅγιον Is. 65.9

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

829 ὁ προφήτης < μ | 830 φησί < μ νόμου μου μ ὄψονται γὰρ μ | 831 τῷ θεῷ N μ πίστεως < D αὐτῶν εἰς αἰσχύνῃν μ αὐτῶν] ἡμῶν V | 832 γεγυμνωμένα post 831 τὰ SHPTV | 833 τὸ – σαρκὸς < N πάση σαρκί SHPTV οὖν < D μ HP | 834 ἀκούης μ ἀκούσας N λέγοντος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου μ | 835 καί<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV τοῦ < SHPTV ἐνώπιόν μου HP hic et post ἤξει SHP ἐν] εἰς μ | 836 μοι < μ τί ἀλλ'] ἀλλὰ μ αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα LK AN μ | 837 πιστεύσαι CX, < μ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μ ἀναβαίνουσαι ἐν μ | 838 προσκυνουσι DAN μ καὶ ταῦτα DAN μ SHPTV ταῦτα πάντα μ | 839 σιώπα + περιφίμωσο μ καί<sup>1</sup>] ἀλλὰ μ καί<sup>1</sup> – ἀληθεία < SHPTV καὶ μὴ θεομάχει ante καὶ S περι – ὅτι] ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκας μ ὧν] οὐ CXLK ὧν εἶρηκας ὅτι] δὲ εἶρηκας ὅτι DAN (δὲ τοῦ N) ὅτι ἐξάξω SHPTV | 840 τὸ ἅγιόν μου DN | 841 οὕτως ὡς ὑπέλαβες ἐρμηνεύεται SHPTV ὡς<sup>1</sup> + σὺ DAN μ ὑποφαίνω] ὑπεμφαίνω μ + ἐγὼ DAN μ σπέρμα + καὶ κληρονομήσει τὸ ὄρος μου τὸ ἅγιον N | 842 οὐκοῦν – ἓνα] καὶ οὐδενὸς μ τῶν ὑπολοίπων < μ SHPTV | 843 ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀλλὰ μ τὸ ἐξ] ἐξ Ἰεσσαί C οὖν<sup>2</sup>] γὰρ μ ἐστὶ μ τοῦ Ἰακώβ μ | 844 ὑπάρχει] πέλει DAN SHPTV, < μ νοητὸν] λέγων CXLK νοητῶς μ | 845 τοῦτ' ἔστιν πνευματικόν] τὸ πνευματικόν φάσκει CXLK, < μ τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – 846 Ἰακώβ < SHPTV | 846 τῷ] < μ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ < μ Ἰακώβ + φησίν DAN ἐξάξω] ἐξάξει δὲ μ | 847 μετὰ] καὶ X αὐτοῦ < μ κοιμήσει] κομήσει C, < μ

off because of his sins and was made abominable and hated because of his uselessness and given to complete destruction not only in this age, but also in the future one, the prophet went on saying, that those that will come out of every flesh to worship God through the belief in Jesus Christ will see *the commandments of the law concerning the transgressors*, their naked bones lying there for their greater shame. And in the future age *their worm will not die and their fire will not be extinguished, for they will be seen by all flesh*. Now when you hear the Lord saying through the prophet: *Behold, I will come to gather all nations and languages, and that all flesh will come to worship before me in Jerusalem*, do not say anything to me anymore, but see now that seventy-two languages believing in Jesus Christ, the God of the law and the father of Christ, continually go up to Jerusalem and worship, calling the unbelieving Jews miserable.<sup>57</sup> Seeing this be silent, yield to truth and do not fight against God. And concerning what you have said, that *God said: I will lead the seed of Jacob and that of Judah out, and he will inherit my holy mountain*, listen, for this is not explained as you assumed, but as I will show. The seed of Jacob consisted of twelve tribes; so he did not mention even one of the remaining seeds, but only that of Judah. Judah is the seed of Jacob, and my Lord Jesus Christ is from the seed of Judah. Every Christian is a mental seed of Christ, that is a spiritual one. Now the prophet said about this seed, which was grafted by Jesus Christ into the seed of Judah and Jacob: I will lead it out after its spiritual work when it passes away, and it will inherit the kingdom of heaven. Truly that holy mountain is Jerusalem, the upper metropolis of Zion. For mount Zion, which exists on earth and is earthly, will not be called holy, I think, being dust of the earth and ashes; and also no one of those that dwelt on it once ago inherited it, for those that dwelt there have passed away, those of today die and those of old times have died.”

κοιμήσει – βίου < SHPTV | 848 βασιλείαν + ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία SHPTV ἐπ’ ἀληθές < μ ἐπάληθες C LK ἀληθείας οὖν N τὸ<sup>1</sup> + δὲ μ τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο μ ἅγιόν μου C Σιών < μ | 849 Ἱερουσαλήμ + ἐστὶ N τὸ<sup>2</sup> + αἰσθητόν μ, < K DN Σιών – γῆ < N καὶ γεηρόν N ὀνομασθήσεται ὡς οἶμαι ἅγιον μ | 850 χρηματίζων] ὄν μ ἄλλ’ – 852 τετελευτήκασιν < SHPTV αὐτὸ] τοῦτο post πάλαι κατοικησάντων μ τῶν < μ κατοικησάντων DAN μ | 851 κατοικήσαντες παρήλθον μ | 852 καὶ – τετελευτήκασιν < μ τελευτήκασιν LK τετελευτήκασιν ἅπαντες DAN

<sup>57</sup> Seventy-two is the number of nations and languages of the world, which has been deduced from the genealogical tree of the sons of Noah in Gen. 10.1–32; see Meyer & Suntrup, *Lexikon*, 761–762; a Byzantine source for this thought is, for example, Euthymios Zigabenos, PG 128, 60A.

Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Μέγα ἐργαστήριον πεπλησμένον πολλῆς ὀλκῆς ῥημάτων σε οἱ χρι-  
 855 στιανοὶ εὐράμενοι πρόμαχον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου κεκάθηκαν· φοβερὸς γὰρ εἰ διαστρο- 704C  
 φεὺς τῶν ῥημάτων. Τάχα ἂν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ δόξει σοι, διαστρέφεις τοῖς  
 ῥήμασιν καὶ τὰ καταχθόνια· ἀλλ’ οὐν οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἀπλῶς εὐρήσεις παρεργῶς διὰ κενῆς ὡς  
 μὴ δυναμένους σοι ἀνταποκριθῆναι. Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερον ἐννοήσης, ὅτι ἀγαπᾷ λίαν κύριος  
 τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ἄκουσον τί λέγει Ἡσαΐας· *Εἶπεν ὁ θεός· Ἐγώ, φησί, θεὸς πρῶτος καὶ εἰς τὰ*  
 860 *ἐπερχόμενα ἐγὼ εἰμι, εἶδον ἔθνη καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν. Τὰ ἄκρα τῆς γῆς ἐξέστησαν· ἤγγισαν*  
*καὶ ἦλθον ἅμα, κρίνων ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον βοηθήσαι καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.* Οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ,  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπε, κατὰ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἐκ τῶν φοβηθέντων ἔθνων ὧν τῷ πλησίον σου  
 βοηθήσαι ἤκας καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις σου ἔθνεσιν· αὐτοῖς γὰρ προσ-  
 ποιεῖ καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν. Καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, 704D  
 ἀπωθεῖ ἐξουθενημένον εἶναι κελεύων καὶ ἐν ἀπογνώσει ὀσημέραι. Τί οὖν Ἡσαΐας ὁ βοη-  
 865 θῶν φησὶ τῷ πλησίον καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ; ἐρεῖ περὶ τῶν καινουργούντων, οἶμαι, τὰ εἰδῶλα·  
*ἴσχυσε, φησὶν, ἀνὴρ τέκτων καὶ χαλκεὺς τύπτων, σφύραν ἅμα ἐλαύνων. Ποτέ μὲν ἐρεῖ,*  
*σύμβλημα καλὸν ἐστίν. Ἰσχύρωσαν αὐτὰ ἐν ἡλοῖς, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ εἰδῶλα, θήσωσιν αὐτὰ,*  
 φησὶ, *καμώντες ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐ κινήθησονται.* Ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐχῶνται τὰ ἔθνη τὰ κατὰ σέ.  
 Ἄλλ’ οὖν πρόσεχε περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τί κελεύει. *Τὰ μὲν ἔθνη, φησὶν, ἐν τούτοις. Σὺ δέ,* 705A  
 870 *Ἰσραὴλ, παῖς μου Ἰακώβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα, οὐ ἀντελαβόμεν*  
*ἀπ’ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν σκοπιῶν αὐτῆς ἐκάλεσά σε καὶ εἶπον σοι· Παῖς μου εἶ, ἐξε-*  
*λεξάμην σε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπόν σε. Μὴ φοβοῦ, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ εἰμι, μὴ πλανῶ, ἐγὼ γὰρ*  
 875 *εἰμι ὁ θεός σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε, καὶ ἐβοήθησά σοι καὶ ἠσφαλισάμην σε τῇ δεξιᾷ μου τῇ*  
*δικαίᾳ.* Πρόσεχε, κύριε ὁ μέγας, ἵνα θαυμάσης, ὅπόσῃν ἀγάπην κέκτηται ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ. Ἄκουσον λέξεις φίλτρου καὶ ζέσεως ἀπείρου ἀναπλέους. *ἠσφαλι-*  
*σάμην σε, φησὶ, τῇ δεξιᾷ μου τῇ δικαίᾳ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται*  
*πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοί σε. Ἔσονται γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ ἀπωλοῦνται πάντες οἱ ἀντίδικοί*

858 εἶπεν – 860 ἀδελφῷ Is. 41.4–6 | 863 βασιλεῖον – ἅγιον cf. Ex. 19.6, 23.22 | 866 ἴσχυσε – 868  
 κινήθησονται Is. 41.7 | 869 τὰ – 874 δικαία Is. 41.8–10 | 875 ἠσφαλισάμην – 881 Ἰσραήλ<sup>2</sup> Is.  
 41.10–14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

853 λέγει < μ TV μέγαν DA SHP πολλῆς ὀλκῆς] πολυορκῆς N ῥημάτων] χρημάτων CXLK σε  
 < μ TV | 854 αὐτῶν < DAN μ θρόνου αὐτῶν DAN μ ἐκάθισαν K κεκαθίκασι μ γὰρ < HP |  
 855 τῶν < D μ διαστρέφειν DAN διαστρέφεις μ | 856 καὶ τὰ καταχθόνια post 855 γῆν μ οὐν  
 οὔτε] οὐδὲ < μ ἀπλῶς πῶς CXLK αἰρήσεις μ παρεργῶς SHPTV παρέργως διὰ κενῆς < μ |  
 857 δυναμένοις LK δυναμένου SHPTV σοι] σου DA ἵνα δέ] εἰ δέ καὶ DA νοήσης μ εἵσεις  
 SHPTV λίαν ἀγαπᾷ K καὶ λίαν post μ λίαν < SHPTV κύριος ὁ θεός HP | 858 τίνα DAN μ  
 Ἡσαΐας – θεός] ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ θεός περὶ ἡμῶν μ ὁ θεός διὰ Ἡσαίου TV + τοῦ  
 προφήτου T εἶπεν] τί περ φάσκειεν DAN καὶ λέγει SHPTV ὁ θεός<sup>2</sup> A | 859 εἰμι] ἤμην C  
 ἔγγισαν μ | 860 τῷ<sup>1</sup>] τὸν μ τῷ πλησίον < SHPTV πλησίον σου N καί<sup>2</sup> < μ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ] ἤκας  
 N οὐκοῦν – 862 ἀδελφῷ < C | 861 ὧν] εἰς μ, < N τῷ] τὸν μ | 862 ἤκας] εἰ LK ἡμῖν μ ἤκας  
 βοηθήσων SHPTV τοῦτ’ ἔστι < μ αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῦς C προσποιεῖς N προσποιεῖ DA STV προσ-

Herban said: “The Christians found you to be a big workshop full of heavy words and have put you on the throne as their champion, for you are a frightful distorter of words. Perhaps you would distort even heaven and earth with you words, if it comes into your mind, and the things under the earth; but now you will not encounter us simply by the way as people being unable to answer you. And that you may understand more clearly, that the Lord loves Israel exceedingly, hear what Isaiah says: *God said: I am God, in the beginning and also in the coming time; I saw the nations and they were afeared. The ends of the earth were astonished;*<sup>58</sup> *they came near and came together, and everyone decided to help his neighbour and his brother.* So you too, archbishop, following this consideration are from the nations which were afeared, and came to help your neighbour and your brother, that is the nations of the same race as you; for he pretends to bring salvation to them. And he casts off the royal priesthood, the holy nation of Israel, ordering that it should be set at naught and in despair day by day. What does Isaiah the helper now say to *his neighbour and his brother*? He will speak about those, I think, that renewed the idols. *A carpenter and a beating coppersmith, who also strikes his hammer, were strong, and once he will say, this is a good joint. They have fastened them with nails,* that is the idols, and *having made them they will put them,* he says, *on the earth and they will not be moved.* Because of this the nations around you boast. But now listen what he orders concerning Israel: *So far,* he says, *to the nations. But you, Israel, my son Jacob whom I have chosen, seed of Abraham whom I have loved, whom I have helped from the end of the earth and called from her watch-towers and said to you: You are my child, I have chosen you and did not leave you alone. Do not be afeared, for I am with you, do not go astray, for I am your God that strengthens you, and I have helped you and supported you with my lawful right hand.* Listen, my great lord, and wonder what a great love the holy God has towards Israel. Hear words full of love and immense ardour: *I have supported you,* he says, *with my lawful right hand. And behold, all your opponents will be ashamed and afeared. For they will be as*

πρέει HP | 863 και<sup>1</sup> post γάρ DAN μ και τὸ] τὸ δὲ μ τὸ<sup>2</sup> + δὲ CXLK τὸ ἄγιον < μ | 864 ἀπῶθει DA ἀπῶθεις μ ἔξουθενωμένον LK ἔξουθενημένον μ ὁσημέραι] ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ C AN (post και N) ὡς οἶμαι V τίνα DA ὁ Ἡσαίας ὁ DA SHPTV Ἡσαίας ὁ βοηθῶν] ὁ προφήτης μ | 865 φησί – ἀδελφῶ < μ ἐρεῖ] λέγει μ οἶμαι] με HP, < μ | 866 φησίν < CXLK N ποτέ] τότε DAN μ | 867 ἴχυσαν DAN ἴχυσεν μ τὰ < HP θήσουσιν X D μ | 868 φησί post καμόντες X, < μ | 869 ἀλλ’ οὖν] ἀλλά μ | 870 Ἰακώβ < TV οὐ] ὁ X | 871 ἀπ’] ἐπ’ μ τῆς < SHPV και<sup>2</sup> – 872 σε<sup>1</sup> < HP | 872 σε<sup>1</sup>] σοι C και – σε<sup>2</sup> < N σε<sup>2</sup> < TV μῆ<sup>1</sup> – 874 δικαία < SHPTV | 873 σου < LK σοι] σε K δεξιᾶ μου χειρὶ C | 874 κύρι ὁ μέγας < TV ὁ ἅγιος < μ τὰ < K N τὰ κατὰ] πρὸς μ | 875 ἄκουσον – ἀναπλέους < CXLK λέξεις] τί λέγει εἰ θέλεις N ζέσεως] λέξεως T ἀναπλέους] μεστάς μ | 876 αἰσχυνθήσονται και < SHPTV | 877 οἱ<sup>1</sup> – πάντες<sup>2</sup> < μ σε] σοι CX σου μ οὐντες V ἀντίδικοί σου] ἀντικείμενοί σοι C

58 *Were astonished* (ἐξέστησαν): Septuagint G App.

- σου. Ζητήσεις αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ παροινήσουσί σε. Ἔσονται 705B  
 γὰρ ὡς οὐκ ὄντες καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται οἱ ἀντιπολεμοῦντες σε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ κρατῶν  
 880 τῆς δεξιᾶς σου, ὁ λέγων σοι· Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἐγὼ ἐβοήθησά σοι, μὴ φοβοῦ, σκώληξ Ἰακώβ,  
 ὀλιγοστός Ἰσραήλ. Ἐγὼ ἐβοήθησά σοι, λέγει ὁ θεός, ὁ λυτρούμενός σε, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ.  
 Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως; Οὐ λέγει ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου περὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων; Τὸ  
 λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτὸς παῦσον καὶ μηκέτι μοι κόπους πάρεχε.”
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὴν μὲν προφητείαν εἶρηκας, τὸ δὲ περὶ τίνος διαγορεύει  
 885 οὐκ ἐπίστασαι.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ πάντως λέγει καὶ περὶ Ἰακώβ φάσκει καὶ περὶ  
 σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ διαγορεύει ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ ἄρα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἐγὼ τίνα φθέγγεται;  
 Ἄπ’ ἄκρου γῆς, ἡγουν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, διαγγέλει αὐτὸν προσκεκληθέναι πρὸς γῆν τῆς 705C  
 ἐπαγγελίας, καὶ αὐτὸς φάσκεις τάδε κάκεῖνα.”
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ *Σὺ δὲ Ἰσραήλ παῖς μου Ἰακώβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα*  
*Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα* ἐνωτιζόμενος, ὡς Ἐρβᾶν, μὴ περιρρεμβάζου· οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ δήμου  
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῦτο εἶρηκεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἦν θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἐκ σπέρματος  
 Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ [ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ἐξ Ἀβραάμ ἐφύτευσεν]. Ἴνα οὖν σὺ  
 895 μὴ ἐρεῖς ὅτι ἴσως ἐκ φυλῆς ἦν Ἰσμαὴλ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ ἐστὶ, διὰ τοῦτο  
 εἶρηκεν· *Σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ καὶ παῖς μου Ἰακώβ, ὃν ἠγάπησα*. Εἰ δὲ ἐρεῖς ὅτι οὐχ οὕτως  
 ἐστὶν ὡς λέγω, δεῖξον μοι αὐτός, ποῖω χρόνῳ σε οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν ὁ θεός. Οὐκ εἰ διασκορ- 705D  
 πισμένοις εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐκ εἰ ὄνειδος, οὐκ εἰ ἐγκαταλελειμμένοις καὶ  
 παρὰ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις; Λέγει ὁ προφήτης· *Μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ εἰμί, φησί, καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι*  
 900 *θεός ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε καὶ ἐβοήθησά σοι καὶ ἠσφαλισάμην σε τῇ δεξιᾷ μου τῇ δικαίᾳ*. Οὐκ-  
 οῦν ποῦ ἐστι μεθ’ ὑμῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀρτίως ὁ θεός, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ μιὰ καὶ μὴ πιστεύ- 708A

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

878 παροινήσουσί σε μ σε] σοι D | 879 οὐντες SV καὶ οὐκ ἔσονται < TV ἐγὼ < T δ<sup>1</sup> < TV δ<sup>2</sup> < DAN | 880 τῇ δεξιᾷ C L K D μ<sup>1</sup> – σοι<sup>2</sup> post Ἰακώβ DA ἐγὼ – φοβοῦ<sup>2</sup> < K μ<sup>2</sup> – 881 σοι < X | 881 ὀλιγοστοὶ μ ἐγὼ ἐβοήθησά σοι < D σε < μ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ<sup>2</sup> T | 883 παῦσον καὶ αὐτὸς HP παῦσαι μ μοι < μ TV | 884 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C A δὲ post τίνος S, < HPTV | 885 οὐκ] οὐδαμῶς DAN οὐδαμοῦ μ | 886 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TV τοῦ < AN μ SHPTV Ἰσραήλ] Ἱερουσαλήμ N λέγει<sup>2</sup>] φάσκει μ | 887 διαγορεύει ὁ προφήτης < DAN μ φθέγγομαι μ | 888 τὴν γῆν N μ H | 890 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA τὸ – 891 ὦ < SHPTV σὺ < μ | 891 ὦ < SHPTV Ἐρβᾶν post περιρρεμβάζου SHPTV Ἐρβᾶν + ἐρημοβάτευτε DAN μ περιεργάζου περιρρεμβάζομενος C περιεμβάζου SHP οὐ γὰρ] καθότι DAN SHPTV (καθότι οὐ N HP) ὅτι μ περι] πρὸς X, + παντὸς DAN μ τοῦ < μ | 892 περι < TV | 893 ἐγένετο + καὶ CXLK | 894 Ἰσαὰκ ST ἐπειδὴ – ἐφύτευσεν *varia lectio pro* 895 ἐπειδὴ – ἐστὶ esse videtur, vide notam καί<sup>3</sup>] δὲ μ, < DA τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ] L<sup>p</sup>K ἔξ] ὁ K ἐφύτευσεν] προεφήτευσεν C ἐτύγχανεν N Ἰσαὰκ ἔφμ μ οὖν < μ | 895 ἴσως] εἰ S, < HPT ἔπει LK ἐπειδὴ – ἐστὶ < μ ἐστὶ – 896 Ἀβραάμ < DA | 896 ὁ προφήτης εἶρηκεν μ εἶρηκεν < DA ὅτι σπέρμα N σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ καὶ < μ καὶ < μ εἰ δὲ] εἶτα D εἶτε AN SHPTV οὐτὸς ἐστὶν HP | 897 ὡς] ὅσα DAN λέγω] λέγεις codd. (ὡς λέγεις < μ TV) μοι δὲ C

if they would not exist, and all your adversaries will perish. You will seek them and will not find men that will maltreat you. For those that fight against you will be as if they would not exist, for I am your God that holds your right hand saying to you: Do not be afearred, I have helped you, do not be afearred, worm of Jacob, you few of Israel. I have helped you, says God who has redeemed you, the holy one<sup>59</sup> of Israel. Now is it not so? Does not God say this through the prophet about the Hebrews? So stop henceforth and do not cause me troubles anymore.”

The archbishop said: “You have stated the prophecy, but you do not know about whom he speaks.”

Herban said: “At all events the prophet speaks about Israel and talks about Jacob and explicates about the seed of Abraham. And I should not know what he says? He declares that he was invited *from the end of the earth*, that is from Egypt, to the Promised Land, and you say this and that?”

The archbishop said: “When you hear the words *You, Israel, my son Jacob whom I have chosen, seed of Abraham whom I have loved*, o Herban,<sup>60</sup> do not roam about, for he does not say that about the Jewish people, but about my Christ who was God from God and in the last days for the salvation of men became a man from the seed of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob {for Ismael was also born from Abraham}.<sup>61</sup> Now in order that you might not say that he was perhaps born from the tribe of Ismael, because this is also the seed of Abraham, therefore he said: *Seed of Abraham and my son Jacob whom I have loved*. If you will say that it is not as I say, show me yourself in which time God did not forsake you. Are you not scattered unto the ends of the world, are you not a reproach, are you not forsaken both by God and by me? The prophet says: *For I am with you, and I am your God that strengthens you, and I have helped you and supported you with my lawful right hand*. So where now is God with you Hebrews, that even the impu-

καὶ αὐτός Ν οὐκ ἐγκατέλειπε σὲ μ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπεν] οὐ κατέλιπεν LK οὐκ εἶ] οὐχὶ LK | 898 καὶ < μ | 899 παρὰ<sup>1</sup> < μ παρὰ<sup>2</sup> < CXLK ἀνθρώποις] ἀνθρώπων SHPTV ὁ < Γ φησὶ < μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < DAN καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 900 δικαίᾳ < SHPTV εἶμι < C | 900 ὁ θεὸς ὁ LK Ν σοι] σε Ν μ | 901 ποῦ] πῶς CXLK ἐστὶν ἂν Α ἀρτίως] ἄρτι C, < Ν ὁ θεὸς ἀρτίως SHPTV ὡς] ὥστε CXLK ὅτι μ μιὰρὰ] μικρὰ CXLK καὶ<sup>2</sup>] τὰ Ν

<sup>59</sup> The words *the holy one of* (ὁ ἅγιος) are added here from Is. 43.14.

<sup>60</sup> In the manuscript group δ, Herban is called a ‘wanderer in the desert’ (ἐρημοβάτευτος, a *hapax legomenon*). The meaning must be that Herban still wanders in the desert like the Jews of old, and has not yet come to Christ, the Promised Land; so Radius, *Discussion*, note 488.

<sup>61</sup> The meaning of this passage is essentially the same as that of the words ‘because this is also the seed of Abraham’ in the following sentence. It was probably a marginal gloss in the archetype which contained a variant reading, and has therefore been excluded.



σαντα εἰς Χριστὸν ἔθνη τύπτουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὡς ἐν γελοίων ἐπιχάρματι κέκτηνται; Κατὰ ποῖον οὖν τρόπον λαμβάνετε ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως ἰσχὺν παρὰ κυρίου, τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχοντες ἀνίσχυροι, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἴσον κώνωπος ἐπὶ τὸ δάκνειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν δύναμιν κέκτησθε;

905 Ποῦ τοίνυν καθορᾶται ἀρτίως βοηθῶν ὑμῖν ὁ κύριος, ἐπὶ τίνι πράγματι, νεκρωμένοι οὖσι καὶ κατὰ πείραν ἀπράγμοσι; Ποῦ ἦς ἠσφαλισμένος τῇ δεξιᾷ τῇ δικαίᾳ, ἐπὶ τίνι ἀπαθείᾳ, ἐπὶ ποίῳ μονοτρόπῳ τόπῳ, ἐπὶ ποίᾳ δόξῃ ἢ τιμῇ ἢ δυναστείᾳ; Οὐκ εἰ ὡσεὶ σποδὸς ἢ καὶ ὡσεὶ ὀμίχλη τῷ προσώπῳ τεταραγμένος; Ἴδου ὀπισθὲν σου οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἰδοὺ καὶ σὺ αὐτός. Ἰδέτωσαν τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν οἱ βουλόμενοι. Οὐκ εἰσὶ κόνις, οὐ πεφύκασι τέφρα,

910 πόθεν; Ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι χάριν θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. Διὰ τὴν κακοπραγίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐστὲ διεσχισμένοι ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡς διερρωγῶς χιτωνίσκος καὶ ὡς ἰμάτιον πεπαλαιωμένον; Πότε δὲ ἠσχύνθησαν καὶ ἐνετράπησαν πάντες ὅσοι τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐναντιώθησαν; Ποῦ οὖν εἰσὶν ὡς οὐκ ὄντες πάντες ὑμῶν οἱ ἀντίδικοι; Πότε δὲ ἐζητήσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐχ

915 εὐρέθησαν οἱ παροινήσαντες ὑμᾶς; Ποῦ δὲ καὶ θεὸς κρατῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ὑμῶν καὶ ὁδηγῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τίνι εὐτυχίᾳ; Ποῦ δὲ χρηματίζετε καὶ ὡσεὶ σκώληξ πνεύματι ὄντες τεταπεινωμένοι, ὁ σοβαρὸς λαὸς τε καὶ βαρυκάρδιος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων; Ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὀλιγοστοὶ χρηματίζετε οἱ καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν παρὰ κυρίου κεκτημένοι, οἱ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ ὡσεὶ ἄκρις καθήμενοι καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐμπυτόμενοι καὶ μηδεμίαν λύτρωσιν παρὰ κυρίου δεχόμενοι;

920 Ἀπατάσασαι, ὦ Ἑρβᾶν ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ὁ προφήτης παρήγαγεν. Καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐξελέξατο αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐκάλεσε καὶ ἡγίασε καὶ ἡγάπησε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ ἐνίσχυσε καὶ ἐβοήθησε καὶ ἠσφαλίσατο τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ τῇ μεγάλῃ; Ἀποκρίθητι, τίσπερ ἀρτίως δοξάζεται, τίς βασιλεύει, τίς πρόσεστιν ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μεγαλοδύναμος ἄλλ' ἢ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριός μου καὶ θεός; Οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἐν αἰσχύνῃ

925 καὶ ἐν τροπῇ μεγίστῃ ὡς παραπεσόντες αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκμὴν ὡς ἀντικείμενοι; Οὐ πεφῆνате ὡς

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

902 ἔθνη εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν μ Χριστὸν] θεὸν N ἐν γελοίων ἐπιχάρματι] παίγιον μ γελοῖω DAN T | 903 οὖν < μ SHPTV λαμβάνητε DAN ἀρτίως ἰσχὺν ὑμεῖς SHPTV ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον CXLK τοσοῦτον ὑπάρχοντες ἀνίσχυροι] τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τρόπον ἰσχύοντες N ὑπάρχοντες] πέλοντες SHPTV ἐνίσχυες DA ἀνίσχυες SHPV | 904 οὐδ' ἂν] οὐδὲ CXLK ἴσον] ἴσην μ, < D ἐπὶ] πρὸς μ κέκτησθε δύναμιν μ κέκτησθε] κектῆσθαι D κектῆμένοι cett. | 905 τοίνυν] δὲ μ ὑμῖν ἀρτίως βοηθῶν C ὁ < DAN μ TV νεκρωμένους ὄντας N νεκρωμένοις - 906 δικαίᾳ < μ | 906 ἀπράγμοσι + ποῦ δὲ καθορᾶται νεκρωμένοις οὖσι T ἦς] εἰ N ἠσφαλισάμενος LK | 907 ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>] ἐν DAN SHPTV ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> - τόπῳ < μ μονοτρόπῳ τόπῳ] ἰκανῶ μονοτρόπῳ CXLK δυναστεία + ἢ μᾶλλον ὡς ἀντρῶ ἂν ἐχθίστως CXLK (ἀντρος C ἀχθίστως K) + εἰπεῖν LK ἦ<sup>3</sup> < μ | 908 ὡσεὶ] ὡς DAN μ τὸ πρόσωπον DAN μ ὀπισθὲν σου CL D V, < μ σὺ καὶ N | 909 ἰδέτωσαν οὖν DAN μ οὐ πεφύκασι] οὐκ εἰσὶ N | 910 καὶ πόθεν CXLK ἐν τῷ<sup>1</sup>] ἐκ τοῦ μ χάρις N τοῦ θεοῦ CX ἐκ θεοῦ μ ἐν<sup>4</sup> - 911 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < DAN μ | 911 τὴν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τὴν κακοπραγίαν ὑμῶν N τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν κακοπραγίαν μ τὴν<sup>2</sup> < μ ἐστὲ + δὲ DAN αἰσχημένοι N ἀπὸ ἑαυτῶν] καὶ ἐσκορπισμένοι CXLK (καὶ < X) ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μ, < C | 912 ὡς<sup>1</sup>] ὡσεὶ DA μ STV ὡς<sup>1</sup> - πεπαλαιωμένον < HP χιτωνίσκος V ὡς<sup>2</sup> < N | 913 ποτὲ X τὰ] τῷ N, < CXLK ἠγαντιώθησαν μ | 914 οὖν < DA μ εἰσὶν < C οὐντες V πάντες < μ οἱ ὑμῶν μ οὐκ A SHPTV | 915 ἠυρέθησαν SHPTV οἱ

re nations that do not believe in Christ beat you and have you as an object of malignant joy? In which way do you now receive power from the Lord today, being so powerless, that you do not even have the force of a gnat to bite your enemies? So where is God now as your helper and in which matter, since you are withered and idle according to experience? Where have you been supported with his lawful right, in which freedom from emotion, in which solitary place, in which glory or honour or power? Are you not like dust, or also troubled in your face like fog? Behold, the Jews are behind you, behold, you yourself too. Those that want may look unto your faces. Are they not dust, have they not become ashes, and from where? Because there is no grace of God in you, because you do not have the Holy Ghost in your souls. Have not you been cut asunder from yourselves unto the ends of the world because of your evildoing and unbelief, like a torn vest and a decayed garment? When were all those ashamed and afeared that were opposed to you? Where are all your adversaries as if they would not exist? When did you seek them, and those that maltreated you could not be found? Where is God holding your right hand and leading you to some good luck? Where are you, being humiliated like a worm in your spirit, you proud and heavy-hearted Jewish people? How does it happen that you are so few that have achieved redemption from the Lord, sitting in all the earth like a grasshopper, being spat upon and not receiving any redemption from the Lord? You are mistaken, o Herban, for the prophet has told of all this about my Christ and God. Truly, did not God choose and call him, did he not sanctify and love him, did he not leave him, did he not strengthen and help and support him with his great right hand?<sup>62</sup> Answer, who else has now been glorified, who rules, who is strong and almighty but Jesus Christ my Lord and God? Are you Hebrews not in the greatest shame and dishonour, having transgressed and moreover opposing him? Did you not appear as

παροινήσαντες ὑμᾶς < μ ὑμᾶς + τί CXLK και<sup>1</sup> < μ ὁ θεὸς N ὑμῶν] ὑμᾶς D | 916 ποῦ – 917 Ἰουδαίων < SHPTV και] οἱ CXL, < K πνεύματι < μ ὄντες < DAN μ τεταπεινωμένῳ DA τεταπεινωμένος μ | 917 ὁ<sup>1</sup>] ὡς N ὁ<sup>1</sup> – βαρुकάρδιος post Ἰουδαίων μ λαός < μ λαός τε] τε λαός DAN λιθοκάρδιος μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> < DA μ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων < N πῶς δὲ και διὰ τί CXLK | 918 οἱ<sup>1</sup> < DA και < CXLK κεκτημένοι – 919 κυρίου < N V ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν CXLK ὡσεὶ] ὡς ἡ LK | 919 πάντων + λοιπὸν DA μηδεμίαν] μήτε μίαν DA | 920 ἀπατάσαι] μὴ ἀπατῶ CXLK ὦ < N SHPTV πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα C γὰρ < SHPTV πάντες X και θεοῦ < D ὁ προφήτης < K παρ- ἡγαγεν] ἠνίκατο DAN μ | 921 μὴν] εἰ μ και ἠγάπησε < N και ἐνίσχυσε και οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπε SHPTV και<sup>4</sup> – 922 ἐβοήθησε < C | 922 και ἐβοήθησε < SHPTV τῆ<sup>1</sup> – μεγάλῃ] τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν μεγάλην TV δεξιᾶ] δόξη CXLK μεγίστη μ και ἀποκρίθητι DA SHPTV | 923 τίσπερ] τίς οὖν CXLK τίς μ και τίς<sup>1</sup> CXLK και τίς<sup>2</sup> CXLK ἐστὶν X μ | 924 ante ἀλλ' + οὐδεὶς ἕτερος CX ἦ + μόνον SHPTV Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς N μου] ἡμῶν DAN και + ὁ C | 925 και<sup>1</sup> – μεγίστη < SHPTV ἀντιπεσόντες μ παραπεσῶτες SV ἀκμήν] ἀγμὴν A, < CXLK ὡς<sup>2</sup> < μ πεφύκατε CXLK

<sup>62</sup> This seems to be a summary of the passage Is. 41.8–14 discussed above, in B 869–883, where, however, nothing corresponds to the word ‘sanctified’ (ἡγίασε).

- οὐκ ὄντες; Ποῦ γὰρ καὶ καθαρᾶσθε; Ζητεῖσθε οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου καὶ οὐχ εὐρίσκεσθε, διότι παροινήσατε σταυρώσαντες τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον. Ἴνα οὖν γινώσκης, ὅτι περὶ ὑμῶν λελάληκεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι *Ἰδοὺ αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοί σοι*. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀντίκειται τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ ὡς ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐπικατάρατοι καὶ ἄπιοι. Οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεων ἀντιπίπτοντες αὐτῷ μερικῶς ὡς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦνται αὐτῷ. Οὐκοῦν ἐμοί, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, μὴ λογοτριβῶν περιάγου. Ὁφθαλμοὺς γὰρ μοι δέδωκεν ὁ κύριός μου νοερούς, καὶ κατοπτεύω τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῆς Γραφῆς κειμένην ἀλήθειαν. Σὺ δὲ τυφλώττων δελεάσαι με οὐ δυνήσῃ.”
- Ἐρβαν λέγει· “Καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ποίῳ τρόπῳ τὸν Χριστόν σου θεὸν προσαγορεύεις, ἐπὶ τὸν ὅ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο καὶ ἠγάπησε καὶ ἀντελάβετο καὶ ἐκάλεσε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ ἐνίσχυσε καὶ ἠσφολίσαστο τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ; Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ὡς λέγεις, καθότι φάσκει ὁ προφήτης περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι*, φησὶν, *ὁ θεός σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε*. Πῶς οὖν ἀποκαλεῖς αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτήρα σου, ὃς καθὼς ἡ προφητεία μαρτυρεῖ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θεοῦ τί πράττειν οὐ δύναται;”
- Ἐρβαν λέγει· “Καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει, ποίῳ τρόπῳ τὸν Χριστόν σου θεὸν προσαγορεύεις, ἐπὶ τὸν ὅ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς αὐτὸν ἐξελέξατο καὶ ἠγάπησε καὶ ἀντελάβετο καὶ ἐκάλεσε καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ ἐνίσχυσε καὶ ἠσφολίσαστο τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ; Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστι θεός, ὡς λέγεις, καθότι φάσκει ὁ προφήτης περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι*, φησὶν, *ὁ θεός σου ὁ ἐνισχύσας σε*. Πῶς οὖν ἀποκαλεῖς αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ σωτήρα σου, ὃς καθὼς ἡ προφητεία μαρτυρεῖ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐμοῦ θεοῦ τί πράττειν οὐ δύναται;”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοσαύτας ἀποδείξεις περὶ αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος, ὡς ὄρω, οὐδέπω συνήκας, ἐν τίσιν φύσεσιν ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης ἐχρημάτιζεν. Οὐ τῇ προτεραίᾳ λελάληκα, καθότι ὁ ἐμὸς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεὸς ἦν καὶ ἄνθρωπος; Θεὸς δὲ ποῖος; Οὗτος ὁ λέγων, ὅτι *Ἐγὼ*, φησὶ, *θεός πρῶτος*. Τὸ δὲ εἰς τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐγὼ εἰμι, ποῖα ἐπερχόμενα λέγει, ἀλλ’ ἢ τῆς ἐνοάρκου αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας τὸ μυστήριον; Ἐπεὶ οὖν θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐχρημάτισεν, ἐβοήθει πάντως ἡ θεότης τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ἡ θεότης τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· *Ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην σε*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐν ἐμοὶ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν, καὶ ὅτι *ἐγὼ ἐβοήθησά σοι*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι διὰ σοῦ πάση τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, φησὶ, τῇ βαπτιζομένῃ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.”
- Ἐρβαν λέγει· “Καὶ ποῦ ἠνίξατο τίς τῶν προφητῶν, ὅτι θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὃν τρόπον λελάληκας;”

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

926 οὖντες SV ποῦ] τοῦ C καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D HP καθαρᾶσθε V ζητεῖτε μ ἐσταυρωμένου + Χριστοῦ C | 927 διότι – ἀναμάρτητον < SHPTV παροινήσαντες LK D σταυρώσαντες] σταυρώσατε LK ἵνα] σὺ LK ἵνα – γινώσκης] γίνωσκε οὖν μ | 929 οἱ<sup>1</sup> – ἀντίκειται] οἱ ἀντίκεινται CX σοι < LK κυρίῳ μου N μ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ DAN μ | 930 καὶ] οἱ AN μ T οἶα καὶ V ἐκ < SHPTV ἀντιπίπτοντες αὐτῷ] ἐναντιούμενοι αὐτῶν SHPT ἐναντιόμενοι αὐτῶν V μερικῶς ἀντιπίπτοντες αὐτῷ C αὐτῷ < DAN μ μερικῶς + οὐδεὶς S<sup>ρ</sup>HP | 931 ἐναντιούμενοι CX ἐναντιοῦνται SHPTV οὐκοῦν] καὶ μ μηκέτι λογοτριβῶν περιάγου μοι ὦ Ἰουδαίε μ λογοτριβῶν D λογοτριβῶν SHTV λόγον τριβῶν P περιάγων HP | 932 μοι < TV κύριός μου] θεός μ κατοπτεύων TV τὴν] τῆς HP ἀγίας Γραφῆς μ | 933 δεδύνησαι CXLK δυνήση + μὴ γένοιτο DAN μ δύνασαι H | 934 λέγει < μ T εἰ < DAN ποίῳ + δὲ DAN μ τὸν < TV | 935 ἐπὶ] ἐφ’ ὃν DAN ἐφ’ ᾧ μ ἐφ’ ἦν SHPV ἐφ’ ἦ T ὁ<sup>1</sup> < μ ὁ<sup>1</sup> – ἐμὸς] ὁ ἐμὸς θεός SHPTV αὐτὸν < DAN μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 936 αὐτοῦ] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ καὶ ἐκάλεσε < SHPTV | 936 καὶ ἐνίσχυσε < SHPTV δεξιᾷ] δόξη CXLK οὐκοῦν < DA | 937 ὅτι μ ὁ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ] περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου DAN μ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ προφήτης SHPTV γὰρ ἐγὼ V φησὶν < LK N μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> – σου < D μ ὁ<sup>3</sup> < N ἐνισχύων N | 938 οὖν] δὲ καὶ μ αὐτὸν ἀποκαλεῖς DAN θεὸν] Χριστόν T ὃς] ὃστις DAN μ SHP ὥστε TV | 939 πράττειν τι μ δεδύνηται CXLK | 940 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος

if you existed not? For where can you be seen? You, the enemies of the crucified, are searched for and not found, because you have maltreated him, crucifying the holy and sinless one. Now you should know that the prophet said about you: *Behold, all your opponents will be ashamed and afeared*. For nobody is so much hostile to the Lord Jesus as you accused unbelievers. For those that resist to him from the other heresies are particularly opposed to him, just as to you. Now do not lead me around biding time, o Jew. For my God has given me eyes of my mind, and I see thoroughly the truth which lies in the depth of the Scripture. But you blind man cannot decoy me.”

Herban said: “And if this is so, with what intention do you address your Christ as God, if my God has chosen and loved and helped and called him, did not forsake him, and strengthened and supported him with his right hand? Surely then he is no God, as you say, since the prophet says about him: *For I am your God that strengthens you*. How do you now call him your God and saviour, who cannot do anything without my God, as the prophecy testifies?”

The archbishop said: “Although you have received so much evidence about him, you have not understood yet, as I see, in which natures my Master existed. Did I not say on the preceding day that my Lord Jesus Christ was God and man? And which God? The one that says, that *I am God, the first*. And when he says, *and also in the coming time*, about which coming thing does he speak but about the mystery of his coming in the flesh? Now since God was also man, at all events his divinity helped his humanity. Therefore his divinity says to his humanity: *I have chosen you*, that is, to be within me in my subsistence, and *I have helped you*, that is through you <I have helped> all mankind, he says, which has been baptised in the Father and the son and the Holy Ghost.”

Herban said: “And where did one of the prophets say obscurely that Christ is God and man in the way you said?”

ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA S ἀποδείξεις + ἄθλιε DAN μ ἑαυτοῦ V δειξάμενος μ ὡς ὀρῶ < DAN μ | 941 τίσι] δυσιν SHP τρισίν V φύσεις SHP ἐχρημάτισεν SHPTV προτέρα μ προτερία V λελάληκαν C | 942 ὅτι μ SHPTV κύριος < C μ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός < CXLK Χριστός < SHP ὁ θεός C ἦν] ὧν CXLK | 943 ἐγώ<sup>1</sup> + εἰμι N τὸ δὲ] και CXLK ἐγώ<sup>2</sup> – ἐπερχόμενα<sup>2</sup> < DAN ποῖα < CXLK | 944 ἀλλ’ ἦ < CXLK αὐτοῦ < μ Τ ὁ θεός XLK DAFN ἐχρημάτιζεν N | 945 ἡ θεότης<sup>1</sup> < μ διὰ – 946 ἀνθρωπότητι < C K μ ἡ<sup>2</sup> – 946 ἀνθρωπότητι < DAN | 946 τοῦτ’ ἔστι < DAN μ γίνεσθαι V γενέσθαι σε CXLK ἐν] ἕνα DA SHPTV ἕνα ἐν N κατὰ τὴν D κατὰ AN SHPTV | 947 ὅτι < μ τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἤγουν μ τὴν διὰ DAN φησί] φύσιν N, < μ ἐν πατρὶ και νίῳ και ἀγίῳ πνεύματι CXLK (και νίῳ < CX) | 948 και<sup>2</sup> + εἰς τὸ DAN | 949 λέγει < μ TV και<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV ἔσται DAN μ SHP | 950 προλελάληκας LK

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰρηκά σοι, ὅτι ἡ θεότης ἐπλασεν ἑαυτῇ ἀνθρωπότητα, ἣτις  
 πέφυκεν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐξ ἀγνῶν αἱμάτων τῆς παρθένου, ἣτις ἔπελεν ἐκ σπέρματος  
 Δαυιδ ἄνευ ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας καὶ προήλθεν εἰς ἐκ δύο καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν. Καὶ ἡ  
 955 θεότης αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα ἐκέκτημαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκέκτητο πλὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας· ἡ δὲ  
 θεότης αὐτοῦ πάντα ὅσα ὁ πατὴρ θεὸς ἐκέκτητο πλὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας. Ἀγέννητος γὰρ ὁ  
 θεός, ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ γεννητός· ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῇ ὑποστάσει ἦτε θεότης ἦτε ἀνθρωπότης  
 αὐτοῦ συστοιχεῖται· ἐπειδὴ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσάρχη, ἀλλ’ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀντὶ σπέρ-  
 ματος ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ τῆς παρθένου ἐπάγει εἰς σάρκα μὴδὲ τὸ καθόλου τραπεῖς ἢ ἀλλοιωθεῖς  
 960 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος. Ἄτρεπτος γὰρ ἡ θεότης τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰρή-  
 καμεν, ὅτι ἡ θεότης ἐπλασεν ἑαυτῇ ἀνθρωπότητα (γυμνῇ γὰρ τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 συναναστρέφεται οὐκ ἐβούλετο), λέγει Ἡσαΐας περὶ τούτου· *Οὕτως*, φησί, *λέγει κύριος*  
*ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ πλάσας αὐτόν, ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἐπερχόμενα*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὰ τῆς  
 965 νέας χάριτος μυστήρια· *Ἐγὼ*, φησὶν, *ἤγειρα αὐτόν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης βασιλέα, καὶ πᾶσαι*  
*αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ εὐθεῖαι*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. *Οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει τὴν πόλιν μου*, οἶμαι  
 τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, *καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐπιστρέψει* ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης  
 καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας πρόδηλον τοῦ διαβόλου. *Οὐ μετὰ λύτρων*, φησὶν, *οὐδὲ μετὰ δώρων*,  
*εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ ἰσχύι θεότητος*. Καὶ ἄκουσον καὶ τὴν ὑποταγὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν·  
*Οὕτως*, φησὶ, *λέγει κύριος Σαβαώθ· Ἐκοπίασεν Αἴγυπτος*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῇ πλάνῃ δουλεύου-  
 970 *σα, καὶ ἔμπορία Αἰθιοπίων καὶ οἱ Σαβαῖν ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπὶ σέ διαβήσονται*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι πι-  
 στεύσαντες, *καὶ σοὶ ἔσονται δοῦλοι· καὶ ὀπίσω σου ἀκολουθήσωσι δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις*,  
 τῇ ἀσφαλείᾳ ἡγουν τῆς ὑποταγῆς αὐτῶν. *Καὶ διαβήσονται πρὸς σέ καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σε*  
 διὰ τῆς πίστεως, *καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσεύξονται, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐστί*, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἀνθρω-  
 975 *πότητι αὐτοῦ. Σὺ εἶ θεός*, πρόσεχε, *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεός*, φησὶ, *πλὴν σου*· διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτόν  
 τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀληθινόν, ἀψευδῶς λέγει ὁ προφήτης· *Σὺ γὰρ εἶ*, φησὶ, *θεός καὶ*  
*οὐκ εἶδμεν*, διότι τῇ πλάνῃ τῶν εἰδώλων προκατελήμμεθα, *θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*, κἄν σαρκω-  
 θέντος σου οὐ προσδέχονται σε, ἀλλὰ σὺ εἶ ὁ σωτήρ. Ἐπάγων δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπιστούντων  
 αὐτῷ λέγει· *Αἰσχυνθήσονται καὶ ἐντραπήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ*, εἴτε ἐξ

953 καί<sup>3</sup> – 954 ἀμαρτίας cf. Hb. 4.15 | 959 ἄτρεπτος – ἀναλλοίωτος cf. notam | 961 οὕτως – 962  
 ἐπερχόμενα Is. 45.11 | 963 ἐγὼ – 967 θεός Is. 45.13 | 968 οὕτως – 973 σου Is. 45.14 |  
 977 αἰσχυνθήσονται – 979 αἰσχύνῃ Is. 45.15–16

**C X L K D A N μ S H P T V** | 951 ὁ – 961 ἐβούλετο bis habet hic et in initio V, in initio M  
 (vide A 123) | 976 ἀπι| C]

951 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V, < M ἔφη] λέγει DA, <  
 S ἣτις καὶ μ | 952 πέπονθεν DA μ πέφηνεν N ὁ Χριστὸς M παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου μ ἔπελεν]  
 ἦν μ SHPTV | 953 καί<sup>1</sup> < μ προσήλθεν M καί<sup>2</sup> < V<sup>1</sup> M καί<sup>3</sup> – 954 αὐτοῦ < T V | 955 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < T V  
 θεός < μ γεννησίας SHPTV | 956 γεννητός δὲ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ μ ἦτε<sup>1</sup>] τε HP ἢ T V ἦτε<sup>2</sup>] καὶ ἡ μ  
 | 957 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> post 956 θεότης μ συγχεῖται CX συστοιχεῖται AN στοιχεῖται μ ἀλλὰ DAN ὁ τοῦ  
 DA | 958 εἰς] εἰ SHPT μδὲν X μ V<sup>1</sup> M ἀλλοιωθεῖς ἢ τραπεῖς N ἢ] ἤπερ DA | 959 ἀπὸ < μ  
 ἑαυτοῦ CXLK A ἄτρεπτος – ἀναλλοίωτος < SHPTV τε < DAN μ | 960 ἡ < V<sup>1</sup> τὴν  
 ἀνθρωπότητα T γὰρ < μ V<sup>1</sup> M συναναστρέφεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις CXLK | 961 ἠβούλετο

The archbishop said: "I have told you that divinity created a humanity for herself, which is Jesus Christ who came from the pure blood of the Virgin, which was from the seed of David without intercourse with a man, and that he proceeded being one consisting of two even after his incarnation. And his humanity possessed everthing I possess as well except sin, his divinity possessed everything his Father possessed except uncreatedness. For God is unbegotten, and his word is begotten; his divinity and his humanity are united together in one subsistence, for his flesh was not begotten, but the word of God instead of seed comes into flesh within the womb of the Virgin, without being turned away or estranged from his divinity. For the divinity is unturnable and unchangeable.<sup>63</sup> Since we have now said, that the divinity created a humanity for it (for it did not want to live among man in its naked substance), Isaiah says about this: *Thus says the Lord God, the holy one of Israel* that created him, *who makes the coming things*, that is the mysteries of the new grace: *I have raised him with righteousness to be a king, and all his ways are rightful*, that is of Christ. *He will rebuild my city*, I mean the universal church, *and he will bring back my people from captivity*, clearly from the deceit and the captivity of the devil. *Not for ransom nor offerings, says the Lord God*, but by the strength of his divinity. And hear also the submission of the nations: *Thus, says he, says the Lord Sabaoth: Egypt laboured*, that is serving the deceit, *and merchandise of the Ethiopians and Sabeans, men of high stature, will come to you*, that is when they believe, *and will be your slaves, and will follow behind you bound with handcuffs*, that is by the security of their submission. *And they will come after you and worship you* with their belief, *and will pray to you, for God is in you*, that is in his humanity. *You are God*, listen, *and there is no God beside you*; because this is the true word of God, the prophet says unerringly: *For you are God and we did not realise it*, because we were preoccupied with the deceit of idols, *God of Israel*, even though they did not receive you when you became flesh, but you are *the saviour*. And going on he says about those

SHPTVM λέγει<sup>1</sup> + γὰρ C D μ ὁ Ἡσαΐας DAN μ λέγει<sup>2</sup> < μ | 962 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – Ἰσραήλ < μ τοῦ < HP αὐτὸν ὁ ποιήσας] καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν post ἐπερχόμενα TV τοῦτ' ἔστι] ἦγουν μ | 964 οἶμαι δὲ DAN μ | 965 καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν < K | 966 πρόδηλον < μ οὐδὲ] οὔτε TV | 967 ὁ θεός < N ἰσχύι καὶ δυνάμει N καὶ < μ SHPTV τῶν ἐξ ἔθνων CXLK | 968 λέγει < μ κύριος ὁ θεός Σαβαῶθ DAN μ δουλεύσασα μ | 969 ἐμπόρια C Σαβαῖν] Σαβαῖνοι X Σαβὰ ἴνα D Σαβὰ ἴν' A Σαβὰ οἱ N Σαβὰ νῦν μ ἀναβήσονται μ τοῦτ' ἔστι] ἦγουν μ πιστεύσαντες < SHPTV | 970 σοι] ὡσεὶ LK σου < N ἀκολουθήσουσι XLK ἀκολουθήσονται N TV δεδεμένοι < LK | 971 τῇ ἀσφαλείᾳ < SHPTV ἦγουν] δηλονότι ante τῇ μ καί<sup>1</sup> – σέ < SHPTV πρὸς] ὑπὸ N σε] σοι CX | 972 καὶ ὅτι μ ὁ < K μ τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἦγουν μ | 973 ὁ θεός<sup>1</sup> DA πρόσεχε < N φησί post ἔστι LK, post σου SHPTV, < DAN μ | 974 τοῦ θεοῦ < μ τὸν ἀληθινόν < SHPTV φησί < SHPTV θεός φησιν X | 975 οὐκ] οὐδὲν μ | 976 προσδέχοντες A σε < X ὁ < LK D σωτήρ · ἐπάγων] πατήρ· ἐπάγει LK | 977 αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> < TV οἱ ἐξ ἡμῶν N

<sup>63</sup> Similar formulae are current in patristic literature since Origenes, see for example his *Contra Celsum*, 1.21.19.

- ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἶτε καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων. *Καὶ πορεύσονται*, φησίν, *οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν* 712b  
 αἰσχρῆ ὡς ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἄπστοι. Προσέχεις, Ἐρβᾶν, τίνα λέγει ὁ  
 980 προφήτης; Τί οὖν ἐρεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα; Μὴ ἄρα ψεύδεται ὁ ἐκ στόματος θεοῦ λαλήσας;”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, οὕτως λέγει ὁ προφήτης ὃν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸς εἶρηκας.  
 Ἄλλ’ οὖν δοκῶ μήπω ἐκείνον ἐληλυθέναι, πάντως δὲ ἐλεύσεται ἰδίῳ καιρῷ.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἔοικας ὄφει καταδιωκομένην ὑπὸ πινος καὶ τυπτομένην,  
 ὅστις πᾶν τὸ σῶμα προστεθείς τῷ τύποντι τὴν πονηρὰν κεφαλὴν οὐ βούλεται προδοῦναι  
 985 εἰς θάνατον, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὴν κακοπιστίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρνησιν.  
 Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι πείθουσι σε αἱ ἀποδείξεις τῶν προφητῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐ βούλει ἐλ-  
 θεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Χρόνῳ γὰρ κακῆ συνήθεια βεβαιωθείσα ἐν σοὶ δυσίατος γέγονεν ἢ 712c  
 καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίατος· καὶ ὅποσα ἐπὶ τέλους μεταμεληθήσῃ διανοιχθέντων τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς σου, ὅποταν ἐκλείψῃς τοῦ τῆδε βίου καὶ βλέψῃς, πῶς οἱ μὴ τῷ Χρι-  
 990 στῷ πιστεύσαντες ἐλεεινῶς παραλαμβάνονται καὶ καταδικάζονται.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μωυσεῖς ἡμῖν ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῇ Πεντατεύχῳ παραγγέλει λέγων· Ἐπί-  
 σταμαι ἐγώ, φησίν, ὅτι ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων διασκορπισθήσεσθε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι.  
*Διαμαρτύρομαι οὖν ὑμῖν τὸν οὐρανόν*, ὡς ἐστὶ σήμερον, *καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν*, μὴ πεισθῆτε  
 995 ἐτέρῳ θεῷ ὑποκλιθῆναι πάρεξ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Οὐκοῦν βαρὺ μοι ἐστὶ καταλιπεῖν  
 τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου, ὃν καὶ σὺ μαρτυρεῖς ὅτι ἐστὶ θεὸς ἀληθείας, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι θεῷ 712d  
 νεωτέρῳ πόθεν ἐπεισαχθέντι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ καὶ πληροφορῶν με, ὅτι ἐν  
 ἀληθείᾳ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός, περὶ οὗ καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι δικαίως λέγουσιν, ἢ μάλλον  
 ἕτερος τίς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀκμὴν οὐκ ἐλήλυθεν;”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὅταν τοῖς σοῖς προφήταις οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαρτυ-  
 1000 ροῦσι, πῶς ἐτέρῳ πνὶ πιστεύσεις; Ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐναντιούμενος, οἵτινες  
 πληροφοροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ, πῶς ἐτέρου διηγουμένου αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος εὐκόλως παραδέξεται; Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς. Εἶρηκας δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ,

987 χρόνῳ – 988 ἀνίατος cf. Basilius, *CPG* 2836, *PG* 29.224c; 1.176–177 | 993 διαμαρτύρομαι – γῆν Deut. 4.26

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V

978 εἶτε] γε X καὶ < K N οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν X DA μ SHP αἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν V οἱ τοιοῦτοι] οὔτοι DAN μ |  
 979 ἀπηλλοτριώμενοι S ὦ Ἐρβᾶν XLK τίνα] τί SHPTV | 980 τί – ταῦτα < SHPTV μὴ –  
 λαλήσας < N ὅ] ὅτι SHPTV λαλήσας + ταῦτα DA μ | 981 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TV οὕτως + οὖν DAN, +  
 γὰρ μ καθ’ ὃν DAN μ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶρηκας] λελάληκας DAN μ οὕτως ἔσται TV | 982 ἀλλ’ οὖν]  
 ἀλλὰ μ δοκῶ + ὅτι μ μήπου DAN ἐν ἰδίῳ N | 983 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπί-  
 σκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ὄφεις HP ὄφει πνὶ DAN μ καταδιωκόμενην – τυπτομένη SHP | 984 ὅστις]  
 ὥστε X εἴ τις DA ὃς μ ἦτις SHPV ἅπαν XLK προσθείς DAN μ προτίθουσα SHPTV τύποντι +  
 αὐτῷ DAN βούλεται] δύναται LK μ | 985 τοῦτ’ ἔστι < TV τὴν<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV υἱοῦ τοῦ < μ | 986 οὐ  
 πείθουσι σε HP ἀλλ’ οὖν οὐ SHPTV | 987 γὰρ + μακρῷ ἢ N κακῆ συνηθείᾳ DA μ SHPTV  
 βεβαιωθείσα < HP ἐγεγόνει DAN μ | 988 καί<sup>2</sup> < XLK ἐπὶ τέλους post μεταμεληθήσῃ XLK, < μ  
 τέλει N μεταμεληθήσῃ] μετανοήσῃ DA διανοιγέντων μ τῶν < K | 989 ὅταν SHPTV ἐκλείψῃ –  
 βλέψῃ μ τοῦ τῆδε] τοῦδε τοῦ LK βλέψῃς X N Χριστῷ] θεῷ X | 990 ἐλεεινῶς < μ | 991 λέγει < μ

that did not believe in him: *All your opponents will be ashamed and afeared*, be they from us nations or also from you Hebrews. *And those will walk in their shame* for being alienated from truth and unbelieving. Do you listen, Herban, to what the prophet says? Now what will you say about this? Does the man lie who spoke from the mouth of God?"

Herban said: "Let it not be, the prophet speaks just in the way you have said. But still I think that he has not come yet, but will come at all events when his time has arrived."

The archbishop said: "You resemble a snake which is being hunted and beaten by someone, and which, by winding its whole body around the beating man, tries not to surrender its wicked head to death, that is your disbelief and your denial of God's only begotten Son. For I know well that the proofs from the prophets convince you, but you do not want to come to the truth. For being confirmed by time, a bad habit has become hard to heal in you or even entirely unhealable; and how much will you finally repent when the eyes of your soul will be opened, when you will depart from this life and see, how those that do not believe in Christ will miserably be caught and condemned!"

Herban said: "The prophet Moses gave us a command in the Pentateuch saying: I know that in the last age you will be scattered among all nations. *Now I call heaven*, as it is today,<sup>64</sup> *and earth for you as witnesses*, do not be persuaded to bow to another God than to the Lord our God. So it is hard for me to leave the God of the law, whom you too testify to be the true God, and to worship a new God who has been introduced from I do not know where. For who is it that assures me, that he is in truth Christ, about whom also the prophets speak rightfully, or rather someone else, and he has not come yet?"

The archbishop said: "If you do not believe your prophets who testify the truth, how will you believe anyone else? For the one that is opposed to his own eyes which instruct him by their sight, how will he easily accept what someone else tells about the same thing? In no way, never! You said about my Christ and God that 'I am unable to

TV ἡμῖν < SHPTV ὁ προφήτης < μ παραγγέλει – 992 φησὶν] λέγει SHPTV | 993 μῆ] καὶ LK πεισθῆναι θεῷ ἐτέρω μ | 994 βαρύν DA SHPTV | 995 ἀληθῆς CXLK καὶ?] εἰ SHPTV προσκυνῆσαι – 997 ἀληθεία < SHPTV | 996 νεωτέρω] ἐτέρω X ἐπισυναχθέντι K οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι < X ἐπίσταμαι] οἶδα DAN εἰδώς μ καὶ < DAN μ με] μοι μ | 997 ἀληθεία + εἰ SHP, + καὶ T μάλλον < SHPTV | 998 ἐηλυθώς μ | 999 ὁ – ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA S ὁπότεν N τὴν ἀλήθειαν X τῆ ἀληθεία μαρτυροῦσι < DAN μ | 1000 πνὶ + καὶ μάλα XLK + σὺ X πιστεύεις X S οἵτινες < SHPTV οἵτινες – 1001 θεά < DAN μ | 1001 ἐπὶ τῆ] ἐπὶ τινι SHPTV αὐτῷ – πράγματος < DAN μ | 1002 παραδέξεται μ οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς < DAN μ

<sup>64</sup> Here and in the explanation at B 1202–1203 the Septuagint is given as a paraphrase; in the original text the verse begins with the words *Now I call heaven today*.



- καθότι 'Νεωτέρω θεῶ', φησίν, 'ἀδυνατῶ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι', καὶ ὄλος, οἶμαι, σκότους ἐπλή-  
 σθης ταῦτα φθεγξάμενος. Τὸν λόγον γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός σου νεώτερον θεὸν ἀποκα- 713A  
 1005 λείς, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων γεννηθέντα, δι' οὗ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ πάντα  
 τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δεδημιούργηται. Δείξω σοι δέ, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ νεωτέρου τούτου ὁ θεὸς καὶ  
 πατὴρ τί ποτ' οὖν οὐ κατεργάζεται. Καὶ πρόσσεχέ μοι ἐνταῦθα· Ἐάν τις ἄνθρωπος βασι-  
 λεύσῃ, χρηματίζη δὲ ἄλλος μὴ τὸ καθόλου ἀποφθέγξασθαι δυνάμενος, ποιῶ τρόπῳ ἔξει  
 1010 τὰ διατάγματα αὐτοῦ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ διηγήσασθαι, ὅπως αὐτὸν θεραπεύ-  
 σωσιν;"  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Ὅντως οὐδενί, πλὴν πολλάκις, εἰ ἐπίσταται γράμματα, καὶ σιωπῶν-  
 τος τοῦ στόματος χαράττει ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ καὶ παρέχει καὶ γίνονται."  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ἐάν μὴ ἐπίσταται γράμματα, τί γίνεται;"  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Ἐάν μὴ ἐπίσταται μένει ἀνερέγγητος." 713B  
 1015 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ὁ θεὸς οὖν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ φαίνεται ποιῶν τὰ πάντα, ἢ σιω-  
 πῇ τινὶ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ;"  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πράγματι."  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Οὐκοῦν καὶ γέγραπται, *Τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώ-*  
*θησαν* καὶ τὰ ἔξῃς. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόγον εὐρίσκομεν ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκ  
 1020 σπέρματος Δαυὶδ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ γνωρίζομεν  
 αὐτὸν εἶναι ἕνα θεὸν σὺν τῷ πατρί τε καὶ τῷ πνεύματι καὶ πιστεύομεν εἰς αὐτόν. Σὺ οὖν  
 πῶς εἴρηκας αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι νεώτερον, οὐ χωρὶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τί ποτ' οὖν ἐργάζε-  
 σθαι οὐ πέφυκε; Σιώπα τοίνυν καὶ μὴ βλασφήμει, κἂν ἐπεὶ οὐ πιστεύεις." 713C  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Καὶ ποῖος προφήτης μοι προτρέπεται τοῦ πιστεῦειν εἰς αὐτόν;"  
 1025 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς σοὶ τοῦ νόμου προτρέπεται λέγων διὰ Ἡσα-  
 ἴου· *Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, φησίν, ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών λίθον πολυτελεῆ, καὶ ὁ πιστεῦν εἰς*  
*αὐτόν οὐ κατασχνυθήσεται.* Τοῦ θεοῦ σοι τοιγαροῦν προστάσσοντος, ἵνα πιστεῦῃς εἰς  
 αὐτόν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπωθεῖ καὶ καμύεις καὶ βύεις τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀναβάλλει τοῦ προσελθεῖν  
 σε αὐτῷ; Εἰ τοίνυν τὸν θεὸν σου παροργᾷς καὶ παροργίζῃ τῷ κελεύοντί σοι προσκυνεῖν τῷ

1018 τῷ – ἐστερεώθησαν Ps. 32.6 | 1026 ἰδοὺ – 1027 κατασχνυθήσεται Is. 28.16; cf. Rom. 8.33

#### X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1003 ὅτι μ θεῶ < LK N φησίν post νεωτέρω SHPTV, < μ ἀδυνατῶ] οὐ δύναμαι D ἀδύνατον  
 SHPTV τοῦ < HPT ὄλος] ὅτι HP οἶμαι ὄλος μ ἐμπλησθεὶς TV<sup>pc</sup> | 1004 γὰρ λόγον μ πατρός  
 καὶ θεοῦ V θεὸν < SHPTV | 1005 τὸν – 1006 δεδημιούργηται < SHPTV τοῦ < DAN μ τῶν <  
 DAN μ οὐ] ὃν D οὐ οὖν N | 1006 δεδημιούργηται X μ (post 1005 γῆ μ) τοῦδδε] τούτου HP  
 τοῦδδε + θεοῦ ὡς σύ φῆς μ ὁ < X ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ post 1007 κατεργάζεται μ | 1007 οὐκ  
 ἐργάζεται X οὐκ ἀπεργάζεται N καὶ < DAN μ πρόσσεχες X T προσέχεις LK SHP μοι] δὲ N μ, <  
 DA ἐνταῦθα] ἀκριβῶς DAN μ βασιλεύσῃ – 1008 δὲ] βασιλεὺς ἡ μ | 1008 ἄλλος] ὄλος N ἄλλος  
 μ μὴ] μήποτε X μήτε LK STV καὶ μήτε HP φθέγξασθαι μ | 1009 θεραπεύσουσιν SP | 1011 λέγει  
 < μ TV ἐν οὐδενί N οὐδὲν HP πλὴν < μ εἰ] εἴπερ DA ἐάνπερ N εἰ μὴ ante πολλάκις μ ἐάν T, <  
 LK | 1012 ἐπιτόμῳ] τῷ τόμῳ μ | 1013 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
 Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA S ἐάν δὲ K μ | 1014 λέγει < μ TV μένει + παντελῶς DAN μ |

believe in a new God', and when you said so you were filled completely with darkness, I think. For you call the word of God Father a new God, which was begotten from the Father before all times, through which heaven and earth and everything in it were created. I will show you that without this being new God Father does not work anything. And here listen to me: If a man is king, but is speechless being unable to say a single word, in which way will he make his commandments to the public and to the senate, so that they may please him?"

Herban said: "Actually there is no way, except perhaps that he knows to write and with silent mouth scratches his words in short on a board, presents them, and they are done."

The archbishop said: "What does happen if he does not know to write?"

Herban said: "If he does not know, he will remain inefficient."

The archbishop said: "Now does it appear that God performs all through his word, or silently and by a certain order?"

Herban said: "Through his word and deeds."

The archbishop said: "Now it is also written that *by the word of God heavens were made* and so on. Now we have found that this word has become a man in the last days from the seed of David for our salvation, and we know that he is one God together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, and we believe in him. Now how could you say that he is a new God, without whom God the Father does not work anything? Therefore be silent and do not slander, even if you do not believe."

Herban said: "And which prophet gives me the order to believe in him?"

The archbishop said: "The God of the law himself gives you this order saying through Isaiah: *Behold, I will throw a precious stone into the foundations of Zion, and he that believes in him will not be ashamed.* Therefore, since God gives you the order to believe in him, why do you cast him off, close your eyes and stop your ears and hesitate to come to him? So if you neglect your God and make him angry that ordered you to

1015 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < DA σύμπαντα SHPTV | 1017 λέγει < μ TV προστάγματι DAN μ Η | 1018 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S οὐκοῦν] οὕτως SHPTV οὐκοῦν καὶ < μ γέγραπται + ὅτι μ | 1019 καὶ – 1021 αὐτόν < SHPTV οὖν] δὲ μ | 1020 ἡμετέραν σωτηριαν Ν | 1021 εἶναι < μ θεὸν < X τῷ<sup>1</sup> < DAN τε καὶ τῷ] καὶ DAN μ | 1022 εἶναι < Τ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Ν ὁ < LK οὖν γὰρ X | 1023 κἄν] ἀνόητε XLK ἐπεὶ < Τ πιστεύεις εἰς αὐτόν μ | 1024 λέγει < μ TV μοι < Τ προτρέπεται μοι μ τοῦ < μ Τ | 1025 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V σοὶ post προτρέπεται μ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου μ τοῦ προφήτου Ἡσαίου SHPTV | 1026 Σιών] αὐτῶν Ν | 1027 τοῦ – 1028 αὐτόν < HP θεοῦ σου DAN σοὶ post προστάσσοντος LK DAN ἐπιτάσσοντος SHPTV πιστεύσης LK SHPTV | 1028 ἀπειθεὶς LK ἀπώθει DA ἀπωθεὶς μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ὦτα < SHPTV καμμύεις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς Ν ἀναβάλλειν SHPV | 1029 σε < μ SHPTV σε αὐτῷ] ἑαυτῷ Ν τοῖνον τὸν θεόν] τῷ θεῷ μ παραλογίζη DAN τῷ<sup>1</sup> < DAN SHPTV κελεύοντός σου μ σοὶ] σε HPTV προσκυνῆσαι XLK

- 1030 *ὕψω αὐτοῦ, ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐτέρω πώποτε εἰσακούσῃ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο; Οὐκ οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἂν χρονοτριβήσῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὰ τοῦ Μαθουσάλα ἔτη.* 713D
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὡς ὄρω, ὅτι καὶ οἱ προφήται εἰς τὰ πλεῖστα ἑαυτοῖς ἐναντιούμενοι εὐρίσκονται. Ἐν πσι γὰρ κεφαλαίοις ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις βοηθοῦντες εὐρίσκονται, ἔν πσι δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν.”
- 1035 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐδαμοῦ εὐρίσκονται ἀντεχόμενοι ἢ βοηθοῦντες Ἰουδαίοις, ὡς λέγεις, καταδικάζοντές τε μᾶλλον ἰκανῶς· ἐπειδὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς *σκληροτράχηλοι τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἀπερίμητοι τοῖς ὡσίν*, ἀπειθοῦντες τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύριον, *τῷ τε ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἀντιπίπτοντες* ἐλυπήσατε αὐτοῦ μεγάλως τὸ ὄνομα τὸ πανάγιον.” 716A
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίς ἀθροίσειε κομψὰ ῥήματα *ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης* καὶ συναντήσῃ σοι ἐν διαστροφαῖς τε καὶ λέξεσιν; Οὐκοῦν οὐκ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυσῆ ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου λέγων· *Ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κατέβην τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτούς*; Καὶ Μωσῆς δὲ οὐκ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι *εἰ εὗρον χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου*, φησί, καὶ *ὅτι λαός σου τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο, δεῖξον μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν*, καὶ ἀγαπῶν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, οἴτινες ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ; Καὶ 716B
- 1045 Βαλαάμ δὲ ὁ μετακληθεὶς παρὰ Βαλαὰκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀράσασθαι τοὺς προπάτορας ἡμῶν παρεμβεβληκότας ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτοῦ, θεασάμενος ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ λαὸς εἰσὶν, ἠὺλόγησεν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ κατηράσατο. Καὶ Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ λαοῦ πολέμῳ κραταιῷ οὐχὶ συναντήσας εἶρηκε τοῖς μεγίστοις στοιχείοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φωτοβολοῦσι· *Στήτω*, φησὶν, *ὁ ἥλιος* κατὰ μεσημβριαν καὶ ἡ σελήνη *κατὰ 716C*
- 1050 *Γαβαά*, ἕως ἂν ἐκτρίψω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κυρίου, καὶ ὑπήκουσαν φειδῶ τοῦ λαοῦ κυρίου; Καὶ τῷ Σαμουὴλ δὲ προσωμίλει ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἀγαπῶν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ πρόδῳλον. Καὶ Δαυὶδ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπεραλγῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔλεγε· *Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς συναγωγῆς σου, ἣς ἐκτίσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς· ἐλυτρώσω ῥάβδον κληρονομίας σου*. Καὶ 716C

1036 σκληροτράχηλοι – 1038 ἀντιπίπτοντες Acta 7.51; cf. Jer. 6.10 | 1039 ὑπὲρ – 1040 θαλάσσης cf. Gen. 22.17; Jer. 15.8 | 1041 ἰδὼν – 1042 αὐτούς Ex. 3.7–8 | 1042 εἰ – 1043 τοῦτο Ex. 33.13 | 1043 δεῖξον – δόξαν Ex. 33.18 | 1045 Βαλαάμ – 1047 κατηράσατο cf. Num. 22–24 | 1049 στήτω – 1050 κυρίου<sup>1</sup> cf. Ios. 10.13 | 1051 τῷ – θεός cf. 1 Reg. 3 et passim | 1052 μνήσθητι – 1053 σου<sup>2</sup> Ps. 73.2

#### XLKDAN μ SHPTV

1030 ἐμοῦ ἢ ἐτέρω μ ἤπερ DAN πότε SHPTV εἰσακούσεις LK N εἰσακούσειεν DA αὐτὸς] αὐτὸν X, < μ SHPTV ἐπὶ] εἰς μ οὐδ' ἂν] ἔάν V | 1031 τῆς < SHPTV ἔτη τοῦ Μαθουσάλα μ | 1032 λέγει < μ TV ὅτι < μ εἰς] ὡς T ἑαυτοῖς] αὐτῶν μ, < SHPTV | 1033 γὰρ – πσι<sup>2</sup> < N βοηθοῦντες εὐρίσκονται] βοηθοῦσιν SHPTV | 1034 τοῖς ἀπὸ < TV | 1035 ὁ < V ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἀντεχόμενοι ἢ < SHPTV ἤπερ DAN βοηθοῦν τοῖς μ | 1036 καταδικάζωσι τε N τε] δὲ L μ, < XL μάλα XLK ἰκανά DAN, < μ | 1037 ἐφαίνεσθε N ἀπειθοῦν HP ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ μ τὰ] τοῖς XLK τὸν – τε] θεὸν καὶ τῷ μ | 1038 αὐτοῦ post πανάγιον μ τὸ<sup>1</sup> – πανάγιον] τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα μ ἅγιον SHPTV | 1039 λέγει] ἔφη DAN S, < μ TV ἀθροίσει V κομψὰ ῥήματα < TV τὴν<sup>2</sup> – χεῖλος < TV | 1040 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV σοι < SHPTV οὐκοῦν < μ | 1041 Μωσῆ S λέγων < μ | 1042 αὐτούς] ἡμᾶς V Μωυσῆς DAN HP θεόν + λέγων X φάσκων LK ὅτι < μ εὗρω SHP | 1043 φησί post εὗρον X, < LK μ

worship his Son, will he ever listen to me or anybody else concerning this? I do not think so, not even if he would bide his time on earth for the lifetime of Methusela.”

Herban said: “As I see, also the prophets are found contradicting each other in many things. In some passages they are found to help us Jews, in others you nations.”

The archbishop said: “They are never found to support or to help the Jews, as you say, but rather condemn them sufficiently; because from the beginning *you have become stiff-necked in your heart and uncircumcised in your ears*, being disobedient towards the Lord *and resisting the Holy Ghost* you have greatly grieved his all-holy name.”

Herban said: “Who will be able to gather elegant words *above the sand of the sea-shore* to meet you in your distortions and speeches? Did not God say to Moses at the burning bush: *Behold, I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt and have come down to redeem them?* And did not Moses say to God, *If I have found grace before you, and That this nation is your people,*<sup>65</sup> *so show me your glory*, and God, loving his people, which we are, showed him his glory? And when Balaam was summoned to the King Balak to curse our forefathers who had invaded his land, he rather blessed them and did not curse them, seeing that they were God’s people. And when Joshua the son of Nun began a mighty war for the salvation of the people, did he not say to the great celestial bodies which shone on the firmament of heaven: *The sun shall stand still* in the south and the moon *upon Gibeon*, until I will have wiped out the enemies of the Lord, and they obeyed showing mercy to the people of the Lord?<sup>66</sup> And God also spoke to Samuel for the salvation of Israel, clearly because he loved his people. And did not King David say feeling pain for Israel: *Lord, remember your congregation which you*

φησί + ἴνα γνῶ N | 1044 οἵτινες ἐσμέν ἡμεῖς < SHPTV αὐτῶ < HP | 1045 δὲ < X παρά < D τοῦ Βαλακ τοῦ LK μ Βαλαὰκ DA μ καταράσασθαι SHPTV | 1046 παρεμβηθηκότας X παραβεθηκότας DA παραμβηθηκότας HP αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν DAN λαὸς τοῦ θεοῦ HP εἰσίν] ἦν DAN μ εὐλόγησεν XL D | 1047 οὐκ ἐκατηράσατο μ | 1048 οὐχὶ < SHPTV συναντήσας οὐχὶ μ εἶρηκε post στοιχείοις μ μεγίστοις < XLK τοῖς<sup>2</sup> – 1049 φωτοβολοῦσι < SHPTV | 1049 γὰρ φησὶν DAN φησὶν < μ SHPTV μεσημβριαν] Γαβαώ μ SHPTV | 1050 Γαβαώ] Γαβαώθ DAN φάραγμα μ φάραγος SHPTV ἕως – κυρίου<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV ἄν < μ τοῦ κυρίου<sup>1</sup> μ ὑπήκουσε μ φειδῶ] φόβῳ XLK | 1051 δὲ < XLK προσωμίλησεν μ | 1052 πρόδηλον < DAN μ δὲ < XLK μ οὐχ] οὐχὶ DAN μ, < SHPTV ὑπεραλγῶν] ὑπερπάσχων DAN ὑπὲρ SHPTV ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πάσχων μ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ] πάντας N | 1053 σου<sup>1</sup> < DAN ἐλυτρώσω – σου<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV ῥάβδῳ K

<sup>65</sup> These two sentences stand in the same verse Ex. 33.13, but do not follow immediately after each other, so that there is no continuous grammatical structure.

<sup>66</sup> Of Joshua’s direct speech, only the parts printed in *Italics* are actually taken from the Septuagint, where they form a continuous text. See the preceeding quotation at A 277–295, where the same incident is used for an entirely different purpose. — The word φειδῶ is here apparently a dative form of φειδώ (correctly φειδοῖ); φειδώ at B 1054 must be corrected to φειδου.

1055 Ἡλιού δὲ ὁ προφήτης οὐκ εἶρηκε πρὸς Ἀχαάβ λέγων· Φείδου τοῦ λαοῦ, *σὺ εἶ ὁ διαστρέ-*  
*φων τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός σου;* Καὶ Ἐλισσαῖος δὲ ὑπεραπολογούμενος τοῦ  
 λαοῦ εἶπε καθ' ἑαυτὸν· *Κύριε, φείσαι τοῦ λαοῦ σου,* καὶ ὅτι *ἐποίησε,* φησί, *κύριος κρίμα ἐν*  
*τῷ Ἰσραήλ καὶ οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι καὶ ὀδυνώμενος εἰμι ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.* Καὶ Ἱερεμίας δὲ  
 οὐκ εἶρηκεν ὀδυρόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ· Οἴμοι, κύριε, ἀπολεῖς σὺ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ Ἰσρα-  
 1060 *ήλ;* Καὶ Ἡσαΐας δέ, *Ποῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου, ὅτι ἀπ-*  
*έσχου ἡμῶν, κύριε; Σὺ γὰρ εἶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ οὐκ ἔγνω ἡμᾶς καὶ Ἰσραήλ οὐ*  
*προσέσχεν ἡμῖν· ἀλλὰ σὺ, κύριε, πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς. Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ'*  
*ἡμᾶς ἐστι. Τί ἐπλάνησας ἡμᾶς, κύριε, ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου;* Ἐσκληήρυνας τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν  
 τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι σε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Τούτων ἀπάντων ὑπερπασχόντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰσρα- 716D  
 ἡλ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων, πῶς αὐτὸς εἶρηκας, ὅτι καταδικάζωσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ προφῆται καὶ οὐχὶ  
 1065 βοηθῶσιν;”

Ἐπισημασθέντων· Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐ κατὰ τοιαύτην ἔμφασιν εἶρηκα ἐγὼ καταδικάζειν ὑμᾶς  
 ἢπερ βοηθεῖν τοὺς προφῆτας. Τὰ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν παρήκα· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τέλους ὄρα.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τίνα εἰσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τέλους, ἀνάγγειλον.”

1070 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν ῥήματι σοι Ἡσαΐας προφητείας σαφηνίσειεν ἔξω τοῦ διη- 717A  
 γήσασθαι, καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαι ἔχεις σφόδρα.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διήγησαι μάλα μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος.”

1075 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν θεασάμενος ὑμῶν τὸν ἐξαίσιον 717B  
 ὄγκον τῶν πλημμελημάτων πόρρωθεν βλέπων ὄμμασι προφητείας, καὶ ὅτι οὐκέτι ἔξετε  
 σταθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἰουδαϊκοῖς χαρακτήρησιν, ἂν τῷ νέῳ νόμῳ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ προσέλθετε, λέγων· *Ἄκουε, οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου, ἡ γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν·*  
*Υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δέ με ἠθέτησαν.* Πρόσεχε ἵνα συνιῆς καὶ ἰλιγγιάσης.  
*Ἔγνω, φησί, βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον αὐτὸν πριάματι καὶ ὄνος συνῆκε τὴν φάτιν τοῦ* 717B

1054 σὺ – 1055 Ἰσραήλ 3 Reg. 18.18 | 1056 κύριε – σου I Joel 2.17; Esther 4.17–18 ἐποίησε –  
 1057 ἡμέραν §, cf. Ps. 9.17 | 1058 οἴμοι – Ἰσραήλ § | 1059 ποῦ – 1063 σε Is. 63.15–17 |  
 1075 ἄκουε – 1076 ἠθέτησαν Is. 1.2 | 1077 ἔγνω – 1079 συνῆκεν Is. 1.3

**X L K D A N μ S H P T V** | 1060 πατήρ] [C

1054 δὲ < μ SHPTV οὐκ εἶρηκε < SHPTV λέγων < N SHPTV φείδου] φειδῶ codd. (φειδοῖ μ) |  
 1055 καί<sup>2</sup> – 1057 ἡμέραν < SHPTV Ἐλισσαῖε DAN μ δὲ < μ | 1056 ἑαυτοῦ K ὅτε N κύριος <  
 DN | 1057 ὁ Ἱερεμίας μ δὲ < SHPTV | 1058 οὐκ εἶρηκεν] ἔλεγεν post λαοῦ SHPTV ἀπολέσεις  
 DAN μ ἀπόλλεις SHPTV | 1059 τοῦ – καὶ < SHPTV σου<sup>1</sup> + κύριε μ καὶ – 1060 Ἰσραήλ < μ ὅτι  
 – 1060 κύριε < SHPTV ἀνέσχου DA ἠνέσχου N | 1060 ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup>] ἡμῖν DA οὐ προσέσχεν] ὅτι  
 ἀπέσχον μ | 1061 ἀλλὰ σὺ κύριε] σὺ γὰρ εἶ μ πάτερ X ἡμῶν + εἶ N ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς < SHPTV ἀπ' –  
 1062 σου] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς X ἀρχῆς + κύριε μ | 1062 ἐστι – ἡμᾶς<sup>2</sup> < C ἐστι – 1063 σε <  
 SHPTV ἡμᾶς<sup>2</sup> < N κύριε < μ ὁδοῦ CLK τὴν καρδίαν μ | 1063 σε < K A ὑπάντων HP  
 πασχόντων L<sup>PK</sup> λαοῦ < N SHPTV | 1064 καὶ ἀπολογουμένων < SHPTV αὐτὸς] σὺ SHPTV  
 καταδικάζουσιν X μ SHPTV ἡμᾶς + μάλλον DAN καὶ οὐχὶ βοηθῶσιν < SHPTV οὐχὶ + μάλλον  
 μ | 1065 βοηθοῦσιν X N μ | 1066 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόρι-  
 ος V ἔφη < C | 1067 ἢπερ βοηθεῖν < μ τοὺς προφῆτας post 1066 ἐγὼ μ παρήκαν DAN  
 SHPTV παρήλθον μ ἐπὶ τέλους δὲ SHPTV τέλει N | 1068 λέγει] ἔφη DAN S, < μ TV τί

*have possessed, from the beginning; you have redeemed the rod of your inheritance? And did not the prophet Elijah say to Ahab: Spare your people,<sup>67</sup> for you are the one that troubles Israel, <you> and the house of your father? And Elisha said to himself defending the people: Lord, spare your people, and the Lord, he said, judged in Israel, and did not reveal me, and I am suffering pain all day long. And did not Jeremiah say lamenting over the people: Woe is me, Lord, you let the remnant of Israel perish? And Isaiah: Where is the magnitude of your mercy and compassion, that you keep away from us, Lord? For you are our Father, since Abraham did not know us and Israel did not care for us; but you, Lord our Father, redeem us. From the beginning your name is upon us. Why did you lead us astray, Lord, from your way? You hardened our heart so that we did not fear you and so on. If all these suffered for the people of Israel and defended them, how did you say that the prophets condemn us and do not help us?"*

The archbishop said: "I did not say with such an emphasis that he condemned you, than that he helped the prophets. For I omitted the things before; look on those in the end."

Herban said: "And which are those in the end, tell me."

The archbishop said: "If Isaiah would explain clearly one word of his prophecy outside of his narration, you would become deeply irritated."

Herban said: "Tell it without hesitation."

The archbishop said: "Isaiah spoke about you because he saw the extraordinary weight of your trespasses, looking from far away with the eyes of prophecy, and that you would not be able to stand on your former feet by your Jewish rites, if you would come to the new law of Christ, and said: *Hear, heaven, and listen, earth, for the Lord has spoken: I begot sons and brought them up, but they have despised me.* Listen so that you may understand and be irritated. *The ox knows his owner*, he says, that has bought him, *and the ass considers the crib of his master*, where he is fed daily. *But Israel*, he

SHPTV ἀνάγγελόν μοι DAN μ | 1069 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C, λέγει S ἐν] ἦν C ῥῆμα σοι] ῥήμασιν CX V Ἑσσαίας] ἡ μίας DAN SHPV ἐν μίας μ ἐν μίας T σαφῆνισιν DAN μ, < SHPTV ἔξω – 1070 καὶ] ἐξ οὗ διηγουμένου σοι CXLK | 1071 λέγει < μ TV διήγησαι + μοι ἂν X, + καὶ LK μάλα] μάλλον DAN μ, < SHPTV μῆθ᾽ ἐν CLK | 1072 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C εἶπεν οὖν DA ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> post 1073 πλημμελημάτων, θεασάμενος < N ὑμῶν θεασάμενος post 1073 πλημμελημάτων μ θεασάμενος – 1075 λέγων < SHPTV | 1073 βλέπων < DAN μ οὐκέτι] οὐκ μ | 1074 σταθῆναι μ ὑμῶν ποδῶν μ ἂν] εἰ μὴ C μ ἐν τῷ μ | 1075 προσήθετε CX, < DAN μ ἡ < X A S | 1076 συνιῆς] συνῆς SHPTV συνιῆς καὶ] συνιών CXLK καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SV | 1077 φησί < C αὐτὸν + ἄνθρωπον DAN μ (αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ A) αὐτὸν πριάματι < SHPTV πριάματι N πριάμενον μ συνῆκε post 1078 αὐτοῦ μ

<sup>67</sup> These words are apparently intended as the beginning of the quotation, but are missing in the Septuagint. The following text actually consists of Ahab's question and a phrase of Elijah's answer.

κυρίου αὐτοῦ, εἰς ἣν τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην χορτίζεται. Ἰσραὴλ δέ με, φησίν, οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ  
 λαός με οὐ συνῆκεν. Ὁρᾷς πῶς καὶ μειζόνως τῶν κτηνῶν ἀπέδειξεν εἶναι ὑμᾶς ἀναισθητο-  
 1080 τέρους; Καὶ ἐπάγει· Οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν. Οὐ λέγει· Οὐαὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐφάμαρτος, ἐξεπέσα-  
 τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκειότητος. Ἀλλὰ τίνα λέγει· Οὐαὶ φησιν, ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν,  
 λαός πλήρης ἀμαρτιῶν, οὐκ ἐν μέρει, ἀλλὰ πλήρης· σπέρμα οὐκέτι τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλὰ  
 σπέρμα πονηρόν· υἱοὶ οὐκέτι τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὅτι υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα, ἀλλ' υἱοὶ  
 ἄνομοι, φησί. Καὶ προστίθησι τὴν ἄρνησιν· Ἐγκατελίπατε, λέγων, τὸν κύριον καὶ παρ-  
 1085 ωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Ὅρα προφητεῖαν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας· Οὐ μόνον ἐγκατελί-  
 πατε, φησίν, ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν ἐλθόντα ὡς ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν κύριον 717c  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σταυρώσαντες. Τί  
 ἐπλήγητε τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου προσπιθέντες ἀνομίας; Οὐκ ἤρκεσε, φησίν, ὁ πρό-  
 τερος ὄγκος τῶν πλημμελημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι βλασφημοῦντες καὶ ποινὰς τῷ μονογενεῖ  
 1090 υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ προσάγοντες πλεονάζετε ἐπὶ ταῖς κορυφαῖς ὑμῶν τὴν ἀνομίαν; Πᾶσα  
 κεφαλὴ εἰς πόνον· ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἦσαν εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τινὲς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ὅτι  
 οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐλάττω τί ἡμάρτανον, ἀλλ' ἐμπόνως, φησί, καὶ ἐν πονηρίᾳ· καὶ πᾶσα καρδία  
 εἰς λύπην. Ἐκαστος κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐλυπεῖτο ἐκ φθόνου καὶ μῆνιδος καὶ κακίας  
 1095 διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν καὶ ψυγῆναι ἐν ὑμῖν τὴν ἀγάπην παντελῶς. Ἀπὸ ποδῶν 717d  
 ἕως κεφαλῆς φησίν, ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπλῶς ἠνόμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ Ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἕως κεφαλῆς  
 αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὀλοκληρία, οὔτε τραῦμα ἐν μέρει, οὔτε μώλωψ, οὔτε πληγὴ 720A  
 φλεγμαινοῦσα ἐν πέρατι τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω βαθεῖα ἀρρωστία καὶ  
 ὀδύνη ἀκυρίευτος καὶ νόσος ἀθεράπευτος. Οὐκ ἔστι τέχνη ἢ πείρα ὠφελούσα πρὸς  
 1100 ἰατρειάν, οὐκ ἔστι μάλαγμα ἐπιθεῖναι οὔτε ἔλαιον διὰ τὸ ἐπίμονον τῆς ἀμαρτίας, οὐκ ἔστι  
 καταδέσμους ποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ ἀμετανόητον. Ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν ἔρημος, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τὰ γήινα σκη-  
 νώματα ὡς ἀλλότρια τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐφάμαρτα· ναὸς γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 εἶπερ εὐσεβῆ ἄνθρωπος. Αἱ πόλεις ὑμῶν πυρίκαυστοι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν αἱ συναγωγαὶ παράνο-

1080 οὐαὶ – 1085 Ἰσραὴλ Is. 1.4 | 1090 πᾶσα – 1091 πόνον Is. 1.5 | 1092 καί<sup>2</sup> – 1093 λύπην  
 ibid. | 1094 διὰ – παντελῶς cf. Mt. 24.12 | 1096 ἀπὸ – 1098 φλεγμαινοῦσα Is. 1.6 | 1100 οὐκ<sup>1</sup> –  
 1101 καταδέσμους ibid. | 1102 ναὸς – 1103 ἄνθρωπος cf. 1 Cor. 3.16–17 | 1103 αἱ<sup>1</sup> –  
 πυρίκαυστοι Is. 1.7

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1078 εἰς ἣν] εἰσὶν A εἰς – χορτίζεται < N ἣν < SHPTV τὸ < X μ χορτάζεται DA μ χορτίζεσθαι  
 SHP χωρίζεσθαι TM φησίν < μ SHPTV | 1079 με] μου C N μ SHPTV ὄρᾳς] ἄς H πῶς] ὅτι N,  
 < SHPTV καὶ < CXLK DA μειζόνως < μ ἀπέδειξεν] ἀνταμείβει C, < DAN μ SHPTV εἶπεν  
 ἀναισθητοτέρους ὑμᾶς μ | 1080 ἐπάγει + πάλιν CXL λέγων K οὐ – 1081 ἀμαρτωλόν < μ ἐξ-  
 ἐπέσατε – 1081 οἰκειότητος < N SHPTV | 1081 τίνα] τί TV, < SHP | 1082 λαός πλήρης ἀμαρτι-  
 ῶν < CXLK ἀνομιῶν μ οὐκ – πλήρης<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔστ' X τοῦ < μ | 1083 σπέρμα < μ  
 τοῦ < N καθὼς – ἐγέννησα < SHPTV εἶπεν < N ὅτι < C μ ἐγέννησα + καὶ ὕψωσα, αὐτοὶ δέ με  
 ἠθέτησαν C ἀλλ' ἄλλα SHPTV | 1084 ἐγκατελίπετε μ λέγων – παρωργίσατε < SHPTV |  
 1085 Ἰσραὴλ + σταυρώσαντες DAN μ + μάτην N προφητείας μ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας < SHPTV |

says, *did not know me and the people did not consider me*. Do you see how he demonstrates that you are more insensible than the animals? And he goes on: *Woe, sinful nation*. He does not say: *Woe, sinful Israel, you have dropped out of your familiarity to God*. But what does he say: *Woe, sinful nation, people full of sins*, not in parts, but full, seed no more of Abraham, but *wicked seed*, sons no more of God, as he said in the beginning, I have begotten sons, but *unlawful sons*, he says. And he adds the denial saying: *You have forsaken the Lord and made the holy one of Israel angry*. See a prophecy with certainty: You have not only forsaken, he says, and denied the one that came in your midst as a man, that is our Lord Jesus Christ, but also have *made the holy one of Israel angry* by crucifying him. Why were you stricken in your heart by the devil, adding other sins? Was the former weight of trespassings not enough, he says, but you still multiply the sins on your heads, slandering the only begotten Son of God and afflicting punishments on him? *Every head feels pain*, that you may not say, that some of you were faithful and some unfaithful, and that they did not simply do sins in a smaller degree, but painfully, he says, and wickedly, and *every heart is in sorrow*. Everybody was grieved against his neighbour through envy and wrath and badness, for iniquities became great and love among you became completely cold. He says *from the feet unto the head*, so that you do not say that simply the common people have sinned, but also the king himself and his senate. For this is the meaning of the word *From the feet unto their head there is no soundness in you, nor a wound in a part nor a weal nor a inflamed stroke* at an end of the body, but from the top until below, deep sickness and overmastering pain and unhealable disease. There is no art or experience which helps in treatment, *there is no ointment nor oil to put on* because of the persistence of sin, *there is no bandage* that could be applied because of your lack of repentance. *Your land is desolate*, that is, the earthly dwellings,<sup>68</sup> being estranged to the Holy Ghost because they are sinful; for if a man is faithful, he is a temple of God. *Your cities are burned*

1086 φησιν ἀρνησάμενοι < SHPTV τοῦτ' ἔστι < SHPTV τὸν<sup>2</sup> – 1087 Χριστόν post 1087 σταυρώσαντες SHPTV | 1087 σταυρώσαντες μάτην DAN μ | 1088 τῆ] τὴν N πληγέντες ἀνομίαις SHPTV ἀνομίαν N πρῶτος SHPTV | 1089 και<sup>1</sup> < LK ἐπὶ τῷ DA μ | 1090 προσοίσοντες CX προσοίσονται SHPTV ante πᾶσα + και πρόσεχε N | 1091 πόνον + φησίν N ὅτι<sup>1</sup> + και DAN μ, < SHPTV ἦσαν] ὑπήρχον CXLK και τινές ἀσεβεῖς < CXLK ὅτι<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV | 1092 ἔλαττον τι μ ἐν πόνω μ ἐμπόνω TV φησί post πονηρία μ πονηρία + ἐπίγαγεν N | 1093 μήνης CX DA μήνιδος και κακίας] μηνισκακίας SHPTV | 1094 και διὰ LK παντελῶς τὴν ἀγάπην ἐν ὑμῖν C παντελῶς] τῶν πολλῶν μ | 1095 φησίν – 1097 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> < TV ἀπλῶς < SHPTV ἠνόμηκεν N | 1097 αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> < SHP ἐπ' ἐν N αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup>] αὐτοῖς DAN μ ὀλιγοκληρία L ὀλιγοκληρία K οὔτε<sup>1</sup>] οὐδέ DA μ οὔτε<sup>3</sup> – 1098 σώματος < SHPTV | 1099 και < C και νόσος ἀθεράπευτος < DAN μ ὠφελούσα πρὸς] πρὸς ὄφελος C | 1100 οὐκ<sup>1</sup> – 1101 ἀμετανόητον < SHPTV | 1102 ἐφάρματα S | 1103 εἶπερ εὐσεβῆ] ὁ εὐσεβῆς μ τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἤγουν μ πονηραὶ συναγωγαὶ DAN μ παράνομοι] πονηραὶ CXLK

<sup>68</sup> That is, the bodies of men.



- μοι ὡς ἀνειμέναι φλογὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι βουλήν θεοπραγίας ἐκέισε, ἀλλὰ λοιμοῦ  
 1105 καὶ πονηρίας πυρκαϊᾶν ἐν τοῖς συνδυάσμασιν ἀναπτομένην. *Τὴν χώραν ὑμῶν ἐνώπιον  
 ὑμῶν ἀλλότριον ἐσθίουσιν* ἤγουν τὸν ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, δηλονότι οἱ πονη- 720b  
 ροὶ δαίμονες διὰ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν τε καὶ ματαίων ὡς ἀλλότριον κατεσθίουσιν· *καὶ ἠρή-  
 μωται κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ λαῶν ἀλλοτρίων*, τοῦτ' ἔστι κακοπραγιῶν. Προσέχεις, Ἐρβᾶν,  
 τίνα Ἡσαΐας λέγει· τὴν παντελῆ ἐγκατάλειψιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀναχώρησιν.”
- 1110 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διέλθε ἔτι κατωτέρω τὴν προφητείαν καὶ εὐρήσεις.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τίνα εὐρήσομεν; Οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ πάντως τὴν σὴν ἀκριβε-  
 στέραν κατάλυσιν.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅμιλε τοίνυν, καὶ εἴσομεν τίς ἢ ἡμετέρα κατάλυσις.”
- 1115 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ θέλεις, πρόσεχε. *Ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται*, φησὶν, *ἡ θυγάτηρ* 720c  
*Σιών ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὄπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηλάτῳ καὶ ὡς πόλις πολιορκου-  
 μένη*. Οὐκοῦν τί ἔχεις ὁμιλήσαι πρὸς ταῦτα; Ὡσπερ, φησὶν, οἱ ἐν ταῖς καλύβαις οἰκοῦντες  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελώνας αὐτῶν φυλάσσοντες καὶ τὰ σικυήλατα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ πάντως διὰ  
 1120 τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ καρποῦ ἐκείθεν τρυγηθέντος ἐρήμους τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ δραγάται  
 καὶ ἀοικήτους καταλιπόντες αὐτάς, φημί τὰς καλύβας, ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναχωροῦσιν καὶ  
 οὐκέτι γυμνὴν καρπῶν τὴν ἀμπελον παραφυλάττουσιν ἢ τὸ σικυήλατον· οὕτω πεποίηκεν  
 1125 καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν. Μέχρις ὅτε γὰρ ὀπωσοῦν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ καρπὸν νομίμως ἐφέρετε ὡς ἀγαθὸς φύλαξ καὶ τιμώτατος δραγάτης τοῦ ναοῦ, ὡς  
 720d ἄλλης σκηνῆς αὐτῷ ἀπρητισμένης, ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικῶν ὁ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν ἐφύλαττε τὰς  
 φυλάς ὑμῶν. Ὅποταν δὲ παντάπασιν ἐμείνατε ἄκαρποι καὶ ἐβλαστήσατε μεγάλην ἀνο-  
 μίαν, ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἀνιάτρευτον καὶ τὸ ἀδιόρθωτον ὑμῶν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕτερον  
 1125 τρόπον ἐπινοήσας ὑμῖν σωτηρίας τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν σωτήρα καὶ λυτρωτὴν, εἶπερ  
 καὶ ἐδέξασθε, ἐξαπέστειλεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μὴ ὠφελήσαντες οὔτε ἐν τῇ χάριτι

1105 τὴν – 1108 ἀλλοτρίων *ibid.* | 1114 ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται – 1116 πολιορκουμένη *Is.* 1.8

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1104 ἀνειμένον μ ἀνειμέναι SHPV ἐν τῷ] διὰ τὸ μ ἐν – θεοπραγίας < SHPTV ἀλλὰ – 1105  
 ἀναπτομένην < SHPTV | 1105 καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς C ἀπτομένην C ἀναπτομένην – ἐνώπιον < N ἐνώ-  
 πιον ὑμῶν < SHPTV | 1106 ἀλλότριον ἐσθίουσιν] ἀλλοτρίων κατεσθίουσιν μ ἤγουν – 1108  
 κακοπραγιῶν < SHPTV διάνοιαν ὑμῶν N δηλονότι < μ | 1107 διὰ – ἀλλότριον < μ ῥυπαρῶν]  
 πονηρῶν X DA λογισμῶν post ματαίων C τε < N κατεσθίουσιν μ | 1108 κατεσκαμμένη DAN μ  
 ἀλλοτρίων + ὁ νοῦς σὺν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίων DAN μ (καὶ ἡ καρδία μ) τοῦτ' ἔστι < μ ὦ Ἐρ-  
 βᾶν DAN μ | 1109 τίνα] πῶς μ τί SHPTV ὁ Ἡσαΐας μ | 1110 λέγει] < TV ἔτι < DA τὴν  
 προφητείαν] τοῦ λόγου S τὸν λόγον HPTV, < μ | 1111 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V τίνα] τί SHP, + ἔφη μ εὐρήσομαι ἢ μ οὐθὲν CXLK, < T οὐδὲν  
 ἕτερον < N σὴν + ἔτι XLK N ἀκριβεστάτην μ | 1113 λέγει < μ TV τοίνυν < μ καὶ] ἴνα C ἴν'  
 XLK εἴσομεν τίς] ἴδωμεν τίς ἐστὶν CXLK | 1114 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V | 1115 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – σικυηλάτῳ < SHPTV σικυηράτῳ A | 1116 τί σὺ  
 DAN σὺ τί μ ὁμιλήσαι πρὸς ταῦτα] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποφθέγγασθαι DAN μ πρὸς – φησὶν < N  
 ὡσπερ οὖν DA ὡσπερ γὰρ μ οἱ < HP ἐν ταῖς] ἐπὶ N καλύβις D μ | 1117 αὐτῶν < SHPTV  
 φυλάσσοντες] φυλάσσοντας HP σικυηράτα DA ἰκηλάτα S σικυηλάτα V ἐτέρων SHPTV

with fire, that is your unlawful congregations, being inflamed with the fire of sin, for there is no counsel of divine action, but plague and the fire of wickedness which is ignited in the copulations. *Foreigners eat up your land in your presence*, that is the inner man and the mind, namely the wicked demons will eat you up like foreigners through dirty and vain reasonings; *and it is desolate, destroyed by foreign people*, that is evil deeds. Listen, Herban, to what Isaiah says, namely the complete desolation of God and his separation from you.”

Herban said: “Go through the prophecy below, and you will find it.”

The archbishop said: “What should we find? Nothing else than precisely at all events your dissolution.”

Herban said: “Speak, and we will see which is our dissolution.”

The archbishop said: “If you want, listen. *The daughter of Zion will be left*, he says, *like a tent in a vineyard and like a hut in a garden of cucumbers and like a besieged city*. Now what do you have to say about this? Just as those that dwell in the huts, he says, guard their vineyards and gardens of cucumbers for nothing else than, at all events, because of their fruits, and when the fruit has been harvested from there, these farm-workers return home leaving them, I mean the huts, desolate and uninhabited henceforth and do not watch a grape-vine empty of fruit or a garden of cucumbers, so also did God do with your congregation. For as long as you brought forth lawful fruit in any way whatever before the arrival of Christ. He that fulfills all guarded your tribes as a good watcher and most worthy farm-worker of the temple, dwelling in it just as if another tent had been detached for him. But when you remained entirely fruitless and brought forth great sin, God saw how unhealable and irremediable you are with regard to the law, and contriving another way to salvation for you, he sent out to you his only begotten Son as your saviour and redeemer, if you only would receive him. But since you had not done what is required by law, you were not distinguished in grace either,

πάντως διὰ < C | 1118 αὐτῶν + φυλάξαι C τοὺς δὲ καρπούς X δὲ < K μ ἐκεῖθεν < μ ἐκεῖθεν  
 τρυγηθέντος] ἐκεῖ θέντος X τρυγηθέντος] ἀρθέντος C τοῦ λοιποῦ SHPTV οἱ – 1119 ἀοικήτους  
 < μ | 1119 καταλιμπάνοντες CXLK αὐτούς SHPTV αὐτὰς φημί < μ ἀναχωρῶσιν C | 1120 καρ-  
 πῶν post ἄμπελον LK, < CX D μ ἢ τὸ σικυήλατον < SHPTV τῷ σικυηράτῳ DA τῶν σικυηλάτων  
 N οὕτως DAN πέφυκεν DAN μ | 1121 καὶ < D SHPTV καὶ ὁ θεός] ὁ θεός καὶ C, < N τῇ  
 συναγωγῇ DAN μ ὅτου X μ ὡς ὅπως οὖν CX DA εἰς ὅπως οὖν S οἶσω πῶς οὖν V, < HPT  
 ὅπως οὖν post Χριστοῦ μ πρό – Χριστοῦ < SHPTV τοῦ < K N | 1122 νομίμως post 1121 ὅτε T,  
 < HP καὶ τιμώτατος δραγάτης < μ | 1123 αὐτῷ ἀπηρτισμένης < CX ἐν < X ἐφύλασσε TV |  
 1124 φυλάξ] σκηνάς N | 1125 ὅ] ὡς X ἀδιάτρεπτον SHPTV καὶ τὸ ἀδιόρθωτον < μ τὸ<sup>3</sup> < μ |  
 1126 ἐπινοήσας τρόπον CX ἐπινοίας CX σωτηρίας ἐπινοήσας ὑμῖν SHPTV αὐτοῦ + ὑμῖν CXL  
 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μ SHPTV καὶ σωτήρα μ V καὶ – 1127 ἐδέξασθε < μ λυτρωτὴν + ὑμῖν S εἴπερ καὶ  
 ἐδέξασθε < DAN T | 1127 δέξασθε C ἐδέξασθε V ἐξαπέστειλας CX ἐξαποστειλάς μ δὲ <  
 SHPTV ὠφεληθέντες μ

1130 εὐδοκίμησατε, ἀπάρας ὁ θεὸς ἀνεχώρησεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ἐχώρησε, καὶ ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς Ἰσραὴλ νέον καὶ κατεκληρονόμησεν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Οὐκοῦν ἐγκατελείφθητε ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηλάτῳ καὶ ὡς πόλις δεινῶς ὑπὸ πάντων πολιορκουμένη. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς κύνες ἀδιάντροποι ἀναισχυντεῖτε φλυαροῦντες καὶ θεομαχοῦντες, ἐπεὶ λόγον τὸν οἰοῦν εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχετε.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Λέγε τὴν προφητείαν, ὡς λέγεις, καὶ οἴσεις ἀνωτέρω.”

1135 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ τί λέγει μετὰ ταῦτα; Πάντως τάδε· Καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος, φησὶν, ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἃν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἃν ὠμοιώθημεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἱκανὸν ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐ παντελῶς ἡμᾶς ἐξωλόθρευσε κύριος, ἀλλὰ σπέρμα ἡμῖν ἐγκατέλιπε. Τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα, ὃ λέγει ὅτι παρὰ κυρίου ἐγκατελείφθη, ἔστι πάντως ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν οἱ ἀρτίως διασκορπισμένοι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ φυλασσόμενοι, ἵνα ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ σπέρματος ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀνασπαρθῇ καὶ πλησθήσονται αἱ ἄρουραι τῆς καλλίστης φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἧγουν ἡ δωδεκάφυλλος κληματὶς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς Ἰουδαίας.”

1145 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοσαῦτα ἀναστομωθεὶς περὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου οὐδέπω τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἔστειλας; Ὅμως γοῦν τί σοι τὰς μέμψεις προσάγωμεν; Κυνὸς γὰρ τόπον ἐπέχεις· ἔθος δὲ τοῖς κυναρίοις ῥαβδίζεσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ ἔπειτα χρωμένοις ἐπλελεῖσθαι τῶν ῥαβδισμῶν τῶν προτέρων καὶ τῆς οἰκίας πάλιν ἔνδον εἰσβάλλειν, καὶ μετέπειτα τύπτεσθαι καὶ ἐξωθεῖσθαι. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα

1135 και<sup>2</sup> – 1136 ὠμοιώθημεν Is. 1, 9

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1128 ἠὐδοκίμησατε L ἀφ' ὑμῶν καὶ < μ πρὸς] εἰς μ ἐχώρησε < μ | 1129 αὐτὰ μ αὐτὸν SHPTV νέον Ἰσραὴλ HP νέον + ἧγουν ὡς ἀληθῶς νοῦν ὀρώντα θεόν· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σημαίνει ὄνομα N αὐτοῦς T | 1130 τὰ < V οὐκοῦν] οὐ DA | 1131 και<sup>1</sup> – σικυηλάτῳ < SHPTV σικυηράτῳ A δεινῶς post πολιορκουμένη DA, < N μ ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ C ὑπὸ πάντων < DAN μ πολιορκουμένη + infra π N | 1132 ἀδιάντροποι DA STV, < μ ἀναισχυντοῦντες φλυαρεῖτε καὶ θεομαχεῖτε C | 1133 τὸ SHPTV ἔχητε N | 1134 λέγει < μ TV λέγε + μοι DAN μ ὡς λέγεις < μ οἴση κατωτέρω μ | 1135 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V και<sup>1</sup> < μ τί] τίνα DAN μ μετὰ] ἀπὸ DAN μ SHPTV τάδε] ταῦτα SHPTV φησὶν post ἡμῖν SHP, post σπέρμα TV, < μ | 1136 ἐγενήθητε – ὀμοιώθητε μ | 1137 λέγει] ἔφη N, < μ TV γὰρ τὸ < μ τὸ < DA HP | 1138 κατελείφθη CLK AN ἐκατελείφθη X | 1139 ἔστι < μ ὅτι < μ SHPTV ἡμεῖς γὰρ SHPTV ἐσμέν ἡμεῖς N ἀρτίως < T διεσκορπισμένοι X μ διασκορπισθέντες TV | 1140 ἴν' μ τῶν < SV ἀναρπασθῇ CX | 1141 πλησθήσεται C πληρωθήσονται SHPTV ἀροῦραι C N HV ἡ – 1142 Ἰουδαίας] αἱ πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῆς δωδεκαφύλου κληματῆδος τοῦ λαοῦ μ | 1142 πόλεσι + τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἦτοι C | 1143 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA S ἀναστομώσης TV περὶ < μ τῆς ἐλπίδος < SHPTV τοῦ σκοποῦ < HP τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου] ταύτης μ | 1144 ἀναίδειαν ταύτην DAN ἀνέστειλας LK DAN μ γοῦν < μ τί – 1145 ἐπέχεις < SHPTV | 1145 δὲ] γὰρ N μ SHPTV, + αἰ DAN μ κυσὶ DAN μ και<sup>1</sup> – ἐλαύνεσθαι < SHPTV | 1146 ἔπειτα] πάλιν DAN μ τοὺς ῥαβδισμοὺς DAN τὸν πρότερον SHPTV, < DAN μ πάλιν < μ | 1147 ἔνδον < X εἰσβάλλει DA καὶ μετέπειτα] εἶτα μ τύπτεσθαι + πάλιν DAN ἐξωθεῖσθαι SHP

and God departed from you and went to the nations, and they received him and he called them the new Israel and bequeathed all your things to them, and the kingdom of heaven. So you *were left like a tent in a vineyard and like a hut in a garden of cucumbers and like a city which is besieged* terribly by everyone<sup>69</sup>. And therefore you are like shameless dogs, talking nonsense and fighting against God, for you do not have any word whatsoever for your excuse.”

Herban said: “State the prophecy, as you say, and you will carry it up.”<sup>70</sup>

The archbishop said: “And what does he say after that? At all events that which follows: *And if God had not left us behind a seed, we would have become like Sodom and would have been made similar to Gomorrah.*”

Herban said: “For this is adequate for us, that the Lord did not destroy us completely, but left us a seed behind. For the seed, about which he says that it was left behind by the Lord, is at all events that we are those that were recently scattered in all the world, but kept safe, so that from the small seed the Promised Land will be sown again in the last days, and the fields of the most beautiful tribe of Israel, that is of the twelve-leaved wine-twig of the people in the cities of Judah, will be filled.”

The archbishop said: “Having been disappointed so often in your hope to achieve this goal, did you still not give up your shamelessness? But why after all should we inflict reproaches on you? For you take the place of a dog: It is a custom of the dogs to be beaten and thrown out of the house, and then, being shameless, to forget the beats they suffered before and to enter the house again, and thereafter to be beaten and thrust

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1131 □ Σικυήλατον οὖν ἐστὶ τόπος προσκαίρων καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιων καρπῶν ὁ ἰστικὸς τέρψιν τινὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειαν παρεχομένη. Τοιοῦτος δὲ καὶ ὁ νόμος ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔχων τὴν χρῆσιν· πρόσκαιρος γὰρ ἢ λατρεία καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνθήσασα· εἶτα τῇ ἀληθινήν καὶ στερεωτέραν τροφήν, ἤγουν τῇ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίαν τὴν πολιτείαν παραδέδωκε. *Ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται οὖν ἡ Σιών ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον*· ὀπωροφυλάκιον οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ φυλακτῆριον τῆς ὀπώρας· ἡ δὲ ὀπώρα οὐχὶ στερεὰ τροφή καὶ μόνιμος, ἀλλὰ ἀπαλή καὶ πρόσκαιρος. Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὁ νόμος ὑμῶν μίγμα ἔχων λατρείας καὶ οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

<sup>69</sup> Addition of N:

□ Now *a garden of cucumbers* is a place for the culture of temporary fruits which last shortly and offer rather delight than benefit. Such is also the law which is used shortly, for the veneration <of it> is temporary and blooms only a short time; then he handed the state over to the true and more solid food, that is that according to the teaching of the Gospel. *Zion will be left like a hut*: A hut is the place where the fruit is kept, and the fruit is not a solid and stable food, but tender and temporary. Such is your law which contains a hotchpotch of the <old> rite and not truth itself.

<sup>70</sup> The sense of this idiomatic expression is unclear.

- σοῦ τύψω τὴν ἀναίδειαν καὶ δείξω, ὅτι εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην ληρωδεῖς. Δείξω σοι δὲ ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ 721c  
 εἰς τριάδα βαπτισθῆτε, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Τὸ μὲν, ὅτι *Εἰ μὴ κύριος ἐγκατέλιπεν*  
 1150 *ὑμῖν σπέρμα*, ἀνωτέρω σοι αὐτὸ ἀπήγγειλα, ποῦ δηλοῖ αὐτοῦ ἀκριβῶς ἢ ἔμφασις, φημί δὴ  
 περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πιστευσάντων εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ σωθέντων εἴρηται. Περὶ  
 δὲ τοῦ μέρους ὑμῶν τῶν ἀπίστων εἴρηται ἔπειτα παρὰ Ἡσαίου· *Ἀκούσατε*, φησί, *λόγον*  
*κυρίου, ἄρχοντες Σοδόμων καὶ προσέχετε νόμον θεοῦ, λαὸς Γομόρρας*. Ὅρᾳς ποῦ ὑμᾶς  
 ἀπεικάξει; Πάντως τίς πέφυκεν ἢ ἐργασία τῶν Σοδόμων ἐπίστασαι. Καὶ προστίθησι· *Τί*  
 1155 *μοι πλήθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν, λέγει κύριος*, φησί· ἵνα μὴ καυχῆσθαι αὐτὸς, ὅτι δέεται κύριος  
 ἀπλῶς τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου πάλιν ἀναστήσει τὰς συναγωγὰς ὑμῶν. *Πλή-*  
*ρῃς εἰμί ὀλοκαυτωμάτων κριῶν*, φησί, *καὶ στέαρ ἄρνων, καὶ αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων οὐ* 721d  
*βούλομαι, οὐδ' ἂν ἔρχεσθε ὀφθῆναι μοι*. Βαβαὶ τοῦ μίσους, πόσα ποιεῖ κακὰ ἢ ψυχρὰ  
 ἁμαρτία. Τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς ὑμᾶς θεῶ βδελυκτοὺς ἀπειργάσατο. *Οὐ βούλομαι*, φησὶν, *οὐδ'*  
 1160 *ἂν ἔρχεσθε ὀφθῆναι μοι*. *Τίς γὰρ καὶ ἐξεζήτησε ταῦτα*, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὰς θυσίας, *ἐκ τῶν*  
*χειρῶν ὑμῶν; πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου οὐ προσθήσεσθε*. Ἐνταῦθα πρόσεχε· σὺ μὲν γὰρ  
 λέγεις, καθότι *Οἰκοδομῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὁ κύριος τὰς διασποράς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπισυνάξει*,  
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει· *Πατεῖν*, φησί, *τὴν αὐλήν μου οὐ προσ-*  
*θήσεσθε*. Οὐκοῦν, τίνα ἀκροασώμεθα, τὸν Δαυίδ ἢ κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν; Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ 724a  
 1165 τῶν ἐκατέρων· τὰ γὰρ κεφάλαια ταῦτα ἀρμοζόντως ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον παρὰ  
 τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εὐθέτως ὠμιλήθησαν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ μηδὲν ἐπιστά-  
 μενοι εἰς ἀλλόκοτα νοήματα τὰς λέξεις ἐπισύρετε. Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεός,  
*Πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου οὐ προσθήσεσθε*, σὺ τί ἀναισχυντεῖς; Καὶ γὰρ *ἐὰν φέρῃτέ μοι*  
*σεμίδαλιν μάταιον, θυμιάμα*, φησί, *βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστὶ*. *Τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάβ-*  
 1170 *βατα καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ ἀνέχομαι*. Ταῦτα ἀκούων, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ποιεῖς κυνὸς πρόσ-  
 ωπον καὶ προσάγεις αὐτῷ τὰς θυσίας σου καὶ τελεῖς αὐτῷ τὰς ἐορτάς σου ἀναιδῶς,  
 ἀναισχυντῶν καὶ ὑπεϊκῶν σου τῇ κακίστῃ γνώμῃ; Πόλεμος, οἶμαι, μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγενή-

1152 ἀκούσατε – 1153 Γομόρρας Is. 1.10 | 1156 πλήρης – 1161 προσθήσεσθε Is. 1.11–13 |  
 1158 ψυχρὰ ἁμαρτία cf. Pseudo-Ioannes Chrysostomus, CPG 4588, PG 59.588 | 1162 οἰκο-  
 δομῶν – ἐπισυνάξει Ps. 146.2 | 1168 πατεῖν – 1170 ἀνέχομαι Is. 1.12–14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1148 τύψω σου N μ SHPTV τύψα V δείξω] διώξω N μ + σφοδρῶς DAN μ ληρεῖς DAN |  
 1149 τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα μ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς] αἰώνιον SHPTV κύριος < μ κατέλιπεν SHPTV | 1150 αὐτὸ  
 < C DAN μ P ἀνήγγειλα N ποῦ – ἔμφασις < SHPTV αὐτοῦ – ἔμφασις] ἢ ἔμφασις αὐτοῦ μ φημί  
 < μ δὴ < DAN μ SHPTV | 1151 περὶ] ἀπὸ N, < DA SHPTV τῶν < HP πιστευσάντων – σωθέν-  
 των] οἵτινες πιστεύσαντες – σωθέντες μ σωθέντες SHPTV εἴρηται < μ | 1152 ἔπειτα post  
 ἀπίστων HP, < DAN μ τοῦ Ἡσαίου N ἀκούσατε γὰρ μ λόγον κυρίου < HP | 1153 κυρίου < μ  
 νόμον] λόγον μ ποῦ] πῶς CX | 1154 πάντως γὰρ SHPTV τίς] τί N μ SHPTV | 1155 ὑμῶν <  
 SHPTV φησί < DAN μ καυχῆσθαι C δέεται] σε X | 1156 ἔνεκα D πάλιν < SHPTV  
 ἀναστήσει πάλιν μ | 1157 φησί post εἰμί μ | 1158 ἔρχεσθε + τοῦ μ βαβαὶ – 1159 ἁμαρτία < HP  
 μίσουσι C ποιεῖ κακὰ] κακοποιεῖ μ ποιεῖ ψυχρὰ καὶ κακὰ ἢ πονηρὰ ἁμαρτία V | 1159 ὑμᾶς θεῶ]  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμᾶς μ βδελυκτοῦς] πονηροῦς TV οὐδ' ἂν] οὐδὲν X | 1160 καὶ < μ τοῦτ' ἔστι] ἤγουν μ

out.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, even after that I will beat your shamelessness and show to you that you talk idly and in vain. I will show you that if you will not be baptised in the Trinity, you will not have a life in yourselves. *If the Lord would not have left us behind his seed:* I have announced to you before, what exactly the meaning of this is, I say, that it has been said about those of Israel that believed in Christ Jesus and were saved. About the unbelieving part it is said later by Isaiah: *Hear the word of the Lord, rulers of Sodom, and listen to the law of God, people of Gomorrah.* Do you see whom he compares you to? You know at all events what the work of Sodom is. And he adds: *What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me, says the Lord,* so that you may not be proud that God simply needs your sacrifices, and that he will therefore raise your congregations again. *I am full of the burnt offerings of rams,* he says, *and of the fat of sheep, and I do not want the blood of bulls and he-goats, not even if you come to appear before me.* Bless me, what a hatred, how much evil cold sin does! It has made you who were beloved by God his abominable ones. *I do not rejoice,* he says, *not even if you come to appear before me. For who is it that has required this,* that is the sacrifices, *from your hand? You will not continue to walk in my courtyard.* Here listen: For you say that *When the Lord will rebuild Jerusalem, he will gather again the outcasts of Israel,* but here that very same God says to you: *You will not continue to walk in my courtyard.* Now to whom should we listen, to David or to the Lord our God? Rather to both of them; for these sections were suitably said at their respective place and in a convenient way by the Holy Ghost. But you, dull of heart, do not know anything, and convert the words carelessly into absurd thoughts. Now when you hear that God says: *You will not continue to walk in my courtyard,* why are you so shameless? For *if you bring me flour, it is in vain, and incense,* he says, *is an abomination for me. I am not content with your new moons and Sabbaths and feast days.* If you hear this, for which reason do you make a dog's face,

| 1161 ἐνταῦθα – 1168 προσθήσεσθε < TV μὲν < DAN μ | 1162 ὅτι μ Ἰερουσαλήμ < μ | 1163 κάκεινος C αὐτὸς bis D αὐτὸς ὁ] ὁ δεσπότης και μ, < SHP πρὸς ὑμᾶς < N φησί < μ | 1164 οὐκοῦν < HP οὐκοῦν – ἡμῶν post 1161 προσθήσεσθε μ τίνος ἀκροασώμεθα τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἢ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μ ἀκροασάμεθα DA κύριον < DAN θεὸν] κύριον N μάλλον δὲ] λοιπὸν μ μάλλον – 1167 ἐπισύρετε < SHP | 1165 ἑκατέρων + ὀφείλομεν ἀκούειν μ ἕκαστος DAN, < μ παρά] περὶ N παρά – 1166 εὐθέτως < μ | 1166 ὠμίλησαν N | 1167 εἰς – ἐπισύρετε] ἀλλόκοτε νοεῖτε νοήματα μ τὰς < AN οὖν < μ | 1168 φέρετέ μοι HP | 1169 μάταιόν τε SHPV φησί < T φησί θυμίαμα μ σάββατα + και τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἢ ψυχὴ μου μ | 1170 ταῦτα οὖν D μ κύνος HPV | 1171 τὰς<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶ<sup>2</sup> < CXLK τελεῖς – σου<sup>2</sup>] τὰς ἑορτὰς σου τελεῖς αὐτῶ μ ἑορτὰς] θυσίας T ἀναιδῶς + και τὰς ἑορτὰς σου T | 1172 τε και ἀναισχύντως DAN ἀναισχυντῶν – γνώμη < μ σου] σοι C πόλεμος οἴμαι] ὡς οἴμαι δὲ πάλαι οὐ N τοῦ < X DAN

<sup>71</sup> A parallel to this passage can be found in the *Vita Basilii*, in *Theophanes Continuatus*, 342, 1–3, where the Jews are compared to dogs because of their “returning to the own vomit”, that is, their return to Judaism after the forced conversion in the time of Basileios I; on which see above, pp. 105–106. — The expression “returning to the own vomit” is a paraphrase of Prov. 26.11, on which see Koutaba-Deliboria, “Ἀντίληψη”, 122–123.

- θησαν αἱ ἑορταί σου. Λέγει γὰρ ὁ θεός· *Νηστείαν καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου· ἐγενήθητέ μοι εἰς πλησμονήν.* Ὁ θεὸς τοίνυν λέγει, ὅτι ‘ὄσα ποιεῖς καὶ ὄσα πράττεις Ἰουδαίκοις χαρακτηῖσαι, μισεῖ ταῦτα ἡ ψυχὴ μου’. Σὺ οὖν τί ἀναισχυντεῖς καὶ προσάγεις αὐτῷ τὰς θυσίας σου; Παῦσον· μόνον γὰρ καὶ τὸν κόπον ὑπομένεις, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐναντιοῦσαι καὶ μισθὸν οὐ κέκτησαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Καὶ γὰρ λέγει· *Ἐγενήθητέ μοι, φησίν, εἰς πλησμονήν, καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνοίσω τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν.* Θέασαι ἀγανάκτησιν θεοῦ καὶ βάρος· Ὡς ὅταν πάθῃ τις ἀπειροπλάσια κακὰ παρά τινος καὶ οὐκέτι δυνάμενος  
1175 βραστάζειν εἴπη μῖσος πολὺν εἰσφέρων· ‘Ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν κακῶν σου οὐκέτι σοῦ ἀνέχομαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖξω ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν’, οὕτω λέγει καὶ ὁ θεός· *Ἐγενήθητέ μοι, φησίν, εἰς πλησμονήν,* τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εἰς πλησμονήν, φησί, χολῆς καὶ παροργισμοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἀνοίσω, τοῦτ’ ἔστι βραστάσω τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀνταποδώσω, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξωθήσω ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου μου. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπιφέρει τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς προφητείας, ὅταν φησί·  
1185 *Τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ἐκτείνητε πρὸς με, ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ’ ὑμῶν.* Φεῖσαι, κύριε, τῶν εἰς σέ ἠλπικώτων! Φρικτὸν τὸ ῥῆμα, ἀπόρρητον τὸ μῖσος θεοῦ τὸ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τὰς μιαρὰς αὐτῶν παραβάσεις καὶ διὰ τὸ ἰδιόπισμόν τε καὶ γογγυστικὸν καὶ ἀνυπότακτον. Ἄκουσον ἐνταῦθα, Ἐρβᾶν, καὶ ἰλιγγίασον. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπλασα ἢ συντέταχα ἢ ἰστόρησα, μὴ ποτε εἴπῃς καθότι· ‘Ἐναντιούμενος’,  
1190 φησί, ‘τῇ θρησκείᾳ μου ταῦτα ἐν μέσῳ εἰσήγαγες.’ Ἄλλ’ ὁ θεὸς σοὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος καὶ λέγει· ‘Τὰς χεῖρας σου Ἰουδαίκοις χαρακτηῖσαι μὴ ἐκτείνῃς πρὸς με, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀποστειλῶ τὸν μονογενῆ μου υἱὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν πάντα τὰ ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς σου,’ φησίν, ‘ἀφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας ἤκουσας, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἦκε καὶ οὐκ ἐπίστευσας· ἐὰν στῆς Ἰουδαϊκῶς πληθύνων πρὸς  
1195 με τὴν δέησιν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν.’ Δι’ ἦν αἰτία; ‘*Ὅτι αἱ χεῖρες ὑμῶν*’, φησίν, ‘*αἵματος πλήρεις*’ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου τοῦ υἱοῦ μου, ὡς ἀπεκτείνετε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἐκχέαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα· οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ υἱοῦ

1173 νηστείαν – 1174 πλησμονήν *ibid.* | 1185 τὰς – ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> Is. 1.15

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1173 αἱ < C ἑορτὰς < HP | 1174 ὁ θεός < N ὁ – 1175 μου < SHPTV λέγει τοίνυν μ καὶ ὄσα πράττεις < μ | 1175 Ἰουδαίκοις] ταῦτα πάντα μισεῖ μ οὖν τί] δὲ μ | 1176 παῦσον] παῦσαι μ, < SHPTV καί<sup>1</sup> < μ κόπον σου DAN | 1177 ἐναντιοῖ μ καὶ – αἰῶνα] εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δὲ μισθὸν οὐ κέκτησαι SHPTV | 1178 φησίν < μ SHPTV οὐκέτι + ἐγὼ DA ἀρνήσω P ὑμῶν < SHPTV θέασαι + τοίνυν DAN | 1179 καὶ βάρος < SHPTV κακὰ] κατὰ V παρά] ὑπό DAN μ νὰ βραστάζω δυνάμενος V | 1180 εἶπε D εἴπῃς μ πολὺ N μ εἰ ἔφερον D φέρων μ ἀπὸ – σου < μ σου] μου N, + καὶ DA σοῦ < HP ἀνέχομαι σου μ | 1181 ἐν σοὶ] εἰς σέ μ οὕτως D ὁ < S μοι < CXLK φησίν] φάσκων DAN μ εἰς πλησμονήν φησίν SHPTV | 1182 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν – φησί < μ SHPTV τοῦτ’ ἔστιν – 1183 ἀνοίσω < DA διὰ – 1183 ἔστι] οὐκέτι SHPTV | 1183 τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἦγουν μ οὐκέτι βραστάσω DAN βραστάζω μ ἀλλ’ CXLK μ μᾶλλον δὲ] καὶ SHPTV | 1184 τοῦ < DA γὰρ – προφητείας] πάλιν λέγει SHPTV φησί] λέγει μ | 1185 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < DN ἐκτενεῖτε μ SHPTV ἐκτενεῖτε V καὶ ἀποστρέψω μ | 1186 κύριε bis DAN εἰς < SHPTV ἠλπικώτων C DN φρικτὸν γὰρ – καὶ ἀπόρρητον μ τοῦ θεοῦ μ SHPTV τὸ<sup>3</sup> < DAN μ | 1187 τὰς ἀμαρτίας καὶ] καὶ ἀμαρτίας post

and offer him your sacrifices and celebrate your feasts for him shamelessly, behaving impudently and yielding to your bad mind? Your days, I think, have become a war with God. For God says: *My soul hates your fasting and holidays and feasts, you have become disgusting to me.* Accordingly, God says that ‘whatever you do and practise in your Jewish rites, all this my soul hates’. Now why are you so shameless and offer him your sacrifices? Let it be, for you have only the trouble with it and set yourself against God and will not be rewarded forever. For he says also: *You have become disgusting to me, and I will not bear your sins any more.* Do you see God’s wrath and severity? Just as someone suffers infinitely many bad things by somebody and cannot bear them any longer, and says, harbouring much hatred: ‘I do not bear you any longer because of the multitude of your sins, but I will take revenge upon you’, in the same way God says: *You have become disgusting to me*, that is disgusting, full of gall and anger, therefore *I will not bear*, that is carry *your sins any more*, but will take vengeance, or rather thrust you off from my face. For he adds the following part of the prophecy, saying: *If you stretch out your hands to me, I will turn away my eyes from you.* Lord, spare those that believe in you! This is an awful saying, and God’s hatred towards the Jews is ineffable, because of their sins and their abominable transgressions, their self-confidence, their inclination to mutter and their lack of submission. Now hear, Herban, and be irritated. For it is not me that has invented or composed or written an account about this, that you may not say: ‘You have introduced this in our midst opposing my faith.’ But God himself punishes on you saying: ‘Do not stretch out your hands in your Jewish rites towards me from that day onwards, on which I will send my only begotten Son to you. For if not, I will turn away my eyes from you, I will not hear you all the years of your life,’ he says, ‘from the day onwards on which you heard, that the Son of God came and you did not believe; if you stand there like a Jew and multiply your prayer to me, I will not hear you.’ For which reason? ‘*For your hands,*’ he says, ‘*are full of blood,* that is from the murder of my Son, since you killed his humanity, pouring out his worthy blood; and not

παραβάσεις CXLK, < μ και<sup>1</sup> < V και<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν τὰς μιὰρὰς καὶ τὰς SHP μιὰρὰς] μικρὰς X αὐτῶν post ἀμαρτίας TV και<sup>2</sup> – 1188 ἀνυπότακτον < SHPTV διὰ<sup>2</sup> < μ τε post 1188 γογγυστικόν DAN μ | 1188 ἀνυπότακτον] ἄτακτον μ ἄκουε μ ἐνταῦθα] τοίνυν DAN μ Ἐρβᾶν ἐνταῦθα SHPTV Ἐρβᾶ C | 1189 ἦ<sup>1</sup> – ἰστόρησα < μ ἦ<sup>2</sup>] ἦπερ DAN ἦ ἰστόρησα < SHPTV ὅτι μ ἐναντιοῦμαι N | 1190 φησὶ < μ μου] σου N T εἰς μέσον CXLK καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ T | 1191 καὶ < SHPTV ἰουδαϊκοῖς] Ἰουδα οἰκείους CXLK Ἰουδα DAN μ χαρακτηῖρσι < DAN μ | 1192 ἀποστείλας DA ἀποστελῶ μ μονογενῆ < N υἱόν μου N υἱόν < SHPTV πρὸς] ἐφ’ SHPTV | 1193 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> + καὶ ἐὰν πληθύνητε τὴν δέησιν DAN μ + ὑμῶν N μ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν < CXLK ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < μ πάντα – 1195 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV φησὶν < μ ἀφ’<sup>2</sup>] ἐφ’ μ ἡμέρας < μ | 1194 ἦλθε N στῆς] τις DA, < N μ ἰουδαϊκῶς < μ πληθύνης N μ τὴν δέησιν πρὸς με μ | 1195 φησὶν < DN T | 1196 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν post μου, τοῦ < N ὡς ὅτι N ὡς – 1198 μου < μ ἀποκτείναντες CXLK | 1197 καὶ ἐκχέαντες CX οὐ – 1199 οὐκοῦν < SHPTV μὴν δὲ DA καὶ – 1198 μου < C



μου και τῶν ὑπολοιπῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ.’ Δι’ ὧν γὰρ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονο-  
 γενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπεκτείνετε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξήρατε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. Οὐκοῦν διὰ τοῦτο  
 1200 *ἐὰν πληθύνητε*, φησὶν, *τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν*. Τί οὖν λοιπὸν  
 λατρεύεις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ σου αὐτοῦ μὴ προσδεχομένου τὰς ἐντεύξεις σου εἰκὴ καὶ  
 μάτην; Καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; *Αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις*. Ποίου αἵματος; *Μαρτύ-*  
*ρομαι ὑμῖν τὸν οὐρανόν*, ὡς ἐστὶ σήμερον, *καὶ τὴν γῆν* καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν τε ἐν τριάδι  
 1205 *ἓνα θεὸν ἀπαύστως δοξαζόμενον*, ὅτι δι’ οὐδὲν ἕτερον τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦτο λέγει ἢ διὰ τὸ  
 τίμιον αἶμα ἐκεῖνο ἐγκαλεῖ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὃ ἐξεχέατε παράνομοι, ὅπερ ἐὰν μὴ βαπτι-  
 σθῆτε εἰς τριάδα, οὐ καθαρισθήσεσθε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Διὰ 725B  
 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ προφήτης, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ θεὸς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπάγει λέγων, *Λούσασθε,*  
*καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλ-*  
*μῶν μου*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι, βαπτισθῆτε εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, μεταπεσόντες τοῦ  
 1210 νόμου, ἐξαγορεύοντες καὶ *τὰς πονηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν*  
*μου*, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐμῆς θεότητος, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ταῦτα πάντα εἰ πείθουσι τὴν  
 ἀναίσθητόν σου καρδίαν, χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη· εἰ δ’ οὐ πείθουσι, *μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται*. *Τὸ*  
*γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα”*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει “Οὐ περὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου βαπτίσματος εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι δι’ αὐτοῦ 725C  
 1215 *λούσασθε*, ἀλλὰ γε πρὸ τῆς πύλης τῆς ἐξωτέρας τοῦ ναοῦ Σολομῶντος λουτήρες ἄφειτοι  
 ἐχρημάτιζον πάντοτε. Νόμος δὲ προϋκίετο, ἵνα ὁ ἀμαρτάνων ἐπὶ τινι πράγματι, εἰ βουλη-  
 θεῖη μεταμεληθῆναι, λέγη τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πταίσμα ἀφορίζεται τοῦ εἰς τὸν ναὸν  
 εἰσιεῖναι. Καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ ὄρου ἀπολουόμενος ὁ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἰατρευθεὶς, οὕτω λοι-  
 πὸν ἀδεῶς εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσελεύων ἐπιτελεῖ αὐτοῦ τὰς λατρείας. Οὐκοῦν περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 1220 *λοετροῦ ὁ προφήτης ἠνίξατο* καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου βαπτίσματος, καθάπερ  
 εἶρηκεν.”

Τούτων οὕτως ῥηθέντων τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀναμεταξὺ Ἐρβᾶν καὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου 725D  
 ἀρχιεπισκόπου, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξαναστάντος ἀσύντακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων

1202 μαρτύρομαι – 1203 γῆν cf. Deut. 4.26, 8.19, 30.19 | 1207 λούσασθε – 1209 μου Is. 1.16 |  
 1210 τὰς – 1211 μου *ibid.* | 1212 μάχαιρα – 1213 ταῦτα Is. 1.20 | 1215 πρὸ – 1216 πάντοτε cf. 3  
 Reg. 7.23–25

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1198 λοιπῶν μ διότι K μ | 1199 αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ C καὶ – γῆς < μ ἐξήρατε DAN διὰ τοῦτο < μ |  
 1200 ἐὰν πληθύνητε < SHPTV φησὶν | < N μ ἐγὼ < μ ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < SHPTV οὖν < μ λοιπὸν <  
 SHPTV λατρεύεις λοιπὸν N | 1201 δεχομένου K προσδεχόμενος SHPV προσδεχόμενα T σου<sup>2</sup>  
 + τὰς L<sup>pc</sup>K εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην < μ | 1202 μάτην + ταῦτας προσάγει N αἱ γὰρ | τί ὅτι αἱ D ὅτι αἱ AN  
 μ αἱ – αἵματος<sup>2</sup> < C γὰρ < K ὑμῶν σου SHPTV, + φησὶν DA | 1203 καὶ τὴν γῆν < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> –  
 1204 ἕτερον < X | 1204 τὸν ἓνα T δι’ < LK SHPTV τὸ πλεῖστον < μ | 1205 ἐκεῖνο αἶμα μ ἐκεῖνο  
 < SHPTV ἄτε παράνομοι μ ὅπερ < μ ἐὰν | ἂν CXLK SHPV μὴ | οὐ CXLK | 1206 ἀγίαν  
 τριάδα μ αὐτοῦ] ὑμῶν SHP | 1207 γὰρ | λέγει SHPTV, < N θεὸς + δι’ αὐτοῦ SHPTV εἰσάγει  
 CXLK λούσασθε + καὶ DAN TV | 1208 γένεσθε SV ἀφέλεσθε SHPTV ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < SHPTV  
 ἀπέναντι – 1209 μου < DAN μ | 1209 μου] ὑμῶν HP βαπτισθῆτε < LK βαπτίσθητε DAN βαπτι-

only his, but also of the apostles of my son and his remaining saints.’ For because they believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God, you killed them and removed them from the earth. Therefore he says, *if you multiply your prayer, I will not hear you*. Now why do you still worship in the law of your God, if he does not accept your intercessions which are in vain? And what is the reason? *For your hands are full of blood*. Which blood? *I call heaven*, as it is today, *and earth as witnesses*, and the sea and God who is incessantly glorified as one in his Trinity, that he says most of this or accuses you because of that worthy blood of our Lord Jesus, which you poured out lawlessly, for no other reason than that if you will not be baptised in the Trinity, you will not be cleansed of his sin forever. Therefore also the prophet, or rather God goes on after this saying: *Wash you, make you clean; take away the wickednesses of your souls before my eyes*, that is, be baptised in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, separate from the law, confessing also *the wickednesses of your souls before my eyes*, that is before my divinity, and so on. If all this convinces your insensible heart, grace and peace; if it does not convince you, *the sword will devour you*. *For the mouth of God has said this.*”

Herban said: “The prophet did not speak about your baptism, that you washed yourselves for him, but there were at all times holy vessels before the outer door of the temple of Solomon. And there was a law, that one who had committed a sin, if he wanted to repent, should say this to the priests, and was forbidden to enter the temple for his fault. And when the time had been completed, he washed himself and was healed in his soul, and henceforth, entering the temple without scruple, he accomplished his veneration again.<sup>72</sup> So the prophet spoke obscurely about this bath, and not about your baptism, as you say.”

When these things had been said on the second day between Herban and the most holy archbishop, the king rose and they went away without saying farewell; and the Jews

σθήτε ἕκαστος μ μεταπεσόντες τοῦ νόμου < SHPTV | 1210 ἑξαίροντες μ ὑμῶν < C ὑμῶν – ψυχῶν < μ | 1211 τοῦτ ἔστιν] ἡγουν μ | 1212 πείθουσί σε DAN μ | 1213 κυρίου + φησίν CXL | 1214 λέγει] ἔφη DAN, < μ TV εἶρηκεν] λέγει SHPTV | 1215 πύλης < C τῆς ἐξωτέρας post Σολομώντος C τοῦ < μ ἀφετοὶ SHPTV | 1216 ἔκειτο μ πρόκειτο V εἰ] καὶ codd. βουληθεὶς μ | 1218 πληρωθέντος] μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν SHPTV ὄρους DAN ἀπολούμενος μ ὁ < X μ οὕτως DAN οὕτω λοιπὸν < CX | 1219 ἀδεῶς < N ἀδεῶς – ναὸν < C, εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀδεῶς μ ἐπιτέλει HP αὐτοῦ – τοῦδε] τὰς λατρείας αὐτοῦ· περὶ τούτου οὖν μ | 1220 λουτροῦ μ TV λουετροῦ SHP οὐχί] οὐ X καθάπερ εἶρηκας < μ | 1222 τούτων δὲ DA ἐν τῷ < N μ SHPTV μεταξύ μ SHPTV ἀγιωτάτου < μ | 1223 ἐπισκόπου C ἀναστάντος μ, + καὶ ἔπειτα DAN πάλιν μ δὲ] μὲν LK

<sup>72</sup> For a more reasonable account on the use of these holy vessels, see Theodoretos, *CPG* 6201, *PG* 80, 689.

1225 εὐφραινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρβᾶν, καθότι ἱκανὸς εὐρίσκετο τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκκλητητομένων ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ, καθότι χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ.

**Γ** Τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν προκαθίσαντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ πάντων ἀθροισθέντων, παρεγένετο καὶ Ἐρβᾶν μετὰ τῆς κουστωδίας αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὡς παρέστη, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγέντιος ἔφη·

5 “Ἐἶρηκας χθές, ὅτι τὸ *Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε* περὶ τῶν νομικῶν λουτήρων λελά- 728A  
ληται καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ τῶν χριστιανῶν βαπτίσματος. Οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπὼν ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ ἀποφθεγξάμενος ὅτι *Ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιών ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυηλάτῳ*, παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀντιλήψεως δηλονότι, καὶ ὅτι *οὐ βούλομαι, οὐδ’ ἂν ἔρχεσθε ὀφθῆναι μοι*, καὶ ὅτι *πατεῖν τὴν αὐλήν μου οὐ προσθήσεσθε, καὶ ἐάν, φησί, φέρητέ μοι σειμίδαλιν μάταιον, θυμίαμα βδέλυγμά μοι ἐστίν*· καὶ ὅτι *τὰς νεομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα καὶ ἡμέραν μεγάλην οὐκ ἀνέχομαι*, τοῦτ’ ἔσπιν οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχω ἀπὸ τῆς δευροῦ· καὶ ὅτι *νηστεῖαν καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἢ ψυχὴ μου*· καὶ ὅτι *ἐγενήθητέ μοι*, φησί, *εἰς πλησμονὴν*· καὶ *ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ἐκτείνητε πρὸς με, ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ’ ὑμῶν*· καὶ ὅτι *Ἐάν πληθύνητε τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν*· ἐπεὶ οὖν ταῦτα πάντα ἀπώσατο καὶ μεμίσηκεν καὶ τὰς θυσίας κελεύει 728B  
15 μὴ προσφέρεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τὰς τε δεήσεις τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τὰς ἐντεύξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπάσεις τῶν χειρῶν ὁμνουσιν ἀποστρέφεσθαι, περὶ τῶν λουτήρων μόνον τοῦ ναοῦ σου ἔμελεν αὐτῷ· περιττὸς ὁ λόγος. Τὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν βάπτισμα ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας κρυφιομύστως ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἠνίξατο, καὶ μηδὲν σοι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰς δύναμιν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τί σοι ποιήσωμεν, ἀρχιεπίσκοπε, καθότι οὐκ ἐνὶ ῥῆμα ὁ οὐ διαστρέφεις καὶ οὐ πρόσεσι προφητεία ἦν οὐ μεταφέρεις· Οὐκοῦν τί περ ἐπάγει μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα 728C  
20 ταῦτα ὁ προφήτης; “Ὅτι μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ δι’ ὧν τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον παρωρ-

6 ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται – 7 σικυηλάτῳ Is. 1.8 | 7 οὐ – 14 ὑμῶν Is. 1.11–14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

1224 ὡς εὐφραινομένων μ Ἐρβᾶ K ὅτι μ εὐρίσκεται D ἠύρίσκετο SHPTV ἀρχιεπισκόπου X DAN | 1225 μακαρίῳ] ἁγίῳ TV Γρηγορίῳ LK Γρηγεντίῳ N ὅτι μ ἡ χάρις DA μ | 1226 ἁγίου < μ

αὐτοῦ + ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐχώρησεν· τέλος τῆς δευτέρας διαλέξεως C | 1 in initio + ἀρχὴ τῆς τρίτης διαλέξεως C τρίτη διάλεξις X L K D τρίτη ἡμέρα πάλιν διαλέγεται P τῇ δὲ CL<sup>PK</sup> τῇ – 3 ἔφη < P εὐσεβεστάτου < K μ | 2 ἀθροισθέντων + ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ DAN μ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν DAN μ αὐτοῦ κουστωδίας LK ἑαυτοῦ κουστωδίας DAN αὐτοῦ < CX | 3 πάρεστιν D λέγει ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγεντίνος N ἔφη] λέγει DA STV, + πρὸς αὐτόν DAN μ | 4 in initio + τρίτη διάλεξις τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ Ἐρβᾶν SHP (τρίτη διάλεξις τοῦ + ἁγίου, Ἐρβᾶν + Ἐβραίου· ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος P) τὸ < C X L K T καὶ καθαροὶ DAN μ HPTV γένεσθε C λουτηρίων N μ λελάληκεν C λελάληται SHP | 5 περὶ < T τοῦ < C HPT τῶν < X βαπτίσματος < SHPTV ὁ<sup>1</sup> – εἰπῶν] ὁ εἰπὼν θεὸς SHPTV ὁ καὶ ἀποφθεγξάμενος < μ | 6 ἀποφθεγγόμενος C X L K ὅτι < P ὡς<sup>1</sup>] ἐν C κηνὴ SHPV | 7 πωροφυλάκιον SHP ἐν – δηλονότι] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHPTV σικυηράτῳ DA δηλονότι] δηλοῖ ὅτι C | 8 ἔρχησθαι C X L K τοῦ ὀφθῆναι μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < P | 9 φησί < D μ φέρετέ μοι DA HPV μάταιον < μ

rejoiced about Herban, for he had shown himself adequate in the discussion with the bishop, and the Christians were astonished about the blessed Gregentios, for the grace of the Holy Ghost was with him.

On the third day, when the most pious king and the archbishop presided again and all had assembled, Herban also came with his guard.<sup>73</sup> And when he was present, Saint Gregentios said:

“You said yesterday that *Wash you, make you clean* has been said about the lawful bathing-tubs and not about the baptism of the Christians. So that God who has spoken to you, who also said that *the daughter of Zion will be left like a tent in a vineyard and like a hut in a garden of cucumbers*, that is <left void> of his support, and that *I do not want, not even if you come to appear before me*, and that *you will not continue to walk in my courtyard, and if*, he says, *you bring me flour, it is in vain, and incense is an abomination unto me*, and that *I am not content with your new moons and Sabbaths and feast days*, that is, I have no need of it from now on, and that *my soul hates your fasting and holidays and feasts*, and that *you have become*, he says, *disgusting to me*, and *if you stretch out your hands to me, I will turn away my eyes from you*, and *if you multiply your prayer, I will not hear you*: Now if he cast all this off and hated it and ordered not to offer sacrifices according to the law, and has sworn to refuse the prayers of your souls and the intercessions and raisings of hands, did he really care only about the bathing-tubs of your temple? It is superfluous to say this. God has spoken obscurely and secretly about the baptism of Christians without any controversy, and you have no power to oppose this.”

Herban said: “What shall we do with you, archbishop, since there exists not a single word which you do not distort, and there is no prophecy which you do not transfer? Now how does the prophet go on after these words? That this is so because of our sins and because we have made the holy God angry, there is no contradiction among the

καί – 12 πλησμονήν < SHPTV | 10 τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἡγουν μ | 12 φησίν < LK μ ἔκτενεῖτε μ SHPTV ἐκτένητε V ἐπιστρέψω P | 13 τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς] τὸ πρόσωπόν HP<sup>ac</sup> ὅτι < μ ἄν SHPTV πληθύνετε P | 14 οὖν < μ πάντα < SHPTV ἐμίσησε κατὰ κράτος μ τὰς < P θυσίας ὑμῶν C DAN μ | 15 προσφέρεται D δέχεσθαι SHPTV τὸν < C μ τὰς τε] καὶ τὰς μ | 16 ὕμνουσιν] μισεῖν καὶ X τὰς τε – 16 ἀποστρέφουσαι < SHPTV λουτηρίων N μ ναοῦ σου] λαοῦ μ σου + μόνον CX | 17 ἐμέλετο CXLK SHPV μὴ μελέτω T περιττός γὰρ T τὸ < μ τὸ τῶν] περὶ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν SHPTV (τοῦ) τὸ P τῶν γὰρ μ βαπτίσματος SHPTV ἀμφιβολίας DA μ | 18 καὶ – δύναμιν < μ | 19 λέγει] ἔφη DAN, < μ TV σοὶ < TV ποιῶσω μ ὅτι μ οὐ διαστρέφεις] διαστρέφειν οὐ θέλεις C | 20 οὐκ ἔστι μ οὐκ ἔνι SHPV οὐκ ἦν T προφήτης ὃν N περ < CXLK μ τὰ ῥήματα < SHPTV ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα μ | 21 ταῦτα < CXLK μὲν γὰρ μ ἁμαρτίας < V ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας S δι' ὧν] διὸ CXLK δι' – τὸν<sup>2</sup>] διότι τὸ μ ἐπαρωργίασμεν C

<sup>73</sup> The word *κουστωδία* was normally used in the sense of ‘detention’ or ‘custody’. It seems therefore that Herban was under arrest for the time of the discussion, rather than he had his own personal guard.

- γίσαμεν, ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐ φρονουσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντίρρησις. Πλὴν ὅτι παντελῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκβάλλεις τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ὅτι πληροφορεῖς, καθότι οὕτε μία ὄνησις ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ χρηματίζει, προστίθῃσιν ὁ προφήτης καὶ λέγει ἀνταίρων σοι· *Ἐπάξω,*
- 25 *φησί, τὴν χεῖρα μου ἐπὶ σέ καὶ πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρὸν· τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀπολέσω καὶ ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθήσῃ πόλις δικαιοσύνης, μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιών.* Προσέχεις, ὅπερ φάσκει ὁ προφήτης, συνιείς ὅπως διὰ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν ἡμῶν ἔπειτα προμαρτύρεται. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα, ἃ 728D
- 30 *ἔμελλον ἡμῖν συμβαίνειν, τότε ἐπήγαγεν· Ἐπιστήσω, φησί, τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.* Εἰ οὖν ἕτερον νόμον ἔμελλον ἐγείρειν ἢ ἕτεραν πίστιν ἐξανιστᾶν, οὐκ ἂν εἰρηκεν, ὅτι *Ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτάς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.* Τὸ γὰρ πρότερον καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔνδειξιν ἔχει συναπτικὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχετύπους χαρακτήρας τοῦ νόμου. *Καὶ ὅτι κληθήσῃ, φησί,*
- 35 *πόλις δικαιοσύνης, μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιών.* Τί οὖν σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα;”
- Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὅτε Ἱερουσαλήμ ἠχμαλώτεται, τότε ταῦτα ἐπράχθη. Ἐπανῆκε γὰρ ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνόμων ἀναιρεθέντων οἱ δια- 729A
- σωθέντες συνειδήσεως ὄντες ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν κύριον καὶ ἔκρινον δικαίως ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ συνεβούλευον ὑγιῶς ὡς τὸ πρότερον πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ οὕτε 40 ἐγὼ ἀντιπράττω. Αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ἐπάγων ὁ προφήτης· *Μετὰ γὰρ κρίματος,* φησί, *σωθήσεται ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς,* τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, *καὶ μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης* ἄτε ἐπανήξει.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Κἂν ἐνδοθεν εἰσέλθωμεν, ἐξωθεῖς ἡμᾶς ἔξω, κἂν ἔξω ἔπειτα ἐξέλθωμεν, ἐνδοθεν ἡμᾶς εἰσβάλλεις. Ἄγαθόν ἐστὶ τοῦ σιγῆσαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν.”
- 45 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ἄρα κελεύεις μοι συγκαταβῆναι σοι καὶ ἰουδαῖσαι; Ἄδυνατήσῃς ἐπὶ τούτῳ. Ἄκουσον δὲ τί ἔπειτα ὁ προφήτης σου λέγει περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ συνήσῃ· *Ὁ λόγος,* φησὶν, *ὁ γινόμενος πρὸς Ἡσαΐαν υἱὸν Ἀμμῶς περὶ τῆς Ἰου-* 729B

24 ἐπάξω – 28 Σιών Is. 1.25–26 | 40 μετὰ – 41 ἐλεημοσύνης Is. 1.27 | 47 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 48 Ἱερουσαλήμ Is. 2.1

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

22 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' C, < SHPTV καὶ < μ ἐπὶ < CXLK μ εὐ φρονουσιν] ἐμφρονουσιν V οὐ πρόσεστιν DA | 23 καὶ – 24 χρηματίζει < SHPTV ὅτι < μ ὅτι μ οὐδεμία D μ | 24 χρηματίζειν DA λέγειν H ἀντέξω C ἀνταίρων σοι < μ | 25 φησί < μ ἀπωθοῦντας P ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ X ἀπὸ σοῦ < V | 26 καί<sup>1</sup> – σοῦ < DAN τοὺς ἀνόμους μ | 27 σου < P | 28 ὅπερ] ὅπως LK τί SHPTV ὅπερ – προφήτης] τοῖς λεγομένοις διὰ τοῦ προφήτου DAN μ συνιείς μ συνιείς ὅπως] πάντως SHPTV ὅπως] ὅτι μ | 29 ἔπειτα < DAN μ προμαρτύρεται DAN ἐπάγει καὶ διαμαρτύρεται SHPTV τὸ] τοῦ CLK αὐτὸν] ἡμῖν SHPTV ἄπερ N ἃ – 30 τότε < μ | 30 ἔμελλον SHPTV τότε < DAN φησί < μ πρότερον – 31 ἀρχῆς] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς – πρότερον μ | 31 ἀρχῆς + καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθήσῃ πόλις δικαιοσύνης TV εἰ – 33 ἀρχῆς<sup>1</sup> < N ἔμελλον ἐγείρειν ἄλλον νόμον μ ἔμελλον C SV | 32 ἕτεραν] ἄλλην μ ἔλεγεν SHPTV ὅτι < P ὅτι – 34 νόμου] τὰ τοιαῦτα μ | 33 καί<sup>1</sup> – ἀρχῆς<sup>1</sup> < P τὸ<sup>2</sup> – ἀρχῆς<sup>2</sup> < C DAN SHPTV | 34 συναπτικὴν < SHPTV καὶ πρὸς C ὅτι] ἔτι P φησί < HP | 35 καὶ

prudent ones. Save that you expel us from our hope completely and assure us that there will not be any use of the law from now on, the prophet adds and says, contradicting you: *I will turn my hand upon you and purely purge you; I will let the unbelievers perish away from you and will take away all unlawful from you, and I will assemble your judges as before and your counsellors as at the beginning. And afterward you will be called town of righteousness, faithful city of Zion.* You listen to what the prophet says, and understand how he then bears witness beforehand about our recalling. For after having said these terrible things, which will happen to us, he went on: *I will assemble your judges as before and your counselors as at the beginning.* Now if he had the intention of raising another law or of establishing a new religion, he would not have said, *I will assemble your judges as before and your counselors as at the beginning.* For ‘before’ and ‘at the beginning’ have the notion of uniting in relation to the exemplary character of the law. *And you will be called town of righteousness,* he says, *faithful city of Zion.* Now what do you think about this?”

The archbishop said: “This was done when Jerusalem was taken captive. For the people returned from captivity, and since the unlawful had been killed in it, those that were saved were conscientious and feared the Lord, and judged justly as at the beginning and held counsel in a sound way as before, walking in the law of God; and not even I do contradict here. For the prophet himself reveals this when going on: *Her captivity will be saved with judgement,* that is of Jerusalem, *and with mercy,* seeing that she will return.”

Herban said: “If we come in, you thrust us out, and if we then go out, you make us enter again. It is better to be silent and to leave.”

The archbishop said: “And do you order me to descend to your level and to become a Jew? You will be unable to do so. Hear what your prophet says thereafter about you, so that you may understand this: *The word that went out to Isaiah the son of Amos concerning Judah and Jerusalem.* Where from? Clearly from God. Concerning what? Con-

μητρόπολις LK | 36 ὁ < T ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C P ἐπανά-  
 κε] ἐπανάκων LK | 37 γὰρ + ἔπειτα CXLK ὁ < P ὁ λαὸς bis P ἐκ] ἀπὸ μ ἀνόμων + Ἑβραίων  
 DA οἱ < T | 38 ὄντες + ἀγαθῆς μ κύριον] θεὸν N ἔκριναν HP δικαίως ἔκριναν μ | 39 τὸ ὑγιῶς P  
 ὑγιῶς V καὶ<sup>2</sup> < P οὐδ’ ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω μ | 40 γὰρ<sup>1</sup> < N τοῦτο post ἐπάγων T, < SHPV ἐπάγων ὁ  
 προφήτης] ὁ προφήτης λέγων μ φησί < N | 41 σωθήσεται < T τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἦγουν μ P ἄτε < μ  
 SHPTV | 42 ἐπάξει μ | 43 λέγει < μ TV κἂν<sup>1</sup>] ἐάν C D εἰσέλθωμεν + πλὴν P ἔξω<sup>1</sup> < μ κἂν<sup>2</sup>] καὶ  
 CXLK ἔξω<sup>2</sup>] ἔξωθεν SHPTV, < μ ἔπειτα < DAN μ | 44 ἡμᾶς < μ εἰσβαλεῖς C ἐστὶ + μᾶλλον  
 DAN μ τοῦ] τὸ XK μ | 45 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος C καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < P καὶ<sup>1</sup> < C μοι] με N συγκαταβαίνειν AN σοὶ < D  
 ἀδυνατόν σου N ἀδυνατήσῃεν DA ἀδυνατήσῃ SHPTV | 46 ἐπὶ] πρὸς μ τούτῳ + ἐστὶ N, +  
 Ἑρβᾶν μ δὲ < C τί] τίνα μ ὅτι P ἔπειτα post ἐπάγει SHPTV, < DAN μ σου < X DAN μ H, +  
 ἐπάγει ἔπειτα καὶ SHPTV (ἐπάγων P) ὑμῶν] ὑμᾶς SHPTV ἐν τοῦτῳ] τοῦτο CXLK μ | 47 συνή-  
 σης LK μ περι – 48 Ἱερουσαλήμ < SHPTV τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας N

δαίας καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Πόθεν γενόμενος; παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι. Περί τίνος γενόμενος; *περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, φησί, καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Δι' ὃν τρόπον; Ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς  
50 ἑσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων καὶ  
ὕψωθήσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν. Τί οὖν, μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀφανὲς ἦν τὸ  
ὄρος ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἀθέατον; Ἦπερ ὁ οἶκος, ὃν ἐδείματο Σολομών, κάτω που ἐν κατωτάτῳ  
τῆς γῆς ὤκοδόμητο καὶ ἐδέοντο τὰ ἐκάτερα, τὸ μὲν τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι τε καὶ φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ  
ὕψωσης καὶ ἀναβάσεως; Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἔσται, φησί, περιφανέστερον καὶ περι-  
55 βλεπτον καὶ καταθύμιον εἰς τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι οὐ παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἵτινες αὐτὸ ἐβεβηλώ-  
σατε, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐρχομένων πιστεῦσαι τῷ Χριστῷ ἔθνῶν. Καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπαρ-  
θήσεται ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων. Ποῖος οἶκος; Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Σολομώντος ἄρα; Μὴ γένοιτο.  
Πορεύθητι καὶ θέασαι, ὅτι κατέσκαπται. Ἀλλὰ ποῖος οἶκος; Ὅπου ἐτάφη καὶ κατώκησεν  
ἐκεῖ ὁ Ναζωραῖος τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκεῖθεν καὶ εὐθέως ὤκοδομή-  
60 θη ἐπάνω τοῦ τάφου ὁ ναὸς καὶ προσαγορεύεται ἡ ἀγία Ἀνάστασις. Τὸ δὲ ὅπερ ἐμφαί-  
νει, ὅτι ἐπαρθήσεται ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων τῇ δόξῃ, φησί, καὶ τῇ τιμῇ ἐπαρθήσεται. Ποίων  
ὀρέων; Τῶν τοῦ κόσμου δηλονότι, ἐν οἷς ὄρεσιν ἀνερχόμενα πρότερον τὰ ἔθνη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
πλανώμενα ἐχθίστως τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐθυζίαζον. Καὶ ὑψωθήσεται, φησὶν, ὑπεράνω τῶν  
βουνῶν. Ποίων βουνῶν; Τῶν τῆς κτίσεως, ἐν οἷς βουνοῖς οἱ ναοὶ τῶν ξοάνων καθιδρύντο.  
65 Καταλείψουσι, φησί, τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνούς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν, ἐν  
οἷς τοῖς δαιμονίοις ἐλάτρευον. Καὶ ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σιών τὸ περιφανέστατον καὶ  
ἐπὶ τὸν νέον ναὸν τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστάσεως, ἡγουν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ ἐλεύσονται λαοὶ  
πολλοὶ καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Δεῦτε καὶ ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ  
Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορευσόμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ. Βλέπεις προφη-  
70 τεῖαν ἐν καθαρῷ συντεθειμένην, ἐν ἣ παροιμία οὔτε μία, ἀλλὰ παρρησία ἀληθής.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐμφαίνει ἐλεύσεσθαι τὰ ἔθνη. Πῶς οὖν  
αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν ναὸν μετάγεις τὴν λέξιν, ὃν ἐδείματο ἡ βασιλεὺς Ἐλένης;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ μὴν τίς σοι ἀνήγγειλεν, ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος  
τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς Ἰακώβ; Ἄν μὴ χολᾷς, καὶ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μω-

49 ὅτι – 51 βουνῶν Is. 2.2 | 67 καὶ – 69 αὐτῇ Is. 2.3

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

48 *περὶ τῆς C πόθεν – 49 Ἱερουσαλήμ < X τοῦ < D μ γενόμενος<sup>2</sup>] γενόμενος A SHPTV, < μ | 49 φησί post Ἱερουσαλήμ μ, < SHPTV περὶ τῆς<sup>2</sup> TV τῆς<sup>2</sup> < μ διὰ ποῖον CXLK | 50 θεοῦ + ἀρθήσεται μ | 51 ὑπεράνω] ὑπὲρ AN ἐπάνω μ τί – 57 ὀρέων < SHPTV ἐπ' ἑσχάτων N SHPTV | 52 ἢ μ ὁ Σολομών μ κάτω που < μ | 53 τὰ < μ ὁρᾶσθαι] ὄρους θέας DA τε < DAN τε καὶ φαίνεσθαι < μ | 54 τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> DAN οὐ μὴν < μ μὴν] μόνον N ἀλλ.] καὶ μ | 55 τὸ] τοῦ μ οὐ] καὶ N ἐβεβηλώσασι C ἐβεβήλωσαν μ | 56 παρὰ] περὶ C ἔθνῶν πιστεύσατε τῷ Χριστῷ C τῷ < DAN ἔθνῶν τῷ Χριστῷ μ | 57 τοῦ Σολομώντος ἦτοι ὁ ναὸς ἄρα C ἄρα ante ὁ ναὸς μ | 58 κατώκισται SHPTV | 59 ἐκεῖ < μ οἰκοδομήθη PT | 60 ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει ὅτι < μ | 61 φησί post τιμῷ N, < SHPTV καὶ ποίων N ποίων ὀρέων < V | 62 τῶν < μ πρότερον – 63 πλανώμενα < μ ἐπ' – 63 ἐχθίστως < SHPTV | 63 ἐχθρίστως C ἐθυζίαζον post 62 ἀνερχόμενα N καὶ – 64 καθιδρύντο < SHPTV φησὶν < μ | 64 ποίων βουνῶν < C DN κρίσεως LK βουνοῖς < μ βουνοῖς + ἴνα CX καθιδρύντο*

cerning Judah, he says, and Jerusalem. In which way? *That in the last days the mountain of the Lord and the house of God will be manifest on the top of the mountains and will be exalted above the mountains.* Now what, was that mountain invisible and unseen until the last days? Or was the house, which Solomon erected, built somewhere in the lowest part of the earth, and both were lacking, so it could be seen and appeared, and that it was exalted and brought up? In no way, never, but it will be, he says, more famous and admired and wished to be seen not by you Jews, who have profaned it, but by the nations that came to believe in Christ. *And the house of God will be raised to the top of the mountains.* Which house? The temple of Solomon? Let it not be! Go and you will see that it is razed to the ground.<sup>74</sup> But which house? The one where the Nazarene was buried and dwelt three days and three nights,<sup>75</sup> and rose from there, and immediately the temple was built over the grave and is addressed as the Holy Resurrection. And when he declares that *he will be raised to the top of the mountains*, he will be raised in glory and honour, he says. Of which mountains? Clearly those of the world, on which mountains the nations formerly went up when they were going astray and sacrificing to the idols most hatefully. *And he will be exalted*, he says, *above the hills.* Which hills? Those of the creation, on which hills the temples of the carven images were founded. The nations, he says, will leave the mountains and hills and all their deceit, where they were venerating the demons. And they will come to the most famous mount Zion and to the new temple of the Holy Resurrection, that is, <the one> in Jerusalem. *And many people will come and say: Come on, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and the house of Jacob, and he will tell us his way and we will walk in it.* You see a clearly composed prophecy, in which there is not even one comparison, but truthful speech.”

Herban said: “He declares that the nations will come to the house of the God of Jacob. Now how do you transfer this word unto that temple which was erected by the empress Helen?”

The archbishop said: “Well, who told you that the only begotten Son and word of God is not the God of Jacob? If you will not become angry: He is the God and Lord of

DAN καθίδρυνται μ | 65 καταλείψωσι C και καταλείψουσι μ SHT και καταλείψωσι DAN PV φησί] σι C, < μ SHPTV τὰ<sup>1</sup> – βουνούς < C και τὰ<sup>2</sup> T και<sup>2</sup> – αὐτῶν < SHPTV | 66 τὸ<sup>2</sup> < P τὸ Σιών < μ | 67 ἐν < LK λαοὶ πολλοὶ] πολλοὶ λαοὶ LK | 68 και<sup>2</sup> < D | 69 Ἰακώβ < SHPTV πορευσόμεθα P | 70 καθαρῶς SHPT καθαρῶς V ἦ < C οὐδεμία DA μ SHPTV | 71 λέγει < μ TV εἰ εἰς X Ἰακώβ < μ και τὰ SHPT και πῶς οὖν C οὖν] δὲ μ | 72 ἐπ’ ἐκείνον] ἐκεῖνος SHPTV μετοικεῖς DAN SHPTV μετοικίσεις τὴν λέξιν post Ἐλένη μ ὄν] ἦν CLK βασίλισσα SHPTV | 73 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ἔφη C και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει DA, < P μὴν] μὴ SHPTV τίς] τί C DA HP ἀναγγέλει DA ἀνηγγέλει N ὅτι < P υἱός < P | 74 ὁ θεός CXLK μὴ] μοι N Ἰσαάκ + και Ἰακώβ C DAN Μωσέως μ

<sup>74</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>75</sup> Actually two nights.



75 σέως οὗτος ἐστὶ θεὸς καὶ κύριος. Μὴ γὰρ τίς σε ἐπλάνησεν, ὅτι τῶν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ πιστῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποκοπή τίς πέφυκεν ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν; Μὴ γένοιτο. Πάνυ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνους πιστῶς σεβαζόμεθα ὡς τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ εὐσεβῶς τηρήσαντας· ὑμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ ἀπίστους καὶ ἀγνώμονας ἀναφανέντας οὐ μόνον μυσάττομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον βδελυττόμεθα.”

80 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν τοῦτο;”

732b

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐπειδὴ ὄν ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἤξιεν, ἐλθόντα ἠρνήσασθε καὶ οὐ προσεδέξασθε.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Κεφαλὴν τίς ἀλγήσει μετὰ σοῦ ὁμίλων. Οἱ προφῆται ὄν ἐμαρτύρησαν ἴσως ἀκμὴν οὐ παρεγένετο. Ὅταν δὲ παραγένηται, ἀδύνατον πέφυκεν, ἵνα μὴ ζητήσῃ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἀνῆκε δουλείας Αἰγυπτίων σημείοις τε φοβεροῖς καὶ τέρασιν.”

85 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πάντως περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου φάσκεις, ἐκείνον γὰρ ὑμεῖς προσδοκᾶτε ἤξιεν. Καὶ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀμαρτία ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖσθε ἀντὶ ποιμένος θηρίον πονηρὸν καὶ λύκον ἀπηγριωμένον δεξάμενοι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἡσαίας ἔφησεν περὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σωτηρίας·  
90 Ἔσται, φησί, τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ φῶς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὡς πῦρ, καὶ ἀγιασεί αὐτὸν ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη θεὸς καὶ φλέξει καὶ φάγεται τὴν ὕλην ὡς χόρτον. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀποσβεσθήσεται τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ οἱ ὄρυμοι καὶ καταφάγεται ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν. Καὶ ἔσται ὁ φεύγων ὡς ἀπὸ φλογός καιομένης, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔσονται ἀριθμὸς, καὶ παιδίον μικρὸν γράψει αὐτούς. Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, οὐκέτι προσε-  
95 θήσεται τὸ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες τοῦ Ἰακώβ οὐκέτι πεποιθότες ἔσονται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.”

732c

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐρμῆνευσόν μοι τὴν προφητείαν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι  
ἀγνοεῖς αὐτῆς τὴν δύναμιν.”

732d

100 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ ἠγνόουν, οὐκ ἂν σοι αὐτὴν παρήγαγον.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Λέγε οὖν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν ἐπίστασαι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦδε τοῦ βίου καταβήσεται πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διπλὴν τὴν ἐνέργειαν κεκτημένον· καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς φῶς ἔσται καθορώμενον καὶ

90 ἔσται – 97 Ἰσραὴλ Is. 10.17–20 | 102 καταβήσεται – θεοῦ cf. 4 Reg. 1.10, 12

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

75 οὗτος – κύριος < N καὶ θεὸς καὶ SHPTV καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ κύριος TV τίς] τί C SHP σε < μ τῶν < DA Χριστοῦ παρουσίας N | 76 τοῦ Χριστοῦ SHP χριστῶν P μὴ bis X | 77 ἐκείνους ἡμεῖς P πιστῶς < μ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμον N | 78 ἀπὸ – καὶ] ἀπίστους τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ SHPTV οὐ – 79 πλεῖον < μ | 79 μυσάττομεθα SHPTV πλεόν CX βδελυσσόμεθα μ | 80 λέγει] ἔφη AN S, < μ HTV τοῦτο] τὸ λοιπὸν DA τοῦτο λοιπὸν N, < μ | 81 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < P ὄν] οὖν C, < H ὁ<sup>2</sup> – προφῆται] οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος H ἤξει P | 82 ἀρνήσασθε DA | 83 λέγει < μ V οὐκ ἀλγήσει X DAN μ ἀλγεῖ μικρὸν C ὄν οἱ προφῆται μ ὄν < H | 84 ἀκμὴν ἴσως μ παραγίνεται C παρεγίνεται SHP ἵνα μὴ ζητήσῃ] μὴ ἐκζητήσαι D | 85 ἐκ δουλείας N σημείοις – τέρασιν < SHPTV τε < DAN μ τε καὶ DAN

Abraham and Isaac and Joseph and Moses as well. For who did deceive you, saying that we Christians were cut off from the faithful Jews that lived before the arrival of Christ? Let it not be! For we adore those greatly and faithfully, since they piously kept the law of God; but of you, who after the arrival of Christ have appeared to be unbelieving and ungrateful, we are not only disgusted, but also feel a greater loathing.”

Herban said: “For which reason is this?”

The archbishop said: “Because when he came, of whom the law and the prophets testify that he would arrive, you denied and did not receive him.”

Herban said: “One can get a headache when speaking with you. Perhaps the one whom the prophets testified has not come yet. But when he will come, it is impossible that he should not search for his people, whom he redeemed from the slavery of Egypt with fear-inspiring signs and wonders.”

The archbishop said: “At all events you speak about the Antichrist, for it is he whom you expect to come. And woe to you, when you will be dying in your sins, having received a wicked animal and a wild wolf instead of a shepherd.”

Herban said: “Isaiah said about the final salvations of us Israelites, that in the last day *the light of Israel will be like fire, and God will sanctify him in a burning flame, and it will burn and devour the wood like an open field. In that day the mountains and the hill and the thickets will vanish, and will be devoured from soul to flesh. And there will be one that escapes as from a burning flame, and those that remain from them will be few, and a small child will write them. And it will happen in that day, that the remnant of Israel will not attach himself, and the remaining from the house of Jacob will not trust anymore in those that did them wrong, but will trust in the holy God of Israel.*”

The archbishop said: “Explain this prophecy to me, for I know that you do not know its meaning.”

Herban said: “If I would not know it, I would not have introduced it to you.”

The archbishop said: “Tell me now, if you know it.”

Herban said: “At the completion of this life, fire will come down from God possessing a twofold force; and it will be to Israel like a light that can be seen and enlightens

τέρασιν + εἰπὲ πρὸς τούτοις τί σοι δοκεῖ C | 86 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < K P πάντως + ἄθλιε DAN μ περι] κατὰ μ φάσκεις] λέγει X κατεφλύαρησας DAN μ γὰρ] δὲ μ προσδοκᾶτε ὑμεῖς ἦξει P | 87 ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις N ἀποθανήσεσθε C ἀντι – 88 δεξάμενοι < SHPTV | 88 δεξόμενοι N | 89 λέγει < μ TV Ἡσαΐας ἔφησεν < N ἔφησεν] ἔφη DA, λέγει post σωτηρίας μ ἡμῶν < SHPTV σωτηρίας] ἡμέρας post ἐσχάτης C | 90 ἐν τῇ DAN μ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ TV | 91 θεὸς < P καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 97 Ἰσραὴλ] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHPTV | 93 καταφλεχθέντες μ | 94 ἐν < LK N προσθήσεσθε C | 98 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < P μοι < H ἐγὼ < CXLK γὰρ < CX ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ LK ὄτι + παντελῶς DAN μ | 100 λέγει < μ TV | 101 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει A S, < C D H αὐτήν] ταύτην X DAN μ | 102 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει] καὶ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ λέγει] ἔφη DAN S, < TV ἐπὶ συντελείας SHPTV τοῦδε < P τοῦδε τοῦ] τοῦ τῆδε N τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < LK DA | 103 διπλοῦν N κερτημένῳ N ὡς < μ

- φωτίζον αὐτοῦ τὴν παροικίαν, τὰ δὲ ὑπόλοιπα πάντα ἔθνη ὡς εἰς ἀστραπὴν μεταποιηθὲν  
 105 καὶ διοδεῦσαν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ καταφάγεται ὡς ἀλλοφύλους καὶ ἀλλοτρίους τοῦ νόμου 733A  
 τοῦ θεοῦ. Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἐκείνους μόνους καταφάγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄσους εὗρη ἐπικοινωνήσαν-  
 τας ἐν τισὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἢ γε καὶ τὰ τοῦ νόμου δόκιμα παραπατήσαντας. Μόνοι δὲ ἐκείνοι  
 τότε ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εὗρεθήσονται, ὅσοι καταλειφθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἀπειλῆς  
 110 ἐκείνης τῆς συντελείας, ἤγουν τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς καύσεως. Καὶ οὔτε ἐλλείψωσιν ἔκτοτε οὔτε  
 προσθήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔσονται ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὡσπερ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ μὴ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τινὶ  
 ἐτέρῳ, οὔτε ἐπὶ Χριστῷ οὔτε ἐπὶ υἱὸν οὔτε ἐπὶ Ἰησοῦν οὔτε ἐπὶ τινὶ ἄλλῳ, ὄνπερ φάσκεται  
 αὐτός, ἀλλ' ἔσονται, φησί, *πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*. Αὕτη ἡ λύσις  
 τῆς προφητείας, ὡς εἶρηκα.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κάκιτος ἐρμηνεία, Ἐρβᾶν, καὶ πλήρης ἀλογίας τὰ παρὰ  
 115 σοῦ εἰρημένα.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οἶδα ὅτι διενόηθης καὶ ταύτην διαστρέψαι τὴν προφητείαν εἰς τὸ βοη- 733B  
 θῆσαι σοὶ ὡσπερ καὶ τὰς ἀνωτέρω. Ἄλλ' οὖν φράσον ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτός, ἅπερ καὶ βούλει.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ τῆς προφητείας ταύτης οὕτω πως ἔγκειται.  
*Ἔσται*, φησίν, *ὅταν συντελέσῃ κύριος πάντα ποιῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*.  
 120 Ποῖα πάντα ποιῶν; Πρόδηλον ὅσα αὐτὸς ὁ προφήτης προλαβὼν προεφήτευσεν, ὅπως  
 ἐκλείψει ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως ἐν ἀπαγωγῇ ἔσονται Ἑβραῖοι καὶ δεινῇ αἰχμαλω-  
 σία, ὅπως οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπολούνται, οὗσπερ τοῖς Σοδόμοις ἀπέικασεν, ὅπως ὁ  
 λαὸς ἐξολοθρευθεῖ, οὗς τῇ Γομόρρα παρεπλησίασεν, ὅπως ὁ νόμος παυθήσεται, ὅπως  
 125 Ἱερουσαλήμ Χαλδαίοις παραδοθήσεται καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἔσται εἰς προνομίην, ὅπως ἦξη ὁ 733C  
 Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὅπως ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, ὅπως κρατηθῆ μὴ  
 δεχθεῖς παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πάθη ἱκανὰ καὶ σταυρωθῆ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ καὶ ταφῆ καὶ  
 ἀναστῆ ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀποστείλει τοὺς μαθητὰς  
 αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ἐπιστρέψει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν  
 αὐτοῦ. *Ἔσται οὖν, ὅταν συντελέσῃ ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών* ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις

129 ἔσται – 136 στρουθίζων Is. 10.12–14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

104 εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα P λοιπὰ CXLK πάντα < P ἔθνη πάντα TV τὰ ἔθνη XK HP εἰς < K μ SHPTV ἀστραπὴ μ SHPTV | 105 καὶ καταφάγεται N ὡσεὶ X ἀλλοφύλους] φλΓ φίλους P ἀλλο-  
 τρίους καὶ ἀλλοφύλους DN | 106 μὴν] μόνον μ μόνους καταφάγεται < μ ἀλλὰ καὶ] ἀλλ' μ ὄσους  
 – 107 τισὶ < C εὗροιεν DAN κοινωνήσαντας DAN μ SHPTV | 107 ἐν τισὶ] ὅτι συνεμίγησαν T  
 τισὶ + ἐν SHV, < P ἢ – παραπατήσαντας < SHPTV γε < μ καὶ τὰ] κατὰ C παραπατήσαντες C  
 πατήσαντας μ ἢ – παραπατήσαντας < SHPTV | 108 τότε < CX D μ T ἐν ὅλῳ < C  
 εὗρεθήσονται ὅσοι καταλειφθῶσιν < C | 109 ἐκείνης < P τῆς<sup>2</sup> – πυρὸς] τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς P  
 ἐκλείψωσιν C P ἐλλείψουσιν LK λείψωσιν D λείψουσιν μ ἐκλείψουσιν V ἔκτοτε] ἔτι DAN, ἔτι post  
 προσθήσωσιν μ, < HP | 110 προσθήσουσιν XLK μ P παραθήσωσιν A ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ < P ἐπὶ – 111  
 Ἰησοῦν] ἐπὶ τινὰ ἕτερον ἢ Χριστὸν ἢ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἢ Ἰησοῦν μ τινὶ] τι T | 111 Χριστὸν C DA οὔτε  
 ἐπι<sup>2</sup> < P οὔτε<sup>2</sup> – Ἰησοῦν < SHPTV υἱῷ X ἐπὶ Ἰησοῦν] ἐφ' υἱὸν DAN Ἰησοῦ X οὔτε<sup>4</sup> – ἄλλω <  
 P οὔτε<sup>4</sup> – 112 αὐτός < μ ὅπερ LK | 112 φησὶ < μ πεποιθότες post θεὸν T αὕτη + οὖν DAN

his dwelling-place, and will devour all the remaining nations as if turned into a lightning wandering through the whole world, as foreigners and strangers to the law of God. And it will not only devour these, but also those whom it will find as having interrelations in anything with the nations, or also as transgressing the excellent teachings of the law. Only those will then be found in the whole world that will be left behind after that frightful threat of the completion, that is the burning by fire. And henceforth they will not be in want nor superfluous, but they will be in the world like angels of God that do not trust in anybody else, neither in Christ nor in the Son nor in Jesus nor anybody else, but *they will trust in the holy God of Israel*. This is the solution of the prophecy, as I have said.”

The archbishop said: “This is a very bad explanation, Herban, and what you have said is full of folly.”

Herban said: “I know that you also have in mind to distort this prophecy like those before, in order to support yourself. But now tell us yourself, whatever you want.”

The archbishop said: “It is written somewhat like this at the beginning of this prophecy. *It will happen*, he says, *when the Lord will have performed his whole work on Mount Sinai and in Jerusalem*. Which whole work? Clearly what the same prophet has prophesied before, that the kingdom of the Jews will disappear, that the Hebrews will be deported into terrible captivity, that the rulers of Israel will perish, whom he compared to Sodom, that the people will be destroyed utterly, whom he equates to Gomorrah, that the law will end, that Jerusalem will be given to the Chaldeans and plundered by the Romans, that Christ will come, the Son of the living God, that he will work signs and wonders, that he will be arrested, since he was not received by the Jews, that he will suffer a lot, will be crucified and die and be buried and rise from the dead and be accepted into heaven, and will send out his disciples unto the ends of the world and will convince all nations to recognise him. *It will happen*, he says, *when the Lord* who sits in

λύσις] κλήσις T | 113 ὡς εἶρηκα < μ | 114 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < A P κακίστη μ ὦ Ἐρβάν DAN μ Ἐρβάν < P πλήρη X μ ἀλογίας + καὶ  
ἀμαθείας DAN μ, < P | 115 σοῦ + νῦν DAN μ | 116 λέγει] ἔφη DAN S V, < μ T ἐνοήθης K S  
αὐτὴν TV τὴν προφητείαν διαστρέψαι TV (μεταστρέψαι V) τὴν προφητείαν < P προφητείαν  
ἐρμηνείαν μ | 117 ὡσπερ] ὡς P ante ἀλλ' ± Ἐρβάν λέγει N ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀλλὰ μ ἡμῖν < μ αὐτῷ C  
ἄνω πρὸς ἄνω CXLK ἄνω καὶ] πρὸς ἄνω DAN ἄνω μ | 118 ὁ – ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος  
T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < A P ταύτης] ταῦτα N οὕτω πως] οὕτως SHPTV | 119 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 120 ποιῶν <  
HP ἐν<sup>2</sup> < C μ | 120 ποιῶν < μ ὅτι ὅσα DAN μ προλαβῶν < D SHPTV | 121 ἐπαγωγῆ D μ καὶ  
Ἑβραῖοι C οἱ Ἑβραῖοι μ P καὶ δεινῆ] δεινὴ καὶ ἡ C δεινῆ + στενοχωρία ἦτοι ἐν μ | 122 οὐσπερ]  
ὡσπερ P ὅπως<sup>2</sup> – 123 παυθήσεται < HP | 123 ἐξολοθρευθῆεν DA ἐξολοθρευθῆ N μ SHPTV οὐς  
– παρεπλησίασεν < SHPTV | 124 Ἱερουσαλήμ] τοῖς X Ἰσραὴλ μ καὶ – προνομῆν < SHPTV ὁ  
Χριστὸς < P | 125 ὅπως<sup>1</sup>] καὶ μ ὅπως<sup>1</sup> – τέρατα < CX ὅπως<sup>2</sup>] καὶ μ | 126 παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων  
μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 127 νεκρῶν] < μ καὶ<sup>3</sup> – ταφῆ < SHPTV | 127 τῶν νεκρῶν CX τοὺς οὐρανοὺς SHPTV  
ἀποστελεῖται μ | 129 ἔσται] ὡστε DAN ἔσται οὖν ὅταν] ὅταν τοῖνον μ ταῦτα < N T πάντα < SV  
ποιῶν πάντα μ ποιῶν < N HP ἐν τῷ] τὰ P ἐν<sup>1</sup> – Σιών < C ὁ – 130 καθήμενος < SHPTV

- 130 καθήμενος και ἐν τῇ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀλλιζόμενος ἐπισκέπεται ὡς  
 ἄν εἶπη τίς εὐκαιρήσας ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων και ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ὕψος τῆς δόξης τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ. Εἶπε γάρ, Τῇ ἰσχύι τῆς χειρός μου ποιήσω και τῇ  
 σοφίᾳ τῆς συνέσεώς μου ἀφελῶ ὄρια ἐθνῶν και τὴν ἰσχύν αὐτῶν προνομεύσω και σείσω 733D  
 πόλεις κατοικουμένας και τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλείψομαι τῇ χειρὶ μου ὡς νοσσιὰν και  
 135 ὡς καταλελειμμένα ὡὰ ἀρῶ, και οὐκ ἔσται ὅς διαφεύξεται με ἢ ἀντιῆται μοι ἀνοίγων  
 στόμα αὐτοῦ και στρουθίζων. Τί οὖν περὶ τίνος λέγει ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι Ἐπιβλέπει ὁ θεὸς  
 ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν τὸν μέγαν τὸν ταῦτα πάντα ἄπερ εἵπομεν καυχησάμενον; Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς  
 ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰ ὑπέρογκα φυσήσας; Αὐτὸς ἐρμηνεύσει ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τῶν 736A  
 Ἀσσυρίων, φησί, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἡγουν τῶν Περσῶν. Ταῦτη γὰρ τῇ  
 140 βασιλείᾳ συνεχώρησεν ὁ θεὸς και τὰ πάνδεινα τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐνεδείξατο, ὅτε και ὁ ἀρχι-  
 μάγειρος Ναβουζαρδάν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεπύρησεν ἀπάρας και τὸν λαὸν εἰς ἀπαγω-  
 γὴν δι' αἰχμαλωσίας. Ποιήσασα τοιγαροῦν ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο  
 συγχωρήσαντος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε πράως τῇ ταπεινώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ, οὔτε μὴν συνήκεν  
 ὅτι κρίμασι θεοῦ διοικῶνται τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πράγματα· ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν ὅτι ἐξ ἰδίας συν-  
 145 ἔσεως ταῦτα αὐτῷ τὰ εὐτυχήματα συναντήκασι. Καὶ εὐθέως ὑψώθη τῇ καρδίᾳ και ἐπήρθη  
 τῷ φρονήματι και τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἐφρυάξατο, πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην λέγων ὑποτα-  
 γῆναι αὐτῷ ἐκτὸς εἰδήσεως θεοῦ. Οὐκοῦν ἐλέγχων τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προ-  
 φήτου και βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐπήγαγεν Ἄκουσον, φησί, σὺ  
 ὁ ταῦτα οὐ τοῖς κρίμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ σεαυτῷ τὸ πᾶν λογιζόμενος· Μὴ δοξασθήσεται 736B  
 150 ἀξίνη ἄνευ τοῦ κόπτοντος δι' αὐτῆς, ὥστε κόπτειν ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὑψωθήσεται πρίων ἄνευ τοῦ  
 ἔλκοντος αὐτὸν τοῦ διαπρίσαι τὸ οἶνον ἢ ἀρθήσεται ῥάβδος ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς και τύψη τον,  
 ὅπερ και βούλεται. Παραβολὴν εἰσάγων πρὸς τὴν ὑπερήφανον ἐκείνην βασιλείαν ὁ προ-  
 φήτης λέγει ὅτι Ἔδει σε κἄν τούτοις τοῖς χαρακτῆροι ποδηγηθέντα νοῆσαι και συνιέναι,  
 ὅτι οὔτε τοῦ τρέχοντος οὔτε τοῦ διώκοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ συγχωροῦντος και παραχωροῦντος

140 δ<sup>2</sup> – 141 ἐνεπύρησεν cf. Ier. 52.12–13 | 149 μῆ – 151 ἑαυτῆς Is. 10.15 | 154 οὔτε<sup>1</sup> – 155  
 θεοῦ cf. Rom. 9.14

#### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

130 ἀλλιζόμενος post Ἱερουσαλήμ P ἐπισκέπεται – 131 μέγαν < SHPTV | 131 εἶποι C N  
 εὐχερήσας X μέγα C N τῷ ὕψει CXLK τὸν<sup>3</sup> – 132 αὐτοῦ post 137 μέγαν, postea repetit 136 τί  
 – 137 μέγαν SHPTV | 132 εἶπη P ὅτι τῇ<sup>1</sup> N ἐν τῇ<sup>2</sup> μ τῆς σοφίας H | 135 ἄρων SV ἔστιν μ  
 SHPTV με] μοι CX μου DAN | 136 τὸ στόμα C αὐτοῦ < μ STHPV ὅτι < SHPTV βλέπει μ |  
 137 μέγα N εἶπον μ | 138 αὐτὸς – ὅτι] οὗτος ἐστὶν SHPTV ἐρμηνεύει DAN | 139 φησί <  
 SHPTV τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἡγουν P Ἀσσυρίων<sup>2</sup> + φησίν D Ἀσσυρίων ἡγουν τῶν < SHPTV ταῦτη –  
 147 θεοῦ < SHPTV | 140 τῇ < DA | 141 Ναβουζαρδάν X τοῦ θεοῦ] κυρίου D ἐνέπρησεν μ  
 συναγωγὴν C | 142 δι' < LK ποιήσας DA τὰ < N | 143 αὐτοῦ < X μὴν < μ | 144 πέρατα μ  
 συνειδήσεως ἤτοι συνέσεως C | 145 συντήκασι A συνητήκασιν N | 146 και τὰ προγεγραμμένα]  
 κατὰ τὸ προγεγραμμένον N ἐφρυάξαντο CX N | 147 ἐκτὸς εἰδήσεως θεοῦ < μ τοῦ θεοῦ N  
 ἄνοιαν] ἀγνωσίαν N ὁ προφήτης διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ SHPTV | 148 αὐτὸν < μ προσήγαγεν P φησί]  
 εἰπὼν μ σὺ < P | 149 και οὐ DAN SHPTV ἐν τοῖς P τοῦ < DA SHPTV σεαυτὸν DA λογισάμε-

the highest will have performed his whole work on Mount Sinai and will visit dwelling in the upper Jerusalem of his kingdom, as one might say in good time, *his great mind, the ruler of the Assyrians, and the height of the glory of his eyes*. For he said: *With the strength of my hand I will work, and with the wisdom of my understanding I will take away the boundaries of the nations and will plunder their strength, and will shake inhabited towns and leave behind all the inhabited world in my hand like a nest of young birds, and will take them away like abandoned eggs, and there will be nobody who will escape or contradict me opening his mouth and twittering*. Now what does the prophet say and about whom, that *God will look upon his great mind* which boasts with all that we have said? Who is this mind that is swollen with exceedingly great pride? The prophet himself will explain this, when he says *the ruler of the Assyrians*, that is the kingdom of the Assyrians, which is that of the Persians. For God let this kingdom <attack> and displayed these horrible things in Jerusalem, when the chief cook<sup>76</sup> Nebuzardan set the house of God to flames and also deported the people into captivity. Therefore, when that king<sup>77</sup> had done this with the permission of God, he did not meekly understand this in the contrition of his heart, nor did he understand that the things of the world are governed by God's judgements, but it seemed to him that his good luck had befallen him through his own wisdom. And immediately his heart was exalted and his mind was raised, and he boasted with the things written before, saying that all the world would be submitted to him without God's knowledge. So God, refuting their folly through the prophet and wanting to destroy them, went on after the aforementioned words: Hear, he said, you that consider everything not according to God's judgements, but by yourself: *The axe will not be glorified without someone who cuts with it*, so that you cut by it, *nor will the saw be exalted without someone who pulls it* to saw something, *nor will the rod be raised by itself* and beat whatsoever it wants. Introducing a parable for that arrogant kingdom the prophet says: Being guided by these symbols you

νος C | 150 δι' αὐτῆς < SHTV δι' – 151 ἔλκοντος < P ἐν αὐτῇ] ἑαυτῇ XLK N ἐν ἑαυτῇ D αὐτὴν STV, < H πριῶν N | 151 ἑαυτὸν C τοῦ διαπρίσαι] διὰ τοῦ πρίσαι μ διὰ τὸ πρίσαι T ἧ – 152 βούλεται < HP τον < C STV | 152 ὄνπερ A STV καὶ < DA πρὸς τὴν ὑπερήφανον < P τὸν ὑπερήφανον ἐκείνον βασιλεῖα CXLK ὁ προφήτης < N | 153 λέγων DA, λέγει post τούτοις N σε < P ὀδηγηθέντα CXLK | 154 συγχωροῦντος – 155 θεοῦ] θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος N καὶ παραχωροῦντος < DA μ

<sup>76</sup> Actually the title of a high Oriental court official, which appears often in the Septuagint beginning with Gen. 37.6.

<sup>77</sup> The text has 'that kingdom' (ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη), but the following sentence requires a male subject. Note that βασιλεία is often used in the sense of 'majesty', as for example in N 26, 58, 66 ec.

- 155 θεοῦ τὰ τῆδε χρηματίζουσιν, ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ νίκαις καὶ ἤτταις καὶ ἑτέροις πσι προτε-  
ρήμασιν. Ἐπειδὴ δέ, φησίν, οὐκ ἠβουλήθης τοιοῦτω σκοπῷ τὸ πᾶν τοῦ θεοῦ λογίσασθαι,  
ἀλλ' ἐπαρθεὶς ἐφύσησας καὶ ὑπέρογκα ὑψώθης τῇ καρδίᾳ, μεγάλα φαντασθεὶς τῷ πνεύ- 736c  
ματι ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ καὶ οὐ δι' ἐμοῦ. Ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὡς βεβούλευσαι, οὐχ οὕτως  
ἔσται· ἀλλὰ ἀποστειλῶ, φησίν, εἰς τὴν σὴν τιμὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν σὴν δόξαν πῦρ, φημί  
160 τὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν καιόμενον, ὃ καὶ καυθήσεται μεγάλως. Καὶ ἔσται τὸ φῶς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ  
ὡς πῦρ καὶ ἀγιάσει αὐτὸν ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη καὶ φλέξει καὶ καταφάγεται ὡς χόρτον τὴν  
ἕλην. Ἐνταῦθα ἐστίν, Ἐρβᾶν, τὸ ζητούμενον. Σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἀνοήτως πῶς ἠρμήνευσας τόγε  
τὸ ῥήμα. Ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἄνωθεν ἠναγκάσθην διηγήσασθαι σοι τῆς προφητείας τὸ  
κεφάλαιον, ἵνα καθ' ἔπος ἀκούσας συνιείς καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν βεβαιωθῆς τὴν  
165 ἀσφάλειαν. Φῶς γὰρ εἰπὼν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι Ἔσται ὡς πῦρ καὶ ἀγιάσει αὐτὸν  
ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη καὶ φλέξει καὶ φάγεται ὡς χόρτον τὴν ἕλην, τὸ ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ 736d  
στενόχωρον καὶ τὸ ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία βιαιότατον παροίκημα καὶ τὸν ὄνειδισμὸν τῶν ἔθνων  
καὶ τὴν λύπην καὶ τὴν θλίψιν καὶ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ  
τὴν πείναν καὶ τὴν δίψαν καὶ ξηροκοιτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλουσίαν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ξενιτείαν, ἦν  
170 αἰχμαλωτισθέντες καὶ ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία χρηματίζοντες ὑπέμενον παιδευόμενοι, φῶς σωφρο-  
νισμοῦ τὸ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὡς πῦρ ἐσθίον τὰ ἐνδόσθια τροπικῶς ὁ προφήτης προηνίξατο.  
Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῆ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐν ἀναπαύσει χρηματίζοντες ἐσκοτίζοντο καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐξημάρ-  
τανον, διὰ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας 737A  
παρέλαβε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ προφήτου Μανασσῆ βασιλεύοντος καὶ  
175 ἀπῆρε τὸν λαὸν ἐν γῆ Χαλδαίων καὶ κατώκησεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε, ἵνα οὐδ' ἡ ἄνεσις καὶ ἡ μέθη  
καὶ ἡ σπατάλη ἐσκοτίζε καὶ ἐνεκότει τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων ἐκπίπτειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν,  
τούτους ἡ λύπη καὶ ἡ ταλαιπωρία καὶ ἡ ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία διατριβὴ κατεσθίουσα ὡς πῦρ  
καιόμενον φωτίση τὸν νοθν, ἀναμνήσκουσα ὅτι· Ἅδι ὦν ἐν ἀναπαύσει ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ  
χρηματίζοντες ἀδεῶς ἡμαρτάνομεν, τούτου χάριν εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν τοῖς ἔθνεσι παρεδώ-  
180 θημεν, κἂν τοίνυν ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία ὑπάρχοντες τηρήσωμεν τὸν νόμον κυρίου.' Ἴσως ἰδῶν

158 ζῶ – 162 ἕλην Is. 10.16–17 | 173 ἐξήγειρεν – 175 ἐκεῖσε cf. 4 Reg. 24.10–14

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

155 θεοῦ – προτερήμασιν < P ἔν – προτερήμασιν] πόλεμοι τε καὶ νίκαι καὶ ἤτται καὶ ἑτέρα τινα προτερήματα μ τε] ταῖς ST τοῖς HV ἐν ἑτέροις CXLK ἑτέροις < SHPTV πσι] τοῖς σὺν V πσιῖν ἑτέροις DAN | 156 δέ < μ τῷ τοιοῦτω D τοιοῦτω – πᾶν] τῷ σκοπῷ τοῦ πάντων P τοῦ < DA | 157 ἐφύσησας] καὶ φυσήσας N καὶ < DAN μ V ὑψώθης] ὑψώθεις DA CX καὶ ὑψώθεις καὶ N, < μ τῇ καρδίᾳ rost ἐπαρθεὶς μ | 158 ἀπὸ] περὶ μ σαντοῦ DAN οὐ < P οὐ δι'] οὐκ μ κύριος + ὁ θεός P βεβούλευσαι C ἐβούλευσαι P οὕτως + σοι CXLK | 159 ἀλλ' DAN μ σὴν<sup>2</sup> < μ STV | 160 ὅ] ὡς DAN | 161 τὸ πῦρ DAN | 162 ὦ Ἐρβᾶν N Ἐρβᾶ SHV γὰρ < SHPTV ἐρμήνευσας DA SPTV, < H τότε CX N τοῦτο μ | 163 τοῦτο] τοῦ H σοι < P | 164 καθ'] κατ' XL<sup>c</sup>K μ συνιείς + πάντα DAN συνήσης μ καὶ – 165 φῶς < μ ἀσφάλειαν – ἀλήθειαν N | 165 εἰπὼν γὰρ μ τοῦ] τὸν CX ὁ προφήτης τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ N ἔσται + τὸ φῶς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μ ὡς – 166 φάγεται < HP πῦρ – 166 ὡς < H | 166 καταφάγεται C DA μ | 167 στενοχωροῦν DAN μ στενοχωρὸν P τῇ γῆ C HP βιαιοτάτως N, < SHPTV οἴκημα C παρῳκημα DAN τῶν – 168 λύπην < SHPTV | 168 τὴν<sup>2</sup>

should perceive and understand, that this world belongs neither to a pursuing nor to a persecuting, but to the conceding and forgiving God, in wars and victories, defeats and various other advantages. Because, he says, you did not want to consider God's whole work in such a way, but arose boasting and exalted yourself excessively in your heart, and imagined great things in your spirit by yourself and not through me. *As true as I live*, says the Lord, *it will not be as you have decided, but I will send*, he says, *dishonour into your honour and fire into your glory*, I mean that *burning* one of temptations, which also *will burn* greatly. *And the light of Israel will be like fire, and he will sanctify him in a burning flame, and it will burn and devour the wood like an open field*. Here, Herban, is what you look for. For you have explained this word somewhat foolishly. I was forced before to tell you the beginning of the prophecy, so that you may be confirmed with certainty, hearing it word for word, understanding it and knowing the truth. For when the prophet said that *the light of Israel will be like fire, and he will sanctify him in a burning flame, and it will burn and devour the wood like an open field*, speaking about the oppression in captivity and the forced sojourn in a foreign land, the reproach of the nations, the pain and affliction and fear of death, which came from the king of the Assyrians, and the hunger and thirst, the sleeping on hard earth, the lack of baths and the living in exile, which they suffered being chastised as captives and staying in a foreign land, in a comparison he foretold darkly about the light of chastisement which by force will devour the intestines like fire. For since they were darkened, living in peace in their own land and sinned without scruple, therefore God raised the king of the Assyrians who marched up and took Jerusalem after the death of the prophet, when Manasse was king, and deported the people to the land of the Chaldeans and settled them there, so that the sorrow and distress and the sojourn in a foreign land might enlighten the mind of those, whom the relaxation, drunkenness and wantonness had darkened and enticed them to depart from the orders of God and to neglect them, devouring them like burning fire and reminding them: 'Because we have sinned without scruple living in peace in our own land, therefore we were given to the nations for de-

< DAN μ και<sup>3</sup> – θανάτου] τοῦ θανάτου τὸν φόβον SHPTV (τὸν < P) τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μ και<sup>4</sup> – 169 ξηροκοιτίαν < μ και<sup>4</sup> – 169 ξενιτείαν < SHPTV | 169 τήν<sup>2</sup> < DAN τὴν ξηροκοιτίαν LK ἄλωσιαν μ | 170 και < LK D SHPTV ἐν γῆ ἄλλοτρία post ὑπέμενον SHPTV χρηματίζοντες] ὄντες μ, < SHPTV ὑπέμειναν DA ὑπέμενόν τε μ παιδευόμενοι] δεόμενοι μ, < SHPTV | 171 ὡς πῦρ] ὡσπερ A, < μ ἐσθίοντα μ ἐνόσθια P ὁ προφήτης < μ ἠνίξατο μ | 172 χρηματίζοντες ἐν ἀναπαύσει C χρηματίζοντες] ὄντες SHPTV ἐσκότιζοντο και < SHPTV | 173 κύριος ὁ θεός C στρατοπεδεύσας < SHPTV | 174 Μανασσῆ τοῦ προφήτου SHPTV τοῦ – βασιλεύοντος] βασιλέως Μανασσῆ μ | 175 και<sup>1</sup> – ἐκέισε < SHPTV αὐτοῦς N και ἡ μέθη < SHPTV | 176 ἐσκόταζεν SHPTV και ἐνεκότει < SHPTV ἐνεσκότει X κυρίου θεοῦ C ἐκίπτειν και < SHPTV ἀμελεῖν και ἐκίπτειν ἐποίηι μ | 177 και<sup>2</sup> – διατριβή < SHPTV | 178 τὸν νοῦν < CXLK μιμνήσκουσα DAN, < SHPTV ἀναμιμνήσκουσα – 181 αὐτοῦ < μ | 179 ἀμαρτάνομεν PV εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν < SHPTV ἀπαγωγὴν ὑμῶν C | 180 κἄν] και ἄν SHPTV εἶδον S



ὑμῶν τὸ εὐμετάβολον ἀποστρέφει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν θείῳ τρόπῳ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.  
 Καὶ ὄρα τὸν Μανασσὴν, ὅπως ἐφώτισεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἀπαγωγή τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας· ἐκείθεν γὰρ  
 διασωθεῖς καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ γενόμενος ὁ τηλικούτος ἐν ἀνομίαις μετέγνω εὐρῶν ἔλεος  
 185 παρὰ κυρίου. Περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ σκοποῦ τοιγαροῦν, ὡ Ἐρβᾶν, τόνδε τὸν λόγον ὁ προφήτης  
 ἠνίξατο, ὅτι *ἔσται τὸ φῶς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*, φησὶν, *ὡς πῦρ καὶ ἀγιάσει αὐτὸν* ἐφαμαρτάνοντα,  
 ὃ καὶ γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντος αὐτὸν βασιλέως, ἀνθ' ὅσον  
 ἐπήρθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο τὸ πᾶν τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' ὑψώθη τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπειλῶν καὶ τὴν οἰκου-  
 μένην ἅπασαν λείψεσθαι ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει, ἔπειτα ἀποφαίνων κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς φησὶ διὰ τοῦ 737b  
 προφήτου· *Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀποσβεσθήσεται τὰ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ οἱ δρυμοὶ καὶ κατα-*  
 190 *φάγεται ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν. Καὶ ἔσται ὁ φεύγων ὡς φεύγων ἀπὸ φλογὸς καιομένης·*  
*καὶ οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔσονται ἀριθμὸς καὶ παιδίον μικρὸν γράφει αὐτούς.*  
 Τίνα οὖν εἰσὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἅπερ λέγει ἀποσβεσθῆναι, καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ τί πεφύκασι καὶ οἱ δρυμοί,  
 οὓς καταφάγεται ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν; Πρόσεχε, Ἐρβᾶν, τὰ ὄρη ἐμφαίνων τοὺς μεγά-  
 λους σατράπας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ βουνοὺς εἰσάγων περὶ τῶν καταδεεστέρων ἀρχόντων  
 195 λέγει. Δρυμῶνας δὲ παραδηλῶν τὸ ἄγριον τῆς φατρίας αὐτῶν ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ ἀλλότριον  
 τοῦ πνευματικοῦ καρποῦ· βάλανος γὰρ χοίρων τροφή καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἔργα τροφή 737c  
 δαιμόνων. Τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἠνίξατο ὄρη καὶ βουνοὺς καὶ δρυμῶνας ὡς ἐν  
 μηδενὶ καρπῷ ἀγαθῷ ἐπιτηδεύουσ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἁμαρτία ὡς βάλανον καὶ μόνον, καθὰ εἴρηται,  
 καρπεύοντα ἐξ ὧν ἐσθίουσιν ὡς χοῖροι οἱ δαίμονες. *Καταφάγεται*, φησὶ, *τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς*  
 200 *βουνούς καὶ τοὺς δρυμῶνας ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν.* Οὐ μόνον φάσκει, ὅτι οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ  
 οἱ ἔντιμοι ἀπολείφονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φυλὴ αὐτῶν διαφθαρήσεται. Μόλις ποδὸς ὀλίγοι  
 διασωθέντες, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὀλίγοι, ὅτι *παιδίον μικρὸν*, φησὶ, *γράφει αὐτούς*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν,  
 ἐν εὐτελεῖ τόπῳ τινὶ πεδίῳ περιγράφτοι ἔσονται. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ *ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἕως σαρκῶν*,

182 ὄρα – 184 κυρίου cf. 2 Chron. 33.11–33 | 189 τῇ – 191 αὐτοῦς Is. 10.18–19 | 196 τὰ – 197 δαιμόνων cf. Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 8.30

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

181 θείῳ] ἔπειτα DAN θείῳ – αὐτοῦ < SHPTV τρόπον DA τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως N | 182 Μα-  
 νασσῆ DA SHPTV αὐτὸν] ὑμᾶς P ἡ < SV ἀπαγωγή τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας] αἰχμαλωσία SHPTV |  
 183 καὶ – ἀνομίαις < μ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τε DA γενόμενος V ἐν<sup>2</sup> < HP μετέγνω + καὶ HP μετέγνω  
 εὐρῶν] καὶ μεταγνοὺς εὐρεν μ εὐρῶν] εὐρεν D ἔλαιον CXLK | 184 περὶ – 186 ἐξῆς < D τοῦδε]  
 δὲ A τοῦτου μ τοῦ σκοποῦ τοῦδε SHPTV τοιγαροῦν] χρηματίζων C τοίνυν μ, < SHPTV ὡ < P  
 τόνδε < μ ἠνίξατο ὁ προφήτης TV | 185 φησὶν < μ αὐτὸν] τὸν CXLK ἐφαμαρτάνοντα]  
 ἐφάμαρτον ὄντα SHPTV, < μ | 186 ὃ] ὧν SHPTV ὅσον ἐπήρθη καὶ] ὧν SHPTV | 187 ἐλο-  
 γίσαντο PT τὸ < X τὸ – θεῷ] τῶν πάντων θεὸν TV πᾶν τῷ] πάντων C ἅπλῃον SHPT ἄσπλον  
 V ἀπειλῶν – 188 ἔπειτα < μ καί<sup>2</sup> < D SHPTV | 188 ἅπασαν < SHPTV φείψεσθαι C κατα-  
 λείψεσθαι ante 187 τὴν SHPTV ἔπειτα – φησὶ] ἐμφαίνει ὁ θεὸς SHPTV | 190 ψυχῶν C καὶ ἕως  
 CX ὡς φεύγων < CXLK ὁ φεύγων<sup>2</sup> DA φεύγων<sup>2</sup> < μ καιομένης < SHPTV | 191 παιδίῳ μικρῷ  
 N | 192 τίνα – 193 σαρκῶν < SHPTV εἰσὶ – λέγει] λέγει καθάπερ εἰσὶν C τὰ ὄρη < LK ἅπερ] &  
 DAN μ ἀποσβεσθήσεται C βουνοὶ < C τί περ DAN τί πεφύκασι < μ | 193 σαρκὸς N Ἐρβᾶν]  
 ἀκριβῶς DAN μ, < CXLK τὰ ὄρη τὰ P ἐμφαίνουσιν C ἐμφαίνει XLK μεγάλους < SHPTV |  
 194 τοὺς σατράπας μ σατράπας + φάσκει DAN HPTV, + φασκεῖ S ἐπεισάγων T | 195 δρυμοὺς

portation, although we now keep the law of the Lord living in a foreign land.’ Seeing your volatility, he will perhaps turn you back into your land by the divine ways of his power. And look how the deportation into captivity enlightened Manasse; for when he was saved and returned from there to Jerusalem, he who had been such a great sinner repented and found mercy from God. Therefore, o Herban, the prophet obscurely said this word about this subject, that *the light of Israel will be like fire, and he will sanctify him in a burning flame* who had sinned, which actually has happened, and so on. Concerning the king who took him captive,<sup>78</sup> inasmuch as he was raised and did not consider all before God, but was exalted in his heart threatening to take the whole world by his power, God says through the prophet speaking about him: *In that day the mountains and the hills and the thickets will vanish, and will be devoured from soul to flesh. And there will be one who escapes as from a burning flame, and those who remain from them will be few, and a small child will write them.* Now what are the mountains, which he says they will vanish, and what are the hills and the thickets which will be devoured from soul to flesh? Listen, Herban, indicating mountains he speaks about the great satraps of the Assyrians, and introducing hills, about the minor rulers. When he tells of thickets, he means the wildness of their horde, and how they were estranged from the spiritual fruit; for acorn is the food of pigs, and the deeds of sinners are the food of the demons. For speaking obscurely he called the whole nation of the Assyrians mountains, hills and thickets as being unsuitable for any good fruit, but only for sin which they only harvest like acorns, as it is said, <the sin> on which the demons feed like pigs. *The mountains and the hills and the thickets will be devoured from soul to flesh.* He does not only say that the great and worthy men will be abandoned, but also that their whole tribe will be corrupted. There will hardly remain some few of them, and so few that *a small child*, he says, *will write them*, that is, they will be confined to some mean place in a

μ τὸ ἄγριον < K τῆς – ἐμφαίνει < SHPTV φυτείας DAN φύσεως μ ἐμφαίνων N | 196 βάλανος – 197 δαιμόνων < SHPTV τὰ] τί CLK ἢ X ἐργασία X | 197 ἐπὶ τὸ X γὰρ < CX SHPTV ἠνίξατο εἰπὼν μ ὄρη] δ C ὄρη – δρυμῶνας < SHPTV ἐν < μ SHPTV | 198 ἀγαθῷ καρπῷ N ἐπιτηδεύς ὄντας μ ἁμαρτίαν X τὴν ἁμαρτίαν DA ἁμαρτίας μ ὡς βάλανον] εἰς βάλανον post καρπεύοντα] καρποφοροῦντας μ εἶρηκε DAN εἶρηκα μ | 199 ἐξ – 200 δρυμῶνας < SHPTV ὦν] ἦς μ οἱ χοῖροι ὡς DAN μ καταφάγεται + γὰρ DAN καταφάγεται – 200 σαρκῶν < μ τὰ ὄρη φησὶ N | 200 τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ – σαρκῶν καταφάγεται SHPTV οὐ μόνον δὲ μ | 201 ἀπολείπονται] καταφθαρήσονται μ ἢ < LK καταφθαρήσεται DAN, < μ δέ που μ ὀλίγοι + τινὲς CXLK | 202 ἐναπολειφθέντες DAN διασωθῶσι μ καὶ τοσοῦτον ὀλίγοι < DA τοσοῦτον + ὅσον C φησὶ μικρὸν SHPTV φησὶ < DN γράψει φησὶ C τοῦτ’ – 203 ἔσσονται < SHPTV | 203 ἐν < N πεδιῶν εὐπερίγραπτοι DAN μ (πεδιῶν + φησὶν N) σαρκὸς DAN

<sup>78</sup> The name of this king, Assarhaddon, is not mentioned in the Old Testament.

- ἡγουν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἕως πολλῶν εἰς ἀπώλειαν χωρήσωσιν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν ψυχικὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ  
 205 τὸν σωματικὸν θάνατον τεθνήξονται. Οἱ τε διασωθέντες εὐτελεῖς ἐκείνοι ὡς ἀπὸ φλογὸς  
 καιομένης, φησὶν, ἔσονται φεύγοντες. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα πάντα τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, δι' ὧν 737D  
 ἐπεχάρησαν τῇ πτώσει τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐπήρθησαν, κατέλαβε μετὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀμάρτυ-  
 ρος ὁ λόγος. Πολέμων γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνεχεστέρων παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 ἐπιγεγονότων, ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἐν ἅπασα ἡ εὐπρέπεια αὐτῶν ὄλωλε καὶ ἡ μεγάλη αὐτῶν τιμῆ  
 210 εἰς φοβερωτάτην ἀτιμίαν ἐχώρησε κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ προφήτου. Τὸ δὲ καταλειφθὲν τοῦ  
 Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, τὸ ὄν ἐν τῇ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ἀπὸ τῆς φρικωδεστάτης  
 ἐκείνης ἀπειλῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἧς ἐπήγαγε τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν, οὐκέτι προσεθεή- 740A  
 σεται τοῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῶν εἰς ἅπαξ ὀλιγοθέντων. Καὶ οἱ διασωθέντες τοῦ  
 Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ γῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναστρέφαντες λυτρωθέντες τῆς δει-  
 215 νῆς ἐκείνης αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῆ διατριβῆς, οὐκέτι πεποιθότες, φησὶν,  
 ἔσονται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπάραντας πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γῆν,  
 ἀλλ' ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνα-  
 καλεσάμενον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα διασώσαντα. Ταῦτα, Ἐρβᾶν, ἡ ἀληθὴς ἐρμηνεία  
 τῆς προφητείας, ἐπεὶ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐρμηνεύων προεῖρηκας, γραῶδεις μῦθοι κεχηρημάτικαν.”  
 220 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καθὼς ὄρω, ἑτέρα γνώσις ἐν ἡμῖν ἔγκειται καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν ὑμῖν· οὐκοῦν 740B  
 δέον ἐστὶ πειθεσθαι ἕκαστον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώσει καὶ ἡσυχάζειν.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ἐὰν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς πέφυκεν ἡ γνώσις σου, τί σοι τὸ διά-  
 φορον ματαιότητι παρακαθημένῳ καὶ παρεδρεύοντι ἀπατηλοῖς δελεάσμασιν;”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τίς ὁ πληροφορῶν με, καθότι ματαιότης πέφυκεν ἡ γνώσις μου;”  
 225 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐγὼ σοι κατὰ πεῦσιν τὰς λύσεις ὑπήλλαξα καὶ ὑπαλλάττω,  
 καὶ λέγεις· Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ πληροφορῶν με καὶ πείθων με;”

219 γραῶδεις μῦθοι 1 Tim. 4.7 | 223 ἀπατηλοῖς δελεάσμασιν cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *CPG* 3010, *PG* 35.877A

### C X L K D A N μ S H P T V

204 ἕως] ἐ ἕς C χωρήσωσιν CX μ τοῦτ' ἔστι < μ τοῦτ' – 205 τεθνήξονται < SHPTV | 205 τὸν < μ τῶν σωματικῶν θανάτων DAN θνήξονται CX τεθνήξαντες DAN μ οἱ δὲ μ εὐτελεῖ X | 206 φησὶν καιομένης φησὶν D φησὶν < C SHPTV διαφεύγοντες DAN μ καὶ – 213 ὀλιγοθέντων < SHPTV μὲν < μ πάντα < μ δι' ὧν] ἐφ' ᾧ μ | 207 κατέλαβετο X | 208 πολέμων C αὐτοὺς LK συνεχεστέρον C παρὰ] περὶ N Μακεδόνων] Μήδων μ | 209 ἐκ – ἐν < μ ἅπασαν εὐπρέπειαν X πᾶσα αὐτῶν μεγάλη C | 210 ἐχώρησε] κατήνησε μ | 211 τῆς < X | 214 γῆς] τῆς C τῆς γῆς τῶν N καὶ < P τὴν < D Οὐδαίαν SHP διαστρέφαντες T δεινῆς ἐκείνης < SHPTV | 215 καὶ < P καὶ – διατριβῆς < μ καὶ – 216 αἰχμαλωσίας < DAN τῆ < P γῆ ἀλλοτρία SHPTV φησὶν < μ | 216 καὶ – γῆν < SHPTV δι' αἰχμαλωσίας] αἰχμαλώτους μ ἀπάραντες DAN ἀπάρας μ | 217 ἀλλ' < DAN τὸν<sup>1</sup> < N μ θεὸν] κύριον DA μ κύριον τὸν θεὸν N P τὸν<sup>3</sup> – 218 διασώσαντα < SHPTV αἰχμαλωσίας + αὐτοὺς N | 218 διασώσαντας C ἀνασώσαντα μ ὧ Ἐρβᾶν DAN μ ἡ – 219 κεχηρημάτικαν] λέγει ἐρμηνεύων ἡ προφητεία καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρως· μηδὲ ὑπολάμβανε ἄλλως πῶς ἐρμηνεῦσθαι αὐτήν, διότι καὶ τὸ ῥῆθὲν τοῦ προφήτου εἰς πέρας ἐλήλυθεν· μὴ ὄν ἀπατᾶς σεαυτὸν N | 219 ἂ] ἄπερ DA μ, < T ἐρμηνεύων προεῖρηκας] ἐρμηνεύεις DA ἡρμηνεύσας μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρμηνεύεις μ μῦθοι] μῦθος SH μίσος P κεχηρημάτικαν] πεφήνασι μηδὲν ὀφελούντα DA πεφύκασι καὶ μηδὲν

plain.<sup>79</sup> The remaining ones will proceed *from soul to flesh*, that is from one to many into their perdition, that is, they will die a spiritual and corporeal death at the same time. And those mean people who will escape, will be fleeing, he says, as from a burning flame. And the Scripture is not without testimony that all this later happened to the Assyrians, because they rejoiced over the fall of the Jews and were exalted. For when they were attacked by continuous warfare from the kingdom of the Macedonians, all their magnificence perished one by one, and their great honour was reduced to frightful dishonour according to the word of the prophet. The remnant of Israel from that awful threat of the Almighty, which he put on their kingdom in those days, which was in the land of the Assyrians, will not again be under their hand, as their number was once lessened so much. And those from the house of Jacob who were saved from the land of the Assyrians and returned to Judaea, being redeemed from this terrible captivity and the sojourn in a foreign land, *will not trust*, he says, *in those that did them wrong* and deporting them as captives to their own land, *but will trust in the holy God of Israel* who recalled them from captivity and escorted them to their own native country. This, Herban, is the true explanation of the prophecy, for what you have told before in your explanation are old men's tales."

Herban said: "As I see, there is one knowledge among us and another one among you; so it is necessary for everybody to convince by his knowledge and to be calm."

The archbishop said: "And if your knowledge is unsafe, what is the difference for you, as you sit here in your vanity and attend with deceptive baits?"

Herban said: "And who assures me that my knowledge is vanity?"

The archbishop said: "I have presented the solutions to you according to the question and still do present them, and you say: Who assures me and convinces me?"

ὄφελουῖντα μ | 220 λέγει < μ T | 221 ἐστὶ < N ἕκαστος SHPTV ἑαυτοῦ γνώσει] ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ γνώμη C | 222 ὁ < V ἔφη < C A P ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T καὶ < P οὐκ < P ἀσφαλῆ SHPTV πέφυκεν] ἐστὶν DAN μ γέγονεν SHTV ἔνι P τί τὸ διάφορον τὸ σοὶ P | 223 παρακαθημένῳ ματαιότητι μ παρεδρεύων τοῖς T | 224 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει] καὶ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV με] μοι N ὅτι X N μ SHPTV | 225 ὁ < D ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < A P σοὶ post πεῦσιν T, < μ πεύσεις D παῦσιν V λύσεις] λέξεις N μ PTV ἀπήλλαξα CX D μ καὶ ὑπαλλάττω < V ἀπαλλάττω C D ὑπαλλάξω SHP | 226 λέγεις ὅτι μ με<sup>1</sup> < μ πείθων με] οὐ πείθομαι DA ὁ πείθων με N

<sup>79</sup> This interpretation plays with the identical pronunciation of 'child' (παιδίον) and 'plain' (πεδίον).

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀνέχομαι ἐγὼ πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοῖς ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν· ἐχθρὸς γάρ μου εἶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ σέ ὑπερασπιζῶν προΐστασαι, τῶν δὲ κατ’ ἐμέ παραβλέπων παρορᾷς.” 740c

230 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄν μὴ φροντίζω τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τε σοῦ, ἐπὶ τε ἐμοῦ, ἀλλότριος ἔσομαι τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μου λατρείας τε καὶ κοινωνίας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἴδου σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι οὐκέτι χρεῖαν ἔχει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου, ὃν πάλαι διὰ Μωσέως ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τεθησαύρικεν. Ποίοις οὖν ὡσὶν ἢ ποία καρδίᾳ ἀκούσομαι σου τοιαῦτα μοι εἰσφέροντος;”

235 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ γε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν γραφῶν ὠθῶ σε; Τὰ σὰ χεῖλη κατηγοροῦσι σου. Ὑπαγε, μέμψου τοῖς πατράσι σου. Πορεύθητι καὶ δικάσθητι τῶν προφητῶν σου ταῖς προρρήσεσιν. Διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ πληροφορῶ σε, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει τοῦ νόμου ὑμῶν ὁ θεός.” 740d

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἡσαΐας ἔφησε καθότι· *Εἶπε*, φησί, *Σιών κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέλιπέ με καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ἐπελάθετό μου*. Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη κύριος λέγων· *Μὴ ἐπιλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς ἢ τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ ἔγγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς; Εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλάθοιτο γυνή, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαί σου, λέγει κύριος*. Ὁ θεὸς οὖν φάσκει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαί σου· καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις, ὅτι οὐκέτι χρεῖαν ἡμῶν κέκτηται κύριος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῦ νόμου ἡμῶν.”

245 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐμοὶ χολᾷς λέγων, ὅτι· ‘Τὰ συμφέροντά σοι’, φησί, ‘λέγεις καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀποκρύπτεις.’ Καὶ ὡς κατοπτεύω, σὺ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο καὶ μάλα κατεργάζῃ. Τί οὖν λέγει ὁ προφήτης ἀνωτέρω τῶν ῥηθέντων παρὰ σοῦ; Τάδε λέγει, φησί, *κύριος· Καιρῶ δεκτῶ ἐπήκουσά σου καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι καὶ ἐπλάσά σε καὶ ἔδωκά σε καὶ ἔθηκά σε εἰς διαθήκην ἐθνῶν τοῦ καταστῆσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακληρονομήσαι κληρονομίαν ἐρήμου, λέγοντα τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς, ἐξέλθατε, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότει, ἀνακαλύπτεσθε*. Περὶ τίνος λέγει ταῦτα, δίδαξον.” 741a

239 εἶπε – 242 κύριος Is. 49.14–15 | 247 λέγει<sup>2</sup> – 251 ἀνακαλύπτεσθε Is. 49.8–9

C X L K D A N μ S H P T V | 247 σοῦ N]

227 λέγει < μ TV τοῖς σοῖς πείθεσθαι CLK ( σοῖς + ῥήμασιν C, + λόγοις HP καὶ < X ἔτυχεν] ἔοικεν N | 228 μου] μοι DAN ὑπερασπιζόμενος μ τῶν<sup>2</sup>] τὰ X μ ὦν D δέ] τε SHPTV, < D παραβλέπων + εἰκὴ DAN μ + καὶ DA | 230 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ὁ – 232 λέγει < CX ἔφη < A P ἐὰν L D εἰ K κὰν T φροντίζω] φροντίζων P ἐπὶ τε σοῦ < SHPTV. ἐπὶ τε ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τε σοῦ N μ | 231 τῆς < μ T μονογενοῦ S τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < μ κοινωνίας καὶ λατρείας μ κοινωνίας] οικονομίας SHPTV | 232 λέγει] ἔφη DA, < μ T σὺ < μ ὅτι < μ χρεῖαν – 233 ποίοις < X | 233 Μωυσέως μ ποίοις] ποιεῖς S | 234 εἰσφέροντος καὶ λαλοῦντος DAN μ εἰσφέροντα SHPTV | 235 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < A P μὴ μήτοι DAN μ γε] γὰρ CXLK τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν N ὠθῶ] πείθω X χεῖλη τὰ σὰ μ | 236 σου<sup>1</sup>] σε PV ὑπαγε + ἄφρον DAN μ ὑπαγε – σου<sup>2</sup> < LK μέμψαι μ μετὰ τῶν μ | 237 σου + πρόλαβε καὶ ἀντιπαράταξαι DAN μ αὐτῶν προρρήσεσιν DAN μ γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν ῥημάτων σου T νοημάτων μ ῥημάτων σου SHPV αὐτῶν < P | 239 λέγει] ἔφη N, < μ T ὁ Ἡσαΐας C ὅτι μ φησί < μ ἢ Σιών CXLK ὁ θεός < C | 240 καὶ – μου < SHPTV ὁ κύριος ἀπεκρίθη N ἐπιλάθεται N |

Herban said: “I shall not bear it to be convinced simply by your words as it happens; for you are my enemy and promote and defend your opinion, but disregard and neglect mine.”

The archbishop said: “If I do not care about the truth before you and before me, I will be estranged from the veneration of and community with the only begotten Son of my God.”

Herban said: “Behold, you say that God has no need of the law anymore, which he had once ago stored up through Moses for us Israelites. With which ears or which heart should I listen to you, if you introduce such things?”

The archbishop said: “Do I not repel you from my Scriptures? Your lips speak against you. Go, be reproached by your fathers. Go there and be condemned by the predictions of your prophets. For I assure you through their words, that God has no need of your law henceforth.”

Herban said: “Isaiah said: *Zion said: The Lord God has forsaken and the holy God has forgotten me.*<sup>80</sup> And God answered and said: *Will a woman forget her child, that she should not have mercy with the offspring of her womb? And even if a woman should forget these, I will not forget you, says the Lord.* Now God says, that *I will not forget you*, and you say, that God has no need of us anymore, nor of our law.”

The archbishop said: “You make me angry if you say, that ‘you say the things useful for yourself and hide those that are suitable for me.’ And as I suspect, it is actually you who play this part. Now what does the prophet say before the things quoted by you? *Thus says the Lord*, he says, *I have heard you in an acceptable time and helped you in a day of salvation, and have created and given you, and put you into the covenant of the nations, to set the earth in order and to inherit the legacy of the desert, saying to those in bonds, go out, and to those in the darkness, show yourselves.* About whom does he say this, teach me.”

241 τὰ bis P ἔκγονα SHPTV εἰ δὲ] ἀλλ' ἢ SHPTV ἐπελάθετο N ἐπιλάθηται SHT ἐπιλήσεται P | 242 ἀλλ' < P λέγει – 243 σου < LK οὖν < DAN μ | 243 καὶ αὐτὸς λέγεις] σὺ δὲ λέγεις P αὐτὸς] σὺ μ, + κύριος C φάσκεϊς SHV φάσκει T ὅτι < CXLK οὐκέτι] οὐ N PT, < μ κέκτηται] ἔχει DAN (ante ἡμῶν N) οὐκ ἔχει μ ὁ κύριος LK N SHP ὁ θεὸς TV κύριος < C μ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ] ἢ P | 245 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < DA P λέγων < P φησί < μ | 246 ἐμὰ] ἐμοὶ XL DAN κρύπτεις P ἐπικρύπτεις κατοπτεύω ὅτι C ὀρώ DAN μ σὺ] οὐ K καὶ μάλα post σὺ X, μάλλον DAN, < μ SHPTV | 247 κατεργάζη] ἐργάζη μ, + ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέξομαί σου τοῦ λοιποῦ· εἶπε γάρ μοι DAN μ οὖν < DAN μ παρὰ σοῦ ῥηθέντων SHPTV φησί < SHPTV κύριος φησί μ | 248 σωτηρίας] βοηθείας LK καί<sup>2</sup> – 251 ἀνακαλύπτεσθε] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHPTV ἔπλησα C | 249 καὶ ἔδωκά σε < LK σε<sup>1</sup>] σοι X μ καὶ ἔθηκά σε < C ἔθνων σου LK κληρονομήσαι X | 250 ἐξέλθετε LK

<sup>80</sup> This first part of the verse is quoted as a paraphrase.

- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τέως εἰ καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τῆς ἀμαρτίας χρηματι-  
ζόντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σκότει τῆς πλάνης πεπεδημένων τοῦτο εἴρηται, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ 741B  
νόμου φαίνεται ὁ ποιήσας καὶ πλάσας ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, δηλονότι τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμῶν, εἰς  
255 τὸ εἶναι, καθὼς αὐτόθι λέγει ὁ προφῆτης. Πῶς οὖν λοιπὸν σὺ τολμᾶς ἴσον τῷ πλάσαντι  
αὐτὸν θεὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζειν;”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὅτι ἔπλασε τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ ὁ θεός, οὐχὶ ἀνωτέρω  
λελάληκά σοι, ἀνόητε; Οὐ προλαβὼν εἴρηκα, καθότι διπλοῦς πῶς ἐστὶ θεὸς ἀληθῆς καὶ  
ἄνθρωπος τέλειος ἐκτὸς ἀμαρτίας; Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης πλάσιν καὶ θέσιν καὶ δόσιν, τῆς  
260 ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ νόει εἶναι ταῦτα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων. Πρόσεχε δὲ τέως ἐνταῦ-  
θα τῶν προειρημένων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ὅπως ὁ προφῆτης διαμαρτύρεται περὶ τῆς τῶν ἔθνων  
ἀποκαταστάσεως. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν φάσκοντα *τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς, ἐξέλθατε, καὶ* 741C  
*τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότει, ἀνακαλύπτεσθε*, ἐπήγαγεν· *Ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς, φησί, βοσκοθήσονται.*  
Ὅρᾳς, εἰς πᾶσαν ὁδὸν πνευματικὴν μελετήσωσιν, μᾶλλον δὲ περιπατήσωσιν τὰ ἀρε-  
265 στά κυρίῳ ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια. *Ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τρίβους ἡ νομὴ αὐτῶν.* Προσ-  
έχεις μαρτυρίαν· Οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται, φησί, μία καὶ μόνη τρίβος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηρημένων  
κυρίῳ, ἐν ἧ μετὰ χαρᾶς οὐ περιπατήσωσι τὰ ἀρεστά κυρίῳ κατεργαζόμενοι. *Οὐ πεινάσου-*  
*σι*, τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι λόγον κυρίου πρόδηλον, *οὔτε διψήσωσι* πνευματικῶν νοημάτων ἀπο-  
τυγχάνοντες, *οὔτε πατάξει αὐτοὺς ὁ καύσων*, ἀλλ’ οὔτε νεότης ἀμαρτίας *οὔτε μὴν ὁ* τῆς  
270 δικαιοσύνης *ἥλιος* Χριστός, ὅτι οὐ παρανομήσουσιν, *ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς* τῷ λουτήρι τῆς  
παλιγγενεσίας *παρακαλέσει* αὐτοὺς τῷ παρακλήτῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι *καὶ διὰ πηγῶν* 741D  
*ὕδατων ἄξει αὐτοὺς* καθαρῶς διὰ μέσων γνώσεως τῶν νοημάτων τῆς Γραφῆς καὶ τῶν προ-  
φητειῶν τε καὶ δωρεῶν τὸν νοῦν αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος. *Καὶ θήσω*, φησί, *πᾶν ὄρος*  
*εἰς ὁδόν*, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὰ δύσβατα τῶν ὀρέων εὐκόλα αὐτοῖς ἀπεργάσσομαι, *καὶ πᾶσαν τρί-*  
275 *βον εἰς βόσκημα αὐτοῖς*, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐντολῶν μου πρότερον μελετήσωσι  
καὶ τηλικαῦτα κατεργάσσονται· *Ἴδοὺ οὗτοι πόρρωθεν ἤξουσιν* οὐκ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, ὅθεν

254 ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι cf. comm. ad versionem. | 263 ἐν<sup>2</sup> – βοσκοθήσονται Is. 49.9 |  
265 ἐν – αὐτῶν ibid. | 267 οὐ<sup>2</sup> – 272 αὐτοὺς Is. 49.10 | 269 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 270 ἥλιος cf. Mal. 3.20 |  
273 καί<sup>2</sup> – 275 αὐτοῖς Is. 49.11 | 276 ἰδοὺ – 278 Περσῶν Is. 49.12

**C X L K D A μ S H P T V | 256 ὀνομάζειν P |**

252 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ TV τέως < P εἰ] ἦν P ἡμῶν] Μωυσέως μ ἐν] ἔθνοῖς CX τοῖς δεσμοῖς < X  
| 253 τῶν < μ τῷ < D SH τόγε DA SHPTV εἴρηται] εἶται L<sup>ac</sup> νοεῖται L<sup>pk</sup> ἤρετο SHPTV |  
254 ὁ] μᾶλλον τὸν Χριστὸν DA μ ὄλον ὅτι C μᾶλλον ὅτι DA δηλονότι – ὑμῶν < μ | 255 αὐτόθι <  
P λέγει καὶ CXLK λελάληκεν DA μ ὁ προφῆτης λέγει P λοιπὸν < X μ SHPTV σὺ < HP ἴσον –  
256 τοῦτον < CX τοῦ πλάσαντος SHPTV πλάσση DA μ | 256 αὐτῷ A τοῦτον < DA μ  
ὀνομάζων DA μ + ἤδη DA | 257 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρη-  
γέντιος V ἔφη < DA ὅτι – θεός] ὅτι ἔπλασε ὁ θεός τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ post 258 σοι SHTV  
αὐτοῦ] αὐτός DA, < C μ | 258 οὐ – 260 ὑπολοίπων < SHTV ὅτι μ πῶς < μ ὁ θεός ἀλλιεῖς X καὶ  
ἄνθρωπος ἀληθῆς τε καὶ τέλειος C | 259 τέλειος ἄνθρωπος μ | 260 αὐτοῦ + νόει μ νόει + τρισ-  
άθλιε DA εἶναι < K ταῦτα εἶναι μ καὶ – ὑπολοίπων < μ δὲ – 261 προειρημένων] τοῖς εἰρημένοις  
μ | 262 ἐξέλθετε D μ | 263 τῷ < SV φησί < C μ SHTV | 264 ὄρας + πῶς CXLK πᾶσαν < K

Herban said: “So even if this should then have been said about us, who are in the bonds of sin and bound in the darkness of deceit, still the God of the law appears who has made and created, that is clearly your Christ, from not being to being, as the prophet says there.<sup>81</sup> Now how do you dare to call him equal to the God that has created him?”

The archbishop said: “Did I not tell you above, you fool, that God created his humanity? Did I not say before that he is somehow twofold, true God and perfect man without sin? Now when you hear about creation and position and donation, understand that this is said about his humanity, together with the other things. For the time being, listen here to the things which remained after those said before, how the prophet testifies about the restoration of the nation. For after having spoken, saying *to those in bonds, go out, and to those in the darkness, show yourselves*, he went on: *They will be fed in all their ways*. You see, they will meditate upon all spiritual ways, and rather they will walk working the things which please God, and similar things. *His pasture will be in all paths*. Listen to the testimony: There will not remain one single path for those whom the Lord has found, in which they will not walk working the things which please the Lord. *They will not hunger*, clearly hear the word of the Lord, *nor will they thirst* missing spiritual thoughts, *nor will the heat smite them* nor the youth of sins, *nor the sun* of righteousness Christ, for they will not transgress the law, *but he that has mercy upon them* through the baptismal font of rebirth *will deprecate them* through the Intercessor, the Holy Ghost, *and will lead them by the springs of waters*, clearly their mind by knowing the sense of the Scripture, of the prophecies and the gifts of the Holy Ghost. *And I will make*, he says, *all my mountain a way*, that is, I will make the impassable ways of the mountains easy for them, *and every path their pasture*, that is, they will first meditate upon my commandments and then fulfill them. *Behold, they will come from far away*, neither from Egypt, where the Hebrews came from, nor from the tribe of Jacob, where the Jews came from, so that you may not say that he speaks about the Jews, *but*

πνευματικὴν ὁδὸν SHTV μελετήσωσιν + φάσκει CXLK μελετήσουσι – περιπατήσουσι X μ ἄρε-  
στά] ἔραστα X | 265 κυρίου μ καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια < μ πρόσεχε τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ CXLK | 266 ἡ μία  
DA ἔξευρημένον μ | 267 περιπατήσουσι CX D μ ἔραστα X ἐργαζόμενοι CXLK οὐ<sup>2</sup>] εἰ K  
πεινάσωσι CL<sup>ac</sup> SH | 268 πρόδηλον] δηλονότι μ οὔτε<sup>1</sup> – ἀποτυγχάνοντες < SHTV διψήσουσι μ  
ἐπιτυγχάνοντες D | 269 ἀλλ’ οὔτε] ἀλλὰ DA ἀλλ’ οὔτε νεότης < μ ἀλλ’ – μὴν] ἤγουν SHTV |  
270 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός C οὐ < μ παρανομήσωσιν L<sup>ac</sup>DA ἀλλ’] ἀλλὰ SHTV ὁ < μ ὁ – 275 ἔστι <  
SHTV | 272 μέσου X μέσω A μέσης μ γνώσεων D | 273 προφητῶν LK τὸν – αὐτῶν < μ |  
274 τοῦτ’ ἔστι] ἤγουν μ ὁρέων] ἀρετῶν LK αὐτοῖς εὐκόλα X ἀπεργάσσομαι] ποιήσω μ |  
275 πάντων] πασῶν μ μελετήσουσι XL<sup>ac</sup>K μ | 276 καὶ – ἤξουσιν < μ τὸ τηλικαῦτα SHTV

<sup>81</sup> This phrase is actually no quote from Isaiah, as suggested by Herban’s following words. It appears, however, first in the works of Philo Judaeus and often thereafter in patristic literature.



Ἑβραῖοι, οὐτε ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰακώβ, ὅθεν Ἰουδαῖοι, μήποτε εἴπησ ὅτι περὶ Ἰουδαίων λέγει, 744A  
 ἀλλ' ἦξουσι, φησίν, ἀπὸ βορρᾶ καὶ θαλάσσης, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν. Ἐν τούτοις γὰρ  
 τοῖς κλίμασι τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἔθνη παροικοῦσιν. *Εὐφραίνεσθε, οὐρανοί*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἱ  
 280 ἄγγελοι, *καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθω ἡ γῆ*, ὁ σωτηρίας τυχὼν λαὸς πρόδηλον, *ρήξατω τὰ ὄρη εὐφρο-*  
*σύνην*, τὰ ἄκαρπα ἔθνη εἰς εὐκαρπίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως προχωρήσαντα, *καὶ οἱ βουνοί*,  
 φησί, *σταλάξατε δικαιοσύνην*, οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν βασιλεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐπεγνωκότες Χρι-  
 στόν, τὴν ἀλήθειαν δικαιοσύνην κρίνατε, *ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ*. Ἵνα μὴ  
 εἴπησ, Ἑρβᾶν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξ Ἰακώβ μόνους λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκάλεσε, *καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς*, φησί,  
 285 *τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ παρεκάλεσε*, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοὺς καταπεπονημένους εἰς ἄγαν τῆ ἀμαρτία 744B  
 μεγάλως καὶ ἀντιλήφεται. | *Εἶπε δέ*, φησί, *Σιών* φθονήσασα πρόδηλον· *Ἐγκατέλειπέ με*  
*κύριος*, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἔθνη προσεπεσπάσατο, *καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπελάθητό μου*, ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς τὰ πέρατα  
 ἠπλωσεν αὐτοῦ τὰ εὐαγγέλια. Καὶ εἶπε κύριος· *Μὴ ἐπλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς*,  
 παροιμακῶς τὸ ῥῆμα εἶρηται ἢ *τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ ἔγγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς* περὶ τῶν  
 290 καθολικῶν κριμάτων τοῦ παντοκράτορος τῶν δι' εὐσπλαγχνίαν γινομένων τῆ οἰκουμένη  
 τοῦτο λέλεκται· *εἰ δέ καὶ ταῦτα ἡ γυνὴ ἐπιλάθητο*, φησί, *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπλήσομαί σου*  
 πιστευσούσης εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ μου υἱὸν καὶ κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, *λέγει κύριος*. Καὶ  
 θέασαί μοι· μὴ ἐπελάθητο θεὸς τὴν Σιών, οὐχὶ πέπλησται τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν ἁγίων; Ἴδε ὅτι τηλικούτῳ τρόπῳ λελάληκεν αὐτῇ ὁ θεός, ὅτι *οὐ μὴ σε*  
 295 *ἐγκαταλείπω*, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.”

Ἑρβᾶν λέγει· “Τηλικούτον ἄρπαγα ὁ χριστιανισμὸς ἅπασ ἔπι οὐ κέκτηται· τὴν γὰρ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς βοήθειαν ἡμῖν ἐναποκειμένην τολμηρῶς ἀφαρπάζων προστάτην  
 τῆς ἰδίας ἀντιλήψεως ἀπεργάζη. Ἄλλ' οὖν πρόσεχε τίνα περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν Ἰωὴλ ὁ  
 προφήτης προφητεῶν ἐπαγγέλεται, ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις αὕτη ἡ συμφορὰ  
 300 ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐνώπιον αἵματι, τίνα πάλιν διαμαρτύρεται περὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ  
 καὶ τῆς Σιών, καὶ ὅποια ἔσται καὶ ἡ λύτρωσις αὐτοῦ παρὰ κυρίου παντοκράτορος. Τάδε  
 λέγει κύριος, φησίν· *Ἐξεγειρέσθω καὶ ἀναβαινέτω πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κοιλιάδα τοῦ*  
*Ἰωσαφάτ*, ὅτι ἐκεῖ καθιῶ τοῦ διακρίναι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κύκλοθεν. Ἐνταῦθα μοι ὄρα, ἀρχι-  
 ἐπίσκοπε, τίνα μέλλει συμβαίνειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ἐκεῖ φησί, *καθιῶ τοῦ διακρίναι πάντα*  
 305 *τὰ ἔθνη κύκλοθεν· ἐξαποστείλατε δρέπανα, ὅτι παρέστηκεν ὁ τρυγητὸς, ἐκπορεύεσθε, πα-*  
*τεῖτε, διότι πλήρης ἡ ληνός· ὑπερεκχεῖται τὰ ὑπολήνια, ὅτι ἐπληθύνθη τὰ κακὰ αὐτῶν.*

279 εὐφραίνεσθε – 285 παρεκάλεσε Is. 49.13 | 286 εἶπε – 292 κύριος Is. 49.14–15 | 302 ἐξεγει-  
 ρέσθω – 303 κύκλοθεν Joel 4.12 | 305 ἐξαποστείλατε – 306 αὐτῶν Joel 4.13

**C X L K D A μ S H T V** | 286 ἀντιλήφεται μ]

277 οὐδὲ μ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι μ | 278 βορρᾶν μ Περσῶν γῆς D γὰρ < μ | 279 τοῖς < K εἶναι < D  
 SHTV ἔθνη εἶναι μ εὐφραίνεσθωσαν οἱ μ τοῦτ' – 280 ἄγγελοι < SHTV | 280 ὁ – 283 κρίνατε <  
 SHTV | 281 χωρήσαντα μ | 282 φησί < μ σταλάξονται μ Χριστόν ἐπεγνωκότες μ | 283 καὶ  
 δικαιοσύνην DA μ | 284 λαὸν αὐτοῦ < SHTV καὶ – 285 παρεκάλεσε < DA φησί < SHTV |  
 285 αὐτοῦ < μ τοῦτ' ἔστι] ἦγον μ πεπονημένους CXLK εἰς ἄγαν < SHTV | 286 μεγάλη CXLK  
 φησί < SHTV | 287 ὧν] ὅσον CXLK | 288 παιδός X | 289 εἶρηκεν H ἢ – 291 λέλεκται < SHTV  
 ἐλεῆσαι + φησί DA ἔγγονα C D | 291 τοῦτο] τόγε DA καὶ < X φησί < SHTV σου + λέγει

they will come, he says, *from the north and the sea, and others from the land of the Persians*. For it is in these regions where those dwell that are believed to be the nations. *Rejoice, heaven, that is the angels, and the earth be joyful*, clearly the people who gain salvation, *the mountains shall break out in gladness*, the fruitless nations which proceeded into fruitfulness by their faith, *and the hills*, he says, *bring forth righteousness*, the kings and rulers of the nations that acknowledged Christ, choose truth as righteousness, *for God had mercy upon his people*. That you may not say, Herban, that he called only those from Jacob his people, he says, *and he has called the humble of his people*, that is those that have been subdued greatly by sin, and will help them. *But Zion said*, he says, that is clearly being jealous, *The Lord has forsaken me*, because he drew the nations to himself, *and God has forgotten me*, since he has spread his good tidings until the ends of the earth. And the Lord said: *Will a woman not forget her child*: this word is said as a comparison; *that she should not have mercy with the offspring of her womb* has been said about the universal judgements of the Almighty, which are passed on the world by his mercy. *And even if a woman should forget these*, he says, *I will not forget you*, if you believe in my only begotten Son and Lord Jesus Christ, *says the Lord*. And look upon me: Did God forget Zion, is she not full of the children of God and of holy churches? Behold that God has spoken to her in such a way, that *I will not forsake you, and so on.*"

Herban said: "The whole Christianity does not have another robber like this; for boldly robbing the help which is stored up for us from the holy Scripture, you make it the champion of your own support. But now listen to what the prophet Joel declares prophesying about you nations, that in the last days this will be your misfortune, and then hear, what he assures again about Israel and Jerusalem and Zion, and also which will be her redemption from God the almighty. Thus says the Lord, he says: *Let all nations be raised and come up to the valley of Jehosaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations from all around*. Here look at me, archbishop, what will happen to all nations: There he says, *I will sit to judge alle the nations from all around. Send out the sickles, for the harvest has come; go out and tread, for the winepress is full, the vessels which are below it overflow, for their badness has become great*. See here into which

κύριος A | 292 πιστευούσης – Χριστόν < D κύριος bis DA | 293 ἐπηλάθετο μ ὁ θεὸς DA H τὴν  
τῆς X τῆ SHTV | 294 ὄτι<sup>2</sup> – 295 ἐξῆς < CXLK | 295 ἐξῆς + καὶ εἰκότως DA | 296 λέγει < TV ἔτι  
< DA HTV | 297 ἐναποκειμένην post ἀφαρπάζων C, post γραφῆς SHTV ἀποκειμένην DA  
προστάτην] πρὸς τὰ DA | 298 ἀντιλήψεως bis S ἀπεργάζεται CX ἀπεργάζονται D ἀπηργάζον-  
ται A ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀλλὰ SHTV τίνα] τί SHTV | 299 προφητεύων ἐπαγγέλεται] λέγει SHTV |  
300 ὑμῖν DA πάλιν τίνα LK διαμαρτύραται DA λέγων περὶ τε SHTV | 301 ἔστι V καὶ<sup>3</sup> < DA  
V | 302 ἐξηγειρέσθω SHTV | 303 κυκλόθεν T | 304 ἐκεῖ – 305 κύκλοθεν < SHTV φησὶ < LK |  
305 κυκλόθεν LK D τρυγητής CX εἰσπορεύεσθε DA ἐκπορεύεσθε – 306 ὑπολήνια < SHTV |  
306 ὑπερχεῖται C ὑπερχεῖται XL A ὑποχεῖται K αὐτῶν < TV

310 "Ορα ἐνταῦθα, οἷς διεκδικᾶς, ἐν οἷοις κρίμασι καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἀνταμείψουσιν ἐπι-  
 συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος. Ἥχοι, φησί, ἐξήχησαν ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῆς δίκης· ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελή-  
 νη συσκοτάσωσι καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες δύσωσιν τὸ φέγγος αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐκ Σιών ἀνακράζε-  
 315 ται καὶ ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ σεισθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, ὁ δὲ  
 κύριος φείσεται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. "Ορα πῶς ὁ κύριος φειδῶ εἰσπράττει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἐνισχύσει, φησί, κύριος τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐχὶ τὰ ἔθνη. Καὶ  
 γνώσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν κατασκηνῶν ἐν Σιών ἐν ὄρει ἀγίῳ μου, καὶ ἔσται  
 320 Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀγία καὶ ἀλλογενεῖς οὐ διελεύσονται, φησί, δι' αὐτῆς οὐκέτι. "Ορα πῶς  
 διαγγέλει, ὅτι ἀλλογενῆς οὐ διελεύσεται δι' αὐτῆς οὐκέτι. Καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ,  
 ἀποσταλάξει τὰ ὄρη γλυκασμὸν καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ῥύθουσιν γάλα, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀφῆσεις  
 Ἰούδα ῥύθουσιν ὕδατα. Καὶ πηγὴ ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ποτιεῖ τὸν χειμάρ-  
 ρου τῶν σχοίνων, Αἴγυπτος εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἔσται καὶ Ἰδομαία εἰς πεδίον ἀφανισμοῦ  
 γενήσεται ἐξ ἀδικιῶν υἱῶν Ἰούδα, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐξέχεαν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ  
 325 Ἰουδαία εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατοικισθήσεται καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν. Καὶ ἐκζητήσω  
 τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀθώσω, καὶ κύριος κατασκηνώσει ἐν Σιών. Ταῦτα, ὦ ἀρχιεπί-  
 σκοπε, οὕτως ἔχει ἢ ἐτέρως πῶς; Οὐκοῦν, παρακαλῶ, μὴ διαστρέψῃς τὰ εἰρημένα, ἀλλ' ὡς  
 330 ἢ ἀλήθεια λέξον καὶ διδάξον."

325 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ἐδοξας κεκρατηκέναι τῆς προθέσεως, μὴ εἰδῶς μήτε τὴν  
 ὄρμην τῆς προφητείας μήτε τὰ γνωρίσματα αὐτῆς. Τὰ γὰρ εἰρημένα οὐ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπλῶς  
 τῶν χριστιανῶν εἰρηνται μόνον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ περὶ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν καὶ  
 εἴπου τίς ἐκ μήτρας γυναικὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον πεφοίτηκεν. Καὶ θέασαι, ἀνόητε, πόσαι  
 φυλαὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ οὐδέπω τῇ κλήσει τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐσημάνθησαν, ἀλλὰ γε τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀπά-  
 330 τη καὶ ἀγνωσίᾳ ἐπερειδόμενοι τῷ χάσματι τοῦ ἄδου εἰς ὄλισθον κατηνέχθησαν καὶ κατα-  
 φέρονται. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ χριστιανισμὸς, εἰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη προσκαλεῖται εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρα-  
 νῶν βασιλείαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ προσκαλεῖσθαι ἀπλῶς σώζει ἅπαντας, οὔτε ὅσοι ἀπαξ  
 βαπτισθῶσιν εἰς βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν μετοικίζονται, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μόνου κληρονόμοι τῶν  
 ἐπουρανίων γίνονται, ὅσοι μετὰ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ  
 335 σωτήρος τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διαφυλάξωσιν. Ἴσως δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ μετὰ τὸ  
 βαπτισθῆναι δεινῶς ἐξαμαρτήσαντες ἔπειτα ἠδυνήθησαν διὰ τῆς καλλίστης μετανοίας

308 ἤχοι – 321 Σιών Joel 4.14–21

### C X L K D A S H T V

307 διεκδικεῖς C ἐν οἷοις] αἰωνίους TV οἷοις] οἷς DA κρίμασι – οἷαις < X καὶ – ἀνταμείψουσιν <  
 SHTV οἷαις] οἷοις L ἀντιλήψουσιν DA | 308 τοῦ < SHTV ἤχοι – δίκης < SHTV δίκης + ὅτι  
 ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῆς δίκης C | 309 ἐκλείπει καὶ συσκοτάσωσι SHTV  
 συσκοτάσουσιν CL σκοτάσωσιν DA δύσουσι LK T οὐ δύσουσι DA τῷ φέγγει CXLK ἐκ Σιών <  
 DA ἀνακράξεται CLK | 310 Ἱερουσαλήμ] Ἰσραὴλ T καί<sup>2</sup> – 311 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < T στήσεται V |  
 311 ὄρα – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < C DA SHTV τὸν λαὸν an τῶν λαῶν ? | 312 φησί < SHTV κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
 SHTV τοὺς υἱοὺς] τοῦ X τὸν LK τῶν ἐθνῶν C | 314 φησί < CX SHTV ὄρα – 315 οὐκέτι < LK  
 SHTV | 315 ἀλλογενεῖς οὐ διελεύσονται DA | 316 αἱ πᾶσαι αἱ SHTV | 317 τοῦ Ἰούδα DA καί<sup>1</sup> –  
 ἐξελεύσεται < SHTV | 318 ἡ Ἰδομαία DA οὐδομαία X | 319 ἀδικίας CXLK ἀνθ'] ἀφ' T

judgements and requital those, whom you defend, will fall in the end of the world. *Sounds*, he says, *sounded forth in the valley of the trial: The sun and the moon will become dark and the stars will withdraw their shining, the Lord will roar out of Zion and will utter his voice from Jerusalem. And heaven and earth will shake, and the Lord will spare his people.* See how the Lord spares his people and not the nations, *and he will strengthen*, he says, *the sons of Israel* and not the nations. *And you will know that I am the Lord your God dwelling in Zion on my holy mountain, and Jerusalem will be holy and strangers*, he says, *will not pass through her anymore.* See how he declares that no stranger will pass through her anymore. *And it will happen in this day, that the mountains will trickle sweetness and the hills will flow with milk, and all the channels of Judah will flow with water. And a spring will come forth of the house of the Lord and will water the Torrent of the Reeds, Egypt will disappear and Edom will become a desolated plain for the injustices of the sons of Judah, because they have poured out the blood of the righteous in their land. Judaea will be inhabited forever and Jerusalem from generation to generation. And I will demand their blood and will not hold it guiltless, and the Lord will dwell in Zion.* Is this so, o archbishop, or differently? Please do not distort what I have said, but tell and teach as the truth is.”

The archbishop said: “You think to master this statement, though you know neither the impulse of the prophecy nor its distinctive marks. For what you have said, has not simply been said only about us Christians, but also about almost all the earth under heaven, and wherever anybody came into the world out of the womb of a woman. And you see, you fool, how many tribes of the nations did not yet receive a call from our Lord Jesus, but resisting by their own deceit and ignorance, they were brought and are still brought down the slippery way to the gaping mouth of hell. For although Christianity invites all nations to the kingdom of heaven, it does not save them simply by inviting them, nor will those, who have once been baptised, be settled in the kingdom of heaven, but only those will become the heirs of heaven, that after their baptism have kept the commandments of the great God and saviour of our souls Jesus Christ. Many of those, who had sinned terribly after their baptism, were perhaps able to make good their previous sins by very sincere repentance with labour and zeal, and to attain the kingdom

δικαίων CXLK | 320 κατοικισθήσεται εις τον αιωνα CX κατοικηθήσεται SHTV | 322 διαστρέψης] δ' αστρέψεις V | 323 αλήθεια + έχει DA λέξον και < SHTV | 324 ο αρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη < DA ειδώς + ακριβώς DA | 325 ὄργην TV τῆς αὐτῆς C ειρισμένα S ἀπλῶς < SHTV | 326 εἴρηται DA γε < SHTV ὑπ' Α οὐρανῶν SHTV και<sup>2</sup> – 327 πεφοίτηκεν < SHTV | 327 πέφυκε LK ὦ ἀνόητε DA | 328 οὐδυνέω C κυρίου ἡμῶν X ἐδοξάσθησαν ἢ ἐσημάνθησαν C ἐποιμάνθησαν V ἀλλά γε – 330 καταφέρονται < SHTV | 329 ἐπειδιδόμενα DA εις ὄλισθον < LK και κατηνέχθησαν και C | 330 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη < T | 331 σώζει ἀπλῶς T πάντας DA οὔτε] ἀλλ' SHTV ἅπαξ + ἀπλῶς DA ἅπαξ – 333 ὅσοι < SHTV | 332 εις < DA κληρονόμοι < X και κληρονόμοι DA τῶν ἐπουρανίων κληρονόμοι C | 334 τῶν ψυχῶν < DA φυλάξουσιν DA διαφυλάξουσιν T | 335 βάπτισμα SHTV ἔπειτα] ἐπι H

κόπῳ καὶ σπουδῇ τὰ προημαρτημένα ἀνακαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ  
 θεοῦ. Ἡ προφητεία τοίνυν αὕτη, ἣν παρήγαγες, ἐπεὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη λέγει ἐξεγερθῆναι καὶ  
 ἐπεὶ δρέπανα προστάττει ἀποσταλῆναι, τὴν καθολικὴν δηλοῖ συντελείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κρίσιν καὶ ἀνταπό-  
 340 δοσιν. Εἰσφέρει γὰρ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστέρων μείωσιν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπουρανίου  
 Σιών φωνὴν τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλὴμ αὐτοῦ λαλίαν, ἥτις ἡ φημιζομένη  
 σάλπιγξ περίεστιν, δι' ἧς σάλπιγγος *σεισθήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ* δώσει ζῶντας πάντας  
 τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐτῆς δικαίους τε καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς. *Ὁ δὲ κύριος φείσεται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*  
 τοῦ τε ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ καλῶς εὐαρεστήσαντος ἐν νόμῳ  
 345 κυρίου, τοῦ τε καὶ μετὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεοπρεπῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύσαντος,  
 τοῦ τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅσους ἐξελέξατο, καὶ ποικίλαις ἀρεταῖς αὐτῷ εὐαρεστή-  
 σαντος. *Καὶ ἐνισχύσει κύριος* τοὺς τε παλαιούς, τοὺς τε νέους *υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ*, καὶ ἐν νεφέ-  
 λαις ἀέρων ἀρπαγήσονται καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεξιόις αὐτοῦ τούτους ἐναποκαταστήσει. *Καὶ γνώ-  
 σονται ἐν αἰσθήσει τελεία, ὅτι κύριος θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κατασκηνῶν ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ*, ἡγουν  
 350 ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. *Καὶ ἔσται Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἁγία* οὐχ ἡ ἐπίγειος, ἐν ἣ ὁ ναὸς ποτὲ τοῦ Σολο-  
 μῶντος ὠκοδόμητο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἁγία, φησί, ἐν ἣ οὐδὲν γήινον, ἀλλὰ πάντα οὐράνια. *Καὶ  
 ἀλλογενεῖς οὐκέτι διελεύσονται δι' αὐτῆς*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν τοῦ κριτοῦ λαχόν-  
 τεσ, ἀλλογενεῖς γὰρ λέγει τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις· ἀλλὰ ἀπελεύσονται, φησί, εἰς κόλασιν  
 αἰώνιον, οἳ τε δίκαιοι εἰς ζῶν ἀτελεύτητον. | *Καὶ ἔσται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, ἀποσταλάξει τὰ* 744B  
 355 *ὄρη* τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν *γλυκασμόν* ἕμνου καὶ μελωδίας εἰς χαρὰν τῶν ἁγίων,  
 ἅπανα εἰσὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ, *καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ῥύησονται γάλα*, ἔναρξιν θείας  
 ἐσπιάσεως, οἴπνες εἰσὶν αἱ κορυφαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἀρχιστράτηγοι τοῦ θεοῦ. *Καὶ πᾶσαι,  
 φησί, αἱ ἀφέσεις Ἰούδα ῥύησονται ὕδατα*· τὰς νοητὰς φλέβας λέγει ἀφέσεις ἀφιούσας τὸ  
 ζῶν ὕδωρ, καὶ τὰς ἀναβλυζούσας πηγὰς τὸ ζωοποιὸν νάμα, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας  
 360 τὰς ἐκχύσεις. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὕδατα ἐκ φλεβῶν βλύζουσιν καὶ πίνει ὁ κόσμος,  
 οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὕδατα νοητὰ, καὶ πίνουσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι θεοῦ.  
 Ἰούδαν δὲ ἐμφαίνει τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν ὡς ἐκ φυλῆς τοῦ Ἰούδα σωματικῶς ἀναβλαστή-  
 744C  
 365 σαντα. Καὶ πηγὴ, φησί, *ἐξ οἴκου κυρίου ἐξελεύσεται καὶ ποτιεῖ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῶν  
 σχοίνων*. Πηγὴν ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἀνεκδιήγητον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀνέκφραστον χαρὰν καὶ εὐφροσύ-  
 νην καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν εὐδίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἥτις ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτο-

341 ἡ – 342 σάλπιγξ cf. Ex. 19.13, 16, 19, 20.18 | 342 δώσει – 343 αὐτῆς cf. Apos. 20.13 |  
 347 ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρων Ps. 17.12

C X L K D A S H T V | 354 καὶ [μ

337 τοίνυν < SHTV αὕτη] αὐτῆ C, < X πάντα < SHTV | 338 ἀποσταλῆναι < V | 339 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἀν-  
 ἀπόδοσιν < SHTV | 340 τὴν ἐκ < SHTV τὴν – 341 φωνὴν] τῆς – φωνῆς DA ἐπουρανίων TV |  
 341 καὶ – λαλίαν < SHTV ἄνω < C ἥτις] ἥτοι DA ἡ φημιζομένη] εὐφημιζομένη DA T φημι-  
 ζομένης H | 342 περίεστιν < DA ὁ < S καὶ δώσει SHTV ζῶντας post 343 αὐτῆς SHTV πάντας  
 < CXLK | 343 αὐτῆς < S τε < SHTV δικαίου λαοῦ DA SHTV | 344 τοῦ τε] τότε CXLK τοῦ –  
 346 ἐθνῶν < SHTV εὐαρεστήσαντας C εὐαρεστήσαντας XLK | 345 τοῦ τε καὶ] καὶ τοῦ CXL<sup>ac</sup>  
 καὶ τοὺς L<sup>pc</sup>K τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < DA Χριστοῦ] κυρίου CX πιστεύσαντας XLK DA | 346 τοῦ] τοὺς LK

of God. Accordingly, since this prophecy which you have introduced says that all nations will be raised, and orders to sent out sickles, it means the univeral completion and the resurrection of every man, and the judgement and repayment according to the works of every single man. For it introduces the waning of sun, moon and stars, the voice of the judge out of the heavenly Zion and his speech out of the upper Jerusalem, which is the famous trumpet, the trumpet by which *heaven will shake and the earth* will give back all its deceased living, righteous ones and sinners. *And the Lord will spare his people*, namely those of the Jews that pleased him well in the law of the Lord before the arrival of Christ and also believed in him in a way worthy of God after the arrival of Christ, and also of all nations, whom he has chosen and that pleased him by various virtues. *And the Lord will strengthen* the old and also the new *sons of Israel*, and they will be taken away in the clouds of the air, and he will restore them at his right side. *And they will know* in perfect perception, *that he is the Lord their God dwelling in Zion on his holy mountain*, that is in heaven. *And Jerusalem will be holy*, not that on earth, where once the temple of Solomon had been built, but the holy one, he says, where nothing is earthly, but everything heavenly. *And strangers will not pass through her anymore*, that is those that happen to stand at the left side of the judge, for he calls those in sins strangers; but they will go on, he says, to eternal punishment, and the righteous to eternal life. *And it will happen in this day, that the mountains* of the kingdom of heaven *will trickle sweetness* of hymns and melodies to enjoy the saints, which are the multitude of God's angels, *and the hills will flow with milk*, the beginning of the divine feasting, which are the heads of the angels, the commanders-in-chief of God. *And all the channels of Judah will flow with water*: The mental veins he calls channels which send forth the living water, and the springs which gush forth the life-giving liquid the outflow of the kingdom of heaven. For as on earth waters gush forth from the veins and the world drinks, in the same way do also the spiritual waters in heaven and the angels and all the saints of God drink. He declares the Lord Jesus to be Judah, because he has risen in his body from the tribe of Judah. *And a spring*, he says, *will come forth of the house of the Lord and will water the Torrent of the Reeds*. He declares that ineffable and inexpressible gladness and joy and pleasure and the sweet smell of the Holy Ghost to be a

καί<sup>1</sup> < DA ὄσους ἄν CXLK και<sup>2</sup> + οἴτινες CXLK αὐτῶ] αὐτῶν καλῶς LK εὐρέστησαν codd. | 347 και<sup>1</sup> - Ἰσραὴλ < SHTV | 348 ἀρπαγῆσεται C ἐναποκαταστήσειεν CXLK DA | 349 ὁ θεὸς XLK ἀγίω αὐτοῦ C | 350 ἔσται < CX οὐκ CXL<sup>ac</sup> DA οὐχ ἢ] οὐχί SHTV ἐν<sup>2</sup> - 351 ὠκοδόμητο < SHTV | 351 ἀλλ' ἢ] ἀλλὰ DA | 352 οἱ] τοῦ T | 353 ἀλλογενεῖς - 354 ἀτελεύτητον < SHTV | 355 τῶν οὐρανῶν < μ ὕμνους μ ὕμνος H | 356 ἅπανα - πλήθη] και SHTV ἔναρξιν θείας ἐσπίασεως < SHTV | 357 ἐσθιάσεως αἴτινες μ αἰ] και C οἱ ἀρχιστράτηγοι < DA μ τοῦ < CX | 358 φησὶν < μ αἰ < μ τὰς - 363 ἀναβλαστήσαντα < SHTV φλόγας X ἀφέσεις λέγει τὰς ἀφείσας μ | 359 βλυζούσας μ νόμα + ἦγουν L<sup>PK</sup> βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν μ | 360 τὰς ἐκχύσεις < μ ἐκχύσεις] ἐκ Χριστοῦ DA ὄλος ὁ κόσμος DA μ | 361 ὕδατα + ἀπὸ θεοῦ DA μ τοῦ θεοῦ DA μ | 362 ὡς < DA τῆς φυλῆς DA μ τοῦ < LK | 363 πηγὴ < H κυρίου - τῶν < SHTV ἐλεύσεται X | 364 σχοινίων X πηγὴν - 365 πνεύματος < SHTV και ἀνέκφραστον < μ | 365 τὴν < μ

ρος ἀνερμηνεύτως καὶ ἀενάως ἐκπορεύεται καὶ ποτιεῖ τὰ τῶν ἁγίων συστήματα, τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κορεννὺς τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἀσυγκρίτου ἠδύτητος. *Αἴγυπτος εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἔσται*, τοῦτ' ἔστι πᾶσα πλάνη καὶ δουλεία ἢ τῆς πλινθοποιίας, ἡγουν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. *Καὶ Ἰδουμαία*, φησὶν, *εἰς πεδίον ἀφανισμοῦ γενήσεται*, πᾶσα, φημί, χώρα τῶν ἄλλοφύλων τῶν μὴ χρηματισάντων ἀπεγγόνων τῆς τιμίας κολυμβήθρας διὰ τοῦ τιμίου βαπτίσματος. Δι' ὃν τρόπον *ἀνθ' ὅσον*, φησὶν, *ἐξέχεαν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν* προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων· οὗτοι γὰρ υἱοὶ καὶ φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα παραδόξως ἀναβλαστήσαντος, οἵτινες μεγάλως ἠδικήθησαν ἀποκτανθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν. *Ἡ τε Ἰουδαία εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατοικισθήσεται*, ἢ ἄνω Ἰουδαία, ἣτις πρόσεστιν χώρα τοῦ ἐξ Ἰούδα σαρκωθέντος λόγου Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ τῶν πρωτοτόκων, καὶ *Ἰερουσαλήμ*, φησὶν, *εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν*, οὐχ ἡ κάτω, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπουράνιος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν κατὰ τὸ ἀνήκον τῆς διακρίσεως εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Καὶ ἐκζητήσω τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸν νόμον ἐν τῇ νέᾳ χάριτι, διὰ τὴν καλλίστην αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν ἐκχεάντων διὰ τὸν θεὸν τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ πανάχραντον σάρκωσιν. *Καὶ οὐ μί*, φησὶν, *ἀθώσω αὐτούς*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ μὴ συγχωρήσας δικαίωσω αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἡ πυρὶ ἀτελευτήτῳ καταναλώσομαι, καὶ κύριος κατασκηνώσει ἐν τῇ ἄνω Σιών τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ταῦτα ἡ ἀληθὴς ἐρμηνεία, Ἐρβᾶν. Εἰ δὲ τί διεστρεψα ὡς προείρηκας, ἔλεγχον.”]

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίνα γὰρ καὶ παρήκας, ἃ οὐ διεστρεψας πάντα πρὸς τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν μεθαρμώσας, κἂν τάχα καὶ ὀρκωθῆς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σαρκικῶν φρονημάτων ἀνάπλεος ὑπάρχων φρονεῖν τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος οὐ δεδύνησαι, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον ἀπόστολον κάλυμμα κεῖται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἀντισκοτεῖ σοι τοῦ συνιέναι τὰ θεῖα ὄση δύναμις.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ ἀπεγγόνις κάλυμμα κεῖται ὡς εἰρηκας, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου χρηματίζουσιν. Οὐκ ἀγαθῶς γὰρ σὺ τὸ ἐνισχύσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια τέκνα εἰρησθαι μετήγαγες καὶ τὰς ἀφέσεις Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστόν σου μετήνεγκας, τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοθεν ὀρμήσας καὶ τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ τὴν Σιών εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναγαγών. Καὶ ἀπλῶς, εἴπι σοι δόξη, εἰσπράττεις ὡς πολυλογίαν οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἐξευρηκώς. Καὶ τί ἐμοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα; Ἀποκρί-

368 πλινθοποιίας cf. Ex. 5.7 | 387 κάλυμμα – 388 σου cf. 2 Cor. 3.15

C X L K D A μ S H T V | 383 ἔλεγχον D A μ]

366 ἀνερμηνεύτως καὶ ἀενάως < SHTV καὶ τὴν μ | 367 κορεννὺς] κορεννύουσα L<sup>ρ</sup>K ἐμπλήσει μ τὴν – 367 ἠδύτητος < SHTV | 368 δουλεία post πλινθοποιίας μ ἢ < SHTV | 369 φησὶν < μ φημί πᾶσα DA πᾶσα – ἄλλοφύλων < SHTV χώρα φημί μ ἢ τῶν DA | 370 μὴ < SHTV ἀπεγγόνων] ἐκ γόνων μ τιμίου] ἁγίου K μ, < SHTV | 371 ὅσον] ὄτου CXLK φησὶν < D δικαίων X μ | 372 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ οὐτως X οὗτοι – 373 ἀναβλαστήσαντος < SHTV γὰρ + οὖν DA φίλοι γνήσιοι μ | 373 τῆς < C DA | 374 ἦπι] παρ' μ αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ DA τε] δὲ μ εἰς – 375 Ἰουδαία < C κατοικισθήσεται μ SHTV | 375 ἦτις – 376 πρωτοτόκων < SHTV ἔστιν μ Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ DA μ | 376 καὶ] ἐν DA, < μ ante Ἰερουσαλήμ ± ἐξ L γενεὰς < D οὐχ] οὐκ DA οὐχ ἢ] οὐχὶ SHTV | 377 τοῦτ' – αἰώνων < SHTV κατὰ] καὶ D ἄνικον C | 378 τοῦτ' ἔστιν] ἡγουν μ τῶν<sup>1</sup> < TV τῶν<sup>2</sup>

spring which goes out of the Almighty himself inexplicably and without end, and gives the flocks of the saints to drink, filling their heart with that awe-inspiring and incomparable sweetness. *Egypt will disappear*, that is all deceit and the slave-work of making bricks, that is of sin. *And Edom*, he says, *will become a desolated plain*, the whole land, I say, of the foreigners that were no descendants of the worthy font through holy baptism. Therefore he says, *because they have poured out the blood of the righteous*, of prophets and apostles and martyrs *in their land*; for these are sons and friends and brothers of my saviour Christ, who has risen miraculously from the tribe of Judah, who suffered greatly and were killed by them. *Judaea will be inhabited forever*, the upper Judaea, which is the land of the word Christ, who has become flesh from Judah, and of the firstborn, *and Jerusalem*, he says, *from generation to generation*, not that below, but the heavenly one, which is, to say it distinctly, forever. *And I will demand their blood*, that is of those in the law and those after the law in the new grace, who poured out their own blood giving their most noble testimony for God and for the all-pure incarnation of his word. *And I will not*, he says, *hold it guiltless*, that is, I will not forgive and justify them, but will consume them with endless fire, *and the Lord will dwell in the upper Zion* of the kingdom of heaven. This is the true explanation, Herban. If I have distorted something, as you have said before, refute me.”

Herban said: “What at all did you omit that you did not distort, transferring it for your support, although just now you have been bound by oath from me?”

The archbishop said: “Being full of fleshly thoughts you cannot believe those of the spirit, because, according to the blessed apostle, a veil is on your heart and obstructs you from understanding the divine things to the best of your ability.”

Herban said: “If a veil lies on the descendants of Abraham, as you say, it lies much more on you who come from a barbaric people. For badly you have claimed that the word *he will strengthen the sons of Israel* had been said about your own children, and you also have transferred the channels of Judah to your Christ, dragging Egypt here from elsewhere and putting Jerusalem and Zion up into heaven. And if something comes into your mind, you simply introduce it in a loquacious way which you have discovered I do not know where. And what can I say about this? Answer me exactly to

< DA μ | 379 τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα] τὸ αἷμα τὸ οἰκεῖον DA μ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ante διὰ SHTV | 380 καὶ – 382 οὐρανῶν < SHTV φησὶν < μ τοῦτ' ἔστιν – 381 αὐτούς < XL μ | 381 ἦ] ἐν DA μ ἀτελευτήτω πυρὶ X καταναλώσω μ | 383 ἔστρεψα SHTV προεῖρηκας] γραφικὰς SHTV | 384 λέγει < TV καὶ < X παριάσας SH παρεάσας T παρίασας V οὐ < T πάντα < SHTV πρὸς] εἰς SHTV | 385 μεθαρμώσας < SHTV καὶ ὀρκωθῆς] ὀρκισθῆς SHTV | 386 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] Γρηγόριος V ὑπάρχων] πέλων SHTV | 388 ἀντισκοτίζει LPK ἀντικοτεῖ SHTV τὰ] ὡς H ὄση] ὀπόση σοι C ὡσεὶ S ὡς ἡ V, < H | 389 λέγει] ἔφη SH, < TV ἀπογόνους SHTV | 390 οὐκ ἀγαθῶς] οὐ καθῶς SHTV (οὐ] ὡς H) σὺ + ὡς CXLK | 391 ἐνίσχυσεν SHTV εἶρησθαι SH | 392 μετήγαγες SHTV ἀλλόθεν TV | 393 ἀνήγαγες SHTV σοι] οὐ V δόξη < T | 394 εἰσπράττει SHTV οἶδ' ὀπόθεν εὐρηκῶς C



- 395 θηπι δέ μοι ἐνταῦθα, καθὰ ἐγώ σε ἐπερωτῶ. Περὶ τίνος λέγει ὁ προφήτης τὸ *Ἐν ἐξόδῳ Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οἴκου Ἰακώβ ἐκ λαοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγενήθη Ἰουδαία ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ*; Τίνα θεάσατο ἡ θάλασσα καὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἰορδάνης καὶ ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὰ ἔθνη ἢ Ἰσραηλίτας; *Τὰ ὄρη* ὅτι ἐσκίρτησαν ὡσεὶ κριοὶ καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ὡς ἀρνία προβάτων. Ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ, ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ
- 400 καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, *τοῦ στρέφαντος τὴν πέτραν εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων καὶ τὴν ἀκρότομον εἰς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. Μὴ ἡμῖν, κύριε, μὴ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ὀνόματί σου δὸς δόξαν*, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέει σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, μήποτε εἴπωσιν τὰ ἔθνη· *Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν*; Ἄκουσον, ἀρχιεπίσκοπε, ποῦ ἀριθμοῦνται τὰ λεγόμενα ἔθνη καὶ ποῦ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, μήποτε γὰρ εἴπωσι, φησί, *τὰ ἔθνη· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν*· Ὁ
- 405 *δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς σημαίνει ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο, οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι *Μήποτε εἴπωσι τὰ ἔθνη· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν*. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν. Ὅρα ἐνταῦθα, κύριε ὁ μέγας, τίνα ἐπάγει· *Τὰ εἰδῶλα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, φησί, *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων· στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄφονται, ὠτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται, ῥίνας ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὀσφρανθήσονται, χεῖρας ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ ψηλαφήσουσιν, πόδας ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ περιπατήσουσιν· οὐ φωνήσουσιν ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν*. Πρόσεχε, κύριε ὁ μέγας, τί περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν παρεισάγει ὁ μέγας προφήτης ἀρόμενος· Ὅμοιοι αὐτῶν γένοιτο, φησί, *οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*. Πρόσεχε τί σοι μαρτυρεῖ ὡς πρὸς
- 415 τὸν κύριον ἔχειν τὴν οἰκειότητα· *Οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον*· ἵνα μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι οἶκος ἐθνῶν περιγέγραπται, ἀλλὰ *οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ*, φησί, *ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον*. *Βοηθός καὶ ὑπερασπιστής αὐτῶν ἐστίν, οἶκος Ἀαρῶν ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον* καὶ οὐχὶ οἶκος Ἑλλήνων, *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ κύριον* καὶ οὐχὶ οἱ σεβόμενοι τὰ εἰδῶλα. *Κύριος μνησθεὶς ἡμῶν ἠλόγησεν ἡμᾶς*; ποίους ἡμᾶς; Μὴ ἄρα τὰ ἔθνη, μὴ ἄρα τοὺς Ἑλληνας, μὴ
- 420 ἄρα τὸν οἶκον τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν, ἀλλὰ τίνας μνησθεὶς ἠλόγησεν; *Εὐλόγησε*, φησί, *τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ, εὐλόγησε τὸν οἶκον Ἀαρῶν, εὐλόγησε τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον, τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων*. Προσθεῖη κύριος *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἡμῶν*. *Εὐλογημένοι ἡμεῖς τῷ κυρίῳ* οἱ Ἰσραηλίται καὶ οὐχὶ τὰ ἔθνη. *Οὐχὶ νεκροὶ αἰνέσουσι σε*,

395 ἐν – 399 προβάτων Ps. 113.1–4 | 399 ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> – 404 αὐτῶν Ps. 113.7–10 | 405 δ<sup>1</sup> – οὐρανῷ Ps. 113.11 | 406 μήποτε – 423 κυρίῳ Ps. 113.10–23 | 423 οὐχ<sup>2</sup> – 426 αἰῶνος Ps. 113.25–26

### C X L K S H T V

395 μοι < SHTV καθὰ < CXLK σε] σοι X | 396 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ CXLK | 397 αὐτοῦ + ἡ θάλασσα εἶδε καὶ ἔφυγε C ὁ < C TV καί<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 398 ὅτι < SHTV ὡσεὶ] ὡς S, + οἱ H | 399 τοῦ κυρίου S κυρίου – προσώπου<sup>2</sup> < TV ἐσαλεύθη ἡ γῆ < SH | 400 τοῦ – 401 ὑδάτων < SHTV | 401 μὴ – σου < SHTV δῶψς TV | 402 ἐπὶ – σου<sup>3</sup> < SHTV | 403 ποῦ<sup>1</sup> περ SHV περιριθμοῦνται T λεγόμενα < SHTV ποῦ<sup>2</sup> – 404 ἔθνη < SHTV | 406 ὁ – 407 ἐστίν < H | 407 ἡμῶν + φησὶν SHTV | 408 ἐνταῦθα] οὐν H, < C ὁ μέγας κύριε ἐνταῦθα C ὁ κύριε ὁ H τίνα – 409 ἀνθρώπων < H | 409 φησὶν < SHTV στόμα – 412 αὐτῶν] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς STV, < H | 410 ῥίνας L<sup>pc</sup> | 411 ἔχουσι<sup>1</sup>] ἔχωσι X ψηλαφήσωσι L | 412 περιπατήσωσι XL φωνήσωσιν L πρόσεχε – μέγας < H μέγας]

what I ask you here. About whom does the prophet say: *When Israel went out of Egypt and the house of Jacob from a barbaric people, Judah became his sanctuary and Israel his dominion? What did the sea see, and Jordan fled and was driven back, the nations or the Israelites? The mountains skipped like rams and the hill like lambs. The earth was shaken at the presence of the Lord, the God of Jacob and not of the nations, who turned the rock into a lake of water and the sharp stone into a spring of waters. Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto your name give glory, that is, only to your name for your mercy and your truth, so that the nations will not say: Where is their God? Hear, archbishop, where are the so-called nations enumerated and where the seed of Abraham, so that the nations will not say: Where is their God? Our God is in heaven and so on means here, that the God of Israel is not the God of the nations. For if he were this, the prophet would not have said: That the nations will not say: Where is their God? The God of us Israelites is in heaven, and he did whatever he wanted on earth. See here, my great lord, how he goes on: The idols of the nations, he says, are silver and gold, work of men's hands; they have a mouth and will not speak, they have eyes and will not see, they have ears and will not hear, they have noses and will not smell, they have hands and will not handle, they have feet and will not walk; they will not speak through their throat. Listen, my great lord, what the great prophet brings forward about you nations cursing them: those that make them will become similar to them, and all those that trust in them. Listen, what he testifies to you about your having an intimate relation with the Lord: The house of Israel hoped in the Lord, that you may not say that a house of the nations is described here, therefore he says, the house of Israel hoped in the Lord. He is their helper and protector, the house of Aaron hoped in the Lord and not the house of the pagans, they that fear the Lord hoped in the Lord and not those that adore the idols. The Lord remembered us and blessed us; which 'us'? Neither the nations nor the pagans, nor the house of the worshippers of idols, but whom did he remember and bless? He blessed, he says, the house of Israel, he blessed the house of Aaron, he blessed those that fear the Lord, both small and great. May the Lord increase us,<sup>82</sup> us and our sons. We are blessed to the Lord,<sup>83</sup> the Israelites and not the nations. The dead will*

πάπας CXLK | 413 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς H | 414 τί σοι] τίνας CXLK τοῖς σοῖς S ὡς – 415 ἔχειν] ὁ – ἔχων LK | 415 οἰκειότητα] υἰότητα SHTV ἴνα – 416 κύριον < H | 416 οἴκος] υἰοί V φησὶν < STV | 417 καὶ – 418 κύριον<sup>2</sup> < H | 418 ἤλπισαν – κύριον<sup>2</sup> < LK κύριος – 419 ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> < C | 419 εὐλόγησεν V ἄρα<sup>2</sup> < C | 420 τὸν<sup>1</sup> – εἰδωλοατρῶν] τῶν εἰδωλοατρῶν οἶκον C τίνος SHTV μνησθεῖς] φησὶν LK ἠύλογησε X, < SHTV τὸν οἶκον φησὶ SHTV | 421 εὐλόγησε<sup>1</sup>] ἠύλογησε X, < SHTV | 422 προσθεῖη – 423 ἔθνη] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHTV | 423 οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται τῷ κυρίῳ XL Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ < K οὐχι<sup>2</sup>] οὐχ οἱ C

<sup>82</sup> Here and thereafter the Septuagint reads 'you' (ὕμᾶς instead of ἡμᾶς); the adaptation is required by the context of Herban's speech.

<sup>83</sup> The second half of verse 23 and verse 24 are omitted.

κύριε, οἱ τοῖς νεκροῖς ξοάνοις προστατεύοντες, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες, οἱ ζῶντι θεῷ λα-  
 425 τρεύοντες τῷ λαλήσαντι μετὰ Μωσέως· *Εὐλογήσωμεν τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ*  
*αἰῶνος.* Εἰ τοίνυν πέφηνεν ἐν σοὶ ἀντίρρησις, ἐνταῦθα μοι ἀρτίως ἐναντιώθητι, καὶ εἰ  
 δυνατὸς εἶ ἐν λέξεσι, διάστρεφον τὰ εἰρημένα.”

Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἐρβᾶν λαλήσαντος ἦρθη χαρὰ καὶ ἐκρότησεν ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων.  
 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς χολέσας δι' ὧν ἠγαλλιάσαντο, ἠβουλήθη διεξελεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ὁ μακά-  
 430 ριος αὐτὸν Γρηγέντιος καταπραῦνας ἐσίγησε.

Λέγει οὖν πρὸς Ἐρβᾶν ὁ μακάριος· “Εἴρηκάς μοι, ὅτι ‘Εἰ δυνατὸς εἶ, διάστρεφον’.  
 Καὶ ἐγώ, ζῆ κύριος, οὐδαμῶς διέστρεψα, ἀλλ’ οὔτε ἐναντιώτην σοι τῇ προσοῦσῃ μοι παρὰ  
 κυρίου δυναστεία. Πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης ἀληθείας τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἔσπευσα τοῦ  
 πληροφορησαί σε, καθότι εἰς μάτην καὶ διακενῆς καυχᾶσαι ἐν τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ σου. Εἰ  
 435 κελεύεις, ἵνα διαστρέψω καὶ ἐναντιωθῶ σοι, πολλὰ μεταμεληθήσῃ· πῦρ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι  
 κυρίου αἰτήσομαι, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου τοῦ προφήτου καταβάν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατανα-  
 λώσει καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς μετὰ σέ. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ, οὐπὲρ τὴν διήγησιν πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν  
 ἐμοὶ παρήγαγες καὶ εἴρηκας ὅτι· ‘Ἐναντιώθητί μοι, εἶπερ καὶ δύνασαι’, πρόσεχε· ὁ ψαλ-  
 440 μὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔξοδον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὑποσημαίνει, καὶ ὅτι ἔσχε κληρο-  
 νομήσας τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀγίασμα, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, διὰ  
 τὸ ἐκεῖσε τὸν ναὸν παρὰ τοῦ Σολομώντος οἰκοδομηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ  
 μαρτυρίου, καὶ ὅτι Ἰσραὴλ εἰς ὄνομα τῆ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐπετέθη, καὶ ὅτι ἡ  
 θάλασσα τῆ ῥάβδῳ Μωσέως ἐπατάχθη καὶ παταχθεῖσα ἀπέφυγε τὴν ξηρὰν αὐτῆς τῷ  
 445 λαῷ εἰς διάβασιν παρασκευάσασα, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐστάναί τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς αἴροντας τὴν  
 κιβωτὸν κατὰ μέσον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἀνεχαιτίσθη τὰ ἄνω ὕδατα εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ κατώ-  
 τερα κατέπλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Καριαθιαρὶμ, μέχρις οὗ διέβη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς διὰ τῆς ξηρᾶς,  
 καὶ ἐν τῷ καταβῆναι κύριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ τοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 προσομιλῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν δεκάλογον, καὶ διὰ τὸ φρίξαι τὰ ὄρη καὶ τρομάξαι τοὺς βουνοὺς  
 450 ὡς κριοὺς καὶ ὡς πρόβατα μετὰ ἀρνῶν σκιρτῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ παρηνίξασθαι καὶ ἐμφαίνει, ὅπως  
 ἡ πέτρα νεύσει θεοῦ ὕδωρ ποτε τῷ λαῷ ποταμηδὸν ἀνέβλυσεν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καταλειφθῆναι  
 τὸν Ἰσραὴλ παρὰ κυρίου διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτοῦ κυριεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, φημί παρὰ

436 ὡς – 437 σέ cf. 4 Reg. 1.12 | 439 ἔσχε – 440 ἐπαγγελίας cf. Deut. 11.9 | 442 ἡ – 444 παρα-  
 σκευάσασα cf. Ex. 14.16 | 444 ἐν – 446 ξηρᾶς cf. Ios. 3.13–17 | 447 ἐν – 448 δεκάλογον cf. Ex.  
 24.12–18 | 448 διὰ – 449 σκιρτῆσαι cf. Ps. 113.6–7 | 450 ἡ – ἀνέβλυσεν cf. Num. 20.11

### C X L K S H T V

424 καὶ οἱ<sup>1</sup> LK νεκροῖς + τοῦ ἄδου C προστατεύοντες + εἰς ἄδου X, οὔτε πάντες οἱ  
 καταβαίνοντες εἰς ἄδου LK οἱ ζῶντες < SHTV ζῶντι H<sup>pc</sup> ζῶντες H<sup>ac</sup> | 426 πέφυκεν LK μοι <  
 CX | 428 λελαλήσαντος S χαρὰ L<sup>del</sup>, < K ἡ χαρὰ SHTV | 429 χολώσας T εἰ μὴ] καὶ H, < STV ὁ  
 δὲ TV | 430 Γρηγέντιος αὐτὸν C HTV | 431 Ἐρβᾶν ὁ μακάριος] αὐτὸν ὁ μακάριος ἀρχι-  
 ἐπίσκοπος K ὅτι < X | 432 ἔστρεψα SHTV | 434 σε] σοι SHTV καὶ < SHTV ἀχᾶσαι SHTV  
 ἰουδαϊκῷ H εἶτε SHTV | 436 αἰτήσομαι] ἔπι ἔσομαι V τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < LK | 437 ψαλμοῦ – διήγησιν < X  
 πρὸς ἐναντίωσιν < K | 438 ἐμοὶ] μοι SHTV εἶπας H καὶ δύνασαι] δεδύνησαι SHTV | 439 οὗτος  
 – τῆς] τοῦτος τῆς ἐκ γῆς SH | 440 τὴν<sup>2</sup> – 442 μαρτυρίου < SHTV | 441 ὠκοδομηθῆναι C |

*not praise you, Lord*,<sup>84</sup> those that defend the dead carvings, but *we living ones*, who venerate the living God who spoke to Moses: *Let us praise the Lord from now on and forever*. Now if a contradiction appears to you, withstand me now, and if you are powerful in your words, distort what I have said.”

When Herban said this, joy arose and the congregation of the Jews clapped their hands. The king became angry because of their exultation and wanted them to go out,<sup>85</sup> but the blessed Gregentios calmed him and brought him to silence.

Now the blessed one said to Herban: “You said to me, that ‘if you are powerful in your words, distort’. And as God lives, I distorted in no way, nor did I withstand you with the power which God has bestowed on me. I just hastened to assure you from the extant truth of the holy Scriptures, that you boast in vain and to no purpose in your Judaism. If you give me the order to distort and withstand you, you will repent greatly, for I will demand fire in the name of the Lord, and coming down from heaven like unto the prophet Elijah it will consume you and your followers. About the psalm, which you have introduced reciting it to withstand me, and said: ‘Withstand me if you can’, listen: this psalm means the exodus of Israel out of Egypt, and that he inherited the Promised Land Judaea as a sanctuary, that is Jerusalem, because the temple of Solomon was built there after the prototype of the tabernacle of the congregation; and that the name of Israel was applied to the authority of his kingdom; and that the sea was stricken by the rod of Moses, and being stricken fled, thus making the dry land a passage to the people; and that, when the priests who held up the ark stood in the middle of Jordan, the upper waters were held back and the lower waters went down to the sea of Kariathiarim, until all the people had crossed through the dry land; and when the Lord came down to mount Sinai to visit his people and to announce the Decalogue to them, and because the mountains shuddered and the hills trembled like rams and skipped like sheep with their lambs, he spoke obscurely and declared, that the rock once gushed forth water for the people at a beck of God, streaming like a river. And when Israel was abandoned by God because of his injustice to fall under the dominion of the nations, I mean the Gergesites and Jebusites and Amalekites and the others, the prophet asks, praying in a general way

442 ὄνομα τῆ] ὀνόματι C τῆ ἐξουσία < SHTV ἐπιτέθη C | 443 καὶ παταχθείσα ἀπέφυγε < CX τὴν – 444 παρασκευάσασα < SHTV | 445 ἀναχαιτίσθη X H εἰς < X | 446 διὰ < SHTV | 447 τὸν κύριον CX | 448 προσωμίλησεν SHTV καί<sup>1</sup> – 449 παρηνίξατο < SHTV τρομάσαι LK | 449 ὡς<sup>2</sup> < CX | 451 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν H φημι γὰρ X

<sup>84</sup> Here and in Gregentios’ following interpretation the second half of verse 25, *nor all those that descend to hell*, is missing. Since these words do not appear in Makarios, *Homiliae*, 50.49.31 either, it seems that they were omitted in a whole branch of the Septuagint tradition.

<sup>85</sup> διεξελεθειν normally means ‘to go through’ or ‘to carry out’ and is used in this sense also at 1.108; 4.268; N 36, 46; Γ 429. Here it is assumed that the word stands instead of ἐξελεθειν.

τῶν Γεργεσαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων καὶ Ἀμαληκитῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, αἰτεῖ καθολικῶς ἐλε-  
 θῆναι δεόμενος ὁ προφήτης, καὶ *δοῦναι δόξαν* διὰ τῆς ἀναρρύσεως *τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ*,  
*μήποτε εἴπωσι τὰ ἔθνη· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν;* Ποῖα ἔθνη; τὰ προειρημένα, ἐξ ὧν καὶ σὺ  
 455 ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Νῶε ἀποτεχθέντες κατὰγεσθε. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰρηκας, τῶν  
 Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ *πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν*.  
 Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μόνων ἐστὶ θεὸς καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, πρόδηλον ὅτι τὰ  
 ἔθνη οὐκ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἄνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος τίς. Πῶς οὖν ἀρμώσει τῷ θεῷ,  
 460 ὅτι *πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν*, ἐπειδὴ λείπεται μὴ πεποικῶς τὰ ἔθνη; Οὐκοῦν οὐκ εἶ  
 σὺ ἀναισθητώτερος καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν λίθων; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐστὶν ἅπαν τὸ γένος τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων; Πῶς οὖν εἰρηκας, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἐστὶ θεὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν; Ὅτι δὲ *τὰ*  
 465 *εἰδῶλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων*, ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὰ εἰρημέ-  
 να. Καὶ τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ πρὸς ταῦτα Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ  
 παντοκράτορι καὶ τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων μακρὰν γεγονότι, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν εἰς  
 470 αἰσχύνην δῆθεν ἐμοὶ προσφέρεις, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τοῦ Νῶε καὶ σοῦ συγγενεῖς τὰ  
 ἔθνη κεχηρημάτηκαν; Καὶ αἰσχύνθητι καὶ αὐτός· ὅτι δὲ *οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἶκος Ἀαρῶν* καὶ  
 οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον *ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ βοηθός καὶ ὑπερασπιστής αὐτῶν*  
*ἐγένετο*, οὐκ εἰμι ἀντιπράττων. Ἐγένετο γάρ, ἀλλὰ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅπότεν οἱ προφήται  
 καὶ πατριάρχαι, καὶ οὐκ ἄρτίως. Ὅτι δὲ εἴρηται τὸ *Προσθεῖη κύριος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ*  
 475 *τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν*, καὶ ὅτι *εὐλογημένοι ὑμεῖς τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν*  
*γῆν*, καὶ ὅτι *οὐχ οἱ νεκροί*, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς τὰ ἔθνη, *αἰνέσουσί σε, κύριε, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ*  
*ζῶντες*, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ, *εὐλογήσατε τὸν κύριον*, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἴρηται, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 παρὰ θεοῦ ὑμῖν εἴρηται· ἑαυτοῖς γὰρ ταῦτα εἴρηκατε, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα  
 480 λέλεκται. Τίς ἐκεῖνος, ὃς μὴ τιμᾷ τὴν ἰδίαν συγγένειαν; Καὶ ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἄρτίως σιχολογοῦν-  
 τες τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον ἐπὶ λόγῳ ἡμῶν λέγομεν, ὅτι εὐλογημένοι ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ τῷ  
 κυρίῳ. Οὐκοῦν παῦσον καὶ μὴ φυλάρει περὶ πεπαλαιωμένων πραγμάτων καὶ σκιῶν παρελ-  
 θουσῶν δίκας εἰσπράττων. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταῦτα. Πρόσεχε δὲ τίνα περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν  
 ἐκείνων λέγει Δαυὶδ, ἃ σὺ αὐτὸς μυσάττει καὶ ἀσχάλλεις ἀναβαλλόμενος· *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν*  
*κύριον πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί*. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν αἰνέσωσιν αὐτὸν  
 480 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀκάθαρτα γάρ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν; Ὅτι *ἐκραταιώθη τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς*,  
*φησί, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Ἵνα οὖν μὴ εἴπης, ὅτι ψευδῆ τὰ εἰρη-

453 δοῦναι – αὐτοῦ Mal. 2.2 | 478 αἰνεῖτε – 481 αἰῶνα Ps. 116.1–2

### C X L K S H T V

452 Γεσαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων C Ἀμαληκιωτῶν TV αἰτεῖ] ἐπι SHTV | 453 τοῦ ὀνόματος SHTV |  
 454 εἴπωσι + φησί CX σὺ ὡς] ὑμεῖς X | 456 καὶ οὐχὶ καὶ LK | 457 μόνων] μόνος S ὁ θεὸς C,  
 θεὸς < SHTV καί<sup>2</sup> < X SH | 458 ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐποίησε C σὴν < TV οὖν < TV | 460 οὐκ – 461  
 ἐθνῶν < SHTV | 462 ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς CXLK (τὰ < C) | 463 πεπιστευκότι  
 SHTV καί<sup>1</sup> – 464 παντοκράτορι < SHTV | 464 εἰ δὲ] εἴτε SHTV | 465 δῆθεν ἐμοὶ] ἡμῖν SHTV  
 ὡς < H | 467 καὶ ὑπερασπιστής < SHTV | 468 εἰμι] οἶμαι vel εἶμαι C SHTV ἀντισπράττω  
 SHTV | 469 οἱ πατριάρχαι X T ὅτι – 470 ὑμῶν < SHTV | 470 τοὺς < X τῷ<sup>2</sup> – 471 γῆν < SHTV  
 | 471 οὐχ οἱ] οὐχὶ SHTV αἰνέσουσί post νεκροί C σε κύριε < C | 472 Ἰσραὴλ] Ἱερουσαλήμ

to receive mercy, and to *give glory to his name* because of the redemption, *so that the nations will not say: Where is their God?* Which nations? The aforementioned ones, from which you also descend, being born from the one man Noah. The God of us Israelites, you said, and not of the nations *did whatever he wanted* in heaven and on earth. Now if he is only the God of the Israelites and not of the nations, it is clear according to your folly, that God did not make the nations, but someone else. Now how does it fit to God that *he did whatever he wanted*, if he has failed not having created the nations? So are you not more insensible than the stones themselves? Is not all the race of man from Adam? Now how did you say that the God of Israel is not the God of the nations? And that *the idols of the nations are silver and gold, work of men's hands*, this has been said in truth. For is that to me, since I believe in God and through him in the Father and Almighty, and have gone far away from the deceit of the idols, even if you supposedly offer me consanguinity for my shame, as the nations are related to you as well from Adam and Noah? So be ashamed yourself, for I am not contradicting that *the house of Israel and the house of Aaron* and those among you that fear the Lord *hoped in the Lord, and he is their helper and protector*. For it happened, but in that time when the prophets and patriarchs lived and not recently. That it has been said that *the Lord may increase us, us and our sons*, and that *we are blessed to the Lord that made heaven and earth*, and that *the dead*, that is we nations, *will not praise you, Lord, but you living ones*, that is those from Israel, *let us praise the Lord*, it has been said in truth, but it has not been said to you by God; for you have said to yourselves, and this has been told by the prophet. Who is that man who does not honour his own relatives? For when we now chant this psalm, we understand it in our sense, that we Christians are blessed to the Lord. Therefore make an end and do not talk nonsense, discussing about decayed things and shadows which have passed away. So far to that. Listen what David says concerning those nations of which you are disgusted and vexed while hesitating: *Praise the Lord all you nations, praise him, all the people*. For what reason should all the nations praise, since they are impure, for what reason? *For his mercy has become mighty over us*, he says, *and the truth of the Lord endures forever*. That you may not say now, that the said things are lies, he went on, *and the truth of the Lord endures forever*. That you

SHTV εὐλογήσει, κύριον + εἴρηται CXLK ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἴρηται < X | 473 τοῦ θεοῦ SHTV ὑμῖν] ἡμῶν C εἴρηται ὑμῖν C ἑαυτοῖς] ἐν αὐτοῖς C καὶ - 474 συγγένειαν < SHTV | 474 μὴ < X τὴν ἰδίαν < C | 475 λόγου SHTV | 476 οὐκοῦν < C περὶ < H καὶ<sup>2</sup> - 477 εἰσπράττων < LK | 477 τίνα] τί SH | 478 ἀσχάλλει SHTV | 479 ἐπαινέσατε - λαοί < SHTV αἰνέσουσιν LK | 480 γάρ] ἦσαν H αἰνέσωσιν - 480 αἰτίαν < SHTV | 481 φησὶ - αἰῶνα] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHTV ὅτι - 482 εἴπης < X ψευδῆ εἰσὶν SHTV

μένα, ἐπήγαγεν, *καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Ἴνα οὖν μὴ εἴπῃς ἔπειτα, ὅτι ἀπλῶς εἴρηται, ἐτέρωθι πάλιν ἐπήγαγε· *Ψαλῶ σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι*, φησί.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ εἴρηκα ἐγώ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς κατὰ δημιουργίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀλλ’ οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἀλλοτριώσιν τῆς πίστεως. Τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἠνιξάμην, ἐπεὶ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ, ὅπερ οὐ δεδημιούργηκεν ὁ θεός.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄφες περὶ τούτου· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἠλέχθης, οὐκ ἂν τόγε συνήκας. Πρόσεχε δὲ τί ἔπειτα λέγει Ἡσαΐας προμηνύων ὑμῶν τὴν παντελεῆ κατάλυσιν· *Ἰδοῦ, φησί, ὁ δεσπότης κύριος Σαβαώθ ἀφελεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ* 490 *ἰσχύοντα* ἄνδρα *καὶ ἰσχύουσιν* βασιλείαν, *ἰσχύν ἄρτου*, ἤγουν λόγον ἀληθείας, *καὶ ἰσχύν ὕδατος*, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν γνώσιν θεοσεβείας, *γίγαντα* τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σολομῶντος πέλοντα ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων *καὶ ἰσχύοντα* τὸν νόμον τοῦ Μωσέως ὡς ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ἄλλον *πολεμιστήν*, νοῦν πανοῦργον τῶν εὐδοκίμων *καὶ δικαστήν* τὸν κατευθῦ τὰ δέοντα ἐτάζοντα καὶ συγκρίνοντα, *καὶ προφήτην* τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ τὰς φάσεις κομίζοντα *καὶ στοχα-* 495 *στην* τὸν τὰ πόρρω καὶ πέλας οἰωνιζόμενον *καὶ πρεσβύτερον* τὸν παλαιὸν ἐν φρονήσει λογισμῶν *καὶ πεντηκόνταρχον* τὸν ἐπικρατεστέραν διάνοιαν τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἐνοιῶν *καὶ θαυμαστόν σύμβουλον* τὸν τὰ εὐθεῖα τε καὶ συμφέροντα νοῦν ὑγιῶς συνδιασκεπτόμενον *καὶ σοφὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα* τὴν τρόπῳ πελεκῶσαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπβουλιῶν τυραννίδα φρόνησιν, *καὶ συνετὸν ἀκροατήν* τὸν κατὰ πείραν τὰς λέξεις συνέσει ῥυθμίζοντα. Ταῦτα 500 πάντα τὴν πολιτείαν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ συγκροτοῦντα ἀφελῶ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοὺς κυριαρχίους πράκτορας καὶ συνετοὺς συμβούλους λογισμοὺς τῶν συμφερόντων αὐτῶν. *Καὶ στήσω νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας* αὐτῶν μωρία καὶ πονηρία καὶ οὐ συνέσει ἀγομένους, *καὶ ἐμπαίκεται*, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐπιμεληταὶ *κυριεύσωσιν αὐτῶν*. *Καὶ συμπεσέεται ὁ λαὸς* ἀπὸ τῆς καλλίστης τάξεως εἰς ἀταξίαν. *Ἄνθρωπος* ὡς οἶα ἄλογον κτῆνος *πρὸς ἄνθρωπον* ἀλώσεται καὶ οὐ πρὸς 505 ὄν οὐχ ἑώρακε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ *πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ*, ὄν ἐτάχθη ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀγαπᾶν, προσκρούσεται. *Προσκόψει τὸ παιδάριον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον* μὴ φυλάσσωσιν τὴν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐντολήν τοῖς νέοις κελεύουσιν τὸ *ἀπὸ προσώπου πολιῶν ἐξαναστήσῃ*, φησί, προσκόψει καὶ ὁ ἄτιμος πρὸς τούτοις *πρὸς τὸν ἐντιμον*. Φόβου γὰρ καὶ ἀγάπης ἐκτὸς γενήσονται τὰ προστάγματα καὶ πενία πολλοστῆ κατακυριευθήσονται. Διὰ τοῦτο 510 *ἐπλήψει ἄνθρωπος* πᾶς ὁ τυχὼν *τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ*, ἴσως σωματικῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔστιν τῇ χρεΐα, *ἢ τοῦ οἰκείου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι προσφιλοῦς ἢ γνωρίμου λέγων· *Ἰμάτιον ἔχεις* ἐν κρασπέδοις μεγαλυνόμενον, καὶ οἶμαι, κἂν ἄφρων εἶ, *ἀρχηγὸς ἡμῶν* γενοῦ τοῦτο περιβαλλόμενος. *Καὶ τὸ βρῶμα τὸ ἐμόν* ὡς οἶα ὑποταττομένῳ ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν

483 ψαλῶ – ἔθνεσι Ps. 56.10 | 488 ἰδοῦ – 499 ἀκροατήν Is. 3.1–3 | 501 καί<sup>2</sup> – 508 ἐντιμον Is. 3.4–5 | 507 ἀπὸ – ἐξαναστήσῃ Lev. 19.32 | 510 ἐπλήψει – 517 ἰμάτιον Is. 3.6–7

#### C X L K S H T V

482 ἴνα – 483 εἴρηται] καὶ SHTV | 484 λέγει < TV τὴν δημιουργίαν C | 485 τοῦτο αὐτὸς] τό γε SHTV ἠνοιξάμεν H ἐπεὶ – 486 θεός < SHTV | 487 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη] λέγει S ἐλέχθης X H ἠλέγχθης LK | 489 τῆς<sup>2</sup> < TV | 491 γίγαντα – 494 συγκρίνοντα < SHTV | 493 ἄλλον] ἄνθρωπον LK τὸν εὐδόκιμον C | 494 καί<sup>1</sup> – κομίζοντα < CX

may not say after this, that this has simply been said so, he goes on elsewhere again: *I will sing you among the nations*, he says.”

Herban said: “I did not say that the God of Israel is not the God of the nations regarding creation, but regarding the alienation of faith. This it what I declared, since there is nothing in heaven and on earth which God has not created.”

The archbishop said: “Leave this aside, for if you meant so, you probably did not understand it. Listen what Isaiah says thereafter, when he predicted your complete dissolution: *Behold*, he says, *the master Lord Sabaoth will take away from Judaea and from Jerusalem the strong man and the strong kingdom, the strength of bread*, that is the word of truth, *and the strength of water*, that is the knowledge of the fear of God, *the giant*, which is the temple of Solomon as compared to the temples of the pagans, *and the strong law of Moses as existing*, and another *warrior*, a clever mind of the nobles, *and the judge* who examines immediately what is necessary and compares, *and a prophet* who receives the sayings from God, *and the diviner* who tells the things far away and near, *and the ancient man* who is old in the thoughts of his reasoning, *the commander of fifty* who has a more valid thought than the others, *and the wonderful counsellor*, the mind which soundly examines the right and useful things, *and the wise architect*, which is the reasoning that, using a comparison, cuts down with an axe the tyrannic thoughts of hostile attacks, *and the intelligent disciple* who composes the words wisely according to experience. I will take away all that which forms the state of Israel, that is the governing officials and prudent counsellors, the reasonings about the things useful for them. *And I will appoint young men as their rulers*, who will be driven by folly and not by prudence, *and mockers*, not curators, *will rule them*. *And the people will fall* from the best order into disorder. *A man will attack another man* like a brute animal, and not one he has not seen before, but will strike against *his neighbour*, whom the law prescribes to love like himself. *The child will behave proudly towards the ancient man* and will not keep the commandment of the law which orders the young people, *stand up before a greyhaired man*, he says, and also *the base* will behave proudly *against the worthy ones*. For the orders will be foreign to any fear and love, and will be under the dominion of much poverty. Therefore every *man will* happen to *take hold of his brother*, thinking he might be corporeally stronger in his need, *or of the servant of his father*, that is a friend or acquaintance, saying: *You have a garment* with

βάσεις H και<sup>3</sup> – 499 φρόνησιν < SHTV | 495 τὸν<sup>1</sup> < CX | 496 τὸν | τὴν CXLK | 497 εὐθεΐα] εὐθύ C εὐθῆ LK νοῦν CL SHTV οὖν X, < K | 498 ἐναντιῶν C | 499 λέγεις SH συνέσει ῥυθμίζοντα] συνεπιρρυθμίζοντα LK SH ταῦτα γὰρ C ταῦτα – 501 αὐτῶν < SHTV | 502 οὐχὶ SHTV και<sup>3</sup> – 506 προσκρούσεται < SHTV | 503 οὐχὶ δὲ] και οὐχὶ C κυριεύσουσιν K | 504 οἶα < C | 505 οὐχ < LK | 507 τὸ – 511 αὐτοῦ < SHTV | 510 ἐστὶν post σωματικῶς C | 511 πρὸς φίλους ἢ γνωρίμους SHTV λέγων] λόγον CX λέγει TV | 513 τοῦτον CX τὸ<sup>1</sup> – 514 ῥηθήσεται < SHTV ἀποταπτομένῳ C σὴν < C



- ἐξουσίαν ἔστω. Καὶ οἷς ταῦτα ῥηθήσεται, ἀποκριθεὶς ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν διακελευόμενον  
 515 αὐτῷ ἀποφθέγγεται ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις· Οὐκ ἔσομαι, φησίν, ἀρχηγός, πτοοῦμαι γὰρ  
 Ῥωμαίους, οἷς τελοῦμεν καὶ οἷς ὑποτετάγμεθα, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ἄρτος  
 καὶ ἰμάτιον· εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα προσήσαν μοι, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐχρημάτιζον εἶναι ἀρχηγός τοῦ  
 λαοῦ τούτου. Καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Δι' ἦν αἰτίαν, φησί, καὶ ἀποκριθήσονται, ὅτι ἀνεῖται Ἱερουσα-  
 520 λήμ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡρήμωται, καὶ Ἰουδαία συμπτέτωκεν ἀπὸ πλήθους ἀνομιῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ αἰ  
 γλώσσαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ ἀνομίας ἀπειθοῦσι τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύριον, καὶ οὐ εὐοδοῖ κύ-  
 ριος ἐν ἡμῖν διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν. Δι' ἦν αἰτίαν, ὡ προφήτα; Διότι ἐταπεινώθη ἡ δόξα  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ αἰσχύνη τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν πταισμάτων συντεθεῖσα αὐτοῖς  
 ἀντέστη αὐτοῖς, τὴν δὲ ἁμαρτίαν αὐτῶν ὡς Σοδόμων ἀνήγγειλαν. Τίνας ἀνήγγειλαν; Ἄρα  
 525 ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, φησίν, ἄνω ἐνώπιον κυρίου; Οἱ παρεδρεύοντες τῷ ναῷ ἄγγελοι ἐνεφάνη-  
 σαν τῷ ὑφίστῳ ἐν τούτοις· κἂν νῦν, ὡ Ἑρβᾶν, οὐκ ἔξεις τί λέγειν. Μὴ γὰρ ἐρεῖς, ὅτι ἐγὼ  
 κατηγορῶ τοῦ ἔθνους σου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου τὸ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ  
 ὑμῶν ἐδωρήσατο. Καὶ ἄκουσον τῶν εἰρημένων· Οὐαὶ, φησί, τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, διότι βεβού-  
 λυνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰπόντες· Δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχηστος ἡμῖν  
 530 ἐστίν. Καὶ τίς ὁ δίκαιος, ἀλλ' ἡ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὄνπερ δήσαντες παρέδωθε εἰς σφαγὴν  
 Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι; Οὐαὶ, φησί, τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν· καὶ μὴ ἐξότε ἐσταυρώσατε τὸν  
 Χριστόν, μὴ οὐ συνήντησεν ὑμῖν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τὸ οὐαὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀπαραίτητον, ἐν οἷς  
 καὶ ἡ ὄψις ὑμῶν τοῦ προσώπου ἀπηλλοτριωμένη καθοράται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας πάσης ἀπο-  
 καταστάσεως. Ἐπάγει τοιγαροῦν μετὰ τὸ οὐαὶ ἔπειτα ὁ προφήτης περὶ ὑμῖν· Τί οὖν, φησί,  
 535 τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔργα ὑμῶν ἐμφαίνει πονηρά· τὰ δὲ  
 γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὐθὲν ἕτερον ἢ συμφοραὶ, ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στε-  
 ναγμός. Μάχαιρά τε ἄπερ νῦν ἀπολαύσετε, ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐπάγει ὁ προφήτης· Οὐαὶ, φησί,  
 τῷ ἀνόμῳ, πονηρὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ συμβήσεται κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
 τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε, φησίν, οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀνόμοις. Καὶ ἴνα μὴ ἐρεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ  
 ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἐρρήθη, ἔπειτα ἐπάγει· Λαός μου, φησίν, οἱ πράκτορες ὑμῶν καλαμῶνται  
 540 ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἔστι συντριβέντων τοίνυν τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν, ἰστᾶν νομίζουσι καὶ οὐ δύνανται,  
 καὶ οἱ τὸ δίδραγμα ἀπαιτοῦντες οὐκ ἐλευθέρως ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷα κατακυριεύοντες.  
 Λαός μου, οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς λέγοντες ὅτι· Ἐπειτα ἡ  
 συναγωγὴ ἡμῶν ἀναστήσεται, καὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ τὴν  
 545 ἱερατείαν καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὰς λατρείας κυρίως ἀπολαμβάνομεν. Πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ  
 ταῦτα ὑμῖν σαφηνίζοντες, καὶ τὴν τρίβον τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ταρασσουσιν· ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων

518 ὅτι – 523 ἀνήγγειλαν<sup>1</sup> Is. 3.8–9 | 527 οὐαὶ – 529 ἐστίν Is. 3.9–10 | 533 τί – 534 φάγονται Is. 3.10 | 536 οὐαὶ – 537 αὐτοῦ Is. 3.11 | 539 λαός – 542 ὑμᾶς<sup>2</sup> Is. 3.12 | 544 πλανῶσιν – 545 ταρασσουσιν *ibid.*

#### C X L K S H T V

514 τὸν | τὸ CXLK | 515 ἀποφθέγγεται | ἐρεῖ SHTV πτοοῦμαι – 516 ὑποτετάγμεθα < SHTV | 517 εἰ δὲ | εἶτε SHTV μοι | σοι V αὐτὸς οὕτως CX | 518 ὅτι – 519 ἡρήμωται < C | 519 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἡρήμωται < SHTV ἐρήμωται LK καί<sup>2</sup> – 525 ὑφίστῳ < SHTV | 525 νῦν | ἦν SH ὦ < H οὐκ

broad borders, and I think, even if you are silly, *be you our ruler* by putting it on. *And* since I will submit to you, *my food shall be* under your dominion. And of those to whom this will be said, everyone *will answer* to the one who admonishes him *in those days: I will not be your ruler*, he will say, for I fear the Romans to which we belong and have submitted, but now *there is no bread and garment in my house*; even if I would own these things, I would not want to be *the ruler of this people*. And they will say: For what reason? And they will answer: *Because Jerusalem is ruined*, that is desolated, *and Judaea has fallen* because of the multitude of her iniquities, *and the tongues of men are disobedient to the Lord with lawlessness*, and the Lord is not satisfied with us because of our iniquities. For what reason, o prophet? *Because their glory was humiliated, and the shame of their face*, which is composed from many faults, *fought against them, and they declared their sin like Sodom*. What did they declare? Did they do so above in heaven, he says, before the Lord? The angels that *attend* the temple indicated this to the Highest; and even now, o Herban, you will have nothing to say. So that you will not say that I accuse your nation: God himself has presented the woe to you and your soul. And hear what has been said: *Woe*, he says, *to your soul, for they have decided a wicked plan against themselves saying: Let us bind the just, for he is inconvenient to us*. And who is the just but Jesus Christ whom you bound and gave him to the governor Pontius Pilate for slaughter? *Woe*, he says, *to their soul*: And since you have crucified Christ, did not that inevitable woe happen to you, by which also the appearance of your face can be seen as being alienated to all human restoration. Therefore the prophet goes on after that woe saying: *Now what, will they eat the fruits of their works*, for he declares your works to be wicked; the fruits of the works of sins are nothing else than misfortunes, pain, sorrow and sighs. And it will be the sword which you will enjoy now, for again the prophet goes on: *Woe unto the unlawful, for evil will happen to him according to the works of his hands*. For since you did not keep the law, he says, woe unto you unlawful. And, that you may not say that this has not been said about you, he goes on thereafter: *My people*, he says, *your officials oppress you*, that is, as your feet are shattered, they believe to stand and cannot, *and those that demand tribute do not demand it freely, but since they have complete dominion. My people, those that call you blessed*, who come out of yourselves, *lead you astray* saying: Thereafter our congregation will rise again, and we will surely regain Jerusalem, the temple and the kingdom, the priesthood, the sacrifice and the venerations. *Those that explain this to you lead you astray and disturb*

L<sup>o</sup>K | 526 κατηρῶ C τὸ ἔθνος X τὸ < C V καὶ – 527 ὑμῶν < SHTV | 527 τὸ εἰρημένον SHTV | 528 βολῆν X ὅτι – 529 ἐστίν < SHTV | 529 εἰς σφαγὴν < LK | 530 οὐαί – 553 ὑμᾶς < SHTV | 532 ἀπηλλοτριωμένην XLK ἀπηλλοτριωμένη καθορᾶται] ἀπηλλοτριώται C | 533 μετὰ – οὖν < C τὸ] τοῦ X περὶ] ἐρεῖ X | 535 τῶν ἔργων < K ὀδύνας X ὀδύνας λύπαι καὶ στεναγμοί C | 536 ἀπολαύσετε X | 537 τῶν χειρῶν < C | 540 ἰστᾶ CK ἰστάναι X | 541 τὸ] τὰ LK ἀλλ' ὡς] ἀλλὰ καὶ X ὡς] ᾧ οἶα C | 543 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν codd. | 545 ὑμῖν < C

διηγημάτων φασίν οί λέγοντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔπειτα ἀναστήσεται ὁ Ἑβραίων νόμος. *Τὴν τρί-  
βον τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ταρασσουσιν* οὐκ ἔδωτες προσελθεῖν τῷ χριστιανισμῷ καὶ σωθῆναι.  
*Οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς*, φησί, *πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς*. Ὁρᾶς, Ἑρβᾶν, ὅπως πλανᾶσθε, καὶ πλανᾶ-  
τε τὸν ταπεινὸν λαὸν τὸν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἔατε αὐτὸν προσελθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ σωθῆναι.  
550 Διὰ οὖν τὴν πλάνην ταύτην, δι' ὧν ἐμποδίζετε ὑμεῖς οἱ νομοδιδάσκαλοι τὸν λαὸν τοῦ μὴ  
πιστεῦσαι, *καταστήσεται*, ἐμφαίνει ὁ προφήτης, *κύριος*, φησίν, *εἰς κρίσιν καὶ στήσει εἰς*  
*κρίσιν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ*. Δεινὸν τὸ λεγόμενον, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν τὸν λαὸν στήσει εἰς κρίσιν, δι'  
ὃν τρόπον πλανώμενοι ἠκροάσαντο ὑμᾶς. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἄκουσον καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐξάρχων  
τοῦ λαοῦ. *Αὐτός*, φησί, *κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἤξει μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μετὰ*  
555 *τῶν ἀρχόντων* τοῦ λαοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, ὡσπερ ἂν τις εἴπη, ὅτι αὐτός, φησίν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντίδικος  
τοῦ ὁ δεῖνα πέλων ὀφείλει δίκην λαβεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ. Οὐαὶ τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἕτερον  
τοῦτο σημαίνει ἀλλ' ἢ ὃν ἐσταυρώσατε καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ὡς κατάκριτον ἀπεκτείνατε, ἐκεῖνος  
βούλεται αὐτὸς ἤξειν καὶ λαβεῖν κρίσιν μεθ' ὑμῶν. *Αὐτός* γάρ, φησίν, *ἤξει εἰς κρίσιν*, αὐτὸς  
ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἕτερον ἀποστέλλων. Διὰ τοῦτο ἂν μὴ προφθάσῃτε καὶ διαλλαγήτε αὐτῷ διὰ  
560 τοῦ τιμίου βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς καὶ κύριος, αὐτὸς ἤξει εἰς κρίσιν μετὰ παντὸς  
τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν δοκούντων προϊστασθαι τοῦ ἔθνους, καὶ τότε κατα-  
κρίνει ὑμᾶς αἰώνιους καὶ ἀτελευτήτοις κολάσει.”

Ἑρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι σεαυτοῦ προϊστασαι καὶ ἐμοῦ οὐδαμῶς κατὰ τὸν  
σκοπὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. Πλὴν ἡμεῖς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας οὐκ ἐλπίζομεν  
565 ἤξειν τοῦ κρίναι, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, ὃν πατέρα λέγεις εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Εἰ δὲ  
αὐτὸς ὡς λέγεις ἤξει, οὐαὶ ἡμῖν· πονηρὰ γὰρ ἀνταποδοσει ἡμῖν, διότι ἄπειρα βλασφη-  
μοῦμεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ τὰ τυχόντα καταγινώσκομεν αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ ἂν κελεύει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ  
νόμου, οὐ μὴ ποιήσει τὴν τυραννίδα ταύτην, ἵνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίαν δώσει ἐτέρῳ. Λέγει γὰρ  
αὐτός· *Τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω οὐδέ τὰς ἀρετάς μου τοῖς γλυπτοῖς*. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ  
570 Δαυιδ λέγει· *Ἐγὼ κριτῆς δίκαιος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακρόθυμος*. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰωὴλ λέγει·  
*Ἐξεγείρεσθω καὶ ἀναβαινέτω πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κοιλιάδα τοῦ Ἰωσαφάτ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ*  
*καθῶ τοῦ διακρίναι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κυκλόθεν*. Τέως οὖν ἐνταῦθα διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων  
τούτων χρηστὰς ἔχομεν τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὅτι οὐ μὴ κρινεῖ ἕτερος πάρεξ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ ἐν  
τῷ νόμῳ, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ θεασόμεθα πώποτε τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μαρίας κριτήν.”

551 καταστήσεται – 552 αὐτοῦ Is. 3.13 | 554 αὐτός – 555 αὐτοῦ Is. 3.14 | 569 τὴν – γλυπτοῖς Is.  
42.8 | 570 κριτῆς – μακρόθυμος Ps. 7.12 | 571 ἐξεγείρεσθω – 572 κυκλόθεν Joel 4.12

### C X L K S H T V

546 ὅτι < LK | 548 πλανᾶτε] πλανᾶ C | 549 τὸν<sup>1</sup> – ἔατε < K τῷ Χριστῷ προσελθεῖν C | 550 καὶ  
δι' ὧν C | 551 καταστατήσεται C κατάστασιν X νόμιμος προφήτης C καὶ – 552 κρίσιν<sup>1</sup> < C |  
552 λαὸν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ C | 554 αὐτός – 556 αὐτοῦ < SHTV καὶ – 555 λαοῦ < CX | 555 ἀντίδικος < C |  
556 οὐδὲν] καὶ οὐθέν – 558 ὑμῶν post 558 εἰς κρίσιν ἤξει SHTV ἐτέρων S | 557 καὶ –  
ἀπεκτείνατε < SHTV | 558 γάρ < SHTV γάρ φησίν < LK φησίν κύριος SHTV αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος]  
ἐκεῖνος βούλεται αὐτὸς ἤξειν καὶ λαβεῖν κρίσιν μεθ' ὑμῶν SH (αὐτὸς < H), < TV | 559 οὐχ T  
φθάσῃτε C T διαλλάγητε H | 560 βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ σταυροῦ ἦτον ἀγίου βαπτίσματος  
C καὶ] ὁ καὶ SHTV, < C αὐτὸς<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 561 μεθ' – τότε < SHTV κατακρινεῖ LK |

*the path of your feet*; by such stories they tell you that thereafter the law of the Hebrews will rise again. They disturb the path of your feet, because they do not let you come to Christianity and be saved. *Those that call you blessed*, he says, *lead you astray*. You see, Herban, how you are led astray, and how you lead your humble people astray and do not let them go to Christ and be saved. Now because of this deceit, that you teachers of the law hinder the people so that they do not believe, the prophet declares that *the Lord will enter into judgment and put his people to judgement*. This is a terrible thing to be said, for which reason he will put his people to judgement, <namely> because they, being deceived, have listened to you. But now hear also about you rulers of the people: *The Lord himself*, he says, *will come to judgement with the ancients of the people and with the rulers of his people*, just as if one would say, that the king himself, being an adversary of somebody in a case, has to hold a trial with him. Therefore woe unto you, for this does not mean anything other than that he, whom you have crucified and, as it seemed, killed like a criminal, wants to come himself and hold judgement over you. *For he will come*, he says, *to judgement*, he himself, and will not send anybody else. Therefore, if you will not look ahead and convert over to him through his worthy baptism, the Son and Lord himself will come to judgement together with your whole nation and with you, who believe to be the rulers of this nation, and then he will condemn you to eternal and endless punishments.”

Herban said: “By every word you defend yourself and in no way me according to the aim of truth. Save that we do not hope that the son of Joseph and Mary will come to judge, but only God himself, whom you declare to be the father of your Christ. If he will come, as you say, woe unto us, for he will repay evil unto us, because we slander him immensely and condemn him heavily. But if the God of the law gives him the order, he will not commit this act of tyranny by giving his dignity to someone else. For he himself says: *I will not give my glory to somebody else nor my virtues to the carven images*. And through David he says: *I am a righteous judge, strong and patient*. And through Joel he says: *Let all nations be raised and come up to the valley of Jehosaphat, for there I will sit to judge all the nations from all around*. So we now have good hopes for the time being that nobody else will judge except our God, who is in the law, and that we will never see the son of Mary as a judge.”

562 αἰώνιους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους κολάσεις C κολάσει < TV | 565 ἢ αὐτὸν] ἑαυτὸν SHTV θεόν σου C εἶναι < XK | 566 ἦξειν SHTV ἡμῖν<sup>1</sup> + κατὰ ἀλήθειαν SHTV πονηρὰ – ἡμῖν<sup>2</sup> < C ὅτι T | 567 καὶ – αὐτοῦ < SHTV αὐτῷ C ἔαν C | 568 μὴν H πτοήσει X ἄξίαν] δόξαν SHTV | 570 διὰ – 572 κυκλόθεν < SHTV τοῦ] τὸ C Ἰωήλ] Ἡσαίου XLK | 572 κύκλωθεν C καὶ τέως SHV οὖν < SHTV ἐνταῦθα] ἐντεῦθεν SHTV διὰ – 573 τούτων < SHTV | 573 κρίνη CLK H ἡμῶν < X | 574 οὐδ’ – κριτὴν < SHTV πώποτε < K

575 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καλῶς εἶπε περὶ ὑμῶν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαίου, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ καθόλου συνήκατε θεὸν ἢ συνήσεσθε· ἤχμαλωτίσθητε γὰρ τελείως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτύφλωσεν ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ πεπύρωκεν ὑμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅπως μηκέτι ἴδητε φῶς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλ’ ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς ἀνομίαις ὑμῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν κατακριθέντες ἀπελεύσεσθε εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον.”

580 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα εἶπεν Ἡσαίας, ὅτι οὐτε μέχρι τοῦ τυχόντος εἶδομεν θεὸν ἢ ἔθεασάμεθα;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄκουσον ποῦ ταῦτα ἐρρέθη. Λέγει Ἡσαίας, *Μετὰ κιθάρας, φησί, καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ αὐλῶν τὸν οἶνον πίνουσιν· τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐμβλέπουσιν καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν οὐ κατανοοῦσιν τὰ ἐφάμαρτα. Τοῖνυν,*  
585 *φησί, αἰχμάλωτος ἐγενήθη ὁ λαός μου διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι αὐτοὺς τὸν κύριον, καὶ πλῆθος ἐγενήθη νεκρῶν διὰ λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν ὕδατος.* Ὁρᾶς πῶς ἤχμαλωτίσθητε καὶ γεγόνατε ἐλεινοὶ καὶ ταλαίπωροὶ μήποτε ἔμπροσθεν ὄντες μήτε ὄπισθεν. Διὰ τὴν φησὶν αἰχμάλωτος; διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι αὐτοὺς τὸν κύριον. Βλέπετε πῶς νομίζοντες γινώσκουν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλότριοι ἐστὲ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι ὑμᾶς αὐτόν; Ἐὰν οὖν ἔπειτα μὴ ἐχό-  
590 *λας, πάλιν ἔλεγόν σοι ὅτι διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν τροπικῶς ὑμᾶς ὀνειδίζει, ὅτι θεὸς ὢν ἐλήλυθεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώκατε αὐτόν, οὐκοῦν καὶ πλῆθος, φησὶν, ἐγενήθη νεκρῶν.* Ὁρᾶς πῶς καὶ νεκροὺς ὑμᾶς ἀποκαλεῖ, οὐ σώματι τεθνήξαντας, ἀλλὰ γε τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ ποιῶν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ἄπιστος, ἐργάζεται τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου. Ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν νεκρὸς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπουρανίου ζωῆς καὶ  
595 ἀλλότριος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ λιμὸν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ δίψαν ὕδατος γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς τῶν θείων γραφῶν. Καὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ οἶδατε ποιεῖν, οὐτε τῆς γραφῆς τῶν προφητῶν ὑμῶν τὸν νοῦν ὡς δεόν ἐπίστασθε.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ ἀπλῶς ἔτυχε μία γενεὰ πονηρὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ταῦτα ἐρρέθη περὶ αὐτῆς. Σὺ ἅπαντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατακρίνων ὑπόδικον τιθεὶς τῇ ἀποφά-  
600 *σει αὐτῆς. Περὶ δὲ τῆς πράξεως τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῆς εἰδήσεως τῶν γραφῶν σὺ μὲν τὰ ἐπονείδιστα λέγεις ἡμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς πάλιν τοιαῦτα λέγομεν ὁμοίως περὶ ὑμῶν.”*

577 ἐτύφλωσεν – διάνοιαν cf. Ιο. 12.40 | 579 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – αἰώνιον Mt. 18.8, 25.41 εἰς<sup>2</sup> – ἐξώτερον Mt. 8.12, 22.13, 25.30 | 582 μετὰ – 586 ὕδατος Is. 5.12–13 | 591 και<sup>2</sup> – 592 νεκρῶν Is. 5.13

### C X L K S H T V

575 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C καλῶς < K ὁ θεὸς περὶ ὑμῶν C ὅτι] ὅτε LK | 576 ἤχμαλωτίσθητε – 578 αἰῶνα < SHTV | 578 ἀλλὰ SHTV τῆς ἀπιστίας SHTV | 579 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – καὶ < SHTV εἰς τὸ<sup>2</sup> < X | 580 λέγει < TV ποῦ] περὶ C | 581 θεασάμεθα X θεασάμεθα H | 582 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S | 583 τοῖς τὸν XLK πίνοντες H | 584 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ X ante τὰ<sup>2</sup> + τοῦτ' ἔστιν SHTV τοῖνυν – 586 ὕδατος < SHTV | 587 ἐλεινοὶ – μήποτε < K καὶ < CXL ὄπισθεν CX αἰχμάλωτοι SHTV | 588 βλέπετε – 589 αὐτόν < SHTV | 589 καὶ ἐάν SHTV | 590 ὑμᾶς τροπικῶς SHTV ὁ θεὸς C H | 591 οὐκοῦν – 592 νεκρῶν < LK | 592 καὶ < C οὐ] εἰς X οὐ – 593 πνεύματι < SHTV σώματα CX | 593 ὑπάρχει] ἐνι SHTV δὲ < X και<sup>2</sup> < K ἐργάζεται + δὲ καὶ SHTV | 594 ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν < SHTV ἀπὸ < SHTV τῆς ἐπουρανίου ζωῆς pro 595 τοῦ θεοῦ SHTV | 595 τὸν λιμὸν SHTV καὶ – 597 ἐπίστα-

The archbishop said: “God spoke well about you through Isaiah, that you did not understand God at all, nor will you understand him; you were taken captive completely by a foreigner, and he himself blinded your hearts and hardened your mind, so that you may not see the light forever, but will die in your iniquities, and condemned because of your unbelief you will go away into the eternal fire and outer darkness.”

Herban said: “And were did Isaiah say this, that we will not see God until then or have beheld him?”

The archbishop said: “Hear where this has been said. Isaiah says: *They drink their wine with cithara and psaltery, drums and pipes, but they do not regard the works of God and do not consider the sinful works of their hands. Accordingly, he says, my people have become captives because they do not know the Lord, and a large number of them have died of famine and thirst of water.* You see how you were taken captive and became pitiable and miserable, being neither in front nor behind. Why does he say captive? Because they do not know the Lord. Do you see how you, while believing to know God, are alienated from his love, because you do not know him? Now if you would not become angry thereafter, I would tell you again, that he reproaches you through Christ in a comparison, for being God he came into your midst as a man and you did not know him; therefore also *a large number of them, he says, have died.* You see how he also calls you dead, since you will not die in your body, but in your soul and spirit. For everyone who does not do the works of God and is also unbelieving, does the works of the devil. The one who does them is dead from the heavenly life and a foreigner to God, because of his famine regarding the commandments of God and his thirst regarding the water of the true knowledge of the divine Scriptures. For, as you did not know how to fulfill God’s commandments, in the same way you do not know the meaning of the scriptures of your prophets as you should.”

Herban said: “There simply happened to be a wicked generation in the days of the prophet, and this has been said about it. Condemning Israel altogether you make him a defendant by this sentence. You say the most shameful things to us concerning them, about fulfilling the commandments and knowing the Scriptures, and we again say such things similarly about you.”

The archbishop said: “Again Isaiah says about you: *Hell has enlarged her soul and opened her mouth without measure,* that is to devour you until the completion, *and the*

σθε < SHTV | 597 τὸν νοῦν τῶν προφητῶν ὑμῶν C | 598 λέγει < T ante καὶ<sup>1</sup> + ἡ S<sup>pc</sup>, + εἰ H γενεὰ πονηρὰ < C πονηρὰ < T | 599 καὶ σὺ SHTV ἅπαν CX κατακρίνων] κατὰ κοινοῦ CX, < SHTV τιθεῖς] ποιεῖς C τίθεις SHV | 600 περὶ – 601 ὑμῶν < SHTV εἰδήσεως] δεήσεως K | 601 πάλιν] τοῖνον X

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἡσαΐας πάλιν λέγει περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι *Ἐπλάτυνεν*, φησίν, ὁ  
*ἄδης τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διήνοιξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ διαλείπειν*, ἦγουν τοῦ καταπί-  
 νειν ὑμᾶς μέχρι τῆς συντελείας, *καὶ καταβήσονται*, φησίν, *εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ*  
 605 *μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ λοιμοὶ αὐτῆς* καὶ ὁ ἀγαλλόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ. *Καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται ἄνθρωπος* ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ *καὶ ἀτιμασθήσεται ἀνὴρ* ὁ ἐν  
 τῷ Ἰσραὴλ *καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ μετέωροι* δι’ ἐπάρσεως *ταπεινωθήσονται· καὶ ὑψωθήσεται*  
*κύριος Σαβαώθ ἐν κρίματι καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δοξασθήσεται ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ*. Καὶ μὴν οὐκ  
 ἔστιν οὕτως· Οὐδὲ ταπεινώθητε εἰς ἅπαξ, οὐκ ἠτιμάσθητε ὑπὲρ διήγησιν καὶ οἱ μετέωροι  
 610 *ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν οὐ πεφύκασιν ἐφ’ ἅπαξ καταβεβλημένοι*· Ἐξεπέσατε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἀγάπης  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὄν ἐδόξατε σταυρῷ προσπηγνύναι καὶ ἀπαλείφειν, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἄρα παρὰ  
 τῶν πιστευσάντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν ἐν κρίματι μεταβάσεως, οὐκ ἐδοξάσθη ὡς θεὸς ἅγιος  
 ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἔργῳ ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης· Τοσοῦτον δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωτε τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπολείπεσθε τοῦ  
 615 ποιεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ προστάγματα, ὅτι λελάληκε περὶ ὑμῶν Δαυίδ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς δι’  
 αὐτοῦ· *Υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐφεύσαντό μοι*, φησίν, *υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐπαλαιώθησαν καὶ ἐχώλαναν*  
*ἀπὸ τῶν τριβῶν αὐτῶν*. *Ζῆ κύριος*, φησί, *καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς* τῆς σωτηρίας μου, *ὁ θεὸς*  
*ὁ διδοὺς ἐκδικήσεις ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑποτάξας λαὸν ἕτερον ἐμοί*. Πρόσεχε, Ἐρβᾶν· *Ὁ ρύστης*  
 620 *μου*, φησίν, *ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου ὀργίλων*, οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ ὀργίλοι,  
*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπανισταμένων ἐπ’ ἐμέ* Ἑβραίων *ὑψώσεις με, ἀπὸ ἀνδρός ἀδίκου*, λέγω δὴ τοῦ  
 προδότου Ἰούδα, *ῥύσαι με*. *Διὰ τοῦτο*, φησίν, *ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι, κύριε, καὶ*  
*οὐκέτι ἐν Ἑβραίοις ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου*, ὕψιστε. Οὐκοῦν εἶπέ, Ἐρβᾶν, οὐ ταῦτα οὕτως  
 ἔχει ἢ ἐτέρως πῶς;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἠπατημένοι καὶ δοκοῦντες θεο-  
 625 σεβεῖν μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ καθόλου ὡς τῷ θεοσδότῳ νόμῳ ἐναντιούμενοι.  
 Ἡμεῖς δὲ υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ χρηματίζομεν, οἷς ἐλάλησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
 λέγων· *Πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν*  
*ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης*. Οὐκοῦν καὶ εὐλογημένοι ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν τῷ κυρίῳ  
 630 τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσμέν κα-  
 τὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου· *Μακάριοι ἐσμέν*, φησίν, *Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι τὰ ἀρεστὰ θεῷ ἡμῖν*  
*γνωστὰ ἐστίν* καὶ οὐχὶ ὡς πρόδηλον τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Τί οὖν πολλὰ δημηγορεῖς, οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς διὰ  
 τοῦ προφήτου ἐμακάρισεν αὐτὸς ἀρόμενος;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οἶδα καθότι υἱοὶ Ἀβραάμ πεφήνατε· ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ οὕσπερ οὐ  
 συνάπτει συγγένεια ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ τρόπος χρηστότητος, τούτους οὐδὲ αἵματος φορά. Ποῦ

602 ἐπλάτυνεν – 608 δικαιοσύνη Is. 5.14–16 | 616 υἱοὶ<sup>1</sup> – 618 ἐμοὶ Ps. 17.45–48 | 618 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 622  
 σου Ps. 17.49–51 | 627 πληθύνων – 628 θαλάσσης Gen. 22.17 | 630 μακάριοι – 631 ἐστίν Baruch  
 4.4

#### C X L K S H T V

602 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη | ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη | λέγει S ὅτε SV | 603 ἄδης +  
 φησί T διαλείπειν C SHTV | 604 συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος H καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 607 ταπεινωθήσονται < SHTV

*glorious and the great and the rich, he says, will go down into her, and her plagues and he that rejoices in her, that is in Jerusalem. And the man in the law will be humiliated, and the man in Israel will be dishonoured, and the eyes which are raised by lifting them up will be humiliated, and the Lord Sabaoth will be exalted in his judgement and the holy God will be glorified in his righteousness.* And is it not so? Were you not humiliated for once, were you not dishonoured beyond telling, and do your raised eyes not happen to look to the ground once and for all? For you dropped out of God's love, and he whom you believed to crucify and to wipe out, was he not exalted by the nations that believed in him after having taken the decision to go over to him, was he not glorified as the holy God in righteousness by the work of holy men, by signs and wonders in all ends of the world? You did not know the divine Scriptures and failed to obey God's orders in such a degree, that David said about you, or rather Christ through him: *Foreign sons have lied to me, he says, foreign sons have faded away and became lame out of their paths. God lives, he says, and the God of my salvation be praised, the God that gave me revenge and subdued another people to me.* Listen, Herban: *My redeemer, he says, you will exalt me from my furious enemies, so you are the furious enemies of Christ, and from the Hebrews that rise up against me; redeem me from the unjust man, I say from the traitor Judas. Therefore, he says, I will confess you among the nations, Lord, and I will not sing unto your name among the Hebrews anymore, you highest. So tell me, Herban, is this not like that or somehow differently?"*

Herban said: "You, who come from the nations, are the foreign sons that are deceived and believe to worship God, but do no good whatsoever being opposed to the God-given law. We are the sons of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom the Lord God spoke saying: *I will multiply your seed in multiplying as the stars in heaven and as the sand on the sea shore.* So we are blessed to God, who has made heaven and earth according to the prophet, and we are intimate friends of God according to what has been said by Jeremiah: *We are blessed, he says, Israel, for the things pleasing to God are known to us* and not, as it appears clearly, to the nations. Now why do you hold long speeches cursing us, whom God has blessed through the prophet?"

The archbishop said: "I know that you appeared to be sons of Abraham, but those whom neither a relationship of virtue nor a way of honesty unites, not even a tribute of

| 606 δ<sup>1</sup> < LK | 609 ἔστιν οὕτως οὐδέ < SHTV ταπεινωθήτε C ἐταπεινώθητε LK τὴν διήγησιν S<sup>p</sup>H | 610 ὕμων ὀφθαλμοὶ SHTV ἐξέπεσате – 612 μεταβάσεως < SHTV | 612 ἅγιος < C ὁ ἅγιος X | 614 τοσοῦτον<sup>1</sup>] πηλικούτων SHTV οὐκ < TV οἴσατε SH ἤκούσατε TV τοῦ] τὸ SH | 615 ὁ Δαυὶδ SHTV | 616 υἱοί<sup>2</sup> – 618 ἐμοί] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHTV | 618 πρόσεχε Ἐρβᾶν < TV | 619 φησὶν < SHTV οὐκοῦν – ὀργίλοι < C ἔστε SH | 620 ἀπό<sup>1</sup> – 623 πῶς < SHTV | 623 ἐτέρως] ἄλλως C | 624 λέγει < TV ἠπατημένοι < SHTV | 625 μηθὲν SH ἀγαθὸν < SHTV | 626 οἷς – 629 προφήτην < SHTV | 628 καὶ < C | 629 κατὰ<sup>2</sup> – 630 ἐσμέν < H | 630 θεῶ ἡμῖν] τῷ θεῶ SHTV | 631 πρόδηλον] πρόσδηλον V | 632 αὐτὸς < SHTV ἀγόμενος SH | 633 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγόριος V ὅτι καθότι C οὔσπερ < K οὐς περισυνάπτει X | 634 εὐγένεια SHTV ποῦ – 635 ὑμέτερα < SHTV



635 γὰρ τὰ χρηστὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῦ τὰ ὑμέτερα; Ὅτι δὲ εὐλογημένοι ἦτε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁμολογῶ, καὶ ὅτι οἰκεῖοι καὶ μακάριοι, οὐκ ἀντιπίπτω· πλὴν ἐξεπέσατε τούτων ἀπάντων, ἀνθ' ὅτου τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην τὸν κύριόν μου Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν οὐ προσήκατε, ἀλλ' ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκας, Ὑἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐστέ ὑμεῖς οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν οἱ τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως ἐναντιούμενοι, πρόσεχε, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ βίβλος τῶν  
640 *προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν οἰκεῖοι αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμοι καὶ χρηστοὶ ὡς πιστεύσαντες καὶ μακάριοι ὡς ἀγαπήσαντες αὐτόν. Μωσέως δὲ ὁ νόμος ἦν, ὁπότεν ἦν ἀρτίως δὲ γηράσας κεκοίμηται. Ἰμάτιον ἦν καὶ πεπαλαιώται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον εἰλιχθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνήλλακται. Ἐκρυψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πληρώσας ὡς γέροντα ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐξήνεγκε τὸν θεῖον, τὸν  
645 ἀτίμητον, τὸν νέον τὸν ἀπεργαζόμενον τοὺς αὐτὸν κρατοῦντας *πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*. Οὐκοῦν οὐ παραγγελία παρήγγειλεν ὑμῖν Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης διδάσκων καὶ λέγων περὶ τῶν ἀρτίως· *Οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, φησὶν, οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐξεῦρε πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*. Οὐκοῦν ὁμολογῶ  
650 ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐπράχθη ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ ἡγάπησεν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῖν ἔτεμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν. Ἀλλ' οὖν ὄρα, τί ἀκολουθῶς ἐπάγει· *Μετὰ ταῦτα*, φησὶν, *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὠφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστράφη*. Τίς ἐκεῖνος, ἢ πάντως Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφεῖς; Ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ἡ βίβλος τῶν *προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νόμος ὁ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπεὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ βίβλος τῶν *προσταγ-*  
655 *μάτων τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην*, τί πολυπραγμονεῖς τὰ περὶ τοῦ νόμου σολοικίζων εἰκὴ ὄντως καὶ εἰς μάτην; Πρόσεχε γάρ, τίνα σοι παρεγγυᾶται καὶ ὁ προφήτης σου· *Πάντες*, φησὶν, *οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτὴν εἰς ζωὴν*. Τίνα κρατοῦντες; τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὴν βίβλον ἐκείνην τῶν *προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ*, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. *Οἱ δὲ καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν ἀποθάνονται*· οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἐστέ λοιπὸν οἱ καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποθανόντες τὸν τῆς ἀπ-  
660 στίας θάνατον. Καὶ μὴ εἴπηρ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ἄκουσον πῶς ὁ προφήτης ὑμῶν λυπούμενος περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι οὐ προσεσχίκατε τῇ ἀγίᾳ βίβλῳ ἐκείνῃ, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ζῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλ' ἀπεστράφητε αὐτῆς, παρακαλεῖ ὑμῖν ἐπάγων καὶ λέγων· *Ἐπιστρέφου, Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐπλαβοῦ αὐτῆς*, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς θείας βίβλου, ἡγουν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. Ἡ βίβλος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔχει ἢ θεῖα προστάγματα τοῦ ἀθανάτου λόγου τοῦ  
665 θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. *Ἐπιστρέφου*, φησὶν, *Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐπλαβοῦ αὐτῆς*, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πιστεύσον

639 ἡ – 640 αἰῶνα Baruch 4.1 | 642 ἰμάτιον – 643 εἰλιχθεὶς cf. Heb. 1.12 | 645 πατεῖν – 646 ἐχθροῦ Lc. 10.19 | 647 οὗτος – 649 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> Baruch 3.36–37 | 651 μετὰ – 652 συναναστράφη Baruch 3.38 | 656 πάντες – 657 ζωὴν Baruch 4.1 | 658 οἱ – ἀποθάνονται ibid. | 663 ἐπιστρέφου – αὐτῆς Baruch 4.2

#### C X L K S H T V

635 ὑμεῖς ἦτε CX | 636 καί<sup>1</sup> – ἀντιπίπτω < SHTV | 637 ὅτου] ὅσον SHTV τὸν<sup>2</sup>] καὶ TV Χριστόν < X SH | 638 ἀλλὰ SHTV εἶρηκας + ὅτι H | 639 πρόσεχε < TV | 641 αὐτοῦ < X καί<sup>1</sup> – χρηστοὶ < SHTV ὡς<sup>1</sup> – ὡς<sup>2</sup>] καὶ μακάριοι ὡς πιστεύσαντες καὶ SHTV ἀγαπῶντες H |

blood will do. For where are the good works of Abraham and where are yours? I confess that you were blessed at the beginning, and do not contradict that you were intimate friends and blessed; save that you have dropped out of all this, since you did not approach my master, the Lord Jesus Christ, but denied and killed him. Concerning what you said, ‘You from the nations are foreign sons, who are hostile to the law of Moses’, listen, that Christ is *the book of God’s orders and the law which will be forever*. And we from the nations are his intimate friends and heirs, we are good since we believe and are blessed since we love him. The law of Moses was valid in its time, but now it has become old and has passed away. It was a garment and has decayed, and having been rolled up like a cloak it has been exchanged by the only begotten Son of God. For after having fulfilled it, the Lord hid it as being old and produced the divine one, the invaluable one, the new one that made those that hold him *tread upon serpents, scorpions and all the power of the enemy*. So did the prophet Jeremiah not announce to you, teaching and saying about the present time: *This is our God*, he says, *and no other will be reckoned beside him; he has found all ways of knowledge and gave it to his child Jacob, and to his beloved Israel*. So I confess, that this was done among you and that he loved you much and that he cut many ways for you to salvation. But see now how he goes on in the following passage: *After this*, he says, *he appeared on earth and lived among men*. Who is that man if not at all events Jesus Christ, and the one that has lived among men? He is *the book of God’s orders and the law which will be forever*. So since Christ is the book of God’s orders according to the prophet, why do you inquire so closely and commit errors concerning the law idly and in vain? For listen to what your prophet exhorts you as well: *All those*, he says, *that hold it will live*. Hold what? That is,<sup>86</sup> the book of God’s orders, which is Christ. *Those that leave it will die*: so you are those that leave it and die the death of unbelief. And do not say, that this is not so, but hear how your prophet exhorts you, being grieved about you who did not listen to that holy book, which is the word of God who lives forever, but turned away from it, and goes on saying: *Return, Jacob, and take hold of it*, that is the divine book, which is the Lord Jesus. For the book does not contain anything but divine orders of the immortal word of God Father. *Return*, he says, *Jacob, and take hold of it*, that is, believe in the

644 ἔκρυσεν – 646 ἐχθροῦ < SHTV | 646 παραγγελίαν H | 647 λέγων καὶ διδάσκων SHTV | 648 φησὶν < X | 649 αὐτὴν < H ὁμολογοῦμεν X | 650 καί<sup>2</sup> – 651 σωτηρίαν < SHTV | 651 ἀκουλούθως X | 652 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < C καί<sup>2</sup> – 653 συναναστραφεῖς < SHTV | 653 ἔστιν + φησὶν SHTV | 654 καὶ – 655 θεοῦ < T ὁ νόμος C οὐκοῦν – 655 θεοῦ < CXLK | 655 νόμου σου SHTV | 656 εἰκῆ – 660 ἀλλὰ < SHTV καί<sup>1</sup> < LK | 658 ἀποθανοῦνται – 659 αὐτὴν < CX | 659 καὶ ἀποθανοῦντες CX | 660 ἀλλ’ LK | 661 ὁ ζῶν λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ C | 662 ἀλλὰ SHTV | 663 ἐπιστράφου SHTV τοῦτ’ – 665 ἔστι < SHTV | 664 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ X ἡ < XLK

<sup>86</sup> Since either the inserted rhetorical question or the explanatory formula ‘that is’ (τοῦτ’ ἔστιν) fit here into the grammatical context, but not both, one of these phrases should probably be removed, though it is not clear which one.

τοῖς ἀχράντοις δόγμασιν τῆς θείας βίβλου ἐκείνης, *διόδουσον πρὸς τὴν λάμπιν κατέναντι τοῦ φωτός* τῆς θείας βίβλου. Ὁ πατήρ καὶ θεὸς ὁμιλεῖ διὰ τῆς βίβλου· Ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς, Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πιστεύσας φωτίσθητι. Πρόσεχε πῶς ὑμῖν ἐντέλλεται καὶ παρεγγυᾷ ὁ προφήτης· *Μὴ δός, φησίν, ἐτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν σου, μηδὲ τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ἔθνει ἄλλοτρίῳ.*

670 Οὐκ ἀκούεις, οὐ συνιεῖς τί λέγει; *Μὴ δός, φησίν, ἐτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν σου.* Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἄλλοτρια, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπερφηανεύεσθαι ὑμᾶς τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ἦραμεν ὑμῶν τὰ συμφέροντα πιστεύσαντες. Εἰ οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, ἀποκρίθητι. Τὰ σὰ χεῖλη κατηγοροῦσι σου, ὁ σὸς προφήτης διδάσκει σε κατὰ πείραν· σύνες τὴν ἀλήθειαν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὡς ὄρω, οὕτως ἐστὶ καθὼς λέγεις. Πλὴν Ἰουδαίῳ μοι ὄντι αἰσχύνη μοι ἐστὶν τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Χριστόν, τὸ γενέσθαι χριστιανόν, τὸ χρηματίσαι μαθητὴν χριστιανῶν. Καὶ γὰρ κἀγὼ οὐκ ἀκαίρως λογιζομαι. Λογιζομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς πιστεύοντί μοι, ἴσως καὶ εἰς ὃν ἐκείνος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἄν οὐ πιστεύσω, οὐδὲν μοι πονηρὸν συναντήσεται τὸν πατέρα τούτου τιμῶντι καὶ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου θέλοντι ἄγεσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.”

680 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Προφάσεις προφασίζῃ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις. Ἀκούεις τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος τὸ *Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ κρατῶν καὶ ὑπάρχων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, καὶ ὅτι *πάντες οἱ κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν, οἱ δὲ καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν ἀποθανοῦνται*, καὶ λέγεις· ‘Τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ μὴ πιστεύοντί μοι οὐδὲν πονηρὸν μοι συναντήσεται’; Βαβαὶ Ἐρβᾶν, τὴν ἄμπελον οἶει ἀγαπᾶν, τὸν δὲ βότρυον αὐτῆς βεβαίως μισεῖν.

685 Ἀφόρητος ὁ γέλως παρὰ τῶν εὐφρονούντων τῷ πρόσωπῳ σου, ὅτι τὴν μηλέαν φιλεῖς καὶ τὸ μῆλον αὐτῆς οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχεις ἀγαπᾶν. Ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶν συνιέναι, ὅτι ἀπηλλοτριωμένοι ἐγενήθητε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ξένοι τῆς ἀγίας διαθήκης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλοτριοὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τί μοι μέμφιν ἐν τούτῳ εἰσπράττεις τῷ αὐτεξουσίῳ; Ἄπαξ τιμηθεὶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄδειαν ἔχει πρὸς ὃ βούλεται καὶ ποιεῖ. Οὐκοῦν κἀγὼ εὐλαβοῦμαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐτέρῳ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑποστρῶσαι ἐμαυτὸν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Σοφονίου τοῦ προφήτου, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ *Εὐλαβηθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου οἱ κατάλοιποι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐ ποιήσουσιν ἀδικίαν, καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι μάταια καὶ οὐ μὴ εὔρεθῇ γλῶσσα δολία ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν, διότι αὐτοὶ νεμήσονται καὶ κοιτασθήσονται*

695 *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἐκφοβῶν αὐτούς.* Τοῖνον ἐκείνον τὸν θεὸν εὐλαβοῦμαι κἀγὼ καὶ ἐτέρῳ οὐ προσίεμαι ποτέ.”

666 *διόδουσον* – 667 *φωτός* *ibid.* | 667 *ἐλθὲ* – 668 *φωτίσθητι* cf. Is. 60.1 | 669 *μὴ* – *ἄλλοτρίῳ Baruch 4.4* | 680 *προφάσεις* – *ἀμαρτίαις* cf. Ps. 140.4 | 681 *αὕτη* – 683 *ἀποθανοῦνται* *Baruch 4.1* | 692 *εὐλαβηθήσονται* – 695 αὐτοῦς *Soph. 3.12–13*

#### C X L K S H T V

666 *διόδουσον* – 667 *βίβλου*<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 667 *ὁμιλεῖ* CX | 669 *φησίν* < SHTV *μηδὲ* | καὶ C *μηδὲ* – 670 *σου* < LK | 670 *οὐκ* – *σου* < SHTV *μὴ* – *σου* < C | 671 *τὰ*<sup>1</sup> – *ἄλλοτρια* < TV | 674 *λέγει* < TV *μοι* < H | 675 *ἐστὶν* + *τοῦτο γενέσθαι οὐσία χριστιανόν* X *τὸ γενέσθαι χριστιανόν*] ἢ SHTV | 676 *κἀγὼ*] καὶ *ἐγὼ* SHTV *λογιζομαι*<sup>2</sup> – *τοῦτο* < SHTV | 677 *ἀπέστειλεν ἐκείνος* C | 678 *οὐθὲν*

immaculate teachings of that divine book, *go to the shining opposite to the light* of the divine book. God Father speaks through the book: Come to its light, Israel, believe and become light. Listen how the prophet gives you commands and exhorts you: *Do not give your glory*, he says, *to anyone else, nor the things useful for you to a foreign nation*. Do you not hear, do you not understand what he says? *Do not give your glory*, he says, *to anyone else*. So we are the foreign nations, and when you behaved arrogantly towards the Lord Jesus, we took away the things useful for you, since we believed. Now if it is not like this, answer. Your lips speak against you, your prophet teaches you according to experience; understand the truth.”

Herban said: “As I see, it is just as you say. Save that I am a Jew, and it is a shame for me to be under Christ, to become a Christian, to be a disciple of Christians. For I also do not consider without good reasoning. I consider this as well, that since I believe in the God of heaven and earth, although I do perhaps not believe in whom he has sent into the world, no evil will happen to me, since I honour his father and want to be guided by the father himself, not by his son.”

The archbishop said: “You plea a false pretext in your sins. You hear the prophet say, *This is the book of God’s orders and the law which is valid and will be forever*, and that *all that hold it will live, but those that leave it will die*, and you say: ‘Although I do not believe in his son, no evil will happen to me’? Bless me, Herban, you think to love the vinestock, but assure that you hate its grapes. The laughter of the prudent ones to your face will be unbearable, that you love the apple-tree and feel no need to love its apples. Herefrom can one understand that you have become alienated from God, strangers to his holy testament and foreigners to the kingdom of heaven.”

Herban said: “Why do you reproach me who is a man free in his decisions? A man, once he is honoured, has the licence to do what he wants. So I also fear the God of the law, and I have no need to become subject to another, according to the saying of the prophet Zephaniah, that in that day *the remnant of Israel will fear the name of the Lord and will not do injustice, and they will not speak vain things and a deceitful tongue will not be found in their mouth, for they will feed and be put to rest, and none will make them afraid*. Therefore I also fear that Lord and will never attach myself to another.”

πονηρόν μοι SHTV (με V) συναντήσεται STV | 680 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη < C προφασίζειν H ἀκούεις – 684 συναντήσεται < SHTV | 681 θεοῦ]  
Χριστοῦ X ὁ<sup>1</sup> < LK | 682 αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup>] αὐτήν X | 683 μοι<sup>2</sup> < C συναντήσεται K | 687 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ <  
LK ἁγίας < SHTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 688 οὐρανῶν < SHTV | 689 οἴμμοι μέμψιν εἰσπράττει ἐν τούτῳ SHTV  
ἅπας TV ὁ] ὡς V | 691 ὑποστρώσας H ἑμαυτὸν X, ἑμαυτῶ cett. | 692 εὐλαβηθήσεται H<sup>ac</sup> ἀπὸ]  
ὑπὸ LK τοῦ κυρίου X οἱ – 693 Ἰσραὴλ post 693 ἀδικίαν SHTV | 693 οὐ ποιήσουσιν] οὗτοι  
ἦσασιν H ποιήσουσιν STV λαλήσωσι STV | 694 διότι – 696 ποτέ < SHTV νεμηθήσονται L<sup>pc</sup>K  
καὶ κοιτασθήσονται < K | 695 θεὸν μόνον C κἀγὼ μόνον X

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· Ὁκοῦν οὐ ποιεῖς σὺ ἀρτίως ἀδικίαν, οὔτε μὴν ὀμιλεῖς μά-  
 ταια, ἄρ' οὖν οὔτε εὐρίσκεται δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματί σου; Ποῦ δὲ ἐνεμήθης αὐτός, εἴπερ  
 ἐκοιτάσθης; Ὡ τῆς σῆς ἀλληγορίας, μάταια καὶ διαπεφωνημένε. Τὸν γὰρ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ  
 700 καὶ πατρός βλασφημῶν λέγεις μὴ ἔχειν δόλον ἐν τῷ στόματι μήτε ὀμιλεῖν μάταια, μήτε  
 εἰσπράττειν ἀδικίαν. Τίτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγγει ὡς ἀγροίκῳ ἢ ὡς ἐνὶ τῶν μὴ ἐπισταμένων  
 σύνεσιν; Οὐδαμῶς δὲ σὺ ἐπίστασαι τὴν λύσιν τῆς θείας Γραφῆς, καθ' ὃν τρόπον τὴν λύσιν  
 Σοφονίου τοῦ προφήτου εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ βοήθειαν ἀπηριθμήσω. Εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἄφρων,  
 γνῶναι τὴν σαφήνειαν αὐτῆς, ἐγὼ σοι ταύτην ὑπαλλάξω εὐθέως. Τάδε λέγει κύριος,  
 705 φησὶν, *ὑπόμεινόν με εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρτύριον, ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ  
 λαοὺς γλῶσσαν εἰς γενεάς αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, τοῦ δου-  
 λεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἓνα.* Ἐνταῦθα οὐχ ἔξεις, Ἐρβάν, τί ἀποκριθῆναι· τὸ γὰρ *ὑπόμει-  
 νόν με εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς μου εἰς μαρτύριον* τῆ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἠρρέθη παρὰ κυρίου  
 710 περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως. Ἀγανακτοῦσι καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ἐντυγχανοῦσιν περὶ ὑμῶν  
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας κακοπραγίας. Εἶπε γὰρ Ἱερουσαλήμ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, τοῦτ'  
 ἔστιν ὁ μέγας ἀρχάγγελος ὁ ταύτην πεπιστευμένος· *Κύριε,* φησὶν, *πάσης ἀνομίας ὁ  
 λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ πέπλησται καὶ οὐκ ἔστι διαφορά, ἐμείναμεν ἐπιμετάμελοι καὶ οὐχ εὐρέθη τις  
 ὁ ὑποστρέφων ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς. Καὶ προσεθήκαμεν καὶ ὑπεμείναμεν ἔτι  
 καὶ ἔτι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς χείρωσιν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ προσεχώρηκεν. Οὐκοῦν, κύριε, ποιήσον κατὰ τὴν  
 715 βουλήν σου τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι τῆ ἐξουσίᾳ σου.* Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ  
 κύριος· *Μὴ ἀσχάλλει, μηδὲ ἐρυθρία, ἀλλὰ ὑπόμεινόν με ἐνανθρωπήσαι καὶ σταυρωθῆναι  
 καὶ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ ταφῆναι καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῆναι εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνε-  
 σιν, ὅτι τότε μεταστρέψω ἐπὶ λαοὺς τῶν ἔθνῶν γλῶσσαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδασκαλικῶς  
 εἰς γενεάς αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἄλλως πῶς ἄλλον καὶ ἕτερον θεόν, τοὺς  
 720 ἐξ εἰδώλων ἐν πλάνῃ πρῶν ἐπικαλουμένους νῦν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ  
 ζυγὸν ἓνα ἀληθείας, τοὺς πρῶν πολλοῖς ζυγοῖς πολυθείας τῆ πλάνῃ δουλεύοντας.* Καὶ  
 ἵνα μὴ ἔρεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν τοῦτο λέγει, ἐπήγαγεν· *Ἐκ περάτων ποταμῶν Αἰθιο-  
 πίας,* φησὶ, *προσδέξομαι τοὺς ἰκετεύοντάς μοι, ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν προσωπολήπτης ὁ  
 θεός, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ δεκτὸς  
 725 αὐτῷ ἐστί· μετὰ τῶν διεσπαρμένων, φησὶν, οἴσουσι θυσίας μοι. Μὴ ἔρεῖς ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι περὶ*

704 λέγει – 707 ἓνα Soph. 3.8, 9 | 722 ἐκ – 723 προσδέξομαι Soph. 3.10 | 723 ὅτι – 725 ἐστί  
 Acta 10.34–35 | 725 μετὰ – μοι Soph. 3.10

### C X L K S H T V

697 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Ἐρβάν sic V ποιεῖς σὺ] ποιήσει V | 698 ἄρα LK ἄρ'  
 – 699 ἐκοιτάσθης < SHTV αὐτὸν αὐτός CX εἶπερ] εἰ ποῦ L<sup>p</sup>K | 699 τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ X θεοῦ καὶ <  
 K | 700 καὶ πατρός < SHTV ἔχεις TV στόματί σου SHTV ὀμιλεῖν μάταια μήτε < SHTV |  
 701 τίτι] τοίνυν X ὡς<sup>1</sup>] ἴσως ἄρα SHTV ὡς<sup>2</sup> < SHTV ἐνὶ] ἐν C, < H | 702 δὲ < X καθ' – 703  
 ἀπηριθμήσω < SHTV | 703 ἄφρων < SHTV | 707 οὐκ HHTV ἀπολογηθῆναι H |  
 709 ἐντυγχάνουσιν CX περὶ ὑμῶν < SHTV | 710 καὶ] περὶ SHT καὶ – θεόν < V | 711 ταύτης C  
 ταύτη X | 712 ἐμείναμεν ἐπιμετάμελοι < SHTV ἐπιμετάμελον LK ἠρέθη SHTV | 713 καὶ<sup>1</sup> –  
 714 προσεχώρηκεν < SHTV | 714 προκεχώρηκεν K | 715 καὶ – σου<sup>2</sup> < SHTV ὁ < SHTV |

The archbishop said: “So you do not do an injustice now, nor do you speak vain things, nor is there any deceit found in your mouth? Where did you feed, if you have been put to rest at all? O your allegorical language, you vain and disagreeing man.<sup>87</sup> For you slander when you say that the word of God Father does not have any deceit in its mouth, nor does it speak vain things or commit injustice. To whom do you say this as to a uneducated man or one of those that do possess no wisdom? You do not know at all the explanation of the divine Scripture in such a way that you took the explanation of the prophet Zephaniah into consideration for your help. If you want to understand the clear explanation of this, you fool, I will present it to you immediately. Thus *says the Lord*, he says, *wait for my testimony until the day of my resurrection, for then I will turn my tongue unto the people, to their tribes, that they all invoke the name of the Lord, to serve him under one yoke*. Here, Herban, you will not have anything to answer, for *wait for my testimony* about Jerusalem *until the day of my resurrection* was said by the Lord about the resurrection of Christ. They are vexed at you and talk to God about you and your evil-doing. For Jerusalem said to God, that is the great archangel to whom she was entrusted: ‘Lord,’ he says, ‘the people of Israel are full of all iniquity and there is no excellence in them, we have remained without repentance, and no one has been found returning from his wicked way. And we have still added more and have waited yet and yet, and Israel has gone for the worse. So Lord, do according to your holy counsel whatever seems to be in your might.’ And the Lord said to him: ‘Do not be grieved, do not blush, but wait for me to become a man and to be crucified, to die, to be buried and to rise from the dead as a testimony for them and for the nations, *for then I will turn the tongue* of the Gospel as a teacher to *the people* of the nations, *to their tribes, that all* the former idolaters who in their deceit had invoked another different God in some other way, now *invoke the name of the Lord, to serve him under one yoke* of truth, who before had served the many yokes of polytheism by their deceit.’ And so you will not say he does not say that about the nations, he went on: *I will receive my supplicants from the ends of the rivers of Ethiopia* so that you may know *that God does not respect a person, but that he, that fears him and does his will, is accepted by him in every nation; they will bring me sacrifices*, he says, *with the scattered*. Do not say here that he speaks about the Hebrews, for you as well are dispersed into the four winds under heaven. Now

716 μηδὲ] μήτε SHTV ἄλλ’ X | 717 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < CXLK ἐκ νεκρῶν < SHTV | 718 μεταστρέφω TV τῶν < SHTV γλώσσαν ἔθνῶν ἤγουν SHTV | 719 τοῦ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι] ἐπικαλούμενος L<sup>pc</sup>K ἄλλως – τοῦς<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 720 ἐν ὄνομα STV | 721 τοῦς – πολυθείας < SHTV ζυγίους C δουλεύσασι CX SHTV δουλεύσαντας L<sup>pc</sup> | 722 ἴνα] ἦν HV εἰ T ὅτι] ὁ H τῶν ἔθνῶν] τοῦ λαοῦ SHTV τοῦτο] τούτων CX ποταμῶν < T | 723 προσδέξομαι – μοι < SHTV | 724 αὐτὸν] τὸν θεὸν CX | 725 μὴ – 726 ἐπειδὴ < SHTV

<sup>87</sup> On the use of the word ‘allegory’, see above, note 11.

- τῶν Ἑβραίων λέγει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς διεσπαρμένοι ἐστέ εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς ὑπὲρ οὐρανόν. Εἰ οὖν τοῦτο ὑπονοεῖ, δεῖξον ποῦ ἄρα γε αὐτὸς ἢ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν θυσίας εἶη θύων κοινομερῶς θεῷ τῷ παντοκράτορι. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχεις τοῦτο δεῖξαι. *Μετὰ τῶν διεσπαρμένων*, φησίν, *οἴσοισί μοι θυσίας*. Τίνες οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ διεσπαρμένοι; Οὐχ ἕτεροι, οἶμαι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀπόστολοι οἱ διασπαρέντες εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔνεκα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης. 'Καὶ δεκτὰς θυσίας μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστρεφάντων ἔθνῶν προσάξαντες διὰ τῆς ζωοποιῶ μυσταγωγίας θεῷ τῷ παντοκράτορι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ,' φησί, 'ἐν ἣ ἡ νέα θυσία ἄρξεται παρὰ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. Καὶ σὺ, Ἱερουσαλήμ, οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθῆς ἐκ πάντων τῶν νεωσπὶ ἐπὶ σὲ φοιτησάντων χριστιανικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων σου, ὧν ἐν πείρᾳ γενήσεται. Ἰλεως γὰρ ἔσομαί σοι, ὧν τὸ πρῶν διὰ νόμων ἠσεβήσας εἰς ἐμέ. Ἐξάξω γὰρ τὸν ἐν σοὶ ἀπειθῆ λαὸν καὶ ἀγνώμονα καὶ ὑπολείψομαί σοι λαὸν πρᾶον καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐξ ἀπίου ἀγαθοσύνης. Καὶ τότε εὐλαβηθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου οἱ κατάλοιποι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἰδόντες τὰ ἔθνη πιστεύσαντα καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γινόμενα, καὶ πιστεύσουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Χριστῷ. Καὶ οὐ ποιήσωσιν ἐπι ἀδικίαν τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἐπαίρεσθαι, καὶ οὐ λαλήσωσι μάταια τῷ τιμῷ σταυρῷ μηκέτι σκανδαλιζόμενοι. Καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρεθεὶ δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς γλῶσσα δολία κατὰ τῶν μυστηρίων Χριστοῦ ἐπεριδομένη ἀλογίστως καὶ δολιχεύουσα. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν; διότι αὐτοὶ νεμῆσονται, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιμανθήσονται καὶ κοιτασθήσονται,' φησί, 'παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἀρμοσθήσονται, μᾶλλον δὲ καλῶς εἶπεν, ὅτι κοιτασθήσονται ἐν τῷ ὀρύγματι τῷ νοητῷ τῶν θεμελιῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς λίθοι ἔντιμοι τοῦ εἶναι αὐτοὺς εἰς ποιμένας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅπως αὐξή ἐποικοδομουμένη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀποστολικὴ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ.' Αὕτη ἡ ἀψευδὴς ἐρμηνεία τῆς προφητείας, ἐν ἣ τίς μείωσις ἤπερ πλάνη οὐ πέφυκεν. Εἴτε ἔχεις τί λέγειν, ἀντίλεγε. Πάλιν γὰρ ἐξέωμεν τοῦ λέγειν σοὶ τὰ συντείνοντα."
- 750 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει "Ὁν τρόπον τὰ πρῶν ἐρμηνεύσας διέστρεψας, παραπλησίως καὶ ταύτης ἤψω τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ τῆς προφητείας."
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Μὴ δυνάμενος ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, διαστροφᾶς προφασίζεαι καὶ παίγνια. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κηρύσσω οὐ παύσομαι."
- 755 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει "Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἔφησεν Ἡσαΐας λέγων· *Φωτίζου φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἥκει γὰρ σου τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν. Ὅτι ἰδοὺ σκότος καλύψει*

731 δεκτὰς θυσίας cf. Phil. 4.18 | 736 καί<sup>2</sup> – 738 Ἰσραὴλ Soph. 3.12–13 | 739 καί<sup>4</sup> – 744 κοιτασθήσονται Soph. 3.13 | 754 φωτίζου<sup>1</sup> – 784 Ἰσραὴλ Is. 60.1–16

### C X L K S H T V

726 καὶ < K ὑμεῖς + οὖν H τέσσαρις SHTV | 727 οὐρανῶν SHTV ταῦτα H | 728 θυσίας < LK θύων < TV | 729 δεῖξειεν C δεῖξει ἐν XL μετὰ – 733 ἐπιτελεῖσθαι < SHTV | 733 μυσταγῶν X μύστων LK | 734 ἐπί] εἰς SH | 735 σου ὧν] ὧν σὺ LK ἵλεως – 737 ἀγαθοσύνης < SHTV | 736 καί<sup>1</sup> – 737 λαὸν < X | 737 λαὸν < C | 738 κατὰ πείραν κατάλοιποι SHTV ἰδόντες – 739 Χριστῷ < SHTV | 739 πιστεύσωσι C ποιήσωσιν C ἀναδικίαν V | 740 τοῦ] τὸ SHTV καὶ – σκανδαλιζόμενοι < SHTV λαλήσωσι C L<sup>o</sup>K | 741 καὶ – 742 δολιχεύουσα < SHTV | 743 ὅτι TV ταῦτα C νεμῆσονται CX τοῦτ' – ποιμανθήσονται < C ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ X καὶ

if you consider this, show me where he himself or your nation together with those from the nations offer sacrifices commonly to God the Almighty. But you will not be able to show this. *They will bring me sacrifices*, he says, *with the scattered*. Now who are the scattered? No one else, I think, than the apostles that were scattered unto the ends of the world for the sake of the Gospel of peace. ‘And they will bring accepted sacrifices to God the Almighty together with the returning nations through the live-giving divine worship in that day,’ he says, ‘in which the new sacrifice will begin to be celebrated by the initiated of Christ. And you, Jerusalem, do not be ashamed of all these Christian practices that have recently been imported to you and of whom you will gain experience. For I will be gracious to you concerning the sins which you did to me before by your law. For I will lead out the disobedient and ungrateful people in you, *and I will leave to you a gentle and humble people* out of my immense goodness. *And then the remnant of Israel will fear the name of the Lord*, for they will see the people believing and signs and wonders happening, and they will believe themselves as well to Christ. *And they will not commit the iniquity* anymore to rise against Christ, *and they will not speak vain things*, for they will not be offended by the worthy cross. *And deceit will not be found in their mouth* and there will not be *a deceitful tongue* that resists against the mysteries of Christ foolishly and over a long time. For what reason? *For they will feed*, that is, they will be tended by Christ, *and be put to rest* by the apostles, that is, they will be accommodated, or rather to say it better, they will be put to rest in the spiritual foundation trench of the church as precious stones, in order to become the shepherds of the churches of Christ, so that the apostolic and universal church of God may increase being built upon them as well.’ This is the unerring explanation of the prophecy, in which there is no waning or deceit. If you have something to say, contradict. For we will again tell you what belongs to it.”

Herban said: “In the same way in which you distorted the things by your explanation before, similarly you put your hands in such a way on this prophecy.”

The archbishop said: “Since you cannot oppose truth, you pretend that there are distortions and games. But I will not cease to proclaim truth.”

Herban said: “For which reason did Isaiah say: *Shine, shine Jerusalem, for your light has come and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you. For behold, darkness will*

κοιτασθήσονται < SHTV | 744 παρὰ + τοὺς πόδας K τοῦτ’ – 746 ἔντιμοι < SHTV | 746 ὄπως – 747 θεοῦ < SHTV | 747 ἀποστολική και < C και καθολική < X ἡ² – 748 προφητείας] ἡ ἀψευδῆς προφητεία και ἡ ἀψευδῆς ἐρμηνεία TV | 748 ἐν ἡ] ἐπει CX ἥπερ LK τῆς μείωσις] τῆς μειούσης C τῆς μη οὔσης X μη οὐσα ἀληθῆς LK ἥπερ] ἐπει LK ἡ SHTV ἡ πλάνη τῆς μείωσις H εἶτε] εἶπερ LK | 749 ἐπανέξωμεν H σοι < LK H | 750 λέγει < TV ἡρμήνευσας X H ἐρμήνευσας K | 751 τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ < SHTV | 752 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V ἐναντιοῦσθαι] ἀντιλέγειν C προφασίζεις C | 753 τὴν < C | 754 λέγει < TV



γῆν καὶ γνώφος ἐπὶ ἔθνη· ἐπὶ σέ δὲ φανήσεται κύριος, καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ ὠφθήσεται  
 καὶ πορεύσονται βασιλεῖς τῷ φωτί σου καὶ ἔθνη τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς ἀνατολῆς σου. Ἦκασι πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ σου  
 μακρόθεν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες σου ἐπ' ὤμων ἀρθήσονται. Τότε ὄψει καὶ χαρίσει καὶ φοβηθή-  
 760 σαι κύριον καὶ ἐκοπήσει τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι μεταβαλεῖ εἰς σέ πλοῦτος θαλάσσης καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ  
 λαῶν. Καὶ ἤξουσί σοι ἀγγέλοι καμηλῶν καὶ καλύψουσί σοι κάμηλοι Μαδιάμ καὶ Γεφάρ.  
 Πάντες ἐκ Σαβὰ ἤξουσι φέροντές σοι χρυσίον, καὶ λίβανον οἴσουσί σοι καὶ λίθον τίμιον.  
 Καὶ τὸ σωτήριον παρὰ κυρίου εὐαγγελιοῦνται, καὶ πάντα τὰ πρόβατα Κηδάρ συναχθή-  
 765 σονται σοι, καὶ κριοὶ Ναβαιῶθ ἤξουσί σοι, καὶ ἀνενεχθήσονται δεκτὰ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν  
 μου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς μου δοξασθήσεται. Τινές οἱ δὲ ὡς νεφέλαι πέτανται καὶ ὡς  
 περιστεραὶ σὺν νεοσσοῖς αὐτῶν; Ἐπ' ἐμέ ἔστι Σιών, ἐπ' ἐμέ νῆσοι ὑπέμειναν καὶ πλοῖα  
 Θαρσεῖς ἐν πρώτοις τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου μακρόθεν. Καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον  
 αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔνδοξον  
 770 εἶναι. Καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν υἱοὶ ἀλλογενεῖς τὰ τεῖχη σου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν παραστή-  
 σονται σοι. Διὰ γὰρ ὀργὴν ἐπάταξά σε, καὶ δι' ἔλεόν μου ἠγάπησά σε. Καὶ ἀνοιχθήσονται  
 αἱ πύλαι σου διὰ παντός, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ οὐ κλεισθήσονται τοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς  
 σέ δύναμιν ἐθνῶν, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἀγομένους. Τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, οἵτινές σοι  
 οὐ δουλεύσωσιν, ἐρημίᾳ ἐρημωθήσονται. Πρόσεχε, κύρι ὁ μέγας, τί λέγει ἐνταῦθα· Καὶ τὰ  
 775 ἔθνη, φησὶν, ἐρημίᾳ ἐρημωθήσονται καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Λιβάνου πρὸς σέ ἤξει ἐν κυπαρίσσῳ  
 καὶ πεύκῃ καὶ κέδρῳ ἅμα δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἅγιόν μου, καὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν ποδῶν  
 μου δοξάσω. Καὶ πορεύσονται πρὸς σέ δεδοικότες υἱοὶ τῶν ταπεινωσάντων σε καὶ παρ-  
 οξυνάντων σε. Καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου πάντες οἱ παροξυναντές  
 σε, καὶ κληθήσει πόλις κυρίου Σιών, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσραὴλ, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι σε καταλελειμμέ-  
 νην καὶ μεμισημένην, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ βοηθῶν σοι. Ὅρα ἐνταῦθα τί λέγει, ἵνα κἄν ἀρτίως  
 780 δέσης ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πληροφορούμενος, ὅτι ἀνακαλεῖται κύριος ἔπειτα τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ διὰ  
 τὸ γενέσθαι σε, φησὶ, καταλελειμμένην καὶ μεμισημένην, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ βοηθῶν σοι. Καὶ  
 θήσω σε, φησὶν, ἀγαλλίασιν αἰώνιον, εὐφροσύνην γενεᾶς γενεῶν, καὶ θηλάσεις γάλα  
 ἐθνῶν καὶ πλοῦτον βασιλέων φάγεσαι, καὶ γνώσει ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ σώζων σε καὶ ὁ ἐξαι-  
 ρούμενός σε, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν προφητείαν ἔκπαλαι τετήρηκά σοι τοῦ

### CXLKSHTV

756 ante γῆν ± τὴν L δὲ σέ SV ὁ κύριος H αὐτοῦ] κυρίου SHTV | 757 τῆς λαμπρότητος C |  
 758 τὰ < CXLK ἦκασι – 759 ἀρθήσονται < SHTV οἱ < C | 759 καί<sup>3</sup> – 760 καρδίᾳ < SHTV |  
 760 καί<sup>2</sup> – 761 λαῶν < SHTV καί<sup>3</sup> < C | 761 σοί<sup>2</sup> < CXLK | 762 ἤξουσιν V σοί<sup>2</sup>] σε LK καὶ  
 λίθον τίμιον < SHTV | 764 Ἀναβῶθ CLK τὰ δεκτὰ H | 765 οἱ < SHTV οἱ δὲ + ἦτοι οὐδὲ L<sup>margin</sup>  
 νεφέλαις C HV πέτονται CXLK | 766 περιστεραῖς V σὺν < H ἐπ' – Σιών < SHTV | 767 ἐν] ἐμ  
 C | 768 διὰ<sup>1</sup> – 769 εἶναι < SHTV | 769 καί<sup>1</sup> – αὐτῶν < V υἱοί] οἱ ST, < H | 770 δι'] διὰ CK καί<sup>2</sup>  
 – 772 ἀγομένους < SHTV | 771 πύλαι] πύλαις CK πόλις X | 773 δουλεύσουσιν LK πρόσεχε –  
 774 ἐρημωθήσονται < SHTV | 774 ἐρημωθήσεται LK | 776 οἱ υἱοὶ V καὶ – 778 σε<sup>1</sup> < SHTV |  
 777 προσκυνήσωσιν L<sup>acc</sup> | 778 διὰ – 779 σοι < SHTV γεγενῆσθαι σε C γενέσθαι σε XLK |  
 780 δέσης SH Ἱερουσαλὴμ] Ἰσραὴλ V | 781 γενέσθαι σε X καὶ θήσω σε] τιθήσονται X |

cover the earth and gloom will be on the nations; but the Lord will appear upon you, and his glory will be seen upon you, and kings will come to your light and nations to the brightness of your rising. Lift up your eyes around and see your assembled children. All your sons came from far away, and your daughters will be raised upon the shoulders. Then you will see and be glad and fear the Lord and be astonished in your heart, because the wealth of the sea and of nations and people will be brought to you. And the flocks of camels will come to you, and the camels of Midian and Gephyar will cover you. They will come all from Sheba bringing you gold, and they will bring you incense and precious stones. And they will bring the good tidings of God's salvation, and all sheep of Kedar will be gathered with you, and the rams of Nebaioth will come to you, they will be brought with acceptance to my altar, and the house of my prayer will be glorified. Who are those that fly like clouds and like doves with their nestlings? Zion is for me,<sup>88</sup> the islands waited for me and first of all the ships of Tarshish to bring your children from far away. And their silver and gold will be with them because of God's holy name, and because the holy one of Israel is glorious. And sons of strangers will build your walls, and their kings will present themselves before you. For I have stricken you in my anger, and in my mercy I have loved you. And your gates will be opened forever, day and night, and they will not be closed to lead the power of the nations to you, and their kings who are being lead. For the nations and the kings that will not serve you will be abandoned in a desert. Listen, my great lord, what he says here: And the nations, he says, will be abandoned in a desert, and the glory of Lebanon will come to you with cypress, pine and cedar-tree together, to glorify my holy place, and I will glorify the place of my feet. And the sons of those that humiliated and irritated you will come to you with fear. And all those that irritated you will bow themselves down at your foot-prints, and you will be called the city of the Lord of Zion, of the holy Israel, for you were abandoned and hated, and there was no one to help you. See what he says here, so that you will get stuck now at least, being instructed that God will recall Jerusalem thereafter, for you were abandoned and hated, he says, and there was no one to help you. And I will make you an eternal exultation, a gladness from generation to generation, and you will suck the milk of the nations and will eat the wealth of kings, and you will understand that I am the Lord that has saved you and redeemed you, the holy

782 θήσω] βοηθήσω TV θήσω σε] θήσονται LK ἀγαλλίαμα SHTV εὐφροσύνην γενεᾶς γενεῶν < SHTV γενεῶν γενεᾶς CXL | 784 σοι < SHTV

<sup>88</sup> This phrase ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐστὶ Σιών is missing in the Hebrew text, as well as in most manuscripts of the Septuagint and all other old Greek translations, on which see the remark by Theodoretos, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 19.133–136. The words *for me* actually belong to the preceding question, and the answer *it is Zion* is added thereafter. The wrong interpunctuation of the *Dialexis* has been retained here, since the interpretation at Γ 965–966 takes it into account.

785 στομῶσαι σου τὴν ἄπειρον πολυλογίαν. Ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ γὰρ δῆσεις καὶ οὐ δυνήσει ἀντι-  
σχεῖν ἢ ἀντειπεῖν μοι πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ διαστρέψαι μου τὰ ῥήματα. Ὁ γὰρ προφήτης ἀπερι-  
έργως ἐνταῦθα λελάληκεν. Οὐκοῦν εἴτι σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα, φανεροποίησον ἡμῖν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὴν μὲν προφητείαν ταύτην μελετήσας καὶ μαθῶν ἀπὸ στή-  
θους παρήγαγες αὐτὴν λόγῳ φιλῶ κατέναντι τοῦ προσώπου μου. Μακρὰν δὲ ἡ γνώσις  
790 αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας σου· ὅπερ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τινος δηλοῖ, μᾶλλον  
δὲ περὶ τίνων, οὐδαμῶς σὺ τὸ καθόλου ἐπίστασαι. Πρὸς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα μόνον βλέπεις τοῦ  
γράμματος, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐδαμῶς. Οὐκοῦν ἔν μοι ἐρμήνευσον τῶν παρὰ σοῦ  
εἰρημένων· *Ἐν κυπαρίσσῳ*, φησί, *καὶ πεύκῃ καὶ κέδρῳ ἅμα δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγίον*  
*μου, καὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν ποδῶν μου δοξάσω*. Ταύτην μοι τὴν λέξιν διάλυσον καὶ ἐκ ταύτης  
795 εἴσομαι, ὅτι ἐπίστασαι καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Χώρα ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Λιβάνου ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰερουσαλὴμ τελεῖν εἰω-  
θυῖα. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν πλῆθος πεύκης καὶ κέδρου καὶ κυπαρίσσου προσῆν, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν  
τέμνοντες τὰ χρησιμὰ τε καὶ κάλλιστα ξύλα οἱ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον παροικοῦντες εἰς οἰκο-  
δομὰς τῶν βασιλικῶν στοῶν καὶ τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων πινῶν παν-  
800 τοίων χρειῶν παρασκευῆν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν λαχοῦσι βασιλευσιν ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰσ-  
εκόμιζον. Περὶ τοῦδε τοιγαροῦν εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπολαμβανόντων ἡμῶν  
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ἡ πρόσοδος αὕτη ἐν ἡμῖν ἀποκατασταθήσεται πρὸς τὸ  
δοξασθῆναι τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον τὸν ἅγιον, ὃν ὑμεῖς παραλαβόντες διὰ τὸ ἄνομον εἰς ἀδο-  
ξίαν κατεστήσατε.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ εἰρηκά σοι, ὅτι μέχρι τοῦ γράμματος καὶ μόνον ἤκεις,  
περαιτέρω δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προβῆναι οὐ δεδύνησαι; Τυφλώττων γὰρ εἶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιλάμ-  
πειν ἐν σοὶ τὴν θεῖαν χάριν τοῦ πνεύματος. Οὐκοῦν παραγαγεῖν εἶχον εἰς μέσον τὴν προ-  
φητείαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης λύσιν. Ἀλλά γε περιττὸς ὁ λόγος· ἀργοῦμεν γὰρ εἰς πῖθον τετρη-  
μένον ἀντλοῦντες.”

810 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐ δυνήσει ἐνταῦθα τί διαστρέψαι, διότι ἡ προφητεία αὕτη ἀπερι-  
έργως λελάληται.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ οὐ δύναμαι, πρόσεχε· διὰ γὰρ τὸν περισσῶτα ὄχλον οὐκ  
ὀκνήσω τοῦ διηγῆσασθαι. Μόνον θεὸς ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοῦν σου καὶ πρόσεχε. *Φωτίζου*, φησί,  
*φωτίζου Ἰερουσαλὴμ*, τῷ τιμίῳ βαπτίσματι πρόδηλον· *ἦκει γὰρ σου τὸ φῶς* ὁ Χριστός, *καὶ*  
815 *ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ*, ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐν πρώτοις ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ λέξας ἐν εὐαγγελίοις

798 τέμνοντες – παροικοῦντες cf. 3 Reg. 5.20, 22, 24 | 808 εἰς – 809 ἀντλοῦντες cf. *CParG I* 343–344

### C X L K S H T V

785 σου < C ἐν – 786 ῥήματα < SHTV | 787 λελάληκεν ἐνταῦθα C ἡμῖν < CX | 788 ὁ  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη] λέγει SV ταύτην μελετήσας < TV καὶ – στήθους <  
SHTV | 789 τῷ λόγῳ H μου] σου T μακρὰ CX STV δὲ] γὰρ SHTV | 790 τῆς διανοίας < SHTV  
ὅπερ – 791 ἐπίστασαι < SHTV | 791 μόνῳ X | 793 φησί < C καὶ πεύκῃ < SHTV τὸν<sup>1</sup> < X |  
794 λέξιν SH | 796 λέγει < TV | 797 αὐτοῦ K | 798 τε < C H ξύλα < CXLK | 799 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – πινῶν]

*one of Israel.* Now this prophecy I have kept aside for a long time to put an end to your immense loquacity. For you will get stuck in it, and will not be able to resist or to contradict me about this and to distort my words. For the prophet has spoken here in a simple way. So if you have an idea about this, make it clear to us.”

The archbishop said: “Having studied this prophecy and having learnt it by heart you introduced it in plain speech before my face. But the knowledge of it and its power are far from your mind, for what it says and about whom, and rather about which things, you do not know in no way at all. For you look only to the body of the letter, but in no way to the spirit of it. So explain to me just one word out of those you have said: *With cypress, pine and cedar-tree together, to glorify my holy place, and I will glorify the place of my feet.* Give me the solution of this word, and I will understand from it that you also know the following ones.”

Herban said: “There is the land of Lebanon which used to be under the dominion of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Now in it there was a large number of pines, cypresses and cedar-trees, and cutting the most useful and beautiful timbers from these, the inhabitants of that place exported them to the kings that happened to be at that time in Jerusalem, for the constructions of the royal halls, the palace, the holy temple and for to provide all other kinds of necessary things. Therefore the prophet speaks about this, that thereafter, when we will receive our city and our kingdom back, this revenue will be restored to us as well, to glorify that holy place, taking which you have reduced it to obscurity because of our iniquities.”

The archbishop said: “Did I not say to you that you arrive only at the letter, but are unable to proceed further to the spirit? For you are blind because the divine grace of the spirit does not shine on you. So I will have to introduce the prophecy and its solution in our midst. But this speech is superfluous, for we bide our time scooping into a jar full of holes.”

Herban said: “You will not be able to distort anything here, for this prophecy is said in a simple way.”

The archbishop said: “Listen whether I cannot; I will not hesitate to tell this because of the surrounding crowd. Only put your mind here and listen. *Shine*, he says, *shine, Jerusalem*, clearly through the worthy baptism; *for your light Christ has come and the glory of the Lord*, the word of God. In the beginning he rose who says to the Father in

< H | 800 παρασκευήν – βασιλευσιν < SHTV | 801 παραλαμβανόντων SHTV | 802 αὐτή C ἐν] ἔπειτα CXLK πρὸς – 804 κατεστήσατε < SHTV | 805 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S καὶ μόνον < K ἡκεῖς SH, < TV | 806 περαιτέρω] ὑπὲρ ἑτέρω V εἶ] ἦν TV ἐπλάμπειν] βλέπειν SHTV | 807 ἐν σοὶ < C εἰς μέσον < SHTV | 808 συντετριμένον SHTV | 810 λέγει < TV | 811 λελάληκεν H | 812 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S, < C διὰ – 813 πρόσεχε < SHTV | 813 φησὶ < H φησὶ φωτίζου < CXLK | 814 καὶ – 815 ἀνατέταλκεν < SHTV | 815 λέγῃς SH

τῷ πατρὶ· *Ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα, ὅτι ἰδοὺ σκότος καλύψει γῆν,*  
 φησί, σταυρουμένου πρόδηλον αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται· *καὶ γνώφος*  
*ἐπὶ ἔθνη, ἀλλὰ γε ἐπὶ τὰ νοητά, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας· ἐπὶ σέ*  
 820 *φανήσεται κύριος* σαρκωθείς ἐκ παρθένου Μαρίας *καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν θαυμάτων καὶ τῶν ση-*  
*μείων αὐτοῦ, ἦν ἐν σοὶ ἀναστρεφόμενος ἐργάσεται, ἐπὶ σέ ὀφθήσεται, καὶ πορεύσονται*  
*βασιλεῖς,* οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρόδηλον καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπο-  
 λοίπων ἔθνῶν διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν *τῷ φωτί σου, ἦγουν τῷ βαπτισμῷ σου.*  
*Καὶ ἔθνη* τὰ πιστεύσαντα *τῇ λαμπρότητι* τῆς ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας, τοῦτ' ἔστι *τῆς ἀνατολῆς*  
 825 *σου·* ἀνατολή γὰρ νοητὴ τῶν βαπτιζομένων ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀγία κολυμβήθρα. Σκοτεινοὶ  
 γὰρ εἰσδύνοντες μετὰ πλήθους ζοφερῶν ἀμαρτημάτων φαιδρότατοι ἐκεῖθεν ἀνατέλλουσι  
 καὶ ὑπέρλαμπροι καὶ ὀλόφωτοι τὸ βάρος τῶν ἀνομημάτων ἐκείσε καταποντίζοντες.  
*Ἄρον κύκλω* παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου *τούς νοερούς ὀφθαλμούς σου, καὶ ἴδε,* ὦ νέα Ἱερουσα-  
 λὴμ, ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως εἰς μίαν τὴν αὐτὴν  
 καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῷ τιμῷ βαπτίσματι *συνηγμένα τέκνα σοι* εἰς  
 830 *σωτηρίαν.* Ἦκασι πάντες υἱοὶ σου μακρόθεν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς μακρὰν τῆς δόξης τοῦ  
 θεοῦ χώρας, ἦτοι τῆς πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου ἀποσπασθέντες. Παραγίνονται πρὸς σέ διὰ  
 πίστεως *καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες σου,* ἦγουν αἱ ὑπόλοιποι πόλεις τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανῶν, *ἐπ' ὧμων*  
*ἀρθήσονται,* τοῦτ' ἔστι πιστεύσασαι τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς περιφανὲς ὕψος δόξης τῷ  
 835 *τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ὡς ἐπ' ὧμῳ* τινὶ νοητῷ προφανῶς ἀναβιβασθήσονται. *Τότε*  
*ὄψει* ἐν πνεύματι τὴν παντὸς κόσμου καινὴν σωτηρίαν. Καὶ τῷ δέει τοῦ θαύματος βλη-  
 θεῖσα *φοβηθήσεται τὸν κύριον.* Καὶ συνιεῖς κρίματα ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ ἀκατά-  
 ληπτα τοῦ παντοκράτορος, *καὶ ἐκστήσει τῇ καρδίᾳ, διότι μεταβαλεῖ εἰς σέ πλοῦτος θα-*  
*λάσσης* τῆς τοῦ βίου συγχύσεως τῆς ἐκ πάσης ψυχῆς, ἦγουν τῆς πιστευσάσης τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 γένους τὴν πνευματικὴν καρποφορίαν ὡς πλοῦτος. Ἦ μάλα αὐτὰ τὰ γένη τῶν φυλῶν καὶ  
 840 *γλωσσῶν ἐμβαλεῖ οἰκεῖν ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς σου, διώξας ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸν πρότερον τοῦ νόμου*  
*λαὸν ὡς ἀπειθὴ καὶ ἀγνώμονα. Καὶ ἤξουσι,* φησίν, *ἀγέλαι καμήλων,* τὰ μέλλοντα πλήθη  
 ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσμαὴλ πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστόν. *Καὶ καλύψουσι κάμηλοι* οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐξ Ἰσμαὴλ ταῖς  
 ἀρεταῖς τὴν *Μαδιὰμ καὶ Γεφάρ,* ἧτις ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. *Πάντες γὰρ ἐκ Σαβὰ ἤξουσι,*  
 845 *τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σοί, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐν ἧ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὁ*  
*σταυρὸς καὶ τὰ θεῖα τεμένη προσκυνῆσαι, φέροντές σοι ἀγάπην ὡς χρυσίον,* πίσπιν ὡς  
*λίβανον καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὡς λίθον τίμιον. Τὸ σωτήριον κυρίου* ὁ ἐκαινούρ-

816 ἐγὼ – ἐτελείωσα cf. Io. 17.4

### C X L K S H T V

816 τὸ ἔργον ἐτελείωσα < SHTV | 817 φησί] τοῦτ' ἔστι SHTV αὐτοῦ < SHTV ὡςπερ SHTV  
 καὶ<sup>1</sup> S<sup>pc</sup>, < H | 818 ἀλλὰ – νοητά < SHTV ἐναέρια H<sup>pc</sup> δὲ σέ SHTV | 819 ἐμφανίζεται S<sup>pc</sup>HT  
 φανίζεται S<sup>ac</sup>V τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου SHTV καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 820 ὀφθήσεται < SHTV | 820 πορεύσον S |  
 821 πρόδηλον – Αἰθιοπῶν] πρῶτοι SHTV λοιπῶν C | 822 τῷ<sup>1</sup> – 823 κολυμβήθρας < SHTV |  
 824 τῶν βαπτιζομένων < SHTV σκοτεινοὶ – 826 καταποντίζοντες < SHTV | 826 ἐκεῖθεν SHTV |  
 827 πάντας CXLK νοερούς σου ὀφθαλμούς STV σου < H ὦ – Ἱερουσαλήμ] ὦν ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰσραὴλ

the Gospel: *I have glorified you on the earth, I have finished the work, for behold, darkness will cover the earth*, he says, clearly when the Lord Jesus was crucified, which also happened, *and gloom will be on the nations*, but on the mental ones, that is on the aerial spirit of wickedness; *the Lord will appear upon you*, having become flesh from the Virgin Mary, *and the glory* of his wonders and signs, which he will work dwelling among you, *will be seen upon you. And kings will come*, that is those of the Romans, Indians, Homerites, Ethiopians<sup>89</sup> and of the other nations through their belief in Christ Jesus *to your light*, that is to your baptism. *And the nations* that here believed *to the brightness* of the baptismal font, that is *of your rising*; for the holy baptismal font of the church is the mental east of those baptised. For immersing themselves into it, being dark and with a multitude of gloomy sins, they rise from there being bright, shining and full of light, having drowned the burden of sins there. *Lift up your eyes* of the mind *around* all the world *and see*, o new Jerusalem, *your children* who have been *assembled* from all tribes and languages because of the belief in Jesus Christ into the one universal and apostolic church by the worthy baptism for their salvation. *All your sons came from far away*, that is from the land which is far away from the glory of God, that is being dragged away from the deceit of the devil. Also *your daughters* will come to you through their belief, that is the remaining cities below heaven, *they will be raised upon the shoulders*, that is, believing in the cross of Christ they will be brought up to the famous height of the glory of the kingdom of heaven, obviously as if on some mental shoulder. *Then you will see* in your spirit the new salvation of the whole world. And struck by this fear-inspiring wonder, you will *fear the Lord*. And you will understand the ineffable and inscrutable and incomprehensible judgements of the Almighty, *and be astonished in your heart, because the wealth of the sea* of the confusion of life, which is in every soul, *will be brought to you*, that is, which has entrusted the spiritual fruit-bearing of the common race as wealth. Or rather, he will admit the races of those tribes and languages to dwell in your courtyards, expelling from you the former people of the law as being disobedient and ungrateful. *And the flocks*, he says, *of camels will come to you*, the large number of people from the tribe of Ismael that will believe in Christ in the future. *And those same camels* from Ismael by their virtues *will cover Midian and Gephrah*, which is their country. For *they will come all from Sheba*, that is from their

SHTV (ὦν) τὸν T | 828 διὰ τῆς] καὶ ἡς SH καὶ TV τὴν – 829 ἀποστολικὴν < SHTV αὐτὴν < LK | 829 ἀποστολικὴν καὶ καθολικὴν X καὶ ἀποστολικὴν < K | 830 ἦκουσι SHTV οἱ υἱοὶ X τοῦτ' ἔστιν – 841 ἀγνώμονα < SHTV μακρᾶς LK | 831 τῆς < LK | 832 ὑπόλοιποι L<sup>PK</sup> | 833 τοῦτ' ἔστι – 834 ἀναβιβασθήσονται < CX | 836 τὸν < CX | 840 ἐμβάλει X ἐμβαλεῖν LK | 842 ἐκ φυλῆς] τοῦ H, < STV πιστεύειν – Ἰσμαήλ<sup>2</sup> < X καὶ – 843 αὐτῶν < SHTV | 843 ἤξουσιν σοι SHV | 845 φέροντές – 848 εὐαγγελιοῦνται < SHTV

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 99.

γησεν ἐνανθρωπήσας πάση ψυχῇ τῇ βουλομένη πιστεύειν συνήσαντες εὐχαριστοῦντες  
*εὐαγγελιοῦνται. Καὶ πάντα τὰ πρόβατα Κηδάρ συναχθήσονται σοι*· τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Κηδάρ  
 ἔθνη πρόδηλον πιστεύσαντα ἐκεῖσε πορεύσονται προσεύξασθαι. *Καὶ κριοὶ Ναβαιώθ,*  
 850 *ἦγουν οἱ ἐξάρχοντες τῆς χώρας ἤξουσὶ σοὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ ἀνενεχθήσου-*  
*ται ἐν πνεύματι ἅμα ταῖς θυσίαις αὐτῶν δεκτὰ τὰ τε πρόβατα Κηδάρ, οἳ τε κριοὶ Να-*  
*βαιώθ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν σοὶ εὐτρεπισθὲν νέον καὶ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον. Καὶ ὁ οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς*  
*μου δοξαστήσεται, ὄνπερ νεωστὶ ἐκαινούργησα. Καὶ εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ὡς λέγω, ἄπελθε*  
 855 *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ἴδε ὅπως πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότα ἐκεῖσε ἐκ*  
*τῶν περάτων ὡσανεὶ περισσότεραὶ ἐπιπετόμενα παντοῖα δῶρα εἴτε νοητά, εἴτε καὶ αἰσθητὰ*  
*καρποφοροῦντα παραγίνονται, καθὼς ἔπειτα καὶ ὁ προφήτης ἐπάγει· Τίνες, φησὶν, οἳ δέ*  
*ὡς νεφέλαι πέτανται διὰ τῷ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ ἔλκεσθαι κούφως εἰς τοὺς σεβασμίους*  
*τόπους, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὰς νεφέλας ὑπὸ ἀνέμων περὶ ἀγίων ἐνταῦθα λέγει, οἴπνες ζέσει*  
 860 *πίστεως τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαμβάνοντες ἐν τοῖς εὐαγέσι μοναστηρίοις τῷ ματαίῳ κό-*  
*σμφ τούτῳ ἀποτάσσονται. Καὶ ὡς περισσότεραί, φησὶ, σὺν νεοσοῖς αὐτῶν, ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι οὐ*  
*μόνον οἳ μεγάλοι καὶ δυνάμενοι τοῦ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ κείρεσθαι τοῦτο πράξωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν*  
*καὶ οἳ τρυφεροὶ τε καὶ ἀπαλοὶ ἐπὶ ἀκμῇ τῷ σώματι τό γε καταδέξωνται· τοῦτο γὰρ οἳ*  
*νεοττοί, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄρρενες, ἀλλὰ καὶ θήλειαι. Εἴτε καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ μαθητευομέ-*  
 865 *νων τοῖς ἀγίοις μοναχοῖς τοῦτο λέλεκται· Ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐστὶ Σιών. Διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἔφησε*  
*Χριστὸς τοῦτο· ἐν τῷ πατρὶ μου γάρ, φησὶν, ἦν τὸ πρότερον ἢ Σιών Ἰουδαίοις ἀποκεκλη-*  
*ρωμένη, νυνὶ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἔστι Σιών χριστιανοῖς τεθησαυρισμένη, ἐπ' ἐμὲ νῆσοι ὑπέμειναν αἱ*  
*ἐξ ἔθνων ἐκκλησίαι, ὑπέμειναν δὲ θλίψιν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν παρὰ τῶν διωκτῶν τε καὶ τυ-*  
 870 *ράννων. Πολλοὺς ἀπενεγκάμην μοι, φησὶ κύριος, μάρτυρας καὶ πλοῖα Θαρσεῖς, ἐν πρώ-*  
*τοις οἳ ἀπόστολοι καὶ αἱ τούτων διδασκαλίαι, τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου μακρόθεν ἐκ τῆς*  
*μακρᾶν τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ πλάνης τοῦ διαβόλου. Αἱ γὰρ παραινήσεις αἱ θεῖαι ἤγαγον*  
*μακρόθεν πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ὡς ἄλλα τινὰ πλοῖα μετὰ θάρσους, πρὸς τὸν ἐν σοὶ, Ἱερουσαλήμ,*  
 875 *ἐν πρώτοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρύξαντα κύριον. Καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον αὐτῶν μετ'*  
*αὐτῶν, φησὶν, τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς χρυσίον καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν αὐτῶν σωφροσύνην*  
*ὡς ἀργύριον αἰνιττόμενος. Τόγε εἶρηκεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, φησὶ, τὸ ἅγιον, τοῦτ' ἔστι*  
*τὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἔνδοξον εἶναι, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν μονογενῆ*  
*υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. Καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσι, φησὶν,*  
*υἱοὶ ἀλλογενεῖς τὰ τεῖχί σου· οὐχὶ οἳ ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ πρώην ἐν σοὶ κατοικήσαντες*

### CX LK SHTV

848 τῆς < H | 849 ἐκεῖθεν TV καὶ – 852 θυσιαστήριον < SHTV | 851 Κηδάρ + υἱοὶ C Ἄναβεῶθ  
 CLK | 854 εἰς] ἐπὶ SHTV Χριστὸν] κύριον H | 855 ἐπὶ γῆς πετόμενα SHTV καὶ < SHTV |  
 856 παραγίνεται TV καθὼς – 864 λέλεκται < SHTV | 857 πέτονται CXL αὐτοῦ] τοὺς CXLK |  
 861 πράξουσιν L<sup>p</sup>K ἀλλ' οὖν] ἀλλὰ C | 864 τοῦτο] τόγε LK | 865 τῷ προτέρῳ LK ἢ < SHTV |  
 866 αἱ < SHTV | 867 δὲ < T τε] δὲ C | 868 ἀπενεγκάμεναι LK ἀπενέγκαμεν ἔμοι SHT  
 ἀπενεγκάμην ἔμοι V μοι] ὑμῖν C, < LK καὶ – 869 ἀγαγεῖν] καὶ ἀποστόλους· διὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 διδασκῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἤξουσιν SHTV | 869 μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς μακρόθεν TV | 870 τῆς < SHTV  
 αἱ<sup>1</sup> – 876 ἐνανθρωπήσαντα < SHTV | 871 θάρσους X | 872 ἐν < LK | 874 τὸ δὲ C | 875 τὸ<sup>2</sup> < CX

native country to you, Jerusalem, where the grave of Jesus, the cross and the divine temples are, to worship *bringing you* love as *gold*, faith as *incense* and the hope in Christ as *precious stones*. And understanding this, *they will bring* with thanks *the good tidings of God's salvation*, which he has renewed becoming a man, to every soul which wants to believe. *And all sheep of Kedar will be gathered with you*: Clearly the people of Kedar will believe and come from there to worship. *And the rams of Nebaioth*, that is the rulers of the land, *will come to you* through the belief in Christ, *and* the sheep of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth *will be brought* spiritually, together with their sacrifices, *with acceptance* to the new and holy altar, which has been prepared in you. *And the house of my prayer will be glorified*, which I have recently restored. And if it is not so as I say, go to Jerusalem and see how all nations, who believe in Christ, come there from the ends <of the earth> flying like doves, bringing all kinds of mental or also of perceptible fruit-bearing offerings, just as the prophet goes on thereafter: *Who are those*, he says, *who fly* lightly *like clouds* in order to be carried off by his Holy Ghost to the adorable places; just as he also speaks here about the saints as clouds moved by the wind, who reached Jerusalem by their fervent faith and renounce this vain world in holy monasteries. *And like doves*, he says, *with their nestlings*, so that you may know that not only the great and powerful men do this in order to leave the world and to be shorn, but that also those, who still have a delicate and tender body, receive this; for these are the nestlings, and not only men, but also women. And also it is said about the things that have recently been taught to the holy monks: *Zion is for me*, Christ has said this through the prophet; for formerly, he says, Zion was bequeathed to the Jews from my father, but from me Zion has been stored up for the Christians, *the islands waited for me*, the churches of the nations that suffered affliction and oppression from persecutors and tyrants. I have brought in many martyrs for me, says the Lord, *and the ships of Tarshish, first of all* the apostles and their teachings, *to bring your children from far away*, from the deceit of the devil which is far away from the knowledge of God. For the divine exhortations brought every soul from far away, like a kind of ships with courage,<sup>90</sup> to the Lord who has proclaimed the Gospel for the first time in you, Jerusalem. *And their silver and gold will be with them*, he says, obscurely calling the spiritual virtue gold and their corporeal prudence silver. This he said *because of God's holy name*, which is that of the Father, *and because the holy one of Israel is glorious*, that is the only begotten Son of God who has become a man from the Virgin Mary. *And sons of*

τὸν<sup>1</sup> < K | 877 οἱ < C T

<sup>90</sup> A pun based on the similarity of the words 'Tarshish' (Θαρσεΐς) and 'courage' (θάρρα).



καὶ παραβεβηκότες καὶ διωχθέντες, ἀλλ' οὐς ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου ἐξ-  
 ἤγειρε τοῦ ἀποδοκιμασθέντος καὶ διαστρέφαντος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας σπέρμα τῷ Ἀβρα-  
 880 ἄμ, καθὰ εἶπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ πρόπαλαι, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίσας τὸν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς μετάνοιαν  
 ἔκπαλαι· οἰκοδομήσουσι δὲ τὰ νοητὰ τεῖχη ἑαυτοῦς ἀντὶ λίθων θέντες ἐν τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν  
 ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ μαρτύρων, μέχρις ἂν εἰς ὕψος βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἐπαρθῆ ἡ  
 οἰκοδομὴ τῶν θείων τειχέων καὶ προμαχόνων. *Καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν*, φησί, *παραστήσου-*  
 885 *ταί σοι*, τῶν ἐξ ἄλλογενῶν κληθέντων εἰς υἰοθεσίαν πρόδηλον· βασιλεῖς δὲ τούτους ὀνομά-  
 ζει, οἵπινες πνευματικῶς δι' ἀπαθείας ἐβασίλευσαν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, εἴτε καὶ περὶ τῶν προ-  
 ἑδρῶν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦτο ἠνίξατο. Οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν πνευματικῶν οἰκοδομη-  
 μάτων ἐπιστημόνως προϊστάμενοι εἰκότως καὶ πνευματικῶς βασιλεῖς ὀνομάζονται. *Διὰ*  
*γὰρ ὀργήν*, φησί, *ἐπάταξά σε* ἕνεκα τῶν ἀνομημάτων τῶν ἐν σοὶ ἀπειθῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ  
 890 Φαρισαίων, *καὶ δι' ἑλεόν μου ἠγάπησά σε* χριστιανοῖς δούς σε κατοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τηλικού-  
 τον, ὅτι καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ μου υἱὸν δέδωκά σοι ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, *ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς*  
*αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται, καὶ ἀνοιχθῆσονται αἱ πύλαι σου*, Ἱερουσαλήμ, *διὰ παντός*, αἱ πύλαι  
 ἐκεῖναι αἱ τῆς πίστεως, ἃς ἠνόηξε κύριος πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός καὶ οὐ κλει-*  
*σθήσονται* δι' ἣν αἰτίαν; Τοῦ *εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς σέ δύναμιν ἑθνῶν* ἡγουν στρατεύματα, τῷ  
 895 ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι σημειοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ τρισαγίῳ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ  
 ἀγίου πνεύματος. *Καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἀγομένους*, τῷ πρὸς σέ θείῳ ἔρωτι πρόδηλον, τοῦ  
 προσκυνῆσαι τοὺς ἐν σοὶ σεβασμίους τόπους, οὓς οἱ ἄχραντοι πόδες τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ σαρκώσεως ἐμβηματίσαντες ἠγίασαν. Καὶ θέασαι, πῶς οἱ Ῥωμαίων καὶ  
 900 Λιβύης καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Αἰθιοπίας καὶ λοιπῶν χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖς ἔρωτι θείῳ ἔλλαμ-  
 φθέντες προσκυνήσεως χάριν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀπηντήκασιν τῆς προφητείας πληροῦντες  
 τὰ ῥήματα· *Τὰ δὲ ἔθνη*, φησί, *καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς* ἀνακαινισθείσης σου τῆς νεότητος ὡς ἄετοῦ,  
*οἵπινές σοι* διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως *οὐ δουλεύσωσιν*, ἀπωλοῦνται μὴ ἀξιούμενοι τῆς  
 εισόδου τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Καὶ τὰ ἔθνη* ἔπειτα τὰ νοητὰ, τοῦτ' ἔσπιν οἱ δαίμο-  
 905 νες μετὰ τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Χριστοῦ ἅπαξ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος οὐκέτι  
 χρησιμεύσωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἀλλοιούμενοι *ἐρημία ἐρη-*  
*μωθήσονται*. *Ἡ τε δόξα τοῦ Λιβάνου πρὸς σέ ἦξει*, τοῦτ' ἔσπι τὸ ὕψος τῆς δόξης τοῦ  
 σταυροῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐκέισε καὶ ἐναπόκειται *ἐν κυπαρίσσῳ καὶ πεύκῃ καὶ κέδρῳ*,  
 φησί, *ἅμα δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγίον μου καὶ τὸν τόπον τῶν ποδῶν μου δοξάσω*.

878 ἐκ – 879 γωνίας cf. 1 Pet. 2.6–7 | 879 σπέρμα τῷ Ἀβραάμ Ps. 104.6 | 890 ἵνα – 891 ἀπόληται Io. 3.16 | 900 ἀνακαινισθείσης – ἄετοῦ cf. Ps. 102.5

### CXLKSHTV

878 καὶ διωχθέντες ὡς παραβεβηκότες SHTV οὐς] οὖν CXLK ὁ θεὸς < C | 879 τοῦ – γωνίας < SHTV διαστρέφαντος C διαθρέφαντος K τῷ] τοῦ X | 880 καθὰ – 883 προμαχόνων < SHTV | 881 ὀκοδομήσουσι CX δέ] γὰρ X τὰ < C | 882 οὐρανῶν βασιλείας C | 883 προμαχίων C | 884 βασιλεῖς – 887 ὀνομάζονται < SHTV | 885 διὰ C | 887 πνευματικοὶ LK | 888 φησί < SHV εἵνεκα SHV ἀνόμων καὶ ἀπειθῶν C καὶ Φαρισαίων < SHTV | 891 ἀπολείται SH διὰ παντός Ἱερουσαλήμ SHTV αἱ<sup>2</sup> – 897 ἠγίασαν < SHTV | 896 οἱ < LK | 897 βηματίσαντες L<sup>ρ</sup>K πῶς οἱ] πόσοι CX | 898 ἔλλαμφθέντες] ἀφέντες καὶ SHTV | 899 τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ] τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ LK πλη-

*strangers*, he says, *will build your walls*, not those from the seed of Abraham who formerly dwelt in you, having transgressed and been expelled, but those whom God raised up from the corner stone that had been rejected and turned them into the upper part of the corner as seed of Abraham, as David said very long ago, and John who once baptised Israel to repent; they will build the mental walls, setting themselves instead of stones into the foundation of the apostles and prophets and martyrs, until the construction of the divine walls and battlements will be raised into the height of the kingdom of heaven. *And their kings*, he says, *will present themselves before you*, clearly those of another race who are called to adoption. He calls those kings who have mastered sin spiritually by their freedom from emotion, or he also spoke obscurely of those presiding over the universal church. For these, who direct the spiritual buildings wisely, are reasonably called kings in a spiritual sense. *For I have stricken you*, he says, *in my anger* because of the sins of the disobedient Jews and Pharisees among you, *and in my mercy I have loved you* by giving you to the Christians to be inhabited, and in such a way that I have also given you my only begotten Son who has become a man, *so that whoever believes in him should not perish, and your gates*, Jerusalem, *will be opened forever*, those gates of the faith which God opened to all nations *day and night, and they will not be closed* for what reason? *To lead the power of the nations to you*, that is their armies, to be marked by the holy baptism in the thrice-holy name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. *And their kings who are being lead* clearly by divine desire to you, to worship the adorable place in you, whom the immaculate feet of the only begotten Son of God have sanctified through his incarnation by walking on them. And you behold how the kings of the Romans, of Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia<sup>91</sup> and the other Christians went up to Jerusalem enlightened by divine desire for to worship, fulfilling the words of the prophecy: *For the nations*, he says, *and the kings*, when your youth has been renewed like an eagle, *that will not serve you* through the belief in Christ, will perish, not being deemed worthy to go into the kingdom of heaven. *And thereafter the mental nations*, that is the demons together with so-called gods of the pagans, will not be of use on earth once Christ has become a man, but being altered by the power of the crucified they *will be deserted in a desert. And the glory of Lebanon will come to you*, that is, the height of the glory of the cross; for it has been stored up there *with cypress*,

ροῦντες] πληροῦντες TV | 900 τὰ<sup>2</sup> – 906 ἐναπόκειται < SHTV | 901 δουλεύουσιν L<sup>ρ</sup>K | 903 Χριστῷ codd. | 904 χρησιμεύουσιν L<sup>ρ</sup>K | 906 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < LK τὸ δὲ ἐν<sup>2</sup> SHTV καὶ κέδρω < T | 907 δοξάσω SHTV τὸν τόπον δοξάσαι C

<sup>91</sup> Note the differing list of kingdoms shortly before at Γ 821; on the four kings mentioned here, see above, p. 131.

Ἐνταῦθα, Ἐρβάν, ἐρμήνευσας ἀνωτέρω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠκριβωμένως. Πρόσεχε δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ  
 λύσιν τοῦ ῥήματος· Φασὶ τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ κυπαρίσσου καὶ πεύκης καὶ κέδρου  
 910 τὴν σύνθεσιν κεκτήσθαι. Τὸ γὰρ ὄρθιον αὐτοῦ προσὴν ἐκ κυπαρίσσου, τὸ τε πλάγιον  
 αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ πεύκης, τὸ δὲ ὑποπόδιον αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶμαι, κέδρος ἐχρημάτιζεν. Οὕτω  
 τοιγαροῦν πόρρωθεν συνιέντες πνεύματι ἀγίῳ οἱ προφήται προεφήτευσαν, καὶ πρὸ πάν-  
 των Ἡσαΐας περὶ τοῦδε. Ὁ γὰρ τόπος τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πέφυκε τὸ ὑποπόδιον τὸ  
 ἐκ κέδρου, ὅτι δεδοξασται, ἂν θέλης καὶ λίαν ἐπίστασαι κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι *καὶ τὸν*  
 915 *τόπον*, φησί, *τῶν ποδῶν μου δοξάσω* καὶ *πορεύσονται πρὸς σέ δεδοικότες υἱοὶ τῶν ταπει-*  
*νωσάντων σε* Περσῶν καὶ *παροξυνάντων σε* Ἀσσυρίων, τίνες μάγοι ἀνατολῶν βασιλεῖς,  
 ζητοῦντες μετὰ δώρων τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀρίοις Βηθλεέμ τεχθέντα βασιλέα δεδοικότες δι' εὐλά-  
 βειαν. Νόει Ἐρβάν· *Καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἵχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς  
 920 δαπέδοις τοῦ σπηλαίου, ὅπου τὸ βρέφος Χριστὸν ἐν σπαργάνοις ἀνεῦρον, τὴν παρθένον  
 κρατοῦσαν, εἴτε καὶ παραπλησίως ἐν τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις τῶν ἐν σοὶ ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν τῷ  
 ζωοποιῷ μνήματι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ναοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ  
 Λαζάρου καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ, μεταπονηθέντες τὰ πρὸς σέ τῷ τιμίῳ βαπτίσματι οἱ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ πιστεύσαντες, φησὶν, εἴτε καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
 925 τὰ πρῶην τῇ εἰδωλομανίᾳ πεζόμενα καὶ κατὰ σοῦ, Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἀλόγως ἐπιστρατεύ-  
 σαντα καὶ παροξυναντά σε. *Καὶ κληθήσῃ πόλις* χριστιανῆ *κυρίου τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰσραὴλ*,  
 Χριστοῦ τῆς ἄνω Σιών, ἢ πρὶν καλουμένη Ἰουδαία Ἰερουσαλήμ, πόλις Σιών ἢ προφητο-  
 κτόνος τῆς ἐπιγείου, *διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι σε καταλελειμένην* ἐν τῷ τὸν λαόν σου τὸν πρῶην  
 τὸν ἄνομον συνεχῶς παραδίδοσθαι εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, φησί, *καὶ μεμισμημένην* διὰ  
 930 τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ *παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ βοηθῶν σοι.* Ὅτι ἐγὼ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας  
 τοῦ ἐν σοὶ λαοῦ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ, *καὶ θήσω σε ἀγαλλίαμα αἰώνιον*  
 τοῖς τῷ υἱῷ μου πιστεύουσι, καὶ *εὐφροσύνην* πνευματικὴν *γενεαῖς γενεῶν* χριστιανῶν τῶν  
 ἐκ περάτων ἄθροιζομένων πρὸς σέ διὰ τὰ ἄπειρα πλήθη τῶν θαυμάτων, ἅπερ ἐν σοὶ ὁ  
 μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ σαρκὶ διατρίψας ἐτελεσειούργησε. *Καὶ θηλάσεις γάλα*  
 935 *ἐθνῶν* τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ σοὶ δῶρα προσάξωσι, *καὶ*  
*πλοῦτον βασιλέων φάγεσαι*, προφητῶν τὰς προρρήσεις καὶ ἀποστόλων τὰς ἐγγράφους  
 νομοθεσίας τε καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ διδασκάλων τὰ θεόπνευστα λόγια καὶ μαρτύρων τὰς  
 ἐπωφελεῖς διηγήσεις καὶ ὁσίων τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰ τούτων θαυματουργήματα, ἃ πεποιήκα-  
 940 *σιν.* Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ πνευματικοὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τίμιον τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τοῦ ἐπάνω πάντων βασι-  
 λέων καὶ ἀρχόντων χρηματίζοντος. *Καὶ γνώσῃ, ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ σάζων σε* Ἰησοῦς Χρι-

926 πόλις – προφητοκτόνος cf. Mt. 23.37; Lc. 13.34

### C X L K S H T V

908 ἠρμήνευσας C ἠκριβόμενος S δὲ < X θεόδοτον καὶ ἀληθῆ CX | 909 φησὶ C ἐκ] ἐν SHTV  
 κέδρου καὶ πεύκης SHV | 910 ἦν SHTV τὸ τε] καὶ τὸ T | 911 ὑπῆρχεν] ἦν SHTV αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>]  
 τούτου CX, < TV οὕτω – 912 ἀγίῳ < SHTV | 912 πόρρωθεν] πνεύματι CX πνεύματι] πόρρωθεν  
 C, < X οἱ προφήται τῷ ἀγίῳ C οἱ – 913 τοῦδε] πρὸ πάντων τῶν γὰρ προφητῶν Ἡσαΐας περὶ

*pine and cedar-tree together*, he says, *to glorify my holy place, and I will glorify the place of my feet*. Here, Herban, you have given an explanation before, but not exactly. Listen to the true solution of this word: People say that the cross of Christ was composed of cypress, pine and cedar. For its upright part was made from cypress, the level part of pine, and its footstool, I think, was from a cedar. Therefore the prophets, understanding this from far away through the Holy Ghost, prophesied about this, and in particular Isaiah. For the place of Christ's feet was the footstool of cedar, because it was glorified, if you want to understand the implicate meaning of the saying that *I will glorify the place of my feet, and the sons of the Persians that humiliated and the Assyrians that irritated you will come to you with fear*, some magician kings from the East, who searched with offerings for the king who had been born in the region of Bethlehem fearing him with reverence. Understand, Herban: *And they will bow themselves down at your footstool*, that is on the floor of the cave where they found the baby Christ in his nappies and with the Virgin holding him, similarly as they do also at the altars of your churches at the live-giving tomb of Christ, at the place of the Skull and the other temples, at the grave of Lazarus and on the Jordan, for those of their race, who believed thereafter in the Lord Jesus, changed their behaviour towards you through the worthy baptism, he says, as the nations do that formerly were oppressed by idol-madness and foolishly made war against you, Jerusalem, and irritated you. *And you will be called the Christian city of the holy Israel*, of Christ in the upper Zion, you that were called before the Jewish Jerusalem, the prophet-killing city of Zion on earth, *for you were abandoned*, because your former sinful people were repeatedly given to the nations for deportation, he says, *and hated* by me because of the sin of Israel, *and there was no one to help you*. That I turned away my face from you because of the sins of the people living in you, and that *I will make you an eternal exultation* for those who believe in my son and a spiritual gladness from generation to generation of the Christians who have been assembled in you from the ends of the world because of the countless multitude of wonders which the only begotten Son and Word of God accomplished when he stayed in you. *And you will suck the milk of the nations*, the beginning of the perceptible and corporeal goods, which they will bring to you as offerings, *and eat the wealth of kings*, the predictions of the prophets and the written legislations and exhortations of the apostles, the God-inspired words of the teachers, the useful narratives of the martyrs and the lives of his holy men and their miracles which they performed. For these are spiritual kings, and this is their wealth, and the holy and worthy Gospel of Christ himself, the great king

τούτων προεφήτευσεν SHTV (ἐπροεφήτευσεν H) | 913 τὸ<sup>2</sup>] τοῦ SHTV | 914 ἐὰν C S ὄπις < SHTV | 915 φησί post μου C, < SHTV ταπεινωσάντων] πιστευσάντων K | 917 ὄροις LK τεχθέντα βασιλέα < SHTV | 918 προσκυνήσωσιν X | 919 πέδοις LK πεδίοις H εὐρών SH εὐρον TV | 920 εἶτε – 946 ἔθνῶν] ἐὰν γὰρ θέλης τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασαι SHTV | 921 τοῦ Χριστοῦ C ἐν<sup>2</sup> < LK | 922 τῷ<sup>2</sup> < X | 927 σε < LK | 928 τῶν ἀνόμων LK | 934 προσάξουσι XL<sup>PK</sup> | 938 οἱ < CX αὐτοῦ δὲ] τοῦδε LK | 939 ἄγιον] πλούσιον CX

στός, ὁ ἐξαιρούμενός σε, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Πρώην μὲν γάρ, φησίν, ὑπὸ νόμον οὐσα τὸν πατέρα μου μόνον θεὸν ἐγίνωσκες, νυνὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ἕνεκα τῆς σωτηρίας σου, καὶ τὰ προημάρτημένα πάντα ἐν μέσῳ σου ἀποπληροῦντος, γνώση κάμῃ, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ μου εἶς κύριος σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ὁ σώζων σε  
945 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ καθαιρῶν σε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομημάτων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ Φαρισαίων, ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ νέου Ἰσραήλ τοῦ ἐξ ἔθνων. Ταῦτα ἡ πνευματικὴ λύσις τῆς προφητείας, Ἐρβᾶν, ἐν ἣ διαστροφή οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται. Οὐκοῦν σὺ εἶρηκας, ὅτι Ὁὐ δυνήσει, φησίν, ἔνταῦθα ἀπολογήσασθαι· σὺ οὖν καὶ μάλα πρὸς τὰ εἰρημένα ἀρτίως ἀνταποκρίθητι ἡμῖν.”

950 Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν ἐπὶ πλείστην ὥραν διαπληκτιζόμενος ἑνεὸς ἴστατο μηδὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι δυνάμενος, τό τε πλῆθος τὸ δὴ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, φημί τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατησχύνετο σφόδρα. Ἐφη οὖν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῷ Ἐρβᾶν· “Δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν ἀναβάλλει πρὸς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν; Λέγει ὁ λόγος τίς ἐν σοὶ πέφυκε, καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ῥημάτων χρεῖα καὶ οὐκέτι σιγῆς.”

Τῆς δὲ ὥρας προβιβασθείσης ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς. Τῇ ἐπαύριον πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν κροτηθῆναι τὸ συνέδριον· ἡγάπα γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καθέζεσθαι καὶ ἀκούειν τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
955 αὐτῶν διαλέξεις, ἐπειδὴ ἡ μὲν ἀπελογεῖτο περὶ τοῦ νόμου, ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς νέας χάριτος. Πάντων οὖν ἀναχωρησάντων ἐζήτηε τόπον Ἐρβᾶν τοῦ ἀποδράσαι, καὶ οὐ συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγοντες, ὅτι· “Εἰ ἐάσης ἡμᾶς, ἀπολλύμεθα. Μείνον πάντως καὶ εἴ τι εὐδοῶση ὁ θεός· ὁπότεν γὰρ καὶ ἠττηθῶμεν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἔχομεν καὶ ἄλλους τρόπους καὶ οὐ μὴ περιγίνονται ἡμῶν.”

Δ Εἶξαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἐρβᾶν ταῖς παρακλήσεις αὐτῶν, τῇ ἐπαύριον τοῦ βασιλέως προκαθίσαντος ἅμα τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ καὶ πάντων ἀθροισθέντων ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη τῷ Ἐρβᾶν· “Λέγε πρὸς τὴν χθές σοι λυθείσαν προφητείαν καὶ μὴ σίγα. Καλῶς λέλυται, ἢ οὐκ ἀρεστὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου;”

5 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τί ἔχω ἔτι φθέγγασθαι σοῦ κατευδομένου ἐν ἅπασιν; Ἄλλ’ ὅμως ἔχω τί τοῦ λέγειν σοι, εἰ καὶ κομπῶ τινὶ ῥυζήματι φερόμενος διαστρέφεις τὰ ῥήματα· Ἐγνώρισε, φησί, τῷ Μωσῆ κύριος τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ, τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ.”

6 ἐγνώρισε – 7 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> cf. Ps. 102.7

### C X L K S H T V

941 οὐσαν CXLK | 942 ἐγίνωσκε CX ἐνανθρωπήσαντος < C | 943 προημάρτημένα L<sup>o</sup>K ἀποπληροῦντος CXLK | 944 καὶ ὅτι L<sup>o</sup>K | 946 ταῦτα] αὕτη CX ἢ τῆς LK Ἐρβᾶ TV | 947 ἐν ἣ διαστροφή] ἐπιδιαστροφή LK | 948 καὶ μάλα < SHTV ἀρτίως ante οὖν σὺ SHTV | 949 Ἐρβᾶς SHTV ἐπιπληκτιζόμενος SHTV, < C | 950 τό – σφόδρα < SHTV | 951 ἀπόκρισιν + καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίνει C | 952 λέγει – σιγῆς < SHTV ἢ χρεῖα LK | 953 βασιλεὺς + τέλος τῆς τετάρτης διαλέξεως· ἀρχὴ τῆς τετάρτης διαλέξεως C, + δ’ διάλεξις X τῇ δὲ LK ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον ἔπειτα πάλιν κελεύσας SHTV | 954 ὁ βασιλεὺς post 953 ἐκέλευσεν C, < SHTV καθέζεσθαι καὶ < SHTV ἀκούειν τὰς – 955 διαλέξεις] τοῦ ἀκούειν τῆς – διαλέξεως SHTV | 955 ἐπειδὴ – χάριτος < SHTV περι<sup>1</sup>] διὰ C | 956 ἀναχωρησάντων + τοῦ συνεδρίου SHTV συνεχώρου CXLK | 957 αὐτὸν K ὅτι – ἀπολλύμεθα < SHTV | 958 εἴ τι] ὅτι SHTV καὶ<sup>3</sup> < SHTV | 959 μὴ < LK in fine + τέλος τῆς τρίτης διαλέξεως C

who is above all kings and rulers. *And you will understand that I am the Lord Jesus Christ who has saved you and redeemed you, the holy one of Israel.* For formerly, he says, when you were under the law, you acknowledged my Father as the only God, but now, since I, his word, have become a man for your salvation and paid for all your previous sins in your midst, you will know me as well, that I am one Lord at the same time with my Father and together with the Holy Ghost, Jesus Christ who saves you, who purifies you of the sins of the Jews and Pharisees, the holy one of the new Israel which is from the nations. This is the spiritual solution of the prophecy, Herban, in which no distortion will be found. So you have said ‘You will not be able to give an answer here’; now rather you answer to what we have said.”

Herban stood astonished and speechless for a long time being unable to answer, and the crowd which was with him, I say that of the Jews, was greatly ashamed. Now the archbishop said to Herban: “For which reason to you hesitate to answer? Your speech says who is inside you, for here we have need of words and not of silence anymore.”

As the time had passed the king stood up. He ordered that the meeting should be assembled again on the next day, for the king loved to sit and hear the discussions between the one and the other, for one of them argued about the law, the other one about the new grace. Now when all had retired, Herban looked for a place to escape, and the other Jews did not allow him to do so saying: “If you leave us alone, we shall perish. Stay here at any event, and maybe God will find a way for us; for even if we should be defeated by the words, we still have other ways, and they will not overcome us.”

Now Herban yielded to their intercessions, and so on the following day, when the king presided together with the blessed Gregentios and all were assembled, the archbishop said to Herban: “Speak about the prophecy which has been solved for you yesterday and do not be silent. Has it been solved well, or is this not pleasing to your eyes?”

Herban said: “What can I still say, if you are successful in all things? But nevertheless I have something to tell you, even though you will distort my words with some clever barking: The Lord *made known his ways to Moses and his will to the sons of Israel.*”

1 ἔξαντος S παραινέσεων καὶ παρακλήσεων CX αὐτῶν + τέλος τῆς τρίτης διαλέξεως H ante τῆ + τετάρτη διάλεξις τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ Ἑρβᾶν SHTV προκαθίσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως C | 2 ἔφη ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος C τῷ Ἑρβᾶν < X | 3 λυθείσαν σοι χθές T καὶ – 4 σου < SHTV | 5 Ἑρβᾶν λέγει] ὁ Ἑρβᾶν post φθέγγασθαι T ἔτι ἔχω V ἔτι] σοι LK πτύγασθαι V σοῦ] τοῦ CX ἔχω ἔτι τινὰ SHTV | 6 ῥήξιματι H | 7 φησὶ < SHTV κύριος τῷ Μωυσῇ X SHTV τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ < SHTV

10 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ τίς λόγος περὶ τούτου; Ὅτι μὲν ἐγνώρισε τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῷ Μωυσῇ, πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ζῶν κατὰ θεὸν ἐπίσταται, ὅτι δὲ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε, καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις ταῦτα ἐπίστανται.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “*Εὐφρανθήτω Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτόν, καὶ υἱοὶ Σιών ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν.*”

15 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ μὲν προφήτης προετρέψατο ὑμῖν διὰ τῶν θεαρέστων ἔργων εὐφρανθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι θεῷ, ὅστις πέφυκεν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Σιών ἀγαλλιασθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ὅστις πρόσεστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἠσχημονήσατε πταίσαντες. Ἰδόντες γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν καὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐρχόμενον πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἰρήκατε· *Ὁὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος, δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, διαρρήξωμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ.* Ἄλλ’ οὖν ταῦτα  
20 δράσασι ὑμῖν ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐπεγέλασεν ὑμῖν, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἐξεμυκτήρισεν ὑμᾶς καὶ καθεῖλε τὴν Σιών καὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ διεσκόρπισεν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνέστη τριήμερος ἐμμάρτυρον ποιήσας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν ἀνάστασιν, κάκειθεν ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμπροσθεν μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὑμῶν μὴ βουλομένων δοξάζεται εἰς πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ μετὰ  
25 ταῦτα μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι καὶ *κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν* τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν. Οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, ἄθλιοι καὶ ταλαίπωροι, ὅτι τότε *ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν.* Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀνθ’ ὅσον οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἠρνήσασθε αὐτὸν καὶ ἔπι ἀρνεῖσθε,  
30 *ἐκβληθήσεσθε ἔξω εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον καὶ εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “*Ἀδήλων ῥημάτων καὶ κριμάτων τίς ἄρα οἴσεται τὴν πείραν καὶ δήλωσιν; Τίς δὲ ἐστιν, ὃς πληροφορήσει τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὅτι πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ σου τὰ ῥήματα; Τίς δὲ καὶ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου κατὰ τὸν Σιράχ, ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ἢ τίς τὰ ἀπόρρητα οἶδεν τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ; Οὐ μὲν, οὐδαμῶς. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ πλοῦσια ῥήματα προβάλλει ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου, ψεύσασθαι οὐ δύναμαι· πλὴν βαρὺ μοι πέφυκε, μᾶλλον δὲ φορτικὸν τοῦ πεισθῆναι σοὶ καὶ γενέσθαι ὡσπερ σύ.*”

11 εὐφρανθήτω – 12 αὐτῶν Ps. 149.2 | 18 οὗτός – αὐτόν Mt. 21.38; Mc. 12.7; Lc. 20.14  
διαρρήξωμεν – 19 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> cf. Ps. 2.3 | 25 κριτῆς – νεκρῶν Acta 10.42 τοῦ – 26 αὐτῶν cf. Rom. 2.6 et al. | 26 ἥξουσιν – 28 οὐρανῶν Mt. 8.11; Lc. 13.28 ἀπὸ – 27 θαλάσσης Ps. 106.3 | 30 ἐκβληθήσεσθε – 31 ὀδόντων Mt. 8.12, 18.8 | 34 τίς<sup>1</sup> – ἐγένετο Is. 40.13

### C X L K S H T V

8 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ὁ λόγος C μὲν < SHTV ἐγνώρισε post 9 αὐτοῦ SHTV | 9 πᾶς – ἐπίσταται ante 8 ὅτι SHTV τοῖς υἱοῖς] οἱ υἱοὶ L<sup>pc</sup>K | 10 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < LK | 11 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει S<sup>del</sup>, < HTV Ἰσραὴλ ± 9 τὰ – ἐφυλάξατε T αὐτόν – 14 ποιήσαντι < SHTV | 14 θεῷ] αὐτῷ TV | 15 ἐστιν SHTV Ἰησοῦς < H ὁ Χριστός SH | 16 τοῦ θεοῦ < V ἠσχημήσατε SHTV παίσαντες TV | 17 καὶ – ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 18 διαρρήξωμεν C διαρρήξωμεν – 22 ἔθνεσιν

The archbishop said: “And what is the problem with this? That he made known his ways to Moses, everyone knows who lives in accordance with God, and that he made his will known to the sons of Israel and you did not keep it, even those in the under-world know that.”

Herban said: *“Let Israel rejoice in him who made him, and let the sons of Zion be joyful in their king.”*

The archbishop said: “The prophet gave you the order to rejoice by works pleasing to God in the God who has made you, who is the word of God, and the sons of Zion to be joyful in their king, who is Jesus Christ, the human shape of God’s word. But you have disgraced yourself from both sides by your sins. For seeing your God and beholding your king, who came to you in the flesh, you said: *‘This is the heir, come let us kill him, and also let us break his bonds and throw his yoke away from us.’*<sup>92</sup> But now when you did this, the one who dwells in heaven laughed at you, and the Lord Jesus Christ mocked you, destroyed Zion and Jerusalem and scattered you from there into all nations. And he rose on the third day making his holy ascension in the presence of witnesses, and was assumed from there into heaven before witnesses, and although you do not wish this, he is glorified because of all this in all the ends of the world; and after this he will come *as a judge of the living and the dead*, to repay everyone according to his works. Woe to you, you wretched and miserable, for then *they will come from east and west and north and south and from the sea, and will recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven*. But since you who believe to be the sons of the kingdom did not believe into the word of God, but denied him and still do deny him, *you will be expelled into the outer darkness and into the eternal fire; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*”

Herban said: “Who will undertake the experience and announcement of unclear words and judgements? Who will assure my heart that your words are faithful and true? *Who knows the mind of the Lord* according to Sirach,<sup>93</sup> *or who has become his counsellor*, or who knows the secrets of his wisdom? In no way, never. For that you poured forth rich words out of your heart, I cannot be mistaken; but still it is hard for me, or rather a heavy burden, to be convinced by you and to become like you.”

< SHTV | 20 ἐπεγγέλασεν LK | 21 τὴν<sup>1</sup>] τῆς CX τὴν<sup>2</sup>] τῆς CX | 22 ἅπασιν LK εὐμάρτυρον TV αὐτοῦ < SHTV | 23 τὸν < C ἐνώπιον TV | 24 τὰ πέρατα πάντα TV | 25 μέλλει + ὁ θεός C τοῦ] καὶ SHTV | 26 ἀπ’ X | 27 βορρᾶ καὶ δυσμῶν SHTV | 28 βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν V | 29 ὅσον] ὧν SHTV ἄλλ’ T ἀρνεῖσθε T ἀρνήσασθε V | 30 ἐκβληθήσετε CX SH ἔξω < SHTV ἐκεῖ – 31 ὁδόντων < SHTV | 32 λέγει < TV καὶ δήλωσιν < SHTV | 33 πιστὰ καὶ < SHTV | 34 κατὰ τὸν Σιράχ post αὐτοῦ SHTV αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶ V ἐγένετο < SHTV | 35 ὅτι – ῥήματα < LK ὅτι – 36 πλὴν < SHTV | 36 βαρὺν SH δέ μοι SHTV μᾶλλον δὲ φορτικὸν < SHTV

<sup>92</sup> The text is adapted to the interpretation as an allusion to Jesus by putting the words *their bonds* and *their yoke* in the singular.

<sup>93</sup> The reason for the attribution to Jesus Sirach is unclear.



Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ καὶ νῦν βαρὺ σοι τοῦτο πέφυκε καὶ φορτικὸν τοῦ μὴ ὑπεῖ-  
 40 ξαι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκ τῶν κατ’ εὐθύ, καθὰ φάσκεις, διαμαρτύρομαί σοι ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα  
 αὕτη, ὅτι ὀπηνίκα σου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας δεσμήσωσι καὶ ἐμβιβάσωσί σε εἰς ἀτελευτήτους  
 κολάσεις ἐκείνας οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄγγελοι, τὸ τῆνικαῦτα καὶ μάλα φανήσεται σοι δεινότερον  
 καὶ βαρύτερον πολλὰ μου τῶν ἀρτίως ῥημάτων μεμνημένων καὶ μηδὲν ὀφελούντων.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄφες περὶ τούτων καὶ λέξον μοι ἐνταῦθα, περὶ ὧν ἐπερωτῶ σε, εἰ  
 45 ἀλλότριος <ἐσμέν> θεοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἐπήγαγεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο Δαυιδ ὁ προφή-  
 της φάσκων, ὅτι *Οὐκ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγ-  
 καταλείψει; Καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ, Σὺ ἀναστάς οἰκτιρήσῃς τὴν Σιών, ὅτι καιρὸς τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι  
 αὐτήν, ὅτι ἦκει καιρὸς, ὅτι εὐδόκησαν οἱ δοῦλοι σου τοὺς λίθους αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν χοῦν αὐ-  
 τῆς οἰκτιρήσῃσι καὶ φοβηθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, τὸν ἀνακαινισμὸν ἡμῶν  
 50 πρόδηλον ἐκ τῶν ἀπροσδοκίως θεασάμενα τῆς Σιών φημί καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ  
 πάντες, φησὶν, οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς τὴν δόξαν σου, καθὼς καὶ ἐπάγει, ὅτι οἰκοδομήσει  
 κύριος, φησί, τὴν Σιών καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἡ αὐτὴ Σιών πρόδηλον ἔκτοτε ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ.”*

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ὀμιλεῖς, εὐ οἶδα, καὶ τὰ μὴ συντείνοντά  
 σοι παρατρέχεις. Ἀλλὰ γε οὐ λήθη παραδράμῃς ἐνταῦθα τῆς ἡμετέρας μετριότητος τὴν  
 55 διάνοιαν ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς χάριτι Χριστοῦ τὴν θεῖαν ταύτην γραφὴν, καὶ τὸ  
 κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐναντιωθῆναι σοι οὐκ ἄπορον ἡμῖν χρηματίσειεν. Ὅτι μὲν λελάληκεν ὁ  
 προφήτης τὸ *οὐκ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγκα-  
 ταλείπει*, καγὼ ἐπίσταμαι· ἀλλ’ οὖν τὸ *ἕως οὗ* σὺ μὲν παρεσιώπησας, ἐγὼ δὲ παρεκφανῶ.  
 Ἔως τότε, φησὶν, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, *ἕως οὗ δικαιοσύνη ἐπιστρέψει*  
 60 *εἰς κρίσιν καὶ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῆς πάντες οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ*. Οὐκοῦν δίδαξον αὐτὸς τίς πέφυ-  
 κεν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἢ τίς ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθι ἐπιστρέψει εἰς κρίσιν, καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐχόμενοι αὐτῆς  
 πάντες οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐθαύμασα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα δυστρεβλήσης, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐγκαλούμε-  
 νος περὶ ἄλλων ἔρευνην ἐπήγαγες. Τὸ *ἕως οὗ δικαιοσύνη ἐπιστρέψει εἰς κρίσιν* περὶ τῆς  
 65 καθολικῆς κρίσεως πάντως λέγει τῆς ἐπὶ συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τοῦ νόμου μελλούσης γίνεσθαι, καθότι ἕως τότε, φησὶν, *οὐκ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν*  
*αὐτοῦ*, καθότι ἔκτοτε μέλλει εἶναι ἀειδίως μετ’ αὐτοῦ.”

45 οὐκ<sup>1</sup> – 46 καταλείπει Ps. 93.14 | 46 σὺ – 48 κυρίου Ps. 101.14–16 | 49 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 52 θεοῦ Ps.  
 101.16–17 | 59 ἕως – 60 καρδίᾳ Ps. 93.15

### C X L K S H T V

38 ὁ – 43 καὶ < SHTV ἔφη < C | 39 κατ’ εὐθύ] κατὰ θεοῦ C καθὰ σὺ C καὶ X | 40 σου < LK εἰς  
 τὰς L | 41 καὶ μᾶλλον post σοι C | 42 μεμνημένῳ – ὀφελούντι LK | 43 μοι δὲ SHV δέ μοι T σε  
 ἐπερωτῶ SHTV | 44 ἀλλότριος SHTV ἐσμέν supplevi δι’ ἣν ἐπήγαγεν τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ προφήτης  
 Δαυιδ περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου C τοῦτο < X Δαυιδ ὁ προφήτης] ὁ Δαυιδ SHTV | 46 ὅτι – 48  
 οἰκτιρήσωσι < SHTV | 47 ἠυδόκησαν C καὶ – 48 οἰκτιρήσωσι < CX | 48 οἰκτιρήσουσι L<sup>PK</sup> τὸν  
 – 52 θεοῦ < SHTV | 49 τῆς<sup>1</sup> – τῆς<sup>2</sup>] τὴν – τὴν LK | 50 φησὶν post γῆς C | 51 καὶ – Σιών<sup>2</sup> < LK  
 τοῦ θεοῦ] αὐτοῦ C | 53 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C | 54 τῆς –

The archbishop said: “Now even if it is hard and a heavy burden for you not to cede to the word of truth immediately, as you say, I assure you that on the day, when the angels of fire will bind your hands and feet and will put you through those endless punishments, it will then appear to you much more terrible and hard than my present words, of which I remind you without success.”

Herban said: “Leave this aside and tell me here about the things I ask you, whether we are foreign to the God of Israel. For what reason did the prophet David introduce this word, saying that *The Lord will not cast off his people and will not forsake his inheritance?* And elsewhere, *You will arise and have mercy upon Zion, for the time to have mercy, yea, the set time has come, for your servants found pleasure in her stones and have mercy upon her dust, and the nations will fear the name of the Lord,* clearly because they see our unexpected renewal, of Zion, I say, and of Jerusalem. *And all the kings of the earth,* he says, *your glory,* as he goes on, *that the Lord will rebuild Zion,* he says, *and the same Zion will henceforth clearly be seen in the glory of God.*”

The archbishop said: “You speak of those things useful to you, I know well, and pass over those that do not contribute to your argument. But you will not pass over the mind of my modesty here silently; for we also know this divine Scripture by the grace of Christ, and it should not be difficult for us to oppose you from face to face. That the prophet said *The Lord will not cast off his people and will not forsake his inheritance,* I know as well; but now you passed over the words *until then* in silence, whereas I will bring them to light. The Lord, he says, will not forsake his people, *until righteousness will return to judgement, and all the upright in heart will possess it.* So teach yourself who is righteousness or who will return on the spot to judgement, and who all the upright in heart are who possess it.”

Herban said: “I wonder that you do not pervert my words here as well, but having been accused you went to inquire about other things. At all events, he says *until righteousness will return to judgement* about the general judgement which will be carried out at the end of this world by the God of the law, for *until then the Lord will not cast off his people,* for henceforth he will be with them forever.”

55 ἐπιστάμεθα < SHTV | 55 Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ V τὴν θείαν αὐτήν] τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτήν τὴν H | 56 χρηματίσει SHTV | 58 παρασιώπησας L παρεκφανῶς SHTV | 59 τότε] τόγε CXLK ἐκαταλείπει S | 60 οἱ ἐχόμενοι SHTV διδάξον] δεῖξον CX | 61 αὐτόθι] κατευθὺ SHTV | 63 λέγει < TV ἐναυθθα] αὐτὰ C διαστρεβλήσης T ἀλλὰ – 64 ἐπήγαγες < SHTV ἐγκαλοῦμεν LK + καὶ σὺ L<sup>o</sup>K | 64 ἐπήγαγες] ἐπεῖδες δεῖξαι CX τὸ δὲ SHTV δικαιοσύνη < K τῆς < K | 65 πάντως κρίσεως SHTV τούτου] τοῦ CXL τῆς K, < TV τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < X H | 66 τοῦ < C γενέσθαι C TV | 67 καθότι < SHTV

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐτε πτέρναν γλυφίδος συνήκας τοῦ ῥήματος· πῶς γὰρ και  
 τοῦτο πεποιήκας τυφλώτων ἅπαξ και μὴ ἔχων τὰς θείας ἀκτίνας τῆς χάριτος φωταγω-  
 70 γούσης τὰς νοητὰς κόρας τῶν ὀμμάτων; Τὸ δὲ *Ἔως οὐ δικαιοσύνη ἐπιστρέφει εἰς κρίσιν  
 και ἐχόμενοι αὐτῆς πάντες οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ* οὕτως ἐρμηνεύεται, ὄν τρόπον εἶπεν ἐκεῖ  
 Ἰακώβ ὁ πατριάρχης προφητεύων, ὅτι *Οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδα οὐδέ ἠγουμένους ἐκ  
 τοῦ μηροῦ αὐτοῦ, ἕως οὐ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται, και αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.* Οὕτω παραπλη-  
 75 σίως και αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα λελάληκεν· *Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει,* φησί, *κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ και  
 τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀπώσῃται,* μέχρις οὐ δικαιοσύνη ἀσχέτῳ φαιδρυνόμενος ὁ  
 λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιστρέφῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι παραγένηται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν σαρ-  
 κωθῆναι τοῦ και κρίσει δικαίᾳ καταπαῦσαι τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον και ἀναστήσαι τὸν νέον  
 τῆς χάριτος. *Και ἐχόμενος αὐτῆς,* τῆς θείας πρόδηλον κρίσεως, *πάντες οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ καρ-  
 80 διᾷ* εἴτε ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, εἴτε και οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν Χριστῷ πιστεύειν μέλλοντες, συνήσαντες και  
 νοήσαντες εὐσεβοφρόνως αὐτῷ κολληθήσονται και πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ, και τότε ἀπώσεται  
 και καταλείπει κύριος τὸν ποτε λαὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπστήσαντα τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ.  
 Τὸ δὲ *Σὺ ἀναστάς οἰκτηρίσης τὴν Σιών* περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ τοῦτο εἶρηκεν· ἀναστάς,  
 φησί, κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ἐκ τῆς παρθένου οἰκτηρίσης τὴν Σιών, τοῦτ’ ἔστι σπλαγ-  
 χησθεῖς μεταποιήσης τὴν αἰσθητὴν Σιών εἰς πνευματικὴν και καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτε ὁ  
 85 ἀρμόδιος καιρὸς ἐπιστῆ, ὅτε ἦξῃ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτι *ἠνύδοκῃσαν,* φησίν, *οἱ δοῦλοι  
 σου, κύριε, τοὺς λίθους αὐτῆς* προφήται και ἀπόστολοι και Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐξε-  
 λέξαντο και ἠτοίμασαν αὐτὸν λαὸν περιούσιον, ἥτοι παρασκευάσαντες τοὺς ἱεράρχας και  
 ἱερεῖς και ἀρχιερεῖς και διακόνους και ψάλτας και ἀναγνώστας ὡς λίθους ἐντίμους εἰς  
 90 οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Και τὸν χοὺν αὐτῆς οἰκτηρήσωσιν,* τὸ κοινὸν πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ,  
 φησίν, εὐσυμπαθῆτως ποιμανοῦσι. *Και φοβηθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου* πεπι-  
 στευκότα τῷ μονογενῇ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πρόδηλον, *και πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς τὴν δόξαν  
 σου,* φησίν. Και μὴν οὐχ ὄραξ, Ἐρβάν, ὅπως φόβῳ και τρόμῳ αἰδοῦνται οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς  
 γῆς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ σταυρωθέντος; Ἔστιν ὅτι πάντως ὄραξ, *ὅτι οἰκοδομήσει κύριος τὴν  
 95 Σιών,* φησίν, οὐ κτίσει, ἀλλ’ οἰκοδομήσει, ὄν τρόπον ἐκεῖ λελάληκεν, ὅτι *Και ἔπλασεν ὁ  
 θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοὺν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς,* και ἔπειτα ἐπήγαγεν μετὰ πνα ἄλλα, *Και  
 ᾠκοδόμησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πλευράν, ἣν ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα,* τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἦν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Ἀδάμ, οὕτω παραπλησίως εἶρηκεν και ἐνταῦθα· ἐκτίσθη μὲν γὰρ πρώην ἢ αἰσθητῇ  
 Σιών παρὰ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων δεσπότηου, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἢ συναγωγῇ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ  
 ἀρτίως ἢ νέα Σιών, ἢ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ τοῦ ἀμωμήτου αὐτοῦ και ἁγίου

72 οὐκ – 73 ἐθνῶν Gen. 49.10 | 74 οὐκ – 79 καρδίᾳ cf. Ps. 93.14–15 | 82 σὺ – 94 Σιών Ps.  
 101.14–17 | 94 και – 95 γῆς Gen. 2.7 | 95 και<sup>2</sup> – 97 Ἀδάμ Gen. 2.22

C X L K S H T V | 93 τοῦ L]

68 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S τοῦ ῥήματος συνήκας T  
 ῥήματος + ἀλλ’ οὐν οὔτε ὡς ἔπος, τοῦτ’ ἔστι οὔτε μὴν κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἠδυνήθης ἄψασθαι τοῦ  
 ἐχειρήματος CX (ὡς) ἕως C) | 69 πεποιήκας] τετόληκας SHTV τὰς < SHTV ἀκτίνας τῆς  
 θείας SHTV φωταγωγούσης – 70 ὀμμάτων < SHTV | 71 ἐρμηνεύεται οὕτως SHTV ὄν – ἐκεῖ]

The archbishop said: “You did not understand even an arrow’s end of the word: For how have you done this, being blind for once not having the divine rays of grace, which brings light to the mental eyes? *Until righteousness will return to judgement, and all the upright in heart will possess it* is explained in the same way, in which the patriarch Jacob prophesied there: *No ruler will be missing from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes to whom it belongs, and he is the expectation of the nations.* In a way similar to this he spoke here as well: *The Lord will not forsake his people* he says, *and will not cast off his inheritance*, until the word of God will return from heaven, bright with uncontrolable righteousness, that is, he will come to earth to become flesh, to put an end to the old law by his righteous judgement, and to raise the new one of his grace. *And all the upright in heart* of the Jews, or also of those who will believe in Christ from the nations, *will possess it*, that is clearly the divine judgement, and after they will have understood and perceived, they will join him and believe in him with a faithful mind, and then the Lord will cast off and forsake his former people Israel, since they did not believe in his resurrection. *You will arise and have mercy upon Zion* he said about the Lord Jesus: Having risen, he says, in his humanity from the Virgin, you will have mercy upon Zion, that is, feeling pity you will turn the perceptible Zion into the spiritual and universal church when the suitable time will be there, when in truth the time will have come that *your servants found pleasure in her stones*; the prophets and apostles and John the Baptist have chosen and prepared him as his elected people, that is, they provided the hierarchs, priests, archpriests, deacons, singers and lecturers as precious stones to build the church. *And they have mercy upon her dust*, they will compassionately tend the crowd, the common people, he says. *And the nations will fear the name of the Lord*, clearly because they believe in the only begotten Son of God, *and all the kings of the earth your glory*, he says. And so, Herban, do you not see how the kings of the earth stand in awe of the glory of the crucified, in fear and trembling? Actually you see at all events *that the Lord will build Zion*, he says, not create, but build her, just in the way he said there, *And God formed man taking dust of the ground*, and thereafter he went on after some other words, *And God built the rib which he took for the woman*, that is which he took *from Adam*, in such a way he spoke similarly here as well; for before the perceptible Zion was created by the Master of all things, that is the congregation of Israel, and now the new Zion, the church from the nations, was built for the

εἶπεν γὰρ SHTV | 72 προφητεύων ὅτι < SHTV οὐδὲ] καὶ SHTV | 73 οὕτω – 76 οὐρανοῦ < SHTV | 76 τοῦτ’ ἔστι + ἕως οὐ ἔλθῃ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ SHTV παραγίνεται C | 77 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SHTV παλαιὸν] πάλα S<sup>ac</sup>TV καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 81 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 78 ἐχόμενοι LK | 79 οἱ τε – οἱ τε LK καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K οἱ < LK μέλλοντες πιστεύειν C | 80 νοήσαντες] νῦν εἶσαντες LK | 84 πνευματικὴν καὶ < SHTV ὅτε – 90 ποιμανοῦσι < SHTV | 85 εὐδόκησαν LK | 87 αὐτῷ LK παρεσκεύασαν LK | 89 οἰκτηρήσουσι L<sup>pc</sup>K | 91 μονογενῆ] ὀνόματι τοῦ μονογενοῦς C, + αὐτοῦ K, < TV υἱοῦ C | 92 Ἐρβᾶν < V | 93 ὅτι<sup>1</sup> < SHTV | 94 φησὶν post κύριος K ὅτι < SHTV | 95 ἄλλα – 96 πλευράν < C | 97 Ἀδάμ] Ἀδᾶδ (= ἄΔαυιδ) K<sup>ac</sup> καὶ < K T ἐκτίσθη – 106 ἀνταποκριθῆτι < SHTV μὲν < K

100 ὀνόματος, ἐν ἧ ἐφάνη τὸ πρῶν διὰ σαρκώσεως ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρτί-  
ως δὲ φαίνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος αὐτοῦ.  
Φανήσεται δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀστραπὴ  
φοβερά, ὀπηνίκα ἤξη μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ κρῖναι  
ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν δηλοῖ  
105 τὸ καὶ ὀφθήσεται ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. Πρὸς ταῦτα οὖν, Ἐρβᾶν, εἴ τις σοι λόγος, ἀνταπο-  
κρίθητι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μετὰ σοῦ ὁμιλοῦσιν ἡμῖν τίς λόγος ἀνταρκέσει; Πλὴν ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ ὁ  
προφήτης, ὅτι Ἔθνος ἀπολωλεκός, φησί, βουλήν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη.  
Καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἡ χεὶρ σου ἔθνη ἐξωλόθρευσε, καὶ Διασκόρπισον ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους  
110 θέλοντα, καὶ Μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, γινώτε ἔθνη καὶ ἠττάσθε, καὶ ὅτι Μὴ δὸς ἐτέρω τὴν δόξαν  
σου, μήτε τὰ συμφέροντά σοι ἔθνη ἀλλοτρίω. Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ πολλάκις εὐρίσκομεν τὸν  
θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν διὰ στόματος τῶν προφητῶν, ὡς τὸ Ἐπετίμησας  
τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἀπώλετο ὁ ἀσεβής, καὶ ὅτι Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐκύκλωσάν με καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι  
κυρίου ἡμυνάμην αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Οὐκοῦν τί μεγάλα φρυάττει ἔθνος ὃν καὶ ἐξ ἔθνῶν  
115 καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔθνῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντιμαχόμενος;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀστοχῆσας, Ἐρβᾶν, τοῦ εὐθυβόλως ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὰ  
ἐπερωτώμενα πρὸς ὕβρεις ἐτράπησιν καὶ πρὸς ὄνειδη, καίτοι τὰ μὲν κακίζοντα ῥήματα εἰς  
τὸ μέσον προθέμενος τὰ ἐπαινοῦντα δὲ καὶ εὐλογοῦντα ὀπίσω σου ἀπαιώρησας. Οὐκοῦν  
ἄκουσον τί περὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν κελεύουσιν οἱ προφῆται· Εὐλογεῖτε, ἔθνη, τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν,  
120 λέγοντες, καὶ ἀκουπίσατε τὴν φωνὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν  
ἔθνεσι, κύριε, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρω· Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, φησὶν, ὅσα ἐποίη-  
σας, ἤξουσι καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι  
μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια. Καὶ ἀλλαχόσε, Πρὸς σέ, φησὶ, πᾶσα σὰρξ ἤξει, καὶ  
κατωτέρω· Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κροτήσατε χεῖρας, ἀλαλάξετε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως,  
125 καὶ ἀνωτέρω· Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐτέρωθι· Ἐξεγερθήσομαι ὄρθρου,  
ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν λαοῖς, κύριε, ψαλῶ σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν. Καὶ ὁ Ἡσαίας δὲ καθαρῶς  
προφητεῦει καὶ παρακελεύεται ἀρθῆναι πάντα τὰ ὑμῶν καὶ παραδοθῆναι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἔθνε-

103 τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – 104 αὐτοῦ cf. Ps. 61.13; Rom. 2.6; 2 Tim. 4.1; 1 Pet. 4.5; Ap. 20.13, 22.12 | 105 καὶ  
– αὐτοῦ Ps. 101.17 | 108 ἔθνος – ἐπιστήμη Deut. 32.28 | 109 ἢ – ἐξωλόθρευσε Ps. 43.3 διασκόρ-  
πισον – 110 θέλοντα Ps. 67.31 | 110 μεθ’ – ἠττάσθε Is. 8.8 μὴ – 111 ἀλλοτρίω Baruch 4.3 |  
112 ἐπετίμησας – 113 ἀσεβής Ps. 9.6 | 113 πάντα – 114 αὐτοὺς Ps. 117.10 | 119 εὐλογεῖτε – 120  
αὐτοῦ Ps. 65.8 | 120 ἐξομολογήσομαί – 121 ψαλῶ Ps. 17.50 | 121 πάντα – 123 θαυμάσια Ps.  
85.9–10 | 123 πρὸς – ἤξει Ps. 64.3 | 124 πάντα – ἀγαλλιάσεως Ps. 46.2 | 125 αἰνεῖτε – ἔθνη Ps.  
116.1 ἐξεγερθήσομαι – 126 ἔθνεσιν Ps. 56.9–10

C X K S H T V | 117 μὲν [L

102 φανήσεται – αὐτοῦ < C | 105 οὖν] ὦ C Ἐρβᾶν < K | 107 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ὁμιλοῦντες  
ἡμεῖς CX ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ] τί ἐνταῦθα λέγει SHTV | 108 ὅτι – 109 ἐτέρωθι < SHTV ἀπολελωκός καὶ  
C βουλή CX βουλήν αὐτῶν K | 109 ἐξωλόθρευσαν C διασκόρπισεν S διεσκόρπισεν TV |  
110 θέλοντας SH ὁ θεός < STV καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 111 ἀλλοτρίω < SHTV | 112 διὰ < T | 113 τοῖς < SHTV

glory of God, his blameless and holy name, in which he appeared before by his incarnation in the glory of his wonders, and now appears to us, who believe in the glory of his holy name. He will appear to us thereafter as well from heaven in the glory of his father like a frightful bolt of lightning, when he will come with his holy angels at the end of all times *to judge the living and the dead and to repay everyone according to his works*. Therefore this is the meaning of *and will be seen in his glory*. Now answer to this, Herban, if you have a word to say.”

Herban said: “Which word will be sufficient when speaking to you? Save that there the prophet said, *They are a nation that has lost counsel, neither is there any knowledge in them*. And elsewhere, *Your hand has destroyed the nations, and Scatter you the people who want war, and God with us, know this, you nations, and be defeated, and Do not give your glory to anyone else, nor the things useful for you to a foreign nation*. And we find the holy God often at other places rebuking the nations through the mouth of the prophets, for example, *You have rebuked the nations and the faithless has perished, and All nations have surrounded me, and I kept them off by the name of the Lord* and so on. So why do you boast greatly, being a nation and from a nation and fighting against me for perished nations?”

The archbishop said: “Having failed, Herban, to answer accurately to the things I asked, you have turned to insults and reproaches, and indeed you brought the insulting words in our midst and left the praising and blessing ones behind you. So hear which orders the prophets give about the nations, saying: *Praise, you nations, our God and make the word of his praise be heard, and I will praise you among the nations, Lord, and will sing unto your name, and elsewhere All nations, he says, whom you have made, will come and worship before you and glorify your name, for you are great and do wonders*. And at another place, *To you, he says, all flesh will come, and thereafter,<sup>94</sup> All you nations, clap your hands, rejoice unto God with the voice of joy, and above, Praise the Lord, all you nations, and elsewhere, I will wake up early in the morning and praise you among the people, Lord, I will sing to you among the nations*. And Isaiah prophesies clearly and exhorts to take away all that is yours, and to give you to us nations. And

ἀσεβής ± τὸ ὄνομα Η και<sup>2</sup> – 114 ἐξῆς < SHTV | 116 ὁ < T ἔφη < TV Ἐρβᾶ Κ ἀποκρίνεσθαι Η | 117 πρὸς<sup>2</sup> < Η μὲν τὰ TV | 118 προυθέμενος CL δὲ < SHTV σου] που LK ἀπώρησας CXLK | 119 κελύουσιν] και φθέγγεται λέγουσιν CXLK ἡμῶν < C | 120 ἐνεξομολογήσομαί σοι SH | 121 και<sup>1</sup> – ψαλῶ < SHTV και<sup>2</sup> ± τῷ ὀνόματι Η ὄσα] ἃ CXLK | 122 και<sup>2</sup> – 123 ἦξει < SHTV | 125 ἀνωτέρω] τὸ SHTV και<sup>2</sup> – 126 ἔθνεσιν < SHTV ἐν ἐτέρωθι C | 126 λαοίς] ἔθνεσι LK δὲ – 127 και<sup>1</sup> < SHTV | 127 τὰ < CXLK

<sup>94</sup> If we suppose that *κατωτέρω* and *ἀνωτέρω* (in the following line) indicate the place of the quotations within the Book of Psalms, these words are used in the opposite sense of what we should expect, namely as ‘above’ and ‘below’; see also notes 30, 40 and 113. — For a similar use of *ἀνωτέρω* in the sense of ‘after’ see below, Δ 920.

- σιν. Καὶ πρόσεχε ἐνταῦθα τοῖς λεγομένοις· Τάδε ποιήσει κύριος ὁ θεός, φησί, *πάσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο*· ποιήσει αὐτοῖς *πότον ἐδεσμάτων*, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ τίμιον αἶμα,
- 130 ὄπερ πίνομεν, εἰς πότον παρέξει, καὶ τὸ ἄχραντον σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔδεσμα δῶ, πότον τρυγῶν, ὃν παρέξει αὐτοῖς. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθινὴ ἄμπελος, καὶ τοὺς βότρυας τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ τοὺς νοητοὺς ἡμεῖς οὖν τὰ ἔθνη τρυγήσαντες καὶ θλίψαντες εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ποτιζόμεθα εὐφροσύνην. *Πίνονται* γάρ φησιν *εὐφροσύνην, πίνονται οἶνον* τὸν τῆς ἐπουρανοῦ βασιλείας γλυκασμόν, *χρῖσονται*
- 135 *μύρω* τῷ τοῦ τιμίου βαπτίσματος. Καὶ παραδοθήσονται παραδόσει ἀψευδῆ *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ*, χριστιανικοῖς χαρακτήρσι σέβειν τὸ θεῖον πρόδηλον, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα αὕτη καθορᾶται Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ Σιών πεπλησμένη χριστιανῶν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ προφήτου· *Παραδόσει*, φησί, *παραδοθήσονται* τὰ ἔθνη *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ* τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ *καταπίεται ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ*, τοῦτ' ἔστιν πιανθήσονται νοητῶς αἱ ρίζαι τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ
- 140 ὕδατι τῆς πίστεως Χριστοῦ ῥαντιζόμεναι. Καὶ ἐδρασθῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσάλυτον θεμέλιον Χριστὸν εὐλαβούμενοι καὶ κατασχῶσιν καὶ τὴν τελείαν κυρίαν Σιών καὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Καὶ ἴνα μή σοι δόξη, καθότι ἑαυτῷ βοηθῶν ταῦτα λέγω, ἐπάγει φάσκων ὁ προφήτης· *Παράδος*, φησί, *ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἢ γὰρ βουλή αὕτη παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. Ποῖα πάντα λέγει παράδος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, τίνοι δὲ παρακελεύεται καὶ λέγει, παράδος;
- 145 Τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαὴλ ἢ θεῖα βουλή παρακελεύεται· αὐτὸς γάρ ἦν τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου τῆς μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰσραὴλ μεσίτης, αὐτῷ φάσκει ὅτι 'Παράδος τούτους', φησίν, 'ἔξωσον καὶ τοῖς δὲ παράδος' τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔκβαλε ὡς ἡ Σάρρα ποτὲ τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τοὺς χριστιανοὺς εἰσάγαγε. Παράδος αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, παράδος τὴν Σιών, παράδος πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίοις, παράδος τὸν ναόν, παράδος τὰς προφητείας, τὴν Παροιμίαν, τὸν Ψαλτήρα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα μυστήρια τῶν Ἑβραίων, παράδος τοῖς χριστιανοῖς τὰ τε αἰσθητά', φησί, 'καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς νοητὰ χρηματίζοντα' ἢ γὰρ βουλή αὕτη', φησίν, 'οὐ παρὰ ἀγγέλων οὔτε παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ κυρίου ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.' Ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούων, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, τολμᾶς ὄνειδίζειν ἔθνη, ἅπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐκάλεσε καὶ τὰ σὰ πάντα αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε σε ἐκδιώξας ἀπὸ τῆς κληρονομίας σου; Σεαυτὸν
- 155 μᾶλλον ταλάνισον καὶ ὄνειδισον, ὅτι τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ ἐξεπέσατε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης

128 τάδε – 129 ἐδεσμάτων Is. 25.6 | 131 ἀληθινὴ ἄμπελος cf. Io. 15.1 | 133 πίνονται – 139 τούτῳ Is. 25.6–7 | 143 παράδος – 144 ἔθνη ibid. | 147 ὡς – Ἰσμαὴλ cf. Gen. 21.9–21

#### C X L K S H T V

128 ἐνταῦθα < SHTV ποιήσειεν CXLK κύριος < H φησί < TV | 129 πόσων K ποτὸν SHTV | 130 πότον<sup>1</sup>] ποτὸν SHTV δῶ] δῆη SHTV πότον<sup>2</sup> – 133 εὐφροσύνην < SHTV | 134 τὸν < SH | 135 μύρον V τιμίου] ἀγίου SHTV | 136 χριστιανικοῖς – 141 Ἱερουσαλήμ < SHTV ὡς καὶ ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα LK | 138 τῷ<sup>2</sup> – 139 τῷ<sup>1</sup> < X τῷ<sup>2</sup> – 139 τούτῳ < C | 139 πιανθήσονται] μαθήσονται CX τῷ<sup>2</sup> < LK | 140 δρασθῶσιν K | 141 κατάσχωσι LK κυρίως CX | 142 ἑαυτὸν C SHTV | 143 φησί ταῦτα πάντα] ταῦτα φησί SHTV πάντα<sup>1</sup> post 144 ἔθνη C τοῖς – πάντα<sup>2</sup> < CXLK ἢ γὰρ βουλή] εἰ γὰρ βούλει S | 144 λέγει<sup>1</sup>] λέγεις SHTV λέγει ὅτι LK παράδος<sup>1</sup> + πᾶσαν SHTV δὲ + καὶ LK SH καὶ λέγει παράδος < SHTV | 145 αὐτὸς – 148 εἰσάγαγε < SHTV | 146 λαοῦ + αὐτοῦ C τούτους – 147 παράδος < K | 147 τοὺς δε X | 148 αὐτοῖς] τοῖς χριστιανοῖς SHTV |

attend here to his words:<sup>95</sup> *Thus will the Lord God do*, he says, *to all nations on this mountain*, he will make them *a drink of foods*,<sup>96</sup> that is, he will offer the worthy blood which we drink as a drink, and he will give his immaculate body as food, a drink of lees which he will give to them. For he is the true vine, and we nations have now harvested the mental grapes of his sufferings, his burial and resurrection, and after having been afflicted we receive gladness to drink forever. For he says, *They will drink gladness, they will drink wine*, the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, they will be anointed *with the unguent* of the worthy baptism. And *they will be handed over* without error *on this mountain*, clearly to venerate God with the Christian rite, as our Jerusalem and Zion can also be seen full of Christians as well, according to the word of the prophet: *The nations*, he says, *will be handed over on this mountain and will be devoured on this mountain*, that is, the roots of their souls will mentally be enriched, being sprinkled with the sweetest water of the belief in Christ. And they will be placed on the unshaken foundation fearing Christ, and will gain perfect control of Zion and Jerusalem. And so it will not seem to you, that I say this to help myself, the prophet goes on saying: *Give this all*, he says, *to the nations, for this counsel is from God unto all nations*. Which all, does he say, give it to the nations, whom does he exhort and says, give? The divine counsel exhorts the archangel Michael; for he was the mediator of the covenant of the Lord between him and the people of Israel, to him he says: ‘Give them away, thrust them out and give them to those; expel the Israelites as Sarah once did Ismael and Isaac, lead the Christians in. Give Jerusalem to them, give Zion to them, give all land to the Romans, give the temple, give the prophecies, the Proverbs, the Psalms and all other mysteries of the Hebrews to them, give to the Christians the perceptible things and those that are mentally in their mind; for this counsel’, he says, ‘has not come from angels or men, but from the Lord unto all nations.’ Now if you hear this, o Jew, do you dare to insult the nations, whom God has called and to whom he gave all your belongings, having expelled you from your inheritance? Rather call yourself miserable and reproach yourself, for

149 παράδος<sup>2</sup> – 153 ἔθνη<sup>1</sup> < SHTV τὰς προφήτας K | 151 ἐν – νοητὰ] νοητὰ τοῖς θεοῖς C | 153 οὐν ἀκούων] ἄκουσον H ἔθνη<sup>2</sup>] ἔθνεσιν T | 154 κατέλιπε καὶ παρέδωκε post σου, σε < C παραδέδωκεν SHTV σε – 157 αὐτοῦ < SHTV

<sup>95</sup> The following quotation from Is. 25.6–7, of which the first sentence is partially quoted as a paraphrase, is based on a text actually attested by some manuscripts of the Septuagint. The text used by the author may be reconstructed here as follows: Καὶ ποιήσει κύριος ὁ θεός πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο πότον ἐπασμάτων ... Παραδόσει παραδοθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ καὶ καταπίεται. Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ παράδος ... (see Septuaginta G App.)

<sup>96</sup> Instead of ‘drink of foods’ (πότον ἐδεσμάτων), which is rather senseless and attested only here, probably ‘drink of enchantment’ (πότον ἐπασμάτων) should be read.



τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃν τρόπον ποτὲ καὶ ὁ διάβολος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰρηκῶς ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι *Παράδος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, περὶ ἔθνων ἐμφαίνει ἐπιστρατεῦν μελλόντων καὶ παραλαμβάνειν πάντα ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐρημία καὶ ἀπωλεία πάντως παραδιδόναί.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ματαιολογεῖς ἰστάμενος, *Παραδοθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη*, ἐμφαίνει, ἐν τῷ ὄρει, παιδείας δηλονότι ἔνεκα πνευματικῆς, οὐχὶ δὲ παραδοθήσεται τὸ ὄρος τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς ἄλωσιν. Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ ταῦτα καὶ προφασίζει, ἄκουσον τῶν ἑξῆς, τί ἐπάγει ὁ προφήτης καθαρτοποιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν δύναμιν· *Κατέπειν*, φησίν, *ὁ θανατὸς ἰσχύσας*, τοῦτο δηλοῖ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ διαβόλου, ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπινοήσας ἠπάτησε τὰ ἔθνη παραδοὺς αὐτὰ τῇ μουσαρᾷ θρησκείᾳ τῶν εἰδώλων· *καὶ πάλιν*, φησίν, *ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς* σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου *πάν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντός προσώπου* τοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον βουλομένου Χριστῷ πιστεῦν καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ προσέρχεσθαι. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι μερικῶς περὶ Ἰουδαίων εἶπεν, καθότι ἀφείλεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τὸ δάκρυον τῆς θλίψεως, εἴτε ἴσως περὶ ἐτέρου ἄλλου ἔθνους τινὸς ἀναιρῶν τὸ ἐννόημα, καθολικῶς τὸ ἀφείλεν ἐπήγαγεν. Καθολικὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη προσκαλουμένη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν συνίεναι τὸν κύριον. *Ἀφείλεν ὁ θεός*, φησί, *πάν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντός προσώπου* τοῦ πιστεύσαντος, δηλονότι διὰ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος. *Τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ*, φησίν, *ἀφείλεν* οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, οἶμαι, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πιστεύσαντος πλήθους εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς. Δάκρυον δὲ ἐκεῖνο λέγει τὸ τῆς Γέννησης, ὃ ἡμελλον βίᾳ ὑπομένειν, εἰ μὴ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστός. *Τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα*, φησίν ὁ προφήτης καὶ οὐκ ἐγώ. Ἵνα μὴ ὑποπτεύῃς τίς, ὅτι οὐ ταῦτα οὕτως ὁ προφήτης λελάληκε τοῦτο τὸ ἐπίρρημα, τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ ἐπήγαγε *τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα*.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι Ἰουδαῖος εἰμι καὶ τηλικούτων οὐ συνήκα ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τῶν προφητῶν, ὅσον αὐτός, καθώσπερ ὄρω, ἐπίστασαι. Πλὴν τί ἐνταῦθα λέγει ὁ προφήτης; *Γνωστός ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ θεός*, ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ *μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*. Καὶ οὐκ εἶρηκε, καθότι γνωστός ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ θεός καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ, ἀλλ’ οὖν γνωστός ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ μόνῃ, φησίν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ μόνῳ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐν ἀλλοφύλοις ποῖ καὶ ἔθνεσιν. Θέασαι οὖν, ὅπως ἀστατοῦσι καὶ οἱ προ-

164 κατέπειν – ἰσχύσας Is. 25.8 | 166 καὶ – 167 προσώπου *ibid.* | 173 τὸ – 174 ἀφείλεν *ibid.* | 176 τὸ – ταῦτα *ibid.* | 181 γνωστός – 182 αὐτοῦ Ps. 75.2

### CX LK SHTV

158 λέγει| ἔφη S, < TV ὅτι < SHTV πάντα < SHTV | 159 περιλαμβάνειν K τὰ ἐκεῖνα πάντα SHTV | 160 πάντως < SHTV | 161 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἐμφαίνει τὰ ἔθνη LK ἐμφαίνει < X | 162 εἵνεκα SV | 163 τοῖς ἔθνεσιν < SHTV ἄλωσιν + εἵνεκα CXLK ἀνάλωσιν V τοιαῦτα H προφασίζει| προφασίζεον CXLK | 164 δύναμιν| δήλωσιν K | 165 ἐπινοήσας SH | 166 καὶ < LK ἀφείλεν| ἀπῆλθε πάν δάκρυον ἀφελῶν C σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου < SHTV | 167 πάν δάκρυον < C τοῦ – 172 προσώπου < SHTV | 168 προσέρχεσθαι LK | 170 τινὸς ἔθνους C | 171 ἢ – προσκαλουμένη < C | 172 τοῦ < SHTV τοὺς πιστεύσαντας L τοὺς πιστεύοντας K | 173 πιστεύσαντων SHTV τὸ – 175 γῆς < SHTV φησίν < LK | 174 ἀλλ’ οὖν < C

in such a way you also have dropped from the love of God, in the same way as once also the devil did with his angels from the kingdom of heaven.”

Herban said: “When the prophet said, *Give all this to the nations*, he indicates the nations that in the future will attack and take all that and give it to desolation and destruction.”

The archbishop said: “You say vain things, as you stand here. *The nations*, he declares, *will be handed over on this mountain*, that is for spiritual chastisement, but the mountain will not be given to the nations for capture. So since you might pretend this, hear the following, how the prophet goes on making clear the meaning of the said things: *Death devoured being strong*, that means by the deceit of the devil, which he contrived from the beginning and so deceived the nations, giving them to the disgusting faith of the idols, *and again*, he says, *God*, when he became flesh from the Virgin, *took away all tears from every face* which wanted rather to believe in Christ, and through him to come to God Father. And that you may not say that he spoke particularly about the Jews, that he took away the tears of affliction from them, or perhaps about another nation adopting this thought, therefore he introduced the word ‘took away’ in a general sense. For the church of Christ is universal, calling all nations to her to understand the Lord. *God*, he says, *took away all tears from every face* of the believing, clearly through the divine baptism. *He took away*, he says, *the reproach of his people*, not from the people of Israel, I think, but from the multitude which believes in Jesus Christ all over the earth. The teardrop he speaks about is that of Gehenna, which I would have to suffer with great force, if Christ had not come. *For the mouth of the prophet has said this*, says the prophet, and not I. The prophet went on in such a way, so that no one might suspect that he did not add this conclusion, saying *for the mouth of the prophet has said this.*”

Herban said: “I thank the God of the law that I am a Jew and did not understand such a thing in the divine Scriptures of the prophets, which you pretend to do, as I see. But what does the prophet say here? *God is known in Judaea, his name is great in Israel*. And he did not say that God is known among the nations and in all the earth, but rather he says, <God> is known only in Judaea, and only in Israel is his name great, and not among some foreigners and nations. Now you see how the prophets are uncertain as well, and sometimes one says other things in a different way, and somewhere else

| 175 τοῦτο λέγει ἐκεῖνο SHTV | 176 δ<sup>1</sup> < SV φησὶν ὁ προφήτης post 177 ἐγὼ SHTV | 177 ἵνα – 178 ταῦτα < SHTV οὐ] αὐτοῦ LK ὁ < CX | 178 τὸ<sup>1</sup> < CX | 179 λέγει < T | 180 ὁρῶ + αὐτὸς H | 182 ὅτι SHTV | 183 γνωστὸς post μόνη γνωστὸς ὁ θεὸς X μέγα < LK | 184 τισί] τίς ἦν V και<sup>2</sup>] ἦ SHTV ἔθνεσιν τισὶν SHTV (τίς ἦν V) θέασαι – 186 ὀμιλοῦσιν < SHTV

185 φηται, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἄλλως ἕτερα λέγει καὶ ἐναντία, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἕτερος καὶ ὑπεναντία· οὐκοῦν δέον τὰ πλείστα μὴ προσέχειν αὐτοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μόλις εὗρεν Ἐρβᾶν διέξοδον ἐξ ἀπειρίας λοιδορεῖν τοὺς προφήτας, Ὡ τῆς ἀσυνέτου καρδίας καὶ πεπωρωμένης διανοίας, ὧν μέτοχος ἐκατέρων αὐτὸς δι’ ἀφροσύνην κεχηρημάτκας. *Γνωστός ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ θεός, ἀλλ’ οὖν εἰς χριστιανισμόν μεταποιηθεῖσι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ νέῳ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἐξ ἔθνῶν προσκληθέντι.* Περί δὲ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἰσραὴλ λέγει Ἡσαΐας· *Ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐκ συνήκεν.* Καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἄλλος προφήτης· *Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ εἶπον, αἰεὶ πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Ἰσραηλιταὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, ἀλλ’ οὖν φησὶν ὁ θεός· Ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου, εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου.* Ἐκεῖ λέγει, ὅτι *Ἰσραὴλ, φησὶν, με οὐκ ἔγνω·* ἐνταῦθα φησὶν, ὅτι *αὐτοὶ δέ, φησὶν, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰς ὁδοὺς μου.* Πῶς οὖν κυρίως ἀρμώσει ὑμῖν τὸ *Γνωστός ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ὁ θεός καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ μέγα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ;* Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς, ὅτι τάδε λέγει· *Ὡς ὤμοσα ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ μου, εἰ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς τὴν κατάπαυσίν μου·* αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι, καθότι τοσοῦτον 200 κατέπαυσεν ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικούτον κατεσίγησεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ μνημόσυον ὑμῶν, ὥστε οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιερχομένων ὑμῶν πινὲς ἀνέχονται ὑμᾶς θεάσασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ βδέλυγμα καὶ αἰσχύνῃ καὶ ὄνειδος εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑμᾶς τέθεικεν ὁ ὢν θεός Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Οὕτινος τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα σταυρῷ προσπήξαντες, ὡς προσεδωκάτε, ἀηλώσατε, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἀνέστη τριήμερος καὶ βασιλεύει ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς εἰς τοὺς 205 αἰῶνας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅσα λέγομεν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἀργῶσιν, ἂν μὴ γένηται κρίσις, ἂν μὴ χρηματίσῃ ἀνταπόδοσις. Οὐδόλως ἔχομεν συνίεναι, τίσιν ἢ ἀληθῆς πίστις καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δόγματα ὑγιᾶς ἐναπόκεινται, Ἰουδαίοις ἢ περ χριστιανοῖς· ἐκάστου γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ κομίζοντος, τηλικαῦτα ἢ πείρα διδάξει τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ γνωσόμεθα.”

110 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοῦτο ἐστίν, ὃ φάσκεις, ὅτι· ‘Ἐὰν μὴ ἴδω τὸν πονηρὸν μου θάνατον καὶ τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην ἀπαραίτητον καταδίκην γεγονυῖαν ἐπ’ ἐμοί, οὕτω καθόλου πεισθήσομαι.’ Οὐκ ἀρμοζόντως προλαβὼν εἴρηκα αὐτὸς ἔγω γε τὸ ῥητὸν κυρίου τὸ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρημένον, ὅτι *Τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη προσώχθισα τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ, φησὶν, ἀποδοκιμάσας τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν εἰς οὐδὲν πέλουσαν.* Εἴρηκεν ὁ θεός, ὅτι αἰε

191 ἔγνω – 193 συνήκεν Is. 1.3 | 193 τεσσαράκοντα – 196 μου Ps. 94.10–11

### CXLKSHTV

185 ἄλλος CX ἄλλοτε – ὑπεναντία < CX | 186 δέοντα τὰ CX | 187 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V διέξοδον – λοιδορεῖν] διεξουδενεῖν SHT διεξωδωνεῖν V ἐξ < C ἀπορίας LK | 188 πεπωρωμένης + παρὰ κυρίου SH παρὰ κυρίῳ TV ὧν] ῶ LK μετόχως X ἐκατέρων < SHTV | 189 διὰ CX ἀφροσύνης SHTV ἐχηρημάτκας C οὖν – 190 ἀλλ’ < T | 190 μεταποιηθείσης codd. ἀλλ’ οὖν C τῷ<sup>3</sup> < C | 192 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 194 μου] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς SHTV | 193 καὶ ἄλλος C | 195 εἰ < TV | 196 ὅτι<sup>1</sup> < TV φησὶν<sup>1</sup> < SHTV με φησὶν C φησὶν<sup>2</sup>] δὲ φάσκει SHTV δὲ φησὶν < SHTV φησὶν<sup>3</sup> < K | 198 τὸ < T οὐ μὴν < CXLK τάδε] δὲ CLK οὐδὲ X | 199 εἰ – μου<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 200 ὑμᾶς – κατεσίγησεν < SHTV ἐξ ἀνθρώπων κατεσίγησεν C ἐξ ἀνθρώπων < TV ὥστε] ὅτι SHTV |

another one says the opposite; so there is mostly no need to listen to them when they speak.”

The archbishop said: “Herban has hardly found a solution by insulting the prophets because of his inexperience. O heart without understanding and hardened mind, to both of which you have given audience by your foolishness. *God is known in Judaea*, but in that which has been changed to Christianity, *and his name is great in Israel*, but in the new Israel which has been invited from the nations. Isaiah says about the old Israel: *The ox knows his owner and the ass considers the crib of his master, but Israel did not know me and the people did not consider me*. And another prophet somewhere else: *I was grieved forty years with that generation and said, they always astray in their heart, but they*, the Israelites, *did not know my ways*, but now God says: *As I have sworn in my anger, that they should not enter in my rest*. There he says that *Israel did not know me*, here he says that *they did not know my ways*. Now how exactly will the word *God is known in Judaea and his name is great in Israel* be fitting to us? In no way, for he says thus: *As I have sworn in my wrath, that they should not enter in my rest*; you know yourself that he has put you to rest so much and put your memory to silence in such a way, that when you walk around, no one bears to see you with his eyes, but rather the true God Jesus Christ made you a abomination and a shame and reproach until the end of the earth. By fixing his humanity to the cross you crucified him, as you supposed, but he rose on the third day and reigns forever in heaven.”

Herban said: “Whatever we say to ourselves is idle, if there will be no judgement, if there is no repayment. We will not understand at all for whom the true faith and the teachings of God have correctly been stored up, for the Jews or the Christians; for if both of them will receive according to their works, then experience will teach the truth, and we will know.”

The archbishop said: “This is what you say: ‘If I do not see my bad death and that frightful sentence which will inevitably be pronounced over me, I will not yet be convinced in any way.’ I myself did not suitably speak God’s word before which has been said through the prophet, that *I was grieved forty years with that generation*, rejecting their mind which is worth nothing. God said that *they always go astray in their heart*.

201 αὐτοῖς – ὑμῶν < SHTV ἀνέχονται τινὲς θεάσασθαι ὑμᾶς SHTV | 202 καὶ αἰσχύνῃν < SHTV ὑμᾶς < X τέθεικεν ὑμᾶς SHTV | 203 ὡς προσεδωκᾶτε < SHTV | 206 λέγει < TV ὡς ἂν STV ὅσα ἂν H ὅσα λέγομεν πρὸς] ὁ λαμπρὸς LK λέγομεν < CX αὐτοὺς X ἑαυτοῖς LK ἂν μὴ χρηματίσῃ] καὶ SHTV | 207 τίσιν] τίς ἦν C SHTV καὶ – 208 ὑγιῶς < SHTV | 208 ἀπόκειται SHTV Ἰουδαίοις – 209 γνωσόμεθα < SHTV κατὰ τὰ ἔργα < C | 209 διδάσκει C | 210 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C τοῦτο < T τοῦτ’ ἔστιν SHTV δ < SHTV φάσκεῖς ὅτι < T ἴδω + φησί CX | 211 τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην < SHTV καὶ ἀπαραίτητον LK γεγυῶσαν ἐπ’ ἐμοί < SHTV ἐπ’ < CX οὕτω SHTV | 212 οὐκ – 217 ἀλήθειαν < SHTV | 214 εἶρηκεν ὁ θεός] εἶρηκα CX

- 215 οὗτοι *πλανῶνται τῇ καρδίᾳ*. Θέλεις μείζονα μαρτυρίαν περὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀπονοίας τε καὶ ἀστάτου γνώμης καὶ τῆς κυρίως περιπλανήσεως; Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς· ἅ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ἐπικυροῖ, τίς ὁ τολμῶν ἀντάραι πρὸς τὴν φοβερὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλήθειαν;”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἶθε τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐγεγόνει ἐκείνο τὸ δοκίμιον, καὶ ἐὰν ὑμῖν ἔπελεν ἢ ἐμοί, καθὰ ὑπαγορεύεις, ἢ περιπλάνησις.”
- 220 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐαὶ σοι τῷ ταλαιπῶρῳ, εἰ ἐκείνο εὐθὺς συναντήσῃ σοι καὶ εἰ φωραθῆς Ἰουδαῖος καὶ μὴ τῷ χριστιανισμῷ σεμνυόμενος. Γέγραπται γάρ, ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου κριθήσεται ἡ γῆ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχθήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου ἐναντιοῦσαι, ὅστις πρόσεσπιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, γνώσῃ πότερον, ὅτι αὐτὸς σε κρινεῖ πυρὶ Γεέννης καὶ ταρτάρῳ
- 225 καὶ βυθῷ ἀπωλείας.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐγὼ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς σέβεσθαι καὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι μεμάθηκα, οὐχὶ δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἴτε εἰδῶλα, εἴτε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, εἴτε γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ περιπλανώμενοι σέβεσθε.”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἔασον τὴν πρὸ τῆς καταβάσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν
- 230 ἐξαπάτην· ἀπὸ τῆς παρουσίας Χριστοῦ τὴν ὥδε σκοπήσας διδάξον, ἐν πσιν οἱ αὐτῷ πιστεύσαντες ἀπατώμεθα.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πρόσεχε καὶ θεάσαι, ὅτι ἐν πρώτοις ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑμῶν εἰδώλων πεπλήρωται παντοίων, ἔργοις χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸν προφήτην κατασκευασμένων· ἅ γὰρ πεποιήκασιν οἱ δάκτυλοι ὑμῶν, ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευρο προσκυνεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύσασθε. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ λέγετε, ὅτι ἔρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐλθὼν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν τῶν εἰδώλων’, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ πλάνῃ ἐξαπατώμενοι προσκυνεῖτε αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ χαλεπώτερον, κηροῦς ἄπτοντες μετὰ καὶ λύχων καὶ θυμιάματα προσοίσοντες καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ἃ θεῶ μόνῳ πρέπον τῷ δημιουργήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Οὐκοῦν, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα πλάνη, ὅτι τὴν προσκύνησιν τοῦ ποιητοῦ τοῖς κτίσμασιν αὐτοῦ προσφέρετε;”
- 240 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἴρηται τί τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, ὅτι τυφλώτων τίς ἐν καιρῷ ψύχους ἄνθραξιν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐστρωμένοις προσπελάσας ἔδοξεν τὴν ἀκτίνα εἶναι ἐπιθέουσαν τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ γενόμενος ἔνδον αὐτῶν θέρμης ἕνεκα τοὺς πόδας καὶ μετὰ τῶν κρασπέδων κατακαύσας, φυγὰς ἐκείθεν γεγωνὼς ἔφασκεν· Ἐμακάριος εἰμί, ὅτι οὐ βλέπω τὸν ἥλιον

222 τῷ – αὐτοῦ Ps. 32.6 | 233 ἔργοις – ἀνθρώπων cf. Ps. 113.12 et al.

#### C X L K S H T V

215 πλανᾶσθε LK | 218 λέγει < T ἐκείνο < K καὶ – ἢ] ἐν SHTV ἐὰν ὑμῖν] κἀν ὑμᾶς CX ἢ < LK | 219 καθὰ] ἔνθεν LK ἢ περιπλάνησις < SHTV | 220 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T σοι τῷ < X εἰ < X εὐθὺς < C SHTV | 221 εἰ < T Ἰουδαῖος T γέγραπται – 223 δικαίων < SHTV | 223 ἐπεὶ οὖν] περὶ δὲ LK κυρίου < SHTV ὅστις – 224 κύριος < SHTV | 224 πότερον] πρότερον LK καὶ ταρτάρῳ < SHTV | 226 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV καὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι < LK μεμάθηκα καὶ εὐλαβεῖσθαι C | 227 εἰδῶλον CX εἴτε<sup>2</sup> – 228 λοιπά < SHTV τὴν < K | 228 περιπλανώμενοι σέβεσθε X | 229 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T παραβάσεως TV post καταβάσεως ± Χριστοῦ ἐξαπά L | 230 καὶ ἀπὸ SHTV Χριστοῦ ± τοῦ θεοῦ L κοπήσας S κοπιᾶσας H οἱ αὐτῷ < CX | 232 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ἐν πρώτοις < K SHTV | 233 καὶ χειρῶν V προφήτην + ἀληθεύοντα

Do you want a better testimony about your loss of sense and unstable opinion and, in general, your roaming about? In no way, never, for what the holy God has confirmed, who will dare to rise up against his frightful and inevitable truth?"

Herban said: "If only this trial could happen in this hour, to see whether this roaming about is yours or mine, as you say."

The archbishop said: "Woe to you miserable man, if this would happen to you straightaway, and if you would be found to be a Jew who is not proud of Christianity. For it is written that the earth will be judged by the word of God, and all those, who are disobedient in the thoughts of the righteous, will be refuted *by the spirit of his mouth*. Now since you are hostile to the word of God, who is Jesus Christ, you will understand which of it <will happen>, that he will judge you by the fire of Gehenna, the nether world and the depth of destruction."

Herban said: "I have learnt to adore and to fear the God of heaven and earth, but not a man or idols, the sun and moon, earth, sea and the others, which you adore roaming about."<sup>97</sup>

The archbishop said: "Leave aside our deceit before the descent of the Son of our God; consider and teach us in which things we, who believe in him, are deceived since Christ has appeared here."

Herban said: "Listen and see that first of all your house of worship is full of all kinds of idols, *works made by the hands of men* according to the prophet. For you have not stopped from the beginning until now to worship what your fingers have made. For there you say, that 'when Christ came, he redeemed us from the idols', but here you worship them, being betrayed by this deceit. And the worst is, that you light candles and also lamps, offering them incense and the other things which are fitting only for God who has created heaven and earth. So is this no deceit if you offer the worship of the creator to his creations?"

The archbishop said: "There is such a story in a legend, that when a blind man in the time of cold weather approached some charcoals that were spread on the earth, he thought that they were the incident rays of the sun, and when he stepped into them to warm himself, he burnt his feet together with the skirts, ran away from there and said: 'I am happy that I do not see the sun which heated me up so much; how much more will it

C κατεσκευασμένων L<sup>ρ</sup>K, < SHTV | 234 ἀπ' – δεῦρο < SHTV | 235 ἐκεῖ – 236 αὐτοῖς < SHTV | 236 τῇ αὐτῇ πλάνῃ K χαλεπὸν SHTV | 237 θυμιμάτων H<sup>ac</sup> προσοίσαντες CXL<sup>ac</sup> προσοίετε L<sup>ρ</sup>K ἅ < T μόνω θεῷ H πρέπει SHTV | 238 οὐκοῦν – 239 προσφέρετε < SHTV οὐκ < LK | 240 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ] τοιούτω CX | 241 ἄνθρακας – ἐστρωμένους SHTV εἶναι < SHTV | 242 εἶνεγκα SHV ἦνεγκε T καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV

<sup>97</sup> On the following long discussion on the veneration of icons and saints, see above, p. 95.

καὶ τηλικαῦτα μοι ἄγαν ἐθέρμανε· πόσω γε μᾶλλον τοῖς αὐτὸν καθορώσιν αἴθεται.’ Τοιού-  
 245 τω τρόπῳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ αὐτὸς μετήλθες ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ δυστήνοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν· ψῦχος  
 γὰρ φοβερὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ τῆς ἀγνωσίας. Καὶ δοκῶν, ὡς οἶμαι, διεκδικεῖν θεοσέ-  
 βειαν, τοῖς ἄνθραξιν τῆς βλασφημίας περιπεπτωκῶς ὡς οἶα τυφλώττων τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν  
 καὶ τὴν ἐν νοί τῆς ψυχῆς κατάφλεξιν ἀνοήτως φωτισμὸν λογίζῃ. Πρῶτον τοιγαροῦν ἔδει  
 250 σε τὴν σὴν καθυστέρησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς νέας χάριτος πενήθῃσαι, καθότι Χριστῷ μὴ πιστεύ-  
 σας τῆς ἀπορρήτου βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκβέβλησαι, καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ χεῖλη  
 ἄρας περὶ τῆς ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῆ καρδίᾳ καὶ πίστει βεβαίᾳ τὰ  
 θεῖα μυστήρια μνηθέντα ἐκεῖθεν νοῆσαι, τὴν ἄχραντον ἀλήθειαν, καὶ καταπλανῆσαι.  
 Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ πειρατῆς εἶ ἢ μᾶλλον ἀφρονέστατος, ἄκουσον ἄρτι τῶν ῥημάτων μου. Τοῦ  
 κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ Νῶε, διὰ ποίας προφάσεως αὐτὸς σέσωστο  
 255 τότε παρὰ κυρίου;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ πρόδηλον ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐρρύσατο.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ποταπῷ εἶδει ἢ κιβωτὸς κατεσκευάστο, ἐκ λίθων, ἐκ ξύλων ἢ  
 ἄλλης τινὸς ὕλης, ἀνάγγειλον;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐκ ξύλων πρόδηλον.”

260 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἡδύνατο αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῶν ξύλων ἐκείνων σῶσαι  
 ἢ οὐκ ἠδύνατο;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἡδύνατο, οἶμαι· γέγραπται γάρ, ὅτι πάντα δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ ἠδύνατο, τίνος ἕνεκα ἐδέησε κιβωτοῦ ξυλίνης  
 εἰς τὸ διασῶσαι τὸν δίκαιον; Πάντως γὰρ τῇ κιβωτῷ χρῆσασθαι ἀρμόδιον τὴν εὐχαρι-  
 265 στίαν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχρῆν τῷ Νῶε, δι’ ἧς καὶ σέσωστο, καὶ οὐ τῷ κυρίῳ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, τῷ κυρίῳ ἐχρῆν αὐτὴν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμψαι, ὃ καὶ  
 πεποίηκε, καὶ οὐ τῇ ὕλῃ.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τέως ὁμολογεῖς, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἀψύχου ὕλης αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς κατε-  
 270 σκεύασε τὴν σωτηρίαν; Οὕτω τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῶν ὀρωμένων τούτων  
 εἰκόνων, εἰ καὶ ἀψύχων, νοητῶς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἐταμιεύσατο. Συνίομεν γὰρ δι’  
 αὐτῶν τὰ κρείττονα καὶ ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας ἀνάγομενοι εἰς ζῆλον θεάρεστον. Ὡσπερ δὲ  
 Νῶε διὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ εὐρῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ οὐ τῇ κιβωτῷ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τῷ  
 θεῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀνήνεγκεν οἰκοδομήσας τὸ θυσιαστήριον, παραπλησίως καὶ ἡμεῖς

254 κατακλυσμοῦ – Νῶε cf. Gen. 6.17 | 262 πάντα – θεῷ cf. Mc. 10.27 | 271 ὡσπερ – 272 κιβω-  
 τῷ cf. Gen. 8.19

#### C X L K S H T V | 261 ἠδύνατο L

244 πόσον X πόσω – αἴθεται < SHTV εἴσεται CX | 245 μοι ἠλθες αὐτῇ LK τοῖς < TV ψῦχος –  
 246 ἀγνωσίας < SHTV | 246 διεκδικῶν TV θεοσεβείας CX | 247 ὡς < LK | 248 καὶ – κατάφλεξιν  
 < SHTV νοί τῆς ψυχῆς] νοητοῖς C ἀνόητος C φωτισμὸν] νοητῶς LK πρῶτον – 252  
 καταπλανῆσαι < SHTV | 250 τῆς – οὐρανῶν] τῶν οὐρανίων CX | 251 ἄραι LK | 253 πειρατῆς]  
 πείρα τίς TV εἶ < SHTV ἄρτι < SHTV | 254 αὐτὸς < K ἔσωστο LK | 255 τότε < SHTV |  
 256 λέγει < T αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς CX ὁ – ἐρρύσατο < SHTV | 257 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη]  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἐκ<sup>1</sup> – ξύλων] ἐκ ξύλων, ἐκ λίθων CX ἢ ἐκ ξύλου SHTV | 258 ἐξ ἄλλης LK |

burn those that see it.' Therefore in such a way you passed to wretched words in this hour, for the frightful cold of ignorance is in your heart. And while you seem, as I think, to claim fear of God, having fallen into the charcoals of blasphemy just as a blind man, you foolishly consider the burning and the conflagration of the mind of the soul to be enlightenment. Therefore, you should first of all lament that you have dropped from the new grace, that you, since you did not believe in Christ, have been expelled from the ineffable kingdom of heaven, and then also that you did not raise your tongue for the blameless faith of the Christians, and understood the divine mysteries with simple heart and firm faith, when they were revealed to you from there, the immaculate truth, but were misled. So since you are a tempter, or rather very thoughtless, hear now my words. When the flood happened in the days of Noah, for which reason was he then saved by the Lord?"

Herban said: "Clearly God saved him through the ark."

The archbishop said: "In which shape was the ark prepared, from stones, from wood or some other material, tell me?"

Herban said: "Clearly from wood."

The archbishop said: "Could God have saved him also without those wooden planks, or could he not?"

Herban said: "He could, I think, for it is written, that *to God everything is possible.*"

The archbishop said: "So if he could, why did he need a wooden ark to save the righteous one? For at all events Noah had to offer suitable gratitude for his salvation to the ark, by which he was also saved, and not to the Lord."

Herban said: "Let it not be, he had to send up his gratitude to the Lord, which he also did, and not to the matter."

The archbishop said: "So do you consent that God prepared salvation him through this matter which is without soul? Therefore God, since he is good, has also mentally stored up salvation for us in this way through these images which you see, although they are without soul. For through them we understand the better things which possess salvation, and are led up to the zeal which is pleasing to God. As Noah found salvation through the ark, not in the ark, but offered his gratitude to the Lord through the ark by

259 λέγει] ἔφη S, < CTV πρόδηλον + ὅτι CX | 260 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S, < TV ἐδύνατο C αὐτὸν < K ἐκείνων σώσαι] διασῶσαι TV | 262 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ἐδύνατο C ὡς οἶμαι H | 263 ὁ < T ἔφη] λέγει S, < TV ἐπεὶ] ὅτι K ἐπειδὴ H εἵνεγκα V | 265 δι' - σέσωστο < SHTV | 266 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἐχρῆν αὐτὴν T αὐτὴν αὐτῷ CX αὐτὸν K ὁ καὶ πεποίηκε < SHTV | 267 ἀψύχῳ ὕλη C | 268 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < S ὕλεως CX | 270 ἄψυχα K νοητῶς - γὰρ] ἀλλὰ SHTV ὡς ἀγαθὸς] διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος C | 271 καὶ < K ἐχόμενα] ἔχομεν SHTV | 272 εὐρῶν - 273 θεῶ < K αἰσθητὴν σωτηρίαν C καὶ - κιβωτῷ post 273 ἀνήνεγκεν SHTV ἀλλὰ - κιβωτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 273 ἀνήνεγκεν < X οἰκοδομήσας τὸ θυσιαστήριον < SHTV



275 τοῦ νοητοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου οἰκονομίας ῥυσθέντες ὡς ἄλ-  
 λην θείαν κιβωτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα λογιζόμενοι, δι' ἧς ἡμῶν τὰ βάρη ἐβάστασεν  
 καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας ἀνάλωσεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀνελήφθη μετὰ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ θεότητος εἰς τὸν οὐ-  
 ρανόν. Τοῦτο οὐχ ὀρώντες σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκ χρωμάτων καθαρῶν ἀνιστοροῦμεν  
 τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐκείνης τὸ ἄχραντον ὁμοίωμα, καὶ διὰ τῆς σκιᾶς τοῦ ὁμοιώματος τοῦ  
 σώματος προσκυνοῦμεν τῇ ἐνθέῳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἀναληφθείσῃ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρωπότητι,  
 280 καὶ διὰ τῆς προσκυνήσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἀναληφθείσης ἀμώμου ἀνθρωπότητος  
 προσκυνοῦμεν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς δι' ἁγίου πνεύματος, τῷ ἠνωμένῳ  
 ἀφύρτως τῷ σώματι· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀχράντου θεοῦ λόγου προσκυνήσεως προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν  
 ζῶντα πατέρα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. Καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ θεοποιούμενοι ἀγιαζόμεθα τῷ ζωο-  
 ποιῷ καὶ παναγίῳ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ. Ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας εἵνεκα καὶ ἰστοροῦμεν τὴν εἰκόνα  
 285 τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτήν, δι' ὧν, ὡς εἶρηκα, ἀναφέρει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν  
 εἰς τηλικούτον ὑπερηφανείας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀναγωγὰς ῥημάτων κατασκευάσας εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον εἰκόνας ταύτας  
 κατέσπασας. Ἔστω οὖν περὶ τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ταῦτα οὕτως καθὼς εἶρηκας.  
 Περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων, τί ἄρα ἀποκριθήσει;”

290 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ποίων ἄρα ὑπολοίπων;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὓς ἁγίους ὀνομάζοντες ἰστοροῦντες προσκυνεῖτε ὡς οἶα θεοὺς αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἶναι λογιζόμενοι, ὧν καὶ τὰ νεκρὰ λείψανα ὡς τίμια λογιζόμενοι σπένδετε καὶ τιμᾶ-  
 τε καὶ σέβεσθε.”

295 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τιμᾶς σὺ τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἀναλάμψαντας  
 ἢ ἀτιμάζων ἀθετεῖς αὐτούς;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τιμῶ καὶ μνεῖαν αὐτῶν εἰσπράττομαι. Οὐχ ἰστορῶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἰνδάλ-  
 ματα, καθὼς τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, οὔτε ἐκτενῶ χεῖραν πρὸς νεκρὰν εἰκόνα, καθὼς ὑμεῖς τοῦτο  
 εἰσπράττεσθε, ἀλλ' οὖν οὔτε μὴν κάμπτω μου τὸ γόνυ τῇ χρυσοῖ καὶ ἀργυρῇ καὶ χαλκῇ  
 300 εἰκόνι τοῦδε καὶ τοῦδε ἁγίου, ὡς φατὲ ὑμεῖς λέγοντες, καὶ τῇ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ κεκοιναμένῳ  
 ἱστορισμένην δι' ὄψο καὶ ψιμύθου καὶ ψηφίδων καὶ κηροπλασίας καὶ ἐτέρων ἀπείρων ὑλι-  
 κῶν, χρωμάτων γηίνων καὶ ματαίων καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ εἰς ἀντίληψιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνενε-  
 γήτων χρηματιζόντων.”

275 τὰ βάρη ἐβάστασεν cf. Gal. 6.2

### C X K S H T V

274 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – ῥυσθέντες < SHTV καὶ ὡς K | 275 θείαν < C αὐτοῦ < H δι' – 276 ἀνάλωσεν <  
 SHTV | 276 αὐτοῦ ἁγίας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν θεότητος C εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν < SHTV | 277 τοῦτο]  
 τοῦτο X, < SHTV ὀρώντες] ὀρών τοῖς TV | 278 καὶ < K διὰ – 279 σώματος < SHTV σώματος  
 τοῦ ὁμοιώματος C | 279 τῇ<sup>1</sup> – 282 προσκυνοῦμεν < SHTV εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] τῷ οὐρανῷ C |  
 280 υἰότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος C | 281 διὰ C | 282 τοῦ θεοῦ K | 284 εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίας  
 SHTV (εἵνεκα TV) | 285 τοῦ < SHV αὐτοῦ τοῦ T δι' – 286 ὑπερηφανείας < SHTV κάτωθεν]  
 καθὲν CX | 286 τηλικαύτην περιφάνειαν K | 287 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV | 288 οὖν < SHTV οὕτως <  
 SHTV | 289 περὶ + δὲ SHTV | 290 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη <  
 C ἄρα] οἶμαι CX, < SHTV | 291 λέγει < TV οὓς] τοὺς T τοὺς ἁγίους οὓς K ἰστοροῦντες <

building an altar, in a similar way we did, being redeemed from the mental flood by the coming of God's word in the flesh, and considering his humanity as another divine ark, by which he bore our burdens and consumed our iniquities, for he, together with his holy divinity, was accepted into heaven. Since we do not see this with our corporeal eyes, we paint the immaculate likeness of that humanity with pure colours, and through the shade of the likeness of his body we worship that God-inspired humanity which was accepted into heaven, and through the worship of the blameless humanity, which was accepted into heaven, we worship the word of God Father, which is without beginning, through the Holy Ghost, which is united with the body without being mixed; and through the worship of the immaculate word of God we worship the living Father, out of whom everything comes. And being deified in this way, we are sanctified by his life-giving and all-holy Ghost. For this reason we both paint the image of Christ and worship it, by which, as I have said, he brings us up from below to such a height."

Herban said: "Having prepared your references you applied them to one person of the image. Now let it be as you have said concerning the image of Christ. But what will you answer about the remaining ones?"

The archbishop said: "Which remaining ones?"

Herban said: "Whom you worship calling them saints and painting them, considering them gods, whose dead remains you consider worthy, also giving drink-offerings to them, honouring and adoring them."

The archbishop said: "Do you honour the prophets that have shone forth in Israel, or do you dishonour or despise them?"

Herban said: "I honour them and celebrate their memory. But I do not paint representations of them as you do it, nor will I stretch out my hand to a dead image, as you perform it, nor do I also bend my knee before the golden, silver or brazen picture of this and that saint, as you express yourself, and to that which is painted on a plastered wall with egg, white lead, mosaic cubes, wax-work<sup>98</sup> and countless other materials, earthly and vain and dead colours, which are inefficient for the support of man."

SHTV προσκυνείτε post θεούς SHTV ὡς οἶα] οἱ K αὐτούς – 293 σέβασθε < SHTV | 292 λογιζόμενοι<sup>2</sup>] λογιζόμενα X | 294 ὁ < TV ἔφη < C TV | 296 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV αὐτῶν < H εἰσπράττομαι] ποιῶμαι SHTV οὐκ ἰστοροῦμεν SHTV αὐτούς C SHTV αὐτὸς X | 297 καθὼς τοῦτο ποιείτε < SHTV ἐκτένωμεν SV ἐκτενώμεν H ἐκτείνωμεν T χείρας SHTV τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> < H | 298 εἰσπράττεσθε] ποιείτε SHTV ἀλλ' – 302 χρηματιζόντων < SHTV | 299 τοῦδε<sup>2</sup>] τοῦ C | 300 ἰστορημένη K | 301 καί<sup>3</sup> < K ἀνενεργήτως K

<sup>98</sup> Egg, white lead and wax were actually used for icon painting on wood, but not for frescoes on plastered walls.

305 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ κεκτημένος πόθον ἄπειρον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρω-  
τα καὶ σχέσιν καὶ ἀγάπην βράσουσας περὶ τίνος πράγματος ἢ περὶ τινων ἄλλων ὑποθέ-  
σεων, πολλὰ καὶ ἱκανὰ ἐπινοεῖ μηχανώμενος ἐπιτηδεύματα, δι’ ὧν τῶν πάλαι ποθουμένων  
αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀγαπωμένους ἀποθεραπεύσει κατὰ τὸ δέον. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξ Ἀβραάμ  
ὥσπερ τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἠγαπήσατε, οὕτως οὐδὲ τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ παραβάται  
σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ψεύσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνες γεγένησθε τῷ θεῷ ἐναντιούμενοι καὶ τοῖς  
ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ.”

310 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἅγιος εἷς θεὸς ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα ἁγίους μὴ ὀνομάτι-  
ζε. Εἷς κύριος Σαβωῶθ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς ὁ  
κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος πλὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.”

315 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Διὰ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ πέφθακας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ φθόνον εἰσάγων  
τῇ κλήσει τῶν ἁγίων. Τίνα οὖν ὁ προφήτης λελάληκεν ἢ περὶ τινων τοιαῦτα; Τοῖς ἁγίοις  
τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῆ αὐτοῦ ἐθαυμάστωσεν ὁ κύριος πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ποίω  
τοίνυν πρόσχωμεν, μᾶλλον δὲ τίνος ἀκουσώμεθα φάσκοντος, σοὶ τῷ ἀδρανεῖ τε καὶ βεβή-  
λῳ ἢ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν προφήταις Δαυὶδ καὶ μεγίστῳ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν τῷ φήσαντι· Τοὺς ἁγίους  
τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ αὐτοῦ ἐθαυμάστωσεν κύριος; Καὶ ὁ Σολομὼν δέ, Δίκαιοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα  
ζῶσιν καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτῶν παρὰ κυρίῳ. Τούτους τοιγαροῦν τοὺς ἁγίους τε καὶ δικαίους  
320 τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ μὲν καλῶς τῷ κυρίῳ εὐαρεστήσαντας, ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις δὲ ἐνδόξως μετα-  
στάντων τῷ πνεύματι τὰς τιμίας εἰκόνας σκιογραφοῦντες ἡμεῖς πόθῳ ἀπλήστῳ καὶ ἔρωτι  
θείῳ σχετικῶς ἀσπαζόμεθα οὐ τὴν ὕλην τιμώντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὴν θέαν ἐκάστου  
τῶν ἁγίων σεβαζόμενοι. Πνεῦματι γὰρ ἀσπάζοντες τὴν θεάν τῆς μορφῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ εἰσ-  
ιέναι ἡμᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ὡς ζῶντας αὐτοὺς  
325 ἐστάναι μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀπλήστου ἀγάπης φανταζόμεθα. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ εἰς μίμησιν τῆς  
θεαρέστου πολιτείας αὐτῶν ἐξεγειρόμεθα καὶ θαύματα οὐ τὰ τυχόντα ἐξ αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς  
ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος νεμηθείσης αὐτοῖς κοιμιζόμεθα καὶ στεφανούμεθα καὶ ἀγιαζόμεθα καὶ  
φωτιζόμεθα πνεύματι.”

330 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Θαυμάζω εἰ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ταῖς εἰκόσι ταῖς ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ καὶ  
ταῖς ἐν σανίσι καθιστοισμέναις ἅπαξ τεθησαύρικε, καταλιπὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ γῆ ζῶντας καὶ  
περιπατοῦντας καὶ φθεγγομένους.”

311 οὐκ – 312 ἡμῶν 1 Reg. 2.2 | 314 τοῖς – 315 αὐτοῖς Ps. 15.3 | 318 δίκαιοι – 319 κυρίῳ Sap.  
5.15

### C X K S H T V

303 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S ἐν – 304 σχέσιν < SHTV  
| 304 βράσουσας] ζέουσας SHTV ἢ – ὑποθέσεων < SHTV | 305 πολλὰ + ἢ SHTV ἐπινοεῖται  
SHTV ἐπιτηδεύματα < SHTV τὸν πάλαι ποθούμενον S | 306 ὑπὲρ] καὶ K ὑπὲρ τοὺς  
ἀγαπωμένους < SHTV ἀγαπωμένους + ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γνησίως φιλουμένους K | 307 ἀλλὰ C ἀλλ’  
– 308 γεγένησθε < SHTV | 308 καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 309 αὐτοῦ < X | 310 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ὁ θεὸς ὁ SHTV  
ὀνόμαζε SHTV | 311 εἷς – 312 ἡμῶν < SHTV | 313 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C μακρᾶς] μικρᾶς H ὁ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 314 τί K λελάληκεν post περὶ τίνων  
SHTV τοιαῦτα < SHTV τὰ τοιαῦτα K | 315 ἐθαυμάτωσεν C | 316 πρόσχωμεν K μᾶλλον δὲ] ἢ

The archbishop said: “A man, who has infinite longing in his heart and desire, personal relationship and boiling love for something or for some other objects, contrives many adequate practices, by which he will treat with honour as necessary those whom he was desiring for long, more than his beloved ones. But just as you offspring of Abraham did not love God, in the same way you do not even love his saints, but have become stiff-necked transgressors, liars and betrayers, being opposed to God and his saints.”

Herban said: “There is one holy God who is in heaven, for he did not nominate saints here. There is one God Sabaoth who made heaven and earth, and *there is none holy as the Lord, and there is none righteous beside our God.*”

The archbishop said: “You arrived here by a long way to bring envy to the appellation of saints. Now what such things did the prophet say or about whom? *The Lord has magnified all his wills to the saints that are in his land.* So to whom should we listen, or rather whom should we hear when he speaks, to you feeble and profane man or to David, the great among the prophets and greatest among the kings, who said: *The Lord magnified his saints who are in his land?* And Solomon: *The just live forever, and their reward will be from the Lord.* Therefore we embrace in particular these holy and righteous men who have pleased the Lord well on earth and paint the worthy icons of those that went up gloriously to the highest in their spirit, with insatiable longing and divine desire, adoring not the matter, but the shape and sight of every single saint. For we embrace in the spirit the sight of their shape, when we enter the holy churches of God and his saints, and by our insatiable love we imagine them to stand together with us as living persons. And by this we are also incited to imitate their god-pleasing living and receive extraordinary wonders from them by the grace of God which has been bestowed upon them, and are crowned and sanctified and enlightened in our spirit.”

Herban said: “I wonder whether God at any time has stored up his grace for the images which are depicted on the wall and on boards, abandoning those that live on earth, go around and speak.”

SHTV φάσκοντος < SHTV τε < H βεβήλω και ταλαιπόρω K | 317 μεγάλω < CX και – 318 κύριος < SHTV τῷ φήσαντι] φησίν post 318 αὐτοῦ K | 318 ἔθανμάτωσεν C ὁ κύριος K Σολομών] Ἰσαΐας K | 319 ὁ < K ἐν κυρίῳ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ SHTV τούτους] τοῦτο οὖν K τῶν ἁγίων τε και τῶν δικαίων τῶν – 320 εὐαρεστησάντων K τε < SHTV | 320 μὲν < SHTV | 322 οὐ – 326 ἐξεγειρόμεθα < SHTV | 323 σεβαζόμεθα K | 324 τοῦ – αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν X | 326 αὐτῶν πολιτείας K | 327 και<sup>1</sup> – ἀγιαζόμεθα < X και<sup>1</sup> – 328 πνεύματι < SHTV | 329 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV εἰκόσι + νέμει K | 330 ταῖς ἐν] ἐν ταῖς C, < SHTV ἐν<sup>1</sup> < K ἱστορισμέναις SHTV ἅπαξ < SHTV ἅπαξ – 331 φθεγγομένων] τῶν ἅπαξ ποτὲ περιπατησάντων και φθεγγομένων K, < SHTV

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη “Ναί, τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ζωσι καὶ θανῶσι τὴν αὐτὴν χάριν  
 ὁ θεὸς εἰς αἰῶνας τεθησαύρικεν. Οὐκοῦν διήγησαι ἐνταῦθα, ποῖαν προτίμησιν ἔσχεν Ἐλισ-  
 335 σαίου τοῦ προφήτου ἢ μηλωτῆ Ἡλιοῦ, ὅτι τῇ μηλωτῇ τῇ νεκρᾷ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἑαυ-  
 τοῦ χάριν, Ἐλισσαῖον τὸν ζῶντα καταλείψας; Δι’ αὐτῆς γὰρ ἐπάταξε τὰ Ἰορδάνια νάμα-  
 τα, ἅπερ αὐτὸς πρότερον ἄφ’ ἑαυτοῦ περάσαι οὐκ ἠδύνατο καὶ διερρέθη ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύθη διὰ ξηρᾶς. Καὶ Μωσέως δὲ τερατουργῶντος ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ οὐκ  
 αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ράβδῳ αὐτοῦ ἐντέθεικεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν τῶν σημειῶν δύναμιν· ἀπορρίπτων γὰρ  
 340 αὐτὴν καὶ πατάσων δι’ αὐτῆς τὰ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὕδατα ἐνήργει τὰ ἐξάισια. Καὶ  
 ἡ σκηνὴ δὲ τοῦ μαρτυρίου μήτι ἐξ ἀκτίνος θεϊκῆς ὠκοδόμητο ἢ ἐκ νεφέλης φωτεινῆς  
 κατεσκευάστο; Πάντως ἢ ἔνδον αὐτῆς κιβωτὸς ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων κατείργαστο καὶ ἐκ  
 χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ ὠκοδόμητο, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐξ ὑλικῶν λίνων καὶ ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ βαφῆς καθαρᾶς  
 τὰ τε καταπετάσματα καὶ αὐτὴ κατεσκευάστο. Οὐκοῦν ὕλη οὐσα καὶ ἐξ ὑλέως κατα-  
 345 σκευασθεῖσα, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν φοβερὸν σέβας αὐτῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς  
 ὑλικῇ οὐσῇ καὶ ἀψύχῳ ἐνθεῖς ἐχαρίσατο, δίδαξον. Ἡ ράβδος δὲ τοῦ Ἀαρῶν ὑλικὴ πέλου-  
 σα καὶ ἄψυχος, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐχ ὁ Ἀαρῶν ἐμψυχος πέλων ἐξήνθησεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ ράβδος  
 αὐτοῦ ἄψυχος χρηματίζουσα ξηρὰ οὐσα παραχρήμα ἐβλάστησεν; Καὶ τὸ θυμιατήριον δὲ  
 350 τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου οὐκ ἀπὸ ὕλης νεκρᾶς κατεσκευάστο, καὶ αἱ πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης  
 οὐχὶ ἔπελον λίθιναι, καὶ ἡ στάμνος ἐν ἧ τὸ μάννα, οὐκ ἔπελεν ἔνυλος; Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ ταῦτα  
 πάντα ἔνυλα ἐχρημάτιζον καὶ χερσὶν ἀνθρωπίναις ἐξείργαστο, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τὴν χάριν  
 αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνθεῖς τεθησαύρικε, δίδαξον. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖ ἐνήργησεν κύριος  
 ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐκείνοις, φημί, οὕτω παραπλησίως καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς τιμίσις λειψάνοις τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ νεκροῖς νομισθεῖσιν. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τιμί-  
 355 αῖς αὐτῶν εἰκόσιν, ἅσπερ σὺ εἶδωλα κατονομάζεις, τὴν θεῖαν χάριν αὐτοῦ θησαυρίσας  
 ἐνήργησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ἔτι, καὶ βλέπομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ ἐξι-  
 στάμεθα ἐκπληττόμενοι, καὶ ἔτι ἄπαξ ἐνεργήσει ἕως αὐτῆς τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου.  
 Εἶρηκας δέ, ὅτι οὐ δέον ἀνθρώπους ἀγίους καλεῖσθαι, κἂν κατὰ θεὸν ὦσι βεβιωκότες.  
 Καὶ ἐπιστομίζει σοῦ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ὁ μέγας προφήτης ὁ λέγων παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ· *Θαυμα-*  
 360 *στός ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις αὐτοῦ, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐνδοξαζόμενος ἐν βουλήνῃ*  
*ἀγίων, μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς* ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ταῦτα ὡς μετ’ ἐμοῦ μέλλων προσ-  
 ομιλῆσαι κατ’ ἰδίαν μεμελέτηκας. Οὐκοῦν θέασαι πῶς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἀγαθὰ  
 τέρατα γεγονότα ἰουδαϊκοῖς χαρακτηῖσιν χάριτι θεοῦ κατὰ πείραν ἐπίστασαι, ἐν οἷς καὶ

333 ποῖαν – 337 ξηρᾶς cf. 4 Reg. 2.8–14 | 337 Μωσέως – 339 ἐξάισια cf. Ex. 7.9, 14.16 | 340 ἢ –  
 341 κατεσκευάστο cf. Ex. 33.9–10 | 341 πάντως – 343 κατεσκευάστο cf. Ex. 35.20–24 | 346 ἢ –  
 347 ἐβλάστησεν cf. Num. 17.22 | 347 τὸ – 349 μάννα cf. Hb. 9.4 | 349 ἢ – μάννα cf. Ex. 16.33 |  
 358 θαυμαστός – 359 Ἰσραὴλ Ps. 67.36 | 359 ὁ<sup>3</sup> – 360 φοβερὸς Ps. 88.8

#### C X K S H T V

332 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ναί] καὶ C θανούσι SHTV |  
 333 ἔσχηκεν K Ἐλισσαίου] ὁ Ἐλισσαῖος καὶ CX | 334 ἢ ante τοῦ K Ἡλιοῦ ± ὅτι Ἡλιοῦ S

The archbishop said: “Yea, God has stored up the same grace forever for his saints, both living and dead. So tell me here, which authority did the sheepskin of Elijah possess over the prophet Elisha, that God gave his grace to the dead sheepskin, deserting the living Elisha? For through it he struck the waters of Jordan, which he could not pass before by himself, and it was divided hither and thither and he went over on dry ground. And when Moses did wonders in Egypt, God put the power of working portents not into him, but into his rod; for he worked these extraordinary things throwing it away and striking the waters of the Red Sea with it. And was the tabernacle of the congregation not made by a divine ray or by a shining cloud? At all events the ark within it was made from incorruptible wood and built from pure gold, and it itself was equipped with curtains of material linen and wool and pure colour. So since it was matter and made from matter, teach me for which reason God gave fear-inspiring adoration unto it in Israel by his grace, though it was material and without soul. Although Aaron’s rod was material and without soul, for what reason did Aaron, who had a soul, not bloom, but his rod brought forth leaves immediately though being without soul and dry? And was the censer of the covenant of the Lord not made from dead matter, and were the tables of the covenant not from stone, and was not the jar material in which the manna was? So if all these things were material and made by human hands, teach me why God stored his grace up in them. Now in the same way as God has worked in those perceptible things, I say, so he does similarly also in our saints and in their worthy relics which you believe to be dead. Not only that, but storing up his divine grace also in the worthy images, which you call idols, he has worked from the beginning the things pleasing to him and still works them, and we faithful see and are astonished in ecstasy, and he will work once more until the end of the world. You have said that it is not right that men be called holy, even if they have lived according to God. And the great prophet shuts up your shamelessness saying to the whole world: *God ist wonderful in his saints, the God of Israel, and God is to be glorified in the counsel of the holy, he is great and frightful* and so on.”

Herban said: “As it seems, you have studied this privately a long time ago, since you knew you would discuss with me. So you see, that you know yourself as well, according to experience, the good wonders which have happened in the law and in the

μηλωτῆ + Ἡλιοῦ ὅτι τῆ μηλωτῆ C εαυτοῦ < SHTV | 335 δι’ – 337 ξηρᾶς < SHTV | 336 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἀκαέθην C | 337 δέ] τε STV γῆ] τῆ H | 338 τέθηκεν K ἐπέθηκεν T ἐπέθηκεν V ἀπορρίπτων – 345 διδάξον < SHTV | 341 αὐτῆς] αὐτοῦ K ἐξείργαστο K | 342 αὐτῆ K λινῶν C και<sup>2</sup> < K | 343 τά τε] ἅ τε τὰ CX αὐτῆ K οὔσαι C | 346 ὁ < K πέλων] ὦν SHTV | 347 ἄψυχος χρηματίζουσα < SHTV | 348 οὐχ SHTV διαθήκης<sup>2</sup> κυρίου K | 349 οὐχι ἔπελον] οὐκ ἦσαν SHTV λιθίνοι SH<sup>pe</sup>TV ἔπελεν] ἦν SHTV ἐπειδὴ K | 350 πάντα < SHTV ἐξείργασμένα SHTV ὁ θεός τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ SHTV θείαν χάριν XK | 351 ἐνθεις < SHTV ὡσπερ – 360 ἐξῆς < SHTV | 355 αὐτῶν X καὶ ἐνεργεῖ ἔτι] ἐνήργει αὐτῷ ἐτι C ἐκπληττόμενοι ἐξιστάμεθα K | 356 συνεργήσει C | 357 δέ < K καλεῖσθαι ἀγίους C | 358 ὁ προφήτης ὁ μέγας C | 359 θεός<sup>1</sup> + ### K | 361 λέγει < TV ταῦτα] τοιαῦτα H, < C ἐμὲ CXK | 362 οὐκοῦν – 369 ἐξῆς < SHTV

- ἀπ' ἐκείνων τεκμήρια δεχόμενος ἐπαλείφεις ἰσχυροποιῶν τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός σου.
- 365 Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐνετείλατο ἱστορεῖν εἰκόνας τῶν δικαίων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν αὐτῷ εὐαρεστησάντων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μόνοις, ὡς φάσκεις, τοῦτο παρεχώρησε; Διὰ ποῖον δὲ τρόπον εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης· *Τὰ εἰδῶλα, φάσκων, τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς;”
- 370 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ, ὅτι ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐχρημάτιζον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ δικαίως ἐπεκλήθησαν. Ἄλλ' οὖν δικαίως κρίμασιν τοῦ παντοκράτορος καιροῖς εὐστάθμοις πληρωθέντες ἅπαξ, φημί, (καὶ) κατεπαύθησαν. Πληρωθέντος γάρ, φησί, τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἴνου ἔδει τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην τοὺς νεωσιπίθους ἀνοίξαντα τὸν νέον οἶνον κεράσαι τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. Περι δὲ ὅτι εἶρηκα· ‘Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οὐ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς ἱστορεῖν εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῖς νεωσιτί ἐξευρηκόσι ταύτην τὴν πίστιν’, πρόσεχε· Πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τοὺς δικαίους ὑμῶν ἀπεκτείνετε, τοὺς προφῆτας ἐλιθοβολήσατε, τὸν Ἡσαΐαν ἐπρίσατε καὶ κρημνήσαντες ἐφονεύσατε, μηδὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὡσιν ὑμῶν ἀνεχόμενοι. Δεύτερον, ὅτι τὸν διὰ στόλου πυρὸς καὶ νεφέλης ὑμῖν καθοραθέντα ἀθετήσαντες ἐμο-
- 380 σχοποιήσατε ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς Χαναάν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ὑμῶν τοῖς δαιμονίοις θύσαντες μεγάλως τὸν ζῶντα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας παρωργίσατε. Πῶς οὖν ὑμῖν τηλικούτοις οὖσιν ἐν πλάνῃ καὶ ἀλογίᾳ ἡδύνατο ἐπιτρέψαι ἀπίστοις οὖσιν ἱστορεῖν τοῖς προφήταις εἰκόνας καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις; Ὅτι δέ, καθὼς προλελάληκας, φάσκει ὁ προφήτης, *τὰ εἰδῶλα τῶν ἐθνῶν*, φησίν, *ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων*,
- 385 οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγω· ἀληθειαν γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν λελάληκεν ὁ σεβάσμιος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρόπαλαι χρόνοις οἱ προπάτορες ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ καθοδηγήσαι ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἐν μεγάλῃ πλάνῃ τε καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ χρηματίζοντες μάγοις καὶ πλάνοις καὶ γόησι καὶ πολεμισταῖς δι’ ἀνδρείαν καὶ νέοις καὶ κόραις δι’ ὠραιότητα, καὶ ἀπλῶς τοῖς ὡς ἔπος φαντασίᾳ δαιμόνων τερα-
- 390 τουργήσασιν εἴτε ῥώμῃ σώματος εὐανδρήσασιν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν στοχασάμενοι καίπερ παρελθοῦσι, στήλας καὶ ναοὺς καὶ ξόανα εἰδώλων ἀναστήσαντες ὡς σεμνεῖα, θυσίαις αὐτοῖς διηνεκῶς ἐσχόλαζον. Περι ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας ταῦτα οὕτως εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀληθὲς ὀφείλεις μαθεῖν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων λελάληκεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἔργα χειρῶν

368 τὰ – 369 ἀνθρώπων Ps. 113.12 | 377 τοὺς προφῆτας ἐλιθοβολήσατε cf. Lc. 13.34 τὸν – 378 ἐφονεύσατε cf. *Ascensio Isaiae* 3.19 | 379 τὸν – καθοραθέντα cf. Ex. 13.21–22 ἀθετήσαντες – 380 ἐρήμῳ cf. Ex. 32.4 | 380 τοὺς – 381 θύσαντες cf. Ps. 105.37–38

## C X K S H T V

364 ἰσχυροποιῶν post σου C | 367 ὡς φάσκεις < C | 368 φάσκων < C | 370 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S | 371 ἐχρημάτιζεν TV ἐκλήθησαν T ἀλλ' – 372 καὶ] καὶ ἐν εὐθέτοις καιροῖς SHTV οὖν + καὶ CX | 372 εὐστάθμοις K καὶ seclusi | 373 φησί < SHTV ἔδει – 374 οἶνον < T τῷ οἰκοδεσπότη K | 374 τοῖς<sup>1</sup> – φίλοις] τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις C | 375 προσέταχθεν SHTV | 376 πρῶτον – 387 ἀληθεία < SHTV | 378 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ K ἐν < K | 382 ἐπιστρέψαι CK | 383 τοὺς προφῆτας C λελάληκας C | 384 φησίν post χρυσίον X | 387 ἡμᾶς]

Jewish rites by the grace of God, by which and from which you received proofs, and thus you anointed the words of your mouth making them strong. Now if this is so, for which reason did God not command us to paint images of our righteous ones as well, of our prophets and of all those that pleased him well both before the law and in the law, but granted this only to you, as you say? In which way did the prophet say: *The idols of the nations are gold and silver, works of the hands of men* and so on?"

The archbishop said: "I confess that the law and the prophets were from God, and that they were also justly nominated for Israel from him. But now, since they have been fulfilled by the righteous judgements of the Almighty, I say, also an end has been put to them in well measured time. For since the old wine, he says, has been spent, the master of the house should have opened the new jars and have offered the new wine to his children and friends. And about what you said: 'For which reason did God not order us, who are in the law, to depict images, but to you that have recently invented this faith', listen: First, because you have killed your just ones yourself, you stoned the prophets, sawed Isaiah in two and murdered him hurling him down, and did not even bear their words to penetrate your ears. Second, that you despised him who had appeared to you in a pillar of fire and a cloud, you made a calf in the desert and, sacrificing your sons to the carven images of Canaan and your daughters to the demons, you made the one angry that lives forever. How could he allow you, who were so great in your deceit and folly and unbelieving, to paint images of your prophets and just ones? That the prophet says, as you have said before, *The idols of the nations are gold and silver, works of the hands of men*, this I do not contradict; for the adorable one said that this is so in truth. For in very old times, before the only begotten Son of God Father visited us and led us to the truth, the forefathers of us who are from the nations, being in great deceit and ignorance, had devoted themselves continuously with sacrifices to magicians, deceivers and sorcerers, to warriors because of their manliness and to young men and girls because of their beauty, and simply aimed at those who worked wonders, as it is said, by the imagination of the demons, or were in full vigour of their body in their midst, though they were transitory, erecting statues, temples and carven images of idols as places of worship. Concerning these events<sup>99</sup> the prophet said this so. But if you have to learn the truth: The prophet spoke also about these that they are works of the hands of men, to whom

ἡμῶν C τε πλάνη τε T | 388 πλάνοις καὶ μάγοις SH πλάνοις καὶ γόησι καὶ μάγοις TV δι' < K δι' ἀνδρείαν < SHTV | 389 καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 391 παρελθοῦσι < SHTV | 390 ἐανδρήσασιν C | 391 εἰδώλων] δόλων V ἀναστήσαντας C σεμνεῖα] ἐν μνεῖα SHTV ἐν θυσίαις K | 392 διηνεγκῶς C ταῦτα – 393 μαθεῖν < SHTV | 393 ἐκείνης SHTV

<sup>99</sup> Περὶ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας is hardly a variant of the usual formula διὰ ταῦτα. If περὶ is correct, αἰτία must be translated as 'event' instead of 'reason'.



ἀνθρώπων, οἷς αὐτοὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀποπλανηθέντες ἐθύσατε. Ὡς  
 395 δὲ ἡμεῖς ἀρτίως τοὺς τιμίους χαρακτήρας ἱστοροῦντες προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ τιμῶντες σεβα-  
 ζόμεθα, τίμιοι καὶ ἅγιοι καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐράσμιοι ἄνδρες ἐχρημάτισαν, νεκροὺς ἀναστήσαντες  
 καὶ τυφλῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξαντες, λεπροὺς καθάρισαντες καὶ δαιμόνια ἀπελάσαντες,  
 χλωροὺς ἀνορθώσαντες καὶ παραλύτους συσφίγγαντες, καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅλοι δι' ὅλου πνεύματος  
 ἀγίου ἀνάπλεοι χρηματίσαντες τῆς νέας χάριτος ὡς οἶα προφήται ἄλλοι ἐξέλαμψαν. Διὰ  
 400 τοῦτο οὖν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ ἀγαθῷ εὐηρέστησαν, ἱστοροῦντων ἡμῶν τοὺς τιμίους αὐτῶν χαρα-  
 κτήρας ὁ φιλόσοφος δεσπότης οὐθέν αὐτῶν λυπεῖται περὶ τούτων, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι  
 οἰκεῖοι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζουσιν καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλοι καὶ γνήσιοι οἰκέται. Τοῦ-  
 ναντίον μάλα καὶ ἀποδέχεται τοῦτο, ἀνθ' ὅσον αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον δο-  
 ξάζομεν καὶ σεβάζομεθα. Λέγει γὰρ καὶ Σολομῶν περὶ τούτων· *Ψυχαὶ δικαίων ἐν χειρὶ*  
 405 *θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι ἔδοξαν*, φησὶν, *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνθρώπων τεθνάναι, καὶ ἐλογίσθη κάκωσις ἢ*  
*ἐξοδος αὐτῶν* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, *οἱ δὲ εἰσίν*, φησὶν, *ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτῶν ἀθανασίας*  
*πλήρης*. Καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ· *Τίμιος ἐναντίον κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς μνημό-*  
*συνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ λέγοντος περὶ τῆς ἀπάτης ταύτης,  
 410 καθότι ἀπρόδεκτα εἰσὶν εὐλόγως τοῦ προσκυνεῖσθαι; *Κύριε*, φησὶν, *ἐν τῇ πόλει σου τὴν*  
*εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώσης, ὅτι ἐξεκαύθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ οἱ νεφροὶ μου ἠλλοιώθησαν*.  
 Πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς λέγεις ἀξιοπρεπεῖς εἶναι τὰς εἰκόνας ὑμῶν εἰς προσκύνησιν;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πρῶτον, τίς ἢ πόλις δίδαξον καὶ τίς ἢ εἰκὼν ἢ μία ἢ ἐν τοῖς  
 415 πολλοῖς δι' αὐτοῦ σαφηνιζομένη ἀπάγγελον, καὶ ποίῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ φάσκοντος *οἱ νεφροὶ*  
*ἠλλοιώθησαν* ἐρμήνευσον, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως δεχόμεθα τὸν λόγον ὃν εἰρηκας βεβαίως εἰρηκέ-  
 ναὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ τῆς τῶν σεβασμίων εἰκόνων προσκυνήσεως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἡ πόλις περὶ ἧς λέγει, ἔστιν Ἰερουσαλήμ· εἰκὼν δὲ πληθυντικῶς εἴρη-  
 420 ται ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ κατὰ παντὸς εἰδώλου, ἐξουδενοῖ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάντα τὰ  
 εἰδῶλα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ κύριος ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
 ἀναπαυόμενος καὶ δι' ὑμῶν τὰς σεβασμίους ἡμῶν εἰκόνας εἰδῶλα ἀποκαλῶν *ἐν ὑπερηφα-*  
*νεΐα καὶ ἐξουδενώσει*, ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος, ὁ ἐχθρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων.  
 Ἠπίστατο γὰρ αὐτός, ὅτι τῶν τιμίων εἰκόνων ἀρξαμένων ἱστορεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις ἐκ-  
 425 κκλησίαις τοῦ Χριστοῦ τέλος ἐδέξατο ἢ μιὰ τῶν ἐκείνου εἰδώλων προσκύνησις. Καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο, μὴ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ διαπράξῃται, κακῶς καὶ πικρῶς δάκνεται. Καὶ ἐπάναγκες, ἐπειδὴ

404 ψυχαὶ – 407 πλήρης Sap. 3.2–3 | 407 τίμιος – αὐτοῦ Ps. 115.6 εἰς – 408 δίκαιος Ps. 111.6 |  
 410 κύριε – 411 ἠλλοιώθησαν Ps. 72.20–21 | 421 ἐν – 422 ἐξουδενώσει Ps. 30.19

## C X K S H T V

394 ἐθύετε SHTV | 395 ἱστοροῦμεν προσκυνοῦντες C σεβόμεθα T | 396 ἅγιοι – ἄνδρες] ἐράσμιοι  
 ἄνδρες ἅγιοι τῷ θεῷ T καί<sup>2</sup> post θεῷ C καὶ ἐράσμιοι V ἐχρημάτιζον C SHTV | 397 ἀνεψίζαντες  
 SHTV καὶ λεπρούς X λεπρούς – 398 συσφίγγαντες < SHTV | 398 ἀπλῶς < SHTV | 399 τῆς –  
 404 σεβάζομεθα < SHTV | 400 τιμίους] ἀγίους C | 403 μάλα καὶ] μάλλον K | 404 ὁ Σολομῶν

you, having gone astray, sacrificed your sons and daughters. Those whose worthy representations we now paint and worship and adore honouring them, were worthy and saintly men who were beloved to God, who raised the dead and opened the eyes of the blind, cleansed lepers and drove away demons, raised the lame and restored the paralytics to health, and simply all of them, being full of the Holy Ghost, shone like some other prophets of the new grace. Now because of this, since they have well pleased the good one, if we paint their worthy representations, our master who loves mankind is not at all grieved about this, for he knows that they are his intimate and beloved ones, his friends and true servants. On the contrary he accepts this, inasmuch as we glorify and adore them for his holy name. For Solomon also says about this: *The souls of the righteous are in God's hand, and although they seemed to die in the eyes of men and their departure was considered an affliction* and so on, *they are*, he says, *in peace, and their hope is full of immortality*. And David: *Worthy in the sight of the Lord is the death of his holy ones, and it will be fitting for eternal remembrance*, and so on.”

Herban said: “Do you not hear what the prophet David says about this deceit, that they are unacceptable for worship with good reason? *Lord*, he says, *annihilate their image in your city, for my heart was burnt up and my kidneys were altered*. How do you say now that your images are suitable for worship?”

The archbishop said: “First teach me which one is the city, and announce to me which is the one picture that has been presented by him to the multitude, and explain to me in which sense *the kidneys* of the speaker *were altered*, and then we will accept that the speech you made was made firmly to refute the worship of the venerable images.”

Herban said: “The city about which he speaks is Jerusalem; the word ‘image’ is said being a plural in singular form against all idols, for the Lord annihilates all the idols and images of us Jews.”

The archbishop said: “That Lord, who rests in the hearts of you Jews and through you *arrogantly and contemptuously* calls our adorable images idols, is that wicked demon, the enemy of God and the saints. For he did not believe, when those worthy images began to be depicted in the holy churches of Christ, that the abominable veneration of his idols came to an end. And because of this, since he cannot do anything to us, he bites badly and bitterly. And since he is a spirit unable to insult the things dis-

SHTV | 405 και<sup>1</sup> – 408 ἐξῆς < SHTV | 406 τὰ] τὸ C ἐν < C | 409 < TV | 410 ὅτι SHTV εὐλόγως] ἐν λόγῳ SHTV φησὶν < SHTV | 411 ὅτι – ἠλλοιώθησαν < SHTV | 412 λέγεις] φάσκεις SHTV | 413 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V διδάξον τίς ἢ πόλις SHTV ἡ<sup>1</sup> – τίς<sup>2</sup> < X εἰκῶν – μία] οἰκονομία SHTV ἡ<sup>4</sup> – 414 ἀπάγγελον < SHTV | 414 πολλοῖς] πόλεις K ποίῳ] πηλικῶ SHV τοῦ < T | 415 βεβαίως εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν < SHTV | 416 σεβασμίων] ἀγίων SHTV ἡμῶν εἰκόνων CX | 417 λέγει<sup>1</sup>] ἔφη S, < TV ἡς] ἡ C λέγει<sup>2</sup>] λέγεις K SHV εἶρηκεν K | 418 ἐξουθενοῖ – 419 κύριος < SHTV ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων] ὑμῶν τῶν ἔθνων K | 420 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C ὁ κύριος] θεός C | 421 εἰκόνας ἡμῶν T ἀποκαλῶν] ἀποβαλῶν SHTV | 422 ἐξουθενώσει SV ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 426 λοιδορεῖν < SHTV ἐκείνος < K

πνεῦμα ἐστίν, σαρκικῶ ὀργάνῳ τοῦ λοιδορεῖν τὰ αὐτὸν σαιίνοντα ἀπορῶν, διὰ τῶν μιαρῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν ὡς αὐτῶν ἰδίων καὶ γνησίως ἀνακειμένων λοιδορεῖ καὶ ἐξουθενεῖ τὴν ἄχραντον ἀλήθειαν τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν σεβάσιμον προσκύνησιν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἁγίων. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως. Τὸ δὲ *Κύριε ἐν τῇ πόλει σου τὴν εἰκόνα*  
 430 *αὐτῶν ἐξουθενώσης*, οὐχ οὕτως ὡς σὺ εἰρηκας ἐρμηνεύεται, ἀλλ' ἐτέρως ἔχει πῶς. Περί γὰρ ἐκεῖνων τότε ἐπεκαλέσατο, περὶ ὧν προλαβὼν εἶρηκε διδάξας αὐτῶν τὴν ἄνοιαν, τό· *Καὶ ἔθεντο*, φησὶν, *εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν διήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς λόγον τὸ *τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ἐξουθενώσης* λελάληκεν, οὐχὶ δὲ  
 435 ἐκεῖ, ὅτι *κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδίων ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, καὶ ὅτι *Ἄνθρωπος ἐν εἰκόνι πορεύεται, πλην μάτην ταράττεται*, περὶ ταύτης καὶ ὡδε λέγει, τοῦτ' ἔστι περὶ τῆς εἰκόνας τῶν ὑπερηφάνων ἐκεῖνων. Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ ἐξουθενωθῆναι αὐτὴν παρὰ κυρίῳ ἠτήσατο· πόλιν δὲ εἰρηκῶς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν ἣ εὐαρεστοῦντες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου μετατιθέμενοι ὡς κληρονόμοι τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας δοξάζονται. Οἱ δὲ ἀσέμνως πῶς τὸν βίον ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐν ἀνομίαις ἐνταῦθα καταδαπανῶντες διὰ θανάτου ἀπερ-  
 440 χόμενοι ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ *κατ' εἰκόνα*, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα εἰλήφασιν, ἀφαιρούμενοι λυγρῶς, καὶ ἐξουθενῶσιν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ὑπερήφανοι δεχόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ πάντων κριτοῦ, οὕτω τῇ Γεέννῃ τοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι παραπέμπονται. Καὶ τοῦτο ἡ ἀφευδῆς λύσις τοῦ ῥήματος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πάντως οἶαν αἰσθησὶν εἶχον τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν ποτὲ αἱ εἰκόνες, ἄσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως εἶδωλα ἀποκαλοῦντες καταγινώσκετε, τηλικαύτην αἰσθησὶν κέκτηνται καὶ αἱ παρ' ὑμῶν εἰκόνες ἀρτίως αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ὑμῶν, ὡς φάσκετε, λεγόμεναι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τὸ μέσον ἐκεῖνων καὶ τούτων.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ χιτῶν ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, ἀμφότερα ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ λίνου χρηματίζοντα, ἴσην τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἴσως ἄρα ἐκέκτηντο; Ἡ ῥάβδος ἡ σὴ καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν ἡ βλαστήσασα ἴσην τὴν δόξαν κέκτηνται; Τὸ κεράμιον τὸ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου καὶ ἡ στάμνος ἐν ἣ τὸ μάννα, ἴσην τὴν δόξαν ἄρα ἐσχήκασιν; Τὸ κιβῶτιον τὸ σόν, ἐν ᾧ τὰς χρεῖας τοῦ σώματός σου ἔνδον τῆς οἰκίας ἐναπόκεινται, καὶ ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου, ἐφ' ἴσης ἄρα λογισθήσονται παρὰ τοῖς εὐφρονούσιν; Τὴν δάδα καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον, ἄπερ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου πρὸς φωτισμὸν ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπεξάπτεις, μετὰ τῆς  
 455 λυχνίας τῆς χρυσοῦς τῆς ἐπταφώτου καὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου θυμιατηρίου ἴσως ἄρα ἀπεικάσας

432 ἔθεντο – γῆς Ps. 72.9 | 435 κατ' – ἄνθρωπον cf. Gen. 1.27 ἄνθρωπος – 436 ταράττεται cf. Ps. 38.7 | 454 τῆς – 455 ἐπταφώτου Ex. 25.31–40

### C X K S H T V

426 σαρκικῶν ὀργάνων K σαιίνοντα T μιαρῶν] πονηρῶν TV | 427 αὐτῷ SHTV ἰδίως TV λοιδορεῖ καὶ < C | 428 τοῦ < SHTV σεβάσιμον < SHTV | 429 σεπτῶν εἰκόνων σεπτῶν καὶ T τὸ – 430 ἐξουθενώσης < V | 430 ἐξουθενώσης S οὐχὶ CX σὺ < X πῶς ἔχει CX περι – 433 λελάληκεν < SHTV | 431 ἐκεῖνων τότε K διάνοιαν C | 432 ἔθεντο K τὸν οὐρανὸν K | 433 τῷ – λόγῳ C | 434 περὶ στήλης αἰσθητῆς] περιστῆς SV περιστήσιν H περιστήσιν T ἡ < T περι<sup>2</sup> < SHTV εἰκόνων καὶ ζώδων CX δν – 437 ἠτήσατο < SHTV | 437 κυρίῳ] κυρίου K | 438 οἱ εὐαρεστοῦντες SHTV | 439 μετατιθέμενοι + τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα κυρίως δεχόμενοι CX τῶν] ὑπ'

gusting him with an organ made of flesh, it is necessary that he insults and sets at naught through your abominable hearts, those which had themselves truly devoted to these, the immaculate truth of the arrival of Christ and the adorable worship of the noble images of the saints. So far to this. The word *Lord, destroy their image in your city* is not to be explained as you have said, but somewhat different. For he called this out about those, about whom he had said before, teaching us of their folly, *And they set their mouth against heaven and their tongue walked through the earth*. For he said *annihilate their image* according to the word at the beginning, but not about a perceptible statue or about representations, figures and images. For in the same way as he says there that *God made man according to his own image*, and that *Man walks around in an image, but is troubled in vain*, so he speaks here about this, that is about the image of those arrogant ones. The prophet asked it to be annihilated by the Lord; when he said city, he meant the upper city, in which those that please him well are glorified after having been transferred from this world as heirs of the kingdom of heaven. But from those, that have consumed their life here indecently and in iniquities and go there after their death, the word *according to his image* will miserably be taken away, which they had received here, and they will be set at naught as being faithless and arrogant, receiving <this appellation> from the Judge of all, and so will be sent to Gehenna for punishment. And this is the unerring solution of this word.”

Herban said: “At all events the images of the so-called gods, which you now condemn as well calling them idols, once had such a sensual perception as now the images also have, which are called those of your saints, as you say; for there is no difference between those and these.”

The archbishop said: “Did your garment and the tabernacle of the testimony, which consisted both of wool and linen, perhaps possess the same power and honour? Do your rod and the rod of Aaron, which brought forth leaves, possess the same glory? Did the earthenware vessel in your house and the jar, in which the manna was, have the same glory? Will the chest, in which the needs of your body are stored within the house, and the ark of the covenant of the Lord be considered by the well thinking to be of equal value? Will you perhaps compare the torch, the fire and oil, which you inflame in your house for lighting in the night, to the golden candlestick with seven lamps and the most divine censer? Will you also compare your house in which you live to the temple, which

SHTV βασιλέως C οί τε C | 441 ἐνταῦθα < C | 442 ἐξουθένωσιν K οί – 443 ῥήματος < SHTV | 444 λέγει < TV ἄσπερ] ὡσπερ CX ἀπλῶς T | 445 καταγινώσκετε εἰδῶλα ἀποκαλοῦντες T | 446 ἀγίων + εἰκόνες C οὐθὲν SHTV | 448 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V | 449 λινοῦ Η χρηματίζουσα C ἴσως < C SHTV ἐκέκτητο CX κέκτηντες S κέκτηνται Η | 450 Ἀαρῶν < X δόξαν + καὶ τὴν τιμὴν SHTV ἐκέκτηντο K τὸ<sup>1</sup> – 457 ἀπεικάσης < SHTV | 452 ἐναποτίθεσθε K | 455 ἀπεικάσης C

λογίση; Τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἧ καταμένεις καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὃν ἐδείματο Σολομὼν κυρίῳ ἐπίσης ἀπεικάσῃς; Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς, καίπερ ἐξ ὕλης ἀμφότερα καὶ ἀργὰ ἐξ αἰσθήσεως χρηματίζοντα. Τιμᾶς δὲ πάντως δι' ὧν σοι ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ εἰώθει, δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιφοιτᾶν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ συνιείς· ἐπίγνωσ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶην εἰδῶλα νεκρὰ καὶ κωφὰ καὶ τυφλὰ ἐχρημάτιζον, ἐπειδὴ ἀθεμίτων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν ἀνθρώπων στήλαι καὶ ἰνδάματα ἐχρημάτιζον· μᾶλλον δὲ κάκεινα ἐπὶ φθορᾷ καὶ λύμῃ ψυχῶν ἐχρησιμοδότησαν τῶν δαμῶνων ἅπαξ ἐνεργούντων δι' αὐτῶν. Αἱ δὲ ἀρτίως εἰκόνες ἀγίων καὶ θεοπνεύστων ἀνδρῶν χρηματίζουσαι, εἰ καὶ ἄψυχα πεφύκασιν (πῶς γὰρ καὶ εἶπω ψυχὴν αὐτὰς ἔχειν ὅπερ οὐκ ἔχουσι;) μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά ἡμῖν ἐπτελοῦσιν οὐκ αὐταῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκείνων, ὧν αἱ εἰκόνες, ἧ τε πρεσβεία καὶ ἡ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιστάσια. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτῶν λειψάνων συμβησόμενον γίνεται ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἀφθαρσίας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τῷ μὲν λέγειν, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγειν ὡς διαγορεύεις. Λέγεις γάρ, ὅτι ὃν τρόπον τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὕλικά χρηματίζοντα, ἐπειδὴ χάρις θεοῦ ἐπεπόλαζεν εἰς αὐτά, τιμὴν ἐκέκτηντο παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν τιμώμενα ἐπθεούσης τῆς χάριτος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν χάριν τιμῶνται καὶ μόνον καὶ οὐ θεοποιοῦνται. Τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδέχομαι· πλὴν εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ τέως νεκρᾷ εἰκόνι οὐ κάμψω μου τὸ γόνυ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄσυνέτω τῷ δόξαι, καθὰ φησὶν ὁ ἐπχώριος νόμος, τίς πέφυκεν; Οὐκοῦν οὐ διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχες τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν, ὃν Μωσῆς κατασκευάσας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἀνεστήλωσεν, ὀπηνίκα ὑμᾶς διὰ τὰς ἀσεβείας ὑμῶν ἔδακνον οἱ ὄφεις καὶ λυγρῶς ἐτελευτᾶτε; Καίτοι τίνα αἴσθησιν ἔσχεν ὁ χαλκοῦς ὄφιν ἢ ποῖαν ἐνέργειαν, ὅτι ἐτιμᾶτο;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἴσως διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχομεν, καθότι ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τῷ Μωσῆϊ γενέσθαι προσέταχε· τὰ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα ποῖος θεοῦ ὠρίσατο ἢ ποῖος Μωσῆϊ ἐνάρξας κατεστήλωσεν;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν γινόμενα οὐχ ὁ Μωσῆς ὑπέδειξεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Μωσέως. Καίτοι εἰ λάχῃ, οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς τὸ ὅπερ εἰκόνισμα Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ἐν σινδόνι τυπώσας διὰ μόνῃς τῆς προσώπουσεως, τοῦτο τῷ Ἀββάρῳ δι' Ἀνανίου κούρσορος ἐν Ἐδέσῃ ἀπέστειλεν ἐν νόσῳ δεινῇ ἐπὶ

474 ἀσυνέτω τῷ δόξαι § | 475 οὐκοῦν – 477 ἐτελευτᾶτε cf. Num. 21.9 | 482 καίτοι – 490 γένηθεν cf. Euagrus, 174.3–19 et notam

## C X K S H T V

457 ἐξ ὕλης] ἐν ξύλοις HV καὶ + γὰρ SHTV ἀργὰ] ἔργα C τὰ TV | 458 τιμᾶς – 459 ἡμέτερα < SHTV | 460 ἐπειδὴ – 462 αὐτῶν < SHTV | 462 εἰκόνας V | 463 ἄψυχα X πῶς – 464 αὐταῖ < SHTV εἶπω ψυχὴν] ὑπόφει K | 464 ἔχουσι X θαυμαστά τίνα K ἀποτελοῦσιν C αὐτὰ C ἀλλὰ SHTV ἡ<sup>2</sup>] αἱ X | 465 ἐκείνων < K ὧν αἱ < X ὧν αἱ εἰκόνες] εἰκόνων SH,<sup>2</sup> TV ἧ τε ἡ C ἐν πνεύματι] πνευματικῇ K ἀγίων K S | 466 τὸ – συμβησόμενον < SHTV καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἀφθαρσίας < SHTV | 468 λέγει < T λέγειν<sup>2</sup>] φάσκειν SHTV ὑπαγορεύεις SHTV λέγεις – 472 ἀποδέχομαι < SHTV | 471 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < K | 472 ἔχει < X | 473 μου τὸ < SHTV | 474 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἀσυνέτω] ὁ συνετῷ C τῷ δόξαι] δόξα K νόμος < SHTV | 475 οὐκοῦν –

Solomon built for the Lord? O no, never, although they both are of matter and idle of sensual perception. At all events you honour the things by which the grace of God used to come to you, understanding that this will happen habitually and in the same way, so observe ours as well. For the former idols were dead and dull and blind, since they were statues and representations of unlawful and sinful men; rather those also gave oracles for the corruption and outrage of souls, as the demons once worked through them. Our present images are those of holy and god-inspired men, although they are without soul (for how could I say that they have a soul which they do not have?), and perform great and wonderful things not themselves, but the grace of God and that of those saints does this, of whom these are the images, their intercession and authority in the Holy Ghost. The same will also happen to us concerning their holy relics, for our salvation and certainty of incorruption.”

Herban said: “As to that I should speak, I actually do not have anything to say, as you declare. For you say that in the same way as the things in the law, which were material, possessed honour among men, since the grace of God prevailed in them, in the same way the things are honoured only by you Christians because of their grace, since this grace has come to them, and are not made gods. This I accept as well, save that even if this should be so, I will not bow my knee to a dead image forever.”

The archbishop said: “Who is *to one who appears to be without understanding*, as the local law says?<sup>100</sup> So did you not hold the brazen serpent in honour, which Moses made and set up in the desert, when the serpents bit you because of your faithlessness and you died miserably? And yet, which sense-perception did the brazen serpent have or which force, that it was honoured?”

Herban said: “Perhaps we held it in honour, because God had given the order to Moses himself to make it; but which God commanded what is made by you, or which Moses set it up being in charge to do so?”

The archbishop said: “Moses did not indicate what is made by us, but the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses. And even if it would happen to be so, you can not ignore the image which Jesus Christ, whom you crucified, impressed into a linen cloth only by touching it, and sent it by the messenger Ananias to Abgar in Edessa, who had been afflicted by a terrible disease for a sufficient number of years. When he only recei-

477 ἐπιμάτο < SHTV | 477 χαλκός K | 478 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T | 479 προσέταχεν C SHTV γινόμενα SHTV ἦ – 480 κατεστήλωσεν < SHTV | 481 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἡμῖν K γενόμενα C ἐπέδειξεν K κατέδειξεν SHTV | 482 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < C Μωυσέως SHV καίτοι – 492 ἀνδρῶν < SHTV λάχοιεν K ἀγνοεῖς] ἀγνοῶ εἰς CX | 483 προφαύσεως C | 484 διὰ C δεινῆ] τι K ἐπ’ X

<sup>100</sup> The ‘local law’ mentioned here as the source of the quotation cannot be identified. The phrase is apparently quoted in the dative of the original, although it does not fit the new context.

485 ἔτη ἱκανὰ ἐταζομένῳ. Ὅπερ εἰκόνημα τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπαρράλλα-  
κτως ὅμοιον χρηματίζον, μόνον δεξάμενος περιεπτύξατο εὐθέως ἀναρρωσθεῖς καὶ τῆς  
κλίνης ἐξαναστὰς ὑγιῆς μετὰ πάντων διητᾶτο εὐλογῶν τὸν ἰασάμενον. Ταύτην τὴν θεῖαν  
ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτι ἡ Ἔδεσσα πόλις ἐν δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ μεγίστη  
κατέχουσα, τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ διαμενούσης τῆς σινδόνης καὶ τοῦ τιμίου χαρα-  
κτῆρος, γάνυται καὶ εὐφραίνεται καὶ γέγηθεν. Ἀπ' ἐκεῖ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν τὴν καλ-  
490 λίστην ἀφορμὴν τοῦ ἱστορεῖν τοὺς τιμίους χαρακτῆρας πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοφόρων  
καὶ σημειοφόρων ἀνδρῶν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶ θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Μωσέως;  
Οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω τοῦτο. Πότε γὰρ Ἀβραάμ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ποίοις χρόνοις ὁ Μω-  
495 σῆς ἀπεδήμησε, ποίῳ δὲ καιρῷ ὠδε ἔσχατος Ἰησοῦς ἐτέχθη ἐκ τῆς Ἰωακείμ θυγατρὸς  
Μαρίας; Πῶς οὖν θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ὁ Ἰησοῦς;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος λόγον τοῦτο ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ τὰ  
τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ μέτρα λογιζόμενος νόει αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πολλὰ ἔχομεν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀλλεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν.”

500 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ποτὲ ἀνθρώπῳ νεκροὺς ἐγείρειν καὶ τυφλῶν  
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίγειν καὶ παραλύτους σφίγγειν καὶ λεπροὺς καθαίρειν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, οἶμαι,  
καὶ μάλιστα ψιλῷ τῷ λόγῳ σημεῖα ἐκτελεῖν πολλὰ καὶ τῷ χαλεπώτερον παρανομοῦντι καὶ  
τὰ μὴ πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ κατεργαζομένῳ.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ εἰσακούει.”

505 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ποίῳ τρόπῳ ἄρα ταῦτα πάντα τὰ σημεῖα ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐτέ-  
λεῖ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε; Μὴ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἐτέρῳ δίδωσι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἕτερον οὐ καθιστᾷ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ ἀντ'  
αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναχωρεῖ.”

510 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τελούντος σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν  
τῇ συναγωγῇ ὑμῶν καὶ λέγοντος, ὅτι *Θεὸς εἰμὶ καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ παναληθῆς*, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ  
ἠμύνατο αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου, ἐπεὶ ψευδῆ ἐλάλη, ὡς ἀντίχριστον πρόδηλον καὶ ἀντί-

504 ἁμαρτωλῶν – εἰσακούει cf. Ιο. 9.31 | 510 θεὸς – παναληθῆς §

## C X K S H T V

486 περιπτυξάμενος C εὐθέως < K ἀναρρωσθεῖς| ἄμα ῥωσθεῖς C<sup>pc</sup> | 487 ἀπαναστὰς C ἠτᾶτο X  
τὸν θεὸν τὸν C | 489 τὰ τοσαῦτα CX | 491 τιμίους| θείους K | 493 λέγει| ἔφη S, < TV Μωυσέως  
S | 494 πότε – 496 Ἰησοῦς < SHTV ἀπ' ὑπ' X Μωυσῆς XK | 495 ἐπεδήμησε K ἐσχάτως K |  
496 ὁ < CX | 497 ὁ < T ἔφη < V τοῦτο < SHTV ἐξέταξε SHT ἐξέταξεν V | 498 αὐτοῦ| τὰ αὐτὰ  
K τὸν < C τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < C | 499 λέγει < TV | 500 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < T ἔφη < TV ἀνθρώπους CX ἀνθρώπῳ  
ἁμαρτωλῷ SHTV | 501 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – οἶμαι < SHTV | 502 σημεῖα ἐκτελεῖν πολλὰ < CXK | 503 τῷ <  
SHTV | 504 λέγει| ἔφη S, < TV ἀκούει C εἰσακούσει T | 505 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη|  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ὁ<sup>2</sup> < CX SH | 507 λέγει| ἔφη S, < T μὴ γένοιτο < SHTV ἐτέρῳ  
SH οὐ καθιστᾷ| οὐκ ἀνιστᾷ TV ἀντ' αὐτοῦ < K | 508 αὐτὸς < H | 509 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη|  
ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C | 510 ταῖς συναγωγαῖς SHTV ὁ θεὸς H θεοῦ| θεῷ T | 511 αὐτῷ < H  
πρόδηλον < SHTV

ved and embraced this image, which was similar to the humanity of Jesus himself without any change, he regained strength immediately, and standing up from his bed led his life soundly with all the others, blessing the one who had healed him. The city of Edessa still holds this divine likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ in glory and very great honour, because the linen cloth and the worthy impression have lasted incorruptedly so many years, and is glad and rejoicing and full of joy.<sup>101</sup> From there now we had the best starting-point to paint the worthy images of all holy, god-bearing and wonder-working men.”

Herban said: “Jesus is the God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses? I do not accept this. For when did Abraham and his offspring emigrate and in which time Moses, and at what point now finally was Jesus born from Mary, the daughter of Joachim? Now how is Jesus the God of Abraham?”

The archbishop said: “Do not examine this according to the word of his humanity, but considering the measures of his divinity, understand that he is the God of Abraham and Adam.”

Herban said: “We must speak and talk much and get a headache.”

The archbishop said: “God gives sometimes to a man the power to raise the dead, to open the eyes of the blind, to restore the paralytics to health and to cleanse the lepers, I think, and especially to one of low education to do many portents, who has transgressed badly and did things which were not fitting to God.”

Herban said: “Let it not be, *God does not hear sinners.*”

The archbishop said: “And with what intention did Jesus work all these wonders in the midst of you, he whom you crucified? Does God not give his glory to somebody else?”

Herban said: “Let it not be, for God does not install somebody else in his glory instead of himself and goes away himself.”

The archbishop said: “When the Lord Jesus Christ worked signs and wonders in your congregation and said, *I am God and the all-true Son of God*, for what reason did the God of the law not hinder him, since he told lies, if he was clearly the Antichrist and

<sup>101</sup> The legend about the famous icon of Christ at Edessa in Syria is told here in a version similar to that of Euagrius, in which the last embellishment, namely the miraculous transfer to a tile (*keramion* or *keramidion*), is not yet present; this addition appears first in the so-called Letter of Abgar, a text probably of ninth-century date. On the variants of the legend, see v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 102–196, on the *keramion* and the date of its addition to the story, *ibid.*, 138–140, 203\*. — The remark in the *Dialexis* that the icon was still in Edessa appears to be a *terminus ante quem* of 944, before the translation to Constantinople, but can also possibly be the result of the fictitious dating into the early sixth century. On the translation, see v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 149–169. See also above, p. 99.



θεον καὶ ὡς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ σφετεριζόμενον, ἀλλὰ εἶασεν αὐτὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ παράδοξα καὶ προκόπτειν ἐν τοῖς πέρασιν;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀντήρε καὶ τηλικούτον αὐτῷ ὠργίσθη, καθότι ἡμῖν  
515 τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ προστέταχε, καὶ συλληφθέντος αὐτοῦ σταυρώσαντες ἀπεκτείναμεν αὐτόν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ πῶς νῦν ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν δοξάζεται ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων σὺν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου οὐ χολᾷ, ἀλλ’ οὖν καταδέχεται τοῦτο; Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτὸν ὡς ὁ χνοὺς τῆς γῆς  
520 διεσκορπίσθητε εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης κατὰ τὸν προφητεύσαντα περὶ ὑμῶν τὸ Ἀναστήτω ὁ θεὸς καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ· μόνον γὰρ τὸ ἐγγεῖρθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, εὐθέως τοῦτο συνήνησεν ὑμῖν. Εἰ οὖν ἀντίθεος ἦν, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός, ἵνα μὴ τελῆ σημεῖα καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀναστῆ ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἵνα μὴ δοξά-  
525 ζηται ὁ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀρπάσας τὴν ἐπουράνιον καὶ ἐπίγειον αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξελάσας τῆς κληρονομίας ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν, ταύτην δέδωκεν χριστιανοῖς τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτὸν δοξάζουσιν ἕως τῆς δεῦρο;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Περὶ τούτων κἀγὼ ἐξίσταμαι· ἀλλ’ οὖν καὶ ἔπειτα διανοοῦμενος λέγω, ὅτι ἔδει δοθῆναι ποτὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀσεβέσι καιρὸν· πειράζων γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, εἰ ἄρα φυλάτ-  
530 τωμεν αὐτῷ πιστὰ καὶ ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ταῦτα οὕτως ἡμῖν συμβεβηκέναι συνεχώρησεν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὄντες πιστὰ διεφυλάξατε οἱ  
θύσαντες τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας τοῖς δαιμονίοις. Ἀρτίως οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
ἔθνεσιν ἐμελλεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην ἀποπειράζειν. Ματαιολογεῖς τοίνυν ἰστάμενος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄνευ ἀνομίας ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔνι, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀεὶ τῶν πάντων τὴν μετά-  
535 νοιαν ἀναμένει.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἡ σὴ μετάνοια, ἂν μὴ δέξῃ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου θεῖον βάπτισμα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα τῆς ζωοποιοῦ τριάδος πρὸ τοῦ λιπεῖν σε τὸν τῆδε βίον, ἐν Γεέννῃ  
540 πυρός σε ἀναμένουσα παρεκδέχεται, ἐκέισε γὰρ κἂν μὴ βουλόμενος τὸ ματαιότατον καὶ ὀλέθριον μεταγινώσκων μετ’ ἀγνωσίας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἰκανῶς τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα αἰνιττόμενος παρωνείδισας· ἀλλ’ οὖν ὅρα μὴ  
εἰς σὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαβήσεται.”

521 ἀναστήτω – αὐτοῦ Ps. 67.2 | 530 οἱ – 531 δαιμονίοις cf. Ps. 105.38

### C X K S H T V

512 ὡς < C ἀλλ’ C ἀλλὰ – 513 πέρασιν < SHTV | 514 λέγει| ἔφη SV, < T αὐτόν| αὐτῷ STV τηλικούτον < SHTV αὐτῷ < C SHTV | 515 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>| αὐτῷ SH, < X προστέταχε C | 517 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V | 518 περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης TV ὁ θεὸς ὁ CX | 519 ἀλλ’ οὖν| ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον C ὑμεῖς – 526 δεῦρο < SHTV | 520 διεσκορπίσθητε + καὶ ὡς καπνὸς ἐπελάσθητε X | 521 γὰρ < C | 522 αὐτόν < C | 523 δοξάζεται C | 524 ὁ<sup>2</sup> < CX | 527 λέγει| ἔφη SV, < T καὶ < C | 528 ποτὲ δοθῆναι C καιρὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀσεβέσι SHTV περάζων S εἰ| ὡς V | 529 ἐν < XK τοῖς ἔθνεσιν SHTV | 530 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη| ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C οἱ < K | 531 τοῖς υἱοῖς K ἀρτίως – 532 ἰστάμενος < SHTV | 532 ἐμελλον X | 533 λέγει| ἔφη S, < TV τῶν πάντων τὴν| τὴν πάντων C | 535 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη|

hostile to God and appropriated his glory, but let him work miracles and advance into all ends?”

Herban said: “He opposed him so much and was angry with him in such a degree, that he gave the order to us, his beloved ones, and after he had been arrested, we crucified and killed him.”

The archbishop said: “And how is he now, having risen from the dead, glorified from end to end together with the God of the law and his Holy Ghost, and the God of the law does not become angry, but accepts this? But you who crucified him were scattered like the chaff of the world, according to what the prophet said about you: *Let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered*; it happened only to you immediately that he rose from the dead. Now if he was hostile to God, for which reason did God not hinder him to make portents and to rise from the dead, and that his enemy would not be glorified who robbed his heavenly and earthly glory, but rather he expelled you from your inheritance and your land, and gave it to the Christians who believe in him and glorify him until now?”

Herban said: “About this I am astonished as well; but now when thinking about it I say, that it was once necessary to give time also to the faithless, for tempting us, whether we would keep the oaths to him among the nations as well, God allowed this to happen to us in this way.”

The archbishop said: “You kept many oaths to him also being at peace, you who sacrificed your sons and daughters to the demons. Now he recently wanted to make trial of your love among the nations as well. Therefore you say vain things as you stand here.”

Herban said: “There is no man without iniquity, but god always awaits the repentance of us all.”

The archbishop said: “If you will not receive the divine baptism of my Christ in the holy name of the live-giving Trinity before you leave this world, your repentance will receive and await you in the Gehenna of fire, for even unwillingly you will repent with your ignorance the most vain and destructive things.”<sup>102</sup>

Herban said: “You have insulted me sufficiently saying this word, but now take care that such a thing may not happen to you.”

ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη] λέγει S ἐὰν V δέξεται CX τὸ < SH μου θεῖον < X βάπτισμα – 536 ἅγιον < C | 536 τῆς] τοῦ S | 537 σε < K ἀναμένοντα C ἐκείσε – 538 ἀγνωσίας < SHTV | 539 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ἱκανὰ SHTV + μοι T τουτοῖ C τουτο μοι SHTV αἰνιττόμενος < T παροίησας SHV ἐπαροίησας T μὴ < T | 540 ἐνδιαβήσεται SHTV

102 A finite verb is missing here.

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πάσης τιμωρίας εἰμὶ ἐπάξιος καὶ ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ’ οὖν δι’ ὧν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ μου τὰ θεῖα προστάγματα παραχαράττω.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Κἀγὼ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμὶ, ἀλλὰ δι’ ὧν τὸν νόμον Μωσέως κατὰ τὸ δέον οὐ φυλάττω.”

545 Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μαρτύρομαί σοι, ὅτι κἄν τε φυλάττης αὐτόν, μισθὸν οὐχ ἔξεις ἐξ αὐτοῦ, κἄν τε παραβαίνης αὐτόν, δι’ αὐτόν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κρίνων σε· δι’ ὧν δὲ ἄθετων ἄθετεῖς τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κρίσει δικαίᾳ κατακριθῆσει.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μᾶλλον σὺ δι’ ὧν οὐκ ἰουδαίζεις ὄρα μὴ κατακριθῆς τὰ μέγιστα.”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἔχω κατακριθῆναι;”

550 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Διὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις κατακριθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὅτι *Κρινεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, πληρώσει πτώματα, συνθλάσει κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆς πολλῶν.*”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ περὶ οὗ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψαλμῷ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ εἶρηκε λέγων· *Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.*”

555 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πᾶσα ἡ βία διὰ τὸν κύριόν σου ἐγένετο, ὃν καλεῖς Χριστόν σου· ἕτερος γὰρ ἄπαξ οὐκ ἦν, καθότι ἐάσαντες τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου οἱ προφήται περὶ τοῦ σοῦ πεποθημένου Χριστοῦ ἐκελάδησαν προφητεύοντες καὶ γράφοντες.”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ ὀλίγα ἤκουσας τὰ μαρτυροῦντα αὐτόν θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς συνάναρχον υἱόν, ἀποκρίθητι ἔτι καὶ ἄπαξ.”

560 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πολλὰ μὲν ἤκουσα, ἐπελαθόμην δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔπειτα πάλιν μάχομαι μετὰ σοῦ.”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐπελάθου τοῦ Ἡσαίου λέγοντος περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν καὶ υἱὸς ἐδόθη ἡμῖν*; Τὸ μὲν *παιδίον* λέγων κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ λόγον ἠνίκατο, πρὸς γὰρ τὴν σύνεσιν τῆς θεότητος νήπιος ἢ ἀνθρωπότης· τὸ δὲ *καὶ υἱὸς* ὡς οἶα υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῆς θεότητος δύναμιν. Ἐπὶ ταῦτῳ τοῦτο ἐνέφηεν, *Οὗ ἢ ἀρχῇ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄμου αὐτοῦ καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης* τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς *βουλῆς ἄγγελος*. Πρόσεχε, Ἐρβᾶν, *θαυμαστός, φησί, σύμβουλος θεός ἰσχυρός*. Τίσπερ τὸ παιδίον ὃ ἐγεννήθη ἐξουσιαστής, *ἀρχῶν εἰρήνης*, τίσπερ; Ὁ υἱὸς ὃν εἶπεν Ἡσαίας, ὅτι ἐδόθη ἡμῖν πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, τίσπερ; Τὸ παιδίον ὃ *καὶ υἱὸς ἐδόθη ἡμῖν*, πατὴρ δὲ οὐ τοῦδε τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος, φησίν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ παιδίον

545 μισθὸν – 546 ἔξεις cf. Mt. 6.1 | 551 κρινεῖ – πολλῶν Ps. 109.6 | 553 εἶπεν – 554 μου Ps. 109.1 | 562 παιδίον – 563 ἡμῖν<sup>2</sup> Is. 9.5 | 565 οὗ – 568 εἰρήνης ibid.

## C X K S H T V

541 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἄξιος H δι’ ὧν] διὸ X | 542 καὶ θεοῦ < X | 543 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV δι’ ὧν] διὸ X διὰ H κατὰ τὸ δέον < C | 545 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V σοι] σε TV τε < K φυλάξης TV αὐτόν < SHTV οὐχ SHV | 546 δι’ ὧν] διὸ X | 547 Χριστοῦ + περὶ τοῦδε SHTV κρίσιν δικαίαν X | 548 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV δι’ ὧν] διὸ X κατακριθῆς τὰ μέγιστα] κατακριθῆναι H | 549 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος TV | 550 Ἐρβᾶν – 554 ἐξῆς < SHTV | 555 λέγει < TV | 556 ἐτέρως H καθότι] καθ’ ὃ C | 557 προφητεύοντες καὶ γράφοντες < SHTV | 558 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T

The archbishop said: “I am worthy of all punishment and confess this, but because I adulterate the divine orders of my Christ and God.”

Herban said: “And I myself am a sinner as well, but because I do not keep the law of Moses as it is necessary.”

The archbishop said: “I testify to you that if you keep it, you will not receive any reward from him, and if you transgress it, there would be nobody to judge you for it; because you despise the faith in Christ, you will be condemned by a righteous judgement.”

Herban said: “Rather take care that you will not be greatly condemned because you are no Jew.”

The archbishop said: “For what reason will I be condemned?”

Herban said: “You will be condemned, because it is written about the God in the law: *He will judge the nations, he will fill the place with dead bodies, he will smash their heads on the earth.*”

The archbishop said: “This has not been written about the God of the law, but the one about whom he spoke in the same psalm in the beginning, saying: *The Lord said unto my lord: Sit at my right hand* and so on.”

Herban said: “All violent interpretation has been done because of your lord, whom you call your Christ; for once for all there was nobody else, that the prophets should have abandoned the God of the law and sung prophesying and writing about your Christ, whom you desire.”

The archbishop said: “If you have heard few things which testify that he is God and man and the Son that has no beginning together with the Father, answer once more.”

Herban said: “I have heard much, but forgotten most of it, and thereafter again I fight with you just as in the beginning.”

The archbishop said: “Did you forget what Isaiah said about him: *A child has been born to us and a son has been given to us?* When he said *child*, he spoke obscurely about the word of his humanity, for humanity is childish compared to the wisdom of divinity; the words *and a son*, as to the son of God referring to the power of divinity. In the same section he declared, *Whose government was upon his shoulder, and his name is called the angel of the great counsel* of his father. Listen, Herban, *a wonderful counsellor*, he says, *a strong God*. Who is the child that was born as a person in authority, *a ruler of peace*, who? The son about whom Isaiah said, that he was given to us as the father of the future world, who is he? The child that *has been given to us as a son*, the father not of this world, but of the future one, he says. Now since this child, which is

Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη < C εἰ| δι' X | 559 καί<sup>2</sup> < K | 560 λέγει < TV καί – 561 σοῦ < SHTV | 562 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη < C | 563 υἱός καὶ CK τὸ – 570 φησὶν < SHTV τὸν post 564 αὐτοῦ C | 564 αὐτοῦ < K σύνθεσιν K | 565 τοῦ < X ἐπὶ ταῦτῳ] ἔπειτα K ἐνέφηεν + τὸ C | 566 ἀρχὴ + φησὶν X | 567 βουλῆς ante 566 τῆς K | 568 ὁ] ὃν X | 569 τίσπερ – 570 αἰῶνος < CX

τοῦτο, ὁ καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ τοῦδε τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀφείλει εἶναι πατήρ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ ἀτελευτήτου ἐκείνου καὶ πέρας μὴ ἔχοντος. Ἄν μὴ πιστεύσης εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐνίστε ἔξεις εὐρᾶσθαι, ὁπότεν αὐτῷ παραστής γυμνὸς καὶ τετραχληλισμένος ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον παρέχων, καθότι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν μυηθεὶς καὶ τὴν παλαιὰν  
575 πᾶσαν ἐξασκήσας οὐκ ἠβουλήθης ἐπιγνῶναι τὸν προφητευόμενον. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἀπέφραξας τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἐκάμυσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου, ὡς ἄσπις κωφή καὶ βύουσα τὰ ὦτα αὐτῆς τοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι φωνῆς ἐπάδοντος τὰ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, μερίζεται μου ἡ διάνοια εἴνεκα τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου. Βούλομαι εἰπεῖν ὅτι μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐρχόμενος· ἀλλ' οὖν σκανδαλίζει με ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ, σκανδαλίζει με τὰ ἐμπτύσματα καὶ τὰ ῥαπίσματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ. Βούλομαι πιστεῦσαι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ φόβος με περιέχει, μήποτε ἀπατηθεὶς προσκρούσω τῷ θεῷ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἀπόλλωμαι διασκορπισθέντων τῶν ὀστέων μου ψαλμικῶς παρὰ τὸν ἄδην. Τίνα οὖν δράσομαι οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρούντων τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι σαρκωθήσεται καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα τελέσει καὶ προδοθήσεται καὶ σταυρωθήσεται, καθὰ προλαβὼν ἔμαθες παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ θάνατον ὑπομενεῖ καὶ ταφῆς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται, λοιπὸν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν σκάνδαλον ἠγεῖ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι καὶ προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐκείνων μαρτυρούντων τῇ ἀληθείᾳ;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸ μὲν θεὸς τοῦ νόμου ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστί· ποίω τρόπῳ τοιγαροῦν θλίψιν ἐπαγαγὼν ἐπιφέρω τῷ δεσπότη μου πιστεύσας τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ; Ἴσως μήποτε καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἐράσμιον.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐὰν τίς ἀγαπήσῃ τὸν υἱὸν σου ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἄρα γε χολέσης καὶ παροξυνθήσῃ ἢ ὀργισθῆς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀγαπήσαντι αὐτόν, ἀνάγειλον;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσω τὸν τοιοῦτον, καὶ οἶμαι καὶ τιμῶ καὶ δοξάσω· καθότι τὸν υἱὸν μου φιλεῖ, πρόδηλον ἐμὲ φιλεῖ ὁ αὐτός.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ αὐτό γε ποιήσῃ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν γνήσιον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἰσότιμον καὶ καθόμοιον αὐτῷ πεφυκότα κατὰ πάντα ἐν ἅπασιν.”

573 γυμνὸς καὶ τετραχληλισμένος cf. Hb. 4.13 | 576 ὡς – 577 ἐπάδοντος cf. Ps. 57.5–6 | 582 διασκορπισθέντων – 583 μου cf. Ps. 21.15

### C X K S H T V

571 καὶ + θεὸς T τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < CK τῷδε SV | 572 τοῦτ' ἔστι – ἔχοντος < SHTV ἐὰν T μῆ<sup>2</sup> νῦν K | 573 ἐνίστε] ἐν ἢ οὔτε C ἐνίστε ἔξεις εὐρᾶσθαι] ὅτε σε μέλλει κρῖναι SHTV ὁπότε T | 574 λόγον παρέχων] τότε ἀποδώσεις K διότι TV τὰ < H ἐμυήθης T μυήθης V | 576 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ὦτα<sup>2</sup> < SHTV + ὡς ἄσπις SH | 577 ἀκοῦσαι H σου] αὐτοῦ TV | 578 λέγει < T | 579 ἔνεκα T ὅτι post ἀληθείας X μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας < C ἀληθείας + ὅτι K | 580 σιαινὴ καὶ σκανδαλίζει<sup>2</sup> C σκανδαλίζει με<sup>2</sup>] καὶ SHTV καὶ τὰ ῥαπίσματα < H | 581 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < TV μὴ πιστεῦσαι TV | 583 ὀστέων SHTV τί οὖν δράσαι SHTV | 584 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C τοῦ θεοῦ] αὐτοῦ K θεοῦ μαρτυρούντων] Χριστοῦ μαρτυρησάντων SHTV τὰ < K | 585 ὅτι – σταυ-

also the Son of God, must be the father not of this world, but of the future one, this means of that endless one which has no end. If you do not believe in him, you will find it out at the time, when you will stand naked and open before him at the day of the resurrection and offer your account, that although you were initiated into the writings of the prophets and have been trained thoroughly in all the Old Testament, you did not want to recognise the one who has been prophesied. But instead, you stopped up your ears and closed your eyes like a dull snake that stops its ears, in order not to hear the voice that sings about your salvation.”

Herban said: “By heaven and earth and sea, my mind is divided because of the crucified. I want to say that he is the one who comes with all truth; but then his cross offends me, his spittings and beatings and death offend me. I want to believe in him and fear surrounds me, that I might not be deceived and strike against the God of the law, and perish in hell with all my bones scattered, as the Psalm says. Now I do not know what to do.”

The archbishop said: “Since the prophets of old have testified about him, that he will become flesh, will work signs and wonders and be betrayed and crucified, as you have learnt before from me, and will suffer death and rise from his grave on the third day, why do you then think that it is a scandal to believe in him and to go to him, as those testify in truth?”

Herban said: “I know that the word *God of the law* is true; with what intention should I therefore afflict my Master by believing in the crucified? Perhaps this is not at all pleasant to him.”

The archbishop said: “If someone loves your son with his whole heart, will you become angry and irritated or will you be furious about that man who loves him, tell me?”

Herban said: “I will rather love such a man, and I think I will also honour and glorify him: Since he loves my son, it is clear that he also loves me.”

The archbishop said: “The God of the law might do the same to those who love his true Son, who is consubstantial and of equal honour and similar to him, in and according to all things.”

ρωθήσεται < SHTV | 586 ἤκουσας καὶ ἔμαθες C καί<sup>1</sup> – 587 ἀναστήσεται < SHTV | 587 σκάνδαλον ἠγεί] φοβεῖ K ἠγεί] V | 589 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV τὸ] ὅ SHTV ὅτι < TV ποίω τρόπῳ] ποῖαν ποστ τοιγαροῦν SHTV | 590 ἐπεισαγαγῶν C ἐπεισφέρω CX ἴσως < SHTV | 592 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C ἄν T | 593 παροξυνθῆς C παροξυνθείη SHTV ὀργισθῆσει SHTV ἀγαπήσαντι αὐτόν] ἀγαπῶντι τὸν υἱόν μου SHTV ἀνάγειλον < K | 595 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV καί<sup>1</sup> – δοξάσω < SHTV | 596 φιλεῖ<sup>1</sup>] ἀγαπᾷ SHTV ὁ < V | 597 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T γε + οἶου CX ποιήσει SHTV ὁ τοῦ K | 598 κατὰ < CXK

600 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πάντων μὲν ἠκροασάμην τῶν παρὰ σοῦ μοι λεχθέντων καὶ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ προφῆται, δικαίως καὶ αὐτὸς προσαναφθέξω μοι. Ἄλλ’ οὖν ἡ καρδία μου οὐκ ἄρεστον ἠγέται τοῦ προσελθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ πιστεῦσαι εἰς αὐτόν· δειλιῶ γάρ ἴσως, μήποτε καὶ ἀπατηθεὶς ἐν πλάνῃ περιπέσω καὶ ὄλως ἔσομαι ὑπὸ κατάραν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην ἐν παντὶ τῷ γένοι μου.”

605 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ εἰ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν σῶν οὐκ ἀκούεις διδασκόντων καὶ πληροφορούντων περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστίν, λοιπὸν μηδὲ ἄπερ σοι ἐντέλλονται περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ νόμου ἐπακροάσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐξακολουθήσας σου τῇ διανοίᾳ πρόβαινε ἐν παντὶ κρημνῷ ἢ τε πεδίῳ ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀδιακρίτως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀγαπῶ τὸ εἶναι Ἐβραῖος, καὶ ἐπιποθῶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, διότι 610 καὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ πολλὰ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ μετὰ Ἰακώβ ἐξαιρέτα θαυμάσια ἐτελεσιούργησεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν πάγκαλον Ἰωσήφ εἰς δοῦλον πραθέντα βασιλέα ἐξήγειρεν, καὶ μετὰ Μωσέως δὲ ξένα καὶ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερβαίνοντα σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐδημιούργησεν δεῖξας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀπόρρητον αὐτοῦ δόξαν· καὶ τὸ μάννα δὲ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ εἰς κόρον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παραδόξως ἐχορήγησε καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς κληροδοσίας αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, καθὰ ὡμοσε τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, ἀναμφιβόλως ἀπέδωκεν, καὶ τὴν 615 Ἐρυθρὰν δὲ θάλασσαν σχίσας μέσον αὐτῆς ὡς ἐστὶ πεδιάδος χλοηφόρου στύλῳ πυρὸς τῇ νυκτὶ φωτίζων καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ σκέπων φωτεινῇ νεφέλῃ ἡμᾶς ἀβλαβεῖς ἐκείθεν διέσωσε. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ εἰσίν, ἃ πεποίηκε μεθ’ ἡμῶν θαυμάσια, ἄπερ οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς. Καὶ μὴ ταῦτα λογιζόμενος οὐ δύναμαι ἀποστήναι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ζῶντος καὶ προσελθεῖν νεαρῶ θρησκείᾳ, ἣν 620 οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, εἴτε βεβαία κατὰ πείραν, εἴτε δ’ οὖν καὶ σφάλουσα ὡς ἐν τινι.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄκουσον, Ἐρβᾶν, τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε τὰ πάντα καινά. Ταῦτα δὲ ἄπερ ἀπρηθμισας οὐδεμίαν σοι ὦνησιν παρέξωσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσης μου καὶ ἀναγεννηθῆς δι’ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος. Γέγραπται γάρ, ὅτι *Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν*, καὶ μετέπειτα, *Ἐὰν θέλετε καὶ εἰσακουσέτέ μου, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλετε μηδὲ εἰσακουσέτέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδετα*. Τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα. Οὐκοῦν εἰ ἐμοὶ 625 πείθη, ἄφες τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρτίως φρόντισον, εἰδὼς ὅτι κατεπαύθη ὁ ἰουδαϊσμός καὶ ὁ νόμος σεσίγηκε, καὶ τὰ ἄπερ προεφήτευσαν οἱ προφῆται πέρας ἔσχηκε. Καὶ ἐναλλα-

611 τὸν – 612 ἐξήγειρεν cf. Gen. 37.23–28, 41.39–46 | 613 τὸ – 614 ἐχορήγησε cf. Num. 11.6–9 | 614 τὴν – 615 ἀπέδωκεν cf. Gen. 26.3 | 615 καθὰ – Ἀβραάμ cf. Odae 9.73; Lc. 1.73 τὴν – 617 διέσωσε cf. Ex. 14.16–29 | 619 ἀποστήναι – ζῶντος Hb. 3.12 | 621 τὰ<sup>1</sup> – 622 καινά 2 Cor. 5.17 | 623 λούσασθε – 624 ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> Is. 1.16 | 624 ἐὰν – 626 ταῦτα Is. 1.19–20

## C X K S H T V

600 λέγει < T μὲν | γάρ K ἠκροασάμην H | 601 καὶ αὐτὸς post μοι SHTV προαναφθέξω K | 602 αὐτόν | αὐτῷ TV δειλιῶν CX | 603 ἴσως < SHTV περιπετεύωμεν CX καί<sup>2</sup> – 604 μου < SHTV ὑπὸ | εἰς K καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην post 604 μου X | 605 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη | ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγένης V γραφῶν | γραμμάτων SHTV διδασκόντων σε καὶ πληροφορούντων σε SHTV | 606 περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ < K αὐτὸς | οὗτος K μηδ’ C | 607 ἐπακροάσειεν CXK σου | ου SH τὴν διάνοιαν CX | 608 καιρῷ ἢ τε καὶ K ἀδιακρίτος V | 609 λέγει | ἔφη S, < TV τὸ | τοῦ SHTV |

Herban said: “I have listened to all the things you said to me, and I know that just as the prophets say, you have rightfully pronounced to me yourself as well. But now my heart does not believe that it is pleasing to go to Christ and believe in him; for I fear that I will perhaps be deceived and fall into an error, and will be completely under a curse and in shame among my whole race.”

The archbishop said: “And if you do not listen to your Scriptures that teach and instruct you about Christ, that it is he, then you also will not listen forever to what they command you about the God of the law; but now, following your own mind go on simply and as it happens to any steep place or plain without distinction.”

Herban said: “I love being a Hebrew, and I desire to be in the law, for God loved Abraham much and accomplished remarkable wonders with Isaac and Jacob. In a similar way he raised the all-beautiful Joseph, who had been sold as a slave, to be a king, and with Moses he created strange signs and wonders, which exceeded all understanding, showing him also his ineffable glory; and miraculously supplied us with manna to satiate from heaven in the desert, and gave us the Promised Land unambiguously, as he had promised to our father Abraham, and brought us from there unharmed, dividing the Red Sea in the middle like a green plain, enlightening us in the night by a pillar of fire and protecting us in the day by a shining cloud. And there are many other wonders, which he performed with us and which you do not fail to know. And besides, considering this I cannot *fall away from the living God* and come to a new faith, of which I do not know whether it is sure according to experience or wrong in some point.”

The archbishop said: “Hear, Herban, *the old things have passed away, behold, everything has become new*. The things which you enumerated here will not offer you any profit, if you do not listen to me and are reborn through water and spirit. For it is written: *Wash you, make you clean, put away your wickednesses of your hearts*, and thereafter, *If you want and hear me, you will eat the goods of the land; if you do not want and do not hear me, the sword will devour you. For the mouth of the Lord has said this*. So if you are convinced by me, leave the old things aside and care about the recent ones, knowing that Judaism has ended and the law has become silent, and what the prophets have prophesied has found an end. And we have seen a certain change and

610 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ μετὰ < CX μετὰ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 611 ἐτελειούργησεν] ἐποίησεν SHTV ὁμοίως – 618 θαυμάσια < SHTV | 612 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < C δὲ < K | 614 ἐν – 615 ἡμῶν < CX | 616 δὲ < C | 617 τὴν ἡμέραν K φωτεινὴν νεφέλην C διασώσαι C | 618 μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἃ πεποίηκε K ἄπερ + καὶ σὺ SHTV καὶ ταῦτα C | 619 διαλογιζόμενος SHTV νεκρῶ C X K ἦν] ἦ CK, < X | 620 βεβαίαν SHTV εἴτε<sup>2</sup> μὴν T δ’] δι’ H<sup>pc</sup> σφάλλουσιν C X K T σφάλλουσαν SH σφαλοῦσι V | 621 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C Ἐρβᾶ K παρήλθον K | 622 ἐρίθμησας X παρέξουσιν K | 623 γέγραπται γάρ < K λούσασθε + καὶ X V | 624 γένεσθαι C ἀφέλετα C ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> < SHTV καὶ – 626 ταῦτα < SHTV θέλητε C | 625 εἰσακούσετέ<sup>1</sup>] εἰσακούσητέ X θέλητε C εἰσακούσετέ<sup>2</sup>] εἰσακούσητέ X | 626 κυρίου + φησὶν CX | 628 καὶ ὁ νόμος < H εἰσῆγχε C καὶ<sup>2</sup> – ἔσχηκε < SHTV



γὴν τινὰ τεθεάμεθα καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐτέρως ἦλθον, καὶ ἱερωσύνη *κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχι-*  
 630 *σεδέκ* ἐπεδήμησεν καὶ ἡ νέα Ἱερουσαλήμ ἦνθησεν καὶ ὁ νέος Ἰσραὴλ ἐβλάστησεν καὶ τὸ  
 ἱερὸν βασιλεῖον ἀνακεκαίνισται καὶ ἡ νέα συναγωγὴ εὐσεβοφρόνως ἤθροισται. Λοιπὸν  
 τὸν εὐ φρονούντα τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῷ δεῖ ἐκλέξασθαι καὶ μὴ *προφασίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν*  
*ἀμαρτίαις*. Ἀβραὰμ γάρ, καθὼς εἶρηκας, ἠγαπήθη μὲν παρὰ κυρίου, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἕτερον τι,  
 εἰ μὴ δι' ὧν τετήρηκε τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ Ἰσαὰκ δὲ καὶ Ἰακώβ παραπλησίως καὶ  
 635 Μωυσῆς δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἠγαπήθησαν ἢ διὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν τὰς ἐναρέτους. Καὶ τὰ  
 θαύματα δὲ ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ γεγένηται παρὰ κυρίου, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον γεγένηται  
 ἢ διὰ τὸ προτυπωθῆναι τὰ ἀρτίως νέα παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἵν' ὅπως ἀρχὴν ἐχούσης τῆς  
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους θεϊκῆς διατάξεως στερεώτερον βεβαιωθῇ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου νομοθετούμενα  
 καὶ ὁ λαὸς δὲ τὰτα βλέπων θαρσαλεώτερον παραδέξεται τὰ ἐντελλόμενα. Τοιγαροῦν  
 640 καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐκείνων πάντων γεγονότων οὔτε οὕτως οὐδὲν προσέσχηκεν ὁ λαὸς  
 ἐκεῖνος τῷ θεῷ, καίτοι ἐκείνου τοῦ νόμου παυθέντος καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης ἀφαιρεθείσης  
 ἀφ' ὑμῶν, περὶ ἧς εἶρηκας, ὅτι λαλήσας τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἀπέδωκεν ἡμῖν. Καὶ τῶν σημείων καὶ  
 τῶν τεράτων ἐκείνων καὶ μετὰ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς πάντων διαβάντων δέον συνιέναι,  
 ὅτι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία ἡμῖν δεδομένη παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν τοῦ τὸν νόμον παρέξαν-

645 *τος, καὶ εἶξαι αὐτῇ καὶ βαπτισθῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι.*”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀβραὰμ Ἑβραῖος ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ μαρτυρεῖς αὐτός, ὅτι ἔστιν ἅγιος  
 καὶ οἱ προφῆται παραπλησίως καὶ οἱ λοιποί. Τοιγαροῦν κάμου Ἑβραίου ὄντος δι' ἣν αἰ-  
 τίαν φάσκες, ὅτι ‘οὐκ ἔξεις διὰ νόμου σωτηρίαν’ ;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πρὸ τοῦ ἄρξασθαι τὸν νόμον καὶ ἀρξαμένου πρὸ τοῦ κατα-  
 650 παυθῆναι εὐηρέστησαν πολλοὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι παραγεναμένου δὲ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ σεσίγηκεν ὁ νόμος καὶ οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ πινὸς τῶν παρα-  
 τυχόντων μέχρις οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως πέφυκεν, ἴσως ὁ  
 μειζότερος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε οἰκέταις ἄτε καὶ τοῖς μισθίοις αὐτοῦ ἀντ' ἐκείνου διατατ-  
 655 τόμενος παρακελεύεται. Παραγεγονότος δὲ ἅπαξ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ κυρίου αὐτῶν,  
 οὐκέτι τολμᾷ ὁ μειζότερος τοῦ ἀγροῦ πιποτῶν τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καινότερον διατάξασθαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὖν καταδοκεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν στέργων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἐλθόντος δεσπότητος ἀκεραίοις προσ-  
 τάγμασι, καὶ ὅπερ ἂν κελύσῃ, ταῦτα, οἶμαι, ἅπαξ καὶ γίνεται. Οὕτω τοιγαροῦν καὶ κατὰ  
 τὸν νόμον σου διετάττετο ὑμῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μωυσῆς ὁ μειζότερος ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τοῦ νόμου  
 πεφυκόσι. Παραγεγονότος δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἕτερα πολὺ βελτίω κελεύοντος  
 660 σεσιώπηκεν ὁ μειζότερος, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ οἰκέται οἱ καὶ μισθιοὶ γογγύετε. Τοιγαροῦν, εἰ καὶ  
 Ἀβραὰμ ἦν ἀρτίως, ὃν αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖς ὅτι τετελεύτηκεν Ἑβραῖος, ἄνευ πάσης ἀντι-

629 κατὰ – Μελχισεδέκ Ps. 109.4 | 632 προφασίζεσθαι – 633 ἀμαρτίαις Ps. 140.4

### C X K S H T V

629 ἀτέρως C ἡ ἱερωσύνη K | 630 καί<sup>2</sup> – 631 ἠθροισται < SHTV | 631 ἀνεκεκαίνιστο C ἀνα-  
 καίνισται X καὶ – ἠθροισται < K | 632 ἐμφρονούντα V δεῖ] διὰ post 631 λοιπὸν SHTV καὶ μὴ  
 προφασίζεσθαι < C προφασίζεσθαι < SHTV | 633 γάρ < SHTV μὲν < K ἀλλ' οὖν οὐ K ἕτερόν  
 τι] ἐτέρων SHTV | 634 εἰ – 635 ἕτερον < SHTV δι' ὧν] διότι K αὐτοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ C δὲ < K |

things gone in a different way, and the priesthood *after the order of Melchizedek* was established and the new Jerusalem bloomed and the new Israel brought forth leaves and the holy kingdom was renewed and the new congregation has faithfully assembled. Therefore the prudent one has to choose his benefit and not to *pretend a pretext in his sins*. For Abraham, as you have said, was beloved by the Lord, but not for anything other than that he kept his commandments. And Isaac and Jacob and Moses similarly were beloved for no other reason than because of their virtuous deeds. And those wonders, which were worked in the Old Testament by the Lord, were performed for no other reason than to prefigure the present new ones by the old ones, so that the divine command to men should have a beginning and the things ordained by his law should be confirmed more firmly, and the people seeing it should accept the commands more courageously. Therefore, although all those wonders happened, not even so that people listened to God, although that law had ended and that land had been taken away from you, about which you said, that he gave it to you after having spoken to Abraham. And since those signs and wonders passed to us together with your land, it is necessary to understand that the legislation also has been handed over to us from that God who had offered the law, and to yield to it, to be baptised and saved.”

Herban said:<sup>103</sup> “Abraham died as a Hebrew, and you testify yourself that he is holy, and similarly the prophets and the others. Therefore if I am a Hebrew as well, for which reason do you say that ‘you will not receive salvation by the law’ ?”

The archbishop said: “Before the law began, and when it had begun, before it ended, many pleased the Lord well through it, and I do not deny that; but when Christ came, the law was silent and has no effect anymore. For in someone’s field, as long as its lord is not there but went to town, perhaps the administrator may exhort the servants and hired labourers disposing in his place. But once their lord has come back from the town, the administrator of the field does not dare anymore to dispose something new to his fellows, but waits, feeling affection for the pure orders of the coming master, and what he commands, this, I think, is done at once. Therefore, in the beginning your administrator Moses disposed according to your law, to you who were in the field of the law. But when Jesus Christ came and gave other much better orders, the administrator was silent, and you, his servants, who were also his hired labourers, muttered. Therefore, if Abraham, about whom you testify that he died as a Hebrew, would also live now, he would abandon without any controversy the law which he had not received, and the

635 ὁ Μωσῆς Κ ἐναρέτους αὐτῶν πράξεις Τ καὶ – 669 ἀγαθῶ < SHTV | 637 τῆς] τὴν CX | 640 οὕτως οὐδὲν] οὗτος ὡς δεόν Κ | 641 παυσθέντος C | 642 ὁ λαλήσας Κ | 648 οὐχ Κ | 650 εὐ-ἀρέστησαν C παραγενομένου Κ | 651 ἐσίγηκεν Κ τῶν παρατυχόντων] παρατυχόντος Κ | 654 παραγεγόντων C ἐκ τῆς πόλεως < Κ | 655 τοῖς < Κ καινότερος X | 657 καὶ ἅπαξ C | 658 σου < Κ | 659 πολλῶ X πολλὰ βελτίον Κ | 661 ἐτελεύτηκεν C

<sup>103</sup> On this passage, see above, pp. 118–119.

λογίας εἶασεν ἄν τὸν νόμον, ὃν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν ἣν ἐκελεύσθη τελεῖν καὶ προθύμως προσελθὼν ἐπίστευσε τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν χριστιανοῖς κατελογίζετο, καὶ μέντοι, ὡς εἴρηται, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δοθῆναι τὸν γραπτὸν νόμον Μωσῆ ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκειμένου τῆ  
665 φύσει νόμου ποδηγούμενος αὐτὸς θεοπρεπῶς τῷ κυρίῳ εὐηρέστησεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ζητούμενον ὅπερ πολλάκις εἴρηκα, τίς ἄρα κατὰ τὸ δέον πληροφορήσῃ ἡμῖν, εἰ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐρεύνησον καὶ ἴδε, ἐξ ὅτε ἐλήλυθεν ὁ Χριστός, πῶς οὐκέτι δι’ ὧν ἀπειθήσατε ἐπροτερήσατε ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ. Ψηλάφησον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ σύνες, ὅτι ἀφ’ ἧς  
670 ἡμέρας συνανεστράφη ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός σαρκωθείς ἐκ παρθένου, πῶς οὐκέτι ἠγέρθη ἐν ὑμῖν προφήτης ἔκτοτε ἢ τέρας τὸ οἰονοῦν, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐγεγόνει ὑμῖν εἴτε σημεῖον, εἴτε ἀποκάλυψις, εἴτε δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀλήθεια, ἀλλὰ γε λιμός καὶ λοιμός καὶ θλίψεις καὶ πολιορκία καὶ αἰχμαλωσία καὶ μάχαιρα καὶ τραυματία καὶ φόνος καὶ ὁ πικρότατος διασκορπισμός ὁ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ἔδει σε σκοπήσαι καὶ συνιέναι  
675 τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ προσελθόντα πιστεῦσαι ὡς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ μηκέτι σκιᾶ καὶ ὄνειροις παρακαθεζεσθαι σε καὶ παίζεσθαι καὶ ἀπατάσθαι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐθεάσω ἄνθρωπον πώποτε, ὅστις βούλεται ἑαυτῷ κακὸν ἐκουσίᾳ τῆ γνώμῃ;”

680 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Σὲ ἐν πρώτοις ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεθέαμαι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, καθότι ἐκουσίᾳ μου τῆ γνώμῃ βούλομαι ἑμαυτῷ ἐγώ, ἵνα τί μοι πονηρὸν συναντήσῃται. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ σωτηρίας εἰσὶν ὅσα ἂν ὀμιλῶ καὶ φθέγγομαι, ὅπως συνιέναι δυνήσομαι, ποταπὸς ὡς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ὁ χριστιανισμός.”

685 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοῦτο συνετῶς εἴρηκας· γίνωσκε δέ, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἐν συμβολαίοις αὐτῶν μαρτυροῦσιν ἐκ θεοῦ συντεθέντα ἤξουν τὸν χριστιανισμόν, καθὼς ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας μετριότητος ἔμπροσθεν ἤκουσας.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι *Ἐξολόθρευσας*, φησί, πάντα τὸν πορνεύοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ὅτι *Ἐμοὶ τὸ προσκολλᾶσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, τίθεσθαι ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου*; Πῶς οὖν κἀγώ, εἰπέ μοι, πορνεύσας  
690 ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν πατέρων οὐκ ἐξολοθρευθήσομαι τελείως, καθὰ αὐτός μοι ὑπαγορεύεις; Μᾶλλον τοιγαροῦν προσκολλώμενος προσκολληθήσομαι τῷ σωτήρι μου τῷ τὸν νόμον παρέξᾶντι, ὅτι ἀγαθός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ θήσομαι, καὶ αὐτὸς γένηταί μοι βοηθός καὶ σκεπαστής.”

687 ἐξολόθρευσας – 689 μου Ps. 72.27–28 | 692 τὴν – θήσομαι cf. Ps. 72.28 αὐτός – 693 σκεπαστής cf. Ex. 15.2

### C X K S H T V

662 τελεῖν – 663 ἐπίστευσε < C | 663 πιστεῦσαι K κατελογίζετο ἂν K | 664 καὶ < K παραδοθῆναι K | 668 ἐξ ὅτου X ὅτι ἐξ ὅτε K | 669 τοῦτο] τόγε CX, < SHTV | 670 ὁ Χριστός K | 671 ὁ προφήτης CXK ἔκτοτε – 672 ἀλήθεια < SHTV ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> + εἴτε θλίψεις C | 672 γε < C | 673 μάχαιραι SHTV και<sup>3</sup> – φόνος < SHTV τραυματία καὶ φθόνος K | 674 οὖν < SHTV | 675 προσελθεῖν

circumcision which he had been ordered to perform, and readily would have come to Christ and believed in him, and would have been numbered among the Christians, although Moses himself pleased the Lord well in a way worthy of God, as it is said, being guided by the inherent law of nature already before the written law had been given.”

Herban said: “This is the thing in question for which I have asked often, who will instruct us according to necessity whether this man is Christ.”

The archbishop said: “Inquire and see, how you did not gain any advance for good anymore, since Christ has come, because you were disobedient. Comprehend this and understand that from the day, on which Jesus Christ lived among you having become flesh from the Virgin, a prophet or any other wonder did not rise among you any more; for this reason no sign nor vision, nor righteousness and truth did happen to you, but famine and plague, affliction, siege and captivity, the sword, wounds and murder, and the most bitter scattering among all nations. You should consider all this and understand the truth, and go to Christ and believe as in the Father, so also in the Son and the Holy Ghost, and gain the kingdom of heaven, and not sit in shadow and dreams, play and be deceived.”

Herban said: “Did you ever see a man, who wants a bad thing for himself willingly?”

The archbishop said: “First of all I see that you do this today.”

Herban said: “Let it not be, that I should willingly want some evil to happen to me. It is for my salvation, what I tell and speak here, so that I will be able to understand, what the relation is between the law and Christianity.”

The archbishop said: “You have said this wisely; but know that the whole law and the prophets testify in their records, that Christianity will come being composed by God, as you have heard these few of many things from our modesty.”

Herban said: “For which reason did the prophet say to the God of the law: *You have destroyed utterly all those that have deserted you, and It is good for me to draw near to God, to put my hope in the Lord?* How should I not also be destroyed completely, tell me, having deserted the God of my fathers, as you say to me? Therefore I will rather draw near to my saviour, who offered me the law, for he is good, and will put my hope in him, and he will be my helper and protector.”

Κ συνελθόντα SHTV | 676 και<sup>1</sup> – οὐρανῶν < SHTV | 677 ἀπατεῖσθαι CX | 678 λέγει| ἔφη S, < TV πώποτε ἄνθρωπον X πώποτε < SHTV | 680 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T σέ] ναι C ἐμ K ἦ] ἐν TV | 681 λέγει < TV καθότι post γνώμη C καθότι] ἵνα SHTV ἐγὼ βουληθῶ SHTV | 682 συναντήσεται TV | 683 φθέγομαι S | 684 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < TV ἔφη < T | 685 ἐν συμβολαίοις αὐτῶν < SHTV ἐκτεθέντα K | 686 καθὼς – ἤκουσας < SHTV | 687 λέγει < T και δι’ SHTV | 688 φησί < SHTV | 689 ἔστιν < T τίθεσθαι – μου < SHTV πόρρω νεύσας CX | 690 τελείως] εἶπερ τελέσω SH ὑπερτελέσω TV | 691 μᾶλλον – 693 σκεπαστής < SHTV

695 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μήτι ἐγὼ σοι ἐντέλλομαι ἀρνήσασθαί σε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου, οὐ τοῦτο συνευδοκῶ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πιστεύω εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ πανάγιον. Περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ σοὶ ἐγὼ παρεγγυῶ τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ αὐτὸν προσδέξασθαι· ἂν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο καταδέξῃ, ὀργίζεται σοὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου, ὄνπερ προφασίζει ἀγαπᾶν, καθότι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν περιλάλητον, τὸν δεδοξασμένον καὶ ἡγαπημένον καθορᾶσαι μισῶν, μὴ προσδεχόμενος αὐτὸν  
700 θεὸν τε καὶ κύριον σὺν τῷ πατρὶ τε καὶ τῷ πνεύματι.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄρα ὁ θεὸς γυναῖκα ἔσχεν ἀόρατος χρηματίζων καὶ ἀσώματος, ὅτι ἄνθρωπον φημίσεις σάρκα ἡμφιεσμένον εἶναι υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιον; Μὴ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς σάρκα περιβέβληται, ὅτι ἐδέησεν γυναικὸς σαρκίνης, ἐξ ἧς ἔξει καὶ τὸν ὄνπερ λέγεις υἱὸν αὐτοῦ;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Γαβριὴλ ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος εὐαγγελίστατο τῇ παρθένῳ Μαριαμ οὐρανόθεν γενόμενος, ὅτι *Χαίρε, κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ· συλλήψει*, φησὶν, υἱὸν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, *διό καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἅγιον υἱὸς κληθεῖθι θεοῦ*. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες θεόν, ὡς ἔστιν, ἰδεῖν ἢ φαντασθῆναι οὐ δυναμένων ἡμῶν ἔπλασεν ἑαυτῷ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος σάρκα ἐμψυχομένην ἐξ ἀχράντων αἱμάτων τῆς παρθένου, καὶ βασταχθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐννεαμηναῖος ἐγεννήθη καὶ αὐξηθεὶς νόμφ σώματος ἐπεφάνη πρῶτον ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν οὐ προσεδέξασθε, ὥρμησεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτόν, καὶ ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς ἀρτίως τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ φαντάζεσθαι, ὡς ἔστι, μὴ δυνάμενοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑπῆρχομεν κατὰ Μωσέα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησεν ἰδεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον. Καὶ ἀκήκοε παρ’ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Οὐ δύνη ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, καθότι ἐὰν ἴδῃ αὐτὸ ἄνθρωπος*, φησὶν, οὐκέτι *ζήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Ἐπάναγκες, κἂν τὴν ἀχραντον αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα στοχαζόμενοι εὐφραϊνόμεθα λογιζόμενοι, ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ θεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὄντως, καθότι ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ θεότης αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρόξενος ἡμῖν γίνεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τοῦδε ἢ ἀνθρωπότης αὐτοῦ, ἰστοροῦμεν καὶ αὐτῆς τὸν τύπον καὶ τιμῶμεν τὸ εἶδος καὶ οὐ τὴν ὕλην, καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν τὴν θέαν τῆς μορφῆς καὶ οὐ τὴν σανίδα. Τούτων οὕτως εἵνεκα υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ πείραν κεχηματίκεν.”

720 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ἡ θεότης ὀλίγη, ὅτι ὅλη χωρεῖται ἐντὸς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἀνθρωπότητος;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ ὄλος ἐστὶν ὡς ἐν τῇ καλύβῃ ὁ θεὸς ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.”

705 χαίρε – 706 θεοῦ cf. Lc. 1.28, 31, 35 | 713 οὐ – 714 γῆς cf. Ex. 33.20 | 722 ἐν<sup>2</sup> – 723 Ἀβραάμ cf. Gen. 18.1–2

### C X K S H T V

694 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T σε < SH | 695 ἐγὼ γε SV | 696 σοὶ ἐγὼ] ἐγὼ σε C ἐγὼ σοὶ X H | 697 τὸ] τοῦ SHTV τὸ σὺν] σὺν τῷ C αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ SHTV | 698 δν H τὸν<sup>3</sup> – 699 ἡγαπημένον < SHTV | 699 καὶ μὴ SHTV | 700 θεόν – κύριον < SHTV τε<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 701 λέγει < TV ὅτι – 703 περιβέβληται < SHTV | 703 ὅτι] καὶ SHTV σαρκίνης] σάρνης H ἐξεί C ὄνπερ < CXK αὐτοῦ] θεοῦ K | 704 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < T ἔφη < TV εὐαγγελίστατο H | 705 γενόμενος XK | 706 κληθήσεται υἱὸς TV καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ κληθήσεται SH | 707 ἄνθρωποι ὄντες θεόν] ἀνθρώπων ὄντων K ὡς] πῶς X ἢ φαντασθῆναι < SHTV δυνάμενον SHV αὐτῷ TV | 708 τοῦ θεοῦ] θεὸς

The archbishop said: “I do not give you the command to deny the God of the law, I do not agree to this. For I myself also believe in him and in his only begotten Son and in his all-holy Ghost. As to the Son, I exhort you to accept him with his Father as well; for if you do not accept this, the God of the law will be angry with you whom you claim to love, for you appear to hate his only begotten Son, who is celebrated, glorified and beloved, and do not accept him as your God and Lord together with the Father and the Ghost.”

Herban said: “Did God, who is invisible and incorporeal, have a wife, that you call his consubstantial son, who is clothed in his flesh, a man? For did God put on flesh, that he needed a fleshly woman, of which he would have the one whom you call his son?”

The archbishop said: “The commander-in-chief Gabriel brought the good tiding to the Virgin Mary, coming from heaven: *Hail, you who is highly favoured, the Lord is with you; you will conceive a son, he says, from the Holy Ghost, and therefore the holy one that will be born will be called Son of God.* For since we, being men, are unable to see or imagine God, as he is, the Word of God created an animated flesh for himself from the immaculate blood of the Virgin, and having been borne by her he was born after nine months and was raised according to the law of the body, and appeared first to you Jews; and when you did not accept him he rushed to us and we received him, and now he has loved us, although we are unable to imagine his divinity, as it is. For we would not behave in the way Moses did, since he also desired to see God’s face. And he heard from him: *You cannot see my face, for if a man will see it, he says, he will not live on earth anymore.* Although we rejoice aiming at his immaculate humanity and considering it, it is necessary, since he is truly God and man, that also his divinity be inside him. And since his humanity is the cause of this good for us, we also depict its form and honour the shape and not the matter, and worship the appearance of his shape and not the board. So for this reason is Christ the Son of God, according to experience.”

Herban said: “And is this divinity so small that it has room completely within the humanity of your Christ?”

The archbishop said: “God is complete in a small place, as once in the hut of Abraham,<sup>104</sup> and he is the same in a large place, as in heaven and on earth.”

SHTV και λόγος TV ἐξ – 709 ἐννεαμηναῖος < SHTV | 709 ἐννεαμηναῖος C ἐγεννήθη] και γεννηθείς SHTV ἀνέτηνθείς HTV και ἐπεφάνη S | 710 ὡς < T αὐτὸν post προσεδέξασθε T και ἐδεξάμεθα αὐτόν < C ἐδεξόμεθα SHTV | 711 ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς < C τὴν – 715 ὅτι < SHTV | 713 ἰδῆ C | 716 ὄντως < SHTV ἐστὶ αὐτοῦ X και < T γένηται K | 717 τοῦδε < SHTV και<sup>1</sup> < SHTV τὸ – 718 ὕλην < SHTV | 718 θέαν + τῆς θεας H μορφῆς + αὐτοῦ SHTV σανίδαν C τοῦτο X τούτων – 719 κεχρημάτικεν < SHTV | 719 πείραν] σάρκα K | 720 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T τοσαύτην T ὀλίγη ἢ θεότης SHTV | 722 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 725 παντί < SHTV | 723 ἐν<sup>1</sup>] ἐπι C

<sup>104</sup> Abraham’s tent in the desert is called a hut also by Ioannes Chrysostomos, *CPG* 4330, *PG* 49, 177, and *Homiliae in Oziam*, 4.1.25.

Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ σου κατὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν πέφυκε πᾶσα ἡ θεότης;  
725 Πλουσία γάρ τις πρόσεσι καὶ ἀχώρητος παντί.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐν μικρῷ ἄνθρακι πλούσιον πῦρ εὐρίσκομεν· ἔαν γὰρ ὀλίγον πῦρ λάβω, ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐμπρήσας καταφλέξω μετ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔαν πολὺ πῦρ κομίσωμαι, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ οὐ μείζονα ἐκτελέσω μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πῦρ καὶ πολὺ γινόμενον εἰς ὀλίγα κατακομίζεται, καὶ σπινθήρ τις εὐτελής χρηματίζων εἰς φοβεροτάτην φλόγα ὕλης δραξάμενος ἐπαρθήσεται.”

Θαυμάσας δὲ Ἐρβάν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκρίσει αὐτῆ λέγει· “Γέγραπται, ὅτι Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα. Πῶς ὑμεῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων τὴν τιμίαν φύσιν ἰστοροῦντες προσκυνεῖτε; Τοὺς μὲν σώματα κτησαμένους ἴσως, καθὰ λέγεις, ὅτι τὸν τύπον τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν ἰστοροῦντες δι’ ἐκείνους τιμῶμεν τὴν σκιάν αὐτῶν προσκυνοῦντες καὶ οὐ θεοποιοῦμεν· τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοίνυν δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν, οἵπινες οὔτε σώματα ἐπικέκτηνται, οὔτε τὴν ἀσώματον αὐτῶν μορφήν ὡς ἔστι τις θεάασατο; Πνεύματα γὰρ εἰσὶν νοερά καὶ παντελῶς ἀθεώρητα καὶ ἄϋλα.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κἂν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ ἔξεις πινὰ τοῦ λέγειν, παρ’ ὑμῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἰστορεῖν ἐξευρήμεθα.”

740 Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Κατὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν τοῦτο φάσκες; Οὐδαμῶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι παρ’ ἡμῖν.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὴν παλαιὰν πᾶσαν ἡσκημένος οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πράγματος.”

Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Οὐ τὸ καθόλου, ζῆ κύριος, ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἰστορήσαμεν ἡμεῖς τοὺς χαρακτήρας τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσεκυνήσαμεν.”

745 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ναί, οἰκοδομήσας Σολομὼν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἔνδον εἰς τὰ ἅγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὑπεράνωθεν τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου χερουβὶμ δόξης ἐμουουργήσατο ἐπισκιάζοντα τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ εἰς τὴν πρώτην δὲ πύλην τοῦ ἱεροῦ χερουβὶμ καὶ εἰς τὴν δευτέραν πύλην τοῦ ναοῦ χερουβὶμ κατεσκευάσατο. Ὑμεῖς οὖν ὅρα πῶς τὰς ἀσωμάτους φύσεις ἰστορήσαντες προσεκυνήσατε, καὶ ἡμᾶς μέμφεσθε, ἀνθ’ ὅσον τοὺς ἐν σώματι ἁγίους κυρίῳ εὐαρεστήσαντας καθιστοροῦντες τιμῶμεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν.”

731 ὁ – 732 φλόγα Hb. 1.7; cf. Ps. 103.4 | 746 οἰκοδομήσας – 749 κατεσκευάσατο cf. 2 Par. 3.7–10

### C X K S H T V

725 πλουσία CX ἐστὶν C | 726 ὁ < T ἔφη < C TV εὐρισκόμενον πῦρ C πῦρ εὐρισκόμενον X εὐρίσκομεν + ἀποκείμενον SHTV | 727 λάβω] βάλω SHTV καταφλέξω αὐτῷ T μετ’ – 730 ἐπαρθήσεται < SHTV ἂν X | 729 εἰς<sup>1</sup> < K εὐτελής < K | 731 τοιαύτη ἀποκρίσει C γέγραπται < K ὅτι < H | 732 πνεῦμα S πῶς + οὖν SHTV | 733 τοὺς – 737 ἄϋλα < SHTV μὲν < K | 734 ἐκείνους C | 736 οἵπινες < C σώμα K | 738 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀποδεξάμενος τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ λόγου ἐφεύρημα, Ἐρβάν, ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἀντέφασε πρὸς αὐτόν C ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔαν SHTV οὐκ SHV γὰρ < X | 739 ἐξηυρήμεθα SHTV | 740 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T | 741 τὸ < X | 742 ὁ < T ἔφη < TV ἅπασαν SHTV οὐ γινώσκεις STV εἰ οὐ γινώσκεις H | 744 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < T οὐ

Herban said: “For which reason was the whole divinity inside your Christ? For it is rich and cannot be enclosed anywhere.”

The archbishop said: “We find a rich fire within a small piece of charcoal; for if I would take little fire, I could burn the whole world setting it aflame with it, and if I would take much fire, I would accomplish the same with it and nothing better. For the same fire that becomes big starts from a small one, and a weak spark will be raised to a frightful flame, when it spreads to burning material.”

Herban wondered about this answer and said: “It is written: *Who makes his angels spirits and his ministers a flaming fire*. How can you worship the worthy substance of the angels by depicting them? Perhaps <you worship> those who have bodies, as you say, because depicting the form of their body one honours them, worshipping their shadow, and does not make them gods; but now for what reason <do you worship> the angels who do not possess bodies, nor did anyone behold the incorporeal shape, which they possess? For they are spirits of the mind, being completely invisible and immaterial.”

The archbishop said: “You will not have anything to say here either, for we learnt from you to paint the angels of God.”

Herban said: “Under which pretext do you say this? For I myself do not know at all this thing to exist among us.”

The archbishop said: “Did you not understand the reason for this thing, having been trained in the whole Old Testament?”

Herban said: “<As true as> God lives, I do not know at all that we should have depicted representations of angels of God and should have worshipped them.”

The archbishop said: “Yea, when Solomon built the temple of God the highest, he represented the cherubim of his glory in mosaic inside in the holy place and in the holy of holies above the mercy-seat overshadowing the altar, and made cherubim at the first gate of the sanctuary, and cherubim at the second gate of the temple. Now see how you have worshipped the incorporeal nature depicting it and reproach us because we honour and worship the saints who pleased the Lord well being in their body by depicting them.”

τὸ] οὕτω SHTV τοὺς < K χαρακτήρας τῶν ἀγγέλων] ἀγγέλους C | 746 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ναί] και V ναί οἰκοδομήσας] νεωκοδομήσας SH ψκοδομήσας T | 747 και – ἅγια<sup>2</sup> < SH | 748 θυσιαστήριον] ἰλαστήριον C και – 749 κατεσκευάσατο < SHTV | 750 φύσεις] τάξεις TV ἱστορήσαντα CX ἱστορήσατε SH + και S<sup>o</sup>H προσεκυνήσατε T ἡμῶν CX | 751 ἅγιως K καθιστοροῦμεν και K



Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα ἐδείματο Σολομῶν ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς τοῦτο λόγος· πλὴν οὐ προσκυνήσεως χάριν, οἶμαι, αὐτὰ καθιστόρησεν, ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰς  
755 τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου εὐθέτως ταῦτα κατεσκεύασεν.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πᾶν τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντελοῦν εἰς τί καὶ χρησιμεῖον ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα καλεῖται, ὡς διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ἀνατεθὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐν ἧ χρησιμεύει, ἢ ἀνιερὸν ὀνομάζεται καὶ ἄσπονδον;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καθὼς ἔστιν ὁ ναὸς μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ ὀλοκλήρως  
760 ἱερὸν προσαγορεύεται καὶ *οἶκος κυρίου παντοκράτορος*.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὀλοκλήρως ὁ ναὸς ἱερὸν προσαγορεύεται καὶ οἶκος κυρίου παντοκράτορος, πρόσεσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερά ὄντα καὶ ἅγια τιμῆς πέλουσιν ἐπάξια καὶ προσκυνήσεως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὕτως ἔχει· πλὴν ἐπάναγκες τὰ ἐτέρως πῶς ἐν τῷ ναῷ χρησιμεύοντα  
765 ἀρμόττει, ἵνα καὶ τιμῆς πέλουσιν ἐπάξια. Σχήματα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐτέρων καὶ ἄλλων καὶ εἰκόνας δοκῶ, καθότι οὐ δέον τοῦ προσκυνεῖσθαι.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ τιμᾶν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα κελεύει ὁ νόμος, φημι τοὺς σαρκίνοὺς ἡμῶν γεννήτορας ἕκαστον, οἵτινες καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ πολλακίς χρηματίζου-  
770 σιν, πόσω μᾶλλον τοὺς πνευματικοὺς ἡμῶν πατέρας χρὴ τιμᾶν καὶ σχετικῶς προσκυνεῖν αὐτούς, οἵτινες οὐ σωματικῶς ἐγέννησαν ἡμᾶς καθὼς ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ πνευματικῶς ἀναγέννησαν καὶ ἐφώτισαν καὶ πρὸς φῶς θεογονίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ τιμὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἐπωδήγησαν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίμα τοὺς ζῶντας ὡς βούλει· τὰς δὲ μορφὰς αὐτῶν καὶ εἰκόνας νεκρὰς  
775 ὑπαρχούσας δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν σέβει καὶ τιμᾶς; Πᾶν γὰρ ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον, οὔτε ἑαυτῶ ὄνησιν πινὰ παρέχει οὔτε τοῖς σεβομένοις αὐτῶ.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τιμᾶς σὺ τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ πατρός σου, ἢ ἀπελθὼν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς γαστρὸς σου χρεῖαν ἐπτελεῖς;”

Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν ἔστη ἀπορούμενος· εἶρηκε γάρ, ὅτι ‘τοὺς ζῶντας ὀφείλεις τιμᾶν καὶ οὐ τοὺς νεκρούς’. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὐκ ἔσχε τί ἀπολογίσασθαι.

780 Σιωπῶντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔφη ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· “Πᾶν πρᾶγμα πνευματικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιπολάζουσα καὶ θέουσα ἐπισκιάζει καὶ ἐνεργεῖ, τιμιώτερόν ἐστι ὑπὲρ σοῦ κάμου τοῖς ψυχῆν μὲν ζῶσαν κεκτημένοις καὶ νοῦν καὶ λόγον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄλογα δυσχερῶς ἁμαρτάνοντας.”

785 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὕτως ἔχει· πλὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τιμιώτερος πάντων, κἂν σφόδρα ἔστιν ἁμαρτωλός.”

760 οἶκος κυρίου παντοκράτορος Zach. 8.9 | 767 τιμᾶν – μητέρα cf. Ex. 20.12

## C X K S H T V

753 λέγει < T ὅτι μὲν < K καὶ – 754 λόγος < SHTV | 754 οἶμαι αὐτὰ καθιστόρησεν < SHTV ἀλλ’ ἢ SHTV | 755 εὐθέτως ταῦτα κατεσκεύασεν < SHTV | 756 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος V ἐντὸς] ἐν τῷ C ἐνδον K ἐντὸς – ἱεροῦ] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ ναοῦ SHTV συντελοῦν εἰς τί] λυσιτελοῦν ἔστι K εἰς – 757 χρησιμεῖον < SHTV | 757 ὡς – χρησιμεύει

Herban said: “It is true that Solomon erected this, and there is no problem about this; save that he depicted them not for worship, but made them in a convenient way only for the honour and glory of the temple and the mercy-seat.”

The archbishop said: “Is everything inside the temple and the sanctuary, which serves a purpose and is of use, called a holy offering as being offered to the Lord because of the need for which it is useful, or is it called unholy and inefficacious?”

Herban said: “As the temple is with all its furniture, so it is completely addressed as holy and as *a house of God the Almighty*.”

The archbishop said: “Now if the temple is completely addressed as holy and a house of God the Almighty, then it proves that the things in it, being sacred and holy, are worthy of honour and worship as well.”

Herban said: “So it is, save that the things, which are used in some different way in the temple, necessarily must be fitting in order to be worthy of honour. I believe that it is not right to worship the figures and images of different and other men.”

The archbishop said: “If the law orders to honour father and mother, I say everyone of our parents in the flesh, who often are also sinners, how much more is it necessary to honour our spiritual fathers and to worship them in particular, who did not give birth to us corporeally like those, but spiritually gave us rebirth, enlightened us and led us to the light of the knowledge of God and to the upper Jerusalem, to honour and kingdom.”

Herban said: “Honour the living as you want; but why do you adore and worship their shapes and images which are dead? For all this is without soul and motion, and gives no profit, either to itself or to those who adore it.”

The archbishop said: “Do you honour the tomb of your father, or do you go there and accomplish the need of your stomach upon it?”

Herban stood there bewildered, for he had said ‘you have to honour the living and not the dead’. And here he did not have anything to answer.

When he remained silent, the archbishop said: “Every spiritual thing in which the grace of God prevails and shines overshadowing it and in which it is active, is more worthy than you and me, who possess a living soul, a mind and reasoning, and by offending commit more sins than the unreasonable animals.”

Herban said: “So it is, save that man was made according to the image of God and is more worthy than all others, even if he is very sinful.”

< SHTV | 759 λέγει < SHTV μετά – αὐτοῦ < SHTV αὐτοῦ < K ὀλόκληρος SHTV | 760 τὸ ἱερόν K ὁ οἶκος CXK | 761 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 762 παντοκράτορος < TV ὀλόκληρος C SH | 762 ὁ οἶκος CXK ὅτι < T τὰ < C | 763 πέλουσιν] εἰσὶν SHTV ἄξια C | 764 Ἐρβάν – 772 ἐπωδήγησαν < SHTV | 765 καὶ<sup>3</sup> < X | 766 ὅτι K | 769 σχετικῶς ποῦ προσκυνεῖν ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς C | 770 ἀναγέννησαν] ἀναγέννησαν K | 773 λέγει < T | 774 ὑπαρχούσας] οὔσας SHTV σέβειν SH σέβεις TV πᾶν – 775 αὐτῷ < SHTV | 775 παρέχειν C | 776 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἦπερ CX | 777 τὴν < C σου < X | 778 ὁ – 790 προστέταχεν < SHTV | 781 σὲ καὶ ἐμέ τοὺς – κεκτημένους X | 785 κᾶν] καὶ C

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κακῶς ἐνταῦθα λελάληκας. Εἰ τιμώτερος ὁ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις πάντων, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον παραπικράναντας ἢ θεία δίκη τοῖς ὄφεισι καὶ τοῖς σκορπίοις εἰς βρῶσιν παρενέβαλε; Καὶ Ἰωνᾶν δὲ τὸν προφήτην ἀπειθήσαντα τῇ κελεύσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπακοὴν κατολιγορήσαντα, οὐχὶ  
790 τὸ κῆτος κρεῖττον ἡγήσασμενος ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον καταπεποκέναι παιδείας εἵνεκα προστέταχεν;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐν ἅπασιν μου προτερεῖς, καὶ τί σοι ποιήσαι οὐ δεδύνημαι. Πλήν πῶς φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι *Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου;”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς  
795 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεὸν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ὁ προφήτης ἠνίξατο. Εἰπὼν γὰρ ὅτι *Πάντα ὑπέταξας ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*, πρόδηλον τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ γῆ καθολικῶς ἠνίξατο· ἀνθρώποις δὲ οὐ τὰ πάντα ὑπέταξε. Καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐρπετὰ πτωεῖται ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ, καὶ τοὺς κροκοδείλους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς λίμναις, καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον, φύλλους καὶ κορίδας καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς κώνωπας καὶ μυίας ὡς ἀλγεινῶς κατ-  
800 εσθίουσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἰκανὰ ἔτη πεποίηκας τὰ δεινὰ ταῦτα ἐκμανθάνων, ἴν’ ἐπιστομίζεις δυνηθῆς τοῖς σὲ ἀνταΐρουσιν. Νεώτερος ἐγενόμην καὶ νῦν γεγήρακα, ἱκανοῖς τε χριστιανοῖς ἐκ παιδὸς προσωμίλησα καὶ σοφοῖς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτοις καὶ πλουσίοις καὶ πένησιν· ἵνα τίς ἱκανέσῃ πρὸς με τοιαῦτα ἐν ῥήμασιν, ζῆ κύριος, οὐ μέμνημαι. Οὐκοῦν δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν  
805 ἐάσαντες τηρεῖν τὸ σάββατον καὶ περιτέμνεσθαι, τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τιμᾶτε καὶ τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι ἀφέντες τὸ βαπτίσμα προτιμώντες βαπτίζεσθε;”

Ἦ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἴνα μὴ ὦμεν ἰουδαίζοντες, ἀλλὰ χριστιανίζοντες. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι εἰς οὐθὲν ἕτερον συντελεῖ, ἢ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι τὸν τοῦτο ὑπομείναντα σεσημειωμένον, τὸ ποίου ἔθνος καὶ γένους περίεσπιν· ὥσπερ πολλάκις ὄρας καὶ χοίρων ἀγέ-  
810 λας, ὅτι πεφύκασι τὰ ὠτα αὐτῶν διατετμημένα εἰς τὸ γνωρίζεσθαι, τίνων εἴπερ τίνος χρηματίζουσιν. Περὶ δὲ ὅτι δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν οὐ τηροῦμεν τὸ σάββατον, ἀλλὰ γε τὴν κυριακὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη τῆς κοσμοποιίας ἡμέρα, ἄκουσον· Γεγήρακε τὸ σάββατον καὶ λοιπὸν ἀναπαύεται. Τιμῶμεν δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν ὡς ἀρχὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος καὶ τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας μηνύτριαν. Βαπτιζόμεθα δὲ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος τὸ σῶμα ἀνομημάτων

787 ὑμᾶς – 788 παρενέβαλε cf. Num. 21.6; Deut. 8.15 | 788 Ἰωνᾶν – 790 προστέταχεν cf. Ionas 2.1 | 792 πάντα – αὐτοῦ Ps. 8.7 | 802 νεώτερος – γεγήρακα cf. Ps. 36.25

#### C X K S H T V

788 τοῖς<sup>2</sup> < C | 790 ἐκεῖνον τοῦτο K | 791 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV ἐμοῦ K σοι] σε T ποιήσω S δύναμαι SH | 794 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V τοῦτο] τόγε SHTV τῷ ῥήματι H | 795 θεὸν καὶ πατέρα SHTV καὶ < C ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου < SHTV εἰπὼν – 797 ἠνίξατο < SHTV | 796 τῷ < C | 797 ἐρπετὰ πάντα SHTV | 798 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – λίμναις < SHTV κορκοδείλους K | 799 φθυλοῦς C φθύλλους XK φωρίδας CXK αὐτὰς τὰς < SHTV καὶ μυίας < SHTV καθεσθίουσα H | 801 λέγει < T ἐκμανθάνων ταῦτα H ἵνα CX | 802 τοὺς σοὶ ἀνταΐροντας TV σὲ] σοὶ SH | 803 ἐκ παιδὸς < C προσωμίλησασα T καὶ<sup>3</sup> – πένησιν < SHTV | 804 ἵνα δὲ τις X πρὸς με τοιαῦτα] ταῦτα TV μέμνημαι recte K] μεμήνημαι cett. | 805 τὴν – περιτέμνεσθαι<sup>2</sup> < T |

The archbishop said: “Here you have spoken badly. If the sinful man is worthier than all others, for which reason did the divine trial, when you embittered God in the desert, give you to the serpents and scorpions for food? And when the prophet Jonah did not obey to the order of the Almighty and neglected his obedience, did he not deem that sea-monster to be better than him, and gave the order to it to devour him for chastisement?”

Herban said: “You are superior to me in all things, and there is nothing I can do to you. But what does the prophet say as to God, *You have submitted all things under his feet*, that is of man?”

The archbishop said: “The prophet said this word obscurely from the Holy Ghost about our saviour Jesus Christ as to his father and God. For when he said *You have submitted all things under his feet*, it is clear that he spoke obscurely about the things in heaven and on earth in general, but did not submit everything to men. For man fears the creeping and wild animals in the field and the crocodiles in the lakes,<sup>105</sup> and, worst of all, fleas, bugs, and even the gnats and flies that bite man painfully.”

Herban said: “You have spent a sufficient number of years to learn these terrible things by heart, so that you can silence your opponents. I was young and have now become old, I have discussed with a sufficient number of Christians from my childhood on, with wise and uneducated, with rich and poor ones; as God lives, I cannot remember that anyone came up against me in such a way at a discussion. So why do you honour the first day, ceasing to keep the Sabbath and to be circumcised, and are baptised giving up circumcision and preferring baptism?”

The archbishop said: “In order not to be Jews, but Christians. For circumcision serves no other purpose than that the one who suffered it is marked as to which nation and race he belongs; so you often see litters of pigs whose ears are cut in twain, to know to which people or to whom they belong. Concerning the reason why we do not keep the Sabbath, but the Sunday, which is the first day of creation, listen: The Sabbath has become old and is now at rest. We honour the first day as the beginning of the future age and as the announcer of the kingdom of heaven. We are baptised, cleansing our body from sins with water, and making our soul whiter than snow, invisibly through the

807 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τ Γρηγέντιος V ἔφη] λεγει S ὤμεν < H | 808 τοῦτο ὑπομείναντα] τοιοῦτον SHTV | 809 γένους καὶ ἔθνους TV | 810 τίνων] τινῶν SHTV εἶπερ] ὑπὲρ C TV τίνος] τίνων C T | 811 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν < SHTV τηρῶμεν V ἀλλά – 812 ἄκουσον < SHTV | 812 λοιπὸν < SHTV | 813 δὲ < X ἡμέραν + ἥτις ἐστὶν κυριακὴ SHTV | 814 βαπτίζόμεθα – 817 γηθόμενος < SHTV

<sup>105</sup> Since crocodiles did not exist on the territory of ninth-century Byzantium, this is probably an allusion to the holy crocodile in the Moiris lake in Egypt which the author may have known, for example, from Eusebios, *Praeparatio evangelica*, 2.1.48.

815 καθαίροντες, διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ χιόνα ἀοράτως λευκαίνοντες, Τοιγαροῦν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ βαπτίζει εἰς τριάδα παναγίαν, ἵνα καθαρισθεῖς τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἁγιασθεῖς τῷ πνεύματι τερφθῆσῃ γηθόμενος·”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοιγαροῦν ἀντὶ χοίρων ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς τῇ περιτομῇ, ὡς εἶρηκας, σεσημείωσε καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῷ ἔθνος καὶ τίμιον; Προφανῶς ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζων καθοράθης, 820 ὦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπε.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπόδειγμά σοι παρέσχον, εἰς τί χρησιμεύει ἡ περιτομή. Θεάσαι γάρ, ὅτι καὶ κυνῶν πολλάκις ὦτα τέμνουσιν τινές καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτέρπεσθαι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ γνωρίζειν τὰ οἰκεῖα. Καὶ ἵππους πολλάκις σφραγίζουσιν καὶ ὄνους καὶ ἡμίονους σιδηρᾷ σφραγίδι πεπυρακτωμένη. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς ταῦτα 825 μηδὲν ἀνιάρων πάθης, ὑποδείγματος γὰρ χάριν σοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱστορήσας κατὰ χάριν παρήγαγον.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀτιμίας χάριν ταῦτα, ὡς οἶμαι, παρήγαγες, οὐχὶ δὲ φημί ὑποδείγματος. Οὐκ ἤρκεσε γάρ, ὅτι χοίρους ἡμᾶς πεποίηκας, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ κύνας καὶ ὄνους καὶ ἡμίονους, Τοιγαροῦν τίς ἐστὶν ἄρα ὑς χρηματίζων, ὁ ἐσθίων τὰ κρέα τῶν χοίρων ἢ περὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων;”

830 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὔτε ὁ ἐσθίων οὔτε ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χοίρων ἀλόγως ἐξομοιούμενος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοῦ νόμου μὴ παρακελεύοντος ἐσθίειν τὰ ὕεια, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν αὐτὰ ἐσθίετε ὑμεῖς τὰ κρέα παρανομοῦντες.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πρὸ τοῦ ἐξελεθῆν ὑμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ 835 ὑμεῖς ταῦτα ἡσθίετε;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὅτι οὐπω ἦν ὁ νόμος ἡμῖν πεφυτουρηγμένος παρά τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Μωσέως· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρᾶγμα περὶ οὗ ἐντολὴν οὐκ ἐλάβομεν, ποίω τρόπῳ ὀφείλομεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραφυλάττεσθαι;”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς· πράγματος περὶ οὗ ἐντολὴν οὐκ ἐδεξάμεθα, οὐ μὴν οὔτε παραφυλαττόμεθα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Πάντα δὲ καὶ εἰσπράττομεν, ἵνα μὴ εὐρεθῶμεν ἰουδαίζοντες.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντα πράττομεν καὶ ἅπαντα περιεργαζόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ εὐρεθῶμεν χριστιανίζοντες, ἀλλ' ἰουδαίζοντες. Καὶ γάρ, ὃν τρόπον σιαινὲς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἑβραίων πίστει, παραπλησίως καὶ ἡμεῖς σιαινόμεθα ἐπὶ τῇ λατρείᾳ τῶν χριστιανῶν.” 845

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δέον πάντα δοκιμάζειν καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι, εἴθ' οὕτως τὸ ἀγαθὸν κατέχειν καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι. Μᾶλλον δὲ δέον τὸν μοχλι-

815 ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκαίνοντες cf. Ps. 50.9 | 832 τοῦ – ὕεια cf. Lev. 11.7; Deut. 14.8 | 846 δέον – 847 ἀπέχεσθαι cf. 1 Thess. 5.22

#### C X K S H T V

816 αἰτίαν < C | 818 λέγει] ἔφη S, < TV τοιγαροῦν] τί οὖν TV εἶρηκε T σεσημειῖται C | 819 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦ SHTV καί<sup>2</sup> – 820 ἀρχιεπίσκοπε < SHTV | 821 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος TV ἔφη] λέγει S ὑπόδειγμά – χρησιμεύει < X | 822 τῇ περιτομῇ X | 824 σιδηρᾶς

Holy Ghost. Why do you therefore not become baptised yourself as well in the all-holy Trinity, that you be cleaned in your body and sanctified in your soul, and enjoy yourself delighting in your spirit?”

Herban said: “So did God mark us by circumcision, as you have said, instead of pigs and not as his beloved and worthy nation? Obviously you have appeared as someone that insults us, o archbishop.”

The archbishop said: “Let it not be! I just gave you an example, what the use of circumcision is. For you see, some people often also cut the ears and tails of dogs to please themselves and to recognise their property. And often they also brand horses, asses and mules with an iron seal which is made glowing. So you will not suffer any trouble in respect to this, for I have introduced such things to do you a pleasure, describing them as an example.”

Herban said: “You have introduced them for our dishonour, I think, and not, I say, as examples. For it was not enough for you to make us pigs, but also dogs and asses and mules. Therefore, who is a pig here, the one that eats pork or the one who does not?”

The archbishop said: “Neither the one who eats it nor the one who does not, but who foolishly has become similar to the works of the pigs.”

Herban said: “Since the law does not allow eating pork, for what reason do you eat this meat and transgress?”

The archbishop said: “Before you went out of Egypt, why did you eat it as well?”

Herban said: “Because the law had not yet been established by God and Moses, and with what intention should we therefore have refrained from a thing about which we did not receive a commandment?”

The archbishop said: “The same to us: We do not refrain from a thing about which we did not receive a commandment. And we do everything, so that we may not be found to be Jews.”

Herban said: “So we also do everything and take every pain, that we may not be found to be Christians, but Jews. For in the same way as you are disgusted by the faith of the Hebrews, similarly we also are disgusted by the veneration of the Christians.”

The archbishop said: “It is necessary to examine everthing and to take every pain, and then to embrace the good and to keep away of all kind of evil. It is further necessary

σφραγίδας πεπυρακτώμενος V | 825 μηθὲν SHV ἀνίαρον SHTV πάθη C σοι – χάριν<sup>2</sup> < H  
 ὑποδείξας και ιστορήσας TV | 827 λέγει < T ὡς < C ὑποδείγματα T | 829 γὰρ ἐστίν C ὅς] εἰς T  
 εἰ V κρέα τῶν] κρέατα X ἢ SHTV ἐσθίων<sup>2</sup>] ἐσθίων C | 830 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκο-  
 πος T ἐσθίων – ἐσθίων C | 831 ἀλόγως < C SHTV | 832 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T υἷα κρέη C υἷα V ἦν]  
 ἦ K αἰτίαν < S<sup>ac</sup>V | 833 ὑμεῖς τὰ κρέα < SHTV | 834 ὁ < T ἔφη < X TV και ὑμεῖς < C |  
 835 ταῦτα < H ἠσθίετε ταῦτα T ἐσθίετε H | 836 λέγει < TV πεφυτουρημένος ἡμῖν C τοῦ θεοῦ  
 C | 837 Μωυσέως C H και – 838 παραφυλάττεσθαι < SHTV τὸ πρᾶγμα X | 839 ὁ < T ἔφη < C  
 T πράγματος < SHTV | 840 οὐ μὴν < SHTV ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ < SHTV ἀπ’ – μὴ < C | 842 Ἐρβᾶν –  
 845 χριστιανῶν < SHTV | 846 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη S<sup>del</sup>, < H πάντα] τὰ πάντα X ταῦτα K  
 δοκιμάζειν + ταῦτα K εἶθ’ οὕτως] και SHTV | 847 μάλλον – 854 ὁστᾶ < SHTV

άσαντα ἄρτον καταλιπεῖν καὶ τοῦ νεωστί ἐψηθέντος καὶ ζέοντος προσδραμόντα ἠδέως ἐφάπασθαι. Δέον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀθροισθείσης ἐφάπαξ οἰκίας ἀποδιδράσαντα προσδραμεῖν  
850 τῇ νεωστί πῶς καὶ παραδόξως κατασκευασθεῖση ὑπὸ τῆς παντουργοδυνάμου θεοῦ σοφί-  
ας τε καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ χρηστότητος τῆς τὰ ὄρατὰ τεκτηναμένης καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀοράτων· εἰ  
δὲ μή γε, ἐκεῖ μὲν τῷ ἀχρειωθέντι ἄρτῳ πονηρῶς συνδιακραθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι,  
ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῇ σεσαθρωμένη οἰκίᾳ ἐναπομείναντα τῇ πονηρᾷ καὶ κακίστῳ πτώσει ἀθλίως  
συναπελθεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἕξιν ἐχθίστως διασκορπῆσαι τὰ ὄσα.”

855 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐκαστος τὸ ἴδιον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἠγεῖται καὶ οὐδεὶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κακῶς  
ἐρεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐκοῦν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ πιστόν. Τὸ δὲ νέον δοκεῖ μοι  
εἶναι ἐπισφαλές, ἀτελές τε καὶ ἄποιον καὶ μωρόν.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀρχαῖον κακὸν νέον ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ χρηματίσειεν.  
Παλαιὸς τε ἀσκὸς κᾶν ἐν τῇ πάχῃ διανυκτηρεῦσειεν εἰς παραδοχὴν νέου οἴνου οὐ χριμα-  
860 τίσειεν, καὶ παλαιὸς χιτῶν καὶ σχοινίον πεπαλαιωμένον θᾶπτον διαρραγῆσονται. Ὑπόδη-  
μά τε πεπαλαιωμένον καὶ κατηχρειωμένον ἐπὶ βασιλέως ποῦν οὐκ ἀναβιβασθήσεται.  
Γέρον δὲ πεπαλαιωμένος ἐτῶν πανπονῆρων οὐκ ἀνακαινισθήσεται ὡς ἀετὸς τὴν νεότητα.  
Ἀράχνης δὲ ἰστὸς ἀμαυρώσας τὴν ἀφελότητα τῆς τεκτηναμένης τε καὶ ἀχρειότητα πρό-  
865 δηλον ἐμφαίνων καθέστηκεν. Οὐκοῦν τί σοι καὶ τῷ ἰουδαϊσμῷ σου; Ἐξέλιπε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς  
συγγενείας αὐτοῦ, κατέλιπε τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν λατρείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριόν μου  
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ κατέφυγεν, ὅτε καταβάς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐνηθρόωσε καὶ  
περιπατήσας κατὰ τὰς παραγγελίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τοῦ αὐτοῦ νόμου, πληρώσας τοῦ-  
870 τον ἐνέπαυσεν εἰρηκῶς αὐτῷ· *Μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαξ  
χρεῖαν ἔχω τοῦ νομικοῦ καρποῦ καὶ σκιῶδους, ἐλήλυθε γὰρ ὁ τῆς νέας χάριτος βότρυς  
875 τοῖς χρῆζουσιν καὶ ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν τοῖς πεινώσιν ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Αὐτὸς δὲ  
ἔπειτα ὡς οἶα θεὸς καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ νομοθέτης, ἐπειδὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔσχε, νενομοθέτηκε τὸν  
χριστιανισμόν καὶ τὴν καινὴν θυσίαν τῷ τιμίῳ αὐτοῦ αἵματι καὶ τῷ ἀχράντῳ αὐτοῦ σώμα-  
τι κεράσας τελείσθαι προσέταξεν, ἐξάρας εἰς τέλος τὰς τε ζωολατρείας καὶ τὰς ζωοθυ-  
875 σίας τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν παρανόμων εἰδωλολατρῶν. Καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου ὡς  
πατέρα δοξάζεσθαι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὡς υἱὸν καὶ τὸν παράκλητον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς πνεῦμα  
ἅγιον, ἐν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι τῆς μιᾶς θεότητος τὰ τρία πρόσωπα ἀδιαιρέτως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως ἕνα  
θεὸν αἰνεῖσθαι, τιμᾶσθαι, σέβεσθαι καὶ δοξάζεσθαι παρὰ πάσης πνοῆς. Οὐκοῦν ἤρρεσε τῷ  
θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐπένευσε καὶ συνῆνεσε καὶ ἠδύοκησεν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ φιλιτάτῳ τοῦ μονογε-

859 ἀσκός – πάχῃ cf. Ps. 118.83 | 862 ἀνακαινισθήσεται – νεότητα cf. Ps. 102.5 | 863 ἀράχνης  
– 864 καθέστηκεν cf. Is. 59.5–6 | 868 μηκέτι – αἰῶνα Mt. 21.19 | 870 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – οὐρανοῦ Io. 6.51 |  
876 ἀδιαιρέτως – ἀσυγχύτως cf. Concilium Chalcedonense, [325] 129.31

## C X K S H T V

849 ἄπασθαι C οἰκείας ἐφάπαξ C | 850 δὲ τῇ C πῶς | ποῦ X | 853 κακίστη X | 855 λέγει < TV |  
856 ἐρεῖ + αὐτὸ SH οὐκοῦν – 857 μωρόν < SHTV νέον δὲ X | 857 ἐπισφαλῆς C ἄποιον] ἄπι-  
στον X | 858 ὁ < T ἔφη < TV καὶ νέον CX εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα < SHTV χρηματίσει SHTV | 859 τε –  
860 παλαιός < SHTV | 860 τῶν σχοινίων V πεπαλαιωμένον] διαρρηγμένον SHT διαρρηγμένων

to leave the mouldering bread behind, to run to the newly baked and hot one and to partake in it sweetly. It is also necessary to run away from the house, which was built once ago, and to run to the one that has been constructed recently and miraculously by the all-creating wisdom of God, his peace and goodness that has created the visible things together with the invisible ones; but if not, to be mixed up and corrupted badly together with the bread which has become uneatable, and, remaining in the decayed house, to depart pitifully by an evil and bad fall, and to scatter the bones in hell most hatefully.”

Herban said: “Everybody believes his own ideas to be good, and nobody will call those bad forever that are the old, prudent and faithful. The new seems to me dubious, incomplete, without quality and foolish.”

The archbishop said: “An old evil will forever not become a new good. An old wineskin will not be suited to receive new wine, if it has passed the night in the frost, and an old garment and a decayed rope will break more quickly. A decayed and worn shoe will not be put on the foot of a king. An old man who is decayed by his very bad age will not regain his youth like an eagle. The web of a spider, when it becomes weak, indicates clearly the simple mind and worthlessness of its maker. So what about you and your Judaism? He disappeared from his kinship, left his veneration and fled to my Lord Jesus Christ in that time when he came down to earth, became a man and walked around according to his commands, that is to his law, fulfilled and ended it saying to him: *No fruit will grow from you forever*, for I have no need of the lawful fruit which is in the shade, since the grapes of the new grace have come to those that need them, and *the living bread which came down from heaven* for the hungry. Then he, being God and the Son of God and a lawgiver, since he had the authority to do so, established Christianity and ordered that the new sacrifice should be accomplished, mixing his worthy blood and his immaculate body, and removing forever the animal worship and sacrifices of the law and the worshippers of idols. And he ordered that the God of the law should be glorified as the Father, he himself as the Son, and the Intercessor of his Father as the Holy Ghost,<sup>106</sup> and that these three persons, without being divided and confused in the one name of the one divinity, should be praised, honoured, adored and glorified as one God by every thing that has breath. So it pleased God Father, and he agreed and assented to this same most beloved legislation of his only begotten Son, and found pleasure in it.

V ὑπόδημά – 864 καθέστηκεν < SHTV | 862 παμπονήρων X τὴν – 863 ἰστός] τῆ νεότητι· ὁ τοῦ ἀράχης δὲ τὸν ἰστόν K | 863 τῆς τεκνηναμένου καὶ τὴν ἀφελότητα πρόδηλος K | 864 ἐμβαίνων X καθέστηκεν ἐμφαίνων C ὅς ἐξέλιπε C | 865 εὐγενείας STV γὰρ τὸ T τῆς λατρείας K καὶ – 888 ἐξειργάσατο < SHTV | 867 κατὰ] καὶ K | 868 ἐνέπαυσεν C | 869 νομικοῦ] νόμου ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῦ C | 876 ἐν ἐνί] ἐν ἐν C τῆς μίας] τιμίας K | 878 ἐπαίνεσε K ἐπένευσε + αὐτὸς X<sup>pc</sup> αὐτῶ K αὐτῆ φιλάτῳ τοῦ] τοῦ φιλάτου αὐτοῦ X

<sup>106</sup> A clear allusion to the *filioque* debate, see above, p. 95.



νοῦς υἱοῦ νομοθεσίᾳ. Καὶ κυρώσας τὸν χριστιανισμόν ἐπεσφράγισε καὶ ἐκέλευσε πάντα  
 880 ἄνθρωπον διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης νομοθεσίας ἀγομένους ἔνδον εἰσελαύνειν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν  
 τῶν οὐρανῶν. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας καὶ ἀντιλέγοντας μετάνοιαν δέδωκεν ἀναμονῆς μέχρι  
 τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς, ἵνα ὁ μὲν πιστεύων καὶ βαπτιζόμενος σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀντιλέγων  
 καὶ ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ καταστρέφων τὸν βίον τῷ τῆς Γεέννης πυρὶ καὶ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ταμι-  
 885 εὔεται. Διὰ τοῦτο παραινῶ σοι ἀποστήναι σε τοῦ παλαιοῦ νόμου καὶ σεσιγότος, καὶ προσ-  
 δραμεῖν τῇ νέᾳ χάριτι τῆς ἀληθείας. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀναβάλλει ὡς μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀθῶως εἰμί  
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομίας σου· προεῖπον γάρ σοι καὶ οὐχ ἕξεις εὐλογον πρόφασιν ἀπολογίας ἐν τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, ὅταν ἐκεῖσε ἕκαστος εὐθύνεται πρὸς ἃ ὧδε πέπραχεν καὶ ἐξειργά-  
 σατο.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐκ ἐπαύσω τὰ τοιαῦτα μοι ὄνειδιστικῶς τοῦ προσφέρειν ὡς ἓνα τῶν  
 890 ἀπίστων καὶ εἰδωλολατρῶν με εἰς παντελῆ ἀπώλειαν ψηφίζόμενος εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν εἰ  
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης τὰ τοιαῦτα; Ἐλάλησας, φησίν, ἐν  
 ὁράσει τοῖς υἱοῖς σου καὶ εἴπας· Ἐθέμην βοήθειαν ἐπὶ δυνατόν, ὑψωσα ἐκλεκτὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
 λαοῦ μου, εὔρον Δαυὶδ τὸν δοῦλον μου, ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ μου ἔχρισα αὐτόν. Ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ μου  
 895 συναντιλήφεται αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ βραχιών μου κατισχύσει αὐτῷ. Οὐκ ὠφελήσει ἐχθρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ,  
 καὶ υἱὸς ἀνομίας οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ κακῶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ συγκόψω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ  
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας αὐτόν τροπώσομαι. Καὶ ἡ ἀλήθειά μου καὶ τὸ  
 ἔλεός μου μετ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ὑψωθήσεται τὸ κέρας τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ θήσο-  
 900 μαι ἐν θαλάσῃ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖς δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται με·  
 Πατὴρ μου εἰ σύ, θεὸς μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου, κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον θήσομαι  
 αὐτόν, ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῆς γῆς. Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα φυλάξω αὐτῷ τὸ ἔλεός μου,  
 καὶ ἡ διαθήκη μου πιστὴ αὐτῷ. Ὅρα τὸ ἀδιάσπαστον τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρὸς τὸν  
 Δαυὶδ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἥτις ἐσμέν ἡμεῖς. Καὶ θήσομαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, φησί, τοῦ  
 αἰῶνος τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἕως τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι  
 905 μέχρι τῆς συντελείας, καὶ ἐὰν ἐγκαταλείπωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν τὸν νόμον μου, φησί, καὶ τοῖς  
 κρίμασί μου μὴ πορευθῶσιν, ἐὰν τὰ δικαιώματά μου βεβηλώσωσι καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου μὴ  
 φυλάξωσιν, ἐπισκέψομαι ἐν ῥάβδῳ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν μάστιγι τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν.  
 Τὸ δὲ ἔλεός μου οὐ μὴ διασκεδάσω ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, οὐδέ μὴ ἀδικήσω ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μου, οὐδ’  
 οὐ μὴ βεβηλώσω τὴν διαθήκην μου καὶ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων μου οὐ μὴ  
 910 ἀθετήσω. Ἄκουσον ἐνταῦθα συνθήκας θεοῦ ἐξαισίας τὰς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ εἵνεκα  
 τοῦ μὴ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς συντελείας,  
 ἀλλὰ κρατύνεσθαι αὐτὴν δι’ ὀρκωμοσίας. Προστίθῃσι γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ φησίν· Ἄπαξ ὤμοσα

882 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – σωθήσεται cf. Mc. 16.16 | 885 ἀθῶως – 886 σου cf. Mt. 27.24 | 891 ἐλάλησας – 901  
 αὐτῷ Ps. 88.20–29 | 902 καί<sup>2</sup> – 909 ἀθετήσω Ps. 88.30–35 | 911 ἄπαξ – 914 πιστός Ps. 88.36–38

### C X K S H T V

879 πάντας ἀνθρώπους K | 882 βαπτιζόμενος καὶ πιστεύων C | 883 καί<sup>2</sup> < K | 884 τοῦτο + οὐ  
 νόμου τοῦ παλαιοῦ βούλεσθε ἐκστῆναι· ἐγὼ C σοι < K σε] σου K σεσηπότος X σεσηγηκότος K |  
 885 ὡς < C | 889 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T μοι τὰ τοιαῦτα T τοῦ < K TV | 890 με] μοι SHTV

And confirming Christianity, he put a seal on it and ordered every man to enter the kingdom of heaven being led by this very legislation. To the disobedient and contradicting he gave the repentance of waiting until their last breath, so that he who believes and is baptised will be saved, and he who contradicts and ends his life in unbelief will be locked up in the fire of Gehenna, together with the demons. Therefore I exhort you to desist from the old law which has become silent, and to run to the new grace of truth. But if you delay in this being unwilling, I am guiltless of your iniquity; for I have told you this before, and you will not have a cheap excuse on the day of the judgement, when everyone will be called there to account for what he has done and achieved here.”

Herban said: “You did not stop to present such things to me in an insulting way, as if I were one of the unbelieving worshippers of idols, who is destined for complete destruction. Therefore, if this is so, for what reason did the prophet say such a thing? *You spoke*, he says, *in a vision to your sons and said: I have laid help upon the powerful, I have exalted the chosen one out of my people, I have found David my servant, I have anointed him with my holy oil. For my hand will help him and my arm will let him be strong. The enemy will not achieve anything against him, and the son of iniquity will not afflict him, and I will beat down his enemies before his face and will put those that hate him to flight. And my truth and my mercy are with him, and the horn of the righteous will be exalted in my name, and I will set his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers. He will invoke me: You are my Father, my God and protector of my salvation, and I will set him on high as my firstborn among the kings of the earth. I will keep my mercy for him forever, and my covenant will stand fast with him.* See how the love of God is uninterrupted for David and his kingdom, which we are. *And I will set up*, he says, *his seed forever and his throne until the days of heaven*, that is until the end of the world, and *if my sons will forsake my law*, he says, *and do not walk in my judgements, if they profane my statutes and do not keep my commandments, I will visit their sins with my rod and their iniquities with my whip. But I will not take away my mercy from them, nor will I do wrong in my truth, nor will I profane my covenant and despise the words which go out of my mouth.* Hear at this place God’s exceptional bonds with his people, that he will not take his covenant away from his people until the end of the world, but strengthen it by swearing oaths. For he adds the following and says: *Once I*

ψηφιζόμενος εἶναι] ψηφισάμενος SHTV εἰ – 891 ἔχει < SHTV | 891 τὰ τοιαῦτα < SHTV | 892 εἶπας – 893 μου<sup>1</sup>] ἔπειτα SHTV | 893 ἡ – 898 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 897 τοῦ δικαίου] αὐτοῦ K | 899 μου<sup>1</sup> < T κάγω – 900 γῆς < SHTV | 901 αὐτοῦ T ὄρα – 902 ἡμεῖς < SHTV | 902 φησί ante εἰς SHTV τοῦ αἰῶνος < SHTV | 903 ἕως] ὡς SHTV | 904 τὴν μέχρι K ἐάν – 909 ἀθειήσω] τὰ ἐξῆς SHTV οἱ < CX | 906 ῥάβδω – ἐν<sup>2</sup> < X | 909 θεῶ SHTV τὰς] τὰ SHTV εἵνεκα SHV | 910 τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ post 911 αὐτὴν SHTV ἀπὸ – λαοῦ] τὸν λαὸν SHTV μέχρι τῆς συντελείας < SHTV | 911 αὐτὴν] αὐτὸν X γὰρ < H αὐτὸς + ἔπειτα SHTV καὶ < XK

ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ μου, εἰ τῷ Δαυίδ φεύσομαι. Τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίον μου καὶ ὡς ἡ σελήνη κατηρηπισμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός. Ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν ἐνωτιζόμενος καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ θεὸς οὐ διασκεδάξει τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς συντελείας, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παραβρίνοντας παιδεύειν ἐπαγγέλεται, τὸ δὲ ἔλεος ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὴ διασκεδάξειν, παύσον τοῦ ὡς τὸν τυχόντα ἡμᾶς καταδικάζειν τοὺς διὰ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς αὐτῷ καὶ θεοπρεπῶς εὐαρεστοῦντας.”

915 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀπὸ τῆς περικοπῆς τοῦ στίχου τοῦ καὶ ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός ἀνωτέρω τίνα λοιπὸν διαγορεύει ὁ ψαλμός, σαφήνισον.”

920 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄπερ σὺ ἀπηρίθμησας, σκόπησον· τὰ δὲ τούτων περαιτέρω τίνα χρεῖαν ἔχεις τοῦ ἐρευνησασθαι;”

925 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Χρεῖαν ἔχω, καθότι τὰ ῥήματα, ἅπερ μοι αὐτὸς ἀπηρίθμησας, τὰ κατωτέρω τούτων εἰρημένα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ μοι εἰρημένων συντέθεινται. Λέγει γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ ψάλλον (τίς δὲ πρόσεσπιν ὁ ψάλλον, οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἢ Αἰθᾶμ ὁ Ἰσραηλίτης). Σὺ δέ, φησίν, ἀπώσω καὶ ἐξουδένωσας· ἀνεβάλου τὸν Χριστὸν σου, κατέστρεψας τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ δούλου σου, ἐβεβήλωσας εἰς γῆν τὸ ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ, ἔθου τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτοῦ δειλίαν, καθεῖλες πάντα τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ. Διήρπαζον αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ διοδεύοντες ὁδὸν καὶ ὕψωσας τὴν δεξιὰν τῶν θλιβόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέστρεψας τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς ῥομφαίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, τοῦ καὶ ἕως ποῦ εἰσὶ τὰ ἐλέη σου τὰ ἀρχαῖα, κύριε, ἃ ὤμοσας τῷ Δαυίδ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς; Οὐκοῦν ἃ καλῶς συντίθησιν ἔμπροσθεν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μαρτύρεται ταῦτα ὀνειδιστικῶς διαβάλλων καὶ λέγων πρὸς κύριον· “Ὅπερ συνέθου τῷ Δαυίδ, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ταῦτα ἀλληγορήσας οὐ πεποίηκας;”

930 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ ἄρα διεφεύσατο ὁ θεός, εἴπερ καὶ φεύστης ὑπάρχων χρηματίσειεν;”

935 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἐπίστασαι ὡς δέον τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τὸν ψαλμὸν συντεταχῶς τάχα κάκεινος τόγε ἠγνόησεν. Θεὸς δὲ πανταχοῦ καλῶς ἀληθεύων εὐρίσκεται. Εἰς Δαυίδ μὲν γὰρ φαίνεται ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἀγαθὰς αὐτοῦ συνθήκας ποιούμενος. Πληροὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς τὸν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομικῶς ἀναβλαστήσαντα, τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα ἐν ἀμφοτέροις υἱὸν καὶ λόγον θεοῦ χρηματίζοντα, ὃν γὰρ ὕψωσεν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. Τοῦτο πρόσεσπιν ἢ ἀνθρωπότης ἢ ἐνω-

925 Αἰθᾶμ ὁ Ἰσραηλίτης cf. Ps. 88.1 | 926 σὺ – 930 αὐτοῦ Ps. 88.39–44 | 930 ποῦ – 931 σου Ps. 88.50

## C X K S H T V

912 τὸν] τὸ T καὶ – 913 αἰῶνα < SHTV | 914 πιστός + σὺ δὲ ἀπώσω καὶ ἐξουδένωσας, ἀνεβάλου τὸν Χριστὸν σου C ἐνωτιζόμενος – 916 διασκεδάξει] ἐφεύσατο SHTV | 916 τοῦ] τοιγαροῦν SHTV | 917 τοῦ τυχόντος SHTV τὸν νόμον SHTV | 919 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 922 ἐρευνησασθαι < SHTV | 920 κατωτέρω K τί διαγορεύει λοιπὸν C | 921 σοὶ ἀπηρίθμησα K περαιτέρων X | 923 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T χρεῖαν – 925 συντέθεινται < SHTV | 924 ἀνωτέρω CX | 925 τίς – 926 Ἰσραηλίτης < SHTV δὲ] γὰρ K ὁ<sup>3</sup> < X | 926 φησίν < SHTV καὶ κατέστρεψας K | 927 ἐβεβήλωσας – 930 αὐτοῦ < SHTV αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν C | 928 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup>] αὐτῶν C καθεῖλες – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < C | 930 λοιπά] ἐξῆς SHTV | 931 ἃ<sup>1</sup> – 933 πεποίηκας < SHTV καλῶ C |

*have sworn in my holiness, that I will not lie to David. His seed remains forever and his throne as the sun before me, and as the moon established forever and as a faithful witness in heaven.* Therefore listen to this and understand that God does not take away his covenant until the end of the world, which is the law, but declares to chastise the transgressors and not to take away his mercy from from; so stop condemning us just because we came across you, <we> who please God well through his law and in a way worthy of him.”

The archbishop said: “Then explain to me what the psalm says after the section at the verse *as a faithful witness in heaven.*”

Herban said: “Consider the things you have enumerated; but which need do you have to inquire on those that go beyond them?”

The archbishop said: “I have this need, because the words, which are said after those you enumerated to me, have been composed for the dissolution of the things you said to me. For thereafter the psalmist says (and who is the psalmist, I think, but Ethan the Israelite): *You have cast off and annihilated, you have put aside your anointed, you have destroyed the covenant of your servant, you have profaned his sanctuary on the earth, you have reduced his fortress to timidity and have demolished all his fences.*<sup>107</sup> *And all that pass by the way plundered him, and you have exalted the right hand of those who afflict him and have turned away the help of his sword* and so on, and also until <the verse> *Where is your former mercy, Lord, which you have sworn to David in your truth* and so on? So what he composes well before, for what reason does he testify this calumniating in an insulting way and saying to the Lord: ‘For what reason did you speak allegorically about the things on which you had agreed with David, but did not do them?’ ”

Herban said: “So did God deceive us, if he also happens to be a liar?”

The archbishop said: “You do not know the power of the things that have been said, as you should, because even the one who composed this psalm perhaps ignored it. God is found to speak the truth well everywhere. For God appears to have made his good agreements with David. He fulfills these in Jesus Christ, who has providentially risen from the seed of David as God and man, who is Son and Word of God in both natures as the same person, for it was he whom he exalted from the people as the chosen one. This is the humanity which is united with the inaccessible divinity without being mixed,

933 ὀλιγορήσας K | 934 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < T χρηματίζη SHTV | 935 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T και ὁ] ὁ και SHTV | 936 ἐκεῖνος SHTV τότε CX τότε SHTV θεός – 937 εὐρίσκειται < SHTV | 938 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν post 939 βλαστήσαντα SHTV θεὸν και ἄνθρωπον < SHTV | 939 τὸν – χρηματίζοντα < SHTV | 940 τούτου X ἡ<sup>2</sup> – 941 ἀνθρώπῳ < SHTV

<sup>107</sup> Here the two lines of Ps. 88.41 appear in inverse order, the second lines of the following verses 42 and 43 and verses 45–49 are omitted. Note that only a small part of the long quotation Ps. 88.20–50 is thereafter explained by Gregentios (Δ 935–973).

θεῖσα ἀφύρτως τῆ ἀπροσίτῳ θεότητι καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἀνθρώπῳ λέγει, ὅτι *οὐκ ὠφελήσει ἐχθρός*, Ἰησοῦς πρόσεσπιν ὁ κύριος. Πάντως γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ αὐτὸν σταυρώσαντες, σκόπησον τί ἐν αὐτῷ ὠφελήσατε, οὐπνιος ἀπὸ προσώπου συνέτριψε καὶ συνέκοψε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ. Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀμωμῆτου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας, μεθ' οὗ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὸ ἔλεος  
945 καὶ ἐν ᾧ ὄνοματι τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κέρα ὑψωθήσεται. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ νέος Δαυιδ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, οὐπνιος ἔσται ἡ χεὶρ ἐν τῇ νοητῇ *θαλάσῃ*, τοῦτ' ἔσπιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἵνεκα θεογνωσίας, *καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖς* τοῖς νοητῶς ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων εἰς ἀρδείαν τοῦ νέου λαοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ νᾶμα προχεόντων σκέπης εἵνεκα *δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ*. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος· *αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται με*, λέγει ὁ  
950 θεός, κατὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ, ἦνπερ κέκτηται, τοῦτ' ἔσπιν τὴν τῆς θεότητος. *Πατὴρ μου εἶ σύ*, πρὸ τῶν αἰῶνων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ σπλάγχχνων οἰκείων γεγέννηκε, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κτισθέντα αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυιδ καταγόμενον ἐνώσεως τοῦ θεϊκοῦ λόγου εἵνεκα, *θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου*. Οὐκοῦν *τόν* τοιοῦτον *πρωτότοκον θήσωμαι*, φησὶν ὁ θεός διὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν τεχθέντα ἐκ τάφου, ὅπου τεθήκατε φονεύσαντες· ἀνέστη γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης αὐτοῦ, ἦν ἀπεκτείνετε. Ὁ *τε* θεότης αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν ἀθάνατος, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, ἀλλὰ διαιωνίζει καὶ βασιλεύει. Δεῖ δὲ πάντως καὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς γῆς εἰσδύντα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔπειτα ἀναγεννηθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν πρὸ τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γῆς ἐξαναστάνα ἀπολογησασθαι. Διὰ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον τοιγαροῦν πρωτότοκος ἐκ  
960 τάφου Χριστός, ὑψηλὸς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσὶ τῆς γῆς τοσοῦτον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς πίπτοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ προσκυνοῦσιν αὐτῷ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν. *Εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, φησὶ, *φυλάξω αὐτῷ τὸ ἔλεός μου, καὶ ἡ διαθήκη μου πιστὴ αὐτῷ*. Ὅτι δὲ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, εἴτε καὶ ὡνπερ σωματικῶς ἐκ προσώπου εἰσὶν οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ χρηστοὶ βασιλεῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διαμενεῖ *ἕως τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* (μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν), οὐκ ἀμάρτυρος ὁ λόγος. Τὸ δὲ *Καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίον μου*, περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἰδρυμένου θρόνου λελέκται, ὅστις πρόσεσπιν ἔναντι τῆς ἀπροσίτου καὶ φρικωδεστάτης ἐκείνης δυνάμεως, φημὶ τῆς θεότητος, ἐν ᾧ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ προτρεψαμένου ἐκάθισε τῆ ἀνθρωπότητι, ὁ ἄφθοαρτον αὐτὴν ἐγείρας τοῦ  
970 μνήματος. Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μάρτυς πιστός. Αὐτὸς κατὰ πάντα περὶ πάντων τούτων διὰ στόματος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖ φιλαλήθως περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ.”

941 οὐκ ὠφελήσει ἐχθρός Ps. 88.23 | 945 τὸ – ὑψωθήσεται cf. Ps. 111.9 | 946 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 954 θήσωμαι Ps. 88.26–28 | 962 εἰς – αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> Ps. 88.29 | 966 καὶ – μου Ps. 88.37

### C X K S H T V

941 ὅτι| γὰρ SHTV ἐχθρός + ἀνομίας SHTV | 942 ὁ κύριος < SHTV οἱ < SHTV ἐσταυρώσατε H<sup>ac</sup> | 943 ὠφελήσατε TV οὐπνιος – 949 ἄνθρωπος < SHTV | 945 Δαυιδ| Ἄδὰμ X | 949 δεξιᾶν CX | 950 κατὰ – θεότητος < SHTV | 951 μου < CXK πρὸ – 953 εἵνεκα < SHTV | 953 οὐκοῦν –

and the man about whom he says *the enemy will not achieve anything against him*, is Jesus the Lord. Consider what you, who have crucified him, have achieved against him at all events, who has shattered and smashed to pieces his enemies before his face. Christ is the Son of the blameless Mother of God Mary, with whom truth and mercy are, and in whose name the horn of salvation will be exalted. Jesus Christ is the new David according to his humanity, whose hand will be *in the mental sea*, that is in the world for the sake of the knowledge of God, *and in the rivers* that let their water mentally flow forth from the bodies of his believers to water the new people of Israel for the protection *of his right hand*. Jesus Christ is God and man; *he will invoke me*, says God, according to his substance which he possesses, that is of his divinity. *You are my Father*, for he has born him before all times from his own womb, speaking about the man whom he has created, who descends from the seed of David for the sake of the unification with the divine word, *my God and protector of my salvation*. So *I will set this man in high as my firstborn*, says God because he was the first to be born from the grave, where you put him after murdering him; for his humanity rose, which you had killed. And his divinity remained immortal, and since then his humanity does not die, but is eternal and reigns. At all events, every man who has died and gone into the womb of the earth must be reborn thereafter and rise again from the earth, and give account of what he has done before he gave himself to the womb of the earth. Therefore, Christ is for this reason the firstborn from the grave, and elevated so high among the kings of the earth that even the kings of the earth themselves fall to earth and worship him with fear and trembling and believing in him. *I will keep my mercy for him forever*, he says, *and my covenant will stand fast with him*. The Scripture is not without testimony that his throne will remain on earth in the churches, or where the faithful and honest kings of the Christians are his corporeal deputies, *until the days of heaven* (for thereafter comes the kingdom of heaven). *And his throne is as the sun before me* has been said about the throne that has been erected in heaven, which stands before that inaccessible and most awe-inspiring power, I say the divinity, and on which Jesus Christ, when he was assumed from earth to heaven, sat down by order of his Father in his humanity which he raised from the tomb incorrupted. The Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is also our God in heaven, is a faithful witness that this is so. He truthfully gives testimony altogether about all these things through the mouth of his prophets about his only begotten Son.”

965 λόγος < SHTV | 954 θήσωμαι post θεός C | 955 ἡ θεότης γὰρ K | 958 ἐκ τῆς γῆς < C | 961 αὐτῷ πιστεύοντες εἰς < C | 963 εἶτε καὶ ὦνπερ] οὐπερ K | 964 χρηστοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ C | 965 ἔρχεται γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα C | 966 δὲ < V | 968 φημι τῆς θεότητος < SHTV | 969 ἀπὸ τοῦ K | 970 αὐτοῦ τοῦ K μου] ἡμῶν SHTV Χριστοῦ < C ὁ καὶ ὁ C | 971 αὐτὸς – 973 υἱοῦ < SHTV | 972 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ C | 973 υἱοῦ < X υἱοῦ + καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ C

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὰ τὸν ὀμιλήσαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους μετὰ Μωσέως, φοβερὸν φάρυγγά σοι ἠνέφξε καθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐσταυρωμένος. Πλὴν εἰπέ, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τέθηκεν ὁ θεός σου; Ἐώρακας θεὸν πώποτε, ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ; Θεὸς θνητὸς οὐκ ἂν φανεῖται ποτέ. Εἰ τοίνυν θεὸς ἦν, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τετελεύτηκεν τὸν τῶν κακούργων θάνατον;”

Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐμπροσθεν ταῦτα πάντα ἐπερωτήσας καὶ μαθῶν, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ πάλιν κόπους ἡμῖν βούλει παρασχεῖν δι’ ἐρωτήσεως;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐγὼ ὅσαπερ ἂν ἐπερώτησα λήθη παρέδωκα, σὺ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα μὴ ἀπόκνει τοῦ λέγειν.”

Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄλλ’ οὖν γέγραπται, καθότι *Φρονίμω*, φησὶν, *αὐταρκέσει εἷς λόγος, μωρῶ δὲ ὁ ἐξηγούμενος οὐ πείσει τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Κἀγὼ τοίνυν μωρός σοι δοκῶ χρηματίζεω;”

Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ λίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ διήγησιν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συμφέρον σοι ἐπιγινώσκεις.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν; Ἐπειδὴ τῷ ἐσταυρωμένῳ οὐ προσανέχω; Κἀγὼ δὲ λέγω, ὅτι καὶ οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐπικατάρτοι πεφίησαν, ἀνθ’ ὅσον οὐ λατρεύουσι τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Μωσέως παράδοσιν. Γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι *Ἐπικατάρτος πᾶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἐμμένει ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα.* Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ τηρεῖτε τὰ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ἐκείνῃ, ἀλλὰ χριστιανίζετε, ἐπικατάρτοι χρηματίζετε.”

Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐκ τῆς κατάρτας ἐκείνης ἡμῖν τοῖς χριστιανίζουσιν οὐδὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ παρεισφέρεται. Μὴ γὰρ ἀπλῶς ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνα νενομοθέτηται, ἀλλ’ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀπατηλοῖς καὶ πεπλανημένοις Ἑβραίοις. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔμελλε λαγχάνειν ἡμῖν τότε, ὁ Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κρεμασθεὶς ἐπὶ ξύλου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατάρτα γενόμενος τὴν κατάρταν ἐκείνην τὴν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κειμένην διέλυσεν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ μόνος πολυέλεος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀναγγεῖλον δὴ μοι, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν ἀπέθανεν ὁ θεός σου· ἐσθίει γὰρ τοῦτο τὴν καρδίαν μου.”

Ἅρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀπέθανεν, ἵνα ἀποκτείνῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ὅπως τοὺς κατεχομένους ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ αὐτὸς καταβάς ἐλευθερώσῃ ὡς παντοδύναμος.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Οὐχ ὑπῆρχον ἄγγελοι, οὐκ ἐχρημάτιζον ἀρχάγγελοι, οὐ παρήδρευον αὐτῷ δυνάμεις, ἵν’ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποσταλῆ καὶ γένηται αὐτοῦ τὸ βούλημα, ἀλλ’ οὖν ὡς ἄπορός τις καὶ ἀκτῆμων ἑαυτὸν στείλας ἅπαξ ἐκόπωσεν;”

982 φρονίμω – 983 αὐτοῦ § | 989 ἐπικατάρτος – 990 γεγραμμένα Deut. 27.26

## C X K S H T V

974 λέγει < TV | 975 ἀνοίξει T εἰπέ < SHTV | 976 ποτὲ θεόν H ποτὲ STV ἀποθανῆται CX θεός<sup>1</sup> – 977 θάνατον < SHTV | 978 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T πάντα < SHTV ἐπερώτησας SHTV | 979 καὶ πάλιν < SHTV | 980 Ἐρβᾶν – 982 ἔφη < SHTV ὅσαπερ ἂν] ὅσα K | 984 λέγει < T μωρῶ SHTV | 985 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἡ καὶ<sup>1</sup> C τὴν διήγησιν SHTV | 987 λέγει < T οὐκ ἀνέχω X κἀγὼ – 988 πεφίησαν < H | 988 πεφύκασιν X εἰσὶν STV | 989 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < K ἐν – ὅτι] γὰρ SHTV πᾶς – 990 γεγραμμένα] ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ φυλάσσω τὸν

Herban said: “By the one who has spoken to Moses on the mountain, the crucified has opened a great abyss for you against us. But tell me, for what reason did your God die? Did you ever see a God die? A mortal God will probably never appear. Now if he was a God, for what reason did he die the death of the evildoers?”

The archbishop said: “You have asked all this before and received an answer, so for which reason do you again want to cause us trouble by asking us?”

Herban said: “I forgot what I have asked, but you do not hesitate to answer my questions.”

The archbishop said: “But now it is written: *To a prudent man one word is sufficient, but the one that gives explanations to a fool will not convince his heart.*”

Herban said: “So do I seem to you a fool as well?”

The archbishop said: “Very much and beyond telling, for you do not recognise what is to your benefit.”

Herban said: “For which reason? Because I do not devote myself to the crucified? And I say that the Christians also appear to be accursed, since they do not venerate God according to the tradition of Moses. It is written in the law of God, that *Accursed is everybody who does not insist in the book of the law to do what is written in it.* Now since you do not keep what is written in that book, but are Christians, you are accursed.”

The archbishop said: “Of that curse nothing applies to us Christians in any way. For those things have not generally been legislated for us, but for you deceitful and erring Hebrews. And even if this would have been allotted to us, our Christ, who was hung to the wood and therefore became a curse, removed that curse from us, which was in the law, for he alone is merciful.”

Herban said: “Tell me, for what reason your God died, for this devours my heart.”

The archbishop said: “He died to kill the sin of Adam and death, and to liberate those who were held captive in hell, going down himself, being almighty.”

Herban said:<sup>108</sup> “Were there no angels or archangels, and no divine powers attended him, so that he would have been sent from them and his will would have happened, but instead he laboured alone, sending himself as a poor man without possessions?”

νόμον τοῦτον SHTV | 990 ἐπιμένει K ἐπει – 991 χρηματίζετε < SHTV | 992 ὁ < TV ἔφη < V οὐδέν < SHTV | 993 οὐθενὶ SHTV ἡμῖν < K ἐκείνος TV | 994 εἰ δὲ] εἶτε SHTV λαχάνειν C V τόγῃ] τότε T | 995 τῆν<sup>2</sup> – 996 κειμένην < SHTV | 996 ὡς – πολυέλεος < SHTV | 997 λέγει < T ἀνάγγελον δὴ μοι post αἰτίαν X | 999 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἔφη < C ἀπέθανεν < K | 1000 καὶ – παντοδύναμος < SHTV | 1002 λέγει < T οὐ προσήσαν SHTV οἱ ἄγγελοι CX οὐ – 1003 δυνάμεις < SHTV | 1003 ἵνα SHTV ἀποστελεῖ SHTV | 1004 τις < C ἅπαξ < SHTV ἐκόπασεν K

<sup>108</sup> On this possible allusion to Islam, see above, p. 98.



- 1005 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δύο πονηρὰ ἐμελλον συμβαίνειν, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγεγονέει· ἐν μέν, ὅτι ἐμελλον λέγειν οἱ δαίμονες καθότι· ‘Δικαιοσύνη ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ οὐ πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ’ ἴσως τίς ἡμῖν ἄδικος περίεστιν, ἐπειδὴ νενικήκαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ δικαίᾳ προφάσει κατεκρατήσαμεν τοῦτον τῶν ἡνίων· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλ’ οὖν τυραννίδι τινὶ καὶ ἀδικίᾳ καὶ ἀπλῶς ἰσχύι χρῆσάμενος ἤρπασεν αὐτὸν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν.’ Καὶ ἐν
- 1010 τούτῳ ἐψηφίζετο καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐφ’ ἀμαρτήμασιν, ὅπερ οὐ πρόσεστιν· ἀναμάρτητον γὰρ τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἄσπλον. Καίτοι τοῦτο μὲν τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων· τὸ δὲ δευτέρον, εἰ δι’ ἀγγέλων τυραννίδος ἐγεγονέει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἢ σωτηρία, οἱ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον προσκυνήσαντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ τῇ Βάαλ τὸ γόνυ ὡς θεῷ κλίναντες ἐμελλον καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσκυνεῖν ὡς θεοῖς, καὶ ἐγεγονέει ἡ ἐσχάτη πλάνη χείρων τῆς πρώτης. Νυνὶ δὲ οὐχ
- 1015 οὕτως, ἀλλὰ γε καταβάς ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς ἀμαρτίας, Ὁ δὲ διάβολος καὶ μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων θεασάμενος ἄνθρωπον, ἐπίερασεν καὶ ἐξεπίερασεν αὐτόν, εἴπερ εἰσπράττεται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ ὡς εὔρον αὐτὸν ζυγῷ ἀμαρτίας μὴ ὑποκείμενον, ἐθαύμασαν μὲν τὸ ἀναμάρτητον. Ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ τὴν κακίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐξῆψαν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς πρὸς ἦθος τοῦτο κέκτηνται τοῦ κατεργάζεσθαι ἐπὶ
- 1020 πᾶσι τοῖς μὴ ἐργαζομένοις τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν, μὴ συνιέντες δὲ αὐτόν, ὅτιπερ καὶ θεὸς ἐστί. Μόνην τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ στοχασάμενοι ἠγωνίσαντο τοῦ ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτείνειν αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ βλέποντες αὐτόν μὴ ὑπεύκοντα τούτοις δι’ ἀμαρτίας ἐπὶ πλεῖον δάκνυνται καὶ ἐμπιπρῶνται τὴν αἰσχύνην μὴ φέροντες. Τοιγαροῦν ψηφίσαντες ποίῳ τρόπῳ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνωσιν, δι’ ὑμῶν τῶν τλαιπύρων τοῦτον φονεῦσαι κατέθεντο, ὅπερ
- 1025 καὶ πεποιήκασιν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ νοερῷ ὄμματι τῆς θεότητος κατ’ ἰδίαν πάντα ταῦτα στοχάζομενος ἐκαρτέρει διὰ δικαίας προφάσεως δράξασθαι τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀμύνασθαι αὐτοῖς πειρώμενος, τὸ δὲ πλᾶσμα τὸ ἴδιον εὐλόγως καὶ δικαίως ἀναρρύσασθαι, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. Ἀποκτανθεὶς τοιγαροῦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀδίκως ἀμαρτίαν οὐδέπω ἐκτελέσας, ἀποκτανθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, κατήχη
- 1030 ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἄδου ταμείοις βουλομένη καὶ ἐκοῦσα, κεκτημένη ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἀοράτως καὶ τὴν θεότητα. Ὅποταν οὖν ἠβουλήθησαν ὁ τε ἄδης καὶ σατὰν καὶ ὁ θάνατος κατωτέρω τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου Ἄδὰμ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ κατακλείσαι καὶ ἄπαξ ἐν τούτῳ γεγόνασιν, τὸ τῆνικαῦτα ὡς ἐν ἀγκίστρῳ δέλεαρ ἐπεισφέρουσα ἢ θεότης τὴν τιμίαν ἐκείνην ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔδειξεν ἑαυτῆς τὴν θείαν
- 1035 δύναμιν καὶ πεφανέρωκεν ἑαυτῇ, τίς περ ἐστί, ζητοῦσα τῆς τόλμης τὸ αἴτιον. Εἶρηκε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῦς φοβερός ὡς λέων φρυάγματι· “Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ ὁ καταβάς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος· παραστήσατε τοιγαροῦν ἐμοὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν μου. Δι’ ἦν

1013 τῇ – κλίναντες cf. 3 Reg. 19.18; Rom. 11.4 | 1014 καὶ – πρώτης Mt. 27.64 | 1015 κατὰ – ἀμαρτίας cf. Heb. 4.15 | 1036 ὡς λέων φρυάγματι cf. Jer. 27.44

#### C X K S H T V

1005 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V δύο – συμβαίνειν < K | 1006 ἀλλ’ – 1007 περίεστιν < SHTV | 1007 ἐπειδὴ] καθότι SHTV ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ < SHTV καὶ δικαίᾳ προφάσει] διὰ προφάσεως K | 1008 τούτου SHTV οὐ < T ἀλλ’ οὖν] ἀλλὰ SHV καὶ T | 1009 τινὶ

The archbishop said: “Two bad things would come to pass if this would have happened thus: The one is that the demons would say: ‘There is no justice in the world, but perhaps there is somebody unjust to us, for we have overcome man in paradise and defeated him holding the reins on good ground; God has robbed him from us not by justice, but by some illegal act and injustice, simply by using his strength.’ And by this, the divine also would have been reckoned among sins, which is impossible; for the divine is without sin and faultless. And this is the first origin of the things mentioned; the second is, that if salvation would happen in the world by an illegal act of the angels, then those men who worshipped fire and the sun and bowed their knee to Baal as a god, would also worship the angels as gods, *and the last error would be worse than the first one*. Now it is not like this, but the word of God came down and became a man in all things except sin. But when the devil and the demons also saw this man, they tempted and tried him, whether he would commit sin, and when they found out that he was not subjected to the yoke of sin, they wondered about his being sinless. However, they incited their badness and envy against him, as they usually do to all those who do not work their sin, since they did not understand that he was God as well. Aiming at his humanity only, they fought to kill him as a man, so that they did not realise that he was not subject to them through sin, and were bitten and set aflame even more not bearing their shame. Therefore, when they resolved upon the way how to kill him, they decided to murder him through you miserable ones, which they also did. But considering all for himself with the mental eye of his divinity, he endured on just grounds to seize the devil and his demons and to keep them off from holding a trial, and to redeem his own creature reasonably and rightfully, which also happened. Therefore, when Jesus was killed unjustly although he had committed no sin, he was killed in his humanity and not in his divinity, and his soul was brought down to the chambers of hell by death and the devil willingly and voluntarily, possessing also divinity invisibly in itself. Now when hell and Satan and death wanted to enclose his soul below the first man, Adam, and came together to do this, at that time the divinity, producing that worthy soul of the body just like bait on a fish-hook, showed its divine power and revealed to itself who it was, asking for the reason of their boldness. For he said to them, frightful as a lion in his

< SHTV ἀδικία + διὰ τὸ CXX και<sup>2</sup> < K ισχύειν CX ἐαυτὸν SHTV | 1010 ὅπερ – 1011 εἰρημένων < SHTV | 1011 δεύτερον] ἕτερον SHTV | 1012 τυραννίδων SHTV ἐν < SHTV ἢ < SHTV | 1013 και<sup>1</sup> – κλίναντες < SHTV | 1014 ἐγεγόνει] + ἂν SHTV | 1015 ὡς ἄνθρωπος TV | 1016 και<sup>1</sup> < SHTV και<sup>2</sup> < XK και ἐξεπίρασαν < H | 1017 εἰσπράττει SHTV ζυγὸν X | 1018 ὑποκείμενον] δεξάμενον SHTV τὸ] τὸν CXX | 1019 ἔθος SH κέκτηται S<sup>ac</sup>V ἐργάζεσθαι SHTV | 1020 δὲ αὐτὸν < SHTV ὅπιερ και] ὅτι SHTV | 1021 ἠγωνίασαν CX τοῦ post ἄνθρωπον SHTV | 1022 ὅπως – 1023 φέροντες < SHTV | 1023 ἐπιπρῶνται CX ποιῶ γε SH | 1024 τρόπῳ γε T ἀποκτείνουσι X τοῦτο K κατέθεντο < SHTV | 1025 αὐτὸς – 1053 τετελεύτη- κεν < SHTV | 1029 θεότητα] ἀνθρωπότητα sic X κατήχθη + εἰς ἄδην C | 1030 και διὰ K | 1031 και<sup>1</sup> – κεκτημένη < CX αὐτῆ K | 1033 τοῦτοις C | 1036 ἐκ θεοῦ θεός C

αίτιαν ἐμέ καί τὴν ἐμὴν τοῖς ὧδε ψυχὴν κατεδικάσατε; Τῶν δὲ καταπλαγέντων ἐπὶ τῷ αἴφνης αὐτοῖς ἀναφανέντι ἐπιτιμίῳ κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα προφήτην *Ζητηθήσεται*, φησὶν, ἢ  
 1040 *ἀμαρτία αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ μὴ εὐρέθῃ*, ἱκανὰ ζητήσαντες καὶ μηδὲν εὐρεῖν δυνηθέντες εἰς ἀπο-  
 λογίας πρόφασιν φοβεροτάτως κατησχύνθησαν. Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἷς σκοτεινοῖς ταμείοις ἔμελλον  
 τὴν ὑπέρθρον ἐκείνου τιμίαν ψυχὴν καταδικάσασθαι οἱ τάλανες, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἶναι αὐτὸς καὶ μάλα κατεδικάσατο, ταρτάρῳ βυθίσας καὶ δεσμήσας καὶ πεδήσας  
 νοηταῖς χειροπέδαισιν σιδηραῖς. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἥνπερ κατεῖχον αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ  
 1045 αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες, πρότερον τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀναβαίνων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄδου ταύτην ἀπῆρε  
 καὶ ἠχμαλώτευσεν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείθεν μακαριώτητα ἐναπήγαγεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναστάς τρι-  
 ἡμερος ἐφάνη τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς  
 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα κηρῦσαι, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς  
 ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου· οἱ δὲ ἐξεληθόντες ἐκήρυξαν πανταχοῦ. Καὶ μὴν βλέπεις  
 1050 καὶ ὄρας, καθότι ἢ πίστις ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν κατεκάλυπεν ὡς ὕδωρ πολὺ θαλάσσης ἅπασαν τὴν  
 οἰκουμένην, καθὼς εἶπεν περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡσαίας ὁ προφήτης· Διὰ ταῦτα, ὦ Ἐρβᾶν, ὁ ἐμὸς  
 θεὸς τε καὶ κύριος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ πάθη ὑπομεμένηκε καὶ τετελεύτη-  
 κεν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ τηλικούτον ἠνέσχετο ἢ φρικτὴ φύσις ἐκείνη τῆς θεότητος, ἵνα ὑπὸ  
 1055 τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τοῦ θανάτου κρατηθεῖσα καταχθῆ εἰς ἄδην ὡς αἰχμάλωτός τις καὶ  
 ἀβροῦθητος καὶ κατάκριτος;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐκείνη μὲν ἢ τῆς θεότητος δύναμις τηλικούτον ἠνέσχετο  
 τρόπῳ συγκαταβάσεως τοῦ ὅπως δὴ, ὡς προλέλεκται, διὰ δικαίας προφάσεως καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 τῷ ἄδῃ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ ἀφαρπάσειεν ὁ *ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος* κατὰ τὸν προφήτην  
 1060 τῆ ἀνθρωπότητι, ἀδιαφθόρου μεινάσης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος. Οὐτε γὰρ κατεδέξατο  
 φθαρῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄδου κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα προφήτην περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Οὐ δώσης τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν*, καίπερ παραπλησίως ἡμῖν σάρκα ἐξ  
 ἀγῶν αἱμάτων τῆς παρθένου προσλαβόμενος. Ἠνέσχετο δὲ κρατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανά-  
 του καὶ τῶν καθ’ ὁμοίον αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν ἐκείνοι, ἀπέδρα-  
 1065 σαν ἂν εὐθέως. Καὶ ἐπάυσατο τοῦτον ἐκεῖσε κατεισφέρειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἔνδον γὰρ τῆς  
 τιμίας ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ὁ φοβερός λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀοράτως κατακεκρύπτετο, ὡς ἐν ἀγκί-  
 στρῷ δέλεαρ ταύτην τοῖς ὄφει τε καὶ σκορπίοις καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ δράκοντι σατὰν προτει-

1039 *ζητηθήσεται* – 1040 *εὐρέθῃ* Ps. 9.36 | 1050 *κατεκάλυπεν* – 1051 *οἰκουμένην* cf. Is. 11.9 |  
 1059 *ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος* Ps. 87.5 | 1060 οὐτε – 1081 ἀνθρωπότητα cf. Acta 2.25–31 | 1062 οὐ  
 – *διαφθοράν* Ps. 15.10

## C X K S H T V

1038 ψυχὴν τοῖς ὧδε C | 1040 ἱκανὰ] ἵνα καὶ K | 1041 ταμείοις < K | 1042 ψυχὴν τιμίαν C ἐκε-  
 νοις] ἐκεῖ K | 1043 εἶναι] οἶμαι K | 1044 χειροπέδαις K ἄπερ CX αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ < CX |  
 1047 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλοις K | 1050 ὡς < K θαλάσσης X τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν C |  
 1051 Ἐρβᾶ K | 1052 αὐτοῦ K ὑπομένηκε X | 1054 λέγει < T καὶ < K | 1055 κρατηθεῖσα post  
 διαβόλου SHTV ἄδου CXXK τις < SHTV | 1057 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T  
 Γρηγόριος V ἐκείνη] ἐκεῖ K τῆς < H τηλικούτῳ X | 1058 τοῦ – καὶ] ἵνα πάντας SHTV προ-

roaring: ‘I am the true God from God, who has descended from heaven and became a man; therefore you have presented my sin to me. For what reason did you condemn me and my soul to this place?’ When they were amazed because of the punishment which had suddenly appeared to them, as the prophet says, *Their sin will be looked for and not be found*, they discussed a lot and were not able to find any reasonable excuse, and were ashamed frightfully. But he condemned those miserable ones, who wanted to condemn his most godly and worthy soul in the dark chambers, to stay in these themselves, throwing them into hell and binding their hands and feet with spiritual iron fetters. He first took away from himself the captivity, by which they had held him captive, when his humanity came up from hell, made it captive and led it to the bliss which is there <above>. He himself appeared to his disciples and apostles rising on the third day, and when he was accepted into heaven before them, he sent them out into the whole world to proclaim that he is truly Christ the saviour of the world; and they went out and proclaimed this everywhere. And so do you look and see, that the belief in him has covered all the world, as much water from the sea, as the prophet Isaiah says? Therefore, o Herban, my God and Lord has suffered his pains in his humanity and died.”

Herban said: “And that fear-inspiring nature of the divinity suffered so greatly that, being held by devil and death, it was brought down to hell as a captive and like one helpless and condemned?”

The archbishop said: “That power of his divinity suffered so greatly by his condescension, that as it has been said before, the man who was *free among the dead* according to the prophet, might steal those in hell in his humanity from the hands of evil on good ground, while this humanity remained uncorrupted. For he did not accept that his humanity should be corrupted by hell, as the prophet says about him, that *You will not give away your holy one to see corruption*, although he accepted flesh in a way similar to us from the pure blood of the Virgin. But he suffered that he was held captive by death and those similar to him, though not openly, for if those would have known this, they would have run away immediately. And he put an end to <death> by bringing himself down there,<sup>109</sup> but secretly, for the fear-inspiring word of the Father was hidden invisibly inside his soul, stretching it out like bait on a fish-hook to the serpents and

φάσεως + δράξασθαι τοῦ διαβόλου SHTV | 1059 ἀφαρπάσαιεν CX ἀφαρπάσαι X ἀφαρπάσει post ἄδη SHTV ὁ ante ἐλεύθερος SHTV, < CX ἐλεύθερος ἐν νεκροῖς T | 1060 τῆ – 1061 ἄδου < SHTV ἀδιαφθόρου < CX μεινάσης – ἀνθρωπότητος] μείνασα τῆ ἑαυτῆς ἀνθρωπότητι CX οὔτε] οὐ K | 1061 κατὰ – 1062 ὅτι] καὶ ἕτερος προφήτης λέγει SHTV | 1062 δώσης] δέεις X και παραπλήσιον SHTV ἡμῖν < H | 1063 ἐκ τῆς SHTV προσελάβετο K ἠνέσχετο – 1069 περι-ἐπάρησαν < SHTV | 1064 αὐτοῦ C | 1065 ἐπαύσαντο K | 1066 ἐκείνης K

<sup>109</sup> This sentence is grammatically unclear; the translation is based on the assumption that ἐαυτὸν κατεισφέρων or a similar phrase should be read instead of κατεισφέρειν.

νάμενος, μεχρις οὐ ἀποπλανηθέντες καὶ βρώμα τούτοις δόξαντες ἀρμόδιον πρὸς ἐστίασιν εὐρηκέναι τῇ φοβερᾷ ἀστραπῇ τῆς θεότητος περιεπάρησαν.”

1070 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης περὶ ἑαυτοῦ εἶρηκε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι *Οὐ δώσης τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν*, οὐχ ἅπαξ δὲ ὡς λέγεις περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν, εἶρηκεν ἂν ὅτι ‘οὐ δώσεις τὸν Χριστόν σου θεάσασθαι διαφθοράν’· ἀλλ’ οὖν τὸν ὄσιόν σου εἶρηκεν, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὴν ἐκείνου θείαν εὐγένειαν, εὐγενῆς γὰρ τις ὅπως ἐχηματιζεν ὁ σεβασμιώτατος ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὄσιων πατέρων καταγόμενος.”

1075 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καίτοι πέπεισαι αὐτός, καθότι Δαυὶδ τελευτήσας διαφθορὰν οὐ τεθέακεν. Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο Δαυὶδ τέλει τοῦ βίου πρεσβύτης ἡμερῶν οἶμαι γενόμενος; Οὐκ ἄρα πρόσεστιν ὁ τάφος αὐτοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν; Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐτελεύτησεν, μὴ οὐ διεφθάρη; Εἰ δὲ δυσανασχετήης πρὸς ταῦτα, πορευθεὶς ἀνοιξῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν σορὸν τῶν λειψάνων καὶ θεάσῃ τὸν ὄσιόν σου διεφθορότα ἐφ’ ἅπαξ, καὶ χοῦν καὶ τέφραν τῷ χρόνῳ γενόμενον. Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω, ἥπερ σὲ τὸν δι’ ὀλοκληρίας μὴ κεκτημένον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα;”

1080 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐγὼ διὰ τῆς ἀνπλήψεως τοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑγίαιαν κέκτημαι καὶ καλῶς ἅπαξ ἔχω καὶ ὀλοκληρον κέκτημαι τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, κἂν αὐτὸς ἀνουστάτους ἡμᾶς εἶναι ἐναπέφηνας καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς καὶ ἀδοκίμους. Εἰπέ δέ μοι, τίνα λέγει ὁ προφήτης ἐνταῦθα· *Ὁ θεός, φησί, ἤλθοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἐμίαναν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου, ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν μολυσμὸν ὑμᾶς ἀποκαλεῖ καὶ βδελυρίαν ὡς ἀναξίως πάντως εἰσπορευομένους εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δοκούντας θεοσεβεῖν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔθνη Μωσέως;”

1090 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἔδει τοιαῦτα φλυαρεῖν, Ἐρβᾶν· καὶ ὡς δῆθεν εἰς εὐλογον πρόφασιν βοηθείας ἑαυτῷ τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐπισπώμενος, τὸ *Ἔθεντο τὰ θνησιμαῖα τῶν δούλων σου βρώματα τοῖς πετεινοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὰς σάρκας τῶν ὀσίων σου τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς* δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν ἠνίξατο; Πάντως περὶ ἀλώσεως τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀποδουρόμενος ταῦτα ἔφασκεν, ὁπότεν παρεδόθη εἰς προνομήν τοῖς Ἀσσυριοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμετρήτων αὐτῆς πλημμελιμάτων. Ποῦ γὰρ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ χριστιανῶν ἢ ἐπικράτησις; οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς. Περὶ χριστιανῶν τῶν εἰς τριάδα τὴν ὁμοούσιον πεπιστευκότων ἐγὼ τὸν λόγον εἰσπράττομαι, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ μάλα ἀπίστων καὶ ἀμυήτων πόνον ἄρα

1076 οὐκοῦν – 1077 ὑμῖν cf. Acta 2.29 | 1085 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 1086 ὀπωροφυλάκιον Ps. 78.1 | 1090 ἔθεντο – 1092 γῆς Ps. 78.2

### C X K S H T V

1070 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T αὐτοῦ εἶπε SHTV δῶης X | 1071 εἰ – 1074 καταγόμενος < SHTV | 1073 ὅπως] ὅπερ C ὄντως K | 1074 Ἰσαὰκ + καὶ Ἰακώβ C | 1075 ὁ < T ἔφη < C T | 1076 οὐκοῦν] οὐκέτι οὖν C οὐκ] οὐκέτι X πρεσβύτερος CX ἡμερῶν < TV οἶμαι < SHTV | 1077 καὶ οὐκ<sup>1</sup> K οὐκ ἄρα οὐ SHTV ὑμῶν SHTV μὴ<sup>1</sup> – διεφθάρη < K μὴ<sup>2</sup>] μὴ γε SHTV | 1078 εἰ] ἔαν SHTV πορευθεὶς < SHTV ἀνοιξόν SHTV τῇ σορῷ TV | 1079 τέφρα κονίας SHV τέφραν καὶ κόνιν T πολλοστῷ χρόνῳ γενόμενον SHTV γενόμενος CXK | 1080 ἀνθρωπότητα] ὑγίαιαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος SHTV | 1082 λέγει] ἔφη S, < T διὰ τῆς] δι’ SHTV τῷ] τοῦ V ὑγίαιαν C γῆν H | 1083 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < CX ἔχω ἅπαξ SHTV ἔχων CX καὶ<sup>2</sup> – πνεῦμα < SHTV αὐτός] αὐτοῦς C

scorpions and the great dragon Satan, until they were pierced by the frightful lightning of God, having gone astray and believing to have found suitable food for feeding.”

Herban said:<sup>110</sup> “The prophet said about himself to God, that *You will not give away your holy one to see corruption*, and not at all about your Christ, as you say. If this were the case, he would have said that ‘you will not give away your Christ to see corruption’; but he said *your holy one*, which means the divine nobleness of that man. For he, the most adorable one, was of noble birth, descending from Abraham, Isaac and the other blessed fathers.”

The archbishop said: “And yet you are convinced that David did not see corruption after his death. But did David not die when he had reached a very old age, as I think? Is his grave not still existent among us? So did he not die, was he not corrupted? If you do not bear ill concerning this, go and open the shrine of his remains, and you will see you holy one being completely corrupted, having become dust and ashes by the effect of time. Do I now convince human beings, or you who has no humanity at all?”

Herban said: “By the support of the God who is in the law, I am in good health and feel well and am in complete possession of my mind and spirit, although you have declared us to be most stupid and useless and without experience. But tell me what the prophet says here: *O God*, he says, *the nations came into your heritage, they spoiled your holy temple, they made Jerusalem a garden hut* and so on. For what reason does he call you a pollution and an abomination, as being unworthy at all events to enter the temple of God and believing to worship God in a way better than that of Moses?”

The archbishop said: “You should not have spoken such nonsense, Herban; and if he would have supposedly usurped this psalm as a cheap pretext to aid himself, for what reason did he then say obscurely: *They put the dead bodies of your servants as a food for the birds of the sky, and the flesh of your holy ones for the wild animals of the earth?* At all events, he said this lamenting about the capture of Jerusalem, when she was given to the Assyrians for plundering because of the multitude of her innumerable trespasses. For where was the domination of the Christians at that time? In no way, never. I hold this speech about the Christians who believe in the consubstantial Trinity, for why

+ οἶμαι CX | 1084 ἡμᾶς ἀνουστάτους ἐναπεφήνω εἶναι SHTV ἡμᾶς] αὐτοὺς C και<sup>1</sup> – ἀδοκίμους < SHTV εἰπὼν SHTV τί SHTV | 1085 φησὶν < SHTV | 1086 ἔθεντο – ἐξῆς < SHTV Ἱερουσαλήμ] Ἰσραὴλ X | 1087 βδελυρίαν – εἰσπορευομένους] βδελυγμοὺς X ἐκπορευομένους SHTV | 1088 ἦθη T | 1089 ὁ < TV ἔφη < T ἔδει] ἔτι T φλυαρῶν CXX | 1090 βοηθεῖν SHTV ἑαυτῶ] αὐτὸν TV | 1092 πάντως < T τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ] τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ X ἐποδυρόμενος TV ἔφασκεν ταῦτα SHTV (ἔφθασεν V) | 1093 ὁπότεν – 1094 πλημμελημάτων < SHTV | 1094 γάρ < K ἢ < H | 1095 περὶ – 1097 γένοιτο < SHTV τὴν < C

<sup>110</sup> The following discussion about David’s tomb is inspired by Acta 2.29. The graves of the kings in Jerusalem were destroyed at the Roman conquest in AD 70; beginning with Eusebios, *Onomasticon*, 42.12 the tomb of David was located in Bethlehem, and only after the eleventh century in Jerusalem again; see Jeremias, *Heiligengräber*, 59–60.

ἔσχον ἐγώ; Μὴ γένοιτο. Λέγω δὲ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἀσφαλείας, ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐκ παντὸς ὀνόματος καὶ πάσης φυλῆς, ἐκ παντὸς γένους καὶ πάσης πατριᾶς, ὅστις περ οὐ πιστεύει εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὴν μίαν θεότητα καὶ κυριότητα, ἢ τὸ ἀνάθεμα· εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ τὸ κατάθεμα· εἴ τις οὐ μυστα-  
 1100 γωγεῖται τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι εἰς τριάδα ἁγίαν παράδοξον, μετὰ Ἰούδα σχῆ τὴν ἀγχόνην καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων τὴν μερίδα τῶν κεκραγόντων ποτὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, φημί τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, τὸ Ἄρον, ἄρον, σταύρωσον αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰ καὶ δοκεῖτε εἶναι Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὲ Ἑβραῖοι, ἀλλὰ συναγωγή τοῦ σατανᾶ.”  
 1105 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πόθεν ἐπίστασαι, καθότι Ἰούδας ἀπώλετο, ἢ τί περ οἶδας, ἐὰν οἰκέτης ἡμῶν γένῃ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως; Μάλα τε πόθεν ἐπίστασαι, εἰ Ἰουδαίους τότε παρακαλέσης λέγων· ‘Ἄρατε κάμέ, δέομαι ὑμῶν, καὶ πορεύσομαι κἀγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν παράδεισον’; Σὺ οὖν μὴ καταδέξῃ ποτὲ καταταγῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν, καθὼς λέγεις, τῶν κραυγασάντων ποτέ, ὡς φῆς, τὸ Ἄρον, σταύρωσον αὐτόν. Μὴ δυνήσεται ἄνθρωπος μισῆσαι  
 1110 τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴδια; Οὕτω καὶ ὁ κύριος Σαβαώθ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ μὴ ἀπόσῃται τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπίσταμαι, καθότι ἀπώλετο. Εἶρηκε γὰρ ὁ Δαυίδ περὶ αὐτοῦ· Ὁ θεός, τὴν αἰνεσίᾳ μου μὴ παρασιωπήσης, ὅτι στόμα ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ  
 1115 στόμα δολίου ἐπ' ἐμέ ἠνοίχθη καὶ ἐλάλησαν κατ' ἐμοῦ γλώσση δολία. Καὶ ἀπλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ φάσκει ἀρόμενος αὐτὸν ὡς οἶα προφήτης μέχρι τέλους τοῦ ψαλμοῦ. Καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης γράφων μακρόθεν πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν καὶ ἐκ παρθένου Μαρίας· Κύριε, φησί, ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἀπὸ γῆς  
 1120 διαμέρισον αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποπεσέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν διαβουλιῶν αὐτῶν· κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβειῶν αὐτῶν ἔξωσον αὐτούς, ὅτι παρεπύκρναν σε, κύριε· διότι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἀλήθεια, ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ματαία, τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν· κρῖνον αὐτούς ὁ θεός. Οὐκοῦν οὐ διεμερίσθητε ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, οὐκ ἐξώσθητε τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἐδιώχθητε ἅπαξ, καὶ ἀπώσθητε ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου Σαβαώθ παντοκράτορος; Διὰ τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτό μοι καταταγῆναι μεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν  
 1125 μεμολυσμένων καὶ διασκορπισμένων καὶ ἐξοστρακισμένων καὶ μεμισημένων καὶ διαπεφωνημένων, τῶν προφητοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ ἡ μερίς μου μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ

1103 ἄρον<sup>1</sup> – αὐτόν Ιο. 19.15 | 1111 οὐ – ἐγκαταλείπει Ps. 93.14 | 1114 ὁ – 1115 δολία Ps. 108.1–2 | 1118 κύριε – 1119 αὐτούς Ps. 16.14 | 1119 ἀποπεσέτωσαν – 1122 θεός Ps. 5.11. 10–11

### C X K S H T V

1097 ἐκ] καὶ C | 1098 φυλακῆς C γένως V περ < SHTV | 1099 καί<sup>1</sup> < H εἰς<sup>2</sup> – ἅγιον] ἅγιον πνεῦμα SHTV θεότητά τε CK | 1100 Χριστόν + ἐν εἰκόνι C ἀνάθεμα T | 1101 ἁγία SHTV τοῦ Ἰούδα CX σχῆ < T | 1102 ποτέ – 1103 τὸ < SHTV | 1104 εἰ καὶ < SHTV ἀλλ'] καὶ SH ἀλλ' – Ἑβραῖοι<sup>2</sup> < V | 1105 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < T ὅτι SHTV | 1106 γένῃται C μάλλον K, < SHTV τε] δὲ K, < SHTV οὐδαίους X V Ἰδαίους S | 1107 ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup>] ὑμῖν TV καὶ – ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup> < C κἀγὼ < SHTV μεθ' ὑμῶν post κάμέ SHTV | 1108 σὺ – 1112 αἰῶνα < SHTV οὐ καταδέχῃ K καθὼς λέγεις < C | 1109 δυνήσεται K | 1111 οὐ] τοῦ X ἀπόσῃται κύριος C | 1113 ὁ<sup>1</sup> < TV ἔφη < εἰρήκει SHTV

should I take trouble with some other nations that are unbelieving and profane? Let it not be! I say this safely, that every man from every designation and tribe, from every race and clan, who does not believe into the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the only divinity and lordship, be cursed; if somebody does not love our lord Jesus Christ, he be accursed; if somebody is not initiated by the holy baptism to the holy and miraculous Trinity, he should be strangled with Judas and share the lot of you unlawful Jews, who once cried out in the time of his suffering, I say of the Lord Jesus, *Away, away, crucify him*. For although you believe to be Hebrews, yet you are no Hebrews, but the congregation of Satan.”

Herban said: “ From where do you know that Judas has perished, and how do you know whether you will be our friend on the day of the judgement? And from where do you know that you will not deprecate the Jews then and say: ‘Take me as well, I beseech you, and I also will go with you into paradise’? You will never accept to be placed together with us who, as you say, once shouted, as you tell, *Away, crucify him*. Will a man be able to hate his own children? So the Lord Sabaoth, the Almighty and holy one of Israel, also *will not cast off his people and will not forsake his inheritance* forever.”

The archbishop said: “And I know that Judas has perished. For David said about him: *O God, do not pass my praise over with silence, for the mouth of the sinner and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me and have spoken against me with a deceitful tongue*. And so he simply speaks about him as a prophet, cursing him until the end of the psalm. And the same prophet says about you, writing from far away to Jesus Christ, who will arise from his seed and from the Virgin Mary: *Lord, he says, separate these from few men in the world, and Let them fall away from their own counsels; thrust them out because of the multitude of their faithlessness, for they have embittered you, Lord;*<sup>111</sup> *for there is no truth in their mouth, their heart is vain, their throat an open grave, and they deceived with their tongues; Lord, judge them*. So were you not divided among all nations, were you not once thrust out and expelled, and cast off from the face of the Lord Sabaoth the Almighty? Therefore, may God not let it be that I should be placed together with you polluted and scattered and banished and hated and notorious

δ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV περι αὐτοῦ ὁ Δαυὶδ K | 1115 ἠνοίχθη ἐπ’ ἐμέ X καὶ – δολίᾳ < SHTV | 1116 αὐτῶν X ὁμῶν + δὲ SHTV | 1117 λέγει – γράφων] γράφει – λέγων X ὁ προφήτης ὁ αὐτὸς TV γράφων – 1118 Μαρίας < SHTV | 1118 κύριος TV | 1119 καὶ] κύριε SHTV ἀποπεσάτωσαν X SV διαβολῶν SV κατὰ – 1120 αὐτῶν < SHTV | 1120 διότι – 1124 παντοκράτορος < SHTV | 1121 λάρυξ X | 1122 ἐν – 1123 ἐξώσθητε < X | 1125 καὶ ἐξοστρακισμένων < SHTV καί<sup>2</sup> – μεμισημένων < C καὶ μεμισημένων post μεμολυσμένων SHTV, < C | 1126 τοῦ – 1127 υἱοῦ < SHTV

<sup>111</sup> The quotation from Ps. 5 begins here with the second part of verse 11, while verse 10 and the beginning of 11 follow thereafter. There is no trace of any parallel tradition of this psalm with the same order of verses.



- 1130 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ τὴν νέαν χάριν παραδόξως παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἐξαρτίσαντος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἐκπορευμένου καὶ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ ἀνα-  
 1135 παυομένου ἀδιασπᾶστος, ἀμερίστος καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Τοιγαροῦν ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ παράνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι, περὶ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης πρὸς κύριον, *ὅτι οὐχὶ θεός, φησὶν, θέλων ἀνομίαν σὺ εἶ, οὐ παροικῆση σοι πονηρευόμενος, οὐδὲ διαμενοῦσι παράνομοι κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου.* Μετὰ οὖν τῶν μὴ διαμεινάντων κατέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κυρίου παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ γε πόρρω που ἀποβληθέντων διὰ τὴν  
 1140 ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν, ἐγὼ ὀφείλω ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως καταταγῆναι; Μὴ μοι γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ πικρὸν τοῦτο καὶ βαρὺ δυστύχημα. Καὶ οὐς ἐμίσησε καὶ ἀπώσατο κύριος, φημί, *πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀνομίαν*, οἶμαι τοὺς καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὀφείλω αὐτὸς παρακαλεῖν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεως, δεόμενος καθότι 'Ἄρετέ με καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν *ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου*'; Μὴ γένοιτ' ἂν. Ἐπικατάρατος οὖν ἔστω ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τρισεπά-  
 1145 ρατος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι καθορμημένος καὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ βάρει τῶν ἀτελευτήτων ἐκείνων κολάσεων ἔστω περιαντλούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων πᾶς βροτός, ὅστις τῷγε τῷ σκοπῷ ὑμῖν κοινωνήσειε φάσκων, ὅτι ἰουδαϊκοῖς χαρακτηῖσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ὑμεῖς ἀναχθήσεσθε εἰς σωτηρίαν, *πάρεξ ὅτι ἂν μὴ βαπτισθέντες εἰς τριάδα ἁγίαν χριστιανοὶ χρηματίσητε.*"
- 1145 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· "Ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν νόμον καὶ ἔπειτα μεταμελεῖται καὶ λέγει· 'Κακῶς', φησὶν, 'ἐκδέδωκα τὸν νόμον τόνδε, καταπαύω αὐτόν· ὁ τοιοῦτος λοιπὸν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ λήθην ἐστίν, οὐ πρόσεσιν θεός. Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ὁ διδοὺς ἡμῖν τὸν νόμον ἄργον αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἀπλῶς δέδωκε καὶ ἀνενέργητον, εἶπερ ἵνα εὐδοκοῦμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μᾶλα τε δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ αὐτὸν ἐκθεμένῳ τε καὶ παρέξαντι;"
- 1150 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· "Ἀναιδέστατε, τοσαῦτα μαθὼν ἀπὸ τῶν προγενεστέρων διαλέξεων, οὐδέπεω συνήκας τὰ συντείνοντα; Εἴρηκά σοι πλειστάκις πάντως, ὅτι καλῶς ἐπεδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ ὁ νόμος, καὶ ἱκανοὶ δι' αὐτοῦ φιλευσεβῶς καὶ μᾶλα τῷ θεῷ εὐηρέστησαν· ἀλλ' οὖν καλῶς τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ γεγηρακότα τοῦτον ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλθων καὶ καταπαύσας ἀνέκλινε καὶ ἀνέπαυσε. Τοιγαροῦν τί σοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα;  
 1155 Κρίθινος ἄρτος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· φυραθέντος τοιγαροῦν τοῦ σπίνου καὶ ζυμωθέντος καὶ ὀπτηθέντος καὶ ἐνεχθέντος ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ προτεθέντος καὶ τὴν ἠδύτητα ἐκ θερμῆς οἴα γλυκεῖαν εὐοσμίαν τοῖς φιλοῦσιν ἐναποπνέοντος, οὐκ ἔδει τοὺς θεόφρονας ἐκείνους μὲν ὡς τραχὺν καὶ ἀνώμαλον καταλιπόντας ἠδέως προσδραμεῖν τῷ σπίνῳ καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἄρτῳ, τῷ μυρίζοντι χαρὰν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ σταλάξαντι εὐφροσύνην, φημί, ὡς ἐκ

1131 ὅτι – 1133 σου Ps. 5.5–6 | 1136 πάντα – 1137 ἀνομίαν Ps. 5.6 | 1138 ἐν – 1139 παραδείσου Ez. 28.13

### C X K S H T V

1127 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ K μου] ἡμῶν X | 1128 παραδόξως – πιστεύοντι] παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ παραδόξως SHTV ἐξαρτισάμενος TV και<sup>1</sup> – 1130 αἰώνων < SHTV | 1129 ἀναπαυομένῳ C | 1132 φησὶν < K παροικῆσης T διαμείνουσιν V | 1133 παράνομοι] πονηρευόμενοι SHV μετὰ – 1139 ἂν <

ones, the prophet-killing Jews; but my part be with the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and his only begotten Son, my Lord Jesus Christ, who supplied every believer miraculously with the new grace, and with his holy and life-giving Ghost that proceeds from God Father and rests uninterruptedly, indivisibly and undividedly<sup>112</sup> in his Son forever and ever. Therefore, you are the unlawful Jews, about whom the prophet says: *You are not a God who has pleasure in iniquity, nor will the wicked dwell with you, nor will the unlawful remain before your eyes.* Will I have to be placed there on the day of the judgement with those unlawful Jews who do not remain before his eyes, but are thrown off far away because of their iniquity? Let there not be a bitter and heavy misfortune. And will I have to deprecate those at the time of the repayment whom the Lord hated and cast off, I say, *all those that commit sin*, I mean your people, begging them ‘Take me as well, and I will go with you *into the sweetness of paradise*’? Let it not be! He that does such a thing be accursed and thrice imprecated and put under a ban; and every mortal man be completely drowned by the multitude and weight of those endless punishments forever and ever, who shares this aim with you, saying that from now on you will be led to salvation by the Jewish rites, unless you will be baptised in the holy Trinity and become Christians.”

Herban said: “If God gives a law, then regrets it and says: ‘I have given this law badly, I will abolish it’, then such a person, since he is subject to oblivion, is no god. Now did God, who gave us the law, simply give us an idle and inefficient one, that we find pleasure in it, or rather through it in the one that has set it forth and offered it?”

The archbishop said: “You most shameless man, did you still not understand the point having learnt so much from the previous discussions? At all events, I have said to you very often that the law was given well by God, and a sufficient number of people has pleased God well through it in a faithful way, but now finally the only begotten Son and Word of God came at a good time, since it had become old, put it to rest abolishing it and making it rest. Therefore, what do you think about this? The bread in the law was of barley; therefore, when the bread made of wheat was kneaded and leavened, baked and brought to the table and served, and exuded forth pleasantness by its heat like a sweet odour to those who loved it, should the godly ones not leave the former as being rough and irregular and run sweetly to the bread of wheat and flour, which smells joy

SHTV | 1137 αὐτοὺς C | 1138 τῆ < CX | 1139 ἐπάρατος SHTV οὖν – τοιοῦτος < SHTV καὶ τρισεπάρατος] κρισεπάρατος X | 1140 καὶ τῷ πλήθει < SHTV | 1141 ὅστις + οἶμαι CX | 1142 τῷ γε] τῷ δὲ K τότε TV κοινωνήσει SHTV κοινωνήσει ἔφασκον C | 1143 ἐὰν TV παναγίαν SHTV | 1145 Ἐρβᾶν – 1181 ἐνανθρωπήσεως < SHTV | 1147 οὐκ ἔστι K | 1148 ἀπλῶς < K εἶπερ] ἢ K τε] δὲ C | 1150 ἔφη < C | 1152 καὶ<sup>2</sup> < K | 1153 ἀλλ’ οὖν] καὶ K | 1154 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < CX | 1155 τοίνυν CX | 1158 ἡδέως δὲ CX

<sup>112</sup> Similar expressions are used by Ioannes of Damaskos in his *Expositio fidei* when discussing the two natures of Christ, see for example 47.61 “undividedly and uninterruptedly”.

1160 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάντι; Ἐπειτα πάλιν συκαμίνου ὑπαρχούσης τῆς νομικῆς ὁπώρας, τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου τοῦ βότρυος ἀνατείλαντος οὐκ ἔδει ἕασαι τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς βασιλείας τὰ συκάμινα καὶ προσδραμεῖν τῷ καρπῷ τῆς ἀληθινῆς πανωραίας ἀμπέλου, καὶ γεύσασθαι καὶ μυηθῆναι *ὅτι χρηστός ὁ κύριος*; Τοῦ Μωσέως ὁ νόμος μετρίως ὀλίγους πινὰς διέσωσε καὶ ἀξιους τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀπέφηνε· τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δὲ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ  
 1165 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀποστόλων χοροὺς ἐκέρδισε, κηρύκων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν παρατάξεις συνήθροισε, μαρτύρων ἀγónας ἐκέρδισε, καὶ τηλικούτων εἰς πλῆθος, καθότι ὑπὲρ *τὴν ψάμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης* ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ταῖς ἐπουρανοῖς πλεονάζουσιν οἱ φωστῆρες οἱ ἐπουράνιοι. Ὁμολογητῶν χοροὺς ἐκέρδισεν, ἐγκρατευτῶν χοροὺς ἐκέρδισεν, ἱεραρχῶν ἀγέλας ἐκέρδισεν, ἱερέων καὶ διακόνων καὶ ὑποδιακόνων καὶ τάξεις ψαλ-  
 1170 τῶν καὶ ἀναγνωστῶν παραδόξως εἰς πλῆθος ἐκέρδισεν, ὁσίων χοροὺς ἐκέρδισεν, δικαίων πλῆθη ἐκέρδισεν ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁπάϊς τῆς γῆς, τοὺς οἰκείους θεράποντας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος καλῶς κατὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐκείνου τοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου φθόνῳ ἐξώσαντος στρατευομένου. Ὅρα, Ἐρβᾶν, πόσον καρπὸν ἤνεγκε τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἐνανθρωπήσας ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς βλαστὸς καὶ καρπός, ὁ ἀειθαλῆς  
 1175 τε καὶ ἀμάραντος καὶ ἀδαπάνητος. Οὗτος οὖν ἐστὶν ὁ γλυκὺς καρπὸς ὁ τῆς θεότητος, ὃν ἐξ οἰκείων σπλάγχνων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκαρποφόρησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦ νόμου. Οὐκοῦν, αὐτὸς δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μυσάττει καὶ ἀποστρέφει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ φιλάτου καρποῦ τε καὶ γλυκυτάτου τῆς θεότητος, ὃν αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος ἐκάρπωσεν ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐν ἅπα-  
 1180 σιν πάρεξ τῆς ἐκ παρθένου αὐτοῦ πολυθρυλήτου καὶ φρικωδεστάτης παναγίας ἐνανθρωπήσεως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Βούλεται τίς ἑαυτῷ, ἵνα τί πονηρὸν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἀπροσδοκῆτων αἴφνης συμβῆσεται; Ἔστι τοιγαροῦν ὅτι οὐ βούλεται. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε, εἰ γὰρ ἦδειν σαφῶς ἀληθεύειν σε περὶ πάντων τούτων τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ μοι προειρημένων, πεπί-  
 1185 στευκα ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφισβήτησα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄρω τὸν νόμον μυσάττοντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ ἔπειτα βλέπω τὰ ἔθνη τὸν νόμον βδελυττόμενα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκατέρων τῶν δὲ διανοιῶν περιφερόμενος τέως ὁ ἐπίσταμαι καὶ συνιῶ καὶ ἐν ᾧπερ γεγέννημαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦδε καὶ ἀπολογοῦμαι καὶ ἀγωνίζομαι.”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Πλειστάκις σοι εἶρηκα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐναπολογουμένῳ, καθότι  
 1190 περὶ τῶν σῶν γραφῶν οὐκ ἀκούεις μαρτυρούντων σοι περὶ τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ. Τίνι λοιπὸν

1162 γεύσασθαι – 1163 κύριος cf. Ps. 33.9; 1 Pet. 2.2 | 1166 τὴν – 1167 θαλάσσης Gen. 22.17 | 1171 ὄρεσι – γῆς cf. Hb. 11.38 | 1174 βλαστὸς καὶ καρπός cf. Ez. 17.23

### C X K S H T V

1161 τοὺς βοτρυούς C | 1162 γεῦσαι C | 1163 χρηστός] Χριστός CX | 1165 κηρύκων – 1166 συνήθροισε *perit post* 1166 ἐκέρδισε K | 1166 καθότι ὑπὲρ] κατὰ K | 1167 τὸ τῆς X θαλάσσης + καὶ καθόσον K ἐπουρανοῖς CK | 1169 ἱεραρχῶν ἀγέλας ἐκέρδισεν < C ψάλτων K | 1170 ὁσίων – 1171 ἐκέρδισεν < X | 1173 στρατευομένους CXK | 1175 ἀμαράντινος K | 1176 ὁ τοῦ K | 1178 τοῦ τῆς X ἑαυτοῦ X | 1179 καί<sup>2</sup> – καί<sup>3</sup> < CX | 1182 λέγει] ἔφη V, < C T ἵνα <

and life and spills forth gladness, I say, since it comes from heaven? And then again, the fruit of the law was a mulberry; when the true vine bearing grapes arose, should the sons of the kingdom not leave the mulberries and run to the fruit of the true and all-beautiful vine, and taste and be initiated, *that the Lord is good?* The law of Moses saved a small and modest number of people and made them worthy of the kingdom of the heavens; but the Gospel of the only begotten Son of God Father gained the choirs of the apostles, assembled the battle-lines of heralds and evangelists, gained the struggles of the martyrs, and this in such a number, that there are plenty of heavenly luminaries in the heavenly tents, *more than the sand which is upon the sea-shore*. He gained the choirs of confessors, he gained the choirs of ascetics, he gained the flocks of hierarchs, the priests, deacons and subdeacons, he miraculously gained the order of the singers and lecturers in a large number, he gained the choirs of his holy ones, he gained the multitudes of the righteous on *mountains and in caves and the holes of the earth*, namely the word of God Father gained his own servants well against that wicked demon, that had conducted a campaign to thrust Adam out of paradise. Look, Herban, how much fruit the branch and fruit of God Father bore to God Father when he became a man, he who is ever green, unfading and unconsumed. Now he is the sweet fruit of divinity, whom the God of the law bore as fruit ff his own womb before all times. Therefore, for what reason are you disgusted and turn away from the love of the most beloved and sweet fruit of divinity whom he brought forth alone, similar to himself in his substance and appearance and in his similarity, and in all things in every way, except his celebrated, frightful and most holy incarnation from a virgin?"

Herban said: "Does anyone want something bad unexpectedly and suddenly to happen to him? It is obvious that he does not wish this. Accordingly, if I myself would know clearly that you speak the truth in all the things you have told me before, I would believe and have no doubts. But since I see that the law feels disgusted by the nations, and then that the nations feel a loathing at the law, and am carried back and forth between both these thoughts, for the time being I defend and fight for what I know and understand, and in which I have been born."

The archbishop said: "I have often said to you when you apologised in such a way, that you do not hear your Scriptures which testify to you about Christianity. Whom else

SHTV πονηρόν τι SHTV αὐτῷ < SHTV ἀπροδοκῆτων C | 1183 αἴφνη C ἐξαίφνης ante 1182 ἐκ SHTV συμβήσεσθαι T τοίνυν] νῦν SH αὐτὸς ἔγωγε] ἐγὼ SHTV | 1184 ᾗδεις σε H οἶδα TV ἀσφαλῶς SHTV τούτων < SHTV σὲ πεπίστευκα C | 1185 ἠμφισβήτησα K ἐπεὶ SHTV | 1186 τὰ ἔθνη βλέπω C δὲ] τε V, < K T | 1187 δ] ὡς SV, < HT τοῦδε] τοῦτο T τούτου V ἀγωνίζομαι καὶ ἀπολογοῦμαι SHTV | 1189 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἀρχιεπίσκοπος – 1196 ἐχαρίσατο T<sup>marg</sup> σοι < T τὰ τοιαῦτα < T ἀπολογουμένῳ T καθότι περὶ καθόπερ οἱ V | 1190 σὼν < T ἀκούσειε CXX μαρτυρούντων σοι < SHTV λοιπὸν < T

ἐτέρω πεισθήσει σαφηνίζοντί σοι περί τούδε τοῦ χρησιμοῦ, φημί, προφανέστατα; Οὐκοῦν τίνα λέγει ἐναυθα ὁ προφήτης; Ὁ βασιλεύς, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς πάσης τῆς γῆς, ψάλατε συν-  
ετώ. Ἐπεὶ οὖν βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐστι, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀνθρώπων,  
καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ γῇ ψάλλειν αὐτῷ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου προτρέπεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ πάσῃ τῇ  
1195 ἀνθρωπότητι. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν λοιπὸν αὐτὸς σκάνδαλον ἡγεῖσαι τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν πίστιν, ἣν  
αὐτοῖς θεὸς ὡς οἶα καὶ σοί, ἂν ἄρα καὶ βούλη, ἐξευρῶν ἐχαρίσατο;” |

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ μοι γένοιτο οὕτως ἔχειν. Ἄλλ' οὖν Ἰουδαίος ὢν ὁ προφήτης Ἰου- 745A  
δαίοις μόνοις ταῦτα καὶ προσεφθέγγετο, *Βασιλεύει*, λέγων, ὁ θεὸς πάσης τῆς γῆς ὡσπερ  
αὐτὴν καὶ δεδημιούργηκεν. Οὐκοῦν *ψάλατε αὐτῷ* ὡς βασιλεὶ καὶ θεῷ.”

1200 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τίνα οὖν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπάγει λέγων ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης;  
*Ἐβασίλευσε*, φησίν, ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη· ὁ θεὸς κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ'  
ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος, φησίν, ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, ὁ καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς τὸν 745B  
οὐρανὸν ἐν τῷ ἀποτελέσει τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ καθίσας ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ γεννήσαντος αὐτὸν  
ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ. Ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ βουληθῆς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ ἀσωμάτως ὀφθέντος  
1205 θεοῦ Μωσῆ τε καὶ Ἠλίεβ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς περιφανέσι τοῦτο οἶμαι καὶ λέλεκται, ἔχω σε  
ἐπιστομίσει, καθότι ἐπὶ τῶν τὸ σῶμα κεκτημένων λέγεται τὸ *κάθηται* καὶ *κάθου* καὶ *κα-  
θέξου* καὶ τὸ *ἀναπεσῶν* καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, οὐχὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀσωμάτου θεότη-  
τος, ἥνπερ οὐχ ἑώρακε τίς ὅποια, οἶμαι, κεχρημάτικεν, εἴτε ἴσταται, εἴτε κάθηται, εἴτε οὐ  
κάθηται, εἴτε καὶ ἄπαξ ἐπανακέκλιται.”

1210 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Πράγματά μοι ὀμίλεις παντεξαίσια. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν δὲ ἔπειτα λέγει ὁ  
αὐτὸς προφήτης· *Ἐπέταξε θεὸς λαοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν, ἐξελέξατο* 745C  
*ἡμῖν τὴν κληρονομίαν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν καλλονὴν Ἰακώβ ἣν ἠγάπησεν*; Ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τοιγαρο-  
ῦν τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ταῦτα ὑπέταξε τῇ καλλονῇ Ἰακώβ,  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ Ἰακώβ ἀναβλαστήσασιν Ἰσραηλίταις;”

1192 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – συνετώ Ps. 46.8 | 1201 ἐβασίλευσε – αὐτοῦ Ps. 46.9 | 1211 ὑπέταξε – 1212 ἠγάπησεν  
Ps. 46.4–5

C X K S H T V | 1197 Ἐρβᾶν [D A μ

1191 ἐτέρω < SHTV πεισθήσει C X K σαφηνίζοντί σοι] σαφηνίζων τὸ SH σαφηνίζοντός σοι V,  
< T τοῦδε < K | 1192 τί SHTV ὁ<sup>2</sup>] ὅτι SHTV φησίν < SHTV ὁ<sup>3</sup> – γῆς] πάσης τῆς γῆς ὁ θεὸς  
SHTV | 1193 πάσης γῆς βασιλεὺς T ἐστὶ < X τοῦτ' – 1195 ἀνθρωπότητι < SHTV ἀνθρώπων –  
1194 γῆ < C | 1195 σκάνδαλον αὐτὸς T αὐτὸς < SHTV τῶν ἐθνῶν < T | 1196 αὐτὸς C ὁ θεὸς  
SHTV σοί < T ἂν SHV εἰ T καί<sup>2</sup> < SHTV | 1197 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ TV μοι < K γένοιτο]  
γένοιτ' ἂν K SHTV ἐξ Ἰουδαίος sic T ὢν] ἣν C | 1198 μόνοις + καὶ ante προσεφθέγγετο C ταῦτα  
< H καὶ < D προσαπεφθέγγετο SHTV λέγων] γὰρ μ λέγει TV | 1199 καὶ αὐτὴν K ψάλλετε DA  
T αὐτῷ + φησίν ὁ Δαυὶδ DA μ | 1200 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T καὶ  
< DA μ λέγων post προφήτης SHTV, < μ αὐτὸς < DA μ | 1201 φησίν < DA SHTV φησίν ὁ  
θεός] ὁ θεὸς φησίν C | 1202 ἐκεῖνος < V φησίν < μ ἐβασίλευσεν] ὁ βασιλεύσας μ ὁ βασιλεὺς  
ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θεὸς DA ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη < SHTV ὁ<sup>1</sup> καὶ DA μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> < K | 1203 μετὰ τὸ τελέσει μ  
ἀποτελέσει λοιπὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην DA καθίσαντος SHTV αὐτὸν < SHTV | 1204 ἂν – 1209 ἐπ-  
ανακέκλιται < SHTV γὰρ < D | 1205 Μωσοῦ μ τε < μ ὑπερφανέσι C οἶμαι καὶ < μ λελέχθαι μ  
σε + δὲ καὶ D, + δὲ A | 1206 ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν – κεκτημένον μ λέλεκται C καὶ κάθου] φησίν DA καὶ

will you believe, who will explain this foretelling to you in a most obvious way? So what does the prophet say here: *God*, he says, *is the king of the whole world, sing to him wisely*. Now since he is the king of the whole world, that is of all men on earth, he also orders us to sing to him on the whole earth from the Holy Ghost, that is to all of humanity. For what reason do you then think that the belief of the nations is a scandal, which God has invented and given to them, just like to you, if you only wish?”

Herban said: “May God avert that this be so. But since the prophet was a Jew, he told this only to the Jews when he said, *God is the king of the whole world*, for he has also created it. So *sing to him*, for he is the king and God.”

The archbishop said: “And what does the same prophet say going on thereafter? *God*, he says, *reigns over the nations; God sits on his holy throne*, that is, he says that man reigned over the nations, who became a man and also was accepted into heaven after having fulfilled his work, and sits to the right side of him, who has begotten him, on his holy throne. For if you want to say, that this has been said about the God, who appeared incorporeally to Moses and Elijah on those mountains that are seen all around, I think, I will silence you, for *he sits* and *sit* and *you sit down* and *falling down* and the things similar to these have been said about those that have a body, not about the incorporeal divinity, of which nobody knows how it is, I think, whether it stands or sits or does not sit, or whether it maybe reclines.”

Herban said: “You tell me most extraordinary things. For what reason does the same prophet say thereafter:<sup>113</sup> *God has submitted the people to us and the nations under our feet, he has chosen his inheritance for us, the beauty of Jacob whom he loved?* Therefore, for which reason did he, who chose the nations and reigned over them, submit them to the beauty of Jacob, that is to us Israelites who rose up from Jacob?”

καθέζου < μ | 1207 τὸ < μ καὶ τὰ] κατὰ X τούτοις < μ οὐχὶ δὲ] καὶ οὐχὶ μ φύσεως ἦτοι τῆς θεότητος C | 1208 ὅποια οἶμαι κεχηρημάτικεν < C οἶμαι < CK μ κεχηρημάτικεν] ἔστιν μ εἶτε ἴσταται < C εἶτε κάθηται εἶτε ἴσταται μ εἶτε<sup>3</sup>] εἶπερ C DA εἶτε<sup>3</sup> – 1209 κάθηται < K | 1209 κεκάθηται D εἶτε] εἶπερ C, + καὶ ἀσπάζεται καὶ A, + ἀσπάζεται καὶ μ ἅπαξ < DA μ ἐπ-ανακέκλιται + καὶ ἀσπάζεται D, + δι’ ὅλου DA μ | 1210 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ TV πανεξαίσια D πάνυ ἐξαίσια μ δὲ αἰτίαν μ μετέπειτα D μ καὶ μετέπειτα A, < SHTV λέγει<sup>2</sup>] ἐπάγει SHTV | 1211 αὐτὸς < C μ ὑπέταξε + φησὶν ὁ DA θεός < CX μ SHTV ἡμῖν] ἐμοὶ C ἔθνη – ἡμῶν < SHTV | 1212 ἑαυτοῦ μ TV ἦν < X τοιγαροῦν] τοίνυν μ | 1213 ὁ < μ ἐπ’] ἐν DA μ αὐτούς H ταῦτα < SHTV τὴν καλλονὴν DA μ SHTV | 1214 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν] ἦγουν μ ἐξ Ἰακώβ ἀναβλαστή-σασιν < SHTV

<sup>113</sup> Actually ‘before’.

- 1215 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ ψαλμὸς οὗτος περὶ τῆς ἀναλήψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πνεύ-  
ματι ἀγίῳ μυστηριωδῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου διεξηχεῖται, ἐπειδὴ λέγει περὶ τῆς θεωθεΐσης  
σαρκὸς δι’ ἀφθαρσίας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ  
*Ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ*. Σαρκί γὰρ ἀναβαίνει κύριος καὶ καταβαίνει τὸ πρῶτον μὲν,  
ὁπότεν ἀνελήφθη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὸ μετέπειτα, ὁπότεν καταβήσεται ἐκ τοῦ οὐρα- 745D  
νοῦ κρῖναι πάντας τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς τῆς γῆς. Περὶ γὰρ τῆς θεότητος τὸ *ἀνέβη* καὶ *κατέβη*  
οὐκ εἴρηται. Μάρτυρες δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου οἱ ἀπόστολοι· οὐκοῦν  
ἐπειδὴ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ ὑπῆρχον καὶ  
σπέρμα Ἰακώβ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἐξημέριζον, ἀνθ’ ὧν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ  
ἐξελέξατο Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς κληρονομίαν ἑαυτοῦ, ἰδὼν ἄνωθεν ὁ Δαυὶδ νοεροῖς ὀφθαλ- 748A  
μοῖς τὸ γινόμενον ὁ εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὅτι *Τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῆς σοφίας σου*  
*ἐδήλωσάς μοι*, λέγει περὶ τῶν ἀδῆλων ὡσανεὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀποστόλων, μᾶλλον δὲ  
καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ παντὸς τῆς κοινότητος. Βλέπων οὖν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ  
ὅτι ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀπώσεται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, μόνους δὲ κρατήσῃ οὓς ἐλθὼν ἐξελέ-  
ξατο διὰ τὴν ἀμώμητον αὐτῶν πίστιν, *Ἐξελέξατο ἡμῖν*, φησὶν, *ὁ θεὸς τὴν κληρονομίαν*  
1230 *ἑαυτῷ*, τὴν δωδεκάδα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, *τὴν καλλονὴν Ἰακώβ ἢν ἠγάπησεν*.  
Τὸ ἄνθος, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἦρε τὸ ἅπαξ ἠθέλησε, καθότι ἐνεργήσῃ πρὸς ὃ βούλεται, καὶ  
τὸ ἀποίητον παρεάσας, τὸν ὑπόλοιπον δὴ καὶ ἄπιστον λαόν, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ὡς ἀνωφελῆ  
καταλιπὼν διεσκόρπισεν. Ὅτι δὲ *ὑπέταξε λαοὺς ἡμῖν* ἐμφαίνει καὶ *ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας*  
*ἡμῶν* ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀποστόλων φάσκει. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν 748B  
1235 ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐθὺς ἐκείνοι ἐξεληθόντες εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐκήρυξαν τὸ  
εὐαγγέλιον. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος οὐ μόνον λαοὺς καὶ φυλάς καὶ  
γλώσσας, ὡς οἶα καὶ ὁ προφήτης λελάληκεν, ἀλλ’ οὖν βασιλεῖς καὶ σατράπας καὶ ἡγου-  
μένους καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐξουσιῶν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Καὶ εἰ σφάλλομαι ψευδόμενος,  
βλέφρον καὶ ἴδε ποίου λαοῦ ὑμεῖς ὑπεξουσιάζετε, τίνα δὲ εἰσὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ἅπερ ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀρ-

1218 ἀνέβη – ἀλαλαγμῷ Ps. 46.6 | 1220 ἀνέβη – κατέβη cf. Eph. 4.9 | 1222 μαθητεῦσαι – ἔθνη  
cf. Mt. 28.19 | 1225 τὰ<sup>1</sup> – 1226 μοι Ps. 50.8

### C X K D A μ S H T V

1215 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C V ὁ<sup>2</sup> < C ἀναλήψεως + τοῦ  
κυρίου DA μ + μου μ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ μυστηριωδῶς < SHTV | 1216 ἐξηχεῖται CXK διεξήχηται D  
διεξήγγηται A ἐπειδὴ – 1221 εἴρηται < SHTV θεωθεΐσης – 1217 ἀφθαρσίας] θεότητος σαρκί  
ἀναληφθείσης K | 1218 ἀνέβη + φησὶν DA ἀλαλαγμῷ + κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος DA μ ἀνέβη  
μ καταβαίνει πάλιν DA πάλιν κατέβη μ | 1219 ὁπότεν<sup>1</sup> < K εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν C εἰς τοὺς  
οὐρανοὺς μ τὸ < μ | 1220 ἀνέβη + φησὶν DA καὶ κατέβη] ἀσάρκως K τὸ κατέβη X | 1221 οὐχ  
DA μάρτυρας H<sup>ac</sup> δὲ] γὰρ SHTV καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου < SHTV οὐκοῦν < SHTV | 1222 ἐπειδὴ<sup>1</sup> –  
ἔθνη < SHTV καὶ<sup>1</sup> < SHTV ὑπῆρχον] ἦσαν DA μ SHTV | 1223 ἀνθ’ – 1224 ἑαυτοῦ < SHTV  
ὧν] ὅσον DA μ | 1224 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς + ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν DA μ ἑαυτῷ μ τοῦτο ἰδὼν SHTV ἄνωθεν  
< SHTV ὁ Δαυὶδ post ὀφθαλμοῖς μ, < SHTV | 1225 γενόμενον μ εἰπόν STV εἶπεν H | 1226 περὶ  
τῶν ἀδῆλων < SHTV μᾶλλον – 1229 πίστιν < SHTV | 1227 τῆς κοινότητος < μ οὖν] γὰρ μ, <  
CXK καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ | 1228 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ < μ ἀπώσατο DA μ κύριος ὁ θεὸς μ κρατήσειεν DA ἐλθὼν] ἐξ

The archbishop said: “This psalm has been sounded forth in a mysterious way through the Holy Ghost by the prophet about the ascension of Jesus Christ, since he says *God is gone up with a shout* about the flesh, which was deified by his being incorrupted after the resurrection of the only begotten Son of God from the dead. For the Lord goes up and down in the flesh, first when he was accepted into heaven, and thereafter, when he will come down from heaven to judge all sinners on earth. For *he is gone up and down*<sup>114</sup> has not been said about the divinity. The apostles are witnesses of his resurrection and his ascension. So since he sent them out to teach all nations, and since they were from Israel and happened to be of the seed of Jacob according to their flesh, wherefore Jesus Christ had elected them above all others out of Israel for his inheritance, David, who said to God, *You have revealed the hidden things and secrets of your wisdom to me*, seeing from above what happened with his mental eyes, spoke about the hidden things as in the place of the apostles, or rather of the whole community of Israel: For when he saw the expulsion of Israel, and that God will actually cast off his people and keep only those whom he has chosen, when he came, because of their blameless faith, he said: *God has chosen his inheritance for us*, the group of the twelve apostles and the others, *the beauty of Jacob whom he loved*. He took the flower, one might say, which he once wanted, so that it will work what he wishes, and left the unsuitable one aside, the remaining unbelieving people, that is he scattered them, abandoning them as being useles. He declares that *God has submitted the people to us*, and says in the place of the apostles *and the nations under our feet*. For when Christ had been assumed from them into heaven, those went out immediately into the whole world and proclaimed the Gospel. And immediately the highest God submitted not only people and tribes and languages to them, as the prophet also said, but also kings, satraps, rulers and those under dominion, as I think, and those beyond them. And if I am wrong, telling lies, look and see to which people you are subjected, and which are the nations, which

έθνων D | 1229 ό θεός < μ | 1230 έαυτώ μ τουτ' έστι την<sup>1</sup> – άποστόλων post έξελέξατο SHTV και των λοιπων < SHTV των λοιπων < μ ήν ήγάπησεν] έξελέξατο CXK DA | 1231 το<sup>1</sup> γάρ μ το<sup>1</sup> – 1233 διεσκορπισεν < SHTV το<sup>2</sup>] δ μ άπαξ < μ ήθέλησε] τεθέακε DA τεθέαται μ ότι ένεργήσει μ | 1232 το άποίητον παρεάσας < μ δη και < DA μ άπιστων C τουτ' έστιν < μ | 1233 και λαους DA ήμιν] ήμων DA, < SHTV έμφαινει < μ SHTV | 1234 ήμων εκ προσώπου < SHTV ήμων – αναληφθηναι < X μετá – 1238 επέκεινα < SHTV τον κύριον ήμων 'Ιησοϋν Χριστόν DA μ | 1236 εύαγγέλιον + πάση τή κτίσει DA εύθέως < μ αυτοίς < C, + κύριος μ | 1237 ώς οία και] καθώς μ άλλ' οϋν] άλλα μ | 1238 και<sup>1</sup> – επέκεινα < μ και ει] ει και D | 1239 ύμεις < X έπεξουσιάζετε C έξουσιάζετε μ τίνα] ποία μ άπερ < SHTV άρτίως θεός SHTV

<sup>114</sup> While *he is gone up* (άνέβη) refers to the verse just quoted (Ps. 46.6), the words *he is gone down* (κατέβη) can only be understood as an allusion to Eph. 4.9.



1240 τίως καθυπέταξεν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχῃς τοῦ ἀποδειξαι. Βλέπον δὲ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Χριστοῦ, ὅπως σχεδὸν ἅπανα ἢ οἰκουμένη πνευματικῶς αὐτοῖς χριστιανίσασα ὑποτέτακται.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐθνῶν πινῶν ὑποταγέντων τῷ Δαυιδ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶμαι, περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης καὶ τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐγράφει. Σὺ δὲ τὰ πάντα πρόσεχε εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ βοήθειαν ἐπισπῶν.”

748c

1245 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “*Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, ἐμφαίνει λέγων, *κροτήσατε χεῖρας*· οὐκοῦν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἄρα Δαυιδ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς καθυπέταξεν; Ἐπάγει δὲ λέγων· *Ἀλαλάξατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως*. Οὐκοῦν ἔθνη τὰ ὑπὸ ἀλλοτρίας βασιλείας κατακυριευόμενα προτρέπεται λέγων· *Ἀλαλάξατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως*; Σολοικίζεις, Ἐρβᾶν, σφαλλόμενος· καθὼς σοι ὑπαγορεύω, οὕτως ὑπάρχουσι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρως.”

1250 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ βουλούμενος ὁμιλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ὀφείλει εἶναι, περὶ ᾧ εἶρηκε Δαυιδ, ὅτι *Ἔθεντο εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν διήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Ἐπιτίμιον γάρ σε μέγιστον ἔσχηκεν ὡς δι’ ἐμὲ τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Δίδαξον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τίνα λέγει ὁ προφήτης· *Ὁ θεός, φησίν, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἢ ὁδός σου. Τίς θεός μέγας ὡς ὁ θεός ἡμῶν; Σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια*. Τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ πρόδηλον ὁ θεός μέγας καὶ

748D

1255 οὐχ ἕτερος, ὁ μόνος ποιῶν θαυμάσια. *Ἐγνώρισας ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς τὴν δύναμίν σου, ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῷ βραχίονί σου τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ* καὶ οὐκ οἶμαι τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἔθνῶν. Οὐκοῦν περὶ θεοῦ εἰσφέρων καὶ περὶ γνωρίσματος δυνάμεως καὶ περὶ λύτρου ἐμφαίνων, πῶς οὐκ ὠνόμασεν εἰπών· *Τίς θεός μέγας ὡς Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας*. Οὗτος θεός μόνος ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια. Ἡ πάλιν, πῶς οὐκ εἶρηκεν, ὅτι *Ἐγνώρισας ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν τὴν δύναμίν σου καὶ ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῷ βραχίονί σου τὸν λαόν σου*, τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἔθνῶν τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν· ἀλλ’ *Ἐλυτρώσω*, φησί, *τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ*. Ἐνταῦθα μοι λέξον τὰ δοκοῦντα σοι.”

749A

Τούτων οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρβᾶν ρηθέντων, ἔπειτα τῆς ὥρας παρῳηκείας ἐξανέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διελύθη τὸ σελέντιον. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὖν γεγονότων τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ καταδοκούντων πρὸς τὴν ἔωθεν συνέλευσιν ἔχαιρον, ὅτι ἐξήρκει Ἐρβᾶν πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ

1265

1245 πάντα – 1247 ἀγαλλιάσεως Ps. 46.2 | 1251 ἔθεντο – 1252 γῆς Ps. 72.9 | 1253 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 1254 θαυμάσια Ps. 76.14–15 | 1255 ἐγνώρισας – 1256 Ἰωσήφ Ps. 76.15

### C X K D A μ S H T V

1240 ὑπέταξεν μ οὐκ ἂν] οὖν κᾶν C τοῦ] τοῦτο K D A H, < μ δὲ < T τοὺς ἀποστόλους C X K Χριστοῦ] τοῦ Χριστοῦ C αὐτοῦ S H T V | 1241 πᾶσα S H T V χριστιανίσασα πνευματικῶς αὐτοῖς μ χριστιανοῖς S T V τοῖς χριστιανοῖς H | 1242 Ἐρβᾶν – 1262 σοι < S ἐν < C X K | 1243 τὸν ψαλμὸν ἐγράφει] ὁ ψαλμωδὸς ἔγραψε μ ἐγεγράφει K ἐγεγράφηκεν D A τὰ < K D A τὰ πάντα] τὸ πᾶν D A | 1244 πρόσεχε < μ προσέχεις ἀκριβῶς D A σεαυτοῦ] σὴν μ βοήθειαν ἐπισπῶν] ἀπεσπάσω βοήθειαν μ ἐπισπῶν] ἐπανάγων C X ἐπισπᾶς τὸ πᾶν D A | 1245 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ὁ – 1262 σοι < S H T V ἐμφαίνει λέγων < X μ οὐκοῦν] λέγων μ | 1246 ἅπαντα D A μ εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς < μ τὸ ἐμφανὲς] τοῦ φανὲς D A λέγων < μ | 1247 οὐκοῦν – 1248 ἀγαλλιάσεως < D A μ ὑπὸ] ὑπ’ X | 1248 ὦ Ἐρβᾶν D A μ | 1249 οὕτω πέλει D A ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυιδ λεγόμενα μ οὐκ D A | 1250 λέγει] ἔφη D A, < μ | 1251 Δαυιδ εἶρηκεν D τῇ γλώσσει αὐτῶν διήλθον D A | 1252 γάρ σε < K ὡς < μ | 1253 ὁ θεός φησίν < X φησίν < μ | 1254 τοῦ – 1255 θαυμάσια < C θεός<sup>3</sup> ἐστὶ X |

God has recently submitted to you. But you will not be able to show this. Look upon the apostles of Christ, how nearly all the world is spiritually submitted to them, having become Christian.”

Herban said: “When some nations were submitted by David in the days of his reign, I think he also wrote the psalm about this event. But you be careful, for you usurp all for your help.”

The archbishop said: “*All you nations*, he declares, *clap your hands*; so did David submit all nations manifestly? And he goes on saying: *Rejoice to God with the voice of exultation*. So does he urge the nations which are under the dominion of a foreign kingdom: *Rejoice to God with the voice of joy*? You commit an error, Herban, and are wrong: Things are as I tell you, and not in a different way.”

Herban said: “He who wants to speak with you must be one of those, about whom David said: *They have set their mouth into heaven, and their tongue walked through the earth*. For the race of the Jews has received you as a very great punishment because of me. But teach me what the prophet says here: *God, your way is in the sanctuary. Which God is as great as our God? You are the God who works wonders*. The great God is clearly that of Israel and no one else, the only one who commits wonders. *You have made known your power among the people of the pagans, you have redeemed your people with your arm, the sons of Jacob and Joseph*, and not, I think, the sons of the nations. So when he began the discussion about God and introduced the tokens of power and redemption, why did he not call him by name saying: *Which God is as great as Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary? He alone is the God who works wonders*. Or again, why did he not say: *You have made known your power among the people and have redeemed your people with your arm, the sons of the nations which are worshippers of idols, but You have redeemed your people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph*? Here tell me what seems right to you.”

When these things had been said by Herban, thereafter the king stood up, since the time had passed, and the meeting was dissolved. Now the Jews met at one spot waiting for the meeting on the next morning, and they rejoiced that Herban had withstood the

1255 οὐκ ἑτέροις DA ἑτέρως ποιῶν K ἐλυτρώσω – 1256 σου<sup>2</sup>] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἤτοι μ | 1256 τῷ λαῷ A οὐχ DA οἶμαι] εἶπε μ | 1257 ἐθνῶν + τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν DA μ | 1258 ἐμφαίνων < DA μ ἠνόμησεν DA μ τίς θεὸς μέγας] ὅτι μέγας θεὸς DA ὡς < XK ὁ < μ | 1259 θεός – 1260 σου<sup>1</sup> < CXK πάλιν] ἔκπαλαι DA εἶρηκε λέγων DA | 1261 εἰδωλολάτρων DA Ἰακώβ υἱοῦς C | 1263 τούτων – ἔπειτα] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος· οὐκ ἔστι καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι σε ἀναιδέστατε μ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρβᾶν < SHTV λεχθέντων SHTV καὶ ἔπειτα DA SHTV τῆς + στής S ἐξανέστη οὖν μ | 1264 διελέχθη SHTV σιλέντιον K σληθος T σελέντιον + τέλος τῆς τετάρτης διαλέξεως C ἐπὶ – γεγονότων post Ἰουδαίων μ τῶν αὐτῶν X οὖν < μ τῶν δὲ μ καί<sup>2</sup> – 1265 συνέλευσιν < SHTV | 1265 ὅτι ἐξήρκει Ἑρβᾶν] ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑρβᾶν ὅτι ἐξήρκει SHTV

ἀρχιεπισκόπου, καὶ παρεθάρρυνον αὐτὸν λέγοντες· “Καλῶς ἐξαρκεῖς καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐπιστήθι ἐδραῖος· ὀρώμεν γάρ, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ μετὰ σοῦ. Λάλει τοιγαροῦν καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ, μηδὲ δειλιάτω ἡ καρδιά σου· ὀρώμεν γάρ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡδέως ἀκούει τῶν ἐκατέρων.”

- 1270 Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν ἔλεγεν πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ἀδελφοί, τὸν ἄνδρα ὄνπερ βλέπω ἐγὼ καὶ τὴν  
 σύνεσιν τὴν διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ ἐξηγουμένην πρὸς με, ἦνπερ κατανοῶ αὐτὸς μέχρι 749b  
 τῆς συντελείας, εἴπερ αὐταρκήσωμεν ἐκότεροι διαλεγόμενοι, οὐ δυνήσομαι πείσαι τὸν  
 τοιοῦτον. Ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὅτι καθὼςπερ ἐν καταφρονήσει παραπλησίως μετ’ ἐμοῦ διαλέγεται  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου διαπτύων καὶ χυδιάζων καθέστηκεν. Μαρτύρο-  
 1275 μαι οὖν ὑμῖν τέως ἐγὼ, ἀδελφοί, ἀψευδῶς, ὅτι ἠττηθησόμεθα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶδον  
 τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ Μωσέα τὸν προφήτην καὶ Ἰησοῦν, περὶ οὗ ἀναμέσον ἡμῶν ἡ φιλονεικία.  
 Εἶδον οὖν ἐκατέρους ἐπὶ πτερύγιον ἱεροῦ τινὸς ἐστῶτας καὶ διαλεγόμενους. Ὁ δὲ Μω-  
 1280 σῆς ἐώρων ὅτι προσεκύνει τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ  
 ἐδέσμει ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ μετὰ δέους παρίστατο αὐτῷ. Ξενιζομένου δέ μου ἐπὶ τῷ πρά-  
 1285 γματι αἴφνης διανοιχθέντος μου τοῦ στόματος λέγω· ‘Κύριε Μωσῆ, καλὰ ταῦτα ἄπερ  
 εἰσπράττεις;’ Ὁ δὲ ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπέπληξέ μοι λέγων· ‘Παῦσον, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι οὐ σφάλλο-  
 μαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰμὶ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ σέ, γνωρίζω γάρ μου τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ κύριον. Ἀλλ’ οὖν τί σοὶ 749c  
 καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡπερ κόπους παρέχεις; Ὅμως, οἶμαι, τῇ ἐπούση καὶ τῇ ἔωθεν  
 ταύτης ὄψει, ὅτι ἠττηθήσῃ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσεις ὡς κἀγὼ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.’ Ταῦτα  
 1285 τεθέαμαι, ἀδελφοί, καὶ τίνα εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι. Ὅμως οὐκ ἀμελήσω ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ τέως περὶ  
 τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ εἴτι εὐδοκήσει ὁ θεός.”

**E** Τούτων οὕτως ῥηθέντων μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, τῇ ἔωθεν ἔπειτα τοῦ συνεδρίου  
 ἐτοιμασθέντος παρεγένετο ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Καὶ καθεσθέντων αὐτῶν  
 παρούσης καὶ πάσης τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῆς πόλεως, ἔστη καὶ Ἐρβᾶν μετὰ  
 τῶν συνεπομένων αὐτῷ ἱερέων καὶ νομοδιδασκάλων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· 749d

### C X K D A μ S H T V

1266 ἐπισκόπου SHTV παρεθάρρυνον C παρεθάρρυναν D φάσκοντες DA μ καλῶς – 1267 γάρ  
 < μ | 1267 ὀρώμεν – 1269 ἐκατέρων < SHTV ὅτι ὁ θεός | ὁ θεός γάρ – σοῦ post φοβοῦ μ |  
 1268 μήτε K περὶ τῶν C μηδὲ – 1269 ἐκατέρων < μ | 1270 ἀδελφοί < μ και – 1271 αὐτὸς <  
 SHTV | 1271 ἐξηγημένην μ ἦνπερ κατανοῶ] κατανοῶν αὐτὸς μ | 1272 εἶπερ] ἐν C ἐὰν XK εἴπερ  
 αὐταρκήσωμεν] ὑπεραυταρκήσωμεν SHTV εἶπερ – διαλεγόμενοι < μ δυνήσομεθα T ποιήσαι V |  
 1273 ὄρας X ὄρατε – 1274 καθέστηκεν < μ ἐμὲ CXX διαλέγεται X | 1274 καὶ! – καθέστηκεν <  
 SHTV μαρτυροῦμαι V | 1275 ἀδελφοί < V ἀψευδῶς ἀδελφοί DA μ ἠττηθησόμεθα SH ὑπ’] ἀπ’  
 SHTV | 1276 ἐν τῇ X Μωυσῆν μ Ἰησοῦν + τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον DA μ ἡμῶν < C, + ἐστιν μ ἡ <  
 DA φιλονεικία + ἐστὶν DA | 1277 ἐκατέρους + αὐτούς SHTV τὸ πτερύγιον CXX ἱεροῦ τινός]  
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ C τὸν δὲ Μωσέα C DA μ (Μωυσῆν DA) Μωσῆς X | 1278 ἐώρων] ἐώρουν DA ST +  
 ἐγὼ DA μ SHTV προσεκύνει τῷ] προσεκυνεῖτο S και – 1279 Ἰησοῦ < D T κυρίῳ τῷ] τῷ κυρίῳ  
 K τῷ<sup>2</sup> < SH τῷ θεῷ < CX αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> < μ | 1279 ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> < μ μετὰ] μὲ V δέους] Ἰουδαίου T αὐτῷ <  
 TV | 1280 ἄφνω DA μ λέγω] εἶπον DA μ ἔλεγον T λέγων V λέγω – 1281 λέγων] λέγει μοι X  
 Μωυσῆ T ἄπερ εἰσπράττεις] ἄ ποιεῖς μ | 1281 πράττει SHTV ἔπληξε H λέγων] εἰπὼν μ

answers of the archbishop, and they encouraged him saying: “You withstand well, and do not be afraid, but still stand steadfastly; for we see that God is with you. Therefore speak and do not be afraid, nor may your heart be afearred; for we see that the king listens sweetly to both of you as well.”

But Herban said to them: “Brothers, the man whom I see and the wisdom which is sounded forth to me through his words and which I understand completely, when we both are sufficient in the discussion, such a man I will not be able to convince. For you see, that he discusses with me despising me somehow, and made all the words of my mouth despicable and vulgar. So I testify to you, brothers, without any error, that we will be defeated by him. For in this night I have seen the prophet Moses and Jesus, about whom the competition between us is. I saw them both standing on the turret of a temple and discussing. And I saw that Moses worshipped Jesus and put his hands together before Jesus as before God his Lord, and stood before him with fear. And as I was surprised about this thing, suddenly my mouth opens and I say: ‘Lord Moses, is this good what you are doing here?’ And he turned to me and reproved me saying: ‘Stop, brother, because I am not wrong; I am not one of your people, for I know my creator and Lord. But now, what about you and the righteous archbishop, to whom you cause trouble? Nevertheless, I think, you will see on the following day, the morning after today, that you will be defeated by him and will worship Jesus as I do.’ This is what I have seen, brothers, and I do not understand what it means. Nevertheless, in the meantime I will not neglect my duty, and perhaps God will find pleasure in us.”

When this had been said in such a way between them and many others, and when the meeting had been prepared thereafter in the morning, the king and the archbishop appeared. And when they had sat down in the presence of the whole senate and the crowd of the city, Herban stood there as well with the priests and teachers of the law that followed him, and the archbishop said:

E

παῖσον οὖν DA παῖσαι μ ἀδελφέ Ἐρβάν C ἀδελφέ] ἀναιδέστατε DA μ | 1282 γάρ] δὲ DA μ τὸν ποιητὴν μου C SHTV | 1283 δικαίω] ἀγίω SHTV ἀρχιεπισκόπω μ παρέχεις + εἰκὴ DA μ οἶμαι < DA μ ἔωθεν ταύτης] μετ’ αὐτὴν μ | 1284 ὑπ’] παρ’ C αὐτοῦ + κραταιῶς μ και + πεσῶν SHTV Ἰησοῦν μου και κύριον μ ταῦτα + οὖν DA + ἐγώ DA μ | 1285 τί SHTV ὅμως + μέντοι DA ἐγώ] κἀγώ TV, < μ ἐν τῷ < CX περι τῶν ἐμῶν < X | 1286 τῶν < T ἐμῶν + ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι μα (sic) τὸν Μωσέως ἡμέτερον νόμον περι τῶν ὑμῶν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπω C και εἶτι] ὅτι T εὐδοκῆσιεν DA ὁ θεός] κύριος DA μ

1 in initio + ε’ διάλεξις X μεταξὺ – 2 ἐτοιμασθέντος < SHTV ἔπειτα < DA μ | 2 παρεγένοντο CX ὅτε] και ὁ μ ὁ H ὅ τε ὁ V και ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου μ και<sup>2</sup> – 3 πόλεως < μ | 3 και<sup>1</sup> < DA πάσης < SHTV και<sup>2</sup> – πόλεως < SHTV ἔστη δὲ μ και<sup>3</sup> < SHTV ὁ Ἐρβάν DA μ | 4 και τῶν A αὐτῶν SHV νομοδιδασκάλων + δ’ διάλεξις D<sup>mans</sup> ε’ διάλεξις S τέλος τῆς δ’ διαλέξεως και ἀρχὴ τῆς πέμπτης] πέμπτη διάλεξις τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου και τοῦ Ἐρβάν H διάλεξις ε’ TV και<sup>2</sup> + πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀτενίσας C και < XK TV ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη] ἔφησε C λέγει SV

- 5 “Χθές εἶρηκας, οἶμαι, καθότι· ‘Ὁ βουλόμενος’, φησίν, ‘συνομιλεῖν μετὰ σοῦ’, τοῦτ’  
 ἔστι μετ’ ἐμοῦ, ‘ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ὀφείλει εἶναι, περὶ ὧν γέγραπται, ὅτι *Ἔθεντο εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ*  
*στόμα αὐτῶν*’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, καθότι ὁ βουλόμενος ὀμιλεῖν μετ’ ἐμοῦ ὀφεί-  
 λει εἶναι Χριστοῦ, ἵνα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἔξει ἔνδον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἀνοῖγον ὡτα  
 κωφῶν καὶ τρανῶν γλώσσαν παραδόξως πῶς μογγιλάων. Οὐκ ὀφείλει δὲ εἶναι Ἰουδαῖος  
 10 ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ἐν περιτομῇ καὶ ἀκροβυστία διάγων καὶ ἀπιστία καὶ ἀνομία καὶ κακία καὶ  
 πονηρία, θεομαχίας καὶ ἀφελότητι φλυαρίας κεκτημένος καὶ τὸ κάλυμμα χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ 752A  
 καρδίᾳ τῇ βαθεῖα ἐν σκοτομήνῃ στυγηρῶς περιφέρων καὶ σκοπίζων τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διά-  
 νοϊαν καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς ἐν ματαιότητι. Μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων εἰ σὺ μετὰ ἀληθείας  
 τῶν βεβήλων τε καὶ ματαίων, περὶ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἶρηκας, ὅτι *Ἔθεντο εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ*  
 15 *στόμα αὐτῶν* τῇ βλασφημίᾳ καὶ ἡ γλώσσα αὐτῶν τῇ λοιδορίᾳ καὶ καταλαλιᾷ τῇ διὰ  
 κύριον Ἰησοῦν *διήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. Τὸν γὰρ ζῶντα θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸ ἀπόρρητον  
 γέννημα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, οὐκ ἐπαύσω βλασφημῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις σου μέχρι  
 τῆς δεῦρο. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηκας· ‘Σαφήνισον τί δηλοῖ τὸ *Ὁ θεός, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἡ ὁδός σου*’, σὺ  
 μοι μᾶλλον γνῶρισον, τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἅγιος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ κεχηρημάτικεν.”  
 20 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ λαῶ σου Ἰσραὴλ· εἶρηται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ 752B  
 ἡμῶν καὶ ὑψηλότερα τούτων παρὰ κυρίου, ὅτι *Ἐγὼ εἶπον, θεοὶ ἐστέ* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κακῶς ἐφεύσω, δυσμενέστατε. Ἅγιοι γὰρ ἐστέ ὑμεῖς οἱ τὸν  
 θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς σωματικῶς ἀποκτείναντες, περὶ ὧν εἶρηται *Σπέρμα Χανα-*  
*ἄν καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰούδα*, ἅγιος εἰ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ περιστὸς κύκλω σου; Εἰ ἐκλεκτὸς εἰ,  
 25 αἴτησαι παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ἀνοιξάτω ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ καταβησόμεθα ἅπαντες  
 ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς κενεῶσιν αὐτῆς ὡς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ποτὲ Δαθᾶν καὶ Ἀβειρών. Ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἂν  
 ἔχεις τοῦτο. Ὅτι δὲ εἶρηται ὑμῖν τὸ *Ἐγὼ εἶπον, θεοὶ ἐστέ καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες*, καὶ γὰρ 752C  
 ἐπίσταμαι. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ στίχου ποῦ γε ἄρα κατακαλύψεις; Ἐπάγει γάρ· *Ἔμεῖς δὲ ὡς*  
*ἄνθρωποι*, φησίν, *ἀποθνήσκετε καὶ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων πίπτετε*, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, ὃν τρόπον ὁ

6 ἔθεντο – 7 αὐτῶν Ps. 72.9 | 8 τὸ<sup>3</sup> – 9 μογγιλάων cf. Is. 35.5–6; Mc. 7.32 | 11 κάλυμμα – 12  
 καρδία cf. 2 Cor. 3.15 | 14 ἔθεντο – 16 γῆς Ps. 72.9 | 18 ὁ – σου Ps. 76.14 | 21 ἐγὼ – ἐστέ Ps.  
 81.6 | 23 σπέρμα – 24 Ἰούδα Sus. 56 | 25 ἀνοιξάτω – 26 Ἀβειρών cf. Num. 26.9–10 | 28 ὑμεῖς –  
 29 πίπτετε Ps. 81.7

### C X K D A μ S H T V

5 χθές] Ἐρβᾶν ὄρα τί σοι λέγω. Ἀρχὴ τῆς πέμπτης διαλέξεως. Χθές ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς τετάρτης  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέξεως C οἶμαι] ὅτι C οἶα X, < μ καθότι] ὅτι μ φησίν < μ ὀμιλεῖν μ μετὰ – 6  
 ἐμοῦ] ἐμοὶ DA μ | 6 ὅτι < D | 7 τὰ] τὸ SHV ὅτι μ βουλόμενος] βούλω V μετ’ ἐμοῦ ὀμιλεῖν TV |  
 8 ἵνα – 9 μογγιλάων < SHTV ἑαυτοῦ DA ἔνδον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ < μ | 9 τρανοῦν X μ γλώσσας DA  
 πῶς < DA μ μογγιλάων C | 10 καὶ ἀκροβυστία < SHTV ἀνομία – 11 πονηρία] πονηρία – ἀνομία  
 D καὶ<sup>4</sup> – 11 φλυαρίας < SHTV | 11 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – φλυαρίας < μ τῷ κάλλει S<sup>ae</sup> τὰ κάλλη TV | 12 τῇ – 13  
 ματαιότητι < μ SHTV ἐν] καὶ D στυγηρῶς D περιφέρων C | 13 καὶ τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς X<sup>dei</sup>  
 διαλογισμοὺς + τῶν ἀνθρώπων DA δὲ < DA μετὰ ἀληθείας < SHTV | 14 τε < TV καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ  
 εἶρηκας καὶ αὐτὸς H | 15 βλασφημία – 16 γῆς] καρδία σου SHTV τῇ γλώσσῃ DA τῇ διὰ τὸν  
 κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν λοιδορία καὶ καταλαλιᾷ μ τῆ<sup>3</sup> < CX | 16 τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν DA

“Yesterday you said, I think: ‘He who wants to speak with you’, that is with me, ‘must be one of those, about whom it is written: *They have set their mouth into heaven,*’ and so on. But I tell you, that he who wants to speak with me must be a follower of Christ, so that by him he may have also the Holy Ghost within himself, which opens the ears of the dull and somehow miraculously makes the tongue of the dumb speak clearly. He must not be a Jew, who spends his life like you, circumcised and uncircumcised,<sup>115</sup> in unbelief, iniquity, evil and wickedness, who fights against God and talks nonsense in his simple mind, and badly and hatefully carries about the veil deep in his heart in a moonless night, and who darkens his mind and understanding and reasoning in vanity. In truth, you are rather one of those profane and vain ones, about whom you said yourself, that *They have set their mouth into heaven* by their blasphemy *and their tongue walks on the earth* by their insult and slander against the Lord Christ. For you did not stop to slander the living God Jesus Christ, the ineffable offerings of God Father, in all your days until now. And when you said, ‘Explain to me the meaning of: *God, your way is in the sanctuary*’, you rather should make known to me who is the holy one, in whom God’s way was.”

Herban said: “That is, in your holy people of Israel; for things higher than these have also been said to us in our law by the Lord, namely *I have said, you are gods* and so on.”

The archbishop said: “You are badly mistaken, you most hostile man. For are you holy that killed the God of heaven and earth corporeally, about whom it was said *Seed of Canaan and not of Judah*, are you holy yourself and the crowd that surrounds you? If you are chosen, demand from God that the earth may open her mouth, and we all may go down into her caves, as once the congregation of Dathan and Abiram. But you will not be able to do that. That it has been said to you, *I have said, you are gods and sons of the Highest*, I know as well. But where will you hide the following part of the verse? For he goes on: *You die like men*, he says, *and fall like one of the rulers*, that is, in the

Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ΧΚ τὸ – 17 πατρός < SHTV | 17 ἐπαύσω βλασφημῶν] ἐπίστασαι SHTV ἐν < K σου + δεινῶς καὶ ἐλεινῶς DA μ | 18 τῆς] τοῦ K τῆς δεύρο] τέλους SHTV ὅτι δὲ εἰρηκας] λελάληκεν εἰρηκα S<sup>ac</sup> ὃς λελάληκεν εἰρηκά σοι S<sup>pc</sup>H λέλυκεν εἰκας TV ἡ ὁδῶ H σύ – 19 κεχρημάτικεν < SHTV | 19 ἐστίν] περ DA, < μ θεοῦ + ἐν αὐτῶ DA | 20 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < μ T ἀγίῳ Ἰσραὴλ λαῶ C λαῶ] ναῶ TV σου] μου D εἴρηται – 21 ἐξῆς < SHTV | 21 ὑψηλότερον DA μ τοῦτο DA μ εἶπον + φησίν DA εἶπα μ | 22 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C ἅγιος DA ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ μ | 23 σωματικῶς < C ἀποκτείναντες] ἀπεκτείναντες V, + οἴτινες ἐστὲ C | 24 οὐχ CK οὐκ X ἅγιος – σου < SHTV αὐτὸς + ἄρα DA μ εἶ<sup>2</sup> + σὺ ὡς φῆς καὶ ἅγιος μ | 25 κυρίου] σου T | 26 ἡμεῖς + οἱ πολεμοῦντες ὑμᾶς μ ἐν<sup>1</sup> – Ἀβειρών < SHTV τοῖς < μ τῆ < K | 27 τοῦτο + μὴ γένοιτο μ τὸ] ὅτι SHTV εἶπα μ θεοὶ εἶπον καὶ υἱοὶ ἐστὲ τοῦ T | 28 ἀλλά] ἀλλ’ οὖν DA SHTV, + τὸ ἐπίσταμαι T τὸ] τὰ DA ποῦ] τοῦ X ποῦ γε] τοῦδε C καταλείψεις D SHTV καλύψεις μ | 29 φησίν < K μ SHTV καὶ – πίπτετε < X

<sup>115</sup> The meaning of this must be ‘as if uncircumcised’, that is, committing sin like the pagans.

- 30 ἄρχων τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων, φησίν, ἀπὸ μεγίστης δόξης ἐκπεπτωκῶς διάβολος κεχηρημά-  
τικεν ἐπάρατος. Παραπλησίως τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπτωκότες καθάπερ ὁ ἄρχων ἐκεί-  
νος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς δόξης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκέτι ὡς υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄν-  
θρωποι ἐφάμαρτοι καὶ νωθρώδεις καὶ στυγητοὶ λυγρῶς ἀποθνήσκετε τὸν ψυχικὸν τε καὶ  
τὸν σωματικὸν ὄντως θάνατον. Τὸ δὲ Ὁ θεός, ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἢ ὁδός σου τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ  
35 καὶ πατρός ἐμφαίνει τὴν ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνεργούσαν καὶ προτε-  
ρίζουσαν. *Τίς δὲ θεός μέγας ὡς ὁ θεός ἡμῶν;* Μέγας ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶ θεός, οὐτινος ἢ ὁδός ἐν  
τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, οἵπνες οἱ ἑκάτεροι ἔν εἰσιν, περὶ ὧν τῆς ἐνόητος 752D  
φάσκει· *Σὺ εἶ* φησίν, ὁ θεός ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια, ὁ θεός ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ὁ υἱός, ἐν ᾧ ἢ  
ὁδός τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός ἢ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, δι' οὗ ἀγίου καὶ δι' ἧς ἐνανθρωπήσεως  
40 σέσωκε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν  
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Τηλικούτῳ πνεύματι, ὡ Ἐρβᾶν, τὰ πνευματικὰ συγκρίνονται καὶ  
οὐ καθὼς αὐτὸς διαγιγνώσκει σαρκικῷ φρονήματι περιαντλούμενος. Τὸ δὲ *Ἐγνώρισας ἐν*  
*τοῖς λαοῖς τὴν δυνάμιν σου* τὸν θεὸν εἰσφέρει ἐγνωρικένας ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς λαοῖς Ἰησοῦν Χρι- 753A  
στόν, ὅστις πρόσεσπιν ἢ μεγίστη δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρός. Πολλὰς γὰρ δυνάμεις καὶ  
45 πολλὰ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα αὐτὸς ὡς οἶα θεός ἐκ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν σωματικῶς  
ἀναστρεφόμενος τετέλεκε, κἄν οὐ προσεσχήκατε. Ὅμως τοιγαροῦν, εἰ καὶ οὕτω διαγο-  
ρευοίμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἱκανοὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου ὑμῶν ἰδόντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα  
ἐπίστευσαν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλοντο. Καίτοι, οἶμαι, τούτοις ἀρμόττει καὶ τὸ  
εἰρημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· *Ἐγνώρισας*, φάσκοντος, *ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς τὴν δυνάμιν σου, καὶ*  
50 *ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῷ βραχίονί σου τὸν λαόν σου, τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ.* Ἀληθῶς γὰρ  
οὗτοι καὶ μόνοι ἐπελον ἄξιοι καλεῖσθαι υἱοὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰωσήφ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ  
διαμένοντες οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ καθὼς ὑμᾶς Ἰωάννης ἐκάλεσεν ὁ υἱὸς Ζαχαρίου φάσκων·  
*Γεννήματα*, φησίν, *ἐχιδνῶν* καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως· πρόσεχε δέ, τίνα ὁ προ- 753B  
φήτης περὶ τῆς κλήσεως τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπάγει λέγων· *Ἐνέγκατε*, φησίν, *τῷ κυρίῳ, αἱ πατριαὶ*  
55 *τῶν ἐθνῶν*· καὶ οὐκ εἶρηκεν, ἐνέγκατε, αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' *αἱ πατριαὶ*, φησίν,  
*τῶν ἐθνῶν*· καὶ τίνα ἐνέγκατε; *ἐνέγκατε*, φησί, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνέγκατε *δόξαν καὶ*  
*τιμὴν*. Καὶ νῦν πάντως ὀρθῶς, ὅπως δοξάζομεν ἡμεῖς αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν θεὸν τὸν

36 τίς – ἡμῶν Ps. 76.14 | 38 σὺ – θαυμάσια Ps. 76.15 | 42 ἐγνώρισας – 43 σου *ibid.* | 49 ἐγνώ-  
ρισας – 50 Ἰωσήφ Ps. 76.15–16 | 53 γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν Mt. 3.7 | 54 ἐνέγκατε – 57 τιμὴν Ps. 95.7

### C X K D A μ S H T V

30 ἐκπεπτωκότες < μ διάβολος – 32 ἐκεῖνος < μ | 31 ἐπάρατος < SHTV παραπλήσιος D παρα-  
πλησιῶν TV καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιγαροῦν K πεπτώκατε SHTV καθώσπερ DA καθάπερ – ἐκεῖνος <  
SHTV | 32 τῆς < DA τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < TV δόξης τοῦ μονογενοῦς H καὶ οὐκέτι SHTV τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < C μ ἄν-  
θρωποι < T | 33 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – στυγητοὶ < SHTV τε < μ | 34 τὸν < K DA μ ὄντως post ψυχικὸν μ θεοῦ  
– 35 αὐτοῦ < μ | 35 τὴν – προτερίζουσαν < SHTV υἱῷ] κυρίῳ DA μ Χριστῷ DA | 36 δὲ < D καὶ  
μέγας K μέγας – θεός<sup>2</sup> < μ ὡς < V θεός ἐστίν SHTV ὁ θεός D V ἢ ὁδός] εἰς ὁ θεός SHTV ἢ  
ὁδός post 37 Χριστῷ C | 37 οἵπνες – 38 φάσκει < SHTV οἱ ἑκάτεροι < μ | 38 φάσκειεν DA  
θεός<sup>1</sup> + ἡμῶν SHTV ὁδ<sup>2</sup> – 39 τοῦ] καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ SHT (καὶ] υἱός V) | 39 ὁδός] δόξα  
DA τοῦ θεοῦ] αὐτοῦ C ἢ < DA ἢ – καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV δι<sup>1</sup> – ἐνανθρωπήσεως<sup>2</sup> < μ δι' ἧς

same way as the ruler of the upper forces, he says, having dropped from the greatest glory and becoming an accursed devil. Therefore, you also have fallen out in a way similar to that ruler from the glory of the only begotten Son of God, and you do not die as sons of God anymore, but verily the miserable death of soul and body as sinful and torpid and hated men. *God, your way is in the sanctuary* indicates the way of God Father who works and prevails in his holy Son Jesus Christ. *Which God is as great as our God?* He is that great God, whose way is in his holy son Jesus Christ, who are both one, and about whose unity he says: *You are the God who works wonders*, you God Father and holy Son, in whom is the way of God Father, that of incarnation, by which holy one and by which incarnation he saved those of the Jews who believed in him, and led all nations into the kingdom of heaven. With such a spirit, Herban, the spiritual things are interpreted, and not as you understand them, being completely drowned in your fleshly thought. *You have made known your power among the people* means that the Lord made Jesus Christ known among you people, who is the great power of God Father. For he has accomplished many manifestations of his power and many signs and wonders, being God from God, when he was present in his body in your synagogues, although you did not pay attention. However therefore, even if we should say so, still a sufficient number out of your crowd, when they saw his signs and wonders, believed at that time in his name and did not perish. And indeed, I think it applies to them what is spoken by the prophet, when he says: *You have made known your power among the people and have redeemed your people with your arm, the sons of Jacob and Joseph*. For truly, only these were worthy to be called sons of Jacob and Joseph. But you, who remain in your unbelief, are nothing other than what John the son of Zachariah called you, saying *offspring of vipers* and so on. Indeed, this is so; but listen how the prophet goes on speaking about the vocation of the nations, saying: *Bring to the Lord, you clans of the nations*; and he did not say, bring you clans of the Jews, but *you clans*, he says, *of the nations*; and what shall you bring? *Bring*, he says, that is bring to the Lord *glory and honour*. And now you see at all events, how we clans of the nations glorify the holy

ἐνανθρωπήσεως] εἶ τις ἐνανθρωπήσαντος SHTV | 40 σέσωκε – αὐτῷ < SHTV και] εἰς SHTV | 41 τῶν οὐρανῶν] αὐτοῦ μ τηλικούτον C τοιούτω μ ἐν τηλικούτῳ SHTV τὰ πνευματικά ὡ Ἐρβᾶν μ | 42 τὸ – 53 οὕτως < SHTV | 43 ἐμφέρει μ | 44 ἐστίν μ | 45 καὶ τε D οἷα < μ ἐν < μ | 46 κᾶν + ὑμεῖς DA μ παρεσχήκατε K ὁμως – διαγορεύοιμεν < μ διαγορεύομεν DA | 47 καὶ ἱκανοὶ K DA ἱκανοὶ post ὑμῶν C τότε] καὶ C ὑμῶν < DA τὰ<sup>2</sup> < DA | 48 τῷ ὀνόματι] εἰς τὸ ὄνομα D τὸ ὄνομα A ὡς οἶμαι DA ἐφ' ἅπαξ ἀρμόττει DA ἀρμόσει μ | 49 ἐν < μ καὶ < μ | 50 τὸν λαόν σου < μ ἀληθῶς – 51 Ἰωσήφ < μ | 51 ἔπελον] ὑπῆρχον DA | 52 διαμείναντες μ οὐθέν CK ὑμᾶς < μ ἐκάλεσεν Ἰωάννης C φάσκων < μ | 53 φησὶν < DA μ καίτοι] ἀλλὰ μ τίνα] τί SH ὅτι TV | 54 περὶ < μ λέγων < μ τῷ κυρίῳ φησὶν μ αἱ – 55 ἐθνῶν < DA μ | 55 καὶ – ἐνέγκατε] οὐχὶ DA μ καὶ – 56 ἐθνῶν < C V αἱ < X ἀλλ' αἱ] ἀλλὰ DA ἀλλὰ αἱ μ φησὶν < SHT | 56 τίνα + λοιπὸν SHTV ἐνέγκατε φησὶ < DA ἐνέγκατε<sup>2</sup> – ἐνέγκατε<sup>3</sup> < μ φησὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι < SHTV | 57 καὶ < DA νῦν < DA μ



ἅγιον τοῦ νόμου, καὶ ὅπως προσοίσομεν ἀρτίως τιμὴν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ  
 τῷ μονογενεῖ. Ἄρατε, φησίν, *θυσίας καὶ εἰσπορεύεσθε εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς τοῦ κυρίου, προσκυ-*  
 60 *νήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αὐλῇ ἀγία αὐτοῦ· σαλευθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ.*  
 Σαλευθήτω δέ, ἀλλὰ γε τῇ φρίκη ἐκπληττομένη καὶ τῷ δέει βαλλομένη τοῦ θαύματος,  
 λογιζομένη τὴν συγκατάβασιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τέρατα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄφραστον σωτήριον αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ σαρκωθείς κεκέρακε  
 τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν. *Εἶπατε*, φησίν, *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὅτι κύριος ἐβασίλευσε.* Θεὸς  
 65 ὢν ἐβασίλευσε ποίῳ τρόπῳ; Τὸ μὲν θεὸς θεότητι, τὸ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνθρωπότητι περὶ τῆς  
 ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ εἴρηται, ὅτι *εἶπατε*, φησίν, *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, ὅτι κύριος ἐβασίλευσε.*  
 Εὐαγγελίζεται ἐνταῦθα ὁ προφήτης τοῖς ἔθνεσι προτρεπόμενος ἅπασιν τοῖς προφήταις  
 τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν μέλλουσιν εἰς τὸν βίον ἐγείρεσθαι· *Εἶπατε*, φησίν, *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι* καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 ἐπειδὴ καγὼ λελάληκα, ὅτι γινώσκετε, καθότι κύριος βασιλεύει ἐν ὑμῖν. Ἐκ τούτων πάλιν  
 70 προτρέπεται καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις λέγων· Ὁ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν. Καὶ φάσκει ὑμῖν·  
*Πορευθέντες*, φησίν, *εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἅπαντα μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καγὼ ἀπ' ἐν-*  
 τεῦθεν δηλοποιῶν ὑπαγορεύω ὑμῖν ὡς οἶα τῷ κατὰ σάρκα προπάτορι τοῦ κυρίου. *Εἶπατε*  
*ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐνανθρωπήσας κατορθώσει τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν θεογνω-  
 σία διάγειν καὶ ἔργοις θεαρέστοις, *ἧς οὐ σαλευθήσεται.* Ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Ἐρβᾶν, ἐν  
 75 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως πῶς. Τοῖνυν διὰ τοῦτο πρόσχες μοι καὶ εἰσάκου-  
 σόν μου καὶ ἐνωπίσθητι τῶν ῥημάτων μου, καὶ κατάλιπε τὸν ἰουδαϊσμόν καὶ πρόσσελθε  
 Χριστῷ καὶ γένη χριστιανός, *ἵνα εὐ σοι γένηται* καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.”

753c

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ποίῳ τρόπῳ λέγει ὁ προφήτης, *Ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνων δαιμό-*  
 80 *νια, ὁ δὲ κύριος* τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ *τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐποίησεν;* Ἐπεὶ οὖν πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν  
 δαιμόνια, ἔχεις τοῦ διᾶραι αὐτὸς στόμα περὶ τῶν τοιούτων.”

753d

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὅτι μὲν πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν δαιμόνια, μετὰ πάσης  
 ἀληθείας. Ὁ δὲ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ πολλῆς συνέσεως τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐποίησεν, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν δεδημιούργηκεν.

59 ἄρατε – 60 γῆ Ps. 95.8–9 | 64 εἶπατε – ἐβασίλευσε Ps. 95.10 | 71 πορευθέντες – ἔθνη Marc.  
 16.15 | 72 εἶπατε – 74 σαλευθήσεται cf. Ps. 95.10 | 77 ἵνα – γένηται Ex. 20.12; Deut. 4.40 et  
 passim | 78 ὅτι – 79 ἐποίησεν Ps. 95.5

### C X K D A μ S H T V

58 τοῦ νόμου < T καί<sup>1</sup> – 64 αὐτόν < SHTV ὅπως προσοίσομεν] προσάγομεν μ | 59 τοῦ κυρίου]  
 αὐτοῦ μ | 61 σαλευθήτω δέ < K γε < C μ τῷ – θαύματος < μ | 63 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < X μ καί<sup>2</sup> – 64 αὐτόν  
 < μ ἄφραστον < DA | 64 εἰς < DA φησίν < μ θεὸς ὢν ἐβασίλευσε < C μ TV | 65 ποίῳ] πηλίκῳ  
 DA μ ποικίλῳ SHTV θεὸς θεότητι] κύριος θεότητα δηλοῖ μ ἀνθρωπότητα μ περὶ – 66 εἴρηται <  
 SHTV | 66 ἐνανθρωπήσεως + οὖν K μ τοῦτο εἴρηται μ ὅτι<sup>1</sup> < SHTV ὅτι<sup>1</sup> – ἐβασίλευσε < μ  
 εἶπατε – ἔθνεσι post 67 προφήτης SHTV ὅτι κύριος ἐβασίλευσε < SHTV ὅτι<sup>2</sup> – 67 ἔθνεσι < C |  
 67 ἐνταῦθα + ἐξ A τοῖς<sup>1</sup> – 68 ἐγείρεσθαι < SHTV | 68 ἀπ' αὐτῶν] μετ' αὐτόν X μ φησίν < μ |  
 69 ὅτι γινώσκετε < SHTV καθότι] ὅτι K SHTV, < μ βασιλεύσει DA SHTV ἐν ὑμῖν βασιλεύσει μ  
 ἐκ – 73 ἐνανθρωπήσας < μ | 70 καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις < D | 71 φησίν < DA καγὼ + οὖν DA καγὼ  
 – 74 σαλευθήσεται < SHTV | 72 προπάτωρ K DA τοῦ < DA | 73 Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς K καὶ

God of the law, and how we will now offer honour to his name and to his only begotten Son. *Take*, he says, *sacrifices and go into the courtyards of the Lord, worship the Lord in his holy courtyard; the whole earth be shaken at his presence*. It should be shaken, but being astonished by awe and overwhelmed by the fear of the wonder, considering the condescension of the Word God and his incarnation, his signs and his wonders and his inexpressible salvation, which he, having become flesh, offered to his believers. *Tell it among the nations*, he says, *that the Lord reigns*.<sup>116</sup> Being God in which way did he reign? The word *God* was said about his divinity, *king* about his humanity concerning his incarnation, so that he says, *tell it among the nations, that the Lord reigns*. Here the prophet brings good tidings to the nations, giving order to all prophets who will be raised into life out of them: *Tell it*, he says, you too *among the nations*, for I have told it as well, so that you know that the Lord reigns among you. Out of those again he gives orders to the apostles as well, saying: Christ has risen from the dead. And he says to you: *Go into the whole world and teach all nations*, and henceforth I speak revealing to you, just as to the forefather of the Lord in the flesh. *Tell it among the nations*, that the Lord Jesus, having become a man, will succeed in making the world lead her life in knowledge of God and God-pleasing works, *which will not be shaken*. This is so, Herban, in truth and righteousness, and not differently. So listen to me, hear me and give ear to my words, and abandon Judaism, go to Christ and become a Christian, *that it may go well with you* in this world as well as in the future one.”

Herban said: “With what intention does the prophet say, *That all the gods of the nations are demons, but the Lord of Israel made the heavens?* Now since all gods of the nations are demons, you will have to open your mouth about such a thing.”

The archbishop said: “That all the gods of the nations are demons, is very true. The Lord Jesus Christ made the heavens and the earth and the sea with much understanding, and in addition he also created the kingdom of heaven. So, as you suspect those things

κατορθώσει μ | 74 σαλευθήσεται + ἀπ' αὐτοῦ DA μ | 75 ἀληθεία καὶ ἀληθείαις V πῶς < X καὶ διὰ X διὰ τοῦτο < D | 76 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – μου<sup>2</sup> < μ ἐνωτισθῆμι V ἐμῶν ῥημάτων DA καὶ<sup>3</sup> < T | 77 τῷ Χριστῷ DA μ καὶ γένη χριστιανός < μ γένη] χρημάτισον DA SHTV χριστιανοῖς T νῦν] παρόντι SHTV αἰῶνι post μέλλοντι μ | 78 λέγει<sup>1</sup> < μ T λέγει<sup>2</sup>] ἔφη μ ὁ προφῆτης λέγει V πάντες < μ οἱ θεοὶ οἱ CX ἐθνῶν + εἰσὶ STV, + φησὶν X δαιμόνια + φησὶν K | 79 ὁ – 80 δαιμόνια < SHTV τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ < DA μ | 80 τοῦ] σου TV, < μ αὐτός] αὐτῷ TV τῶν τοιοῦτων] τούτου SHTV | 81 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V | 82 ἀληθείας + ἐστὶν K μετὰ πολλῆς συνέσεως < SHTV τὸν οὐρανὸν C DA μ | 83 καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν < SHTV ἐποίησεν < CXK ἔτι – δεδημιούργηκεν < D ἔτι – 87 αὐτοῦ < SHTV μὴν] δὲ A μ τῆν<sup>2</sup> – βασιλείαν] πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς K δεδημιούργηκεν + καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι μ

<sup>116</sup> Note that the addition ‘from the tree’ (ἀπὸ ξύλου), which appears often in the writings of the Greek fathers and is interpreted as a prefiguration of the Holy Cross, is missing here; on which see Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, \*23–24; Radius, *Discussion*, note 770.

85 Οὐκοῦν, ὡς οἶα καθυποπτεύεις περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότητος καὶ ποιητοῦ καὶ κυρίου εἶναι, οὐχ  
 85 ἔξεις τοῦτό γε εὐρεῖν. Φιμωτῆς δὲ μάλα δαιμόνων καὶ εἰδώλων καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ βεβήλου  
 δράκοντος τοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν κρημισθέντος ὁ κύριός μου Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αὐθεντικῶς  
 κεχηρμάτκεν, οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ὀλοθρευτῆς ἀπάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ  
 θέασαι, ὅπως ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας σταυρῷ προσηλώθη αὐτός, *ἐκλείποντες ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐξέλι-*  
*πον* πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια. Χριστοῦ γὰρ ὀνομαζομένου φρίττουσι  
 90 δαίμονες, ἰλιγγίωσι τῷ τιμίῳ αὐτοῦ σταυρῷ πτοούμενοι καὶ καταπλήττονται. Καὶ εἰ ἀπι-  
 στείς τοῦτο, ἐνεγκέ μοι ὄσους ἂν βούλη δαιμονιώντας, καὶ μόνον ἐπακάεσομαι κύριον  
 Ἰησοῦν, καὶ τρόμῳ ληφθέντα τὰ δαιμόνια ἄφαντα γενήσονται ἀπ' αὐτῶν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁ προφήτης περὶ θεῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἶρηκεν, ὅτι πεφύκασι δαιμόνια. 756B  
 Ἐπει τοιγαροῦν καὶ Ἰησοῦς, ὃν λέγεις, θεὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν κεχηρμάτκεν, ἀπ' ἐκείνων πρόδη-  
 95 λον ἐστὶ, περὶ ὧν λελάληκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ προφήτης.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Παῦσον καὶ μὴ φλυᾶρει βλασφημίας εἰς τὸ μέσον εἰσφέρων.  
 Ἄν γὰρ ἔλθωμεν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ δεικνύναι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως ἕκαστον,  
 μελλήσει εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ θλίψιν ἐμπείρεσθαι, καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἔξεις τὸν ὑπόλοιπον βίον  
 τῆς ζωῆς σου. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ξηρῷ ἡ ἀλήθεια κηρύσσεται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ δυνάμει  
 100 πίστεως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀκήκοα, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα σημεῖα τελοῦσιν οἱ τῶν χριστιανῶν  
 προφήται ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις διατρί- 756C  
 βοντες. Εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς εἰ ἀπ' ἐκείνων, εὐ οἶδα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει σοι, εἴπερ καὶ  
 βουληθῆς, ἀδικῆσαι με. Πλὴν πείσον με ἀπὸ λόγων ἐν τῷ τέως καὶ τὸ τηλικαῦτα, εἴπερ  
 105 ἔξεστί σοι, πρᾶττε καὶ τὰ τοιάδε.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ ὀλίγα ἀκήκοας, μὴ φωραθῆ λόγος ἔν πνι κατὰ τὸ δέον  
 ἄδόμενος· πλὴν εἰ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιποθεῖς τοῦ ἀκούειν, πρόσσεχε. Ὁ κύριος, φησίν, *ἐβασί-*  
*λευσεν, εὐφρανθήτωσαν νῆσοι πολλαί.* Λέξον τοιγαροῦν ἐνταῦθα, τίνες αἱ νῆσοι; Καὶ ἐν

88 ἐκλείποντες – ἐξέλιπον Ps. 36.20 | 107 ὁ – 108 πολλαί Ps. 96.1

### C X K D A μ S H T V

84 ὡς οἶα καθυποπτεύεις < μ καθυποπτεύειν C X K κατυπτεύειεν D καθοπτεύειεν A κυρίου καὶ  
 ποιητοῦ C εἶναι] εἶεν C, < DA μ οὐκ DA | 85 τοῦτό γε] τόγε DA γε<sup>1</sup> < μ εὐράναι DA ἐρεῖν μ  
 δὲ μάλα δαιμόνων] δαιμόνων δὲ μάλλον DA μ (δὲ < μ) αὐτοῦ γε] ἀπὸ μ | 86 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μ ὁ –  
 Χριστὸς < μ | 87 οὐ – γε < μ πάντων C και<sup>2</sup> – 89 ἐξέλιπον bis S H T V (ὅπως < S H T V, ἰαυτὸς]  
 αὐτῷ T, 2σταυρῷ προσηλώθη] ἐσταυρώθη, 2ἐκλείποντες ὡσεὶ καπνὸς < S H T V) | 88 ὁ αὐτός C |  
 89 τῶν ἐθνῶν < μ | 90 ἰλιγγίωσι < S H T V ἰλιγγίωσι – καταπλήττονται < μ τῷ – πτοούμενοι] τοῦ  
 τιμίῳ αὐτοῦ σταυροῦ τυπομένου K εἰ < K | 91 ἐνεγκέ] φέρε μ δαιμονιώντας ὄσους ἂν βούλει C  
 ἂν] ἂν S H T V δαιμονιώντας μ δαιμονιώτας V τὸν κύριον S H T V | 92 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν μ  
 ληφθήσονται τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ μ ἄφαντοι H ἔσονται T | 93 λέγει] ἔφη DA, < C μ T τῶν θεῶν  
 τῶν μ εἶρηκεν] λέγει S H T V | 94 τοιγαροῦν] τοίνυμ καὶ < S H T V καὶ – λέγεις] ὃν λέγεις  
 Ἰησοῦς S H T V πρόδηλον < μ | 95 περὶ – προφήτης < S H T V καὶ < C D αὐτὸς < DA | 96 ὁ  
 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἄγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C παῦσαι X μ καὶ < D S εἰσφέρων  
 εἰς τὸ μέσον X εἰσφέρων εἰς μέσον ἀναιδέστατε μ | 97 ἂν] ἂν X πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς < μ τὴν δύναμιν

to concern my master and creator and Lord, you will not be able to discover this. My Lord Jesus Christ, being a master, silenced the demons and idols and the impure dragon himself who had been hurled down from the heavens, and not only that, but he also destroyed all his practices. And you see that from the day onwards, on which he was nailed to the cross, all the gods of the nations and the demons *disappear like smoke*. For when the name of Christ is called, the demons shudder, become irritated fearing his worthy cross and are amazed. And if you do not believe this, bring forward as many possessed as you want, and I will only invoke the Lord Jesus, and the demons will be caught by trembling and disappear from them.”

Herban said: “The prophet said about the gods of the nations that they are demons. Therefore, if the man whom you call Jesus is also a god of the nations, he is clearly one of those, about whom the prophet also spoke.”

The archbishop said: “Cease and do not talk nonsense introducing blasphemies in our midst. For if we come to ourselves, so that everyone shows the power of his own faith, you will be fixed in temptation and affliction, and your remaining lifetime will be precarious. For truth is not proclaimed by the dry word, but by the strength and power of the faith.”

Herban said: “I have heard that the prophets of the Christians, who have renounced the world and stay in the desert, work many and great signs in these days. If you also are one of those, I know it well, you will not be unable, if only you want, to do harm to me. But convince me now by words and then, if it is possible for you, do such things as well.”

The archbishop said: “If you had listened only a little, no argument for anything would have been detected that was sung according to necessity;<sup>117</sup> but since you desire to hear it again, listen. *The Lord*, he says, *reigned, let many islands rejoice*. So tell me

post πίστεως μ ἕκαστος K T | 98 μέλλεις K μ ἐμβήσει H ἐμπέσει T μεμύσει V πειρασμούς και θλίψεις SHTV ἐπιπίπτειν K ἐμπείρασθαι DA βίον] χρόνον TV | 99 σου < CX και<sup>1</sup> – 100 πίστεως < SHTV κηρύσσεται ἡ ἀλήθεια μ ἀλλ’ – και<sup>2</sup>] ἀλλὰ μ ἐν ἰσχύι] εἰς Χριστοῦ DA | 101 λέγει < CX μ TV μεγάλα και πολλά TV και μεγάλα < DA ποιούσιν μ | 102 οἱ < μ οἱ – διατρίβοντες < SHTV ἐρημίαις DA | 103 εἶπερ<sup>1</sup>] τί περ εἰ DA τί παράδοξον εἰ μ τί περ SHV, < T εἰς – ἐκείνων] ἀπ’ ἐκείνων εἰ σύ SHTV εἶ] ὦν μ, < C ἐκείνων] ἐκείνους DA + και K εὐ οἶδα ὅτι < μ οἶδα ὅτι] εἰδότι DA ὅτι] τί X ἀδυνατεῖ TV σοι] πρὸς τοῦτο μ, < CX SH και<sup>2</sup> < μ | 104 με<sup>2</sup> + πρῶτον DA μ ἐν τῷ τέως < μ τὸ < T τὸ τηλικαῦτα] μετὰ ταῦτα DA μ εἶπερ ἔξεστί σοι < SHTV | 105 σοι < CX και τὰ τοιάδε < μ τοιάδε] τοιαῦτα DA | 106 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] και ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη] λέγει SHV εἰ] ἄθλιε DA μ οὐ μὴ K μ μὴ μοι DA φωραθῆς C T φωραθῆι μ λόγος < C ἐν τινι κατὰ] ἐν τηλικαῦτα X κατὰ] παρὰ K κατὰ – 107 ἄδόμενος < SHTV τὸ < CX | 107 ἄδόμενος εἰς λόγον C εἰ και πάλιν] ἐπέπερ μ ἔπειτα εἰ και SHTV πάλιν] ἔπειτα DA τοῦ ἀκούειν] ἀκούειν ἔτι μ πρόσεχε + μετὰ ἀκριβείας DA μ φησὶν < C ἐβασίλευσε φησὶν μ | 108 τοιγαροῦν] τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα μ

<sup>117</sup> The sense of this sentence is unclear. Perhaps a second negation is missing.

110 *ἐτέρῳ λέγει· Ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν, ὅτι θαυμαστά ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος· ἔσωσεν  
αὐτὸν ἢ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίον ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ. Ἄρα οὖν ἑαυτὸν σώζει ὁ θεὸς καὶ τῷ  
βραχίονι αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὸν συντηρεῖ ἀπὸ τίνος, οἶμαι, τίς γὰρ καὶ ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσφέρων  
πόλεμον; Λέξον ἐνταῦθα τίνα διαγορεύει· Ἐγνώρισε, φησί, κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ  
τίνων κατέναντι; ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ  
115 *ἐλέους αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰακώβ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ. Εἶδοσαν πάντα τὰ πέ-  
ρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Θεὸς τοίνυν τὸ συνειδὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ σκόπησον  
δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ὁ προφήτης ταῦτα οὕτω λελάληκε καὶ διήγησαι ἡμῖν.* 756D*

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ταῖς νήσοις πάντως παρακελεύεται εὐφρανθῆναι, ὁπότεν οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς  
διεσπαρμένοι οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ βασιλευδοῦν κύριον ἔπειτα ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν  
ἀνακληθήσονται. Τὸ δὲ ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν ἢ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίον ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ περὶ  
120 τοῦ λαοῦ οἶμαι λέγει, ὃν ἔσωσε δουλείας Αἰγυπτίων, ὅτι δὲ ἐγνώρισε κύριος τὸ σωτήριον  
αὐτοῦ πάντως τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ. Ἐναντίον δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν δικαιοσύνην  
αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἐσκήρυνε τὴν καρδίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐναντίαν ἠγείσθαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην  
αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐμνήσθη ποιῶντα τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ τῷ  
οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ εἶδοσαν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν,  
125 ὃ μεθ’ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πεποίηκεν ἐξάξιας ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. Ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει,  
περὶ ὧν ἐπερώτησας.”

Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εὐφρανθήσονται αἱ νῆσοι, ὁπότεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνακληθῆτε,  
ὡς τῆς τυραννίδος ὑμῶν λυτρωθεῖσα ἥπερ συνευφραίνόμενα τῇ ἀνακλήσει ὑμῶν ὡς ὁμό-  
πιστοι.” 757B

130 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μὴ γένοιτο, ὅτι ἡμεῖς πινὰς ἐτυραννήσαμεν, καίπερ μὴ γένοιτο, ὅτι  
ἡμεῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν χρηματίζομεν ὁμόπιστοι. Δι’ ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὸ πᾶν λέγει  
τοὺς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις τῇ διασπορᾷ ἀπλῶς καθεζομένους. Περὶ γὰρ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἅς  
ἐμέλετο αὐτῷ.”

135 Ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ὁ εἰρηνῶς, καθότι *Οὐ μὴ συναγάγω τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν  
ἐξ αἰμάτων, φησὶν, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν διὰ χειλέων μου, ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς  
ἄρα ἀνακαλέσεται, ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστάτας καὶ μεμισημένους; Μὴ γένοιτο! Καὶ τὰ ἐκπο-  
ρευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσῃ καὶ δεῖξει ἑαυτὸν ψεύστην, ὁ παραδι-*

109 ἄσατε – 110 αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> Ps. 97.1 | 112 ἐγνώρισε – 115 ἡμῶν Ps. 97.2–3 | 134 οὐ – 135 μου Ps. 15.4

#### C X K D A μ S H T V

109 ἐτέρῳ + δὲ C D A ἐπάγει λέγων D A καινόν + καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς K ἔσωσεν – 110 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < K ἔσωσεν – 116 ἡμῖν < S H T V | 110 οὖν < μ | 111 συντηρεῖ ἑαυτὸν μ οἶμαι| δέ μ, < K καὶ < μ | 112 λέξον μοι D ἐνταῦθα τίνα διαγορεύει| τί δηλοῖ μ φησί < μ | 113 τίνα D A τίνων κατέναντι < μ τῶν < μ | 115 ἡμῶν < μ ἐνταῦθα τὸ συνειδὸς μ | 116 οὕτως D A, < K μ διήγησον D μ διήγησεν A | 117 καὶ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ λέγει| ἔφη S, < μ T οἶ < μ | 118 ἔπειτα| ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη C X, < μ S H T V ἐν<sup>2</sup> < X τῇ < C μ H | 119 ἀναληφθήσονται K τὸ] ὅτι μ τὸ – 126 ἐπερώτησας < S H T V ὁ<sup>1</sup> – αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup>] τὸ ἐξῆς μ | 120 λέγειν D A μ ὃν ἔσωσε < D διέσωσε K κύριος < K | 121 δὲ] τε μ | 122 τοῦτ’ ἔστιν – 123 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> < C τοῦτ’ ἔστιν – 124 Ἰσραὴλ < μ ἐναντίον D | 124 ἡμῶν < D A | 125 ἡμᾶς| ἡμῖν C

here which are the islands? And elsewhere he says: *Sing unto the Lord a new song, for the Lord has worked wonders; his right hand and his holy arm have saved him.* So does God save himself, and defend himself with his arm against whom, I think, for who is it who makes war against him? Tell me what he declares here: *The Lord*, he says, *has made known his salvation* to whom? *He has revealed his righteousness to the nations and remembered his mercy towards Jacob, and his truth to the house of Israel. All ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.* Therefore use your conscience here and consider, for what reason the prophet said this so, and tell it to us.”

Herban said: “At all events, he exhorts the islands to rejoice when the scattered from the house of Israel will be recalled from there, when the Lord reigns in Jerusalem. *His right hand and his holy arm have saved him*, he says, I think, about the people whom he saved from the slavery of the Egyptians, and that *the Lord has made known his salvation* to the house of Israel at all events. *He revealed his righteousness to the nations*, that is, he hardened the heart of the nations, so that they believed his righteousness to be hostile which he remembered when he did his mercy to the house of Jacob, and according to his truth to the house of Israel. So *all ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God*, which he worked upon us Israelites, leading us out of Egypt. This is so, what you have asked about.”

The archbishop said:<sup>118</sup> “Will the islands rejoice, when you will be called back from them, for being redeemed from your tyranny, or being glad together with you because you will be recalled as our brother believers?”

Herban said: “Let it not be that we should have oppressed anyone, and let it not be that we be brother believers of the Christians. He says all this about us Jews who simply sit on the islands of our diaspora. So he should care about you nations.”

The archbishop said: “He who says, *I will not gather their bloody congregations, nor will I remember their names with my lips*, will that man recall you hated apostates? Let it no be! And he who delivered *all that spoke lies* to perdition will not despise what has gone out of his lips and show himself to be a liar. It will not be for your benefit, if it

καὶ ταῦτα DA μ | 126 ἐπερωτᾶς DA ἐρωτᾶς μ | 127 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος φησὶν μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V εὐφρανθήσονται + φησὶν D μ αἱ < D μ ἀνακληθῆτε ἀπ’ αὐτῶν X ἀνακληθήσετε TV | 128 ὡς<sup>1</sup> – λυτρωθεῖσαι < SHTV λυτρωθῆναι CX SHTV ἥπερ vel εἶπερ] εἶπεν C ἥπερ DA, < μ συνευφραϊνόμενοι τῇ κλήσει μ | 130 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ TV τινὸς SHTV καίπερ] εἶπερ DA καὶ μ καίπερ – 131 ὁμόπιστοι < SHTV ὅτι ἡμεῖς<sup>2</sup>] εὐφρανθήναι αὐτὰς τῇ ἀνακλήσει ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν DA μ (εὐφραϊνομένας DA) | 132 τοῦς] τοῖς CX DA ταῖς] τοῖς DA τοῦς – 133 αὐτῶ < SHTV τῆς διασπορᾶς μ ἀπλῶς < μ ἄς] οὐκ K μ | 133 ἔμελεν μ αὐτόν DA | 134 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη] λέγει S, < V ὁ<sup>2</sup> < C D μ εἰρηκας DA ὅτι μ H συναγάγη DA αὐτῶν] ὑμῶν SHTV | 135 ἐξ – μου < SHTV φησὶν < μ ὑμᾶς S<sup>del</sup>, < μ H ἐμέ V | 136 ὑμᾶς – γένοιτο < CXX DA μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 146 προφήτης < SHTV, + οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ ἀθιβόλ(IV) S<sup>marg</sup>

<sup>118</sup> On this passage see above, p. 103.

- 140 δους εἰς ἀπώλειαν πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. Μή σοι ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, καθότι οὕτως 757c  
 ἔσται, ὃν τρόπον λελάληκας. Τὸ δὲ ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν, ὅτι θαυμαστά ἐποίη-  
 145 σεν ὁ κύριος, περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ τοῦτο ἔφησεν. Ἄσμα γάρ, φησί, καινὸν  
 εἶρηκεν, ὅτι ἄσατε, οὐχὶ δὲ παλαιόν. Τὸ δὲ καινὸν τί ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ τὸ νέον, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆς  
 νέας χάριτος, ἦτοι τῶν χριστιανῶν τὰ τίμια ἄσματα; Θαυμαστά δὲ πράγματα ἐποίησεν ὁ  
 κύριος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν συναγωγῶν ὑμῶν νεκροὺς ἐγείρας καὶ τυφλοὺς ὀμματώσας, λεπρὸς  
 150 καθάρως καὶ παραλύτους σφίγγας, χωλοὺς ἀνορθώσας καὶ δαιμόνια ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὰ  
 λοιπά, ἐκ πέντε ἄρτων πεντακισχιλίους χορτάσας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον μεταβαλὼν καὶ  
 145 τὰ ἐξῆς. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ προφήτης· Ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν, οὐκέτι, φησὶν, τὸ  
 ἰουδαϊκὸν εἶπερ καὶ παλαιὸν ἐστίν, ἦγουν νομικόν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἄσατε αὐτῷ ἄσμα καινόν,  
 ἄσμα νέον, ἄσμα χριστεπώνυμον, ἦγουν χριστιανόν, ὅτι θαυμαστά ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος.  
 Ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν ἢ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίον ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ· σέσωκε δὲ ἡ θεότης πρόδη-  
 150 λον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐτέρωθεν ποθεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀφ' ὑμῶν τῶν παρανόμων καὶ 757d  
 θεομάχων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κακουργίας τῶν προσφιλεστάτων ὑμῖν δαιμόνων· ἐπειδὴ θεὸς ἦν  
 καὶ ἄνθρωπος, εἷς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ, ἦτοι καὶ ὑποστάσει, δυσὶ τε ταῖς φύσεσι  
 καὶ δυσὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις χρηματίζων ὁ ὑπεράπειρος. Τὸ δὲ ἐγνώρισε κύριος τὸ σωτήριον  
 155 αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ὑμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἔκπαλαι γνωρίσασί τε καὶ γνωρίμοις οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ἔμ-  
 προσθεν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἀγνοούντων. Τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐναντίον ἀπεκάλυψε, φησὶ, τὴν  
 150 δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ. Δικαιοσύνη δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ οἶμαι ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἡ ὁ λόγος ὁ τῆς θεότη- 760A  
 τος αὐτοῦ ὁ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου. Τὸ δὲ εἶδσαν  
 πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὀφθαλμοὺς κέκτησαι καὶ βλέπει, ὅπως  
 ἐπλήσθη ἡ σύμπασα γῆ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν κύριον. Ἀπὸ γὰρ περάτων ἕως περάτων αὐτῆς, ὡς  
 160 πολλαχῶς σοι λελάληκα, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας κεκήρυκται καὶ  
 ἀποδοχῆς τιμίας ἀξιωθὲν πεπίστευται καὶ ἀποδέδεκται.”  
 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ὁν τρόπον οὐ στέργεις αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἀλλ' οὖν οὔτε  
 ἐπιείγει τοῦ πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐρμηνείαις, παραπλησίως κἀγὼ ἀπειθῶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ μοι  
 165 ἐντελλόμενα.”  
 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ὁ λέγων ἐξαίρετα καὶ εἰσακούεται· ἐπεὶ εἰ 760B  
 κατὰ μῆνην ἐξακολουθεῖς τοῖς ῥήμασίν μου, εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην τὸν καιρὸν ἀναλίσκομεν διαλε-  
 γόμενοι.”

138 πάντας – ψεῦδος Ps. 5.7 | 139 ἄσατε – 140 κύριος Ps. 97.1 | 143 νεκροὺς – 144 ἐκβαλὼν cf. Mt. 10.8 et 11.5; Lc. 7.22 | 145 ἐκ – χορτάσας cf. Mt. 14.17–21; Mc. 6.41–43; Lc. 9.13–14; Io. 6.9–10 τὸ – μεταβαλὼν cf. Io. 2.3–11 | 153 ἐγνώρισε – 156 αὐτοῦ Ps. 97.2 | 157 εἶδσαν – 158 θεοῦ Ps. 97.3

### C X K D A μ S H T V

138 εἰς ἀπώλειαν post ψεῦδος μή σοι] οὐκ K ἀγαθόν DA ὅτι μ καθότι οὕτως < K | 139 τρόπον + οἶμαι καὶ CX ἄσατε + φησὶν T | 140 φησί < DA μ | 141 ὅτι ἄσατε < μ δε<sup>1</sup> < μ εἰ μὴ] ἦ μ | 142 ἦγουν μ | 143 καὶ < DA μ λεπρὸς – 144 ἐκβαλὼν < μ | 144 δαίμονας DA ἐκβάλλων C ἀπελάσας DA | 145 ἐκ – 146 ἐξῆς < μ | 146 οὐκέτι] ὅτι X οὐκέτι – 147 καινόν < C D V οὐκέτι – 148 νέον < μ τὸ < X S H T V | 147 εἶπερ καὶ] ὅτι X εἶπερ – ἐστίν] ἢ παλαιὸν S H T V εἶπερ –

should be the way you have said. *Sing unto the Lord a new song, for the Lord has worked wonders* he has said about my Christ and God. For he said that you should sing a new song and not an old one. What else is the new song other than the recent one, that is the one of the new grace, namely the worthy songs of the Christians? The Lord did wonderful things in the midst of your congregations, raising the dead, making the blind seeing, cleansing the lepers and restoring the paralytics to health, raising the lame, expelling the demons and so on, feeding the five thousand from five loaves of bread, converting the water to wine and so on? Therefore the prophet says: *Sing to the Lord a new song*, and not anymore, he says, the Jewish one, though it is old, that is in the law, but now sing to him a new song, a recent song, a song called by Christ's name, that is a Christian one, *for the Lord has worked wonders. His right hand and his holy arm have saved him*: Clearly his divinity saved his humanity not from anywhere else, but from you unlawful fighters against God, and from the wickedness of your most beloved demons; for he was God and man, one Son of God in one person, that is also one substance, most incomprehensible in two natures and two substances. *The Lord has made known his salvation* not to you Jews who once knew it and were well-known <to him>, but *to the unknowing nations*. For this is the meaning of *he revealed his righteousness to them*. The righteousness of God, I think, is nothing other than the word of his divinity which became flesh from the Holy Ghost and the perpetual Virgin Mary. *All ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God*: You have eyes and see, how the whole world has been filled with the knowledge of the Lord. For from end to end of it, as I have often said to you, the Gospel of the kingdom of Jesus Christ is proclaimed, deemed worthy to be accepted, is believed and accepted.”

Herban said: “In the same way as you do not feel affection for my words and have no hurry to be convinced by my explanations, similarly I am also disobedient towards what you command me.”

The archbishop said: “It is just, that he who tells remarkable things will also be heard; for if you follow my words with wrath, we spend our time idly and in vain discussing this.”

νομικόν < A ἐστίν < X ἤγουν νομικόν < SHT | 148 ἄσμα<sup>1</sup> – χριστεπώνυμον < SHTV ἤγουν χριστιανόν < DA μ ὅτι – 157 ἀειπαρθένου < SHTV θαυμαστὰ + φησίν DA | 149 βραχιῶν DA σέσωκε δὲ] ἤγουν σέσωκε μ πρόδηλον < μ | 150 αὐτοῦ < μ οὐχ K μ οὖν < μ | 152 τοῦ < μ καί<sup>2</sup> < K μ ὑποστάσει + μιᾶ DA μ τε] δὲ K, < DA μ | 153 τὸ δὲ ἐγνώρισε] ἐγνώρισε δὲ μ | 154 τε < DA | 155 ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθνων μ φησί < μ | 156 δὲ + φησί C οἶμαι] ἔστιν K μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> < μ | 158 τῆς γῆς < H θεοῦ ἡμῶν μ | 159 γῆ < CXK A τῶν περάτων<sup>1</sup> SHTV | 160 σοι < μ Ἰησοῦ < SHTV καὶ – 161 ἀποδέδεκται < SHTV | 161 ἀξίας καὶ τιμίας μ | 162 λέγει < μ TV ἐν < D μ ἀλλ’ – 163 πείθεσθαι] τοῦ πείθεσθαι μ, < SHTV | 163 ἐπεισεῖ X κάγῳ] αὐτὸς ἐγὼ TV τὰ – 164 ἐντελλόμενα] τοῖς – ἀγγελομένοις μ | 164 ἐντελλόμενα D | 165 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγόριος V ἵνα < TV ὁ<sup>2</sup> < μ δίκαια καὶ ἐξαιρέτα T καὶ] ἵνα K εἰσακούηται K μ ἐπεὶ εἰ] εἰ γὰρ μ ἐπεὶ – 167 διαλεγόμενοι < SHTV εἰ] δὲ K | 166 οὐκ ἐξακολουθεῖς K μου < X DA μ



Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Κέκτημαι ἐν τῷ συνειδότι μου, καθότι προκριτώτερά σου διαλέγομαι· τὸ αὐτὸ εὐ οἶδα, καὶ αὐτὸς εἵνεκά σου κατοπτεύεις. Τί οὖν λοιπὸν μεταξύ ἡμῶν γενήσεται;”

170 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ὀφείλομεν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἐξουθενώσει πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλ’ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τε καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Γέγραπται γάρ, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν μισεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν.”

Ἐρβάν λέγει· “Τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀγαπῶ, μὴ γένοιτο. Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, καθότι πᾶς ἄδικος καὶ ὑπερήφανος, φησί, ἐμπεσεῖται ἐν τετραπλασίῳ κολάσει παρὰ 760C κυρίου. Ὁ γὰρ κλέπτων βουὴν τέσσαρας ἀποτίσειεν καὶ ὁ αἴρων πρόβατον τετραπλοῦν ἀποτίσειεν καὶ ὁ λαμβάνων χιτῶνα ἀνθρώπου τέσσαρας ζημιωθήσεται καὶ ὁ αἴρων ὄρνιν ἢ περιστερὰν τετραπλασίως ζημιωθήσεται, καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ πράγματος τὸ παραπλήσιον. Ἐὰν δέ, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, μὴ φανερωθέντος τοῦ κλέμματος οὐκ ἀποτίσειεν ὁ ὕψιστος δι’ ἑτέρας ὑποθέσεως, ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας εἰς τὸ τετραπλοῦν ἀποτίσειεν 180 αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἄθωωθήσεται. Ἐὰν δέ, φησί, ραπίσης πένητα, ἤξει σοι τετράκις τὸ αὐτὸ, ὅθεν οὐχ ὑφώρακας· ἐὰν τε ἀπολέση τίς πρᾶγμα καὶ εὐροίεν ἕτερος, ζητούμενον αὐτοῦ γνοὺς ὁ εὐρηκῶς, ἂν μὴ ἀποδῶ ὡς ὁ κλέπτων ἐπὶ τέλους φωραθῆις εἰς τὸ τετραπλοῦν ἀποτίσειε καὶ οὐ ἄθωωθήσεται· ἐὰν τις ὕβριν προσάξει καταδεεστέρῳ εἴτε ἕτερον τι πονηρὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὴ ἀνταίρων διαβήσεται, ἤξει σοι τὸ παραπλήσιον. Μήπτουδ 185 ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων τοῦ παντοκράτορος· εἴτε μὴν ἐν τῷδε τῷ αἰῶνι παρασιωπηθήσεται, ἔχεις αὐτὸ εὐρεῖν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι φοβερῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς δὲ πράγματος τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκδικεῖται παρὰ κυρίου εἴτε ἔνθεν, εἴτε κάκειθεν ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου. Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ λόγος καὶ πρᾶξις εὐθύνονται, οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἐξουθενώσει τὰ πρὸς σὲ διαλεχθήσομαι, ἀλλ’ οὖν καθόσον πληροφορεῖται ὁ νοῦς, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀφευδὲς τὸ λεγόμενον.”

170 ἐν – ἐξουθενώσει Ps. 30.19 | 172 ὁ – ψυχὴν Ps. 10.6 | 173 ἐν – 184 παραπλήσιον cf. Ex. 21.37 – 22.14

### CXKDA μSHTV

168 λέγει < μ TV ὅτι K μ κρειττότερα DA κρείττονα μ καὶ κρειττότερα SHTV | 169 εὐ < μ αὐτὸς – κατοπτεύεις] σὲ περὶ ἔμοδ ὑποπτεύειν μ εἵνεκά σου DA εἵνεκά σου κατοπτεύεις < SHTV κατοπτεύει CX κατοπτεύειεν DA τίνα DA SHTV τί οὖν λοιπὸν] καὶ λοιπὸν τί μ γένηται K | 170 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T οὐχ CX<sup>ac</sup> ἐν < C ἐξουθενώσει K SV διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μ αὐτοὺς CXK | 171 ἀλλ’ οὖν] ἀλλὰ μ τὸν τοῦ < μ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν SHTV τοῦ < D<sup>ac</sup> τε] δὴ V, < K SHT | 172 ὅτι < μ ἀδικίαν + φησί DA | 173 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ TV ἐν τῷ νόμῳ] Ἐρβάν λέγει SV νόμῳ + γὰρ C DA H γέγραπται γὰρ HTV | 174 ὅτι K μ SHTV ὁ ἄδικος C φησί < K μ φησί ἐμπεσεῖται < SHTV ἐν] ἐπὶ SHTV τετραπλασίᾳ μ | 175 δ<sup>1</sup> – 180 ἄθωωθήσεται < SHTV τέσσαρα C ἀπαιτίσειεν CXK SHTV ἀποτίσει μ καὶ – 177 ζημιωθήσεται < μ | 176 ἀπαιτίσειεν CXK μ SHTV τέσσαρα CX DA καί<sup>2</sup> – 177 ζημιωθήσεται < CK | 177 τετραπλάσια DA δὲ < μ πράγματος – 178 φανερωθέντος < DA τὰ παραπλήσια μ | 178 καὶ δ<sup>1</sup> CX ἀποτίσει μ ὕψιστον D | 179 ὅπῃ ποτὲ < μ ἀπολογίας A μ τό τε D | 180 κατορθωθήσεται X ἐὰν] ἂν SHTV ραπίσης φησὶν SHTV φησί – αὐτὸ < C σοι – 181 ὑφώρακας] ἐπὶ τετράκις τὰ ἐντεῦθεν οὐχὶ φωραθήσει SHTV (ἐπὶ σε H, ἢ οὐχὶ S, οὐχὶ φωραθήσει < T) | 181 ἐὰν – 183 ἄθωωθήσεται < SHTV ἐὰν – 187 ἀνθρώπου < μ τε] δὲ DA εἴρηκεν ἕτερον CX καὶ ζητούμενον K ζητούμενον + δὲ DA | 182 δ<sup>1</sup> < CX ἀπιδῶ CX δ<sup>2</sup> < K |

Herban said: “I know in my conscience that the things I say must be preferred to yours; I know this well, and you are suspicious of yourself. Now what will hereafter happen between us?”

The archbishop said: “We need not discuss with one another *proudly and contemptuously*, but with fear of God in truth and righteousness. For it is written, that *he who loves injustice hates his own soul.*”

Herban said: “I do not love injustice, let it not be. It is written in the law, that every unjust and arrogant man, so it says, will be subjected to a fourfold punishment from God. For he who steals one ox will have to repay<sup>119</sup> with four, and he who takes a sheep away will have to repay it fourfold, and he who takes a garment of a man away will be fined four, and he who takes a chicken or a pigeon away will be fined fourfold, and similarly in every thing. But if the theft is not discovered, says the law, and the Highest does not punish <the thief> because of another affair, yet at some later time he will make him repay this fourfold without any controversy, and he will not be held guiltless. If you beat a poor man, it says, the same will happen to you four times from a side whence you did not suspect it; if somebody loses a thing and somebody else finds it, and the one who found it learns about this when it is sought after, but does not give it back, he will have to repay in the end fourfold, like a thief when he is caught, and not be held guiltless; if somebody inflicts an insult or some other evil on a needy person and he does not contradict, but passes over it in peace, a similar thing will happen to you. Do not fear the judgements of the Almighty: If it be passed over in silence in this world, you will frightfully find it in the future one, and there will be the same punishment for everything from the Lord, either here or there, for every man. So since both word and deed will be called to account, I will not discuss with you *proudly and contemptuously*, but as my mind is instructed that the things said are without error.”

183 ἀθωωθήσεται] κατορθωθήσεται X ἐάν] ἄν SHTV τις] δὲ DA δὲ καὶ SHTV, < K προσάξεις DA εἰσφέρεις SHTV εἶτε] ἢ περ DA ἢ SHTV ἑτέρου τί DA | 184 εἰρήνη + τόγε DA ἀνταίρων + τόγε SHTV μὴ πτοοῦ < SHTV πτοοῦ] πτοουμένου K | 185 μὴν – 186 εὐρεῖν] νῦν SHTV παρασιωπηθήσεται] παραπλησίως πειθήσεται DA | 186 εὐράναι DA φοβερῶς < T καὶ – 187 ἀνθρώπου < SHTV | 187 εἶτε<sup>1</sup>] εἶτ' C εἰ περ DA | 188 εὐθύνεται DA μ ἀπευθύνονται T καὶ ἐξουθενώσει < SHTV τὰ < μ τὰ πρὸς σέ < CXK | 189 ἀλλὰ καθόσον μ ἀλλ' – λεγόμενον < SHTV

<sup>119</sup> Here the archetype wrongly reads twice ἀπαιτήσκειν instead of ἀποτείσει as in the biblical prototype Ex. 22.3–12, that is, ‘may demand back’ instead of ‘will repay’. — The following passages are quoted as prescriptions of ‘the law’, but actually do not have a clear prototype in the Old Testament. See also above, p. 89.

- 190 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Κἀγὼ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐπίσταμαι· ἀλλ’ οὖν οὐ περὶ τούτων  
 ἡμῖν ἢ διάλεξις, ἀλλὰ γε περὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ ἴν’ ὅπως συνιείς ἐπιγνώσῃ τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ κληρονομίῃς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ἀμὴν γάρ, 760D  
 εὐαγγελίζομαι σοι, ὅτι Χριστοῦ δοῦλος ὄφθῃσῃ κἀν ἐν ἀρχῇ κἀν ἐπὶ τέλους· καὶ αὐτῷ σοι  
 πρόκειται δουλεύσαι καὶ ὅπισθεν τοῦδε ὀφείλεις κολληθῆναι, γνοὺς αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον,  
 195 ὁπότεν ἐπιβλέψῃ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ διανοίξει τοὺς τῆς καρδίας σου ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 καὶ φωτίσειεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀγιάσειεν καὶ ὑποδείξει σοι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ  
 πάσης ἀληθείας αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Μεσσίας Χριστός, περὶ οὗ οἱ προφῆται πολλὰ προεκελά-  
 δησαν.”
- Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μέγα μοι τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ σου, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ 761A  
 200 ἐρχόμενος, πλήρες θάμβους τόγε περίεστιν. Τὸ γὰρ κατελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ γενέ-  
 σθαι ἄνθρωπον θεὸν ὄντα καὶ ἐκουσίᾳ τῇ γνώμῃ δοῦναι τὸν τῶν κακούργων θάνατον,  
 ξένον καὶ ἀπόρρητον τόγε χρηματίζει. Καὶ εἰ ἀληθές τοῦτο περίεστιν, τίνα βίαν ἐκέκτη-  
 το, καθότι μηδενὸς αὐτὸν ὑπαναγκάζοντος ἐν πολλῇ συντομίᾳ ἔσπευδε τοῦ παραγενέ-  
 σθαι καὶ παραδοῦναι ἑαυτὸν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃ; Ἐξίσταμαι ταῦτα διαλογιζόμενος. Πληροφο-  
 205 ρήθητι· Ἡ φοβερὰ ἐκείνη φύσις, τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο κράτος, ἡ ἀπόρρητος ἐκείνη δύναμις,  
 ἦν τὰ ὄρη ἰδόντα ἐτρόμασαν ἐν τῷ φανῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῷ λαῷ καὶ νομοθετεῖν  
 τὴν δεκάλογον ἐν τῷ ἐξελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ φοβερὰν δόξαν κεκτημένος το-  
 σοῦτον ἔδραμεν, ἵνα ἀπμάσῃ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μεγαλοπρέπειαν; Ἀδύνατον πρόσεστιν  
 τοῦτο καὶ παντάπασι ἀπαραμύθητον.”
- Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἄγνοεῖς τοῦ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν, ὡπὼς ἐστί, καὶ διὰ 761B  
 210 τοῦτο θαυμάζεις. Ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστι τὸν ἐν τῷ ζόφῳ τῆς νυκτὸς κρατούμενον καὶ καθή-  
 μενον καθαρῶς ἰδεῖν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰθέρος πετόμενα. Καὶ ὁ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πηρωθέντας  
 προσφέρων πῶς δυνήσεται καθαρῶς κατιδεῖν τὴν ἀκτίνα τοῦ ἡλίου; Παραπλησίως γὰρ  
 καὶ αὐτός, Πνεῦμα γὰρ ἅγιον, ἐν οἷς οὐ κατασκηνώσειεν, δυσκόλως ἐκείσε τὰ πνευματικὰ  
 215 κατοπτεύεται. Πίστευσον τοίνυν εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ βαπτίσθητι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι  
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τὸ τηρικαῦτα καθαρῶς συνήσεις,  
 περὶ ὧν ἀρτίως ἀπορῶν ἐξιστᾶ καὶ καταπλήττη.”

206 τὰ – 207 Αἰγύπτου cf. Ex. 19.18–20

C X K D A μ S H T V | 207 Αἰγύπτου K]

190 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T Γρηγέντιος V οὕτως < TV ἔχειν < H  
 ἀλλ’ – 192 οὐρανῶν < SHTV οὖν < μ | 191 ἡμῖν] ἡμῶν μ, < K γε < μ ἵνα συνιῆς καὶ ἐπιγνώσῃ μ |  
 192 κληρονομίῃς DA | 193 κἀν<sup>2</sup>] καὶ C ἐν τῷ τέλει μ αὐτῷ] αὐτός SHTV | 194 πρόσκειται μ  
 καὶ – 198 προεκελάδησαν < SHTV ὅπισθεν CX αὐτὸν + εἶναι τὸν DA μ | 195 αὐτός] αὐτὸν C  
 διανοίξει μ | 196 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D φωτίσει μ αὐτοὺς < μ ἀγιάσει μ | 197 ὁ προφῆτης πολλὰ προεκε-  
 λάδησεν D | 199 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < μ T τῷ < μ | 200 καὶ πλήρες K πλήρης DA SHTV πλήρες –  
 περίεστιν < μ | 201 τῇ < DA μ τῶν κακούργων] κακούργον μ | 202 τόγε χρηματίζει] ἐστι μ |  
 χρηματίζειεν CX χρηματίζει DA καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 209 ἀπαραμύθητον < SHTV ἀληθῶς CK ἐστί μ |  
 203 ὅτι μ μηθενὸς CX αὐτὸν < μ ἀναγκάζοντος DA μ ἐν πολλῇ συντομίᾳ < μ ἔσπευσε μ |  
 204 αὐτὸν C<sup>ac</sup>X<sup>ac</sup>K ἀποθανῆται DA μ πληροφορηθῆτι < DA μ | 205 ἦ<sup>1</sup> + γὰρ DA μ φρικτὸν]

The archbishop said: “And I know as well that this is so; but now our discussion is not about that, but about belief and truth, and that you may understand and recognise the truth in Christ Jesus and inherit the kingdom of heaven. For Amen, I bring you good tidings, that you will appear as a servant of Christ both in the beginning and the end, and that you have to serve him and must attach yourself to him, knowing him when he will come and look down from heaven and open the eyes of your heart and enlighten and sanctify them, and will indicate the whole truth to you, and that he is the Messiah Christ with all truth, about whom the prophets have foretold so much.”

Herban said: “It is a great thing for me to be instructed about your Christ, that he is to come, and it is full of amazement. For it is strange and hard to believe that one, who is God, comes down from heaven, becomes a man and willingly suffers the death of the evildoers. And if this is true, which force did he possess, that he hurried in such a haste, although nobody urged him, to come here and hand himself over to death? I am astonished when I consider this. Be assured: Did that frightful nature, that awful might, that ineffable power, at which the mountains trembled seeing it, when He appeared to the people on the mountain and announced the Decalogue going out of Egypt, did he, who has this frightful glory, run so much simply to dishonour his own greatness? This is impossible and a completely inconsolable thought.”

The archbishop said: “You ignore the power of the mystery, as it is, and therefore you wonder. For it is impossible for someone, who is kept in the gloom of night and sits there, to see the things clearly that fly in the air. And he who bears mutilated eyes, how will he be able to see clearly the rays of the sun? For you act in a similar way. For among those where the Holy Ghost does not dwell the spiritual things can hardly be seen. Therefore, believe in the Lord Jesus, become baptised in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and then your will understand that clearly, about which you are now bewildered, astonished and amazed.”

φοβερὸν μ | 206 ἦν] ὄν DA ἦν – 207 Αἰγύπτου < μ ἐτρόμαξαν DA αὐτῷ DA | 208 ἀπλῶς < D  
 πρόσεστιν < μ | 210 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T V ὡπσερ ἐστὶ < μ |  
 211 θαυμάζειεν DA ἀδύνατον – 214 αὐτός < SHTV τὸν < DA κρατούμενον καὶ < X DA τε  
 καὶ C | 212 καθαρῶς < μ ὄραν DA μ ἐπὶ] ἔτι C ἀέρος DA ὁ < μ ὀφθαλμοῦς + δὲ DA μ |  
 213 φέρων μ καθαρῶς < D κατιδεῖν καθαρῶς C ἰδεῖν X ὄραν μ γὰρ < DA μ |  
 214 κατασκηνώσει μ SHTV ἐκεῖ μ τὰ < μ | 215 κατοπτεύηται C D SHTV τοῖνον] τε νῦν SHV  
 νῦν T κύριον] Χριστὸν X Ἰησοῦν + Χριστὸν DA μ | 216 τὸ < μ τὸ τηγκαῦτα] τότε SHTV  
 καθαρῶς < μ SHTV συνήσειεν DA συνήσει SHTV | 217 ἐξιστᾶς DA ἐξιστασαι SHTV ἐξιστᾶ  
 καὶ < μ καταπτήσης C καταπτήση X

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τοῦ πεισθῆναι με ἀδύνατόν μοι περίεστιν, ἂν μὴ ὡς ἐπιποθῶ καὶ τὴν πληροφορίαν εἰσδέξωμαι. Διήγησαι τοιγαροῦν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἔπειτα περὶ ὧν ἐπερωτῶ σε. Διὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν πέπονθε τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα ὁ Χριστὸς σου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τετελεύτηκε;” 761c

Ἵ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐ πλειστάκις σοι εἶρηκα περὶ τούτων, καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπερωτᾷς;”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἄγνοιά τις προκατέχει μου τοὺς διαλογισμούς, καὶ εὐθέως τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ μοι λεγόμενα παραγενομένη εἰς λήθην ἐναποκαθίστησιν.” 725

Ἵ ἄρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὕτως οἶμαι. Οἱ γὰρ μὴ πεφωτισμένοι εἰς τὸ ζωοποιὸν καὶ φωτιστικὸν ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ χείρονα τούτων καθυπομενοῦσι. Περὶ ὧν ἡσχίμισεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἱκανὰ παθῶν τετελεύτηκε, πρόσσεχε· Πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐν μεγάλῃ πλάνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ φρικωδεστάτοις παραπτώμασιν ἐλεινῶς περιπεπτώκασι. Καὶ οὐ φάσκω περὶ τῶν τότε εἰς τὰ μάταια εἶδωλα ἀπλῶς ἀποπλανηθέντων ἐθνῶν, ἀλλ’ οὖν περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε. Περιεκακήσατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν ἀπάτην καὶ ἀποπλάνησιν συμποδιζεσθαι. Οὐκοῦν ἠὲ φραίνεται ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀποπλανήσας, βλέπων ἅπασαν τὴν κτίσιν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ κεκηνῶσαν, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἐφρυάττετο. Τί οὖν ἐγίνετο; Θεὸς ἐλυπεῖτο ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα δημιουργήσας, καὶ τί γίνεται; Κατὰ τυραννίδα ἐσκοπᾶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ θηρίου οὐκ ἐβούλετο. Βουλευέται τοίνυν δικαίαν πρόφασιν καὶ ἀποστέλλει ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, καὶ εἶσω αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνος γενόμενος πλάττει μὲν ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀχράντων αἱμάτων τῆς παρθένου. 761d

Ἐνοῦται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀναλλοιώτως καθ’ ὑπόστασιν καὶ γεννᾶται ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ αὔξεται θεὸς ὧν τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι, παλαίει μετὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι ἔνδον κερτακτῆς τὸν νοῦν τῆς θεότητος. Ἦτις καὶ κατασχύνει τοὺς δαίμονας, θαυμάζουσι τοῦτο οἱ δαίμονες· ἄνθρωπος, φησί, καὶ ἐν τινι κἄν λεπτῷ παραπτώματι οὐκ ὀλισθαίνει. Μετὰ τοῦτο φθονοῦσι τὸν ἀναμάρτητον· συσκευάζουσιν, ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω σοι λελάληκα, 764A

### C X D A μ S H T V

218 λέγει < μ T ante ἀπλῶς + καινῷ τρόπῳ DA, + οὕτως μ, + καὶ νῦν τὰ πάντα καὶ SHTV καὶ < SHTV τοῦ] τὸ X, < μ πεισθῆναι] βαππισθῆναι S<sup>pc</sup>H μοι περίεστιν < μ ἐὰν DA μ | 219 ὡς] ὁ STV, < H και<sup>1</sup> < SHTV διήγησαι – 221 τετελεύτηκε < SHTV ἔπειτα] πάλιν μ | 220 ἐρωτῶ μ πρόφασιν] αἰτίαν μ | 222 ὁ < V ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T οὐ < SHTV περὶ τούτων < μ ἔπειτα < μ | 223 ἐρωτᾷς μ | 224 λέγει < μ T περιέχει μ λογιμοῦς μ | 225 λεγῶ με S παραγινομένη X DA, < SHTV ἀποκαθίστησι DA μ | 226 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T V οὕτως – 227 καθυπομενοῦσι < SHTV καὶ φωτιστικὸν < μ | 227 καθυπομενοῦσι DA μ περὶ – 228 τετελεύτηκε] ὅτι δὲ ἔπαθεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ διὰ τί καὶ πῶς μετὰ τὸ πολλὰ παθεῖν ἐτελεύτησε μ ὦν + δὲ DA μ | 228 ὁ < STV ἱκανὰ] πολλὰ SHTV παθεῖν S τετελευτήκῃναι DA πάντες + οὖν DA οἱ < SHTV τοῦ < μ | 229 και<sup>1</sup> < μ τῆς τοῦ DA παρουσίας Χριστοῦ TV και<sup>2</sup> < C και<sup>2</sup> – 230 παραπτώμασιν < SHTV | 230 και – 231 ἐθνῶν < SHTV φάσκει DA λέγω μ τότε] τε CX, < μ | 231 ἀλλ’ οὖν] ἀλλὰ καὶ μ SHTV περὶ – Ἰουδαίων] ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι SHTV αὐτῶν < μ | 232 εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων < μ περιεκακήσατε – 233

Herban said: “It is impossible for me to be convinced, simply through this act, unless I receive also the instruction as I desire it. Therefore tell me thereafter also about what I ask you. For what reason did your Christ suffer those terrible things, and also die in addition to it?”

The archbishop said: “Did I not tell you many times about these things, and thereafter you ask again?”

Herban said: “Some ignorance gains possession beforehand of my reasonings, and immediately it comes and delivers to oblivion what you have said to me.”

The archbishop said: “This is what I think. For those, who are not enlightened in the live-giving and enlightening name of the holy Trinity, will suffer things that are even worse than these<sup>120</sup>. Concerning this, that Christ was despised and died after having suffered a lot, listen: All men from Adam and until the arrival of Christ have miserably fallen into great error and into most awful transgressions. And I am not speaking about the nations that were simply led astray at that time to the vain idols, but also about you Jews yourselves, who received the law as a command of the angels and did not keep it. For you also fell to the bad luck of being bound in chains to the deceit and the aberration of the so-called gods. So that wicked demon, who had led Adam astray, rejoiced when he saw how all creation gaped after him, and boasted greatly. Now what happened? God who had created mankind was grieved, and what happens? He did not want to drag away man from the hands of the beast by an act of tyranny. Accordingly he invents a just reason and sends his word from heaven to the holy Virgin, and getting into her creates a man for himself out of the immaculate blood of the Virgin. And he is united in subsistence without being changed and is born from there, and being God he increases in his humanity, and wrestles with the demons in his humanity, having the mind of his divinity inside. He defeats the demons and puts them to shame, and the demons wonder about it: He is a man, they say, and does not even slip in a slight transgression. Thereafter they are jealous of the sinless one: They prepare, as I have also told

συμποδίζεθαι < μ και<sup>2</sup> < DA TV | 233 συμποδίζεθαι < SHTV εὐφραίνεται C DA ηὐφραίνεται T | 234 ἐκείνος δαίμων X μ ἐκείνος < SHTV τὴν ἅπασαν T | 235 κεχηνώσαν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ SHTV κεχηναῖαν μ και – ἐφρυάττετο < SHTV ἐγένετο μ γίνεται V | 236 ὁ – δημιουργήσας < SHTV τί γίνεται < μ ἐγένετο V ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος T ἐκπᾶσαι V | 237 ἀπὸ] ἐκ DA ἀπὸ – θηρίου < SHTV ἠβούλετο DA SHTV βούλεται SH τοῖσιν] τοιγαροῦν DA SHTV δὲ μ | 239 ἐκείνος < SHTV γενάμενος DA S ἐξ – 240 ἀνθρώπῳ < T τῆς παρθένου] αὐτῆς SHV ἁγίας παρθένου DA μ + καὶ θεοτόκου μ | 240 ἐνοῦται δὲ και] καὶ ἐνοῦται SHV και<sup>1</sup> < μ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἀναλλοίωτος SH(T)V (ὁ H<sup>pe</sup>) | 241 καὶ αὐξεται < SHTV αὐξεῖται DA παλαίει – ἀνθρωπότητι<sup>2</sup> < DA μ παλαίει – 242 θεότητος < SHTV | 242 ἡττᾶ] εἶτα SHTV | 243 τοῦτον οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες DA μ ἄνθρωπος – ὀλισθαίνει < μ SHTV κᾶν λεπτῷ < C ὀλισθαίνειεν DA | 244 μετὰ τοῦτο] τί περι τοῦτων DA, < SHTV τῷ ἀναμαρτήτῳ X μ

<sup>120</sup> That is, the sufferings of Christ.

- 245 δι' ὑμῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο κάκεινος ἐβούλετο. Τί οὖν γίνεται; Πιπράσκειται εἰς τριάκοντα ἀργύρια καὶ προδίδεται καὶ συλλαμβάνεται καὶ δεσμεῖται καὶ ἀπάγεται καὶ κρίνεται καὶ ραπίζεται καὶ οἰκεῖ δεσμοτήριον διὰ τὸν κατάκριτον Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ πάσχει ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων δι' ἀκαθαρσίαν παθεῖν ἀνθρώπων καὶ καθαρισθῆναι, κάκεισε ἡττᾶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐφάμαρτου κόσμου καὶ ἀδυνάτου παλαίων,
- 250 καταφέρεται ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ, παλαίει κάκεισε μετὰ τοῦ ἕδου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκείσε ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου κατεχομένων· καταπατεῖ τὸν ἕδην, νικᾷ τὴν φθορὰν καὶ ἐσκοπᾷ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε κατεχομένους· ἀνιστᾷ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἕδῃ χρηματίσας, ποιεῖ μάρτυρας τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀμνησίκκος, εἶτα τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα, εἶτα τοὺς πεντακοσίους, ἀναβαίνει τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι
- 255 εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀποστείλας πρότερον πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς σταυρώσαντας αὐτὸν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀμνησίκκος. Εἶτα μεινάντων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀπειθείᾳ δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη φάσκων· Ἐῖπατε τοῖς ἔθνεσι· καταλίπατε τὰ εἶδωλα, ἐάσατε τὴν πλάνην, ἄφετε τοὺς δαίμονας καὶ πιστεύσατε εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ραπισθέντα καὶ σταυρωθέντα καὶ ὄξος καὶ χολὴν πίνοντα καὶ λόγῃ νυγέντα τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας φρουρηθέντα, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ ἀναστάντα παραδόξως, καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον. Πᾶς οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅστις ἀκηκῶς τὰ παθήματά μου οὐ σκανδαλισθῆ ἐν ἐμοί (καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ σκάνδαλον ἐστὶν τοῖς ἀπίστοις καὶ τρόπος γυμνασίου τὰ παθήματά μου), ἀλλὰ περιποιήσας τὰ σκάνδαλα
- 265 πιστεύσει εἰς ἐμὲ δωρεὰν καὶ ἄνευ ἔργων, διὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἀπεριεργον αὐτοῦ πίστιν σωθήσεται καὶ ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ χαλεπὰ αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτήματα, ἐπειδὴ τὸν θεόντα σκάνδαλον δι' ἀγαθῆς γνώμης οὐθὲν ἠγησάμενος οὔτε μὴν πονηρευσάμενος διὰ τῆς πίστεως περιπηδήσας πρὸς με εὐθέτως παρεγένετο· ὅστις δέ, οἶμαι, σκάνδαλον ἠγήσεται τὰ ἐμὰ παθήματα καὶ οὐ θελήσει προσελθεῖν καὶ πιστεῦσαι τῷ ὀνόματί μου εἵνεκα τῶν σκαν-
- 270 δάλων τῶν παθημάτων μου, ἔσται κατακεκριμένος, διότι πίστιν μόνην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐζήτησα, ἵνα σώσω αὐτούς, καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτην μοι δι' ὀκνηρίαν παρασχεῖν ἠβουλήθησαν. Ὁ πιστεύ-

764B

251 ἐν – θανάτου Ps. 87.7 | 253 ποιεῖ – αὐτοῦ cf. 1 Cor. 15.5 | 254 εἶτα τοὺς πεντακοσίους cf. 1 Cor. 15.6 | 271 ὁ – 273 κατακριθήσεται Marc. 16.16

### C X D A μ S H T V

245 τοῦτο] ὄνπερ μ τοῦτο – γίνεται < SHTV ἠβούλετο DA τί οὖν γίνεται < μ οὖν < DA | 246 ἀργύρους STV ἀργυρίους H καί<sup>1</sup> < μ SHTV προδίδεται C καί<sup>2</sup> < SHTV καὶ συλλαμβάνεται καὶ < μ καί<sup>3</sup> – 247 ραπίζεται < SHTV καί<sup>4</sup> – 247 καί<sup>2</sup> < μ | 247 κρίνεται + ἀνεχόμενος DA ραπίζεται + ὡς ἄνθρωπος DA μ καί<sup>3</sup> – δεσμοτήριον] κατοικεῖ δεσμοτήρια μ καί<sup>4</sup> – 249 παλαίων < μ | 248 ἔτι] ἐπεὶ SHTV ὑπὲρ] διὰ SHTV μὴ < X ἄνθρωπον TV | 249 κάκεισε < X κάκεισε ἡττᾶ] εἶτα κάκεισε DA κάκεισε – παλαίων < SHTV | 250 καταφέρεται] κατέρχεται μ κάκεισε < μ καὶ – 252 κατεχομένους < SHTV διαφθορᾶς X | 251 καταπατεῖ τὸν ἕδην < μ καὶ νικᾷ DA τὴν φθορὰν < μ | 252 καί<sup>1</sup> < DA μ ἐκεῖ μ, < X αὐτὸν] αὐτοῦ μ τρεῖς – 253 χρηματίσας < μ | 253 τῆς < D ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ C μ αὐτοῦ + CX DA | 255 ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς DA SHTV ἀποστέλλει SHTV πρότερον < μ πρὸς] εἰς C τοὺς<sup>3</sup> – 256 ἀμνησίκκος < SHTV | 256 ὁ ἀμνη-

you before, his death by you Hebrews, and this is what he wanted as well. Now what happens? He is sold for thirty pieces of silver, is betrayed, arrested and bound, he is led away and is judged and beaten and dwells in prison for the condemned Adam, and yet suffers much for those men that cannot suffer and become clean because of their uncleanness, and there, instead of the sinful and weak world, wrestling he defeats the demons, is brought down to hell, and wrestles there as well with hell and corruption instead of those who are kept there *in the dark and the shadow of death*; he tramples hell under foot, defeats corruption and drags those out who were kept there; he makes himself and his followers rise after having been three days in hell; he, who is the forgiving, makes his twelve disciples witnesses of his resurrection, then the seventy, then the five hundred, he goes up into heaven in his humanity after before having sent his disciples to you who crucified him, he who is the forgiving. Then, while you remain in disobedience, he gives them his Holy Ghost and sends them to all nations saying: 'Say to the nations: Leave the idols, leave deceit aside, get rid of the demons and believe in God Father the Almighty and in his only begotten Son, who was beaten and crucified and drank vinegar and gall, and whose side was pierced with a lance and who died, was buried and guarded with much security, but rose miraculously, and in the Holy Ghost. Everyone of all men, who is not offended about me when hearing of my sufferings (for my sufferings are in truth a scandal and a kind of trial for the unbelieving), but will accept these scandals and believe in me freely and without machinations, will be saved because of his worthy and simple belief, and also his bad sins will be forgiven to him, for he came to me in a convenient way, setting the supposed scandal at naught by his good will and being not wicked by his belief; but he, I think, who believes my sufferings to be a scandal and does not want to come to me and to believe in my name because of the scandals of my sufferings, will be condemned, for I have demanded only belief from them for to save them, and they did not even want to grant me this because of their hesitation. *He now who believes and is baptised will be sanctified and saved,*

σίκακος < μ μενόντων DA μ ἀπιστία και ἀπειθεία μ αὐτοὺς C ἑαυτοῖς T | 257 αὐτοῦ < μ SHTV τὸ < V πανάγιον DA ἀποστειλεῖ C ἀπέστειλε X ἑαυτοὺς S, < μ φάσκων] εἰπὼν μ καταλιπεῖν DA | 258 ἔασατε τὴν πλάνην < SHTV ἔασατε – δαίμονας < μ | 259 πατέρα < μ παντοκράτορα V τὸν μονογενῆ < CX ῥαπισθέντα + και μαστιγωθέντα DA ῥαπισθέντα – 260 και<sup>5</sup> < SHTV και σταυρωθέντα < CX | 260 και<sup>1</sup> – πλευρὰν < μ τὴν πλευρὰν < CX και ταφέντα < μ | 261 και<sup>1</sup> – οὖν < μ SHTV ἀλλὰ ἀναστάντα C παραδόξως] εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς SHTV | 262 ἀλλὰ και C και – ἀνθρώπων < SHTV τὸ<sup>1</sup> < CX πᾶς – 271 ἠβουλήθησαν < μ ὁ ἀπὸ C ἀκηκοῶς] ἀκούση SHTV | 263 μου οὐ σκανδαλισθῆ] τοῦ Χριστοῦ και ἐμβληθεῖς SHTV οὐ – 264 μου < CX μ και<sup>1</sup> – 265 ἔργων < SHTV | 264 περιπηδήσας DA | 265 αὐτοῦ και ἀπεριεργον SHTV | 266 και<sup>1</sup> – 268 παρεγένετο < SHTV ἀφεθήσεται DA | 268 ἡγήσεται] ἡγήσεται CX | 269 ἐμὰ < T ἐμὰ παθήματα] ἐμπαθήματα V και<sup>2</sup>] τοῦ TV ἔνεκα DA T ἔνεγκα SV | 270 ἀπ'] ἐπ' S ἀπ' αὐτῶν < D



σας οὖν καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἁγιασθήσεται καὶ σωθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας μωρανθήσεται καὶ κατακριθήσεται. Διὰ τοῦτο τοιγαροῦν, ὡς Ἐρβᾶν, ἔπαθεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, 764C  
 ὄν τρόπον εἶρηκά σοι, καθὼς καὶ ἐπερώτησας.”

275 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ εἰ ἐβούλετο πάντας σωθῆναι, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τὸ σκάνδαλον τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου πάντων προτέθεικε σκανδαλίζεσθαι; Οὐ προσῆν θεοπρεπέστερον, ἵνα μηδεὶς προσέκοπτε τῷ σκανδάλῳ τῶν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπ’ εὐθείας προσερχόμενοι αὐθις ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐσώζοντο;”

280 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Οὐ βούλεται ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος οὐ μὴν οὔτε εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον ἀδικίαν ἐργάσασθαι, τοσαύτην ἀκρίβειαν κέκτηται περὶ δικαιοσύνης. Καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου ἀγιάζει καὶ μακαρίζει καὶ τοὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ διαπρέποντας. Ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς γὰρ αὐτεξούσιον ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ αὐτὸς κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀγαθὴν μᾶλλον ὑπέκειν ἡμᾶς αὐτῷ εἰς πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκέτι κατὰ τυραννίδα. Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἡμάρτομεν καὶ προέκειτο ἡμῖν ἡ ἐρχομένη κρίσις καὶ 764D  
 285 ἀνταπόδοσις ἢ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως, βουλόμενος ὁ ὑπεράγαθος καὶ πολυέλεος δεσπότης ἐλεῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ πλάσμα τὸ ἴδιον, δικαίως προφάσεως ἐτέρας μὴ πελοῦσης, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ταύτην εὐσυμπαθῆτως ἐπενοήσατο διὰ τῆς ἐγκρίτου ταύτης πίστεως καὶ ἀποκρύφου δικαίως ἡμᾶς ἀναρρύσασθαι. Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖ ἔλαθε τὸν διάβολον καὶ προσέβαλεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δοκῶν ἀνθρώπῳ παλαίειν προσέκρουσε τῇ θεότητι καὶ κατησχύνθη, οὕτω καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔστησε τὰ πάθη αὐτοῦ δοκίμιον πίστεως καὶ ἀπολογεῖται τῷ 765A  
 290 διαβόλῳ ἴσως ἐγκαλοῦντι περὶ τῶν διὰ πίστεως σωζομένων καὶ λέγει· ‘Μεγάλῃ’, φησίν, ‘ἡ πίστις αὐτῶν’, ὁ δὲ φάσκει· ‘Δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν μεγάλῃ’, καὶ ὁ κύριος· ‘Προδοθέντα με ἀκούουσι, πραθέντα καὶ συλληφθέντα καὶ δεσμευθέντα καὶ κριθέντα καὶ ῥαπισθέντα καὶ ἐμπτυσθέντα καὶ δεσμοτῆριον οἰκῆσαντα καὶ μαστιγωθέντα καὶ σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἐμπαιχθέντα 295  
 καὶ καλάμῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν τυφθέντα καὶ χλαῖναν ἐμπαιγμοῦ φορέσαντα καὶ ὄνειδισθέντα καὶ στέφανον ἀκάνθων φορέσαντα καὶ χολὴν καὶ ὄξος πίνοντα καὶ ἦλοις χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ παγέντα καὶ λόγῃ τὴν πλευρὰν νυγέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα θάνατον οὐκ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ γε τὸν ἐπονείδιστον, ὃν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι διδόασιν, οὐκοῦν καὶ ταφέντα ὡς ἄπορον νεκρὸν καὶ ἅπαξ ἀναστάντα’ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνωπιζόμενοι οὐ ταραττόνται τῇ καρδίᾳ,

C X D A μ S H T V | 273 κατακριθήσεται A]

272 οὖν < S ἁγιασθήσεται C ἁγιασθήσεται καὶ < μ SHTV ὁ – 273 κατακριθήσεται < C μωρανθήσεται καὶ < μ | 273 τοιγαροῦν < μ ὦ < μ ἔπαθεν Ἐρβᾶν μ | 274 ὄν – ἐπερώτησας < μ εἶπον σοι SHTV καθὼςπερ D SHTV | 275 λέγει] ἔφη S, < μ T εἰ ἐβούλετο] ἢβούλετο SHTV | 276 τέθεικε D οὐκ ἦν μ | 277 ἵνα + μηδὲν ἐν μηδενὶ DA μ προσέκοψε DA πρόεκοπτε μ | 278 αὐθις] ἵνα D, < μ SHTV | 279 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < C S οὐ μὴν < D μ οὐδὲ μ οὐ V διάβολον] διὰ D | 280 ἐργάζεσθαι X κέκτηται] ἔχων μ | 281 τούτῳ SH μακαρίζει καὶ ἀγιάζει μ καὶ μακαρίζει < D καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ SHTV τοὺς ἐν] ἐν ἐπιστροφῇ καὶ SHTV καὶ<sup>3</sup> < SHV διαπρέποντας] προστρέχοντας μ ἐν ἀρχῇ SHTV | 282 ἐποίησεν T ὁ θεὸς < SHTV ἀγαπᾷ] τέθειται SHTV αὐτὸς < μ | 283 αὐτῷ] αὐτοῦς D, < H, + πάντοτε D μ οὐκέτι] οὐ μ | 284 ἢ < D προερχομένη μ | 285 ἀνταπόδοσις post κολάσεως μ ἢ < μ ἢ – κολάσεως < SHTV | 286 ἴδιον πλάσμα H μὴ οὐσης ἐτέρας H ὑπαρχούσης D μ οὐσης HTV | 287 εὐσυμπαθῆτως < D διὰ – 288 ἀναρρύσασθαι < μ | 288 ὡσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖ] καὶ ὡσπερ μ ἐκεῖσε

*but he who does not believe will become foolish and be condemned.*' Therefore now, o Herban, our Lord Jesus Christ has suffered in the way I told you, as you have also asked."

Herban said: "And if he wanted all to be saved, for which reason did he want to introduce the scandal of his sufferings as an offence before the faces of all men? Would it not have been more worthy of God that no one should be offended by the scandal of his sufferings, but all should have come there straightaway, should have believed again and be saved?"

The archbishop said: "The holy God does not want do injustice, not even to the devil himself, so accurate is he in matters of justice. And because of this he sanctifies and blesses those as well, who are excellent in their righteousness and sanctity. For God created man from the beginning as being free in his decisions, and he loves it more, if we yield to all his wills from good choice and not out of some compulsion. So since we all have sinned and the coming judgement and repayment of the eternal punishment awaits us, the perfectly good and very merciful Master wanted to have mercy upon his own creation and to save it, since there was no other good ground, and necessarily contrived this <way of salvation> out of his compassion, to redeem us rightly by this accepted and secret belief. So just as <the divine nature of Jesus> escaped the notice of the devil there, and <the devil> fought with him as with a man and while believing to wrestle with a man struck against his divinity and was put to shame, in the same way <Jesus> displays his sufferings here as a proof of his faith, and answers to the devil, who perhaps complains about those that have been saved by their belief, and says: 'Their belief is great', and he says: 'For which reason great?', and the Lord says: 'They hear me when I am betrayed, sold, arrested, bound and condemned, beaten and spat at, dwelling in prison, flogged and crucified, mocked and beaten with a reed on my head, wearing a garment of mocking, insulted, wearing a crown of thorns, drinking gall and vinegar, restrained at my hands and feet with nails, pierced at my side with a lance, when I die not a good death, but the most shameful one which the evildoers die, when I am buried as a poor dead and rise once again; and when they hear all this, they are not troubled in their heart, they are not grieved, they do not turn away from me, they are not

С προσέλαβεν μ | 289 δοκῶν ἀνθρώπῳ παλαίειν < μ ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρωπον D SHTV ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>2</sup> – κατησχύνθη < TV θεότητι ἀνθρωπότητι μετὰ τῆς θεότητος C κατασχύνθη D | 290 οὕτως μ και ἐναυθα < μ ἔστησε] ἐστὶ μ παθήματα D και<sup>2</sup> – 291 πίστεως < μ H | 291 ἴσως] ἴστος S λέγει] λέγοντι SHTV φησὶν < μ | 292 φάσκει < μ και] φησὶν μ με] μου SHTV | 293 και πραθέντα D πραθέντα < μ και<sup>1</sup> – 296 φορέσαντα < V και<sup>2</sup> – και<sup>4</sup> < μ και<sup>2</sup> – ραπισθέντα < C και<sup>2</sup> – 294 οικήσαντα < SHTV και ραπισθέντα < C ἐμπυσθέντα] ἐμπαυχθέντα C | 294 και δεσμοτήριον] δεσμοτήρια μ και<sup>2</sup> < μ | 295 και<sup>3</sup> – 296 φορέσαντα < C και<sup>3</sup> – 297 νυγέντα < μ και<sup>4</sup> – 296 φορέσαντα < SHT | 296 ἀκάνθινον D και<sup>2</sup> – 297 ἀποθανόντα < H πίνοντα V | 297 ἐμπαγένητα D θάνατον – 298 διδόασιν < SHTV οὐκ – 298 τὸν < D μ | 298 οὐκοῦν < μ SHTV ὡς ἄπορον νεκρὸν < μ SHTV | 299 ἄπαξ] τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ SHTV, < μ οὐ – 300 ἀδημονοῦσιν < SHTV οὐ – 300 ἀπιστῶσιν < μ τὴν καρδίαν D

- 300 οὐκ ἀσχάλλουσιν, οὐκ ἀποπηδοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀδημονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστῶσιν, οὐ σκανδαλίζονται, ἀλλ' οὖν τί πράττουσι; Πιστεύουσί με εἶναι θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ κύριον, ὁμολογοῦσι με βασιλέα ἐαυτῶν καὶ πλάστην καὶ δημιουργόν τε καὶ κύριον. Οὐκ ἐρευνῶσιν, οὐ ψηλαφῶσιν, οὐ ζυγοστατῶσιν, οὐ μικρὸν οὐ μέγα καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ὄνειδιζοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ γε ἐν θερμότητι πίστεως θεὸν με καὶ κύριον ἀπεριέργως πιστεύουσιν. Πῶς οὖν μὴ προσδέξωμαι καὶ
- 305 ἐλεήσω αὐτοὺς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἀγήρου μου βασιλείας καταξιώσω; Εἰ γὰρ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἔπραττον καὶ εἰ γυμνῇ τῇ θεότητι παρήμην καὶ βλέποντες ἐπίστευον, ἐκέκτησο ἄν καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαξ εὐλογον ἀπολογίας πρόφασιν τοῦ ἐγκαλεῖν μοι ὡς μετὰ σοῦ εἰσπράττοντι ἄδικα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα οὕτως παρηκολούθησεν, ἐρράγη ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ τέως τὸ δικαίωμα σου πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ ἀπορεῖς τὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ
- 310 οἰονοῦν διηγήσασθαι. Ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, Ἐρβᾶν, καὶ δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματί μου οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὸ νομιζόμενον σκάνδαλον τῶν παθημάτων παρ' αὐτοῦ προτίθεται. Σκάνδαλον δὲ παραφαίνεται τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀπίστοις, τισὶ δὲ καὶ μωρία ἕως οὗ χρηματίζωσιν ἄπιστοι· μετὰ δὲ τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς θεοῦ σύνεσις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία τὰ τῆδε κατοπτεύονται αὐτοῖς.”
- 315 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Φοβερὸν τὸ μυστήριον, εἰ ἐπ' ἀληθὲς οὕτω χρηματίζουσι τὰ πράγματα. Πλὴν δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι περιῶν ἰατρείας ἐπετέλει, ὅπερ ὁ νόμος κωλύειν πέφυκε καὶ εἰ ἐπιμένειεν ὡς παράνομον κολάζει; Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο αὐτόν, ὡς οἶα ὑποπτεύω, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ὀξυχολήσαντες ἐσταύρωσαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐτήρει τὸ σάββατον κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' ἔπραττε καὶ ἐτέλει τὰ μὴ δέοντα αὐτῷ.”
- 320 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Καὶ ποία παράβασις τοῦ νόμου γέγονεν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θαύματα ἐπετέλει; Ὅτι μὲν ἰάτρευεν, ἀληθῶς τοῦτο εἶρηκας. Ἰάτρευε δὲ οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἱατροὶ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶα θεὸς λόγον μόνον ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἀσθενῶν ὑγιὲς εὐρίσκετο, οἰφδῆποτε κατείχετο νοσήματι. Ποία παράβασις τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο; Φθόνῳ τηκόμενοι οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα αὐτῷ

310 δόλος – εὐρεθήσεται cf. Is. 53.9; 1 Pet. 2.22 | 312 σκάνδαλον – μωρία cf. 1 Cor. 1.23

### C X D μ S H T V

300 ἀσχάλλουσιν C οὐκ ἀποπηδοῦσιν < D ἀποπηδῶσιν C ἀπιστῶσιν + οὐκ ὀλοφύρονται D οὐ] οὐδὲ SHTV | 301 οὖν – εἶναι] ὁμολογοῦσι μ τί πράττουσι < SHTV πιστεύουσί D πίστευσόν V με<sup>1</sup>] μὲν CX εἶναι < D SHTV θεὸν < X H κύριον ὁμολογοῦσι με < μ | 302 ἐαυτῶν post δημιουργόν μ ἐαυτῷ post 301 με SHTV τε καὶ κύριον < μ SHTV οὐκ – 304 πιστεύουσιν < μ SHTV | 303 ζυγοστατοῦσιν D οὐ<sup>3</sup>] ἢ C καλῶσιν C οὐκ ἐγκαλῶσιν D | 304 πιστεύωσιν καὶ οὕτως αὐτοὺς πρὸς με ἔχοντας C οὖν < SHTV μῆ] οὐ μ καί<sup>2</sup> < H αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλεήσω μ | 305 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα < μ SHTV μετὰ ταῦτα] μετέπειτα D ἀγήρῳ CX ἀγήρου] ἀκράτου μ ἐπουρανοῦ SHTV μου + φησὶν D καταξιώσει C εἰ – 314 αὐτοῖς < SHTV σημεῖα – 306 εἰ < μ | 306 ἐκέκτησο] εἶχες μ | 307 ἅπαξ < μ ἀπολογίας πρόφασιν] ἀπολογίαν D πράττοντα μ | 308 οὕτως < μ ἅπαξ < μ ἐν τῷ τέως < D<sup>ac</sup> μ | 309 καί<sup>1</sup> – 310 διηγήσασθαι < μ ἀπορεῖς τὸ] ἀπ' ἀριστῶν CX ἐμοῦ] ἐμὲ D | 310 οἰονοῦν D ὡ Ἐρβᾶν D | 311 καὶ – προτίθεται < μ παρ' < C προτέθειται CX | 312 φαίνεται μ | 313 ἕως οὐ] μέχρις ὅτου D, < CX χρηματίζουσιν D μ πιστεῦσαι] βαπτισθῆναι μ αὐτοῖς C | 314 ταῦτα κατοπτεύεται μ | 315 λέγει] ἔφη SV, < μ T εἰ < D εἰ – πράγματα < μ ἐπ' ἀληθῆς] καὶ

dismayed, they do not disbelieve, they are not offended, but now what do they do? They believe me to be God from God and their Lord, they confess me to be their king, creator, maker and Lord. They do not inquire after me, they do not examine me, they do not weigh me, they do not call me neither small nor great, they do not reproach me, but with the fervour of belief they simply believe me to be their God and Lord. How should I not accept them and have mercy upon them, and thereafter deem them worthy of the unaging kingdom? For if I would have worked signs and wonders, and if I would have been present in my naked divinity and they would have believed when seeing me, you would at once have a cheap reason to answer me, and accuse me of doing you harm. But since this happened in this way, your justification has now at once broken down before your face, and you are unable to tell about me and those that believe in me in any way.’ This is so, Herban, and no deceit will be found in my mouth, and therefore the supposed scandal of his sufferings is introduced by him. His sufferings seem a scandal to the unbelieving, and to some even folly as long as they are unbelieving; but after they have believed, these things are regarded by them as God’s understanding and God’s wisdom.”

Herban said: “This is a frightful mystery, if things are truly so. But for what reason did he walk around on Sabbaths and perform healings, a thing which the law happens to forbid, and punishes those who insist to do so as being unlawful? For this reason, as I suspect, also our fathers crucified him in their anger, because he did not keep the Sabbath according to the law, but did and accomplished things he should not have done.”

The archbishop said: “And which transgression of the law was his performing miracles on the Sabbath? You have said rightly that he did healings. However, he did not heal like the physicians of this world, but just like God he only spoke a word, and immediately the sick was found to be sound, of whatever disease he had been possessed. Which transgression of the law is this? Being consumed by their envy the rulers of the

ἀληθῶς SHTV οὕτω] ὡς τὰ D τὰ πράγματα χρηματίζουσι D SHTV | 316 πλὴν δι’ ἣν] δι’ ἣν δὲ SHTV ἐν < CX ἐπετέλει] ἐπέλειεν D ὅπερ – 317 κολάζει < SHTV | 317 εἰ] εἴ τις οὐκ μ ἐπιμένει X μ + ἐν τούτῳ μ κολάζει αὐτόν μ γὰρ τοῦτο] ταῦτα γὰρ SHTV αὐτοὶ αὐτόν D αὐτόν < μ SHTV οἶα] οἶμα C μ + καὶ C, < SHTV ὑπόπτειον D, < μ | 318 ἡμῶν < μ ὀξυχολήσαντες < SHTV ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν μ SHTV ἐπειδὴ SHTV | 319 ἔπραττε καὶ ἐτέλει] ἐπετέλει μ αὐτῷ < D μ SHTV | 320 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T καὶ – 321 ἐπετέλει < CX D μ | 321 ante ὅτι + καὶ ποῖα παράβασις τοῦ νόμου γέγονεν ὅτι ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ θαύματα ἐπετέλει SHTV μὲν + οὖν D, + γὰρ SHTV τοῦτο] τόγε D τοῦτο εἴρηκας < SHTV οἱ < H οἱ ἱατροὶ] ἱατρός X μ | 322 τούτου < D οἶα < μ λόγον γὰρ CX λόγῳ μόνῳ D μ H ὁ ἀσθενῶν < SHTV | 323 ὑγιῆς εὐρίσκετο post νοσήματι μ ηὐρίσκετο D ἐγένετο ὡδήποτε SHTV κατεῖχοντο TV καὶ ποῖα SHTV ποῖα – τοῦτο < μ τοῦ νόμου < SHTV τοῦτο + ἀλλὰ SHTV | 324 οἱ<sup>1</sup> τε SHTV ἀρχισυνάγωγοι – καὶ<sup>2</sup> < SHTV οἱ<sup>2</sup> < C οἱ Φαρισαῖοι D μ + καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς SHTV ταῦτα αὐτῷ < SHTV αὐτῷ – 325 θέμις < μ

325 τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ οἷα μὴ θέμις κατειργάσαντο, ἐπειδὴ θαυματουργοῦντα αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνους ἐμεγάλυνεν λίαν ὁ λαός, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς οἷα ἀνθρώπους φιλοῦς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦς καὶ ἀποιήτους καταλιμπάνων. Ποία οὖν παράβασις τοῦ νόμου τοῦτο, τὸ ἐγεῖραι νεκροῦς καὶ ἀνοιῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλῶν καὶ τὸ εἰρηκέναι τῷ παραλυτικῷ· Ἐγείραι, ἄρον σου τὸν κράβατον καὶ περιπάτει, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια;”

330 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Εἰ υἱὸς ἀληθῆς ἦν τοῦ θεοῦ, δι’ ἦν αἰτίαν ἐμήνυε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ λέγων, ὅτι Πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ θεὸν μου καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν;” Ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσιν ἑαυτὸν διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου στόματος ἄνθρωπον παρόμοιον τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ θεόν. Ἐμὲ γὰρ κᾶν Ἰουδαῖον κατοπιτεύεις, ἀλλὰ γε κατ’ ἰδίαν πολ- 765D  
λάκις ἀγέννων ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια, σχηματισάμενος ἐπὶ τινι ἀγαπητῷ μου φίλῳ χριστι-  
335 ανῷ καὶ φήσας αὐτῷ· Ἰσχυρὸς μοι ἀπὸ τὰς βίβλους ὑμῶν, ἴσως ἀναγνοὺς ὀφεληθῶ καὶ γένωμαι κἀγὼ χριστιανός.”

328 ἐγείραι – 329 περιπάτει Ιο. 5.8 | 331 πορεύομαι – 332 ὑμῶν Ιο. 20.17

C X D μ S H T V | 330 Ἐρβᾶν [ (S H T V)

325 τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ < D οἷα μὴ θέμις] θάνατον κατ’ αὐτοῦ SHTV ἐπειδὴ – 327 καταλιμπάνων < SHTV | 326 ἐκείνοις D λίαν < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 327 καταλιμπάνων < μ | 327 κατελιμπάνων C οὖν < μ SHTV τοῦ < SHTV τοῦτο < μ τοῦτο τὸ < SHTV | 328 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] τὸ D μ τῶν παραλύτων μ τὸν κράβατόν σου SHTV | 329 καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια < SHTV παραπλήσια + τούτοις D τούτοις παραπλήσια μ | 330 Ἐρβᾶν – 576 σου SHTV infra α λέγει < C μ ἀληθῆς post θεοῦ μ | 331 πορεύομαι + φησὶ D μου καὶ πατέρα < D | 332 αὐτὸν D ἀνθρώπου C | 333 κατοπιτεύειεν D γε κατ’ ἰδίαν < μ πολλακίς κατ’ ἰδίαν D | 334 καὶ < μ σχηματισάμενος ἐπὶ] εἰπὼν μ ἀγαπητῷ < μ φίλῳ μου μ | 335 καὶ φήσας αὐτῷ < μ παρέχε C τῶν βιβλίων τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπως γνοὺς μ ὀφελεθῶ C

330 α Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Εἰ καὶ (+ ἀληθῶς H) σὺ (ἐσὺ H) λέγεις, ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἴδωμεν καὶ αὐτὸν (+ καὶ T) ἡμεῖς τοῖς σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ παυσώμεθα τῆς πολλῆς φιλονεικίας. Ἄλλ’ οὐ δυνήσκει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, οὐδ’ ἂν περιπετασθῆς.”

Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος μεγάλως θλιβεὶς τῇ ψυχῇ (τὴν ψυχὴν T) πρὸς τὸν Ἐρβᾶν ἔφη· “Ὁ γενεὰ (γενεαὶ S) ἄπιστος καὶ διστραμμένη, ὑμεῖς αἰεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς. Ἀπιστεῖς ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι αὐτόν, καὶ καταγαγεῖν ὑμᾶς ὡς Δαθάν καὶ Ἀβειρών καὶ Κορὲ εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, ὡς ποτὲ ὁ Μωυσῆς ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς παραβάτας τοῦ νόμου. Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ δοῦλος ὑπάρχω, καὶ ὅτι δυνατοῦ ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ μου καὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, δεῖξω σοι, Ἐρβᾶν, τοῖς σωματικοῖς σου ὀφθαλμοῖς θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πάντας τοὺς συμπαρόντας σὺν ἡμῖν (ὑμῖν H).”

Καὶ χωρίσας αὐτὸν μικρὸν (μικρὸν < T) ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔκ τε τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, τύψας δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στήθος ἐβόησε πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον·

Προσευχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου

“Κύριε παντοκράτωρ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ (κατ’ < H) εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν κατάρχειν πάσης τῆς (τῆς < H) κτίσεως, ὁ ἐξαποστείλας τὸν λόγον σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ καταξιώσας αὐτὸν προσλαβέσθαι σάρκα ἐκ (ἐκ < T) τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ (ἀχράντου καὶ < TV) ὑπεραμώμου θεοτόκου· καὶ σὺ, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ

synagogues, the scribes and Pharisees in such a way did to him what was not right, for the people exalted him highly above these when he worked wonders and left them behind as bare men, sinners and useless ones. Now what transgression of the law is it to raise the dead and to open the eyes of the blind and to say to the paralytic: *Rise, take up your bed and walk*, and similar things?"

Herban said:<sup>121</sup> "If he was the true Son of God, for which reason did he announce to his disciples: *I go to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God?* Here he declares himself through his own mouth to be a man similar to his disciples, and not a god. For although you suspect me as a Jew, yet I have often read your Gospels privately; dissimulating to some beloved Christian friend I said to him: 'Give me some of your books, perhaps I will be helped when I read them, and will become a Christian myself as well.'

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τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, ὁ φωτίσας τὰ ἐσκοτισμένα, ὁ νεκροὺς ἀναστήσας καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίσας καὶ τυφλοὺς ὀμματώσας καὶ χωλοὺς (sic) ἀνορθώσας, ὁ καταξιώσας τὴν τοῦ Ἀδάμ εἰκόνα λαβεῖν (εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἀναλαβεῖν TV), ὁ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ διαρρήξας καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις συναυλιζόμενος (ἀυλιζόμενος S) τοῖς σοῖς μαθηταῖς μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν

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<sup>121</sup> Abridged version of lines 330–576 in SHTV:

□ Herban said: "If you say that Christ was God and did this, let us see him with our corporeal eyes, and we will end our great contentiousness. But you will not be able to do that, not even I you could fly around."

The archbishop was greatly afflicted in his soul and said to Herban: "O unbelieving race which has gone astray, you also, like your fathers, are always opposed to the Holy Ghost. You do not believe that I can deprecate him, and he will lead you down into the abyss like Dathan, Abiron and Kore, as once Moses did to them as transgressors of the law. But since I am the servant of a God who loves mankind, and since my God has the power to do this as well, I will show you, Herban, that you and all those who are present here together with us will see him with your corporeal eyes.

And separating himself a little from the king and all the people, the bishop extended his hands tinto heaven, hit his breast and cried to the Highest:

Prayer of the holy one

"Almighty Lord, God of Israel, who made heaven, earth and sea and all which is therein, who created man according to your shape and likeness and gave him power to rule over all creation, who sent your word out onto earth, our Lord Jesus Christ, and deemed him worthy to accept flesh from the immaculate and all-pure Mother of God; and you, Lord Jesus Christ, the true light that enlightens the dark things, you who have raised the dead, cleansed the lepers, made the blind seeing and have raised the lame, who have deemed worthy to take up the shape of Adam, who have destroyed the transgression of Adam on the cross, have raised him within three days from his grave, who have dwelt together with your disciples forty days after your resurrection

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη “Οὐ μεμπτέον τόγε, εἰ τὰς γραφὰς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπαξ ἀνα-  
 γινώσκεις. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τόγε φιλικῶς ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἴσως τίς ἐκ τῶν ἀπίστων ἀναγι- 768A  
 νώσκων συνιεῖ καὶ παραχρῆμα ὠφεληθήσεται. Ὅτι δὲ ἐκ μόνης τῆς ῥήσεως ταύτης  
 340 ἄνθρωπον μόνον καὶ οὐ θεὸν κατοπτεύεις τὸν κύριόν μου Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐπεὶ εἶρηκε  
 τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι *Πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ θεὸν μου*  
*καὶ θεὸν ὑμῶν*, πρόσσεχε· Κατὰ μὲν τὴν θεότητα, ὅτι θεὸς ἦν καὶ υἱὸς θεοῦ, κατὰ φύσιν  
 εἶρηκεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν θεὸν πατέρα· κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ δεικνύς,  
 καθότι ἐπ’ ἀληθείας καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, χειρὶ ἰδίᾳ, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποτελεσθεῖς,  
 345 ἐνέφηγεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεόν. Θεὸς ἦν καὶ ἄνθρωπος κατ’ οὐσίαν διττῶς, ἀλλ’ οὐ  
 καθ’ ὑπόστασιν. Πολλάκις δὲ φίλον καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν οἰονοῦν τὸν  
 γνήσιον πατέρα κύριον καὶ δεσπότην ἑαυτοῦ ἀπογράφεσθε ἴσως διὰ τὴν τιμὴν, οὐ τόγε δὲ  
 καὶ δι’ εὐλάβειαν καὶ ἔρωτα ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας, καθὼς περ κέκτηται πρὸς τὸν γεγεννηκό-  
 τα. Καὶ τόγε οὐ πρόσσεσι τί τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων. Περί δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, καθότι  
 350 παραπλησίως ἑαυτῷ εἶρηκε κάκεινοις εἵνεκα τοῦδε, οὐθὲν παρεφύσατο, ὅτι μὲν πατέρα  
 λελάληκεν τὸν θεὸν τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα προφήτην, ὅτι *υἱοὺς ἐγέννη-*  
*σα καὶ ὕψωσα*, ὅτι δὲ καὶ θεὸν αὐτῶν, πᾶς γηγενῆς ποιήμα καὶ κτίσμα θεοῦ. Μᾶλλον δὲ 768B  
 τῶν ἁγίων πέλειεν θεὸς ὁ κύριος· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ δεδῆλωται δι’ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν. Τῶν δὲ  
 ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ὁ κύριος, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἔστιν αὐτῶν θεός, ἥνπερ  
 355 ἀγαπῶσι καὶ ἐργάζονται. Πατήρ δὲ τῶν δικαίων ὁ θεὸς οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ γε κατὰ  
 χάριν· θεὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος δημιουργήσας αὐτούς.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα καὶ ἑτέροις δηλωθήσονται.” Ἐώρα γὰρ Παλλάδιον  
 τὸν σχολαστικὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὃν ἦγαγεν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας λόγῳ νοταρίου, ἑκα-  
 τέρων τὰ ῥήματα σημειούμενον, τοῦ τε Ἐρβᾶν καὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου.

360 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Διὰ ταῦτα εἶρηκεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι *Ἡ δῆλωσις τῶν λόγων*  
*σου φωτίζει καὶ συνεπιεῖ νηπίους*” 768C

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τίνα πεφύκασι τὰ νήπια, περὶ ὧν εἶρηκε, καθότι *φωτίζει νηπίους*,”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Νηπίους εἶρηκεν ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἑβραίους τοὺς ὡς νήπια, ὡς  
 ἄλλῳ γάλακτι διὰ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς νόμου τρεφομένους καὶ παιδευομένους, ἵνα καιρῷ τῷ προ-

351 υἱοὺς – 352 ὕψωσα Is. 1.2 | 360 ἦ – 361 νηπίους Ps. 118.130 | 363 νηπίους – 364  
 παιδευομένους cf. 1 Pet. 2.1

### C X D μ (S H T V)

337 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἔφη < C τόγε < μ εἰ] εἰς D ἀπαξ < μ | 338 καὶ < μ  
 τόγε] τόδε CX τοῦτο μ φιλικῶς < μ ἴσως τίς ἐκ] εἴπερ τις μ | 339 καὶ συνιεῖς μ καὶ] ἴσως μ δὲ <  
 μ αὐτῆς D | 340 ἐπεὶ] ὅτι μ | 341 ὅτι < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 342 ὑμῶν] καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ | 342 ἦν] ὧν X καὶ<sup>2</sup> <  
 CX | 343 εἰρηκέναι D αὐτοῦ D τὸν θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ μ δὲ] τῆς sic C | 344 ὅτι μ καὶ < μ ἰδίᾳ τοῦτ’  
 ἔστι < μ τῇ] τῆς D | 345 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 347 πατέρα < D καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 349 ἀντιλεγομένων] κύριον τε καὶ  
 δεσπότην ἀποκαλῶν μ | 347 οὐ τόγε δὲ] τούτων εἶτε D | 348 φιλίας καὶ ἀγάπης D | 349 μαθητῶν  
 < C ὅτι μ | 350 παραπλησίως < μ ἑαυτῷ < C μ κάκεινοις < μ ἔνεκεν D εἵνεκα τοῦδε οὐθὲν]  
 τοῦτο οὐδὲν μ μὲν γὰρ μ | 351 τὸν θεὸν post αὐτῶν μ κατὰ – ὅτι] φησὶν ὁ προφήτης μ εἰρηκότα  
 < D | 352 αὐτῶν < μ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ μ δε<sup>2</sup>] τε C D | 353 πέλειεν] ἐστὶ μ τοῦτο – ἀγαθῶν < μ

The archbishop said: “It is not reproachable, if you read the Scriptures of the Christians one time. For we also approve of this, since perhaps some unbeliever will understand when reading them and will be helped at once. On that you suspect my Lord Jesus Christ only from this word to be just a man and not God, since he said to his disciples, *I go to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God*, listen: In his divinity, because he was God and Son of God, he called God his father according to nature; according to the measure of his humanity he showed that he was in truth a man as well, and being made with his own hand, that is that of his Father, he spoke of his Father and God. He was God and man, twofold in his substance, but not in his subsistence. Often you declare, from among you men yourselves, a genuine father to be your friend since he is someone’s lord and master, but do this perhaps in regard to his honour, not because of the reverence, desire to love and friendship <a man> has towards the one that has begotten him. And there is no contradiction to this. He did not lie concerning his disciples, when he spoke about this in a similar way to himself and to those, that he called the God of his disciples Father according to the saying of the prophet, *I begot sons and brought them up*, and that he called him also their God, for every earthborn is a creation and work of God. God is rather the Lord of the saints, for this has also been revealed by their good works. But God is not the Lord of the faithless and sinners, but sin is their god, which they love and work. God is the Father of the righteous not according to nature, but according to his grace, and God since he has created them before all times.”

Herban said: “These words will also be announced to others.” For he saw Palladios, the legal adviser of the archbishop, whom he had brought from Alexandria as a secretary, recording the words of both of them, of Herban and the most blessed archbishop.

The archbishop said: “Therefore the prophet said, *The announcement of your words will enlighten the infants and make them wise.*”

Herban said: “Who are the infants, about whom he said that he would enlighten the infants?”

The archbishop said: “He called you Hebrews infants, because you were nourished and educated like infants with the incomplete law as with another milk, so that, when

δεδούλωνται D | 354 ἀλλ’ + ἦ D θεὸς αὐτῶν μ | 355 δὲ] μὲν γὰρ μ γε < D μ | 356 καὶ < μ αἰῶνος] μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι D μ | 357 λέγει < μ Παλλάδιον μ] πάλαι διὰ D, < CX | 358 τῶν σχολαστικῶν – ὦν D ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤγαγεν μ λόγον D λόγῳ νοταρίου < μ τὰ ῥήματα ἑκατέρων μ | 359 σημειουμένων D τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – ἀρχιεπισκόπου < μ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἀγιώτατου Χ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Γρηγεντίου C | 360 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἔφη < C ὅτι < μ δὴλωσις + φησὶν D | 362 λέγει] ἔφη D, < C μ τίνα – νήπια post νηπίους D πεφύκασι] εἰσὶν μ ὦν] τίνων D καθότι φωτιεῖ νηπίους < μ φωτιεῖ + φησὶν D | 363 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ νηπίους] νήπια C νήπια + καὶ D



365 βαίνοντι Χριστοῦ παραγεγονότος καὶ τῶν τελείων διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐφάφησθε, κἄν ἠστοχήσατε τῆς προθέσεως.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Μωσοῦς καὶ Ἥλιος οὐκ ἄρα διὰ τοῦ ἀτελοῦς νόμου τοῦδε τέλειοι καθωράθησαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ νόμου καλῶς αὐτῷ εὐαρεστήσαντες; Οὐκοῦν κατὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν τὸν νόμον ἀτελῆ καθείρηκα; Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν φαίνεται στόμα πρὸς στόμα τῷ θεῷ προσομιλήσας, καθάπερ τις φίλος πρὸς φίλτατον ἀγαπητὸν αὐτοῦ. Αἴγυπτὸν τε ἐμάστιξεν ὡς θεὸς Φαραῶ δοθείς, οἶμαι, ἐν ἑπτὰ πληγαῖς, καὶ θάλασσαν ῥάβδῳ διέσχισε καὶ λαὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ διεβίβασε καὶ πλάκας χειρὶ θεοῦ γραφείσας τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας νηστεύσας ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ λαῷ νενομοθέτηκε, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἴσως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι. Ἥλιος δὲ οὐ κατήνεγκε πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, δις τοῦτο καὶ τρίς, καὶ ἕτεοῦ νομᾶς θέλων οὐκ ἄρα ἀπέκλεισεν τρία ἡμισυ ἔτη; Οὐ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας νενήστευκε νῆστις, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ὀδεύων οὐχὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὡς διὰ ξηρᾶς ἐπέξουσεν, ἐν Χωρηῆβ δὲ τῇ λεπτοτάτῃ αὐρᾶ οὐχ ἑώρακε παραπορευόμενος τὸν θεὸν τοῦ νόμου τὸν ἅγιον, οὐκ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἄρμα πυρός, καὶ ἀρθείς διὰ τοῦ ἄρματος οὐκ ἀνελήφθη ἄρα ὡς ἐν συσσεισμῷ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐν ζῶσι ζήσεται μέχρι τῆς δευρο; Πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνει τὸν νόμον νήπιον εἶναι καὶ ἀτελῆ τε καὶ ἀνενέργητον;”

Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἀτελῆ εἶρηκα τὸν νόμον, ἔστω ἅπαξ καὶ νηπιωδέστατον, ἀνενέργητον δὲ οὐδαμῶς· διὰ πλειόνων γὰρ τεκμηρίων ἱκανοὺς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν ἤξιωσε. Περὶ δὲ Ἥλιου καὶ Μωσέως μηδεὶς σοὶ λόγος. Ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν πάντα ἐπράχθη ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ κυρίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ· πλὴν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τούτοις ἡ τελείωσις τῆς ἐναρέτου πολιτείας καταφαίνεται, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι’ οὗ πᾶσα ἁμαρτία ἀνήρηται. Ὁ νόμος γὰρ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη καταλύσαι τὴν πλάνην τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἀλλὰ γε μᾶλλον ἡ χάρις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια. Μωσῆς γὰρ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἠδυνήθη ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀκρατέες τοῦ λαοῦ ὄρμημα εἰς τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν κύριον. Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς φαίνεται ἡμαρτηκῶς ἐνώπιον κυρίου, ὅποταν ἐλήλυθε μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς Μερρᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο πειν ὑδωρ ἐκ Μερρᾶς, ὅτι πικρὸν ἦν, καὶ ἐγόγυ-

371 θεὸς Φαραῶ cf. Ex. 7.1 θάλασσαν – 372 διεβίβασε cf. Ex. 14.21–22 | 372 πλάκας – 373 ἐδέξατο cf. Ex. 24.12–18 | 374 Ἥλιος – οὐρανοῦ cf. 3 Reg. 18.38 ἕτεοῦ – 375 ἔτη cf. 3 Reg. 17.1; 18.1 | 375 τεσσαράκοντα – νῆστις cf. 3 Reg. 19.8 | 376 ὀδεύων – ἐπέξουσεν cf. 4 Reg. 2.8 ἐν – 378 ἅγιον cf. 3 Reg. 19.12–13 | 378 ἀπέστειλεν – 379 οὐρανὸν cf. 4 Reg. 2.11 | 390 ἐλήλυθε – 392 λέγοντες cf. Ex. 15.23–24 | 391 ἐγόγγυζεν – 395 βηματίσαι cf. Num. 20.2–13; Ex. 17.3

C X D μ (S H T V) | 368 αὐτῷ C]

365 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν D ἐφάψασθε D | 367 λέγει < μ καὶ Ἥλιος < C οὐχ D νόμου + ἡμῶν μ, < D τοῦδε post τοῦ D μ | 368 τῷ θεῷ τῷ CX αὐτῷ < μ οὐκοῦν κατὰ ποίαν] κατὰ ποίαν οὖν μ | 369 καθείρηκας] καθὰ εἶρηκας X εἶρηκας μ πρὸς] κατὰ D τῷ < D μ προσομιλήσας θεῷ μ | 370 ὀμιλήσας D φίλον μ ἀγαπητὸν < X | 371 δοθείς οἶμαι < μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 373 νενομοθέτηκε < μ | 372 ἐκεῖθεν < D | 373 τὰ] τ’ D μ καὶ<sup>3</sup> < μ | 374 ἀπὸ] ἐκ D μ δις – τρίς < μ ἕτεοῦ νομᾶς post 375 ἀπέκλεισεν μ | 375 θέλων οὐκ ἄρα < μ τρία ἡμισυ ἔτη] ἔτη τρία σὺν μηνσὶν ἕξ μ νενήστευσε X ὠδευσε μ | 376 καὶ – ἐπέξουσεν < μ αὐτοῦ] αὐτὰς D ὡς < D ἐπέξουσεν + οὐκ ἄρα μ | 377 δὲ] τε

768D

769A

769B

time progressed and Christ came, you achieved perfection through his grace, although you had missed your intention before.”

Herban said: “Were not Moses and Elija regarded as perfect by the God of the law through this incomplete law, because they pleased him well? So for what reason did you disparage the law calling it incomplete? For it appears that the one of them spoke mouth to mouth with God, just as a friend to his dearest friend. He chastised Egypt, I think, with seven plagues<sup>122</sup> like a god sent to Pharaoh, he divided the sea with his staff and led the people across from there with unmoistened feet, and having fasted for forty days he received the tablets of the law which were written by the hand of God, and announced the law to the people; and the other things you perhaps know yourself. And did Elijah not bring fire down from heaven, and that twice and thrice, and did he not stay rain from the pastures for three and a half years by his will? Did he not fast forty days without eating, and above all, when he travelled in his days, did he not walk through the Jordan as through dry land, did he not see on mount Horeb the holy God of the law in a light wind, when he went there, did God not send him a chariot of fire, and was he not lifted up with this chariot and accepted into heaven as in a whirlwind, and was to be among the living until today? Now how do you declare the law to be childish, incomplete and inefficient?”

The archbishop said: “I have called the law incomplete, maybe once also very childish, but in no way inefficient; for by many proofs it was deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven by a sufficient number of people. Concerning Moses and Elijah there is no argument for you. I know very precisely myself that all this has been done to them by the Lord, save that the completion of the virtuous living does not appear in these wonders, but in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ by which every sin is destroyed. For the law was unable to dissolve the deceit of idolatry and to destroy sin, but rather the grace and truth of Jesus Christ. For not even Moses could resist the intemperate rush of the people, so that they would not commit sin, but be faithful and fear the Lord. Rather it appears that he himself sinned before the Lord, when he came with the people to Marah *and they could not drink water from Marah, for it was bitter*, and the people

D, < μ οὐχ] οὐκ ἄρα D, < μ παραπορευόμενος ἑώρακε μ παραπορευόμενος < D τὸν ἅγιον < D μ | 378 οὐκ<sup>1</sup> – 379 οὐρανὸν < μ | 379 σώζεται D | 380 τὸν νόμον] ἐν τῷ νόμῳ X εἶναι καὶ < μ τε < X ἀνερέγητον] σαθρώτατον D | 381 ἔστω – νηπιωδέστατον < μ ἅπαξ καὶ D | 382 οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἀνερέγητον μ | 383 Μωυσέως D ταῦτα μὲν] μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα D μ πάντα] αὐτὰ X, < μ | 384 ἐπ’ < μ σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πολλῇ < X πολλῇ] πλείονι· καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος τοῦτο γινώσκεις D | 386 τοῦ κυρίου < X Χριστοῦ < μ ἠβουλήθη μ | 387 γε < μ | 388 Μωυσῆς D γὰρ] δὲ D μ οὔτε αὐτὸς] οὐκ μ τί ἀντισχεῖν X | 390 μᾶλλον δὲ] ἀλλὰ μ ὅταν ἦλθε μ | 391 Μερρᾶς<sup>1</sup>] Μερᾶν μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – Μερρᾶς<sup>2</sup> < X πίνειν ὅτι πικρὸν] πικρὸν γὰρ μ

<sup>122</sup> Actually ‘ten plagues’, here and at E 400.

γυζεν ὁ λαὸς κατὰ κυρίου λέγοντες· ‘Πονηρὸν μεθ’ ἡμῶν κύριος πεποίηκεν ἐξάξιας ἡμᾶς  
 ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ οὔτε κἂν ὕδωρ αὐτὸ τῇ κτίσει κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν εὐρᾶναι δυνάμεθα  
 τοῦ κορεσθῆναι.’ Τὸ τηρικαῦτα δὲ φαίνεται καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνίων καὶ συγγογγύζων τῷ λαῷ  
 395 κατὰ κυρίου, ὅθεν οὔτε τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας εἶασεν αὐτὸν βηματίσαι, ἀλλ’ ἀναγαγὼν  
 αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ ἐκείθεν αὐτῷ ἔδειξε πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶθ’  
 οὕτως εἶρηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι· ‘*Ανάβαινε εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ τελεύτα*’ οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσεις  
 τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, καθότι καὶ αὐτός’, φησί, ‘μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ με παρώργισας.’ Καὶ ἐν  
 αὐτῷ τῷ ὄρει φαίνεται τελευτῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας οὐ βεβημάτηκεν ὁ στόμα  
 400 κατὰ στόμα τῷ θεῷ λαλήσας καὶ Αἴγυπτον ὡς θεὸς Φαραῶ ἐπτὰ πληγαῖς μαστίξας καὶ 769C  
 θάλασσαν ῥάβδῳ σχίσας καὶ πλάκας δακτύλῳ θεοῦ γραφείσας δεξάμενος καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.  
 Ἥλιος δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸς ἠδυνήθη ἀντισχεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν  
 λαὸν κυρίου ἐκ τῆς βλάβης αὐτῆς ἐξαιρεσθαι, μάλα τε ἀπιδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις  
 αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν λαὸν τῇ Βάαλ τὸ γόνυ κάμπτοντα ὀργισθεὶς ἐν τῷ μηδὲν αὐτὸν δύνα-  
 405 σθαι κατεργάσασθαι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ ἀρὰν τρέπεται καὶ κατὰ τῆς κτίσεως χωρεῖ καὶ ἀσπλαγ-  
 χίαν ἐνδύεται. Καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν πῦρ αἰτεῖ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ καταφαγεῖν τὸν  
 πεντηκόνταρχον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στραπίώτας πεντήκοντα, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν· εἶτα ἐτέρου  
 πεντηκοντάρχου παραγεγονότος πρὸς αὐτὸν μεθ’ ἐτέρων πεντήκοντα στρατιωτῶν, καὶ  
 αὐτοῖς μηθὲν ἠδικηκόσιν ἐν ὀργῇ ἐπιφέρει τὸν παρόμοιον τοῖς πρώτοις ὄλεθρον· μετὰ 769D  
 410 ταῦτα κατασφάττει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς τῆς Βάαλ· εἶτα δεσμεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀσπλαγχνίᾳ φερ-  
 ὄμενος πρὸς τὸ ἀφανίσαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῇ ἀυχμηρίᾳ. *Ζῆ γάρ*, φησί,  
*κύριος, εἰ ἔσται ὑετὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματός μου.* Καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον  
 ἐγεγονεῖ· οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἔξ ἅπασα ἡ οἰκουμένη φρικωδεστάτῃ ἀυχμηρίᾳ  
 καύσωνι τε πικροτάτῳ πυρετοῦ ἴσον οὐδὲν ἀπεικόςτος ἐλεεῖνως συνείχετο. Καὶ ἐπεκράτει  
 415 ἡ ἔνδεια φοβερῶς, πείνα μετὰ δίψους, βία μετὰ ἰσχύος· ὁ δὲ θάνατος καὶ αὐτὸς ἄδειαν  
 εὐρηκῶς τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ προφήτου, ἰσχυρῶς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν διαφθορᾷ κατενέ-  
 μετο. Καὶ Ἥλιος τούτων γινομένων οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐσπλαγχνίζετο καὶ οὐκ ἔλυε τὴν συμφορὰν,  
 ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἐμαίνετο καὶ εἰ ἄδειαν εὔρε, μάλα ἐπέτεινεν ἂν τὴν ὀργὴν. Πῶς οὖν οἱ τηλικού-  
 420 τοις ὀλισθήμασιν ὀλισθήσαντες, ὡς διαγγέλεις σὺ καὶ φάσκεις ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, τέλειοι 772A  
 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἐγένοντο; Οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς· ἄνθρωποι γὰρ φιλοὶ πέλοντες ἀνάγκη προσῆν καὶ

397 ἀνάβαινε – τελεύτα Deut. 32.49 | 403 ἀπιδῶν – 406 ἐνδύεται cf. 3 Reg. 18.25–40 | 406 πῦρ  
 – 409 ὄλεθρον cf. 4 Reg. 1.9–12 | 410 δεσμεῖ – 412 μου cf. 3 Reg. 17.1

**X D μ (S H T V) | 408 |ιωτῶν [C**

392 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς D τοῦ κυρίου μ λέγων D ὁ κύριος μ | 393 οὔτε] οὐδὲ μ αὐτὸ] αὐτὸς τὸ ἀγόνῳ  
 D αὐτὸ – δοκοῦν < μ εὐρεθῆναι X εὐρεῖν μ | 394 τὸ < μ δὲ] δὴ μ, < D Μωυσῆς μ ἀνίων καὶ < μ |  
 395 τοῦ κυρίου D μ οὐδὲ μ αὐτὸν] αὐτῷ D, < X ἀλλὰ D | 396 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν D πᾶσαν – καὶ]  
 ταύτην μ | 397 ὅτι < μ | 398 φησί < μ | 399 οὐκ ἐβημάτισεν D | 400 κατὰ] πρὸς μ θεῷ D καί<sup>2</sup> +  
 ῥάβδῳ X καί<sup>2</sup> – 401 δεξάμενος < μ | 402 τῷ λαῷ D | 403 ἐξαιρήσασθαι D μάλα – 404 αὐτοῦ]  
 ἀλλ’ ἰδῶν μ | 404 αὐτὸν < μ δύνασθαι τι X | 405 κατεργάσασθαι μᾶλλον] ποιῆσαι μ τρέπεσθαι D  
 καί<sup>1</sup> – χωρεῖ post 406 ἐνδύεται μ | 406 τὰ < μ αἰτεῖ < D | 407 πενήκοντα στρατιώτας μ εἶθ’ μ |  
 409 μηδὲν μ ἠδικόσιν X ἐπισφύρεται X ὁμοιον μ | 410 σφάττει μ τοὺς τῆς Βάαλ] τῆς αἰσχύνης

murmured against the Lord and said: ‘The Lord did a bad thing to us, when he led us out of Egypt, and we cannot even find water, as it would be needed for our property to be satiated.’ Then, it appears, Moses went up and murmured against the Lord together with the people, wherefore he did not even let him walk in the Promised Land,<sup>123</sup> but leading him up on a high mountain he showed him all the Promised Land from there, and then said to him: ‘*Go up to the mountain and die*, for you will not inherit the Promised Land, for you have made me angry,’ he said, ‘together with the people.’ And it appears that he died on this mountain and did not place his feet in the Promised Land, he that had spoken to God from mouth to mouth, had chastised Egypt like a God sent to Pharaoh, had divided the sea with his rod, had received tablets which were written by the finger of God, and so on. And not even Elijah could resist sinning; instead of destroying sin and redeeming the people of the Lord from this damage, he became angry when he saw all the people in his days bending their knees to Baal, because he was unable to do anything, and turned to curse them instead, advanced against creation and put on mercilessness. And first he demanded that fire should come from heaven and devour the commander of fifty and the fifty soldiers who were with him, which also happened; then, when another commander of fifty came to him with another fifty soldiers, in his anger he inflicted on them a destruction similar to the previous one, although they had not done him any wrong; then he slaughtered the priests of Baal, and driven by his mercilessness he charmed heaven to make the whole world disappear in famine and drought. *For as the Lord lives*, he says, *there will be no rain on earth, if not by my word*. And his word became deed; so for three years and six months the whole world was miserably affected by a most awful drought and bitter heat as with a most unusual fever. And need increased frightfully, and there was hunger with thirst, violence with force; and death itself, finding the charm of the prophet as a pretext, ravaged human nature with all might by corruption. And when all this happened, Elijah felt no pity at all and did not put an end to the misfortune, but raged even more, and if he had found a pretext, he would even have extended his anger. Now how did these, who slid in such sins, become perfect in the law, as you declare and say, just as it happens? O no, never! For they were

ἦτοι τοῦ Βάαλ πενήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίους μ | 411 ἀφανίσαι + πάντως D μ τὴν οἰκουμένην  
 πᾶσαν μ ἀνδρία CX ἀχηρία D | 412 ὁ κύριος D | 413 οὐκοῦν – μήνας] καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσι σὺν  
 μηνί μ φρικωδεστάτῳ CX ἀχηρία < CX | 414 πυρετοῦ – ἀπεικότος < μ ἴσως D οὐθέν CX  
 καὶ – 417 κατενέμετο < μ ἀπεκράτει C | 415 ἐν πείνῃ μετὰ δίψης D | 416 τῶν δεσμῶν C τῇ  
 ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει D | 417 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – 418 ὀργήν] καὶ τούτων γινομένων ὁ Ἥλιος ἔτι ἐμαίνετο μ  
 εὐσπλαγχνίζετο C καὶ<sup>2</sup> < D | 418 καὶ – ὀργήν < D εἰ < C σὺν < μ | 419 ὀλισθήμασιν]  
 ἀμαρτήμασιν μ ὡς<sup>1</sup> – ἔτυχε < μ | 420 οὐ μὴν] ὡς σὺ φῆς μ ἀνθρώπους γὰρ φιλοῦς πέλοντας μ  
 ὡς ἀνάγκη C ἦν μ

<sup>123</sup> Moses’ sweetening of the bitter waters at Marah (Ex. 15.23–25) and the revolt in the encampment of Quadesh (Num. 20.2–13) have been conflated here to one scene.

ὑπὸ ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοὺς εὐρέθηται. Τέλειος δὲ εἰς ἐστί. Τίς ἐκείνος; Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ μὴ  
 δουλωθεὶς ζυγῷ ἀμαρτίας διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας, ὁ μὴ ποιήσας πώποτε ἀνομίαν, ὁ μὴ τελείας  
 ἐν τινι ἀδικίαν, *ὁ ἀθῶος χερσὶ καὶ καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὃς οὐκ ἐδόλωσεν ἐν γλώσση αὐτοῦ*  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε τινὶ πονηρὸν οὐδαμῶς κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, διέμεινε δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ τελείᾳ  
 425 αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητι ἄσπλος, ἡγιασμένος, καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναμάρτητος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἰσχυρὸς  
 τε ὡς καὶ *κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός*. Ἀνέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἀμαρτίαν ἐν  
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων ἀνέβλεν αὐτὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τὰ πλανώμενα  
 ἔθνη ἐκσπᾶσας τοῦ διαβόλου ὠδήγησε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ θεόν. Καὶ τὴν κάτω κειμένην  
 φύσιν θεώσας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τε ἀναγαγὼν συνεδριάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ πεποίηκε.  
 430 Τοῦτο, Ἐρβᾶν, ἡ τελείωσις, ἐπεὶ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἥλιος οὐθὲν τελείως ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γέ-  
 νους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τί κατεργάσασθαι ἠδυνήθησαν, εἰ μὴ *εἰς ἄγιος, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς*  
*Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς, ἀμήν*. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ θαύματα, ἅπερ εἴρηκας ὅτι πεποίηκεν  
 ὁ θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέως καὶ Ἥλιου, τελειότητα ἀρετῆς ταῦτα ἠγείσαι, λοιπὸν καὶ αἱ ἑξακο-  
 σίαί ἐκείναι χιλιάδες αἱ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ διαπεράσασαι, ἃς καὶ ἡ  
 435 νεφέλη τοῦ φωτὸς ἐπεσκίαζεν ἡμέρας καὶ ὁ στῦλος τοῦ πυρὸς ἐφώτιζεν ἐν νυκτί, νομισθή-  
 τωσάν σοι ἐν ἀγιασμῷ τετελειωμένα, ἀνθ' ὅσον ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐταῖς ἑτερατούργησε τὰ εἰρη-  
 μένα ἐξαισία θαύματα. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ἐκείναι γὰρ αἱ χιλιάδες πᾶσαι ἐν τῇ ἐρή-  
 μῳ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἔτει διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἀνομίαν ἄρδην ἐκέισε κατεστρώθησαν. 772C  
 Καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτων δείκνυται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῷ θαυματουργεῖν ἐπὶ ποι τὸν ὑψιστον, τοῦτο ἐν  
 440 αὐτοῖς ἡ τελειότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἵνεκα κυρίου καὶ πειράζεσθαι καὶ  
 κακοπαθεῖν καὶ ἀδοξεῖν καὶ καρτερεῖν ἐν ταπεινότητι καὶ εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ μηδὲν σημεῖον  
 εἰσπράττειν πάρεξ πινὸς ἀνάγκης. Τοῦτο ἡ τελειότης ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις, ὅπταν καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ  
 ὦσιν αἰεὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἡρνημένοι τῆς κτίσεως. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴρηκα οὐ κατηγορῶν Μωυσέως  
 καὶ Ἥλιου, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐν ποι χαρακτηρῶσι δῆλον πέφυκεν ἡ τελειότης τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 445 προφανέστατα. Μωσῆα δὲ καὶ Ἥλιον τὸ τηρικαῦτα θεὸς τελείους ἐναπεκατέστησεν δούς  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελειότητος, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ χάριτος, ὅπταν ἐν τῷ Θαβωρίῳ σαρκωθεὶς  
 μετεμορφώθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἐμὸς μεταξὺ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου καὶ 772D  
 Ἰωάννου, *καὶ ἔλαμψε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο λευκὰ*  
*ὡς τὸ φῶς*. Τὸ τηρικαῦτα ἐκελευσε, καὶ ἰδοὺ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἥλιος πνεύματι δυνάμει αὐ-  
 450 τοῦ ἤχθησαν καὶ παρέστησαν αὐτῷ εὐωχούμενοι καὶ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ συναστράπτοντες

423 ὁ – καρδίᾳ Ps. 23.4 ὃς – 424 πονηρὸν Ps. 14.3 | 426 κραταῖος – δυνατός Ps. 23.8 | 431 εἰς<sup>1</sup>  
 – 432 ἀμήν Liturgiae S. Basilii et S. Chrysostomi, ed. Brightman, *Liturgies*, 341.17–18 | 433 αἱ  
 – 435 νυκτί cf. Ex. 14.18–22 | 448 καὶ – 449 φῶς Mt. 17.2 | 449 Μωυσῆς – 451 αὐτῷ cf. Mt.  
 17.2; Mc. 9.4

#### C X D μ ( S H T V )

422 διὰ τῆς ἐργασίας < μ ποτὲ D μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 423 ἀδικίαν < μ | 424 καὶ – προφήτην < D μ οὐδαμῶς  
 post προφήτην C ἔμεινε μ μάλα C | 425 καὶ ἡγιασμένος D καθαρὸς καὶ ἀναμάρτητος < D  
 καθαρὸς – 426 δυνατός < μ δὲ] τε CX ἰσχυρὸς – 426 δυνατός] ὡς κραταῖος D | 426 δὲ < D δὲ +  
 αὐτὸς μ τοῦ παντὸς μ ἐν ἑαυτῷ < μ | 427 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < D ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ D μ καὶ ἀνέβλεν D | 428 τοῦ  
 διαβόλου ἐκσπᾶσας X τὰ πρὸς C φύσιν θεώσας κειμένην μ | 429 τε < μ συναγαγὼν μ | 430 ἐπεὶ

mere men, and so necessarily they were also subject to sin. There is only one who is perfect. Who is he? Jesus Christ, who was not enslaved to the yoke of sin through his work, who never worked iniquity, who did not do injustice to anybody, he *who has guileless hands and a pure heart, who did not beguile with his tongue* and never did anything bad to anybody according to the prophet, but remained faultless, sanctified, pure and free of sin in his perfect humanity, and rather strong, as being *mighty and powerful*. For he assumed the sin of the whole world within himself, killed it by his own sufferings in righteousness, dragged the nations, that had gone astray, away from the devil and led them to his Father and God. And he deified nature which was lying below, led it up to heaven and made it sit together with God Father. This, Herban, is perfection, for Moses and Elijah were unable to achieve anything completely for the salvation of the human race, but only *one saint, one Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God Father, amen*. And if you believe that the wonders, about which you said that God works them through Moses and Elijah, are the perfection of virtue, then you should also believe that those sixty thousand, who crossed the Red Sea with unmoistened feet, whom also the cloud of light overshadowed in the day and the pillar of fire enlightened by night, were perfect in their sanctity. But you will not be able to say so, for all those thousands utterly perished there in the desert for forty years because of their great iniquity. And thus it is shown, that this is not perfection if the Highest works wonders in somebody, but rather if somebody is punished for the Lord, is tempted in distress and contempt, endures in humbleness and gratitude and works no portent except in the case of some necessity. This is the perfection among the saints, when they are constantly in their mind with God, and deny creation. I did not say this to accuse Moses and Elijah, let it not be, but <to show> most clearly the characteristics of the perfection of virtue. At that time God made Moses and Elijah perfect, giving to them from his own perfection, that is his grace, when my master Jesus Christ, having become flesh, was transfigured in mount Thabor between Peter and Jacob and John, *and his face shone as the sun, and his garments were white as the light*. Then he gave his order, and see, Moses and Elijah were brought to him by the spirit of the power and stood before him being entertained

< D Μωσῆς μ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας post 431 ἀνθρώπων D οὐδὲν τελείως < D μ κοινοῦ γένους D μ | 431 τί] οὐδὲν post κατεργάσασθαι D, post ἠδυνήθησαν μ ἠδυνήθησαν κατεργάσασθαι D | 432 δὲ] τε D | 433 Μωυσεὺς μ καὶ τελειότητα C ἡγησάι X ἡγή μ λοιπὸν + οὖν D αἱ ἑξακόσῳ] ἑξακόσιοι μ | 435 ἐν] τῇ μ ἐν νυκτὶ] νυκτός D | 436 τελειωμένοι X ὁ < D ἐν αὐταῖς < D μ ἐταρατούργησε D | 437 ἑξαίσια < CX εἰπεῖν] τοῦτο μ, < D χιλιάδαι D | 438 αὐτῶν < μ | 439 τούτων + δὲ D | 440 τελείωσις D ἔνεκα D μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> < C | 441 μῆθὲν CX | 442 εἰσπράττειν] ποιεῖν μ τελείωσις D ἐν < μ καὶ < D | 443 ἀεὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ] ἐνδιακείμενοι μ εἰρηνημένοι D τὴν κτίσιν μ Μωυσεὺς D | 444 δηλῶν προφανέστατα ἢ τελειότης πέφυκε τῆς ἀρετῆς μ τελείωσις D | 445 Μωυσεάν D τότε τελείους ἀπεκατέστησεν ὁ θεὸς μ | 446 τοῦτ' ἔστι] ἡγουν μ τῆς χάριτος D σαρκωθεὶς μετεμορφώθη ἐν τῷ Θαβωρίῳ μ | 447 ἐμετεμορφώθη CX | 449 τὸ τηρικαῦτα] τηρικαῦτα γὰρ μ Μωσῆς X μ αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ μ | 450 εὐχοῦμενοι – αὐτοῦ < μ

αὐτῷ, τὸ τηnikaῦτα γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων· *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός*, φησίν, *αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.*”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Τὸν Ἥλιαν ἴσως ὡς ζῶντα παρέστησε, Μωσῆα δὲ τετελευτηκότα κατὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν; Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἀποθανῶν οὐκέτι παραγένηται.”

455 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ πᾶν ἢ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐ- 773A  
τοῦ οὐδὲν ἐστίν. Ἰμάτιον ἐστὶ συμφυὲς τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὁπότεν κελεύη ὁ θεός, ἀποστέλλει  
τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκδύουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὸ φθαρτὸν ἰμάτιον αὐτῆς, τὸ σῶμα, καθότι  
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὀφείλει ἀπελθεῖν, ὅπου τοιοῦτον ἰμάτιον σαρκικὸν τίς οὐκ ἔστι ὁ φορῶν·  
460 πάντες γὰρ πνεύματα. Καὶ λοιπὸν ὡς πνεῦμα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ ἀποφέρουσι καὶ ἐν οἷς κε-  
λεύει ὁ θεός κατοικίχεται, δηλονότι ὡς τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄμφια φοροῦσα. Οὕτω οὖν λοιπὸν  
ἦν καὶ Μωσῆως ἢ ψυχῆ, καὶ ὁπότεν χρεῖαν αὐτῆς ἔσχεν ὁ θεός, ἐσχημάτισεν αὐτῇ σῶμα  
διὰ ἰδίας δυνάμεως καὶ παρέστησεν αὐτὴν τῷ βραχίονι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Θαβὼρ θεά-  
466 σασθαι τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔπειτα πάλιν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτὴν, 773B  
ὅθεν ἀπῆρεν αὐτήν.”

465 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἴνα τί τὸν καιρὸν δαπανῶμεν ἐν λέξεσιν; Ἐγὼ παραλύσω τὴν δίκην·  
εἰ βούλει, ἵνα ἀπεριέργως πιστεύσω τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστί, δεῖξον μοι αὐτὸν ζῶντα, καὶ  
προσομιλήσω αὐτῷ, θεάσομαι αὐτὸν καὶ λαλήσω μετ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθέως τὴν ἥτταν ὁμολο-  
γῶ καὶ γίνομαι χριστιανός.”

470 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα Ἐρβᾶν ἐφθέγγετο, τὸ περιστοὺς πλήθος ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
ἐκραύγασε· “Παρακαλοῦμεν σε, διδάσκαλε, μὴ ἀπατηθῆς καὶ γένη χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ  
μᾶλλον ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀληθέστερον  
τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ, τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.” Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς·  
475 “Τὶ φλυαρίας εἰσφέρετε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸ μέσον; Ἀκούσατε· Ἐἴπερ πληροφορήσει με, ὅτι αὐτός  
ἐστίν, περὶ οὗ προεκελάδησαν οἱ προφῆται, ἀλλότριος ἔσομαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν πατέρων, εἰ 773C  
μὴ πιστεύσω καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.”

Θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, καθότι ἐπ’ ἀληθείας φθέγγεται καὶ οὐ κατὰ χλευήν,  
ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν· “Πῶς βούλει πληροφορήσω σε;”

480 Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Καθικέτευσον τὸν δεσπότην σου, καὶ εἰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐστίν, ὡς φά-  
σκεῖς, καταβάτω πρὸς με, καὶ θεάσομαι αὐτόν καὶ λαλήσω μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Καί, ζῆ κύριος, ὄν  
λέγεις ὅτι Ὁ πατήρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μου’, παραχρήμα βαπτίζομαι καὶ πιστεύω εἰς αὐτόν.”

452 οὗτός – ἀκούετε Mt. 17.5 | 471 ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἴσχυε Deut. 31.6

### C X D μ ( S H T V )

451 αὐτῷ < μ τὸ < D τὸ τηnikaῦτα γὰρ] ἡνίκα μ ἐκ τοῦ < C περὶ αὐτοῦ < μ | 452 οὗτός] αὐτός  
D φησίν < D μ | 453 καὶ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ λέγει < μ Μωσῆα D | 454 οὐκέτι λοιπὸν παραγίνεται D μ |  
455 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ | 456 γὰρ ἐστὶ μ κελεύση D | 457 τῇ ψυχῇ D αὐτῆς]  
ἦγουν αὐτὸ μ, < D | 458 οὐκ ἔστι τίς μ | 459 πνεύματα] πνεῦμα D ἐκεῖ < D | 460 καὶ ὁ θεός X  
καὶ κατοικίχεται C ἐγκατοικίχεται μ δηλονότι < μ φοροῦσαν D οὕτως μ λοιπὸν < μ | 461 ἦν <  
D μ Μωσῆως D αὐτῆς χρεῖαν D αὐτῆ] αὐτὴν τὸ μ | 462 διὰ] δι’ C, < μ αὐτὴν] αὐτῆ D μ |  
463 μόρφωσιν μ ἔπειτα < μ | 464 ὅθεν < μ | 465 λέγει < μ | 466 καὶ εἰ D μ ὅτι αὐτός ἐστί < D μ |  
467 προσομιλήσομαι C προσομιλήσας μ καὶ θεάσομαι C | 469 ταῦτα] οὕτως post ἐφθέγγετο μ ὁ

sumptuously and shining together with his grace, for also his Father testified about him at that time speaking from heaven: *This is my beloved Son, saying, listen to him.*”

Herban said: “Perhaps he presented Elijah as being alive, but for which reason Moses who was dead? For a man that has died never comes back.”

The archbishop said: “Everything of man is his soul, since his body is nothing. It is a garment grown together with his soul, and when God commands, he sends out his angels and they take the soul’s corruptible garment off, the body, since he has to go to God where there is nobody who wears such a fleshly garment, for all are spirits. And then they bring it there as a spirit, and it is settled where God orders, that is, wearing the robes of the angels. Now in such a state was also the soul of Moses, and when God had need of it, he formed a body for it by his own power and presented it by his arm on mount Thabor, to let him see his transfiguration; and thereafter he restored it with his right hand to the place where he had taken it from.”

Herban said: “Why do we bide our time with discussions? I will resolve the case: If you want me simply to believe in Jesus, that it is him, show him to me living, and I will address him, see him and talk to him, and I will confess my defeat immediately and become a Christian.”

When Herban said this, the surrounding crowd of Jews behind him shouted: “We deprecate you, our teacher, do not be deceived and become a Christian, but rather *be strong and of good courage* about the truth. For you know that nothing is more true than the real God, the only God of our fathers.” Herban said to them: “Why do you introduce such nonsense into our midst? Hear: If he assures you that it is him, about whom the prophets have foretold, I will be alien from the God of our fathers, if I do not believe in him as well.”

When the archbishop saw that he spoke sincerely and not in jest, he said to him: “How do you want me to assure you?”

Herban said: “Entreat your master earnestly, and if he is in heaven, as you say, he may come down to me, and I will see him and talk to him. And, as true as the Lord lives about whom you say ‘He is the Father of my Christ’, I will let myself be baptised on the spot and believe in him.”

Ἐρβᾶν D παρεστὸς D μ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ < D μ | 470 ἐκραύγασαν D μ + ἰσχυρᾶ βοῆ μ γενήση D | 471 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας < D μ οὐθὲν CX | 472 ὄντως < μ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ < D μ ἡμῶν < CX ὁ δὲ] οὕτως τοῦ ὄχλου τῶν Ἰουδαίων κραυγᾶσαντος σιωπήσας τούτους C καὶ ὁ μ ὁ – αὐτοῦς] ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη sic X λέγει] ἔφη C, < μ | 473 τί + τοσαύτας C, < D μ ἐκφέρετε D ἀκούσατε < D μ πληροφορήσει με] πληροφορήσομαι D | 474 ἐστιν + ἀληθῶς μ ἐκελάδησαν πρὸ πολλῶν C προεκελάδησαν πολλὰ μ πατέρων ἡμῶν μ εἰ μὴ] καὶ C | 475 καὶ < C μ αὐτόν + ἀδιστάκτως μ | 476 ὅτι C μ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν μ | 477 καὶ πῶς μ πληροφορήσαι D μ | 478 καὶ ὁ Ἐρβᾶν X μ Ἐρβᾶν λέγει] καὶ λέγει Ἐρβᾶν C λέγει < μ καὶ < D μ τοῖς – 479 καὶ<sup>1</sup>] τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐστὶν ὡς λέγεις καταβῆναι πρὸς με καὶ μ | 480 πιστεύσω X



Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν Ἐρβᾶν, ἐκραύγασεν ἔπειτα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γραμματέων τὸ δὴν μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ φάσκον· “Ναί, κύρι ὁ μέγας, ποιήσον ἄρτίως, ἴδωμεν, εἰ τὸ φρύαγμα τῶν ῥημάτων 773D  
 σου δι’ ἔργων βεβαιοῦται. Δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν Χριστὸν σου, καὶ μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου  
 πιστεύσομεν εἰς αὐτὸν οὐκέτι ἔχοντες τί τοῦ ἀπολογήσασθαι.” Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον,  
 485 πάλιν κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐφθέγγοντο· “Θέλεις καὶ δείκνυσιν ἡμῖν αὐτόν;” καὶ “Φεῦ ὅτι γινώμεθα  
 χριστιανοί.” Ἄλλοι ἔλεγον· “Ἐάνπερ καὶ δείξῃ ἡμῖν αὐτόν, διὰ τί ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσωμεν εἰς  
 αὐτόν;” Ἄλλοι ἔλεγον· “Ναί, δείξει εὐτονήσει ἀβέβαιον πρᾶγμα ἄνθρωπος, ὃς κέκτηται  
 σήμερον μήκη χρόνων τηλικούτων τελευτήσας. Ποῦ γε ἄρα καὶ φανεῖται διαλυθέντων, ὡς 776A  
 εἶπεν, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν νευρῶν καὶ ὀστέων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ σορῷ τοῦ μνήματος;”  
 490 Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος συνείδεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ποιῆσῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ αἴτημα αὐτῶν,  
 εἰς μέγιστον νίκος ἔξωσιν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν αὐτοῦ παρασιώπησιν, καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ἔφη πρὸς  
 αὐτούς· “Πάντως δείκνυμι ὑμῖν αὐτόν, καὶ κἂν μὴ θελήσητε, πιστεύσητε· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε,  
 μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ δείξω, ἀπελεύσητε τῷ θελήματι ὑμῶν.”  
 Ἦρσεν οὖν τῷ Ἐρβᾶν τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ γραμματεῦσιν. Εἶπον γὰρ ἐν ἑαυ-  
 495 τοῖς, ὅτι· “Οὐ δύνησεται ἡμῖν δεῖξαι τοῦτον, ἄνθρωπον ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη παρὰ τῶν πατέρων  
 ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἠσφαλίσαντο αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ καὶ ἐκλάπη παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν  
 αὐτοῦ.” Ὁ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγέντιος εἰδώς, ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· *Εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν θεοῦ ἐν ἑαυ-* 776B  
*τοῖς, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ· Ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θαλασσαν καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδυνατήσῃ*  
*ὑμῖν*, ἀναστάς ὑπεξῆλθε μόνος τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐντειλάμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ταῦτῳ μένειν πρὸς  
 500 τὸ μὴ λυθῆναι τὸ συνέδριον. Ἐθαύμασε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ, εἰ τοῦτο  
 τὸ φρικτὸν σημεῖον τελέσῃ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. Ὁ δὲ μακάριος μηκόθεν τοῦ συνεδρίου ὀλί-  
 γον γεγωνὼς ἔσθη εἰς προσευχὴν, καὶ σχηματίσας ἑαυτὸν ἦθει σεμνότητος καὶ ἱεροπρεπε-  
 στάτῳ καλλιεργήματι (ἦν γὰρ καὶ λίαν πραότατος), κλίνας τὸ γόνυ τρις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 505 μέχρις ἐδάφους τῆς γῆς προσεκύνησε κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν  
 οὐρανὸν εἶπεν·

### Εὐχή

“Ὁ φοβερὸς λόγος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ ἀοράτου πατρός, ὁ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων  
 ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀρεύστως γεννηθεὶς, οὐ ποιηθεὶς, ὁ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς μόνος

493 μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται Is. 1.20 | 497 εἰ – 499 ὑμῖν Mt. 17.20, 21.21

### C X D μ (S H T V)

481 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ ἐκραύγασαν D ἔπειτα < D μ τὸ<sup>2</sup> – 482 αὐτοῦ] καὶ Φαρισαίων μ, < D |  
 482 φάσκον] λέγοντες μ καὶ ἴδωμεν μ ῥημάτων] λόγων D μ | 483 βεβαιώσης D | 484 οὐκέτι –  
 ἀπολογήσασθαι] οὐκ ἔχοντες ἔτι τοῦ ἀπολογήσασθαι τι μ ταῦτα < μ ἐφθέγγοντο – ἔλεγον μ |  
 485 πάλιν] ἔπειτα D πάλιν κατ’ ἰδίαν] ἡμέρα πρὸς ἀλλήλους μ αὐτόν ἡμῖν C γενώμεθα D μ |  
 486 καὶ < μ ἵνα < D μ εἰς αὐτόν] αὐτῷ C, < D μ | 487 δείξει C D μ εὐτονήσει – ἄνθρωπος] ἡμῖν  
 αὐτόν ἄνθρωπον D μ ὃς + οὐ C ὅστις D μ | 488 τοσοῦτων D μ τετελευτηκῶς μ γε] δὲ D μ ἄρα  
 < μ φανήσεται μ | 489 νεύρων X νευρῶν καὶ < μ ὀστέων D μ αὐτοῦ post μνήματος μ |  
 490 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος] ἄγιος μ συνείδεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ] εἰδώς μ ἐν < C D ἔαν] ἂν X D ἑαυτοῖς D, < μ |  
 491 ἔξωσιν ἂν X ἔξουσι μ ἐσχηκέναι < μ ἑαυτοῦ CX καὶ < μ καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ C  
 ἔφη] εἶπε D | 492 ante πάντως + γινώσκετε ὅτι μ αὐτόν ὑμῖν μ πιστεύσετε μ | 493 δὲ] τε D

When Herban said this, the crowd of the scribes that was with him shouted and said: “Yes, great lord, do it now, let us see whether the claims of your words will be confirmed by works. Show us your Christ, and we will believe in him with fear and trembling, and not have anything to answer anymore.” And when they said this, again they spoke to each other: “Do you want him to show him to us?”, and “Alas that we will become Christians.” Some people said: “If he will show him to us, why should we not believe in him?” Others said: “Yea, let him show him, let this man confirm <these> uncertain things, who today has been dead for such a long time. Where should he appear, as even his sinews and bones have dissolved in the shrine of his tomb?”

The archbishop understood within himself that, if he would not grant their request to them, they would believe it to be a very great victory if he would pass over it in silence, and answered and said to them: “I will show him to you at all events, and you will believe in him even if you do not want to; and if not, *the sword will devour you*. If I will not show him, you may go away from here according to your will.”

Now this pleased Herban and the scribes who were with him. For they said among themselves: “He will not be able to show him to us, a man who was killed by our fathers and died, and they closed him up in a grave, and he was stolen by his disciples.” But since Gregentios of holy memory knew that the Lord said, *If you have faith in God, say to this mountain: Lift yourself up and throw yourself into the sea, and nothing will be impossible for you*, he rose and walked out alone from there after having entreated the king to remain at the same place, so that the congregation would not dissolve. The king and his grand men wondered whether the archbishop would accomplish this fear-inspiring portent. And when the blessed one had reached a certain distance from the congregation, he placed himself for prayer, and when he had assumed the attitude of solemnity and most sacred beauty (for he was very gentle), he bowed his knee three times down to the soil of the earth at the same place, worshipped the Lord God, and stretching out his hands to heaven he said:

#### Prayer

“Frightful word of the frightful and great and invisible Father, you that have been begotten, not created before all times without having suffered or fluctuated, the only

ἀπελεύσεσθε D μ | 494 οὖν < μ | τοῦτο τῷ Ἐρβᾶν D μ (τῷ] τὸν D) γραμματεῦσιν < μ | εἶπον] ἔλεγον μ | 495 δυνήσεται C δείξει ἡμῖν D τοῦτον ἄνθρωπον] αὐτὸν οὐδαμῶς μ | δς D διότι μ | 496 ἠσφαλίσατο C | 497 εἰδῶς ἀκριβῶς μ | πιστίν – 499 ὑμῖν] ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς μ | ἐν ἑαυτοῖς < D | 499 τῶν ἐκέισε μόνος X τῶν + ἐκ D | 500 διαλυθῆναι D τὸ<sup>2</sup> + πάμπληθες ἐκεῖνο μ | ἐθαύμαζεν τε D ἐθαύμασε – 501 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος < μ | 501 τὸ < C ὁ δὲ] καὶ μ | ὀλίγον < D μ | 502 γεγὼνως] ἀπίων μ | σχηματίσας – 503 πραάτατος < μ | αὐτὸν C ἦθει – 503 πραάτατος < D | 503 τρίς – 504 θεῶ] ἕως ἐδάφους τρίς καὶ ἀναστὰς μ | 504 τῆς γῆς < D κυρίῳ < D | 505 πάντων ὁρώντων εἶπεν ἐκ καρδίας μ | 506 εὐχή τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγεντίου X | 507 τῶν < D μ | 508 καὶ < C ἀρεύστως + ἐξ αὐτοῦ μ | ὁ < D μ | ἐκ] τοῦ X

μονογενής ἔξαστράφας, ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς στερεώσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν  
 510 καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ θεμελιώσας καὶ στεγάσας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τὰ ἐκάτερα, ὁ  
 κλίνας οὐρανοὺς καὶ καταβάς *ὡς ὑετός ἐπὶ πόκον* ἐπὶ τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ μεγάλην καὶ ἁγίαν  
 καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ τιμίαν ἀειπαρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον Μαρίαν ἀρχαγγέλου προευαγγελισαμέ-  
 νου, τοῦ μεγάλου Γαβριήλ, τὴν σὴν ἱερὰν καὶ φρικτὴν συγκατάβασιν εἰς τὸ ἐνανθρωπήσαι  
 καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός· ὁ ἐν σπηλαίῳ ὑπογαίῳ τεχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἀπειρογάμου δεσποίνης  
 515 ἡμῶν καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἑρῶδου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων  
 δυνάμεων πᾶν πλῆθος διαχυθέντων τὸ μέγα ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων ἀνυμνηθεὶς καὶ δοξολο-  
 γηθεὶς· *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*· ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀστέ-  
 ρου προμνηθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερῶν μάγων δῶρα κομισάμενος, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου  
 εὐαγγελισθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων προσκνηθεὶς, ὁ ὀκταήμερος περιτμηθεὶς καὶ τὸν  
 520 νόμον πληρώσας, ὁ θηλάσας τὸ γάλα τῆς παρθένου καὶ τροφήν τὴν οὐράνιον τῷ κόσμῳ  
 προξενήσας, ὁ ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ ἀνακληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλόγων ἀναγνωρισθεὶς, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 γονέων εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπενεχθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Συμεὼν ἐναγκαλισθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄννης  
 ἀνθομολογηθεὶς, ὁ εἰς Αἴγυπτον φυγὼν διὰ τὴν παιδοκτονίαν Ἑρῶδου καὶ σείσας τὰ  
 χειροποίητα Αἰγύπτου, ὁ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνακληθεὶς καὶ εἰς Ναζαρέτ κατασκηνώσας καὶ  
 525 Ναζωραῖος κληθῆναι εὐδοκήσας, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἀνελθὼν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν διδασκάλων  
 πτύξας βιβλίον Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ σοφία, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ  
 Φαρισαίων καὶ νομικῶν καὶ διδασκάλων μεγάλως θαυμασθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ πλή-  
 θους δοξασθεὶς, ὁ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποταγεὶς καὶ ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν συνοικεσίῳ  
 παρακλήσει τῆς ἀχράντου μητρὸς σου τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον τρέψας καὶ εὐφράνας τοὺς ἀνα-  
 530 κειμένους, ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου βαπτισθεὶς ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μαρτυρηθεὶς  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπισκiasθεὶς, ὁ φραγγέλιον ἐκ σχοινοῦ ποιήσας καὶ ἀπελά-  
 σας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεοκαπήλους, ὁ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας νηστεύσας διὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑδέμ χεῖρα κακῶς ἐκτείναντα καὶ βεβρωκότα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως, ὁ πειρασθεὶς  
 535 ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ νικήσας τὸν πειράζοντα διάβολον, ὁ  
 ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ὡς δεσπότης λειτουργηθεὶς καὶ διακονήσων αὐτὸς τῷ πλάσματι τῷ οἰκίῳ  
 παραγενόμενος, ὁ μαθητὰς ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐκλεξάμενος καὶ  
 μεταμορφωθεὶς ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κορυφαίων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θαβῶρ· καὶ ἔλαμψε τὸ πρόσω-

509 στερεώσας – 510 ἐκάτερα cf. Ps. 135.5; Is. 42.5 | 511 ὡς – πόκον Ps. 71.6 | 514 ἐν – τεχθεὶς  
 cf. Protev. Iac. 18.1 | 517 δόξα – εὐδοκία Lc. 2.14 ὁ – 518 κομισάμενος cf. Mt. 2.1–9 | 518 ὁ –  
 519 εὐαγγελισθεὶς cf. Lc. 1.26–38 | 519 ὑπὸ – προσκνηθεὶς cf. Lc. 2.8–14 ὁ – περιτμηθεὶς cf.  
 Lc. 2.21 | 521 ἐν – ἀναγνωρισθεὶς cf. Pseudo-Mt. 14 ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 523 ἀνθομολογηθεὶς cf. Lc. 2.27–38 |  
 523 ὁ – Ἑρῶδου cf. Mt. 2.13–21 σείσας – 524 Αἰγύπτου<sup>1</sup> cf. Is. 19.1; Pseudo-Mt. 23 | 524 εἰς –  
 525 εὐδοκήσας cf. Mt. 2.23 | 525 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 526 προφήτου cf. Lc. 2.41–50 | 528 ἐν<sup>1</sup> – 530 ἀνα-  
 κειμένους cf. Io. 2.1–10 | 530 ὁ – 531 ἐπισκiasθεὶς cf. Lc. 3.21–22 | 531 ὁ – 532 θεοκαπήλους cf.  
 Io. 2.15 | 532 ὁ – 534 διάβολον cf. Mt. 4.2–3 | 536 ὁ – ἐκλεξάμενος cf. Mt. 10.1–4; Mc. 3.13–19;  
 Lc. 6.13–16 | 537 μεταμορφωθεὶς – 541 βληθέντες cf. Mt. 17.2–6; Mc. 9.3–8

### C X D μ ( S H T V )

509 ἀαστράφας D μ ἑαυτοῦ C στερεώσας] στεγάσας D μ | 510 ὡς ἐπὶ X τὰ < D μ |

begotten one who flashes as lightning from the unbegotten light, you that have made heaven and earth by yourself in the beginning, and by your Holy Ghost you have laid the foundations and roofed both on the waters, that you have bowed the heavens and come down *like a rain upon the grass* on the frightful, great, holy, sacred and worthy perpetual Virgin and Mother of God Mary, at which occasion the archangel, the great Gabriel, announced your holy and awful condescension to become a man and to save the lost; you who were born in an underground cave from our unwedded Lady and Mother of God Mary in the times of King Herodes, and were praised and glorified by the multitude of heavenly powers which was dispersed there with the great song of songs: *Glory to God in the highest and peace on earth, good will towards men*; you who were announced beforehand by the star and received gifts from the holy magicians, you who were announced by the angel and worshipped by the shepherds, you who were circumcised at the age of eight days and fulfilled the law, you who sucked the milk of the Virgin and procured heavenly food for the world, you that were put to rest in the crib and were recognised by the animals, were brought by your parents to the temple and were embraced by Symeon and praised by Anna, fled to Egypt because of the child-murder of Herodes and shook the hand-made idols of Egypt, you that were recalled from Egypt, dwelt in Nazareth and found pleasure to be called a Nazarene, went up at the feast and opened the book of the prophet Isaiah in the midst of the teachers, you wisdom of the Father, and you that were admired greatly by the scribes and Pharisees and law-teachers and teachers and glorified by the whole crowd, that submitted yourself to your parents and on the intercession of your immaculate mother turned water into wine at the wedding of Canaan in Galilee and pleased the reclining guests, you who were baptised by John in the Jordan, were testified by the Father and overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, you who made a scourge of cords and drove the merchants out of the sanctuary, who fasted forty days for him who had stretched out badly his hand in Eden and eaten from the tree of knowledge, you who were tempted by the spirit of sin in the desert and defeated the tempting devil, you who were served by the angels as their master, and came for to help your creature yourself, you who chose disciples for yourself out of the congregation of the Hebrews and were transfigured before their

511 φοβερὰν – 512 θεοτόκου] ἄγιαν παρθένον μ μεγάλην – 512 ἀειπαρθένον] ἄγιαν καὶ μεγάλην παρθένον D | 512 καὶ<sup>3</sup> < X ἀρχαγγέλου – 536 παραγενόμενος < μ | 515 καὶ θεοτόκου] θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου D | 516 πᾶν πλήθος] παμπληθῶς C διαθέντων D ἀνυμνηεῖς καὶ < D | 518 ἱερῶν < D τοῦ < C D | 519 ὀκτωήμερος X | 520 τὴν < C | 522 ἀναγκαλισθεῖς X | 523 καὶ – 524 Αἰγύπτου<sup>1</sup> < D | 524 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – 525 εὐδοκήσας < D | 526 τὸ βιβλίον D τοῦ<sup>2</sup> – σοφία < D | 527 σοφῶν Φαρισαίων C καὶ<sup>1</sup> – διδασκάλων < D μεγάλα D καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 528 δοξασθεῖς < D | 529 στρέψας C ὑποκειμένους D | 530 τοῦ<sup>1</sup> < D | 531 ποιήσας < D ἀπελάσας D | 533 χεῖραν C | 536 παραγενάμενος C συναγωγῆς] σῆς γῆς CX | 537 αὐτῶν < D μ ὄρους Θαβώρ D μ καὶ – 558 προσδεξάμενος < μ

πόν σου ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτιά σου ἐγένοντο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς καὶ ὤφθησαν Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας συλλαλοῦντες σοι καὶ φωνῆ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λέγουσα· *Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου*  
 540 *ὁ ἀγαπητός, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε*, καὶ ἔπεσον οἱ μαθηταὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τῷ δέει βληθέντες· ὁ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ τὸν Λάζαρον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρας καὶ εὐφράνας Μάρθαν καὶ Μαρίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καταπλήξας, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκάκων παίδων εὐφημισθεὶς *Ἰωσάννα ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις*, ὁπότεν ἐπὶ πῶλου ὄνου μετριοπαθῶν ἐκ Βηθανίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ παραγέγονας, ὁ τὸν μονογενῆ υἱὸν τῆς χήρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσας, ὁ τοῦ ἑκατοντάρχου τὸν παῖδα ζωοποιήσας, ὁ τὴν Ἰαείρου θυγατέρα λόγῳ ἐγείρας, ὁ τοὺς λεπρούς καθάρισας, ὁ τὸν λεγεῶνα τῶν δαιμόνων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀποπνίξας, ὁ αἰμόρρουν ἰασάμενος καὶ Χαναναίαν ἐλεήσας, ὁ χολοὺς θεραπεύσας καὶ παραλύτους σφίγξας, ὁ τυφλοὺς φωτίσας· τὸ μελίρρυτον φῶς Ἰησοῦ μου, ὁ ξηροὺς ὑγιάνας καὶ ὕδρωπικούς ἐλευθερώσας καὶ πυρέττοντας ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὁ τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς συμφαγῶν καὶ συμποισασθεὶς, ὁ ἰατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ὁ ἐλεήμων, ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ τὰς ψυχικὰς ἡμῶν ἀσθενείας ἰατρούσας, κύριε, ὁ τοὺς κακοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐλέγξας, ὁ τὴν προφητοκτονήτριαν ταλανίσας καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἔρημον ἀποφηνάμενος, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης περιπατήσας καὶ τοῦ Πέτρου τῷ δισταγμῷ χεῖρα προτεινάμενος, ὁ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτιμήσας καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς γαλήνην παρέξας, ὁ τῇ λιθίνῃ σφιγγὶ κελεύσας ἀπέναι καὶ φωνῆσαι Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ἵνα  
 555 ἐλέγξωσι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίους καὶ Σαδουκαίους, καθ' ἣν σὲ τὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὐ προσεδέχοντο, ὁ παρὰ τῷ Σίμωνι ἐσπασθεὶς καὶ παρὰ τῆς πόρνης νοητῶς ξεναγωγηθεὶς καὶ τὸ μῦρον καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ταύτης προσδεξάμενος, ὁ φρικτὰ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἀπόρρητα καὶ θαύματα ἐξαίσια ἐν μέσῳ τῶν παρανόμων Ἰουδαίων ἐργασάμενος·  
 560 “ Ἄγιε, ἐλεήμων κύριε, οἰκτίρμων καὶ μακρόθυμε, ὁ φθονηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὁ μισηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὁ ἐπιβουληθεὶς, ὁ πραθεὶς, ἀτίμητε καὶ ἀνεξικακε, ὁ προδοθεὶς καὶ κρατηθεὶς καὶ δεσμευθεὶς καὶ κριθεὶς καὶ ῥαψοθεὶς καὶ δεσμοτῆριον οἰκήσας καὶ Πιλάτῳ παραστάς καὶ μαστιγωθεὶς, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἀπαχθεὶς καὶ ἐμπαυχθεὶς καὶ καλάμῳ τυφθεὶς καὶ χλαμύδα κοκκίνην ἀμφιασθεὶς καὶ στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν φορέσας, ὁ  
 565 χολὴν βεβρωκῶς καὶ ὄξος πῶν παρ' ἐκείνων οἷς ἐκ πέντε ἄρτων πεντακισχιλίους τῶν

541 ὁ – 542 καταπλήξας cf. Io. 11 | 542 ὁ – 544 παραγέγονας cf. Mt. 21.7–9, 15–16; Mc. 11.7–10 | 544 δ<sup>1</sup> – ἀναστήσας cf. Lc. 7.11–15 δ<sup>2</sup> – 545 ζωοποιήσας cf. Mt. 8.5–13; Lc. 7.2–10 | 545 δ<sup>1</sup> – ἐγείρας cf. Mt. 9.18–19, 23–25; Mc. 5.22–24, 35–42; Lc. 8.41–42, 49–56 | 546 δ<sup>1</sup> – ἀποπνίξας cf. Mt. 8.30–32; Mc. 5.11–13; Lc. 8.32–33 δ<sup>2</sup> – 547 ἰασάμενος cf. Mt. 9.20–22; Mc. 5.25–34; Lc. 8.43–48 | 547 Χαναναίαν ἐλεήσας cf. Mt. 15.22–28 | 551 δ<sup>2</sup> – 552 ἀποφηνάμενος cf. Mt. 23.27–28; Lc. 13.34–35 | 552 ὁ – 553 παρέξας cf. Mt. 14.25–33; Mc. 6.45–52; Io. 6.16–21 | 554 ὁ – Ἰακώβ § | 556 ὁ – 558 προσδεξάμενος cf. Mt. 26.6–13; Mc. 14.3–9; Lc. 7.36–50; Io. 12.3–8 | 563 Πιλάτῳ παραστάς cf. Mt. 27; Mc. 15; Lc. 23; Io. 18–19 passim | 564 χλαμύδα κοκκίνην ἀμφιασθεὶς cf. Mt. 27.28 στέφανον – φορέσας cf. Mt. 17.29; Mc. 15.17; Io. 19.2, 5 ὁ – 565 πῶν cf. Mt. 27.34 | 565 οἷς – 566 ἐτοιμασάμενος cf. Mt. 14.17–21; Mc. 6.41–43; Lc. 9.13–14; Io. 6.9–10

heads on mount Thabor, and your face shone like the sun, and your garments became white as light, and Moses and Elijah appeared talking to you, and a voice came from heaven, saying: *This is my beloved Son, listen to him*, and the disciples fell to earth on their faces struck by fear; you who raised Lazarus from death in Bethania and pleased Martha and Mary and amazed the Jews, you who were praised by the innocent children with *Hosanna in the highest*, when you came from Bethania to Jerusalem on a foal of an ass having compassion, you who raised the only son of the widow from the dead, you who made the child of the centurio alive, who raised the daughter of Jairus by his word, who cleansed the lepers, who drowned the legion of demons in the sea, who healed the women flowing with blood and had mercy on the woman of Canaan, who cured the lame and restored the paralytic to health, who enlightened the blind; my honey-flowing light, Jesus, you who made the withered healthy and relieved those suffering from dropsy and visited the feaverish, who ate and drank with the sinners, the merciful and holy physician of the souls who healed the weaknesses of our souls, Lord, you who put the bad peasants to shame, who called the prophet-killing city miserable and made her house desolate, who walked on the lake and stretched out his hand to the doubting Peter, who censured the winds and provided calm for his disciples, who ordered the sphinx of stone to go away and to call Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,<sup>124</sup> that they may refute the faithless scribes, Pharisees and Saducees, because they did not receive you who came in the name of God Father; you who were received in his house by Simon and mentally entertained by the harlot, and received her unguent and tears, who worked fear-inspiring portents, ineffable wonders and extraordinary marvels in the midst of the unlawful Jews:

“Holy, merciful Lord, compassionate and patient, you who were envied by them, who were hated by the faithless, against whom a plot was made, you who were sold, you invaluable and long-suffering, you who were betrayed, arrested, bound, judged and beaten, who dwelt in prison, stood before Pilate and were flogged, you who were led away to crucifixion, were mocked and beaten with a reed, were clothed in a red mantle, wore a crown of thorns, ate gall and drank vinegar from those, for whom you had for-

539 οὗτός] αὐτός D | 540 και – 541 βληθέντες < D | 542 παιδῶν C | 543 ὁ ἐν C ὁπότεν – 544 παραγέγονας < D | 545 αἰρίου D θυγατέραν C | 546 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – ἀποπνίξας < D ὑποπνίξας X | 548 τὸ – μου < D ὁ] και D και – 552 ἀποφηνάμενος < D | 550 τῶν ψυχῶν < X ὁ<sup>4</sup>] ἵνα codd. | 552 τῆς < D | 553 χεῖραν C προτεινας D | 554 ὁ – 556 προσεδέχοντο < D | 557 ξεναγηθεὶς CX<sup>ae</sup> και<sup>1</sup> – προσδεξάμενος < D | 558 ἀπόρρητα – ἐξάσια < D μ | 559 Ἰουδαίων < D | 560 ἅγιε – μακρόθυμε < D ἅγιε – 592 αὐτοῦ < μ ὁ<sup>2</sup> – 561 ἀσεβῶν < D | 561 ὁ<sup>2</sup>] και D ἀτίμητε και ἀνεξίκακε < D ὁ<sup>3</sup>] και D | 562 και<sup>1</sup> – κριθεὶς < C και<sup>3</sup> – βαπισθεὶς < D | 563 προσαχθεὶς D | 564 ἀμφιασθεὶς] φορέσας D φορέσας < D | 565 βεβρωκῶς < D παρ’ – 566 ἐτοιμασάμενος < D

<sup>124</sup> See above, p. 130.

ὀνομάτων τράπεζαν <ἦν> πρότερον ἐτοιμασάμενος, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς καὶ τοῖς ἡλοῖς ἔμπα-  
 ρεῖς καὶ τῇ λόγῃ κεντηθεὶς καὶ πρὸ τῆσδε θανάτων καὶ αἵμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πλευρᾶς ἐκβλύσας  
 καὶ τῷ ληστῇ τὸν παράδεισον ἀνοίξας, ὁ ἀμβλύνας τὸ σέλας τοῦ ἡλίου, ὁ τὴν ἡμέραν  
 σκοτίσας καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ σχίσας δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποβολὴν καὶ  
 570 εἰς χεῖρας παραδοῦς τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ πνεῦμα, ὁ τὸν θάνατον καταπατήσας καὶ τὴν φθορὰν  
 συντρίψας καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὸν ἄδην πνίξας καὶ τὸν διάβολον κάτω δε-  
 σμεύσας καὶ *πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀγίων* ἐκ τῶν μνημάτων ἐγείρας, ὁ ἀποκα-  
 θλωθεὶς καὶ συμυρτισθεὶς καὶ ταφεὶς καὶ τὸν ἄδην σκυλεύσας καὶ φρουρηθεὶς καὶ τρόμῳ  
 φύρας τοὺς φρουροῦντας, ὁ τριήμερος ἀναστὰς καὶ ὄφθεις ταῖς μυροφόροις γυναιξί, μάρ-  
 575 τυρας τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεώς σου τοὺς μαθητάς τε καὶ ἀποστόλους σου ἀναδείξας, ὁ τὴν  
 σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν εὐλογίαν παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ἐλέους σου, ὁ  
 ἀναληφθεὶς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ καθίσας ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἐν ὑψίστοις ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀγαπητοῖς τὸν παράκλητον δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποστείλας· βασιλεύεις γὰρ καὶ ζῆς καὶ νῦν καὶ  
 580 φαίνει καὶ ἀπαυγάξει καὶ ἀκτινοβολεῖς ταῖς διαιυγείαις τῆς παντοδυναμίου θεότητος, ταῖς  
 ἄνω τῶν ἀγγέλων μυριάσι καὶ χιλιάσιν ἄνευ τῶν μιαρῶν κοράκων τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τῶν μι-  
 σμένων δαιμόνων φαίμεν· βασιλεύεις καὶ ζῆς ὁ ὑπέρθεος εἰς τὰ ἄνευ τῶν ῥερυσιδωμένων  
 Μοντάνων καὶ ἐπαράτων Ἰουδαίων τῆς ματαίας καὶ ἀθέου συναγωγῆς τοσοῦτον, εἰς τὰ  
 ἄνευ τῶν στυγηρῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν εἰς αἰσχύνην τῶν βεβήλων καὶ εἰδωλομανῶν, εἰς τὰ ἄνευ  
 585 τῶν κατηραμένων αἰρετικῶν· βασιλεύεις, καὶ ζῆς ὁ φοβερώτατος εἰς τὰ ἄνευ τῶν  
 μισούντων σε, εἰς ἀχαρὲς τῶν βδελυσομένων σε, εἰς αἰσχύνην τε καὶ εἰς ὄνειδος ἀπάντων  
 ἐχθρῶν σου τῶν μὴ ἀποδεχομένων σε καὶ οὐδαμῶς βουλομένων δεσπόζειν σε ἐπ' αὐτούς·  
 βασιλεύεις καὶ ἐξουσιάζεις ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ ὄρατῶν καὶ  
 ἀοράτων, καὶ κάθη ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλοσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν  
 590 καὶ αἶνον τῶν ἀγαπώντων σε καὶ ἀποδεχομένων σε καὶ λατρευόντων σοὶ καὶ προσκυ-  
 νούντων σοι, ὁ κύριος καὶ δεσπότης· καὶ μέλλεις παραγίνεσθαι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος  
 καὶ κρῖναι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ·

566 ὁ – 567 ἐκβλύσας cf. Mt. 27.45; Mc. 15.34; Lc. 23.32; Io. 19.18 | 568 τῷ – ἀνοίξας cf. Lc.  
 23.40–43 ὁ<sup>1</sup> – 570 πνεῦμα cf. Mt. 27.45. 50–51; Mc. 15.33. 37–38; Lc. 23.44–45; Io. 19.30  
 ἀμβλύνας τὸ σέλας cf. Lykophron, Alexandria, 1428 | 572 πολλὰ – ἀγίων Mt. 27.52 ὁ – 573  
 ταφεὶς cf. Io. 19.40 | 573 καὶ<sup>3</sup> – σκυλεύσας cf. Pseudo-Gregorius Nazianzenus, CPG 3097, PG  
 36.724A | 574 ὁ – 575 ἀναδείξας cf. Mt. 28.1–10; Mc. 16.1–12; Lc. 24.1–39; Io. 20.1–20 | 576 ὁ  
 – 577 οὐρανὸν cf. Mc. 16.19; Lc. 24.51 | 578 καὶ<sup>3</sup> – 579 ἀποστείλας cf. Acta 2? |  
 592 ἀποδοῦναι – αὐτοῦ cf. Ps. 61.13

**C X D μ ( S H T V ) | 576 σου ( S H T V ) ]**

566 ἦν supplevi | 567 καὶ<sup>2</sup> – θανάτων < D ἐκβλύσας | ἀποστάξας D | 568 τῷ < D τὸ σέλας < C ὁ<sup>2</sup> |  
 καὶ D, < X | 569 διασχίσας D δεικνὺς – ἀποβολὴν < D καὶ<sup>2</sup> | ὁ C, < X | 570 τοῦ πατρὸς  
 παραδοῦς D πατήσας D καὶ – 571 συντρίψας < D | 571 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ἀποκτείνας post ἄδην D πνίξας  
 < D κάτω < D | 573 συμυρνηθεὶς D καὶ<sup>2</sup> – φρουρηθεὶς < C τὸν < D καὶ<sup>4</sup> – 574 φρουροῦντας <  
 D | 574 μάρτυρας – 575 ἀναδείξας < D | 576 τῷ – σου < D ὁ | καὶ SHTV | 577 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν

merly prepared a table from five loaves of bread to five thousand persons, you who were crucified and fixed by nails and pierced by the lance, and died before, and blood and water flew from your side, <you who> opened paradise to the robber, who made the light of the sun dull, darkened the day and rent the veil of the temple showing the defection of the Jews and gave your spirit into the hands of the Father, who trampled death under your feet, shattered corruption and killed sin, strangled hell and bound the devil below and raised *many bodies of the saints which slept* from their tomb; you who were taken down from the cross, embalmed and buried, you who smashed hell, were guarded and confounded the guards with trembling, rose on the third day appearing to the unguent-bearing women and making your disciples and apostles witnesses of your resurrection; you who offer your peace and your blessing to them by the abundance of your mercies, who were assumed into heaven before them and sit to the right side of the greatness of God Father in the highest and on height above all rule and authority, and sent your Intercessor on the tenth day to your beloved ones;<sup>125</sup> for you reign and live now, you appear and beam and emit rays by the splendour of your almighty divinity and the upper ten thousands and thousands of the angels, without the abominable ravens of sin, the stained demons, we should say; for you reign and live, you who are more than God, at a place without the vain and faithless congregation of the defamed Montanists and the accursed Jews, without the hated Agarenes<sup>126</sup> for the shame of the impure idol-mad people, without the accursed heretics; you most frightfully reign and live at a place without those who hate you, to the disgrace of those who abominate you, to the shame and reproach of all your enemies who do not accept you and do not want you in any way to be their master; you reign and have authority over the things in heaven and on earth and below the earth, both the visible and invisible ones, and sit to the right side of the greatness of God Father, to the glory and honour and praise of those who love and receive and venerate and worship you, Lord and master; and you will come at the end of the world and judge the whole world and give to everybody according to his deeds:

< SHTV καθίσας – 578 και<sup>1</sup>] καθεσθεις εκ δεξιων του επουρανιου σου SHTV | 578 εν<sup>1</sup> – 579 αποστειλας < D SHTV | 579 και βασιλευεις SHTV γαρ < D SHTV και<sup>2</sup> < X νυν < SHTV νυν + και εντεινη και καθευδεις ο κυριος και δεσποτης και εξουσιαστης και παντοκρατωρ ο αγιος- απαστραπτεις νυν X και<sup>3</sup> – 588 βασιλευεις < D SHTV | 584 ειδωλομανων C | 585 κατηραμενων + αυτων C | 588 των επουρανιων D και ορατων] ορατων τε D αορατων και ορατων X | 589 και<sup>1</sup> – 592 αυτοθ < D καθη εν δεξιαι] καθισας εν δοξη SHTV | 590 και αποδεχομενων σε < SHTV | 591 σοι σε X ο – δεσποτης < SHTV παραγενεσθαι X + εν δοξη SHTV | 592 και<sup>1</sup> < C SHTV πασαν < H

<sup>125</sup> The Intercessor is the Holy Ghost sent out to the disciples at Pentecost. Why the text dates this feast to the tenth instead of the fiftieth day after Easter is unclear.

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 98.



“ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, τὸ μελίρρυτον ὄνομα, παρακαλοῦμεν σε τὸν τὰ πάντα πληροῦντα καὶ πανταχοῦ παρόντα, ἐλέησον τὰ ἐσκοπισμένα ταῦτα πλήθη καὶ ἐπισκίασε αὐτὰ τῇ δυνάμει σου καὶ ἀνοιξε τοὺς ζοφεροὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, οὐς ὁ διάβολος ἐξετύφλωσε, καὶ ἐμφάνισαι σαυτὸν νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς τούτοις τοῖς δι’ ἑκατέρων ὀφθαλμῶν τετυφλωμένοις καὶ μὴ ὀρώσι σε, καθὼς γὰρ εἴρηκας διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ὅτι *Πεπώρωκα αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τετύφλωκα αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς* διὰ τὴν κακίαν αὐτῶν, *μήποτε εἶδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ συνιώσι τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι καὶ ἰάσονται αὐτούς*· ἔνεκεν τούτου, κύριέ μου, τυφλώττουσι. Τοιγαροῦν, ὕψιστε, ἄγιε, δεδοξασμένε, θεὲ ὑπέρθεε, ἀγαθὲ εὐλογημένε, μεγαλοδύναμε, ἄνες τὰ κρίματά σου, ἄνες καὶ συμπαθήσας ἐλέησον *κατὰ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτηρῶν σου*, ἐμφάνισον σεαυτὸν τούτοις αἰσθητῶς καὶ σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεάσονται σου τὴν ζωοποιὸν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἣν δι’ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἐφόρεσας καὶ μετ’ αὐτῆς ἀνελήφθης εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ θεάσασθαί σε θεάσωνται σε πρόδηλον καὶ πιστεύσωσιν εἰς σέ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά σε ἀληθινὸν πατέρα καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἀμήν.”

776D

Καὶ ὡς εἴρηκεν ὁ ποτὸς ὄχλος καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ “ἀμήν” (ὑπῆρχον γὰρ πάντων οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐναποσκοποῦντες), σεισμός μέγας γέγονε καὶ ἐβρόντησε μέγα μετὰ ἰσχύος κατὰ ἀνατολάς, ὥστε φρίκη συσχεθῆναι ἅπαντας καὶ πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατὰ πρόσωπον. Μετὰ μικρὸν τοιγαροῦν ἀναστάντων πάντων καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολάς προσεχόντων, ὀρώσι καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνεώχθησαν αἱ πύλαι τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἤπλωται ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡσεὶ πεδιάς ἐπὶ κατόπιν φθάνουσα μέχρις αὐτῶν. Ἔπι δὲ τοιγαροῦν προσέχουσιν, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν πυλῶν ἐκείνων ἐξελήλυθε καὶ ἦν ἐρχόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγίῳ βήματι περιπατῶν πρᾶεως ἐπάνω

777A

597 πεπώρωκα – 599 αὐτούς cf. Is. 6.9 et Io. 12.40 | 602 κατὰ<sup>1</sup> – σου<sup>2</sup> Ps. 50.3

### C X D μ S H T V

593 τὸ μελίρρυτον ὄνομα < μ τὰ < SHTV πανταχοῦ παρόντα καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦντα μ | 594 ἐλεῆσαι X SHTV ἐπισκιάσαι S ἐπεσκιάσαι H αὐτὰ | ταῦτα C αὐτῇ V | 595 ἀνοιξοῦν D ἀνοιξοῦναι SHTV τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς ζοφεροὺς SHTV καί<sup>2</sup> – 602 ἔλεος < μ | 596 ἐμφάνισαι CX ἑαυτὸν D τοῖς < D ἐγκατέρων V τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν SHTV ἐκτετυφλωμένοις D τετυφλωμένους V | 597 καθὼς – 600 τυφλώττουσι < D | 598 καὶ – αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> < TV μήπως SHTV | 600 τούτῳ SHV ἄγιε < TV ὑπέρθεε ἀγαθῆ | ὑπεράγαθε H | 601 ἀγαθὲ εὐλογημένε μεγαλοδύναμε < D | 602 κατὰ<sup>1</sup> – ἔλεος < C | 603 αἰσθητῶς – 604 οὐρανόν < μ καὶ < X, + νοητῶς ἵνα D | 604 ἐν – 605 σε<sup>1</sup> < μ | 605 θεάσωνται σε < D μ SHTV προδήλως μ καὶ < D πιστεύσουσιν V | 606 ὑποστείλαντα S πανάγιον D μ ἀμήν < C, + τέλος τῆς εὐχῆς X | 607 ὄχλος | λαὸς T οἱ – βασιλεῖ | ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν μεγιστάσι μ τὸ ἀμήν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ TV καὶ ὑπῆρχον SH ὑπῆρχον | ἦσαν D μ | 608 γὰρ < SHTV πάντες τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν πρὸς TV ἐγένετο SHTV | 609 μέγα | βία D, μεγάλης post ἰσχύος μ φρίκης SH ἐκχεθῆναι S ἐκρηθῆναι H πεσεῖν | πεσῶν TV εἰς | ἐπὶ D μ | 610 κατὰ πρόσωπον < D μ καὶ μετὰ D μ τοιγαροῦν < μ | 611 ὀρώσι καὶ < μ ἀνεώχασιν D τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μ καί<sup>2</sup> + εὐθέως D μ, + ἰδοὺ SHTV | 612 ἤπλωτο ἐκ SHTV ἤπλωται – 626 κατεπλήττοντο CX infra μ ἀπὸ | ἐκ SHTV τὰς πύλας D, < SHTV ἐπὶ κατόπιν < μ αὐτῶν + ὑπεράνω SHTV | 613 τοιγαροῦν προσέχουσιν | ἀτενὲς ὀρώσι μ προσέχουσιν D προσέχοντες SHTV ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς | κύριος ὁ θεὸς TV τῶν πυλῶν τῆς ἐξόδου ἐκείνων

“Jesus Christ, you honey-flowing name, we deprecate you who fulfills all and is everywhere, have mercy upon these darkened crowds, and overshadow them with your power and open their gloomy eyes, which the devil has blinded, and show yourself corporeally and sensibly to those who have been blinded on both eyes and do not see you, as you have said through the prophet Isaiah: *I have hardened their heart and blinded their eyes* because of their wickedness, *that they should not see with their eyes nor understand with their heart, and should return and I should heal them*; therefore, my Lord, they are blind. Therefore, you highest, holy and glorified God who is more than God, you good and blessed, you almighty, forbear your judgements, forbear them, have compassion and mercy *according to your great mercy and according to the abundance of your pities*; show yourself to them sensibly so that they will behold your life-giving humanity with their bodily eyes, which you wore because of us humble ones and with which you were accepted into heaven, so that when seeing you they will see you clearly, and will believe in you, the only true God, and in the true Father who has sent you, and in your Holy Ghost, amen.”

And when the faithful crowd and the noblemen together with the king had said “Amen” (for the eyes of all were gazing upon him), a great earthquake happened, and it thundered with great strength in the east, so that they all were seized by awe and fell to the ground on their faces. So when they all rose after a short while and looked to the east, they see, and behold, the gates of heaven were opened and a shining cloud was spread<sup>127</sup> from the gate of heaven, like a plain extending unto them. And when they were still watching, behold, the Lord Jesus Christ came out of those gates and drew near to them with his holy pace, walking gently on the top of the clouds before their eyes.

ἐξελήλυθε μ | 614 ἀγίω βήματι < D μ πραέως < D μ

612 α καταπτᾶσα ἐκεῖθεν πυρὸς φλόγας ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπέμπουσα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καταλάμπουσα κατῆι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, μέσον δὲ τῆς νεφέλης ὠρᾶτο ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ πάντας (ἅπαντας X) τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνόμων τῷ κάλλει ὠραῖος μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, ὑπέρλαμπρος δὲ τοῖς ἐνδύμασιν. Καὶ ἦν τῆς νεφέλης ἐντὸς βηματίζων ὑπερφερῆ τινὶ καὶ ἀνεικάστῳ κινήματι· ἔστη ἐπ’ ἄκρων τῆς νεφέλης κατέναντι τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῇ μορφῇ ἐξαστράπτων καὶ τοὺς ὄρωντας τῷ κάλλει μὲν πείθων (+ μὲν C) πρὸς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ταῖς δὲ τῆς θεότητος βολίσιν, αἷς ἀστραπτόμενος ὄρᾶτο, καὶ τῷ φέγγει ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον πίπτειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων ἠνάγκαζεν ἅπαντας

<sup>127</sup> Abridged version of lines 612–626 in CX:

α ... which flew away from there, sending out flames of fire from its edges, and enlightening the air it went down to the ground, and he was seen in the middle of the cloud above all the sons of the unlawful, with beautiful face and brightly shining garments. And he was walking inside the cloud with some great and incomparable movement, and he stood on the top of the cloud opposite to the archbishop, flashing forth in his shape and by his beauty compelling those that saw him to look upon him, and by the rays of his divinity, in which he was seen flashing, he forced all, together with the king and his noblemen, to fall to the ground ...

615 τῆς νεφέλης ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. Ἦν δὲ ὠραῖος τῷ κάλλει σφόδρα. Ἐλήλυθεν οὖν καὶ ἔστη ἐπ’ ἄκρων τῆς νεφέλης πλησίον τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὑπεράνω δὲ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ πηχῶν διακοσίων, ὥστε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων. Ἦν δέ, ὡς εἴρηται, λαμπρότατος τῷ κάλλει καὶ ἡδὺς εἰς τὸ καθορᾶσθαι ἄγαν, πορφυρᾶν νεφέλην περιβεβλημένος ὠραιοτάτην, ἐξ ἧς βολίδες θεότητος ἐξεπορεύοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ  
620 αὐτοῦ φέγγος ἀστραπῆς καὶ *διάδημα κάλλους* καὶ ταῖς ἀκτίσιν ὡς ἀκάνθινος στέφανος, τόμον δὲ κατεῖχεν ἐν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ εἶχετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ διπλοΐδος. Ὡς οὖν ἔστη κατέναντι αὐτῶν ὁ κύριος κραταιὸς τῷ εἶδει σφόδρα, τρόμος ἀνεκδιήγητος μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐπέπεσον ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ πλήθη τῶν  
625 χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε συνηθροισμένων, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς φθέγξασθαι τί τὸ σύνολον. Μόνον δὲ ἡδέως πῶς ἀναβλέποντες ἐώρων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπειρου εὐφροσύνης κατεπλήττοντο.

777b

Οἱ τε Ἰουδαῖοι ἅμα Ἐρβᾶν μὴ φέροντες ὄρᾶν τὴν ἀόρατον μορφήν τοῦ προσώπου κυρίου κατεπλήττοντο σφόδρα τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόμου περιέβλεπον ὧδε κάκεισε καὶ ἐζήτουν τοῦ φυγεῖν. Κατέφαγε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ τῆς θείας λαμπρότητος  
630 διαύγεια καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδρασιν ἤπειγεν.

Εἶπεν οὖν ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πρὸς Ἐρβᾶν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ· “Θέασαι, Ἐρβᾶν, περὶ οὐ πολλῆ ἢ συζήτησις τῶν λόγων, καὶ πληροφορήθητι, ὅτι *εἰς ἄγιος, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός, ἀμήν*.”

Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν ἐσιώπα. Ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ παρὰ κυρίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις· “Διὰ τὴν παράκλησιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἴαμα ὑμᾶς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν.”

777c

Τῆς οὖν φωνῆς γεγонуίας ἐπτοήθησαν πάντες καὶ ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, καὶ ὡς οἶα ποτὲ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐν τῷ φανῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν κύριον διέμεινεν τυφλώττων, παραπλησίως τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπόνθησαν· ἀνεωγμένων γὰρ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν οὐδέ-

620 διάδημα κάλλους Sap. 5.16 | 632 εἰς<sup>1</sup> – 633 ἀμήν Liturgiae S. Basilii et S. Chrysostomi, ed. Brightman, *Liturgies* 341.17–18 | 637 ὡς – τυφλώττων cf. Acta 9.1–9

### C X D μ S H T V

615 νεφέλης] κεφαλῆς T κατέναντι SHTV δὲ] τε D | 616 εἰς τὸ ἄκρον SHTV πλησίον τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου] καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου πλησίον D τοῦ<sup>2</sup> < V ὑπεράνω δὲ] ἐπάνω μ | 617 πῆχεις διακοσίους μ ἦν – 618 ἄγαν < D μ | 618 περιβεβλημένον μ, < D | 619 ὠραιοτάτην] πανωραῖον πάνυ SHTV ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ μ | 620 κάλλους ἀμηχάνου μ και<sup>2</sup> < SHTV ἀκάνθινον στέφανον D στέφανος + σχηματιζόμενος SHTV | 621 δὲ] τε ἐν τῇ < μ εὐωνύμῳ αὐτοῦ SHTV τῆς < μ διπλοΐδος < μ, + περιφανέστατα SHTV | 622 κραταιὸς – σφόδρα < D μ ἀνεκλάητος SHTV | 623 ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ TV πᾶν τὸ πλήθος D μ | 624 τῶν ἐκεῖσε συνηθροισμένων < D μ φόβου μῆ] φοβεροῦ ἐκείνου θεάματος μῆδὲ μ δυνηθῆναι SHTV ἀποφθέγξασθαι D | 625 τί τὸ σύνολον < D μ πῶς ἀναβλέποντες] πρὸς τὰ ἄνω βλέποντες D μ ἐθεώρουν D ἐώρουν SHTV | 627 οἱ δὲ C μ οἱ – 628 κατεπλήττοντο < SHTV ἅμα Ἐρβᾶν < CX Ἐρβᾶν + τῷ περιβοήτῳ αὐτῶν D μῆ – 628 κυρίου] ὄρωντες τὸ φοβερόν ἐκείνο μυστήριον D μ | 628 κατεπλήττοντο – τρόμου < CX ἑαυτῶν τὰ στήθη μ αὐτῶν < D καὶ ἀπὸ] ἀπὸ δὲ SHTV τρόμου] φόβου D περιεβλέποντο D περιβλέποντο SH περιστρεφόμενοι ἐνθεν κάκειθεν CX | 629 ὅθεν κάκειθεν D καὶ ἐζήτουν] ζητοῦντες SHTV καὶ – φυγεῖν < D τοῦ < CX φυγεῖν] ἀποδράσαι μ SHTV

And he was very beautiful. Now he came and stood on the top of the cloud close to the archbishop and the congregation, about two hundred cubits above them, so that he could be seen by everybody. And he was, as it has been said, very bright in his beauty and very sweet to be looked at, having put on a very beautiful purple cloud, of which the flashes of his divinity went forth, and on his head there was the shine of lightning and a beautiful crown which seemed like a crown of thorns by its rays, and he held a book in his left hand, and with his right hand he grasped his cloak.<sup>128</sup> Now when the Lord stood opposite to them most mighty in his shape, an ineffable trembling befell the king with joy and all his noblemen and all the crowds of the Christians that were assembled there, so that they could altogether not say a word because of their fear. They only stared up and looked at him somehow sweetly, and were amazed by their infinite gladness.

But the Jews together with Herban did not bear to see the invisible shape of the face of the Lord, and were amazed greatly, beating their breasts, and in their trembling they looked around here and there and sought for a way to escape. For the splendour of the divine brightness consumed them and urged them to run away.

Now the archbishop said to Herban with loud voice: “You see, Herban, about what the long discussion of our words has been, and be instructed that there is *one saint, one Lord Jesus Christ in the glory of God Father, amen.*”

And Herban was silent. And then there came a voice from the Lord to the Jews: “Because of the intercession of the bishop I heal you, I who have been crucified by your fathers.”

Now when this voice was heard, everybody was afeared and fell to the ground on their faces, and just as once the blessed Paul remained blind when the Lord appeared to him, in a similar way this happened also to them; for when they opened their eyes they

κατέφαγε – 630 ἤπειγεν < D μ SHTV | 630 διαυγεία C | 631 εἶπεν οὖν] καὶ εἶπεν D ἐξεβόησε post φωνῆ μ | 632 πολλή ἢ] ἢ πολλή μ, + σοι ἔρευνα καὶ μ τῶν λόγων < D μ πληροφορήθητι + ἀναμφιβόλως μ | 634 Ἐρβᾶν + ἔτι D μ ἡ φωνή SHTV παρὰ κυρίου φωνῆ X πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μ μεγάλην παράκλησιν μ | 635 τούτου τοῦ TV ἀρχιεπισκόπου μ H ἰῶμαι CX ἴαμαι ὑμᾶς] φαίνομαι ὑμῖν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μ ὑμᾶς + ἐγὼ D | 636 οὖν] δὲ μ ἔπεσον + πρηνεῖς μ τὴν – πρόσωπον] τῆς γῆς μ | 637 ὡς οἶα] ὅπερ μ οἶα < SHTV φανῆναι] ὀφθῆναι μ ἀνέμεινε D διέμεινε τυφλώττων] ἐπεπόνθεο τυφλωθεῖς μ | 638 παραπλησίως] τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ μ τοῦτο] τόγε D αὐτοὶ + τότε μ αὐτοῖς V

<sup>128</sup> This description does not fit to any usual representation of Christ in art. Apostles, though not in the same scene as Christ, were often shown in the fourth and fifth century holding a scripture roll in their left and grasping their pallium with the right, for example on sarcophagus fronts of Constantinopolitan origin, see Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik*, 152–177; Firathi, “Deux nouveaux reliefs”; Grabar, *Sculptures*, 33–42. It seems also possible that the author misunderstood the iconographical type of Christ, which became very common in later times, and which shows him holding a book in his left and making the gesture of benediction with his right by putting together thumb and ring finger.

να ἔβλεπον, ὥστε ἀδημονεῖν αὐτοὺς λίαν καὶ ἀποδύρεσθαι πικρῶς. Τούτων οὕτως γεγόνω-  
 640 των κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ κυρίου ριζωθεῖσα εἰς ὕψος ἢ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ἐστρωμένη φωτεινὴ  
 νεφέλη ἀπέκρυπεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν. Καὶ οὕτως τοῦ σωτήρος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον  
 ἀνερχομένου ἐκ τῶν καθέν συνεδιπλοῦτο ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ νεφέλη, μέχρις οὗ ἔνδον  
 ἐχώρησε τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἀπέστη καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ λοιπόν.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν χριστιανῶν τὸ τηλικαῦτα θαρσοποιηθέντες ἰσχυρᾶ  
 645 τῇ βοῇ ὅπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἔκραζον τὸ ‘Κύριε ἐλέησον’. Ὁ δὲ τίμιος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἦν κείμε- 777D  
 νος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ δέσιν προσάγων τῷ κυρίῳ. Τούτων  
 οὕτως παρακολουθησάντων καὶ πάντων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἔπειτα ἀθροισθέντων μεγάλως  
 τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ὃ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου -  
 ὑπερετίμων γεραίροντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες.

Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ἐπερώτα· “Βλέπεις κἂν σύ, ἀδελφέ;” Οἱ δὲ ἔφασκον,  
 650 ὅτι· “Οὐδαμῶς.” Εἶπον δὲ πρὸς Ἑρβᾶν· “Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, διδάσκαλε ἡμῶν, τί ποιούμεν;” Ὁ δὲ  
 Ἑρβᾶν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ἡμεῖς μόνοι ἀπετυφλώθημεν θεασάμενοι τὸν θεὸν τῶν  
 χριστιανῶν ἢ κάκεινοι τοῦτο πεπόνθασιν;” Τινὲς δὲ τῶν χριστιανῶν ταῦτα ἀκηκοῦτες  
 εἶπον, ὅτι· “Ἡμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ χάριτι αὐτοῦ θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ὡς ἐβλέπομεν βλέπομεν. 780A  
 655 Μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ οἱ τυφλώττοντες διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν.”

Ὑπαρχόντων οὖν αὐτῶν ἀπάντων τυφλῶν καὶ μήτε ὄλως καθορώντων, χειραγω-  
 γηθεῖς εὐθὺς ὁ Ἑρβᾶν καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “Πᾶς ἄνθρω-  
 πος βλέπει τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πανθάνει ἀγαθόν, ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν τὸν θεὸν σου καὶ πεπόν-  
 660 θαμεν πονηρόν. Εἰ τοιαύτας εὐεργεσίας δωρεῖται τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ, οὕτως οὗ  
 περίεσι κεκτημένος τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητα.”

Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “*Θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων ἐστὶ κύριος* καὶ νῦν *ἐπαρρησιάσατο*.  
 Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν βλασφημίαν ὑμῶν γέγονεν ὑμῖν.”

Ἑρβᾶν λέγει· “Καὶ εἰ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδίδωσι, τίνα λοιπὸν οἰκονομεῖς τὰ καθ’  
 780B ἡμῶν;”

661 θεὸς – ἐπαρρησιάσατο Ps. 93.1

C X D μ S H T V

639 ὥστε – πικρῶς < μ λίαν] ἄγαν D ἐποδύρεσθαι D πικρῶς < D μ SHTV οὕτω CX μ |  
 640 ριζωθεῖσα εἰς ὕψος] μετεωρισθεῖσα ἤχω τινὶ θειοτέρᾳ CX ἢ < SH ἐστρωμένη post νεφέλη  
 CX D (ἐστρωμένη = ἐσταυρωμένη C), < μ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ μ | 641 προσώπου] τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν D  
 αὐτῶν] πάντων SHTV οὕτω CX | 642 ἀνερχομένου] ἀναπατοῦντος D μ ἐκ τῶν καθέν] κατὰ  
 μικρὸν μ καὶ < D οὗ] σοῦ D | 643 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ TV οὐρανίων D μ καὶ<sup>1</sup> – λοιπὸν < D μ ἀπέπη  
 C | 644 τὸ < μ | 645 βοῇ] φωνῇ μ SHTV ὅπισθεν X ἔκραζον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ C ὁ δὲ] καὶ ὁ μ ἀρχ-  
 ιερεὺς H προσῆν D ἦν – 646 λαοῦ] πρηνῆς κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἔκειτο καὶ μ | 646 δεήσεις SHTV προσ-  
 ἄγων] προσῆγεν μ τῷ κυρίῳ] κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν D μ τούτων + δὲ D οὕτων οὕτω C | 647 οὕτω  
 X ἔπειτα] ἐπὶ τῷ ἅμα SHTV, < D μ | 648 οἱ – αὐτῷ] ἢ σὺν αὐτῷ σύγκλητος μ μετὰ – φόβου]  
 εὐλαβοῦμενοι ἐφοβούντο καὶ D μ ὑπερετίμων σφόδρα γεραίροντες ὁμοῦ D μ | 650 ἐπρωτά C  
 ἔλεγε X ἐπρωτῶν D κἂν] καὶ D ἐσὺ H ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν μ | 651 ὅτι < μ ἡμῶν < X D μ ποιούμεν +  
 ἄρτι D μ | 652 Ἑρβᾶν εἶπεν < μ εἶπεν] ἔφη D | 653 τοῦτο] τόγε D τινὲς δὲ τῶν] καὶ πινες τῶν

could not see anybody, so that they were deeply troubled and lamented bitterly. And when this had happened so in the presence of the Lord, the shining cloud that was spread below him expanded upward and hid him from their faces. And so, while the Saviour went up inside, the cloud was also folded together behind him from both sides until he had proceeded inside the heavens, and then disappeared as well.

But then the king and the crowds of the Christians, being encouraged, cried with loud voice the “Kyrie eleison” behind him, while the worthy archbishop was lying on his face on the ground and offered the Lord a prayer for the people. When this had happened so and thereafter all had assembled in the congregation, the king and the people around him honoured the archbishop exceedingly, celebrating and admiring him with great reverence and fear.

But the Jews asked each other: “Do you see anything, brother?” And the others said: “Nothing at all.” And they said to Herban: “Woe to us, our teacher, what shall we do?” And Herban said to them: “Were only we blinded when we saw the God of the Christians, or did they suffer this as well?” And when some of the Christians heard this they said: “By his grace, we Christians who have beheld him, see as we saw before. Only you are those who have become blind because of your unbelief.”

Now since they all were blind and did not see anything, Herban was straightway led by the hand, came to the archbishop and said to him: “Every man sees his God and suffers a good thing, we have seen your God and have suffered evil. If he offers such kindnesses to those that come to him, in this way he does not possess the goodness of his Father.”

The archbishop said: “*The Lord is the God of vengeance, and now he has spoken.* For this has happened to you because of your blasphemy.”

Herban said: “And if he repays a bad thing for a bad thing, what will you then decide concerning us?”

ἐκέισε μ | 654 εἶρηκαν D ὅτι < μ ἡμεῖς – αὐτοῦ] μὴ γένοιτο· ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ χριστιανοὶ τῇ χάριτι αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀνεκδιηγήτῳ μ οἱ χριστιανοὶ < D ὡς] ὑπὲρ ὃ D μ ἐβλέπομεν] βλέπομεν SH + χρησιμώτερα D + κρείσσον μ βλέπομεν + νῦν μ | 655 οἱ < μ | 656 αὐτῶν < C μ SHTV μηδ' X μ ὀρώντων μ | 657 εὐθύς < μ ὁ < CX καὶ ἐλθῶν] κατελθῶν C ἦλθε D μ λέγει] καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει D καὶ φησὶ μ | 658 βλέπει] ἰδῶν μ καὶ πανθάνει ἀγαθόν] εὐεργετεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ μ ἡμεῖς + δὲ μ SHTV οἶδαμεν C σου < T | 659 πονηρά μ δωρεὰς καὶ εὐεργεσίας C δωρεῖ D παρέχει μ οὕτως] ὄντως D μ οὐ περίεστι] οὐκ ἔστι μ | 660 αὐτοῦ < X | 661 ὁ – ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἐστὶ < D μ H κύριος + θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων μ | 662 τὰς βλασφημίας μ ἐγεγόνει ἐν CX | 663 λέγει < μ T τίνι D μ τί SHTV καθ' ἵ] πρὸς CX

665 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἰατρὸς τέμνων ἐν μέλος σεσηπὸς ἀρρωστοῦντος οὐκ ἔστι ὡς τῆς τομῆς αἷτιος. Ἀναξίους γὰρ ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑωρακότες τὸν κύριον τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὄμμα τμηθέντες ἀποολώκατε.”

Ἐρβᾶν εἶπεν· “Ἐκ πάντων ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ ἐθεάσαμεθα παρὰ σοῦ, ἐν σοὶ μόνον λείπεται, ὅπως ἀνεψχθήσονται ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ γενώμεθα χριστιανοί. Εἰ δ’ οὐκ ἐπιτελέσεις τοῦτο μεθ’ ἡμῶν, δώσεις λόγον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως.”

670 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Εἰ θέλετε, βαπτίσω ὑμᾶς καὶ βαπτιζόμενοι ἀναβλέψετε ὀφθαλμοῖς χριστιανῶν.”

Ἐρβᾶν λέγει· “Ἐὰν βαπτίσης ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσονται ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, τί ἵνα γένηται;”

675 Ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη· “Ἐνα βαπτίσω ἐξ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀναβλέψῃ, μὴ τοῦτο καταδέξησθε ὑμεῖς.”

Καὶ ἤρесе τοῦτο Ἐρβᾶν, καὶ βαπτισθέντος ἐνός ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εὐθέως ἀνέψχθησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ κέκραγε· “Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεὸς ἐστιν ἀληθής, καὶ πιστεύω εἰς αὐτόν.” Τοῦτο ἀκηκούτες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα κατεδέξαντο καὶ μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐλογίσθησαν. Καὶ ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπαραμύθητοι ζημίαι τῷ διαβόλῳ.

680 Βαπτισθεὶς δὲ Ἐρβᾶν καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ, παραχρῆμα ἀνέψχθησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐδόξασαν τὸν θεὸν ἀπολαβόντες τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Ἐρβᾶν μετὰ χριστιανῶν καταλεχθεὶς ἐξεπλήττετο ἐπὶ τῇ φανείσῃ αὐτῷ ὀράσει τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ μεγάλως ἠπόρει καὶ ἐθαύμαζε φάσκων, ὅτι· “Ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς”, φησί, “ἦν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὃν οἱ μωροὶ πατέρες ἡμῶν λαβόντες ἐσταύρωσαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀνούστατοι μετὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις κειμένων εἶναι αὐτὸν ὑπετοπάζομεν.” Καὶ τύπτων τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ μετὰ δακρῶν ἔλεγεν· “Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, συγχώρησόν μοι ὅσα σοὶ ἡμαρτον ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τὰ πρὸς σὲ διακείμενος.”

681 πολλοὶ – διαβόλῳ cf. 9.322 ἀπαραμύθητοι ζημίαι cf. Iohannes Chrysostomus, *CPG* 4580, *PG* 59, 529D | 688 υἱὲ – 689 ζῶντος cf. Mt. 16.16

### C X D μ S H T V

665 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ὁ ἱατρὸς μ ἐν < D SHTV μέλος + τυχὸν μ ἀρρωστοῦντος < μ οὐκ ἔστι] οὐκέτι codd. (οὐκ X) | 666 ὡς < X αἷτιος τῆς τομῆς X αἷτιος + εὐθύνεται D μ, < C SHTV τὸ – 667 τμηθέντες < μ καὶ < D SHTV | 667 ἀπετυφλώθητε μ ἀπολελώκατε D SHTV | 668 εἶπεν] λέγει D, < μ T ἴσμεν καὶ < μ | 669 μόνῳ D ὅπως ἀνεψχθήσονται] ἀνεψχθήναι μ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν T τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μ γενώμεθα πάντες D γενέσθαι πάντα μ χριστιανούς μ | 670 δ’] δὲ SHTV ἐκτελέσεις C τοῦτο] τόγε CX D δῶς D SV ἀποδῶς H ὑπὲρ] περὶ SHTV ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν post κρίσεως μ, < X τῇ < X D μ τῆς < X D μ | 671 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V εἰ < TV βαπτίζω D βαπτιζόμενοι < D μ ἀναβλέψητε D SHTV | 672 ὀφθαλμοῖς χριστιανῶν < D μ | 673 λέγει] εἶπεν SH, < C μ TV ἐὰν δὲ μ ἀνεψχθήσονται X SHTV ἀνοιχθῶσιν D ἀνεψχθῶσιν μ ἡμῶν + καὶ CX οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἡμῶν X τί ἵνα] τίνα SH ἵνα < D ἵνα γένηται] γίνεται D μέλλει γίνεσθαι μ | 675 ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔφη] καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος T ἔφη < V ἕνα + φησί μ ἐξ] ἀφ’ CX καὶ ἐὰν]

The archbishop said: “A physician who cuts away one rotten limb of a sick, still is not responsible for the cut. You have seen the Lord with unworthy eyes, and so the Jewish and fearful eye has been cut away from you, and you have perished.”

Herban said: “From all the things we know and have heard and seen from you, there is only one missing, that our eyes should be opened and we should become Christians. If you will not accomplish that with us, you will account for us on the Day of Judgement.”

The archbishop said: “If you want, I will baptise you, and being baptised you will see again with the eyes of the Christians.”

Herban said: “If you baptise us and our eyes will not be opened, what shall happen then?”

The archbishop said: “I will baptise one of you, and if he will not see again, you will not receive this.”

And this pleased to Herban, and when one of them had been baptised, immediately his eyes were opened, and he cried: “Jesus Christ is the true God, and I believe in him.” When the remaining ones heard this, they received the holy baptism with great readiness and were reckoned among the Christians. And there was great joy in the church of Christ on that day, and many inconsolable damages to the devil.

When Herban and all his followers had been baptised, their eyes were opened on the spot, and they praised God having received their light back. Herban, being counted among the Christians, was astonished at the vision of our Lord Jesus Christ that had appeared to him, and he was bewildered greatly and wondered, saying: “The Lord Jesus Christ was in the heavens, whom our foolish fathers took, crucified and killed, and we most silly men assumed that he was with those who lie in the graves.” And beating his breast he said with tears: “Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, forgive me that I have sinned against you, being ignorant about you.”

κἄν D μ ἀναβλέψη + τὸ τηνικαῦτα D τηνικαῦτα μ | 676 καταδέξεσθαι D ὑμεῖς] ἡμᾶς H<sup>ac</sup>, < D μ | 677 καὶ<sup>1</sup> < μ τῷ Ἐρβᾶν H μ + καὶ πάντα μ βαπτισθέν D | 678 ἀνέκραγε CX ἔκραγε D, + λέγων D μ θεός < S<sup>ac</sup>TV, post ἀληθῆς S<sup>pc</sup>H | 679 σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ < SHTV τὸ – 680 ἐλογίσθησαν] προσήλθον τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι καὶ λαβόντες τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα κατελογίσθησαν μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν D μ ἐδέξαντο X TV | 680 τῶν < SV μεγάλη + καὶ εὐφροσύνη μ ἐν τῇ SHTV | 681 Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ D μ ἐν < D H τῇ < H πολλαὶ καὶ < D πολλαὶ – ζημίαι] λύπη καὶ αἰσχύνη πολλῇ SHTV (πολλῇ < H) καὶ ἀπαραμύθητοι < μ ἀμύθητοι CX + καὶ C | 682 ὁ Ἐρβᾶν D μ ἀνεώχθησαν – 683 καὶ] ἀνοιγέντων τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν μ | 683 ἐδόξαζον D μ ἀπολαβόντες – αὐτῶν < μ ante τὸ + καὶ D ὁ – 684 ἐξεπλήττετο] εἶτα ἐκπληττόμενος ὁ Ἐρβᾶν μ μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν λογισθεὶς D καταλεχθεὶς μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν SHTV | 684 ὀράσει αὐτῷ μ κυρίου + καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος μ | 685 καὶ<sup>1</sup> – ὅτι] ἔλεγεν μ φησὶν < μ | 686 κύριος ἡμῶν μ μωροὶ < SHTV | 687 ἀναίσθητοι D μ τοῖς < μ κειμένων + τοῦτον D αὐτὸν] αὐτοὺς CX, < D μ | 688 αὐτοῦ < μ ante Ἰησοῦ + δέσποτα κύριε D μ | 689 ζῶντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ μ ἐν < SHTV τὰ] τῇ X



- 690 Ἐσέβητο δὲ καὶ τὸν μακάριον Γρηγέντιον καὶ ὑπερετίμα μεγάλως καὶ ὡς θεοῦ ἄγγε- 781A  
 λον ἐκέκτητο αὐτὸν καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε χωρίζεσθαι αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὡς σοφώτατον καὶ  
 λογιώτατον τὸν Ἐρβᾶν ἀνάδοχος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ Λέοντα μετονομάσας ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ  
 βαπτίσματι ἓνα τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἀπέφηνε ποιήσας αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπεκκλησίονα  
 αὐτοῦ, ὃν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πατρίκιον καὶ κανίκλην προσαγορεύειν εἰώθασιν.
- 695 Τοῦτων οὕτως προχωρησάντων καὶ τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἐρβᾶν βαπτισθέντων ὡσεὶ πεντα-  
 κοσίων χιλιάδων, φιλοτιμίας οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰληφότων καὶ μετὰ θυμηδίας εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἀνα-  
 χωρησάντων, κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου βαπτίζεται πᾶσα 781B  
 ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν βασιλείας κατοικοῦσα.  
 Καὶ εὐθὺς ὑποθέσει τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς διεσκόρπισε τὰς πα-  
 700 τριάς αὐτῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ προσέταχεν ἀναμιγῆναι αὐτοὺς ταῖς κατοικίαις τῶν χρι-  
 στιανῶν. Ἐνετείλατο δὲ ὁ μακάριος Γρηγέντιος τῷ βασιλεῖ γραφῆναι νόμον πρὸς τὸ μῆδ'  
 ὄλως τολμᾶν ἀπεβραῖον τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῶν συναπεβραίων, ἀλλ'  
 οὐν “Λήφεται,” φησί, “γαμβρὸν τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ ἔθνῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ τῷ  
 705 νύφῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ”, φησί, “λήφεται νύμφην ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν χριστιανῶν. Ὁ δὲ  
 παραχαράττων τὸν νόμον καὶ κατὰ πόδας τιθεὶς τῇ τοῦ ξίφους τιμωρίᾳ ὑποπιπτέτω.” Καὶ  
 τοῦ νόμου γραφέντος, ἀναμιγείσα τῷ σκοπῷ τῷδε πᾶσα ἡ γενεὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῇ γενεᾷ  
 τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ φυρθεῖσα τῷ χρόνῳ εἰς παντελῆ λήθην ἦλθε τῶν προτέρων, βαπτι-  
 σθέντες ἀνεκάθεν τέλει τοῦ βίου παρφηκότες.
- Φωτισθείσης τοιγαροῦν πάσης τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ εὐσεβῶς χριστιανιζούσης 781C  
 710 ἦν χαρὰ μεγίστη ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ πάντων μετὰ πόθου ἑορταζόντων τὰς  
 ἑορτὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰρήνης δὲ βαθείας πανταχοῦ διαθεούσης. Ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ διάγων καὶ

C X D μ S H T V | 690 Γρη| C]

690 ὑπερετίμων T | 691 ἐκέκτηντο T ἐκέκτητο αὐτὸν] τοῦτον ἑώρα μ οὐχ D μ ἤθελε] εἶλατο D  
 μ ἠβούλετο SHTV ἀπ' αὐτοῦ D αὐτὸν SHTV ὡς σοφώτατον] ὡς εὐπρεπέστατον καὶ σοφώτατον  
 ἄμα D ὡς εὐπρεπέστατον μ | 692 λογιώτατον + θεασάμενος D μ τὸν – γενόμενος < X ἀνάδοχος  
 αὐτοῦ γενόμενος] ἀνάδοχος τε αὐτοῦ γενόμενος D ὅστις καὶ ἀνάδοχος αὐτοῦ γέγονεν SHTV  
 post 693 βαπτίσματι SHTV καὶ Λέοντα μετονομάσας post 693 βαπτίσματι μ τὸν καὶ Λέοντα  
 μετονομασθέντα SHTV καὶ – 693 βαπτίσματι] ἐν βαπτίσματι Λέοντα μετονομάσας X |  
 693 αὐτοῦ < SHTV ποιήσας – 694 αὐτοῦ] ὑπεκκλησίονα ποιήσας μ | 694 κανίκλειον D κανι-  
 κλείονα μ προσαγορεύειν εἰώθασιν] προσαγορεύουσιν μ H | 695 προχειρησάντων D τοῖς –  
 βαπτισέσιν μ τοῦ < SHTV ὡσεὶ πεντακοσίων χιλιάδων < SHTV πεντακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων μ  
 | 696 χιλιαδῶν D οὐ λίγας H τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν D μ | 697 ἁγιωτάτου < μ H | 698 ἠ<sup>1</sup> < X  
 Ἐβραίων SHTV αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ μ | 699 ὑποθέσει] ὑπὸ H ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου μ | 700 προσ-  
 ἔταξεν D προσέταχεν SHTV | 701 μακαριώτατος μ | 702 ἀπεβραῖον] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ἐβραίων X  
 ἀπέβραιον D τινὰ τῶν νεοφωτιστῶν Ἐβραίων μ ἀπ' Ἐβραίων SHV ἀπὸ Ἐβραίων T τὴν  
 θυγατέρα SHTV λήψεσθαι γαμβρὸν τῇ θυγατρὶ ἄνδρα μ συναπεβραίων] ὁμοφύλων Ἐβραίων μ  
 συναποεβραίων T + αὐτῶν SHTV ἀλλ' οὐν] ἀλλὰ μ | 703 λήφεται] λαμβάνειν μ λήψεσθαι H  
 φησί post γαμβρὸν D, < μ γαμβρὸν μ, < TV τῇ] τὴν S καὶ – 704 αὐτοῦ] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῷ νύφῳ  
 αὐτοῦ SHTV | 704 δὲ<sup>1</sup> < D δὲ<sup>1</sup> – χριστιανῶν] ὡσαύτως μ θυγατέρων SH | 705 καί<sup>1</sup> – τιθεὶς < μ  
 τῇ < D καί<sup>2</sup> – 708 παρφηκότες < SHTV | 706 τῷ σκοπῷ τῷδε] τοιουτοτρόπως μ τῶν – γενεᾷ <

And he also adored the blessed Gregentios and honoured him exceedingly respecting him like an angel of God, and did not want to be separated from him. Since Herban was very wise and learnt, the king became his sponsor in baptism, changed his name to Leon<sup>129</sup> in the holy baptism and appointed him as a member of his senate, making him also his *hypekklesion*, whom the Romans use to call patrician and secretary.<sup>130</sup>

When this had happened thus and also the followers of Herban had been baptised, a number of about five hundred thousand, and had received not few gifts and returned home with gladness, by order of the king and the most holy archbishop the whole congregation of the Jews, which lived in all towns belonging to their kingdom, was baptised as well. And immediately by proposal of the archbishop the most pious king scattered their clans separately from each other and ordered them to be mixed up among the dwelling-places of the Christians. And the most blessed Gregentios enjoined the king that a law be issued, that no former Hebrew should dare to take a husband for his daughter from his former fellow Hebrews, but “He will take a son-in-law for his daughter from the Christians which are from the nations, and for his son”, he says, “he will take a daughter-in-law from the daughters of the Christians. And he that adulterates the law and puts it under his feet, shall be subjected to the punishment of the sword.” And when this law had been issued, the whole race of the Jews was mixed up in this way with the race of the Christians, and being mingled, with the time going by they completely lost the memory of the former times, first being baptised and then passing away at the end of their lives.

Therefore,<sup>131</sup> when the whole kingdom of the Homerites had been enlightened and was piously Christian, there was great joy in the holy churches of God, and all celebrated with desire the feasts of Christ, and deep peace was everywhere. And the king, living

D | 707 παντελή < D ἤλαθε] ἔληξε D προτέρων βαπτισθέντες] προτέρως σεβασθέντων D βαπτισθέντες – 708 παρωχηκότες < μ | 708 ἀνέκαθεν] τὸ καθὲν D παρωχηκότας X D | 709 τοιγαροῦν < μ τῆς < μ | 710 μεγίστη] μεγάλη D ἐν < SHTV ἀγίαις < μ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις D τοῦ θεοῦ < SHTV ἐπὶ πάντων D ἀπάντων SHTV τὰς ἑορτάς] ἑορτὴν X τὰς – 711 Χριστοῦ < μ | 711 δὲ] τε D, < X μ πανταχοῦ βαθείας μ πανταχῆ D πανταχόσε SHTV καὶ < μ H

<sup>129</sup> See above, pp. 108–109.

<sup>130</sup> The title *hypekklesion* is otherwise unknown and probably the author’s own invention. Though the designation suggests an ecclesiastical context, it is clear from the following explanation that a high position and an office at court are intended. On the dignity of *patrikios*, see Kazhan, “Patrikios”. *Kanikles* is the lower-style form of *kanikleios*, a high office at the emperor’s court more commonly called *epi tou kanikleiou*, on which see Kazhdan, “Kanikleios”.

<sup>131</sup> The following conclusion is actually the final part of the Bios, see above, pp. 6, 109–110 and 115.

ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιερεὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀόκνως ἐπετέλει τὰς παννύχους δοξολογίας τῷ δεσπότῃ· καθὰ δὲ καὶ προείρηται, ὅτι εἶχετο ζήλου θεϊκοῦ, προσὴν ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνας πολλὰς ἀδυνατοῖς καὶ ὀρφανοῖς καὶ χήραις. Καὶ ἦν πᾶσαν ἄδικον συγγραφὴν κατασπῶν καὶ πᾶσαν πονηρὰν ἀπόφασιν ἀναιρῶν καὶ ιδιόχειρα ἀσφαλείας παρὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων ἀπαιτῶν εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν πένητας, μήτε μὴν αἴρειν τὸ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκτημένου αὐτοῦ καὶ διδόναι τῷ μὴ κεκτημένῳ καὶ καταδικάζειν τὸν ἀνεύθυνον. Τοὺς δὲ καταπατοῦντας τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰ προστάγματα τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πυρὶ καὶ ζῖφει καὶ βυθῷ θαλάσσης ἀνήρει, μήτε ὡς ἔπος τινῶν φειδῷ εἰσπραττόμενος ἕνεκα τῆς ἐκδικήσεως τοῦ νόμου τοῦ θεοῦ, οὔτε ἄρχοντας, οὔτε πένητος, οὔτε ἐτέρων προσώπων πινῶν, ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας φοβερὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ φρίκης ἀνάπλεον τοῖς πᾶσιν. Ὅποταν γὰρ εἰσῆρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ φοβούμενοι διὰ τινὰς διοικήσεις τῆς βασιλείας, φρίττοντες καὶ πτοούμενοι εἰσήεσαν κατηφεῖς κάτω νεύοντες, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ δὲ αὐτῶν εὐχόμενοι ἐξελεθῆν ἀκινδύνως ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν λέξει παραπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνοήτους αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλει καὶ ἄφρονας, ὕγιη μὴ κεκτημένους τῇ διανοίᾳ ὑπὲρ πινος πλεονεκτήματος ἀδικίας. Τὰ δὲ βουλευόμενα αὐτοῦ τε καὶ διοικήματα, τὰ τε περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου καὶ χρήσεως τοπάρχων καὶ μεγιστάνων καὶ τὰ ἕνεκα τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ περὶ αἰσίων καὶ περὶ τοῦ δημοσίου καὶ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑποθέσεως πρῶτον διὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου ἐπερωτῶν τὸν κύριον τὰ ἐντελλόμενα αὐτῷ προθύμως ἦνυσεν καὶ οὐδέποτε ἠστόχει τοῦ πράγματος θεοκελεύστατος τούτοις ἐγχειριζόμενος.

Τριακοστὸν τοιγαροῦν χρόνον κρατήσας τῆς βασιλείας ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπεξῆλθε τοῦ βίου, τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγεντίου προσημάναντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν μετὰστασιν. Ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν σορῷ βασιλικῇ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ ἐπένησεν αὐτὸν μεγάλως πᾶσα ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν. Παρείληφε δὲ Σέρδιδος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ἐδιοῖκε αὐτὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ Γρηγεντίῳ πανσόφως ἐπόμενος.

Ὁ δὲ ἐν ἀγίοις Γρηγέντιος καλῶς ποιμάννας καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ποιμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐποικοδομήσας ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν καὶ πολλὰ τέρατα καὶ

738 ἐποικοδομήσας – προφητῶν cf. Eph. 2.18

#### X D μ S H T V

712 ἱερωτάτῳ D δοξολογίας τὰς παννύχους μ | 713 φιλανθρώπῳ δεσπότῃ D θεῷ T καθὰ] ὡς μ καὶ < D μ προείρητο μ ὅτι < μ εἶχετο] ὑπῆρχεν SHTV ζήλου + καὶ πόθου D μ προσὴν < μ ποιῶν + ### X | 714 τε καὶ<sup>2</sup> μ χήραις + ### X ἦν < X συγγραφὴν SH | 715 τὴν πονηρὰν SHTV ἀπόφασιν] ψήφον D μ καὶ ιδιόχειρα] ιδιόχειρα δὲ SHTV ἀσφαλείας < T | 716 ἐξαπαιτῶν D εἰς] πρὸς μ εἰς – ἀδικεῖν < X πένησιν D πένητα SHTV | 717 διδόναι + αὐτὸ μ καταπατητὰς τοῦ νόμου SHTV | 719 ἀναιρεῖσθαι D ἀναιρεῖ H ἀναιρεῖ T μήτε – εἰσπραττόμενος < μ μήτε – 720 πινῶν < SHTV διεκδικήσεως D | 720 ἀρχόντων – πενήτων D ἄρχοντας – πένητος] οὔτε<sup>3</sup> – 726 ἀδικίας < μ | 721 καὶ φρίκης ἀνάπλεον < SHTV ἀνάπλεον D τοῖς – 722 ὅποταν] ἅπασιν ὅταν SHTV | 722 φοβούμενοι < SHTV οἰκίσεις H | 723 τῆς βασιλείας < SHTV κατηφεῖς – 728 δημοσίου < SHTV | 726 τὰ δὲ] πάντα δὲ τὰ D τε – 727 διοικήματα < μ | 728 περὶ ἐτέρας SHTV

free from care together with the most holy archpriest of God, performed without hesitation the laudations to the Master which lasted all night; and as it has been said before that he was possessed by divine zeal, he was constantly giving alms to the weak and orphans and widows. And he dissolved every unjust contract, lifted every wicked sentence and demanded handwritten guarantees of safety from his noblemen not to do injustice to the poor, nor to deprive someone of the right he possessed, to give it to somebody else who did not possess it, and to condemn the innocent. And those that trampled the law of God and the orders of his majesty under foot, he executed by the sword and the depth of the sea, and as some people say, he did not spare from the revenge of the law of God neither an official nor a poor man nor any other person, so that for this reason he was feared, and all were full of awe for him. For when his noblemen went in to him in fear because of some administrative matter of the kingdom, they entered shuddering and terrified, mute and looking downward, praying in their heart that they would leave safely from his face again, for they had transgressed also in words against him and he called them foolish and silly, not having a sound mind concerning gains from injustice. His decisions and resolutions about peace and war, the employment of local rulers and noblemen, about the common people and the excellent ones, about the state and any other affair, he accomplished readily after having asked the Lord before through the blessed Gregentios for the things commanded to him, and he never missed his goal, since he had undertaken it by the order of God.

So having reigned his kingdom for thirty years, he passed away from his life in peace, after the blessed Gregentios had foretold him his departure from this world. He was buried in a royal shrine in Tephra, the reigning city of the Homerites, and the whole kingdom of the Homerites lamented him greatly. His son Serdidos<sup>132</sup> took over the sceptre of the kingdom in his place, and he governed it according to the procedure of his father, following the most blessed Gregentios most wisely in his reign as well.

Gregentios of holy memory, having tended the flock of Christ also, having erected it on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and having performed many wonders

τινός] ἡστινοσοῦν μ, < H | 729 πρῶτον] ἐν πρώτοις D μακαρίου] ἁγίου μ Χρηγεντίου S S ἐπερωτῶν post πρῶτον μ ἐπερωτῶν SHTV | 730 ἦννευ] ἐπλήρει μ οὐδέπω ἐνηστοχεί D πράγματος] πρέποντος μ θεοκελεύστατος D ὡς θεοκελεύστους μ θεοκελεύστατος τούτοις ἐγχειριζόμενος < SHTV ἐπιχειρῶν μ | 731 τοιγαροῦν χρόνον] τοίνυν ἔτος μ τὸν βίον D μ | 732 προσημνημένου SHTV ἐντεῦθεν] ἐνθένδε μ ἐτάφη – 733 βασιλικῇ] καὶ ἐτάφη μ ἐν < SHTV | 733 αὐτῇ < μ βασιλευούσῃ] βασιλίδι SHTV πόλει < TV Τεφθάρ T καὶ – 734 Ὀμηριτῶν < μ V | 734 παρελήφει D παρέλαβεν SHTV Σέρδιδος μ] Σέρδιδος cett. ἀντ' αὐτοῦ < μ | 735 βασιλείας + κατέχων D ἐδιοίκε αὐτὰ] διοικῶν D ἐδιοίκει – 736 βασιλεία] ἦν κατὰ πάντα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μ | 736 καὶ – βασιλεία < SHTV μακαριωτάτῳ μ πανσόφως < μ | 737 δέ γε SHTV Γρηγέντιος] ἀρχιεπίσκοπος μ καλῶς – Χριστοῦ] ποιμάνας καλῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ποιμνιον μ | 738 καὶ προφητῶν < μ τεράστια SHTV

<sup>132</sup> See above, p. 69 with note 134.

σημεία εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ζῶν καὶ μετὰ κοίμησιν, μετὰ μικρὸν τῆς κοιμήσεως  
 740 τοῦ βασιλέως παρήλθε τὸν βίον μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ ἰθ'. Καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν σορῷ τῇ ἰδίᾳ  
 ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἀθροισθέντων πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἱερέων ἐν 784B  
 τῇ κηδεΐᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ λευιτῶν καὶ μοναζόντων καὶ πλήθους λαοῦ, πολλὰ τὴν στέρησιν  
 αὐτοῦ ἀποδυρομένων. Πατὴρ γὰρ ἐγεγόνει ἀγαθὸς τοῖς πᾶσιν, ἐκάστοτε τὰ πρόσφορα  
 745 κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, ἀμήν.

### **X D μ S H T V**

739 ἐπιτελέσας εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ μ | 740 εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως SHTV παρήκε D μ + καὶ αὐτὸς μ  
 μετῆλθε SHTV τὸν παρόντα βίον κληρονομήσας βασιλείαν ἀτελεύτητον μ ἰθ' ἔννεακαιδεκάτη  
 D καὶ ἐτάφη] ἐτάφη δὲ μ καὶ<sup>2</sup> – ἰδία < μ τῇ ἰδίᾳ] τιμία καὶ ἁγία D, < H | 741 πολλῶν] ἐκέισε μ  
 καὶ < μ ἐν<sup>2</sup>] ἐπὶ μ ἐν<sup>2</sup> – 742 αὐτοῦ post ἐπισκόπων D, post 742 καὶ πλήθος λαοῦ] μυριοπλήθων μ  
 (ἐν ] ἐπὶ) | 742 καὶ λευιτῶν] διακόνων μ λευίτων SHTV καὶ<sup>2</sup> < μ καὶ πλήθους λαοῦ < D πλήθος  
 TV καὶ λαοῦ S πολὺ TV θρηνοῦντων καὶ ἀποδυρομένων τὴν στέρησιν αὐτοῦ μ | 743 αὐτοῦ <  
 SHTV ἀποδυρομένου SHTV τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀγαθὸς μ ἅπασιν SHTV ἐκάστοτε] ἐκάστω μ |  
 744 εὐσυμπάθητος μ συμπαθέστατος ἐπὶ τε SHTV θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις < D ἀνθρώποις +  
 γενόμενος μ | 745 κράτος + ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ προσκύνησις CX νῦν + καὶ αἰὶ μ νῦν καὶ < SHTV  
 ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας D τῶν αἰῶνων < SHTV in fine + εὐχεσθε πατέρες ἅγιοι κάμοι τῷ  
 ἁμαρτωλῷ Σάβα τῷ γεγραφότι ὅτι ἁμαθῆς εἰμι τοῦ γράφειν· δόξα σοὶ ὁ θεὸς δόξα σοὶ, ἀμήν D, +  
 δόξα σοὶ Χριστέ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος S, + τέλος εἰληφεν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου σὺν τῇ διαλέξει αὐτοῦ  
 μετὰ καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· δόξα τῷ θεῷ τῷ διδόντι ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος, ἀμήν H

and portents for the glory of God during his lifetime and after his death, passed away from life shortly after the death of the king on the 19th December. And he was also buried in an own shrine in the mausoleum of the great church; many bishops, priests, levites, monks and a crowd of people were assembled at his funeral and bewailed his loss greatly. For he had become a good father to them all, who distributed alms at every occasion, and a mediator who was very pleasant to God and men, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and might now and forever, amen.

## Appendix I

### Excerpts from the *Bios*

#### Chapters 1–8 in K<sup>1</sup>

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρίτην πόλεως Ταφάρων καὶ διήγησις τῶν πραχθέντων θαυμασίων παρ' αὐτοῦ, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ Ἰωάννου ἐπισκόπου πόλεως Νεγρᾶς. Πάτερ εὐλόγησον.

Κώμη τίς ἐστὶ τῶν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶν ἐν μεθορίοις Ἀβάρων καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ἐπιχωρίως Λοπλιανὴ καλουμένη. Ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ οἱ τοῦ θαυμασίου Γρηγορίου γεννήτορες Ἀγάπιος καὶ Θεοδότη συναφθέντες κατὰ νόμους τοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐξ αὐτῶν τίκτεσθαι γεννώσι τὸν μακαρίτην τοῦτον Γρηγόριον, καὶ ἐκπαιδεύουσι κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ κυρίου. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ὡς γῆ ἀγαθὴ τὰ θεῖα δεξαμένη σπέρματα καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νόμασιν ἀρδευθεῖσα καὶ καρπὸν ἔδει τοιοῦτον τελεσφορῆσαι, 5 προβαίνει μὲν τὴν σαρκικὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀνάγεται δὲ τῷ θεῷ φόβῳ πλέον καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθίσταται. Καὶ τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν; Οὐ μόνον ἀκροατῆς τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν καὶ πληρωτῆς ἀναδεικνυται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξηγητῆς τούτων χειροτονηθεὶς διάκονος παρὰ τινος τῶν ἐγγιζόντων θεῷ ἐπισκόπων ὀπτασίας ἀξιωθέντος θείας ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν ἀναβιβάσαι τὸν λύχνον. Μέλλει γάρ, φησί, τέλειος φανεῖς τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ 10 ὑψίκομος κοσμηθεὶς θρόνον ἀρχιερατικὸν ἐν θείοις πράξεις καὶ διδάγμασι.

Τοῖνον βίᾳ κρατηθεὶς αἰδοῖ καὶ εὐλαβεῖα τοῦ ἀξιώματος χάριν παρὰ θεοῦ δέχεται σημεῖα ἐπιτελεῖν ἐξάϊσια καὶ παράδοξα. Καὶ δὴ τὴν χάριν ὀλοτελῆ τοῦ ἁγίου δεξάμενος πνεύματος τὰς χώρας διήρχετο κηρύσσων Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ 20 γῆς. Καὶ πολλοὺς τῆς πλάνης ἀποσπῶν τῶν εἰδώλων προσήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῷ ἀληθινῷ θεῷ, τὸν βίον ἔχων τοῖς λόγοις πρόσφορον· συνήργει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἄνωθεν χάρις. Ἰάτω τε τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας καὶ δαίμονας ἀπήλαυε προσευχῇ καὶ δάκρυσι καὶ ἐπικλήσει αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

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7 ἐν – κυρίου Eph. 6, 4 | 18 ποιητὴν – γῆς e symbolo Nicaeno

1 See above, p. 165.

The Life and conduct of our holy father Gregorios, who became bishop of the Homerite city of Taphar, and a narration of the wonders done by him, written by Ioannes, bishop of the city of Negra. Bless me, father.

There is a village among the undistinguished ones in the bordering region of Avars and Asians which is called Lopliane in the local language. The parents of the wonderful Gregorios, Agapios and Theodote, being united according to the laws of Christ in a way worthy of the one that was to be born from them, beget this blessed Gregorios and raise him according to the apostle *in the education and admonition of the Lord*. And since like good soil, which receives the divine seed and is watered by the waters from the Holy Ghost, it was also necessary that he bore fruit, advanced in his fleshly life, and was brought up higher to the fear of God and, according to the measure of his age, became a member of Christ's crew. And what happens then? He appeared not only to be listening to the divine commandments and fulfilling them, but was also appointed to be an expounder and deacon by one of the bishops who came close to God and was deemed worthy of a divine vision to put the lamp on the lampstand. For, he said, he will appear to be perfect in his virtue with high-bound hair, and will adorn the throne of an archpriest with his divine deeds and teachings.

So, being kept by force, by the awe and reverence of his dignity he received the grace from God to accomplish extraordinary and miraculous portants. And having received the full grace of the Holy Ghost, he went through the countries proclaiming Christ our God, *the creator of heaven and earth*, and dragging away many from the deceit of the idols he brought them to the true God, leading a life fitting to his words; for the grace from above was working with him. And he healed the sick and expelled demons by his prayers and tears and invocations of Christ.



Πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπάρας γίνεται ἐν Μεδιολάνοις, κάκει τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς πρώην  
 25 τελέσας ἐντυγχάνει τινὶ γέροντι πρὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγορίου ἄφι-  
 ξιν προαγορεύσαντι τῷ συνασκητῇ καὶ ὑπρέτῃ αὐτοῦ. Φιλοφρονηθεὶς οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ  
 λαχάνοις δεξιωθείς τὴν γνώσιν τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ διαδέχεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ προδιδάσκε-  
 30 ται πιστευσάμενος αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκ βρέφους αὐτοῦ διηγήμασι καὶ προφητικοῖς χαρίσμασιν.  
 Ἐκεῖθεν πλείον ὑπαλειφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν κατὰ θεὸν βίον ἀπῆει χαίρων τοὺς ψαλμοὺς ἔχων  
 ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὕτως ὠκοδομεῖτο καὶ ἀνήγετο καλῶς, τῷ  
 30 βαθυτάτῳ ὄρει πρόσεισι μαθῶν ἐκέισε διαιτώμενον ἄνδρα προφητικοῦ χαρίσματος ἔμ-  
 πλεον. Καὶ ὡς μόνον ἔνδον τοῦ ὄρους ἐγένετο, βαβαὶ τοῦ θαύματος· Ὁρᾷ στῦλον πυρὸς  
 καιόμενον καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ πολὺ διήκοντα. Ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ἔπεσε πρηνῆς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·  
 εἶτα ἀναστὰς ἀπῆει μαθεῖν τὸ ὄφθην θέαμα. Καὶ μακρόθεν μὲν ὦν πῦρ ἔβλεπε, πλησίον δὲ  
 35 γεγωνῶς ὄρᾳ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον προσιόντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἀσπαζόμενον καὶ καλοῦντα  
 αὐτὸν ἐξ ὀνόματος. Μείνας οὖν παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν νύκτα μειζόνων ἔτι καὶ παραδοξοτέρων  
 θεαμάτων ἠξίωται.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ μεσονυκτίου ὥραν, ὡς ὄλην ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα ἴστατο ὁ θεοφόρος  
 ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ χαμόθεν τοὺς πόδας ἀπάρας, ἐκτεταμένας ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας ἐκουφίζετο τῷ  
 40 ἀέρι ἐπὶ πολὺ. Καὶ οὕτω διανύσας τὴν νύκτα περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἐκκληκτον ἰδὼν τὸν μακά-  
 ριον Γρηγόριον προσφωνεῖ αὐτῷ ἡμέρω καὶ πραεῖα τῇ φωνῇ· “Δεῦρο, ὦ φίλε καὶ ἀδελφέ,  
 τῆς κοινῆς ὠφελείας τῆς ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης μετασχόμεν τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἀφίξει  
 πρὸς ταπεινὸν γέροντα καὶ ἁμαρτωλόν, ὥστε τὰ περὶ σοῦ μοι γνωσθέντα μαθεῖν” αὐτὸς  
 γὰρ ὑπάρχεις ὁ τὴν προτεραιάν προσευξάμενος ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ Βονιφατίου τοῦ μάρτυ-  
 45 ρος καὶ Ἀγλαίδος. Δεῖ οὖν σε πορευθῆναι εἰς Αὐγουστόπολιν κάκειθεν ἀποπλεῦσαι εἰς  
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰθιοπία κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· εἶτα  
 καταλαβεῖν σε τὴν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πόλιν Νεγρᾶν, αἰχμαλωτισμένην καὶ πεπορθημένην καὶ  
 μαχαίρας ἔργον γεγεννημένην Δουναᾶ τοῦ Ὀμηρίτου καὶ δεομένου τῆς ἀποστολικῆς σου  
 διδασκαλίας, ἐν ἣ καὶ μεγάλη κατορθωτικὴ ἀναπαύση καὶ μεταβίση πρὸς τὰς τοῖς δικαί-  
 50 οῖς ἡτοιμασμένας μονάς. Πλήν κόπους ὑποστήσει παρὰ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπει-  
 θοῦς ὄντος. Ὅμως πολλοὺς ἐπιστρέψεις πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἔχων αὐτὸν εὐδοῦντα καὶ  
 σοφίζοντα καὶ ἀνορθοῦντα. Δέξῃ δὲ τὴν χειροθεσίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς παρὰ Προτερίου τοῦ  
 ὀσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας.”

Τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ μακάριος καὶ τοῖς θεάμασι οἷς εἶδεν ἐναγόμενος μὴ ἀπιστεῖν,  
 55 ἐπειράθη μὲν συνεῖναι τῷ ἀγίῳ γέροντι ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ὠμολογεῖ τῶν λεχθέν-  
 των· ὁ δὲ σημειοφόρος ἀνὴρ διηγήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ ἅς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶδεν ὀπτασίας ὁ  
 θεοπικώτατος Γρηγόριος, τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐν ὄραματι καπιδῶν Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον καὶ  
 ὅσα ἀάμπολλα ὠμοφόρια τοῖς ὅμοις αὐτοῦ ἐπιτεθήκασιν προσημαίνοντες τὴν τῆς πίστεως  
 δι' αὐτοῦ ἐφάπλωσιν, καὶ ὅσοις ἐπιθεὶ τὰς χεῖρας τελειώσας τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύνης χρίσματι.  
 Ἐπὶ πλέον οὖν καταπλαγεὶς ὁ μακάριος ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς κατὰ μόνας εἶδε καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς

Leaving for Rome he came to Milan, and while doing things similar to those before, he met an old man, who had foretold the arrival of the blessed Gregorios thirty stadia before to his fellow ascetic and servant. Having been treated kindly, and having been received with vegetables, he was taught by him to follow him in the knowledge of the future, after having entrusted him with his narrations from his childhood onward and his prophetic gifts. From then on he was yet more incited to a life according to God, and went away having the psalms in his heart and on his lips. And after having been edified and brought up in this way, he went to the most remote mountain, having heard about a man who lived there and was full of the gift of prophecy. And only entering the mountain, bless me, what a miracle: He saw a burning pillar of fire extending through the air over a long distance. And being astonished, he fell on the ground with his face downwards, then he rose and went to learn about the miracle he had seen. And when he was still far away, he saw a fire, but when he came close, he saw the man of God approaching him and calling him by his name. And staying over night with him, he was deemed worthy of still greater and more incredible marvels.

For after the hour of midnight, as that God-bearing man stood that whole night raising his feet from the ground and, with his arms stretched out, was lifted up into the air. And after having passed the night, at the time of dawn, when he saw the blessed Gregorios astonished, he called to him with a gentle and soft voice: "Come on, o my friend and brother, let us share the common help which comes from the peace of God. For you have come to a humble and sinful old man in order to learn the things that have been revealed to me about you; for you are the one who has prayed the night before in the shrine of Bonifatius and Aglais. Now you have to travel to Augustopolis and from there to sail to Alexandria, thereafter to proclaim the word of truth in Ethiopia; then you will reach the city Negra of the Homerites, which has been taken captive and conquered and become a work of the sword of the Homerite Dounaas who needs your apostolic teaching, in which you will achieve great things and go to rest and pass on to the dwelling-places that have been prepared for the righteous. Save that you will have to suffer many troubles from the race of the Jews which is disobedient. However, you will convert many to the Lord, having him as an helper on the way, who instructs you and raises you up. And you will receive the appointment as a bishop by Proterios, the most holy archbishop of the city of Alexandria."

When the blessed one heard this and was persuaded not to distrust the marvels he had seen, he made an attempt to stay with that holy old man and confessed himself to be unworthy of the things he had said. But the wonder-working man told him also of the visions which that most God-seeing Gregorios had beheld himself, when he had seen the princes of the apostles Peter and Paul putting an exceedingly great number of pallia on his shoulders, foretelling the spreading of the faith through him, and upon how many he would put his hands appointing them by the anointing of priesthood. Now the blessed one was astonished even more about the things he had seen in his loneliness, and being

60 καὶ “δόξα τῷ θεῷ” εἰπὼν τῷ τοιαῦτα χαριζομένῳ τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν “τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου γένοιτο” προσεφθέγγετο.

Δύο δὲ ἡμέρας παρ’ αὐτῷ μείνας καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πληρωθεὶς χαρίτων, λυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ χωρισμῷ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πόθου φλογὶ καίόμενος τοῦ ἀοιδίμου ἐκείνου γέροντος μετέβη ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ τῇ Καρθαγένῃ προσελθὼν ἐκήρυττε τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον πᾶσαν νόσον  
65 ἰώμενος καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν. Διανύσας δὲ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον κατὰ θεῖαν βούλησιν πρὸς Ῥώμην ἀπέρχεται. Καὶ ταύτης ἔνδον γενόμενος ξενίζεται παρὰ τινι τῶν εὐσεβῶν Βενεδικτῷ τοῦνομα. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἄπεισι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον τάφον τοῦ μεγάλου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου καὶ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐπρρίψας ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εἶλκε τοὺς τῶν θεῶν χαρισμάτων κρουνοὺς, δάκρυσι βρέχων τὴν γῆν τὰς πύλας αὐτῷ τὰς οὐρανίους διανοιγῆναι ἠτέιτο. Πλήρης  
70 οὖν κἀντεῦθεν γενόμενος τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιλάμψεως ὄρα τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κλείς ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ προσιόντα αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα δόξη κατηγιασμένον πολλῇ διαλάμποντα τῷ τοῦ προσώπου κάλλει καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ φησὶν·

“Νῦν ἀφίγμεθα, τέκνον Γρηγόριε, ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου μητρὸς σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις. Τῶν διὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀθλούντων προῖστάμεθα ἐν  
75 Νεγρᾷ τῇ πόλει· παραθήγοντες ἄλλος ἄλλον πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ χάριτι ἐνδυναμούντος θεοῦ πάντες ἀντέστησαν τῷ τοῦ παρανόμου Ἑβραίου θελήματι καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνα διήθλησαν καὶ νῦν εἰσὶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς σὺν τοῖς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος πατράσι τῶν ἀθανάτων γερῶν ἀξιούμενοι. Κἀγὼ μὲν ἐνταῦθα παραγέγονα τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπισκεψόμενος πόλιν. Παῦλος δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπέρμαχος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων διαστάς ἐμοὶ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπέβη. Καλὴν οὖν ὁδὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πορεύη, ὡς τέκνον, εὐαρεστήσαι τῷ κυρίῳ ἐσπουδακῶς. Μελετᾶς γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ κυρίου, εἰδὼς ὡς ἅπας ὁ βίος καὶ ἡ τοῦ κόσμου εὐπρέπεια δίκην σκιᾶς καὶ ἐνυπνίου μετέρχεται. Καὶ μακάριος εἰ τελειώσας οὕτω τὸν δρόμον σου καὶ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς στηρίξας καὶ μεταστήσας εἰς τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ. Ἴδου γὰρ καὶ θρόνος ἐτοιμάζεται σοι  
85 ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαθῶν τεύξη μεθ’ ἡμῶν.” Ταῦτα τοῦ ἀποστόλου εἰρηκότος ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν ὁ ὄσιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ “Ὁ τάλας ἐγώ”, φησὶν, “ὅτι κατανένυγμαί καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον τοῦ κυρίου εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, καὶ τί ἀναποδώσω σοι, δέσποτα καὶ θεέ.” Καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐκέτι αὐτὸν ἐθεάσατο. Καὶ πάλιν ἱκανῶς δάκρυσιν ἐξομολογησάμενος τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἐξενίετο, ἄπεισι.

90 Καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ βλέπει τὸν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον εὐμήκη μὲν τῷ εἶδει καὶ ἀναφαιλάντιαν, ψιλὸν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀγκυλαῖον τὰς κνήμας, μιξοπόλιον τὴν κάραν, ὑπόγλαυκον, σύνοφρον, εὐπῶγωνα καὶ ἀνθηρὸν τῷ προσώπῳ, πεπληρωμένην ἐλαίου κανδήλαν ἐγχειρίζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντα· “Πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν ἦδη δέδεξα πλῆθος ὡμοφορίων· νῦν δὲ λάβε

81 μελετᾶς – κυρίου cf. Ps. 1, 2 | 90 εὐμήκη – 92 προσώπῳ cf. Chatzedakes, “Ἐκ τῶν Ἐλπίου” 412 (l. 59–64)

91 ἐγκυλαῖον cod.

thus instructed, saying “glory be to God” to the one who gives such things to those who love him, he said to him “the will of the Lord shall be done”.

After he had stayed two days with him and had been filled by the graces which came from him, he was grieved because of their separation and burnt by the flame of desire of that venerable old man, and left from there, went to Carthage and announced the word of truth, healing all sickness and disease. After having spent a considerable time there, he departed to Rome according to the divine will. And entering there he was accomodated by one of the pious called Benediktos. On the following day he went to the divine grave of the great apostle Peter, and prostrating himself on the floor he gathered the streams of the divine gifts, and moistening the earth with his tears he demanded that the doors of heaven should be opened for him. And having become full of the illumination from above, he saw the apostle Peter bearing a key in his right hand and approaching him, a man who was resplending in great glory and shining with the beauty of his face and his eyes, who said:

“Now we have arrived here, my child Gregentios, together with the Mother of the Lord and the other apostles. We have defended those who suffered their martyrdom for our Lord Jesus Christ in the city of Negra; exhorting each other to piety and grace, with God strengthening them they all resisted the will of the unlawful Hebrew, fought their battle for piety and are now in heaven together with the fathers from the beginning of the time, being deemed worthy of immortal rewards. And I myself was also there in order to visit my city. My brother Paul, the strong fighter for the churches in the world, separated from me in Jerusalem and went to the land of the Persians. Now go a good way which is worthy of God, o my child, and try to please the Lord well. For you always consider the law of the Lord knowing that all the life and the magnificence of the world passes away like a shadow and a dream. And you will thus be blessed finishing your way and travelling according to God’s will, supporting many and bringing them into awe of him. For look, a throne is also prepared for you in heaven, and you will share the goods of the Lord with us.” When the apostle had said this, the blessed one throws himself on the earth and says: “O me miserable man, who I have seen the apostle of the Lord in my compunction with my own eyes, and what shall I give you in reward, my Master and God?” And when he stood up he did not see him anymore. And again, after having confessed sufficiently under tears, he went away to the house in which he was accomodated.

And in that night he saw the apostle Paul, a well-shaped man with bald forehead and bare head, curved legs, grizzled hair, bluish eyes, joining eyebrows, a beautiful beard and a florid face,<sup>1</sup> who handed a lamp full of oil over to him and said: “A short

<sup>1</sup> On a similar description of Saint Paul, see Winkelmann, “Malerbuch”, 111; on the tradition of verbal portraits, see also Jeffreys, “Portraits”, 241–242.

τοῦτο τὸ ἔλαιον σύμβολον τῶν μελλόντων χρισθῆναι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τελειωθῆναι τῇ τῆς  
 95 ἱερωσύνης χειροθεσίᾳ.” Δεξάμενος οὖν καὶ ἀφυπνησθεὶς ἠγαλλιάσατο τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ  
 ψάλλων ἔλεγεν· “ Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἔχρισέ με ὁ θεός ἐλαιον  
 ἀγαλλιάσεως.”

Καὶ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἀπήει ἐν τῷ τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ναῶ Κωνσταντιανῶ κα-  
 λουμένῳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος ἐπωνυμίαν· ἐκείνον γὰρ πρῶτον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὁ εὐσεβέστατος  
 100 βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ παντοίας ὕλης  
 κάλλεσι καὶ ψηφίσι ἀνεγείρας καὶ εὐπρεπέστατα διὰ μαρμάρων καταποικίλας. Καὶ εἶχε  
 μὲν οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον· καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπληροῦτο θείας σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως,  
 μέγας γνωριζόμενος παρὰ θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώποις, μὴ φροντίζων τῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν δόξης, ἀλλὰ  
 105 καθ’ ἑκάστην ἐκ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἀλλοίωσιν δεχόμενος καὶ ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τιθέμενος  
 καὶ ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν μεταμορφούμενος.

### The *Synaxarion*

An entry about Gregentios, which clearly depends on a text of the family α,<sup>2</sup> can be found in the *Synaxarion* of the church of Constantinople in manuscripts from the mid-eleventh century onwards,<sup>3</sup> and can still be found in modern Menaia on the 19th December, the feast day of Saint Gregentios.

Some passages of it, especially at the beginning, are nearly identical to the excerpt of K, and the name of Gregentios’ mother was also changed from Eusebeia to Theodote. However, since the name of the saint is still Gregentios and not Gregorios as in K, the author must have used an older version which was similar to the one which probably stood at the beginning of C.<sup>4</sup>

As the text was abridged here for a second time, all place names except Milan and Alexandria have dropped out. Gregentios now comes from Milan, to where he returns after some time of absence. At the end of the entry Gregentios’ discussions with Jewish scholars and his giving of laws are mentioned, indicating that the author of the entry must have known not only the *Bios*, but also the *Dialexis* and the *Nomoi*. Note also the

96 ἐξηρεύξατο – ἀγαλλιάσεως Ps 44, 2. 8

2 See above, pp. 163 and 172.

3 *Synaxarium CP*, 328.8–330.11. — On the problem of dating the archetype of the tradition, see above, p. 163.

4 See above, pp. 165–166.

time ago you have already received a large number of pallia; now take also this oil as a symbol of those who will be anointed by you in the future and will be appointed by your laying hands on them to make them priests." After he had received it and awoke, he rejoiced in his heart and sang: *"My heart is inditing a good word, for God has anointed me with the oil of exultation."*

And at dawn he went to the church of our Saviour and God which is called Konstantianos after the name of the builder, for the most pious Emperor Constantine had consecrated it to God for the first time, building it from the foundations up and adorning it with decorations and mosaics of all materials and mottled it most magnificently with marbles. And such were the things concerning the holy man, and he was filled with divine wisdom and understanding from all sides, was acknowledged as a great man by God and men, though he did not care about his glory among them. Instead, he received another thing every day from the Highest, and putting the <ways of> ascending into his heart, he was transfigured from one glory to another glory.

expression “happy Arabia”, that is, *Arabia Felix* (εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία, line 30) which never appears in the remaining tradition on Gregentios.<sup>5</sup>

The *Synaxarion* of Gregentios is also part of the *akolouthia* which was added later to the manuscripts H and F<sup>1</sup>.<sup>6</sup> The redactor of this version replaced the first sentence of the entry by a more detailed account which included the mention of Lyplianes. In order to avoid discrepancies between the *Synaxarion* and the following *Bios* in the version of family β, he changed the name Theodote back to Eusebeia, and later added the names of the holy old man on the mountain, whom he calls Artadios, and of Herban.<sup>7</sup>

The following text from H. Delehayé’s edition in his *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*<sup>8</sup> is contained in the manuscripts Med. Laur. 787 (year 1050), Par. gr. 1590 (year 1063), Par. gr. 2485 (12th century), Ambros. 142 (B 133 sup., 12th century), Par. gr. 1571 (year 1253),<sup>9</sup> Oxon. Bodl. auct. T.3.16 (year 1307), Par. gr. 1582 (14th century), Basil. A IV 16 (15th century),<sup>10</sup> and a revised version in Par. gr. 1589 (12th century).<sup>11</sup> The readings of Par. gr. 2485 = Sa, H and of F<sup>1</sup> are given in the apparatus.

Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγεντίου, ὃς ὠρμητο ἐκ πόλεως Μεδιολάνων· γεννήτορες δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀγάπιος καὶ Θεοδότῃ. Οὗτος ὡσπερ γῆ ἀγαθὴ σπέρματα θεία δεξαμένη ἐωρᾶτο καρπὸν φυῆναι καλόν, ὅθεν καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας πεφθακὺς ἀκροατῆς καὶ πληρωτῆς καὶ ἐξηγητῆς τῶν θείων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν ἀναδείκνυται καὶ  
5 θεῖω νύματι τὴν τοῦ διακόνου χειροτονίαν δέχεται, νηστεία καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ σκληραγωγία ἐαυτὸν καθυποβαλὼν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τὴν χάριν δεξά-

1 τῇ – 2 Θεοδότῃ] οὗτος ὁ περιβόητος καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Γρηγέντιος ἀπὸ κώμης ὦν τῆς οὔσης ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις Ἀβάρων, δύο ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν θαλάσσης διακειμένη, τελοῦσης δὲ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνος, Λυπλιανὲς οὕτω προσαγορευομένη. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν οἱ γεννήτορες τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀνδρός, Ἀγάπιος καὶ Εὐσεβία, ἔφυσάν τε καὶ ἐτρέφθησαν ἐν νόμφ κυρίου τιμίω γάμψ συναφθέντες. Ἐδέοντο οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς καρπὸν κοιλίας καὶ τοῦτο προσάξει τῷ θεῷ. Καὶ δὴ ἐπακούσας αὐτοῦς κύριος ὁ θεός, ἔτεκεν τὸν ὄσιον Γρηγέντιον  
H F<sup>1</sup> | 2 ὡσπερ + τίς Sa | 3 καρπὸν + μέλλων Sa | 5 νηστεία + δὲ Sa

5 The name *Felix Arabia* “Happy Arabia” is occasionally still used in Byzantine sources after the rise of Islam, even regarding contemporaneous events and circumstances; see Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 416.21 (year 742); Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De ceremoniis*, 691.24 (10th century); Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, 474.97–98 (year 1052).

6 See below, p. 816.

7 The grammatical structure of the first sentence and of the revised text at line 18–21 is remarkably sloppy.

8 *Synaxarium CP*, 328.8–330.11.

9 Here a remark at the end refers to the tradition where the saint is called Gregorios instead of Gregentios: Οὗτος ἦν ὁ διαλεχθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ Ἑρβάκ, ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ Γρηγόριος λέγεται; see *SynCP*. 324/25.54–55. — Note that the saint is called Gregentios in the Par. gr. 1590, the Oxon. Bodl. auct. T.3.16 and some printed Menaia; see Patlagean, “Moines”, 584.

10 These manuscripts are described in *Synaxarium CP*, 6\*–46\*.

11 *Synaxarium CP*, 327/28.46–49.

On the same day memory of our holy father Gregentios, who came from the town of Milan; his parents were Agapios and Theodote. He was seen as bearing good fruit, receiving the divine seeds like good soil, and when he had arrived at the fitting age, it became clear that he listened to the divine commandments of Christ, fulfilled and explained them, and he received the appointment as a deacon by a divine beck, subjecting himself to fasting and a further hard life. And from that day on he received the



- μενος σημεία καὶ τέρατα ἐπετέλει. Μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν γίνεται κατὰ Μεδιόλανα, κάκειθεν ἀναχωρήσας πολλῶν μιλίων διαστήματι καὶ εὐρῶν τινὰ γέροντα ἀναχωρητὴν σημειοφόρον μνεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ ἀπαντᾶν. Ὡ καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος Πέτρος ὀφθαλμοφανῶς τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπηγόρευσε, προσθεὶς καὶ τὰ λείποντα.
- Ἐπει οὖν συνέβη τὸν τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλέα Ἐλεσβαῶν γράψαι Προτερίῳ τῷ πάπα Ἀλεξανδρίας περὶ ἐπισκόπου καὶ μάλιστα τελείου, Ἰουστίνου τότε τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἠνιάτο καὶ ἐδυσφόρει πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου. Ἐν ταύταις οὖν ταῖς ἡμέραις διὰ θείας ἀποκαλύψεως φανείς αὐτῷ ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Μάρκος ὑπέδειξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ζητούμενον ὑπὸ θείας προνοίας νεωστὶ τὸν τόπον καταλαμβάνοντα καὶ παρά τινος ἐπιξενούμενον. Ὅν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς περιχαρείας λαβόμενος καὶ χειροτονήσας, περιλαμφθέντα σημείους παρέπεμψε εὐθέως γράμμασιν αὐτὸν ἐφοδιάσας καὶ λοιποῖς τοῖς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῶσιν ἀνήκουσιν, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων βεβαιωθείς τοῦ πάπα κατασπάζεται καὶ ὡς ἀπόστολον καὶ σημειοφόρον ἀπολαμβάνει, καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστήσας πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ παρέθετο. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας καὶ τὰς νεωστὶ νεουρηγθεῖσας εἰς τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν, πρώην σχεδὸν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἰουδαίζοντος, παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκκλησίας καθαγιάσας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐβάπτισε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους καὶ διδασκάλους ἀπὸ τε συλλογισμῶν καὶ γραφῶν ἀποδείξει πείσας καὶ θαύμασιν ἐκπλήξας, πάντας προσήγαγε τῇ ἀληθινῇ πίστει νόμους ἐκθέμενος καὶ πᾶν ἀρέσκον θεῷ διαπραξάμενος. Οὕτως καλῶς τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ ποιμάνας καὶ πολλὰ θαύματα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ἐπιτελέσας ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐτελειώθη πρὸς βαθὺ γῆρας κατανήσας.

7 μετὰ – Μεδιόλανα] καταλιπὼν τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὰς τοῦ βίου φροντίδας καὶ οὕτως ξηνητεύων ἐκ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν τὰ Μεδιόλανα κατέλαβε H F<sup>1</sup> κάκειθεν – 8 διαστήματι < H F<sup>1</sup> | 8 σημειοφόρον + τοῦνομα Ἀρτάδιον H F<sup>1</sup> | 9 ἐς < H F<sup>1</sup> | 10 ὑπαγορεύει H F<sup>1</sup> | 11 Ἐλεσβαῶν] Ἀλβαῶν F<sup>1</sup> γράψαι post συνέβη Sa H F<sup>1</sup> τῷ + ἀγιωτάτῳ Sa | 13 ἐδυσφόρει + ὁ πάπας H F<sup>1</sup> ἐν – 14 αὐτῷ] φανείς οὖν αὐτῷ δι' ἀποκαλύψεως H F<sup>1</sup> | 14 ἀπόστολος + εὐαγγελιστῆς Sa, < H F<sup>1</sup> | 16 ὃν – λαβόμενος] εὐρῶν τοῦτον H F<sup>1</sup> | 17 περιλαμφθέντα – εὐθέως] σημείοις περιλαμφθέντα εὐθέως παρέπεμψε H F<sup>1</sup> γράμματα H F<sup>1</sup> | 18 λοιποῖς τοῖς τοῖς] τοῖς λοιποῖς H F<sup>1</sup> βασιλεὺς + ἀσμένως H F<sup>1</sup> | 19 τοῦ πάπα βεβαιωθείς H F<sup>1</sup> ὑπολαμβάνει F<sup>1</sup> | 20 αὐτῷ habent H F<sup>1</sup>, < cett. | 22 πρώην – ἰουδαίζοντος post ἐδραϊώσαντες (vide sq.) | 23 καθαγιάσας + ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν Τεφάρ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν παρεγένετο, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε σεβασμίους οἴκους ἐδραϊώσαντες H F<sup>1</sup> πολλοὺς – ἐβάπτισε] ἦν δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῦνομα Ἐρβάν, ἀνὴρ νομοδιδάσκαλος λόγιος πανορθῶς πᾶν, ἐπιστάμενος εἰς ἄκρον τὴν Παλαιὰν σφόδρα. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον πλείστα διαλεξάμενος ὁ ὄσιος Γρηγόριος πείσας τοῦτον ἐβάπτισε H F<sup>1</sup> τοὺς] πολλοὺς Sa | 24 ἀποδείξει γραφικῶν ἀποδείξεων Sa | 26 οὕτω Sa | 27 ἐν – ἐτελειώθη] ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν παρέθετο post κατανήσας βαθύ] βραχὺ Sa βαθύτατον H F<sup>1</sup> κατανήσας + ταῖς αὐτῶν πρεσβείαις Sa, + ταῖς αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαις H F<sup>1</sup>, + ἐλέηση καὶ σῶση ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος· ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Γρηγόριος μηνὶ Δεκεβρίῳ ἰθ' βασιλεύοντος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπέραντους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν H, + ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν

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grace of the divine spirit and performed signs and wonders. Thereafter again he came to Milan, and departing from there he found at a distance of many miles an old wonder-working hermit, and was told by him everything which was going to happen to him in the future. And later also the great apostle Peter told him the same things, appearing before his eyes and adding also those missing.

Now since it happened that the King Elebaan of the Ethiopians wrote to Proterios, the pope of Alexandria, for a bishop and moreover a perfect one, in the time when Ioustinos was reigning over the Empire of the Romans, he was grieved and vexed how to get hold of such a man. Now in these days the blessed apostle Mark appeared to him in a divine vision and showed him the man he searched for, who had recently arrived at this place by divine providence and was hosted by somebody. He took him with great gladness and appointed him who was illuminated by his signs, and sent him immediately, providing him with letters and the remaining things that belong to an archpriest. The king received him, and being assured by the letters from the pope, he embraced him and accepted him as an apostle and a wonder-working man, and thanking God he handed over all his power to him. And he appointed priests and deacons and inaugurated the churches in happy Arabia (where before nearly all the population had been Jewish), which had been recently built by the king, and baptised many Jews. Thereafter, he convinced the leaders and teachers of the Jews with proofs from syllogisms and writings, astonished them with wonders and brought them to the true faith, setting forth laws and doing everthing that pleases God. In this way he tended his flock well, achieved many wonders for the glory of God and died in peace at a high age.

## Appendix II

### Liturgical Texts on Gregentios

Two manuscripts from the fifteenth century, H and F<sup>1</sup>, include a complete *akolouthia* of Saint Gregentios before the *Bios*, that is, a liturgical order for the service of his feast day on the 19th December.<sup>1</sup> In both cases the *akolouthia* is a later addition written by another hand, and mutilated at the beginning.

These *akolouthiai* consist of a series of *stichera*, *kanones*, a *kontakion* and a *synaxarion* of the saint. They are modelled according to the example of the *akolouthiai* for holy bishops such as Saint Boukolos, Euthymios and Silvester. The same chapters from the Wisdom of Solomon, which serve there as scriptural readings, are also used here. In addition, most poetic pieces in the *akolouthiai* for Gregentios are borrowed from there and, if necessary, adapted to the new context. For this reason the *akolouthiai* will not be edited here in full, but the longer one of them, that of H, will be analysed in a table, with the hitherto unpublished stanzas in the footnotes.

In H the *akolouthia* for the feast of Saint Gregentios contains three *kanones*. Following the usual practice, the first odes of them were sung immediately after each other, then, since the second odes are not composed, the third odes, then the fourth odes and so on. The first of them is the well-known *parakletikos kanon* to the Mother of God by the monk and synkellos Euthymios, an author of unknown date.<sup>2</sup> The other two *kanones* are those of the saint, that is, Gregentios.

Since the first *kanon* on Gregentios is sung to the same set of melodies as the preceding *kanon parakletikos*, it was probably already written with the intention that both pieces should be performed together. The second *kanon* on Gregentios, which uses other melodies, is also preserved alone in the *akolouthia* of F<sup>1</sup>. We may assume therefore that in H actually two different *akolouthiai* of Gregentios were put together, of which one contained the *parakletikos kanon* and the first *kanon* of the saint, and the other, which was similar to the *akolouthia* transmitted by F<sup>1</sup>, only that *kanon* which is the second *kanon* of the saint in H.

The text of the first *kanon* on Gregentios is mainly borrowed from a *kanon* on Saint Boukolos bishop of Smyrna, but also includes some stanzas from *kanones* on Saint Kle-

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<sup>1</sup> Fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>v</sup> in F<sup>1</sup>, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>v</sup> in H.

<sup>2</sup> Goar, *Euchologion*, 686–688. The following identifications of texts are based on Follieri, *Initia*.

mens and on Saint Isidoros. Again, the *theotokion* stanza ε' 4 is unattested elsewhere. The second *kanon* on Gregentios plagiarises that on Saint Silvester,<sup>3</sup> with the exception of some stanzas taken from *kanones* on Saint Neophytos, Saint Euthymios and Saint Xene. Here a number of stanzas has been replaced by new ones in which also Gregentios' mission of the Jews is mentioned. In those parts of both *kanones* that are taken from the sources mentioned above, the names of Boukolos, Silvester and the other saints have been removed or replaced by that of Gregentios, and several allusions to his mission of the Jews are added.

Since the *kanones*, which served as sources for those on Gregentios, are sung at feasts of saints in January and February only,<sup>4</sup> we may assume that both authors used as a base for their work a Menaion for two or three months, that is either for January and February or for December to February.

A *kontakion* on Saint Gregentios, which is sung to the well-known melody ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ and consists only of a *koukoulion* and an *oikos*, is inserted into the *akolouthia* at the usual place after ode ζ' of the *kanon* and before the *synaxarion*. Many of the *kontakia* inserted into such *akolouthiai* are fragments of older and longer texts of which only the first two pieces have remained in use. Given the recent date of the whole *akolouthia* of Gregentios, it is probable that his *kontakion* was composed alongside with it and never had more stanzas. The beginning of the *oikos* alludes to the hymn Ἱεραρχῶν τὴν καλλονὴν καὶ τῶν πατέρων κλέος which is sung at the feast of Saint Nikolaos on the 6th December.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the *stichera* appearing in the *akolouthiai* are also known from other contexts. Some of them, which refer to the Mother of God or the birth of Christ, have been adopted without any textual changes. Only four *stichera* on Saint Euthymios and one on Saint Silvester originally belonged to the *akolouthiai* which were also used as sources for the *kanones* on Saint Gregentios. The remaining ones were taken from *akolouthiai* on Saint Basileios, Ioannes Chrysostomos, Aberkios, Gregorios of Neokaisareia, Theoktistos, pope Leo I and the apostle Luke. Here also, the text has been adapted where necessary by replacing the name of the saint with that of Gregentios. A number of other *stichera* used here appear in liturgical manuscripts with the names of various saints, mostly including Saint Nikolaos.

Modern printed Menaia do not contain a complete *akolouthia* of Saint Gregentios, but only a *synaxarion*, preceded by two iambic verses.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On the parallels between the dossiers of Silvester and Gregentios, see above, pp. 112–113.

<sup>4</sup> Silvester 2nd January, Klemens 6th January, Euthymios 20th January, Neophytos 21st January, Xene 24th January, Isidoros 4th February, Boukolos 6th February.

<sup>5</sup> On the role of Saint Nikolaos in the *Bios*, see above, pp. 11–13.

<sup>6</sup> Σαρκὸς λιπῶν σύνδεσμον ὁ Γρηγόριος / ἐκέισε (recte ἐκεῖ *metri causa*) μετῆλθεν, ἔνθα σαρκῆν οὐ τόπος. — On the *synaxarion*, see above p. 810. The principal saint whose memory is celebrated on 19th December is today Saint Bonifatius, on whom see above, p. 26.

In the following table the *akolouthia* is analysed as contained in H. The names of the saints to whom the stanza originally refers are indicated in the left column. If a *theotokion* belongs to the *kanon* of a saint, whose name does not appear in it, this name stands in brackets. Textual adaptations and completely new stanzas are given in two separate sets of footnotes. Here \* indicates that the name of another saint has been changed to Gregentios, or another adaptation to the new context was made; –o– denotes a text of general character which is applied to various saints.

The beginning of the *akolouthia*, which is placed here in pointed brackets, is lost with the preceding leaf, but can be reconstructed by following the model of the *akolouthia* for Saint Euthymios. Since the missing part is no longer than a few lines, it is probable that the whole text initially stood in a Menaion or a similar liturgical book, where it began in the middle of a page, and from which it was subsequently removed and bound in at the beginning of H.

## Akolouthia

[Ἐν τῷ ἔσπερινῷ]

	<p>[Στιχολογοῦμεν τὴν ἀ΄ στάσιν τοῦ Μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ. Εἰς δὲ τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα ἰσθῶμεν στίχους ζ΄ καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρὰ προσόμοια, ἦχος δ΄· ὁ ἐξ ὑψίστου κληθεῖς]</p>
Euthymios* <sup>1</sup>	Ὁ ἐκ νηδύος μητρὸς ἡγιασμένος·
Euthymios	Ὁ χαρισμάτων ἐνθέων πεπλησμένος
<b>new</b> (1)	Ἄνυπερβλήτω τῇ λάμπει Δευτεροῦμεν τὸ ἀ΄.
	Ἔτερα στιχηρὰ προσόμοια, ἦχος πλάγιος δ΄· ᾧ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος.
Basileios* <sup>2</sup>	Μετ' ἐγκωμίων ἢ μνήμη σου

\*1 τῆς εὐθυμίας φερώνυμον μεμηνυκός σε τὴν τῶν φυσάντων λύει κατήφειαν > ἐξανέτειλας, Γρηγέντιε, τὴν τῶν τεκόντων σὺ πάτερ λύεις ὄντως κατήφειαν

\*2 Βασίλειε > Γρηγέντιε

(1) Ἄνυπερβλήτω τῇ λάμπει τῶν χαρίτων στῦλον ὡσπερ πύρινον πάλοι κατεῖδες σαφῶς Ἄρτάδην, πάτερ Γρηγέντιε, μυσταγωγούντα σὲ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ἐξαισία, τρανῶς τε προλέγοντα πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα, μετ' οὐ πολὺ σοι συμβήσεσθαι ἐκ θείας ὄντως ἀποκαλύψεως παναοίδιμε, διὸ συμφῶνως μακαρίζομεν σὺν ἐκείνῳ σε ἀξιάγαστε, καὶ τιμῶμεν ἐκ πόθου τὸ σεπτὸν ὕμνων μνημόσυνον.

<b>new</b> (2)	Πάτερ θεόφρον Γρηγέντιε
<b>new</b> (3)	Πάτερ ιερὲ Γρηγέντιε <i>Δευτεροῦμεν τὸ ἐν δόξᾳ.</i>
	<i>Ἦχος πλάγιος β΄</i>
Basileios*3	Ὅ τὴν χάριν τῶν θαυμάτων
birth of Christ	Σπήλαιον εὐτρεπίζου <i>Εἴσοδος· τὸ φῶς ἰλαρόν, τὸ προκείμενον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰ ἀναγνώσματα.</i>
	<i>Ἀνάγνωσμα α΄ σοφίας Σολομῶντος (Sap. 3.1–9)</i>
	<i>Σοφίας Σολομῶντος τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα (Sap. 4.7–15)</i>
	<i>Σοφίας Σολομῶντος (Sap. 5.15–6.3)</i>
	<i>Εἰς λιτὴν· σπληνὰ ἰδιόμελα πρῶτον τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μονῆς α΄, εἶτα τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγεντίου τὸν α΄, τοὺς β΄ δευτέρους, τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον.</i>
	<i>Ἦχος α΄</i>
Nikolaos*4	Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πιστὲ θεράπων
	<i>Ἦχος β΄</i>
Ioannes Chrysostomos*5	Εἰληφας, ἱεράρχα, τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
—ο—	Τὸ ἰλαρόν σου, πάτερ
	<i>Ἦχος γ΄</i>
Aberkios*6	Ἀρχιερεῦ ὄσιε, παμμακάριστε πάτερ

\*3 (πλάνην τῶν) εἰδῶλων > Ἑβραίων

\*4 Μυρέων > πιστῶν (ἐκκλησία); προσήκατο > Γρηγέντιε

\*5 Χρυσόστομε > Γρηγέντιε

\*6 Ἀβέρκιε > Γρηγέντιε

- (2) Πάτερ θεόφρον Γρηγέντιε, στῦλος ὠράθης πυρὸς ἱερῶς προηγούμενος ἱεροῦ συστήματος καὶ νεφέλη σκιάζουσα Αἰγύπτου πλάνης ἐξαίρουσα καὶ πρὸς τὴν θείαν γῆν μεταφέρουσα ταῖς ἀπλανέεσσι διδασκαίς ἐκάστοτε τὴν εὐκλεῆ, ὅθεν καὶ πανίερον μνήμη σου σέβομεν.
- (3) Πάτερ ιερὲ Γρηγέντιε, κλείθροις τῶν σῶν προσευχῶν τὸν πολύμορφον δράκοντα ἀσφαλῶς ἀπέκλεισας ἱερῶς θαυμαζόμενος Ἑβραίων πλήθη Χριστῷ προσήγαγες· δαιμόνων θράσος δὲ ἐταπείνωσας, θαύματα μέγιστα ἐκτελῶν ἐνώπιον πάντων σαφῶς, ὅθεν σε γεραίρομεν καὶ μακαρίζομεν.

	<i>Ἦχος δ'</i>
Gregorios of Neokaisareia <sup>7</sup>	Ἰερωσύνης τὴν ψῆφον θεόθεν δεξάμενος <i>Δόξα.</i>
	<i>Ἦχος δ'</i>
Euthymios* <sup>8</sup>	Ἐλαμψαν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα σου <i>Καὶ νῦν.</i>
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
birth of Christ	Ἦσαία χόρευε λόγον θεοῦ ὑποδέξαι <i>Καὶ αἱ εὐχαὶ τῆς λιτῆς ὡς σύνηθες.</i>  <i>Εἰς τοὺς στίχους στίχοι προσόμοιοι'</i>
	<i>Ἦχος β' ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου</i>
Theoktistos	Ὅτε κατετρώθης τὴν ψυχὴν  <i>Στίχοι· στόμα δικαίου μελετήσει</i>  Ὅτε ἐπιπόνους προσευχαῖς  <i>Στίχοι· οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν ἐνδύσσονται δικαιοσύνην</i>
Theoktistos* <sup>9</sup>	Πρῶος ἀνεξίκακος ὠφθεῖς  <i>Δόξα.</i>
	<i>Ἦχος πλάγιος δ'</i>
Nikolaos, Ambrosios* <sup>10</sup>	Εἰς αἶνον ἔδραμες τοῦ κυρίου  <i>Καὶ νῦν.</i>
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
birth of Christ	Ἐπόδεξαι, Βηθλεέμ, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μητρόπολιν <i>τὸ νῦν.</i> <i>Ἀπολυτίκιον· τρισάγιον· παναγία τριάς· πάτερ ἡμῶν'</i>  <i>Τροπάριον ἤχος δ'</i>
—o—* <sup>11</sup>	Κανόνα πίστεως καὶ εἰκόνα πραότητος  <i>ἐκ β'· καὶ τὸ θεοτόκε παρθένε ἄπαξ· τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τὸ Θεὸς κύριος.</i>

\*7 Γρηγόριε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*8 Εὐθύμιε &gt; Γρηγέντιε; Θεοφόρε &gt; ἱεράρχα

\*9 Θεόκτιστε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*10 Ἀμβρόσιε, Νικόλαε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*11 (various names) &gt; Γρηγέντιε

	<i>Εἰς τὸν ὄρθρον</i>
	<i>Εἰς τὸ Θεὸς κύριος τὸ τροπάριον ἐκ β'· καὶ θεοτοκίον τὸ Ἀπ' αἰῶνος· μετὰ τὴν α' στιχολογίαν κάθισμα· Ἦχος πλάγιος δ'· τὴν σοφίαν καὶ λόγον</i>
Silvester*12	Ποταμὸς εὐσεβείας ἀναδειχθεὶς
	<i>δίς</i>
Mother of God	<i>Θεοτοκίον τὸ αὐτό</i> Ὡς παρθένον καὶ μόνην
	<i>Καὶ ἀνάγνωσις εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀγίου δόσις γ'· μετὰ τὴν β' στιχολογίαν</i>
	<i>Κάθισμα ἦχος πλάγιος δ'· τὸ προσταχθέν μυστικῶς</i>
Gregorios of Neokaisareia*13	Ἱεραρχίας εὐσεβοῦς βίον ἐφαίδρυνας
	<i>δίς</i>
Mother of God	<i>Θεοτοκίον</i> Τὸ προσταχθέν μυστικῶς λαβῶν
	<i>Μετὰ τὸν πολυέλεον</i>
	<i>Κάθισμα ἦχος δ'· ταχὺ προκατάλαβε πρὶν δούλω</i>
—ο—*14	Τοῖς λόγοις ἐκόσμησας
	<i>δίς</i>
Mother of God	<i>Θεοτοκίον· Ταχὺ δέξαι, δέσποινα</i>
	<i>Καὶ ἀνάγνωσμα ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀγίου· εἶτα οἱ ἀναβαθμοὶ τὸ α'·</i>
	<i>Ἀντίφωνα τοῦ δ' ἤχου·</i>
	<i>Προκείμενον ἦχος δ'· Τίμιος ἐναντίον κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τοῦ</i>
	<i>Στίχοι· Τί ἀνταποδώσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων</i>
	<i>Πᾶσα πνοή</i>
	<i>Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον (Mt. 11.27–30)</i>

\*12 Σίλβεστρε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*13 Γρηγόριε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*14 (various names) &gt; Γρηγέντιε



	<p><i>Δόξα ταῖς τοῦ ἱεράρχου πρεσβίαις· καὶ νῦν Ταῖς τῆς θεοτόκου· τὸ Ἐλέησον με ὁ θεός.</i></p> <p><i>Στιχολογία ἤχος πλάγιος β'</i></p>
Nikolaos (and others)*15	<p>Εὐ δοῦλε ἀγαθέ καὶ πιστέ</p> <p><i>Ἵ ἱερέυς· Σῶσον ὁ θεός τὸν λαόν σου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώ- νησιν ἀρχόμεθα τοῦ κανόνος. Ἵ κανὼν τῆς θεοτόκου σὺν τῷ εἰρμῷ εἰς ἅπαξ, καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου κανόνες β' ἀνά δ'.</i></p> <p><i>Ἵ κανὼν τῆς θεοτόκου ἤχος πλάγιος β'</i></p> <p><i>Ἰδὲ δὴ α' ὡς ἐν ἠπειρῷ πεζεύσας ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἀβύσσῳ ἴχνε- σιν τὸν διώκτην Φαραῶ καθορῶν ποντούμενον θεῷ ἐπινί- κιον ᾧδὴν ἐβόα ἄσμεν· δὶς</i></p>
Mother of God	Πῶς μου θρηνήσω τὸν βίον
Mother of God	Πόθεν ἄρξωμαι λέγειν
Mother of God	Πᾶσαν ὁδὸν διοδεύσας
Mother of God	Τοῦ μὲν θανάτου τὴν ὥραν
	<i>Ἔτερος κανὼν τοῦ ἀγίου</i>
	<i>Ἰδὲ δὴ α', ἤχος ὁ αὐτός· ὡς ἐν ἠπειρῷ πεζεύσας</i>
Boukolos	Ταῖς θεϊκαῖς ἀγλαΐαις
Boukolos*16	Ἵ οὐλαμπή σε ἀστέρα
Boukolos	Βίον αἰεὶ ἠγνισμένον
Boukolos	Ἵ τῷ πατρὶ συνυπάρχων
	<i>Ἔτερος κανὼν τοῦ ἀγίου</i>
	<i>Ἰδὲ δὴ α', ἤχος πλάγιος δ' ἡ κεκομένη τὴν</i>
Silvester	Υἱοθετηθεὶς ἐν χάριτι, ὅσιε
Silvester	Μεγαλοφρόνως παθῶν κατεκράτησας
Silvester	Νόμῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐνθέως πειθόμενος
	<i>καὶ νῦν.</i>
(Silvester)	<i>Θεοτοκίον· Ἵνα τοὺς κάτω τοῖς ἄνω συνάψειεν</i>

\*15 Νικόλαε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

\*16 Βούκολε πάνσοφε &gt; πάτερ Γρηγέντιε

	<i>Καταβασία· Χριστός γεννᾶται δοξάσωμεν.</i>
	<i>Ἰδὴ γ' ὁ εἰρμός· οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡσεὶ κύριος ὁ θεός μου</i>
Mother of God	Ψυχὴν ἠλλίωμα αἰσχροῶς
Mother of God	Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα μου, ἀγνή
Mother of God	Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ἐν βροτοῖς
Mother of God	Εἰς τέλος ἔφθασα κακῶν
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
Boukolos	Υἱὸς ἡμέρας καὶ φωτός
Boukolos	Κηρύττων μίαν εὐσεβῶς
Boukolos	Ἵδὸν ὑπέδειξας, σοφῆ
(Boukolos)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Λιμὴν γενοῦ μοι καὶ φρουρός
	<i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· τὸν φόβον σου κύριε ἐμφύτευσον</i>
Silvester	Νοὸς καθαρότητα κτησάμενος
(Silvester)	Σταυρῷ τὸν τανύσαντα παλάμας
<b>new</b> (4)	Πολλοῖς βυθιζόμενον ἐγκλήμασι
(Silvester)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Παρθένος ἀγνή μετὰ τὴν κήσιν
	<i>Καταβασία τὸ πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων.</i>
	<i>Κάθισμα πλάγιος δ'· ταχὺ προκατάλαβε</i>
Silvester*17	Σφενδόνη, μακάριε, τῆ τῶν δογμάτων
	<i>Ἔτερον κάθισμα ἤχος ὁ αὐτός· ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ</i>
—o—	Ἰερωσύνης τῷ φωτὶ διαλάμπων
—o—	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Καταφυγὴ τῶν ἐν δεινοῖς ὑπαρχόντων
	<i>Ἰδὴ δ'· Χριστός μου δύναμις θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἡ σεπτὴ ἐκκλησία θεοπρεπῶς μέλλει ἀνακράζουσα ἐκ διανοίας καθαρᾶς ἐν κυρίῳ ἐορτάζουσα.</i>
Mother of God	Ἀγγέλων τάγματα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα
Mother of God	Ἐξέστη σύμπασα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἔφριξε

\*17 Σίλβεστρε &gt; Γρηγέντιε

(4) Πολλοῖς βυθιζόμενον ἐγκλήμασι τῷ λιμένι προσέδραμεν, ὅσιε, τῆς πρεσβείας σου· καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίων θρησκείαν σβέσον, πάτερ.

Mother of God	Ναὸν ἐμόλυνα κακῶς τοῦ σώματος
Mother of God	Μὴ δείξης ξένον με, μὴ δείξης, δέσποινα <i>Ὁ αὐτός· τοῦ ἁγίου</i>
Boukolos	Ὁ προγινώσκων σου, θεομακάριστε <i>δῖς</i>
Boukolos (Klemens)	Ἐπὶ τοῦ πνεύματος λαμπαδουχούμενος <i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Μαρία πάναγνε ἡ καθαρότητος <i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· εἰσακήκοα κύριε</i>
Silvester <sup>18</sup>	Ἱεράρχης θεόληπτος χρίων ἱερέας
Silvester <sup>19</sup> <b>new</b> (5) <b>new</b> (6)	Συνεργεῖα τοῦ πνεύματος νόσου Τῶν Ἑβραίων, Γρηγέντιε, πλήθη <i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Ὀδυνῶν καὶ δακρῦν με ῥύσαι <i>Καταβασία· ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς</i> <i>Ἰσραὴλ· ὁ εἰρμός· τῷ θεῷ φέγγει σου ἀγαθὴ</i>
Mother of God	Ἄδὰμ παρέβη μὲν ἐντολήν
Mother of God	Φονεὺς μὲν πάλα ἀναδειχθεῖς
Mother of God	Ἡσαῦ ἐζήλωσα τὸν δεινόν
Mother of God	Τῷ θεῷ φέγγει σου, ἀγαθὴ <i>Ὁ αὐτός· τοῦ ἁγίου</i>
Boukolos	Στόματος λύκου τοῦ νοητοῦ
Boukolos	Ταῖς φωτοβόλοις καταυγασθεῖς
Boukolos (Boukolos)	Τὴν πίστιν ἄγκυραν ἀσφαλῆ <i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Νόμους τῆς φύσεως ἀληθῶς <i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· ἵνα τί με ἀπίσω</i>
Silvester* <sup>20</sup>	Ταῖς πλοκαῖς τῶν σῶν λόγων

\*18 Σιλβεστρε > ὅσιε

\*19 πανόλβιε > Γρηγέντιε

\*20 μάταιον σύνδεσμον > Ἑβραίων σύνδεσμον

(5) Τῶν Ἑβραίων, Γρηγέντιε, πλήθη προσηγάγω Χριστῷ, μακάριε, καὶ ποιμένας σου τὸ ποίμνιον ἐπὶ χλόην θείας ἐπιγνώσεως.

(6) Ὀδυνῶν καὶ δακρῦν με ῥύσαι τὸν ἐν ἄδου θεὸν ἡ τέξασα ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ τῆς θεότητος τοὺς πεπεδημένους τὸν ἐξάγοντα.

Silvester	Ἡ καρδιά σου, πάτερ
Neophytos*21	Ἄπορρήτῳ προνοίᾳ
(Silvester)	<i>Θεοτοκίον</i> · Χαίρε, μόνη τεκοῦσα
	<i>Καταβασία</i> · θεός ὢν εἰρήνη
	<i>Ἰσθὴ ζ'· ὁ εἰρμός</i> · Τοῦ βίου τὴν θάλασσαν
Mother of God	Ἄ βίος μου ἄστατος
	Τὸ τέλος ἐφέστηκε
Mother of God	Σαρκός μου τὴν πύρῳσιν
Mother of God	Νῦν τρόμφ συνέχομαι
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
Boukolos	Ἐψοῦσαν ταπείνωσιν
Isidoros	Λογίῳ τῶν κρίσεων
Isidoros	Εὐτόνως τὴν Αἴγυπτον
(Boukolos)	<i>Θεοτοκίον</i> · Ἡ πύλη τῆς χάριτος
	<i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος</i> · ἰλάσθητί μοι
Euthymios*22	Μεγίστην παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν
Xene	Τὴν ξένην σου βιοτήν
Euthymios*23	Μακάριος ἀληθῶς ἐγένου
(Euthymios)	<i>Θεοτοκίον</i> · Κυρίαν σε τοῦ παντός
	<i>Καταβασία</i> · σπλάγχων Ἰωνᾶν
	<i>Κοντάκιον ἦχος δ'· ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.</i>
Basileios*24	Σὺν ἱερεῦσιν ἀληθῶς
	<i>Ὁ οἶκος</i>
<b>new (7)</b>	Ἱεραρχῶν ἢ καλλονή

\*21 εἶλκον σε ἄγγελοι > εἶλκεν Ἀρτάδιος

\*22 (τὰ πλήθη τῶν δυσμενῶν) δαιμόνων ἐδίωξας > Ἑβραίων διήλεγξας

\*23 Εὐθύμει > Γρηγέντιε

\*24 Βασιλείε > Γρηγέντιε

(7) Ἱεραρχῶν ἢ καλλονή, ἢ δόξα τῶν δικαίων, ὁσίων ἢ ἀκρότης, Γρηγέντιε θεοφόρε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ τιμή, Ἑβραίων καθαιρέτα, τῶν πιστῶν ὁ στηριγμός, ἀπίστους πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τὴν θεϊαν ἐπανάγων, μακάριε, ὅθεν τῇ χειρὶ σου Ἰουδαίων πλήθη ἐβάπτισας. Ἐδέξο στέφος οὐ-

	<i>Συναξάριον</i> (see above, p. 810)
	<i>Ἰδὴ ζ' ὁ εἰρμός· δροσοβόλον μὲν τὴν κάμινον</i>
Mother of God	Ἑπταπλάσιον τὴν φλόγα μοι
Mother of God	Φοβερὸν μὲν τὸ κριτήριον
Mother of God	Ἐπὶ σοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δέσποινα
Mother of God	Ἑσκοτίσθην ὁ ταλαίπωρος
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
Boukolos	Συνετίζων ἀσυνέτους
Boukolos	Ἦραιώθησαν, παμμάκαρ
Boukolos	υριεύσας δι' ἀσκήσεως
(Boukolos)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Λυτρωθέντες τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀποφάσεως
	<i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατανυκτικός</i>
Silvester	Δίκαιος ὡσπερ φοῖνιξ
Silvester	Διαμένει ἡ δόξα
Silvester	Ὁ κλεινὸς ἱεράρχης
(Silvester)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Νηπιόφρονα γνώμην
	<i>Καταβασία· οἱ παῖδες εὐσεβεῖα</i>
	<i>Ἰδὴ η' ὁ εἰρμός· ἐκ φλογός τοις ὁσίοις δρόσον</i>
Mother of God	Τῆς τριάδος τὸν ἕνα θεόν
Mother of God	Παρουσίαν θανάτου φρίττω
Mother of God	Στεναγμοῖς ἀσιγήτοις δώρησαι
Mother of God	Τῶν κακῶν μου τὰ πλήθη
	<i>Ὁ αὐτός</i>
Boukolos	Ὁ θεοῦ θεὸς λόγος
	<i>δῖς</i>
Isidoros	Λογικὴν ὡς θυσίαν
(Isidoros)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Πρὸς τὴν σὴν καταφεύγω σκέπην

ρανόθεν, ὡς Παῦλος ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων πρῶτος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς σὺ ἀνεδείχθης. Μνήσθητι ἡμῶν πρὸς κύριον τὸν σωτήρα τοὺς ἐκτελοῦντας ἐκ πόθου τὴν μνήμην σου.

	<i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· νικηταὶ τυράννου</i>
Silvester	Μίαν φύσιν, πάτερ
Silvester	Ἀληθείας πάτερ
Silvester	Ῥήμασί σου θείοις
<b>new</b> (8)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Σὺ μου εἶ παρθένε <i>Καταβασία· θαύματος ὑπέρ</i> <i>Ἰδὴ θ' ὁ εἰρμός· θεὸν ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν ἀδύνατον</i>
Mother of God	Ἴδου προσέρχομαί σοι πανάχραντε
Mother of God	Καὶ νῦν καὶ τότε τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν
Mother of God	Χοροὺς παρέλαβε ἀρχαγγέλων
Mother of God	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Κριτὴν οἰκτίρμονα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον <i>Ὁ αὐτός· καὶ εἰρμός· καὶ ἦχος</i>
Boukolos	Εὐρῶν τῶν πόνων τῶν σῶν τὰ ἔπαθλα
Boukolos	Σαρκὸς καὶ κόσμου ἔξω γενόμενος
Boukolos	Ἦ γῆ τὸ σῶμα σου τὸ μακάριον
(Boukolos)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Φωνὴ ἀγγέλου μεγάλης ἄγγελον <i>Εἰρμός ἄλλος· κυρίως θεοτόκον σε ὁμολογοῦμεν</i>
Silvester	Ἴερευσαὶ προθύμως σεαυτὸν
Silvester* <sup>25</sup>	Συνήφθης ταῖς χορείαις
Silvester	Ἦ μνήμη σου τῷ κόσμῳ
<b>new</b> (9)	<i>Θεοτοκίον·</i> Ἀμνὰς ἢ τὸν ποιμένα <i>Καταβασία· μυστήριον</i>

\*<sup>25</sup> τοὺς ἀσωμάτους ἐχθροὺς τροπωσάμενος περιφανῶς, ἱεράρχα θεόφρον Σίλβεστρε > ἀγγελικῶς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὦ Γρηγέντιε, πολιτευσάμενος, ὅθεν σε μακαρίζομεν

(8) Σὺ μου εἶ, παρθένε, καὶ ἰσχύς καὶ ὑμνησις καὶ σωτηρία, γλυκασμός καρδίας, ψυχῆς ἀγαλλίαμα, φῶς, θυμηδία καὶ ἐλπίς βεβαία, καὶ πρόμαχος ἄμαχος κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἀσάρκων καὶ δυσμενῶν ἀλλων.

(9) Ἀμνὰς ἢ τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἀμνὸν τεκοῦσα, τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου τὸν αἶροντα, σὺ τὰς ἐμὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐξάλειπον.

	<i>Ἐξαποστειλάριον τοῖς μαθηταῖς</i>
<b>new</b> (10)	Τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ παντάνακτος
<b>new</b> (11)	Ταῖς μητρικαῖς πρεσβίαις σου <i>Εἰς τοὺς αἴνους· πᾶσα πνοή· ἰστώμεν στίχοι δ΄, καὶ ψάλλομεν στιχηρὰ προσόμοια ἤχος πλάγιος δ΄· τί ὑμᾶς καλέσωμεν ἅγιοι</i>
pope Leon I	Τί σε ὀνομάσω, θεόπνευστε <i>Ὅμοιον</i>
apostle Luke	Τί σε νῦν προσεῖπω, θεόληπτε <i>Ὅμοιον</i>
Gregorios of Neokaisareia	Τί σε νῦν καλέσω, αἰίδιμε <i>Δευτεροῦμεν τὸ α΄ .</i> <i>Δόξα ἤχος πλάγιος β΄</i>
—o—	Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖρεσί σου <i>Κανὼν ὁ αὐτός·</i>
—o—	Σιὼν πανηγύριζε, Ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐφραίνου <i>Δοξολογία μεγάλη καὶ ἀπόλυσις</i> <i>Εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τυπικὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ ἁγίου ᾠδὴ γ΄ καὶ ζ΄</i> <i>Προεόρτια τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἤχος α΄· τὸ στόμα σου λαλήσει σοι</i> <i>Στίχος</i> Ἄκούσατε ταῦτα πάντα τὰ ἔθνη

(10) Τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ παντάνακτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτήρος παρεστηκώς, Γρηγέντιε, μετὰ τῆς πανμνήτου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας τῇ ἁγίᾳ τριάδι, ἱερομύστα, πρέσβευε τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῷ πιστῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἐκτελεοῦσι πόθῳ σου τὴν ὑπέρλαμπρον μνήμην.

(11) Ταῖς μητρικαῖς πρεσβίαις σου, δέσποινα θεοτόκε, Ἀγαρηνῶν τὸ φρύγαμα, σύντριψον καὶ τὸ θράσος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἐν τάχει τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων ἐπαγομένων τρόπαιον τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἥλους τοῦ σοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τὸ θεῖον αἷμα· δι' οὗ τῷ κόσμῳ ἀνάστασις καὶ λύτρωσις καὶ ψυχῶν σωτηρία.

*Ὁ ἀπόστολος πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή*

(Heb. 7.6–8.2)

*ἀλληλούια ἦχος β' · στόμα δικαίου μελετήσει σοφίαν*

*στῆχος· ὁ νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ*

*Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου*

(Io. 10.9–16)

*Κοινωνικὸν εἰς μνημόσυνον.*

Τέλος σὺν θεῷ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀμήν.

Σωθῆ ὁ γράψας, ἐλεθῆ ὁ ἔχων.





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\* For the editions of the different parts of the Dossier of Gregentios, see above pp. 159–163. — Sources to which reference is made either in the footnotes to the introduction and commentary or in the apparatus of the edition are not listed here if quoted: 1) after the edition in the *Patrologia Graeca* plus CPG and/or BHG number(s); 2) according to a commonly accepted book, chapter and/or section numbering, such as the Bible and most ancient authors.

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This Index contains words which are 1) characteristic for theological and hagiographical literature in general, 2) relevant in connection with the plot, especially of the *Bios*, or 3) rare or used in an unusual context or sense.

Words which appear in one of the following dictionaries only with reference to the Dossier of Gregentios or are not recorded at all, are marked with an asterisk: Demetrios, *Μέγα Αεζικόν*; Du Cange, *Glossarium*; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*; Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*; Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*; *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, online version; Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*.<sup>1</sup> If the word is attested there only with another meaning, it has an asterisk in brackets.

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<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Prof. Erich Trapp who made the remaining material for the letters Α–Ω available to me. Words missing in the dictionaries listed here, which will be contained in the second volume of the *LBG*, are marked with °.

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