JOHN OF EPSHEUS
LIVES OF THE EASTERN SAINTS

SYRIAC TEXT EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

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II
Next the twenty-fourth history, of the blessed John bishop of the city of Thella.

When therefore we approach the history of this holy bishop John that abounds in beauties, we need the help that is brought through his prayers, and then we shall be able, even if obscurely, through the vile pigments of our words, to lay down and trace out a delineation of the features of his divine beauties; and indeed his beauty does not shine from one side only, but from all sides the rays of his light flash upon the soul that wishes to gaze at him; for, if in accordance with the holy Paul's saying one seek him among solitaries, he is a perfect solitary, and, if among priests, a high-priest, and, if among persecuted men, one who bears his cross on his shoulder every day, and, if among the public contests of combatants, a brave combatant and a hero, and, if again in the series of martyrs, a true martyr for the truth of his faith; and this is the consummation of all his


2. See p. 1, 2. — 3. II Cor., xi, 21-29.
beauties. This saint, for whom also, I think, the appellation ‘God-clad’ is not inappropriate, after the pattern of the ancient Ignatius, the saint and bishop and martyr, who earned this name (and, if perhaps it is not audacious to say it and to presume so far, this man seems to have shown yet even more valour than he in the contest on behalf of the whole church of the believers, that is, he distinguished himself to perfection in his acts). This man therefore at first distinguished himself in the laborious and divine practice of the solitary life; and by God’s grace he was also advanced to be bishop of the city of Thella. And, when again he had for some years led a severe life in this same city, the severe persecution set on foot by the partisans of the schismatic synod of Chalcedon was wafted like smoke everywhere, and it blinded everyone whose spiritual eyesight was not founded upon a sound basis, and concealed the light of their truth, and they became accomplishers of the saying, « They changed God’s truth into a lie.» When therefore this troublous time came to this blessed man, and sought to unsettle him like many and turn him away from his steadfastness, he on his side was more resplendent and beautiful; and, having repelled the

1. Really 2 years (I. ii., p. 50). As his episcopate began after Justin’s accession (id., p. 50, his expulsion was probably in 321. — 2. Rom., i. 25. — 3. Sfc.
heretical communion from him, he was driven from his see with all the other holy bishops, about twelve from his neighbourhood; and thenceforth they endured the severe labours and grievous hardships of banishment, and wanderings in every place. But this blessed John joyfully resorted to his former anchoritic habits, which he had previously desired to do; and often he wished to leave his see and depart, and he was hindered and stayed by the fear of judgment and requital for deserting the rational flock that had been entrusted to him; and now he found an opportunity, and returned to that for which he was ready, first to his former convent, which was in the city of Callinicus, which was called that of Mar Zakkhai; and when he had been a short time in this convent, the adversary came thither also as well, and a second time the blessed man was again in banishment with his convent, with the rest of the convents, and with all the other bishops also; and thenceforth they were driven to the outer deserts, rejoicing and exulting that they had been thought worthy to suffer persecution with Christ, since the other bishops also were scattered over all the convents. But, when the period of persecution had lasted about ten years, the rest of the

1. This sojourn is not mentioned by Elijah. — 2. Matth., V. 11, 12. — 3. The time must be exaggerated even if the persecution is dated from 519, since the author was ordained by John in 529 (p. 319) and he had then been performing ordinations for some time.
believers everywhere were in difficulties about ordinations (γεροτονίας); and they began to have recourse to the believing bishops. But the blessed men, inasmuch as they were troubled by fear of lighting the furnace of persecution 'more hotly against them, refused to practise this' openly, though they did a few things in secret; and a murmuring on the part of those among the believers who had been banished from every quarter began to be stirred up against the blessed men, since they had been reduced to great difficulties, while they spoke and sent messages to them at all times, asking them to give a hand of ordination (γεροτονία) to the church of the believers, 'because it is in great difficulties'. Then all the bishops assembled together, and considered what to do. If they should give the hand 'crowds of believers will come from every quarter,' and the persecutors will hear it, and be more inflamed with rage'; and on this ground they finally out of fear refused the thing. Then, as it is written that 'The Lord stirred up the spirit of Zurbabel and the spirit of Joshua the son of Jozadak the high-priest to stand up and build the Lord's house,' so also here it were fitting to say that the Lord stirred up the spirit of John to stand up and visit the Lord's

church, which is the persecuted in every quarter. Then he was moved with indignation in his spirit and argued against his fellow-bishops, saying: « Lo! see that henceforth we are not perfect in the love of God, since according to the saying of Scripture, ‘He who feareth is not perfect in love’; and again ‘There is no fear in love’; and again ‘Love casteth out fear’. And now we our own selves have stated it; and henceforth whither shall the persecuted and distressed believers who are with us go? Do you wish, pray, that we should send them to those that are every day killing them? for God knows that I for my part was ready for a life of quietude by myself, and that I should leave God’s people and church in distress and need, and serve my own self, far be it from me in the Lord’s name. But now either consent to stretch out a hand to the believers in the boldness (παράσινθος) of our God, and let us contend valiantly each of us doing his part, and, if not and you are afraid, give me a mandate and a licence from the patriarchs and from yourselves, and save yourselves; and I for my part will be persecuted, and I am ready even to die also a thousand times, if it were possible, for the sake of the believing people ». The bishops rejoiced at this, and said: « It is better that one of us only should be known by this in

1. 1 John., iv., 18.
the affair, and not all of us; and take also authority and licence from ourselves; and we will refer this by letter to our saintly father the patriarch, and he will issue a mandate to us, that it shall be permitted to give a hand to all expelled men who come to you from all parts. And the blessed man clad himself in this zealoussness, and thenceforth this became known to the expelled multitudes everywhere; and from that time they rushed in crowds to come to the blessed man freely without impediment like a flood that is produced in a river by thick clouds, while he was sometimes to be found in his same monastery and received them there, and sometimes in the desert, and sometimes in some convent, receiving and dismissing companies of fifty and of a hundred in a day, and even now and again as many as two and three hundred a day, giving expositions and injunctions and caution and instruction, and performing the ordinances after careful investigation and many testimonies given, subjecting every man to a careful examination and test in reading the Scriptures and repeating the psalms, and ability to write their names and signatures, not admitting anyone whomsoever who did not sign his name, and, if anyone was incapable of doing so, he would bid him learn, and his companion would write for him.

1. Severus of Antioch. — 2. I cannot reconcile this with the statement that he ordained no one who could not write. V. D. and E.'s Interpretation of the writing and signing as a remuneration of
and thus therefore they were received and dismissed; while he also inquired and learned who were the men of knowledge in all the districts (χερσος), and he would send and fetch them, and give them instructions, and hand them the impress of his name and his monogram (σταυρος), themselves to see by investigation who were fit to become priests, and to write and send them to him, that he might not perform ordinations at random. Accordingly in every city as far as the frontier, and as far as Armenia and Arzum¹, and the land of the Cappadocians and the sea-coasts², men were chosen and appointed to send candidates to him after investigation; and, if it happened that anyone came to him without a letter from the man that had been appointed in the region from which he came, he would return empty, until he brought a letter, and then he would be received; as no believing bishops were to be found except at these three places only, at Marde³ and in the land of the Persians, and at Alexandria. When the whole earth, so to speak, had been filled with the ordination (χερσος) of believers, in the cities and the monasteries and the villages and everywhere, insomuch that some of those

¹ Arzamana. This was in Persian territory; see p. 145 and p. 340. — ² This usually means the province of Phoenice Maritima. — ³ That I. was at Marde the author tells us in ch. 15 p. 228; but he does not plainly state if here, nor is it mentioned by Elijah. See also Sav., Select Letters, v. 11.
that were in communion with the heretics would every day arrive and come to repentance, then these things exasperated those that held authority both in the churches and in the world, so that they did not shrink from writing a report of these things even to the wielder of the royal authority, first concerning all the believers, and concerning all the freedom (παρακολούθεια) that they had shown, and then concerning him who had been made the cause of these things. Thenceforward they hunted after the blessed man’s life to take it away ¹, while the occupiers of the sees at first sent him threats and orders and mandates issued by the king that, if he performed ordination (γενεσιονες), he should die; and he on his side sent them this message: "I for my part have received a gift from God, and with it I am trading and am not negligent;² and know this, that, as long as I am in the bodily life, and a hand is given me to extend to anyone that is in need, not you nor an earthly king shall hinder me from performing the service that the heavenly king has given me."³ When they saw the man’s readiness and courage, they threatened the more; and thenceforth he did not show himself openly with the former freedom (παρακολούθεια), but at the time when believers arrived he on his side

¹ I Kings, xix, 14. — ² Mat., xxv, 14-30. — ³ Acc. to Elijah (p. 36, 50) John and 7 other bishops went to Constantinople by the emperor’s orders. It is strange that our author omits this.
would spring up there, and therefore he would dismiss many at night, as he was the first to admit our meanness also with the rest of our brothers, the members of our convent, to the order of the diaconate, in the year eight hundred and forty 1, when we came down to him and received the privilege of seeing him by night, when we were also astonished above all things by his attire and the austerity of his garb, since an unsightly cloak had been cut in two, and so he clothed himself with half of it and covered himself with half of it 2, and thus therefore he had no superfluity either of clothing or of covering. When he saw our company and our habit (συνεργεία), and especially the fact that he had seen 3 that he had not much trouble with us, because all of us, who were about seventy men, came from well-known Anodene convents, and we read and wrote with confidence, then he said, «I am satisfied with you, my sons; and lo! I say to you ‘Pray and cease not’ for a time is coming when men to give a hand to believers shall be wanting and shall not be found». And so we received his blessing, and returned, and his prophecy also was in truth fulfilled, and they were sought and not

1. 529. — 2. This probably means that he divided it into an inner and an outer garment; cf. ch 36 (f. 97 r a), 49 (f. 116 r b), 58 (f. 135 r b). A similar story is told of James (ch. 49). — 3. Siq 851 — 4. I Thess., v, 17.
found, so that for many years a man would go into Alexandria to become a priest, and thence to Constantinople, and return perhaps after a year of days without gaining any satisfaction from his labour, as I saw happen to many; and at the time when I was in the royal city (and the same thing happened in Alexandria also) the believers were in this difficulty: and the frontier of the Persian territory moreover was closed by war, and I always remembered the saint’s prophecy. But after a time the blessed man fell into the enemies’ hand, and they satisfied all their malice upon him, and in their craftiness they also hunted for the documents (χειρότερος) that contained the anathemas against them and the names of the believers who received the priesthood from him, and God hid them from them, the number of whom, as was posted up (?) by those who counted them, amounted to a hundred and seventy thousand, who received ordination (χειροτονία) from the blessed man. But they on their side carried him up to Antioch, and he fell into the hands of the man that one would perhaps not go wrong if one were to name the executioner (κυκάοντος) of the believers, who was Ephraim of Amida; and he inflicted on him severe tortures and close painful impri-

1. Acc. to Elijah (p. 61, 62) he ordained bps. also, though no names or sees are given. From ch. 56 one would suppose that James and Theodore were the first Mono-physite bps. ordained after the schism. E. mentions 5 other bps. as associated with John. — 2. He was arrested in Persia and extradited (Ptil., p. 68 ff.). — 3. No tortures are mentioned by Elijah, and the word is probably not to be understood literally.
sonments, and thus he suffered martyrdom and died at their hands there, after a period of such-and-such a number of years during which he had been undergoing the conflicts \(\gamma\) of martyrdom inflicted upon him there, and the successions of tortures and torturers that were imposed upon him in daily variety in the hope that he might be weakened in his constancy. And, inasmuch as he on his side was girded with the breastplate of righteousness on the right hand and on the left as it is written, and held the strong weapon of readiness that contends with death, the burning, that is heretical, darts of his persecutors were not able to pierce and penetrate the sound breastplate of his constancy, though many beasts were set round him on all sides to guard him, like that which the holy Ignatius also, the bishop and martyr, to whom at the beginning also we compared this second Ignatius, as he is indeed exceedingly like, thus wrote in his epistle to the Ephesians about certain soldiers \(\sigma\) to whom he was committed that they might conduct and convey him to Rome to be martyred there: «Ten cruel savage beasts were committed to me, between whom I was bound for my

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1. He was arrested 1 Feb., 337 (Vit., p. 69), reached Nisibis 2 days later (id., p. 69, 70), remained there 30 days (id., p. 71), occupied 30 days in the journey to Antioch (id., p. 86), and died 2 Feb., 338 (id., p. 95). His imprisonment at Antioch therefore lasted 10 m. 2 d. — 2. Ms. om. — 3. Eph., vi. 11-16. — 4. Corr. from "strangers." The ref. (it is not a quotation) must be to Rom., 5 (μετά τοῦ ὅμως θρονοῦ... ἐνδέχεται δύο καὶ λεπτάκοι). — 5. Sic.
custody that I might go to Rome ». So therefore in the same way there were committed to this man not ten only, but rather many, so that no one whosoever among the believers was able to approach him, he being confined alone, and two blessed men that were attached to him alone, who also were combatants (ἀγωνισταί); and thus he ended his life in this conflict (ἐγων) in a great martyrdom. And thereupon after his martyrdom his words, of which he had also gained intimation by the revelation of the Holy Spirit, received accomplishment, for he would testify to every man and warn him concerning what was about to come, viz. violent persecutions, lacerations of the believers, scarcity of pastors, with the rest of the sore distresses, even as they were from all sides laid upon those of his ordination (χειροτονία). Some, that is many, they seized in every city and re-ordained; and some fled to distant regions, and there ended their lives; some departed from life under imprisonments and stripes; and some were burnt with fire in the sight of the peoples of the cities. A thing which perhaps even the ancient pagans would have been afraid to do, Christians were here thrown into the fire and

1. Sic. — 2. Acc. to Elijah (p. 88, 90, 92) there were at first 4, one was removed and afterwards brought back, and two were persuaded to leave. — 3. This refers to Cyrus, a presbyter of Amida, who is said to have been burnt in the tetrapylon by bp. Abraham (Zach. Rh. x. 3; R. O. B. p. 52; Mich. p. 272).
burnt in the sight of those who also were reckoned and called Christians; and the steam of the savour of their flesh was woefully wafted to heaven and also into the air breathed by men; and so few were left "like doves upon ledges" as it is written. And thenceforward the remnant of the orthodox (ὁρθόδοξοι), great multitudes who were in banishment or in places of exile (ἐξορία), or those again who had hidden themselves in the cities and in the villages, or in villas, were in great sorrow and sore need, since for a space of so many years there was none to give them the communion of the life-giving mysteries. But God, who saw the distress, did not neglect in accordance with his mercy to give a little refreshing to his church, though in distant regions, by means again of another John, who also was in truth John, of whom also we determined to compose a history separately, that we may not protract the history to a great length; while we have also not sought to comprise any of the rest of the afflictions of this saint and of his conflicts (ἀσκών) and of his asceticism, and of his conduct moreover and of his abstinence in our history, inasmuch as it is endless, but we have rapidly run through these points, which are patent to him who knows all. By the

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prayer of him who presents them \(^1\) and of all saints like him, who present proprietary fruits to God, may he visit his church in mercy, and be gracious to us her children, who through our sins have made ourselves sons who provoke, and may they be expiated by the blood of the only God over all for ever and ever.

*The history of the holy John bishop of the city of Thella is ended.*

**Next the twenty-fifth history, of the blessed John bishop of the city of Hephaestu\(^2\) in Egypt, who repeats the conflicts (ἀγών) of the holy John who precedes him.**

Since the purpose of our work and the course of our history aims at showing and describing the circumstances of the perfect lives which the saints-lived, therefore we say that in the order of our history we will insert spiritual pastors\(^4\), and will also in our work state the circumstances of their activity.

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1. Ms. *אמש*.

\(^1\) ἀγώνια

\(^2\) Ηπαήστου πόλεως

\(^4\) Sc. bishops.
in God's church, since they also were complete and perfect in both forms of beauty\(^1\); and for this reason, though we seem to be passing from one subject to another, we did not think it alien to the excellent purpose to describe and hand down to remembrance for the glory of God the life that was practised by these divine men also.

This blessed man again, the great and divine John the bishop, was by his birth (γένος) a Syrian, that is a Palestinian, from the city of Gaza, and he lived in a great convent called that of father Peter the Iberian, the doer of great and apostolic signs\(^2\). This convent was expelled with the rest, and came into the territory of Alexandria; and there it lived in a place called Ennaton which means 'ninth', viz. miles\(^3\); and there the saint dwelt with the rest of his convent, living a devout life and following great and divine practices. While the church was still at peace in Alexandria, and the blessed Theodosius was seated on his throne\(^4\), he heard of his manner of life and of his teaching, and sent and seized him and made him bishop in one of the cities of Egypt which is called Heptaestu. After a period of such-and-such a number of

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years during which the blessed man had distinguished himself in his pastorate, to which he had been called by the providence of God against his own will, preparations for persecutions were then stirred up against her whom one of the doctors names ‘the Egyptian virgin’, and severe fighting and much slaughter took place in it, as is common in that great city; and the blessed archbishop Theodosius with the rest of the eminent men of his jurisdiction were driven from their sees, and they were also invited to the royal city and went up thither through certain eminent men attached to the court, the adversaries thinking that by threats or blandishments they might perhaps bring them to communicate with them². And, when they resisted strenuously and they were unable to overcome the constancy that was in their souls, a well-known and cruel place of exile (ἰδροῖα) was then given to the holy archbishop himself and the whole of his company (συνδία), the bishops with the most eminent clergy (ἐξάρχοι), about three hundred of them, in the interior of Thrace a day’s journey (μεικτικῶν) off, a certain fortress (ἐξάρχοι) called Dereus, to which also we often used to go to visit the same saints, as well as the blessed man the perfect and great old man Ἶπωλος the celebrated Syrian

from the country of Sophanene¹, who also was confined with them; and thenceforth they were kept in custody there, though the Christ-loving Theodora, who was perhaps appointed queen by God to be a support for the persecuted against the cruelty of the times, showed great attention to them as well as the other persecuted men everywhere, supplying them with provisions and liberal allowances (καλώματα).

While these men were suffering distress there, and everywhere also the believers in all quarters were similarly suffering, they used to betake themselves from all quarters to the royal city itself, firstly on account of the persecutions in all quarters, and secondly for the sake of ordination (χιτρονίζει). as there was absolutely no man to extend a hand of ordination to any believer in the whole Roman territory as far as the Persian frontier; and accordingly many used to go to the same saints in Thrace, lamenting and representing their trouble; but even there they gained no hearing, as it was indeed in truth impossible for them to live if an ordination (χιτρονίζει) were performed there, if the adversaries heard of it. But this holy John, when he heard these things, would shed bitter tears every day for the distress of Christ's

¹. See ch. 2.
church, insomuch he that would often say in our presence: « We for our part have been named pastors of God’s church to no purpose, since we have suffered her lambs to be torn by wolves, and have come and sat down by ourselves, and have not consented to die for the sake of religion. What is the benefit that we ourselves are now doing to God’s church? for lo! we are unwilling to cure or heal even those that come to us buffeted and bruised from a journey of sixty days ». And these things he would say weeping, « I stand in awe of him who is the head; otherwise, as Christ lives, nothing would have prevented me from performing ordination (ὑποτονίκη) in the great church of the city if I had found opportunity, or in an open space (?) (ὑποτονίκη) in the city in the sight of all men ». When many were coming every day, and he continually heard the same things and could not contain himself, he was moved with zeal and his spirit was roused, and he said: « Far be it from me in the Lord’s name to hold aloof longer and pay no heed to the affliction of Christ’s flock which was bought by his precious blood; for, even if I die on its behalf, it is a boast to me ». Then he concocted pretexts, and under pretenses of illnesses he went and begged the patriarch and the custodians for permission to go into the city to see physicians; and, because they heard

1. Sc. Theodosius. - 2 Since our author was not in CP. between 535 and 540 (Intro. p. x, xvi), and ap. did not meet John till 541 (p. 3, 6, n. 1), these words seem to be recorded out of place. — Acts xx, 28, 1 Pet., 1, 19.
mention of illness, therefore they did not prevent him from going, and this
matter also about the cause of his coming was made known to the queen; and
by divine dispensation she also received him with great joy, and she gave
orders that spacious quarters (μητρικών) also should be given him in the great
mansion called Anthemia \(^1\), and an allowance (ἀναλώματος) also for him and his
slave should be assigned to him there. And thenceforth the will and the
zeal of the blessed man found expression; and from that time companies of
those who were in distress, and had been for a long time beaten and buffeted
and had none to relieve them, betook themselves to him, and he would dismiss
them all \(^2\) and they would return to their own countries with joy, while he also
anointed many altars that had been set up for a long time to be anointed and
go to the countries, and himself also fixed an altar, and he was filled with
great boldness (παραποτίξ) showing keen enthusiasm and confidence that contends
with death. When he had stood up and become openly known, envy like
Cain's was sown in the hearts of many who were inside and not outside; and
they used to address mandates to him, saying, « We are standing in a lion's
mouth, and you are causing him to rend us all and cast us away in one hour ». 

1. sce. τὰ Ανθεμίων. — 2. We are left to understand that he ordained them; see below.
But he said, « As for the lion that is coming let no man stand before him; let him send him against me myself only; since it is I as you say that have provoked him, and God will do as he wishes. The mouths of lions are wont to be closed by command from on high. » And so he did not cease from his zeal. But afterwards they wrote to his patriarch also as well to inhibit him. But the saint, who saw his zeal, and on his own side also was not displeased by the saving and refreshing of the believers, passed over the sayings that were concocted against the same blessed man without notice, saying, « He has gone away from my presence, and is in the city, and the queen also has received him; and she further knows that I have not ordered him to do such things. » And so he took no account of the matter as one that knew it and did not know it. But the holy John would accept all who came from all quarters, that is on the testimony of those who presented them; and, though they were strangers, he did not immediately apply a hand of ordination without witnesses and persons to present. But, when those whose envy ... saw it, and he also made them hostile to him, who were believers, members of his company (συνδήματος), and some of them also even bishops, they

1. Dan., vi. 22; Hebr., xi, 33. — 2. We should expect 'because', but the meaning perh. is that:

though there was in the circumstances a difficulty in getting proper testimony, he would not dispense with it. — 3. Some words have fallen out.
went and told the queen about him, having concocted a petition purporting to come from him that she would give him an order to leave the city for a short time. And she, inasmuch as she thought that he was perhaps in need of recreation, in order to gratify him, gave the order, and she also wrote, «Go». But these men took the order, and formed a plan to catch the blessed man by terror by means of the order, in that they went and they say to him as if speaking in the person (πρόσωπος) of the queen, «Do not linger another hour in this city or see my face; otherwise you will die. And the order has reached yourself (?), lest you die an evil death; since you have been accused to the king, and he ordered your death.» But the intelligent man, inasmuch as he was in truth ready for death, determined «If I depart, he it to death or to life, I will not depart before I go into the palace (παλάτιον) and know the truth». Then he made these men think that he had been frightened and was packing his things to depart; and he went out and left them, and went down and came to the palace (παλάτιον) without these men being aware of it; and he went in confidently before the queen with the great boldness (παράβουλία) of the heavenly King, manifesting wrath also and threats against the king and queen on account of all the persecution of the believers. And, when the queen saw him, she was alarmed at his wrath, and says: «Who
has injured you, sir? What is this affair? ». And he said: « Who has injured and disturbed me or God’s church except you and your husband? » And she was astonished, and said: « For what reason? Who has said anything to you? » He says to her: « You ordered my death, and your order came to me to leave the city hastily; and what more do you want to learn? » When she learned that it was not at his instigation that they had come and received the document from her, and that she herself had written in order to gratify him, she issued an order, and these enemies quickly came, while she said, « Whom else was it your purpose to deceive except God and me and this saint? » Then, when she threatened them with such things as their tricks deserved, the blessed man with great entreaty delivered them from death, and did not requite them according to their deeds. But on the matter of ordinations (χειροτονίας) she said to him: « See that you remain within the palace (παλάτιον)¹, lest trial in truth come upon you. Remain still and keep quiet like your companions and do not make priests in this city ». He said to her, « I will not do it; and, that you may know that I have no desire for this business, I was just about to request your majesty to order me to go out to a villa outside for a secret retreat of thirty or forty days, as I now

also request, since I am indeed ill ». And she on her side gave him his will, and also dismissed him, since he was indeed really weak in bodily health, and, his body being greatly afflicted, he constantly suffered from diseases. But the blessed man was determined that, if anyone interfered with him in the way of preventing him from extending a hand of ordination to the believers within, he would go out and visit them himself in the district where they were, in the fervour of his enthusiasm; which also he did not delay to do, but under the appearance of having gone out to the villa he went on board a ship, and went out first to Lydia, and thence to Asia, in which there were in fact many convents of believers; and thus he visited in all districts and passed through them; and he came down as far as Tarsus in Cilicia, while he never spent a whole day in a place, but night and day devoted himself to travelling in all directions. And thereupon the report of him was heard over all that land; and, while the report of him was reaching the bishop of the district or of the city, he himself did what he required and passed from it; since before he entered a district he would learn about the believers, and he would send a message two or three days beforehand that the men of every

1. Sc. the province. The metropolitan is therefore meant.
place should assemble and be ready along his route at one day's journey (μυκτον) from one another; and thus he visited as far as Tarsus, intending to go down over the whole of Syria. And there they learned about him; and there was great commotion, and much searching through the whole city on his account; and so he left his things there, and took his departure like a poor man, and was not caught. When he saw that the countries had been thrown into commotion, he thought « Before search is made and the commotion reaches the king, I will return »; and so he came back after two months, and he went straight to the villa, as if he had not gone anywhere. And he sent a letter to the queen, saying, « Since I, my lady, have on account of ill health not been able to come in and make obeisance to you all this time, send me by letter what you wish to say ». And she on her side consented, and sent him a present also there. And during the same days a letter from the patriarch of Antioch and all the rest of the bishops was brought in to the king which stated, « One of the bishops who are there has come out, and has thrown the whole church into confusion, and has performed ordination (κηβήστοις) and given penances (καπνώμας) and absolution, from the royal city as far as Syria ». And, when a great search had been made, he

1. This is appr. the meaning. We should perh. read αρεάδιος; or we might render 'every place in its territory'. V. D. and L. pass over the word. — 2. Ephraim. — 3. Sc. to converts from Diphysitism.
said: "Perhaps it is so-and-so who has not been in the city all this time."

Then by the grace of God no ordinary person, but the queen herself, came in
to give evidence on behalf of the blessed man, saying: "That man is sick
and laid up in such-and-such a villa; for indeed it was by my order also
that he went out thither: and only a few days ago he sent to me." And,
when everyone testified that he was in his place, they dropped the matter.
And so, while these men wrote forcibly, they gained no hearing, and a
message was sent to them to say, "If you can, arrest him, for perhaps he
is an impostor. No one has left this place." Again on another occasion,
when this had been forgotten and had blown over, he succeeded in getting
an order given him to go as far as the hot spring on account of his diseases.
and he was sent away; and he went out and passed over all the islands
of the sea-coast and those within the sea as far as Cyprus and visited the
believers, and as far as Caesarea; and so he returned without anyone dis-
covering it. Again after this (on which same visitation we ourselves
encountered him), he made a visitation and went down as far as Rhodes,
and there we were privileged to see him. And, when he told us his intention,
that he intended to pass through Asia a second time about six years after the

1. Syr. ‘Hamimitha’. Probably some hot spring near Constantinople is meant, not the well-known
Hamimitha in Mesopotamia (p. 224; ch. 35). — 2. Phoenice Maritima. 
first, since we were ourselves going up from Alexandria to the royal city, he returned with us. And so, when we had travelled a day's journey (μαζιν), at every lodging-place, he would send envoys taken from the believers to go among them, and at every place we used to find from a hundred and fifty and from two hundred assembled waiting for him. And thus we passed through the cities and villages together; so that in the city of Tralles inside the church, while the clergy were performing the service, he made more than fifty priests. Since we were a large party, and there were distinguished gentlemen among us, we were given permission to occupy an upper space, in the upper catechumenia of the church; and so they would come up there three and live at a time, while men stood at the doors and kept watch, and men who arranged these and sent them on, and this while I myself was carrying the oblation and the sacrament, and he was standing and blessing and administering the oblation and dismissing them, and those below were performing the service; and I was amazed at the man's courage and fortitude. In the house of Mar John at Ephesus again the same, more than seventy men

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1 This must have been in 534, Intro. p. 5, which throws back the 1st journey to 535; but Theodosius did not leave Alexandria before the end of 536, the 6 years must be over the anti-macracres. See also p. 328, n. 2. — 2. Ms. om. — 3. Women's gallery; see Ducange. — 4. Viz. as a deacon.
were assembled; and, they having been instructed to assemble by night in the open space in the western court of the paved precinct (ʔ) (πλαζα) of the same house of Mar John, he there ordained them by night. And so from that place we again separated, he to Chios and thence to Alexandria and to Palestine, and we to the royal city, wondering at the grace of God which had stirred up this man to visit the believers, and had given him moreover . . . . to the whole church, while all the time that he had been away those who came to the city had been in distress and had been waiting for him as a good hope and a granter of their requests. And he also returned and came, and found many in distress and waiting for him; since, though there were many others in the city itself, there was no man whosoever to stretch out his hand to ordain by reason of his fear. These things, on account of the abundance of his zeal and the greatness of the goodness of God with the man, impelled us to stray into such a length of narrative, while we have repeated few of his actions, such as relate to the method in which he carried out his visitation, while on that which is indeed too great to tell, the subject of the rest of his brave character and his humility, we have kept silence, lest

we exceed the fixed limit. These things which tend to preserve the memory of these holy and zealous men mighty in conflicts (ἀγώνων) on behalf of religion, the first John and further this second John, we have committed to the record of history, in the first place in order that the world may [reap benefit] from the description [of...]. Their ascetic and virtuous life, and in the second in order to make known the graciousness of him who saved his church by his precious blood, how in this time of its distress also he set up these two pillars of light in it to comfort it; by whose holy prayers may schisms and strifes be done away from within it until the end, Amen! And may mercy light upon the sinner who wrote it through their prayers. Amen!"
rative concerning the divine dispensation through these two brave warriors and true pastors John and John, we must alter the same pattern introduce into the series that is connected with them this third saint also, Thomas the bishop, the whole of whose keen enthusiasm and active administration in God's church is the same as theirs. For, as the holy

Next the twenty-seventh history, of a blessed virgin of Christ whose name was Susan.

The strong power of Christ who is God therefore, which is wont to be glorified and displayed in human weakness 'in order that no flesh may boast before him'\(^3\), this strengthener of the weak is wont to display its operation not only through men of great size or mighty strength, but also in weak, feeble, powerless women, insomuch that it gives them such force and courage that they show mighty valour in fight not only 'with flesh and blood' (or

with insidious passions and the enticements of fleshly lusts and so on), but against principalities (ἀρχών) and authorities, and against the rulers of the world of this darkness, and against evil spirits under heaven”, so that against these they show mighty prowess and mock at them as a mighty man mocks at a party of babes and sucklings who make themselves ready and come to fight with him.

For this also was declared to us through the most wise Paul in that he says: “In Christ Jesus is no male nor female, nor bond nor free.” So therefore this holy woman valiant in Christ, in that she astonished me by her appearance and speech and strength in God, did not seem to me to be in any way out of place in the series of histories of the saints, with whom she also is pressing to enter by the same narrow gate, as she has indeed already entered.

This blessed woman, as by inquiry we succeeded in learning accurately from her, was by her birth (γένος) from Arzin 4 of the Persians. And, when this woman was a girl of eight, that is of high family (γένος), from her

very beginning the light of her life rose in her mind, until men marvelled at her sorrow and modesty and devoutness; and her name given her by her parents, as by way of prophecy, was 'blessing', who truly received a heavenly blessing. This virtuous woman formed the plan of going and worshipping in the holy places in which the salvation of our life was effected, and she continued asking her parents' leave, and they would laugh at her childhood and say: «You have not yet learned to interpret\(^2\), and do you wish to go to Jerusalem?\(^3\)», but she on her part was silent and kept it in her heart.\(^3\) And in the same days she prayed and said: «Lord, if thou wishest for the life of my wretched soul, 'make thy way straight before me'\(^4\) and provide an escort for me, and save my soul from the stain of the hateful mire of this world». Then the child, as she herself would repeat to us, when I pressed her much, placed her soul in the Lord's hands and fled. And after traversing 'three or four\(^5\) miles she found a large party of women

1. Sc. Eulogin. — 2. Sc. writing. i. e. to read(?) To make the meaning clearer the scribe of B has inserted ἐξέχασα (speech). — 3. Luke, ii. 19. — 4. The scribe of B has inserted "about 7 years afterwards", probably because the notion of a child of 8 setting off alone for Jerusalem staggered him, though he thereby makes the words 'in the same days' meaningless. That she was really only 8 is scarcely credible, and is probably one of the author's loose statements. — 5. Ps. v. 9. — 6. B. V. D. and L. wrongly "quadraginta".
and men travelling along the road to Jerusalem; and, having joined them and made inquiries and learnt it, she rejoiced and would exult and praise God, and would say: «Blessed am I, for the Lord has wished for my salvation, and has answered me according to my petition. And far be it from me henceforth to return for the world or for kin (γένος), or for parents, and die. But I am going to him that led me, and he himself will be to me father1 and brother, and Lord and Saviour in both worlds ». And thus she reached Jerusalem with joy; and, when she had worshipped there, and her companions desired to go back, they continued requesting her to return with them as being a countrywoman, saying, « We will not leave you in this country ». But she separated from them, and they did not see her again. And she made inquiries to find a monastery in which to live; and she learned that there was a large women’s monastery between Ascalon and Gaza; and thither she directed her steps; and she made her wish know to the portress. And, since that monastery was severe (?), that old woman said to her: « You, my daughter, cannot live here, since you are a girl, and you cannot bear

1. B ins. ‘and mother’. — 2. This is appr. the meaning of יָבוּל here, as v. D. and L. and P. Smith take it; but the word expresses size or intensity, and, though it is not infrequently applied to ascetic practices in the sense of ‘severe’, it is a great stretch of language to use it of a monastery in which severe asceticism is practised. In ch. 58 (f. 133 v+ b) it is applied to a monastery in the sense of ‘extensive’; but this seems out of place here.
burdens and labours; and moreover also your own delicacy is unsuited for a monastery ». But the devout woman because she was a stranger and in a strange country was distressed; and she remained sitting before the gate and weeping for seven days, while they tried to drive her away and she did not move. Then, after they had learned that she was a stranger, they received her; and she came in, while they looked down upon her tender years. And, when they learned from what country to what country she had come, they would say to her as if distressed over her, « What profit was it to you, my daughter, to come out and ruin your soul in the mire of sin in this way? Who is there whom, if he were to see that you are so young, and especially that you are alone, Satan would not set upon you even against his will, to ruin you before your day? » But she, as the blessed women who were with her would relate that they had originally learned from her, would say : « For our Lord's sake pray for me; since I hope in him to whom I have committed myself that he has not suffered me to be ruined, and will not suffer me ». And so (she said) they gave thanks to God. But she from that time began to follow great modes of life, and austere practices of labours and abstinence and devoutness, though they
tried to prevent her and used to smite her on account of her childish age, that she might not apply herself to these things more than all the sisters; and she on her side would increase them the more; so that she would go for two and three days at a time, and then eat lentils only, and she would keep a whole night’s vigil standing in a corner (γοβία); and no single word from her mouth would be uttered to human beings all day unless it was demanded, while none of her companions saw her face openly or the whole of the inside of her eye from the time that she entered that monastery, and no laughter came out of her mouth. When they saw the blessed woman’s ways of life, that in proportion as they strove to prevent her on the ground of her tender years she on her side went on adding to this serious demeanour for a year and two years, then her that they had despised as a child they now regarded as a venerable woman; and she herself had also changed her name before entering the monastery, lest any of her kin (γίνοις) should come and make inquiries and discover her; and she took the name of Susan. When she had been practising these habits for about ten years, a persecution was set on foot against their monastery to make them either submit 1 or quit. 2

1. B ins. * to the impity of Chalcedon; * 2. 519 see p. 352. n. 2. The persecution in Palestine probably began sooner than in Mesopotamia, where Monophysites were in a large majority.
Since it was a large and celebrated convent, the majority of them were detained and conformed, and some were scattered this way and that. But the blessed woman was pressed by two alternatives, one of removing from the monastery, and the other of falling into the evil faith. Then she resolved to leave, and go into the desert beyond Alexandria, and live there. And she left at once, while a great division arose even among those who had submitted in that they said, «Now that Susan has left, neither will we stay».

But of the leading women who had not conformed five of them attached themselves to her, while she was prepared to go alone; and these would say to her: «It is impossible for us to be separated from you». But she, after she had been compelled, revealed her intention to them, saying: «Do not come with me; since for my part, to put it shortly, if the Lord prosper me as he is wont to do, I am going to the desert». But they also as well stated their determination, «We too will go with you to the desert». And, when they refused to give way, they embarked on a ship and crossed to Alexandria. And the blessed woman heard a report of a place in the desert beyond the house of Mar Menas; and she directed her steps thither,
it being about two miles from a village named Mendis; which finally became the abode of the blessed Syrians\(^1\), but took its beginning from the blessed woman\(^2\). And there was there a tower that had been erected for protection against barbarians; and the other five also went in with virtuous zeal, and they took up their abode in it. And one of them went in and obtained material for work for them from that village; and thus they laboured with their hands for their necessities and supported themselves; and God took care of them, who saw their zeal and their trust in him. Now there was a cave outside that tower in the desert that had been dug in the earth underneath; and once there had been a certain blessed man in it. And, having passed beyond human habitation, she was proceeding further and going to and fro in the desert and praying; and on her walk she went and discovered that cave; and immediately she threw herself inside it without her companions or anyone else being aware of it; and she took no food or anything. And thenceforth like that which is written of Ishmael the son of Abraham, that he lived in the desert of Paran and was there instructed.

\(^{1}\) See p. 190. At p. 209 the desert of Mendis is said to be 12 miles from Mar Menas. — 2. B: ‘woman’.\(^3\)
in the bow⁴, so it would be fitting to say of this woman also that she lived in a cave in the desert, and was instructed in struggles and acts of valour against powerful demons, who show the power of their wickedness more especially in the desert. But her companions, when a day and two days passed and she did not come, sat night and day in bitter distress and weeping, while they said, « She in reliance upon whom we came hither has deserted us and departed ». And, when again about ten days had passed, some persons from that village learned about it, and they came to the blessed women to learn the facts. And, when they saw the sorrow and the weeping of the blessed women, they thought, « Has she perhaps gone down into the cave in the desert? » And, inasmuch as they knew the place, they set out and went to that cave; and they looked in and saw the blessed woman lying on her face and crying aloud; and they spoke to her. And she, inasmuch as she supposed that they were the fiends, who had displayed fearful and horrible shapes before her there, was not frightened out of crying in prayer. But they, when they saw that she did not answer them, left her; and they went and informed her companions; and so they all ran to that cave; and they found the blessed woman in the same position,
kneeling and praying; and with difficulty, when they had spoken many words to her, was she brought to believe that it was they, since the day before also demons had clothed themselves in their shapes and come to her to dislodge her from that place. And they, while weeping, continued making this entreaty to her, saying: «You know that it was in reliance upon you after our Lord that we came out to this desert; and now wherefore do you seek to destroy all our souls, and be yourself alone saved? and know you not that we without you cannot exist? » But the valiant woman addressed them weeping with her head bowed downwards: «Leave me, my sisters; and now I am with you always; but, since the Lord has prepared this place for me in which I have had the opportunity of being at peace, go and keep quiet; and every first day of the week one of you shall come and see me whether I am alive or dead ». But they, in order that she might come with them, set upon her to lift her up and were unable to do so. Again after these things they demanded from her a sure promise, lest she should depart even from that place also and not let them know; and she gave them the promise. And again they continued begging her that they
might make a little dish of lentils and bring it her, inasmuch as it was now ten days that she had not tasted anything. But she on her side refused even to hear of it, saying: « You seek to concern yourselves about my food, while I am lying flat on my face, and to make me eat the sweat of your faces, far be it from me! But for the support of my body it is enough that you bring me a jar of water on the first day of the week, and one cake (παλεχία) of bread a day.» And thus they did for her for three years. But, after the fame of the blessed women had been heard everywhere, and moreover where they lived, many persons would come to them from Alexandria, and from the villages of Libya, and further afterwards a great old man, who also with his disciples, about ten of them, was a neighbour of their monastery in Palestine, and, when they had been much persecuted, and driven from one place to another, when he learned where these blessed women were, and also about the quietude and pleasantness of that desert, set forth and directed his steps thither with his disciples, one of whom was brother of her who had been made head of the same blessed women, who

1. Bread twice cooked like our biscuit, and therefore hard and capable of being kept a considerable time. The meaning perh. is that they were to bring 7 cakes every Sunday.
also was a man of marvellous modes of life, whose name was Samuel; and the name of the old man himself was Maro; and the old man Maro was by birth (γένος) an Amonite, while his disciple Samuel with his sister came from the neighbourhood of Edessa. And, when they arrived, the blessed women on their side received comfort from their presence, and the men too rejoiced, and they gave thanks to the Lord that they were gratified with the quiet of the desert. And thereupon they began to plant a cell in that desert, and others moreover came thither, of some of whom a record has been set down by us in one of the preceding histories. And that place was colonized, while the blessed women also were among them. Accordingly they formed a plan of preparing a separate place for them, in order not to give occasion for evil speaking among persons outside; and on account of the blessed Susan they did not like to speak lest she should be offended. But she was occupied with the same thought, «Now that God has brought his bondmen to this place, neither is it possible for those of our female sex (γένος) to pass their lives among them (since the evil one's attack

1. Ch. 13. - 2. She had therefore left the cave after the 3 years, and it seems likely that it was the same cave which Thomas of Amida afterwards occupied p. 101, though it is there called a pri
upon saints is generally made through women even when they are absent, how much more therefore in their presence!\), even if so be we continue to run with caution after spiritual things. But now let us withdraw into the desert beyond this». While the blessed men were ashamed on account of the saint’s serious character, she herself addressed them in these words; and when they heard it they gave thanks to God; and they undertook to build and prepare for them a place in the vicinity of that village, while she herself intended to move farther up country; and they stood up and opposed her, saying: «For you, mother, in a city, if you dwell in it, it is a desert to you; but look at these souls who are hanging upon you». Then she gave way to them; and they built an enclosed monastery for them and a tower inside it; and they took up their abode in it. But the blessed woman through strength proceeding from Grace received mighty power over fiends, since they would thenceforth set themselves in array against her night and day in the form of human beings, and they would come against her with all varieties of weapons: and she like a strong man who
despises the sickly men who threaten him would mock at them. And the fame of her strength was heard everywhere, so that the fame of her perfection instigated us also to see her as well as the holy men who were there, fifteen years after she had settled in the same desert. And, when we had been privileged to see her that I do not like to name a woman, I was amazed at the words of solemn feeling and of the wisdom of God that proceeded from her mouth during the space of more than twenty days that I was with these saints, going and coming, in order to hear her speech and her delightful conversation; and I was unable to see her head held erect, or a feature of her face (περιστεράς) except the tip of her nose only; so sorrowful was she and tearful. And she took upon herself to speak to us about this world how it is in the grasp of error, and how men see their fellows rotting and putrefying within graves, and the loathsome worm creeping about in the midst of their putrefying remains, and they who see these things are led astray by the vanities of this false world, and how again the thought of the rapidly-approaching terrible hour of the dissolution of this world does

1. Cf. p. 340. — 2. J. 's visit to Egypt was in 334; see Intro., p. iv.; hence we may place Susa's stay in Palestine from 509 to 519; see p. 344 and p. 336. — 3. must come from root ψαμμίζω, se movit which P. Smith gives as Neo-Syr. only (v. D. and L. 'arepentece'). P. S. refers to this passage under = insipidus; but this makes no sense.
not rise in men's hearts, and that they are about to stand before the terrible judgment-seat (שֹׁם) of God, saying, «It is a great absurdity that we hear of the pit of fire, and the abysses of flame, and the darkness, and the rest of the torments, and we do not lay it to heart and ask mercy while we have the opportunity as a means of escaping from these things. » This divine woman would repeat in our presence many things yet more terrible than these, and we were brought into a state of great wonder at her speech. Then there was given to her also the gift of healing, so that every infirmity or disease upon which she stretched out her hand was healed. While we were there, a certain great and God-loving blessed man was living in a place in the desert that was not far from them; and the fiends used openly to set themselves in array against him; and he used to see their struggle with the blessed woman, and she his. But, since she was stronger than he, she both prevailed and had no fear whatever of the fiends, and she had become firm and immovable like adamant, insomuch that the demons themselves used to cry to her, «This is a woman, but she has become stone, and from flesh iron». These things the demons used to say to her. And,
inasmuch as she was so firm, that blessed man, whenever the visions pressed hard upon him, used to come to her as to a strong person; and while I was there, he came, stricken and smitten in his mind and perturbed. And when she saw him she understood; and she asked him « Why are you distressed, father? » But he continued saying: « The fiends have been mighty and have taken away my wits, since the whole week we have been more than ordinarily involved in a struggle; and this night and day they showed me terrible sights of fear, and my heart was shaken and my wits were taken away and I was confounded; and from fear I fled; and I am afraid to enter my cell on account of the sights that I saw. And now I will leave that place ». She on hearing it shook her head, saying: « Come see persons that are called men, and not only men but also Christ's bondmen. Is it right that you should be called Christ's bondmen? You have in this way reckoned Christ your Lord to be feeble, and by your own frailty have made the mighty and invincible power of Christ, which cast down and overthrew and brought to naught all the power of Satan, appear less than that of the fiends, so that Christ now seems to be a runaway and one that
can be overcome by the demons, and they are found to be strong and vanquishers of the power of God. How are you a disciple of him who said: 'Ye shall trample on all the power of the enemy'? Forgive me, our father. You have distressed me by causing the fiends to rejoice. "If necessary, were it not for other reasons, you should only last night have been hearing the shapes and voices of the struggles of the demons which they showed me, and I have been marveling at them. And for my part I know that the Lord's power surrounds my weakness like a wall of bronze, and there is no other power that can resist it." While the weak woman was boldly saying these words in our presence, we looked at one another, while she did not see either of us. Then she said confidently to the blessed man: "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ rise and return to your cell; and he as his custom is will make all the power of the evil one weak before you." But the blessed man, being struck with shame at the woman's words and trembling greatly from his shame, consented to go. And, when

1. Luke, x, 19. - 2. B. om., probably because the scribe did not understand these very obscure words. For 'You' following B has 'I'. - 3. See sup. - 4. Or 'would have marvelled'.
we had risen up from before her and were speaking and expressing astonishment at her spiritual strength and her courage, I said to him: «How is it that this blessed woman's face (πρόσωπον) is not visible? » He on his side said to me: « One day while we were speaking I said to her: 'For what reason do you hide your face from us? ' And she made oath to me, saying: 'He who by his grace laid his yoke upon me knows, our brother, that since I took his yoke upon me, which is to day twenty-five years ago, I have not seen a man's face (πρόσωπον), and do you desire me to see yours now?', and I on my side said to her: 'For our Lord's sake tell me the truth. Are you for your part afraid lest you should yourself suffer harm from the sight of a man, or lest he should suffer harm from the sight of you?' And she said 'For both reasons'. » And thus in astonishment at the saint's habits of life and the endurance of Susan the virgin of Christ we departed from that place, praising God.

1 The history of a blessed virgin of Christ whose name was Susan 1 is ended.

1 Ms. om.
Next the twenty-eighth history, of the blessed Mary the anchorite.

Therefore neither was the history of this holy Mary unworthy of admiration, a woman who by nature only bore the form of females, but herself also too bore in herself the character and soul and will not only of ordinary men, but of mighty and valiant men.

This blessed woman therefore also was the daughter of distinguished persons and a high family (γένος) in the world. Now there was a great old man of God who was living as a recluse in a village bordering on their village, a man far advanced in years; and to this saint the blessed woman’s people used frequently to come, she being with them, when she was ten years old. And, when the damsel saw the serious character of the old man, solemn feeling was stirred in her mind, and she despised all the world with all that is in it, meditating in herself and saying: « Lo! they are rich who

1. Ms. om., see Intro., p. ix.

PATR. OR. — T. XVIII. — 1. 1.
possess the world that passes not away for ever and ever, not we wretched persons among whom, as soon as a man has become rich and proud and boastful, and believed himself to be lord of his own riches, death has come and cast him down into sheol, and others have taken away his toil in which he toiled from his childhood even to his death, and which has perhaps been amassed by sin, and the sin has remained with him, and the riches have become the property of others. Lo! then the things that are in this world are all deceit and vanity. For what reason do we not voluntarily leave a thing which we must in any case leave even if we do not desire it? and for what reason do we not become as this old man? 'Is not this a human being.' Far be it from me henceforth to let the world deceive me, and refrain from following the course of life of this old man. And from that time the damsel's mind became inflamed, and she cut herself off completely from eating flesh and from drinking wine; and she began to fast and pray, and to run in the road of excellence. But her people, when they saw these things, used to reprove her, and to press her to continue eating flesh and drinking wine; and she would not obey, having cast her body, and all the enticements of youth, and the adornment of childhood behind her, and begun to walk

1. Ms. om. 2. Or 'This man is not.' 3. Ms. om.
soundly in the lofty road of anchoritism and asceticism. Since she had been betrothed by them to a certain rich man, they began as people of the world to be distressed and to think thoughts which were not theirs only but those of the hater of good things also as well. « Let us rise and make a wedding-feast for her, lest she run away and go to a monastery, and we lose the man who was to take her to wife ». And, when they on their side had begun to prepare and make ready the things required for the wedding, the blessed woman became aware of it and said to them: « Do not toil to no purpose and lose your money; for my part I hope in him who invited the pure and holy and virgin to recline at his eternal wedding-feast that ceases not that I shall make no bodily partnership, nor corrupt the purity of my soul by fleshly conjunction with a mortal man ». But, when this incited these people all the more, so that they met together (?) in order to constrain her, she left them and went to a monastery; and she shaved her head and took the habit. And from that time she took that holy old man as her model in all things, in standing and abstinence and vigils and eating once in three days, while she also made for herself a hair-shirt and sandals, and

1. Ms. om. 2. Ms. ins. 3. Ms. 4. Ms.
moreover from the first day on which she received the mark never again cut her hair, so that it became long and abundant, until it was wound round her four times up and down, so that at last (it is said) 'it became' a great weight. And she also distinguished herself in the conflict (ἰχθυῶν) of persecution for fifteen years, no longer passing night-vigils, but vigils lasting even a week, and ten days, and then she would taste something. And, when she had walked strongly and heroically in the road of righteousness for thirty years, she finished her course and received the crown² earned by her life, and fell asleep in peace.

'The history of the blessed Mary the anchorite'¹ is ended.

The twenty-ninth(?)³ history, of 'Malkha the mendicant and stranger'.

Once when we were in our convent adjacent to the city of Amida⁶, before it was driven into banishment by the heretics, at the time of the second

Theshri\(^{1}\) a certain stranger arrived among us, clad in dirty and much-worn raiment; and, when he had been received and been required to anathematize the heresy that prevailed at that time, as it was the custom to require, he stood with us at vespers and at table in silence and without speaking, now and again looking furtively to heaven. And so, when he had been hospitably received and his soul had been refreshed, he simply refrained from conversation and filled his mouth with\(^{2}\) thanksgiving. But some of the house-workers (?), when they saw his habit (\(σκηνώ\)) and his downward looks and the indication provided by his practices, recognised his character and said to the rest, « This stranger is in truth a servant of God ». And the man who said it himself came up and continued asking him and saying: « Whence comes your holiness, father? ». But he continued looking downward and sighing. He says to him: « Forgive me, sir. I am a miserable stranger ». He says to him: « All of us, father, are strangers, and sojourners\(^{1}\). But we wish to learn whence you come ». But he on his side

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1. Nov. This must be the 2\(^{nd}\) expulsion, since J. did not enter the monastery before the first. The date is therefore 530-6; see Intro., p. ix. - 2. Ms. om. - 3. Lit. 'those of my lord's house'. V. D. and L. render 'domestic'; but were there domestici in a monastery? From p. 365 they seem to have been an inferior class of men, yet at p. 313 they are associated with the archimandrite. The lex. give no help. They were perh. novices or lay monks who were required to perform certain menial offices: cf. p. 280. The fact that they recited service (p. 363) is hardly decisive against this, since we find the laymen Abraham (p. 121) and Tribunos (ch. 51, reciting service. They perh. derived their name from being specially attached to the archimandrite. - 4. Gen. xxiii. 4; Lev., xxv. 23; Ps. xxxix. 13: Hebr. xi. 13.
said: «Why? What need is there to inquire? When you see that I am a son of Adam, know that I am dust like Adam who was taken from dust, and upon whom through his sin sentence was given whether he should return. Lo! I come from him if you wish to learn; for I have no other place here: but pray that I may have one ». These things that blessed man said with emotion when he was questioned, and ceased speaking. And so a place was prepared for him according to the custom in the case of strangers, and he fell asleep like everyone else. But there were some whose sleep was wakeful, and who used to watch the brotherhood, who after the house was at rest would stand in different places, while some bowed themselves down, and some knelt, and some again went outside, and so knelt in corners (γνῶledged) and in corridors (παράδοξος), and prayed; and they saw that this blessed man from the weariness caused by his journey fell asleep at once; and again it happened that in the middle of his sleep he raised his head and saw that the servitors were not yet gathered in and all had not fallen asleep, and he waited a short time; and, when he saw that everyone was gathered in, that he might not show himself to be up, he wrapped himself in his coat, and fell upon his face on his rug; and this while he was weeping gently that no one might hear, until he heard the sound of the first bell while the blessed men

1. Sc. the brotherhood, as the grammar shows; cf. ch. 35. — 2 See p. 62, n. 2.
were marking him the whole night. And, when he heard the sound of the bell, he stretched himself on his rug, and was rising with everyone else just as if he had been heavily sunk in his sleep. And, when the houseworkers had risen and recited the service, the same again went on till morning; and thus he would weep lying on his face, in order that he might not rise and show his labour to anyone, until his eyes became swollen and greatly inflamed. And in the morning, when the archimandrite and the houseworkers also saw his eyes, they say to him: «What has happened to your eyes, our father?». But he on his side said to them: «The air (έξωφο) of yesterday affected me on the road, and therefore my eyes swelled». But those who had seen the manner in which he had been employed all the night continued saying «Leave the blessed man alone». During the day he went out into the precinct of the monastery, and found a concealed spot, and there he bowed himself till the midday bell, while they were seeking him all over the monastery; and then as they were going round, they found him bowed down and weeping. They say to him: «Be so good as to go in, father; for the archimandrite is asking for you». He came; and the archimandrite said to him: «Where have you been, father?». He says to him:

« Forgive me, sir. I was going round the garden and seeing the trees ». The archimandrite says to him: « I also know that you desire to see the trees of the garden, father » Then with the usual kindness he bade him, inasmuch as he was worn out with labour, go to rest before the vespers. But he fell on his face and continued entreatying and saying: « Because I was greatly worn out yesterday, I both ate inordinately last night and caused a pain in my stomach (πτωσις) ; but for God’s sake allow me to wait with the houseworkers, in order that my previous food may digest itself, and so go to rest with them ». And, when he had pressed him strongly and he would not give way, he allowed him to do as he wished. And the blessed man, when the service was over, went to the corner (γωνία) where he had been before; and so with his hands stretched out to heaven in the form (πτωσις) of a cross he continued crying with tears and saying: « Who is there, my Lord, who is sufficient to entreat thee for me the sinner, except thy great mercy that is poured out upon our race (γενεας)? I am ungrateful, my Lord, and a provoker. Come, I pray, to my aid. Abandon me not, I pray thee, my Lord. Save me, my Lord, and let me be at peace, before I go and am no more. Save my life from the corruption of my sins, Lord my God. ‘Be pleased, Lord, to deliver me’1."
from the confusions and falseness and the deceitfulness of this world, and from all that is in it; and have mercy upon me in the day of thy judgment, with all the rest of thy servants, for the sake of thy holy Name, my trust from my boyhood». While that blessed man was thus mightily crying with many tears, and thought that there were no persons near or seeing or hearing him, some men were standing behind the wall, and listening to the sound of his sighs, and marveling at his sorrow and tears before God. After three days, when he had seen the doings and practices of the convent, that even the very houseworkers also were eager to run with all their might after practices of excellence, he made up his mind to pass the winter in the same convent, and at the coming of the milder season to return to the same mountains. And he came to the archimandrite and said to him: «For my part, sir, I intended on account of my bodily weakness and fear of the winter and the cold to go down to the south; and, since perhaps our Lord sent me to be with you this winter, if it is convenient to you I will stay with you this winter; and, if so be I am alive and our Lord is willing, in Nisan' I will

return toward the north ». And the archimandrite and all the other members of the convent also rejoiced, since this was indeed their custom (σπασία), that, if a stranger wished to stay as long as a year and two years and ten, they rejoiced over him, honouring him in every respect like the archimandrite. And they consented and they say to him: « We beg you, our father, to be « with us » and edify us by the sight of you, and by your helpful conversation ». And from that time he determined to remain; and so he thenceforth doubled his labour, keeping silence and hiding his head and weeping. Even when eating and sitting at table, even so also his tears could not be restrained, but he would eat and bow his head down and weep; and so no words came rapidly out of his mouth except prayer and thanksgiving, and unceasing sighs. When some time had passed, those who cared about methods of life, and judged and repelled their thoughts, used to go and beg him one by one to tell them a rule of life and an illustration of the method of contending against the thoughts of the rebellious fiends. But he in great humility would fall upon his face and make entreaty, saying: « Forgive me.
brethren, for I am sick, and pray for me; and, seek not such things at the hands of me a sinner. Be persuaded by the blessed apostle who says: 'If a man hath not been able to rule his own house aright, how is he capable of ruling God's church?' And now I for my part am sitting in the darkness of sin; but show your love and pray for me. And, when the archimandrite often pressed him to speak, he himself said to him at last: 'Father, show your love to God and pray for me, with all the rest of your convent. For as for me the day has come for me to set out on my journey, and I am not sufficient for it.' They, thinking that he meant 'I am setting out for the mountains', say to him: 'Rest yourself, our father. It is still winter and no man can set out on a journey to-day.' He says to them weeping: 'Nay indeed, the winter has not yet come, but it is just coming; in which as you say no man can either set out on a journey nor yet work. And now, my fathers and my brothers, pray for me. This is my convent; for God sent me to you, that through the remembrance of your petition I may find mercy in that day. My sins have overtaken me and I could not see it. My brethren, pray on my behalf, that I may escape from the torment. The end has overtaken me, and the day after to-morrow I shall depart from this life to

our Lord. Accordingly I entreat you one and all to make entreaty on my behalf; and you yourselves also, my brethren, be strong. You are running well\(^1\). Perform this your life-service unto the end; for in every matter about which you concern yourselves there is one object that is sought. You know all; you are perfect in all; and you are able to admonish others also. And therefore, my fathers and brothers, inasmuch as a few days ago also your affection required of me to speak these words, now in order not to be ungrateful for your affection and your good will, lo! I put you in mind of these your principles, not teaching you, but\(^2\) things on which you are meditating at all times. ‘Our Lord is at hand. Be anxious for nothing, but always let your prayers and requests be made known before God’\(^3\). For, ‘when ye see all these things, know that it has reached the door’\(^4\). For from this time we must truly know that it has reached the door; for the word of him who said it is not falsified. And again we know that this also is written, ‘There is great fear of falling into the hands of the living God’\(^5\); and again ‘We shall all stand before that dread judgment-seat’ (υφυματ).
of righteousness, that each one of us may be requited for that which has been wrought by him, be it good or be it evil." Let us think upon these things, my brethren. Let us, my beloved, fear the dread final hour. Let us dread the moment when each one of us shall receive an account upon his fingers, and his hands shall be hung up and his neck shall be laid bare and he shall be made an accuser against himself in the presence of justice. For who shall contrive a means of shunning or escaping that hour, since who is there who shall be hidden by his eloquence? "Who shall say «Thou art innocent, my heart, and thou hast been purified from sins?»" Accordingly, my brethren, inasmuch as we are all abundantly persuaded of these things, let them be depicted before our eyes at all times, and written on the tablets of our heart; that so, while we rest before the grace that is full of mercy all the days of our life, even if we are not capable of doing aught else, at that moment of trepidation and fear it may spread its wings and cover us, and we may by it be delivered from the eternal torment, of which we ought not to hear with indifference as if it were a tale, but with great fear and mighty trembling.

of us all amidst his many sighs, and amidst copious tears, with great emotion and with many sobs, he caused us also to listen to him in great astonishment at him, since we saw that no sign of bodily infirmity was to be seen on him, and he confidently pronounced that after three days he would depart from the body. While we were thus gathered together, for two days and nights he sat and said the same things to us all; but on the third night he again requested that prayer might be made for him and incense set, and he might receive absolution while he wept and said: "It is written 'None that liveth shall be innocent before thee'". Therefore we must not trust in ourselves. And, when we had all knelt, and prayer had been made, and when the altar had been opened, and incense set, and everyone was overpowered with sorrow on account of the words spoken, he was standing and weeping, and at last he continued crying to all of us: "My brethren, pray for me; for I am not repeating my praises before you; 'he who raiseth himself is not he who is approved, but he whom God raiseth'. Upon me has come the end of death; and human praise is no longer needed by me, nor yet honour; but, since God sent my sinfulness to you to bury my body, I will not prevent
any of you from knowing the things that he worked with me by his help all my days. It is to-day thirty-nine years that I have worn this habit (σταυρόν), on mountains and in caves and among men: and, since I received the habit (σταυρόν), I have not possessed aught beside Christ. No lie has come out of my lips; I have not spoken evil words to men or reviled any man. My speech has been naught but as our Lord said, 'Yea, yea' and 'Nay, nay'. I have not said 'Yea' unless it was in truth 'Yea', nor yet 'Nay' without it also being true. I have not sought anything that would benefit me and harm another. I have not murmured against my God during my troubles and distresses and he himself is my witness. This is the time during which amid the troubles of pilgrimage (ζητέω) I have not murmured in my heart against any man who did not receive me and entertain me. The man who reviled me and drove me away was not treated by me with less respect than the man who honoured and entertained me. And these things, my brethren, I have repeated before you even as they are manifest before God, because I saw that these objects lie before you too, and not in order that you may imitate me, but let us all imitate Christ our God the teacher of these things, because he himself truly taught this humility in his person, and showed it to us. My
brethren, pray for me and abide in peace. God keep your community.

And the blessed man went into the vestry 

in order to pray and stretched himself out and lay down there, while everyone was looking for him to come out. And the archimandrite went in and saw him lying on a paving-stone and said to him: «Father, be so good as to lie upon a rug». And, when he had spoken to him, he gave up his soul to God. And on this happening great fear fell upon everyone; and so in fear they brought the blessed man out; and he was buried with a great procession of all the believers of the city. May God whom he served for a long term of years magnify his memory with that of the saints who did his will, and that of the holy God-bearer Mary and may we for our part be helped through their prayer, Amen and Amen!

The history of Malkha the mendicant and stranger is ended.

we arrived, in whose house we were with many others for some days, being amazed at the keenness of the man's enthusiasm, as he stood and uttered anathemas and called the bishops as well as those who wielded the authority of the crown to their faces impious men, renegades, and new Jews, insomuch that they wrote to the king about him, and he was driven into exile (ἐξορία).

And he left his employment and his mansion and all that he possessed, saying, «Let the impious men take them; for my part I seek my Lord Jesus only»; and so he departed. And he completed fifteen years in banishment, without diminishing the kindness to strangers and poor men: and thus he ended his life [in] great distinction which surpasses description, his distinction not being one only. And out of his practices I have briefly

1. The beginning is missing. — 2. He was therefore not a monk or hermit, but a rich man living in his own house and employing himself in asceticism and charity like the heroes of ch. 31. — 3. Acc. to the correction in the ms. 'the said with'.
set down these, while fearing to be accused on account of those which I have omitted.

The history of a man of God whose name was Elijah, who was in the city of Dara, is finished.

Next the thirty-first history, of two brothers who were traders, who beside worldly trade engaged moreover in divine also, whose names are Elijah and Theodore.

Since therefore it is our purpose to tell the stories of men who walked in the path of religion, and in the course of our history to make the glories of their practices known, accordingly neither have we kept the glories of these excellent men hidden, who in their garb (σάκκος) were reckoned laymen and traders, but were constantly occupied in the practices of angels. These are two brothers, and in the time of their boyhood they served for pay with traders, and travelled with them, each of them in his own direction, that is, to the regions of the Persians both of them. And they formed in their mind
the purpose of following a religious life; and they determined that whatever
God provided for them should go to their own use, and that of everyone else
whom they saw to be a stranger like them and in need. And thus they
thenceforth did; for they carried on their business, and distributed to the
poor and to the strangers. And, when God saw their zeal, he caused every-
thing to which they put their hand to increase abundantly in their hands.
And thus a blessing rested on everything that passed through their hands,
they having resolved to abstain entirely from the evil practices which traders
of the world are wont to follow, i. e. from oaths of all kinds, and from lying,
and from extortion, and from diverse weights and diverse measures.
They told everything to the man who was buying from them or selling to them
fairly and honestly without contention; but, if that man whoever he might
be began oaths and bargaining, they on their side would say to him shortly
as follows: « Brother, accept what I have told you honestly, without extortion
and without fraud and contention, and without bargaining and oaths. If it
suits you buy » (or « sell »). « Wherefore are you making havoc of (?) oaths
and allowing Satan to thrust you into sin, when you are under no necessity

1. Prov., xx, 10.
to buy » (or « sell ») « whether you want or not? Now, if it suits you, take it without oaths; and if not, pray for us ».

And thus these excellent men followed their employment in the fear of God, each of them serving for two and three years at the salary of five or six denarii. And, when those under whom they were employed saw that God caused everything that they did to prosper in their hands, they appointed them ten denarii; and again, after some years during which they had been willing to travel, they appointed them twenty denarii a year; and at last, when they saw the blessing that grace brought about through them, they appointed them thirty denarii a year, that they might remain with them only; having committed to their hands all that was in their houses; and they had very large storehouses (ἀποθήκης), and they used to do business in many regions. But these excellent brothers, when they had completed twenty years at this salary, and Grace fed them out of their honest labour, deliberated with one another, saying, « It is better for us for the future to go and carry on business ourselves on our own account out of that which Grace has provided for us; that it may in be our power and choice to give to God out of that which he gives us without fear of others. » And so after twenty years they returned to
their country i.e. to Amida. Now they had two sisters who also had been engaged in practices of asceticism and sanctity in virgin fashion from their childhood, and at all times constantly devoted themselves to sorrow and tears and petitions and prayers, and that while they were mourning over these same brothers during so long a time in which they had not seen them, but had only heard from time to time that they were alive and in the land of the Persians; and when they came they did not recognise them on account of the lapse of time, until they themselves informed them. And they determined to make a gain of their sisters’ spiritual blessing also all the days of their life; and so they removed and went and settled the four of them together at Melitene a city of Cappadocia, and there they thenceforth began to labour in spiritual fashion at their business, and all the income that they received they used to divide equally between themselves and the strangers and poor. And from the time when they began, because God also was pleased with them, they both received the gratitude and the blessings of the poor and needy every day, and further the business carried on without deceit and extortion and lying ascended like the vapour of incense at all times from the devout men themselves to him who knows all, and so according to the riches of his mercy he-
who has not deserted and does not desert any who trust in him showed his favour openly, and his blessing rested on all that they did. And thus in a short time they attained to great wealth, while even they themselves marvelled and wondered how it was that, while they were always scattering it, it increased with them. And thenceforth the fame of their kindness and of their almsgiving went out everywhere, and needy persons from all quarters used to come to them, and supply their needs from them for each man according to his due; and moreover the visitation of the persecuted whom they heard to be in need everywhere they would console through their gifts. And accordingly they disregarded the worldly trade, and strenuously and earnestly followed the spiritual one with great watchfulness, insomuch that they would press the same upon their blessed sisters with regard to the trade carried on through the gifts derived from their labour, that they also might add this to the rest of their practices. And thus each would on his part give as he was able, and still it increased the more, so that in that place was manifestly fulfilled that which was said in the prophet, « I will pour blessings upon you till ye shall say ‘Enough’ ». Thus therefore it happened to these men from
God, insomuch that they were unequal to the task of bringing forth and giving, while their house was turned into a hospice (ἐνωσομερία) for strangers and other persons in need. And accordingly there were a multitude (χιλιάδες) of many persons in that house, of slaves and hired men and bondmaids, and travellers besides and strangers who were gathered together for God’s sake, and girls also, and old women, and blind and maimed men, insomuch that they practised the ordinances of monasticism in all the departments of their house, fasting and abstinence and asceticism; and they had weeks 1 as in a monastery and did menial work, and separate cells for prayers and for secret labours by night, since each of them used to watch and pray. And accordingly all the night there was heard from their cells spiritual singing and the reading of the Scriptures; and so in the morning also as well, until each one’s repetition of the service was finished, he would not consent to go out at all and make an answer (ἀποκριθεὶς) to anyone’s call. But the elder whose name was Elijah they would urge, for the sake of the security (μονομαχία) 2 of the house, to take a wife; and he yielded to the pressure, and he alone took a wife, while with him also the Scripture-saying was fulfilled which says, «

1. See, p. 62, n. 2. — 2. If ‘permanence’ is meant, the end of the ch. shows that the object was not obtained.
good woman shall be given to a man who feareth the Lord". For this woman, when she came in and saw that they were bent on running in the path of righteousness, began and quickened the running, and passed them all, in sorrow and tears and fasting and watching and prayers, while she also learned the psalms by heart; and she was further prepared to go out to a monastery or to the desert. And she had sons born to her beside one daughter; and she at once made her a nun. And so all these excellent persons ran after spiritual things. But, if it happened that cases of necessity (ἀνάγκης) arose for them to make an answer (ἀπόκρυσς) to a call during the night, one of them would be chosen and appointed the evening before to perform that office, while he would make entreaty and request all the others to entreat the Lord for him "because I am neglecting the praise of God, for the sake of which he gave me a mouth and a tongue". Pray for me that God may preserve me, lest a stain of sin be secretly formed in me through the things that I am doing; and thus he would carry out that office; so that on account of the fame of their excellent mode of life, when occasions called us to the royal city, we used to make our lodging with them, and it might happen that we even passed several days in their house both on the

1. Sir., xxvi, 3. — 2. cf. p. 229. — 3. ἀποκρυσέως is not elsewhere known in this sense, but means 'was stained' with ref. to the object stained. — 4. 535 and 540; see Intro., p. iv, v.
way up and on the way back, since they had now made a martyrs' chapel in one of the chambers of their dwelling, and at the hour of their own assembly for service they used to meet there, and anyone who was known and honoured by them they would receive there. Accordingly, when we looked at these persons who were called by the name of laymen, and at their regulations and customs (νόμος), how great and small down to little children and hired servants and slaves male and female passed their time in devout practices and rendering of praise and thanks to God, and in fasting and prayers at all times, we inwardly despised ourselves, crying woe upon our life, since the Christian name only without deeds was called over us, while we also remembered with sorrow the words of our Lord who says, « The tax-gatherers and the harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you » 1. And so we marvelled at these things while we were with them; and we were especially astonished at the greatness of their kindness and the direction of their will toward God, so that, whenever they saw us great and small, they would thus with as little intermission as possible refuse to leave us, but, thinking of us that we were in truth actually Christians, each of them would

1. Matth., xxii, 41.
ask to hear from us about his thoughts and about the other modes of life, and
«How must I deal with such-and-such a thought?» and «What labour will
bring me near to God?», each of them separately according to his station,
whether women or men. And we like what our Lord said also to the scribes
and Pharisees, «Ye bind heavy burdens upon men’s necks, but ye yourselves
do not touch them not even with one of your fingers»; similarly would urge
them to things to which we were ourselves strangers by describing a model
of righteousness and by stories of the fathers. And they all vied with one
another the more in the ardour with which they carried out their observances.
But, inasmuch as the profit of the spiritual trade in those who flocked to
them every day was not enough for them, they resolved that one of these
excellent brothers should take what God had provided for them, and go out
to the districts in which the persecuted and ill-used convents were dwelling,
and distribute his bodily things among them, and himself make spiritual
gain through their prayers; since the time had in fact come when the
believers were persecuted and maltreated in every district. And so he
would go out and go round the whole of Syria, and as far as 1 Arab and
Callinicus and the desert, accompanied by two bondmen, and he did so in

the dress (σύμμαχος) of a secular trader without being known, and he was making spiritual gains. And so by the love of God which they showed in their trade these admirable men would every day send great loads to heaven, and completed the days of their life in practices which it surpasses even the power of words to describe, in love of the new life of the kingdom of heaven, while we have not been competent to describe any part of the greatness of their glory. But at last they even sold all that they had also, their mansions and the rest of the worldly goods that they possessed, and distributed it among the poor and the monks; and so they all became monks. The blessed Elijah had departed from the world before taking the habit (σύμμαχος); but his wife and daughter ended their lives in a women's monastery in the territory of Mabbug¹; and their sisters are even down to the present time also, which is the year eight hundred and seventy-eight², living in Anzetene³ the country of the Urtaye⁴, and they preside over a monastery in the village of N’s, and they are in extreme old age, and occupied in labours of perfection.

_The history of two brothers Elijah and Theodore the traders is ended._

Next the thirty-second history, of a certain brother who was caught by the enticement of temptation to theft and afterwards came to repentance.

A certain blessed man had been settled for a considerable time as a solitary in a cell in the Ennaton of Alexandria 1 with two disciples; and, when we ourselves arrived at that place 2 and went in to him and received his blessing, three days after we had departed from his presence a brother from one of the well-known convents of the place came to him under the plea of desiring to live with him, even as I had myself made the acquaintance of that brother in his convent; and, when he had come in and passed about one week with him, Satan put it into his heart to take the contents of that solitary's cell and flee. And, having looked and learned everything, and devised in his mind a plan of action, he rose by night and collected everything that he could (since that blessed man had indeed no small number of saints' and books), and he took them, a great load, and fled. And he went and found camel-drivers going into the desert above Libya that is called Cellia 3; and he gave them a fee, leading them to think that he was carrying his own

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belongings in order to go thither. And they took him, and he went into
the desert with them; and he went in to a certain man there, and made
search for a cell for himself in which to live and be a solitary. And, when
he had passed one week there, his thoughts began to pass judgment upon
him, and his heart to smite him, and he would say to himself, as he himself
would inform us about everything, weeping: « In what way, O wretched
man, did you wish to become a solitary? To Christ, pray, or to Satan?
Lo! you have performed the service of Satan, and executed and fulfilled the
will of a demon, and afflicted a soul fashioned in the divine likeness, and
carried off the toil and sweat of that holy old man's labour; and he is
sobbing and crying before God on your account at all times. And how
have I hope of life and salvation? » Then » (he would say) « I passed one
week in penitence and horror and tears, weeping for myself, and meditating
upon these things and saying, 'What has befallen me? Who led me astray?
What shall I do? How shall I weep for myself? Alas for me! since my
companions are secretly stealing a kingdom, and I stole eternal torment for
myself. What will happen to me when I am about to go to God? What
defence (πολέμια) have I to give for this wickedness? » And, while I on my
side was weeping for myself, my hearers were wondering, and were desirous of learning the cause of the lamentation and weeping on my part. Then I revealed it to them, and they marvelled. And I said to them: ‘What do you advise me to do? because my meditation is inciting me to strangle myself and perish out of this life, which deceived me and incited me to this crime’. And these saints advised me to return the stolen goods to their owners, saying to me, ‘If you listen to us and make restitution and humble yourself and ask mercy for this your offence, God will be merciful to you and men also will forgive you; and even they themselves will be merciful to you and forgive you, and will also make petition for you’. And, while they pressed me, I on my part was restrained by my shamefacedness and hindered from doing this, saying to them: ‘My face is ashamed to do this. With what face, or with what colour (Χρώμα), or with what brazen front can this be carried out?’ But the blessed men went on saying to me, ‘Which is better for you, to endure reproach and transitory shame here, and repent and live while you have opportunity, while you further relieve the souls to which you have given sorrow and bitterness, or to be consumed in the
eternal torment, where shame and reproach and torment are not finished and brought to an end for ever and ever?" When these words had been spoken to me by many men, I rose and left all the utensils and the books and the martyrs under seal, and I came in shame; and lo! I am settled here till intercessors are found for me. All these things about himself that brother was relating by word of mouth in my presence with great humility and copious tears; since, while I was going round the districts to be blessed by the saints, I found him in a monastery called that of father Andrew, on the farther side where the holy Mar Menas is, which is called the desert of Mendia; and, when I saw him, I was astonished in his presence, and I greeted him, having no knowledge of what had happened; and he on his side was bowed down, and was melancholy and wretched. And on my inquiring of him about his sorrow he sat down and accused himself and told the story of his crime at a length many times greater than what I have put in writing. And, when I heard it, I admired the man’s penitence; and I comforted him by saying to him: "You have done a great deed and one that deserves admiration, in that for the sake of your soul’s healing you have despised shame, and have taken upon yourself that, be it igno-

miny or reproach, or chastisements and everything that comes here, you will submit to them, they being things that are transitory, in order to escape from the severe and terrible chastisement in hell which lasts for ever. And now fear not. You did well in that you did not carry out the work of Satan and his will to the uttermost, though he caused you a fall inasmuch as you are a man. He on hearing these things was comforted; and he went on entreating us to return with him to the owner of the stolen property, in order to entreat him to receive his own in full and forgive the transgression. When we saw that it was a labour of profit to gain our brother 1, we did not refuse; and further also we were required to fulfil the precept given in the command, « If thy brother shall force thee to go one mile, go with him two » 2. And so we returned with him, and went in to that blessed man, having left him some distance away. And we found him agitated with great grief and much distress on account of the martyrs and on account of the books especially; and, when we began to speak before him, « Indeed we can find your property for you », he was astonished, and began to make inquiries. Then we on our part asked him to perform a request for us, and all his belongings would be found complete; and he on his side

answered « Everything that you command I for my part am ready to carry out even without that ». Then we offered him repentance, having taken it upon ourself, and we said : « Since Satan, father, caused us to fall like men, and we sinned against God and your holiness, receive your own, and forgive the crime, and remain without ill-feeling, in order that you may be a fuller of the command which said « Forgive and it shall be forgiven unto you » ». But the blessed man was much grieved over him and was distressed, saying : « Even if he does not restore me anything and you command, all the days of my life I will consent that he shall live with me without ill-feeling, and I will never remind him of this matter ». And so that brother came, repenting and weeping and with his face bowed down to the ground, and bitterly accusing himself, in such a way as he could not have been accused by one who hated him. When that blessed man saw his penitence, and all of us alike greatly wondered and marvelled at the grace which had opened his heart and caused him thus to repent and to act in this way (and all who heard the story wondered and marvelled at it), then he in this way received thanks from everyone in place of punishment. And the blessed man received

1. Luke, vi. 37. — 2. The other persons present were perh. the hermit's disciples.
him, and laid a penance upon him, and absolved him. And he hired an ass for him; and that brother set out, and so he went and brought all the articles, not having forgotten anything. And thenceforth he continued to repent of his offence like a guilty man, and he was diligent in showing repentance for it, insomuch that we on our part left him in this condition, admiring what he had done and thanking God.

The history of a certain brother who was caught by the enticement of temptation to theft and afterwards came to repentance is ended.

Next the thirty-third history, of a blessed man whose name was Hala the zealous from the monastery called that of the Edessenes.

This excellent blessed man therefore was thus called by a name which was also completely fulfilled in him, Hala the zealous, a man who was in truth zealous and humble and ascetic and a teacher, and perfect in all the practices of religion. Now this blessed man lived in one of the convents of the Amidenes

1. Hala = sweet; but appy, the propriety of the name applies only to the nickname 'the zealous'.
which is called that of the Edessenes; and I was also in intercourse with him for a space of some years, and during the days of my association with him I was with my whole soul thoroughly amazed at his keen zeal and his strenuous course of life, and his constant energy and his vigilance in every good work, and (that we may use an expression which sums up all) in the fervour of his love toward God, and his humility and his zeal that imitated that high one who by his humility taught the pattern (τῶπος) of it to his disciples. This zealous man therefore from the very beginning of his training chose for himself to perform all the menial tasks required for the needs of his convent, and besides this he resolved not to see a stranger enter the convent without associating himself in careful attention to his wants; and thenceforth he was constantly engaged in this pursuit all the day, being like a trader with many classes of merchandise, so that, although his trade fail in one, he can spend money on another, that an opportunity may be found for profit to come in, in that he never saw a poor man come to the gate of his convent without imparting to his necessity if only some small thing, or yet seeing a poor sick man without associating himself in careful

1. See p. 221 and ch. 58 (f. 130 r. b). — 2. H 'sick or poor'.

attention to his needs. So therefore one might see that this saint never ceased bringing in profit, and every day the business of the spiritual trade was never lacking to him, were it from strangers or from needy persons, or from sick persons lying outside and without consolation from any quarter. And besides these things he was constant in sweeping and washing the latrines (σαλάκτα) of the monastery every day, and sweeping the whole monastery and brushing away the ashes. And, when the time came when he knew that the servitors \(^1\) had put a cauldron on the fire to cook the dish and had cleansed the herbs, he would go and sweep out the scullery, and take it \(^2\) outside; and after taking it outside he would sit down and collect the scouring, down to a little leaf only about a finger long that had an animal in it, and he would wash it, and he would go in and beg of the servitors, and they would give him a pot, and he would set it on the fire: and further he would make entreaty of the steward, and he would give him a little oil, and he would cook that rejected portion in such a way that a man would be attracted by the mere smell of it, and that he would leave the choicest portion, and eat of it; and he would go and ask for a little bread.

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and wine if any was to be had, and so he would take it out to the sick and afflicted and needy persons lying by the gate. And on a day when the servitors had no herbs he himself, in order not to trouble the gardeners, would go outside or go into the garden, and he would pick a wild herb that was of no use and bring it and make a dish and lentils and take it out to the poor people. And again, when he was sitting at table, he had made a basket (σαπριδας) and a jar, and it was placed by him; and the greater part of what came to him he would put there, while he was also the cause of others imitating him and themselves also putting their cups into his jar and their portions into his basket (σαπριδας); and he would take them secretly and carry them out to the needy persons, and thus he would relieve many souls, and they would bless him out of the whole of a perfect heart, and pray for him. And so he was constant in following this course day and night, holding no conversation with men, except if it was needed for the purposes of his service; but, when he was going out and when he was coming in, a psalm never departed from his mouth; and, even if he was speaking to someone, between
one word and the next the man would see his lips move. And, if he ever had a moment during which he was resting from the service of the saints, he had recourse to the Scriptures, so that, if a night and a day was devoted to his reading without interruption, it was not enough to satisfy him with reading; for he was very erudite in the Scriptures and in doctrinal (?) reading. And he had a band of disciples; and at the conclusion of nocturns he would take his disciples, and would go to the refectory, or wherever it might be, and so they would read and recite the service till daybreak; and at daybreak he would eagerly betake himself to his ministration, going out several times although he had nothing to take out, and visiting the poor people lying at the gate before the time, and consoling and comforting them; and so all the needy and strangers used to look out for the sight of him, because that alone was enough to console them. But, as soon as they were seated at the tables, he would rise and pretend to laugh as to how he alone was to satisfy his need (?) saying, «Who has anything to give

1. Or 'special'. — 2. This is very obscure; and, as II omits the words, the scribe would seem to have been puzzled by it (see p. 355, n. 2, and Intro., p. viii). V. D. and L.'s translation «at desiderium suum iam explevisset» cannot be got from the text. The meaning appy. is that he would not get what was wanted without the help of others.
to my Lord Jesus? Is there anyone who has a morsel for the fledglings of my Lord Jesus? », and he would make many even secretly take and give him something, so much so that some of those in authority were filled with resentment against him, saying, « We have one gate set up, that we may together look after everyone. Why do you go outside? » But he would listen and kept silence, or laughed with the man whoever he might be, saying, « Forgive me, sir. I went out and saw these brothers of Lazarus. I went out and looked at the fledglings, and they are in want of a morsel of food ». And so he was at last assailed by reproaches from all sides, but especially from the steward, since he used to trouble him greatly and beyond measure, so that, if they assisted him, the steward had no bread or wine, and the servitors no cooked food that reached mealtime without having gone out to the gate. And accordingly they heaped indignation and abuse upon him, and threw his cups and his plates to the ground. And he on his side would be in no way angry or wrathful or annoyed and would say, « Why is it necessary that I should be abused? » But sometimes too one of the servitors or the steward would be vexed, and they would show indig-
nation against him; and he on his side would thus drink in everything and put up with it, and laugh, so that his very patience would shame the man whoever he might be; and he would by no means depart till he had supplied his need from him, saying, «I am grieved for my Lord Jesus, because he is hungry and has no quarter whence to get food; otherwise I should not be troubling you.» And so he would receive it, and then depart. And thus he would intently and eagerly look after the poor and the sick without remission and without lassitude. And strangers who came in he would receive inside and would refresh and wash and anoint them and would lay their rugs besides all the other attentions, and they would lie down. And he himself would after a short rest for his body go and stand all night in a corner (γωνία) and recite the service and take their clothes and give them changes, and would scald and wash and darn and repair them, and so he would give them to them; and for this reason they used to call him 'Mar so-and-so the zealous'. But after a period of some years during which the blessed man had been devoting himself to this great ministration, there came the persecution which disturbed everyone, and the convents removed.

1. Since J. seems to have known him before the expulsion, the 2nd expulsion (336-7) must be meant.
after all their property had been taken from them, and the rest stored in certain places; and they no longer had an abundance of the things which their needs required in everything. And the blessed man was much distressed at this, because he possessed no changes of clothes for the strangers nor rugs; and he would disregard the fact that they were themselves in distress, and vex himself over the strangers; and accordingly he would contrive to obtain some worn-out old coats, and wash and darn them; and he would go out to the dungheaps and pay no attention to the jeers both of those inside and of those outside, and thus he would collect rags and flocks of wool, and would bring them and wash them, and cut them up, and make cushions and fasten them together and lay them out; and when a stranger came he would dismiss him and lay a rug for him and make him lie down. And so he found this method of carrying out his own employment, not giving up this strenuous pursuit in peace or in persecution, in the city or in exile (ἐξωτερικῷ). After a time he had a brother, and he continued pressing him to go and pray at Ephesus; and he for his part was unwilling to do so, and his brother by urging him induced him to set out and go. And, since he was
weak from the feebleness caused by asceticism and moreover from the approach of old age, he fell into a serious illness for a long time, and therefore, inasmuch as some blessed men among the members of their monastery were in the royal city, they went up thither in order to take the old man, and so he entered the community gathered together at that time by the queen who had been gathering together persecuted men from all quarters and looking after them, in that they had been placed by her in the palace (παλατίνα) called Hormisdas, where many distressed and poor persons and strangers lay by the gate night and day. But the blessed man, when he saw these, and an opening had been found for him also to give, thenceforth like a poor man who loses one of his great possessions, and decides in his mind that it will never be found again, and suddenly sees it and is astonished and glad, so was it with this blessed man also, while he thenceforth doubled the earlier work, first by the leavings that he got from everyone and by his own portions (μοίρασι), and afterwards by the persistent effrontery (χορήγα) with which he would ask everyone after they had been showing resentment and indignation against him and saying: «Mar so-and-so the zealous», and so he would perfectly carry out all the ministration to the needy with

The history of a blessed man whose name was Hala the zealous from the monastery called that of the Edessenese is ended.

[Next the thirty-fourth history, of Simeon the old, the scribe of Amida].

he used to expend upon them, until for many days nothing succeeded in
reaching his own particular table and those with him, while everyone was
overpowered with great astonishment at the abounding willingness of this
man of God, how he was not wearied or annoyed and vexed by all that great
number of poor who were constantly with him, though often both we and
other lazy persons like me felt weariness, and we were annoyed by the
clamour and turmoil of many persons when we were present with him, and
we said, « How is it, our father, that you endure all this turmoil from morning
even to evening, and do not tell them fixed times at which they may come? »
But he on his side would say : « Do you tell me, my brethren, have we a
time at which we knock at God’s door and are not received? has he someone
at his door who is vexed with us or makes announcement to us and says, ‘Go
now and come at another time’? Lo! is not his door open before us at every
[time] if we on our side wish to knock at it? and how then do you advise me
that, when he himself comes to my door, I should turn him away, or, when
he knocks, I should not answer him, or that I should fix a time for him? Is
it not enough that Christ comes on his feet to my door, but that 1, a vile
piece of dust of his formation, should open my mouth to him in insult? or do
we not believe what he told us in his preaching, saying, ‘To me ye did it’.

whether it be what is good or what is evil? And he said not ‘To vile and feeble men’, but ‘To me ye did it’. 

And these things this true bondman of God would say with sorrow and tears besides many others. But at first he was indeed actually in great straits, because he had not supplies sufficient for his abounding willingness; but at last, when he had continued for several years, and the fame of his practices had been reported all over the city, God also who had seen his love used to send him what he needed in abundance, and thenceforth the holy old man would contrive not merely to plant his foot in one footprint (τόπος) of the patriarch whom he was desirous of imitating and remain there, but would enlarge his steps to run and reach many of his footprints; so that, besides the love and alacrity and hospitality which he possessed like him, in this also as well he did not fall behind him, that he personally and with his own hands performed all the service; and, as the patriarch, when he possessed all that host of bondmen and servants, when he saw the men who were received by him as guests, did not order someone else to run to the herd to fetch the calf, but ran himself in his old age that he might be the receiver of the blessing and not another, so this man with all that advanced

old age used himself to perform all the service of the whole day, though many were then living with him in the cell, and he did not allow them to wait either upon him or upon anyone, but he himself would wait upon them, and often, whenever any necessary service was required, he would himself rise from table, and fulfil it; and (a great thing which astonishes many) that he would actually himself stand before the cooking-stand every day and cook without tiring, having laid down the following law (νομος) for himself, that, as soon as they had finished nocturns, he would dismiss his companions to their bodily rest, and would himself direct his steps to the kitchen, and himself begin and cook until morning on account of the poor people who were in the habit of coming early, and would put the food together, and make it ready; and so he would go out and wake them, and they would rise to matins; and as soon as the service was finished they would place tables both within and without. Moreover, as if greedy for his great spiritual trade, he did not stop at waiting on those who came and went, but he brought four blind men, and placed them in his cell at his table; and thenceforth he was not to be seen except distributing the food and placing it in the mouth of each

1. Sic syr. — 2. Ne the monks. — 3. This must be the meaning of ἀνεδραμένος. The lexicon do not give the phrase.
one of them by his name; and, if it were a portion of bread, or some herbs, or a cup, he would grasp each of them with his hand, calling them by their names, and entreating and pressing them to eat, while he also grasped the hand of each one of them and made it feel the dish; and again that, if anyone soever great or small came to him, there was no possibility of his separating his food from theirs, so that many great and distinguished men who used to visit him on account of his extreme old age and his extraordinary practices and were possessed by friendship for him did not like this that he used to make them sit among these blind men; and he on his side paid no heed to these men, but these blind men were greater in his eyes than anyone, and he used to wait on them as if they were Jesus Christ, and there was no means of distinguishing either his own proper food or that of anyone who visited him from them or from all the other guests, but he himself would wait both on them and on everyone, and would pour out wine and bring hot water, and himself mix it, everyone disliking this on account of his venerable old age; and, if anyone made any answer to him or wished to do anything instead of him, this is what he would say to him: «I, my brother,


have not insulted you or done you any harm. Wherefore do you insult me?». When then this saint had completed about ten years in the royal city itself, since, inasmuch as he had found material for his trade in it, and inasmuch moreover as the persecution which was always everywhere did not cease, he had now chosen to continue to remain in the city occupied in this labour, we ourselves having been in intercourse with him for about twelve years while he was following these practices, so then this extraordinary man ended 'his life', having strenuously completed all his days in these great labours, so that, when he had become very infirm, and God wished to take him to his abode in heaven, and he felt that he was dying, he gave each of his companions a present out of his cell as he knew to be suited to him, as well as the furniture of the altar, since indeed besides those things his cell was actually a church also, and an altar was continuously set ready in it, and a large congregation used to assemble before it. And he ordered all that he had to be sold and given to the poor; and so it was done. And he departed from this world according to the commandment of God.

The history of Simeon the old, the scribe of Amida, is ended.

1. Ms. om. Since he lived 10 years in CP, and was in intercourse with J. for 12 years, he probably came to CP at the same time as J. (540) and died in 550.
Next the thirty-fifth history, of the great, admirable, and renowned community of the holy convents of the Amidenes, who distinguished themselves in great conflicts (χρόνων) of persecution, who were expelled in the year eight hundred and thirty-two.

Since then thirty years ago also in another book about the persecution we put in writing a certain amount about this holy community also, we now too thought it right in the series of histories of the saints also to put a memorial of it in writing; for how could it be anything but a reprehensible act, while relating the stories of persons (πρόσωπων) living a solitary life, to cover with silence the story of a great and admirable community of saints a thousand in number; as to which too, if we wish to put an account of it in writing, we shall fall no small distance inside the boundary of the subject of its history. This divine community then was composed of a combination of the convents great and small round the city of Amida and those inside it, and those of its territory (χώρας), and, as we stated above, contained not less

1. 521. — 2. This lost work is mentioned in the Eccl. Hist. (Land, p. 249, 298), and, since it related the descent of Ephraim to the East (p. 294), cannot have been written earlier than 537, which is about 30 years before 566 (see Introd., p. vi). — 3. Ms. om.
in number than a thousand men; so that, having all, small as well as great, been fired by zeal for the faith, and having been duly girded with the armour of truth, they also entered valiantly and heroically and courageously into the struggle against the defenders of the corrupt synod of Chalcedon, insomuch that by reason of these things they were by a violent persecution expelled from their convents, and met together and were marvellously combined in a great and spiritual community, so that they were driven from place to place and from region to region, and after settling in many places were driven out, or because they were not convenient and not large enough for their numbers arrived at the great and extensive convent in the village of Ilzyn in Tyšf which is called that of the blessed Mar Mama; but, though it was large and spacious from the times of the great fathers who built it, yet, even though this is the case, this great community was cramped and straitened for room while living in it for the space of five years; so that our meanness also, though we had still only attained to the tender age of boyhood, were with many others attracted by the renown of this community to come from the district of

1. At p. 214 the number is given as 750. 2. This sentence is confused and incorrect, but the meaning is clear. 3. See p. 214, 260. 4. 521-6. 5. See syr.
Ingilene, and received the privilege of living in it, i. e., in the renowned convent of the blessed Mar John 1, while we also marvelled and wondered and were amazed at the great and divine spiritual practices of that great and spiritual people, whom it is impossible fittingly to write about or describe. Even if there were in that community a man of deaf intellect and blind heart and hardened soul, it would be impossible that he should not be affected and bowed down and repent, and be roused as from deep sleep, and come to compunction, and gain affliction of mind, and pour out piteous tears, and betake himself to spiritual works of righteousness, and embrace the strenuous running in the lofty road on seeing revered old age with honourable white hairs bound to the yoke of spiritual labours and duly dragging it, and middle age and the tender years of youth also being drawn along in the pursuit of abstinence and asceticism, and holiness and watching and fasting and prayers that never cease at all hours of the night and day, who used to stand constantly before God; while it was a great marvel to hear the thunder of their admirable voice, and to listen to their holy and divine singing, not only those of the canon 1, but those also which took place privately and separately.

1. See p. 84.  2. Ms. om.  3. Sic syr.  4. See the canonical hours.
during the winter season, from all the rooms and from all the cells and from all the doorways and from all the corners (γωνίας), and the corridors (στοάς) and halls of all that great convent. But in the summer-season these were the things that one might see and hear with great astonishment, especially during the whole extent of the nights, in all the surroundings of this convent, especially in the broad and spacious stony ground, up to some distance from which there were men standing and reciting the service two and two, or four or less or more, or a master and his disciples, and others were lying alone upon their faces, and some way apart from one another, whose voice was heard from all sides with mighty crying of rushing tears of weeping, from after the canonical nocturns till the matins bell, and so they would again meet together for the holy canonical singing, and so afterwards they would the whole day meditate on the law (νόμος) of the Lord as it is written, while reading the Scriptures and reciting the service and the regular prayers of the hours, terce, that is, and sext and none and vespers and compline, while all idle and vain speech had fled and been cast out from among them with all human conversations, or

1. Ps. 1, 2. — 2. V. D. and L. wrongly 'nocturna'. Nocturns and matins have been mentioned above. Only matins, sext, vespers, and nocturns seem to have been common services. From ch. 17 (p. 254) and ch. 29 it seems clear that there was no common service between vespers and nocturns, and from ch. 29 (p. 363) it seems unlikely that there was any between matins and sext.
jesting or laughter, or suchlike things, but instead of these things was to be seen thanksgiving according to the apostolic saying', and sorrow and compunction, and tears, one conversation only, that with God, one order, and one habit (συνίστασις), one union, one concord, one serenity, one quietude, one love, and downcast looks, and gentle and sorrowful speech at all hours; and, though there were to be found some who were young and some who were of light disposition or who were loose in their speech, when we looked at one another and wondered, they would thenceforth take example (τῶν) from one another, and learn devoutness, and be rivals in works of righteousness; so that, if any discerning man observed the practices that were common to all these spiritual ranks, and their sorrowfulness and their habit (συνίστασις) and their praises that ceased not night and day, and took note of their open as well as their secret acts, he would think that he was already dwelling among heavenly, not among earthly beings, while all these spiritual and brave combatants (συνιστάντες) used to pass most of all the protracted hours in tears and labours with unceasing sorrow; so that from the first

1. Eph., v, 4.
hour of the night or at latest the second, no man in full health was to be found on his rug, or not lying on his face with genuflexion and tearful prayer, everyone thenceforth emulating and rivalling his neighbour; and, though emulation is in its nature a deadly and destructive thing; there an emulation was seen that is beautiful and good and sound, a thing that it is difficult for hearers to believe, that emulation ever was a good thing; for, when everyone saw his neighbour active and eager and constant for prayer and genuflexion and tearful sorrow for the space of a whole night and day, and others ranged in rows and standing on standing-posts, and others who had fastened their bodies to the walls all the night without standing-posts, and others who were tied to the ceiling of the room by ropes and vine-branches, and were suspending themselves by them in a standing posture all night, having put them under their armpits, and others who were sitting on seats and never falling on their side, old and young and strong and weak, and that to so great an extent that, even if there were a man who was idle and stolid and careless and lazy, he would be incited by the sight of these labours, and awake with astonishment as from deep sleep, and would thenceforth labour, and emulate these heavenly practices, while I also the wretched

1. See p. 294, n. 1. As they had supper after vespers (p. 251), 7 and 8 P. M. can hardly be meant. — 2. Our author forgets how he began this long sentence and completes the sense in another way.
and poor, though deficient in years which were in the age of boyhood, thought to emulate such things, and I would also go out by night and see them in these great and marvellous conflicts (ἐργάζομαι) and labours, and he who knows1 all knows that our description of them contains no embellishment or flattery, nor are we able to record a tenth part of the truth of them, and1, if anyone wish to write a record of these holy labours, he will leave off far short of the end, with regard to that constant affliction, and with regard to the unremitting contrition spread over men great and small, and the unceasing sighs, and the copious tears, and the crying and severe sobs because everyone was looking at his fellow, and everyone was emulating his neighbour and learning and acting, and was practising and imitating and was eager to pass his fellow in the race of righteousness; so that many among them had the power of performing signs, and used by faith to drive out fiends before our eyes, even as in the series of the histories we have recorded the story of some of them who were tricked by the evil one, and many acts of power and signs took place among them secretly and openly, insomuch that paralytics who used to come on the report of the benefits

conferred by them were straightened and healed, and would immediately come to receive the habit (σργαλ) of monasticism, itself, and chosen vessels were even made out of many of them, so that everyone marvelled at the report of these wonderful things, and crowds of men from distant countries would hurry to this holy community and arrive among it in order to receive prayer and blessing from these saints, and many who needed healing were relieved, and everyone marvelled and gave thanks to God. But we do not wish to cover with silence one at least of the many miracles which God wrought in this same community, one that resembles the abundance brought about by our Saviour among the many thousands out of the little bread in the desert. Once, when a dearth had occurred in the districts of the East, God who knows his own and is known by his own blessed the district in which this holy community was settled, in order that he might show his loving care for it, so that the produce of that year came forth in it plentifully, and there was a great and rich abundance in it, so that the whole district of the East had recourse to it to buy corn; so that one day a great crowd of strangers was assembled at the door of that convent, and extraordinary expense was incurred upon them in the way of hospitality, so much so that the bread which had according

1. Acts, ix, 18,
to custom been prepared by the servitors\footnote{1} for the food of the brotherhood was actually on the point of being exhausted, insomuch that the chief servitors and the stewards were coming to the great seniors and saying ruefully:

"The provision of bread and cooked food which had been according to custom prepared for the food of the brotherhood has reached the point of exhaustion; and there are still many strangers lying at the door, and we have no means of supplying the need of these and of the brotherhood.\"

But these divine seniors answered them quietly, saying, "Glory to our Lord! Go, our sons, and bring forth and relieve the poor and the strangers; and, if anything remains over for us ourselves, well, and if not, we will keep fasting vigil today, and let the needs of the strangers and the poor and the needy only be supplied, and let them not be cut short by us.\" Then these men expended what was prepared according to the order, until a small quantity was left. And, when the canonical service of vespers was finished, and it was known that a small proportion of what was needed remained over for supper, some words of admonition and of exposition were addressed by these holy seniors to all the brotherhood, in which they said: "Since our brothers the strangers came to satisfy the necessities of their life, that which was prepared

\footnote{1}{See p. 62, n. 2,}
for us according to custom was brought out, and little remained over. Let each of us receive a little present\(^1\) with thanksgiving and continue without murmuring, for thus he will have a recompense from God\(^\star\)\. And so everyone accepted the words that were spoken by the fathers; and they gave thanks, and sat down to the little food that was set upon the table, so that everyone thought that something to put into his mouth would reach him once or twice. And, when all had eaten and been satisfied, the tables were found to be full of bread in abundance, more than every day, though that great number of men, which as we have often said, was not less than one thousand, had been satisfied; so that, when this miracle was suddenly seen, and all had observed it, all marvelled and were astonished, and were excited. And the whole brotherhood stood on the tables themselves together with all the old heads of the convents, and they cry ‘Kyrie eleison’\(^*\) with great awe many times, with many tears; insomuch that these holy old men addressed many words to the brotherhood with emotion, saying; ‘Lo! see, our sons, our lack of faith and our churlishness toward God at all times, that, while he in his mercy is always visiting us, and showing his care for us, we wished to
be churlish to our brethren the strangers who came to us, for whose sake also this sign has appeared among us as well as for our reproof, since we wished to take thought only for ourselves», besides many other things of this kind which were spoken by the seniors; and awe and thanksgiving were excited in everyone. And so a great basket (κάσα) was brought in that four men could scarcely carry after it had been filled; and, though not half of it had been placed upon the tables, out of the remnants which remained after all that great multitude had been satisfied it was filled to overflowing, and would not hold the remnants that were taken from the tables, but, when it was filled and packed(?), it was falling from it this side and that; and great fear and thanks to God were called forth in everyone, while the story of this miracle was also spoken of in all these countries with great wonder (for everyone pressed to take some of these miraculous remnants, and keep them as a blessing and a great help) and our own meanness was there at the supper as the truth witnesses that we also ate and were satisfied with everyone, and we took a blessing from it; and we have recorded these things not as having been conveyed to us by report,

1. Sue syr.
but because we were eye-witnesses and partakers, so that we have also recorded the truth of them and borne witness to it. But he who performs the will of those who fear him worked other such marvellous signs among these same saints of that holy community, and all these great holy convents had also henceforth one convent and one rule in one concord and unity of the spiritual brotherhood, and one administration, and one expenditure and revenue, and one table, and one service, and they had one coalition throughout, twenty servitors out of each body of fifty men being combined together to perform the duties, the separate character of each convent being preserved in this only, the fact that its own brotherhood was separate, and its belongings and its archimandrite and its priests, while all the affairs of them all were administered in common, together with all the spiritual labours of brotherly concord of the types which we have imperfectly recorded above in few words.

When then they had completed a space of five years in that convent, they determined to take up their abode in the neighbourhood and vicinity of their province (ὑπὸ άμιδα) of Amida, though by reason of the persecution it

1. We should perhaps understand that there were usually 50 hebdomadarii in each monastery, and that in the combined convent 20 out of each 50 were taken. — 2. 521-9. — 3. Often used by the Syrians in place of ἀμιδα.
was only under difficulties (ἀνάγγελον) that they could appear in the same province (συνέχεια). Then they came and took up their abode in the district called that of the East\(^1\), in a monastery called that of the Poplars, on the border of the territory of Amida, in the district opposite the hot spring\(^2\) of Abarne\(^3\); so that, when they saw that the place suited them, but that monastery was very small and confined for the purposes of their habitation, then they were compelled all the summer-time to set up tents for themselves outside on the mountains and under the wild trees surrounding that convent, and erect huts in extended and varied lines for themselves to dwell in; and so they accomplished the great labour of their marvellous practices, being also compelled to build and prepare for themselves great houses for winter habitation in that monastery. When then they had completed a space of two years and a half\(^4\) in this place, while we were also with them, they were ordered to enter their convents at the beginning of the reign of king Justinian\(^5\). And, when they had also completed nine years and a half in the first persecution dated from the expulsion of their convents, they

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1. Ms. ‘Altar’, for which I adopt v. D. and L.’s emendation; cf. ch. 58 (l. 131) v* h). Clearly the dioecesis Orientis is not meant, nor the eastern part of it, but a district lying E. of Amida. — 2. Syr. ‘Hammitha’. Cf. p. 224. — 3. Amm. Marc., XVIII, ix, 1; ‘Jo-h. Styl.’, xxiv; Geo. Cypr., 961. — 4. It is clear from the term of 9 1/2 years given below that this should be 4 1/2; see Dyakonov, p. 29, n. 160. — 5. End of 530. See Intro., p. iv.
returned and came in on the invitation, and they found their convents destroyed and demolished and knocked to pieces and turned to earth, in-somuch that they were obliged to set themselves to labour night and day, and build, and set up and restore all these convents, while the whole city also, so to say, used to hold sacramental assemblies with them, so that few remained with the Synodites; so that again, when they had completed seven years and a half 1 in the convents after their restoration, then the furnace of persecution again blazed up against them, and they were expelled and departed a second time; and in this way also a great community was assembled, though smaller than the previous one, when they also came and dwelt in a convent which itself too had once been a great one which was built and erected by great saints, in the village of Thella d Thuthe 2 in Gumtha 3; and, having again been expelled from this also as well, they came back again to the monastery of the Poplars. And, when they had thereafter been completing the labours of these divine practices in this monastery for the space of three years 4, then occurred the descent of

1. This must be wrong. The descent of Ephraim was in 536/7 (see Introd., p. iv), and therefore the expulsion cannot have been later. The sum 2 1/2 + 7 1/2 however is about right, and the error perh. arose from placing the return at the beginning of Justinian's reign, which began in Aug. 527 – 2. Sc. 'hill of the sycamores'. – 3. Sc. 'the trench'; cf. Amm. Marc., XVIII, ix, 2 ('Gumathena'). It lay on the E. bank of the Euphrates. – 4. Clearly wrong, perh. an error for '3 months'; see p. 419, n. 4, and Dyakonov, p. 30, n. 106.
Ephraim the persecutor, the patriarch of Antioch, to the East⁴. And, when he had several times sent them a persuasive document in order to make them members of his communion, when they did not yield to him, then he sent armed and armoured hosts of fighting men against them as if to fight against barbarians, and they expelled and ejected and scattered and dispersed them over the countries; so that in respect of this time also one might now describe many marvellous things which God wrought, if it were not for the length of the history, and further also because the standard of our work is not now raised to relate the story of the persecution², but it aims at describing the excellence of the practices of the saints.

When then by reason of the persecution of the impious Ephraim they were thenceforth scattered and divided, each one of the convents went to any quarter that they found and settled there, and in some places two; so that they were divided over the territory of the Edessenese and the Samosatenes and the Perrhenes and the men of Melitene and the other districts, and some of them from the stress (ἐνάργχω) of the persecution even withdrew as far as the southern desert also, and Ἀραβ Wisdom and Izla⁵ and the other districts and dwelt there⁶. And, when they had set up many places, and built many

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1. 536/7. The persecution began with the descent of Ephraim, and we should probably understand the extension to this district to be here meant. — 2. These events are also related in the Ecol. Hist. (Land, p. 294). — 3. See p. 382, n. 3. — 4. "Izla mona"; see Amm. Marc., XVIII, vi, 12; XIX, ix, 4; Theoph. Sim., I, xiii, 5, of passim. It was the range lying N. of Dara. — 5. Ἀραβ. — 6. J. oildy quotes Claudias, where he settled himself. See ch. 58 (1, 180 r+a, 135 r+b).
monasteries, they found a little opportunity and were drawn by love of the
coffins of their spiritual fathers, and they came back again and arrived, and
again entered the same convents after a space of twenty-three years\(^1\) that
they completed, and for the second time also. And, when they had yet
again found them quite completely knocked to pieces and demolished and
destroyed, and when they had again been involved in much labour and
no small expense in setting them up, and had built them and set them
up, then again a storm (χειρόσωμον) of persecution rose up against them, and
they were again expelled from them a third time, when they had not been
allowed to complete even two more years in them\(^2\), and thereafter return\(^3\)
to the southern region of the desert and of ‘Arab and of Izla, and of all the
country round the city of Dara and go down and be scattered over the
places and the monasteries for the purpose of habitation, while even so
they habitually showed strength and prowess, down to the end of the life of
Justinian the king, at which also we have now made the end of this history,
which is the year eight hundred and seventy-seven\(^4\) according to the era
of the Greeks, so that the time of the persecution of these convents besides

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1. This brings us to 559; but according to 'Zach. Rh.,' xii, 6, the monks were in Amida in 553. —
2. This would be 561; but see n. 1. — 3. Sic syr. — 4. 565/6.
all the East is no less than forty-five years, and others¹ even more; so that
even to the present time at which we are committing these things to writing
they are under the same persecution, we for our part having completed these
things in the royal city at the stated time, having been under persecution
together with them from beginning to end, and being so even to the present
time. And these things we have set down concerning these brave conflicts
(ἀγών) and great combats, which themselves also do not fall far short of
spiritual heroism, the beginning of which dated from the year eight hundred
and thirty-two², down to the present day which is the year eight hundred
and seventy-eight³.

The history of the great and admirable community of the holy convents of the
Amidenes, who distinguished themselves in the great conflicts (ἀγών) of
persecution, is ended.

Next the thirty-sixth 1 history, of father Mare 2 the solitary, and the rest moreover of the blessed men who are laid with him in the sepulchre of the strangers belonging to the monastery of the Syrians at Sycae beyond the water above the house of Mar Mama 3.

Whereas therefore we find in ancient traditions that men of ancient times set themselves earnestly and diligently to make memorials of the performance of various things that were performed before their times and in their days, insomuch that in the course of the times down to the present time they have now reached us even in our own days, which are all that are recorded severally in the Holy Scriptures, firstly, in order that the power and miracles and actions of God wrought through them and in their days might be known to everyone for his own glory, secondly, for a memorial and remembrance of the righteousness of the same just and righteous men, who at different times endeavoured to please God and do his will, thirdly again, that those who should afterwards read and receive it through the

writings might be imitators of their practices, and eager to run the course of religion like them, since then, as we said before, we ourselves observed all these things, we considered it to be a matter of right and religion now also to make a record of the upright men and strenuous workers of religion, our fathers and brethren, who like bright stars shone by their practices all the time of their lives, and earned the privilege of being gathered together by a good ending and laid in this place, in this holy convent of us Syrians above the house of the holy Mar Mana, which by the help of the grace of God was at this time erected through the instrumentality of our meanness; the head and first of whom is the great man of God Mare who was named by everyone 'the solitary', and by others 'he of his patches', on account of the pieces of unsightly and ill-matched rags of hair and of wool out of which he had put together his clothing and covering and sewn them together in ill-matched fashion. This saint then was by birth (γένος) from the country of the Amidenes, that is from Ingilene from a village called Beth Marka, which is indeed in our neighbourhood.

and, while this man was a layman, and was powerful of stature and of more than ordinary strength, he became also a son of the covenant \(^1\) in the church of his village. And, when he had completed about thirty years, even as many were advising him and his parents that he ought to form an alliance, and when his parents were making preparations for the wedding function, and the day arrived on which they were to celebrate the wedding, suddenly Grace, which had secretly seen that he was to be \(\text{a chosen vessel}\) \(^2\) for the glory of his Lord, dawned in his heart and on his mind, and he resolved instead of bodily communion, to which many accidents are attached and against which is set the dissolution of death, to pursue spiritual communion, bearing his Lord's gentle and light yoke \(^3\) upon his neck, and placing his cross upon his shoulder and going after him. And so he rose in the middle of the night and prayed to the Lord to direct his way that he might go after him, and grant him the privilege of doing his will; and he directed his way to the great man of God, Paul the anchorite, who was also a performer of mighty works and miracles, a record of whose history

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we have also introduced at small proportion and in defective fashion into the histories which precede this.

When then the blessed Mare reached this man, and presented to him a request to grant him the privilege of living with him and receiving training from him, he received him on his promising him repentance toward God, having given him much instruction in the ordinances and labours of monasticism. And so he remained with him five years, imitating his divine practices, and decreeing for himself severe labours of fasting and prayer and protracted recitation of service, and constant vigil, so that he gave himself rest for one hour or two only for the sake of the demands of nature, and through the whole extent of the night he performed a constant series of inclinations and genuflexions with prayer, and besides these things barefootedness and austerity and abstinence, and humility and sorrow, and tears. And by all these things he used to train himself in religion, and subdue his body and bring it into subjection with sorrow and repentance, insomuch that many were surprised at his labours, and even that holy old man himself, when he saw the immoderate severity of his practices, would strongly reprove him, and admonish him not to exceed the

1. Ch. 6.
bounds of moderation in his dealing with his body; a thing which he also repeated to us ourselves, when we once came to the holy old man in order to be blessed by him and receive his prayer, and to visit the blessed Mare also, concerning the severity of his practices how he exceeded the bounds of moderation in his dealing with his body, insomuch that in the hardness of winter, when snow was lying about a man's stature high, he would go out to the mountains without an outer garment, having nothing on his feet below or above, and thus he would cut wood and make great loads, and thus he would carry them, cleaving the snow and sinking into it, so much so that blood would flow and drop from the whole of the fleshy parts of his feet, and even so he would not pay attention to them. And, when we learned from the holy man about such severity, inasmuch as we were acquainted with him from his childhood and with the family (γένος) of the blessed Mare, we used to admonish him earnestly to accommodate himself to the will of his spiritual father. But he fell on his face weeping and saying, «Forgive me, my fathers; the body has not received what the contumacy of its arrogant behaviour against the soul deserves, and I have not yet done to it

1. Perhaps we should read ἐποίησις (our childhood); see p. 428, n. 1.
anything adequate to my sins and the vices in my soul which arise from
the body; but I am contriving means to bring it into subjection and subdue
it, that even now it may cease injuring my soul, with many similar things
which he would repeat to us with affliction and with tears; so that, when
we were hearing them, we were surprised at the earnestness of his will and
the affliction of his mind. But, when he had completed five years with
that blessed man, since he was still being constantly pestered by his parents
and by his kin (γένος), for this reason he determined to remove completely
from parents and kin (γένος) and from all acquaintances, insomuch that,
having asked for prayer and release from the blessed man his master, he
set out on his journey and departed from all the countries of Syria, and
came to the countries of Egypt and Thebais; and thenceforth he used to go
to and fro in the desert of the saints, and he would betake himself to certain
great men and solitaries, and ask for their prayers, and eagerly observe
their practices, and set himself to imitate their labours with all his soul.
isomuch that after these things he gave himself to the life of a recluse in
one of the deserts; and thus he thenceforth went on distinguishing himself
by laborious practices for a long period of time. And, when he had completed about 15 years in this conflict (ἀγωνία), a great disturbance arose in the city of Alexandria on account of the faith¹, insomuch that many were expelled and driven from their places, men who would not consent to conform to the Chalcedonian communion. And they came even to the blessed Marc himself; and, when they had pressed him greatly and he did not acquiesce in their communion, they drove him also out and expelled him from his cell. And from such a reason as this he was seized by a vehement desire to go up to Constantinople, so that he applied ² himself to dealing a severe reproof to the king and queen; and he went up and reached the royal city. But with regard to the blessed man's entry into the presence of the king and queen, and the rough character of his meeting with them, and the insulting words which he addressed to them, and his audacity and his contemptuous conduct moreover to them of this we have not thought it well to make a written record ³ in the history of his life not only on account

¹. This must refer to the events of 536, which dates his stay in Egypt circ. 521-36, his life with Paul circ. 516-21, and his birth circ. 486; but I cannot reconcile this with J. having known him from his childhood. 15 years must be too much, for in 521 J. was a boy of 14 in the convent of Maro (see Introd.)  
². We require rather 'might apply'; but the text cannot be otherwise rendered.  
³. The Syr. is hardly grammatical, but the sense is clear.
of their violence\textsuperscript{1}, and the insults and the contemptuous conduct which he used toward the rulers of the world, but further also because perhaps, even if they had been written, the difficulty of believing among the hearers would be very great and not small, that these things could easily be said not only to kings, the holders of the power of this world, but even also to contemptible and mean persons. But, when he sternly rebuked the royal pair as we have said with\textsuperscript{2} such freedom (παραφθέγμα) and sternness, which he had indeed possessed from his boyhood, they as by the grace of God accepted it from him humbly and with fear without violent action, as from a great man and a perfect solitary, especially because they saw the freedom (παραφθέγμα) of his speech, that he spoke and rebuked and reproved courageously and without fear, not being frightened by the crown or alarmed by the purple, and they said, «This man is in truth a spiritual philosopher»; his dress being as we described it above, hideous through the patching together of unsightly and ill-matched rags differing from one another, and fastenings whereby they were joined together by unsightly cords of hair and of wool, insomuch that

\textsuperscript{1} The sense shows that the violence of the insults is meant, but acc. to the grammar it would be easier to refer it to the king and queen. \textsuperscript{2} Mss. om.
every aperture (?) made by a fastening of his garments covered more than two or three fingers' lengths, insomuch that no mean poor man in the world was anywhere to be seen who was clothed in them or perhaps would ever consent to be clothed in them, not even if he had nothing to cover his nakedness. But, when the victorious king observed these things, he greatly wondered at him and gave him a promise that he would do for him whatever he commanded; and yet more the believing queen held him as a great and righteous man, and continued entreating him to remain with her in her palace (παλάτιον), that he might speak to her words of profit. And, while she on her side was making this request of him upon her face, he on the other hand answered her with stern reproofs. And, when she saw that he would not comply with her wishes, she quietly ordered her own treasurer (συγκοιτάριος) to bring her a hundredweight (σεντνάριον) of gold, thinking that by this she would soften the blessed Mare and make him yield. And, when it came and she offered it him bound up, and began entreating him to accept it and divide it between the poor and his needs, then after gazing sternly at it he grasped the bag (μεροστόνον) containing the hundred-

1. ἀπερτοῖα should mean 'fork' or 'longs'. The meaning perch. is that the bags parted from one another in the shape of a fork. — 2. B 'request of him for these things'. — A 'him'. 
weight (κεντνάρσον) in one hand, and hurled it and threw it no small distance, so that all the chamberlains and everyone who saw it were seized with great astonishment, to think that he was so powerful and of such well-knit frame, as we stated at the beginning, and since he had flung it to a distance just as if it were something full of light apples, saying to her, «'Thy money go to perdition with thee'\textsuperscript{1}, because through this you wish to tempt me and mock me». And after answering her with many other stern words which we refrain from recording he left her and went out; and she remained in distress and fear, and she and all her chamberlains as well were wondering at the blessed man's bodily strength, how he thought nothing of throwing a weight of a hundred pounds (λίτρα) of gold to such a distance, insomuch that the story was heard over the whole palace (παλάτιον) and over the whole of this city, and was spoken of with astonishment by many persons. When the blessed man was passing along a street of the city, his eyes were fixed on the ground, since he had determined in his mind never to see the face of men in it. And he left it; and so he went over to Sycaea beyond the water\textsuperscript{a}, and climbed the mountain to the north-west of it, where

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1. It is not otherwise known, but the meaning is clear. — 2. Acts, viii, 20. — 3. This passage shows the meaning of τάπα to be as above; see p. 387, n. 2 (cf. also p. 632, l. 5).
there are also graves; and there he resided and performed the labour of his practices, satisfying his needs with wild herbs. But the queen, because she was a believer and knew that she had distressed him in the matter of the hundredweight of gold (κυντεκαρίων), made careful search for him; and on learning that he had left the city and was dwelling on the other side among the mountains sent some of her most distinguished chamberlains to entreat him to forgive her, and as a favour to herself to receive from her something that his needs required, whatever he wished. And, having taken much trouble and with difficulty discovered him, because he used to move from place to place, they delivered an earnest request to him as they had been ordered, and, absolutely refusing to grant their request, he sent her a message through them, «Think not that you possess anything which God’s bondmen need, except religion if it exists in you». And, when those who were sent came back again and she learned where he was, she sent yet again; and thenceforth they used to pester the blessed man every day; and he was compelled to remove to other places; and again they would find it out and discover him. And thenceforth many persons used to repair to him to receive his prayer; and they were specially astonished at seeing his
unsightly clothing. And he asked and palm-leaves were brought to him, out of which he supplied his needs by the work of his hands, since he absolutely refused to allow anything to enter his mouth except from the labour of his hands. And, if he was prevented from working with his hands on account of those who came to and fro to him, he would go two and three days, and sometimes even a whole week, and then taste bread, except wild herbs¹; and sometimes he would feed on the berries of the bushes, and sometimes on the nuts of the trees. But in the winter-time he was compelled to put up a hut for himself on one of these heights, and shelter himself in it from the severity of the winter. And, while he was thus dwelling peacefully on these mountains, Satan the later of good things did not overlook it and leave him untried, but he set up robbers (λησταὶ) against him, ten men, who, having seen the chamberlains and the other great senators (ταυτησελευκα) coming to and fro to the blessed man, thought that he was receiving gold and storing it in his hut; and so in the middle of the night they fell upon him and surrounded him, and they flung out their hands to

¹ syr The meaning appy. is that during the week he ate herbs only.
seize him and bind him. But he, being stronger than they, threw their hands off him as if they were sick and tortured (?) men, and he went on entreating them, saying, « Nay, my sons, do not lose your soul. Why do you seek me the poor man? » But they on their side said to him: « Unless you give us the gold which the queen is sending you, we will kill you at once. » But he returned them answer, saying: « Take it, my sons, that to me no gold has ever (ποτε) been sent by the queen, or by others. And, if I desired gold, I should not be residing here ». When he had said these words, one came back with a club and gave him a severe blow, and they all surrounded him, having also drawn their swords. And, when he saw that they had set themselves to kill him, and he did not mollify them by entreating them with gentle words, he looked straight at the one who was holding the club, and seized and dragged the club out of his hand; and he seized his hair with one hand, and threw him on his face. And another ran up to smite him with the sword, and he on his side smote him with the club, and stopped him; and his sword fell and he took hold of him, and threw him on the top of his companion, and the third, and the fourth. When
the others saw it they began to run away, and he ran after them; and he overtook three more of them; and of every man whom he smote with the club he made himself master; and thus he mastered seven of them. And he returned and bound the seven of them, and set them in a row, and he collected their swords and their clubs, and placed them together on one side; and he sat down and jeered at them saying: 'I begged you, my sons, saying, 'Leave me alone', and 'Why do you seek the poor man?' And I was distressed that you did not comply with my request. And now, my sons, rest and be quiet till the morning'. And, lying as they were bound and disgraced, they went on adorning him to release them and to be merciful to them, and not to deliver them up. But he on his side went on jeering at their valour, and saying to them: 'Learn never again to trust to your valour, and do not at any time (ποτε) despise and look down upon a poor man'. And, when he had been admonishing them till the morning, those also who came to him saw them, and they went on threatening to deliver them up to the prefect (ὑπηρέτης). But he on his side would not consent, but released them and sent them away with much advice and admonition; but their clubs and their swords he took from them. But three of them ran away and escaped
from his hands. When these things had thus fallen out, and it had become known to the king and the prefect (ἵππαρχος) and the rest of the senators (συγκλητικοί), these wondered at him and spoke much about him. Moreover there came a chamberlain also as well; and on seeing the swords and the clubs and learning about the rest he was surprised; and he took the swords and the clubs, and brought them in and showed them to the queen and the king; and on seeing them they said: «Here besides power of prayer power of arm was also required». And, when he had for many years¹ been dwelling on these mountains in this way and distinguishing himself by excellent practices, he was hard pressed by his bodily requirements through the fact that the work of his hands was not sufficient for his requirements and for hospitality to poor brothers, and further that he had determined in his mind never to support himself on the labour and sweat, that is on the sins, of others². And, while he was going about on these mountains and among the villas (προστατικοί), he saw a villa³ suited for a life of retreat, and he considered that, if he performed spiritual employment in it, it would

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¹. As he died in A.D. 542/3 (p. 437, 438) and came to Constantinople not earlier than 536 (p. 428, n. 1), if he really lived 5 years in the villa (p. 437), he cannot have been more than one year on the mountains. — 2. Cf. p. 175. — 3. V. D. and L. render 'hane villam', and infer that J. was writing in the villa; but he is only the weak antecedent.
suit him for manual labour also as well and for the employment of providing for his necessary requirements. And so he spoke to one of the chamberlains', and he bought it from another chamberlain for five pounds (χίλια) of gold, and thenceforth he used to sow and reap in it, and supply his own private needs and those of those of the other people who used to visit him, and of the poor. And, when he had completed five years in it, while many persons among the magnates and others used to visit him, there happened the beginning of the great plague in the year eight hundred and fifty-three; and, while he was practising mighty spiritual labours, and subduing his body and bringing it into subjection by tilling the ground for his necessary bodily requirements, and was reproving and admonishing and teaching all who visited him by the spiritual teaching of the divine scriptures, and stoutly always reproving the king and queen with great freedom (παρακήνασις) without fear, and everyone marvelled at his teaching and at his deeds and at his words, and at the stoutness of his soul in addition to that of his body and in addition to his thoughts, then by the sudden destruction of the plague, as

1. From H. E. 11. 41, it seems probable that this was Callinicus, afterwards praep. sucri cubiculi; see p. 438, n. 2. (Dyakofo, p. 86). — 2. Circ. § 225 = fr. 5623. — 3. 512. — 4. I Cor. iv. 27. — 5. Sic syr.
has been stated above, everyone was in perturbation and doubt and confusion, inso much that the blessed man passed his time in affliction and great sorrow, and occupied himself with constant prayer and petition to God, while he asked of God, and a revelation was made to him about his own personal departure also after a short time. Then he sent a pressing message to the chief men of the palace (\(\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau\omega\nu\)), asking them to send him craftsmen and supplies that he might make a tomb for strangers and also for himself. And, when the craftsmen and the supplies had been sent to him, and men to superintend the work, in a few days he built these two great houses, the strangers' tombs, and completed porticoes, and built a martyrs' chapel also as well between them, and he also made a coffin (?) for himself, in which he was privileged to be laid. But, when he had completed the work, and knew that the day was at hand that had been told him in the revelation about his end, then, the coffin (?) being open which he had prepared for himself to be laid in, while he was kneeling and praying on behalf of the whole world of men, on the third day he yielded up his spirit. And, this having

1. The word \(\text{λα\text{σ}}\) is here masc., but below fem. — 2. Since nothing is said about obtaining the land for the cemetery, we may infer that it was in the grounds of the villa; and, since the cemetery is described as belonging to the monastery of the Syrians (p. 422), the monastery was probably on the site of the villa; but that M. himself made it a monastery (Dyakonov, p. 83) I see little evidence (see Introd., p. xi).
been made known to the king and queen, with great zeal they sent some of the leading and eminent men of the palace (παλάτιον), chamberlains and senators (συγγενήκράξ) and bishops and clergymen and many monks, and thus they buried the blessed man's body with a great procession. We have recorded these few things out of many for the sake of a memorial and in order to gain his blessing and his prayers, having passed over many of his labours and of his practices on account of the length of the history.

The history of father Mare the solitary is ended

Next the thirty-eighth history, of the excellent blessed man the holy Aaron the presbyter, and the rest of the presbyters and deacons who were afterwards laid in the sepulchre that was built by the blessed Mark.

This excellent blessed man therefore Aaron the presbyter was by his birth (γένος) from the country of Armenia; but from his childhood he had left

1. Ch. 37 is missing; see Intro., p. vii, ix ff. — 2. This clearly refers to the following chapters.
his country and had also made himself alien to his kin (γένος) and his acquaintances, and he chose for himself to pass the days of his life in a monastic convent in retreat and religion, from the early age of his youth. And besides the fact that simplicity and humility were also implanted in him by his nature, since he had devoted himself to religion, he chose for himself marvellous practices of excellence, and taught himself meekness and obedience, and acquired true love, having bound himself under the yoke of labours, vigils and fasts and constant prayers without wearying; and, even as he resembled his namesake Aaron in name and in character, so, when he had attained to the order of the priesthood, he would recite the service yet more with all integrity and devoutness with fear and many tears, after he had at first for a long time refused to perform the service, contending and saying, « I am not worthy to approach God's holy altar »; and, when we and others had been insistently demanding of him to perform the service of the priesthood, in order that he might not transgress against the rule of obedience, he would go through this with sorrow and fear, while he also used to subdue his body and bring it into subjection by the bodily labours of agriculture, in the vineyard and the garden, and the reception of strangers, and all the other tasks inside the monastery, so much so that late in the evening when he

1. I Cor., 15, 27.
came of necessity to rest his body, he could scarcely turn his body round, from weariness and also from the labour of standing at the service. But sometimes he would stand on a standing-post at night, and sometimes he would sit on a chair, so that he completely refrained from bed and rug, or to give rest to his body so as to lie upon his side, until he was smitten by sore diseases and advanced old age, and then he was forced to lie upon a rug laid on a plank, while even so he in no way gave up the great purpose of spiritual labours. And during all the period of thirty years that we dwelt together, some in the eastern countries, and some, viz. most of them, in the western in the royal city, and further in many persecutions, it was never seen that this strenuous worker showed negligence in the tilling of Christ's vineyard from the morning of the beginning of his life down to the evening of the end of his days, nor, when he fell into extreme old age and a combination of diseases, did he shrink from divine labours. Once he fell under the severe pain of a gangrene that was formed in his loins; and in this way he bore this distress with great devoutness, until his loin was eaten up, and was cut away and vanished down to the root of it, and his trouble began to

pass inside him. And we, seeing him distressed by a sore disease and grievously lacerated in secret, would ask of him to tell us what his trouble was; and he, until his affliction became intense, stoutly endured, being constant in prayer and filling his mouth with thanksgiving and the praise of God. But at last when the passing of water from him was stopped he was forced, and so he consented to reveal and make known his trouble, when the whole of his loin was found to have been eaten away and consumed, so that the physicians contrived to make a tube of lead and place it to pass his water, while they also applied plasters and drugs to him. And so the ulcer was healed; and after the testing of this trial he lived yet eighteen years, giving thanks to God; and the leaden tube was also in position for the purpose of passing his water. And so, after we had together through God’s help in association with some of our other brethren set up this monastic place, he attained to an admirable and righteous ending, on a day in the mouth of the 14 Theshrin, on the twenty-second of it, in the year eight hundred and seventy-two; and he was laid in the sepulchre that was built by the blessed Mare. And these things we have recorded in few words for a remembrance.

1. Ms. ‘nine’. The date is 22 Oct., 560.
and memorial of the strenuous worker of Christ, about the matters connected with his beautiful mode of life of which we are witnesses.

The history of the excellent blessed man Aaron the presbyter is ended.

Next the thirty-ninth history, about the blessed Leontius the presbyter, who also was an excellent and great man of God.

The character therefore of this blessed Leontius the presbyter was very like that of the blessed Aaron; insomuch that they accordingly vied with one another; and thus also one would be eager to excel the other in modes of life, and to surpass him in spiritual labours, and to imitate him in humility and to resemble him in obedience, and that in all matters they should be imitators of religious practices, and especially in love toward one another and toward everyone. But this devout Leontius was by birth (γένος) from Ingilene from a village called 'bwbnt; and he lived in the holy monastery of the blessed Mar Samuel'. And, occasion having once called him to go up himself to the

1. Cf. ch. 58 (f. 132 v° b).
royal city with some blessed men from the same convent, he conceived a
desire to live with us and with the blessed Aaron and the rest, and he remained
with us, living a whole-hearted and laborious life, so that once on learning
about a certain excellent man who was passing his life in great labours
of pilgrimage he was moved with zeal himself also to labour in the same
course with the other blessed man who was called Kashish* and was a
member of our own convent and had been brought up with us from our
childhood. And so both of them went forth in this zeal for pilgrimage, each of
them separately, while both also let their hair grow long in secular fashion.
in order that they might not be recognised and honoured by men as monks.
When they had been thus travelling in the regions of the east and the west
and the south each of them separately for many years, and when the brunt
of trials had fallen heavily upon them, after some years they came to us,
that is first the blessed Leontius. When he had for some time been labouring
with us in the service of God in saving persons from paganism also, he at
last attained to ordination as a presbyter, even as the blessed Kashish also
who named himself John, who was a presbyter, himself also too attained to
ordination to the great and honourable yoke of the episcopacy†; that is.

1. Ms. sing.

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1. His life is given in ch. 51. — 2. See ch. 50 (f. 119 v° b). The date was probably 538. See
   Introd., p. v
both of them were with compulsion and by great effort brought to this against their will by the use of many artifices. When the blessed Leontius had completed twenty years more or less in the convent that is with us in divine employments with constancy and earnestness, then he finished the course of his practices and departed from the world, and he too was laid with the blessed Aaron. But the blessed John, who is also Kashish, was still in the body when these things were written, engaged in the same divine practices and living in advanced old age.

The history of the blessed Leontius is ended.

Next the fortieth history concerning the blessed Abraham the old man the presbyter, and Z w t moreover the presbyter his bodily son, and Daniel the deacon his sister’s son.

This blessed Abraham therefore, the old man, was by birth (γενέσι) from the district of Sophamene, from a village called such-and-such. This man,

1. Below he is called brother’s son 2. Or ‘Fylt’. The reading is doubtful.
having at a certain time come to the royal city, betook himself to us; and
having been received by us as a stranger, on the second day he cast himself
down weeping and entreaty to be received by us, and admitted to the
monastic order (τάγματα). And we on our side, observing the burden of his
old age, thought that his request was a pretext and not genuine, and we
continued closely examining him, that he might let us know the true reason
of his coming to the royal city, and if he had any fact to tell us about his
intention, and we would not fail in anything that we could do to help him.
And he, having cast himself upon his face and weeping, continued swearing
to us « I have no concern in this world, except to repent for my sins, and if
I may be admitted to the monastic habit (ταγματα), that in it I may serve and
please God during this remnant of life which he has appointed for me ».
And, after much conversation had been held with him concerning these
things, we allowed him to make trial of his own self, while we also on our
part observed his perseverance. And, when he had thus completed two
years, being constant in fasting and prayer and constant vigil by night, and
humility and obedience, while he was also always entreaty to be admitted to
the order and the beloved habit (σκέπας) of monasticism, so also upon many testimonies and admonitions he was admitted to the monastic habit (σκέπας). And, while he was accomplishing the labour of his practices every day with many tears and much earnestness and humility, and when he had reached the period of five years after his training, he was on account of his marvellous modes of life by constraint and much compulsion admitted to ordination to the presbyterate. But after a short time his bodily son also whose name was Zων, and his brother's son whose name was Daniel from Syria came to him, having learned about his modes of life, and that he had been admitted to the monastic habit (σκέπας). And, when they saw him thus labouring in the practices of religion, God opened their own heart also as well, and they began to request that they also as well might be admitted to the honoured monastic habit (σκέπας). And while he himself from that time continued giving them much admonition and correction and teaching, he was presenting a petition on their behalf that they might be received. And, this having also been done in order to gratify him, they also as well were taught the devout monastic habit (σκέπας), living a whole-hearted and obedient life, with all earnestness and religion. After a period of some years they also were
admitted to the rank of the diaconate; and thenceforth for many years they earnestly and whole-heartedly and obediently occupied themselves with us in the work of the ministry in the district of Asia in converting men from the deceitfulness of paganism, gratifying our soul every day by their earnestness and whole-heartedness and diligence, with the old man Abraham and the devout Aaron and Leontius the presbyters, with all the other strenuous workers their other brothers, of whom also too we shall one after another make record, each one of whom worked and laboured strenuously in his time without weariness in the householder’s vineyard, that is in the great salvation which God’s grace wrought in our times, consisting in the conversion of many thousands from the worship of idols and the ceremonies of idolatry to the fear of God. While then we were engaged in the same ministry in the districts of Caria, Daniel the deacon ended his course in the same ministry, seeing wonderful visions, and it having been revealed to him that he would be carried away to the blissful country; and, having fallen asleep, he was laid in the monastery called that of Gordiana hard by the city of Antioch in Caria. And, when we returned to the royal city, the blessed Abraham himself also ended the course of his life-practices in a

1. Matth., xx. 1-16. It is not stated in ch. 38 that Aaron took part in the conversion of the pagans.
good old age; and he was laid with his blessed spiritual brothers Aaron and Leontius. And the blessed Z w t' was afterwards admitted to the honour of the presbyterate, and he took over the charge of the whole convent and all its belonging with great diligence and much single-mindedness, insomuch that he laboured at the completion and restoration of the building of the martyrs' chapel of this monastery' and wearied himself excessively beyond his strength, together with all the rest of our brothers, and by their means it was completed, when we ourselves had gone back again, and were engaged in the work of the ministry in the same districts of Asia. And, when after the space of a year and a half we came back, and saw the product of his labours and his industry, we were astonished and gave thanks to God, though for fear of pride we did not tell him openly (?). At the same time he also too was brought to the consummation of death, and gained the privilege of being laid by the bones of his father the holy old man.

It is ended.

1. Probably that built by Mare (p.438). — 2. The ms. is unintelligible, but a change of one letter gives the above sense.
Next the forty-first history, of the blessed Bassian the solitary, and Romanus the presbyter and visitor of the great convent of Thel 'Adda', and of Simeon the archimandrite, who are laid in the sepulchre with these holy old men.

To describe the rest of the practices and asceticism and manner of life in the desert of this blessed Bassian the presbyter and solitary, things which we have not seen nor heard, seemed to us superfluous; but, when for a short time we had received the privilege of intercourse with the great blessed man of God, in his labour and his speech and the affliction of his tears and his teaching, while he mourned and wept first for his disturbance and his ejection from the desert, which (he said) was brought about through the violence and contentious conduct of other solitaries, then afterwards also, when we were making inquiries of him with regard to the affliction shown by his many floods of tears and constant sighs, he showed greater distress by grievous

1. Near Antioch (Wright, C.B.M., p. 498). — 2. There is nothing about Simeon in the ch., nor is he mentioned in the subscription. See Introd., p. vii. — 3. In B the title is: « A history concerning the blessed B, the solitary by the same Mar John of Asia.»
sobs, saying, «Who then (ἀμὴρ), pray, is there even if he were a man possessing a heart of stone who would not weep over the delusion and captivity and destruction of the race (γένος) of men? for lo! everyone is running against himself contrary to religion, and everyone is with all his strength intent upon evil things with naught to hinder, and we all behave ourselves like men without God, and like deaf animals without law (μὴ ὡς κύνη) and without fear of the dreadful judgment to come, and everyone is of his own will casting himself into the pit of destruction unto destruction; and by all this destruction of Adam's race a festival has been created for Satan and joy for the fiends who are carrying away the race (γένος) of Adam that was fashioned in love and after its deviation was rescued; and now lo! the hosts of darkness are mocking at its destruction, and rejoice to be carrying many to participate in the torment of their destruction. In regard of these things, our father, who would not weep, who would not be afflicted, who would not wail, who would not make mourning like a jackal, and lamentation like a jackal's whelp, since the force of error and destruction has borne away men who are bought by the blood of God and rescued by his cross?». While the blessed man was repeating these things and more than them in his
affliction, all who heard him were marvelling; and, despising all this confused life, they also as well were being brought to afflictions and tears with him, everyone marvelling at the blessed man's labour and affliction and teaching. While he was doing and teaching these things, a revelation was made to him concerning his end and his departure after a few days, while he said, «Pray also for the miserable sinner, for at the end of twenty days I shall depart from the body», having also adjured my meanness, «Bury this my sinful body in your monastery, and pray for me». When we had been saying these many things, and that sabbath-day¹ was at hand, he rose and prayed and offered the oblation, and gave it to many, having received it also himself, and bade farewell to all. And during the night he became ill, and on the twentieth day he fell asleep; and so we carried him in a procession over the water to our monastery² according to his injunction; and his holy body was buried and laid in the same tomb according to his injunction; by whose prayers together with those of all the saints who please God may all we sinners who provoke our Creator be admitted to mercy. Yea and Amen! And the blessed Romansus who also was a great and whole-hearted old man.

¹. I. e., the day on which he was to go to his rest. — 2. See p. 431, n. 3.
who was apocrisiarius of the great convent of Thel 'Adda, who himself also as well lived in the same house of a certain great and believing man in which the blessed Bassian also fell asleep, was also afterwards himself too brought to the departure from the bodily life, and himself also was laid in the same grave with the rest of the blessed men.

The history of the blessed Bassian the solitary and Romanus the presbyter is ended.

Next the forty-second history, of the three blessed archimandrites, Mari, Sergius, and Daniel, who themselves also as well are laid in the same house.

These three blessed men therefore ended their courses here in the royal city. This blessed Mari was by birth (γένος) from Anzetene¹, and received training from a blessed great man of God, who himself also was named Mari, a man of labours and a Nazirite, besides being also versed in the Scriptures and a doctor, and was at first a clergyman of the church also, but at last,

1. Syr. 'Hanzet'.

PAG. OR. — T. XVIII. — P. 4.
seeing his error and the course of the world's times, left all his property, and went out and sought for himself a monastery outside his village, the name of which was Hula (חולה); so that he himself also was called Mari of Hula; and thus he mortified himself by mighty labours, asceticism and self-abnegation, and much watching, and fasting and prayers, so that men marvelled at his practices, even as he stubbornly endured many conflicts (אַפָּוָה) of persecution arising from the heretics. And, whereas in the previous histories we have recorded a small proportion of facts about this same blessed man, we now forbear to relate his history. This blessed Mari therefore is this man's disciple, who took upon himself his master's obedience to the full, and in practising it even went beyond him, in constant fasting and perfect abstinence, and much watching, with the rest of the excellent and devout rules of monasticism, so that, when he had lived to a long period of years, his body was dried up and enfeebled from the severity of the labours; and he also lived a considerable time in the convent with us both in the east and in the west. And after his master's decease he himself with other disciples was thenceforth gaining distinction, so that he also endured

1. Ch. 9. There however he is called Mare.
much persecution; who also in the persecution came to the same royal
city, and afterwards ended his course here in the royal city.

This blessed Sergius was archimandrite of the convent called that of the
house of Mar Gysin, in the territory of the city of Amida; and moreover the
blessed Daniel also was archimandrite of the monastery called that of the
m & y k'1 in the district of Sophanene; both of whom together came up hither
to the royal city for the sake of the needs of their convents, they also too
being famous for devout practices of excellence and monastic labours. And,
while they were trusting to human assistance for their convents, something
which they had perhaps not expected so quickly suddenly overtook them
both, that is the consummation of death, one after the other, in twenty days;
and they were laid in the place of sepulture of this convent, together with
all the other many blessed men, monks and laymen, many excellent men
who are not recorded, whose bodies were interred in the same place; through
whose prayers with those of all the saints may God grant us all forgiveness
of sins with them, and establish this convent which received their coffins with all the other holy convents to his glory for ever and ever. Amen!

"The history of the three blessed archimandrites. Mari, Sergius, and Daniel, is ended."

"Next the forty-third history, of the four excellent deacons, earnest in religion, Abraham, Cyriac, Barhaddshabb, and Sergius.

As for these four devout deacons therefore, strenuous workers and earnest performers of the divine ministry which was carried out in the districts of Asia for the sake of delivering from the error of pagauism souls which from the beginning from the foundations of the world had been sitting in the darkness of idolatry, when each of them laboured earnestly with us down to the end of the life that is derived from the body, so that these devout men also were laid together in the sepulchre, while all of them were by birth (γένος)
from Syria, Cyriacus, who laboured with us for some years before everyone after these first old men, was by his birth (γένος) from the city of Maiferkat, and the blessed Abraham, who was powerful in word and in deed, and above all in body, was by birth (γένος) from the country of the Persians, and gratified our spirit more than others by his earnestness, being adorned with abstinence and with self-abnegation and with zeal and humility and obedience, and with all spiritual qualities, and as to Barhadbasba too he was by his birth (γένος) from Ingilene, from a village called Ar'a Rabtha, who also was adorned with earnestness and ready to show obedience, and very zealous in reciting service, and the blessed Sergius moreover was by his birth (γένος) an Armenian, who also underwent great conflicts (ζητών) in the work of the ministry of the house of God; and the four of them with all the rest gained a blessed ending, since amid the same spiritual employment and the tiring nature of the countries and the high rugged mountains of Asia each one of them ran zealously and mightily in his time, and was strengthened to abolish paganism, and overthrow idolatry, and uproot altars and destroy shrines (ναος) and cut down trees in ardent religious zeal; and 5 each
one of them in his time together with the holy old men who were before them worked earnestly, and all of them also toiled and laboured with us with joy and great earnestness in building ninety-two churches and ten monasteries in four provinces (ὁπερὶ ἡς), which were erected by the help of the heavenly power; a thing which justice also requires us to bring into the record of memorials of blessed character for the sake of a future good remembrance for all these strenuous workers, in order that we may not be reproached by righteousness for having seen and known their labours and troubles and done injustice to their memories, especially since we marvel and wonder at the dispensation of God’s mercy, and his just and inscrutable judgments, how in a short time he led them all one after another to the end of this tumultuous life and to the gathering together of their bodies, which he caused to lie by one another, and all of them to his eternal rest from the vexation of the body, while we on our part are still bound in the ropes of our sins and involved in bodily temptations in this life of turmoil, and of vanity and vexation of spirit.

The history of Abraham and Cyriacus and Barhabshabbah and Sergius the deacons is ended.

1. See p. 416, n. 3. — 2. Eccl., 1, 14; 11, 11, 17, 20; iv, 4, 16.
Next the forty-fourth history, of Tribunus who in habit (σέμα) was a layman and a count, but in the performance of practices of excellence complete and perfect.

This excellent blessed man Tribunus therefore, who in a lay station carried out spiritual practices, was by his birth (γένος) from the district of Sophanene, from a village called Beth Rwmn t; a man who from an early age had been taught religion, and was constantly occupied in fasting and prayer and constant attendance in churches and monasteries with the great and excellent blessed men, and used to hear and learn the psalms and the Scriptures, even as his parents also set themselves to teach him to read and write Greek, and he besides Greek learned Syriac also, and meditated, as it is written, 'on the law of the Lord day and night'. While then he was constantly occupied in reciting service and reading the Scriptures in Greek and Syriac, and while his parents desired to yoke him in worldly intercourse with a wife, and expected that he would also be their heir, because he was indeed their only child, and advised him to take a wife, as she had been

betrothed and provided, he on his side opposed, and he would answer his parents, saying, « As for me why should I go and fall into the turmoil of this world, and give material to sin and death? If I indeed obey you, then I shall also be bound by the world and many sins, and, if it happens that I beget children, they will be spoil for death, and I shall again sit mourning for them »; and the many other things which, as he often repeated in our presence, he would answer to his parents, so that they were reduced to great distress, because they saw that the devout young man so despised the world and all that is in it; since indeed they relied upon riches, houses and estates and lands, and male and female slaves, and saw that he who they thought was heir of these things spurned and despised them, and would not consent to look at them at all, but was constantly occupied with religion and spiritual employment, and used to have recourse to saints who were styrilites and recluse and laboured in the excellent life, and attached himself to them, and was taught, so that thenceforth they held him as a beloved son in all the convents, and especially in the devout convent of F y t r the devout and great blessed men Ḥabib and Z‘ura, who shine at the beginning of these histories¹ like rays of light; so that after the decease of Ḥabib the

¹ Ch. 1, 2.
mighty in spiritual strength, when his perfect disciple Z‘ura at last earned the privilege of succeeding him in the administration, and also of ascending the pillar and accomplishing the course of his practices on it, and, when this blessed Z‘ura had for a period of some years while in an earthly body been engaged in heavenly and sublime employments on a column between earth and heaven, by the envy of the enemy of righteousness a persecution was stirred up against him by those who honoured the synod of Chalcedon, and that so violent that they brought the blessed man down from his pillar, and he was expelled with all his convent; and he, when these things were inflicted upon him, without delay hastened to the royal city to utter a reproof on account of these things, as have been recorded by us at short length in the histories relating to these things; and he took the devout Tribunus with him in lay attire (στυγίας) as an interpreter of the Greek tongue. And so he went up with him, and lived with his disciples and with him, imitating their practices and occupied in spiritual employment; insomuch that he was consequently desirous of being admitted to the devout monastic habit (στυγίας) also, and the blessed men would not allow him, saying « It is
better both for you and for us that you should go in and out of the city and the palace (παλάτιον) as a layman, and carry communications (ἀποφράσεως) for us, and not go about the city clad in the habit (στυλός) and cause the habit (στυλός) to be made an object of mockery. And so he performed the service of the old man and of his convent all the days of his life, insomuch that he gained easier entry and more freedom (περιφράσεως), and they even thrust the office of a count on him under constraint by his command, saying, «This will be no impediment to your practices; and, when you wish, it is easy for you to give up the office. But for the sake of our communications (ἀποφράσεως) take it upon you.» And so under constraint he accepted an earthly employment, while the whole of his own mind and energy was constantly occupied in heavenly employments and bound up in them. When after some years during which he had served the blessed man the blessed man departed from the world, then the excellent blessed man remained in the cell in which he dwelt in the city, accomplishing the labour of his practices on a great scale, having also added to his spiritual labours the extra labour of hospitality and the relief of the poor, living and delighting also in voluntary poverty, and rejoicing in it, so that, if it happened also that there was a superfluity of anything

in his cell, he would set himself to scatter it among the needy. Since many of the chamberlains and of the distinguished members of the senate (σύγκλητος) were acquainted with him because of the blessed man¹, and moreover loved him on account of his venerable manner of life, and used to beg him to do them the favour of dwelling with them, or even only to stay with each of them, and to receive some gift from them, so also he would flee and shrink as from the perpetration of an evil act, saying, « My sins are enough for me; and to share in other men's sins², or to refresh myself by the sweat of others I will never consent ». And so he was constant in maintaining a life of retirement and the performance of righteous acts, though he had reached old age, still hoping to attain the habit (σχημα), passing most of his days in this our convent and that of the blessed Zura, while he also practised handiwork for his needs, some carpentering; and moreover he made partridge-cages (χλωμος) and sold them, and gained his living, with his two slaves, who also served him devoutly; for, when they went out to monasteries or anywhere, then they also continually practised vigils and fasting and

recitation of service and constant prayers in company with all the members of the convent; and, when they were remaining continuously in the cell, the blessed Tribunus was constantly occupied in the same way night and day, and what is especially deserving of admiration is that he rejoiced in poverty and took pleasure in scarceness; so that, if it happened that at any time he actually had a superfluity, he was much displeased at this, and set himself to scatter and to spend his superfluity; so that he took pleasure in scarceness, giving thanks. I wish therefore to set down and place on record something about a temptation of his and about the man's courage and the conflict (ζυγών) which he sustained. This man then had once thought of changing his place of residence; and he went out and was going round the mansions, looking for a tenement convenient for him to live in; and, having found 'inn' written and fixed up on the door of a certain mansion, he asked for the porter (ὀστιάρος) to go up and show him the tenement. And, since the porter (ὀστιάρος) himself was not there, but as if by the opposition of Satan his wife was present, who was a young woman and was very worldly in her appearance, she said to him «Come with me and I will myself show

1. This was perh. used of any house where rooms were to be let; but in Bar 'All (quoted in P. Smith, s. v. הַכַּפְרָךְ) הָכַמּוּ (ostiarius) is rendered לֹאָש (innkeeper). — 2. See p. 221 n. 3.
you the rooms that are advertised ». And, when she had taken the key (κλειδω) and gone up and opened them, they both went in. And, as he was going round to look, while she on her side was displaying a snare of sin before him, a sinful passion was aroused in her, and she went on madly laughing in his face, while she also seized him, and began as if by the kisses of sin to grasp him and entice him to fall with her. And, as he was rebuking her and flinging and casting her hands off him, she on her side all the more as if by the machination of the devil, who was desirous of catching the brave man by a snare, and setting a blemish on his beauties and staining him, he yet more entered into her, making her madly grasp the blessed man, while she also threw herself in front of him to tempt him to lasciviousness, intertwining herself with him with all the lasciviousness and violence of impurity and adultery, using foul words which we do not wish even to write down and pollute the ears or mind of the hearer and record. But the man armed with the divine power flung and threw her off and withdrew himself from her, reproving and rebuking her sternly and saying, « The Lord rebuke you, woman, and the fiend who clothed you in so much shamelessness and wickedness that you should dare to defile the path of

1. See the devil. Sic syr. — 2. Ms. om. The text is here very corrupt.
intercourse with your husband, and hold intercourse with another in violation of the law (νόμος), and think to stain me the sinner with you ». And so this brave man like Joseph the just fled and left that house and all that neighbourhood in great trepidation, so that he would relate these things to us and to many others, about the battle and conflict (ἐμφάνισις) which he had, and about the machination of the evil one who was bitter against the wise merchant in order to make spoil of his merchandise. And so, being illustrious for the excellence of this manner of living, he ended his life heroically, bearing good testimony, and he too as well was laid in the sepulchre of our convent.

The history of Tribunus the count is ended.

Next the forty-fifth history, of a perfect and excellent blessed man whose name was Isaac.

As therefore it is written that ‘a city that is built upon a mountain cannot be hid’, so also the light of the excellent manner of life of perfect men who

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1. Ms. ομιληθεῖσα.  2. Ms. om.  3. Ms. ομιληθεῖσα.
have employed themselves in works of excellence cannot be concealed. This blessed Isaac therefore was by his birth (γένος) from the city of Dara, and he had also a wife and children and a house, and the office of a protector, while he was constantly occupied in fasting and prayer and constant vigil, and in perpetual alms, so that out of the fervour of divine zeal he left house and wife and children as it is written for the sake of the hope of the promise of eternal life, and departed, and came to the royal city. And, having entered the ministering office (διακονία) of those who bathe the sick at night, and laboured with them in the labour and service of the house of God, he began to be known and honoured by many. And, being constantly occupied in practices of asceticism and so on, he secretly formed the plan of engaging in another spiritual employment; and so he secretly went out to one of the hospitals (ἐκατάθεσις) that was a little way from the city and hired himself out in it as a sick-attendant. And he took off all his clothes and sold them and gave to the poor; and he bought some hampen sackcloth and clothed himself in it. And thus he was henceforth a diligent attendant on the sick, since the affair of the sick openly gave him an opportunity and an

1. The protectores were a division of the household cavalry (Babai in *Ree. Hist.* cxiv, p. 225; cxvi, p. 225); but in this case the post was apply. honorary. — 2. Matth., xiv, 29. — 3. Or deaconery. i.e., a house established by the church for the care of the sick and poor under the superintendence of the deacons. Cf. p. 573 and H.E., 11, 13, 15, and see Ducange, s. v. diaconia. — 4. ἐκατάθεσις ἐκατάθεσιον is not found in Greek writers.
outlet for his secret manner of life, for his watching and vigilance and the recitation of service by night, he being vigilant and regular and diligent and standing before the sick, and busying himself about ministering to them and relieving them, so that all to whom he ministered blessed him, and continually prayed for him; but the other sick-attendants with the superintendent (μητροπολίτης) and all who were with him marvelled and wondered at the diligence and watching and fasting of the vigilant and diligent blessed man Isaac. But his wife, having learned that he had gone to the royal city, herself also too quickly went out after him, and she went about for a long time seeking him, insomuch that she learned from others that he was attending on the sick in such-and-such a hospital (μητροπολίτης). And, when she went and asked about him and he heard about it, he hid himself from her for a long time, while she lay in wait and went up and down to see him, and was quite unable to do so. But at last he sent her a message: «Go away from here, do not lie in wait and go up and down. You cannot see my face now; but go away now and wait, keeping quiet; and at the end of two months you shall come and see me». Having therefore received his word and put confidence in his truthfulness, knowing indeed that he would
not break his word, she withdrew and went away and sat quiet until the end of two months; and after that time, having gone with confidence to see him in the morning, she found that he was dead, and had been laid on a bench (στρεμμάτων), and wrapt in a sheet; and that woman by her wailing and lamentation and weeping declared the truth of the miracle, and the foreknowledge and' that in the exercise of discretion and humility for God’s sake, and not as a man in need, he had submitted to minister to the sick. And so everyone who heard of it was astonished, and a great number of people hastened to accompany the blessed Isaac to the grave; and thus his body was buried with a great procession and much honour, everyone marveling and wondering at him and serving God.

The history of the perfect blessed man Isaac is ended.

Next the forty-sixth history, of the blessed Paul, who was from the city of Antioch.

It is therefore no small thing that the memory of the history of Paul also the divine man and strenuous worker, who worked in his Lord’s vineyard
from morning till evening without growing weary, should be omitted from the order of those who have been inserted in this spiritual company. This great and earnest Paul therefore was by his birth (γενος) from Antioch; and he was earnest and fervent in religious zeal from his boyhood, so that from the greatness of his zeal he became stern and harsh, and a rebuker of those who approached religious work sluggishly in any manner; and the object of his zeal was to carry poor and old and sick persons by night, and he would take them and bathe and anoint them, and mend and change the clothes of those who were in need, and take them and give them to drink each one according to what was suited for him, and he would give small coins as was suited for each one of them. And thus before daybreak in company with others who shared his enthusiasm with him he would carry him\(^1\), and would go and lay him in his place (and he used to do this not to men only but also to women) for a long time; so that in consequence of this he by his zeal instigated many persons to share his labour, after teaching everyone from his house and from the produce of his labour to carry in his hand every day and bring for the use of the poor and sick needy persons according to his power, so that accordingly many of them became enthusiastic and used secretly to hasten

\(^1\) Sic syr.
to this labour. For many even of the great and eminent men of the city, having put off their apparel (στρυφοὶ) and clothed themselves in poor men's apparel (στρυφοὶ) and hoods that concealed their heads and faces, would thus put straps on their necks and carry the chairs of the sick and poor, and old men and women, and perform all the ministration to them, while in their earnest zeal they gladly spent money for each man according to his state in life to make provision for them. But Paul the earnest in spiritual things, having instituted and organized this ministration to the poor in his city of Antioch, and seen that it was being carried out by many persons with earnest zeal, withdrew and departed to the other great cities, stirring zeal and enthusiasm in many, and organizing and instituting this ministration in all cities through certain earnest and Christian men who concerned themselves about their lives' salvation, and earnestly endeavoured to gain the inheritance of eternal life. When this strenuous worker had been teaching and rousing enthusiasm, and instituting the work of this ministration to the poor in any one city, and had passed one year or two or more, and saw that his work had been instituted and organized in that city, his zealous plan would next draw him
to another city; and so accordingly he acted in this way and instituted the work of this ministration not in eastern cities only, but also in many western cities too. When accordingly . . . . . 2 that he was not able and sufficient himself in person to repair to every city, he used accordingly to send others, and rouse the citizens, and advise and instigate them to take up this work, so that this great and holy work, which is more pleasing to God than all labours, grew and increased, and was instituted in every place and city, through the zealous enthusiasm of the man of God. When he had organized and built up and instituted this ministration in many cities, he in his zeal repaired to the royal city also besides, insomuch that in a short time he succeeded in beginning and gaining distinction and extending it there, and instigating many of the great and eminent men to become fellow-labourers and partners in his ministration, so that consequently his ministration was manifestly extended and increased and magnified, there being no rest or intermission all the night and in the day, so that he relieved and fed and refreshed not only the poor and maimed and sick and lame and blind and old

1. Ms. om. — 2. Some words have fallen out.
in the royal city, but also in all the suburbs beyond the water in all quarters of the same city besides, and also in all the cities round, Chalcedon and Nico-
media, and Cyzicus and Prusias and Heraclea, and as far as the sea of Pontus,
while he also bought clothing and brought it out and distributed it and gave it to many from any source from which it fell into his hands, while he also provided relief and refreshment with every kind of bathing for the poor and the strangers who were present. And so this man went on gaining distinction and showing prowess in the Lord’s work in the royal city for many years, while not neglecting to send money to other cities round Syria also for the expenses of that ministration, which he had planted and instituted in them. And accordingly many emulated his zeal and his earnestness and imitated it, so that other deacons (δικεφαλεῖς) were established not for men only but also for women and great and lowly in ardent zeal hastened to minister, and to take part by means of gifts. And so the blessed Paul ended the course of his practices in the same royal city, bearing good testimony.

1. Ms. ἐφετείον. — 2. The suburb beyond the Golden Horn, now Galata and Pera; see p. 27 and p. 431. We are perh. to understand that he was living in the Syrian monastery. — 3. See p. 467, n. 3, and H.E., ii. 15. — 4. Some words have fallen out.
of dry bones and skin laid over them outside like wood; and thus his whole body was dried up from the labour and abstinence and watching, his prayer also accompanying his action in all cities in the east and in the west, and especially in the royal city, while many consequently clothed themselves in his zeal and added something to this ministration, until it grew and increased and expanded everywhere, and every day an addition was made to God’s glory and the relief of the poor.

The history of the blessed Paul, who was from the city of Antioch, is ended.

Next the forty-seventh history, concerning the holy communities which
Theodora the queen gathered together in Constantinople, communities from every place in the royal city which were gathered together in the royal mansion called that of Hormisdas by the believing queen Theodora whose soul is at rest.

On the subject therefore of the community of blessed men which was
gathered together in the royal city by the believing queen at the time of the persecution, out of many peoples and various local tongues, we wish to leave a record at short length; and the history of it is sufficient to cause discerning men to marvel at it, since it was indeed composed of many blessed men who did not fall short of the number of five hundred, and with1 great and venerable old men; and the congregation of persecuted saints was so widely extended that2 it shone with many who had under the constraint of the persecution come down from columns and been ejected from places of seclusion, and been expelled from districts, and their congregation was rendered illustrious by great and distinguished heads of convents from all quarters of the east and of the west, and Syria and Armenia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia, and Asia and Alexandria and Byzantium, countries which beyond others burned with zeal for the faith, while one might consequently go into the palace (παλάτιον) itself called that of Hormisdas, as into a great and marvellous desert of solitaries, and marvel at their numbers, and wonder at their venerable appearance, and the same men's honoured old age, and be affected by the crucifixion of their bodies and their practices of standing and the same men's spiritual songs which were heard

1. Sic syr. — 2. Or 'because'.
from all sides, and at their marvellous canticles and their melancholy voices which were performed and uttered in all the chambers and courts (παντείας) and cells and halls (τρίκλινος) of that palace (παλάτιον), and they were ranged in order and full in every place, and they were crowded and packed and their cells were full, as well as every chamber and room in that place; while one might see in each of the great halls (τρίκλινος) that they were filled by rows of planks, for by the care of the queen cells had been made and provided for the old and great and honoured men among them, and some of the stylites and recluse and solitaries, besides all the quantity of cells that were in all the quarters of that palace (παλάτιον), and besides the great community which in one chamber had as it were the organization of one convent and one service, and an archimandrite and a steward, and servitors \(^1\) and a table together, and were continually governed according to the whole perfect organization of a convent; while all the other halls (τρίκλινος) besides, as we have stated above, were full of the blessed men's cells and booths, some of wood and some of curtains, and some of matting and so on, while severe labours and protracted fasts and constant vigils and perpetual prayers, as well as celebrations and descents of

\(^1\) See p. 62, n. 2.
the Spirit in every place were being carried on, while altars were fixed up everywhere, so that in consequence not only did the believing people run to the amazing sight, and see and marvel and be astonished and wonder at these spiritual congregations, and run to each one of these saints to be blessed and to be assisted by their prayers, but even some of those who did not belong to their communion would run to that amazing community about which they had heard, and see and marvel and be astonished and dumbfounded and edified, and would give thanks to God, and in consequence a great number of the people of the city like a full river turned aside to these holy communities, and flowed on and overflowed at all times; insomuch that many of the participators with the synod of Chalcedon, which was a cause of scandal and of the persecution of the blessed men, when they saw this marvellous community, and learned the causes of the persecution of it, had their mind filled with affliction and contrition, and renounced the Chalcedonian communion, and asked for communion with them, and thus many were added to the believers; while the believing queen also would regularly once in every two or three days come down to them to be blessed by them, being amazed at
their community and their practices, and admiring their honoured old age, and going round among them and making obeisance to them, and being regularly blessed by each one of them, while she provided the expenses required for them liberally in every thing; while the king also, who was ranged against them on account of the synod of Chalcedon, marvelled at their congregation, and himself also was attached to many of them and trusted them, and was constantly received and blessed by them. And thus this great community became illustrious by a variety of practices all the days of the blessed queen's life, while even after her death she laid an injunction upon the king about it, and it was preserved, and all the lifetime of Justinian the king he looked after them and honoured them, and supported the remnant of them, even to the present time which is the year eight hundred and seventy-seven, that is the remnant that was left of it to the present time (but it is the same); while our meanness also from the beginning of the collection of this community and before it was completely collected, and even down to this time at which we have in it set down the record that tells of it (since for a considerable time we were with it also in the same royal city at that time)

1. Curr. in later hand to 𝒁. — 2. Ms. ܕ. — 3. Ms. ܐ. This sentence is either very corrupt or very carelessly composed, and the emendations are doubtful.
was\(^1\) with it first on account of the persecution, and at the end which is the rest of all this long time, which passes thirty years\(^2\), on account of the conversion from the error of paganism, which as by the dispensation and assistance of God's grace was performed in the districts of Asia by the instrumentality of our meanness, so that eighty thousand were converted and rescued from paganism, and ninety-eight churches and twelve monasteries, and seven other churches transformed from Jewish synagogues were founded in these four provinces (ὀπαρχίας)\(^3\), Asia, Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia. These things we have recorded for the glory of God, and, in case anyone should find fault or be offended on account of the length of our stay in the royal city, by way of explanation\(^4\).

It would not be irrelevant to set down also a record of the loving care of God that was shown to this community from the beginning even to the end. Since, as we said before, a great congregation amounting to thousands in number used to assemble in the presence of the blessed men for the sake of their blessings and their prayers, and to have the privilege of receiving the

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1. Ms. om. The sentence is either much confused or very corrupt. — 2. This must be reckoned from his first visit in 535; see Intro., p. iv. It cannot mean that he was living in the palace of Hormisdas all this time, for we know that he lived in the monastery at Sycae, but only that he was one of the Monophysite community in CP. See Intro., p. vi. — 3. See p. 416, n. 3. — 4. The sentence is ungrammatical.
oblation consecrated by them in one of the great halls (τρόφιμων), inside which there was also a martyrs’ chapel, one day, when a great crowd was assembled and it was filled from end to end, on account of the great weight of the people suddenly at the time of the celebration that chamber broke in and fell, thousands of people going down with it. And, when shrieking and terror and panic suddenly arose, so that the sound of the shrieking was heard a long distance, as far as the great palace (παλάτσου), and a sudden report went about « Many thousands of those who do not assent to the synod have been killed », then indeed the descent of God’s mercifulness descended¹, and was made manifest upon these multitudes by the prayers of the saints themselves, so that not one soul among them perished, and there was not a hurt on the body of any of them, although many fell on the top of one another, among them women carrying their children; and thus they all rose from that fall, and it was only from the terror and panic that some of them received a shock. And they came out thanking and praising and blessing God who saved them from death, and all who saw them wondered at this great miracle of deliverance from death which had happened to them; while this story filled the king and

¹ Sic syr.
queen and the magnates also, and the rest of the people throughout the city with astonishment, and called forth praise and thanksgiving to God, and rendered the community of the blessed men itself honourable in the eyes of everyone, so that at last the king sent, and made the hall (προκάστα) itself that fell a portico. And a second miracle which God wrought in the place where this holy community was happened as follows.

After the death of the believing Theodora the queen, when this community had also lost some of its earlier numbers, the adversaries were stirred up with envy against it, and induced the king to eject them from the former place, and remove them to another place belonging to the crown called the house of Urbicus¹. And, while a few of the holy old men were in these cells, the adversaries introduced some women with their husbands, and others who were not chaste, and filled the place where the blessed men lived, where the sacrament and the service of God used to be performed; and, whereas these men thought to defile the saints’ dwelling, God purified it by a sudden fire, in that fire fell and burnt the whole of that place, only

¹ Rather Urbicus.
a small portion of it escaping, while the fire also caught some of these women themselves and burnt them. And so at last it was given to the martyrs’ chapel of the holy Mar Sergius, and a monastery was built on that spot; and it remains to the present time to the glory of God, and for the purpose of the confession of his name, and to fulfil that which is written, « The Lord knoweth his own and is known by his own »¹.

* The history concerning the communities which Theodora the queen gathered together in Constantinople is ended.

**Next the forty-eighth history, of the five blessed patriarchs who distinguished themselves in exile (ἐξορία) in the time of the persecution.**

It seemed to us a necessary thing and one that is very proper that by means of written memorials the history also of the perfect blessed fathers and great and spiritual pastors, the arch-fathers, the five patriarchs, Severus, Theodosius, Anthimus, Sergius, and Paul, should be given to the knowledge

¹. II Tim., 11, 19 (?).
of posterity in writing, among whom the blessed Severus like a valiant and heroic man first distinguished himself in mighty and intense conflicts (ἐγών) of persecution, having been chased from the city of Antioch, and departed to the city of Alexandria, and withdrawn to the deserts of Egypt, while he carried out to the full the monastic model in which he had before also lived a life of austerity and poverty, and he engaged in a splendid conflict (ἐγών) of contention against Julian of Halicarnassus 1. Besides him moreover the blessed Theodosius also besides was chased and departed from Alexandria. While these were in banishment 2, the blessed Anthimus, who was bishop of the city of Trebizond, was summoned 3 to the royal city, and on account of the excellence of his mode of life he was raised to the throne (θρόνος) of the royal city itself; and, when he had retained the administration of that great throne (θρόνος) for a considerable number of years 4, and had heard and learned about the persecution of the blessed men Severus 5 and Theodosius, and investigated and learned the reason of their banishment, which is the evil faith of the synod of Chalcedon, he chose for himself like the great Moses to undergo affliction with his brothers, and not for a short time take his

1. 'Zach Rh.', ix, 9-13. — 2. Theodosius was expelled after Anthimus, but at the time of A.'s accession he had been driven out by the Julianists. — 3. Or 'called' (sc. to the bishopric.). — 4. Really 10 months (June, 535-Mar., 536). — 5. S. was banished 17 years before the appointment of Anthimus—but during A.'s episcopate he was in C P., and was forced to leave at the time of his expulsion.
pleasure 1 among the evil impieties of Chalcedon. And so he spoke much with the king and made entreaty to him with regard to the peace of the churches, and with regard to summoning his brothers, and, when no attention was paid to him, he took his pall and laid it on the altar before the king himself and departed, while he also wrote letters to the two patriarchs, as they also composed synodical letters to him 2; and thus they made union with one another, and all the party of the believers was affected with great joy. But, when the queen saw the king's wrath against the blessed Anthimus on account of what he had done, and his great threatening, she took him and hid him in a chamber in her palace (παλάτιον), in order that men might not know what had befallen him, except only herself and two chamberlains her accomplices, while even the king and everyone else might think that she had removed him and banished him entirely outside the city. And so for this reason the blessed man was in great peace, while he also performed his honourable labours and his great practices; because he had in fact been a monk before and he was so afterwards also, who never tasted bread, and also never drank wine, and had passed twenty-five years in this great abstinence, it having been in fact the whole time of the episcopate and of

his patriarchate; and thus he carried out the rule even after his expulsion also down to the end of his life, when he had also completed a space of ten years in hiding, until many thought that he was dead, until the time of the queen's death \(^1\), and so he was discovered and made known, and he was received by the king, while he also made peace with him, and held him in great honour, till the end of the blessed man's life, and he used to make entreaty with regard to the peace of the church. But the blessed Severus had before these things been summoned by the king to the royal city on account of the peace of the church; and under great pressure from everyone he came, saying, « Since it is everyone's will lo! I will go up, but it is impossible that anything whatever will be done by those who are in power »; and so he went up, and passed two years \(^2\) labouring and teaching. And, when he saw that his statement that nothing would be done was being accomplished, he went back to the southern regions of Alexandria, constantly occupying his time in the desert in retreat and asceticism and studying the writings of the fathers, and perfectly carrying out great labour and an abstemious life. And, when he had completed a period of some years in

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1. Theodora lived 12 years after A.'s deprivation. In the Eccl. Hist. (Land, p. 389) J. says that he was 7 years in hiding. — 2. Really 533-Mar., 536 (‘Zach. 1st’, ix, 13). It seems clear that J. had never seen S., and therefore left Cte. before his arrival (Dyakonov, p. 99); but I cannot follow Dyakonov in rejecting the statement of ‘Zach.’ that S. arrived in ind. 13, and therefore before 1 Sept., 535.
his banishment, he fell into a sickness; and afterwards they carried him from the desert to a city of Egypt called Ksow\(^1\), and there he ended the course of his conflict (\(\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\)) and went to the Lord\(^2\).

But the blessed Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria, also had been bravely contending in the conflict (\(\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\)) of persecution for a considerable time, during all the lifetime of king Justinian, and did so after his death\(^3\), even to the present time, which is the year eight hundred and seventy seven\(^4\), (a new king having also succeeded in the same year, who is Justinian's sister's son, who also promises with the help of the blessed Theodosius to bring about the peace of the church), having carried on a contest for about thirty years in exile (\(\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta\)) from place to place and from country to country. And\(^5\) he also as well ended the course of his practices in the same year, in the same royal city, nine months after the death of the same Justinian the king\(^6\), nothing whatever having been done in the matter of the union of the church. And he completed thirty-one years and a half\(^7\) in the conflicts (\(\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\)) of

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1. Xois (Ptol., IV, v, 50; Steph. Byz., s. v.; Plin., v, 9). — 2. 8 Feb., 528. — 3. 14 Nov., 565. — 4. 563/6. — 5. This sentence and the following, inconsistent with the preceding and with the end of the ch., are clearly a later addition of the author; see Introd., p. vii. — 6. This would place his death in Aug., 566; but 'Dionysius', who usually follows John, places it on 19 June, and in the Coptic calendar he is celebrated on 22 June. — 7. This must be reckoned from his expulsion by the Julianists in Feb., 535.
persecution and exile (ἐξορία) from place to place, having also gained distinction and renown all over the commonwealth (πολιτία) of us Romans, and he went in heroic fashion to the Lord. A period of some years therefore after the death of the blessed Severus the blessed Sergius succeeded him in orthodoxy (ἀγαθὸς ὑπάρχει) ¹, who was by his birth (γένος) a man of Thella ², a learned and well-read man, and among men renowned and well-known and honoured, and as regards God devout and given to fasting and a Nazirite, and a keeper of vigils, and a lover of quietude, and of reading the Scriptures and the exposition of the fathers, so that he was skilful in his speech, and a man of understanding. ³

This man therefore, having attained ordination (ἱεράτεια) to the patriarchy while in the royal city, and presided over the church, teaching and comforting and edifying and establishing everyone in the truth for three years after he had received the right hand of the high-priesthood of Antioch, ended his course, and was carried from the life here to our Lord in the same royal city. After three years from this man's decease a certain Alexandrine whose name was Paul attained the high-priesthood of the same see, that is

1. I.e., in the Monophysite succession, as opposed to the Chalcedonian patriarchs. 2. Constantin. 3. See p. 189.
outside in banishment; who also down to the present day after king Justinian's death is in the body with archbishop Theodosius.  

The history of the five blessed patriarchs who distinguished themselves in exile (ἐκστασία) in the time of the persecution is ended.

Next the forty-ninth history, of the blessed James the bishop and brave and valiant combatant (ἐγωνιστής).

It would not therefore be easy for any one to approach the task of relating the history of the blessed James without fear, a history which transcends all the extent of the limits of narrative, a man whose story is higher than all words and all understandings; but out of love of truth we will through our poor language and in our contemptible writing make both a memorial of a few of his own excellencies and a picture of the exhalation of his spiritual beauties. This saint therefore and veritable man of God from his boyhood, while he also was by his birth (γένος) from Thella, was trained in the celebrated convent of the monastery called that of Fsiltha, but some cause

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summoned him together with the blessed Sergius whom we mentioned above', who also attained the honour of the high-priesthood through the blessed James, with him first to go up to the royal city on account of the faith. And, when they had been received with great honour by the believing queen, and she had given them also a house and the rest of what they needed, thenceforth the blessed James dwelt alone in a little cell, in great retirement and arduous labours, and asceticism beyond measure, and in extraordinary poverty moreover in mode of life and in clothing, since he would cut one thick and ugly cloak of withes (?) into two, and out of its halves make what was required for his clothing and his scanty covering, and, though the blessed Sergius also as well did as he did and associated himself with him in fasting and vigil and constant recitation of service, yet he fell very far short of the standard of his retirement and his severe practices, on account of the communications brought by many who used to come to them and with whom he was required to speak; but the blessed James entirely refused to take part in these things, and refused also to appear during the

1. P. 487. — 2. According to the spurious life (see Appendix) for a conference with the Chalcedonians; but, if he became a bp. in 512 (ch. 50) and lived 15 yrs in C.P., he must have come in 527, which is before the time of the conferences. — 3. See p. 319, n. 2. The meaning may also be that he used half for clothing and half for a night-covering. From this attire he got the nickname 'Burd-a'ya' or 'Burd'ana' (the man of the patchwork garment); cf. p. 423.
day outside his cell. But, when he had been engaged for a period of about fifteen years in these labours in the same royal city in his cell, then by the provision and at the instigation of the believing queen he was under great pressure summoned to the episcopacy, together with another blessed man from the country of Arabia whose name was Theodore; because the party of the believers had diminished and a deficiency had moreover arisen in the order of the priesthood over all the commonwealth (πολιτεία) of the party of the believers. And, when both had received the high-priesthood, that is the blessed James that of the city of Edessa and Theodore that of Hier tha of the Saracens¹, then he armed himself with divine strength, and went out to the work of his ministry, while he thenceforth began to pour out the priesthood derived from him copiously over the regions in all the eastern districts, like a great river in the days of Nisan², having entered upon the high road of heroism at a vigorous spiritual pace without ceasing or resting night and day, while in accordance with the saying of the apostle he clothed himself in the breastplate of righteousness, and girded his loins with the perfection of faith, and took hold of the shield of salvation³, while he was at all times carrying on a contest on behalf of the truth 'on the right hand and on the left,

1. Also called Hiertha d' Nu'man (p. 145). The mention of Theodore and his see has been omitted in the ms, and is supplied from ch. 50. — 2. April. — 3. Eph., vi, 14-17.
in glory and in dishonour. And so in the upper and lower countries, while he was running the vigorous course of heroism without ceasing from the Persian frontier even as for as the royal city of Constantinople, and Alexandria and all the countries, and fulfilling the work of the ministry to all the orthodox believers, not only by organizing the clergy and the giving of the priesthood, but also by consoling and comforting and edifying and strengthening and teaching all the party of the believers everywhere; so that consequently his fame was carried over all quarters, and in every country and city; so that all the synodite bishops from all sides were exasperated, and made threats against him to arrest him and tear him in pieces. And, while they were running after him with menaces in all quarters, he was sheltered by the divine grace, and was not delivered into the hands of his pursuers, and of those who sought his life. For, whenever he went to any district, he would complete all the work of his ministry in one night perhaps and one day, and would pass the next night thirty or forty miles or more farther on; and, whenever news of him was heard in one district, and his pursuers went out after him, the brave man would be found in his heroism fulfilling his work in
another district, while those who were running after him to the right and to the left were found beating the air (ἐκβλέπειν), and, exasperated and biting their fingers, they would turn back with great shame, filled with bitterness and confusion and gnashing their molars against the man mighty in his Lord, and that while news of him was flying about to-day in one quarter and to-morrow in another; while for his part he resolutely refused to allow even a travelling-companion to carry any gold or silver or bronze with him, or any food upon the journey, though he would travel extended stages (παρακαταλασία) at a vigorous pace, since on many days they would traverse more than the miles of the stage (παρακαταλασία), while he would not consent to the fast and abstinence being broken; insomuch that on many days men could not travel with him and minister to him more than a short time, since they could not hasten on with his old age and support and endure his abstinence; while he also would not consent to avail himself of the use of an animal for riding or for driving, but he used to accomplish his travelling on foot, since besides being strengthened by divine grace he further also possessed a sound body by nature. And thus he would accomplish the course along the road of

1. Ms. om. — 2. So I emend from the interpolated life (see Introdc., p. xiv, n. 7).
righteousness, and would make an addition to the party of the believers every day in every place, among Greeks and among Syrians; so that his fame which was in every place sorely exasperated the adversaries, and disturbed them and made them run after him over the roads and districts and quarters. And, when the report of him reached this place, the news of him would further rouse excitement over an unlimited space in one day, while consequently pursuers and horses would run after him in droves from all sides, meeting one another; insomuch that as chance would have it those who were pursuing him often met the blessed James himself, and asked him about himself, saying, « Have you heard any secret news of that deceiver James anywhere there? », and he on his side would name to them a place no small distance behind him, saying: « Yes, I have heard from some men who were saying that he was in such-and-such a place, and was going about there; and, if you set out, perhaps you will catch him. » Having heard these things from him as a piece of secret information and supposing him\(^1\) to be a partisan, they would leave him himself, and run after him in accordance with the story that he had told them\(^2\). And so their outward eyes were closed

1. Ms. om. — 2. The same story is told of Simeon of Beth Arsam (p. 143).
as well as their inner ones, that they might not recognise the blessed man, while it was not these only who were exasperated and disturbed by the news of him, but also the king himself, who gave no small amount of gold to those who promised to capture the blessed man, bishops and many monks and several laymen; so that many, when they saw his intentness and his eager desire and the gift that he gave for the capture of the blessed man, and that everyone who promised to capture him received from him a large quantity of gold, as much as he asked, used consequently to deceive him, and promise and receive gold, from two hundred and three hundred darics, and go out. And there are some of them who while they were making search with great diligence in every place, in deserts and on mountains and in cities and in villages, were dazed and wearied, while they were unable to find the bondman of God on account of his abstemiousness\(^1\), though these things continued to be carried on in this way for many years, indeed even till after king Justinian's death, while the blessed man was strengthened in his Lord, and was confident like a lion, and accomplished his ministry, causing the priesthood to flow like great rivers over the whole world of the Roman dominions; so that, if a man take upon himself to say that a hundred thousand were ordained by him.

\(^1\) This appy means that he was able to travel so rapidly because he travelled so light and did not stop to take food.
I do not think he will depart from the truth; even as no small number of bishops and two patriarchs 1 also received ordination (ἐπίσκοποι) from him and from others who were with him as is enjoined in the canons. First he took two admirable blessed men whose names are Eugene and Conon and entered the city of Alexandria, and there with other bishops he made them also as well bishops, and so he went out; and with them he heroically performed the work of the ministry, which has been going on even down to this first year of the reign of Justin the king 2, though he has now reached an honoured old age, though he does not fall short of the work of youth. For, as we declared at the beginning of the history that is concerned with him that the history that is concerned with him cannot be related in accordance with what he is, so also we state now at the end, having recorded a small portion of the conflict (ἀστυνομияς) of the blessed man's contests and of his pursuits and his work for the glory of God, who chose him and strengthened him and set him up in his church in the time of the persecution, in order that we may all be assisted by his prayer together with that of all the saints Amen and Amen!

The history of the brave and valiant blessed man James the bishop and combatant (ἀστυνομιστής) is ended.


[405] LIFE OF JAMES. 697
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### MSS. USED IN THE PRESENT FASCICULE

\[\begin{array}{ll}
Å = \text{Brit. Mus. Add. 14647 (688).} \\
B = \text{— — — 14650 (875).} \\
D = \text{— — — 7190 (12th cent.).} \\
E = \text{— — — 14651 (859).} \\
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JOHN OF EPHESUS
LIVES OF THE EASTERN SAINTS

SYRIAC TEXT EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

E. W. BROOKS

III
Next the fiftieth history, concerning the same two bishops, the excellent and divine blessed men James and Theodore, who were together in the royal city at the time of the persecution, and concerning the active work that was performed by them during the same persecution, by the instigation and the command of the believing Theodora the queen.

Before these things therefore, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Justinian, after the time of the martyrdom of the blessed combatant for religion John bishop of the city of Thella at the hands of Ephraim of Antioch, when a lack of priests had consequently arisen in the countries of the east and of the west, and especially of bishops, then the glorious Hereth Bar Gabala, the great king of the Saracens, with many others asked the Christ-loving queen Theodora to give orders that two or three bishops might immediately be instituted by the orthodox in Syria. And, since the believing queen was desirous of furthering everything that would assist
the opponents of the synod of Chalcedon, she gave orders and two blessed men, well-tried and divine persons, whose names were James and Theodore, were chosen and instituted, one for Hirtha of the Saracens, that is Theodore, and James for the city of Edessa. And, while the blessed Theodore exercised authority in the southern and western countries, and the whole of the desert and Arabia and Palestine, as far as Jerusalem, the blessed James, having armed himself with religion, and clothed himself in the zeal of heroism, extended his course over all the countries not only of Syria and the whole of Armenia and of Cappadocia, all of which down to the little ones were especially distinguished and strong in orthodoxy (ὑποδοξία) no less than Syria, and besides these in the countries also of Cilicia and the whole of Isauria and of Pamphylia and Lycaonia and Lycia and Phrygia and Caria and Asia, and in the islands of the sea Cyprus and Rhodes, and Chios and Mitylene, and as far as the royal city of Constantinople, in which also besides all the countries he displayed the course of heroism, and filled

1. This Hirtha (sc. 'camp'), the seat of the Roman Saracens, is probably different from Hirtha d Nu 'man' (p. 153), the seat of the Persian Saracens. — 2. We rather require 'eastern'. Perh. however the author is speaking from the point of view of the Syriac world, which extends from the Mediterranean to the Tigris. — 3. Sc. children. — 4. We require 'but'. The author has, as often, forgotten how he began the sentence. — 5. Ms. om. — 6. This is probably the earliest use of 'Mitylene' for Lesbos.
the ranks of the priesthood, and spread orthodoxy (ἀρχοδοξία) abroad, who not only marshalled priests and supplied all quarters, but further also in keen religious zeal did not shrink even from making provision for ordaining and appointing high-priests, that is bishops, also in every place; so that, since he was careful to observe the regulations of the canons which command that without three bishops no bishop shall be instituted, he contrived to bring with him two monks of good repute for excellence of life, one from Cilicia and one from Isauria, and proceeded to the royal city; and, having received the advice and permission of the blessed Theodosius patriarch of Alexandria, who had been detained in the same royal city by way of exile (ἐκτίμιος) on behalf of the truth of the faith, the blessed James with the above-mentioned monks directed his path to the city of Alexandria, after fully carrying out the ministry of the priesthood in all the countries from the royal city as far as the sea-coast of Lycaonia; and so he entered Alexandria; and, after he had been in communication with the saintly men there, in accordance with the mandate received from the blessed Theodosius the patriarch, they assembled, and made these two blessed men bishops, one whose name was Conon in the city of Tarsus of Cilicia, and the other whose name was Eugene
in the city of Seleucia of Isauria; and so he took them and came back to Syria with admirable zeal. And so in accordance with the provision of the canons they made metropolitans, that is archbishops, one whose name was Dimet from the monastery of Aphthonia in the city of Laodicea, and another whose name was John from the monastery of the house of Mar Bzy in Seleucia in Syria, and another from those who were instituted at Alexandria who was mentioned above, whose name was Conon, in Tarsus in Cilicia, and the other whose name was Eugene in Seleucia in Isauria; and the other bishops also in Syria as follows, John from the monastery of the house of Mar Bassus in Kenneshrin, and another whose name was Sergius from the monastery of Aphthonia in Charrhac, and another whose name was John from the monastery of the house of Mar Hanina in Sura Romanorum. And, when they had set up bishops for the various cities of Syria as has been described, afterwards they went up to the royal city, and in our presence they ordained a patriarch in Antioch, a man whose name was Sergius from the city of Thella, who was living in the royal city and was versed

1. The interpolated life adds Antony and Antonius; see note there. — 2. The distinction between metropolitans and archbishops is later. — 3. Probably a shortened form of Demetrios (not Domitius, as P. Smith and v. D. and L.). — 4. The monastery which John son of Aphthonia established at Kenneshrine the Euphrates after it had been expelled from Seleucia at the persecution (Zach. Rh., viii, 5). — 5. Ms. 'Isauria'; see note on text. Eugene was made bp of S. in Isauria. The interpolated life of James has 'Syria'. — 6. Chalcis in Syria. — 7. See ch. 49.
in religious learning. And, when he had completed three years, he departed from the world; and after a time again they ordained a man whose name was Paul from Alexandria. About this man many controversies arose, and continue to the present time when these things were written. And again in the city of Amida they ordained as metropolitan a man whose name was Eunomius, who had been expelled with others among the same clergy of Amida, in the same royal city. And for the countries of Egypt, by the mandate of the blessed Theodosius the patriarch, they ordained twelve bishops at once in the royal city itself, for various cities of Thebais and of Egypt besides a large number of clergy; inasmuch as the patriarch Theodosius would not consent to ordain priests after he had left his see. And afterwards the blessed James and his companions went out to the countries of Asia for the second time, and they ordained four bishops in Asia, one in Ephesus a man whose name was John the Syrian, the convertor of the pagans, and in Smyrna a man whose name was Peter, and another whose name was John in the city of Pergamum, and another whose name was Peter in the city of Tralles. And after these things they crossed to the island of Chios.

1. It. E., iv, 13; Mich., p. 325 (Dyakonov, p. 148). 2. The author; see Intro., p. xiv. 3. See ch. 56.
in the city of Seleucia of Isauria; and so he took them and came back to Syria with admirable zeal. And so in accordance with the provision of the canons they made metropolitans, that is archbishops, one whose name was Dimet from the monastery of Aphthonia in the city of Laodicea, and another whose name was John from the monastery of the house of Mar Bzy in Seleucia in Syria, and another from those who were instituted at Alexandria who was mentioned above, whose name was Conon, in Tarsus in Cilicia, and the other whose name was Eugene in Seleucia in Isauria; and the other bishops also in Syria as follows, John from the monastery of the house of Mar Bassus in Kenneshrin, and another whose name was Sergius from the monastery of Aphthonia in Charrhae, and another whose name was John from the monastery of the house of Mar Hanina in Sura Romanorum. And, when they had set up bishops for the various cities of Syria as has been described, afterwards they went up to the royal city, and in our presence they ordained a patriarch in Antioch, a man whose name was Sergius from the city of Thella, who was living in the royal city and was versed

in religious learning. And, when he had completed three years, he departed from the world; and after a time again they ordained a man whose name was Paul from Alexandria. About this man many controversies arose, and continue to the present time when these things were written. And again in the city of Amida they ordained as metropolitan a man whose name was Eunomius, who had been expelled with others among the same clergy of Amida in the same royal city. And for the countries of Egypt, by the mandate of the blessed Theodosius the patriarch, they ordained twelve bishops at once in the royal city itself, for various cities of Thebais and of Egypt besides a large number of clergy; inasmuch as the patriarch Theodosius would not consent to ordain priests after he had left his see. And afterwards the blessed James and his companions went out to the countries of Asia for the second time, and they ordained four bishops in Asia, one in Ephesus a man whose name was John the Syrian, the converter of the pagans, and in Smyrna a man whose name was Peter, and another whose name was John in the city of Pergamum, and another whose name was Peter in the city of Tralles. And after these things they crossed to the island of Chios.

and set up a bishop in it, a man whose name was Kashish from the monastery of John of Ephesus, both of whom were from the monastery of the house of Mar John at Amida. And again they went back and crossed to the regions of Caria, and there they set up two bishops, one whose name was Paul in a city the name of which is Aphrodisias, and another whose name was Julian in a city the name of which is Alabanda. These are all the bishops and archbishops, who are in number twenty-seven, besides two patriarchs whom the blessed James ordained with all the other bishops, besides many clergy in all the eastern and western countries. Many of all these were instituted in our presence, and with regard to the truth of all these things we give confident and truthful witness that they were done as above, and we have made a commemorative record of them for the knowledge of posterity; but of the sublime manner of life of the blessed James, and his courage and perfection, we have made a record in the preceding history.

The history of two bishops the excellent and divine blessed men, James and Theodore, is ended.

Next the fifty-first history, of the blessed Kashish bishop of the island of Chios.

Since therefore in one of the previous histories also we made mention of the subject of the history of the great blessed man of God our father Kashish the bishop, when he was indeed still in the life in the body with us, we did not think it right even after his decease also to withhold the treasure full of spiritual riches of his great modes of life and of his honoured labours. This saint therefore was by birth (γίνομ) from a village called that of ‘Aina da Frakha which is beyond Nirba and Skws, and, while he was still a little boy, he was called by God’s grace, and left his kin (γίνομ) and his parents, and went out, and entered our holy convenant of the house of Mar John in the city of Amida and received instruction there, while we ourselves also besides were in the same convenant at an early period of age; and we came to the convenant at the same time when about fifteen years old; and thenceforth we were trained together in labour and in the reading of the holy Scriptures in brotherly fashion; insomuch that together we endured and supported thirty

years of chasing from one district to another with all our holy fathers and spiritual brothers, and the holy convents throughout the East; so that for such reasons we were led to the western districts on a long peregrination, while that saint did not cease running along the great road of righteousness, nor diminish the labour of his marvellous great practices; but at last he was seized by the keen impulse of the excellent life, so that in love of peregrination and at a distance from acquaintances he extended his own travels to the remote countries of Egypt and Thebais and Greece and the whole of Illyricum, and even as far as Rome and the other countries; insomuch that he changed the monastic habit (σέλαχα) for lay attire, in order that he might not on account of the habit (σέλαχα) be venerated or honoured by any man, but as an ordinary poor man he went about everywhere among poor ordinary needy men: and consequently he suffered blows and distresses in a laborious, distressing, severe, and hard life of peregrination, especially in consequence of the fact that he had determined in himself not to receive charity from anyone and not to reap any enjoyment whatever from the labour of others, except from the work of his hands, for he used to make baskets (στυρίδα) and pairs of bellows, and handsome tiaras (κυμάλκωνια) of various

1. κατακλημένη αντι πόλεως τῆς περήφανης τῆς Βασιλείας (Cedr., I, p. 297); apply. a kind of straw hat (v. D. and L.).
colours, which he had learned in Egypt. Thus wherever he was settled he worked; and he would make things not only for his own special need, but where he could find material for his trade he would also give the rest of his earnings to the strangers and the poor who were at hand. But in the other places where it was impossible to carry on his trade he was in great straits; so that, as he would relate, his sustenance often came from wild herbs, or from the fruit of the trees of the desert. But, when we heard these things from him, we used to marvel and wonder at the fortitude and heroism of the strenuous worker, how great his strength was to bear trials and to endure these grievous and severe miscalcations. When he had completed about thirteen years in these conflicts (ἐγκαταταξία) of peregrination, and in wearisome travelling through the upper countries, he was constrained by love of the brotherhood that was with us to embark upon a ship, and he came and arrived at Chios an island of the sea from the upper countries; and, when he had received the privilege of worshipping the efflin of the blessed Isidore the great martyr, and had remained there some days, that island pleased him, and he took up his residence in it; since many believers were indeed to be found in it at the time of the persecution, on account of a hospital (εὐσώφρονον) which Theodora the queen had made in it (and she established monks there,
and many banished bishops resided in it from time to time), while he had now indeed also reached the feebleness of old age ¹ and many diseases, for which reason also especially he was led to seek the rest of quietude. And thenceforth, while he was enjoying the quietude of the residence in that island, he diligently performed the labour of his practices, and he employed himself in his handiwork on a large scale, inasmuch as material (ὢν) was to be found in the date-palm leaves from the Alexandrine ships which touched there ². While he was performing these tasks in this way, and working and labouring, he used to sell his handiwork; and retaining a small portion for his needs, he would spend all his earnings, and distribute them to the poor and the lame and the maimed and the blind and the sick, so that, when he had completed about five years in the island, while everyone was marvelling at his labour and his practices and his abstinence and his asceticism, then many believers in the place asked him to be their chief and spiritual pastor: so that, when the blessed James, whose history has been recorded above, brought two other bishops with him, and crossed to the island from the districts of Asia.

¹ J. has told us above that K. was about the same age as himself and that they entered the monastery when about 13 (522,3; see Intro., p. iv). Now, since K. started on his peregrinations with J., who settled in CP. in 510 (see Intro., p. v), this can hardly have been later than that year, and he therefore settled in Chios at latest in 553, when he was about 45 (Dyakonov, p. 81, 82). J. lived over 30 years longer. — ² See p. 190.
he seized him by force, and ordained him bishop of the believers of the same island', while he lamented and fled and refused; and he did not thus escape: but, although he had been a presbyter many years before, he was then forced to shave his hair which he had left in lay fashion (σγόνος); so that, when this became known to everyone, they marvelled at him all the more. Having completed a short time, he crossed to us also in the countries of Asia, and also laboured earnestly and zealously with us for a considerable time in the work of the ministry of converting men from paganism, while much comfort and consolation was also brought about for us by his devoutness and his venerable old age and the laboriousness of his practices, while we also never again separated from one another in our old age, just as we had not done so in the time of our youth; but, after we had been carrying on the work of the ministry for about one year, that time we came together to the royal city, while the blessed man also ended the work of his ministry in the same island in which he had been summoned to the bishopric, and removed to the quietude of the monastery which by the power of God we had erected by the holy Mar Mama beyond the water and resided there and rested, and he enjoyed the quiet restfulness of the place. And, when he had in this way been carrying

out the labour of his practices unto a space of three years, he ended the course of his practices; and he fell asleep and his holy body was buried and laid in this same monastery; by whose prayers with those of all the saints who pleased the Lord may we all find grace in the day of judgment, and may the monastery which received his coffin, with the other churches and monasteries which he erected in the name of the Lord God of the ages¹, be established to the glory of the Holy Trinity unto the end.

_The history of the blessed Kashish bishop of the island of Chios is ended._

Next the fifty-second history, of certain great and holy persons children of eminent men of Antioch, who despised the world and all that is in it and lived a holy life in it in poverty of spirit in an assumed garb (σκεύασμα).

It did not seem to be a right thing to withhold this spiritual traffic also

¹. Sc. in Asia; see p. 479. As he was alive when ch. 39 was written, he must be presumed to have died in 566 and come to CP. in 563.
besides and the great abundance of massed profits which spring from many persons to all who are desirous of the good traffic that is concerned with their lives and rejoice in the double spiritual profits which will arise from the persons (πρύτανων) whose marvellous likenesses we are about though obscurely to trace by means of our contemptible words, by no means stating more than what we received by report and accurately learned from God’s bondman who saw and was in close contact with these same holy persons (πρύτανων) and learned the rest from them in secret and imparted it to me by repetition, who was a fellow-resident with us for eight years till the end of his life, who for seven years went out in quest of the same persons (πρύτανων) of whom he had been deprived and from whom he had been separated. This perfect saint therefore belonged to a distinguished family (γνώριμος) from the city of Amida in Mesopotamia, wearing the habit (σάρκαβα) of a clergyman, and his name was John. This man therefore during the whole of the residence with us in the royal city we always saw shedding copious tears and sobbing, so that, when we questioned him closely as to the reason of these

1. From this we should suppose that he did not tell the story till the end of his 8 years in CP; yet from the words put in the narrator’s mouth the story appears to have been told immediately after the 7 years’ peregrinations.
things, and especially with adjurations, he would weep bitterly, saying, « What have I to say to you? for I, an unhappy man that I am, suffered a spiritual loss, and to-day it is now a space of seven years that I have been going out and going round the peoples and the countries and the cities, and I have not succeeded in finding it, insomuch that it was on this quest that I came to this royal city ». When we questioned him as to that loss, he would tell us the story, weeping and saying, « Lo! in the sight of God I say, my brethren, that I will not lie to you in telling the astounding story of what I saw and heard in certain perfect persons and ’ from them. When I was in the city of Amida nine years ago², and was constantly devoting myself to reciting the service and to vigil in the holy church, I used to see a young man of handsome appearance as in the garb (σεφορν) of a mime-actor (μαθης), and with him moreover a young girl whose beauty cannot be portrayed and whose appearance was comely and marvellous accompanied him in the garb (σεφορν) of a courtesan (πρεσβυς), and they used to go about the city in that assumed garb (σεφορν) in order to deceive the spectators, lest anyone should perceive and know what they were, and they used constantly to perform

1. Ms. om. — 2. This must have been after the author left Amida (337), and was probably not much before 341 (see end of ch.).
drolleries (παρωνία) and buffooneries, being constantly in the courts of the church like strangers, jesting at the clergymen and everyone, and being boxed on their heads by everyone as mime-actors (μῖσος), while at all hours of the day a large number of people surrounded them, chiefly on account of their marvellous appearance, and the comeliness of their faces (πρόσωπον), joking and playing with them, and giving them slaps (κόκκος) on their heads, but at nights men were not able to find out and learn where they slept, so that many of the froward men, having been by the appearance of the young woman's face (πρόσωπον) ardently smitten and kindled with the passion of desire for her, while they also made plans to fulfil their desire in the darkness of night and commit fornication with her, wearied themselves and kept awake and watchful and went round all the streets of the city and its corners (γωνία) to find her, and they were not able to do so; so that many of the distinguished men, having been smitten with passion, and being ardently inflamed with desire for her, begged the governor (ϕυγμών) of the city to arrest her and set her in the street, which he indeed did immediately, and he sent and seized her to force her to stand in the street, so that when the man dressed like a mime-actor (μῖσος) who was with her saw it he wailed
with a loud voice, and ran crying 'She is my wife, and I do not wish her to stand in the street'. But a great and distinguished devout and God-fearing woman whose name was Cosmo¹ on learning it was distressed, and she sent and took her from the governor's (ἡγεμόνος) men and brought her up to her house. And, when she also too saw her marvellous face (πρόσωπον) and that she was wearing the garb (στυλετα) of a courtezan (πάρνη), she continued admonishing her, saying: 'Wherefore, my daughter, whose person is like a beautiful pearl, have you fallen into the mire of fornication, and wherefore are you polluting and staining your soul and impairing your beauty?', so that, when she on her part heard these things, she continued weeping and saying: 'Yes, madam, pray for me that God may draw me out of the mire of my sins'.

After these things they went back to their former habits, and that lady did not learn what they were. And, while much was being said about them » (the blessed John would say), « and no one succeeded in discovering or learning the resting-place where they slept at nights, I myself as if by the grace of God discovered it by my reasonings, inasmuch as I reasoned. These

¹. Dykonov (p. 370) suggests that this may be the sister of Thomas the hermit (p. 19). See Introd., p. 3, n. 4.
persons who in garb (σαρώς) appear to be mime-actors (μιμὰς) are in actions spiritual persons', and from that time I began to observe them, and at evening time I posted myself behind them, keeping close opposite to them, while they, in order that no one should observe them and find them out, continued the whole evening until the whole city was being gathered in going round many streets by a long course, going in by one street and coming out by another, and crossing rough and dark places, so that I also followed after them at a short distance, so that two or three hours of the night ¹ were already past, and so, after the city had become still, they directed their course to the line of the wall, and mounted the wall, while I also was stealthily mounting after them. And, keeping myself close to a pinnacle of the wall, I stood up, and I saw that both placed themselves standing with their faces toward the east, and stretched out their arms to heaven in prayer in the form of a cross, and after a time they fell upon their faces in prayer, and they stood up and again fell upon their faces in prayer, and they stood up again and fell down and they went through the same form for

1. Here again the hours seem to be reckoned from midnight, since the city can hardly have been quiet at 8 or 9 PM; see p. 391, n. 1.
a long time, and afterwards they sat down to rest, and thus I on my part ran and fell on my face before them, adjuring them by God the All-Ruler not to hide from me the truth as to what and whence they were. And they on their side were alarmed and very greatly annoyed, saying, ‘Man, who are you and what do you want? And why do you want to prove us here? And what do you want to learn from mime-actors (μίμοι)?’ And, because I recognised the trouble which their minds felt, as if they had already been laid bare, I gave them a great and terrible oath, ‘No men shall hear from my mouth about you as long as you are in this city’. Then they were a little appeased, requiring at my hands that I should not be seen speaking with them by day or honour them or greet them, and should not be prevented from slapping (κοσσιεῖ) them as mime-actors (μίμοι) as they said. And I gave them this promise. Then that man begged that young woman, saying to her, ‘Now that this our brother has found us out, because perhaps the Lord wished it so, since he himself also has regard to his life together with his sister, for it is twenty-four years that they have been living together, and he is supposed to have taken her to wife, but both have been preserved
in the purity and holiness of virginity to the present time, therefore speak with him, and be under no restraint. But I on hearing these things was the more frightened and alarmed, and I knew that they were in truth great spiritual persons and knowers of secrets. But the blessed woman answered again, saying to him, 'Pardon me, my brother. The priority is yours you speak.' But he again enjoined her, saying, 'Speak with him, my sister, without contention, and be under no restraint.' And so the handmaid of Christ began with sighs and affliction to speak to me about the world and about its deceitfulness, and about all its evil things and the destruction of those who go astray in it, and again about its end and dissolution, and about the future judgment, so that I and they spent all the hours of that night in sobbing tears and with the word of life spoken by the same blessed woman, for what proceeded from the mouth of that blessed woman was a matter to cause awe-struck astonishment. Afterwards they dismissed me to go down from that place, saying, 'Depart and go down, our brother, for we also are going down while it is dark, lest anyone perceive or recognise us.' And so I begged them to allow me to go up to them by night without
restraint; and, having strictly cautioned me, they gave me permission. And so I went down from them, in fear and in great joy, as they too went down to the court of the church, and when day broke they were to be seen acting mimes before everyone. But on the second night I waited for the hour, and went up again to them, and, having cast myself upon my face, I continued entreatling them not to conceal from me what they were, and what and of what nature their service was, and what their names were and how the names ran. They on their side say to me, 'Do you also give us your word that you will keep truth to us to keep our matter secret, and not cause us distress and give information about us, because we like being in this city which is a city of Christians, and we on our part will thenceforth not hide anything from you'. And on my giving them my word as they required of me they said to me: 'Know then first that our names are Theophilus and Maria, and we are by our birth (πέντε) from Antioch the great, children of men of eminence in the city, and we were both only children of our parents; but how it was that by God's help we came to adopt this garb (πέντε) hear for your edification and for God's glory. When I Theophilus the sinner was a little lad of about fifteen years, I was ordered by my father to take five horses and some
slaves, and go out to the village before daylight. And, when I on my side had risen during the night to go down to our stable (τσταιδιον) in which were many horses to take some and go out as I had been ordered, and when I had arrived at the door, I looked and saw alarming rays of light coming out from the chinks of the door and from the windows; and, having seen it from a distance and been frightened and thought that our stable (τσταιδιον) was on fire, I cried out. And I ran and looked through the chinks of the door, and I saw a poor man standing on the horses' dung on which he used to sleep with his hands stretched out to heaven, and rays of light proceeding from his mouth and from each of his fingers, and the whole building richly lighted.

And, having seen and marvelled, I then said to the slaves with me, « Do (you)¹ see that glorious light? » And they said « We have not seen anything ». And I cried to the stablemen (τσταιδιαΡος) to rise and open the door. And, when that poor man heard my voice, he threw himself upon that dung, and had already buried himself, since he was in fact naked, and was clad in rags only, and he had begged the stablemen (τσταιδιαΡος) on account of the severity (ζαντγκη) of the cold of winter that he might come in and bury himself in the horses' dung, in order that he might warm himself in it and

¹. Ms. om.
sleep. But, when he heard our voice, mine and that of the slaves, and threw himself down and drew in his hands, then that great light was obscured, and darkness fell over the whole building. And, the stablemen (σταθλίκαις) having run and kindled torch-lights and opened the door, I went in and ran and fell at that poor man's feet trembling and beseeching and adjuring him by God who made heaven and earth and all that is in them to let me know whence he was, and what he was, while he on his side continued repelling me and saying: «Sir, pardon me, for I am a miserable poor man, and on account of the severity (ἀνάγκη) of the winter I had begged permission to come in at evening time and sleep and warm myself in this dung: and from a poor man of this kind what can you learn? » And when I on my side had thrown myself at his feet and was adjuring him, and they were all amazed at me, while I swore to him « I will not rise from this place and you shall inform me of the truth », and when I continued to press him greatly and he saw that I would not leave his feet he said to me, « Dismiss your slaves and let them withdraw and I will speak with you ». And, when I had dismissed the slaves and the stablemen (σταθλίκαις) telling them to go outside, he began
to say, « What, my son, did you see in me that you were so insistent with me? » And I said to him, « A vision of rays of fire proceeding from your mouth while you were praying ». He on his side said to me, « It is not I, my son, who am anything of this kind, but because God wishes for your salvation and wishes to bestow this sight upon you it appeared to you in this way ». But, when I went on continuing to press him with terrible oaths that I would not give any information or disclosure to men about him while he lived, then he began to relate a story to me saying : « Since God wished to choose you, my son, that you may flee from the world and live a life without care, listen. As for me, the sinner and poor man whom you see, my name is Procopius, and I am son of great and distinguished people of Rome. And, when my parents betrothed a wife to me, and wished to hold a marriage-feast for me according to the worldly custom, and when the preparations had been made, I for my part left them and went on board ship, and by the guidance of God I arrived in these eastern countries, having taken into consideration the evils of the world and its distresses and temptations, and now lo! I have been as you see me for no small number of years. And now, my son, hear from me myself the poor man, and know what is in store for you. Lo! you are the only child of your parents, and they betrothed a bride to you who is also the only child of her parents. Know
therefore that during this year the parents of both of you will die, and both the properties (φιλία) will fall into your hands; and, if you wish to live a religious life and without care and the ruin of sins which much real and personal wealth brings to many, dispose of all your property (φιλία) and sell it and give to the poor and needy, and free all your bondmen, and give them presents to support and provide for them, and similarly dispose of the house and the property (φιλία) also of the young woman who was betrothed to you, since she will acquiesce in your desire in whatever you say to her, and so take her and go out in an assumed garb (σχήμα) and in strange countries, hiding the great profit of excellence which you are earning, lest it be snatched from you, that thus you may live the spiritual life. But I for my part promised to carry out all that he ordered, and I begged him not to deprive me of the sight of him, and abandon me and depart. And the holy blessed man of God Procopius made me a promise, saying, « This know, that, as long as you do not show me the appearance (πρόσωποι) of any respect, or show that you have any regard for me, and leave me as I am, that I may sleep in this dung, and are not constantly speaking with me or approaching
me before onlookers, you shall see me as long as you observe these things. But, if you practise any of these things toward me, you will not see me again in this life». And so I used to observe times, and make obeisance to him in secret places or outside the city, and receive consolation from his spiritual admonition, until in the same year the parents of both of us died, and we did everything as that saint ordered, even as my spiritual sister acquiesced in my purpose in everything, since she too received the privilege of the prayer and the sight and the blessing and the admonition of that saint, and we went out in pursuit of the life without care and have so continued to the present time, while neither of us has been besmirched by carnal intercourse, and this has not been revealed to anyone, and no other except you knows our secret, which we think has happened for your profit. And now we ourselves say to you the words of our holy father Procopius, that, as long as you keep faith with us, and do not look upon us before men except in the guise (σελήνας) of mime-actors (μυθησις), under which we are concealing our traffic, lo! we shall be in this city and you shall see us, but, if you show any other behaviour toward us, know that you have been deprived of the
sight of us in the body', which indeed happened». In this way therefore the blessed John was repeating all these things in our presence with terrible oaths by God without addition and without diminution, while he wept with sobs and said: «After I had been delighting myself in the conversation of the saints for the period of about one year, and they had been great in my eyes as angels of God, and I had not dared to make use of insult toward them as they desired, they left me and departed from the city of Amida, and I never again discovered where they went, and it is to-day seven years that I have been going out seeking them, and have not again been able even to hear news of them». We ourselves therefore from the descriptions of them and the time of their disappearance which he repeated before us, when we directed our steps to the desert of Egypt¹, gained the privilege of seeing them, and of passing a night with them² outside the city of Thella³, and we enjoyed their holy conversation, while that young woman also said to us

1. He seems to mean that he saw them before the above story was told him and from it identified them. His last visit to Egypt was in 541 (Introil. p. v., which would make the event fall while he was still in Amida, if he had already heard the narrative given 9 yrs. afterwards (p. 519). Moreover the ref. to the time seems to imply that he saw them soon after they left Amida. — 2. If this is true, it is strange that he tells their story secondhand, and I suspect that the statement is made in order that he may not appear to depart from the rule of not relating lives of persons not personally known to him, though he may well have seen a couple whom he supposed to be the heroes of the story. — 3. Constantinople.
three times, "Fear not for the Lord is with you wherever you go ", and thus we departed from one another.

[The history of certain great and holy persons children of eminent men of Antioch, who despised the world and all that is in it and lived a holy life in it in poverty of spirit in an assumed garb (στεφάνῳ), is finished.

Next the fifty-third history, of the divine blessed man Priscus. 1

we came to the conclusion that this was rather (μαλακός) one of those poor in spirit to whom a blessing is given by our Lord2, and he conducted himself in this way in spiritual knowledge in order to attain to excellence. Then, having learned that he did not beg for anything from anyone, we sent him a

present of one *tremissis* by a certain gentleman who was occupied with us in God's service, that it might assist him to supply his needs, and in order that we might thereby discover the object that he had before him. But this man who was in very truth poor in spirit on seeing the *tremissis* began to run away at a rapid pace, since he was in fact not advanced in years; and the man who brought the *tremissis* to him began to run after him, adjuring him to stop. But the blessed man, having put a distance between himself and many (?)', stopped on account of the adjurations, saying to him, « Wherefore, man, are you worrying yourself and worrying me the poor man? » He said to him, « The abbot (\*abb\*x\*s\*x\*) sent you this present because he heard that you were in need. Take it and supply your need ». That man said « For my part I do not need this. But say to the abbot (\*abb\*x\*s\*x\*), Run that you may attain\(^2\). If you have one *follis*, I will take it ». Then, having seen that he had run away from the *tremissis*, he gave him ten *follis*; and he on his side stretched out his hand and took one *follis*, and ran away. And so that man came, and related all these things to us. Then we were assured that that poor man was a spiritual person, and a bondman of God, and was poor of his own will for the sake of eternal life. After these things in the time of the winter-cold,

1. I can make nothing else of this. We require 'put a great distance between himself and his pursuer'. It is probably a phrase for 'run very fast'. V. D. and I. have 'procul' for the whole clause. — 2. 1 Cor., ix, 25.
having seen that he was uncovered and sore bested, we bought him a tunic and a cloak, and sent them by that man, begging him to put them on and warm himself during the winter. But he on seeing them turned his face away, and showed displeasure against him, saying, "Go your way, man, wherefore do you worry me the poor man?" The man who was sent by us answered him, "The abbot (\textit{z\v{z}\v{z}z}) out of charity and because of the hardness of the winter bought them and sent them to you." He on his side says to him: "Go say to the abbot (\textit{z\v{z}\v{z}z}), Send things that last, and do not try to concern yourself about stripping naked lest you be stripped naked." And so he would not consent to accept them. And from that time the man who was with us began to mark times and observe him, because he too was an earnest and zealous man, and by his birth (\textit{γενός}) a Cappadocian. And one day, as was that poor man's custom, he went secretly outside the city to some enclosed garden-land hidden by trees and reeds to pray; insomuch that that gentleman observed him, and secretly went out after him, standing facing him; and he saw him standing in prayer with his hands stretched out to heaven, and suddenly an awe-inspiring spectacle that was laid upon his face (\textit{προσωπον}), and flashed like lightning, and rays of fire were proceeding.

1. The meaning perh. is that whoever wears earthly clothes will eventually be left naked through their wearing out. V. D. and L.'s 'curare nudatum' is not in the Syr.
from his face (πρόσωπον), and an awful bow of fire that was stretched out above him while he stood within it, and a great light surrounded him. And, when that man saw this awful spectacle on that poor man as he was praying, he was frightened, and fell on his face on the ground. And after a little time he rose and fled and came to us at a great pace, shaking and trembling and weeping; insomuch that we ourselves were alarmed at the sight of him, and were brought to a state of sudden fright, inquiring what was the cause of his agitation and fright. And he swore to us by God the Ruler of all the ages, "I saw all this spectacle on that poor man, without falsehood or any exaggeration; and my heart quaked, and my limbs shook, and I fled, leaving him standing thus in that awful splendour, and I fled," so that I never again had the power and the boldness to lift my eyes toward him." And during the whole of the day he was in a condition of stupor and tremor and perturbation from that awful spectacle; but at night he went and found him in the place where he used to sleep, and he fell at his feet, weeping and trembling from his fear. But the blessed man knew the cause of his fear, and said to him: "Wherefore, man, did you come out after my poverty, to inquire into things which do not concern you?". And, adjuring him by the living God, he continued
beseeching him to inform him what he was. And he also required oaths from him that he would not make any disclosure or give any information to men about him. And he on his side said: «Only from the abbot (αββάς) I cannot conceal it; but to others I will give no information whatever.» Then he answered him, adorning him and saying: «Do not make demands or inquiries of me about many things; it is enough for you to know that I am a stranger and a poor man, and for the sake of the hope of my eternal life I am enduring labours and buffetings in strange lands, and in this poverty in which you now see me; and not I only, but we are seven brethren who are secretly labouring in this fashion, and once in the whole week we meet together in one place, and receive consolation in one another's company, and comfort and edification; and thus each of us returns to his place and to his employment. I have given you the information; see that you do not make yourself the cause of my moving from this city, in which I have much peacefulness, and especially the fact that I am reckoned a madman by them, and there is no one who speaks with me or who worries me. And beg the abbot (αββάς) that, though these things are known to him, he will leave me as I am, and not show any difference toward me.» The man who was with me having repeated all these
things to me, I sent and begged him, if possible, to come to us secretly at suppertime, and eat with us¹, and he would not consent, sending me a message that we should attend to things that are helpful and lasting. One night I was suddenly attacked by the disease of fever; and in the morning, when the man who was with me who used to go to that poor man saw him², as he swore with fearful oaths by God, « Before I on my side spoke to him, he first said to me: The abbot (ἐκκλησία) was attacked by fever during the night. Go say to him, « Wherefore did you eat dry food and drink a vinegar-posset (πόσσα) with cold water? ». And, when I on my side said to him, « Sir, who showed you this? », he said to me « My heart showed me that he did so, and in consequence of the vinegar and the cold water he fell ill »; so that, when that man came, and informed me of these things, I was struck with great astonishment and wonder, and I gave thanks to God who dwells in his saints. With regard to many other characteristic things which that man used to relate that he saw in that poor man, and moreover that one of his companions came to him and saw him with him, and he himself refused to speak to him, in consequence of the large number of these we have on account of the length

¹. As this was not later than 542 (see below), I. was probably living in the house of Probus (see Intro.d., p. vi). — ². The sentence is left unfinished, and the sense completed in another form. — ³. This word (= posca) is not known in Grk., but the Syr. implies a Grk. form.
of the history refrained from speaking. But, when we had departed to another place, that saint ended his course in the same city and was buried; and, when we came and heard of it, we were much distressed at having been deprived of his society, even at second-hand. And we made great endeavours to discover the coffin which held his holy remains; and in consequence of the great pestilence which had occurred and the numbers that were laid above him we could not do so. These things we have recorded for the glory of God who strengthens and helps all that trust in him.

The history of the divine blessed man Priscus is ended.

Next the fifty-fourth history, of the blessed Caesaria the patrician, who began and through God's help ended heroically and excellently.

The history therefore of this woman also, great before God and before men, was one that could not but excite great admiration, a woman who from a great royal race brought herself down to humiliation undertaken for

1. 542. — 2. To whom a large proportion of the extant letters of Severus is addressed. — 3. A native of Samosata can hardly have come of an imperial family; but her husband may have been of imperial descent.
the sake of God and the promised life and to a mean position, and betook herself to the habit (σπῆδαι) of the solitary and monastic life and sought refuge in it. In admiration therefore and confessing that we are not capable of compassing the beauties of the history of this blessed woman, we set ourselves for the sake of God’s glory and the profit of the hearers to record as it were a small measure taken from the sea of spiritual riches, addressed to those who love matters of spiritual profit. This divine blessed woman therefore, who was called by name Caesaria, and by her birth (γένος) came originally from the city of Samosata.

to do, when we came to her the in city of Alexandria; so that when she saw us she was filled with great joy, and received great consolation. But we found her engaged in severe labours of recitation of service and of quietude and intense supplication, and constant prayers and frequent genuflexions and asceticism beyond measure, and especially in the case of a woman like this.
who had been reared in endless luxuries, and had grown accustomed to royal habits, who suddenly came to be cut off from all these things, and subjected herself to asceticism beyond measure, so that she completely cut herself off from eating bread, and every other day she would feed on cooked herbs with salt and vinegar without oil and moist rolls, and she used to sleep on sack-cloth on the ground, but on the sabbath and the first day of the week under pressure from the bishops and many blessed men she consented that a little oil should be put on the herbs for her; so that, having found her living in all this asceticism and hardship, we continued blaming her and advising her to give up high things and embrace moderate things, lest being unable to endure she might either lose her strength or fall into severe illness and be forced from necessity (ἐναγγέλλω) to give it all up. But the blessed woman, when she heard us speak of illnesses, continued praying and saying: «Would that God had granted me bodily illnesses all the days of my life, in order that I might possess health of soul only.» Moreover, since she thirsted after the spiritual gain of the excellent life, though she was wise and learned in the reading of the Scriptures and of all the fathers, it pleased her greatly to ask
and inquire about the passions of the soul and of the body and about thoughts, so that after spiritual conversation all day we spent many nights in this way in discussion and helpful speech, while the blessed woman condescended to make confession and say, «I have here more than seven hundred volumes in number of all the fathers, to which my intellect and my attention have been devoted for many years, insomuch that now my mind has no rest and my soul also is stirred with passion night and day to hear from you the word of God, and about discernment of passions and observance of commandments, and about the other spiritual things. » One day, while we were sitting occupied in speech and divine conversation, suddenly that blessed woman fell on her face on the ground before me, filling me with amazement and alarm by suddenly doing this, while I said to her, «Wherefore have you done this, and laid a weight upon me the mean one? be so good as to rise and tell me what it is that you command». But she would not consent to rise, saying, «I will not rise hence unless you give me your word before God that you will agree to my request and do what I require of you. » And, being troubled in my mind because she was lying on her face, I said to her: «Be so good

1. See p. 39, n. 2.
as to rise, and what you command, if it is within my power and capacity, I will do.» And so she reluctantly rose; and she began to request me, saying: «Now that I have left my house and my property and come out to settle down in retreat and weep for my sins, and here my soul is in the same turmoil, I make this entreaty of you, to save my soul, and go privily to the inner desert and search out for us a place in which there is a well of water, and come and take me secretly with one chamber-woman and one chamberlain only that we may settle down in retreat, and be quit of the evil things of this world, and of all its turmoil, for I thought to escape from it but have not yet succeeded.» When therefore we heard that she intended to do these things, we would not promise to agree to her request, and to be ourselves the ministers of these plans, because we saw that they were unnecessary, and they were beyond her capacity and strength and condition; and, besides many arguments that we arrayed before her on these matters, we were afraid lest this ardour and the plans came from the evil one, while we further explained and showed her that these plans if put into effect by her would even bring danger (κίνδυνος) upon her, the danger of the destruction involved in the scattering of all the souls that had gone out with her. Then in distress and
tears she said, « It is from these very persons above all that I seek to flee. » And we continued admonishing her very strongly in order to suppress her thoughts, saying, « Know that you are an old and feeble woman, and your nature is not strong enough to hold out against these thoughts of yours and endure and struggle; for neither indeed has the assault of temptations yet fallen upon you, and you have not been tried by the cunning of the fiends; and therefore we advise you to give up these plans, being satisfied with having left your country and your house and gone out into a strange land to dwell in the monastery that you have built. » With great labour therefore we succeeded in restraining her ardour from going out into the inner desert, while she showed vexation and annoyance toward us because we did not yield to her in this matter. And so, when she had built and completed the monasteries in a grand and admirable style, and had bought a large gold-mine (τῆς τομῆς) for them, she made one monastery for men, and one for women, in which she herself also thenceforth performed severe and sublime labours, for fifteen years, though she declined the headship of the same monastery, but sent to another monastery, and took thence a certain blessed woman great in

her modes of life whose name was Cosmiana, and her she appointed archimandritess, she herself submitting to her like an insignificant and poor sister. And so she continued to labour till the end of her life, which happened after fifteen years. And so she completed the course of her practices heroically, bearing great testimony and undergoing mighty conflicts (αὐτῶν).

And she died and was laid in this monastery, which even to the present day is called the monastery of Caesaria the patrician. These few memorials taken from the blessed woman's labour and practices we have recorded for the glory of God and the profit of those who are desirous of spiritual profit.

The history of the blessed Caesaria the patrician is ended.

Next the fifty-fifth history, of an excellent woman and of her husband, who were chamberlains of the same glorious patrician, whose names are John and Sosiana, who lived lives of excellence.

This perfect woman Sosiana therefore, when her husband departed from

1. Vide Porphyr. De vir. 57. - 2. Ms. mss., but, as Caesaria is clearly meant, I have emended the text; cf. p. 543.
the world, whose name was John 1, after they had lived together thirty years, and as is said lived all these years in purity, never holding carnal intercourse with one another, but living in devoutness and honour and holiness, occupying themselves in fasting and prayer, and genuflexion and recitation of service and watching by night, while hair-mats were laid down for them each apart, and in this way they passed the whole length of the night-hours, kneeling and lying on their faces, and weeping in prayer and mighty crying to God, without this becoming known to many. When then this excellent John departed from the world, bearing this great testimony, and moreover Caesaria the patrician also as well whom we mentioned above had gone out to the desert, i. e. first to Alexandria 2, this excellent blessed woman Sosiana therefore laid three of her slaves with all her husband's splendid clothes, great cloaks (γλανίδια) of pure silk (ἐλαστειμών) and valuable raw silk garments (μεταξά), with colours and pictures (πικτούρα) 3, and

1. The sentence is left unfinished, and the sense completed in another form. -- 2. This is not inconsistent with ch. 54. C. did not go to live a hermit life in the inner desert, but left Alexandria and lived in her convent in the desert. Since S. sent the things for the churches and monasteries founded by J., i. e. during his mission to Asia (ch. 77), which did not begin till 542 (see Introd., p. v). C.'s household was appr. broken up not long before that time; see p. 532, n. 4. 3. So I read with two slight emendations. V. D. and L. connect the words with γών and pecus and render 'genualibus et pectoralibus', but neither word is known in Greek, and the context requires that the words should refer to the value of the garments, not their use or shape. The 'pictures' would be not picture-proper, but embroidery; cf. Virg., Aen. III, 48 'picturatas aurif subjungit vestes'. See p. 550, l. 15. The word πικτούρα however is not known in Greek.
the other clothes of high price, and sent them to our meanness⁴, adiring and beseeching us, « Let all these be cut into such sizes as you think fit, sir, and let handsome crosses and corners (γωνία) be put upon them, and let them be made into cloths and veils, and distributed among the holy altars as you shall decide, because I made this vow to the Lord God. »

We then on seeing these things marvelled greatly, thinking in ourselves, « The thing would not be right that we should cut up articles of clothing each of which is well worth more than a pound (λίτρα) of gold², but rather (μετάξιον) that these should be sold for a great price, and given to the poor³». And so with this thought in our mind we went to the excellent woman herself, in order to give her this advice. But the excellent woman fell upon her face, saying, « Sir, since I made this vow before God, that all the fine clothes belonging to myself and to my husband whose soul is at rest should be made into cloths and veils, and crosses and gilded corners (γωνία) should be put upon them, and they should be distributed among the holy altars of God, together with all the silver which God gave us, for the sake of the love of God whom I have loved be my helper,

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⁴. It is clear from this that S. was living in CL, and we may therefore infer that C. loved there also, and that Severus made her acquaintance during his residence there in 508-11. — 2. Circ. § 15 = fr. 1135. — 3. Malh., xxvi, 9.
and perform this service for me also as well, because this also as well is of God; and divide these among all the churches and monasteries which God established through you\(^1\), or wherever God puts it into your mind; and from the poor, as far as in me lies, I trust in God that nothing will be taken away by me; since for my part I have no one except God my Lord and my Creator and my Saviour and my Life-giver.\(^2\) And from that time stitchers were summoned and came; and cloths and veils and napkins (ἐξαρρημένης)\(^3\) were cut out according to the size of each article of clothing; and men came who were occupied in gilding and decorating them in a marvellous manner, and inscribing her own name and her husband’s, while she also continued to bring clean and marvellous linen cloths and Persian cambries, and they were all overlaid\(^4\). And, when all her husband’s clothes had been cut up, she went on to bring her own fine clothes in no small number, and the woven gold also was upon them, and fine figures made of various silks and raw silks (μεταζύγεα), and pure silk (ὀλόσπρακχον), and so on. And, while we were again thinking, ‘Perhaps it would have pleased God more that they should be sold and given to the poor’, and were saying so to her and she on her part was insisting on cutting them up, we were frightened by our Lord’s expression in the gospel (τοῦ γεννησεως τοῦ Ιησοῦ) about the fine ointment of

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1. During his missionary expeditions in Asia Minor; see ch. 47.  
2. I. e., altar-cloths, veils for the sacred vessels, and purificators.  
3. See, with gold.
great price which the woman poured on his head, when also the advice and desire of Judas the traitor which he preferred contrary to what was right and proper was blamed 1, and we ceased advising that woman so and standing in the way of her wish. And, when all her valuable clothes had been used up, until she was left with the cheap ordinary clothes that she was wearing only, when we were finding fault with her in this matter, that she might leave herself what she needed, yet we did no good whatever, since she said, "Do not pity me in this matter, sir, since I have not a single day in the life of the body beyond this year; and, if I spare these, whence do I know if courtezans (πόρτας) will wear them, and I on my part shall be called to account for them?" 2 And on hearing this declaration, which she plainly made in advance about the end of her life, we said: "If this has been revealed to you, you do rightly in sending all that you have in advance ".

When all her precious articles of clothing had been used up, and we had begun out of the multitude of them to distribute to the east and to the west everything that came to hand, then she brought her silver which amounted to many pounds (λίτρα), and it was given up and chalices and patens were made, and many dishes (πιγεαζα) and spoons, and they were distributed by

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us everywhere, as God knows, while she also with her own hands distributed all the rest of the contents of her house to all who were in need, while the blessed woman rejoiced and gave thanks to God. But we on our side were noting the time which she fixed beforehand with regard to her end, to see if it was near as she had stated. And, when the end of that year approached, five days before, she fell into an illness; and she sent and called us, begging us to set forth incense, and make expiation for her, saying, "Sir, pray for me, for the sinner; for lo! after five days I am going to our Lord, to make answer (ἀπολογία) for my sins. But for God's sake remember me the wretched one in your acceptable prayers to God." And thus while we were constantly with her on the fifth day as fixed by what she had said she fell asleep in peace, while everyone was overcome with astonishment; and they thanked and praised God, and ran to receive a blessing from her holy body.

The history of some excellent persons, John and Sosiana, is ended.
tears, and their humility and obedience; so that at the time when we came
to Alexandria we went to that convent to see them for the sake of the blessed
men themselves, inasmuch as we were acquainted with them, and
moreover on account of the report of their manner of life, when they felt great
joy, and would discuss with us fights against thoughts and the other works
of excellence. When then they had completed about eighteen years in that
monastery in spiritual practices, the blessed Peter had a brother and a sister
wearing the lay garb (σήχως), as they too were living a great life in practices
of excellence, so that they and their slaves used to learn the psalms, and kept
hours of prayers and service as in a monastery of recluse, while they also
directed their steps to the city of Smyrna for the sake of the quietude of a
strange land, and there thenceforth they lived a religious, devout, pure life,
so that all that city used to marvel at them and at their practices. They
therefore used to write and worry the blessed Peter to come and visit them
and encourage them, and let them be consoled and comforted by one another,
which the blessed man was also constrained to do, not for the sake of bodily

1. This must have been on his 2nd visit to Egypt (541), for he had known them before, which must
have been in CP. (p. 539, n. 1), where he had never been till after his visit to Egypt in 531. Further,
since they were in CP. in 535 and left it before Caesaria, his visit to Caesaria in Egypt must also have
been in 541; see p. 532, n. 4. — 2. Sic syr. Cf. p. 397, l. 15.
relationship, but because he knew that they were spiritual persons in manner of life. But, when he had come and seen them and comforted them, he set his face to return to his monastery, and they would not let him, weeping and adjuring him by the living God not to leave them; and thus he was constrained to stay. And, when he had completed five years with them, he was raised by force to the bishopric; and, when he had completed four years, he departed from the world with his other brother, having lived a spiritual and divine life. But their sister the holy old woman remained in the bodily life a long time, down to the writing of this history, having further multiplied her spiritual practices many times.

The history of the blessed Peter the chancellor and Photius the chartulary is ended.

1. Of Smyrna (p. 503). Since he was ordained with the author, the date was not earlier than 558 (p. 508, n. 1, and Introd., p. v), and therefore, if the figures are correct, he left CP. not later than 533, but as J. saw him in CP. in 555 (p. 544, n. 1), it was not earlier than that year, so that his ordination and J.'s are fixed to 558.
Next the fifty-seventh history, of the blessed Theodore the king's chamberlain and castrensis, who, while he was in the body, practised a heavenly and divine mode of life.

This blessed Theodore therefore held a high office in the royal palace (παλατίων), having previously been in the service of a great man before God (and he was great among men also) 'whose name was Mishael', who also was further the king's praepositus\(^2\), a Christian and merciful and ascetic man, and was moreover perfect in all spiritual things, inasmuch that he underwent exile (ἐξοπίς) for the sake of the truth of the right faith, that he might not communicate with the synod of Chalcedon, inasmuch that he spent a considerable number of years in the exile (ἐξοπίς), and so was at last invited, and came in, and was restored to his place, and completed his time\(^2\), and retired, having lived many years in all religious habits, while like an ordinary

1. For these words see text, n. 3. For M. see Sev., Select Letters, 1, 17; xi, 1; C. S. C. O., t. XXV (1), p. 15; Jo. Mal., Exc. de Ins. (ed. De Boor), 92. He may be the deacon of Sel. Letters, 1, 63; iii, 2; but, if so, one would expect J. to say that he took orders in his old age. If he is the M. of Jo. Ant., Exc. de Ins. (ed. De Boor), 43, he must have lived to most extreme old age. — 2. Sc. sacri cubiculi. — 3. See p. 547, 1, 16.
man he used to work and labour with his hands at carpentering and building and carving, and sell and give to the poor, besides all the rest of his wealth, while he lived an ordinary and poor life, down to extreme old age, and thus departed from the world bearing great and noble testimony. This man then the blessed Theodore imitated with another brother of his whose name was John, so that they were both chamberlains of the king, while living in fasting and constant prayers, and sorrow and tears and works of charity, both during the life of the blessed Michael and also after his death for many years. And, because the blessed man was feeble and sickly of body, and the more so from watching and fasting and abstinence, he asked king Justinian, who was also edified by him and loved him and in whose eyes he was honoured, that he might retire as castrensis¹, in order that he might escape and retire from the turmoil of the palace (πταλάτνον), and settle down in quietude, and devote himself to the practice of religion only; insomuch that the king assented to his request and carried out his desire, and ordered him to retire as castrensis, because he serves two years only, many offices being subordinate

1. This is a difficult phrase, which I understand as above. Appx, he wished to resign the chamberlainship and become castrensis, because he could then retire altogether after 2 years (see n. 3). The castrensis was a kind of purveyor to the court, originally the quartermaster of a camp (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.).  2. See the castrensis.  3. In Cod. Just., XII, xxv, 1, this provision is laid
to him, and large profits coming in to him, and in two years like the praepositus he retires, and like him expends much wealth. The illustrious blessed man therefore retired, and completed two years; and he was released and retired with much gold and great wealth. And then he began eagerly and joyfully to scatter that gold, and to sow all his wealth in good soils which are the hands and bellies of the poor, since he would thenceforth load two of his confidential servants during the night, and himself put on a cape and cover his head, and would go out and distribute it all night with his own hands, not trusting any man, giving the poor not two or three daries only, but sometimes even ten, and sometimes eight, and six and seven, while consequently the poor of the city were not enough for him, but he used also to go out to the suburbs beyond the sea on all sides, crossing and scattering his wealth profusely and without stint; so that in the space of one year he scattered more than fifteen or twenty hundredweights (κυψευδήμοι), until he had used up all the gold. And his slaves and all who were attached to him
down with regard to the chief eustrēxandrus, but it is hard to see how it can have applied to the eustrēxandrus himself, still more to the praepositus, a high officer of state.

1. Sc. the eustrēxandrus. — 2. I cannot render ἀδίκος in this context otherwise. Apply the meaning is that large sums pass through his hands. V. D. and L.'s translation of all this passage bears no relation to the Syr. — 3. The word usually means 'cumulus'. — 4. 20 σέργαρα would be about £ 90,000 = fr. 2,269,800, an almost incredible sum.
began to murmur and find fault with him, so that they received us and many others with many complaints against him, inasmuch as we had been habitually in his company from the beginning; so that, when we saw that his soul was thus intoxicated with the fervour of divine love, and no worldly property was regarded by him, and while we and everyone were wondering at the disposition and zeal of the man of God, we used to say to him "It is written 'First teach them to show charity among those of their household' 1. Beware lest by feeding a large number of people you strip these quite bare and dissipate it on others". But the blessed man would say, "This is our boast before God, that I and they may be thought worthy to receive the command (ἐντολή) 2 and then die. These do not know the thing that is helpful. We trust that what is given away will be preserved in the heavenly storehouse in the treasury of God, 'where thieves do not break through nor steal' 3. For who then (τὰς) can guarantee me life till the evening? And, if it has happened that the end overtake me and this which has been committed to me remain after me, who will tell me into whose hands it will come."

and perhaps those who find it will spend it on harlots, and I shall be called to answer for it. And if, sir, you advise me so, I will now do your bidding. Then he freed his slaves, and gave gifts to them, and to the freeborn who were attached to him, saying, « See, be no longer grudging, and do not murmur »; so that, seeing the man's disposition and zeal, we abstained from going on to address further words to him on these matters.

After therefore he had used up all his gold, he often threw a hundred-weight (κυντηνάριον) upon us also that we might take it and distribute it with him; so that, when we refused to take it, in the fervour of his love he would send it to the regions of Asia and throw it upon us perforce. And thenceforth he began to sell his silver and his valuable clothes, and give to the poor, with such thoroughness and liberality that eventually nothing was left for him except a few necessaries. And thenceforth he began to live sparingly and those with him, though they were still murmuring against him and finding fault with him. But he said to them several times, « You do not think the things of God but those of men, and you concern yourselves about

your belly and your purses; and you do not know that we gave away the whole
of what was given us by God that he may give us many times as much, and
we may not be called to account for it through administering it badly. »

But, after he had come to want, and was rejoicing and delighting himself,
king Justinian heard of it, and he sent and called for him, and continued
upbraiding him for having thus suddenly dissipated his property completely;
and he gave him a bounty of a thousand daries every year. But the excellent
man out of the very bounty itself used to perform acts of bounty, while he
rejoiced and exulted that he had been thought worthy to receive bounty.
And so thenceforward he lived in a villa called Sema (?), where Mishael
whose soul is at rest was laid, being constantly occupied in fasting and
prayer, and much watching, and living a life devoted to all religious habits,
and he would not consent to recline upon a couch (ἄκοσιετος) like a great man,
and eat, but used to sit like a poor man, while we and many others were
reclining, and begging him to do the same, and he would not comply, saying,
« It is prescribed for us to enter by the narrow gate, and that we should
not walk in the way that is broad that leads to destruction » . And thus this
man of God began and ended in this brave conflict (ἀγώνιος), while he had now

1. Id., vii, 13.
become dried and shrivelled from the labours of asceticism, and the whole of his body had become like dry wood. And thus he ended his life in that same villa, and was laid above the blessed Mishael. But his brother John, who also imitated his mode of life, lived a long time after him: and he also ended his course in the practices of religion.

The history of the blessed Theodore the king’s chamberlain and castrensis is ended.

Next the fifty-eighth history, concerning the original foundation of the holy convent of the house of Mar John at Amida, and who were its heads and founders from the beginning, 1. e. from the year seven hundred of Alexander, and down to the year eight hundred and seventy-eight of the same.

It did not therefore seem to us to be just and a fitting thing that we should withhold the good deposit which was committed to us by old men our holy
fathers concerning the original foundation of this our holy convent of the house of Mar John at Amida, and concerning the great old men who were the founders and builders of it from the beginning; but it seemed to us to be right and very proper that through this our narrative we should hand down and transmit to the rest of its inmates the history concerning it even as we received and truly and accurately learned it, as we received and learned through tradition from three seniors advanced in years, who were inmates of it from the time of its great earlier prosperity, that is especially from the great senior Mar Samuel archpriest of this same convent, who had been an inmate of it for a long time, who himself also as well received it from ancient seniors of protracted life who were before him, who were inmates in it from its earliest foundation. But this blessed Samuel lived even in our times, and down to the year eight hundred and fifty of Alexander; and he gained distinction also in the conflict (ἡγίασις) of persecution; and he fell asleep and finished the course of his great and divine practices in the second exile (ἐξοντικά) itself in the district of Claudias, in the monastery called that of the Huts, while the whole convent also dwelt in it for about twelve years, and built it and set it up and made plantations there. As then we received and

1 Ms. 594.0.

1 539. — 2. 539-541; see p. 570 and note.
learned from these blessed men, that is in the first place from this blessed Samuel, we record the history, which he often related in our presence; which is as follows. Before this convent was firmly established, there were a few huts on its site, which were called (the informant stated) those of Mar Afw rsms. who himself also gained distinction for a considerable time in the conflict (γένος) of seclusion. Then the blessed Mar John, by whose name the convent was called, came about the year seven hundred¹, and made another hut for himself a little distance from the earlier ones in the same place, and shut himself up in it, who was also thought to be an Urtaya and so called for some such reason as this. Because (the informant stated) he was a zealous man and an expounder² and a teacher, he used to go in and out of the country of the Urtaye³, warning and teaching and expounding and correcting many, insomuch that he learned the language of the Urtaye, so that for such a reason he was thought to be and was called an Urtaya, though by his birth (γένος) he was a Syrian.

While then the blessed man was winning distinction in the labour of seclusion, and gaining renown and reverence from many, two other blessed

¹. 389. ². Or 'interpreter', 'Igugul-I'. ³. I. e., Anzelene or part of it, see p. 135, n. 2.
men came to him, and they also were renowned and famous men, and teachers and frist rate scribes, one of whom was named Samuel and the other Jonathan, who had been living in the monastery of the Edessenes at Amida, who transcribed many books, which by virtue of their wills (δεσσηνές) have been handed down in the convent even down to the present day itself. And in consequence of the blessed man’s renown and in consequence of his beautiful manner of life the blessed men Samuel and Jonathan begged him that they might be granted the privilege of living with him; and he accepted them, and they took up their abode with him, while they also too with him and in his company received more teaching and instruction in the labours of asceticism and the teaching of religion. When then the convent had begun to advance and progress, so much so that with all its belongings it in a great fashion attained to a large increase in buildings and belongings and increase of the brotherhood up to the number of fifty men, then the blessed Mar John ended the course of his practices, and departed from the world, having left as his successor in the government of the convent the blessed Samuel. But the blessed Jonathan had removed from the convent during the blessed man’s lifetime; and when he had fallen asleep he came back, and

1. See p. 221 and p. 391. — 2. Or ‘scribes’; but the title ‘scribes’ points to the other meaning.
lived with the blessed Samuel, and they lived together in brotherly and spiritual fashion, until the decease of the blessed Samuel; so that, when this man had made a great addition to the convent, he also as well departed from the world; and over the government of it after him he left the blessed Jonathan. And this man again by great knowledge and sound government brought about an increase in all the belongings of the convent; and afterwards he also as well departed from the life here; and the blessed Job was appointed to succeed him; and this man also governed excellently and lawfully and spiritually all his days, and he departed from the world of distresses to the country of joys; and the blessed Abraham was appointed to succeed him at the head of the monastery, who was also a native of the city. This man (the informants stated) had a house in the city, and an old mother, and brothers and a 'considerable number of kinsmen' (γένος). And, when he had been governing the convent excellently for a long time, unfounded ill-feeling was stirred up against him (they stated) by certain members of the convent who suspected of him that he was secretly providing for his household and making them gifts from the convent; and, while he for his part defended himself from these charges on every point, they on their

1 Or 'distinguished kin';
side could not abandon such a suspicion, but (the informants stated) by the operation of Satan contended the more against him, so that afterwards (they stated) he himself also besides was instigated by the impetuosity of anger, and gave up not only the headship and the government of the convent, but even residence in it as well, having bound himself by stern oaths not to reside in it longer, nor taste even water that belonged to it as long as he lived. And so he left it, and went into the city and lived there in retreat and devoutness in his house; while after a time (they stated) he used to sigh and distress himself and weep with sobs, because he had been overreached by the evil one and robbed of residence in his convent; insomuch that at last he would go out and visit it and look into it while they begged him to take food in it, and he would not consent to taste anything whatever from the convent; but at last (they stated) he used to make all the provision for his meals at home, even to cold and hot water and herbs, and so he would bring it out from his house and eat it in the monastery, while he sighed all the days of his life that he had been thus overcome by passion. And his successor was a brave and valiant blessed man, whose own name also was Abraham, who from the beginning of his government began to win distinction and show prowess and gain renown on a great and extensive scale,
while he also in a short time greatly increased and extended the convent, being also formidable and severe and stern toward all the chief men and magnates of the city and of the district; insomuch that his fame penetrated even to the king, and he was summoned by an order to the royal city. and went up and was received with great honour, so that in addition to great presents he gave him a village also as well for which he asked in the district of Ingilene the name of which was Narda, for which he had asked on account of the usefulness of its wooded heights and so on. But on coming down from the royal city and seeing the spaciousness and magnitude of the height he cut off half of it and gave it to the monastery of the village of Zukunin who had asked him for it, since he indeed loved them as his brothers. And he began to raise his own convent of the blessed Mar John to the number of four hundred men; and this convent grew and increased in the blessed man’s days beyond all the convents round the city. And on account of the perfection of his character and the sublimity of his mode of life great constraint was put upon him, and he was made bishop in the land of the Urtaye in the district of Anzetone; and, when this happened, both he and all the members of his convent were smitten with sorrow and distress, and they continued begging and entreating him to appoint a head and governor for them in his

place, while he refused to do this, saying to them, "Now that I for my part have been deprived by my sins of residence with you, do you look out, and deliberate among yourselves, and the man whom you know to be suited for you set over you as head, lest eventually you find fault either with me or with someone else." But they argued the more with him, saying, "We will not allow you, our father, to depart hence until you appoint a head for us in your place." Again (the informant stated) he on his part answered them, saying, "If you insist that I shall set up a governor for you in my place, think not that I shall make an appointment in the way that you suppose and appoint men who are thinking about themselves; but whoever appears to me to be fitting I will appoint for you. And beware lest in the end he be displeasing to you and you murmur." And, as they again continued to press him in this way, he gave orders and the bell sounded, and they all stood up for service. And, having spoken at great length and given warning and instruction in his clear speech, he gave orders and the archimandrite's hood and wand were brought, and laid before the altar. Then (the informants stated) the blessed man turned and looked behind him at the lines of the companies, and passed down the middle and laid his hand on a certain old man who held a low place among the members of the convent,
and drew him out, dragging him by force, and brought him before the altar (whose name also was Abraham), while he objected and wept and refused. And he on his side made a prayer and took him and clad him in the hood of the archimandriteship, and put the staff of the Pastorate of the Convent in his hand, even as he came from the occupation of shepherd of a flock, and from a village called Thella d Mikhana¹, and all his life and even after his death, and even to the present time in the same convent he was called ‘Mar Abraham the shepherd’. But the old man continued saying with sobs and with much weeping, « How is it, sir, that you appoint me a plain man (ἀπόστιος) and a shepherd to govern such a convent as this? » But the blessed man answered him, saying, « Remember our Lord’s saying to Peter when he says, ‘Henceforth thou shalt catch men to life’²; even as you now after being shepherd of a dumb flock of animals shall carry out the duties of shepherd of a rational flock of men ». But those who were in high and prominent place, and thought of themselves that³ they were wise and learned and teachers, and of whom each one was confident concerning himself that it would be he who would be raised by force to the governorship, when they saw that he had appointed an old man and a shepherd who held

a low place to the governorship, showed displeasure and indignation and found fault and began to murmur. And, when the blessed man saw it, he said to them: « You know, my sons, that for my part I at first committed the matter to your discretion. But, now that you threw the burden upon me, I on my side thought this old man litter than all of you to administer the affairs of this convent, while I know also what I have done and whom I have appointed, a man whom I have seen for a long time, and, while I observe all of you, and see that each concerns himself only with himself and his gratification, I see that this man is vigilant and energetic and earnest, and eager to promote the interests of the convent. And for all these reasons it is to him that I have entrusted and am entrusting my place. And he who obeys him, and receives and pleases him receives and pleases me; and he who strives with him and opposes him is superfluous in this convent ».

When these things had been carried out in this way, and the blessed bishop had given his blessing and prayed and gone to the district to which he had been summoned, then many stood forth in envy and bitter strife against the same blessed Abraham saying, « He set as head over us a man who is a peasant and a shepherd holding a low place ». And so they made one company (zesōn), and rose up in strife, and separated themselves; and sixty men

1. Ms. 1283 a.
left the monastery in one body for such a reason as this. And they went and occupied a site and built a monastery for themselves and a well-known martyrs' chapel which exists even to the present time, in the village called that of Beth 'Bar 'rubtha'. But the blessed Abraham was strengthened, and began to act with vigour and show firmness, and to display proper energy in all the government of the convent, and great carefulness for all its belongings, and for the canons and regulations and all the spiritual ordinances in it, while he also began to walk in every point in the footsteps of the blessed Abraham the great his predecessor, in speech and in wisdom, and sound knowledge, and orderly and honourable conduct, insomuch that he also as well gained great renown over the whole East. But after a time came the blessed Mar Samuel also besides who also founded the convent called after his name, having first set up a standing-post for himself, and taken up his position on it. And, when he began to build the convent, the blessed Abraham used to give him much assistance, since, after the city-gates were shut, he would take a party of forty and fifty men, and they would go and work with them, and give assistance all the night, and thus they would return to the monastery in the morning; because (the informant stated)

1. Sc. 'son of Friday'. — 2. 'Zach. RSV', VIII, 5. He is probably the S. of 'Zach.', VII, 6, though his arrival is there placed after the Persian siege. His monastery is mentioned in ch. 39.
when they were shepherds also they used to feed the flocks together, so that (the informant stated) jesting with one another they would say, « Woe to us if God requires from us the stolen sheep that we have eaten ». And so (it was stated) the two heroic old men distinguished themselves by great modes of life, together with all the other convents their brethren. In the days of the blessed Abraham the shepherd therefore Kawad king of the Persians came against the city of Amida in the year eight hundred and thirteen; and he took it and carried off captives from it, while he also razed the monastery too to the ground, and piled its wood and its stones and its clay on to the 'mule' which he had set up against the city. The story of these events was related to us by an old man with venerable white hair whom once when we had set out to go into the desert of Egypt, we found in the country of Palestine beyond Jerusalem in a monastery called that of Mar Thomas at Beth Gubrin, so that, when we had first zealously directed our course to the city of Alexandria, and had arrived at this convent, we found that venerable old man sitting, though he was unable to come from Amida, his first visit in 534 is intended.

1. 50i/2. It was really in 814 (503/3); see 'Josh. Styl.', xlvi, 1. — 2. 'Zach. Rh.' (vii, 4) says that it was taken through the drunkenness and carelessness of the monks of this monastery, and by the remark that the archimandrite was a Persian he seems to suggest treachery. Cf. 'Josh.', lxi. 3. A mound on which the besiegers stood in order to be level with the top of the wall. See 'Zach.', vii, 3, and 'Josh.', lxi. — 4. Ms. om. — 5. Eleutheropolis, Arab. Bait Gibrin. — 6. I understand this to mean that he visited the convent on his return, but the sentence is very ambiguous. Since he came from Amida, his 1st visit in 534 is intended.
see from age. But, when we approached him to make obeisance to him and receive his blessing, he asked us saying, « Whence are you, my sons? » And we on our side answered him, saying, « We are, sir, from the district of Amida ». When he on his side heard the name of Amida, he was struck dumb and shed copious tears with sobs. And, when that old man had been violently weeping and sobbing for a long time, he said: « If I ask you, my sons, do you know anything in the territory of Amida? », and we answered him, « Be so good as to ask, sir; and what we know we will say ». But the old man asked us about this our own convent, saying, « Is there a monastery called that of the house of Mar John on the north of the city by the side of the wall and has it been built? » And we said to him « Yes, sir. It has been built and it exists, and it is in fact from it that we come ». When the blessed man heard this, he yearned the more toward us, while he also betook himself to showing emotion by weeping with many sobs, saying, « I, my sons, was an inmate of that monastery, from the days of Mar Abraham the great who became a bishop, when I was a boy, when the numbers also amounted to four hundred men. And, when Kawad came to Amida, we fled and we all went inside and took up our abode in the school (σχολή) called
that of the Urtaye within the wall, about three hundred men, the rest having been scattered and fled. And, when the city was taken and the Persians came in and began to slaughter, we all stood up sorrowing and weeping for the service of our death and of our lives' end, slaughter being now set before our eyes. And, when the Persian soldiers arrived, and they came in and saw long rows of men standing, they began a fearful slaughter among us. And, having beheaded ninety of us in one massacre while our eyes beheld it, they then ceased slaughtering; and they took us and carried us away as captives, while they also made spoil of all the belongings of the convent. But, when the city was thrown open, God delivered us and strengthened us and many of us escaped. And from that time I fled from all that country; and I made a vow to God not to see it again ». And so that old man was piteously relating all these things to us with great emotion and many tears; so that for a long time he was unable to account of his sobs to relate them before us. And again another old man of many days (and he too had venerable white hairs), who during the same times of the prosperity of this convent had been in his boyhood an inmate in it,
who was in the renowned monastery of the Orientals at Edessa\(^1\), who was called Paul of Arzen\(^2\), who also departed from the world a few years before during the persecution of the convent\(^3\), used all his days in the presence of many persons to tell about the prosperity of the convent, saying:

«Before the deportation by Kawad we numbered four hundred men in it; and so prosperous and extensive was the convent of the blessed Mar John, that, since their space was too much confined for the purposes of occupation by the same convent, they formed the plan of building for themselves a large house for a chapel. And so the masons of the city applied themselves to hewing out metopes (\textit{μετόπως}); so that, when the blessed men wished to convey them to the monastery after the gate (\textit{πύλα}) of the city was shut at dusk, they used to go out and fetch them in one line from the monastery right up to the quarries (\textit{λαχταρία}) themselves; and thus they would hand on the stones and pass them from one to another, and they are passed down their lines till they enter the precincts and are piled upon the building, and thus that extensive building was built, though it was not completed on account of the deportation by the Persians and the scattering of the brotherhood; so that, since a heap (?)\(^1\) remained after the Persians, a large

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portion of the monastery was quarried and built from it; and the whole of the martyrs' chapel dedicated to Kyra Maria was also built from it, and further much was also quarried and brought in from it for the church and the city.»

And its kiln is still standing. But this convent was rebuilt on a smaller scale, both in buildings and in the number of the brotherhood. But the blessed Abraham, who was also called 'the shepherd', ended the course of his practices, and 'died in a good old age'. And to succeed him in the government of the convent the blessed Cosmas was appointed, who also showed himself an excellent governor and head; and he governed during his days in tranquillity and quiet, having lived the whole of the time of the reign of Anastasius; and so he fell asleep in his convent in peace.

And to succeed him in the headship and government of the convent the blessed Sergius was appointed, who by his birth (γένος) came from the village of Gadara which was in the north; who in the first persecution that arose against the church was the first to go out in banishment with all the rest of the convents, and gained distinction in the conflicts (ὁ γένος) of persecution,

1. It is not clear where Paul's words end. The statement about the kiln is clearly J's, and perhaps the whole story of the completion of the rebuilding is his, for P. probably left Aemida at the time of the siege. Perh. J. with his usual carelessness has forgotten that he is reporting P.'s words. — 2. I Chr., xxix, 28. — 3. 491-518. He cannot have become archimandrite before 504, and the meaning can therefore only be that he survived Anastasius. — 4. Zach. Rh. (viii, 3) erroneously names C. among the banished archimandrites. — 5. 521; see Intro., p. IV.
and in all the labours of monasticism, as well as in excellent government all the time of his life. And he ended his course during the same persecution: and he died and was buried in the monastery called 'that of Mar Mama'. But to succeed him a great blessed senior was appointed whose name was Symy; who by his birth (γένος) was a native of Arzen: who with his two predecessors Sergius and Cosmas were in our days, since we indeed in the days of the blessed Sergius and the others who succeeded him received the privilege of residing in the convent. When then after the decease of the blessed Sergius they were urging the blessed Symy to take up the government, he continued objecting and refusing, saying, 'Allow me, my brothers, to repent and make entreaty on account of my sins, because I have not one day beyond three years and a half in the body'. And, since not even after his prophecy also (which was shown to be exact truth) did he escape, but they constrained him and he took his place at the head with earnestness as it is written excellently and like a teacher, expounding and admonishing day and night with service and with vigil, he would also at all times

1. The name has fallen out; see note on transl. — 2. Ms. αἰδώς, marg. in later hand ἐκθέτω.
adjure and warn everyone to bestow care and earnestness upon finding spiritual life, and many were in fact enlightened by his teaching, and by his admonition were brought to open their hearts and to sorrow and tears, wondering and giving thanks to God. But his prayer and the gift of revelations and of prophecy was of such a kind that not only did he gain knowledge of his departure beforehand and prophesy it, but even concerning many other things also, insomuch that at the beginning he spoke and uttered many prophecies to our own mean self also, of which we truthfully assert that none has fallen to the ground or fallen short of the pronouncement uttered by him even down to this very day; which we refrain from recording, lest we be thought to be desirous of displaying great things about ourself. When therefore this man had completed the time which he decreed for himself, some days before he called and blessed and commanded and warned everyone, and so according to the decree which he laid down he ended his course during the same persecution in the country of the East in the monastery called that of the Poplars, in which also the whole community was residing. But after five years, when the recall from banishment came, we ourselves were privileged to carry and convey his holy bones into the convent.

of the house of Mar John itself. And to succeed him there was appointed our blessed master and teacher from our boyhood, whose name was Abba; who also was by his birth (γενεσία) from the district of Arzen; and he was reverend and imposing in his speech and in his appearance. But after four years of his government occurred the entry into the city-convents themselves at the beginning of the reign of Justinian the king. And, when we had completed about seven years and a half in the convents themselves, the envy of those who ruled the churches was aroused, and the persecution was renewed over the whole of the East, through the descent of Ephraim patriarch of the city of Antioch to the East; and all the convents were again expelled, and they went together to the monastery which they had previously built and took up their abode in it, which was called that of the Poplars. And after a little time they were expelled thence, and the convents were divided; and the blessed Abba with all his convent went away, and they went into the steep towering mountains of the village called 'bdyhr'; and we took up our abode there in a monastery called that of the Nut. And after three years we left and went into the district of Claudias, and took up our abode in the

1. Since we are told below that the return to Amida happened after 4 years of Abba's rule, the translation of the bones cannot have been contemporaneous with it. The restoration having been in 530 (see Intro., p. 1v), we get 522-3-526/7 as the date of Symy's archimandriteship. — 2. See p. 566, n. 2. — 3. Since the descent of Ephraim was at the end of 536 or beginning of 537, the time cannot have exceeded 5 1/2 years (Dyakonov, p. 30, n. 160); see p. 418, n. 1. — 4. See p. 232. — 5. Since Samuel died in the monastery of the Huts in 539 (p. 558), the date must be 539, not 540, 3 yrs. after the expulsion from Amida,
monastery of the Huts¹, which we also mentioned above in our history. And the blessed Abba, having been arrested and maltreated by the Synodites, fled and went up to the royal city; and, when he had passed some time there with the concourse of believers that had been gathered from every quarter by the believing queen Theodora, and had a great reception from her, and had been there five years, then it was his pleasure to return to his convent, while the convent was still in the district of Claudias, and he ended his course there 'in a good old age'²; so that, when after a space of three years we ourselves too went down from the royal city, we took his holy bones also as well and sent them to the city-convent itself². And to succeed him in the government of the convent the blessed Abraham was appointed, who by his birth (γένος) was from Anzetene³, and was a great and earnest administrator in all the spiritual and bodily affairs by which a convent is maintained. And, when this man had completed some years, he also as well fell asleep and was laid in the convent, since he had gone for the purpose of visiting it, and fell asleep and was buried in his monastery, as he desired and prayed⁵. After him was appointed the blessed Sergius of Amida, who comes of a distinguished family from the city itself, called the

house of Bar Deba\(^1\). This man was placed by his parents in the same convent from his childhood, and he was brought up in it from the days of the blessed Cosmas the archimandrite, and he gained distinction also in all the conflicts (ἀγωνία) of persecution from the beginning down to the present year, which is the year eight hundred and seventy-seven, the year in which Justinian departed from the world\(^2\), having first been buffeted in every place with all the old men his fathers who had lived since the beginning of the persecution while he endured and remained firm. But at last, when he was appointed to the headship of the convent, he increased in strength and prowess and firmness, while he was more frequently driven from district to district and from place to place, uttering thanks and praise at all times; a man who, having been at first luxurious and delicate and smart as being a citizen, and at last come to himself\(^3\), and been smitten with remorse and brought himself into a religious frame of mind, turned his face away from all visible things, and came to despise clean clothes and delicious foods and unguents and so on, and clothed and covered\(^4\) himself with garments of hair, and embraced asceticism and abstinence, and fasting and services and protracted prayers by day and night, and what is more admirable than all, the practice of observing the divine commandments, having stored up in his mind the

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1. See 'son of a wolf'.  
2. 566/6.  
words of our Saviour who says, « He who loveth me keepeth my word », and again « Let your speech be ‘Yea, yea’ and ‘Nay, nay’ »¹, and so decided it for himself that an oath should never proceed from his mouth. And he persevered and kept and maintained his resolution even down to the present time also, since he is actually in the body even down to the present time also during the persecution of his convent, as well as of all his brethren the other convents in the district of Izla² in the same persecution, down to the present time which is the year eight hundred and seventy-nine ³, from the year eight hundred and thirty-two ⁴, which makes forty-seven years from the beginning of the persecution of the same down to the year stated above.

The history of the original foundation of the holy convent of the house of Mar John at Amida, and who were its heads and founders from the beginning is finished.

¹. John, xiv, 23; Matth., v, 47. — 2. See p. 419, n. 4. — 3. 567/8. This was clearly written some time after the preceding. See Introduct., p. vii. — 4. 521. The confusion between the whole time from the 1st persecution and the time spent at Izla is an instance of J.'s careless method of writing.
APPENDIX

1. Ms. sig. — 2. In C the tit. is: "A history concerning the holy Mar J., bp. of Edessa (or rather (πατριάρχης) of all the orthodox), who is known as Bard 'anna, and on account of whom also we were termed Jacobites, and it is written by the holy J. of A., the converter of pagans and author of the ecclesiastical histories", and the text opens with the words "Praise to God who adorned his church with his saints and filled it with the riches and treasures of their relics, and decorated it with the glorious
SPURIOUS LIFE OF JAMES.

of letting the patriarchs and bishops examine the subject of the faith before him and in his presence; and he ordered both parties, the orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος) and the Chalcedonians, to meet in the royal city of Constantinople, in order that the general questions might be examined in the king’s presence. And, when the order went forth, many assembled from all quarters; and the holy Mar Severus also went up and Theodosius of Alexandria, who themselves alone and a few bishops with them were left among the orthodox (ὀρθόδοξος), and they stayed in the royal city, because the king detained them for a long time. And, all the believers being desirous of sending eloquent and learned men to the conference, they occupied a little over a year in choosing men from the convents and the cities and sending them to the blessed Theodosius the

flowers of their practices, which are recorded in their histories, and painted before the eyes of the heart of believers; and, whenever we read of the manner of life of one of them, we are consoled by him as if he were with us and our minds exult in love for him, esp. of this saint who adorned the church by the gifts of grace whereby he filled it, and delivered himself up for it; of whose practices our feeble speech does not suffice to describe a small fragment; whom if the Lord had not had mercy on his church and raised up, it would have been brought to destruction through the evil persecution of the Diphysites; the beginning of whose story we begin to make clear from examination and study; whom we entreat to help us by his prayers, that we may speak and write all about him. Accordingly from this point we begin to place the memorial of his history on record. « This history is of J. Burd’ana, and not of James of Edessa, the interpreter of the Scriptures, since the Edessene’s time was known to be (?) the year 855, and Burd’ana died in the year 889 ». 

1. N (Intro., p. xiii) has here an Arabic note. « This is the story of James Burd’ana the liar the cursed heretic. And he has made the whole narrative (?) mendacious and false ». 2. Sev. left CP. about 9 mos. before Th. arrived, and the conference was held at a much earlier time.
patriarch. Now there was living a short time before in the small city of Constantina which is Thella d'Mauzlah among the citizens a presbyter whose name was Theophilus Bar Ma'n'u a good and religious man, one of the reverend clergy of his city; and, since he had lawfully taken a wife in marriage, and they had no children, he and his consort, having fasted and prayed, made a vow to God that the first son who should be born to them they would give to the Lord in the holy convent of 'ṣṭrlyys' by the city of Thella, which is the monastery of Fsilha. And God heard him, and gave him a son, and he called his name James; and, when he had grown a little, his parents handed him over to the same monastery of Fsilha through the devout Mar Eustace presbyter and archimandrite. And, when his training was completed, he used to practise perfect modes of life surpassing the

1. C 'ṣṭrlyys' We should perl. read 'strateletes', and suppose S. Michael to be meant; but his usual title is διαδικαστής. - 2. See p. 488, n. 3. - 3. C. This son was brought up by his parents with all care and in all religion; and, when he was 2 or 3 years old, they sent him to school, and he was taught and instructed in all the learning of the church, in Syriac and Greek. And, when he reached the age of puberty, his father took him with a fitting present and brought him to the monastery, and committed him to the hands of Mar Eustace the archimandrite; and, when he had received the revered monastic habit'. - 4. C om.
strength of men; and in the course of his employment in the monastery he would fast three days at a time and at last seven days, and again at last twenty-one; and all who saw him were held in great astonishment at the way in which he repressed the powerful impulses of boyhood. But many times his mother wished to bring him into the world, and he would not yield to her persuasion; and she used to urge him greatly, because she had no heir except him; but his father wished his promise to be carried out. And, being much pressed by his mother, he said to her: «Cease speaking to me, O my mother, do not weary me. Do you not understand that I have betrothed myself once for all to Christ the immortal bridegroom?», and, when even so she did not cease, he spoke to his own master and his teacher Eustace and said: «My teacher and father, pray for me to God that he may either take my soul from me or impose silence upon my mother.» And his master said to him: «The Lord will effect deliverance if he is pleased with you.» And a year later his mother died, and in the third year his father also; and the wealth which they possessed they left to their own son James; and they left two
slaves and a large amount of property (ṣūrisa). But the divine James, as soon as he saw that his parents were dead, called his two slaves, and set them free; and he gave them the house with the property (ṣūrisa) and the chattels, and he did not take even one mina; for he used to say « Let the things of the world be given to the world. » And after a short time, when he had received deacon’s orders in his same monastery, he would cause himself to copy the pattern of the angels’ watchfulness, embracing the immaterial observances of the angels with much fasting and constant vigil, and day by day adding to his divine practices. But he refused to let himself be seen outside his cell at all during the day; and all the believers used to betake themselves to him on account of the fame of his practices; so much so that even from the frontier of the Persian territory those who had various infirmities used to flock to him; and as soon as they were resting in his monastery they were cured without seeing him. For he would visit many by long journeys¹, having seen them beforehand by the vision of the Holy Spirit, and be seen by them in a dream and they would be healed of their diseases²; insomuch that he often:

showed himself to queen Theodora herself wife of Justinian king of the Romans\(^1\) as in a dream holding a golden paten (πάτην) in his hands and giving the armies of the Romans living\(^2\) water to drink; and accordingly the miracles which he performed caused all the world to marvel. The bands of the Christian Saracens attached to the Romans, having once been attacked by insanity, and having heard about the man's holiness, \(\text{sent their king}^3\) whose name was Hereth Bar Gabala with their magnates to him, in order that God might visit them through him; and Hereth took gold with him with offerings to give the saint if God\(^4\) would visit them through him\(^5\) by his prayers. But as for the blessed James, the whole of their affair having been revealed to him by God, when they had crossed the river Euphrates to come to his monastery, the saint appeared to the Saracens in his habit (σαλις) at full morning, and said to Hereth: « Why, O barbarian\(^6\), did you doubt of the gift of God? Go return to your land, you and your magnates, and release the man from Mt. Sinai whom someone is detaining in your camp, and you will

1. C 'Greeks'. The phrase shows that the author wrote after the Arab conquest, since otherwise he would have said 'the king' only. — 2. C om. — 3. Mss. 'their king sent'; but clearly he went himself. — 4. C 'he'. — 5. C 'man'.
immediately be delivered from the distress; for it is because of him that you were afflicted. But henceforth Satan will not be permitted by the Lord to work destruction among you, until you enter the camp. And 'thy money go with thee,' since we have no desire to possess aught beside God. » And, this openly-shown vision having caused Hereth the king and his magnates to marvel, he went back to his camp, and upon asking he found that from the hour that the blessed man said to him, « The devil shall not work destruction in your camp », from that very hour and that very day they were cured. And they asked and inquired over the whole of his camp, and they found a certain monk who was bound inside a tent; and he released him and sent him to Mt. Sinai; and the man who had bound him in his tent he slew with the edge of the sword; and day by day Hereth Bar Gabala was yearning to see the saint. But the blessed man would quietly labour with arduous labours and exercise himself in marvellous endurance in the way of modes of life and of clothing; for he would cut a thick ugly cloak into two, and he clothed himself

with half of it and covered himself with half of it; and he would not change this raiment for a considerable time, not in summer nor in winter, until it appeared to be all rags; for he would say «It is better for the soul to clothe itself in practices of excellence than for the body to luxuriate in things that drag to perdition». Being therefore resplendent in holiness he used to astonish many by miracles. [Two barren women from the city of Thella, being distressed by the deprivation of children, and who were looking for the fruit of their wombs more than the breath of the air (‘א), and had gone to many places to seek assistance, resolved to go up to the same saint at the time when he was present in his monastery; and they went out from the city to go to his convent. When they had reached and crossed the river Harba that is between the monastery and the city, a revelation was made to the saint by the divine Spirit; then (‘א) he sends a deacon of his to them to tell them to return to the city; «For our Lord» (he says) «will give you children if you confess his holy name». And they on hearing these words returned to the
city. And the saying of the saint was accomplished; for after one year our Lord gave them children, and afterwards sons and daughters, and they continued praising the name of God.1

But, after a considerable time had past, and he was radiating light in this world like a bright sun, he was chosen by the grace of God to go up to the royal city, to argue on behalf on the faith in conjunction with certain saints and fathers.2 He was unwilling to do so, but nevertheless he was going up in obedience to a vision which appeared to him, the holy Mar Severus, the patriarch3 and Mar John bishop of Thella4, who came to him and gave him a pastoral staff and said to him with a threat, «Rise go with the companies of believers and feed our sheep, and keep them from the wolves»; and thereupon he took a small gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) and set out to go on foot to Constantinople. And there joined him from his monastery a certain well-tried and divine man who was called Sergius, who after a time was made a bishop by the blessed man himself. And, when the two had gone to the royal city and arrived

1. C om. prob. because the scribe did not wish to bring J. into any connexion with the procreation of children; cf. below (p. 508). — 2. In the original no reason for the journey is given exc. 'on account of the faith'; see p. 489, n. 2. — 3. C om. — 4. C ins. 'who were both dead'. Both in fact lived till 538, and John was present at the conferences (p. 518, n. 3). — The insertion is also inconsistent with p. 575.
there, the report flew about in the city, "Father James has come"; and, when Theodora the queen heard it, she received them with much honour, and she gave them a house and the rest of what they required. But the blessed man was eloquent and educated and skilled and exercised and practised, and he was versed in the Greek language as well as the Syriac to a specially high degree, and he read the Holy Scriptures in both languages; and, when he carried on debate with the chiefs of the heresy there in their own assembly, he put them all to flight, while he also through the mighty flashes of the divine doctrines (δόγματα) exposed their tricks and frauds against the truth of the faith, and he took possession of a little cell, and in it conversed with God continually. The blessed Sergius also lived an ascetic life, but he fell far short of the standard of the high and divine practices of the holy James.

When then dense crowds of believers came to the royal city, bishops and monks and clergyment, and laymen zealous for religion, they used to boast of

1. C 'And, because'. — 2. C 'also further'. — 3. C 'sal'. — 4. C 'with the divine and blessed S., he' (sic). — 5. C ins. 'not'. — 6. The statement in the original is that S. could not live as J. did because he had to attend to visitors is omitted by our author, prob. in order to exalt his hero at the expense of his companion.
the same saint, insomuch that Hereth Bar Gabala, king of the Saracens, when he heard it, came himself also to the royal city; and because the party of the believers had diminished under persecutions and tortures, Hereth Bar Gabala and some fathers with him begged the God-loving queen Theodora to give them leave to make two or three bishops in Syria (for there was not a bishop to be found in the whole of Syria except three, one on the mountain of Marde, and one in Persian territory, and one who had gone into Alexandria). And, since the believing queen was desirous of furthering such measures as would be of assistance against the synod of Chalcedon, she ordered them to make the bishops. Then two well-tried men were chosen by the holy patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria and the fathers who were with him to be bishops, one this divine James for the city of Edessa and all the rest of Syria and Asia, and another whose name was Theodore for the city of Bostra "in the south, and Palestine," and Arabia as far as Jerusalem. The divine James, having received the bishop's office from the blessed Theodosius by the advice and permission of the queen (for after he had left his see he was afraid to ordain

1. A misunderstanding of the statement in ch. 24 that (at a much earlier time) there were no bps. ext. in these 3 places. — 2. G 'another In'. — 3. G om. — 4. In the original life 'Bithia of the Saracens'.

1 C 298 a.
SPURIOUS LIFE OF JAMES.

1. bishops without permission of the crown), then accordingly armed himself with religion, and clothed himself in the breast plate of righteousness, and extended his course not only in the districts of Syria but also in those of the whole of Armenia, and of Cappadocia and in the districts of Cilicia, and the whole of Isauria, and of Pamphylia and Lycaonia and Lycia and Phrygia and Caria and Asia and the islands of the sea, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, Mitylene, up to the royal city itself; and he propagated and expanded all orthodoxy (ὀρθοδοξία), and made priests, and filled the ranks. And not only did he marshal priests and supply all quarters, but he did not even neglect churches that were at a distance; and the Lord put it into his mind, and he contrived means of adorning the church of God. And, since there is a prudent canon that without three bishops or four no bishop shall be instituted, he considered the matter and took with him two monks who had a reputation for excellence of life, one from Cilicia, and one from Isauria, and took them

1. In the original (ch. 50) this statement is made on the occasion of the consecration of Lp. for Egypt by James, and there are no qualifying words. — 2. C 'queen'. — 3. C 'the blessed Th. secretly permitted him to make Lp. and perform all the functions of the priesthood. And then the saintly J.' — 4. Eph., vi, 14. — 5. C om.
to the royal city. And he received advice and permission from the holy Theodosius the patriarch who was at that time residing there by way of exile (ἐξοικρία), and he directed his path to Alexandria, with these two blessed men; that he might there consecrate them bishops, because there was no bishop in Syria except one, nor an orthodox (ὅσειδος) patriarch; but of the synod of Chaleedon there was a patriarch f. Antioch, Ephraim the heretic, from the city of Amida, the wicked persecutor of religion.

But the holy James, when he had completely performed his ministry in all the countries from the royal city as far as the sea-coasts, then thus entered Alexandria; and when he had been in intercourse with the saintly bishops there then they admired the saint's austerity, that he had travelled through those countries without an animal to ride, and without a wallet or bronze coins or a purse, according to the commandment received from the blessed patriarch Theodosius. And accordingly the saintly bishops assembled, and made the two blessed men who were with him bishops, one whose name

1. C om. — 2. Mss. om. — 3. C ins. 'men and'. — 4. C 4 or rather (πάσχα) from Christ' (Matth., x.x. In the original (ch. 50) the commandment refers to the communication with the bp. — 5. C 'they'.

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was Conon in Tarsus a city of Cilicia, and the other whose name was Eugene in the city of Seleucia; and further for Syria two, Antony and Antoninus. And he took them with him and set out for Syria; and in accordance with the provision of the canons he made metropolitan in the city of Laodicea a divine man whose name was Dimet from the holy convent of Aphonthonia, and another whose name was John from the monastery of Mar Bwzy ofSeleucia in Syria; and John from the monastery of the house of Mar Bassus in Kenneshrin; and another whose name was Sergius in the city of Charrhac, from the monastery of the house of Aphonthonia; and another John from the monastery of Mar Hananya of the city of Sura. And, when he had, as described, set up bishops and priests in various cities, afterwards they went up to the royal city; and he made patriarch for Antioch in Syria a man whose name was Sergius from the city of Thella, who was residing in the royal city, and was illustrious for religious learning; and, having completed three years, he departed from the world. After a time he ordained as his successor an Alexandrine whose

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1. C ins. (wrongly) 'of Syria'.—2. There is no mention of these in the original life, the names being taken from H. E., iv, 11, where two Antonini are said to have been recently (the events recorded happened in 578) consecrated by James for Syria. —3. See p. 592, n. 2. —4. Chalda in Syria. —5. G 'then'. —6. C 'of'. —7. See above (p. 589). —8. C ins. 'not'.
name was Paul. And in Amida he made a man whose name was Eunomius from the city of Amida metropolitan, who had been expelled with the clergy of the same Amida, and was in the royal city; and he made many bishops 'for Egypt'. And afterwards the blessed men set out for the districts of Asia for the second time; and he made four bishops, one in Ephesus and in the whole of Asia, me the sinful John the Syrian, the convert of the pagans, and author of the Ecclesiastical History, who am from the house of Mar John at Amida; and in the city of Smyrna a man whose name was Photius and another John in the city of Pergamum; and Peter in Dorylaeum; and also in the island of Chios a divine man and worker of miracles whose name was Kashish, a member of my monastery of Mar John at Amida; and for Dara he made John bishop a divine man from the monastery of Karthamin. And in the whole

1. C 'Ignatius and others'. — 2. Mss. 'Syria'. — 3. In the original text 'Peter'. Photius, as we learn from ch. 56, was a companion of Peter. — 4. In the original text 'Tares'. — 5. The original text says nothing about Dara, which is out of place in an account of the bps. of Asia, but it mentions 2 Carian bps., here omitted. John of Dara is probably the same as the bishop who had been archim. of Karthamin mentioned on p. 613 from H. E., iv, 33, and was no doubt consecrated later (Dyakonov, p. 78, n. 111). See above, p. 587, n. 2. 'Dion' however (Kley, Bijdrage, p. 73) calls this J. of Karthamin who died in 578 bp. of Amida.
world he appointed eighty-seven bishops, and two patriarchs. And, being armed with divine strength, he would go out to his ministry, and would pour out the priesthood over the countries of the East like a great river in the days of Nisan, having entered upon the road of heroism at a vigorous and spiritual pace, and according to the saying of the apostle clothed himself in the breast-plate of righteousness, and girded his own loins with the perfection of faith: and he was at all times carrying on a contest on behalf of the truth on the right hand and on the left in glory and in dishonour. And he would run at a vigorous pace through the upper and lower countries, from the Persian territory even as far as the royal city, and Alexandria and the countries between, and fulfil the work of his ministry not only by organizing the clergy and giving the priesthood, but by consoling and comforting, and edifying and strengthening in teaching all the party of the believers. Once when he was travelling through the districts he came to a mountain-range called Ibla; and he went into a village called Gumtha; and, while he was in the village,
a certain Jewish \(^1\) sorcerer was there, who was deceiving the people by his sorceries. When the blessed man heard about the same Jew\(^2\), he ordered them to bring him before him; and, when he came, he spake and said to him:

« Wherefore, O impious man, are you doing iniquity and wrong, and opposing the right ways of the Lord? \(^3\) Accordingly you shall be silent, and not hear nor speak unless you confess Christ. » And the same hour his tongue withered and his ears were stopped, and he became like a stone. And when the people stood in great astonishment, Satan came out from under the feet of that Jew in the form of an Ethiopian, and he wailed with a loud voice and said, « Out upon you, bishop James; for from your boyhood you have been a vexation (?) to me ». And the holy James rebuked him; and he left the village with his hands laid upon his head. And the blessed man spake, and said to the proprietors of the village: « Satan has fled, be enlightened in the Lord ». But the proprietors of that village had gone astray in the heresy of Chalcedon; and he stayed there a long time in order to correct them. But afterwards he came to the city of Edessa; and, when the believers there had been refreshed by his words, then it happened that suddenly a son of a

\(^1\) C om. \(^2\) C `sorcerer'. \(^3\) Acts, xiii, 10, 11.
great family of the place whose name was Theodore died suddenly within his chamber; and he caused much sorrow to the city by his death. And, when the blessed man heard the wailings and weeping and sobbing, he asked those who were near and said, « What is this outcry whereby the city has been disturbed? ». And they said to him: « A son of great family, Theodore, has died suddenly; and we say that it is on account of the sins of his parents. » The holy blessed man answered and said to them: « Not so, but in order that God may be glorified through him »². And he went on his feet to that dead man’s house; and the citizens were laughing and saying: « What, pray, are this fellow’s patches after? ». But he did not give way to their words; but he knelt upon the ground in prayer; and on rising he said in presence of the multitudes of the city: « In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, one undivided nature, who was crucified for us on the cross, rise walk³ ». And, as the saint spoke, that young man woke as if from sleep and stood up; and when his parents and kinsmen asked him, « How did it happen to you? », he said to them: « A man of fire came upon me while I

was lying on my rug, and moved his hand and took my soul from me; and I saw this saint, and two old monks, who were making request of God on my behalf; and the man of fire was sent with them, to obey every order that they gave him.  But believe on this saint, and receive all blessings from him ». And many believed and were convinced by the blessed man.

Again another time, while he was visiting the churches and the monasteries, he wished to go and visit two brothers who were residing in the convent of the holy Mar Kayuma; and the full evening had now almost arrived; and, when half of the sun’s disk had set, he showed ardent desire before God in the vehemence of his spirit, and said : « O sun, servant of the creatures of God, wait for me till I enter that convent. » And the sun waited and did not set till he entered that convent. And when the members of that convent asked him, and say to him, « Our father, what is this miracle of the sun? », then he answered, and said to them : « Are you so dull that you do not remember the words of our Lord who said, ‘If there be in you faith as a

1. C ins. ‘and he took my soul and restored it to my body’. — 2. C ‘and creature of God, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth’. — 3. C ‘he found the brethren looking in wonder and astonishment at the sun; and they said’;
grain of mustard, ye shall tell this mountain to fall into the sea and it shall be done’? » Afterwards he went in and found one of the brothers there seriously ill, and he said to him, «Do you wish to depart to our Lord, or be left for repentance?». And he said, «I desire to fly away». And he said to him: «Therefore to-morrow morning you shall depart to our Lord». And all the night he was engaged in reciting service on behalf of that brother and at the hour of matins he ended his life. But the other brother he duly fortified like a mighty man, and said to him «Our Lord will not give you life except for one year. However lay up the provisions needed for departure». Having left that place, and gone round the cities and countries, he came to Constantinople, and his mighty power was indeed shown. A certain citizen’s daughter, a virgin, suddenly fell under the power of an evil fiend, and was crying and foaming; and, when he had anointed her with the oil of prayer, that demon departed from her. And, whenever the proper policy was being decided, he used to tell the victorious king all the actions that were going to be enacted throughout the commonwealth (πολιτεία) of the Romans;


PATR. OR. — T. M. — F. 2.
so that in consequence of his performance of miracles his fame was wafted to all quarters like choice spices (ἀρωματα), and the victorious kings of the Romans and of the Persians and remote peoples heard the fame of the same saint's miracles, and all the bishops of the heresy of Chalcedon from all sides were indignant against him, and sought to seize the blessed man and tear him in pieces. And, while they were running after him with threats in all quarters, he was sheltered by the divine grace, and was not delivered into the hands of his pursuers and of those who sought his life; for, when he wished to go to any district, he would complete the whole work of his ministry in one night perhaps and one day, and on the next day he would by the divine grace be found thirty and forty miles away. And, wherever he wished to add to his ministry, he would go by the Spirit of God to the district which he wished, without wearying; for he never rode an animal in his life all the time of his activity. In the days when he was staying in his convent, a certain man among the citizens of Thella used to go up to the

1. C: 'him in order by reason of the drunkenness of their envy to tear the blessed man'. — 2. Jer. 13:9. — 3. C: 'the blessed man and tear him'. — 4. C: 'he would be found by the grace of the Spirit'. — 5. This story has been omitted by the scribe of C, obviously because he thought it unedifying.
saint in religious discretion, that he might be blessed by the blessed man and ask his prayers; and he had followed this practice for a long time. But this man had a co-sponsor1 who was a presbyter in the order (τιμία) of the church. When then the presbyter saw his co-sponsor going constantly to the blessed man, he said to him: «Wherefore do you neglect your employment day by day, and suffer loss by giving your time to going to Mar James the bishop? It is enough for you to be blessed once a month.» But his co-sponsor, when he heard these things, continued pressing the presbyter to make the journey to the same saint with him, to show him the miracles of the man of God; and one day the presbyter gave him pleasure and consented to go with him. But Satan the hater of good things on seeing the two co-sponsors going in earnestness and in divine love to be blessed by the blessed man showed them an apparition (φωτισθεί), in order that they might not again come to the saint's own presence; and, when they reached the door of his cell in the monastery, they saw that a girl beautiful to look at came out from his presence merry and laughing, and, when, that presbyter saw her, he said to his co-sponsor: «See to whom you are urging me to come and

be blessed"; for he was scandalized. And on coming in to the blessed man, and seeing no one with him they were both more scandalized, since they had seen a woman coming out of his cell while he was alone. But the man who was constantly going up to him, overcome by abundance of love, revealed before the blessed man himself the scandal that had troubled their minds, and began to say to him: "Sir, I urged this presbyter to come to you with me, to be blessed by your holiness; and he saw that a woman met us who was coming out from your presence, beautiful to look at, merry and laughing, and this our companion was much scandalized: and even I too was scandalized at seeing something unusual." But that divine man on hearing it knew immediately that that false appearance of a woman was an apparition (phantasia) of a fiend; and he thought: "It is not right that these men should be left scandalized"; and he asked them, and said: "Shall you know that woman if you see her?" And they said "We shall know her well." Then he ordered them to pray; and he himself, having knelt down, continued entreating God, who wishes for the life of men, by his secret power to force the fiend who had appeared to these men in the form of a woman to come and appear in the same guise (σαρκα) which they
had seen. And suddenly that woman stood among them, looking gloomy. And the blessed man asked them, «Is this the woman whom you saw? » And they said, «It is certainly she.» And, while they still supposed that it was a woman clad in flesh, the saint breathed upon her and made the sign of the cross, and said: «Go to perdition, evil fiend, and be not a stumbling-block to believers.» And as he spoke that woman became like smoke, and vanished from before them. And, when the men who had been scandalized saw this, they feared with great fear, and praised the power of God which dwells in his saints; and they went down to their city rejoicing, and repeating the praises of God.

"The blessed man then, having remained in his monastery, was for a short time 1 making entreaty to God for the salvation of the whole church. For at that time he would fast for twenty 2 days and then eat; and he would eat sitting 3. But one day while he was eating he fell asleep; and his disciple spoke and said: «Father, rise and sleep a little time on a mat also.» And he said to him: «If, my son, 3 you request the angels to sleep, you do rightly in requesting me. The holy armies cease not from praise 3, and do

1. C "But, when he came to his monastery, he was". — 2. C "ten". — 3. C om.
you desire me to remain silent through sleep? (for he used not to sleep like men, but kept watch all his life; and, if he happened to fall asleep, he would sleep a little time while sitting). One day a woman from a village called Theltha, in the territory of Thella, since she had had children and they had died and no children remained to her, came to the same blessed man with her domestic slaves; and the blessed man gave her unction through prayer, and she had many children.

Again on account of men's sins there was a drought caused by lack of rain over the whole of Mesopotamia, and especially in the land of Thella, insomuch that the rivers became dry. But, when people saw this, many villages and hamlets assembled and made an agreement to come to the same 'blessed James'. And they came to his monastery and found him; and, when they had spoken with him, he prayed and wept, and he placed his head between his knees. And, while they were standing before him, the atmosphere (ātār) became dark, and the clouds poured rain upon the earth, for

1. C. ins. "and rise to perform service." 2. This story is omitted in the p. 382. 3. I. e. 'moisture, hardly Thlatha = three. — 4. C. 'holy J. in his cell'.

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three days and three nights; and all the people praised God, and departed thence rejoicing.

What shall I say about the multitude of miracles which the bondman of God performed in creation? for he used to do mighty works like the holy apostles. And to those who were pursuing in order to catch him he caused much astonishment; and often they would meet him and ask him, saying, Have you seen that blessed James the deceiver who is dressed in patches?; and he would turn them back to a district which he had passed through and say: «He was at such-and-such a place yesterday evening; but pursued after him.» For the report of him would be flying about to-day in some village, and to-morrow in another; and he himself would not accept any gold or silver or bronze whatever, nor would he allow his travelling-companion to carry any, nor money or food to eat; and every day he would travel a stage (παραπόνοια) covered at a vigorous pace, while he would not consent to the fast and severe abstinence being broken; so that men could not travel with him for a number of days and minister to him more than a very short
time; for they could not endure the hardship of his angelic mode of life. For he used to travel on foot like an active man, and had no need to use an animal; and, while he was strengthened by divine grace, his body also was sound by nature; but he was dry like a stone. However every day he would make an addition among the believers; and his beneficence everywhere would sorely provoke the adversaries; and consequently droves of pursuers with horses and horsemen would pursue after him, and would meet one another, and perhaps he would also be present among them, and they would not see him; so that, when king Justinian heard of it, he promised something great to those who would bring him to his presence; and many men received three hundred darics each to bring him; and they would seek him diligently on mountains and in deserts and in villages, while they did not find the bondman of God; and he was pouring out the priesthood.
copiously in every district and city; so that, if anyone say that a hundred thousand priests were ordained by him, I do not think he will stray from the truth. But he raised up the faith of the church that had almost disappeared, and he contended powerfully against heresy, and lifted up the head of the church that was bowed down. For before the blessed man's time the believers had been more than ten years without receiving the oblation, or having their children baptized 1; for a priest could not show himself at all. And the holy blessed man both filled Syria with bishops and priests and magnified and strengthened the horn of the church that was laid low, and made bishops and priests in Persia; and he used to send encyclical letters to them that were full of confirmation of the orthodox faith. For he was powerful in divine doctrine, and practise in defending the confession of orthodoxy (ορθοδοξία); and by speaking from the Scriptures he used to silence the heretics, since not even advocates (σονίγγορος) and glib-tongued men were able to repress his words. And from that time every city and village and convent of monks used to repeat 'James, James'; and, if 'the merciful' 2 God

1. This statement is not in the original life. — 2. C om,
had not had pity on his church and raised him up in it, it would almost have disappeared. For he stood up and preserved the faith of the apostles which was handed down by James the first bishop of Jerusalem, and filled the whole church with beauties, and consequently, when the parties of the orthodox (ὁθωδοσια) and of the heretics met one another, they would ask, "Who are you?"; and the orthodox (ὁθωδοσια) would answer, "We for our part are of the faith of James the first of the apostles (and he was termed brother of our Lord in the flesh), which this divine James also proclaims to us"; while the adversaries would answer, "Of Ephraim of Amida," or "Of John of Sroam" (the patriarch opposed to God); and hence throughout Syria and in the countries of Persia and of the Armenians the expression became current "We are of the faith of James"; and in Alexandria and in Egypt again the expression became current, "We are of Theodosius" so that on this account the believers of Egypt were named Theodosians, and the Syrians Jacobites. And the blessed man by his manner of life and by his innocence.

1. Com. - 2. John ἐκ τῆς Σαρίγαρας προς Ἀντιοχίαν (Evagr., iv, 38, ad fin.), patr. of CP. 565-77. Ephraim patr. of Antioch died in 545. - 3. Com. N has the erroneous marginal note "This is the holy John Maro." - 4. This name probably arose out of the schism about the deprivation of Paul of Antioch and is opposed to Paulites.
and by his keen zeal against the enemies, and great contests (ζητοῦν) endured from his boyhood and down to his old age showed himself a cherisher and upholder of the faith, and a worker of divine miracles. Once, when he was secretly travelling to Mt. Sinai in order to visit the saints, with one of his disciples to attend upon himself, and had reached the desert region in the days of the month of Ab', in the burning heat of the sun, and was walking very vigorously with divine singing for more than forty miles in a protracted fast, his disciple became thirsty, and began to feel faint; and he was afraid to tell his master. But, when he had become desperate and lost hope of life, he called to his master, saying: «My father, help me. ‘Thirst for water he killed me.» And the blessed man on turning and seeing that he was already finished said to him: «Pray and beg mercy from God until I come to you». And he went from him to a little watercourse that was near them; and he went down on his knees, and offered supplication to the merciful God. and as the old man spoke that place shot out a spring of water. Then he called his disciple and said: «Drink and satisfy your-
self out of the gift of our God »¹. And he drank and was strengthened. And they travelled on thanking God for his kindness.

But, after he had returned from Mt. Sinai and come to his convent, ² he went to visit the districts. ³ Now, since the church of the metropolitan city of Amida had been razed to the ground and fallen when the Persians devastated the city, and had been rebuilt by order of the crown, the citizens wished the blessed man to consecrate it; and they came to him begging him to go with them; and, having consented to go, ⁵ he on his part ordered them to go before him; and he himself entered the city after them. And a certain woman, one of the great persons of the city, was lying with paralysed limbs by the city gate; who when the saint passed by her continued crying and saying, « Sir, have mercy upon me »; and he reached toward her, and took hold of her hand and said: « May our Lord Jesus Christ heal you, my daughter »; and immediately she was cured ⁶, and went into the church.

¹. C ins. 'And the brother came and saw the water in the desolate place in the wilderness, and he wondered greatly and praised God who hears his saints'. ². C 'he exalted and praised the Lord for his gift. But, after they had reached Mt. Sinai, and he had prayed in the holy places, and been blessed by the saints there, he returned to his monastery where he had been trained, and again'. ³. C ins. 'of the believing peoples'. ⁴. In 500, about 50 yrs. before J.'s time. 'Dion.' however (R. O. C., 11, 55) makes the Persians take Amida in 560. ⁵. C om. ⁶. C ins. 'and rose'. 
And having entered the church he consecrated it in the customary way. And to many who were in the congregation God showed a miracle: for, while he was standing in the holy place, they saw hosts of angels who were dancing and uttering praise within the sanctuary and rejoicing in a song of praise. And after consecrating the church and ordaining priests and deacons there he departed from among them, having informed them that they were about to suffer tribulations. Then (στῆρις) after a short time certain persons in various cities and in villages under the pressure of the authorities denied the faith of the church, and went over to the synod of Chalcedon; but they are forthwith chastised for the purpose of correction. For God sent upon the whole of Mesopotamia on account of the sins of men, especially upon Charrhæi and Edessa and Amida and Maiferkat, raging madness and blindness of heart, and the population became possessed by demons, except a few, but especially at Amida. Men walked and jumped, and were
mad and ran as if horsemen were riding after them; and they barked like dogs, and howled; and in their madness they bit their flesh; and, while at Maiferkat and at Charrhae and at Edessa it was a small matter, in the city of Amida great madness prevailed, especially among boys and girls. When then the citizens saw these things they were overcome with affliction at thinking what a horrible thing had happened to their city, and they were running to the same saint, and begging him with many tears to visit them. But the saint answered and said to them: «How do you wish the Lord to have mercy upon you when you deny his Godhead and divide the one and indivisible into two natures? But, if so be you will obey me, God will visit you». And they said: «We will do your will, our father; only deliver us from this grievous infliction». And he granted their request, and rose and went to the city of Amida. But, when he entered the city, those who had gone mad began to run away from the sight of him and seek refuge under

1 G om. - 2. S ins. ‘inside the church and’, see below.
walls; and having gone into the inside of the church he brought incense and set it before the altar; and he ordered them to carry it over all the streets of their city and the houses, and on the walls of the city all round; and the day was the first day of the week. But, after he had offered the oblation and celebrated the awful mysteries, men began to come to their senses and recover their intellects and praise God. And again at the vesper hour he set down incense, and prayed; and all that night he was offering petition to God on their behalf. And at morning on the second day of the week there remained not a soul in that city which had not been cured and come to its senses, and those who had been afflicted began to utter exclamations of praise to God, giving thanks and praise, and begging mercy from him. Then the blessed man ordered them to clothe and cover themselves in black for several days. And so he left the city with high reputation, while all the multitudes praised God the lover of mankind; and he went to Maierkat and to Thella and to Edessa, and to Charrhae; and he visited them in the same
way; for 'there was not' a dead man among those who had been afflicted. And he came and went into his monastery for a few days; and one night he called the blessed men the members of his convent, and said to them « My fathers and my brothers, let us sorrow for the Lord's people. since it has been bereft of the blessed pastor Theodosius patriarch of Alexandria and he has gone to the tents of the saints; for this night he committed his spirit to God ». Now that year was the year eight hundred and eighty-seven of Alexander.

Again too in the period before this, when Khosrau son of Kawad the Persian king came and laid waste the cities and villages on the Euphrates, and ravaged and destroyed Batnae, he came also against Edessa, and encamped against it to take it, and, when he was unable to do so,² a man of craft in destruction whose name was Cometas, a spy, who used to teach Khosrau all kinds of evil plans against Syria, advised him to order his

1. S om. C in place of this clause has 'for none of those who suffered in this affliction died'. — 2. C 'there has been taken from us out'. — 3. 576. Really he died in 566; see p. 488, n. 6. — 4. 554. But Batnae was taken in 540, when he took a ransom from Edessa without besieging it (Proc., Bell., II, xii, xxvi). — 5. C ins. 'on account of the numbers of people in it and the strength of the wall, he was troubled: and'. — 6. C 'the excellent people of the Syrians'.

forces to build houses against the city and to reduce it to straits as he actually did. But, when the citizens heard of this contrivance, they were running to the same holy James; for he had arrived in the city a short time before, and it became known to discerning men that God had brought him to save the city. And accordingly the Edessenes came to him and said: «Our saintly father, offer supplication to God, that he may save it from this man and the impious kingdom». And the blessed man said to them: «Fear not, ye of little faith. Only believe in our Lord. This night God will drive him away like Sennacherib from Jerusalem; and at daybreak none of the Persians shall be found in your borders». And the blessed man prayed all that night; and at midnight Khosrau saw horses of fire, and horsemen clad in flame saying to him: «Rise depart from our city; and, if also you have not done so when the sun rises, we will slay you and all your army». And, when this vision had appeared to Khosrau, «a stern
voice cried¹ and alarmed his forces and they retired from the city in great fear². Then the saint’s word was being carried into effect, and the Lord saved that city by his prayers. Now there was in the same city among the distinguished men a certain blind man; and he heard of the blessed man’s miracles, and went to him by the help of some of his servants, and said to him «Sir, have mercy upon me as your Lord had mercy on Timaeus Bar Timaeus the blind man, and grant me in his name to see light, in order that his name may be glorified because of me ». And, when the blessed man heard these words, he wept for sorrow; and he was strongly moved in his spirit³ and said : « Come near to me and see the Lord’s glory ». And he came near to him; and he placed his right hand on his eyes and said, « Our Lord Jesus Christ, fashioner of our frame, indivisible, one, Only one, in thy name may the pupils of this thy bondman see light ». And the same hour that blind man saw; and the multitudes marvelled, and they praised God and continued saying : « Truly this is a divine man »¹⁴. And he left the city and went to

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greet the blessed men of the divine convent of Bar Aphthonia; for he loved it greatly on account of its virtues; and, having entered the convent, he both filled up the ranks of the priesthood and did what was customary (for it had recently been built). But one day, while he was offering the oblation, a certain Saracen who had recently been baptized was present there; and he saw that fire came down from heaven, and saw tongues of flame hovering over the oblation, and hosts of angels with bowed head before the divine sacrifice; and he saw that, whenever anyone received the oblation, they wrote his name in the book of life; and that barbarian believed, and praised God.

And the blessed man left the convent and went to visit the churches in Asia; and he visited all the believers with the divine word, and proclaimed the news of the gospel (ζωγραφίζω) to near and far. Having appeared in the world like the great Paul, and completed his ministry, and perfectly kept the faith, he assisted God’s church for a space of forty years. Having

received ordination during the years of Justinian king of the Romans, "he
was living" down to the years of Tiberius the king the successor of Justin²;
and during these forty years his steps did not pass away from the paths of
righteousness, nor his tongue from the divine words. But, when he had
reached advanced old age, a certain scandal-causing calamity sprang up in
the church, through the fact that Paul the patriarch and the saint¹ also
were zealous for the Lord⁴; and, in order that a scandal might not arise
within the church, the blessed James made a secret resolve for the sake of
the correction of the believers to go as far as Alexandria³; and he took with
him eight other bishops⁶ and hastened to Alexandria as I said; for "his
intention was a secret" from everyone. And, as they were journeying along
the road, they reached a large monastery on the frontier of Egypt called
that of Casium⁸. And, when they had gone into the monastery and "put up"³ and prayed, the saint spoke and said to those with him: «Pray, my
brothers, since the Lord showed me that here I and three of you will depart

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from the life of time ». And after he had said these words at daybreak one of the bishops who were with him died, who was formerly archimandrite of the convent of Karthamnia ; and the holy old man stood up and offered the oblation for him. And again Sergius his synkellos who also had become a bishop fell sick and died. And after three days he himself delivered up his soul to God, on the day on which God commanded it; and again after him his deacon also, and all these in twelve days, so that men were reduced to astonishment and wondered. And the report went out over the countries that the light of the church had been extinguished. And his companions, overcome with wonder, returned to Syria in great sadness. But the monks of the convent of Casium laid the blessed man in a coffin (γυναίκα) and took possession of him with great honour. Then the whole of Syria sorrowed over the old man's death; and many came to his monastery and were visited. And the people of the city of Thella also suffered many distresses.

1. See p. 504, n. 3; p. 508, n. 5. - 2. C 'this divine light of all the world the blessed J. fell sick and died and'. - 3. C 'and at the time at'. - 5. C 'that the weary man should rest from his labour this second Paul and true disciple and comrade for religion was gathered to his holy fathers and the doctors of the church; and the saint's'. - 6. C 'and in all quarters of creation that the pastor of the church had gone to his rest'. - 7. C 'buried'. - 8. C 'his'.
at being deprived of the saint's bones; and so they were always asking for his prayers; and the power of God would visit them; to whom be glory and honour and worship, for ever and ever. Amen!

The history of James the bishop written by Mar John of Asia is ended.

A writing of Mar Cyriac bishop of Amida about the same holy Mar James.

When then Mar James the bishop from the holy convent of Fsiltha had departed to our Lord a considerable time before, and the patriarch Mar Athanasius had arisen upon the see of Peter the great, Phocas king of the Romans again expelled the orthodox (ὁρθόδοξοι) bishops from their sees and appointed heretics, but by the judgments of God the Persian king Khosrau

1. C ins. 'the holy'. — 2. C 'Marde, how the bones of the'. — 3. C ins. 'came from the monastery of Cassiown to his monastery'. — 4. See the apostle, not surely, as M. Kugener thinks, the patriarch Peter of Callinicus. — 5. Nothing is known of this, and in Phocas' time there were no Monophysites in open possession of sees.
son of Hormizd came and took all the country east of the Euphrates in war; and by God’s provision and queen Shirin’s advice he expelled the bishops of Chalcedon from the cities east of the Euphrates, and appointed orthodox (σπάνιακοί) bishops in their places, viz. in Amida Mar Samuel, and in Edessa Mar Isaiah, and in Rhesaina Mar Addai, and in Thella Mar Zakkhai; and so in every district and city, while they agreed in everything with the blessed patriarch. At this same time therefore, when Mar Zakkhai bishop of Thella had heard and learned of the holiness of the blessed Mar James, he was zealous for the Lord and for that holy soul and exerted and bestirred himself, and sent four blessed men from his convent, and two of the clergymen of the city (and he supplied them with a swift animal and money) to go to the monastery of Casium in which he fell asleep, and steal him thence. And he laid down a law (νόμος) for them as to how they should act and dispatched them. Now those who went were sent in the year nine hundred and thirty-three of the Greeks. And at the same time Israælius king of the Romans came, and took all the country east of the Euphrates, and drove the Persians as far as
Nisibis which is on the frontier. And the members of the monastery went in the days of the devout Mar Stephen who was termed Shbiliya; and, having gone and arrived at the monastery of Casium, they went into the monastery and prayed and came near and were blessed by the holy Mar James, and by the brothers of the house. And on being asked whither they were travelling they answered « We are envoys of the church of Syria to the pope of Alexandria. » Then they were received with much honour. When then they had remained there two days, in accordance with a plan and trick that had been concerted by them on the way, one of these monks, the envoys, set up a wail being possessed by a demon and foaming and went out of his mind. And his companions began to be distressed and weep; and in sorrow they went on to fasten their companion to the sarcophagus of the

1. 622-9. — 2. C ‘of the Greeks and the Persians. And II. instituted a persecution against the church, because bp. Isaiah of Edessa did not give the oblation to the king in the great church of Edessa, because the bishop demanded of the king that, unless he anathematized the synod of Chalcedon in writing, he did not give him the oblation (sic). And for this reason Christians without number who stood firm and held fast were oppressed; and those who did not show constancy returned to the heresy of Chalcedon. At that time; cf. Mich., p. 409. — 3. Sc. ‘the man of the path’;? — 4. C om. — 5. C ‘greeted’. — 6. C ins. ‘they were travelling on the road, they deliberated thus: « As soon as we reach the monastery, one of us will purposely have a seizure, that on this pretext we may be able to approach the place where the saint is ». And, when’; — 7. C ‘confused’.
holy Mar James, in order that he might learn how to steal that holy body, while his companions on his account slept with him close by the saccophagus itself. But during the night they would bore, and in the day cover the borings that they had made. And, when the task had become easy for them, they took the keys (κλειδα) of the monastery to themselves, that their task might be easily accomplished. Then they said to the members of the monastery of Casium, «We, sirs, since we have a letter with us, cannot remain here with this sick man; but we will leave one of us with him and a swift animal, in order that, when the Lord pleases and he recovers, he may quickly join us at Alexandria, in the holy convent of Marth Zoila, but pray for us». And, having gone thence, they came as far as Palestine on their return; and the man who had feigned madness and his companion rose by night and took the body of the holy Mar James, and wrapped it in silk shrouds, and came on the swift animal to their companions in Palestine according to the agreement that they had made with one another.
But the blessed men the members of the monastery of Casium, when they rose in the morning and saw that the saint's body had been taken away, lifted up their voice in weeping and in sobs; and they went in all directions after them, and did not find them; and they returned to their monastery mourning. But the blessed men departed from Palestine, themselves and the clergymen, and rapidly arrived at the city of Thella, carrying his holy body with them. And, when the bishop and the clergy and the citizens heard of it, they went to meet it with lights and incense and songs of praise, and carried it round the whole city, accompanying it with spiritual odes, and chants of the Holy Spirit. And then they wrapped it round and laid it in his monastery, the convent of Fsiltha, in the temple which the saint had built in his lifetime, and it is there for the assistance and healing of all men, and for the honour and praise of Christ his God;

1. C "anything".  2. C "bishops".  3. C "men of his city".  4. C ins. "came to his monastery and".  5. C "it with great honour, since he had been educated and trained in it, in the monastery of Fsiltha". The date was probably 21 Mar., 622. J. is celebrated on 21 Mar., 31 July, and 28 Nov.; and, as 31 July is the day of his death or burial, and 28 Nov. arises from a confusion with J. of Batnae, 21 Mar. is probably the date of his translation, and was in fact a Sunday in 622.  6. C "who take refuge at his coffin".  7. C "our".
to whom and to his Father with his Holy Spirit be praise and honour and worship and exaltation, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen!

The history of Mar James bishop of Edessa is ended.

This history was written by the industry of Mar Theodosius presbyter and stylite of the monastery of Psiltha, in the days of Mar Stephen, archimandrite of the same convent, in the year a thousand and fifty-two of Seleucus.


VOCABULARY

as 22, 6; 327, 7; 459, 8.


Command = τραχεῖα ὑπατία 75, ult.; 549, 8 (see note 2 on transl.).

Utensil = εἰσοδήμος 519, 2, 5 (1. 5 ms. H. E.).

Fem. 609, 1.

Perh. an emph. form.; see above.

Intentness 494, 4.

Lit. 'of my lord's house', appy. men who performed certain menial offices in
monasteries 361, 6 (see note); 363, 6; 364, 6; 365, 7.

Worn garment 209, 9; 217, 4.

Run very fast (?) (lit. distance many) 526, 4.

Be packed tightly (?) 415, 8.

Creep 352, 11 (see note).

In bereaved fashion 185, 7.

Become manifest 189, 6.

Open space 132, 10. See Smith, s. v.


Bond 11, 7. Sm. and Brockelm. cite lexx. only.

Vestry 103, penult.; 372, 2. Sm. lexx. only.

Scouring (?) 392, 8. Brockelm. olera pura.

Post up (?) 320, 9.

In confined fashion 406, 10.

Body of gentry 183, 10.

Heap of débris (?) 506, ult.

Smear (with acc. of thing smeared and a preceding thing on which it is smeared)

Be formed (of a stain) 380, 10.

Conductor 60, 10. Sm. lexx. only.

Ask (like πανθεομάνη) 39, 9; 444, 7; 149, penult.; 151, 4; 233, 3; 534, 1.

Angrily 183, 1.

Stop at, rest content with 402, 12.
overshadowed 236, ult. Sm. lexx. only.

over a wide area 515, 5.

scour (?) 247, penult. Sm. Brockelm. aufugit, expugnavit.

(Pael) plant 533, ult. Sm. cites Hexaplar only.

over the other side at 298, 7; 387, 7 (see notes).

μύτει if you please, be so good as to 79, 10; 80, 4; 103, 11; 363, 11; 372, 4; 534, 11; 535, 1; 564, 6.

discover 128, 9; 130, ult.

slap 516, 10. See above. See above.

women's gallery 336, 8.

whatever 173, 8.

slaps, 513, 5. Br. κατό. See above.

be laid out (for burial) 108, 9.

name of a tree, perh. syagrus, 39, 11 (see note).

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

IN TOM. XVII, FASC. 1

P. iv, l. 30, 31. Om. 'this.... them'.
P. vii, l. 23. For '595' read '585'.
P. viii, l. 25. After 'contains' ins. 'most of'.
P. xi. Dele n. 2.
— , n. 5. For '149' read '249'.
P. 273, text, n. 1. Read 'ms. مسجت'.
P. 305, l. 4. The ref. in the 2nd clause is to text, l. ult.

IN TOM. XVIII, FASC. 4'.

P. 311, transl., n. 1. For 'Q(ws)ws' read 'Q(wo)ws'.
P. 315, transl., l. 11. For 'serve my own self' we should perh. render 'myself perform service'.
P. 319, text, l. 10. For جان read جان. See p. 306, n. 1.
P. 335, transl., n. 1. Om. 'probably', and add. 'Cf. H.E., II, 46'.
P. 346, text, n. 4. For قم read قم.
P. 354, text, n. 5. For كام read كام, and for كام read كام.
P. 360, transl., l. 4. For 'account' we should perh. write 'reckoning' and think of a criminal with his χαραγματατις tied to his hands. I owe this suggestion to Prof. Burkitt.
P. 402, transl., l. ult., p. 403, l. 1. For 'the food... have' read 'and placing the food of each, one of them in his mouth', and dele n. 1.
P. 405, text, l. 2. For خلاك read خلاك.
P. 407, transl., l. ult. For 'those of the canon' read 'the common (κοινων) ones' and dele n. 4.
P. 422, transl., n. 3. For 'p. 387, n. 3' read 'p. 387, n. 2'.
P. 428, text, n. 6. For خصص read خصص.
P. 431, text, l. 3. For خصص read خصص, and dele n. 3.
P. 433, transl., l. 2. Add note 'Cf. p. 196 and p. 508'.
P. 438, transl., l. 11, 14. For 'coffin' (?) read 'vault'.
P. 453, text, l. 1. For خصص read خصص.
P. 464, transl., l. 13. For 'inn' read 'a label' and dele n. 1.

1. The references are to the bracketed numbers.
P. 467, transl., l. 8. For 'the ministering office' read 'a deaconry', and om. the first two words of n. 3.

P. 470, transl., l. 9. For 'take' read 'feed'.

P. 485, text, l. ult. For read ف. ע.

P. 496, ch. 47. For 'refugees' read 'refugees'.

—, list of mss. Add F = Brit. Mus. Add. 14730 (12th cent.).

IN TOM. XIX, FASC. 2.

P. 502, transl., n. 1. For 'Antonius' read 'Antoninus'.

P. 509, text, l. 8. For read تب. ع.

P. 510, transl., l. ult. For 'withhold' read 'withhold'.

P. 519, transl., l. 12. Om. brackets.

P. 522, text, l. 4, 5. For read أ, and for read أ. ع.

P. 528, text, l. 3. After ام. ع. om. stop.

P. 538, transl., n. 3, l. 5. For '15' read '14'.

P. 540, transl., l. 1. Om. 'for me'.

P. 551, transl., n. 2. For 'n. 1' read 'l. 1'.

P. 561, text, l. 6. For read ع.

P. 552, transl., l. ult. For 'withhold' read 'withhold'.

P. 555, text, l. ult. For read ش. ع.

P. 574, text, n. 2, l. 4. For read ج. ع.

P. 575, transl., notes, l. 11. For '1054' read '1014'.

P. 576, text, l. 1. Om. stop at end.

P. 578, transl., l. 9. For 'him' read 'him'.

P. 580, transl., l. 8. For 'day' read 'day'.

P. 587, text, n. 1. For read ع. ع.

—, transl., n. 3. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 3'.

P. 588, text, n. 5. For read م. ع.

P. 593, text, l. 10. After ام. ع. om. points.

P. 600, text, l. 1. For read م. ع., and so at p. 474, l. 5, p. 492, l. 13, and p. 524, l. 2.

P. 601, text, l. 1. For read ت. ع.

P. 603, text, n. 8. For read 'sic' لذ. ع. ع.

P. 604, text, n. 1. For read ع.

—, n. 6. For read ع.

P. 606, text, l. 7, 8. For '14' read '12', and for '12' read '14'.

P. 609, text, l. 7. For read م. ع.

P. 614, transl, l. 2. After 'God' ins. ref. to note 'C. ins. « which resides in the saint's bones »'.

P. 615, text, n. 5. Om. ع.

P. 620, l. 3. For 'ms. which resides in the saint's bones' read 'ms. which resides in the saint's bones'.

—, l. 16. For read ع.

—, l. 22. For 'olerore pura' read '(ed. 2) purgamenta olerum'.
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### MSS. USED IN THE PRESENT FASCICULE

D = — — 7190 (12th cent.).
F = — — 14730 (12th cent.).

In the appendix:
N = Paris Syr. 235 (13th cent.).
S = Berlin Sachau 321 (8th cent.).