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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON.

THE FESTAL LETTERS OF SAINT CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA ;
THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION , TEXT AND TRANSLATION
(Letters 1 to 5)

Volume 2 : The Translation and Manuscript Tradition.

I remember saying to Anatole France that translation was an impossible thing He replied : 'Precisely, my friend ; the recognition of that truth is a necessary preliminary to success in the art'. J.Lewis May, 'Concerning Translation' in 'The Edinburgh Review', Jan. 1927, p.117. (quoted by T.F.Higham in the Introduction to The Oxford Book of Greek Verse in Translation, p.xxxvii.)

Though the Carolingian Mss on which recension must be based were at the time both in Italy and had both been collated by Politian, the editio princeps of 1498 was printed from a copy occupying a position on the fringe, so to say, of the tradition, and one which in fact had no merit except availability.

(E.J.Kenney on the editio princeps of Apicius "De re coquinaria" in The Classical Text ; University of California Press, 1974, pp. 4-5.)

PART ONE.

THE TRANSLATION.

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Chapter and verse numbers of Biblical quotations are those of the English versions.

THE FESTAL LETTERS OF CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP
OF ALEXANDRIA, OUR FATHER AMONG THE
SAINTS - THE FIRST LETTER.

2.

A.D. 414

Throughout the whole world the bright lights of our illustrious, holy festival shine forth clearly, allowing nothing dark or gloomy to waylay those who wish to celebrate it virtuously. Therefore the blessed Apostle, pointing out the right path for such people too, says, "The night is far spent and the day is at hand; let us walk honestly as in the day" (Rom. 13,12;13), that led by the light of the Saviour's unquenchable torches we too may arrive at the Jerusalem above to share the life of the holy choirs of angels in heaven. And so the blessed David, gathering us into the noble throng, urges us to sing the victory song for Christ who dwelt among us and through the cross cancelled the power of death, when He says, "Come, let us rejoice in the Lord, let us shout aloud to God our Saviour" (Ps. 95,1), for those who cling to the divine laws He calls to the choir of the redeemed and teaches them to be united in one common understanding, professing their faith in Christ without distracted thoughts or divided mind, but rather, as Paul puts it, we should agree and, being of one mind, (cf. Rom. 15,5; Phil. 2,2) preserve our confession of faith steadfast and firm. For as the holy, unblemished assembly thus bids us ascend to the spiritual Jerusalem and rouses us to run after piety, let us hear them speaking through the prophet, "You who are being saved, come from earth; remember the Lord from afar, and let Jerusalem ascend into your heart" (Jer.51,50). So since Paul proclaims, "Run so that you may obtain" (1 Cor.9,24), and, as our sacred festival dawns like a sun, let us throw far away the listless hesitancy of sloth and, conquering the dark gloom of idleness, advance to all virtuous living with a courageous, bright spirit, saying to one another words of scripture, "Come, let us go up to the mount of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will proclaim His way to us and we shall walk in it" (Is. 2,3). The Jews, having no understanding of how to escape the typological, material ritual, hear the words; "What does the multitude of your sacrifices mean to me?" says the Lord. 'I am sated with the whole burnt offering of rams; I do not desire the fat of lambs and the blood of bulls and goats, not even if you come to appear before me'" (Is. 1,11). However, to those who have moved far from such things and have practised showing to God the true circumcision of the heart through spiritual worship, the prophet proclaims, "Seek God, and call upon Him as you discover Him. When He draws near to you, let the wicked leave his way and the lawless man his desire, and (7,17)

let him turn to the Lord and mercy will be shown him, because He will abundantly forgive your sins" (Is. 55,6). Therefore since our Saviour Christ has come close to us by assuming our likeness, let us "strip off", as Scripture says, "the old man and put on the new man who is being renewed after the likeness of his Creator" (Col. 3,9-10); "let us forget what is behind and reach out for what is in front" (Phil. 3,13), as we go up in purity to the godly assembly. The prophet Jeremiah proclaims, "He says this to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; 'Plough your fallow land **and do not sow your seed on** thorns. Be circumcized for God and circumcize the hardness of your hearts, you men of Judah who live in Jerusalem'" (Jer. 4,3); our minds are overgrown and barren of piety, and we must clear the soil with the fire of godly fear, so that we may then receive the Saviour's good seed, **who teaches us not to follow empty rituals or those outward forms of worship**, but renews us for salvation with wholesome instruction. Let us then show God "the Jew who lies hidden" (Rom. 2,29) and the hidden circumcision, pruning all wickedness from our hearts, so that we may rightly hear, "Celebrate your festivals, Judah; offer your prayers to the Lord God" (Nah. 2,16).

For those who have been sent to preach, there is no small fear over this, and properly so, for there is no small punishment for carelessness in it. "For cursed", it says, "is the man who does the work of God carelessly" (Jer. 48,10). We realise this clearly if we consider the blessed Jonah, with the sea raging upon him and that dreadful, horrifying whale coming at him. **I even find each** of the holy men fearful of the magnitude of God's service. For Moses, the teacher of sacred truth, when God ordered him to bring His people out, measured the power of his human nature and, seeing that the ministry of proclamation was too great for it, said, "I am a stutterer and slow of speech" (Ex. 4,10). In the same way the blessed Jeremiah, when he was being sent to prophesy, exclaimed, "Thou who art, Lord God, behold I do not know how to speak, for I am too young" (Jer. 1,6). If it is clear that even the holy men who are our finest example of piety say such things, **yet** the way they felt fear over this produces no small hesitation for weak men, nor one without risk. For God puts us to shame and encourages us to banish this fear, when he says to Moses, "Who gave a mouth to man, and who made him stone deaf and dumb, seeing and blind? Is it not I, the Lord God? Now go, and I shall open your mouth" (Ex. 4, 11-12). Then He says to (9,3)

the blessed Jeremiah, "Do not say, 'I am too young', for you will go to all to whom I send you and you will say everything such as I command you" (Jer. 1,7). Therefore as the high office of the priesthood calls even me in my lowliness to preach, I fear the words of Scripture, "Speak and do not remain silent", (Acts 18,9; cf. Ez. 24,27) and feel compelled to write such things as these. For since by God's decree our father Theophilus of famous and praiseworthy memory, our late bishop, has well left this earthly life and ascended to the heavenly mansions, the succession to his bishopric has come to me the least of men (how this happened the Disposer of everything knows - I feel awe as I write).

I heed Paul as he writes, "For woe is me, if I do not preach the gospel" (1 Cor. 9,16b), and have come at last, in fear, to preach, though it is beyond my power. Therefore as our holy assembly shines forth calling us to the pure sanctity of the Law, I must say to those who still cleave to wickedness, "Cleanse your hands, you sinners, and sanctify your hearts, you men of two minds" (James 4,8). To those who shun the abominable shame of sin and cultivate a holy way of life, let the prophet proclaim good news, saying, "Shine, shine, Jerusalem, for your light has come and the glory of the Lord has risen upon you" (Is. 60,1). For since men who inhabited the whole earth beneath the sun were "the portions of foxes" (Ps. 63,10b), as it is written, and were divided into many varied forms of evil-doing, they were overcome by the darkness of ignorance and continued to fall into the deep pit of sin. The Psalmist was compelled to invoke God the Word from heaven to come to us, as he said, "Thou who shepherdest Israel, give ear; thou who leadest Joseph like a sheep, thou who sittest over the Cherubim, appear before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh; stir up thy power and come to save us" (Ps. 80,2-3). When he saw that His coming would be opportune for us, fallen and prostrate, he cried out again, "Why, Lord, do you stand afar off? Do you forget us in opportune times and in our afflictions? (Ps. 9,22; LXX). For the Saviour had not yet assumed our likeness but stood apart from us, as far as incarnation was concerned, since there is a wide chasm also between human nature and the nature of God the Word. One of our holy men says, "I am earth and ashes" (Gen. 18,27b); the prophet Isaiah says about the emergence of the Only-begotten "Who will describe the manner of his birth?" (Is. 53,8). As we endured much tribulation, the Saviour, born of a woman according to the flesh, shone upon us at an opportune time, that He might save man born of woman, release him from the bonds of death and teach him to say with joy, "Where (10,15)

is your victory, death? Where is your sting, Hades?" (Hos. 13,4; 1 Cor. 15,54-5). For he not only freely gives us the gift of resurrection, but has also blunted the sting of Hades, that is the sin which smites us, with the words, "Behold, I have given you (authority) to tread on snakes and scorpions and over all the power of the enemy; there is nothing that will harm you" (Luke 10,19; cf. Ps. 91,13). This is yet another glorious achievement of our Saviour's life on earth, over and above all the others. Therefore every form of sanctity enjoys full citizen rights on earth; the darkness covering the truth has been exiled. The Psalmist foreseeing this too by the power of the divine Spirit said, "There will dawn in his days righteousness and fulness of peace, until the moon be no more" (Ps. 72,7). "For if", as Paul says, "when we were enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son" (Rom. 5,10a), fulness of peace will dawn for us. When this has happened it must also follow that the moon be no more at all, that is, the devil, the ruler of night and darkness, here called figuratively 'the moon'.

And so the rays shining from so many worthy men blaze forth for us and the light of our divine festival rises. This brilliant holy day again draws us to itself. In a clear voice it urges us that we should depart from utterly shameful ways and says, "Wash yourselves, become clean, remove wickedness from your souls" (Is. 1,16a). For if the writer of Proverbs is wise as he says, "For everything there is its season and there is a time for everything" (Ecc. 3,1), how could we not agree with good reason that this time is hostile to wickedness and that it summons us only to such deeds as can honour the law of God and urge those who have obeyed it to have confidence that they will win the fair vote of God's favour? Men who in this life stage athletic contests and buy this right with great loss of money, impose the effort of competition on young men and although they honour the victor with rich prizes, yet the pleasure given by them is small and brings enjoyment in this life only. In contrast God who stages contests for the righteous awards the pious "what eye has not seen and ear has not heard and has not ascended to the heart of man" (1 Cor. 2,9; Is. 64,4; 65,16(52,15); Jer. 3,16). For where such persons' characters appear from their achievements to be superior to nature, the manner of their reward will rightly surpass the ability of man to grasp the way it happens. When these contenders have shown their skill in this unusual way of life, one unknown to most because of its hardships, they will both find honour to match their deeds and, embracing the boundless love of God for men, will revel in super-
(12,1)

natural blessings. Come, then, let us too summon the lovers of piety to the yearly contest of hardship and, as the prophet says, "Sound the trumpet in Sion, sanctify the fast, proclaim the time of worship" (Joel 2,15), let us shout in loud, far-sounding tones, raising the Church's holy trumpet and announcing the arrival of our holy festival in a clear and open proclamation. As the all-wise God says to Moses, the teacher of sacred truth, "Make yourself two trumpets, silver shall you make them; and they will be for you to summon and dismiss the assembly" (Num. 10,1), let us attune ourselves well to the meaning of the words. For He orders there to be two trumpets, because the message of the Church is in two parts; one which still calls the ignorant to the correct understanding of divine teaching, the other which urges us not to be defiled by wayward actions. He commands the trumpets to be of silver, for each message is clear and unblemished, turning away from error in doctrine and suggesting our choice of actions. Therefore let our message run from this starting line, let it call the man who is far from the law to the Tabernacle itself, as it were; let it draw towards the will of the Lawgiver the one who is still separated through sin; let it sanctify our fast and proclaim our time of worship (cf. Joel 2,15), as the prophet says. How otherwise could we become men who do such things? How could we fulfill the divine law other than by a whole-hearted flight from being wicked and shunning contact with those who are utterly shameful, and being eager to value whatever can hallow those who fast? In this way those who wish to celebrate the festival properly will serve our God who is good.

And so let the disciple of Christ come into our midst, teaching the way to fast; we shall hear him saying, "Fasting pure and undefiled before God the Father is this: to visit the orphans and widows in their affliction, to keep oneself unspotted from the world" (James 1,27). It is easy to discover how and in what way we shall master what is said. For my part I think that the well-intentioned find the law of nature sufficient, teaching us to hate whatever seems opposed to the divine commandments and encouraging the will of the Lawgiver to prevail in us. If anyone feels that we need even clearer instructions on this, let him hear Paul saying, "Mortify your limbs which are on earth; fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire" (Col. 3,5). For we shall not find, to be sure, the true benefit of fasting by mere abstinence from eating and rejection of food and nothing else, nor shall we be completely pure and holy by keeping away from these things alone, but by banishing from our mind

(13,9)

those ills for which the medicine of fasting was invented. And so let us obey the holy man as he says, "Cleanse your hands, sinners, and sanctify your hearts, men of two minds" (James 4,8). This is truly the way to fast; by these means the best actions are displayed. Do not feed your mind on licentious pleasures; let the goad to sexual licence have no effect on you; keep your mind free from passionate feelings; flee the company of unclean men. By these means you will give proof of yourself to God; they will win you the crown of righteousness. Certainly it is good on occasion to abstain from excessive food and retreat from a lavish table, so that we do not rouse the sin slumbering in us by indulging ourselves in more food than we need. For if the flesh is fattened and made lascivious by such indulgence, it is both unruly and becomes an enemy of spiritual desires. If, however, it is weak and not helped by such excess, it is forced to give the victory to the Spirit. This is what the blessed Paul teaches us when he says, "For even if our outward man is being destroyed, yet our inward man is renewed day by day" (2 Cor. 4,16). For where both opposing opinions and incompatible characters prevent a friendly attitude, there greater power makes it possible for one party to overcome the other. All would agree, I think, that victory belongs to the superior side. For the profit that we shall gain from such a victory will be as great as the damage we are likely to suffer if one gets what has defeated the better.

Therefore let evil lie idle in us and all luxury in food depart; let sober fasting enter, the enemy of every sin. I thought, beloved people, that I ought to show you the beauty of fasting from ancient examples, although you know of them. Why, tell me, did He proclaim the blessed Baptist to be a man so great and worthy? Why did John win that excellent judgement, when our Saviour Christ said of him, "There has not arisen among those born of women a greater than John the Baptist" (Matt. 11,11; Luke 7,28). How did He prepare Moses the teacher of sacred truth to enter the darkness and appear before God? Was it not fasting, which gives birth to the form of all our virtues? Fasting - the image of the angels' life, the source of moderation, the basis of self-control, the destroyer of lust. Through fasting the three young men too were clearly invincible objects of fear to the Babylonians. Although they were allowed to share the King's table and his sumptuous banquets, they demanded to be fed on the fruits of the earth. They yielded grossness and gross desire for flesh to the Babylonians and conceding victory to them where (14,15)

it was praiseworthy to be defeated, loved a small amount of simple food. Notice, I beg you, the fruit of this. They were thought worthy of divine visions, were seen to be stronger than fire and confounded the King's threats; they conquered lions, transforming them to an unnatural tameness. Why did He save the Ninevites from that great threat, for the prophet was proclaiming, "Yet three days and Nineveh will be overthrown" (Jon. 3,4) ? Seizing the impregnable stronghold of fasting they appeased the divine wrath and eluded the expected disaster. One could mention many advantages of fasting, but an attempt to show that what is plain and known to everyone is useful, and to do so at length, I consider superfluous and vain, for its usefulness is a self-evident truth.

Since a more clear picture of its beauty can be discovered by the comparison of opposites, let us also show the pitfalls of lavish food and, by unfolding what has been the result for some, call those who have suffered as witnesses to my words. The Hebrew people were once camping in the wilderness and Moses had been summoned to Mount Sinai to receive the Law from God there. The people, making the absence of their teacher an opportunity for foolishness, despised their former good conduct and turned to outlandish desires. "For the people", it says, "sat down to eat and drink and stood up to play" (Ex. 32,6). Here "play" means to fornicate, concealed out of reverence for Holy Scripture under the euphemism in "play". Hear Paul saying what evil resulted for the fornicators, "Let us not fornicate, as some of them did and were killed by snakes" (1 Cor. 10,8-9). Again, consider the pain they suffered, when they came to despise the heavenly food, the manna, and recalled the food in Egypt, saying, "Would that we had died stricken by the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat at the cauldrons of meat and ate our fill" (Ex. 16,3). In my opinion, therefore, the profit from fasting has been clearly shown to you by these illustrations too. But perhaps someone will say - 'I acknowledge that fasting is not profitless, but the doing of it is not without suffering, indeed it is completely opposed to our nature'. Then is it not disgraceful and the height of absurdity to long for what is better and put a high value on possessing what is to our benefit, but when it comes to the best way of becoming masters of it, either not even to take the first step or to display some degree of sloth about it, saying that fasting is not profitless but avoiding the pain by which we shall secure the profit? For just as plants which grow up from the ground have a root without which they have no chance of coming to life, so a joyful spirit finds its chance to exist through (15,25)

pains, as it springs up and is seen as their fruit. Therefore we must choose one of the two. Either, if we decide we are unwilling to make any effort, we shall have no share in all the good name and honour and be just like dead men, taking no thought for our salvation; or, by embracing the hardship of fasting, we shall rightly win those rewards which we shall forfeit by not fasting. It is clear to everyone that we shall ratify the excellent verdict in our favour and prefer the better course to that which is not helpful, if we choose to be wise. But if running away from the best things in human life because of slight pains will bring no harm to those who have done it, but keeps those who have chosen not to fast free from all loss and danger, I should still consider them more senseless than anyone else. If we avoid suffering the small pains and fall foul of the greater and more serious ones, does it not follow that it is preferable to choose that course which involves less suffering and greater advantage? I should like to hear from those who are so minded whether they would ever say that fasting or eternal punishment was obnoxious. I think they would perhaps reluctantly concede that the worse should be consigned to punishment. Therefore since necessity brings both of them to us, why should we not make the best decision for ourselves by grasping the better way? For we must either escape from evil by suffering pains, or, if we refuse to do so, be condemned to unquenchable fire. It seems right to add this to what I have said - the enjoyment of pleasant experiences is more joyful whenever something quite different should occur. It is to those who lie ill that the blessing of health is more obvious. Those who are oppressed by poverty and the lack of life's necessities are for this reason more eager to make financial gains. For they are forced to seek the enjoyment of what they do not have and, to put it in a nutshell, desire for pleasant things grows through the lack of them. Thus God, the supreme craftsman, has disposed the whole universe, allowing the sun to appear after the night and the night after the sun, so that by their alternation they would make the need for their own presence more welcome, because the mind of man is always given to despising what is to hand and renews itself for what is expected in the future by feeling weary with what has already arrived. The force of my words will be proved both in fasting and in indulgence. Therefore fasting is not profitless so that you may have sweeter pleasures when the occasion calls.

Then let us love fasting as the mother of all blessings and

happiness. The pagans despise this, being wise in their own conceit, but the Jews, who surpass everyone in the novelty of their sacrilege, do not deny that they know it but practise it so shamefully that they are probably better when they do not actually do it. Full of wickedness of every kind, so to speak, and pregnant with impurity, they are proud of the mere name of fasting often making virtue an excuse for boasting. For what would anyone say thinking of that most ignorant, boorish Pharisee, whom Christ our Lord describes in the gospels praying in the Temple and crying, "O God, I thank Thee, that I am not as other men, robbers, unjust, adulterers or even as this tax-collector ; I fast twice a week, I tithe everything I possess" (Luke 18,11-12). What do you mean, you fool, by boasting about your fasting? Do you not yet see the extent of the arrogance you suffer by talking so pedantically about such trivial matters? Do you not see the pretension in your boasting? Will you not stop 'straining off a gnat but swallowing a camel' (cf. Matt. 23,24), as our Saviour says? Saying that you are learned in the Law you do not know the scripture at all, "Let your neighbour praise you, but not your own mouth; a stranger, but not your own lips" (Prov. 27,2) - "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, play-actors, because you resemble white-washed graves, which seem beautiful to men, but inside are full of dead bones and every kind of corruption" (Matt. 23,27). For the mind of the Jews is really filled with every kind of corruption and there is nothing ugly that has not been honoured by them. For as they have been unwilling to know the divine law, but have spat upon the command given to them, they persisted in their disobedient unwillingness to hear. Added to this God accuses them through the prophet, crying, "To whom shall I speak and bear my witness, and he will hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, they cannot hear; behold, the word of the Lord has become a reproach to them, they do not want to hear it" (Jer. 6,10). The advice to pursue what is good for them is a burden to those whose habit it is to sin, and moderation has no attractions for those who wish to live riotously. For as the mind of those who are drunk with wine is drowned in senselessness and is therefore incapable of right reasoning, since it does not realize the harm in associating with the worst people, so those overcome by love of pleasure have fallen into the deep swamp of sin, and impaling their prudent mind on unclean passions they hold evil unshakeable in themselves and are completely absorbed in and enthralled by this, shackled by this disease.

The Jews, the most deranged of all mankind, who have rivalled their ancestors' impiety by the enormity of their crimes, considered they would be doing things worthy of shame and ridicule, if they conceded victory to them in committing sins! For they assumed that they would be regarded as having no purpose worthy of their forefathers, unless they were entangled in the same or even worse offences. God, the Master of all, in His displeasure and righteous anger at these offences, said, "From the day your fathers came out of the land of Egypt and until this day I sent to you all my servants the prophets, even at break of day; I sent them and they did not hear me and their ear paid no attention; and they stiffened their neck more than their fathers" (Jer. 7,25-6). Oh you who alone have revealed your parents by the like nature of your crimes, and declared of what sire you were begotten by the similarity of your thoughts! Oh you who have surpassed your begetters in impiety and accused them of weakness by the novelty of your crimes against the Law; to you alone has it been granted to be victorious in a contest where it would have been better to suffer defeat! Oh you who have made a conquest more grievous to bear than any disgrace! Oh you who won a verdict rather than a victory, one which, if you had it not, you might dare to boast over lesser evils! God, the judge of all mankind, condemns you in the most vigorous terms when He says, "They have stiffened their neck" (Jer. 7,26). Moreover He orders the prophet to mourn for them, saying, "Shave your head and throw away the hair, and take up lamentation on your lips, because the Lord has rejected you and will thrust you away, the generation that has done these things. For the sons of Judah have done evil before me, says the Lord" (Jer. 7,29-30). Then explaining the way they showed their impiety he says, "They set up their abominations in the house which is called by my name to defile it, and they built the altar of Tophet" (Jer. 7,30-1). They have reached such a pitch of ignorance that they deny even the Benefactor Himself and consider the service of idols more beneficial. And so inventing names of Gods among themselves they offered sacrifices to them. Others, drawn on by their own passions, devoted their minds to wild desires and, seizing the more luxuriant groves in the mountains, offered sacrifices there to the demons, calling upon nymphs - so I gather! - the Hamadryads and Oreads, after the fashion of heathen poets. In their addiction to every shameless desire they boasted of those things which would better lie hidden, and clearly caused no small grief to the awgiver. Therefore He says to Jeremiah the prophet, "Have you

(19,11)

seen what the house of Israel did to me? It went to every high mountain and under every leafy tree and fornicated there. And I said after it had committed all these fornications, 'Return to me', and it did not return " (Jer. 3,6-7). For those to whom salvation is unpleasing hate the ways that offer help and such a man does not flee from the opportunity of pleasure unless he rejects it outright; he always aims for the worse, having no knowledge of temperate behaviour. The hard and unyielding attitude of the Jews will bear witness to my words, since they have from the first not guarded against being entangled in such sins, despising the Lord's generosity. For if, when they can repent and be saved, they look down on what is good for them and put no value on God's great love for men, will they not ensure that they rightly deserve no mercy? Would they not obviously have gone beyond the limit of all arrogance, if, when they had the chance to escape from punishment by abandoning sin, they bring a heavier penalty on themselves, for ever adding greater sins to those already committed? It is more fitting that people who are so minded be punished more, rather than be free from evil consequences. One would be entirely justified in advocating that mercy be withheld from such persons. The reasoning is not my own! The Master of all men spoke like this as He turned away the prophet who was praying for them, "Do not pray for these people and do not **ask that they may receive** mercy and do not pray nor approach me for them, because I will not listen. Or do you not see what they are doing in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? Their sons gather wood and their fathers light a fire, and their wives grind flour to make cakes for the host of heaven and they have poured libations to strange gods to provoke my anger" (Jer. 7,16-18). The sons gather wood, the fathers kindle a fire, the women grind flour so that nothing may be found free of sin. They work hard at their sinning and will justly hear ; "Because you have thrust knowledge away, I too will thrust you away from being my priests. Also you have forgotten the Law of your God and I too will forget your children" (Hos. 4,6). For the mode of punishment always matches the magnitude of the sins and a penalty equivalent to the offences must result. What greater or harsher suffering could be properly inflicted on those who have fallen so far into sin than to be shut out from the holy work of priesthood, and lose the **right** of being remembered by God, through which they possessed a good life and continued to feel no want of virtually every delight? But the enjoyment of blessings is an awesome business and intolerable to fools. Indeed when (20,24)

the least deserving have clearly obtained them, then their possession becomes a cause for madness. This happened to the people of Israel. They despised the Master's love for mankind and were unwilling to recognize that it was their duty to keep the law of God, but clinging all the more eagerly to their sloth rushed to deviate into abnormal passions, not wishing to act as the Lawgiver thought they should. They decided that their own will was their law and were guided solely by their own pronouncements. Holy men, rightly grieving for those of this mind and heart, say, "Hear the word of the Lord, which I take up as a lament over you. The house of Israel has fallen and will never rise again" (Amos 5,1-2). And again, "Call the mourning women and let them come; and send to the wise women and let them speak out and raise a lamentation over you, because the flock of the Lord is crushed" (Jer. 9,17-18). But the prophet Jeremiah saw them as if already afflicted, with their punishment near at hand, and reveals them mourning for themselves and saying, "Our time has come, our days are fulfilled, our end is at hand. Those who pursue us are swifter than the eagles of heaven" (Lam. 4,18-19). Then since such great terror had seized everything and the whole world was overcome by the devil, "Hades has opened wide its throat", as the prophet says, "and opened its mouth so as to stay open" (Is. 5,14). For the Greeks sliding into polytheism through their great foolishness and "exchanging the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of the image of corruptible men and of birds and animals and reptiles" (Rom. 1,23;cf. Deut 4, 15-19; Ps. 106,20; Jer. 2,11), as if speeding on their voyage before the wind, were running into the inner recesses of death. The Jews on the other hand, disdaining the commandment given to them or, rather, reaching such a pitch of folly that they think it shameful to be seen doing that by which they were bound to win approval for an excellent way of life, hurried to walk the same road as the Greeks. But when they were caught, as it were, in the night and darkness of land and sea, the Master and God of all could not bear to look on as the finest of His creations on earth, I mean man, was being destroyed, but seeing human nature ensnared in a sort of incurable disease, sent to us His own Word, who alone could destroy the devil's regime and free us from the evils which hold us in their grip. He assumed our likeness, became man (cf. Phil. 2,7), was born through the holy Virgin Mary, not casting off what He was but adding what He was not, and achieved our salvation. As Paul says, "He remains the same yesterday, today and for ever" (Heb. 13,8), not undergoing any change or alteration in his divinity by becoming man, but remaining what He

(22,4)

was and always will be. By His coming into the world He makes the devil an object of mockery and sport for those who have believed in Him, the devil who had long been shouting, "I shall seize the world in my hand like a bird's nest and pick it up like abandoned eggs, and there is no-one who will escape or may oppose me" (Is. 10,14). He it was destroyed the sin which tyrannized us through the washing which effects new birth and proclaimed the purity of the world. He it was taught us the way of salvation, dispelled the mist and fog of ignorance and displayed to us in all its brilliance the knowledge of what to believe about God. He Himself makes us fellow-citizens of the angels in heaven. He Himself has united things on earth with things in heaven, and has shown that the nature of man shares the life of the spirits who are actually there, man's nature long separated through sin and like a slave on the run, but now joined through faith and devotion to Him. The Jews in their misery were unwilling to confess Him as Saviour and Lord, but reacted as if they were victims of injustice because He was with them to benefit the human race and came to save us from utter destruction. They should have expressed gratitude for the blessing they had received and shown themselves men of sense, but instead handed Him over to death on a cross. As they saw Him hanging on the tree, the Jews again blasphemed and reviled Him with the words, "If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross and we will believe you" (Matt. 28,40). When the Saviour had endured death for us all and descended into Hades, He plundered the devil's riches, saying, "to those in chains 'Come out', and to those in darkness 'Be revealed'" (Is. 49,25), as the prophet says. Raising up His own temple on the third day, as "first fruits of those who had fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15,20), He freed our nature from death's chains and in victory taught us to say, "Where is your victory, death? Where is your sting, Hades?" (Hos. 13,14; 1 Cor. 15,55; cf. 2 Tim. 1,10; Hebr. 2,14). He made heaven accessible for our nature and was taken up after completing the task appointed for His incarnation. He brought Himself to the Father as the first fruits of human nature and gave us the Spirit as a token of the future hope, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John 20,22). These are the credentials of the coming of our Saviour; for these reasons let us proclaim Him as Benefactor and Saviour. Since it is right that sons are proved legitimate by their deeds and that they render a good return to the Master thereby, let us hear the words of Paul, "Let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of flesh and spirit, bringing holiness to perfection in the fear of God" (2 Cor. 7,1). In (23,16)

this very way let us celebrate a pure feast for the Master by beginning the holy forty days from the fifteenth of the month Mechir, with the week of the Passover of salvation beginning on the twentieth of Phamenoth. Finishing the fast on the twenty-fifth of the same month, as is our custom we shall celebrate the feast at the dawning of the Lord's Day, the twenty-sixth of the same month, adding thereafter the seven weeks of holy Pentecost. Thus shall we inherit the kingdom of heaven in Christ with the saints for ever; Amen.

THE SECOND FESTAL LETTERA.D. 415

"Rejoice in the Lord always, again I will say, rejoice" (Phil. 4,4). Our message is eager to start in this way, and rightly so, for what we proclaim **is a festive occasion**. How could there be a more fitting opening than the one I have found, when it is my **aim** to announce rejoicing over the Saviour's **achievements**? Therefore my message will move directly to this point; it will **completely** avoid the appearance of being drawn outside my proper purpose by leaving **random digressions** unspoken in its eagerness to bring forward at the right time what it understands **will be good to say and help the hearers**. The divine **oracle has set forth** - "there is a time for everything" (Ecc. 3,1). The present moment is the best of all opportunities for the practice of preaching. Already our celebrated festival, completing its yearly cycle, is at our door, and has not only crossed our threshold but is making its home in all our souls. Yet as it seems to me, it would be very strange, that the Jews, who pride themselves on a law, a shadow and an outward form, proclaim their festivals with **echoing** trumpet blasts, but that we who honour better ways than theirs and have determined by our right and just assent that **one ought to prefer the truth to mere forms**, clearly have much less zeal than they over this, if we tell one another to be quiet and sit **wholly in silence**, spending **so glorious a festival in stillness**, although God says, "Sound the trumpet at the new moon, on the glorious day of your feast" (Ps. 81,4). Let the message come into our midst, announcing the glorious day of the festival with a glorious proclamation. Even if we remain silent about all the privileges that have come to mankind through the Saviour's love for us, "the stones will cry out" (Luke 19,40), as the Saviour Himself says.

As I examine each past event closely, such a great host of facts becomes evident that anyone would justly incur no small blame by choosing silence. For if in our concern to hold right and just opinions we shall consider it the duty of the best men to offer thanks to God for our blessings, and then this is completely neglected by us, surely we shall be waging total war with our own wishes, if we were reluctant to do the things which we would be justified in reproaching others for neglecting? Therefore let us offer the Saviour our tokens of gratitude. But perhaps we shall make the inability to speak worthily of His **achievements** our excuse for cowardly hesitation, although all would agree, I think, that

(25/11)

conceding victory to what is superior does not involve a charge of weakness, but confers on us a reputation for good sense. What could be more noble than the Saviour's **achievements**? Will the things of God not defy all expression? "For glory hides speech", the holy scripture says (Prov. 25,2). Indeed the blessed Moses, although he was a man of such great virtue that he heard God saying to him, "I know you above all men, and you have found favour with me" (Ex. 33,17), was not ashamed to say he was a stammerer and slow of speech, quite unsuitable for the task of preaching. If when he said this he incurred no blame or any shameful reproach - one would rather count him a prophet worthy of all praise - shall we not concede that the **achievements** of the Saviour that go beyond the law can defeat all power of expression? Also we should add that we are not practised in rhetorical contests and promise no display of Attic dialect. Others may care for this and have an outstanding facility with words, but our message, beloved, is brief and the writing of it a command born of necessity. "For woe is me, if I do not proclaim the gospel. If I do this willingly I have a reward, but if unwillingly, I have been entrusted with a stewardship" (1 Cor. 9,16-17). For this reason I think that no-one attacks my brief words with good cause. Whatever the grace of God suggests to my thinking, I shall make plain for your benefit, concealing my untimely **diffidence** with a veil of prudent argument.

Since Moses says, "Observe the month of new corn and you will celebrate the Passover to the Lord your God" (Deut. 16,1), are we not obliged to declare the time of this festival which is now at hand? For the hateful threat of winter is past, bad weather and gloom have been driven away, rain and the onslaught of wild winds will beset us no longer. The season of spring returns with new growth, releasing the cultivator from his **sluggish idleness**, all but saying to the ploughmen that it is time to go to the fields. The meadows put forth a riot of blossom; plants in the wild and in gardens are in labour with new shoots, pouring forth the vitality of their nature as if giving birth from the womb; plains are already green, displaying yet another reminder of God's love for mankind; "For he causes", it says, "grass to sprout for beasts" (Ps. 104,14). We have not quoted these words lightly; let no one think that we mention them to no avail, but to allow the purpose of the command to become plain. The law has not ordered us to observe the month of new corn for nothing. For humanity had of necessity to rival the vigour of corn (26,23)

fields and, so to speak, be seen clothed in the new growth of true religion. Well then, let us transfer the meaning of natural events to our own situation and adapt the significance of this point for a practical purpose. Let us be careful to see whether our message will fail to meet the case, if it says that the month of new corn is the time of our Saviour Jesus Christ's coming to earth, when it is right for all men to celebrate. For now the devil, that source of mischief, who pounces upon the souls of all mankind like the winter weather and pours untoward desires upon us like a heavy shower of rain, has gone to his destruction. The power of unclean spirits has been driven away, the loathsome cloud of sin has been dispelled through grace. It is as if the light of spring has stretched out to us; then, as well, the first fruits of the spirit have been given, blowing over the souls of us all like a west wind or light breeze, causing those in whom He dwells to smell as sweet as any flower, "For we are the fragrance of Christ offered to God" as Paul says (2 Cor. 2,15). We have cast off the old habits of our past life like **a leaf**, and are restored for another way of living that is blossoming afresh and planted anew. Saint Paul said this too, "Therefore if any man is in Christ there is a new creation, the old things have passed away, behold they have become new" (2 Cor. 5,17). If anyone wishes to see from the holy scriptures also that my words have not strayed far from the truth, let him hear the bridegroom speaking as he shows the genuine month of new corn to the bride - "Stand up, come, my neighbour, my beautiful dove, for, see, the winter has passed away; the rain has departed, gone of itself, the flowers are seen on the earth, the time of pruning is here" (S.S. 2,10-12). For just as expert cultivators cut off the useless branches of the vine but allow those which seem necessary for bearing fruit to remain there, **guided in each case to the suitable exercise of their own art**, so our God in his infinite wisdom searches the mind of every man and, one may say, cuts away those parts of no use for the growth of true religion together with those purposes which have **already withered, so to speak** ; but He allows wise thinking to spring up, be preserved and remain. Then in our training for salvation we dismiss the passions of the flesh and bring the pure grace of the Spirit to dwell in us, being changed to live a better life and remembering the words of Paul, "Our old man has been crucified for the body of sin to be destroyed and that we be no longer slaves to sin. If we have died in Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him" (Rom. 6,6-8). For we shall truly live and reign with Him, if we reject the defilement (22, 3)

which comes from the flesh and, as one of the saints says, "hate the garment stained by the flesh" (Jude 23), while honouring the self-control dear to God and offering the life of virtue as a gift to Christ who died for us. So also the Psalmist said, "All those around him will bring gifts" (Ps. 76,12). The nature of our gift to the Lord or in what way it will be offered or how it will be acceptable, we must enquire and learn from holy scripture.

Then what does it say? "If a man offers a gift as a sacrifice to the Lord, his gift shall be wheaten flour and he shall pour oil over it and place incense on it. It is a sacrifice" (Lev. 2,1). And so the particles of flour kneaded into one loaf signify the varied number of virtues which constitute the unity of devotion offered by us to God as a sacrificial gift; he orders oil which is the symbol of gladness to be poured over it. For it is not right for an upright man to be gloomy over the effort his devotion has cost him, but to prevail over sin as he rejoices in hope. The frankincense sprinkled stands for the sweet smell of his actions. If he wishes to pride himself on his purity a man must be free of all uncleanness and turn aside from every wicked pleasure, for in this way he would be wholly praiseworthy and his incense offering will be acceptable. Let us see the inner force of my words and use human examples to assess the things of God. If someone wanted to offer a distinguished person a gift, would he have dared to approach him with his body covered in filth? Would he not be shameless and outrageous? Does not such a man deserve to be thought disgusting? If, on the human level, we do not allow someone who is taking advantage of an opportunity to go beyond the bounds of reasonable behaviour, would we not naturally accuse someone of extraordinary folly if he wanted to approach God but had clearly not washed away the filth of sin, although the law of God says distinctly, "You shall not make every sacrifice which you offer to the Lord with leaven. You shall not bring all your leaven and honey to offer a gift to the Lord therefrom. You shall bring them as first fruits. They shall not go up on the altar as an odour of sweet smell for the Lord. Every one of your sacrificial gifts shall be salted with salt. The salt of the Lord's covenant shall not cease from your sacrifices and at each one of your offerings you shall bring salt to the Lord your God" (Lev. 2,11-13). And so what the leaven signifies you will understand from Paul's words, "Clear out the old leaven, that you may be new dough, just as you are without leaven" (1 Cor. 5,7). For how will the
(29,9)

old way of wickedness be offered as a sweet-smelling odour to the Lord who expects our life to be new and without guile? It also rejects the offering of honey, for this too signifies pleasure. For while the pleasure felt over each sinful act is sweet it has an outcome more bitter than gall. If we have set our heart on pleasing God we must not be seen in pursuit of the life which is a round of shameful pleasures or delighting in what we have no right to delight by being indifferent; on the contrary, we must be eager to put a high value on whatever pleases the Lawgiver.

However, it orders the sacrifices to be salted with salt, using this too as a symbol of reasoning and good sense. For, I think, the intention of those who offer sacrifice to God must be sprinkled with the fear of God, as if with salt, lest it be dissipated and drain away in weak desires and, through despising what is better, be easily led into a worse state. Shall we not consider worthy of all praise what is proclaimed by Paul, "Let your speech be salted with grace" (Col. 4,6)? But I think that such speech cannot appear until our mental state is right. "For the mouth speaks from the abundance of the heart" (Luke 6,45). Then let the mind of devout men be seasoned; let it reject sin like rubbish; let it not grow soft, moving unsteadily to indulge in outlandish pleasures. Therefore Paul says this too, "Be fixed, immoveable, abounding in the work of the Lord always" (1 Cor. 15,58). For in saying "be fixed", he removes far from all praise those who do not yet have a confirmed and stable mind. The Master of us all also accuses them Himself, in these words of His through the prophet, "They loved to move their feet and did not spare; and God was not pleased with them" (Jer. 14,10). Here "feet" means movement from one place to another and a wavering of the mind from side to side, to worthless things I mean, such as demand admiring assent to their ways. This means that feet should be as firm as they can be, holding their steadfastness constantly and shunning the way that leads to evil. Such a man is the blessed Psalmist who says, "He set my feet on a rock" (Ps. 40,2), whereby he means habitual firmness and unchangeableness. The apostle Paul exhorts us over the need for man "to abound in the work of the Lord" (1 Cor. 15,58), as far as is possible to his nature, and to show himself inseparable from love for what is godly by his good works. For it is not, I think, the working of a sound mind to rebel against the divine laws at one moment and then to hold fast to them again in the next, as if rising from sleep. For such people seem to me to experience the same shock as those who fall from
(30, 18)

cargo-ships in the midst of ocean waves. They could be free from fear by avoiding being careless and, when they find themselves caught in the danger, then they see, with difficulty, what is to their advantage and seek the safety they have forfeited by swimming back to the ship. It would have been better not to wait for the danger to occur but to beware it before it happened, for then they would have planned more sensibly. If anyone who copies such people and admires what is justly condemned will seem an utter fool to everyone, is it not right to display wholehearted enthusiasm in holding firmly to the divine laws and offering a life without blemish like a continual sacrifice? Hear again what the divine law says to us on this, "And the Lord spoke, saying, 'Command Aaron and his sons; this is the law of the whole burnt offering. This offering shall be on the altar the whole night until early morning, and the fire on the altar shall be kindled over it and not be put out'" (Lev. 6,1-2). How could I, beloved, small and weak as I am, adequately explain what is meant by this command? What sort of argument could present to us the force of the thought accurately? Since it is written, "Open your mouth and I shall fill it" (Ps. 81,11), well then, taking courage by the grace of our Saviour let us grapple with the interpretation of these words.

The Word of God in His love for mankind draws us all towards true devotion and rouses to virtuous living those who think that they should hear His holy laws more obediently. But not all have the same eagerness for this nor is each one led on by the same zeal. For some men approach God more earnestly and, considering nothing more honourable than devotion to Him, bring themselves as a sweet-smelling odour to the Lord just like a whole sacrificial animal offered with limbs intact. The name of "whole burnt offering" is most appropriate for them; this is truly a whole burnt offering, when a man offers himself to God without reserve, never doing anything evil. But see what the law of whole burnt offering says about such a man. "This whole burnt offering should stay on the altar the whole night until early morning. And the fire of the altar shall be kindled over it, it shall not be quenched" (Lev. 6,2). What would the fire on the altar be except the continual presence of the Holy Spirit in us? The Saviour also showed us this in the words, "I have come to cast fire on the earth" (Luke 12,49). And so the man who is "offered whole", brought to God without reserve, should keep an unquenched fire upon himself and the power of that holy flame should continually flourish in him; "the whole night", it says, which will be (31,25)

understood as our present life. It is not right that our mind should at one moment grow cold and lean towards evil, and at another moment be stirred to flame again. It should be constant and always "fervent in the Spirit", as Paul says (Rom. 12,11). This would become more clear to us if we took the trouble to understand the precise tenor of the law. For God says this again to Moses, His interpreter; "This is what you shall do upon the altar; two lambs a year old continually each day upon the altar, a continual offering. You shall sacrifice one lamb in the early morning and the second one in the evening, with a tenth part of fine flour mixed in the fourth part of a hin of oil and a libation of the fourth part of a hin of wine for each lamb" (Ex. 29,38-40). But we can clearly understand by this that it is right to let no time pass by in which God is not fittingly honoured as He receives the sweet smell of good works done by us like a continual sacrifice. By the command that one lamb be sacrificed at the beginning of the day and the second in the evening He seems to mean "all the time", embracing the hours in between by mentioning the extremities. He requires the flour to be mixed with wine and oil, without ordering the whole measure to be poured on it, but the fourth part of a hin, teaching by this symbol that those who bring continual worship to God or rather offer themselves to the Lawgiver like a well-pleasing sacrifice, will receive mercy and rejoice, winning a small part of the reward in this present life (for he commands the fourth part of a hin to be poured on), but in the age to come, when the fullest measure of grace is bestowed upon them, (then) as the prophet says "Eternal joy shall be upon their head and pain, sorrow and groaning have fled" (Is. 35,10). Then as the law expressly says that we should not let the mind slip into sin by turning aside to what is the worse way, shall we not be liable to suffer every form of punishment if we neglect what has been so well ordained? If as you examine the weakness of human nature such disciplined behaviour seems difficult (for perhaps you will say that you are not capable of continually sustaining severe and unremitting hardships like an anvil) and you would say that the fulfilment of such an exacting regime was hard to attain, the law will demolish your excuse by showing you a lower way of living, less demanding than the one I have mentioned, but much more exalted and uplifted than the other way. I shall try to give you a clear picture of the quality of life I mean by taking another example from scripture. When God appeared to the sons of Israel in fire, darkness and tempest and was defining the laws about the rituals to be followed, the all-wise Moses, (33,6)

thinking it necessary to show to the sons of Israel the pattern of the way of life pleasing to the Lawgiver by a plain action suitable to their condition and understanding which was not yet able to accept the more mature standard, proceeds as follows, "For rising early in the morning", it says, "he built an altar at the foot of the mountain and (set up) twelve stones for the twelve tribes of Israel; **and he sent the young men of the sons of Israel and they offered whole burnt offerings and slew calves to God in gratitude for salvation.** And Moses, taking half of the blood poured it into the bowl, and half of the blood he poured out against the altar" (Ex. 24,4-6). But let us again look at each part of this passage of scripture, unravelling it carefully to see what help is revealed from it.

And so Moses rises early and sets up the altar, teaching us by this that a man should first be roused as if from sleep and rise to live soberly, driving away the gloom of sin like a dark night and then running towards the light of knowledge in order to set up his own mind as a fine altar to God where he could continually offer Him sacrifice. For I think that the prophet Isaiah also says this, "My spirit rises early while it is still night to meet you, o God, because your precepts are light upon the earth" (Is. 26,9). Moses' rising early signifies this sort of thing. But in order to hold fast to the train of thought, we shall go on to examine the passage as it unfolds.

He sets up the altar, not on the mountain, but at its foot, showing the humble attitude still displayed by those who lack perfection and cannot climb up to the height of the perfect commandments as if scaling a mountain, but are near them, yet on a lower level, approaching God not on the mountain, but at its foot. Then around the altar he understood there should be twelve stones for the twelve tribes of Israel, so that we might learn from this that we ought always to be close to God and in no danger of being driven away into unbridled sinfulness. The Psalmist proclaims this to us more clearly in the words, "And I shall encompass your altar, Lord" (Ps. 26,6), and again later, "He sent", it says, "the young men of the sons of Israel and they offered whole burnt offerings and **slew calves in gratitude for salvation**" (Ex. 24,5). And so we shall say that it is not the function of a lazy or otherwise weak purpose to be able to make offerings to God, but that of a youthful and noble determination. For this reason he says that those sent were young men and yet they offered calves as a **thank-offering**. But again (34,11)

we may notice from this, assuming that the matter is changing from a mere outward form into a distinction of character, that the resolution of the worshippers is praiseworthy, but somewhat weak and lacking a more mature, adult attitude. For it is not a young bull that is offered but a calf, smaller and weaker than a mature young bull. Moses took the blood and poured half into a bowl and half against the altar. Here we may see in a symbol the division in a worshipper's life. For the blood stands for a soul, the life of which God distributes to us in equal measure so that we may live not only to ourselves but guard also that part which belongs to the altar. Such is this more temperate, middle way of life, which displays no bitterness from being too rigorous, nor falls into sin through the powerful **inclination to freedom**. Although, through its devotion, it has risen above what is **somewhat** weak, it cannot be compared with what is more perfect since it lacks enthusiasm. With the dispositions held in balance from the two sources and their qualities united into one, a character is produced which is at once serious and gentle: by their relationship with each other the offensive aspect of each disappears: the tension created by severe discipline will be relaxed by the gentle air of **freedom**, while the excesses of **freedom** will be pruned back by the knife of sturdy thoughts and create a way of life which is upright and beyond reproach.

It is a fine thing, beloved, to have enthusiasm for the better ways and to rejoice rather over what is profitable for a virtuous life. But as Paul says, "Each of us has his own gift from God; one in this way, another in that" (1 Cor. 7,7). For the Creator of us all is good and even to weaker men gives the inner desire for salvation. He considers the man who is eager to excel in the more perfect ways worthy of greater praise, but does not allow the man without such great virtue to be beyond the pale of His love. For just as "faces are not like faces", as Solomon says (Ecclus. 34,3?), nor are the minds of men alike. For while the nature of the body is one and is fashioned from the same parts, yet the difference in each person's features creates a distinction. This we shall also find in the mind; it consists of the same faculties alike in all men but is split into dissimilar functions by its characteristic qualities. I think that this kind of interpretation is borne out by the gospel parable, "For the sower went out", He says, "to sow his seed. As he sowed, some fell on the paths and rocky ground, some into thorns and some into good soil and bore fruit; one a hundredfold, another sixty-
(35,22)

fold and another thirty-fold" (Matt. 13,3-8). You see how He said that all the soil was good; the distinction appears in the difference of the fruit. And so the number one hundred means those perfect in virtue and those who have climbed to the peak of devotion; sixty means those who are a short way behind those I have mentioned but have made no small advance in virtue; thirty means those who are still somewhat in need, not, to be sure, sown outside the best soil nor deprived of bearing fruit, even if they fall short of the perfect man and the one who has advanced a little, and are placed in the third rank, as it were, of virtue. As the Saviour says "With the Father there are many resting places" (John 14,2) and they define the limit of the honour due to each man. It was the same with the distribution of the talents to the servants, "To one", He says, "he gave five, to another two and to another one" (Matt. 25,15). Yet since the nature of all men is constituted on the same basis and has everything needed for its own rational functioning as well as for its perfection, no difference should have been made between these men, and five talents distributed to them all equally. But now the discrepancy in their gifts introduces some difference in **their characters which are not capable of the attitude of devotion in the same measure. For the one who received five talents heard the words,** "Well done, good and faithful slave; you were faithful in a few things and I shall put you in charge of many; enter into your master's joy" (Matt. 25,21). The one who made a profit of two talents receives equal praise and is honoured with the same approval. But God is not seen as unjust in this, rather as generous and open-handed. For his kindness to the one who fell short will not lessen the honour due to those who succeeded, nor does he give to the less successful by withdrawing from anything due to the others. One man will be glad to receive what is due in proportion to his own effort and grace fills up what is lacking in his reward. If anyone has the ungenerous thought of envying the success of others, he is unaware that he is accusing God's love for mankind. 'For', he says, **'I think, the man who is deficient in the virtue possessed by the successful will not be ranked with them by an equal standard of judgement, if a just estimate be made of them, and the measure of grace is weighed out to balance each man's deeds, as if with ballast'.** Let that man hear the words of our Saviour Christ, "Friend, I do not wrong you. Did I not agree with you for a denarius? Take your pay and be off! I want to give this last man the same as I gave you" (Matt. 20, 13-14). Then let Paul rouse each man's will to do every good work and (36,26)

cut away the feeble hesitation of the mind with the cry, "Rouse yourself, sleeper, and rise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you" (Eph. 5,14). For if you fell asleep from human frailty, gulping down sin like unmixed wine and swept away to indulge in the drunkenness of dark imaginings, now is the time for you to sober up for salvation and raise your eyes to "the sun of righteousness" (Mal. 3,20). The Master will receive you out of His love for mankind; He will have mercy even on the fugitive, will not turn away from the tearful, will make the penitent clean and restore him to true devotion. Now again we shall present our argument by using examples, for to dwell on such thoughts produces a very profitable result.

When God wanted to rescue the descendants of Israel from slavery in Egypt, he ordered His interpreter Moses to hurry to them in order to explain the loving will of the Master. Since the demonstration of signs had to follow to add credibility to what was heard, God said to him, "'What is this in your hand?' And he said, 'A rod', and He said, 'Throw it to the ground'; and it became a snake and Moses fled from His presence. And the Lord said to Moses, 'Stretch out your hand and grasp its tail'; and it became a rod in his hand" (Ex. 4,2-4). But, as I think, the blessed Moses was being instructed by this that those who had **returned to the condition** of false belief caught in Egypt, those who had wandered far into sin, would be restored to true devotion through paying the honour due to God. For Israel sprouted from the ground like a rod, but since his people have inclined to the passions of the flesh, they fall out of the Lawgiver's hand; then they cast aside their gentle and tame manner and are seen to be a poisonous snake, with a sharp sting to commit sin and dreadful in showing anger. When the Lawgiver has received them again, they will be noble and change so as to reveal the original form of their excellent character. We shall cast Moses in the part of 'law-giver'. As I believe, it will be obvious to everyone from my words that God raises again and transforms the man who out of laziness has slipped into unseemly ways. The voices of the prophets also bear witness no less, continually advising sinners to turn to God. Our loving Master has overlooked no opportunity when He has not been calling all men to salvation. We can hear Him attacking the hardness and obstinacy of sinners and accusing their **stubborn attitude**. For once He said, "Will you not fear Me, says the Lord, or not beware of My presence? Am I not He who set a boundary for the sea, an everlasting decree, and it (38,8)

shall not cross it? This people has a disobedient and faithless heart; they turned away and departed and did not say in their heart, 'Let us fear the Lord our God'" (Jer. 5,22-26). Once in a bitter attack upon those who were shamelessly running away, He said, "Can an Ethiopian change his skin and a leopard his spots? Will you be able to do well after learning evil ways?" (Jer. 13,23). For the father of all sin tried to rule our race so powerfully that there are few who honour God completely and know that they should remember the Lawgiver. But there will be no need for us to make a point of showing this, since the Psalmist clearly proclaims, "All have turned away, together they have become useless, there is no one doing good, not even one" (Ps. 14,3). For since sin rules all men in this way, and was poured out over the whole earth like a mist, the saints began to beg the Word of God to come to us and shine His saving light over all men's minds. And so they shout out saying, "Send out your light and your truth" (Ps. 42,3). Therefore "the true light" was sent to us "which lightens every man coming into the world" (John 1,9); that is, God the Word of God, assuming our likeness; He is born of the Holy Virgin, saves the human race, restores our nature to its ancient incorruptibility and, as Paul says, "Opening a fresh way for us, He joined earthly things to heavenly, breaking the barrier built as a wall between and destroying the hostility of the commandments with their detailed requirements" (Hebr. 10,20; cf. Eph. 2, 14-15; Col. 2,14), so that even the blessed angels were astonished at this and said "Glory to God in the highest and peace on earth, goodwill among men" (Luke 2,14). For when our Saviour Christ showed us goodwill and endured the cross for us the many stranded bonds of death were loosened and every tear was removed from every face, as the prophet says, "And sorrow was turned to joy" (cf. Jer. 31,13), so that we too can rejoice in saying, "You turned my distress into joy; you tore up my sackcloth and girded me with gladness" (Ps. 30,12). For what reason should we still be gloomy? What cause for weeping shall we again have? On the contrary, will not what happened through our Saviour cause joy to rise in our hearts? He revealed the way of salvation not only to us but also "went and proclaimed it to the spirits in Hades who had been disobedient in the past", as Peter says (1 Pet. 3,19-20). For it was right that His love not be shown in part, but that the revelation of the gift be extended to the whole of nature. Through the prophets came this timely word, "One part will be rained upon and one part on which I shall not send rain will be dried up" (Amos 4,7). These words befit the

(39,18)

Saviour; "Come to me all who are weary and burdened and I shall refresh you" (Matt. 11,28). Then when He has preached also to the spirits in Hades "and saying to those in prison, 'Go out', and to those in darkness, 'Be uncovered'" (Is. 49,9), He raises the temple, that is Himself, on the third day and opens up also a new way for our nature to ascend to heaven, offering Himself to the Father as the first-fruits of humanity and giving a share in the Spirit as a pledge of His grace to men on earth.

Beloved, let us celebrate these great events in our festival, "not with old leaven or leaven of wickedness and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. 5,8), honouring our King with all thanksgiving and welcoming fasting as the mother of all blessings with the zeal that is appropriate for us. Let us hold on to love for one another, pursuing hospitality with greater eagerness, aglow with mercy for the poor, mindful of "prisoners, as if we were their fellow-prisoners, mindful too of the sick and injured, since we too are in the body" (Hebr. 13,3), and, to put it simply, honouring every virtuous impulse. Thus we shall celebrate a truer fast, beginning the holy forty days from the fifth of the month Phamenoth and the week of the saving Paschal season from the tenth of the month Pharmouthi. We shall conclude the fasting on the fifteenth of the same month, on the eve of the Sabbath, according to our custom. Let us keep the festival as the next day, the Lord's day, dawns, the sixteenth of the same month Pharmouthi according to the regulation in the law, adding the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost to follow. In this way we shall inherit the kingdom of heaven with the saints in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory and power to the Father with the Holy Spirit for ever and ever . Amen.

The season of our holy festival shines out again, and the test of endurance **dawns** a little before; bidding us offer, as a yearly duty, to God the ruler of all men, a solemn life **as a display of every other** virtue. No argument is inappropriate for those well-disposed to obedience, who seek advantage from their action. The profit gained in efforts to receive blessing is well-known, but nothing would be a greater obstacle than slackness and sloth. To consider it worthless to suffer for our advantage bears a bitter penalty, and it is not as if one were speaking of ordinary matters but of **the already imminent destruction** of the soul. Since this is the essence of the matter, I also now think it particularly fitting to speak of your advantage and almost to shout the prophet's words, "Prepare the way of the Lord" (Is. 40,3; Mark 1,3 par.). I have come again into your midst, not intending to be a burden to prudent men if I should seem to be advising them **now especially that their practices ought properly to be held in greater honour**. If anyone thinks that I do not give excellent counsel (although very eager to do so), let him see lest, in expressing his perverse opinion against me, he rank himself among those who honour evil and unwittingly put himself beyond the pale of the wise. Rejoicing in what one should properly rebuke and considering a reputation for superior conduct equal to wickedness, or otherwise to feel anguish at arguments for it - is this not a sign of extreme iniquity? In my opinion those who have chosen to seek the better way need encouragement and comfort from those who give the best advice, that they may act **more eagerly** to attain it. For those not yet masters of sound opinions we must provide an effective remedy and seek how they may **appear** better in the future. Therefore the theme of my discourse will be most profitable for both groups, giving to each what it needs.

The chorus of the prophets urges me to proclaim this and **enjoins** me to announce our celebrated festival, as they rejoice over the Saviour's **achievements** and encourage me to cast silence about them to the winds. Indeed they cried out, one of them saying, "Shout out with strength and do not withhold, lift up your voice like a trumpet" (Is. 58, 1). Another, teaching and thinking the same as the first, says, "Go up to a high mountain you who proclaim good news to Zion; lift up your voice in strength, you who proclaim good news to Jerusalem; lift up, do (42, 11)

not fear" (Is. 40,9). Thus I shall remove everything able to hinder our zeal for this and rise to a boldness befitting the conviction. I shall look, as if from a mountain, at the season of fasting running towards us in the distance and say, with a wave of the hand as it were, to the contenders for piety; 'Strip off as new men, cast aside the old man'. The season of fasting has returned to us, demanding a display of every virtue. The contest is not judged on bodily strength or leaps in wrestling rings, indeed not even the man entrusted with the power to win with these will be sure of being able to conquer. "For our wrestling is not with blood and flesh, but with powers, with authorities, with the rulers of this dark world, with the spiritual realities of wickedness in heavenly places" (Eph. 6,12). I think that those intending to oppose their plots should be so ready for battle that they can win approval for their courage. Men who are not so prepared are in obvious danger and their boasting is mere pretence. For to be among the inferior but to think ourselves greater than we are is rightly laughed at as well as being unsafe. If it is right to avoid such dangers (all whose devotion lacks nothing will agree I am sure) and it is profitable to use every effort to fend off the shame of evil behaviour, should we not seek the better way and work together with great zeal to see that we rise above our enemies? Even if the war waged by evil spirits attacks us we must be "fervent in the spirit" (Rom. 12,11) and show ourselves bold in taking up arms against them. And if physical skill and strength are no help in this, we must listen to Paul's words, that the soldier is to put on the full armour of God (cf. Eph. 6,11), and be well equipped with the weapons of devotion to Him, for this is how the fiery darts of the wicked one would be extinguished (cf. Eph. 6,16). Those who act like men will be rewarded with freedom from wounds. I say this to bring my discourse round to contests in the theatres, for those keen to act like this should gather help from every source - I assume that you readily agree. What then? I hear that those who preside over wrestling contests and perhaps do not think it a burden to spend money to win glory from them, proclaim the competition on a trumpet when about to make a start. They summon to it whatever is useful as a spectacle and those of high renown in the sport, but dismiss from the battle the ones whose talent promises a rather poor performance. They have judged, in their effort at excellence, that it was not right that those renowned for courage or able to face the test of a more impressive engagement, should have to tangle with inferiors or be defiled by their brutality, since they have a constantly

(43,257)

better reputation. If they have an aim noble enough to win small, cheap rewards and one can see how all their enthusiasm is concentrated on them through shame at seeming to lack the strength of others, ought we not to consider how we may surpass them, especially as the difference between the crowns is so great? Being caught as a deserter and shrinking from effort when the **tasks** are small will perhaps gain some indulgence for such behaviour. 'For', they will say, 'it was not worth exchanging such great dangers for small rewards'. If we cannot use such arguments, because the prize we seek far exceeds the effort, what else would prevent us competing with enthusiasm? Nothing! There is but the charge of laziness and sloth as well as that of inclining to the worse which destroys our zeal for what we praise. I think that each one of those mentioned has been summoned to athletic effort not so much overcome by desire for money as by desire for fame and honour. **Such things also give** them pleasure, and not winning what each would want is considered loss of reputation - again I mean the reputation prized by them. This, I imagine, is how they think. They have developed such a vigorous spirit that if anyone were to go and ask each of them, 'When there are many other pursuits in life, why ever, sir, have you taken up this way of acting and thinking? Why have you abandoned all else and chosen to honour the trifling activities of the arena? What do you hope to gain from them? Honour or money? What would you prefer as the prize for such effort at the games?' I am sure that each one would answer without hesitation, 'Let the money go hang! I would more gladly gain the victory than plenty of that and will offer life itself to prevent being mocked, if the occasion demands it?' That, then, is how they think. Is it not very strange that we who are offered greater rewards fail to copy their enthusiasm and do not **press on** to win a more valuable approval, but are bound by sloth and wearied through our lack of blessing, although we have such an abundance of help from God by which the victory will be ours? For athletes, by their experience and physical strength, are able to beat their opponents, so that if any of them lacks these he will have no hope of rejoicing in victory. Our contest is not judged like this, but is based on the opposite standard. Even if you do lack the strength, ask the organiser of the contest and you will immediately receive. Even if you need some skill in wrestling, the trainer is at hand and knows all the craft needed in the arena, for God will supply the power. If you examine the Holy Scriptures you will learn how to tackle your opponents again. There you will find Paul saying, "I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me" (Phil. 4,13). There (45, 9)

you will wonder at the Psalmist singing and shouting to God, "In you we shall run down our enemies and in your name we shall set at nought those who have risen up against us" (Ps. 44,5) . Also I think I should tell you of other ways which can provoke you to be bold. In the contests of this life the man who could conquer everyone, either through gaining advantage over others by his experience in the art or through gaining success in this because of his strength, will find the awarder of the crowns his implacable enemy. The higher the praise of the victors is raised, the greater will grow the loss of the promoters' money; the more the victors win approval, the more the promoters' lavish outlay will increase, for the rewards must clearly approximate to the magnitude of the achievements. But the arena of devotion is not organised on such terms. The promoter is rich; he rejoices as much over the courageous as he sorrows over the defeated, if they should suffer the fate of mankind. He says through one of the prophets, "Woe is me, for my soul faints over the dead" (Jer. 4,31). Therefore He also raises the fallen, although the laws of the games exclude those once condemned for falling from being counted among the honourable and banish them from the glory of victory - yet God too blames those who fall and linger in that state, saying through the prophet, "Surely he who falls does not rise" (Amos 8,14; cf. Ps. 41,8).

It is right that we avoid falling, as far as we can, and there is not a single person who will deny that sloth in a good cause is evil. Since nature, I mean man's nature, is all too prone to sinning, (and if an unpleasant experience should be in store for us), there is, I think, a second way of gaining approval. This is having the eager desire to be numbered among the better people and readily running back to that frame of mind which we should have had openly at first and be fully spared. Let no-one think from what has been said that victory is difficult and hard to obtain; rather let Paul encourage such a man as he cries, "Faithful is God who will not allow you to be tested beyond your strength, but will provide the power to bear it at the time of the testing" (1 Cor. 10,13). To show that He will give this as Paul says, I bring you Christ Himself saying, "Behold, I have given you (power) to tread on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; he will do you no harm at all" (Luke 10,19). Christ eagerly offers us the actual ability to accomplish everything that promotes virtue through the power of the Holy Spirit and His saving cross. The pagans laugh at it, (46,21)

wise with their tongues and conceited over mere words but so slow to discover the truth that they seem to be nothing more than pack-asses which flap their ears for those who are accustomed to sing very sweetly but have no feeling at all for the art of the musician. And so although they should be ashamed of their own senselessness and need to sit and get help from those who can teach them the truth, they mock those they should have admired, and flee from those they ought to have copied in every detail, if they had been wise. They introduce so many gods into life (apart from the real one), just as each man thinks, and reject our words. They would deserve to hear what they say one of their poets declared: "It is not good for many to be Kings; let there be one ruler, one King" (Iliad 2,204), who is God in all, through all and over all. But I shall now leave aside the charges against them. I must now bring forward, I think, what is closer to the point and seems suitable for the present occasion.

The Jews, then, having reached the peak of impiety, are offended at the cross of our Saviour Christ and, I think, have so far exceeded the madness of pagans that, if anyone were made judge over both of them, he would immediately condemn the Jews, it seems, and say that the others' attitude was less evil. Perhaps he will say, 'Pagans have not yet read the Holy Scriptures and it is no wonder that they are mistaken over the true beliefs'. But those trained in devotion by the law and prophets have outstripped pagans in senselessness as much as the latter have good excuse for their lack of understanding, and the Jews have no way of defending themselves by pleading the unavoidable disease of ignorance. If you wish, you will see Christ Himself agreeing with my words, for He says somewhere about them, "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would have no sin, but now they have no excuse for their sin" (John 15,22). Their attitude is already such that it seems scarcely an insult, were someone to insist that they should be ranked with pagans and those wholly ignorant of God. There is nothing to prevent me perhaps - rather it now seems necessary - illustrating this from the facts, for thus I could easily avoid the charge of insulting them and make it clear to my hearers that I am fully determined to speak the truth. I shall start with the origin of the race, I mean the Hebrew race, for that will make my point plain. The blessed Abraham was a Chaldaean by birth, brought up by a father who did not know the true God. He ordered his life up to a certain time by the customs of his father and was counted among the ignorant.

(48, 9.)

In those days he was numbered with the worshippers of idols. For youth likes to be guided by the desires of others and I would say that his difficulty in perceiving what was to his advantage was an accusation of the period rather than of Abraham's understanding.

When God wanted to bring the people of Hebrew race into existence, He called Abraham to acknowledge Him, dragged him like a sound root from thorns and brought him to accept true devotion. He became what he now is, changed by the help of acquaintance with God into someone else, so to say, and, through his desire to worship God alone, different from his ancestors. If a man's devoted character and the power of his adoration of God declare him changed, then their rejection will call the one who has experienced this back to his old ways. It is good to draw the argument from the life of this righteous man and apply it to those who are the 'fruit' from his 'root'. Thus the truth will be clear that, through their disbelief in Christ, **they have abandoned all** worshipful service. Hear what the Saviour says through one of the prophets, "Woe to them, for they have deserted me; wretched they are, for they have sinned against me" (Hosea 7,13). That is the first and most valid charge laid at the door of the Hebrews. If anyone should want still further charges to be counted against them, he will find such a host that he could not be content with their recital. Not even someone with outstanding experience in rhetoric and so well practised in eloquence that he yielded to nobody who thought that a fine reputation in this was better than any other honour - not even he could be content! But I must not be silent altogether, stupefied, as it were, by the numerous charges. I shall strive to present just a few from which we shall see how they have **defected**.

God, the Master of us all, says in anger at their impious ways, "All their leaders are **disobedient** ; Ephraim put down roots, but withered away; he will no longer bear fruit. Therefore even if they beget children, I shall kill the beloved issue of their womb. God will thrust them away, because they did not listen to Him, and they will be wanderers among the nations" (Hos. 9,15-17). Surely experience shouts this even louder than what I say? Does not their history bear out the truth of the words? For when they had rejected devotion to Him, **disobedient** and opposing Him, driven as a consequence to barrenness and almost about to wither, like trees removed from water, and then feeling pain at the roots since the word of the prophets came to them, they finally dried (49,18)

up completely through their disbelief in Christ. Therefore banished from friendship with Him they justly hear the words, "I hate, I reject your festivals and will not savour the odour at your assemblies. And so even if you bring me whole burnt offerings and sacrifices I shall not receive them nor shall I regard your thank-offerings for salvation. Remove from me the noise of your songs; I will not hear the music of your instruments" (Amos 5,21-23). For God who loved the truth, not thinking it right to rejoice in shadows of praise, all but showed that the time for worship in the spirit was to be revealed as He introduced the coming change in the ancient practices, in whose place He would give better ones. And so through one of the prophets He proclaims this very clearly, "And it will be in those days they will no longer say, 'The ark of the covenant of the Holy One of Israel'; it will not rise into the heart or be named, nor will it be visited or another made" (Jer. 3,16). If anyone should wish to learn what time the prophet indicated when he affirmed it would not rise into the heart or be named, let him see the practices in which he now shares and examine the Christian mysteries. For God did not want us also to use the Hebrew forms of worship, it seems; we have no ark, resplendent with gold covering and containing the books of Moses in its womb, but each believer in Christ is a perfect temple of the Spirit, receiving, so to speak, the whole fount of holiness. No-one listening should think that I attack Moses or criticise the laws he passed on. God forbid that I should be so senseless as to aim for this when the Holy Scripture says otherwise. "For the law is holy and the commandment is holy, just and good" (Rom. 7,12), as Paul says. It was in force until the time of its reformation, but did not yet introduce the true worship. Therefore God promised through one of the prophets to change it for the better, saying, "Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, and I shall make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah" (Jer. 31,31). Paul understands this very well and says, "In saying 'new' he has out-dated the first one; that which is growing old and obsolete is close to disappearing" (Heb. 8,13). And again, "For if that one were faultless, no place would be sought for a second one" (Heb. 8,7). Then since he has said that the first covenant is not faultless, "for the law has perfected nothing" (Heb. 7,19), he affirms that the second one must be introduced for the salvation of the world.

How long will you go on disbelieving, Jew? When will you heed
(50,24)

the words of holy men? Perhaps you will say, 'Paul is your man, not mine, sir! I should be an utter idiot if I were to accept the arguments of those who have no connection with me at all. That would be like someone gladly receiving blows from the enemy during battles in wartime'. You seem to be making a just and reasonable case, yet you will not be right to deny that Paul was a Hebrew and banish him from sharing a common race with you. For I hear him saying, "For I too am an Israelite, a Hebrew of Hebrews, a Pharisee with respect to the Law" (Phil. 3,5). Since it seems difficult for you to recall the apostle's words and try examining your own ill-will, I shall let this also pass for the present. I can produce a host of words spoken by Moses and the prophets but will depart after questioning you for a while.

Well now, my good sir, tell me more clearly, leaving aside the deeper, probing questions. If you do not expect the law to be altered to conform to the truth, but think that it will always be the same without a single change, what prevents your adhering to the same practices? Why do you so despise the worship of God that you abandon the customs of your ancestors and have no regard for what was very precious to them? Where has your Temple gone? What has happened to its altars and the sacrificial offerings? Where may we look for those who inspect the sacrificial beasts, I mean the register of priestly rosters and the Levitical companies? As for the vestments of the High Priest and his variegated raiment - where ever have they gone, tell me? What of the bells hanging from the edges of his robe - why have they fallen silent? Is none to be seen⁽¹⁾? This name, engraved on the stone by (ancient) custom, with its changes of colour brought foreknowledge of future events according to God's will (Jos. Ant., 3:7,5 and 3:8,9). Tell me, why do you not yourself offer the sacrifices prescribed by the law? If you say that you deliberately despise them you are convicted as a law-breaker, and so I shall use you as a witness for the prosecution - no need for any others! If you maintain that your sloth is unintentional and even admit that you are secured by the shackle of necessity see that you do not incur the charge of foolish behaviour by such persistent unbelief. Who has such power as to subject the man being helped by God to the law of necessity, (for I know that you are too proud of that) ? There is no-one ! And so the wrath of God - for this is what is left - fell upon the heirs of Israel and showed the race to be bereft of all joyfulness, no longer letting it boast of the Law but exacting the punishment for behaving like impious drunkards towards

(52, 6)

(1) or, None is to be seen.

Christ. By His grace God has at the same time⁽¹⁾ exchanged your way of worship for a better way. Now I will show how this era of your sloth too is proclaimed in the prophets. For I understand that you are abashed by your misfortunes and try to hide, quite naturally, what you know, pretending ignorance because you feel ashamed of dis-believing that you have been cast far away by God. The blessed prophet Hosea says about such people, "The sons of Israel will sit for many days without King or leader, without sacrifice, without an altar or priesthood or divination" (Hosea 3,4). Will anyone deny that such words are in your books and be so impetuously base as to dare saying that what is plain to all would never happen? For the result of what I have said is obvious to anyone. Perhaps you deny it again and out of respect for your innate disbelief feel that you are no different from lifeless stones. The prophet truthfully says, "The whole house of Israel are lovers of strife and hard of heart" (Ezek. 3,7). God speaks the whole truth as he explains your shamelessness through one of the prophets, "For I know, He says, that you are hard and your neck is an iron sinew and your forehead made of bronze" (Is. 48,4). Even the Saviour Himself condemns the enormity of your disbelief, saying, "The whole day I stretched out my hands towards a disbelieving and contradictory people" (Is. 65,2). What, tell me, is the reason for such enduring disbelief? Did you not know, from your instruction in Holy Scripture, the One owed to you by promise? Were you ignorant of the Word of God who was destined to come to the world? Did you not even hear the words of the prophet Zechariah, "Rejoice and be glad, daughter of Zion, for behold I am coming and will settle in your midst, says the Lord?" (Zech. 2,10). Should you not have rejoiced and be filled with gladness at the proclamation of the so radiant coming of our Saviour Christ through the holy men? Since the devil had enslaved all mankind, so to speak, falling upon it like a whirlwind, there was then no-one who did not feel his greed for power. All were trapped in their sins and felt no shame. They prided themselves over every dreadful action as if it were cause for great renown (for it was each man's aim to surpass everyone of past or future ages in wickedness, and our "glory was in deeds of shame" (Phil. 3,19), as Paul says). The Creator of mankind, in searching out many ways to heal us, of necessity sought to rescue the human race by every means. Prophets appeared from time to time introducing everyone to the way of salvation. When no-one believed them they called from heaven the King of all men Himself, the Word of God, saying at one (53,19)

(1) or, At the same time as the favour God has . . .

moment, "Lord, incline your heavens and come down" (Ps. 144,5), and at another, "Send out your light and your truth" (Ps. 43,3). Then the only-begotten Word of God came to earth, the most exact copy of the Father's essence, assuming our likeness and becoming a man. "He appeared on earth and mingled with men" (Baruch 3,38), as one of the sages said. He saw human nature running into utter destruction, incapable of doing any good. Yet He did not bestow His grace for righteous deeds, but bestowed this gift on the one who believed, calling all men to receive salvation. Then the shameless Jewish people should have recognized Him, worshipping the Word of God made man for us because of His great love and all other things, but, on the contrary, they nailed Him to a cross and inflicting on Him all manner of suffering and insult, handed Him over to death. But since, as Holy Scripture says, "it was not possible for Him to be mastered by death" (Acts 2,24), He rose again the third day after, saying to the spirits in Hades 'Come out' (cf. Is.49,9; 1 Pet. 3,19) and fleecing the devil of all his riches. He also loosed the power of death, placing in us the Holy Spirit as a pledge of the hope to come, a guarantee of the expected blessings. By His appearance in the form of a man He offered Himself on our behalf to the Father like an offering of produce from a garden. He came to earth to make man a citizen of heaven and enrol him in its choirs. Even if the Jews are unwilling, ought we not, beloved, for all these blessings offer a great thanksgiving and bring to God who has honoured and loved us like this our gifts as a proper repayment; the gifts of reverence in action, mutual affection, hospitality, love, care for our brethren and, what is the greatest of all cures for sin, compassion for prisoners? For we must remember "those in prison, as if we were their fellow-prisoners; remember those who are ill-treated, since we too have bodies" (Heb. 13,3). Then we shall celebrate the festival in purity and fulfil the fast, the mother of all blessings, as we ought, beginning the holy Quadragesima from the 26th of Mechir; and the week of the Passover of salvation from the new moon of the month Pharmouthi. We shall finish the fast, according to the gospel ruling, on the Sabbath evening, the 6th day of the same month Pharmouthi, and celebrate the festival on the next day, the Lord's Day, at dawn, the seventh of the same month Pharmouthi. We add next the seven weeks of the Holy Pentecost and believe that we shall receive the promises in heaven with the saints, in Christ Jesus our Lord, for ever. Amen.

"There is a time for everything", says the holy scripture (Eccl. 3,1). I think that it has made an excellent summary of the nature of actions, for nothing can disturb their nature as much as missing the right opportunity. Therefore since no-one will dispute that this is despicable, (on the contrary, the man of sense will wholly agree), we should consider the opposite way worthy of more respect, I mean what the occasion demands in all respects and is suitable for each action. And so our festival is the occasion now at hand and we must again obey the holy scripture, "Sound the trumpet at the new moon, on the glorious day of your festival" (Ps. 81,4). What occasion more important than the present one will shine out for us? What is as notable as our famous festival, displaying for us what is truly a new moon, the new age of our Saviour's coming to earth, in whom all things "have become new and the old things have passed away", as Paul says? (2 Cor. 5,17). Therefore let the Church's trumpet cry out and joyfully proclaim to us again its yearly message. Shall it copy those calls heard in military camps? Does it signal to us that the enemy's ranks are already upon us, that there is a threat of battle and a warning of the fear of death, that we must with all speed take up arms against the attackers? Not at all! I know that the sound of my trumpet is different. It will give no such call, but sound a song of triumph, one most joyful for its hearers. For "Come", it will say in the words of the holy Psalmist, "let us rejoice in the Lord, let us shout out to God our Saviour" (Ps. 95,1). Why can anyone see that the acclamation is well-timed? He will agree that we should rejoice and exalt the solemn death of our Saviour and I shall myself expound it to you although you know it. Death which renounces being defeated has been defeated; corruption has been transformed; unconquerable suffering has been destroyed. Hades, sick with unsatisfied longing and ever greedy to swallow the dead, has learnt, though unwillingly, what it could not bear to learn before. For it does not eagerly battle to retain those who are now dying but has already disgorged even those it held captive and endures a virtuous desolation by the power of our Saviour. For He came saying, "to those in prison, 'Come out', and to those in darkness, 'Be uncovered'" (Is. 49,9); and after "preaching to the spirits" in Hades "who were at one time disobedient" (1 Pet. 3,19-20) He ascended victorious, and

(56, 7)

raising the temple, that is Himself, as first fruits of our hope, He opened the way for human nature to be restored to life from the dead and also secured other blessings for us.

In these things, beloved, are seen the bright tokens of our festival; I think we should leap for joy over them and say, "The right hand of the Lord has worked power, the right hand of the Lord has exalted me" (Ps. 118,16). The **honoured** practice at festivals among all other men, whoever they are, is to be as well dressed as possible and to take great pains over it, but if someone is seen not wearing **all his** most valuable finery it is taken to be a sign of laziness or extreme bad taste. And so when cities celebrate festivals, anyone may see the whole population brightly garlanded with flowers going eagerly to a sumptuous feast, and revelling in punishing their stomachs rather than being distressed by it. But for us **a festival does not proceed thus**, nor is it our delight and desire to follow popular customs. Our clothing is the purest one of all, Christ; For "put on the Lord Jesus Christ", says Paul (Rom. 13,14). Our table is not weighed down with expensive delicacies nor does it groan with the burden of an immodest love of display. No! it is rather that precious table to which Wisdom invites us with the call, "Come, eat my bread and drink wine which I have mixed for you" (Prov. 9,5). For to fill the stomach with food from the earth, and to do it from no prompting of natural necessity or under no pressure from the insistent needs of the body and their proper satisfaction, but rather with the dissolute aim of gaining pleasure, is no different from copying the **character** of wild animals which revel in the mere abundance of food and are more happy when, in their unsatisfied greed, they go far beyond what they need and even cause pain to their sated stomachs. Every right thinking person will say that to love sacred teaching and consider the words of wisdom a sumptuous banquet is a most important and admirable thing, truly fitting for a reasonable man made in the image of his Creator. But I see that I have not mentioned what is particularly loved by those at festivals. I mean, they arm themselves with torches to fight the darkness of the night and do not allow the approach of evening to darken their house, but festoon the whole dwelling with lamps and drive away the gloom of darkness with their brightness. But for us again there is no hand-made light, so to speak, nor lamps twinkling with their small flames to chase the darkness, but
(57,12)

Christ Himself saying, "I am the light" (John 8,12). The blessed Isaiah also announced that this light would come to us, as he cried, "Shine, shine, Jerusalem, for your light has come" (Is. 60,1). For the grace of the Saviour has come upon us, illuminating everything like lightning and dispelling the gloomy cloud of ignorance, which the devil had spread over us like a roof as he overpowered the whole world beneath the sun, so to speak. He allowed no-one to raise the pure gaze of his heart and measure the power of the Creator by comparing it with the beauty of creation, for it was from that source that men in error would have found no small benefit. So that they should not profit at all from what seems to contribute to their salvation and soberly regain the freedom due to human nature, "he blinded their thoughts", as Paul says, "that they might not see the light of the glory of the gospel of Christ" (2 Cor. 4,4). But the wretch was disappointed in his hope! The One who invites men to be saved was greater. And so the vast number of the Gentiles has been saved, late in time it may be, yet they have acknowledged their Creator. The Jews who were instructed by the Law to acknowledge our Saviour Christ and were guided by the ordinances given through Moses, "have abandoned the ways of their own vineyard and strayed from the paths of their own field", (Pr. 9,12), as was written. For they did not recognize God's Word who was made man for our sake, and became poor for us, as Paul says, so that we might become rich in Him (cf. 2 Cor. 8,9). Therefore the prophet Jeremiah too denounces them with the stern cry, "How will you say, 'We are wise and the Law of the Lord is with us'? The false pen of the scribes has become useless, the poor have been put to shame, they were dismayed and taken captive. What wisdom is there in them, for they have rejected the Word of the Lord?" (Jer. 8,8-9). For indeed they have rejected the only-begotten Word of God, but He "has become the head of the corner" (Ps. 118,22; Matt. 21,42 and parallels; Acts 4,11; 1 Pet. 2,7), even if they should not wish it. Therefore the prophet, justly too, says of them somewhere, "The sons are senseless and have no understanding" (Jer. 4,22). Then will not what is said about them seem true to everyone? Surely they are senseless and deranged if they could be instructed in the mystery of true devotion by reading the prophets as well as being adequately enlightened about it through the writings of Moses, but are found to be so negligent of their own salvation that they do not even equal the Gentiles in their zeal for it? Indeed God says something (58,18)

like this to them somewhere, "I have set watchers over them and said, 'Hear the sound of the trumpet' and they said, 'We will not hear'. Therefore the Gentiles heard and those who tend the flocks among them. Hear, O earth, behold I am bringing evils upon this people, the fruit of their turning away, because they did not keep My law and thrust aside My word" (Jer. 6,17-19). For in truth they thrust aside the Word of God, neither knowing that they should obey the proclamation made by the holy apostles nor indeed thinking that they ought to pay attention to the ancient books. If they had been really eager to be helped, they should, I think, not have allowed their minds to be puffed up with false notions in the name of "knowledge of the law" and be deceived, as well as reaping the punishment for their strict adherence to the law through shame at not wanting to seem to be abandoning it. They should rather have examined the things spoken about the Saviour by the saints or expressed in other ways such as types and figures. One may see many reflections of events in the oracles of the Spirit, which give a very clear description of our Saviour's life on earth. Already a variety of images rises up in my mind and, as I am stirred to recall Holy Scripture, a countless swarm of thoughts settles there. However I think that I should begin my exposition from ancient events and proceed by way of those facts through which men will be more ready to believe us. So let us examine, if we may, the blessed Abraham's life, its course and circumstances; let me also enquire into the much-desired conception and birth of Isaac. For in these events, Jew, you will look into, so to speak, the very root of your race, the mystery of our Saviour, well and skilfully moulded in bronze, as it were. So that I do not seem to be misleading you with persuasive words as if I have nothing to say that is based on truth, I will put alongside my words Moses' own account and unfold the story clearly, for in this way you will understand my explanation more readily.

And so let it be granted that Sarah was married to the forefather of the race according to the law. He also had a slavegirl, I mean the Egyptian, whose name was Hagar. But the free woman born of free parents had no experience of the pains of childbirth and saw no fruit of her own womb. Then she was drawn by the most bitter natural desire to long for children and was heavily weighed down with depression. That was the thing which particularly caused others also to share her pain, for (59, 25)

Abraham was more than eighty years old and it was only to be expected that the warm, natural impulse to beget children had grown cold in him. As she grieved over the absence of children and was sorely distressed at the barrenness of her womb, she had arrived at extreme old age. Moved to ingenuity by her passion to embrace a child, she tried to blunt the edge of her natural longing and persuaded her husband to marry the slave girl and be acknowledged at last as the father of illegitimate children, since he was not thought fit to beget legitimate ones. This is how Holy Scripture puts it, "Sarah the wife of Abraham was not bearing him any children, but he had an Egyptian slavegirl whose name was Hagar. Sarah said to Abraham, 'Behold, the Lord has prevented me from giving birth; go into your slavegirl to beget children from her'" (Gen. 16,1-2). Let no one imagine that the patriarch was being rashly urged to indulge himself or was in any other way incited to licentiousness by the words of Sarah. This was not her purpose - far from it! But, as I said, reproaching her own inability to give birth, she thought it a heavy burden to bear, unless so great and upright a man should have offspring, at least from another woman. That was the way Sarah behaved toward her husband, and indeed her plan for the patriarch was thriving; Ishmael was being born as his illegitimate son from the Egyptian woman. Thus the feelings of the free woman were in turmoil, for she thought that she would be marvellously happy over a genuine birth, but drank a more bitter cup of sorrow at her inability to give birth and in this 'drunken' state was weighed down with suffering. But God, who supplies every good hope and has power over all mankind, took pity on her as she grieved intensely over what had happened. She had long been childless and barren, deprived of the ability to bear children by the long passage of time, but immediately God made her fertile and ready to conceive a child. He said to Abraham, "'Sarai your wife, her name shall not be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. I shall bless her and I shall give you a child from her and bless him. And he will become nations and Kings of the nations will come from him'. And Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said in his thoughts, 'Shall a hundred-year-old man have a son and Sarah bear a child when she is ninety?' God said to Abraham, 'Yes, behold Sarah your wife will bear a son and you shall call his name Isaac. And I will make my covenant with him an everlasting covenant and for his offspring after him'" (Gen. 17,15-17). This then was the promise to Abraham, a true one. When the pronouncement had been fulfilled and the barren woman was learning how to give

(61,2)

birth, and when the child was already to be seen and the heir to his ancestral home had appeared, then the slave girl, being no longer needed, was being driven from her mistress' house with Ishmael, Abraham's illegitimate son. As she fled and was already as far from the house as she could be, an angel spoke to her from heaven, saying, "'Hagar, slave girl of Sarah, where are you going?' She says in reply, 'I am running from the presence of Sarah my mistress'. Then the angel spoke again to her, 'Return to your mistress, and be humbled under her control'" (Gen. 16,8-9). The story needed a fuller explanation, but I have concluded it at this point. It only remains for us to show the image of our Saviour in it. For this very reason our long discourse here has advanced upon you. Paul in his exposition abbreviates the story and reduces a lengthy tale to a single image by changing the ugly description into a most pleasing picture of the truth. For he writes to certain persons like this, "You do not read the law. It is written that Abraham had two sons, one from the slavegirl, and one from the free woman. But the one from the slave girl was born according to the flesh; the one from the free woman was the result of a promise. These are spoken of allegorically, for they are the two covenants. One is from Mt. Sinai begetting men for slavery, which is Hagar; Mt. Sinai is in Arabia and corresponds to the present-day Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, who is our mother" (Gal. 4,21-26). But, beloved, although I am greatly amazed by the power of the allegory, and rightly so, I believe that I should add other thoughts to what has been well said, since the Holy Scriptures are an open field. Not that I have anything finer to say (may I not fall into such madness as to imagine that I can think of something greater or better than the message given by the herald of truth), but since there is nothing to stop me flexing my muscles, let us wrap up our natural thoughts in images, and, as if decorating the picture with varied colours, by a different route attempt a similar sort of allegory by using the same basic figures.

Imagine, then, that Abraham stands for ancient times and, so to speak, the period of senility, and that the wife who lived with him represents human kind. She shows herself capable of giving birth by being a woman, but displays her antiquity through her old age. For human kind is very ancient and fertile since it has lived through a long period of time, shut in one bridal chamber, that is, beneath this

(62,12)

(1) or, let us wrap more natural thoughts round our ideas,

heavenly firmament. This then is the free human nature (for so it has been made by God) which has inherited dominion over everything and almost runs hand in hand with the passage of time. It did not have a legitimate child given by God but rejoiced over the illegitimate children of others, as it were, those from the Egyptian I mean, that is, "the one in darkness"; for Egypt is interpreted as "darkness". What shall we deduce is "the one in darkness"? Surely it is the falsely named wisdom of the world, from which were born, so to speak, the wise men of old, who were begotten from the womb of the error which was in travail with them. They were "sons of the age", for this is what our Saviour called them. Yet they were illegitimate and reared for slavery, for they served unreal gods. Since the Son born of a promise has been given at a time grown old and already reaching its end, free human kind considered its large number of idle and useless offspring the same as having none at all and, since it was called barren and childless for this reason, gave birth to the noble child, "the one born from tens of thousands" I mean (S.S. 5,10). At last appeared the heir, our Lord Jesus Christ and the slave girl was banished with her children. "For where is the wise man? Where is the scribe? Where is the subtle debater of this age? God has made foolish the wisdom of the world", as Paul says (1 Cor. 1,20). Yet the child of the free woman inherits, for "Ask of me", the Father in heaven says somewhere to the Son, "and I shall give you the nations as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession" (Ps. 2,8). But some divine goodness did not allow the banished slave girl to perish with her children. It turns her back and orders her to be humbled under the control of the free woman. "Return", God says, "to your mistress and be humbled under her control" (Gen. 16,9). The falsely named wisdom of the world which used to mock the marriages of free people is now enslaved to the nobly born children of God and is subject to the divine vision, as we see in this most fitting combination of phrases. And so the birth of the promised Isaac signifies nothing other than the Christ who was born at the consummation of the ages. Let no-one feel any offence if all parts of the story do not fit the truth, for the figurative meanings of allegories are understood according to the capacity of the hearers. For the just man is often likened to a sheep because the animal has a gentle nature, and it is completely unconvincing to say that it could have horns or attack in another way with claws. And so we must proceed to the

(63,20)

explanation of our theme. I think that Christ must be seen in the story of Isaac's birth under the guise of a type. So as not to seem to have used any superfluous and needless words or to be trying to play every sort of trick with the truth and romanticizing about it by making vain pictures out of useless notions, come now, let us establish that I am speaking the truth from Holy Scripture itself.

God made his promise to Abraham, I mean the one fulfilled in Isaac, for no other reason than to point to the coming of our Saviour, in whom the blessing attains its purpose. I shall set before you the very word of God which says this; "I shall bless her", God says about Sarah, "and will give you a child from her, and I shall bless him and he will become nations, and Kings of nations shall come from him" (Gen. 17,16). And again; "I shall establish My covenant with him as an everlasting covenant and for his seed after him" (Gen. 17,19). It is, I think, clear to everyone that Isaac became the father of one son and that from him only the blessed Jacob sprang. He had twelve sons in number, but only one race issued from them, obviously that of the Jews. How will the words, "He shall become nations", be fulfilled? For even if the descendants of Israel are divided into twelve tribes, there is still one nation, composed of many limbs as it were, making one body by combining all the parts. We shall recognize that there will not again be an everlasting covenant from God for the descendants of Isaac, the one laid down through Moses, since the prophet Jeremiah says, "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, and I shall make a covenant with the house of Israel and a new covenant with the house of Judah" (Jer. 31,31). Paul understands this very well and says, "By calling it 'new' he has declared the first one obsolete; what is obsolescent and aging is on the point of disappearing" (Hebr. 8,13). Therefore there has been "an annulment of the previous commandment" (Hebr. 7,18), as he again says, "and the introduction of a better hope, through which we approach God" (Hebr. 7,19). From all sides then it is clearly shown that the son of Abraham became the father of one nation. Another line of argument compels me to show that what was written about him was true (for God cannot lie) and I must now go on to refer the fulfillment of the promise to Christ Himself. For, as I have already said, Christ is pictured in him. He has become the father of many nations, "drawing all men to Himself" (cf. John 12,32) through faith, rejoicing greatly (64,25)

over the multitude of the nations, and saying, "Behold, I and my children whom God has given me" (Is. 8,18; cf. Gen. 48,9). That is what I have to say about it, but let the witness to the truth himself come in and let Paul with all his wisdom contend for what I have said and cry with me, "He who supplies the Spirit to you and performs deeds of power among you, does He do it as a result of your obedience to the law or because you believed what you heard? - just as Abraham believed God and it was reckoned as righteousness to him. Then know that those who rely on faith are the sons of Abraham." Gal. 3, 5-6 ; cf. Gen. 15,6 ; Rom. 4,3). Therefore the power of the promise will not pass at all on to those born as his sons in the flesh, but, quite clearly, to those who claim Abraham as father through their faith in Christ. Indeed I see the blessed Baptist saying this clearly to those born of Israel, when they boasted of their physical descent from Abraham, and that alone, while claiming him as the founder of their nation. He says, "Produce fruit worthy of repentance and do not think to say to yourselves 'We have Abraham as father', for God can raise children to him from these stones". (Matt. 3,8-9). Here by 'stones' he means those who still display a callous mind, as if weighed down by an unfeeling heart. If anyone should examine the Gentiles carefully, he will discover that they are like this in every way. They were raised through faith and became the children of Abraham. They were declared co-heirs with Isaac and shared in the blessing bestowed on him. And Paul will give his witness to this, as he proclaims, "The scripture saw beforehand that God would justify the nations by faith and long ago offered the gospel to Abraham, 'In you all the nations will be blessed', and so those who rely on faith are blessed together with faithful Abraham." (Gal. 3,8-10; cf. Gen 12, 3: 18,18; Eccles. 44,21; Acts 3,25). Then one could illustrate in all sorts of ways, and quite easily too, that Isaac born from Abraham symbolizes our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. I think I could persuade even the one most slow to learn from what the blessed Paul declares in his letter to the Galatians, "Brothers, I speak in human terms; yet no-one annuls a man's attested will or adds a codicil to it. The promises were spoken to Abraham and his seed after him. He does not say, 'to his seeds' as if meaning 'many' but only meaning 'one', that is 'to your seed' which is Christ" (Gal. 3,15-16; cf. Gen. 12,7: 13,15: 17,7: 24,7). Paul himself by his words will assure us that the promise given to Abraham has been kept again in those who believe in Christ, and we (66,1)

shall not be forced to transfer that promise to his natural descendants and do violence to God's grace. "For you who were baptized into Christ have put on Christ as a garment; there is no such thing as Jew or Greek, slave or freeman, male or female. For you all belong to Jesus Christ and if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's heirs by promise" (Gal. 3,27-29). And so I think that all I have said will be a sufficient demonstration of my intention in following this line of argument. If you, Jew, think that these are unimportant things to say and will not hold it worthwhile to think correctly, but cannot again agree with us at all that this is the situation, then the blame falls not on me but on your unbelief. You would not, I think, charge those who have laboured to speak as forcefully as they can with not being able to convince their hearers at all. For they have done what they could with great enthusiasm and would quite rightly be free of blame. The very fact that those who listen to the words of excellent men do not wish to accept the blessing one would offer them will be witness to their utter shame. It is just the same as a man who takes a loan from someone and is found to be ungrateful and forgetful. He will prove himself to be a scoundrel, not his creditor! When I consider the methods of doctors I have the impression that they practise their skill wisely and that the treatment prescribed for the sick does not overstep the bounds of sound judgement. Well then, let us copy their custom and treat the slow-learning Jew with the same medicine, as it were. If doctors who are arranging a regime to restore a sick man to health should sense that he has lost his appetite through the disease, they offer a great variety of food to him and order sufficient for his needs to be gathered from every source - and quite rightly so. Again, as it is our aim to copy their custom, let us touch upon other images in addition to what we have already said. Let the Jew who is seriously ill with foolishness be summoned to sound belief by every means. Let him again see our Lord Jesus Christ pictured long ago in Isaac also.

And so let the justly praised Abraham enter again (for I now deal with what is said about him), Abraham to whom God said somewhere, "Take your beloved son whom you love, Isaac, and go to the high country and offer him as a whole burnt sacrifice on one of the mountains, whichever I shall tell you" (Gen. 22,2). No doubt the command will perhaps seem strange and harsh to some of you. For if he was his only beloved son,
(67,12)

born late in his father's life, the son given to him with difficulty in old age, how could God suggest that he should sacrifice him? Tell me - was it not an utterly unnatural act for this righteous man to kill his child? Who is so harsh and akin to the savagery natural to wild beasts that he could take up a weapon against a child and treat his own offspring like an enemy? Then what the patriarch was learning through such a command I must now tell you as well as I can. For it is, I think, plain to everyone that if we obscure the purpose of God in giving this command under a mound of silence **it will be like our accusing** the most gentle nature of inhumanity. Therefore since the promise concerning Isaac was not fulfilled by God except through the cross of Christ as He sent His blessing upon all nations, God wanted to show decisively **how great and precious was the grace He was bestowing for the salvation** of Abraham's descendants by handing His own Son over to death and said to him in the clearest words, "Take your son" (Gen. 22,2). He rekindled in him the affection proper for a father towards his one and only child and goes on to say even more by repeating the fact of Abraham's love, "Your beloved son Isaac whom you love; and take him up to one of the mountains, whichever I tell you" (Gen. 22,2). He was almost saying, 'For you to learn by your suffering just as the Father of all men later endures pain as he offers the Son whom He loves as a sacrifice on behalf of the world'. The Saviour Himself was greatly amazed at this and somewhere said "For God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son so that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life" (John 3,16). Then as God issued such commands, the patriarch obeyed Him without delay and took God's bidding to be more important than his love for the boy. "Rising up early", as it was written, "he saddled his ass and took two slave boys and Isaac, his son. He cut wood for the burnt offering, rose and went his way, coming to the place of which God told him. And looking up on the third day Abraham saw the place in the distance and said to his slave-boys, 'Sit here with the ass; the child and I will go over there and return to you when we have worshipped'. Abraham took the wood for the burnt offering and laid it on Isaac, his son. He also took the fire in his hand and a knife, and the two made their way together. They both journeyed and came to the place of which God had told him, and there Abraham built an altar. He placed the wood on it, bound Isaac his son and placed him on the altar on top of the wood. Then Abraham stretched out his hand to take the knife and (68,17)

kill his son. An angel of the Lord called him and said, 'Abraham, Abraham'. He said, 'Here I am' and the angel said 'Do not lay your hand upon the child or do anything to him. Now I know that you fear God and have not spared your beloved son for my sake'. And Abraham looked up and saw, and, behold, there was a ram caught in a bush by its horns. Abraham went, took the ram and offered it as a burnt-offering in place of Isaac, his son" (Gen. 22,2-13). So reads the passage of Holy Scripture, reflecting the mystery of the Saviour from start to finish. We must apply the beauty of truth to what has happened in a figurative way and clearly unfold each part of the narrative. In this way the deep mystery of true belief will be easily seen by the hearers.

And so the thrice-blessed Abraham makes the child accompany him and hurries to the place indicated to him by God. He arrives there with difficulty on the third day, ordering his two slave boys to follow as well. And so the offering of the child as a sacrifice by the father indicates symbolically and figuratively that neither human power nor the wicked pride of conspirators brought our Lord Jesus Christ to the cross, but the will of the Father, so to speak, which allowed Him to undergo death for all men as part of His plan. The Saviour also said this in His conversation with Pilate that day, "You would have no power over me unless it had been given to you from above" (John 19,11). Again on another occasion as He spoke with the Father in heaven Himself He said, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I wish, but as you wish" (Matt. 26,29). The Child is not contradicting His Father. For, although the Son was God, "He humbled Himself and become obedient" to the Father "to the point of death, a death on a cross" (Phil. 2,7-8). Therefore He also says through the prophet Isaiah "I am not disobedient nor do I contradict" (Is. 50,5). Their difficulty in arriving at the place on the third day indicates the end-time at which the Saviour came to earth, for if the first and middle times precede, the third one will come right at the end. The pair of slaves who were ordered to follow as well show in a figurative way that two peoples were to follow Christ as He went up to suffer for our salvation. The blessed Abraham's viewing the place from afar indicates the Father's knowledge from before time began by which He could see what would happen to His own offspring, that is Christ. For this is what Peter says about the Saviour, "Foreknown before the foundation of the world, and disclosed in the last time" (1 Pet. 1,20). Then again the blessed Abraham said also to the slaves, (69,26)

"Sit here" and "with the ass ; the boy and I will go over there" (Gen. 22,5).

Again I will say, as far as I can, what is being shown to us here too.

The man just called to have faith who desires to follow the Saviour Christ but is still under the sway of his sins like a slave and has not yet been called to the freedom of the righteousness bestowed in holy baptism, is still caught in a tangle of confusion and ignorance, which are signified by the ass. He will not have a pure understanding of the suffering undergone for our salvation nor will he immediately share in the sacrifice of the true Lamb. He will remain in a somewhat humble position and persevere in receiving the lowly course of instruction, until by the mercy of God he shakes off the burden of sin and is able to climb up to the highest understanding of the divine mystery, as if ascending the sun-lit peak of a mountain. This is how some have expressed it, "Come, let us ascend to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will proclaim His way to us and we shall walk in it" (Is. 2,3). I am greatly amazed at the blessed Abraham's saying to the slaves, as I have already mentioned, "Sit here; the child and I will go over there and return to you when we have worshipped" (Gen. 22,6). And so he prophesies since he is a righteous man, for they were going to return, but being a wise man he falls silent and does not reveal the mystery to men who were as yet uninitiated. In this too he is an example for us to whom the Saviour Himself says somewhere, "Do not give what is holy to the dogs nor cast your pearls before pigs" (Matt. 7,6). By 'pearls' He means the enlightened, clear oracles of the Spirit. Then again it says, "Abraham placed the wood for the burnt offering on the boy" (Gen. 22,6). For in agreement with the divine plan and almost with the active cooperation of the Father, Jews placed the cross on the Saviour, without forcing the divine power against its will. The prophet Isaiah will be revealed as a true witness to this as he says of Him, "The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, we have been healed by His scourging. All of us have strayed like sheep; man has strayed along his way and the Lord has handed Him over to our sins" (Is. 53,5-6). When he had come to the place already pointed out to him, the patriarch built an altar with great skill, so that we, again, might understand from this that what appeared as a cross and wood upon our Saviour in the eyes of men was, in the eyes of the Father of all men, really a great, lofty altar raised up for the salvation of the world, smoking with a holy, pure sacrifice. The placing of Isaac on (71,4)

the wood and the killing of the ram in his stead show very clearly that God, the Word, went up to the cross and was in the 'temple' that was hanging there. The Lord did not suffer Himself being by nature incapable of suffering. For the knife was not raised above Isaac, that is, above the Word who proceeded from the substance of the Father, but even as He was being led to the slaughter there was raised in His stead the 'temple' born of the Holy Virgin, which is signified by the sheep. The Word makes the suffering His own, and rightly so, for it was His body and not another's. For as His body was scourged again and spat upon in the same way by the headstrong Jews, He Himself says in the words of the prophet Isaiah, "I gave my back to be scourged and my cheeks to be struck" (Is. 50,6). "For there is one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever; Amen. (Rom. 1,25). As it is written, "He", for the sake of our salvation, "despised the shame and in obedience to the Father humbled Himself to the point of death" (Heb. 12,2; Phil. 2,8), in order that He might die for our sake and on our behalf, raising us again from the dead with Himself, in giving life by the Holy Spirit. His purpose was to open the gates of heaven for us and take us up there that He might present to the gaze of the Father that human nature which had once become a deserter because of sin. Beloved, let every mouth be open to praise such magnificent achievements of our Saviour, let the singing of hymns to Him be the work of every tongue and proclaim with the sound of sweet music "God has gone up with a shout of joy, the Lord with the sound of the trumpet" (Ps. 47,6). For He has fulfilled God's purpose for us and ascended, but He has not merely ascended. "He has taken captivity captive and given gifts among men" (Ps. 68,19; Eph. 4,8). He snatched us all from the hands of the devil and ransomed us from captivity, filling us with good gifts; for there are many kinds of gift that have come to us through the Spirit

And so, beloved, let us be filled with every blessing from Christ and celebrate the festival, without feeling discouraged by the hardships that benefit us, nor thinking the effort of fasting a burden, but being cheerful in the face of the contest; "rejoicing in hope", as Paul says (Rom. 12,12) and glad of the blessings expected from the fast. Above all let us hold on to love for one another; let the spiteful demon of back-biting be driven away; let envy be banished from our souls; let wickedness and deceit take to their heels; let lying be deported and
(72,11)

with it the swearing of false oaths, the chief of all evils. Let us swear no oaths at all; let our "Yes be Yes", as the Saviour says, and our "No be No" (Matt. 5,37). Let us visit those who wrestle with the terrible beast, I mean the poor; let us revive the orphan and widow and restore the afflicted with suitable treatment, let us be found to be loving and compassionate to those in prison. For then, then it is that we shall keep the genuine and most pure fast for Christ, as we begin the holy forty days from the 16th of the month Phamenoth and the week of the Passover of salvation from the 21st of the month Pharmouthi. We shall end the fasting on the 26th of the same month Pharmouthi, the evening of the Sabbath. At dawn on the next day, the Lord's Day, the 27th of the same month Pharmouthi, we celebrate the festival. We shall then add the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost, for thus we shall inherit the Kingdom of heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory and power to the Father with the Holy Spirit, both now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

As our holy festival shines out and challenges those honoured for their goodness to the noble test of endurance, all should, I think, gather in the spiritual arena, saying, "Come, let us go up to the mount of the Lord and to the house of Jacob's God" (Is. 2,3), so that we may meet there as a holy company and, combined, as it were, into one lyre through the Spirit who unites us, may praise our chorus-leader in song, with the words "All nations, clap your hands; shout to God with the voice of rejoicing" (Ps. 46,2). One would incur a just accusation of fear and hesitation in following the better course if he did not want to offer, as is His due, thanksgiving to the Saviour, who has adorned mankind with a countless multitude of blessings and transformed it entirely by His ineffable power into its ancient glory. He has dissolved the most ugly condition caused by sin and restored to the original image and stamp of their proper nature those who acknowledge Him and say with that most wise disciple, "My Lord and my God" (John 20,28). He spoke to the blessed prophet Isaiah through the Spirit, "Cry out with strength, do not hold back; lift up your voice like a trumpet" (Is. 58,1). Since it is the practice of the priesthood, the ancestral office passed on from those who preceded me, and a custom derived from ancient times which causes us to consider that we must engage in this with great zeal, come, let me proclaim more loudly than a trumpet by this proclamation yet again that, as written in the Psalms, "It is time to act for the Lord" (Ps. 119,126). Perhaps no-one will deny that the time to act for the Lord is present. A man eager to learn would be right to ask me what action was appropriate. With great admiration for the questioner who thought that he should ask about this, I shall do well to use the words of the holy prophets. Then let him hear Isaiah saying, "Let us make peace with Him, let us who come make peace" (Is. 27,5). Since the saying is too obscure to reach a clear conclusion, come, let us follow the practice of those who can reveal things, now hidden, which have come down from the past and make the thought behind the words more obvious.

There is a natural, innate law in our bodily limbs, so to speak, which arms us against the God who has made us and opposes its own will to the desires of the Spirit. This is the source of our disputes and the innumerable host of disorderly desires which oppose the scales as they tilt to the better side and arrange themselves like an enemy's
(74,18)

forces against impulses which help us. The blessed Paul also somewhere makes plain this bold law of the flesh which rules over us, as he cries, "I rejoice in the law of God in my inner man; but I see another law which campaigns against the law in my mind and makes me a prisoner under the law of sin which is in my limbs" (Rom. 7,22-23). Therefore as long as such a law prevails in us and boldly opposes the desires of the Spirit, bringing out its own will to battle against them and even forcing us to do its pleasure, it makes us wholly hostile to God, prevents us offering the greeting of peace and separates those who are clearly in its grasp from enjoying the benevolence of their Creator. But it loses its force and is surpassed by the intense yearning to express devotion. It resembles those defeated in battle, openly declaring itself a fugitive who throws away his shield, and opens a chariot road of friendship with God for those who have chosen to live a good life following His law. Then when the resources of those who would hold us in their grip have been destroyed in this way, we shall obey the commands of the Spirit. There will be nothing to prevent us, because we who come to salvation through faith in Him will think that we should eagerly hold on to peace with God. "Let us mortify our limbs upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and above all, self-seeking" (Col. 3,5). Let the law of the flesh die, struck down by desire to attain goodness as by a sharp sword. Let the earthly and unclean part of our thoughts come to nothing. Let the law of God again control; let it pursue the enemy rather than be seen on the run, for when it prevails and is found to overcome the enemy's might it sows in us every kind of virtue, making erstwhile deserters the dearest friends of the Master and realising the deeply desired hope of the saints for those who do not have it. If it should be forced to retreat by fleshly impulses, as by contrary winds, then indeed our immunity will come to an end while sin works at full stretch in us by our own desire. As Scripture says, "We shall become the lot of foxes" (Ps. 62,11), handing over the beauty of our conduct to wicked, unclean demons; just like a vineyard without a wall and vigilant watchmen we shall be open, easy prey for plunderers. But if it is desirable for each of us to have no such experiences, let every man eagerly accept fasting, the mother of all holiness, "let him buffet his body and enslave it" (cf. 1 Cor. 9,27) and by willingness to endure hardship 'fence in his property with thorn-bushes' (cf. Hosea 2,6), as one of our sages said. Accordingly I think that this is enough for those of rather mature attitude who can taste the food of more solid

(76,4)

instruction and be enabled to pursue their duty with some ease, gathering from all quarters whatever they think is profitable. They have no need of prolonged hardships, I think. Their enthusiasm will be enough to help them lead a good life, as it erodes the mud-banks of opposition and destroys them with invincible force like a river. It now remains to add the most important part of my discourse. The all-conquering God Himself protects those who conform to this way of life, as He becomes the strength and power, the staff and sinews of them all. The most wise Psalmist will bear witness in the words, "Your rod and your staff, they comfort me" (Ps, 23,4). Every sensible person will agree, I think, that the fruits of peace with God are noble and praiseworthy.

As I look closely, like those who leap up to the top of a hill trying to see as far as keen sight can stretch, and turn the eye of my mind examining the nature of things as well as I can, it seems fitting not only to advise those already addressed in the discourse that they should practise what brings peace with God, but to notice another class of men I can see. Just as freshly planted shoots begin to bud as they appear, with difficulty, above the ground which gave them birth, and are brought on by the skill of gardeners and the use of irrigated water, so those recently, and with some trouble, planted in the gardens of the Church call upon the skill of teachers to help them, like a spring of water. I think it is especially appropriate to say to them those fine words of the prophet, "Let us make peace with Him, let us who come make peace" (Is. 27,5). It is worth seeing where they come from and where they intend to stay. Everyone can see that the Gentiles go by faith from ignorance to disciplined learning, from foolishness to sensible reasoning, from long and innate error to a truer grasp of reality, to knowledge of God, to devotion, to a life radically changed from their former one, to freedom, to renewal and, to put it plainly, to virtue and a way of life fitting for a human being; for one, I mean, clearly endowed with reason and made in the image of his Creator. Those whose minds are disturbed by the evil tricks of the devil and in their terror before the vanity of idols say to the wood, "'You are my god'; and to the stone, 'You begat me'" (Jer. 2,27), as the prophet says, would naturally be full of foolishness and bring upon themselves this judgment from those who have taken care to make a just assessment. They seem to me (for I will say the truth) to be still preserving their human likeness as far as physical appearance goes, and are recognised (77,18)

as rational creatures only by those marks and outward signs; but as for the mind and its working, that is where they are in eager competition with the senselessness of irrational creatures. One may grant that they are victorious here too if man's actions are closely observed! But, lest I should seem to be abusing them rather than trying to convince them how much they have failed in their duty and gone into distant exile, I will now bring on the God who is Master of all men, as He says something like this through one of the prophets, "See that their heart is ashes" (Wis. 15,10) and they wander in confusion. They wander indeed, leaving the simple understanding of the knowledge of God and being dragged off by senseless errors and the wiles of distorted reasoning to be a prey to all kinds of foolishness. They even lavish upon trees and stones the glory that belongs to the ineffable Being who is the source of all things, and put greater value on the objects of their own creation than on human nature, inscribing them as their "masters" although they are their owners. To men of sound judgement what could seem more absurd than this?

As well as what I have said in that argument this thought occurs to me; some men avoid such grovelling forms of worship, but, as if in pursuit of a more elevated error, think it right to take refuge in the more glorious features of creation. They assume an expression of amazement and tug their long beards; they gaze in wonder at the sky saying that it encircles everything under the sun and, just as it holds all things in its bosom, is spread out over what lies inside like a tent. Then they busy themselves with the positions of the stars in the sky and marvel at the courses of the sun and moon; they propose fire, water, air and earth as the sources of reality and fancifully imagine that the combination of these elements has proved to be the origin of created things. Then when they should be looking for the commander and leader of all this and running to meet God the giver of its beauty because they have seen the splendour of creation, they bestow all their admiration on the things created. How, tell me, could they have made a greater mistake or how could anyone have made a more senseless examination of reality? Although, I think, it is very clear to everyone that if a man look at a house or ship or anything else very skilfully constructed, he does not indulge in unbridled admiration, but praises the structure, fittings and beauty of what he sees and immediately pictures to himself a supreme craftsman and reflects on the nature and

(78,26)

mental powers of the maker of such beautiful things. But these men, who are skilled only in the clever use of words and, as they think, in various kinds of learning, fix their mind only on what they can see, and, diving headlong beyond their understanding⁽¹⁾, do not see God, the creator and maker of all things. They do not offer Him glory as the Lord and maker of all creation nor perceive the order in created things, so that they too may be really wise in their understanding. But now they have become so senseless and lacking in perception that even if they applied all their skill in rushing towards the utmost folly, they would not, I think, have fulfilled their absurd desire more successfully. But let Paul come and add his witness to my words about it as he says, "The wisdom of this world is foolishness in the sight of God" (1 Cor. 3,19). We learn that the saint's words are true by an examination of what they do. First of all, they introduce into life a host of gods, unknown even to their worshippers; for some of them they do not even preserve the human shape that we share, mingling the likeness of a pig or dog, adulterating our nature, as it were, and destroying the image of the most beautiful of earthly creatures by their spurious changes of shape.

But what is the point of my making a long argument about things that are so prone to mockery? Let us come to an essential matter. What I mean is this; a deep darkness of ignorance engulfs the pagans and, like a mist, spreads over their minds not letting them contemplate searching for what will be of profit, but, rather, exiling them from true beliefs through untested, false reasoning. What else is it that these senseless people do? They deprive mankind of the finest qualities and, by talking nonsense about the great gift of nature, cause it to vanish. For they deny that man is in control of his own conduct nor do they wish him to be; they assert that he makes no free choice in his actions by turning the scale in favour of each deed. On the contrary man's actions rely not on his desires but are ordered by the decree of other powers. For it is 'fate' and 'birth sign', as they put it, which balance each man's life as those powers see fit. They give some men the finest qualities, men with whom one could properly claim to associate; again, to others they offer what one would not wish to experience. Man, they say, treads no path of his own volition and has no power to do good or its opposite; he is bound in chains, as it were, and pulled by cords of necessity, so to speak, in both directions. And why? - so
(80,5)

(1) or: and, cutting short the movement of their minds beyond
(this world),
(reading *καὶ ὑπερβαίνοντες*)

that man, who has received dominion over all things from on high, may no longer be different from the animals that have no power to reason. Those who assent to such opinions seem to me to be doing something like appointing a man as a charioteer, getting him to stand in the chariot and handing the reins to someone else! But such a man will not win the glory of victory, nor, if he should fall and be crushed, could he believe himself responsible for the injury. For both are the result of others' actions - things done by those holding the reins and not by the one who stands in the chariot doing nothing. How could someone who had no control over events be properly asked to be accountable for them? The direction in which he will go and the goal he seeks are clearly under the control of the one who acts, and he will not attribute the outcome to what others have done. But in order that both by historical events which they celebrate, and by their own myths, we may gather the proofs of futility and demonstrate quite plainly to our hearers that the assumption that a man does not use his initiative in what he has to do nor proceeds by autonomous choice to what he intends is convicted of utter insanity - for that reason I shall recall them briefly, as I have said.

Their stories mention a certain Tantalos, Tityos, Ixion and the wretched suffering of Sisypheos, and make a point of the penalties they undergo - and quite rightly so - although they naturally did not wish to experience them. They say that Tantalos is punished, with a stone of huge weight suspended over his head, by the fear of unending, imminent danger. Then if anyone should ask the reason for his suffering, he will hear the loud reply that he had an unbridled tongue and be told the name of a most dreadful disease to describe the ordeal (Pindar, Olym. 1,57 ; Isth. 1,7(8)-9). The one called Tityos they stretch out over nine whole acres and say that his liver is gnawed by a pair of wild vultures, asserting that his insolent manner was the reason for his unrelieved suffering. (Homer, Od. 1,576 ; Pindar, Pyth. 4,90). As for Ixion and Sisypheos, they say that the one is punished by being stretched out on a wheel which turns round and round continuously (Pindar, Pyth. 2,33-89; Lucian, Dialogues of the Gods 6) while the other suffers long, sweating toil (Homer, Od. 11,593-594). Then, so that they should seem to be suffering just punishment, they add different versions of their crimes. But if we are to think, as they have

(81,6)

concluded, that man is really under the necessities of fate, then the crimes for which they have suffered would not, it seems to me, be those of the men I have just named, but of the fate which urges them to act in this way by being able even to control each man's will, wholly subject to fate as that will is. Then, either let them be released from their unrelenting punishments and unending wretchedness, with the charge being made against their overweening 'birth-sign' so that it is subject to such torturers as know how to inflict punishment; or, if one is to say that they are justly punished let him accept that man is free from necessity and remove the greedy grasp of fate so that the charges against Tantalos and Sisypheos may be clearly seen. For if even human justice realises that it is quite absurd for others to be punished instead of those who have done wrong, will it not be obvious to us all that one could reasonably grant that there is nothing more wretched than those whom men worship as gods, if these rulers and managers of all are not able to judge rightly when entrusted with the capacity to do it. Are not our judges better when they bring in a correct verdict for each person and distinguish the just man as worthy of honour? Are they not better when they consider that they ought to hate those found guilty of shameful crimes and fix fitting penalties for the misdeeds of which they stand accused? Those, my friend, are the opinions of your poets and great men on this. Hear *something* our wise men *too* say, "A man's foolishness defiles his way and he blames God in his heart" (Prov. 19,3). Therefore if a man were free from foolishness, he would not have a 'defiled way' nor would he have thrown all the blame on the divine nature for urging him to do what that same nature has forbidden by law. Some men set up their own minds as leader, teacher and, so to speak, the best judge, continually urged on by what each man decides is the best course to follow, yet with great effort they pass by anything foreign to the best purpose and action. Therefore it is not 'fate' and 'birth-sign' which govern each of us as they think fit, or make man an evil-doer or a lover of goodness; all men freely walk in both directions. There is nothing which, of necessity, prevents a man from steering his own course in whatever direction he decides. If I need to add to these words and indicate the begetter of the Greeks' ignorance and how it happened that they fell into such madness, I will say it - and be eager to do so!

The devil, that instigator of evil and father of sin, showed man how to transgress the divine commandment. He enslaved him like a prisoner (82,18)

of war and, when he had cunningly become a tyrant over us, began to fear the upsurge throughout all creation of free human nature. For he knew only too well that man is always impelled to take refuge in what is better by the promptings of conscience, hating sin as an intruder, yet always gloomy in his sinning even if he should happen to be beguiled into it by a morsel of pleasure. The devil did not want man to use his own free powers and dissipate the tyrannical control of pleasure by the force that draws him towards freedom. He did not want man to bewail his sins at length, rise to enjoy his first successes and by lovingly pursuing the works of righteousness be now found invincible through the succour from on high. The devil conceived another way of using deceit (which is always his weapon for working wickedness). He steals, as it were, most of the feeling of sorrow for sins and unceasingly wages a wily war on the accusations of conscience. "You are not", he says, "yourselves responsible for not being able to do better. God has not put the power of self-control in your hands. He has forced a yoke of necessity upon you. 'Fate' and your 'birth-sign' are in charge and you must do what they decide". With such deceptions the wicked one subdues mankind, driving them away from truthful beliefs and making them more prone to every sin. For man attributes the outcome of his own deeds to fate, says that he is subject to the inescapable bonds of birth and assumes that he will not be punished for his obvious misdeeds. This is the state of those who have rejected the power of self-control. Let the heralds of the Church speak, men who have put on Christ and bear the mind of truth. "For we are not ignorant of his thoughts" (2 Cor. 2,11). So that those who are subject to the deceptions just described and oppose their own notions to the will of the Lawgiver may not make war upon the One who least deserves it, because they suffer long from the disease of foolishness, let them hear what we said at the beginning; "Let us make peace with Him" (Is. 27,5), and destroy the enmity. Away with fighting and war; let us offer our right hands to the Saviour. Let us ask for peace in faith; let us too say with the prophet, "Lord, our God, give us peace. Lord, possess us; we know no other but you, we name your name" (Is. 26,12).

That too will suffice, I think, to help pagans and those who have recently entered the gates of the Church. Another group of men comes to my attention. They are armed with the weapons of ignorance, a most (83,22)

senseless soldiery indeed. They oppose their mind to that of the Saviour with shadowy types and literal meanings, and although they have "the embodiment of knowledge in the Law"(Rom.2,20), as it is written, they think that they should wage war on the essence of truth. Well then, let us cry out to them too through the love we have for one another ;"Let us make peace with Him"(Is.27,5). How long, Jew, are you immersing yourself in types from Scripture and miss the essential meaning ? When will the end of your ignorance be seen ? When will you remove your mind from the shadowy form of the Law ? When shall we see you a wiser man ? When will you offer spiritual worship to God, the King of Creation ? As it is written,"God is Spirit and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth"(John 4,24). But you abandon worship in spirit, find the path to evil more pleasant than the path to what is better and glory in the richness of the written word. You then think that you are honouring God in this way and cast off the most precise way of understanding the Law, as if you have complete grasp of what was written. You fail to see that you are talking nonsense! Well now, let us discuss together a few of the points which are important to you, taking them one by one. For you will notice quite easily from this, I think, if there is the desire in you to come to your senses, that you waste a long time in futile speculation.

You accept circumcision of the flesh as something important, as the most vital part of your devotion to God. You have too superstitious a regard for doing no work on the Sabbath and delight in slaughtering sheep. You think that God is greatly pleased with you when you are seen sacrificing a bull. There is much hair-splitting discussion on foods and the distinction between them ; on these things you pride yourself ; these contortions, in your eyes, are the birth-pangs of the greatest virtue ; on them you have set the borders of your reputation. I say that the wisdom and understanding of the Lawgiver are better than any argument or superstition and would denounce, with good reason too, the foolishness of the Jews. They do not readily gain insight but run away from learning (erring in yet another way) and are led by their own ignorance alone to enjoy none of the blessings. But let them also hear in the words of the prophet,"Sober up, you drunkards, from your wine (Joel 1,5). Well now, let us examine the advantage in being circumcised or what benefit the Lawgiver will bring to us by it. To perform (34,24)

circumcision on the parts of the body through which nature works in reproduction is ridiculous, unless there is an excellent reason for it. It is rather an accusation of the Creator's skill, for having burdened the bodily form with some useless appendages! If this should be so and the force of my words is understood, are we not to conclude that the Divine Mind has mistaken what was appropriate? For if what is more fitting for our bodily nature is better preserved by circumcision, why was this not a better arrangement at the very beginning? Who, tell me, if he says that our unerring and undefiled nature was born defective in what was proper, will not be talking obvious nonsense? God who is Supreme has fashioned countless kinds of irrational animals, but in point of the finest beauty there is clearly nothing lacking or superfluous in their making. But He is completely exonerated from this slanderous charge in both respects and has escaped accusation in each case. How could God who has exercised such great forethought over less important creatures have blundered over the most valuable part of His creation? When He introduced the one made in His image into the midst of the irrational creatures did He make him inferior, if there is no fault in them and some fault in man? I think that the Jews themselves will agree that unless some benefit is shown to come from physical circumcision, it will seem indisputably ridiculous, for I think it right that those in whom the Saviour abides and the Holy Spirit dwells should be manifestly superior to the ignorance they display. Again, come, let us apply reasoning that suits the Lawgiver's commands to show the excellent sense found in them. Why the Mosaic law orders a child to be circumcised on the eighth day and be offered to God the Master after the usual sacrifice has been performed for him; then what food for thought presents itself as we consider physical circumcision - this we must go on to reveal as well as we can, so that anyone may ponder how thoroughly the examination of circumcision has been made.

Our mind is the most fertile thing by nature, containing the seeds of every virtue and continually supplied out of its own activity, as from a spring, with the desire for every fine quality; for it has been made in this fashion by the Creator. But over it, like a sort of veil, runs a creeping forgetfulness of the implanted root which also nourishes every kind of impurity. It spreads like a mist and causes us to defer our yearning for better things or devours it and, casting
(86,8)

a shadow over the need to act for the best, it reduces our memory from being a spiritual faculty to becoming an earth-bound way of thinking, thus revealing man as full of every impurity. Indeed the words of the prophet are meant for those who have suffered this, "Remember, you who are far from the Lord, and let Jerusalem ascend into your heart" (Jer. 28,50). As water must surely be poured on a fire, so the memory of blessings was needed to counter the curse of forgetfulness and make grief disappear by means suitable to oppose it. As long as our mind is obscured by the curse of forgetfulness and the ability to give birth to the finest qualities is clouded by the ignorance arising from it and has no source of power to excel in goodness, in God's sight are we not then accounted a foul abomination and whatever such curse we deserve? If we shake off our forgetfulness of better things and prune the mistakes that it causes like unwanted shoots, we shall keep our mind manly and fertile, free from all meanness and stripped of the evils that result from wickedness. Thus we shall then banish the ancient state of sin from our soul, being changed into infants born of innocence, offering ourselves boldly to God; not that we shall present ourselves entirely to God any more than a new-born child offers itself to God. Christ who has begotten us again by faith will present us, offering Himself to the Father as a sacrifice on our behalf and He will bring us on the eighth day, that is after the Sabbath rest prescribed by the Law. For this is the time of our Saviour's appearing, since Christ is also the end of the Law and prophets. For this reason, I think, and to put it more clearly, the eighth day has been called the Lord's Day among us, since it finally closes the time of the Law and introduces to us the beginning of the Lord's era in which all things have become new. As Paul also says, "Therefore if any man is in Christ there is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold it has become new" (2 Cor. 5,17). We must consider that physical circumcision is a figurative way of regarding belief, with its performance on the eighth day, as I said, and its bringing infants before the eyes of God. Let the all-wise Paul add his witness to my words, let the steward of the Saviour's mysteries enter with the cry, "For not the man who is openly so is a Jew, nor is that performed openly in the flesh circumcision; but he who is so secretly is a Jew and the circumcision of the heart by the Spirit, not by the letter, is genuine. His praise comes not from men but from God" (Rom. 2,28-29). This is how he writes to others on the same theme, (87,16)

"Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil-doers, beware of the mutilation. For we are the circumcision who serve God in the Spirit and do not trust in the flesh." (Phil. 3,2-3). For pride in physical circumcision, if the practice were considered on its own and without the beauty it has from our contemplating its meaning, would never be valued by men of good sense, I think. When it is understood as a figure of circumcision in the Spirit and clearly means purity in the heart, then one will perhaps praise it as supremely typifying the purity which resides in spiritual contemplation and obviously avoid the pain by practising purity in the heart. The prophet's word urged the Jews to do this with haste, in these words, "Thus says the Lord: Plough your fallow fields and do not sow on thorns. Circumcise yourselves to God and circumcise the hardness of your hearts, men of Judah, who inhabit Jerusalem" (Jer. 4,4). Therefore if anyone should be circumcised in the flesh, he will not do this entirely for God, but the man who receives circumcision in the Spirit through the proclamation of the gospel is clearly circumcised for the Master of all men and not for the letter of the Law which is wont to form the truth in shadows, as it were. For the power of true circumcision does not achieve its purpose by physical pain but in wanting to do what God commands. Hear Paul's very plain words, "Circumcision is nothing; uncircumcision is nothing" (1 Cor. 7,19). To avoid appearing to be offering us frivolous arguments by saying that what is honoured in the Law is nothing, he explains more clearly in the words, "Circumcision is an advantage, if you keep the Law, but if you transgress it, your circumcision has become uncircumcision. Therefore if an uncircumcised man keeps the ordinances of the Law, will his uncircumcision not be counted as circumcision? The man who is uncircumcised in his natural state but keeps the Law will judge you who transgress it, despite your literal adherence to circumcision" (Rom. 2,25-27). Then when he says that circumcision is meaningless for those who suffer the pain of it if the reputation of their deeds is of no benefit to them, but that those who preserve their natural uncircumcision are found to be better guardians of the Law than the circumcised, what will be left as the cause of pride in being circumcised? That is what I would gladly ask the foolish Jews! If there is need to add to what I have said, Paul asserts that circumcision has been given as a sign of something else. That is, it is a sign of the faith which Abraham the forefather of the race had when he was still uncircumcised so that he might be the father (88,22)

of many nations, not only of those who were circumcised, and so he says "but also of those who walk in the footsteps of the faith shown by our father Abraham before he was circumcised" (Rom. 4,12). For he trusted God and was justified although he had not yet been circumcised. After he trusted and was justified thereby, circumcision became a sign for him of what had happened .

Take up then, Jew, the sword of the Spirit, put off your hard-heartedness and, as it is written, "be circumcised for God" (Jer. 4,4). Learn to celebrate the Sabbath, not as you think is right, but as the desire of the Lawgiver orders. For it is worth seeing what the Lawgiver says about this also. He orders abstention from work and rest from bodily toil on the Sabbath. He wants no-one to leave Jerusalem or go on long trips : indeed only food already prepared must be eaten, not that made on the day. He completely forbids the carrying of burdens or being weighed down by a heavy load, saying very clearly in the words of Jeremiah, "And you shall not go out of the gate of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day; you shall not carry burdens out of your houses" (cf. Jer. 17,21-22). In these words the Law defines for you the honour due to the Sabbath. But let there come into our midst again the man who is practised in obedience to the literal meaning only; let someone from the Jewish community tell us whether there is a wise reason attached to God's commands or the power of God's mysteries relies on our grasp of mere words and plain, literal sense. If he acts sensibly and agrees that the insensibility of literal understanding masks the underlying principles like a veil, let him seek the hidden meaning and, by not lingering over the outward sense of the words, punish himself in the finest way. But if he should be zealous and eager to go on *teaching* others that one must attend to the literal meaning alone and consider nothing beyond it, he will hear the Saviour's words, "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, play-actors, because you have removed the key of knowledge. You do not enter yourselves nor do you allow those who are going in to enter" (cf. Matt. 23,13: Luke 11,52). Well then, let us examine also how the matter stands in our thinking about the Sabbath and, by testing the force of the argument with some subtlety, see if the mind of the Jews is not full of foolishness and held prisoner in this way too.

Tell me, what persuaded the Maker of all things to give the law
(89,29)

about repose on the Sabbath on top of everything else he held to be right, although all the rest of creation is active in continuing its natural processes without hindrance on the Sabbath nor does each part of nature stop doing what it has been made to do because of the Sabbath? For the sun rises and does not stop following its accustomed course; the earth with its array of varied trees and beautiful display of multi-formed plants does not become barren because of the Sabbath, nor has it failed to provide its nourishing power for what it produces. Similarly, springs, the mother-source of cold water, have not sometimes cut off the supply from their breasts and ceased giving their usual abundance. But will you now say this, Jew, although we believe that laws have been laid down for each created thing by the Creator, by which they move and have their being, continuing to live and be preserved? But if, as you understand it, the Sabbath is honoured by inactivity in His name, although we receive no other benefit through such an edict, why did he not lay down the same law for everything? Tell me, what is the harm in cooking some of the food that we usually eat on the Sabbath or grinding barley-meal? Or what is to stop the preparation of other foods for the body? But now the Law, introduced as something important and worthy of attention, forbids all work. It does not allow the carrying of burdens from the house; nor does it allow people to cross the threshold and journey far from the gate of Jerusalem, indeed it orders them to go to meals content with food not provided that day but prepared with forethought, and considers the transgressor worthy of death. And yet none of the things mentioned, if done at another time, will bring an accusation of sin against the man who has performed them. I do not think that any-one would say - certainly not if he were sensible - that these things are counted as faults in the Law, as are other actions which it *clearly* states we must avoid completely. *Such are the commandments,* "You shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness" (Ex. 20,13-16), and all the ones added to these which relate to the same single pattern are not to be guarded against on the Sabbath only but must be avoided at all times by a man who dislikes being punished. Indeed from this I assume quite openly that it will be plain to my hearers that the acts banned on the Sabbath are not sins, but rather produce for us a most beautiful image of reality which I will not shrink from explaining for your benefit as well as I can. My argument concerning the cessation

(91,7)

of work will come first and introduce the two ways of looking at the question.

When the Israelites had left their native land and settled in Egypt, they stayed there a long time and no longer, as often happens, preserved in their memories the fact that they were Hebrews by race and born from Abraham's stock. They forgot their traditional customs, rejected their ancestral religion and turned to the false worship of the native Egyptians. As if they assumed they were seriously wronging those who had welcomed them into their own land as immigrants, unless they shared the same errors as their hosts, they thought that it was right to worship the sun, and believed it their duty to bestow the glory owed to God on heaven and earth, moon and stars - on which of the elements did they not bestow it? Deep was the darkness of their ignorance and, as Paul says, "they worshipped the creation instead of the Creator" (Rom. 1,25). Since the Lawgiver was eager to release them from that bitter slavery under the cruel Egyptians and was also calling them into the Promised Land, he ordered them to cast off the false Egyptian ways without any delay in the words, "See that you do not look up to heaven, and, in seeing the sun, the moon, the stars and all the array of heaven, you are deceived and worship them. The Lord your God, the Lord is one" (Deut. 4,19:6,4). When it was necessary to compel them openly in some way, as if they were unwilling to confess that the heavens, the moon, the stars and the earth and the rest of creation were fashioned and created by the skill of the Creator, He ordered them to become like their Creator and wanted them to know the reason for the celebration by resting on the Sabbath. "For", it says, "God rested from all His works on the seventh day" (cf. Gen. 2,2). Would not those who are eager to rest with the Creator as He rests agree quite openly that everything has been made by Him and that there is one Originator and Craftsman for all things? Then it happened that, through the cessation of work on the Sabbath, the Israelites have an understanding of the divine reality and acknowledge the nature which fashioned and created everything. They also were aware of mankind's slavery to the visible elements. This is one reason for the cessation of work on the Sabbath.

There is also a second, very solemn reason, one most suitable for those who are more mature; for one must not put the more solid food of instruction before those who are still infants, but before those

(92,13)

whose perceptions have been trained by practice (cf. Hebr. 5,12-14), as Paul says. Then the rest on the Sabbath and the setting aside of work signify the rest which will come for the saints at the end, when, free from toil and with sweat of the contests washed off, they run up to the city above, the heavenly Jerusalem, to spend all their time in rest and enjoyment. They will no longer be engaged in work and toil; they will have the achievements of their past life as food on the journey to salvation and nourish their souls for eternal life. This, I think, is the clear meaning of the need to prepare food for the Sabbath beforehand. The prohibition of loading themselves with weighty burdens or leaving on the Sabbath seems to mean this, as I think; after the resurrection from the dead at the Sabbath rest in the city above, the burden of sin will no longer be upon us, nor will the evil one oppress us with his enticement to wrongdoing. He will endure the eternal punishment of fire in Hades and the sin now at work in us will have been utterly destroyed. As for staying inside the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath, this seems to point to the same meaning. Those who have once been invited to the choirs of the saints and entered the Church of the first-born will never leave the sure refuge of delights or lose the gift granted to them, but will abide there for ever with their minds fortified by the grace of the Spirit. For thus it is written, "Everlasting joy will be upon their head. Praise and rejoicing will be upon their head; pain, sorrow and groaning have fled" (Is. 35,10). They will forget their former tribulation and it will not enter their heart. Let Paul come as witness to us that again the Sabbath means the rest there will be for the saints at the end of the ages; let him say to the Hebrews as he writes about the things of old, "Let us never fear lest, as the promise of entering His rest remains, anyone of you should seem to have failed; for we were given the good news, as they were" (Heb. 4,1-2). Since it may seem to those who do not know how to understand this that he means by 'rest' here the entry into the Promised Land completed under the leadership of Joshua (Jesus) (I am speaking of Joshua called Nave), he explains more clearly. He goes on to say that there is not merely one way of understanding it; he looks to that rest that is expected to come and shows that the aim of his thinking is directed at it, as he says again in words that follow, "For if Joshua had given them rest, God would not be speaking of another day after that. Therefore a Sabbath rest still awaits the people of (93,20)

God" (Heb. 4,8-9), meaning quite clearly here by 'Sabbath rest' the repose of the saints at the end. He then gives a clear sign of his meaning as he adds, "For anyone who enters God's rest, rests from his own work as God did from His. Let us then be eager to enter that rest, so that no-one may fall by copying the same pattern of unbelief" (Heb. 4,10-11). Notice clearly and learn, Jew, from what he who was trained at the feet of Gamaliel (cf. Acts 22,3) says here, a man with complete knowledge of the Law, "a Hebrew of the Hebrews, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Pharisee with respect to the Law" (Phil. 3,5). In speaking of the rest from work on the Sabbath, he asserts that this rest introduced by the letter of the Law is of no worth at all, but reflects the image of the hoped-for blessings and the repose to be given to the saints at that time, when the Saviour of all will come from heaven "in the glory of His Father" (Mark 8,38), as it is written, and bestows rewards on the saints. But I think that sufficient examination has been made of this point, and we must now proceed to matters that are familiar and more appropriate.

Since then the pagans were wrong, worshipping "the creation rather than the Creator" (Rom. 1,27), utterly abandoned to the false belief in many gods and leaping into the broad gate to death, the Jews also were sinning so much against their own souls that they took no account of the Law and considered their guides to the finest things a burden, thinking that they were talking nonsense. They openly shouted at those who had been chosen by the grace from on high, "Tell us other things and proclaim another false way to us: remove this path from us and take away the oracle of Israel from us". (Is. 30,10-11). The Master of all men was forced to use servants and attendants no longer in securing our salvation, but put Himself to oppose the tyranny of the devil on our behalf, became man and was born of the holy Virgin. He provided many signs and wonders along with His words of teaching and changed everything for the better, transforming the corrupted nature of man into newness of life, as if it had been freed from prison, and offering it in freedom to the Father. Those crushed by sin He called to Himself with most mild instruction, saying "Come to me, all who are weary and heavy-laden and I will give you rest" (Matt. 11,28). This was how things stood with us. The tyrant was again grinding his teeth at our Saviour's triumphs and made our salvation an excuse for lamentation. Thrust aside as he was from the power gained by his greed, he was sunk in the (94,29)

depth of grief. As he saw the divine message shining like the sun and the mist of ancient godlessness already dispersed, he felt bitter pain. Seething with fury and wilting in the extreme heat of jealousy he wanted to encompass the Saviour's life with death. The fool imagined that he could subject the Lord who came to save all men to the bonds of corruption and persuaded some of the Jews who thought the same to be his servants in the deed and champions of his impious, daring act. They handed over the Lord of all to the cross and, so great was their daring, already seemed more powerful than the devil had planned, surpassing even his boldness and revealing their leader as one of small importance in this matter. And so the Saviour of us all in arranging with consummate skill the salvation of our race, laid down His life for us, as it is said (John 10,21), being the good shepherd and not refusing to take risks for His flock of sheep. He who inspired the Jewish acts of insolence prepared a trap for himself. He learnt the hard way through experience that he was being despoiled of his hope when events moved the opposite way. Like a sailor on a voyage when a favourable wind from astern changes and his ship is in mid-ocean, he mourned to see his expectations reversed. For when he imagined he would conquer and set up a harsher tyranny over us, the wretch was deprived of any power at all. Bound with unbreakable chains, like some wild animal, and stripped of the strength he had, he made the innermost corner of death his own land and city. He had been deceived by his vain hopes. He had expected to be like the Most High and once plotted to set his own throne above heaven, but in the end could tell of no-one more wretched in Hades than himself. The souls of men, ensnared for destruction by his evil-doing, were outside the gates of the Underworld, and, rising from the depths of the abyss, were escaping from the dark courts of death. They were crossing that deep darkness and walking towards the Saviour's light, for he stood ready saying "to those in prison, 'Come out', and to those in darkness, 'Be revealed'" (Is. 49,9). When Hades had been despoiled of their spirits and the power of death (cf. Heb. 2,6) had been destroyed, the Saviour rose victorious. Raising His own temple on the third day (cf. John 2,19-22), He gave us a most compelling pattern for the resurrection of our bodies and planted firm roots for all our hopes of receiving blessings. He gave instruction to His disciples, ordering them "to baptize all nations into the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28,19). He ascended to heaven itself to present human nature to the Father, a

(96,10)

nature crushed by sin but beginning to flourish and become incorruptible by His grace. Himself He offered as a sort of first fruits of the harvest to His Father. Therefore, beloved, let us make some small return to the Saviour and give joy to our Benefactor with such thanksgiving as we can make, confessing our poverty in the words, "What shall I give back to the Lord for everything He has given me? I shall take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord" (Ps. 116,12-13). The offering of thanks to God is, in fact, "the cup of salvation", but as much as we are grateful in words and phrases let us bring to Him also the offering of good deeds. We should keep our bodies away from all harmful pleasure and purify our spirits, eager to free them from all wickedness. Our duty is to watch over those who have suffered loss, to comfort those who are poor, to lighten the burden of bereavement for widows and orphans. We are imprisoned with the prisoners by suffering with them and come to the help of the ill-treated "as being ourselves also in the body" (Heb. 13,3). If we hold fast to such a solemn way of life and do everything according to God's Law, we shall be pleasing in the sight of Christ, the Saviour of us all, as we start the holy forty days from the new moon of the month Phamenoth and the week of the Passover of salvation from the sixth day of the month Pharmouthi. We shall cease fasting on the eleventh day of the same month Pharmouthi, on the eve of the Sabbath, according to the tradition in the gospels. We celebrate the festival at dawn on the next day, the Lord's day, the twelfth of the same month Pharmouthi, adding then the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost, so that we may be thought worthy of the fellowship of the saints in Christ Jesus, our Lord, through whom and with whom be glory and power to the Father with the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever. Amen.

PART TWO.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION.

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At the bottom of a page of readings cited as evidence from a manuscript the numbers in the above list referring to those readings are given. In the case of 'N', which contains only the first homily, three readings not appearing in the list on this page are referred to with an indication of their place in the text.

OTTOBONIANUS 448 : parchment ; 257 by 183 mm. ; 145 folios ; 40 lines per page ; undated ; unsigned. (A)

In the catalogue (1) this manuscript is assigned to the 11/12th centuries. Monsignor Paul Canart, 'scriptor' of the Vatican Library, who has examined the text closely, thinks that it comes from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th centuries (2). The repertoria contain many examples of similar hands and the difficulty of dating this one is apparent from the variation in opinion as to their period and provenance. A close parallel is found in the Bodleian Library's 'Auct.T.infra 1.10' (3), which shares these features with Ott.448 :

- 1) The ligature of $\epsilon\rho$ (\wp).
- 2) The use of uncial Delta and Gamma, the latter being less frequent in the Bodleian codex.
- 3) The ligature of $\delta\iota$ ($\delta\iota$).
- 4) A distinctive Alpha at the beginning of words (Δ).
- 5) A small Theta (θ).
- 6) An enlarged Kappa (κ).

Dr. Irmgard Hutter assigns the Bodleian codex to the beginning of the 12th century with Constantinople as its place of origin (4). Others which exhibit features found in Ottobonianus 448 are (5) :

- a) Lambeth Palace Library, Ms.528 (A.D.1160).
(Large Kappa ; Lambda reaching below the line, a feature not obvious in the Bodleian codex).
- b) British Museum, Add. Mss. 36753 (A.D.1198) ; this codex has a general similarity to Ottobonianus 448.

On folio 1 the upper margin contains the inscription 'D.Cyr-illii Alexandrini homiliae XXX die epiphania'. John Cassian (360 to 435 A.D.) described what he believed was the custom in Egypt in the early fifth century : 'that (ut) at the end of Epiphany letters from

(1) Feron and Battaglini, p.250 (2) See his letter at the end of this description. (3) MGB, Plate 45 : Text p.24-5. (4) Hutter ad loc. (5) Thompson, Fac., Plates 4 & 205 ; also Wittek, Plates 21-23 ; also Barbour, No.34 and the Bodleian repertoria.

the Archbishop (pontificis) of Alexandria be sent throughout all the churches of Egypt, in which the beginning of Lent and the date of Easter (dies Paschae) may be set not only for all the cities but for all the monasteries also" (1).

The Greek title on folio 1R reads "Festal (letters) of our father among the saints, Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria :(the)first". The other letters are numbered as "Festal (letter) second, fourth, fifth" etc., but there is no lacuna after the second one as is seen in the other codices. The simplest hypothesis is that the scribe was copying the numbering already incorrectly transmitted by his model. However, it is possible that he is himself responsible for the error which has been handed on by the other copyists. If this is so, this codex was copied from one which contained no numbering, otherwise the mistake would have been rectified in subsequent headings.

On the last folio a later hand (2) has written the note ; κυριε βοηθη τον δουλον σου Λεοντ...τον γραφ...και εις τ...ψυθαρι και εις την + κυριε βοηθη...τον δουλον σου βασιλιον ο εις τ...γραφ...και εις τ...ψυθαρι. It is not clear whether this is an attempt to identify the scribe and his assistant or the sort of note found in a number of other manuscript margins containing information of no particular value (3). A note similar to this one, but more specific, is found in the British Museum's codex, Harley Ms. 5537 (A.D.1087), where the monk, John, prays for help and gives his completion date (May 1087) (4).

Also on the last folio are the words "d. marcij antonij Cornario". The Cornar family of Venice owned a famous library which was not catalogued while it was still intact (5). If Ottobonianus 448 was at one time held by the family there is no external evidence to support such ownership. Its possession by the Ottoboni family was probably recorded by Ruggerius in the list he made when he was the family's librarian (see on Ottobonianus 215).

(1) Second Conference with Abbot Isaac, No.X, ch.2 (see appended note).

(2) Feron and Battaglini, p.250.

(3) Metzger gives examples on pp. 19 to 21 (with notes).

(4) Thompson, Fac. ; Plate 179 (b).

(5) Famiglie Celebre Italiane, Vol. 2, Table 4. ; Frati, p.180.



Vatican, le 9 septembre 1983.

Monsieur,

De retour de vacances, j'ai trouvé votre lettre, qui m'a fort intéressé. J'ai aussitôt repris l'Ottob. gr. 448, que j'avais examiné récemment pour un travail sur les écritures des XIe et XIIe siècles. A mon avis, il n'y a pas de doute que l'écriture se rattache à un nouveau courant stylistique, en partie inspiré de la cursive, qui naît dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle, se développe pleinement durant la seconde moitié et se prolonge durant les premières décennies du XIIIe; toujours selon moi, le manuscrit est à dater de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle, sans qu'on puisse exclure la fin XIIe - début XIIIe. Il me semble que l'aspect du parchemin, de l'encre, des titres et des initiales cadre bien avec cette datation.

Le problème que vous posez à propos du modèle du Paris. suppl. gr. 217 est fort intéressant. Malheureusement, je n'ai pas de piste à vous indiquer pour le moment; il se pourrait que le modèle de Jean de Sainte-Maure (peut-être un manuscrit qu'il aurait rapporté d'Italie méridionale ?) ait disparu. Puis-je vous demander comment vous avez dressé votre liste des manuscrits des homélies pascales de Cyrille pour la partie non cataloguée des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Vaticane ? Je ne voudrais pas qu'un témoin vous ait échappé, qui serait précisément le modèle recherché...

Je reste à votre disposition et vous prie de croire, Monsieur, à mon sincère dévouement,

Paul Canart

VATICANUS Gr.600 : paper ; 330 by 227 mm. ; 250 folios ; 29 lines per page ; undated ; unsigned. (B)

This clearly written manuscript was transcribed by Emmanuel Provataris, one of the most active of the scribes employed by the Vatican Library in the 16th century (1). It cannot be dated with precision from the watermarks described by Devreese and Canart.

These marks are as follows :

- a) A lily enclosed in a circle ; fairly close to Briquet No.7107 (Ferrara : 1586.)
- b) A shield on which there is a trimontium surmounted by a tree ; Briquet No.969 (Lucca : 1573-82), Lichacev No.3636 (manuscript of 1570), cf. Zonghi Nos.1735-36 (1569-70.)
- c) A horse drawn in a circle with a six-pointed star above ; cf. Briquet No.3574, but no star ; a variation with a star above from Ascoli (1536).
- d) A deer on a shield with a cross ; very close to Briquet No.3338 = Lichacev No.4226 (manuscript of 1567), identical to Zonghi No.903 (manuscript of 1568).
- e) A flower enclosed in a circle with a star above ; cf. the one in Briquet No.6684 (Rome : 1555-66).



Monsignor Canart has traced the development of Provataris' style and places the manuscript in the third period during which detectable changes can be seen, i.e. from 1556 onwards, when he was working in the Vatican Library as a 'scriptor graecus'. Provataris probably died near the end of 1571, but, as no dated manuscript is known to have been copied by him after 1566, his career as a copyist may have ended in that year. This evidence suggests that the decade following 1556 is the most likely period for the transcription of Vaticanus Gr.600.

In his essay on the manuscripts copied by Provataris Monsignor Canart is of the opinion that he used Ottobonianus 448 as his model. The internal evidence presented at the end of this description supports this belief.





(1) See Devreese ; ad loc. : Canart ; Kretika Chronika, Vol.15-16, pp.87-96 and S & T, Vol.236, pp.173-233 for the information given here: also the details in V-G ; Patrinelis ; G-H sub nomine.

Manuscripts 'A' and 'B'.

In this and subsequent assessments of the evidence for the direct dependence of a manuscript upon 'A' the same three readings and variants form the basis of the argument. The reading accepted in this revision is given in square brackets after each note. The references to the folios in 'A' are not repeated with the evidence from other codices.

(a) 'A'(f.3V,1.17) τῆς γῆς : 'B'(f.5V,1.17)τῆς οὐ ,mg. ἴσως γῆς. The reading of 'B' text is due to the way in which γῆς has been written in 'A' : thus . Provataris wrote it as οὐ and ignored the accent, interpreting the small Sigma (contraction for ης) as the breathing and placing it over the Omicron.ου as part of τοῦ has been written  on f.15V,1.17 of 'A'. [τῆς γῆς]

(b) 'A'(f.4R,1.26) ζημίαις συμβήσεσθαι : 'B'(f.6V,1.20-21) has the same reading. The margin of 'A' has ζημιωθησόμεθα written by a later hand and Provataris has added it in his margin. From the fact that only 'B' and its apographs have this variant in their margins it is probable that it was added to 'A' after C D E F and G were copied. Provataris may have made the conjecture in 'B' margin, whence it was transferred to 'A' margin. If so, Sirmond (see on 'G') used 'B' as the source of this conjecture. [ζημιωθησόμεθα]

(c) 'A'(f.26V,1.31) δούς σοι : 'B'(f.44R,1.5) δῆ σοι. 'A' has the two words thus : . The uncial Delta is followed by what most scribes interpret as the contraction for ους ,but Provataris has taken to be an Eta. On folio 15R.1.15 of 'A' there is the form  , where the reading is ἐν (see Thompson, p.93). The first part of this appears to be a form of Epsilon the scribe used in common ligatures such as ερ and εν( f.15R,1.21 in δεύτερον ;  f.15R,1.32 in οὐδέν). If this is so, the reading δεῖσει adopted in the text has support in 'A', since σοι can be understood as a homophone with σει. [δεῖσει]

(d) 'A'(f.3V,1.31) has παραθέσει with ἀντι added by the same hand above the line. 'B'(f.6R,1.6) writes παραθέσει in his text with the correction to ἀντιπαραθέσει in the margin. [ἀντιπαραθέσει]

(e) 'A'(f.26R,1.14) writes ὀρμαῖς clearly, but 'B' has copied it as ὀργαῖς(sic). Both 'H' and 'I' copy the reading of 'B', but correct the breathing. [ὀρμαῖς]

(f) 'A'(f.30V, bottom line to 31R, top line) has καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι with πνεύματι in the abbreviated form πνῖ. 'B'(f.50V,1.24) writes καρδίας ἐν γράμματι, followed by 'H'(f.29V,1.13) and 'I'(f.50V,1.22). [καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι]

(g) 'A'(f.31R,1.13) writes κ̃σ̃ κ̃σ̃(sic). This is repeated in 'B'(f.51R,1.10), 'H'(f.50V,1.26) and 'I'(f.51R,1.8-9). 'I' has crossed out the first κύριος from his text at the end of line 8. [κύριος]

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,4,5,6,7.

Notes 'd' to 'g' in this and the following lists of evidence from the apographs of 'A' are based on readings peculiar to the one being examined. The same method is applied with the apographs of 'B' and 'C'.

BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE, BRUSSELS 8301 (1182 in the catalogue).: paper ; 280 by 195 mm. ; 280 folios ; undated ; unsigned ; 29 lines per page.
(C)

This manuscript is assigned to the 16th century by the author of the catalogue (1). From a comparison of the writing with that of Ottobonianus Gr.215 it seems that the scribe was Johannes Mauromata. Dr. Martin Wittek has examined the manuscript itself and accepts this identification, estimating the probable date of its execution as the year 1567 - 68 (2).

The earliest history of the codex is not documented, but Mauro-mata is known to have worked in Rome and Venice, often in collaboration with Emmanuel Provataris. He may have copied this and other works for Mendoza (3).

By 1576, at the latest, (4) the manuscript was in Toledo and owned by Alvarez Gomez, the Professor of Greek at the College. When Gomez died in November 1580 he was succeeded by Andreas Schottus who bought the manuscript from the library of Gomez in 1582 (5). After joining the Society of Jesus in 1586 and teaching in Rome Schottus returned to Antwerp in 1597 and lectured at the Jesuit College until his death in 1629 (6).

On folio 1 there are notes giving the beginning of a summary of the subjects treated in each letter and a list of abbreviations commonly found in manuscripts. Folio 2r. has in its upper margin the words 'Soc(ieta)tis Jesu Antwerpiae D.P.', written in the same hand as that seen in the same words on the first folio of Paris Supp Gr.217 (q.v.). The catalogue states that the manuscript had come to the Bibliotheque Royale from the library of the Bollandists in Antwerp.

(1) Van den Gheyn : Vol.2 ad loc. (cf. Omont : Bib.Roy., p.14.)

(2) See his letter and the comments of Dr Kresten appended hereto.

(3) See V-G, p.177-8 ; Patrinelis, p.97 ; G-H, p.98-9 (No.171) ;
Blume : Iter Italicum, II.241.

(4) See on y-111-11 and Salamantensis 2754.

(5) Scottus' note on folio 1v. : In the will left by Gomez he refers to 'a book of Cyril in which are thirty homilies or more on chief festivals, written by hand in Greek'. (Edited by San Roman, 1928.)

(6) Eckstein ; sub nom.

The text shows every sign of having been copied from the oldest surviving manuscript, Ottobonianus 448. Mauromata makes one or two additions and alterations to his model e.g. καὶ is restored to the quotation of Isaiah 1.16 in the first letter (folio 2v., line 9 of 'A' and folio 4r., line 1 of 'C'). In at least one place he makes a grammatical correction where his model has τοῖς but τῇς is required by the sense (folio 1v., line 17 of 'A' and folio 2r., line 20 of 'C').

In the margins throughout the manuscript there are words written by the copyist and other hands. Several phrases omitted by the copyist have been added by a corrector. Folio 50v. contains a clear example of a whole line missed by the scribe but added by his fellow scribe, Emmanuel Provataris, who appears to have moderated his work (1).

Before its purchase by Schottus this manuscript was used by Darmarios to make three further copies (2).

(1) See the relevant portion appended and compared with the hand of Provataris in the same passage of Vaticanus Gr. 600.

(2) See on Salamantensis 2754, Esc.y-111-11 and Augs.2^O 239 a-c.

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*Le Conservateur en chef**De Hoofdconservator*Monsieur William H. Burns
19, Gauvain Close
Alton
Hampshire
GU 34 2 SB
Grande-Bretagne

Bruxelles, le 24 novembre 1983.

Monsieur,

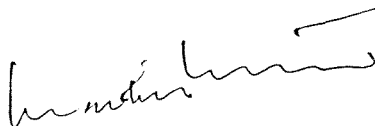
J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 17 novembre 1983 et je vous en remercie. La cote exacte du manuscrit des homélies de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie est 8301. Le n° 1182 est le numéro d'ordre de la notice qui lui est consacrée dans le catalogue de Van den Gheyn. Ce manuscrit doit toujours être cité comme étant le 8301; il est loisible d'ajouter entre parenthèses l'indication du numéro de catalogue, mais celle-ci reste subsidiaire. J'ai examiné directement le manuscrit qui vous intéresse et suis en mesure de vous apporter les précisions suivantes :

1. Votre identification de la main du copiste du manuscrit 8301 avec celle de Jean Mauromatès me paraît exacte. J'ai comparé le manuscrit avec la pl. 14 de P. Canart, Provataris et avec la pl. 171 de H. Hunger, Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten.
2. Je reconnais la main d'André Schott dans les notes inscrites dans la moitié supérieure du f. lv du manuscrit 8301; par contre, les compendia notés dans la moitié inférieure du f. lv me paraissent émaner d'une autre main; de même, je ne puis attribuer à A. Schott les notes que vous citez et qui sont accompagnées d'un f. ou forte.
3. L'attribution de certaines additions à Emmanuel Provataris paraît plausible.

./...

4. Un examen rapide et incomplet du manuscrit 8301 m'a amené à y relever les filigranes suivants :
 - a. Ancre inscrite dans un cercle sommé d'une étoile, plus grande que Canart, Provataris p. 274, n° 5 à 5c;
= NÖSIN, Anchor, n° 820, attesté en 1568.
 - b. Cerf = BRIQUET 3338 att. 1567;
ZONGHI 903, att. 1568; CANART, Provataris, 14, attesté notamment dans le Vat. gr. 602, daté de 1567.
 - c. Couronne sommée d'une étoile, proche de BRIQUET 4835, att. 1561-1577; proche de PICCARD, Kronen, II. 106, att. 1566-1568; proche de HARLFINGER, t. 2, Couronne 25-26, att. 1561-1562 et 1575.
5. Il en résulte que l'exécution du manuscrit 8301 se situe vraisemblablement vers 1567-1568, soit vers la fin de la carrière tant de Provataris que de Mavromatis et peu de temps après la transcription de l'Ottob. gr. 215 par Mavromatis en 1565.
6. Je note avec intérêt que le modèle direct du manuscrit 8301 est le manuscrit Ottob. gr. 448.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.



Martin Wittek

3. Bruxell. 1182: Ihr Eindruck und Ihr Vergleich mit dem Ottob. 215 haben Sie nicht in die Irre geführt: Die Brüsseler Handschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel der Hand des Ioannes Mauromates zuzuweisen.
4. Barb. 572: Wie Sie auf Grund eines Vergleiches mit dem subskribierten Par. Suppl. gr. 217 aus dem Jahre 1610 richtig vermuten, stammt auch der Barb. 572 von der Hand des Ioannes Sanktamauras. Allerdings würde ich den Barberinianus dem "Jugendstil" des Sanktamauras zuweisen, d.h. den frühesten Jahren des Sanktamauras als Kopist.

Manuscripts 'A' and 'C'.

(a) 'A' - τῆς γῆς : 'C'(f.6R,line 9) has τῆς οὐ(sic) with γῆς written in the margin by another hand (Schott ?). This is another attempt by a scribe to interpret γῆς in 'A' and, although he has been no more successful than Provataris, he did faithfully copy the accent : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'A' - ζημίας συμβήσεται : 'C'(f.7R,line 16) copied this and placed an asterisk at the end of the line next to the words but gave no variant reading : [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) 'A' - δούσ σοι : 'C'(f.48R,line 23) has the same two words without marginal note of any kind : [δεήσει].

(d) 'A'(f.1V,line 8) has κεχερσωμένην with the first syllable slightly separated. 'C'(f.2R,line 8) omits this syllable. It has been added, possibly by Provataris, whose left-sloping Epsilon is clearly seen (see Canart ; MCP, p.179,2) : [κεχερσωμένην].


(e) 'A'(f.2R,line 20) writes εὐκαίρως, but, as is often seen in this hand, the ligature of εὐ is in the form ε which is easily confused with an Alpha. 'C'(f.3R,line 22) copies this shape here and two lines below in εὐκαιρίας. εὐ(α)και is underlined and εὐκαι put in the margin, possibly by Provataris : [εὐκαίρως].

(f) 'A'(f.3R,line 20) has ἀποβολαῖς with the termination given in the form σς̃. 'C'(f.5R,line 17) writes ἀποβολεῖν, confusing the sign for the termination with that for the infinitive ειν: i.e. " . [ἀποβολαῖς]

(g) 'A'(f.30R,lines 36-37) has ἀπάσης split between two lines α/πάσης with the Pi written in such a way that it could be mistaken for Pi/Omicron. 'C'(f.54V,line 23) has written ἀπούσης(breathing thus). [ἀπάσης]

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,8,9,10,11.

VATICANUS Gr.601 : paper ; 320 by 223 mm. ; 234 folios ; 29 lines per page ; undated ; unsigned. (D)

The close similarity of the script in this codex with that of Provataris led R.Devreese to attribute it to him (1). Since the careful examination of Provataris' work and that of his associates by Monsignor Canart this opinion can no longer be held. Vaticanus 601 was copied by another scribe working in the Vatican Library known only as 'Epi' from the distinctive way in which he wrote the Greek preposition, i.e.  (2).

The watermarks detected are as follows :

- a) An anvil with hammer enclosed in a circle ; similar to Briquet 5965 (Rome ; 1578 - 80).
- b) A star enclosed in an arched rhombus and a circle ;
Briquet 6097 (Lucca ; 1566 -7) : cf. Lichacev 4224 (Rome ; 1567) and 4232 (Rome ; 1571).

Monsignor Canart has proposed Ottobonianus 448 as the model for Vaticanus Gr.601 and the internal evidence for this is strong (3).

(1) Devreese ; Catalogue, ad loc.

(2) Canart ; S & T., Vol.236, pp.202-4 and 247.

(3) See the evidence given after this description.

Manuscripts 'A' and 'D'.

(a) 'A' - τῆς γῆς : 'D'(f.5R,line 21) has τῆς οὐ (sic). There is no marginal note or mark of any kind : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'A' - ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι : 'D'(f.6R,lines 18-19) has copied this without comment or variant reading : [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) 'A' - δούς σοι : 'D'(f.41R,line 28-29) has written δεήσοι. This is the only codex to contain this reading which demonstrates the possibility of detecting an Epsilon followed by an Eta in 'A'. The correction to δεήσει when he found δῆ σοι (see on Paris Supp. Gr. 217 below) in his copy would have been easier to make if Sal. had seen 'D' or found the reading δεήσοι in the margin of 'I', where many variants recorded in 'D' have been placed : [δεήσει].

(d) 'A'(f.26V,bottom line) has ἀρτιθαλῆ : 'D'(f.42R,line 2) wrote ἀντιθαλῆ with ἀνδρῶν ἀναδείκνυται above. The same reading is found in Family 'c' : [ἀρτιθαλῆ].

(e) 'A'(f.27R,line 25) has εἰ τὰ (sic), and 'D'(f.42V,line 3) copies as one word ; εἶτα : [εἰ τὰ].

(f) 'A'(f.27V,lines 3-4) reads γενειάδαν : 'D'(f.42V,line 24) copies this without correction : [γενειάδα].

(g) 'A'(f.27V,line 30) has ἥμέτω, with an uncial Eta, which 'D' has taken to be οἰκέτω (f.43R,line 26) : [ῥμέτω].

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,12,13,14,15.

VATICANUS Gr.1665 : paper ; 323 by 222 mm. ; 286 folios ; 29 lines per page ; folios 1 to 260 contain Cyril's letters ; undated, but from the middle of the 16th century ; unsigned (1). (E)

The copyist of this codex was Johannes Mauromata, a colleague of Provataris in the Vatican Library (1). Cardinal Mercati showed that the manuscript belonged to Francis Barbaro at the beginning of the 17th century and then, on his death in 1616 or a little later, was given to the Library. Vaticanus lat.7246, folio 119v., contains a list of the books owned by Barbaro and Volume 11 of the Library Archives records the acquisition of 'Cirilli (sic) Alexandrini in sacram scripturam sermones in uno vol. digesti cum Adriani expositione in sacram scripturam (2). The second work mentioned here is contained in the 26 folios at the end of Vat. Gr.1665.

The watermarks described in the catalogue are as follows :



- a) A deer in a shield, the top of which becomes a Greek cross : see Briquet 3338 (1567 - 68).
- b) A rhombus containing a six-pointed star enclosed in a circle : Lichacev 4224.
- c) A Greek cross decorated with five crescent moons enclosed in a circle with a lily at the top : Briquet 5380 (Lucca 1562 - 65 ; Rome 1563 - 65).
- d) Three flowers on the same stem surrounded by a circle and with a star above : Briquet 6683 (Rome 1545 - 50) but not identical.
- e) The same as 'd', but smaller and without the star.
- f) A bow-ballista in a circle : cf. Briquet 747, a much older mark (Italy 1501 - 63).
- g) An eagle enclosed in a circle over which hangs a crown : Briquet 207 (Rome 1573 - 76).
- h) A black-smith : almost the same as Briquet 7558 (Lucca 1564 ; Rome 1565 - 66).

(1) Gianelli ; Catalogue ad loc.

(2) Mercati ; Opp. Minori 111 in S & T. 78 ; see also S & T. 284 pp. 168 and 200.

Manuscripts 'A' and 'E'.

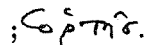
(a) 'A' - τῆς γῆς : 'E'(f.5V, line 14) has τῆς οὐ. Mauromata was the scribe and consistently writes the words this way in all of the three copies he made : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'A' - ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι : 'E'(f.6V, line 16) has written ζημίαν συμβήσεσθαι. The scribe of 'E' has read the tachygraphical sign  as if it were  (i.e. -αν for -ας) : [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) 'A' - δούς σοι : 'E'(f.47R, line 15) also has δούς σοι as in 'C' and 'F' : [δεήσει].

(d) 'A'(f.27V, lines 3-4) writes γενειάδαν which 'E'(f.48R, l.19) copies without correction : [γενειάδα].

(e) 'A'(f.1R, line 3) writes ὑπαντᾶν but the Alpha in the ending could be confused with an Omega, as 'E'(f.1R, line 4) has done : [ὑπ-αντᾶν].

(f) 'A'(f.1R, lines 21-22) gives ἔορτῆς, written thus ; . 'E'(f.1R, line 2) reads this as ὀργῆς (cf. ὀργῆς in 'F') : [ἔορτῆς].

(g) 'A'(f.2R, line 8) writes καρδίας in a quotation of James 4,8 but 'E' puts the accusative singular, καρδίαν : [καρδίας].

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,14,16,17,18.

OTTOBONIANUS 215 : paper ; 342 by 231 mm. ; 249 folios ; 29 lines per page ; completed November 22nd 1565 ; signed ; no watermarks are described (1). (F)

Folio 'a' of this codex contains the title 'D.Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini Orationes Heortasticae', and also the words 'ex Graeco manuscripto'. From the internal evidence the model was probably Ottobonianus 448, as Monsignor Canart has indicated in his study of Provataris (2). A further note states that this manuscript came 'ex codicibus Ducis Joannis Angeli ab Altaemps'.

The Altaempsian collection of manuscripts was acquired by the Ottoboni family in 1746. From 1740 Constantinus Ruggerius was in charge of their library and his friend, J.C.Amadutius, who recorded some details of his life, has stated that Ruggerius made a very accurate list of all the Greek manuscripts in their possession. This list, 'cuius exemplar apud ipsum (among his effects ?) repertum est', no longer exists (3).

There is no information about the history of the manuscript before its possession by Duke John, although it is possible that it was copied for Cardinal Sirleto who was the Vatican Librarian up to his death in 1565. On folio 249v there is a subscription written by the scribe, Johannes Mauromata of Corcyra, in which he gives the date of completion.

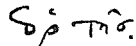
- (1) Feron and Battaglini, ad loc. ; see also V-G, G-H and Patrinelis for details of Mauromata's work.
- (2) See on Vaticanus Gr. 600, note 1 ; also the evidence appended.
- (3) Feron and Battaglini, on Ottobonianus 448 (quoting Amadutius ; 'Commentarius in vitam Constantini Ruggerii', p.59.)

Manuscripts 'A' and 'F'.

(a) 'A' - τῆς γῆς : 'F'(f. 5V, line 14) has τῆς οὐ, as in 'C' and 'E' : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'A' - ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι : 'F'(f.6V, line 17) has written ζημίαν συμβήσεσθαι as in 'E' : [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) 'A' - δούς σοι : 'F'(f.44V, line 11) has written δούς σοι as in 'C' and 'E', without comment : [δεήσει].

(d) 'A'(f.1R, line 21-22) has ἔορτῆς written thus ; . 'F' gives ὄργῆς (sic)(f.1V, line 5), cf. 'E' : [ἔορτῆς].

(e) 'A'(f.6R, lines 30-31) has the words ἐπληρώθησαν το πέρας ἡμῶν with the ἡμῶν of the previous phrase almost immediately above this second ἡμῶν. 'F' omits these words by homoeoteleuton.

(f) 'A'(f.25V, line 24) has, as one whole line, the words πληθύνει to δυνάμει. 'F'(f.41V, line 21) omits the words, passing from ἀγαθῶν to πρὸς.

(g) 'A'(f.27R, line 13) abbreviates ἀνθρώπῳ to ἀνῶ(sic) twice. 'F' copies exactly(f.44R, lines 1-2).

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,17,19,20,21.

PARIS, SUPPLEMENT GREC 591 : paper ; 137 by 97 mm. ; 194 folios ;
29/31 lines per page ; undated ; unsigned. (G)

This codex is assigned to the 17th century in the catalogue.(1)
There is no information on the watermarks to help with a closer dating, but the internal evidence shows that Ottobonianus 448 was probably the model. The copyist, Jacques Sirmond, was in Rome from 1590 to 1606, as the secretary to Aquaviva and could have made the copy during that time (2). It appears to be the most accurately executed transcription among the apographs of Ottobonianus 448.

(1) Omont : Supp. Grec ad loc.

(2) Chalmers A.(editor) : The General Biographical Dictionary,
Volume 28, p.30. ; The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church ;
the article on Sirmond.

Manuscripts 'A' and 'G'.

(a) 'A' - τῆς γῆς : 'G'(f.4V, line 17) also has τῆς γῆς. Sirmond was the only copyist to interpret the text of 'A' correctly. There is the possibility that he here copied from another manuscript which is no longer extant, but, as his readings are generally those of 'A', this seems unlikely : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'A' - ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι : 'G'(f.5V, line 5) has ζημίαν συμβήσεσθαι, showing that Sirmond made the same small mistake as Mauro-mata had done in 'E' and 'F'. The conjecture in 'A' margin, accepted as the correct reading, is written in a hand closer to that of Sirmond than of any other scribe whose work is found in these codices. If this word had been added by him, it would account for most of 'A's other apographs' not having recorded it (see on 'B' and 'H') : [ζημιωθησ-όμεθα].

(c) 'A'(f.3R, line 8) writes the contraction for θεόν(θμ̄) after θεραπεύσουσι and Sirmond appears to have copied this as βιόν because the -σι ending is close to the Theta, written small, of the noun. The Sigma in the verb-ending is also small, but plain, and the mistake over such a common contraction is difficult to explain : [θεόν]. (1)

(d) 'A'(f.3R, line 14) writes τῆς, the correct reading, before φύσεως. Sirmond (f.4R, line 3) has written its homophone, τῶς, in front of the first two letters of the noun at the ending of the line; thus τῶς φύ- : [τῆς].

(e) In 'A'(f.3V, line 10) the name 'John' is written in the abbreviated form ιω. Sirmond(f.4V, line 10) copies this abbreviation.

(f) In 'A'(f.5V, line 10) ἀναιδῶς is written with a contracted ending ; thus ἀναιδῶς. The majority of scribes have taken this to be the word ἀναιδῆ. Sirmond(f.7R, line 18) writes ἀναιδῶς, which appears to be the better reading in the context : [ἀναιδῶς].

(g) On folio 13V, line 25 'G' has repeated the words εἶναι πῶς which appear in 'A' above διαπαντός('A' - f.10R, lines 39-40). Sirmond noticed his mistake and placed dots under the words.

(1) f.3V, line 28.

96.

BARBERINIANUS 572 : paper ; 27/28 lines per page ; undated ; not signed ; no other information is available. (H)

A comparison of the script with that of Paris Supp. Gr.217 suggests that the copyist was Johannes Sanctamaura, a 'scriptor' in the Vatican Library from the end of the 16th century into the 17th.

Monsignor Canart supports this identification, as does Dr. Kresten who also thinks that the codex was copied during the early years of Sanctamaura's work as a scribe (1).

From the internal evidence it is clear that the model used for this copy was Vaticanus Gr. 600 (2).

(1) See the letters at the end of this description.

(2) See the evidence appended.

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

HISTORISCHES INSTITUT

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Zl. 1268-HI/83

00197 - ROM, 18. Jänner 1984

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TELEGRAMMADRESSE: AUSTROCULTUR - ROMA

Zl. 1268-HI/83
Bl. 2

beantworten, ob der Monacensis vor oder nach dem Salmanticensis entstand; um diese Frage zu entscheiden, müßte ich über umfangreichere kodikologische Informationen verfügen. Der genannte Schreiber *napá* läßt sich gerade in den Jahren um 1577 als Gehilfe des Darmarios nachweisen.

3. Bruxell. 1182: Ihr Eindruck und Ihr Vergleich mit dem Ottob. 215 haben Sie nicht in die Irre geführt: Die Brüsseler Handschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel der Hand des Ioannes Mauromates zuzuweisen.
4. Barb. 572: Wie Sie auf Grund eines Vergleiches mit dem subskribierten Par. Suppl. gr. 217 aus dem Jahre 1610 richtig vermuten, stammt auch der Barb. 572 von der Hand des Ioannes Sanktamauras. Allerdings würde ich den Barberinianus dem "Jugendstil" des Sanktamauras zuweisen, d.h. den frühesten Jahren des Sanktamauras als Kopist.



Vatican, le 11-10-84.

Monsieur,

Mettant en ordre ma correspondance, je retrouve votre lettre du 15 octobre 1983, à laquelle je crains de n'avoir pas répondu: veuillez m'en excuser. Je peux vous dire que tout le Barberinianus gr. 572 est de la main, non de Jean Mauromatès, mais de celle du copiste chypriote Jean de Sainte-Maure, scriptor de la Bibliothèque Vaticane à la fin du XVIe siècle et au tout début du XVIIe.

Votre tout dévoué,

Paul Canart

Paul Canart

Manuscripts 'B' and 'H'.

(a) 'B' has τῆς οὐ with ἕως γῆς in the margin. 'H' incorporates γῆς into his text and reads τῆς γῆς οὐ (f.5V, line 7) : [τῆς γῆς].

(b) 'B' reads ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι with the marginal conjecture ζημιωθησόμεθα. This marginal note seems to have been added to 'A' (q.v.) by Sirmond (see on 'G') or someone other than Provataris and his associates. Provataris may have conjectured this in 'B' margin, from where it passed to the two apographs: [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) 'B' has δὴ σοι which is copied in 'H' exactly : [δεήσει].

(d) 'B' gives ὅτι in the text with ὅστις in the margin. 'H' has the same in its text (f.7V, line 9) with ὅστις in the margin in one hand (scribe ?) and ὅ,τι in a second hand. Only Family 'b' has this conjecture : [ὅλος].

(e) In 'B' (f.11R, lines 11-12) the words πάλιν..ὀνειδίζοντες are found with βλέποντες above the end of this word-group (line 11). The scribe of 'H' has omitted the words by homoeoteleuton from f.11R, line 12.

(f) In 'B' (f.24V, line 4-5) the words μελωδῶντα..θεὸν appear (with τὸν, which is not in 'A', before θεὸν in 'B'). 'H' omits these words from f.23V, line 4 by homoeoteleuton of τὸν (ψαλμῶδ)ὸν and τὸν (θε)ὸν.

(g) 'B' (f.27R, line 17) and 'H' (f.26R, line 9) both read the word ἐπισκευθήσεται ('A' - ἐπισκεψθήσεται ; f.16V, line 13) : [ἐπισκεψθήσεται].

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,27,28,29,30.

PARIS, SUPPLEMENT GREC 217 : paper ; 316 by 215 mm. ; 248 numbered folios, 83 unnumbered ; 26/27 lines per page ; dated 1610 ; signed. (1)

This codex, which was the basis for Salmatia's edition (1618), was copied by John Sanctamaura in Rome. He completed it on the 6th June 1610, having used 'another book of the Apostolic Library in the Vatican.' Cardinal Borromeo, the Archbishop of Milan, paid for the work. Sanctamaura was in his 70th year and described himself as 'writer of Greek books for the said Apostolic Library.' His work as a younger man can be seen in Barberinus 572. (1)

The margins contain notes and corrections in the scribe's own hand, as well as expansions of abbreviated forms for the use of the printer ; these latter notes seem to have come from Salmatia. In the text there are roughly drawn lines which coincide with the ends of pages in Salmatia's edition.

On folio 1r there are these four notes :

- a) 'Soc(ieta)tis Jesu Antwerpiae D.P. (cf. B.R.8301).
- b) 'Vestras abbreviaturas aveo videre et frequenter poni ornatus gre(cos)' ; this is written along the outer margin of the folio in a hand similar to that of the Belgian scholar, Andreas Schottus.
- c) 'Antonio Salmatia interprete' ; this is written along the outer margin to the side of and slightly above the the firstline of text.
- d) 'D.Cyrilli Alexandrini de festis paschalibus Homilia 1' ; this is written in the bottom margin.

The many marginal notes made by the scribe on the text itself may have been based on Vaticanus 601, as the evidence from these variants suggests. The model was Vaticanus 600 which was also used by Sanctamaura for copying Barberinus 572 earlier (2). Several of the other notes may have been made by Schottus when the manuscript was in his possession, because their textual affinity is with 'C' and its family rather than with the other manuscripts. The clear-

(1) See the long subscription edited by H.Omont in 'Les Mss.Grecs..' p.79 See also Omont's brief catalogue of the Supplement.

(2) See the evidence appended to this description

-est examples are 1) f.47r, line 14 ; text προσήκει : margin -ῆκον.
 2) f.54r, line 4 ; text καυχήματα: margin καύματα. 3) f.56r,
 line 22 ; text ἄσταχυν : margin ἄσταχίων : *see the text in Volume 1;*
1) p. 81, line 23 2) p. 92, line 20 3) p. 96, line 11. Other examples
 which may be attributed to Schottus give readings found in the bulk
 of manuscripts.

The note on folio 1r concerning the manuscript's presence in the Jesuit College at Antwerp and the indication of its possession by Schottus in a letter from his friend, Pierre Pantin, show that the Belgian scholar could have annotated it before Salmatia used it for his edition(1). Pantin's letter was sent at the end of February 1611 and in it he mentions this Cyril manuscript among the books owned by Schottus. There is no information about the way in which the manuscript came into Schottus' hands.

The Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris received the codex on the 4th April 1796 (2). When other manuscripts which had come from Belgium at that time were returned in 1815, this one was 'forgotten'.
 (3)

- (1) The letter (to Jean Mersius) is quoted by Van den Gheyn in the second volume of his catalogue (on B.R.8301).
- (2) See Nouv. acq. fr.5420, f.3, No. 10 ; 'Cyrilli Alexandrini homiliae paschales. Ecrit a Rome en 1610 etc' ; cf. Omont in his brief catalogue of Supp. Grec. p.6.
- (3) Letter from the Conservateur of Western Manuscripts in Paris, dated 10.1.86 (appended).

DÉPARTEMENT DES MANUSCRITS
DIVISION DES MANUSCRITS OCCIDENTAUX

PARIS, le 10 JANVIER 1986

M. W.H. BURNS
191 Casterton Avenue
BURNLEY, Lancashire
England

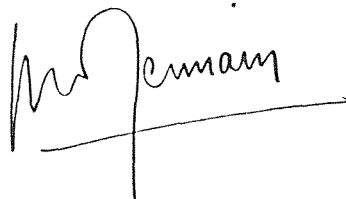
Monsieur ,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre du 31.12.1986, concernant vos recherches sur le Parisinus Suppl.Gr. 217 .

Je ne saurais malheureusement répondre à toutes vos questions , certaines d'entre elles relevant plus, me semble-t-il, de la responsabilité du chercheur ou de l'éditeur .

Mais je peux vous confirmer que le manuscrit fut bien confisqué par la France pendant la période révolutionnaire : il figure parmi les manuscrits de Belgique "transportés à la Bibliothèque nationale le 2 Floréal an IV de la République, 21 avril 1796 vieux style" (cf; Nouv. acq. fr. 5420, "Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Belgique, du Dépôt National Littéraire ", f.3, n°10 : "Cyrilli Alexandrini homiliae Paschales . Ecrit à Rome en 1610 . Jes. d'Anvers . in fol. relié en parchemin"). Il fut oublié lors des restitutions faites à la Belgique en 1815 .

Je vous prie de croire en l'assurance de ma considération distinguée .



Marie Odile GERMAIN
Conservateur

P.S. / Je me permets de vous signaler qu' un séminaire de "Sources Chrétiennes" prépare actuellement une édition de ces Homélies Pascales de Cyrille d'Alexandrie .

Manuscripts 'B' and 'I'.

(a) 'B' has τῆς οὐ with ἕως γῆς in the margin. The apograph 'I' repeats this reading (f.5V, line 12) with a note in the margin ; ἄλλο τῆς οὐ τρέφεσθαι. puto ἧς οὐ τρέφεσθαι vel τῆς γῆς τρέφ. [τῆς γῆς].

(b) In 'B' is the reading ζημίας συμβήσεσθαι with the marginal note ζημιωθησόμεθα. This copy follows both the reading for its text and the marginal note in its margin, to which is prefixed, and then erased, 'erat in marg.' (f.6V, line 14): [ζημιωθησόμεθα].

(c) The reading δὴ σοι is copied by 'I' without comment : [δεῖσει].

(d) 'B' has ὅτι in the text and ὅστις in the margin. These two words are copied in 'I' for the text and margin respectively, with the phrase 'erat in marg.' prefixed to the note, and erased. This erasure and the one noted above were probably made to prevent the printer from putting the notes in his margin : [ὅλος].

(e) 'B'(f.27R, line 17) and 'I'(f.27R, line 16-17) both read ἐπισκευθήσεται. In the margin of 'I' is the note ἄλλ. ἐπισκευθήσεται, apparently added by the scribe : [ἐπισκευθήσεται].

(f) 'B'(f.48V, line 2) omits οὖν after τοῖς μὲν. In 'I' the scribe has also omitted it at first (f.48V, line 2), but then added it over the line. It is not clear whether he did this after consulting another codex (perhaps 'D'), or through a feeling that the text needed to read μὲν οὖν : [μὲν οὖν].

(g) 'B'(f.50R, line 2) reads ἀπὸ γῆς for ἀπὸ πηγῆς ('A'), and this is followed by 'I'(f.50R, line 3) : [ἀπὸ πηγῆς].

See page 75 :- 1,2,3,27,30,31,32.

SALAMANTENSIS 2754 : paper ; quarto ; 432 folios ; watermarks not recorded ; dated 1577. (J)

On the last folio is the note : 'Υπὸ Ἀνδρέου Δαρμαρίου τοῦ Ἐπιδανρίου υἱοῦ Γεωργίου εἴληψε τέρμα, ἐν ἔτει αἴφοξ ἀυγούστῳ καὶ ἐν Μαδριλλίῳ τῆς Ἰσπανίας. φύλλα τὸν ἀριθμὸν υλβ (1). Darmarios is known to have been in Spain on many occasions (2) and, as with the Augsburg and Escorial manuscripts, he used the one owned by Gomez as the model (see the evidence appended). This is the first volume of the letters and contains fifteen of them only (1).

Dr. Kresten does not doubt the dating of the manuscript, but he says that "Darmarios hat bisweilen an den Datierungen seiner Handschriften manipuliert" (3). Darmarios' reputation has suffered some oscillation of opinion over the years and there seems little doubt that he deserved criticism over his methods, even if to call him "scelestus" and say that he did not understand Greek, as Colville did when recording a list of his manuscripts, was a harsh judgement(4). The editors of the Teubner text of Polyaeus' Strategematon Libri V111 comment on his "socordia in describendo" and his habit of placing the definite article before proper nouns, substituting compound verbs for simple ones and adding conjunctions and particles, none of which are found in the other manuscripts of the author (5).

A frequent practice of Darmarios was to begin the copying of a manuscript, leave the bulk of the work to a collaborator and then resume it several folios before the end (see on Augsburg codex).

(1) Graux (NS), p.119 under No.47 (Madrid, Bib. Palaccio).

(2) Graux (E), pp.287-297 ; Vogel, pp.277-283 (1844), pp.255-6 (1845).

(3) Letters of 11.10.83 and 18.1.84 (appended).

(4) Vogel, p.280 (1844) quoting Colville.

(5) Woelfflin E. and Melber I. edd., Teubner 1970, Introduction, pp.XV11-XV111.

(a) χερσωμένην - as in the Augsburg codex this form of the word has been transmitted from 'C' (f.2R, line 8) to f.3V, line 12 of 'J'. : [κεχερσωμένην].

(b) μόνω - the correction in 'C' (μόνω^ω) has been read as μονω ('C', f.5R, line 18: 'J', f.12R, line 8) : [μόνων].

(c) ἀπερίττην ('C', f.6R, line 13) - the same form is found in 'J' on f.14V, line 4 : [ἀπέριττον].

(d) τῶν ('C', f.8R, line 19) - 'J' (f.20V, line 2) has copied this : [τῶις].

(e) δεξιάν ('C', f.47R, line 10) has been repeated in 'J' on f.122V, line 4/5) : [δεξιῶν].

(f) ἀντιθαλῆ has been transmitted from 'C' (f.48R, line 26) to 'J' (f.126R, line 1/2) : [ἀρτιθαλῆ].

(g) προσῆκον ('C', f.51V, line 24) is also found in 'J' on f.135R, line 7 : [προσήκει].

See page 75 :- 8,12,33,34,35,36,37.

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

ISTITUO STORICO

PRESSO
L'ISTITUTO AUSTRIACO DI CULTURA
IN ROMA

DER DIREKTOR
Ao.Univ.-Prof.Dr.Otto KRESTEN

00197 - ROMA, 11. Oktober 1983

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IND. TELEGRAFICO: AUSTRUCULTUR - ROMA

Zl. 1025-HI/83

Zl. 1025-HI/83
Bl. 2

Subskriptionen genannten Datierungen zuverlässig sind (Darmarios
hat bisweilen an den Datierungen seiner Handschriften manipuliert).

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

HIISTORISCHES INSTITUT

BEIM
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KULTURINSTITUT
IN ROM

Ao.Univ.-Prof.Dr. Otto KRESTEN

Zl. 1268-HI/83

00197 - ROM, 18. Jänner 1984

113, VIALE BRUNO BUOZZI - TEL. 3609758 - 3609793
3609702 - 3609705

TELEGRAMMADRESSE: AUSTRUCULTUR - ROMA

1. Salmant 47 stammt ohne Zweifel, wie ja auch die Subscriptio
besagt, von der Hand des Andreas Darmarios; auch die Datierung
ist auf Grund des paläographischen Befundes in keiner Weise
verdächtig.

ESCORIALENSIS y-111-11 : paper ; 208 by 154 mm. ; 3 blank folios with 441 containing script (folios 147, 148 and 429 are missing) ; 13 lines on each page ; folio 63V has a lacuna for No. 3 and the words, in Greek, Cyril's festal (letter) third. (1) (K)

This manuscript was copied in Madrid during 1577 by Andreas Darmarios (2). According to the note on folio 441R-V he probably used the manuscript Bib. Roy. 8301, as he did when copying Augsburg 239 and Salamantensis 2754. The note reads : 'Υπὸ Ἀνδρέου Δαρμαρίου τοῦ Ἐπιδευτοῦ | Μεταγραφθὲν ἐκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης κυρίου | Ἀλβαργόδμου λογίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσι τῆς Ἰσπανίας (3).

The watermarks are a Latin cross (cf. Briquet, No. 5683 ; paper made in 1576) and other crosses with letters. These latter marks are not represented in Briquet's volumes.

The manuscript entered the Escorial Library in 1580 and was probably copied for Philip II (1).

(1) de Andres ; Vol. 2, p. 230. (2) The date is given at the end of the second volume, Escorialensis y-111-12, folio 304V.

(3) Miller, p. 285 ; Graux, p. 448 ; de Andres, p. 230

Manuscripts 'C' and 'K'.

- (a) χειρσωμένην ('C', f.2R,line 8) - this has been copied in 'K' also on f.4R,line 3 : [κεχειρσωμένην].
- (b) μόνω ('C', f.5R,line 18) - this is also found in 'K' on f.12V, line 2 : [μόνων].
- (c) ἀπερίττην ('C', f.6R,line 13) - 'K' (f.14V,line 11) has copied this as he found it in 'C' : [ἀπέριττον].
- (d) τῶν in 'C' (f.8R,line 19) has been repeated on f.20V, line 1 of 'K' : [τῶις].
- (e) δεξιάν ('C', f.47R,line 10) has been transmitted in 'K' on f.126V,line 5 : [δεξιῶν].
- (f) ἀντιθαλή has passed from 'C' (f.48R,line 26) to 'K' (f.130R, line 6) : [ἀρτιθαλή].
- (g) προσήκον in 'C' (f.51V,line 24) is also found in 'K' on f.139V,line 12/13 : [προσήκει].

See page 75 :- 8,12,33,34,35,36,37.

AUGSBURG Codex 2^O 239 a-c : paper ; 200 by 150 mm. ; 723 folios ; 16th century ; 13 lines per page ; signed ; undated. (L)

The description of this codex in Mezger states that it was hastily written but has been well preserved. The contents of the three volumes which make up the whole work are given as 'Cyrilli Alexandrini homiliae paschales' ; a brief note adds that this codex has not been collated with the printed editions (1). The letters as presented in the three volumes are out of sequence, with the result that Nos 1 to 5 appear in volume b, folios 254r to 424v (2).

The watermarks, which are always found in the folds of the paper, are as follows :

- a) A pilgrim
- b) A cross on a shield.
- c) A hand.

The first one is the same as that found in a codex copied in Madrid during 1578, but the others are not identifiable. The author of the latest catalogue of manuscripts in Augsburg, Herrad Spilling, provisionally ascribes the date 1578 (2).

The text was copied by Andreas Darmarios and one of his many collaborators. As the subscriptions at the end of each volume and the internal evidence indicate, the model was B.R., Brussels 8301. In Spilling's description folios 1r to 2v, 58r to 172r and 353r to 723v are attributed to Darmarios ; the remainder is the work of a scribe whose hand can be seen in Augsburg 2^O Cod.176, which was also copied from the library of Alvarez Gomez. This anonymous scribe is known to have been one of Darmarios' collaborators circa 1577 and has been named $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ by Dr. Otto Kresten in his unpublished dissertation of 1967 (3)(4). This means that volume b, which

(1) Mezger, p.106.

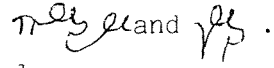
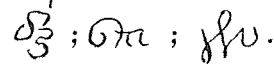

(2) Spilling : Handschriftenkataloge, pp.273 - 4.

(3) See evidence of the readings appended to this description.

(4) See Kresten's letter and excerpt from the dissertation at the end of this section.

contains letters 1 to 5, was copied by the anonymous scribe as far as folio 352v., at which point Darmarios resumed the work and so completed this and the last volume.

Darmarios' hand is well known from the large number of manuscripts which he wholly or partly copied (1). The hand of the collaborator seen in the codex is described by Dr. Kresten in the following way : (2)

- a) The name $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ is given in imitation of Monsignor Canart's use of the title $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ for the anonymous Vatican scribe who collaborated with Provataris (3). This scribe used an elevated Alpha before a Rho thus : .
- b) Alpha ; exclusively in minuscule.
- c) Beta ; exclusively in the form β .
- d) Gamma ; predominantly as a minuscule.
- e) Delta ; no uncial form authenticated.
- f) Eta ; always in minuscule, mostly η .
- g) Kappa ; only verifiable as a minuscule (κ).
- h) Xi ; always with the top stroke to the left (ξ).
- i) Pi ; exclusively in uncial form.
- j) Phi ; with an angular top (ϕ).
- k) Ligatures ; as above and .
- l) Nu ; either as a minuscule (written like a Latin 'v') or in ligatures as a small uncial, in some places a somewhat larger shape, thus  ('perhaps in abortive dependence on Darmarios', comments Kresten).

This scribe has been overshadowed by Darmarios, to whom many manuscripts have been ascribed, although $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ or others have copied them wholly or in part ; e.g. Brussels 4152-53, ascribed to Darmarios by Omont is from the hand of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, and London: Add 21095 in the British Museum is also for the most part his work, with only folios 362r to 492v. in Darmarios' own hand (2).

(1) See on Salamantensis 2754

(2) See Kresten, Diss. appended.

(3) See on Vaticanus Gr.601.

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

HISTORISCHES INSTITUT

BEIM
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN KULTURINSTITUT
IN ROM

Ao.Univ.-Prof.Dr. Otto KRESTEN

Zl. 1268-HI/83

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TELEGRAMMADRESSE: AUSTROCULTUR - ROMA

2. Der Monacensis (ex Aug. 239) stammt hingegen nicht von Darmarios, sondern lediglich aus seinem Atelier: Zumindest das Photo, das Sie mir übersandt haben, ist einem anonymen Gehilfen des Darmarios zuzuschreiben, den ich in meiner Dissertation als "Schreiber *napá*" bezeichnet habe. Ich lege Ihnen zu Ihrer Information in Kopie alle jene Seiten meiner Dissertation bei, die sich auf diesen Kopisten beziehen. - Zur Datierung des Monacensis kann ich im Augenblick nichts sagen, vor allem die für Sie vielleicht interessante Frage nicht

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beantworten, ob der Monacensis vor oder nach dem Salmanticensis entstand; um diese Frage zu entscheiden, müßte ich über umfangreichere kodikologische Informationen verfügen. Der genannte Schreiber *napá* läßt sich gerade in den Jahren um 1577 als Gehilfe des Darmarios nachweisen.

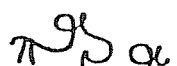
3. Bruxell. 1182: Ihr Eindruck und Ihr Vergleich mit dem Ottob. 215 haben Sie nicht in die Irre geführt: Die Brüsseler Handschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel der Hand des Ioannes Mauromates zuzuweisen.
4. Barb. 572: Wie Sie auf Grund eines Vergleiches mit dem subskribierten Par. Suppl. gr. 217 aus dem Jahre 1610 richtig vermuten, stammt auch der Barb. 572 von der Hand des Ioannes Sanktamauras. Allerdings würde ich den Barberinianus dem "Jugendstil" des Sanktamauras zuweisen, d.h. den frühesten Jahren des Sanktamauras als Kopist.


- b. Esc. Φ-II-16 (vgl. Vogel-Gardthausen 402; Andrés, Catálogo 43): die Handschrift kam 1575 über Andreas Darmarios an den Escorial (vgl. f. III^r: Σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Κρητὸς χεῖρ von der Hand des Andreas Darmarios).
- c. Esc. Φ-II-20, f. 1^{r-v}, 10^{r-v}. 31^r-77^v. 82^r-82/1^v. 113^r-114/1^v. 134^r-139^r: neben Melissenos sind noch Konstantinos Dyrdilios und ein weiterer Gehilfe des Darmarios an der Fertigstellung dieser Handschrift beteiligt (Andrés, Catálogo 47).

B. Die anonymen Mitarbeiter:

Abschließend sollen noch die anonymen Mitarbeiter des Darmarios, soweit sie in seinen Handschriften belegbar sind, kurz gewürdigt werden. Bei manchen erscheint eine Identifikation zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt möglich, andere wieder werden wohl für immer anonym bleiben, da sie nur ephemere auftreten.

1. Der Schreiber παρὰ (vgl. Abb. 23)

Die Benennung dieses anonymen Mitarbeiters des Epidaurioten erfolgt in Anlehnung an den Versuch einer Nomenklatur Canart's für die anonymen Gehilfen des Provataris ²⁴ nach der für diesen Schreiber charakteristischen Gestaltung des παρὰ: 

Das hochgezogene Alpha mit folgendem Rho findet sich auch in zahlreichen anderen Ligaturen (vgl. ). Bei den Buchstabenformen lassen sich folgende Merkmale belegen, die zum Teil sofort den Unterschied zu Darmarios beweisen:

- a. Alpha: ausschließlich in der Minuskelform.

²⁴ Canart, Provataris 199 ff.



- b. Beta: ausschließlich in der Form β .
- c. Gamma: fast nur als Minuskelbuchstabe zu belegen.
- d. Delta: keine Unzialform nachweisbar.
- e. Eta: stets in der Minuskel, zumeist η .
- f. Kappa: offensichtlich nur als Minuskelbuchstabe belegbar (χ).
- g. Xi: stets mit der oberen Schleife nach links: ξ
- h. Pi: offenbar ausschließlich in der unzialen Form.
- i. Phi: mit einem etwas eckigen Kopf: ϕ
- j. Ligaturen $\pi\epsilon\alpha$ $\eta\theta$ $\theta\zeta$ $\sigma\pi$ $\eta\upsilon$
charakteristisch.
- k. Ny: entweder in der kleinen Minuskelform (im Typ des lateinischen v) oder in Ligaturen als kleine Unziale, stellenweise auch etwas größer: ny (vielleicht in mißglückter Anlehnung an Darmarios).

Folgende Handschriften lassen sich als Produkt der Kopisten-tätigkeit dieses Schreibers festhalten:

- a. Bruxell. 4152-53 (von Vogel-Gardthausen nach Omont [Cat. Brux. 20] irrig dem Darmarios zugewiesen, von dem nur die Marginalien [etwa 1^v und 8^v] und die Angabe der Blattzahl auf f. 70^v stammen).
- b. Esc. Φ -I-19: aus dem Besitze des Andreas Darmarios (vgl. etwa die Reklamante f. 30^v von seiner Hand). Die Handschrift kam 1656 über den Conde-Duque de Olivares an den Escorial (Andrés, Catálogo 27).
- c. Lond. Add. 21095, f. 7^r-361^v: die Folien 362^r-492^v stammen von der Hand des Darmarios, dem die Handschrift von Vogel-

Manuscripts 'C' and 'L'.

(a) 'C'(f.2R,line 8) writes χερσωμένην which is later altered (by Schott ?) to the correct form. 'L' was copied before the change and gives the shorter word (f.257V,line 1) : [κεχερσωμένην].

(b) In 'C'(f.5R,line 18) μόνων^ω(sic) is written and 'L' has taken this to be a correction to μόνω (f.267V,line 5) : [μόνων].

(c) 'C'(f.6R,line 13) has written ἀπερίτιτην. 'L'(f.270R,line 8) repeats this termination but makes the accent paroxytone ; ἀπερίτιτην : [ἀπερίτιτον].

(d) In the text of 'C' (f.8R,line 19) τῶν is written with the correction to τοῖς in the margin (Provataris ?). 'L' copies τῶν on f.276V,line 4) : [τοῖς].

(e) δεξιάν is found in 'C'(f.47R,line 10) and this is transmitted by 'L'(f.386R,line 13) : [δεξιῶν].

(f) Both 'C'(f.48R,line 26) and 'L'(f.398V,line 7) have written ἀντιθαλῆ : [ἀρτιθαλῆ].

(g) In both 'C'(f.51V,line 24) and 'L'(f.398R,line 9) προσῆκον is written : [προσῆκει].

See page 75 :- 8,12,33,34,35,36,37.

HOLKHAM Gr.47 (Bodleian Library) : paper ; 207 by 160 mm. ; 196 folios ; 30/32 lines per page ; undated ; unsigned. (M)

This codex was copied by Maximos Margounios, Orthodox Bishop of Cythera in exile, during his long stay in Venice in the last two decades of the 16th century (1). From the internal evidence and extant correspondence between Margounios and David Hoeschl during 1591 it is highly probable that the model used was Augsburg 2^o Codex 239 a-c (q.v. ; also the textual evidence appended hereto). Margounios made a few corrections to his model, but generally he followed it closely.

There are two watermarks detectable in the paper. One is a papal tiara, found in paper manufactured in Augsburg and Prague, 1586 - 96 (2) ; the other is a crown surmounted by a six-pointed star. This latter mark is found in paper from Rome in 1565 and from Innsbruck in 1556 (3). It is clear from the letters of Margounios to Hoeschl that paper already bound in book form was occasionally sent from Augsburg (4).

In the 17th century this codex was owned by Markos and Johannes Morezenos, priests in Crete. In the latter part of the same century it passed into the possession of Giulio Giustiniani in Venice, where the Abbe Montfaucon listed it among the manuscripts which he examined (5). Thomas Coke (1697 - 1759) bought 76 codices from this collection for his library at Holkham Hall in Norfolk, including this one copied by Margounios. It was numbered 52 by the Abbe Montfaucon, 76 in the Holkham collection and now 47 in the Holkham Greek section at the Bodleian Library. Some of the notes in the margins appear to be from the hand of one or other member of the Morezenos family (6).

(1) de Ricci ; ad loc., p.X. : see also V-G, Patrinelis and G-H.

(2) Piccard ; Abt XIV, No.5, cf. Briquet 5088. sub nom.

(3) Piccard ; Ch.111, p.21 (mid-16th century ; Rome 1565, Innsbruck 1556) ; cf. Briquet 4832 - 5 (Italy 1526 -78, but not a close parallel).

(4) Enepekides p.109, No.8 ; Ms. Panteleimon 750, folio 18r.

(5) Montfaucon ; ad loc (Venice).

(6) On the brothers Morezenos see Helen D. Kakoulides, 'John Morezenos and his work' in *Kretika Chronika* 22(1970) pp.7 - 78.

Augsburg Cod.2^o 239 a-c and Holkham Gr.47.

Although the text of the Augsburg codex is not of great value in reconstructing the original wording, the travels of its three volumes are important in the history of the transmission. The use of it by Maximos Margounios to copy Holkham Gr.47 is indicated by the internal evidence of readings and by the external evidence of correspondence between him and David Hoeschl, who taught at the College of St. Anna in Augsburg.

The purchase of the Augsburg manuscript is recorded in the Tagebuch of Martin Crusius under the date May 1584. Georg Mylius bought 28 Greek manuscripts from Darmarios, three for his own use and the rest for the library of the College of St. Anna. Codex 2^o 239 a-c appears in the list as three volumes numbered 5,6 and 7, and described as 'Festal homilies of Cyril against the Jews' (1).

In a letter from Venice dated August 17th 1591 (2), Margounios asked how many of Cyril's 'Festal discourses' were kept in the Augsburg library and requested the privilege of making use of a copy of them. On September 10th Margounios acknowledged receipt of some letters and again asked for Cyril's 'discourses', promising to return them when he had copied them (3). On the address panel of this letter Hoeschl wrote 'Respondi illico et misi Nov. Test. et 1 Tomum Cyrilli et psalt 24 a (name not clear) editum'. This note is dated 16-VIII-5 (sic)(4).

During the following month Margounios asked twice for the remaining volumes. He made the request in a letter dated October 7th, when he also sought permission to correct the text, 'since they (the letters) need amendment in places' (5). In a Latin letter dated only by the month (October)(6) he asked for 'reliquas orationes seu Homilias Cyrilli Alexandrini Patriarchae'.

(1) Spilling ; Introduction, p.XVI : with reference to Tübingen Mh. 466.3, pp. 101 - 103.

(2) Panteleimon Ms.750, f.16r.

(3) ibidem, f.17r.

(4) ibidem, f.17v.

(5) Enepekides, No.8

(6) Pant.Ms.750, f.12r

Margounios does not seem to have seen Cyril's letters before this and his reading of them is described as 'a feast ... particularly full of pleasure and gladness' (1). In the same passage he mentions the conjectures which he has written in the margins of the Augsburg codex. These are rare, being found in the first five letters on a few folios only.

It appears from this correspondence that the Greek bishop made his copy of Cyril's letters in the months following their arrival in Venice. The exchange of manuscripts and printed books was a frequent occurrence between the two scholars, but the correspondence concerning their cooperation is not complete. There seems to be no later letter extant referring to the return of the codex to Augsburg.

(1) Enepekides ; No.9 : same as Panteleimon Ms.750, f.19r.

Manuscripts 'L' and M'.

(a) χερσωμένην in 'L' (f.257V, Line 1) was repeated in 'M' on f.1V, line 22. Margounios also omitted ἀπὸ εὐσεβείας immediately after this word, perhaps by homoeoteleuton of -μένην...τὴν(διανοίαν): [κεχερσωμένην].

(b) μόνῳ ('L' ; f.267V, line 5) was also written in 'M' (f.4R, l.14): [μόνων].

(c) ἀπερίτιην ('L' ; f.270R, line 8/9) was corrected to ἀπέριττον by Margounios in 'M' (f.4V, line 23) : [ἀπέριττον].

(d) τῶν ('L' ; 276V, line 4) was copied in 'M' (f.6R, line 23) : [τοῖς].

(e) δεξιὰν ('L' ; f.386R, line 13) was repeated in 'M' on f.34V, line 24 : [δεξιῶν].

(f) ἀντιθαλῆ ('L' ; f.389V, line 7) was copied in 'M' on f.35R, line 19 : [ἀρτιθαλῆ].

(g) Both 'L' and 'M' have omitted ποιήσωμεν εἰρηνὴν αὐτῷ (see 'C' ; f.48V, line 5). (1)

(h) προσήκον ('L' ; f.398R, line 9) is also found in 'M' on f.38R, line 25 : [προσήκει].

(i) 'M' has omitted τὸν δὲ...καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ from f.38V. In 'L' on f.398V, lines 4/5 αὐτοῦ at the end of one phrase is found above αὐτοῦ here, causing the omission by parablepsis. (2)

(j) ἀπούσης was repeated from 'L' (f.405V, line 7) on f.40V, line 3 of 'M' : [ἀπάσης]. (cf. note 'g' on page 87)

(1) Text, p. 74, line 8/9.

(2) Text, p. 82, line 3.

LEYDEN : VULCANIANUS 92E : paper ; quarto ; 18 folios, containing the first letter only ; 16th century ; 22/27 lines per page ; unsigned.(1)
(N)

This manuscript was copied, as the internal evidence shows, from B.R., Brussels 8301 or another of the codices in Family 'c'. It is probably the work of a Western copyist (2).

There are notes in the margin which have been attributed to Bonaventura Vulcanius, the Professor of Greek at Leyden from 1578 to 1614. The most interesting one offers a conjecture to the text as recorded in the manuscripts, but, as this is given in two forms and in two hands, it is difficult to decide who is the author of the suggestion adopted in this revision (see the critical apparatus to Letter No. 1 ; p.22, line 3 in the first volume).

In correspondence between Andreas Schott and Vulcanius (3) there is much discussion of proposed publication of Cyril's works, but only one complete work seems to have been produced. This was the 'De adoratione in spiritu et veritate' which Schott says he had seen in Rome (4). Schott's Latin version of the Festal Letters was made, apparently, at Vulcanius' request but not published (5).

(1) Molhuysen ; Catalogue ad loc.

(2) See Dr. Kresten's letter appended to this description

(3) Letters in manuscript at Leyden : Vulc. 105 (nos. 3,5 and 6) ;
BPG 31, folio 122.

(4) Graux, p. 69, quoting Schott.

(5) See the note on Schott and Vulcanius.

Manuscripts 'C' and 'N'.

(a) 'C' has χερσωμένην (f.2R, line 8) with the later alteration to the correct form (see the notes on 'C'). 'N' (f.2R, line 16) has the full form in the text with κερ written over the first two syllables (in another hand?) : [κεχερσωμένην].

(b) 'N' (f.6V, line 5) interprets 'C's' correction (q.v.) accurately and writes μόνων : [μόνων].

(c) The feminine termination is copied by 'N' (f.7V, line 20), as in 'C', with the proparoxytone accent, i.e. ἀπέριττην. This accent has been crossed through and the paroxytone substituted : [ἀπέριττον].

(d) τοῖς is copied by 'N' (f.11R, line 9) but another hand has written τῶν over the line : [τοῖς].

(e) 'N' (f.12V, line 3) writes οὐ, as in 'C' (f.9R, line 14), in place of ἦν : [ἐν οἷς ἦν ἡτιάσθαι]. (1)

(f) The words περὶ...εὐχου omitted from the text of 'C' on f.10R, line 12 but added in the margin (by Provataris ?) are also missing from 'N', f.14R, line 5. In 'A' προσ|εὐχου is divided between lines 34/5 and εὐχου is the first word of line 36. (2)

(g) 'C' (f.11R, line 17) writes γῆς with an uncial Gamma. 'N' has taken this Gamma to be a Tau and copied τῆς. In the margin of 'N' another hand (Vulcanius ?) has corrected to γῆς : [γῆς]. (3)

(1) Text, p. 18, line 21.

(2) Text, p. 20, line 6/7.

(3) Text, p. 21, line 26 and 'N', f. 15, line 18.

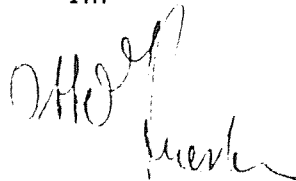
See page 75 :- 8,33,34,35.

Blatt 2

Zl.136-HI/84

der Crusius-Materialien zu Darmarios trug. Bezüglich des Schreibers des Cod. Leid. Vulc. 93 E kann ich Ihnen leider nicht weiterhelfen; ich kann nur Ihre Meinung teilen, dass Andreas Schrott aller Voraussicht nicht der Kopist ist. Es handelt sich um eine typisch westliche Humanistenhand, bei deren Identifikation Ihnen vielleicht Herr Kollege Harlfinger von der FU Berlin behilflich sein könnte. Sollten Sie sich mit der Bitte um Auskunft an ihn wenden, können Sie sich selbstverständlich auf meine Empfehlung berufen.

Ihr

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Otto von Guericke, written in dark ink.

PS: Selbstverständlich lege ich auch die beiden Photographien des Vulc. 93 E bei.

BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE, BRUSSELS ; No. 4077 (1186 in the catalogue) :
 paper : 304 folios : 215 by 165 mm. : completed on 19th August 1610
 at Tournai : bound in parchment (1).

This unpublished manuscript contains the Latin translation made by Andreas Schott. He probably used B.R., Brussels 8301 ('C') as his text with possible reference to Paris Supp. Gr. 217 (qq.v.) (1). This version is a valuable supplement to the one made by Antonio Salmatia and published by him in 1618 with his edition of the Greek text. As with this latter version Schott's translation does not always remove the obscurities from difficult passages, although the Greek text of 'C' is closer to that of 'A' than the text of 'I'. Schott added several notes to his version in which he commented on the wording of the text or its substance.

The reason for this manuscript's remaining unpublished was given by Nathaniel Southwell, the part-author of "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu". He stated that Schott had prepared his version of Cyril's Letters for printing but 'suum partum suppressit' to make way for Salmatia's publication in 1618 (2). Schott had on a previous occasion published a translation of Cyril's Glaphyra (3) but was not satisfied with the speed of production. In February, 1607, he complained to Vossius that the printer was slow in producing Greek texts, which 'proximis nondum apparebunt nundinis' (2).

Apart from the translation the manuscript contains a note on Paschal Sermons and the imprimatur of Franciscus Flerontinus, the Jesuit Provincial 'Praepositus' in Belgium, dated February 15th, 1610 (folios 3 and 4). The mark +Ms. 138 of the Bollandist Library is on the back cover.

(1) Details given in Van den Gheyn, Vol. 2., pp. 197-8.

(2) Quoted in Sommervogel, p. 894.

(3) Fabricius ; Vol. 8., p. 558 : Salmatia printed this version in 1618 together with the Festal Letters of Cyril.

Margounios and Schott.

In correspondence between Margounios and Hoeschl during 1598, about six years after Margounios had copied Holkham Gr. 47, there is mention of the publication of 'discourses' on the Christian festivals. A letter dated the 23rd January 1598 (1) speaks of a collection of more than two hundred 'discourses' from sources ancient and modern which Margounios wanted to publish. The Greek bishop made no specific mention of any 'discourse' written by Cyril, but it is possible that something from him would have been included. The relevant passage is as follows : διαπεπόνηται μοι πρὸ μικροῦ συναγωγῇ λόγων θεολογικῶν διαφέρων παλαιῶν τε καὶ νεωτέρων διδασκάλων εἰς τὰς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγομένας παρ' ἡμῖν δεσποτικὰς τε καὶ θεομητορικὰς ἑορτὰς, ἐστὶ δ' οὗτοι τὸν ἀρίθμον ὑπὲρ τοὺς διακοσίους, οὓς καὶ εἰς φῶς ἐκδοθῆναι ἔμοι γ' ἂν καὶ πάνυ πρὸς θυμοῦ γένοιτο, εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν τε φιλολόγων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ χριστιανύμου λαοῦ.

Within a week Margounios again referred to the publication of ἑορταστικῶν λόγων and sent Hoeschl the list of the 'discourses' which he wanted to present. He also included τὸν τῶν λόγων τῆς τεσσαρακονθήμερου τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πίνακα, which seems to be a reference to sermons of his own rather than of Cyril, who would surely have been mentioned by name. These lists are not recorded in the manuscript (2).

Several weeks later, in April 1598, there was mention of the publication of ἱερῶν ὁμιλίων in a letter to Hoeschl and a reference to Schott who had reminded Hoeschl to encourage Margounios in this venture. Margounios' words are : προτρέπη με ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμιλιῶν ἐκδοσιν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Ἀνδρέου Σχότου ὑπομνησκόμενος.....ἐρῶμένον σε διαφυλάττοι ὁ κύριος ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι, ἧς σοι συμμέτοχος εὐχῆς ὡς παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ σοφώτατος Ἀνδρέας καὶ διαμηνύοι ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτὸς τίνα τὴν γνώμην ἔχει ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ἐκδόσει (3). This suggests a degree of co-operation between Margounios and Schott, which was touched upon in a letter from Venice dated 18th July 1598. Here Margounios, writing to Schott himself, spoke of the publication of πανηγυρικῶν ὁμιλίων and, somewhat testily, told him that his opinion on the method of production was urgently required (4).

(1) Legrand, p. LXXI - IV ; Panteleimon 750, f.87R.

(2) Panteleimon 750, f.86

(3) Enepekides, No. 18.

(4) ibidem, No. 34

From this evidence it is not clear how much, if any, of Cyril's work was to form part of this publication, nor can it unequivocally be stated whether there were one or two different works projected. In the event neither Margounios nor Schott was able to complete the task. Schott's translation of Cyril's Festal Letters was withdrawn, as the introduction to Salmatia's 1618 edition makes clear, although it was no doubt used by this editor as a cross-reference. In Fedalto's list of Margounios' published works there is nothing which could have been the result of such co-operation as that mentioned in the letters above. His sermons for Lent appeared in an edition produced in Istanbul in 1627 (1).

(1) Fedalto, pp. 259 sqq.

Schott and Vulcanius.

Some unpublished correspondence between Schott and Vulcanius is deposited in the University Library at Leyden. Several passages refer to the publication of patristic and classical authors and show how active Schott was in promoting their production. Vulcanius does not seem to have been able to fulfil all that he had promised, as other sources indicate (1).

On 7th February 1598 Schott wrote to Vulcanius in terms which show that they had already communicated their ideas about publishing more of Cyril's works than had previously appeared. He says, "Crede mihi, de Cyrillo Alexandrino faciam benigne. Quid enim exoptem magis quam eum prodire Patrem, longe auctiorem ?"(2). We may assume, by reading between the lines, that Vulcanius had a proprietary interest in Cyril and was reluctant to surrender it. In the September letter Schott tactfully wrote "...Cyrillum tuum : cur enim non sic appellem ?" as if Vulcanius were over-sensitive as to the distribution of the work (6).

There is the draft of a letter sent on 7th March 1598 in which Schott asked Vulcanius to explain "aperte animi (tui) sententiam" and send him every edition of Cyril so far produced. He said that he had been advised by Camerarius that the scholars of Augsburg might anticipate them by publishing first, but gave no details (3).

A few months later, in a letter of 1st June,(4) Schott mentioned the copy of Cyril's Festal Letters which he had bought in Spain (manuscript 'C'). He was planning to send this copy to Augsburg, but it was not until he wrote to Vulcanius on 31st August and 17th September that he explained why. The Letters were written "elegantior, non satis tamen emendatae sunt", he explained to Vulcanius, and so he wanted David Hoeschl "ut...conferendas curet describendasque, quas iubes Homilias emendem, dum reliqua tu adornes" (5). Vulcanius had evidently suggested that Schott edit the Festal letters and so there was the need to ensure that the text was satisfactory.

(1) Fabricius, Vol. 8, p. 558 ; quoting Scultetus on Vulc.(1612).

(2) Vulc.105 11, folio 3.

(3) BPG 31, folio 122V.

(4) BPL, RR5 ; 119 1V .

(5) Vulc.105 11, folio 5R.

(6) See the next page.

In the September letter (6) Schott described his copy as a "mendosus codex" and again spoke of sending it for comparison with the one in Augsburg (heortasticas .. ad Augustanum exemplar committi cupiam). The irony of the situation is that, as the tradition reveals, the Augsburg codex was copied from 'C' and would have been of no use in making corrections.

There is no other extant correspondence between these two men or between Schott and Hoeschl which can tell us whether 'C' was sent to Augsburg or not.

(6) Vulc.105 11, folio 6R.

Letters or Sermons ?

In Bardenhewer's survey of the Church's literature there is a discussion of the title given to Cyril's homilies which concludes that the phrase 'homiliae paschales' "is easily misunderstood, but not unwarranted, in as much as it is concerned with letters which are sermons in their content. Cyril himself seems to have spoken rather of letters (see HP 22 with the words λογίδιον ἥγουν ἐπιστολή : HP 1,2 and HP 2,2 where he uses γράφειν" (1).

In other passages Cyril refers to what he is doing as 'preaching' ; see HP 1,2 - ἐπὶ τὸ κηρύττειν ; HP 2,1 - τὸ κηρυττόμενον ; HP 4(3),2 - ἐπὶ τοῦτὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ; HP 6(5), 1 - διὰ τοῦδε πάλιν ἀνα-φθεγξώμεθα τοῦ κηρύγματος . There is no conflict between Cyril's use of the words 'writing' and 'preaching', since he may well have preached the substance of these 'sermons' in the city of Alexandria and sent copies of them as 'letters' to the churches and monasteries of his arch-diocese.

When were the letters sent ?

The passage from Cassian mentioned previously is quoted in full by M.Chaine ; 'Intra regionem Aegypti, mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die, quem provinciae illius sacerdotes vel Dominici baptismi vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei festivitate concelebrant, epistolae pontificis Alexandrini per universas Aegypti ecclesias dirigantur, quibus et initium Quadragesimae et dies Paschae non solum per civitates omnes sed etiam per universa monasteria designentur' (2).

This statement has been variously assessed. E.C.S.Gibson, in a note to his translation of the author, wrote : 'Cassian here speaks of them (letters) as sent immediately after the Epiphany, and this was certainly the time at which the announcement of the date of Easter was made in the West shortly after his own day, but there is ample evidence in the Festal Letters of both St. Athanasius and of St. Cyril that at Alexandria the homilies were preached on the previous Easter' (3).

(1) GAL, Vol.4, p.61.

(2) Chaine, p.27 (note 1).

(3) NP-NF, Vol.X1, p.401 (note 2).

The introduction to a translation of Athanasius' Festal Letters points to a variation in the time at which he announced the dates and to some ambiguity in his language. 'It should be observed that the interval before Easter at which notice was given varied greatly. Some letters (e.g. 1,2,20), by a natural figure of speech, refer to the Feast as actually come ; but others (17,18) were certainly written as early as the preceding Easter. Letter 4 was written not long before Lent, but was unusually late. The statement of Cassian..is therefore incorrect, at any rate for our period'.(1) Athanasius' Festal Letter No. 17 explicitly mentions 'this present festival' on the 20th of the month Pharmuthi (A.D.344) and gives the date for the following year, i.e. 12th of Pharmuthi (A.D.345). (2)

Cassian's words, however, are supported by Otto Bardenhewer in the work referred to above (3). He mentions the custom of giving the dates for Lent and Easter at the New Year in the earlier period (4). M. Chaine, in his book on the chronology of Egypt during this period, also refers to passages in the letters of Dionysius, the third century bishop of Alexandria, in which he attempted to clarify the proper time for the celebration of Easter (5). These passages were preserved by Eusebius in his History of the Church, but they give no clear indication as to the time at which the letters were sent (6). In one of them the bishop wrote 'To other men the present would not seem to be a time for festival' and Eusebius introduced this quotation by saying 'After this, when the war was followed by a pestilential disease, and the feast was at hand, he (Dionysius) communicated by letter with the brethren...'(7). This suggests that this particular letter was sent before or during Lent. The letters of Cyril's immediate predecessor, Theophilus, are only preserved in fragments which contain no information on dating (8).

The evidence from the third and fourth centuries is, therefore, ambiguous and the words of Cassian can only be understood as applying to a later Western practice. On the other hand, the letters written by Cyril provide us with a more solid foundation for following the opinion expressed by Bardenhewer. Although there are what seem to be the 'natural figure(s) of speech' found in Athanasius' letters, the

(1) NP-PF (Second Series), Vol 1V, p. 501. (2) *ibidem*, note on p.544.

(3) GAL, Vol.4, p.61. (4) GAL, Vol.2,p.224 (5) Chaine, p.27

(6) Eusebius, E.H., VII, ch.20-22. (7) *Ibidem*, ch.22;1

(8) P.G. Vol.LXV.,columns 53-60.

general tone of the exhortations to under-go the rigours of fasting favours their having been written before Lent (see the opening paragraphs of Letters 3 and 5[4 and 6 in the manuscripts and editions]). The whole tenor of the letters supports this opinion and the following quotations give examples of phrases which are most naturally understood to refer to the immediacy of the period for which Cyril is giving the dates ;

HP 1,1 (p. 6, 1-2 - τῆς ἑορτῆς ... τὰ παιδρὰ προλάμπει ... φῶτα);
 HP 2,1 (p. 24, 11-13 - ἥδη..ἡ..ἑορτῇ... γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ θυραῖς) ; HP 2,3 (p. 26, 12-17 - ὥραι δὲ πάλιν ἀνατέλλουσιν ἡριναί... πεδία δὲ ἥδη χλοη-
 -φόρει) (1) ; HP 3,1 (p. 41, 1 - πάλιν... ὁ τῆς ἁγίας ἑορτῆς ἀναλάμπει καιρὸς) ; HP 4,1 (p. 55, 7 - ἑορτῆς τοιγαροῦν καιρὸς ὁ πάρων) ;
 HP 5,1 (p. 73, 1 - τῆς μὲν ἁγίας ἡμῶν ἀναλαμπόουσης ἑορτῆς).

The dates of Easter.

The dates for Lent and Easter given at the end of each Letter are in accordance with the Egyptian months and numeration of days. When these are changed to the Julian system it becomes clear that the first one was sent for the year 414 A.D. Thereafter the sequence is unbroken to 443 A.D., one year before Cyril's death (2).

In the first five Letters the dates given for Easter are as follows :

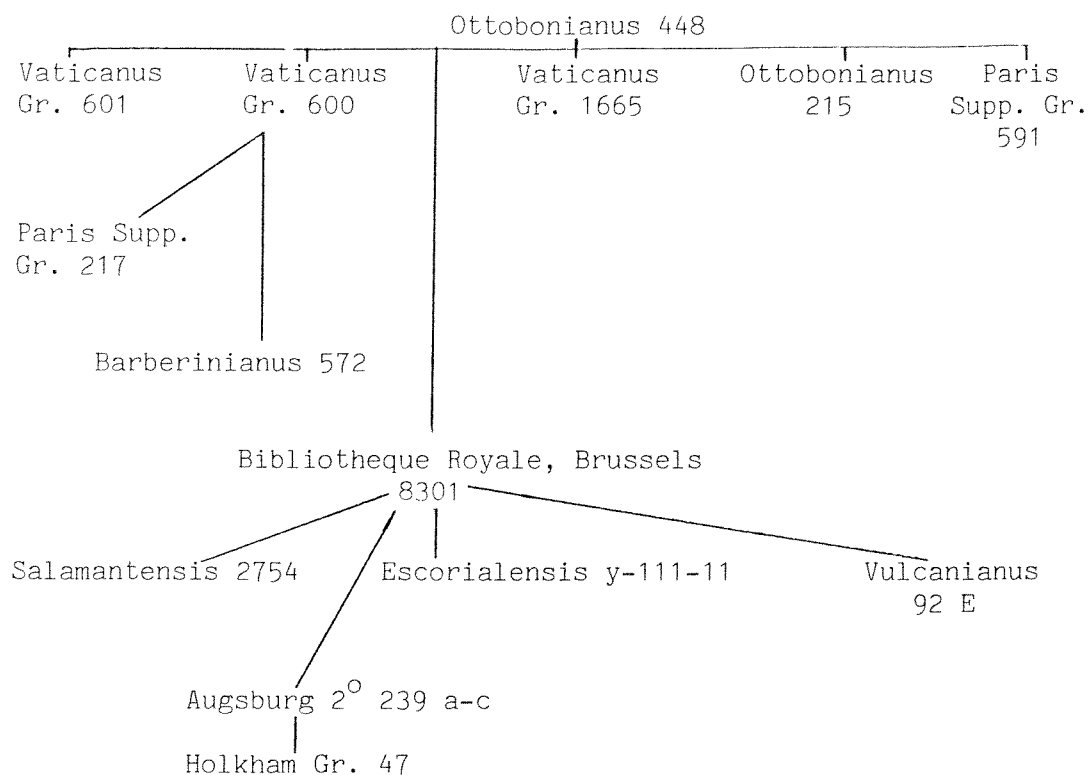
<u>Year</u>	<u>Month and Date</u>
414	March 22nd.
415	April 11th.
416	April 2nd.
417	April 22nd.
418	April 7th (3)

(1) This indicates the season known to the Egyptians as 'Going out', when the Nile floods subsided and work in the fields could begin.

See the whole of the passage in Letter 2 and Bickerman, p.40.

(2) GAL, p.61.

(3) Chaine, Appendix 1V, pp.181-4.



THE SIGLA.

Ottobonianus 448	- A
Vaticanus Gr. 600	- B
Bib. Roy., Brussels 8301	- C
Vaticanus Gr. 601	- D
Vaticanus Gr. 1665	- E
Ottobonianus 215	- F
Paris Supp. Gr. 591	- G
Barberinianus 572	- H
Paris Supp. Gr. 217	- I
Salamantensis 2754	- J
Escorialensis y-111-11	- K
Augsburg 2° 239 a-c	- L
Holkham Gr. 47	- M
Vulcanianus 92 E	- N

b = the consensus of B H and I

c = the consensus of C L and M, with N (in letter 1 only) and J & K (in letters 1 and 5 only)