

THREE CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOMS FROM  
EARLY ISLAMIC PALESTINE



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# Three Christian Martyrdoms from Early Islamic Palestine

*Passion of Peter of Capitolias*  
*Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba*  
*Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr*

*Parallel Georgian-English and Greek-English texts*  
*edited and translated by*

Stephen J. Shoemaker

*Brigham Young University Press • Provo, Utah*

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*For Orval S. Wintermute*



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## Acknowledgments

This book was initially inspired by my colleague at the University of Oregon, Sean Anthony. Sean was working on a monograph on crucifixion in the early Islamic period, and he asked me if I would translate part of an untranslated Georgian passion for him. I eagerly agreed to have a look at the *Passion of Peter of Capitolias*, the text in question. After spending some time with the text, I recognized its importance on a number of levels and decided to translate the complete text into English. As I began to think of how I could publish the translation, I recalled the Greek *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba*, a text that I had worked on some while in graduate school. It occurred to me to publish the two translations together, along with the original text in some format, since their editions had been published in imperial Russia and were difficult to obtain. I also decided to include the *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr*, since it too had not been translated into a modern language other than Russian. Moreover, it had, like the other two texts, been composed at the monastery of Mar Saba during the eighth century, sharing the same author as the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs*, Stephen Manṣūr the Hymnographer, a close relative of John of Damascus, to whom the *Passion of Peter* is itself attributed. All in all, these three texts and their translations seemed like a fitting collection that would be an excellent fit for the Eastern Christian Texts series, and when I proposed such a volume to Kristian Heal, the series editor, I was pleased by his enthusiastic response.

While working on this project, Sean Anthony shared many conversations about Peter of Capitolias and John of Damascus, as well as his work in progress, which was especially helpful for investigating this particular text. In the fall of 2013, I had the good fortune to be in residence as a member in the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. There I had the opportunity to get to

know Christian Sahner, who recently completed a dissertation on Christian martyrdoms in the early Islamic period at Princeton University. I am most grateful to Christian for sharing his work in progress with me and for his conversation and comments on the introduction and the martyrdoms in this volume. Patricia Crone invited me to present the *Passion of Peter* in her Islamic Studies Seminar at the Institute for Advanced Study, and I am thankful for that opportunity and the comments of those who were in attendance, especially Patricia, Christian, and Jack Tannous. I would also like to thank the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes for providing me with reproductions of MS Coislin 303, ff. 99v–125r and MS Tbilisi A 95, ff. 440v–454r, and especially to Muriel Debié for making me aware of this collection in the first place. I am grateful to Kristian Heal for agreeing to publish this book in the Eastern Christian Studies series, and also to the two anonymous readers, who significantly improved the final product.

I dedicate this book to Professor Orval S. Wintermute of Duke University, who taught me many of the languages of the Christian Near East while I was in graduate school. Orval was an outstanding teacher, whose pedagogical gifts are matched only by his kindness and infectious enthusiasm for studying ancient languages. Orval guided my first steps in Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian: the latter he had taught himself so that he could help me begin my studies in this language. But the story that I most like to tell about Orval is his offer to teach me Coptic over the phone while I was still a senior in college. At the time I thought that I wanted to become a Coptologist, and I wrote letters to a number of professors to explore what my options might be for graduate study at different universities. When Orval promptly wrote back, he suggested that we could start with Coptic right away, if I was interested. He proposed that I buy Lambdin's grammar, study it on my own during the week, and then we could talk through it over the phone on the weekends, when the rates were down. I politely declined his offer—other things were commanding my attention during my last term in college. But I have never forgotten what an extraordinarily generous offer that was, and it meant a lot to me in my decision to ultimately attend Duke. And I have never regretted that decision—either to attend Duke or to study with Orval.

## Introduction

From the very beginning Christianity has valorized the deeds of its martyrs. Their unwavering courage in the face of excruciating torment and their welcome embrace of an unjust death have frequently been reckoned as the height of Christian perfection. In large part this is because the martyr's violent exit from this world marks a true *imitatio Christi*, in which the soteriological drama of life's triumph through death is replayed again and again and realized anew for subsequent generations.

Yet in recent decades scholars have increasingly come to recognize that the early Christians often exaggerated their community's experience of martyrdom, both individually and collectively, in service to an ideological narrative of suffering that was central to early Christian identity. Indeed, some scholars have even suggested that it was the profound ability of this discourse of martyrdom to explain and give meaning to suffering that was one of the primary attractions for converts to Christianity during the second and third centuries. Of course, this is not to suggest that these memories of the ancient Christian martyrs are mere fables; to be sure, the early Christians faced persecution from the Roman state, and as a result they were frequently put to death for their religious beliefs and practices. But suffice it to say that the actual experience of martyrdom and the numbers of Christians who were victims of imperial persecution are often highly exaggerated in the early Christian sources. In many instances it would appear that the Christian martyrs were simply the victims of mob violence rather than targets of government authorities. Indeed, it would seem, as some scholars of early Christian martyrdom have observed, that the Christians were actually far more eager to die than the Romans were to kill them, and often they would do so only when the Christians themselves insisted on it.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See, e.g., Perkins, *Suffering Self*; and Moss, *Myth of Persecution*.

With the accession of Constantine, Christianity's relation to imperial power changed dramatically, and as the empire became increasingly christianized over the course of the fourth century, opportunities for martyrdom obviously were greatly diminished. And so the ascetic holy person soon emerged as the new Christian superstar, a figure who in a rather different way was able to die to the world and mortify the flesh for Christ.<sup>2</sup> From this point on only the bitter divisions over Christology left the Christians of Rome with a possible avenue for the occasional martyrdom, as Christian turned against Christian in the struggle to define the relation between Christ's humanity and divinity.<sup>3</sup> Around this same time, however, the persecution of Christians intensified considerably in the Sasanian lands. Although Christianity had enjoyed relative tolerance in Persia for most of its first three centuries, with the arrival of the Sasanids and their zeal for the religion of Zoroaster, the Christians suddenly found themselves often fiercely persecuted, and in Iran and Mesopotamia during the fourth and fifth centuries, thousands upon thousands of Christians met with a martyr's fate. It is certainly no mere coincidence that this rise in the persecution of Persia's Christians moved largely in tandem with the christianization of the Roman Empire during the same period. As wars continued to rage between these two empires during late antiquity, the Persian Christians' allegiance to Rome's now-favored religion opened them up to charges of political disloyalty and sedition. Accordingly, they were often dealt with severely by the Sasanian authorities, yet on occasion, the Persian leaders too, like the Romans before them, were reluctant to put the offending Christians to death.<sup>4</sup> Toward the end of the fifth century, the persecution of Christians in Persia also began to wane. Thereafter one had to travel all the way to Yemen to find a polity interested in the wholesale slaughter of Christians. There in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, the rulers of a Jewish kingdom led pogroms

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2. Malone, *Monk and the Martyr*.

3. Van Ginkel, "Persuasion and Persecution," 51–60; Segal, *Edessa*, 98.

4. Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 1–19. A famous example of Persian reluctance to put Christian offenders to death can be found in the *Martyrdom of Narsai the Ascetic* (in *Acta martyrum et sanctorum Syriace*, ed. Bedjan, 4:170–80; trans. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 36–38), where the Sasanian king offers to drop the charges if Narsai will simply deny that he did what he was accused of.

against the Christians in an effort to forcibly convert them to Judaism, making a multitude of martyrs in the process.<sup>5</sup>

One of the great benefits, if we may call it that, that the rise of Islam brought to the Christians of the late ancient Near East was a renewed opportunity to attain the victory of martyrdom at the hands of infidel rulers. The martyr's passion suddenly reemerged as a popular literary genre in the early Islamic period, particularly, but by no means exclusively, among the Chalcedonian communities of Syria and Palestine who had remained faithful to the imperial church. There are nearly a dozen such Melkite martyrdoms from the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, hardly an explosion but clearly evidence of a newfound interest in this topic that had been so essential in the formation of early Christian identity.<sup>6</sup> Although most of these martyrdoms were originally composed in Greek in the Chalcedonian monasteries of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai, many now survive only in Arabic or, as is the case with two of the present texts, in Georgian translations. The scale of Christian persecution during the early Islamic period was certainly nothing close to what the early Christians faced at the hands of the Romans and Sasanians, but this renewal of martyrdoms and the revival of martyrological literature is seemingly one of the more interesting features of Christian culture in early Islamic Syria and Palestine. The adaptation of this early Christian genre to new circumstances of political domination during the early Middle Ages offers a potentially revealing and yet largely unexplored window onto how Christians responded culturally to Islamic imperialism.<sup>7</sup> Interestingly enough, at least in the martyrdoms presented here, we see repeated some of the same patterns that emerge from the early Christian experience of martyrdom: reluctance on the part of the government authorities to execute Christians and the martyrdom of Christians through mob violence, as in the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs*. How well these patterns hold up across this corpus remains to be discerned, but their recurrence in these new circumstances is certainly of some interest. Two new themes, however, emerge in this literature, both of which have to do with the transgression of community boundaries:

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5. Shahîd, *Martyrs of Najrân*; and Bowersock, *Empires in Collision*, 17–24.

6. Griffith, "Christians, Muslims, and Neo-Martyrs," 163–207. A more comprehensive description of this literature exists in an unpublished dissertation by Vila, "Christian Martyrs of the First Abbasid Century."

7. In this regard, see Sahner, "Christian Martyrs and the Making of an Islamic Society."

several of these neomartyrs meet their fate either because of their apostasy from Islam or through efforts to proselytize among the Muslim community.

All three of the martyrdoms presented in this volume were composed at the Mar Saba monastery in the Judean Desert. They share a common high literary style, although each is very different in the manner that it portrays Christian martyrdom at the hands of the Muslims. All three are attributed to famous members of this renowned monastic community: the first text, the *Passion of Peter of Capitolias*, is ascribed to John of Damascus, according to its manuscript, while the two that follow, the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba* and the *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr*, were composed by John's nephew, Stephen Manşür the Hymnographer. Since the *Passion of Peter of Capitolias* in particular has been largely unknown and thus little studied in previous scholarship, I will devote more attention to it in this introduction than to the other two martyrdoms. The editions of each text have been corrected and compared with the manuscript evidence when available, although in most cases any changes were fairly minor. For the first text, the *Passion of Peter*, I have reproduced references to the individual folios and columns from the original edition in brackets, as given in the original edition (the other editions did not give references to folios).

The English translations are the first for each into any modern language other than Russian, and I have tried to stay as close to the original text as possible while making sure that the resulting translation is fluent, readable English. That is to say, I have favored faithfulness to the original language over any attempts to achieve a literary translation, both because I suspect that the audience for these texts will be primarily a scholarly one, and this approach will be most useful in the event that any new versions may be discovered in the future. In the Georgian texts I have translated biblical citations directly from the Georgian rather than making use of a standard English translation. At the time when these texts were produced, there was still no standard Georgian translation of the Bible, and the variations present in these texts are thus of some historical interest.<sup>8</sup> The *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs* presents a different circumstance, and for this text I have rendered biblical citations according to the translations of *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* for the Old Testament and the New Revised

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8. Metzger, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, 182–200.

Standard Version for the New Testament, unless the text has a substantial divergence from the critical texts. In all cases, however, references to the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament follow the numeration of the Septuagint.<sup>9</sup>

### *Passion of Peter of Capitolias (d. 715)*

Until now the only available translation of Peter's martyrdom was the Russian version that accompanies its edition. As a result, Western scholars have relied instead on a French summary of the text published by Paul Peeters in 1939, which despite its merits does not convey sufficient knowledge of this martyrdom.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, it is somewhat surprising that Peeters gives only this summary and not a full Latin translation, as he did for so many other similar texts—this decision is nowhere explained. The need for a translation of this important hagiographical text into one of the languages of modern Western scholarship has long been voiced by scholars of the early medieval Near East, so that Sidney Griffith, for instance, identifies the translation of this passion as “one of the pressing scholarly *desiderata* for the history of Christianity in the early Islamic period.”<sup>11</sup> The text is known only in Old Georgian, where it survives in just a single manuscript, a menologion for the months of September and October. The manuscript is itself rather late, having been copied in 1565 at the Gelati monastery, one of the most important cultural centers in late medieval and early modern Georgia; now it is preserved in the city museum of the nearby town Kutaisi.<sup>12</sup> Its edition and translation were published in the 1915 volume of the Russian journal *Khristianskiĭ Vostok* (“Eastern Christianity”) by Korneli Kekelidze, who effectively founded the modern study of Old Georgian literature during the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup>

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9. In many instances I have also given the equivalent references for the Hebrew version of the Old Testament where these differ from the Greek. Nevertheless, the Old Testament references in these texts are always to the Septuagint, which must be consulted in order to understand these references fully.

10. Peeters, “La passion de S. Pierre de Capitolias,” 299–333.

11. Griffith, “Christians, Muslims, and Neo-Martyrs,” 184.

12. MS Kutaisi - Gelati 4, fols 373–389v (Thomas and Roggema, eds., *Christian Muslim Relations*, 421).

13. Kekelidze, “Житие Петра,” 1–71.

The text and translation were subsequently reprinted in Kekelidze's collected works, but unfortunately this reproduction is thoroughly botched and should be avoided. During the production process several pages of the Georgian edition fell out of order and were printed thus. This becomes unmistakable at numerous points in the text where entirely unrecognizable and grammatically impossible Georgian words appear and the flow of the narrative is badly disrupted. Likewise, the Russian translation, which appears to have escaped a similar fate, suddenly no longer matches the Georgian text. Fortunately, the original version from 1915 is correct, and it also includes a large number of textual notes that for some reason are absent from the reprint. For this reason it seems especially desirable to reprint the edition of this martyrdom with some corrections, particularly since the original publication is difficult to obtain.<sup>14</sup> Therefore I have reproduced Kekelidze's original 1915 edition with some minor alterations. Unfortunately I did not have access to the original manuscript, so I have reproduced the editorial notes from the original edition, occasionally adding comments of my own. Likewise I have followed Kekelidze's division of the text into numbered sections. Kekelidze's edition also gives a number of abbreviated forms from the manuscript, which I have resolved for the reader's convenience without indication.

According to its title in the manuscript, Peter's martyrdom was written by "our holy and blessed father John, monk and priest of Damascus," an attribution, so it would seem, to perhaps the most important Eastern Christian intellectual of the eighth century, John of Damascus. Although it is difficult to be certain whether John of Damascus is in fact the author of this text, it is worth noting that Theophanes the Confessor identifies John of Damascus as the author of a biography of Peter of Capitolias in his *Chronicle*, which Theophanes composed during the early years of the ninth century.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, there are some important differences between the Georgian text and Theophanes's account of Peter's martyr-

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14. Since I originally began work on this project, a text of the *Passion of Peter of Capitolias* has been added to the outstanding and invaluable collection of Georgian texts made available online at the *Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS)*, <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/>. Unfortunately, however, the text was entered from the reprint and not from the original publication. Therefore this online text must also be avoided.

15. Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6234 (de Boor, ed., *Theophanis chronographia*, 1:417).

dom, and so the relationship between this passion and the text that Theophanes attributes to John of Damascus remains unclear. So far only the text's original editor, Kekelidze, has voiced a clear opinion regarding the attribution's authenticity, and Kekelidze concludes with conviction that "it is impossible in this case to doubt the Damascene's authorship." John, he notes, according to his own *Life*, had retired to the monastery of Mar Saba at this time, where he devoted himself to composing hagiographies of great men. Peter's martyrdom, he maintains, thus occurred while John himself was living in Palestine, so that "Peter suffered, so to speak, in front of John of Damascus." The high literary style, he additionally notes, seems worthy of John of Damascus.<sup>16</sup>

While it is tempting to assign this martyrdom to John, it seems more prudent to wait until more eyes have had a chance to examine the text before reaching a final judgment. There may have been more than one John who was a monk and priest of Damascus, or some medieval copyist may have wanted to ascribe this text to the greatest theologian of the period in question. Nevertheless, the circumstances of John's life invite a real possibility that he was its author. The chronology of John's personal history as well as the history of his renowned family have long been problematic. Much confusion exists as to whether John is to be identified with the Manṣūr ibn Sarjūn known especially from Islamic sources who was a high court official in the Umayyad administration in Damascus. Nevertheless, in a recent article Sean Anthony has argued, persuasively in my opinion, on the basis of the Christian and Islamic sources that John of Damascus is in fact the son of this Manṣūr. This would mean, among other things, that John of Damascus lived one generation later than most scholarship has assumed.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, reliable dates in the life of John are very hard to come by, but his Arabic biography reports that not long after assuming his father's administrative position in Damascus, John was forced to flee to the monastery of Mar Saba when the iconoclast emperor Leo III (r. 717–41) forged a treasonous letter in John's name, turning the Islamic leaders against

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16. Kekelidze, "Житие Петра," 2–3. The work is not included in the *Clavis patrum graecorum*, even under "dubia" or "spuria," although one finds there that John was indeed otherwise involved in the composition of hagiographies; see Geerard and Noret, *Clavis patrum graecorum*; Geerard et al., *Clavis patrum graecorum*.

17. Anthony, "Fixing John Damascene's Biography," 607–27.

him.<sup>18</sup> If this chronology is correct, it would mean that John was likely serving as a high-ranking administrative official in the Umayyad court at the time Peter was brought to Damascus to appear before the caliph Walid and his son (and so was not in Palestine, contra Kekelidze). Then, only a few years later he fled to Mar Saba, where, as Kekelidze notes, John's *Life* says that he began to write hagiography.<sup>19</sup> Such circumstances certainly comport favorably with the passion's attribution to John.

The narrative begins by identifying Peter as a resident of "Capitolias in the province of Jordan, which is in Second Palestine," one of the ten cities of the ancient Decapolis that corresponds with the modern Jordanian village of Beit Ras, just five kilometers to the north of Irbid. Peter is further described as a man of some means who was a married priest with a son and two daughters. Then at the age of thirty, he decides to embrace the life of continence, in agreement with his wife. He places his two daughters, who are "a little less than two years old," in the nearby monastery of St. Sabinian, where live eight virtuous nuns. The passion continues to explain that Peter's younger daughter was particularly beautiful, on account of which it was necessary for her to take on even more extreme ascetic rigors than the other women of the monastery in order to protect her from the snares of the flesh—among her most lauded qualities was a swarm of maggots visible in her flesh. The author next addresses the subject of Peter's son, who was twelve at the time. Peter builds a cell for his son near the church of the Theotokos in Capitolias and "place[s] him in this cell as one alive in a grave," and for good measure, Peter builds a cell for himself in front of his son's cell in order to keep an eye on the boy. Peter travels back and forth between his cell and his daughters' monastery, looking after his children and giving them instruction, a lengthy example of which the author provides, along with an account of Peter's severe monastic regimen.

After ten years, Peter's wife passes away, and he continues in his ascetic ways, although we are soon informed of his keen interest in the

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18. Al-Samʿānī, *Biographie de Saint Jean Damascène*, 29–30. The information and reference are from Anthony, "Fixing John Damascene's Biography," 607–27.

19. Unfortunately, however, little hagiography survives that can be securely attributed to John. There are encomia on Saints Barbara, Anastasia, and John Chrysostom, a passion of St. Artemius, as well as some hagiographical homilies on the Virgin Mary. See Gearard and Noret, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, 3:518–22; and Di Berardino, ed., *Patrology*, 230.

martyrs as well. He encourages those being led away to their death to long for martyrdom, and the author provides a sample of his exhortations to these martyrs in the making. Not surprisingly, the issue of apostasy is suddenly introduced. Peter is reportedly disturbed by those Christians who were being seduced away from the truth and into godless falsehood—“some were attracted and won over through flattery, while others were stolen away by the promise of gifts.” Still others, we are told, renounced their faith only under torture. Peter begins to despair of life in a world so governed by error and blasphemy, and he longs to die. He is particularly troubled that no one dares to expose the falsehood of this pernicious new belief that has only recently emerged “because of the wormwood’s concealment with honey.” These deceivers, we learn, use “false fairy tales” to persuade the people that the Father alone is God and that the Son is merely his servant and a creature. In the verbal confrontations that ultimately lead to Peter’s martyrdom, this issue, the divinity of Christ, stands persistently to the fore.

In the midst of his vexation, in November of 714, Peter suddenly falls ill through an act of divine providence. Having determined to become a martyr for Christ, Peter fears that perhaps he will die of illness, and such an ordinary death will deny him the martyr’s crown that he longs for. Therefore he sets in motion a plan that he believes will ensure his glorious demise before the illness can take him. He summons someone named Qaiouma, under the pretense that he is to assist him in the difficulties of his sickness. Peter then orders Qaiouma to go down to the “temple of the Arabs” and to summon the most distinguished men of the city to come to his house because he wants to entrust something to Qaiouma and requires them as witnesses. Qaiouma does as instructed, only Peter never intended for these men to serve as witnesses to any sort of legal arrangement. Instead, he was hoping to inflame them into killing him by denouncing the fallacies of their faith, so that he could die as a martyr. Peter then rebukes the Arabs’ false beliefs in their presence, and he specifically condemns their rejection of Christ’s divinity as well as their recognition of one who came after John the Baptist as a prophet; according to Peter, John was the seal of biblical prophecy. The Arabs—who are never named as Muslims nor is their faith called Islam—are predictably incensed and begin to seethe with anger against Peter. They seem intent on murder and are on the verge of fulfilling his wish, but once again divine providence intervenes to prevent his murder by the mob, lest, we are told, his

death might be thought by some to have been the result of natural causes rather than a true martyrdom. Nonetheless, the Arabs remain infuriated by Peter's outrageous and deliberate assault on their beliefs, and their rage is stoked further once he recovers from his illness and begins to parade about the streets of the city proclaiming his invective against their faith.

A rhetorical dialogue between the devil and Peter intervenes at this point, but before long we are back with the story, as the Arabs in exasperation formally complain to the local governor about Peter's behavior and ask that he be dealt with. This governor, who holds jurisdiction over "the Arabs settled in Jordan" is named as "Umar, the son of Walid, the tyrant of the Arabs," a figure also known from the Islamic sources to have been the governor of the province al-Urdunn during the reign of his father, the Umayyad caliph Walid I (r. 705–15), the son of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>20</sup> After reading their request, 'Umar gives orders that a certain "Zora, who had been given authority by him over the Trichora," should detain Peter and question him in order to determine if his polemical remarks were merely a symptom of his illness, brought on by his torment and delirium. If that should be the case and Peter were to acknowledge such a cause, then he is to be released. But if he persists and remains insolent, then Zora is to imprison him and send a written report of his transgressions to 'Umar. Zora then travels to Capitolias, where he reads 'Umar's letter publicly in Peter's presence and explains that the "emir" wishes to spare Peter's life if his rantings were merely the consequence of his illness. The law does not punish unintended transgressions, he explains, and so he further advises Peter at the conclusion of his address to "just deny what they say you said and go home alive." His friends and relatives similarly advise him, but Peter remains resolute. Defiantly he maintains, "I am speaking the truth; I am not lying. I do not ever recall any deception of the mind during the time of my illness, and what I said then is true." Zora then has him arrested and sends a full report to 'Umar.

At this same time it happened that 'Umar's father, the caliph Walid, had become seriously ill, and so 'Umar had traveled to Damascus to be with him, events that again are confirmed by the Islamic sources.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, this passion often shows a remarkable knowledge of contempo-

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20. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death*, 56.

21. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death*, 57.

rary events, which lends it a measure of credibility and also is presumably a sign that it was composed not very long after Peter's martyrdom. When the news of Peter's defiance reaches ʿUmar there, he informs his father, who then gives the order that Peter should be brought forth to him in chains. On January 1, 715, a messenger arrives in Capitolias with an order for Peter's arrest. Peter then is bound in chains and led forth to Damascus, a three-day journey, and along the way Christians from far and wide come out to behold the martyr, in hopes of receiving his blessing. Upon reaching Damascus, they arrive at the monastery of St. Theodore on the mountain of Kassia, just above the city, where the caliph had taken up residence, a point also known from the Islamic sources.<sup>22</sup> There in his monastic palace, Walid lay in the throes of illness with his family gathered around him. On the next day Peter is brought before ʿUmar, who again suggests to Peter that his "blasphemies" were perhaps a result of his illness, despite his insistence now to the contrary. He again offers Peter a chance to avoid the bitter fate that awaits him and pleads with him to "confess your error, and your mistake will be let go." Our martyr boldly rejects his offer, confessing instead the divinity of Christ and denouncing ʿUmar's belief in a false prophet. ʿUmar then sends Peter to appear before his father, the caliph Walid. Walid explains to Peter that there is no problem with his belief in Christ's divinity—if he chooses to believe thus, then that is fine. But, he asks, "Why have you insulted our religion? Why have you said that our peaceful prophet is the master of deception and the father of lies?" Peter responds by insisting yet again on the divinity of Christ, continuing also to denounce "this one who calls himself a prophet . . . as a slave of my Christ, as a liar and a deceiver." But most of Peter's address to the caliph consists of his longing to suffer pain and death for Christ, and he virtually pleads with Walid to deliver him over to the threatened punishments.

The caliph is understandably infuriated, and so he orders that Peter should be returned to Capitolias, where he is to be tortured and crucified publicly. Walid's directive is very specific in ordering that all the people should be assembled to behold his punishment. No doubt Walid believed that such a spectacle would make other Christians think twice before

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22. Regarding this monastery, see Binggeli, "Converting the Caliph," 77–103; I thank Christian Sahner for this reference. See also Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death*, 57.

defaming the Arabs' new prophet, but for the Christians it offered instead an opportunity for their community to witness firsthand the glorious triumph of life over death by death. The remainder of the text, roughly one quarter of the entirety, describes in graphic detail the torture and execution of Peter over a period of several days, following procedures enumerated partly in Qur'an 5:33.<sup>23</sup> On the first day his tongue is cut out, although miraculously Peter continues to speak with great eloquence. Then on the second and fourth days his hands and feet are cut off from opposite sides, first the right hand and the left foot, and then the left hand and the right foot. On the fourth day the governor commanded that all the Christians from the three cities of the Trichora—that is, Capitolias, Gadara, and Abila—should gather to witness Peter's horrible fate. He is blinded and paraded through the streets of Capitolias, as the authorities warn the crowd that any imitators can count on suffering a similar fate. Finally, Peter's journey ends on a high place outside the city called Turlipara in Aramaic, the meaning of which is not clear. There he is affixed to a cross and left on public display for five days, after which his body is very carefully and thoroughly disposed of, following specific instructions given by the caliph himself. Together with the cross and all of his clothing, Peter's body is burned in a furnace; the ashes then are "placed in a bag and sealed with the seal of the rulers" and scattered in the Yarmuk River. For good measure, the furnace also is washed with water, wiped with rags, and then the water they used is thrown into a waterless desert cave. As the caliph explains in his directive, such extreme care must be taken lest there should be any remains that could serve as relics for the faithful.

Peter's remains were thus completely annihilated, at least according to this narrative of his martyrdom, and so it is no great surprise that we do not find any evidence of a shrine dedicated to Peter and his relics either in Capitolias or anywhere else in the greater Trichora area. Nevertheless, Peter did leave behind him several different accounts of his martyrdom in addition to this passion, and the variations among these literary remains have so far been the primary focus of scholarship on this Christian neomartyr. I have little interest in repeating such efforts to recover the historical Peter of Capitolias who underlies these diverse accounts, and so far I am not persuaded that we can understand exactly how all the complex data that we are given should relate. Robert

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23. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death*, 57.

Hoyland favors giving precedence to Theophanes's brief account of Peter's martyrdom (which again affirms John of Damascus's authorship),<sup>24</sup> but the passage in question is quite confused and seems to reflect an amalgamation of various different Peters, including someone named Peter of Maiouma, which, one should note, is also the name of the famous Palestinian monk from the later fifth century, and Peter the Iberian, who was an early leader in the anti-Chalcedonian movement.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, I do not think that Peter's Georgian passion has yet been given the full consideration that it merits, in large part because it has not been translated. I suspect that this passion probably provides our best information about Peter and his martyrdom, although it is clear that this is not a straightforward history of actual events by any measure. It is true that the text survives only in a fairly recent Georgian manuscript, and such late attestation invites a measure of skepticism. Nevertheless, the text often seems quite knowledgeable about contemporary events and local geography, qualities that suggest its author had good information at his disposal and was working in relatively close historical proximity to Peter's martyrdom.<sup>26</sup> Its authorship by John of Damascus should not be completely excluded, but even if he is not the actual author, it is quite conceivable, perhaps even likely, that we have here a work of the early eighth century written not long after the events in question.

If Peter's passion was largely forgotten outside of this lone Georgian manuscript, it is clear that the events of his martyrdom did not suffer the same fate. In addition to Theophanes's *Chronicle*, we find memories of Peter's martyrdom in the *Chronicle* of Theophilus of Edessa (which was one of Theophanes's main sources)<sup>27</sup> and also in the Synaxarion of Constantinople and the Menologion of Basil II, both Byzantine liturgical

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24. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 354–90.

25. Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6234 (de Boor, ed., *Theophanis chronographia*, 416–17)

26. See esp. Anthony, *Crucifixion and Death*, 56–58.

27. In addition to Theophanes, see also Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2:506); and the *Chronicle of 1234* (Chabot, ed., *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, 1:245). Both of these Syriac chronicles depend, like Theophanes, on Theophilus of Edessa's now lost *Chronicle*, and the presence of almost identical reports concerning Peter in all three sources indicates that they have taken this account from their common source, Theophilus. See also Hoyland's effort to reconstruct Theophilus's *Chronicle* in English translation in *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle*, 242–43.

texts from the tenth century that commemorate Peter's martyrdom on October 4 (in contrast to the passion, where the events take place in January).<sup>28</sup> The Menologion of Basil, which is lavishly illustrated, even contains a large image depicting Peter's crucifixion. Peter's cult then was apparently fairly significant in the Middle Byzantine period, both in the Near East and in Constantinople, even if for some reason the full account of his martyrdom was not preserved in Greek or Syriac or Arabic. The passion's original language almost certainly was Greek, and while Peeters points to a number of features that he thinks could indicate a Syriac—or more properly Christian Palestinian Aramaic—original, his arguments are rather strained and have not found much acceptance.<sup>29</sup>

It is less certain, however, whether the passion was translated into Georgian directly from the Greek or, as is often the case, via an intermediate Arabic translation. Several features suggest that the translation was most likely made directly from the Greek, as Kekelidze also concludes.<sup>30</sup> None of the obvious signs of translation from Arabic are evident; these would include transcriptions of Arabic terms or indications that a Greek word had been transcribed via Arabic. Likewise there are no expressions that seem to reflect the literal translation of an Arabic idiom.<sup>31</sup> Likewise there is no evidence of an Arabic translation of the text, and I am not aware of any evidence indicating Peter's commemoration in Arabic sources. More positively, the regular use of the instrumental case (and in some instances the dative) to reflect what would appear to be Greek participles in the original is a feature common to other works translated directly from Greek. This pattern is evident throughout the text, especially with respect to the verb *ყოფა*, “to be,” which often is used in a manner that seems to closely mimic the Greek participle. Likewise *რად*, *რადთა*, and *ვითარმედ* occur often seemingly for the Greek particles *ὅτι* and *ὅνα*. Also telling is the text's use of *ნაწლევნი*, literally “guts,” with the meaning “compassion, mercy,” as the Greek

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28. Synaxarion of Constantinople (Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 105–6); Menologion of Basil II (PG 117:85c–d).

29. Peeters, “La passion de S. Pierre,” 322–23.

30. Kekelidze, “Житие Петра,” 22.

31. Although in this matter I must admit my less than perfect mastery of Arabic, and perhaps more learned colleagues will be able to discern such elements in the text.

σπλάγγνα.<sup>32</sup> This meaning does not occur in the Georgian lexica for this word, and so the translation presumably has been made directly from the Greek. The fact that the manuscript was produced at the Gelati monastery in Georgia—rather than at Sinai, Mar Saba, the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem, or the Black Mountain—also favors a Greek original. Thus while the matter may not be considered definitively resolved, the evidence seems to favor significantly a translation made from the Greek.

The story itself contains many noteworthy features that are deserving of further historical reflection, and I will here but scratch the surface. Perhaps the most striking element of this text is the extreme reluctance on the part of the authorities to put Peter to death, a resistance that is overcome only by Peter's relentless desire for the Arabs to execute him so that he could gain the martyr's crown. What we find here goes well beyond the earlier Roman policy of seeking to avoid confrontation. Likewise, even though we find that such reluctance by the authorities to deliver a capital sentence is a common theme in many Christian martyrdoms from the early Islamic period, in Peter's passion their efforts to avert his execution are exceptional.<sup>33</sup> Walid, Umar, and Zora all look for a way to avoid killing Peter. Even after he has repeatedly denied that illness was the cause of his public denunciations of Muhammad's claims to prophecy, these officials persistently try to convince him to take the easy way out: just say it was the illness, they plead with him, so they can pardon him. They have no problem with Peter's confession of Christ's divinity, it would seem, and they are willing to allow this so long as he will stop rebuking their prophet. Unlike the Roman persecutors, these Islamic authorities show no interest in persuading Peter to renounce his faith; they merely want him to stop publicly criticizing their own faith. If only he would show a bit more tact and offer a ready excuse for his impolite ravings, they seem more than happy to allow him to live and to tolerate his profession of a different faith.

As for Peter's behavior in the narrative, his ardent desire to suffer a painful death, seemingly without necessity, undoubtedly strikes most

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32. It is true, one should note, that the same is also the case in Syriac, where the word ܩܘܨܝܐ similarly means "guts" as well as "compassion" and "mercy." This would also comport with Peter's proposal of a Syriac original.

33. Swanson, "Martyrdom of 'Abd al-Masih," 119.

modern readers as bizarre and utterly deranged. Moreover, given the circumstances of his execution, as described in this narrative, it is not entirely clear that Peter is in fact a proper martyr. According to the story of his passion, Peter is put to death not so much for his confession of the Christian faith, which he seemingly is allowed to profess, but rather for his persistent and public critique of the faith held by the ruling authorities. No less significant is the extent to which Peter actively seeks his own martyrdom, even when he is offered the opportunity to preserve his life *without* renouncing his faith. His unwavering pursuit of martyrdom seemingly contradicts the received teaching of the early church fathers, who on the whole taught that while Christians must not turn away from martyrdom when the only other alternative is blasphemy and the destruction of the soul, at the same time they maintained that martyrdom should not be actively sought. From the early third century onward, the prevailing voice of the orthodox fathers rejects those who would volunteer themselves for martyrdom.<sup>34</sup>

Peter's enthusiasm for martyrdom and his aggressive efforts to achieve it clearly transgress this established principle. To be sure, Peter's actions are certainly not unprecedented, but they are nonetheless aberrant when measured against the established limits in the Christian discourse of martyrdom. Accordingly, the author must finally apologize for Peter's enthusiasm in the narrative's conclusion, explaining that "although the law of martyrdom has said that one should flee from the contest when not called and also not hand oneself over to martyrdom, by avoiding the persecutors and recognizing the weakness of nature, nevertheless 'the law is not laid down for the just,' nor for those who have risen above their humble flesh and have surpassed nature and have been transformed by the good transformation." For good measure, he completes the passion with several examples of other famous individuals from the Old Testament and early Christian history who were similarly martyred for openly challenging the wickedness of those in power, in order to vindicate Peter's determination to die for Christ.

One must wonder then about the purpose of this martyrdom, which again is not just a straightforward report of actual events from the early eighth century. Rather, we have here a highly stylized account of

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34. See, e.g., De Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution*, 153–200; Moss, "Discourse of Voluntary Martyrdom," 531–51.

this martyr's death that was designed to meet certain expectations of its audience and to advance a particular Christian self-understanding in the face of rule by Arab infidels who were promoting a new and blasphemous strain of monotheism. So just what are the values and ideas that this narrative advocates and presumably expects its readers and hearers to embrace? Other Christian martyrdoms from the early Islamic period seem designed to encourage resistance to conversion and to address the delicate issues of Christian apostasy to Islam and Muslim apostates to Christianity (some of whom, we learn from these tales, had originally been Christians). Yet these issues seem distant from the present text—no one is guilty of apostasy, and Peter is in no way pressured to convert. To the contrary, the authorities are happy for him to remain a Christian; they merely wish that he would shut up. It is true that Peter was allegedly inspired to speak out against Islam because he was enraged that some Christians had been lured away from their faith through bribery or even torture. He was greatly disturbed, or so we are told, that others lacked the courage to denounce the errors of the Arabs' false new religion, and thus he felt compelled to speak out boldly and expose its lies. Yet in comparison with other similar texts from this period, the threat of apostasy emerges as a relatively minimal concern.

Much clearer, however, are the doctrinal issues that the text's author identifies as decisive ideological boundaries dividing the faith of the Christians from that of their new Arab rulers. Time and again we find Peter insisting on the full divinity of Christ and the illegitimacy of Muhammad's claim to be a prophet. The former point, as we have noted, was seemingly not objectionable to the Muslim authorities when professed by the Christians. Yet one would imagine that this narrative aims to meet fresh doubts about this centerpiece of the Christian faith that had possibly been introduced by the new Islamic teachings about Jesus. Likewise Peter's forceful denunciations of Muhammad's prophetic pretensions were undoubtedly intended to prevent any Christians from being lured away by the notion that biblical prophecy had somehow resumed in Muhammad's teachings. After all, several centuries before, Mani had persuaded many Christians to follow in his renewal of prophecy.<sup>35</sup> And amidst the political turmoil and urgent eschatological expectations of the late ancient and early Islamic Near East, surely its

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35. See "Manichaeism and the Biblical Forefathers," in Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm*, 5–30.

largely monotheist inhabitants were highly receptive to the idea that God would raise up a new prophet to guide the faithful through these troubled times.<sup>36</sup> Yet Peter's strident rejections of Muhammad's alleged prophetic status served to remind the Christians of early Islamic Palestine that such prophecy had absolutely come to an end with John the Baptist and was no longer possible or even useful after God's incarnation and direct revelation in Jesus Christ. The practical purpose of such rhetoric is relatively easy to grasp.

More puzzling, however, are the details of Peter's martyrdom itself, both for his relentless determination to force the Arab authorities to execute him and also for the lurid descriptions of his immense physical pain and suffering. One has to wonder, what was the purpose of such a story? What sort of responses were these elements aimed to evoke from the passion's audience? Or asked differently, what was it about these particular features that would have appealed to the Christians of the early Islamic Near East? Was Peter's quest for martyrdom intended to inspire other Christians to follow a similar path so that they too would provoke horrific violence from rulers who otherwise seem intent on tolerating the faith and practice of their Christian subjects? The passion occasionally remarks that prior to his own martyrdom Peter encouraged and inspired other martyrs as they were led to their death, possibly a sign that his story was indeed intended to inspire others to a similarly noble death in the future. Perhaps instead Peter's actions served to dramatize a growing Christian concern with conversion to Islam, even though, as already noted, the text does not address this problem as directly as some other contemporary martyrdoms. Peter's boldness then in challenging the faith of the Arabs and their prophet would not be something to be imitated directly so much as a gripping portrayal in narrative form of the high stakes involved for the community in maintaining these ideological boundaries—it truly was a matter of life and death.

As for the gruesome description of Peter's torture and execution, to a certain extent this is simply a regular feature of the martyrological genre from the early Christian centuries onward. Although this passion is perhaps a bit above average in its detailed account of Peter's dismemberment and his prolonged agony, the cultural meaning and appeal of such voyeuristic portrayals of graphic violence in martyrological

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36. Shoemaker, "Reign of God Has Come," 514–58.

literature—Christian as well as non-Christian—form a broader question that does not have an easy or obvious answer. Yet presumably there is more involved here than simply a prurient fascination with violence for its own sake, in the way that cultural representations of violence so often enthrall our own age. To be sure, one should not entirely exclude such interest, at least at some level, but one would likewise imagine that these stories of horrific suffering for the Christian faith were profoundly meaningful and at some level even affirming for the Christian communities that produced and read them. Perhaps, as suggested previously, it was the reenactment of Christ's victory over death by death that was appealing, or possibly, following Judith Perkins's suggestion, it was the capacity of the martyr's sacrifice to invest death and suffering with broader religious significance.<sup>37</sup> It is ultimately difficult to know for sure why this literature would have inspired rather than terrified its audience, and I certainly have no ambitions of solving this puzzle here.

One final point worth noting, however, is the extreme care that the authorities take to utterly annihilate Peter's remains both during and after his execution. When the caliph Walid pronounces Peter's sentence, he concludes his order with explicit instructions for the complete destruction of his body after death, adding also that his executioners "must take great care lest some severed body parts or spilled blood or some pieces of his garment might be touched by someone, and guard the cross with utmost care." The concern here is obviously for any potential relics that Peter could leave behind, reflecting both Christian belief in the supernatural power of the relics of martyrs and possibly also a fear on the part of the ruling authorities for their potential political power. The martyr's son, we are told, succeeded in obtaining some of his father's blood, with which he blessed himself, making the sign of the cross. Likewise when Peter was led about through the streets of Capitolias, "he sanctified them with the blood that he was spitting as a source of blessing. But the jealous serpent ordered that the blood should be wiped away and washed out with water, because the holiness of the Christians was enraging him." Then, following the caliph's instructions, the authorities lit a raging furnace and placed his body therein, "together with the wood, the bloodstained rags, the severed limbs, and all the clothes and shoes." The ashes were taken, as noted already above, and placed in a bag and thrown in the river, while the furnace

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37. Perkins, *Suffering Self*, 104–23.

itself was washed out, and the water that was used was scattered in the desert. Thus absolutely nothing at all was left behind that the Christians of Capitolias could use to revere their martyr and commemorate his memory. And so with the total absence of any such relics, all that could be done was to create a memorial in words through the telling of Peter's heroic final deeds in this story of his passion.

### ***Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba (d. 797)***

The *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba* also survives in only a single manuscript—the tenth-century Greek manuscript Coislin 303 (fols. 99v–125r), now in the Bibliothèque nationale—which seems to have a Palestinian origin.<sup>38</sup> The first edition of this text was published by the Bollandists in the seventeenth century as an appendix to the *Acta Sanctorum*, along with an often very loose Latin translation.<sup>39</sup> In 1907 Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus published a much improved edition, along with a more accurate translation into Russian by Vasilij Vasil'evič Latyšev, and I have reproduced this edition and used it as the basis for my translation.<sup>40</sup> Since the manuscript is an *unicum*, I have not included the editorial notes, which consist primarily of common misspellings and scribal errors that have been corrected in the edition. In a number of instances, however, I was able to correct errors in the edition through comparison with a digital reproduction of the manuscript. Moreover, there are two significant lacunae in the Greek manuscript, which Robert Blake was able to restore several decades after the edition had been published on the basis of the passion's Georgian translation (probably translated via Arabic), which survives in two manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> I have restored these passages to the Greek edition so that for the first time the complete text has been published in one volume, along with a complete translation.

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38. Devreesse, ed., *Le fonds Coislin*, 286–88.

39. Bolland et al., *Acta sanctorum*, March, 3:\*2–\*12 (Greek) and 166–78 (Latin).

40. Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Latyšev, Συλλογή Παλαιστινιακής και Συριακής Αγιολογίας, 1–41 (Greek) and 1–48 (Russian).

41. Blake, “Deux lacunes,” 27–43. Here again I have not included the variants in the apparatus, particularly since this article should be easily accessible for anyone interested therein.

The text itself provides fairly precise information concerning the date of the events in question: “In the year 6288 since the creation of the world, according to the most accurate ecclesiastical calculation, 788 since the incarnation of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ.” This timing corresponds with the year 796 on the Gregorian calendar. Nevertheless, a number of the dates mentioned in the text, and the timing of Lent in particular, indicate the year 797, which must in fact be the correct year. As Venance Grumel explains, this difference presumably reflects the fact that the ecclesiastical new year came on March 25, just after the attack on the monastery.<sup>42</sup> This massacre of twenty monks at Mar Saba then most likely took place during the week of March 13–19, 797.

The text itself is not nearly so forthcoming with regard to its author, however. Fortunately, we know from other sources that this passion was written by a certain Stephen, who was a monk at the monastery when the events in question transpired. There are, however, two renowned monks named Stephen who seem to have both been in residence at Mar Saba during the later eighth century, and in both the medieval tradition and in modern scholarship there has been some confusion between the two men. Nevertheless, we know that one of these Stephens (often known as the Thaumaturge) died in the year 794, three years before the events of our text, according to his own *Life*. Moreover, this same biography of Stephen the Thaumaturge also relates that an account of the slaughter of many of the monastery’s monks by the barbarians had been written by “the most virtuous abba Stephen,” who clearly is a different Stephen.<sup>43</sup> The Arabic version of the Thaumaturge’s life states with even more

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42. Grumel, “Vingt moines sabbaites,” 207–8. Note, however, that Alexander Kazhdan suggests that these events took place instead in 788, as the author indicates, and furthermore that its author was not Stephen Maṣṣūr but rather Stephen the Thaumaturge, mentioned below. He does note some problems with this alternate dating, but he also argues on stylistic grounds that the *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr*, which is directly attributed to Stephen of Damascus, is the work of an author different from the author of the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs*. See Kazhdan, *History of Byzantine Literature*, 169–81, esp. 169–73. More recently, Michael McCormick concludes in response that “the most obvious interpretation of the chronological synchronism given by Stephen corresponds to 797”; see McCormick, *Charlemagne’s Survey of the Holy Land*, 160n18.

43. *Life of Stephen the Sabaites* (Greek) 177 (Bolland et al., *Acta sanctorum*, July, 3:607).

clarity that this martyrdom was composed by “Abba Stephen the son of Manṣūr, the Damascene.”<sup>44</sup>

We know a bit more about this Stephen from the Synaxarion of Constantinople, which identifies him as a nephew of none other than John of Damascus (or perhaps even his brother if we follow the Arabic *Life of Stephen the Thaumaturge*) and thus a member of the influential and renowned Manṣūr family.<sup>45</sup> There was also in this same era a famous hymnographer named Stephen who, among his other compositions, wrote a hymn in praise of the twenty martyrs of Mar Saba.<sup>46</sup> Since the passion’s author informs us that he also composed hymns, there can be little doubt that these two Stephens are one in the same person. Thus the author of this martyrdom can be identified with some confidence as Stephen Manṣūr the Hymnographer, who had presumably followed his more famous uncle from Damascus to the monastery of Mar Saba. Indeed, the Georgian translations make this explicit, identifying the passion’s author as “Stephen Manṣūr of Damascus,”<sup>47</sup> and as we will see, this same relative of John of Damascus is also the author of the *Martyrdom of Romanos*. Marie-France Auzépy further speculates that Stephen was likely a physician, based on the very detailed and knowledgeable descriptions that he gives of the monks’ injuries and their treatment, and indeed it seems that he must have had some medical training.<sup>48</sup>

Stephen begins by explaining that he had been commissioned to write an account of the attack on the monastery and the noble death of his twenty brothers by the monastery’s hegumen, presumably Basil, one would imagine, for their commemoration on the anniversary of their martyrdom. Stephen further notes that he had been an eyewitness to the events that he describes, and Auzépy maintains that “without a doubt” he composed it for their memorial in the year after their death, in 798.<sup>49</sup> The text itself, however, does not specify when it was written,

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44. *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* (Arabic) 77.5 (Lamoreaux, ed., *Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, 140 [Arabic] and 126 [English]).

45. Delehayé, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, 170, l. 21–23; 817, l. 51.

46. Stephen’s hymns have been published in Eustratiades, “Στέφανος ὁ ποιητῆς ὁ Σαβαΐτης.”

47. Stephen’s identity has been most clearly explained in Blake, “Deux lacunes,” 39–42, which also has reference to the relevant primary sources.

48. Auzépy, “De la Palestine à Constantinople,” 206.

49. Auzépy, “De la Palestine à Constantinople,” 185.

and if the year immediately following these events seems like a strong possibility, we cannot be completely sure of this. In any case, there is no question that Stephen provides a highly detailed, eyewitness account of this attack on the lavra, and since he died in 809, it must have been written not long after the attack.

The narrative begins by setting the broader context of a civil war that had erupted “in the land of the Palestinians among the Saracen tribes,” for so Stephen calls the Arabs. Again in this text the terms Muslim and Islam do not occur, and even Saracens appears only rarely, Stephen’s preferred term for these antagonists is *barbarians*. What Stephen describes in this opening section is in fact a tribal conflict that had broken out between “those descended from Hagar and Ishmael and those who trace their line of descent from Joktan of old.” Beginning with the seventh-century conquests, the Arabs of the Near East, and Palestine especially, were divided into two major tribal groupings: the northern tribes, sometimes also designated the “Qays,” who were primarily north Arabian in origin and claimed descent from Ishmael; and the southern tribes, the “Yaman,” the south Arabians who traced their lineage back to Qaḥṭān, who was identified with Joktan of Genesis 10:25–26.<sup>50</sup> These tribes were frequently in open conflict with one another, and the Islamic sources confirm that at this time there was indeed a war between the northern and southern tribes in Palestine.<sup>51</sup> The chaos of this war was both conditioned and augmented by the political turmoil unleashed through the Abbasid revolution, as the center of power had recently moved from Damascus to Baghdad, a change that seems to have impacted Palestine significantly for the worse. As Nehemia Levtzion observes, “For the Umayyads, Syria and Palestine were the core area of their empire. They protected cultivated lands from the Bedouins. The change came about after the fall of the Umayyads and the transfer of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad. Under the Abbasids, Syria and Palestine became neglected provinces, and from the end of the eighth century their frontiers were open to the Bedouins in their tribal formations uncontrolled by state authorities.”<sup>52</sup> Precisely such political disarray seems to be on full display in the *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs*.

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50. Gil, *History of Palestine*, 130–38. For a more extended discussion, see Crone, “Qays and Yemen,” 1–57.

51. Gil, *History of Palestine*, 284.

52. Levtzion, “Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine,” 294.

Many of Palestine's cities were devastated during this conflict, and the warriors regularly robbed any who dared to travel the roads. The citizens of Palestine fled to the large cities for refuge, and Jerusalem only escaped ruin, we are told, through divine protection. Such disorder and unrest left the monasteries of the Judean desert especially vulnerable to attack, isolated as they were, and as Stephen relates, the marauders seized the opportunity to plunder them for the treasures that they held. First they assaulted the Old Lavra of Mar Chariton and ravaged everything else in the surroundings of Mar Saba; the monastery alone remained unscathed, preserved for a time by divine protection. Nevertheless, the brothers anxiously beheld all that was happening around them and were beginning to suffer privations due to the difficulties of travel. Fearing the inevitable onslaught, the monks huddled together on a ridge for protection, enduring the heat of the sun by day and the cold frost by night, and dying ten thousand times each day from the dread of torture. No one, however, abandoned the lavra through fear, and courageously they awaited their gruesome fate together in prayer.

Eventually the savages set upon the monastery on Monday, March 13, at dawn; a company of more than sixty men rushed in and surrounded the monks with drawn bows. Some of the monks tried to greet them with kindness and charity, only to be met with demands for treasure and threats of death. The monks ardently denied having any treasures, but the Saracens did not believe them, and rightly so, it would seem. Auzépy takes these demands as a sign that the monastery was indeed quite wealthy,<sup>53</sup> although the narrative itself shows great concern primarily with protecting the monastery's sacred vessels, which had been hidden prior to the attack. Undoubtedly these were of significant value, if the Kaper Koraon treasure from Syria offers any indication of what may have been at Mar Saba.<sup>54</sup> When the monks refused to reveal their treasures, the raiders unleashed their fury. They let their arrows fly "like snowflakes in the winter," emptying their quivers on the helpless monks. Nearly thirty of the fathers were seriously wounded, most of them mortally, before they exhausted their ammunition, after which the attackers began to scour their cells for any treasure, as the monks tended to the injured. Then a band of armed men suddenly

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53. Auzépy, "De la Palestine à Constantinople," 186.

54. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*.

appeared on the horizon, and supposing that they were coming to defend the monastery (they were not), the Saracens fled.

The monks knew that they would be back, however, and again they huddled together in fear, awaiting their inescapable demise. Then in the middle of the night, during the Sunday vigil, two messengers from the Old Lavra arrived out of breath and with dire news—a multitude of savages was coming against the monastery that very night. A little later in the evening a messenger from the monastery of St. Euthymius also arrived out of breath with a similar message. This was disastrous—it meant that a second group would also attack the monastery from a different direction. The hoard overran the monastery at dawn, mercilessly unleashing their violence against the monks. Stephen digresses for a moment to relate the valor of a couple of individual heroes who forfeited their lives, before eventually reaching the story’s main event.

The Saracens gathered together the wounded and weary fathers, demanding treasure as a ransom for their monastery and their lives. When the monks insisted yet again that they had none, the marauders decided that they needed to change their strategy. The monastery of Mar Saba is famous for having a “divinely created” church, that is, a cave that naturally had the layout of a church. The monks were led to this church and ordered inside, while the Saracens lit a fire of wet reeds at its entrance so that the cave became filled with dense and noxious smoke. They forced the monks to remain in the church, suffering and choking on the smoke, until they called them to come forth. The monks had to pass through the fire as they exited, and they stood before their tormentors choking and gasping for air. Once again the barbarians demanded that they reveal the location of their treasury. When the monks refused, they sent them back into the church, making the fire smoke even more profusely and leaving them inside for a longer time. When the Saracens finally allowed them to come out, eighteen of the monks did not emerge, having succumbed to suffocation from the smoke. The savages severely beat those monks who had survived and then proceeded to take everything that they could lay their hands on before departing with the lavra’s camels.

Stephen then describes the condition of those found dead in the cave before proceeding to offer an extended defense of their status as martyrs. After all, they had not died for refusing to deny their faith and worship false idols, as in the ancient church, but instead in order to protect the monastery’s treasures from a band of violent brigands. Yet

Stephen insists that they too will receive the martyr's crown. Anyone who gives his life to preserve one of Christ's commandments is to be reckoned among the martyrs as well. Indeed, he maintains that dying to preserve a commandment is even more noble and courageous than refusing to commit apostasy since the consequences of the latter are obviously far more grave, making the decision an easier one. The commandment that these monks would not violate is to love neighbor as self, which they fulfilled by laying down their lives for their friends, to protect their brothers and their community. The passion pauses for a moment to relate the wounds and treatment of those who had survived, and here the graphic detail perhaps reveals Stephen's medical training. But Stephen quickly returns to the theme of qualifications for martyrdom, and he continues to expound examples of those martyrs who died for Christ without the threat of blasphemy through sacrifice. In support of his position, he quotes from both Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, whose writings offer similar viewpoints.

Stephen then continues to defend the status of these new martyrs by relating several miraculous events attributed to some of them. One of the deceased, he says, appeared to two of the brothers going forth from the cave the second time as if he were still alive; nevertheless, soon thereafter his body was found dead within. Likewise, on that same night a severe drought came to an end through the intercession of these martyrs. And finally, another of the fallen appeared to a Syriac speaker who was struggling to learn Greek and miraculously enabled him to speak and understand it with ease. The passion concludes with praise of these martyrs and a prayer for their intercessions, along with praise of St. Sabas (the monastery's founder), the monastery's martyrs from previous generations, and a final doxology.

The *Passion of the Twenty Martyrs* is thus a rather different sort of martyrdom from the others in this volume, and indeed from most other early Christian martyrdoms. The executioners here are not state officials or even an angry mob looking to lynch the Christians for their religious deviance. Rather, these monks are murdered by a group of brigands who have taken advantage of social and political disorder to plunder the monastery (among other targets) for its treasures. They do not attack the monastery because it is Christian; they attack it because they perceive that it is wealthy. They do not butcher and murder the monks in order to make them renounce their faith; they simply want them to hand over the treasure. It is not surprising then that Stephen

feels the need to justify their martyrdom at some length. On the whole his case is persuasive, I think, given the terms of the discourse, but it certainly expands the notion of martyrdom beyond what was characteristic of pre-Constantinian Christianity. Also of note in this regard is the fact that nothing about these Saracen marauders seems particularly Islamic. To be sure, they clearly are not Christians, and the text identifies them implicitly as Muslims, but their faith really plays no role in the monks' martyrdom. Therefore, it seems that these martyrs were not in fact truly victims of Islamic persecution, but instead they were murdered by brigands who, it seems, happened to be Muslims, and they were killed not for professing their faith but for protecting the monastery's sacred vessels.

### ***Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr (d. 780)***

Stephen Manṣūr the Hymnographer also wrote the *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr* while at the monastery of Mar Saba, as indicated clearly in its incipit. This martyrdom survives only in a Georgian translation, which itself depends on an Arabic version that has not survived. Although there has been some question as to whether Stephen may have composed this narrative originally in Arabic, a Greek original seems much more likely for several reasons, as others have also noted.<sup>55</sup> Two Georgian manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries preserve this martyrdom, although only one of these has been previously edited. In 1910 Alexander Khakhanov published an edition of Romanos's martyrdom from MS Athos Iviron 8 (10th c.; fols. 273v–293r; designated as A in the textual notes), while in the very same year Kekelidze published a Russian translation—without edition—of this martyrdom from MS Tbilisi A 95 (11th c.; fols. 440v–454r; designated as T in the

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55. Peeters, "S. Romain," 405–7, first proposed the possibility of an Arabic original. Griffith, "Christians, Muslims, and Neo-Martyrs," 193–94, largely follows Peeters while arguing more forcefully for an Arabic original, and Mariam Nanobashvili follows Griffith somewhat more tentatively in Thomas and Roggema, eds., *Christian Muslim Relations*, 390. Nevertheless, a Greek original seems more likely for the reasons given by Hoyland and Vila, even if both may exaggerate Stephen's "antipathy" for Syriac; see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 366–67; Vila in Thomas and Roggema, eds., *Christian Muslim Relations*, 388.

textual notes).<sup>56</sup> In the following year, Paul Peeters published a Latin translation of Khakhanov's edition, which he collated with what he took for variants in Kekelidze's manuscript, based on his Russian translation.<sup>57</sup> While I did not have access to the Athos manuscript, I was able to obtain a digital reproduction of the unedited Tbilisi manuscript, which I have collated with Khakhanov's edition. The result is not a critical edition, for I have not recorded every single variant; differences in spelling or word order have been overlooked. Nevertheless, when there were differences in grammar or vocabulary that would affect the meaning and interpretation of the text, I have given those variants from the Tbilisi manuscript in the notes to the Georgian text. I have also corrected Khakhanov's edition of the Athos manuscript when the Tbilisi manuscript has a better reading, as indicated in the textual notes. I have divided the text into sections according to Peeters's Latin translation. Peeters's translation often signals variants from the Tbilisi manuscript that do not in fact exist. This is such a frequent occurrence that I have adopted the shorthand "P-NV" to indicate this in the textual notes.

The *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr* begins during the reign of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (r. 741–75), when the pious Romanos decided to embrace the monastic life, and he joined the monastery of Mantineon in Paphlagonia (northern Asia Minor). This monastery was a double monastery; that is, it was a single institution with separate communities for men and women, and at this time it was led by a woman, Anathousa, a famous defender of icons who may have been the community's founder.<sup>58</sup> According to the passion, Romanos appears to have been a disciple of Anathousa, who "loved [him] with her soul" and saw to his instruction personally. When he reached the age of forty, Anathousa sent him forth from the monastery along with an "elderly saint" to serve on behalf of the monastery in "a land adorned with every virtue," a place which is not otherwise identified. Apparently, it must have been a border region, for we learn almost immediately that the two men were captured and bound up by Saracens, who brought them

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56. Khakhanov, *Материалы по грузинской агиологии*, 25–46; Kekelidze, "Новооткрытый агиологический памятник иконоборческой эпохи," 201–38.

57. Peeters, "S. Romain."

58. Peeters, "S. Romain," 394–95. See also Talbot, "Life of Anathousa of Mantineon," 13–19.

to the Ishmaelite king in Baghdad, al-Manṣūr (r. 754–75); once again, the terms Islam and Muslim do not occur in this text. The caliph ordered them imprisoned, and a few days later the old monk died, leaving Romanos alone in captivity. Romanos thus prayed to God that he might be sent a companion as a comforter in prison.

Christ heard the martyr's prayers and sent to him two monks, John and Symeon, who originally came from Constantinople. They left the Byzantine capital and traveled to Phrygia, where they became monks. From Phrygia they traveled further to the east, seeking to escape Constantine's persecution of monks and other iconophiles. When they encountered a Saracen fortress, they took an oath and entered in. The Saracens, however, seized them and decided to send them to Syria. At the same time, a band of Saracens had entered the Byzantine lands for plunder, and they captured a Greek prince named George. In hopes of a reward, they determined to send George to the caliph, sending the monks along as if they were his scribe and adviser. While they were traveling to Baghdad, George began to condemn the veneration of icons, sparking a debate with the two monks. Reportedly, he was converted to their point of view at the time, yet ultimately he was longing for their death, since they were enemies of the emperor. In Baghdad the three men were handed over to the Amīr Rabi, who was an official of the caliph. At once the monks exposed their captors' ruse and revealed themselves as ascetics, not as the prince's assistants. Once Rabi realized that he had been lied to, he did not deliver the men to the caliph but instead had them incarcerated.

In prison John and Symeon met Romanos, who was overjoyed that Christ had answered his prayers with not one but two excellent companions, and the three monks built a small tabernacle for themselves in the prison. The prince George was in prison with them as well, and he continued to plot against the holy fathers. He began to incite the other Greeks who were imprisoned there against the monks, explaining that "these monks are enemies of your emperor" and idolaters. Many were persuaded by the Greek prince, and they determined to move against the monks when the chance arose. There was in the prison, however, a young Saracen man who understood Greek. When he heard this plot to do the monks harm, he shared it with his Saracen friends. The Saracens in the prison were appalled at the evil intent of the Greeks, and they told the young man to let them know when they planned to attack. And so when the young man saw the Greeks preparing to attack the monks,

he alerted the others, who then set upon the men—not just the Saracens, but also other “Christians, Syrians, and Franks.” Thus as Stephen observes, “The Saracens, foreign in their faith, seemed to be better than those who considered themselves Christians, and they showed more reverence for the monastic schema than those who thought of themselves as servants.”

There was a devout and faithful Christian in the city who saw to the needs of these monks while they were in prison. When this attempted assault alerted him to the danger that they faced each day, he bribed the warden to allow the monks to come and stay with him. He provided them with their own dwelling place, where they were able to worship and pray without disturbance. Not long thereafter, al-Manṣūr died and was succeeded by his son al-Mahdī (r. 775–85). Near the beginning of al-Mahdī’s reign, five monks who had been taken captive in Cyprus were brought before him. The caliph ordered them imprisoned, but the same pious Christian man secured their release and added them to the company of the three monks who were already living at his house. Nevertheless, an apostate named Jacob, “who had taken on the appearance of a monk,” was hoping to find favor with the caliph, and so he told al-Mahdī that Romanos was a Greek spy from Emesa, about whom he had previously heard. The caliph immediately sent Amīr Rabi to bring all eight of the monks before him, and when Romanos revealed his name, he was thrown into prison. After three days in prison he was brought to appear before the caliph. Romanos explained that he was not from Emesa and had never been a spy. When the caliph ordered that his accuser should be brought in to confront him, he quickly realized from Jacob’s expression that he had been deceived.

Romanos was returned to prison, and the caliph decided to question him further at a later time. Shortly thereafter, Romanos was again brought before the caliph and accused of being a spy. Although Romanos persistently denied the charge (which was, after all, false), the caliph became enraged and ordered that Romanos should be brought along with him into Syria so that his identity and perfidy could be confirmed. When they stopped along the way in Raqqa (Kallinikos/Callinicum), there were some Christian captives there who had apostatized to the Saracen faith “through fear of torture and death.” When they subsequently saw Romanos in prayer, they regretted their decision and asked him how they might repair their error. Although he rebuked them for their betrayal, he told them that they only needed to repent, and God

would forgive them. The guards observed this, however, and they reported what they had seen to the Amīr (Rabī), who called Romanos to appear before him. The Amīr repeated the previous accusation of espionage, adding now the charge of persuading “faithful Saracen men to become Christian.” Romanos defended himself as follows: “As you see, I am bound and in shackles; an assembly of soldiers guards me; I have no help; and I am not able to go to anyone. If someone comes to me and asks me about my faith, I am eager to invite him without any fear and trembling to [what is] best, which will be best for him and the salvation of the soul.” The Amīr was infuriated by the monk’s response and had him whipped brutally by four men before reporting his new transgressions to the caliph.

The caliph again ordered Romanos to appear before him and decided to offer him a choice. “Abandon your error and follow my faith, and you will receive countless gifts and unimaginable honors. And if you will not heed my good advice, I will hand you over to painful tortures and merciless beatings, and in the end you will meet with a bitter death, as one who resists the authority of the ruler and foolishly does not obey what is for his own good.” The caliph ardently tried to persuade Romanos, who would not yield. Finally, Romanos asked the caliph, “Allow me a day, and I will consider what is best for me, and tomorrow I will let you know what should be done with me.” In actuality, however, Romanos was not intending to consider the caliph’s offer. Instead he wanted the opportunity “to offer all his prayers and intercessions to Christ God before his departure from this frail and feeble body.” On the next day he boldly rejected the caliph’s offer and boasted of his desire to die for Christ. The caliph again tried to persuade him, but when he realized that it was futile, he ordered that the saint’s head should be cut off. Thus Romanos met his death, and his body and head were cast into the nearby Euphrates. Nevertheless, the passion ends with a miracle, as his body floated along the surface of the river, where it was once again joined to its head. The Christians of the city then took his body and placed it in their church along with the relics of their other saints. And so the narrative comes to a close, noting that the martyr’s death occurred on Monday, May 1.

Of the three martyrdoms in this volume, the *Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr* shows the Islamic officials as the most active in persecuting Christians. Nevertheless, once again there is nothing on the order of what the ancient Christians experienced at the hands of the Roman or

Persian authorities. The Muslim leaders seem much more interested in incarcerating Christians than in killing them, and one cannot really blame them much for imprisoning them since, after all, they were at war with the Byzantines. Moreover, there is little pressure to convert in this narrative, although there is much incentive, even if the passion says that some of the Christians converted for fear of torture and death. When the caliph eventually begins to act against Romanos, it is not because of his faith, but rather because he was believed to be a spy for his enemies, the Greeks. Later he is accused and punished for encouraging Christian converts to Islam to apostatize from their new faith. Apostasy was and is a serious crime in the Islamic tradition, and to a certain extent, Romanos was indeed guilty in the eyes of the Muslim authorities. Yet in the end—according to this text at least—the caliph would rather convert Romanos than execute him, and he offered increasingly grand promises if only he would abandon his Christian faith. No doubt these elements of the narrative are intended to persuade Christians in its audience to resist the tempting incentives to convert to Islam, promising instant regret and eternal death for such betrayal.

Perhaps the most notable element of this text, however, is the intervention of the Saracens to protect the monks in prison, even though they themselves not only were of a different faith but most likely were also opponents of images on account of their own religious beliefs. Whether or not such an event actually transpired in Baghdad's prison is really immaterial in the end. Nevertheless, it is truly remarkable to see that one hundred and fifty years after the onset of Islam, Christians under the caliph's rule could still imagine and portray their religious rivals in such a positive light, even if, admittedly, the intent is ultimately to shame the iconoclasts for their persecution of fellow Christians. As it stands, the episode envisions extraordinary mutual respect and tolerance between some orthodox Christians and some Muslims, at least at an individual level, even as their leaders were waging a bloody and protracted war against one another.

### **Manuscripts, Editions, and Translations**

*Passion of Peter of Capitolias*

MS Kutaisi - Gelati 4, fols. 373r–389v. Copied 1565.

Edition and Russian Translation: Kekeliže, Korneli. “Житіе Петра Новаго,

мученика Капетолійського.” Християнський Востокъ [*Khristianski Vostok*] 4 (1915): 1–71.

French Summary: Peeters, Paul. “La passion de S. Pierre de Capitolias († 13 janvier 715).” *Analecta Bollandiana* 57 (1939): 299–333.

*Passion of the Twenty Martyrs of Mar Saba*

MS Coislin 303, fols. 99v–125r. 10th century.

Edition and Russian Translation: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios, and Vasilij Vasil’evič Latyšev. Συλλογή Παλαιστινιακής και Συριακής Αγιολογίας (*Sylloge palaistines kai syriakes hagiologias*), Православный Палестинский Сборникъ 19.3. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1907, 1–41 (Greek) and 1–48 (Russian).

Edition and Latin Translation: Bolland, Johannes, Jean Baptiste Carnandet, Godfrey Henschen Henschenius, Daniel Papebroch, and L. M. Rigollot. *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis*. 72 vols. Paris: Palmé, 1684–1940, March, 3:\*2–\*12 (Greek) and 166–78 (Latin).

Edition of Lacunae from Georgian MSS: Blake, Robert P. “Deux lacunes comblées dans la Passio XX monachorum Sabaitarum,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 27–43. (Also describes the Georgian MS tradition on pp. 28–32)

*Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr*

MS Athos Iviron 8, fols. 273v–293r. 10th century = A in the edition.

MS Tbilisi A 95, fols. 440v–454r. 11th century = T in the edition.

Edition of A: Khakhanov, Alexander. Материалы по грузинской агиологии, Труды по востоковедению 31. Moscow: Barkhudariants, 1910), 25–46.

Russian Translation of T: Kekelize, Korneli. “Новооткрытый агиологический памятник иконоборческой эпохи,” Труды Київської духовної академії (June 1910): 201–38.

Latin Translation of A: Peeters, Paul. “S. Romain le Néomartyr († 1 mai 780) d’après un document géorgien.” *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 393–427.



## Abbreviations and Conventions

- A MS Athos Iviron 8, fols. 273v–293r  
T MS Tbilisi A 95, fols. 440v–454r  
P-NV A variant is given for A in Peeters’s translation but is not actually present in A

In the English portions of this work, transliterated words follow the Romanization tables established by the American Library Association and the Library of Congress (ALA-LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts, compiled and edited by Randall K. Barry [Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1977]: available online at <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/roman.html>).



*Passion of Peter of Capitolias (d. 715)*

[373a<sup>2</sup>] თუესა ოკტომბერსა: ᄀ: წმიდისა: და:  
ნეტარისა: მამისა: ჩუენისა: იოანე: მონაზონისა:  
და: ხუცისა: დამასკელისა: სიტყუაჲ:  
ცხოვრებისა: და: ღუაწლთა: ყოვლად: დიდებულისა:  
პეტრე: ახლისა: მღდელ: მოწამისა: კაპეტოლელთა:  
ქალაქსა: შინა: წამებულისათა:  
მამაო: გუაკურთხენ:

1. ძუელ სადმე. ოდესმე. ცოდვასა შინა იყო კაცობრივი ბუნებაჲ. და მის ძლით დამონებულ იყო მძლავრისა<sup>1</sup> და დამბადებელისა მიმართ უმადლომსა<sup>2</sup> მონისადა. რაჟამს პირველმან მამამან<sup>3</sup> თვთმფლობელითა ცნობითა ნებსით. ჰმონა<sup>4</sup> მას. და პატიჟად ურჩებისა<sup>5</sup> ღმრთისა:<sup>6</sup> სიკუდილი მიიღო: და ესევე დაუტევა<sup>7</sup> ყოველთა მისგანთა. ვითარცა სამკვდრებელი მომსრველი და განმხრწნელი. რამეთუ ყოველი რომელი საწუთოსა ამას შემოვიდოდა. ვითარცა მძვნვარისა რამემ<sup>8</sup> და განმჭრელისა მძლავრის-გან. [373b]<sup>9</sup> მოშიშ იყო სიკუდილის-გან. ოდეს იგი არღა იყო ჯერეთ სასოებაჲ აღდგომისაჲ: სოლო ვინაფთგან დამბადებელმან ბუნებისამან. წყალებითა ბუნებისაფთა<sup>10</sup> რომელ დაჰბადა. სათნოყოფითა<sup>11</sup> მამისაფთა. და შეწევნითა სულისა წმიდისაფთა.<sup>12</sup> მიიღო ბუნებაჲ ჩუენი. და იქმნა<sup>13</sup> რაჲ. იგი დაიბადა<sup>14</sup> და ამით განაახლა და განაძლიერა დაბადებული. ძალითა ღმრთეებისა თვისისაფთა. და უღელი ცოდვისაჲ<sup>15</sup> განჰყარა მის-გან. რამეთუ ცოდვაჲ არა ქმნა<sup>16</sup> რათა სწინაფწარყოფილოდ ითქუმოდის: არცა იპოვა<sup>17</sup> ზაკვაჲ

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1. MS: მძლავრისაჲ. 2. MS: უმადლოსა. 3. მ~მამმ~ნ. 4. მონაჲ. 5. ურჩებისაჲ. 6. ღ~დ. 7. დაუტევაჲ. 8. რასმე. 9. The edition has here [372b], but it seems that this is a typo. 10. ბნ~ბისათა. 11. სათნთ ყოფითა. 12. წი~სათა. 13. იქმნაჲ. 14. დაეზ~და. 15. ც~დვისა. 16. ქმნაჲ. 17. იპოვაჲ.

October 4: An account by our holy and blessed father John, monk and priest of Damascus, of the life and deeds of most glorious Peter the New, priest and martyr, who was martyred in the city of Capitolias.

Father bless us!

1. Once long ago human nature was in sin, and because of this, it was enslaved to the slave who was a tyrant and ungrateful to the Creator, when the forefather willingly served him with a free mind and received death as a punishment for disobeying God. And he bequeathed this to all of his descendants as a destructive and corrupting inheritance, for everyone who came into the world feared death like some raging and slashing tyrant when there was not yet the hope of the resurrection. Nevertheless, later on, the creator of nature, through compassion for the nature that he created with the Father's good pleasure and the Holy Spirit's assistance, took on our nature. And when this happened, he was born, and thereby he renewed and strengthened the creation through the power of his divinity and threw off from it the yoke of sin, for "he committed no sin," as the prophet says, "nor was guile

პირსა მისსა. და მძლავრქმნილი იგი მონად ჳელთ-იგდო რაჟამს შჯულითა კაცობრივისა ბუნებისადათა ზეშთა კაცთა<sup>18</sup> მოქალაქობდა: და ღმრთისა მამისა.<sup>19</sup> ვითარ იგი იყო. თანამეუფებდა. და ვითარ იგი იქმნა მორჩილებდა. ვიდრემდის ჩუენი სიკუდილი მიითუალა. მიერითგან არღარა სიკუდილი კაცისა განსუენებად არს. და შრომათა-გან თავის-უფლებად. უკუეთუ ოდენ ინებოს: რამეთუ ძილად შეცვალებულ არს: რამეთუ სძინავს: ვითარცა კულად აღდგომადსა. და მიძღებელსა შრომათა მჭელეულისათა:<sup>20</sup> ამიერსიკუდილსა შეჳკადრებენ მორწმუნენი. ამიერ აწ საქებლად სიტყვსა წინამდებარე ესე. კაცობრივისა ცხორებისათს სულმოკლე. და სიკუდილისა მიმართ მოსწრაფე იქმნა<sup>21</sup> კიბედ ზეცად მიმართ. უწყებითა ამისითა. რამეთუ არღარა<sup>22</sup> ჯოჯოხეთად. არამედ ზეცად აღჳყვანან სულნი მართალთანი. და ჳელთა შინა ღმრთისათა დასხამს მათ: გარნა<sup>23</sup> ჩუენ მივიდოდით წინამდებარისა. არათუ შესხმისა შჯულთა მიერ შემკობად კაცისა ღმრთისა.<sup>24</sup> და ვითარცა ვყავთ ესე. ზეშთა ყოველთა კაცობრივთა შესხმათა შჯულისა აღსრულისა-თს. არამედ ხატად სათნოებისა გამოვხატოთ იგი: და საზოგადოდ სავაჳროდ ცხორებისა. ყოველთა წინადაუდვათ. საბამველად კეთილისა მიმთხუევადთა-თს. და სადიდებელად ღმრთისა. რომელი თავისა თვისისა თანა ადიდებს მადიდებელთა მისთა: არამედ ამიერ იყავნ დასაბამი სიტყვსადა:

2. საყუარელნო. კაცი ვინმე იყო კაპეტოლელთა ქალაქსა. სამთავრომთ<sup>25</sup> იორდანისადათ. რომელ არს მეორისა პალესტინისადათ. პეტრე სახელის-დებით. შემოსილი პატივითა მღდელობისადათა. წარჩინებული ტომითა და სიკეთითა [374a<sup>1</sup>] და საწუთრომსა<sup>26</sup> სიმდიდრითა. დაღათუ არარად შეერაცხნეს იგინი: რამეთუ საშუებელითა ცხორებისადათა და მოქალაქობითა ბრწყინვალეთა სამოსელთადათა სიჩჩოებისა ფრცხილთა-გან<sup>27</sup> აღზრდილ იყო: ვიდრემდის ყოველთავე ქუეყანიერთა მსწრაფლ წარწყმედადობად გულის-ხმა ყო.<sup>28</sup> კეთილითა შეცვალებითა შეცვალებულმან. და ჳორციელობის-გან სულიერქმნილმან. და ქორწილსა რად ეზრახა. ბუნებასა<sup>29</sup> მისცა თანანადები. მწყობრთა წმიდათა სოფლად შემოყვანებითა: რამეთუ მშობელ იქმნა შვილთა. წულისა ერთისა და ქალთა ორთა: ხოლო იყო იგი სიყრმით-გან. საღმრთოთა<sup>30</sup> წერილთა-გან

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18. კვ~თად. 19. მ~მისად. 20. Kekelidze corrects the reading here to მჭელეულისათა, but the reading in the manuscript seems preferable.  
 21. იქმნადა. 22. არღარად. 23. გ~რნად. 24. ღ~და. 25. სამთ~ვროთ.  
 26. საწუთრომსადა. 27. ფრცხილთადაგ~ნ. 28. ყ~და. 29. ბნ~ბმსა.  
 30. სღ~დათა.

found in his mouth.”<sup>1</sup> And he who is above humankind took captive the slave who had become a tyrant while he was dwelling according to the law of human nature, since he was ruling with God the Father; and he became obedient even to the point of taking on our mortality. And from that time on, death is no longer the repose of humanity, and there is freedom from toil, if only one is willing; for it is exchanged for sleep because one sleeps in order to rise again and receive the sheaf of one’s labor. Therefore, the faithful dare to battle death. Therefore, the one who is the subject of these words of praise became impatient with human life and eager for death as a ladder to heaven, knowing that it no longer leads the souls of the righteous to hell but to heaven and places them in the hands of God. So let us come to the subject, not just to adorn this man of God with praise according to the law—and even as we have done this, he is beyond all human praise regarding the fulfillment of the law—but in order to portray him as an example of virtue and the shared acquisition of salvation. We set him before all as one to be imitated for the sake of those who would attain the good and for the glorification of God, who glorifies in himself those who glorify him. But now let the story begin.

2. O beloved, there was a certain man in the city of Capitolias, in the province of Jordan, which is in Second Palestine, by the name of Peter, who was clothed with the honor of the priesthood and distinguished in his ancestry and beauty and the riches of this fleeting life, although he considered these things as nothing. For he had been brought up from the claws<sup>2</sup> of infancy with the pleasures of this life and the custom of brilliant garments, until he suddenly recognized the transitory nature of all worldly things, having been changed by a noble transformation and made spiritual from carnality. And when he considered marriage, he paid the debt to nature by bringing into the world a company of saints, for he brought forth children, one son and two daughters. Nevertheless,

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1. 1 Pet 2:22; Isa 53:9.

2. სიწმინდისა ფრცხილთა-გან. ფრცხილი means “claw, nail, talon, fingernail” or “onyx,” and its meaning is obscure here. Kekelidze translates “from early childhood” (от самой ранней юности).

სწავლულ. და თვისისა სამშვნელისა ცა უპირატეს მპყრობელ. საეკლესიოთა წესთა და შჯულთა სწავლისა. ყოვლით-კერძო ღმრთისა მიმართ შემოკრებითა გონებისადათა და<sup>31</sup> მისითა ზრახვითა. ვითარცა მხოლოდ სასურველისა და საწადელისადათა. და დატკობითა სასისადათა საღმრთოთა სიტყუათა<sup>32</sup> მიერ: ვინადაცა ღმრთისა წინაძღომითა და თანამოქმედებითა. საღმრთოთა<sup>33</sup> წერილთა-გან ისწავლა. ძუელისა და ახლისა ზოგად შემოკრებითა: [374a<sup>2</sup>] ამიერ პოვა<sup>34</sup> გზად ცხორებისად. და ყოველივე ამის ცხორებისანი. აზრდილთა და სიზმართასა<sup>35</sup> უუძღურეს და უსაცთურეს შეჰრაცხნა.<sup>36</sup> უფრომდა აღირჩია აღებად ჯუარისად. და შედგომად უფალისად. ამათ რად შეათხზა გონებად. და ყოველივე თავი თვისი ღმრთისა შეწირა. და იწყო დასაბამი ღმრთის-მსახურებისა სრბისად. საცხორებლითა სიტყვთა არწმუნა ქორწინებულსა მისდა. მისთანავე აღრჩევა სიწმიდით ცხორებისად: რომელი იგი მზად იხილვა<sup>37</sup> შეწყნარებად კეთილთა სწავლათა. რამეთუ წინადათვე ჩუეულებით-გან სწავლულ იყო მორჩილებასა<sup>38</sup> მის მიერ. და ზოგად ამისითა ქმნითა. ვიდოდეს გზათა<sup>39</sup> ცხორებისათა: ყოველივე უკუე საკმარი დედაკაცისა მის: მოსწრაფებით სრულ ყო. უფრომდა შეერთო მას სულიერითა ერთობითა. და თანაშეეკრა. განუჰსნელითა საკრველითა სულისადათა. რამეთუ არარად ესრეთ შეანაწევრებს თანადტრფიალთა: ვითარცა საღმრთოდ სურვილი თავისადაცა თვისისა მიმართ და ურთი-ერთას: ოც და ათ<sup>40</sup> წლის იყო რაჟამს კეთილი [374b<sup>1</sup>] ესე გულის-სიტყუად მის შორის აღმოეცენა. და ტკბილსა მას უღელსა მაცხოვრისასა დაემორჩილა. ხოლო ორნი იგი ასულნი. საბინიანეს მოწამეთა შორის ახოვნისა. მარადის-მოვსენებულისა ვანსა შეჰვედრნა. ორ წლის ყოფასა ჰასაკისა მათისასა: მცირედ უდარეს: და არს ადგილი ესე ნოტომთ კერძოდ. დასავალით ქალაქისა მის: სადა იგი მიიყვანებდა რად მათ. ზედა დასდვა სამკაული ნაქსოვთა ბრწყინვალეთად და ქვათა ფერშუენიერთად. და სამკაულებით-ურთ მათით. შეჰვედრნა იგინი ღმერთსა. და მოწამესა მისსა. მუნ მყოფთა მათ მოღუაწებით შემკულთა წესიერთა დედათა რიცხვთ რვათა. თანამოქალაქე ყოფად. რომელი სიჩჩოდ-გან საღმრთოსა<sup>41</sup> მას ტამარსა შინა მკვდრობდეს. და უხილავსა მტერსა. სულიერად ეწყებოდეს. და წყობისა-თვს მისისა. ცხებულ ჰყოფდეს თავთა თვისთა მარხვითა და ვედრებითა. და განლევითა და ქენჯნითა<sup>42</sup> კორცთადათა. სულთა განაძლიერებდეს: რამეთუ სული და

31. დ is a misprint in the text. 32. სიტყუადთა. 33. სღმთა. 34. პოვად. 35. საზმართადასა. 36. შეჰრაცხნად. 37. იხილვად. 38. მორჩილებდასა. 39. გზადთა. ცხორებისდათა. 40. ოცდა ათ. 41. სღმდასა. 42. ქენჯნითად.

he was educated in the sacred scriptures from childhood and held foremost in his soul the study of ecclesiastical laws and practices, by gathering the mind and his thoughts toward God at every moment as if he were his only wish and desire and delighting his mouth with divine words. Therefore, by God's command and assistance, he learned from the sacred scriptures by gathering the old and new together. Thus he found the way of salvation, and he considered everything of this life less significant and more deceptive than shadows and dreams; instead, he chose to take up the cross and follow the Lord. When he came up with a plan for them, he devoted himself to God completely and began the course of service to God. By the living word he persuaded his wife to similarly choose purity of life, she who seemed ready to believe in the good teachings, for he had already taught her obedience, as was customary. And with this act they went together along the way of salvation. Thus every need of this woman was quickly met, and he was joined to her even more in spiritual unity and bound by the inseparable bonds of the soul, for nothing so joins lovers together as divine love when directed toward oneself and one another. He was thirty years old when this noble desire sprang forth within him, and he submitted to the sweet yoke of the Savior. And the two daughters he entrusted to the monastery of Sabinian (who was courageous among the martyrs and ever remembered) when they were a little less than two years old; this place is in the region of Noto, to the west of the city. When he led them there, he adorned them with splendid fabrics and beautifully colored stones,<sup>3</sup> and together with their adornments, he entrusted them to God and his martyr, to be fellow citizens there with the honorable women adorned with good works, eight in number, who had dwelled in the holy sanctuary since childhood and were battling the invisible enemy spiritually. And in order to combat him, they had consecrated themselves through fasting and prayer, and by exhausting and tormenting the flesh, they strengthened the spirit, for the spirit

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3. Cf. Ps 44:10, 14 (cf. 45:9, 14 in the Hebrew).

ჯორჯნი ურთი-ერთას წინააღმდეგომ არიან. და იცის ერთისა მოკლებამან<sup>43</sup> [374b<sup>2</sup>] მეორისა მიცემად ძლევისაჲ: ∴

3. ამათ შორის ვითარცა კიცხუნი დედათა შედგომითა. სამოღუაწყოთა ალაგთა ვიდოდეს. და იწურთებოდეს. და ჰასაკისა მათისა თანა აღორძნებოდა კეთილი გულის-სიტყუაჲცა. ამათგანი უმწესესი სახეშუენიერ იყო. და ბრწყინვიდა სიკეთითა. რომელი ესე არა მცირესა ზრუნვასა შეუქმოდა ღმრთისა სათნოყოფილთა<sup>44</sup> მათ დედათა. რამეთუ [არა] ურწმუნო იყვნეს. ვითარმედ შუენიერებაჲ სიჭაბუკესა თანაშექუსული. ნივთ სიძესა ისართა იქმნების: უკრძალველთა-თვს. რამეთუ კეთილსაცა შინა უწყის ბოროტმან დარწყუმად სამჭედურისაჲ: ესრეთ რად მოშიშ და ურვეულ იყვნეს. მრავლითა სწავლითა მოიმტკიცებდეს მას: და უმრავლესითა ლოცვითა ევედრებოდეს ღმერთსა: ცხოვნებად ყრმისა. და არა მიცემად იგი მტერთა. არცა მიცემულსა მას მისდა შუენიერებასა<sup>45</sup> ჯორჯთასა შემაშფოთებელ ყოფად. სულისა შუენიერებისა: რომელი იგი ყოცა. მან რომელმან იცის შესმენად ვედრებისა მათისაჲ. რომელნი ყოვლითა გულითა ჰხადოდინ მას. რამეთუ წყლა გული მისი სურვილითა თვსსა მიმართ. სიძემან მისმან ქრისტემან. შუენიერმან [375a<sup>1</sup>] სიკეთითა უფროდს მეთა კაცთასა:<sup>46</sup> რომლისა ღმრთეებისა კამკამებათა-გან განბრწყინდა. დამწინდებელისა მის-გან სულთაჲსა. რომელი იგი საცნაურად შეერთებითა ნაყოფიერ ჰყოფს მათ. ოც და [ა]თეულად სამოცეულად და ასეულად. სრულებითა სათნოებათაჲთა.<sup>47</sup> ვინაცა შეემშჰუალა მოღუაწებასა აჭირვებდა მუცელსა და დაიმონებდა და დედოფალსა დაიმკველებდა. რამეთუ დასაბამ ნაყოფთ-გამოდებისა ყუავილსა და სათნოებისად მარხვასა იტყვან: ამისთვის სხუანი იგი ყოველნი დღესა მარხვით გარდაჰვლიდიან. და მიმწუხრიდა სრულ ჰყოფდიან საკმარსა ჯორჯთა უძლურებისასა. ხოლო იგი ორ-ორიდა და სამ-სამით მიიღებნ საზრდელსა. საკმარსა და საჭიროსა.<sup>48</sup> და მხოლოდ მპყრობელსა ოდენ ჯორჯთა აგებულებისასა. რამეთუ არარას გემოვნებითაგანსა შეეხებოდა არცა რას. რაოდენი განმაპოხებელ ჯორჯთა არს. და დუღილისა აღძრვითა განაწურვებს. ორღანოთა შერევისაჲთა: არამედ განყენებულ იყო მშენვიერთა-გან. და ხილისა: ღვნისა და ზეთისა. და სხუათა<sup>49</sup> ესევეითართა ყოველთა-გან [375a<sup>2</sup>] რათა სულით და ჯორჯით ქალწულად დაუცვას თავი თვისი

43. მოკლებემან.

44. სთნოდ ყოფილთა.

45. შუწნრბმან.

ჯრდთაჲსა.

46. კვთაჲსა.

47. სათნოებდთაჲთა.

48. საჭიროსაჲ.

49. სხდთა.

and the flesh are opposed to one another, and the weakening of the one gives victory to the other.

3. Like foals following among their mothers, they went to the work-places and were trained, and good thoughts developed with their age. And the younger<sup>4</sup> of them was very pretty, and she shone with beauty, which was a matter of no small concern to these women who were pleasing to God, for they did not doubt that beauty woven together with youth becomes a target for the arrows of lust for those who are careless, for the evil one knows to set snares in beauty. Thus when they were troubled and afraid, they strengthened her with many lessons and besought God with even more prayers to save the young girl and not to give her over to the enemy or to cause trouble for the beauty of her spirit because she had been given beauty of the flesh. And he granted this, he who heeds the prayer of those who call upon him with their entire heart, for Christ her bridegroom wounded her heart with desire for himself, he who is more beautiful in comeliness than the sons of men, by the gleams of whose divinity she shone from the betrothal of the spirit, he who through intellectual union makes them fruitful thirtyfold, sixtyfold, and a hundredfold in perfection of virtues.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, she was bound to labor, she afflicted the belly, and subordinated herself and served the abbess as a slave, for they say that the blossom is the beginning of bearing fruit and fasting the beginning of virtue. Therefore, all the others spent the day in fasting and took care of the needs of the weakness of the flesh only at dusk, but she would receive nourishment—the basic needs and necessities—only every two or three days, and only enough to maintain the structure of the flesh, for she did not touch anything gluttonous or anything in an amount that would fatten the flesh or inflame the organs by stirring them to a raging boil. And she abstained from animal products<sup>6</sup> and fruit, wine, and oil, and all other such things in order to keep herself a virgin in spirit and flesh

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4. Kekelidze mistakenly translates *ըմբնեցեալ* as *старшая*, “older.”

5. Cf. Matt 13:8.

6. Literally “animate things,” presumably indicating a vegan diet that excluded not only meat but eggs and dairy as well. Kekelidze seems to translate this word along with “other such things” below as *ароматных*, “aromatic.”

ტრფიალსა თვსსა. რომლისა სურვილითა წარტყუენულ იყო გონებითა:<sup>50</sup> ხოლო მარხვასა თანა შეუდგინა<sup>51</sup> სხუადცა იგი ძვრის-ხილვად ჯორცთად. რამეთუ სამოსელი აქუნდა თმისა-გან თხათადას<sup>52</sup> ქსოვილი. და სახილველ იყო წყაროდ მატლთად ჯორცთა შინა მისთა:<sup>53</sup> რამეთუ ნეფსითითა წუთხითა უნებლიეთსა მას იობისსა მიმგავსებულ იყო. ვინადცა მისთანათაცა მათ დათა.<sup>54</sup> თანაუხაროდა და განცვზრებულ იყვნეს. ხედვიდეს რად მას სიჩჩოებასა<sup>55</sup> შინა განმტკიცებულად ცნობითა სათნოებისადათა და უძლურებასა<sup>56</sup> შინა ჰასაკისასა ძალითა გულს-მოდგინებებისადათა: ესრეთ ვიდოდა ძალითი-ძალად უზეშთაესად. ვიდრემდის მიიწია სრულებასა<sup>57</sup> ჯორციელისაცა და სულიერისა ჰასაკისასა და ოც და ათ წლის რად იქმნა.<sup>58</sup> სრბად აღსრულა. სარწმუნოებად დაიმარხა: განვიდა წუთჟამისა ცხორებისა-გან. კეთილად გამომფრდელი განხრწნადთა წილ. ცვალებითა უხრწნელთადათა:<sup>59</sup> ქუეყნისათა<sup>60</sup> წილ ზეცისათადათა.<sup>61</sup> გამოთხოითა მძლეობასა ღმრთისა საყუარელსა. და [375b<sup>1</sup>] ანგელოზთა-გან განსაკვრვებელსა. რაჟამს<sup>62</sup> უძლურებითა დედათა გუამისადათა სძლო უხილავსა მტერსა უზომოდ მოქადულსა. ესრეთ სამარხოსა წმიდათა და ღირსთასა<sup>63</sup> დაიდვა ჯერეთ მამისა მისისა საწუთროდასავე ცხორებასავე<sup>64</sup> შინა სათნოებით ბრწყინვალეებითა:

4. მიმიწოდს მე თხრობად. ნეტარისა ამის პეტრეს ძისაცა მოქალაქობად. რამეთუ იქმნა<sup>65</sup> რად ათორმეტის წლის. საყოფელი მცირე უშენა<sup>66</sup> მას მამამან<sup>67</sup> სამზრუნველოდ სათნოებათა. მახლობელად ყოვლად-პატიოსანსა ტამარსა ღმრთისა-დედისასა. მასვე ქალაქსა<sup>68</sup> შინა: ამას სენაკსა ვითარცა ცოცხლივ საფლავსა შეაყენა იგი. რათა მკუდარ იყოს ჯორცითა. სოლო ცხოველ ძალითა სულისადათა. რათა საკრველსა.<sup>69</sup> სულისასა საკრველი ზედადასდვას. და სულითა სრბით აღაფრინვოს დამზადებელისა მიმართ. რათა გარეგანთა განბნევით-გან შემოკრიბოს გონებად მისი. მხოლოდას მიმართ ღირსებით საწადელისა შეუენიერებისა:<sup>70</sup> ესრეთ რად შეაყენა ყრმად იგი. ადვილმცთომობისა-თვს სიჭაბუკისა<sup>71</sup> და უსულო მცველი [375b<sup>2</sup>] დაუდგინა მას. არა კმასაყოფელ<sup>72</sup> უჩნდა მის-თვს

50. გონებითა. 51. შეუდგინა. 52. თხათადა. 53. მისთა. 54. დადათა. 55. Corrected from მასსიჩჩოებასა. 56. უძლურებდას. 57. სრულებდას. 58. იქმნა. 59. უხრწნელთათა. 60. ქუეყნისადათა. 61. ზეცისადათა. 62. რაჟამს. 63. ღირსთადას. 64. ცხრბდასავე. 65. იქმნა. 66. უშენა. 67. მამამან. 68. ქალაქსა. 69. Correcting საკრველსა. 70. შეუენიერებისა. 71. სიჭაბუკისა. 72. კმად საყოფელ.

for her beloved, with desire for whom she had been captured in her mind. Nevertheless, she added additional deprivation<sup>7</sup> of the flesh with the fasting, for she had a garment woven from goat's hair, and a swarm<sup>8</sup> of maggots was visible in her flesh, for in voluntary purulence she was similar to the unwilling Job. Therefore, the sisters there with her rejoiced and were astonished when they saw her steadfast in knowledge of virtue at a tender age and in strength of will in the infirmity of age. So she went from strength to the greatest strength until she reached the perfection of bodily and spiritual age, and when she was thirty years old, she finished the race, she kept the faith.<sup>9</sup> She went forth from this transient life, having attained the good by exchanging the corruptible for incorruptible, the earthly for the heavenly, by requesting the victory beloved by God and amazing to the angels, when in the weakness of the female body she vanquished the endlessly boasting invisible enemy. Thus was she laid in the grave among the saints and the righteous, while her father was still in this fleeting life shining in virtue.

4. I am called to relate the life of the son of this blessed Peter. For when he was twelve years old, his father built a small dwelling for him as a monastery of virtues, near the most honored church of the Mother of God in the same city. He placed him in this cell as one alive in a grave so that he became dead in the flesh but alive in strength of the spirit; and so that he placed shackles on the shackles of the spirit, and running in spirit he flew toward the creator; and so that he gathered his mind from outward dispersion toward a single worthily desirable beauty. When he placed the young boy therein and established an inanimate guardian for him, because youth is easily corrupted, the

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7. *ძვროსხილვად* is unclear here. Sarjvelaže et al., *Altgeorgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, gives the meanings “Bosheit, Böses,” while Rayfield, *Comprehensive Georgian-English Dictionary*, has “envy.” Kekelidze renders the word *лишения*, “deprivation,” which makes more sense, although this is not in the main lexica. The verb can also mean “to overcome,” in which case the sentence could potentially mean “she overcame the additional wickedness of the flesh,” but in light of what follows, it is difficult to see how this makes much sense. Moreover, *ძვროსხილვად* is used to translate *κακοπάθεια* in Mal 1:13 and Jas 5:10, *κάκως* in Baruch 5:1, and *κακωθήναι* in Dan 10:12, seeming to confirm the interpretation given above.

8. Literally “spring, source, stream,” but we follow Kekelidze in translating “swarm.”

9. 2 Tim 4:7.

შემწეობად უსულოდსაჲ. არამედ სულიერიცა მცველი შეჰმატა რამეთუ წინაშე სენაკსა ძისასა. სხუად მცირე სენაკი იშენა თავისა თვისისა-თვს. და მუნ ყოფითა ქცევათა თვსთაჲთა. თანადმცველცა და ნუგეშინის-მცემელ ყრმისა იქმნებოდა. და მის თანა ვითარცა ბრძენი ფუტკარი ღამე და დღე სათნოებათა თაფლისა გოლსა მოქმედებდა. და თანაზუოდა თქუმულსა დავითსსა: რაბამ<sup>73</sup> ტკბილ. იტყოდა. სიტყუანნი შენნი უფრომს თაფლისა პირსა ჩემსა: რამეთუ შუადამე იწყებნ გალობად. და ცისკრისსა თანა შეჰრთავნ შუადამისასა. ამას შეუდგენნ მზისა აღმოსლვისასა. და კუალად მესამისა მეექუსისა და მეცხრისა ჟამისა სრულ ყოფასა. და დასლვასა თანა მზისასა სრულ ჰყოფნ ლოცვათა. და მისცის დიდებაჲ განმაწესებელსა ჟამთასა<sup>74</sup> და სრბითა მზისა და მთოვარისა და ვარსკულავთაჲთა მოქმედსა.<sup>75</sup> დღისა<sup>76</sup> და ღამისა. ურთი-ერთას მონაცვალეობითა. სიბრძნით სრულმყოფელობასა წელიწდისა უძარვეობისასა: [376a<sup>1</sup>] ესრეთ ჰმსახურებდა დამბადებელსა ძით-ურთ და მოქალაქობდა ცხორებითა სათნოთა. და მოუწყინებელ იყო მსახურებისა-გან შვილთაჲსა იქი და აქა: რამეთუ იყო სიმორე. შორის ძისა და ასულთა მისთა. ვითარ ხუთ სასწაულ.<sup>77</sup> რომელთა ყოველსავე საჯმარსა. უცონელად აღასრულებდა. ჯორცთა ნუგეშინის-სცემდა. და სულთა ზრდიდა საღმრთოთა სიტყვთა და ეტყოდა მათ: მოვედით შვილნო ისმინეთ ჩემი. და შიში უფალისაჲ გასწაო თქუენ. მიდრიკენით გულნი თქუენნი ბოროტის-გან და ყავთ კეთილი ვერვინ შემძლებელ არს ორთა უფალთა მონებად. რამეთუ ჯორცთა გული უთქუამს სულსა ზედა. და სულსა ჯორცთა ზედა. და ესენი ურთი-ერთას წინააღმდგომ არიან. რამეთუ ჯორცნი ვინაჲთგან განხრწნადნი არიან ხრწნილებისა-თვს სურის: ხოლო სული ვითარცა უკუდავი. სულიერთა- თვს და უხრწნელთა: და დადგრომადთა წადიერ არს. სული მეუფედ ჯორცთა დადგინებულ არს: ნუმცა ჰმონებს უფალრესი უდარესსა. აღვრთ-მართებული იგი გზით სამეუფოთ<sup>78</sup> უძლოდინ კარაულსა. და ესრეთ მიაღწიოს დადგრომადსა ქალაქსა ზეცისასა. [376a<sup>2</sup>] წარჯდების სახე ამის სოფლისაჲ. მხოლოდ დაშთების მოსაგებელი ოდენ საქმეთაჲ. განვსცნეთ ქუეყანისანი. რათა მოვიგნეთ ზეცისანი: და წარმოვჰნერწყუნეთ განხრწნადნი. რათა

73. რაბ-ემ. 74. თმჟაჲსა. 75. მოქმედსაჲ. 76. ღამისაჲ. 77. სამწილ. 78. სამეუფოთ.

assistance of the inanimate one did not seem sufficient for him, and so he added an animate guardian, for in front of his son's cell he built another small cell for himself, and by dwelling there, he was present as guardian and comforter of the young boy. And with him as a wise bee, day and night he was preparing the honeycomb of virtues and buzzing with<sup>10</sup> the saying of David: "How much sweeter," he says, "are your words than honey in my mouth."<sup>11</sup> For at midnight he begins to sing, and he joins [the service of] midnight with dawn [matins?], and he begins the rising of the sun [matins or the first hour?], and also completion of the third, the sixth, and the ninth hour, and he completes the prayers with the setting of the sun [vespers]. And he glorifies the one who ordered time and set the course of the sun, the moon, and the stars and the mutual exchange of day and night and wisely completed the cycle of the year.<sup>12</sup> Thus he was worshipping the Creator together with his son and living a virtuous life. And he was diligent in caring for his children here and there, for the distance between his son and his daughters was about five miles, and he diligently took care of their every need, giving comfort to the flesh and nurturing the spirit with divine teaching. And he said to them, "Come children, listen to me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord. Turn your hearts away from evil and do good; no one can serve two masters. For the flesh lusts after the spirit and the spirit after the flesh, and these are in opposition to one another.<sup>13</sup> For the flesh, since it is corruptible, desires the corruption of the spirit, but the spirit, since it is immortal, desires what is spiritual, incorruptible, and enduring. The soul is appointed as master of the flesh—the greater does not serve the lesser. Let the one deserving the reins lead the ass along the royal way and thus reach the steadfast city of heaven. The form of this world is passing away;<sup>14</sup> only the recompense for deeds remains. Let us abandon earthly things in order to gain heavenly things, and let us spit out corruptible things in order to

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10. თანაზუღდა is otherwise unattested and its sense is unclear here, but presumably it is related to ზუზუნებს, meaning "to buzz." Kekelidze similarly translates *быжужживая*. "buzzing."

11. Ps 118:103 (119:103).

12. No form corresponding to the word უმარვეობისა is attested in the lexica. I have accordingly followed Kekelidze who translates this word as *круговорот*, "rotation, circulation."

13. Ps 33:12, 15 (34:12, 15); Matt 6:24; Gal 5:17.

14. 1 Cor 7:31.

ვიშუებდეთ უხრწნელთა-გან. ვჰრქუათ. გიხაროდენ. ყოველსა დაბადებულსა. რათა მოვიგოთ დამბადებელი: ამით დღე და ღამე ზედა დაჰქმობნ მათ. და იოტებნ არაწმიდათა გულის-სიტყუათა ჯურელებისა-გან გულთა მათთაჲსა. ამით სიტყუებითა ზრდიდა სულთა მათთა. ვითარცა პურითა ანგელოზთაჲთა. შეეხებოდა უკუე ძისა თანა ჯორციელსაგა საჭმელსა. განძლიერებისა-თვს ჯორცთა უძლურებისა. ერთგზის დღესა შინა. მითვე ერთისა ჟამისა ქონებითა. ჩინებულად მოქცევად: და განაგდებდა ყოველსა გემოვნებასა:<sup>79</sup> რამეთუ კეთილად თანამუშავად. და თანამკვდრად მარხვად<sup>80</sup> აღერჩია. სამთა ყრმათა ცხორებისა მიბაძვითა. მხალთა-გან და თესლთა ქუეყანისთა ზრდითა. და ცერცუთა განცდაჲ: ესრეთ ვნებათა საჯუმილსა დასთრგუნვიდა და ზეგარდამო ცუარსა სულისა მიერ მოიღებდა: ხოლო წმიდათა დღეთა მარხვათა ორმეოცთასა. ყოველსა შჯდეულსა [376b<sup>1</sup>] უზმრივ გარდაიწდიდა. ამას რად ჰყოფნ ცრემლითა პირსა განიბანნ. და ზეთითა გლახაკთ-მოწყალებისაჲთა თავსა იცხებნ. არა მჭმუნვარე რამე არცა მაჩუენებელ ყოფითა. არამედ რომელიცა მივალნ ვინ მისსა სულიერისა სარგებელისა-თვს. მხიარულებით ეზრახებინ. და მის თანა ისერებნ. სანოვაგედ ქონებითა სულიერისა. მადლთა სიტყვსა. მარილისაჲთა. და იყო ყოვლად-საღმრთოდ იგი კაცი ჭემმარიტებით კაცი ღმრთისაჲ: მამობდა უკუეძეცა. ხატთა ზედა მისისა სათნოებისათა.<sup>81</sup> მკვრცხლყოფითა ღმრთისა და კაცთა. მოშიშთა უფალისათა.<sup>82</sup> ხოლო მიაწვენდა გუამსა. და ძილსა ბუნებითად მიიღებდა. განძლიერებად საცნობელთა. ჭილსა ზედა განსუენებითა ბუნებითისა უძლურებისაჲთა. არა მრავალსაყიდლობითა. არცა შუებითა და სილბოჲთა. წინაპატივსცემნ მოლუაწებასა.<sup>83</sup> რამეთუ

79. გემოვნებ̄ისა.  
83. მოღწ̄ებდასა.

80. მარხვა.

81. სათნოებისაჲთა.

82. ოწმსთ̄ა.

delight in incorruptible things. Let us say ‘rejoice’ to every creature in order to attain the creator.” These things he was proclaiming<sup>15</sup> to them day and night, and he was putting unclean thoughts to flight from the clefts of their hearts. With these words he nourished their souls as with the bread of angels. Once a day then at a certain time he partook of bodily nourishment together with his son in order to strengthen the weakness of the body for virtuous acts, and he drove out all enjoyment. For he chose fasting as a good coworker and companion, and, in imitation of the life of the three youths, the trial of nourishment from the growth of greens and the seeds of the earth and beans; thus he trampled down the furnace of the passions and received dew from heaven by the Spirit.<sup>16</sup> But during the forty days of holy Lent he would go the entire week without eating. When he did this he would wash his face with tears and anoint his head with the oil of charity, not doing anything sorrowfully or insincerely.<sup>17</sup> But whenever someone would come to him for the sake of spiritual benefit, he would speak joyfully with him and feast with him, having as food the spiritual salt of words of grace. And this utterly devout man was truly a man of God. So the son was also a father<sup>18</sup> in the images of his virtue, by being exceptional before God and the people who feared the Lord. Nevertheless, he would lay down his body and go to sleep physically in order to strengthen his mind by resting his physical weakness on a straw mat, with no luxuriance, indulgence, or softness. He had respect for toil, for he knew

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15. *დაჰჳმობნ*: the lexical entries for the verb *დაჰმობა* give the meanings “to dry out” and “to desiccate.” Rayfield, however, also gives the meaning “to voice” when the verb appears together with *ხმობ* (or *ჰმობ*), which is of course not present here; see Rayfield, *Georgian-English Dictionary*, 1:611. Nevertheless, it is clear that some meaning related to *ჰმან* and *ჰმობა* must be understood here. Kekelidze translates *напевал*, which, although it means something more akin to “sing,” seems to reflect a similar understanding of the word.

16. Cf. Dan 1:8–15; 3:49–50.

17. Cf. Matt 6:16–17.

18. *მამობდა*: *მამობა* is in the lexica as an abstract noun meaning “fatherhood.” The ending, however, does not correspond to a nominal form but instead seems to be the third person singular of the imperfect. Nevertheless, I have not found evidence for the use of *მამობა* as a verb (although theoretically this could be possible). The sentence needs a verb, and so I have rendered it thus, in the sense that the son was also a father in the fact that he brought forth images of his father’s virtue. Kekelidze has here *По отцу жил и сын*, “the son lived according to the father,” although it is not clear to me exactly how he derives this from the form.

უწყოდა ვითარმედ არა ცხედართა. არცა საგებელთა ზედა მიწვებოდა ადამ. [არამედ] იატაკსა ზედა სამოთხესა შინა. ვითარ თუმცა მსახურ ექმნებოდა ბუნებასა.<sup>84</sup> საზრდელითა კულად აღმოავსებნ განლეულებასა მტკიცესა<sup>85</sup> საზრდელისასა: და [376b<sup>2</sup>] სასუმლითა განთხევასა წყლისასა. ეგრეთვე სიმაშურალესა საგრძნობელთასა. განუსუენებდა ძილისა მიერ. რათა უფრთხილ[ეს] ყვნეს კორცნი და საცნობელნი. მსახურებისა მიმართ და დიდების-მეტყუელებისა დამზადებელისა: სადა იყო მუნ. ჯუმევაჲ. ჯორცებისაჲ. და ყუავილსულნელობაჲ დღვისაჲ. სადამრავალსასყიდლობაჲ მიჰრონთაჲ: სადა ზედადასხმად აბანოთაჲ. სადა მრავალსასყიდლისა სამოსლისა სიჩჩოთ<sup>86</sup> მაღბილობელობაჲ. არცა სიზმარნი იხილვებოდეს მუნ. არცა მღვდარისა გულის- სიტყუანი დაისახვოდეს. არამედ ყოველი გონებაჲ. და ყოველი სურვილი იყო სოფლით განკუეთისა-თვს. და თანამოქალაქედ უნივთოთა ძალთა. დაწერად თავისა თვისისა ზეცისა იერუსალჳმსა<sup>87</sup> შინა. რომლისა კელოვან და დამზადებელ ღმერთი არს. სადა იგი არს მოქალაქობად მოყუარეთა უფალისათაჲ.<sup>88</sup> იყო უკუე მაღალ ხედვითა გონებისაჲთა.<sup>89</sup> მდაბალ და აღუზუავებელ ცნობითა. რამეთუ არა თავისა თვისისად შეერაცხნეს წარამატებანი. არამედ მიმცემელისად მაღლისა. მის-თვს მოღუაწეთა: და მონდობილთა მისდა. ბიწიან [377a<sup>1</sup>] იყო სამოსლითა გუამისაჲთა. ხოლო უბიწოდ მოაქუნდა სამოსელი სვნიდისისაჲ. განწმელ და განჯენჯილ თმითა. ხოლო ცხებულ ზეთითა გლახაკთა<sup>90</sup>-წყალობისაჲთა. რამეთუ ყოველთა-თვს განღებულად აქუნდეს ნაწლეენი. გლახაკთა მოსცემდა საზრდელსა. ხოლო შიშუელთა სამოსელსა: უძლურთა მოიხილვიდა. და ნაკლულევენსა აღმოუვსებდა. მოხუცებულთა კურთხი იყო. სიჭაბუკისა განმწურთელ. ზღვეულთა და განცდილთა ზიარ. დაღათუ სულისაჲ ვის უკმნ სესხად მიცემაჲ. მზა. ოდეს იხილა<sup>91</sup> მან ძვრხილული და არ დაადინნა ნაკადულნი ცრემლთანი. ოდეს ღმრთისა მიმართ მოხარული. და არა ვითარმცა თვთ კეთილი

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84. ბ<sup>2</sup>ნ<sup>2</sup>დასა. 85. მტკიცესაჲ. 86. სიჩჩოთ. 87. იწ ლმსა. 88. ო<sup>2</sup>დასათა. 89. გონებისაჲთაჲ. 90. გლახაკთაჲ. 91. იხილაჲ.

that in paradise Adam did not lie down on a bed or a couch but on the floor. Likewise whenever he was servant to nature with eating and drinking, he also produced the excrement of food and the spilling of water. He would also rest the fatigue of the senses with sleep, so that body and mind were alert to serve and glorify the Creator. Where was there the use of meat and the floral aroma of wine? Where was luxury of myrrh? Where was the washing of baths? Where was the comfort<sup>19</sup> of luxurious soft clothes? Dreams were not seen there, nor were wakeful desires brought forth, but every thought and every desire were focused on separation from the world and fellow citizenship with the immaterial powers and his own enrollment in the heavenly Jerusalem, whose craftsman and creator is God, where the friends of the Lord have their citizenship. He was then exalted in perception of the mind, and humble and modest in knowledge, for accomplishments<sup>20</sup> were accounted not to himself but to the giver of grace, and he served on his behalf and trusted in him. He was unclean in the garment of the flesh but wore the garment of conscience with purity. He was withered and tattered<sup>21</sup> in his hair but anointed with oil in benevolence to the poor, for he openly had compassion<sup>22</sup> for all. He gave food to the poor and clothing to the naked; he looked after the weak and lifted up the needy; he was a staff for the aged, a chastiser of the young, and a companion to the injured and tried. If anyone needed a gift of the spirit as a loan, he was ready. When did he see someone who was in torment and not shed streams of tears? When did he see someone rejoicing to God and not somehow

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19. მალბილობელობად is not found in the lexica. The closest forms would seem to be მაზრალობელობად, “accusation,” and მახლობელობად, “neighbor, relative, nearness.” Kekelidze translates here *нежная*, “tender, delicate,” which seems to make sense, and accordingly we have followed his translation, for lack of a better alternative. Presumably it somehow is related to the word ლბილი, “soft.”

20. წარმატებანი is not in the lexica, but this seems to be an antiquated form of წამატებანი.

21. განჯენჯილ is not in the lexica. It would appear to be related to ჯიხჯილი, “fringed band (of cloth)” (also ჯიხჯილებიანი, “fringed”), in modern Georgian, and the Old Georgian დაჯეჯკილი, “wounded, torn.” This would correspond with Kekelidze’s translation, *растрепанные*, “disheveled, tattered.”

22. Literally “guts,” but clearly this is an overly literal translation of the Greek *σπλάγχνα*. ნაწლებანი is not ordinarily used in Georgian for “compassion,” according to the lexica.

ეყოფოდა. თანაიჭირვინ ჭირვეულთა. და თანაუხარინ მოხარულთა სნეულთა სამკურნალოდსა და თუმცა საჯმარ ვინ თქუა სახლი მისი ეგრეთ იყო. სხუთ სხუად<sup>92</sup> უცხოთ-სადგურ<sup>93</sup> წოდებასა მისსა არა ტყუოდა: რამეთუ ყოველათა<sup>94</sup> იყო ყოველ და განუძღომელითა მით მისდა ღმრთისა მიმართ და მოყუსისა სიყუარულითა. რომელთა შეუძლებელ იყო მისთა ერთისა და განყოფად მეორის-გან: [377a<sup>2</sup>] ესრეთ შემკობილ იყო ყოვლითა კეთილითა. ვითარცა ზეთის-ხილი მსხმოდ სახლსა ღმრთისსა. შესავედრებელ ყოველთა მფრინველთა. სულგბისა შეცთომილთადას: უკუეთუმცა ვინმე იხილა<sup>95</sup> მოქმედი სათნოებისა. ცხებულ ჰყოფნ სიტყვთა სწავლისადათა. აღუორძინებდა გულს-მოდგინებას: აღმოუგებდა ნაკულევეანსა: ხოლო უდებებით და უძღებებით ცხორებულსა ამხილებნ. ჰრისხავნ. ჰლოცავნ არა განიკითხავნ. რათა არა განიკითხოს: არამედ პირ ღმრთისა იქმნებინ და გამოიყვანებნ ღირსსა უღირსებისა-გან. შეუვრდებინ მათ. რომელნი ჰმძლავრობდიან: არა წინააღუდგის. საქმით ასწავებნ განბრძნობად. ვითარმედ მონის-გან უფალისა<sup>96</sup> არა ჯერ-არს ლაღვად. მშვდობის-მყოფელისა მეფისა მონად მამშვდებელი მშვდობის-ყოფად დააგებნ მტრობითა ვისითამე წინაშეჰყრობილთა:<sup>97</sup>

5. ესრეთ ცხონდებოდა ათ წელ. შემდგომად მეუღლისა-გან ღმრთისა-თვს ჯორციელისა გარშორებისა: რამეთუ თვთ ცოლიცა იგი მისი. თვსსავე აღიბაძვა<sup>98</sup> სათნოებით და მოღუაწებით მოქალაქობასა.<sup>99</sup> და წინა თვსსა წარავლინა წმიდად და [377b<sup>1</sup>] უბიწოდ ძღუნად ღმრთისა.<sup>100</sup> მომღებელად მჭელეულსა შრომათა თვსთასა.<sup>101</sup> და შემდგომთა ღუაწლისათა.<sup>102</sup> ხოლო თვთ დაშთა შემდგომად მისსა. ღმრთისა<sup>103</sup> მომადლებითა მისდა. ცხორებისა განბრძნობისადათა. უმრავლესთა სარგებელისა-თვს და უფროსთა სათნოებათა შინა გამოცდილებისა-თვს: ვინ იყო ესრეთ ქრისტეს-მოყუარე და მარტვლთ-მოყუარე. ვინ იქმნა<sup>104</sup> ესრეთ ტყუეთა თანა ტყუე. ოდესმე გამომჰსნელ უღლით მონებისადათ: ოდესმე ნუგეშინის-მცემელ სიტყვთა ჰქმმარტებისადათა. და განმამწნობელ ჯუმევად მონებისა. ვითარცა არა მნებებელთა დაღათუ ეძლოს მიმთხუევად: ვინ ესრეთ განამწნობნ. სიკუდიდ მიყვანებადათა. სურვიელად წამებისა მიმართ. მათ მიერ. რომელთა იგი იტყოდა და რომელთა იგი ჰყოფდა. რამეთუ არწმუნებდა საწუთოდას<sup>105</sup> ამის ცხორებისა უფროს აღრჩევად

92. სხიდ. 93. უცხო სადგორ. 94. Correcting ყოველად. 95. იხილად. 96. ოფ. 97. წინად შეჰყრობითად. 98. აღიბაძვად. 99. მქლქობდასა. წინად. 100. ღფ. 101. თწთადასა. 102. ღუაწლისფთა. 103. ღფ. 104. იქმნად. 105. საწუთოსა.

benefit himself? He would suffer with the afflicted and rejoice with those rejoicing.<sup>23</sup> If anyone said that his house was a place of healing for the sick, so it was, or a lodging for strangers in his name;<sup>24</sup> he did not lie, for he was all things to all people.<sup>25</sup> He had insatiable love for God and neighbor, whom he could not separate from one another. Thus he was adorned with every good thing, like a tree laden with olives in the house of God, a refuge for the souls of all those birds who have gone astray. If he saw anyone acting virtuously, he would anoint him with words of teaching, nurture the ambition, and fill in what was lacking. Nevertheless, he convinces, rebukes, and blesses the one who is saved from wickedness and gluttony.<sup>26</sup> He does not judge so that he will not be judged,<sup>27</sup> but he becomes the mouth of God and leads forth what is worthy from what is worthless.<sup>28</sup> And he kneels down before those who are oppressing him and does not oppose them. By this action he teaches them to be wise, because “the servant of the Lord must not be quarrelsome.”<sup>29</sup> The peaceful servant of the peace-making king peacefully reconciles those who are seized by enmity.

5. So he lived for ten years after the physical separation from his spouse for the sake of God, for his wife herself also imitated his way of life in virtue and labor. And he sent her forth before himself, bringing the sheaf of her labors and the produce of her toils as a pure and unblemished offering to God. But he himself remained after her, and God bestowed on him the doctrine of salvation for the benefit of very many and knowledge of the highest virtues. Who was such a lover of Christ and lover of martyrs? Who became such a captive among captives, at once freed from the yoke of servitude while at the same time giving comfort by the word of truth and encouraging the embrace of servitude, even if they were unwilling, if it could be obtained? Who so encouraged those being led to death to long for martyrdom by the things that he said and the things that he did, for he persuaded them

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23. Cf. Rom 12:15.

24. The meaning of წოდებას მობს here is not clear; likewise, სხვთ სხუად is difficult to translate. Kekelidze does not seem to translate either.

25. Cf. 1 Cor 9:22.

26. Cf. 2 Tim 4:2.

27. Cf. Matt 7:1.

28. Jer 15:19.

29. 2 Tim 2:24.

ქრისტეს-თვს სიკუდილსა: ვინაჲცა ყოველთა ეუწყებოდა. ვითარცა სარკისა-გან გუამით მისით. მჭურვალეზად სულისაჲ. და ვითარებაჲ ცნობისაჲ: რამეთუ სასმენელად მიმზიდველთა. და მიზიდულთა იტყვენ ჳმობით ნეტარებასა<sup>106</sup> ქრისტეს-თვს სიკუდილისასა. და უბადრუკ უწოდნ [377b<sup>2</sup>] უშჯულოთა. და სიკუდიდ მნებებელთასა.<sup>107</sup> იგი უმეტესსა აჩუენებნ სიკუდიდ ნებისა გულს-მოდგინებასა. ვიდრემდის თითოეულსა წამებულთაგანსა. თანაეწამებინ სვნიდისითა და იტყვენ: მოიკვენეთ რომელმან იგი პონტოელისა პილატეს ზე წამა<sup>108</sup> კეთილი აღსარებაჲ. რამეთუ ღმერთი იყო და ჩუენ-თვს კაც იქმნა:<sup>109</sup> რამეთუ მდიდარ იყო და ჩუენ-თვს ნეფსით დაგლახაკნა. რათა ჩუენ მისითა სიგლახაკითა განვმდიდრდეთ: რომელი იგი შჯის ყოველსა ქუეყანასა<sup>110</sup> სიმართლით. პილატეს-გან განისაჯებოდა.<sup>111</sup> რათა ჩუენზედაჲ იგი სიკუდილისა განჩინებაჲ დაჰკვნას. უფალმან დიდებისამან სირცხული ჯუარისაჲ შეურაცხ ყო. რათა გვრგვნითა დიდებისაჲთა შეამკოს<sup>112</sup> კაცი: რომელმან ცოდვად არა ქმნა<sup>113</sup> არცა იპოვა ზაკვად პირსა მისსა: ჩუენი სიკუდილი მითუალა.<sup>114</sup> რათა სიკუდილისა მიერ განაქარვოს მქონებელი იგი სიმტკიცისა სიკუდილისაჲ. და გამომივსნენეს მონებისა-გან მისისა. შიშითა სიკუდილისაჲთა შეჰყრობილნი. ყურიმალსა იცა.<sup>115</sup> იგუემოდა. პირსა იცემებოდა. მეუფე იგი ყოვლისა დაზადებულისაჲ.<sup>116</sup> რათა ჩუენ ზიარ დიდებისა მისისა მყვენეს: სისხლი სამეუფოჲ მონათა-თვს<sup>117</sup> დასთხია საკსრად თვსისა მიმართ მამისა.<sup>118</sup> [378a<sup>1</sup>] დიდ არსა უკუეთუ ჩუენცა სისხლი სამონოჲ მეუფისა-თვს დავსთხოთ; თანავინოთ ქრისტესა. რათა თანავიდიდნეთ. თანამოვკუდეთ რათა თანაღვდგეთ. ვერ ღირს არიან ვნებანი ამის ჟამისანი ყოფადისა მის-თვს დიდებისა.<sup>119</sup> ჩუენდა გამოცხადებადისა: ნუ ვჰრიდებთ განხრწნადთა ჳორცთა რათა უხრწნელებით მოვიხუნეთ იგინი. მივსცნეთ სულნი რათა ღმერთი შევიძინოთ. აღვიაროთ ქრისტე ძედ ღმრთისად და ღმერთად. რათა აღმიარნეს ჩუენ წინაშე მამისა თვსისა. ძედ ღმრთისა და თანამკუდრად თვსსა. დავიცვათ პატივი ძეობისაჲ. რომელი მოვიღეთ სულისა მიერ. რათა შვილ სასუფევლისა ვიქმნეთ. დავიცვათ ბეჰედი ჩუენი. რათა გუევლტოდინ ბოროტნი იგი სულნი ჳაერისანი. და ანგელოზთა შეიწყნარნენ სულნი ჩუენნი. და ქრისტეს სამწყსოსა აღიყვანნენ.

106. ნტ<sup>რ</sup>ბჲსა.

107. მნებებელთაჲსა.

108. წინაჲ.

109. იქმნაჲ. 110. ქუ<sup>ნ</sup>დასა.

111. განისაჯებოდაჲ.

112. შეამკოს.

113. ქმნაჲ. იპოვაჲ.

114. მითუალაჲ.

115. იცაჲ.

116. დბ<sup>დ</sup>ბლისა.117. მონ<sup>დ</sup>ათ<sup>ნ</sup>.118. მმ<sup>ს</sup>აჲ.119. დბ<sup>ნ</sup>ისაჲ.

to choose death on behalf of Christ rather than this fleeting life? In this way<sup>30</sup> the fervor of his spirit and his state of mind were made known to all from his body like from a mirror, for he would loudly exclaim the joy of dying for Christ to those who were being dragged forth and hauled off, and he would call the lawless ones wretched and show even more determination of will to die than those who were willing to die, while he shared in the martyrdom of each one of the martyrs and said, “Remember the one who bore witness to the good confession under Pontius Pilate, for he was God and became a human being for our sake; for he was rich and willingly became poor for our sake, so that by his poverty we might become rich.<sup>31</sup> He who judges the entire world with truth was judged by Pilate, so that he destroyed the judgment of death that was upon us. The Lord of glory scorned the shame of the cross in order to adorn humankind with the crown of glory. He ‘who committed no sin, nor was any guile found in his mouth,’<sup>32</sup> took our death upon himself, so that by death he destroyed the dominion of death and by his servitude freed those held captive by fear of death.<sup>33</sup> The king of all creatures was struck on the cheek, beaten, and hit in the face so that he would make us partakers of his glory.<sup>34</sup> He shed royal blood on behalf of servants as a ransom to his own Father. Is it not then great that we would shed the blood of servants on behalf of the king? Let us suffer with Christ so that we may be glorified with him; let us die with him so that we may rise with him. The present sufferings are paltry in regard to the coming glory that will be revealed to us.<sup>35</sup> Let us not spare the corruptible flesh so that we may bring it forth with incorruptibility. Let us give up our souls so that we will gain God. Let us confess Christ as Son of God and God so that he will confess us before his Father as sons of God and members of his family.<sup>36</sup> Let us preserve the honor of being children, which we receive from the Spirit, so that we will become children of the kingdom of God. Let us preserve our seal, so that the evil spirits of the air will flee from us and the angels will receive our souls

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30. Literally “whence,” ვინაჲცა.

31. Cf. 2 Cor 8:9.

32. 1 Pet 2:22; cf. Isa 53:9.

33. Cf. Heb 2:14.

34. Cf. 2 Pet 1:4.

35. Cf. Rom 8:18.

36. Cf. Matt 10:32; თანამკუდრად can also connote marriage, and so perhaps ideas of Christ as the bridegroom are also present here.

დაუჭნობელთა მათ მწუანვილთა განსუენებისათა სადა ყოველთა მხიარულთა წმიდათა მკვდრობად არს: ესევითართა ჳმათა ჳმოზითა. მწნეთასა აღმატებულ. ჳყოფდა წადიერებასა: ხოლო დაჳსნილთა და შერყეულთა განამტვიცებნ. და [378a<sup>2</sup>] უძღურთა გულის-სიტყვთა განამრთელეზნ: ვინათგან უკუე ხედვიდა უღმრთოებისა ღრუბელსა<sup>120</sup> და ნისლსა საცთურისასა განფენილად. და ჳემმარიტებასა<sup>121</sup> მიმძღავრებულად ტყუვილისა-გან. რაჳამს მრავალნი დაუმტვიცებელისა გულის-სიტყვსა მქონებელნი საადვილითა გემოვნებათათა<sup>122</sup> წარიტყუენვოდეს. ჳემმარიტების-გან განდგომითა. და ტყუვილისა მიმართ ნეფსით-განვრდომითა და რომელნიმე ლიქნისა მიერ მიიზიდვოდეს. და მოინადირებოდეს: ხოლო რომელნიმე ნიჳთა ქადებითა მიიპარვოდეს. იყვის ოდესმე. რომელ ვიეთმე იძულებით ტანჯვითა დაჳსნიდეს. და ნათლისა ბნელად განცვალებად სცემდეს. და მგომობარ ჳყოფდეს. სახელსა უფალისა ჩუენისა იესუ ქრისტესსა: ვინაგა ეძვნებოდა. განიჳრებოდა. განსწირვიდა ცხორებასა. უცხორებოდ შეერაცხა ცხორებად. სუროდა სიკუდილისა<sup>123</sup> და ამიერ განჳსნისა-თვს. ვითარცა ქვებითა იცემებოდა გმობათ-გან: ესევითართა ბოროტთა-გან ხედვიდა რად სოფელსა<sup>124</sup> მოცვულად. ვითარცა არმურიანსა და სულმყრალსა ჳაერსა შინა მყოფი. სურვიელ არნ ყნოსად წმიდისა ჳაერისა. ვერეთვე ესე ნამდვლვე [378b<sup>1</sup>] მარადის-მოსაჳსენებელი მოსურნე იყო გარეგანყოფად საწუთომსა ამის-გან. რათა გარდაწმედილსა ადგილსა მიწეენითა წარიძღუნას. სულმყრალი იგი სიბოროტე გმობისად: უფროდსა ამას გოდებდა საღმობიერითა ტირილითა. ესმოდა რად მონად და აგებული გმობით-სიტყუად<sup>125</sup> ყოველთა დამზადებელისა-თვს. დაღათუ ვერვინ იკადრებდა მხილებად<sup>126</sup> მგმობარსა მას სივერაგესა. თაფლით დაფარულებისა-თვს აფსინდისა. რამეთუ ესრეთ ჳგონებდეს ერის მაცთურნი იგი ცუღზღაპრობით მომთხრობელნი ამისნი. ერთმთავრობისა მსახურებად. ღმერთად მამისა ოდენ პირუტყულად

120. ღრუბელსად. 121. ჳემმარიტებას in the edition is presumably a misprint. 122. გემოვნებდათათა. 123. სიკუდილისად. 124. სოფლსად. 125. სიტყუად. 126. მხილებად.

and lead them up to the flock of Christ, to the unfading green grass of rest, where the dwelling place of all the joyful saints is.” By crying out with such shouts, he increased the zeal of the brave, and he strengthened those who were broken and shattered and healed those who were feeble-minded. For then he saw that the cloud of godlessness and the fog of seduction were widespread and that truth was violently oppressed by falsehood, when many who had vacillating thoughts were captivated by the ease of pleasures, by apostasy from the truth, and by falling willingly into falsehood. And some were attracted and won over through flattery, while others were stolen away by the promise of gifts. And once it happened that they broke some people through coercion by torture and beat them into exchanging light for darkness and made them renounce the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Because of this he was enraged and distressed and forsaking life. He considered life unlivable<sup>37</sup> and longed for death. And from that time<sup>38</sup> on because of the dissolution<sup>38</sup> he was stricken by the apostasies<sup>39</sup> as if by stones. When he saw the world besieged by such evils, just like one who is in smoky and foul air longs to breathe pure air, so he too, truly of eternal memory,<sup>40</sup> was longing to remove himself from this earthly life in order to depart the stinking evil of blasphemy by going forth to the pure place. He lamented even more, weeping dolorously, when he heard the servant and creature speaking blasphemy against the creator of all things, although no one dared to expose this blasphemous treachery, because of the wormwood’s concealment with honey. For these seducers of the people maintained—explaining this all with false fairy tales—that they

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37. უცხოებოდ has no corresponding form in the lexica, although the meaning seems fairly clear; Kekelidze translates this instead as *ничто*, “nothing.”

38. განჯსნისა-თვს is difficult to translate here, and Kekelidze’s translation does not offer much help. The translation above is fairly literal, but განჯსნა often translates the Greek *λύω*, the meaning of which can also include “destruction.” Also possible is that Peter was distraught by the falling away of so many members of the Christian community, “because of [their] letting go [of the faith].”

39. Or “blasphemies.”

40. I have translated *ნამდვლვე მარადის-მოსავსენებელი* literally above, understanding it as related to the exclamations of “eternal memory” that are sung at the conclusion of Orthodox funerals and memorial services. Kekelidze translates merely with *принопамятный*, “memorable, unforgettable,” which seems vague and insufficient.

თქუმითა. ხოლო ძესა და სიტყუასა<sup>127</sup> მისსა მონად აღიარებდეს და აგებულად. და უპატიობითა ძისადთა მამასაცა<sup>128</sup> უპატიო ჰყოფდეს ვითარმედ იგი ჭეშმარიტად რომელი არა პატივისცემს ძესა. არა პატივისცემს მამასა. რომელმან მოავლინა იგი:

ნ. ამათ სიჩქურთა სმენითა ნეტარი იგი და ღმერთშემოსილი. რომელი წინაიცნა გულის-სიტყუთა. წინამსწარმცნობელისა და არაარსთა არსებად მწოდებელის-გან. და [378b<sup>2</sup>] წინაგანისაზღვრა თანახატ ყოფად ძისა მისისა. მძუნვარედ განიჭრებოდა და განკვფდებოდა. და სიკუდიდ მიეწეოდა: ესრეთ რამ მრავალნი ჟამნი წარვლნა. შფოთებასა შინა გულის-სიტყუათასა.<sup>129</sup> საღმრთოდას რამსმე წინაგანგებისა-გან. რომელმან უწყის ქმნად ნებისა<sup>130</sup> მოშიშთა მისთადას. შთავარდა სენსა ჯორცთასა.<sup>131</sup> რათა სულითა უმრთელეს იქმნეს. ვინადაცა ჯორცნი უკუე სენოვანებდეს: კინდა და სიკუდილისა მახლობელ ქმნითა: ხოლო სულისა გულის-სიტყუად მიუდრეკელად ეგო. ერთი ოდენ აქუნდა სურვილი ქრისტეს-თვის წამებისა სიკუდილისა: ერთი ურვად. ერთი მწუხარებად. ერთი გლოვად. რამეთუ არა სისხლთ დათხევით ქრისტეს-თვის ჯორცთა-გან განემორებოდა: ამის ძლით რამე უკუე ყო ბრძენმან ამან ჭეშმარიტებისა-თვის ტრფიალმან. რათა არა სრულიად განეკუას სურვილის-გან: მიუწოდა ვისმე კაიუმს სახელის-დებითა. რათა ზედა დაადგრეს სენსა მისსა. და ჰმსახურებდეს უძლურებითა განლევასა: და ჰრქუა მას. განვედ უბანთა ზედა ქალაქისათა.<sup>132</sup> განიხილევდ ფოლოცთა ვიდრემდის [379a<sup>1</sup>] მიიწიოს ტამრად არაბთა. მოუწოდე მიერ კაცთა შესწავებულთა. რამეთუ მიწმს რამსმე დადებად შენ თანა. და მინებს მათი მოწამე ყოფად. დანადებისა მის: ხოლო ესე ღონე იყო რამეთუ კეთილისა წამებისა უნდა<sup>133</sup> მას აღსარებად<sup>134</sup> და დადებად: და ამას ჰყოფდა საგზალ კეთილ თვისსა.

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127. სიტყუასა. 128. მშსადცა. 129. სიტყუათადას. 130. ნებდას.  
131. ჯორცთადასა 132. ქალაქისადთა. 133. უნდად. 134. აღსარებდად.

served a single sovereign, brutishly saying that only the Father is God, and they professed that his Son and Word is a servant and a creature. And by dishonoring the Son, they dishonor the Father, for truly the one who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father who sent him.

6. When he heard this foolishness, this blessed and pious man whom [God] foreknew in his mind through foreknowledge and from calling nonexistence into existence, and whom he “predestined to become the image of his Son,”<sup>41</sup> was furiously torn to pieces and laid to waste<sup>42</sup> and brought to death. Thus when he had spent much time with his thoughts in turmoil, by some predetermination of God, who knows the workings of the will of those who fear him, he fell into illness of the flesh so that he would become healthier in spirit. So then the flesh settled into illness,<sup>43</sup> coming very close to death, but the longing of his spirit remained unyielding. He had only one desire: to die as a martyr for Christ’s sake, and one concern, one sorrow, one sadness: that he would go forth from the body without shedding his blood for Christ’s sake. Because of this, then, this wise man was such a lover of the truth that he did not forfeit his will completely. He called for a certain person named Qaiouma to stand watch over his illness and serve him in the exhaustion of his infirmity. And he said to him, “Go out into the streets of the city and look around the alleys until you reach<sup>44</sup> the temple of the Arabs and call out the noteworthy people from there, for I need to entrust something to you, and I want them to be witnesses of this pledge.” But this was a trick, for he wanted to make a profession and to lay down a noble martyrdom, and he made this a good provision for himself.<sup>45</sup> Qaiouma then

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41. Rom 8:29.

42. I am not able to find a form related to განჯვდებოდა in the lexica, but the verb განჯვდება is attested several times in the Old Testament (e.g., Deut 8:4; Isa 59:14; Ps 74:4) as well as elsewhere with the meaning “to consume, to lay waste, to melt.” Kekelidze translates томился, “was tormented.”

43. სენოვანებდეს is an unusual word, and there is no form corresponding to სენო- in the lexica. In fact, a search of the TITUS database revealed only one instance of a word beginning with სენო-, the similar word სენოვანთა in the seventeenth-century poem Archiliani (3.86.d) by Archil, King of Imereti (1647–1713). The meaning, however, is clearly determined from the combination of სენო and ვანება.

44. Literally “until it reaches,” მიიწიობ. Perhaps one of the roads and alleys is to be understood as the subject.

45. This is a difficult phrase, which I have rendered literally. Kekelidze translates quite freely here: в доброе напутствие себе, “into a good farewell speech for himself.”

უდროებლად უკუე სრულ ყო კაიუმას მსახურებად ესე. და მოიწინეს არაბთაგანნი უმრავლესნი და უკეთესნი. და ვითარ დასხდეს. იწყო წმიდამან აღსაარებად კეთილისა აღსარებისა მათდა მიმართ და ჰრქუა: ყოველი რომელი დაჰფარვიდეს ჭემმარიტებასა<sup>135</sup> მტერი არს ჭემმარიტებისა: და რომელი ჰქადაგებდეს ტყუვილსა და საცთურსა: წინააღმდეგომ ღმრთისა არს: და ყოველი რომელი უვარ-ჰყოფდეს ქრისტესა. და არა აღიარებდეს მას ღმერთყოფად. სცთების და წარწყმედად მიიწევის: და რომელი შემდგომად იოანე წინააღმარმეტყუელისა<sup>136</sup> და ნათლის-მცემელისა სხუასა<sup>137</sup> ვისმე წინააღმარმეტყუელად უწოდდეს თავსა თვსსა მცთომ ჰყოფს. რამეთუ შჯული და წინააღმარმეტყუელნი ვიდრე იოანესამდე ნათლის-მცემელისა. უფალი სახარებათა<sup>138</sup> შინა განცხადებულად ჳმობს: და აწ თქუნენ ნუ სცთებით. და ნუცა იტყვთ მაღალსა გარდარევენულად. [379a<sup>2</sup>] რამეთუ მხოლოდ ოდენ ქრისტეანეთა სარწმუნოებად არს ჭემმარიტ. მომყვანებელ ცხორებად საუკუნოდ: ესე და უმრავლესნი მსგავსნი ამათსა ჰრქუნა მათ. და კმასაყოფელად<sup>139</sup> რად ამხილა.<sup>140</sup> მგმობარ და უღმრთოყოფასა<sup>141</sup> მათსა. არა კნინ ოდენ შეუქმნა<sup>142</sup> მათ შფოთი და განძვნება. რამეთუ მყის აღეტყინა გულის-წყრომა მათი. ვითარცა ცეცხლი შეეხის რად ლერწამსა ფიჩხოვანსა. კბილთა იღრჭენდეს. და ვითარცა სიავნი ფოფინებდეს. ანუ ზღვს ღელვათა-ებრ ქართა მდულარეთა და კიდედ მცემარეთა სიბორგილით პერულსა წარმოჰწერწყვდეს: ურთი-ერთას უჭმობდეს და მკლველობად აღაზრზენდეს. ეჰა განცვზრებასა იტყოდეს. ჰ უჩუეველსა კადნიერებასა.<sup>143</sup> ხედავთა ვითარ განგუზბასრნა ჩუენ: იხილეთ ვითარ გინებულ და საკიცხელ აჩუენა მსახურებად ჩუენი. ანუ არა მოვაკუდინოთა ესე. არა პირველჟამისა სიკუდილი მოვაწიოთა მის ზედა: და ეგულეზოდა ესე. არა თუმცა ეხილვა<sup>144</sup> იგი უკანასკნელსა ზედა აღმოფშვნასა:<sup>145</sup> ხოლო მართლისა მის გულს-მოდგინებად სძლევდა სნეულებასა.<sup>146</sup> და [379b<sup>1</sup>] სალოცველად აქუნდა<sup>147</sup> მათმიერი განჭრა. და ჳელთა შინა მათთა სიკუდილი. რაოდენი იგი მას მოეგო სურვილი წამებისა მიმართ. რაოდენი წადიერება. არამედ ღმერთმან მართალმან: მომცემელმან ცხორებისამან და უფალმან სიკუდილისამან შჯულიერად და განცხადებულად განბჰო წამებად მისი. რათა არა მოსალოდებელად სიკუდილად შეერაცხოს: მიზეზი იგი წამებისა მისისა: ხოლო იყო დასაბამი ნოემბერისა ოდეს ესე იქმნა<sup>148</sup> მეათორმეტე ინდიკტიონი: ესრე უკუე ბოროტად-მსახურნი იგი და მოუმიდუვრებელნი. გამოვიდეს მიერ აღსავსედ გულის-წყრომითა. სისხლებრ ხედვიდეს და თვსსა მას უღმრთოებისა ტაძარსა მივიდეს: და მუნ მყოფთა ყოველთა

135. ჭტზბსა. 136. წწელისა. მცემელისა. 137. სხზსა. 138. სხრზბთა. 139. კმასაყოფელად. 140. ამხილა. 141. უღთოყოფასა. 142. შეუქმნა. 143. კადნიერებზსა. 144. ეხილვა. 145. აღმოფშვნასა. 146. სნეულებზსა. 147. აქუნდა. 148. იქმნა.

completed this task right away, and very many and the best of the Arabs came. And when they sat down, the holy one began to profess the good confession to them, and he said: “Everyone who hides the truth is an enemy of the truth, and everyone who preaches lies and deception is an adversary of God, and everyone who denies Christ and does not confess him as being God is deceived and heading for destruction. And anyone who calls someone else a prophet after the prophet John the Baptist places himself in error, for ‘the law and the prophets were until John the Baptist,’<sup>46</sup> as the Lord clearly proclaims in the Gospels. Now do not be deceived and do not boast excessively, for the faith of the Christians alone is true and leading unto eternal life.” This and very many similar things he said to them, and when he had sufficiently denounced their blasphemy and godless actions, he caused no small uproar and outrage among them, for he immediately inflamed their fury, like when a fire touches a kindling<sup>47</sup> reed. They were gnashing their teeth and boiling like cauldrons and spitting foam with rage, like the waves of the sea stirred by the wind and crashing on the shore. They were crying out and inciting one another to murder. “Behold the astonishment!” they said. “O the extraordinary audacity! Do you see how he mocks us? Look at how he has made our religion appear dishonored and ridiculed! Should we not kill him? Shall we not bring death upon him prematurely?” And they were about to do this, if they had not seen that he was in his final breath. Nevertheless, longing for virtue overcame the illness, and he prayed to be killed by them and to die by their hands. How much the desire for martyrdom returned, how much the longing! But the righteous God, the giver of life and lord of death, sentenced him to martyrdom lawfully and clearly, so that the cause of his martyrdom would not be considered an expected death.<sup>48</sup> But it was the beginning of November when this happened, in the twelfth indiction. So then these wild servants of evil went forth from there full of rage and were looking for blood, and they went to their temple of godlessness. And they made known to all

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46. Luke 16:16.

47. *გობბოვანბა* does not have a corresponding form in the lexica. Kekelidze translates *cyxoro*, “dry,” and while this perhaps captures the sense of this phrase, it is not clear that this is precisely what the Georgian word means. In the dictionaries one finds *გობბო*, “(firewood) log”; and *გობბო*, “tree/branch cuttings, twigs (for firewood, fencing, etc.)” In light of these two words, and especially the latter, I have opted for the translation above.

48. I.e., a death from “natural causes.”

ზიართა თვისა ურწმუნობისათა<sup>149</sup> განუცხადეს რა იგი უყო მათ წმიდამან. და უმრავლესად სიბორგილედ აღადგინეს ვითარ იგი ქართთა მძაფრითა ჩრდილოდათა აღბორგდის ზღუად. და არა თუმცა განსრულ იყო ჰამბავი. კაცისა მას ღმრთისა<sup>150</sup> სიკუდილისა.<sup>151</sup> ზედამცა დასხმულ იყვნეს მისდა რისხვითა<sup>152</sup> ბორგნეულითა. და ასოეულად აღექნნეს ჯორცნი მისნი. არამედ [379b<sup>2</sup>] ამან დააყენნა ჯერეთ. რამეთუ ჰამბავი სიკუდილისა[დ] ექმნა წყალმშრეტელ ცეცხლსა მათსა: ხოლო ღმერთი რომელი მარადის საანჯმნო ჰყოფს დაფარულსა სათნოებასა<sup>153</sup> მსახურთა მისთასა.<sup>154</sup> და მიჰმადლებს მოყუარეთა<sup>155</sup> მისთა სრულსა ნაყოფსა გულს-მოდგინებისასა. აღასუბუქს<sup>156</sup> სენი წმიდისა. და მიჰმადლა სიმრთელე ჯორცთა. მსახურყოფად სულისა წადიერებასა.<sup>157</sup> ესრეთ აღადგინა იგი სნებისა-გან და კუალად უგო პირველივე ძალი ჯორცთა: კუალად მიმოქცევად<sup>158</sup> უბანთა შინა ქალაქისათა:<sup>159</sup> რამეთუ ბოროტად ბორგნეულთა-თვს. ვითარცა საწერტელი რამე იხილვებოდა. და უხილავისა მტერისა მახულ გულისა შეირაცხებოდა: რომელი იგი ვითარცა მამა გინებისა და ამპარტავანებისა. საგინებელ თვისა შეჰრაცხდა სიმწნესა მოწამისასა: ვინ არს ესეო იტყოდა: რომელმან ესოდენ შეურაცხეყენა მომზირალობანი ჩემნი. ვინ ესე რომელი მოწამებისა კარსა განღებად<sup>160</sup> ღონე-ჰყოფს: ვითარ ესე ლად პეროს<sup>161</sup> [380a<sup>1</sup>] მძლავრებისა ჩემისა ზედა: აღემრნე მსახურნი ჩემნი მოკლვად მისსა. არამედ ვჰხედავ მას შემკადრედ სიკუდილისა. ნუ უკუევექმნა მომატყუებელ სასუფევლისა. რამეთუ ნამდვლვე ემურების საწყალობელი ცხორებასაცა და სიკუდილსა მართალთასა<sup>162</sup> არამედ პირველი იგი მორჩი გარდაქცევისა მისისა. ამპარტავანება ცნობისა. სძლეეს შურსა. უფროდსა თვსად მიიზიდავს შურსა: და მკლველობად<sup>163</sup> აღსძრავს. ვითარცა ძულესადვე კაენს. აბელის-თვს: არა უკუე ძმათა. რამეთუ ვერ ვირწმუნებ ძმად წოდებად. რომელნი არა შვნა ემზაზმან სულისა მიერ: არამედ მიმღებელთა მისვე ბუნებისათა გარნა<sup>164</sup> ნამდვლვე თავისა თვისისა-თვს აშენებს ბოროტსა. და ჴნარცვ თხარა: რომელსა თვთვე შთავარდა განცხადებულად: რასა იტყვ ჰ განდგომილო ვეშაპო. ზემთა<sup>165</sup> აღზუავებულო და დიდად მოქადულო. დააკუეთება გოდოლსა ჯორცთასა არამედ ვერ დააკუეთო შეურყეველი ცნობად სულისა[დ]. მოაკუდინება<sup>166</sup> ჯორცთა სიმდაბლისათა. მოაკუდინე უკუეთუ [380a<sup>2</sup>] მიგიშუას ღმერთმან. არამედ მარგალიტი სულისა გამოჩინებად<sup>167</sup> არს. საჩინოთა უბრწყინვალესად: მიხილე მე რაბამი

149. ურწმუნობისათა. 150. ღმ. 151. Corrected from სიკუდილისა. 152. რისხვითა. ბორგნეულთა. 153. სათნოებდასა. 154. მისთადასა. 155. მოყუარეთა. 156. აღასუბუქა. 157. წადიერებდასა. 158. მიმოქცევად. 159. ქალაქისათა. 160. განღებდად. 161. პეროს. 162. მართალთადასა. 163. მკლველობდად. 164. გარნა. 165. ზესთა. 166. მოაკუდინებდა. 167. გამოჩინებდა.

those there who shared their unbelief what the holy one did to them, and they rose up with excessive madness, like the sea stirred up by a fierce northerly wind. And if news of the man of God's death had not already gone forth, they would have set upon him with demented rage and torn his body limb from limb. But for the moment this restrained them, for the news of his death extinguished their fire like water. Nevertheless, God, who always reveals the hidden virtue of his servants and grants to his friends the ripened fruit of their aspirations, relieved the holy one's illness and granted health to his body so that it could serve the longing of his spirit. So he rose up from his illness and was restored to his original bodily strength, so that once again he walked about through the streets of the city. For he was seen as a sort of sting for the viciously demented and was considered a sword in the heart of the invisible enemy, the one who as father of insults and pride considers the martyr's courage a personal rebuke. "Who is this one," he says, "who so insults my snares?<sup>49</sup> Who is this one who has the strength to open the door of martyrdom? How does he defiantly spit<sup>50</sup> on my violence? He incites my servants to kill him, but I see him defying death. I will not then be the cause of the kingdom!" For the wretch truly envies both the life and death of the righteous. But the first bud of his downfall, the pride of knowledge, overcomes envy, and even more, it draws envy upon itself and gives rise to murder, as long ago with Cain in regard to Abel. They were not then brothers, for I cannot be persuaded to call brothers those to whom the baptismal font has not given birth through the Spirit, but who have received this only through nature. Truly he builds up evil for himself, and clearly he dug a pit into which he himself fell.<sup>51</sup> "What do you say, O fallen dragon, O supremely arrogant and exceedingly boastful one! You may<sup>52</sup> bring down the tower of the flesh, but you cannot overthrow the invincible understanding of the spirit; you may kill the humble flesh—kill it, if God allows you, but the pearl of the soul will be revealed as more brilliant than a ray of light. Look at me; who am I that with feeble

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49. Literally "ambushes."

50. Literally "foam."

51. Cf. Prov 26:27.

52. It is difficult to know how to translate the enclitic -s here with respect to the verbs დააკუეოთება and მოაკუდინება. Ordinarily this indicates a direct question, so perhaps the most literal translations would be "Will you bring down . . ." and "will you kill . . ." We have instead translated in both cases "may," which better suits the flow of this sentence.

ჯორცითა უძღურითა გეწყვები შენ უჯორცოსა. დაგაკუეთო შენ მძღავრ დაცემითა ბრწყინვალითა: სიყუარული ვითარცა ფარი შემიმოსიეს: სასობეზად მაქუს ჩაფხუტად ცხორებისად: მიგიპყრა ფარი სარწმუნოებისად: ამან განუცდელ მყოს ისართა-გან შენთა. და იგინი კუალად შენდამი ტყორცებულ იქმნენ: მაქუს მახული უხილავი. წარმკუეთელი თავებსა ძლიერთასა. სიტყუად ღმრთისად. სამქვობით გეშურდულეზობდი. და ვითარცა გოლიათსა დამაკუეთებელ გექმნებობდი. წოდებითა მამისა და ძისა და წმიდისა სულისადათა: დაკსნილ არს კაცობრივი გუამი: არამედ მოიძარღუა ზიარებითა ღმრთეებისადათა: შენ ზენადთ შთამოვრდომილ ხარ. ხოლო მე ქრისტე იესუსს მიერ ჩემისა ღმრთისა და შენისა შემოქმედისა და მსაჯულისა.<sup>168</sup> ზეშთა ყოვლისა მთავრობისა აღყვანებულ ვარ. მან მომადლა მე ახოვან ყოფად შენ ზედა: ესე ვითარად ეზახებოდა მარადის-მოკსენებული [380b<sup>1</sup>] მოწამე ჭემმარიტებისად: ხოლო იგი მსგავსად გუელისა თავდაფქულისა. ჯერეთ გულარძნილებდა კუდითა. ურცხვნობით აღძრვად მსახურთა თვსთა რათა შური იძიოს მის ძლით. რომელნი იგი ფრიად ექადოდეს. და გინებითა რცხიდეს წმიდასა მას: ხოლო იგი შეუძრწუნებელად დგა უშიშითა ცნობითა. სურვილით მოსალოდებელისა-თვს მის-გან სიკუდილისა: რამეთუ ესე იყო ღამე და დღე წურთად მისი: და ფრიად ევედრებოდეს მას ყოველნი თვსთაგანნი. მოქალაქენი და მეგობარნი. მიდრეკად გულის-წყრომისა-გან მაშინებელთადასა. ხოლო იგი. ნებდ უფალისად იყავნ. თქუმითა. უფროს და უფროს განცხადებულ მტერთა ჰყოფდა თავსა თვსსა: რამეთუ უწყოდა მეტყუელი. რომელმან აღმიაროს მე წინაშე კაცთა. აღვიარო იგი წინაშე მამისა ჩემისა ზეცათადასა: და კუალად რომელმან იგი თქუა. უკუეთუ დაიდუმო არა სთნავს შენ შორის სულსა ჩემსა:

7. ვინადცა ზეშთა აღმატებული იგი კადნიერებად მისი ვერ თავს-იდვეს. რამეთუ მძიმე მათდა იყო სახილველი იგი მსმენელთა მათდა წამებისა მისისა საღმრთოდასა.<sup>169</sup> ამისთვის წერით [380b<sup>2</sup>] უწყებულ

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168. მსაჯულისად.

169. სღთოდასათა.

flesh I battle you, who are incorporeal? I will overthrow you violently with a brilliant defeat. Love covers me like a shield; I have the hope of salvation as a helmet. The shield of faith is turned to you; it will keep me concealed from your arrows, and they will be made to fly back at you. I have an invisible sword that cuts off the heads of the mighty—that is, the word of God.<sup>53</sup> I will sling three stones at you and smash you to the ground like Goliath by calling on the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.<sup>54</sup> The human body is destroyed, but it has been invigorated<sup>55</sup> through partaking of the divinity. You have fallen down from above, but I have been raised up above every power by Christ Jesus my God and your creator and judge, and he has granted me strength<sup>56</sup> against you.” In this way the eternally remembered martyr for truth cried out against him. But like a serpent with its head crushed to pieces, he was still working evil with his tail,<sup>57</sup> shamelessly stirring up his servants to take vengeance for this, and they were threatening the holy one severely and showering him with insults. But he stood unafraid with a fearless mind, on account of his willing anticipation of death, for this was his preoccupation both day and night. And all of his family, his neighbors, and his friends were pleading with him intensely to turn away from the rage of these fearsome men, but he, saying, “May the Lord’s will be done,” made himself more and more conspicuous to the enemies, for he knew the saying, “Whoever confesses me before humankind, I will confess before my Father in heaven”;<sup>58</sup> and also the one that said, “If you are silent, my soul is not pleased with you.”<sup>59</sup>

7. Therefore, they could not endure his extreme audacity, for it seemed challenging to those who heard his godly witness. That is why

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53. Cf. Eph 6:16–17.

54. Cf. 1 Kgdms 17.

55. მოძარღუა does not have a corresponding form in the lexica. It is obviously related to ძარღუი, which means “sinew” or “vein.” I have chosen the above interpretation as reflecting the antonym of “enervate.” Likewise ძარღვან-ქმნა means “to strengthen” and the modern Georgian word ძარღვმგარი means “strong.” Kekelidze’s translation is not particularly helpful: как бы жилами, “like veins, tendons.”

56. Possibly also “courage.”

57. Cf. Gen 3:15; Rom 16:20; Апоc 12:4.

58. Matt 10:32.

59. Cf. Hab 2:4.

ყვეს მათდა მიმართ თქუმულნი იგი მართლისანი: ომარისსა. მისა ოლიდისსა. მძლავრისა არაბთადასა. რომელსა აქუნდა მთავრობად იორდანისა მკვდრთა არაბთად: კაცსა ყოვლად სასტიკსა. და შიშისა მადინებელსა თულთა-გან. რომელმან იგი მიიღო რად წიგნი მათი. მიუწერა ტრიხოზრო[დ]სა მთავრობისა მის მიერ ხუედრებულსა ზორაას სახელის-დებით. მოყვანებად წმიდისა და გამოკითხვად მის-გან. უკუეთუ აქუს-ძია<sup>170</sup> ჭეშმარიტებად. წერით თქუმულთა მის-თჳს. და უკუეთუ უარ-ყოს თქუმიდ მათი. თავის-უფლად განტევებად<sup>171</sup> იგი ტანჯვათა-გან: რამეთუ უწყით თქუმიდ მრავალთა [მიერ] მრავლისა რადს უჯეროდს<sup>172</sup> სიტყუისაჲ. ცნობაგანსრულობის-გან.<sup>173</sup> რამეთუ უწყის გონებამან.<sup>174</sup> თანაღმობილ და დაჴსნილ ყოფად ჴორცთავე თანა: ხოლო უკუეთუ მდგომრობად და კადნიერებად აჩუენოს. ქონებითა ცნობისა უქცეველისა და უცვალებელისაჲთა. და მასვე ზრახვად და თქუმიდ დაამტკიცებდეს. საპყრობილითა და ბორკილითა შეიცვედ იგი. და მიერ თქუმული წერით აუწყედ მას: ესე წიგნი რად მიიღო ზორაას.<sup>175</sup> და კაპიტოლელთა ქალაქად<sup>176</sup> [381a<sup>1</sup>] მიიწია. დაჯდა საყდართა ჴედა: და ბრძანა მოყვანებად წმიდისა[დ]. რომელი იგი წარმოდგა ქონებულისა მის თანა აღსარებისა პირველითგან. მაშინ უბრძანა ზორაა წარკითხვად წიგნი იგი მთავრისაჲ. და შემდგომად წარკითხვისა ჰრქუა წმიდასა: ვითარმედ ამირასა. რამეთუ ესრეთ უწოდენ მთავრებსა არაბთასა. მოუცემიეს შენდა ჴუმევაჲ. კაცთ-მოყუარებისა სახისა ადგილად სიტყუს-გებისა. ლტოლვად ბრალობისა. და მიზეზად ცხორებისა: რომელი ჩუენცა<sup>177</sup> სამართლად გუგონიეს. სენითა რადთმე<sup>178</sup> ცნობავნებულთა-თჳს. თქუან თუ რადმე უჯეროდ. არა დაშჯად. არცა პატივის მიჯდად. არამედ შეწყალებად მათდა სნებისა-თჳს: ვინაჲცა რადენი მოუწერიეს ამირასა ჭეშმარიტ არს. რამეთუ უმეცრებითთა ბრალთა არა დაშჯის შჯული. არამედ ჴრიდე თავსა თჳსსა.

170. აქუს ძია.

171. განტევებდ.

172. უჯეროს.

173. ცნობაგანსრულობისგ.

174. გონებდმ.

175. ზორადს.

176. ქალაქად. 177. Correcting რუენცა in the edition. 178. Correcting ჩადთმე in the edition.

they made known the righteous things that had been said to them in writing to ʿUmar, the son of Walid, the tyrant of the Arabs. ʿUmar was a very cruel man with fear flowing from his eyes, who had authority over the Arabs settled in Jordan, and when he received their letter, he wrote to one named Zora, who had been given authority by him over the Trichora:<sup>60</sup> “Bring forth the holy one and question him as to whether the things that were said about him in writing were true. And if he denies their account, he is to be set free from torture, for you know that many people say many such worthless things through delirium,<sup>61</sup> since it is known that the mind suffers and is enfeebled along with the flesh. But if he seems resolved and insolent, having a steadfast and unchangeable mind, and he confirms these same thoughts and words, lock him up in prison and in chains and then make known in writing what has been said about him.” When Zora received this letter and he came to the city of Capitolias, he sat on the throne and ordered them to bring forth the holy one, who came forward having his confession ready from the beginning.<sup>62</sup> Then Zora ordered that the ruler’s letter should be read aloud, and after it was read, he said to the holy one: “The emir”—for so they call the ruler of the Arabs—“as an example of his love of humanity, has given you an opportunity to answer here, in order to avoid blame and save your life. It also seems right to us that if, on account of derangement from some illness, someone says something unseemly, not to penalize or impose punishment but instead to pardon him or her on account of the illness. Therefore, how much of what they have written to the emir is true, for the law does not punish unintended<sup>63</sup>

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60. The Trichora is the three cities of Capitolias, Gadara, and Abila in northern Jordan, which were part of the ancient Decapolis in this region.

61. ცნობაგანსრულობის does not correspond to any form that I am able to find in the lexica or in the TITUS database. Kekelidze translates, во время болезни, “in times of illness.” The sense of the passage would seem to indicate that the word should mean something along these lines. Nevertheless, ცნობასრული means “fully conscious, alert,” according to Rayfield, *Georgian-English Dictionary*, 2:1574. Perhaps the infixed გან is then meant to shift the meaning to “unconscious,” although this would be unusual for Georgian. This is the solution, however imperfect it may be, that I have tried to reflect in the translation. Alternatively, perhaps this is either a misprint or a scribal error for ცნობავნებულების, a word meaning “madness” that occurs in a related form just below in Zora’s speech.

62. Possibly also “having with him his original confession.”

63. Literally “ignorant, unaware.”

და ნუ განსცემ ჯორცთა ტანჯვად. ხოლო სულსა სიკუდიდ. რამეთუ რიდობითა და თანაღმობითა არამცირედითა შეპყრობილ ვართ შენ-თვს: გარნა არა თუ შენ ივსენ თავი თვსი ტანჯვათა-გან. ვერვის ძალ-უც კსნა[ა] [381a<sup>2</sup>] შენი. მხოლოდ უვარ-ყავ რასა იგი იტყვან თქუმად შენ-გან. და წარვედ ცხოვნებული სახიდ თვსსა: ესე ვითარსავე უწმობდეს სისხლთა მიერ თვსნი. და მეგობრობით შეთვსებულნი საწყალობელად განაზრახებდეს. დაფარულად მოქენობდეს: ნუ განსცემ თავსა თვსსა სიკუდიდ მ საყუარელი: ხოლო მან ყურნი დაიყვნა მსახრვალთა მიმართ: და ვითარ ფრიადი დუმილი იქმნა.<sup>179</sup> ვითარცა მწენმან ქრისტეს-მკედარმან მეფისამან.<sup>180</sup> ფრიადითა კადნიერებითა. და შეუძრწუნებელითა ცნობითა თქუა მათდა მიმართ: ჭეშმარიტსა გეტყვ არა ვტყუვი. არა ოდეს მაქსოვს ჩემი [არა]სიმრთელი<sup>181</sup> ცნობისად. ჟამისა მის-ებრ სნეულებისა ჩემისად. და რად იგი ვთქუ ჭეშმარიტ არს მაშინ: ესე თქუა და კულადცა დიდითა და ბრწყინვალითა ჳმითა და შეუძრწუნებელითა ცნობითა აღიარა<sup>182</sup> კეთილი აღსაარებად. და კულადცა წარმოთქუა რად იგი ეთქუა პირველ. და უმრავლესიცა შესძინა პირველსა: ესე რად ესმა<sup>183</sup> ზორაას. ვითარცა ბრძანებულ იყო. შეკრული საპყრობილედ მისცა წმიდად იგი: [381b<sup>1</sup>] და წერით აუწყა ომარას რად იგი იქმნა.<sup>184</sup> და ბრძანებად დადვა.<sup>185</sup> რადთა არავინ ქრისტეანეთაგანნი უტეონ<sup>186</sup> შესლვად მისსა: ხოლო იგი შეკრული და საპყრობილეს პყრობილი. მოწყალებისა არა დამვიწყებელ იქმნა.<sup>187</sup> არცა დასცხრებოდა ქმნად ქველის-საქმისა. არამედ უფრომსლა კრული ქრისტესი სიყუარულით თანაშეეკრა.<sup>188</sup> კრულთა მათ საპყრობილისათა.<sup>189</sup> და თანამოქმედად იჯუმევედა ზეთსა მას მოწყალებისასა. რამეთუ უწყოდა ვითარმედ ვითარცა ზეთი განაპოხებს მორკინალსა. ეგრეთვე მოწყალებად სულიერად ახოვან ჳყოფს მოლუაწყსა: ესე რად ესრეთ აღესრულებოდა. ულიდ ზემოთქმული იგი მთავარი არაბთად. შთავარდა სნებასა. და ყოვლით-კერძო შემოკრიბნა შვილნი და ნათესავნი თვსნი. თავისა თვსისა მიმართ: რამეთუ სიკუდილისა წინამაუწყებელ იყო სენი იგი. და მოქადულ განსლვისა. რომელი შეუდგა ორთა თუეთა: ვინამცა ომარ. მთავარი იორდანისა<sup>190</sup> არაბთად. წარვიდა თვსისა მამისა.<sup>191</sup> ამას გონებასა<sup>192</sup> მოუჯდა კადრებად. პეტრეს სანატრელისა კაცისად. და [381b<sup>2</sup>] მიუთხრა<sup>193</sup> მშობელსა. და ვითარცა რკინამან<sup>194</sup> აღმახუა რკინად. რამეთუ იგიცა სისხლის-მჭამელი და მოსისხლე კაცი იყო. მარადის მბერველ მკლველობისა. ბრძანა რათა კრული მიიყვანონ მისსა წმიდად იგი:

179. იქმნად. 180. Correcting მეფისამავე in the edition. 181. სიმრთელი. 182. აღიარად. 183. ესმად. 184. იქმნად. 185. დადვად. 186. Correcting უტეონ in the edition. 187. იქმნად. 188. შეეკრა. Corrected from თანა შეეკრა. 189. საპყრობილისათა. 190. იორდანისად. 191. მამისად. 192. გონებდა~სა. 193. მიუთხრა. 194. რკინამან.

transgressions? Spare yourself and do not hand over your flesh to torment and your spirit to death, for we have been taken by great concern and sympathy for you. But if you will not save yourself from torture, no one can save you; just deny what they say you said and go home alive.” His blood relatives were crying out similar things to him, and his close friends were sorrowfully urging and cautiously pleading, “Do not deliver yourself to death, O beloved!” Nevertheless, he shut his ears to these sorcerers, and when it became very silent, like a brave royal soldier of Christ, with great boldness and a fearless mind, he said to them, “I am speaking the truth; I am not lying.<sup>64</sup> I do not ever recall any deception of the mind<sup>65</sup> during the time of my illness, and what I said then is true.” He said this, and with a great and brilliant voice and with a fearless mind, he again professed the good confession, and he said again what he had said before and also added much more to what he had said before. And when Zora heard this, as he had been ordered, he handed over the holy one bound up into prison. And in a letter he informed ‘Umar what had happened and issued a decree that none of the Christians should be allowed to go to him. But even though he was bound and detained in prison, he did not forget charity, and he did not rest from doing good deeds; but being a prisoner for Christ, he was bound with the inmates of the prison even more by love, and he used the oil of grace as a coworker, for he knew that as oil makes the fighter fat, so charity also strengthens the soldier spiritually. Therefore, while he was accomplishing this, Walid, the previously mentioned ruler of the Arabs, fell into illness and gathered his children and relatives to himself from every region, for the illness was a herald of death and threatening his departure, which occurred two months later. Therefore, ‘Umar, the ruler of the Arabs of Jordan, went forth to his father. The boldness of the blessed man Peter came to mind, and he told his father; and<sup>66</sup> as iron sharpens iron<sup>67</sup>—for he was also a bloodthirsty and sanguinary man, always breathing murder<sup>68</sup>—he ordered that the holy one should be brought forth to him in chains.

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64. Cf. Rom 9:1.

65. Literally “my lying of the mind.”

66. Kekelidze suggests adding something along the lines of “he sharpened him” here. Nevertheless, I have translated the text as it is in the edition, and the addition seems unnecessary.

67. Cf. Prov 27:17.

68. Cf. Acts 9:1.

8. წარმოვივლინა უკუე წარმყვანებელი ამისი. აღმკვედრებული საკვედართა მალემსრბოლთა: და ერთსა იანვარისა თვსასა. შევიდა ქალაქსა კაპეტოლელთასა.<sup>195</sup> ქმნა ბრძანებული მიცემითა წიგნთა. მიერ მოღებულთადათა<sup>196</sup> და მათ წილ მიყვანებითა წმიდისადათა. და შეკრულ იყო მოწამე ჯაჭვთა ქედისადათა და ბორკილითა ჯელთადათა: თუე ერთ შეწყუდევით დაყოფილი საპყრობილესა: ესრეთ სრულ ყვეს რამ მგზავრობად. მიიწინეს კასიად. რომელ არს მთად ზედადამხედვარი დამასკოფსა ქალაქისადა. სადა იგი პირველ შუენიერი მონასტერი შენ იყო წმიდისა თეოდორესი. მდიდარი პატოისანთა მონაზონთა მიერ: ხოლო უკუანამსკუნელ განჭრეს იგი. ნაწილისა-გან მათისა მძლავრთა არაბთასა.<sup>197</sup> და იშენეს თავთა თვსთადათ პალატები. რომელსა ზედა მაშინ იმყოფებოდა ულიდ. მძლავრი არაბთად [382a<sup>1</sup>] შეპყრობილი სნეულებითა: არამედ რომელი იგი კნინდა და თანაწარმჯდა<sup>198</sup> მე. არცა მისი უჯერო არს შეძინებად თხრობასა ამას: გამოვიდა კაპეტოლელთა ქალაქით საღმრთოდ ესე კაცი. ვითარცა ცხოვარი დაკლვად მიყვანებული: არა ჯდებოდა არცა ღაღადებდა. არცა აღადებდა პირსა თვსსა. ვითარცა კრავი უმანკო[მ] მსხუერპლ ყოფადი. და თანა შეუდგა<sup>199</sup> მას. სიმრავლე ფრიად მრავალი. განკვრევებულნი ელვარებისა-თვს პირისა. მისისა დიდებულებისა: მამათა თვსი საჭიროდ შეურაცხ ყვეს. დედათა უგულუბელს [ყვეს] ცვაძ სახლებისადა. ქალები სასძლოები შეჰკადრებდა ხედვასა მამაკაცთასა.<sup>200</sup> ჩჩვლნი დაუტევებდეს წიალთა დედობრივთა. რამეთუ მკედართ-მძღუარობდა სურვილი მოწამისადა. და მიიზიდვიდა ყოველთა მიზეზი წადიერებისადა მიღებად<sup>201</sup> კურთხევისა მისისა; და იხილვებოდა კაცი ზეცისადა და ანგელოზი ქუეყანისადა. არ სირცხვლჩენად ჯაჭუსა უფალისასა: არამედ ვითარცა სამკაული სასძლოდ ზედაედვა<sup>202</sup> საჯივი. და აქუნდა პირი მხიარული; ვითარცა არა სიკუდიდ. არამედ სერობად ქორწილისა [382a<sup>2</sup>] მიმავალსა. ნამდვლვე მზესა ქუეყანით ბრწყინვალესა. და ყოველთა მიმართ განმტევებელსა შარავანდედთა კურთხევისათასა:<sup>203</sup> ესრეთ

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195. კაპეტოლელთადასა. 196. მოღებულთათა. 197. არაბთადასა. 198. თანა წარმჯდა in the edition. 199. შეუდგად. 200. მამაკაცთასა. 201. მიღებდა~დ. 202. ზედა ედვა in the edition. 203. კურთხევისათასა.

8. Thus the one who was to bring him there was sent forth, riding on swift horses, and on the first of January he reached the city of Capitolias. He did as he was ordered by presenting the letter that he had brought from there and by leading forth the holy one in its stead. And the martyr had been locked in the confinement of prison for one month, bound with chains on his neck and with shackles on his hands. Therefore, when they completed their journey, they came to Kassia, which is a mountain overlooking the city of Damascus, where once had been the beautiful monastery of St. Theodore, which was abounding<sup>69</sup> with virtuous monks. But recently the Arab tyrants took it from their control<sup>70</sup> and built palaces for themselves, where at that time Walid, the tyrant of the Arabs, was found in the throes of illness. But what nearly slipped past me is not inappropriate to add to the account.<sup>71</sup> This godly man went forth from the city of Capitolias like a sheep led to the slaughter; he neither resisted nor cried out nor opened his mouth; [he went forth] like a spotless lamb about to be sacrificed.<sup>72</sup> A great multitude stood with him, amazed at the glorious radiance of his face. Fathers neglected their own affairs, mothers disregarded the care of their families, unmarried women braved the stares of men, newborns abandoned their mothers' breasts; for longing for the martyr marshaled<sup>73</sup> them all, and the cause of the yearning drew them all to receive his blessing. And he appeared as a man of heaven and an angel on the earth unashamedly in the chains of the Lord. The fetters were placed upon him like bridal adornment, and he had a joyful face, as one going forth not to death but to a wedding feast, truly a brilliant sun on the earth and emitting rays of blessing on all. So he went forth with the

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69. Peeters suggests reading instead *მდებარე*, which he translates as “founded in the past by”; see Peeters, “La passion de S. Pierre,” 307. Nevertheless, this word seems to mean instead “situated,” and the text makes sense as it stands.

70. Literally “separated it from their portion.”

71. This sentence is difficult, and I have translated it as literally as possible; Kekelidze’s translation is roughly the same.

72. Cf. Isa 53:7; 1 Pet 1:19.

73. *მწედართ-მძღუარობდა* is an unusual form that does not find an exact match in the lexica. *მწედართმძღუანი* means “general [Feldherr],” and *მწედართმთავარი* means “commander-in-chief.” Other related forms mean “the position of a general,” including *მწედართმძღურობა*. *მწედართმძღუანვილი* means “commanded.” Kekelidze translates this verb as *руководила*, “led.”

წინაძღომით წარიგზავნებოდა ერისა მიერ. ვიდრე დაბადმდე მაროდა. რომელი ორ სასწაულ შორავს ქალაქისა-გან: ყოველნი შეასხმიდეს. კურიელესონ. კმობდეს: მუკლთა მოუდრეკდეს. სარწმუნოებით გუამსა მისსა შეეხებოდეს: ვითარცა წყაროსა<sup>204</sup> კურთხევისასა. ლოცვასა ითხოვდეს. იატაკსა ცრემლით დაალტობდეს: მცირედ რაა წარვლო დაბაა. ყოველნი აკურთხნა სასწაულითა ჯუარისადათა. ჰლოცვიდა მრავლითა სიტყვთა სიყუარულად შიშად უფალისა<sup>205</sup> და ყოფად სიმართლესა და მშჯავრსა ყოველსა ჟამსა. და იძულებით არწმუნა კუალად ქცევად სახიდვე. და ესრეთ სრულ ყო გზად: და სადაცა იხილის მგზავრ მონასტერი. შევიდის ღმრთისა მიმართ ლოცვათა მიცემად და შეტკობად მონაზონთა და თხოვად მათ-გან შემწეობისა: ესრეთ სამდღე სლვითა. მწუხრსა პარასკევისასა კასიად<sup>206</sup> მიიწინეს. და საცნაურ იქმნა<sup>207</sup> ომარისა [382b<sup>1</sup>] მისლვად მათი: და დამე ყოველ იცვებოდა მოწამე ბორკილებითა და მცველებითა:.

9. ხოლო განთიად ებრძანა წარმოდგომა[დ] წინაშე ომარისსა. რომელმან იგი წარიდგინა რაა: არა რისხვით განაკრთო წმიდაა იგი. არამედ მშვიდი სახე იქემა: არა თუ წყალობით მომბალმან სულითა. არამედ პირ მამისა მისისა ეშმაკისა ქმნულმან. რომელსა ჰნებავს ყოველთა კაცთა წარწყმედაა. და არა მისლვად მეცნიერებასა ჭეშმარიტებისსა: ეტყოდა უკუე: მესმა მრავლისა გმობისა თქუმად შენი. არამედ სენსა შინა მძვნვარესა. და მრწამს კორცთა სნეულებისა ძლით სნეულ ყოფად სულისაცა შენისა: გარნა<sup>208</sup> კუალად ვცან შემდგომად სენით განტევებისა მისვე თქუმად. შენ-გან. რაა იგი სთქუ სნებასა შინა: არამედ მრავლისა კაცთ-მოყუარებისა ჩუენებითა შენდა. მოგმადლებ ლტოლვად ბრალისა-გან: აღიარე ცთომილება. და განკსნილ არს ცთომად შენი: შენ ზედა იყავნ ცხორებაცა. შენ ზედავე სიკუდილი: ესე რაა ესმა<sup>209</sup> ქრისტეს მოწამესა არა შეიშინა. არცა შეძრწუნდა. არა დაჰკსნა [382b<sup>2</sup>] სიმკნე გულის-სიტყვსაა არამედ უფროს პირველისა. კადნიერებით და უშიშად მიუგებდა: ქრისტე ღმერთი ჩემი რომელ ჩემდა [ი]თქუა: და ამისდა მსახურებად არა დავსცხრები. ხოლო თქუენ ბრმანი გონებითა. ცრუ წინააღწარმეტყუელისასა ირწმუნებთ: და ამას მოციქულად ღმრთისა განსთქუამთ. აჰა მე მზა ვარ დაჭრად. ჯუარცმად. დაწვად. და ყოველთა საგუემელთა სახითა შუებად: ამათ ზედა მე ვიშუებდე. ამათ-თვს მხიარულ ვიყო: ესე რაა ესმა ომარს უძღებსა. გულითა იბრდღუენდა ლომებრ: და წარადგინა წმიდაა იგი თვისსა უკუე მამისა. ხოლო არაბთა სკიპტრის-მპყრობელისა ულიდისსა.

204. წყაროსა. 205. ოჲდ. 206. კასიად. 207. იქმნა. ომარისა.  
208. გარნა. 209. ესმა.

people leading the way until the village of Maro, which is two miles distant from the city. And they were all singing praises, crying out “Kyrie eleison.” They bent their knees and were touching his body with faith, as a source of blessing; they asked for his prayers and were moistening the ground with tears. When he had gone forth a little distance from the town, he blessed them all with the sign of the cross, and with many words he bid them to love and fear the Lord and to do what is right and just at all times. And he forcefully persuaded them to return home. And so he completed the journey, and wherever he saw a monastery along the way, he entered in to offer prayers to God and to greet the monks and to ask for help from them. So after traveling for three days, they reached Kassia on Friday evening, and °Umar was informed of their arrival. And the martyr was secured with shackles and by guards for the whole night.

9. But he was ordered to appear before °Umar at dawn. When the holy one was brought before him, °Umar did not frighten him with rage but took on a calm appearance—not that he had been softened by a spirit of mercy but because he had become the mouth<sup>74</sup> of his father the devil, who desires the perdition of all human beings and that they should not attain understanding of the truth. Then he said to him: “I have heard that you spoke many blasphemies, albeit in the throes of illness, and I believe that you were sick in your spirit on account of an illness of the flesh. But I also know that after your release from this illness you were saying the same things that you said while you were ill. Yet as evidence of my great love of humanity, I offer you a chance to escape judgment. Confess your error, and your mistake will be let go; there will be either life or death for you.” When the martyr for Christ heard this, he was neither afraid nor frightened and did not abandon courage of thought, but he responded even more audaciously and fearlessly than before: “I will not cease to worship Christ, whom I call my God. But you, being blind in mind, believe in a false prophet and proclaim him as the messenger of God. Behold, I am ready for the wounds, for crucifixion, for burning, and to delight in every kind of torture; I will delight in them; on account of them I will be joyful.” When the insatiable °Umar heard this, he roared with his heart like a lion. Then he handed over the holy one to his father Walid, king of the Arabs, who

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74. Or “face.”

რომელსა ჩუეულებად<sup>210</sup> აქუნდა მძუნვარებად და საზარელებად: არამედ მაშინ თვთ ბუნებითად მოეგო სენისა მიერ განვრცომა. მრისხანებისა: რომელმან თქუა წმიდისა მიმართ. რა არიან შენ-თვის ჯმოზილნი სასმენელთა ჩემთა: იყავნ ღმერთად აღსარება იესუმსი. რომელი იგი კაც არს და მონად დამბადებელისა. რადალა აგინე სამსახურებელთა ჩუენტა. რადასა მშვიდი წინაღწარმეტყუელი ჩუენი სთქუ მოძღურად სიცრუვისა და მამად ტყუვილისა: და წმიდად [383a<sup>1</sup>] იგი ეტყოდა. მე არა დავსცხერ არცა დავცხხერ ქრისტეს ჩემისა ღმერთად და დამბადებელად აღსარებად: მსაჯულად ცხოველთა და მკუდართა: ვითარცა ყოველთა ზედა მქონებელ არს უფლებისა: ხოლო რომელი იგი იტყვს თავსა თვსსა წინაღწარმეტყუელ მონად მწოდებელი ქრისტეს ჩემისა. მას მტყუვრად და მაცთურად. გასმიეს ღმრთისა-მამისა დავითის ჯმოზად: ვიტყოდე წინაშე მეფეთა და არა მრცხუნოდა: მეფე უკუე ხარ შენ. არამედ არა ღმრთისაცა უპატიოსნეს: მაქადება ტანჯვათა. ტკბილ არიან იგი[ნი] ჩემდა უფროს თაფლისა: სიკუდილსა წინადამიდება.<sup>211</sup> ცხორებისა უფროს აღსარჩეველ არს იგი ჩემდა: გულის-ხმა ყავ<sup>212</sup> უკუე. ვითარმედ ვერ სცვალო სიმტკიცე ცნობისა ჩემისა. რამეთუ ქრისტე იესუმს მიერ ცხოველ ვარ. ვიმვრი და ვარ: ესე არს სურვილი ჩემი. ესე გულის-თქუმა. მოკუდომად ქრისტეს ჩემისა. ჩემ-თვის ნეფსით მომკუდრისა-თვის და მესამესა დღესა აღდგომილისა.<sup>213</sup> და დიდებით აღმალლებულისა. რათა და ვიმკვდრო ცხორება: რომელი აღუთქუამს მის-თვის წადიერებით თვისისა სისხლისა [383a<sup>2</sup>] დამთხველთა-თვის: ჰ ნეტარსა ენასა.<sup>214</sup> მიმსგავსებულსა ენისა მის მოციქულთა თავისასა. ჰ ნეტარსა ცნობასა. რომელსა არა ჯორცთა არცა სისხლთა. არამედ მამამან<sup>215</sup> ზეცათამან გამოუცხადა: ჰ სამგზის სანატრელსა ჯმასა. რომელი ანგელოზთა ახარებს. და ეშმაკთა არცხუენს: რომელი წიგნსა ცხოველთასა<sup>216</sup> აღწერა ღმერთმან: ეჰა ღმრთის-მეტყუელსა: წინაშე მეფეთა და მთავართა განცხადებულად მქმობელსა ჭემმარიტებისა. ნეტარ ხარ შენ ჰ მღვდლო პეტრე: ვჰგონებ შენდა მიმართცა თქუმად უფალისა მიერ ჩემისა სამგზის ესრეთ: შენ ხარ პეტრე

210. ჩუეულებდ.

211. დამიდება.

212. გლის ჯე ყავ.

213. აღდგომილისა.

214. ენასა.

215. მამამან.

216. ცხველთაასა.

ordinarily was savage and monstrous, but then, on account of illness, had naturally acquired an increase in wrath. He said to the holy one: “Why am I hearing talk about you?<sup>75</sup> So be it if you want to confess Jesus as God, even though he is a man and servant of the Creator. Why have you insulted our religion? Why have you said that our peaceful prophet is the master of deception and the father of lies?” And the holy one said to him: “I have not ceased nor will I cease to confess Christ as my God and Creator, the judge of the living and the dead, as he has authority over all things. Nevertheless, this one who calls himself a prophet is called out as a slave of my Christ, as a liar and a deceiver. You have heard the cry of the father of God<sup>76</sup> David, ‘I spoke before kings and was not ashamed.’<sup>77</sup> So you are a king, but you are not more honorable than God. Do you threaten me with tortures? These are sweeter to me than honey. Do you sentence me to death? It is preferable to me than life. Understand then that you cannot alter the resolve of my mind, for in Christ Jesus I live and move and have my being.<sup>78</sup> This is my desire; this my longing—to die for my Christ, because he willingly died for me and rose on the third day and ascended with glory so that I might inherit life, which he promises for shedding one’s blood eagerly on his behalf.” O blessed tongue like the tongue of the chief of the apostles! O blessed intellect, to whom not flesh and blood but the Father in heaven has revealed this!<sup>79</sup> O thrice blessed voice that gladdens the angels and puts the devil to shame, whom God has inscribed in the book of the living! Behold the theologian, clearly proclaiming the truth before kings and princes!<sup>80</sup> You are blessed, O priest Peter. I think that my Lord spoke to you thus three times:<sup>81</sup> “You, Peter, are the

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75. Literally, “Why are there callings to my ears about you?”

76. Or possibly “the godly father”—the form is uncommon. Nevertheless, in §15 David is explicitly named the “father of God,” and so we translate here as well.

77. Ps 118:46 (119:46).

78. Cf. Acts 17:28. Version A and the Sinai version of the Old Georgian Acts of the Apostles do not include “and move and have my being.” Version B, however, includes the full passage from the Greek. See Abulaze, ed., სკვე მოციქულთა. ძველი ხელნაწერების მიხედვით; and Garitte, ed., *L'ancienne version géorgienne des Actes des Apôtres*.

79. Cf. Matt 16:17.

80. Cf. Matt 10:18.

81. The text is difficult here, and the meaning is not clear. I have largely followed Kekelidze’s interpretation, but the syntax is irregular. Perhaps the intent

სიმტკიცე სარწმუნოებისა[დ]: მსგავსი პეტრე მოციქულთა თავისა. და სასუფეველისა კლიტეთ-მპყრობელისა: და პეტრე ალექსანდრიელისა მღვდელმოწამისაჲ. სამებისაჲ მსახური და ქადაგი და განწმედილი სავანე. ბრწყინვალე მნათობი ყოვლისა სოფლისაჲ: მრავალ არს მაღლი შენი. და ღირს უმრავლესთა შესხმათაჲ: გარნა<sup>217</sup> რათა არა წიად ჯეროვნისა განვაგრცოთ სიტყუაჲ. კუალად წინამდებარისავე აღვიდეთ:

10. ესმნეს რად სიტყუანი<sup>218</sup> ესე წმიდისანი<sup>219</sup> ულიდს მძლავრსა. და [383ხ<sup>1</sup>] იხილა უქცევლობაჲ და სიმტკიცე ცნობისა[დ]: განკვრდა შეურყევლობისა-თვს: ვერ თავს-იდვა კადნიერებაჲ წმიდისაჲ. ზემთა აღდულნა რისხვითა და უბრძანა ომარს. ძესა თვსსა მშობელთა ქუეყანად წარვლინებაჲ მისი. ტანჯვად მუნ: და ესევეითარი განჩინებაჲ განცა მის-თვს: რათა წარყვანებულ იქმნას იგი მამულად თვსსა. შეკრებასა მის ძლით სიმრავლისა მამათა და დედათა. მოქალაქეთა და მწირთა. უფალთა და მონებისა უღლის მზიდველთასა. ქალთა თანა და ქალწულთა. მოხუცებულთა და ჭაბუკთა. და პირველ ყოველთასა.<sup>220</sup> თვთ ამის ყოვლად-ქებულისა მოწამისა შვილთა და თვსთასა. და ესრეთ წინაშე ყოველთასა ძირით-ურთ აღმოეკუეთენ მაგინებელი ენაჲ: და კუალად ხუალისაგან წინაშე ყოვლისა ერისა მოეკუეთოს მარჯუენაჲ ჯელი და მარცხენე ფერჯი. და მიშუებულ იქმნეს ტანჯვისა<sup>221</sup> ძლით ერთ დღე: და ესრეთ მეოთხესა დღესა შემოკრიბონ ყოველი ქალაქი. რაოდენთა ზედა წოდებულ იყოს სახელი ქრისტესი. თანამოწოდებითა ყოველთა ტრიხორო[დ]სა ქრისტეანეთაჲთა: უფრომსა<sup>222</sup> [383ხ<sup>2</sup>] მათითა. რომელთა სამდღელოჲ და სამონაზნოჲ სახე და წესი ზედა ედვას. რათა მხილველ იქმნენ მოუთმენელთა მათ ტანჯვათა მოწამისათა.<sup>223</sup> სასტიკებასა. და შიშულითა და დაუბურველითა თავითა მდგომარე იყვნედ მოწესენი და მონაზონნი. ვითარცა რეცა მხედველნი თვსისა

217. გარნაჲ. 218. სიტყ~ანი. 219. წი~სა. 220. ყ~თაჲსა. 221. ტანჯვისაჲ. 222. უფრომსაჲ. 223. მოწ~მის~ათა.

steadfastness of faith, like Peter the head of the apostles, and the holder of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And like Peter the priest-martyr of Alexandria, you are the servant and preacher of the Trinity and the radiant light of the whole world who purified the dwelling place. Your grace is great and worthy of greater praise.” But so that we will not extend the discourse beyond what is appropriate, let us return again to the present topic.

10. When the tyrant Walid heard the holy one’s words and saw the firmness and conviction of his mind, he was amazed at the steadfastness. He could not tolerate the holy one’s audacity, and he boiled over with rage. He ordered °Umar, his son, to send him away to the land of his parents, to torture him there. And he gave the following judgment regarding him: “Let him be led forth to his fatherland in order to gather a crowd for him of fathers and mothers, citizens and foreigners, lords and those bearing the yoke of servitude, with women and virgins, the old and the young, and above all the children and relatives of the all-praised martyr himself, and then let the reviling tongue be cut out from the root before them all. And again on the next day have his right hand and left foot<sup>82</sup> cut off before all the people. And he should be free from the force of torture for one day. And then on the fourth day let the whole city assemble, as many as are called by the name of Christ, by calling together all the Christians of the Trichora, especially those whom they have invested with priestly and monastic status and rank, so that they will be witness to the savagery of the martyr’s unbearable tortures. And let the ascetics and monks stand with bare and uncovered

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is to compare Peter of Capitoliias with two of St. Peter’s qualities—his steadfastness of faith and his possession of the keys of the kingdom (?), and then to Peter of Alexandria as a servant and proclaimer of the Trinity. But again, the sense is unclear here. Kekelidze understands the following passage as a quotation, presumably spoken to Peter of Capitoliias by the Lord on three occasions (?), and we have followed him in this, although it would seem that other possibilities exist.

82. Peeters misreads the text at this point, maintaining that Walid ordered the removal of his right hand and his right foot on this second day. Even more peculiar is Peeters’s emphasis on this misreading later in his summary when he remarks that despite Walid’s order that the right hand and right foot be removed first, when the orders were carried out, Peter’s right hand and left foot were instead initially severed. Peeters makes a point to focus on this variant which, although inconsequential, according to him should nonetheless be noted. Kekelidze’s translation, however, is accurate here and is not the source of Peeters’s mistake. See Peeters, “La passion de S. Pierre,” 310, 313.

სირცხლისანი. იხილონ რად ტანჯვად მდდელისად მის: ესრეთ რად ესე ყოველნი შემოკრბენ მოეკუეთენ მას სხუად იგი ჳელი და ფერჯი მეორე: და სადაგველითა ეყავნ დაბრმოზად თუალთად. მიერ აღებად ცხედრითა და მოვლებად ყოვლისა<sup>224</sup> ქალაქისად: წინა საყვრის ცემით. და ქადაგისა მალლად ჳმობით. ყოველი მგმობარი ღმრთისად. და მაცთურ მწოდებელი მოციქულისა<sup>225</sup> მისისად. და სარწმუნოებისა ჩუენისა მაგინებელი. ესევეითართა სატანჯველთა შთავარდეს: ამისსა შემდგომად ჳუარსა დამოჳკიდონ. და ვიდრე ხუთ დღედმდე ჳუარსა ზედა მიუშვან კიდებად. მერმელა ალაგზნან საჯუმილი. ფრიად მტყინარე. და თანა ასოებით-ურთ მოჭრილით. სამოსლებით და ძელებით. მას შინა ცეცხლსა მისცენ. ვიდრემდის ყოვლად ნაცარ იქმნენ: და მოსწრაფებით [384a<sup>1</sup>] შეკრებითა შთააბნიონ ნაცარი იგი მდინარესა იერმუხასა. და საჯუმილი იგი განრეცხონ ფრიადითა წყლითა. და წყალი იგი შთათხიენ მღვმესა ურწყულსა და უდაბნოსა:<sup>226</sup> ხოლო არამცირესა კრძალულებასა ჳყოფდით. ნუ უკუე რამდე<sup>227</sup> მოჭრილთა მათ ასოთა-გან. გინა<sup>228</sup> სისხლისა დათხეულისა. ანუ სამოსლისა ნაწილთაგანი რამდე შესახებელ ვისსამე იქმნენ. და ჳუარი დაიცევით ფრიადითა მოსწრაფებითა:<sup>229</sup>

11. ესევეითარი რად ესე ურცხვნოდ და მძვნვარე ბრძანებად გამოილო მამისა-გან თვისსა ძემან მისმან ომარ. წიგნებითა<sup>230</sup> ბრძანებითითა აუწყა ყოველივე ესე ზემოთქუმიული ზორაას. მის მიერ მქონებელსა ტრიხოდრომსა მთავრობისასა: და კუალადცა შეკრული ძვრის-მოქმედებრ. მამულადვე მისსა კუალად აგეს მართალი იგი: ხოლო ზორაას მიღებისავე თანა წიგნისა უდროებულ ჳყოფდა ქმნასა ბრძანებათასა;<sup>231</sup> და კუალადცა ნესტუები ქადაგებით-ურთ [384a<sup>2</sup>] მიმოვლიდეს ქალაქსა და ყოველთა ყოვლით-კერძოვე ზორაასსა შემოჳკრებდეს. მოწამეყოფად მის მიერ ქმნადთა მათ-თვს. და პირველ ყოველთადასა შვილნი წმიდისანი. სიჩჩოებისა ფრცხილთადათ-გან შეყენებულნი. გალაგთა<sup>232</sup> მათთა-გან გამოიზიდვოდეს. და თვსთა თანა მისთა. და ყოველსა სავსებასა ქალაქისასა შემოკრებულ იქმნეს: გარნა არცადა ანგელოზთა-გან უნაწილოობდა თეატროდ იგი. რამეთუ ქრისტე ღუაწლის-დამდებელი

224. ყ~ისად. 225. მც~ქლისად. 226. უდაბნოსა. 227. რამე. 228. გინად.  
229. მოსწრაფებითად. 230. წიგნებითად. 231. ბრძანებათადას.  
232. გადლაგთა.

heads, so that they will behold his humiliation when they see the torture of this priest. Thus when they all are assembled, let the other hand be cut off and the second foot, and let his eyes be blinded with a hot iron. Then have him taken up on a litter and led around the whole city, preceded by the trumpet's blare and a herald's loud proclamation that all blasphemy against God, calling God's messenger a deceiver, and insults of our religion will incur such torments. After this, have him hung on a cross, and leave him to hang on the cross for five days. Then light an oven with an intense fire<sup>83</sup> and place him in the fire together with the severed limbs, the clothes, and the cross, until they are nothing but ashes. And after gathering the ashes together quickly, scatter them in the Yarmuk River. And wash the oven out with a lot of water and throw the water into a waterless, desert cave. But you must take great care lest some severed body parts or spilled blood or some pieces of his garment might be touched by someone, and guard the cross with utmost care."

11. When his son °Umar brought forth such a shameless and savage decree from his father, he made known all the things mentioned above in a written decree to Zora, who had been given authority by him over the Trichora. And bound once again by the villain, the righteous one was returned to his homeland. Nevertheless, as soon as Zora received the document, he saw to the decree's implementation without delay. And once again trumpets with heralds went throughout the city and gathered everyone from every quarter to Zora in order to witness the things that were to be done by him. And above all the holy one's children, who had been in seclusion from the claws of childhood,<sup>84</sup> were hauled out from their cells.<sup>85</sup> And along with his family and the whole entirety of the city, they were made to assemble. Yet the theater also was not lacking in

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83. მტყინარე does not appear in the lexica. Kekelidze translates here до-красна, literally "to red heat." Clearly the form is related to ტყინება, which means "entzünden," or "catching alight," as I have indicated above. See Sarjvelaže et al., *Altgeorgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1143.

84. Here again one finds the peculiar expression სიწმრეობის ფრცხილოთაგან. As noted above, ფრცხილი means "claw, nail, talon, fingernail" or "onyx." Its meaning in relation to childhood remains a great mystery, although Kekelidze translates this phrase much as above, "since childhood" (с младенчества).

85. გალაგთა does not occur in the lexica. Kekelidze seems to have understood it as a form of გალაკვი, translating the word as клетушек, "small rooms," which seems the best solution.

იყო მოწამისად: ხოლო მბრძოლ ბოროტნი სულნი ჰაერისანი: თვსთა მიერ მსახურთა განწყობილნი: ხოლო შემწე. ანგელოზნი. საცნაურად განმამტკიცებელნი და განმამღიერებელნი. სული და ჯორცნი. ერთი ერთისა ზედა აღდგებოდეს. რამეთუ დაღაცათუ ჯორცთა ზედა ტანჯვანი მოიწეოდეს. არამედ წყობა[დ] იგი: სულისა მიმართვე მიიწეოდა. ტკივნეულ იქმნებოდეს ჯორცნი. ხოლო ტკივილთა მათ თანა ელმოდა სულსაცა. რომლისა მიერ აქუნდა ჯორცთა გრძნობად იგი ტკივილთა: ესრეთ უკუე ვითარცა ბრძანებულ იყო ზორა თვთცა ბრძანებდა და სიტყუად მისი საქმით [384b<sup>1</sup>] იქმნებოდა: წარიკითხეს უკუე ბრძანებად იგი უმჯულომსა[დ]. და მოწამე ქრისტესი წინააღმდეგომად მეტყუელებდა. მხიარულითა და შეუძრწუნებელითა<sup>233</sup> პირითა: და ჳმითა კადნიერთა. და დაუყუდებელითა ცნობითა და ენითა; და უფრომსდა სულითა: რამეთუ თუაღნი და ჳმა სულისა ვითარებასა გამომაჩინებელ არიან: დაღადებდა უკუე კადნიერებით. ყოვლისა მიმართ საეკლესიომსა<sup>234</sup> სავსებისა: იხარებდინ ცად ზეგარდამოდ. და ქუეყანამან<sup>235</sup> შეიმოსენ სიხარული: მთან იმღერდედ ვითარცა ვერძნი: და ბორცუნი ვითარცა კრავნი ცხოვართანი: განმღიერდით ერნო. იშუებდით და იხარებდით ჩემსა ზედა აღსასრულსა: აჰა დღე ცხორებისა[დ]. აჰა დღე მოხედვისა. და სიხარულისა და გამოჰსნისა. იშუებდით ამათ ზედა. და ისწავეთ რამეთუ მახლობელ არს უფალი რომელნი ხადოდიან მას ჳემმარტებით: ესე რად თქუა. აპყრობილითა თუალითა ზეცად აღიხილნა. ილოცვიდა და თქუა: აღვიხილენ თუაღნი ჩემნი მათა.<sup>236</sup> ვინა [384b<sup>2</sup>] მოვიდეს შეწევნად ჩემი: ესრეთ წართქუა ფსალმუნი ესე. და სიტყუათა<sup>237</sup> ლოცვისათა<sup>238</sup> მოჰკუეთად ენისა ენაცვლა. და ძირით-გან აღმოიკუეთა ორღანოდ იგი ღმრთის-მეტყუელებისა. ჩანგი ქნარისა მის სულისა. არამედ საფსალმუნე იქმნა<sup>239</sup> ქნარი იგი ზენადთ<sup>240</sup> მიმღებლობითა ჳმისადთა.<sup>241</sup> მადლისა მიერ სულისა: და იქმნა უმეტყუელეს. უფრომს ვიდრეა პირველ. უცხადესად მეტყუელებითა ენისადთა: და აღიდებდა უფალსა: ხოლო მდინართა სისხლთადთა მოჰრწყვიდა იატაკსა და წმიდა-ჰყოფდა<sup>242</sup> ქუეყანასა.<sup>243</sup> დათხევასა საღმრთომსა სისხლისასა მიმსგავსებითა: მაშინ ძემან მოწამისამან ვითარცა შვილმან მოწამისამან მოწამებრითა ცნობითა შეჰურვილმან: მპყრობელთა ქადებანი შეურაცხ ყვნა: შეეხო სისხლსა მამისასა: და მის მიერ აღიბეჰდა თავი: რაჟამს წუერი თითისა დააწო.<sup>244</sup> და მით სასწაული ჯუარისა გამოისახა შუბლსა. რათა არა შეეხოს მომსრველი. რამეთუ ნაწლევიანი განეჰრებოდეს

233. Corrected from შეუძრწუნებელითა in the edition. 234. საკლესიოსა.

235. ქე-ნადმ-ნ. 236. მთადთა. 237. სიტ-ყდათა. 238. ლც-ვისდთა.

239. იქმნად. 240. ზენათ. 241. ჳმისათა. 242. იატაკსაღწ-დ.

243. ქე-ნდსა. 244. დააწო.

angels, for Christ was leading the martyr's battle and fighting the wicked spirits of the air. They were placed in battle order by his servants, and the angels were helping, clearly fortifying and strengthening him. Spirit and flesh arose together, for even though the tortures came upon the flesh, the struggle also came upon the spirit. The flesh was suffering pain, but the spirit, by which the flesh had understanding of the pain, was also suffering with anguish. Therefore, as he had been ordered, so Zora himself also ordered, and his word was put into action. They read aloud the infidel's decree, and the Christian martyr spoke defiantly, with a joyful and fearless face, with a bold voice, with an unhindered mind and tongue, and with an abundance of spirit, for the eyes and the voice showed the condition of the spirit. Then he cried out with boldness to all the ecclesiastical assembly: "Let heaven rejoice above, and let the earth be clothed with joy;<sup>86</sup> let the mountains play like rams, and the hills like lambs of sheep.<sup>87</sup> Be strong, O people; rejoice and be glad at my death. Behold the day of salvation; behold the day of reckoning and joy and redemption; rejoice in it! And know that the Lord is near to those who call upon him in truth."<sup>88</sup> When he said this, he looked up with eyes raised to heaven, and he prayed and said, "I lifted my eyes to the mountains, from where my help will come."<sup>89</sup> Thus he spoke the psalm. And words of prayer were replaced by cutting off the tongue and cutting out from the root the organ of theology, the lyre of the harp of the spirit. But the harp became a lyre by receiving a voice from above through the grace of the spirit, and it became even more eloquent than before with particularly clear expression of the tongue and was glorifying the Lord. Nevertheless, he drenched the ground with a river of blood and sanctified the earth as if through the shedding of sacrificial blood. Then the martyr's son, armed, as the child of the martyr, with a martyr's understanding, ignored the threats of the rulers and touched his father's blood and sealed his head with it. When he dipped the tip of his finger in, he made the sign of the cross on his forehead with it, so that he would not meet with destruction,<sup>90</sup> for his insides were torn from groaning. Never-

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86. Cf. 1 Chr 16:31.

87. Cf. Ps 113:4 (114:4).

88. Cf. Ps 114:18 (145:18).

89. Ps 120:1 (121:1).

90. Literally "touch the destroyer."

თანაღმობითა. ხოლო ცხორებითა მშობლისადათა<sup>245</sup> იხარებდა [385a<sup>1</sup>] ვითარცა მეცნიერი. ვითარმედ უმჯობეს არს საცხორებელი სიკუდილი წუთჟამისა ამის ცხორებისა: ვითარმედ იწროა და საჭიროა ბჭე. სივრცის და ფართობის მქონებელ არს. რამეთუ ბჭით სიკუდილისადათა შეიყვანებს ნეტარებასა. ვინადაც სამადლობელთა ჳმათა აღმოუტევებდა. ცხონდით. რქუმითა გოდებისადათა: რამეთუ გოდებად არს ნაშობ გულისა შეწუხებულისა. ხოლო მადლობად ნაყოფ სულისა მხიარულისა: ესე კადნიერებად იხილა<sup>246</sup> რად ამირამან. დაიშურვა შვილისა-თვს კურთხევად მამული: და ბრძანა ცემად მისი: ხოლო მოწამე მიერთგან განიყვანებოდა უბანთა ქალაქისათა.<sup>247</sup> და წმიდა-ყვნა<sup>248</sup> ივინი სისხლითა. რომელსა აღმოჰწერწყვიდა. ვითარცა წყარო[დ] კურთხევისადა. გარნა მოშურნემან მან გუელმან. ბრძანა წარჯოცად სისხლისადა და განრეცხად მდინარითა: რამეთუ ეძვნებოდა სიწმიდე ქრისტეანეთადა. და უცხოთა კეთილებსა<sup>249</sup> ზედა შეიშთვებოდა ვინადაც არღარავინ შეეხებოდა. რამეთუ ყოველნი შიშითა შეპყრობილ იყვნეს: და იყო მოწამისა შორის სახილველ [385a<sup>2</sup>] მეტყუელად ენად სულისა[დ]: და შჯულნი ღმრთის-მსახურებისანი უტყუ-ჰყოფდეს ბაგეთა მზაკუართა. ჰურიათა და ქობარიტელთა მხილებითა მემობარობისადათა მოწამისა მიერ: ხოლო ჩუეულებისა-ებრ დაიფარვოდა ქრისტეს დიდებულობად. უძლიერებისა მიერ ძლევითა ძლიერთადათა შემპყრობელისა მის-გან ბრძენთადასა. სივერაგითა მათითა: რამეთუ ძნიად ვინმე მართლისა-თვს მოკუდეს. და კეთილისა-თვს ნუ უკუე და იკადროს ვინმე სიკუდილი: სახიერ არს ღმერთი და სახიერებისა სახიერთა მიმნიჭებელ და არავინ არს სახიერ გარნა ერთი ღმერთი. ხოლო ქრისტე ღმრთისა სიბრძნე. ძე ღმრთისა. თანაარსი მშობელისა: ვინათგან<sup>250</sup> უკუე მოწამე სიკუდიდ მიიწოდებოდა ქრისტეს-თვს სახიერისა-თვს სიკუდიდ მიიყვანებოდა: და ესრეთ წამებდა. ვითარცა სახიერი ქრისტე იტყვს. არავინ<sup>251</sup> არს [სახიერ] გარნა<sup>252</sup> ერთი ღმერთი: არა თუ თავსა თვსსა განჰჳდიდა სახიერებისა-გან. არამედ ამხილებდა მას. რომელმან ჰრქუა მას სახიერ. ვითარმედ უკუეთუ სახიერ ვარ მე ვითარ ეგე შენ იტყვ. ღმერთ ვარ უეჭუელად [385b<sup>1</sup>] რამეთუ არავინ არს სახიერ გარნა ერთი ღმერთი: წამებდა უკუე მოწამე სიტყვთა და საქმით. ვითარმედ ქრისტე ღმერთ არს ვითარცა სახიერ არს. ვინადაც ღმერთად სახელს-დებდა მას. და მის-თვს მოკუდებოდა. ვითარცა კეთილისა და სახიერისა-თვს. ამისთვს ყოველი იგი კაცმრავალი კრებად. განკვრვებულნი. საკვრველ არს ღმერთი.

245. მშობლისათა. 246. იხილა. 247. ქალაქისადათა. 248. წ~დ.  
249. უცხოთა კთ~ლებსა. 250. ვინათგ~ნ. 251. არად ვინ. 252. გარნად.

theless, he rejoiced in the salvation of his parent, because he knew that a saving death is better than this fleeting life, and that the narrow and difficult gate is obtained through the wide and easy, because through the gate of death he is led into bliss. Therefore, he let out thankful cries, “Rejoice<sup>91</sup> with sayings of lamentation, because lamentation is born of a troubled heart, but thankfulness is the fruit of a cheerful spirit.” When the emir saw this audacity, he was troubled by the son’s paternal blessings, and he ordered that he should be beaten. But then the martyr was led through the districts of the city, and he sanctified them with the blood that he was spitting as a source of blessing. But the jealous serpent ordered that the blood should be wiped away and washed out with water, because the holiness of the Christians was enraging him, and he was choking in the goodness of others.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, no one else touched him because they were all seized with fear. And the voice of the spirit was seen speaking in the martyr, and the laws of devotion silenced cunning lips through the exposure of the blasphemy of the Jews and Kobarites [Samaritans?]<sup>93</sup> by the martyr. But as is customary, the glory of Christ was concealed from the grasp of the wise by their treachery, through the vanquishing of the strong by the stronger. For it is difficult to die for the sake of righteousness, let alone to brave death for what is good. God is good and the giver of the goodness to the good, and no one is good except the one God alone,<sup>94</sup> Christ the Wisdom of God, the Son of God, consubstantial with the parent. Therefore, the martyr was called to death for the sake of Christ; he was led to death and bore witness for the sake of the goodness. When Christ said, no one is good except the one God, he did not exclude himself from goodness, but he revealed the one who calls him good. “For if I am good, as you say it, I am undoubtedly God, for no one is good except the one God.” The martyr was bearing witness then by word and deed that Christ is God, as he is good. Therefore, he called him by the name God and was dying for his sake, as for what is noble and good. That is why all the whole throng of people cried out in amazement, “God is wondrous in

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91. This form more commonly would mean “live,” but Rayfield, *Georgian-English Dictionary*, also gives the above meaning for ცხონდებდა, which seems to make more sense here.

92. უცხოთა is difficult to translate here. It could also mean “of strangers” or “of unknown things.”

93. According to Peeters, “La passion de S. Pierre,” 313, although he does not explain why he identifies the Kobarites with the Samaritans.

94. Cf. Mark 10:18.

კმობდეს. შორის წმიდათა მისთა: რამეთუ რად იგი მძლავრთა მოეპოვა მაშინებელად და შემადრწუნებელად ქრისტეანეთა. უმრავლესსა სარწმუნოებასა შეჰმატებდა მათ. და წადიერ ჰყოფდა ქრისტეს-თვს ვნებად: რაჟამს სიკუდიდ შეკადრებასა ასწავებდა. წადიერებით წამებად იგი წმიდისაჲ. ეჰა კაცთ-მოყუარებაჲ. და წინამცნობელობაჲ. ღმრთისაჲ. წინააღმდგომთა-გან მთხზველი წინააღმდგომთაჲ. და მტერთა-გან მომსთულებელი ცხორებისა[ჲ]. უნებლიეთ ქველის-მოქმედ მექმნეს ჩუენ. უნებლიეთ განმამტკიცნეს ჩუენ: ესე ესრეთ იქმნებოდა პირველსა დღესა წამებისა მისისასა. რომელი იყო მეხუთე დღე შუდეულისაჲ.

12. ხოლო ხვალისაგან რომელი იყო პარასკევი. კუალად შემოკრბა<sup>253</sup> თეატრომ და [385b<sup>2</sup>] კუალად მოწამე იღუწიდა. უმტკიცესითა გულს-მოდგინებითა. პირველისა ჩუეულებისა-გან განმწნობილი და გარდასრულითა ძლევითა შეჰკადრებდა წინააღმდგომსა. ვითარცა სირისა სამღერელ შერაცხვითა მისითა. რამეთუ საღმრთომ შეწევნად ტკბილუყოფდა მას წყლულებათა. და რომელი იგი სმენით თუმცა ვისმე ასმიოდა. აღაშფოთებს და შეამრწუნებს. ესე ამას თვთ შემთხუეული უფრომს სმენილისა უადვილეს უჩნდა: ესრეთ უკუე მარადის-მოჯსენებული ესე ქრისტეს. მოწამე. სურვილითა ღმრთისაჲთა<sup>254</sup> შემთხუევასა შინა მისდა ქადებულთასა. ესოდენ ზემთა იყო ტკივილთა და გრძნობათა<sup>255</sup> მათთა. რომელ ვითარცა შუებისა<sup>256</sup> და არა წყლულებათა მიმართ მირბიოდა: ყოვლისავე გრძნობადობისა ძალისა შეცვალებითა მიწიერთა საყოფელთა-გან. სასურველთა მიმართ. და ვითარ თუმცა. მოიღებდა ჯორცთა მიმართ თანალმობასა.<sup>257</sup> იხარებდა უკუე ხედვითა საღმრთოთა კეთილთაჲთა. და სიკუდილისა მიერ [386a<sup>1</sup>] ისწრაფდა სასურველისა მიმართ: მუნ უკუე იყო ანდამატისა იგი კაცი. და ბრძანა უცხოქმნილმან მან საკრველთა დადებამ წმიდათა ზედა ჯორცთა მისთა: და ესრეთ მახვლითა მოკუეთად მარჯუენე კელი მისი. და მარცხენე ფერტი: ხოლო იგი არა ვკმობდე. იტყოდა. არცა ვღალადებდე. არამედ ჩემსა ვემსგავსო მეუფესა. მჭრიდეთ. მწუევდით. არა აღვშფოთნე. არა განვძრა კელი. არა დავაყენო მომკუეთელი: ესრეთ განჰმარტა და წარეკუეთა კელი. ამისსა შემდგომად ვითარცა როკვად რამე განიპყრა ფერტი. და უფრომსა სამგზის ხეთქნებითა ძლით განიკუეთა ფერტი: და იყო ხილვაჲ. რომელ ვერცამცა ეკლისა ვის განგუმერად თავს-ედვა.<sup>258</sup>

253. შემოკრბა. 254. ღ-ისათა. 255. გრძნობ-ეთა. 256. შუჭზისაჲ. 257. თ-ნალმობ-მსა. 258. თ-ვს ედვი.

his saints.”<sup>95</sup> For what the tormentors found to frighten and terrify Christians strengthened their faith even more and made them long to suffer for Christ, when the holy one’s longing for martyrdom taught them boldness before death. Behold God’s love of humanity and providence, weaving resistance from opponents<sup>96</sup> and gleaning salvation from enemies—unwillingly they have become beneficent to us; unwillingly they have strengthened us. So this transpired on the first day of his martyrdom, which was the fifth day of the week.

12. Nevertheless, on the next day, which was Friday, again the theater was gathered. And the martyr again contended with greater determination than previously accustomed, and emboldened by his past victories, he fought the enemy, singing as a bird in his mind, for divine assistance sweetened his wounds. And what sounded tumultuous and terrifying to anyone else, as he experienced it, it seemed much easier than it sounded. Therefore, this eternally remembered martyr of Christ, in meeting the things that were promised to him, was by God’s will so above his pains and feelings that it was as if he were running toward joy and not wounds, through the transformation of every capacity of perception from the earthly dwelling places to what he desired. And as if he lost all sympathy with the flesh, he rejoiced in the divine vision of the good things, and through death he hastened toward what he desired. Therefore, this man was there like a diamond, and removing the shackles that had been placed on his holy body, he ordered them to cut off his right hand and left foot with a sword. But he said, “I will not shout, nor will I cry out, but I will be like my Lord. You will cut me and coerce me. I will not move them; I will not move my hand; I will not hold back what is to be cut off.” So he stretched out the hand and it was cut off. Then he stretched forth the foot as if to do some dance, and the foot was cut off even more forcefully with three blows. And it was a sight: he did not even suffer the prick of a thorn as he extraordinarily

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95. Ps 67:36 (68:35).

96. Literally “weaving opponents from opponents.”

ვითარ იგი მან თვსთა ასოთა-გან<sup>259</sup> უცხოსახედ თავს-იდვა<sup>260</sup> უცხო<sup>261</sup> ყოფად. ვიდრე ურწმუნოთაცა<sup>262</sup> ხილვად და დაკრვებამდე. ღმერთივ-მოცემულისა მის-თვს მონათა მისთა შეწევნისა: რამეთუ ხედვიდა თვსთა ასოთა მოჭრილად. და ვითარცა წინაწარვლინებულთა-თვს უმჯობესად ცხორებად.<sup>263</sup> იხარებდა სასოებითა: [386a<sup>2</sup>] გმადლოზ შენ. იტყოდა. დამბადებელი სულისა ჩემისაო ჯორცთა ჩემთა-თვს. რამეთუ არა წარწყმდების გეჰენიასა<sup>264</sup> შინა რომელ ესე მომეც მე სული ჯორცთა თანა: არამედ ფერვი ღირს იქმნეს მნობისა ანგელოზთამსა. და კელი მიღებად გვრგვნსა სიმართლისასა; ამისსა შემდგომად ეცინოდა უძღულებასა მდევართასა.<sup>265</sup> და უმეტესთა ვნებათა პატივის-მოყუარებად სურვიელ იყო სიმწნით თავს-დებითა. შეურაცხყოფითა აწინდელთადათა. და მიხედვითა ყოფადთა მათ მოსაგებელთა საუკუნეთა კეთილთასა.<sup>266</sup> რომელ განუმზადა ღმერთმან<sup>267</sup> მოყუარეთა თვსთა:

13. გამოვიდა უკუე ზორაბს-გან ბრძანებად.<sup>268</sup> ყოველსა მას სოფლებსა. კაპეტოლიადასა ვიტყვ. დადარონსა და აბილსა<sup>269</sup> მიმოვლებითა მეწიგნეთადათა<sup>270</sup> ყოველთა-თვს ქრისტიანეთა. მამათა და დედათა. მონაზონთა და მოწესეთა. კვრიაკესა დღეთასა განთიად კაპეტოლელთა ქალაქად შემოკრებად. რამეთუ ჯერ-იყო პირველ სიკუდილისა დღესასწაულობად მოწამისა-თვს. და ყოველნი უდროებელად შიშითა ქადებულისა ტანჯვისადათა მორბიოდეს მისსა. რამეთუ ქადებულ [386b<sup>1</sup>] იყო ვითარმედ უწყალოდ იტანჯოს ყოველი. რომელი დროებდეს მუნ მისლვად. და სახილველ იყო. ყოვლად-საეროდ თეატროდ. და კეთილი იგი მოდუაწეკულად ზეშთამბრძოლ დაწინამბრძოლ იყოსარწმუნოებისა. და ბრძოლილ მის ძლით. ვითარცა ნამდვლვე მტკიცე და მიუდრეკელი წინასაკუთებელი. ზვრთებისა-გან ბოროტთა სულთამსა ვერ დასაკუთებელი. რამეთუ მოუქდებოდა მბრძოლი არამედ დაეკუთებოდა მოთმინებითა მოწამისადათა. ხედავთა<sup>271</sup> ვითარ კულად მორკინალობს. რამეთუ მიიყვანებოდა მოწამე სხუათადათა<sup>272</sup> და ვერ თვსითა ფერვითა: მეოთხე იყო დღე წამებისა: ხოლო პირველი შვდეულისა: და ვითარცა მოიწივნეს წინამყოფსა<sup>273</sup> ტამარსა ღმრთის-

259. ასულოთაგ-ნ. 260. თ-ვისიდვა. 261. უცხო. 262. ურწმუნოთაცა. 263. ცხორებ-ად. 264. გეჰენიასა. 265. მდევართადასა. 266. კთ-ლთადასა. 267. Corrected from ღმერთმან in the edition. 268. ბძანება. 269. Corrected from აბილსა in the edition. Kekelidze translates Ашилия, but the name of this city is in fact Abila. 270. მეწიგნეთათა. 271. ხედავთა. 272. სხუათათა. 273. წინამყოფსა.

endured the amputation of his limbs, so that the unbelievers saw and were amazed on account of the help that God provides his servants, for he watched the amputation of his limbs, and because he was being led forth to a better life, he rejoiced with hope. He said, “I thank you, creator of my spirit, who gave me spirit with flesh, on behalf of my flesh, for it will not perish in Gehenna. But the foot will be worthy of the music of angels and the hand worthy to receive the crown of righteousness.” After this he was laughing at the weakness of the persecutors and defiantly longing for more suffering, enduring courageously, scorning the things of the present, and looking toward the future rewards of the eternal blessings that God has prepared for his friends.

13. Then a command went forth from Zora to the entire region of Capitolias, Gadara, and Abila by couriers, “I say that all Christians, men and women, monks and ascetics, are to gather in the city of Capitolias on Sunday at dawn.” For it is fitting to celebrate a martyr before death. And they all ran there immediately, fearing the threat of torture, for he was threatening to torture mercilessly anyone who was late in arriving there. And the theater appeared completely full,<sup>97</sup> and the noble warrior was again a valiant combatant and a vanguard for the faith and was battling for it forcefully as a truly steadfast and unyielding seashore<sup>98</sup> that could not be smashed by the waves of the evil spirits, for the opponent was attacking him, but he was overthrown by the martyr’s endurance. Do you see how he again contends? For the martyr was led forth with feet other than his own. It was the martyr’s fourth day, but the first day of the week. And when they came before the church of the Theotokos, he asked to go in to pray, but he was not

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97. ყოვლად-საეროდ literally means “completely worldly” or “entirely common,” neither of which makes much sense. საეროდ can also mean “people” or “nation,” which gives the sense of “the whole people.” In Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 1.11.4 (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:98; Melik’iṣvili, ed. ოსებ ფლავიოსი, 1:112), ყოველი საეროდ translates the Greek πάνδημον. Accordingly I have understood the phrase as indicating that the theater was completely full after the assembly of all the people.

98. წინასაკუთბელი is an uncommon word, which Kekelidze translates “dam” or “dike” (плотина). Nevertheless, Sarjvelaḗe et al., *Altgeorgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* has instead “Küste” (1538), which I have translated above.

მშობელისასა ითხოვა<sup>274</sup> მუნ ლოცვად შესლვად. და ვერ მიემთხვა სიფიცხისა-გან მომყვანებელთა ცნობისა არ მიშუებული.<sup>275</sup> გარნა ეგრეთცა ილოცა გონებითა. რათა სტადიონად შეყვანებასა შემწედ აქუნდეს დედად ღმრთისაჲ: და კულადცა ითხოვა<sup>276</sup> მიღებად წმიდათა საიდუმლოთაჲ.<sup>277</sup> და ჯორცი სამეუფოდ მიიღო საგზლად. რამეთუ მიშუებულ [386<sup>b</sup>] იქმნა.<sup>278</sup> არათუ მდევართა ცნობისა კეთილქმნისა-გან. არამედ საღმრთოდა გონებისა. ესრეთ აღმძრველობითა: მიიღო უკუე და პირი რად შთაირღუნა წყლითა. კულად მათვე ღუაწლთა მისწრაფდა: ვიდრემდის მოეკუეთა სხუაცა ჯელი. და მეორე ფერჯი. და სადაგველითა პირუტყუთა ცხოველთაჲთა<sup>279</sup> დაუბრმნეს სახედველნი და ცხედრითა კიდით-კიდემდე ქალაქისა<sup>280</sup> მიმოიყვანა იგი განსაქიქებელად. ნესტუებისა და ქადაგთა. წინამავალ. და წინამშობელ ყოფითა. ყოველმან რომელმან გამოს ღმერთი. და აგინოს წინამსწარმეტყუელსა და მოციქულსა მისსა. და შეურაცხოფით<sup>281</sup> ბასრობდეს სარწმუნოებასა ჩუენსა. ესრეთ შეემთხვოს: ესე რად ესმოდა მოწამესა. ვითარცა სიძე ქებათა ზედა იხარებდა: ვითარცა ქრისტეს თანავნებული. და წინამავალად მქონებელი ჯუარისა მისისა. ამისთვის სამადლობელთა განსლვისა სიტყუთა<sup>282</sup> დავითისთა [იტყოდა]: თმენით დაუთმე უფალსა და მომხედნა მე და ისმინა ვედრებისა ჩემისა:<sup>283</sup> და აღმომიყვანა მე მღვმითუბადრუკებისაჲთ. და თიხისა-გან უყისა. და დაადგინნა [387a<sup>1</sup>] კლდესა ზედა ფერჯნი ჩემნი. და წარჰმართნა სლვანი ჩემნი: და აღავსო პირი ჩემი გალობითა ახლითა ქებად<sup>284</sup> ღმრთისა ჩემისა: და სრულ ყო ნეშტი ფსალმუნისა[ჲ].

14. და მიიწია რად ადგილსა ნეტარისა აღსასრულისა თვისისასა. გარეგან ქალაქისა.<sup>285</sup> ადგილსა მაღალსა. ასურთა ჯმითა ტურლიპარად სახელდებულისა. რომელი გამოითარგმანების მთაჲ. და მიიყვანა რად ადგიდ. კულადცა ილოცვიდა და თქუა: სული ჩუენი ვითარცა სირი განერა<sup>286</sup> მახისა-გან მონადირეთაჲსა: საფრჯე შეიმუსრა და ჩუენ განვერენით. მერმეცა აღიხილა თუალი გონებისაჲ ზეცად. და აღებითა

274. ითხოვად.

275. მიშუწმუწბული.

276. ითხოვად.

277. საიდუმლოთაჲ.

278. იქმნაჲ.

279. ცხოველთათა.

280. ქალაქისაჲ.

281. შეურაცხოფით.

282. სტ~ყდა.

283. ჩემისაჲ.

284. ქებ~ად.

285. ქალაქისაჲ.

286. განერად.

allowed, not being released on account of the cruel mentality of those leading him forth. And so he prayed in his mind that he would have the Mother of God as an assistant as he was being led to the stadium. And again he asked to receive the holy sacraments, and he received the royal body as provisions for the journey, for he was released, not so much on account of the beneficent mentality of the persecutors but rather through incitement from the divine mind. Then he received it, and when he washed<sup>99</sup> his face<sup>100</sup> with water, again he was hastening toward the same struggles until they cut off the other hand and the second foot. And with a branding iron for brute animals they blinded his eyes. And he was shamefully led about throughout the city on a litter, preceded by trumpets and heralds, who were proclaiming, “This is what will happen to anyone who blasphemes against God and defames his prophet and messenger and derides our religion with insults.” When the martyr heard this, he rejoiced like the bridegroom with praises, because he was suffering together with Christ and had his own cross before him. That is why he spoke words of David in gratitude for his departure: “I waited patiently for the Lord, and he heeded me and heard my supplication. And he brought me up out of a pit of misery and from miry clay. And he set my feet upon a rock and guided my steps. And he filled my mouth with a new song, a hymn to our God.”<sup>101</sup> And he finished the rest of the psalm.

14. And when he reached the place of his blessed end, a high place outside the city called Turlipara in the language of the Assyrians,<sup>102</sup> which is interpreted “mountain,” and when he was led to the place, again he prayed and said, “My spirit like a sparrow has escaped the hunter’s trap; the snare has been destroyed, and we have been delivered.”<sup>103</sup> Then the eye of the mind looked to heaven, and raising his neck he cried out

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99. შთაიორღუნა does not have a corresponding form in the lexica, although the word რღუნა is used for the biblical flood. Nevertheless, the form შთარღუნელად occurs in the Georgian translation of the *Life of St. Sabas*, translating the Greek διάκλυσμα εἰς λόγον. See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of St. Sabas* 58 (Kekelize, ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ძეგლები, 2:191; and Schwartz, ed., *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 159).

100. Or possibly “rinsed his mouth.”

101. Ps 39:2–4 (40:2–4).

102. I.e., in Aramaic.

103. Ps 123:7 (124:7).

ქედისადათა ჳმაცო და თქუა: უფალო ჳელთა შენთა შევჳვედრებ სულსა ჩემსა: და ესრეთ დაეკრა ძელსა. და სიმაღლედ აღზიდულ იქმნა<sup>287</sup> და სამგზის იგუმირა<sup>288</sup> ლახურითა გუერდსა. ტრფიალი იგი სამეზისაჲ. და ჳელთა ღმრთისათა<sup>289</sup> მისცა სული: რამეთუ სულნი მართალთანი ჳელთა შინა ღმრთისათა.<sup>290</sup> სწინაღწარმეტყუელოდ ვიტყოდი. და არა შეეხოს მათ ტანჯვად. და იცვებოდა მცველთა-გან არა საფლავსა შინა. არამედ ჳუარსა ზედა [387a<sup>2</sup>] ხუთ დღედმდე: ხოლო იყო მაშინ ნეფხვად. რაბამი მრავლით წლით-გან არა ხილულ არს: არამედ ყინვად ფრიადი იქმნა:<sup>291</sup> შეჳყინვიდა მცველთა მათ და მძვნვარედ სტანჯვიდა. რათა ცეცხლი ძლიერი აღაგზნეს. და ეგრეთ ითმენდეს ცვად მოწამისა:<sup>292</sup> ხოლო ყოველნი მუნ შემოკრებულნი წარვიდეს სახიდ თვსსა: აღვსებულნი საკვრველებითა და განცვბრებითა:<sup>293</sup> და აღესრულნეს რად ხუთნი იგი დღენი ცვისანი. კულად გამოკდა ბრძანებად ზორაღს-გან. შეკრებად ყოველსა სიმრავლესა ქალაქისასა. და აღტყინებად თორნე ცეცხლისაჲ მახლობლად პატოისანსა მონასტერსა საბინიანე კეთილად-მძლისა მოწამისსა: რომელსა შინა იყვნეს აწ საქებელისა ამის პეტრეს ასულთა მრჩობლობანი შეყენებულ. და ვითარცა სრულ იქმნა<sup>294</sup> ბრძანებად. მყის შემოკრებითა ყოვლისა ქალაქისადათა<sup>295</sup> შთამოიყვანეს ძელით-ურთ გუამი ნეტარისა და ძლევა შემოსილისა პეტრესი. და მოუჳდეს კაცნი ღმრთის-მოშიშნი. და მჳართა ზედა სიმაღლედ აღიღეს იგი: არამედ კულადცა შურისა თანანერგობამან [387b<sup>1</sup>] აღიშურვა კურთხევად მისი ღმრთის-მოშიშთა-თვს. და ბრძანა ჳელითა ებრაელთადათა აღებაჲ. ებრაელთა წინააღმდეგომ მბრძოლისაჲ, და თითოეული მორწმუნეთაგანნი განიღვენეს: და ცხენოსანთა გარემოიცივს. რათა ვერ მისა ახლებელ<sup>296</sup> ყონ მორწმუნეთა-თვს გუამი მისი. და ესრეთ შთასხიეს ძელებით-ურთ საჳუმლიად. და სისხლშებლალულებით მონძებით. და მოკუეთილებით ასოებით. და ყოვლით სამოსელ-ჳამლებით. მრავალმოდუაწე იგი გუამი: ვიდრემდის დაიწუა და მტუერ იქმნა<sup>297</sup> ყოველი. და მტუერიცა იგი საქუფთესა შთაიდვა.<sup>298</sup> და ბეჳდითა მჳყრობელთადათა. უმეტესისა კრძალულებისა-თვს დაბეჳდულ იქმნა.<sup>299</sup> და ჳელითა მჳედართადათა წარღებული შთაიზნია მდინარესა იერმუხაიკისასა. ამისსა შემდგომად თორნე იგი გარეცხეს<sup>300</sup> წყლითა. და წარვოცეს მონძებითა. და შთაასხეს მღვმესა ურწყულსა და უდაბნოსა:<sup>301</sup>

287. იქმნად. 288. იგუმირად. 289. ღ-ისდათა. 290. ღ-ისადათა.  
 291. იქმნად. 292. მოწამისაჲ. 293. განცვბრებითაჲ. 294. იქმნად.  
 295. ქალაქის-დათაჲ. 296. Correcting მისაახლებელ in the edition. 297.  
 იქმნად. 298. შთაიდვაჲ. 299. იქმნად. 300. განრეცხეს in the edition  
 presumably a misprint. 301. უდაბნოდათაჲ.

and said, “O Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit.”<sup>104</sup> And so he was bound to a tree and raised up high, and he was pierced in the side with a spear thrice,<sup>105</sup> this lover of Trinity. And he gave his spirit into the hands of God, for I say, as the prophet, “The spirits of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment will touch them.”<sup>106</sup> And he was watched over by the guards for five days, not in the grave, but on the cross. Nevertheless, there was then a frost, such as was not seen for many years, and it became extremely cold. It froze the guards and tormented them fiercely, so that they lit a roaring fire, and thus they endured watching over the martyr. Nevertheless, all those gathered there went away to their homes, filled with wonder and astonishment. And when the five days of watching were complete, again an order came forth from Zora to assemble the entire multitude of the city and to light a fire in the oven near the venerable monastery of Sabinan, the nobly victorious martyr, in which both the daughters of the now-praised Peter had been placed. And when the order was fulfilled through the immediate assembly of the entire city, they brought down the blessed and victorious Peter’s body together with the cross. And God-fearing men came and raised him up high on their shoulders. But again innate<sup>107</sup> jealousy stirred up envy of his blessing for the God-fearers, and he ordered that this warrior who had been an opponent of the Jews should be taken up by the hands of the Jews. And one by one those of the faithful were driven away, and horsemen surrounded his body on account of the faithful, so that they would not be able to draw near to it. And so they threw it into the furnace, together with the wood, the bloodstained rags, the severed limbs, and all the clothes and shoes. The body was doing many things until it was burned and reduced to ashes, and the ashes were placed in a bag and sealed with the seal of the rulers in order to take extra care. Taken away by the hands of the soldiers, they were scattered in the river Yarmuk. After this they washed the oven with water and wiped it with rags, and they threw it into a waterless, desert cave.

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104. Luke 23:46.

105. Cf. John 19:34.

106. Wis 3:1.

107. თანხვერვობა is an uncommon word for which Sarjvelaže et al., *Altgeorgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, gives the meaning “Verwandtschaft.” Kekelidze’s translation as “innate” (врожденной) seems more appropriate here and is consistent with the meanings of the root ხვერვო.

15. ესე არს აღსასრული ნეტარისა წამებისა პეტრე სანატრელისაჲ. რომელმან კეთილად იწყო წამებასა. და [387b<sup>2</sup>] კეთილი გვრგვნი დაიდგა<sup>302</sup> ღუაწლთაჲ: ვითარმე ღირსებით დაგვკვრდეს მისი ღმრთისა<sup>303</sup> მიმართ სიყუარულისა მგზებარეობაჲ: ნამდვლვე უძლიერეს არს სიყუარული. უფროჲს სიკუდილისა: ეჰა განუქსნელობასა საღმრთოჲსა სიყუარულისა საკრველთასა:<sup>304</sup> ჰ სიბრძნესა პეტრე საუკუნოდ-მოქსენებულისასა: რამეთუ კეთილად განყო და განბჭო ცნობაჲ არსთაჲ. და ამათისა პირისა-გან გულის-ხმა ყო<sup>305</sup> თანაშეუტყუებელობაჲ დამბადებელისა მათის[ჲ]: საკრველ იქმნა.<sup>306</sup> თქუა მისსა მიმართ. ცნობაჲ შენი ჩემ-გან განძლიერდა და ვერ ძალ-[მიძ<sup>307</sup>] მისსა მიმართ: ეოცნა<sup>308</sup> ქმნულთა-გან შუენიერებაჲ შემოქმედისა[ჲ]: მისსა მიდრიკა გული თვისი. გემოჲ იხილა სიტკბოებისაჲ. ყოველივე სურვილი თვისი მისსა მიმართ აღძრა: მოუდრიკა იგი უღელსა ქრისტესსა. სიყუარულმან ქრისტესმან. და ტკბილი იგი ტრფიალებაჲ მისი გულად-ილო: ჰამბორს [უყო] მას პირითა საცნაურითა: გულმტკიცე იქმნა<sup>309</sup> სიტკბოებითა მისითა: აღეგზნა სიყუარულთა მისითა: და იცვალა გონებაჲ მისი: ყოვლად განჰკრთა მისსა მიმართ: და ვიდრე ძუალთამდე და ტვნთა [388a<sup>1</sup>] ამისთა განვლო ტრფიალებამან<sup>310</sup> მისმან: არა იყო თავისა თვისისა: არა იყო ხილულთა. არამედ ყოვლად-სასურველისა მიმართ განვიდა. ყოვლად იყო ღმრთისაჲ. და ყოველსა მისსა საღმრთო მოქმედებაჲ შეიერთა: აღიშურვა<sup>311</sup> შური სასურველისაჲ. რამეთუ სურვილისა გამოხატვაჲ უწყის შურმან: და სურვილის-გან გამოვალს შური კეთილისაჲ: ჰბამვიდა სასურველსა ქრისტესა. მის-თვის მოშურნე იქმნებოდა: მათ ზედა. რომელნი ჰპატიესა და დიდებასა<sup>312</sup> ძეობისასა მიუღებდეს მას; და ესმოდა რაჲ გმობით. მონაწილეობაჲ<sup>313</sup> თვისისა მეუფისაჲ. განჯურდა შურითა: აღიძრა მხილებად. დაღათუ არა ნაშობ<sup>314</sup> შურისა არს მხილებად: ამიერ იწყო მხილებად<sup>315</sup> უვარის-მყოფელთა მეუფეისა ღმრთეებისათა.<sup>316</sup> ტკბილ და ჩჩულ არს საღმრთო ტრფიალებაჲ. არამედ მოტყინარეცა: ტკბილ და საწადელ: არამედ მგზებარე და უმოტყინარეს ცეცხლისა. რამეთუ ცეცხლ უნივთოდ არს ღმერთი ჩუენი. განმღეველ ყოვლისა სიბოროტისა ნივთთა [და] სისუბუქისა. და ცეცხლად აღაგზებს ტრფიალთაცა [388a<sup>2</sup>] თვისთა: ამით აღეგზნა ნეტარი ესე. და მკუეთელობით ამხილა ტრფიალთა ცუდსახელისა

302. დაადგაჲ.

303. Corrected from ღმრთისა in the edition.

304. საკრველთაჲსა. 305. გ-ლის ც-ჲ ყოდ. 306. იქმნაჲ. 307. Or perhaps მიც. 308. ეოცნაჲ. 309. იქმნაჲ. 310. ტრფიალებ-ჲმან. 311. შეიერთაჲ. აღიშურვაჲ. 312. დბ-მსა. 313. მონაჲ წოდებაჲ. 314. ნაშუობ. 315. მხილებ-ჲდ. 316. ღთ-ეებისაჲთა.

15. This is the end of the blessed martyr Peter the beloved, who contended well in martyrdom and received the noble crown of combat. How will we worthily consider<sup>108</sup> his ardent love for God? Truly love is more powerful than death! Behold the unbreakable bonds of divine love! O the wisdom of the eternally remembered Peter, for he distinguished and judged knowledge of existing things well and understood from their visage their inequality to their creator! “Your knowledge,” he said to him, “was made wonderful from me. It became strong, and I cannot attain to it.”<sup>109</sup> The beauty of the creator is revealed by creatures. He inclined his heart to him and tasted sweetness; he set his every desire on him. Love of Christ bent him to the yoke of Christ, and he received his sweet love in his heart.<sup>110</sup> He kissed him with his intelligible mouth, and he became steadfast through his sweetness. He inflamed him with his love and transformed his mind. He trembled completely before him, and his love penetrated to his bones and his marrow. He was not [concerned] for himself; he was not [concerned] for visible things, but he went forth to the all-desirable one. He was entirely [concerned] with God and was joined with godly action in all his affairs. He was zealous<sup>111</sup> with zeal for the beloved, for zeal knows the expression of desire, and zeal for good comes from desire. He imitated the beloved Christ; he became zealous for him in those things that acquired for him the honor and glory of sonship. When he heard them blasphemously calling his Lord a servant, he was inflamed with zeal<sup>112</sup> and was provoked to denounce them, even though denunciation is not born of zeal. From that point on he began to denounce their denials of the Lord’s divinity. Godly love is sweet and gentle but also searing, sweet, and longed for, yet scorching and more blazing than fire, for our God is immaterial fire that consumes all evil and frivolous things, and he inflames those who love him with fire. This blessed one was inflamed by him, and he sharply denounced these lovers

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108. Or “wonder at.”

109. Ps 138:6 (139:6).

110. Or “listened to his sweet love.”

111. “Zealous” and “zeal” here could also be translated “jealous” and “jealousy.”

112. Again, *ἔμφρο* can mean both “zeal” and “jealousy,” and in this context, “vengeance” is also a possibility.

მეცნიერებისათა:<sup>317</sup> და ნუ ვინ აბრალეზს მოწამესა. კადნიერებისა და სიმწინისა-თვს: რამეთუ დადათუ შჯულ მოწამებისა თქუმულ არს. რათა არცა წოდებული ივლტოდის ღუაწლისა-გან. არცა კულად თავი თვისი განსცეს წამებად. რიდობითა მდევართათა და თანამეცნიერებითა<sup>318</sup> ბუნებისა უძლურებისადათა: არამედ მართალთა შჯულ არა უც. არცა ზეშთა ქმნულთა მათ. ჯორცთა ამათ სიმდაბლისათა<sup>319</sup> და განსრულთა ბუნებისა-გან: და კეთილისა შეცვალებისა მიერ შეცვალებულთა: კეთილად თანამოწამე მექმნებოდედ მე საღმრთოდთა სურვილითა აღტყინებულნი. და ვიდრე სიკუდიდმდე მჯუენებელნი შურისანი. რომელთა მიერ იგი იტყოდეს და იქმოდეს: ვიტყოდე. იტყვს მამად ღმრთისად დავით. წინაშე მეფეთასა. და არა მრცხუენოდა: ამხილა ოდესმე მეფესა უშჯულოქმნილსა. თეზბიტელმან ელია.<sup>320</sup> და მდდელთა სირცხვისათა<sup>321</sup> ამხილაცა. და მოაკუდინნაცა. და მომპოვნებლობისა-თვს შურისა [388b<sup>1</sup>] ცეცხლმბერველისა. ეტლებითა და ცხენებითა ცეცხლისადათა<sup>322</sup> სასურველისა მიმართ წარიყვანა. რადთა გარეგან ყოვლისა ნივთისა ქმნული. მხოლოდ ზრახვიდეს უნივთოსა: და ცეცხლითა აღტაცებამან მისმან ცხად ყო. ვითარმედ შურისა მოღუაწე იყო: ამხილა დანიელ უძღდელოთა მათ მდდელთა. ესე იგი არიან მოხუცებულნი. სოსანაას ძლით დარწყუმულისა მის-თვს მახისა.<sup>323</sup> და სივერაგეთა კადრებისა. რაჟამს უსამართლო სიკუდილი განაჩინეს უბრალოსა-თვს. რომელნი ბევრეულის სიკუდილის თანამდებ იყვნეს. უშჯულოებისა-თვს მათისა. და სიკუდიდ დასაჯნა შჯულისა.<sup>324</sup> წინააღმდგომ<sup>325</sup> ყოვისა-თვს: ამხილა<sup>326</sup> იოანეცა წინააღმარმეტყუელმან და წინამორბედმან. აღზრდილმან არა უდარეს ღმრთის-მსახურებისამან. რაოდენ უდაზნოდსამან. მაუწყებლობითმან ჳმამან სიტყვსამან. ცისკარმან: მთიებმან. ვარსკულავმან: წინამომთხრობელმან მზისამან. წინააღმარმეტყუელთა ბეჭედმან: წინააღმარმეტყუელთა უზესთაესმან: რომელი წინარბიოდა [388b<sup>2</sup>] პირველყოფილისა-თვს. კაცმან უჯორცომან. და ანგელოზმან ჳორცითა. ამხილა<sup>327</sup> უშჯულოებისა-თვს ჳეროდესა. სულითა და ძალითა ელიადასითა მოსრულმან: მოშურნემან და შურის-მეძიებელმან შჯულისამან. რომელმან შჯულკეთილობისა-თვს სიკუდილი მიიღო. და სული დადვა.<sup>328</sup> უპატოსნეს მისსა. შერაცხვითა შჯულისადათა: უფროსდა შიშითა და სიყუარულითა შჯულის-

317. მეცნიერებისადათა. 318. თა შეცნიერებითადა. 319. სიმდაბლისადათა. 320. ელიადა. 321. სირცხვილისადათა. 322. ცეცხლისადათა. 323. მახისადა. 324. შჯულისადა. 325. წინააღმდგომ. 326. ამხილადა. 327. ამხილადა. 328. დადვადა.

of false knowledge. And let no one blame this martyr for his boldness and courage. For although the law of martyrdom has said that one should flee from the contest when not called and also not hand oneself over to martyrdom, by avoiding the persecutors and recognizing the weakness of nature, nevertheless “the law is not laid down for the just,”<sup>113</sup> nor for those who have risen above<sup>114</sup> their humble flesh and have surpassed nature and have been transformed by the good transformation. Let them be good co-witnesses for me, these who were inflamed with godly desire and showed zeal even unto death, by what they said and did. “I spoke,” said David, the father of God, “before kings, and I was not ashamed.”<sup>115</sup> Elijah the Tishbite once denounced the wicked king, and he also denounced the priests of disgrace and had them killed.<sup>116</sup> And because he possessed fire-breathing zeal,<sup>117</sup> he was taken forth to the beloved by a chariot and horses of fire,<sup>118</sup> so that, having removed himself from all material things, he thought only of the immaterial. And his being caught up [into heaven] was made manifest by fire because he was a champion of zeal. Daniel denounced the unpriestly priests—these are the elders—on account of the trap that they set for Susanna and the insolence of their treachery when they unjustly sentenced her to death because of her innocence; these who were guilty of thousands of deaths because of their lawlessness, and he sentenced them to death because of their opposition to the law.<sup>119</sup> Likewise the prophet and forerunner John was a denouncer, he who had been brought up with no small amount of faithfulness—how much more as the voice proclaiming the word in the desert, the dawn, the morning star, the star heralding the sun, the seal of the prophets, the most exalted of the prophets, who ran ahead on account of the one who is from before, a man without flesh and an angel in the flesh! He denounced Herod for his lawlessness, he who came with the spirit and strength of Elijah, who was zealous and an avenger for the law, who received death and laid down his spirit for the sake of the correct observance of the law. This was more honorable to him because of his respect for the law and even more because

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113. 1 Tim 1:9.

114. Or possibly “raised up”?

115. Ps 118:46 (119:46).

116. Cf. 3 Kgdms 18.

117. Or again, “jealousy” or “vengeance,” as above, *შეჟრო*.

118. Cf. 4 Kgdms 2:8–11.

119. Cf. Sus.

მომცემელისადათა: რად-მე უკუე მოციქულნი. ანუ არა მეფეთა და მთავართა. და ყოველთა წარმართთა წინაგანწყუნესა: რად-მე სტეფანე. სახელმოდგამობით გზრგზნმან მოწამეთამან. არა ამხილაა ღმრთის-მკლველთა ჰურიათა მთავრებსა. თქუენ. ჰრქუა. მარადის სულსა წმიდასა აღუდგებით: და თეოდორე დიდებულმან მოწამემან. ანუ არა ტამარი დედისა ცუდსახელთა ღმერთთაჲსა დაწუა: ხოლო რასა<sup>329</sup> იგი დიდი ბასილი საკრველისა მოწამისა გორდისა-თვს წარმოიტყვს თვთ მითვე სიტყუებითა გიქადაგო: მაშინ მწნემან მან და დიდმან სულითა. დიდმან ცნობითა. ზენადთ მთით თეატროდ [389a<sup>1</sup>] მთამოსლვისა-თვს არა შეიშინა ერისა-გან. არად შეჰრაცხა რაოდენთა კელთა მბრძოლთა მისცემდა თავსა თვსსა: არამედ შეუძრწუნებელითა გულითა და უშიშითა ცნობითა ვითარცა ქვათა მრავალთა ანუ ხეთა ჯშირთა. მოუკდა მსხდომარეთა სტადიონისათა: და შორის მათსა დადგომითა ცხადყო სიტყუად იგი: მართალი ვითარცა ლომი ესავნო: ესრეთ შეუძრწუნებელ იყო სულითა. ვიდრელა საჩინო რად თეატროსაჲ იქმნა<sup>330</sup> უტყვევლითა კადნიერებითა. ჯმა ყო<sup>331</sup> სიტყუად იგი. რომლისა მაშინ მსმენელთაგანნი ვიეთნიმე ჯერეთ აწცა არიან: ვეპოვე ჩემთა არა მეძიებელთა: განვეცხადე ჩემთა არა მკითხველთა: ამათ მიერ ცხად ყო ვითარმედ არა იძულებით მოყვანებულ იყო ჭირთა მიმართ: არამედ ნეფსით ღუაწლთა განსცა თავი თვსი. ემსგავსა მეუფესა. რომელმან სიბნელესა ღამისასა უცნაური ჰურიათა გამოუცხადა თავი თვსი: ამხილა ამანცა მართალმან არა მეფესა უშჯულოსა. არცა მღდელთა მცოდველთა. არცა ჰეროდეს ოთხმთავარსა. [389a<sup>2</sup>] მემრუშისა თანა მწუბებელსა. არამედ ნათესავსა სრულსა უვარის-მყოფელთა მისა ღმრთეებისათა. რომელთა<sup>332</sup> მე მეუფისაჲ. მე ღმრთისაჲ განჯადეს ღმრთეებისა-გან. და თვთ ბუნებით მეუფე თანამონა ყვეს: რამეთუ ჰირითა მგმობრად-მზრახვალთა ჰგმობდეს მას. რომელი იგი მამისა თანა მეუფებს ყოველთა: ამისთვს მისცნა ჯორცნი ტანჯვად და სული სიკუდიდ. და ჯიდ ყო სიკუდილი ცხორებისა მიმართ საუკუნოსა: მიიწია სასურველისა და უნივთოდ ეზრახა მას. განიშუა ხედვითა მისითა. მიიღო კადნიერებაჲ. და სოფლის მეოხად დადგინებულ იქმნა.<sup>333</sup> და მტკიცე მცველ მამულისა. დიდება ეკლესიისა. სიმტკიცე მეფობისა. სიხარულ ერთა: მოვედით უკუე ღმრთისა სამღდელონო სამწყსონო. მოწამებრ სამღდელთა ქებითა მოწამე გზრგზნოსან ვყოთ. მოთმინებისა-თვს დაგვკვრდეს. სარწმუნოებასა ვებამვენთ. წადიერებასა ვემსგავსენთ:

329. რაჲსა. 330. იქმნაჲ. 331. ჯმაჲ ყო. 332. ღმრთეებისათა. რთ. 333. იქმნაჲ.

of his fear and love of the lawgiver. What about the apostles then? Did they not oppose kings and princes and all the pagans? What about Stephen, the crown of the martyrs by namesake? Did he not denounce leaders of the God-murdering Jews? “Do you rise up,” he said, “against the Holy Spirit?”<sup>120</sup> And Theodore the glorious martyr,<sup>121</sup> did he not burn the temple of the mother of the false gods? And what the great Basil says about the wondrous martyr Gordius, I would proclaim to you with the very same words: “Then this courageous one, great in soul and great in knowledge, was not afraid of the people as he came down to the theater from up on the mountain. He thought it nothing to hand himself over to so many hostile hands, but with a fearless heart and an intrepid mind, he met those seated in the stadium as if they were many rocks or thick trees, and standing in their midst, he confirmed the saying, ‘the righteous is confident like a lion.’<sup>122</sup> Thus he was fearless in spirit, so that as he became visible in the theater, with unshakable courage he cried out these words, and some of those who heard them then are still around now, ‘I have been found by those not seeking me; I have become visible to those not asking for me.’<sup>123</sup> With these words he made it clear that he was not led to the afflictions through compulsion, but that he handed himself over willingly to the struggles. He imitated the Lord, who, unknown to the Jews in the darkness of night, revealed himself to them.”<sup>124</sup> The righteous one did not denounce a wicked king or sinful priests or Herod the tetrarch, who was defiled with adultery, but a whole nation that was denying the divinity of the Son, who separated the son of the King, the Son of God, from divinity and made a fellow servant of the one who is King by his very nature. For with blasphemously reproachful mouths they blasphemed against him, the one who together with the Father reigns over all. That is why he handed over his flesh to torment and his spirit to death and made death a bridge to eternal life. He went to the beloved one and conversed with him immaterially, and he rejoiced at seeing him. He acquired boldness and became positioned to intercede for the world, a mighty protector of the fatherland, the glory of the church, the strength of the dominion, the joy of the people. Therefore, come, O spiritual flocks of God; let us crown the

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120. Cf. Acts 7:51.

121. I.e., St. Theodore of Amasea (Theodore Tyron).

122. Prov 28:1.

123. Isa 65:1; cf. Rom 10:20.

124. Cf. John 18:2–8. The quotation is from Basil of Caesarea, *Panegyric on the Martyr Gordius* 3 (PG 31:497a–b; cf. trans. of the Greek by Pauline Allen in Leemans, ed., “*Let Us Die That We May Live*,” 62).

გვრგვინოსან მყოფელსა ღუაწლთაჲსა და მომცემელსა ღუაწლის  
შემდგომთაჲსა. ვიდიდებდეთ ქრისტესა ღმერთსა ჩუენსა. რომელ იგი  
არს [389b<sup>1</sup>] ღუაწლთ-სანაცვლო მოწამეთაჲ. და შუეზაჲ საუკუნოჲ:  
რომელსა შუენის ყოველივე დიდებაჲ პატივი და თაყუანის-ცემაჲ:  
თანადაუსაბამოთ მამით და ყოვლად-წმიდით სახიერით და ცხოველს-  
მყოფელით სულით-ურთ. აწ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე ამენ:

martyr with spiritual praises as a martyr; let us wonder at his patience; let us imitate his faith; let us emulate his yearning. Let us glorify the crowning of his struggles and the recompense for his toil, Christ our God, who is the reward for the struggles and the eternal delight of martyrs, to whom is due all glory, honor, and worship, together with the beginningless Father and the all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.



*Passion of the Twenty Martyrs  
of Mar Saba (d. 797)*

ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΝΑΦΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ, ΗΓΟΥΝ ΣΑΡΑΚΗΝΩΝ, ΕΝ  
ΤΗ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ ΛΑΥΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΣΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΣΑΒΑ.

1. Ἄξιόν ἐστι τοὺς μηδέπω τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἰλύος ἑαυτοὺς προκαθάραντας, ἀλλ' ἔτι τοῖς πάθεσι τὸν νοῦν κεκρατημένους, σιγὴν ἀδιαλείπτως ἄσκεῖν καὶ κρυφίοις στεναγμοῖς τὸν ἐμβατεῦοντα καρδίας καὶ νεφροῦς Χριστὸν ἱκετεύειν τῆς συνεχοῦσης δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν χαρίσασθαι καὶ μὴ ἐπιδιδόναί προπετῶς ἑαυτοὺς λόγων συγγραφαῖς εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἱερᾶς ὁμηγύρεως ὀφειλούσαις ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, δεδουκώτας μάλιστα τὴν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους θείαν ἐπιτίμησιν φάσκουσαν· τῷ δὲ ἁμαρτωλῷ εἶπεν ὁ θεός, ἴνα τί σὺ ἐκδιηγεῖ τὰ δικαιώματά μου; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις τύχοι τις ὧν ἁμαθία συντετραμμένος καὶ τῆς ἐν λόγοις παιδείσεως ἄμοιρος, πόσον οὐκ ὀφλήσει τὸν γέλωτα τῆς θρασύτητος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ἀνοίας, κατ' ἄμφω συγγνώμης ἀπάσης ὑπάρχων ἐστερημένος; Ἀλλὰ τί δράσω τούτων μὲν ἀπάντων χρηματίζων ἀνάπλεως καὶ ἐν ἀδύτοις σιωπῆς κρύπτειν καὶ καθεύρειν ἑμαυτὸν προθυμούμενος, ἱεροῦ δὲ ποιμένος ἐπιτάγματι κελευόμενος καὶ τούτῳ οἷα μάλιστα πνευματικῆ τὴν καρδίαν βαλλόμενος καὶ τῆς παρακοῆς τὸν κίνδυνον χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσφόρητον ὄντα φοβούμενος; Ἄμεινον οὖν καὶ λυσιτελέστερον τὸ χρῆμα τῆς εὐπειθείας ἡγούμενος, ἑμαυτὸν τῇ πατρικῇ κελεύσει ἐκδίδωμι, ταῖς τούτου προσευχαῖς θαρρῶν τε καὶ δυνατούμενος καὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν τοῦ πνεύματος χάριν ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος ἐπισπώμενος. Ὑπόμνημα καὶ διήγημα σύντομον ὁ πανάριστος οὐτοσί ποιμὴν ἐκθέσθαι Βασίλειος τῇ ἐμῇ βραχυλογίᾳ προσέταξε τῆς τῶν ἀλιτηρίων βαρβάρων εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἦτοι τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα λαύραν ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν αὐτόθι μακαρίων καὶ ἀειμνήστων πατέρων γενομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναιρέσεως ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, ἧς αὐτόπτης καὶ

An account of the martyrdom of the holy fathers who were slaughtered by the barbarians (that is, the Saracens) in the Great Lavra of our holy father Sabas.

1. It is right that those who have not yet purified themselves from the filth of sins but still have their mind ruled by passions should unceasingly observe silence, and with hidden groanings supplicate Christ to enter into their hearts and minds<sup>1</sup> and grant them freedom from oppressive servitude. And they should not hastily give themselves over to writing accounts that are to be read aloud in church and the sacred assembly, fearing especially the divine rebuke of the prophet against such people, which says, “But to the sinner God said, ‘Why do you recite my statutes,’”<sup>2</sup> and what follows. But if someone nurtured in ignorance and lacking in eloquence should turn to these things, how much will he deserve laughter at the audacity and folly, being deprived of any pardon on both counts. But what shall I do, since I recognize that I am quite full of all these things and am eager to hide and close myself up in the inner recesses of silence, but I have been ordered by the command of the holy shepherd, and I have been struck by this in my heart like a spiritual whip, and I fear the danger of disobedience as something difficult and hard to bear? Therefore regarding the need for obedience as better and more profitable, I submitted myself to the paternal directive, having confidence and being strengthened through his prayers and drawing grace from the Spirit above in opening my mouth.<sup>3</sup> This most excellent shepherd Basil ordered that I produce, in my brevity of speech, a memorial and brief account of the attack of the wicked barbarians against our lavra of our holy father Sabas and of the blessed and eternally remembered fathers there who were slain by them in our time, of which I was an

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1. Literally “reins, kidneys.”

2. Ps 49:16 (50:16).

3. Cf. Eph 6:19.

θεατῆς γέγονα, εἷς ὧν τῶν τὴν εὐαγγῆ ταύτην λαύραν, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, οἰκούντων καὶ ἐν τῇ τούτων ὀλεθρία ἐφόδῳ καὶ προσβολῇ εὐρεθέντων τῶν τηλικαῦτα, ἵνα μὴ τηλικαύτη ἀρετὴ καὶ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀνδρία καὶ γενναιοτής τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀθλητῶν ἀμαυρωθεῖ τῶ χρόνῳ παραρρυσία καὶ σιωπῇ καλυφθεῖσα καὶ λήθης ἀκλεοῦς βυθοῖς παραπεμφθεῖσα, δυναμένη πολλοὺς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἀλείψαι καὶ εἰς προθυμίαν ὑπομονῆς διεγεῖραι καὶ μίμησιν.

2. Ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ μὲν κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχιλιοστῶ διακοσιοστῶ ὀγδοηκοστῶ ὀγδόῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ψηφοφορίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑπτακοσιοστοῦ ὀγδοηκοστοῦ ὀγδόου, ἰνδικτιῶνος πέμπτῃς, ἱεραρχούντος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐπαρχίας τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἡλίου τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἡγουμενεύοντος δὲ τῆς μεγίστης λαύρας τοῦ ὀσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τοῦ αἰοδίου τε καὶ θεόφρονος, κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας ἐνεργοῦντος μισανθρώπου, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωποκτόνου ἀρχεκάκου τε καὶ χαιρεκάκου δαίμονος, συνεκροτήθη ἐν τῇ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν χώρα μέγας ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος, τῶν Σαρακηνικῶν φυλῶν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν εὐτελεῖς τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐσχηκῶς τῆς ἔριδος δὲ καὶ παμπονήρου φιλονεικίας πρὸς βραχὺ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς δουλοπαθεσί καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὑποσπόνδοις καὶ ὑποχειρίοις αὐξανομένης καὶ ὀπλιζομένης καὶ οἶκον οἶκῳ συναπτούσης καὶ συγγενεῖα συγγενεῖαν προστιθείσης καὶ πατριᾶ πατριᾶν ἐπαθροίζουσης καὶ συγκινοῦσης τοὺς αἰεὶ εἰς στάσιν ἐτοίμους καὶ φόνον πνέοντας, εἰς τὰς γενικωτάτας παρ' αὐτοῖς φυλὰς τὴν διχοστασίαν τε καὶ διχόνοιαν ἐκορύφωσεν, λέγω δὴ τοὺς τῆς Ἄγαρ καὶ Ἰσμαὴλ ἀπογόνους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἰεκτὰν τὸ γένος κατάγοντας.

3. Διχῆ τοίνυν στρατόπεδα συστησάμενοι, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῦ τῆς κακίας εὐρετοῦ ὁμοίως στρατοπεδαρχούντος καὶ καθηγεμονεύοντος, ὀπόσας μὲν ἀταξίας καὶ ἀθεμιστίας ἐποίησαν, ὀπόσας δὲ πραιίδας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀρπαγὰς εἰργάσαντο, πόσας δὲ αἱματεκχυσίας καὶ ἀνδροκτασίας ἀδίκους ἔδρασσαν, πόσα τε χωρία, τοὺς οἰκήτορας λεηλατήσαντες καὶ φυγαδεύσαντες καὶ τὰ ἐόντα πραιιδεύσαντες ἢ καὶ εὐρεθέντας φονεύσαντες, πυρὶ παραδόντες ἐρείπια καταλελοίπασιν, οὔτε τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως οὔτε τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν χερσίν ὑποθέσεως κατὰ μέρος διηγῆσασθαι. Διαφόρους γὰρ πολυανθρώπους πόλεις ἐρήμωσαν· καὶ γὰρ Ἐλευθερόπολιν παντελῶς

eyewitness and an observer—being, albeit unworthily, one of those dwelling in the undefiled lavra and found there at the time of their destructive attack and assault—in order that such great virtue and courage for Christ and the nobility of such men, champions for the truth, would not fade, being slipped past by time and covered in silence and passed over in the depths of inglorious forgetfulness and accordingly will be able to encourage many to virtue and to inspire readiness for endurance and imitation.

2. In the year 6288 since the creation of the world, according to the most accurate ecclesiastical calculation, 788 since the incarnation of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, in the fifth indiction, when the most blessed patriarch Elias was directing the church and eparchy of Jerusalem, when our holy father, the lauded and godly minded Basil, was the hegumen of the Great Lavra—in accordance with the workings of the misanthrope or, better yet, the original murderer, the source of evil, and the demon who rejoices at others' misfortune, who was working in the sons of disobedience<sup>4</sup>—a great civil war arose in the land of the Palestinians among the Saracen tribes, which from the start had very trivial causes. But with strife and depraved contentiousness increasing little by little among them and preparing them for war as if they were enslaved by passion and bound by a treaty to sin and under its command, setting house against house, opposing family against family, assembling clan against clan, and stirring up these people who are always ready for sedition and breathing murder, it brought to a head the dissension and discord between the most closely related tribes among them, I say more precisely those descended from Hagar and Ishmael and those who trace their line of descent from Joktan of old.<sup>5</sup>

3. Therefore they gathered together their armies in two parts, with the inventor of evil commanding and leading both equally. And just how much disorder and lawlessness they brought about; how much plunder and robbery of goods they accomplished; how much unjust bloodshed and slaughter they effected; how many places they left behind in ruins, committing them to fire after ravaging and driving out the inhabitants and plundering what was there and even murdering those who were found, is neither in my ability nor is it the right time or the task at hand to describe in detail. They laid waste to numerous sizable cities, for they

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4. Cf. Eph 2:2.

5. Cf. Gen 10:25–29.

ἀοίκητον ἔθηκαν, πᾶσαν ἐκπορθήσαντες· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Γάζαν καὶ Σαριφαίαν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις δεινῶς ἐληΐσαντο. Κατὰ δὲ τὰς λεωφόρους λησταρχίας καὶ συστροφᾶς ἐφεδρεύειν κατατάξαντες, τοὺς παροδεύοντας γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀνείμονας, πάντα ἀφηρημένους, πληγὰς δὲ καὶ τραύματα φοροῦντας ἀπέλυον, χάριν ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι τοῦ θανάτου τὴν πείραν διέφυγον. Ἀφορμῆς δὲ λαβόμενοι οἱ τῆς πονηρίας ἀνάμεστοι, οὐκ ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἡμύνοντο καὶ ποινὰς εἰσεπράττοντο καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐξεδίκουν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀδικίας ἢ ἐπηρείας, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος λοιπὸν τοῦ ἀρπάξειν τι τῶν αὐτῶ μὴ προσηκόντων ἐφρόντιζε καὶ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων χρημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων πλοῦτον ἑαυτῶ ἀθροίζειν καὶ περιποιεῖσθαι ἔσπευδε καὶ ἠπειγέτο· εἰ δὲ πού τις αὐτῶν ἔτυχε μῆνιν πρὸς τινα καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χριστιανῶν κεκτημένος, ὡς εὐκαιρίας δραξάμενος εὐθὺς αὐτὸν τῆς ζωῆς βιαίως ἀπαλλάττειν καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ σφετερίζεσθαι ἠγωνίζετο.

4. Ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἀκαταστασίας κρατούσης καὶ δίκην φλογὸς ἀφανιστικῆς πάντα κατανεμομένης, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἀγροῖς καὶ κώμαις οἰκούντων πάντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀφέντες καὶ δεύτερα τῆς ἰδίας θέμενοι σωτηρίας εἰς τὰς πολυάνδρους ὡς εἰς φυγαδευτηρίου κατέφυγον πόλεις· λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄσπεων οἰκήτορες, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως, τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ἀμελήσαντες ἔργων καὶ ἐγχειρήσεων, τάφρους περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠρυττον καὶ τείχη ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἐπειρῶντο καὶ πύλας ἐφήρμοζον, νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φύλακας καὶ σκοποὺς ἔθεντο, τὰς ἀθρόους καὶ ἀπρόοπτους ἐφόδους τῶν ληστικῶν ὑφορώμενοι συναγμάτων, φόβῳ πολλῷ συνεχόμενοι καὶ πόρθησιν δεινὴν ἐκδεχόμενοι· οὐχ ὑπολέλειπτο γὰρ τοῖς ἐρημικοῖς ἀνθραξι καὶ ἀνημέροις καὶ ὀρεσιτρόφοις θηρίοις ἐκείνοις, φημί δὴ τοῖς [τῆς] τοῦ Ἰεκτὰν φυλῆς, εἰς πᾶσαν τῆς Ὀρεινῆς τὴν περίχωρον χωρίον οὐδὲ τόπος ἀνεπίβατος. Ἦδη δὲ ἠπειλοῦν καὶ τῆς ἀγίας ἐπιβαίνειν πόλεως καὶ ταύτην ληΐσασθαι καὶ τοῦ οἰκείου φοσσάτου ὀχύρωμα καταστήσασθαι· ὁ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐπειράθησαν, πανδημεὶ ταύτης καταστρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν καθορμήσαντες, καὶ δὴ ἂν τὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐξετέλεσαν, εἰ μὴ θεία τις δύναμις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως φύλαξι, καίπερ ὀλιγοστοῖς οὖσιν, εἰς

left Eleutheropolis entirely uninhabited, sacking it completely, and Ashkelon, Gaza, Sariphaea, and other cities were horribly plundered. Arranging for brigands and mobs to lie in wait on the thoroughfares, they took away everything from those passing along and released them naked and unclad, bearing wounds and blows<sup>6</sup> and giving thanks that they had escaped the attempt to kill them. Seizing the opportunity, these men full of wickedness were no longer contending against one another and seeking vengeance and avenging one another for offenses and insults against their kinfolks, but then each one was thinking about taking things that did not belong to him and hastening and striving to gather and acquire for himself a wealth of goods and property that belonged to others. Yet if it happened that one of them perhaps possessed a grudge against someone, especially one of the Christians, he seized the opportunity and was immediately striving to remove him from this life violently and appropriate his belongings.

4. With such disorder holding sway and ravaging everything like a destructive flame, many of those dwelling in the country and in the villages abandoned their things, regarding them as secondary to their own safety, and they fled for refuge to the large cities. But then the inhabitants of the cities also, and especially those of the Holy City of Christ our God, since they had each neglected their own matters and affairs, dug trenches around the city and attempted to build up the walls and prepared the gates and placed guards and watchmen both night and day in anticipation of sudden and unexpected attacks by the rapacious hordes, for they were seized with great fear and expecting a horrible sack. For in all the environs of the [Temple] Mount, neither the precincts nor the inaccessible place<sup>7</sup> was abandoned to these desert coals<sup>8</sup> and savage and mountain-bred beasts—these, I say, of the tribe of Joktan. But suddenly they were threatening to come upon the Holy City and to plunder it and make a stronghold of its fortifications, which they attempted to do, attacking the city en masse and going forth with one accord. And truly they would have realized their intentions, except that some divine power that was allied with the guards of the city as

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6. Or possibly “Arranging brigands and mobs to lie in wait on the thoroughfares, taking away everything from those passing along unarmed and defenseless, they released them bearing wounds and blows . . .”

7. I.e., the holy of holies.

8. Cf. Ps 119:4 (120:4).

ἀντιπαράταξιν αὐτῶν προαπαντήσασι συμμαχήσασα τοὺς μιαροὺς παραδόξως ἤττησε καὶ κατησχυμένους ἀπέστρεψεν καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος παρέσφηλε, τῶν σεβασμιῶν τόπων καὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ Ἀναστάσεως μάλιστα φροντίσασα καὶ τῶν αὐτόθι οἰκούντων πιστῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀσκητηρίων προνοησαμένη.

5. Μετέπειτα δὲ εἰς τὰ περὶ τὴν λαύραν τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χαρίτωνος μέρη ἐπισυναχθέντες καὶ δίκην ἀκρίδος καὶ θεηλάτου ὀργῆς πάσας τὰς κύκλῳ κώμας καταναλώσαντες (τί γὰρ ἤρκει τῇ παμφάγῳ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ, καὶ χιλιάδων ὄντων τῷ πλήθει;), ὕστερον καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπραιδευσαν τὴν εὐαγῆ λαύραν, τὴν παλαιὰν φημι, μηδὲν τοῖς ἐκείσε πατράσι καταλιπόντες τὸ σύνολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνδεινα κακὰ εἰς αὐτοὺς διαπραξάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν πολυειδέσι περιβαλόντες βασάνοις· ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γὰρ ἱκανὰς ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ λυμεῶνες διέτριψαν. Ἐπίλουν δὲ μετ' ὀργῆς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ὡς ἄγριοι σῦες ἠκόνων καὶ ὡς λέοντες ἔβρυχον κατὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας λαύρας, καὶ αὐτὴν καταπιεῖν ὀρεγόμενοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς περιχώρῳ ἀπόρθητον αὐτοῖς μεμένηκεν, ἢ αὕτη μόνη ἡ λαύρα τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα ὡς ῥὰξ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι μετὰ τρυγητόν, ἦν Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς, τὴν κραταιὰν ὑπερεκτείνας παλάμην, παραδόξως ἐφύλαττεν εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς παντοδυναμίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνικῆτου δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιμελοῦς προνοίας καὶ ἀγαπήσεως. Τίς γάρ, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σκέπην καὶ προμήθειαν, ὄρων τῶν θεοστυγῶν ἐκείνων τὸ ὀλέθριον ἄθροισμα μὴ μακρὰν ἡμῶν διακείμενον, ὄρμων τε καὶ ἀπειλοῦν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπώλειαν, ἀοράτῳ δὲ τινι καὶ θείᾳ ἰσχύϊ ἀντωθούμενον καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπελεύσεως κωλυόμενον;

6. Καὶ τὸ παράδοξον, ὅτι τινὲς ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔκπαλαι γείτονες ταύτης ὄντες καὶ κατακυριεῦσαι αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ἔκπαλαι διψῶντες καὶ ἐπαπειλούμενοι καὶ τοιαύτην καιροφυλακοῦντες περίστασιν καὶ στάσιν καὶ φύρσιν ἐπιτηροῦντες καὶ ἐκδεχόμενοι, καθ' ἣν, ἀδείας καὶ ἀφοβίας παρὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας εἰ δράξοιντο, ἔρημον παντελῶς καὶ ἀοίκητον θεῖναι τὴν λαύραν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· οὗτοι τοίνυν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκείνῳ φοσσάτῳ ὄντες ἐπίσημοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες καθ' ἡμῶν αἰεὶ παροτρύνειν καὶ παροξύνειν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἐπαύοντο, ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισπεύ-

they went forth to oppose them—even though they were few in number—miraculously defeated these impure men and turned back these shameful ones and dashed their hopes, protecting the revered places and especially the Anastasis of Christ and keeping safe the monasteries and the faithful men and women living there.

5. Thereafter, however, when they gathered together in the area around the Old Lavra of our holy father Chariton and devoured all of the villages surrounding it like locusts sent by divine wrath (for what would satisfy their insatiable intent, numbering as they did in the thousands?), then they also plundered the undefiled lavra, that is, the Old Lavra, leaving behind nothing at all for the fathers there, but doing horribly bad things to them and subjecting all of them to various kinds of torture, for the destroyers spent a significant number of days in it. And they were threatening with rage and sharpening their teeth like wild boars and roaring like lions at our lavra, grasping out to swallow it. For nothing in all our surroundings remained unravaged by them, except only the lavra of our holy father Sabas, as a grape in the vineyard after the harvest, which Christ God, stretching forth a strong hand, miraculously protected as a demonstration of his almighty and unvanquished power and his careful forethought and affection for it. For who, brothers, was not amazed and astonished at God's protection and forethought, beholding the destructive gathering of these God-hated men assembled not far from us, intending and threatening our destruction, repulsed and prevented from reaching us by some invisible and divine power?

6. And this miracle took place because some enemies of Christ and the church, who had long been neighbors of the monastery and had long thirsted to gain dominion over it and its property, were making threats and lying in wait for such a circumstance and watching and waiting for an insurrection and such confusion, in which, if they could obtain indemnity and fearlessness from authority, they would order that the lavra should be rendered utterly desolate and uninhabited. Now then, since there were distinguished and prominent men in this large company,<sup>9</sup> they did not cease from constantly inciting and provoking

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9. It is not entirely clear how this sentence should be translated, and the problems revolve around the meaning of ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκείνῳ φουσάτῳ here. In §4 above the same word was used with the meaning “fortification,” and so it could be that here φούσατον (φουσατον) refers to some sort of fortified structure, possibly the monastery of Sabas, and so the distinguished and prominent men would perhaps be the monks. In light of the immediate context, however, it makes more

δοντες. Καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς κακῆς καταθυμίας ἐξέβαινε προαιρέσεως, τοῦ θεοῦ ταῖς τοῦ παμμάκαρος ἡμῶν πατρὸς καὶ γνησίου αὐτοῦ θεράποντος Σάβα εὐχαῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ ποιμνὴν τειχίζοντος καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων βουλήν, ὡς πάλαι Ἀχιτόφελ, διασκεδάζοντος καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν φυλακὴν θαυματουργοῦντος ὡς βούλεται. Ἀμέλει ἐν μιᾷ τὸ ἀντίθεον σύναγμα οἱ προρρηθέντες ἡμῶν δυσμενεῖς ἐπισυρόμενοι, ἐπὶ τὴν λαύραν ἡμῶν θυμὸν πνέοντες ἐχώρουν, ὡς ὕστερόν τινες αὐτῶν διηγῆσαντο, οὐχ ἀπλῶς πραιδεύειν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελεῖ ἐρημώσει ἐξαφανίσει προθυμούμενοι. Ἄλλ' ἢ θεία δίκη καὶ ἡμῶν ἡρεμούντων καὶ ἀγνοούντων αὐτοῖς προσαπήντησε, τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀντιπάλους κατ' αὐτῶν ἐκστρατεύσασα· αἰσθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ τὴν πόλιν τηρεῖν τεταγμένοι στρατιῶται τὴν τούτων κίνησίν τε καὶ ὄρησιν (καὶ γὰρ εἶχον κατασκόπους τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀκριβῶς μακρόθεν σκοποῦντας καὶ μηνύοντας), δόξαντες ὅτι τῇ πόλει ἐπελθεῖν ἐσκέψαντο, προαπήντησαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Βηθλεὲμ μέρεσι, καὶ συμβαλόντες πολέμῳ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνείλον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον φεύγοντας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ οὕτως ἢ ἀντίθεος αὐτῶν ἀνετράπη σκέψις καὶ βούλευσις.

7. Ἄλλοτε σμῆνος καὶ πλῆθος βαρβάρων παγκάκιστον ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν τῆς λαύρας ἐχθρῶν προβιβασθὲν συνεφώνησεν ὀρθρίσαι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν λαύραν ληΐσασθαι· ἀλλ' ὁ ταύτης ὑπέρμαχος κύριος τὴν αὐτῶν πονηρὰν συμφωνίαν διέλυσεν, ὡς πάλαι τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑβερ πυργοποιούντων τὴν σύμπνοιαν. Εὐρόντες γὰρ ἐν τινι κώμῃ κεράμους ἱκανοὺς οἴνου μεστοὺς ὑπὸ φρυγάνοις κεκρυμμένους, ἀπλήστως καὶ ἀμέτρως τοῦ ἀκράτου ἐμφορηθέντες, ἀλλήλους πολεμεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ἐτράπησαν, καὶ οὕτως αὐτῶν ἢ βουλή διεσκορπίσθη καὶ ἄθροισις.

the multitude against us, urging them to come against us. And yet their wicked plan did not turn out for them as they had intended, since God, through the prayers of our most blessed father and his genuine servant Sabas, built a wall around his flock and, as in the time of Ahitophel, “scattered abroad the counsel”<sup>10</sup> of his enemies and miraculously protected us, as he wished. Of course, one day when our previously mentioned enemies were dragging along the godless assembly, they came against our lavra breathing rage and wanting, as some of them later said, not simply to pillage it but to utterly destroy it in complete devastation. But while we were at rest and unaware, divine judgment went to meet them, leading forth their adversaries against them. For the soldiers that had been stationed to guard the city noticed their movement and scurrying about (for they had lookouts carefully observing and reporting on their affairs from afar), and thinking that they were intending to come upon the city, they went to meet them in the region of holy Bethlehem; and engaging them in battle, they killed many of them and slew those who fled into the desert. And thus was their godless plan and intent overthrown.

7. Another time, an utterly depraved swarm and mob of barbarians was incited by the devil and the enemies of the lavra and decided to rise up early against us and plunder the lavra. But its champion, the Lord, destroyed their wretched alliance, as long ago he destroyed the alliance of those building the tower in the time of Eber.<sup>11</sup> For when they found enough jars full of wine hidden by some twigs in a certain village and they insatiably and immoderately took their fill of it without water, they turned to fighting one another, on account of their drunkenness, and thus was their plan and their gathering subverted.

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sense to understand these distinguished and prominent men as being among the opponents of the monastery, that is, those who were inciting violence against the monastery. In this case one would need to understand *φόσσαντον* according to its frequent use for “army,” as it is rendered above. While the Latin translation seems to adopt the former interpretation, B. Latyšev opts instead for the latter, translating *φοσσάτω* as *скопищѣ*, “crowd, assemblage.” In §8 below, however, there is reference to the barbarians’ “great fortification” (*τὸ μέγα αὐτῶν φοσσᾶτον*). Perhaps then we are to understand that some of these influential and prominent enemies of the monastery were at their camp, encouraging attacks on the monastery. See Bolland et al., *Acta sanctorum*, March, 3:167; and Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Latyšev, *Συλλογὴ Παλαιστινιακῆς*, 6 (Russian).

10. 2 Kgdms 15:34; 17:14.

11. Cf. Gen 11:1–17.

8. Τούτων οὖν οὕτως τελουμένων (καὶ γὰρ διεκράτησεν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀδιαφορία καὶ ἀταξία ἐπὶ μῆνας ἱκανούς), φόβου καὶ ἀπογνώσεως ἐπικειμένης καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν τῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Πόλεως πανταχόθεν σχεδὸν μὴ διοδομένων, ἐν ποίῳ φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ καὶ θλίψει καὶ προσδοκίᾳ δεινῶν καὶ κινδύνων χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀφορήτων οἴεσθε ἡμᾶς τὸν τοσοῦτον καιρὸν, ἀγαπητοί, διάγειν, τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν μετὰ στενώσεως ἐκ τῆς Ἁγίας Πόλεως φερομένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πλειστάκις ἀρπαζομένων; Διήγομεν δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας τινὸς συνηγμένοι, συγκαίόμενοι τῷ καύσῳ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῷ παγετῷ τῆς νυκτός, τὴν αἰφνίδιον τῶν δυσσεβῶν ὄρμην καὶ ἔφοδον προσδεχόμενοι. φήμας συνεχεῖς περὶ ταύτης ἀκουτιζόμενοι (μῆκοθεν δὲ πού τις σκοπευτὰς ἐφύπερθεν ἐξοχῆς ὄρους καὶ περιωπῆς καταστήσαντες διὰ τίνος σημείου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων παρουσίαν εἰ θεαθεῖν καταμηνύει ἡμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν), καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ μυριάκις πρὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς φυσικοῦ θανάτου τῷ φόβῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν αἰκισμῶν ἐλπίδι προαποθνήσκοντες, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ δυσμένειαν τῶν προρρηθέντων δεινῶς ὑποπεύοντες. Ποσάκις πληθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας ἢ καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπὶ τὸ μέγα αὐτῶν φοσσᾶτον δι' ἡμῶν παρερχομένης (καὶ γὰρ διαφόρως τοῦτο πεπόνθαμεν, κατὰ συστροφᾶς συναγομένων αὐτῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς ἓνα χῶρον), εἶτα τῆς τούτων παρουσίας μηνυομένης ὑπὸ τῶν σκοπευτῆρων καὶ ὡς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς παραγενέσθαι ὑπονοουμένης, κρουσμάτων τε καὶ σημαντήρων τούτο ἕνεκα γινομένων, πρὸς τὸ συναχθῆναι πάντας τοὺς πατέρας ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κελίοις ὄντας διεσπαρμένους, ὡς θανάτου παρουσίας μηνυτικά τοῦ ξύλου τὰ κρούσματα ἠκροώμεθα· πολλῶ δὲ πλέον ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων θέα, καθωπλισμένων καὶ ἰπέων πολλάκις προβάδην προσιόντων καὶ ἐγγιζόντων, ἐθορύβει καὶ ἐξετάραττεν καὶ τῷ φόβῳ διέλυεν· ὅτινες βρωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων κορεννύμενοι καὶ ἐφοδιαζόμενοι φονικῶς καὶ ληστρικῶς περιέβλεπον, τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πονηρὰν διάθεσιν διὰ τοῦ βλέμματος ὑποφαίνοντες· τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα προσευχαῖς αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέποντος ἐπορεύοντο.

9. Ἐν τούτοις χρόνου πολλοῦ διππεύσαντος, ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ μὲν ἀμετρήτῳ οἱ πατέρες διήγον καὶ φόβῳ συνείχοντο· εὐχαῖς δὲ καὶ δεήσεσι νυκτός καὶ ἡμέρας τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας ἐδέοντο τὸ συμφέρον ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς καὶ εὐάρεστον αὐτῷ διαπράξασθαι. Οὐδεὶς μὲντοι γε παρ' αὐτῶν μετέστη τοῦ ἰδίου ἀσκητηρίου, οὐδὲ τὴν λαύραν κατέλιπεν, καίπερ ἀδείας οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρῆσαι καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τὰς πόλεις, εἴπερ ἐβούλοντο· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔξ

8. When these things thus came to an end (for such neglect and disorder persisted for a sufficient number of months), and fear and despair were prevailing and the roads from the Holy City in almost every direction were not being traveled, do you know, beloved, in what manner of fear and trembling and agony and affliction and expectation of difficult and unbearable horrors and dangers we endured for such a long time, with our necessities being brought from the Holy City with constraint and very often being seized along the way? But we endured many things, gathered together on a mountain ridge, being scorched by burning heat in the day and by frost at night, waiting for the sudden onslaught and attack of the impious ones. Because we were made to hear constant reports about it (and since some lookouts had been stationed at a distance upon a high mountain with a commanding view, we directed them to inform us of the barbarians' presence with a certain signal, if they should be spotted), we died daily and ten thousand times before the one natural death on account of fear and expectation of tortures, and especially having horrible suspicions of the hatred and enmity of those just mentioned. So many times their mob passed by us going from Arabia or from some other place to their great fortification (for we suffered this especially, as a result of their gathering together to assemble from all directions in one place), and then their presence was made known to us by the lookouts. And since it was assumed that they were coming against us and for us, on account of this there were loud knocks and gongs, in order to gather together all the fathers who were scattered in their cells—each time we heard the knocks on wood as signals of death's arrival. But much more the sight of the barbarians, who were fully armed and riding horses and frequently advancing steadily and approaching, caused disturbance and confusion and unleashed fear. These men who satiated and supplied themselves with our food were looking around murderously and rapaciously, showing glimpses of the wicked disposition against us that was present in them. But they were dispersed when God turned them away through the prayers of our holy father Sabas.

9. When much time had passed under these conditions, the fathers endured immense agony and were afflicted by fear. But with prayers and supplications they besought God's loving-kindness day and night to bring about what would be beneficial to their souls and pleasing to him. For to be sure, no one among them forsook his hermitage, nor did anyone abandon the lavra, although they were free to leave and find safety

ἀρχῆς τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπόντες ὅλους ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναθέμενοι αὐτῷ ἠκολούθησαν καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἄραντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ νεκρώσαντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἔρημον ὠδηγήθησαν, οὕτως καρτερεῖν καὶ παραμένειν καὶ φέρειν πάντα πειρασμὸν καὶ κίνδυνον ἐπερχόμενον αὐτοῖς διεγνώκεισαν, τοῦτο ἀλλήλοις παραινούντες καὶ ἀδελφικῶς ἐγκελεύομενοι, ὡς Εἰ μὲν θελήσοι ὁ Χριστός, ᾧ ἐνυμφεύθημεν καὶ δι' ὃν ταύτην οἰκοῦμεν τὴν ἔρημον, τὴν πατρίδα ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ καταλείψαντες, σῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνόμου καὶ βαρβαρικῆς, δύναται πάντα ῥαδίως δυνάμενος· εἰ δὲ κελεύει παραδοῦναι ἡμᾶς ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσὶν ἐναποθανεῖν, πάντως ὡς ἐπιστάμενος τοῦτο κρεῖττον ὃν καὶ ὑψηλότερον παραχωρήσειεν. Δεξώμεθα οὖν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς συμφέροντα, καὶ μὴ φόβῳ βαρβάρων ἀλιτηρίων ἐπὶ τοὺς κοσμικοὺς θορύβους παλινοστήσωμεν, δειλίας πάθος αἰσχιστον νοσεῖν πᾶσιν ὑπόνοιαν παρεχόμενοι· ἐκελεύσθημεν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτενόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν. Ὡς ὠραῖον μὲν ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ἀναχωροῦντας καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ ἀκολουθοῦντας εἰς τὰς ἐρήμους πορεύεσθαι, αἰσχρὸν δὲ καὶ δυσειδὲς καὶ ἐπονειδιστον τοὺς ἄπαξ ἀποξενωθέντας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ χρόνους οὐκ ὀλίγους ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἐναυλισθέντας ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον χωρεῖν καὶ παλινδρομῆσαι διὰ φόβον ἀνθρώπινον. Μὴ καταγέλαση ἡμῖν ὁ κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς παρὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδειματωθέντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις φεύγοντάς τε καὶ τρέχοντάς, ὁ πολλακίς παρ' ἡμῶν ἠττηθεὶς καὶ φυγαδευθεὶς καὶ ὡς κύων διωχθεὶς ἀναιδέστατος τῆ συμμαχία Χριστοῦ τοῦ παντάνакτος. Οὐκ ἔχομεν πόλεις τειχήρεις καὶ πευργωμένας, αἷς φρουρηθείημεν· ἀλλ' ἔχομεν ἀκατάλυτον τείχος τὸν Χριστόν, ᾧ συνεχῶς μελωδεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ μεμαθήκαμεν: Γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ εἰς οἶκον καταφυγῆς καὶ τόπον ὄχυρὸν τοῦ σῶσαί με. Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἀλυσιδωτὸν θώρακα καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ βυρσίνην ἀσπίδα, οἷς τὰ βέλη τῶν ὑπεναντίων διακρουσόμεθα· ἀλλ' ἔχομεν τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀγάπης καὶ ἐλπίδος θώρακα καὶ θυρεὸν πίστεως καὶ σωτήριον περικεφαλαίαν, οἷς περιφραχθείημεν. Οὐκ ἔχομεν φάλαγγα στρατιωτικὴν ἡμῶν προπολεμήσαι, ἀλλὰ παρεμβαλεῖ ἄγγελος κυρίου κύκλῳ τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν καὶ ῥύσεται

in the cities, if they wished. But since they had from the beginning abandoned the world and the things in it, devoting themselves entirely to Christ, they followed him, and taking up the cross<sup>12</sup> and having made themselves dead to the world, they were led by him into this desert; thus they had resolved to be steadfast and to remain and to endure every trial and danger that came upon them, exhorting one another and offering brotherly encouragement. “If Christ, to whom we have been wed and because of whom we dwell in this desert, should wish to save us from a lawless and barbarian hand, he is able to prevail over all things with ease. But if he orders that we hand ourselves over to die at their hands, he would allow this, knowing that it is entirely better and more exalted. Therefore let us receive what is conferred by God, and let us not for fear of the sinful barbarians return to the clamor of the world, inviting suspicion from all that we suffer the most shameful affliction of cowardice. For we have been ordered by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ not to fear ‘those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul.’<sup>13</sup> As it is wonderful to see those withdrawing from the world and following Christ go into the desert, so it is shameful and hideous and disgraceful to see those who have estranged themselves from the world and dwelled in the desert not for very long return and run back again to the world on account of mortal fear. Let the common enemy not mock us, seeing us terrified by his soldiers and fleeing and running to the cities, this most shameless one who has regularly been defeated and banished and chased away like a dog by us in alliance with Christ, the Lord of all. We do not have walled and fortified cities in which we would be keeping watch, but we have Christ, the impenetrable wall, to whom we have learned to sing from David: ‘Become to me a protector-god and a house of my refuge, to save me.’<sup>14</sup> We do not have a chain breastplate and a helmet and a leather shield with which to ward off the weapons of the enemies; but we have the armor of the Spirit—the breastplate of love and hope, the great shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation<sup>15</sup>—by which we are fortified. We do not have a battle line of soldiers to defend us, but an angel of the Lord will encamp around those who fear

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12. Cf. Matt 16:24 and parr.

13. Matt 10:28.

14. Ps 30:3 (31:3).

15. Cf. Eph 6:13–17.

αυτούς· ἡμῖν γὰρ καὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος· οὐδὲ γὰρ φιλοζωίας ἔνεκεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἠέλίσθημεν. Τίνος χάριν ἐν τῇ ἀοικήτῳ ταύτῃ οἰκεῖν προαιρούμεθα; οὐκ εὐδηλον ὅτι διὰ Χριστόν; Ἐὰν οὖν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀναιρεθῶμεν, διὰ Χριστόν ἀναιρούμεθα, δι' ὃν αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν ἠρετισάμεθα· τί δὲ τοῦ διὰ Χριστόν ἀποθανεῖν ἡδύτερον ἢ μακαριώτερον τοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντος ἀγάπην;

10. Τοιοῦτοις λόγοις ἀλλήλους οἱ πατέρες παρακαλέσαντες καὶ παραθαρσύναντες, εἰλικρινῶς ἑαυτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα τῷ Χριστῷ ἀναθέμενοι, τῇ λαύρᾳ παρέμενον. Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἕτερος λογισμὸς εὐσεβῆς καὶ θεάρεστος προσκαρτερεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀμετακινήτως ἀνέπειθεν· ἤδεισαν γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀδίκως ἐχθραίνουσιν αὐτοῖς γείτοσιν ἐρασιμώτερον πέφυκε τοῦ ἐρημῶσαι καὶ καταστρέψαι τὴν λαύραν καὶ ταύτην ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ μοναχῶν ἀοίκητον· εἰ γὰρ ἦσθοντο κἂν πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀνακεχωρηκότων τῶν μοναχῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν μελλήσαντες προύργου παντὸς τὴν τε ἐκκλησίαν κατέκαιον καὶ τὰ κελλία κατέλυον καὶ ἠδάφιζον καὶ ἀοίκητον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς τὸν τόπον τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιήσιν ἐσπούδαζον. Ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται, γενναίως οἱ γενναῖοι προσεκαρτέρουν τε καὶ προσέμενον, οὐχ ὡς κάλαμοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ περιφερόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡς πύργοι ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀρραγοῦς τεθεμελιωμένοι· οἱ καὶ χειμάρρων πειρασμῶν ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καταγίδος προσβαλοῦσης καὶ προσρηγνυμένης ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀσάλευτοι μεμενήκασιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἀπλῶς προκινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἔκπαλαι καὶ νῦν δοξαζομένου, εἰλικρινῶς τε καὶ εὐαγῶς εὐαρεστομένου καὶ λατρευομένου ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι οὐ τοσοῦτον οἱ λιμένες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πελάγει κινδυνεύοντας ὑποδεχόμενοι σφύζουσιν, ὅσον αὕτη ἡ περιφανὴς καὶ θεόδητος λαύρα τοὺς ἐν τῇ βιωτικῇ θαλάσῃ νοητῶς ναυαγοῦντας ἐγκολλουμένη τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ῥύεται θανάτου, καὶ ζωγρεῖ λοιπὸν πρὸς ζωὴν αὐτοὺς τῷ Χριστῷ δι' ἐναρέτου βίου καὶ πολιτείας ἀκριβοῦς παριστώσα καὶ παραπέμπουσα; Τῆς οὖν τῶν ψυχῶν σωτηρίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νῦν σφζομένων καὶ τῶν ὀσημέραι καὶ εἰσαεὶ τῷ θεῷ σωθησομένων οἱ γεννάδαι προκινδυνεύειν δίκαιον καὶ ἐποφειλόμενον ὑπάρχειν κεκρίκασιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ψυχῶν σωτηρίας καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀντὶ τῆς

him and will deliver them.<sup>16</sup> For to us 'to live is Christ and to die is gain,'<sup>17</sup> and we have not come to dwell in this desert on account of love of life. For what reason have we chosen to dwell in this uninhabitable place? Is it not entirely clear that it is on account of Christ? Therefore if we are destroyed in it, we will be destroyed for the sake of Christ, for whose sake we have chosen to dwell in it. Indeed, what could be sweeter or more blessed than to die for the sake of Christ, on account of love for him who died for us?"

10. Exhorting and encouraging one another with such words, the fathers remained in the lavra, sincerely offering their souls and bodies to Christ. But another pious and devout thought also persuaded them to remain unmoved, for they knew that nothing brought more pleasure to those neighbors who were unjustly at enmity with them than to destroy and lay waste to the monastery and to see it uninhabited by monks. For if they had learned that the monks had withdrawn even for a little while, before all else and without delay they would have burned down the church and destroyed and leveled the cells, and they would have hastened to make the entire place uninhabitable. So that this would not happen, the honorable men nobly remained and stayed put, not as reeds blown about by every wind,<sup>18</sup> but as towers founded on solid rock,<sup>19</sup> who with a torrent of temptations flowing upon them and a raging storm of evil spirits striking and pounding against them remained steadfast and unmoved, braving these dangers not simply for the sake of stones and wood, but for the glory of Christ, who long ago and now is glorified in this place, being well pleased with sincerity and purity and worshipped in spirit and truth. For who does not know that harbors do not so much save those whom they receive from the perils of the sea, as much as this famous and divinely founded lavra, which receives those who are spiritually shipwrecked on the sea of life, rescues them from death of the soul, and then restores them to life, presenting them and handing them over to Christ perfected in virtuous life and conduct? Therefore the noble men decided to brave these dangers righteously and to be indebted for the salvation of the souls being saved in it now and those who will be saved by God daily and forever; for the salvation

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16. Ps 33:8 (34:7).

17. Phil 1:21.

18. Cf. Matt 11:7 and Eph 4:14.

19. Cf. Matt 7:25.

προκειμένης αὐτῷ χαρᾶς ἀποθανεῖν εἴλετο· οὐ κατ' ἴχνος ἐπόμενοι οἱ Χριστοῦ μιμηταὶ καὶ θεράποντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλαγῆς πᾶν ὀτιοῦν δεινὸν ἐπερχόμενον παθεῖν καὶ ὑπομείναι προήρηνται.

11. Ὡστεροῦ καὶ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ περιεσκεμμένου καὶ θεοσόφου φρονήματος· ὡς λογισμοῦ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ χριστόφρονος. Πῶς ὑμᾶς ἀξίως ὑμνήσω, πατέρες πανόλβιοι, τοὺς τε διὰ Χριστὸν ἀναιρεθέντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ θανάτου μεταβεβηκότας, τοὺς τε ἔτι ζῶντας ἐν σαρκί, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει καὶ προθυμίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς μαρτυρήσαντας; Οὐς ἰδὼν ὁ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν καρδιῶν θεώμενος καὶ τῶν προαιρέσεων ἐξεταστῆς κύριος τοιαύτην διάθεσιν κεκτημένους θεάρεστον, καὶ τῆς προθέσεως ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας καὶ τοῖς ἄθλοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν αἰκισμῶν ἐστεφάνωσεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἰκανῶς αὐτοὺς χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ καὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ βραχίονι ὑψηλῷ ὁ παντεπόπτης Χριστὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπημάντους καὶ ἀσινεῖς ἐν μέσοις κινδύνοις παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐφύλαξεν, ὥστε πάντας ἐκπλαγῆναι τὴν τοσαύτην παράδοξον τοῦ θεοῦ σκέπην τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων εἶπη ὁ ἐχθρός, ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου Ἰῶβ εἶπεν τετόλμηκε· μὴ δωρεὰν φησὶν Ἰῶβ σέβεται τὸν θεόν; οὐ σὺ περιέφραξας τὰ ἔσω αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔξω; ἀλλ' ἀπόστειλον τὴν χειρὰ σου καὶ ἄψαι πάντων ὧν ἔχει, καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν καὶ ὀστέων αὐτοῦ· ἢ μὴν εἰς πρόσωπόν σε εὐλογῆσει· τάχα δέ που καὶ περὶ τούτων τὰ αὐτὰ ὁ πειραστῆς εἶρηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐξητήσατο· ἵνα οὖν πάσης προφάσεως ἀφορμὴν τῷ ἐχθρῷ ὁ Χριστὸς περιέλη καὶ ἔργω διδάξῃ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄθλητάς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀηττήτους [εἶναι] καὶ νικηφόρους, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἔξουσίαν καθὼς βούλεται γυμνάσαι τοὺς ἀσκητάς.

12. Ὁ δὲ ταύτην περιχαρῶς δεδεγμένος τὴν αἴτησιν, δρομαίως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπασπιστάς καὶ θεράποντας ἐπεζήτει, δι' ὧν καὶ πρῶην τὰ ἀνήκεστα, καθὼς προεῖρηται, δέδρακε, φημί δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους· τοὺς δὲ εὖρεν διασπα-

of souls Christ himself also chose to die instead of the joy that was set before him,<sup>20</sup> in whose footsteps these imitators and servants of Christ were following. And instead of the deliverance from danger that was laid out before them through fleeing, they chose to remain and to suffer however much horror was to come upon them.

11. O resolute and exalted decision, circumspect and wise in the ways of God! O pious and God-loving and Christ-minded thinking! How will I worthily sing your praises, blessed fathers, who were taken away for the sake of Christ and have passed over to him through death, I who while still living in the flesh bore witness to the intention and desire of the soul? These are they whom the Lord, who observes the movements of the heart and examines intentions,<sup>21</sup> crowned with the contests and trial of tortures when he saw them possessing such a God-pleasing disposition and accepted and approved of the decision. For later in the midst of suffering beyond hope, the all-seeing Christ kept them sufficiently unharmed and uninjured to the greatest extent with a hidden and mighty hand and an exalted arm,<sup>22</sup> so that all would marvel at the truly incredible protection and help of God, lest the enemy would also say about them what he had dared to say about the righteous Job: “Does Job worship the Lord for no reason? Have you not placed a fence around the things belonging to him<sup>23</sup> and the things outside? But stretch out your hand and touch all that he has, and his flesh and bones; surely he will bless you to your face.”<sup>24</sup> And perhaps the tempter said the same things about them as when he demanded Peter.<sup>25</sup> Therefore in order to deny the enemy the opportunity for any pretext and to teach his contestants by actions to be unvanquished and victorious in the horrors, Christ gave him authority as he wished to train his ascetics.

12. And receiving this request with great joy, he [the tempter] quickly sought his own squires and attendants, through whom even recently, as previously mentioned, he had accomplished devastating things—I am speaking, of course, of the barbarians. And he found

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20. Cf. Heb 12:2.

21. Cf. Ps 16:3 (17:3); Jer 17:10; Heb 4:12; Apoc 2:23.

22. Cf. Exod 17:16; Ps 135:12 (136:12).

23. Literally “within him.”

24. Job 1:9–11. Note that the Hebrew version is usually translated “he will curse you to your face” (NRSV). בִּרַךְ can mean both “bless” and “curse,” and the Septuagint translators opted for the former.

25. Cf. Luke 22:31.

ρέντας, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς φόβος, ἐξουσιαστικῆς παρουσίας μηνυθείσης, ἐσκόρπισεν. Ὅμως συμμορίαν τινὰ κακίστην εὐρῶν εὐαριθμητον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔχθρα προκατειλημμένων καὶ μίσος ἄδικον πρὸς τὴν λαύραν ἡμῶν ἐπανηρημένων γειτόνων, ὧν προεμνήσθημεν, ἄλλοθεν ἄλλον συναγαγόν, καὶ συλλεξάμενος θεομάχον σύστημα τὸν ἐξηκοστὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαῖνον, τόξοις καθωπλισμένον ἡμῖν περιέστησεν. Τούτων οὖν μήκοθεν ἐρχομένων, τινὲς τῶν ἀδελφῶν αἰσθόμενοι διὰ κραυγῶν καὶ σημαντήρων τὴν τούτων ἐδήλωσαν ἄφιξιν. Ἡμεῖς δέ, καίπερ ἐλπίσαντες ἀηλλάχθαι τῶν δεινῶν (καὶ γὰρ προακηκόαμεν τὸν τῶν βαρβαρικῶν συναγαμάτων σκορπισμὸν καὶ διάλυσιν), ἠρεμεῖν τε λοιπὸν τῇ ἀγία Τεσσαρακοστῇ προσδοκῆσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρεισβᾶσα ἐτύγγανεν, ὅμως τῶν μὴ κατὰ καιρὸν κρουσμάτων καὶ κραυγῶν τὸν κτύπον ἐνηχηθέντες δρομαῖοι ἐπὶ τὸν συνήθη λόφον κατηπήχθημεν· τρισκαιδεκάτῃ ἦν τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνός, ἡμέρα Δευτέρα, περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολήν. Τούτους δὲ μακρόθεν ἐρχομένους ἑωρακότες καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἠὲ τρεπισμένους ἐπεγνωκότες (καὶ γὰρ ξίφος καὶ τόξα ἐκτεταμένα ἐπετείνοντο), λοιπὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσπελάσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ φόβῳ διελύθημεν.

13. Εἰς δύο δὲ τάξεις ἑαυτοὺς οἱ φόνιοι καταμερίσαντες, κατὰ μέσους ἡμᾶς περιλαβεῖν<sup>1</sup> διεσκέπτοντο· προσεγγίσασι δέ, τινὲς τῶν πατέρων τολμήσαντες προσαπήντησαν, παρακλητικοῖς αὐτοὺς τιθασεύειν λόγοις πειρώμενοι. Τοιοῦτοις δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκέχρητο ῥήμασι. Τί ἐν τοιοῦτῳ, ὦ οὔτοι, ἡμῖν προσεληλύθατε σχήματι, ὡς πρὸς πολεμίους τινὰς καὶ τὰ μέγιστα προηδικηκότας καὶ χεῖριστα διαπραξαμένους καὶ μεγάλως ὑμᾶς λωβησαμένους τε καὶ κακώσαντας, καὶ εἰς ἀντιπαράταξιν ὑμῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτοιμάσαντας;<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰρηνικοί ἐσμεν πρὸς ἅπαντας· οὔτε γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὔτε ἐτέρους ἐλυπήσαμεν ἢ ἐβλάψαμεν πώποτε. Καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔριδος καὶ μάχης ἀπεχόμεθα, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον καταλελοίπαμεν καὶ εἰς ταύτην, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, κατοικοῦμεν τὴν ἔρημον, ἵνα παντὸς θορύβου βιωτικοῦ καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ ἀντιλογίας καὶ φύρσεως μακρὰν γενόμενοι δυνηθῶμεν ἀπερισπάστως κλαῦσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσαι. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν παρεβλάψαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετεῖν οὐ διελείπομεν κατὰ δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν δι' ἡμῶν

1. κατὰ μέσους ἡμᾶς περιλαβεῖν has been mistakenly omitted from the edition, although the *Acta Sanctorum* edition has κατὰ μέσους ἡμᾶς περιβαλεῖν. The manuscript, however, clearly reads περιλαβεῖν.

2. καὶ εἰς ἀντιπαράταξιν ὑμῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτοιμάσαντας has been mistakenly omitted from the edition undoubtedly due to homoioteuton, although it is present in the *Acta Sanctorum* edition.

them scattered, for fear had dispersed them, since a powerful presence had been made known. Nevertheless, finding a certain especially wicked faction, who were few in number, and some of the neighbors who had previously been seized by enmity and were professing an unjust hatred of our lavra, whom we previously have mentioned, he gathered them together from one place and the other, and having assembled a band of fighters hostile to God of more than sixty, he had them surround us, armed with bows. Therefore when they came from afar, some of the brothers, recognizing the shouts and signals, made known their arrival. But we, although hoping to be delivered from the horrors (for we too had previously heard about the scattering and dispersal of the barbarian assemblies), were observing silence then during Great Lent, which was just beginning, and alarmed by the noise of blows and shouts that were inappropriate for the time of year, we hurried to the communal ridge, running as fast as we could—it was Monday, March 13, around sunrise. And having seen these men coming from afar and recognizing that they were prepared for war (for they held forth swords and drawn bows), we were then dispersed by fear before their advance.

13. Dividing themselves into two companies, the murderers were looking to surround us in their midst. And some of the fathers, being bold, went to meet those approaching, attempting to calm them down with comforting words. And they spoke words such as these to them: “You there, why have you come against us in this way, as against some enemies who had previously done the greatest injustice against you and brought about the worst things and injured and afflicted you greatly and were preparing themselves for hostilities against you? Gentlemen, we are peaceful toward all and have never harmed or injured you or anyone else. And we refrain from strife and conflict so much that we have abandoned our own property and the entire world, and as you see, we have come to dwell in this desert so that, having distanced ourselves from all the tumult and disorder and contentiousness and confusion of life, we might be able to lament our sins and be pleasing to God without distraction. And not only have we done nothing to harm you, but we have not missed an opportunity to do good insofar as we are able. And we have not ceased to offer hospitality and food and rest to those from

παρερχομένους ξενοδοχεῖν καὶ τρέφειν καὶ διαναπαύειν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμεθα. Μὴ οὖν ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν πονηροῖς ἡμᾶς ἀνταμείψησθε, καὶ γε ὀφείλοντες συγκροτεῖν ὅση δύναμις δι' ἄσπερ εἰς ὑμᾶς αἰεὶ εὐποίας ἐπεδειξάμεθα· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν πρόθυμοι ἔσμεν βρώμασι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν εὐπορουμένοις ἀφθόνως ὑμᾶς δεξιῶσασθαι καὶ συνήθως διαναπαῦσαι. Οἱ δὲ Οὐ βρωμάτων ἀλλὰ χρημάτων ἔνεκεν ἐνταῦθα παραγεγόναμεν μεθ' ὕβρεων καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀπεκρίναντο. Ἐν οὖν τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῖν πρόκειται, ἢ χρήματα ἡμῖν παρασχεῖν, πλῆθος ὀνομάσαντες, ἢ διαχειρισθῆναι τοῖς βέλεσι. Πρὸς οὓς αὐθις οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀπεκρίθησαν· Πιστεύσατε, ὦ ἄνδρες, πιστεύσατε, ὅτι ταπεινοὶ ἔσμεν καὶ πτωχοὶ καὶ πανάποροι, οὔτε ἄρτον εἰς κόρον αἰεὶ εὐποροῦντες καὶ ἐμπιπλῶμενοι· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀμφίων καὶ ἱματίων κεκτήμεθα περιουσίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. Ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦ ποσότητα λέγετε, οὐδὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἐφαντάσθημεν πώποτε· μόνοις γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, καὶ τούτοις ἐνδεῶς, αὐταρκοῦμενοι μετὰ στενώσεως ἐνθάδε τὸ ζῆν διανύομεν.

14. Οἱ δὲ ὡσπερ τὰ μέγιστα ὕβρισμένοι, ὀργῇ ἐξαφθέντες, τὰ βέλη λοιπὸν ἀφειδῶς ἐπαφίεσαν, νιφᾶσι χειμερινοῖς ἀμιλλώμενα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔληξαν, πρὶν αὐτῶν τὰς φερέτρας ἐκένωσαν. Τῶν μέντοι πατέρων ἐπλήγησαν ἐγγὺς τῶν τριάκοντα, οἱ πλείστοι μὲν καιρίως, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπιπολαίως. Τινὰ οὖν μέτριον τῆς μανίας κόρον λαβόντες οἱ τῆς πονηρίας ἀκόρεστοι, ἐπὶ τὰς κέλλας ἐχώρουν, τὰς μὲν θύρας μεγάλοις κατακλῶντες λίθοις, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἀρπάζοντες ἀποκείμενα. Ἡμεῖς δέ, τούτων ἐν τούτοις ἀσχολουμένων, τῶν πληγέντων ἀδελφῶν ἐφροντίζομεν· οὓς βαρουμένους καὶ στένοντας ἀνελόμενοι εἰς τὸ πλησιάζον κελλίον εἰσηγάγομεν καὶ τὰ ἐμπεπηγότα βέλη ἀνεσπῶμεν, οὐχ ἦττον αὐτῶν τῷ βέλει τῆς ἀθυμίας καὶ συμπαθείας τὰς καρδίας πεπληγμένας ἔχοντες, ὀρώντες αὐτοὺς πεφυρμένους τοῖς αἵμασι κατὰ διαφόρους τόπους τοῦ σώματος, καθ' οὓς καὶ τὰς τρώσεις ἐδέξαντο οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς στέρνοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τὰ βέλη ἔφερον ἐμπεπαρμένα· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ λίθοις τὰς κεφαλὰς τραυματισθέντες τὰς ὄψεις εἶχον μεμολυσμένας τοῖς αἵμασι· πάντας δὲ ῥίγος καὶ τρόμος καὶ ὀδόντων βρυγμὸς καὶ θανάτου συνεῖχεν ὠχρίασις. Οὓς ἀνακλίνας ὁ πανάριστος ἰατρὸς καὶ εὐλαβέστατος ἀββᾶς Θωμᾶς, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς παλαιᾶς χειροτονηθεὶς λαύρας ἡγούμενος, τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας ἤξιον.

15. Οἱ δὲ ὄντως ἐρημικοὶ ἄνθρακες καὶ λυμαντήριοι καὶ θηριότροποι βάρβαροι ὡς οὐδὲν αὐταρκες τῇ πονηρᾷ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ ποιήσαντες, καίπερ πλείστους τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀνελόντες καὶ τὰ ἐνόητα πραιδεύσαντες, πυρίκαυστα θεῖναι τὰ κελλία μανικῶς ἐπεχείρησαν· θάμνους γάρ, τὰ λεγόμενα μανούθια,

among you who have passed by us. Therefore do not repay us with wickedness for good things, particularly since you are obliged to assist as much as possible on account of the very kindnesses that we have always shown you. And even now we are eager to welcome you generously with food provided by us and to offer you rest as is customary.” But they answered with threats and violence: “We have come here not for food but for treasure. Therefore one of two options stands before you: either hand over the treasure,” they said to the crowd, “or be slain with arrows.” Our men then answered them: “Believe us, men, believe us, that we are humble and poor and very much in need, never having extra bread or eating our fill, nor have we acquired excess clothing and costly garments. And the amount of gold that you ask for we have never seen even in a dream. For we bring an end to our life in this world with restraint, making do with only the necessities, and even these we have insufficiently.”

14. But they were inflamed with wrath, as if they had been horribly outraged, and then they let their arrows fly without restraint, like snowflakes in the winter, and they did not cease until they had emptied their quivers. They struck nearly thirty of the fathers, most of them mortally but some only superficially. Then these men of insatiable wickedness, taking some moderation in the excess of their madness, went out to the cells, breaking down the doors with great rocks and seizing the things laid up inside. And while they were occupied with this, we took care of our wounded brothers. Taking up those who were overcome and moaning, we brought them into a nearby cell and drew out the arrows, ourselves having hearts no less wounded by the arrow of despondency and sympathy, seeing them wet with blood on various parts of the body, where they had received wounds. For some had arrows impaled in their chest, others in the back, and still others in the face. And there were also some who had faces stained with blood, their heads having been bludgeoned with rocks. And shivering and quivering and gnashing of teeth and the paleness of death came upon them all, these whom the best physician of all, the most pious Abba Thomas (who later was elected the hegumen of the Old Lavra), leaned over and saw fit to give the appropriate care.

15. And so the desert-dwelling coals<sup>26</sup> and destructive and savage barbarians, doing nothing free from their wicked intent, even though they had taken most things for themselves and plundered the things

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26. Cf. Ps 119:4 (120:4).

ἐν ἐκάστῳ εὐρίσκοντες (εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ πατέρες αὐτὰ συνάγειν καὶ ἀποτίθεσθαι), ἐτοίμως λοιπὸν δι' αὐτῶν τὰ οἰκήματα ἐνεπύριζον. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς φλόγας εἰς ὕψος αἰρομένας καὶ τοὺς καπνοὺς εἰς αἰθέρα βλέποντες ἀναπεμπομένους,<sup>3</sup> τὰς καρδίας ἐπυρπολούμεθα καὶ ὁδύνη ἀφάτῳ καὶ σκοτώσει καὶ ἀπορία δεινῶς ἐκρατούμεθα ὡς τῆς λαύρας ἀπεγνωκότες· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πυρίφλεκτον καταλιπεῖν ἐβουλεύοντο· μόνον δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ ὄμμα ἀνατείνοντες, ἐκείθεν τὴν βοήθειαν πεμφθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐδεόμεθα, τὰς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα πρεσβείας ἐπικαλούμενοι. Ὁ δὲ τῶν καταπονουμένων ἀντιλήπτω θεός, ὁ ἐγγὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπικαλούμενοις αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ἠδύοκῆσε μήκοθεν τινὰς ὀλίγους φανῆναι, οὓς ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι καὶ εἰς ἡμετέραν αὐτοὺς ὑποπτεύσαντες ἦκειν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ βοήθειαν, δείσαντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἑτέρους προσεπελεύσεσθαι, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοὺς ἀποσοβήσαντος, τὰ σκύλα βαστάσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἀναχωρησάντων ἐκείνων ἡμῶν ὁ φόβος ἐλώφησεν· ἐδεδίειμεν γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπανελεύσιν. Μέχρι δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου δύσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκλείψεως ἀμετακίνητοι διετελέσαμεν, τῆδε κάκειῖσε τὸ ὄμμα περιπέμποντες, ὡς τὴν τούτων ἐπάνοδον ὑφορώμενοι· κάπῃ τὴν αὐριον δὲ πρῶθιν ἕως ἑσπέρας βαθείας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ συναγόμενοι τόπῳ λιτὰς καὶ προσευχὰς πανημέριον ἐπετελοῦμεν, τῷ αὐτῷ δέει κρατούμενοι· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκείνην τὴν ἑβδομάδα ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμεθα. Ὁμοῦ δὲ πάντες συνηθροίζόμεθα, τοῦτο μὲν παράκλησιν καὶ παραμυθίαν ἱκανὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων καρπούμενοι (εἴτε γὰρ ζῆν εἴτ' οὖν ἀποθνήσκῃ σὺν ἀλλήλοις ἠύχόμεθα), τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὰς βασάνους ἐγκλίνοντες, ἃς τοῖς καταμόνας εὐρισκομένοις ἐπέφερον, ὡς καὶ ἐν λαύρᾳ τῆ παλαιᾷ πεποιήκασι, τινὰς πυρὶ διαφλέξαντες καὶ ἑτέρας βασάνων ιδέας ἐπινοήσαντες.

16. Ἐν τούτοις ἐκείνην τὴν ἑβδομάδα διελθόντων ἡμῶν, ὁψὲ Σαββάτῳ περὶ δευτέρων τῆς νυκτὸς ὥραν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν συνήθη τῆς ἁγίας Κυριακῆς ἀγρυπνίαν ἐπιτελούντων, ἰδοὺ δύο μοναχοὶ εὐλαβεῖς καὶ στερρόφρονες δρομαῖοι καὶ ἠπειγμένοι καὶ ἰδρῶτι περιρρεόμενοι παρεγένοντο· οὓς οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς λαύρας τίμιοι πατέρες, τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης τηροῦντες νόμον καὶ φιλαδελφικῆς συμπαθείας πυρσῷ συγκινούμενοι, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεστάλκασι, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοντες· Ὅτι (φασὶν) οἱ πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν ἐπιρρίψαντες ὑμῖν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ παμμίαροι πᾶσαν ταύτην τὴν ἑβδομάδα συλληστὰς καὶ συναποστάτας ἐπισυνάγοντες, καὶ εἰς πληθὸς μέγα γενόμενοι, ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπιπεσεῖν

3. Correcting ἀναπεμπομένας to read ἀναπεμπομένους as in the Acta Sanctorum and the manuscript.

that were there, they set themselves maniacally to setting fire to the cells. For finding in each one bushes, which are called manouthia<sup>27</sup> (for the fathers were accustomed to collect these and store them), they used these to set fire easily to the dwellings. But we, seeing the flames raised up to the heights and smoke sent up into the air, had flames burning in our hearts and were overcome horribly with unspeakable sadness and darkness and dismay, having lost all hope for our lavra. For at this time they decided to set the church ablaze, and we could only raise our eyes to heaven, whence we needed help to be sent to us, calling on the prayers of our holy father Sabas. But God, the helper of those who are oppressed, the one who is “near to all those who call upon him in truth,”<sup>28</sup> was pleased to have a few men appear at a distance. These lawless ones saw them and suspected that they had come for our aid and defense, and fearing that they would bring others as well, they withdrew, frightened away by God and carrying away their spoils. But with their withdrawal our fear was not relieved, for we dreaded their return. And until the setting of the sun and the darkening of the light we remained unmoved, looking around here and there. And the next day from morning until late in the evening we completed the day gathered together in the same place and spent the entire day in prayer and supplication, ruled by the same fear. And so we did not cease from doing this for the entire week. And we were all gathered together, on the one hand in order to reap the fruits of considerable consolation and encouragement from one another (for we were praying either to live or to die with each other), and on the other hand to escape the torments that they bring upon those who are found alone, as they had done at the Old Lavra, where they incinerated some with fire and came up with other forms of torture.

16. When we had spent that week in these conditions, late on Saturday, around the second hour of the night, while we were in the church completing the customary Sunday vigil, behold two pious and brave monks arrived running swiftly and hurrying and dripping with sweat. The revered fathers of the Old Lavra, observing the law of love and bearing the torch of sympathy of brotherly love, had sent them to us to announce the following—they said: “The impious and utterly abominable ones who attacked you six days ago have been gathering together fellow thieves and rebels all week, and now that they have

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27. A kind of desert thistle that the monks used as food.

28. Ps 144:18 (145:18).

ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν λαύραν ἐρημῶσαι φρυάττονται· ἀπειλοῦσι δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι δεινὸν καὶ παγγάλεπον εἰς ὑμᾶς διαπράξασθαι, θυμοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς πεφυκότες μεστοί· τοῦτο γὰρ παρά τινων συμφυλετῶν αὐτῶν, γειτνιαζόντων ἡμῖν, μαθεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς πορείας ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς μερῶν δύναντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπήρξαντο, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔμφοβοι καὶ ἐναγώνιοι ἀφικόμεθα τρέχοντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παρεβουλευσάμεθα, τὴν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν δειλιῶντες ἀπάντησιν. Εἴ τι οὖν πάρεστιν ὑμῖν ποιεῖν, ἐν τάχει ποιήσατε.

17. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὴν ἀγγελίαν ἀκούσαντες, ῥομφαίαν ὡσπερ ἕκαστος τῆ καρδία δεξάμενοι καὶ τῆ ἀπορία ἰλιγγίασαντες καὶ τῷ πάθει σκοτοδιήσαντες, τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τοὺς ἀρμούς ἐξελύθημεν. Θορύβου δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς πληρωθέντες, τινὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ψάλλειν ἀφήκαμεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ τὸ σύνηθες ἀκρωτήριον κατελάβομεν, κάκεισε μέχρις ὄρθρου διανυκτερεύοντες τῷ κρῦει σχεδὸν ἐπηγνύμεθα, ἔνδοθεν μὲν τοῦ φόβου τὸ αἷμα συστέλλοντος, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῦ ψύχους πάλιν αὐτὸ συνωθοῦντος καὶ συνελαύνοντος. Οὐ μὲντοι γε τῆς εὐχῆς ἡμελοῦμεν, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐντὸς οὐχ ὑπήρχομεν· μάλλον δὲ ὄλον τὸν νοῦν καὶ πάντας τοὺς λογισμοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐνθύμησιν ἔξω ῥεμβομένην ἐπισυνάξαντες, ἀκραιφνέσιν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀρεμβάστοις ἐντεύξεσι πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σῶζειν ἐκ κινδύνων θεὸν ἐκεκρήμεθα, ὡς εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον λοιπὸν τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς ἑαυτοὺς ἐτοιμάζοντες· ἄλλος δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ διεσκόπει καὶ ἔβλεπε καὶ τὸ οὐς ἐπεῖχε προσεχῶς εἰς ἀκρόασιν, τὸ πόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιβαίνοντα<sup>4</sup> ἴδοι καὶ αἰσθοίτο. Πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος θέα καὶ κινήσεις πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐξεθρόησε, τῶν ἀθέων νομισθεῖσα ἄφιξις.

18. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ συγχύσει διαγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ δέους ἐμπεπλησμένων καὶ ἀνίας καὶ φύρσεως, ἰδοὺ δύο τινές, ἐσπευσμένως βαδίζοντες, προϊόντες ἐφαίνοντο· ὡς δὲ πλησίον γεγόνασιν, ὁ μὲν εἰς γέρων ἐωρᾶτο μοναχὸς ὀλοπόλιος, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον διασώστην ὡσπερ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ὁδηγὸν ἐπέφερετο· ὃς τῷ δρόμῳ κεκμηκῶς καὶ τῷ πένθει συνεχόμενος τὸν λόγον προέφερεν, τῷ συνεχεῖ διακοπτόμενον ἄσθματι, ἀναρθρον καὶ ἀτράνωτον· ἐπιστολίδιον δὲ τῇ χειρὶ προβαλλόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἠξίου τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τὸ αἴτιον. Τὴν οὖν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπτύξαντες καὶ διὰ τοῦ σεληναίου φέγγους ἀναγνῶναι δυνηθέντες, ἔγνωμεν αὐτὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τοῦ σημειοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀγίου Εὐθυμίου ἀγάπης θεσμῶ

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4. Correcting ἐπιβαίντας to read ἐπιβαίνοντας as in the Acta Sanctorum and the manuscript.

become a great multitude, they are ranting that they will attack you on this night and will devastate the lavra. And they are threatening to bring down upon you every horrible and most grievous thing, having grown full of rage and wrath, for we were able to learn this from some of their fellow tribesmen who live near us. By now with the setting of the sun, they have begun marching toward you from the area near us, and we, terrified and filled with anxiety, came here running and exposed ourselves to danger, fearing that we would encounter them along the way. Therefore if you are able to do something, do it quickly.”

17. But we, upon hearing this distressing message, lost strength in our faculties and our joints, as if each one of us had been struck in the heart by a sword and lost our heads in the dismay and grown dizzy from the calamity. And being filled with turmoil and confusion, we sent forth some to sing psalms in the church, but most of us went to the customary high ground, and spending the night there until dawn, we nearly froze from the extreme cold, with fear drawing the blood together from within and likewise the cold forcing and pressing it together from without. Nevertheless we did not neglect to pray, even though we were not in the church; rather, gathering together our whole mind and all our thoughts and every worry that was stirred up within us, we besought God, who is able to save us from dangers with pure prayers and unwavering petitions. Another one was elsewhere keeping watch and looking out and carefully listening for any sound, whence he might see and perceive them approaching.<sup>29</sup> And many times a chance sight and motion startled us all, as it was thought to be the arrival of the atheists.

18. While we were persevering in such turmoil and had been stricken by fear and grief and confusion, behold two individuals appeared coming toward us, proceeding with great haste. And as they drew near, one was seen to be a gray-haired elder monk, and he was following<sup>30</sup> the other one as a guardian of the way and a guide. This one who was exhausted from running and overcome with grief delivered a message that was incoherent and incomprehensible on account of being frequently interrupted by breathing. But holding forth a brief note with his hand, he saw fit to make known by it the reason for his appearance. Therefore, opening the letter and being able to read it by the light of

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29. Or possibly “so that he might see and perceive where they were approaching from.”

30. Or possibly “bringing with him”; Latyšev has велъ, “he led.”

πνευματικῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γραφεῖσαν, περιέχουσαν τάδε· Γινώσκειν ὑμᾶς βουλόμεθα, πατέρες, ὡς ἔγνωσται ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδόντων, ὅτι συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων ἐκ τῶν κατὰ βορρᾶν μερῶν τῆς Ἁγίας Πόλεως ἐπὶ κακῶ συναθροισθεῖσα σκέπτεται ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐπιρρίψαι ὑμῖν καὶ τὴν λαύραν πραιδεῦσαι καὶ ἐρημῶσαι· ἀλλ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀσφαλίσασθε καὶ εὖξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

19. Ταύτην κομισάμενοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔγνωμεν ὅτι ἑτέρα κουστωδία ἐστὶν αὕτη καὶ ἄλλη περὶ ἧς οἱ Παλαιολαυρίται ἐδήλωσαν· οἱ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας λαύρας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐχθροί, οὓς προωνομάσαμεν, ὡς μὴ ἀρκεσθέντες μιᾷ πονηρᾷ ὀμηγύρει καὶ ἕτερον ἀνδροφόνων σύστημα καὶ σύστρεμμα συνεκρότησαν, ἵνα ἀμφοτέρους συνάψαντες παμπληθεὶ ἡμῖν ἐπιρρίψωσι. Ταῦτα διδαχθέντων ἡμῶν, ἐδιπλασιάσθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ φόβος καὶ ἡ δειλία, καὶ τὸ πένθος ἦν ἀφόρητον καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ἀδιάφυκτος· μηδεμίαν δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀπὸ γῆς βοήθειαν εὐρεῖν ἐλπίζοντες, εἰς οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνετείναμεν καὶ τὸν ἐφορῶντα θεόν, τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ θλίψιν ἡμῶν μετὰ δακρύων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἀναγγέλλοντες, ἰκετεύομεν, Ἐπίδε λέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἡμῶν, δέσποτα, καὶ μὴ ἀποστρέψης τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων σου. Οἶδας, κύριε, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ συγγενεῖς παρεάσας εἰς ταύτην τὴν τραχεῖαν καὶ ἄνικμον καὶ ἀπαρηγόρητον ἐλήλυθεν ἔρημον, οὐ τινὸς ἐπιγείου κέρδους ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῆς σῆς δόξης καὶ τῆς θεάς τοῦ προσώπου σου μὴ ἐκπέσωμεν· καὶ νῦν ἐλθε εἰς βοήθειαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι θλίψις ἐγγύς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βοηθῶν. Ἴδου οἱ ἐχθροί σου, κύριε, ἤχησαν· ἰδοὺ οἱ μισοῦντες σε ἤραν κεφαλὴν. Εἶπαν, Δεῦτε καὶ ἐξολοθρεύσωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἔθνους, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθῆ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτι. Καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, ἐπιστάμεθα καὶ πιστεύομεν, ὅτι ἐὰν θέλης ἀορασίᾳ αὐτοὺς πατάξαι ὡς τοὺς Σύρους ἐπὶ Ἐλισσαίου, ἢ δι' ἀγγέλου

the moon, we knew that it had been written to us according to the law of spiritual love by the fathers of the holy monastery of our wonder-working father St. Euthymius, and it contained the following: "We want you to know, fathers, as it has become known to us from those who know accurately, that the assembly of the maleficent has gathered together for evil in the region to the south of the Holy City, and they have plotted to come upon you this night and to plunder and devastate the lavra. Defend yourselves and pray for us!"

19. When we received this letter, we knew that this was another group, different from the one that the men from the Old Lavra had described. For the enemies of our lavra and its salvation, whom we have previously mentioned, not being satisfied with one wicked assembly, gathered together another homicidal band and company, so that joining both together they would send them upon us as one great multitude. When we learned these things, our misery and fear were doubled, and the sorrow was unbearable and the danger inescapable. But having no hope of finding any help from human beings or from anything on earth,<sup>31</sup> we raised our hands and eyes to heaven, and proclaiming our need and affliction with tears and groaning, we were supplicating God who watches over [us], saying: "Look upon our humiliation and distress, O Lord, and do not turn your face away from your servants."<sup>32</sup> You know, O Lord, that for the sake of your holy name each one of us has abandoned his own house and family and relatives<sup>33</sup> and has come to this harsh and arid and desolate desert, not for the sake of earthly gain but so that we would not fall away from your glory and the contemplation of your face. And now come to our aid, because affliction is near, because there is no one to help.<sup>34</sup> 'Behold, your enemies,' O Lord, 'made a tumult; behold, those who hate you raised their head.'<sup>35</sup> They said, 'Come, and let us destroy them from being a nation, and the name of the spiritual Israel shall be remembered no more in this desert.'<sup>36</sup> And now, O Lord, we know and we believe that if you wish to smite them with blindness, as you did the Assyrians in the time of Elijah, or to kill

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31. Literally "or from earth."

32. Cf. Ps 68:18 (69:17).

33. Cf. Matt 19:29.

34. Ps 21:12 (22:11).

35. Ps 82:3 (83:2).

36. Ps 82:5 (83:4).

ἐν μιᾷ ῥίπῃ θανατῶσαι ἄς τοὺς ... [a.]<sup>5</sup> ... გინა ვითარცა იგი ეზეკია მეფისა ზე ბანაკი სენაქერიმისი ანგელოზისა მის გან წამსა თუალისასა მოჰსრენ ბევრეულნი. აწცა შემძლებელ ხარ ყოვლისა-მჰყრობელო და განმადლიერებელო ყოველთაო. რომელნი ესვენ სახელსა შენსა წმიდასა : არამედ არა ვითხოვთ მრავალსა სათხოელსა კორციელებრივსა. რამეთუ უკუეთუმცა გევედრებოდეთ<sup>6</sup> კსნისა თვს კორციელისა. ჟამი გუაქუნდა მეოტებისად<sup>7</sup> და სივლტოლით განრინებისად : არამედ თმენით დაგითმეთ შენ. უფალო. და დავემკვდრენით უდაბნოსა ამას. და მოგელით შენ ღმერთსა მაცხოვარსა ჩუენსა · ვითარცა ვისწავეთ შენ გან. ეგრეთ ვე მოვივლტით შენდა : მამაო ჩუენო. რომელი ხარ ცათა შინა. იყავ-<sup>8</sup> ნებად შენი ჩუენ ზედა. უკუეთუ ინებო მიცემად ჩუენი ჳელთა ბარბაროზთა ამათ მოსისხლეთასა. რადთა განმიყვანნე ჩუენ ცხორებისა ამის გან ჟამიერისა. იყავნ ნებაი შენი: არამედ მო-ხოლო-გვმადლე ჩუენ შენდობად ცოდვათა ჩუენთად. და მშჯდობით შეივედრენ სულნი ჩუენნი სამკვდრებელსა შენსა საუკუნესა. რამეთუ შენდა გვსუროდა. უფალო. და კუალსა სულნელებისა ნელ-საცხებელთა შენთასა მივრზიოდეთ. და შენ შეგიდეგით : და კუალად უკუეთუ ინებო განრინებად ჩუენი ჳელთა გან მათთა. იყავნ ნებად შენი წმიდად. რამეთუ ჳელთა შინა შენთა შეგვედრებთან სულნი და კორცინი ჩუენნი. უფალო ღმერთო ჩუენო ·

[b.] და ესე-ვითართა ვედრებათა სულ-თქუმით აღვასრულებდით. და განვათიეთ ღამწ იგი : და ვითარცა ცისკარი აღელო პირველ მზის-აღმოსლვისა მარხვათა კვრიაკე დღესა უძლებისასა. მაშინ მთასა იმიერ არა შორს ჩუენ გან გამოჩნდა ღრუბელი ბნელისად. კრებული იგი ღმრთის-მბრძოლთა ბარბაროზთად მყისა შინა. ვითარცა ქუეყანით აღმოცემოდა. ვითარცა სიმრავლე მკალთად და კრებული მყუართად ხლდომით ზედა-მოგვეიდოდეს. ჳმობითა ფიცხლითა და ჳახებითა საშინელითა. ვიდრემდის მთანი რომელ იყვნეს გარემოდს ჩუენსა ჳმა-სცემდეს ჳმასა მათსა : და ერთობით მოგუეტევენეს ვითარცა მჳეცნი უდაბნოჟსანი. და მახლნი ჳდილნი აქუნდეს ჳელთა მათთა. და გარდაეცუა მშჯლდთა

5. Here there is a lacuna in the Greek manuscript, which has been restored from the Georgian version, according to the edition of these passages by Robert P. Blake, "Deux lacunes comblées dans la Passio XX monachorum Sabaitarum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 27-43. The letters have been added for ease of citation.

6. გევერებოდეთ in the edition is clearly a typo.

7. It is not clear whether this is perhaps a typo for the more common spelling, მეოტობისად.

myriads by an angel in a single moment, as [a.]<sup>37</sup> at the camp of Sennacherib in the time of King Hezekiah,<sup>38</sup> now also you are able, O ruler of all and sustainer of all who hope in your holy name. But we do not ask for many fleshly requests, for if we were beseeching you for the sake of fleshly deliverance, we have the time to flee and to save ourselves through flight. But we patiently await you, O Lord, and we are dwelling in this desert, and we wait for you, God our savior. As we were taught by you, so also we hasten to you. Our Father, who is in heaven, your will be done for us!<sup>39</sup> If you wish to deliver us into the hands of the bloodthirsty barbarians in order to lead us forth from this fleeting life, may your will be done. Only grant us forgiveness of our sins and peacefully commend our souls to your eternal dominion, for we have desired you, O Lord, and have run after the fragrance of your perfume and have followed you. And likewise if you wish to deliver us from their hands, may your holy will be done, for our souls and bodies have been commended into your hands, O Lord our God.”

[b.] And we completed such prayers with groaning, and we remained awake that night. And as dawn broke before sunrise on the Sunday of the Prodigal Son<sup>40</sup> in Lent, then over on the mountain not far from us a cloud of darkness appeared, that gathering of the barbarian enemies of God, as if they suddenly sprang from the earth. Like a multitude of locusts and a gathering of frogs, they attacked us with a leap and with savage cries and terrifying shouts, so that the mountains that were all around us were resounding with their voices, and they set upon us all together like wild beasts of the desert. They had drawn swords in their

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37. At this point there is a lacuna in the Greek manuscript, and the restored passage is translated from the Georgian.

38. Cf. 4 Kgdms 6:18 and 19:35.

39. Cf. Matt 6:9–10.

40. The word here literally means “insatiable,” and Blake translates “die Dominica ieiuniorum die inediae.” Nevertheless, უძღვებო შვილი is in Georgian “the prodigal son,” who in contemporary Eastern Orthodox practice is remembered on the second Sunday of the three-week pre-Lenten period—that is, the Sunday before Meatfare Sunday and two weeks before the beginning of Lent proper. Nevertheless, it would appear that at the end of the eighth century the monks of St. Sabas were observing the commemoration of the Sunday of Prodigal Son on the second Sunday of Lent. This practice is confirmed by the Jerusalem Georgian Lectionary, where the gospel reading for the second Sunday in Lent is in fact the story of the prodigal son: Tarchnischvili, *Le grand lectionnaire*, 66 (Geor) and 57 (Lat). The date in question is March 19, 797.

მათა. და რომელთა მე მათგანთა აქუნდა კობლები და კუერთხები და ამუდები. და აღჭურვილ იყვნეს ყოველნი და აღკუართულ დათხევად სისხლისა. და კმობედ კმითა საშინელითა და საზარელითა ბარბაროზებრითა. და გვთქუმიდეს სიკუდილსა შორით ვე გინებით და შინებით და სიქადულით : მაშინ ვითარცა ვიხილენით იგინი ხილვითა მით საშინელითა და შესაძრწუნებელითა. და რამეთუ სიმრავლეთა გან კმათა მათთადას ვითარცა ქუხილსა კმა-სცემდა ქუეყანად. მაშინ ჩუენ ყოველნი განვკემით შიშისა გან. და ყვთელ იქმნეს პირნი ჩუენნი პირველ სიკუდილისა. ხოლო თუალითა გულისა ჩუენისადათა ზეცად მიმართ ვხედევდით : მაშინ სისხლის-მჭამელნი იგი. რომელნი იყვნეს უმძვნვარეს მვეცთა ბუნებითა. და არა მსგავს კაცთა თავით თვისით. ურთიერთას განამძვნებდეს და აღაზრზედეს ჩუენ ზედა კრებულსა მას ღმრთის-მოძულეთასა. და მოგუეტევენეს ყოველნი ერთობით განკურვებულნი გულის-წყრომითა · ხოლო არა ვინ ჩუენგანი წინა-აღუდგა არცა სიტყვთა და არცა სხვთა რადთ : მაშინ მძვნვარებითა დიდითა უწყალოდ იწყეს ცემად ცხოვართა მათ ქრისტესთა... 20. . . . . και ἀφειδῶς ἔπληττον ἕκαστος τῷ μετὰ χειρᾶς κατεχομένῳ ὀπλῳ, ξίφει ἢ ῥοπάλῳ ἢ ῥάβδῳ ἢ τόξῳ· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ λίθους μεγάλους καὶ χειροπληθεῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνελόμενοι καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ χερσὶν εἰς ὕψος αἶροντες, πάσῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἔβαλλον.

21. Ἄλλ' οἴμοι, πῶς τῆς φρικτῆς καὶ ἔλεινῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης τὴν ἀνάμνησιν ἀδακρυτὶ ἐνέγκω; πῶς παραστήσαι δυνήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, ἅπερ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν ἐωράκασιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ δέκα μοι γλῶσσαι εἶεν καὶ τοσαῦτὰ γε νῦν τὰ στόματα (ὡς ἀληθῶς γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ λόγος κατὰ πολὺν ἐλάττων τε καὶ καταδεέστερος), ἀλλ' οὔτε τὰ δι' ἀκοῆς παραλαμβανόμενα φαντασθῆναι δύνανται ὡς τὰ δι' ὄψεως θεωρούμενα. Ἡ δὲ πείρα καὶ αἴσθησις ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπωτέρα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτως δρυτόμοι τινὲς καὶ ξυλοκόποι πολυδένδρω ἔμπεσόντες ὕλη ἀφειδῶς αὐτὴν κατακόπτουσιν, ὡς οἱ ὦμοι οὔτοι καὶ θηριώδεις καὶ ἀπάνθρωποι βάρβαροι καθάπερ ἐν μακελλείῳ τὰ σώματα τῶν πατέρων ἀνηλεῶς καὶ ἀσυμπαθῶς ταῖς πληγαῖς ἔκοπτον, οὐχ ὥστε ἐκφοβῆσαι ἢ μετρίως ἀλγῦναι, ἀλλ' ἦδη λοιπὸν καὶ θανατῶσαι καὶ πικρᾶ τελευτῇ παραδοῦναι. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ξίφεσιν ἔπαιον<sup>8</sup> τὰ μετάφρενα, τῶν δὲ λίθοις

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8. ἔπαιον is missing from the edition, which has only ξίφεσιν πάλιν. Nevertheless, the Acta Sanctorum reads here ξίφεσιν ἔπαιεν πάλιν. The manuscript is badly damaged and almost illegible at this point, at least in the digitally reproduced form to which I have access. Nevertheless, there is not room for two words between ξίφεσιν and τὰ. It is not entirely clear what this word is, although the visible characters look much more like *παι* than *παλ*, which would suggest reading ἔπαιον instead of πάλιν. Moreover, the grammatical structure of the text

hands and had drawn their bows, and some of them had cudgels and staffs and instruments of torture. They were all armed and equipped for shedding blood, and they were crying out with terrifying shouts and horrid barbarisms and also threatening us with death from afar with obscenities and threats and intimidation. Then when we saw them with their horrible and terrifying appearance, and because the earth was resounding with the multitude of their voices like thunder, then we all withered from fear, and our faces turned pale<sup>41</sup> before death, but we were looking toward heaven with the eyes of our heart. Then these bloodthirsty men, who were more wicked in nature than wild animals and not resembling in themselves human beings, were mutually enraging and stirring up this gathering of God-haters against us, and they all came upon us at once, inflamed with rage. But not one of us resisted them either with words or anything else. Then with great ferocity they began to strike the sheep of Christ ruthlessly,<sup>42</sup> 20. and they struck mercilessly, each one with the weapon that he had in hand, whether it was a sword, a cudgel, a staff, or a bow. Many took up great stones, as big as could be held in the hand, and raising them up with both hands, they threw them with all their strength at the saints.

21. But alas, how will I bear the remembrance of this horrible and pitiful time without tears? How can I produce in words what our eyes beheld? For [I could] not even if I had ten tongues and as many mouths (for truly words are far lesser and inferior to deeds), nor is it possible to make things that are received through hearing visible as things that are beheld with the eyes. But the experience and the sensation are more difficult than both, for even tree cutters and woodchoppers falling upon a forest thick with trees do not cut it so unsparingly as these cruel, savage, and inhuman barbarians mercilessly and relentlessly cut the bodies of the fathers with blows as if in a butcher shop, not in order to terrorize or cause sufficient pain, but in order to murder those who remained and to deliver them to a bitter end. For they struck some in the back with swords; they crushed heads of others to pieces by hurling

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41. Literally “yellow.”

42. The Greek resumes at this point.

μεγάλους καὶ βαρέσι τὰς κεφαλὰς βάλλοντες κατέθλων, τῶν δὲ τὰς κνήμας συνέντριβον, ἄλλων ξύλοις ἢ πέτραις τὰ πρόσωπα ἔτυπτον, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τινα μὴ τῷ λύθρῳ μεμολυσμένον καὶ βεβαμμένον καὶ περιρροόμενον αἵματι. Ὡσπερ δὲ λύκοι ἀγέλη προβάτων ἅμα ἠθροισμένη καὶ συνεχεῖ ἔμπεσόντες διασκορπίζουσι, οὕτως καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄγριοι καὶ ἀνήμεροι καὶ θηριότροποι τοῖς λογικοῖς καὶ πραέσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ θρέμμασι ἐμπεδήσαντες τὴν συνέχειαν αὐτῶν διέλυσαν. Εἶτα ἰκανῶς ὡς ἐν χαλκείῳ τοὺς ὀσίους σφυροκοπήσαντες, πάντας πανταχόθεν λίθων βολαῖς καὶ τραχέσι καὶ ἀπηγγιωμέναις βοαῖς ἄνωθεν διὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συνήλαυον.

22. Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν βίαν ταύτην καὶ ἀνάγκην παθόντες ἑαυτοὺς περικρύβειν ἐπειρῶντο, ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ σχισμαῖς ὀρέων καὶ ραγάσις ὑποδύμενοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ ὅμως λαθεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν. Τὸν γοῦν ἡγουμενιάρχη, ἦτο τὸν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τεταγμένον τῶν εἰς τὸ ἡγουμενεῖον καταλόντων ξένων, Ἰωάννην τῷ ὀνόματι, εὐλαβῆ δὲ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ τὸν τρόπον καὶ νέον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου δορυφόροι γνωρίσαντες, μυρίας πληγὰς καὶ λίθων βολὰς ἐπιθέντες καὶ νευροκοπήσαντες, ἡμιθανῆ πως ἀφέντες, οὐκέτι διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ποδῶν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλαυνόμενον κατιέναι παρέϊασαν, ἢ μὴ ἰσχύοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν πληγῶν ἀνάγκην, ἢ πρὸς μείζονα κόλασιν· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν κατασύροντες οἱ ἄσπλαγχοι καὶ ἀηλεεῖς διὰ πετρῶν καὶ τραχυτάτων λίθων ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς ὄρου ἀκρωρείας ἕως τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθεῖλκυσαν, ὡς εἴ τις κτήνος θνησιμαῖον ἢ ξύλον εὖροι ἀναίσθητον· πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δερματίδα τοῦ νώτου καὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν ἐκδείραντες<sup>9</sup> (καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος τε καὶ διάστημα, καὶ τοῦτο κάταντες), ὀλίγον πνέοντα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέθηκαν· ὃς τῷ καπνῷ πάλιν βασανισθεὶς τῷ Χριστῷ τὴν ψυχὴν παρέδωκεν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀσίων, περὶ ὧν σὺν θεῷ ῥηθήσεται.

23. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τῆς κακίας μαθηταὶ καὶ τοῦ φρονίμου εἰς τὸ κακοποιῆσαι ὄφειω υἱοὶ καὶ ἐχιδνῶν γεννήματα τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν ὑψηλοτέροις τόποις στήσαντες σκοπεύειν πρὸς τὸ εἶ τινα διαφυγεῖν βουλόμενον θεάσαιντο, [ἵνα] ἐπίσχωσι καὶ κωλύσωσι καὶ εἰς τὴν λαύραν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἄκοντα ἀποστρέψωσι. Τίς τοίνυν Δαμασκηνὸς τῷ γένει, Σέργιος τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἰδὼν τοὺς πατέρας ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων βαρβαρικῶς μετὰ

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seems to require such a verbal form here, as indicated by the constructions that follow, and ἔπαιον seems to be a more appropriate form than ἔπαιεν.

9. Correcting ἐκδήραντες, which is also the form in the manuscript, to read ἐκδείραντες as in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

large and heavy stones; they shattered the legs of some; others they struck in the face with sticks and rocks; and no one was seen who was not covered in gore and drenched and dripping with blood. But just as wolves falling upon a flock of sheep gathered together and following one another scatter [the herd], so also when these savage and brutal and beastly men leapt upon the rational and meek sheep of Christ, they dissolved their continuity. Then when they had sufficiently beaten the holy men as with a hammer in a forge, by throwing stones from all sides and with harsh and savage cries from above, they forced them all into the church in a torrent.

22. Therefore when some of the brothers suffered this violence and anguish, they tried to hide themselves, laying low in caves and clefts of the mountains and fissures, and a few even were able to escape notice. But the hegumeniarch, that is, the one appointed to receive guests staying in the hegumen's cell, a young man of steadfast and meek character named John, when the devil's spearmen discovered him, they struck him with innumerable blows and thrown stones and hamstrung him, leaving him half dead. And they did not allow him to go down into the church moving on his own feet, either because he did not have the strength on account of the pain of the blows, or to inflict an even greater punishment. But dragging him by the feet, the heartless and merciless men brought him down from the mountain ridge to the church over rocks and jagged stones, as if someone had found a dead animal or a senseless piece of wood. But stripping off all the skin of his back and hind parts (for the distance and length of the way was not small), they left him in the atrium of the church, barely breathing, this one who being tortured again for Christ with smoke gave up the spirit with the other holy men, about whom more will be said, God willing.

23. But they were disciples of the sophist of evil and the sons of the serpent who is wise in the ways of evil and the children of vipers, stationing some of their company in the higher places to keep watch so as to spot anyone who wanted to escape, so that they would stop him and catch him and return him captive to the lavra and the church. Now then a certain Damascene named Sergius, seeing the fathers barbarically driven and crammed together into the church by the barbarians

τοσαύτας πληγὰς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συναυνομένους καὶ συνωθουμένους (τοῦ βασανίσαι αὐτοὺς ἔνεκεν τοῦτο οἱ τρισάθλιοι καὶ κακεντρεχεῖς ἐπενόησαν καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν) – ἐγνώριζε δὲ τόπον ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἐν ᾧ τινα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερατικῶν πραγμάτων κεκρυμμένα ἐτύγχανον, καὶ γὰρ μαθητῆς ὑπῆρχε τοῦ καθωσιωμένου ἡγουμένου· φοβηθεὶς οὖν μήποτε ὡς ἄνθρωπος τὴν βίαν τῶν βασάνων μὴ φέρων τὸν τόπον καταμηνύσει καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο κρίματι ὑποπέσει ὡς προδοὺς τὰ ἅγια τοῖς κυσὶ καὶ τὰ τῷ θεῷ προσενηχθέντα τοῖς τοῦ Σατανᾶ παρασχῶν θεραπευταῖς, ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ μακάριος καὶ κρεῖττον ὑπάρχειν φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου κρίματος κερδήσαι φυγὴν καὶ ἐκλύτρωσιν.

24. Τοῦτον τοιγαροῦν δρόμῳ ὑποχωροῦντα καὶ μακράν που τῆς λαύρας γενόμενον οἱ εἰς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι φύλακες θεασάμενοι, καταβάντες συνέλαβον, καὶ δὴ ξίφεσι νύττοντες εἰς τὴν λαύραν πάλιν ὑποστρέφειν ἠνάγκαζον· ὁ δὲ εὐθαρσεὶ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἀδειλάντῳ φρονήματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐχ ὑποστρέφω κελευόντων ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ γὰρ δι' εὐχὴν ἢ θεοσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡμᾶς εἰσιεῖναι κελεύετε σήμερον. Οὐ τὴν ἀνδρίαν καὶ ἔνστασιν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι κατεπλάγησαν. Πάλιν δὲ ἐμβριθῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς καθυβρίζοντες καὶ λίθοις κόπτοντες ἐπανιέναι προσέταττον· ὁ δὲ οὐδόλως αὐτῶν ἐπειθάρχει τῷ ἐπιτάγματι. Τοῦτον τοῖνυν γυμνὸν ἐπανατείνοντες διεβεβαιοῦντο αὐτὸν καρατομήσειν, εἰ μὴ ἐπαναδράμῃ ἐπιτρεπόμενος· ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ἀθλητῆς τὴν αὐτὴν καρτερίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, κατ' ἀνατολὰς ἑαυτὸν τρέψας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ στόματος πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς οἰκοῦντα Χριστὸν ἄρας, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεφθέγγετο· Ἐγὼ μὲν δι' ὑμετέρας κελεύσεως τωτέως ἐκεῖσε οὐκ ἐπανερχομαι· εἰ δέ μου τὴν κάραν ἀφελέσθαι, ὡς φατε, βούλεσθε, τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραχωροῦντος οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμπόδιον. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπέκλινε· τοῦτο δὲ τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν συννευρεθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ στραφεὶς ἐξηγήσατο· Ἀναπηδήσας δέ τις τῶν ἀποστατῶν, ζήλῳ καὶ θυμῷ βράσας καὶ τὸν διάβολον ἐγκυμονήσας, παρὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἑταίρου τὸ ξίφος ἀποσπᾶσας τοῦ μακαρίου τὸν τράχηλον ἔπαισεν. Μὴ κορέσας δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν μανίαν, δευτέραν αὐτῷ πληγὴν καὶ τρίτην ἐπήγαγεν· εἷς τινα δὲ χείμαρρον ὠθήσαντες λίθους αὐτῷ μεγάλους ἐπέρριψαν, ὥστε σχεδὸν ὄλον συνθλάσαι τοῦ ὀσίου τὸ σκῆνωμα. Οὕτως γενναίως κατὰ τῆς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ μεθοδείας ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀντικαταστάς μέχρις αἵματος, καὶ μηδὲν τῆς ἄκρας ἀρετῆς ὄλως ὑποχαλάσας τε καὶ ὑφέμενος διὰ δειλίας πάθος ἀγεννὲς καὶ οἰκτρότατον, ἢ διὰ θανάτου φόβον παρόντα καὶ ἀπειλούμενον,

after such blows (the thrice-unhappy and aggressively wicked men were plotting and planning to torture them on account of this), knew of a place in an obscure corner, where some of the sacred items of the church happened to be hidden, for he was a disciple of the devoted hegumen. Therefore fearing lest as a human being he would not be able to bear the violence of the tortures and would reveal the location and by this would fall under condemnation for giving over holy things to dogs<sup>43</sup> and handing over things consecrated to God to the minions of Satan, this blessed one thought it necessary and that it would be better to flee and to gain escape and redemption from such condemnation.

24. Therefore when the guards that had been posted for this purpose saw him running away and being a little far from the lavra, they came down and captured him, and with pointed swords they were forcing him to return to the lavra. But he answered them with a courageous heart and a fearless mind, "I will not return at your command, for today you order us to enter the church neither for prayer nor for worship of God." The barbarians were astonished by his audacity and resolve. And abusing him violently and ruthlessly and striking him with stones, they again ordered him to return, but he did not obey their command at all. Therefore stretching him out naked, they promised to behead him if he would not return as commanded. But showing perseverance, the noble athlete turned himself to the east and raised the eyes of his heart along with his mouth to Christ dwelling in heaven, and he spoke to them directly, "I will not go back there now at your command, but if you wish, as you say, to take my head, with Christ allowing it, there is nothing standing in your way." And when he said these things he also bent his neck; and one of the brothers who was found with him returned and related this. And one of the apostates leapt forth, trembling with jealousy and wrath and having conceived the devil within him, and drawing a sword from his companion, he struck the blessed one's neck. But not satisfying his own madness, he laid a second blow on him and a third. And pushing him into some gully, they threw great stones on him, so that they crushed the holy one's body almost completely. Contending for the prize so nobly against the wiles of the enemy and standing against sin even to the point of blood, and slacking not in the least from the pinnacle of virtue and not submitting in cowardice to shameful and pathetic emotion or in death to impending and

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43. Cf. Matt 7:6.

εὐγενῆς ὄντως ἐκφανθεὶς καὶ θεοειδῆς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ στερρότατος, πρῶτος τοῦ μαρτυρίου τὸν στέφανον ἀνεδήσατο. Τούτου τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον μετὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων κομίσαντες ἀναχώρησιν ὅλον βεβαμμένον καὶ πεφοινιγμένον, μᾶλλον δὲ λελουμένον καὶ κεκαθαρμένον τοῖς αἵμασιν, ἐν θήκαις ὅσαις ὀσίως ἐθήκαμεν μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν ἀναιρεθέντων ὀσίων πατέρων συνθήματος. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου συνέχαιαν ἐπανέλθωμεν.

25. Οἱ ποικίλοι τῇ κακίᾳ στασιασταὶ καὶ δεινοὶ καὶ παμπόνηροι προπέψαντες ἦσαν τινὰς αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πέραν κατ' ἀνατολὰς τοῦ χειμάρρου, ὅθεν τὰ δυτικὰ μέρη φανερῶς ὡς ἐνώπιον φαίνονται, ἵνα τοὺς φυγεῖν καὶ λαθεῖν καὶ κρυβῆναι εἰς ἄντρον ἢ ὀπήν ἢ ὑπὸ σκέπην πέτρας ἐθέλοντας φωνῇ καὶ χειρὶ τοῖς ὁμόφοροι διαδείξωσι καὶ μνηύσωσι· καὶ οὕτως λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς τὴν θανατηφόρον αὐτῶν σαγήνην καὶ περιφορὰν διαφυγεῖν ἢ ἐξειλῆσαι ἴσχυσε, πάντων πανταχοῦ ἀναζητουμένων καὶ καταμηνυμένων, ὡς εἴρηται.

26. Ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου γενόμενος οὐ παραδράμω τὸν γενναῖον καὶ καρτερόφρονα καὶ ὄντως τῆς τελείας ἀγάπης τὸν τέλειον ὄρον ἐφθακότα καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τελέσαντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ θέμις τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγῳ παραδραμεῖν ἀστηλίτευτον, ἀξιάγαστον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντα καὶ Χριστοῦ μιμητὴν χριστομίμητον. Ἄνθρωπινὸν στενωπὸν τινὲς τῶν ἀδελφῶν προσέφυγον διωκόμενοι, ἐν ᾧ κρυβῆναι καὶ λαθεῖν τοὺς λυμεῶνας καὶ βδελυροὺς προσεδόκησαν. Τούτους τις τῶν ἀντικρὺ κατ' ἀνατολὰς σκοπευτῆρων τὴν ὀπήν ὑπείσερχομένους θεώμενος, φωνῇ μεγάλῃ δακτυλοδεικτῶν τοῖς συναποστάταις τὸ ἄντρον ἐμήνυσεν. Ἐπιστὰς δὲ τις ξιφῆρης τῇ θύρᾳ καὶ εἰσὸδῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ὀπῆς, μετὰ κραυγῆς σφοδρᾶς καὶ φοβερᾶς ἐπιπλήξας τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ἔνδον ἐξίεναι προσέταττεν· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ὡς φωραθέντες καὶ ἀλῶναι μέλλοντες καὶ πικραῖς παραδοθῆναι βασάνοις τῷ φόβῳ ὑπέπτηξαν. Ἦσαν δὲ πέντε τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ὁ εἷς ἀξιωμαμόνευτος, θαυμάσιός τε καὶ ἀξιεπαῖνος, Ἀδραϊνὸς τῷ γένει, τῇ δὲ προσηγορίᾳ Πατρίκιος. Τοὺς ἐταίρους ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συναδελφοὺς ἰδὼν τῇ δειλίᾳ ἀσχάλλοντας, θείου ζήλου καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ φιλαδελφίας γενόμενος ἔμπλεως, θαρσαλέως ἀνώρμησεν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένοις ἀδελφοῖς προσωμίλησε· Ὁρασεῖτε, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ ὁμόψυχοι· ἐγὼ τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀναδέχομαι κίνδυνον καὶ θάνατον σήμερον· ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας

threatening fear, being revealed as so noble and God-like in soul and most resolute, he was the first to win the martyr's crown. After the barbarians' departure, we retrieved the holy remains of this man, which were completely drenched and reddened with blood, but even more washed and purified by it, and we placed it reverently in the holy graves with the holy assembly of the holy fathers who died on that day. But these things happened later, and let us return to the sequence of the account.

25. These men, clever in the ways of evil, seditious and fearsome and utterly depraved, were sending forth some of their company over to the east of the gully, from where the western parts were clearly visible before them, so that with hands or by voice they could make known and reveal to those united with them any men who were trying to flee or remain unseen or hide in a cave or a hole or beneath the cover of a rock. And so then no one was able to flee or escape their death-bringing net and perimeter, since, as said, everyone was being sought for and made known everywhere.

26. But having come to this point in the discourse, I should not skip past this noble and valiant one who attained the full measure of perfect virtue and accomplished the deed. For it would not be not right to skip past one who so admirably imitated Christ that he was truly an imitator of Christ without a memorial in words. Some of the brothers who were being pursued fled to take refuge in a very narrow cave, in which they were hoping to hide and escape the notice of the loathsome destroyers. When one of the watchmen over to the east saw them sneaking into the hole, he revealed the cave to his fellow insurgents with a loud voice, pointing with a finger. And a swordsman stationed by the opening and entrance of the hole was ordered to drive out those within with forceful and fearsome shouting. But the brothers, having been discovered and about to be captured and handed over to severe tortures, were cowering with fear. There were five of them, one of whom is worthy of mention, a man named Patricius, admirable and worthy of praise, who was from the city of Adra.<sup>44</sup> Seeing his own companions and brothers distressed with fear, he was filled with divine zeal and love and brotherly love, and he rose up boldly and addressed the brothers who were hiding with him: "Have courage, my beloved and soul-bound brothers! I will face danger

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44. According to the *Acta sanctorum*, Adra was a city in Arabia Petraea near Trachonitis.

λυτρώσεως ταῖς τῶν ἀνελεημόνων βαρβάρων χερσίν ἐμαυτὸν προθύμως ἐκδίδωμι· ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζόμενοι σιγὴν μοι καὶ ἀφωνίαν ἀσκήσατε καὶ τοῦ σπηλαίου ἀπρόϊτοι διαμείνατε. Καὶ ταῦτα ψιθυρίσας ἐξέθωρε καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰμοπότην ἐξελήλυθε βάρβαρον, καὶ Ἄγωμεν ἔφη, ὅπου κελεύεις. Ὁ δὲ Καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἶπεν ἐξάγαγε, οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἔνδον κεκρυμμένοι τυγχάνουσιν. Ὁ δὲ γενναῖος τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτης καὶ ἀριστεὺς ἀκατάπληκτος δισχυρίζετο καὶ λόγοις πλείστοις τὸν δῆμιον ἐπληροφόρει καὶ ἔπειθεν, ὡς μονώτατος ὑπῆρχεν ἔνδον κρυπτόμενος καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ παράπαν ἐτύγχανεν. Τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις τὸν ἀσεβῆ πείσας ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ φιλαδελφίας προασπιστῆς καὶ ὑπέρμαχος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλάμβανεν, αὐτὸς ἐκείνῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ προηγούμενος προθυμώτατα.

27. Ὡ γενναίης καὶ θεοφόρου φυχῆς ὦ στερρᾶς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνου καρδίας· ὦ ἀγάπης ἐνθέου καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς, αὐτὸν τὸν ἀκρότατον καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατον τῆς τελειότητος ὄρον τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ σωτῆρος τελεσθέντα καὶ θεσμοθετηθέντα σφραγισάσης ἐν τούτῳ γάρ φησι γινώσκονται πάντες, ὅτι ἐμοὶ μαθηταὶ ἐστε, ἐὰν ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους. Τὸ δὲ μέτρον τῆς ἀγάπης ὅποσον ἐστίν, ἐγνώρισεν ἐπαγαγών· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ ἔργῳ ποιήσας ὁ πανάριστος οὗτος καὶ ἀξιοῦμνητος Πατρικίος φαίνεται. Μακάριος ὄντως ὑπάρχεις, τρισόλβιε, ὅτι πληρωτῆς τῆς καινῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῆς ἀνελλιπῶς ἐχρημάτισας (ἰδοὺ γάρ φησιν ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους), ὅτι κατ' ἴχνος τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ ὡς δούλος εὐγνώμων καὶ εὐπειθῆς μαθητῆς ἠκολούθησας, ὅτι σύμμορφος τῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων γενόμενος εἰκότως κοινωνὸς καὶ συμμετοχὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης καὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανοῖς βασιλείας πέφηνας. Μέμνησο οὖν καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐκ πόθου τὴν σὴν εὐφημούντων ἀνδριαν, ἀοίδιμε. Σοῦ γὰρ τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ποθῶ μὲν καὶ γνησίως ἐφίεμαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς μυρίων ἐπαίνων ἐπάξιος πέφυκας, εἰ καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνώτερος καὶ ἀνευδεὴς εὐφημιῶν καὶ κρότων καθέστηκας· ἀλλὰ με δῆμος ὄλος ἀναμένει μαρτύρων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεδειγμένων μαρτυρίαν καὶ στερρότητα, καὶ τὴν ἴσῃν πρόθεσιν καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης τελειώσιν μέχρις ἐσχάτων ἐν βασάνοις, ἀναπνοῶν φυλαξάντων ἀλώβητον, ὡς δήπουθεν ὁ λόγος ἀποδείξει φανότατα· δέδοικα δὲ μὴ ὄγκον

and death today on your behalf; I will surrender myself willingly into the hands of the merciless barbarians for the sake of your deliverance. But you remain sitting here and keep silent and speechless for me, and continue to stay in the cave." And after whispering these things, he rushed forth and went out to the bloodthirsty barbarian and said, "Let us go wherever you command." And he said, "And bring out the rest of those who happen to be hiding in there with you." But the noble soldier and undaunted hero of Christ responded confidently, and he assured and persuaded the executioner with many words that he was hiding completely alone inside and there was absolutely no one else with him. The champion and defender of love and brotherly love persuaded the godless one with these words, and he brought him to the church, showing him the way with great enthusiasm.

27. O noble and God-bearing soul! O steadfast and adamant heart! O godly and pure love, sealing the most exalted and most pure measure of perfection fulfilled and ordained by the universal savior! "For by this," he said, "all will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another."<sup>45</sup> The measure of this love he made known, adding, "For this is perfect love, that a man would lay down his life for his friends,"<sup>46</sup> which the most excellent and worthily praised Patricius manifests in doing this deed. You are truly blessed, O thrice-happy one, for you were deemed one who fulfills the new commandment of Christ completely ("For behold," he said, "a new commandment I give you, that you love one another");<sup>47</sup> you followed in the footsteps of the master Christ as a faithful servant and an obedient disciple, and you were shown to be conformed to his sufferings, having likewise become one who shares and participates in his glory and the kingdom in heaven. Therefore remember us, O illustrious one, we who praise your virtue with affection! I earnestly long to linger over your praises and send them up. Truly you are worthy of innumerable praises, even if you stand above and in no need of praises and applause from us. But the entire assembly of martyrs expects [this] of me, having shown the same martyrdom and resolve, and preserving equal purpose and perfection of love, unblemished even to the last breaths in torments, as this discourse will show most clearly. And I fear lest I will add weight to the account.

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45. John 13:35.

46. Cf. John 15:13.

47. John 13:34.

ἐπιθήσω τῷ διηγῆματι. Τούτου τοίνυν, ἀγαπητοί, τοῦ στερεμνίου νεανίου τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀθρήσας τελείαν Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς τῶν γνώσεων καὶ ἐτάξων καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς, τελείω τοῦ μαρτυρίου στεφάνω κοσμήσας κατέστεψεν· εἰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἠύρεθη τῶν βασάνω καπνοῦ τελευτησάντων, ὡς ἐμφανίζειν ὁ λόγος ἐπείγεται.

28. Συναθροίσαντες τοιγαροῦν τοὺς πατέρας οἱ φονικοὶ καὶ ἀλάστορες, τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἡγουμενείῳ, οἱ λῆσταιχοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προύχοντες τοὺς ἐν διακρίσει φανέντας καὶ δόξαντας αὐτοὺς πρώτους τῶν μοναχῶν συλλαβόμενοι, Ἐξαγοράσατε ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν τετρακισχιλίῳ νομισμάτων ἔφησαν, ἢ τάχιστα ὑμᾶς ἀποκεφαλίσθῃναι κελεύομεν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ναὸν ἐμπυρίζομεν. Οἱ δὲ πατέρες δυσωπητικῶς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν λέγοντες· Φείσασθε ἡμῶν διὰ τὸν θεόν, καὶ μὴ ἀδίκως τὰ αἵματα ἡμῶν<sup>10</sup> ἐκχέητε σήμερον· ἦν δὲ χρυσοῦ ποσότητα λέγετε, οὔτε κεκτήμεθα, οὔτε ἐκτησάμεθα πώποτε. Εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀρέσκει, ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ ὑμῶν<sup>11</sup> τὰ ἱμάτια ἡμῶν ἃ περιβεβλήμεθα· καὶ εἰς τὰ ἴδια δὲ κελλία χειραγωγούμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀνεπικρύπτως δεικνύομεν καὶ προθύμως παρέχομεν· μόνον ἡμῖν τὸ ζῆν καὶ γυμνοὺς παρασχεῖν παρακλήθητε. Οἱ δὲ ὡς τὰ μέγιστα ἀδικούμενοι ἡγριαίνοντο, καὶ ἐν τῷ ξηροκῆπῳ τοῦ ἡγουμενείου ἐξαγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ἐφώνουν κραυγῇ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας (καὶ γὰρ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν πλῆθος Αἰθιόπων) ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ξίφη καὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐπισπεύδοντες, ὅπως αὐτόθι τοὺς πατέρας δειροτομήσωσιν. Ὡς δὲ ξιφήρεις παρέστησαν οἱ μελανοὶ καὶ ζοφεροὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι, γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη βαρβαρικῶς ὀλολύζοντες ἔσειον· καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον δὲ σταυροειδῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείναντα πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ ἔστησαν καὶ κατατοξεύειν ἡμελλον, ταῖς νευραῖς τὰς τῶν βελῶν γλυφίδας προσπελάσαντες καὶ τὰ τόξα τείναντες, θανατοῦν τε αὐτοὺς ἠπέιλουν, εἰ μὴ οἴσωσι τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιζητούμενα καὶ ἐξοίσωσι τὰ κεκρυμμένα (φασί) τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ σκεύη τε καὶ κειμήλια. Οἱ δὲ πατέρες πάσῃ δυνάμει πληροφορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡγωνίζοντο, ὡς οὔτε χρυσὸν κέκτηνται οὐδὲ θησαυρὸν χρυσῶν γινώσκουσι. Καὶ Δεῖξατε ἡμῖν ἔφησαν τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν λογάδας καὶ προύχοντας, τοὺς ταμιούχους καὶ τῶν τῆς λαύρας καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑμῶν πραγμάτων διοικητάς τε καὶ φύλακας, ἢ αὐθωρὶ τοῦ ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἀπαλλάττομεν. Οἱ δὲ πατέρες πάλιν ἀπεκρίναντο· Εἴπαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἤδη ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν ζητουμένων κεκτήμεθα· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἡγούμενον ἡμῶν ἐπιζητεῖτε, γνῶτε ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οὐ πάρεστιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἴσοι ἐσμεν

10. Correcting ὑμῶν to read ἡμῶν as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

11. Correcting ἡμῶν to read ὑμῶν as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

Now then, beloved, when Christ the God of knowledge, who searches hearts and minds,<sup>48</sup> observed the perfect devotion of this steadfast young man, he crowned him, adorning him with the perfect crown of martyrdom. And this one also was found among those who died in the torture of the smoke, as this discourse hastens to make known.

28. Therefore when the murderers and wicked men gathered the fathers together, some in the church, others in the hegumen's cell, their chief robbers and leaders seized those who seemed and appeared under scrutiny to be the foremost among the monks, and they said, "Ransom yourselves and your church for four thousand coins, or we will order that you are to be beheaded immediately and set fire to your church." But the fathers pleaded with them most urgently, saying, "Spare us for the sake of God, and do not shed our blood today unjustly! We do not have nor have we ever had the amount of gold that you say. But if it pleases you, take the clothes that we are wearing. And we will lead you to our own cells and show all our things openly and hand them over willingly. Only allow us to live and leave us naked." But they became enraged, as if they had been greatly wronged, and leading them out to the courtyard of the hegumen's cell, with a shout they called the Ethiopians (for there were many Ethiopians among them), to come quickly and draw their swords in order to cut the throats of the fathers there. When the swordsmen arrived, black and dark in soul and body, they shook their drawn swords barbarically while ululating. And they stood the steward against the wall, with his hands spread out like a cross, and they were about to shoot him with arrows, bringing the notched end of their arrows to their bowstrings and stretching their bows. And they were threatening to kill them, if they would not bring what they sought and produce the hidden (or so they said) gold and silver sacred vessels and treasures of the church. But the fathers sought with all their might to assure them that they neither had any gold nor did they know any treasury of gold. And they said, "Show us your leaders and first men, the keepers of the storerooms, the administrators and guards of the things of the lavra and church, or we will release you from life immediately." But the fathers answered again, "We have told you already that we have nothing of what you seek. But if you seek our hegumen, know that he is not here, and the rest of the fathers are equal

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48. Ps 7:10 (7:9). Literally "reins, kidneys."

καὶ ὁμότιμοι. Καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις πρὸ καιροῦ τινος ὁ θεοφιλῆς ἡγούμενος διὰ τινος χρείας τῆς λαύρας ὑπῆρχεν ἀπόδημος. Ἐπὶ ὥρας οὖν ἰκανῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβήσαντες πάλιν ἠγάγον καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἔξω τοῦ ἡγουμενείου ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ τόπῳ, ὅπου τὰς καμήλους ἀποφορτίζειν εἰώθασιν· κάκεισε αὐτοὺς στήσαντες καὶ σχηματίσαντες τὰ αὐτὰ μετ' ὀργῆς ἠπειλοῦν καὶ προεβάλλοντο οἱ ἀλάστορες, καὶ αὖθις οἱ πατέρες τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς ἀπελογοῦντο καὶ ἀπεκρίνοντο. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ποθουμένων ἀνύουσι, καὶ ὅτι ἔτοιμοι εἰς τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ δίκαιοι, καταγαγόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀπαντας λοιπὸν ὁμοῦ ἀθρόως τοὺς πατέρας παρέστησαν, καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα ἔλεινόν, δακρῶν καὶ στεναγμῶν καὶ θρήνων ὄντας<sup>12</sup> ἄξιον, [a.]<sup>13</sup> რამეთუ იყვნეს ყოველნი ვე ცემულნი. და ყოველნი ვე მოწყლულნი წყლულებითა ბოროტითა და საზარელითა. ყოველნი ასონი გუამისა მათისანი · და არცადა ერთი მათგანი დაშთომილ იყო თვნიერ გუემისა და წყლულებისა. არამედ რომელთა მე თავი დაილეწა ქვითა. და პირნი მათნი და სამოსელი მათი შებდალულ იყო სისხლითა · რომელთა მე პირნი მათნი და კბილნი დაემუსრნეს კომბლითა.<sup>14</sup> და ესრეთ თმაჲ და წუერი მათი ურთიერთას შეკრულ იყო სისხლითა · რომელნი მე კელობდეს · რომელნი მე ბობღვიდეს.<sup>15</sup> და რომელნი მე ქუემძურებოდეს : ტკივილთა მათ გან წყლულებათაჲსა ვერ შემძლებელ იყ<ვ>ნეს სლვად. და რომელნი მე ისხნეს ქუეყანასა ზედა ვითარცა მკუდარნი : [b.] რამეთუ ძვრძვრად გუემულეებისა მის გან სულნი მათნი შემოკლებულ იყვნეს. და ენანი მათნი განჴმელ იყვნეს პირთა შინა მათთა ჴირისა გან და სალმობათა · და არა აქუნდა მათ ნაწუეთი წყლისაჲ. რომლითამცა პირნი მათნი დაისოვლნეს<sup>16</sup> : ვინმცა უკუე იხილნა ჟამსა მას სამწყსონი იგი ქრისტესნი მართალნი და უბიწონი ესრეთ უწყალოდ განჴრილნი სისხლის-მჴამელთა მათ მკეცთა გან. და არამცა მწარედ ტიროდა და მწუხარედ იგლოვდა :

12. Correcting ὄντας to read ὄντας as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

13. Here again there is a lacuna in the Greek manuscript, which has been restored from the Georgian version. The letters have been added for ease of citation.

14. Blake's edition has here კობლითა, which must be either a typo or an error in the manuscripts, since it does not correspond with any form in the lexica; his translation, however, indicates the correction above.

15. Blake's edition has here ბობვიდეს, which must be either a typo or an error in the manuscripts, since does not correspond with any form in the lexica; his translation, however, indicates the correction above.

16. დასოვლნეს is presumably a typo in the edition.

and of the same rank.” For in truth the God-pleasing hegumen had been away from the lavra for some time to attend to some business. Therefore when they had terrified them sufficiently for some time, once again they took them and brought them forth from the hegumen’s cell into a wide space, where they would normally unload the camels. Standing them there and arranging them, the wicked men threatened and proposed the same things with wrath, and the fathers again replied and answered the same things to them. And when they saw that they were not accomplishing any of the things that were desired, and that the righteous men were ready to be killed by them, they led them down into the church and then stood all the fathers together there. And it was a pitiful sight to behold, truly worthy of tears and groaning and lamentations, [a.]<sup>49</sup> for they were all beaten and wounded with vicious and severe wounds, every member of their body, and not a single one of them was left without injury and wounding. But the heads of some had been smashed with stones, and their faces and clothes were stained with blood; the faces and teeth of others had been smashed with clubs, and their hair and beards were matted with blood. Some were lame; others were crawling. And some were covered with wounds; they were not able to move on account of the pain of the wounds. And some were laying on the ground as if they were dead. [b.] For their breath was short from the gruesome torment, and their tongues were dried up in their mouths from the distress and pain. And they did not have a drop of water with which they could wet their mouths. Who then would look upon the righteous and innocent flock of Christ at that time, so mercilessly butchered by bloodthirsty beasts, and not weep bitterly and mourn sorrowfully.

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49. Again there is a lacuna in the Greek manuscript, and the restored passage is translated from the Georgian.

[c.] სოლო რომელი იგი შემდგომად მისა ყოფად იყო სატანჯველი იგი უფროდს სატირელ და საგლოელ არს · რამეთუ ბარბაროზთა მათ სამგზის დაწყებულთა. რომელნი უზეშთაეს იყვნეს ეშმაკთა სიბოროტითა. პოვეს სამამასახლისოს ფრიადი ლერწამი კონეულად დაკრული. რომლისა მე საჯმრისა თვს მოღებული აქლემებითა. და შთამოიღეს იგი ეზოსა ეკლესიისასა. და კუალად შეკრიბეს ფრიადი ჩალად და შეშად. და შეიღეს იგი ღმრთივ-შწნებულსა მას ეკლესიასა. რომელ არს ქუაბი. რადთა მუნ შინა ტანჯნენ კუამლისა სიმწარითა. და დაუდვეს იგი წინაშე თუალთა წმიდათა მათ · და ფრიადითა სიქადულითა ჰრქუეს მათ · მოგუეცით უკუე მონაგები იგი. რომელ ვითხოეთ თქუენ გან. პირველ მოწევნამდე თქუენ ზედა სატანჯველთა.<sup>17</sup> ანუ გვჩუენენით წინამძღუარნი და განმგებელნი ლავრისა თქუენისანი. რომელთა იციან ადგილი ხუასტაგისად: [d.] ამას და ესე-ვითარსა სიქადულითა ეტყოდეს მამათა უღმრთონი იგი. და არა ვინ იპოვა მათ შორის. რომელმანმცა უთხრა გინა უჩუენა მათ რომელსა ითხოვდეს და ეძიებდეს · და რამეთუ ესე ყოველნი რომელთა ეძიებდეს მუნ იყვნეს მათ თანა მდგომარე. არამედ ყოველთა გულნი და გონებანი ქრისტეს მიმართ განუფინნეს. და ილოცვიდეს ლმობიერად. რადთა მშჯდობით დაწვენ მას ზედა და დაიძინონ. რამეთუ წარეწირა სასოებად მათი ცხორებისა გან საწუთროდსა. და მოელოდეს მიცვალებასა ცნორებად საუკუნოდ : [e.] მაშინ ნეტარი ანასტასი მთავარ-დიაკონი ლავრისად შეიპყრეს ღმრთის-მოძულეთა მათ. და მოიყვანეს იგი წინაშე საფლავსა მამისა ჩუენისა საბაისსა · და სცემდეს ორკერძო ვე იმიერ და ამიერ განსხირპულსა. და მრავალ-გზის აზმნობდეს თავისა მოკუეთასა. რადთა უჩუენოს მათ სამალავი ეკლესიისად. გინა სხუად ნუ რად: და ამან უწყოდა მრავალი ჭურჭერი ეკლესიისად დამალული. და არად აღუვარა ამისგანი ძალთა მათ ყოვლად ვე. არამედ აღირჩია სიკუდილი . . . . 29. . . . . ἢν προελόμενος ὁν τῷ καπνῷ πνίξαντες ἀπέκτειναν, ὡς ῥηθήσεται.

30. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προμνημονευθέντα ἰατρόν, φημί δὴ ἀββᾶν Θωμᾶν, τὸν ταῖς κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀρεταῖς διαπρέποντα καὶ τὴν Παλαιὰν Λαύραν ὁσίως διέποντα σήμερον, ἄξιον σιγῆς παραδοῦναι. Ἐκ σκαιοῦ γὰρ δαίμονος ὑποβληθέντες οὗτοι οἱ τῶν δαιμόνων θεραπευταί, ἐνόμιζον χρήματα εὐρεῖν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ· ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐπίσημος. Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντες περιήεσαν ἅπαντας τοὺς πατέρας ὑποδείξαι αὐτοῖς τὸν

17. სატანჯველთა is presumably a typo in the edition.

[c.] Nevertheless, the one who was tortured after this took place is to be wept for and mourned even more. For the thrice-accursed barbarians, who were even more evil than demons, found in the hegumen's cell many reeds bound in bunches,<sup>50</sup> brought there by camel for some use. And they brought them down to the courtyard of the church, and then they gathered much straw and wood and brought it to the God-built church, which is the cave, in order to torture them therein with the bitterness of smoke. And they placed it before the eyes of the holy ones and spoke to them with many threats: "Give us then the money that we have asked from you, before this torment comes upon you, or reveal to us the leaders and stewards of your lavra, who know the place where the wealth is." [d.] The godless men spoke this and other similar things to the fathers with threats, but no one was found among them who would tell them or reveal what they were asking and seeking. For all those whom they were seeking were standing there with them, but the hearts and minds of all were stretched forth to Christ, and they were praying fervently that they would lie down on him and fall asleep peacefully, for they had abandoned all their hope for this fleeting life and were expecting to pass into eternal life. [e.] Then the God-haters seized the blessed Anastasius, the archdeacon of the lavra, and they led him before the tomb of our father Sabas. And they beat him from both sides, stretched out here and there, and they threatened many times to cut off his head, so that he would reveal to them a secret hiding place or some other nonexistent thing. And he knew that many sacred vessels of the church were hidden, but he confessed nothing at all about this to the dogs.<sup>51</sup> 29. And although preferring life, he chose death, and they killed him by choking him with smoke, as will be told.

30. But it would not be fitting to leave in silence what happened with regard to the aforementioned doctor, that is, Abba Thomas, who is distinguished in Christian virtue and today is piously directing the Old Lavra. For being provoked by some sinister demon, these servants of the demons thought that they would discover wealth through this father, since he was quite distinguished. But not knowing what he looked like, they went around to each of the fathers, demanding that

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50. კონეულად does not have a corresponding form in the lexica, but it would appear to derive from კონა, meaning "bunch, bundle, or sheaf," which is how Blake translates it as well.

51. The Greek resumes at this point.

ιατρὸν ἀπαιτοῦντες. Οἱ δὲ τίμιοι πατέρες καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐγενεῖς καὶ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ φιλάδελφοι, καίπερ ἐν μέσοις αὐτὸν ἔχοντες, οὐ χειρὶ οὐ λόγῳ οὐ νεύματι αὐτὸν διεδήλωσαν. πρὸς ὅπερ μᾶλλον ἀγριωθέντες οἱ ἐκ φύσεως ἄγριοι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀσίων θαυμάσαντες καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες ἀγάπην καὶ φιλάδελφον σχέσιν καὶ ἔνστασιν, ἔπαιον ράβδοις καὶ ἔνυττον μαχαίραις καὶ βέλεσιν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ὑποδειχθῇ ὁ ζητούμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἦνυον. Ὡς οὖν ἀνήνυτα ἀπαιτοῦντες ἀπέκαμον, πάντας ὁμοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐνδότατον τοῦ σπηλαίου εἰσήγαγον.

31. Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ τόπου διαγράψαι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κατάδηλον. Ἡ μὲν θεόκτιστος αὕτη ἐκκλησία σπήλαιον ὑπάρχει εὐρύχωρον, θέσιν ἀπὸ τῆς προνοίας τοιαύτην λαχόν, ὡς τύπον ἐκκλησίας ἔχουσαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταύτην τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν δεξάμενον. ὡς κόγχην γὰρ κατ' ἀνατολὰς ἔχει. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ βόρειον μέρος κατὰδυσίς τις ἔστι καὶ σχῆμα ἐνδόμυχον, οὐπερ ἀποτεμόμενοι τι οἱ πρῶην πατέρες διακονικὸν πεποιήκασιν, ἐσώτερον δὲ τοῦ διακονικοῦ κειμηλιαρχεῖον, ἥτοι σκευοφυλάκιον. ἔτι δὲ τούτου ἐνδότατον ραγὰς βαθεῖα ὡς ρύμη τις ἀφεγγῆς καὶ στενωπὸς ὁδὸς κοχλιοειδῶς ὡς διὰ μυχῶν τινων ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγουμενεῖον ἀνάγουσα, δι' ἧς μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάβας ἔσθ' ὅτε εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατῆι, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ βίῳ τέτακται. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς ἡγούμενοι ἔφραξαν ἄνωθεν τὴν τοιαύτην δίοδον, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἡ αὕτη ραγὰς ἀνέκβατος καὶ ἀδιεξόδεντος καὶ σκότους βαθυτάτου ἀνάμεστος, ὡς καὶ δίχα καπνοῦ βάσανον εἶναι τὴν ἐκεῖσε κατάκλεισιν.

32. Ἐν ταύτῃ οὖν τῇ ὀπῇ καὶ τῷ χάσματι τοὺς πατέρας μετὰ βίας ἐμβalόντες οἱ ἄθεοι, πυρκαϊὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ στόμιον αὐτῆς ἤψαν. Ἰγρῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν καλάμων, καπνὸν ἀπετέλουν πολὺν τε καὶ ἄμετρον, ὃς περιειλούμενος ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ στενώματι καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκων τὸ παράπαν διαπνοὴν καὶ διεξόδον, δεινῶς (οἴμοι) καὶ δυσφόρως τοὺς πατέρας ἐβασάνιζεν τε καὶ ἔπνιγεν. Ἐάσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὦραν ἰκανὴν οἱ ἀλάστορες

they reveal the doctor to them. And the honorable fathers, being truly noble, God-fearing, and filled with brotherly love, did not reveal him with either a hand or a word or a nod, even though he was standing in their midst. In response to this, these men, savage by nature, became even more savage, and being wonderstruck and amazed at the holy men's devotion and expression of brotherly love and resolve, they beat them with clubs and stabbed them with daggers and arrows, so that the one being sought would be revealed to them. But they accomplished nothing at all. Therefore when they grew weary of demanding the impossible, they led them all together into the depths of the cave.

31. And it certainly would not be out of place to describe and put into words the layout of this place for those who do not know it.<sup>52</sup> This divinely created church is a spacious cave, which came to have this arrangement, as having the form of a church, through Providence, and on account of this it received this name, for to the east it has something just like an apse. And in the northern part there is a certain recess and formation inside where long ago the fathers separated off a part and made a diakonikon, and within the diakonikon they made a repository, that is, a sacristy. And yet further within this part is a deep crevice like some dark alley or a narrow, winding road that leads through the innermost parts to the hegumen's cell, through which our blessed father Sabas would sometimes go down to the church as described in his *Life*.<sup>53</sup> But after that the hegumens in those times closed off this passage from above, and this fissure remained blocked and sealed and filled with deepest darkness, so that confinement there was torturous even without the smoke.

32. Therefore when these godless men violently threw the fathers into this opening and chasm, they set a large fire right at its very entrance. Since the reeds were wet, they produced an enormous and immense amount of smoke, which, becoming concentrated in this very narrow space and not finding any outlet or escape at all, was tormenting and choking the fathers horribly (alas!) and oppressively. Therefore after the wretches had allowed them to choke for enough time, they

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52. The church and its discovery are described in Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas* 18 (see Schwartz, ed., *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 101–3; and Price, trans., Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 110–12).

53. See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Sabas* 18 (see Schwartz, ed., *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 102; and Price, trans., Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 111–12).

πνίγεσθαι, ὕστερον ἐφώνησαν· Ἐξέλθετε, μοναχοί, ἐξέλθετε. Ἀνάγκη δὲ πᾶσα ἦν τοῖς ἐξιοῦσι δι' αὐτῆς τῆς φλογὸς καὶ ἐσχάρας διέρχεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἅπαντα τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτου στενοχωρίας καὶ πνιγμοῦ ἐφαίνοντο εὐφορώτερα. Ἀμέλει καὶ ἐξερχομένων τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, πολλῶν τὰ ἴχνη καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῶν γενείων καὶ ὀφρῶν καὶ βλεφάρων μετρίως περιεφλέχθησαν. Ἐξελθόντες οὖν ἔρριπτον ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἕδαφος ὀλιγορηκότες καὶ καθαροῦ σπᾶσαι ἀέρος καὶ ἀντιλαβέσθαι γλιχόμενοι.

33. Εἶτα πάλιν οἱ δῆμοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἤρχοντο, ὡς δαμασθέντων ἤδη τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοῖς αἰκισμοῖς καὶ ἅπαντα εὐχερῶς ὁμολογούντων. Αὐθις δὲ ἐπηρώτων αὐτούς, Δείξατε ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ ἐξάρχοντας ὑμῶν λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς κρυπτήρας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ χειρόνως ὑμᾶς ἀναλώσομεν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ χαλεποῖς κινδύνοις στερροὶ καὶ καρτερικοὶ μᾶλλον τῇ εὐχῇ προσεῖχον ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπεκρίνοντο, τοῦ μὲν Κύριε, δέξαι μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν εἰρήνῃ λέγοντος, τοῦ δὲ Κύριε, εἰς χειράς σου παρατίθιμι τὸ πνεῦμα μου, ἑτέρου Κύριε, μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, καὶ ἄλλου ἄλλην ἰκετείαν τῷ θεῷ προσκομίζοντος. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταθύμιον οὐδὲν ἀπεφθέγγοντο, μόνα δὲ ἃ πρῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπελογοῦντο, ὅτι Εἰ μὲν τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ πράγματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κελίοις ἡμῶν θέλετε, ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀκωλύτως πάντα λάβετε· εἰ δὲ ἀνελεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐφίεσθε, συντόμως ἀπαλλάξατε· ἕτερον γάρ τι παρ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε.

34. Ὡς οὖν εἶδον οἱ κύνες, ὅτι εἰκῆ καὶ δωρεὰν ὑλακτοῦσιν, ἐκπλαγέντες τῶν ἀξιοθαυμάστων τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχέσιν καὶ στοργὴν καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν καὶ φιλάδελφον, ἀσχέτῳ μανίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ ὑπερζέσαντες, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον τοὺς ἐπταπλασίως κεκαθαρμένους χρυσοῦς καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας νόθον ἢ κίβδηλον ἐδοκίμαζον. Τοὺς γὰρ πατέρας ἔσω εἰς τὸ στενωπὸν τοῦ σπηλαίου ὠθοῦντες καὶ τύπτοντες εἰσήλασαν, παρακαλοῦντας ἔξω μᾶλλον ἀποκτανθῆναι ἢ τοῦ προτέρου καπνώδους πνιγμοῦ πειραθῆναι. Οἱ δὲ ἀσυμπαθεῖς καὶ ἀνελεήμονες καὶ ὄντως χαλκόσπλαγχοι διὰ πικροτέρων βασάνων τῆς ζωῆς τοὺς ἁγίους ἀπαλλάττειν ἔσπευδον. Τὸ δεῦτερον τοίνυν εἰς τὸ πρότερον αὐτοὺς εἰσαγαγόντες ἄντρον, σφοδρότερος ἐκάπνισαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀφέντες, ὡς εἰκάσαι ὅτι πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τεθνήκασιν,

called out, "Come out, monks, come out." And those going out unavoidably had to pass through the flame itself and the fiery coals, but altogether these seemed more bearable than the smoke and the anguish and choking from it. Of course, when the contenders came out, many had their feet moderately burned and the hair on their head and their beards and their eyebrows and eyelids. Therefore when they had come forth they threw themselves to the ground, contented simply to draw fresh air and yearning to obtain it.

33. Then once again the executioners began the interrogation, supposing that the athletes had been overcome by tortures and would confess everything readily. And again they were asking them, saying, "Show us your first men and leaders and the treasure chambers, or we will lay waste to you even more severely!" But these men, unwavering and steadfast even in the face of dreadful and grievous dangers, turned to prayer rather than answering them, with one saying, "Lord, receive my soul in peace," and another "Lord, into your hands I will entrust my spirit,"<sup>54</sup> another "Lord, remember me when you come into your kingdom,"<sup>55</sup> and others offering other supplications to God. But they said nothing to the barbarians that they wanted to hear, and only what they responded to them earlier, "If you want the clothes and the things in our cells, take them all freely and without resistance; if you want to kill us, then bring an end to us quickly; for you will not hear anything else from us."

34. Therefore when the dogs saw that they were barking in vain and for nothing and were astounded at the disposition of these worthily admired men toward one another and their affection and constancy and brotherly love, they were seething with uncontrollable madness and rage, and once again they assayed in the smelter these men who were gold purified seven times and had nothing counterfeit or false. For beating and shoving the fathers, they drove them back into the narrow passage of the cave, and the fathers were pleading that it would be better to be killed outside than to be tried by the same smoky suffocation as before. But the heartless and merciless and truly steely-hearted men were hastening to remove the holy ones from life through more severe tortures. Now sending them a second time into the previous cave, they made the fire smoke even more violently, and leaving them for a long time, so that one would assume that many of them had died, they called

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54. Ps 30:6 (31:5).

55. Luke 23:42.

έβόησαν έξελθειν τοὺς άγίους οί δέ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς φλογός ώς καί τὸ πρὶν διαπεράσαντες, ήμιθανεῖς εἰς τὸν καθαρὸν άερα φθάνοντες, τοῦτον άσθμαίνοντες καί μεγάλα πνευστιῶντες άνέπνεον· μικροῦ γάρ δεῖν άπαντες τὰς ψυχὰς άπελίμπανον· οί δέ γε εύρεθέντες ένδότεροι τὴν τοῦ καπνοῦ σφοδρότητα μὴ ένεγκόντες, τὰς άγίας ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ταῖς τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ χερσὶ παρέθεντο, τῷ άριθμῷ εύρεθέντες όκτωκαίδεκα.

35. Οί δέ ώμοι καί άπεσκληρότες λιθοκάρδιο βάρβαροι οὐδὲ οὕτως τὴν άτίθασον γνώμην έκάμφθησαν καί έμαλάχθησαν· τοὺς γάρ έκ τῆς πυρᾶς καί τοῦ καπνοῦ μόλις διασωθέντας λιποθυμοῦντας έτι ήκίζοντο καί έτυπτον, κειμένους έπεμβαινόντες καί λακτικῶς ώς ήμίονοι τοῖς ποσὶ καταπατοῦντες καί έναλλόμενοι, τὰ αὐτὰ άπαιτοῦντες· Ὡς δέ ήνυον οὐδέν τῶν έλπίζομένων, μάλλον δέ ώς πᾶσαν θηριῶδη άπανθρωπίαν ένεδείξαντο οί έκ μήτρας άπηλοτριωμένοι τοῦ θεοῦ, διασκορπισθέντες έν τοῖς κελλίοις καί λίθοις μεγίστοις τὰς θύρας κατεάξαντες καί συντρίψαντες, άπαντα τὰ έν αὐτοῖς καί τὰ έν τῷ ήγουμενείῳ καί έν τῇ έκκλησίᾳ εύρεθέντα πραιδεύσαντες καί λαφυραγωγήσαντες καί ταῖς καμήλοις τῆς λαύρας έπισάξαντες καί φορτώσαντες άνεχώρησαν.

36. Μετὰ δέ πολλὰς τὰς ώρας οί εύσθενέστερόν πως διακείμενοι τῶν πατέρων διαναστάντες καί τοὺς τετρωμένους καί βεβαρημένους ταῖς πληγαῖς καί τῇ ρύσει τοῦ αίματος λιποθυμοῦντας ψηλαφῶντες, καί ὕδωρ τοῖς προσώποις έπιρρέοντες καί ποτίζοντες, τῆς ένδεχομένης ήξίουν έπιμελείας. Περί δέ τὰς τοῦ ήλίου δυσμάς, ώς μικρὸν έλώφησεν ό καπνός, άψαντες κηροῦς εἰσήλθον εἰς τὸ στενωπὸν έκείνο τοῦ σηλαιου καί ηὔρον τοὺς άγίους έπί πρόσωπον κειμένους, τοὺς μυκτῆρας τῷ χῶματι έμπήξαντας, τινὰς δέ κατὰ πρόσωπον έαυτῶν τοῖς περιβολαίοις έλίξαντας καί περισκεπάσαντας πρὸς τὸ καί ποσῶς τὴν σφοδρότητα καί άνάγκην τοῦ πνιγμοῦ διαφυγεῖν, πάντας δέ ὁμως πρηνεῖς έρριμμένους νεκρούς· Ἄλλ' οἶμοι τοῦ πικροῦ καί ὀδυνηροῦ θανάτου· πῶς άν τις διαγράψοι ή παραστήσοι τῷ λόγω τὴν τοιαυτὴν άψυχαγώγητον στενοχωρίαν καί άπαράκλητον, μάλλον δέ βιαίαν καί παμμόχθηρον τῆς ψυχῆς άπὸ τοῦ σώματος έξοδον, ή μάλλον άρμοδιώτερον εἰπεῖν ταύτης ώθισμὸν καί εκδίωξιν; Ἐπὶ πολὺ γάρ τὴν άναπνοὴν έαυτῶν έπισχεῖν οί παμμάκαρες μὴ δυνάμενοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ έμφύτου θερμοῦ πύρωσιν, τῆς καρδίας πυρπολουμένης καί έλξαι ψυχρὸν καί άθόλωτον άερα κατεπειγούσης, ώς μόνον τοὺς πόρους τοῦ στόματος καί τῶν μυκτῆρων έγύμνουν καί ήνοιγον, άντι παραψυχῆς καί άναψύξεως πνιγμονὴν καί σκοτοδινίαν καί ήλιγγα έπεσπῶντο καί έπεσύροντο· τοῦ γάρ καπνοῦ τοῖς

the holy ones to come out. And passing through the flame itself as before, when they reached the pure air half dead, they drew breath, gasping and panting heavily, for they all were not far from losing their life. But as for those found within who did not endure the violence of the smoke, who were eighteen in number, their holy souls were placed in the hands of the master Christ.

35. But the savage, dried-up, and stone-hearted barbarians did not relent or moderate such wild thinking. For they were still torturing and beating those who had fainted, having barely survived the fire and smoke, stomping on them as they were lying there and trampling on them all with kicks like mules and demanding the same things. And when they obtained nothing of what they had hoped for, and when instead these men estranged from God from the womb<sup>56</sup> showed every savage inhumanity, they scattered abroad to the cells and smashed and shattered the doors with great stones. They plundered and looted everything that they found in them and in the hegumen's cell and in the church, and loading and packing it on the lavra's camels, they withdrew.

36. And after some time, those of the fathers who somehow were in sturdier condition rose up and examined those who were wounded and overcome by injuries and those who had fainted from blood loss, and pouring water on their faces and giving them water to drink, they provided appropriate care. And around sunset, when the smoke had abated a little, they lit candles and went into that narrow part of the cave. They found the holy ones lying on their faces, having planted their noses in the ground, and some had wrapped their cloaks around their faces covering them, in order to somehow escape the violence and anguish of the suffocation, but nevertheless they were all dead, lying face down. Alas, what an agonizing and painful death! How could anyone imagine or express in words such disconsolate and inconsolable distress, even more the violent and utterly horrible departure of the soul from the body, or rather, it is more appropriate to say, its eviction and expulsion? For because the all-blessed ones were not able to hold their breath for very long on account of the burning of the innate heat, with their hearts burning and longing to draw cool and pure air, when they merely uncovered and opened the passages of their nose and mouth, instead of cooling and refreshment they drew in and brought upon themselves suffocation and dizziness and disorientation. For when the

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56. Cf. Ps 57:4 (58:3).

πόροις καὶ ταῖς φυσικαῖς ὁπαῖς καὶ διατρήσεσιν ἐμφιλοχωροῦντος καὶ τὸν θώρακα πληροῦντος, ἔτι τε διηθουμένου διὰ τῶν ἠθμοειδῶν μορίων καὶ εἰς τὰς τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου μήνιγγας ἀναδιδομένου καὶ καιρῶς δριμύσσοντος καὶ τὸ ζωτικὸν αἷμα συνέχοντος καὶ συνθλίβοντος παντὸς πόρου, θανάτου (ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ) βιαιοτέραν καὶ συντονωτέραν καὶ σκυθρωποτέραν ἐπάγει τὴν τελευταίαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συζύγου σώματος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναχώρησιν, ἀναγκαστικῶς τῆς θεοδέτου συμφυΐας καὶ συναφείας καὶ ἐνώσεως διαλυομένης καὶ ῥηγνυμένης πολεμικῶς ἄγαν καὶ τυραννικῶς. Ὡς τῆς κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τόλμης· ὡς τῆς ἀφειδίας καὶ ἀσυμπαθείας τῶν βροτοκτόνων. Πῶς οὐκ ἐνάρκησαν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πλάσμα διχοτομησαὶ καὶ ὅπερ ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀπορρήτῳ σοφίᾳ συνέδησε καὶ συνέζευξε διαζευξάει καὶ χωρίσαι καὶ διελεῖν οἷ ὄντως θεομάχοι ἠβουλήθησαν;

37. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν τῆς διηγήσεως τὸν δρόμον τοῦ λόγου ἰθύνωμεν. Τούτους τοὺς μακαρίους μόγις οἱ πατέρες ἐξαγαγόντες (ἔτι γὰρ ὁ καπνὸς τῷ τόπῳ περιειλούμενος ἀνεστρέφετο), μετὰ δακρύων καὶ θρήνων καθεξῆς ἔθηκαν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, συνάψαντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν καρατομηθέντα ἄββᾶν Σέργιον τὸν μακάριον ἐννεακαίδεκατον, περὶ οὗ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρήκαμεν. Φρικτὸν δὲ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα τοσοῦτους τραυματίας καθεύδοντας καὶ νεκροὺς καθεξῆς κειμένους ἐφάπαξ καὶ ὑφ' ἐν ἀνηρημένους. Κοπετὸν οὖν καὶ ὀδυρμὸν μέγαν ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὸν συνήθη κανόνα ἐπιτελέσαντες, ἐν μιᾷ θήκῃ αὐτοὺς ἐπαλλήλους κηδεύσαντες κατέθηκαν, οὐ συνήθως, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλως τετελενηκότων, λούσαντες ἢ ἐνταφιάσαντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἱματίοις ἡμαγμένοις ἐνθάψαντες ἀδίκως ὑπὸ ἀδίκων βαρβάρων ἀναιρεθέντας, βιαίως τοῦ ζῆν ἐξωσθέντας καὶ ἐκβληθέντας διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ χαίρειν εἰπόντας καὶ πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ κόσμου ἡδοναῖς καὶ εὐφροσύναις ἀποταξαμένους διὰ Χριστόν, ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τοιαύτῃ χαλεπῇ καὶ τραχυτάτῃ καὶ πάσης σωματικῆς θυμηδίας καὶ παρακλήσεως ἀπηλλαγμένη τὴν ἑαυτῶν ζωὴν δαπανήσαντας, ἐν ἀσκήσει καὶ σκληραγωγίᾳ τὰ πάθη νικήσαντας καὶ νεκρώσαντας, νηστείαις καὶ χαμευνίαις καὶ ἀγρυπνίαις τὸ σῶμα μαράναντας καὶ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδυπάθειαν δι' ἀποχῆς τῶν ἡδυνόντων ἐκκλίναντας, μελέτη θείων λογίων καὶ γραφῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγνώσμασι καὶ ἀκροάσεσι τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψυχαῖς εἰσοικισαμένους καὶ θησαυρίσαντας, τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦς ἀγαπήσαντας διὰ τὸν Χριστόν καὶ τὴν τῶν πλησίων<sup>18</sup> ἀγάπην πικρῶ θανάτῳ

18. Correcting πλησίον to read πλησίων as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

smoke lodges itself in the passages and natural openings and orifices and fills the chest, and then it filters through the perforated parts of the body and goes forth into the membranes of the brain, mortally causing pain, and it constrains and afflicts the life-giving blood through every passage, it brings on the end of life and the departure of the soul from its united body that is more violent and severe and grievous (at least it seems to me) than death, since the divinely bound union and conjunction and oneness are forcefully ripped apart and shattered with great hostility and tyranny. O the audacity against God! O the excessiveness and heartlessness of the murderers! How did they not shrink with horror at cutting in two the creation of God, and how were these true opponents of God willing to separate and divide and sever that which the Creator had bound and paired together in ineffable wisdom?

37. But let us direct the course of the discourse to the sequence of the story. When the fathers brought these blessed ones out with much toil and suffering (for the smoke, which still engulfed the place, was turning them back), they placed them in the courtyard of the church one after the other with tears and lamentations, also placing together with them the nineteenth one, the blessed Abba Sergius, who had been beheaded. It was a horrible sight to behold so many casualties and dead laid out and lying together, having been killed at one and the same time. Therefore when they had made great wailing and lamentation and completed the customary canon, they laid them to rest, burying them one next to the other in a single grave, without the washing and burial preparations that otherwise are customary for those who have died. Instead they buried in their own bloodstained clothes these who had been unjustly killed by the unjust barbarians; who were violently wrenched and driven from life for the sake of the kingdom of heaven; who had renounced the whole world and abandoned all the pleasures and joys of the world for the sake of Christ; who spent their lives in a desert so harsh and severe and devoid of every bodily delight and comfort; who with asceticism and discipline conquered and mortified the passions; who emaciated the body with fasting and sleeping on the ground and lack of sleep and turned away from the pleasures of the flesh through abstinence from things that are pleasurable; who stored up virtues as treasure and made them to dwell in their souls through studying sacred discourses and reading and listening to the holy scriptures; who loved God and neighbor more than themselves and gave themselves over to a painful death for the sake of Christ and the love of

ἐαυτοὺς παραδεδωκότας, πολλὰς θλίψεις καὶ φόβους καὶ ἀπειλὰς καὶ βασάνους πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς πείρας διὰ τὸν δεσπότην γεγευμένους, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς εὐσεβείας ἠγωνισμένους, τὸν δρόμον τῆς ἀσκήσεως τετελεκότας, τὴν πίστιν μέχρις ἐσχάτων ἀναπνοῶν τηρηηκότας, τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον τέλειον παρὰ τῆς παντοκρατορικῆς δεξιᾶς κεκομισμένους.

38. Τίς γὰρ ἔτι ἀμφιβάλλει μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς μὴ τετάχθαι; ἢ τίς μάρτυρας ὁμοίως τελείους ὀνομάζειν αὐτοὺς ὀκνεῖ καὶ ἀναβάλλεται; οὐ ποικίλας βασάνους ὑπέμειναν; οὐκ ἀδίκως διὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολὴν ἀνηρέθησαν; ἢ μόνοι οἱ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδωλολατρήσαι καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξαρνήσασθαι ἀναιρούμενοι μάρτυρες καλεῖσθαι ὀφείλουσιν; Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω, τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν καὶ θεηγόρων διδασκάλων ἐπόμενος λόγοις καὶ πειθόμενος, ὅτι καὶ πᾶς ὁ διὰ μίαν ἐλαχίστην τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν, ἵνα αὐτὴν στήσῃ ἢ ἵνα ταύτην μὴ παραλύσῃ, ἀναιρούμενος τέλειος μάρτυς ἐστὶ καὶ ἀναγορεύεται, καὶ τέλειον τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἀποφέρειται στέφανον, καὶ εἰ μὴ τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ θαρρούντως καὶ σὺν παρρησίᾳ λεκτέον, ὅτι οἱ διὰ τήρησιν τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνταλμάτων φονευόμενοι μείζους εἰσὶ τῶν ἀπλῶς διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πίστιν ἀναιρουμένων. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρνήσεως ἄδρὸν ὄν καὶ μέγα καὶ φανεράν τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἔχον, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς νωθροτέρας καὶ ἀναπεπτωκυίας ψυχὰς πολλακίς πρὸς ζῆλον διεγείρει καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν. τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς προκινδυνεῦσαι τῶν λίαν ἰσχνῶν καὶ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀνηγμένων ἐστὶ τὴν διάνοιαν. Καὶ τούτου μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος ὁ ἀπόστολος φάσκων. μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν. Καὶ εἰ ὁ λύων μίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων, φησὶν ὁ κύριος, ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μίαν καὶ πασῶν μάλιστα τὴν περιεκτικωτάτην συνιστῶν μέγιστος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν κληθήσεται. ὁ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῆς ἀποθνήσκων, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἂν ἀποθανεῖται. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δι' ἐντολήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποθνήσκων καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθάνει δῆλον ὅτι, ὁ δὲ δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν προαιρούμενος οὐ πάντως ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς τεθνήξεται. Γνώρισμα δὲ καὶ σημεῖον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπης ἢ τῶν προσταγμάτων

their neighbors;<sup>57</sup> who experienced many afflictions and terrors and threats and tortures for the sake of the Master before they met with death; who fought the good fight of piety, finished the race of asceticism, and kept the faith until their last breath; who have received the perfect crown of both righteousness and martyrdom from the Almighty's right hand.<sup>58</sup>

38. For who still doubts that they are to be counted among the martyrs, or who hesitates and avoids calling them equally perfect martyrs? Did they not endure various tortures? Were they not unjustly killed for the commandment of Christ? Or are only those killed for refusing to worship idols and to renounce Christ worthy to be called martyrs? But I say, following and having been persuaded by the words of the wise and God-inspired teachers, that everyone who has been killed for even the least one of Christ's commandments, so that he would uphold it or not forsake it, also is and is to be called a perfect martyr, and he obtains the perfect crown of martyrdom. And if it is not presumptuous to say, but rather should be said boldly and with confidence, those who were slain for observing of the commandments of Christ are better than those who were killed simply for faith in him. For the severity and consequence of the denial of God and the obvious destruction that it holds would often stir even more sluggish and lifeless souls to fervor and indignation, but to brave danger for the sake of virtue belongs to those who are very refined and sublime and exalted in thinking. And the witness and teacher of this is the apostle, who says, "Indeed, rarely will anyone die for a righteous person—though perhaps for a good person someone might actually dare to die."<sup>59</sup> And if the Lord says, "Whoever breaks one of the least of my commandments will be called least in the kingdom of heaven,"<sup>60</sup> it is clear that whoever upholds the one and most complete of them all will be called greatest in the kingdom of heaven. For whoever dies for the commandment of Christ, even more will he die for him. For one who dies for the commandment of Christ clearly also would die for him; but it is not entirely clear that one who chooses to die for him also would die for his commandments. And keeping his commandments is a token and sign of love for him, for he says, "Whoever

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57. Cf. Matt 22:37–39 and *parr.*

58. Cf. 2 Tim 4:7–8.

59. Rom 5:7.

60. Matt 5:19.

αὐτοῦ τήρησις· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν με, φησί, τὰς ἐντολάς μου τηρήσει. Ποία δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ σωτηριωδῶν ἐντολῶν ἢ μείζων ἢ περιεκτικωτέρα, ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος τῷ ἐπερωτῶντι αὐτῷ Φαρισαίῳ· Διδάσκαλε, ποία ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν τῷ νόμῳ; τὸ δὲ πρώτη ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐξαιρετον δηλοῖ· ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ταύταις ὅλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται. Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος· πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη. Ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπιτείνων τὴν νομικὴν ἐντολὴν τὴν φάσκουσαν Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, καὶ τὸν τελειότατον καὶ ἀκρότατον αὐτῆς ὄρον νομοθετῶν φησί· μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ. Ὁ γὰρ ἀποθνήσκων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεον ἑαυτοῦ ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν· ὅπερ προφανῶς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως οὗτοι οἱ τρισμακάριστοι πεποιήκασιν· ἐλέγετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν μαιφόνων· Ὡ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἄθλιοι, ὑποδείξατε ἡμῖν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀπολύομεν ὑμᾶς, ἐπεὶ τοί γε φονεύομεν ὑμᾶς. Εἶλοντο οὖν οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ περ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρας κολάσει παραδοῦναι.

39. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τρίπλοκον αὐτοῖς ἀθλήσεως καὶ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀναδήσασθαι φημί, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι διὰ Χριστὸν ἀνηρέθησαν· εἰ γὰρ διὰ Χριστὸν ταύτην τὴν ἔρημον ᾤκησαν, πάντα ὅσα ἐν αὐτῇ πάσχουσι, δι' αὐτὸν δῆλον ὅτι ὑφίστανται. Δεύτερον, ὅτι διὰ τὴν λαύραν καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς σύστασιν καὶ τοὺς ἐναύτῃ σφωζομένους, ὡς ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται, ἑαυτοὺς παραδεδώκασιν· ἐνῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τόπος καὶ καιρὸς φυγῆς, εἴπερ ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλ' ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ ἔπαθον τὸ τοῦ εἰρηκότος· Ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγέν με. Εἰ γὰρ Ναβουθαὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πατρῶαν γῆς κληρονομίαν παραδοῦναι μηδεμίαν σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς παρέχουσαν κατελεύσθη, πόσω μᾶλλον οὗτοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ ἠγωνισμένοι ἀποδεκτοὶ καὶ ἐπαινετοὶ καθεστήκασιν; Τρίτον, ὅτι διὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πατέρας ἀποθανεῖν ἠρετίσαντο· ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ συνδούλου καὶ ὁμοδούλου ἀποθνήσκων, πῶς οὐχὶ πολλῷ πλεον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότητος μυριάκις ἂν τεθνήξοιτο; Εἰ δὲ μόνον οἱ ὑπὲρ πίστεως

loves me will keep my commandments.”<sup>61</sup> But which of his saving commandments is better or more complete? Listen to the Lord himself speaking to the Pharisee who had questioned him, “Teacher, which commandment in the law is the first?” And “first” here indicates the singular one. And answering he said to him, “You shall love the Lord your God and your neighbor as yourself. For on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”<sup>62</sup> And the apostle said, “Therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.”<sup>63</sup> And the Lord, intensifying the commandment of the law that says, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself,”<sup>64</sup> and laying down as law its highest and most perfect definition, says, “No one has greater love than this, to lay down one’s life for one’s friends.”<sup>65</sup> For whoever dies for his neighbor loved him not only as himself but even more than himself, which is the very thing that these thrice-blessed ones clearly and undeniably did. For the murderers said to them, “O poor and pitiful ones, show us the first men among you, and we will release you, since otherwise we will surely kill you.” Therefore the soldiers of Christ chose to die rather than to hand over their brothers and fathers to chastisement.

39. But I say that in fact they won the crown of struggle and martyrdom three times. First, because they were killed for Christ, for if they were dwelling in this desert for Christ, all the things that they suffered in it they clearly endured for him. Second, because they handed themselves over for the sake of the lavra and its preservation and those who were being saved in it, as has been shown above—for they had the opportunity and occasion to flee, if they wanted, but they remembered and suffered as it was said, “The zeal for your house consumed me.”<sup>66</sup> For if Naboth was stoned for not handing over the land that he inherited from his fathers, which in no way brought the salvation of his soul,<sup>67</sup> how much more did these men who contended for the house of God set themselves as praiseworthy and laudable? Third, because they chose to die for their brothers and fathers—and the one who dies for a fellow servant and slave, how would he not even more die ten thousand times for his own

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61. Cf. John 14:15.

62. Cf. Matt 22:36–40.

63. Rom 13:10.

64. Lev 19:18.

65. John 15:13.

66. Ps 68:10 (69:9).

67. Cf. 3 Kgdms 20:1–13 (1 Kings 21:1–13 in the Hebrew).

ἀθλοῦντες εἶεν ἂν καὶ κληθεῖεν μάρτυρες, οὐκ ἐν μάρτυσι τετάξεται καὶ λογισθήσεται Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος, ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ παρασιωπῆσαι ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, τοῦ Ἡρώδου, μίαν παρανομίαν κατατομηθεῖς; οὐ γὰρ διὰ πίστιν ἀνήρηται. Τί δὲ οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι; οὐχ ἵνα μὴ μίαν ἐλαχίστην τῶν τοῦ νόμου ἐντολῶν παρέλθωσι, ταῖς τοσαύταις ἀνηκέστοις βασάνοις καὶ αἰκισμοῖς ἑαυτοὺς παραδεδώκασι; Τί γὰρ τοσοῦτον κακὸν ἦν τὸ ὑείων κρεῶν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὅπου γε οὐ τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον; Καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Σινὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ραῖθοῖ ἀναιρεθέντες πατέρες ἅγιοι οὐχὶ χρήματα ἀπαιτούμενοι, ἅπερ οὐκ εἶχον, ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσφάγησαν, ὧν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἐλάττους ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν εὐφημούμενοι πατέρες σήμερον; Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Χρυσόστομος, ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φωστὴρ φαινότατος καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης διδάσκαλος, οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς ἀντιποίησιν ὑπερορίαν κατεδικάσθη καὶ τοσοῦτους πειρασμοὺς καὶ κινδύνους μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀνέτλη; Ἄρα οὖν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐχ ὑπὲρ πίστεως ἠγώνισται, παρὰ τοῦτο φήσομεν αὐτὸν τῶν γερῶν καὶ μισθῶν μαρτυρικῶν ἀποστερεῖσθαι; Ἄπαγε, οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντος ὁ νοῦς, παραφρονούντος ὁ λογισμὸς.

40. Τὸ δὲ ξένον ἀληθῶς τοῦ πράγματος καὶ ἐξαισίον, ὅτι οὐ πάντες ἦσαν τῇ θεωρίᾳ καὶ γνώσει τέλειοι, ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδιῶται τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀρχάριοι. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἦσαν ἅπαντες προπεπαιδευμένοι παθῶν κρατεῖν καὶ δουλαγωγεῖν τὸ φιλήδονον καὶ φιλόζῳον καὶ ἐμπαθὲς τῆς σαρκὸς φρόνημα, τὸ συνηδόμενον κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῖ· ἡ δὲ τὰ κρυφῆ θεραπεύουσα καὶ τοὺς νηπίους ἀρτίφρονας ἀποτελοῦσα χάρις τοῦ πνεύματος, ἡ διδάσκουσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον γνῶσιν, τὰς προθέσεις αὐτῶν ἀποδεξαμένη ἐνίσχυσε καὶ τετελείωκε καὶ ὀλοκλήρων καὶ ἀπηρτισμένων τῶν βραβείων καὶ στεφάνων ἠξίωσεν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ οἱ ἔτι ἐν τῷ βίῳ περιόντες καὶ ζῆν περιλειμμένοι τῶν τοῦ μαρτυρίου εὐκλεῶν ἐπάθλων καὶ ἀντιδόσεων ἀπηξίωσαν. Εἰ γάρ, καθὼς που φησὶν ὁ θεηγόρος Βασίλειος, μακάρισον γνησίως τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα, ἵνα γένη μάρτυς τῇ προαιρέσει καὶ

master? And if only those contending for the faith can be named martyrs, would John the Forerunner, who was beheaded because he would not keep silent concerning one transgression of a single man, Herod, not be counted and considered among the martyrs?<sup>68</sup> For he was not killed for the faith. And what of the Maccabees? Did they not hand themselves over to so many cruel tortures and torments so that they would not transgress one of the least of the commandments of the law?<sup>69</sup> Why was it such a great evil to taste swine flesh, since “it is not what goes into the mouth that defiles a person”?<sup>70</sup> And the fathers honored by us today are in no way inferior to the holy fathers killed on the holy mountain Sinai and in Raitho, who were unjustly slaughtered by the barbarians for not handing over money that they did not have.<sup>71</sup> But was not John Chrysostom, the most brilliant luminary of the church and the teacher of the entire world, condemned to exile for striving after virtue, and he endured so many temptations and dangers until the end? Therefore, since he was not contending for the faith, do we say because of this that he is to be deprived of the honors and rewards of the martyrs? Away with this unsound mind, this deranged thinking!

40. But it is truly strange and extraordinary in this case, because they were not all perfect in knowledge and understanding, but among them were those average in learning and beginners. Yet nevertheless they had all been given preliminary training to master the passions and to subdue longing for pleasure and love of life and the passionate thinking of the flesh, and to delight intellectually in the law of God in the inmost self.<sup>72</sup> And the grace of the Spirit, which was secretly caring for the children and giving them mental clarity, teaching them human knowledge and receiving their intentions, strengthened and perfected them and deemed them worthy of the perfect and complete rewards and crowns. But truly, have not those still surviving and who remained alive been found worthy of the renowned prizes and rewards of martyrdom? For if, as Basil the theologian somewhere says, “Bless those who have been truly martyred, so that you may become a martyr by choice

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68. Cf. Mark 6:14–29.

69. Cf. 2 Macc 6:18–7:1.

70. Matt 15:11.

71. The account of the martyrdom of these monks can be found in Ammonius, *Report concerning the Slaughter of the Monks* (trans. Caner, *History and Hagiography*, 141–71).

72. Rom 7:22.

ἐκβῆς χωρὶς διωγμοῦ, χωρὶς πυρός, χωρὶς μαστίγων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνοις μισθῶν ἤξιωμένος, πῶς οὐ δικαιότερον μάρτυρες μᾶλλον καὶ ὁμολογηταὶ καλοῖντο οἱ διὰ ποικίλων ἄθλων καὶ ἀγωνισμάτων πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀντιταξάμενοι καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις φοινηθέντες αἵμασι καὶ ἀλγεινότερα τυχόν ὑποστάντες τῶν τῆ τελευταῖ ἄφηρημένων τὴν αἴσθησιν; Καὶ γὰρ ἄλλην ἄλλως τὰς πληγὰς χαλεπὰς δεδεγμένοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἢ ἄλλο τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς κατεαγμένοι καὶ περιτεθραυσμένοι, ἐπὶ καιρὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον ὑπὸ τοῦ προμνημονευθέντος ἀρίστου ἱατροῦ εὐλαβεστάτου ἀββᾶ Θωμᾶ εὐστοχώτατα μὲν καὶ ἐπιστημονικῶς, ὀδυνηρῶς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνως ἄγαν ἰατρευόμενοι διετελέσαν καὶ διήρκεσαν· τὰς γὰρ πληγὰς περιζαίνων καὶ τὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ὀστέον ἀπογυμνῶν, διὰ τρυπάνης καὶ σμίλης, σφύρας τεκτονικῆς κρουομένης, τὰ κατεαγμένα καὶ διαθραυσθέντα ὀστάρια ἀφήρητο, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τὸν περιέχοντα τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ὑμένα, ἀναβρῦειν τε πολλὰς ἰχώρας καὶ πύα. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ εἷς ἢ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστοι πεπόνθησιν. Ἀμέλει γέρων τις ἀκέραιος τῷ τρόπῳ ξίφει τὴν χεῖρα πληγείς καὶ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ὡς ἀπογνωσθείσης τῆς θεραπείας βουληθέντος διὰ πρίονος ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου ἀποκόψαι αὐτήν, θεασάμενος ἅς πάσχουσιν ὀδύνας οἱ πατέρες ἰατρευόμενοι, μὴ ἐνεγκῶν τὸ χαλεπὸν τῆς περιποιήσεως, τὴν ἰατροῦ παντελῶς παρητήσατο. Σήψεως δὲ γενομένης καὶ σκωλήκων ἀναβρασάντων αὐτῷ, μεθ' ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς τοῦ πολυπαθοῦς καὶ γεώδους σαρκίου πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς ἄπονον λῆξιν ἐξεδήμησε καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις προστέθεται μάρτυσι, τὸν τῆς εἰκάδος αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἀναπληρώσας, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν πάσαι ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων ὁ φρουρὸς τὴν τεσσαρακοντάδα ἐσφράγισεν.

41. Ἄλλ' ἵνα μή τις οἴκοθεν ἡμᾶς ἀποφαινομένους τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων τοῖς μακαρίοις τούτοις προσωνυμίαν καὶ κλήσιν ὑποτιθέσθαι ὑπολάβοι ἑαυτοῖς πως χαριζομένους, αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλον, Ἰωάννην φημὶ τὸν Χρυσόστομον, εἰς παράστασιν τῶν λελεγμένων παράγομεν, ταῦτα κυροῦντα καὶ βεβαιοῦντα τρανότατα. Ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοίνυν τῷ κεφαλαιωδῶς αὐτῷ πονηθέντι πρὸς τοὺς ῥαδίως σκανδαλιζομένους, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ

and prove worthy of the same rewards given to them without persecution, without fire, without beating,”<sup>73</sup> how would they not more rightly be called martyrs and confessors, these who through various struggles and contests set themselves against the adversary, having been redened with their own blood and perhaps suffering even more pain than those removed from sensation by death? For indeed each one of them received severe wounds, some having their hands crushed and shattered, others their feet or some other part of the body, but most of them had head injuries. And they survived and held on with great pain and difficulty because they were competently and skillfully given medical treatment for no short time by the previously mentioned expert physician, the most pious Abba Thomas. For by lacerating around the wounds and exposing the bone of the head with a drill and scalpel and blows from a carpenter’s hammer, he removed the shattered and fractured bone fragments, so that he also exposed the membrane surrounding the brain, and fluid and puss frequently poured forth. And not one or two of them suffered this, but most of them. There was in fact a certain incorruptible elder who had been wounded on the hand with a sword, and when the doctor wanted to amputate it from the arm with a saw because it could not be healed, and he saw what pain the fathers who were being treated were suffering, rather than enduring the adversity of having his life saved, he refused treatment entirely. But when it became decayed and was filled with worms, he went forth after a few days from the earthly flesh that is filled with suffering unto Christ in the place that is free from pain, and he was added among the holy martyrs, filling out their number at twenty, just as the guard sealed the forty of the holy forty martyrs of old.<sup>74</sup>

41. But lest anyone should suppose that we have somehow shown favoritism to our own in assigning these blessed ones the name and title of martyrs, we introduce as validation of what has been said the teacher of the church himself, that is, John Chrysostom, who confirms and establishes these things most clearly. Now then in the discourse composed by him primarily for those who are easily scandalized, in chapter

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73. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* 1 (PG 31:508b).

74. Cf. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* 7 (PG 31:520b–521a).

έννεακαιδεκάτω, αὐταῖς λέξεσι τοιαῦτα διέξεισιν· Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐκεῖνοι οἱ εἰς δικαστήρια ἐλκυσθέντες καὶ θῦσαι κελευσθέντες καὶ μὴ πεισθέντες, παθόντες ἄπερ ἔπαθον, μάρτυρες ἂν εἶεν, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνοι οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῷ θεῷ δοκούντων παθεῖν τι καταδεξάμενοι· καὶ εἴ τις μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξετάσειεν, οὗτοι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνοι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἴσον ὀλέθρου τοιοῦτου καὶ ἀπωλείας ψυχῆς προτεινομένης καταδέξασθαι παθεῖν τι καὶ μὴ παραπολέσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐλάττονος κατορθώματος τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπομεῖναι τιμωρίαν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐχ οἱ σφαγέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς τοῦτο ἔτοιμοι μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀνεδήσαντο, τοῦτό τε αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ πρότερον εἶρηκα, ὅτι περ καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐλαττόνων σφαγὴς μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἀπηρτισμένος, ἀπὸ τῆς Παύλου φωνῆς ἀποδείξει πειράσομαι. Ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀπαριθμῆσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων λάμψαντας ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄβελ ποιησάμενος, εἶτα προελθὼν εἰς τὸν Νῶε, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ, τὸν Μωυσέα, τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Δαβὶδ, τὸν Σαμουήλ, τὸν Ἥλιαν, τὸν Ἐλισσαίε, ἐπήγαγε λέγων· Τοιγαροῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων. Καίτοι γε οὐ πάντες ἐσφάγησαν οὗτοι μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς, πλὴν δύο ἢ τριῶν, τοῦ Ἄβελ, τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, τοῦ Ἰωάννου, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες οἰκεία τελευτῇ τὸν βίον κατέλυσαν. Καὶ Ἰωάννης δὲ αὐτὸς οὐ θῦσαι κελευσθεὶς καὶ μὴ καταδεξάμενος ἐσφάγη, οὐδὲ εἰς βωμὸν ἀχθείς, οὐδὲ πρὸς εἰδωλον ἐλκυσθεὶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ῥήματος ἑνός. Ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ· Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ δεσμοτήριον ῥῆκε καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν ἐκέκρινεν ὑπέμεινεν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ γάμον παρανομούμενον ἐκδικήσας τό γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκον (οὐ γὰρ διώρθωσε τὸ κακῶς γεγενημένον, ἀλλ' εἶπεν μόνον, παῦσαι δὲ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν), εἰ τοίνυν ὁ μόνον εἰπὼν καὶ μηδὲν οἰκοθεν ἢ τοῦτο ἐνεγκὼν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπετιμήθη μάρτυς καὶ μαρτύρων ὁ πρῶτος, οἱ τοσαύτας σφαγὰς ὑπομείναντες καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς Ἡρώδην ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης ἀποδυσάμενοι, καὶ οὐχὶ γάμῳ παρανομούμενῳ ἀλλὰ νόμοις πατρῷοις καὶ θεομοῖς Ἐκκλησίας

nineteen, he recounts such things in these very words:<sup>75</sup> “For not only those who were dragged into court and ordered to sacrifice and refused and suffered what they suffered are martyrs, but also those who consented to suffer something for the sake of being pleasing to God; and if one examines the matter with care, it is the latter more than the former. For it is not the same to consent to suffer something and thus avoid obliteration when such destruction and ruin of the soul are held forth, as it is to endure punishment for a lesser virtue. And that not only those who were slain but also those who were prepared and ready to meet this fate have received the crown of martyrdom, and also that the one who has been slain for the sake of lesser things is also a perfected martyr—both things that I have said before—I will attempt to demonstrate from the words of Paul. For when the blessed Paul began to enumerate those who were illustrious among the ancestors<sup>76</sup>—making a start with Abel and then continuing to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, David, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha—he concluded saying, ‘Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses.’<sup>77</sup> And yet not all of these were slain, but rather not even one, except for two or three, Abel, Zachariah, and John, but all the others ended their life in a natural death. And even John himself was not slaughtered for having been ordered to offer sacrifice and then refusing, being led to the altar and dragged before an idol, but rather because of one thing that he said. When he said to Herod, ‘It is not lawful for you to have your brother Philip’s wife,’<sup>78</sup> he was dwelling in prison and endured this slaughter. Now if he who spoke out against an unlawful marriage as much as he was able (for he did not correct what had wickedly come to be, but he only spoke and was not able to stop it), if then he who merely speaks and offers nothing more than this from himself is a martyr, and the first among the martyrs because he was beheaded, then those men, women, and children who have endured such great torments and have contended not against Herod but against the powers of the entire world and stood up not against an unlawful marriage but against the contemptuous treatment of the laws of the fathers and the ordinances of

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75. John Chrysostom, *On the Providence of God* 19.3–10 (Malingrey, ed., *Sur la providence*, 234–41).

76. Cf. Heb 11.

77. Heb 12:1. Chrysostom here is using the word μάρτυς in its double sense of “witness” and “martyr.”

78. Mark 6:18.

ἐπηρεασθεῖσι παραστάντες, καὶ διὰ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκοντες, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἶεν δίκαιοι μυριάκις εἰς τὸν τῶν μαρτύρων καταλεγῆναι χορὸν; Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραάμ μὴ σφάξας τὸν υἱὸν ἔσφαξε, καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουσεν ἄνωθεν λεγούσης, ὅτι Οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ. Οὕτως πανταχοῦ καὶ ἡ γνώμη, ὅταν ἀπηρτισμένη ᾖ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ὀλόκληρον λαμβάνει τὸν στέφανον. Εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος υἱοῦ μὴ φεισάμενος οὕτως ἀνεκηρύττετο, οὗτοι οἱ ἑαυτῶν μὴ φεισάμενοι ἐννόησον πόσον ἔλαβον μισθόν, οὐ μίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἀλλ' ὀλόκληρον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἰστάμενοι ταύτης, βαλλόμενοι λοιδορίας ὕβρεσιν ἐπηρεΐαις συκοφαντίαις· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο μικρόν· διὸ καὶ Παῦλος αὐτὸ θαυμάζει λέγων· Τοῦτο μὲν ὄνειδισμοῖς καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ κοινωνοὶ τῶν οὕτως πασχόντων γενηθέντες. Τί ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τοὺς τοιαῦτα ἀθλοῦντας ἀλείφοντας;

42. Ἠκούσατε, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, τῆς μεγαλοφωνοτάτης σάλπιγγος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διαρρήδην τὰ ἡμέτερα κρατυνούσης καὶ σφραγίζουσας. Κεκαλλώπισται ὁ εὐτελής καὶ ἄμορφος ἡμῶν λόγος τῇ ὑψηγορίᾳ τοῦ διδασκάλου καθωραϊσθείς, ὡς διάδημα πολυτίμητον δεξάμενος σμάραγδον. Ἀποδέδεικται καὶ κεκύρωται ἃ προειρήκαμεν τῇ ἀξιοπιστίᾳ τοῦ θεοσόφου<sup>19</sup> καὶ χριστοκήρυκος, καὶ πλέον ἢ περ ἠβουλόμεθα· ὅπου γὰρ Ἰωάννης ὁ τέττιξ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταῦτα διδάσκει, τίνος ἔτι ἡ γνώμη περὶ τούτων μένει ἀμφίβολος;

43. Πρὸς δὴ λωσιν δὲ καὶ πίστωσιν τῆς θεοτερποῦς τῶν μακαρίων τούτων ἀναλύσεως καὶ πρὸς τὸν σωτήρα Χριστὸν ἐνδόξου ἀποδοχῆς καὶ παρρησίας, παράδοξόν τι καὶ ὑπερφυῆς θαῦμα κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν τῆς ἀθλήσεως τῶν ἁγίων ἡμέραν φανῆναι ὁ τῶν θαυμασιῶν θεὸς ὤκονόμησεν· οὐπερ δύο τινὲς θεαταὶ καὶ μάρτυρες γεγόνασιν ἀξιόχρεοι. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιανιστηρίου ἄντρου ἐκεῖνου δευτέραν ἔξοδον τῶν πατέρων, ἐναπομεινάντων ἐκεῖσε νεκρῶν τῶν μακαρίων μαρτύρων, ὡς ἤταζον αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀλιτήριοι, καθὰ

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19. Corrected from θεοφόρον in the edition; the form above is in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

the church, having shown boldness in words and deeds and being ready to die each day, how would they not be rightly counted among the choir of the martyrs ten thousand times? And likewise Abraham, although he did not slay his son, he slayed,<sup>79</sup> and he heard the voice from above saying, ‘for my sake you have not spared your beloved son.’<sup>80</sup> And so in every instance when the mind is perfected in virtue, it receives the perfect crown. And if this one was so proclaimed for not sparing his son, consider what great reward these who did not spare themselves have received, these who were standing in this battle not for one or two or three days but for the entire year,<sup>81</sup> being afflicted with abuse, injuries, cruelties, and calumnies, for this is no small matter. That is why Paul wonders at this, saying, ‘sometimes being publicly exposed to abuse and persecution, and sometimes being partners with those suffering so.’<sup>82</sup> What should one say of those who were preparing themselves to die and to contend with such things?”

42. You have heard, brothers and fathers, the grandiloquent trumpet of the church explicitly confirming and certifying our judgment. Our paltry and disordered discourse has been embellished, having been adorned by the teacher’s eloquence, receiving it as a most precious emerald diadem. What we have previously said has been demonstrated and confirmed by the authority of the one full of divine wisdom and the herald of Christ, even more than we wanted, for when John, the cicada of the church, teaches these things, whose mind still remains doubtful about these things?

43. But in order to demonstrate and confirm the God-pleasing departure of these blessed ones and their honorable acceptance and confidence before Christ, the God of wondrous things arranged for an incredible and extraordinary wonder to appear on this day of the saints’ contest, of which there were two trustworthy observers and witnesses. For after the fathers went out from the torturous cave a second time, with the corpses of the blessed martyrs lying therein, when the sinful

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79. The Greek text is deficient here, and Chrysostom’s treatise has instead Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ μὴ σφάξας τῆ πείρα τὸν υἱόν, τῆ προθέσει ἔσφαξε . . . , which translates more clearly, “And likewise Abraham, although he did not actually slay his son, he slayed him in his intent”: John Chrysostom, *On the Providence of God* 19.8 (Malingrey, ed., *Sur la providence*, 238).

80. Gen 22:12.

81. Chrysostom’s text has τὸν βίον, “life,” instead of τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

82. Heb 10:33.

προείρηται, ὁρᾷ τις τῶν ἀδελφῶν τινα τῶν κεκοιμημένων καὶ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ κειμένων, Κοσμᾶν προσαγορευόμενον, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἱερατείου παρὰ μέρος ἰστάμενον, ἐλαίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠλειμμένον, φαιδρὸν δὲ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἄγαν καὶ ὑπέρυθρον τῷ προσώπῳ, ἰλαρὸν καὶ γεγηθότα τῇ θεᾷ, καὶ Ἐθαύμαζόν φησι καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαλογιζόμενος πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς ὄψεως φαιδρὸν καὶ περιχαρὲς ἐν τοιοῦτῳ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ μάλιστα, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ πῶς φησιν οὐ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀγαγόντες ἐτάζουσι καὶ κολάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀφήκαν αὐτὸν καταμόνας ἴστασθαι οὕτως ἀδεῶς καὶ ἀνενοχλήτως. Οὐδέπω γὰρ τῆς ἡδὲ ὁ ἀδελφός, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶ τῶν ἔνδον κειμένων νεκρῶν ὁ ὄραθεῖς.

44. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀναχώρησιν γέρων τις τῶν πατέρων ἡσυχαστῆς καὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστήσας, Σέργιος τῷ ὀνόματι, πενθῶν καὶ ὀδυρόμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τούτοις ἀνιαιοῖς, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τῶν μακαρίων, ἄψας λαμπάδα εἰς τὴν θεόκτιστον εἰσηλθεν ἐκκλησίαν, βουλόμενος ἐνδότατον χωρῆσαι [καὶ θεάσασθαι] τίνες ἂν καὶ πόσοι εἶεν οἱ κοιμηθέντες πατέρες, καὶ ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κοσμᾶν τοῦτον, ὃν καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τεθέαται, ἐξίοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄντρου ἐν τοιοῦτῳ λαμπρῷ καταστήματι· καὶ βαλόντων ἀλλήλοις μετάνοιαν συνήθως, ὁ ἀββᾶς Κοσμᾶς προσανεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῖον, τοῦτον εἰπὼν τὸν λόγον Εὐξαῖ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. Εἰσελθὼν οὖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Σέργιος μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἠρεῦνα καὶ ἐψηλάφα τῶν ἀγίων τὰ πρόσωπα· ἐν οἷς θεασάμενος τουτοῖν τὸν ἀββᾶν Κοσμᾶν ἄπνουν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ᾧτινι εἰσιῶν ἐξερχομένῳ προσυπήνησεν, ἔμφοβος γενόμενος ἐξῆλθεν ἐν τάχει, καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐφιέμενος, καὶ πανταχοῦ ζητήσας τοῦτον εὐρεῖν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη. Συνήκεν οὖν, ὅτι ὀπτασία τις ἦν θεία τὸ φανὲν αὐτῷ, πρὸς πληροφορίαν δειχθεῖσα τῆς ὀσίας αὐτῶν τελειώσεως καὶ τῆς ὑποδεξαμένης αὐτοὺς ἀθανασίας καὶ μακαριότητος.

45. Αὐτίκα γοῦν ἀνομβρίας ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐν τῇ λαύρα γενομένης, αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου τῶν ἀγίων κοιμήσεως διὰ πρεσβείας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐντεύξεως πολλῆς ὑετὸς κατενεχθεὶς πάντας τοὺς λάκκους καὶ τὰ δοχεῖα τῆς λαύρας ἐπλήρωσεν καὶ ἐμέστωσεν· παρὰ πόδας δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ αἵματος τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἀδίκως κεχυμένου, ἐποίησατο κύριος καὶ ἀπέδωκε τοῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῶν ἑπταπλασίονα εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰ λόγια. Θανατικῷ γὰρ γενομένου, οἱ τὰ ἀτόλμητα τολμήσαντες καὶ τὰ ἀθέμιτα δράσαντες βάρβαροι, καὶ οἱ τούτους κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ τῆς λαύρας

ones were afflicting them, as was previously mentioned, one of the brothers saw one of those who had fallen asleep and was lying in the cave, who was called Kosmas, standing apart before the sanctuary, his head anointed with oil and with a bright and very radiant and ruddy face, cheerful and joyous in countenance. And he said, "I was amazed, considering for myself firstly the brilliance and great joy of his appearance especially in such a time and place, and secondly how it was," he said, "that they did not lead him forth with us to afflictions and torments but released him to stand alone so fearlessly and undisturbed." For the brother still did not yet know that the one whom he saw was one of the corpses lying within.

44. And after the impious men had withdrawn, a certain elder of the fathers named Sergius, who was a hermit and had been pleasing to God for many years in the desert, while lamenting and mourning for all these grievous things that had happened, above all because of the death of the blessed ones, lit a lamp and went into the divinely created church, wanting to go further within and to see who and how many were the fathers who had fallen asleep. And he saw Abba Kosmas, whom the brother also had seen, going forth from the cave in such radiant condition. And when they made the customary obeisance to one another, Abba Kosmas went into the sanctuary, saying these words, "Pray for me." Therefore when Abba Sergius entered in with haste, he was searching and looking for the faces of the saints, among whom he saw lying as a lifeless corpse this same Abba Kosmas whom he had encountered going out as he was going in. And being filled with fear, he quickly went out, hoping to catch him, and looking everywhere, he was not able to find him. Accordingly he understood that what had appeared to him was some sort of divine vision that showed confirmation of their holy consummation and of the immortality and bliss promised to them.

45. Then, although there had been a drought that year at the lavra, on that very night of the glorious falling asleep of the saints, through their prayers and intercessions a very heavy rain came down and filled and topped up all the cisterns and reservoirs of the lavra. And immediately thereafter the Lord enacted vengeance for the unjustly shed blood of his servants and rendered sevenfold to our neighbors into their bosom, according to the scriptures.<sup>83</sup> For when a deadly disease arose, the barbarians who had the audacity to do outrageous things and did lawless

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83. Cf. Ps 78:10, 12 (79:10, 12).

ἐξοπλίσαντες, νόσω καὶ λιμῶ καὶ οἰκτίστῳ θανάτῳ διεφθάρησαν οὕτως ἀθρώως καὶ ἀλλεπαλλήλως, ὡς μὴ φθάνειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροὺς θάπτειν καὶ τῇ νενομισμένῃ ταφῇ παραδιδόναι, ἐπιπολαίως δὲ πῶς τῷ χῶματι καλύπτειν, ἢ ἐν σπηλαίοις καὶ ὀπαῖς ρίπτειν· οὓς οἱ κύνες ἀνορύσσοντες καὶ διασπαράσσοντες βορὰν καὶ θοίνην ἐποιοῦντο, ὡς θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας τὸν καταλαβόντα αὐτοὺς αἰφνίδιον ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀφανισμόν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνόμων ἐκλειψιν καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχεῖαν ἐκδίκησιν, καὶ ἄσαι σὺν τῷ προφήτῃ Δαυίδ· πῶς ἐγένοντο εἰς ἐρήμωσιν; ἐξάπινα ἐξέλιπον ἀπώλοντο διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἐνύπνιον ἐξεγειρομένου.

46. Οὐκ ἀποκρύψω δὲ ὅπερ μοι πρεσβύτερος ἀξιόπιστος ἐξηγήσατο. Οὗτος ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀνὴρ Σύρος ὑπάρχων τῇ γλώττῃ, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ πολλῇ γέγονεν ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν Ἑλληνίδα λαλιὰν καὶ διάλεκτον· καὶ δὴ τὸ Ψαλτήριον μόχθῳ πολλῷ ἀποστηθίσας προσεῖχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς ἀγίας Γραφῆς ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐμπόνως, τρανώσαι καὶ ἐθίσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γλῶσσαν ἰμειρόμενος· δυσχερῶς δὲ καὶ ἐργωδῶς τὴν μελέτην τῆς ἀναγνώσεως κατορθῶν ἠθύμει. Ἀφυσπνῶσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἐπιστασία τινὸς τῶν ἀγίων τούτων πατέρων, Ἀναστασίου τοῦ πρωτοδιακόνου, οὗ καὶ προεμνήσθημεν· ὅστις τῷ Παπῖα καὶ φίλος ἐτύγχανεν καὶ ἐπρώτα (φησι) τῆς ἀθυμίας τὴν αἰτίαν· ὁ δὲ ἐξήγγειλε τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἐγκαλῶν τῆς μαθήσεως. Πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἅγιος ὑπομειδιῶν Χάλασόν φησι καὶ ἐξάγαγέ μοι τὴν γλῶσσάν σου, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ῥάκος τι καινὸν ἐκβαλὼν περιέτριβε καὶ ἐξέμασεν αὐτὴν καὶ γλισχρότητά τινα παχεῖαν καὶ χλωδὴν περικαθαρίσας ἀπέπτῃ. Καὶ ὁ καθεύδων διῦπνίσθη, καὶ διαβεβαιοῦται ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τοσαύτης ἦσθετο καὶ συνέσεως τῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τρανογλωττίας εὐκόλου, ἀναγνώσεώς τε καὶ μαθήσεως, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τῶν ἀγίων τὴν χάριν.

47. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα βραχέα τῆς ὑμετέρας τεκμήρια χάριτος, ὧ ἱεροὶ καὶ θεῷ πεποθημένοι μάρτυρες· τῆς ἐν οὐρανοῖς δὲ δόξης ὑμῶν, ἥς νῦν ἀξίως μετέχετε, τίς ἰκανὸς διηγῆσασθαι; Μακάριοι γὰρ ὄντως<sup>20</sup> ὑμεῖς, θεομακάριστοι, ὅτι τῆς ἐπιγείου ζωῆς τυραννικῶς ἐκβληθέντες, τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων εὐζωίας κατηξιώθητε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανόλβιοι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ φυσικοῦ θανάτου ὑμεῖς τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ προαιρετικῶς ἑαυτοὺς ἐσταυρώσατε καὶ

20. Correcting ὄντες to read ὄντως as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

things and also those who armed them against the saints and the lavra were suddenly consumed with sickness and hunger and the most horrible death, one after the next, so that they could not manage to bury their own dead and give them a customary burial, but instead they covered them with a little dirt or threw them into caves and caverns. And when the dogs dug them up and tore them to pieces, they made a banquet and feast of them, so that everyone was amazed at the sudden death and destruction that came upon them and the devastation of the lawless and the swift vengeance of God, and they sang with the prophet David, “How they became desolate in a moment! They failed; they perished on account of their lawlessness, like a dream when one awakes.”<sup>84</sup>

46. But I will not keep hidden what the trustworthy priest told me. This virtuous man, although he was a Syriac speaker, became full of desire to master the Greek language and dialect. What is more, when with much labor he learned the Psalter by heart, he turned to reading the holy scriptures carefully and patiently, longing to speak clearly and to become accustomed to its language. But completing the exercise of reading with difficulty and toil, he became disheartened. And the concern of one of these holy fathers fell upon him while he was sleeping—namely, Anastasius, the archdeacon, whom we have mentioned before, who also happened to be a friend of Papias. And he asked, he said, about the cause of his despondency, and he explained, blaming the difficulty of learning. To which the saint, smiling a little, said, “Loosen your tongue and stick it out for me,” and producing from himself some new rags, he rubbed and wiped it, and completely removing some thick, greenish stickiness, he flew off. And the one who was sleeping woke up, and the priest maintains that from that day he experienced so much comprehension and easy clear expression of the language, in reading and learning, that he was amazed and marveled at the visitation of God and the grace of the saints.

47. But these are just a few demonstrations of your grace, O holy martyrs who longed for God, but who can describe your glory in heaven, of which you now worthily partake? For you are truly blessed, blessed ones of God, because being thrown violently from this earthly life, you have been found worthy of the blessed life of heaven. You are blessed, most fortunate fathers, because in physical death you have willingly crucified yourselves and become dead to the entire world, but on earth in

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84. Ps 72:19–20 (73:19–20).

ἐνεκρώσατε, ἐν καινότητι δὲ ζωῆς τὴν ἰσάγγελον πολιτείαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐζηλώσατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανόσιοι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ προσκαίρῳ ταύτῃ ζωῇ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, το ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός, τῷ τῆς ζωῆς νόμῳ καθυπετάξατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανάριστοι, ὅτι τὰ τῆς σαρκός πάθη πόνοις καὶ τόνοις ἀσκήσεως περιελόμενοι εὐήνιον τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ὑποχείριον κατεστήσατε, καὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῷ κρείττονι δεδουλαγωγῆκατε, τὸν δὲ νοῦν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐπειθῶς ὑπεζεύξατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανένδοξοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀξίωμα ταῖς τῆς σαρκός ἡδυπαθείαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἀδούλωτον ἐτηρήσατε, τὴν δὲ τῆς εἰκόνας εὐγένειαν ἀταπεινωτον ἐφυλάξατε καὶ τῶν ταύτης χαρακτήρων τὴν εὐχρῳιαν καὶ εὐμορφίαν ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀπαράλλακτον πεφρουρήκατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανάρετοι, ὅτι τὰς ἀρετὰς ὡς βαφὰς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Γραφῶν διδασκαλίας οἶά τινες εὐφυεῖς ζωγράφοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς χρωματίσαντες καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐκμαζάμενοι, ἔμψυχον ἄγαλμα καὶ θεοεἰκελον ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ ἰνδαλμα τῷ κόσμῳ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπεδείξατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες ἀξιομακάριστοι, ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τερπνῶν θέλξει καὶ ἀπατησαὶ ὑμῶν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεωρίας καὶ κατατροφῆσεως ἀποσυλῆσαι καὶ καθελκῦσαι καὶ κατασπάσαι δεδύνηται. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες ἀξιάγαστοι, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμητικὸν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνετεινάτε, τὸν θυμὸν δὲ κατὰ μόνης τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ ταύτης εὐρήμονος καὶ γεννήτορος ὡσπερ τινὰ ῥομφαίαν ἐτρέψατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες θεσπέσιοι, ὅτι τὴν πλατεῖαν τῶν ἡδονῶν ὁδὸν ὡς εἰς ὀλέθριον πέρασ κομίζουσαν ὁδεύειν νουνεχῶς παρητήσασθε, τὴν δὲ στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὡς εἰς μακαρίαν καὶ τρισευδαίμονα λῆξιν τοὺς ὁδοιπόρους ἀπάγουσαν ἀνύειν ἀνεπιστρόφως καὶ ἀκλινῶς ἠρετίσασθε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες ἀνίκητοι, ὅτι καθάπερ τὸν πολυάθλον Ἴώβ ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐξαιτησάμενος πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρίας τὴν βελοθήκην ἐκκενώσας καὶ παντοίως μηχανησάμενος καταβαλεῖν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἴσχυσε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σύντονον καὶ ἀήττητον.

48. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες θεόσοφοι, ὅτι τῶν παθημάτων τῷ Χριστῷ κοινωνήσαντες δι' ἀσκήσεως πρότερον, εἶτα καὶ δι' ἀθλήσεως, ὕστερον εἰκότως αὐτῷ κοινωνοὶ τῆς δόξης ἐχρηματίσατε· εἶπερ συμπάσχομεν, φησίν, ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν καὶ αἰωνίως συμβασιλεύσωμεν. Μακάριοί ἐστε,

newness of life you strove after the life equal to the angels. You are blessed, all-holy fathers, because in this fleeting life you subjected the will of the flesh, which wars against the law of the mind, to the law of life. You are blessed, most excellent fathers, because by removing the passions of the flesh with the toils and labors of asceticism, you have rendered the body subject and obedient to the soul, and you have made what is inferior the servant of what is superior, and you have yoked the mind obediently under the law of Christ. You are blessed, all-glorious fathers, because you took care that the dignity of the soul was free from enslavement to the indulgences and pleasures of the flesh, and you kept the nobility of the image from humiliation, and you preserved the beautiful appearance and lovely form of its features from disorder and change. You are blessed, all-virtuous fathers, because, having colored yourselves and painted<sup>85</sup> your souls like gifted painters with the virtues from the teaching of the scriptures as dyes, you showed yourselves to the world as an animate image and Godlike impression and appearance. You are blessed, fathers worthy of blessing, because none of the delights in this life was able to captivate and deceive your heart and to deter you and pull you away and drag you from contemplation and delight of God. You are blessed, admirable fathers, because you lifted up the desire of your soul to God and to the enjoyment of divine things, and you turned your heart like a sword against only sin and its origin and source. You are blessed, inspired fathers, because you sensibly refused to travel the wide road of pleasures, since it leads to a destructive end, and you steadfastly and unswervingly chose to complete the narrow and hard road, since it leads travelers to a blessed and thrice-happy end.<sup>86</sup> You are blessed, unvanquished fathers, because like the sorely tried Job, the adversary who was demanding your surrender, who emptied his entire quiver of wickedness and was conniving in every possible way, was not able to overthrow the zeal and invincibility of your souls.

48. You are blessed, fathers full of divine wisdom, because, having previously shared in the sufferings of Christ through asceticism, and then through contest, you finally were similarly reckoned partners in his glory: "If, in fact," he says, "we suffer with him so that we may also be glorified with him and reign with him eternally."<sup>87</sup> You are blessed,

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85. Literally "molded" or "wiped away."

86. Cf. Matt 7:13–14.

87. Rom 8:17; cf. 1 Cor 4:8; 2 Tim 2:12.

πατέρες αοίδιμοι, ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας διὰ τὰ ἐπουράνια ἀοράτως παλαίσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες ὁρατῶς, πάλιν τοὺς ὁρατοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροὺς διὰ τῆς τῶν αἰκισμῶν ὑπομονῆς καὶ μέχρι θανάτου καρτερίας ἀνδρείως ἠττήσαντες ἐτροπώσασθε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανεύφημοι, ὅτι δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν παλαισμάτων ἄμφω τοὺς δυσμενεῖς καὶ πολεμίους τρεψάμενοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἀριστεύσαντες καὶ ἐν ποικίλοις πολέμοις ἀνδραγαθήσαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν, δικαιοτάτα καὶ προσηκόντως ἐστεφανώθητε. Μακάριοί ἐστε πατέρες τρισιμέγιστοι, ὅτι διὰ καπνοῦ καὶ ὁσμῆς πυρὸς θνητοῦ καὶ εὐμαράντου τὴν τοῦ ἀμαράντου καὶ ἀσβέστου πυρὸς πείραν καὶ ἀπειλὴν παντελῶς διεφύγετε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς εὐώδεις τοῦ Παραδείσου καρποὺς ἐτρυγήσατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες τριπόθητοι, ὅτι πρὸς βραχὺ πνιγμῷ στενοχωρηθέντες τῆς ἐν τόπῳ χλόης ἀναψύξεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τετυχήκατε. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανέντιμοι, ὅτι ἐν στενωῖ καὶ σκοτεινῷ χωρίῳ καθειρχθέντες καὶ τῆς ὀλιγοχρονίου ζωῆς στερηθέντες, εἰς τοὺς ἀειθαλεῖς καὶ εὐρυχώρους καὶ ἀθάνατα βλαστάνοντας ἄνθη λειμῶνας μετέβητε, ἐνθα φῶς ἄδυτον καὶ ἀνέσπερον ἐπιλάμπει καὶ πάσης ὀδύνης καὶ στεναγμοῦ καὶ λύπης ἀπέδρα καὶ πέφευγεν ἀποσκίασμα. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες πανίεροι, ὅτι προσθήκη καὶ ἐκσφράγισμα εὐκλεῆς καὶ ἐπέραστον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος μαρτύρων τῷ Χριστῷ γεγονάτε ἐν οὐ καιρῷ διωγμοῦ τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τέλειον ἀπενεγκάμενοι στέφανον. Μακάριοί ἐστε, πατέρες θεόπνευστοι, ὅτι νηστεία τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα καθαγνίσαντες καὶ ἀγιάσαντες, τὴν τεσσαρακονθήμερον νηστείαν ἠγίασατε καὶ ἐφαιδρύνετε· ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ Χριστῷ προσκεχωρηκότες δι' αἵματος, καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκοσμοῦ καὶ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ προπεπονηότες παθήματος, πάσχα σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ φερέσβιον ἐωρτάσατε, τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ πικροῦ ἐργοδότου νοητοῦ Φαραῶ καὶ πάσης τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς καὶ σκοτώδους πλάνης φυγὴν καὶ ἐκλύτρωσιν καὶ διάβασιν [πεποιηκότες], καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀθλοφόροι στρατιῶται καὶ στεφανίται τεσσαράκοντα μάρτυρες.

renowned fathers, because by contending invisibly and triumphing visibly “against the rulers, against the authorities, against the cosmic powers of the darkness of this age, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places,”<sup>88</sup> and then courageously defeating the visible enemies of truth by enduring torments and through perseverance unto death, you put them to flight. You are blessed, all-praiseworthy fathers, because having routed both enemies and adversaries through both contests, and having prevailed forcefully and acted bravely in manifold battles in both instances, you have most fittingly and appropriately been crowned. You are blessed, thrice-greatest fathers, because through the smoke and stench of temporal and quickly fading fire, you escaped the trial and threat of unfading and unquenchable fire altogether, and you gathered the fragrant fruit of paradise. You are blessed, thrice-longed-for fathers, because after you were crowded together in suffocation for a short time, you obtained relief and rest in a verdant place.<sup>89</sup> You are blessed, honored fathers, because after you were confined in that dark and narrow place and were robbed of this short-lived life, you passed over to the ever-blooming and wide meadow that produces undying flowers, where shines the light that never sets and knows no evening, and all pain and sorrow and suffering have vanished,<sup>90</sup> and the shadows have fled.<sup>91</sup> You are blessed, all-holy fathers, because you have become for Christ an honorable addition to and a lovely seal of the martyrs of old, winning the perfect crown of the martyr not in a time of persecution. You are blessed, divinely inspired fathers, because having purified and sanctified your souls and bodies through fasting, you sanctified and brightened the forty-day fast, having gone over to Christ during it through blood; and because you suffered before his supernatural and saving passion, you celebrated the life-giving Pascha with him, having accomplished the flight and deliverance and passage from sin and the harsh taskmaster of the intellectual Pharaoh and all the wandering in Egypt and in darkness, as the honored and victorious soldiers of Christ, the forty crown-bearing martyrs.

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88. Eph 6:12.

89. Cf. Ps 22:2 (23:2).

90. Isa 35:10. The grammar here is awkward, and instead of genitives, one might expect nominatives, as one finds in Isaiah, for instance: ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός.

91. Songs 2:17.

49. Μέμνησθε καὶ ἡμῶν, πατέρες ἀείμνηστοι, οἷς ἐν σαρκὶ ζῶντες συνανεστρέφεσθε καὶ ἀδελφικῶς συνεπολιτεύεσθε. Εἰ καὶ νῦν καταλιπόντες τὰς ἐπὶ γῆς διατριβὰς τοῖς οὐρανόις ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χαρᾷ συναυλιζέσθε, μὴ ἐπιλάθησθε τῆς ἡμῶν ἀδελφότητος καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας λαύρας καὶ συνοδίας, ἥτις ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς νῦν προέπεμψε· μακάριοι γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' ὑμᾶς, τρισμακάριστοι, ὅτι τοιαύτην ἀπαρχὴν ἀγίαν καὶ πανίερον ἀκροθίνιον τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ προπεπόμφαμεν, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ δεκτὴν εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας εἰλικρινῆ καὶ ἄμωμον καὶ εὐάρεστον. Προσαγάγετε τῇ ζωαρχικῇ καὶ θείᾳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ Τριάδι, ἥτις ὑμᾶς ἑαυτῇ παρεστήσατο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν ὀμηγύρεως καὶ κοινότητος, πρεσβείαν ἐκτενῆ καὶ ἐπίμονον ῥυσθῆναι μὲν τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ δεινοπλόκων παγίδων καὶ μεθοδεῶν καὶ παμπονήρων μηχανημάτων, ἐλευθερωθῆναι τε τῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν παθῶν καὶ πλημμελημάτων, λυτρωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀρατῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ βασκανίας, εἰρηνικῶς τε τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν διανύσαντας ἀξιώθῆναι ἧς αὐτοὶ κατηξιώθητε τῶν ἀκηράτων ἀγαθῶν μετουσίας καὶ τῆς ἀγήρω ζωῆς λήξεως τε καὶ τάξεως, κἂν μέγα ἦ τὸ αἰτούμενον. Πρεσβεύσατε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ μιᾶς ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἄνεσιν δοθῆναι τῶν πολυτρόπως ἐπινοουμένων καὶ ἐπανισταμένων αὐτῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς ἀληθείας πειρασμῶν καὶ ὀχλήσεων, γαλήνην τε καὶ εὐταξίαν αὐτῇ βραβευσθῆναι καὶ πάσης ἀηδίας καὶ ταραχῆς παῦλαν καὶ λώφῃσιν.

50. Ἐπιμνήσθητε καὶ τοῦ ἀναξίου ὑμῶν ἱκέτου, τοῦ ἀναξίαν ὑμῶν ταύτην τοῦ λόγου τὴν ἀπαρχὴν προσενηνοχότος καὶ ὕμνους ὑφαίνοντος, εὐτελεῖς μὲν καὶ παραπολὸν ἀξίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπολειπομένους καὶ ἀποδέοντας, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ ὅμως συντεθειμένους καὶ προσκεκομισμένους νῦν προθυμότατα. Αἰτήσασθε, πατέρες ἀξίμνητοι καὶ ἀξιέπαινοι, παρασχεθῆναι τῇ ἐμῇ οὐθενείᾳ ἀμπλακημάτων ἄφεςιν, παθῶν κάθαρσιν, βίου εὐκταίαν καὶ εἰρηναίαν διαγωγὴν καὶ διέξοδον, γεέννης καὶ κολάσεως λύτρωσιν, καὶ ἀκαταίσχυντον τὴν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ σωτήρος παράστασιν, μὴ πόρρω τῆς ὑμῶν ἐπαύλεώς τε καὶ στάσεως κἂν ὑπὲρ ἀξίαν ἢ τὸ διδόμενον.

51. Σὺ δέ, ὦ πατέρων εὐαγῶν πάτερ σεβασμιώτατε, ἀσκητῶν ἀλείπτα, μοναχῶν καθηγητὰ καὶ ἀθλητῶν παιδοτρίβα Σάβα τρισμακάρα, τῆς ἐρήμου οἰκιστὰ καὶ πολιστὰ περιώνυμε, δέχου τοὺς σοὺς φοιτητὰς γενικῶς οὕτως κατὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ ταύτης συνηγόρου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Βελίαρα

49. And remember us, fathers of eternal remembrance, with whom you lived together and dwelled in brotherhood while living in the flesh. And if now you have abandoned the preoccupations of earth to dwell in light and joy in the heavenly places, do not forget our brotherhood and your lavra and community, which now has sent you forth from earth to heaven. For we are also blessed through you, thrice-blessed ones, because we have sent forth to the master Christ such a holy offering and most sacred first-fruits, a sacrifice acceptable to God as an odor of sweetness, pure, unblemished, and pleasing.<sup>92</sup> Bring before the life-giving, divine, and consubstantial Trinity, which stands you before itself, fervent and constant intercession on behalf of our assembly and community, that we may be delivered from the clever deceits of the evil one, the traps and wiles and utterly depraved schemes; that we may be freed from mental and bodily sufferings and offenses; that we may be delivered from the treachery and malevolence of the invisible enemies, peacefully completing the present life; and that we may be found worthy of participation in pure goodness and a share and place in the ageless life, of which you yourselves were deemed worthy, even though that which is sought is great. Intercede on behalf of the one, common, orthodox church, that it may receive a remission of the manifold fabrications and attacks of temptations and disturbances by the enemies of truth, and that it may be bestowed with tranquility and stability and the cessation and end of all unpleasantness and upheaval.

50. Remember also your unworthy supplicant, who brings this first offering of a discourse that is unworthy of you and composes hymns, paltry things that fall far short and are vastly inferior to your honor, but which nevertheless have been composed according to our ability and offered now most earnestly. Pray, laudable and praiseworthy fathers, that my worthlessness may receive forgiveness of transgressions, cleansing of the passions, a desirable and peaceful course of life and passing from life, deliverance from Gehenna and torment, and a confident appearance before Christ the Savior, not far from your habitation and place of rest, even if that which is given would be beyond my merit.

51. And you, O most revered of the holy fathers, trainer of ascetics, teacher of monks, and trainer of contestants, thrice-blessed Sabas, widely renowned settler and pioneer of the desert, receive your disciples together, because they have contended and prevailed against sin and its

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92. Cf. Phil 4:18.

ἡγωνισμένους καὶ ἠριστευκότας, ἰδρώσι τε καὶ πόνοις καὶ αἵμασι τῆς ἀρετῆς νεανικῶς ὑπερμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους νενικηκότας, καὶ προσάγαγε Χριστῷ τῷ ἀγωνοθέτῃ ἀπρητισμένους μάρτυρας καὶ στεφανίτας· καὶ γὰρ εἴωθας τοὺς σοὺς μαθητὰς οὐ μόνον εἰς ἄσκησιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄθλησιν ἐπαλείφειν καὶ εὐτρεπίζειν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει τῶν Περσῶν, ὀπηνίκα καὶ ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Χριστοῦ πόλις ἦλω καὶ οἱ σεπτοὶ καὶ προσκυνούμενοι τόποι καὶ ναοὶ πυρίκαυστοὶ γεγόνασι, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πρὸς μάρτυρας ἐκ τῶν σῶν θρεμμάτων τῷ Χριστῷ προσαγήοχας, οὓς ἅμα καὶ ὕφ' ἐν οἷ πυρσολάτραι<sup>21</sup> καὶ μητρομανεῖς Πέρσαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς πλακὸς ἐπιδραμόντες κατέσφαξαν, ἐλομένους τε αὐτοὺς τῇ ἰδίᾳ λαύρα ἐναποθανεῖν ἢ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ ταύτης μεταναστεῦσαι καὶ φυγῆ τὴν ζωὴν πορίσασθαι.

52. Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ Χριστόφορον τὸν φερώνυμον καὶ νικηφόρον τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτην καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃν πρὸ ὀλίγων τούτων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀπιστίας εἰς πίστιν τὴν εὐσεβῆ μετατεθέντα, ἐκ Περσικῆς τε καὶ ἀκάρπου ἀγριελιάς εἰς καλλιέλαιον ἐγκεντρισθέντα καὶ τῷ θεῷ βαπτίσματι σφραγισθέντα, καὶ σχήματι τῷ μοναδικῷ καὶ ἀγγελικῷ στολισθέντα καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ σου ποιμνῇ συναριθμηθέντα, μάρτυρα τῷ κυρίῳ στεφανηφόρον παρέστησας, καλῶς μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ ἀγωνισάμενον σκάμματι, ἀνδρείως καὶ θαυμασίως καὶ τῷ μαρτυρικῷ<sup>22</sup> σταδίῳ ἀνδραγαθήσαντα, διαβληθέντα μὲν ὑπὸ ἀρνησιθέου ἀνδρός, ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἄνακτος καὶ πρωτοσυμβούλου ἀχθέντα καὶ τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν ὁμολογήσαντα, καὶ ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτηθέντα διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τε καὶ εὐσέβειαν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου μηνός, τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Τρίτῃ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑβδομάδος, πρὸ τριῶν τοῦ Κυριακοῦ πάθους ἡμερῶν τοῦ τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἡμᾶς σεσωκότος παθήμασι.

21. Correcting πυρολάτραι to read πυρσολάτραι as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

22. Correcting ματυρικῷ to read μαρτυρικῷ as in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

advocate and commander, Belial, and they have fought mightily on behalf of virtue with sweat, toil, and blood and have triumphed in the contests and led them to Christ, the judge of the contest, perfected as martyrs and wearing crowns. For you were accustomed to prepare and train your disciples not only for asceticism but also for the contest. For also during the attack of the Persians, when the Holy City of Christ was conquered and the revered places and venerated sanctuaries were set on fire, you led forth more than forty of your sheep as martyrs to Christ. The fire-worshipping and hysterical Persians, being greedy, slaughtered them together and at the same time on a single slab, because they chose to die in their own lavra rather than to flee from the face of the enemies and to escape from it and to secure life through flight.<sup>93</sup>

52. Likewise you also presented the crown-bearing martyr to the Lord, Christopher, the well-named and victorious soldier and martyr of Christ. A few years ago he was converted from unbelief to the holy faith, grafted from a Persian and fruitless wild olive tree to a garden olive tree and sealed by divine baptism. And he was clothed with the monastic and angelic garb and numbered among your holy flock, and he contended well in monastic training and showed bravery courageously and marvelously in the arena of martyrdom. He was accused by a god-denying man and brought before the king and chief ruler of the Saracens, and he professed the noble confession. And his head was cut off with a sword for faith and devotion to Christ on the fourteenth day of the month of April, which was Holy Tuesday of Great Week, three days before the Lord's passion, which saved us through his own suffering.<sup>94</sup>

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93. The story of these martyrs is to be found in Antiochos Monachus, *Letter to Eustathius* (PG 89:1421–28). In the letter, however, it is Arabs rather than Persians who murder the monks in search of their treasures, although the broader context is the Persian conquest of 614.

94. This would be a year in which Easter fell on April 19, and the closest year to the date of this text would be 789. Christopher's martyrdom sounds like a possible case of apostasy from Islam that was punished with death. It is thus tempting to read ὑπὸ ἀρνησιθέου ἀνδρός as somehow referring to an accusation of apostasy against Christopher, but the reading of ὑπὸ as indicating agency with the passive seems more likely. The tenth-century Palestinian-Georgian calendar indicates a commemoration of a Christopher on April 13, noting also that he was martyred in Baghdad in the days of the caliph al-Mahdī (d. 785); see Garitte, *Le Calendrier palestinien-géorgien*, 31. The year 778, which also saw Easter on April 19, would be consistent with this dating.

53. Καὶ νῦν δέ, πάτερ θειότατε καὶ πρεσβῦτα αἰδεσιμώτατε, ἐποπτεύοις τὴν σὴν ποιμνὴν καὶ λαύραν, ἣν τοῖς σοῖς συνεστήσω πονήμασιν καὶ ἐπαγρύπνωσιν ἐκ λύκων ἀνημέρων καὶ ἐπιβούλων ἀοράτων τε<sup>23</sup> καὶ ὁρατῶν φύλαττε μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ σωτήρος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φρικτῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως καὶ ἐπιφανείας, τὸ πνευματικόν σου σπέρμα ἐν αὐτῇ περιφρουρῶν μετὰ Χριστοῦ, πανταχόθεν ἐν αὐτῇ συνάγων καὶ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου εἰσάγων, ἵνα πάντας τοὺς σοὶ μαθητευθέντας ἀμέμπτως σεαυτῷ συμπαριστῶν τῷ κριτῇ φήσης· Ἴδου ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἃ μοι δέδωκας ὁ θεός. Ἀκούοιμεν δὲ τῆς εὐκταίας καὶ πολυεράστου ἐκείνης φωνῆς. Δεῦτε, οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρός μου, κληρονομήσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

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23. Adding τε as is found in the manuscript and the Acta Sanctorum edition.

53. And now, most divine father and most revered elder, may you watch over your flock and lavra, which you organized with your labors, and protect it vigilantly from savage and predatory wolves, both invisible and visible, until the dreadful second coming and appearance of the Savior from heaven, guarding your spiritual seed in it with Christ, gathering them together in it from all directions, and leading them from it “into the joy of your master,”<sup>95</sup> so that with all those who have been taught by you blamelessly standing together by your side, you will say to the judge, “Here am I and the children whom you have given me, God.”<sup>96</sup> May we hear this desired and much loved voice, “Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you,”<sup>97</sup> in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom is the glory and the power and the kingdom with the beginningless Father and the all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages. Amen.

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95. Matt 25:21, 23.

96. Cf. Isa 8:18.

97. Matt 25:34.



*Passion of Romanos the Neomartyr (d. 780)*

თ[თუესა]: მაისსა: ზ: წამებად: წმიდისა: რომანოზ:<sup>1</sup> ახლისა:  
მოწამისა: რომელი: იწამა: მეფობასა: ემმაკთ: მსახოვრსა: მეფისა:  
მაჰდისსა: რომელი: აღწერა: ნეტარმან: სტეფანე: დამასკელმან:  
რომელი: იყო: ერთი: მამათა: განი: ლავრისა:<sup>2</sup> წმიდისა: მამისა:  
ჩვენისა: საბაძსა:

1. წელთა კოსტანტინე მეფისა უშჯულოდსათა, რომელ იგი აღძრვითა ემმაკისადათა აღადგინა ბრძოლად და შეურაცხებად ხატთა ზედა წმიდათა და არა მცირედ აღაშფოთნა<sup>3</sup> ეკლესიანი ქრისტეს ღვთისა ჩვენისანი. და<sup>4</sup> მრავლითა გუემითა და შეურაცხებითა განდევნა და ექუსორია ყვნა კაცნი იგი ღვთის მსახურნი, რომელთა აღირჩიეს ცხოვრებად<sup>5</sup> ანგელოზებრივი და შეიმოსეს წმიდად იგი სქემად მონაზონებისაჲ. იყო ესე მოწამე ქრისტესი და დიდებული წმიდად რომანოზ ნათესავით გალატელი, ძჳ კაცთად მორწმუნ[ე]თად და ღვთის მსახურთად და აღზარდეს იგი კეთილად მსახურებითა, რომელი შეეტყუების და ჰშუენის ქრისტეანეთა მორწმუნეთა და ვითარცა მოიწია იგი სისრულესა ჰასაკისასა, ესმნეს მას სიტყუანი საღმრთოთა წიგნთანი წინაძსწარ განმზადებულთა მათ კეთილთათჳს, რომელი ელის ნების მყოფელთა ღვთისათა. მაშინ შეუჴდა მხურვალედ გონებასა<sup>6</sup> მისსა ტრფიალებად და სურვილი მკვდრობისათჳს სასუფეველისა ცათაძსა, რომელი მარადის წარუვალ და დაუსრულებელ არს და შეურაცხყო და განიშოვრა ყოველი შფოთი და უცალოებად სოფლისა იმის საწუთროძსა და წარმავალისაჲ და განიყარა მისგან, ვითარცა მტუერი სიყვარული საშუებლად და განსუენებათა და მწრაფლ განვიდა იგი სოფლით და შევიდა იგი მონასტრად, რომელი შჴნ იყო ქვეყანასა მას, რომელსა ეწოდა ტომანტიონი

1. T: რომანოს.

2. T: რომელი მკვდრ იყო ლავრსა.

3. T add. წმიდანი.

4. A: omit და.

5. Here begins the first lacuna in T after 440v.

6. გონებისა in the edition, but the form above seems correct.

May 1: The martyrdom of St. Romanos the neomartyr, who was martyred in the reign of king Mahdī, the servant of the devil, which the blessed Stephen of Damascus wrote, who was one of the fathers of the lavra<sup>1</sup> of our holy father Sabas.

1. In the years when the lawless emperor Constantine was reigning (741–75)—he who through the agitations of the devil renewed the war and outrage against holy icons and caused no small disturbance in the churches of Christ our God and with many torments and violations banished and exiled those people who were servants of God, who chose the angelic life and put on the holy monastic habit—there was a glorious Christian martyr named St. Romanos, from the Galatian peoples, the son of faithful people who served God. And they raised him with the excellent devotion that befits and adorns faithful Christians. When he reached the age of maturity, he heard lessons from the divine writings from the start for an excellent preparation, which abides in those who do God’s will. Then an ardent will and desire entered his mind to dwell in the kingdom of heaven, which endures forever and is unending. And he despised and abandoned all the toil and trouble of this fleeting and passing world, and fervent love scattered them away from him like dust and adornments.<sup>2</sup> Soon he left his town and entered a monastery that had been built in the region known as Mantineon.<sup>3</sup> This Mantineon

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1. T: “who was living at the lavra . . .”

2. The Georgian is difficult here, and Peeters explains the text on the basis of an Arabic source, translating “captus amore vitae beatoris et requietis.” I have instead translated the Georgian as directly as possible.

3. As Peeters notes, this was the double monastery led and perhaps founded by St. Anathousa in Paphlagonia; see Peeters, “S. Romain,” 394–95. St. Anathousa was a defender of icons during the first iconoclastic period, and Romanos seems to have been her disciple. For more on St. Anathousa and the

და ესე ტომანტიონი არს ტბაჲ ერთი, რომელსა შუჲა არს ადგილი ჳმელი და მას შინა აღმწნებულ არს მონასტერი წმიდათა ქალწულთაჲ და კუალად კიდესა მას ტბისასასა სხუაჲ მონასტერი აღმწნებულ არს და მკვდრ არიან მას შინა წმიდანნი მამანი მონოზონნი სასწაულთა მოქმედნი. ესენი ჳმსახურებენ წმიდათა მათ ქალწულთა ყოველსა სამსახურებელსა ჳორციელებრსა, ხოლო თითუეულად თჳსნი მათნი არიან, და ვითარცა თავათჳს ზრუნვენ, ყოველსავე საჳმარსა მათსა მოწრაფებით, რათა ყოვლადვე უზრუნველად იყვნენ წმიდანი იგი და არა გამოვიდოდინან ყოვლისავეთჳს საჳმრისა ჳორციელისა, და იგინი კუალად იყვნენ მოქმედ ჳელითა მათითა სამოსელსა წმიდათა მათ მამათათჳს, რათა არს ცუდად და მოცალედ სხდენ, ჟამსა ჳელთ საჳმრისა მათისასა და კუალად რათა მოაგონ მონაზონთა მსგავსად მსახურებისა და ურვისა მათისათჳს, და რათა დაიცვნენ სულნი თჳსნი განუკითხველად და დაუშჯელად.

2. ამას მონასტერსა შინა განთქუმულსა და დიდებულსა ესე წმიდაჲ რომანოზ სიყრმით მისითგან მონაზონ იქმნა და დაისწავლა ფსალმუნი დავითისი და ყოველი წესი მონაზონებისაჲ, და იყო იგი მოწრაფჳ კითხვასა წიგნთა სულიერთასა და ასუმიდა სულსა თჳსსა წყალთა მათგან სულისა წმიდისა განმაცხოველებლისათა: - და თქმულისაებრ წინასწარმეტყველისა იყო იგი, ვითარცა ხჳ დანერგული თანაწარსადინელსა წყალთასა, რომელმან გამოსცეს ხილი თჳსი ჟამსა თჳსსა, და წმიდათა მამათა ყოველსა სამსახურებელსა ჳელნი მათნი მოუწყინებელად მოწრაფებით ჳმსახურებდეს. დაღათუ არნ იგი და დამაშურალ<sup>7</sup> და საჳმარ რამეჲ არნ მსახურებაჲ არავე დაეყენის მისგან და ჟამსა ლოცვისასა უწინარჳს ყოვლისა შვეიდის ეკლესიად და ყოველთა უკუანაჲს გამოვიდის, და ოდეს გლახაკნი და უცხონი მოიწიან სურვიელად ჳმსახურებნ და ჟამსა შფოთისასა ჳმსახურებნ მათ და სულგრძელებით მოითმენნ და შეურაცხებასა სიმდაბლით იტჳრთავნ, და სილაღესა სიჳაბუკისასა მარხვითა, შრომითა, ღამის თევითა და მარადის ქუ[ე]ყანასა ზედა წოლითა, დაამდაბლებდა და შეჳმუსრვიდა და გულის თქუმათა ბოროტსა და ნებასა ჳორცთასა საძაგელსა ჳსენებითა სიკუდილისაჲთა განაჳარვებდა და დაიმორჩილებდა და საშჯელსა მას, რომელითა ვერ თანაწარვალს წინაშე მართლ მსაჯულისა მეფისა და<sup>8</sup> სატანჯველთა მათ საუკუნეთა, თუალთა წინაშე მისთა გამოიწერდა და მარადის დაუვიწყებელად გონებასა იჳსენებდა და ცუდად დიდებასა და ამჳარტავანებასა და გულის სიტყუათა მწინკულევანთა წინა აღუდგებოდა და განაჳარვებდა სრულებით სიმჳდითა მათ და სიმდაბლითა მისა

7. და მაშურალ in the edition.

8. T resumes at this point on 441r.

is a lake in the midst of which is a dry place, and on it a monastery of holy virgins had been built. And on the shore of the lake another monastery had also been built, and in it dwell holy monastic fathers working wonders. They see to every material need of the holy virgins, although they are separate from each other, and they quickly take care of their every need as if for themselves, so that these holy women are completely free from care and need not go forth for any earthly need. And with their hands they also make garments for the holy fathers so that they may dwell free and unfettered from giving time to manual labor, and also so that the monks equally may see to their own cares and needs, and so that they may keep their own souls pure and uncontaminated.

2. At this famous and renowned monastery St. Romanos became a monk in his childhood, and he learned the psalms of David and all the monastic rite. He was eager in his studies of spiritual texts and bathed his spirit in the waters of the life-giving Holy Spirit. "He was," as the saying of the prophet goes, "like the tree that was planted by streams of waters, which yields its fruit in its time,"<sup>4</sup> and his hands tirelessly saw to every need of the holy fathers with eagerness. Even if he was tired and was needed for some service, he did not refrain from it. And when it was time for prayer, he entered the church before everyone else and left after everyone else. And when the poor and strangers came, he served them willingly, and in times of trouble he served them. He waited on them with patience and endured insults with humility. And he subdued and crushed the insolence of youth with fasting, labor, night vigils, and always lying on the ground. He destroyed and conquered the evil thoughts of the heart and the horrible will of the flesh with recollections of death. And he pictured before his eyes and always called unforgettably to mind the judgment, in which no one will escape standing before the righteous judge and king, and the eternal torments. He rose up against vainglory and pride and impure thoughts and destroyed them completely with the kindness and humility of the only ineffable

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community that she directed, see Talbot, "Life of Anathousa of Mantineon," 13–19.

4. Ps 1:3.

ღვთისა მხოლოდსა გამოუთქუმელისადათა, რომელი ჳმითა მადლითა წმიდათა სახარებათა მიერ ღალადებს და იტყვს, რომელთა ჳნებავს მსგავსებად მისი, ისწავეთ ჩემგან, რამეთუ მშუდ ვარ და მდაბალ გულითა, არა მთავარ ანგელოზთაგან და არცა ანგელოზთა, არამედ ასწავეთ ჩემგან ყოველთა ღვთისა და მაცხოვრისა და ნებითა ჩემითა დავსდებ სულსა ჩემსა

3. და რათა ყოველივე ვთქუათ: ვითარმედ ყოველთა საბრწეთა მტერისათა და ღონეთა მისთა და ძლიერად ბრძოლას მისსა სიმწნით შეჭურვილი საჭურვილითა ჯვარისადათა ახოვნად წინააღუდგებოდა და ესრწთ აღესრულებოდა მას ზედა ნეშტი იგი სიტყვსაჲ მის, რომელმან გამოსცეს ხილი მისი ჟამსა თვისსა. და რასა უკუე იტყოდა, არამედ ამას დიდმე არსა ჩუენდა, რომელთა ესე დაგმკვდრებებს ბუნებრივი სიმდაბლწ მიწისა ჩუენისა, უკუეთუ სულთა ჩვენთა ცხოვრებისათვს, ჩუენთანავე მონათა დაუმდაბლნეთ თავნი ჩუენნი, ვინათგან მეუფწ იგი მეუფეთაჲ საუკუნეთაჲ, ღმერთი ჩვენ მდაბალთა და შეურაცხთათვს დამდაბლდა, და მისცა თავი თვისი სიკუდილსა საყუედრელსა ჯვარითა. ხოლო ამპარტავანებითა პირველი იგი<sup>9</sup> რომელსა<sup>10</sup> ეწოდა ზუჳრა, უკუანაჲსუნელ ბნელსა<sup>11</sup> მას წყუდიადისასა დამარხულსა მისათვს საუკუნოდ განიკითხოს, რომელ არს ეშმაკი, რომელიცა გარდამოვარდა სიმადლით. ეგრეთვე ადამი, რომელი იგი გონებითა განლაღნა ბრძანებულსა ზედა დამბადებელისა თვისისისა, შეურაცხებით განიდევნა იგი სამოთხისა მისგან საშუებლისადათ ამპარტავანებისა მისისათვს. ხოლო სიმდაბლითა და მოთმინებითა ნეტარმან იოსებ<sup>12</sup> მოიგო სახელი კეთილი და დაუტევა სახსენებელი სიწმიდისაჲ, და კუალად იობ სუეტი იგი სარწმუნოვებისაჲ, მრავალ მოღუაწე სახწ ექმნა ყოველთა სიმდაბლითა და მოთმინებითა და სათნოვებითა და ეგრევე საკვრველთა მოციქულთა და მოწამეთა დაიმდაბლნეს თავნი მათნი, ვიდრემდის ღმერთი თვისითა თუალითა ჳხედვიდა მათ ყოველთა საქმეთა მათთა, განუგებდა ნებისაებრ,

4. და ენება ნეტარსა რომანოზს, რათა მსგავს<sup>13</sup> მათთა იყოს უკუანაჲსუნელი იგი მისი, და<sup>14</sup> სურვიელ იყო სიკუდილსა ქრისტწსთვს

9. A omits: პირველი იგი.

10. T adds: სახელი.

11. The edition reads ბნელისა, but the form above, from T, makes better sense.

12. Following T; A reads instead იობ.

13. მსგავსად is seemingly a misprint in the edition; the form above is from T.

14. A omits: და.

Son of God, who cried out and said with a great voice in the holy gospel to those wishing to imitate him, “Learn from me, for I am kind and humble in heart;<sup>5</sup> not from archangels or angels but from myself I teach all things as God and Savior, and I lay down my soul by my own will.”<sup>6</sup>

3. And lest we leave anything out—he courageously resisted all the snares of the enemy and his powers and his forceful attack armed with armor of the cross. And so in this way he fulfilled the rest of the saying, “which yields fruit in its time.”<sup>7</sup> And then he said the following: “Is it anything great for us, who will inherit the natural humility of our earth, if for the salvation of our souls we humble ourselves with our servants, for the king of the eternal kingdom, God, became humble for the sake of our humility and lowliness and gave himself over to a horrible death on a cross? But the one exalted with pride, who is called Lucifer,<sup>8</sup> that is, the devil, who fell from the heights, will ultimately be condemned eternally to the gloomy confinement of darkness because of this. So also Adam, who became proud in his mind before the command of his creator, was expelled from paradise by a transgression of delight on account of his pride. Nevertheless, through humility and patience the blessed Joseph obtained a good name and made room for the memory of purity. And Job also, that pillar of faith who struggled much, became an example for all through humility and patience and kindness. And likewise the admirable apostles and martyrs humbled themselves so that God could observe all their deeds with his own eyes and guide them by his hand.”<sup>9</sup>

4. The blessed Romanos wanted his end to be like theirs, and he longed to die for Christ by the sword. And his wish was not in vain, for

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5. Matt 11:29.

6. Cf. John 10:18.

7. Ps 1:3.

8. For ԲըլՅճն as Lucifer, see Peeters, “S. Romain,” 404.

9. Or “his will.”

მახვილითა და არა ცუდად იქმნა ნებად მისი, რამეთუ ჩუეულ არიან მოღვაწენი გვრგვნსა ქრისტესს მიერ. და იყო იგი მონასტერსა მას შინა საყუარელ ყოველთაგან მამათა კეთილთა და სათნოებათა მისთათვს, რომელითა განბრწყინვებულ იყო სიმდაბლესა შინა და მორჩილებასა საქებელსა, რამეთუ ყოველთავე ჰმსახურებნ ნებისაებრ მათისა და იყო ქალწულთა მათ მონასტერსა, რომელ ზემო ვაკსენეთ დედოფალი მათ ზედა დედაკაცი წმიდა და განთქმული ყოველსა მას ქუეყანასა სათნოებითა<sup>15</sup> მარხვითა და სიწმიდითა და შემკულ მადლითა ღვთისათა, რომელსაცა ეწოდა ანთოსა, რომლისათვს მიუთხრობდენ<sup>16</sup> მკვდრნი მის ქუეყანისანი საქმეთაგან განსაკვრვებელთა. ამას ნეტარსა სულითა უყუარდა წმიდა რომანოზ, რამეთუ წინამსწარ ეუწყა მას ღვთისა მიერ, რომელსა საქმესა მიწევნად იყო იგი და ფრიად ასწავებნ მას<sup>17</sup> და განაკრძალეზ მას შინაგანითა მით კაცითა ქრისტესსა შეურაცხ-ყოფად გარეშე ესე კაცი განხრწნილი, რამეთუ იგი იყო ჟამსა მას ორმეოცის წლის ჰასაკითა. მაშინ წარავლინა წმიდად ესე სანატრელმან მან დედუფალმან მონასტრისათვს დიაკონებად მოხუცებულისა ვისთანმე წმიდისა და ყოვლითა სათნოებითა შემკულისა ქვეყანად, რომლადმე და ვითარ იყენეს იგინი მსახურებასა და მორჩილებასა ვიდოდეს იგინი ყოვლითა კრძალულებითა სულთა მათთა შეძინებისა და სარგებლისათვს.

5. მაშინ მტერი იგი კაცთა ცხოვრებისად და მბრძოლი წმიდათად აღბორგნა და ენება შეწუხებად სანატრელისა მის დედუფლისად და შთაყარნა მართალნი იგი განწირულებასა და მოუვლინა ქრისტესს მსახურთა მათ საკუთართა კაცნი სარკინოზნი მეკობრენი, და შეიპყრნეს იგინი და შეკრნეს და წარიტყუენნეს იგინი მგელთა მათ ბოროტთა ცხოვარნი იგი ქრისტესსანი მდაბალნი, ვიდრემდის მიიყვანნეს ბაბილოვნად, რომელ არს ბაღდადი, მეფისა მის ისმაიტელისა, რომელი იყო ჟამთა მათ, რომელსა ეწოდა აბდალა აბუჯაფარ. მაშინ უბრძანა, რათა შებორკილნენ და შესხნენ იგინი საპყრობილესა, მაშინ მოხუცებული იგი მცირედთა დღეთა შემდგომად სიბერითა კეთილითა და სლვითა სათნოეთა და მადლობითა ღვთისათა მიწევნულსა მას ზედა დაუტევა ესე ცხოვრებად და მიიგვალა ნავთსაყუდელად მყუდროდ და განსასუენებელად საუკუნოდ, და შეწირა ღვთისა მქელეული შრომისა მისისად. ხოლო ნეტარი რომანოზ რაჟამს დაშთა მარტოდ მოყუსისა მისგან

15. T omits სათნოებითა.

16. Peeters reports that T has a variant reading here, but it does not. The manuscripts are identical at this point. This occurs frequently, and in subsequent instances this is indicated by the shorthand “P-NV.”

17. Here begins the second lacuna in T.

those who toil are customarily crowned by Christ. He was beloved in the monastery by the good fathers because of his kindness, with which he was radiant in humility and praiseworthy obedience, for he served them all according to their wishes. And there was at the monastery of the virgins, which we mentioned above, an abbess over them who was a holy woman renowned throughout the whole land for her virtue, fasting, and sanctity and was adorned with the grace of God, who was called Anathousa. Those living in the land have proclaimed her wondrous deeds. She loved St. Romanos with her soul, for God had previously told her what deeds he was to accomplish, and she taught him intensely and prepared him, through the inward person of Christ, to reject the corrupt outward person, for at the time he was forty years old. Then the blessed lady sent the saint along with a certain elderly saint to minister on behalf of the monastery and to a land adorned with every virtue, to which they came—since they were in service and obedience—with complete deference for the sake of the growth and profit of their souls.

5. Then the enemy of salvation and adversary of the saints troubled the men and wanted to torment the beloved lady, and he led these righteous men into despair. And he sent the thieving Saracens upon the yoked servants of Christ, and they captured them and bound them up. And these wicked wolves led the poor sheep of Christ away captive and brought them to Babylon, that is Baghdad, to the Ishmaelite king, who at that time was called Abu Ja<sup>c</sup>far Abdallah (al-Manşūr, r. 754–75). Then he ordered that they should be put in chains and thrown in prison. After a few days the old man departed this life in good senectitude and with a departure that was pleasant and grateful for having attained the things of God. And he passed on to the tranquil harbor and eternal resting place and offered God the sheaf of his labor. Nevertheless the blessed Romanos, when he was left alone by this revered friend, was

პატიოსნისა, შეწუხნა ფრიად დაკლებისათჳს მისთანა წარტყუენულისა მას შემწისა და ნუგეშინის მცემელისა მისისათჳს და დამძიმდა ესე უფროს ყოველისა ტვრთისა. და უფროს შეაწუხებდა მას ყოფად მისი კაცთა მათ თანა უკეთურთა და განშორება ბერისა შეერაცხა მას მეორედ ტყუეობად. და ამას ყოველსა თანა მადლობით შეიწყნარებდა ღვთისაგან იწროვებასა ამას საპყრობილისასა, არამედ ევედრებოდა ქრისტესსა, რათა მოუვლინოს მას ნუგეშინის მცემელი, რამეთუ ფრიად ფიცხელ არს ტყუეობად და მიუწოდომელ მწუხარებად მარტურობად და სამძაურ უკეთურთა და ურწმუნოთა თანა ყოფად, და კუალად უფროს ნაკლულევაწებად ჳორცთა საჳმრისათჳს, რომელისა თჳნიერ ვერ ეგების ცხოვრება.

6. და იყო წმიდად იგი დიდსა შინა მწუხარებასა. მაშინ მოუვლინა მას ქრისტემან ნუგეშინის მცემელი, ნაცვალად გარდაცვალებულისა მის, რამეთუ იყვნეს ორნი მონაზონნი ღვთის მოყუარენი, რომელთა ეწოდა ერთსა იოვანე და მეორესა სჳმეონ, და ესენი იყვნეს ნათესავით ბიზინტიელნი და ორნივე იგი იყვნეს წესითა დიაკონ. რამეთუ იოვანე იყო დიაკონი წმიდისა სოფიამსი, და ორთავე შეთჳქმულეობითა შეიყუარეს მონაზონება და დატევებად შფოთთა სოფლისათა, და გამოვიდეს ბიზინტიით ქალაქით სამეუფოდთ და დაუტევეს დიდებად და პატივი სოფლისად და აღირჩიეს სრბად იწროსა მას გზასა. რომელი მიიყვანებს სისრულესა ფართომსა სიხარულისასა. და ვითარცა მიიწინეს იგინი სელევიკით კერძო კარსა მას, რომელსა ეწოდების ფარჯანი, მუნ აღიღეს უღელი ქრისტესი კეთილი და სულმცირჳ და შეიმოსეს სქემად მონაზონებისად და ისწავეს წესი მონაზუნებისა მათგან, რომელთა ჳეშმარიტებით იცოდეს და განაპოხნეს სიტყვთა სახარებისადთა. და დაიდვეს გულსა თჳსსა სისრულჳ<sup>18</sup> და აღმატებად, ვითარცა იტყვს წინამსწარმეტყველი, აღსლვად გულსა თჳსსა დაიდვა. ხოლო უკუანასა მას დაივიწყებდეს სათნოვებათა მათთასა, და წინამსწარსა მისწოდებოდეს, ვითარცა იტყვის მოციქული,

7. ესე იგი იყო ოდეს დაიპყრა კოსტანტინე უხატომან მეფობად, მტერმან მართლისა სარწმუნოებისამან და აღადგინა ბრძოლად და დევნულებად მონაზონთა ზედა, განზრახვითა საეშმაკოდთა,<sup>19</sup> რომელი დაეჯერა და იქცეოდა იგი ჳურიებრითა გონებითა. ამან ხატთა მათ

18. Here ends the second lacuna in T.

19. Instead of განზრახვითასა ეშმაკოდთა in the edition. I thank the reader for the press for suggestion this correction..

highly distraught because of the departure of the helper and comforter who had been captive with him, and this weighed on him more than any other burden. And it was very distressing for him to be among wicked people, and the old man's departure added a second captivity for him. And in all this he thankfully received from God the confinement of prison, but he prayed to Christ to send him a comforter, for the captivity was very difficult, the grief of martyrdom<sup>10</sup> was incomprehensible, and it was hard to be among the wicked and unbelieving. And the privation was even greater on account of bodily necessities, without which it was not possible to remain alive.

6. And the holy one was in great anguish. Then Christ sent him a comforter in place of the one who had died, for there were two monks beloved by God, of whom one was called John and the other Symeon. And they were Byzantine<sup>11</sup> in origin, and both had been ordained deacons, for John was a deacon of Hagia Sophia, and both loved the monastic life and the abandonment of worldly cares. And they went forth from the imperial city of Byzantium and abandoned the glory and honor of the world and chose to follow the narrow way, which leads to perfection beyond joy. And when they reached the region of the gate of Seleucia, which is called Phrygia,<sup>12</sup> there they took up the good and light yoke of Christ. They put on the monastic habit and learned the monastic life from those who truly knew it, and they were nourished by the words of the gospel. And perfection and excellence were placed in their heart; as the prophet says, "ascent he placed in their heart."<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless they forgot what was behind their virtues and passed on to what was ahead, as the apostle says.<sup>14</sup>

7. This was when Constantine the iconoclast had seized power, the enemy of the true faith who had been persuaded and converted by a Jewish mindset, and he brought war and persecution upon the monks

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10. It is difficult to translate this phrase, especially the word მარტურობაჲ. Unfortunately T is not available for comparison. Perhaps he was lamenting the old man's martyrdom.

11. I.e., from Constantinople.

12. Literally "Phargani," although Peeters is probably right that this is a corruption of Phrygia; see Peeters, "S. Romain," 395.

13. Ps 83:6.

14. Cf. Phil 3:13.

წმიდათანად ბრძანა გარე განთხევად და დაღეწად და ცეცხლითა დაწუვად ხატი იგი უფლისა ჩუენისა, სიტყვსა ღვთისა განმაცხოვრებელისა, და ხატი დედუფლისა ჩვენისა წმიდისა ღვთის მშობელისა და წმიდათა ყოველთა, ვითარცა მოსცეს წმიდათა მამათა, მართლმადიდებელთა და მართლგამომეტყუელთა, წერ<sup>20</sup> და სიმტკიცე ეკლესიათა, და დაადგეს მათ შინა წმიდათა ხატნი მოსაჯსენებელად კეთილთა საქმეთა და ღუაწლთა მათათვის, მაშინ რომელნიმე პატივ-სცემდეს და ემთხუეოდეს მათ, სახელ სდებდა მათ მეფე და მისთანანი შეცთომილნი კერპთ მსახურად.

ესე იყო ფრიად უგუნურ და შეცთომილ, რომელი საღმრთოთა<sup>21</sup> მათ ხილვათა არა ღირს იქმნა ხილვად, და არცა სხუათა შეუნდობდა, ხოლო საეშმაკოთა<sup>22</sup> ცხენთ-სარბიელთა და თეატრონთა და უშუერთა სახილავთა და განსაცხრომელთა იძულებით აიძულებდა ყოველთა მისლვად და ხილვად. და ხატსა თვსსა შეგინებულსა<sup>23</sup> უბრძანა ყოველთა ადგილთა მათ მთხუევად და პატი[ი]ვის-ცემად და რომელნი ამას დაეყენებოდეს სატანჯველსა მისცემდა. ხოლო ხატსა მას მეუფისა მის მეუფეთადას და მშობელისა მისისასა და მოციქულთა და მოწამეთასა და ყოველთა წმიდათასა აგინებდა და შეურაცხ ჰყოფდა, და პატივის-მცემელთა მისთა სატანჯველთა მისცემდა, რამეთუ ასოთა მათთა მოჰჭირდა<sup>24</sup> და თუალთა მათთა აღმოჰკვდიდა და ექსორიობად<sup>25</sup> წარსცემდა და ზღუასა<sup>26</sup> დაანთქმიდა და მრავალთა მახვილითა მოსწყულდა, და არა ეგრე პატივ-სცემდა ქრისტეს ღმერთსა, რომელმან მოსცა მას პატივი იგი მეფობისა, ვითარ იგი პატივ-სცემდა თავსა თვსსა, რომელი იგი არა ღირს იყო პატივსა მეფობისასა. და მიიქცინა მრავალნი საწუთროდასა დიდების მოყვარულნი და უგულისხმონი და უმეცარნი და რომელთამე აიძულა და ვერ წინააღუდგეს შიშსა სატანჯველისასა და მოუძღურებულნი ერჩდეს მას. ხოლო მონაზონნი და წმიდანნი ეპისკოპოსნი, რომელნი მარადის წიგნთა საღმრთოთა და სწავლასა სულიერსა მოწრაფე არიან და განჰსნილ არიან, საბრვეთაგან ეშმაკისათა და საკრველთაგან კაცთ მონებისათა წინააღუდგეს, და კადნიერებით ამხილეს შეცთომილებად თვისი. მიერითგან აღადგინა მათ ზედა ბრძოლად ძლიერებით და დევნულებად

20. T: წერი.

21. Correcting a likely a misprint in the edition. The form above is from T.

22. Edition corrected according to T for a more standard spelling.

23. P-NV.

24. Edition corrected according to T; presumably the თ in the edition is a misprint.

25. Edition corrected according to T for a more standard spelling.

26. Edition corrected according to T for a more standard spelling.

with evil intent. He ordered the expulsion and destruction of the holy images and the burning with fire of the image of our Lord, the saving Word of God, and of our Lady the holy Theotokos, and of all the saints. When the holy, orthodox, and upright fathers were serving the order<sup>15</sup> and strength of the church and were setting up images of the saints in them for the commemoration of their good deeds and on account of their struggles, if someone honored and venerated them, the emperor and his mistaken associates called them idolaters.

This was something very foolish and mistaken, which was neither worthy in God's sight nor did it excuse the other things.<sup>16</sup> He was forcefully urging all to go and watch diabolical hippodromes, theaters, horrible spectacles, and games. And he ordered that his own disgraced image should be venerated and honored in every place, and those who tried to prevent this<sup>17</sup> he sentenced to be tortured. Yet he dishonored and insulted images of the king of kings and of his mother,<sup>18</sup> and of the apostles and martyrs and all the saints. He sentenced those who honored them to torture, for he cut off their limbs and cut out their eyes and sent them into exile and threw them into the sea and killed many with the sword. And so he did not honor Christ God, who gave him the honor of being emperor, so much as he honored himself, who was not worthy of the honor of being emperor. And many who desired earthly praise and the simple and the ignorant converted, and some were forced and could not withstand the fear of torture, and many feeble were persuaded by him. Nevertheless the monks and holy bishops, who were zealous for the divine scriptures and spiritual learning and were free from the snares of the devil and the bonds of human servitude, resisted and boldly spoke out against his error. Consequently he brought a forceful campaign and vicious persecution against them as if against barbarian

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15. 𐀓𐀆𐀆 is an odd form here. We follow Peeters, who seemingly adopts the reading 𐀓𐀆𐀆 instead (which he translates "ritus"). The slight variant from T does not clarify matters much at all.

16. This is a difficult passage, the meaning of which we have done our best to render above.

17. Or possibly "refused to do this."

18. Or possibly "of the one who begot him," but since images of the Father are generally proscribed, one would imagine that the "parent" in question here is his mother, particularly since she was just mentioned above.

სასტიკად ვითარცა მბრძოლთა ბარბაროზთა ზედა, რომელი იგი ჭეშმარიტად ბარბაროზი იყო გონებითა და მრავალნი წმიდანნი ეპისკოპოსნი და მამანი სათნონი ღვთისანი ექუსორია ყვნა შორთა ქვეყანათა. და მრავალნი მათგანნი ვითარცა ვსთქუთ სატანჯველითა მოწყვდნა და მრავალნი იძულებით განიძარცუვიდეს სქემასა მონაზონებისასა და ერისკაცთა თანა სოფლად მოქცეულნი იქორწინებოდეს შიშისაგან და ზარისა მეფისა და სიკუდილისა, და მრავალნი და ურიცხუნი ბოროტნი ქმნა, მონამან მან ეშმაკისამან. ვიდრემდის მოკლა პატრეაქი კოსტანტინისაჲ, კაცი წმიდა და მოშიმი ღვთისა, რომელსა ეწოდა კოსტანტინე-ვე.

8. და ამის ესევითარისა ჭირისა და იწროვებისაგან იძულნეს წმიდანნი ესე მონაზონნი, რომელნი ზემო ვაქსენენით, იოვანე და სუმეონ განსლვად საბრძანებელისაგან კოსტანტინე მეფისა შეცთომილისი და ივლტოდეს აღმოსავალით<sup>27</sup> და მიიწინეს ციხესა ერთსა სარკინოზთასა და საფიცი აიღეს მათგან და შევიდეს მათ თანა, ხოლო რომელთა იგი საფიცი მისცეს ეგრუვნეს მათ და შეიპყრნეს იგინი და შესხნეს იგინი საპყრობილესა, და ენება წარცემაჲ მათი ასურასტანად. და ვითარცა ესე იყო შევიდეს მათგანნი კაცნი სარკინოზნი საბერძნეთად ტყუენვად ქვეყანისა და მუნ შეიპყრეს ერთი ვინმე ერისთავთაგანი მეფისათა მარტოჲ ხოლო, რამეთუ გამოსრულ იყო იგი ციხით ხილვად ყანობრივისა, და პოვეს იგი და წარტყუენეს, რომელსა სახელი ერქვა გიორგი და მოიყვანეს იგი სიხარულით ციხედ თვსა, და ენება წარცემა მათი მეფისა მათისა ამირ მუმნისა და უნდა თავთა მათთა წარჩინებულ ყოფად, ვითარცა დიდისა საქმისა მოქმედ წინაშე მეფისა მათისა. მაშინ გამოიყვანნეს მონაზონნი იგი და შეჰმოსეს მათ სამოსელი თეთრი ერისა კაცთაჲ ზედა კერძო სამოსელსა მათსა და მიწერეს ამირა მუმნისა. ვითარმედ შევედით საბერძნეთად, და მრავალნი ქვეყანანი და ერნი წარმოვტყუენენით და მის საქმისა დამტკიცებისათვის: წარმოგვცემიან მეფობისა თქუ[ე]ნისა ერთი ერისთავი, და მწიგნობარი მისი და განმზრახი მისი, და წარცეს წიგნები იგი და ერისთავი და მას თანა ორნი იგი მონაზონნი.

9. და ვითარცა მოვიდოდეს იგინი გზასა მას ტყუეობისასა წარმოხდა მათ შორის სიტყუად კსენებისათვის წმიდათა ხატათავს, მაშინ იწყო სიტყვის გებად მათა გიორგი მთავარმან ხატათავს წმიდათა. და კერპით

27. T omits და ივლტოდეს აღმოსავალით.

warriors, he who was himself truly barbarous in his mind. And many holy bishops and fathers pleasing to God were exiled to the far parts of the earth. And many of them, as we said, were slain through torture, and many were forcefully stripped of the monastic habit, and having returned to the world like laymen they married through fear and dread of the emperor and of death. And this servant of the devil committed many and innumerable evils, even killing the patriarch of Constantinople, a holy and God-fearing man who was named Constantine (d. 766).

8. And these holy monks, whom we mentioned above, John and Symeon, were forced by such trouble and difficulty to go forth from the realm of the deluded emperor Constantine, and they fled to the east. And they reached a Saracen fortress and took an oath from them and entered in among them. Nevertheless those who gave the oath deceived them, and they captured them and put them in prison and wanted to send them to Syria. And when this happened, some of the Saracen men entered the Greek lands to plunder. There they captured a certain prince of the emperor, although he was alone, because he had come forth from the fortress to see the cornfields, and they found him and captured him. His name was George, and they led him to their own fortress at sword point. And they wanted to send him to their king, the Amīr al-Muʿminīn [the Commander of the Believers], and they were seeking to have themselves promoted, since they had done a great deed before their king. Then they brought along the monks, and they clothed them on part of their clothing with the white clothing of laypeople. And they wrote to the Amīr al-Muʿminīn, “We entered the Greek lands and plundered many lands and peoples, and on account of this mighty act, we have sent to your majesty a nobleman and his scribe and his adviser.” And they sent this letter and the nobleman and the two monks with him.

9. And as they went along the way of captivity, there arose among them a conversation regarding the commemoration<sup>19</sup> of holy icons. Then the nobleman George began to offer a discourse on holy icons.

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19. The meaning *სვენებისათვის* is not entirely clear, and it literally means “concerning the memory or mention.” Peeters also notes that this section is difficult to translate in general, even though the gist of what it describes is fairly clear.

სახელს-დებდა მათ და რომელნი ადიდებდენ მათ კერპთ მსახურად, და ბევრეულითა გინებითა და ყუედრებითა შეაწუხებდა მათ და აგინებდა ყოველსა, რომელი წინააღუდგების ბრძანებასა კოსტანტინე<sup>28</sup> მეფისასა და იყო კაცი იგი ბოროტის მოქმედი და სავსე ამპარტავანებითა და უკეთურებითა. ხოლო წმიდანი მამანი ვითარცა შეჰკავს ღვთის მოყვართა სიმდაბლით სიტყვითა მყუდროთა გონიერად ასწავებდეს მას, რათა მოიქცეს ამის უსჯულოებისაგან და წვალებისაგან და სახე<sup>29</sup> განიგოს და დაემტკიცოს წესსა ზედა მართლმადიდებლობისასა, ვითარცა მოსცეს წმიდათა მამათა ეკლესიისა სამოციქულოსა, და მრავალსა სიტყვასა სამოციქულოსა წამებისასა მორათუმიდეს წიგნთაგან წმიდათა და მოძღუართა მიერ თქუმულთა.<sup>30</sup> ხოლო უკეთური იგი არა ხოლო თუ ოდეს სარწმუნოვებად მოიქცა,<sup>31</sup> არამედ ყოვლითა ძალითა მისითა<sup>32</sup> სიბოროტესა და სიხენეშესა აჩუენებდა სიტყვთა უშუერიითა რისხვით და გულის წყრომით ჰბრძოდა მათ და უკუეთუმცა ვითარ შეუძლო მოსწრაფე იყო სურვიელად სიკუდილსა მათსა. ვითარცა მტერთა მეფისათა უკუეთუმცა არა შეკრულ იყო იგი ჳელით და ფერვით, რამეთუ ესე იყო ბოროტის ყოფად ყენება მისა, და მცველთაგანცა შეკრძალულ იყო და ვერ შეეძლო აღსრულებად ნება მთხის ბოროტი.

10. და ვითარ მიიწინეს იგინი ბაღდადს<sup>33</sup> შეიყვანნეს იგინი მექელისა მის ამირა მუმნისასა, რომელსა ეწოდა რაბია, და მას ვითარცა ეუწყა ამბავი მათი და განიზრახვიდა მათთვის, ღადაყვეს მათა ჳმითა მაღლითა და თქუეს, ვითარმედ ჩუენ მონაზონნი ვართ და საფიციითა გამოსრულ ვართ ქუეყანით ჩუენით და არავის წარუტყუენავთ.<sup>34</sup> ხოლო რომელთა იგი საფიცი<sup>35</sup> მოგვეცეს ჩუენ, გუეცრუენეს ჩუენ და აჲ წარმოგუეცეს ჩუენ ვითარცა მჳედართაგანნი და დასამტკიცებელად სიტყვისა მათისა უჩუენეს მათ წუერები გრძელები და სამოსელი სამონაზნო, რომელი შინაგან ემოსა. რამეთუ ერისკაცთა ესე ჩუეულებად აქუნდა, რათა წუერები დაეყვინოს ძირითურთ, და ვითარცა აგრძნა ესე მექელემან მან. ვითარმედ რომელთა იგი წარმოსცეს ტყუვეს მათთვის, არღარა გამოუცხადა საქმე მათი ამირა მუმნსა, არამედ ბრძანა შეყენება მათი საჳყრობილესა.<sup>36</sup> ეპოვა

28. T omits კოსტანტინე.

29. P-NV.

30. Edition corrected according to better reading in T.

31. T reads here ხოლო უკეთური იგი არა ხოლო თუ სარწმუნოვებად არა მოიქცა.

32. T adds here ყოველსა.

33. T: ბაბილონად.

34. P-NV.

35. T adds მათი.

36. T adds here და ვითარცა შეიყვანნეს იგინი საჳყრობილედ.

And he called them idols and those who praise them idolaters. And he harassed them with myriad obscenities and rebukes and reviled all those who opposed the emperor Constantine's decree, for this man was maleficent and full of pride and wickedness. Nevertheless the holy fathers, as was fitting for men beloved by God, humbly taught him wisely and with kind words, so that they converted him from impiety and heresy, and he changed his viewpoint and professed the rule of the orthodox faith and was brought to the apostolic church by the holy fathers. And they brought forth many apostolic words of testimony from the holy books and the sayings of the teachers. Yet this wretched one, if perhaps not at the moment when he converted to the faith, nevertheless showed wickedness and evil with all of his might. He fought them scornfully and furiously with hateful words, and if somehow it were possible, he was urgently longing for their death, as enemies of the emperor, if he were not bound by his hands and feet, for he was restrained from doing any evil. And he was watched by guards and could not fulfill his evil wish.

10. And when they reached Baghdad, they were led to an official of the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn, who was named Rabi.<sup>20</sup> And when he learned their story and was deliberating about them, they cried out with a loud voice and said: "We are monks, and we have come from our land with an oath, and no one has taken us captive. Nevertheless, those who gave us the oath lied to us and sent us here as laymen." And they showed them their long beards and the monastic clothing that they wore beneath to confirm their story, for it was the custom of laymen to shave their beards closely. And once the official knew this, that those who sent them had lied about them, he no longer made their matter known to the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn but ordered their confinement in prison. Therein

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20. This figure is well attested in Islamic sources as a court official of al-Manṣūr; see Peeters, "S. Romain," 396.

მუნ შინა წმიდა რომანოზ მონად ღვთისად, და ესე წინამდწარ მცნობელმან ქრისტემან ღმერთმან მოუვლინა მას ორნი იგი მონაზონნი წმიდანნი გულითა და სრულნი სარწმუნოვებით. და ვითარცა იხილნა იგინი და ეზრახა მათ, ფრიად განიხარა და ჰმადლობდა ქრისტესა ღმერთსა, რომელმან არა მისცა იგი განწირულებასა, შემდგომად განშოვრებისა მოყუსისა მისისა მონაზონისა, არამედ ნაცვალად მისა მოუვლინა მრჩობლნი ნუგეშინის-მცემელნი.

11. მაშინ იხილნა იგინი, პატივ-სცემდა მათ ვითარცა მამათა, ჰმსახურებდა და განუსუენებდა ყოვლითავე, რომელი შესაძლებელ იყო მისა. და ესე სამნივე იქმნეს ურთიერთას ნუგეშინის მცემელ ერთითა ნებითა და ერთითა სულითა და ერთითა გულის-სიტყვითა ღვთისა მიერ ცხონდებოდეს,<sup>37</sup> და მარადის ერთი იყო განგება მათი მსახურებისათვის ღვთისა ცხოველისა და ვითარცა სასძლოსა<sup>38</sup> შინა ცხომდებოდეს სიხარულით და მადლობით საპყრობილესა მას შინა, და ქმნეს მცირე ტალავარი მუნ შინა თვისსაგან, რათა კიდე იყვნენ შფოთთა და განცხრომათა კრებულისა მისისათა, რომელ მუნ შინა იყვნეს, რამეთუ მრავალ იყო კრებული იგი ძვირის მოქმედთა და უკეთურთა კაცთა მას შინა და მუნ შინავე შეყენებულ იყო გიორგი მთავარი იგი ბერძენთა, რომელი წინამდწარ ვაჟსენეთ. მაშინ იყვნეს წმიდანნი იგი მამანი მართოდ ტალავარსა მას, ვითარცა ეკლესიასა შინა ღვთისასა, რამეთუ იგინი იყვნეს ტამარნი სულისა წმიდისანი, ლოცვითა და მარხვითა და ფსალმუნებითა ყოველსა ჟამსა. და აქუნდა მათ სურვილი განუძღებელი წიგნთა სიტყვისათვის და ღვთისა მიმართ სათნოვებისა და მას უგალობდეს და იტყოდეს, რამეთუ ტკბილ არიან სასასა ჩემსა სიტყუანი შენნი, უფალო, უფროს თაფლისა პირსა ჩემსა. და არა<sup>39</sup> აყენებდა მათ სიხარულსა<sup>40</sup> ტყუეობასა მას<sup>41</sup> შინა და<sup>42</sup> ღვთის მსახურებად, რამეთუ იტყოდეს, რამეთუ უფლისა არს ქვეყანად, სავსებად მისი სოფელი და ყოველი დამკვდრებული მას ზედა და არცაღა შეერაცხა<sup>43</sup> ყოფად მათი ავაზაკთა მათ თანა, რამეთუ გალობდეს და იტყოდეს: სახელისა შენისათვის, უფალო, ვიდოდით დათუ შორის აჩრდილთა სიკუდილისათა არა შემეშინოს მე ბოროტისაგან, რამეთუ შენ

37. ცხომდებოდეს in the edition is a typo for ცხონდებოდეს, as T confirms.

38. P-NV.

39. არა: T: არა და.

40. T: omit.

41. T adds: და უგალობასა.

42. T: omit

43. არცაღა შეერაცხა added from T.

was found St. Romanos the servant of God, and as before the wise Christ God sent him two monks holy in their hearts and perfect in faith. And when he saw them and conferred with them he rejoiced greatly and thanked Christ God, who did not lead him into despair after the departure of his companion monk, but sent him a pair of comforters in his place.

11. When he saw them, he honored them as fathers and waited on them and saw to their comfort in everything that he was able. And these three were comforting each other. They were living with one will, one soul, and one mind in God, and their one rule was always the service of the living God. And in prison they lived joyfully and thankfully as if they were in the bridal chamber. And they made a small tabernacle there for themselves, so that they could separate themselves from the uproar and delights of the throng that was in there, for the throng of evildoers and wicked men in there was numerous. And in there also was held George, the prince of the Greeks, whom we previously mentioned. There the holy fathers were alone in the tabernacle as in a church of God, for they were temples of the Holy Spirit,<sup>21</sup> with prayer and fasting and singing the psalms at all times. And they had an insatiable desire for the words of the scriptures and pleasing God, and they sang to him and said, "Sweet are your words in my throat, O Lord, more than honey in my mouth."<sup>22</sup> And they did not cease rejoicing and praising God in this confinement, for they were saying, "The Lord's is the earth and its fullness, the world and all who live in it."<sup>23</sup> Nor [did they cease on account of] their being counted among the thieves, for they sang and said, "For the sake of your name, O Lord, for even though we walk in the midst of death's shadow, I will not fear evil, for you the

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21. Cf. 1 Cor 6:19.

22. Ps 118:103 (119:103).

23. Ps 23:1 (24:1).

უფალი ჩემ თანა ხარ. კვალად მოიხსენეს თქმული იგი მოციქულისა: ვინ განმაშოვრნეს ჩვენ სიყუარულსა მას ქრისტესსა, ჭირმან ანუ იწროვებამან, დევნამან<sup>44</sup> ანუ სიყმილმან,<sup>45</sup> არამედ უხაროდა მათ ამისთვის ფრიად და ჰმადლობდეს ღმერთსა, რამეთუ იქმნეს იგინი თანაზიარ ვნებათა მათ ქრისტესსა, ვითარცა წერილ არს მისთვის, ვითარმედ ავაზაკთა თანა შეირაცხა და სასოებად აქუნდა ვითარმედ იყვნენ იგინი ზიარ სუფევისა მისისა და იტყოდეს, უკეთუ მის თანა ვივნოთ, მის თანაცა ვიდიდნეთ.

12. მაშინ ყოველნი იგი პერობილნი განაკვირვნეს მორწმუნენი და ურწმუნონი მკნედ დგომითა მათითა ლოცვასა შინა მათსა, ვიდრემდის მათ ძლით ღმერთი იდიდებოდას,<sup>46</sup> და იქებოდა და მათ ზედა აღესრულებოდა თქმული იგი უფლისა, ვითარმედ ესრეთ ბრწყინვიდენ სანთელნი თქუენნი წინაშე კაცთა, რათა იხილნენ საქმენი თქუენნი კეთილნი და ადიდებდენ მამასა თქუენსა, რომელ არს ცათა შინა და თუალთა წინაშე მათთა აქუნდა მარადის ქრისტე აღმავსებელი გულთა მათა სიხარულითა და მხიარულებითა,<sup>47</sup> რომელი იტყვს: ამინ გეტყვ თქუენ, სადა უკუე იყვნენ ორნი გინა სამნი შეკრებულ სახელისა ჩემისათვის, მე ვარ შორის მათსა და ესრეთ ასწავა წმიდასა შინა სახარებასა და თქუა: იყვენით თქუენ მოძულეებულ<sup>48</sup> ყოველთაგან სახელისა ჩემისათვის, ნეტარ იყუნეთ თქუენ რაჟამს გდევნიდენ და გყუედრიდენ და განთქუან სახელი თქუენი ბოროტად, გიხაროდენ და მხიარულ იყუენით, რამეთუ სასყიდელი თქუენი დიდ იყოს ცათა შინა. მაშინ ნეტართა მათ ვერ თავს იდვა ესევეითარ განგება, მტერმან ეშმაკმან მოშურნემან და წინააღმდეგომმან მოღვაწეთამან, ვითარმცა ესევეითარსა ადგილსა სამკვდრებელსა, ბოროტისმოქმედთა და ცოდვილთასა, ბრწყინვიდა სათნოებად და ღვთის მსახურებად და შთაუგდო გულსა გიორგი მთავრისასა, რომელი იყო ჭურჭერი კეთილი აღმსრულებელი ნებისა მისისა,<sup>49</sup> რათა შეაწუხებდეს და აღაშფოთებდეს წმიდათა მათ და ღირსთა მამათა და აღაზრზინნა მათ ზედა ყოველნი იგი ბერძენნი, რომელნი პერობილ იყვნეს მას შინა და ეტყოდეს მათ, ვითარმედ ესე მონაზონნი

44. T adds: ანუ მახვლმან. Peeters indicates that T adds “nuditas,” but მახვლმან is better translated “sword.”

45. P-NV.

46. Correcting the edition according to T: A has იდიდებოდ[ე]ს.

47. The missing ა added in the edition is visible in T.

48. მამულეებულ in the edition is a typo, as confirmed by T as well as the gospel text.

49. P-NV.

Lord are with me.”<sup>24</sup> They also recalled the words of the apostle: “Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Will hardship or distress, or persecution or famine?”<sup>25</sup> But they rejoiced greatly on account of this and thanked God, for they had been made to share in the sufferings of Christ,<sup>26</sup> as it is written about him, “he was counted among thieves.”<sup>27</sup> And they had hope that they would be members of his kingdom, and they were saying, “If we suffer with him, we will be glorified with him.”<sup>28</sup>

12. Then all those imprisoned were thoroughly amazed, believers and unbelievers, by their persistence in prayer, so that because of them God was glorified and praised. And through them was fulfilled the saying of the Lord, “Let your light so shine before people, so that they will see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven.”<sup>29</sup> And they had always before their eyes Christ, who filled their hearts with joy and gladness and who said, “I say this to you, where then two or three are gathered in my name, I am among them.”<sup>30</sup> Thus he taught in the holy gospel and said, “You will be hated by all because of my name; blessed are you when people persecute you and revile you, and they will defame you; rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.”<sup>31</sup> Then the enemy, the jealous devil and the opponent of those who toil, could not bear such an example from the blessed ones, because in such a dwelling place, among evildoers and sinners, they shone forth kindness and devotion. And he cast into the heart of George the prince, who was a fitting vessel filled with his will, that he should trouble and disturb the holy and worthy fathers. And he incited all the Greeks who were imprisoned there and said to them, “These monks are enemies of

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24. Ps 22:4 (23:4).

25. Rom 8:35.

26. Cf. 1 Pet 4:13.

27. Luke 22:37; cf. Isa 53:12.

28. Rom 8:17.

29. Matt 5:16.

30. Matt 18:19–20.

31. Matt 5:11–12; Luke 6:22–23.

მტერი არიან მეფისა ჩუენისანი, და სახელ-დებდა მათ ხატის მსახურად და კერპთ მსახურად. რამეთუ ესრც სახელ-დებდა<sup>50</sup> უმჯულოდ იგი მეფე კოსტანტინე და არწმუნებდა ყოველთა მდაბიონთა და უმეცართა, რათა სძულობდენ მათ, ვითარცა კერპთ მსახურთა, და სდევნიდენ და ჰყუედრიდენ,<sup>51</sup> და ამისაგამო შეძრწუნებულ იყვნეს და იგვემებოდეს მათ მიერ ყოველნი კეთილად მსახურნი და ღვთის მოყვარნი და უფროსლა, რომელთა აღერჩია ცხოვრებად ანგელოსებრივი და შეემოსა წმიდად სქემად მონაზონებისად, ყოვლადვე<sup>52</sup> ვერ შემძლებელ იყო მეფე სმენად ამბავსაცა მათსა და სახელ უკსენებელ ჰყოფდა ჭეშმარიტად საკსენებელთა მათ, რომელი ჭეშმარიტად არა ღირს მოკსენებად უგუნურებასა<sup>53</sup> მათსა. რამეთუ ესრცთ სდევნიდა და მოჰსრვიდა ყოვლითა სატანჯველითა წმიდათა და უბიწოთა კაცთა და შეაბორგნა კაცნი უგუნურნი და უცებნი,<sup>54</sup> რათა ყოველთა ადგილთა ჰგუემდენ და მოჰსრვიდენ მათ<sup>55</sup> და რამეთუ ენება მას და<sup>56</sup> გულს იდგინა, რათამცა ყოველადვე<sup>57</sup> აცოცა და ასწყვდა სქემად მონაზონებისად. და არა უწყოდა ესე ღვთისა მბრძოლმან მან, ვითარმედ ესე სქემად იოვანე ნათლის-მცემელისად არს,<sup>58</sup> და რომელი მისა მტერ არს, მტერ არს იგი იოვანე ნათლის-მცემელისად.

13. და კეთილ არს, რათა მოვაკსენოთ საქმე რამე პირველ ყოფილი, შესატყუებელი უგუნურებასა მეფისასა. რამეთუ იყო ოდესმე ერთი ვინმე მამათ მთავარი, რომელ არს პატრეაქი წმიდასა ქალაქსა ზედა იფრუსალიმისა,<sup>59</sup> რომელმან შეიპყრა მონაზონი ვინმე ცოდვასა შინა, და ენება ტანჯვად მისი და განქიქებად მისი ყოველთა წინაშე, რათამცა მოაყივნა მას ყოველი<sup>60</sup> იგი ქალაქი. მაშინ ევედრნეს მისთვის მრავალნი<sup>61</sup> მეგობარნი მისნი, რათა არა განაცხადოს საქმე მონაზონისად მის, ხოლო მან ვედრებისა მათისათვის არა უყო მას რომელი ეგულეობდა მისთვის.

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50. სახელ-ზდებდა corrected to the more standard reading in T; სახელს-დებდა changed to the form in T.

51. P-NV.

52. ყოველთავე in the edition corrected to form from T.

53. Edition corrected to the more standard spelling from T.

54. Correcting უცემნი, which is a typo in the edition, according to T.

55. P-NV.

56. Added from T.

57. ყოველთავე in the edition is probably a typo; correction is from T.

58. P-NV.

59. Correct endings given as they appear in T.

60. Grammatically correct form from T.

61. P-NV.

your emperor” and called them icon worshippers and idolaters. For so the infidel emperor Constantine called them, and he tried to persuade all the commoners and unlearned to despise, persecute, and reproach them as idolaters. Because of this all those who were reverent worshippers and were beloved by God were terrified and tormented by them, especially those who had chosen the angelic life and put on the holy monastic schema. The emperor was completely unable to hear their story,<sup>32</sup> and he made unmentionable the names of those who were truly worthy of mention, this one who is truly unworthy of mention for his foolishness; for thus he was persecuting and massacring the saints and innocent people with every kind of torment, and he led the simple and ignorant people into error so that in every place they beat and massacred them, and he desired and had set his heart on eradicating and destroying the monastic schema completely. And this opponent of God did not know that this schema is from John the Baptist, and whoever is its enemy is the enemy of John the Baptist.

13. And it is useful that we mention another incident that happened previously that was befitting the emperor’s stupidity. There was then a certain patriarch who was patriarch of the holy city of Jerusalem, who caught a certain monk in sin. And he wanted to punish him and publicly reprimand him in front of everyone, so that the entire city would defame him. Then many of his friends interceded on his behalf, so that the monk’s affair would not become public. And on account of their request, he did not do to him what he originally intended, but he

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32. The meaning of this passage is unclear.

არამედ განსმარცვა მას სქემად იგი მონაზონებისად და განუტევა იგი და მოილო სქემად იგი და კუნკული და შეკმოსა<sup>62</sup> ღორსა<sup>63</sup> და უბრძანა, რათა მოაყივნონ<sup>64</sup> მას ყოველი იგი ქალაქი იზრუსალიმი. მაშინ განრისხნა ამისთვის ფრიად საყუარელი მეგობარი ქრისტესი იოანე ნათლის მცემელი და მუნქუესვე გამოეცხადა პატრეარქსა და ჰრქუა მას: კაცსა<sup>65</sup> ვედრებითა კაცთადათა პატივ-ეც,<sup>66</sup> ხოლო სქემად ჩემი შეურაცხ-ყავ და განაქიქე: ამისთვის მოსაჯულ შენდა ვარ დღესა მას და ადგილსა სამშჯავროსა ქრისტესსა. მაშინ შეძრწუნდა პატრეაქი და უნდა დაჯერებამ წმიდისა იოვანე ნათლის მცემელისად, მაშინ აღუშწნა მას ტაძარი ფრიად საკვირველი და შუენიერი<sup>67</sup> და შეამკო იგი ყოვლითა შემკობითა და ევედრა შენდობისათვს შეცოდებისა მისისათვს. მაშინ არა მიჰხედა<sup>68</sup> მას წმიდამან იოვანე ნათლის მცემელმან,<sup>69</sup> არამედ ჰრქვა მას: ირწმუნე ჩემი, პატრეაქ, რამეთუ არა არს შენდა შენდობა, ვიდრემდის დავდგეთ ჩუენ საშჯელსა წინაშე ქრისტესა მართლ მსაჯულისასა. ამის სქემისა ანგელოსთა მობამავისა მეფემან<sup>70</sup> მან გულს იდგინა განქარვებად ხოლო<sup>71</sup> წინამსწარ მცნობელმან არა მიუშუა: დაღათუ მცირედ ჟამ მიუშუა გამოსაცდელად მოღუაწეთა და მსახურთა და გამოჩინებად რჩეულთა.<sup>72</sup> აწ კუალად ვიქცეთ პირველთა მათ თქუმულთა. დაღათუ ესე წინა სათქუმელისათვს ვთქუთ<sup>73</sup> და დაუტევეთ იგი, რომლისათვს ვიტყოდეთ.

14. მაშინ მტერმან სიმართლისამან და მბრძოლმან მოღვაწეთამან ვერ თავს იდგა განგება იგი უბიწოდ<sup>74</sup> წმიდათად მათ მამათად, უფროსლა ესევითარსა ადგილსა, ვითარ პირველ ვსთქუთ და მოწრაფლ იყო, რათამცა გიორგი მთავრისა მიერ განიყვანნა იგინი ამის ცხოვრებისაგან. რამეთუ დაღათუ მოშურნემან მან სიძულითა მათითა განიყვანნა იგინი მონასტრით მათით, არა ხოლო თუ და-რამ-აკლო სიწმიდესა და მოღუაწებასა მათსა, არამედ უფროს განამლიერნა და აღჭურნა თავთა

62. The form above is from T, which makes clearer that this is a verbal form.

63. P-NV.

64. P-NV.

65. T adds before კაცსა: აჰა ესერა.

66. More regular form provided from T.

67. Edition corrected according to T, which makes better grammatical sense.

68. More grammatically correct form provided from T.

69. T omits ნათლის მცემელმან.

70. T adds: ქრისტესა მბრძოლმან.

71. Here we follow T instead of და in the edition.

72. Correcting რჩეულთა in the edition, which is surely a typo.

73. P-NV.

74. P-NV.

stripped him of the monk's schema and sent him away. And he brought the schema and monk's cowl and put them on a pig and ordered that they should carry it throughout the city of Jerusalem. Then because of this, the beloved friend of Christ, John the Baptist, became quite infuriated, and immediately he appeared to the patriarch and said to him: "Because of the people's intercessions you have consideration for this man, but my schema you have insulted and made a spectacle. Therefore I will accuse you on that day and in the place of Christ's judgment." Then the patriarch shook with fear and wanted to satisfy St. John the Baptist. And so he built for him a very marvelous and beautiful church and decorated it with every adornment and pled for forgiveness for his sin. But St. John the Baptist, the chastiser,<sup>33</sup> did not look upon him but said to him, "Believe me, Patriarch, for there is no forgiveness for you when I stand against you before the judgment of Christ the judge." The emperor set his heart to destroy this schema that imitates the angels, but Providence would not allow it except for a short time in order to test [his] laborers and servants and to reveal the elect. Now let us return to the things that we previously discussed; although we have spoken about things that needed to be said before this, we will leave it on account of what we will say.

14. And so the enemy of truth and the opponent of the laborers [of Christ] could not bear the uncorrupted character of the holy fathers, even more in such a place, as we said before, and he was striving to have them removed from this life through the prince, George. For although the envious one had them driven out from their monastery through their hatred, not only when he opposed their purity and labor, but he strengthened and armed their enemies against them even more,<sup>34</sup>

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33. Literally the "one who beats or hits"; the word is absent from T.

34. This passage is difficult to translate; the syntax is irregular.

თვსთა ზედა მტერნი თვსნი და იგი უფროს მოუძღურდა და იძლია მათ მიერ და სირცხვილი დაიმკვიდრა. რამეთუ არწმუნა გიორგი მთავარსა და ყოველთა ბერძენთა, რომელნი იყვნეს საპყრობილესა მას შინა და იყო მუნ სიმრავლჳ ფრიადი მჯედართა და ერისა კაცთაჲ, რათამცა მოკლნეს წმიდანი მამანი, რამეთუ ყოველნივე იყვნეს სნეულ სენითა უხატობისათა და მრავალი ჟამი აქუნდა ამას საცთურსა შინა. და ესწავა მათ<sup>75</sup> საშჯელი უმშჯავროდ და წინააღდგომად ღვთის მსახურებისად და აღელესნეს ენანი მათ ზედა გულის წყრომით და რისხვით და ვითარცა კერპთ მსახურთა ჰხედვიდეს თავყუანის საცემელსა ხატსა მქსნელისასა და წმიდათა მისთასა და მიერთგან განემზადნეს ბოროტის ყოფად მონათა მათ ქრისტესთა განზრახვითა გიორგი მთავრისაჲთა. რამეთუ ვითარცა უხუცესსა ჰხედვიდეს მას იგინი, რათამცა მოწყვიდნეს მამანი, ვითარცა ვთქეთ,

15. არამედ რომელი მარადის სცავს მსახურთა თვსთა, არა მიუტევენა იგინი ჟამსა მას ბოროტის ყოფად მათ ზედა, რამეთუ იყო საპყრობილესა მას შინა მათ შორის ჭაბუკი ერთი სარკინოზი, რომელმან იცოდა ბერძულ მეტყუელებად. ვითარცა ესმა ზრახვა ესე ბოროტის ყოფისათვს მონაზონთაჲსა, აუწყა საქმჳ ესე მოყუასთა თვსთა სარკინოზთა,<sup>76</sup> რამეთუ იყვნეს მუნ შინა შეყენებულ კაცნი ჯელმწიფენი<sup>77</sup> და შერაცხილნი და ერი ფრიადი სარკინოზთა და ვითარცა ესმა ესე ჭაბუკისა მისგან, დაუკვირდა მათ კადნიერებაჲ იგი და უგუნურებაჲ მათი. და ჰრქუეს ჭაპუკსა მას, რათა უმზირდეს მათ და ოდეს ენებოს ბოროტის ზრახუად მათი აღსრულებად მამათათვს, აუწყოს მათ. და ყო ეგრწთ ჭაპუკმან მან. და ვითარცა იხილნა იგინი შემზადებად მოკლვისათვს მამათაჲსა თვსთაგან ტალავარსა მას მათსა შინა,<sup>78</sup> ჳმა უყო ჳმითა მაღლითა ჭაპუკმან მან და აუწყა მოყვასთა თვსთა: და იგინი მწრაფლ მოიწინეს მათ ზედა და მათ თანა იყვნეს მრავალნი ქრისტეანენიცა ასურასტანელნი და ფრაჯუნნი და კუერთხებითა და ქვებითა და სხვთა საჭურველითა და განარინნეს წმიდანი<sup>79</sup> იგი ხელთაგან მათთა. მაშინ გამოჩნდეს სარკინოზნი უცხონი სარწმუნოებითა უმჯობეს მათსა, რომელნი ჰგონებდეს თავთა მათთა ქრისტიანედ და პატივს-ცეცს სქემასა მონაზონებისასა, უფროს მათსა,

75. Added from T.

76. T: მოყუასსა თვსსა სარკინოზსა.

77. Added from T.

78. Text is from T, which is better than A: მოკლვად მამათათვს თვსთაგან ტალავართა მათ შინა.

79. P-NV.

and he was weakened and overcome by them even more and settled into disgrace. For he persuaded George the prince and all the Greeks who were in the prison—and very many were there, soldiers and laypeople—to kill the holy fathers. For they all were sick with the illness of iconoclasm and had been in this error for a long time. And they advocated wrongful punishment and opposition to religious observance and sharpened their tongues against them with rage and fury. And they viewed them as idolaters for their veneration of images of the Savior and his saints, and therefore they were preparing to do evil against the servants of Christ, with encouragement from George the prince—for they saw him as an elder<sup>35</sup>—to kill the fathers, as we said.

15. But the one who eternally protects his servants did not allow them to do evil against them at that time. For there was with them in prison a certain young Saracen who knew the Greek language. When he heard this plot to do evil against the monks, he made the matter known to his Saracen friends, for there were powerful and prominent men imprisoned in there, and many of them were Saracens. When they heard this from the young man, they were amazed at their audacity and idiocy. And they said to the young man that he should watch them, and when they wanted to realize their evil plan regarding the fathers, he should let them know. And thus the young man did. When he saw them preparing to kill the fathers in their own tabernacle, the young man cried out with a loud voice and made it known to his friends. And they quickly came upon them, and among them were many Christians, Syrians, and Franks, and with sticks and stones and other weapons they delivered the holy men from their hands. And so the Saracens, foreign in their faith, seemed to be better than those who considered themselves Christians, and they showed more reverence for the monastic

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35. Or possibly “a priest” from the Greek.

რომელნი საგონებელ იყვნეს მოლუაწედ. რამეთუ უწყის ბოროტმან ზარი სიწმიდისად<sup>80</sup> და უნდა სარკინოზთა მათ ბოროტის ყოფად ბერძენთად მათ უკეთურთად. ოჯკუეთუმცა არა მესაპყრობილეთ მთავარი იგი არა იყო ქრისტეან<sup>81</sup> და სახიერ და მრავლითა ვედრებითა და აღთქუმითა დააწყნარა შფოთი იგი მათ ზედა<sup>82</sup> აღძრული.

16. ხოლო იყო ვინმე მოხუცებული ფრიად მორწმუნე და ღვთის მოყვარ<sup>83</sup> ქალაქსა მას შინა. ესე ჰმსახურებდა წმიდათა მათ მამათა საპყრობილესა მას შინა და განუსვენებდა მათ ყოვლითა მოწრაფებითა. მაშინ ვითარცა იხილნა იგინი შფოთსა მას და მწუხარებასა შინა,<sup>83</sup> რომელი შეემთხვევოდა მათ დღითი დღედ, უხატოთა მათგან გინებად და შეურაცხებად და სიქადული ყოველსა ჟამსა, მოვიდა მესაპყრობილეთ მთავრისა მის მრავლითა ქრთამითა და ვედრებითა არწმუნა, რათა მისცნეს<sup>84</sup> მონაზონნი იგი, და რომელსა ჟამსა სთხოვნეს,<sup>85</sup> მიიყვანნეს მის წინაშე და უკუეთუ ესე არა ყოს, თავი მოეკვეთოს მას.<sup>86</sup> მაშინ წარიყვანნა იგინი საყოფლად თვსა და განუსაკუთრა მათ სახლი თვსაგან და შეიყვანნა იგინი მას შინა რათა მოიცალონ მათ ღვთის მსახურებად, უშიშად და უშფოთველად ლოცვისათვს და ვედრებისა ჩუეულებისაებრ და წინა უყოფდა მათ ყოველსა მსახურებისა და განსასუენებელსა ჯორციელსა უხუებით და ევედრებოდა, რათა ულოცონ მას და ყოველთა ქრისტეანეთა და წმიდათა ეკლესიათა მშვიდობით დაცვისათვს.

17. და ვითარცა იყუნეს ამას შინა, მოკუდა მეფე იგი მათი ამირა მუმნი სარკინოზთად და დაჯდა ძე მისი მის წილ, რომლის[ა] სახელი მისი მაჰდი და პირველსა წელსა მეფობისა მისის[ა]სა მოჰკუარნეს მას სხუანი ხუთნი მონაზონნი, რომელნი წარმოეტყუენნეს კვპროსით, სამნი მათგანნი იყუნეს ამორეველნი და ორნი სხუთ ადგილით. და ესენი ექუსორია ეყვნეს კვპროსს კოსტანტინე მეფესა უხატოსა და ვითარცა მიიყვანნეს იგინი ბაბილონად, რომელ არს ბადდადი, შეიყვანნეს იგინი საპყრობილედ, რომელი ზემო ვაკსენეთ და კუალად მოხუცებულმან მან კეთილად მოჯსენებულმან პატოსანმან რაჟამს მიელო საჯმარი პყრობილთა მათთვს, პოვნა იგინი საპყრობილესა. მას შინა და ესენიცა მოითხოვნა<sup>87</sup>

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80. P-NV.

81. P-NV.

82. P-NV.

83. P-NV.

84. Corrected from T.

85. Form is from T, which seems more correct.

86. Added from T.

87. Here we follow T instead of A: მოისხნა.

schema than those who thought of themselves as servants. For the evil one knows to fear sanctity. And the Saracens wanted to do evil to the wicked Greeks. Even if the chief warden was not a Christian and benevolent,<sup>36</sup> with many pleas and promises he quieted the uproar that had erupted among them.

16. Nevertheless there was in this city a certain old man who was very faithful and devout. He ministered to the holy fathers in the prison and saw to their needs with all haste. Then when he saw them in this uproar and anguish, which met them from day to day, the abuse and contempt and danger from the iconoclasts at every moment, he went to the chief warden with many bribes and persuaded him with pleas to hand over the monks to him, at which time he asked that they be brought before him, and if he would not do this, then he should cut off his head. Then he took them away to his dwelling place and assigned them their own dwelling place. And he brought them there so that they would have time to worship without fear and undisturbed in prayer and supplication according to their custom. And he provided them generously with every need and bodily comfort and asked them to pray for peaceful protection for him, for all Christians, and for the holy church.

17. And while they were there, the king of the Saracens, the Amīr al-Muʿminin, died, and his son, who was named Mahdi (r. 775–85), took the throne after him. And in the first year of his reign, five other monks were brought to him, who had been taken captive in Cyprus. Three of them were from Amorium, and the other two from other places. They had been exiled to Cyprus during the reign of Constantine the iconoclast. And when they were led to Babylon, which is Baghdad, they were taken to prison, which we mentioned above. And again the old man, who is worthily well remembered, when he brought necessities for the sake of the prisoners, he found them in prison. And he asked for

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36. The first part of this sentence is difficult, and I have done my best to translate it into idiomatic English.

მესაპყრობილეთ მთავრისა მისგან და წარიყვანნა თვსა ვანად. და შეკრიბნა ესენი ერთად და პირველნი მამანი და რიცხჳ მათი იქმნა რვა. მაშინ იყვნეს ყოველნი იგი ლოცვასა შინა და ღვთის მსახურებასა ღამე და დღე და ყოველნი ქრისტეანენი, რომელნი იყვნეს მას ადგილსა ადიდებდეს და ჰმადლობდეს ღმერთსა. და ბრწყინვიდა მათ შორის მონაჲ ღვთისაჲ წმიდაჲ რომანოზ, ვითარცა მზე განმანათლებელი შორის ვარსკულავთა სიმდაბლით, ჰმსახურებდა მათ ყოველთა და ესრწთ აღასრულებდა ბრძანებასა მკსნელისასა, რომელ იგი თქუა წმიდასა შინა სახარებასა: ვითარმედ რომელსა ენებოს თქუენ შორის დიდ ყოფად, იყოს იგი თქვენდა მსახურ,

18. არამედ კულად-ცა მოძულე იგი ღვთის მსახურთა და თავი იგი ბოროტისა ვეშაპისაჲ შეეშურვა მათ და ვერ თავს იდვა ხილვად სათნოებათა<sup>88</sup> მის მართლისათა და ქცევას მისსა სულიერად უბიწოვებით და კულად შეიჭურა ბრძოლად მისა მიმართ და უთხარა მას მთხრებლი მეორე, არამედ უფროს შთავარდა იგი მთხრებლსა მას, რომელიცა ქმნა. ხოლო წმიდაჲ იგი გვრგვინთა მართალთაჲთა უბიწოთა და უბრწენლითა უვნებელად მისა გვრგვინოსან ყო და სავნებელ საგონებელი იგი მისგან თვნიერ ნებისა მისისა სარგებელ ეყო. ამან შემზადა მისთვის მეორე იუდა შინა განმცემელი,<sup>89</sup> ვითარცა პირველი იგი იუდა მაცხოვრისა ჩვენისათვს, რომელი იგი შერაცხილ იყო მოციქულთა თანა. ეგრეთვე ამას<sup>90</sup> ქრისტეს მსახურსა განუმზადა წარსაწყმედელი,<sup>91</sup> რამეთუ პოვა მან ერთი საწყალობელი ვინმე, რომელსა ემოსა ხატი მონაზონთაჲ, სახელით იაკობ: ამან გონებისა მისისაგან განაძო შიში ქრისტესი,<sup>92</sup> რომელიცა უკუანაძსუნელ საქმით აღასრულა, რამეთუ უბადრუკი ესე შემდგომად დღეთა რაოდენთა<sup>93</sup> განდგა სარწმუნოვებისაგან და იქმნა იგი ქრისტეს უვარის მყოფელ: ამას სამგზის საწყალობელსა ენება წარჩინებულ ყოფად წინაშე ამირა მუმნისა. რამეთუ იყო იგი ხილვით ღმერთ შემოსილ და საქმით ეშმაკ მოსილ და მარადის შევიდოდა იგი წინაშე წმიდისა რომანოზისსა, ვითარცა მორწმუნე და ღვთის მსახური. ამას ეშმაკისა მოწაფესა ესმინა<sup>94</sup> კაცისა ვისთვისმე ემეწელისა, რომლისაჲ სახელი

88. Following here T instead of A: სათნოვებასა.

89. P-NV.

90. Correcting ამაჲ in the edition, which is possibly a typo, according to T.

91. P-NV.

92. P-NV.

93. T reads instead მცირედთა.

94. T adds here პირველად.

them from the chief warden and took them to his house. And he joined them to the previous fathers, and their number was eight. Then they were all in prayer and worship night and day, and all the Christians who were in that place were glorifying and thanking God. But the servant of God, St. Romanos, shone among them as the illuminating sun among the stars. He served them all humbly, and thus he fulfilled the command of the Savior, which he said in the holy gospel, "Whoever wishes to be great among you will be your servant."<sup>37</sup>

18. But again the enemy of God and the head of the evil dragon envied them, and he could not bear to see the virtues of the righteous one and his spiritual and pure conduct. And again he armed himself for combat against him and dug a second trench, but rather he fell into the trench that he made.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless the saint was crowned unharmed with the pure and incorruptible crown of righteousness, and the harmful thinking from it was made useful against his will.<sup>39</sup> For he brought forth a second betraying Judas for his sake, as that first Judas, who was considered one of the apostles, for the sake of our Savior. In this way the destructive one prepared him for the servant of Christ, for he found another wretched person named Jacob who had taken on the appearance of a monk. He had cast out fear of Christ from his mind, which he fulfilled with this deed. For after some days this wretch departed from the faith and renounced Christ; this thrice-wretched one wanted to find favor before the Amir al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin. Because he was dressed by God in appearance but was in fact clothed by the devil, he always went in to St. Romanos as a faithful servant of God. This disciple of the devil had heard about a certain man from Emesa named Romanos, who had gone

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37. Matt 20:26.

38. Cf. Ps 7:16 (7:15).

39. This is a difficult passage, the meaning of which is not entirely clear.

რომანოზ ეწოდა, ვითარმედ შესრულ იყო იგი საბერძნეთად და გამოსრულ იყო და ეგონა უგუნურსა მას და უზადრუკსა, ვითარმედ ესე რომანოზ იგი არს. მაშინ განემზადა იგი, ვითარცა ვთქუთ,<sup>95</sup> რათამცა ამით<sup>96</sup> წარჩინებულ იყო წინაშე ამირა მუმნისა<sup>97</sup> და ღონე იძია და შევიდა იგი წინაშე ამისა და რაცა ერთგულებით რქვა მას: დაგიცევი ღმერთმან, ამირა მუმნი, თქვენსა საბრძანებელსა შინა არს კაცი აეშაგი, რომელი შესრულ არს საბერძნეთად და გამოსრულ არს და იგი აცნობებს ბერძენთა ამბავსა საიდუმლომსა შენისასა და არს იგი ნათესავით ემელწელი, სახელითა რომანოზ. ხოლო იყო მესამე წელი მაჰდის მეფობისასა.

19. და ვითარცა ესმა ესე ამირა მუმნსა, ირწმუნა შესმენად წმიდისა რომანოზისთვის. ვინაფთჳან იყო შემასმენელი იგი კაცი<sup>98</sup> ქრისტეანე და მონაზონი და მუნქუესვე მიავლინა რაზია ამირისა და უბრძანა მოყვანებაჲ შესმენილისად მის. მაშინ მიავლინა ამირამან და მოიყვანნა მონაზონნი იგი რიცხვით რვანი და ჰკითხვიდა მათ თითოეულად<sup>99</sup> სახელებსა და მიადგენ<sup>100</sup> და თვსაგან უკუანადსკნელ ყოველთასა მოიყვანეს წმიდაჲ რომანოზ, და ვითარცა აღწყა მათ სახელი თვსი, მუნქუესვე აღიტაცეს იგი<sup>101</sup> და შეაყენეს საჰეროზილესა სხუასა, და სხუანი იგი მამანი მიაქცინეს მუნვე, სადა იგი იყოფვოდეს. და მოხუცებულმან მან პატიოსანმან გულის მოდგინედ გამოიწულილა ადგილი იგი რომანოზისი და მოვიდა იგი მისა და პოვა იგი, შებორკილებული მძიმითა ბორკილითა და ფრიად შეწუნხნა იგი, და ლოცვასა დაჰვედრა თავი თვსი. და დღესა მესამესა მოეკსენა წმიდაჲ იგი მაჰდის ამირა მუმნსა<sup>102</sup> და ბრძანა მოყვანება მისი, და ვითარცა წარადგინეს იგი წინაშე მისსა, მაშინ ჰკითხა მან, უკუეთუ ჭეშმარიტ არს, ვითარცა იგი ეუწყა მისთვის. მიუგო მას წმიდამან რომანოზ და ჰრქვა: მე კაცი ბერძენი ვარ და არაოდეს მკვდრ ვყოფილვარ ემეწეს შინა და არცა ასურასტანი მიხილავს თვნიერ ოდეს ტყუედ მოვჰყვანდი ქუეყანით ჩემით. ხოლო ვითარ ესე თქუენ იტყუთ, აეშაგი არაოდეს ყოფილ ვარ მე. მაშინ აიძულებდა მას ამირა მუმნი იგი, რათა შეიწამოს, და უბრძანა ერისკაცთა, რათა განმარცონ იგი და განიჰყრან გუემად, და კულად ბრძანა მოყვანებაჲ შემასმენელისა მისისა იაკობისი,<sup>103</sup> რათა წინაშე პირსა მისსა ამხილოს მას, რომლისათვს შეასმენდა მას.<sup>104</sup>

95. Instead of ვთქუთ in the edition.

96. Added from T.

97. P-NV; ამით added from T.

98. Correcting ვაცი in the edition.

99. Edition corrected according to the more standard spelling from T.

100. P-NV.

101. მუნქუესვე აღიტაცეს იგი added from T.

102. P-NV.

103. P-NV.

104. Added from T.

to the land of the Greeks and had returned from there, and this foolish and wretched man thought that this was [St.] Romanos. Then he prepared him, as we said, so that with this he would find favor before the Amīr al-Muʿminīn. And he was seeking power, and he went in before him and said to him as if he were trustworthy: "May God protect you, Amīr al-Muʿminīn! There is in your realm a man who is a spy, who has gone forth to the land of the Greeks and has returned. He makes news of your secrets known to the Greeks. He is from the peoples of Emesa and is named Romanos." This was in the third year of Mahdī's reign.

19. And when the Amīr al-Muʿminīn heard this, he believed the accusation against St. Romanos because his accuser was a Christian and a monk. And immediately he went to the Amīr Rabi and ordered that he bring forth the accused. And the official went and led forth the monks, eight in number. And he approached them separately and asked them each their names, and last of all they brought forth St. Romanos. When he told them his name, immediately they seized him and put him in another prison. And the other fathers returned there, where they were. And the honorable old man searched diligently for the place where Romanos was, and he went there and found him in fetters with heavy chains, and he was very upset. And he asked him to pray for him. And on the third day the Amīr al-Muʿminīn Mahdī remembered the saint, and he ordered that he be brought to him. And when they presented him before him, then he asked him if what had been said about him was true. And St. Romanos answered and said: "I am a Greek man, but I have never dwelled in Emesa. And I have not looked upon Syria except when I was led forth a captive from my homeland. But I have never been, as you say, a spy." Then the Amīr al-Muʿminīn was forcing him to confess. And he ordered soldiers to strip him and stretch him by his limbs in torment. And again he ordered that Jacob his accuser should be brought in so that he could confront him to his face about what he had accused him of.

20. და ვითარცა შეიყვანეს იგი წინაშე ამირა მუმნისა და იხილა, რამეთუ განუყრა ნეტარი გუემად მტარვალთა მათ და სატანჯველნი მომზაებდულ იყვნეს წინაშე მისსა, შეიპყრა იგი შიშმან და ძრწოლამან და განცვრებული დაშთა იგი უტყუად, რამეთუ ვერ შეუძლო სიტყუად. მაშინ ვითარცა იხილა ამირა მუმნმან, რამეთუ ექცა ფერი პირისა მისისად, გულისხმა ყო, რამეთუ ცრუ დასწამა წმიდასა მას, მიუგო და ჰრქუა მას: მტერო ღვთისაო და მტერო ამირ მუმნისაო, ვითარ იკადრე ტყუვილი წინაშე ჩემსა და შეასმინე კაცი მართალი უმიზეზოდ? მიუგო უგუნურმან მან და ჰრქუა: დაგიცვენინ ღმერთმან ამირა მუმნი, მე ოდეს ესე მესმა, ყრმა ვიყავ და ვერ ვიცი ჭეშმარიტი, უკუეთუ ესე იგი რომანოზ არს, რომლისათჳს მესმინა. მაშინ ცნა ჭეშმარიტად ამირა მუმან მან და მეინახეთა, ვითარმედ წმიდად იგი მართალი იყო, და ბრძანა გარეგანძებად შემასმენელისად მის შეურაცხებით და რომანოსისი საპყრობილესა შეყვანებად, ვიდრემდის კულად გამოიწულილოს იგი მისთჳს

21. და შემდგომად მცირედთა დღეთა ენება ამირა მუმნსა, რათა მოვიდეს იწრუსალიმად და ილოცოს და მოიხილოს ასურასტანი,<sup>105</sup> და გამოვიდა მიერ ზაღდადით და მოიწია ადგილსა, რომელსა ჰრქვან ბარადანი,<sup>106</sup> მეთორმეტესი მილიონსა, და იყო მუნ კასრები საჯდომელები, ვითარცა მიიწია ადგილსა მას, მოეკსენა რომანოს, და ბრძანა. მოყვანებად მისი, რათა გამოიკითხოს მისთჳს მეორედ. და გამოიყვანეს მკედართა მათ მოვლინებულთა საპყრობილით, დაჰბურეს თავსა მისსა და შეკრეს იგი საბლითა და ესრფთ მოიყვანეს გზასა ყოველსა პირდაბურვილი<sup>107</sup> და წარუდგინეს იგი ამირა მუმნისა. მიჰხედა მას თუალითა<sup>108</sup> მაკუდინებელითა და სიტყვთა სიქადულისადათა<sup>109</sup> აიძულებდა წმიდასა მას, რათა აღიაროს, უკუეთუ არს იგი აეშაგი. მიუგო მონამან ქრისტესმან და ჰრქუა მას: მე პირველად გარქუ, ვითარმედ ბერძენი ვარ და აეშაგი არა ოდეს ყოფილ ვარ. მიუგო ამირა მუმან მან და ჰრქუა: სტყუვი, მ მტერო ღვთისაო და მტერო სარკინოზთაო და შინაგანმცემელო მეფობისა ამის ჩვენისაო. მე კაცნი მქონან, რომელთა შეგწამონ შენ, ვითარმედ მსტუარი ხარ ასურასტანელი. მიუგო წმიდამან მან კადნიერებით, გონებითა მტკიცითა და ჰრქუა: უკუეთუ ყოველი

105. A: ჰურასტანი.

106. A: ბარადანი.

107. P-NV.

108. More grammatically correct form supplied from T.

109. P-NV.

20. And when he was led in before the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn and saw that the blessed one had been stretched by his limbs in torment by the torturers, and the agonies were done in front of him, fear and trembling seized him, and in astonishment he remained speechless, for he was not able to speak. Then when the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn saw that the color of his face had turned, he understood that he had blamed the saint falsely. He answered and said to him, "Enemy of God and enemy of the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn, how dare you lie in my presence and accuse a just man without cause?" The fool answered and said: "May God protect you, Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn! When I heard this, I was a child, and I do not know if it is true that this is the Romanos about whom I heard." Then the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn and his guests truly knew that the saint was righteous. And he ordered the accuser's ignominious expulsion and that Romanos should be led to prison until he could question him about this again.

21. And after a few days, the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn wanted to come to Jerusalem and to pray there and see Syria.<sup>40</sup> And he went forth from Baghdad and came to the place that is called Bardan, twelve miles distant, where there was a royal fortress.<sup>41</sup> When he arrived there, he remembered Romanos, and he ordered that he be led forth, so that he could question him about this a second time. And the soldiers that he sent led him forth from prison. They covered his head and bound him with rope, and thus they brought him the whole way with his head covered, and they presented him to the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn. He looked at him with his deadly eyes and compelled the saint with threatening words to confess if he was a spy. The servant of Christ answered and said, "I have already told you that I am Greek but have never been a spy." The Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minīn answered and said, "You lie, O enemy of God and enemy of the Saracens and betrayer of my kingdom. I have men who confirm that you are a Syrian spy." The saint answered boldly and said with a strong mind, "Even if you assemble your entire kingdom,

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40. A: "Judea."

41. Literally a "throne" or "seat" fortress. Al-Tabari and Theophanes report the events of this campaign during the spring of 780; see Peeters, "S. Romain," 400.

სამეუფომ შენი შეჰკრიბო, ერთიცა მათგანი ვერ შეძლებელ არს მხილებად ჩემდა ამას, და უკუეთუ ვინმე თქუას ტყუვილი, მტერი არს იგი ჭეშმარიტებისა. მაშინ განრისხნა ამირა მუმნი იგი და განრისხნებული აღიძრა კადნიერებისა მისისათვის. და აღხლდნა საჯდომისაგან თვისსა, ვითარცა მკეცი, რათა შთანთქას კრავი იგი ქრისტესი და შეიპყრა იგი ორითავე კელითა თვისითა და გარდააპნა<sup>110</sup> სამოსელნი იგი პალეკარტნი მისნი, ვიდრე სარტყლადმდე. მაშინ შეუპყრა წმიდამან კელი მისი და ჰრქვა: გევედრები შენ და გაფუცებ სახელსა ღვთისა შენისასა, რომელსა შენ ჰმსახურებ, რად გენებავს ყოფად ჩემთა, მწრაფლ ჰყავ. რამეთუ მაქვს მე საპყრობილესა მას შინა, დღითგან მამისა შენისადად დღეთა შენთა ცხრადა წელი. მიუგო მას ამირა მუმნამან და ჰრქვა: არა ვითარ შენ გენებავს, მ უსჯულოვო, ეგრწთ გეყოს შენ, აწ<sup>111</sup> ყოვლისა პირველად წარგიყვანო შენ ასურასტანად<sup>112</sup> და მუნ წარმოვადგინე წინაშე შენსა მამხილებელნი შენნი, რომელთა გარცხვნი, და მაშინდა ვითარცა მტყუვარი და მზაკუარი მეფობისა ჩემისადა მოგაკუდინო შენ. მაშინ უბრძანა რაბია ამირასა, რათა წარიყვანონ იგი ასურასტანად. ხოლო მან მისცა იგი მკედართა<sup>113</sup> რამთა განკრძალულად მოჰყვანეს იგი მათთანა.

22. და ვითარცა მიიწია ამირა მუმნი რაკად,<sup>114</sup> რომელ არს ქალაქი ჯიზრისადა, რომელი აღეშენა მამასა მისსა მახლობელად მას. ხოლო წმიდად რომანოზ ვინადათგან არა იყო საპყრობილესა მას შინა, ლაშქარსა მას შორის<sup>115</sup> ჰცვიდეს ერისა კაცნი იგი, მაშინ დგან იგი დაუჯდომელად დღით და ღამით ლოცვასა შინა თვისსა და მადლობასა ღვთისა შესწირავნ და ევედრებინ, რათა აღესრულნენ ჟამნი მისნი ნებისაებრ მისისა. და მათ დღეთა შინა გამოიყვანნეს საბერძნეთით კაცნი ვინმე წარტყუენულნი და ვითარცა შეიყვანიეს<sup>116</sup> იგინი წინაშე ამირა მუმნისა, შიშისაგან სატანჯველისა და სიკუდილისა უვარ ყვეს საწყალობელთა მათ ცხოვრებადა ჭეშმარიტი და დაუტევეს ქრისტიანობადა და შეეძინნეს სარწმუნოებასა სარკინოზთასა. და ვითარცა იხილეს საწყალობელთა მათ მიქცეულთა წმიდადა რომანოზ ლოცვასა შინა ქრისტეს ღვთისა მიმართ ღმობიერ იქმნეს და შეიპყრნა იგინი სინანულმან. იყო მათ დღეთა შინა კურაკისა ღამწ და განათია იგი წმიდამან რომანოზ დაუჯდომელად და

110. Presumably გაარდაპნა is a typo. Correct form is from T.

111. T: არამედ.

112. A: ჰურთასტანად.

113. T omits: მან მისცა იგი მკედართა.

114. T: კარად.

115. T omits: ლაშქარსა მას შორის.

116. T: შეიყვანნეს.

not one of them can convict me of this. And if anyone says this lie, then he is an enemy of the truth." Then the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin was enraged, and being enraged, he was annoyed by his audacity. And he leapt up from his throne like a wild beast about to devour this lamb of Christ. And he grabbed him by both of his hands and ripped his clothes and cloak down to his belt. Then the saint grabbed his hand and said: "I beseech you and swear to you in the name of your God, whom you serve—whatever you want to do to me, do it quickly.<sup>42</sup> For I spent nine years in prison during your father's days and your days." The Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin answered and said to him: "I will not do for you what you wish, O infidel. Now I will take you first of all to Syria,<sup>43</sup> and there I will present before you those exposing you, who will shame you. Only then will I kill you as a liar and a deceiver of my realm." Then he ordered the Amīr Rabi to take him to Syria. Nevertheless he gave him to the soldiers so that they would bring him with them carefully.

22. And then<sup>44</sup> the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin reached Raqqa (Kallinikos/Callinicum), which is a city of the Jazīra, which his father had built nearby.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, since there was no prison for St. Romanos,<sup>46</sup> the soldiers guarded him within the army. Then he was standing without sitting day and night in his prayers, and he was giving thanks to God and praying that his time would be fulfilled according to his will. And at that time some men were led away as captives from the land of the Greeks, and when they were brought in before the Amīr al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin, through fear of torture and death the wretches denied true salvation, abandoned the Christian faith, and joined themselves to the faith of the Saracens. And when these wretched apostates saw St. Romanos praying to Christ God, they were saddened and captured by remorse. Then Sunday night came,<sup>47</sup> and St. Romanos was awake standing and alert in

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42. Cf. John 13:27.

43. A: "Judea."

44. Literally "when" or "because."

45. A reference to his foundation of the garrison city al-Rāfiqa right next to Raqqa. By this time the two cities had already merged into one known as Raqqa.

46. Literally "since St. Romanos was not in the prison," but Peeters is surely right that something like the above is intended.

47. Presumably Saturday evening by modern reckoning (i.e., the Sunday vigil).

უძილად ლოცვასა შინა გალობითა ღვთისა მიმართ, ხოლო იყვნეს ბერძენნი იგი მიქცეულნი მახლობელად მისა მდგომარენი ჰხედვიდეს მას და ჰნატრიდეს და თავთა თვსთა ეგლოვდეს: ვინაჲთგან განცვუნეს კეთილთა მათგან საუკუნეთა და განცვალეს ცხოვრებაჲ იგი წარუვალი მცირისა ამის ჟამისა წარმავალისაჲ და ვითარცა განთენა, მოვიდეს მისა ტირილითა და აღუვარებდეს ცოდვათა<sup>117</sup> მათთა და ჰკითხვიდეს, თუ რაჲ ჯერ არს მათა ყოფაჲ და ყონ.<sup>118</sup> მაშინ აბრალა მათ წმიდამან მან სიჩუქნე იგი მედგრობისა<sup>119</sup> მათისა და განვრდომაჲ იგი ჭეშმარიტებისაგან სარწმუნოვებისა, ხოლო შემდგომად მისსა აღუთქუა მათ და განამტკიცნა და ასწავა მათ, რომელი ჯერ არს ყოფად მათა უმჯობესი სულთა მათთაჲ და ჰრქვა: ოჯკუეთუ ჰსცეთით სიღრმესა უღმრთოვებისასა შთასთხიენით თავნი თვსნი და ესე საწუთროჲ ცხოვრებაჲ და განხრწნადი აღირჩინეთ ნაცვალად წარუვალისა მის, არამედ მოიქეცით ღვთისა ცხოველისა და შეინანეთ რომელ ესე ჰქმენით: და ცხომდენ სულნი თქვენნი, რამეთუ იგი სახიერ არს და კაცთმოყუარჲ შეგიწყალნეს თქვენ, ოდეს იგი აღიაროთ კადნიერად, რამეთუ არა ჰნებავს სიკუდილი ცოდვილისაჲ, არამედ მოქცევაჲ და სინანული. ამას და ესევითარსა ასწავებდა სანატრელი იგი კაცთა მათ შეცთომილთა.

23. მაშინ მიჰხედეს მცველთა მათ, ტიროდეს რაჲ იგინი ფერჯთა თანა წმიდისა რომანოზისთა. მაშინ აუწყეს საქმჲ ესე ამირასა. ხოლო მან მოუწოდა წმიდასა მას და ჰრქვა: ჰ მტერო ღვთისაო და მტერო მეკველეთა მისთაო, არა კმა<sup>120</sup> გეყოა, რაჲ იგი ჰყავ ზაკუვად ამირა მუშნსა ზედა და ორგულეზა, არამედ აწ მორწმუნეთა ამათ კაცთა სარკინოზთა არწმუნებ ქრისტჲანე ყოფად. მიუგო წმიდამან რომანოზ და ჰრქვა: მე ვითარცა ესე მხედავთ შეკრულ და შებორკილებულ ვარ დაკრებული ერისკაცთა მცავს მე და არა მაქვს ლხინება<sup>121</sup> ვერცა შემძლებელ ვარ მისლვად ვისამე. ოჯკუეთუ ვინმე ჩემდა მოვიდეს და მკითხოხს სასოებისა ჩემისათვის, მოწრაფჲ ვარ მე უმჯობესსა წუევად მისა თვნიერ ყოველისა შიშისა და შეძრწუნებისა, რომელი მისსა უმჯობესს იყოს და სულთა ცხოვრება. მაშინ ვითარცა ესმა ესე, განრისხნა ამირაჲ იგი და აღეტყინა გულისწყრომითა, ვითარცა ცეცხლითა და მყის უბრძანა განმარცვავა და<sup>122</sup> განპყრობად მისი

117. T: უმჯულოებათა.

118. P-NV.

119. A: გონებისა.

120. ჯმა is presumably a misprint in the edition; form is from T.

121. A omits: არა მაქვს ლხინებაჲ.

122. A omits: განმარცვავა და.

prayer with praise to God. The Greek apostates were standing near him, and they saw him and were longing for it<sup>48</sup> and lamenting for themselves, because they had driven away from themselves a blessed eternity and had exchanged eternal life for this short, fleeting span of time. And when it was dawn, they went to him with tears and confessed their sins and asked him if there was something that they ought to do and they would do it. Then the saint rebuked them for the cowardice of their treachery and falling away from the true faith. But after that he promised them and encouraged them and taught them what they ought to do for the betterment of their souls. And he said: "If then you have sinned and thrown yourselves into the depths of godlessness and have chosen this fleeting, corruptible life instead of the eternal one, but you have turned back to the life of God and repented of what you have done, truly your souls will be saved, for he is good and loves human-kind. He will have mercy on you if you confess him boldly, for he does not wish the death of the sinner, but turning back and repentance."<sup>49</sup> This and other such things the beloved one taught these men who had gone astray.

23. Then the guards saw them weeping at the feet of St. Romanos. They then made this known to the Amīr, and he called upon the saint and said: "O enemy of God and enemy of his officials, was not the treachery and betrayal that you committed against the Amīr al-Mu'minin sufficient for you? But now you have persuaded these faithful Saracen men to become Christian!" St. Romanos answered and said: "As you see, I am bound and in shackles; an assembly of soldiers guards me; I have no help; and I am not able to go to anyone. If someone comes to me and asks me about my faith, I am eager to invite him without any fear and trembling to [what is] best, which will be best for him and the salvation of the soul."<sup>50</sup> When he heard this, the Amīr was enraged and inflamed with wrath like fire. And immediately he ordered that he should be stripped

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48. Or "for him"?

49. Cf. Ezek 33:11.

50. Literally "salvation of souls."

ოთხთა მიერ მტარვალთა და ცემა<sup>123</sup> მისი ძარღვთა ზროხისადთა ჳმელითა უწყალოდ თხუთმეტთა მიერ ერისკაცთა ცვალებით. რამეთუ თითოეული მათი მიამთხუევდა ხუთსა ოდენ და ეცვალებოდა მოყუასი, რათა ძლიერად ჳგუემდენ და შეეგონებოდინან ტკივილინი მისნი. ხოლო ვითარცა იწყე გუემად წმიდასა მას, ჳრქუა: უფალო, შემიწყალე მე. სამგზის შეცვალა ლოცვაჲ თვისი და ლაღადებდა: ქრისტე შემიწიე მე და სხუას არა მიუგებდა, მაშინ ჳორცნი მისნი და მოსცვოდეს ქვეყანად სიმძაფრისა მისგან ცემისა და სისხლითა აღივსო ადგილი იგი და იქმნა იგი ვითარცა მკუდარი და დაეცა ქვეყანასა. ხოლო ამირაჲ იგი სავსელა<sup>124</sup> იყო გულისწყრომიითა. მაშინ აღდგა<sup>125</sup> და შევიდა იგი ამირა მუმნისა და შეასმინა წმიდაჲ იგი და ჳრქუა: უკეთური იგი მტერი და წინააღმდეგომი<sup>126</sup> მეფობისა შენისა, რომანოზ, არა დასცხრების უკუნქცევად კუალად უშჯულოებად გულსა<sup>127</sup> მოქცეულთა მორწმუნეთასა და იწრაფის განშოვრებად მათა მსახურებისაგან ჩუენისა და მიაქცევს ქრისტეანედვე, და ესე წამეს ჩემ წინაშე კაცთა დასტურთა და ამისთვის შემშურდა შური შჯულისა ჩვენისაჲ და ვსწავლწ იგი და ვეც მას ტაჯგანაგითა ჳერისაებრ.

24. მაშინ ბრძანა ამირა მუმნმან, რათა წარმოადგინონ იგი წინაშე მისსა, და ვითარცა მოიყვანეს წმიდაჲ იგი, ჳრქუა მას: ვერღარა თავს-ვიდეზ, შენსა, რომანოზ, ერთი ხოლო დაშთომილ არს საცხოვრებელად შენდა, უკუეთუ დამემორჩილო ბრძანებასა ჩემსა, უკუეთუ არა-ბოროტითა სიკუდილითა მოჳკუდწ, აწ დამემორჩილე მე, რამეთუ მას გაწუევ.<sup>128</sup> რომელი უმჯობწსი არს შენთვის და დაუტკევე ცთომილებაჲ ეგე შენი და შეეძინე შჯულსა ჩემსა და მიიღწ ჩემგან ნიჭი ურიცხვ და ჳატივი მიუწდომელი. და უკუეთუ ურჩ მექმნე კეთილის მახრახებელსა შენსა, მიგცე შენ სატანჯველთა მტკივანთა და გვემათა უწყალოთა და უკანაღსკნელ მწართა სიკუდილითა აღესრულო შენ, ვითარცა წინააღმდეგომი ძლიერებასა ჳელმწიფეთასა და არა შემწყნარებელი კეთილსა თავისა თვისასა უგუნურებით, აწ უკეთუ დამემორჩილო, შევცვალნე შეურაცხებანი შენნი, რომელ ეგე ჩვენ თანა უმეცრებით დაგითმენიან და ტანჯვანი ეგე უცებბრნი.<sup>129</sup> და აწვე უბრძანო მკურნალთა

123. T: გუემად.

124. T: განსავსე.

125. T omits მაშინ, but not აღდგა, as Peeters indicates.

126. Correcting the edition to the more regular spelling from T.

127. P-NV.

128. P-NV.

129. Corrected spelling from T. P-NV.

and stretched out by four torturers and beaten mercilessly with the dried tendons of a cow by fifteen soldiers in turn. For each one of them beat him exactly five times and then passed to the next, so that they beat him violently and his wounds became severe.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, when they began to beat the saint, he said three times, “Lord, have mercy on me!” He changed his prayer and cried out, “Christ help me!” and he responded with nothing else. Then his body fell to the ground from the violent beating, and the place was filled with blood. And he was like a dead person and was knocked down to the ground. Nevertheless the Amir was again filled with wrath. Then he rose up and went to the Amir al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin, and he accused the saint and said: “This wicked enemy and opponent of your reign, Romanos, will not stop godlessly bringing back again the heart of faithful converts,<sup>52</sup> and he hastens to separate them from our practice<sup>53</sup> and convert them to Christianity. And trustworthy men have testified to this in my presence. Therefore I was filled with zeal<sup>54</sup> for our faith, and I taught him and beat him appropriately with the horsewhip.”

24. Then the Amir al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minin ordered that they present him before him, and when the saint was brought in, he said to him: “I can no longer endure you, Romanos. Nevertheless one possibility remains for you to save yourself—if you will yield to my command. If you will die a good death, now you will obey me, for I urge you to do what is best for you. Abandon your error and follow my faith, and you will receive countless gifts and unimaginable honors. And if you will not heed my good advice, I will hand you over to painful tortures and merciless beatings, and in the end you will meet with a bitter death, as one who resists the authority of the ruler and foolishly does not obey what is for his own good. Now if you will obey me, I will change your offenses, which you

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51. The text here reads “were remembered” or “regretted” or “understood,” which makes little sense. We have followed Peeters, who suggests that შეეგონებოდან is a misreading of يستذكر for يستذكي in the translation’s Arabic *Vorlage*; Peeters, “S. Romain,” 405. T is not available for comparison at this point.

52. The syntax is confused here. The translation above is as close to the text as possible. Peeters suggests the Arabic *Vorlage* as the potential source of the difficulties in his note.

53. Literally “service,” but also with the sense of “worship,” as we have tried to reflect above.

54. შური often means “zeal” (as well as “envy” and “jealousy”), but შეშურ[ვ]ება more commonly means “to envy, declaim, trouble.” Nevertheless, in 3 Kgdms 19:10: შემშურდა შური უფლისა ღმრთისა ყოვლისა მკერობელის translates Ζηλῶν ἐζηλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι.

ჩემთა,<sup>130</sup> რათა ჯერისაებრ იღვაწონ კურნებისა შენისათვის, და მწრაფლ განიკურნენ წყლულებანი ეგე ჯორცთა შენთანი და მყისა შინა განგათავისუფლო შენ ტკივილთა ამათგან. ესე და უმრავლესნი ჰრქუა ამირამ მუმნმან წმიდასა რომანოზს. მაშინ მიუგო წმიდამან მოწამემან და ჰრქვა: ვიდრე აქამომდე ვიყავ შენ თანა. ვითარცა მსტუარი და აეშაგი ქვეყანისა შენისად და მისთვის მწულილევი<sup>131</sup> და მრავლითა სიქადულითა მითქუემდი მე, და რათა<sup>132</sup> პირისპირ ჩემსა დაადგინნე, რომელნი წამებდენ ჩემთვის. ხოლო აქ<sup>133</sup> შენვე დაჰსენ პირველი იგი სიტყვა შენი გამოკითხვისა შენისათვის ჩემდა, და მიიცივალე სხუად მიზეზად, რომელი უძვრცს<sup>134</sup> და უბოროტცს მისსა არს. აწ უკუვე ნუ განამრავლებ სიტყვათა შენთა, არამედ ვითარცა იგი პირველად გევედრე და აწცა კვალად გევედრები, მიჰხედე შენ ღმერთსა შენსა, რომელსა შენ ჰმსახურებ რომელი გეგულების ყოფად ჩემდა,<sup>135</sup> მწრაფლ ყავ ჩემ ზედა, რამეთუ მაღლითა ღვთისათა მე ქრისტეანც ვიშვე და ქრისტეანც ვარ და ქრისტეანედ მოგვკუდე,<sup>136</sup> და ესე არს ნება ჩემი,

25. მაშინ აღუთქუმიდა მას ამირა მუმნი იგი ყოველთა ამის სოფლისა კეთილთა მინიჭებად მას უკუეთუ დაემორჩილოს მას და უვარ-ყოს ქრისტც, და კუალად უკეთუ ესე არა ყოს, მწართა სატანჯველითა სიქადულით აშინებდა მას. მაშინ ვითარცა გულისხმა ყო წმიდამან მან, რამეთუ ჟამი მისი მოახლებულ არს, მიუგო და რქვა მას: განმიტევე მე დღეს და განვიზრახო უმჯობცსი ჩემი, და ხვალისა დღც მოგაცსენო, რომელი ჯერ იყოს ჩემდა ყოფად. მაშინ ჰგონებდა უმჯულოდ იგი, ვითარმედ არწმუნა მას ნებისა მისისა აღსრულებად, და უბრძანა განყვანება მისი და ჰრქვა ცხოვრებად კეთილი და ტკბილი აღირჩიე უფროს სიკუდილსა ბოროტსა და მწარესა და უკეთუ ჰყო ნებად ჩვენი მოწყალე ვართ ჩვენ და მოწრაფც ყოველსა სარგებელსა და განსასუენებელსა შენსა აღსრულებად, მსგავსად შეძლებისა ჩვენისა, და ესრცთ გამოვიდა მიერ წმიდად მოწამც ქრისტცსი რომანოზ. ხოლო ესე ამისთვის ყო ნეტარმან მან, რათა წარუდგინნეს ყოველნი ლოცვანი და ვედრებანი მისნი ქრისტცსა ღმერთსა<sup>137</sup> პირველ მიცვალეებისა მისისა

130. P-NV.

131. P-NV.

132. P-NV.

133. T: აწ.

134. T omits: რომელი უძვრცს.

135. T omits: ყოფად ჩემდა.

136. P-NV.

137. P-NV.

have unknowingly endured with us, and the ignorant tortures.<sup>55</sup> And I will also order my physicians to care for you properly for the sake of your healing. And they will quickly heal your wounds, and in an instant you will be set free from their pains.” The Amīr al-Muʿminīn said this as well as other things to St. Romanos. Then the holy martyr answered and said: “Up to this point I have been held by you<sup>56</sup> as spy and observer of your land, and concerning this you have questioned me and threatened me with many threats, and you stood before my face those who testified against me. But at this point you have let go of your first charge, about which you questioned me, and you have switched to another offense, which is more wicked and evil than this. Now then do not multiply your words, but as I asked you before, now also I ask you again. Look to your God, whom you serve. Whatever you want to do to me, do it quickly. For I was born a Christian by the grace of God, and I am a Christian, and I will die a Christian, and this is my decision.”

25. Then the Amīr al-Muʿminīn promised to give him all the good things of this world if he would submit to him and deny Christ. And again, if he did not do this, he frightened him with the threat of painful torments. Then when the saint understood that his time had drawn near, he answered and said to him, “Allow me a day, and I will consider what is best for me, and tomorrow I will let you know what should be done with me.” Then the infidel was thinking that he had persuaded him to carry out his will, and he ordered that he be taken away, and he said: “Choose a good and sweet life rather than a horrible and painful death. And if you do what we want, we are compassionate and eager to provide you everything useful and a place of rest as much as we are able.” And so the holy martyr of Christ, Romanos, went forth from there. Nevertheless the blessed one did this in order to offer all his prayers and intercessions to Christ God before his departure from this

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55. Peeters notes that this passage is particularly difficult to understand, and either it is corrupt or the Amīr al-Muʿminīn is offering a sort of excuse for his cruelty. The former, in my opinion, seems very likely; one expects rather the Amīr al-Muʿminīn to offer to pardon offenses that were committed against the Saracens in “ignorance,” if he will yield to his request.

56. Literally “have been with you.”

ჯორცთა ამათგან<sup>138</sup> უძღურთა და დაქსნილთა. მაშინ დაადგა იგი ღამესა მას, ვიდრე განთიადამდე,<sup>139</sup> დაუჯდომელად ვედრებასა შინა ღვთისა მიმართ. ყოველთა ქრისტეანეთათს და კეთილად განგებისა მათისათს<sup>140</sup> და სულისა მისისა მშვიდობით შევედრებისათს, და რათა განარინოს იგი მშვიდობით ჯელთაგან უღმრთოჲსა მის და უსჯულოჲსა მძლავრისათა და სულთა მათგან უკეთურთა, რომელნი არიან ჰაერთა შინა და ესრწოთ განათიეს ღამე იგი ცრემლით და სულთქუმიით.

26. და ხვალისა დღე, მეცხრესა ჟამსა მიაგლინა ამირა მუმნმან და მოიყვანა წმიდაჲ იგი. და კუალად იწყო მოგონად და ლიქნად მრავალთა კეთილთა აღთქუმიითა, და კუალად სიქადულითა<sup>141</sup> სატანჯველთაჲთა და სიკუდილისაჲთა. მიუგო წმიდამან მოწამემან მან და ჰრქვა: რაჲსა ცუდად ჰმურები, მ ამირა მუმნო, და ემღერი თავსა შენსა, ვითარმცა ყრმასა მცირესა თანა იტყოდე მე, დაღათუმცა დაუთმე ბევრეულთა სატანჯველთა და სიკუდილსა ქრისტესთს, შევჰრაცხნე იგინი სიხარულად და მხიარულებად სურვილისა მისთს, რომელი მაქუს მისა მიმართ, ვითარ უკუე ერთსა ამას სიკუდილსა, რომელი ესე უეჭველად ბუნებასა კაცთასა თანა აც<sup>142</sup> და ვერ სადა ვინ სიმრავლითა მონაგებთაჲთა და საშინელებითა ჯელმწიფებისაჲთა დაირჩინა მისგან თავი თვისი. ხოლო პატივი ეგე და ნიჭი, რომელსა ეგე შენ მე აღმითქუამ და ყოველი დიდებაჲ მეფობისა შენისაჲ, ვითარცა თივად არს ჩემთანა განწმელი, და ვითარცა სიზმარი განწსნილი და აჩრდილი განქარვებული და ვერ შემძლებელ ხარ შენ ამით დაჯერებად ჩემდა უვარის ყოფად დამზადებელისა ჩემსა. და ღმერთსა იესუ ქრისტესა და მამასა მისა გამოუთქუმელსა და სულსა წმიდასა მისსა მიუწდომელსა, სამებასა წმიდასა სწორსა ბუნებითა და თავყუანის ცემად ეშმაკთა, რომელთა თქვენ ჰმსახურებთ, აწ უკუე ყავ, რომელი გნებავს: და ნუ ცუდად შრომასა შეამთხუევ თავსა შენსა ამისთს. ამისა შემდგომად მძლავრმან მან უკეთურმან მრავალი ჟამი დაყო ვედრებასა მისსა. ოდესმე ქადებითა<sup>143</sup> და აღთქუმიითა კეთილთაჲთა, და ოდესმე შინებითა სატანჯველთაჲთა, და ოდესმე ჰხადინ მამობით, და ოდესმე უწოდინ უღმრთოვებით.<sup>144</sup> კუალად აღუთქუმიდა რათაჲ

138. Presumably ამაღგან in the edition is a typo. The correct form from T is above.

139. P-NV.

140. T omits: და კეთილად განგებისა მათისათს.

141. Corrected სიქათულითა to the correct spelling in T.

142. P-NV.

143. P-NV.

144. P-NV.

frail and feeble body. Then he stood through the night until dawn, without sitting, in prayer before God for all Christians that they will meet with a good fate and their souls will be peacefully received, and that he will deliver him peacefully from the hands of the godless and from the infidel tyrant and from the evil spirits that are in the air. And so he spent the night in tears and prayer.

26. And on the next day at the ninth hour, the Amīr al-Muʿminīn sent for the saint and had him brought in. And again he began to recollect and flatter with promises of many good things, and also with threats of torture and death. The holy martyr answered and said: “Why are you striving in vain, O Amīr al-Muʿminīn, and amusing<sup>57</sup> yourself, speaking to me as if I were a small child. Even if I endure myriad torments and death for Christ, I will regard them joyfully and gladly on account of the desire that I have for him, since there is this one death, which human nature undoubtedly owes, and it is not at all possible for anyone to save himself from it with an abundance of possessions and fear of power. Nevertheless the honor and gifts that you promise me and all the glory of your kingdom are like dry grass to me, and like a passing dream and a vanished shadow. And you cannot persuade me with them to deny my creator and God, Jesus Christ, and his ineffable Father and the unattainable Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity, alike in essence and held in awe by the demons, whom you worship. Now then do what you wish, and do not make any trouble for yourself in vain about this.” After this the wicked tyrant remained in his pleas for a long time,<sup>58</sup> and at one moment with boasts and promises of good things, and then with threats of torture, and at one moment he addressed him as father, and then he called him godless. Again he

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57. Or “mocking.”

58. As Peeters notes, the text is difficult here, and he suggests that something had fallen out, proposing that we should read “the tyrant [began to urge him] while he prayed.” Nevertheless we have attempted above to translate the text as it stands.

ყოველსა საჯელმწიფოსა მისსა განაჩინოს იგი, ხოლო მან სიტყვად არღარად მიუგო უღმრთოსა მას. მაშინ ვითარცა იხილა, რამეთუ იყო იგი ვითარცა კლდე ფიცხელი განუხეთქელი, გული მისი აღივსო გულის წყრომითა უფროს ხოლო ამისთვის, რამეთუ არღარა მიუგო მას პასუხი სიტყვსა მისისაჲ. მაშინ უბრძანა რათა მოიღონ ტყავი შეკერული და დაჰფინონ იგი მისსა და უბრძანა მეგრმლესა, რათა აშინებდეს<sup>145</sup> ჳრმლითა მით, ვიდრემდის სიტყვა მიუგოს მას.<sup>146</sup> ხოლო წმიდამან მან დაისხნა კელნი უკუმართ თავით თვისით და მოიქცა აღმოსავალით<sup>147</sup> და წარუპყრა ქელი თვისი მახვლსა, და გონებითა თვისითა ილოცვიდა. ღვთისა მიმართ. ხოლო მძლავრსა არცა ერთი სიტყვად ინება მიცემად ვიდრემდის, და უკვრდა ამირა მუმნსა და ყოველთა მენაჯეთა მისთა კადნიერებაჲ იგი: სიკუდილსა ზედა წმიდისაჲ მის. მაშინ უბრძანა წარუკეთაჲ თავისა მისისაჲ: ხოლო მეგრმლემან მან სცა და წარჰკუეთა წმიდაჲ იგი თავი მისი. მაშინ ბრძანა უშჯულომან მან, რათა შთაყარნენ ჳორცნი მისნი თავითურთ მდინარესა ამას, რომელი იყო მახლობელად მათსა, რომელ არს ევრატი დიდი.

27. მაშინ გამოცხადნა ღმერთმან საკვირველთმოქმედმან სასწაული უზესთაესი და აჩუნა ყოველთა სიყვარული იგი, რომელ მოიგო მისა მიმართ და ადიდა იგი, ვითარცა წერილ არს. ცხოველ ვარ მე, იტყვის უფალი, რამეთუ მადიდებელნი ჩემნი ვადიდნე. ხოლო წყალთა მათ ვითარცა შეიწყნარნეს ჳორცნი იგი წმიდისანი,<sup>148</sup> არა დაანთქნეს იგინი სიღრმესა მას შინა, არამედ აიხუნეს იგინი ზედა ჳურგსა მათსა<sup>149</sup> და მოვიდა წმიდა იგი თავი მისი და შეეკრა და შეეძერწა<sup>150</sup> თვისსავე მას გარდასაჯსნელსა და ეგრწთ ეტჯრთა წყალთა მათ ჳჳ და მიაქუნდა. მას ჟამსა, რომელნი დახუდეს<sup>151</sup> ქრისტიანეთაგანნი, ვითარცა იხილეს სასწაული იგი ყოფილი, წარიყვანნეს მათ თანა მრავალნი მორწმუნენი ქრისტიანენი, რომელნი დაემთხვნეს, ვიდრემდის მიიწინნეს რაკად ქალაქსა მას ძველსა და მუნ გამოიღეს გუამი წმიდისა მოწამისა რომანოზისი. ეგრწთვე გებულად თავითურთ უბიწოთ წყლისა მისგან, და მიიღეს<sup>152</sup> იგი წმიდად კათოლიკჳ ეკლესიად<sup>153</sup> და შეკრბა მუნ ყოველი

145. The edition has აძინებდეს; the reading from T above seems preferable.

146. T omits: მით, ვიდრემდის სიტყვა მიუგოს მას.

147. T omits: და მოიქცა აღმოსავალით.

148. P-NV.s

149. T adds: ვითარცა ცხედარსა ზედა მდებარე.

150. P-NV.

151. დახთდეს is presumably a misprint; the correct form above is from T.

152. T: შეიღეს.

153. P-NV.

promised him that he would appoint him over all his kingdom; nevertheless, he answered not one word to this infidel. Then when he saw that he was like a hard and solid rock, his heart was filled even more with rage because of this, for he did not give any response to what he said. Then he ordered that they bring a sewn pelt and spread it out on him, and he ordered the executioner to frighten him with the sword until he would give a response. Nevertheless the saint placed his hands behind himself and turned himself to the east, and he offered his neck to the sword, but in his mind he was praying to God. Nevertheless the tyrant did not want to add one word more. And the Amīr al-Muʿminin and all his companions were amazed at the saint's boldness before death. Then he ordered that his head should be cut off. And the executioner struck and cut off his holy head. Then the infidel ordered that they throw his body with his head into the river that was near them—that is, the great Euphrates.

27. Then the miracle-working God revealed an exalted wonder and showed love for all who come to him and glorify him, as it is written, "I live, says the Lord, for I glorify those who glorify me."<sup>59</sup> And the waters, as they embraced the saint's body, did not swallow it in the depths, but they carried it on their surface.<sup>60</sup> And his holy head came and was joined and fused to his neck,<sup>61</sup> and thus he was borne and brought upon the waters. Then the Christians who were there, when they saw the miracle that happened, brought along with them many faithful Christians whom they met until they came to the old city of Raqqa. And there they brought forth the body of the holy martyr Romanos from the water together with his holy head intact. And they brought it to the holy catholic church. And the whole assembly of the orthodox gathered

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59. Cf. 1 Kgdms 2:30.

60. T adds: "as if placed on a funeral bed."

61. Literally "joint."

იგი კრებული მართლმადიდებელთაჲ, და ყვეს ღამის თევამ მის ზედა. და ხვალისა დღჳ ეკლესიასა მას შინა დადვეს წმიდა იგი გუამი საფლავსა წმიდათასა, რომელნი იყუნეს მუნ და აღასრულეს მსხუერპლი იგი საიდუმლო და ადიდებდეს ქრისტესა ღმერთსა და თანაწარიღეს სიწმიდჳ და მადლი ნეტარისაჲ მის ევლოგიაჲ, რომელი მოენიჭა ღვთისა მიერ ქალაქსა მათსა ახალი ესე მოწამჳ განთქმული და დიდებული.

აღესრულა წამება წმიდისა მოწამისა რომანოზისი პირველსა დღესა თთუესა მაისსა, დღესა ორშაბათსა, ჟამსა მეცხრესა: სადიდებელად მამისა და ძისა და წმიდისა სულისა აწ და მარადის და უკუნითი უკუნისამდე ამჳნ.

there, and they kept the night vigil in it. And on the following day they placed his holy body in this church, in the tomb of the saints who were there. And they completed the mystical sacrifice and glorified Christ God. And they introduced the sanctity and grace of the blessed one as a blessing, this new renowned and glorious martyr who was conferred by God on their city.

The passion of the holy martyr Romanos was completed on the first day of the month of May, on Monday at the ninth hour, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.



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