

understand the whole, and having understood it say, "Glory be to you, Father!" "Amen."<sup>8</sup>

97. 'After this dance, my beloved, the Lord went out; and we were as men gone astray or dazed with sleep, and we fled all ways. Even I, when I saw him suffer, did not abide at his passion but fled to the Mount of Olives, weeping over what had taken place. And when he was hung upon the cross on Friday, at the sixth hour of the day, ~~there came darkness over all the earth.~~ And my Lord stood in the middle of the cave and lit it up, and said, "John, to the multitude down below in Jerusalem I am being crucified, and pierced with lances and reeds, and gall and vinegar is given me to drink. But to you I am speaking, and pay attention to what I say. I put it into your mind to come up to this mountain, so that you might hear matters needful for a disciple to learn from his teacher, and for a man to learn from his God."

98. 'And having said this, he showed me a cross of light set up, and around the cross a great multitude which had no one form; and in the cross was one form and one likeness. And the Lord himself I beheld above the cross, not having a shape, but only a voice, and a voice not such as was familiar to us, but a sweet and kind voice and one truly divine, and it said to me, "It is necessary that one man should hear these things from me, O John, for I have need of someone who will hear. This cross of light is sometimes called the Word by me for your sakes, sometimes Mind, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes Door, sometimes Way, sometimes Bread, sometimes Seed, sometimes Resurrection, sometimes Son, sometimes Father, sometimes Spirit, sometimes Life, sometimes Truth, sometimes Faith, sometimes Grace. Thus it is called for man's sake. But in truth, as known in itself and as spoken to us, it is the marking off of all things and the uplifting and foundation of those things that are fixed but had been unstable, and the harmony of the wisdom and indeed the wisdom of the harmony. But there are on the right and on the left, powers, principalities, dominions and demons, operations, threatenings, wrath, devils, Satan and the inferior root, from which the nature of the transient things proceeded.

99. "This, then, is the cross which has united all things by the Word, and marked off things transient and inferior, and then compacted all into one. But this is not the cross of wood which you will see when you go down here, neither am I he who is upon the cross, whom now you do not see, but only hear a voice. I was reckoned to be what I am not, not being what I was to

<sup>8</sup> Fragments of this hymn (chs. 95-6) cited in Augustine, *ep.* 237, are (Goldbacher's page and line):

\* I will save, and I will be saved. (530. 17) I will loose, and I will be loosed. (529. 3 and 29) I will be born. (531. 4) I will sing, dance all of you. (531. 7 and 9) I will lament, beat you all yourselves. (531. 12) I will adorn, and I will be adorned. (531. 13f.) I am a lamp to you who see me. (531. 18) I am a door to you who knock on me. (531. 20f.) You who see what I do, keep silence about my works. (531. 26) By the Word I mocked at all things, and I was not mocked at all. (532. 17f.)

many others; but they will call me something else, which is vile and not worthy of me. Therefore, just as the place of rest is neither seen nor spoken of, much less shall I, the Lord of this place, be seen or spoken of.

100. "Now the multitude about the cross which is the lower nature is not of one form; and those whom you see in the cross, do not have one form. That is because every member of him who came down has not yet been gathered together. But when the nature of man shall be taken up, and the race which comes to me in obedience to my voice, then he who now hears me shall be united with it and shall no longer be what it now is, but shall be above them, as I am now. For as long as you do not call yourself mine, I am not that which I was. But if you hear and hearken to me, then you shall be as I am, and shall be what I was, when I have you with myself. For from this you are. Therefore, ignore the many, and despise those who are outside the mystery! Know that I am wholly with the Father, and the Father with me.

101. "Therefore I have suffered none of the things which they will say of me: that suffering which I showed to you and to the rest in dance, I wish it to be called a mystery. For what you are, you see that I showed you; but what I am, that I alone know, and no one else. Let me, therefore, keep that which is my own, and that which is yours you must see through me. As for seeing me as I am in reality, I have told you this is impossible unless you are able to see me as my kinsman. You hear that I suffered, yet I suffered not; that I suffered not, yet I did suffer; that I was pierced, yet was I not wounded; hanged, and I was not hanged; that blood flowed from me, yet it did not flow; and, in a word, those things that they say of me I did not endure, and the things that they do not say those I suffered. Now what they are I will reveal to you for I know you will understand. Perceive in me the slaying of the Logos, the piercing of the Logos, the blood of the Logos, the wounding of the Logos, the hanging of the Logos, the passion of the Logos, the nailing of the Logos, the death of the Logos. And thus I speak, discarding manhood. Therefore, in the first place think of the Logos, then you shall perceive the Lord, and thirdly the man, and what he has suffered".

102. 'When he had spoken to me these things and others which I know not how to say as he would have me, he was taken up, without any of the multitude having seen him. And when I went down, I laughed them all to scorn, inasmuch as he had told me the things which they said about him; and I held firmly this one thing in my mind, that the Lord contrived all things symbolically and as a dispensation toward men, for their conversion and salvation.

103. 'Therefore, brethren, having seen the grace of the Lord and his affection toward us, let us worship him as those to whom he has shown mercy, not with our fingers, nor with our mouths, nor with the tongue, nor with any

part of our body whatsoever, but with the disposition of our soul: let us worship him, who became man apart from this body. And let us watch because he keeps watch even now over prisons for our sakes, and in tombs, in bonds and dungeons, in shame and reproaches, by sea and land, at scourgings, condemnations, conspiracies, plots, punishments, and, in a word, he is with all of us, and suffers with us when we suffer, brethren. When he is called by any one of us, he does not allow himself to shut his ears to us, but being everywhere, he hears us to all of us, and just now has hearkened to both me and Drusiana—as he is the God of those who are imprisoned—bringing help to us by his own compassion.

104. 'You therefore must also be persuaded, beloved, that it is no man that I preach to you to worship, but God unchangeable, God invincible, God higher than all authority, and all power, and older and mightier than all the angels and creatures that are spoken of, and all ages. If then you abide in him, and are built up in him, you shall possess your soul indestructible.'

105. And when he had delivered these things to the brethren, John departed with Andronicus to walk; and Drusiana also followed afar off together with all, that they might behold the acts that were done and at all times hear his word in the Lord. . . .<sup>10</sup>

37. And the brethren from Miletus said to John, 'We have remained a long time at Ephesus. If you agree, let us go to Smyrna. For we already hear that the wonderful works of God have been heard of there.' And Andronicus said, 'If it pleases the master, then let us go!' John said, 'First let us go to the temple of Artemis! For if we are seen there we shall be able to find ministers of the Lord.'

38. After two days the birthday of the idol's temple was celebrated. While everybody was dressed in white garments, John wore black and went to the temple. They laid hold of him and tried to kill him. But John said, 'Men, you are mad to lay hold of me, the servant of the only God? And climbing on to the platform he spoke to them:

39. 'Men of Ephesus, you are in danger of behaving like the sea. Every discharging river and every precipitating spring, downpours and incessant waves and torrents rushing from the rock, are permeated by the bitter salt which is in the sea. Thus to this day you are unchangeably hostile to true piety, and you perish in your old idolatry. How many miraculous deeds did you see me perform, how many cures! And still you are hardened in the heart and cannot see clearly. What now, men of Ephesus? I have ventured now to come up to this idol's temple, to convince you that you are wholly without God and dead to human reasoning. Behold, here I stand. You all assert that Artemis is powerful. Pray to her, that I alone die! Or if you cannot accomplish this, I alone will call upon my God to kill you all because of your unbelief.'

40. Since they already knew him and had seen the dead raised, they cried aloud, 'Do not treat us so and kill us, we beseech you, John; we know indeed that you can do it.' And John answered them, 'If you do not wish to die, let me convince you of your idolatry. And why? So that you may desist from your old error. Be now converted by my God or I will die at the hands of your goddess. For I will pray in your presence to my God, and ask him to have mercy upon you.'

41. After these words he prayed, 'God, who are God above all so-called gods, who to this day have been despised at Ephesus, you induced me to come to this place, which I never had in view. You have abrogated every form of worship through conversion to you. In your name every idol, every demon, and every unclean spirit is banished. May the deity of this place, which has deceived so many, now also give way to your name, and thus show your mercy on this place! For they walk in error.'

42. And with these words of John the altar of Artemis suddenly split into many parts, and the oblations put up in the temple suddenly fell to the ground, and its glory<sup>11</sup> broke, and so did more than seven of the idols. And half of the temple fell down, so that when the roof came down, the priest also was killed at one stroke. And the people of the Ephesians cried, 'There is only one God, that of John, only one God who has compassion for us; for you alone are God; now we have become converted, since we saw your miraculous deeds. Have mercy upon us, God, according to your will, and deliver us from our great error.' And some of them lay on their faces and cried; others bent their knees and prayed; others rent their garments and lamented; still others tried to escape.

43. And John stretched out his hands and prayed with uplifted soul to the Lord, 'Glory be to you, my Jesus, the only God of truth, who procure your servants in manifold ways! And after these words he said to the people, 'Rise up from the ground, men of Ephesus, pray to my God, and know how his invisible power was made manifest and his miraculous deeds took place before your eyes! Artemis herself should have helped. Her servant should have received help from her and not have died. Where is the power of the deity? Where are the sacrifices? Where the birthday? Where the festivals? Where the garlands? Where the great enchantment and the poison allied to it?'

44. And the people rose up from the ground and made haste to destroy the remainder of the temple, crying, 'We know that the God of John is the only one, and henceforth we worship him, since we have obtained mercy from him.' And as John came down, many of the people touched him, saying, 'Help us, John, help us who die in vain! You see our intention; you see how the multitude following you cleaves to hope in your God. We have seen the way in

<sup>11</sup> Text obscure. Junod and Kaestli, p. 222, conjecture 'arch' from Greek 'toxon' instead of 'doxon' ('glory').

<sup>10</sup> MS C adds 'now, always and for eternity, Amen'. Several episodes are missing at this point.

which we have gone astray when we were lost. We have seen that our gods were erected in vain. We have seen their great and disgraceful derision. But give us, we beseech you, help without hindrance, when we have come to your house! Receive us, who are desperate!

45. John answered them, 'Men, believe that it was for your sakes that I remained at Ephesus, although I was anxious to go to Smyrna and the other cities, so that the people there may become converted to him as servants of Christ. But when I was about to leave and my mind was not yet completely at ease about you, I remained praying to my God and asked him that I should leave Ephesus only after I had strengthened you. Since I see that this is done, and is increasing, I shall not leave until I have weaned you like children from the milk of the nurse, and have set you upon a firm rock.'

46. So John remained with them, and received them in the house of Andronicus. And one of those gathered there placed the body of the priest of Artemis before the gate, for he was a relative, and quickly came in with the others without saying anything to anyone. After John's homily to the brethren, prayer and eucharist, and the laying on of hands on each person assembled, he said, moved by the Spirit, 'There is present someone, brought here through faith in God, who has laid the priest of Artemis before the gate and come in, because in the desire of his soul he placed the care for his soul first, reasoning thus within himself, "It is better to care for the living than for the body of my relative. For I know that by turning to the Lord and saving my own soul John will not refuse to raise the dead."' And John rose from his place and went to the place where the relative of the priest who had had these thoughts was standing, and taking him by the hand he said, 'Were these not your thoughts, as you came to me, child? And he answered tremblingly, 'Yes, lord!', and fell down at his feet. And John said, 'Our Lord is Jesus Christ, who will prove his power on the body of your relative by raising him.'

47. And lifting up the young man, he took him by the hand, and said, 'It is not a great task for a man who is lord over great mysteries to bother himself with small things. Or is it important to drive away bodily diseases? And still holding the young man by the hand he said, 'I say to you, son, go, and raise the dead man yourself without saying anything else but this: "The servant of God, John, says to you, Arise!"' And the young man went to his relative and said in the presence of many people these words only, and then returned to John bringing him in alive. When he saw him who had been raised, he said, 'You have been raised and are indeed not really living, and are not partaker and heir of the true life. Will you belong to him by whose name and power you have been raised? Believe now and you shall live in all eternity.' He immediately believed in the Lord Jesus and followed John.

48. On the following day, having seen in a vision that he was to walk three miles outside the gates, John did not hesitate, but rose early in the morning, and went with the brethren. And a young farmer, having been admonished by

his father not to take to himself the wife of his fellow labourer, as the other threatened to kill him, was offended at his father's warning, and suddenly killed him.<sup>12</sup> When John had perceived what had taken place, he said to the Lord, 'Lord, was it because of this that you told me to come here to-day?'

49. When the young man saw the hasty death, he was afraid of being seized, took the sickle from his girdle, and ran to the house. When John met him, he said, 'Stand still, you villainous demon! Where are you running with that bloodthirsty sickle?' The young man, confused, let the weapon drop to the ground, and said to him, 'I have knowingly committed a monstrous, inhuman deed; therefore, I resolve to do something more violent and more cruel to myself, to die once for all. For whilst my father always exhorted me to lead a chaste and honourable life, I could not tolerate his censure, and struck and killed him. And when I saw what had taken place, I intended to go to the woman on whose account I had become a parricide and try to kill her and her husband and finally myself. For I could not bear her husband seeing me being executed.'

50. And John said to him, 'I will not go away and leave you in danger nor shall I give a chance to him who would laugh and mock you. Come with me and show me where your father is! And if I raise him up for you, how will I keep you away from the woman who has become dangerous to you?' The young man replied, 'By giving me back my father alive, and by seeing and hearing him, I will keep away from her.'

51. And thus speaking, they came to the place where the body of the old man lay. Other travellers stood by. John said to the young man, 'Unhappy one, not even the age of your father was spared by you.' And he wept, tore his hair, and confessed he felt sorry. But the servant of the Lord, John, prayed, 'You who have this day shown me the way here, who knew that this deed was to take place, before whom no deed in human life can be hidden, who granted to me every healing and cure according to your will, grant to me also that the old man may live, since you see how the murderer became his own judge! And spare him, O Lord, although he did not spare his father, from whom he received such good advice!'

52. After these words he went to the old man and said, 'My Lord shall not be powerless to extend to you his good compassion and his mercy free from presumption. Arise, therefore, and give God glory for the present work.' And the old man said, 'I rise, Lord.' And he arose and, having seated himself, he said, 'I was delivered from a life of the most fearful pain. I had to suffer many fearful abuses and unkindness from my son; and now, man of the living God, you have called me back: to what purpose?' John replied: 'If you rise up to the same life, you would be better to remain dead. But rise up to a better! And he took him, brought him to the city, and preached to him of the mercy of God, so that before he came into the gate the old man believed.

<sup>12</sup> Variant: 'killed him and left him speechless'.

53. And when the young man saw the unexpected resurrection of his father and his own salvation, he took the sickle and cut off his genitals. And running into the house where he kept his adulteress, he flung them at her saying, 'On your account I became a parricide and should also become a murderer both of you two and myself. Here is the cause of all. God has had mercy upon me, because I have seen his power.'

54. He returned to John, and in the presence of the brethren told what he had done. But John said to him, 'The one who induced you, young man, to kill your father and to become the lover of another man's wife, has also made you cut off your genitals as if it were a righteous work. But you should not have destroyed your private parts for the temper which proved itself evil through the members. For your organs are not hurtful to man, but the hidden sources, by which every shameful inclination is stirred and becomes manifest. Repent, therefore, my son, this fault, and recognize Satan's cunning, and you shall have God, who helps you in all that your soul needs.' And the young man led a quiet life in repentance for his former sins, that he might obtain forgiveness through God's goodness, and he did not leave John.

55. While performing these deeds at Ephesus, the people in Smyrna sent messengers to him saying, 'We hear that God whom you preach is an unenvious God, and has bidden you not to show partiality and remain in one place. Being the preacher of such a God, come to Smyrna and the other cities, that we may know your God and, knowing him, put our hope in him...'

(A gap follows. A travel narrative seems to have disappeared at this point. Many editors place here, as chs. 56-7, the story of John and the partridge, found in MS Q. Junod and Kaestli print as their chs. 56-7 a story set in Smyrna found in MSS L and S. Both are now translated below.)

#### *A. John and the Partridge*

56. One day John was seated and a partridge flew through the air and was playing in the sand before him. John looked at this with amazement. And a priest, one of the hearers, came to John and saw the partridge playing before him. He was offended and said to himself, 'Such a great man rejoices over a partridge playing in the sand!' But John perceived his thoughts and said to him, 'It would be better if you, too, my son, would look at a partridge playing in the sand, and not contaminate yourself with disgraceful and impure acts. He who expects the repentance and conversion of all has brought you here for this purpose. For I have no need of a partridge playing in the sand. The partridge is your soul.'

57. When the old man heard this and perceived that he was not unknown, but that Christ's apostle had said everything which was in his heart, he fell to the ground and said, 'Now I know that God dwells in you, blessed John. And blessed is he who has not tempted God in you! He who tempts you, tempts

him who cannot be tempted.' And he asked him to pray for him. And he instructed him, gave him commandments, dismissed him and praised God who is over all.

#### *B. John in Smyrna: The Sons of Antipatros*

56. Then leaving Ephesus we came to Smyrna. All the town gathered together when it learned of John's presence. And a man called Antipatros, a prominent resident of Smyrna, came to John and said, 'Servant of God, I have heard tell that you have performed many good and great wonders in Ephesus. Behold, I offer you a hundred thousand gold pieces. I have twin sons who since birth have been possessed of a demon and who have suffered terribly: they are thirty-four years old. In one moment both may fall faint, sometimes in the baths, sometimes while walking, often while eating, and sometimes even at a public gathering in town. You will see for yourself that they are well-built men, but they are overcome by this malady that possesses them every day. I pray you, assist me in my old age. I am quite prepared to take a deadly decision. As children they suffered slightly, but since becoming adults their demons have grown up too. Take pity on me and on them.' John said to him, 'My healer works without payment, and heals freely; in exchange for illness he accepts the souls cured. What are you prepared to give, Antipatros, in exchange for your sons? Give your soul to God and you will find your sons in good health by the power of Christ.' But Antipatros said, 'Until now you have neglected no one, do not neglect my sons. With the agreement of my kinsfolk I was prepared to end the derision and poison them, but you who have come as a faithful doctor invested by God, for their sake, enlighten them and help them.'

57. John, who had been called to help, said to the Lord, 'You who always console the downtrodden and who called me to aid, you who have never waited to be called to console because you are present before we seek your assistance, make the evil spirits be discharged from the sons of Antipatros.' And immediately they left them. John ordered the sons to come to him. When the father saw them in good health, he fell to the ground prostrate before John. John, having instructed them about Father, Son and Holy Ghost, baptized them. John besought Antipatros to give his money to those in need, and he dismissed them and they praised and blessed God.

#### FROM LAODICEA TO EPHESUS THE SECOND TIME<sup>13</sup>

58. Some time passed without any of the brethren being distressed by John. But now they were distressed when he said, 'Brethren, it is time for me to go

<sup>13</sup> Heading as in MSS M and O.

to Ephesus; for such is my agreement with those who live there, so that they may not become slack through being for a long time without their pastor. But you must direct your mind to God, who does not desert us. And when the brethren heard this, they became sad that they should be separated from him. And John said, 'Though I go from you, Christ is always with you. If you love him purely, you shall continually enjoy the blessing of his communion. For where he is loved, he loves those first who love him.'

59. Having spoken thus, and having instructed them, he left a large amount of money to the brethren for distribution, and went to Ephesus, leaving all the brethren sorrowing and weeping. Those who were with him from Ephesus were Andronicus and Drusiana, Lycomedes and Cleobius, and their attendants. They were followed by Aristobula, who had heard that her husband Tertullus had died on the way, Aristippus with Xenophon, and the chaste prostitute, and many others whom he always directed to the Lord and who would never leave him.

60. On the first day we came to a lonely inn, and when we were trying to find a bed for John we experienced a strange event. There was one bedstead without covers over which we spread our cloaks which we had brought and requested him to lie down and to rest, whilst we slept on the floor. He had hardly lain down, when he was molested by bugs. But as they became more and more troublesome, and as it was midnight already, we all heard him say to them, 'I say to you, you bugs, be considerate; leave your home for this night and go to rest in a place which is far away from the servants of God!' And while we laughed and talked, John fell asleep. And we conversed quietly, and thanks to him we remained undisturbed.

61. When it was day, I rose first, and with me Verus and Andronicus. And in the door of the room which we had taken was a mass of bugs. And having called all the brethren, we went outside to have a full view of them. John was still asleep. When he woke up we showed him what we had seen. And sitting up in bed and seeing them, he said, 'Since you have been wise to heed my warning, go back to your place!' When he had spoken and had risen from the bed, the bugs hastened from the door to the bed, ran up the legs into the joints and disappeared. And John said again, 'This creature heard the voice of a man and kept quiet and was obedient. We, however, hear God's voice, and yet irresponsibly transgress his commandments. And how long will this go on?'

62. After this we came to Ephesus. And when the brethren who lived there had learned that John had returned after this long time, they met in the house of Andronicus, where he also was staying, grasped his feet, put his hands to their faces, and kissed them because they had touched his clothes.<sup>14</sup>

63. And while great love and endless joy prevailed among the brethren,

<sup>14</sup> Variant deletes 'because . . . clothes'.

one, a servant of Satan, covered Drusiana, although he saw and knew that she was the wife of Andronicus. Very many people remonstrated with him, 'It is impossible for you to obtain this woman, especially since she has separated even from her husband out of piety. Or do you alone not know that Andronicus, who was not the godly man he now is, had locked her up in a tomb, saying, "Either I'll have you as a wife, as I had you before, or you must die?" And she preferred to die rather than to commit the repugnant act. Now, if out of piety she withheld her consent to sexual intercourse with her husband and master, but persuaded him to become like-minded, should she consent to you, who wish to commit adultery with her? Desist from your passion, which gives you no rest! Desist from your scheme, which you cannot accomplish!'

64. Though his intimate friends remonstrated with him, they could not persuade him. He was even so impudent as to send word to her. When Drusiana heard of his disgraceful passion and shameless demands, she became very despondent, and after two days she was feverish. She said, 'Oh, if I only had not come back to my native city where I have become a stumbling-block to a man who believes not in the worship of God! For if he were filled with God's word, he would not fall into such a passion. Therefore, O Lord, since I have become accessory to a blow which struck an ignorant soul, deliver me from this prison and take me soon to you!' And without being understood by anyone Drusiana departed this life in the presence of John, not rejoicing but sorrowing over the physical trouble of that man.

65. And Andronicus was sad and carried a hidden sorrow in his heart, and wept bitterly, so that John could only silence him by saying to him, 'Drusiana has departed this unjust life for a better hope.' To this answered Andronicus, 'Of this I am certain, John, and I have no doubt in the belief in my God. My hopes are grounded on the fact, that she departed this life pure.'

66. After she was interred, John took Andronicus aside, and having learned of the cause he sorrowed more than Andronicus. And he kept silence, considering the threats of the enemy, and sat still a little. When the brethren were assembled to hear which words he would say concerning the departed, he began to speak:

67. 'When the helmsman who crosses the ocean has landed with the ship and passengers in a quiet haven free from storms, he feels secure. The husbandman who sowed the seed-grains in the ground and cared for them with great pains is only then to enjoy a rest from his labours when he has harvested abundant corn in his barns. Whoever promises to take part in a race should rejoice only when he has obtained the prize. He whose name is entered on the list of prize-fighting should triumph only after he receives the crowns. And thus it is with all races and skills, when they do not fail at the end, but are carried out, as they were intended.'

68. 'So I think it is with the faith which every one of us practices, and which can only be decided as having been the true one when it remains the

same to the end of life. For there are many obstacles which cause unrest to human reasoning: cares, children, parents, glory, poverty, flattery, youth, beauty, boasting, desire for riches, anger, pride, frivolity, envy, passion, carelessness, violence, lust, slaves, money, pretence, and all the other similar obstacles which exist in life; it is the same for the helmsman who takes his course for a quiet journey and is opposed by the adverse winds and a great tempest and a mighty wave when the heaven is serene; it is the same for the husbandman who is stopped by untimely weather and blight and creeping worms appearing from the ground; for the athletes, the near miss, and for the craftsman the obstacles to their skills.

69. 'The believer must above all things consider the end and carefully examine how it will come, whether energetic<sup>15</sup> and sober and without impediment, or in confusion and flattering worldly things and bound by passions. Thus one can praise the beauty of the body only when it is completely naked; and the greatness of the general when he has happily finished the whole campaign as he promised; and the excellence of the physician when he has succeeded in every cure; and so one praises a soul filled with faith and worthy of God if it has happily accomplished that which it promised, not one which made a good beginning, and gradually descended into the errors of life and became weak, nor the numb soul which made an effort to attain higher things and was afterwards reduced to perishable, nor that which loved the temporal more than the eternal, nor that which exchanged the perishable for the lasting, nor that which honoured what was not to be honoured and loved works of dishonour, nor that which accepted pledges from Satan and received the serpent into its house, nor one which was reviled for God's sake and afterwards was ashamed, nor one which consented with the mouth but did not show it by the deed; but we praise one which refused to be inflamed by filthy lust, to succumb to levity, to be ensnared by thirst after money, or to be betrayed by the strength of the body and anger.'

70. While John continued to preach to the brethren that they despise earthly goods for the sake of the eternal ones, the lover of Drusiana, inflamed by the influence of the polymorphous Satan to the most ardent passions, bribed the greedy steward of Andronicus with money. And he opened the tomb of Drusiana and left him to accomplish on the body that which was once denied to him. Since he had not procured her during her lifetime, he continually thought of her body after she was dead, and exclaimed, 'Although when living you refused to unite with me in love, after your death I will dishonour your corpse.' Being in such a frame of mind he obtained the opportunity to execute his impious plan through the accursed steward, and both went to the tomb. Having opened the door, they began to take the graveclothes from the corpse, and said, 'What have you gained, unhappy

Drusiana? Could you not have done this while you were alive? It need not have grieved you if you had done it willingly.'

71. Whilst they spoke and only the shift remained, there appeared something wonderful, which people that do such things deserve to experience.<sup>16</sup> A serpent appeared from somewhere, bit the steward, and killed him. And the serpent did not bite the young man, but encircled his feet, hissing fearfully, and when he fell down, the serpent sat on him.

72. On the following day John and Andronicus and the brethren went at the break of day to the tomb in which Drusiana had been for three days, so that we might break bread there. And when we were about to start, the keys were not to be found. And John said to Andronicus, 'It is right that they are lost, for Drusiana is not in the tomb. Nevertheless, let us go, that you do not appear neglectful, and the doors will open of themselves, since the Lord has already given us many other things.'

73. When we came to the place, the doors opened at the master's<sup>17</sup> behest, and at the tomb of Drusiana we saw a beautiful youth smiling. When John saw him, he exclaimed and said, 'Do you come before us here also, noble one? And why?' And he heard a voice saying to him, 'For the sake of Drusiana, whom you are to raise up. I found her almost defiled on account of the dead man lying near the tomb.' And when the noble one had thus spoken to John he ascended to heaven before the eyes of all. And John turned to the other side of the tomb and saw a young man, the very prominent Ephesian Callimachus—for this is what he was called—and on him a huge snake sleeping, also the steward of Andronicus, named Fortunatus, dead. On seeing both, he stood helpless and said to the brethren, 'What does all this mean? Or why did the Lord not reveal to me what took place here, for he was always concerned for me?'

74. When Andronicus saw these bodies, he jumped up and went to the tomb of Drusiana. And when he saw her in her shift, he said to John, 'I understand what took place, blessed servant of God. This Callimachus loved my sister. And as he could not get her, although he tried it often, he no doubt bribed this accursed steward of mine with a great sum of money with the intention—as one can now see—to accomplish his purpose through him. For this Callimachus said to many, "If she will not yield to me alive, rape shall be committed on her death." This, O master, the noble one saw and did not allow her earthly remains to be violated. That is why those who engineered this are dead. And the voice which came to you "Raise Drusiana!" foretold this. For she departed this life through sorrow. And I believe him who said that this is one of the men who was led astray. For you were asked to raise him. As for the other I know that he does not deserve salvation. But one thing I ask of you. Raise Callimachus first, and he shall confess what took place.'

<sup>15</sup> Text unclear.

<sup>16</sup> Following MS M in Bonnet.

<sup>17</sup> Some MSS read 'John's'.

75. And John looked at the corpse and said to the poisonous snake, 'Depart from him who is to serve Jesus Christ!' Then he rose and prayed, 'God, whose name is rightly praised by us; God, who overcomes each harmful work; God, whose will is done, who always hears us, make your grace now efficacious on this youth! And if through him some dispensation is to take place, make it known to us, when he is raised!' And the young man immediately arose and kept silence for a whole hour.

76. ~~When the man had regained his senses, John asked what his intrusion into the tomb meant. And having learned from him what Andronicus had already told him, how he passionately loved Drusiana, John asked further whether he had accomplished his wicked design to commit rape on the holy earthy remains. And he replied, 'How could I have accomplished this when this fearful beast killed Fortunatus with one bite before my eyes? And this deservedly so, for he encouraged me to such madness, after I had already desisted from the ill-timed and dreadful frenzy—but he frightened me and put me in the state in which you saw me, before I arose. But I will tell you another greater miracle, which nearly slew me and almost killed me. When my soul was seized with mad passion and the incurable disease was troubling me, when I had already robbed her of the grave-clothes with which she was dressed, and went from the grave to put them down as you see, I turned back to perpetrate the abominable deed. And I saw a beautiful youth covering her with this cloak. Rays of light fell from his face upon hers, and he turned to me also and said, "Callimachus, die, that you may live." Who it was, I knew not, servant of God. Since you have come here, I know that it was an angel of God. And this I truly know, that the true God is preached by you; and I am sure of it. But I pray you, see to it that I may be delivered from this fate and dreadful crime, and bring me to your God as a man who had gone astray in scandalous, abominable, deceit. On my knees I ask for your help. I will become one of those who hope in Christ so that the voice may also prove true, which spoke here to me, "Die to live!" And it is already fulfilled. For that unbeliever, godless, lawless man, is dead; I am raised by you as a believer, faithful and godly, that I may know the truth, which I ask of you to reveal to me.'~~

77. And John, rejoicing, contemplated the whole spectacle of the salvation of men and said, 'O Lord Jesus Christ, I do not know what your power is. I am amazed at your great mercy and endless forbearance. Oh, what greatness descended to servitude! O unspeakable freedom, which was enslaved by us! O inconceivable glory, which has come upon us! You have kept the grave from shame, and redeemed that man who contaminated himself with blood, and taught him to be chaste who meant to violate dead bodies. Father, full of mercy and compassion toward him who disregarded you, we praise, glorify, and honour you and thank you for your great goodness and long-suffering,

holy Jesus, for you alone are God and none else; you, against whose power all devices can do nothing now and in all eternity! Amen!'<sup>18</sup>

78. After these words, John took Callimachus, kissed him, and said, 'Glory be to our God, who had mercy upon you, child, and deemed me worthy to praise his power, and delivered you by a wise method from that madness and intoxication and called you to rest and renewal of life.'

79. When Andronicus saw that Callimachus had been raised from the dead, he and the brethren besought John to raise Drusiana also, and said, 'John, let her be raised and happily complete life's short space, which she gave up out of sorrow for Callimachus, because she thought she was a temptation to him! And when it pleases the Lord, he will take her to himself.' And without delay John went to the grave, seized her hand and said, 'You who alone are God, I call upon you, the immense, the unspeakable, the incomprehensible, to whom all worldly power is subject, before whom every authority bows, before whom every pride falls down and is silent, before whose voice the demons are confounded, at whose contemplation the whole creation surrenders in quiet meditation. Your name will be hallowed by us. Raise Drusiana that Callimachus be still further strengthened in you who alone can do what is wholly impossible with man, and have given salvation and resurrection, and let Drusiana come out comforted because, in consequence of the conversion of the youth, she no more has the least impediment to long for you!'<sup>19</sup>

80. Having spoken thus John said, 'Drusiana, arise!' And she arose and came from the tomb. And when she saw that she wore nothing but her shirt, she was perplexed how to explain what had happened. Having learned everything from Andronicus, while John was upon his face and Callimachus with tears praised God, she also rejoiced and praised God.

81. Having dressed herself and looked around, she saw Fortunatus. And she said to John, 'Father, he too shall rise, though he tried so much to become my betrayer.' When Callimachus heard her speaking thus, he said, 'No, I beg you, Drusiana. For the voice which I heard did not mention him, but only concerned you, and when I saw I believed. If he were good, God out of mercy would have certainly raised him through the blessed John. He knew that the man should have a bad death.' And John answered him, 'My son, we have not learnt to recompense evil with evil. For God has not recompensed the evil which we have done to him, but has given us repentance. And although we did not know his name, he did not forget us, but had mercy upon us. And when we reviled him, he forsook us not, but was merciful. And when we were disbelieving, he remembered not the evil. And when we persecuted his

<sup>18</sup> A different version of this prayer is given in CC4 1. 278-81.

<sup>19</sup> Text obscure.

brethren, he did not require us, but made us repent, turn away from sin, and called us to himself, as he called you also, child Callimachus, and, without remembering your former sins, made you his servant through his long-suffering mercy. If you do not wish me to raise Fortunatus, let Drusiana do it.

82. ~~Without wavering, but in the joy of her spirit and soul, she came to the body of Fortunatus and said, 'God of the ages, Jesus Christ, God of truth, you allowed me to see signs and wonders and granted me to partake of your name. You breathed into me your spirit with your polymorphous face, and showed much compassion. With your rich goodness, you protected me when my former husband, Andronicus, did violence to me, and gave me your servant Andronicus as a brother. Until now you have kept me, your maiden, pure. You raised me when I was dead through your servant John. To me, risen and freed from offence, you showed me him who was offended at me. You gave me perfect rest in you, and delivered me from the secret madness. I love you with all my heart. I beseech you, Christ, not to dismiss Drusiana's petition, who asks of you the resurrection of Fortunatus, though he tried so much to become my betrayer.'~~

83. And she took the hand of the dead man and said, 'Rise, Fortunatus, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ!' And Fortunatus rose up. And seeing John in the tomb and Andronicus and Drusiana risen from the dead and Callimachus now a believer, he said, 'O how far the power of these awful people has spread! I wish I were not raised, but remained dead, so as not to see them.' And with these words he ran from the tomb.

84. And when John perceived the unchangeable soul of Fortunatus, he said, 'O nature, unchanged for the better! O source of the soul, remaining in the filth! O essence of corruption, full of darkness! O death, dancing among those belonging to you! O fruitless tree, full of fire!<sup>20</sup> O wood, producing coal as fruit! O forest, with trees full of unhealthy shoots,<sup>21</sup> neighbour of unbelief! You showed us who you are, and you will always be convicted with your children. And the power of praising higher things is unknown to you, for you do not have it. Therefore as your issue is, so is your root and nature. Vanish away from those who hope in the Lord—from their thoughts, from their mind, from their souls, from their bodies, from their action, from their life, from their conversation, from their activity, from their deeds, from their counsel, from their resurrection to God, from their fragrance which you will share, from their fastings, from their prayers, from their holy baptism, from their eucharist, from the nourishment of their flesh, from their drink, from their dress, from their agape, from their acts of mourning, from their continence, and from their righteousness. From all these, most unholly and

abominable Satan, shall Jesus Christ, our God and judge of those who are like you and your nature, remove you.'

85. After these words John prayed, fetched a loaf of bread to the tomb to break it, and said, 'We praise your name, who have converted us from error and unmerciful lusts. We praise you who have brought before our eyes that which we saw. We bear witness to your goodness manifested to us in various ways. We hallow your gracious name, Lord, and thank you who have convicted those who are convicted by you. We thank you, Lord Jesus Christ, that we believe in your unchangeable mercy.'<sup>22</sup> We thank you that you are in need of a saved human nature. We thank you that you gave this sure faith, that you alone are God, now and for ever. We, your servants, thank you, O holy One, we who are assembled with good reason and risen from the dead.'

86. Having thus prayed and praised God, he made all the brethren partake of the eucharist of the Lord and then left the tomb. And when he had come into the house of Andronicus, he said to the brethren, 'Dear brethren, a spirit within me has prophesied that, in consequence of the bite of the serpent, Fortunatus would die of blood-poisoning.'<sup>23</sup> Let someone make haste and inquire whether it is so! And one of the young men ran and found him dead already, the poison<sup>23</sup> having spread and reached his heart. And he returned to John, reporting that he had been dead three hours already. And John said, 'You have your child, devil!'

Thus John rejoiced with the brethren in the Lord.<sup>24</sup>  
106.<sup>25</sup> On the following day, which was the Lord's day, he began to say to them in the presence of the brethren, 'Brethren, fellow-servants, coheirs, and copartners in the kingdom of the Lord, you know the Lord, how many powers he has given you through me, how many miracles, what cures, signs, gifts, teachings, rulings, times for relaxation, services, knowledge, glories, graces, gifts, acts of faith, communion, which you have seen with your eyes, were given you by him, though they cannot be seen with these eyes and cannot be heard with these ears. Be strong, therefore, in him, remembering him in all your doings, knowing the mystery of the dispensation that has come to men, and why the Lord has so acted. He, then, through me, exhorts you, since he wishes you to remain without grief, without insult, without treachery, without punishment. For he also knows insult comes from you, he knows also dishonour, treachery, and punishment, if you disobey his commandments.

107. 'So let not our good God be grieved, the compassionate, the merciful, the holy, the undefiled, the immaterial, the only, the one, the immutable, the sincere, the guileless, the patient, he who is higher and more exalted than every name that we speak or think of, our God Jesus Christ! Let him rejoice

<sup>20</sup> Variant adds 'O trunk, having a demon for reason?'

<sup>21</sup> Or 'O matter that dwells with the madness of matter?'

<sup>22</sup> Conjecture (Bonnet).

<sup>23</sup> Literally 'blackness?'

<sup>24</sup> CCA i. 292-3 links this sentence with the beginning of ch. 106.

<sup>25</sup> Chs. 87-105 follow ch. 36.

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along with us, because we behave well; let him be glad because we live in purity. Let him be refreshed because our behaviour is sober. Let him be unconcerned because we are temperate, let him be pleased because we live in fellowship, let him smile because we are chaste, and let him be delighted because we love him! These things, brethren, I communicate to you, pressing on to the work prepared for me, already perfected for me by the Lord. For ~~what else have I to say to you? At our necessities of our God. You have the pledges of his goodness, you have his sure presence. And if you, then, sin no more, he will forgive you what you have done in ignorance. But if, after you have known him and he has had compassion upon you, you return to such deeds, even your former offences will be laid to your charge, and you shall have no part or mercy in his presence.~~

108. And when he had said this to them, he prayed, 'Jesus, who have woven this crown by your twining, who have inserted these many flowers into the everlasting flower of your countenance, who have sown these words into my soul, who are the only protector and physician of your servants, who heal freely; you who are benign and not haughty, alone merciful and kind, alone a Saviour and righteous; you who always see what concerns all, and are in all, and everywhere present, comprising all and replenishing all, Christ Jesus, God, Lord, who with your gifts and your compassion protect those who hope in you; who know intimately all the cunning and threats by which our adversary contrives against us everywhere. O Lord, only help your servants with your watchful care. So be it, Lord.'

109. And having asked for bread, he gave thanks, saying, 'What praise or what sort of offering or what thanksgiving shall we invoke as we break the bread, but you only, Lord Jesus? We glorify the name spoken by the Father. We glorify the name spoken through the Son. We glorify you as the entrance door; we glorify your resurrection manifested to us through you. We glorify your way; we glorify your seed, your word, your grace, your faith, your salt, your unspeakable pearl, your treasure, your plough, net, greatness, diadem, him called Son of man for our sakes, who has given us truth, rest, knowledge, power, commandment, trust, hope, love, freedom, and place of refuge in you. For you alone, O Lord, are the root of immortality and the fountain of incorruption, and seat of the ages; you have been called all these names for our sakes, so that now we, calling upon you through them, may recognize your greatness, which we cannot see at the present, but which is only visible to the pure, solely in the image of the man portrayed in you!'

110. And having broken the bread, he gave it to us, praying for each of the brethren, that he might be worthy of the grace of the Lord and his most holy eucharist. He also partook of it and said, 'To me also let there be a portion with you, and peace be with you, my beloved.'

111. And he said to Verus, 'Take two brethren with you with baskets and shovels and follow me!' And Verus did immediately what John, the servant of

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God, had bidden him.<sup>26</sup> And the blessed John went from the house and walked outside the gates, having told the multitude to leave him. And having come to the tomb of one of our brethren, he told the young men, 'Dig, my sons!' And they dug, and he said to them, 'Let the trench be deeper.' And as they dug, he preached to them the word of God, and exhorted those who had come out of the house with him, building them up and preparing them for the majesty of God, and praying for each one of us. And when the young men had finished the trench as he had wished, while we were kept in ignorance, he took off the clothes he had on, and laid them, as if they were bedding, at the bottom of the trench; and standing in only his vest, stretched forth his hands, and prayed:

112. 'O God, who have chosen us for the apostleship among the Gentiles, who have sent us into this world; who have declared yourself through the Law and the prophets; who have never rested, but from the foundation of the world always save those who can be saved; who have made yourself known through all nature, even among the animals; who have made the lonely and wild soul quiet and peaceable; who have given yourself to it when thirsting after your words; who quickly showed yourself to it when about to die, and appeared as a law when you sank into lawlessness; who manifested yourself to it when overcome by Satan; who have overcome its adversary when it took refuge in you; who have given it your hand and raised it from the works of Hades; who did not allow it to walk in the body; who have shown it its own enemy; who have given it a pure knowledge of you, God Jesus, Father of the supernatural, ruler of those in heaven, law of things ethereal, the course of things in the air, guardian of those on earth and terror of those under the earth, and grace of your own people; receive also the soul of your John, which is certainly deemed worthy of you!'

113. 'You who have preserved me also till the present hour pure to yourself, and free from intercourse with a woman; who, when I inclined in my youth to marry, appeared to me and said, "I am in need of you, John"; who prepared for me beforehand my bodily weakness; who, on the third occasion when I wished to marry, prevented me immediately, and said to me at the third hour on the sea, "John, if you were not mine, I would let you marry"; who for two years blinded me, letting me mourn and be dependent on you; who in the third year opened up the spiritual eyes, and gave me back my visible eyes; who, when I regained my sight, disclosed to me the repugnance of gazing upon a woman; who delivered me from temporary show, and guided me to eternal life; who separated me from the foul madness of the flesh; who snatched me from bitter death, and presented me only to you; who silenced the secret disease of the soul, and cut off its open deed; who afflicted and banished him who rebelled in me; who established a spotless friendship to

<sup>26</sup> CC1 1. 304 - 3 adds these two sentences to the end of ch. 110.

you; who prepared a safe way to you; who gave me undoubting faith in you; who have traced out for me pure thoughts toward you; who have given the due reward to every deed; who have set it in my soul to have no other possession than you alone—for what can be more precious than you? Now, since I have accomplished your stewardship, with which I was entrusted, make me worthy, O Lord, ~~of your response and give me my end in you, which is the unspicable~~ and ineffable salvation.

114. 'And as I go to you, let the fire withdraw; let darkness be overcome; let chaos be powerless; let the furnace grow weak; let hell be extinguished, let the angels get behind me; let the demons be afraid; let the princes be shattered; let the power fall. Let the devil be brought to silence; let Satan be laughed to scorn; let his madness be tamed; let his wrath be broken; let his vengeance be disgraced; let his attack suffer sorrow. Let his children be trodden under foot, and let all his root be destroyed. And grant me to accomplish my journey to you, without suffering insults and abuses; and let me receive what you have promised to those who live in purity and love you only!'

115. And having sealed himself in every part, he stood and said, 'Be with me, Lord Jesus Christ'; he lay down in the grave in which he had spread out his garments. He then said to us, 'Peace be with you, brethren!', and peacefully yielded up the ghost.

ALLIED TEXTS

(a) *Virtutes Iohannis V-VIII*<sup>27</sup>

V. Now on the next day Craton, a philosopher, proclaimed in the marketplace that he would give an example of the contempt of riches; and the spectacle was in this manner. He persuaded two young men, the richest of the city, who were brothers, to spend their whole inheritance and each of them buy a jewel, and these they broke in pieces publicly in the sight of the people. And while they were doing this, it happened by chance that the apostle passed by. And calling Craton, the philosopher, to him, he said, 'That is a foolish despising of the world which is raised by the mouths of men, but long ago condemned by the judgement of God. For as that is a vain medicine whereby the disease is not extirpated, so is it a vain teaching by which the faults of souls and of conduct are not cured. But indeed my master taught a youth who desired to attain to eternal life, in these words, saying that if he would be perfect, he should sell all his goods and give to the poor, and so doing he would gain treasure in heaven and find the life that has no ending.'<sup>28</sup> And

<sup>27</sup> Following Junod and Kaestli's numbering of the *Virtutes*. The chapters are usually given as 14-18, 20-1.

<sup>28</sup> Mark 10: 17-22 and parallels.