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The *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip by Michael the Monk (*BHG* 1530a)

*Edition and English Translation**

ABSTRACT: This article contains an edition and English translation of the *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip by Michael the Monk, a prolific hagiographer who flourished in the late ninth and early tenth century. It is of particular historical interest because it seems to have been delivered at the saint's cult centre in Hierapolis. The first part of the text is an elaboration of Biblical passages in which Philip is mentioned, and the second part is a reworking of the late antique *Passio* of Philip according to rhetorical convention. Instances of direct speech, however, are reproduced without change, which suggests that Michael considered them to be exact representations of what Philip had once said.

KEYWORDS: Encomion of the Apostle Philip, Michael the Monk, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1669, Critical Edition

The *Encomium* of the Apostle Philip (*BHG* 1530a) by Michael the Monk is preserved in a single manuscript, the Codex Vat. gr. 1669, which dates to the early tenth century and is of Stoudite provenance¹. The same manuscript also contains *Vita B* of Theodore of Stoudios (*BHG* 1754) and the *Encomium* of Michael and Gabriel (*BHG* 1294a), which are equally attributed to Michael the Monk². There can be no doubt that we are dealing in all three cases with the same author, a monk of Stoudios who lived in the late ninth and early tenth century and made a name for himself as a hagiographer³.

The *Encomium* appears to have been delivered in the saint's cult centre of Hierapolis since he is referred to as "lord of our diocese" and "saviour of our city"⁴. It is possible that Michael made a trip there because he claims that he delivered the speech personally at the request of the local metropolitan⁵. The occasion was Philip's feast day, the fourteenth of November, which was followed by a Lenten period that ended on Christmas Day, as Michael duly notes in the concluding paragraph⁶.

The *encomium* consists of two parts, remarks about Philip's time in the company of Christ, and an account of Philip's martyrdom in Hierapolis. In the former case Michael has little material to work with as Philip is mentioned in the Gospels only sporadically. The first relevant passage is John 1:44–45, which informs us that he was from Bethsaida and that he told his friend Nathanael that Christ's coming was prophesied by Moses and the prophets. Michael regards this as proof that Philip, despite being a simple fisherman, had a good knowledge of Scripture. Then he adds a comment about

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¹ Vat. gr. 1669 (*Diktyon* 68300), fol. 389v–400v. It was copied in the year 916 by the Stoudite monk John. See T. MATANTSEVA, *Le Vaticanus graecus 1669, ménologe prémétaphrastique de novembre. Scriptorium* 50 (1996) 106–113; and P. CANART, *Cinq manuscrits transférés directement du monastère de Stoudios à celui de Grottaferrata?*, in: *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi (Scienze filologiche e letteratura* 22). Milan 1982, 19–28.

² Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 199r–257r; Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 157r–171v.

³ See T. MATANTSEVA, *Éloge des archanges Michel et Gabriel par Michel le Moine (BHG 1294a). JÖB* 46 (1996) 97–155, esp. 97 n. 2, 116, 126.

⁴ Ch. 1, l. 1 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 389v, 390r).

⁵ Ch. 1, l. 16 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 390r).

⁶ Ch. 9, ll. 12–24 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 400v).

the poor of his time, complaining that they are uneducated and show no interest in the Bible, which causes them to fall into heresy⁷. The second relevant passage is John 14:8–14 where Philip asks to see the Father and Christ replies that whoever has seen him has seen the Father. This is Michael's *pièce de résistance*. He elaborates the terse narrative by adding clarifications. For example, when he quotes Christ's words that Philip has been with him for such a long time and still does not know him, he takes this as an opportunity to present a list of miracles performed by Christ⁸. This list has a parallel in a contemporary text, a treatise by Metrophanes of Smyrna, which also contains an exegesis of John 14:8–14⁹. It is, however, impossible to prove that Michael was aware of this work since there are no textual overlaps. Michael also sees it as his duty to exclude possible heretical readings of the Biblical text. He emphasizes that in this case "seeing" does not refer to the eyes of the body but to the eyes of the mind, which conclude from Christ's deeds that the Father is in him¹⁰. In addition, he claims that Christ made Philip ask his question because he wished to have a Biblical text that would exclude false interpretations¹¹. This allows him to speak of both Trinitarian and Christological heresies. Much of what he has to say is banal but there is one lengthy exposé of the Chalcedonian position that has more substance. This exposé, however, turns out to be a literal quotation from Maximus' *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*¹².

The second part of the text offers an account of Philip's martyrdom. It is based on the late antique *passio* of the saint, which had originally been the concluding part of the apocryphal *Acta Philippi* (BHG 1515–1526)¹³. One recension of this text is found in the Vaticanus graecus 1669 where it precedes Michael's *encomium*¹⁴. Comparison shows that it is the version, which served as Michael's *Vorlage*¹⁵.

⁷ Ch. 5, ll. 16–21 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 394v–395r).

⁸ Ch. 3, ll. 10–15 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 391v).

⁹ Metrophanes of Smyrna, Logos 6, 20–24 (ed. K. HANSMANN, Ein neuentdeckter Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium. Untersuchungen und Text [*Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* 16, 4–5]. Paderborn 1930, 209, 21–210, 34). On Metrophanes' authorship see P. VAN DEUN, La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs œuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (IX^e–X^e siècle). *Byz* 78 (2008) 346–367.

¹⁰ Ch. 3, ll. 39–41 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 392v).

¹¹ Ch. 4, ll. 9–15 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 393r).

¹² Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 393v. The reference to Maximus' text is given in the *apparatus*.

¹³ For the original version see *Acta Philippi*. Textus, ed. F. BOVON – B. BOUVIER – F. AMSLER (*Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 11). Turnhout 1999; and F. AMSLER, *Acta Philippi*. Commentarius (*Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* 12). Turnhout 1999. It will not be considered here since there is no sign that Michael was aware of it.

¹⁴ Vat. gr. 1669, 379v–389r.

¹⁵ I have called the two versions *Passio* I and *Passio* II because in the edition the two versions appear in this sequence on each page. Lipsius and Bonnet categorized them according to manuscript classes, Γ and Θ. See R. A. LIPSIVS – M. BONNET, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, II 2. Leipzig 1903, viii–ix.

Michael's <i>Encomium</i>	<i>Passio</i> II	<i>Passio</i> I
Ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὑπαρξίς τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου, διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν ὄφως τοῦ εἰλισσομένου καὶ ὀλολόξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος, ᾧ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ ¹⁶ .	Ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὑπαρξίς τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου, διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν τοῦ ὄφως τοῦ εἰλισσομένου καὶ ὀλολόξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος, ᾧ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ ¹⁷ .	Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπαρξίς τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου οὗ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν, καταπατήσατε τὰς παγίδας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, τὸν εἰλισσόμενον ὄφιν, στρεβλὴ γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πονηροῦ υἱὸς ἐστὶν ¹⁸ .

Indeed, it is very likely that the text found in the Vat. gr. 1669 was Michael's direct model. It contains the phrase *πλέον ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρός*¹⁹, which is also found in the *encomium*²⁰, whereas other manuscripts read *πνέων ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρός* at this point²¹.

The *passio* offers a colourful account of the events, which is rich in detail. This meant that Michael had to be selective²². At first he adheres to his *Vorlage* quite faithfully. We are told how Philip and his companions Mariamne and Bartholomew come to the city of Hierapolis where they stay in the house of Stachys, how Philip delivers a sermon in which he attacks the worship of snakes, and how the noblewoman Nikanora accepts his teachings and is healed. Then, however, he abruptly interrupts the narrative with an auctorial comment: *ἀλλὰ καιρὸς λοιπὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ τοῦ ἄσυνέτου λαοῦ τὴν χαλεπὴν κατὰ φρένα πῆρωσιν*²³. This comment is followed by a few sentences, which summarize the exchanges between the saints, Nikanora, and Nikanora's husband 'Tyrannognophos', the attacks of pagan priests, and the intervention of the governor²⁴. Having let Philip give a speech, which is taken from an earlier part of the text, Michael then proceeds to offer an account of the saint's martyrdom, which is considerably more detailed²⁵. The apostles are dragged through the city and hanged at the temple of the snake. The Evangelist John comes to visit them. Philip prays to Christ, an earthquake happens, and his enemies are swallowed up by the earth. Christ appears and brings them back to the surface by means of his cross. He criticizes Philip for being vindictive. Philip dies hanging upside down and is buried by Bartholomew. His head emits a sweet-smelling substance²⁶. At this point a comparison with the *Encomium* of Philip (BHG 1530) by Michael's contemporary Nicetas the Paphlagonian is instructive. It is much shorter and much more formulaic. No mention is made of

¹⁶ Ch. 7, ll. 3–6 (Vat. gr. 1669, 396v–397r).

¹⁷ Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 380r, corresponds to *Passio* II 109–110 (42, 15–23 LIPSIIUS – BONNET).

¹⁸ *Passio* I 109–110 (42, 4–10 LIPSIIUS – BONNET).

¹⁹ Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 383r.

²⁰ Ch. 7, l. 23 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398r).

²¹ *Passio* II 131 (6, 12 LIPSIIUS – BONNET). According to Lipsius and Bonnet the reading is otherwise only found in the Codex Romanus Vallicellianus B 35 (*Diktyon* 56261), dating to the eleventh century.

²² The corresponding passages will be indicated in the *apparatus*.

²³ Ch. 6, ll. 23–24 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 396v).

²⁴ *Passio* II 115–124 (45–53 LIPSIIUS – BONNET).

²⁵ *Passio* II 119–110 (42, 15–21 LIPSIIUS – BONNET).

²⁶ Michael adds one detail to the account of the *Passio*. He claims that the head of the apostle is still emitting sweet-smelling ointment in his own day. See ch. 8, ll. 36–38 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 400r).

Stachys, Nikanora and John and only three topics are retained: Philip's sermon, his maltreatment and the story about the earthquake²⁷.

Comparison with the *Vorlage* reveals an interesting discrepancy. Whereas the narrative parts are rephrased and elaborated through use of asyndeta, interjections and assonances²⁸, direct speech is quoted without change, despite the fact that the Greek is quite uncouth²⁹. This suggests that Michael considered the sermons to represent the apostle's own words, which gave them the authority of Scripture.

Like other authors of the time, Michael likes to show off his learning. He once quotes from the *Iliad* and in several instances uses poetic words³⁰. Moreover, he compares Philip with a doctor in such a way that it implies knowledge of ancient medicine³¹. The most striking feature, however, is undoubtedly the toning down of the miraculous, which played an important role in the *Passio*. The speaking animals that accompany the saints are only referred to in a roundabout way³², and the appearance of Christ in the guise of the apostle forty days after his death is not mentioned at all³³. This selective approach is most obvious in the following passage.

Michael's <i>Encomium</i>	<i>Passio II</i>
<p>Καὶ τοῦ μὲν τρισμάκαρος Φιλίππου τὰ σφυράδια τρήσαντες, προπάροιθεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς φυτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκρέμασαν. Τὸν δὲ γε ἀοίδιμον Βαρθολομαῖον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαιωρήσαντες σταυροειδῶς ἐξετάνυσαν. Ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας Μαριάμνης, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις αὐτὴν τοῦ παναγίου σκεπάσασα πνεύματος τῶν ἀθέων τὴν τόλμαν ἀπήμβλυνεν³⁴.</p>	<p>Καὶ τρήσαντες τὰ σφυρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἀνήνεγκαν κόρακας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα εἰσήνεγκαν διὰ τῶν πτερνῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκρέμασαν αὐτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς φυτοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Καὶ πασσάλους πήξαντες εἰς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸν Βαρθολομαῖον δῆσαντες ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν ἐξέτειναν γυμνὸν εἰς τὸν τοῖχον. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγύμνωσαν τὴν Μαριάμνην, ἠλλάγη ἡ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο κιβωτὸς ὑέλινη φωτὸς γέμουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἐγγίσει πρὸς αὐτήν³⁵.</p>

The description of the sufferings of Philip and Bartholomew follows the original quite closely. By contrast, the corresponding statement about Mariamne is completely reworked. No mention is made of her metamorphosis into a shining glass vessel. This reticence was a trait that Michael shared with

²⁷ Nicetas the Paphlagonian, *Encomium of Philip*. *PG* 105, 164–184, esp. 175C–181C.

²⁸ For asyndeta see e.g. Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398v: ἤνοιξεν ὁ ὄδις ... ἠνοιχθη ἡ γῆ. For interjections see e.g. ch. 7, l. 7 (fol. 397r): ὦ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας, ὦ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου συμπαθείας. For assonances see e.g. ch. 6, l. 26 (fol. 396v): ἠναγκάσθη ἀκέστωρ, and fol. 398r: ἀκεστής Φίλιππος ἤκιστα.

²⁹ Such passages are underlined in the text.

³⁰ For the quotation see the *apparatus*. See also ch. 6, l. 2 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 395v): χρυσάμπυξ, found e.g. in *Iliad* E 358; εὐξοος, uncontracted form found e.g. in *Iliad* K 373; ch. 5, l. 14 (fol. 394v): δαήμων, found e.g. in *Iliad* O 411. It is, of course, possible that Michael took these words from a lexicon.

³¹ Ch. 7, ll. 28–29 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 398r): κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἐμπείρων δοκιμωτάτους ἰατρούς. This may be a reference to the empiric school of medicine. See J. HOWICK, Aulus Cornelius Celsus and 'empirical' and 'dogmatic' medicine. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 109 (2016) 426–430. The metaphor of the good physician is called ἀλληγορία by the author. See ch. 5, l. 44 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 395v).

³² Ch. 6, l. 28 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 396v): ἐθεώρουν ... φύσιν ἄλογον λογικὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποτελοῦσαν, cf. *Passio II* 124 (52, 18–20 LIPSIVS – BONNET): βλέπε καὶ ἴδε τὸν λεόπαρδον καὶ τὸν ἔριφον ἀνθρωπίνως λαλοῦντας.

³³ Cf. *Passio II* 148 (89, 15–18 LIPSIVS – BONNET).

³⁴ Ch. 7, ll. 15–19 (Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 397v).

³⁵ *Passio II* 125–126 (54, 18; 55, 12–17 LIPSIVS – BONNET), same text in Vat. gr. 1669, fol. 382r.

his contemporary Nicetas the Paphlagonian³⁶. It seems that around the year 900 the Constantinopolitan elite had no stomach for outlandish tales.

SUMMARY

1. We have come together in order to celebrate the commemoration of the Apostle Philip, the patron saint of our diocese, who is not to be confused with Philip the Evangelist, one of the Seven.

2. What gives Philip praise is not his earthly fatherland Bethsaida but heaven as his true home.

3. When Philip asked Christ to show him the Father he did so in order that Christ have an opportunity to set out Trinitarian theology in the Gospels.

4. Christ also explained that he is consubstantial with the Father and consubstantial with us, thus showing clearly that the theological positions of Manichaeans, Nestorians, Monophysites and Iconoclasts are wrong.

5. Philip was a simple fisherman but nevertheless well-versed in Scripture, in contrast to the poor of our day.

6. Together with Bartholomew and Mariamne, Philip came to the city of Ophiorhyme where snakes were worshipped. He and Mariamne performed healing miracles, which raised the ire of the pagans.

7. After Philip had held a speech he and Bartholomew were dragged through the city and hanged upside down at the temple of the snake. The Apostle John rebuked the populace. The earth opened and devoured the pagans.

8. Christ appeared and returned the pagans to the surface by means of the cross. Philip died and was buried. His skull gushes forth sweet-smelling ointment.

9. Let us lead a virtuous life and begin the Lent of Christmas with abstention and distribution of alms among the poor.

³⁶ See V. DÉROCHE, *L'âge d'or de l'hagiographie: nouvelles formes et nouvelles tendances*, in: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Belgrade, 22–27 August 2016: plenary papers*, ed. S. Marjanović-Dušanić. Belgrade 2016, 35–39.

TEXT

Codex Vaticanus graecus 1669 (*Diktyon* 68300), fol. 389v–400v³⁷

389v Μιχαήλ μοναχοῦ ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν πανένδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον Φίλιππον.

1 **1.** Πᾶσα μὲν μαρτύρων Χριστοῦ τελετὴ καὶ πανήγυρις, φαιδρὰ καὶ περιχαρῆς καὶ σωτήριος
καὶ τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας τοῖς εὐσεβείας ἐρασταῖς καθέστηκεν πρόξενος· ἡ δὲ γε τῶν αὐτοῦ
θείων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, πολλῶ πλέον ὑπερανέστηκεν· λαμπροτέρας ἀφιεῖσα τὰς
τῆς χάριτος λαμπηδόνας· καὶ τῶν ξένων τεραστίων τοὺς ἀεννάους κρουνοὺς, καθ' ὅσον
5 δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα ὑπέρτερον κέκτηται· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῇ πηγῇ τῆς ζωῆς πλησιάσαντες·
καὶ τῷ ἀνάρχῳ φωτὶ ἀμέσως ὁμιλήσαντες καὶ αὐτόπται τοῦ σαρκωθέντος λόγου καὶ θεοῦ
πεφηνότες· καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σαγηνευταὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς κατασταθέντες· καὶ τῶν ἀχράντων
αὐτοῦ παθημάτων τὸ θεουργὸν ἐκπιόντες ποτήριον, εἰκότως καὶ τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς πρὸς
αὐτοῦ ἀπηνέγκαντο· ὧν εἷς ὑπάρχει καὶ ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπαρχίας δεσπότης· ὁ ἐνδοξος ὄντως
10 καὶ πανευκλεῆς Φίλιππος· ὁ καὶ τὴν πολυάνδρον ταύτην καὶ παμπληθῆ κατὰ τὴν τήμερον
συναγηγερκῶς πανήγυριν· καὶ μὴ τις τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἐπιπολαίως τὴν τῆς προσηγορίας
ὁμωνυμίαν ἐκδέξοιτο· ὡς ἂν μὴ τοῦ εὐφημουμένου πόρρω τῇ διανοίᾳ γένηται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ
ἕτερος Φίλιππος τῷ τῆς ἀποστολῆς κατακεκοσμημένος χάρισματι· εἷς τῆς μακαρίας ἐκείνης
390r τῶν μαθητῶν ἐβδομάδος· τῆς εἰς | διακονίαν καὶ παράκλησιν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων τῶν ἄρτι
15 προσρυσθέντων τῷ κηρύγματι παρὰ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
προχειρισθείσης· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως μετὰ θεὸν σωτὴρ τῆς θείας δυοκαιδεκάδος
τῶν πρωτουργῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν πεντάριθμος πέφυκεν· μετὰ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον
καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, τὴν ἔδραν τῆς τάξεως ἡμιοιρηκῶς· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν διαστολὴν τῶν
ἐκατέρων πεποιήμεθα καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῆς ἀξίας ἐγνωμεν· φέρε εἰ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸν νῦν εἰς
20 ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν εὐφημιῶν προκείμενον, τῷ λόγῳ συνδράμωμεν· ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ ποιμένος ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν θαρρήσαντες προσευχαῖς· παρ' οὗ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ λόγου κεκινήμεθα· πατρικῶς
τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἀπαιτοῦντος· καὶ ὡς οἶόν τε· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἡμεῖς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπόστολον
ἐπαίνων κάλυξι στεφανώσαντες τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσίας τὰς σωτηρίου ἀμοιβὰς ἀπλάστοις
καρδίαις ὑποδεξώμεθα· νέμει γὰρ τοῖς πιστῶς αὐτῷ προσιοῦσιν τὰς τῶν ἰάσεων ἀντιδόσεις·
25 παρὰ τῆς ἀεννάου πηγῆς τὴν ἀκεσφόρον χάριν τούτων πεπλουτηκῶς·

2. Τί οὖν, ἐγκωμίων νόμοις ἐψόμεθα τοῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν· πατρίδα τούτου τὴν κάτω
καταλέγοντες· ἀγωγὴν τε καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ πράξεις τὰς χαμαὶ ἐρχομένας ἢ τοιούτους
ἀφέμενοι λόγους ὡς οὐδὲν προσήκοντας τῷ πνευματικῶς εὐφημουμένῳ τῆς ἀληθινῆς αὐτοῦ
390v μᾶλλον πατρίδος τὴν μητρόπολιν θεωρήσωμεν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἴσως καταθρῆσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
5 καὶ ἡμῖν ῥᾶον ἐκγενήσεται· καὶ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ δὲ ποιμνίῳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀπαντήσοι· ἐπειδὴ γε
πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπει πᾶσα πνευματικὴ συνάθροισις· λέγω δὴ τὸ ἐμπορεύεσθαι τι τῶν ἐστώτων
καὶ κρατουμένων καὶ αἰδίως ἡμῖν παραμένειν δεδυνημένων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ὀνειρίου δίκην
ἢ πομφόλυγος τὴν αἴσθησιν τῆς ψυχῆς παρατρεχόντων καὶ μηδὲν ὀνησίφορον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
κεκτημένων· τοιοῦτον δὴ οὖν ἐστὶν δόξα πρόσκαιρος· τρυφή τε καὶ ἄνεσις σώματος· ἢ τε τοῦ
10 ἀδήλου πλούτου ἄπιστος περιουσία· καὶ αἱ ἐκ τούτων ἢ διὰ τούτων συνιστάμεναι φθοροποιοὶ
τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναί· πατρὶς τοιγαροῦν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου, ἡ ἄνω Ἰσραὴλ ὡς αὐτὸς
διδάσκων ἐκήρυξεν, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πρωτοτόκων³⁸ ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεός³⁹· καθ'

³⁷ Since the text is extant in a single manuscript, the original punctuation has been preserved. Itacisms have been tacitly corrected. Otherwise the text is virtually free of scribal errors, which can be explained by the fact that the manuscript was copied when Michael was still alive and possibly even still a monk of Stoudios.

³⁸ Cf. Hebrews 12:23a.

³⁹ Hebrews 11:10b.

TRANSLATION

Michael the Monk's praise of the most glorious apostle of Christ, Philip.

1. Every celebration and festival of the martyrs of Christ is bright and joyful and salvific and procures divine kindness for the lovers of piety. But those of his divine and all-praiseworthy apostles are raised much higher, and the lights of grace that they emit are much more splendid, and they possess ever-flowing wells of strange portents, inasmuch as their rank is more elevated. For these first approached the source of life and communed directly with the light that has no beginning, and appeared as eye-witnesses of the incarnated Word and God, and were appointed by him to be fishers of the whole world, and emptied the divinising cup of his undefiled sufferings, and thus also rightly received from him the seniority of honour. One of these was also the lord of our diocese, the truly glorious and famous Philip, who has also gathered this populous and very well-attended feast today. And none of the listeners should understand in a superficial manner the homonymy of the appellation, lest he be far removed in thought from the one who is being praised. For there is also another Philip, adorned with the grace of apostleship, one of the blessed heptad of the disciples, who had been appointed by the chief of the apostles Peter and those who were with him for the ministry and comfort of the five thousand who were already rushing towards the proclamation. But the saviour of our city after God is the fifth as regards number of the divine duodecad of the primary disciples of the Lord, since he was allotted the seat in the order after Peter and James and John and Andrew. Since, then, we have made the distinction between the two, and understood the difference of rank, if it seems right to you, let us run together with a speech to the one who is now the subject of our praises, trusting in the prayers of the sacred shepherd on behalf of us, by whom we were also moved to the undertaking of the speech, who demanded obedience like a father, and let us crown as far as it is possible – for we are not equal to the task – the apostle of Christ with the flowers of praises and receive with sincere hearts the salvific recompense of his benefactions. For he distributes among those who approach in faith the reward of healings, as he has richly received the grace that brings healing from the everflowing source.

2. What then? Shall we follow the laws of panegyrics, which were laid down by those outside the faith, listing his fatherland here below and his behaviour and pursuits and deeds, which move on the ground, or shall we leave such speeches, as not appropriate for the one who is spiritually praised, and consider the mother-city of his true fatherland? For thus it would perhaps be easier for us to perceive that which concerns him, and benefit will accrue to the Christ-loving flock, since all spiritual gatherings are geared towards that, I mean, the acquisition of something of that which stands firm and is held fast and can forever stay with us, but not of that which passes by the perception of the soul like a dream or a bubble and has nothing profitable in itself. Such, then, is the transient glory, luxury and relaxation of the body, and the untrustworthy abundance of the uncertain riches, and the corrupting pleasures of the flesh, which arise from them. The fatherland, then, of the apostle Philip was Israel on high, as he himself proclaimed with his teachings, the mother of the first-born whose architect and maker is God, because he focused on it with the intelligible eye of the soul and readily despised

ὅτι πρὸς ἐκείνην τῷ νοερῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποσκοπῶν ὄμματι, τῆς κάτω καὶ σαρκικῆς εὐπετῶς
κατεφρόνησεν· ἐκ πρώτης κλήσεως τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ θεῷ ἀκολουθήσας· καὶ τὰ γαιώδη πάντα
15 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποσεισάμενος· πίστει τὸν λόγον ἐδέξατο, καὶ παραυτὰ τῆς μαθητείας τὸ ἀξίωμα
εἴληφεν· πίστει τὸν λόγον προσήκατο, καὶ εὐθέως υἰοθεσίας χάριν ἐμνηστεύσατο· ὅσοι γὰρ
ἔλαβον αὐτόν φησιν ἢ θεολόγος φωνή, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς
391r πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ⁴⁰. ἔρριψεν ὁ | σωτὴρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἄγκιστρον καὶ ὡς ἰχθὺν τὸν
ἀλιέα τῶν ἰχθύων Φίλιππον ζωγρήσας, τῶν ἀλογίστων ἀνθρώπων ἀγρευτὴν ἀνέδειξεν· ἀφήκεν
20 λινὰ διερρωγότα ὁ ἀλιεύς Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐνεχειρίσθη τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κηρύγματος καινοπρεπεῖς
σαγήνας· ὃ τῆς παραδόξου πραγματείας· ὃ τῆς σεβαστῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς· εὗγε τῆς ἐπεράστου
ἐμπορείας τοῦ ἀποστόλου· ὁ ἐκ γῆς τὴν σύστασιν εἴληχώς, ἀθρόον οὐρανὸς κατεφάνη· τὴν
δόξαν κυρίου κατ' ἄμφω διηγούμενος· ὁ ἀφώνων ἰχθύων ἀλιευτῆς ἐθνῶν ἀγρευτῆς κατεστά-
θη· ὁ ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας⁴¹ κατάγων τὸ γένος· οὐρανοπολίτης ἐγεγόνει·

3. Ὡς περιφανῆς ὄντως καὶ περίοπτος ὁ πανεύφημος Φίλιππος· ὡς λίαν περικυδέστερος
παρὰ πάσας βασιλείας τῆς γῆς· ἐμαθήτευσεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ γέγονε φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· καθὼς
αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκαλος μεμαρτύρηκεν ὑμεῖς ἐστε λέγων τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου⁴². προσέφυ τῇ
ζωηφόρῳ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ γέγονεν κλήμα εὐθαλές· καρποὺς πεπείρους εὐσεβείας τῷ κόσμῳ
5 προβαλλόμενος· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμί φησιν ἢ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα⁴³. ἐκοινωνήσε μυστηρίων
θεῶν καὶ οὐρανίων· μετέσχεν οὐσιωδῶς τοῦ ἁμνοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ αἵροντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
τοῦ κόσμου⁴⁴. μετέλαβεν τοῦ τῆς ἀμβροσίας ξύλου· ἀπήλαυσεν καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦ θεοτελοῦς
νέκταρος· καὶ τῆς θεουργοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τρισσολαμπεῖ ἐκεῖνῳ δεῖπνῳ·
391v διδασκαλικῆς | διαθήκης, ἀπεκρίνατο μετὰ παρρησίας ἀστείως πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον λέγων·
10 κύριε δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν⁴⁵. τί φῆς ὃ περιβλεπτε Φίλιππε· τριετῆ χρόνον
ἤδη μετ' αὐτοῦ συναλιζόμενος παριππεύσας, κατὰ δαιμόνων κυρίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἴληφας· ἐπὶ
ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβαίνειν καὶ καταπατεῖν λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα ὡς φοιτητῆς γνήσιος
ἐγκεκέλευσαι⁴⁶. λεπρούς τῷ λόγῳ ἐκάθηρας· νεκρούς ἐξήγειρας· ἀναπήρους βλέπειν τὸ φῶς
παρεσκεύασας· ἀσθενοῦντας ποικιλοτρόπως ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐθεράπευσας· καὶ οὐπω
15 ἔγνωσ υἱὸν θεοῦ αὐτὸν εἶναι⁴⁷. καὶ τοῦ συμφυοῦς πατρὸς ἀδιάστατον, ἀλλὰ φάσκεις δεῖξον
ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν; ναί, φησιν ὁ μέγας Φίλιππος· βούλομαι σαφέστερον γνῶναι
τὸ μυστήριον τῆς παντουργοῦ τριάδος· βούλομαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ Λόγου ἐκδιδαχθῆναι· ὡς ἂν Ἄρειος καὶ Εὐνόμιος ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς
εὐσεβείας ἱερομυστῶν· τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ἐρευνῆ καταισχυρθῶσιν· τί οὖν ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς πρὶν
20 γενέσεως αὐτῶν⁴⁸. τά τε ὄντα τά τε ἐσόμενα· πρό τε ὄντα⁴⁹. ὁ καὶ τὰς ἀπορρήσεις ταύτας
οἰκονομήσας παρὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ προβληθῆναι εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἐσῶστερον προστετησομένων
392r τῷ ἀνωμήτῳ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως· τοσοῦτον χρόνον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με Φίλιππε⁵⁰.
ὁ ἑώρακώς ἐμέ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα⁵¹ καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις· δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ
ἡμῖν· οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ· καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν⁵². ὁ δὲ λέγει, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν·

⁴⁰ John 1:12.

⁴¹ John 12:21a.

⁴² Matthew 5:14a.

⁴³ John 15:5a.

⁴⁴ Cf. John 1:29b.

⁴⁵ John 14:8.

⁴⁶ Cf. Psalm 90:13.

⁴⁷ Cf. John 14:9.

⁴⁸ Daniel 13:42b.

⁴⁹ τά τε ὄντα τά τε ἐσόμενα· πρό τε ὄντα. Cf. Iliad A 70.

⁵⁰ John 14:9a.

⁵¹ John 14:9b.

⁵² John 10:9.

the earthly and fleshly one. For having followed the Word and God from the moment of his calling, and having shaken off from himself all earthly things, he received the word through faith, and immediately assumed the honour of discipleship. He admitted the word through faith, and straightaway wedded to himself the grace of adoption, for the theological tongue says: "To all those who accepted him, he gave the power to become children of God, those who believe in his name." The Saviour cast the hook of the word and caught like a fish Philip, the catcher of fish, and appointed him catcher of mindless human beings. The fisherman Philip left the ripped fishing-nets and was entrusted with the novel nets of the divine proclamation. O the paradoxical business! O the venerable exchange! O the beloved transaction of the apostle! The one who had been constituted from earth suddenly appeared as heaven, recounting the glory of the Lord in both ways, he who had been the fisher of voiceless fish was made catcher of the peoples, he who traced his family from Bethsaida in Galilee, became a dweller in heaven.

3. How truly famous and renowned is the all-praiseworthy Philip, how exceedingly glorious, more than all kingdoms of the earth! He became the disciple of Jesus and became the light of the world, as the teacher himself confirmed when he said: "You are the light of the world." He grew onto the life-bearing vine and became a flourishing branch, projecting into the world ripe fruits of piety, for he says: "I am the vine and you are the branches." He shared in the divine and heavenly mysteries, he participated substantially in the lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world, he took from the tree of ambrosia, he enjoyed in it the divine nectar, and he was filled with the divine and instructive covenant of the Saviour at that thrice-shining supper, he charmingly answered the teacher with frankness, saying: "Lord, show us the Father and it is sufficient for us." What do you say, renowned Philip? Living with him already for three years, you had received from him mastery over demons, you had been commanded to step on asps and basiliscs and to trample on lions and dragons as a genuine disciple, you had cleansed lepers with the word, you had raised the dead, you had caused the blind to see the light, you had healed in his name those who suffered from various illnesses, and you had not yet learned that he is the Son of God, who is inseparable from the naturally united Father, but you said: "Show us the Father and it is enough for us." "Yes," says the great Philip, "I wish to learn more clearly the mystery of the all-effecting Trinity, I wish to be taught about the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son from the Word himself, so that in the generations to come Arius and Eunomius will be put to shame by the sacred initiators of piety through the study of their doctrines." What then? He who knows everything before it comes to be, what is and what will be and what was before, he who also arranged that these words were put forward by the disciple for the benefit of those who would later associate themselves with the blameless word of faith said: "Such a long time have I been with you and you do not know me, Philip? He who has seen me has seen the Father, and how do you say: 'Show us the Father and it is enough for us,' will you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father is in me?" What he says is the following: "You have heard about my supernatural coming-

25 τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ὑπερφυᾶ μου πρόοδον ἀκήκοας· μυρίων θαυματουργημάτων αὐτόπτης καὶ
 ὑπηρέτης γέγονας⁵³· τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἐπὶ καλλίστῳ οἴῳ μεταποίησιν ἐώρακας· τῶν λεπτῶν
 τὴν κάθαρσιν εἶδες· τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνέγερσιν θεάσασαι· τοῦ τυφλοῦ τὴν ἀνάβλεψιν ἔγνως·
 τῶν ἄρτων τὸν πληθυσμὸν αὐτῇ τῇ πείρᾳ μεμάθηκας· τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης περίπατον· τὴν τῶν
 ἀνέμων ὑποταγήν· τὴν τῶν δαιμόνων ἐκδίωξιν· τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγονότων
 30 τεραστίων ὡς ἀδιασπᾶστος μοι συνθέων τὴν εἶδησιν ἔσχες· καὶ οὐπω ἔγνως ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ
 πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐστίν· διὰ τὸ ἐνιαῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ ταῦτόν τοῦ θελήματος καὶ
 τῆς ἐνεργείας· ἀλλὰ φάσκεις· *δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν; καὶ μὴν πρὸ τούτου εἶπον*
ὑμῖν ὁ πατὴρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται καὶ ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι⁵⁴· καὶ εἰ ἐμοὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, τοῖς ἔργοις
 35 *μου πιστεύσατε⁵⁵· καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ⁵⁶· ὡς ὁμοεργῆς εἰμὶ τῷ κατ'*
 392v *οὐσίαν ἀχρόνως γεγεννηκότι με πατρὶ καὶ ἀχώριστος τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος· κἂν ἐν τῇ καθ'*
ὑμᾶς βλέπωμαι μορφή· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ | καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐστίν· καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις·
δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν· ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ὧ Φίλιππε ἐώρακε τὸν πατέρα· τί
οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ λεγόμενον· ἄρα ὁ ἑωρακὼς τὸν κύριον τῇ προχείρῳ αἰσθήσει τῆς βλέψεως κατὰ
 40 *τὴν σωματικὴν ιδέαν· ἑωρακέναι λέγεται τὸν πατέρα· οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τί· ὁ νενοηκὼς ἐμέ*
φησιν ἐκ τῶν παρακολουθησάντων θεοσημειῶν· νενόηκε καὶ τὸν πατέρα· καθότι υἱὸς χωρὶς
πατρὸς οὐκ ἂν λέγοιτό ποτε· οὔτε πατὴρ χωρὶς υἱοῦ· οὔτε γὰρ λόγος ἄτερ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν νοῦ
τὸ εἶναι κέκτηται· οὔτε πάλιν νοῦς ἁμοιρὸς ἐστὶν τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας· ἦτοι τοῦ ἐμφύτου
καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν αὐτῷ συνυπάρχοντος λόγου· ὁ νενοηκὼς τοίνυν ἐμέ ὧ Φίλιππε νενόηκε τὸν
πατέρα· ἀχώριστός εἰμι ὁ υἱὸς τῷ κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοφυεῖ μου πατρὶ· κἂν σάρκα τὴν ἐξ ὑμῶν δι'
 45 *ὑμᾶς καθ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς φορέσαι ἠνεσχόμην· ἵνα σώσω τὸν πλανηθέντα ἄνθρωπον τοῖς*
ἐκουσίοις μου τῆς σαρκὸς παθήμασιν· καὶ ἀποδώσω τῇ εἰκόνι τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα⁵⁷· ὁ νενοηκὼς
ἐμέ, νενόηκε τὸν πατέρα· μία γὰρ φύσις πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καθέστηκεν· νοητῶς βλεπομένη τοῖς
τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ ὁμοδύναμον κекητημένοις πνεῦμα· ὁ νενοηκὼς τοιγαροῦν ἐμέ ὧ Φίλιππε ἐξ
ῶν δέδρακα παραδόξων, νενόηκε καὶ τὸν ἐν ἐμοὶ ὄντα καὶ λαλοῦντα πατέρα, τὰ ῥήματα γάρ
 50 *φησιν ἃ ἐγὼ λαλῶ ὑμῖν· ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ· ἀλλ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων· αὐτὸς ποιεῖ τὰ*
 393r *ἔργα⁵⁸· πιστεύετε μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ | καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐστίν· εἰ δὲ μὴ· διὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτὰ*
πιστεύετε μοι⁵⁹·

4. Ἐκ τῶν ἔργων φησὶ πιστώθητι ὧ Φίλιππε· ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας εἰμὶ τῷ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένοντι
 πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου ἀπόρρητόν μου καὶ ὑπὲρ νοῦν σάρκωσιν· εἰ δ' ἐνεργείας
 δηλονότι καὶ φύσεως· ὧν γὰρ ἡ ἐνέργεια μία, τούτων καὶ ἡ οὐσία μία· καὶ τὸ ἔμπαλιν· ὧν
 ἡ οὐσία ἡ αὐτή, τούτων καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἡ αὐτή⁶⁰· τοιγαροῦν εἷς υἱὸς ὁ αὐτός· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλος
 5 πέφυκα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασίν μου πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔνωσιν· δύο φύσεων συνδρομῇ
 τὸ ἐμὸν δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ λόγον καθυπέστησα τῆς ὑποστάσεως εἶδος· καθ' ὃ διακέκριμαι τοῦ
 τε πατρὸς καὶ ὑμῶν· εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἄκροις πάλιν ἀμφοῖν συνάπτομαι· ὅθεν δὴ νοούμενός εἰμι
 τῇ θεότητι· ὀρώμενος δὲ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι· ἀπερίγραπτος τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ μορφή, περιγραπτὸς
 τῇ παθητῇ σαρκί· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Μανιχαῖος καταράσσεται, καὶ ὁ τούτῳ κατὰ τὴν γνωμικὴν
 10 ἀγχιστεύων σχέσιν εἰκονομάχος· ἀμφοτέροι γὰρ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος φαντασιώδη
 τινὰ καὶ οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀληθῶς γεγενῆσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων εἰσάγουσιν· κἂν

⁵³ Cf. Luke 1:2.

⁵⁴ John 5:17.

⁵⁵ Cf. John 10:38.

⁵⁶ John 10:25.

⁵⁷ ἀποδώσω ... εἰκόνα. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio I 4 (ed. J. BERNARDI, Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 1–3, introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes [SC 247]. Paris 1978, 76, 8–9).

⁵⁸ John 14:10b.

⁵⁹ John 14:11.

⁶⁰ ὧν ... αὐτή. Cf. John of Damascus, Expositio fidei 37 (ed. B. KOTTER, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, II [Patristische Texte und Studien 12]. Berlin – New York 1973, 93, 5–7).

forth from a virgin, you have been eye-witness and helper in countless workings of miracles, you have seen the transformation of water into excellent wine, you have seen the cleansing of lepers, you have witnessed the raising of the dead, you have learnt the opening of the eyes of the blind, you have learnt through your personal experience the multiplication of the bread, the walking on the sea, the subjection of the winds, the expulsion of the demons, you have knowledge of all the other portents that were performed by me, since you have been inseparable from me in our wanderings, and you do not yet know that I am in the Father and the Father is in me, because of the unity of nature and the identity of will and operation, but you say: ‘Show us the Father and it is sufficient for us.’ And indeed I have previously said to you: ‘My Father is working until now and I, too, am working,’ and if you do not believe me, believe in my works, and the works that I do testify for me, that I am acting together with the Father who has begotten me in timeless fashion as far as substance is concerned and that I am inseparable from his divinity, even if I am seen in your form, for I am in the Father and the Father is in me. And how do you say: ‘Show us the Father and it is sufficient for us.’ He who has seen me, Philip, has seen the Father.” What, then, is it that is being said here? Does it mean that he who has seen the Lord with the ordinary sense of sight in his bodily appearance has seen the Father? Not at all. But what? “He who has perceived me,” he says, “from the divine signs that have followed me, has perceived the Father, because one could not speak of a son without the father, nor of a father without a son. For neither does the word have being without the mind that naturally belongs to it, nor again is the mind bereft of its natural operation, that is, the word, which exists with it by nature and in substance. He, then, who has perceived me, Philip, has perceived the Father, for I am the Son, being inseparable from my Father who is naturally one with me as regards substance, even though I have suffered to bear flesh from you for you like you and beyond you, in order that I save through the voluntary passions of the flesh the human being who has gone astray, and I will return to the image the status of being in the image. He who has perceived me has perceived the father, for there is one nature of the Father and the Son, which is seen in the mind by those who possess my holy Spirit, which is of like power. He, then, who has perceived me, Philip, from the paradoxical things I have done, has perceived the Father who is and speaks in me, for he says: ‘The words that I say to you, I do not say from me, but the Father who remains in me, he does the works.’ Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father is in me, but if not, believe me through the works themselves.”

4. He says: “Be persuaded, Philip, from the works, that I have the same operation as the Father who remains in me, even after my ineffable and incomprehensible incarnation from a virgin. But if I have the same operation then I have obviously also the same nature, for those who have the same operation also have the same substance, and *vice versa*, who have the same substance also have the same operation. Therefore I am one Son by nature, the same and not another, even after my hypostatic union with humanity. Through the concurrence of two natures I have supernaturally hypostasised the form of my hypostasis for your sake, by which I am distinguished from the Father and from you, even if I am again connected with both through the extremes. Therefore, then, I am perceived as regards my divinity, and seen as regards my humanity, uncircumscribed as regards my incorporeal form, circumscribed as regards my passible flesh.” Through this the Manichaeon, too, will be routed, and the Iconoclast who is close to him as regards his attitudinal relation, for both put forward in a manifest way that the inhumanation of the Saviour is imaginary and not truly substantial, even

παρηλλάχθαι τούτων ἕκαστος κατὰ τὸ σέβας δοκεῖ· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ Νεστόριος βάλλεται· καὶ
 Διόσκορος ἐκποδῶν γίνεται· ὁ μὲν ὡς τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Χριστοῦ
 393v καὶ θεοῦ μὴ προσιέμενος· ὁ δὲ ὡς τὴν καθ' οὐσίαν διαφορὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ | ἐνανθρωπήσαντος
 15 θεοῦ Λόγου ἀπαναινόμενος· τολμηρῶς ἅμα καὶ ἀμαθῶς κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίου λυτήσαντες
 τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δεσπότητος οἰκονομίας·⁶¹ οὔτε γὰρ διὰ τὴν⁶² καθ' ἄκρον πρὸς τὴν σάρκα
 καθ' ὑπόστασιν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἔνωσιν⁶³ εἰς μιᾶς φύσεως γένεσιν⁶⁴ ἢ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὸ
 αὐτὸ συνδρομῆ γέγονεν οὐσιῶν, οὔτε μὴν διὰ τὴν⁶⁵ καθ' ἄκρον πρὸς τὴν σάρκα κατὰ φύσιν
 20 διαφορὰν⁶⁶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνὸς υἱοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, εἰς⁶⁷ υἱῶν δυάδα ὁ Χριστὸς τέμνεται⁶⁸· ὡς ἕτερον
 εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν θεοῦ Λόγον μετὰ τὴν καθ' αὐτὸ ἔνωσιν τῆς τε θεότητος καὶ
 τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· ἦτοι τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μορφήν· ἄκρον δὲ φημι τῆς
 μὲν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσεως τὸ παντελῶς ἀδιαίρετον· τῆς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν διαφορᾶς ἄκρον τὸ
 25 παντελῶς ἀσύγχυτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· ὅτι μὴδὲ συνεπάγεται πάντῃ⁶⁹ τῇ κατὰ φύσιν τῶν ἐξ ὧν
 συνέστηκεν ἑτερότητι καὶ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν διαφορὰν, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως·
 τὸ μὲν, ἵνα μὴ προσθήκη λάβῃ τὸ τῆς ἀγίας τριάδος μυστήριον· τὸ δε, ἵνα μὴδὲν ἢ τῇ θεότητι
 κατὰ φύσιν ὁμογενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον· δύο γὰρ φύσεων πρὸς ὑπόστασιν ἄλλ' οὐ πρὸς φύσιν
 30 μίαν γέγονεν σύνοδος· ἵνα καὶ τὸ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλαις συνδραμουσῶν φύσεων
 394r δειχθῇ κατὰ τὴν | ἔνωσιν ἀποτελούμενον· καὶ τὸ διάφορον τῶν συνελθόντων πρὸς τὴν
 ἀδιάσπαστον ἔνωσιν, κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν ιδιότητα πιστευθῆ, πάσης ἐκτὸς μένων τροπῆς καὶ
 30 συγχύσεως· εἰ γὰρ πρὸς φύσεως γένεσιν ἢ τῶν δύο φύσεων γέγονεν σύνοδος, ἀδιάγνωστον
 ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν παντελῶς τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας μυστήριον, οὐκ ἔχουσι πόθεν ἢ πῶς δυνηθῆναι
 μαθεῖν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν, εἰς τὴν θείαν⁷⁰ διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς
 μεταβληθείσης ἢ τῆς θείας εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οὐσίαν μετατραπείσης, ἢ ἀμφοῖν πρὸς ἄλλης
 35 παρ' ἑαυτὰς γένεσιν κατὰ τινὰ μῆξιν ἔκφυλον συμφυρεῖσῶν, καὶ μηδετέρας τῶν ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ
 φύσεων τὸν λόγον ἀλώβητον φερουσῶν.

5. Τοιούτων ἡμῖν μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐκείνης καὶ θαυμαστῆς
 πεύσεως ὁ φαινότατος προεξένησεν Φίλιππος· τοιούτων δογμάτων σαφήνεια ἢ τοῦ μαθητοῦ
 τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐχαρίσατο πρότασις· τοιούτων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ὁ συμπολίτης Πέτρος καὶ
 Ἀνδρέου παραίτιος γέγονεν· ἴδετε φιλευσεβεῖς ἀκροάμονες καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐρασταὶ
 5 θεωρημάτων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Φιλίππου τὴν ἐπιστήμην; ἔγνωτε τοῦ ιδιώτου τὴν θεοπάροχον
 γνῶσιν; ἐμάθετε τοῦ ἀλιέως τὴν ἐμφιλόσοφον ἔρευναν; ἀλλὰ μὴ τις ἀλιέα καὶ ιδιώτην τὸν
 394v πανίερρον ἀκούων Φίλιππον, ἀμαθῆ | τοῦτον τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ὑποπετεύσειεν·
 θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ὢν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόθεος· μελέτην ἑαυτοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τοὺς προφήτας·
 10 καραδοκῶν τὸν ἀναστησόμενον προφήτην κατὰ Μωσέα ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῶν⁷¹ διὰ
 τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ὁμοούσιον δηλονότι· καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ἀξιόπιστος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης
 μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Χριστὸν κλήσιν αὐτοῦ γράφων οὕτως· *εὕρισκει Φίλιππος τὸν Ναθαναὴλ καὶ
 λέγει αὐτῷ· ὃν ἔγραψε Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ οἱ προφήται, εὕρηκαμεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν Ἰωσήφ*

⁶¹ The following passage is adapted from Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 62 (ed. C. LAGA and C. STEEL, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II [CCSG 22]. Turnhout 1990, 117, 33–59). The borrowings are underlined and it is indicated how the original text differs from Michael's version.

⁶² *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (henceforth QTh): τῆ

⁶³ QTh: ἐνώσει

⁶⁴ QTh: εἰς μίαν φύσιν

⁶⁵ QTh: τῆ

⁶⁶ QTh: διαφορᾶ

⁶⁷ QTh: πρὸς

⁶⁸ QTh: τεμνόμενος

⁶⁹ QTh: παντελῶς.

⁷⁰ QTh: θείαν φύσιν

⁷¹ Cf. Acts 3:22.

though each of them seems to differ according to doctrine. Through this Nestorius will be cast down, and Dioscorus will be expelled, for the one did not accept the hypostatic union of the one Christ and God, whereas the other denied the substantial difference in the inhumanated God Word, raving foolhardily and stupidly against the dispensation of the loving Lord. For neither did the concurrence of the two substances in one place result in the coming-to-be of one nature because of the extreme hypostatic union of the God Word with the flesh, nor indeed was Christ divided into a duality of sons because of the extreme natural difference between the same one Son and God and the flesh, so that one would be Christ and the other the God Word after the union of the divinity and the humanity, that is, the union of the God Word with our form. But I call extreme hypostatic union the complete indivisibility, and I call extreme natural difference the complete inconfoundability and unchangeability, since the mystery of the divine incarnation does not introduce in any way the difference in hypostasis together with the otherness in nature of that from which it is constituted, lest the mystery of the holy Trinity receive an addition, and lest there be something of the same genus and the same substance as the divinity. For two natures come together not to one nature but to one hypostasis, in order that the oneness in hypostasis is shown to be effected from the natures that have come together with one another, and the difference of those which have come together for the inseparable union according to the natural property is believed to remain without change and confusion. For if the two natures came together to constitute a nature, the mystery of our salvation would not at all be distinguished by us, there would be nothing that would allow us to understand the condescension of God to us, since the flesh would be transformed into the divine substance because of the union, or the divine substance would be changed into the substance of the flesh, or both would be commingled so as to become another substance beside them, in some outlandish mixture, and none of the natures from which it is constituted would have its essence intact.

5. The revelation of such mysteries the most luminous Philipp has procured for us, beloved, the clarification of such doctrines the proposition of the disciple of our Saviour has gifted us with, of such good things for us the fellow-citizen of Peter and Andrew has become the cause. Behold, pious listeners and lovers of the higher contemplations, the expertise of the apostle Philip, learn the God-given knowledge of the simple man, recognise the philosophical study of the fisherman! But nobody when hearing that the most sacred Philipp was a fisherman and a simple man, shall assume that he did not know the law and the prophets, for being a pious and God-loving man, he made the law and the prophets his study, waiting for the prophet who would rise up from his own brothers, according to Moses, which is evidently the case because of the consubstantiality of the flesh. And a trustworthy witness of this is the evangelist John who writes thus after having been called to Christ: "Philip finds Nathanael and says to him: 'of whom Moses in the law and the prophets have written, we have found in Jesus the son of Joseph from Nazareth.'" Do you see the wisdom of Philip? Do you see the truth

τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ⁷²· ὁρᾷς τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν σύνεσιν, βλέπεις τῆς μαρτυρίας τὸ ἀπαράγραπτον, εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἦν δαήμων, τῆς κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην θεωρουμένης γνώσεως ὁ
 15 ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος, οὐκ ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα διεξήκει, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐραστής Ἰωάννης· ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν νῦν ἐν πενία συζῆν ἐξεταζομένων τοιοῦτοί ποτ' ἂν εὑρεθεῖεν ῥαδίως τινές· ὅλον γὰρ ἔχουσι καταδεδουλωμένον τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ μετὰ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα πενίας· καὶ τὸ λογικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλογισταίνειν μᾶλλον μυρίως αἰρούμενοι, ἢ περ ταῖς θείαις προσανέχειν γραφαῖς καὶ ἀκούειν δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ κυρίου λέγοντος· ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς
 20 ζῶν ἀιώνιον ἔχειν· καὶ αὐταὶ εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυρίαι περὶ ἐμοῦ⁷³· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ μὴ ἐρευνᾶν τὰς θείας
 395r γραφὰς, εἰς αἰρέσεις τε καταπίπτουσιν ἔνιοι, δι' ὧν τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ἀλλοτρίωσιν πάσχουσιν· καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ φυλάττειν γε προσφόρως τὰς σωτηρίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑποσύρονται ἐντολάς· ὅπερ πάλιν τὸ μὴ γνησίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς εἶναι ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ φησιν καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή καὶ οὐ καθὼς τις βούλεται ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν
 25 ὕδατος ζῶντος⁷⁴· πιστεύειν δέ ἐστιν εἰς αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς τὸ τὰς ἐντολάς αὐτοῦ κατὰ θεὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ ἀνθρωπαρέσκειαν ἢ κενοδοξίαν· βαβαὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου χάριτος· εὔγε τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φιλίππου συνέσεως· ὅλην εἰσεδέξατο τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος· τὴν πρὸς τὰ κρείττω κοινωνίαν παθῶν· ἐφοίτησε τῷ σωτηρι γνησίως τριετοῦς χρόνου διάστημα· ἀπήλαυσε μυρίων θαυμάτων, ὧν τε ὁ δεσπότης πεποιήκει, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν διὰ
 30 τῆς οἰκονομίας εἰλήφει· προέτεινεν τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου νιπτῆρι· καὶ τῇ ἀφῆ τῶν δεσποτικῶν χειρῶν, ἐπλούτησε σθένος οὐράνιον· δι' ἧς ἐπαφῆς στερεωθεὶς τὰς βάσεις, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου εὐσταλῶς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ παρακλήτου ἐπιφοίτησιν ἐξέθορε κήρυγμα· εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν διέδραμεν ὁ φθόγγος τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας· καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ τῶν θαυμάτων αὐτοῦ χαριτοποιὸς πληθὺς· ἀπεστάλη ὁ πεντάριθμος τοῦ
 35 Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς Φίλιππος, πρὸς ἀνανέωσιν τῆς πενταδικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως· ἡδὴ γὰρ πεπαλαιώτο τῇ μακρᾷ τῆς | εἰδωλομανίας λύμη, καὶ εἰς φθορὰν ἐπεπτώκει τῆς ζοφερᾶς ἀθεότητος· ἀπεστάλη ὡς ἄριστος στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ σκυλεῦσαι
 395v πᾶσαν τὴν ἀντικειμένην τῶν νοητῶν τοῦ διαβόλου πολεμιστῶν παράταξιν, καὶ ἀναρρῦσασθαι τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντας· οὐχ ὅπλα εἶχεν αἰσθητὰ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἄμυναν, οὐ δορυφόρων στίφη· οὐ συνασπιστῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων ὄμιλον· οὐδ' ἀκροβόλων εὐστόχων συμμορίαν εὔξοον, ἀλλὰ τὴν νοητὴν καὶ ἄμαχον πανοπλίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὴν χάριν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος·⁷⁵ μεθ' ὧν τὰς τῶν ἀοράτων ἀλλοφύλων πολιορκήσας ἐλαφύρησε φάλαγγας· ἱατροῦ τάξιν ἐπεῖχεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐργῶδες εἶπερ βούλοιο καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀλληγορηθῆναι· οὐ μόνον σωματικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχικούς ἐξιώμενος μώλωπας· δι' οὓς καὶ
 45 μᾶλλον κάκεινων οὐ κατώκει τῆς ἰατρείας· σωρείαν φαρμάκων ποικίλων νοητῶς ἐπεφέρετο· δι' ὧν τὴν κατάλληλον ἰατροίαν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δράκοντος τρωθεῖσιν ἐπεποίητο·

6. Διερχόμενος τοίνυν τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος γαίης, πεζοπορῶν οὐχ ἄρματλητῶν· οὐδὲ χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους ἐπισυρόμενος· ἀλλὰ βακτηρία τυχὸν ἐπερειδόμενος, παραγίνεται μετὰ
 396r Βαρθολομαίου καὶ Μαριάμνης τῶν πανενδόξων ἀποστόλων, κατὰ τινὰ πόλιν καλουμένην
 5 τηνικάδε | Ὀφιούρμην· οὕτω δὲ ἐπεκέκλητο ἡ πόλις, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ὄφεις καὶ τοὺς δράκοντας ἐν αὐτῇ θεοποιεῖσθαι· ἦλθεν τοιγαροῦν ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ τροπαιοῦχος μαχητῆς Φίλιππος· καὶ εὐθέως τῇ ἑαυτοῦ εἰσόδῳ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἀνθρώπων σεβομένους ἐφυγάδευσεν δαίμονας· τῇ τε ὀνομασίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῇ σημειώσει τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ· προσέβαλλεν ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγὸς δυνάμεως κυρίου τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τούτων· καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ πυρὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ δράκοντας ἀποξηράνας, τὸ ὑποχείριον ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μετεποίησεν· ἦλθεν ὡς φῶς ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος ἐν τῇ Ὀφιουρητῶν πολίχνῃ, καὶ τὸν Στάχυν τυφλὸν
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⁷² John 1:46.

⁷³ John 5:39.

⁷⁴ John 7:38.

⁷⁵ Cf. Ephesians 6:11.

of the testimony? For if the apostle Philip had not been such an expert of the knowledge that is seen in the Old Testament, the lover of truth, John, would not have said this about him. But one would not easily find such ones among the ones who are presently numbered among those who have poverty as their fellow in life, for they have beside the poverty in the flesh also the rational part of the soul enslaved through ignorance, and rather choose to be foolish in countless ways in regard of the rational part of the soul than to focus on the divine Scriptures and to hear through them the words of the Lord: "Examine the Scriptures, because you think that you have eternal life in them, and these are the testimonies about me." For as they do not examine the divine Scriptures, some have fallen into heresies, through which they suffer estrangement from the Lord, and they become accustomed to not keeping properly the salvific commandments of Christ, which again has the effect that they are not his genuine disciples, for "He who believes in me," he says, "as Scripture says," and not as somebody wishes, "rivers of living water will flow from his belly." But to believe correctly in him is to do his commandments according to God, but not according to a craving for admiration or vainglory. O the grace of the apostle! O the wisdom of the sacred Philip! He received the entire gift of the all-holy Spirit, experiencing the communion with higher things; he was apprenticed to the Saviour for a span of three years; he had the benefit of countless miracles, which the Lord performed and which to perform himself he had received the power according to the dispensation; he stretched out his feet in the mystical footwashing of the God Word, and through the touch of the hands of the Lord he gained heavenly strength. When his feet had been made nimble and firm through this touch, he leapt out to the proclamation of the Gospel after the coming of the Comforter, the sound of his teaching ran across the whole earth, and the grace-giving multitude of his miracles reached the ends of the inhabited world. Philip, the disciple of Christ who was the fifth as regards number, was sent out in order to renew the fivefold nature of human beings, for it had already become old through the long-lasting perdition of the craze for idols and had fallen into the corruption of dusky godlessness; he was sent as an excellent general by the great king Christ in order to despoil the entire opposing army of the intelligible fighters of the devil, and to rescue those who had been enslaved by him. He had no visible weapons to ward off the enemies, no array of bodyguards, no crowd of bronze-clad shield-fellows, no burnished company of well-aiming skirmishers, but the intelligible and invincible armour of the cross and the grace of the holy Spirit, with which he besieged and despoiled the phalanx of the invisible barbarians. The apostle Philip took up the role of a physician – for there is no difficulty if you wish him to be allegorised in this way, too – who healed not only the bruises of the body but also those of the soul, for which he did not hesitate to offer treatment any less than for the previous ones. He intelligibly brought with him a store of various medicines, through which he undertook the appropriate healing of those who had been wounded by the enemy dragon.

6. Traversing, then, the cities of the Asiatic land, walking on foot, not driving a chariot or dragging along horses with frontlets of gold, but perhaps leaning on a stick, he arrived with Bartholomew and Mariamne, the most glorious apostles, at some city that at that time was called Ophiorhyme, but the city was called thus because snakes and dragons were deified in it. The trophy-gaining fighter Philip, then, came to it and immediately with his entrance he put to flight the demons that were being venerated by the local population,. The supreme general of the power of the Lord attacked through the naming of Christ and the signing of the vivifying cross the camp of these Assyrians and dried out the dragons in it through the fire of sanctity, winning over to himself all those who had been subjugated by them. The apostle Philip came like light to the town of the Ophiorhymites and through his sister

ὄντα διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαρίας τῆς ἐξιάσατο·⁷⁶ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν φῶς Χριστὸν δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀρώντας ἐγκαλούμενος·⁷⁷ εἰκότως οὖν ὁ κύριος ἔλεγεν· ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κάκεινος ποιήσει· καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει⁷⁸. παρεγένετο πρὸς τοὺς ἡπατημένους ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος· οὐκ ἔμπορείαν τινὰ κοσμικὴν ποιήσων, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας ὁδὸν ὑποδείξων· οὐκ ἐν ὑπεροχῇ λόγου σοφίας ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ⁷⁹, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πίστεως καὶ δυνάμεως⁸⁰. ἤπλωσε τὴν σαγήνην τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ λόγου, καὶ παρευθὸν τοὺς ἀκεραιότερους ζωοποίησεν· ἐπέλαβεν, καὶ ὁψώνιον ἄλλον τῷ οικείῳ διδασκάλῳ καὶ θεῷ τούτους προσεμήνοχεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔφη· ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστι | ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός⁸¹. θέλημα δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν⁸². ἤτις ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ λέγων· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ⁸³. ἤκουσεν ἀσθενοῦσα γυνὴ τοῦνομα Νικάνωρα τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τὴν χάριν, καὶ παρακλήσασα, τοῦ σκίμματος κατέληλυθεν· καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν δευτέρα θεμένη, τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέλαβεν·⁸⁴ ἀλλὰ καιρὸς λοιπὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ τοῦ ἀσυνέτου λαοῦ τὴν χαλεπὴν κατὰ φρένα πῆρωσιν· εἶδωμεν τὸ δυσίατον φῶμα τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρπυστήρος ἐχθροῦ τραυματισθέντων· δι' ὅπερ καὶ τὸ αὐστηρὸν ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἐπενεγκεῖν, ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐξαποσταλεῖς ἠναγκάσθη ἀκέστωρ· ἔβλεπον τοῖνον παράδοξα οἱ δειλαιοὶ πράγματα, καὶ μάγους τοὺς ἀγίους ἐλοιδοροῦντο· ἐθεώρουν δαίμονας ἐλαυνομένους· πάθη ποικίλα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φυγαδεύόμενα· φύσιν ἄλογον λογικὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποτελοῦσαν·⁸⁵ καὶ τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ πράγματος εἰς ἀναισθησίας βυθὸν τοὺς ἀθλίους κατέσυρεν· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ χρόνιον κακόν· τοιαύτη τῆς ἀσεβείας ἢ μακρὰ συνήθεια·

7. Τί δὲ ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος· κατοικτιζόμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβελτερίαν· σχετιάζων διὰ τὴν βαθεῖαν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀπωλείας νύκτα, προτίθησιν τὰ σωτήρια φάρμακα καὶ φησὶν· ἀδελφοί μου υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε τοῦ γένους μου κατὰ Χριστὸν ὑπαρξίς | τῆς ἐμῆς πόλεως τῆς ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἡ τερπνότης τοῦ κατοικητηρίου μου· διὰ τί αἰχμαλωτεύθητε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ὑμῶν ὄφρα τοῦ εἰλισσμένου καὶ ὀλοῦξου καὶ διεστραμμένου ὄντος· ὃ οὐ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, στρεβλὴ δὲ ἡ πορεία αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ·⁸⁶ ὃ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς εὐσπλαγχνίας· ὃ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλίππου συμπαθείας· εἶδεν αὐτοὺς μωλωπισθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ ὄφρα κακουργίας, καὶ ἀπαλοῖς τισὶ καὶ προσηγέσιν ἐμπλάστροις ἐκμυζῆσαι τὸν φθοροποιὸν ἰὸν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν κατεπείγεται· οὗτος τὰς τῆς ἰατρείας προυβάλλετο δώσεις, ἐκεῖνοι τὰς τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης προυτείνοντο πράξεις· καὶ καθάπερ τινὲς ἄτακτοι καὶ δυσήνιοι πῶλοι ἢ ἀτίθασοι καὶ ἀνήμεροι θῆρες, οὕτως πρὸς συντριβὴν τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἐπεπήδων· ἔχοντες εἰς τοῦτο παρορμῶντα αὐτοὺς τὸν φερόντων ἀληθῶς τυραννογόνον· καὶ δὴ συλλαβόμενοι τοὺς σεβαστοὺς ἀποστόλους· ὥσπερ τινὰς μαιοφόνους ἄνδρας, ἱμάσι τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν δεσμεύσαντες· καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπηνοειδῶς σύραντες, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπήγαγον·⁸⁷ καὶ τοῦ μὲν τρισμάκαρος Φιλίππου τὰ σφυράδια τρήσαντες, προπάραιθεν τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, εἰς φυτὸν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ γε αἰοίδιμον Βαρθολομαῖον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαιωρήσαντες σταυροειδῶς

⁷⁶ Cf. *Passio* II 108 (41, 22–26 LIPSIIUS–BONNET).

⁷⁷ ἐγκαλούμενος cod.

⁷⁸ John 14:12a.

⁷⁹ I Corinthians 1:17b.

⁸⁰ I Corinthians 2:4b.

⁸¹ John 4:34.

⁸² I Timothy 2:4.

⁸³ John 14:6a.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Passio* II 114 (45.20–21 LIPSIIUS–BONNET).

⁸⁵ Cf. *Passio* II 124 (52.18–20 LIPSIIUS–BONNET).

⁸⁶ Cf. *Passio* II 109–110 (42.15–21 LIPSIIUS–BONNET).

⁸⁷ Cf. *Passio* II 121 (50.23–25 LIPSIIUS–BONNET).

Mariamne healed Stachys who was blind, calling the onlookers through it to the true light, Christ. Fittingly, then, did the Lord say: "Amen, amen, I say to you, he who believes in me will do the works that I do, and will do greater ones than these." The divine apostle came to those who had been duped, not in order to do some worldly business, but in order to show the way of salvation, not with the excellency of a speech of wisdom lest the cross of Christ be emptied, but in the demonstration of faith and power; he unfolded the net of the vivifying word, and immediately caught and seized the more innocent ones and brought them as immaterial payment to his own teacher and God. For he himself said: "My sustenance is that I do the will of the Father who has sent me," but the will of his Father is that all human beings should be saved and brought to the recognition of truth, which is Christ himself who says: "I am the way and the truth and the life." When a sick woman by the name of Nikanora heard the grace of his teaching she was immediately made hale and stepped down from her couch. Considering all her own affairs of secondary importance she reached the choir of the apostles. But it is now time also to look at the severe mental blindness of the foolish populace. Let us see the tumour of those who had been wounded by the enemy reptile, which was difficult to heal, and because of which the healer who had been sent to them by God was forced to apply harsh antidotes. The wretches, then, saw paradoxical things, and slandered the saints as magicians; they saw demons driven out, various illnesses expelled from human beings, the irrational nature performing a rational service, and the wondrousness of the thing dragged the miserable ones down into the pit of insensibility, for such is the chronic evil, such is the long habit of impiety.

7. What then? The great apostle Philip, taking pity on their foolishness, bemoaning the deep night of their perdition, put forth the salvific medicines, and said: "My brothers, sons of my Father, you are of my race in Christ, possession of my city, Jerusalem on high, the pleasantness of my dwelling-place, why are you enslaved by your enemy, the snake, which is winding and entirely slanted and twisted, to which God did not give hands and feet, and whose movement is crooked, since it is the son of the evil one?" O the apostolic mercy! O the compassion of the blessed Philip! He saw them bruised by the evil-doing of the evil snake and hastened to draw out the corrupting poison of their heart through mild and gentle poultices. He proffered the gifts of medicine, they put forward the deeds of unkindness, and like some unruly and refractory foals or untamed and not domesticated beasts, they rushed to destroy the benefactors, having as instigator the truly rightly so-called Tyrannognophos. And having seized the venerable apostles like some murderers, they bound their feet with thongs, mercilessly dragged them through the middle of the market-place, and took them to the temple. They pierced the ankles of the thrice-blessed Philip and hanged him upside down on a tree in front of the temple, whereas they let the famous Bartholomew hang down from the wall of the temple and stretched him

ἐξετάναςαν·⁸⁸ ἐπεχείρησαν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας Μαρίας, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις αὐτῆν τοῦ παναγίου
 σκεπάσασα πνεύματος τῶν ἀθέων τὴν τόλμαν ἀπήμβλυνεν· καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς
 20 ἀποστόλοις ἀληθῶς τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πάθος παρομοιούμενον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος
 Φίλιππος κατὰ κεφαλῆς ὡσπερ ἄρνος ἐν μακέλλῳ κρεμάμενος, τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους τὸν
 τύπον ἔσφζεν· καθὼς αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πεπιστευκότας ἔλεγεν· μὴ
οὖν λυπεῖσθε, ὅτι εἰμὶ κρεμάμενος κατὰ κεφαλῆς· τὸν γὰρ τύπον πληρῶ τοῦ σταυροῦ·⁸⁹ ὃ
 25 πάθους χριστομιμήτου· δι' οὗ τὰ τῶν πλανωμένων ἰάθη πάθη· ὃ παθῶν δύναμις δι' ἧς οἱ
 κακωθέντες πρὸς θάνατον ἀμαρτίας, εἰς εὐσεβείας ζωὴν ἀνερρώσθησαν· τούτων τοιγαροῦν,
 οὕτως κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τελουμένων, καὶ θορύβου πολλοῦ καὶ κλόνου τὸν ὄχλον συνέχοντος,
 παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστής· Ἰωάννης ὁ ἡγαπημένος καὶ
 παρθένος· Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς τῆς βροντῆς⁹⁰· ὁ τὴν ἀναρχον τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γέννησιν ἡμῖν
 30 ὑπογράψας⁹¹· καὶ θεασάμενος τοὺς συναποστόλους αὐτοῦ κρεμαμένους· καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν
 ὀφιοδηκτῶν, καθάπερ ἐν σκοτομήνῃ τινὶ τῷ τῆς ἀθεΐας κεκρατημένον ζόφῳ, τοιάδε φησὶν
 398r πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμβριθῶς· ὃ τέλκνα τοῦ ὄφεως, πόση ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνοία ὑμῶν ἢ οὕσα μεθ' ὑμῶν·
ἢ πόση ἐστὶν ἡ ἄγνοια ὑμῶν, ἢ οὕσα μεθ' ὑμῶν· ἐπλάνησεν γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς πλάνης·
πλέον ἔπνευσεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὁ δράκων ὁ πονηρὸς· διατὶ τιμωρεῖσθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους·
ὅτι εἰρήκασιν ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ὄφις·⁹² ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ βύσαντες ὡσεὶ
 35 ἀσπίδες τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ὄτα, ἐπεχείρουν καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν· οὗς ἡ χάρις
 τοῦ κυρίου ἐκλύσασα, τῆς παλαμναίου προθέσεως ἀπεκάλυψεν· ἀλλ' ὡς εἶδεν ὁ ἀκεστής
 Φίλιππος ἤκιστα γε μὴν τοὺς τραυματίας τοῖς χρηστοῖς καταδέσμοις βελτιωθέντας, πρὸς τὸ
 αὐστηρὸν καὶ ἀπότομον τῆς ἰατρικῆς μεθόδου ἀποστρέφεται μέρος· κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἐμπείρων
 δοκιμωτάτους ἰατρούς· καὶ τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς κατ' αὐτῶν γυμνώσας ξίφος, διὰ κολαστικῆς
 40 περιοδείας εἰς συναίσθησιν ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν παρασκευάζει πλημμελημάτων· οἶδεν γὰρ
 πολλάκις καὶ φόβος μέγιστος ἢ κακῶν ἐπανάστασις, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξελαύνειν τὴν ἐπέισακτον
 ἀταξίαν· σείεται τοίνυν ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὴν δέησιν πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐκπέμψαντος
 δεσπότην, καὶ ὑποβρυχίους ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ πυθμένι τῆς ἀβύσσου· ἵνα οἱ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις μὴ
 κρείττους ἑαυτῶν γεγονότες, κὰν ταῖς ἀμυντικαῖς μεταβληθῶσιν ἐπιφοραῖς· ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπ'
 398v αὐτοῖς τέλος λάβοι τὸ τῆς προφητείας μελώ|δημα· ὅταν ἀπέκτενεν αὐτοὺς τότε ἐξεζήτουν αὐτόν⁹³·
 46 ἦνοιξεν ὁ ἄδης τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέπιεν τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ζῶντας· ἄτερ τῶν πιστευσάντων
 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος·⁹⁴ ἠνοιχθῆ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτούς, καθά ποτε ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως Δαθὰν
 καὶ Αβειρών⁹⁵· καὶ γὰρ ἐξέκαυσαν πῦρ θυμοῦ κυρίου ἐν τῇ παρανόμῳ αὐτῶν συναγωγῇ· καὶ
 φλόξ παιδείας κατέφλεξεν ἀμαρτωλοὺς⁹⁶· ὡς φοβερὰ τὰ τελούμενα· ὡς μεγάλα τε καὶ φρικτὰ
 50 τὰ τεράστια τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως· ἐξέτεινεν τὴν τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ δεξιάν ὁ μαθητὴς
 τοῦ σωτῆρος Φίλιππος, καὶ κατέπιεν τοὺς εἰδωλομανοῦντας, ὡς τοὺς πάλαι φαραωνίτας γῆ·
 κατεπόθησαν οἱ μάταιοι εἰς κευθμῶνας ἄδου ζῶντες· ὅπως ἐπιγνώσιν τὸν κυριεύοντα ζωῆς
 καὶ θανάτου· καὶ ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν κατάγειν εἰς ἄδου καὶ ἀνάγειν⁹⁷·

8. Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως πέπρακτο, παρεγένετο πάλιν οὐρανόθεν, ὁ μηδέποτε καταλιπὼν
 τοὺς οὐρανούς Χριστὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους καὶ μαθητάς· παραμυθεῖται τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ
 τῶν αἰωνίων ἀμοιβῶν, τοὺς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πάσχοντας· ἐπαίρει τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν τῶν

⁸⁸ Cf. *Passio* II 125 (54.17–18, 55.12–16 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

⁸⁹ *Passio* II 140 (74.17–18 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

⁹⁰ Cf. Mark 3:17.

⁹¹ Cf. John 1:1.

⁹² *Passio* II 130 (59.11–13, 60.12–13 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

⁹³ Psalm 78:34.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Passio* II 133 (64.18–20 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

⁹⁵ Cf. Numbers 16:31–34.

⁹⁶ Psalm 105:18.

⁹⁷ Cf. I Kings 2:6.

out in the shape of the cross. They also turned against the holy Mariamne, but the grace of the Holy Spirit sheltered her and blunted the daring of the godless ones. And one could see in both apostles the similarity to the suffering of the Saviour, for the marvellous Philip was hanging upside down like a ram at the butcher's and in this way preserved the type of the salvific suffering, as he himself said when he conversed with those who would later believe: "Do not be grieved, because I am hanging upside down, for I fulfil the type of the cross." O sufferings in imitation of Christ, through which the sufferings of the errant ones were healed! O power of the sufferings through which those who had been maltreated so as to die the death of sin were made hale so as to lead a life of piety! As this was thus going on in the city, and great tumult and confusion had the crowd in its grip, there came to the spectacle the divine John, the evangelist, John the beloved and virginal, John the son of thunder, who had set down in writing the eternal generation of the Son from the Father. And when he saw his fellow apostles hanging and the people of the snake-bitten ones held fast by the gloom of godlessness as in some moonless night, he said the following severe words to them: "Children of the snake, how great is your foolishness, which is with you, or how great is your ignorance, which is with you, for the way of error has led you astray, or rather the evil dragon has breathed on you. Why do you punish these men, because they say that the snake is your enemy." Hearing this, they stopped the ears of their soul like asps, and tried to raise the hands against him as well, but the grace of the Lord paralysed them and prevented them from putting into practice their abominable plan. But when the healer Philip saw that the wounded ones were not at all improved through the gentle dressings, he turned to the harsh and brutal part of the medical methods, according to the most accomplished practitioners of the empiric school, and having bared the sword of prayer against them, he made sure that they came to an awareness of their own trespasses through punishing treatment. For often both a very great fear and the onslaught of evils tend to drive the adventitious disorder from the soul. The earth, then, shook when the apostle had sent his request to his own master, and caused them to be submerged in the depth of the abyss, in order that they who had not become better than their old selves through benefactions, would at least be changed through the repelling attacks, so that the song of prophecy became reality in them: "When he killed them, they sought him." Hades opened his mouth and swallowed the evil-doers alive, apart from those who had believed in the word of faith; the earth opened and received them, as once at the time of Moses it happened to Dathan and Abiron, for they inflamed the fire of the wrath of the Lord in their unlawful gathering, and the flame of chastisement burnt the sinners. How frightful is the happening, how great and awesome are the portents of the apostolic faith! The disciple of the Saviour Philip stretched out the hand of his entreaty and the earth swallowed those who raved about idols as once it swallowed the Pharaonites. The fools were swallowed alive into the hollows of the abyss, in order that they would recognise the Lord over life and death, who has the power to lead down to Hades and to lead up.

8. When this had thus been done, Christ who never left the heavens came again from heaven to his friends and disciples. He comforted them who suffered for his name with the promise of the eternal rewards; he held out with his word the reward for the passing sufferings; he restored the good cheer

προσκαίρων παθημάτων τῷ λόγῳ· ἀνακτᾶται τοῦ φοιτητοῦ τὴν ὀλιγορίαν· ὁ πάντα
 5 παραχωρῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον γίνεσθαι, καθ' οὓς οἶδεν αὐτὸς λόγους τῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς
 ἡμᾶς προμηθείας· ὀνειδίζει αὐτὸν ὡς μὴ τηρήσαντα τὴν ἐντολὴν μέχρι τέλους ἀδιαλώβητον,⁹⁸
 399r εἶτα καί·⁹⁹ | ὁρᾶτε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ φυλάσσεσθε τὸ πάθος· πρὸς γὰρ νοθεσίαν ἡμετέραν ταῦτα
 γέγραπται· ἵνα μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπέσωμεν· πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιτίθησιν ὡς δίκαιος, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς παρεθείσης ἐντολῆς ἐπιτιμίαν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· προλέγει ὁμοῦ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν τρόπον
 10 τῆς ἐκατέρου τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξόδου· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ αὐτοῦ
 σταυροῦ χαράξας ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, δι' αὐτοῦ ὡς διὰ φωτεινῆς τινοῦ κλίμακος ἀναβιβάζει τοὺς
 χωσθέντας·¹⁰⁰ ὡς τῆς τοῦ δεσπότητος φιλανθρωπίας· ὡς τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος εὐεργεσίας· παρεγένετο
 αὐθις ὡς ἀγαθός, καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς παρηγορήσων τῇ αὐτοπροσώπῳ ἐμφανείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς
 ὀλωλότας ἐπιστρέψων πρὸς παλίμβιον διαγωγὴν· ἦλθεν ἄλλοτε ὡς οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐζωοποίησεν
 15 διὰ τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σταυροῦ, τοὺς εἰς ἄβυσσον ἀπωλείας διὰ τῆς ἀγνωσίας
 κατενεχθέντας· διατί δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῖς καταπέμπει λυτήριον τῶν καθ' ἧδου μυχῶν ὁ
 σωτήρ, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον· ὅπως μάθωσι τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν κατὰ
 τοῦ θανάτου ἰσχύν· ὅπως γνῶσιν τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον κυριαρχίαν· ὅπως
 σημειωθῆ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦ νικοποιοῦ σταυροῦ· ὅπως φέροιεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐφεξῆς
 20 ἀνεκδοιάστως σωτήριον ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου κατὰ πάσης ἀντικειμένης ἐνεργείας· ἀνήχθησαν
 399v τοῖνυν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῶν κατωτάτων χωρίων τῆς | γῆς κλιμακῆδὸν διὰ τοῦ φωτοφόρου καὶ
 θεοτεύκτου σταυροῦ· ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι παράδοξα τέρατα διὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων
 αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλων· ἔγνωσαν τὴν κατὰ πάντων φυσικὴν δεσποτείαν τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν πανσόφων
 ἀποστόλων κηρυχθέντος ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὡμολόγησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἄγνοιαν καὶ
 25 ἦτταν· ἠὲ χαρίστησαν τῷ σωτῆρι τῷ ἀποστείλαντι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν
 τῶν πάλαι αὐτῶν ἀγνοημάτων· προσεκύνησαν μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ τρόμου, καὶ τοὺς τοῦ
 κυρίου πανευσεβεῖς μαθητὰς· ὀλολύζοντες· θρηνοῦντες ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀτόποις·
 γνησίως μεταμελόμενοι·¹⁰¹ ὁ γοῦν μέγας ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος, τὸν περὶ πίστεως αὐτοῖς καὶ
 σωφροσύνης λόγον αὐτάρκως ἐκθέμενος, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης σχεδόν, παρθενίας τε καὶ τῆς
 30 ἐν τούτοις εὐταξίας κανόνας ὑπαγορεύσας·¹⁰² καὶ πάντα συλλήβδην φάναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου
 αὐτῷ χρηματισθέντα, τοῖς περὶ τὸν μακάριον Βαρθολομαῖον ὀσιοπρεπῶς ἐντειλάμενος·¹⁰³ καὶ
 διαθήκη καὶ αὐτοῖς τῷ ὄντι μακαριστὴν τε καὶ θεοπρεπεστάτην καταλελοιπῶς, μετὰ τὸ ἱκανῶς
 ἐξομολογήσασθαι διὰ θείας ἐντεύξεως, τῷ κατὰ φύσιν δεσπότη καὶ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ,
 παρέδωκεν τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔτι κρεμάμενος, τοῖς θεοειδέσιν ἀγγέλοις·
 400r τὸ δὲ τούτου πανίερον σῶμα καθ' ὃν τρόπον συνέταξεν | τῷ ἀγίῳ Βαρθολομαίῳ κηδευ-
 36 θέν, ἢ τρισολβία αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυῦμνητος κάρα, παραχρῆμα μύρον εὐῶδες ἀνέβλυσεν· ἐξ ἧς
 ἀένναοι ποταμοὶ τῶν ἰαμάτων,¹⁰⁴ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο προχέονται εἰς δόξαν τοῦ σωτῆρος
 ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ·

9. Διὸ ἀγαπητοὶ οἱ συνηθόμενοι τῶν τοῦ ἀποστόλου παθημάτων, εὐσεβῶς ἐπιβῶμεν πρὸς τὸ
 τῆς ἐγκρατείας εὐάγωγον στάδιον τῆς ἐνεστώσης παμφαοῦς τεσσαρακοστῆς· νηστεύσωμεν·
 ἀγρυπνήσωμεν· μελετήσωμεν ἐν νόμῳ κυρίου διηνεκῶς· ἀφήσωμεν τῷ πέλας τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς
 ὀλίγα σφάλματα· ὡς ἂν ἀφεθῆ ἡμῖν πρὸς θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, τὰ πολλά τε καὶ πηλικά εἰς αὐτὸν
 5 παΐσματα· τοῦ γὰρ δευτέρου τὸ πρότερον αἴτιον, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔμπαλιν· νεκρώσωμεν

⁹⁸ Cf. *Passio* II 135–136 (66.10–17, 67.9–22 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

⁹⁹ It seems that something is missing here. It is, however, unlikely that a whole folium has fallen out, since the text on the next folium belongs to the same context.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *Passio* II 138 (70.13–19 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Passio* II 138 (71.17–20, 72.12–16 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

¹⁰² Cf. *Passio* II 142 (79.11–17, 80.3–13, 81.3–10 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

¹⁰³ Cf. *Passio* II 142 (78.17–22 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *Passio* II 148 (89.11–13 LIPSIVS–BONNET).

of the disciple. He who permits that everything happens for a profitable end, according to the principles of his good providence for us, which he alone knows, criticises him for not having kept the commandment unimpaired, then also ... See, brothers, and keep yourselves away from passions, for this is written for our admonishment, lest we fall into the same trap. Besides, being just, he imposed on the apostle also the punishment for the commandment that had been neglected, and at the same time prophesied the place and the manner of the departure from the body of both of the ones who were with him, and having made the sign of his vivifying cross in the air, he led up through himself as through some shining ladder those who had been buried. O the kindness of the master! O the benefaction of the Saviour! Being good, he came again in order to comfort the disciples through his personal appearance, and in order to turn back to the conduct of a new life those who were lost; being merciful, he came again and vivified through his precious and venerable cross those who through ignorance had fallen into the abyss of perdition. Why did the Saviour send down to them the cross as ransom from the vaults of Hades? In order that they would know the symbol of the faith, in order that they would learn the power of the cross against death, in order that they would learn the unsurpassed lordship of the one who had been crucified, in order that the light of the victory-bringing cross would be marked in them, too, in order that they would unhesitatingly carry it on their forehead in the days to come as salvation from all enemy activity. The men, then, were led up from the deepest places of the earth through the light-bringing and divinely-fashioned cross in the manner of a ladder; they glorified God who caused unexpected portents through his glorious apostles; they recognised the natural mastership over all of Jesus Christ who was proclaimed among them by the all-wise apostles; they confessed their ignorance and defeat; they venerated the most pious disciples of the Lord with great fear and trembling; they thanked the Saviour who had sent his own servants in order to ransom them from their old ignorance, crying, wailing about what wicked things they had done to them, genuinely repenting. The great apostle Philip, then, presented to them in a sufficient manner the teaching about faith and chastity and explained to them the rules of almost all virtues and of virginity and the good order in them, and, to say it in summary fashion, he piously told the followers of the blessed Bartholomew what had been revealed to him by the Lord, and left behind for them a truly blessed and most divine testament. And after he had sufficiently confessed through divine entreaty Christ, who is master and teacher by nature, he gave up his soul to the God-like angels while he was still hanging upside down. When his most sacred body was buried as he had told the holy Bartholomew, his thrice-blessed and much-praised head immediately poured forth sweet-smelling ointment, from which unceasing streams of healing gush forth until today to the glory of our Saviour Christ.

9. Therefore, beloved, you who rejoice at the sufferings of the apostle, let us enter the easily-managed stadium of abstinence of the imminent brightly shining forty days, let us fast, let us wake, let us constantly meditate on the law of the Lord, let us forgive the neighbour the few errors that he has committed against us, in order that the many and great sins against the God and Father be forgiven us by him, because the second is the cause of the first, and *vice versa*. Let us mortify our limbs on

τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς¹⁰⁵· μὴ σπείρωμεν εἰς τὴν σάρκα, ἵνα μὴ θερίσωμεν ἐξ αὐτῆς φθοράν¹⁰⁶· ἥτις ἐστὶ πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀκαθαρσία, πάθος, ἐπιθυμία κακὴ, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν αἰσχίστων παθῶν ὄχλος¹⁰⁷· ταῦτα γὰρ φύειν πέφυκεν ὁ σπόρος τῆς μέθης καὶ τῆς ἀδηφαγίας· ἀλλὰ σπείρωμεν εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα·¹⁰⁸ ὅπως θερίσωμεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ζῶην αἰώνιον· ὁ δὲ σπόρος
 10 τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστίν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ καρπός, *ἀγάπη· χαρὰ· εἰρήνη· μακροθυμία· χρηστότης· ἀγαθωσύνη· ἐπιείκεια· πραότης· ἐγκράτεια*¹⁰⁹· ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἁγιασμός τοῦ σώματος κατορθοῦται¹¹⁰,
 400v δι' οὗ καὶ τὸν σωτήρα ὀψόμεθα¹¹¹· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος εὐμενῶς τῆ
 15 σήμερον προσδέξεται ἡμῶν τὰς λογικὰς | θυσίας· εἴπερ ἴδιοι ἡμᾶς τοιουτοτρόπως παρεσκευ-
 400v ασμένους, εἰς ἀπαντὴν ἐξελεθῆν τῆς εὐχρήστου τῶν ἡμερῶν τεσσαρακοντάδος· καὶ ἀντιδοίη
 15 πλουσίως τὰς σωστικὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν δωρεάς· χαίρει γὰρ ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀειθαλῆ
 δένδρα τῆ τῶν ἀρετῶν κομῶντας καρποφορία· καὶ μάλιστα γε τῆ τῶν πενήτων διανομῆ καὶ τῶ
 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐλέω ἐξ ὧν διακονοῦμεν ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης συμβαίνει προτέρημα· *ἐσκόρπιζεν*
 γὰρ φησὶν *ἔδωκεν τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος*¹¹²· ἀλλὰ
 20 γὰρ καὶ τὸ *κέρας αὐτοῦ ὑψωθήσεται ἐν δόξῃ*¹¹³· καὶ ὄψεται ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς διάβολος τὴν τούτου
 σωτηρίαν καὶ ὀργισθήσεται· τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ βρῦξει καὶ τακήσεται·¹¹⁴ ταύτη τοι καὶ
 20 ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς ὡς οἷόν τε ἀνθρωπίνῃ λέγω φύσει τελέσαντες προσκυνητὰς τῆς ὁμοουσίου
 καὶ ἀρχικῆς τριάδος, ἀξιοθησώμεθα ἐν καθαραῖς καρδίαις, καὶ τὴν θεουργὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας
 παρθένου τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν ἐορτάσαι καὶ τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν
 ἐπιτυχεῖν· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δι' οὗ καὶ
 25 μεθ' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ πρέπει ἡ δόξα, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς
 τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Colossians 3:5.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Galatians 6:8a.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Galatians 5:19–20.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Galatians 6:8b.

¹⁰⁹ Galatians 5:22.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Hebrews 12:14

¹¹¹ Cf. Matthew 5:8.

¹¹² Psalm 111:9a; II Corinthians 9:9.

¹¹³ Psalm 111:9b.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Psalm 111:10.

earth, let us not sow into the flesh, lest we harvest from it corruption, which is fornication, adultery, impurity, passion, evil desire, and the remaining crowd of the most shameful passions, for these naturally arise from the seed of drunkenness and overeating, but let us sow into the spirit, in order that we harvest from it eternal life. But the seed or rather the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, long-suffering, uprightness, goodness, fairness, gentleness, abstention, through which the sanctification of the body is achieved, through which we will also see the Saviour. Thus also the apostle of the Lord, Philip, will today kindly receive our rational sacrifices, if indeed he sees us go out to welcome the good forty days, and will richly give us in return the salvific gifts of his benefactions, for he rejoices when he sees us like evergreen trees, luxuriant with the fruit-bearing of the virtues, and especially with the distributions among the poor and the mercy for them, through which the privilege of justice happens to be eternal in us, for he says: "He scattered, he gave to the poor, his justice remains forever, but his horn will also be raised in glory, and the sinning devil will see his salvation and will be angry, he will grind his teeth and will melt away." Thus we will make ourselves worthy venerators of the consubstantial and original Trinity, as far as it is possible for human nature, I mean, and we will be deigned worthy also to celebrate with pure hearts the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ from a holy virgin and will gain the eternal benefits, through the grace and mercy and kindness of the only-begotten Son of God, through whom and with whom glory is fitting to the Father, together with his holy and vivifying Spirit, now and forever and for all eternity. Amen.

