

# Theodore Bishop of Antioch

## Encomium on Theodore the Anatolian

### English translation

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The Coptic text and English translation of this so-called Encomium can be found in E.A.W Budge *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* (1915) pp.1-48 and 765-813. A description of the text is given on pp. xxxiii to xxxv. It is numbered Oriental 7030 and has 43 vellum leaves. According to Budge (p. xxxiii) the text bears clear signs of extensive use. The binding has fragments of another encomium, which, in the absence of a colophon, provides the date of the production of the volume: 995 AD. It is the only text in the manuscript. The pages numbers in brackets in the translation are those used in the book. The summary of the text can be found in pp. lxii to lxxv.

Theodore the Anatolian is also known as the General, and some of the texts about him and other warrior saints were published by E. O. Winstedt's *Coptic Texts on Theodore* (1910), but I have been unable to consult this work. A study of military saints can be found in C. Walter 'Theodore the Archetype of the Warrior Saint' *Revue des Études Byzantines* 57 (1999) pp. 163-210, where there is no mention of the Coptic tradition, largely I imagine because the Coptic work is fiction. The other main figure is Claudius, about whom there is also a literary tradition in Coptic, but I have no access to these texts. Diocletian is an historical figure, but the tradition about his being a goatherd is fiction. Psote of Psoi is also historically attested. Apart from them all the other characters in the text seem to belong to the realm of fiction. The connection with Egypt is made through Psote, the Bishop of Psoi, whose Teaching is also published by Budge in *Miscellaneous Texts*. The tradition that Diocletian was Egyptian named Agrippida (Akripitta in our text),<sup>1</sup> who had been brought up by the parents of Psote before becoming emperor, is attested elsewhere, e.g. the Encomium on Psote. Both Victor and Constantine are also historical figures, but they are simply mentioned by name in the text.

Budge describes the 'stirring events' in the text as relatively unusual in this sort of text, and this in my opinion is because the text is historical fiction thinly disguised as an encomium. Some of the characters in the text are historical and some are not. Budge observes that the book has only one text in it and 'was very much used', and I

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1 Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7. 45ff. records a possible 'tradition' about the name Agrippa: *in pedes procidere nascentem contra naturam est, quo argumento eos appellare Agrippas ut aegri partus*. Pliny goes on to say that Marcus Agrippa was the only example of someone born in this way who turned out well (*unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis*), but many did not, for example Nero. Whether Pliny believed this or not cannot be determined. Diocletian may have been identified in the popular imagination with Herod Agrippa who had persecuted the Church at Jerusalem and is probably the Herod in Acts 12.

suspect that it was used for entertainment rather than edification. The encomiast is named as Theodore of Antioch, a name sometimes given to Theodore of Mopsuestia (350 to c. 430) . The encomiast identifies himself as the presbyter of the archbishop Gaius who was present at some of the events mentioned in the text, which are somewhere in the 3rd cent. This, if nothing else, would exclude identification with the historical Theodore. Since the title of the work includes the word 'encomium', some attempt is made by the author to sustain the illusion that it was an encomium by speaking directly to his listeners. e.g after the letter written Claudius in Persian captivity on p. 21 of Budge's text, when Theodore of Antioch addresses the congregation to announce that, after having reached the end of 'episode 1' he is about to continue the narrative in 'episode 2'. It is striking how few Biblical references there are in the text, no more than a dozen in total, which is quite surprising in a text of this length and may give some idea of its 'secular' nature.

I am not aware that anyone has written about the intriguing topic of the 'Egyptianization' of Diocletian and his change of name. If texts in what might be called the Matter of Diocletian<sup>2</sup> were produced in a language other than Egyptian, one might be justified in regarding the writers as anti-Egyptian. If, however, they were produced in Egypt, one can only wonder about the state of mind of the people who wrote them. I have no access to other texts in the Diocletian-Agrippida cycle, so am unable to see how he is portrayed in them. In this text he is portrayed as vacillating and manipulable, particularly by his wife.

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2 On the analogy of the term used by the 12th cent. French poet Jean Bodel: *N'en sont que trois materes a nul home entendant / De France, et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant*, The Matter of Britain (Arthurian cycle), the Matter of France (Carolingian cycle) and the Matter of Rome (Greek and Roman mythology).

*An encomium delivered by Apa Theodore the Archbishop of Antioch on the holy champion and warrior, the strength of Antioch, the destroyer of the Persians, Saint Theodore the Anatolian, speaking about his birth, family, military career and his honourable state of being a soldier and his large income. It is also about the day of his blessed death, the 12th of Tôbe. <sup>3</sup>He speaks too about Apa Gaius the Archbishop of Antioch as the first before him of all the martyrs. He also says a little about Apa Claudius.<sup>4</sup> In the peace of God. Amen*

The orchard<sup>5</sup> is sweet, all its trees surrounding it planted and laden with fruits, my beloved. The blossom<sup>6</sup> is sweet and noble, giving off a select perfume (2), all the magnates<sup>7</sup> surrounding it, with the magnates and generals taking pleasure in it. These words are not about Antioch only, but they are about heavenly Jerusalem,<sup>8</sup> the home of the all the saints. Even if Diocletian the wrongdoer destroys the houses of the commanders of my city of Antioch because of his animus towards them, Christ himself. His Father's beloved, built for them in the palace in His city of truth, the heavenly Jerusalem. Even if Diocletian the wrongdoer separated them from their fathers and brothers and relatives on earth, the King of Kings Christ called them to Him brothers and companions like apostles<sup>9</sup> when they were on earth. The king of the earth called the strong of my city to him 'recruits'.<sup>10</sup> The immortal King Christ called them 'victorious warriors in the struggle'.<sup>11</sup> I myself, the least, Theodore, when I see the dwellings on earth that Diocletian has destroyed, I say: *Where<sup>12</sup> are the kings who have died and the commanders that Diocletian has destroyed ?* The magnates of my city have been cast down by this evil wild animal because of his hatred for them. But the philanthropic Lord has received them into His kingdom and given them an inheritance in His kingdom. It is a city that will never crumble, whose trees will never wither and whose fruits will never decay. It is the place of eternal happiness and joy and rejoicing. Shame on

3 According to the Gregorian calendar this is Jan. 21

4 Budge thinks that this may be the martyred saint mentioned in the Ethiopian Synaxary. He cites B.M. Or. 686 fol. 227 b ff. for a fuller life. This ms. also contains the martyrdom of George

5 I suspect the reading to be **ΠΟΜΑΡΙΟΝ** (πωμάριον) from the Lat, *pomarium*). Later

6 The word is partially obscured, so I have used Budge's word

7 Coptic **ΝΟΘ** 'great'

8 I do not understand how Budge's translation, which makes good sense, can be extracted from the text: **ΝΕΙΜΜΑΥ ΝΘΙΘΙΛΗΜ ΝΤΠΕ.**

9 e.g. Matth. 23, 8

10 Lat. *tiro*.

11 Ro. 8, 36

12 Misprint. Read **ΤΩΝ**.

you, Diocletian, you are in Amente below, while all the saints are in the kingdom of heaven. Lawless kings are in Amente because of the evil things they have done to the holy martyrs, while these saints are in the kingdom of heaven. You wrongdoer, you took them to a (3) city ruled by death, but<sup>13</sup> they were taken to a city where death had no power over them. You wrongdoer, you did not kill them like everyone else, you ured them to death.<sup>14</sup> For truly, Diocletian, when I think of your rule and the wickedness you committed on the great men of Antioch, I curse you, revile you and despise you. You evil blood-shedding lion, you bloodthirsty bear, you serpent of the abyss. When I think of the honours of those taken up to heaven, their memory enduring on earth, the people celebrating them, the healing powers assigned to their bodies, granting cures to the sick in the name of the saints, their shrines built next to each other on earth, then I say: *You were born wretchedly for your own destruction and these holy martyrs have died well at your hands and received the indestructible crown in the kingdom of heaven.* For truly, when I think of what you did to Saint Theodore the Anatolian, I grieve and am distressed. For truly in the wicked acts you perpetrated on the magnates of Antioch, Diocletian, when I see the tree<sup>15</sup> on which you crucified Theodore the Anatolian, his holy blood staining it and when I remember the 153 nails which you drove into his holy body on the tree, I weep bitterly and curse you, Diocletian. When I look up and see his throne on the right hand of Michael outside the veil of the Father, I am able to rejoice and say: It is good that you were born, Diocletian, so that<sup>16</sup> you might the mighty Theodore the Anatolian that he might (4) win this great honour in heaven before Christ. The tree on which you<sup>17</sup> were crucified, the king Constantine ordered it to be made into the entrance to his shrine and the apse of his altar and the bed on which his body lies. When I think of what you did to Victor the son of Romanos, I grieve that you felt no shame before his father who killed him. When I think of the stones over which you dragged him, stained with his holy blood. When I think of the chains with which he was bound, hanging at the entrance to his holy shrine which he uses to cast out demons and again the stones stained with his holy blood fixed to his shrine, lining the way to my

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13 The pronoun **ζωοϋ** is adversative.

14 One has to read either **ἤτακμοϋϋτοϋ** (you killed them) or **ἤταϋμοϋ** (they died).

15 For this form see Crum 603b. The persea tree occurs in the story of the Two Brothers, preserved in Late Egyptian (cf. W.K. Simpson and others *The literature of Ancient Egypt* 2004 p.89), where it is clearly associated with rebirth.

16 The verbal prefix **ᾠANTE-** is usually rendered 'until' but the conjunction of purpose seems more appropriate to English

17 Abrupt change of address from Diocletian to Theodore.

city, I thank God and say: *It is good that you were born, Diocletian that you might kill all these saints.* They have become like angels in heaven and on earth. When I see the sword of Horion, the companion of Victor, its gold blade<sup>18</sup> hanging from his shrine and again lift my eyes to heaven and see his crown of gold and his royal diadem, 24 angels supporting them in heaven and see the Christ the King comforting him, I compare my tribulations to yours, my beloved Victor. When I see his courtyard growing with trees, springs of water in them and columns dripping with honey at all times and I see the joy of his community in heaven, being moved this way and that, I say that it good that Diocletian was born and killed this warrior on earth that he might receive his inheritance in heaven, and then I bless his true creator Christ for he he has remembered my city of Antioch. He set up (5) for us these great luminous beacons, these true pearls which are in the house of the just kings, the valiant in war. When I walk among their shrines on earth and see their portraits next to each other, as if they had just left the battlefield, then I rejoice and am able to cry out loud, I am unable to seal my lips again or to put a muzzle on my lips and mouth for joy when I look at them. I am unable to prevent my tongue from moving its organ and speaking in their honour. For when I see the palace of Diocletian, the killer of the magnates of Antioch, which is under the governance<sup>19</sup> of the philanthropic king, and I see his places of idols destroyed and I make them churches where the Gospel is read out and I see his lawless throne having been moved beneath him and I see his lawless chamber in ruins, I say that it is good that the overweening Diocletian has been humiliated. The God-loving and humble monarch has been set up for us and he remembered his companionship with them and his commandership. He was granted the throne in Antioch. When I see Martha the mother of Victor weeping bitterly for her son and hear Thebasia the sister of Apa Claudius sadly weeping for her brother and see Tekharis the sister of Theodore the Anatolian at the foot of the persea tree weeping for her brother and I see Asennêth the sister of Apa Stephen<sup>20</sup> the son of Basilides weeping for her, when I see all these weeping, I say what a bad thing it was, Diocletian, that you were born. Then too, when I lift up my eyes to heaven and see these saints sitting (6) upon the thrones of glory and being crowned by angels, I say that it is good that you were born that these saints might receive a crown through your agency. For when I

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18 πέταλον ? possibly <Τ>ΕΣΠΕΔΑΛΟΝ 'its blade'.

19 κατάστασις

20 cf. Ethiopian Synaxary Tekemt 9

see their holy shrines around my city of Antioch like a wall and hear the gold bell hanging from the veil of their shrines and see the people crying out on their feast day, I rejoice and bless Christ the King: *It is good that God has set up for us these great luminous beacons that they might shed light on our entire city, these doctors who heal our souls and bodies together, these commanders who are resolute, who fight for the name of Christ the whole time, the warriors who wage war the whole time with Satan.* And He established for us the God-loving monarch Constantine, their companion commander whom they had known from birth, for they were warriors. He built their shrines in all honour. He looked for their bodies and brought them to light, they comforting their people with all of us and strengthening our entire city for our God-loving monarch, he knowing their strengths from birth, for they had fought against the rebellious barbarians. When he saw that he had become monarch and that he needed them all the more in battles, knowing that their power had increased, he honoured them all the more that they might enhance his status in his kingdom. He did not wish to dispense with the companionship of Theodore the Anatolian, knowing his valour and honour from their childhood. He honoured him that he might enhance his prestige all the more. I, Theodore the least, will not remain silent in commemorating Saint Theodore the Anatolian, because we eat (7) from his table, and it encourages his valour, for if I fall, he will pick me up; if my enemy pursues me, he will save me from him; if my ship capsizes, he will steer me and bring me to shore; if I make a slip in his encomium, he will be patient with me, until I stop rambling and my stability is restored to me. For this reason I will move the organ of my tongue uprightly and I will speak in commemoration of this saint Theodore the Anatolian. I will open my mouth in joy and say that which is supplied to it by the Holy Spirit.

Saint Theodore, whom we are celebrating today, was the son of Soterichus the brother of Ptolemy the ruler, the father of Apa Claudius. They were from Tarsus in Cilicia, in the same garden<sup>21</sup> as each other. The grandfather of Theodore and Claudius was called Samar, a very wealthy man with extensive grain fields, gardens, vineyards and orchards. He was a merchant who bought all that he had in that region because of his considerable wealth. After a long life he died like other men and left all his property to his children, Ptolemy the father

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<sup>21</sup> κῆπος. According to G.W.H.Lampe *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (1961) 750b this term can be used metaphorically of the Church. Perhaps it simply means they grew up together.

of Claudius and Soterichus the father of Theodore. When the mourning period was over, a great dispute between the two arose because of the property of their father. Both arose and came to Antioch to the king that he might settle it. Ptolemy the father of Claudius was much older than Soterichus the father of Theodore. Ptolemy gave a gold centenarium<sup>22</sup> behind the back of the father of Apa (8) Theodore and gave it to Euhius<sup>23</sup> the king. When the king saw their wealth and their rank,<sup>24</sup> he gave his daughter in marriage to Ptolemy. But Soterichus the father of Apa Theodore, Ptolemy told Euhius the king: *He is my brother and we have the same father.* And he made him a member of his council. The king sent to Tarsus and transferred them to Antioch. The king loved them. The king gave Soterichus his niece Sophia in marriage. Both were very strong and thrived in Antioch. When they went out for military exercise, they both went in royal chariots. It then became known that both were married to a daughter of the king.

These two luminous beacons, Theodore and Claudius, were the issue of the marriages. Thereupon they sent for archbishop Gaius and he prayed over the small children. A great feast was held for the archbishop and the courtiers of the palace and the whole of Antioch on that day. Their fathers did not name them without the approval of the archbishop, and Apa Gaius blessed them in the zeal of his spirit. When the days of their purification<sup>25</sup> were over, the archbishop took the two children and placed them before the altar and prayed over them. He uncovered their faces and saw their names written in their forehead: the letter *thêta* on the son of Soterichus and the letter *gamma*<sup>26</sup> on the son of the king's daughter. These two letters were revealed to everyone, who were amazed. Apa Gaius the archbishop was astonished by what had happened to the children. A voice came forth from the (9) column under which these small children were sleeping: *Theodore the Anatolian and Claudius the Persian.* The archbishop offered sacrifice on that day and there was a great celebration in Antioch, with a great entertainment for everyone. Those of the palace loved Claudius

22 Weight of 100 lb. The term survives in German as *Zentner*, the mod. equivalent of 50 approx kg. (depending on the federal state)

23 The name of a god with Dionysiac associations in the Black Sea region cf. the inscription in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 35, 1327 of a Dionysiac dancer at Amastris who says that he led the rite (τελετή) for the triennial (festival of the) god Euhius. But I cannot locate a 'king' of this name at this time.

24 σπαθάρτος 'guardsman'

25 Is this a reference to the period of Mary's purification and Jesus' presentation described in Lk. 2, 22-40 ?

26 One might perhaps have expected *kappa*. In the name Kaios, usually understood to be Gaius, κ and ϰ, followed by a vowel/diphthong, are clearly interchangeable: the unvoiced velar fricative can replace the voiced. This is less probable in the case of a consonant followed by another consonant: 'Glaudios' seems unlikely, but cf. Crum 90a.

because of his rank. Though his father Ptolemy had not yet become king, he was the equal of a king. Freeborn wetnurses were appointed to wean the two. Father Apa Gaius the archbishop baptized them both because they were together at all times and of one family. He gave the name to each of them according to the lot that had happened upon him. When the name of Theodore was inspected, his mother called him Anatolian, according to the name of her city of Anatole. Saint Claudius was given the name Persian because of the nationality of his mother.

A year after the birth of the two saints, king Euhios dies and the father of Apa Claudius became king. He made Soterichos the father of Apa Theodore the equal of a king, and they both administered the affairs of the kingdom. There was an important merchant in Antioch who lived next to him called Romanus, who was extremely wealthy. He gave a centenarium of gold to Soterichus the father of Apa Theodore to make him a commander in the kingdom. Soterichus took the money and appointed him to the position, for he was Romanus' brother-in-law. In those days, the year of the birth of the saints, sacrifice was made to the two and all the people of Antioch were in admiration of their honour. Their fathers spent 27 days (10) making<sup>27</sup> for all those in the city for the birthday of the children, whether in the palace or the house of the widows and orphans. The names of the two were engraved on the stone gates of the city: Theodore and Claudius the sons of the king. They attended the same school,<sup>28</sup> those of the entire city wishing to see them because of their comeliness, rank, wisdom, their beautiful images and the splendour of their garments, and the number of cymbals<sup>29</sup> sounding before them. For when they wanted to go to the church to attend Mass, the whole city was informed that the two were on their way to the church to attend Mass. A great crowd gathered on the garbage dumps<sup>30</sup> of Antioch and the high places and roofs of their houses to see them seated in the royal chariot. The road on which they travelled to the church was festooned with purple<sup>31</sup> cloth and linen kerchiefs<sup>32</sup> and streamers<sup>33</sup> and it was cleaned and

27 Something like 'feast' has to be supplied here.

28 Lit. 'A single school it was in which both where' (ΟΥΑΝΖΗΒ ΝΟΥΩΤ <Τ>Ε ΕΤΟΥΝΖΗΤΣ ΝΠΕCΝΑΥ)

29 Associations

30 Presumably those at the side of the road.

31 Coptic **ⲭⲏⲟⲉ** means 'dye'

32 Lat. *semicinctium*

33 If this is 'topaz', a semi-precious stone mentioned several lines later with other stones, then it would probably mean that the 'kerchiefs' were studded with the stones. It might be worth considering whether the Coptic word **ⲧⲟⲡ** (Crum 422a) 'border, edge of a garment', in this context a sort of ribbon or streamer, has been furnished with an inappropriate suffix to produce a Greek-looking word.



sprinkled<sup>34</sup> with fine musk and ...<sup>35</sup> They sat together in a place of honour and with seemliness in the church, everyone at the back of them admiring their beauty. Their mother had made for them pomegranates of gold and silver, with which they sprinkled water on themselves. Their tables and goblets were of gold and silver and their stands of precious stones, emeralds, topaz, adamite and chrysolite. The name of each one was written on their tables in equal size and splendour and Mass was said by their father Gaius. I, the wretched Theodore, was an altar server for Theodore on that day. When the children arrived at the church for Mass, (11) the archangel Michael and Gabriel stood at either side of them. Michael took Theodore's hand and put a sword into it, saying: *Take this sword. Theodore, and be victorious and prevail and pursue our enemies with it, like Abinnaius<sup>36</sup> the champion of Israel, for your hand will fight and your right hand will be victorious. I am Michael the archangel. Christ has already granted you to me as a grace in His kingdom that you might take my crown in war, for you have already been named in heaven.* Gabriel spoke with Claudius at his right hand side, stretching out to him his sword of fire in his hand, saying: *Take this sword to destroy the barbarian and pursue the Persians with it. Take my great humility and glory, Claudius, for I am called 'god and man'<sup>37</sup> and 'you will be called 'commander and son of the king' Theodore has been given to my fellow archangel in heaven and you have been given to me in heaven.* When Apa Gaius saw the vision and was astonished, he was very troubled. He arose and said to me: *My son Theodore, whether I live or die, Claudius and Theodore will become famous in the whole world. for their valour. I tell you, my son Theodore, that the name of these will become famous, like the apostles of Christ. Their name will reach the Persians.* I begged his pardon, saying: *Forgive me, my holy father. Did you by chance see a revelation concerning these children of the king ?* He said to me: *My son Theodore, I saw them both handed over to (12) the two rulers of the court of Christ the King, Michael and Gabriel that they might be victorious in war. I was told that Theodore was assigned to Michael and Claudius to Gabriel and I believe, my son Theodore, that they will be blessed in their death and in their life.* Afterwards the two saints came out of the church on that day in great splendour and glory as far as the ships<sup>38</sup> of the

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34 Crum 249a

35 Text has **ανκρατωρ**, but I am unable to identify the word. Budge translates 'laurel and syringa'

36 2 Sam. 23, 22

37 Budge points out that the name Gabriel is a composite: גַּבְרִי (man) and אֵל (God).

38 If the word is 'ship', it is written in the singular form with a pl. art. Crum 754a. Are they royal barges ?

kingdom. Their names were written on their banners as leaders of battle and royal children. Their fathers made a bracelet of gold for each of them. They were given a thousand servants each, and both were wearing royal garments,<sup>39</sup> they being similar to each other in appearance, grace, wisdom and understanding. The sister of Theodore was married to Claudius and vice-versa, so that the royal families might be joined, honour with honour and greatness with greatness. From the moment the angel of the Lord touched them, he removed the stain from them and all earthly contamination. They forgot about marriage and taking a wife. They became like angels, like eunuchs almost, distinct from men. From that day the saints did not go to the baths to clean themselves and they were never naked. The widows and orphans waited on the road on which they walked, receiving alms from their servant, while their masters gave to them, giving to the needy on these roads. Their allowance was a thousand (13) solidi for each one in the royal palace. The saints never wished for banquets with cymbals and flutes.<sup>40</sup> They did not like theatres and they did not like places of musical entertainment.<sup>41</sup> They had no wish for concubines and they did not even look at them. As royal children they had no wish for the pomp of this world. But they remained in a state of equilibrium, with psalms, prayers and vigils. If they wanted the things of war, they took the book of Alexander<sup>42</sup> and read from as a comfort to them. Both saints spent 15 years in the splendour of the kingdom. When they were small, they were loved by all those of rank like angels of God because of their good upbringing and decorous life, so that the Persians heard their name and were in admiration of them.

At that time there was war between the Romans and the Persians because of the ships that had been destroyed while on the seas. A dispute arose between them, so that<sup>43</sup> many people perished in the war. The Roman king sent his army, together with his own son, and forces. Soterichus remained in the palace with his son the Theodore, for they were taking care of the imperial throne. Two battles took place on the river Tanobis.<sup>44</sup> The Roman king said to his forces: *Whatever spoils you take from the Persians, they are yours*. The Persian king said

39 I cannot identify this word. Budge unfortunately does not give the Greek forms in his index, only the Coptic ones.

40 Crum 320b

41 Theatres (ⲙⲁⲛⲓⲑⲉⲱⲣⲉⲓ). Two forms of the same verb are reproduced here: ⲙⲉⲣⲉ- and ⲙⲙⲣⲉ- (the latter is improbable) cf. Crum 156a

42 Budge cites a work of his own *Life and exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896)

43 σχεδόν

44 I take this to be the Danube, but I know of no Roman-Persian encounters on the Danube, though the Achaemenid Empire (6th cent. BC) had possessions in the Balkans

the same to his men. They met each other in a very broad place.<sup>45</sup> They spent forty days (14) scrutinizing each other on the Tanoubis and feeding their animals. Before fighting, they formed stratagems about how to wage war. The devil, the hater all things good, when he saw that they were not fighting, went to the Persians in the form of a messenger from the Romans. He charged the king and his army, saying: *What are you doing sitting here<sup>46</sup> and not fighting each other? The Romans despise you and your army. They call you 'godless heathens' and disparage your gods, the sun and the moon, that they are not gods. Orders are given to destroy your cities, to burn them and lay them waste, to destroy your temples and seize your kingdom and subjugate it. I know them. They are merciless. Look, I am telling you what I heard. If you tolerate them and do not kill them, champions will rise up from among them and oppress all the more. A family has emerged among them that is extremely valiant in war, and I will tell you their names: the elder is Theodore the Anatolian. The word of his mouth is a lion's roar. His sword a burning fire with which he fights against you. As for that one, when he is old enough, he will trouble you very much. There are others, Justus and Stephanus and Dioscorus and an Egyptian named Theodore the Commander, together with Apa Patêr, a valiant champion, and Euhius and others after them. Now, strengthen yourselves against these brave champions I have told you about.* (15) And after all these words<sup>47</sup> of accusation he spoke to the Persians he vanished from them and changed his appearance and went to the others. He assumed the guise of a Persian messenger. He taxed the heart of the others by telling them what the Persians were saying: *We will not return home until we have destroyed the Roman empire in its entirety and take its king to our country, attached to a chain like a dog<sup>48</sup> and we will make his children servants in our service like those of Babylon.* After he had said this, he vanished from them and sat between the two battle lines of the Persians and the Romans. He cast divisiveness and enmity between them. The first time they fought each other 10,000 men were killed. On the second day 21,000 men died. In the first slaughter the Romans captured the Persian prince<sup>49</sup> on his chariot. On the third day they took the Persian prince and fled. The entire force was strengthened by the slaughter that had taken place and the quantity of blood that

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45 Usually spent **μα**

46 This phrase occurs several more times in the text.

47 The relative clause **ἔΓΑΙΧΟΟΥ ΝΗΤῆ ΕἸΒΗΗΤΟΥ** (I have told you about') is repeated here and I have left it out

48 Read: **ΕΓΚΜΟΝΤ̄ ΕΠΕΦΚΛΑΑ**

49 Lit. 'son of the king of the Persians'.

had flown and the rotting dead bodies lying on the ground. The Romans cried out: *We have taken the Persian prince*. There was great joy. They came to the river Tanobis that they might bathe, the Romans, because of the exertion and blood of those they had killed. When the Persians came looking for the king's son, they did not find him on his chariot. They were very troubled and they said: How are we to explain this to his father that he has been taken ? Let us pursue the Romans and take the son of the king before we go to our own country. They then pursued the Romans (16) and stopped at the banks of the Tanobis, wishing to cross and go their country. The Persians found the chariot in which Claudius had been riding to one side of the army. The Persians thought that it was the son of the king and once again they engaged in battle. They killed 50,000 men with their army and were victorious over the Romans. They took Claudius and went home. The Romans were grieved that the son of their king had been taken. The Persians were grieved that the son of their king had been taken.

Claudius was taken to Persia and set before the king. They said to him: *Our lord, your enemies have taken your son Kratôr , but this is the son of their king we have brought to you*. When the king saw Claudius, he said to him: *Are you the son of the Roman king ?* The king was in admiration of his beauty and his wisdom and his rank, because he was wearing imperial clothes and the cowl of youth. His grace revealed itself that he was the son of the king. He replied: *Once I was the son of the Roman king. Today I am a servant of the king. I am standing in his presence*. Afterwards the priests saw how beautiful Claudius was in his appearance. They said to the king: *This boy would truly be a worthy sacrifice to the gods for the salvation of your son who has been taken by the Romans in war*. The queen then looked through her bedroom window and saw how beautiful Claudius was. She became captivated by the boy, and it occurred to her that she might speak to the king: *My lord, who lives forever, I beg you not to harm this imperial child, because he is so beautiful in his appearance, (17) his person and his wisdom. Does it not occur to you, my lord, that it was a woman's womb that supported this boy like everyone else and a woman's breasts that suckled him like my own beloved son and that, as I am mad with grief for my own beloved son, the mother of this boy is mad with grief for him ? If you kill him and his father hears of it, he will kill my beloved son in retaliation<sup>50</sup> and we will become childless. In truth, my lord,*

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50 Coptic: **ⲛⲧⲉⲓⲁⲫⲟⲣⲙⲏ**

*a just tribunal has taken place in the middle of heaven: each one has become responsible<sup>51</sup> for his son. I will never allow you, my lord, to kill this boy, handsome in appearance and honoured as a royal child. And you know that, in the year when we decided to take a bride for our son and a bridegroom for his sister, we saw a great honour in their family. If it happens that our son is released, I will give my daughter Kesen to him in marriage. The queen beguiled<sup>52</sup> the heart of the king with good words towards Claudius and turned him away from killing him. Claudius started to weep copiously in the house of the queen: *Who will inform my father and my mother of my distress and tell them of my wretchedness, saying that their son Claudius is on the verge of death with the king. Who is my messenger today to inform my father and my mother of my distress that I am alive by the mercy of the Lord ? Who will tell my father and my mother to be good to the Persian prince who is with them that God may put mercy in his heart that he be merciful to me. Who is the bearer of my news to tell my brother Theodore that Claudius (18) greets you warmly. Who will take my news and tell my sister of my grief ? Who will tell my beloved mother to shed a tear for her son ? Claudius is in the hands of a wicked tyrant. Would that I find a merciful person that I may write for him a letter that he might take it and bring it to my father Ptolemy. I know nobody here that I might pay him and send him to my father and my mother.* This and things like this Apa Claudius was saying in his chamber. weeping, while the daughter of the king stood by. As she talked to him, she wept because of the sweet words he was saying. But then a vision of light appeared above him and the whole place became like burning fire, as if the palace of the king were alight. At that moment the archangel Gabriel appeared to Apa Claudius and spoke with him, saying: *Hail Claudius, the one to whom I gave a name at the first sacrifice. Hail, the one I have watched over since his childhood, why are you weeping and sighing because you are in the hands of a mortal king, while the King of heaven and earth is watching over you for Himself on all sides ? I am Gabriel, the one to whom the true King Christ gave you when you were small. He gave Theodore the Anatolian to Michael the archangel that he might watch over him. Why are you afraid of the mortal novices of the earth, while the angels of the Lord are watching over you for Him on all sides ?* Claudius said to him: *My lord, I am afraid of the two Persians because I have fallen into the hands of evil barbarians. Whether they kill me or make me a sacrifice for their gods, I am disgraced**

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51 Lit. 'lord of'

52 Crum 325b

(19) before the God of heaven. If I am joined in defiled marriage against my wishes I will give (them) a son of the family of my parents. The archangel Gabriel said to him: I tell you that no evil will happen to you as you think. Since you have come to this country, Claudius, it is necessary for Theodore the Anatolian to come to you and you will see him face to face. And both of you will be famous and this whole country will be destroyed by your name. The peace of Christ my King will be with you and you will be whole in His holy name. The archangel Gabriel said this and disappeared. The queen saw the vision of light that had appeared over Claudius in the midst of fire and was very apprehensive. She came to the king and said to him: My lord, send this boy to his father, for it is our obligation.<sup>53</sup> I saw the fire that blazed all night in his place of within.<sup>54</sup> To be sure the God of his fathers will destroy our city in retaliation for him. When the king heard this, it pleased him to send Claudius home. But the magnates of the palace did not let him do this. The queen said to him: If you love your son, be good to this imperial child, and perhaps God will bend the heart of his father towards good for our child. If my counsel pleases you and my words are gone<sup>55</sup> into your ears, give him papyrus and ink that he may write with his own hands to his father that he is alive and has come to no harm. Perhaps he will send our beloved son to us and we can release his son in all honour. If it is his wish, I will give him Gesen (20) my daughter in marriage. The king was persuaded by what Aliphorus the queen said. He immediately had Claudius brought before him. He said to the boy: Tell me which of the gods of your father came to you in the night. There was a light of fire as it were burning the palace. Was it the Anatolian god whose name has become very famous in this way? For I have seen a vision for the last three nights, calling to me: Look, Theodore the Anatolian is coming against you and it is your fault. Perhaps it was he who came to you in the night, intending to burn us. The saint Apa Claudius said to the king Agaborne,<sup>56</sup> for this was his name: No, my lord. It was the angel of my Lord Jesus Christ who came to me in the night. And it was He who sent me to die in the midst of your army. It was also He who put mercy into your heart. You have been good to me. Concerning Theodore the Anatolian, whose name you have heard, he is

53 Coptic: ΠΑΝΑΓΚΗ ΉΜΟΝ. A more usual formulation might perhaps be something like: ΧΕΤΑΝΑΝΓΚΗ ΕΡΟΝ ΤΕ

54 Coptic is not possible: ΠΟΙ ΠΕΖΟΥΝ. Perhaps ΠΠΖΟΥΝ.

55 This relatively unusual English formulation is intended to reflect what I believe to be the force of the Qualitative used here: ΒΗΚ. The verb 'come' (ΝΗΥ) appears more frequently in the Qual. form than 'go' (ΒΩΚ)

56 𐩣𐩺𐩨 (agha) is a title, and one might speculate that the name might be some mutilated form of Bahram, one of the Persian kings of the 3rd cent.AD. But as this is a work of fiction the name would probably be a distant echo of any real name.

my brother. The king said to the saint: *I want you to write to your father in your own handwriting that he might send my son to me with Theodore the Anatolian that I may see him and release you so that you may go to your father honourably.* Saint Claudius wrote to his father as follows: *In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Holy Consubstantial Trinity, unchanging and immutable, unknown to the power of heaven and earth, and the immortal elements, He who knows the sun in its tireless work, He who changes the moon to smallness on the completion of its cycle, He who adorned the heavens with shining stars, He will preserve your kingdom, (21) Ptolemy my father. Be glad that I am alive, I your son Claudius, taken by the Persians in battle. God has preserved me so far. He has given me grace and beauty in the sight of the king and queen. First, my father, be good to the king's son who is in your hands. My beloved mother, I am writing to you, and to my beloved sister and my brother Theodore the Anatolian and my father Gaius the archbishop, to greet you all in the name of the Lord. I am here in the chamber of the queen in great honour. So send the king's son to me and my companion Theodore the Anatolian that the king may release me, as he has said to me. It is I Claudius who write to you, Ptolemy my father, with my own hand.* He then wrote some secrets that he shared with his father and mother and gave the letter to the king.

I will now tell you, my beloved, what happened to the Romans. After the fighting was over and they went home, they looked for Claudius but did not find him on his chariot. What happened then<sup>57</sup> in the palace at that time when they said that Claudius had been taken ? When his mother heard , she tore her garments and put ashes on her head. She rent her hair with Thebasia her sister and the magnates of the palace. Her children tore their garments. The widows and orphans all began to weep for him because of the charity he had shown to them and the needy. His mother also began to weep, saying: *Woe to me, my beloved son Claudius, what (22) am I to do in war, I my son ? Not even a chariot of the kings who have taken you from me.* <sup>58</sup> *Who will I find to carry my news to you ? Thebasia your sister is full of grief and bitter tears because of your distress, my beloved son. What I am to do with*

57 ἄρα. Theodore has just made a direct appeal to the audience/congregation and seems to be following it with a question designed to continue to engage the listeners' attention. One might understand an ellipse: 'And you may well ask ...'

58 An ellipse of some sort: οὐδὲ ἄρμα ..., but it is not entirely clear what she means. (I do not even have) a chariot ... ?

*your royal coronet now that I have been deprived of your sweet face ? What am I do with your gold necklace, my son, who has been taken to a foreign country. Would that I knew the barbarian who took you that I might ransom you four times over. Perhaps he will release you. Who is the wicked barbarian who saw my son and harmed him ? I entreat you, commanders and magnates of the palace, if they have killed my beloved son Claudius, tell me the truth and I will prepare a burial worthy of him and place in the royal tomb and weep for him. Perhaps I will find a little comfort. But no. A queen finds no<sup>59</sup> comfort if her husband is taken. There is not comfort in a palace where there is weeping. A bird deprived of its young has no comfort. An orphan deprived of its parents has no comfort. A widow deprived of her helper has no joy. I have no comfort or joy, my beloved son Claudius having been taken from me. You have no brother, my son, to provide me with comfort. Truly, I look for you every day, like an angel of God. Once again,<sup>60</sup> I have no comfort because I have been deprived of your sweet face.*

In a word,<sup>61</sup> there was great weeping throughout the entire city of Antioch. Some wept because of the beauty of his person, some because this boy was ideal for the kingdom, others because of his rank. The king was confounded because of (23) the grief for his son Claudius. Afterwards Soterichus the father of Apa Theodore went to him, saying: *May the king live forever. If Claudius your son has been taken, the Persian prince has been brought to you alive. Ask him to write to his father. If Claudius is still alive, he will release him to you and you can release his son.* The king said to Soterichus: *Send for the archbishop and he will bring the Persian prince that he may write to his father about my beloved son Claudius.* They then considered this for a month. When the letter of Claudius arrived at Antioch, what joy there was on that day. When the letter was read aloud, the name of Theodore was found, the king asking for him that he might see him. The king then sent for him and his contingent of soldiers, for he was keeping watch because of the barbarians. He did not know what had happened to Claudius. Saint Theodore then came to the palace and found the servants of Claudius, the garments they were wearing torn. He asked what was wrong and why they were grieving so. They told him what had happened to Claudius. He

59 The negative vb. 'not to be' is used in a spelling (ME): according to Crum 166b, this form is found in Fayyumic texts, where it is used in combination with the preposition NTE-, as in MECOACX NTEZAAHT... 'A bird ... has no comfort'.

60 Repetition of the opening statement.

61 'Simply' ZAPXOC



wept copiously for him. He then went to the king and asked him about Claudius his son, saying to him: *Do not be despondent, my lord. I will go and bring my brother Claudius here to you. If I happen to die with him, I will not stop until I bring him to you.* The king made all preparations for their travel that they might be on their way. The queen was not confident about sending Theodore for her son: *Let not the king seize him* (24), because she loved him greatly. She said: *I am afraid that the king will seize them both and I grieve for them.* The king then sent for the archbishop and said to him: *My holy father, watch over the king's son entrusted to you until I ask you for him, because I have made peace with his father that he might send my son to me and I his son to him.* The archbishop said to him: *My lord, he is in my care. We eat together at the same table. But he is troubled by a spear wound in his side from the war.* The king said to the archbishop: *Take a doctor of the kingdom and go into him and heal him until I write to his father. Prepare yourself, my father, and go to the Persian king and bring me Claudius my son because I am grieving for him.* The archbishop said to him: *As you command, your servant will go forthwith.* The king sent soldiers and magnates of the kingdom with much ceremony and Saint Theodore. And they left the Persian prince with me, the lowly Theodore when I was presbyter under the command of my father Gaius the archbishop, whose successor I am.

They then set forth to the land of the Persians and sent messengers ahead of them to inform the Persian king that they had come for peace. The king announced to the whole city: Come to meet my son and Theodore the Anatolian who has come with him that we may know what sort of person he is. The palace was festooned with garlands to greet them. The people of the city came out (25) to meet them, for the name of the Anatolian had become famous. When they entered, the entire city trembled with excitement, even the women. They went on to the roofs. The archbishop was praised to the king, who said to him: *Are you the god of the Romans, wearing this habit ?*<sup>62</sup> The archbishop replied: *No, I am not God. Heaven forbid ! I am His high priest and I pray for the sins of the people. I have been sent to you by the Roman king to give you these gifts and the news that your son is alive.* The king said to him: *Why did you not bring him to me ?* The archbishop said: *He is in Antioch, but by your health, my lord, your son is alive. And I will bring him to you if you release Claudius to me.*

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62 Greek: **CXHMA**.

The king said to him: *Where is Theodore the Anatolian that I may see him ?* The archbishop said to him: *He is outside the palace with the letter of the king and the magnates of the court.* The king then ordered him to be brought to him and said to him: *Are you Theodore the Anatolian. Show me your strength. Your name has become famous because of it.*<sup>63</sup> The saint said to him: *The strength and valour and combat*<sup>64</sup> *belong to the Lord. And this name by which I am known belongs to Michael the Archangel, who gave it to me.* The king said: *I will not release you until you have given a display of valour in this city that I may see you.* The saint said: *My lord, I have already told you that the strength and valour belong to the Lord. But I will tell you this, that if I had been in battle, your army would not have been able to take Claudius from us. But let me see Claudius and visit him before I (26) perform an act of strength for you to see.* The king had Saint Claudius brought from the queen's chamber and presented to Theodore. When they saw each other, both began to weep and they embraced each other.<sup>65</sup> The king allowed them a whole week to visit. When the queen saw their faces, she felt a longing for<sup>66</sup> them and sent for an artist, who studied<sup>67</sup> them and drew their likenesses on the walls of her chamber. Afterwards Apa Claudius sought the safety of his men from Theodore: *Has the king done you any harm.* He said: *No, my beloved brother. He is seeking to unite me in a defiled*<sup>68</sup> *marriage with his daughter.* Theodore said: *Are you not afraid, my beloved brother ? The archangels Michael and Gabriel are ready for us both. I tell you that no harm will come to us.* After a full month the archbishop went to the king and said: *Our lord, we have been here in this country long enough.*<sup>69</sup> *Let us go home that we may send your son to you.* The king said: *I will not release Theodore until you send my son to me alive.* The archbishop told Theodore what the king had said. On the following day the queen went to the king and asked him to marry their daughter to Claudius because she loved him very much. Claudius said to the queen: *My parents and the archbishop arranged my marriage before I came here. I cannot (27) renounce it and reject their law.* When the queen saw that she was unable to change their mind, she became very angry and said: *If they are unable to bring me my son first, I will not release you.*

63 Lit. **ἡΤΕΙΖΕ ΤΗΡ** 'in this entire way'

64 **πόλεμος** can also mean 'single combat' and here probably means something like 'military prowess'.

65 Lit. 'they began to kiss each other's neck' (**ἐνεγύπτοι ἐπμακῶ ἡνεγέρηγ**)

66 **ἐπιθυμεῖν**

67 Lit. 'filled his eye' (**μεζιῶτῳ**)

68 Read: **ἐφχαῖν**

69 Lit. **ἀπὸ τῶν ῥωμῶν ἐνψοοῦν ὁντεῖχῶρα ται**

While they were in prison, Michael and Gabriel came down from heaven disguised as soldiers and crying aloud: *Persians, what are you doing sitting around ? Theodore and Claudius have come upon you to destroy you. They will fight with their swords and their hands will be victorious. The voice of the angels filled the entire city.* A great fear and apprehension took hold of them. The angels opened the prison gate and brought them out, Michael offering his sword to Theodore and Gabriel his sword of fire to Claudius that they might fight the Persians. Theodore the Anatolian cried out: *I have come to destroy you.* The angels sent forth their voice from head to head of the city. And the valiant ones became afraid. The magnates threw away their swords and fled. The free and well-born<sup>70</sup> were afraid. Those suckling were afraid and fled. They fought with the Persians in the middle of the square. They killed twenty-one thousand of them. The Persians cried out: *Enough, Theodore. You have taken the whole place.* They returned to the city. The king was snatched from his throne and brought outside the city with the archbishop. The king was astonished at what had happened. His entire people were gathered around him. Nobody was able to contradict him, not even his magnates were able to fight with him because of his valour. (28) The king said to the archbishop: *Did I not tell you that you are the Roman god. You have given enough strength to these two boys to demolish the entire city without fear of anyone, to destroy this great army and lay waste a city of 60,000 inhabitants, who were unable to fight with him and ran away as fast as they could.* The archbishop said: *I have already told you (and will tell you ) once again that I am not God. Heaven forbid ! I am His high priest.* Saint Theodore said to the king: *Did you not say to me that you wanted to see a display of strength before you released me ? Well, you have seen a little of my strength, given to me by my King<sup>71</sup> and His strength will never diminish among the Romans.* The king said to Theodore: *Yesterday I was king. Today I am your servant. Come and take your place on my throne that I may serve you as a servant.* The saint said to him: *The throne which my Lord has promised to me and my brother Claudius, this is the kingdom that will endure for life everlasting in heaven. They are not things of earth but of heaven, and we will both obtain them in one city. But do not be afraid, my lord. For they were saints who released the archbishop and brought him here. It was also they who took you to your palace in this way.*

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70 ἐλεύθερος

71 I have capitalized the word on the assumption that he means Christ

And they put him on his throne as before, surrounded by great awe. The angels went to the temple in which the priests were and they cried out: *Theodore the Anatolian has come again to destroy you*. And the temple collapsed about them and was filled with fire. There was also another great miracle (29) in the country of the Persians, my father Gaius having said to me that the angels caused the image of the saints, with which the queen had adorned her chamber, to go<sup>72</sup> over the whole city in the guise of soldiers in battle, the angels crying out: *Look, Theodore the Anatolian has come against you to destroy you*. And to this day the portrait of these saints, Theodore and Claudius, flies over the whole of Persia. If there is a war between the Persians and the Romans and they began to fight each other, then Saint Theodore tells the Persians:<sup>73</sup> *Theodore and Claudius have come against you to destroy you*. At that time the horses on which the two are mounted in the image in the queen's chamber neigh and fly through Persia because of the name of Theodore the Anatolian and Claudius before they have even fought.

They then returned home to Antioch with the archbishop and those who had gone with them, without taking any Persian spoils with them. As they approached the city, messengers went and told the king that Theodore had come with Claudius his son. There was much jubilation. Everybody gathered from small to great, waiting for the two saints and the entire city was garlanded. The mother of Claudius and his sister boarded the royal chariot and went out to meet them on the road, as Joseph went to meet (30) Jacob his father.<sup>74</sup> Everyone will be able to speak the joy and jubilation that happened at that time. The archbishop told the king and those of the palace of the great acts of God and the acts of strength of the saints.

I Theodore, the least, was a servant of the Persian prince in the care of Gaius my father. When he died, I went to my father and told him that the Persian prince had died. Thereupon the king sent and brought him to the palace into the midst of the magnates. They tested him but found nothing wrong with him, apart from the arrow wound which he had received in battle. The king and the archbishop were very grieved about him. The king

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72 ⲁϥⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ read ⲩⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

73 Coptic: 'Romans'

74 Gen. 46, 29

ordered the archbishop to bury <sup>75</sup>him with honour, fine garments and perfumes. He was put in a coffin and entrusted to the archbishop until they wrote to his father.

Shortly afterwards Claudius' father died and Claudius was asked to become king. His mother took him and hid him. There was a magnate in the palace named Umerianus,<sup>76</sup> who was taken and made king, and the matter was forgotten.<sup>77</sup> After this the news reached the royal Persian couple that their son, in the ward of the archbishop, had died. They declared war on Umerianus as before. They forgot the defeat inflicted on them by the valour of Theodore the Anatolian. When Umerianus was told of the war, he became very afraid and said: *Woe is me, I have given the wealth acquired in business and the property of my fathers until it <sup>78</sup> became mine. And now the (31) barbarians have risen up against me with the intention of killing me.* He was seized by fear and trembling and wept profusely. He then called Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore and Romanus the father of Apa Victor and Basilides the father of Stephanus and said to them: *Let Claudius come and take his place on the throne in the place of his father, for I do not have the strength to wage war with the Persians.* Saint Claudius said: *I have never sat on the throne of the kingdom. Let the king take heart and remain on the throne. For we are your servant for as long as you live, you being of the faith of our fathers.* The magnates of the palace said to the king: *As long as Claudius is here with Theodore no harm will come to the kingdom.* The king said: *I am afraid that I took the kingdom of his father and he will betray me in battle and I will be killed. But if he is inclined towards me, let them swear to me on the gospel and I will believe them.* In this way the king was persuaded, and he dismissed them. On the following day, the king being apprehensive, the devil appeared to him and said: *Umerianus, what are you doing sitting here believing the oath of Theodore and Claudius. In war there is no word, oath, brother or companion. If you wish to be king, arise tomorrow and send recruits to Egypt, that is, men who have fought on your behalf. I tell you, my lord, that I know a boy in the south named Akrippita, a goatherd of the field in the nome of Psoi. Send for him and have him brought here to this city. This is the man who will fight the Persians (32).* He was

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75 Coptic has two Perfect tenses without a conjunction: 'The king ordered the archbishop, he (archbishop) buried ...'

76 Probably a reference to the historical Numerian, emperor from 282 to 284. Diocletian had been accused of killing him by a rival (Aper), but, on assuming the royal purple, turned the accusation back against Aper and executed him in public. Numerian succeeded his father Carus.

77 Lit. 'they paid no attention to anything of this sort again' (ΜΠΟΥΤΖΤΗΥ ΕΖΩΒ ΝΤΕΙΜΙΝΕ ΝΚΕCΟΠ)

78 viz. the kingdom

talking about Diocletian, a resident of Psoi.<sup>79</sup> *He tends the goats of my father, Apa Psote, who tends the sheep of his father. They are companions, and Psote performs charitable works, singing and dancing, the Psalter in his hand, reciting Psalms day and night. Akrippita has a musical instrument, and when he sings, the goats separate from Apa Psote's sheep and he says to him 'Pasture,'<sup>80</sup> the nome of Psoi has brought you forth. You will cease to fatten animals and you will slaughter people.*<sup>81</sup>

An official was then sent<sup>82</sup> by order of the king. When he arrived in Psoi, he found Akrippita and Apa Psote tending (the animals) in the fields. Apa Psote said to Akrippita: *Look, your father is calling you to make you king.* So, Akrippita mounted the horse of the great commander, looked this way and that, took his sword, unsheathed<sup>83</sup> it and went into the midst of Psote's sheep and struck at them. Some he killed by their neck, others by their hands and feet.<sup>84</sup> When Apa Psote saw this savagery, he said to him: *You have shed enough innocent blood. The heart of your father is satisfied with you, for he generated you. Put your sword back into its sheath. The time has not yet come for you to shed blood. How is that your father died before you ?*<sup>85</sup> *How is that the infanticide nursemaids did not kill you while you were being weaned at your mother's breast ?* While Apa Psote was saying this, the son of destruction unsheathed his sword and pursued him. mounted on the horse with the intention of killing him. Apa Psote said to him (33): *It is too early to kill me.* Anastasius the official was astonished at his audacity, for he was truly a worthy warrior. Apa Psote said to him: *He is worthy of the war of destruction.* The impious Akrippita was then taken and brought to the city of the kingdom. He was twenty years old at the time. It was decided that he was a worthy warrior. The eldest daughter of Umerianus fell in love with him. He left them in the war and became a stable-boy, feeding the animals, and she dallied with him

79 I take this to be an explanatory note of the Theodore of Antioch. The next sentence continues the speech of the devil.

80 The word **ωζε** is probably 'pasture.' Crum 258a. I think one has to understand: 'You whom the pasture of Psoi has brought forth, you will ...'

81 The wordplay **ΕΚΚΕΝΕ** (fatten) and **ΝΕΚΕΝΕ** (slaughter) is surely quite intentional here. Since the 'Egyptian' section looks like an import here, one wonders if this portion at least might be an 'original' composition that is not translated from another language.

82 Typographical error: read **αχχοογ**.

83 Most common meaning of the verb is 'despoil', but Crum (557b) points to a text where it has the same meaning as **βωψ** (46b) meaning 'unfasten'.

84 I take this to mean forelegs and hindlegs

85 My translation is greatly simplified for the sake of intelligibility. Lit. 'how is it that the death of your father did not come upon you too before death happens (i.e. prematurely)' (**ΕΦΤΩΝ ΝΟΠΜΟΥ ΉΠΕΚΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΕΪΠΕΦΕΙ ΕΧΩΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΉΠΑΤΕΜΟΥ ΦΩΠΕ**). For **ΤΩΝ** in the sense of 'how' see Crum 417b

wantonly.

Umerianus died in battle and his daughter became queen for three years, while Akrippita was hiding with her. She then gave a centenarium of gold to the magnates of the palace before they wrote over her with him<sup>86</sup> and gave him great honour. She installed him on her father's throne, and he removed her virginity. Theodore then came into the war. He was told that Diocletian was king. He said: *Who is Diocletian ? What sort of person is he ?* He went to him with Claudius and they said: *Who made you king over this city ?* He said: *You and your fathers. No, I am not a king and the kingdom is not my concern.* Then Theodore seized his hand and lifted him off the throne because he had not yet won a famous victory. But he was afraid. Theodore said to him: *Arise. You were a swineherd in your country. How will an Egyptian sit on the throne of kings (34) while the Romans are alive ?* Claudius was installed on the throne. There was great groaning in the palace: *Theodore the Anatolian has performed an act of great valour today in the palace. Nobody has opposed him in the whole of Antioch.* Saint Claudius was not pleased to sit on the throne of kings because he had no interest in the kingdom. But he arose hastily, the entire people shouting: *Worthily worthily has Claudius become king.*

The impious Diocletian took fright and hid for seven days. with the queen, and nobody could find him. The royal whore looked out of window of her chamber and said to him: *Who is the Anatolian to elevate the king to the throne ? Who is a soldier of my father to oppose his daughter ? Who is a pedestrian<sup>87</sup> to contradict a royal daughter ? The Anatolian is a man of war. Diocletian is a man of politics.<sup>88</sup> I am a new Herodias<sup>89</sup> and I have not settled my score with him.<sup>90</sup>* When Theodore heard this, he unsheathed his sword and began to strike out from the throne of the king to the gate of the palace. He killed 1100 officers and persons of importance<sup>91</sup> and 1300 combat soldiers, the herald crying out: *Many ask me*

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86 Crum 382a: 'before they had inscribed her name with him (in marriage)'.  
87 I take this to be a reference to the social status of transport  
88 Lit. 'is of the kingdom'  
89 According to Josephus *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18, 5 she divorced Herod II to marry Herod Antipas, her brother-in-law.  
90 Coptic: **ⲉⲓ ⲉⲙⲡⲉⲓⲣⲡⲁⲗⲁⲡ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲕ**. I am not sure that **ⲉⲓ** is necessary here.  
91 The first term is **ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲱⲣ**, which is not, as far as I know, attested as such in Greek. It also occurs in the Victor stories (Budge *Martyrdoms* p. 43) in connection with **ⲗⲣⲏⲧⲱⲣ**. I take it that it is derived from **ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲧⲱⲙⲁⲓ**. The second word is the Lat. *cubicularis*.

about the king. The kingdom has become that of Claudius and Theodore has fought and won. When the queen heard this she became very afraid. She took the crown of her father and his coronet and his royal clothing. She hurled them down from the roof of the palace, crying out: *Theodore the Anatolian, take (35) these and become king, for you have taken the whole place. From today I am your servant. I swear to you on the life of Claudius your companion and the life of Justus, my brother, because of me you destroy the kingdom.* Afterwards he set fire to the gates of the palace that he might burn everyone who had helped Diocletian to become king, without any opposition. Soterichus his father and Basilides and Romanus prostrated themselves before him, saying: *Our lord Theodore, yours is the kingdom everyday, and today especially your strength has manifested itself. We are all your servants. Value your valour not to burn down the palace or fight again. Enough is enough.* Then he wept, saying: *These great acts of violence that have been committed today in the city of the kingdom are because a woman wants to make a goatherd king over us, while this army of soldiers is in Antioch. If there is justice at all, Claudius and Justus are worthy of the kingdom.* A great miracle happened in Antioch because of the many people slain in the palace. Their parents wept for them, some because the Anatolian had killed the king and queen, others because justice had been dispensed that day, some because the kingdom belonged to his parents and his brothers. There was great trouble that day and, after things had settled down a little, the queen came out and went first to the house of Apa Claudius to his mother, sister and the sister of Apa Theodore, and wept before them, because they were her sisters. The sister of Apa Claudius and the sister of Apa Theodore came to the palace to their sisters. They begged (36) them to sit down for a little and they extinguished the fire burning at the gates of the palace. Thereupon Michael came down from heaven. He placed his right hand on the breast of these saints and said to Theodore: *Put your sword into its sheath, for the slaughter has been great. Do you not know, Saint Theodore, that when you fight, nobody is able to withstand your anger, for you have been given strength and valour by the Lord.* Saint Theodore said to Michael: *Is it not a wonder, my lord, that an Egyptian goatherd should become king over us as a result of the thinking of a woman?* Michael said: *Theodore, the patient victor is the victor.* Saint Theodore prostrated himself and worshipped God, saying: *Forgive me, Michael my lord.* Michael said to him: *No, it is not a wonder that Diocletian should become king, for he was given a moment by the Lord.*



*But it is wonder that Pilate and Herod sat, while the Son of God was standing before them. This is how Diocletian is to become king of the Romans.*<sup>92</sup> Theodore said to Michael: *If it is the command of the Lord that Diocletian be king, what business is it of mine to stop this command.* Michael told him other secrets<sup>93</sup> involving Diocletian and vanished from him in the peace of God. Amen.

When day broke Saint Theodore came to the palace and cried out: *The one who wishes to become king, the throne awaits him.* The whole of Antioch was filled with the fear of the Anatolian. (37) Nobody was able to sit on the throne for a month until he had promised them not to start killing them again. The impious queen gave much money to the soldiers to look for<sup>94</sup> Diocletian. He spent another 40 days as a stableboy and groom before he became bold enough to become king. When Diocletian became king and a little stronger, Saint Theodore went to visit him and stood before him. Diocletian said: *What are you doing, Theodore ? Come and sit on the throne and be king.* The saint said to him: *Keep the faith and do the right thing so that your kingdom might be stable.* The impious one gradually became stronger. He spent some time in the service of the Church, attending Mass. My father Apa Gaius went to visit him every day, urging him to do good. Diocletian gave the entire territory of Egypt to the archbishop to administer it. He thought of Apa Psote in the south, that he he had been his companion before he became king. He had him made bishop. The king was faithful, performing good deeds before the wicked enemy sowed his weeds<sup>95</sup> in him. I mean the devil. He gave instructions, on the advice of Gaius, to send to Jerusalem to uncover the Cross of of Our Lord Jesus Christ. But the wicked enemy ensured<sup>96</sup> that he did not do this, knowing that if the Cross were revealed, it would destroy all his ways. The impious king then became afraid of Theodore the Anatolian, and the queen spoke with him, saying: *Be patient a little longer until there is war. I will give much money to the recruits to kill him.* The king said to her: *I am afraid to (38) send him to war that they might form an alliance*<sup>97</sup> *against me and kill me.* He sent to him many times: *Do you wish to sit on the throne ? Do you want me to withdraw to my country ?* Theodore sent to him: *Sit on the*

92 It seems like an odd comparison to make, but the general sense seems to be that one has to accept the inevitable

93 This sounds like a cue for another piece of historical fiction

94 The verbal prefix is **ϣΑΝΤΕ-**, and can mean 'until' or 'so that' Crum 573a

95 Coptic: **ΝΤΗΘ** 'plant', which can be beneficial or poisonous

96 Lit. 'did not neglect that he do this'

97 Crum 165b gives **ΜΛΛΖ** as the equivalent of **συμμαχία** in Is. 16,4

*throne, for the kingdom has become yours. Do not be afraid, my lord, only I will never do you any harm.* The archbishop used to go<sup>98</sup> to him together with the one who had a restraining influence on him.

In those days a great war was started by the Persians against the Romans. News reached the king that the Persians had come to the watch towers and laid waste to the whole area. The king was very distraught and said: *What is to happen to my affairs, to me and the kingdom ? The kingdom is that of Theodore and Claudius.* This saint said to the king: *The kingdom is yours, because it was given to you from heaven.* When the king went into the queen, she saw that he was humiliated and distraught. She said to him: *Why are you so downhearted ? I want you to promise<sup>99</sup> Theodore and Claudius great honours and send them to war that they might be killed and you can stop worrying about them.* When the king heard this, he sent for<sup>100</sup> the archbishop and gave him much wealth to be donated as an offering to God for the success of the war. He also sent for the saints, saying: *Where is the end of this war which is upon us ?* The king said to them: *Let a wagon and chariot be prepared. Both of you, board them. Take your army and go to the war. Continue to encourage them from behind until you win the war.* The saints said to (39) the king: *Neither chariot nor wagon will we board, but we will go to war.* The king said: *Go to the treasury and take what you need with your army in the war so that we may make you victorious.* After this they went to the war and fought with the Persians. They were victorious and took the Persian prince and presented him to the king. Theodore said to him: *This is the Persian prince, whom I have brought into your presence through the power of my king Christ, but it is not given to us to leave him with anyone except the archbishop.* The king said: *Everything you want in my kingdom, do it. Nobody will be able to prevent your orders.* The king said to the archbishop: *Take the Persian prince and leave him with you,* and so he handed him over, all the magnates assembled as witnesses.

Some time later, the Persian prince entrusted to the archbishop, his father heard of this and sent great honour to him. The boy was released and nobody knew of it. The archbishop took

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98 The verb is in the Qualitative form, and I take this to mean that the focus is on the 'state' rather than the 'activity'.

99 The word **ἵκε** is out of place here.

100 Typographical error: read **ἀρχιεπίσκοπον**

the money and distributed it to the urban poor, the widows and the orphans and all his ecclesiastical wealth. The devil appeared to the impious Diocletian and said: *What are you doing sitting here ? The archbishop has let the Persian prince go without your order. He has received the ransom money and distributed it to the poor of the city. He has ignored you totally. He has been distributing the money he has received as alms for three years.* The king called the magnates of the palace and told them the secret that the devil had disclosed to him (40) about the archbishop. He then sent for him and said: *My father, what is the news of the Persian prince who is in your charge.* He said to him: *As the Lord Jesus Christ lives and by your power, my lord, from the second of the month, when he was entrusted to me, with an arrow in his side from battle, he died when you were at war, my royal lord. I buried him with honour and placed him in the bishop's palace.* The king then had him brought before him, wrapped in purple. The king said to him: *Will you swear to me that this is in truth the king's son ?* The archbishop then swore to the king that it was. Nobody knew why he had sworn. The archbishop left the king. The devil became uncontrollable in his madness towards the archbishop until the third war and Nicometes the Persian prince was seized and brought before the ranks of the soldiers. When Saints Theodore and Claudius saw him, they knew that it was the Persian prince and that the archbishop had let him go. They then wept because of what had happened and hid him so as not to tell him about the archbishop,<sup>101</sup> for they wished to let him go because of the archbishop. The word spread throughout the fighting that Nicometes had been taken. The news reached the ears of the king. He sent for Theodore and said to him: *Lord commander, I have been told that you were victorious in war and captured the Persian prince, so take his weight of gold. Tell me about him that I may know the truth. For the archbishop (41) swore to me that he was dead.* Saint Theodore said to the king: *It was his brother whom we seized.* The Saint divested Nicometes of his royal garments that he might not be recognized. He gave him other clothes to wear and said: *Do not tell the king that you are Nicometes.* The king called Saint Theodore and said: *Describe<sup>102</sup> to me the prince whom you seized in battle.* The saint said to him: *Nicometes is dead. It was his brother that we seized. Let us ask him about his brother. The archbishop has written to his father that he is dead.* When the son of the king heard this, he did as the saint told him. When the king came to Antioch with his army and the Persian prince, Saints

101I this means that they hid the prince so that Diocletian would not know what the archbishop had done

102Coptic **ⲧⲱⲩ** can mean 'ordinance, matter, condition, destiny, fashion'.

Theodore and Claudius received him as a pledge from the king. He <sup>103</sup> was unable to stop them because they were magnates in the kingdom. They had taken him to the archbishop and it was their wish to release him. The Persian magnates, Panicerus and Leontius came to Antioch to Theodore and Claudius and the others. They brought with them <sup>104</sup> great honours of the father of Nicometes that he might be released. And the devil revealed himself to Diocletian and said to him: *My son Diocletian, I have given birth to you in vain. I gave you this gift and this royal diadem. I swathed you in purple. I put the sword of kings into your hand in place of the thankless goatherds' staff. I placed you over thousands and thousands of people. I caused the daughter of the king to put her father's ring (42) on your finger. All these things I did to you, and you did not know my glory.* Diocletian answered: *Who are you to tell me all these things ? Are you Theodore, the pride of the kingdom ? Or Claudius, the equal of kings ?* The devil said: *Damn !* <sup>105</sup> *Today these two names will be erased from the world. I will never hear them among men. Why do you insult me in this way by saying their names to me ?* The king said: *The pride of the kingdom is the Anatolian and Claudius. I take shelter with them because the kingdom is theirs under their fathers.* The devil said to him: *Are you still afraid of those tyrants today ?* The king said to him: *I know that the queen has opposed Theodore again. She* <sup>106</sup> *raised me to throne of the kingdom without fear of anyone.* The devil said to him: *Those days have passed. You are no longer afraid of them. Listen to what I am going to tell you.* <sup>107</sup> *I am your father, the little devil. Why are you afraid of Theodore and Claudius ? The Persian prince is in the care of the archbishop. They intend to release him and tell us that he is dead. Did they not receive the ransom money for him that you might be afraid of them ? Did not the archbishop release him again and deceive you that he was dead and that it was his brother that we had captured ? I want you to tell me that if I establish your kingdom, you will kill all three of them,* <sup>108</sup> *the Anatolian, the archbishop and Claudius and the kingdom will be yours alone.* The king said to him: *If I kill them, who will fight for me so that the barbarians do not take my kingdom away from me.*

The devil said to the king (43): *Do you not yet know that I am the one who has been fighting*

103 Presumably Diocletian

104 Typographical error: read  $\overline{\text{NMMA}}\gamma$ .

105  $\tilde{\omega}$   $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$

106 Typographical error: read  $\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\gamma\text{NOC}\bar{\tau}$

107 Read something like:  $\sigma\omicron\gamma\omega\text{N}$   $\epsilon\bar{\tau}\text{NAXEPOK}$

108 The construction is paratactic: 'I will establish your kingdom, you will kill them' ( $\omega\alpha\iota\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}$   $\epsilon\text{P}\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}$   $\omega\alpha\kappa\text{MOY}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}$ ) The phrase I have translated as 'tell' is slightly more elaborate in Coptic and means something like 'give an account'

*so far on your behalf . It was not the Anatolian who captured the Persian prince but I and the soldiers under my command and it is my gods who gave me strength to seize him.*<sup>109</sup> The king said: *Which gods am I to serve apart from Jesus ?* The devil said: *You will not even say the name of that one with your mouth ever again. You place your trust in a God who was killed by the Hebrews. Open your and see my gods, how numerous they are and the strength of my army.*

He then caused numbers of demons to assume the guise of soldiers and they gathered around him prepared for combat. And again 70 demons<sup>110</sup> assumed the guise of false gods and they appeared to Diocletian. The devil said to him: *That*<sup>111</sup>*you may know now that you have been troubled by the fear of the Anatolian and Claudius. And the archbishop has released the Persian prince, obtained the ransom money and divided among the three without consulting you and it is a matter of indifference to them that you are a king. They swore a false oath to the first time; they lied to you the second time. That you may know that what I say is true. On your life, Diocletian, I will make you see the Anatolian and Claudius in great humility and I will inflict a cruel death upon them, like that of their*<sup>112</sup>*Lord. The five fingers which I pierced on the hands of their Lord on the Cross, I have prepared 153 nails*<sup>113</sup> *to be driven into the body of the Anatolian on the great persea tree that is in the palace so that his sister may see his death. Claudius I will have lanced through his side. like his Lord, who was pierced in his side on the Cross. (44) As I had Peter and Paul his apostles killed with the sword, I will have these others killed and the kingdom will belong to you, Diocletian. After the devil had said this, he vanished from him. The impious king hastened home to the queen and told her what had been said to him. That royal whore rejoiced greatly over the death of the saints. She said to him: That you may know the truth: the Persian prince was brought here and released and everything you have been told is true. After this the Persian prince was brought and set before the king, and he acknowledged to him: I am the one who has been caught twice and the oath which the archbishop swore on the prince - it was my brother who died when in the care of the care of the archbishop - was*

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109 This phrase suggests that the devil derives his power from his 'gods'

110 Inversion perhaps of Lk. 10, 17 ?

111 Verbl prefix tare-, when used alone, normally implies an ellipse: 'I want ...'

112 Typographical error: read **πενχοεic**

113 Quite a dramatic rise from the 3 or 4 often suggested; cf., for example, Irenaeus *Adv. Haereses* II 24,4, who implies 3.

false.<sup>114</sup>

After she had said this to him, the king rejoiced greatly and sent for the archbishop, and he swore to him as on the first occasion. The king became very angry and went into all the churches of the city and took all the vessels<sup>115</sup> of gold and silver and precious stones. He found other things in the archbishop's palace and killed him. Saint Theodore was away fighting with his army. His sister wrote to him of all that had happened in the palace. Saint Theodore was greatly grieved about what had happened in the city. The royal whore then spoke with the king: *Why are you doing sitting here ? Quickly ! Quickly ! Kill Theodore and Claudius at the beginning of the persecution (45)*. The king said to the queen: *How are we to kill them when the have this entire army with them so that they do not rise up against me and take my kingdom from me*. She said to him: *Do not fear, my lord, write to him, 'Come to me quickly, alone, for I have a secret I wish to tell you concerning the Persian king.'* When he comes to you, take him into your chamber so that you may flatter him. Prepare shackles, bind him and kill him quietly.' The impious king was convinced by the pestilential words of the queen. He prepared sixteen shackles for him together with nails and wrote to him with words of deceitful flattery: *There is joy everywhere that the great magnates have come to the palace. Welcome, lord Theodore, the valiant military leader. Come,<sup>116</sup> go to the Persians with their prince and take these honours of his father, for there is no other worthier of them, into the archbishop*. The saint put down his sword and went into the king, who arose and embraced him. He made a sign to the sixteen executioners and they bound him. The saint said: Today the deception of Judas with Christ has revealed itself in you, my lord, but worse than that of Judas. The s secured him well so as to kill him and dragged him to the persea tree to hang him on it before they opened the palace gate. The saint said to them: *My two brothers, relent a little for me that I may have one time to pray to my King Jesus Christ before I am killed*. Fear did not let them (46) release him lest he kill them. Saint Theodore replied: *My brothers, release me, for I will do no harm again. Have I not done a lot of good to you. By the power of my King Christ I will do you no harm. I have already bound myself*

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114 Budge's translation makes sense but ignores the grammar. I take ΠΑΝΑΘ to be the subject of the sentence and the missing predicate to be something like <ΝΕΦΟ ΝΝΟΥΧ> 'was false'.

115 The meaning seems clear enough, but I cannot identify this word: ΚΟΙΜΗΛΙΟΝ, wIf it is a vessel, one thinks of χεῖν (pour) and χοῦς (pitcher and liquid measure)

116 Unlike Budge I think that this is the imperative ΑΜΟΥ, which here has a hortatory function.

*to my own horse for the name of Christ.*

When he saw that they were not convinced to release him, he raised his two arms at the same time and broke the chains which were bound on him.<sup>117</sup> He repelled the sixteen men and they fell on their faces. He prostrated himself and worshipped God. He spread out his hands and prayed as follows: *I beg you, my Lord Jesus Christ who formed me, that while I was still in my mother's womb, the angel gave me a name. From my childhood I have been the recipient of your grace. You have given me strength in battle. like Joshua the son of Naue,<sup>118</sup> your angel fighting on his behalf, and like Semeei who defeated the foreigners,<sup>119</sup> I too have laid low the Persians in your holy name. My enemies have become shamed beneath my feet. I thank you, Lord that you have removed the chains bound on me so that I am able to pray to you. Give me strength, my Lord that I might be able to bear the torture that awaits me. for I am flesh and blood like everyone else. Let your angel stand by me until I complete my contest. Do not, Lord, deprive me of your goodness and do not make a reckoning with the because of the large amount of blood that I have shed in battle, because you strengthened me with your power and I laid them low. Do not cause my sword to go to another. Glory be to you forever. Amen. (47)* After he had said this, he called the executioners surrounding him and told them to call the soldiers and stop trembling: *My time has passed. I will do nothing further,<sup>120</sup> for my life is complete.* He then brought his hands to his sides so that they were parallel with his body and said: *Bind the outside of me. I have already bound myself in spirit.* He then climbed up the persea tree by himself. He made an act of worship to God and spoke with the executioners: *Come with your nails and your hammers and carry out what you have been ordered to do.* Mercilessly they drove ten nails into his right hand and ten into his left hand. They drove the rest of them into his entire body, as if his blood were mixed with the water of the persea tree and they flowed on to the ground. Saint Theodore lifted his eyes to heaven to call upon the Lord. He saw Christ and His angels, Michael comforting him and Christ promising many dwelling places in heaven. When Christ saw the distress of Saint Theodore, He said to him: *Do you wish me to give*

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117 Crum 180b (c)

118 Josh. 10

119 2 Sam. 23, 11ff.

120 I take **ἡπιεικέστατον** to read **μειέρεστατον**, the negative of the so-called 'aorist' tense, which more often than not has future reference

*you peace in your tribulations ? Do you wish me to remove the nails from your body like water ?* The saint said to Him: *I wish you to give me peace, for I have suffered.* He then gave up his spirit to the hands of God on the 12th of Tôbe, in peace. Amen.

There was a great disturbance in the whole city because of the Anatolian hanging on the persea tree. Some said that the death of the king and queen would have been better than what had happened. Saint Claudius wept profusely for him as he hung from the persea tree. Later Saint Victor called upon his father to tell the king about the body of (48) Apa Theodore. Romanus then asked the king, who granted him his body. Apa Victor came with the sister of Apa Theodore and Apa Claudius. They brought his body down from the tree and laid it in the grave of his parents. It began to work great cures among the sick. The grace of Jesus was in it, for he had received the crown of life in heaven. After the death of the saint, he ascended to heaven, keeping festival with all the saints.

I call upon you, Saint Theodore, intercede with the Lord on my behalf, I Theodore the least. that He may forgive my sins, because I have even dared to speak about you, because you are a commander at the right hand side of the commander and military leader Michael, the one who intercedes on our behalf with Christ the King that He may forgive our sins, through the grace and philanthropy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, this One from Whom the glory of the Father<sup>121</sup> is with Him and the Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial forever and ever. Amen

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121 Something is missing here: <ⲙⲡ>ⲉⲓⲱⲧ 'of the Father.