

Bίος τοῦ ἐν ἄγλοις μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ ἰσαποστόλου(1)

Kωνσταντίνου¹

e codice Patmensi 179, saec. XII-XIII, fol. 4-25.

1. Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Γαλερίου (2) τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν διεπόντων, τὸν Ἐρκούλιον Μαξιμιανὸν ἀπὸ φρουρίου εὐτελοῦς δὲ Ἀρδαμήρης νῦν, τὸ πρὸν δὲ Ἐρκούλα ἐπωνομάζετο (3), πένητα ὅντα ὡς ἄνθρακας ἐσβεσμένους ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονικέων πόλει πλησιοχώρῳ οὕσῃ αὐτοῖς ὥμοις καθ' ἑκάστην πιπράσκοντα μίσθιόν τε χήρας γυναικός (4), ἐπὶ ἑκστρατείᾳ γενόμενον καὶ ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μεγάλως ἀνδραγαθήσαντα, γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸς ἀναλαβόμενος (5) ἵσον αὐτοῖς [col. 2] βασιλέα πεποίηται. Τὴν βασιλείαν οὖν καταμερισάμενοι αὐτὸς μὲν Διοκλητιανὸς τῆς Ῥώμης βασιλεύειν ἐκεκύρωτο, Γαλέριος δὲ Μαξιμιανὸς τὴν τῆς ἀνατολῆς διέπειν ἀρχὴν, δὲ γε Ἐρκούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς τῶν Ἐνδρώπης νήσων καὶ Θετταλίας κόλπων κυριεύων ἦν (6). Ἐπὶ τούτων¹ πλήθη ἀναρθμητα

Lemma. —¹ εὐλόγησον add. cod.

1. —¹ τούτω cod.

(1) L'épithète d'*ἰσαπόστολος*, traditionnellement accolée au nom de Constantin, est parfois attribuée à d'autres saints : Marie-Madeleine, Abercius, Vladimir. Cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, dans *Byzantion*, t. 25-27 (1955/57), p. 365.

(2) Galère ne fut associé à l'empire que longtemps après Maximien Hercule. L'exactitude de l'auteur est donc prise en défaut dès les premiers mots du texte.

(3) Ardamerion ou Herculia, siège épiscopal dépendant de Thessalonique. Cf. M. LE QUIEN, *Oriens christianus*, t. 2 (Paris, 1740), col. 97-98 ; P.G., t. 107, col. 375 ; G. PARTHEY, *Hieroclis synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum* (Berlin, 1866), pp. 101, 109, 208, 250. Ce petit diocèse ne figure pas encore dans les *Nέα τακτικά*, éd. H. GELZER, *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio orbis romani* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 67-68, qui remontent au Porphyrogénète ou à Léon le Sage.

(4) Ces indications sur le lieu de naissance et le premier gagne-pain de Maximien Hercule semblent nouvelles (cf. W. ENSSLIN, dans PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, t. 14, 2 [1930], col. 2486). Sur le *topos* du jeune homme pauvre qui se distingue devant le souverain et devient son gendre, voir Stith THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, t. 5 (1935), p. 13-14.

(5) Ce n'est pas à Maximien Hercule mais à Galère que Dioclétien donna en mariage sa fille Valérie.

(6) Ce partage de l'Empire entre trois co-empereurs n'est pas plus conforme à l'histoire que l'accession de Galère avant Maximien au pouvoir impérial. Cf. W. SESTON, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, t. 1 (Paris, 1946), p. 231-247.

LIFE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, GREAT AMONG
SAINTS AND THE EQUAL OF THE APOSTLES.

Vita Constantini e cod. Patm. 179 (BHG 365n)

1. Diocletian and Maximian Galerius were in charge of the Roman empire. Maximian Herculius came from a humble garrison town now called Ardamares, but formerly Herculia. As he was poor he was hired by a widow woman to carry for sale on his own shoulders every day seething charcoal into the city of Thessalonici which was nearby. He went on a military expedition and showed acts of great bravery in war in view of Diocletian. So Diocletian chose him as husband for his daughter and made him emperor equivalent to the others. They divided the empire and Diocletian himself was appointed to rule Rome, with Maximian Galerius in charge of the Eastern empire, while Maximian Herculius was master of the islands of Europe and the gulf of Thessaly. In their time countless

καὶ τῷ Θεῷ γνωστὰ τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον ἀνεδήσαντο.
 15 Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς Διοκλητιανός τε καὶ Ἐρκούλιος Μαξιμια-
 νός, ὡσπερ κόρον τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθόντων λαβόντες καὶ
 ἀπονοίᾳ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀχθέντες, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ φθόνῳ
 τηκόμενοι τοῦ πρόξενοι αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἢ ὁρθῶς παρὰ πολλῶν
 ἀγίων ἀκηκόεσσαν τοῖς μάρτυσι γίνεσθαι, ἐκ συνθή[fol. 4v]ματος
 20 τὸ βασίλειον ἀπολιπόντες τὸν ἴδιωτικὸν καὶ ἀπέριττον μεταδιώ-
 κοντες² βίον, τοῦτο σκοποῦντες οἱ ἄθλιοι ὡς ἥδη πρὸς γῆρας
 25 ὅντες συντόμως πάντας τεθνήσονται καὶ εἰ ἀφανῶς ἡ τελευτὴ
 αὐτῶν γένηται θεοποιηθήσονται καὶ ὡς ἀπαθανατισθέντες παρὰ
 τῶν αὐτοῖς προσῳκειωμένων τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνακηρυχθήσονται · αὐτῶν
 30 μέντοι γε τούτῳ τῷ σκοπῷ ὑποχωρησάντων τῆς βασιλείας, Μα-
 ξέντιος ἀντ' αὐτῶν τῆς τε Ῥώμης καὶ Θετταλίας καθίσταται
 βασιλεύς (1) · δὲ Γαλέριος ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἔώας καθὼς ἥδη εἰρηται
 μέρεσι διέτριψεν, ἀμφότεροι θῆρες ἄγριοι καὶ πᾶν εἶδος κακίας
 ἐπερχόμε[col. 2]νοι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ χριστιανῶν ἀσχέτως
 ἐπιμαινόμενοι.

2. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς Κώνστας (2) ὁ βασιλεὺς Βρεττανίας
 τριβοῦνος ἔτι ἀν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πόλεμον κατὰ τῶν Σαρματῶν¹ · καὶ
 τούτους² κατὰ κράτος ἐλῶν ὑπέστρεψε³ μετὰ νίκης μεγάλης. Ἐν
 5 τινι δὲ τόπῳ (3) διαναπαῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν βουλόμενος ενδρίσκει
 πανδοχεῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἦν κόρη εὐειδὴς ἔλλην τῇ θρησκείᾳ Ἐλένη τοῦ-
 νομα · ἡς ἐρασθεὶς συνεισῆλθεν αὐτῇ · καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ συλλαμ-
 βάνει ἡ γυνή. Πρωῖας δὲ ἀναστὰς δωρεῖται ταύτῃ τῆς κοίτης
 ἔνεκα αὐτῆς χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν καὶ μανιάκην χρυσοῦν (4). Καὶ

² leg. μετεδίωκον.

2. — ¹ Σαρμάτων cod. hic et infra. — ² τούτοις cod. — ³ sic.

(1) Nouvelle erreur : l'abdication de Dioclétien et de Maximien avait eu lieu le 1^{er} mai 305, mais Maxence ne prit point tout de suite leur place. Il ne devint césar que le 28 octobre 306 et empereur en 307 ou 308.

(2) Constance Chlore avait été promu au rang de césar dès 293. C'est en qualité de césar qu'il reçut le titre de Sarmaticus en 294 et de nouveau en 297. Cf. SESTON, t. c., pp. 92-93, 232-234. Il est aussi appelé Constant dans l'*Inventio Crucis* (BHG³ 410), la *Passio Artemii* (BHG³ 170), la *Vita BHG³ 364*.

(3) D'après le *Bίος* publié par M. Guidi (BHG³ 364), l'épisode se serait passé à Drepanon, village de Bithynie, que Constantin élèverait au rang de ville sous le nom d'Hélénopolis. Cf. SOCRATE, *Hist. eccl.* xvii, 1.

(4) La rencontre du tribun Constant et de la fille d'auberge Hélène est racontée en termes fort semblables dans la Passion de S. Eusignius, BHG³ 639, § 7 (éd. LATYŠEV, p. 84). Cf. supra, p. 72.

numbers known only to God were wreathed in the garland of martyrdom. The impious Diocletian and Maximian Herculius were now as it were filled to satiety with those suffering for Christ, and carried away by the madness of arrogance. Moreover they were affected by indignation that they might become patrons to the martyrs of the eternal blessings which they had rightly heard described by many saints. So by arrangement they gave up the emperorship to follow a simple private lifestyle. In their folly they considered that as they were now approaching old age they would die very shortly, and that if their death took place in private they would be deified and reported to all as having achieved immortality by the people in their households. So they withdrew from the emperorship for this purpose, and Maxentius in their place was made emperor of Rome and Thessaly. Galerius continued in the Eastern areas, as has already been said. They were both wild beasts and pursued every kind of evil, in particular showing irrepressible fury against the Christians.

2. During this period the emperor Constans while still tribune of Britain went to make war on the Sarmatae. He overcame them by force and withdrew with a great victory. Wishing to rest his army at a particular place he found an inn, where dwelt a beautiful girl of Greek religion called Helena. He was enamoured and went to bed with her, and that night the woman conceived. He rose at dawn and in token of their union gave her a scarlet cloak and a gold bracelet. Then he set off with his army and returned

ἀπάρας μετὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἥλθεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ· τοί-
 10 νυν διὰ τὰ [fol. 5] γενόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνδραγαθήματα οἱ τῆς
 πόλεως (1) καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλευταὶ στεφανοῦσιν αὐτὸν βα-
 σιλέα. Ἡν δὲ ὁ Κώνστας ἔχων ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς
 νίδην μωρόν· λυπούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβούλιον μετὰ τῶν
 ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει· καὶ πέμπει πρωτίκτο-
 15 ρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν εἰς τὸ ζητῆσαι παιδίον εὑειδές τε καὶ συνε-
 τὸν πρὸς τὸ οἰκειώσασθαι αὐτὸν εἰς νίδην· τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἄνωθεν
 πάντως προμηθείας ἔργον ἦν. Ἐρχονται οὖν οἱ ἀπεσταλ-
 μένοι δι’ ἐκείνης τῆς λεωφόρου ἐνθα καὶ ὁ Κώνστας ἀπὸ τοῦ
 20 πολέμου τῶν Σαρματῶν ὑποστρέψας ἦν· καὶ καταλύουσιν ἐν τῷ
 πανδοχείῳ ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἐ[col. 2]λένη ἦν· προσδήσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἵπ-
 πους αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ταβερνείου, αὐτοὶ ἐνδον εὐωχούμενοι
 ἤνθραίνοντο. Ο δὲ τῆς Ἐλένης νίδης Κωνσταντῖνος, δην συνέλα-
 βεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Κώνσταντος τριβούνον δητος καθὼς προεί-
 25 φηται, ὑπάρχων ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν δέκα (2), τερπόμενος οἴα παῖς, μᾶλλον
 δὲ τῇ θεϊκῇ προνοίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῖς πατρῷοις βασιλείοις καλούμενος,
 ἥλετο τοῖς ἵπποις· τῶν δὲ πρωτικτόρων εἰς ἐξελθών, ὡς εἶδεν
 αὐτὸν τῷ ἵππῳ ἐπικαθήμενον, δργισθεὶς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ⁴ κόσσον (3)
 εἰπών· «Μὴ ἀτάκτει· οὕπω γὰρ ἐστρατεύθης.» Ἀλγήσας οὖν ὁ
 30 παῖς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὴν μητέρα κλαίων· ἡ δὲ τὸν παῖδα πρῶτον
 θεραπεύσασα λέγει τῷ τύψαντι αὐτόν· [fol. 5v] «Ἐταῖρε, μὴ
 δέρε τὸ παιδίον, δτι βασιλέως ἐστὶν νίδης.» Καὶ ὁ πρωτίκτωρ⁵·
 «Ο βασιλεύς, ἔφη, ἔνα νίδην ἔχει καὶ τοῦτον φρενοβλαβῆ.» Ἡ
 δὲ Ἐλένη διεβεβαιοῦστο δύμνύουσα κατὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς
 35 σωτηρίας τοῦ καίσαρος δτι νίδης βασιλέως ἐστίν. Ἀπιστούντων
 δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι, Ἐλένη τὰ κατὰ τῆς νίκης τῶν Σαρματῶν μετὰ τὴν
 ὑποστροφὴν τοῦ Κώνσταντος τριβούνον τηνικαῦτα δητος διηγή-
 σατο· καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐθέως ὑπέδειξεν (4). Οἱ
 40 δὲ ἰδόντες τόν τε πορφυροῦ χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν μανιάκιον
 καὶ βεβαιωθέντες ἔχάρησαν ὑπερβαλόντως. Καὶ λαβόντες τὸ παι-
 δίον καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα δῶρα ὑπέστρεψαν μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὸν βασι-

⁴ αὐτὸν cod. — ⁵ corr. ex πρωτίκτωρ cod.

(1) De quelle ville? Sans doute, de la capitale de «son pays», la Bretagne. La Passion d'Eusignius (l. c.) transportait la scène à Rome.

(2) L'enfant avait 12 ans d'après la Passion d'Eusignius.

(3) Sur l'étymologie de ce mot, voir H. GRÉGOIRE dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de philol. et d'hist. or. et sl.*, t. 12 (1953), p. 653.

(4) Cf. Stith THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, t. 3 (1934), p. 289-292.

to his own country. Following his valiant achievements the authorities in his city assembly crowned him emperor. Now Constans had already by his own wife a son who was an imbecile. In sorrow over this he held a council with his leaders and those in authority. Then he sent bodyguards out to the East to search for a handsome clever child which could be brought up as his son. This was certainly the work of divine providence. Those who were despatched travelled along that same route by which Constans had returned from his war with the Sarmatae. They stopped at the inn where Helena was. They tied up their horses at the front of the hostelry, and went inside to enjoy the hospitality. Helena's son Constantine, fathered by the emperor Constans when he was a tribune as has been described, was about ten years old. With the pleasure of a little boy, or perhaps rather summoned by divine providence to his imperial inheritance, he was enticed by the horses. One of the bodyguards came out and saw him sitting on a horse, and crossly gave him a slap, saying: "Don't be naughty. You're too young to go riding." The boy was hurt and went crying to his mother. She first cuddled him, then said to the one who had hit him: "Friend, don't strike the child, for he is the emperor's son." The bodyguard replied: "The emperor has only one son and he's a halfwit." But Helena continued swearing by her own gods and Caesar's salvation that he was the emperor's son. As they still did not believe her, Helena explained the events following the victory over the Sarmatae and the withdrawal of Constans while he was still a tribune. At once she displayed the things that he had given her. When they saw the scarlet cloak and the gold bracelet they were convinced and overwhelmed with joy. They took the boy and the afore-mentioned gifts and returned in haste to the emperor, and placed the boy Constantine in front of him. They

λέα, στήσαντες τὸν παῖ [col. 2]δα Κωνσταντῖνον ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ· ὑποδεικνύουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ δοθέντα παρ' αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἐλένῃ καὶ λέγοντες· «Ἐπίγνωθι ταῦτα, ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἃ ή θειότης σου ἔχαριστα κόρη τινὶ ἐν πανδοχείῳ, ἀφ' ἣς καὶ οὗτος ὁ παῖς ἐκ σου ἐγενήθη.» Γνωρίσας οὖν ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πλησθεὶς χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἔξωσεν αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα κόμητα παραδοὺς αὐτῷ⁶ πεντεκαίδεκα νούμερα· μεθ' ᾧν καὶ ἀποστέλλει αὐτὸν τῷ τῆς ἑώρας τυράννῳ Μαξιμιανῷ τῷ Γαλερίῳ, φίλῳ αὐτοῦ ὅντι, παιδεύεσθαι αὐτῷ τά τε πολεμικὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλληνικὴν σοφίαν. Θεωρῶν δὲ ὁ 50 Κωνσταντῖνος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἐπαγόμενα πάνδεινα καὶ χαλεπὰ πειρατήρια, μισοπό[fol. 6] νηρός τε ᾧν εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ παῖς, ἥχθετο λίαν καὶ ἐδυσφόρει τὴν ψυχήν (1).

3. Διοκλητιανὸς μέντοι μετὰ τὸ παραιτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν πλανώμενος τὴν Δαλματίαν κατέλαβε· καὶ θεηλάτῳ ὁργῇ τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ διασπείσης καὶ σκωλήκων πλῆθος ἀπὸ τοῦ φάρουγγος ἀναβράσαν¹ (2) τοῦ τε σώματος παντὸς ὀγκωθέντος καὶ διαρραγέντος, τὴν ἀθλίαν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐλεεινῶς ἀπέρρηξεν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ δὲ Ἐρκούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ αὐτὸς πλανώμενος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας κακῶς καὶ δεινῶς καταστρέφει τὸν βίον (3). Ο δέ γε Γαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς ὥσπερ ἀδείας λαβὼν ἀθέως καὶ ἀνημέρως τῷ βίῳ ἐ[col. 2]κέχρητο· γυναικομανοῦς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅντος, ἀγῶνα ἔσχον οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἀρχοντες, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ οἱ πένητες, ποῦ τὰς ἴδιας γαμετὰς καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας κατακρύψωσιν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐκτετηκὼς τῇ τῶν πλανώντων αὐτὸν² δαιμόνων ἡπάτη] ὥστε μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τι πρᾶξαι ἢ γεύσασθαι τινος ἄνευ μαντείας καὶ μαγγανείας· ἐθέσπισε δὲ κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν οὐ μόνον πανολεθρίαν ἄλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγὴν διὰ τὴν ἴδιαν ἀσέβειαν.

⁶ sequuntur litterae duae erasae.

3. —¹ Sic (nomin. absol.) cod. —² αὐτῷ cod.

(1) Alexandre le moine, dans son *Invention de la Croix* (cf. supra, p. 70-71), emploie à peu près les mêmes expressions: P.G., t. 87, col. 4049cd.

(2) Cf. LEO GRAMM., éd. I. BEKKER (Bonn, 1842), p. 82, l. 17-19; GEORGIUS CEDRENUS, éd. I. BEKKER, t. 1 (Bonn, 1838), p. 472, l. 6-7; et la recension interpolée de Georges le moine, P.G., t. 110, col. 573b.

(3) Ce n'est pas Maximien Hercule, mais Maximin Daïa qui périt à Tarse. L'erreur provient d'Alexandre le moine, déjà cité plusieurs fois et à qui tout ce passage a été repris. Voir P.G., t. 87, col. 4049d-4052b; cf. t. 110, l. c.

showed him as well the things given by him to Helena and said: "Recognise these things, emperor, which in your divinity you granted to a girl at an inn. Through her this boy is your son." The emperor recognised them, and filled with joy and happiness he immediately embraced him, and gave him fifteen companions. With them he sent him off to the ruler of the East, Maximian Galerius, who was his friend, to be educated in the art of war and in Greek learning. But Constantine observed the terribly harsh tortures that were imposed on the Christians by the tyrant Maximian. The boy, who shunned evil as much as anyone and was of noble character, was very grieved and saddened at heart.

3. Now Diocletian after relinquishing the emperorship had reached Dalmatia in his travels. Due to divine wrath his tongue was split open and a large number of worms seethed out of his throat, causing his whole body to suffer from the torment, until piteously he lost his wretched life. In the same way Maximian Herculius while likewise on his travels in Tarsus in Cilicia finished his life in an awful state. Meanwhile Maximian Galerius in a false sense of security was leading a godless and savage lifestyle. He was a philanderer, so his subordinate officers, and even men of lesser rank, would hold a competition to conceal their own wives and daughters from the tyrant's sight. He was so affected by the deception of the demons that led him astray that he would not refrain from doing anything or trying anything unless prophecy or witchcraft prevented him. Against the Christians he predicted not only utter destruction but also the seizure of their possessions through his own impiety.

Βλέπων δὲ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον εἰς μέγεθος ἡλικίας εὐφυῶς προ-
κόπτοντα καὶ συνέσει θείᾳ κεκοσμημένον καὶ ὑποπτεύσας, μᾶλλον
δὲ καὶ οἰωνησάμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι καταλύτην τῆς αὐτοῦ τυραννί-
δος [fol. 6v] δόλῳ αὐτὸν θανατῶσαι διενοεῖτο (1). Καὶ τι τεχνά-
ζεται; Ἐθος δὴν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν³ ἔώαν ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ δοξάζεσθαι
βασιλεῦσιν · ὁ δέ τρόπος οὗτος · εἰς θέατρον ἀπέλνον ἄρκτον (2)
μήτε ὀδόντας μήτε ὅνυχας ἔχουσαν · προανέσπων γάρ αὐτοὺς οἱ
ἐν τούτῳ ὑπηρετούμενοι · εἴτα κατερχόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ
20 δράβδου ἀνήρει αὐτήν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ λέοντα ἀπέλνον καὶ αὐτὸν
ἄνευ ὀδόντων καὶ ὅνυχων · καὶ ἀπέκτενεν αὐτόν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
ἄνδρας τριάκοντα μετὰ σπόγγων ἡρῷων, μεθ' ᾧ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐλί-
θαζον τὸν βασιλέα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ λίθων ἔβαλλεν αὐτοὺς ἔως οὗ
30 ἐπεσον οἱ τριάκοντα ἀνδρες · καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεβόα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
καὶ δτι · «Καλῶς ή [col. 2] τύχη τὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἔχαρισατο · εῦγε τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐδαιμονίας.» Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
σκοπῷ θεάτρον γενομένου, ὁ Γαλέριος προσεποιήσατο νοσεῖν καὶ
μὴ δύνασθαι εἰς τὸ στάδιον κατελθεῖν · ἐπιτρέπει οὖν τὸν Κων-
35 σταντῖνον τὴν τῶν θηρίων ποιήσασθαι ἀναίρεσιν, παραγγείλας τοῖς
εἰς ταῦτα διατεταγμένοις ὑγιῆ θηρίᾳ καὶ αὐστηρὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ
εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσελάσαι, δπως ὡς εἰρηται διὰ προφάσεως ἀνυπό-
πτον ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος θανατωθῇ. Καὶ δὴ εἰσήχθη ἄρκτος φοβερὰ
εἰς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ εἰσπηδήσας ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος παραχρῆμα ταύτην
ἀνεῖλεν · δμοίως δὲ καὶ λέοντα⁴ · ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἀπέκτεινε ·
40 τοὺς δέ γε τριάκοντα ἀνδρας λίθους ἀντὶ σπόγγων βα[fol. 7]στά-
ζοντας αὐτοχειρὶ συνέτριψεν · ὡς δργισθέντα τὸν Μαξιμιανὸν κατὰ
τῶν ὑπηρετησαμένων θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι · οἱ δὲ τὰ θηρία ἀπολύ-
σαντες μετὰ τῶν ὅνυχων καὶ τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτὰ ὑποδείξαντες μό-
λις τὸν ὅλεθρον ἔφυγον (3). Ὁ τοίνυν εὐσεβῆς Κωνσταντῖνος τὸ
45 δρᾶμα μαθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα Κώνσταντα ἀπέδρασε. Τού-
του δὲ τελευτήσαντος, Κωνσταντῖνος διάδοχος τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς

³ (κ. τ.) corr. man. rec. sup. lin., prius κατήν cod. — ⁴ supple εἰσήγαγον.

(1) A partir d'ici, notre auteur s'écarte d'Alexandre le moine ; il y reviendra dès la fin de ce ch. 3 (une ou deux phrases seulement), puis de la fin du ch. 4 jusqu'au ch. 7 inclus.

(2) Cf. J. MOREAU, *Lactance*, t. 2 (1954), p. 327-328.

(3) Comparer la légende de Constantin BHG³ 365, publiée par Opitz et Bidez, dans *Byzantion*, t. 10 (1935), p. 421-422. Cf. ci-dessus, p. 71. Dans Zonaras, xii, 33 (éd. M. PINDER, t. 2, p. 623), c'est avec le chef des Sarmates, puis avec un lion terrible que Galère oblige le prince à se mesurer.

He observed that Constantine was advancing handsomely to the prime of youth and was equipped with God-given intelligence. He suspected, or rather he received an omen, that Constantine would destroy his tyranny, and so he planned to kill him by a trick. What was his plot? It was the practice of the emperors in the East to show off their courage in the following manner: they would release into the theatre a bear without fangs or claws, which the men in charge had pulled out beforehand. The emperor would then enter and kill it with a cudgel. Similarly they released a lion also without teeth or claws which he would slay as well. After that came thirty men with dry sponges, with which apparently they would pelt the emperor, while he hurled stones at them until all thirty men fell. Amongst the shouts of the crowd would be: "Wonderful is the courage that fate has granted the emperor. Hooray for the fortune of the Romans!" When this spectacle was due to take place in the theatre, Galerius pretended to be ill and unable to enter the arena. So he instructed Constantine to conduct the slaughter of the animals, having previously told the men in charge to drive healthy fierce animals in front of him into the theatre, so that as has been said Constantine might be killed by an unsuspected cause. And so a fearsome bear was let into the arena, whereupon Constantine leapt in and immediately slew it. They did the same with a lion which he also killed on the spot. The thirty men who were wielding stones instead of sponges he despatched with his bare hands. Maximian in a rage threatened death against the men in charge. They had released the beasts with their claws and fangs intact, and by showing them in evidence they just avoided destruction. So the pious Constantine after learning what had happened made his escape to his own father Constans. When he died, Constantine

βασιλείας γίνεται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς ἑβδομη-
κοστῆς πρώτης δλυμπιάδος μηνὶ ἰουλίῳ εἰκοστῇ πέμπτῃ (1).

4. Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου. Ἐν
δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατείας μηνὶ ἰανουαρίῳ συν-
ήχθη πλῆθος πολὺ βαρβάρων ἐπὶ τὸν Δανοῦβιν πο[col. 2]ταμὸν
περᾶσαι βουλόμενοι (2) καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀφανίσαι (3).

5. Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίνος συναγαγὼν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα
παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρθέντα ποταμόν, τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων κωλύων
ἔφοδον. Ἐπὶ πολλὰς οὖν ἡμέρας τὸν πόρον τοῦτον ὑποθέμενος
καὶ κατέχων, ὡς εἶδεν ἔτι συναγόμενον ἐπὶ πλεῖον καὶ πλεῖον τὸ
ἔθνος καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν γενόμενον, ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ μεγάλῃ καθίσταται ·
10 καὶ δὴ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν συνάπτεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον δρᾷ τῇ νυκτὶ ὀφθαλ-
μοφανῶς σταυροῦ σέλας ἵερὸν ὑπεράνωθεν λάμπον, γραφὴν ἔχον
δι’ ἀστέρων · «Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.» Ζητῶν¹ οὖν ἐπιμελῶς ποίου θεοῦ
τὸ σημεῖόν ἔστι, συγκαλεῖται τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μαθῶν
διά τινος τῶν Ναζωραίων [fol. 7v] — οὗτω γὰρ οἱ τότε χριστιανοὶ²
15 ἐκαλοῦντο — δτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔστι τὸ σημεῖον, ἐν φῶ ἐσταυρώθη
διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίαν, πιστεύει δλοψύχως τῷ Θεῷ
καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἀκινάκην εἰς σχῆμα τοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ σημείου
ἀποτελέσας κελεύει προάγειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. Πρωτας δὲ
20 συμπλοκῆς γεναμένης οἱ πλείους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνηρέθησαν, ἄλλοι
οὖν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κρατηθέντες ἥχμαλω-
τίσθησαν · ἀφ’ ὧν ὀλίγοι πάντα τὴν ἴδιαν χώραν καταλαβεῖν ἥδυ-
νήθησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πανολεθρίαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι. Νίκης τοίνυν
μεγάλης καὶ λαμπρᾶς γενομένης, ὑπέστρεψαν μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης
καὶ τροπαίων θεοδωρήτων εἰς τὰ ἴδια. Ἐκτοτε οὖν Θεοῦ συμ-
25 μαχίᾳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θείου [col. 2] σταυροῦ προσδοποιήσει τὰ βόρεια
καὶ δυτικὰ ἔθνη ἔως αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ὠκεανοῦ τούτῳ ὑπετάγη, ὡς

4. — ¹ Lemma (*περὶ τοῦ...*), quod in margine scriptum est, legere non valeo.

(1) C'est en effet le 25 juillet 306 que Constance Chlore mourut à York et que Constantin lui succéda. Le *Chronicon paschale* assigne ce double événement à la 2^e et non à la 1^{re} année de la 271^e olympiade (éd. L. DINDORF, t. 1 [Bonn, 1832], p. 517). Notre auteur s'en tient à son modèle, Alexandre le moine (P.G., t. 87, col. 4053A).

(2) La *Visio Constantini* (BHG³ 396-397c) place cette invasion en la 7^e (et non 5^e) année du règne. Voir ci-dessus, p. 70, avec les articles de MM. Grégoire et Orgels, cités dans la note 6.

(3) Pour l'auteur, les Bretons étaient donc voisins du Danube ?

became the successor to his father's emperorship, on the 25th July in the first year of the 271st Olympiad.

4. *About Constantine's emperorship.* In the January of the fifth year of his reign a large mob of barbarians assembled at the river Danube, aiming to cross it and to destroy the land of the Britons. Emperor Constantine gathered his whole army and approached the said river to prevent the enemy advance. He resisted their passage for many days and held them back, but when he saw the multitude was growing larger and larger and becoming countless, he was placed in a great dilemma. Then, as he hesitated to join battle, he saw before his eyes at night the holy light of a cross shining aloft, showing through the stars the message: "In this be victorious." Seeking assiduously to find out which god the sign belonged to, he summoned the leaders of his people, and learnt from one of the Nazarenes -for this is what Christians were called in those days- that it was the sign of Christ, on which he was crucified for the salvation of mankind. He trusted whole-heartedly in God and fashioned his own sword into the shape of the sign that he had seen and ordered it to be carried ahead into battle. At an early engagement most of the barbarians were destroyed, while others perished in the river, and the remainder were defeated and taken prisoner. A very few of them were able to reach their own country and describe their total defeat. After this great and glorious victory, they returned with great joy and their God-given trophies to their own parts. From then on in alliance with God and with the cross of the Lord going ahead, the northern and western nations as far as the Ocean itself were subjugated to him. The

γενέσθαι εἰρήνην καὶ γαλήνην βαθεῖαν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ αὐτὸν οἰκουμένῃ (1).

5. Περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Μαξέντιον.
Μαξέντιος δὲ δ τότε τῆς Ῥώμης κρατῶν, πάντων ποιηρότατος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων ἐν Ῥώμῃ φανείς, τὸν αὐτόχθονας καὶ μάλιστα χριστιανοὺς πολλοῖς πειρασμοῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις ὑπέβαλεν
5 ἀποκτένων, περιορίζων, μετάλλοις¹ παραπέμπων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ τοῦ Γαλερίου ἀκολασίᾳ χρώμενος (2). Οἱ Ῥώμης τοίνυν οἰκήτορες ταῦτα μὴ φέροντες πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν γαληνότατον Κωνσταντίνον πέμπουσιν αἴτούμενοι μὴ παριδεῖν τὴν μητέρα τῶν πόλεων ὑπὸ ἀπηνοῦς τυράννου ἐσχάτως ἀπολλυμένην. Ο δὲ τούτοις συμπαθήσας ἐφρόντιζε [fol. 8] τῆς τοῦ ἀπηνοῦς τυράννου κακίας τούτους ἐλευθερῶσαι· ἐδεδίει δὲ τὰς γοητείας αὐτοῦ καὶ μαγγανείας καὶ τὰς καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν βρεφῶν ἀνατομὰς ἔνεκα μαντειῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένας.

Περὶ τοῦ φανέντος αὐτῷ στυλοειδοῦς
15 σταυρῷ. Ἐν πολλῇ οὖν φροντίδι ὑπάρχοντος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ πάλιν, περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐν κάμπῳ τινὶ διάγοντος μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ, στυλοειδῆς σταυρὸς ἐκ φωτὸς κατεσκευασμένος², ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο· «Κωνσταντίνε, ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.» Ἐμφοβος οὖν γενόμενος δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡρώτα τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ δμοίως ἐθεάσαντο· οἱ δὲ ὀμολόγησαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐωρακέναι ὀπτασίαν. Καὶ ἀναρρωσθεὶς τῷ φρονήματι, θάρσους καὶ προθυμίας ἀνάπλεως ὥν, τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν νυκτὶ φαίνεται αὐτῷ δὲ κύριος λέγων· «Χρῆσαι τὸ δειχθέν [col. 2] σοι σημεῖον καὶ νικήσεις πάντας τὸν ἐχθρούς σου· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μου τῇ θεοτόκῳ Μαρίᾳ οἰκοδομήσεις πόλιν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἥλιουν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ αὐτὸς ὑποδείξω σοι³(3).» Ἐξ-

5. — ¹ μετάλαις cod., sed cf. l. 44. — ² κατασκευασμένος cod. — ³ σε cod., sed cf. infra, c. 8, l. 5.

(1) Chez Alexandre le moine, *P.G.*, t. 87, col. 4053B, la même phrase de conclusion se lit un peu plus bas, après le portrait de Maxence. Item *P.G.* t. 110, col. 585B, § 7.

(2) Même portrait de Maxence chez Alexandre le moine, *P.G.*, t. 87, col. 4053AB, et dans la recension interpolée de la Chronique de Georges le moine, l. III, ch. 177, § 6 (*P.G.*, t. 110, col. 585B). Cf. *Vita Metrophanis et Alexandri (BHG³ 1279)*, éd. M. GEDEON, Ἀνέκδοτα βυζαντινά, p. 30.

(3) Cet ordre divin de construire en Orient une ville en l'honneur de Marie a été inséré ici en prévision du ch. 8 ; il ne figure pas dans Alexandre le moine, mais bien dans la Σύνοψις χρονική, éd. C. SATHAS, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, t. 7 (1894), p. 42, l. 12, et dans le pseudo-Syméon (cf. supra, p. 72).

result was peace and profound calm in the whole inhabited world under his sway.

5. *About the war against Maxentius.* Maxentius who at that time was ruling in Rome proved to be the most wicked of all those who had preceded him in Rome. He subjected the inhabitants and especially the Christians to many trials and punishments including putting them to death, exiling them and sending them into the mines. He also took advantage of Galerius' brutal example. The residents of Rome were unable to tolerate this and sent an embassy to the very peaceable Constantine, asking him not to allow the mother of cities to be utterly destroyed by a cruel tyrant. Constantine sympathised with them and decided to liberate them from the evil of the cruel tyrant. But he was afraid of his sorcery and witchcraft and the dissection of individual babies that he practised for the purpose of prophecy.

About the stylus-shaped cross that he saw. As he was engaged in deep thought, there appeared to him again, as he was on a field with his army about midday, a stylus-shaped cross formed from light, on which had been written: "Constantine, in this be victorious." Full of alarm the emperor asked his companions whether they too saw the same thing. They admitted that they had seen the same vision. So with his confidence restored, and full of courage and enthusiasm, that very same night the Lord appeared to him saying: "Use the sign that has been shown to you and you will defeat all your enemies. And you will found a city for my mother, God-bearing Mary, towards the East in a place I myself shall show you." He awoke full of

υπνος οὖν καὶ πλήρης πίστεως γενόμενος σχεδιάζει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐκ χρυσίου καθαροῦ καὶ κελεύει προάγειν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον· δις καὶ ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παλατίῳ μέχρι τῆς δεῦρο φυλάττεται (1).

‘Ο δὲ δυσσεβὴς τύραννος Μαξέντιος ταῖς μαγείαις καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσι θαρρήσας πολλαῖς ναῦσι τὸν παραρρέοντα τῇ ‘Ρώμῃ ποταμὸν γεφυρᾷ· καὶ ἐξέρχεται εἰς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου πόλεμον. Συμβολῆς δὲ γενομένης, ἐκτρίβονται μὲν τῇ τοῦ σταυροῦ δυνάμει τῶν ὑπεναντίων αἱ παρατάξεις καὶ πίπτουσιν οἱ πλείονς αὐτῶν. Ο τύραννος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους φυγῇ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν [fol. 8v] χρησάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας ἐπέβη· καὶ αὐτίκα θείᾳ δυνάμει ὁραταῖς ἀπαντας τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βυθῷ παρέπεμψεν (2).

‘Αρχὴ τῆς ἐν ‘Ρώμῃ βασιλείᾳ Κωνσταντίνου. Οἱ μέντοι ‘Ρωμαῖοι μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης καὶ στεφάνων ἐξελθόντες ὑπεδέξαντο τόν τε νικοποιὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν θεοστεφῆ βασιλέα Κωνσταντίνον. Αὐτίκα τοίνυν κελεύει ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς τὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων καὶ δμολογητῶν λείψανα ἐντίμως μνησίαι καὶ ἐν τόποις ἐπισήμοις καὶ καθαροῖς καταθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἐξορίαις καὶ μετάλλοις δῆτας χριστιανοὺς ἐντίμως ἀνακαλέσασθαι. ‘Ησαν οὖν ἀπαντες ἄγοντες ἐπινίκιον ἔορτὴν ἐπὶ ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας, ὅμνοῦντες καὶ δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεόν, γεραί[col. 2]ροντές τε τὸν τίμιον καὶ σεβάσμιον τοῦ κυρίου σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν εὑσεβῆ βασιλέα Κωνσταντίνον μεγαλύνοντες. Τοῦτο ἔβδομον ἔτος ἦν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ. Τὰ δὲ τούτων ἐξῆς εἴ τις βούλοιτο μετὰ ἀκριβείας γνῶναι, ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σιλβέστρου, πάπα ‘Ρώμης τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὑπάρχοντος, ὅφ' οὐ καὶ τὸν ἀγίον βαπτίσματος ἡξιώθη, ἐλθὼν λεπτομερέστερον εὑρήσει. ‘Ημεῖς γὰρ διὰ τὸ τοῦ λόγου μῆκος ταῦτα παρήκαμεν (3).

(1) Noter qu'ici comme dans le chapitre précédent il n'est question ni du labarum ni du chrisme. Sur ce dernier, voir l'article récent de M. Burzachechi, *Sull' uso pre-costantiniano del monogramma greco di Cristo*, dans *Rendiconti della Pont. Accademia romana di archeologia*, t. 28 (1955-56, paru en 1957), p. 197-211.

(2) Sur la bataille du pont Milvius la littérature est immense. Voir, parmi les travaux les plus récents et les mieux documentés, le commentaire de J. Moreau au ch. 44 de Lactance, *De mortibus persecutorum*, dans la collection *Sources chrétiennes*, n° 39, t. 2 (1954), p. 427-445.

(3) Tout ce chapitre 5 et tout le suivant, sauf la dernière phrase de chacun des deux, correspondent assez fidèlement et parfois même littéralement à la grande interpolation qui se lit dans la Chronique de Georges le moine et dont

faith and made a copy of the cross from pure gold and ordered it to be carried before him into battle. This is preserved up to the present day in the imperial palace.

The impious tyrant Maxentius, reliant on his sorcery and his demons, built a bridge of many ships across the river that flows through Rome. Then he went out to make war on Constantine. There was a clash, and the enemy lines were obliterated by the power of the cross, and most of them fell. The tyrant with the remainder of his mob took flight to the city and made a stand on the bridge. But it straight away was broken by divine power and hurled them all into the depths of the river.

The beginning of Constantine's reign in Rome. The Romans came out in great joy and with garlands to receive the victory-winning cross and the divinely crowned emperor Constantine. At once the pro-Christian emperor ordered that the relics of the holy martyrs and faithful be properly anointed and laid in prominent and salubrious places, and that the Christians in exile and in the mines should be recalled with honour. They all held a victory feast for seven days, singing hymns and giving glory to God, honouring the admirable and venerable cross of the Lord, and magnifying the pious emperor Constantine. This was the seventh year of his reign. Anyone who wishes to study in detail these events in sequence, should turn to the Life of our father among the saints Silvester, who was bishop in Rome at the time, by whom Constantine was judged worthy of holy baptism, where a fuller account will be found. Because of the length of the story I have omitted it.

6. Τούτων ἀκούσας Γαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς δὲ τῆς ἑώας κρατῶν καθὰ πρόσθεν εἰρηται ἐξεληλύθει καὶ ὀλίγον τι τῆς κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν μανίας καὶ ἀπειλῆς ὑφῆκεν· δμως τῷ τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ἐπαιδῶν αὐτοῦ πλήθει θαρρῶν καὶ αὐτὸς [fol. 9] ὁπλίζεται 5 πρὸς τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου πόλεμον. Ὁ δὲ εὑσεβῆς βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος τῇ ἀητήτῳ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ δωνύμενος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὁρμᾷ, συνεπαγόμενος μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Λικίνιον, δις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ γαμβρὸς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου νίκην ἐγένετο· καὶ βασιλέα μοιρᾶς γῆς ἴκανῆς ἀπέδειξεν ἀπαιτήσας 10 αὐτῷ¹ καὶ συνθήκας, ὥστε μηδὲν πονηρὸν κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐννοῆσαι ποτε· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον. Γενομένης οὖν τῆς συμβολῆς καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ φανέντος, δὲ τοῦ τυράννου στρατὸς τὴν προσβολὴν μὴ ὑπενεγκὼν εἰς φυγὴν τρέπεται· καὶ πολλῶν κοπέντων, οἱ λοιποὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς [col. 2] τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνσταντίνον ἐρρύησαν. Ὁ δὲ δυσσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Μαξιμιανὸς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σήμαντρα δίψας ὡς δὲν μὴ ἐπιγνωσθείη φεύγων εἰς ἣν τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπὸ κώμης² τε εἰς κώμην περιερχόμενος λανθανόντως μόλις μετ’ ὀλίγων τῶν αὐτοῦ εὑνουστάτων τὰ οἰκεῖα κατέλαβε γυμνός. Συναγαγὼν δὲ τοὺς 15 ἰερεῖς τῶν ψευδωνύμων αὐτοῦ³ θεῶν, προφήτας τε καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ περιβοήτους οὓς πρώην ἀγαπῶν ἐτίμα, τούτους ὡς ἀπατεῶντας καὶ πλάνουντας καὶ ἐπιβούλους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας αὐθωρὸν κατέσφαξε. Μέλλοντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐμπεσεῖν — ἐπέκειτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔτι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ — 20 θεή[fol. 9v]λατος ὁργὴ τοῦτον προλαβοῦσα ἀπώλεσε· φλὸς γὰρ ἐκ βάθους τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μελῶν ἀναφθεῖσα ἀνυποίστους τὰς ὁδύνας αὐτοῦ ἐνεποίει· οἱ τε γὰρ ὄφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς διεκκαύσεως καὶ βίας ἐξώσθησαν, αἱ σάρκες τῶν δστέων ἐχωρίσθησαν καὶ οὕτω διατεθεὶς δὲ μιαρώτατος κακῶς ἀπορρίπτει 25 τὴν ἔαυτοῦ ψυχήν. Οὕτω τῶν τυράννων ἐκποδῶν γενομένων, ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ βαθείᾳ εἰρήνῃ ὑπῆρχεν ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ τὰ τῶν 30

6. — ¹ Leg. αὐτὸν. — ² corr. man. rec. ex κώμην cod. — ³ αὐτῶν cod.

nous venons de citer le commencement : P.G., t. 110, col. 585B-589B. Mais la source directe des chapitres 5, 6 et 7, comme de plusieurs passages précédents et d'autres qu'on va lire, n'est autre que l'*Inventio Crucis* d'Alexandre le moine, alléguée maintes fois ci-dessus.

6. When he heard of these events Maximian Galerius the ruler of the East, as has been said earlier, had turned out to have refrained a little from his madness and threatening behaviour towards the Christians. Nevertheless, emboldened by the number of his demons and sorcerers, he too armed himself for war against the great Constantine. The pious emperor Constantine, strengthened by the invincible power of the cross, set out against him, taking with him Licinius who had recently become related by marrying Constantine's sister after his victory in the war. Constantine made him emperor of a reasonable tract of land after requesting from him an agreement that he would never contrive any harm against the Christians. But this happened later. When the encounter took place and the venerable cross appeared, the tyrant's army could not withstand the assault and turned in flight. Many were cut down, and the rest abandoned the war and joined sides with the ruler Constantine. The most impious emperor Maximian threw away the seals of emperorship so that he would not be recognised as he fled as one of the army. He went around from village to village in secret, and with great difficulty with a few of his most loyal followers reached his home with nothing. He assembled the priests of his so-called gods, the prophets and seers and men renowned for sorcery whom previously he had honoured with devotion, and as cheats and deceivers and plotters against his emperorship he executed them at that very hour. He was about to fall into the hands of the emperor -for Constantine had pursued him and was still at war- but divine anger intervened and destroyed him. A fire from the depths of his guts had seized his limbs and created intolerable pains in him. His eyes were ejected by the burning force, and his flesh parted from his bones, and in such a state the wretched man pitifully took his own life. With the tyrants thus removed from the scene, the world enjoyed a secure and profound peace, and the position of the

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χριστιανῶν καθ' ἐκάστην⁴ εἰς ὑψος ἡγείρετο καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν
ὅ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδοξάζετο.

7. Περὶ τῆς βασιλείας Λικινίου. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ
τοῦ Λικινίου ὡς εἴρηται τῆς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ κρατήσαντος ἀρχῆς, οὐκ
ἡν αὐτῷ ἀνεκτὸν τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐνέγκαι, ἀλλὰ [col. 2] τῶν συνθηκῶν
ἐπιλαθόμενος πολλὰς τοῖς χριστιανοῖς τιμωρίας καὶ ἀφορήτους
5 ἐπήγαγε. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ διέλαθε τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα· δθεν
πρῶτα μὲν γράμμασι παρακαλῶν ἐνουθέτει, ἔπειτα καὶ φοβεροῖς
ἀντέπεσε παραγγέλμασιν. Ὡς δὲ ἀμείλικτον εὑρε, καὶ πόλεμον
ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ προαρξάμενος ἀνεγείρει· ζῶντά τε κρατήσας τῇ Θεο-
σαλονικέων ἐξόριστον ἀποπέμπεται· ἀλλὰ (τὸ τῆς παροιμίας) αἰθί-
10 οπα σμήχων ἦν. Τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ γὰρ ὁ Λικίνιος οἰκεῖν κατακρι-
θεὶς καίπερ ἐν ἀδείᾳ ὅν οὐκ ἔφερεν ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔθνη μισθοῦται
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως δπλίζεται καὶ τὸν ἰδιον θάγα-
τον ταῖς τούτων μισθώσεσιν ὁ ἄθλιος πριᾶται¹. Ὡς γὰρ τοῦτο
δὲ βασιλεὺς μαθὼν ἦν, εὐθὺς τὴν κε[fol. 10]φαλὴν αὐτοῦ πέμψας
15 ἀποτέμνει. Καὶ τούτου λοιπὸν τοῦ σκολιοῦ ἐκ μέσου γενομένου²,
τελείας ἀπολαύει γαλήνης τὰ πράγματα. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ
τῆς Αἰλίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Μακάριος, ἀνὴρ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐργάτης
κατὰ Θεὸν δοκιμώτατος· οὗτος ἦν ὁ τὸν Ἐρμωνᾶν διαδεξάμενος (1).

20 Οἱ μέντοι εὐσεβῆς καὶ μέγας Κανοσταντῖνος, πάσης ἀδείας ὡς
τῶν πραγμάτων κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτῷ φερομένων ἀπολαύων³, τὴν
πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ φροντίδα εἰς τὰ θεῖα μετήνεγκε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναοὺς
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνοικοδόμει⁴ φιλοτίμως, κατεπλούτει αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
δημοσίου λόγου ἐν τε χρήμασι καὶ ἀναλόμασι καὶ παντοίοις
κειμηλίοις· τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑλλήνων [col. 2] εἰς ἅπαν κατασκάπτων,
25 τὰς τούτων προσόδους τοῖς σεβασμίοις ναοῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν
ἀπετίθετο. Πρῶτόν τε νόμον ἔγραψεν, ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς τῶν
εἰδώλων ναοὺς τοῖς τῷ Χριστῷ ἀφιερωμένοις⁵ καὶ τοὺς ἔτι εἰδω-
λολατροῦντας κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν ὑφίστασθαι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύ-
τερον νόμον ἐξέθετο, μόνους χριστιανοὺς στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἔθνῶν
30 καὶ στρατοπέδων ἄρχειν. Πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τρίτον νόμον δια-
ρίσατο, ἀπράκτους εἶναι τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐօρτῇ τοῦ πάσχα δύο ἐβδομά-
δας, τήν τε πρὸ τῆς ἐօρτῆς καὶ⁶ μετὰ τὴν ἐօρτήν. Τούτων οὕτως

⁴ sequuntur litterae sex septemve erasae.

7. — ¹ Sic. — ² γινομένου cod. — ³ ἀπολαβὼν cod. — ⁴ sic. — ⁵ τοὺς τῷ Χρ.
ἀφιερωμένοις cod. — ⁶ supple τὴν.

(1) Cf. supra, p. 71; infra, p. 94, note 2.

Christians reached new heights in every respect and in all nations the cross of Christ was glorified.

7. About the emperorship of Licinius. Now Licinius had taken charge in Bithynia as has been said, but he was not satisfied with enjoying his good fortune, but forgot his agreement and brought many intolerable ordeals to bear on the Christians. This did not escape the notice of the pious emperor. First he reprimanded him by entreaty in letters, and then he confronted him with dire instructions. When he found Licinius inflexible, he initiated and proceeded to make war on him. He captured him alive and banished him in exile to Thessalonici. But he was in the words of the proverb 'washing an Ethiopian'. For in Thessalonici Licinius, though condemned to live there and being under amnesty, was not prepared to live quietly, but hired natives and armed himself against the pious emperor. By hiring these men the wretched man was purchasing his own death. For when the emperor learned of it, he at once made arrangements to have his head cut off. Now that this scoundrel was out of the way for good, affairs enjoyed perfect peace. At this time Macarius was bishop of Jerusalem, a practitioner of every virtue and most honourable before God. He had succeeded Hermonas.

Meanwhile the pious and great Constantine was enjoying complete security now that affairs were going as he expected, and he devoted all his concern to religious matters. He began rebuilding the shrines of God with due respect, enriching them from the public accounts with money and expenditure and all kinds of treasures. Those of the pagans he totally demolished, and assigned their revenues to the august churches of the Christians. He published a first law, that the shrines of the idols be given to those committed to Christ, and that men who still worshipped idols should face the death penalty. He then issued a second law that only Christians should serve as soldiers and be in command of natives and armies. In addition he prescribed a third law, that there should be no work done in the two weeks at the festival of Easter, the week before the festival and the week

γινομένων ἦν χαρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ εἰρήνη βαθεῖα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν οἰκουμένῃ, ὡς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν καθ' ἐκάστην 35 προσερχομένων τῇ πίστει καὶ βαπτιζομένων [fol. 10^v] καὶ τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς συντριβόντων ταῖς ἴδιαις αὐτῶν χερσίν (1).

8. Περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς πόλεως. Ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις εἰς μνήμην ἔρχεται τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν πλησίον· Ρώμης ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους προστάγματος, δπερ ἦν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ θεοτόκῳ πόλιν «ἐνῷ τόπῳ αὐτὸς ὑποδείξω σοι» λέγοντος (2). Καὶ δὴ κατὰ χώρας καὶ τόπους ἔρευνῶν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐπιβαίνει· καὶ θεασάμενος τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν εὖφυῶς διακείμενα δρη τε ταύτης¹ καὶ πεδιάδας, [καὶ] ὡς ἔνυδρον μάλα καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ ἔδοξε τουτοὶ τὸν τόπον πρὸς οἰκείωσιν ἀρέσκειν Θεῷ. Δυσὶν οὖν χρόνοις ἐκεῖσε διατρίψας καὶ ναοὺς 10 κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει θαυμαστῶς κεκοσμημένους δομήσας, λου-[col. 2]τρά τε παμμέγιστα καὶ χαριέστατα κατασκευάσας, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὑδάτων εἰσαγωγὰς κατὰ πᾶσαν χρείαν τοῖς πολίταις ἐποχετεύσας, ὡς εἰδε λοιμὸν ἐπιγινόμενον τῷ τόπῳ, διαπονηθεὶς ταύτην καταλιμπάνει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν Βιθυνῶν Χαλκηδόνα ἔρχεται καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἥδη πρὸ χρόνων ἐξεδαφισμένην ενδὼν βουλεύεται ταύτης τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ποιήσασθαι· ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος, ἀετοὶ τοὺς τῶν τεχνιτῶν λινοὺς² (3) λαμβάνοντες τῷ Βυζαντίῳ προσέρρωπτον· τούτου δὲ γενομένου πλειστάκις, δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ συμβαῖνον μαθὼν διηπόρει. Καὶ τις 15 τῶν αὐτῷ γνησίως ὑπηρετούμενων, Εὐφρατᾶς τούνομα, προσεφθέγξατο ὡς· «Ἐκεῖσέ ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ φίλον, δέσποτα, [fol. 11] τὸ³ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου οἰκοδομῆσαι πόλιν.» Τούτοις τοῖς ὁρήμασιν ἡσθεὶς δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτόθι διαπερᾶ, σκοπεῖ τε καὶ τὸν τόπον, δρος τότε τυγχάνοντα, καὶ τὸν Εὐφρατᾶν

8. —¹ ταύτας cod. —² sic; λινοὺς ps.-SYMEON. —³ leg. τὴν?

(1) Ici se termine un long emprunt au récit d'Alexandre le moine. Cf. P.G., t. 87, col. 4060A, l. 3.

(2) Cf. supra, ch. 5, § 2. Tout ce ch. 8 se retrouve presque *ad litteram* dans CÉDRÉNUS (-SKYLITZÈS), t. c., p. 495²²-496, et dans le pseudo-Syméon.

(3) L'édition de Cédrénus porte λίθους, p. 496, l. 8 ; de même la Σύνοψις χρονική publiée par Sathas, t. c., p. 46, l. 26. Mais Zonaras écrit τὰ σπαρτία, l. xiii, ch. 3, § 2 (éd. c., t. 3 [1897], p. 14, l. 1), et confirme ainsi la leçon de notre texte : il s'agit apparemment des cordes ou cordeaux dont les maçons se servaient comme de fil à plomb.

after it. With these arrangements in place there was universal joy and profound peace in the whole world under his sway, so that all nations individually came to faith and were baptized, and shattered their ancestral gods with their own hands.

8. *About the building of the city.* During these days there came to mind the instruction he had received from the Lord in a dream near Rome, which was to build a city for the mother of God, as he said "in the place I myself shall show you". So in his search through lands and regions he reached Thessalonici. When he saw its mountains and plains with their easy connection to the sea, and that it was well supplied with water and generally abundant, he thought this was the place that God wanted for the foundation. He spent two periods there and built churches wonderful for their size, beauty and adornment, and inaugurated enormous gracious baths. He also laid in water supplies to serve every need of the citizens, but when he saw that a plague was threatening the place, in great distress he abandoned it. He travelled to Chalcedon in Bithynia and finding it long since established by the Persians he determined to make his foundation here. Without further ado he set about starting the work, but eagles took the workers' plumb lines and carried them off to Byzantium. This happened many times and when the emperor learned of it he did not know what to do. Then one of his intimate servants called Euphratas said this: "There is the place, master, that the Lord wants the building of the city for his mother, the holy mother of God." The emperor was pleased by this suggestion and straight away went across there, inspected the place which was then a bare

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25 τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιστάτην καθιστᾶ, πόλιν οἰκοδομῆσαι τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀρέσκουσαν ἐντειλάμενος· δίδωσί τε αὐτῷ χεῖρα πολλὴν καὶ ἀναλομάτων πλήθη· κελεύει τε ἀπὸ πάσης χώρας τὰ τούτῳ συνοίσοντα δέχεσθαι. Τοῦτο δωδέκατόν (1) τε ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.

9. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὥρμησαν. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μαθὼν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀποδημεῖ. Τῶν οὖν ἔωμαίων στρατηγῶν τὰ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς τῆς περσικῆς [col. 2] γῆς καλῶς μὴ ἐπισταμένων¹, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπείρων τυγχανόντων, 5 οἱ Πέρσαι οἴα καλῶς ταύτας ἐπιστάμενοι² ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νυκτὸς καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀναιροῦσι, τοὺς πλείους δὲ καὶ φυγάδας κατὰ τὰ πλησιάζοντα ὁχυρώματα ἀσκόπως ἐμπεσεῖν παρασκευάζουσιν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ μάρτυς Εὐστίγνιος ἐν λόχμῃ τινὶ μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔξαιφνης παρακρυβεῖς, δις καὶ πρὸς 10 Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν παραβάτην ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ τρανότερον ταῦτα διέξεισι (2). Τινὲς δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζονται· μεθ’ ὅν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος κρατηθεὶς ἐκρίθη θυσίᾳ γενέσθαι τῷ εἰδώλῳ αὐτῶν. Ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖτε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα, [fol. 11v] πῶς ἐν ἀπόροις πόροις δίδωσι.

15 Τῶν γὰρ νεωκόρων τοῦ βδελύγματος τῶν Περσῶν πρὸς συλλογὴν ξύλων τῶν εἰς θυσίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξελθόντων, ἐγγισάντων τε τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ὦ ήσαν ἐγκεκρυμμένοι ὀλίγοι τινὲς καὶ τὰ φρυγανώδη κόπτειν ἐπιχειρούντων, αὐτοὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες τούτους ἐκράτησαν· καὶ λόχμῃ προσήχθησαν· εἴτα ἐρωτῶσι μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τὰ 20 εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων συμβησόμενα εἰπεῖν. Οἱ δὲ φοβηθέντες καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν περιπλακέντες εἶπον· «Δοῦλοι μέν ἐσμεν τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς δρᾶτε, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοί. Εἰ οὖν ζωογνούμεθα, λέγομεν ὑμῖν πάντα κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβῆ λόγον· [col. 2] καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, πιστεύετε· ὑποθήσομεν καὶ βουλὴν πάνυ ὀφέλιμον.»

9. — ¹ ἐπιστάμενοι cod. — ² οἱ Π. οἴα κ. τ. ἐπ. ante οὐ μὴν... τυγχ. cod.

(1) Ce chiffre est en contradiction avec le récit de Cédrénus, mais il correspond à celui de Georges le moine (éd. C. DE BOOR, t. 2 [1904], p. 499, l. 10) et des *Patria CP.* (éd. PREGER, p. 143, l. 16).

(2) Voir la Passion d'Eusignius, à l'endroit indiqué plus haut, p. 72, note 1. Dans Cédrénus, tout l'épisode de la captivité et de la libération de Constantin tient en une seule phrase : κατὰ Περσῶν ἀποδημεῖ, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ κρατηθεὶς Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ τὰς τούτων ἀποιδράσκει χεῖρας (t. c., p. 496, l. 15-16). Il remplit un peu moins d'une petite page dans la *Synopsis* de Sathas, t. c., p. 47.

hillside, and put Euphratas in charge of the work, with instructions to build a city that would please the mother of God. He gave him plenty of assistance and lots of money, and told him to take what would help him from the surrounding country. This was in the twelfth year of his emperorship.

9. At this juncture the Persians launched an expedition against Rome. The emperor found out about it and set out to meet them. Now the Roman generals did not possess detailed knowledge of the routes inside Persian territory, in fact they were completely ignorant about them, so the Persians took advantage of their close familiarity with them and attacked the Romans at night. They killed many of them, and prepared to attack unobserved the majority who had fled into nearby strongholds. Among them the martyr Eusignius took refuge in the emergency with a number of others in a thicket. He it is who was to give a clearer account of these events before Julian the Apostate at the time of his martyrdom for Christ. Others were taken prisoner, among them the emperor Constantine who was overpowered and condemned to serve as a sacrificial victim to their idol. But reflect on God's goodness, and how he provides a way when there seems no way out! The guards of the abominable rite of the Persians went out to gather wood that they would need for the sacrifice, and when they approached the place where a few men were hidden and began trying to cut the brushwood, the men leapt out and overwhelmed them. They were dragged into the thicket. Then they asked them to tell in all truth what had happened to the Roman emperor. They were panic stricken and clasped their feet, saying: "We are slaves of the Persians, as you can see, though we too are Romans. If our lives are saved, we will tell you everything in detail. If you like, you can trust us. We will also suggest a very useful plan." And

25 'Επομοσάμενοι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ νεωκόροι εἶπον · « Ὁ βασιλεὺς Περσῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον ἐπιτελέσαι ἔθέσπισαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν εἰς θυσίαν προσενεγκεῖν. Εἰς οὖν βούλεσθε, ἀκούσατε ὑμῶν μὴ ὑφορώμενοι δόλον τινά · καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, Ῥωμαῖοι δύτες πλείω τῶν συμφυλετῶν ἢ τῶν Περσῶν τῆς σωτηρίας φροντίζομεν. Κατὰ πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ὁρμαϊκῆς γῆς ἐπιποθοῦμεν πατεῖν. Κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ τεῖχός ἐστιν ὑψηλόν, δοδὴ καὶ ναὸν καλοῦμεν · καὶ τὰ μὲν μέσα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐστεγασμένα εἰσί, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ ἀστεγα³. [fol. 12] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ναῷ εἰσέρχεται πᾶς ὁ λαὸς σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ · καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔθιμόν ἐστι Πέρσαις μηδὲ μετὰ τοῦ τυχόντος δπλού προσέρχεσθαι εἰς θυσίαν τὴν οἰανοῦν, ἵδον ἡμεῖς, εἰ θελητὸν ὑμῖν ἐστιν, εἰσάγομεν ὑμᾶς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας εἰς τὸν ναόν · καὶ τῇ αὔριον, εἰσερχομένου τοῦ πλήθους, ἴστῳ μεν ὑμᾶς ὅπισθεν τῶν πυλῶν · καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν θύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν, κλείσομεν τὰς θύρας καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν κόψομεν τοὺς Πέρσας · καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν ἐκλυτρωσόμεθα. »

Αὐτοὶ μέντοι τούτων τοῖς δήμασι πιστεύσαντες, βαθείας τε νυκτὸς δὶ' αὐτῶν ὁδηγούμενοι ἔσω τοῦ ναοῦ εἰσεβιβάσθησαν ἀρέστον τε καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τυχόντες. Τῇ ἔωθεν οἱ κήρυκες [col. 2] ἐβόων · καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅπιθεν⁴ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστήκεσαν μεθ' δπλων κρυπτῶν · καὶ εἰσέρχεται πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Περσῶν · εἰσάγεται⁵ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος δεδεμένος καὶ τίθεται παρὰ τῷ βωμῷ. Τῶν δὲ Περσῶν χορευόντων, οἱ νεωκόροι κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τὰς θύρας ἀσφαλισάμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κόπτειν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευνον · αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσαντες δπλα τε παρασχόντες ὁμοίως σφάττειν ἐτρέποντο. Πάντων οὖν τῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Περσῶν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, « Μέγας εἰ, δοθεὶς τῶν χριστιανῶν (1) » οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐξεβόησαν · « καὶ τίς ἀλλος πλὴν σοῦ ποιῶν θαυμάσια ὅν οὐκ ἐστιν ἀριθμός ; (2) ». Ἐξελθόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τῇ ὁδηγίᾳ τῶν νεωκόρων [fol. 12v] τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπάσας ἐπέδραμον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς Ῥωμαίους ἐλυτρώσαντο · τοὺς μέντοιγε παρατυγχάνοντας Πέρσας ἀφειδῶς ἀναιροῦντες, τοὺς κεκρυμμένους ἐν τοῖς δρεσι διὰ

³ αἴστεγαι cod. — ⁴ sic.

(1) Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. 76 (1958), p. 312, avec la note 1.

(2) Cf. *Ps.* 85 (86), 10; *Iob* 5, 9 cet.

after making an oath to them the guards continued: "The king of the Persians and his rulers have announced the celebration of his birthday in the temple of their god and that your emperor will be produced as a sacrifice. If you are willing, listen to us without suspecting any trap. For as we said before, we too are Romans and care more for the safety of our compatriots than that of the Persians. And our earnest desire has long been to tread on Roman soil. Around the altar is a high wall, the enclosure that we call the temple. The middle parts of the temple are covered over, but the parts around it have no roof. All the people enter this temple with the king. Since it is the Persians' custom to approach any sacrifice without even the weapons they have on them, we can lead you into the temple in the evening, if you are in agreement. The next day, when the crowd comes in, we will place you behind the gates. At the moment when your emperor is about to be sacrificed, we will close the gates and join you in cutting down the Persians. And we shall liberate your emperor."

The Romans put their faith in their words, and at dead of night they followed them and were brought inside the temple where they enjoyed breakfast and a rest. At dawn the heralds shouted, and they stood behind the doors with their weapons concealed. The whole Persian assemblage entered. Emperor Constantine was led forward in chains and placed next to the altar. As the Persians were dancing, the guards in accordance with their promise secured the gates and bade the Romans cut down the Persians. They released the emperor Constantine from his bonds and produced weapons and joined in equally in the slaughter. All the Persians in the temple along with their king were killed. "Great you are, God of the Christians," shouted the Romans, "and who apart from you works miracles without number?" Then they came out of the temple following the guards and overran all the sentry posts and freed any men in them that were Romans. But the Persians that they encountered they killed without mercy, while the men who were

κηρύκων ἀνεκαλέσαντο. Ὅποστρέψαντες δὲ πρὸς δ τὴν πανωλεθρίαν εἰργάσαντο φρούριον τά τε πρὸς τὴν ὅδον ἀγώγιμα καλῶς εὐθετήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσελαύνουσιν, ἐν ταῖς κατὰ πάροδον εὑρισκομέναις κώμαις φόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐργαζόμενοι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις.

10. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δ φθόνος πανταχόσσε περιπολεῖ καὶ δ βάσκανος δφθαλμὸς τοῖς καλοῖς προσβλέπειν οὐ δύναται. Τοῦ γὰρ Εὐφρατᾶ ἐπ' οἰκοδομῇ τῆς πόλεως [col. 2] ἐπιστατεῖν, ὡς προείρηται (1), διορισθέντος καὶ πρῶτον πάντων τὴν τῶν καναλίων στοῶν εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ ἀπόρροιαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων θέσιν ποιουμένουν, πηγάς τε ἔξιορύττοντος καὶ κινστέρνας ὑπογαίους κατὰ τόπους κατασκευάζοντος (2), εἰς φῶς τοῦ ἔργου τι¹ φαίνεσθαι μὴ δυναμένουν, διαβάλλουσί τινες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὡς· «Τὰ παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας σου δοθέντα τῷ Εὐφρατῷ χρήματα κακῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κατηναλώθη, 10 καὶ ἔργου οὐδὲ δλῶς ἥψατο διὰ τὸ πρὸς σὲ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πλησιάζοντά σε αἰσθηται, ἵσως καὶ φυγῇ χρήσεται.» Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ὡς μὴ λαλοῦντός τινος ἥκουε ή ὡς μειδιάζων τι τῷ Εὐφρατῷ παρασχόμενος, [fol. 13] ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν Χαλκηδόνα καταλαμβάνει. Καὶ πάλιν τὰ τῆς διαβολῆς ηὔξητο· «Ορᾶς, ὡς δέσποτα, λεγόντων, πῶς οὐδὲ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ δρούς ἔξέτεμε», βεβαιούμενοί² δηλαδὴ τὰ προρρηθέντα μόνα³. δ δὲ δμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ διατίθεται· ἀλλ’ δρα τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἀγαθὴν εὐμένειαν. Ως γὰρ παρεγένετο δ Εὐφρατᾶς, οὐδὲ πρόσρημά τι λυπηρὸν ἀπεφθέγξατο ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ εὐχαρις μᾶλλον τῷ προσώπῳ φαινόμενος· «Πῶς τὰ τῆς πόλεως;» εἶπεν. Ο δέ· «Καλῶς, δέσποτα, διὰ τῆς προστασίας σου.» Καὶ δ βασιλεύς· «Πῶς οὖν οὐ βλέπομέν τι σημεῖον;» Καὶ δ Εὐφρατᾶς· «Εἰ κελεύει τὸ κράτος σου, εἴπε, διαπεράσομεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἵ[col. 2]δης πάντως ἀπερ εἰργασάμεθα.» Τούτου οὖν γενομένου εἰσάγει τὸν βασιλέα ἔφιππον καὶ δχλον πολὺν μετὰ λαμπάδων ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιαζούσης τῇ θαλάσσῃ [τῆς] τῶν Εὐγενίου στοᾶς (3) καὶ ἄγει διὰ τῶν ὑπογαίων καναλίων

10. — ¹ An leg. τε? — ² leg. βεβαιούμενων. — ³ sic; an leg. μωμήματα?

(1) Ci-dessus, à la fin du ch. 8.

(2) Cf. CÉDRÉN., t. c., p. 496, l. 17-18: Ο μέντοι Εὐφρατᾶς τοὺς κανάλους ὑπονόμους κατασκευάσας καὶ πάσας πηγὰς ὑδάτων ἀναστομώσας.

(3) Sur le quartier τὰ Εὐγενίου, voir JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 325. D'après les *Patria CP.*, éd. c., p. 148, l. 15, le portique qui traversait le quartier remonterait à Constantin.

hidden in the mountains they called out through heralds. Then they returned to the stronghold where they had carried out the massacre, and after setting in order the arrangements for the journey they entered Byzantium, wreaking great destruction in the villages they found en route. So that is what occurred.

10. Now envy flourishes everywhere and the malignant eye cannot bear to look on success. Euphratas had been appointed to supervise the foundation of the city, as has been said earlier. First of all he was creating the inflow and outflow of the water channels according to the lie of the land, and digging wells and laying underground cisterns from place to place. He was unable to display any of the work to the light of day, and some men denounced him before the emperor, saying: "The money that was given from your empire to Euphratas has been wastefully squandered by him and he has not even begun at all his task because he holds you in contempt. But if he hears that you are visiting, he will probably run away." The emperor listened to these allegations, but because he would not listen to a mere tell-tale or because he was showing special treatment to Euphratas, he travelled to Chalcedon to investigate them. Again the allegations were repeated, with men saying: "See, lord, he has not even cut down the wood on the hill." So they confirmed plainly what had been said before. However the emperor continued with the same intention; - but consider the good disposition of the emperor! For when Euphratas came before him, he said no hostile word towards him, but instead appeared friendly by his expression and said: "How is the city going?" Euphratas replied: "Fine, master, in line with your instructions." The emperor asked: "Why then can we see no sign of it?" Euphratas answered: "If your majesty is in agreement, we will cross the sea so that you can see precisely what we have achieved." This is what happened and he led in the emperor on horseback with a large retinue carrying torches from the colonnade of the area of Eugenius which

καμάρων⁴ μέχρι τῆς ἰδρύσεως τοῦ μεγάλου κίονος εἰς δν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνδριὰς ἵσταται· δν ἡ μακαρία τούτου μήτηρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀγαγοῦσα ἔστησεν, δς καὶ νῦν Φόρος λέγεται (1)· ἐκεῖσε εὑρίσκονται ὑπόγαιοι καμάραι πολλαὶ καὶ πυκναὶ τὴν πᾶσαν περιοχὴν τοῦ ἀνωθεν φαινομένου κυκλοειδοῦς σχήματος ἀποπληροῦσαι, ἐκάστη ἐκ πυντοῦ καὶ κίονος ἵσταμένη· ἀφ' ᾧ πρὸς ἐκατέραν θάλασσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐθυτενὲς στοαὶ μεγάλαι ἐκτείνονται, δι' ᾧ ὁ τῶν μακέλλων καὶ τῶν ἀφεδρώνων πᾶς ὅπος [fol. 13v] ἐκκέχυται.

Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος ἐξηπορεῖτο τί ἀν θέλοι εἶναι· καὶ ὁ Εὐφρατᾶς· « Ἐν τούτοις, δέσποτα, εἶπε, χρησιμεύονσιν αἱ πόλεις ἵνα, εὶ καὶ ὑετοὶ γένωνται ὁρδαῖοι, ἐπιρρεύσωσι καὶ οἱ πολῖται ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ διάγωσι. Τὸ δὲ τείχη οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ λίαν εὐπορώτατον ὑπάρχει. » Ἐπὶ τούτοις θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρόνησιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Θεῷ μεγάλως εὐχαριστήσας ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Εὐφρατῷ ἐμπνευσθῆναι ταῦτα, ἐπήνεσε μὲν τὸν ἀνδρα τὰ μέγιστα· ὑψηλοῖς δὲ ἀξιώμασι φιλοτιμησάμενος εἶπεν· « Ἐπεὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὕτως ἐδοκίμασας γενέσθαι, πιστεύω δτι καὶ τὸν τόπον διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκίσαι σπουδάσεις καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ [col. 2] παντοίων ἐθνῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰσαγάγῃς. » Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη· « Καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσω Θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος· πλὴν δέομαι τοῦ κράτους σου ἵνα ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ὑποχωρεῖν τῶν ἐνταῦθα τὴν βασιλείαν σου, τὸν δακτυλίους τῶν πρώτων τῆς συγκλήτου ἀναλαβόμενος καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ἐκαστον ἐπισημηνάμενος παράσχῃς μοι. » Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπέσχετο· δπερ ἐν καιρῷ ἐπιτηδείῳ καὶ ἐπλήρωσε (2). Τοῦτο τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἦν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.

11. Ἔφοδος Περσῶν. Οἱ Πέρσαι δὲ τὸ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτοὺς παράδοξον τῆς σφαγῆς παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνεκτῶς μὴ φέροντες, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθον τὸν βασιλέα¹ τῇ Βιθυνῶν διάγειν, εὐθυδρομοῦσιν ἔως Χαλκηδόνος πανστρατί, πάσας μὲν τὰς χώρας ληῆσόμενοι, ναούς τε καὶ ἄστεα καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ δπερ ἀν συναντῆσαν

⁴ sic, at recte καμάρῶν infra, c. 19, l. 11.

11. — ¹ Supple ἐν.

(1) Sur la colonne de porphyre qui était le plus bel ornement du Forum de Constantin, voir JANIN, op. c., p. 81-84.

(2) Ci-dessous, ch. 12.

neighbours the sea, and he led him through the underground series of vaults as far as the foundation of the great column on which the statue of the emperor rests. This was brought from Rome and set up by his blessed mother, and is now called the Phoros. There were to be seen many and frequent underground vaults which completed the whole circuit of the circular structure which was visible above, each formed from a buttress and a column. From them great colonnades were laid in a straight line towards the sea on each side, through which all the refuse from the meat markets and the sewers could be discharged.

The emperor marvelled at all this but was unable to understand what it meant. Euphratas said: "Cities can make use of these, master, when there are heavy rains, by them taking the overflow so the citizens are completely safe. It also makes building the walls very straightforward." Hearing this the emperor was amazed at the man's intelligence, and gave great thanks to God for inspiring these ideas in Euphratas, and he praised him very highly. He rewarded him with great honours, and said: "Since you have decided that the construction is to be like this, I trust that you will also make haste to build the place for God and that you will bring to live here not only Romans but also people of all nations." Euphratas replied: "This shall I do, God willing. But I make one request of your majesty: when you are about to withdraw your imperial presence from here, take the signet rings from the leaders of the Senate and mark each of them and send them in a letter to me." The emperor promised to do this, and carried out his promise at a convenient time. This was the fourteenth year of his emperorship.

11. *Persian invasion.* The Persians were unwilling to tolerate the unexpected slaughter that they had suffered at the hands of the Romans. When they learned the emperor was staying in Bithynia, they marched straight for Chalcedon with their whole army, ravaging all the lands, and

[fol. 14] αὐτοῖς εὗρον πυρὶ παραδιδοῦντες · καὶ τὴν Χαλκηδόνα καταλαβόντες, ἐπεὶ ἵσχὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν θάλασσαν διαπερᾶσαι οὐκ ἦν, αὐτοῦ που τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἔστησαν (1).

Ἐκ στρατευματικῶν.¹ Οἱ μέντοι εὑσεβῆς βασιλεὺς τὴν τούτων ἔφοδον ἀναμαθών, συναγείρας τὸν στρατὸν διὰ [τοῦ] τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιοῦται · ἐνῷ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα καταλαβών, πρῶτα μὲν τὰς πρὸς Βιθυνίαν φερούσας ὁδοὺς κατασφάλλεται (2) · ἐπειτα καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν σχῆμα ὑπαλλάττει ὡς μὴ γνωρίζεσθαι Ρωμαίους εἶναι · καὶ οὕτω τὰς χώρας τῶν Περσῶν ἐπιβιάνει · γυναικας δὲ μόνον εὑρηκὼς καὶ παῖδας, αὐτὰς μὲν διχοτομῶν ἀνέτεμεν · εἰς πον καὶ ἐγκυμονοῦσαι ἦσαν, τὰ ἐμβρύνα ἐδόκουν ὀπτᾶν [col. 2] καὶ ἐσθίειν · τοὺς δὲ γε παῖδας ἐδέσμουν καὶ εἰς ἄλωνα βάλλοντες ταῖς τυκάναις ὡς ἐπὶ θέρους κατέκοπτον · καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ παράδοξα (3) ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς τίνες τυγχάνουσιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ή τῶν Περσῶν βασίλισσα φυγαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τόπον χρωμένη πυκνὰς καθ' ἐκάστην γραφὰς τῷ ἴδιῳ ἐπειπε ἀνδρὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα δηλοποιούσας². Ἄλλ' οἱ τοῦ εὑσεβοῦς βασιλέως τὰς ὁδούς ὡς εἴρηται κατασφαλισάμενοι πάσας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἔβαλλον · τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ δλῶ ἐνιαυτῷ συνέβη γενέσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα λανθάνει διαβῆναι γραφὴν πρὸς τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα · δπερ γνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος αὐτίκα τῆς χώρας μὲν τῶν Περσῶν ὑπεξέρχεται, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὁδούς ἀκριβῶς φυλάττων ἐπίσταται³. Καὶ [fol. 14v] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως. Διὰ τῶν λανθανόντων τοίνυν γραμμάτων τὸ ἀπαράκλητον τῶν γινομένων οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἔμαθον, ἔκαστος ὡς εἶχε τάχος, μὴ βασιλέως δλως φροντίσαντες, μὴ συστάσεως στρατοῦ, πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπέτρεχον. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγεται δτι οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι λυκόπάνθηροι (4) τὰ τούτων κυνάρια εἶναι,

² δηλοποιούσαις cod. — ³ an leg. ἐφίσταται?

(1) D'après Théophane, les Perses arrivèrent au moins deux fois jusqu'à la ville de Chalcédoine ; mais c'était au VII^e siècle, sous Phocas et sous Héraclius (éd. DE BOOR, pp. 296 et 316).

(2) Les idées de notre auteur sur la situation respective de la Macédoine, de la Perse et de la Bithynie ne semblent pas très claires. Plus haut, il avait déjà mis les Bretons près du Danube (p. 78, ch. 4, l. 4).

(3) Étranges ruses de guerre, en effet, et aussi barbares qu'inviscimblables.

(4) D'après la dernière édition du *Greek-English Lexicon* de Liddell et Scott (1940), ce mot ne serait attesté que par Hérodien et Eustathe. Cf. A. KORAÏS, "Ατακτα, t. 4 (Paris, 1832), p. 593, i. v. τζακάλης.

setting fire to the temples, towns and dwellings and everything they found on their way. When they had reached Chalcedon, as they did not have the strength to cross the sea, here they halted their journey.

Roman expedition. The pious emperor heard about their invasion, gathered together his army and crossed through Macedonia. While he was approaching Persian territory he first secured the roads that led to Bithynia. Then he changed the appearance of the soldiers so that they would not be recognised as being Romans. In this way he entered Persian lands. He found only women and children, and separated the women and killed them. Any that were pregnant, they pretended to roast their embryos and eat them. The children they tied up and beat them with threshing implements as if it were harvest time. They did many other strange acts so that they would not be recognised for who they were.

At this the Persian queen made use of places of refuge in the area, and sent frequent letters every day to her own husband to make clear her situation. But the men of the pious emperor who had secured the roads as has been said passed all these letters into his hands. This continued to happen for a whole year. After this she managed to get a letter through to the Persian king. Emperor Constantine discovered this and straight away withdrew from Persian territory, and set up a close guard on the roads. So that was what took place. When the Persians learned of the disconcerting turn of events from the letters that had got through, each of them with all speed and without a thought for their king, and lacking any military formation, hurried away to their own homes. Hence it is said that the creatures now called 'wolf-panthers' were their dogs, which were

35 ἄπερ τότε παρ' αὐτῶν καταλειφθέντα καὶ ἀγριωθέντα σκύμνων
 δίκην τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρος ἐπιτρέχοντι, μηδαμοῦ τὸ σύνολον
 κατὰ τοὺς τῆς Θράκης τόπους εὑρισκόμενοι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ Πέρσαι
 πρὸς τοὺς τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλάττοντας Ῥωμαίους κατ' ὀλίγους ἔξε-
 λάνοντες ἐνέπιπτον, ἀφειδῶς παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο · δπερ δ
 τούτων [col. 2] βασιλεὺς ἀναμαθὼν τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐκδεξά-
 40 μενος δι' ἀβάτων καὶ ἐρήμων ὁρέων φυγῇ χρησάμενος τὴν σωτη-
 ρίαν ἔαυτῷ ἐταμιεύσατο. Ἐν τούτοις <τοῖς> διὰ τοῦ σεβασμίου
 καὶ προσκυνητοῦ σταυροῦ κατορθώμασι τοῦ τε εὐσεβοῦς βασι-
 λέως δοξαζομένου καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς εὐφραίνομένου, ἥ
 πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα γίνεται ἐπάνοδος.

12. Ὁ δέ γε Εὐφρατᾶς — εἰς ἐκεῖνον γὰρ αὐθις δ λόγος ἐπανελ-
 θεῖν κατεπείγεται (1) — τοὺς δακτυλίους τῶν ἀρχόντων παρὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως λαβών (2), τοὺς εἰδήμονάς τε τῶν ἀρχοντικῶν οἶκον
 Ῥώμης προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν ἐκάστον οἶκον
 5 δμοιον ἀπαραλλάκτως κατά τε θέσιν καὶ τόπον καὶ ἀέρα καὶ θά-
 λασσαν οἰκοδομηθῆναι διορισά[fol. 15]μενος, αὐτοὺς τοὺς τῶν
 ἀρχόντων δακτυλίους ταῖς τούτων γυναιξὶν ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ιδίων
 ἀνδρῶν δῆθεν μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ πλοίων ἀσφαλισάμενος ἀπέ-
 στειλεν. Αἱ δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα μὴ γνοῦσαι, χαρᾶς δὲ μᾶλλον πληρω-
 10 θεῖσαι ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ιδίους αὐτῶν συνεύνους ἀφικόμεναι, τοῖς
 πλοίοις ἐπιβᾶσαι μεθ' ὅν εἴχον χρησιμωτέρων σκευῶν πανοικὶ
 πᾶσαι ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐρχονται καὶ τῇ τῆς θεοτόκου πόλει ἐπι-
 στᾶσαι τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἀφωμοιωμένῳ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς ἐκάστη εἰσῆι,
 θαύματος οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος πληρούμεναι. Καὶ γὰρ ἥ εἰσοδος ἐκά-
 15 στῷ οἴκῳ δμοίᾳ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἦν, δ περίμαχος τόπος¹ ἀπαράλλα-
 κτος, ἥ πηγὴ δμοίᾳ, οἱ παράδει[col. 2]σοι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸν σχῆμα καὶ
 εἶδος, τὰ οἰκήματα, αἱ στοῖλαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀπαραποιήτως² πρὸς
 τὰ τῆς Ῥώμης τὴν δμοίωσιν ἔχοντα · δμως τὸ θεῖον κατὰ τὸ

12. — ¹ π. τ. i. e. *propugnaculum* H. GRÉGOIRE. — ² ἀπαραποιήτως cod.

(1) Voir une formule analogue ci-dessous, au début du ch. 19.

(2) Cf. supra, vers la fin du ch. 10. Dans Cédrénus, l'épisode est résumé fort brièvement : *Kai τοὺς δακτυλίους ἐκάστον τῶν πρώτων ἀρχόντων ἀναλαβόμενος, οἶκον δειμάμενος περιφανεῖς, τὰς γυναικας αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα ἀνήγαγεν* (t. c., p. 496-497). D'après les *Patria CP.*, c'est Constantin qui enlève secrètement les anneaux des notables et les envoie — on se demande pour quel motif — au roi de Perse Sarbaros (éd. PREGER, p. 146-147).

abandoned by them at this time and grew wild like wild cubs and ran off towards the East, while none of them at all are found in the regions of Thrace. When the Persians in their small numbers encountered the Romans who were guarding the roads, they were killed by them without mercy. Their king heard of this and received the survivors and took to flight by trackless empty mountains and secured his own safety. At these successes won by the holy and adorable cross the pious emperor was glorified and the whole army gratified, and they returned to their own lands.

12. Now Euphratas -for the narrative is obliged to return to him again- had received from the emperor the signet rings of the leading men. He summoned men with knowledge of the leaders' houses at Rome and appointed houses to be built following the design of each house, with exact similarities as to setting and position with regard to air and sea. Then he sent by letters, and with the security of boats, the leaders' actual signet rings to their wives as if from their own husbands. They did not realise the deception, but rather filled with joy that they were on their way to their own husbands, embarked on the boats with all their most valuable possessions and with their whole household they all reached Byzantium. There they entered the city built for the mother of God, and each of them went to the house that had been made the same as hers in Rome, filled with extraordinary amazement. For the entrance of each house was the same as that in Rome; the protective rampart was identical, the well was the same, the gardens in the same shape and appearance, the rooms, the colonnades and all the rest had a genuine resemblance to those in Rome. So each of

³ *in* cod. — ⁴ *xatāhāgōvōz* cod. — ⁵ *bis scriptum in cod.* — ⁶ *supple-*
*tehu. — ⁷ i. e. *quacu.**

13. *Леди Тодд* сказала Кэтрину о том, что она не может вернуться в Америку.

gabito.

սթըռցաք թէ ուղիղ լուսովքը ակա պիտօնդ լ . Տա առողջարար առաջ քծուս չը զմառուկ, ‘լուսուհից ակա ուժօշխէ հօլեովուն հօգիտացնէ լուս . պիտօնաւուն ուղիղաց ակա ակա, ‘պիտօսք առաջէ առա ակա, ‘պիտ-ռոն ուսուզօնացնէ առաջառածք առա ակա, ‘պիտօն պիտունացնէ, չը առօդաւունածք առա, ‘առօդ ակա լուս ակոն քայլ, ‘լուսուագիտէ ակա ոսկօց զու ուսուցան հու հաւուսէ ակա ուժօշխէ պոխօց զու ուսուցան հու հաւուսէ

«*Τούτων τούς γάλακτος οὐδεὶς πάσχει*» λέει ο Καποδίστριος στην παραγγελία του στον Αρχιεπίσκοπο. Τούτη η φράση είναι μια από τις πιο γνωστές στην ελληνική γλώσσα, και έχει γίνει ένα σύμβολο της ελληνικής αυτονομίας.

them thanked their divinity as best they were able and awaited the arrival of their own husbands. Meanwhile the most pious emperor Constantine had returned to Chalcedon with his army after his destruction of Persia. The most loyal Euphratas was the first to meet him and made the following proposal: "When your majesty returns to the palace at dead of night with your boats, then give each leader by the hand to me to escort to his own home. What happens next you will learn later." So the emperor returned to the palace as arranged and taking each of the leaders by the hand passed him on to Euphratas, saying: "Take him to his own house." He went off with torches and a large bodyguard. Each man stood at the gates of the house and inspected the entrance, inspected the outward impression of the house, and in particular its appearance, and the surprised shout of the servant girls and the uproar that passed among the servants, and the greeting of his children and the embrace of his wife. He was astonished and could not explain it, but heard his relatives saying: "We received your letter and boats, and came to find things here." And for more certain confirmation they displayed the letter itself and the signet ring. While they were all engaged in this, the night passed without any sleep. At first light they all with one accord gathered before the emperor and showed their amazement at his scheme. "Why did you persuade us" they asked "to live as foreigners, and how did you make us become immigrants?" He replied with a gentle countenance: "It is the mother of God who summoned you. And I trust in Christ who was born her son, our true God, that we shall not be short of anything, but shall be filled with his blessings beyond our desire." Then he ordered that each should be given three times the lands that he possessed in Rome, and plenty of money from the imperial treasures for their improvement, because they had been stripped bare by the Persians. So all were delighted, and chose to stay in the city under God's protection.

13. *About how the city was named Constantinople.* During these days it is said that the mother of God appeared in dreams to some particularly reverent men and said: "It is my wish, reliant on my special association with my son and Lord, that because of the emperor Constantine's good

5 γνώμην Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντινούπολιν τὸ Βυζάντιον μετονομασθῆναι (1). » Τοῦτο ἐξκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου ὑπῆρχεν.

10 ‘Η πρώτη σύνοδος αὐτοῦ (2), ἡ κατὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ἀρείου ἐν Νικαίᾳ πρώτη ἀγία σύνοδος τῶν τριακοσίων¹ ἀγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἀθροί[col. 2]ζεται.

15 ‘Ο τοίνυν Εὐφρατᾶς τοῖς ἐκ πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας ἐν τῇ Κωνσταντινούπολει οἰκεῖν αἰρουμένοις ἀννώνας καὶ οἰκήσεις παρέχων μεγάλως περιεποιεῖτο · τείχη τε κυκλοτερῶς κατασκευάσας περιέκλεισε ταύτην, ἐνθα νῦν ἡ μεγάλη στοά τοῦ Ταύρου ἴσταται, καὶ ὁχυρώμασιν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν κατησφαλίσατο. Μετ’ ὀλίγον δὲ πλήθουσαν ἰδὼν τῷ λαῷ μέχρι τοῦ Βοὸς ταύτη τὸν φραγμὸν ἐξέτεινεν, δθεν καὶ τὸ Δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τείχους περιοχῆς τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἔσχεν (3).

20 Γεννῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἀπὸ Μαξιμιανῆς τῆς τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ θυγατρὸς (4) υἱὸὶ τρεῖς · πρῶτος Κωνσταντῖνος κατὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ πατρός, διὸς καὶ ἄρχων τῶν ἐσπερίων [fol. 16v] ἦν · δεύτερος Κώνστας, διὸς καὶ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐβασίλευσεν · δὲ Κωνστάντιος τρίτος λαχὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐκράτει (5).

13. —¹ An suppl. δεκαοκτώ, ut c. 16, § 4? Cf. tamen E. HONIGMANN, in *Byzantion*, t. 14 (1939), p. 68-71.

(1) Constantin ayant reçu l'ordre de construire une ville en l'honneur de la Théotocos (ci-dessus, ch. 5, § 2), le lecteur pourrait s'étonner que la capitale ait pris le nom de son fondateur plutôt que celui de la Vierge. L'apparition relatée ici est sans doute destinée à résoudre la difficulté.

(2) C'est à la 20^e année du règne que Théophane et Cédrénus rapportent le concile de Nicée (325). Si notre auteur parle de la 19^e année, l'erreur est due peut-être à la Vie des SS. Métrophane et Alexandre (*BHG*³ 1279-1280), où il est longuement question du premier concile œcuménique et qui commence précisément par les mots *'Εννεακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει* (mais il s'agit là des années de Dioclétien).

(3) Il y aurait donc eu deux enceintes constantiniennes. Le P. Janin (op. c., p. 314-317) interprète autrement le nom du Deutéron : ce serait la région comprise entre le mur de Constantin et le second mur, celui de Théodose. Sur le Forum Tauri et le Forum Bovis, voir JANIN, pp. 69-72 et 74-75.

(4) Au lieu de Maximiana, fille de Dioclétien, il faut lire : Fausta, fille de Maximien Hercule.

(5) Ce n'est pas à Constant, le plus jeune des trois frères, que l'Orient échut en partage, mais à Constance.

character Byzantium should be renamed Constantinople." This was the sixteenth year of Constantine's emperorship.

The first Synod. In the nineteenth year of his emperorship, the first holy synod of the three hundred sacred and holy fathers was summoned at Nicaea to act against the impious Arius.

Now Euphratas was providing food supplies and houses for those from every city and land who chose to settle in Constantinople, and he was becoming very successful. He built an enclosure round the walls he had laid in a circle, where today the great colonnade of Taurus stands, and he made it secure with fortresses from one sea to the other. Soon afterwards he saw that it was filled with people as far as the colonnade Bous, and he extended the protection to cover this, which is how 'the Second' got its name from the enclosure of the wall.

The emperor Constantine had three sons born to him by Maximiana daughter of Diocletian. The eldest, Constantine, took his father's name and he became ruler of the West. The second was Constans, who ruled the East. And Constantius the third was chosen by lot to be ruler of Europe.

Kαὶ λοιπὸν ὁ Ἐνφρατᾶς τὰ περὶ οἰκοδομῆς τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ναῶν καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν οἰκων τῇ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ βασιλέως προτροπῇ ἀπάρχεται²· καὶ πληροῖ μὲν πολλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀπήρῳ καὶ ἴσχυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέως χειρὶ· μεθ' ὅν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευάζει, περὶ ἣς μετ' ὀλίγον ἥ-
θησεται (1). Τὸ δὲ νῦν περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ θείου σταυροῦ ὁ
λόγος διηγήσασθαι βούλεται.

14. Περὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.
 Τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει οἰκήσεως τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ καὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου λαχόντων, οὐδὲ θεμιτὸν ἡγησάμενος ὁ βα[col. 2]σιλεὺς μὴ συνεῖναι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μητέρα, εἰσάγει καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης (2). Ἡ δὲ ἔξηγεῖται ὡς θεία ὀπτασία ταύτῃ¹ ἐνσκήψασα τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πορεύεσθαι διεκελεύετο πρὸς τὸ τὴν τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εὗρεσιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγίων τόπων φανέρωσιν. Πέμπεται οὖν μετὰ πλούτου ἀνάριθμήτου καὶ πάσης ἄλλης ἔξουσίας. Ἡτις τοὺς
 ἀγίους καταλαβοῦσα τόπους καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν τοῦ σεβασμίου σταυροῦ ποιουμένη εὑρίσκει τοῦτον εἰς βάθος γῆς πολὺ κατορωρυγμένον. Τοῦτο δὲ πάντως τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας ἔργον ἦν, δπως μὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἐσπεσιανοῦ² ἀναλώσει τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐμπρησθείσης καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφανισθῇ. Κατωρύχθη δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
 Οἱ ἀσεβεῖς Ἰου[fol. 17]δαῖοι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνοδον τὴν πρὸς οὐρανοὺς φθόνῳ τηκόμενοι, αὐτοῦ πον πλησίον τοῦ ἀγίου τάφου ὅρυγμα μέγα καὶ βαθὺ ποιησάμενοι ἐμβάλλονται τόν τε σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑποπόδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἥλους· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ εἴτ' οὖν ἡ λόγχη, ὁ κάλαμος καὶ ὁ σπόργος παρ' ἄλλοις τισὶ θεοφιλέσιν ἐκρύπτοντο· καὶ συναγωγὴν σφόδρα πολλῶν χωμάτων ποιησάμενοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγιον τάφον ἐπικαλύπτονται, ἄνωθεν δὲ ναὸν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἰδρύουσι καὶ εἰδωλον αὐτῇ προσῆκον τῷ ναῷ ἀναστηλοῦσι, σκοποῦντες οἱ δείλαιοι δτι, ἐπει τινες χριστιανοὶ ἐπὶ μνήμης τὰ τοῦ πράγματος [col. 2]
 φέρουσι καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τὸν ἄγιον τύπον τιμᾶν ἐθέλουσι, μὴ δύνανται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ προσκυνεῖν διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ βδέλυγμα

² ἀπέρχεται cod.

14. — ¹ ταύτην cod. — ² sic pro Οὐεσπασιανοῦ.

(1) Ci-dessous, ch. 19 et suivants.

(2) Les ch. 14-15 et 17-18 se retrouvent presque en entier dans l'*Inventio Crucis* anonyme BHG^a 412 ; cf. BHG^a 413k.

From now on Euphratas embarked on building the churches of God and the holy places in accordance with the instructions of the devout emperor. He completed many with the assistance of God and with the faultless strong hand of the emperor. Among them he built the great church of God, which shall be described later on. Now the account should pass on to the finding of the holy cross.

14. *About the finding of the venerable cross.* Now that the Romans together with the pious emperor Constantine had been granted to settle in Constantinople, the emperor did not consider it right that his mother should not be with him, so he fetched her from Rome. She explained that a divine vision had come over her, bidding her to travel to Jerusalem to effect the discovery of the venerable cross of Christ our Lord and the exposure of the holy sites. So she was despatched with a huge sum of money and everything else she might require. She reached the holy places and conducted the search for the sacred cross, and found it buried far in the depths of the earth. This had certainly been the result of God's will, to prevent the cross being destroyed by fire when Jerusalem was burnt in the destruction of Vespasian. It had been buried in the following manner.

The impious Jews were consumed by malice following the ascension to Heaven of our saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and they dug a large deep excavation just next to the holy tomb, and cast into it the cross and its pedestal and the nails. Everything else, namely the spear, the reed and the sponge, was hidden by some other friends of the Lord. Then they heaped together very many mounds of earth and concealed the holy tomb itself, and above it they founded a temple to Aphrodite and set up on the temple an idol appropriate to her. The wretches thought that, as some Christians were trying to bring the things requisite for a memorial and wanting to honour Christ through holy ritual, they would not be able to worship him

τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μύσος. Άλλα πάλιν δὲ Θεός θαυματουργῶν ἐδείκνυτο.

Περὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλικοῦ.
 30 *Ἐξέφυ γὰρ ἐκεῖ βοτάνη ἡ παρὰ μὲν ἰατροῖς εὐκίμη³, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς βασιλικὸν ὄνομάζεται, εὐωδεστάτη πάνυ οὖσα καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ὀφέλιμος (1). Ταύτην βλέποντες οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀεὶ ἀνθιστάμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ γινώσκοντες δτὶ θείᾳ δυνάμει ἐνεργεῖται τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐπαύοντο παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐκριζοῦντες αὐτό, πατοῦντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες· ἡ δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῇ τε θεωρίᾳ καὶ εὐωδίᾳ ἥνθει.*

Ἐνρίσκεται οὖν δὲ ἄγιος τάφος καὶ δὲ ζωοποιὸς σταυρὸς τῇ συνεργείᾳ καὶ σπουδῇ τῆς μακαριωτά[fol. 17v]της Ἐλένης τῇ εἰκοστῇ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ ἀπριλίου μηνὸς ὑπὸ Ἰούδα τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος διὰ τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος Κυριακοῦ· διὸ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος περιφανῶς τε ἀθλήσας μετὰ Ἀννης τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου τὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφος εὐκλεῶς ἀνεδήσατο (2).

15. Περὶ τῆς ψώσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.
Δειμαμένη τοίνυν ἡ μακαριωτάτη Ἐλένη ναὸν περικαλλῆ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Γολγοθᾷ ἐκεῖσε ἵστησι τὸν σταυρόν· τῇ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαιδεάτῃ τοῦ σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, διαφαινούσης τῆς ἡμέρας, τοῦ πλήθους τῷ ναῷ προσεδρεύοντος, ἀφρω πάντων ὁρώντων ἀνεῳγνυνται μὲν ἡ στέγη τοῦ ναοῦ, ἀνίπταται δὲ ὁ σταυρός, τὸ ὑποπόδιον μόνον ἐν φῷ ἵστατο [col. 2] καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν ἀνοιγεῖσαν τοῦ ναοῦ στέγην ἐπήρθη ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (3), πάντων μιᾶ φωνῇ κραζόντων τὸ «Κύριε, ἐλέησον». Ἐντεῦθεν πληροῦται τὸ προφητικὸν λόγιον· φησὶ γάρ· «Ὕψοῦτε κύριον τὸν Θεόν ἡμῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τὸ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, δτὶ ἄγιός ἐστι (4).» Καὶ δὲ μέγας δὲ Ἐφραὶμ δὲ Σύρος ἐν τῷ τὸν δίκαιον Ἰωσὴφ ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν δευτέραν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς ἐπ' ἀκριβείᾳς ὑποδεικνὺς καὶ τὴν

³ an leg. ὄκιμον ut in libello *BHG*³ 412?

(1) Le *Greek Lexicon* d'E. A. Sophocles, i. v. *βασιλικός* (g), cite Hésychius : *"Οκιμον, βοτάνη εὐώδης τὸ λεγόμενον βασιλικόν.*

(2) Cf. *BHG*³ 465-465b; *Comm. martyr. rom.*, p. 171.

(3) La fête du 14 septembre ne commémorerait donc pas autre chose que l'« élévation », ὑψωσις, de la Croix dans les airs et sa disparition dans les cieux.

(4) *Ps.* 98 (99), 5.

at that place because of its defilement through the abomination of Aphrodite. But God who works miracles was revealed again.

About the plant called 'basilicon'. There sprouted there a plant which is called 'basil' by doctors, and 'basilicon' by the public, extremely fragrant and beneficial to invalids. When the Jews who always oppose the truth saw this and realised that such things were the product of divine power, they never stopped trying to uproot it every way they could, trampling it and obliterating it. But it flourished all the more in appearance and fragrance.

Thus the sacred tomb and the life-giving cross were discovered through the efforts and enthusiasm of the blessed Helena on the 22nd of April by Judas who was surnamed Kuriakos in holy baptism. He later became bishop of Jerusalem and suffered publicly along with his mother Anna at the hand of Julian the apostate and famously won the crown of martyrdom.

15. About the elevation of the venerable cross. So the most blessed Helena built a beautiful church at sacred Golgotha and placed the cross there. On the 14th of September, in the plain light of day, as a mass of people attended the church, suddenly in view of all of them the roof of the temple was opened and the cross flew up, leaving in its place only the pedestal on which it had stood. As it passed through the opened roof of the church it was raised up as far as Heaven, and they all cried out with one voice: "Lord, have mercy." Thus was fulfilled the verse of prophecy which says: "Raise up our Lord God and bow down before the pedestal of his feet, for he is holy." Likewise the great Ephraim the Syrian, in his work praising the just Joseph, when he reveals precisely to his readers the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirms the destruction of the wretched Jews,

15 τῶν ἀθλίων Ἰουδαίων ἀπώλειαν βεβαιῶν φησι· «Καὶ ἐλεύσεται
ἔξι οὐρανοῦ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ χεῖρας κατέχων αὐτὸν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ
ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ αὐτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν
χερσὶ καὶ ποσὶ καὶ τῇ πλευρᾷ ὡτειλάς· οἱ καὶ [fol. 18] ἐπιγνώ-
σονται αὐτόν τε τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν νίδον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν σταυρω-
θέντα ὑπὲπιτίθεντα (1).»

‘Η οὖν μακαρία Ἐλένη, φοβηθεῖσα μὴ καὶ [εἰς] τὸ ὑποπόδιον τοῦ
σταυροῦ τοιοῦτόν τι πάθῃ — καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ ταῖς ἐκ τῆς θείας
πλευρᾶς ὁρίσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ἀγίων ποδῶν αἷματος ἐκεκόσμη-
το —, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ μετ' εὐχῆς προτροπῇ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις ἐπι-
25 σκόπου Μακαρίου (2) κόψασα ἐξ αὐτοῦ δμοιον τῷ ἀναληφθέντι
σταυρῷ, εὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐλάττω, κατασκευάσασα ἔστησεν,
τὸν καὶ μετὰ χρόνους τινὰς (3) ὑπὸ Περσῶν αἰχμαλωτισθέντα
καὶ αὐθις ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου βασιλέως ἀναρρυσθέντα (4)· ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπεμψε.

30 Τοὺς δέ γε [col. 2] ἥλους τῶν ἀχράντων χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν τοῦ
δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, ἐνα μὲν ἐν τῷ χαλινῷ τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταν-
τίνου καὶ νίοῦ αὐτῆς ἔβαλεν, ὥστε πληρωθῆναι τὸ προφητικὸν
λόγιον τὸ φάσκον· «Καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τὸ ἐν τῷ
χαλινῷ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται (5).»
35 Τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἥλον τῇ περικεφαλαίᾳ αὐτοῦ σταυροειδῶς ἐπέ-
θηκεν (6), τοὺς δὲ ἔτέρους δύο ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἔθετο ἢν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπὸ Μαξιμίνου (7) τοῦ τυράννου ἐλευθερίας τῷ Κωνσταν-

(1) BHG³ 2200 : ASSEMANI, t. II, p. 23B. L'édition donne un texte différent du nôtre : δέ κύριος δεικνύσει τὸν σταυρὸν ἐν τύπῳ φωτοειδεῖ τοῖς αὐτὸν σταυρώσασι· καὶ ἐπιγνώσκονται αὐτὸν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν νίδον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ὑπὲπιτίθεντα.

(2) S. Macaire de Jérusalem (vers 313-334), déjà nommé ci-dessus, ch. 7, fin du § 1 (cf. p. 71), ne figure pas dans les synaxaires grecs, mais bien dans le *Calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiiticus 34 (X^e siècle)* que M. G. Garitte vient d'éditer, avec traduction et commentaire (Bruxelles, 1958), pp. 153, 165, 304 et 369-370.

(3) En réalité, près de trois siècles séparent S^{te} Hélène de la prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614.

(4) La croix « emmenée en captivité » par les Perses et délivrée par l'empereur Héraclius ne serait donc qu'une copie de dimensions plus petites et taillée dans le piédestal de la vraie croix. — Cf. A. FROLOW, *La vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Héraclius en Perse*, dans *Revue des études byz.*, 1953, p. 88-105.

(5) Zach. 14, 20.

(6) Cf. THÉODORET, *Hist. eccl.* I, 18 ; ALEXANDRE LE MOINE, P.G., t. 87, col. 4064B.

(7) Erreur pour *Μαξεντίου*.

says: "And Christ will come from Heaven holding in his hands the very cross and showing to the Jews not only it, but also the wounds on his hands and feet and in his side. They will recognise both the cross itself and the Son of God who was crucified by them."

The blessed Helena was afraid that something similar might happen also to the pedestal of the cross, for it too had been stained with drops from the Lord's side and with blood from his sacred feet. At that same hour with prayerful entreaty to Macarius, the bishop among the saints, she cut out from it a replica of the cross that had been taken up, although smaller in dimensions, and when it was finished she set it up. This was the one that some time later was captured by the Persians and recovered again by emperor Heraclius. And she sent word to all the churches.

As for the nails of the inviolate hands and feet of the Lord Jesus Christ, one of them she placed on the bridle of the emperor Constantine her son, so as to fulfil the prophetic verse which says: "And there will be in those days that which on the bridle of the king's horse will be called sacred to the Lord." The second nail she fastened on his head-dress in the form of a cross, and the other two she placed on the monument which the Romans built for Constantine in return for their liberation from the tyrant Maximian. It

τίνῳ ἐποίησαν. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ταύτην ἀγαγοῦσα[ν] ἐν Κωνσταντινούπόλει καὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ κίονι τοῦ λεγομένου Φόρου ἰδρύσασα (1).

16. Δομησαμένη οὖν παντοῖα πτωχοτροφεῖα καὶ μοναστήρια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ναοὺς ἐφ' οὓς τόποις [fol. 18v] δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν θαυμάσια πεποιηκὼς φαίνεται, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν ἀγίαν Σιών, καθ' ὃν τρόπον μετ' ὀλίγον ῥηθῆσεται, καὶ ξενοδοχεῖα κατασκευάσασα καὶ τὰς χρείας τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων ἐκάστῳ ἐπετείως ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου παρέχεσθαι ἐπικυρώσασα πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον οἶνον ὑποστρέψει (2).

Συνάγονται δὲ ἔτη ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀδὰμ ἔως τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου οἰκονομίας ἥγουν τῆς ἐκ τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ ἀειπαρθένου 10 Μαρίας γεννήσεως πεντακισχίλια πεντακόσια, τῆς δὲ οἰκονομίας ἔως τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔτη τριακοντατρία, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μέχρι τῆς εὑρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ἔτη τριακόσια δεκαεν[col. 2]νέα, ὡς εἶναι δύοις ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἔως τῆς εὑρέσεως τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ ἔτη πεντακισχίλια δικακόσια πεντήκοντα δύο (3).

Τελευτῇ δὲ ἡ μακαριωτάτη Ἐλένη παρὰ τῷ νίῳ αὐτῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινούπόλει ἐτῶν οὖσα ὁγδοήκοντα, πολλὰ τούτῳ ἐντειλαμένη περὶ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν εὔσεβείας καὶ πίστεως (4) κατατίθεται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων (5), φπερ εἰς κατάθεσιν τῶν βασιλικῶν λειψάνων ὁ εὔσεβὴς Κωνσταντῖνος δι' Ἐνφρατᾶ πεποίηκε, σεμνῷ ὅντι καὶ περικαλλεῖ καὶ ἐξαγώνῳ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τύπῳ περιεχομένῳ (6).

Μεθ' ἡμέρας δέ τινας γίνονται τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Σιών ναῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ. Ὁ Νικομηδείας 25 Εὔσεβιος ὑπὸ τῶν [fol. 19] τριακοσίων δεκαοκτὼ ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἀποκηρυχθεὶς καὶ ἐξόριστος γενόμενος μετὰ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὅστερον λίβελλον δοὺς καὶ ἀνακληθείς, Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἀγιω-

(1) Cf. *Patria CP.*, éd. PREGER, p. 174, l. 10.

(2) Cf. ALEXANDRE LE MOINE, P.G., t. c., col. 4064A.

(3) Les chiffres que donne Alexandre le moine (*ibid.*, col. 4064c) ne sont pas exactement les mêmes. Comparer la *Synopsis de Sathas*, t. c., p. 42-43.

(4) Cf. ALEXANDRE LE MOINE, col. 4064CD.

(5) Cf. *ibid.*, col. 4068c. Sur la question de savoir si Hélène fut réellement enterrée à Constantinople et non à Rome, voir l'important mémoire de F. W. Deichmann et A. Tschira, *Das Mausoleum der Kaiserin Helena... vor Rom*, dans le *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäolog. Instituts*, t. 72 (1957, paru en janv. 1959), p. 44-110, surtout p. 76, avec la note 90.

(6) Comparer la fin du ch. 19, ci-dessous, p. 101 (avec la note 5).

was she who brought it to Constantinople and set it up on the great column in the place called the Forum.

16. Helena built various poor-houses and monasteries, and also shrines in the places where Christ our Lord had manifestly worked miracles, in particular holy Zion, as shall be described shortly. She founded guest-houses and ensured that the needs of each of all the places mentioned would be met annually by the state, and then she returned to her own son.

The total number of years from Adam up to the bodily incarnation of the Word of God, that is his birth from the mother of God the ever virgin Mary, is five thousand five hundred; from his incarnation up to the cross thirty three; and from the ascension of our Lord and God Jesus Christ up to the discovery of the venerable cross were three hundred and nineteen years. So there were altogether from Adam up to the discovery of the venerable cross five thousand eight hundred and fifty two years.

Blessed Helena died at her son's side in Constantinople at the age of eighty, having given him much instruction about Christian piety and faith. She was laid to rest in the church of the holy apostles, which pious Constantine had had built by Euphratas for the burial of imperial remains, and was august and beautiful and formed in a hexagon in the manner of Heaven.

Some days later there took place the consecration of the churches in holy Zion conducted by the great Athanasius in the following manner. Eusebius of Nicomedia had been excommunicated by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers at Nicaea and been sent into exile with some others, but later he published a recantation and was recalled. When Germanus the

τάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τελευτήσαντος (1), ἡδυ-
 νήθη τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων ἐπικρατής γενέσθαι·
 30 δεὶς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὸ ἔγκαινίσαι
 τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ναοὺς ἀποστέλλεται, προσλαβόμενος δηλαδὴ
 καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρεῖας μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον. Εἰς ὅψιν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων
 ἐλθόντων, ἐπεὶ τὸ ψεῦδος <διὰ> τῆς ἀληθείας ἀεὶ ἐλεγχόμενον εὑρί-
 σκεται, εἰς διαβολὰς καὶ ψευδομαρτυρίας δὲ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
 35 [col. 2] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου χωροῦσι· τούτων δὲ ὡς
 ἀράχνης ὑφάσματα ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀθανασίου διαλυθέντων, δὲ
 Εὐσέβιος ἔτι καὶ τὴν καθαιρεσιν Ἀθανασίου μελετᾷ· δπερ γνοὺς
 Ἀθανάσιος ὡς εἶχε τάχους τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαβὼν τοὺς
 ἄγιους ναοὺς σεπτῶς ἐγκαινίζει καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εὐθυδρομεῖ.
 40 Τοῦτον δὲ δεξάμενος ἀσπασίως δὲ βασιλεὺς πάλιν εἰς τὸν Ἰδιον
 θρόνον μετὰ τιμῆς ἀποστέλλει (2). Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις.

17. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς καλεῖται τριμερὲς¹ τὸ
 5 ξύλον. Ζητοῦσι δέ τινες (3) πόθεν ἄρα τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ
 γέγονε καὶ ἐνῷ τόπῳ καὶ πῶς τριμερής^{1*} ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ ἔστι
 καὶ ἀναμεμιγμένας ἔχει τὰς τῶν τριῶν ξύλων οὐσίας, πεύκης λέγω
 10 καὶ κέδρου καὶ κυπαρίσσου (4), καὶ πῶς εὑρέθη κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας
 [fol. 19v] τῆς τοῦ κυρίου σταυρώσεως. Καὶ ἡμεῖς μέν, ὡς πνευ-
 ματικοὶ ἀδελφοί (5), παντάχοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας φροντίζοντές φαμεν
 ὡς οὐδενὸς φιλοθέου ἀνδρὸς ἴστορίαν ἡκούσαμεν λέγοντός τι περὶ
 τούτου πλὴν δτι ἐν Βηρυτῷ, καταχθέντων ἡμῶν παρά τισι χριστι-
 15 ανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ συντυχίας τῆς ζητήσεως ταύτης ὑφ' ἡμῶν προηγ[ου]-
 μένης, ὑπεδείχθη ἡμῖν ἐπιστολὴ Ἐβραίου τινὸς ἀρχαίου πρὸς
 φίλον αὐτοῦ γνήσιον πεμφθεῖσα (6) ἔρευναν καὶ αὐτὸν² τοῦ ξύλου

17. — ¹ Corr. ex τριμερὲς cod. — ^{1*} corr. ex τριμερὶς cod. — ² αὐτοῦ cod.

(1) Ce n'est pas la mort du patriarche S. Germain (qui vécut au VIII^e siècle), mais l'expulsion de S. Paul le confesseur qui permit l'intrusion d'Eusèbe de Nicomédie sur le trône épiscopal de Constantinople. Alexandre le moine parlait discrètement d'une vacance du siège (col. 4065A), sans nommer ni Paul ni Germain. Mais il se trompait en plaçant sous Constantin la promotion d'Eusèbe ; elle n'eut lieu que sous Constance. Cf. SOCR., *Hist. eccl.* II, 7.

(2) L'histoire vraie des rapports entre Constantin et Athanase ne ressemble guère à ce raccourci édifiant. Voir, par exemple, P. PEETERS, *L'épilogue du synode de Tyr en 335*, dans *Anal. Boll.*, t. 63 (1945), p. 131-144.

(3) Cf. BHG³ 413k.

(4) Cf. Is. 60, 13.

(5) Comparer, vers la fin de ce ch. 17, une apostrophe analogue : πνευματικοὶ ἡμῶν πατέρες, avec le commentaire, p. 104, à la fin de la note 2.

(6) Cette lettre d'un vieux Juif prétendument trouvée à Beyrouth aurait-elle été mentionnée ailleurs qu'ici et dans l'*Inventio BHG³ 412* ?

most holy patriarch of Constantinople died, Eusebius was able to become master of the bishop's throne of the sovereign city. He was sent by great emperor Constantine to conduct the consecration of the churches in Jerusalem, and he naturally took with him the great Athanasius of Alexandria. When they came into each other's presence, as falsehood is always found to challenge truth, the bishop of Constantinople and the others embarked on slanders and false accusations against Athanasius. These were brushed aside like a spider's web by the great Athanasius, but Eusebius was still intent on the destruction of Athanasius. When Athanasius realised this he reached Jerusalem as quickly as possible and solemnly consecrated the holy churches, and headed straight for the emperor. The emperor welcomed him gladly and sent him back to his own throne with all honour. So that is what took place.

17. About why the wood is called 'tripartite'. Some people ask where the wood of the cross came from, and in what place and how its composition became tripartite, as it has a mixture of three types of wood, namely pine, cedar and cypress, and how it was found in the days of the crucifixion of the Lord. We who always seek the truth, O my spiritual brothers, can say that we have not heard a story from any devout man saying anything about this other than that at Beirut, when we were staying with some Christians and by chance this inquiry was mentioned by us, we were shown a letter of an ancient Hebrew sent to a close friend of his who was also making an

ποιούμενον^{2*}, ήτις οὕτω περιεῖχε· «Δύο ποταμοὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ
» ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἔνομενοι δὲ τε Ἰώρ καὶ δέλταν ἔνα ποταμὸν ἀποτε-
15 » λοῦντες³ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἀπό τε τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν ὑδάτων ἀπό⁴
» τε τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὄνομάτων [col. 2] τὴν κλῆσιν κληρωσαμέ-
» νον τοῦ ποταμοῦ (1). Μεταξὺ οὖν τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν ποταμῶν,
» πλησίον δηλαδὴ τῆς τῶν δύο μίξεως, διερχομένου τῷ τότε χρόνῳ
» τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀβραάμ, ἐγένετο εὑρεῖν τινα σκηνικὸν κτηνοτρό-
20 » φον ὀδυρόμενόν τε καὶ στένοντα ἐπὶ ἀτόπῳ ἀμαρτήματι^{5*}. Πρὸς
» δὲ δέ μέγας Ἀβραάμ· «Εἰ βούλει τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλεώσασθαι, ἀδελφέ,
» τρεῖς δαλοὺς ἔνεγκέ μοι.» Τούτου δὲ γενομένου, ὡς ἀπὸ ήμίσεως
» σταδίου τῶν ἀμφοτέρων ποταμῶν ὑποχωρήσαντος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ,
» θεὶς αὐτὰ κατὰ τρίγωνον σχῆμα ὡς διέστασθαι ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων
25 » ἐξ ὀργυιᾶς μιᾶς φησιν· «Ἐφ’ ἐκάστην ήμέραν ἐκαστον τῶν
» δαλῶν ποτίζειν ὀφείλεις ἀνὰ στάμνους τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ
» εἰ μὲν ἔνδον ήμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ζωωθέντες ὁιζωθῶσιν οἱ
» [fol. 20] δαλοί, γινώσκων ἐση ὡς εὐτίλατός σοι δέ Θεός ἐστιν·
» εἰ δὲ μή, πάλιν ὅψομαί σε καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα διδάξω.» Ο δὲ τὸ
30 » προστατόμενον ἐποίει· καὶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ήμερῶν πληρού-
» μένων οἱ δαλοὶ ἀνέφυνον καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοπυροθεὶς πρὸς τὸν μέγαν
» Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ τὴν δρῦν ἀπήγει. Τούτους τοὺς τρεῖς δαλοὺς βλα-
» στήσαντας εἰς ἀμφότερα ἐνωθῆναι λέγεται καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁιζας
» διασκεπὰς⁴ ἔχειν καὶ τὰς κορυφὰς δύοις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διεστη-
35 » κνίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς μέσης ἀπαν ἐν εἶναι καθ’ ἐνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον,
» μηδοπωσοῦν ἐν τοῦ ἐτέρου χωρισθῆναι δυνάμενον. Τινὲς δέ φασι
» τὴν δάβδον Ἐλισσαίον εἶναι δι’ ής τὰ ἀλμυρὰ ὕδατα πότιμα ἐγέ-
» νοντο (2)· ἀλλ’ ή μὲν δάβδος ἐνὸς ξύλου καὶ ἐνὸς εἴδους [col. 2]

^{2*} ποιούμενον cod. — ³ leg. ἀποτελοῦσιν. — ^{5*} in margine inter binas columnas haec ascripta est annotatio: Γνώμη. Τοῦτον δν λέγει κτηνοτρόφον δέ Λώτ ἐστιν δέλτας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ· ή δὲ ἀμαρτία αὐτοῦ ήν δτι ἔγημε τὰς δύο θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ἐν Σηγώρ, δτε ἀπέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς καταστροφῆς τῶν Σοδόμων, μεθύσασαι αὐτὸν οἴνον καὶ κοιμηθεῖσαι μετ’ αὐτοῦ. Cf. Gen. 19, 30-38. — ⁴ sic; διεσπακνίας coniecit H. GRÉGOIRE.

(1) Même explication dans CÉDRÉNUS-SKYL., éd. c., t. 1, p. 50, l. 6-7. Cf. *Etymologicum magnum*, éd. Th. GAISFORD (Oxford, 1848), col. 1358, cité par F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, t. 1 (Paris, 1933), p. 475, fin de la note 3. Voir aussi PHILOSTORGII, *Kirchengeschichte*, éd. J. BIDEZ (1913), p. 80, l. 15-22, avec les références à Chrysostome et à « Suidas ».

(2) Élisée assainit la fontaine de Jéricho en y jetant du sel (4 Reg. 2, 19-22). Mais la Bible ne parle pas d'eaux salées que le prophète aurait rendues po-

investigation into the wood, which read as follows: "There are two rivers in Palestine, the Jor and the Dan, which unite at the same point as they form one river the Jordan, a river which takes its name from the uniting of the waters and the conjunction of their names. Between the junction of the rivers, and in fact close to the merger of the two, great Abraham was once passing in those days, and he chanced to find a character who kept cattle, lamenting and groaning at his unusual sin. Great Abraham said to him: 'If you want to appease the Lord, brother, fetch me three fire-brands.' When this was done, Abraham withdrew about half a stade from both rivers, and placed them in a triangle so they stood about six feet from each other, and said: 'Each day you must water each of the sticks with forty jars. And if inside forty days the sticks come alive and take root, then you will know that God takes mercy on you. If not, then I shall see you again and tell you what to do.' The man did what he was instructed. When forty days had passed the fire-brands were growing, and he was invigorated and went to great Abraham at the oak tree. It is said that these three fire-brands as they grew were united with the other two, and that though they had separate roots and their tops were similarly divided from each other, the whole of their middle was one in an inseparable union, and each was totally unable to be parted one from the others. Some say that this was the staff of Elisha by means of which the salty waters became drinkable. But that staff is known to have been of one wood and of one type, whereas that of the cross is

» ἀποδείκνυται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ σταυροῦ τρία ἐμβαίνει · δθεν δῆλον κα-
 40 » κῶς ὑπειληφέναι τοὺς οὕτω λέγοντας. Τοῦτο τὸ ξύλον ὁραῖον
 » λεγόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Σολομῶντος κατασκευῇ τοῖς
 » τεχνίταις ἀρέσαν ἐκόπη καὶ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσαχθὲν κάτω μὲν
 » κείμενον τῷ μήκει διαφέρον ἦν, ἀνω δὲ τῇ στέγῃ ἀναβιβαζόμενον
 » κατὰ πολὺ τῶν τοίχων ἐλείπετο · διὸ καὶ κατεβιβάζετο. Τῆς
 45 » οὖν ὁραιότητος τοῦ ξύλου κατὰ πολὺ ἀντεχόμενος ὁ Σολομῶν
 » καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὸν ἀνενέργητον καταλειφθῆναι, πάλιν μετρεῖ ·
 » καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ μήκει ὑπερβαῖνον ἦν · ὡς δὲ ἀναβιβασθὲν πάλιν
 » κολοβὸν εὑρέθη, ἔγνω δεῖν ὁ Σολομῶν θείας προνοίας ἐργον εἰ-
 » ναι τὸ γινόμενον · δθεν καὶ ἐνδον τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτὸν κατατίθησιν εἰς
 50 » τὴν τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἀνά[fol. 20v]πανσιν (1). Ἀπαρτισθέν-
 » τος οὖν τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Σολομῶντος τὰ τούτου κάλλη
 » τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ σιβύλλῃ πρὸς θαῦμα ὑποδεικνύοντος καὶ ἐν τῷ
 » εἰρημένῳ ξύλῳ αὐτῇ καθεσθῆναι παρακελευμένου⁵, αὐτῇ προ-
 » φητικοῦ χαρίσματος μετασχοῦσα τὴν μὲν καθέδραν ἀπείπατο,
 55 » τὸ δὲ ξύλον⁶ ἔφη · « Ὡ τρισμακάριστον ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ τανθήσεται
 » Χριστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κύριος (2). » Τούτων τῶν ὁρμάτων ὁ
 » βασιλεὺς κατήκοος γεγονὼς εὐθὺς ἵστησιν αὐτὸν δρθιον κατὰ
 » ἀνατολὰς καὶ περιβάλλει τριάκοντα στεφάνους ἐξ ἀργύρου κα-
 » θαροῦ. Ἰστατο οὖν οὕτως τὸ ξύλον μέχρι τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς Ἰησοῦ
 60 » σταυρώσεως · καὶ τούτους λέγεται τοὺς στε[col. 2]φάνοντας αἰτῆσαι
 » τὸν τούτου μαθητήν, δς καὶ προέδωκεν αὐτὸν τοῖς πατράσιν
 » ἥμαν, ὡς λοιπὸν τούτων ἀφαιρεθέντων πάλιν γυμνὸν κεῖσθαι τὸ
 » ξύλον καὶ ἀνεργον · δθεν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄχρηστον αὐτοῦ οἱ τὸν σταυρὸν
 » ὀφείλοντες κατασκευάσαι τέκτονες τοῦτο αἰτησάμενοι τὸ τῆς
 65 » σιβύλλης προρρηθὲν ἐβεβαίωσαν, τὸ κάτω μέρος ὀλόκληρον εἰς
 » πάχος καὶ εἰς μῆκος πολὺ ἐάσαντες πρὸς τὸ εἰς βάθος τῆς γῆς

⁵ παρακελευόμενος cod. — ⁶ leg. τῷ δὲ ξύλῳ.

tables. L'épisode manque aussi dans les *Vitae prophetarum* (*BHG*³ 1585-90). Serait-il conté dans un apocryphe ? A moins qu'il n'y ait ici une réminiscence confuse du miracle de Moïse assainissant les eaux amères (*Ex.* 15, 25).

(1) Je ne trouve aucune allusion à cette légende, non plus qu'aux rapports de Salomon avec la sibylle Érythrée, dans les apocryphes grecs concernant Salomon. Cf. *BHG*³ 2389-2392. L'auteur se souvenait sans doute vaguement de la reine de Saba (3 *Reg.* 10, 1-10).

(2) Cf. *Oracula sibyllina*, vi, 26 (éd. J. GEFFCKEN, 1902, p. 132) : ὁ ξύλον ὁ μακαριστόν, ἐφ' οὗ θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη. Comp. SOZOMÈNE, *Hist. eccl.* II, 1 (éd. R. HUSSEY, t. 1, p. 106).

formed of three. So it is clear that those who make that claim are mistaken. This wood, which can be described as seasoned, satisfied the craftsmen at the building of Solomon's temple, and was cut down and brought into the temple. When it lay down below it was of a different length, but when it was brought up to the roof it was a long way short of the walls. And so it was brought down. Solomon was very impressed by the seasoned beauty of the wood and did not want it to be left unused, so he measured it again. It was more than long enough. But when it was taken up it was again found short, and Solomon realised that what had happened must be the work of God's will. So he placed it inside the temple until the cessation of the works. When the temple was completed and king Solomon was showing its beauties to the Sibyl of Erythrae for her to admire, and bade her sit down on the afore-mentioned wood, she became filled with her gift of prophecy and refused the seat, saying of the wood: 'O thrice-blessed wood, on which Christ the king and Lord will be stretched.' The king heard these words and immediately set it upright facing the East and put around it thirty crowns of pure silver. The wood stood like this up until the time of Jesus' crucifixion. It is said that his disciple asked for these crowns, the one who betrayed Jesus to our fathers, so that from then on after they had been removed the wood was again lying bare and unused. So because it was not in use the carpenters who had to make the cross asked for it and so fulfilled the prophecy of the Sibyl. The lower part they used in its entire thickness and length for being stuck mostly into the depths of the ground, while the support of the cross

» παγῆναι πλεῖστον, τοῦ σταυροῦ τὸ ἔρεισμα εἶναι ἄνωθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 » πηγνύμενον¹ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχειν
 » βάσιν εὑρύχωρον.» Ταῦτα, πνευματικοὶ ἡμῶν πατέρες, τῇ ἐπι-
 70 στολῇ τοῦ Ἐβραίου ἀνεγέργαπτο. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ
 τοιαῦτα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀγίας Σιάν [fol. 21] προϋπέσχετο
 δὲ λόγος διδάξαι, ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὁφθαλμοῖς ἔθεασάμην(1), μᾶλλον
 δὲ ὡς λαμπρότερον ἥλιον φαίνουσιν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, λέξων
 ἔρχομαι.

18. Τῆς Ἰεβονσαὶ ἦτοι Ἱερουσαλήμ κατὰ τὸν τότε καιρούς ὑπὸ²
 τοῦ προφήτου Δαβὶδ βασιλευομένης, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀνατολικώ-
 τερον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ Σιάν δρος, δπερ ὑψηλὸν ἔρμηνεύεται (2), τῇ
 5 πόλει ἐπέκειτο, μικρᾶς πεδιάδος ἀναμεταξὺ τοῦ τε δρούς καὶ
 τῆς πόλεως κειμένης, ἐν ᾧ πεδιάδι δ τε Γολγοθᾶς τόπος δ λεγό-
 μενος Λιθόστρωτος καὶ δ κῆπος καὶ δ τάφος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δ
 τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου οἰκος, περὶ οὗ μετὰ μικρὸν ἔρω, καὶ πάντα
 τὰ εἰς Χριστὸν ἐν ἐσχά[col. 2]τοις καιροῖς γινόμενα³ ἐν ταύτῃ
 τῇ πεδιάδι ενδεθῆναι⁴, συνέβη πύργους ἐξ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ τοὺς
 10 πρὸς τὸ δρος τὸ Σιάν ἀποβλέποντας ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ πτωθῆναι καὶ
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι · ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ
 ἀλώσει⁵ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν λίθον ἐπὶ λίθον μὴ ενδεθέν-
 τος (3), αὐτοὶ μόνοι οἱ ὑπὸ Δαβὶδ οἰκοδομηθέντες ἐξ πύργοι σῶοι
 15 ιστάμενοι ὠφθησαν · ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐξ πύργων τεῖχος δειμα-
 μένη ἡ μακαριωτάτη Ἐλένη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν κυκλοτερῶς ὡς
 πρὸς τὸ ἀνατολικώτερον τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ τοῦτο ἀναπληρώσασα, τὴν
 εἰρημένην πᾶσαν πεδιάδα καὶ δλίγον τοῦ δρούς προσαψαμένη ἔνδον
 ἀπέκλεισε καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν ὅντα πάντα τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ [fol. 21v]
 20 ἔνδον τῆς νῦν λεγομένης Σιάν εἶναι παρεσκεύασε καὶ Σιάν τὴν
 πόλιν ὀνόμασεν (4) οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ προσπαρακείμενον ὡς εἴρη-
 ται δρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου
 οἰκίαν, ἥτις τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν διήγησιν.

¹ πηγνυμένους cod.

18. — ¹ An leg. γενόμενα? — ² leg. ενδέθησαν? — ³ ἀλώσεως cod.

(1) L'auteur — ou son modèle — aurait donc visité Jérusalem.

(2) Étymologie fantaisiste, inconnue à P. DE LAGARDE, *Onomastica sacra* (1870), aussi bien qu'à l'*Onomasticon* d'Eusèbe, éd. E. KLOSTERMANN (1904).

(3) Cf. *Matth.* 24, 2, et les passages parallèles.

(4) Aux spécialistes de l'archéologie hiérosolymitaine le soin de nous dire ce qu'il peut y avoir de fondé dans tout ce chapitre.

was fastened on to it above and it provided a broad base for the feet of Christ the saviour."

This, our spiritual fathers, had been written in the Hebrew's letter. So much for the cross. Since my account had promised to inform about holy Zion, how I have seen it with my own eyes, or rather how its works shine more brightly than the sun, I shall proceed to relate.

18. Jebusai or Jerusalem was ruled in ancient times by the prophet David. At its easternmost part Mount Zion, a name which means 'high', lay facing the city, with a small plain lying between the mountain and the city. On this plain is the site of Golgotha called 'Lithostratos' and the garden and the tomb of the Lord, and the house of John the Divine, about which I shall tell shortly, and everything relating to the last days of Christ can be found on this plain. It so happened that six towers of Jerusalem facing towards Mount Zion were demolished by an earthquake and rebuilt by David. In the final capture of Jerusalem when in accordance with the Lord's prophecy no stone was found still on another stone, only those six towers built by David were seen to be standing intact. The blessed Helena constructed a wall from these six towers and extended it back to them in a circle joining the eastern part of Jerusalem, so that she attached and enclosed within it all the aforementioned plain and a small part of the mountain. So she arranged that all the parts outside Jerusalem were within what is now called Zion, and she renamed the city Zion, not only because of the mountain which is adjacent as described, but also because of the house of the great John the Divine, which has the following explanation.

’Ιάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ νίοὶ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου οἰκήματα ἔσχον ἐνδον τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ πλησιάζοντα Καιάφᾳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ· ταῦτα πεπρακότες τῷ Καιάφᾳ ἔξωνήσαντο τὰ ἔξωθεν <μὲν> τῆς πόλεως, πλησιάζοντα δὲ τῷ⁴ Σιών ὅρει οἰκήματα. Ἐκεῖσε οὖν πέμπει ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων· «Ἐνρήσετε ὅνον δεδεμένην καὶ πῶλο<ν> μετ' αὐτῆς (1).» «Ἐκεῖ, λέγει τοῖς ἑρωτήσασιν, ἐτοιμάσατε τὸ πάσχα (2)»· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ γέγονεν [col. 2] ὁ δεῖπνος καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων υπτήρ· ἐκεῖ ἀφθη τοῖς ἐνδεκα ἀποστόλοις ὁ Χριστὸς κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν (3) ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ἀναστάς· ἐν ταύτῃ ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος κάθοδος γέγονε καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος ἐβίον ἀφ' οὗ ὁ θεολόγος ἐσταυρωμένου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἥκουσεν· «Ἴδον ἡ μήτηρ σου (4)»· ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ἡ σεβασμία καὶ τῷ ὅντι ἀγίᾳ Ἐλένῃ ναὸν περικαλλῇ κατασκευάσασα ἀγίαν Σιών μετωνόμασεν (5).

19. Περὶ τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας. Ὁ δὲ Εὐφρατᾶς — ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀνακυκλῶν ἔρχεται (6) — ἐπεὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ναόν, λέγω δὴ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν, ἥτις δὴ καὶ Σοφία ὠνόμασται, οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐβούλετο, πάντα μὲν τὸν τῆς πόλεως τόπον περιεσκόπει καὶ λόφους περιῆι· ὡς δὲ κρείττονα τοῦ <τον> [fol. 22] τῶν ἄλλων εἰς δν καὶ νῦν ἰσταται περιαθρήσας ενρε, χειρὶ μεγίστη τὰ τοῖς θεμελίοις ἀνήκοντα ἐτεχνάσατο κάτω μὲν εἰς ἄπαν διὰ ἔνλων μεγίστων καὶ ἀσήπτων ἀσφαλισάμενος ὁρύγμασί τε καναλικοῖς κατὰ μικρὸν τοῦ ὑγροῦ ἐκχέεσθαι ἐπιτηδευσάμενος, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ πηγὰς συχνὰς εἰς βάθος πολὺ ἥκουσας κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν περιεκτικῶν καμαρῶν, ἄλλα μὴν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τῶν μήκοθεν τῷ ναῷ συνωκημένων πεποίηκεν εἰς τὸ μή τινα μικρὰν νοτίδα τοῖς θεμελίοις ἐπισκήπτειν· καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν ἵσχυν τεχνίτον πριάμενος πᾶσαν δὲ ὕλην συναγαγὼν διὰ τάχους τὸν τηλι[col. 2]κοῦτον ναὸν μέχρι τοῦ

⁴ τῆς cod.

(1) *Matt. 21, 2.*

(2) Cf. *Marc. 14, 15.*

(3) *Ioh. 20, 26.*

(4) *Ioh. 19, 27.*

(5) Dans leur monumental ouvrage sur *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914-1926), les PP. Vincent et Abel ne mentionnent pas de tradition ancienne ou médiévale concernant la transformation par Ste Hélène de la maison de Jean l'apôtre en une église appelée « sainte Sion ».

(6) Décidément c'est Euphratas et non Constantin qui est au premier plan des préoccupations de l'auteur. Comparer le début du ch. 12.

James and John the sons of Zebedee used to have houses inside Jerusalem near to Caiaphas the high priest. They sold these to Caiaphas and bought houses outside the city, near to Mount Zion. It was there that Jesus sent despatch with the words: "You will find a donkey tied up and a foal with her." And "There", he said to those who asked him, "make ready the Passover." In this house of the Evangelist took place the supper and the washing of the disciples' feet. There Christ was seen by the eleven disciples behind locked doors after he had risen from the tomb. In this house the descent of the Holy Spirit occurred, and the mother of God lived there from the time when John heard the Saviour say as he was on the cross: "Behold your mother." The venerable and truly saintly Helena rebuilt this house as a beautiful church and renamed it 'Saint Zion'.

19. About Saint Sophia. Euphratas -for the account now returns to him in full circle- wanted to build the shrine of God, I mean the great church which has also been called 'Sophia'. He surveyed the whole area of the city and went round the hills. When after his inspection he had found one better than the others on which it now stands, with a huge effort he engineered the elements of the foundations. Down below he secured them for all time by means of enormous imperishable timbers, and he equipped them with channels dug in each small section so the moisture could escape. In addition he created many deep wells which range through the whole of the church and the surrounding vaults, and beyond through the neighbouring buildings some distance away from the church, so that not the slightest moisture could seep into the foundations. He employed all the skill of craftsmen and collected all the timber and quickly erected such a

περιπάτου ἀναβιβάζει, πάσης ἐπιστήμης τὸ ἵδιον εὐθυβόλως τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσιν ἀπεργαζόμενος (1).

Θάνατος τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου. Ἐν τούτοις τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅντων ὁ θεοστεφῆς Κωνσταντίνος πρὸς κύριον ἐκδημεῖ ἀντὶ τῶν ἔξηκοντα πάντες, εὐσεβῶς καὶ θεαρέστως ζήσας καὶ βασιλεύσας ἐτῇ τριακονταδύο καὶ μῆνας δέκα (2). Τὸ λείφανον τοίνυν αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται μετὰ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐν λάρνακι χρυσῆ θέμενοι (3) ἐποίησαν κοπετὸν μέγαν, θρηνοῦντες ὡς πατέρα φιλόστοργον καὶ οὐχ ὡς βασιλέα τελευτήσαντα. Καταλαβὼν δὲ Κωνσταντίος ὁ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεὺς — οὐ γὰρ παρῆν τις τῶν νίῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τελευτᾶν αὐτόν — βασιλικῶς τοῦτον ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ναῷ [fol. 22v] μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τέθηκε (4) καὶ γὰρ ἐσχάτως ὁ μέγας ναὸς ὠκοδομήθη παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Εἰρήνης¹ (5).

20. Περὶ τοῦ φανέντος σταυροῦ. Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τῇ εἰκοστῇ ὁγδόῃ τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνὸς μέσης ἡμέρας φαίνεται σταυρὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀγίου Γολγοθᾶ (6), Κυρίλλου τοῦ δσιωτά-

19. — ¹ Sic pro Ἔλένης.

(1) D'après JANIN, *Églises et monastères*, p. 472, la tradition qui fait honneur à Constantin d'avoir construit Sainte-Sophie ne remonterait pas plus haut que le VII^e siècle, voire le VIII^e. Aux témoins qu'il énumère en note, on peut ajouter le *Bίος* édité par Guidi (p. 338, l. 12-13). Par contre, Georges le moine (éd. c., t. 2, p. 627 [et non 626]) doit être rayé, car il attribue la fondation de la cathédrale à Constance, fils de Constantin, conformément à la tradition ancienne attestée déjà par Socrate, *Hist. eccl.* II, 16 (éd. HUSSEY, t. 1, p. 212).

(2) Cédrénus donne les mêmes chiffres ; Théophane compte 31 ans et 10 mois. En réalité, le règne ne dura que 30 ans et 10 mois (306-337).

(3) Un sarcophage d'or ! Cédrénus ne parle que d'un sarcophage de porphyre. Mais la *Vita Constantini* publiée par Opitz correspond sur ce point, comme sur plusieurs autres du même paragraphe, aux termes mêmes de notre auteur (*Byzantion*, t. 9, p. 590). Le *Bίος* de Guidi parle aussi d'un χρυσοῦν γλωσσόκομον (p. 654, l. 12-13).

(4) Voir ci-dessus, ch. 16, § 3.

(5) Les *Patria CP.* (éd. PREGER, p. 140, l. 11) attribuent à Constantin et à sa mère la construction des Saints-Apôtres. Sur cette grande église, qui fut le Saint-Denis des empereurs byzantins, voir JANIN, op. c., p. 46-55, et deux publications récentes du prof. Gl. Downey que nos lecteurs ne peuvent ignorer (cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. 70, p. 349-350, et t. 76, p. 237-238).

(6) Cf. ALEXANDRE LE MOINE, *P.G.*, t. 87, col. 4069B. Mais la date du 28 juillet, qui ne provient pas de cette source, contredit l'affirmation précise de Cyrille de Jérusalem dans sa lettre à l'empereur Constance (*BHG*³ 413; *P.G.*, t. 33, col. 1169A) : νώναις μαίας.

large church as high as its balcony, by directly communicating to the builders enthusiasm each to use their particular skill.

Death of Constantine the Great. At this period while the church was in progress, Constantine, crowned by God, went to be with the Lord at the age of sixty five, after a life of piety pleasing to God and having reigned for thirty two years and ten months. The soldiers along with the Senate placed his remains in a gold sarcophagus and held a great lament, mourning him as a beloved father and not as a deceased emperor. Constantius the emperor of Europe arrived -for none of his sons had been present at his death- and buried him regally in the church of the holy apostles alongside his mother. For the great church had lately been built by Constantine and Irene.

20. *About the apparition of the cross.* During this period on the 28th July at midday a cross appeared above sacred Golgotha. At this time the most

τον τότε τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων ἦτοι τῆς ἀγίας Σιών ἐπισκο-
5 πεύοντος, δις τὸν Μαξιμῖνον διεδέξατο (1).

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κωνστάντιος ὁ τῆς Εὐφράτης βασιλεὺς τὰ λεί-
ποντα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας διὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου θαυ-
μασίου ἀνδρὸς Εὐφρατᾶ ἐποικοδομεῖ, τὴν τροῦλλάν τε φουρνικὴν
10 διὰ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος κατασκευάσας καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν
πάννυ καλῶς διαθέμε[col. 2]νος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα ἥγονν
τὸν παρ' Ἑλλησι λεγόμενον ἄμβωνα ἐξ ὀνυχίτου καθαροῦ κατα-
σκευάσας.

Ἐπεὶ πρὸς γῆρας βαθὺ γέγονεν ὁ Εὐφρατᾶς, ἐσω πον τῆς πόλεως
πλησίον τοῦ¹ πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ τείχους τῇ θεοτόκῳ² ναὸν σεμνό-
15 τατον κατασκευάσας καὶ πτωχοτροφεῖον τοῦτον ἀποτελέσας ἐκεῖ
τὸ τέλος πορίζεται τῆς ζωῆς. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ναὸν ἔγχωρίως
τινὲς τὰ Εὐφρατᾶ προσαγορεύονται πλησίον τοῦ Λεωμακελλίου
κείμενον (2).

Περὶ τοῦ ἐγκαίνιου συμοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας.
20 Ἐγκαινίζεται τοίνυν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παρὰ Εὐσεβίου ἐπι-
σκόπου Κωνσταντινούπολεως τοῦ προειρημένου μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας³ ὑποστροφὴν γυησίως παρὰ Κώνσταντος⁴ τότε ἀγαπω-
μένου (3). δις καὶ τὰ λεῖ[fol. 23]ψαντα τῶν ἀγίων Παμφύλιον τε καὶ
35 Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Θεοδούλου· τῶν ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ μαρτυρησάντων,
25 εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς δύστροπος ὢν⁵ τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς προστατεύων ἦν,
εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν τῷ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου συνθρόνῳ κατέθετο (4).

20. — ¹ τοὺς cod. — ² τῇ θεοτόκῳ cod. — ³ leg. Ἱεροσολύμων. — ⁴ leg.
Κωνσταντίου. — ⁵ ἦν cod.

(1) Alexandre le moine ne donne pas au prédécesseur de S. Cyrille le nom de Maximin, mais de Maximonas le confesseur. Dans le synaxaire grec de Patmos, comme dans le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34, cet évêque de Jérusalem est inscrit au 26 août sous le vocable de Maxime (*Synax. Eccl. CP.*, col. 923, l. 54 ; GARITTE, op. c., p. 312-313).

(2) Comparer la *Synopsis* de Sathas (déjà citée pp. 70, 79, 83-84, 95) : Ἄλλα καὶ Εὐφρατᾶς οἰκον ἰδιον μέγιστον κατεσκεύασεν, δπερ ὑστερον γηρωκομεῖον ἔχρημάτισεν, ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Διμακέλλου, οὗτω τοῦ Εὐφρατᾶ καλονυμέ-
νουν (lire καλούμενον?) ἔως τοῦ νῦν (p. 53, l. 14-17). Sur le quartier d'Euphratas et son asile de vieillards, ainsi que sur le marché dit Leomakellion ou Dimakellon, on consultera JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 327, 352-353.

(3) La dédicace de Sainte-Sophie, en 360, fut présidée par l'évêque Eudoxe. Mais il y en avait eu, d'après Cédrénus, une première, en 346-347, au temps d'Eusèbe (éd. c., t. 1, p. 523, l. 4-9 ; cf. p. 530, l. 13-17).

(4) Il s'agit de S. Pamphile et de ses 11 compagnons, les célèbres martyrs

pious Cyril was bishop of the church in Jerusalem, that is to say holy Zion, after he had succeeded Maximinus.

After this Constantius the emperor of Europe completed the remaining building works of the great church of God with the aid of the aforementioned remarkable man Euphratas. He constructed the dome in an arch because of the size of the church, and made all parts of the church very beautiful, in particular he installed a platform -which the Greeks call a pulpit- made out of pure onyx.

Now Euphratas had reached an advanced age, and as he had built inside the city near to the wall facing Thrace a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, he made this into an almshouse and there reached the end of his life. Some of the locals call this church situated near the Leomacellum 'the Euphratas'.

About the consecration of Saint Sophia. So the church of God was consecrated by Eusebius the bishop of Constantinople who was mentioned earlier and who after his return from Alexandria was now loved very dearly by Constans. It was he who brought the relics of the saints Pamphilus, Isidorus and Theodoulus who were martyred under Maximian, and though he himself exercised his authority implacably against heretics, he laid them at the throne next to the altar.

J.W.

21. Ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰονλιανοῦ. Μετ' δὲ λιγον δὲ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ τῆς βασιλείας τὰ σκῆπτρα δεξαμένου, πρὸν ἦ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν παραγενέσθαι, σεισμὸς μέγας ἐπιγινόμενος (1) τὴν τοῦ εἰρημένου μεγάλου ναοῦ, 5 λέγω δὴ τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου Σοφίας, τροῦλλαν κατέπτωσε, τόν τε ἄμβωνα διέλυσε καὶ τὰ τῆς σολέας μετὰ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἡχρείωσεν, ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας [col. 2] ἀμεληθέντων τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ναῶν. Ἐμεινεν οὖν κεκλεισμένος οὗτος· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὁ ἀσεβής, ὃς τισι τῶν οἰκείων ἐθάρρυνεν, 10 εἰ τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσας ἐπιστρέψῃ, χορτοβολῶντα τοῦτον καὶ ἵπποστάσιον τοῦ δημοσίου ποιήσασθαι· δθεν καὶ τοὺς συντριβέντας τοῦ ὄνυχίτου λίθους τοῦ τε ἄμβωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς τροῦλλας πτώματα ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καταποντίσαι προσέταξεν (2)· ἀλλ' ἥλέ<γ>χθη διακενῆς ὁ μάταιος ἀνομῶν.

22. Ἀρχὴ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰονστινιανὸς μετὰ πολλοὺς χρόνους τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος, ἐπεὶ φιλόθεος ἀνὴρ ἐτύγχανε, τὸ ἔργον ἰδὼν ὃς μέγιστον ὃς περικαλλές, πενίαν τοῦ δημοσίου εὑρὼν καὶ θέλων μὲν τοῦ[fol. 5] 23^ν]τον ἀναπληρῶσαι, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας τυγχάνει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· μοναχός τις τῶν εὐλαβῶν καὶ χρησίμων φέρων δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἀθυμοῦντι ἀδρὸν ἀπόδεσμον χαράγματος ἀρχαίων βασιλέων χρυσοῦ καὶ φησιν· «Ἀναλαβέτω τοῦτο ἡ βασιλεία σου· καὶ οἰκοδομήσεις τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ¹ ποιήσεις μονὴν μικρὰν εἰς μνημόσυνον σου.» Καὶ τοῦτο πέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνελάβετο, πλῆθος πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον. Πόθεν δὲ γέγονε μετ' ὀλίγον ἐρῶ.

Ομως κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρώην σχῆμα πάλιν φουρνικὴν τὴν τροῦλλαν ἀπεργάζεται· τοῦ δὲ πρώτου τῶν τεχνιτῶν διὰ τὸ τὸ ἔργον

22. — ¹ ἐμὲ cod.

de Césarée dont Eusèbe a raconté en détail les souffrances et la mort (cf. *BHG*³ 1405-1407e). On les vénérailt à Sainte-Sophie, où l'on prétendait que leurs corps avaient été déposés intacts lors de la dédicace (*Synax. Eccl. CP.*, p. 467, l. 53-55). Aucun d'eux ne s'appelait Isidore. Cédrénus, t. c., p. 523, l. 8-9, énumère trois compagnons de Pamphile : Théodule, Porphyre et Paul. Cf. G. MILLET, dans *Orientalia christ. periodica*, t. 13 (1947), p. 599-601.

(1) Ni le prof. Gl. Downey, dans *Speculum*, t. 30 (1955), p. 596-600, ni le P. V. Grumel, dans son récent traité de *Chronologie byzantine* (Paris, 1958), p. 477, ne mentionnent ce tremblement de terre qui aurait dévasté Constantinople sous le règne de Julien.

(2) Cf. CÉDRÉNUS, t. c., p. 531¹⁴⁻²¹,

21. *Beginning of the reign of Julian.* Soon afterwards Julian the Apostate took over the emblems of empire, but before he had reached the capital a large earthquake occurred which demolished the dome of the great church which has been described, that is Saint Sophia of the Word of God. It destroyed the pulpit and made unusable the area of the chancel along with the steps of the altar. From then on under Julian's rule the churches of God were neglected. So this one remained shut. The impious man intended to curry favour with some of his people, should he return victorious from a war, by making this into a hay store and public stable. So he collected the shattered fragments of onyx from the pulpit and other parts and along with the ruins of the dome ordered them to be hurled into the sea. But his wanton lawlessness was proved to be in vain.

22. *Beginning of the reign of Justinian.* After many years Justinian became master of the empire. As he was a man devoted to God, but saw that the task was as huge as it was glorious, since he found the state impoverished but wanted to restore this church, he encountered the providence of God in the following way. A pious and worthy monk brought and gave him in his despair a large collection of gold coinage of ancient kings, and said: "May your emperorship accept this. And you will build the holy church of God, and make for me a small monastery as your memorial." The emperor made arrangements to accept it, a huge quantity which was too large to be counted. Where it had come from I shall relate shortly.

He made the dome arched again exactly like the former design. When the leader of the craftsmen did not appear for a long time, because he was

15 τελείως συμπῆξαι πολὺν χρό[col. 2]νον μὴ φαινομένον, αὐτὸς σπουδῇ τῆς ὀλιγοψυχίας χρησάμενος τὴν ἀφαιρεσιν κελεύει γενέσθαι τῆς ἔντονος σκευῆς· ἡς ἀφαιρεθείσης πάλιν δμοίως ἡ τροῦλλα καταπέπτωκεν. Ἐν τούτοις ἀθυμοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐφίσταται καὶ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν οἰκοδόμων κακίζων μὲν τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τοὺς 20 συναινέσαντας μεμφόμενος, δμως ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλὴν εἰσάγει τὴν ἀρίστην, ἥτις καὶ γεγονοῦντα καλῶς διασώζεται· διωρίσατο γὰρ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πτέρναις τῶν δύο ἀψίδων τῆς τε ἀνατολικῆς καὶ τῆς δυτικῆς πινσοὺς μεγίστους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀρχομένους ἔως τοῦ κυρτώματος τῶν ἀψίδων πρὸς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄψους 25 μὴ ἀπολακτίζειν αὐτὰς εὐχερῶς ἔξω, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν τροῦλλαν δ[fol. 24]μοίως τοῖς νεωτερικοῖς διαβαστάσαι· αἱ γὰρ ἔτεραι δύο ἀψῖδες² ἀπὸ τῶν φουρνικῶν ἀπαντούμεναι ἵσχυραι ἀποδεικνύονται (1). Οὕτως τοίνυν τῶν εἰρημένων πάντων γενομένων, τῷ 30 χρόνῳ τε πῆξιν λαβόντος τοῦ ἔργου, μέχρι τῆς σήμερον (αὐτοῖς δοφθαλμοῖς ὡς εἶδον) ὁ τοιοῦτος ὅροφος θαυμασίως καὶ θεοπρεπῶς χειρὶ Θεοῦ διαφυλάττεται (2).

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἀγίᾳ τραπέζῃ πρᾶγμά τι ἔνον 35 καὶ θαυμαστὸν διανενόηται· συναγαγὼν γὰρ πλῆθος χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου, λίθων τιμίων, μαργαριτῶν, χαλκοῦ, κασιτήρου³, μετάλλων παντοίων γῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἔνδον καὶ βοτανῶν τῶν τε ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις [col. 2] φυομένων εἰδῶν, λέγω δὴ δσα δοφθαλμῷ θεωρεῖται καὶ χειρὶ κρατεῖται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ παντὸς ὑγροῦ καὶ ὀποῦ καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γενομένων, τὰ τηκτὰ τήξας καὶ τὰ ἔνδον τῶν τιμίων λεάνας, τὸν χρυσόν τε πυρὶ χωνεύσας, εἴτα πάντα ἔνώσας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εὐφυῶς χυτὴν ταύτην εἰργάσατο· εἴπεν ἀν-

² ἀψίδαι cod. — ³ leg. κασσιτέρου.

(1) L'historiette, manifestement légendaire, s'inspire sans doute de l'épisode raconté par Malalas (éd. DINDORF, p. 489-490), Théophane (éd. DE BOOR, t. 1, p. 232-233) et Cédrénus (t. c., p. 676-677). Cf. JANIN, *Églises*, p. 473.

(2) Un homme qui se vante d'avoir vu de ses yeux la coupole de Sainte-Sophie ne s'adresse évidemment pas aux habitants de la capitale. Notre Vie de Constantin semble donc destinée à des provinciaux. S'agirait-il de moines ? On serait tenté de le déduire des formules par lesquelles l'auteur interpelle ses lecteurs (ou auditeurs?) : πνευματικοὶ ἀδελφοί et πνευματικοὶ ἡμῶν πατέρες (ch. 17, l. 6-7 et 69). Mais le ch. 17 n'est sans doute qu'une pièce rapportée ; voir ci-dessus, p. 92, note 2.

labouring to make the work complete, Justinian indulged in haste due to his impatience and ordered the removal of the wooden scaffolding. When this was removed the dome collapsed again just like before. The emperor was dismayed by this, when the leader of the builders arrived to criticise his haste and blame those who had gone along with it. However he proposed the best course of action, which is what took place and has lasted well. He contrived that there should be at both the feet of the two apses to East and West huge buttresses, reaching from the ground up to the curve of the apses, so that they could not easily deviate at their height but would support the dome like the recent ones. For the other two apses which joined with the arches had shown themselves strong. When everything described had been done accordingly, in the course of time the work achieved solidity, and up to today -for I have seen it with my own eyes- this roof has been wonderfully and marvellously preserved by the hand of God.

A strange and remarkable artifice was devised for the holy table of the altar. He collected a quantity of gold and silver, valuable stones, pearls, bronze, tin, and all the metals of the earth; and also trees and the types of plants that grow in the seas and rivers and lakes, I mean all those that can be seen with the eye and controlled with the hand; and in addition every liquid, juice and oil and in short everything that exists under God. He melted what could be melted and refined the arid parts away from the valuable parts, and smelted the gold in a furnace, and then he put all the parts together and beautifully formed this table cast from all of them.

τις ἴδων οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀλλὰ θείας δυνάμεως ἔργον τοῦτο εἶναι (1).
 Πρὸς τούτοις ἀργυρῷ τὰ πρώην ὑπὸ τῆς καταπεπτωκούσας τρούλλας⁴
 ἀνορθωσάμενος μεγάλας τε δωρεὰς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀποκληρώσας
 45 καὶ ἐγγράφως βεβαιώσας καὶ αὐτὸς καταλύει τὸν βίον.

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προλαβὼν δὲ λόγος ὑπέσχετο ἀποδεῖξαι τὴν τοῦ
 f. 24^v χρήματος κατάθεσιν καὶ πόθεν γέγονεν, ἦδη ἐρεῖ. Ἐν τῇ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείᾳ χώρα ἐστὶν δπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἴδιαν διά-
 λεκτον θέμα καλοῦσι, Θρακήσιοι προσαγορευόμενον. Ἐν τούτῳ
 γοῦν τῷ θέματι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαιοτέρους χρόνους βασιλεῖαι πυκναὶ
 κατὰ τόπους ἥσαν, καὶ πόλεως ἐκαστος ἐβασίλευε, καὶ λαοῦ ἐκν-
 φίενε, καὶ στηλῶν καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰσχύος τῆς διὰ πολέμων ἐφρόν-
 τιζε. Τούτων ἐν τούτοις ὅντων παραγίνεται ἐξ Ἰταλίας³ τὸ περ-
 σικὸν ἔθνος, πᾶσαν χώραν καταληῖόμενον. Συνάγονται οὖν οἱ
 προσγειτονοῦντες τῶν Θρακησίων βασιλεῖς. φημὶ δὴ δ τῆς Ἐ-
 φέσου, δ τῆς Σάρδης, δ Περγάμου, δ Μαγνησίας, δ Τραλῆς καὶ
 col. b ἄλλοι τινές. | καὶ βουλὴν βουλεύονται ἐνωθῆναι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας
 καταπολεμῆσαι, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐνώσεως τρόπον ἐν τούτῳ βεβαιῶ-
 σαι, ἐν τῷ τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἀν ἐκαστος κέκτηται εἰς ἕνα τόπον
 συναγαγεῖν καὶ φύλακας ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων κατ' ἵστητα γενέσθαι.

¹ Voir l'épilogue : πόρρω ύμῶν.

² Cf. supra, p. 104, note 2.

³ Erreur de copiste pour Ἀτταλείας?

Anyone who saw it would have said that this was the work not of human but of divine power. In addition he restored in silver what had previously been destroyed by the collapse of the dome, and dedicated great donations to the church which he secured in writing. He then came to the end of his life.

23. Since my account promised earlier to reveal the burial place of the money and where it came from, it will now proceed. Within the Roman dominion is a land which in their own dialect they call a province, which is known as Thrace. In this province in ancient times were many kingdoms in various places and each of them ruled a city and controlled a people, and was concerned with boundaries and cities and its strength for wars. This was the state of affairs when a band of Persians arrived from Italy, laying waste all the country. So the neighbouring kings of the Thracians gathered, that is the kings of Ephesus, of Sardis, of Pergamum, of Magnesia, of Trale and various others. They agreed a plan to unite and defeat the Persians, and to confirm the manner of their unity by this method: by collecting in one place all the money that they each possessed and having guards from all of them

*Τούτων οὕτως ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν συμφωνηθέντων εἰς τινα
βούνδον ὑπογαίους καμάρας ποιήσαντες, τὸ χρῆμα ἐγκατακλείουσι
καὶ φύλακας κοινῶς ἐπιστησάμενοι, αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἐκ-
στρατεύονται. Καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τούτων κατισχύσαντες αὐτοὺς μὲν
ἀναιροῦσι καὶ τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἀφανίζουσι. Καὶ τῶν φυλάκων
τῇ φυγῇ τὴν ζωὴν πορίσασθαι σπουδαζόντων, καταλιμπάνεται*

i. 25 *τὸ χρῆμα ἐπὶ ἀφανείᾳ μέχρι τῶν ήμερῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ. Ἐν
τῇ οὖν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπικρατείας αὐτοῦ ὁ προρρηθεὶς εὐλαβέστατος
μοναχὸς τὸν τόπον θεασάμενος ὡς ἡσυχάζειν θέλοντι¹ αἰσιος
φανήσεται, ἐν τούτῳ παραγίνεται· καὶ καλύβην πηξάμενος πρὸς
λαχάνων ἐργασίαν τρέπεται. Καὶ δὴ τῇ σκαπάνῃ² κάτω κτυπῶν,
ἀκούει τινὰ βόμβον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενον· τούτου³ πρὸς τὸ
εὐηχέστερον ἐπακολουθήσας εὑρίσκει κεχωσμένην τὴν εἰσοδον·
καὶ κόπῳ πολλῷ ταύτην ἀνεῳγγυῆς⁴, ἀπόδεσμον ποιήσας καὶ
πάλιν ἐπισκεπάσας, πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνατρέχει.
Τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνελόμενος ἐπισκευάζει ὡς εἴρηται*

col. b *τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ναόν, ἄλλὰ καὶ τῷ | εἰρημένῳ μοναχῷ μονὴν ἀν-
οικοδομεῖ θαυμασίαν, ἥτις καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ Καινούργια
δύνομάζεται.*

24. "Εως ὅδε, πνευματικοὶ ἀδελφοί, τὰ τῆς ἡμᾶν περιόδου
συγγράμματα. Καὶ ἐβούλόμεθα μὲν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ταῦτα πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ἀποκομίσαι κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς κατασπά-
σασθαι καὶ τῆς προσφιλοῦς γῆς ἐπαπολαῦσαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τὰ
πάντα ἔξουσιάζων Θεὸς ὧκονόμησε τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον πόρρω
ὑμῶν γενέσθαι, πέμπω ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Βερροίας τῆς πλησιο-
χώρου Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σάββα. Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῆς
εἰρήνης δώῃ κάμοὶ δι᾽εὐχῶν ὑμῶν μερίδα μετὰ τῶν ἡγαπηκότων
αὐτόν. Αὐτῷ η δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώ-
νας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

¹ θέλοντα cod. — ² τῆς σκαπάνης cod. — ³ an τούτῳ? — ⁴ sic.

for fairness. When these terms had been agreed by all parties they made underground vaults in a hill, shut the money inside and posted guards jointly, and then they marched out against the Persians. The Persians defeated them and killed them and destroyed all their land. The guards hastened to save their lives by running away and the money was left in obscurity until the days of Justinian. At the beginning of his reign the aforementioned monk spotted the place as one which would be ideal for a life of quietude, and came to live there. He built a shelter and set about cultivating vegetables. As he struck down with his spade he heard a noise resounding from the ground. When this was repeated more clearly he found the blocked up entrance. Opening it with a great effort, he made a collection, closed it up again and went quickly to emperor Justinian. The emperor accepted this gold and restored the church of God as has been described, and he built a wonderful monastery for the particular monk, which in fact is called 'Kainourgia' up until the present time.

24. So ends, my spiritual brothers, the recorded history of my period. I wanted to deliver it to you in person as I promised, and to greet you personally and enjoy my beloved land. But since God who has all power has decreed that my death should take place far away from you, I send you this work from Berroia which is next to Thessalonici by the hand of my brother Sabbas. May the God of peace grant me through your prayers a share with those who have loved him. To him be glory and power now and for ever and for all ages upon ages. Amen.