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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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An examination of the motifs of contempt of the world
and of the exaltation of chastity over marriage in the
Old Slavonic Paterikon, and the Middle English Katherine
Group.

by Lorne A. Reznowski

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University
of Ottawa as partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

St. Paul's College
Winnipeg, Manitoba
1979

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This thesis was prepared under the guidance of Dr. A. P. Campbell, Professor Emeritus of the University of Ottawa. Gratitude is here expressed for his many helpful suggestions, and his unfailing interest, and cooperation.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Name: Lorne A. Reznowski

Born: January 5, 1929,

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Bachelor of Arts, June, 1950

Loyola College, Montreal, Quebec

Licentiate in Sacred Theology, June 1957

The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

Master of Arts, May, 1961

The University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario

PREFACE

This thesis examines by way of comparison two sets of medieval saints' lives, those contained in the Middle English "Katherine Group" and the Church Slavonic collection known as the Paterikon of the Kievan Caves Monastery. Widely separated geographically and linguistically, these two collections belong roughly to the same age. The purpose of this comparison is to discover whether there is, as is so often assumed, a real difference in content, manner, or style between the two bodies of literature, one from the West and the other from the East.

Medieval hagiography has for some time now been engaging the curiosity and attention of scholars; it is recognized now that the medieval saint's life was indeed a genre in its own right. It was everywhere immensely popular, as Gerould testifies:

...All classes found lives of saints to their liking, nor was it the fashion to consider them dull. They were an excellent substitute for fiction but they were more than fiction.... The legend...permeated the religious, social and political fabric of the Middle Ages....it was for many centuries one of the most influential branches of literature...¹

A genre of literature, as we know, has its own particular motifs, conventions, and traditions. This is indeed true of the saint's life as all critics agree:

After the fifth century certain forms of torment, certain actions and certain types of speeches had become so fixed a part of every martyrdom that even the records of contemporaries were highly coloured by them, while popular tradition along well-established lines prepared an abundance of unhistorical commonplace for later writers. There came to be an etiquette of martyrdoms.²

It is recognized, however, that within a genre there may be various classifications, as for instance in the novel you have psychological

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novels, historical novels, realistic novels, and romantic novels. Thus in the question of saints' lives there may be different styles of saints, whether mystic, martyr, ascetic or confessor. Our method will be to examine the motifs found in the two collections, to see what basic elements they have in common.

There is one important difference between the saint's life and the usual literary genre: the former usually rests upon a basis of biographical fact. The intriguing question always for the modern inquisitive reader is, to what extent was the narrative true? This question did not trouble the medieval reader or hearer, for he readily accepted the saint's life for what it really was, an exemplum illustrating the heroic imitation of Christ. The saint's life was in fact a combination of entertainment in the proper sense of the word, instruction, hope and an ideal of heroic action. The medieval reader was quite undisturbed to see or hear the saint imitating the miracles of Christ or undergoing exactly the same trials as other saints.

In order to compare adequately the Middle English "Katherine Group" with the Paterikon of Kiev Rus', it is necessary to take a quick look at the manner of the conversion of each of the areas and to catch the tone of those early Christian communities, in particular the communities of hermits and monks, which were a factor common to all.

Since the early saints' lives composed in Old Church Slavonic have never been translated into English, I have here supplied my own translation of sections of the lives discussed and used in this thesis, and am appending my translated edition of the entire Life of St. Theodosius.

NOTES

¹ Gordon Hall Gerould, 'Saints' Lives (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), p. 15.

² Gerould, p. 29.

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

In the process of this thesis certain Middle English hagiographical texts are compared with approximately contemporary Old Church Slavonic Paterikon 'saints' lives. In the Middle English matter, the original text is used, generally in good E.E.T.S. editions. In the Slavonic material, however, this method can not be used, since only a limited number of readers and scholars will know Old Church Slavonic. I have therefore quoted the appropriate sections of the Paterikon in English, using my own translation, since none is available in English and I have competence in the Slavonic tongues. The original source of the English translation is printed in the end notes.

Latin is used quite extensively to describe the background. Since it is assumed that medievalists read Latin, no translation is provided. The texts used generally are from Migne's Patrologia, examined for any correction or attributions.

In order to make available to English readers at least one major Paterikon Life, I have appended my translation of the life of Saint Theodosius. This has been carefully compared with the excellent Ukrainian edition of the same by Welykyj. This is an earnest of a full critical English translation of the Paterikon.

CHAPTER I

Introduction and an Examination of the Motifs as
they appeared in the earliest Church Statements,
and in Holy Maidenhood and the Ancrene Riwe.

The Conversion of Kiev Rus'

Kiev-Rus' was formally converted to Christianity in 988 under Prince Vladimir the Great. However, according to Baron de Taube¹ and Professor Gregory Luzhnitsky,² the work of evangelization was going on one hundred to two hundred years before the official Baptism of 988. Both de Taube and Luzhnitsky speak of the importance of this first evangelization in understanding the deep root which Christianity took in Kiev-Rus'. The work of the conversion was due to influences from the four points of the compass. These were the Greeks and Bulgars of the South, the Christians of the Kingdom of the Khazars, the Armenians and Georgians of the East, the Moravians and Germans of the West, and the Scandinavians of the North. These various religious influences were exercised simultaneously in the basin of the Dnieper and it is for this reason that one may speak of the international nature of the first evangelization in the 9th century. This first evangelization was carried on by means of a tri-partite action by Byzantium, the Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ochrid, and of Rome.

Professor Gregory Luzhnitsky agrees with de Taube's emphasis on the importance of the first evangelization of Kiev. In the southern regions of the Ukraine, in the area of the north shore of the Black Sea, Christianity had begun to spread in the 2nd century after Christ. The north shores of the Black Sea were saturated with Greek civilization from the earliest time and modern Korsun was the Greek Black Sea city of Khersones.³

The majesty and beauty of the Byzantine rite was one of the important factors in the conversion of Rus' Ukraine. It is possible, however, that even a greater role was played by the liturgical Old-Bulgarian language.

This language was very close to the spoken language of Medieval Kiev and

must have been a great aid in the evangelization and eventual conversion of the Rus'. The preaching of the Gospel could be carried on in Old-Bulgarian and the liturgical books could be translated into Old-Bulgarian. The present Church Slavonic language used in the liturgy is derived from Old Bulgarian. Old Church Slavonic and Old Bulgarian were really almost identical. Thus the Rus' would naturally be attracted to a liturgy and a tradition which was enshrined in a language very close to their own.

The first evangelization of Kiev can be placed in the year 865. The role of Bulgaria in the evangelizations, in the Church and its liturgy, has not been until recently sufficiently appreciated.⁴ While it is true that there were international sources to the conversion of Kiev-Rus', the predominant element was that which came from Bulgaria. This influenced not only the liturgical but also the political life of Kiev-Rus', for its alienation from Rome was not as permanent or pronounced as that of Constantinople.⁵ Thus the Church in Kiev-Rus' was not isolated from Western influences and formed an integral part of the Universal Church. It was not until the Tartar invasions of the 13th century (beginning in 1247) that the first "Iron Curtain" came down in Kiev-Rus', cutting it off from the spiritual, cultural and intellectual life of the West for one hundred years.

The official baptism of the Ukraine in 988 was initiated by a request for military aid by the Byzantine Emperors Basil II and Constantine of the Macedonian dynasty.⁶ This urgent request for aid was addressed to Vladimir, Prince of Kiev-Rus', in order to put down a rebellion which threatened to end the Macedonian dynasty. This rebellion was led by Vardar Sklir, General-in-Chief of the Army of Asia Minor and his ally Vardar Foca, who had been given command of the Byzantine Army on the Bulgarian front.

Both of these⁷ armies proclaimed Vardar Foca Emperor. Basil II turned in desperation for aid to Prince Vladimir and Vladimir agreed only on condition that the Emperor would give his sister Anna in marriage to Vladimir. It was understood that Vladimir would become a Christian.

The Emperor had no choice and agreed to the match. Vladimir sent 6,000 warriors, who together with the rest of the Imperial army defeated the rebels and Varda Foca, aspirant to the Imperial throne, died at Abidos on April 13, 989.⁸

However, when Vladimir tried to claim the Princess, Emperor Basil II reneged on his promise. Vladimir laid siege to Korsun, the capital of the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea. When Vladimir captured Korsun, Basil realized that the Crimea was in danger and also foresaw the possibility of an alliance between Rus' and Bulgaria with disastrous consequences for the Byzantine hegemony in Europe and a real danger to Constantinople.

Basil agreed to the marriage and Princess Anna was sent to Vladimir at Korsun to save the Empire. Chubatyj is of the opinion that Vladimir was baptized in 987 before his marriage to Princess Anna in 989 at Korsun.⁹

Vladimir did not return directly to Kiev from Korsun by way of the Dnieper, but took an Eastern route which led him to the old Christian bishopric of the Gothic metropolitane at Doros. There Vladimir was sure to find priests who could preach in the Old Slavonic language, for the Greek bishops and priests who accompanied Princess Anna would be unable to carry on the catechesis of the Rus' because of their ignorance of the Old Slavonic language.¹⁰

Vladimir had the idols of Perun and the pagan gods destroyed in Kiev-Rus'. He built churches on the sites where these idols had been venerated. The catechizing of the people was carried on by the Slavonic speaking

priests and catechetical materials were used. These Bulgarian priests were much more kindly disposed toward Rome than the Byzantine priests from Constantinople.¹¹ The Kiev Chronicle tells of the destruction of idols, the building of the churches, and the baptism of the Kievans in the Dnieper.¹² Chubatyj is also of the opinion that Slavonic speaking priests from White Croatia, on the western borders of Kiev-Rus' were used in the catechesis. There had been a Christian population there for a hundred years, who had been converted by the Cyril-Methodian mission. These priests used the Slavonic rite, not the Byzantine rite. This Slavonic rite had been spread by Cyril-Methodian mission throughout Greater Moravia, to which White Croatia had formerly belonged.¹³

Chubatyj emphasizes that in Rus' from the time of Vladimir there circulated a massive amount of western spiritual literature especially from the Czech territories. This literature flowed from Peremyshl' through the bishopric of Galicia, which like Peremyshl' had originally not been of the Byzantine but of the Slavonic rite.¹⁴

Chubatyj concludes that in Kiev on the Dnieper there were two strains of Christianity which already existed in the Rus' church before Vladimir the Great. These were the Byzantine rite Christianity in the Church Slavonic language with strong Bulgarian influences through Tmutorokan, and the Slavonic rite Christianity also in the Church Slavonic language which came from the West through Peremyshl'. It is difficult to say which strain was stronger.¹⁵

The eminent Russian slavacists, V. I. Lamonskyj and N. K. Nykolvskyj, are of the opinion that the Slavonic rite flourished so well throughout the Church of the Rus' nation that one hundred years after the baptism of the Rus' only the Slavonic rite was widespread.¹⁶ Both Lamonskyj and

Nikolovskij are convinced that the open gate through which this Slavonic rite reached the border of the Rus' nation, was the western province of the Rus' Church, with its ancient capital at Peremyshl'.¹⁷

As we have indicated above, the Slavonic rite was the rite developed by Cyril and Methodius in the kingdom of Great Moravia in the 9th century. This Slavonic rite was a synthesis of the Greek and Latin rites in the Church Slavonic language.¹⁸ When the disciples of St. Methodius fled to Bulgaria from Moravia, they returned to the Byzantine rite, in the Church Slavonic language.¹⁹

A brief glance must now be given at the conversion of England and the great influence of monks and monasteries, for the similarity of the two early conversions is noteworthy and helps to explain the similarity of the Middle English and Church Slavonic Saints' Lives, for in England the early tradition did continue into the early Middle English period in the Catherine group.

The Conversion of England

The conversion of England is often said to have begun with the mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury, sent by Pope Gregory the Great in 597. There was, however, an earlier flourishing Church in Britain, which was submerged when the pagan Anglo-Saxons overran the country.²⁰ It is also important to note that much work of evangelization had been accomplished in the North by Irish monks before St. Augustine's Rome based monks reached here. This work continued but there was bitter conflict between the two groups.

St. Augustine's initial work was made easier because of the marriage of Ethelbert of Kent and Bertha, the daughter of Charibert, the Frankish king reigning at Paris. Augustine's mission was concentrated in the South with Canterbury as its headquarters. St. Gregory's original plan was for Augustine to organize Canterbury as a Metropolitan See with twelve suffragan bishops subject to it, and to have York in the North as a Metropolitan See with twelve suffragan bishops. This plan was brought to fruition in the South but not in the North.

St. Augustine's mission was really only successful in the South, and even here Christianity was imperilled after Augustine's death. The conversion of England was a slow and gradual process and certain areas, Essex for example, relapsed into paganism for a time after its first conversion. The accession of a pagan king in a certain area could thus undo the work of the missionaries.

The work of evangelization in Northumbria was in large part accomplished by Celtic monks. In 634 St. Aidan led a company of monks from Iona to Northumbria; he established a monastery at Lindisfarne, which remained for almost

thirty years the seat of the only bishopric in Northumbria. Within twenty years Aidan and his followers had established Christianity among the Angles in the North.²¹

The Celtic establishment of Lindisfarne was typical of the Irish tradition in its austere simplicity. St. Aidan cared nothing about external episcopal dignity but drew men to him by his great virtue. The emphasis in all these Celtic establishments was upon asceticism. The Irish Church had its own liturgy, ritual and penitential discipline. It had a different form of tonsure and a unique method of computing the date of Easter. It was this difference in computing the date of Easter which caused the most bitter controversy between the Irish and Roman churches.

In order to settle the strife within the English church, the synod of Whitby was called in 663. The synod, presided over by King Oswin, decided in favour of the Roman computation of Easter. As a result, many of the Celtic monks returned home to Ireland. Many others, such as Cuthbert, accepted the Easter date, and the tonsure of the Roman administration and continued to work in Northern Britain. Naturally, their Celtic attitudes and methods in no way changed, and the victory of the Roman party did not mean that Celtic influences died out within the English church. Both Roman and Celtic influences are evident at every stage in the Conversion of England. This can be clearly seen in the Life of St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne, for example, a typical Celt, who symbolizes the northern church of the seventh century.²²

It was under Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the ultimate conversion of the English was effected and that the unity of the English Church was preserved. Theodore had been very zealous in his imposition of the Roman order and the most famous example of this is his

reconsecration of St. Chad, Bishop of Northumbria, who had been consecrated according to the Celtic rite. Theodore, doubting the validity of his consecration, removed Bishop Chad from his see, had him reconsecrated according to the Roman rite and then placed him in a lesser see. St. Chad accepted all this with humility and obedience.

With the Celtic monks came the practice of solitude, and severe asceticism; for instance, we have accounts of the Life of St. Cuthbert, as mentioned above, whose practices and habits strongly resembled those of the desert fathers, e.g. St. Anthony. In Anglo-Saxon England, the example of the Celtic hermits had a strong influence on Christian life so that in the Life of St. Guthlac,²³ for example, you have almost a replica of the Life of St. Cuthbert.

Throughout the Middle Ages the influence of the ascetic Anglo-Saxon saints was strong. The spirit of retirement from the world and the dedication to chastity at times was more marked than torment of the body, and one found in Middle English, as we shall see, a strong tradition of anchoritic life.

The rigours of asceticism found among hermits and in the early monasteries, whether in Italy, Kiev-Rus' or Anglo-Saxon England, all harken back to an earlier form of heroic fortitude in the Church, a heroism that had to find other channels after the persecutions had ceased.

The Transition from Martyrdom to Asceticism

The origins of Christian asceticism must be sought ultimately in the theology of martyrdom. All during the ages of persecution the shining ideal of martyrdom was held up to the Christian as it had been hallowed by Christ himself. In embracing martyrdom, the Christian was entering into union with the crucified and risen Christ at the very moment of his death. There could be no more perfect imitation or following of Christ than this; the martyr's act was the supreme expression of agape, of that incorruptible love which is found in Christ.

Martyrdom had been looked upon as a second baptism in the early Church; Origen had insisted that martyrdom as a second baptism was more perfect than the first:

Baptisma enim sanguinis solum est quod nos puriores reddat, quam aquae baptismus reddidit. Et hoc ego non praesumo, sed Scriptura refert, dicente Domino ad discipulos: 'Baptismum habeo baptizare quod vos nescitis. Et quomodo urgeor ut perficiatur?'²⁴

Both Origen and Tertullian with St. Paul compare martyrdom to athletic effort. In his Exhortatio ad Martyrium, Origen writes:

...audite, ut ablactati a lacte et avulsi ab ubere, quoniam modo iis qui ablactati sunt, veluti athletic non simplex tribulatio, sed quaedam super tribulationem tribulatio praedicatur. Qui vero tribulationem super tribulationem non recusaverit, sed eam strenui instar athletae susceperit, is illico etiam spem super spem accipit, qua, post exiguum super spe tribulationem, perfruetur.²⁵

Both the concepts of martyrdom as a second Baptism, more perfect than the first, and the comparison of martyrdom with athletic effort were to be transferred to asceticism in general. Asceticism which had been considered a preparation for martyrdom was to become a substitute for it.²⁶

Origen likened martyrdom to the chalice of salvation and defined it in terms of thanksgiving. By drinking this chalice of salvation the Christian made the supreme gesture of gratitude to the Lord:

Quale vero sit martyrium et quantam cum Deo agendi libertatem tribuat, et hinc cognosci potest. Cum vinci nolit qui sanctus est, velitque beneficia rependere quibus eum Deus praevenit, quaerit quid Domino faciat pro universis quae ab illo accepit; nec aliud quidquam invenit quod possit homo gratus Deo reddere ceu aequale beneficiis, quam in martyrio mori. 27

In order to show the parallel between martyrdom and the chalice of salvation, Origen quotes and comments upon Psalm 115

... 'Quid retribuam Domine pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi' ... 'Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo.' Solet autem martyrium 'calix salutaris' vocari, ut in Evangelio reperimus... cum rege regum sessurum et regnaturum et iudicaturum illum esse qui hunc calicem biberit quem bibit Jesus. Hic igitur est calix salutaris, quem qui acceperit, invocabit nomen Domini. 'Omnis autem quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit.' 28

As we shall see by Origen, asceticism had been a preparation for martyrdom in the early Church. The whole of Origen's Exhortatio ad Martyrium reverberates with the great theme of the Following of Christ. It is by taking up the cross and following in the steps of the Master that we attain perfection:

If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For he that will save his life shall lose it: and he that shall lose his life for my sake shall save it. 29

We attain our deification through the Cross; through it we share in the life of the Divinity itself. Origen's Exhortatio ad Martyrium is particularly invaluable in tracing the evolution from martyrdom to monasticism. Everything Origen said about martyrdom was to be applied with equal force to asceticism. This point is clearly brought out by Bouyer:

A work such as Origen's Exhortatio ad Martyrium shows us the transition as it were in making from the ideal of martyrdom as prepared for by asceticism to the ideal of asceticism as the equivalent of martyrdom.³⁰

It is true that monasticism involves not merely asceticism, but an asceticism separated from the world. This salient feature of separation from the world had its origin in the age of persecution. In the age of persecution it was not uncommon for Christians to retire to the desert. The most famous example of this is the sojourn in the desert of St. Basil's grandparents during the persecution of Maximius described by St. Gregory Nazianzen.³¹

The comparison of asceticism with the athletic effort from the very beginning can be seen in the Greek work Askesein, which refers to athletic effort. Thus an etymological proof can be given for the equating of asceticism with athletic effort. In addition to this etymological proof, we have the far more important words of St. Paul concluding a passage in which he compared the Christian life to the hard training undergone by athletes seeking to win a prize in the stadium:

Do you not know that those who run in the stadium all run in the race, though only one carries off the prize? Run then, to win. But every athlete exercises restraint in all things (*panta Egkrantenetai*); they do it to win a wreath that fades, but we for an unfading one. I myself run, but not at random; I struggle but not as someone who beats the air. I oppress my body, etc.³²

This transition from martyrdom to an ascetic ideal in which the body was subjugated and almost destroyed can be seen in both the East and West. We see it in the Desert Fathers, and in St. Augustine as well as in Irish monasticism. Irish monasticism was characterized by perigrinatio, or exile from Ireland, anchoritism and the chastizing of the body.

Although in much of the theology and the liturgy the Eastern Church differs notably from the West,³³ yet in the hagiography³⁴ there is a community of motif, legend and approach. This is no doubt due to the fact that the saint's life is essentially a matter of the imitation of the life of Christ, common to all parts of the Church. Furthermore, the early and the late Middle Ages, in both East and West, venerated and passed on both orally and in writing the lives of the saints to such an extent that they were broadcast and circulated freely from one part of Christendom to another. In all parts of the Christian world the search for Christian perfection led many Christians to leave "the world" and dwell singly or collectively, as hermits, anchorites or monks. Although there were vast differences as one went from Eastern to Western monasticism,³⁵ or from desert fathers to the Middle English anchoresses, yet in the motifs of contempt of the world and also in the ideal of chastity as preferable to marriage, there is a wide diffusion throughout the Medieval Church.

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine these two motifs as they are found in the Old Slavonic Patericon,³⁶ a collection of 13th century Saints' Lives of the Kiev Cave Monastery, and in the Middle English hagiographical works known as the Katherine group.³⁷ The Katherine Group consists primarily of the lives of St. Katherine, St. Margaret and St. Juliana.

In order to approach these motifs of contempt of the world and contempt for marriage as they developed, we shall examine them as they appeared in the earliest Church statements. First, we shall examine the notion of contempt of the world as it was expressed in certain chosen works.

Contempt of the World

Contempt of the world is one of the attitudes taken in the hagiographical tradition of both the East and the West. This theme of contempt of the

world is to be found in the Old Testament, the New Testament and in the writings of the Fathers. This paradox lies at the heart of Christianity, that in order to save his life a man must first lose it.

Earlier, in the Old Testament we read in the Book of Ecclesiastes:

Vanity of vanity, all is vanity. What hath a man more of all his labours that he taketh under the sun? One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth standeth forever.³⁸

The sentiment of this passage of Scripture had a tremendous impact upon the Christian tradition both in the Patristic Age and in the Middle Ages. St. Ambrose in the 4th century had written his De fuga saeculi³⁹ on this theme and on De bona mortis.⁴⁰ Everything is vanity, as the author of Ecclesiastes has written; in vain is torment of spirit, wisdom, joy, drink, riches; and man is powerless in the face of the mystery and dolour of life. The meditation on death, which is inseparable from contempt of the world, is one of the most powerful means that man can use to give significance to the dilemma of his existence.

The most outstanding example of contempt of the world in the New Testament is found in the temptation of Christ by Satan in the desert. On that occasion Satan took Christ up into a high tower and showed him all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory, and promised that these all would belong to Christ if he would fall on his knees and worship him. Christ's reply was the reply which all warriors of Christ have given since, "Get thee behind me Satan". This incident does suggest, however, that the devil has been granted a certain sovereignty over the world by God. Christ himself refers to Satan as the prince of this world. The New Testament speaks of the necessity of the Christian's waging war against the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

The early Christians were aware of the necessity of turning away from the world and being converted to Christ. The twelve apostles had to

leave all things and follow Christ. Certainly the early Christians never understood Christianity as a conversion to "involvement" in the world as many modern Christians do. In his preaching Christ insisted that his kingdom was not of this world.

The Christian turned his back on the world precisely because of the hope he had of attaining the beatific vision in Heaven. There has, however, always existed an ambiguity in this matter which can be traced back to St. John the Evangelist. In his account of Christ's discourse with Nicodemus, there is this positive statement about the world:

For God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth in Him, may not perish, but have life everlasting. For God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world may be saved by Him.⁴¹

On the other hand, there are also wholly negative statements made by St. John in this regard:

Do not love the world, or the things that are in the world. If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him; because all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life; which is not from the Father, but from the world. And the world with its lust is passing away, but he who does the will of God abides forever.⁴²

Hence there has always existed a tension in Christianity between distrust of the created world, as the snare of the devil, and the love of it as the work of God. Bouyer has said that between these two extremes Christian spirituality has never been able to settle down in any compromise or make a choice.⁴³

What saved contempt of the world from being simply negative was that the break with the world presupposed the existence of the other world, more real in its way than this world to which we are accustomed.⁴⁴

The very heart of the Christian motif of contempt of the world has

been expressed by the medieval moralist Gerhah of Reichersberg.

Quis enim in baptismo abrenuntiavit diabolo et omnibus pompis ac suggestionibus ejus, etiamsi nunquam fiat clericus vel monachus, mundo tamen renuntiasset conyicitur quia mundus totus in maligno positus pompa est ipsius maligni, cujus pompae renuntiaverunt omnes Chrisitani. Unde et qui utuntur hoc mundo, sint quasi non utantur: ut sive divites sive miseri, nobiles ac servi, mercatores et rustici et omnino cuncti, qui Christiana professione censentur, illa respuant, quae huic inimica sunt nomini, et ea quae sunt apta sectentur. Habet enim omnis ordo et omnino omnis professio in fide catholica et doctrina apostolica suae qualitati aptam regulam, sub qua legitime certando poterit pervenire ad coronam.⁴⁵

Christ's prayer on Holy Thursday provides the solution for the paradox which is involved in the Christian's being called upon to reject the world and at the same time live in the world. The world has fallen under the influence of the Evil One. Christ has come to save the elect and to free them from the world.

I have made your name known to the men whom you have given me out of the world. They were yours and you gave them to me, and they have kept your word. It is for them that I pray: I do not pray for the world but for those whom you have given me, because they are yours... I am no longer to be in the world, but they are in the world, and I am on my way to you. Holy Father, keep them in your name, those whom you have given me... Now I am coming to you and I say this while I am still in the world so that they may have my joy fulfilled in them. I have given them your word and the world hates them, for they are not of the world. I do not ask you to take them out of the world, but to keep them from the Evil One. As you have sent me into the world, so I send them into the world... May they be one in us that the world may believe that you have sent me... May they be perfect in unity, so that the world may believe that you have sent me and that you have loved them as you have loved me...⁴⁶

Christ is not of the world, just as his chosen ones are not of this world. Christ's death condemned the Evil One and the world which was under his dominion, as "prince of the world". When it is said that Christ loved the world, this has reference to his love of the soul of man, made in His

image, who must be brought out from under the domination of the Evil One.

This motif of contempt for the world manifested itself in the practice of pilgrimage. The Christian life was looked upon as pilgrimage to the next world. The embracing of the rigours of pilgrimage and exile was inspired by contempt of the world. The themes of death to the world, detachment from the world, meditation on death, and the vanity of the world can be seen as different aspects of contempt of the world. The inspiration of the ancient monastic ideal as a lay, anchoritic and charismatic movement can be traced to the popularity and power of this concept in the Christian Tradition from the earliest times.

One of the early works of great interest in the history of the ascetic life in early Slavic times was the life of Barlaam and Josaphat,⁴⁷ two supposedly Christian saints who flourished in the early Christian Church, who have a place in the Legenda Aurea.⁴⁸ As early as the 11th century they had a place in Old Slavonic literature and had an important place in the lives of the monks through an Old Georgian translation.

Before exposing the lives of these two Christian saints, as they appear in hagiography, it is interesting to consider the actual source and justification of the Life. In actual fact, the two protagonists were not Christians at all; Josaphat was a portrait of Buddha⁴⁹ and Barlaam was his master. The great desire of the early Church to find and create models of the ascetic life moulded these into the beautiful legends of Barlaam and Josaphat.

The Georgian text entitled Life and Arts of the Blessed Iodasaph exists in an 11th century manuscript. The story of the Blessed Iodasaph (the Bodhisattva) was adapted from an Arabic source between A.D. 800 and 900, and later served St. Euthymius the Athonite as a model for the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaphromance which became widely diffused from the 11th century. All the Western versions of the Barlaam and Josaphat derive from this Greek version,

In the 11th century Varlaam i Ioasaph (Barlaam and Josaphat) was translated

in Kiev (individual parts may have been translated earlier in Bulgaria) and at about the same time it appeared in the West where it was also very popular.⁵⁰ In the Kievan period it was included in Prologue, and individual tales from it were used by Kievan writers, e.g. Cyril of Turiv.⁵¹

These are briefly the main points of the story: Abenner, King of India, is a great idol worshipper who hates the Christians. Josaphat is the only son of the King Abenner, who is a great persecutor of the monks. At the time of his birth, the astrologers prophesy that he would embrace the Christian religion. To prevent this, the king sets his son in a palace apart. When Josaphat grows into manhood his tutor informs him of the reason for his seclusion. Josaphat petitions the king to be allowed to go out into the world. On one of his trips outside the town, Josaphat sees three horrible examples of human decay. The monk Barlaam comes to Josaphat and instructs him in the Christian religion and the monastic life. One of the king's advisors Thedma, advises the king to put a whole harem of dancing girls into Josaphat's palace in order to seduce him. One of the dancing girls, a king's daughter, tries to seduce Josaphat in the same way the widow will try to seduce Moses. Her argument is that "marriage is honourable in all". Josaphat has a dream-vision of the beauties and delights of Heaven and of the pains and torments in hell. After this dream-vision of the beauties of heaven, the faces of the dancing girls look like dogs' or pigs' snouts. Josaphat tells his father of the dream-vision and asks his permission to go away into the wilderness and live with the hermits. The king is mortified because he has always been known as a persecutor of the monks and hermits. Finally, Josaphat agrees to rule over one-half of his father's kingdom. King Abenner calls the people together and announces his decision and also his promise not to persecute the Christian religion. Josaphat takes all his wealth and possessions and sells them, giving the money to the poor. Josaphat has men elected throughout the cantons of his kingdom, and appoints them to be bishops. Josaphat lives in

a very simple and frugal way. The people are converted to Christianity in great numbers. Finally, King Abenner himself is converted to the Christian faith just before his death. Josaphat retires to the wilderness and joins Barlaam, who dies a short while later. Josaphat continued to live the life of a hermit until his death.

The theme of contempt of the world is very well brought out by Barlaam in the course of his discourse to Ioasaph:

So following the teachings of these blessed Saints (the monks), we utterly renounce these corruptible and perishable things of life, wherein may be found nothing stable or constant, or that continueth in one stay; but all things are vanity and vexation of spirit, and many are the changes that they bring in a moment; for they are slighter than dreams and a shadow, or the breeze that bloweth the air...Yea and verily it is worthy of hatred and abhorrence...And those again whom it exalteth, it quickly abaseth to the utmost wretchedness, making them a foot-stool and a laughing stock for their enemies...⁵²

Barlaam focuses here on the mutability of the world and argues that this mutability should motivate our contempt for the world:

Today it tickleth their gullet with pleasant dainties, tomorrow it maketh them naught but a gobbet for their enemies. Today it maketh a man a king; tomorrow it delivereth him into bitter servitude. Today its thrall is fattening on a thousand good things; tomorrow he is a beggar, and a drudge of drudges. Today it placeth on his head a crown of glory; tomorrow it dasheth his face upon the ground. Today it adorneth his neck with brilliant badges of dignity; tomorrow it humbleth him with a collar of iron. For a little while it causeth him to be the desire of all men; but after a time it maketh him their hate and abomination. Today it gladdeneth him; but tomorrow it weareth him to a shadow with lamentations and wailings.⁵³

The best example of the theme of the exaltation of chastity over marriage in the Barlaam and Ioasaph is found in the temptation of Ioasaph by one of the damsels sent to entice him. Ioasaph attempts to convert her to Christianity, and the damsel replies that she will become a Christian if he marries her. Josaphat answers that "to pollute his body through unclean union" is grievous for him and utterly impossible.⁵⁴

The damsel's reply to Ioasaph is very similar to the arguments used by the widow's retainers to convince Moses to marry:

Why dost thou, who are so wise, talk thus? Wherefore speakest thou of it as of defilement and shameful intercourse?...What, is it not written in one of your books, 'Marriage is honourable and the bed undefiled'? and 'It is better to marry than to burn'? and again 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder'? Do not your Scriptures teach that all righteous men of old, patriarchs and prophets, were wedded? Is it not written that the mighty Peter, whom ye call Prince of the Apostles, was a married man? Who then, hath persuaded thee to call this defilement? Methinks, sir, thou strayest utterly away from the truth of your doctrines.⁵⁵

The Barlaam and Josaphat focuses on two great themes, contempt of the world and the exaltation of virginity over marriage. This work antedates the Blessed Moses in Kiev-Rus' by several centuries, since it appeared in Old Slavonic in the 11th century and the written Moses is a work of the 13th century. The anti-marriage parallel with the Blessed Moses is very striking.

The earliest attitudes towards chastity in the Church can easily be traced through the many references to it in the scriptures. Already in the writing of St. Paul we have many references to the great treasures which chastity and virginity are in the sight of God. Clearly in this tradition chastity and virginity are more worthy than marriage. For example, the well known passage of St. Paul on marriage as secondary to virginity, but necessary for those who are unable to observe chastity:

Now concerning the things whereof you wrote to me: It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Yet for fear of fornication let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband. Let the husband render to the wife her due, and likewise the wife to the husband. The wife has not authority over her body, but the husband, the husband likewise has not authority over his body, but the wife. Do not deprive each other except perhaps by consent, for a time that you may give yourselves to prayer; and return together lest Satan tempt you because you lack self control. But this I say by way of concession, not by way of commandment. For I would that you all were as I am myself; but each has his gift from God, one in this way, and another in that way. But I say to the unmarried and to the widows, it is good for them if they remain unmarried, even as I. But if they do not have self-control let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn. But to those who are married, not I but the Lord commands that a wife is not to depart from her husband, and if she departs, that she is to remain married, or be reconciled to her husband. And let not a husband put away his wife.⁵⁶

Thus, St. Paul's epistles forecast and helped to establish the strong Christian tradition which was being formed upon the example of Christ, who had never married. It is easy to see how the Pauline doctrine here quoted on marriage could be developed in such a way that there would be a real contempt for marriage rather than simply an acceptance of marriage as a second choice. Nevertheless, as Bouyer has stated,⁵⁷ both the Gospel and St. Paul stress the positive Christian value of marriage while giving virginity a preeminence:

Once again in the Gospel and in St. Paul, both exalting the positive Christian value of marriage, virginity also finds its first and fundamental justification; as an effort to realize immediately and totally the reality of which marriage offers an image and a partial realization; the union of Christ and the Church, of the Word of God and humanity redeemed from sin by the cross of Jesus.⁵⁸

Bouyer points out that these themes run throughout all Christian literature of the first three centuries:

These themes run through all Christian literature of the first three centuries, in St. Cyprian, as in Tertullian, in Methodius of Olympus as in Origen, in spite of everything that distinguishes and often contrasts, their types of spirituality.⁵⁹

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, Chapter V, St. Paul states:

Let wives be subject to their husbands as to the Lord; because a husband is head of the wife just as Christ is head of the Church, being himself saviour of the body. But just as the church is subject to Christ, so also let wives be to their husbands in all things.⁶⁰

It is in this light that the following statement in I Corinthians must be understood:

Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I have an opinion as one having obtained mercy from the Lord to be trustworthy. I think, then, that this is good on account of the present distress - that it is good for a man to remain as he is. Art thou bound to a wife: Do not seek to be freed. Art thou freed from a wife: Do not seek a wife. But if thou takest a wife thou has not sinned. And if a virgin marries she has not sinned. Yet such will have tribulation of the flesh. But I spare you that.⁶¹

These statements of St. Paul's are always spoken in the light of the imminent Parousia, or Second Coming:

But this I say, brethern, the time is short, it remains that those who have wives be as if they had none: and those who weep, as though not weeping; and those who rejoice, as though not rejoicing; and those who buy as though not possessing; and those who use this world as though not using it, for this world as we see it is passing away.⁶²

The writings of the Church Fathers, particularly those of Tertullian⁶³ and Origen,⁶⁴ stress chastity as the preferable state. The esteem of the first Christian generation for virginity consecrated to Christ was so high that a popular literature could go so far as to extoll it in terms implying a real deprecation of marriage. The chief deviation to which the ascetic ideal of the first centuries was reduced in popular literature was an insistence on continence so fervent that it came to neglect its motivations. Then, under the influence of the pessimistic dualism of the period, marriage came to be condemned with the whole life of the flesh.⁶⁵

One of the most interesting works to show the constructive character of chastity and virginity is to be found in the Banquet of the Virgins, or Symposium, of St. Methodius, which was written in the 3rd century. In this work, Methodius traces the evolution of virginity from the earliest Biblical times to the Christian era:

Sed ne prolixi simus colligendis propheticis vocibus, age, astruamus rursum quomodo voluntaria castitas legitimo etiam usui singularis cum una conjugii successerit: tantisper scilicet subtrahens carnis libidines, dum perfecte proclivem ex consuetudine in copulam impetum ac pene effrenem represserit⁶⁶

Methodius praises virginity and contrasts it with the eros of Plato's Banquet. He not only intended this work as an exhortation to chastity but also as a reply to Encratism, which had condemned chastity as being of no value. Methodius, in Logos I of the Symposium, assigns this panegyric on chastity to Marcella:⁶⁷

...Rara quippe admodum arduaque hominibus castitas; ac quanto principalior magnificentiorque, tanto etiam majoribus obsepta periculis est.

Ergo indoles requirit fortes et generosas, quae, acri impetu atque volatu voluptatis fluxu superate, sublime sursum mentis vehiculum dirigant, a proposito suo numquam abscedentes, quoad alacri leviter saltu, mundum supergressae, acutissima mentis pernecitate, inque coelesti vere constitutae culmine, ipsam pure contemplantur incorruptionem, ab Omnipotentis impolluto sinu exsipientem.

Hoc nectar gignere non valet terra: uni coelo datum est illud ex se profundere.⁶⁸

Theophilia, the second speaker of the Symposium, admits that man has made a slow and gradual progress towards chastity. She denies Marcella's claim, however, that from now on men are not to procreate children. It can be proven from the Scriptures that with the coming of virginity the Word did not completely abolish procreation. The light of the stars is not extinguished simply because the moon is larger. If God is still fashioning human beings, would it not be insolent of us to loathe procreation, which the Almighty Himself is not ashamed to accomplish with His undefiled hands.⁶⁹

Under the influence of Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste in the 4th century, monasticism came to be wholly permeated with the heritage of Alexandria and above all of Origen.⁷⁰ The soul of this spirituality, Enkrateia, is the renunciation of sensual pleasures and of all attachments that come from the body, even family ties.⁷¹ The practical regulations of St. Basil inspired St. Theodore to set up the monastery of Stoudios, at Constantinople in the 9th century.⁷² From there, these regulations passed to the Holy Mountain of Athos and then, with St. Theodosius of Petchersk, to the monasteries of Kiev and Rus'.⁷³

St. Basil's asceticism retains such a colouring of the encratism of Eustathius of Sebaste⁷⁴ that he could see in marriage and Christian life in the world nothing more than a concession to human weakness.⁷⁵ Gregory Nazianzen, however, had a more positive view of the values attached to family life.⁷⁶ This enabled him to distinguish more clearly the value proper

to consecrated virginity.⁷⁷ St. Gregory describes his monastic life in these words:

Unde mihi frequens virginum chorus / qui carnis
expertem vitam angelorum imitatur, / Ac Dei
ipsuis, qui huic choro ac solus quidem adest. /
Quid hinc fit? ut ad vitam aeternam / Confluant
omnia, atque hinc migrare cupiant. /
Vinculis soluta, et legibus nupialibus: / Ex
quo scilicet me Christus, virginis matris proles. /
Apparens, virginem novis legibus efficit.⁷⁸

In his other great poem in praise of virginity, St. Gregory of Nazianzen uses the framework of a debate between the supporters of marriage and virginity. Marriage is described in terms of the building up of the earthly city, whereas virginity is seen as the exclusive search for the heavenly city.⁷⁹ Virginity, at first, appeared in a few persons, although it had always belonged to Christ. But when Christ was born of the chaste virgin mother, he sanctified women and,

Tunc profecto virginitas mortalibus illuxit splendida,
Soluta mundo, ac mundum infirmum solvens,
Tanto prasetantior nuptiis ac vitae vinculis,
Quanto anima praestat carne,
Et terra latum coelum, et vita fluitante
Stabilis beatorum vita, et Deus homine.⁸⁰

The immaculate and heavenly choir of virgins stands around the King, honouring the Cross and despising the world

No one has better described the relationship between consecrated virginity and mysticism than St. Gregory Nazianzen does in his Oratio II. Nothing is preferable to the state of a man who escapes from the flesh and the world, conversing with himself and with God. This man lives in the commerce of the Angels, carried even into the higher regions of the Spirit.⁸¹

After this introductory praise of virginity, Nazianzen has the supporters of marriage voice their argument. Marriage was established by God

and brings many benefits to men, marriage has taught wisdom, establishes and gives laws to cities.⁸² Nazianzen gives some of his most eloquent lines to the supporters of marriage:

Quis ferinam vivendi rationem repressit, et terram
arare, / Ac plantas inserere docuit, et maribus / Navem
nigram immisit ventis impetendam? / Quis sine nuptiis
terram et pondum humida semita / Conjuxit ac remotis-
sima in unum devinxit.⁸³

Marriage is a blessing that redoubles our strength and is more precious than riches. It moderates desire and is the seal of unbreakable friendship:

Non enim a Deo connubium abducit,
Sed ei quisque magis adhaeret, quia
eum magis incitat Deus.⁸⁴

In reply, virginity insists upon one aim or goal in life, the attainment of God by means of divine love or sanctifying grace. All earthly love is abandoned in order to attain this divine love.⁸⁵ It is clear from the above disputatio that Gregory Nazianzen is very much aware of the positive values of marriage and the family life. The eloquence with which he describes these values makes his recognition of virginity as the higher ideal all the more effective.

But St. Gregory of Nyssa sees virginity as the key to the whole of Christian life.⁸⁶ For him, in his work De Virginitate, physical virginity is the covering and the support of an interior virginity, which results from the image of God according to which we are created.⁸⁷ God the Father, in the procession of the Son and the Spirit, is the archetype of virginity.⁸⁸ This virignity is in no way opposed to the highest fecundity:

Intelligentia non parva egemus, ut cognitionem capere
possimus hujus excellentis gratiae, quae cum incorrupto
patre comprehenditur. Res admirabilis est, atque inusitata;
ut virginitas, in Patre inveniatur qui et Filium habet, et
Filium absque affectu genuit. Cum unigenito autem Deo,

qui omnis pudicitiae, et incorruptae virginitatis auctor est, simul cognoscitur, cum in ejus pudica, atque incorrupta generatione pariter eluxerit. Rursusque mirum aequè est Filium in virginitate comprehendì. Eademque ratione in Spiritus sancti naturali atque incorrupta puritate spectantur. Cum enim purum nomen, atque incorruptum, virginitatem alio nomine significas: quae in universa denique coelesti natura simul versatur, quia cum ab affectibus vacua sit, sublimibus illis potestatibus inhaeret. Neque vero, etsi a nullis rebus divinis sejuncta est virginitas, contrariis tamen est rebus adjuncta. Cuncta enim quae et natura et consilio ad virtutem propensa sunt, omnino incorruptae virginitatis, pudicitiaeque splendore decorantur: quae vero in contrariam virtutis partem⁸⁹ proclivia feruntur, castitatis lapsu ea talia et sunt, et nominantur.

St. John Chrysostom takes a much more pejorative view of marriage than St. Gregory of Nyssa. This is particularly true of the young Chrysostom and is best seen in his Exhortation to Theodore after his Fall. In order to dissuade Theodore of Mopsuestia (whom many believe to have been the object of this epistle) from marriage, St. John states:

Siquidem hujus pulchritudinis substantia nihil aliud est, quam phlegma, sanguis, humor, bilis, et cibi mansi succus. His quippe rebus oculi, genae et reliqua membra irrigantur: quod si irrigationem hujusmodi a ventre et a jecore promanantem non quotidie accipiant, cute indecore marcescente oculisque depressis, oris species tota continuo avolat.tanta nempe intus sorde plenum est. Deinde pannum si videris intinctum hujusmodi rebus, pituita videlicet aut fluore, ne extremis quidem digitis contingere, imo nec respicere audes: et tamen hujusmodi rerum conclavia et apothecas plurimi faces? At pulchritudo tua non hujusmodi erat, sed ita praestantior illa, ut coeli terram antecellunt; imo coelis ipsis multo splendor et melior.⁹⁰

St. John also describes the burdens of married life in these terms:

An vis de domesticis curis, uxoris, liberorum famulorum agamus? Grave est pauperem uxorem duxisse, grave opulentiorum: alterum enim facultates, alterum viri auctoritatem libertatemque laedit. Molestum est liberos suscepisse, molestius non suscepisse: illud enim est frustra duxisse conjugem, hoc amarae servituti subjectum esse. Aegrotat puer; hinc non levis formido: immaturus decessit, hinc non consolabilis dolor: ad singulos aetatis gradus, curae de ipsis, sollicitudines et labores...⁹¹

Here we see Chrysostom exalting virginity by means of a downgrading of marriage. He seems to see in marriage nothing but the satisfaction of the flesh and the inconvenience and turmoil that it entails.⁹²

It is in considering marriage as a good and not an evil that virginity takes on all its excellence. Chrysostom's problem, however, was whether there was not something to make us appreciate virginity other than the pains and worries of marriage.⁹³ The misogyny of the earlier Chrysostom can be seen in this statement:

Sed quid hoc attinet ad eum qui stat, et qui ejus opem non desiderat? Nam hic nec utile, nec necessarium est, sed ad virtutem etiam impedimentum, non solum quod multos praebeat obices, sed etiam quod majorem partem laudis detrahat.⁹⁴

However, in a later treatise On Virginity, Chrysostom takes a much more positive view of marriage and sees it as good. But since marriage does not go beyond the limits of the present life, we should be preoccupied not with it, but practice detachment and the other virtues. This is an example of what Boyer calls an asceticism without mysticism.⁹⁵

This hostile attitude towards marriage changes to a much more positive one in the later Chrysostom, i.e. the Chrysostom engaged in the priestly and episcopal ministry. The following passage addressed to a young widow who had just lost her husband is a good example of the change:

At forte voces illius audire cupis tuoque erga illum amore frui, et consuetudinem requiris et gloriam, splendorem, decus, securitatem, quae ab illo in te redundabant, atque haec omnia periisse aegre fers, et quasi tenebras menti tuae offundi sentis. Verum tuam quidem erga illum amicitiam aequae tibi nunc atque antea tueri licet. Talis enim est caritatis potentia; non solum praesentes ac proximos, quique ob oculos versantur, sed eos etiam qui longe absunt complectitur, conglutinat, conjungit: ac neque temporis longinquitas, neque locorum intervalla, neque aliud hujus generis

quidquam frangere ac discindere animae amicitiam potest. Quod si praesens praeentem intueri cupis (non enim me fugit id tibi esse maxime in optatis), custodi illi lectum alteri viro minime pervium, incumbe in eam curam, ut eadem in te atque in illo vitae probitas eluceat, ac sine dubio ad eundem cum ipso pervenies chorum, atque una cum eo habitabis non quinque annos, quemadmodum hic, non viginti, non centum, non mille, aut bis mille, aut decem millia, aut multo plures, sed infinita saecula.⁹⁶

This same reversal of attitude which we see in the later Chrysostom is shown in the twentieth of his homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians:

Vis tibi obedire uxorem, sicut Christo Ecclesiam? ipse quoque ejus curam gere sicut Christus Ecclesiae: etiamsi animam pro ipsa dare oporteat, etiamsi millies conscindi, etiamsi quodvis sustinere et pati, non recusabis; et si haec passus fueris, nihil adhuc tale fecisti quale Christus. Nam tu quidem jam conjunctus haec facis: ille autem pro ea quae ipsum aversatur et odio habet. Quemadmodum ergo ipse eam quae ipsum aversabatur, oderatque, et despiciatui habebat ac conspuebat, et per lasciviam ei insultabat, magna sua cura suis subjecit pedibus, non minis nec contumelis neque metu neque ullo alio ejusmodi: ita tu quoque te gere erga tuam uxorem.⁹⁷

Thus St. John uses the picture of marriage to illuminate union with Christ. This section ends with St. John's greatest tribute to the married state:

Si quis sic et propter haec uxorem duxerit, monachis non erit valde minor, nec is qui uxorem duxit, iis qui non duxerunt.⁹⁸

Hence we can see that even in St. John Chrysostom, the Eastern contempt for marriage never reached the heights which it reached in the West, as in St. Jerome.

In the Symposium of St. Methodius, which dates from the latter part of the 3rd century, we have this balanced defence of marriage by Theophila, one of the ten virgins who take part in the debate on chastity:

... Et horum quidem indoneum testem producemus Paulum, cujus illa sunt: 'Qui matrimonio jungit virginem suam, bene facit; et qui non jungit, melius facit.' Non enim scilicet id proponendo quod melius ac dulcius est, aliud omnino Scriptura sublatum voluit; sed

unicuique quod proprium est ac utile, tribuendum decernit. Sunt quibus nondum concessit potiri virginitate: sunt quos non amplius titillationibus erubescētes inquinari permittit, sed jam inde meditari, deincepsque cogitare vult, angelicae puritatis aemulam corporum transformationem; ubi juxta verax Domini oraculum: 'Non nubunt, neque nubuntur.' Quandoquidem non omnibus incontaminatus ille, et quo regnum coelorum praebetur, eunuchismus creditur: sed illis duntaxat, qui et semper virentem et incontaminatum virginitatis florem valent servare.⁹⁹

Theophilia refers to the church as a meadow adorned with the blossoms of chastity, continence and motherhood. This defence of marriage in the Symposium is answered by Thalia, who places the emphasis on chastity. She argues that Paul in his epistles often attempts to stress the dignity of chastity. Paul had written, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman". But then Paul had realized the weakness of the less continent, and gave them permission to enjoy their spouses. This was done in order to avoid the sin of fornication, but the Apostle always preferred continence.¹⁰⁰

St. Jerome, who flourished in the 4th century, in the Contra Jovinianum, attacked Jovinian, a monk who had said that marriage was just as praiseworthy as virginity.¹⁰¹ Jerome quotes Jovinian and then shows how Jovinian has misinterpreted the writings of St. Paul on marriage and virginity. A major portion of the Contra Jovinianum consists of detailed exegesis of St. Paul's statements. The passages which have been quoted from St. Paul above were discussed in considerable detail and turned against Jovinian.

The general tone of the Contra Jovinianum is quite violent in its attack against the claims made by Jovinianus. The main thrust of St. Jerome's argument is that while marriage is permissible, it is not as positively meritorious a state as is virginity. St. Jerome uses the word "benefacere" to describe this positively meritorious act. The fact that something is permitted does not make it meritorious. It is one thing not to sin, it is another thing to do well.¹⁰²

St. Jerome admits that bishops, priests and deacons are married men, but stresses that this is only because there would not be enough clerics to minister to the people if only the celibate were ordained. He gives the example of how in time of war, even second and third rate troops are conscripted into the army. This is the same situation with married men being admitted to orders.¹⁰³

St. Jerome also cites the fact that Christ was a virgin and that he was born of a virgin. He quotes Christ's words to the effect that in the Kingdom of Heaven there will be no marriages, and thus that all in Heaven will be virgins. There is no distinction of sexes in heaven and we will all lead an angelic life. Therefore, is it not better to embrace the angelic life now as a foretaste and preparation for heaven?

Man has been created in the image of God, but in God there is no marriage, no differences of sexes. Therefore, the virgin lives in imitation of the life of the Godhead itself.

St. Jerome quotes St. Paul concerning the necessity of husband and wife rendering the marriage debt to one another, except for a time when they wish to devote themselves to prayer.¹⁰⁴ He emphasizes this discrepancy between praying and rendering the marriage debt and quotes St. Paul who said that we should always pray.

St. Jerome asks how can we pray unceasingly and at the same time render the marriage debt? He then quotes St. Peter:

Similiter viri cohabitantes juxta scientiam,
quasi infirmiori vasculo muliebri tribuentes honorem,
et sicut cohaeredes multiplicis gratiae, ut non
impediantur orationes vestrae.¹⁰⁵

Jerome interprets this text to indicate that the marriage duty impedes

prayer or at least that when fulfilling the marriage debt, one cannot pray.

Jerome also quotes St. Paul to the effect that the married should only refrain from the marriage act for a time in order to pray, but then come together again in order that Satan should not tempt them because of their incontinence. Jerome points out that St. Paul then adds that he says this as a concession not as a command: "*Hoc autem dico juxta indulgentiam, non juxta imperium*".¹⁰⁶

St. Jerome points to St. Paul's statement that he wishes all men to be as he himself is: "*Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum*" (I Cor. VII, 7). Jerome links this with St. John's statement: "*Quis enim in Christum credit, debet sicut ille ambulavit et ipse ambulare.*" He then quotes St. Paul again: "*Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet ex Deo: alius quidem sic, alius autem sic*" (I, Cor. VII, 7) to the effect that everyone has his own gift, another has another gift. St. Jerome concedes that marriage is a gift of God but affirms that between a gift and a great gift there is a difference. Obviously virginity is a great gift, and marriage is a lesser gift.

St. Jerome's Adversus Helvidium is also a treasure house of statements concerning the exaltation of chastity over marriage. Jerome insists that he is not, like the heretics, condemning marriage, but rather showing that there is a hierarchy of ideals, just as there is a hierarchy of orders: St. Jerome asks if it is the same thing to spend days and nights in prayer and fasting as it is to spend one's whole time in seeking to please a husband:

Idem tu putas esse diebus et noctibus vacare orationi, vacare jejuniis; et ad adventum mariti expolire faciem, gressum frangere, simulare blanditias? Illa hoc agit, ut turpior appareat, et naturae bonum infuscet injuria. Haec ad speculum pingitur, et in contumeliam artificis conatur pulchrior esse quam

nata est. Inde infantes garrunt, familia perstrepat, liberi ab oculis et ab ore dependent, computantur sumptus, impendia praeparantur. Hinc cocorum accincta manus carnes terit, hinc textricum turba communurat: nuniatur interim vir venisse cum sociis. Illa ad hirundinis modum lustrat universa penetralia, si totus rigeat, si pavimenta verrerint, si ornata sint pocula, si prandium praeparatum. Responde, quaeso, inter ista ubi sit Dei cogitatio?¹⁰⁷

In this work Against Helvidius St. Jerome devotes two chapters (20-21) to a comparison of virginity and marriage. Helvidius had maintained that marriage was not inferior to virginity, that it was equally glorious, since it was a state that was natural and was willed by God.

Jerome's main argument is that it is impossible to raise the mind to God in the midst of all the cares and worries of married life. The life of the virgin is far superior in the opportunities it gives for a life of prayer and fasting. Even if an ideal home is found, it still does not offer the opportunities for perfection that virginity offers:

Aut si aliqua invenitur domus, in qua ista non fiant, quae rara avis est; tamen ipsa dispensatio domus, liberorum educatio, necessitates mariti, correctio servulorum, quam a Dei cogitatione non avocent?¹⁰⁸

Hence, St. Jerome will make no concession to marriage as a state in which perfection can be attained.

St. Jerome's Adversus Jovinianum enjoyed great popularity throughout the Middle Ages. It was noted and quoted even in Chaucer.¹⁰⁹

The tradition of chastity which we can see in the Paterikon has a striking parallel in Middle English hagiography and particularly in that tradition which has its origin in the Ancrene Riwle.¹¹⁰

The study is on hagiographical works. The early attitudes toward Chastity and Marriage are continued into the Middle Ages Literature. In Middle English Literature, examples are found of Saints' Lives dedicated to virtue. Also, there are one or two outstanding treatises on this subject or involving

it; these are associated with a Saint's group, the Katherine Group, but we will look at them here as far as the theory, then consider the saints' lives in a separate chapter.

The expression of these motifs of Contempt of the World and the Exaltation of Chastity over Marriage continued into the Middle Ages both in the East and West. One of the earliest Middle English examples of both hagiographical legend and theological treatise is found in the rather remarkable collection of 13th century works known under the general heading of the "Katherine Group". Of this group R. M. Wilson says in part:

The earliest texts which are undoubtedly of post-Conquest composition are those usually classed together under the title of the Katherine Group. All of them usually appear in the same manuscripts and are obviously connected together in subject as well as style and in dialect. The group includes the legends of the three saints, Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana, a homiletic treatise on virginity—Hali Meidhad—a prose homily—Sawles Warde.¹¹¹

Hali Meidhad is a treatise on the discomforts of marriage and the advantages of a life of cloistered seclusion. A much more temperate expression of the advantages of chastity and of abandonment of the world is found in the rich and delightful Ancrene Riwe, the Rule for Anchoresses, which Malory and Baugh have called "the most remarkable prose work in English Literature between King Alfred and Malory." (Volume I of Literary History of England, Second Edition). We will deal with the lives of the three female Saints mentioned above in a special chapter but at this point we will examine the two treatises, the Ancrene Riwe and Hali Meidhad to show the continuity of conviction and rule that lay behind the traditions enlivening the hagiographical works of both the East and West.

The seventh part of the Ancrene Riwe entitled "Love" provides the proximate source of the tradition on chastity which is developed in the Katherine Group. The Allegory can be applied to Christ and His Church and

to Christ and the individual soul.

The concept of the mystical marriage between Christ and His Church, and between Christ and the individual soul, especially the soul of a religious, had come into English from the Latin writings of St. Anselm,¹¹² St. Bernard,¹¹³ Hugh of St. Victor¹¹⁴ and Richard of St. Victor.¹¹⁵ It had its origin in the love imagery of the Canticle of Canticles which had earlier been commented upon by Origen,¹¹⁶ who was not the first Christian writer to compose a commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, for before him Hippolytus of Rome had undertaken the task. Origen was followed by Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Maximus the Confessor.¹¹⁷

The concept of the soul as the bride of Christ is very well developed by Origen in these words:

Amore autem et cupidine coelesti agitur anima cum perspecta pulchritudine et decore verbi Dei, speciem ejus adamaverit, et ex ipso telum quodam et vulnus amoris acceperit. Est enim verbum hoc imago, et splendor Dei invisibilis, primogenitus omnis creaturae, in quo creata sunt omnia quae in coelis sunt, et quae in terris, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia. Igitur si quis potuerit capaci mente conjicere et considerare horum omnium quae in ipso creata sunt decus et speciem, ipsa rerum venustate percussus, et splendoris magnificentia ceu jaculo, ut ait propheta, electo terebratus, salutare ab ipso vulnus accipiet, et beato igne amoris ejus ardebit.¹¹⁸

The theme of the marriage of the Logos with the soul is a chief factor of Origen's mysticism. In his Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, he speaks of the beauty of the soul, the Bride of the Logos. This marriage, however, is always discussed by Origen within the larger context of the marriage between Christ and His Church. Already in the first of Origen's homilies on the Canticle, we read that the Bridegroom is Christ, and that the bride without spot or wrinkle, is she of whom it is written that Christ will present her to Himself all glorious:

Christum sponsum intellige, Ecclesiam sponsam sine macula et ruga, de qua scriptum est: 'Ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam non habentem maculam, neque rugam, aut aliquid eorum, sed ut sit sancta et immaculata.' Eos vero qui cum sint fideles, non sunt tamen istiusmodi quales sermo praefatus est, sed iuxta modum quendam adepti videntur salutem, animadvertite credentium animas et adolescentulas esse cum sponsa. Angelos vero, et eos qui pervenerunt in virum perfectum, intellige viros cum sponso. Inde igitur mihi videntur quatuor ordines, unum et unam, duos choros inter se concinentes, sponsam canere cum juvenculis, sponsum canere cum sociis.¹¹⁹

In the Commentary, Origen refers to the union between the Logos and the soul and draws an analogy with the union between Christ and the Church:

Hunc ergo amorem loquitur praesens Scriptura, quo erga verbum Dei anima beata utitur et inflammatur; et istud epithalamii carmen per spiritum canit quo Ecclesia sponso coelesti Christo conjungitur ac sociatur, desiderans misceri ei per verbum, ut concipiat ex eo, et salvari possit per hanc castam filiorum generationem, cum permanserint in fide, et sanctitate cum sobrietate: utpote concepti ex semine quidem Verbi Dei, editi vero genitrici vel ab immaculata Ecclesia, vel ab anima nihil corporeum, nihil materiale requirente, sed solo Verbi Dei amore flagrante.¹²⁰

In the Ancrene Riwe and the tradition which it inaugurated, the love was more particularly between Christ and the soul of the nun or maiden. The "wooing" section of part VII contains the terms in which Christ woos his beloved. All the reasons for loving an earthly lover are enunciated and Christ is shown as infinitely superior on every account. The Heavenly Bridegroom is the fairest, the richest, the noblest, the wisest, the most gracious and the most generous:

þi luue he seis oðer hit is to ȝive allunge. oðer hit is to sellen. oðer hit is to reaven t to nimen wið strengðe ȝif hit is for to ȝiven. hwer mahtu biteon hit betere þen up o me. Nam i þinge feireste? Nam i kinge richest? Nam i hehest icunnet? Nam i woere wisest? Nam i monne hendest?¹²¹

The generosity of Christ is shown in a most graphic way:

for swa mon seis bi large mon þ ne con nawt halde.
 þ he haues te honde as mine arm ipurlet. Nam i
 alre þinge swetest? þus alle þe reisuns hwi mon ah
 to 3iue luue þu maht finden in me. Nomeliche 3if
 þu luues chaste cleanness for nan ne mai luue me
 bute ho hire halde.¹²²

The pierced hands of Christ show his great generosity. But it is the chaste cleanness of Christ that is the most powerful reason why he should be loved. Thus the chastity of Christ takes pre-eminence over all his other virtues and is the fountain from which the other virtues flow. No one can love Christ unless she preserves chastity. The preservation of chastity is the sine qua non for the attainment of Christ's love. The Corpus MS. makes the following statement in this regard:

þus alle þe reisuns hwi me ah to 3eoue luue. þu
 maht in ifinden in me. nomeliche 3ef þu luuest
 chaste cleanness. for nan ne mei luue me. bute
 ha hire hald. Ah ha is preouald. in widewehad.
 i spus had. i meidenhad. þe heste.¹²³

Thus the preservation of chastity is possible in three states of life, in widowhood, in wifhood, and at its highest in maidenhood. This statement does not appear in other manuscripts of the Ancrene Riwle.

This statement is opposed to the savage denunciation of marriage which one encounters in Hali Meidenhad.¹²⁴ The "wooing" section reaches its climax with this magnificent promise of reward for maidenhood. Maidenhood is presented as having power far greater than that of the world alone.

The Virgin will be Queen of Heaven and seven times brighter than the sun. Thus the reward of maidenhood surpasses anything this world is able to offer by way of pomp and circumstance. The maiden is seen as having power over heaven, earth and even hell.¹²⁵

In þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd,¹²⁶ a contemporary prose treatise, the love

of Christ rises to an ecstatic height, both in respect to the notion of Christ as a lover, and also as the greatest treasure imaginable. This is a truly positive approach. Although it is not part of the Katherine Group it is closely related to it. This work does add an element not found in the other pieces we are looking at either in the East or West, and that is a passionate and positive approach to both Chastity and Contempt of the World. The lover, Christ, who is also a Knight, is so overwhelmingly loved by the human soul that chastity is not a deprivation or an abstinence but a glorious act of love. The same is true of "the Contempt of the World" motif: it is not a question of giving up the goods of the world, of retiring in face of the allurements of the world but rather of accepting the companionship of Jesus, who is a treasure far beyond anything this world can offer. This mystical, lyrical and at times ecstatic love of God strikes a rather unique note. Take the following passages for example:

þu art lufsum on/leor . þu art al schene . al en/gles
 lif is ti neb to bihalden . /for þi leor is swa unimete
 lufsum/t lusti on to loken. þ 3if þe for/wariede þ
 wallen in helle mihten/hit echeliche seon. al þ
 pinende/pik . ne þ walde ham punche bo/te a softe
 bekinde bað . for 3if/hit swa mihte beon. leuere ham
 we/re eauer mare in wa for to welle/t o þ welefule
 wlite eauer mar/to loken. þen in alle blisse beon t/
 for gan þi sihðe . þu art swa sche/ne t swa hwit. þ
 te sunne were/dosk 3if hit to þi blisfule bleo/mihte
 beo euenet . þa 3if/þ iwile animon for feirnesse lu/ue.
 luue iwile þe mi leue lif/moder sune feirest . A
 iesu mi/swete iesu leuē þ te luue of/þe beo almi
 likinge. 127

This emphasis upon the great beauty of Christ illustrates the fact that Maidenhood was not a negative concept but that it was the conditio sine qua non for the Bride of Christ who was to be united in the Mystical Marriage with the Divine Bridegroom. The Virgin gives up earthly marriage for a far superior marriage with a Bridegroom who infinitely surpasses

all men in beauty and courage. This Bridegroom also surpasses all other suitors in riches:

Bote nu iwile for ahte lefmon chese/for aihwer
wið chatel mon mai luue cheape. Ah is ani/ric-
chere þen þu mi leof þ rix/les in heuene . þu
art kid keiser/ ƿ al þis werld wrahtes . for as/
te hali prophete dauid cwiddes ./ drihtines is
te eorde . t al ƿ hit fulles werld t al ƿ trin/
wuned . Heuene wið þe murh/ðes t ta unimete
blisses . Al/is tin mi sweting . t al þu wilt/ iue
me 3if i þe riht luue.128

The Creator of Heaven and Earth will bestow everything upon His beloved. The only condition to be fulfilled is that the Bride must truly love the Bridegroom. This fidelity of the Virgin to the chaste but fecund bridegroom is brought out in these words:

Ne mai i naman 3iue mi/luue to swettere bi3ete ./
Halde iwile þa to þe mi leof/for þe self luue
peseluen . t/for þe luue/leten alle oder þin-/ges
ƿ min herte fram þi luue mihte drahe t turnen .
A Iesu/swete iesu leoue þ te luue/of þe beo al
mi likinge.129

And again the statement of opposition to the wiles of the flesh which would entice one from the only true felicity:

A mi deorewurde druð/swa gentile t swa hende . ne
þo-4e me neauer mi luue nohwer/to settē o karlische
þinges . ne/eorðli þing ne fleschli a3aines/te 3erne
ne luue a3ain þi/wille.130

Christ is the precious darling, so "gentile" and so "hende". This is the language of courtly love and the diction of the Romance of the Rose. The "deorwurde druð" requires a fidelity which ipso facto negates all possibility of "karlische þinges" of the world of men. There can be no yearning for earthly or fleshly things against the will of the Divine Lover. The constant repetition of the refrain "A iesu swete iesu leue þat te luue of þe beo al mi likinge" sums up the main thrust of þe Wohunge.

The traditional foes of this Brautmystik are the World, the Flesh

and the Devil:

Iesu mi liues lu/ue . min herte swetnesse . pre/
fan fitten a₃aines me . t ₃et-/mai ich sare for
hare dundes/ dred . t bihoues burh pi grace/
₃apliche to wite me . be werld/mi flesch . be
deouel. 131

These three "wolves" who kill the soul are only restrained from devouring the maiden when they understand that Christ will have her for lover and spouse. The great courage of Christ who fights as a knight for his lady against these ravenous wolves is equalled only by his unsurpassed beauty, which eclipses that of earthly champions. This great courage was shown for all time in the lists of Calvary when Christ confronted the maiden's three ravenous foes:

Iesu swete iesu/pus tu faht for me a₃aines/mine
sawle fan . pu me deren/nedes wið like . t
makedes of me/wrecche pi leofmon t spuse. 132

The maiden was vindicated by Christ in the face of her enemies and betrothed to the great champion. The consummation of this betrothal marks the climax of be Wohunge:

Broht/tu haues me fra be world to bur/of pi
burde . steked me i chaum/bre . I mai per be
swa/sweteli kissen/t cluppen . t of pi luue
haue gast/li likinge . 133

Here in the chamber of Christ, the Virgin received an unequalled reward for her fidelity and self-abnegation, i.e. the kisses and embraces of the Bridegroom. Here her deepest spiritual desires and yearnings are satisfied in the most perfect way.

It is in the Hali Maidenhad that we have a very good picture of the tradition out of which the St. Katherine comes:

"for₃et ec pi feader hus," af dauid read prefter: "pi
feader," he cleoped pet unpeaw pet streonede be of
pi moder, pet ilke unhende flesches brune, pet bear-
ninnde ₃eohde of pet licomliche lust, biuore pet
wleatewile werc, pet bestelich gederunge, pet

...scheomelese sompnunge, þæt ful of fulðe stinkinde
t untohe dede" 134

The elevated state of virginity is comparable to the high tower of Jerusalem, Mount Sion. The maiden stands through her exalted life, in the tower of Jerusalem. She is exalted far above the wedded and the widows:

Syon was sum hwile iclepet þe hehe tur of Ierusalem;
And Seið syon ase muchel on englische leodene, ase
heh sihðe. And bitacneð þis tur, þe hehschipe of
meidenhad, þæt bihald, as of heh, alle widewen under
hire, t weddede baðe. 135

The nun is described as God's spouse, Jesus Christ's bride and leman of the Lord. There is no worldly position that can equal this in any way. Marriage imagery is used to emphasize the great dignity of virginity:

Ant nis ha witerliche akeast, t in to þeowdom idrahen,
þe, —of se swiðe hehe stal, of se muche dignete t
swuch wurdſchipe, as hit is to beo godes spuse, ihesu
cristes brude, þe lauerdes leofmon, þæt alle þinges
buhed, —of al worlt leafdi, af be if of lauerd,
—ilich him in halschipe, vniuenmet as he is, of lauerd,
t þæt eadi meiden his deorrewurde moder. 136

Through Our Lady's maidenhood, Satan lost dominion over mankind on earth. It was through Mary's virginity that hell was robbed of its prey and heaven will be filled. For this reason the devil hates virginity and swells with rage when he sees the virgin standing in this lofty virtue like unto Mary and her Son. The crowns, the beauty and the vestments of the virgin far surpass and outshine the rest of the just.

Maidenhood far surpasses widowhood and wedlock:

Meiðhad is pet tresor, þæt beo hit eanes forloren,
ne bið hit neauer ifunden. Meiðhad if þe blostme,
pet beo ha fulliche eanes forcoruen, ne spruted ha
eft neauer; Ah þah ha falewi sum chere, mid misliche
þonkes, ha mei eft grenin neauer þe leatere.
Meiðhad is þe steorre, þæt, beo ha eanes of þe est

igan adun ipe west, neauer eft ne arised ha.
 Meidhað is þet an izette te of heouene: do þu
 hit eanes awei, ne schalt tu neauer nan oðer
 swuch accourin; for Meidhað is heouene cwen, t
 worldes alesendnesse, þurh hwam we beoð iborhen.137

This emphasis upon maidenhood as that treasure which once lost is irrecoverable is very interesting. Maidenhood may sometimes lose some of its beauty by evil thoughts; virginity once lost is never found again. This aspect of maidenhood provides it with that urgency of integrity, which is so necessary to its very existence. Maidenhood is seen as a virtue above all virtues, and to Christ the most acceptable of all. The prototype of virginity is seen as existing in the Godhead itself, where the processions and relations of Father, Son and Holy Ghost take place without copulation. The life of the Holy Trinity is a virginal life combining the purest of virginity with the most fruitful fecundity. The Son proceeds from the Father, and from the love of the Father and the Son proceeds the Holy Ghost. Virginity is so dear to God because it is so like himself:

Hit nis na wunder; for he is leoflukest þing,
 t wiðuten eauer-euch bruche, t wes eauer, t
 is, cleane ouer alle þing, t ouer alle þing
 luued cleannesse.138

Our flesh is our foe but may be made our friend. A maiden by conquering the flesh, is as good as an angel:

Engel t meiden beon euenig in uertu of meidenhades
 mihte, þah eadinesse ham twinni 3ette t to-tweane.
 And tah hare meidenhad beo eadiure nuðe, þin is te
 mare strengðe to halden t schal wið mare meðe beon
 þe forgulden.139

The reward for the maidenhood of the virgin will be greater than that of an angel, because it requires more strength to preserve it. Purity is the only virtue which is a prototype of our heavenly life.

because there is no taking of brides or bridegrooms in heaven. Therefore, this heavenly virtue which has its origin in the Trinity itself is the common state of the Blessed of Heaven.

Hali Meidenhad focuses upon the hatred of the devil for maidenhood:

þe ondful deuē behalt te, se hehe istiē toward
 heuene, þurh meidenhades mihte, þat him is mihte
 ladest; for, þurh ure lafdi meidenhad, þat hit begon
 earst, þe meiden marie, he forleas te lauerddom on
 moncun on eorðe; t wes helle irobbed, t heuene beð
 ifulled¹⁴⁰

The devil is pictured as full of spite and rage, because of the great power of maidenhood. This spiritual power had its origin on earth with the Virgin Mother of God and through Mary's maidenhood the devil lost the dominion over mankind on earth. Thus maidenhood is a most powerful weapon against the diabolical powers and is in fact the most important weapon in that the defeat of the devil has its origin in maidenhood. The devil beholds the virgin with rage because he does not like to be defeated by a woman:

nu behalt te alde feond, t seod þe in þis mihte
 stonden se hehe, ilich hire t hire fune, as engel in
 heuene, i meidenhades menske; t to-swolled of grome,
 t schoted niht t dai hise earewen, idrencte of an
 attri haliwei, toward tin heorte, to wūdi þe wið wac
 wil, t makien to fallen, as crist te forbede and eauer
 se þu stronglucker stondest agein him, se he o tene t o
 grome, wodeluker weorred; for swa muchel þe hokerlucher
 him punched to beon ouercumen; þet þing se feble as
 flesch is, t nomeliche of wummon schal him ouerstihen.¹⁴¹

The devil's hatred of mankind is motivated by jealousy. Maidenhood makes the virgin like Mary and her Son as an angel in heaven. Satan's pride will not readily accept defeat by mere flesh and especially where this defeat is inflicted by a woman.

Wedlock is seen as lawful for the weak, but it is less spiritual than maidenhood:

For-pi was wedlac ilahet in hali chirche, as bed to seke, to ihente þe unstronge, þat ne mahten nawt stonden in þe hehe hul, t se neh heuene, as meidenhades mihte. þis is, tenné, hare song, þat beon i lahe of wedlac, þonki godd t herien, þat he greidede ham; lanhure þa ha walden of meidenes hehschipe, a swuch stude in to lihten, þat ha neren nawt ihurt, þah ha weren ilahet, And hwat se ha þrin hurten ham wið ealmes deden healden. þis singed þenné, iweddede, þat ha, þurh godes milce, t merci of his grace, þa ha driuen duneward, in wedlac atstutten, t in þe bed of his lahe softeliche lihten.¹⁴²

Wedlock is seen as a bed for the sick, i.e. for those who are too weak to stand so near to heaven as the virtue of maidenhood. Maidenhood is therefore a fore-taste of heaven in that it brings one as close to heaven as one can come in this life. Wedlock, however, is a spiritual life-preserver for the weak majority who are unable to keep the virtue of maidenhood. The song of the wedded continuously thanks God for this great grace of spiritual protection.

The virtue of Maidenhood is described in terms of vivid marriage imagery:

ne moten nane but heo hoppen ne singen, for þat is ai hare song, þonken godd, t herien, þat he on ham se muche grace, þef of him seluen, þat ha forsoken for him euch eordlich mon, t helden ham cleane ai fra fleschliche fulðen i bodi t i breoste.¹⁴³

It was by the grace of Christ that the maiden avoided all carnal defilements. The contrast between the Heavenly Bridegroom and the carnal bridegroom is vivid:

t i stude of mon of lam, token liues lauerd, þe king of þe hehe blisse; for hwi he mensked ham se muchel biforen alle þe oðre, as te brudgume ded his weddede spuse. þif song, ne mahen nane but heo singen.¹⁴⁴

The maiden's choice is between a man of clay and the lord of life.

If she chooses the lord of life as her bridegroom she will be privileged to sing the maiden's song for all eternity.

The great difference in degree of heavenly bliss for maidenhood and wedlock respectively is stressed:

Of peos pre had, meidenhad t widewehad, t te bridde,
wedlachad, þu maht, bi þe degrez of hare blisse,
icnawen hwuch, t bi hu muchel, þe an passed þe oðre.
for wedlac haueð hire frut pritte-fald in heuene;
widewehad, fixti fald; Meidenhad, wið hundred fald,
over-geað baðe loke, þenne, her-bi, se of hire
maidenhad lihted in-to wedlac, bi hu moni degrez ha
falled duneward. Ha is an hundred degrez ihehet
toward heuene, hwil ha meidenhad halt, as þat frut
preoued; t leaped in-to wedlac, þat is duneward to
þe prittude, ouer prie twenti t 3et ma bi tene. nis
tis, at an chere a mucche lupe duneward? 145

Despite the fact that wedlock has been sanctioned for the weak, it is nevertheless a great fall from the lofty spiritual rewards of maidenhood. The difference in degree of heavenly bliss assigned for the two states of life is so vast that this should be argument enough for maidenhood.

However, even in terms of this life, wedlock has many sorrows from which maidenhood is completely free. These sorrows are presented in a powerful and colourful manner. There is no more graphic presentation of the sorrows of wedlock in all literature than is to be found in this section of Hali Meidenhad. The fall from maidenhood to wedlock is depicted as a fall from the supernatural to the natural, from the order of grace to the order of nature:

Nu þu art iwedded, t of se heh se lahe iliht,
—of englene ilicnesse, of ihesu cristes leofmnn,
of leafdi in heuene,—in-to flesches fulde, in-to
beastes liflade, in-to monnes þeowdom, t in to
worldes weane. 146

The maiden's fall is from the freedom of Christ to the thralldom of man, a fall which can only be described as a decline from the infinite to the finite. The writer asks the maiden what the reason is for this sad diminution and then provides the answer:

3ei nu, hwat frut, t for hwuch þing meast hit is:

al for þi, oðer ane deale þer fore. beo nu foð
 cnawes, for to kele þi lust wið fulde of þi licome,
 for to habbe delit of þi fleschliche wil of monnes
 imeane; for gode, hit is wlateful þing for to þenke
 þon; t for to speke þer-of, 3et wlatefulre.¹⁴⁷

The writer really sees very little difference between marriage and
 fornication except that one goes to hell for fornication. Copulation is
 a nauseous thing and its pleasure is only momentary. This treatment of
 marriage as only a physical union is certainly contradictory to St.
 Paul's comparison of marriage to the union between Christ and His Church.

CHAPTER II

Contempt of the world and the exaltation of chastity
over marriage in the Old Slavonic Paterikon.

The Background of the Paterikon

The Paterikons were known from the very earliest times of the Kievan period. They did not include the full texts of Lives, but only segments of them that provided examples of devoutness, asceticism, and good deeds. The tales of which each individual Paterikon was composed derived from one particular country. The earliest of such works to reach Kievan Rus' were the Paterikon of Sinai (4th century), the Paterikon of Skete (7th century), Limonar', and the Paterikon of Rome (7th century). Paterikon tales are devoted to individual episodes in the lives of saints or devout people and almost always end with a statement of the moral of the story.¹

The Paterikon of the Kievan Caves Monastery is one of the most extensive monuments of old Kievan literature and one of the most valuable sources of cultural-historical information.² The pre-history of this monument is known in considerable detail—an unusual phenomenon in old literature.³

The kernel of the Paterikon consists of the correspondence of the two 13th century Kievan monks, recounting tales of monks who had flourished in the 11th and 12th centuries.⁴ Later these two groups of tales were grouped together and supplemented by various works dealing with the history of the Monastery, e.g. 'the tale about Isaac, the Life of Theodosius,⁵ etc.

In its original form the Kiev Paterikon was not a collection of Lives.⁶ It was rather a collection of tales⁷ about separate episodes in the lives of the monks.⁸ In this sense it was a typical Paterikon. The episodes recounted provide ample opportunity for moral instruction, but are not always laudatory.⁹ Many of the tales deal with the temptations of the monks who are not always portrayed as saints.¹⁰

Both Bishop Simon and the monk Polycarp, the two authors of the Paterikon, modelled their works on the older Paterikons mentioned above.¹¹

They also used certain sources which have disappeared, e.g. the Rostov Chronicle, the Chronicle of the Kievan Caves Monastery, the Life of Anthony,¹² etc.

One group of tales deals with events that provide the opportunity for moral instruction, another with those that will bring credit to the monastery.¹³ These would include the lives of saintly monks, martyrs and miracle workers.¹⁴ Most of these tales belong to the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the 12th centuries.¹⁵

These tales are invaluable from the point of view of cultural history in that they give us a glimpse of monastic and secular life.¹⁶ However, the tales tend towards a much more severe asceticism than that depicted in the Life of Theodosius.¹⁷ The Life of Theodosius puts forth the ideals of work and charity, limited asceticism and productive labour.¹⁸

It is noteworthy that there is a singular lack of mysticism in the whole Paterikon.¹⁹ The recluse seems to be totally preoccupied with the negative ascetic struggle against demonic powers.²⁰ In fact we do not find mysticism in any of the writing of pre-Mongolian Russia.²¹

Fedotov sees two currents of spiritual life in the Kievan Caves Monastery:

...one subterranean, ascetico-heroic, connected with cave reclusion; the other 'superterranean'—humble, obedient, charitable. The Anthony type (the subterranean) dominates in the Paterikon.²²

The tale about the monk Isaac is a compendium of many of the motifs used by Simon and Polycarp:²³ temptation by the Devil who has assumed the form of an "angel of light", the notion of "gifts of the spirit": the ability to foresee the future, the power of healing, the ability to drive out demons, the ability to cope with fire and the ability to distinguish between spirits.²⁴ These motifs are found in the Paterikon in

addition to the motifs of contempt of the world and the exaltation of chastity over marriage.

There is a similarity between the 13th century Book of Miracles by Caesar of Heisterbach (+1245)²⁵ and the Paterikon of the Kievan Caves Monastery:

The Book of Miracles reflects the pictures of recollections which abbots, monks and brothers left in the collective memory of the Cisterian Order. ...Caesar of Heisterbach does not hide weaknesses or even scandals, but on the other hand lingers over examples of extreme austerity such as could have been accomplished by that "singularity" which had been reprobated by St. Bernard. Moderation and the community sense seem to have been sacrificed to a wish to rival the eccentricities of some of the Fathers of the Desert...²⁶

The characteristics mentioned above are similar to those of the Kievo-Pecherski Paterikon. St. Theodosius resembles St. Bernard in his "reprobation" of "singularity" in the ascetic life.

Tale I of the Paterikon tells us that the funds for the building of the Kievan Caves Monastery Church were donated by the Varangian "Prince" Simon.²⁷ The church was constructed by Greek masters who were miraculously invited to come to Kiev by the already deceased saints, Antonius and Theodosius, or by Angels.²⁸

Tale 7 of the Paterikon deals with the founding of the Kievan Caves Monastery. It, like the lengthy life of Theodosius (Tale 8 of the Paterikon), was written by the famous monk, Nestor the Chronicler.

St. Anthony of Petchersk was born in the town of Liubich and was already very pious as a young man. The Lord directed him to go to Greece and there take the tonsure.²⁹ Anthony arrived at Mt. Athos, where he went to a monastery and received the tonsure and instruction in the monastic life. He then was sent back to Rus' Kiev by the Abbot, and established himself at Berestovo on the Dnieper in a cave which had been dug out by the Varangians.³⁰ In the meantime Prince Vladimir died and the godless Svyatopolk succeeded him at Kiev. He began to kill his brothers, and murdered Boris and Hlib.³¹ Anthony fled back to the Holy Mountain. Prince Yaroslav defeated Svyatopolk and reigned in Kiev.³²

Yaroslav loved Berestovo which was located on the Dnieper on the outskirts of Kiev. One of the priests at Berestovo, Ilarion, went out to a spot where the Caves Monastery now stands and dug out a cave, in which he dwelt, singing psalms.³³ Prince Yaroslav, in the year of the Chronicle 6559, made Ilarion a metropolitan at St. Sophia's and Ilarion left his cave.³⁴

God instructed Anthony's superior at Mt. Athos to send Anthony back to Rus'.³⁵ Anthony returned to Kiev and settled in the small cave that Ilarion had dug on the Dnieper. Anthony lived in the cave, digging, fasting and praying.³⁶ People came out to him and brought him food, and asked his

blessing.³⁷

In the meantime Prince Yaroslav died and his son Iziaslav succeeded him.³⁸ Iziaslav came to Anthony with his wife and asked his blessing.³⁹ Everyone knew of Anthony and honoured him. Young men came to Anthony to receive the tonsure. The brothers grew to 12 in number.⁴⁰ Theodosius also came to Anthony and received the tonsure.⁴¹

The monks dug a big cave, and a church, and cells, which exist to this day, in the cave under the foundations of the monastery.⁴² Anthony told the brothers he would give them an Abbot, but he himself would go to the mount at Borostovo and dwell there alone.⁴³ Anthony appointed Barlaam Abbot, and went to the mount, and dug a cave, which is under the new monastery. Anthony lived in the cave for 40 years until his death, without leaving it. His relics remain there performing miracles until this day.⁴⁴

Abbot Barlaam and the other monks lived in a cave. The brothers multiplied and could not fit into the cave, and they decided to build a monastery in the cave. The superior and the brothers, with Anthony's permission, built a small chapel over the cave dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God.⁴⁵

The brothers multiplied and they decided to build a monastery. Anthony was overjoyed and sent one of the brothers to Prince Iziaslav, to ask if the Prince would give them the mountain over the cave. The Prince was overjoyed and sent them a Boyar and gave them the mountain.⁴⁶

The Abbot and the brothers built a big church and monastery, with cells, and the church was decorated with ikons.⁴⁷ And from that time the monastery was called the Caves Monastery, because the brothers had lived in a cave.⁴⁸

When the monastery was completed during the abacpy of Barlaam, prince Iziaslav built the monastery of St. Demetrius and took away Barlaam as

Abbot, wanting to make his monastery greater than the Caves Monastery, relying on riches.⁴⁹ Nestor comments that many monasteries have been built by Princes and Boyars with riches, but they do not compare with those built with tears, and fasting, prayers and poverty.⁵⁰ Anthony did not have gold and silver, but built with tears and fasting.⁵¹

Anthony appointed Theodosius as the new Abbot to replace Barlaam, saying, who is there among you like Theodosius, obedient and humble?⁵² There were now twenty monks in the monastery.⁵³

Theodosius took over the rule of the monastery and began the practice of great self-denial, fasting, and prayers with tears.⁵⁴ The brothers grew to the number of 100. And Theodosius began to enforce the monastic rules,⁵ and there arrived the monk Michael from the monastery of the Studion (in Constantinople) who had come from Greece with the Metropolitan Heorhij. And Michael began to teach them the rule of the Studite fathers and wrote out the directives for Theodosius,⁵⁵ and he established in the monastery how to chant the monastic chant, and how to make the prostrations and read the readings, and the standing in the church, and all the church rules, the sitting at the table, what to eat and what to drink.⁵⁶

Theodosius put his monastery under the Studite rule, and from that monastery all the monasteries of Rus' took their rule.⁵⁷ The Cave Monastery was the first of all the others, and in honour higher than all the others.⁵⁸

Theodosius in the monastery, lived a life of good works and monastic rule. He received all who came to him. Among those who came to him was the "unworthy servant" Nestor, the author of this tale, who was received into the monastery at the age of 17.⁵⁹

The Paterikon of the Crypt Monastery in Kiev⁶⁰ has a distinct similarity to St. Gregory the Great's Paterikon of Rome.⁶¹ The Paterikon of the Caves Monastery is not a collection of Saints' Lives in the ordinary sense of the term, but is a collection of outstanding incidents from the lives of the most prominent monks in the monastery. Just as the Paterikon of Rome was written to show that Italy had produced great Saints in the past,⁶² so too was the Paterikon of the Caves Monastery written to show that the Monastery had produced great examples of heroic sanctity and inspiring imitators of Christ.

The Monastery of the Caves was originally anchoritic in form in the sense that the early monks were representative of eremitic monasticism. The inspiration for this type of monasticism had come from Mount Athos,⁶³ where even today eremitic monasticism is followed. The form of monasticism which developed at the Monastery of the Caves can be described as a modified eremiticism. This meant that the monks followed the eremitic life, but came together for Holy Mass and other religious services. There were always enough monks in holy orders to assure the celebration of the liturgy.

The first part of the Kiev Paterikon consists of a series of tales written by Bishop Simon for the monk Polycarp. The whole of the Paterikon of Rome consists of vitae written by Pope Gregory the Great for his deacon, Peter. It is the opinion of most authorities⁶⁴ that in both these cases a literary convention is being followed. The literary convention consists of the fiction that the tales are being written for the edification of a particular person while in fact this is usually not the case at all. The second part of the Kiev Paterikon consists of those tales written by the monk Polycarp for his Abbot Akindin. This framework particularly seems to be an example of literary convention, because the Abbot Akindin would certainly be as well acquainted as Polycarp

with the oral tradition of the monastery, which served as the source for these tales, and thus there really would be no need for the Abbot to be informed by the monk Polycarp of these outstanding events from the oral tradition. But this is a good method of bringing them to a wider audience.

The Paterikon of the Kiev Cave-Monastery was written down in the 13th century, based on the oral tradition reaching back to the 11th century. This oral tradition thus dates back to only a few generations after the conversion of the Rus' in 988. The monks of the Cave-Monastery had kept this oral tradition alive through constant retelling of the deeds of spiritual heroism performed by the most outstanding of the monks.

Alongside these deeds of spiritual heroism, there were also warning examples of human failures, accounts of monks who had not lived up to the lofty spiritual ideals of the monastery. In general, it seems that Bishop Simon and the Monk Polycarp were intent on promoting the Anthonian ideal of spirituality as opposed to the less severe Theodosian ideal. It is this severe Anthonian ideal which is represented in most of the lives recounted in the Paterikon.⁶⁵

The Paterikon is not made up of vitae in the traditional sense of the term. Each of the tales omits the birth, life and deaths of the monk; each deals rather with some outstanding event in his life. The monks whose tales are recounted would be the more prominent ones, whose memories had survived in the tradition of the monastery.

Many of the tales have to do with temptations endured by the monks. These accounts are certainly not always laudatory in character, and in this respect they differ very greatly from the standard hagiographical works. The tale of the princely monk Svyatosha comes the closest to the traditional genre of Saint's Life.⁶⁶

The Paterikon of the Kievan Caves Monastery appeared in print on numerous occasions, beginning with the 1661 edition of Inokenty Gizel' and Sylvestr Kosiv. Two redactions of the Paterikon have been preserved—the older Arsenian redaction of 1406, which was due to the initiative of Arsenius, bishop of Tver, and the Cassianian redaction of 1462, which was reworked in the Kievan Caves Monastery.⁶⁷

Cyzevskyj has remarked that a wide gulf separated these tales from the monuments that inspired them.⁶⁸ According to Cyzevskyj, the tales reflect a severe asceticism in which personal salvation overrides all else. The ideals of service to the world and communal life are pushed into the background.⁶⁹ Service to the world has reference to the close relationship between the Monastery and the Princes of Kiev which is reflected in the Life of St. Theodosius.⁷⁰ It is therefore the anchoritic life rather than the cenobitic life which is reflected in the tales. This anchoritic life is in the tradition of St. Anthony of Petchersk.

St. Gregory the Great's Paterikon of Rome was known in Kiev and had a wide popularity⁷¹ and thus an influence on the Paterikon of the Kiev Caves Monastery. This collection from the seventh century was one of the earliest Paterikons to reach Kiev.⁷² It even became the source of some of the additions to Prolog.⁷³ Its tales, like those of all Paterikons, derived from one particular country.

Let us look at some instances in Gregory. The Life of Equitius, Abbot in the province of Valeria, deals with chastity. Equitius found himself much distressed as a young man by violent temptations of the flesh. He turned with all the greater zeal to fervent prayer. One night when he was earnestly begging God for aid in this matter, he saw himself being made a eunuch while an angel stood by. Through this vision he realized that all disturbances of the flesh had been taken

away, and from that time he was a complete stranger to temptations of this kind, as though his body were no longer subject to the tendencies of human nature.⁷⁴

In the Life of St. Fortunatus, Bishop of Todi, a young daughter-in-law of a noble lady of Tuscany was unable to abstain from the use of the marriage act on the night preceding the dedication of the Church of St. Sebastian. Human respect bade her join the procession and she was attacked by the devil when St. Sebastian's relics were brought into the chapel.⁷⁵ This is an example of the extreme view of chastity wherein the marriage act was forbidden on the morning of a holy day.

In the Life of St. Benedict, the Tempter comes in the form of a blackbird. The evil spirit reminds Benedict of a woman he has once seen, and tempts him to leave the wilderness. However he comes to himself and rolls in nettles and briars. He conquered temptation through suffering. The pain in his body put out the fires of desire in his heart. From then on he never experienced another temptation of this kind.⁷⁶

The tales in the Kiev Paterikon are very similar in form to those of the Dialogues of St. Gregory. They usually consist of shorter narratives illustrating a particular virtue of the Saint. The narrative of Moses the Hungarian, however, and that of Svyatosha, prince of Chernihiv, approach the novella in length.

The expression of the motif of chastity and contempt for marriage in the vita of the Venerable Moses and its tradition is a very interesting one. The theme of chastity and contempt for marriage is much more explicit in Moses the Hungarian than it is in the St. Katherine itself. Only in the tradition out of which St. Katherine arose, however, e.g. in Hali Meidenhad, is the theme more explicit than in Moses.

Moses the Hungarian was a young nobleman in the retinue of Prince Boris, who was martyred with his brother Prince Hlib on the banks of the Alta river at the hands of their brother Prince Svyatopolk. King Boleslaw of Poland, who was an ally of Svyatopolk, captured Moses and took him prisoner back to Poland along with the two sisters of Prince Yaroslav. A young, beautiful, rich and powerful Polish widow saw the strong and handsome Moses among the prisoners and was smitten with desire for him:

This one was seen by a certain woman from among the great ones, who was beautiful and young, having great wealth and great authority, and that one taking into her mind the vision of good, took into her heart the desire to want the reverend one, and began with honeyed words to entice him, saying: 'Oh man, you undergo all such suffering and tribulation'. Moses said to her: 'God thus wills it.' 77

The whole vita can be regarded as an exemplum which exalts the Christian and monastic virtue of chastity in opposition to marriage. The motif is given particular prominence, as it is stressed in the debate between the retainers of the Polish widow and Moses the Hungarian. The Polish widow is free to marry Moses, and Moses in the beginning is free to marry the widow. There is no question of any vow being broken. In addition to this, Moses is promised all the pomp and glory of the world if he will submit to the widow. The debate between the retainers of the Polish widow and Moses touches the heart of the motif of chastity and contempt for the world. The person of the woman in Moses is thus presented as the temptress who would lead the man of God away from the path of virtue. Moses' answer is very short and uncompromising. The widow's second statement to Moses very quickly brings the theme of chastity versus marriage, or chastity and contempt for marriage, to the fore. The widow replies:

'If you will humble yourself to me, I will save you and make you great in the land of the Poles and you will reign with me, and over all my possessions.' The blessed one

understood her evil designs and said to her: 'What man took a wife and humbled himself to her, and kept the law? Adam when he humbled himself to the first given woman was thrown out of paradise. Samson was stronger than anyone, and defeated the army of his enemies, and after a woman betrayed him to the foreigners. And Solomon, having sounded the depths of wisdom, when he listened to women, began to worship idols. And Herod won many victories, and when he fell captive to a woman he killed John the Baptist. Therefore, how should I, a free man, make myself a slave to a woman? I have not known her from my birth.'⁷⁸

This reply of Moses is steeped in the conventional anti-feminist lore fortified by well-worn examples from the Old Testament. Thus begins the series of debates on the marriage-versus-chastity theme conducted in the vita of Venerable Moses. The widow's reply to Moses' insistence that the great men of the Old Testament fell through women, is to add all the allurements of the world to the allurements of the flesh.

She says:

I will buy you, make you famous, set you up as lord of all my home, and you will be my husband. Only fulfill my will, satisfy the passionate desire of my soul, grant me to enjoy your beauty. For me sufficient will be your agreement. I cannot suffer that your beauty should perish for nothing. Let therefore be quietened the flame which burns me, and may my senses cease to torture me, and may my passion be quietened. And you will benefit by my beauty and will be lord of all my wealth, the successor to my rule, the highest among the Boyars.⁷⁹

Moses' reply is uncompromising and stresses the superiority of chastity over marriage.

Be assured that I will not fulfill your will. I do not want either your rule, or your wealth; for me more beautiful than all that is purity of soul, and also of the body. I will not lose the labour of five years, which the Lord has granted me to suffer in these chains. I did not deserve such suffering and therefore I hope, that because of them I will be freed from eternal suffering.⁸⁰

Moses makes it clear that chastity and virginity are far greater than any amount of wealth or position of authority. This is not simply contempt for marriage but recognition of the fact that virginity is the higher ideal.

Moses is primarily concerned with the merit which he has gained by the five years of suffering in chains. This merit through suffering provides him with hope that he will escape hell fire. Thus the emphasis in Moses is not on chastity and suffering as an end in itself, but rather on chastity and suffering in the light of a higher reward in the next world. The attraction of virginity and chastity is so great because they represent very powerful means of attaining the supernatural reward of the Beatific Vision.

The widow buys Moses, dresses him in rich clothes, feeds him with delicious foods and tempts him to love. Moses tears the rich clothes from his back, whereupon she attempts to starve Moses into submission. The widow's retainers offer all the arguments which are on the side of marriage. They even advance examples from the Old Testament to show how even the saintly patriarchs did not shun marriage. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were married and, in fact, it is only the monks of Moses' own day who shun marriage. The whole thrust of the retainers' arguments is designed to show Moses the folly of his position in suffering bitterly for the sake of chastity. Not only is he to be shown the folly of his position, he stands alone in his folly, and if he suffers cruelly it is because he has neglected to save himself.

The second part of the great chastity-vs.-marriage debate in Venerable Moses takes place between Moses and the widow's servants. These servants are not unfriendly to Moses and seem to pity him. They attempt to make Moses see the folly of his ways, and in doing so they offer the most powerful arguments for marriage seen thus far in the vita. They draw upon both the New and Old Testaments to convince Moses of his folly:

Brother Moses! what stands in your way to marry? You are still young and she is a widow, who lived with her

Husband for one year. And in beauty she is more beautiful than other women, and wealth she has uncounted, and great authority in the Polish lands. If she wanted to marry with some prince, he would not refuse her. And you a prisoner do not wish to fulfill her will. If you say: I cannot break the commandment of Christ, does he not say in the Gospel: 'Let a man leave his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they two will be one body, so that they are not already two but one flesh.' And the Apostle says: 'It is better to marry than to burn.' And it is permitted for a widow to marry a second time. Why do you give yourself over to evil and terrible tortures, and why do you suffer when you are not a monk, but free? How will you come to die in this misfortune, what glory will it be for you? And who from the first people up till today shunned women ...did Abraham, Isaac, Jacob? No one except for today's monks. Joseph at first triumphed, but after even he married. And you when now you should live, also yourself will seek a wife. And who will not laugh at your stupidity. It is better for you to humble yourself to this widow, and you will be free and lord over all.⁸¹

This is certainly the most eloquent argument for marriage and one that is calculated to impress a pious Christian such as the servants know Moses to be. The main thrust of the argument is that perpetual chastity is not necessary for salvation and in fact that marriage is the preferable state even from the religious point of view. Christ had commanded marriage and the Apostle had counselled marriage. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, the Patriarchs and ancestors of Christ, had married. These are the arguments which are calculated to impress a fervent soul.

This debate has all the characteristics of the medieval disputatio with its quoting of authorities. The main authority called upon in this case is that of Sacred Scripture, both the Old and New Testaments. Moses' reply to the servants is a powerful defence of chastity as opposed to marriage:

Aye, brothers and my good friends! You have advised me well. I understand that this is better than that, which the serpent whispered in paradise to Eve. You advise me to humble myself to this woman, but I in no way will accept your advice. When it should come time for me to die

in these chains and terrible suffering, I am completely convinced, that I will receive love for this from God. Let it be, that all the just ones were saved with wives, I the only sinner am not able to be saved with a wife. And if Joseph had given in to the wife of Putiphar, then he would not have reigned later; and God saw his suffering and gave him the reign and to the generations went his renown as an innocent one, even though he brought up children. I do not wish to take over the Empire of Egypt nor to reign or have authority; I do not wish to be great among the Poles, honoured in all the land of the Rus', for a greater reign than all this I have given it up. If I should get out of the hands of this woman, I will go to a monastery. And what does Christ say in the Gospel? Whosoever leaves his father and mother, and wife, children and home—that one is my disciple. Who is it more important for me to listen to; Christ or you? And the Apostle says: the married man cares for worldly things, how to please his wife, and the unmarried cares for the things of God, how to please the Lord. I ask you; whom is it more important to serve—Christ or a wife? Slaves should listen to their Lords unto good, and not unto evil. Let it be known to you, who hold me captive, that never will the beauty of this woman deceive me, never will it turn me away from the love of Christ.⁸²

In his insistence upon the necessity of Chastity for him, Moses shows a strong sense of vocation, a doctrine which has always been at the heart of Catholic teaching.

There is no more eloquent defence of chastity as opposed to marriage in the entire Paterikon nor in the tradition out of which it comes. Moses has used the very authorities quoted by the widow's servants to answer their arguments. It is interesting that he equates the widow with Putiphar's wife, thus directly placing himself in the line of those great defenders of chastity who go back to Joseph. It is important to point out that there is nothing in the above argument of Moses to indicate a direct contempt of marriage. Moses concedes that the great men of the Old Testament have been married; however in his case, marriage is not the path of salvation. He does, moreover, insist upon the superiority of chastity over marriage as a state of life, by saying "whom is it more important to serve—Christ or

a wife?" .

The parallel drawn between the widow and Putiphar's wife is made all the more vivid by Moses' avowal that he has no desire to ascend the throne of Egypt. This parallel is less striking as a parallel but the case is more telling because the widow is offering marriage, not lust and adultery. Moses sees both the widow, as much as Putiphar's wife, as threats to the virtue of chastity.

The vita goes on to tell of how the widow overheard Moses' remarks. She had him placed on a horse and in the company of a great retinue of servants taken on a progress throughout her vast holdings. She said to him:

Here is everything that pleases you, ...it is yours; do with all this as you wish. And to the people she said; Here is your Lord and my husband. Let everyone bow down in his presence.⁸³

Moses laughed at the widow and said: "In vain do you struggle; you cannot entice me with the worthless things of this world, nor steal from me spiritual wealth. Understand that and do not struggle in vain."⁸⁴ This remark of Moses' is very significant, in that it indicates that the world is to be given up for the sake of something positive, i.e. spiritual wealth. Moses however, does not directly include marriage as one of "the worthless things" of this world, but he does imply it.

At this point the vita informs us that Moses took the monastic vows from a wandering monk who was also a priest. Moses took the vows secretly while he was in prison after the widow had begun her advances. The widow fell into despair and had Moses whipped so that his blood soaked the ground. His torturers exhorted him to submit to the lady and fulfill her will or else his body would be torn in pieces.⁸⁵ Moses' reply is firm but lacks the belligerence which we detect in the replies of St. Katherine to her adversaries:

...I in no way can deny the monastic life and the love of God. No sufferings, neither fire, nor sword, nor wounds can separate me from God and the great angelic image (the monastic vow).⁸⁶

The theme of chastity vs. marriage reaches its high point when the widow attempts to force Moses to submit to her. On one occasion she had forced him to lie with her on a bed, while she kissed and embraced him. But even this tactic could not draw Moses to her desire. The Saint said to her:

In vain is your effort. Do not think that I am stupid or that I cannot do that. I with the fear of God shun you as unclean.⁸⁷

This deliberate sexual temptation has now become and will remain one of the conventional trials used to break down the resolution of young men and young women dedicated to chastity. We have seen this in Barlaam and will find it repeatedly in hagiographical legends.

The widow has Moses whipped in a very cruel fashion and then finally has him castrated so that no one else will be able to enjoy him.

The struggle between chastity and marriage is enacted here with all the drama of a medieval morality play. No man could have been more tempted to forsake chastity than Moses and no man could have had the arguments for marriage more clearly put to him than Moses. The vita tells us that Moses was cured of his wound, came to the Church of the Most Holy Mother of God, in the holy Petcherski monastery, carrying on himself the wounds of a confessor as a victor and brave warrior of Christ. Moses' struggle on the side of chastity vs. Marriage is thus presented as warfare on the side of Christ

This same theme of chastity continues until the very end of the Vita, which informs us that the Lord gave Moses power over passions. When one

of the brothers who was afflicted with an unclean desire came to Moses and sought help saying: "I promise that I will fulfill unto death everything that you require of me," Moses replied to him "Never in your life are you to say one word to any woman." The brother agreed to do this with love. Moses then took his staff, without which he could not walk, and he struck the brother in the breast. The vita tells us that at once the monk's members shrivelled and from that time he had no temptations.

This is a most severe interpretation of the defence of chastity, carrying into physical reality St. Paul's exhortation that a man should be made a Eunuch for Christ's sake.

The motif of contempt for the world, is as we have seen, also a very powerful one in Blessed Moses the Hungarian, as it is throughout the Paterikon. In Blessed Moses the motif of contempt of the world is interwoven with the theme of chastity and contempt for marriage. Witness also his reply to King Boleslaw who chides him for his senseless rejection of honours:

And what does God say: What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his soul; or what price will a man give for his soul? Why dost thou offer me glory and honour when thou thyself wilt soon fall from it, and the grave will take thee, thou having nothing:...⁸⁸

Probably the best example of the motif of contempt of the world taken from the Paterikon is the vita of the "reverend Svyatosha, Prince of Chernihiv." Svyatosha was born Nicholas, the son of David, the grandson of Prince Svyatoslav. The Vita informs us that:

meditation upon the worthlessness of this transient life and comparison with the blessed and eternal life of the Kingdom of Heaven, which God has prepared for those who love him, caused Svyatosha to leave his principedom, honour, glory and power, and to go to the Monastery of the Caves, and to be a monk in the year of the Chronicle 6614, (1106 A.D.), February 17.⁸⁹

The vita recounts that the oral tradition of the monastery speaks of his always being a generous and obedient monk who took upon himself the most humble tasks in the monastery. He left the great affairs of state to his brothers Iziaslav and Vladimir. Svyatosha in his days as prince had a very skilful physician by the name of Peter, who was a Syrian by birth. Peter came to visit Svyatosha often and on one occasion, seeing the Prince's mortification and excessive fasting, spoke these words: "Prince, it is fitting that you should look after your health, so that you do not lose your body by great labour and fasting."⁹⁰ Peter the Syrian then goes on to remonstrate with Svyatosha that he has given up everything for this hard life while his brothers and boyars live in luxury. No other prince has done this, and no other boyar with the exception of Barlaam, who had been superior of this monastery. Svyatosha advises Peter not to think of present sufferings but of the eternal reward for them. He says that he has left father and mother, wife and children, and brothers in order to be an heir to the Kingdom of Heaven. Svyatosha further corrects Peter by pointing out that many princes have done this before him, preferring the heavenly kingdom to an earthly kingdom.

This has a striking parallel in the life of St. Columba,⁹¹ who was of the royal Irish line, and there are many instances of young Northumbrian noble-men abandoning the world and becoming monks.

In the Venerable Bede's Lives of the Holy Abbots of Weremouth and Jarrow we read the life of Benedict Biscop who was descended from a noble lineage of Angles. Benedict was a minister of King Oswy, but gave up his transitory wealth, that he might obtain eternal wealth:

He made light of temporal warfare with a donative that will decay, that he might serve under the true King, and earn an everlasting kingdom in the heavenly city...he disdained to submit to carnal nuptials, that he might be able to follow the Lamb bright with the glory of chastity in the heavenly kingdoms: he refused to be the father of mortal children in the flesh, being foreordained of Christ to educate for Him in spiritual doctrine immortal children in heaven.⁹²

Bede also tells of the life of Easterwine, Abbot of St. Peter's, who was a man of noble birth. He was the cousin of Abbot Benedict Biscop and had been an attendant on King Egfrid. Easterwine had abandoned temporal warfare for spiritual warfare:

He remained so humble and like the brethren, that he took pleasure in threshing and winnowing, milking the ewes and cows.⁹³

The debate between Svyatoslav Davidovich, son of Prince David Svyatoslavich, grandson of Svyatoslav, great-grandson of Yaroslav I, prince of Chernihiv and Peter the Syrian, physician, is a striking example of how readily the newly converted Rus' aristocracy were taken up with the great Christian motif of contempt of the world. This vita along with that of Moses the Hungarian provides one of the best examples we have of the motif in the Paterikon. The occasion for this emphasis in the vita is given when Bishop Simon at the end addresses an exhortation to the wavering monk Polycarp that he should cultivate the same contempt of the world as the royal monk Svyatosha. The Paterikon account of the exchange between Peter and Svyatosha reads as follows: Peter seeing Svyatosha sitting at the monastery door as a humble suppliant says: "Prince, it is fitting that you should look after your health, so that you do not lose your body by great labour and fasting."⁹⁴ The Slavonic word used to express the Greek askesis (i.e. ascetic or athletic endeavour in the traditional sense of that athleticism of the spirit spoken of by St. Paul) is the same as that used for labour. Peter continues:

You do not have to bear this yoke if you wish to fulfil God's will. God does not want fasting and labours but desires rather a pure and contrite heart...therefore give up that work which you do like a humble servant. And your much honoured brothers Iziaslav and Vladimir suffer great pain because of your lowering of yourself, as you have gone from such glory and honour to the lowest poverty, as you mortify your flesh and give yourself over to sickness by unfitting food. Look at the error you are making,

when at one time you were accustomed to the richest food, today you undergo to endure cold cabbage and dry bread. Take care that sometime you should not be afflicted with various diseases, and you, not having strength, will quickly die, and I will not be able to help you, and you will cause tears for your brothers. For your boyars, and your servants thought that they were great and glorious because of you, but today bereft of your love, they have opened wide their homes for grief and sit in them in great sadness...You do not have where to lay your head, you sit on an ash-heap...What Prince has done this? Did your blessed father David, or your grandfather, Svyatoslav, or did any of the Boyars follow this path, except for Barlaam, who was the superior here? And if you listen to me you will consider this.⁹⁵

Svyatosha's reply sums up that attitude of contempt of the world and Death to the World which has always been the motivation of the monastic life.

Brother Peter! Much have you seen and judged in order to spare my body...but brother Peter in sickness it is possible to perfect oneself. These are only the sufferings of today, in the next age there will be glory, as you wish to see for us. I thank the Lord, who freed me from the work of the world, and made me to be the servant of his servants, these blessed monks. Let my brothers not concern themselves, everyone bears his burden,...I have left this for the sake of Christ: wife and children, servants, and village, and because of that I hope to be an heir to eternal life. The lowering-for God's sake, I endure...I wish to die for Christ...and to sit on these ashes...There were other princes who did this before me...let others follow them and me...⁹⁶

The Fool for Christ's Sake

This reply of Svyatosha to Peter the Syrian is not only an example of contempt of the world but illustrates another very powerful concept in Eastern Slavonic spirituality which can be considered to be a sub-motif under contempt of the world. This has reference to what Fedotov calls the Kenotic element in the spirituality of the Rus'.⁹⁷ The inspiration of the Rus' kenoticism is to be found in Phillipians 2:7, where the Apostle speaks of the act of Christ in emptying himself of his Godhead. Rus' kenosis was the act of the individual in following Christ in this way.

The passage from St. Paul reads as follows:

Have this in mind among yourselves which was in Christ, Jesus, who though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped but emptied himself taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on the cross.⁹⁸

The monks of Rus' were captivated by the figure of the humiliated Christ as depicted in the Suffering Servant passages in Isaiah. This was the origin of that concept which came to be known as the "Yurodivy Chrysta Rady" or "Fool for the sake of Christ." This was a reality in later Muscovite spirituality, stretching from the 13th and 14th centuries to the 18th century. We can, however, see the impact of kenoticism and the theme of the suffering servant both in the vita of Moses the Hungarian and the vita of Svyatosha, Prince of Chernihiv. The story of the monk Isaak, who, after being cured by Theodosius of madness induced by the excessive asceticism of the Anthonian school, feigned a relapse in order to avoid the adulation of his brother monks for his holiness, is the closest example in the Paterikon of the "Fool for Christ" as it later developed.

Isaak was a rich merchant from Toropec. He decided to become a monk and gave away all his wealth to the needy and came to the monastery to Anthony.⁹⁹ Anthony gave him the tonsure and named him Isaak. Isaak dressed in a hairshirt and put an uncured goats' skin which dried out over his body, over the hairshirt.¹⁰⁰

He locked himself in a small cell and prayed to God with tears for seven years. He ate only one piece of consecrated bread each day and drank only a little water, both of which were brought to him by Anthony.¹⁰¹

One night a light began to shine in his cell and two young men appeared to him saying: "We are angels and Christ walks behind us. Bow down before Him."¹⁰² Isaak bowed down before the figure he believed to be Christ and thereby fell under the power of the demons. Isaak's cell was then filled with demons, who amuse themselves at his expense by making him dance for them. Isaak lay almost motionless for three years, only gradually learning how to walk and eat.¹⁰³

After being cured of his three year's mental and physical illness by Theodosius, Isaak returned to his former harsh life. He dressed in a hair-shirt again, and began to help the brothers in the kitchen.¹⁰⁴ In order to avoid the veneration of the brothers (who were impressed with his catching a crow):

Isaak began to do foolish things and to annoy now the Abbot, now the brothers, now the laymen. His fellow monks beat him and he began to go about and did foolish things. An again he remained in a cave, that cave in which Anthony had been, —and he began to gather the children of laymen and place on them the habit of monks. He was beaten now by the Abbot Nikon and at another time by the parents of these children. The blessed one suffered all this.¹⁰⁵

Cyzevskyj comments on the holy foolishness of Isaak:

Assuming this kind of posture of naive simplicity is a special kind of asceticism: wilful eccentric behaviour which results in scorn and disrespect; however, this kind of ascetic may have a great influence, as he can speak openly about things which some people would not dare to do and so on.¹⁰⁶

Fedotov has this to say about Isaak's holy foolishness:

Isaak is the first Rus' to take upon himself the sham folly of a Greek salos, the "holy fool for Christ."¹⁰⁷

This motif of "the fool for Christ's sake" is not found in the Middle English Saints' Lives. It is not found in the West until St. Francis of Assissi.

CHAPTER III

Contempt of the world and the exaltation of chastity
over marriage in the Katherine Group

As we have already indicated, the three hagiographical pieces that we are to examine in Middle English are: St. Margaret, St. Katherine, and St. Juliana. We have already examined two treatises on defence of virginity as superior to the marriage state, i.e. be Ancrene Riwe and Hali Meidenhad, Middle English prose pieces forming part of this Katherine Group.¹

These three lives actually exemplify and in a chronological sense provide the source of the conventional motifs and attitudes crystallized and as it were regularized in the two treatises mentioned above, as well as paralleling both the lives and the treatises of the East. Although these were not English Saints, the tone is quite distinctly English, being somewhat moderated and restrained in comparison with, for example, the vita of Moses the Hungarian. Still the arguments are the same and the attitudes identical, the only difference being, perhaps, that in the East we have encountered male saints, and in the Middle English selection we discuss female saints. It will be noticed also that the home of the three holy maidens is situated in the East, although in at least two of the lives the legends have come into Middle English via the Latin. For no particular reason, we begin with the Life of St. Margaret.

The Life of St. Margaret is found in Middle English in two manuscripts, one at Oxford, MS Bodley 34, and one at the British Museum, MS Royal 17A xxvii, both assigned to C.1230.² The legend conveyed in both of these via a Latin work is ultimately from a Greek rendering of the Life of St. Marina, as Margaret was called in Greek.

Margaret, daughter of Theodosius, a heathen prince, was sent to be nurtured in a town near Antioch. When she was fifteen, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, she vowed to remain a maiden taking Jesus as her spouse.

As she was an attractive girl, Olibrius, a heathen sheriff, saw her and decided to take her for his wife. She prays God to help her maintain her chastity in these words similar to Hali Meidenhad:

...Lauerd, lustu to me. Ich habbe a deore 3imstan,
t ich hit habbe i3eue þe, mi meidhad i mene, blostme
brihtest i bodi þe hit bered t biwit wel; ne let tu
neauer þe unwhit warpen hit i wurdinc, for hit is þe
leof, t him þinge lopest.³

It is the Devil who wishes to cast the precious gem of virginity into the mire, for as the gem of maidenhood is dear to Christ, so is it loathsome to him.

The debate between Margaret and Olibrius is similar in circumstances and tone to the debate between Moses and the Polish widow. Margaret tells Olibrius that she has granted her Maidenhood to Jesus Christ and loves him as leman and believes in him as lord:

"Freo wummon ich am t godes þewe." "3e," quod he, "hwet
godd hehest t herestu?" "Ich hehe," quod ha, "hehfeader,
healent in heouene, t his deorwurde sune, Iesu Crist hatte,
t him ich habbe, meiden, mi meidhad i3ette, t lu uie to
leofman t leue ase lauerd."⁴

This use of marriage imagery is typical of the Western tradition. Jesus Christ is both leman and lord of the young maiden who has consecrated her virginity to him.

Olibrius scoffs at Margaret's allegiance to a lord who has died the ignominious death on a cross:

"Hu dele!" quod he, "Leuestu t luuest t þe reufulliche
deide t reuliche on rode?" "Nai," quod ha, "ah þeo þe
wenden to fordon him, þine forðfedres, beoð forfaren
reuliche t forloren luderliche; t he liued, kinebern,
icrunet in his kinedom, keiser of kinges, echeliche
in heouene."⁵

Margaret's reply shows her great faith in the Resurrected Christ, who reigns as King of Kings, crowned for all eternity in heaven.

Olibrius requests that Margaret have mercy on her youth and beauty.

Margaret's reply is an eloquent defence of maidenhood:

"Wite hit tu nu 3if þu wult—for he hit wat ful wel,
 he þe haued iseiled me to him seolf, t mi meidhad—
 þet tu ne maht nans-weis, wið weole ne wið wune, wið
 wa ne wið wont reþe ne wið nan worldlich þing, wenden
 me ne wrenchen of þe wei þet ich am in bigunne to ganne." 6

The Heavenly Bridegroom is loveliest to look upon and sweetest to smell.
 No earthly Bridegroom can compare with Him in that his loveliness is ever-
 lasting. There is no transience of love or beauty to be found in Christ.
 That transience at the heart of the human predicament has no counterpart
 in Jesus, leman and lord. Margaret goes on to describe the joy and bliss
 of this mystical marriage:

Buuen ba t bineopen; al buhed to him. t to-eke þis,
 þet he is se mihti t se meiful; he is leofluke to
 lokin upon t swotest to smellen: ne his lufsumlec neuer
 mare ne mei lutli ne aliggen; for he ne alið neuer, ah
 liued a in are, t his michele mihte lested a mare." 7

Olibrius calls upon Margaret to choose between a cruel death and
 marriage:

"Let," quod Olibrius, "ne beoð þeos wordes noht wurd.
 Ah an-hwet wit þu: but 3if þu swike ham, mi swerd
 schal forswelten t for-swolhen þi flessc, t þerefter
 þine ban schulen beon forbernde o berninde gleden.
 Ah 3if þu wult leue me, þu schalt beon mi leofman t
 min fíwedde wif, t welden ase lefdi al þet ich i
 wald hah t am of lauerd." 8

The choice before Margaret is between a painful and horrible death and a
 position of great wealth, comfort and power. For her, however, as a true
 Bride of Christ, there can be no hesitation or compromise. She has no
 fear of death, suffered for the Heavenly Bridegroom. This confidence is
 expressed in the following words:

"Me, leoue," quod ha, "hwar-to luste þe warpen al awei
 þine hwile? Ich wulle bitechen mi bodi to eauer-euich
 bitternesse þet tu const on bipenchen, ne bite hit ne
 se sare, wið þon þet ich mote meiden mede habben in
 heouene. Drintin daide for us, þe deorwurde lauerd,
 t ne dred ich na ded for to drehen for him. He haued
 his merke on me iseiled wið his in-seil; ne mei vnc
 lif, ne ded noþer, twemen otwa." 9

The Resurrected Christ, at the very moment of immolation, will take the sufferings upon himself. This belief is basic to the Theology of Martyrdom.

The Virgin is cruelly scourged and prays to Christ for strength:

"Lauerd, in þe is al min hope. Hald me mi wit wel swa, t mi wil to þe, þet hit ne forwurde naut, for wa þet me do me, ne for wele nowþer; ne lef þu neuer mine fan, þe feondes i mene, habben ne holden hare holder of me, as ha walden 3ef ha me mahten awarpen: ah swa ne schulen ha neuer me, ne nan oder þet ariht luvied þe."¹⁰

This plea of Margaret's sums up the struggle that goes on between good and evil. Margaret calls upon God to give her spiritual and psychological strength to withstand the mockery of the Devil, represented by his minions. Her great danger is that she should lose strength of soul under the mockery and dehumanizing scorn of the demons or their representatives. This is always the great danger for the servant of God. But Margaret has confidence because she knows that the demons have no power over her or anyone who truly loves Christ. Margaret then continues:

Heouenliche lauerd, þin nome beo iblescet. Lauerd, loke to me anthaue merci of me. Softe me mi sar swa, t salue mine wunden, þet hit ne seme nowþer, ne suteli o mi samblant, þet ich derf drehe.¹¹

This petition and prayer is wholly in line with that Theology of Martyrdom that has been mentioned above. Margaret is certain that Christ can and will take the suffering and pain upon Himself at the very moment of agony.

Just as the retainers of the Polish widow argue with Moses the Hungarian and try to induce him to submit to the widow, so too do the retainers of Olibrius beg Margaret to give in to their master. The people take pity on Margaret after her bloody scourging just as the servants of the widow take pity on Moses. They attempt to dissuade Margaret from what they consider to be her folly. This is identical with the situation in the Blessed

Moses and in both cases Margaret and Moses choose the folly of Christ:

"Margarete, Margarete, meide swa muche wurd 3ef þu wel waldest, wa is us þet we seod þi softe leofliche lich to-luken se ladliche! Weila! wummon, hwuch white þu leoset t forlestest for þi mis-bileau. þe reue is reowliche wrað t wule iwis fordo þe; ah luue nu t lef him, t tu schalt, wummone meast, wunne t weole wealden." 12

This wisdom of the world calls upon Margaret to forsake her maidenhood.

The arguments of Olibrius' retainers are identical with those used against Moses by the Polish widow's servants. Why should virginity stand in the way of so much power and happiness? They are particularly concerned lest she should lose her great beauty because of the scourging and tortures. Margaret's reply closely parallels that of Moses in its fierce rejection of anything which would compromise her virginity:

"O," quod ha, "wrecches, unweoten bute wit, weila, hwet wene 3e! 3ef mi lich is toloken, mi sawle schal resten wið þe rihtwise: sorhe t licomes sar is sawulene heale. Ah leue 3e, ich reade ow, o þe liuiende godd, mihti t mainful t euch godes ful, þe hered þeo þe him cleopied to, t heouene-þetes opened. For ow nulle ich iheren, ne heien nan of ower godes, þe dumbe beoð t deaue, t blinde t bute mihte, wið monnes hond inakede." 13

Margaret is convinced that if her body is broken, her soul will rest with the righteous. This heroic contempt for the body is not a negative concept but is based upon an all-consuming desire for the health of the soul. This preoccupation with the spiritual is summed up in the above statement that pain of the body is the salvation of the soul. This fundamental ascetic maxim is the basis for that contempt of the body which one discerns in the hagiography of both the East and the West. Margaret turns upon Olibrius, the instrument of her woe, and equates him with the offspring of the Devil:

"Ah þu wurchest," quod ha, þa, to Olibrium þe luðere,
"þine feader werkes, þe feondes of helle. Me, þu headene hund, þe hehe healent is min help; 3ef he haued izettet t mi licome to teluken, he wule, þu ..

heatele reue, arudde mi sawle ut of pine honden t
 heouen hire into heouene, þah þu hongī me her. t
 tu grisliche gra, þu lūdere liun lað godd, þi mihte
 schal unmuclīn t melten to riht noht; t tu schalt
 eauer i sar t i sorhe swelten hwen ich gomeni wið
 godd t gleadie buten ende." 14

This attack against Olibrius is very similar in tone to that which we examined in Moses in the section above. There is the same disdain and contempt for the "power" of the spiritual adversary who presents a dire threat to virginity. Margaret's whole concern is with this loss of maidenhood and her prayer attests to this:

"...Send me þi sonde i culurene heowe, þe cume
 me to helpe, þet ich mi meidhad mote wite to þe
 unwemmet; t lef me 3et i-seon, lauerd, 3ef þi wil is,
 þe awariede wiht þe weorred a3ein me; t cud þi mahte
 on me, al-mihtī godd, þet ich him ouercume mahe, swa
 þet alle meidnes eauer mare þurh me þe mare trusten
 on þe. Beo þi nome iblesced, alre bleo brihtest, in
 alre worldene worlt aa on ecnesse." 15

Margaret asks for God's aid in the form of a dove, that is, for the aid of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity. The Holy Ghost, just as he strengthened the Apostles at Pentecost, will enable Margaret to preserve her maidenhood unblemished. This intercession of the paraclete, the Advocate, and the Comforter will also enable Margaret to carry on open warfare with the Adversary, Satan. Margaret requests that she be allowed to enter the lists in direct combat with the Devil in order that, with the help of God, her triumph over Satan will encourage other maidens to have trust in God. This entire petition for direct combat with the Enemy has but one purpose, the advancement of the cause of maidenhood.

Olibrius once again demands that Margaret give up her maidenhood to him and threatens her with a horrible death if she refuses to do so. Margaret's reply once again expresses great lack of concern about the fate of the body so long as the soul fulfills its heavenly destiny and

partakes of its supernatural reward:

"Me, heateliche hund," quod ha þa, "þah þu al swa
do, me schendest tu nawt. Hwen mi sawle bið
biuoren godes sihðe in heouene, lutel me is hwet
me do mid mi bodi on eorðe.¹⁶

Margaret enlarges upon the connection between the pleasures of the flesh
and the damnation of the soul:

Ah þe schulde scheomien, þu scheomelese schucke,
gef þu scheome cuðest, þe þulli mot haldest wið
a jung meiden, t spillest al þi hwile t ne sped-
est nawiht; for gef ich wrahte þe wil of þe flesch
þet tu fearest as þu wult wið, mi sawle schulde
sinken, al swa as þu schalt, to sorhen in helle;
ah for þi ich wulle wel þet mi flesch forfeare
her, þet softe Iesu cruni mi sawle i þe selhðen
of heouene, t efter domes-dei do ham ba to-gederes,
to weolen t to eche wunnen, þurh-wuniende."¹⁷

This dichotomy between soul and body will be beautifully and perfectly
resolved after the Day of Judgement when the body will join the soul.
Both soul and body will then partake of the bliss of heaven forever.

The great dignity of maidenhood is attested to by the Devil himself
in his conversation with Margaret in prison:

For Iesu Crist, godes bern, wes of meiden iboren;
t þurh þe mihte of meidhad wes moncun iborhen;
binumen t bireauet us al þet we ahten. Nu þu
wast, leafdi, þet tu wite waldest: hwer we
meast wunied, t hwi we meast heaned t heatied
þe meidnes. . .¹⁸

The Devil hates maidenhood with an abiding hatred because the Son of God
took flesh of a Virgin. The motivation for the diabolical antipathy
towards virginity becomes very clear here. It was through the great
power and might of maidenhood that mankind was redeemed. The redemption
of mankind took from the devils all which they thought was rightfully
theirs. For this reason they afflict and hate maidens above all others.

The Devil's confession to Margaret is a powerful argument for maiden-
hood. After revealing the ways in which he lures a pure man and a pure

woman into sin he makes this comment:

penchen hit is purh me þet hare lust leadeð ham
to wurche to wundre: þenchen 3ef ha beieð me,
to hu bitter beast ha buheð, t hwas luue ha
forleteð; hu lufsum þing ha leoseð, þet is meid-
had, meidenes menske, t te luue of þe luueliche
lauerd of heouene t of þe lufsume cwen englene
leafdi; t henlunges makieð ham wið al þet heouen-
liche hird, t un-menskið ham seolf bimong world-
liche men, t forleoseð þe luue nawt ane of heh
in heouene ah of lah hec on eorðe, t makieð þe
engles murne t us of mucche mureðe to lahe se
lude, þe seod ham lihte se lah of se swiðe hehe,
from þe heste in heouene to þe laheste in helle.¹⁹

The Devil takes full credit for the sins of the flesh which lead to loss of maidenhood. In giving into the flesh, the virgin bows down to the devil and loses the great honour of maidenhood. She also loses the love of Christ and of Our Lady and is regarded as vile by all the retainers of Heaven. Paradoxically, the loss of maidenhood entails the loss of worldly respect as well as heavenly glory. The Angels weep, while the Devils laugh and rejoice at the sight of those who were formerly the highest in heaven and are now the lowest in hell.

The Life of St. Juliana is found in Middle English in two manuscripts, one at Oxford, MS. Bodly 34, and one at the British Museum, MS. Royal 17 A xvii both assigned to C.1230.²⁰ The legend conveyed in both of these had been dealt with in Greek by Simeon Metaphrastes (after 900) and in Latin by Bolland in the Acta Sanctorum published in 1665. The Venerable Bede also dealt with the life of St. Juliana in Latin and seems to have had access to a detailed Latin version.²¹

A manuscript of this Latin version was probably the principle source for the Anglo Saxon version of Cynewulf. Our Middle English version and the Latin MS. Bodl 285 belong to the same tradition. Cynewulf's Juliana is the oldest version in any vernacular language. It is at least as old

as the 9th century though only preserved in The Exeter Book from the 10th century.²²

There is also a second Middle English version besides that represented in the MS. Bodl. 34 and the MS. Royal 17A xxvii, and that is the Ashmole MS. 43 (Jul.²) which has only 228 lines and dates from the 13th century.²³

We see in this Middle English 13th century life the same attitude towards virginity consecrated to Christ as opposed to Marriage as we saw in the Fathers and in the Lives of the Kiev Paterikon.

Juliana was the daughter of Africanus of Nicomedia, who betrothed her in her ninth year to Eleusius, a senator and friend of Maximus Galerius. When she was eighteen Maximus became eager for the wedding to take place. Although born a pagan she had become a convert to Christianity. Juliana refuses to wed the pagan Eleusius and tells her father Africanus that she is already espoused:

ich am to an iweddēt pat ich chulle treowliche
widute leas luuiē. pat is unlich him t alle
worldliche men. ne nulle ich neauer mare him
lihen ne lea*uen. for weole ne for wunne. for
wa ne for wontreade pat 3e me mahen wurchen.²⁴

Juliana cannot marry the prefect of Rome because she is espoused to one who is unlike Eleusius and all earthly men. This Bridegroom commands her full loyalty and devotion, and nothing will ever cause her to be false to him. Juliana's avowal that neither wealth nor joy, woe nor misery will separate her from her leman, is a direct defiance of Africanus, and he scornfully demands to know who this husband is to whom Juliana has committed all her love. Juliana's defiant reply whips her father into fury:

for gode quōð þe meiden þin hearm is þe mare nawt
forþi þet tu naueft ofte iherd of him 3are. þat is
iesu godes fūne. þe forto lesen moncun þat forloren
schulden beon: lette his deorwurde life on rode. ne
ich ne seh him neuer þat me 3are forpunched. ah ichim
luuie ant leue as on lauereðe. ne schal me firsin him
from: nowder deouel ne mon.²⁵

This reply is infuriating to Africanus because it holds forth a supernatural ideal and mystical union which is incomprehensible to his pagan mind. Africanus presents his daughter with a natural goal, while Juliana's whole concern is with the supernatural order of grace. It is this tension between the order of grace and the order of nature which gives the St. Juliana, as well as the other Sister legends, their great dramatic power.

Juliana's defiance of her torturers is bolstered and supported by her great confidence in the heavenly rewards which are granted to the one who remains a maiden:

3e quod þis meiden þat mei godd welden. ne mahe
 3e nawt do me bute þet he wule þeauien t þolien
 ow to donne to mucli mi mede t te murhde þat lið
 to meidhades menske. for eauer se 3e nu her
 mearred me mare: se mi crune schal beon brihttre
 ba t fehere: for þi ich chulle bliðeliche t wið
 bliðe heorte drehen eauer euch derf. for mi leof-
 mones luue þe lufsume lauere t softe me bið euch
 far in his seruise.²⁶

These heavenly rewards are certain when one dies a martyr for the sake of the Christian virtue of virginity. Maidenhood and Martyrdom are joined here and the great charisma of martyrdom is linked with that state of perfection (status perfectionis) so heartily recommended by the Fathers of the Church.

This tone of defiance is characteristic of Juliana's wild abandon "for the sake of the kingdom," and is shown again in these words:

þu wult þu seist a 3eoue me to eleusium þe lufere.
~~a 3ef~~ me for nawiht ne 3eoue ich for inc powder.
 þet 3e mahen ane pine me here. Ah hit ne hearded
 me nawt ah helped t heued up t maked mine murhdes
 monifalde in heouene. ant 3ef 3e doð me to deað.
 hit bið deore to godd. t ich schal bliðe bicumen
 to endelese blissen.²⁷

Juliana welcomes the pain because her eternal glory and bliss are in direct proportion to the intensity of her earthly suffering. It is this

capacity to view the world sub specie aeternitatis which gives Juliana the power and confidence to strike back so tellingly against her tormenters. She makes this reply to Eleusius:

schuldich þenne forsaken ihesu crist godes sune
þe is ort ant ende of al. þat ever god is. þe
wule hefter þis lif. þat ich lete lutel of. for
his lufsum luue leue wið him seolf þe sy ant þe
selhðe of heouénriches wunnen.²⁸

This life is valued little because of the all-consuming love of Christ. After this life Juliana is assured of the victory and the joy of the Kingdom of Heaven. Again, this all-conquering confidence (rather the supernatural Christian and theological virtue of hope) has its source in that powerful yoking of maidenhood and martyrdom.

Perhaps the most eloquent accolade bestowed upon Maidenhood in this vita is that delivered by Belial:

O mi leafdi Juliana quod he. þu euening wið apostel,
patriarchen ilich. t leof wið alle martyrs. englene
feolahe: t archanlene freond fride²⁹

Although this tribute is addressed to Juliana, it is her maidenhood which makes her worthy of this praise. It is because of her virginity that she is a friend of angels and friend of archangels. Exactly the same terminology is used in the Catholic tradition to describe the great and preeminent dignity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, except that Mary is always described as incomparably greater than the angels and archangels. For example, the Byzantine Liturgy describes Mary as incomparably greater than the Seraphim and Cherubim.³⁰

Belial's confession to Juliana ends with an extraordinary tribute to maidenhood, delivered with great eloquence by the Adversary. The Devil admits that the virgins are best armed to fight against those who protect maidens. He admits that the high throne of Christ has its foundation upon

the might and power of maidenhood. It is through maidenhood that Christ works woe upon the devils. Thus in the struggle between Christ and Satan for the souls of men, it is maidenhood which the Enemy fears the most:

O þe mihte of meidhad as þu art iwepnet to weorrin a
 3ein us. 3et tu wurchest us wurst of al þat us wa ded
 as þu dūdest eaure. Ah we schule sechen efter wrake
 on alle þeo þat te bewited. ne ne schulen ha neauer
 beo sker of ure weorre. We wulled meidenes a mare
 heanen t heatien * t þah monie etsterten us summe
 schulen stutten. O ihesu godes sune. þe hauest þin
 hehe seotel o meidhades mihte. hire to mucche menske
 wa wurchest tu us þer wið. to wel þu witest ham þe
 treowliche habbed hire in heorte forte halden. 3ef
 ha milde t meoke beon. as meiden deh to beonne.³¹

The Life of St. Katherine is found in Middle English in three manuscripts, all three written in the first half of the 13th century. These are the MS. Royal 17A xxvii, the MS. Cotton Titus D. XVIII and the Bodleian MS. NE. A, 3, 11.³² The legend conveyed in these three manuscripts via a 10th century Greek version of one Anthanasios, is ultimately from a Greek rendering of St. Katherine's life and passion in the 9th century Menologium Basilianum, compiled for the use of Emperor Basil the First who died in 866.³³ The Latin MS. Cotton, Caligula A VIII is the original of our three Middle English manuscripts.³⁴

Katherine, daughter of King Cost of Alexandria, was very beautiful and highly talented. She devoted herself to pagan literature, and to the study of the languages of all nations, and so became wise and learned.

It happened that the Greeks held a festival in honour of their idols, and seeing the slaughter of animals, she was so greatly moved that she went to the King Maxentius and expostulated with him in these words: "Why hast thou left the living God to worship lifeless idols?" But the emperor caused her to be thrown into prison, and to be punished severely. He then ordered fifty orators to be brought, and bade them to reason with Katherine. A magnificent disputatio takes place between Katherine and the fifty greatest

scholars of the land. The disputatio ends with the conversion and martyrdom of the scholars. Maxentius addresses Katherine with these words:

"O mihti meiden! / O witti wummon! / wurdūnt t alle /
wurdſcipe wurde! / O schene nebschaft / t ſchape ſe
ſwiðe ſemlich, / ꝥ ſchulde beon ſe prudeliſche / iſchrud
t iprud ba / wið pel t wið purpre: / Nim ȝeme of þi ȝuðeðe, /
areow þi wlite; / t tac read, ſeli / meiden, to þe ſeoluen. /
Ga t gret ure godes, / ꝥ tu igremet hauet; / t tu ſchalt,
efter þe cwen, / eauer þe oðer beon / in halle t i bure" /³⁵

Katherine is offered a position second only to the queen's in hall and bower.

Maxentius feels that she must be adorned with pall and with purple. Although this is not directly a request to give up her maidenhood, the context makes it clear that loss of maidenhood is involved. If Katherine will make sacrifice to the pagan gods she will be elevated next to the queen. Maxentius is enamoured not only with her intellectual qualities but also with her "schene nebschaft" and her "ſchape ſe ſwiðe ſemlich". It is clear that Katherine understands the tenor of Maxentius' remarks when she replies:

Ful wel ichulle ꝥ tu wite, / ne mahtu, wið na þing, / wenden
min heorte / from him t þat ich heie, / t aa wule herien. /
Bihaet at t þat tu wult, / þreap þrefter inoh, / t þreate ꝥ
þat tu beo weri: / ne mei me wunne ne weole, / ne nan worlðes
wurdſcipe, / ne mei me nowðer teone / ne tinreohe turnen /
from mi leofmonnes luue, / ꝥ ich on leue. / He haueð iweddēt
him to / mi meidhad mit te ring / of rihte bileaue, / t ich
habbe to him / treoweliche itake me. / Swa wit beoð infestnet,
t iteiet in an, / t swa þe cnotte is icnut / bituhhen unc
tweien, / ꝥ ne mei hit liſte / ne luðer ſtrengðe nowðer / of
na liuiende mon / leowsin ne leodien.³⁶

Katherine's reply differs from parallel speeches in the St. Marherete and the St. Juliana in that maidenhood is connected with the true faith.

Katherine cannot make sacrifice to the pagan gods because Christ has wedded himself to her maidenhood with the ring of "rihte bileaue", i.e. of the true belief. Here we have a yoking of virginity with the true faith as is fitting in a work which has so obvious a catechetical and homiletic intent. The rest of her reply reaches those heights of mystical union which is seen in þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd:

He is mi lif t mi luue; / he is þ gleden me; / mi
 sode blisse buuen me, / mi weole t mi wunne; / ne
 nawt ne wilni ich elies. / Mi swete life, se
 swoteliche / he smeched me t smealled. / þ al me
 punched saure / t softe þ he sent me.³⁷

This is the imagery and the diction of the Himmelsbraut and of the Braut-
 mystik. It goes back to the Canticle of Canticles and has its origin in
 the Middle English tradition we are tracing in the Wooing Section of þe
Ancrene Riwe as we have seen previously. The reference to Christ, who
 tastes and smells so sweetly to Katherine, is an example of the imagery
 used in those nuptial writings which describe that unitive state in which
 the soul enjoys the direct experience of Christ. The imagery which had
 previously been applied to the union between Christ and His Church, and
 then to the union between Christ and the soul, is now applied to the fruit-
 ful union between Christ and the maiden. From this union there comes un-
 speakable bliss and infinite fruitfulness. We have here that same combina-
 tion of virginity and fecundity which St. Gregory of Nyssa saw as belonging
 preeminently to the Godhead itself, as we have outlined above.³⁸

Even after the glorious martyrdom of the queen Augusta and of the chief
 knight Porphyrius, Maxence is still determined to win Katherine over to the
 pagan faith and have her live with him. Although his first stipulation is
 that Katherine should make sacrifice to the pagan gods, it is clear that
 his main purpose is to have her as his wife and queen:

"þah þu beo schuldi / þe ane of alle clane; / þah þu wið
 þi wicchecreft / habbe imaket se monie / to eornen toward
 hare deað, / as ha weren wode; / 3et, 3ef þu wiðdreiest
 te, / t wult greten ure godes / ase forð as þu ham hauest /
 igremet t igabett, / þu maht, in alle murhðe, / longe
 libben wið me, / t meast schalt beon cuð icuð / in al mi
 kineriche. /³⁹

The choice before Katherine is clearly whether to be an earthly queen or to
 be "queen of heaven" as the Wooing Section of the Ancrene Riwe describes.
 There is no question of masochism here but rather of spiritual profit and

shrewd spiritual speculation. Katherine's maidenhood will give her entrance to the company of virgins who surround the throne of the Lamb as the Book of Apocalypse states. Katherine's reply to Maxence is filled with joyful anticipation of being brought into the presence of her Beloved:

Nawiht, king, ne kepe ich / þu hit fir firsti; / ah hat
hihendliche / þu hauest in heorte, / for ich am ȝarow
to þe wa / þu const me ȝarkin, / þu ich iseon mahe / mi
lufsume leofmon, / t beon ibroht se blide / biamong mine
feolahes, / þe folhið him oueral / i þe feire ferreden /
of uirigines in heouene. / 40

When the women and maidens of Alexandria follow after weeping and lamenting, she speaks ecstatically to them of Christ as the reward and the crown of virgins:

Beoð blide, ich biseche ow, / ȝef ȝe me blisse unnen; /
for ich iseo Iesu Crist, / þe cleopē / me t copned; /
þe is mi lauerd t mi luue, / mi lif t mi leofman, / mi
unne t me iweddēt, / mi murhōe t mi mede / t meidene crune. / 41

It is true that the theme of maidenhood and martyrdom are linked here but the prevailing imagery and diction is again that of the Brautmystik. Christ is for Katherine, her Lord, love, life, beloved, joy, betrothed, reward and crown of virgins. Even though the choice before Katherine had been that of sacrifice to the pagan gods or death, it is the theme of maidenhood and heavenly betrothal which predominates through the Liflade. Katherine's last prayer again stresses the reward which the virgin can rightfully expect and the joy to be found in the chosen company of virgins about the throne of the Lamb:

"Lauerd, leome t lif / of alle riht bileafde; / milde Iesu,
þu art te seolf / þu meidene mede; / ihered t iheiet / beo þu,
hehe healent! / t þe ich þonki, lauerd; / þu hauest ileuet
me, / t waldest þu ich were / i þe tale of þin wummen." / 42

The climax of the theme of Maidenhood in the St. Katherine takes place with an apparition in which Christ himself addresses his beloved:

"Cum, mi leoue leofmon; / cum nu, min iweddēt, / leouest an
wummon! / Low, þe ȝete of eche lif / abit te al iopenet! /
þe wunnunge of euch wumne / keped t copned þi cume. / Lo! al
þu meidene mot / t tet hird of heouene, / cumeð her aȝein

Here the primary objective of maidenhood is attained i.e. union with the Divine Spouse, who rewards the Maiden with the conqueror's crown. It is noteworthy that the stress here is not on martyrdom per se but rather on maidenhood and the rewards the maiden can expect. Even one of the two final culminating miracles of the Liflade attests to the great power of virginity:

be an of be twa wes, / þ ter sprong ut, mid te
dunt, / milc imenget wið bloð, / to beoren hire
witnesses of hire hwite meidhad. / 44

There is not a direct denigration of marriage as in the Hali Meidenhad but the emphasis on marriage with Christ is even more powerful because it compares an ordinary bridegroom in marriage with the Divine Christ in mystical marriage. No Christian could possibly think of equating those two.

In the Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria and its tradition we also have excellent examples of contempt of the world. The motif is very clear in St. Katherine and the other two Sister Legends but is not as prominent in the Ancrene Riwe, Hali Meidenhad, Sawles Warde, þe Wohung of Ure Lauerd, and On Ureison of God Almihti. In the latter works the motif of chastity vs. marriage is all pervasive, whereas in the three Sister Legends contempt of the world is interwoven with the motif of chastity vs. marriage.

In the St. Katherine this same theme of Christian contempt for the world can be traced. While we cannot use the term "yurodivy" or "fool for Christ" in speaking of the St. Katherine, nevertheless, contempt for the world is certainly connected with folly for the sake of Christ. Although Katherine is a young widow of wealth and position, the daughter of a king, she cares nothing for the world. She retains one part of her parent's property and spends the rest on the poor:

For hire seolf ne kepte ha / nawt of þe worlde, / þus, lo,
for hare sake / ane dale ha etheold / of hire ealdrene god /
t spende al þat oðer / in needfule t in nakede. / 45

But she retains this one part only in order to assure the material and spiritual security of the family servants. It was, however, not only worldly goods but even profane learning which Katherine rejected. In her account of her background to Maxence she relates that she had been trained in profane learning but set it all aside when she heard the Christian message. Katherine rejects profane learning because it serves vain glory and tends to the gain and honour of the world. She is only interested in that true learning which leads to eternal life:

Cost hehte mi feder;/t habbe ihauet hiderto/swide
hehe meistres./ Ah for þi þ te lare / þ heo me
lerden,/limped to idel ȝelp,/t falled to biȝete/t
to wurdſchipe of þe worlde,/ne ne helped nawiht/
eche lif to habben,/ne ȝelpe ich nawiht prof./⁴⁶

She refers to a quotation from one of the prophets of the Old Testament which is an excellent illustration of the clash between Christian "folly" and worldly "wisdom":

Ichulle fordon þe wisdom/of þeos wise worldmen,/ ⁴⁷
he seið, t awarpen þe wit/of þeose world witti.

This same theme is brought out in Katherine's petition to God before her disputation with the fifty learned clerks of Alexandria: "Aweld, þur þi wisdom,/hare worldliche wit;/"⁴⁸ The folly of the Christian is in conformity with the wisdom of God, and the prudence of the world is true folly. When Katherine gives the clerks an account of her training in and rejection of profane learning, she repeats this theme: "Ichulle fordon þe wisdom/of þeos wise world men,/ t awarpen þe wit/ of þeose world witti."⁴⁹ This statement follows a powerful rejection of the scholars of the pagan world:

Low, pullich is al/þ ȝe þenched to dei/for to
weorin me wið:/Homer's motes,/t Aristotles
turnes;/Esculapies creftes,/t Galienes grapes;/
Philistiones flites,/t Platunes bokes;/t alle
þeos wrihtes writes/þ ȝe wreodied ow on./ þah
ich beo in alle/of se earliche ilearet,/þ ich ne
font nawt feole/neauer min euening,/þah, for þi
þ ha beoð/ful of idel ȝelp,/t empti of þ eadi/t
liffule lare,/al ich forsake her,/t cweðe ham al

sker up; / t segge þ ich ne con / ne ne cnawe na creft /
 buten of an, / þ is soð wit t wisdom / t heore eche
 heale / þ him riht leued; / þ is Iesu Crist, / mi
 lauerd t mi leofmon, / 50

These great thinkers of pagan antiquity are again described as full of vain-glory and empty of that teaching which alone gives life. Therefore this theme of Christian "folly" versus worldly "prudence" is one of the main motifs in the St. Katherine.

After the killing of the fifty learned clerks, Maxence beseeches Katherine to have pity on her own youth and beauty. Maxence's plea to Katherine is reminiscent of the widow's plea to Moses as well as the arguments of the servants, the scourgers and King Boleslaw. Maxence offers Katherine all the pomp and circumstance of the world if only she will worship the pagan Gods:

"O mihtī meiden! / O witti wurmon! / wurdūnt t alle /
 wurdſcipe wurde! / O schene nebschaft / t schape ſe
 swiðe ſemlich, / þ ſchulde beon ſe prudeliſche / iſchrud
 t iprud ba / wið pel t wið purpre: / Nim ȝeme of þi
 ȝuhede, / areow þi wlite; / t tac read, ſeli / meiden,
 to þe ſeoluen. / Ga t gret ure godes, / þ tu igremet
 haueſt; / t tu ſchalt, efter þe cwen, / eaueſt þe oðer
 beon / in halle t i bure; / t al ichulle dihten / þe
 deden of mi kinedom / efter þ tu demest. / Ah ȝet i
 ſegge mare: / ichulle leten makien þe / of gold an
 ymage, / as cwen icrunet; / t ſwa me ſchal, amid te burh, /
 ſetten hit on heh up. / þrefter me ſchal boeoden / t bodien
 hit oueral, / þ alle þe þer bigað / greden hit o þi nome / t
 buhen þertoward, / alle þe to wurdūnt, / burhmen t oðre, /
 On ende þu ſchalt habben / hehliche, as an of ure /
 heuenliche lefdiſ, / of marbreſtan a temple, / þ ſchal aa
 ſtonden, / hwil þ te world ſtont, / to witneſſe of þi
 wurdſcipe." 51

Here the main argument is very similar to that advanced by the Polish widow and her retainers. Katherine, like Moses, is asked not to sacrifice her youth and beauty. She, like Moses, is also offered great honour and position. Maxence, like the Polish widow, begs her to reconsider her "folly".

Katherine's reply to Maxence is very similar to the reply which Moses

makes to the Polish widow on the occasion of the veritable Royal Progress which she makes with him through her territories. Moses had said to the widow: "In vain do you try; you cannot entice me with the worthless things of this world, nor can you steal from me spiritual wealth. Understand this and do not work for nothing."

Bihat al þ tu wult,/þreap þrefter inoh,/t
þreate þ tu beo weri:/ ne mei me wunne ne weole,/
ne nan worlde's wurdſcipe,/ne mei me nowder teone/
ne tintreohe turnen/ from mi leofmonnes luue,/þ
ich on leue.⁵²

This complete and self-sacrificing contempt of the world and Christian "folly" is identical with that of Blessed Moses.

Again, Katherine's advice to Porphirius, the chief of Maxence's knights, is very much in the tradition of contempt for the world:

Ne dred tu nawt to leauen/þin eorðlice lauerd/
for Iesu Crist, þ is king/of þ eche kinedom;/
þe ȝelt for þe false/wurdſcipe of þis world/
heoueneriches wunne;/for þing þ sone aliū,/þ
weole þ aa lested.⁵³

This contempt of the world is based upon complete faith in that eternal bliss which God has prepared for his Saints. The world is shoddy in comparison with that eternal kingdom. Hence even the knight may desert his earthly liege lord for the heavenly lord. The motivation for the traditional Christian contempt of the world is the expectation of the heavenly city which Katherine describes so eloquently. This magnificent account of the Heavenly Jerusalem is in response to Porphirius' very natural and soldier-like query as to the nature of the rewards and endless life that God granted to his elect for the loss of this earthly life:

Constu bulden a burh,/inwið i þin heorte,/al abuten
bitrumet/wið a deorewurde wal,/schininde, t schenre,/
of ȝimſtanes ſteapre/þen is eni ſteorre;/t each bold
þrinwið/briht as hit bearnde,/t leitinde al on leie;/
t al þ terin is/glistinde t gleaminde,/as hit were

seoluer/oder gold smeate;/istenet euch strete/ mid
 deorewürde stanes,/of misliche heowes,/imenget
 togederes,/isliket t ismaket/as eni gles smedest;/
 bute sloh t slec,/eauer iliche sumerlich;/t alle
 þe burhmen/seouen sides brihtre/þen beo þe sunne,/
 gleowinde of euch gleo,/t a mare iliche glead?/
 for nawiht ne derued ham;/ne nawiht ne wonted ham/
 of al þ ha wilneð/oder mahen wilnin;/alle singinde
 somet,/ase lif leouie,/euch an mid odere;/alle
 pleiende somet,/alle lahinde somet,/eauer iliche
 lusti,/bute linnunge;/for þer is a liht,/t leitinde
 leome./ Ne niht nis ter neauer/ne neauer na nowcin;/
 ne eileð þer na mon/nowðer sorhe ne sar,/nowðer
 heate ne chele,/nowðer hunger ne þurst,/ne nan of
 þunchunge:/ for nis ter nawiht bittres,/ah is al
 batewile,/swottre t swettre/þen eauer eni halewi,/i
 þ heouenliche lond, i þ endelese lif/i þe wunnen t
 te weolen/þurhwuniende:/ t monie ma murðen/þen alle
 men mahten/wið hare muð munnen,/t tellen wið tungē/
 þah ha aa talden;/þe neauer ne linned/nawðer ne lessed,/
 ah leasted aa mare,/se-þengre se mare./ 3ef þu 3et witen
 wult/hwucche wihtes þer beon,/þer as al þis blisse is,/
 3ef þer is orcost/oder eni ahte,/ich þe onswerie:/al þ
 eauer oht is,/al is þer ihwer;/t hwetse noht wurd nis,/
 þ nis ter nohwer./ 3ef þu eskest: Hwet oht?/ Nan eorðlich
 ehe/ne mei hit seon, ich segge,/ne nan eorðlich eare/hercnin
 ne heren,/ne heorte þenchen of mon,/t, hure, meale wið muð,/
 hwet te worldes wealdent/haued i 3arket alle þeo/þe him
 ariht luuiet./ 54

Katherine's account of the eternal city is thought by some scholars to be based upon the Old High German poem Himmel und Helle. Its inspiration, however, goes back to the epistle of the Apostle himself who tells us that "Eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man what God hath prepared for those who love Him." It is confidence in the expectation of the joys to be attained in the Heavenly City which motivates Augusta, Maxence's Queen, and Porphyrius, his chief knight, to take their bold stand in embracing martyrdom. Katherine's exhortation to martyrdom is based on the Christian contrast between this "little earthly land", and the Kingdom of Heaven, between this little pain and endless rest, between transitory suffering and gladness evermore. The basic Christian paradox of physical death leading to spiritual life and of death as the birth of eternal life is at the heart of Katherine's argument.

In the Seinte Marherete, as in the Seinte Katherine, contempt of the world is interwoven with the motif of chastity vs. marriage. Olibrius's speech to Marherete upon his return from Antioch is one of the best examples of the motif being introduced:

"Meiden, haue merci & milce of þe seoluen: nim
 3eme of þi 3uheþe t of þi semliche schape, of
 þe schene nebschaft: wurch efter mi will t
 wurge mine maumez; t þe schal wel iwurden
 biuoren þe heste of min hirt. wið al pet ich
 i world hah t i wald habbe.⁵⁵

Olibrius promises to give Margaret the command of his household, and control over everything he has in the world and everything he shall have. This is the same promise the Polish widow made to Moses and, of course, closely parallels the St. Katherine on this point. Marherete's answer is a classic example of contempt of the world:

"Wite hit tu nu 3if þu wult—for he hit wat ful
 wel, he þe haued iseilet me to him seolf, t mi
 meidhad—pet tu ne maht nans-weis, wið weole ne
 wið wune, wið wa ne wið wont reþe ne wið nan
 worldlich þing, wenden me ne wrenchen of þe wei
 pet ich am in bigunne to ganne."⁵⁶

Margaret's reply indicates that she is indifferent to joy or woe, happiness or tribulation, since no worldly thing can turn her away from the course she has set for herself. Olibrius once again offers Margaret everything that the world can offer. Margaret will rule as lady over everything that Olibrius possesses or will possess if she only fulfills his request:

Ah 3if þu wult leue me, þu schalt beon mi leof-
 mon t min iweddede wif, t welden ase lefdi al
 pet ich i wald hah t am of lauerd.⁵⁷

Even the subjects of Olibrius remonstrate with Margaret and try to talk her out of her "folly" just as the servants of the Polish widow did with Moses:

Margarete, Margarete, meide swa mucche wurd 3ef þu wel
 woldest wa is us þet we seod þi softe leofliche lich
 to-luken se ladliche! Weilla! wummon, hwuch wite þu
 leoses t forletest for þi mis-beleane. þe reue is reow-
 liche wrað t wile iwis fordo þe; ah lue nu t lef him,
 t tu schalt wummon meast, wunne t weole wealden.⁵⁸

Margaret's reply is completely uncompromising and stresses the Christian paradox that the sorrow and pain of the body is the salvation of the soul. This is the currency which must be used in the economy of salvation. This contempt for the body and its well-being is an integral part of that athleticism of the spirit which has been mentioned earlier. Margaret's reply reflects the singleness of purpose which we have already seen in Moses and Katherine:

"O, ...wrecches, unweoten but wit, weilla, hwet wene 3e!
 3ef mi lich is toloken, mi sawle schal resten wid þe
 rihtwise: sorhe t licomes sar is sawulene heale." ⁵⁹

She refers to those who would instruct her with the wisdom of the world as wretches and fools without reason. Thus once again in the contrast and clash between the "wisdom" of the world and the "folly" of Christ, Margaret makes it clear that worldly wisdom is in fact folly of the worst kind.

In þe Liflade of St. Juliana as in the Seinte Katherine and in the Seinte Marherete, contempt of the world is woven into the motif of chastity vs. marriage. Africanus' plea to Juliana introduces the motif quite early in the vita. Africanus cannot understand why Juliana spurns a match which would bring triumph, happiness, felicity and joys. Juliana can become the lady of Rome if she would only cooperate:

Juliene quod he mi deorewurde dohter. sei me hwi þu
 forsakest. þi sy t ti selhde: þe weolen t te wunnen.
 þe walden awakenen. t waxen of þe wedlac þat ich reade
 þe to: hit nis nan edelich þing. þe refschiþe of rome.
 ant tu maht 3ef þu wult. beon burhene leafdi. t of
 alle þe londes þe þerto ligged.⁶⁰

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that Juliana's concept of triumph, happiness, felicity and joys has nothing to do with this world

or anything in it. It is from this fact that the frustration and anger of the father arises. There was nothing in the pagan experience and philosophy which could explain or comprehend Juliana's position. When Juliana makes it clear that she will not accept Africanus' version of triumph, happiness, felicity and joys, the father tells her:

þat ne schulde ha lihtliche wilni na wunne; þat ha
ne schulde wealden. Wið þerean þat ha walde hire
wil wenden.⁶¹

This promise of worldly pleasure has no attraction for Juliana. Perhaps the best explanation of her position is given in the exhortation she delivers before her execution. This magnificent passage marks the climax of the contempt of the world motif in the St. Juliana. The heart of the passage is a paraphrase of the Book of Ecclesiastes which is the greatest Old Testament source for this motif:

wel him þe waked wel. t i þis lute hwile wit her him.
seoluen. t heorteliche siketh ofte for his sunnen. þis
worlt went awei. as þe weater þe eorned. t ase sweuen
imet aswint hire murhde. t al nis bute a leas wind þat
þe ipis worlt liued. leaued þat leas is. t leoted
lutel þrof. t seched þat soðe lif þat aa leasted. for
þis life 3e schulen leoten. t nuten 3e neauer hwenne.
t reopen ripe of þat sed. þat 3e her seowen. þat is
underne 3eld of wa. oder of wunne. efter ower werkes.⁶²

The transience of the world is compared to water that runs, to a dream dreamt and to a false wind. All the imagery denotes instability and mutability. The truly wise man will have little esteem for this world, but rather he will seek the true life which lasts forever.

Thus we have observed that in the three Middle English hagiographical pieces, the lives of St. Margaret, St. Juliana, and St. Catherine there are the same strong examples of contempt of the world and the exaltation of chastity over marriage. Moreover, these exemplify the theoretical statement found in the Fathers and in þe Ancrene Riwe and in Hali Meidenhad.

These three lives actually exemplify and in a chronological sense provide the source of the conventional motifs and attitudes crystallized and as it were regularized in the two treatises mentioned above, as well as paralleling both the lives and the treatises of the East.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

What now may be concluded from our comparative study of Middle English and Old Church Slavonic saints' lives? Most of our conclusion was fairly obvious early in our examination. In the first place, in the genre of early Christian and medieval literature known as hagiography, or saints' lives, similar motifs and conventions appear with great regularity from East to West, country to country, generation to generation. Among the various motifs, two of the most basic ones are contempt of the world and the exaltation of virginity over marriage. The former would seem to be a necessary condition for all sainthood; the latter is more emphasized in some generations than in others.

In the lives of the virgin martyrs in Middle English, Seinte Marherete, Seinte Juliana and Seinte Katherine, we found the same situations and attitudes as those in the life of Venerable Moses the Hungarian. Refusal to be drawn into marriage by riches, worldly glory or force, away from the treasure of virginity, leads to torment and peril in all cases. The reasons for this are several. In the first place, the saint, as well as the saint's life, imitated the life of Christ, in which virginity and unworldliness were exemplary. Also, from a literary point of view, there was the common source of the Fathers of both the East and the West.

It is worth noting, however, that the atmosphere in which these works were produced differed somewhat from East to West, a fact which is to some extent reflected in the works examined, that is, the Katherine Group and the Paterikon.

In the Middle English group, the saints are virgin martyrs in a pagan

society, whose contempt of the world is demonstrated in withstanding the allurements and the threats of the pagan rulers, as well as withstanding the invitation to marriage. The acceptance of virginity as superior to marriage is common to both, of course, but in the Middle English it seems a bit sharper than in the East. In the Paterikon there is more variety in the accounts. In Moses there is the Christian who resists a Christian princess purely on the basis of contempt for riches and conviction that without chastity he will not be saved. There are also accounts of the monk whose contention is not so much heroic resistance to a ruler, but a resistance to the ways of the world, the flesh and the devil -- in other words, in the total subjugation of his body.

In the Katherine Group, the saints live as ladies, in rich homes, with education, servants, and no physical torment until the day of trial. In the East, in the lives of such men as Theodosius, one finds great stress upon total abandonment of the world, upon fasting and cave-dwelling, as well as resistance to temptations of the flesh. The tone of a great deal of the Paterikon is acetic, much like the earlier lives of desert fathers and the Anglo-Saxon saints, Cuthbert and Guthlac. There is nothing of the mystical in these accounts, but a sense that this is a vale of tears in which the Christian denies all of the world.

With this small exception, the saints follow the common pattern and one can say that nowhere is the universality of the Church better shown than in these hagiographical works.

- 1 See Baron de Taube, Rome et la Russie Avant L'Invasion des Tatars, IX-XIIIe, Vol. I. The material in the following pages is based upon de Taube.
- 2 Gregory Luzhnetsky, Ukrainska Tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zachodom, (The Ukrainian Church between the East and the West). (Philadelphia, Providence Association, 1954), p. 25ff.
- 3 In this and in the following pages I am drawing upon the work of Gregory Luzhnetsky. The following Christian influences all played their role in the evangelization of the Ukraine. 1. The Methodian Christianity (the influence of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission of Moravia and later its disciples in Bulgaria). 2. The Varangian faith (i.e. the Latin Christianity). 3. The Western Bulgarian Missionaries (these missionaries came from the West, from Bulgaria, but would represent the Ochridian Byzantine-Slavonic influence). 4. "The Greek faith", the Byzantine Christianity of Constantinople.
- 4 The works of de Taube, Luzhnetsky and more recently Chubatyj, have kept this matter open for research. Cf. Mykola Chubatyj, Istoriya Krystian'stva na Rusi-Ukraini, Tome I, (Rome: Ukrainian Catholic University, 1965).
- 5 In order to show the close bond of Kiev Rus' with the West, before, during and after the Schism of 1054, Luzhnetsky gives examples of the close link between the royal house of Kiev and the houses of Western Europe. After the battle of Hastings in 1066, for example, Harold's wife and daughter fled to Kiev. Harold's daughter Gida married Prince Vladimir Monomakh, the last of the great princes of Kiev, who has left us his Testament. Edwin and Edward, the sons of King Edward, exiled by Canute the Great, took refuge at Kiev. Yaroslav's daughter, Anna, married Henry I of France. Yaroslav's sons and daughters intermarried with the Western European royal houses to the extent that Yaroslav was called "Testya Europy" i.e. the Father-in-Law of Europe. Yaroslav's wife was Inggerd - Irene, the daughter of the Swedish King Saint Olaf (Sketkanuga 955-1021), who was closely related to the King of Norway, Saint Olaf Kirre, who died a martyr's death in 1030 when he was returning from a visit with Yaroslav in Novgorod. All these historical facts are offered as cumulative evidence by Luzhnetsky of the close relations between Kiev-Rus' and Western Europe at the very time of the tragic deterioration in relations between the Eastern and Western Churches.
- 6 Chubatyj, p. 220.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid., p. 225.
- 10 Ibid., p. 226.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 230 and 231.

- 12 Povest' vremenykh lit, p. 80.
- 13 Ibid., pp. 231 and 232.
- 14 Ibid., p. 233.
- 15 Ibid., pp. 234 and 235.
- 16 V. I. Lamanskuy, Slovyanskoye Zhitije sv. Kirila kak religiozno-epicheskoe priozvedeniye i kak istoricheskyj istochnyk, Hl. XXV
N. K. Nikol'skyj, Povest Vremennykh Lyet, kak istochnyk dlya istoriyi nachal' naho periodo pis'menvosty i kul'tury, "Sbornyk po Russkomu Yaziki i Slovest-nosty", T. II., vyp. I.
- 17 Chubatyj, p. 235.
- 18 Ibid., p. 121.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 For this and what follows of the Anglo-Saxon conversion, I have drawn upon Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed., Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 69 et passim.
- 21 For this and what follows of the Anglo-Saxon conversion, I have drawn upon Frank Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1943), p. 96ff. and R. H. Hodgkin's A History of the Anglo-Saxons, Third Edition, Vol. I, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 245ff.
- 22 The Life and Miracles of St. Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne, Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, (London and New York: Dent, Dutton, 1965). Bertram Colgrave, "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England", Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XLIV (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 42ff. Eleanor Duckett, The Wandering Saints of the Early Middle Ages, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1959).
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- 24 Origen, In Librum Judicum Homilia VII, Migne, P. G., Vol. 12, Col. 980.
- 25 Ibid., Vol. II, Col. 563.
- 26 Bouyer, pp. 209 and 210.
- 27 Migne, P. G., Vol. II, Col. 595.

- 28 Ibid., Coll. 595 and 598.
- 29 St. Matthew 16 : 24-26.
- 30 Boyer, p. 305.
- 31 Oratio 43; P. B. , Vol. 36, Col. 501.
- 32 Cor. 9 : 24-27.
- 33 See for example the excellent work of John Meyendorff, Byzantine Theology in which he stresses the mystical nature of the Eastern theology and liturgy, and also his Christ in Eastern Christian Thought, Corpus Books, Washington and Cleveland, 1969; Louis Bouyer, Dom Jean Leclerc, Dom Francois Vandenbrouke, Louis Cognet, History of Christian Spirituality, London, Burnes & Oates; Brightman, F. E., Liturgies, Eastern and Western, Oxford, 1896; Lossky, V., The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church, Napierville, Ill., Allenson, 1959; Orthodox Spirituality: An Outline of the Orthodox, Ascetical and Mystical Tradition, by a Monk of the Eastern Church, London, S.P.C.K., 1945; French, R. M., The Eastern Orthodox Church, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1961, 3rd impression; Arseniev, N., Mysticism and the Eastern Church, London, 1926; Brightman, F. E., Liturgies, Eastern and Western, Oxford, 1896, Vol. I.; Schemann, Alexander, The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy; de Journal, Rouet, Father S.J., Le monachisme russe et les monasteres russes, Paris, 1957; Smolitsch, Igor, Russisches Monchtum, Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen (988-1017), Wurzburg 1953; Denisov, L. I., Pravoslavnoye monastyre rossijskoi imperii, Moscow; Golubinsky, E., Istoriya cerkvi, tom I, Period pervy, Kievsky domongolsky; Vtoraja polovinna toma, Moscow, 1904; Morin, Dom Germain, L'ideal monastique et la vie chretienne des premiers jours, 3rd ed. Paris, 1921; Koch, Hugo, Quellen zur Geschichte der Askese und des monchtums in der alten Kirche, Tubingen, 1931.
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- 67 Marcella is one of the virgins who appear as personae in the Symposium.
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- 134 Hali Meidenhad, from MS. Bodley 34, Oxford, p. 12, ll. 107-112.
- 135 Hali Meidenhad, from Cotton MS. Titus, D. 18, British Museum, p. 5, ll. 27-30.
- 136 Ibid., from MS. Bodley 34, Oxford, p. 6, ll. 40-45.
- 137 Ibid., p. 14, ll. 131-139.
- 138 Ibid., p. 15, ll. 148-150.
- 139 Ibid., p. 17, ll. 160-164.
- 140 Ibid., p. 19, ll. 189-193.

141 Ibid., pp. 19 and 21, ll. 196-205.

142 Ibid., p. 29, ll. 288-297.

143 Ibid., p. 31, ll. 311-315.

144 Ibid., p. 31, ll. 315-318.

145 Ibid., p. 33, ll. 331-340.

146 Ibid., p. 33, ll. 348-351.

147 Ibid., pp. 33 and 35, ll. 351-356.

NOTES: CHAPTER TWO

¹ Dmytro Cyzevs'kyj, A History of Ukrainian Literature, Ukrainian Academy Press, Littleton, Colo., 1975, p. 42.

² Ibid., pp. 165 and 166.

³ Ibid., p. 166.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ The tale was a separate genre of medieval Slavonic literature. The religious tale contains a clearly stated "moral." The genre of the secular narrative is not found in Old Kievan literature. The Paterikon therefore, in its original form, is made up of thirty religious tales. Cf. Cyzevs'kyj, p. 79.

⁸ Ibid., Cyzevs'kyj, p. 166.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., pp. 166 and 167.

¹³ Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ G. P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind, Vol. I, Kievan Christianity The Tenth to the Thirtieth Centuries, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1956, p. 153.

- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 153 and 154
- 23 Cyzevs'kyj, p. 168.
- 24 Ibid., pp. 168 and 169.
- 25 Edited Strange, Cologne 1851
- 26 Bouyer, Vol. II, Medieval Spirituality, p. 217.
- 27 Cyzevs'kyj, p. 168. Cf. Paterikon, pp. 1-5.
- 28 Cyzevs'kyj, p. 168. Cf. Paterikon, pp. 5-8.
- 29 Paterikon, p. 16.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 16 and 17.
- 34 Ibid., p. 17.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 17 and 18.
- 41 Ibid., p. 18.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., pp. 18 and 19.

47 Ibid., p. 19.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., pp. 19 and 20.

57 Ibid., p. 20.

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters, nach der Ausgabe von D. Abramovic
new herausgegeben von Dmitriy Tschizewskij, Eidos Verlag München, pp. 235.

61 St. Gregory the Great, Dialogues, Migne, P. L., Vol. 77, Col. 149-431.

62 Sancti Gregori Papae I, Dialogorum Libri IV, Migne, P.L., Vol. 77, Col. 152 and 153.

Petrus. Non valde in Italia aliquorum vitam virtutibus fulsisse cognovi; ex quorum igitur comparatione accederis ignoro. Et quidem bonos viros in hac terra fuisse non dubito, signa tamen atque virtutes aut ab eis nequaquam facto existimo, aut ita sunt haec lenus silentio suppressa, ut utrumne sint facto nesciamus.

Gregor. Si sola, Petre, referam, qua de perfectis probatisque viris unus ego humuncio, vel bonis ac fidelibus viris attestantibus, agnovi, vel per memetipsum didici; dies, ut opinor, ante quam sermo, cessabit.

63 The Paterikon of the Caves Monastery refers to the fact that St. Theodosius had visited the monastery of Mt. Athos. This is recounted in the Life of St. Theodosius. Cf. Paterikon, pp. 20-78.

64 Cyzevs'kyj, p. 166.

65 Anthony and Theodosius were co-founders of the monastery. Anthony, who actually preceded Theodosius, ruled the monastery, beginning in the year of the Chronicle 6576, directing it toward a very severe eremitic formation; Theodosius, his younger contemporary, was milder and less severe in his spirituality and discipline. For further discussion see below.

66 Paterikon, Slovo 20, pp. 113-119.

67 Cf. Dmytro Cyzevskyj, History of Ukrainian Literature, Ukrainian Academic Press, Littleton, Colo., 1975, p. 166.

68 The monuments that inspired these tales were the Sinaiskyj Paterik, the Paterik of Skete as well as Prolog, and the Chronicle of the Kievan Caves Monastery.

69 Cyzevskyj, op.cit., p. 166.

70 Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters, Slovo 8, pp. 20ff.

71 Cyzevskyj, op.cit., pp. 42 and 62.

72 Ibid., pp. 42 and 62.

73 Ibid. Prolog was one of the earliest monuments of Rus' literature; it also contained hagiographical works.

74 ...Vir sanctissimus Equitius nomine (Martyrol., 11 Aug.), in Valeriae provinciae partibus, pro vitae suae merito apud omnes illic magne admirationis habebatur, cui Fortunatus idem familiariter notus fuit. Qui nimirum Equitius

pro suae magnitudine sanctita multorum in eadem provincia monasteriorum Pater existit. Hunc cum juventutis suae tempore acri certamine carnis incentiva fatigarent, ipsae suae tentationis angustiae ad orationis studium solertiores fecerunt. Cumque hac in re ab omnipotenti Deo remedium continuis precibus quaereret, nocte quadam assistente angelo eunuchizari se vidit, ejusque visioni apparuit, quod omnem motum ex genitalibus ejus membris abscideret; atque ex eo tempore ita alienus extitit a tentatione, ac si sexum non haberet in corpore. Qua virtute fretus ex omnipotentis Dei auxilio, ut viris ante praeerat, ita coepit postmodum etiam feminis praeesse, nec tamen discipulos suos admonere cessabat, ne se ejus exemplo in hac re facile crederent, et casuri tentarent donum quod non accepissent. (Migne, P. L., Vol. 77, Col. 165.

75 Migne, P. L., Vol. 77, Col. 200 and 201.

76 Migne, P. L., Vol. 66 Col. 132.

77

"Сего же видѣвши жена нѣкаа от великихъ, красна сущи і юна, имущи богатство много и власть велию, и та убо, примши въ умѣ видѣніа доброту, уязвися въ сердци въждельніемъ, еже въсхотѣти сему преподобному, и нача лестными словесы увѣщати его, глаголющи: "о человеце, всуе таковыа мукы подъемлещи, имѣа разум, им же бы мощно избыти такового окованіа и страданіа". Рече же къ ней Моисій: "Богу тако извольшу".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenkloster, nach der Ausgabe von D. Abramovic, neu herausgegeben von Dmitrij Tschizewskij Eidos Verlag Munchen, 1967, p. 142.

78

"... аще ми покоришися, азъ тя избавлю и велика сътворю въ всеи Лядской земли, и обладати имаши мною и всею областію моею. Разумѣвъ же блаженный въжделеніе ея скверное, и рече к ней: "то кый муж, поимъ жену и покорився ей, исправился есть? Адамъ когда пръвозданный женѣ покорився, из раа изгнанъ бысть. Самсонъ, силою паче всѣхъ преспѣвъ и ратнымъ одолѣвъ, послѣди же женою преданъ бысть иноплеменикомъ. И Соломонъ премудрости глубину постигъ, женѣ повинувся, идоломъ поклонися. И Ирод многы побѣды сътворивъ, послѣди же, поработився, Предтечу Іоанна усѣкну. То како азъ, свобод сый, рабъ ся сътворю женѣ, ея же от рожденіа не познах?"

79

"азъ тя искуплю и славна съворю тя, и господина всему дому моему устрой, и мужа ты имѣти собѣ ходу, токмо ты волю мою сътвори и възделеніе души моеи утѣши и подаи же ми твоея доброты насладитися. Доволна бо есть твоея похоти, не могу бо терпѣти красоты твоея, без ума погубляемы, да и сердечный пламень престанеть, пожигая мя. Азъ же отраду приму помыслу моему и почию от страсти, и ты убо насладися моея доброты, и господинъ всему стяжанію моему будещи, и наслѣдникъ моея власти, и старѣйшина боляром".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 143.

80

"... добръ възждь, яко не съворю воли твоея, ни власти твоея, ни богатства хочу, но всего сего лучши душевнаа чистота, паче же и телеснаа. Не буди мнѣ труда погубити 5 лѣтъ, еже ми Господь дарова терпѣти въ узахъ сихъ. Не повиненъ съмъ сицевымъ мукамъ, ихъ же ради уповаю избавленъ быти вѣчныхъ мукъ".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 143.

81

"брате Моисею! Что възбраняеть ти женитися? Еще бо юнъ еси, и сіа вдова сущи, бывши с мужемъ лѣто едино, и есть красна паче иныхъ женъ, богатство имущи бесчисленно и власть велію в Лясѣхъ, и аще бы сіа възхотѣла нѣкому князю, то не бы ея гнушался; ты же, плѣнникъ сый и неволень от жены сея, и господинъ ей быти не хочещи? Аще ли же глаголаше: "не могу преступити заповѣди Христовы, то не глаголетъ ли Христосъ въ Еуангеліи: "сего ради оставитъ человекъ отца своего и мать и прилѣпится къ женѣ своей, и будета оба въ плоть едину, уже бо нѣсть два, но плоть едина". Апостоль же: "унее есть женитися, нежели раждиватися; вдовицамъ же велитъ второму браку причтатися. Ты же, не имѣа обычаа мнишеска, но свободъ сый того, почто злымъ и горкымъ мукамъ вдаещися, или ради стражеша? Аще ти ся лучить умрѣти въ бѣдѣ сеи,

то кою похвалу имаши? Кто же ли от прьвых и доньнъ възгнушася женъ, развѣ чернецъ? Авраамъ и Ісаакъ и Іаковъ? Іосифъ же в малѣ побѣдивъ и паки женою побѣженъ бысть. Ты же нынѣ аще съ животомъ гоньзнеша, женою же паки обладаи будеша, и кто не посмѣется твоему безумію? Уне ти есть покоритися женѣ сей и свободну быти всему".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 144.

82

"ей, братіе и добріи мои друзи, добръ ми съвѣщаєте. Разумѣю, яко лучши змиина нашептаниа, еже в раи Езвѣ, словеса предлагаєте ми. Бѣдите мя покоритися женѣ сей, но никако же съвѣта вашего прииму. Аще ми ся лучить и умрѣти въ юзахъ сихъ и горькихъ мукахъ, всяко чаю от Бога милость прияти. Аще и вси праведници спасошася съ женами, азъ же единый грѣшенъ есмь, не могу съ женою спасатися. Но аще бы Іосифъ повинулъ ся женѣ Петертфинѣ, то не бы сій потомъ царствовалъ: видѣвъ же Богъ терпѣніе его и дарова ему царство, тѣмъ же и въ роды хвалимъ естъ, яко цѣломудръ, аще и чада прижитъ. Азъ же не Египетскаго царства желаю приати и обладати властью, и велику быти в Лясѣхъ, и честну явитися въ всеи Руской земли, — но вышняго ради царства вся си приобдѣхъ. Аще же съ животомъ избуду от руки жены сея, то чернецъ буду. Что же убо въ Еуангеліи Христосъ рече: "всякъ, иже оставитъ отца своего и мать и жену и дѣти и домъ, тѣй естъ мой ученикъ". Христа ли паче послушати или васъ? Апостолъ же глаголетъ: "оженивыйся печеться, како угоудити женѣ, а не оженивыйся печеться, како угоудити Богу". Выпрошу же убо васъ: кому подобае паче работати — Христу или женѣ? Пишетъ же: "раби, послушайте господій своихъ на благое, а не на злое". Буди же разумно вамъ, держащимъ мя, яко николи же прельститъ мя красота женѣская, ниже мене от любви Христовы".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 144-45.

83

"сія вся твоя суть, яже у годна суть тобѣ; твори яже хочеш о всем".

Глагола же и к людям: "се господинъ вашъ, а мой мужъ, да вси срѣтающе поклоняются ему".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 145.

84

"всюе тружаешься, не можеш бо мене прельстити тлѣнными вещми мира сего, ни окрасти ми духовнаго богатства. Разумѣй и не трудися всюе".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 145.

85

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohterikloster, p. 146.

86

"Мнѣ же никако же мощно есть еже отрѣшися мнишества и любве божіа.

Никакое же томленіе, ни огонь, ни мечъ, ни раны не могутъ мене разлучити отъ Бога и сего великаго аггельскаго образа".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 146.

87

"всюе труд твой, не мни бо мя яко безумна или не могуща сего дѣла сътворити, но страха ради Божіа тебе гнушаюся, яко нечистъ".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 147.

88

"что убо глаголетъ Господь: каа убо польза челоуку, аще и весь миръ приобрящеть, или что дастъ измѣну на души своей? Ты же что ми обещаеши славу и честь, ея же ты сам скоро отпадеши, и гробъ ты приметь, ничто же имуща? И сіа сквернаа жена злѣ убіена будетъ".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenkloster. P. 147.

89

"... помысли убо прелесть житіа сего, суетнаго и яко вся, яже и zde, мимо текуть и мимо ходять, будущаа же благаа непроходима, вѣчна суть, и царство небесное бесконечно, еже уготова Богъ любящим его, остави княженіе, честь и славу и власть, и вся та ни въ что же вѣннивъ, и пришед в Печерръскый монастырь, и бысть мних, в лѣто 6614, Февруаріа 17".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 113.

90

"Княже, достоить ти смотрити о своем здравіи, да не тако погубиши плоть свою многымъ трудом и въздержаніем,..."

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 114.

91 Bede, pp. 221 and 223. Columba came to Britain from Ireland in 565 to preach to the Northern Picts. He converted the Picts and received from them the island of Iona on which to establish a monastery. This monastery was for a very long time chief among all the monasteries of the northern Irish and the Picts.

92 Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, introduction by Dom David Knowles, Everyman's Library, Dent: London, Dutton: New York, pp. 349 and 350.

93 Venerable Bede, p. 354.

94 See footnote 90

95

"... ти, не можи имати понести наложеннаго ти ярма, его же еси изволилъ Бога ради. Не хочеть бо Богъ чресъ силу поста или труда, но точію сердца чиста и съкрушена, ниже обыкль еси тои нужди, юже твориши работаа, яко нужный рабъ. Но и благочестиваа твоя братіа Изяславъ и Владимиръ велику укоризну имѣта собѣ ничетю твоею, како от таковыа славы и чести въ послѣднее убожество прииде, еже уморяти тѣло свое и датися в недугъ неподобныа пища. Дивлюся утробнѣй ти влазѣ, иже иногда отягченъ бывши от сладкыа пища, нынѣ же убо суровое зеліе и сухой хлѣбъ приємлючи терпять.

Блюди да не когда недугъ всюду събрався и не имущу(д) ти крѣпости, скоро живота гоньзнеша, мнѣ же не могущу ти помощи, и оставиши плачь неутѣшим братома своимъ. Се бо и бояре, иногда служившіи тобѣ, мнящеся велиции быти и славнии тебе ради, нынѣ же лишени твоея любве, желетвѣ домы великы сътворише и сѣдять в нихъ въ мнозѣ уныніи. Ты же не имаша где главы подклонити, на смѣтищи семъ сѣдя, и мнѣть тя яко изумѣвшася. Кый убо князь се створи: ли блаженный отецъ твой Давыдъ, или дѣдъ твой Святославъ, или кто въ боярехъ се створи, или сего пути въжелѣ, развѣ Варлама игумена бывшаго здѣ? И аще мене преслушаеши, прежде суда суд приимеши".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 114.

96

"Брате Петре! Многожды смотрих и рассудих не пошадѣти плоти моеа, да не пакы въставляю брани на ся, да съгнѣтаема многымъ трудомъ, смириться, силѣ бо рече, брате Петре, в немоци подобно съвершиться. Не суть бо страсти нынѣшняго времени точны будущей славы, хотящей явиться в насъ. Благодарю же Господа, яко свободилъ мя есть от мирскихъ работы и сътворилъ мя есть слугу рабомъ своимъ, блаженнымъ симъ черноризцемъ. Брата же моа да внимаега себѣ, кождо бо свое время понесетъ, и довлѣетъ има моа власть. Сѣа же вся Христа ради оставихъ: жену и дѣти, домъ и власть, и братію, и другы, рабы и села, и того ради чаю жизни вѣчныя наследникъ быти. Обнищахъ же -- Бога ради, да того приобретаю. И ты убо, егда врачюеши, не гнушати ли ся велиши брашенъ? Мнѣ же умрети за Христа -- приобретѣніе есть, а еже на смѣтищи сѣдѣти -- съ Іевомъ ся творю царствую. Аще ни единъ князь сего не сътворилъ преже мене, -- предвождай да явлюся имъ: кто же ли поревнуеть сему, и да въслѣдуетъ сему и мнѣ. Прочее же внимай себѣ и научившимъ тебе".

97 G. P. Fedotov, The Russian Religious Mind, Vol. I, Kievan Christianity the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, pp. 127ff. "Kenosis" is the Pauline word for the "emptying" of Christ.

98 Phil. 2:7

99 Paterikon, p. 185.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.

102

"Исакіе, въ есва аггела, а се идеть, кто бѣ Христосъ съ аггелы".

Das Paterikon Des Kiever Hohlenklosters. P. 185.

103 Paterikon, p. 188.

104 Ibid.

105

"Онъ же, не хотя славы челоуіческыа, нача уродство творити и пакостити нача: ово игумену, ово же братіи, ово мирьскым челоуіком. Друзіи же и раны ему дааху. И нача по миру ходити, и тако урод ся сътвори. И паки вселися в пещеру, в ней же и преже былъ, — Антоній бо уже представися, — и нача събирати к собѣ юных от мирьскыа чади и въскладаша на них порты чернечьскыа. Да ово от игумена Никона раны приимаше, иногда же от родитель дѣтей тѣх, блаженный же все то терпаше..."

106 Cyzevskyj, p. 84.

107 Fedotov, p. 147.

NOTES: CHAPTER THREE

- ¹ See pp. 35 ff.
- ² See Sainte Marherete be Meiden ant Martyr, ed. Frances M. Mack (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) introduction p. xxff.
- ³ Ibid., p. 6, ll. 27-31.
- ⁴ Ibid., p. 8, ll. 22-27.
- ⁵ Ibid., pp. 8 and 10, ll. 27-31.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 10, ll. 15-20.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 10, ll. 23-28.
- ⁸ Ibid., pp. 10 and 12, ll. 29-36.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 12, ll. 5-14.
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 12, ll. 22-28.
- ¹¹ Ibid., pp. 12 and 14, ll. 28-32.
- ¹² Ibid., p. 14, ll. 12-18.
- ¹³ Ibid., p. 14, ll. 18-27.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 14 and 16, ll. 26-35.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 16, ll. 15-22.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 18, ll. 5-8.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 18, ll. 8-17.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p. 38, ll. 30-35.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 34, ll. 6-18.
- ²⁰ See be Liflade ant Te Passiun of Sainte Iulienne, ed. S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne (London: Oxford University Press, 1961 (for 1960)), Introduction, p. XVff.

- 21 Ibid., pp. XIX and XX.
- 22 Ibid., p. XX.
- 23 Ibid., p. 34, ll. 6-17.
- 24 be Liflade of St. Juliana, ed. Rev. Oswald Cockayne (London: Oxford University Press, 1872), p. 15, ll. 9-13.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 15 and 16, l. 16 and ll. 1-6.
- 26 Ibid., p. 19, ll. 8-15.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 19 and 21, ll. 15-21.
- 28 Ibid., p. 24, ll. 10-14.
- 29 Ibid., p. 49, ll. 7-9.
- 30 The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, "'Dostoyno yest' yako vo istinnu blazhyty tya Bohorodytse..."
- 31 Ibid., p. 51, ll. 7-17.
- 32 See The Life of St. Katherine, ed. Eugen Einenkell (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1884), p. XIV ff.
- 33 Ibid., p. VIII ff.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 66 and 67, ll. 1442-1470.
- 36 Ibid., pp. 70 and 71, ll. 1493-1499.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 71 and 72. ll. 1520-1529.
- 38 See above p. 23 and 24.
- 39 Ibid., p. 113, ll. 2264-2278.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 114 and 115, ll. 2298-2311.

- 41 Ibid., p. 116, ll. 2343-2352.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 117 and 118, ll. 2376-2386.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 119 and 120, ll. 2418-2429.
- 44 Ibid., p. 121, ll. 2455-2460.
- 45 The Life of St. Katherine, p. 7, ll. 96-103
- 46 Ibid., p. 24, ll. 465-476.
- 47 Ibid., p. 25, ll. 484-488.
- 48 Ibid., p. 32, ll. 653-656.
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- 50 Ibid., pp. 40 and 41, ll. 847-876.
- 51 Ibid., pp. 66, 67 and 68, ll. 1442-1483.
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- 53 Ibid., pp. 79 and 80, ll. 1621-1630.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 81, 82, 83 and 84, ll. 1642-1726.
- 55 Seinte Marherete, be Meiden ant Martyr, p. 10, ll. 9-14.
- 56 Ibid., p. 10, ll. 15-20.
- 57 Ibid., p. 12, ll. 3-6.
- 58 Ibid., p. 14, ll. 12-19.
- 59 Ibid., p. 14, ll. 18-22.
- 60 be Liflade of St. Juliana, pp. 11 and 13, ll. 15-19 and ll. 1-3.
- 61 Ibid., p. 15, ll. 1-4.
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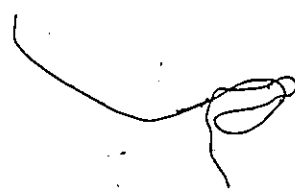
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis explores the question of whether or not the Middle English hagiographical writings had much in common with medieval Slavonic hagiographical pieces. In order to make this comparison, the Middle English Katherine Group and some closely related works, namely the Lives of Katherine, Juliana, and Margaret, the treatise Hali Meidenhad, together with be Ancrene Riwe and be Wohunge of Ure Lauerd were laid out beside selected and typical sections of the accounts of the holy monks of the Old Church Slavonic Paterikon, written down in approximately the same time as the Middle English works. The Life of Moses the Hungarian was taken as the most appropriate for comparison with the Middle English on specific motifs, particularly the contempt of the world and the rejection of marriage as inferior to wedded life.

The background of the common Christian heritage of the early years was carefully examined on its statements on marriage and celibacy, and on the rejection of the values of "the world."

This examination revealed the rather surprising truth that in general the tone and manner of the approach to sainthood was the same in both East and West. In fact, instead of being rather mystical, as it is sometimes claimed, the Slavonic lives were much more direct and physically severe than the contemporary Middle English counterparts. In general, however, the study reveals the common tradition of the Universal Church.

Tale 8 - The Life of the Reverend Theodosius, Abbot
of Petchersk, Written by the Monk Nestor

I thank you, Lord, my Master, Jesus Christ, that you have honoured me an unworthy one, to be the witness of your holy confessors. For having written firstly the Life, death and miracles of the holy and blessed passion-sufferers Boris and Hlib, I determined upon a second witnessing, even though it is beyond my strength, for which I am unworthy, being simple and imprudent, and besides that I was never learned in any art. But I recalled, Lord, your words: "If you will have faith like a mustard seed, you will say to these mountains: remove from here and throw yourselves in the sea, and do not be doubtful, but they will listen to you."¹

Having this in mind, I the sinful Nestor, having understood this, was buttressed by faith and trust that everything is possible to You and I set down the beginning of my written narrative, concerning the life of our reverend Father Theodosius, former superior of the Cave monastery of our holy sovereign the God-bearer, archmandrite and superior of all Rus'. In order that the monks who come after us, taking this writing in their hands, reading it, and seeing his courage, would praise God and glorify His confessor and would be strengthened for further exploits, especially because in this country such a man has appeared, God's confessor. For the Lord said concerning him: "And I tell you that many will come from the east and from the west, and will feast with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven-", and again: "But many who are first now will be last, and many who are last now will be first." And thus this last one appeared higher than

¹ In all cases where Scripture is quoted I have followed the rendering of the Slavonic rather than the original Latin or English version, even though the rendering of the Slavonic may be very free.

the Fathers of old, or following the holy first superior of the monastic order, the great Anthony he came very close to his namesake Theodosius, the archmandrite of Jerusalem. For they both equally performed great exploits and served our Lady the Mother of God and received an equal reward from the one born of her and they pray unceasingly for us, their children, to the Lord. And it is also remarkable that it is written in the books of the Fathers: "The last generation will be weak". And Christ, in that last generation, manifested such a great labourer and pastor of monks, the teacher of the spiritual sheep of all the world; for already from youth he was adorned with a pure life and good deeds, and faith, and especially, however, with wisdom.

And now today I open my narrative, beginning with the earliest years of St. Theodosius: Therefore listen, brethren, with all fervour, for this narrative is profitable to all who listen to it. And I pray you, dear ones, that my simplicity should not disturb you; for burning with love for the reverend one, I dared to write down all this concerning the Saint. And besides that, I took care that it should not be said of me: "Wicked and slothful servant! ...Thou shouldst therefore have entrusted my money to the bankers, and on my return I should have got back my own with interest". Therefore it is not good, brethren, to hide God's miracles, especially when the Lord said to his disciples: "What (p.22) I tell you in darkness, speak it in the light; and what you hear whispered, preach it on the housetops". I desired to write all this down for the benefit and the regulation of all matters being discussed so that in this way having listened to God, you would receive the reward.

I want to set down the beginning of the narrative and go into the very essence of the tale; therefore I pray thus to you, Lord:

"My Master, Lord Supporter of all, the giver of good, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, come to my aid and enlighten my heart for the understanding of Your commandments, and open my mouth for the confession of Your wonders, and for the praise of Your confessor, that Your name may be glorified, for You are the aid of all who trust in You forever. Amen".

1. The Birth of Saint Theodosius

There is a town near the capital city of Kiev, fifty leagues distant named Vasyliv. In it resided the parents of the Saint, living in the Christian faith and adorned with all graces. After the birth of this blessed child, they brought him on the eighth day to the priest of God, as is the Christian custom, in order to give the child a name. The presbyter, having seen the child, and having foreseen that from youth he would be given to God, named him Theodosius. And when forty days had passed, they sanctified him also with baptism. And the boy grew, brought up by his parents, and God's grace was with him, for the Holy Ghost from his youth resided in him. And who can declare the goodness of God! For neither from the wise philosophers, nor from the lords of cities did he choose the pastor and teacher of monks, that also in this the name of the Lord would be glorified, because being simple and ignorant, he would be revealed wiser than the philosophers. O, hidden mystery. From whence no one had expected, thence there shone upon us the bright morning star, that by its shining from all directions it was possible to hasten to it, and having disdained all, to be filled with this one light. O, the goodness of God! For, firstly having chosen and having blessed the place, thou prepared a pasture upon which the human flock would graze, until the pastor was chosen.

And it happened that by the command of the prince, or rather, I should say, of God, the parents of the blessed one moved to another town named

Kursk, that there also the life of the great-souled youth would shine, and for our great benefit (p.23), a morning star would rise from the East, gathering around itself also many other stars, waiting for the true sun, Christ our Lord, saying: It is I, Master, and the children, whom I raised with your spiritual nourishment; and these, Lord, my disciples, whom I led to You, and whom I taught to scorn everything worldly and to love You, the one God; behold, Master, the flock of your human sheep, for which you appointed me pastor, and whom I grazed on Your divine pasture; and I led them to You, Lord; keep them pure and immaculate. And the Lord also said to him: "Good and faithful servant! You multiplied the talent given to you; therefore receive the crown prepared for you and enter into the joy of your Lord". And to his disciples he says: "Come, good flock, wise sheep of the brave shepherd, because for my sake you hungered and laboured, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world".

And therefore we, brethren, let us strive to be adherents and followers of the life of our reverend Father Theodosius and his disciples, whom he sent before himself to the Lord, that we also should become worthy to hear that voice of the Lord and All Supporter. Come, blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world".

2. The Boyhood Exploits of Saint Theodosius

We then, brethren, let us turn to the first manifestations of the life of this holy youth. He grew in body, but his soul was drawn to the love of God; he went, therefore, every day to the church of God and with all attention listened to the Holy writings. And he also did not take part in children's games, as it is customary with the young, for he did not care for them. And his clothes were tattered, and when his parents forced him to dress in fine clothes and to go to the children's games, he did not

/ listen to them in this, but wished to be as one of the poor. In addition to this he begged his parents to assign him to one of the teachers for the study of the Divine Books, and this was done. And he very quickly learned the Holy Writings so that all were amazed at the wisdom and intelligence of the youth and his quickness in learning. And who will declare his humility and obedience which he attained in his studies, and not only to his teachers but also to his fellow pupils?

When blessed Theodosius was thirteen years old, his father died, and from then on he began to apply himself more dilligently to work and even went to the village to work with his servants, and that with all humility. But his mother did not set him to such work, and she forbade him to do this and begged him to dress in fine clothes and to go with his comrades to play, saying that by such behaviour he brought harm to himself and to his family.. But he in this did not listen to her and she often with great temper was angry with him and beat him, because she was robust and stout like a man, for anyone who did not know her, and only heard how she raged thought that she was a man.

3. The Flight of the Saint with the Pilgrims

Due to all this, the blessed youth considered how to save himself. And having heard of the Holy Places where Our Lord walked in the flesh, he wished to go there and revere them. And he prayed thus to God: "My Lord Jesus Christ, listen to my prayer and allow me to go to the Holy Places and revere them". When he was praying thus one time, there came pilgrims into this town. Seeing them the holy youth rejoiced and ran and bowed to them, greeted them and asked from whence they were and where they were going. They told him that they were coming from the Holy Places, and that when God allowed they wanted to go back there again. And then the Saint begged

them to take him with them also as a companion. And they promised to take him with them and conduct him to the Holy Places. Hearing such a promise, blessed Theodosius was very happy and returned home. And when the pilgrims gathered for a further journey, they informed the youth of their departure. Therefore he rose secretly at night and left his home, and not taking anything with him except the poor clothes in which he stood, he went with the pilgrims. But God in his goodness did not permit him to leave the country, for from the bosom of his mother he chose him in this country as the shepherd of his Slavonic sheep so that a shepherd would not be lacking and the flock would not flee and scatter which God himself blessed, and on this place there would not grow only thorns and thistles.

After three days his mother found out that he had gone with the pilgrims and she pursued him with only a younger son. And having travelled a long road, his mother finally caught up with him and in rage and anger she seized him by the hair, threw him to the ground, and pummelled him with her feet. After quarreling with the pilgrims she left them and returned home herself, taking with her her son, bound like some kind of criminal. Now she was so enraged that having come home, she beat him severely until she was exhausted. And she brought him to one room, bound him and shut him in and left him there. And the blessed youth bore all this with joy and thanked God for everything. And after two days his mother came, unbound him, fed him, and still being in great anger, chained him in heavy fetters and told him to walk thus, taking care that he should not escape from her again. And he went thus for many days. And afterwards she again had pity upon him and begged him and was convinced that he would not escape from her, because she loved him more than anyone else and she could not live without him. And when he promised not to go away from her, she took the fetters from his feet and told him to

do freely what he desired. So blessed Theodosius returned again to his old ways and visited churches every day.

4. The Saints' Care for the Mass Bread

He saw that often he was left without the Mass because of the lack of baked hosts, and he was very concerned about this and thought in his humility to devote himself to this task; and thus he did. So he began to bake and to sell mass bread, and the gain from this transaction he gave to the poor and with the rest of the income he bought wheat, ground it with his hands and baked mass bread. And there was God's providence in this, that the pure mass bread should be brought to the churches of God by the pure and undefiled youth. Thus he continued for about two years or more. All his companions, at the urging of the evil one, made fun of him and ridiculed him for such work, but the blessed one accepted everything with joy and in silence. (p. 26). Now the enemy of good, seeing himself conquered by the humility of the blessed youth and desiring to take him away from such work, began to stir up his mother against him so that she would forbid him such initiatives. And the mother, who even without this could not bear such mockery of her son, began lovingly to say to him: "I beg you son, leave this work, because by it you bring only mockery on your family. I cannot bear it that all scoff at you for such work and it is not fitting for you, a youth, to occupy yourself with it." Now the blessed youth Theodosius, with humility replied to his mother saying: "Listen to me, I beg you, my mother: Our Lord God Jesus Christ became poor and humbled himself, giving us the example that we should become humble for his sake; he was looked down upon and spat upon and they rained blows upon him; and he suffered all this for the sake of our salvation. Now is it not better to suffer in order to find Christ? And as for my work, now listen to me: When our Lord Jesus

Christ sat down to supper with his disciples, he took the bread, blessed it, broke it and gave it to his disciples saying: "Take and eat, for this is my body that was broken for you and for many unto the forgiveness of sins". And when the Lord called our bread his body, should I not rejoice that the Lord has honoured me to be the co-creator of his body?" And when the mother heard this, she wondered at the wisdom of the child and from then on did not bother him. But the enemy did not rest, turning her against her son for his humility. Because after a year, seeing him one time as he baked mass breads, standing by the stove, covered with smoke, she grieved very much and again began to forbid him this, at times graciously, and at times with threats, and even beat him, so that he would give up such an occupation. And the blessed youth was in great anxiety and did not know how to counsel himself. So one night he rose and went from his home to another town nearby and lived there with a priest, and according to his custom, continued his work. His mother, looking for him for many days in her town, sought and found him in the home of this priest, and seizing him and beating him, dragged him to her town; taking him home, (p. 27) she severely commanded him, saying: "You can't go away from me; and if you go somewhere, and I find you, I will bring you back to your town in shackles." Now the blessed Theodosius only prayed to the Lord God, and every day visited church.

5. The Service with the Ruler and the Humility of the Saint

He was humble of heart and obedient to all, so that the mayor of the town, seeing his humility and obedience to all, loved him very much and told him to live near his church, giving him fine clothes to walk in. And the blessed one wore them several days as if he were carrying some burden on himself; he felt so awkward in them. Finally he took them off and gave them to the poor and dressed himself plainly and raggedly. The Mayor,

seeing that he was going about thus, gave him other clothes, finer than the first, begging him to use them. But he took these off also and gave them to someone else; and he did this many times. And when the neighbours heard about this, they loved him even more, wondering at his humility.

On one occasion the blessed one went to a blacksmith and ordered from him an iron hoop for himself. And since the iron was tight, it chafed his skin; but he did not pay any attention to this, as if it did not cause him any pain. And when after a long time there came a feast day, his mother compelled him to dress in his holiday clothes for service; because all the town dignitaries were to be this day at a reception of guests at the town chief's, and it had fallen to the blessed Theodosius to entertain them and to wait upon them. Therefore his mother ordered him to dress in clean clothes, because she heard that the mayor intended to invite all the town notables to a banquet at his place. And when he began to dress in the clean clothes, being a frank youth, he did not hide from his mother and she closely examined him and seeing blood on his shirt, looked closer and understood that this blood came from the iron. And she being furious with him, tore apart his shirt, and hitting him, took the iron from his hips. And the blessed Theodosius, as if it were nothing, in all serenity, dressed himself and went to serve at the banquet.

6. The Flight of the Saint from his Mother to Kiev

After some time, having heard in the Gospel the words of the Lord: "He who does not leave father and mother and does not come after me, is not worthy of me", and again: "Come to me, all you who labour and are burdened, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest for your souls". Having heard these words the God-inspired Theodosius burned with

Divine Love, and aflame with the zeal of God, daily thought about how and where to be tonsured into an order and to hide from his mother. By the providence of God, one day his mother went to the village and was to remain there for a long time. And at that time the blessed one rejoiced and prayed to God and secretly left his home, not taking anything with him except clothing and a piece of bread for nourishment, and set forth on the road to Kiev, because he had heard of the monasteries there. And not knowing the roads, he prayed to God that he should find some wayfarer who would lead him on the path of his desire.

And by the providence of God it happened that a merchant caravan was travelling that road, weighed down with heavy burdens. The blessed one seeing that they were going to that very city, rejoiced in his soul and praised God, who listened to the desire of his heart and he followed after them secretly from afar. And when they stopped journeying for the night, the blessed one came only close enough not to lose sight of them, stopping for a rest, under God's protection. And so he went for three weeks, until he arrived at the afore-mentioned town.

Coming there, he went around to all the monasteries, wanting to become a monk, and begged them to accept him. They, seeing the common youth and also his poor clothes, did not want to take him. And this happened by the will and direction of God, so that he could arrive at that place to which God had called him from his youth.

7. Concerning the Coming of the Saint to the great Anthony

He heard about blessed Anthony, who resided in a cave, and on that God the spirit, he went to that cave and came to the reverend Anthony; and seeing him he fell and prostrated himself before him and begged in tears that he would accept him. And the great Anthony admonished him, saying:

"You see, child, this cave, inconvenient and cramped, and you, I think, are still young and (p. 29) cannot endure the trials of this place."

And he said this not only to test him, but he also saw with his prophetic eyes, that this one would want one day to rebuild this place and erect here a famous monastery for many monks. And, inspired by God, Theodosius answered him with constancy: "You see, honourable father, that the God the forseeer, led me to your holiness and assigned me to you for salvation; therefore, whatever you say to do—I will do". And the blessed Anthony replied to him: "Blessed be God, my son, who strengthened you in such a resolve. Behold this place—live in it." And Theodosius again prostrated before him and the Elder blessed him and he ordered the great Nikon, who was a priest and the examiner of monks, to tonsure him. And this one took blessed Theodosius and, according to the custom of the holy fathers, tonsured him and dressed him in the monastic habit in the year 6540 (1032 A.D.), in the reign of Yaroslav Vladimirovych.

And our father Theodosius consecrated himself wholly to God and to the revered Anthony and from then gave himself to ascetic exercises, and spent whole nights praising God, overcoming sleep, fulfilling abstinence, and he laboured with his hands and remembered daily this world of the psalm: "Look on my woe and on my labours, and forgive me my sins."

Therefore by all means he humbled his soul, by abstinence, labours and by exploits he so tamed his body, that blessed Anthony and the great Nikon wondered at his gentleness and humility and his great youthful virtue, perseverance and courage, and for this they greatly praised the all merciful God.

8. The Coming of His Mother to Kiev

And his mother, having looked for him in her city and the neighbouring

towns, and not finding him, wept bitterly for him, and mourned for him as dead. And she announced throughout all the district, that if anyone saw such a youth, that he should tell her, promising a reward for such news. And people came from Kiev and told her that over four years ago, they said, "we saw such a one in our town, who went and wished to receive the tonsure in one of the monasteries." Hearing this, the woman at once set out for there, not fearing the distant journey; and she went to the above mentioned town, in order to seek her son. (p. 30) Coming to the city, she went around to the monasteries, seeking him. Finally, they told her that he lived in the cave of the reverend Anthony. And she went to find him.

Here cunningly she called for the Elder, saying: "Tell the Reverend One that he should come out, because I have journeyed a long way, wanting to speak with him and reverence his virtue and to receive a blessing from him. And the elder was informed of her visit and he went to her, and seeing him, she bowed down to the ground before him. And the elder having prayed, blessed her, and after prayer, sitting, she began to speak with him for a long time, and finally, she revealed to him the reason for her coming, saying: "Father, I beg you, tell me if my son is here; because I worry about him a lot, not knowing if he is alive." And the Elder, not being clever, and not understanding her deceit, told her that her son was there and not to worry about him, because he was alive. And she said to him further: "And what good is that, father, when I do not see him. I made a long journey coming to this city, in order to see my son, and afterwards, I will go back to my town." And the spiritual father said to her: "If you want to see him, withdraw now at once, and I will go and convince him, because he does not want to see anybody. Come tomorrow, and you will see

him."

Hearing this, the woman went, expecting to see him the next day.

And the reverend Anthony, going into the cave, told all this to blessed Theodosius, who hearing this, was very worried that he could not hide.

On the next day again the woman came and the elder for a long time tried to convince the blessed one to come out and meet his mother. But he did not want to come out. Then the elder came out, and said to her: "I asked him many times and begged that he should come to you and he does not want to." And she, no longer peaceful, began to scream at the elder, and with great anger began to call out: Evil befall you old man, who taking my son from me, have hidden him in a cave and do not want to even show him to me! Bring me my son Old Man; because I myself will lay hands on myself here before the gates of this cave, if you do not show him to me."

And being in great grief, Anthony again went into the cave and begged the blessed one to go to her. And he not wanting to disobey the elder, went out to her. She seeing her son in such wretchedness (because his appearance had changed from work and fasting), seizing him in an embrace, wept for a long time (p. 31) with bitter tears. And being somewhat comforted in him, she began to convince the servant of Christ, saying: "Come, child, to your home, and what will be necessary for the salvation of your soul—you will do in your home according to your judgement, only do not leave me. And when I die, and you bury my body, then, if you want to, you will go back into this cave, because I cannot live without the sight of you. And the blessed one said to her: "Mother, if you wish to see me every day, settle in this city, enter one of the female monasteries, be tonsured a nun, and so, coming here, you will see me, and also save your soul. And if you do not do this, I tell you the truth, that you will not see my face again."

With these and many more arguments he urged his mother for many days. But she didn't even want to listen. And when she left him, the Blessed One went into a cave and urgently prayed to God for the salvation of his mother and the conversion of her heart, that she would listen to him. And God answered the prayer of his Confessor. Because of this the prophet said: "The Lord is close to all who call upon him in truth, and he fulfills the will of those, who fear him and he listens to their prayer". So one day coming to him, the mother said, "Behold, son, I will do everything that you wish, I will go to a female monastery and there I will be tonsured, and there I will pass the rest of my life, because from your teaching I have learned that this transitory world is nothing". And blessed Theodosius hearing this, rejoiced and told this to the great Anthony, and he, having learned of it, praised God for such a conversion of her heart to penance. And the great Anthony went to her, and taught her much about spiritual progress and told the princess about her and placed her in the monastery of saint Nicholas, where she became a nun, and put on a nun's habit; and having lived many many years in truth, she died in peace with the Lord.

Behold such was the life of our blessed father Theodosius, from his youth up until that time when he came to the cave. All this his mother told brother Theodore, who was a cell-mate of our holy father Theodosius. And I, having learned all about this from his accounts, (p. 32) wrote this as a memorial for all who will venerate him. Nevertheless, I will recount some other tales concerning the youth; and let others carefully complete the rest, with God's blessing.

Now, our holy Father Theodosius showed himself a conqueror over evil spirits even when he was in the caves. And after the tonsure of his mother as a nun, and after the ceasing of all troubles with the world, by God's

inspiration, he began to perform still greater exploits. And one could see there in the caves three luminaries, who with prayer and fasting drove out the diabolical darkness, that is, the reverend Anthony, the blessed Theodosius, and the great Nikon. They lived in a cave and prayed to God and God was with them. Because "Where, two or three are gathered together in my name, I am there among them."

9. Barlaam - the Son of the Boyar John

At that time the chief boyar of the prince was called John. And his son often went to the reverend ones and was charmed with the sweet words which came from the mouths of the fathers, and loved them so much that he wished to live with them, scorning everything temporal, regarding the glory of wealth as nothing, because the word of the Lord had touched him: "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the heavenly kingdom." Then to Anthony alone he revealed his thoughts, saying: "If it is agreeable to God, I would like to live with you. And the elder said to him: "Your desire is good, my son, and your intention is filled with grace; but take care, child, that the wealth and glory of the world do not turn you back again, because the Lord says: "No one who has put his hand to the plough and takes it back again is worthy of the Kingdom of God. So a monk who returns in thought to the world and cares for worldly things cannot arrive at eternal life." And the elder said many other things to the youth, but his heart within burned still more with God's love. After this, he went back to his home. And the next day having dressed in fine and glorious clothes, he sat on a horse and came to the elder in the midst of mounted servants, who led before him also still other horses in harness; and thus he came gloriously to the caves of the Fathers. And when they came out and bowed down before him, as was

fitting to a lord, he bowed down to the earth to them, took from himself the boyar's clothing and laid it before the elder, and also placed before them the horses in harness and said: "All this, father, the beautiful allurements of the world—do with them what you wish, because I already disdain all this and wish to be a monk and to live with you in this cave (p. 33) and not to return home anymore." And the elder said to him: "Take care, son, to whom you promise this and whose warrior you want to become; because behold the unseen angels here present receive your promises, in case your father should come here with force and should take you from here, because we cannot help you, you will appear before God as a teller of untruth and a traitor." And the youth said to him: "Father, I believe before God, that even if my father begins to torture me, I will not listen to him, to go back to the world. I beg you father, that you tonsure me quickly." And then the reverend Anthony took him to the great Nikon that he should tonsure him, and clothe him in the monastic habit. And according to custom, he prayed and clothed him in the monastic vestments, naming him by name—Barlaam.

10. The Calling of the Eunuch

Then there came also a certain eunuch of the prince's court, whom the prince loved and kept as the overseer of everything; and he begged the elder Anthony that he also might become a monk. And the elder instructed him in the salvation of souls, and gave him over to Nikon, that he should tonsure him. And he tonsured him and gave him the monastic habit and called him Ephremij. And it is not good to conceal, that the enemy multiplied from this many worries for the reverend one, because the devil, the hater of good, seeing that this small community overcame him and having understood that from now on this place will be glorified, wept over his ruin. There-

fore he began with his cunning to provoke the heart of the prince against the reverend ones, that he would break up this holy community; but he could not accomplish this because by their prayers he himself was overcome and fell into a hole, which he had dug for them, because it is said: "His mischief shall recoil upon his own head; upon the crown of his head his violence shall rebound."

11. The Attack on the Saints

The prince having learned of that which had happened with his boyar and eunuch, became very angry and ordered the one who dared to do this to be brought before him. And they went and brought to him the great Nikon. And the prince, looking at him with anger, said to him: "And you tonsured my boyar and eunuch, without my permission?" And Nikon answered him: "By the grace of God I am that one who tonsured him with the command and the calling of the heavenly king Jesus Christ for such a deed." And the prince said to him: "Therefore look: either you will convince him to return home or I will banish you and those who are with you into exile; and I will demolish your cave." To this (p. 34) Nikon replied: "If it appears thus to you, Sovereign, do it, but for me it is not permitted to expel the warriors of the heavenly king." Therefore, Anthony and those who were with him, taking their clothes, went out from that place, thinking to go into another province. And when the prince still raged and reproached Nikon, one of the servants hastened to him and informed him that Anthony and his comrades were leaving from this city for another district. Then his wife said to the prince: "Listen to me, sovereign, and do not be angry. It was thus also in our country: when for some reason all the monks departed from it, a great calamity took place in our country. Therefore, take care, sovereign, that such should not happen also in yours." Hearing this, the prince

feared the wrath of God and forgave the great Nikon, ordering him to return to the cave. And to the others he sent messengers with the request that they should return back. And after three days, they were informed and they returned to their cave like conquerors, having conquered their adversary the devil always praying to God day and night.

12. The Courage of the Blessed Barlaam

And the boyar John having learned that the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav had not done them any harm, and because of his son burning with anger against them, took many servants and went against the holy community and scattered it; and penetrated into the cave, and seized his son, the blessed Barlaam, took him from there, took from him the holy mantle and threw it into a deep pit, and also he took from him the helmet of salvation, which he had on his head and threw it away; and then he dressed him in magnificent and glorious clothes, as befits a lord. But the son threw them off and did not want to even look at them, many many times. So his father ordered that his hands be tied and for him to be dressed in these clothes, and thus to be taken through the town to his home. And Barlaam, burning with the real love of God, going on the road, saw a slough, and jumped into it and with God's help, threw off from himself the clothing, stamping them with his feet in the mire, thus overcoming the evil designs of the cunning enemy. And when they entered into the house, his father ordered him to sit with him at the table. Having sat down, he did not touch anything, but was sad and dejected. After dinner his father left him in his own room, but assigned servants to guard him, that he shouldn't flee; and many servants waited on him. And the true confessor of Christ, Barlaam, went into one of the rooms, sat in the corner, and a woman, as it was assigned to her, came before him and begged, that he would sit on his bed. Seeing the shamelessness of the woman

and understanding that his father sent her to him for a temptation, he began to pray secretly in his heart to the all merciful God that He would save him from this temptation. For three days he sat thus in that place, without stirring and without nourishment, and did not take off his clothes, but remained only in one jacket.

And Saint Anthony and his comrades and blessed Theodosius worried very much and prayed for him to God. And God listened to their prayer: "When the just cry out, the Lord hears them, and from all their distress he rescues them. The Lord is close to the broken-hearted and those who are crushed in spirit he saves." And God in his goodness saw the suffering and humility of the youth and converted the cruel heart of the father to love for his son, because when the servants told him that for the last four days he had not eaten anything, nor did he dress himself, his father, hearing this, felt sorry, concerned that he might die from hunger and cold. Therefore, he called him, kissed him and let him go. And there happened then a strange thing. There arose great weeping as if for a dead person. The servants and maid-servants wept for their lord, who departed from them, and the woman lamented bitterly, as if being widowed. The father and mother wept for their son, who was parting from them, and thus all, with tears, accompanied him. And the warrior of Christ went out from his father's home, breaking out like a bird from a cage, like a doe freed from a snare; and thus he ran quickly to his cave.

And the fathers, seeing him, rejoiced with great joy, and rising, praised God, who had listened to their prayers. And so from then on many came to the cave for a blessing from these fathers, and others by the grace of God, became monks.

13. The Departure of Saint Nikon

At that time the great Nikon and another monk of the monastery of Saint Minas, called the Bulgarian, (p. 36) having consulted, departed, because they wanted to settle apart. And they came to the sea and here separated, as did at one time the apostles, Paul and Barnabas, for the preaching of Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles. The Bulgarian, going to the city of Constantine, found an island in the midst of the sea and settled on it. And he lived there many years, in hunger and cold and he died in peace. And to this day this island is called of the Bulgarian. And the great Nikon departed for the island of Tmutorakan and found there a free place near the city, and settled on it. By the grace of God that place grew and there was built on it the church of the Holy God-Bearer; and this was a famous monastery and until today it is an example for all, just as this of Petchersk. After this the eunuch Efrem also departed for Constantinople and lived there in a certain monastery, and finally was brought into this country and was established as bishop in the city of Pereyeslav.

Since with these many narrations we have interrupted our main narrative, it is necessary now to return to our original theme.

14. The Saint becomes a Priest

After the departure of these holy fathers, on the commission of the reverend Anthony, our blessed Father Theodosius was made a priest and fulfilled the divine service every day with all humility, because he was meek of behaviour, tranquil of soul, sincere of mind and filled with all spiritual wisdom, and had a pure love for all the brothers, who had already gathered themselves together up to 15 souls.

15. The Departure of the Great Anthony

The reverend Anthony, who was called to live alone, and could not bear any disturbance or disorder, shut himself up in a cell of the cave, having appointed for the brothers in his place the blessed Barlaam, the son of the Boyar John. And he himself moved from here to another hill, and reverend Anthony dug there a cave and lived in it, not going out from it, there today his holy body lies. Then Blessed Barlaam, built on the cave a small chapel in the name of the holy God-bearer, in order that the brothers would gather for the singing of divine praises. And thus from then this place became known to all, which before was not known to many. Many then did not know their daily life, and how much they suffered wretchedness and affliction there (p. 37) because of the narrowness of that place, —it is known perhaps only to God alone, and it is difficulty to utter this with human lips. And besides this their food was only bread and water. On Saturday and Sunday they ate a bit of lentils and often on these days there weren't even lentils; so they cooked a little grain and only ate that. And besides that they worked with their hands: they wove sandals and hats, and they carried them into the city and sold them and bought grain and divided it among themselves; and at night everyone ground his own for the preparation of bread. Then after the matin songs again they took to their occupation. And others dug up an enclosure for the cultivating of lentils, until the time for the singing of matins. And then all gathered together in church, sang the hours and fulfilled the holy Liturgy and having strengthened themselves with a little bread, again everyone took to this work. And they worked thus every day and lived in the love of God.

And our Father Theodosius also bore all that with a peaceful and

obedient spirit, and the labours, and exploits, and the physical work, even though he was of a delicate and mild physical disposition, and he helped everyone, and he served, and carried water on his shoulders and wood from the forest, and every night he stood for the singing of praises of God. And at times, when the brothers were at rest, the blessed one took the divided grain, and himself ground every piece and put it in its place. Then sometimes, when there were a lot of gnats and mosquitoes, he went at night on top of the cave and uncovered himself to his cincture, and sat there and spun wool, singing the psalter of David. And all his body was covered with the countless number of gnats and mosquitoes, which ate him and drank his blood, and our father Theodosius sat motionless, not rising from his place, until the time for Matins arrived. Then before all, he went to church and stayed here motionless, not letting his mind wander and fulfilled the singing of divine praises; then afterwards, the last of all, he went out from church. Therefore, all loved him very much and wondered (p. 38) at his serenity and humility.

16. The Appointment of Saint Theodosius as Abbot

After that, when blessed Barlaam, being the Abbot of the brothers in the cave, by the will of the prince, was led away to the monastery of the holy martyr Demetrius and there was made abbot, the brothers of the caves, with the agreement of all, gathered together and informed the reverend Anthony and appointed for themselves the blessed Theodosius as abbot, as one who put the monastic life in order and knew well the commandments of God.

And even though our Father Theodosius accepted the superiorship, he did not change in anyway his humility and manner of life, remembering the Lord who said: "And if any one wishes to be great among you let him be

a servant to you." And therefore he humbled himself and regarded himself lower than all and the servant of all, giving himself as a pattern for all. And he went first to work, and for all of them he performed the holy liturgy of the Mass.

And this place flourished and grew by the prayers of the just one. "Because it is said the just man shall flourish like a palm tree, like a cedar of Lebanon shall he grow." And the brothers also multiplied and the place flourished with good habits and with their prayers and other pious arts. And many boyars came to them for a blessing; and from their possessions they gave them a small portion.

And this true earthly angel and heavenly man, our reverend father Theodosius, seeing that this place was uncomfortable and small and inadequate in every way, and that the brothers were multiplying and that the church already had become too small for the gathering of all, never fell into worry and did not worry because of this, but often cheered his brethren, taught them never to strive for the things of the body, reminding them of the words of the Lord: "Therefore do not be anxious, saying: 'What shall we eat? what shall we drink or what are we to put on?', because your heavenly Father knows, that you need all this. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and his justice, and all shall be given to you besides." Thus thought the blessed one, and God sent him, and not miserly, everything, that was necessary.

17. The Building of the Monastery of the Caves

Then this great Theodosius found a free place not far from the cave, and seeing that it would be sufficient for the building of a monastery, grew rich in the grace of God, armed himself with faith and hope and began to labour on this, to inhabit it. And since God helped him, in a little

while he built on this place a church in the name of the holy and most glorious God (p. 39) Bearer and ever virgin Mary, enclosed it, and built many cells and then moved from the cave with the brethren to this place in the year 6570 (1062). From that time, by the grace of God, this place grew and became the famous monastery called Petchersk, which exists to this day; and our holy father Theodosius built it.

Afterwards the blessed one sent one brother to Constantinople to Ephrem the eunuch, that writing down, he would bring from there the whole Rule of the Studite monastery. And he did this with the commission of our reverend Father and wrote down the whole monastic Rule and sent it to him. And our Father Theodosius, receiving it, ordered it to be read to the brothers and from that time in his monastery he ordered everything to be done according to the Rule of the holy Studite precepts, as also his disciples fulfill until this day.

He did not reject anyone who came to him to become a monk, neither the poor nor the rich, but with all care accepted all, because he also had been in such circumstances as was related above, when he came from his city, wanting to become a monk, and went around to all the monasteries and no one wanted to accept him, because God thus ordered it for his testing. The reverend one remembered all this how this worry resides with him who wishes to be tonsured and is refused. And therefore, he gladly accepted all who came to him but he did not tonsure him at once, but told him to go about in his secular clothing, until he became accustomed to the whole monastic rule and afterwards clothed him in the monastic habit and again tested him in all services. And only then, he tonsured him, gave him the cloak, until becoming a monk he would manifest a tested pure life; and then he admitted him to the great angelic

order, placing on him the cowl.

Every year, on the day of the holy meat-fare, our father Theodosius went into the cave, where by agreement his just body was later buried, and shut himself there until Palm Sunday. On Friday of that week at the time of Vespers he came again to the brothers and, standing in the church door, taught everyone and comforted them because of their exploits of fasting; and he considered himself unworthy, because he could not attain their exploits for one more week.

18. The Victory of the Saint Over Unclean Spirits

In the cave the evil spirits often caused great trouble and violence to him, and as it is written concerning the great Anthony, even crippling him (p. 40). But as Christ formerly said; "Take courage". He now gave Theodosius invisible aid and victory from heaven over the enemy. Then who would not wonder at our blessed one, that living alone in a dark cave, he was not frightened of great regiments of unseen devils, but bravely and firmly persevered, praying called for aid to our God and Lord Jesus Christ. And thus he conquered them by the power of Christ, so that they did not dare to approach him, even though still, from afar, they did mischief to him.

One time, after the singing of the Evening service, when he sat down, in order to rest (because he never lay down on his back) but when he wanted to rest somewhat, he sat on a stool, and having slept a bit, rose again for nightly adoration and for prostrations. And, as we said, sitting, he heard in the cave a rattling sound from the diabolical mob, like the rumbling of wagon wheels, some struck drums, others blew on pipes, and all shouted so that the cave shook from the great number of evil spirits. And our father Theodosius, hearing all this, was not frightened of the spirits, nor did he take terror in his heart, but, protecting himself with the sign of the cross,

rose and began to sing the psalter of David; and thus that great trembling was not heard. And when he again sat down after the prayer, again he heard a great uproar of numberless diabolical voices, as before. And when the reverend one again rose up and began the psalm singing, the uproar again subsided. And the devils carried this on for many days and nights, not giving him even a moment to rest, until by the grace of Christ, he conquered them and with God's help got the upper hand of them from God that from then on they did not dare even to come near that place where the blessed one prayed.

Another time the devils did mischief in the church, where the mass bread was being prepared for the brothers. One time they spilt the flour, another time they poured out a beverage made from malt for the preparation of the bread and also did much other mischief. Then the chief bakers told the blessed Theodosius about this devilish mischief. And he, trusting on the receipt of authority over them from God, went at night into this church and shut himself there and stayed there until Matins, reciting prayers thus, that from that time the devils did not appear in that place and by the Command of the reverend one did not do any mischief. (p. 41)

The Vigilance of Theodosius and the Punishment of the Delinquents

The great Theodosius had a habit of going about the cells of his monks every night, desiring to know the life of each and his diligence for the Lord. And when he heard that someone was praying, stopping, he praised God for him; when he then heard, that two or three, coming together, were conversing after evening prayers, knocking with his hand at the door, he went away, letting them know of his coming. And the next day he called them to himself, but did not at once on the spot accuse them, but taught them at a distance and with parables, speaking with them, desiring to know

their attitude to God. And when a brother was of a tender heart and had a warm love for God, such a one quickly understood his fault, fell on his knees with a prostration and asked forgiveness from him; but if this brother was ruled by the devil and had a closed heart so that he stood and listened as if the conversation were about someone else, justifying himself, the blessed one accused him and corrected him with a penance. Only then did he forgive him. Thus he taught everyone to pray fervently to God, and not to carry on conversations after evening prayers; not to go from cell to cell, but to pray to God in his own cell, according to his own ability, and to work everyday with his hands, with the psalms of David on his lips. And thus he taught them: "I pray you, brethren, let us labour with fasting and prayer; let us care for the salvation of our souls and let us turn from our evil and wicked ways, that is from anarchy, villainy, calumny, idleness, quarrels, drunkenness, gluttony, hatred. All this, brothers, let us flee, let us be disgusted by this, let us not sully our souls with this, but let us go in the way of the Lord, which leads to life; let us seek God in weeping and tears, fasting and waking, humility and obedience, that we may thus find his grace. And besides that do not love this world, recalling always the word of the Lord: "If anyone does not leave father and mother, wife and children and wealth for my sake and the Gospel, that one is unworthy of me"; or again, "He who saves his life, shall lose it; and he who loses his life for me, shall find it." Therefore brothers, having abandoned the world, let us also reject that which is in it and let us hate all falsehood, in order not to do anything abominable; and let us not return to our first sin, like a dog to its vomit. "Because no one, says the Lord, having put his hand to the plough and looks back, is worthy of the kingdom (p. 42) of heaven." And how will we flee from eternal

suffering, when we finish our life in laziness, and without repentance? It is better, brothers, for us monks, to repent daily for our sins; because repentance is the way which leads to life. Therefore let us hold to this road, brethren, let us strengthen our steps on it, because on this road the evil serpent does not come; and the journey on this road, it is true, today is difficult, but in the end it becomes joyful. Therefore, brothers, until then let us give ourselves to heroic deeds, that we may all attain these blessings and flee from all that which comes upon the careless and the unrepentant."

Thus behold this holy Superior acted and taught the brethren. And they, like earth thirsting for moisture, received his teaching and brought to God the fruit of their labours, one a hundred fold, another sixty fold, and still another thirty fold. And it was possible to see on earth people similar to angels, and this monastery became similar to paradise in which our blessed Father Theodosius sowed good deeds like the sun, as I shall recount.

20. The Great Glory of the Saint and the Splendor of God's Light

An apparition appeared to Sophronius, the abbot of the monastery of the archangel Michael, who going on one very dark night to his monastery, saw over the monastery of blessed Theodosius a bright light. He wondered at this a great deal and praised God, saying: "How great is Thy goodness, Lord, that Thou hast caused to appear on this holy place such a great light, of this reverend Man, who with such a light illuminates his monastery!" And this was also witnessed by many others, who saw it with their own eyes.

The prince and the boyars having heard of his just life, came to the great Theodosius, confessing their sins to him with great benefit, and

they departed in peace; and some brought him from their wealth gifts for the consolation of the brothers and the support of the monastery; some for the needs of the church both to the monastery and to the brothers also signed over their villages. And the one hundred times beloved prince Iziaslav, sitting on the throne of his father, often called him to himself, and many times also came to him himself, in order to hear and to be filled with his spiritual teaching, and again left.

(p.43) And from then on God exalted this place, increasing it in all graces, by the prayers of his Confessor. And our father Theodosius ordered a certain gate-keeper not to open the gates to anyone after dinner, and that no one should enter the monastery until Vespers, in order that the brethren might rest in the afternoon, because of their nightly prayers and morning singing of praises.

21. The Visit of Prince Iziaslav

And one day, exactly at noon, as was his custom, the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav came with a not very great escort, because when he wanted to go to the blessed one, he let all his boyars go home, and then went to him. As I said, he came ^{got} down from his horse—because he never went on horseback to the monastery entrance—he came to the gates, and desiring to enter, said to open the gate. And the porter said to him: "By the command of our great father, it is not possible to open the gates until Vespers." And the Christ-loving prince again repeated this to him, in order that that one might recognize who he was: "It is I" he says "Open to me alone." And that one not knowing that it was the prince, said to him: "I said to you, that it has been ordered to me by the Abbot, who said that even if the prince comes, do not open the gates; so, if you wish, then wait a little, until the time for Vespers arrives." And he answered:

"I am the prince, and you will not open to me?" And he looked, in order to see, and recognized the prince, but did not open the doors, but only ran quickly to the blessed one and told him. And the prince stood patiently before the doors, recognizing in this saint the supreme apostle Peter. Because when an angel led him from prison and he came home, where his disciples were and knocked at the door, the servant girl looking out and seeing Peter, with joy did not open the door to him, but ran and informed the disciples of his coming. And that one also, from fear, did not open the doors, but ran quickly and informed the blessed one of the arrival of the Christ-loving prince. So the blessed one went out, and seeing the prince, bowed down to him. And the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav began to speak and said: "What is the reason for this prohibition, Father, of which this monk speaks?" The blessed one then answered, "Dear master, such a command was given that in the noon time the brethren should not go out from the monastery, but should rest at that time (p. 44) from the nightly praise singing. Then your God inspired devotion to our holy lady the God-Bearer² is beneficial for your soul; and we nevertheless rejoice at your coming."

And they went into the church, the blessed one conducted a payer and they sat to converse. The Christ-loving prince was so filled with those honeyed words, that he went away from our reverend father Theodosius, and benefiting greatly from him, returned to his home, praising God. And from that day he began to love him still more and to do everything that our reverend great father Theodosius recommended to him.

²This is the term inevitably used for Our Lady in the Eastern Church, and for that reason I will not change it.

22. The Death of the Blessed Barlaam.

It happened that the blessed Barlaam, the son of the boyar John, and the abbot of the monastery of saint Demetrius, which the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav built, went to the holy city of Jerusalem, and going around there among the Holy Places, returned to his monastery. And after some time, he again went to Constantinople, and going around there to all the monasteries, bought what was necessary for his monastery and again returned to his country. And while he was travelling in his country, he fell into a serious illness; and when he arrived at the city of Vladimir, he went to the local suburban monastery which was called the Holy Mount, and there slept in peace in the Lord, having ended his life. As he died, he told his comrades to take his body to the monastery of blessed Theodosius, and there they buried him; and everything, that he had bought at Constantinople, the ikons and everything necessary, he wanted to give to the blessed one. And they did thus, commended, and took his body and buried it in the monastery of blessed Theodosius at the right side of the church, where his grave is to this day; and as they had been told, they gave everything into the hands of the reverend one.

23. The Departure of Blessed Isaias

After that the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav chose one of the brothers of the monastery of the great Theodosius, named Isaias, who had distinguished himself in the monastic life (p. 45) and, having taken him from there, made him abbot in his monastery of Saint Demetrius; and by agreement, because of his good deeds, he was appointed bishop in the city of Rostov, where they venerate him as a Saint because he received from God the gift to perform miracles.

24. The Return of Saint Nikon

When Rostislav, the prince of the island of Tmutorokan, died, the people asked the great Nikon to go to prince Svyatoslav and to ask him to release to them his son for the principedom. Therefore, when he came to the city, he lived in the monastery of the blessed Theodosius, and when they saw one another, each one of them fell on his knees embracing the other, weeping at length, because they had not seen one another for a long time. After this, the blessed one begged him not to depart from him as long as they lived. Therefore the great Nikon promised him that he would only go back and put his monastery in order and would return, which he did, for when he had gone with Prince Hlib to the island and when the prince had been installed in that city, Nikon returned. Then, coming into the monastery of our great father Theodosius, he gave everything which he had into the hands of the blessed one, and subjected himself gladly to him.

And blessed Theodosius loved him very much, and had him as a father; therefore when he went away anywhere, he entrusted the brethren to him, that he would teach and protect them as the eldest of them all. And when he himself taught the brothers with spiritual examples in church, he entrusted the great Nikon to teach the brethren from books; and finally he also gave this task to our father Stephen, who was then the guardian of the rule; and by agreement, after the death of blessed Theodosius, Stephen became abbot of this monastery, and finally bishop of Vladimir.

I related these things in passing about these fathers and I will write further only about our blessed father Theodosius and all that which, by the grace of God, he worthily accomplished.

25. The Spiritual Exploits and Zeal of the Saint

Now this is what I want to say about such a great luminary, as our holy and great father Theodosius. He was truly a man of God, a visible light of the world, who illuminated all the monks with humility and obedience and performed other labours (p. 46) working every day with his hands. He also often went into the bakery and worked with the bakers, and mixing or baking bread, rejoiced within his soul; because as I already said previously, he was powerful and strong and with his teachings comforted and strengthened all those suffering, and he never was tired in his work.

One day, desiring to prepare for a feast in honour of the holy God-Bearer, it was noticed that there was no water at home, and there was then a steward Theodore already mentioned, who told me a great deal about this most glorious man. Therefore he went and told the blessed Theodosius that there was no one to carry water. Then the blessed one rose quickly and began to carry water from the well. And one of the brothers, having seen that the abbot was carrying water, ran and told some of the brothers, who quickly came and carried water even beyond measure.

Another time, when there was not firewood prepared as required for the preparation of food, the same steward Theodore went to blessed Theodosius and said: "Tell Father, someone of the unoccupied brothers, to prepare the firewood that is needed." And the blessed one said, "But I am unoccupied, and therefore I will do." And this was at supper time and the blessed one told the brothers to go to the dining table, and himself, having taken a chopping knife, began to cut firewood. But after supper the brethren, coming out, saw their reverend abbot as he laboured, cutting firewood, everyone took his chopping knife and prepared enough firewood for many days. Such was the zeal of our blessed and spiritual father Theodosius, who had

true humility and great meekness, following in this Christ our Lord, who said, "Learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart". Therefore, heeding this teaching, he humbled himself and regarded himself as least of all, working and serving, always before all at work and first into the church.

Often also, when the great Nikon sat and prepared books, the blessed one sat and braided the cords needed for such work. Such was his humility and sincerity. And no one ever say him lie down, or wash his body with water, for he only washed his hands. For clothing, he wore a rough hair jacket, put next to his body, and outside, over it, another very poor one which (p. 47) he put on, in order that his hairshirt would not be visible. And because of his poor clothing, many unwise people reproached him and laughed at him, but the blessed one gladly accepted their reproaches, remembering always the words of the Lord, which comforted and gladdened him: "Blessed are you, when they will despise you and speak all manner of evil against you, slandering you for my sake. Rejoice and be happy in that day, for your reward will be great in heaven." Remembering this, the blessed one rejoiced and endured from everyone all kinds of vexation and reproaches.

26. The Coachman of the Saint

One day, when the great Theodosius had gone on some matter to the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav, far from the city, and was kept there because of his business until evening, in order that he might have his night's rest, the Christ-loving prince ordered him to be taken in a carriage to his monastery. When he was travelling on this road, the coachman, seeing him in such poor clothes, thought that this was some tramp, and he said to him: "Monk! You sit idly every day, and I am always busy and cannot even hold on to the horses; hence I will rest a little on the carriage, and you can ride on the horses." Therefore the abbot, lowly and meek, with all humility rose up

from the carriage and sat on the horse; and the coachman lay down in the carriage. And thus they went on this road, and he rejoiced in his heart and praised God; and when he began to doze, then he got off the horse and walked beside the wagon on foot, until he was tired and again sat on the horse. The heavens were already starry and growing light, when boyars of the prince approached and saw the blessed one from afar; they got off their horses and bowed down before him. And he said to the servant: "It is already day, my son; now you may sit on your horse." The servant then seeing, that all bowed down to him, was frightened and trembled he rose up, and sat on the horse and travelled thus, and the reverend Theodosius sat in the carriage. And all the boyars who met him, knelt to him, and the coachman was still more seized with fright. And when they arrived at the monastery, and all the brethren coming, bowed to the ground before him, (p.48) the servant was still very frightened, thinking to himself, who can this be, to whom all bow thus?

And taking him by the hand, the reverend one led him to the dining table and said to give him as much as he wanted to eat and to drink, and having also made a gift to him of a marten, dismissed him. All this the servant himself told to the brothers, because the blessed one did not tell anyone about this.

And thus he taught the brethren everyday not to exalt themselves in anything, but to be humble monks and to make themselves lesser than all others, and not to praise themselves, but to be humble towards all. And he taught them that as they walked to keep their hands placed on their breasts, and that no one of them, said he, should seem to surpass the others in humility; but always greet and bow to one another, because this was the great virtue of the monastic life, that they should wander about

from cell to cell, but that each one of them should pray to God in his cell. With these and many other words, he did not cease to teach them daily. And when he heard from one of the brothers that the devils were attacking and pressing him hard, he called him to him and, having once suffered the same temptations, he exhorted and encouraged the monk to stand firm against the diabolical cleverness, not to yield and not to give in to the diabolical attacks and not to leave his place, but to defend himself with fasting and prayer and often to call upon God to help him overcome the evil one.

And also he told them that the same thing happened to him. One night when he was singing in the cell the usual psalms, there appeared before him a black dog which prevented him from even making the prostrations, and stood thus before him for a very long time. And he, being very enraged, he tried to strike the dog but he became invisible. And such fear and trembling fell upon him that he would have fled from that place, if God had not helped him. But, recovering a little from the fright, he began to pray fervently to God and to make prostrations and then this fear receded from him, so that from that time he did not fear them, even when they appeared to him before his eyes. And to console them, he told them also other teachings, strengthening them against evil spirits and so dismissed them joyful and thanking God for such an admonition by their courageous superior and teacher.

27. Illarion

One of the brothers, whose name was Illarion, told me this also. He said that the evil devils did a lot of mischief to him in his cell, because when he lay on the bed, a whole mob of devils, running, seized him by the hair, and, pushing, dragged him, and others lifting a part of the wall,

said: Drag him here, (p. 49) and we will put him in the wall!" They did this to him every night. And, when he could not stand it any longer, he went and told the great Theodosius about this devilish mischief and wanted to move from this place to another cell. And the blessed one begged him, saying: "No, brother, do not go out from this place, in order that the evil devils should flatter themselves that they overcame you and they will do still further trouble to you and still further will do mischief to you, having got the upper hand of you. But pray fervently to God in your cell, and God will see your suffering and give you victory over them so that they will not dare even to approach you. But he said again to him: "I beg you, father, I cannot live in this cell, because of the multitude of devils." Then the blessed one made the sign of the cross over him and said: "Go into your cell and from now on the devils will not be able to do any mischief to you, and you will not even see them any more." Then he, believing, bowed down to the Saint and left; and that night he slept sweetly in his cell, without any turmoil. And from then on these impudent devils did not dare to come near to this place, having been expelled by the prayers of our reverend father Theodosius, and they fled.

Then the same monk Illarion told me also the following. He was an expert in the copying of books, and during all the days and nights he copied books in the cell of our blessed father Theodosius, who quietly sang the psalter to himself, spinning wool or occupied in other work. And one night, when each of them was doing his own work, the overseer came and told the blessed one that for the morrow he did not have anything with which to buy the necessities for the nourishment of the brothers and for other needs. And the blessed one said to him: "You see it is already evening, and tomorrow is still distant; therefore go, be patient a little and pray to God,

perhaps he will have mercy and worry about us, if he wishes to." The overseer heard this and left, and the blessed one rose and went into the interior of his cell to sing, according to the custom of his rule, and having prayed, again sat in his place and applied himself to his work. And again the steward came and repeated the same thing. And the blessed one answered him: "Did I not tell you to pray to God? And tomorrow morning you will go to the city and take from the merchants on credit everything (p. 50) which is necessary to the brothers, and if God helps, I will later repay the debt. Because faithful is he who said: "Do not worry about tomorrow; let tomorrow worry about itself.... Would he withdraw his grace from us?"

28. The Gold Sent by God

When the overseer left, there came into the cell a certain shining youth, who saying nothing, bowed down and placed on the table a piece of gold, and left as silently as he came. The blessed one arose, took the gold, and with tears in his eyes prayed silently to the Lord God, and having called the porter, asked him if anyone had come to the gate that night. And he, under oath, gave testimony that the doors were shut when it was still daylight and from then, he said, he opened it to no one and no one came to them. Then the blessed one, calling the overseer, gave him a gold piece saying: "Why do you, brother Anastasius, say that you have nothing with which to buy what is necessary for the brothers? Therefore go and buy the brothers what is necessary for tomorrow, and tomorrow will take care of itself." And the overseer understood the grace of God, and fell on his knees and begged forgiveness from the reverend one. And the blessed one taught him still further saying: "Brother, never lose hope, but take strength in faith, and cast all your worry on the Lord, because he works with us as

pleases him, and today make a great reception for the brothers, because this is God's bounty to us."

And God always gave generously for the needs of that God-chosen flock, by the prayers of the reverend one. And the blessed one in all this passed sleepless nights, begging God with tears and often fell on his knees, as even the church builders heard many times, when they came at the time of Matins to receive a blessing from him. On one occasion one of them came quietly and stopped and heard him as he prayed, wept and often made prostrations to the ground. Thence, departing a piece, the builder began again to walk loudly, and when he heard his steps, Theodosius became silent, and pretended to be asleep, and he knocking said: "Bless me Father"; but the blessed one was so silent that he knocked a third time and said: "Bless me Father!"; only then, as if waking from sleep, he said: "May our Lord Jesus Christ bless you (p. 51)"; and then, before everyone, he went to the church. They related that he did this every night.

29. The Priest Damien

There was in the monastery of the blessed one, a certain elder, of the rank of priest, whose name was Damien, who strictly emulated the life of humility of the reverend father Theodosius. Because of his good life, obedience and humility towards all, he acquired for himself a good reputation. First, those who lived with him in the cell saw his meekness and sleeplessness every night and how he read through the Holy Books because of love and often arose to pray; they also witnessed much more about this person. When on one occasion, this Damien became sick and his end already was at hand, he prayed with tears thus to God: "My Lord, Jesus Christ, make me worthy to be a comrade of Your Saints, and together with them to

become partakers of Your Kingdom, and do not cut me off; I pray, O Master, from the father and my superior, the reverend Theodosius, but number me in the next world together with him in everything which You have prepared for Your just ones." When he lay thus and prayed, there approached his bed the blessed Theodosius, and fell on his breast, and kissing him, said to him: "That for which you have prayed, my son, to the Lord, behold he has sent me to say that it shall be to you according to your request and He counts you among the Saints, and you will be with him in the kingdom of Heavenly Lord and when the Lord tells you to depart from this world and to come to Him, then we will not part from one another, but will be together in that world." Saying this, he disappeared. He then understood that God had sent him such an apparition, because he did not see anyone who came or went out through the doors, but he appeared in an instant in that place and afterwards became invisible to him. Therefore he quickly called a servant and sent him for the blessed Theodosius; and when he quickly came to him, Damien said joyfully to him: "Father, will it be with me as you promised when you appeared to me?" And the blessed one knowing nothing of this, answered, "No, my son, I know nothing about any promise made to you." And then he told him, how he prayed, and how the reverend one had appeared to him. Hearing this, the God-inspired Theodosius' (p. 52) expression became serious, and he was moved to tears a little, and said: "Yes, my son, it will be thus as I promised you. Because an angel appeared to you in my likeness. For I, being a sinful man, how can I promise you such glory, which is prepared for the Just." Nevertheless he, hearing the promise of the Saint, rejoiced. And when the brethren gathered together, he greeted everyone and gave up his soul in peace into the hands of the Lord, when angels came for him. And then

the blessed one ordered the bell to be struck, in order that the distant brothers should assemble. And thus, with great solemnity and with songs, they honorably buried the body of the Confessor in the brothers' cemetery.

And when the number of brothers grew, it became difficult for our glorious father Theodosius to extend the monastery in order to build more cells for those who came and became monks. And he worked himself with the brethren, enclosing the monastic court-yard. And when he enclosed the monastery, they stopped standing guard.

30. The Attack of the Robbers and the Miraculous Protection

One night, in thick darkness, there came robbers upon them and they told one another that in the church rooms there lay hidden wealth and therefore they did not go to anyone in the cells, but directed themselves to the church. And here they heard the voices of singers. Thinking that these were the brothers, they left. Then retreating a little into the woods, they thought that the singing was finished and again they went to the church, but here again they heard that same song and saw a wondrous light in the church, and they smelt from the church the odour of blessed incense, because these were angels singing in it. Therefore, thinking that these were the brothers conducting the midnight service, they left again and waited further until they would finish singing the songs, and then going into the church, they would catch them all. And thus they came many times and always heard that same angelic voice. Finally there came the time of Matins, and the sexton, as was customary, intoned: "Bless, Oh Father!", asking a blessing and began to ring for Matins. And they departed a bit into the forest, sat down and said to themselves: "What are we to do? For it seems to us that in the church there is some kind of apparition; but when they all gather in the church, then we will attack it,

block the doors, kill them all and take their wealth." Thus the enemy incited them, wanting to root out this holy flock from this place, but this he was not successful in doing, because he himself, with God's help, was overcome by the prayers of our reverend father (p. 53) Theodosius. Hence these evil men again waited a little, until this reverend flock was gathered with its blessed superior and pastor Theodosius when they sang the Matins psalms, they were supposed to fall upon them like wild animals. But when they came near, there suddenly took place an awesome miracle. The church together with those who were in it, was raised from the earth into the heavens so that they could not approach it. And they who were in it, together with the blessed one, didn't even notice anything or hear anything. Then the robbers, having seen the miracle, were terrified and alarmed and they returned to their hiding places; and from then on they didn't do harm to anyone. And the leader of the robbers with the three others came to our blessed father Theodosius for penance and told him everything that had happened. And the blessed one, having heard them, praised God who had saved his own from such a death, and having taught them about the salvation of souls, he dismissed them. They thanked him and praised God for all this. Such was the miracle which took place at the church of the Caves.

31. The Miracle of the Caves Church

On one occasion one of the boyars of the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav saw the following miracle in the church of Petchersk. Once when he was going through the fields at night, about fifteen versts from the monastery of blessed Theodosius, he saw a church in some kind of a cloud. Hence he hurried there with his servants, desiring to see what kind of church this was. And when he arrived at the monastery of the blessed one, then

before his eyes the church came down from on high and stood on its place. Therefore he knocked at the doors, and when the porter opened them, he went to the blessed one and told him what had happened. And from then on he often came to the monastery and was filled with spiritual conversation and often gave from his wealth to the reverend one for the upkeep of the monastery.

32. The Boyar Clement

Then again, one of the boyars of that Christ-loving prince Iziaslav, was going once with this prince on a military excursion against enemies; he vowed that if he returned home safely, he would give to the holy God-Bearer in the monastery of the blessed Theodosius two pieces of gold and that he would also engrave a wreath for the ikon of the holy God-Bearer. And there took place a slaughter and many on both sides fell by the sword, but we defeated the enemies and those who survived returned home. But the boyar forgot about his promise to the holy God-Bearer. And after several days, when he was asleep at noon in his room, he heard a strong voice which called him by name: "Clement!" Waking up, he sat on the bed (p. 54) and saw that before him on the stone-couch stood the ikon of the holy God-Bearer from the monastery of the blessed one, from which came such a voice: "Why, Clement, do you not give me that which you promised to give? And I say to you today, Hurry to fulfill your vow". Having said this, the ikon became invisible. And then that boyar, Zdeslav Huyeovich, for such was his name formerly, was very frightened and taking that which he promised, he carried it to the monastery and gave it to blessed Theodosius. He also engraved a garland for the ikon of the holy God-Bearer.

Not many days later this same boyar decided to give a Gospel Book to the monastery. He came to the great Theodosius in the monastery, having

the holy Gospel hidden under his garment, and when after prayers, wanting to sit down for a talk, he still did not show the holy Gospel, the blessed one said to him: "First, brother Clement, take out the holy Gospel, that you have under your garment, which you promised to give to the holy God-Bearer, and then we will sit." Hearing this, he was amazed at the foreknowledge of the reverend one because he had not told anyone about this; hence he took out the holy Gospel, and gave it into the hands of the blessed one and only then sat and listened to this spiritual discourse and returned home. But from then on he acquired great love for blessed Theodosius and came to him often, with great profit to himself.

And when such persons came to him, the blessed one after spiritual teaching, entertained them at the monastery dining table with bread and lentils. And the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav himself also often partook at such a meal, rejoiced in this and said to blessed Theodosius: "You know, father, my palace is full of all the goods of this world, but I never ate such sweet dishes as this. Therefore I pray you, father, tell me whence comes this savour in your dishes?" And our God-inspired father Theodosius, wanting to lead him to the love of God, said to him: "If you wish, our good sovereign, to know this then listen to what I tell you. The brethren in this monastery, when they decide to cook something, or to bake bread, or to make some other service, have this rule: First, one of them goes to the abbot for a blessing, afterwards he makes a three-fold prostration to the ground before (p. 55) the altar, and lights a candle on the holy altar and from it kindles the fire. And when he pours water into the kettle he says to the elder, "Bless, O Father," and he replies: "May God bless you, brother." And thus all the services are fulfilled with blessing. And your servants work with quarreling and strife, and with curses one on

the other, and often receive blows from the overseers; and thus all their service is fulfilled with sin." Having heard this the Christ-lover said: "In truth, father, it is thus, as you say."

33. The Saint Removes the Surplus

Our reverend father Theodosius, who in truth was filled with the spirit of God and increased God's talent and settled this place with a great number of monks, so that which was once a deserted place, today has become a glorious monastery, he did not desire to make it in any depository, but with faith and hope relied on God, not trusting excessively on possessions. And therefore he often went to the cells of his disciples, and if he found something with someone, whether it was food, or clothing beyond the prescribed amount, or something of other possessions, he took this and threw it into the fire, as a hostile object, as a temptation to sin. And then he told them: "It is not good for us brethren, being monks and having rejected everything worldly, again to heap up possessions in our cells. For how can we bring a pure prayer to God, having hidden things in our cells? Concerning this you have heard from the Lord who said: "Where is your treasure, there your hearts will be;" and also these his words about those who gather: "Fool, this night they will take your soul from you, and that which you have gathered, whose will it be?" Therefore, brothers, it is sufficient for us to care only about our clothing allowed by the rule and about the food which the steward gives at the table, and it is not allowed to retain such things in the cells, so that with all fervour and thought we can bring to God pure prayers." Such and much more of this he spoke to them, with all humility and tears, teaching everyone, not being ever angry, or enraged in his countenance but merciful and

serene, and full of love to all. And when someone from this holy spiritual flock became weak in heart and left the monastery, the blessed one worried very much over him and prayed to God (p. 56) that such a sheep, who had separated from the flock, would return again, and he wept so long and prayed to God for him until such a brother returned again. Then the blessed one, receiving him with joy, taught him not to weaken his watchfulness against the enemy's deceits and not to allow them into himself, but that he should stand firm, because he said that it is not a courageous soul who does not desire these painful attacks. And thus, having taught much to such a one, and having comforted him, he dismissed him in peace to his cell.

34. The Frequent Departures from the Monastery

There was one impatient brother who often left the monastery of the blessed one, and when he again returned, the blessed one received him with joy because he said that God would not leave him thus by himself that he should die outside the monastery; for even though he often departed from us, he was to die in this monastery. And he prayed for him to God with tears, begging patience for him. And after many such departures, he returned one time to the monastery and asked the great Theodosius to accept him. And he, as one truly merciful to wandering sheep who had returned, accepted him and numbered him with his flock. Then that monk, who working with his hands had acquired some possessions, because he was a hemp cobbler brought it and placed his possessions before the blessed one. And so the Saint said to him: "If you wish to be a perfect monk, then take this and throw it into the fire, because it comes from disobedience." And he, having a warm faith, on the command of the blessed one, took this and it into the stove and it burned up. And he himself from then on

remained in the monastery where he spent the rest of his life and here in spite of all that, according to the prophecy of the blessed one, he reposed with peace in the Lord.

Such was the love and the mercy of the blessed one to his disciples that not one should separate himself from his flock, but he shepherded all of them together, like a good shepherd, giving them leadership, instruction, consolation and rebuke, nourishing them with the indestructible bread of eternal life, and filling them unceasingly from the fountain of life, and thus he led many on the road to the heavenly kingdom. And from here we will again turn to the further exploits in the life of our father Theodosius.

35. The Lack of Flour

One day the steward came to the blessed one and said that that day he did not have anything to give the brothers for nourishment, or anything to cook. And the blessed one said to him, (p. 57) "Go, wait and pray to God. Will he not work for us as is his custom? If not, then cook wheat groats, mix them with honey and give them to the brothers at the table. But let us hope in the Lord, who gave heavenly bread in the desert even to the rebellious people, and sent manna down from heaven; that same one will help us to provide food today." Hearing this, the steward left and the blessed one prayed without ceasing about this to God. And behold God placed it in the thoughts of the above-mentioned boyar John to load three wagons with food—bread, cheese, fish, lentils and millet, and also honey, and he sent them to the blessed one in the monastery. Having seen all these goods, the blessed one praised God and said to the steward, "Do you see, brother Theodore, that God will not forsake us if we will rely on him with all our heart? Therefore go and prepare a great feast for the brothers

today, because the bounty of God has come to us.

And thus the blessed Theodosius rejoiced with the brethren at the table with spiritual joy, even though he himself ate only dry bread and cooked spring-corn without butter, drinking water, which was his custom. And it was never possible to see him wanting and sad when he sat down at the table, but he lit up everything with the grace of God.

36. The Mercy of Saint Theodosius

Once there were brought to the blessed one bound robbers, who had been caught stealing in one of the monastery villages. And the blessed one seeing them bound and in such affliction, was very grieved and tearful, and said to unbind them and to give them food and drink; here he taught them very earnestly that they should not offend anyone nor do evil to anyone, and finally he gave them sufficient from his possessions and goods and thus dismissed them in peace. They then departed praising God and the blessed Theodosius and from that day they became meek and did not do harm to anyone, but were satisfied with their work. Such was the humility of our father Theodosius, for when he saw someone miserable, poor or in worry, or in poor clothing, he immediately felt sorry for him and worried very much about him and showed mercy to him with tears.

Therefore close to the monastery he set up a home and church in the name of the holy first martyr Stephen, and there he received the miserable, the blind, the crippled and the lepers, and from the monastery gave them everything necessary, that is about a tenth part of all the monastery's possessions. And every Saturday he also sent whole wagonloads of bread to those who resided in prisons or in chains.

(p. 58) 37. The Priest Asking for Wine

One day there came to the reverend Theodosius a priest of the city

who requested wine for holy Mass. Hence the blessed one called the overseer of the church and told him to pour out as much wine as there was in the jar and give it to him. But that one said that there was only enough wine for two, three or four liturgical days. And the blessed one replied to him: "Give this man all of it, and God will take care of us." And he went, but he broke the command and poured a little wine into a vessel, keeping the rest for the morrow's church service. The priest, carrying this small quantity, showed it to blessed Theodosius, who again called the sexton and said to him: "Did I not tell you to pour out all that you have, and not to worry about tomorrow, because God will not leave this church tomorrow without services, but this very day will give us wine and that beyond measure." Then the sexton went and poured out all the wine for the priest and thus dismissed him. When they sat down for supper, in accordance with the prophecy of the blessed one there were brought three wagons of pots with wine which the stewardess of the home of the devout prince Vsevolod had sent. Seeing this, that sexton praised God and wondered at the prophecy of the saintly and blessed Theodosius, who had said, "This very day God will send us wine beyond measure," and this took place.

38. The Disobedience of the Steward

Once on the day of the holy great martyr Demetrius, on which he received for Christ the crown of martyrdom, the reverend Theodosius went with the brethren to the monastery of Saint Demetrius, and at the same time there was brought from someone very fine loaves and Theodosius ordered the steward to place them on the table for those who remained. And he did not listen, thinking to himself that he would set these loaves on the next day when all the brethren came to the table, because today

the monastery bread was sufficient for these brothers. As he thought, so he did. On the next day when they sat at the table and the bread was cut, the blessed one, looking, saw those same loaves and called the steward and asked him where these loaves were from. And he replied that they were brought yesterday but since the brothers were few, he decided to put them out today for all the brothers for breakfast. "It would have been better not to endeavour for tomorrow (p. 59), but to do according to my command, and today our Lord, who cares for us, would have provided something more for our needs." And he ordered one of the brothers to gather these pieces into a basket and to throw them in the river, and he corrected the steward with penance for disobeying a command. And thus he did always, when some work was done without a blessing beforehand, because he did not desire that this holy place would partake of such dishes as were prepared without a blessing and with the breaking of obedience. Therefore, like a dangerous allurements, sometimes he said to throw them into a burning fire or sometimes into the rapids of the river.

39. The Disobeying of the Saint's Commands

After the death of our blessed father Theodosius, there took place, because of disobedience, such an incident. Even though it is not good to speak about it here, but we have already recalled a similar tale, so we will also add this one.

After the ousting of our revered father, the abbot Stephen, from the monastery, when the great Nikon became abbot, there had come immediately the holy days of the greater lent. In the first week of such abstinence, when good ascetics were toiling well, it was ordered by our reverend father Theodosius that on friday of this week there should be given to them very pure bread, because other breads were made with honey and on

oil. Hence the steward was ordered to do this according to custom but he did not listen and told a falsehood, saying that there was no flour for the preparing of such bread. But God did not thus disregard the toil and prayers of his reverend ones, that there should not be neglected the decisions of the blessed Theodosius. For when they went for the lenten dinner after holy Mass, and there was by now no other hope, until behold there was brought a whole wagon of such bread. Seeing this, the brethren glorified God greatly and saint Theodosius, wondering how God always cared for them, giving them everything necessary by the prayers of their reverend father and superior Theodosius. And again, when after two days, the steward wanted to bake bread for the brothers with that flour of which he had previously said there was none, and when the bakers prepared and already kneaded the dough (p. 60) and poured hot water over it, there was found a frog in the water, which spoiled all that work done with disobedience, for God allowed such a thing for the protection of the holy flock in order that having performed such great exploits that week, they should not partake of such bread but like a hostile allurement God spoiled it with a serpent, in order that they should always be vigilant. And let no one of you criticize me that I wrote this here and made a pause in my tale, because I did this in order that you would understand that it is not good not to listen to the superior, your abbot, in anything, knowing that whatever we hide from him will not remain hidden from God, and he will quickly intercede for the one whom he has placed over us as the elder pastor, that all should listen to him and do everything according to his orders. But let us return to our original tale about blessed Theodosius.

40. The Lack of Olive Oil

Once there arrived the feast of the Dormition of the holy God-Bearer

and there was a lack of oil for the lighting of the lamps that day. And the overseer of the church decided to draw out oil from earthly seeds, to pour it into the lamp and to light it and he asked the blessed Theodosius about this; and he told him to do as he thought. And when he wanted to pour the oil into the lamp, he saw that there floated in it a drowned mouse. He ran quickly and informed the blessed one and said that he had very carefully covered the jar containing the oil and that he did not know from whence the mouse got in and drowned. And the blessed Theodosius thought to himself that this was by the ordering of God's Providence, and driving away his lack of faith said to him: "It would be better for us, brother, to have hope in God, trusting that he can give us all that is necessary for us, rather than lacking faith, to do what would not be fitting. Therefore go, pour the oil on the ground and be patient a little, praying to God, and he will give us today, olive oil and more than is necessary." And when supper came, one of the wealthy men brought a big jug, full of oil. Seeing this, the blessed one glorified God who had listened to his prayer so quickly. Hence (p. 61) they filled all the lamps and still the greater part of the oil was left, and on the next day they celebrated the magnificent feast of the holy God-Bearer.

And the God-loving prince Iziaslav who, in truth, had a warm faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and in his most pure Mother, and who finally even gave his life for his brother following the word of the Lord, he had, as he himself said, a special love for our father Theodosius and often came to him, profiting from his God-inspired words.

41. The Saint Fills a Tub with Mead by His Word

One day the prince came to the church, and he and Theodosius sat for a spiritual conversation until the time of Vespers came, and then he

left with the blessed one and the brethren for the evening praise-singing, because by the will of God a heavy rain then fell. Seeing that the rain would not stop, the blessed one called the steward and said that he should prepare a dish and food for the prince for supper. Then the steward came to him and told him "Father Abbot, there is no mead to give the prince and his attendants to drink for supper." And the blessed one said to him: "Do you have so little of it?", and he replied: "In truth, Father, I do not have even a little, because I have turned over all the jars empty." And the blessed one again said to him: "Go and turn them over more carefully, maybe something is left." And he replied and said: "Believe me, Father, that I even turned over the last jar in which there had been some drink and put it on the ground." But the blessed one, in truth, filled with the Holy Ghost and spiritual grace, said to him: "Go on my word, in the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and you will find mead in that jar." And he believed and went into the room, according to the word of our holy father Theodosius, and found on the right side a full tub of mead, and he was frightened and ran and informed the blessed one of what had happened. And the blessed one said to him: "Be quiet, my son, and don't even say a word to anyone, but go and carry as much as is necessary for the prince and his comrades and also give it to the brothers, let them drink, because this is the bounty of God." And when the rain stopped falling, the prince went home. And that abundance was so great that it sufficed for the monastery for many days.

42. The Expelling of the Devils

One (p. 62) day there came to our blessed father Theodosius, from a certain small monastery village, a monk saying that in the cattle shed where the cattle were enclosed there was noticed a band of devils who did a great

deal of mischief to the cattle, not allowing them to eat. And already, many times, the priest had conducted prayers, and sprinkled holy water, but the evil spirits still remained till that day and did harm to the cattle. Therefore our father Theodosius armed himself against them with fasting and prayer, according to the word of the Lord which says, "This type cannot be expelled with anything except by prayer and fasting", and he hoped that he could drive them from this place; hence he came to this village and one night he went into that cattle-shed where the devils made their dwelling, and shut the doors and stayed there in prayer until Matins. And from that time the devils never again appeared in that place, and also did not do harm to anyone in the whole settlement, by the prayers of our reverend father Theodosius, as if they had been completely rooted out of that village. And the blessed one returned to the monastery like some strong conqueror, having overcome the evil spirits, who did mischief in the territory of the Saint.

43. The Increase of Flour through the Prophecy of the Saint

Once there came to our reverend father Theodosius the foreman over the bakers and said that he did not have flour for bread for the brothers. And the blessed one said to him: "Go and inspect the pantry; maybe you will find in it at least a little flour, since God does not forget about us." But knowing that he had swept the bin and that only in one corner was there a little chaff, he said to the reverend one: "In truth I tell you, father, that I myself have swept this place and there is nothing there, except a little chaff." Then the father said to him: "Believe me, my son, God can from those pieces of chaff fill this place with flour. Just as He did to the widow in the presence of Elias, multiplying two handfuls of flour so that she was able to survive, herself and her children, in the

time of a famine, when there was death in the nation; and that same one today can also for us from a little make a great deal; therefore go and look, perhaps God's blessing will be on this place." Having heard this, he went into the pantry and saw a bin, which had been empty before, now full of flour by the prayers of our reverend father Theodosius, so that it spilled over the side (p. 63) on to the ground. Seeing such a glorious miracle, he was terrified and having returned to the blessed one he told him this, and the Saint said to him: "Go, my son, and tell no one of this, but bake bread for the brothers as usual, because by the prayers of our reverend brothers God revealed his love for us, having given us that, which we require."

Such was the solicitude of the blessed one and such the hope of our reverend father Theodosius; such faith had he in our Lord Jesus Christ and did not place any faith in earthly matters, neither did he trust in anything in this world, but with all his thought and soul trusted on God and in Him alone placed all his hope, not caring about tomorrow, for he had always in his mind and in his heart the word of the Lord: "Do not worry about anything; look at the birds of the air; they do not sow and they do not reap, neither do they gather into bins, but the heavenly Father feeds them! Are you not worth more than they?" Therefore, he always prayed with tears: "Lord, as you gathered us in this place, if it is pleasing to Your holy grace, that we should live on it, be to us a helper and a giver of all blessings; for in the name of Your holy Mother this home was built and we were gathered into it in Your name. And You, Lord, protect and guard us from all whisperings of the always evil enemy and make us worthy to attain eternal life; place always in our hearts your fear, that by it we shall inherit your blessings, which you prepared for the holy ones." And thus he

lived, always teaching the brethren, comforting them and admonishing them that they should never be discouraged but that they should go forward, gradually and unceasingly. And he shepherded his flock vigilantly, taking care that the cunning wolf did not come and scatter this holy and heavenly flock.

44. The Light Revealed by God

There appeared to a certain Christ-loving and God-fearing man, a light showing our blessed and revered father Theodosius and his most pure and immaculate prayers and also his holy monastery, showing another place for its resettling.

There is above the monastery a small hillock, and when that man went there at night, he saw a wondrous miracle and was very frightened. For in the dark night he saw on the monastery of the blessed one a wondrous light (p. 64), and in that light was the reverend Theodosius in the middle of the monastery in front of the church, with his hands lifted to heaven, as he prayed fervently to God. And when he saw this and wondered, there appeared to him a second vision. From the roof of the church, there came a great flame in the form of some kind of a tent and it went over to another hillock and stood there on that side which our blessed father Theodosius had chosen and upon which he had begun to build a church, and upon which to this day stands this glorious monastery. And this flame appeared thus: it was as if a double one, of which one stood on one end on the top of the church, and the second on the first mentioned place; and it stood there until that time when this man went off the mount. The truth of this he saw personally and told one of the brothers of the monastery of the blessed one. Therefore it is better for us to say with the heavenly patriarch Jacob, that the Lord is in this place and it is holy; and it is nothing else but God's

home and the gate of heaven. Or it is possible also to say, as was said in the Life of the holy great Sabbas, for also to him, when he one night went out from his cell and prayed, there appeared in the sky a pillar of fire; and when he later went to this place, he found there a cave and soon built a glorious monastery. And thus here it is necessary to understand this: God chose the place, and on it there was soon seen a glorious monastery, and which until to day prospers by its prayers.

Such was the prayer to God of our blessed father Theodosius, for his flock and for this place, such nightly waking and sleeplessness, and it shone like a light in this monastery, and the gracious and good God revealed in this place still another wonder.

45. The Apparition of the Holy Angels

The brothers were told about this by people living nearby. One night they heard the voices of many singers and, rising from their beds, they went out from their houses and stood on a higher place and saw many monks as they went out from the old church and made their way to the above-mentioned higher place, carrying the ikon of the holy God-Bearer. Then all the others went after them with burning tapers in their hands and sang. In front of them went their reverend father and superior Theodosius (p. 65). And when they arrived at this place, they prayed, sang songs, and returned again, and before their eyes, went singing into the old church. And this was seen not by one or two, but many people, who told about this. And besides that, how is it to be understood that angels had appeared, and from the brothers no one understood this, because God wanted it thus and hid the secret from them. And by consent, having heard about this, they glorified God, who works great wonders and glorifies this place and sanctifies it by the prayers of our reverend father Theodosius.

But again it is better for us, brethren, having told about this, to go on to further praises of the blessed one and to relate truly all that which is worthy of his zeal for our Lord Jesus Christ.

46. The Preaching of the Christian Faith to the Jews

The blessed one had the following custom: he often rose at night and unknown to all, he would go to the Jews and dispute with them, reproaching them and speaking to them accusingly, calling them apostates and people without the law, desiring to become a martyr by confessing Christ.

47. The Great Lenten Exploits of the Saint

When Theodosius in the season of Lent went out to the above mentioned cave, he often arose from there at night, without anyone knowing, under the protection of God alone, and went alone into the monastery village, and having there in a secret place a prepared cave remained there until Palm Sunday returning then to the brothers so that they thought that he had remained there all through Lent. And so he lived; not giving himself rest, in nightly waking and prayers beseeching God for his flock and calling upon Him for help in all their endeavours, going about every night in the monastery yard praying and protecting them as though with a stronghold, standing guard lest the evil serpent come and take some of his disciples prisoner; thus he protected all the monastery property.

When, on one occasion, those who guarded their homes, caught robbers, bound them and brought them to the city for trial, it happened that they came near the monastery village; then one of the captive thieves, nodding his head towards this village, said that one night (p. 66) when they came to this small village, thinking to make an attack and to steal everything that was there, he said that they saw a very high castle and could not enter into it. Thus God, unseen, had protected all this property

by the prayers of the reverend and just Man. Therefore blessed David, foreseeing this said: "The eyes of the Lord are on the just, his ears are on their call." The Lord who created us always inclines his ear in order to hear those who call upon him in truth, and having heard their prayer, saves them; and for those who trust in him he does everything according to their will and supplications. And thus it was with our reverend and blessed father Theodosius, who shepherded his flock with all piety and purity, giving an example to all by his life of abstinence and by his exploits.

48. The Courage and the Firmness of the Saint

There took place at this time from the evil enemy a serious quarrel among three princes, natural brothers. Two of the brothers decided to declare war on the third, the eldest brother, the Christ-loving prince Iziaslav, and exiled him from the capital city of Kiev. And when they went into this city, they sent to our blessed father Theodosius urging him to come to them for a reception and thus take part in this unjust council. But the reverend one, filled with the Holy Ghost and understanding that the exile of the Christ-loving prince was unjust, told the messenger that he would not come to this Jezebel reception and partake of such bread, mixed with blood and murder; and still he told him much more and corrected him, and said that all this should be said to him who had sent him. And having heard this, they could not be angry with him, seeing that he was a just and Godly person, but nevertheless they did not listen to him, but they expelled their brother out of all his country; and when they returned again, one of them sat on the throne of his father and brother, and the other returned to his portion.

And our reverend father Theodosius, filled with the Holy Ghost, began

to accuse him of doing an injustice and sitting on the princely throne unlawfully as if he were the father, having expelled the older brother from it. Therefore he did not cease to accuse him, writing and sending letters to him and accusing him before the boyars, who came to him, (p. 67) for the unjust expulsion of his brother, telling them to tell him this. Finally he wrote a very long letter to him, saying to him: "The voice of your brother's blood calls to God, like the blood of Abel against Cain", and he gave him other examples of ancient murderers, persecutors and brother-haters; he exposed all this to him by parables, and having written it, sent it to him.

And when the prince read his letter, he was very enraged and roared like a lion, throwing it on the ground. And from then on there went forth a rumour that they were sending the blessed one into exile; therefore the brethren were in great distress and begged the blessed one to leave the matter and not to judge him. And also many boyars came and told of the prince's wrath and requested him not to oppose him, because they said he wants to send you into exile. But the blessed one, when he heard what was being said about his exile, rejoiced in his soul and said to them: "I rejoice greatly at that, brothers, because well being in this world is worth nothing; does the loss of possessions and wealth frighten me? Does parting from children and village sadden me? We brought nothing into this world, but were born naked and it is necessary for us to depart from this world naked; therefore I am ready for exile and for death." And from then on he began to tax him still more with brother-hatred, desiring that he would send him into exile. But he, even though he was very angry with the blessed one, did not dare to do him any harm, because he saw that he was a reverend and just man, because formerly he often envied his brother, who

had such a luminary in his territory, as was heard and related by one monk, Paul, who was the abbot in one of the monasteries in his province.

Besides being requested by the brothers and boyars, he himself also saw that nothing could be gained by these words, so our blessed Father Theodosius left this and from then did not reproach him any more, thinking that it would be better to ask him with entreaties, that he should return his brother's province to him.

49. Prince Svyatoslav Makes Peace with the Saint

Not long after than, when the Christian prince understood that blessed Theodosius had ceased his anger and stopped his reproaches, he rejoiced greatly, because he had wanted to speak with him for a long time and to hear him and to be filled with his spiritual teaching (p. 68); therefore he sent to the blessed one with the question, if he would allow him to come into his monastery or not. And when he allowed him to come, he gladly rose and went with his boyars to the monastery of the blessed one. And when the great Theodosius went out with the brethren from the church, according to custom he met him and bowed down, as it is most fitting to a prince, who in his turn greeted the blessed one. And then the faithful prince said to him: "I, Father, did not dare to come to you, knowing that you were angry with me and perhaps would not allow me into your monastery." And the blessed one replied to him: "What can my anger do against your might, good lords; but we must accuse and tell you that which will serve for the salvation of your soul and it would be better to listen to that." And they went into the church and, having prayed, they sat for a discussion, and the blessed Theodosius began to lecture him from the Sacred Writings, teaching him a great deal about love for his brother. But he drew up many faults also against his brother; therefore he did not want to make peace with his brother.

And after a long conversation, the prince returned again to his home, praising God greatly, that he had been honoured to speak with such a man. And from then on he often came to him because of this spiritual food: because the words of the blessed one which came from the honeyed mouth, were better than honey and syrup. And often also the great Theodosius went to him, reminding him of the fear of God and of brotherly love.

One day, when our blessed and God-bearing father Theodosius went to him and came into the prince's palace, he saw before him many musicians. Some played on harps, others on fiddles, and still others on organs, and thus all amused themselves and made merry, as it happens by custom in the courts of princes. And the blessed one sat at the end of the table, bowing his head and inclining to the Prince, said: "Will it be thus also in the world to come?" With these words of the blessed one the prince was moved and even wept a little and said to stop the music. And from then on, when he had ordered the games to be organized with music, and when he heard that blessed Theodosius was supposed to come, he commanded them to stop playing and to be silent. And many times when they announced to him the arrival of the blessed one, he went out to meet him before the doors of the palace, greeted him and thus they both entered into the palace. Then, rejoicing, he told the reverend one: "I tell you the truth, father, if they informed me that my father had risen from the dead, I would not be so happy as (p. 69) I am with your coming, but I would not be so frightened and would not hesitate as I do because of your reverend soul." And the blessed one said to him: "If you are so frightened of me, do my will and return to your brother his throne, which your just father had given to him." But he was silent, not knowing what to reply to him about this, because the enemy had so inflamed him against his brother that he did not even want to hear such

a thing. And our father Theodosius prayed day and night to God for the Christian prince Iziaslav, and ordered him to be commemorated in the litanies of the Mass as the first-throned and eldest of all the princes; and that one who sat on the throne illegally he did not order to be commemorated in his monastery. And the brethren persuaded him with difficulty against this course, and therefore he ordered him to be commemorated together with Iziaslav. Nevertheless Iziaslav was mentioned first and only then was Svyatoslav commemorated.

The great Nikon, having seen such a disorder among the princes, had departed with two monks to the above-mentioned island, where he built a monastery. And when the blessed Theodosius begged him many times that he should not go and that he should not separate himself from him for life, he still did not listen to him in this and departed for his place, as was said above.

50) The Construction of the Great Church of the Caves

Our father Theodosius filled with the Holy Ghost began the effort to resettle, by the grace of God, to another place. With the aid of the Holy Ghost he built a large stone church dedicated to the holy God-bearer and ever virgin Mary, because before there had been there only a small wooden chapel for the brothers. In the beginning of such a task there had gathered a great many people and some wanted to build in this place and others in another place; but amongst them, there was a better place in the neighboring estate of the prince. And behold, by the foreknowledge of God, there came there prince Svyatoslav, and he saw the crowd of people and asked what they were doing there; then having heard he turned his horse around, went to them, and moved by God, showed them a place on his property and recommended that a church be built there. And after the heavenly dew of prayers, this place

was chosen, and after with dryness and with the burning fire of thorns, as was said previously, it was ready for the laying of the foundation. After the appropriate prayers, the digging of the foundation was started by the pious prince himself. And the blessed Theodosius endeavoured and laboured daily on the building of such an edifice, (p. 70), even though it was not completed during his life-time but after his death. When Stephen became abbot, he with the help of God and by the prayers of our reverend father Theodosius completed this work and built the residence. The brothers resettled there and a small group of brothers were left at the old place with a priest and a deacon to observe the holy Liturgy there daily.

And behold the life of our reverend father, from his youth until now, which I copied from many others, gathering what I could. For who is able to copy in order all the acts of this blessed man, and who is able to praise worthily his courage? For even if I had been tempted, against his instructions, to praise him adequately even then I would not be able to, being a simpleton and ignorant but as much as it was in my power I have written of the Saint. Many times the princes boyars and bishops wanted to tempt this blessed one, with entangling words, but they could not, and, as if striking upon stone, they bounced off, because he was protected by faith and hope in our Lord Jesus Christ and in himself he placed the seal of the Holy Ghost. He was the protector of widows and helper of orphans and also the hope of the miserable, and, speaking plainly, he taught and comforted all who came and then dismissed them, and gave to the poor for their needs and for their sustenance. Many unthinking people reproached him for this, but he accepted all with joy. And also from his disciples he received many reproaches and complaints, but he bore them, praying to God for all.

Again many persons made fools of themselves laughing at his poor clothing.

but he did not worry about that, but was happy in his dishonour and humiliation and rejoiced, glorifying God for this, for anyone who did not know him and saw him in such clothes never even thought that he was the abbot but rather some poor monastery servant.

51. The Rescue of the Poor Widow

When one day the blessed one went to the workers who were building the church, there met him a poor widow whom a judge had wronged and she said to the blessed one: "Tell me, monk, is your abbot in the monastery?" And the blessed one replied to her: "What is necessary for you from him, for he is a sinful man?" And the woman said to him: "Whether he is sinful I do not know; but one thing I know, that he saves many from sorrow and adversity. And therefore go to him, that he should help me, because a certain unjust judge has wronged me. Knowing this about her, the blessed one had pity and said, "Woman, go now (p. 71) to your home, and when our abbot comes, I will tell him about your matter and he will save you from your grief." Having heard this, the woman went home. And the blessed one went to the judge and told him about her problem and released her from his oppression; and he sent and returned to her everything that he had taken from her. In truth this our blessed father Theodosius was the protector of many before the princes and judges, saving them, for they could not fail to listen to him in anything, because they knew him as a just and holy man. Not because of clean and fine clothes, or because of some great possessions did they revere him, but because of his pure and bright soul and his abundant teachings, which flamed out from his mouth by the Holy Ghost; and his goat's clothing was for him like a bright and rich garment, and his honourable hairshirt like a cloak worn by an Emperor in public appearances.

52. The Calling of the Saint Theodosius to God

Having lived thus pleasing to God, when the end of his life was approaching, he foresaw his departure to God, and the day of his peaceful departure, because death for the just ones is peace. Then he ordered all the brethren to be called, even those who were in the monastery hamlets, or who were away on some other matter, and having called them all, he began to exhort the workers, overseers and servants that everyone should persevere in his assigned work with all fervour and with the fear of God, in humility and love. And he taught them with tears concerning the salvation of souls and about a life pleasing to God, about fasting, about concern for the church and staying in it with fear, about the love of brothers and humility, not to only have love and humility to elders but also to comrades. And having taught them, he dismissed and comforted them. Then after this there came for a visit to the blessed one the Christian prince Svyatoslav. And to him he opened his mouth and began to teach about piety, and how to protect orthodoxy, and how to care for the holy churches. And he also said: "I pray to the Lord God and to his immaculate Mother for light for your grace and for this nation, that they should give you a peaceful reign without rebellions. And I hand over to your grace this monastery of Petchersk, and let it not be overseen either by an archbishop or by anyone of the clergy (p. 72) of St. Sophia but let your power direct it and your sons after you forever.

After this, there came upon the blessed one a cold sweat and a high fever and he could not do anything, but lie on the bed and he said thus: "Let the will of God take place as it pleased Him with regard to me. Nevertheless I pray to you, my Lord Jesus Christ, be merciful to my soul, that it should not meet the evil of adversaries, but let Your angels receive it,

and lead it through the dark customs house to the light of Your mercy." And having said this, he was silent, and because of this the brethren fell into great sadness and grief.

For three days he could not say anything or even raise his eyes so that many thought that he had already died, except that some still saw life in him. And after three days he rose and when all the brethren were gathered, he said to them: "My brethren and fathers, the end of my life has come, for the Lord revealed it to me when I was in the cave, and it is necessary for me to go out from this world. Therefore consider among yourselves, whom should I appoint for you after myself as abbot." Having heard this, the brothers fell into great grief and sorrow and afterwards they went out and held a consultation among themselves, and unanimously they chose for themselves as abbot of the ecclesiastical authority, Stephen.

On the next day our blessed father Theodosius again called the brethren and said to them: "Well how children, have you decided amongst yourselves: who is worthy to be abbot?" And they all said that Stephen was worthy to receive the abbacy. Having called him, the blessed one consecrated him as abbot in his place, and taught them in detail about the necessity of subjection and thus dismissed them, having foretold the day of his death, saying: "On Saturday after the setting of the sun, my soul will separate itself from my body." And he again called Stephen alone, and taught him about the leading of the holy flock, and said he should not separate himself from them, but that he should serve them humbly, for great pain had already seized him (p. 73).

And when Saturday came and it began to get light, the blessed one called all the brethren and kissed each one individually with a spiritual kiss. All wept and sobbed, bidding farewell to such a pastor, and the blessed one said to them: "My dear children, brethren! I kissed you with love, because

I am going to our Master, the Lord Jesus Christ; and this is your abbot whom you have chosen for yourselves. Have him for your spiritual father and fear him and do everything according to his commands. And God, who created everything by his word and wisdom, may He bless you and protect you from misfortune, and may He preserve your firm and strong faith in Him, that you should reside in common in one thought and love until death. Let him give you the grace of labouring for Him without taint, and to reside in unity of body and soul, in humility and obedience, that you should be perfect as your heavenly father is perfect. And may the Lord be with you, and finally, I pray and invoke you to bury me in these clothes in which I am today, and in this cave, where I resided during the lenten days; and not to wash my body, so that no one from the people should see me, but you only bury my body in the mentioned place."

Hearing this from the mouth of the holy Father, the brethren wept with bitter tears.

54. The Last Commissions and Promises of the Saint to his Disciples

And again the blessed one comforted them saying, "I promise you, brothers, and fathers, that even though I go away from you in body, but I will always be with you in spirit. And as many of you as will remain in the monastery, or will be sent somewhere by the abbot, and even if one of them had sinned, I will answer for them before God; and whoever departs voluntarily from this place, I will not place blame on him. Therefore understand in this my solicitude before God; when you see that in this monastery there increases all blessing, know that I am to be found near the heavenly Lord; then when you see want and the decrease in everything, then know that I am far from God and do not have the courage to pray to him." And after that he dismissed everyone, not leaving anyone with him.

But one of the brothers who always served him having made a small hole, peeped into it. And behold the blessed one rose and remained on his knees on the ground and prayed with tears to the gracious God for the salvation of his soul and called upon the Saints for aid, especially then the holy Lady our God-Bearer, and through her our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, praying for his flock and for this place. And after prayers again he placed himself in his place (p. 74) and having lain a little, he looked toward heaven and said loudly and with a smiling face: "Blessed God, if it is thus, I do not fear, but rejoice in departing from this world." For when this is understood correctly, he had then some vision and therefore said this loudly. And after that he lay down, stretched out his legs, crossed his hands on his breast and gave his holy soul into the hands of God and went to the holy fathers, in the year 6582 (1074 A.D.), on Saturday the third of May towards sunset, as he had foretold.

And they wept profusely over him, and having taken his body, they carried it into the church and according to custom they conducted the holy service over him. And then, as if by some divine apparition and commission, there came of their own free will a great many faithful and sat before the gates, waiting for them to carry out the blessed one. And the faithful prince, who was staying then not far from the monastery of the blessed one, saw over the monastery a burning pillar which ascended from the ground to the sky. No one else saw this except the prince alone so that he understood that the blessed one had died, and he told those who were then with him: "I think that blessed Theodosius died today." For he had been with him before that and saw that he was very ill. And he sent to find out if he had truly died, and when he knew that it had happened thus, he wept for a long time.

55. The Funeral of Saint Theodosius

Then the Brothers, having closed the gate and letting no one in, in accordance with the command of the blessed one, sat near him and waited until the people would go away in order that they could bury him thus as the blessed one had requested. And there came also many boyars, but these also stood before the gates. But by God's providence the sky opened up and rain began to fall and only then did they depart. Then, when the rain stopped falling and the sun shone again, they carried him to the above mentioned cave, and placed him there and sealed it and left; but that day no one put food into his mouth.

And that year, by the prayers of our blessed father Theodosius, there was in the monastery a great harvest and in the whole district everything was abundant, and there was such an increase of cattle as never before. By this his disciples recalled and understood the promise of the holy father, and praised God that their teacher and superior had attained such great grace. (p. 75) And until this day it is possible to see how by his prayers everything is increased in his monastery; for when all the provinces were robbed by warriors, the monastery of the blessed one flourished by the unceasing prayers of our father Theodosius, for what our Lord and Master said is true, "I will glorify those who glorify me" and as the Holy Scriptures say, "And the just man, even though he dies, shall live forever; and in the Lord is his reward and the Most High takes care of him."

In truth, this our reverend father Theodosius, although he departed from us in the flesh, yet as he himself said, "In spirit I am always with you." And now I will relate that miracle which took place after the death of the blessed one.

tempted by the devil, and he hid it in a cave." And he showed him this place, saying: "Go and tell no one anything but take it back." He then, waking up, rejoiced, arose, lit a light, and went to the said place and found everything according to the word of the holy Father. And, having taken it back, he carried it to his cell, glorifying God and His Confessor, blessed Theodosius.

58. The Sick Cleric

They told also that one cleric from the chapter of the holy, great cathedral church of St. Sophia had been ill, burning very much with a fever. Having partly regained consciousness, the sick man prayed to God and to our holy father Theodosius for the improvement of his illness. And when he fell asleep again, he saw the blessed Theodosius, who gave him his cane, saying: "Take this and walk with it." And he took it and at once felt an improvement in his illness and his fever went away. And he told those present of the apparition of the blessed one and how from then he became well. Later he went to the monastery of the blessed one and told the brothers how he was cured from his illness by the prayers of our holy father to God, who gave his blessed servant such grace. But the time has come to complete our narrative.

59. The Abbacy of Stephen

After the death of our blessed father Theodosius, Stephen became abbot and continued with the building of the church which the blessed one had begun to build. Thus by the grace of Christ, and the prayers of our father Theodosius, in not many years, there was built the church and the spacious monastery. And all the brethren moved there to live and there were left there not many of those who buried the dead brethren. And because the two monasteries were close to one another, in the courtyard between them our

56. The Miracle of the Saint Concerning the Boyar

A certain boyar had fallen into great disfavour with the prince so that many came to him and said, "The prince wants to send you into exile." Therefore, he went quickly and prayed fervently to God and called upon our holy father for aid saying: "I know father, that you are a Saint; and behold the time has come, pray to the heavenly Lord that he should save me from this misfortune." And when he fell asleep one day at noon, our blessed father Theodosius appeared to him and said to him: "Why do you grieve so? Do you think that I have departed from you? Although I separated myself from you in the flesh, in the spirit I am always with you. Behold the prince will call you tomorrow, and he will not have any anger against you, but will set you in your place again." And that boyar as if he had not seen this in his sleep, having awakened, saw the shoulders of the blessed one as he went out from the doors. And the word became deed, for as the blessed one had told him, thus it happened. Therefore, he had from then a great love for the monastery of the blessed one.

57. The Miracle of the Saint Concerning the Theft of Silver

A certain man set out on a journey. Then having a full trunk of silver, he brought it to the monastery of our blessed father Theodosius and gave it for keeping to a certain monk, his friend, whose name was Conon. And one of the brothers, whose name was Nicholas, saw this and by the urging of the devil, stole it and hid it. Then Conon, having returned to his cell, looked for it but did not find it and was very worried and prayed to God with tears and often called on the help of our father Theodosius that (p. 76) he should not experience shame from that one who had given it to him for keeping. And when he had slept a little, he saw in sleep the blessed Theodosius, who said to him: "That about which you have worried was taken by the monk Nicholas,

blessed father Theodosius organized an orphanage for the poor so that all this was enclosed with one fence, even though they were two separate buildings. And our father Stephen decreed that in the old church Holy Mass should be celebrated every day for the dead brothers. And God gave them everything for their needs and thus (p. 77) by the grace of God and the prayers of our father Theodosius this place grew.

60. The Exile of Stephen, who became the Bishop of Vladimir

And the enemy, the hater of all good, who always fights against the servants of God and does not allow them to live in peace, but advances against them with his evil deceits, caused a strife among them. And where there is always strife, there is often victory, for the enemy attacks and does not neglect the struggles. Thus that strife called out Satan in them, having caused a revolt among them, so that they expelled Stephen from the abbacy. And the devil dragged them down into such hatred that they expelled him from the monastery. And when some of the boyars who were his spiritual children, entrusted to him by the blessed one, heard this, they were very grieved that their spiritual father suffered so much and that he was exiled from the monastery which was founded by our father Theodosius, and they aided him with their goods for his needs and for other works. And the renowned Stephen, with the help of God and by the prayers of his reverend father and superior Theodosius, built himself on Klov a monastery and founded a church in the name of the holy God-Bearer, having named it after the Constantinopolitan icon of the Virgin Mother of God. And every year on the second day of July, there took place the magnificent feast of the God-Bearer.

61. The Abbacy of Nikon

After the expulsion of Stephen, the monks of the monastery of the

reverend Theodosius, by common consent, appointed for themselves as abbot, the great Nikon, who had come here from his place after the death of the blessed one. And I believe that this appointment took place by the decree of God, for he was the oldest of all, and even our reverend father Theodosius had once received from his hands the holy angelic monastic order. (p. 78) And the enemy often attempted to make opposition in this, and to incite a revolt against him, but he did not succeed..

But we, having composed our narrative with numerous proofs, finish it here. For everything which I discovered about our blessed and great father Theodosius, I heard by asking the fathers older than I who were there then. And I, the monk Nestor, the least of all in the monastery of our reverend father Theodosius, wrote all this. I was received into it by the reverend abbot Stephen, by whom I was tonsured and was honoured to receive the monastic habit, and afterwards I was raised by him to the degree of deacon, even though I was unworthy of this, having been a simpleton and ignorant, and especially because of my sins which I committed in my youth. Nevertheless, by the will of God and with His love He accomplished this in me.

Brethren, having heard often about the good and pure life of our reverend and God-bearing father, that is Theodosius, I was very joyful and thanked him that he laboured thus and lived thus in these latter times. And knowing this, I saw at the same time that it was not written down by anyone and this was for me a great grief and sorrow. And therefore, because I felt great love for our holy and great father Theodosius, in the simplicity of my heart I was tempted to write all this, both great things and the small, which I had heard of him, for the glory and honour of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory together with the Father and Holy Ghost, today and always, forever and ever. Amen.