

# ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA

REVUE CRITIQUE D'HAGIOGRAPHIE

TOME 104

PUBLIÉ PAR

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BOLLANDISTES

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B 1040 BRUXELLES  
SOCIÉTÉ DES BOLLANDISTES  
24, BOULEVARD SAINT-MICHEL

1986

## UN CONGRÈS SUR LE MYSTICISME FÉMININ AU MOYEN ÂGE

Dans différents secteurs on voit surgir de nombreuses études sur la femme au moyen âge. L'Académie du diocèse de Rottenburg-Stuttgart a récemment réuni à Weingarten, du 22 au 25 février 1984, quelques spécialistes pour présenter l'expérience mystique chez les femmes au moyen âge. Parmi les exposés enregistrés, quinze ont été mis au point pour la publication et enrichis de notes (groupées à la fin des chapitres). Le volume n'a malheureusement pas d'index de noms propres<sup>1</sup>.

L'animateur du congrès paraît avoir été le professeur Dinzelbacher. On sait cet historien particulièrement intéressé par tout ce qui se rapporte aux visions et aux phénomènes qui les accompagnent (cf. *Anal. Boll.*, t. 99, 1981, p. 428-429). Dans une conférence inaugurale il décrit, en un vaste aperçu, l'essor du mysticisme féminin en Europe. Celui-ci aurait pris naissance, peu après S. Bernard, dans les Pays-Bas, pour s'étendre ensuite vers les régions rhénanes. A partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, une efflorescence apparaît en Italie, mais le siècle d'or du mysticisme en Europe est le XIV<sup>e</sup>, sauf pour l'Espagne, occupée par la Reconquista ; Thérèse d'Avila sera une des premières mystiques.

Les conférences ont été suivies de discussions. Le professeur Bauer, « Referent » à l'Académie susdite, en fait la synthèse dans un chapitre spécial en queue du volume. Différents problèmes ont été discutés, par exemple la définition, inadéquate dit-on, du mysticisme comme « *cognitio experimentalis Dei* ». Quelle est la fidélité des écrits (surtout en latin) des mystiques relatant (ou dictant) leurs expériences ? Le mysticisme chez les femmes montre-t-il des caractéristiques différentes de celui des hommes ? Ces derniers seraient plus portés à construire des systèmes intellectuels, tandis que les femmes s'expriment avec une affectivité plus incarnée ; des traits propres apparaissent également chez les religieuses, notamment les cisterciennes.

Bref, un recueil d'articles qui incitent à la recherche et à la réflexion, mais laissent pressentir qu'un consensus parfait sur ces matières s'avère aléatoire.

J. VAN DER STRAETEN

<sup>1</sup> *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter*. Herausgegeben von Peter DINZELBACHER und Dieter R. BAUER. Ostfildern bei Stuttgart, Schwabenverlag, 1985, 397 p. M. Dinzelbacher annonce encore plusieurs travaux qu'il a en préparation, entre autres un volume intitulé *Revelationes* dans la collection *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*.

## BASIL OF SELEUCIA'S HOMILY ON LAZARUS: A NEW EDITION \*

BHG 2225

The fifth century writer, Basil of Seleucia, has attracted the attention, if not always the approbation, of scholars ever since the ninth century, when Photius reviewed a selection of Basil's writings in his *Bibliotheca*<sup>1</sup>. In spite of the adverse comments made by some<sup>2</sup>, interest has been reviving in this important writer and is evidenced by a few recent articles and new editions of his sermons<sup>3</sup>.

\* I am very grateful to Fr. J. Munitiz for looking over a first draft of this article and suggesting many corrections to both text and translation.

<sup>1</sup> R. HENRY, ed. and trans., *Photius, Bibliothèque* II (Paris, 1960), p. 159-161. Photius describes Basil's style as figurative, lively and balanced (*τροπικὸν καὶ γοργὸν καὶ πᾶσιον*), but criticizes it for its monotonous lack of variation.

<sup>2</sup> Most notably, Lenain de Tillemont, who states, « Les écrits que nous avons de lui ne lui sont pas non plus avantageux. Il paraît avoir plus songé dans ses sermons à faire montre de son éloquence prétendue, qu'à instruire et à édifier ses auditeurs. Ses exhortations sont communes, courtes et même sèches et peu animées... » He does concede, however, that Basil possessed a certain genius and would have been eloquent if he had tried less hard to be so. Cf. LENAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* XV (Venice, 1732), p. 343-344. P. Camelot, who edited the homily on Lazarus to be re-edited below, also regards Basil's style as over-refined and the homily as lacking theological substance. Cf. P. CAMELOT, « Une homélie inédite de Basile de Séleucie (Vatic. Ottob. gr. 14), » in *Mélanges Desrousseaux* (Paris, 1937), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> See B. MARX, « Der homiletische Nachlass des Basileios von Seleukeia, » *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 7 (1941), p. 329-369 ; E. HONIGMANN, « Theodoret of Cyrillus and Basilius of Seleucia (the time of their death), » *Patristic Studies, Studi e Testi* 173 (Rome, 1953), p. 174-184 ; M. VAN PARYS, « L'évolution de la doctrine christologique de Basile de Séleucie, » *Irenikon* 44 (1971), p. 493-514 ; C. DE ROHAN-CHABOT, « Exégèse de Job II.6 dans une homélie inédite de Basile de Séleucie. » Paper delivered to the 9th Int. Conf. on Patristic Studies (Oxford, 1983). The most recent editions of Basil's homilies include M. Aubineau's edition of a paschal homily in his *Homélies pascales, Sources chrétiennes* 187 (Paris, 1972), p. 169-277 and Camelot's study of the homily on Lazarus in « Une homélie inédite, » *op. cit.*, p. 38-41.

Basil of Seleucia's importance lies not only in his contribution to the theological controversies culminating in the Council of Chalcedon in 451<sup>4</sup>, but in his influence on the later development of the Byzantine homiletic and hymnographic traditions. The wealth of ideas and stylistic devices found in his sermons influenced writers such as Romanos the Melodist<sup>5</sup>; for this reason, as well as for his own sake, it is clear that Basil of Seleucia deserves further study.

Basil's homily on the raising of Lazarus was edited for the first time by Fr. P. Camelot, from what he believed to be the only surviving manuscript, Cod. Vatic. Ottob. gr. 14.<sup>6</sup> In the course of editing a homily by Andreas of Crete on Lazarus (BHG 2218) for a doctoral thesis, I learned that Basil's sermon also survives in two Jerusalem manuscripts, Codd. Hieros. Sab. 1 and Hieros. Patr. 133, in both of which it is ascribed to Andreas<sup>7</sup>. The collation of both witnesses revealed that they contain a somewhat longer version of the text than that which appears in Camelot's edition. This fact, along with the obvious necessity to re-examine the authorship of the homily, convinced me of the need for a new edition. In the pages which follow, I shall hence begin by describing the manuscripts to be used, including another late witness, Cod. Metochion 543<sup>8</sup>, proceeding from there to re-examine the authorship of the text and its individual characteristics, and finally to offer a new critical edition and translation.

<sup>4</sup> The view that Basil's contribution to these controversies was insignificant, owing to his vacillation between the two sides, has been convincingly refuted by Van Parys in his article, « L'évolution de la doctrine christologique », *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See P. MAAS, « Das Kontakion », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 19 (1910), p. 298-306. For specific examples of such borrowings, cf. J. GROSIDIER DE MATONS, *Romain le Mélode, Hymnes I, Sources chrétiennes* 99 (Paris, 1964), p. 298-299; III, SC 114 (Paris, 1965), p. 49-51.

<sup>6</sup> CAMELOT, « Une homélie inédite », *op. cit.*, p. 38-41.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη* (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 228; II (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 3. Also noted by Aubineau in his *Homélies pascales*, p. 173, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Father Halkin for informing me of this manuscript. Another witness which he cited, Cod. Athon. Dochiariou 98 (2772), in fact contains the homily on Lazarus by John Chrysostom (BHG 2222, *incip.* Πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, PG 59, col. 341-348). On the authenticity of this homily, see J. A. DE ALDAMA, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum, Documents, études et répertoires* 10 (Paris, 1965), p. 158. S, T and V were collated from microfilms, for which I must thank the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes in Paris, while I was able to examine M in the original.

# THE MANUSCRIPTS

V = Vatic. Ottob. gr. 14

Parchment; s. X; 272 fols.; 38 x 24 cm.

Text: fols. 65-67

Bibliography: AUBINEAU, *Homélies pascales*, p. 342, n. 2, p. 469; C. DATEMA, ed. *Amphilochii Icontensis Opera, Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* III (Louvain, 1978), p. 128; R. DEVRESSE, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale, StT* 183 (Rome, 1955), p. 31, n. 3; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche I* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 213-218; F. FERON and F. BATTAGLINI, *Codices manuscripti graeci Ottoboniani bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1893), p. 16-18; A. GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1972), p. 50-52; F. J. LEROY, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople, StT* 247 (Rome, 1967), p. 108-109; *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., Paris, 1977), p. 140, n. 3, p. 147, p. 198.

Type of collection: Full-year lectionary, B (fragment).

S = Hieros. Sab. 1

Parchment; s. X; 195 fols.; 45 x 23,5 cm.

Text: fols. 37<sup>v</sup>-40

Bibliography: AUBINEAU, *Homélies pascales*, p. 173, n. 1, p. 175-176; EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* II, p. 102-103; LEROY, *L'homilétique*, p. 87-88; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* II, p. 1-8.

Type of collection: Half-year panegyricon, 2nd vol., A (fragment).

T = Hieros. Patr. 133

Paper; 1582; 589 fols.; 31,5 x 21,5 cm.; copied by the hieromonk Anthony for the monastery of St. Sabas.

Text: fols. 432<sup>v</sup>-437<sup>v</sup>

Bibliography: EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, p. 867-868; LEROY, *L'homilétique*, p. 91-92; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* I, p. 224-229.

Type of collection: Full-year non-menologian collection with Hieros. Patr. 134.

M = Metochion Taph. CP 543

Paper; s. XVI; 377 fols.; 20 x 15 cm.; Belonged to « Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Μοναχὸν Ἀκ-σακκάρι »

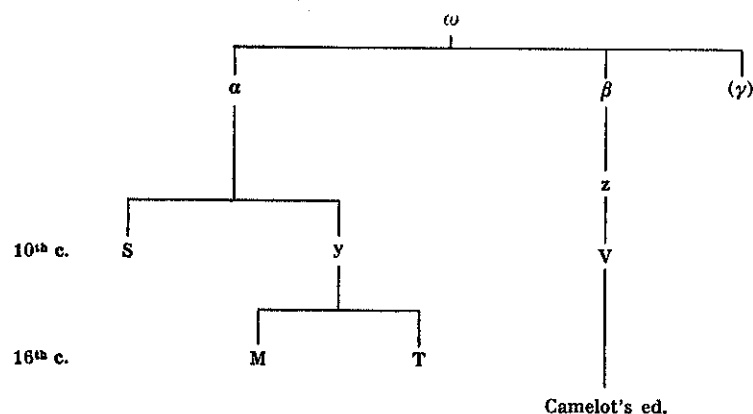
Text: fols. 211-224

Bibliography: EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* III, p. 575; PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* V, p. 103; HALKIN, *Subs. hag.* 66, p. 176.

Type of collection: Special collection of homilies by the Patriarch John Glykys, followed by various authors.

On the basis of their shared errors, these four witnesses can be divided into two distinct groups. The three Jerusalem manuscripts, S, T and M, all contain two sections of the text which are missing in V (lines 5, 7-27 and 6, 17-10, 18). The errors which suggest a common ancestor for S, T and M, which we may call  $\alpha$ , include the following readings:  $\piνεύματι$ :  $\thetaάύματι$  (line 2, 5),  $\delta \xi\delta\eta\varsigma$ : om. (line 3, 8),  $\piρός$   $τοὺς \alpha\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ : om. (line 6, 6),  $\epsilon\phi\acute{\omega}\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\delta \iota\eta\sigma\omega\varsigma$ :  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\kappa \epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\upsilon$  (line 11, 1),  $\alpha\mu\phi\omega$ :  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omega$  (line 11, 4), and  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\omega$ : om. (line 11, 7). V also contains a number of variant readings, including substitutions of words, forms and changes in word order. We can thus distinguish two recensions of the text, dating from at least as early as the tenth century.

The relationship between the three witnesses, S, T, and M, is relatively close. It seems unlikely that M and T represent direct descendents of S since they contain a number of good readings which appear as errors in S. Since M and T share some erroneous readings, as well as containing peculiar readings of their own<sup>9</sup>, they must share an intermediate ancestor. A stemma for the four manuscripts may thus be drawn as follows:



<sup>9</sup> Note, however, that Leroy, in his edition of the homilies of Proclus, concludes that T was copied directly from S on the basis of his collations of their texts. Since the two manuscripts are not identical in their content, however, it is possible that the scribe of T employed various earlier witnesses in copying out different texts. Cf. LEROY, *L'homilétique*, op. cit., p. 92.

## RECENSIONS $\alpha$ and $\beta$

The difference between the two recensions of the text lies in the omission by  $\beta$  of two fairly lengthy passages which appear in all of the witnesses descended from  $\alpha$ . The first of these (lines 5, 7-27) explains Christ's question to the Jews, « Where have ye laid him? » (Jn. 11 : 34), comparing it to God's queries to Adam and Cain in the Old Testament and to other occasions when Christ feigned ignorance in order to lead His followers to better understanding. The author argues that by demanding that the Jews lead Him to Lazarus's tomb, Christ caused them to witness the miracle. The second passage (lines 6, 17-10, 18) contains a diatribe against the Jews, describing their disbelief even when Moses worked miracles for them in the desert, followed by an explanation of the line, « Take ye away the stone from the tomb » (Jn. 11 : 39). The author explains that Christ asked the Jews to perform this task, which He could easily have accomplished Himself, so that they might perceive the corruption of the body. An ekphrasis of the state of the body and its return to life (in fact, a common topos in homilies on Lazarus)<sup>10</sup> follows, in which the author stresses the miraculous nature of this event.

## THE EDITION

Both of the passages found in recension  $\alpha$  fit well in the context of the homily and it seems likely that they represent an authentic version of the text. In the recension found in V, the phrase, «  $\Pi\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ; » appears out of place; instead of expounding it, the text goes on to explain why Christ wept on seeing the tomb. In recension  $\alpha$ , on the other hand, the additional passage explains this phrase and hence, sets it in context. There is no such decisive indication that the second passage (lines 6, 17-10, 18) should be included in the text, but the ideas and train of thought seem consistent with the rest of the homily. In the critical edition which follows, the text of recension  $\alpha$  has been chosen, although whether or not it

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Hesychius of Jerusalem's homilies 11 and 12 on Lazarus, ed. M. AUBINEAU, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem I*, Subs. hag. 59 (Brussels, 1978), p. 420, p. 450-452; Ps.-CHRYSOSTOM, *In Quatriduanum Lazarum III*, PG 62, col. 777; AMPHILOCHII OF ICONIUM, *Oratio III in Lazarum*, ed. C. DATEMA, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera, Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca III* (Louvain, 1978), p. 86, p. 91; ANDREAS OF CRETE, *In Lazarum*, PG 97, col. 981.

represents the only original version is impossible to prove <sup>11</sup>. In a few cases, it was necessary to make minor emendations in order to render the text grammatically correct. Misspellings, unless they represent possible variant readings, have been omitted from the critical apparatus.

#### THE AUTHORSHIP

Although in all of the Jerusalem manuscripts the homily is attributed to Andreas of Crete, there seems no reason to doubt that its author was in fact Basil of Seleucia, as V attests. In his edition of the homily, Camelot cites figures of thought and style to support its attribution to Basil <sup>12</sup>. To these, it is possible to add several more examples of parallels between this homily and others written by Basil of Seleucia. In keeping with his tendency to refer constantly to characters in the Old Testament, as forerunners or types of those in the New, we find references in this homily to Adam, Abel, Elijah, Enoch and Elisha. God's question to Adam, « Where art thou? » (Gen. 3,9), which is mentioned in the homily on Lazarus (line 5, 10-11), is developed at greater length in Basil's homily on Adam <sup>13</sup>. Basil describes the murder of Abel (lines 5, 11-13) with a similar play on words in his sermon on Cain and Abel: « ... καὶ πρῶτον ζητήσῃ τοῦ φόνου, τὸν φονευθέντα τιμᾷ » <sup>14</sup>. Enoch, Elijah and Elisha, as figures who all circumvented the natural laws of death in some way, are mentioned in a number of Basil's homilies in addition to that on Lazarus. One example occurs in the Ps.-Athanasian homily on Easter: « Ἐφθασεν ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἐνώχ, καὶ τόπον μεταστάσει τὸν ἄδην ἀπέφυγεν... Μετὰ τοῦτον Ἡλίας ὁ μέγας, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς εἴξας τῷ θανάτῳ, τὸ τῆς ξενοδόχου παιδίον τελευτήσαν ἐξήρασεν... Ἐλισσαῖος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνέτειλε, διπλὴν ἐξ ἀπλῆς τὴν χάριν δεξά-

<sup>11</sup> The possible explanations for the two versions of the text are manifold. Both may have existed in the lifetime of Basil himself, β being an abridged version of α prepared by the author himself. On the other hand, a later scribe may have abbreviated the text of β to the form in which it appears in V. The shortness of this version even by the standards of Basil of Seleucia suggests that the longer recension is the original one. Camelot himself questioned whether the text found in V represented the complete, original text. Cf. CAMELOT, « Une homélie inédite, » *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46-48.

<sup>13</sup> *Oratio III, In Adamum*, PG 85, col. 60 B.

<sup>14</sup> *Oratio IV, In Cainum et Abelum*, PG 85, col. 72 B-C.

μενος, ὃς τὸ τῆς Σωμαντίτιδος παιδίον ἐξ ἄδου πρὸς βίον δι' εὐχῆς μετεπέμπετο » <sup>15</sup>.

Another striking feature in the homily is the monologue by Death, bewailing the train of events which is leading to the resurrection of all the dead from the tombs <sup>16</sup>. Such monologues are not uncommon in the other homilies on Lazarus, but this feature does not appear in Andreas of Crete's sermon on the same subject <sup>17</sup>. Parallels in Basil's other homilies can be found; one example appears in the homily on Elijah in which Death complains of this change in his fortunes in words similar to those used in the homily on Lazarus: « Τίς ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων... αὕτη παρ' ἐλπίδας μεταβολή; » <sup>18</sup>. Death refers to Enoch as one who escaped his tyranny in this homily, as he does in the homily on Lazarus.

The instruments of Death's tyranny are described in similar terms in various homilies by Basil, including that on Lazarus. Death wields sceptres, which symbolise his domination over mankind <sup>19</sup>. In addition to these, Basil frequently mentions nets (δικτύα or σαγήνες) which he uses to ensnare his prey <sup>20</sup>. In all of these sermons

<sup>15</sup> Ps.-ATHANASIUS, *Sermo in sanctum Pascha*, PG 28, col. 1077 D. This homily is attributed to Basil of Seleucia by Marx in his « Der homiletische Nachlass », *op. cit.*, p. 347-348.

<sup>16</sup> Lines 12, 1-41. It is significant that the raising of Lazarus seems to imply the resurrection of all the dead (lines 12, 5-7). This idea, which appears commonly in sermons on Lazarus, may reflect an « oral » perception of events, in which time ceases to play an important function. Cf. B. STOCK, *The implications of literacy* (Princeton, 1983), p. 472-476. (I am grateful to Dr. M. Alexiou for bringing this theory to my attention). On the other hand, it may equally reflect the liturgical perception of time in which an important event, such as the raising of Lazarus, prefigures both the Resurrection of Christ and the Second Coming, when all the dead will arise from their graves. On the way in which sacred time thus becomes timeless, cf. M. ELIADE, *Myths, dreams and mysteries* (Glasgow, 1960, repr. 1977), p. 30-31.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Ps.-Chrysostom's homily *In Lazarum III*, PG 62, col. 778-780; Hesychius of Jerusalem's second homily on Lazarus in AUBINEAU, *Homélie festales*, *op. cit.*, p. 452-454. (Notice the similarity between these passages, suggesting that one is borrowed directly from the other).

<sup>18</sup> *Oratio XI, In sanctum Eliam*, PG 85, col. 156 B. Compare this with, *Τίς ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αὕτη μεταβολή, τίς ἡ παρὰδοξις αὕτη συμμαχία τῆς φύσεως; », Homily on Lazarus*, lines 12, 2-3.

<sup>19</sup> Homily on Lazarus, line 12, 18-19; *Oratio XI*, PG 85, col. 156 C.

<sup>20</sup> Homily on Lazarus, lines 12, 20, 12, 30; *Oratio XI*, PG 85, col. 156 C; *Oratio V, In Noemum*, PG 85, col. 81 B (the word *σαγήνη* is used here with reference to the flood).

Death is depicted as cunning, greedy and tyrannical, with an insatiable appetite for the dead <sup>21</sup>.

The style of the homily is also consistent with that found in Basil's other writings. Figures such as anaphora, alliteration and homoeoteleuton appear constantly, according to the « Asiatic » style which Basil generally employs. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this style :

Anaphora and homeoteleuton :

θέατρον, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς παρὰ τε τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως καὶ ὁρατῆς  
ἐδφημεῖται ·  
θέατρον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσποτικὰ θαύματα ἄσμασι τερπνοῖς ταῖς ἀκοαῖς  
ἐξυφαίνεται... (lines 1, 2-5)

Homoeoteleuton :

... καὶ φωνὴ μὲν ἐκ στόματος ἐπέμπετο,  
ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἀνεπέμπετο... (lines 9, 5-6)

Anaphora :

Εἰ ταχύνω τὴν παρουσίαν, συστέλλω τὸ θαῦμα ·  
εἰ νῦν παρέσομαι, νόσον ἐλαύνω ·  
εἰ βραδύνω τὴν ἀφίξιν, τελευτῆς ἀπαλλάττω ·  
εἰ μὲν ἔτι ἄρρωστοῦντα ἐγείρω, οὐ συνιοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν χάριν ·  
εἰ δὲ νεκρὸν ἀναστήσω, καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ βάλλονται, καὶ τῷ θαύματι  
καταβάλλονται. (lines 4, 17-22)

With respect to both content and style, this homily shows far more resemblances with the other writings of Basil of Seleucia than with those of Andreas of Crete. Whereas Basil frequently cites Old Testament parallels for events in the life of Christ, Andreas employs such allusions only sparingly. In its style, the homily is also more reminiscent of Basil than of his successor, Andreas. Although the latter does occasionally employ a highly figured rhetorical style such as we find in this homily, he tends to balance these passages with sections written in a more discursive, periodic style <sup>22</sup>. In this

<sup>21</sup> This idea was developed even further by Romanos the Melodist in his first kontakion on Lazarus. In this text, the monologue by Death is expanded into a dialogue between Death and Hades in which each plays a slightly different role. Death represents a cunning entrepreneur, who actually procures the dead, while Hades is depicted as a bestial glutton, who is only concerned with filling his belly. Cf. GROSIDIER DE MATONS, *Hymnes III*, op. cit., p. 164-175.

<sup>22</sup> M. B. CUNNINGHAM, *Andreas of Crete's homilies on Lazarus and Palm Sunday: A critical edition, translation and commentary* (Birmingham, PhD thesis, unpubl., 1983), p. 32.

homily, on the other hand, we find a consistent use of the figurative, balanced clauses which have been shown elsewhere to be hallmarks of Basil of Seleucia's prose style <sup>23</sup>.

#### THE HOMILY

Although the homily shows some similarities with other early sermons on Lazarus, it contains some highly original features as well. The contrast between the human and divine natures of Christ, which appears in most homilies on this subject, is revealed here by Christ's sorrow and compassion for the Jews and His authority over Hades. In this homily, however, it is the latter aspect of Christ which receives the most emphasis. The passages describing Lazarus's resurrection from the dead and Hades's monologue, expressing his dismay at this event, represent lively and dramatic interpretations of these themes. Basil suggests that the miracle transcended the limits of both nature and time : « Ὁ χρόνος οὐκ οἶδεν, ὁ τρόπος ἡγνόηται » <sup>24</sup>. Extending this idea further, Death complains that with the raising of Lazarus, his whole dominion is overthrown. Still dressed in their grave-clothes, the dead are leaping out of the tombs, dancing and mocking his laugh. According to Basil, when Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, His power over death was revealed as complete ; thus, this miracle foretells the general resurrection of the dead.

Basil of Seleucia's homily on Lazarus may be « thin in its dogmatic content », <sup>25</sup> but it should be recognized that it is not in the nature of festal homilies of this type to express complex theological ideas. On the other hand, this sermon offers a glimpse at the popular beliefs of the Byzantines concerning death and life after death. Not often is the encounter between Christ and Hades described so vividly as it is here, with a monologue by Death which reveals the extent of Christ's victory and his own humiliation. <sup>26</sup> The theatre which

<sup>23</sup> Cf. AUBINEAU, *Homélies pascales*, op. cit., p. 191-197 ; Fr. FENNER, *De Basilio Seleuciensi questiones selectae* (Marbourg, 1912), p. 35-97 ; MARX, « Der homiletische Nachlass », op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> Homily on Lazarus, line 10, 7-8.

<sup>25</sup> CAMELOT, « Une homélie inédite », op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> Death and Hades are frequently described as two separate characters. See, for example, Romanos' Hymn I on Lazarus in GROSIDIER DE MATONS, *Hymnes III*, op. cit., p. 164-175. The distinction between the two figures is less clear in our homily, but that they represent separate beings is implied in lines 3, 3-14.

Basil evokes for us comprises Heaven, the earth and the underworld; this is pictured not only through our mortal eyes, but also through those of Hades and of Christ Himself.

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Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σελευκίας · Λόγος εἰς τὸν  
τετραήμερον Λάζαρον

1. Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θέατρον ἀγγέλων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικοινωνοῦν εἰπὼν τις, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιοι, θέατρον, ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς παρὰ τε τῆς ἀοράτου φύσεως καὶ ὁρατῆς εὐφημεῖται, θέατρον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσποτικά θαύματα ἔσματα τερπνὰ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐξυφαίνονται · χαίρει γὰρ ἡ Χριστοῦ νύμφη, τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄδουσα καὶ ἀκούουσα. Καὶ μοι σκόπησον τὸ διάφορον τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀγνωμοσύνης πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐγνωμοσύνην · οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμμασιν ὁρῶντες τὰ θαύματα συκοφαντῶν καλύπτειν ἐμψυχῶντο, καὶ φθόνῳ πληττόμενοι, ταῖς ἐαυτῶν εὐεργεσίαις ἐμάχοντο, ἐκόντες νοσοῦντες ἵνα τῷ ἱατρῷ πολεμήσωσιν, καὶ μὴδὲ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρτυροῦντας αἰσχυρόμενοι · ἃ γὰρ ἐβλεπον θαύματα, ταῦτα μὴ βλέπειν προσεποιούντο.
2. Ἄλλ' οὐ τοιοῦτον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ θέατρον · ἀρκεῖται γὰρ καὶ μόνοις τοῖς διηγήμασιν, καὶ προλαμβάνει τῶν θαυμάτων τοὺς λόγους. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων μέλλων θανατουργεῖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐν εὐβριμήσας τὸ φησὶν τῷ πνεύματι, τὸ τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ἀκαμπὲς ἐκπληττόμενος, ὅτι μὴ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν θαυμάτων ὁ φθόνος ἤτταται. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες · ἃ γὰρ τῷ Θωμᾷ παρήγγειλεν, ταῦτα τοῖς πιστοῖς ἅπασιν ἐνομοθέτει. Μοχθηρὸς γὰρ τρόπος, καὶ τοῖς

a = SMT: V — 1, 1 Cf. I Cor. 4, 9 — 2, 4-5 Jn. 11, 33 — 2, 7-8 Jn. 20, 29

**Lemma.** — <sup>1</sup> Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Σελευκίας V: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ S Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης (Κρήτης cod.) τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου M Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου πάλιν ἕτερος T

1. <sup>1</sup> τε: om. MT — <sup>4</sup> ἔσματα τερπνὰ α: ἄσματος τερπνοῖς V — <sup>10</sup> ἱατρῷ α: λυτρωτῇ V — <sup>11</sup> ἃ: οὐ MT — <sup>12</sup> ἐβλεπον: + τὰ M — προσεποιούντο: προσαιτούντο MT

2. <sup>2</sup> καὶ (1) α: om. — μόνοις: μόνον MT — διηγήμασιν α: διηγήμασι V — προλαμβάνει V: προσλαμβάνει α — <sup>3</sup> λόγους: + ἡ πίστις V — μὲν: om. M — μέλλων α: θέλων V — <sup>4</sup> Ἰησοῦς V: Θεός α — φησιν α: om. V — <sup>5</sup> πνεύματι V: θαύματι α — τὸ post ἀγνωμοσύνης transp. α — ἀγνωμοσύνης α: εὐγνωμοσύνης V — <sup>6</sup> δὲ (1) α: τῷ V — τῶν V: om. α — ἤτταται α: ἤττηται V — <sup>8</sup> Θωμᾷ: θαύματι T — τῷ Θωμᾷ: τὸ θαῦμα M

10 οἰκείους ὀφθαλμοῖς πολεμεῖ · εὐγνώμων δὲ λογισμός, πᾶν ὅτι περ ἀγαθὸν περὶ δεσπότην χαίρων ἀκούει, καὶ ἀκούων πεπisteυκεν. Διὰ τοῦτο τῷ πνευματικῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεάτρῳ, χαίροντες οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀπαγγέλλουσιν θαύματα.

3. Καὶ νῦν ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λάζαρον ἐκκαλύπτει, τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νύμφῃ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάσκων, καὶ διηγούμενος πῶς ἔμαθεν ἠττάσθαι θάνατος, ὁ τὸ κρατεῖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μελετήσας, πῶς ἤδη ἐδιδάχθη τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπολύειν, πῶς ἐπίταγμα δεσποτικὸν τοὺς ὑπὸ γῆν μεταπέμπεται, πῶς ὑπήκουσεν γέγονεν τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις τὰ μνήματα, πῶς οὐκ ἀντεφθέγγοντο τάφοι κελεύοντι, πῶς ἀπῆντο ζῶντες οὕς νεκροὺς ὁ ἤδη ὑπεδέξατο, πῶς θανάτου πνέουσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν φύσιν Χριστὸς ἀθανασίας εὐωδίαν ὠσφρανεν, πῶς τὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως πρόθυρα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπανοίγεται, πῶς ἐδειξεν ὁδὸν ἐξ ἧδον πρὸς ζωὴν ὑποστρέφουσιν, πῶς ὁ θάνατος τὸ βασιλεύειν ἀφείς, τὸ δουλεύειν ἀσπάζεται.

4. Ἦν γὰρ τις ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας. Καταλέγει τὸν τόπον, διηγείται τὸ γένος, τὰς ἀδελφὰς ὑπογράφει, μόνον οὐχὶ λέγων · μαρτυροῦσιν καὶ τόποι καὶ γένος τῷ θαύματι, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁ τάφος δὴν ἀπέδωκεν κέκραγε. <sup>5</sup> Ἀπέστειλαν οὖν αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγουσαι · Κύριε, ἴδε δὴν φίλεῖς ἀσθενεῖ. Οὐκ ἠδέσθη σου, φησὶν, τὴν φιλίαν ἢ νόσος, χῶραν ἔσχεν ἀποδημοῦντος, τὸν ἀγαπῶντα συλήσασα. Ἄλλ' εἶδεν πάλιν παρόντα, καὶ δραπετεύσει τὸ πάθος · ἀρκεῖ γὰρ καὶ μόνῃ πρὸς ἰασιν ἡ θέα. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς · Ἀὐτῇ, φησὶν, ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστιν πρὸς θάνατον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐκράτησεν, φησὶν, ἡ νόσος Λαζάρου, ἔχει νῦν αὐτὸν τὸ πάθος αἰχμάλωτον · ἐνδίδωμι καὶ θανάτῳ κρατῆσαι · δεχέσθω καὶ

4, 1-3 Jn. 11, 1 — 4, 5-7 Jn. 11, 3 — 4, 10-12 Jn. 11, 4

<sup>10</sup> πολεμεῖ V: ἀπιστεῖ α (πολεμεῖ del. S) — <sup>13</sup> τοῦ Σωτῆρος α: τῆς σωτηρίας V — ἀπαγγέλλουσιν: ἀπαγγέλλουσι S — <sup>14</sup> θαύματα α: ρήματα V

3. <sup>1</sup> νῦν α: γοῦν V — <sup>3</sup> διδάσκων, καὶ α: om. V — διηγούμενος: + διδάσκων V — <sup>4</sup> ἐξ ἀρχῆς α: om. V — <sup>7-8</sup> ἀπῆντο V: ἀπῆντο V — <sup>8</sup> ζῶντες V: ζώντας α — ὁ ἤδη V: om. α — ὑπεδέξατο V: ὑπεδέξατο α — <sup>11</sup> ὁδὸν V: ὁδὸν α — <sup>12</sup> ἀφείς, τὸ δουλεύειν S: om. MTV

4. <sup>1</sup> γὰρ α: δὲ V — <sup>2</sup> ἐκ: om. MT — <sup>7</sup> φησὶν: φασὶν (emendavit Camelot) — <sup>8</sup> τὸν: φίλον (rest. Camelot) — συλήσασα α (in rasura S): τηρήσασα V — <sup>9</sup> εἶδεν: εἰ ἴδεν T — δραπετεύσει α: δραπετεύει V — <sup>10</sup> μόνῃ: μόνον M — <sup>11</sup> Ἰησοῦς: + εἶπεν V — <sup>13</sup> νόσος: + τοῦ M — <sup>14</sup> θανάτῳ α: θάνατον V

15 τάφος ὃν κάτεσχεν ἡ νόσος. Παραιτοῦμαι τὴν παρουσίαν, διδοὺς τῷ θανάτῳ τὴν προθεσμίαν· οὐ βούλομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοίτης, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐγείραι. Εἰ ταχύνω τὴν παρουσίαν, συστήλλω τὸ θαῦμα· εἰ παρῆσομαι νόσον ἐλαύνω· εἰ βραδύνω τὴν ἀφίξιν, τελευτῆς ἀπαλλάττω· εἰ μὲν ἔτι ἄρρωστοῦντα ἐγείρω, οὐ συνιοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν χάριν· εἰ δὲ νεκρὸν ἀναστήσω, κἂν τῷ φθόνῳ βάλλονται, τῷ θαύματι καταβάλλονται.

5. Τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· Λάζαρος ἀπέθανεν καὶ χαίρω δι' ὅμᾳς ὅτι οὐκ ἤμην ἐκεῖ. Χαίρεις, ὦ δέσποτα, θανάτῳ τὸν φίλον παραχωρήσας; χαίρεις, ὁ λύσας τὸν δεθέντα τῇ νόσῳ; χαίρεις, ὁ δεδοκῶς τῷ ἔδῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν; Χαίρω, φησὶν, δι' ὅμᾳς, ἵνα τὴν ἐμὴν μάθητε δύναμιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐμὴν δεσποτείαν κηρύξῃ καὶ θάνατος· ὃν γὰρ ἀπόντος κατέσχεν, παρόντι προσφέρει. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἡρώτα, φησὶν, τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· Ποῦ τεθεῖκατε αὐτόν; Τί γὰρ, ἀγνοεῖς τὸν τόπον, ὁ λύων τὸν τάφον; ἀλλὰ συνηθῇ σου τὰ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, δέσποτα· Οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ποιεῖς τὸν φυγάδα θρασύνων· καὶ τῷ Καῖν, Ποῦ Ἄβελ, ὁ ἀδελφός σου; ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πεφονευμένου τὴν ἐντυχίαν δεξάμενος, ἐρωτᾷς τὸν φονεύσαντα. Οὕτως μετὰ τοῦτο, τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπερωτᾷς, Πόσους ἄρτους ἔχετε; πρῶτον ὁμολογήσατε τὴν πενίαν, καὶ τότε μου τὴν φιλοτιμίαν θεάσασθε. Οὕτως ἐπὶ τῆς αἰμορροούσης ἡρώτας· Τίς ὁ ἀψάμενός μου; πρῶτον θεραπεύσεις, καὶ τότε τὴν θεραπευθεῖσαν ζητεῖς· κλεπτούση συνέπραξας, καὶ κλέψασαν ἠλέγξας· καὶ πάλιν, τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι; Οὕτω συνηθῇς ἡ φωνὴ τῷ δεσπότη δι' ἐρωτήσεως, τοὺς ἐρωτωμένους παιδεύσας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν· Ποῦ τεθεῖκατε αὐτόν; χειραγωγήτωσαν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ θαῦμα. Νῦν οἱ πολεμοῦντες τοῖς θαύμασιν, ἀγέ-

5, 1-3 Jn. 11, 14-15 — 5, 8-9 Jn. 11, 34 — 5, 10-11 Cf. Gen. 3, 9-10 — 5, 12 Gen. 4, 9-10 — 5, 14-15 Mk. 6, 38 — 5, 17 Lk. 8, 45 — 5, 19-20 Mk. 8, 27 — 5, 22 Jn. 11, 34

18 εἰ (1): + νῦν V — 19 ἔτι α: οὐκ V — 19-20 ἄρρωστοῦντα α: ἄρρωστον V — 20 ἐγείρω α: ἐγερῶ V — οὐ συνιοῦσιν α: μειοῦσιν V + οἱ M — 21 κἂν α: καὶ V — τῷ (2) α: καὶ τῷ V

5. 3 Χαίρεις: Χαίροις MT — 4 χαίρεις: χαίροις MT — δ α: οὐ V — 4-5 χαίρεις: χαίροις MT — 5 δ: om. V — δεδοκῶς (δεδοκῶς codd.): (δεδομένην rest. Camelot) — 6 κηρύξῃ V: κηρύξει α — 7 ἀπόντος: ἀπόντως codd. — 7-27 ὃν — θαύματος α: deest in V — 8-9 τεθεῖκατε: τεθήκατε codd. — 11 τῷ scripsi: τὸν M τὸ ST — 13 ἐντυχίαν S: εὐτυχίαν MT — 14 τοῦτο: τοῦτ' codd. — 15 ἔχετε MT: ἔχεται S — 16 θεάσασθε: θεάσασθαι codd. — 20 Οὕτω S: Οὕτως MT — συνηθῇς S: σύνθηες MT — 22 τεθεῖκατε: τεθήκατε codd.

τωσαν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον· ἐκείνον ὅμεις ὑποδείξατε· ὅμεις 25 νεκρὸν εἶναι τὸν Λάζαρον συνθέσθε. Μὴ μενέτω πάλιν ἀμβολίας σπινθήρ· μὴ καταλείψωμεν ὕλας τῷ φθόνῳ, ποιήσωμεν τοὺς συκοφάντας αὐτόπτας τοῦ θαύματος. Ποῦ τεθεῖκατε αὐτόν;

6. Ἴδεν τὸν τάφον Χριστός, καὶ ἰδὼν ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐ τὸν νεκρὸν οἰκτεῖρων, ἀλλὰ τὴν νεκρωθεῖσαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ψυχὴν ἐλεῶν· οὐ τὸν Λάζαρον, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐκείνων γνώμας ἀποδυσρόμενος. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ μόνῃ κλήσις ἀνέστησεν, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ 5 ἡ τοῦ θανάτου λύσις τῆς ἀπιστίας ἀπέλυσεν. Ἐδάκρυσεν δ' Ἰησοῦς, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσυμπαθεῖς συμπάθειαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος. Ὁ ἐστὶν καὶ ἑτέρα τῶν δεσποτικῶν δακρῶν αἰτία· ἐδάκρυσεν παρὰ τὸν τάφον ὁ Ἰησοῦς, μέτρον πένθους τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις δωρούμενος, νόμον δακρῶν γράφω 10 ν τοῖς δάκρυσιν. Ἐδάκρυσεν· οὐκ ἐθρήνησεν, οὐκ ὤμωξεν, οὐκ ὠλοφύρατο, οὐ χιτῶνα διέρρηξεν, οὐ κόμην ἐσπάραξεν. Ἀχρὶ τῶν πρώτων δακρῶν τοῦ πένθους τοὺς ὄρους περιέγραψεν. Τί γὰρ οὕτω πενθεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, νεκρὸν ἐγειρόμενον; τί πενθεῖς τὸν τὴν σάλπιγγα περιμένοντα; τί θρηνεῖς ὡς τεθνεῶ 15 τα τὸν ὑπνοῦντα; τί ταῖς βοαῖς ἐνοχλεῖς τὸν καθεύδοντα; Ἀνέστη Χριστός, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· κεκοιμώμενον ἀκούων, μὴ ὡς νεκρὸν ἀποδύρου. Μέτρησον τὸ φίλτρον τοῖς δάκρυσιν· μὴ θρήνων ἀμετρίᾳ καθύβριζε τὸν τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὑποσχόμενον. Διὰ τοῦτο δακρύει παρὰ τὸ μνημα, καὶ συγκαταβαίνει τῷ πάθει, τὸ σὸν πένθος ἀποκοινοῦμενος. Δακρύνοντα 20 βλέποντες, Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν γνώμην μερίζονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ φίλτρον τοῖς δάκρυσιν κρῖνουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δακρῶν τὰς τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὕλας ἐλάμβανον.

5, 27-28 Jn. 11, 34 — 6, 5-6 Jn. 11, 35 — 6, 16 I Cor. 15, 20

25 συνθέσθε: συνθέσθαι codd. — μενέτω: μενέτο codd.

6. 1 Ἴδεν — ἰδὼν α: Ἴδεν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν τάφον, καὶ V — καὶ M: om. ST — 4 μόνῃ: μόνον M — 5 λύσις α: κλήσις V — ἀπιστίας α: ἀμαρτίας V — 6 πρὸς τοὺς ἀσυμπαθεῖς V: om. α (πρὸς del. S) — 6-7 ἐπιδεικνύμενος α: ἐνδεικνύμενος V — 8 Ὁ α: om. V — 8 τὸν τάφον: τῶν τάφων M — 9 πένθους α: om. V — δωρούμενος: + τὸ V — νόμον MT: μόνον ST — 9-10 δακρῶν — δάκρυσιν α: ἐν τάφῳ δακρύειν τοὺς νεκροὺς V — 10-11 ὤμωξεν α (ὤμωξεν codd.): ἀνοίμωξεν V — 13 οὕτω α: οὕτως V — νεκρὸν: + τὸν μετὰ μικρὸν V — 15 βοαῖς SV: ἀκουαῖς MT — ἐνοχλεῖς α: διοχλεῖς V — 16-17 κεκοιμώμενον ἀκούων α: τοῖνον V — 17 ἀποδύρου: + τὸν τεθνηκότα V — 17-18 Μέτρησον -- ἐκτίσθησαν α: om. V — 18 θρήνων: θρίνον S θρήνον MT — ἀμετρίᾳ scripsi: ἀμετρίαν codd. — 19-20 συγκαταβαίνει: συγκαταβαίνει codd. — 23 ἀγνωμοσύνης: ἀγνωμοσύνης ST ἀγνωμοσύνας M



7. Καὶ τί φασιν; ὁ ἀνοίξας τοῦ τυφλοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, οὐκ ἠδύνατο ποιῆσαι ἵνα καὶ οὗτος μὴ ἀποθάνῃ; Πατρικὸν κτῆμα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἡ νόσος, διαβάλλειν τοῖς μήπω γεγονῶσιν τὰ φθάσαντα.
- 5 Τοιοῦτος τις ἦν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον δῆμος, ὃς πέτραι ἐν ἐρήμῳ ξηρὰν πηγὰς παραδόξως ἀφείσαν θεώμενος, τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπεζήτηε μεμφόμενος· ἐπεὶ ἐπάταξεν πέτραι καὶ ἐρροῦσαν ὕδατα, μὴ καὶ ἄρτον δύναται δοῦναι; ἀπαιτεῖ τὸ δεύτερον, ἵνα μειώσῃ τὸ πρότερον. Ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης φωνή· οὐκ ἠδύνατο ποιῆσαι ἵνα μὴ καὶ οὗτος ἀποθάνῃ; Ἀπιστεῖς ἀνάστασιν καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνοντι πιστεύεις; ἀλλ' ἡνεγκεν φιλανθρωπῶς ὁ δεσπότης πονηρίας σκιότηματα.
8. Εἶπεν γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἀποκυλίσατε τὸν λίθον τοῦ μνήματος. Τί λέγεις, ὦ δέσποτα; ὁ ἄδης λαλοῦντός σου σκυλεύεται· καὶ ὁ λίθος οὐ μετατίθεται; τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνιστάς, καὶ τὸν λίθον οὐ μετατιθεῖς; τίς ἐτέρων δέῃ χειρός, ὁ γλώττῃ φρυγαδεύων τὸν θάνατον; φθέγγῃ μόνον, καὶ λίθος τῷ νεκρῷ συνμειδίσταται. Εὐγνώμον ἔτεροι λίθοι τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς προαιρέσεως· Κυλίσατε τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος· ἀντιλάβεσθε, φησὶν, τῆς τοῦ νεκροῦ δυσωδίας, ἀκριβεῖς, βεῖς ἐξετασται τῆς νεκρότητος γένεσθε· ἵνα μὴ ἀνιστάντα θεωρήσαντες, ὕστερόν μοι περὶ θανάτου δικάζησθε. Λάβετε μάρτυρα τοῦ θανόντος τὴν ὁσφρησιν· γένηται τῆς ἀληθοῦς τελευτῆς ἀπόδειξις ἡ δυσωδία· νεκρῷ μαρτυρήσατε πρὶν ἀναστάντι φθονήσετε. Τί οὖν· Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω; Ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ὑμεῖς τῇ φθορᾷ μαρτυρεῖτε· ἐπειδὴ τὸν σεσηπότα νεκρὸν ἐδιδάχθητε. Μάθετε καὶ τοῦ λαλοῦντος τὴν δύναμιν.
9. Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω· προέλαθε τοῦ τάφου, τὸν θάνατον ἀποτιθέμενος· γενοῦ μετὰ θάνατον μάρτυς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναστάσεως. δεῖξον ἔργον σὴν κλῆσιν φανεῖς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος. Ὡ θανμάτων μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις ἀπίστων· ἐνὶ ῥήματι καὶ
- 5 ἄδης ἐδεσμεύετο, καὶ νεκρὸς ἀπελύετο· καὶ φωνὴ μὲν ἐκ στό-

7, 1-3 Jn. 11, 37 — 7, 5-8 Cf. Ex. 16, 3-16; 17, 5-6 — 8, 1-2 Jn 11, 39 — 9, 1 Jn. 11, 43

7. <sup>3</sup> οὗτος MT: οὕτως S — <sup>5</sup> ὃς T: ὡς MS — <sup>6</sup> θεώμενος: θεόμενος codd. — γεγονὸς: γεγονῶς codd. — <sup>9</sup> μειώσῃ: μειώσει codd. — <sup>11</sup> Ἀπιστεῖς: Ἀπιστῆς codd. — <sup>12</sup> ἡνεγκεν ST: ἡνεκεν M

8. <sup>3-4</sup> καὶ -- ἀνιστάς ST: om. M — <sup>5</sup> τίς MT: τί S — δέῃ S: δέει MT — ὁ MT: ὁ S — <sup>9</sup> ἀντιλάβεσθε: ἀντιλάβεσθαι codd. — <sup>10</sup> γένεσθε T: γένεσθαι MS — <sup>11</sup> δικάζησθε: δικάζεσθε T δικάζεσθαι MS — Λάβετε T: Λάβεται MS — <sup>12</sup> θανόντος S: θανάτου MT — γένηται S: γένητε MT — <sup>13</sup> ἡ: om. M — <sup>14</sup> φθονήσετε T: φθονήσεται MS

- ματος ἐπέμπετο, ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος ἀνεπέμπετο· καὶ σύνθημα δρόμον λαβὼν, ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεπήδα. Καὶ παρῇν ὡς ὕπνον πλαττόμενος, οὐ θανάτῳ κρατούμενος· παρῇν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν, ὁ τὰ σπλάγχνα πεπορημένος, ὁ τοῖς σκώληξιν τεθειμένος, παρανάλωμα· ὀφθαλμοὶ σεσηπότες· νεῦρα διεσπασμένα· ὅμοι καὶ χεῖρες ἀφηρημένοι· ὁστέα τὴν ἀρμονίαν ἀρνούμενα· νεῦρα καὶ μυελοὶ καὶ φλέβες πρὸς ἰχώρας ἀναλυόμενοι. Ἀπειλήφει λοιπὸν τὴν ἑαυτῆς προσθήκην ἡ γῆ· τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα πρὸς τοσαῦτα διεσχίζετο· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ τοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν
- 10 μένος, παρανάλωμα· ὀφθαλμοὶ σεσηπότες· νεῦρα διεσπασμένα· ὅμοι καὶ χεῖρες ἀφηρημένοι· ὁστέα τὴν ἀρμονίαν ἀρνούμενα· νεῦρα καὶ μυελοὶ καὶ φλέβες πρὸς ἰχώρας ἀναλυόμενοι. Ἀπειλήφει λοιπὸν τὴν ἑαυτῆς προσθήκην ἡ γῆ· τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα πρὸς τοσαῦτα διεσχίζετο· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ τοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν
- 15 κατηρρίμνητο τάξεσιν, τόπον εἶδει λαχοῦσα τὸν τῶν τρόπων κατάλληλον. Πρὸς τοσαῦτα διεσπασμένος ὁ Λάζαρος, ἐκαλεῖτο πρὸς ἔξοδον· Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω.
10. Πότερον πρότερον γέγονεν ἡ ὑποστροφή τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἐγερσις; πῶς πόδες σεσηπότες ἀνίσταντο; πῶς λελυμένοι χεῖρες ἡρμόζοντο; πῶς σβεσθεῖσαι τῶν ὀμμάτων αἱ κόραι, πρὸς τὰς τοῦ φωτὸς λαμπάδας ἀνήφθησαν; πῶς διετείνετο νεῦρα; πῶς ἐσφίγγετο τραχήλος; πῶς μυελοὶ καὶ φλέβες ἐφύοντο; πῶς ἡμίβρωτον δέρμα πάλιν ὕγιες περιετεινέτο καὶ καθάπερ ἐν μήτρᾳ, τῷ τάφῳ διεπλάττετο Λάζαρος; Ἄρα οὖν τὸ πῶς ἢ τὸ πότε θανμάσωμεν; Ὁ χρόνος οὐκ οἶδεν, ὁ τρόπος ἡγνότηται· ἐννόει τὸν ἐργαζόμενον, καὶ δέχου τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θαύματος. Ἄνωθεν οὐρανὸς μαρτυρεῖ τῷ προ-
- 10 στάγματι· μὴ θαυμάσης, λέγων, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, νεκρὸν ὄρων ἐγειρόμενον· ὅφ' ἥς γάρ, φησιν, ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ φωνῆς, ὑπὸ ταύτης ὁ Λάζαρος ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος κέκληται. Κάτωθεν ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀπιστοὺς ἐντρέπει· ἡμῖν φησὶν ὁ Λάζαρος, εἰ τὴν ὅλην γενομένην θαυμάζεις, μὴ ἀπιστήσης τῷ μέρει τῶν ἀπιστούντων·
- 15 καὶ βοᾷ ἥλιος ἀστέρων ἐποχούμενος ὥσπερ φάλαγξ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ Δαυὶδ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκέκραγεν, λέγουσα· αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.
11. Ἐφώνησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Λάζαρε, δεῦρο ἔξω. Οὐκ εἶπεν· ἀνάσθητι καὶ τότε τοῦ μνήματος προίθι. Οὐ βοῶλομαι γάρ, φησὶν, δυσὶν ἐπιτάγμασιν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀσχολῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ τρίβων πρὸς ἄμφω τὸν χρόνον, ἐπισχῶ τὸν δρόμον· οὐ
- 5 βούλομαι φωνῆς αὐτὸν φανῆναι βραδύτερον. Ἐπέσθω μου

10, 17-18 Ps. 33, 9 (32, 9 LXX); Ps. 148, 5 — 11, 1 Jn 11, 43

9. <sup>9</sup> ὁ (2) ST: καὶ M — <sup>10-11</sup> νεῦρα -- ἀφηρημένοι ST: om. M — <sup>12</sup> ἰχώρας S: χώρας MT — <sup>15</sup> εἶδει: εἶδη codd.

10. <sup>1</sup> πρότερον S: om. MT — <sup>7</sup> τὸ (2) ST: om. M — <sup>10-11</sup> ἐγειρόμενον ST: ἐγειγερόμενον M — <sup>13</sup> εἰ S: εἰς MT — ὅλην ST: ὅλην M — <sup>14</sup> ἀπιστήσης: ἀπιστήσις S ἀπιστήσεις MT

11. <sup>1</sup> Ἐφώνησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς V: οὐκ εἶπεν α — ἔξω α: om. V — <sup>2</sup> τότε α: om. V — προίθι α: πρόβηθι V — <sup>4</sup> ἄμφω V: ἀμφοιν α

τοῖς λόγοις καλούμενος, διαδεχέσθω τὴν κλήσιν ἢ θεά· παρ' ἐμοῦ μὲν καλείσθω, παρὰ Ἰουδαίων δὲ δράσθω. Τοῦτο δεξι-  
μενος ὁ νεκρὸς τοῦ τάχους τὸ σύνθημα, μικρὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς  
φωνῆς ἀναπηδᾷ. Καὶ παρὴν ὁ Λάζαρος τρόπαιον αὐτὸ σχέ-  
10 διον κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου φαινόμενος, παρὴν μηδὲν τῶν ἐνταφίων  
κειρίων καταλείψας τὸν ἄδην, δ ε δ ε μ ε ν ο ς ε ξ ἡ λ θ ε ν· οὐ  
γὰρ πόδες ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ χάρις ἐπτέρωσεν. Παρὴν ὁ Λάζαρος  
πενθοῦντα καταλείψας τὸν ἄδην, λύσας μὲν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ  
πένθος, περιβαλὼν δὲ πένθει τὸν θάνατον.

12. Ἀνομένην αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁρῶν καὶ κωλύειν οὐκ  
ἔχων, ὁδυρόμενος ἐβόα· Τίς ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων αὕτη μεταβολή;  
τίς ἢ παράδοξος αὕτη συμμαχία τῆς φύσεως; Ἐπιδημοῦσιν  
εἰς βίον νεκροὶ καὶ τάφοι ζώντων γαστέρες ἐγένοντο. Οἷμοι  
5 τῶν κακῶν· ἄπιστά μοι λοιπὸν πρὸς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ μνήματα,  
νεκροὶ σεσηπότες ἐξάλλονται, μετὰ τῶν ἐνταφίων χορεύουσιν  
τὸν ἐμὸν ἐξορχούμενοι γέλωτα. Ἐτὶ πενθοῦμενοι, πρὸς τοὺς  
πενθοῦντας ἀνέρχονται· λύουσιν τῇ θεᾷ τὴν συμφορὰν, κληρο-  
νόμον ἐμὲ τοῦ πένθους καταλιμπάνοντες. Τίς ὁ νεκροὺς ἀντε-  
10 ρεῖν θανάτῳ διδάσκων; Τίς ὁ τοὺς τεθνηκότας κατὰ θανάτου  
στρατεύων; τίς οὗτος οὗ τὴν φωνὴν οὐ φέρει τὰ κατὰ γῆν δε-  
σμωτήρια, οὗτος δὲν τρέμει τὰ μνήματα; φθέγγεται μόνον, καὶ  
οὐδ' ἔχω κατέχειν οὐ δύναμαι. Ὡ μᾶτην βασιλεῦειν πιστευθεῖς·  
ὦ μᾶτην πιστεύσας ὀργιζομένῳ Θεῷ. Ἐνόμιζον ἄλυσιν εἶναι  
15 τὴν κατὰ θνητῶν ἀγανάκτησιν· ἀσφαλὲς ὥμην ἔχειν ἐνέχυρον  
τὸ γῆ εἰ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ. Ἐτρώφω τῆς  
ὀργῆς ἀκμαζούσης· ἔρρει πρὸς με ἡ φύσις ἐπιστροφὴν οὐκ  
ἐλπίζουσα· ἔθνη καὶ γένη καὶ φυλαὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὑπήκουε σκήπ-  
τροις, βασιλεῖς τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος προσθήκαι, πρεσβύτεαι  
20 καὶ νέοι τῆς ἐμῆς σαγήνης θηρεύματα. Οὐδεὶς τὴν ἡμῶν ἐδρα-  
πέτενε χεῖρα· πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνούμενοι, τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁδὸν οὐκ

11, 11 Jn. 11: 44 — 12, 16 Gen. 3, 19

<sup>6</sup> τὴν κλήσιν ἢ θεά α: ἡ κλήσις τὴν θεάν V — <sup>7</sup> παρὰ -- δράσθω V: om. α —  
<sup>8</sup> μικρὸν V: μικρός α — <sup>9</sup> ἀναπηδᾷ α: ἀνεπήδα V — <sup>10</sup> τοῦ V: om. α — φαι-  
νόμενος α: φερόμενος V — μηδὲν α: μηδὲ V — <sup>11</sup> κειρίων (κηρίων V): κύ-  
ριον α — <sup>14</sup> περιβαλὼν: περιβάλλων MT

12. <sup>1</sup> γὰρ ante αὐτοῦ transp. V — <sup>5</sup> καὶ ante πρὸς transp. V — <sup>7</sup> τὸν ἐμὸν  
V: τῶν ἐμῶν α — <sup>8</sup> ἀνέρχονται α: ἀπερχονται V — λύουσιν α: δεικνύουσιν  
V — τῇ θεᾷ: τὴν θεάν M — <sup>9</sup> ἐμὲ α: με V — <sup>9-10</sup> ἀντερεῖν α: χαιρεῖν ἐν  
V — <sup>10</sup> τεθνηκότας α: τεθνεώτας V — <sup>11</sup> κατὰ γῆν α: κάτω γῆς V — <sup>13</sup> Ὡ  
V: Ὁ α — πιστευθεῖς V: πιστεύσας α — <sup>14</sup> ὦ V: ὁ α — <sup>15</sup> ἀσφαλὲς α: σα-  
φές V — <sup>18</sup> ἀπελεύσῃ V: ἀπελεύσει α — <sup>17</sup> με V: ἡμᾶς α — ἐπιστροφὴν α:  
ὑποστροφὴν V — <sup>18</sup> ὑπήκουε α: ὑπήκουσε V — <sup>19</sup> βασιλεῖς α: βασιλεῖται  
(rest. Camelot) — προσθήκαι α: παραθήκαι (rest. Camelot) — <sup>20</sup> ἡμῶν V:  
ἐμῇ α — <sup>20-21</sup> ἐδραπέτενε α: ἐδραπέτενε V — <sup>21</sup> ἀφ' α: ἐφ' V

ἠπίσταντο. Ἀριθμῶν τὰς ὠδῖνας, ἐμέτρουν τοὺς τάφους, καὶ  
βλέπων τῶν γαστέρων τὸν ὄγκον, τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἐλογιζόμενην  
προσθήκην. Ὁ τεκὼν πρὸς τὸν τάφον παρέπεμπε· Ἐνὼχ  
25 μὲν μόνος καὶ Ἥλιος ἐτάραττον τὸν τῆς φύσεως χρόνον, ἐν  
τοῖς ζῶσι νικήσαντες· καὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς γεννήσεως ἀριθμῶν,  
τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνων οὐκ ἔβλεπον πρόσδοτον. Πρῶτός μου νεκρὸν  
Ἥλιος ἀπέσπασεν, ἀλλὰ πληθὸς μοι νεκρῶν ἀσεβησάντων  
παρέπεμπε. Ἐλισσαῖος μυρίαὶς ἱκεσίαις τὸν Θεὸν ἐκβια-  
30 σάμενος, τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὐθέως δικτύοις συνελαμβάνετο, καὶ μοι  
τὸ τοῦ πράγματος σπάνιον παραμυθία τοῦ πάθους ἦν. Νῦν  
δέ μοι τὸ πένθος ἀπαρამύθητον· νεκροὶ δι' ἐπιτάγματος  
λύονται, καλεῖ μόνον καὶ μετὰ τὴν κλήσιν ὁ νεκρὸς ἐν τοῖς  
ζῶσιν φθέγγεται, καὶ ὑπακούει τὰ μνήματα. Ἐγὼ κατέχω τὰ  
35 κλεῖθρα, καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς δεσμώτας ἐξάγει· ἐγὼ λοιπὸν τὰ  
τῶν ζώντων μιμήσομαι δάκρυα. Μεταμανθάνω τὴν ἐξουσίαν,  
κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ληστεύομαι. Ἀμελέτητον  
διδάσκομαι γύμνωσιν, ὥρα μοι λοιπὸν πάντων ἐννοεῖν τὴν  
ἀφαίρεσιν. ἔσται ποῦ τις καιρὸς, ὥς ἔοικεν, δτε μόνος περιλη-  
40 φθήσομαι. Ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἀρτίως ἀφελὼν οὐς ἀφῆρηται, θελήσῃ  
μόνον καὶ πάντες ἀναβιώσονται.

13. Ἀληθές σου τὸ πένθος, διάβολε· Χριστοῦ γὰρ ἀποθα-  
νόντος, καὶ οἱ τεθνεῶτες εὐέλπιδες. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἐν  
τοῖς μνήμασι· Χριστὸς ἀνέστη καὶ πάντες ἀνέστησαν. Σ α λ -  
πίσει γὰρ καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἐγερεθήσονται  
5 ἄφθαρτοι. Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

12, 24-25 Cf. Gen. 5, 24; Enoch 70-71; IV Kings 2, 11 — 12, 27-28 Cf. III  
Kings 17, 17-24 — 12, 28-29 Cf. III Kings 18, 40 — 12, 29-30 Cf. IV Kings  
4, 33-37 — 12, 30 Cf. IV Kings 13, 20 — 13, 3 Cf. I Cor. 15, 12-24 — 13, 3-  
5 I Cor. 15, 52

<sup>24</sup> τεκὼν α (τεκὼν codd.): τόκος V — τὸν V: om. α — <sup>25</sup> μὲν α: om. V — ἐτά-  
ραττον α: om. V — <sup>25-27</sup> ἐν -- τῶν α: ἀπέδρασεν καὶ τὴν V — <sup>27</sup> ἔβλεπον V:  
ἔβλεπεν α — <sup>29</sup> παρέπεμπε V: παρέπεμπε α — ἱκεσίαις α: λιταῖς V —  
<sup>29-30</sup> ἐκβιασάμενος MTV: ἐκβιασόμενος S — <sup>30</sup> εὐθέως V: om. M εὐθὺς ST —  
<sup>31</sup> ἦν V: om. α — <sup>34</sup> φθέγγεται α: φαίνεται V — τὰ (1) α: om. V — <sup>35</sup> καὶ αὐ-  
τός α: ὁ δὲ ζῶντας (rest. Camelot) — <sup>36</sup> μιμήσομαι V: μιμήσωμαι α — <sup>37</sup> καὶ  
V: om. α — <sup>38</sup> διδάσκομαι V: διδάσκωμαι α — ὥρα: ἄρα MT — πάντων α:  
om. V — <sup>39</sup> ἔσται V: ἔστε α — καιρὸς post ἔοικεν transp. V — <sup>40</sup> οὕτως  
ἀρτίως α: οὕτω ῥαδίως V

13. <sup>1</sup> γὰρ V: om. α — <sup>5</sup> αἰῶνας: + τῶν αἰώνων V

HOMILY BY BASIL, ARCHBISHOP OF SELEUCIA,  
ON THE FOUR-DAY <DEAD> LAZARUS

1. If someone said that the Church is a theatre common to both angels and men, he would not be mistaken. <It is> a theatre in which Christ is praised both by invisible and visible nature, a theatre in which the Lord's miracles are woven together for our ears as delightful hymns, for the bride of Christ rejoices, both singing and hearing of the works of Christ. Consider with me the difference between the Jews' folly and the faithfulness of the Church. For <the former>, on seeing the miracles with <their own> eyes, contrived to hide <these> by means of slanderous talk and overcome with malice, they did battle with the good deeds done on their own behalf. They sickened willingly, that they might fight with the Healer, and they were not ashamed, even with their own eyes as witnesses. For they feigned not to see the miracles which they beheld.

2. But the theatre of the Church is not like this, for it is satisfied by mere accounts and prefers the words to the miracles. For this reason, when Jesus was about to work a miracle on behalf of the Jews, He « groaned in the spirit », astounded at their unswerving ignorance, since <their> envy was not conquered by the greatness of <His> miracles. Within the Church, on the other hand, « blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed », for <the words> which He directed at Thomas were those which He ordained for all of the faithful<sup>1</sup>. <The former> is a wretched state of mind, which wages war against <one's> own eyes, whereas <the latter> represents right-minded judgement, which hears anything good concerning the Lord with rejoicing and on hearing, believes. For this reason, the evangelists recount joyfully the miracles of the Saviour to the spiritual theatre of the Church.

3. And now the blessed John reveals in addition to the other <events> those which concern Lazarus, teaching the bride of Christ of the <acts> of Christ and relating how Death, who from the beginning was accustomed to seize, learned to be conquered, how Hades was taught to release the dead, how a Lordly command summoned those who were underground, how the tombs became obedient to His words, how the graves did not contradict the One Who commanded, how those whom Hades had received as dead were demanded back as living <men>, how Christ breathed a sweet breath of immortality into the human nature which stank of death, how the gates of the Resurrection were opened little by little, how <Christ>

<sup>1</sup> See also *Sermo in sanctum Pascha et in recens illuminatos*, PG 28, col. 1085. This homily is included among the spurious works of Athanasius, but has been attributed by B. Marx to Basil of Seleucia. Cf. MARX, « Der homiletische Nachlass », *op. cit.*, p. 349-350.

revealed a way which led from Hades back to life, how Death has given up his kingdom and greets servitude.

4. For « a certain man was sick, named Lazarus, of Bethany, the town of Mary and Martha. » <The evangelist> recounts the place, describes the family, tells of the sisters, he all but says, « Both the places and the family bear witness to the miracle since even today the tomb proclaims whom it <once> released »<sup>2</sup>. « Therefore his sisters sent unto Jesus, saying, 'Lord, behold, he whom Thou lovest is sick.' » The illness, they were saying, did not respect Thy friendship, for when Thou wert absent, it took <Thy> place and seized the one whom Thou lovest. Nevertheless, the suffering has perceived Thy presence once more and it will slip away, for even the mere sight of <Thee> suffices for a cure. « When Jesus heard that, He said, 'This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God.' » The illness, He was saying, has seized Lazarus and suffering now holds him captive. I am allowing death to prevail. Let the grave receive the one whom weakness has overcome. I am delaying My appearance, having granted death its appointed time, for I do not wish to raise <Lazarus> from his couch, but rather from the tombs. If I hasten to be present, I shall diminish the miracle ; if I appear, I shall drive away the illness. If, <on the other hand,> I delay My arrival, I shall deliver him from death. If I awaken a man who is still ailing, the Jews will not perceive <My> grace, whereas if I raise a dead man, even if they are overcome with envy, they will be confounded by the miracle.

5. « Then He said to his disciples, 'Lazarus is dead and I am glad for your sakes that I was not there' ». Dost Thou rejoice, Oh Ruler, Thou that hast delivered Thy friend to death? Dost Thou rejoice, Thou that didst destroy the one who was fettered by illness? Dost Thou rejoice, Thou that gavest power to Hades? I rejoice, saith He, on your account, that ye may learn of My force <and> that even Death may proclaim My authority, for although it possessed him while I was absent, it offers <him> back <to Me> when I am present. And when He came, it says, He asked the Jews, « 'Where have ye laid him?' » Why art Thou ignorant of the place, Oh Ruler, Thou who destroyest the tomb? But then, the <methods> of questioning are habitual to Thee, Ruler. Thou didst <do this> to Adam and by making bold, put him to flight. Thus didst Thou question the murderer Cain, <saying>, « Where is Abel thy brother? », Thou who didst receive an appeal from the murdered man. And after this, Thou didst question the disciples, <saying>, « 'How many loaves have ye?' First confess My poverty and then, perceive

<sup>2</sup> Basil is referring to the church in Bethany, known as the Lazarium, which already existed by the late fourth century, according to the pilgrim, Egeria. See H. Pétré, ed., *Éthérie, Journal de Voyage, Sources chrétiennes* 21 (Paris, 1971), p. 216-219.

My munificence». Thus didst Thou question the woman with an issue of blood, <saying>, « 'Who touched Me?' » Thou wilt first heal and then query the one whom Thou hast healed. Thou didst lend aid to the woman who robbed <Thee> and then crossexamined the one who had stolen <from Thee>. And again, <Thou didst ask>, « 'Whom do men say that I am?' » Thus was the Lord's voice accustomed to question, as He instructed those who were examined. For this reason, <He asks> even now, « 'Where have ye laid him?' » Let <the Jews> lead us by the hand to the miracle. Let those who are opposing themselves to the marvels now lead us to the tomb. Point it out to us. Perceive that the dead man is Lazarus. Let there remain no spark of doubt. Let us not leave fuel for envy, <but> let us rather make those who denounce eye-witnesses of the miracle. « 'Where have ye laid him?' »

6. Christ saw the tomb and seeing it, He wept, not pitying the dead man, but feeling mercy for the dead soul of the Jews. He was lamenting not Lazarus, but their <misguided> views. Whereas a mere summons raised <Lazarus>, the dissolution of death itself did not deliver them from their disbelief. « Jesus wept », revealing His compassion towards those who had no sympathy. And there is another reason for the Ruler's tears besides this: Jesus wept by the tomb in order to give a limit for grief to lovers of Christ; by weeping, He ordained a law with His tears. He wept, He did not lament, or wail, or moan, or rend His garments, or tear His hair. He defined the bounds of grief <as extending> only as far as the first tears. For why weepest thou thus, man, for a corpse which will be raised? Why weepest thou for one who is awaiting the trumpet? Why dost thou lament as a corpse one who is <merely> sleeping? Why dost thou trouble one who is in repose with thy cries? « Christ is arisen and become the first-fruits of them that slept »; on hearing of one who is asleep, do not lament him as a corpse. Moderate <thy> love by means of thy tears. Do not offend the One who has experienced the Resurrection by weeping immoderately<sup>3</sup>. For it is on this account that He is weeping by the tomb and allowing Himself to suffer now, in order that He may expell thy grief. Seeing Him weeping, the Jews were divided in their opinion. While some determined <the extent> of His love by <His> tears, others gathered fuel for their ignorance from <these> tears.

7. And why did they say, « Could not this Man, which opened the eyes of the blind man have caused that even this man should not have died? » <This> illness is the ancestral inheritance of the Jews,

that of setting at variance things which have happened with those which have not yet come to pass<sup>4</sup>. Such a <race> was the people who <went> through the desert, which on seeing a dry rock miraculously letting forth springs <of water>, sought to find fault with what had taken place. When <Moses> struck the rock and water streamed out, <they said>, « Is he not able to give bread? » <This people> demanded the second <miracle> that it might diminish the first. And it is the same voice which <speaks> now, <reflecting> the same frame of mind. « Could not He have caused that even this man should not have died? » Thou believest not in the Resurrection and dost thou believe that he would not die? Yet the Ruler benevolently bore with the surges of wickedness<sup>5</sup>.

8. For Jesus said, the Gospel says, « 'Take ye away the stone from the tomb.' » What art Thou saying, Oh Master; Hades is despoiled when Thou speakest and is the rock not removed? Thou hast raised the dead man and <yet> removest Thou not the stone? What need is there of the hand of others for One Who with His tongue is routing death? Let Him but speak and the stone will change places with the dead man. It would be sensible <to understand> that other rocks <exist>, those of Jewish prejudice. « 'Take ye away the stone from the tomb', » He said, « Receive the stench of the corpse, become accurate judges of what death is, in order that having seen Me raising up Lazarus, ye may not later condemn Me to death. Take as a witness the stink of the dead man, let the stench be a proof of his veritable end. Bear witness to the corpse before ye bear malice towards the risen man ». Why then <does He say>, « 'Lazarus, come forth' »? Because you are witnesses indeed to <his> corruption, because you have been taught <that he was> a putrifying corpse. Learn the power of the One Who speaks.

9. « 'Lazarus, come forth!' » Proceed from the tomb, having cast off death. Become a witness after death of My Resurrection. Show thy summons <to be an accomplished> fact as thou appearest from the tomb. Oh, for the miracles disbelieved only by the Jews! With one word, Hades was bound fast and the dead man was released, and <just as> the voice was emitted from the mouth, the deceased was sent forth from the tomb. Taking a signal <to embark upon> the course, the dead man leapt up. And he appeared as if <he were> feigning sleep, not as if gripped by death. He appeared among the living, he whose inward parts were ravaged, and who was given up to worms, an object of waste. <His> eyes were putrid,

<sup>4</sup> Polemic against the Jews is a commonplace in the writings of the Fathers and appears frequently in the homilies on Lazarus. See, for example, Andreas of Crete's homily, *In Lazarum*, PG 97, esp. cols. 964, 976-977.

<sup>5</sup> This curious choice of words is reminiscent of the phrase « ἰοὺδαῖν ὡς σκηπ-τῶντες » (exulter à la manière des Juifs), which appears in Ps.-Chrysostom's homily on Easter. Cf. AUBINEAU, *Homélies pascales*, op. cit., p. 320, 2, line 10.

<sup>3</sup> The disapproval of the Greek Fathers towards the expression of violent grief and ritual lamentation of the dead is discussed at length by M. ALEXIOU in *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 28, ff. Condemnation of such lamentation also appears in John Chrysostom's commentary on John, Homily LXII, PG 59, cols. 346-348.

<his> sinews were torn asunder, his shoulders and hands were separated, his bones were devoid of harmony, his nerves and marrows and veins were dissolved to juices. In sum, the earth had deprived <the body> of her own contribution. Thus, while the body had been separated into such <elements>, the soul meanwhile was numbered among the ranks of souls, obtaining as its portion a place appropriate in kind to its ways<sup>6</sup>. As Lazarus was divided up into such <elements>, he was summoned to come out, « 'Lazarus, come forth!' »

10. Was it the return of the soul<sup>7</sup> or the revival of the body which <came> first? How were the putrifying feet made to stand, how were the hands joined <again to the limbs>, how were the pupils of the eyes which had been extinguished kindled towards the lamps of light, how were tendons stretched out, how was the neck strengthened, how were marrows and veins created, how was the half-eaten skin again stretched out<sup>7</sup> and how, as if in a womb, was Lazarus recreated in the tomb?<sup>8</sup> Should we marvel then at the how or at the when? Time had no knowledge of this and the manner <in which it happened> was unknown. Perceive what is being accomplished and take faith from the miracle. From above, Heaven bears witness with the command, « Marvel not, oh man, on beholding a dead man raised up; by the voice at whose behest I came into being, by this <voice>, Lazarus has been called from the tomb ». From below, the earth puts the faithless to shame, while Lazarus says to us, « If thou art amazed at the entire <earth> having come into being, do not disbelieve with the party of faithless ones ». The sun, as it rides upon the stars <as if it were> a phalanx, cries out to all men even as the voice of David once shouted, saying, « For He spoke and it was done: He commanded and it stood fast ».

11. Jesus cried, « 'Lazarus, come forth.' » He did not say, « Arise and then come forth from the tomb ». For, He was saying, I do not wish to distract the dead man with two commands, that I may not block his path by wasting time with both. Let him follow closely on My words when he is called, let his appearance succeed the sum-

<sup>6</sup> On the division between the soul and body after death until the Day of Resurrection, when the two will be reunited, see J. DANÉLOU, « La Résurrection des corps chez Grégoire de Nysse », *Vigiliae Christianae* 7 (1953), p. 155-159; J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Theology* (London and Oxford, 1975), p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> This description of Lazarus' physical decay and resurrection (see also lines 9, 8-12) is a common *topos* in Byzantine homilies on this subject. See Introduction above, note 10.

<sup>8</sup> The comparison of Lazarus' tomb to a maternal womb also appears in Hesychius of Jerusalem's homily on Lazarus. In that passage, the image of Lazarus emerging from the tomb as a new man is especially clear, suggesting an oblique parallel with Christian baptism. Cf. AUBINEAU, *Homélies festales*, op. cit., p. 450, 2, lines 11-13.

mons. Let him be invoked by Me and perceived by the Jews. When the deceased received this [signal for speed], he leapt forth almost before the voice. Lazarus appeared, resembling an impromptu trophy over death; he appeared without having left to Hades any of burial wrappings, <for> bound <in these>, he came forth. His feet did not bear him, rather, grace provided him with wings<sup>9</sup>. Lazarus appeared, having left Hades behind mourning. As he put an end to the grief of <his> brothers, he cast Death into affliction.

12. Seeing his kingdom destroyed and unable to prevent this, <Death> lamented, crying, « What is this change in my affairs, what is this miraculous alliance of nature? The dead are returning to life and the tombs have become wombs of the living. Alas, for these misfortunes! Even the tombs are faithless to me with regard to the dead and the dead, although putrifying, are leaping out; all in their swathing bands they are dancing, mocking my laugh. Still mourned, they are going up towards those that mourn them; by showing themselves, they undo the tragedy, leaving me an heir to grief. Who is it Who teaches the dead to gainsay death? Who is it Who is enlisting the deceased against death? Who is the One Whose voice the prisons underground cannot support? Who is the One before Whom the tombs tremble? He merely speaks and I am not able to hold on to those whom I have in my power. Oh, in vain was I entrusted with a kingdom! Oh, in vain was I confident in an angry God! I thought His indignation against mortals was unshakable, I believed the pledge of the words, « for dust thou art and to dust shalt thou return », to be secure. I was spoilt by <His> burgeoning wrath; nature fell to me not expecting a return. Nations and races and tribes were subject to my sceptres<sup>10</sup>, kings were hostages to my tyranny, old and young were prey to my net. No one escaped our hand and once they had arrived at our <door>, they did not know the way back from us. Counting the number of birth pangs, I measured <the number of> tombs and seeing the swelling of bellies, I calculated the additional number of the dead. <One> who begot <children> was sending <bodies> to the tomb; only Enoch and Elijah threw into confusion the time <appointed by> nature and <alone> of living beings, conquered it. <Thus>, as I counted up the years from <their> birth, I did not see them approach. First, Elijah seized a dead man from me, although he did send me a crowd of dead men <who had been> impious. Elisha,

<sup>9</sup> The image of Lazarus emerging from the tomb as if propelled by wings is also used by Hesychius of Jerusalem: « Λάζαρον δὲ κατήπειγεν ἡ φωνή, καὶ πτερωτὸν ἢ κλησὶς ἐλευθερωθέντα τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀνήγαγεν ». Cf. AUBINEAU, *Homélies festales*, op. cit., p. 420, 11, lines 6-7.

<sup>10</sup> Basil also refers to Death's sceptres in his Homily XI, *In Sanctum Eliam*, PG 85, col. 156C: « Ἐλπεί δέ με μόνος ὁ Ἐνὼχ τὰ ἐμὰ σκήπτρα ἐπὶ πείρας πατήσας ... »

who had constrained God by many prayers, was all at once captured in my nets <sup>11</sup>, and the rarity of <this> event served as consolation for my grief. But now, my woe is unbounded. The dead are being released by a command, <Christ> merely calls and after His summons the corpse speaks among the living and the tombs pay heed. I possess the keys, but He leads forth <my> prisoners as living men. Meanwhile, I shall imitate the tears of the living. I am forgetting my power as little by little I am robbed of my authority. I am being taught an unexpected nakedness; meanwhile, it is time for me to recognize this removal of all <my dead> and it is likely that soon there will be a time when I shall be left entirely alone. For He Who thus removes so easily those whom He has claimed needs only to will it, and all shall be given life ».

13. Thy grief is well founded, Devil, for Christ has died and the dead are full of hope. For this reason, Christ is among the tombs, Christ is risen and all have arisen for « <the trumpet> will sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptable ». To Him be glory unto the ages. Amen.

<sup>11</sup> Basil frequently refers to Death's nets in his sermons. See also Homily XI, *In sanctum Eliam*, PG 85, col. 156C; Ps.-Athanasius (Basil of Seleucia), *Sermo in sanctum Pascha*, PG 28, col. 1077D.

## LA VIE ANONYME DE S. ADELPHÉ DE METZ PLAGIAT DE LA VIE DE S. ARNOUL

Dans le numéro jubilaire des *Analecta*, en 1982, je publiais une Vie inédite de S. Adelphe de Metz, d'après un manuscrit du XII<sup>e</sup> s., originaire de Neuwiller en Alsace (*Vindobonensis* 563) <sup>1</sup>. Cette Vie était attribuée, sur le manuscrit lui-même, à un certain Werinharius, sur lequel la lumière n'a pas encore été faite. Je me proposais d'examiner de près les relations entre ce nouveau texte et la Vie anonyme BHL 76, publiée au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> s. par l'humaniste Wimpheling, et qu'on faisait remonter, moyennant des réserves, à l'époque carolingienne <sup>2</sup>.

L'enquête dans laquelle je me suis engagé a occasionné une première surprise. La Vie anonyme, au moins dans sa première partie, jusqu'au récit de la mort et des funérailles du saint inclusivement, est un plagiat de la Vie de S. Arnoul de Metz (BHL 689-92) <sup>3</sup>. Voici d'abord, à titre d'échantillon, un emprunt quasi littéral <sup>4</sup> :

*Porro abstinentiae illius normam  
narrare quis valeat <sup>a</sup>, vel <sup>b</sup> ma-  
xime cum interdum post triduana  
seu amplius protracta ieiunia  
panem ordeacio <sup>c</sup> seu limphae  
poculo victitaret <sup>d</sup>?*

*Porro abstinentiae illius normam  
narrare quis valeat? Ma-  
xime cum interdum post triduana  
seu amplius protracta ieiunia  
pane hordeaceo ac lymphae  
poculo sese recrearet.*

Ailleurs, le plagiaire a pris davantage de libertés avec son modèle, comme dans ce passage <sup>5</sup> :

<sup>a</sup> valet A1. — <sup>b</sup> om. B2. — <sup>c</sup> pane hordeacio A2a; pane hordeatio A2b; pane ordeaceo B1; pane hordeaceo B2. — <sup>d</sup> lucto tardat A1; vectitaret A3 corr.

<sup>1</sup> T. 100, p. 431-442.

<sup>2</sup> Reprise dans les *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. t. VI, p. 507-512.

<sup>3</sup> Éditée par B. KRUSCH dans les *M.G.H., Scr. rer. Merov.*, t. II, p. 432-446.

<sup>4</sup> BHL 689/92, § 8, BHL 76, § 3. Les variantes de la *Vita Arnulfi* sont exclusivement, mais intégralement, celles de l'apparat critique de B. KRUSCH.

<sup>5</sup> BHL 689/92, § 3, BHL 76, § 2.