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- *Coptic Neomartyrs in the New Millennium*
  - *The Life of Evagrius*
  - *Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis*



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*Subscription and Business Address:*  
*Society of Coptic Church Studies*  
*P.O. Box 714*  
*E. Brunswick, NJ 08816*  
*email: ralph.yanney@home.com*

*Editorial Address:*  
*Coptic Church Review*  
*P.O. Box 1113*  
*Lebanon, PA 17042*  
*email: yanney@postoffice.ptd.net*

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# ***COPTIC NEOMARTYRS IN THE NEW MILLENEUM***

*Translated From Al-Kiraza Magazine-January 21, 2000  
(Chief Editor: Pope Shenouda III)*

## ***Our Martyrs in Al Kosheh***

We love Egypt from the bottom of our hearts and wish it well everywhere we go. It is painful for us to see that its reputation is damaged on the Internet, foreign broadcasts and publications. All this attention was over a small village in Upper Egypt, Al Kosheh village. Local security forces failed to control the situation and therefore leading to a horrific event which some called a massacre and others said it was a slaughter.

We all want to resolve the problem of Al Kosheh. However, the problem will not be resolved by covering-up, or by painting the victims as criminals!

People with intelligence will not accept the approach of dealing with mistakes by committing additional mistakes. If we intend to create an atmosphere to calm people's hearts and reach reconciliation, we must consider giving priority to the following principles:

## ***A condition for reconciliation is truth.***

In all honesty, attempting to cover-up the previous events in Al Kosheh, approximately one and a half years ago, by means of acquitting individuals responsible for the incident and accusing the victims, has lead to the escalation of the problem in a horrific manner. Physical attacks have turned into killings.

The number of Copts killed in the incident has reached 20, not counting missing individuals, dozens were injured, in addition many Coptic-owned homes and shops were destroyed.

Therefore, we must consider the truth. Whose interest did the incident serve?

Whose interest is served by damaging Egypt's reputation in the international media? And, whose interest is served when western churches are alarmed by what they read about this human massacre?

Then we need to ask: Were local authorities in the area capable of their responsibilities? Did they intervene to control the mob before the incident turned into a widespread crime?

Responsibility falls first on security forces to stop a crime before it occurs. If they were not able to prevent the crime, they should at least intervene and prevent it from spreading. Did they do this?

We have confidence in the authorities in Cairo, however, the problem lies among the authorities in the area where the incident occurred.

We did not wish to comment on the incident, however, many newspapers reported inaccurate information that was not based on eyewitness accounts. We finally decided that people needed to hear eyewitness accounts of trusted individuals who personally witnessed and recorded the incident.

### ***Sequence Of Events:***

The problem started following an argument between a merchant and a customer. This was on Friday, December 31, 1999, on New Year's Eve. The situation could have been controlled. From 11:00 pm on Friday until 10:00 am on Saturday (January 1), Christian-owned homes and shops were looted, destroyed and then burned.

Where was the police at that time? Al Kosheh is a small village and was dealing with great tensions, which required extra attention.

On Sunday and Monday mornings the killings began. The number of deaths reached 20 including two bodies that were burned after being killed.

The Copts were living in fear and stayed in their homes, not even able to open their windows. They did not feel safe at all, as if police has no duty to protect them. Some have congregated far from the attack areas, and were able to hear shots being fired, but had no protection at all.

Pope Shenouda was contacted on Sunday while he was in a monastery. A decision was reached to send two bishops to the area. They are, Bishop Serbamoun and Bishop Marcos. Officer Atef Abu Shady accompanied them during their flight to the area in order to calm the situation.

An armored vehicle was brought to transport the bishops who were unable to leave their residence. This was a temporary situation and the bishops had not yet seen the crime scene.

### ***The Dead:***

The two bishops were escorted by Officer Atef Abu Shady and saw 11 bodies in various homes, 8 bodies in nearby fields and one body which was later discovered.

The scene was very painful. There was another individual with the eight people who were killed in the field. The assailants shot him and left him behind thinking that he was dead. His name is Marcus Rushdy Gindy. Bishop Serbamoun shouted, "how can a man be left to bleed to death without any attempt to save his life?" Officer Atef Abu Shady responded and called for an ambulance to transport the victim to a hospital. When the ambulance arrived, they asked him about his attackers. He responded that Khalaf Abul-Qassem and Khalifa Rifai Sadek are responsible for killing the eight and injuring him.

A young girl was among the eight who were killed. Her name was Maysoun Ayad Fahmy. They cut her face first, then killed her. Her brother, Adel is a deacon at the church. Following Sunday's mass, he went to the field to meet his sister. He too was killed.

Each one of those who were killed and injured in their homes, had a story detailing this human tragedy. Even some of our security escorts were in tears upon hearing their stories.

Mamdouh Noshy Sadek was killed in front of his wife, Manal Zarif, and his body was burned. They forced the wife to sign a check for 50,000 Egyptian Pounds (approximately \$15,000 USD). They released her when they saw some security forces nearby.

The wife then identified four of the assailants, they are:

- Tariq Sharaf Eddin Youssef, his brother,
- Yasser Sharaf Eddin,
- Assem Abul Fadl Abul Qassem, and
- Assem Nasr Eddin Youssef

Atef Izzat Zaki was also among the dead. His attackers repeatedly stabbed him in the chest in front of his mother, Samiha Hafez Al Saih, who later identified the assailants as the sons of Seid Arnout and others.

A burned body was also found on top of a pile of bamboo sticks. His mother identified him by a ring he was wearing, and later identified his killers to police investigators.

The two bishops also witnessed the bullet holes and bloodstains in the homes of many Christians.

All of this was revealed during the visit. Authorities refused to reveal such details earlier. Furthermore, the Governor of Sohag, assured the bishops that only five people were killed. In fact, 20 people were killed and dozens were wounded.

### ***The Injured:***

Regarding the injured, we have lists which contain the names of dozens of individuals. We have presented these lists to the authorities.

- Nabil Sami Seif, a wholesale merchant, was among the injured. He was beaten and his warehouse was burned inflicting damage amounting to 150,000 Egyptian Pounds (approximately \$50,000 USD). He provided police with the

names of his attackers.

- Marcus Rushdy Gendy was also among the injured. He testified before Officer Atef Abu Shady and Mahmoud Saqr and provided them with the names of some of the killers.

- Manal Zarif Fares, was also injured after her husband, Mamdouh Noshy Sadek, was killed.

- Those injured by gunshots included Ashraf Halim Istaphanous (has a gunshot wound on his left shoulder), Marcus Shenouda Guirguis (has a gunshot wound on his leg), and Kurdy Rizk Ishaq (has a gunshot wound in his chest).

### ***Names of Individuals Whose Property was Damaged:***

- Mounir Azmy Lawandy: His furniture shop destroyed. (A personal identity card #22085 belonging to a Muslim Abdul Ghany Abdulah Zarzoor was found in his store and was submitted as evidence to police).

### ***Individuals whose houses were burned include:***

- Mamdouh Noshy Sadek, Nagih Hosni Iskarous, Sami Seif Maowad, and Ayad Seif Maowad

### ***Firebombs were lodged at the homes of:***

- Mousa Fakhry Ghali, Abdul Noor
- Shahid Sefein, and Melika Farouq Labib
- Moris Helmy Shakir, an electrician, had tools stolen from his shop and was later set ablaze.
- Nabil Guirguis Babawy, a blacksmith: All of his tools were stolen and his shop was burned.
- Mannan Dabous Henin, owner of a photography studio: His studio was completely damaged.
- Rifaat Sourial Geid, a blacksmith: The gate to his warehouse was damaged and goods were stolen.
- Mounir Khristo Nashid and his brother Mikhail Khristo Nashid: Doors to their warehouse were broken and livestock was stolen.
- Three textile shop-owners, Sourial Helmy Sefein, Youhanna Sefein Taniou, and Bernaba Shahid Qidis: All textiles were stolen from their shops.
- Al Daba Attyah Shenouda, a tailor: Two sewing machines and fabric were stolen from his shop.
- Salah Naguib Geid: His car and the front door to his house were destroyed.
- Naguib Mousa Issa, a grocer: All goods were stolen from his shop and house.

***The homes of the following individuals were also attacked:***

Ayad Gad Hanna  
 Shamshoun Mikhail Salib  
 Babawy Guirguis Babawy.

***The shops of the following individuals were attacked:***

Milad Wasfi Attiya, owner of a supermarket;  
 Ashraf Youssef Ifram, owner of an auto accessories shop;  
 Mousa Fikri Ghali, his fertilizer warehouse was set ablaze.

These were few examples of the attacks on Copts to terrorize them and damage their livelihood. Here, we also ask, where were security forces from Friday evening until Monday morning?!

***Obstructing the Pope's Secretary:***

Pope Shenouda sent his secretary, His Grace Bishop Youanas to attend the victims' funeral and pray over their souls. However, an unexpected event occurred. Security forces stopped the bishop while he was on his way to the village and accused him of bringing weapons to Christians. They removed the driver of his car and then escorted the bishop to a location he did not recognize. This continued until different police officers came and saved the bishop!

The bishop continued his journey where he conducted the prayers along with bishops in the area.

The funeral procession was very moving, as people were carrying the caskets and everyone, including the clergy was in tears over what happened.

***Rumors and Provocation:***

One example was that of a man shouting from a mosque, "beware Muslims: Copts want to poison the water you are drinking in order to kill you." The Governor heard this man and stated that he ordered the man to be beaten and then released him. We are aware that this man is involved in spreading sectarianism in the village, but he was not arrested.

Another rumor was that Christians had killed Muslims and some urged Muslims to retaliate. This was said while Christians were in their homes terrified after they have been attacked. No one intervened in order to put an end to these rumors and an atmosphere of chaos continued to spread in the village. Rumors are perhaps responsible for what happened to Bishop Youanas. These were the same rumors that reached some newspapers in Cairo, and Chief Editors ordered them published without examination of the truth and hearing both sides.

The Pope has continued to meet with state security officials in Cairo and exchanged ideas regarding the situation.

### ***Deterioration of Events:***

It is important to point out the escalation of events from a verbal disagreement to looting and attacking homes and shops, then to killing and burning corpses. Who is responsible for these attacks and for the terror victims were subjected to?

In addition, violence has spread from Al Kosheh to surrounding villages, including Awlad Touq East and Awlad Touq West, and Naga Mousa as well as other areas. St. George's Church, in Awlad Touq, was destroyed and all of its contents were looted. Fear was spreading among Copts as they witnessed these uninterrupted acts of vandalism and killing. All of these acts occurred without any intervention from the part of local authorities.

### ***Reconciliation and Restoration of Peace:***

Finally, on the fourth day of the violence, Monday night, some order was restored to the village by security forces. This apparent calm is only artificial, there is no peace or calm in people's hearts after the bloodshed of 20 victims.

Cain was the first man on earth to hear the voice of God saying, "The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground" (Genesis 4:10).

True reconciliation can take place only after the blood of these victims receives justice.

Please pardon the broken hearts if they cry out for justice. Do not blame our hearts and remember what the late leader Saad Zaghlool said, "When people witness a victim crying and a perpetrator beating him; they would not say to the victim do not cry without saying to the perpetrator do not beat the victim."

May Egypt always live in peace and security.

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# **COPTIC PALLADIANA II: THE LIFE OF EVAGRIUS (LAUSIAC HISTORY 38)**

*Translated, with an Introduction, by Tim Vivian*

## **INTRODUCTION**

### ***Evagrius of Pontus***

For a discussion of Evagrius, his situation at Scetis, and the issue of the Coptic *Life* vis-à-vis the *Lausiac History* of Palladius, see the General Introduction to "Coptic Palladiana I: The Life of Pambo," *Coptic Church Review* 20.3 (Fall 1999). Following that General Introduction is a list of abbreviations used in the series.

### ***The Coptic Life of Evagrius***

The chief, and very important, difference between the *Life of Evagrius* as presented in the *Lausiac History* and the Coptic *Life* is that the former mostly chronicles events and is concerned more with Evagrius' early life and how he came to Egypt while the latter includes these events but enriches them with much more detail about Evagrius' *interior* life. Reading about Evagrius in the *Lausiac History*, one is surprised, and disappointed, that someone like Palladius, who knew Evagrius, would be so superficial about this great desert theologian of prayer; the account seems to be one that a more distant observer, say the Church historian Socrates, might write. As Gabriel Bunge has observed, with regard to Evagrius the Greek *Lausiac History* "is astonishingly colorless, which is even more peculiar because Palladius lived nearly ten years as an intimate of Evagrius."<sup>1</sup> The Coptic *Life of Evagrius* is much more what one would have expected from Palladius: much more of an exploration of the way of life in the desert, about the one "who taught me the way of life in Christ and he who helped me understand holy scripture spiritually" (par. 2); as Bunge notes, its pages "are particularly rich in concrete and specific details which one would not seriously suggest have been purely and simply invented."<sup>2</sup> Thus, if the Coptic *Life of Evagrius* represents an eyewitness account from the fourth century (see par. 2), as seems likely (on this subject, see

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1 Gabriel Bunge, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire," *Irénikon* 56 (1983): 215-27, 323-60; 324.

2 Bunge, 325.

the General Introduction to "Coptic Palladaiana I"), then it is precious testimony indeed to a small part of the origins and first rich flowering of Christian monasticism.

\* \* \* \* \*

The *Life of Evagrius* follows that of Pambo in the Coptic synaxery and was read on the fifth Sunday of Lent.

\* \* \* \* \*

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29. Evagrius' Encounter with Demons in Disguise	[LH 38.11] <sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The version in LH 38.11 is much shorter than that found in the Coptic *Life*; see the discussion in the General Introduction in "Coptic Palladiana I."

## **THE LIFE OF EVAGRIUS<sup>4</sup>**

### Prologue (LH 38.1)<sup>5</sup>

1. I will now also begin to speak about Apa Evagrius, the deacon *from Constantinople, upon whom the bishop Gregory laid hands.*<sup>6</sup> Indeed, it is right that we relate the virtues of him whom everyone praises: he lived the apostolic way of life. For it would not be just if we were silent about his progress and <works> acceptable to God, but it is especially right that we put them into writing for the edification and profit of those who read about them so they may glorify God our Savior who empowers human beings to do these things.

### *Palladius Testifies as an Eyewitness<sup>7</sup>*

2. *Indeed, it was also he who taught me the way of life in Christ and he who helped me understand holy scripture spiritually<sup>8</sup> and told me what old wives' tales are, as it is written,<sup>9</sup> in order that sin might be revealed as a sinner;<sup>10</sup> for the whole time I was in that monastic community<sup>11</sup> I was with him, each of us living enclosed and apart. I was by his side Saturday night and during the day on Sunday.<sup>12</sup> In order that someone not think that I am praising him or showing favoritism towards him, as Christ is my witness I saw the majority of his virtues with my own eyes as well as the wonders that he performed. These I will write down for you for the profit of those who will read about them and for those who will hear them read so they will glorify Christ who gives power to his poor<sup>13</sup> to do what is pleasing to him.*

4 Translated from the text edited by É. Amélineau, *De Historia Lausica, quaenam sit huius ad Monachorum Aegyptiorum historiam scribendam utilitas* (Paris, 1887): 92-104, with important corrections by Adalbert de Vogüé, based on Vatican Coptic Codex 64, "Les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque: l'édition d'Amélineau et le manuscrit," *Orientalia* 58.3 (1989): 326-32. Gabriel Bunge and Vogüé give a French translation of the corrected text. References to the Greek text of the *Lausiac History* are to G.J.M. Bartelink, ed., *Palladio: La Storia Lausiaca* (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974), which is a modification of Butler's. Translations of the Gk text are from *Palladius: The Lausiac History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer (Ancient Christian Writers 34; New York: Newman, 1964).

5 Section titles are my own. Portions in italics are lacking in Gk. Paragraphs without "LH" in parentheses lack parallels with the *Lausiac History*. Paragraph numbers do not correspond to LH but are given for ease of reference.

6 BV suggest that the editor amalgamated the preambles of two redactions.

7 On the disciple-master relationship with Evagrius, see LH 23.1 (Meyer, 81), where Palladius calls Evagrius "my teacher," and Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.23. In Epistle 51.1 Evagrius calls Palladius his "brother:" According to the LH, Palladius arrived in Kellia in 390-91, well after Evagrius, who came there around 383 [BV].

8 That is, allegorically. For Evagrius as a biblical commentator, see Paul Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies aux Proverbes* (Sources chrétiennes 340; Paris: Cerf, 1987), and Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies à l'Écclésiaste* (Sources chrétiennes 397; Paris: Cerf, 1993). Evagrius' *Scholia on the Psalms* are found scattered among the works of Origen: PG 12:1053-1686; an edition is forthcoming.

9 See 1 Tim 4:7. Old wives' tales means "false knowledge," of which Evagrius often speaks in his letters.

10 See Rom 7:13.

11 Or: on the mountain (*tôou*).

12 At Kellia the monks would live by themselves during the week and come together on Saturday (the Sabbath) and Sunday (the Lord's day) for communal meals, worship, and the celebration of the eucharist.

13 "The poor" (*ebiaîn*) became a monastic self-designation; see Paul of Tamma, *On the Cell*; Tim Vivian and Birger A. Pearson, "Saint Paul of Tamma on the Monastic Cell (de Cella)," *Hallel* 23.2 (1998): 86-107, 92.

*Palladius' Own Testimony*

3. *I myself have been deemed worthy to inform you how he lived, from the beginning of his life until he arrived at these measures and these great ascetic practices until he completed sixty years,<sup>14</sup> and in this way went to his rest, as it is written, "In a short period of time he completed a multitude of years."<sup>15</sup>*

## Evagrius' Origins and Early Years (LH 38.2)

4. This man of whom we speak was a citizen of Pontus, which is where his family was from. He was the son of a priest from Iberia<sup>16</sup> whom the blessed Basil, bishop of Cappadocia, had made a priest *for the church in Arkeus*.<sup>17</sup> After the death of Saint Basil the bishop, and his father in God the priest,<sup>18</sup> Evagrius went to Constantinople, a city filled with learning,<sup>19</sup> for he walked in the footsteps of Saint Basil. He attached himself to Gregory [of Nazianzus], the bishop of Constantinople,<sup>20</sup> and when the bishop saw his learning and that his understanding was good, he made him a deacon, *for truly he was a wise person, being in possession of himself and without passions, and was a deacon of unwavering character*.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, he himself attended [the Council of] Constantinople with our fathers the bishops at the time of the synod that took place in Constantinople, and he was victorious over all the heretics. Thus this Evagrius and Nectarius the bishop debated with each other face to face, for truly Evagrius was very protective of the scriptures and was well-equipped to refute every heresy with his wisdom.<sup>22</sup> He was therefore well-known throughout Constantinople for having combatted the heretics with forceful and eloquent language.

14 According to LH 38.1 Evagrius lived to be only 54. The number 60 is repeated below.

15 See Wis 4:13. This quotation is repeated by Palladius in Dialogue 20, which suggests the Palladian origins of this material; see Meyer, 141-42.

16 Gk reads Iborā, a place in Helenopontus, a town in Cappadocia not far from the monastery of Saint Basil of Caesarea; see Sozomen, EH 3.30 [Meyer, 200 n. 339]; Jerome, Letter 133 (CSEL 56.246), speaks of "euagrius ponticus hiberita." BV point out, 154 n. 9, that Iborā and Iberia were commonly confused in antiquity. However, it should be noted that there were two Iberia: the Spanish peninsula and the land (roughly coinciding with modern Georgia) south of the Caucasus, northeast of Armenia, between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Thus Iberia was in fact near Pontus.

17 In the Gk, Basil ordains Evagrius as a lector and the Gk text does not mention Arkeus; Basil is identified as "bishop of the church of Caesarea," not Cappadocia, and one wonders if "Arkeus" is a corruption of Caesarea; the more general term "Cappadocia" would have been more familiar to a Coptic audience.

18 According to Evagrius' letters, his father died when he was in the desert [BV]. Gk does not mention his father's death. A "father in God" normally designates a spiritual father, an abba, rather than a parent.

19 Or: doctrine, *sbô*.

20 Both LH 38.2 and Socrates EH 4.23 affirm that it was Gregory of Nazianzus. In *Praktikos*, Epilogue (Bamberger, 42), Evagrius refers to Gregory as "the just Gregory who planted me." In *Gnostikos* 44 he again refers to Gregory as "the just."

21 Sozomen, EH 6.30, describes him as "archdeacon," that is, the right-hand man of the bishop, who often enough was chosen as the bishop's successor.

22 The Coptic translator has mistakenly turned Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople from 381-97, into one of the (Arian) heretics. Gk says that Gregory entrusted Evagrius to Nectarius, "one most skillful in confuting all heresies."

## Evagrius Lusts after a Married Woman (LH 38.3)

5. The whole city praised him greatly.<sup>23</sup> After all this learning [. . .] on account of his pride and arrogance, he fell into the hands of *the demon* who brings about lustful thoughts for women,<sup>25</sup> as he told us later after he had been freed from this passion. Indeed, the woman loved him very much in return. But Evagrius was fearful before God and did not sin with her because, *in fact, the woman was married*<sup>26</sup> and Evagrius also followed his conscience *because her husband was a member of the nobility and greatly honored*<sup>27</sup> and, furthermore, Evagrius thought deeply about the magnitude of shame and sin and judgement and realized that all the <heretics> whom he had humiliated would rejoice. He beseeched God continuously, praying that he help free him from the passion and warfare that he had placed on him,<sup>28</sup> for in truth the woman persisted in <her> madness for him to the point that she made a public spectacle of herself. He wanted to flee from her but could not summon up the courage to do so for in truth his thoughts were held captive by pleasure *like a child*.

## Angels Appear to Arrest Evagrius (LH 38.4)

6. God's mercy did not delay in coming to him but through his entreaties and prayers God came to him quickly. He comforted him<sup>29</sup> through a revelation so that nothing evil could get at him with the woman.<sup>30</sup> In a vision at night, the Lord sent angels to him dressed in radiant clothing who looked like soldiers of the prefect. They made him stand and seized him as though they were taking him before a judge, as though they had bound him in ropes along with other thieves, having put a collar around his neck and chains on his feet,<sup>31</sup> acting as though they were arresting him but without telling him the charges or why they had seized him.<sup>32</sup> But he thought in his heart that they had come after him on account of the affair with the woman, thinking that her husband had accused him before the prefect.<sup>33</sup>

23 The attentive Copt reader or listener might have heard that the verb used here for "praise," *ti ðou*, is the same as that used at the end of par. 1 where glory (*ðou*) is given to God. Thus, as will be immediately evident, glory, laud, and honor are misplaced here, given to the creature rather than to the Creator. Like a figure in classical Greek drama, Evagrius will pay for his hubris, "his pride and arrogance" (par. 5).

24 The text is corrupt.

25 Gk does not mention a demon, but rather the thought; in his own writings Evagrius used "demon" and "thought" interchangeably. It is interesting that the Coptic adds the demon since Evagrius in his writings so painstakingly delineated the various demons and their corresponding passions. See pars. 15 and 22.

26 Sozomen, EH 6.29, also reports that she was married.

27 Gk does not mention the husband but says simply that "she was of the highest social class."

28 "that . . . him": Gk "to God to put some impediment in his path." For "continuously" Gk has "humbly."

29 *Ti nomti* literally means "give strength, power, encouragement, comfort." *Refinomi* is Coptic for the Comforter.

30 Gk simplifies this sentence to "After he had been at prayer a short time."

31 Gk: tied his hands; see Sozomen EH 6.30.

32 Gk simplifies the sentence to "They did not tell him why."

33 Coptic "had accused him before the prefect": Gk "had brought this about."

## An Angel Visits Evagrius Disguised as a Friend (LH 38.5-7)

7. Afterwards he was utterly astonished<sup>34</sup> and the angel who had appeared to him changed form in front of him, taking on the appearance of one of his friends<sup>35</sup> who had come to pay him a visit and comfort him. He said to Evagrius, who was bound with the thieves,<sup>36</sup> "Deacon Evagrius, why have you been arrested, sir?"

Evagrius said to him, "The truth is, I don't know, but I think someone denounced me, perhaps because he was seized by ignorant jealousy. So I'm afraid that he's given money to the judge so he will quickly and violently destroy me."

The angel said to him, "If you will listen to me, I who am your friend, then I will tell you: It is not good for you to stay in this city."

Evagrius said to him, "If God delivers me from this trouble and you still see me in this city of Constantinople, say 'You deserve this punishment.'"<sup>37</sup>

The angel who had taken on the appearance of a friend said to him,<sup>38</sup> "I will give you the Gospel; swear to me 'I will not remain in this city,' and that you will be concerned about the salvation of your soul. I will save you from this trouble."

And he swore to him upon the Gospel, "Give me one day to load my clothes on the boat and I swear to you I will leave this city."

After he had sworn, he awoke from the vision he had seen at night and said, "Even if I swore in a dream, nevertheless I have sworn this oath." He immediately got up, loaded his things and his clothes on the boat, and set sail for Jerusalem.

## Evagrius Goes to Melania but Lapses and Becomes Ill (LH 38.8)

8. Blessed Melania the Roman joyfully welcomed him. But once again the Devil hardened his heart as in the time of Pharaoh<sup>39</sup> and his heart doubted and became divided and on account of his boiling youthfulness and his very learned speech and because of his large and splendid wardrobe (he would change clothes *twice a day*),<sup>40</sup> he fell into vain habits and *bodily pleasure*. But God, who always keeps destruction from his people, sent a tempest of fever and chills<sup>41</sup> upon him until he contracted a grave illness that persisted until his flesh become as thin as thread.<sup>42</sup>

## Evagrius Confesses, Heals, and Leaves for Egypt (LH 38.9)

9. This illness afflicted him with every sort of hidden suffering<sup>43</sup> so that the doctors were perplexed and were unable to cure him. Saint Melania said to him,

34 Coptic lacks "for another trial was going on with others being tried for some complaint or other."

35 Gk: a genuine friend.

36 Gk: forty criminals.

37 "Say . . . punishment": Gk "know that I would undergo this punishment without complaint."

38 Gk: "Then the vision spoke."

39 See Ex 7:14.

40 Gk says only that he changed his clothes.

41 Gk: a six-month fever.

42 A nice image. "Which . . . thread": Gk "This wasted away his flesh which had been his great impediment."

43 Evagrius' physical suffering (*pipathos*) is a direct result of his fleshly passions (*nipathos*).

"Evagrius, my child, this persistent illness does not please me. Do not hide your thoughts from me; perhaps I will be able to cure you. Tell me your thoughts in all honesty, for I can see by looking at you that this illness has not come over you without God's permission."<sup>44</sup> Then he revealed all his thoughts to her.<sup>45</sup> She said to him, "Give me your word that you will take the monastic habit<sup>46</sup> and, although I am a sinner, I will entreat my God through his grace to make you whole." He gave her his word and after a few days he was healthy again. He arose and took the monastic habit and left. He walked and came to the monastic community of Pernouj,<sup>47</sup> which is in Egypt.

#### Evagrius Goes to the Cells and Remains There (LH 38.10)

10. And he remained there two years and the third year he left there and went to the desert of the Cells.<sup>48</sup> He remained there sixteen years,<sup>49</sup> undertaking there numerous ascetic practices,<sup>50</sup> *and he went to his rest at sixty years of age. He did not see the bitterness of the body's old age and thus went to his rest as it is written: "In a short while he completed many years and he was quickly taken to the Lord so that evil might not alter his understanding."*<sup>51</sup>

#### *Evagrius Asks Abba Macarius about Fornication*<sup>52</sup>

11. *One day he asked our father Abba Macarius, "My father, how will I be able to oppose the spirit of fornication?"*<sup>53</sup>

44 "Perhaps . . . permission": Gk "for your sickness is not beyond God's aid."

45 Gk: Then he confessed the whole story.

46 The Gk emphasizes that Evagrius "received a change of clothing at her hands." According to Evagrius, Epistle 22.1 it was Rufinus who clothed Evagrius in the monastic habit [BV].

47 That is, Nitria, the monastic settlement some 50 kilometers southeast of Alexandria.

48 Gk lacks "of the Cells" here and places "the so-called Kellia" in the next sentence. Kellia (Cells) was about 18 kilometers south of Nitria.

49 Gk: fourteen.

50 Gk specifies: "eating but a pound of bread and a pint of oil in the space of three months, and he was a man who had been delicately reared in a refined and fastidious manner of life." Gk lacks the rest of this sentence and the remainder of the paragraph is completely different.

51 See Wisd 4:13 and par. 3 above.

52 For a similar visit by Evagrius to Macarius, see *Virtues of Macarius* 42.

53 In the *Life of Antony* 6.2, the Devil tells Antony he is "the friend of fornication."

*The old man said to him, "Do not eat anything in order to be filled up, neither fruit nor anything cooked over a fire."*<sup>54</sup>

Evagrius' Advanced Asceticism (LH 38.10)

12. He was a person to admire, having left behind a life of ease and pleasure. *There is no condemnation in saying that he was "an old man" from the beginning.*<sup>55</sup> He said one hundred prayers a day, while being a very skilled scribe.<sup>56</sup>

Evagrius' Strict Ascetic Regimen (LH 38.12-13)

13. At the end of nearly eight years<sup>57</sup> of keeping a stringent regimen of ascetic practice without relaxing it at all, he managed to damage his bowels and because the food he ate was like stones his rectum hurt him.<sup>58</sup> The elders had him change his ascetic regimen and thus he did not eat bread until the day he died but would eat a few herbs and a little cooked barley, which proved sufficient for him until he spent his little bit of time.<sup>59</sup> As for fruit or anything else that gives the body plea-

54 In *Praktikos* 94 (Bamberger, p. 40) "the holy Father Macarius" tells him, "For twenty years I have not taken my fill of bread or water or sleep. I have eaten my bread by scant weight, and drunk my water by measure, and snatched a few winks of sleep while leaning against a wall." Evagrius counseled monks never to eat or sleep to satiety; since one passion (gluttony) could lead to another (lust), such restraint was part of the monastic effort to reduce sexual desire. For Evagrius (and for Poimen and many other Desert Fathers), gluttony was the first sin, the first sin of Adam, and from it all others flowed. In the *Apophthegmata* there is the frequent admonition to "guard your belly"; fasting is the first step in undoing the sin of Adam. For Evagrius, failure to control one's food opened oneself to lust: "It is not possible to fall into the hands of the spirit of fornication if one has not fallen under the blows of [the spirit] of gluttony," *De diversis malignis cogitationibus* (PG 79:1200-1201). On all this, see Antoine Guillaumont, "Introduction," *Evagre le Pontique: Le Traité pratique* (Paris: Cerf, 1971), 90-93. See also Evagrius, *De jejuniis* 8; J. Muyldermans, ed. and trans., *Evagriana Syriaca: Tests inédits du British Museum et de la Vaticane* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires/Institut Orientalist, 1952), Syriac 116, French 151, and Evagrius, *De diversis malignis cogitationibus* 1 (PG 79.1200). If this account is accurate, Evagrius learned the connection between gustatory and sexual appetites from Macarius. See Guillaumont, "Evagre le Pontique et les deux Macaires," *Irenikon* 56 (1983) 215-227, 323-360.

55 This sentence, which BV term "enigmatic," is lacking in Gk. The point seems to be that Evagrius was an "old man" or "elder," one advanced in monastic wisdom, from the beginning.

56 Gk: He composed one hundred prayers, and he wrote during the year only the price of as much as he ate, for he wrote very gracefully the Oxyrhynchus character. Coptic lacks the rest of Gk LH 38.10 which speaks of Evagrius' spiritual gifts and of the three books he wrote. Gk 38.11 occurs much later in the Coptic version; see pars. 22-23, 29 below.

57 Gk: sixteenth year.

58 Gk says that as a result "his body required food prepared over a fire." In the *Life of Antony* 61.1, "Polycratia, a remarkable Christ-bearing young woman in Laodicea . . . suffered terribly with pain in her stomach and side on account of her excessive asceticism and her whole body was weakened." On the subject of food permitted to sick monks, see Lucien Regnault, *La vie quotidienne des pères du désert en Égypte au IVe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1990), chapter 6, "Le Régime alimentaire," 75-94, esp. 85-87.

59 Gk lacks the intervention of the elders at the beginning of this sentence and at the end says that "he died after having communicated in the church at Epiphany."

sure, he did not eat them nor did he allow his servants to eat them.<sup>60</sup> This was his ascetic regimen with regard to food.

#### *Evagrius' Contemplative Practices*

14. With regard to sleep, he followed a rule: he would sleep a third of the night, but during the day he would not sleep at all.<sup>61</sup> He had a courtyard where he would spend the middle part of each day walking, driving away sleep from himself, training his intellect to examine his thoughts systematically.<sup>62</sup> When he had finished sleeping a third of the night, he would spend the rest of the night walking in the courtyard, meditating<sup>63</sup> and praying, driving sleep away from himself, training his intellect to reflect on the meaning of the scriptures.<sup>64</sup>

#### Evagrius' Gifts (LH 38.10)

15. He possessed a very pure intelligence and<sup>65</sup> was deemed worthy to receive the gift<sup>66</sup> of wisdom and knowledge and discernment,<sup>67</sup> with which he categorized the works of the demons.

#### *Evagrius' Fidelity to the Church and His Writings*

16. And he was very scrupulous with regard to the holy scriptures and the orthodox traditions of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the books he wrote testify to his teaching and knowledge and remarkable intelligence. For he wrote three books of teaching:<sup>68</sup> one concerning the cenobitic monks, another concerning the monks who lived in cells in the desert, and another concerning the priests of God in order for them to be vigilant with regard to their duties in the sanctuary. These three

60 Gk: He said: "I did not touch lettuce or any vegetable greens, or fruit, or grapes, nor did I even take a bath, since the time I came to the desert." Although BV believe this sentence corresponds to LH 38.12, it is so different that there may be no connection.

61 A third of the night was four hours; the other two-thirds were devoted to the office and work. This "rule" was apparently common at Kellia (BV).

62 On the architecture of the cells uncovered in Kellia, see Myriam Orban, ed., *Déserts chrétiens d'Égypte* (Nice: Culture Sud, 1993), with photos of the excavations at Kellia, and Georges Descoedres, "L'architecture des ermitages et des sanctuaires," in *Les Kellia: Ermitages coptes en Basse-Egypte* (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1990), 33-55.

63 Coptic/Gk *meletê* meant to meditate on scripture, that is, to quietly utter on one's lips the words of scripture, most commonly the Psalms.

64 On nocturnal vigils, see Evagrius, *Ad Monachos* 46-51 and *Antirrhetikos* II.55 (BV).

65 Gk: Within fifteen years he had so purified his mind that he.

66 Or *grace*, *hmot*: Gk *charisma*.

67 Gk: discernment of spirits. A very important trait in the *Life of Antony*.

68 Or *doctrine*, *sbô*.

works teach everyone to live a good life, to possess a firm understanding, and to have an orthodox way of seeing things according to the traditions of the Church.<sup>69</sup>

*Evagrius the Spiritual Director*<sup>70</sup>

17. This was his practice: The brothers would gather around him on Saturday and Sunday, discussing their thoughts with him throughout the night, listening to his words of encouragement until sunrise. And thus they would leave rejoicing and glorifying God, for Evagrius' teaching was very sweet.<sup>71</sup> When they came to see him, he encouraged them, saying to them, "My brothers, if one of you has either a profound or a troubled thought, let him be silent until the brothers depart and let him reflect on it alone with me. Let us not make him speak in front of the brothers lest a little one perish on account of his thoughts and grief swallow him at a gulp."

*Evagrius' Hospitality*

18. Furthermore, he was so hospitable that his cell never lacked five or six visitors a day who had come from foreign lands to listen to his teaching, his intellect, and his ascetic practice.<sup>72</sup> As a result, he had money because in truth large numbers of people would send it to him. You would find more than two hundred coins in his possession which he would entrust to his steward who served in his house at all times.<sup>73</sup>

*Evagrius Refuses to be Ordained*

19. Numerous times Apa Theophilus the archbishop wished to take him and make him bishop of Thmoui,<sup>74</sup> but he would not agree to this and fled from the archbishop so he could not ordain him.<sup>75</sup>

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69 What are these "three works"? The one to the cenobites may be *Ad monachos*, the one to the solitaries *Praktikos*, but there are a number that could fit this category; but it is not clear what the one concerning priests could be. Evagrius very rarely speaks about the eucharist; see *Gnostikos* 14. LH 38.10 condenses Evagrius' writings thusly (partly seen in the last sentence of par. 16 above): "Then he drew up three holy books for monks--Controversies [or Refutations: *Antirrhêtika*] they are called--on the arts to be used against demons." It is interesting that Evagrius' works are so often listed in threes: In his *Epistle to Ctesiphon* (CSEL 56.246), Jerome says that Evagrius wrote to virgins, monks, and to Melania. Evagrius, in his letter to Anatolius (PG 40.1221), seems to refer to the *Praktikos*, *Gnostikos*, and *Kephalaia Gnostika*.

70 See LH 26.1 and [73.4] and the letter from Abba Lucius to Evagrius preserved in Arabic, with a French translation, in Irenée Hausherr, "Eulogios-Loukios," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 6 (1940): 216-20 [BV].

71 Sweetness was the essence of Evagrius' spiritual teaching and personality and is also an important word in the *Life of Macarius of Scetis* (see chapter 7); see Bunge, *Briefe*, 70ff., 126 ff.; AP Evagrius 7; Sozomen, EH 6.30.

72 In his letters Evagrius himself often speaks of such visitors and the letters he received; see Ep. 10.1, 22.1 [BV].

73 See the interesting parallels in *Life of Pambo* 5 and 10.

74 Thmuis.

75 Evagrius seems to refer to this in Ep. 13; see also Socrates, EH 4.23 [BV].

*Demons Attack Evagrius*

20. One time the demons paid him a visit and wounded him several times. We heard their voices but did not see them.<sup>76</sup> They struck him at night with ox-hide whips and, as God is our witness, we saw with our own eyes the wounds they inflicted on his body.

*The Book He Wrote about Them*

21. If you [sing.] want to know the experiences that he underwent at the hands of the demons, read the book he wrote concerning the suggestions of the demons. You will see their full power and various temptations. Indeed, it was for this reason that he wrote about these subjects, in order that those who read about them might be comforted knowing that they are not alone in suffering such temptations, and he showed us how such thoughts could be mastered through this or that kind of practice.<sup>77</sup> It is remarkable that such a person managed to escape notice from the beginning.

The Demons of Fornication Attacks Evagrius (LH 38.11)

22. One time the demons so increased in him the desire for fornication that he thought in his heart that God had abandoned him, as he told us, and he spent the whole night standing naked and praying in the cistern of water in winter until his flesh became as hard as rock.

The Spirit of Blasphemy Attacks Him (LH 38.11)

23. Another time, moreover, the spirit of blasphemy tormented him and he spent forty days without entering under the lintel of a cell until his whole body was covered with vermin like an irrational animal.<sup>78</sup>

*Evagrius' Mystical Ascent*

24. A few days later he told us about the revelations he had seen. He never hid anything from his disciples.<sup>79</sup> "It happened," he said, "while I was sitting in my cell at night with the lamp burning beside me, meditatively reading one of the prophets. In the middle of the night I became enraptured and I found myself as though I were in a dream in sleep and I saw myself as though I were suspended in the air up to

76 See *Life of Antony* 13.

77 This must be a reference to the *Antirrhetikos*; see Bunge, *Briefe*, 181.

78 See Dan 4:25-30. Palladius has several times emphasized Evagrius' reasoning and intellect (*kati*); here Evagrius is like an irrational (*atkati*) animal.

79 "He never hid anything from his disciples." This contradicts Evagrius' explicit teaching. For example: Letter to Anatolius 9 (i.e., the preface to the *Praktikos*): "Some things I have veiled and made obscure, to avoid giving what is holy to dogs and casting pearls before swine. But it will all be clear to those who have embarked on the same route"; *Gnostikos* 23: "It is necessary sometimes to feign ignorance, because those who are asking questions are not worthy to hear. And you will be telling the truth--since you are tied to a body and you do not now have an integrated knowledge of things." Evagrius seems in fact to have organized the *Kephalaia Gnostika* in such a way so as not to be too systematic, lest those who were not ready for the truth should have access to it.

*the clouds and I looked down on the whole inhabited world.<sup>80</sup> And the one who suspended me said to me, 'Do you see all these things?' He raised me up to the clouds and I saw the whole universe at the same time. I said to him, 'Yes.' He said to me, 'I am going to give you a commandment. If you keep it, you will be the ruler of all these things that you see.' He spoke to me again, 'Go, be compassionate, humble, and keep your thoughts pointed straight to God. You will rule over all these things.' When he had finished saying these things to me, I saw myself holding the book once again with the wick burning and I did not know how I had been taken up to the clouds. Whether I was in the flesh, I do not know; God knows. Or whether I was in the mind, once again I do not know.<sup>81</sup> And so he contended with these two virtues [of compassion and humility] as though he possessed all the virtues.*

#### *Evagrius Teaches about Humility*

25. *He used to say that humility leads the intellect into right knowledge, drawing it upward, for it is written, "He shall teach the humble their paths."<sup>82</sup> Indeed, this virtue is one the angels possess. Concerning the purity of the body, he used to say that "the monks are not alone with the virgins in possessing it. This virtue is theirs but it is also a virtue that numerous lay persons have who maintain purity, but since not all of them possess purity of body, 'seek out,' it says, 'peace with everyone, and purity, without which no one will see the Lord.'"<sup>83</sup>*

#### *The Purity of His Language*

26. *It was impossible to find a worldly word in the mouth of Apa Evagrius or a mocking word, and he refused to listen to another person using such words.*

#### *Evagrius Saves a Tribune's Wife in Palestine<sup>84</sup>*

27. *We also heard about this other wonderful matter: When he fled from Apa Theophilus, who wanted to make him bishop of Thmoui,<sup>85</sup> he fled and went to Palestine and happened upon a tribune's wife who was possessed by an unclean demonic spirit. She would enjoy nothing from all of creation, for the demon taught her this practice as though this were the way the angels lived. Furthermore, she had not gone to her husband's bed for many years. When Apa Evagrius the man of God<sup>86</sup> encountered her, he returned the woman's heart to God by means of a single*

80 In the *Life of Antony* 65.2, one time when Antony was about to eat, "he stood up to pray close to the ninth hour when he perceived that he was being carried off in thought and, amazing to relate, stood there looking at himself as if he were outside himself and were being led into the air by certain beings."

81 See 2 Cor 12:2.

82 Ps 24:9, an important verse for Evagrius [BV].

83 See Heb 12:14.

84 Evagrius' letters do not mention this event, which is fascinating for what it reveals both religiously and sociologically. If it took place, it was undoubtedly while he was on his way to see Rufinus and Melania.

85 See par. 19 above.

86 This epithet is applied to Antony in the *Life of Antony* 93.1.

word and a single prayer, she and her husband at the same time. For she used to repeat some things said by philosophers outside of the faith without understanding what she was saying, saying things that would have been wonderful if another person had said them. Evagrius gained her salvation in the Lord and brought about her reconciliation with her husband in peace.

#### *Discerning Good and Evil Events*

28. One time when he was in the desert, an old man who was fleeing from the presbyterate came to see him. While he was on his way, walking on the road, his bread gave out. When his disciple was about to faint from hunger, he stopped on the road and an angel placed a pair of loaves before him and put them on the road that led into the mountain. When the old man arrived at Apa Evagrius', he said to him, "When I was on my way to see you, I and my servant, we got hungry on the road. We did not find bread to eat. My servant was about to collapse from not eating and after we placed some skins down on the ground, we genuflected. While we were bent to the ground, the smell of hot bread came to us and when I got up I found two loaves of hot bread in front of me and when each of us had taken a loaf, we ate it, we recovered our strength, we started walking, and came to you." Indeed, I myself happened to be sitting there while he said these words to Apa Evagrius concerning the miracle that had happened to him. "Tell me, therefore," he said, "whether or not a demon has the power to do something like this."<sup>87</sup>

Apa Evagrius said to him, "You and I have both had such events happen to us. A few days ago I too went to visit the brothers. As I was walking along, I found on the road a money purse with three solidi in it. I stopped and sat down beside it lest someone had dropped it and would not be back to search for it. Although I spent a day sitting there, no one came to look for the money. I did not know where I could send the money because in truth I did not know who it belonged to. I sent [my steward] to the villages closest to me to ask whether or not someone had lost a money purse the past few days. When I didn't find anyone, I ordered my steward to distribute the money to strangers. Whether it was an angel or whether it was a demon that had left the purse, we distributed the money. As for you and me, whether what happened in our cases occurred on account of an angel or on account of a demon, let us give glory to God, for occurrences like these do not profit the soul at all except to purify it."<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, I give glory to you<sup>89</sup> for having received food

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87 Could the monk be thinking of Antony's experience (*Life of Antony* 40.3-4): "One day while I was fasting, the Deceiver came dressed like a monk. He had bread that was illusory and advised me, 'Eat, and stop all these sufferings. You are only human and will grow weak.' But I recognized his deceitfulness and stood up to pray"?

88 For Evagrius, gold was not necessarily demonic; it was the passions that caused problems, not things in themselves. See Evagrius Ponticus, *De diversis malgnis cogitationibus* 7 (PG 79.1208-1209), and *In Psalmos* 145.8, cited in Bunge, *Briefe*, 122.

89 Now it is appropriate for Evagrius to give glory (*ti ðou*) because the monk has been glorified by God and the angels.

from an angel. Yes, it is possible for demons to steal some loaves of bread and bring them to someone, but such loaves will not nourish the body because things that belong to demons stink<sup>90</sup> and if something comes from the demons the soul is confused when it sees it.<sup>91</sup> If, however, it comes from the angels, the soul is not confused but remains steadfast and at peace at that time.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the person who is worthy to receive food from the angels first of all possesses discernment in thinking about the saying of the Apostle, who says, 'Solid food is for the perfect, for those whose faculties have been trained by practice to distinguish evil from good.'<sup>93</sup>

*Evagrius' Encounter with Demons Disguised as Servants of the Church (LH 38.11)*<sup>94</sup>

29. Once again, three demons in the form of servants of the Church came to see him one day in the heat of midday,<sup>95</sup> and they were dressed in such a way that they were able to prevent him from recognizing them and seeing that they were demons.<sup>96</sup> On account of this, after they had left and he found the door closed, he realized that they were demons, but he did not realize it at first. They had given the appearance of discussing with him the subject of faith in the scriptures, and each of them told him his concern and they said to him, "We have heard it said about you that you speak articulately about the orthodox faith; therefore, we have come to you so you might satisfy our concerns." He said to them, "Ask what you wish."

The first said to him, "I am a Eunomian."<sup>97</sup> I have come to you so you might tell me whether the Father is begotten or unbegotten."<sup>98</sup> Apa Evagrius said to him, "I

90 A common belief among the monks. In *Life of Antony* 63.1-3, "Antony went down to the outer monastic cells and was asked to get on a boat and pray with the monks" where "he alone perceived a terrible and very acrid stench . . . a young man possessed by a demon (he had gotten on before them and hidden himself on the boat) suddenly cried out. Antony rebuked the demon in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and it left the young man. The young man became well and everyone knew that the stench had come from the demon."

91 In the *Life of Antony* 35.4, Antony voices a similar sentiment: "A vision that comes from the saints is not fraught with confusion."

92 Such an understanding occurs commonly in Evagrius' writings [BV]. On the wiles of the demons and ways of discerning them, see *Life of Antony* 21-43.

93 Heb 5:14. According to Evagrius, food from angels is usually synonymous with knowledge [BV]. On discernment, see *Life of Antony* 22.3, 38.5, 44.1, 88.1-2, and Cassian, *Conferences* 2.4.4.

94 See *Ad monachos* 126 [BV]. Although this paragraph has a parallel in LH 38.11, the version here is so much longer that I have italicized the entire paragraph. LH 38.11 reads like a condensation (Meyer, 113-14): "Three demons disguised as clerics attacked him in broad daylight and they examined him as regards the faith; one said he was an Arian, one an Eunomian, and the third said he was an Apollinarian. He got around them with his knowledge and a few words." See the discussion in the General Introduction.

95 These would therefore be the "noonday demons: of *acedia*, spiritual torpor and boredom.

96 In the *Life of Antony* 25.3, Antony says, "In addition, changing themselves into the forms of monks, [the demons] pretend to speak like the faithful in order to lead them astray with this seeming likeness, and afterwards, they drag away those who have been deceived by them wherever they wish."

97 According to the Gk (Cotelier 117,17); Coptic *eumenios*.

98 Coptic uses the technical Gk vocabulary *gennêtos* and *agennêtos*.

will not answer you because you have asked a bad question, for it is not right to talk about the nature of the Unbegotten and to inquire whether it is begotten or unbegotten."<sup>99</sup>

When the first realized that Evagrius had defeated him, he pushed his companion forward. When he had come forward, he first said [to his companion], "You've put your question badly." Apa Evagrius said to him, "And you, who are you?" He said, "I am an Arian." Apa Evagrius said to him, "And you in turn, what do you seek?" He said to him, "I am asking about the Holy Spirit and about the body of Christ, whether or not it was truly him whom Mary bore."<sup>100</sup> Saint Evagrius said to him, "The Holy Spirit is neither an offspring<sup>101</sup> nor a creature. All creatures are limited to a place. All creatures are subject to change and are sanctified by him who is better than they."<sup>102</sup>

[The third one said,] "You have defeated these two, for some [. . .] will you wish to speak to me too?"<sup>103</sup> The old man said to [him], "What do you seek, you, you who pride yourself in doing battle?"<sup>104</sup> The demon said to him, "Me? I'm not arguing with anyone, but my mind is not persuaded or certain that Christ received human intelligence. Rather, in place of intellect God himself was in him. Indeed, it is impossible for human intelligence to cast out the Prince of Demons from human beings and defeat him. Indeed, human intelligence can not exist in the body with God."

Apa Evagrius said to him, "If he did not receive human intelligence, he did not receive human flesh either. If, therefore, [he] received human flesh from [Mary the] holy Virgin, then [he] also [became] human, with a soul [and intellect], being complete in everything human except sin alone.<sup>105</sup> For it is impossible for the body to exist [without receiving] a soul and intellect. If, therefore, he did not receive these, then he is called Christ in vain. Therefore, the unchangeable Logos, the only-begotten Son of the Father,<sup>106</sup> received a human body and soul and intellect and everything human except sin.

"Let it suffice us, therefore, at present to offer solely the apostle Paul as a witness, who, bringing together the faith in a single unity,<sup>107</sup> speaks of a single divinity

99 Here the Coptic equivalents of *mise* and *athmise* are used. This response is true to Evagrius' thinking; see Evagrius, *Gnostikos* 27 and 41; Antoine Guillaumont, ed., *Évagre le Pontique: Le Gnostique ou a celui qui est devenu digne de la science* (Sources chrétiennes 356; Paris: Cerf, 1989), 132-33, 166-67. See the discussion in the General Introduction to "Coptic Palladiana I."

100 "Bore," *mas-*, is etymologically related to *mise*, "begotten."

101 Coptic *-mise*; see the previous two notes.

102 See *Life of Antony* 69 for Antony's refutation of Arianism.

103 The manuscript is damaged here and elsewhere at the end. BV suggest, based on LH 38.11, that the third demon is an Apollinarian.

104 See *Life of Antony* 77-85.

105 See Heb 4:15.

106 See Jn 1:14, 3:18.

107 *Monas*, the Monad of Greek philosophical thought, taken over by Christian theologians in order to speak of the Trinity.

*and a single royalty: the consubstantial and unchanging Trinity. 'For,' he says, 'one is God, one is the mediator between God and humankind, Jesus Christ,<sup>108</sup> the Son of God the Father, with the one Holy Spirit, one baptism, one Catholic Church, one resurrection of the dead at the time of [. . . ] as [Paul has said]<sup>109</sup> [...] you (pl.) deny the full mystery of the Holy Trinity.<sup>110</sup> One of you has made the Logos a creature, another has made the Holy Spirit a creature and [denied] the body of Christ, and another has killed the soul and body of Christ [. . . ]<sup>111</sup>*

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108 See 1 Tim 2:5. Both "single" and "one" translate Coptic *ouôt*.

109 This is conjectural; BV suggest, on the basis of the Greek, "as I see." Note the creedal character of Evagrius' words.

110 See *Ad monachos* 134.

111 The manuscript breaks off here.

# ***MOSES AND THE ‘MYSTERY OF CHRIST’ IN ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA’S EXEGESIS - Part I***

*Fr. John A. McGuckin\**

If the Christological controversy of the Fifth Century had not proved as explosive and as internationally disruptive as it did, Cyril of Alexandria would still have gained a lasting reputation as a theologian, as the most consistent exponent of the Athanasian tradition of salvific Christology in patristic thought (something which led Anastasius of Sinai to call him the ‘Seal’ of the Fathers’) but history’s approach to his thought and work would surely have taken another route; one less narrowly focused on dogmatic constructs, and less concerned with proof texts. It was inevitable that his Christological argumentation (once battle had been engaged with Nestorius and then with the wider Antiochene tradition in the years following the council of Ephesus of 431) should have been carefully and minutely scrutinised and his particular formulae challenged : not least those concerned with ‘Hypostatic Union’ and his concept of the ‘One Nature’. Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Andrew of Samosata, his main Syrian rivals, sensed that Cyril’s foray into formulaic, syllogistic thought (the decision to condense his doctrine in the form of the Twelve Anathemata attached to his Third Letter to Nestorius ) was his real Achilles’ heel and they relentlessly pursued him on this point. In modern western thought it has, perhaps, been an inevitability that Cyril’s Christology should be approached through scholastic avenues, and formulaic reductions, and in the latter part of this century Grillmeier’s great labours on Chalcedonian Christology, together with the rediscovery of the precise terms of the Antiochene tradition, has reinforced this trend rather than diminishing it.

Cyril, however, is not especially a formulaic theologian. His theology was already more or less laid out in all its contours before 429, and he was a rock

\* Fr. John McGuckin is an Orthodox priest and theologian. He is Professor of Early Church History at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

1 The sealing stamp, or the mark of authentication of a whole line of teachers.

against which Nestorius shattered precisely because he was able to subject all the Antiochene statements to the measurement of a simple canon of thought he already knew intimately, and was willing to apply with an unwavering single-mindedness. The doctrinal message was by his own preference, however, elaborated in his exegesis. It is in the exposition of the scripture that we find Cyril most at home in elaborating the 'Mystery of Christ. Here it is not the appeal to mystery as 'refugium obscuritatis' that sometimes might be suspected in the course of the hot controversies that were the order of the day after 429, rather the careful, painstaking, and massively consistent laying-out of the sense of Christology as a dynamic of salvation that runs throughout sacred-history, and throughout every aspect of the Christian church's life (especially its sacramental mysteries of Baptism and Eucharist that confer 'Adoptive- Sonship'). It is for this reason that we find Cyril at his most true ( though least personally creative ) when we look at him in his exegesis. This aspect of Cyril's theology, despite some excellent modern treatments,<sup>2</sup> still has not received the full attention it deserves.

The present paper offers, as an example, a close study of one aspect of his Old Testament typology. It concerns Cyril's use of one of the central figures of the biblical narrative, the prophet Moses, and how the Moses stories are used as a complex symbol of direct continuities, indirect continuities, and radical discontinuities, between the Old Dispensation and the Christian Gospel.<sup>3</sup> Cyril sees the whole dynamic thrust of the 'sacred story'<sup>4</sup> as Christocentric, it follows, then, that the typology of Moses will have an obvious Christological reference for him.

The Antiochene opponents of the Alexandrian tradition of 'spiritualising exegesis' had, from the time of Didymus, argued strongly that this way of reading the biblical text strained credence as it progressed through labyrinths of allusions based upon doubtful first premisses. They preferred to give serious weight to the historical reading of the text. Cyril was already aware of these Syrian criticisms of Egyptian allegorisation techniques long before the Nestorian controversy made the Christological argument focus sharply on the correct reading of Scriptural proof-texts. His early use of the typology of Moses shows how he was a subtle exegete who, while he followed the Alexandrian principle that the spiritual sense was the

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2 cf. A Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria : Interpreter of the Old Testament*. Rome. 1952; G Lambert, 'S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie et l'Ancien Testament.' *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*. 75, 1953, 520-523; R Wilken. *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis, and Theology*. 1971; LR Wickham, 'Symbols of the Incarnation in Cyril of Alexandria.' in M Schmidt & CF Geyer (edd.) *Typus Symbol, Allegorie bei den ostlichen Vatern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter* (Internationales Kolloquium. Eichstatt. 1981) Regensburg. 1982, pp. 41-53; B. de Margerie, 'L'exégèse Christologique de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie.' *NRT*. 102, 1980, 400-425.

3 The study by L M. Armendariz, '*El Nuevo Moises : Dinamica Cristocentrica en la tipologia de Cirilo Alejandrino.*' Madrid. 1962. is the only other work, as far as I know, to focus on Moses typology specifically.

4 By which he means the process how the biblical narrative of Israel becomes a story of salvation in Christ, in the tradition of the Church's preaching, and his own episcopal preaching in particular.

heart of the matter (the text's Christological import), had also taken some of the criticism to heart. As a result he abandoned the attempt to apply his biblical types within an overarching single system.<sup>5</sup> As a result, his Christologically driven exegesis leads him into interesting new and radical positions.

For present purposes I have restricted the scope of investigation to the 'type' of Moses only, and this focuses our consideration mainly on the *Glaphyra*<sup>6</sup> on *Exodus*, written just before the crisis between the oriental sees started to become public in 429. The figure of Moses is most fully and directly interpreted as Christological type within this narrative, though it also appears sporadically throughout Cyril's *On Adoration in Spirit and Truth*, the *Commentaries on the Minor Prophets*, and the *John Commentary*. A difference in tone and approach can be observed between the *Glaphyra* and the other sections which we shall see is probably due to the specific context of the latter material.

The *Glaphyra* serve as a kind of parallel treatment to the more through-written treatise *On Adoration*. At specific instances in both texts Cyril refers back to fuller references he has given to points in question in the other work. Clearly he edited the final version of these books with cross references to similar material in each, though he worked on the material in general (a selective working through the Pentateuchal text) from a similar time in his Alexandrian ministry. This can be situated more or less precisely in the period of his early years as Archbishop of Alexandria, an office to which he succeeded in 412. His episcopal administration was marked by a significant political and intellectual context which forms the background to the Old Testament exegeses in hand. The Theodosian imperial administration was at the time energetically advancing Christian civil rights beyond those of the other two important factions in early Byzantine Alexandria: the Jewish community,<sup>7</sup> and the intellectual adherents of the 'old religion'. Theophilus, Cyril's uncle and predecessor, had used the legislation available to him to deconstruct, often violently, significant shrines in and around Alexandria, and Cyril himself continued this process of active moves against centres of Hellenistic cult and belief. The incident of the creation of the shrine of Saints Cyrus and John is one example of this,<sup>8</sup> as is the continued cultivation of monastic leaders such as Shenoudi, whom Cyril was later to take in his delegation to Ephesus, but who was actively engaged in this period in the Christian suppression of pagan Egyptian cultic practices. Cyril's anti-Hellenistic apologetic is more clearly seen in the *Against*

5 The gathering storm of anti-Origenism in Egypt may have also helped him to distance himself from this tradition. Even so, Cyril's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* contrasts markedly with that of Theodore, who hardly has a Christological focus, whereas for Cyril it is the whole point of the work.

6 *Glaphyra* – or 'Book of Elegant Comments'.

7 Jewish conversions of Christians were made punishable by law in 415. (Cod. Theod. 16.8.22). Other restrictive imperial edicts concerning Jewish affairs were issued in 409, 412, 415, 417 & 423.

8 cf J.A. McGuckin. 'The Influence of the Isis cult on St. Cyril of Alexandria's Christology.' *Studia Patristica*. 24. Leuven. 1992. pp. 191-199.

*Julian*, but it frequently appears also in his Old Testament exegeses. The overall struggle against the power of the Jewish communities in Alexandria, however, ought never to be overlooked. It was this community which Cyril perceived as the more dominant 'threat' to the claim of the Christians to be the ascendant element in Alexandrian intellectual life. If the Christian community advanced its deconstruction of Hellenistic religion and culture on the basis of biblical paradigms, especially that of divine election, then it was a serious matter to have within the same city an extensive Jewish intellectual élite with a long-standing commitment to allegorical biblical interpretation which they too advanced for the purposes of missionary outreach as well as internal community catechesis. Even in the time of Origen's stay in Alexandria (covering the publication of his *First Principles* and the early books of the *John Commentary*), the Christian community felt the close religious proximity of the Jewish communities to be something uncomfortable, and Origen was exercised to insist that Christians do not follow 'Judaic' practices such as food purity regulations and Sabbath observance.<sup>9</sup> In Cyril's time the tension with 'The Synagogue' was no less prevalent, and had the added element of Christian political ascendancy being much more deliberately advanced. The tension between the communities, as was exactly the case with the relation of Christians to the cult of Isis and other ubiquitous forms of Hellenistic religion in Alexandria, was one where leakage of Christians to Hellenistic and Jewish practices was more common than the hierarchs would like to admit.<sup>10</sup> Cyril's constant insistence on the cessation of regulations such as Sabbath, festivals, and food laws, needs to be visualised locally and immediately ( beyond the scholarly circle for whom Cyril would later prepare his works ) in the preached addresses to his local Christians who were attracted to exactly these things as structural forms shaping the outlines of their own religious lives.

In his early years as Archbishop, Cyril served as Ethnarch of the Christians in a time of great civil unrest between Christian and Jewish factions in the area around the 'Alexander' church,<sup>11</sup> involving mutual burning of places of worship. The imperial Governor, Orestes, had a hard time quelling the violence that arose, and was clearly being tested, over and against the episcopal administration of Cyril, for the real governance of the city. The violent clash with the Jewish factions of the Alexander church seemed to have been one from which Cyril emerged as the undisputed Christian leader of Alexandria, an issue which need not merely be read in Kingsley's depressing manner<sup>12</sup> of envisaging Cyril as an anti-semitic dema-

9 cf. J. McGuckin. 'Christian Asceticism and the Early School of Alexandria'. Studies in Church History, vol. 22, Oxford, 1985, 25 - 39.

10 The extent of cross-religious leakage can be ascertained from the syncretism evident in the Coptic amulet texts collected by M Meyer and R. Smith. *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic texts of Ritual Power*. Harper. San Francisco. 1994.

11 cf. Socrates. *Historia Ecclesiastica*. 7.13.

12 It is necessary to keep in mind that Kingsley's : *Hypatia ( or : New foes with an old face)* London. 1889 - is a work of creative fiction, and the Cyril who emerges from his pages is an unjust caricature that has too often been accepted as a 'working model' for many modern commentators.

gogue,<sup>13</sup> but one which certainly shows how much political (and hence intellectual and theological ) tension with the Jewish community was a real mark of Cyril's episcopal administration in the early years. The violence of the Christian mob which murdered Hypatia, formed another crisis point which led to Cyril's powers being curtailed. His personal bodyguard (parabalani) was cut back so that it could no longer serve as an effective paramilitary force. But within a few years (certainly before the Nestorian crisis began) and largely as a result of the manner in which he had shown his ability to control and master those Christian mob forces that constituted a significant faction among Alexandria's riotous populace, Cyril had bounced back into favour with the Emperor and was awarded a personal force that had even been increased from its former size.<sup>14</sup> The *Glaphyra* need to be read keeping in mind this active and tense conflict with Jewish theological and cultural life which was so close to the surface.

In the opening book of his *Glaphyra* Cyril gives Palladius, the dedicatee and notional reader, his overall exegetical intention. The search for the spiritual meaning (theoria) in the Pentateuch will guide him primarily throughout, and he will therefore give ethical interpretations of the works only as and when it strikes him as most useful in the context. The whole narrative of the scriptural book is an adumbration of the Mystery of Christ which comes only in shadowy form while the Law still held sway:

We have been making our way through each of the chapters of the Five Books of Moses, considering the higher sense of the meaning contained there; setting out such things in relation to moral exegesis as might be useful or necessary, in so far as time allows, or as best fits an ordered commentary on each part. But as for those things that lie within and surely refer to the Christ-Mystery, things which have been foretold as if in shadows to those who were still under the Law, this is what I have reserved to expound in this present study.<sup>15</sup>

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13 This is not to say Alexandria was not an anti-semitic place and a violent place too (see H. I. Bell, 'Anti-Semitism in Alexandria.' JRS 31, 1941, 1-18 ) merely to argue that the interpretation of Fifth Century mob violence during Cyril's ethnarchy as 'anti-semitism' is too simplistic an analysis for the events of his early reign. See J. McGuckin: *St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*. Brill, Leiden. 1994, pp. 11-15; cf. TE Gregory. *Vox Populi: Popular opinion and violence in the religious controversies of the Fifth Century*. 1979.

14 cf A Philpsborn. 'La compagnie d'ambulanciers 'parabalani' d'Alexandrie. Byzantion. 20. 1950, 185-190.

15 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1. Text in JP Migne. *Cursus Completus Patrologiae Graecae*. [Henceforth PG] (Paris 1859, Turnhout 1987). PG. 69.385B - 386A.

The theological implication of this exegetical premise is, of course, that the explication of the mystery of Christ is itself a primary indication that the Law does not hold sway any longer. In spite of all his 'fulfilment' theory, this is the general trend of most of what Cyril has to say, and it is surely not coincidental that his immediate Alexandrian context of Church-Synagogue tensions has brought him to this point. Re-applying the Pauline notion of the transition from shadows to realities, Cyril is not so much concerned to demonstrate the essential relation of the two biblical covenants, as to argue that the Truth displaces Type, just as light displaces shadowy darkness. He not only works from the general Pauline context but more particularly is taking the initial sections of *Colossians* as his guide to the exegesis of the book of *Exodus*, as can be seen from the manner in which the *Colossians'* prelude sets the terms for his major concepts of the 'Mystery of Christ' as the interpretative key to the 'Economy of Salvation' as revealed in the Old Law.<sup>16</sup>

The context of Colossians 2.16f. which lays down the basis of the patristic hermeneutical principle of 'shadows to reality', by setting a tone of discontinuity between the dispensations, is even more explicit a guide to Cyril when he turns his attention to the way in which the old law cannot be given an abiding force for Christians. The contrast is already drawn here between the 'shadows' and real things in the context of not allowing the old food regulations and festivals (particularly the Sabbath ) to have a continuing validity in the Christian community.<sup>17</sup>

The selfsame concept of the shadow being evidently an inferior premonition of what was to come, and which is displaced by the real in its own time, is sustained by the writer of Hebrews, where those who offer sacrifices in the economy of the Old Covenant ('according to the Law') are described as an inferior type, designated by Moses, of what was to come in the time of the new dispensation in Christ.<sup>18</sup>

It is, accordingly, this late Pauline<sup>19</sup> theology of the displacement and supersession of the old by the new which serves as Cyril's guide for all his treatment of the type of Moses. With both the *Hebrews* passages which speak of shadows and realities,<sup>20</sup> the issue of mediatorship is central to the logic of discontinuity between the covenants. It is for this reason that salvific mediation is also at the heart of the issue of Moses as a Christological type in the exegesis of Cyril. He is taking his hermeneutical lead from the passages in Colossians and Hebrews primarily, which thus sharpens his polemic more than if he had taken a broader textual basis for his covenant theology.<sup>21</sup> Christ, for Cyril, is certainly not a 'New Moses'<sup>22</sup>, rather the supreme Mediator who displaces the outmoded and partial type of Moses' mediation.

16 Coloss. 1. 26-27 : 'The Mystery hidden from the Ages... which is Christ in you.'

17 Coloss. 2. 16-17.

18 Heb. 8. 5-6.

19 Cyril, of course, takes *Hebrews* as a writing of Paul's.

20 See also Heb. 10.1 ff.

21 As instanced, for example, in *Romans* 3.31, or ch. 11.

22 *Pace* the title of Armendariz's study ( see fn. 3. ).

In the opening chapters of his *Glaphyra on Exodus* Cyril marks out three focal points of interest in regard to the Moses-type, around which he organises most of his material in this book, thereby making it his most extensive and consistent treatment of the symbolic meaning of Moses in all his work. The three aspects are : the birth story of Moses,<sup>23</sup> the story of Moses' exile and meeting with Jethro the priest<sup>24</sup> (most particularly here he mentions Moses' marriage and relation to Sepphora), and lastly his vision of God in the burning bush.<sup>25</sup> Apart from these three central exegeses, the typology of Moses is developed in an extensive number of other random incidents and figures, mostly gathered around the ( negatively developed ) conceptions of Moses as mediator and as symbol of Israel, where Cyril is more concerned to delineate the limitations and ineffectiveness of Moses' role, rather than its strong points.

The treatment in the *Exodus Glaphyra* Book One, however, has the hallmarks of a coherently designed threefold unit, and one might speculate that these exegeses were in fact preached at a similar time. A common motif of invitation to the church, is found in the perorations to the end of each of his three sections which might suggest an occasion ( unusual in Cyril's works as we shall see by comparison with the general tenor of his other Moses material) where he has in mind a hopeful evangelistic outreach to the Jewish community. There may well have been a recent upsurge in Jewish converts to the Christian community, consequent on the stepping up of the Theodosian dynasty's measures to restrict the rights of Hellenistic and Judaic alternatives to Christianity in the early Fifth Century, which Cyril seems to have taken as a positive sign for future developments. He alludes to it in the peroration to his first treatment of Moses' nativity story showing how the manner in which Pharaoh's daughter (the pagan world) gave back the infant Moses (the knowledge of God through Christ) to his true mother (the Synagogue) prefigured the manner in which Israel itself would be persuaded by the gentile Church, 'in these last days', into the truth of Christ :

For even though the Synagogue of the Jews once, as it were, exposed and cast off Jesus through faithlessness , even so in these last days it shall receive him, being initiated into the mystery through the teachings of the Church.<sup>26</sup>

And he comes back to a similar upbeat theme as the peroration of the second section about Moses in exile. Once again Moses (the Christ figure) acts as a mediator to salvation when Jethro (the name is interpreted to mean vacuous man) is

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23 *Glaphyra in Exodum* Bk.1. 1-5. PG 69. 388f.

24 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.6-8. PG 69. 397D - 409B.

25 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.9. PG 69. 409C - 417A.

26 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.5. PG 69. 397C.

turned into Raguel (the flock of God) through the covenant made through his daughter Sepphora (the gentile church) with Moses.<sup>27</sup>

The same motif of welcome extended to those of the Jewish community who wish to lay aside their sandals of corruption and enter the holy ground, that is convert to the mystery of Christ, is noticeable in the third peroration to this Moses triptych, when Cyril exegetes Moses' vision of the burning Bush, and concludes:

He said to them : 'Amen, Amen, I say to you , if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you will not have Life in you.' This indeed was a Mystery, yet not for those who once were under the law, but for those who had received faith, and had been justified in Christ, and had been founded on a far greater teaching than the Law. I mean, of course, the Gospel. Those under the Law are still far from Christ and bound in corruption. They have death as their mother (I refer of course to sin) who have not yet cast it off through faith. But if they wish to 'unfasten their sandals'<sup>28</sup> which symbolise 'corruption' that cannot give the power to be justified; and if they truly wish to approach the life-giving grace, then let them draw near to the One who can indeed justify the wicked, that is to the Christ. Through Him and with Him be glory to the Father, with the Holy Spirit, to the Ages of Ages. Amen.<sup>29</sup>

This suggests, perhaps, that all three motifs of the Moses type, as found in the first book of *Exodus Glaphyra*, possibly originated in a series of preached sermons at a time in his early Archbishopial ministry when Cyril was hopeful that a surge of converts from Judaism could be expected. It accounts for the evangelistic tone of the material, and his more open readiness to depict Moses in Christlike form.

We can briefly note how the Christological aspects of the Moses type are drawn out in these three figures of the Nativity, the Exile into Madian, and the Epiphany of the burning Bush. In the first place, at the head of his treatment, Cyril states how Moses' story is an adumbration of the Mystery of Christ. Those who stand in the light of the new order, with the perspective of the Christian mysteries leading them (and most particularly Cyril the exegete, poised to open up the mysteries in his present work), are mystagogues who are able to see how this is so:

But as for those things that lie within [ the Pentateuch] and surely refer to the Christ-Mystery; things which have been foretold as if in shadows to those who were still under the Law, this is what I have reserved to expound in this present study.<sup>30</sup>

27 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.8. PG 69. 409B.

28 Like Moses before the mysterious sign of the Burning Bush.

29 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1. PG 69. 416D - 417A.

30 As he outlines in his Preface : *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.1. PG 69. 388A. See fn. 15.

He goes on immediately after this Glaphyra preface to explain how, as only Christ held the key to the whole symbolic system of biblical foreshadowing, only Christ could unlock the meaning of those mysteries, which He does only in the fullness of the new dispensation. The Christian exegete, it follows, is the only interpreter possessed of the true meaning of the narratives. Even texts with an apparently coherent structure and purpose, are rendered insubstantial, or irrelevant, when not considered in the light of their true meaning: in Christ. From the outset, therefore, Cyril is unremittingly Christocentric in his exegetical principles. The discovery of the true meaning is a way of advancing further along the path of redemption in Christ<sup>31</sup> and as such, inspired exegetical interpretation (either hearing it, or delivering it) serves to embody and realise the fulfilment of the Mystery of Christ.

*(To be continued in Part II in the next issue).*

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31 *Glaphyra in Exod.* 1.1. PG 69. 'Since the tenor of the entire book relates to the redemption discovered in Christ.'

## ***BOOK REVIEW***

### ***Bonding with God***

*By Roland J. Faley. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997. 151 pp. \$ 12.95 (paperback). ISBN 0-8091-3706-2*

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