IV
WRITERS OF THE PALESTINE REGION

Introduction

From 358 the territory of the province of Palestine was divided into two parts: Palaestina and Palaestina Salutaris. Around the year 400, it had a new organization: 1) Palaestina Prima, with Jerusalem as capital, comprised the central territory to the west of the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, as well as the town of Gaza; 2) Palaestina Secunda, with Scythopolis as capital, comprised the region around Lake Tiberias; 3) Palaestina Tertia, with Petra as capital, extended south of Gaza, Jerusalem and the Dead Sea and embraced the whole Sinai peninsula and part of Arabia. The language used was mainly Greek, at least in Christian circles; not just as a literary language, but also in inscriptions.

In the course of the 4th century Jerusalem regained its importance, partly as a centre of pilgrimage, at the expense of Caesarea, the former capital. At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, it was promoted: no longer a suffragan of Caesarea, it became a patriarchate. In 614 Jerusalem was captured by the Persians and in 637 by the Arabs; for a period (644-705) it was dependent on the see of Rome. Another town important as a cultural centre in our period, once it had become Christian, was Gaza. Monasticism was well developed in Palestine.

a) The origins of Christian monasticism at Gaza are traditionally associated with Hilarion, a native of nearby Thavatha, about whom Jerome composed a doubtless largely fictional life. This story stresses the inspiration of Egypt behind the monasticism of Gaza, which, in response to Hilarion's example, was already flourishing there during the lifetime of St Antony himself. The great figures of Gaza were the two hermits, the "Great Old Man", Barsanuphius, and the "Other Old Man", John, who seem to have been faithful to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and were also opposed to the Origenism of monks who had drunk too deeply of Evagrius. But, perhaps because of its links with Egypt, Gaza became a centre, too, for those monks who felt keenly that the Council of Chalcedon had betrayed the faith of Cyril of Alexandria (these were, and are, dubbed "Monophysite").

b) Characteristic of Palestinian monasticism is the laura (the term was apparently first used here), a semi-eremitical form of monasticism. The centre of the Palestinian monasteries was Jerusalem, which from the time of Constantine became a holy city for Christians. The monks became guardians of the holy places – both those associated with the life of the Lord and those associated with the Old Testament patriarchs – which attracted pilgrims from the whole Christian world, and also considerable patronage, not least that of the imperial family. It was doubtless the ecumenical significance of Palestine that made Palestinian monasticism a bulwark of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, in the Eastern regions of the Empire where elsewhere the Christological compromise of Chalcedon was regarded with mistrust and resentment. It is, above all, to Cyril of Scythopolis, in his *Vitae* of the monks of Palestine, that we owe our knowledge of Palestinian monasticism.

c) Sinai, with its associations with the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah, was early a focus of Christian monasticism. Christian hermits settled there, initially in the fertile valleys of Pharan and Raithou, and later on the holy mountain of Sinai (or Horeb). According to tradition, the Empress Helena founded a Christian church in Sinai on the site of the Burning Bush (in Greek: *Vatos*) during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326, and the Spanish pilgrim Egeria visited Sinai in the early 380s. The monks there were exposed to attack from the Bedouin tribes in the area, and in about 550 the Emperor Justinian fortified the monastery of the Burning Bush. At a later stage the monastery of the Vatos acquired the relics of St Catherine of Alexandria, and came to be known as the monastery of St Catherine. The greatest luminary of the monastery is without doubt St John of Sinai, author of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, one of the most influential of all Greek monastic texts.

d) Among the monastic writings of Palestine, the accounts of the fall of Jerusalem to the Persian army in 614, with their accounts of the sufferings of the Christians and especially of the monks, are of particular interest, not least for their importance as primary historical documents. They also illustrate how deeply Christians had come to regard Jerusalem as their holy city. This whole body of literature, which focuses on the accounts of the martyrdom of Anastasius the Persian, a Persian soldier who converted to Christianity and eventually suffered martyrdom, has been subject to exemplary analysis by B. Flusin.

Studies: F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, 2 vol., Paris 1952; Perrone; Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven 1992; W.E. Kaegil, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, Cambridge 1992; P. Maraval, *Récits des premiers chrétiens au Proche-Orient (IV^e^-VII^e^ siècle). Textes choisis, présentés, traduits et annotés par Pierre Maraval*, Paris 1996; M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*,

American Center of Oriental Research 1993; B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, Le Monde byzantin, 2 vol., Paris 1992; John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine 314-631*, Oxford 1994, repr. 1996; J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, Washington (DC) 1996.

AMMONIUS THE MONK

The otherwise unknown Ammonius was a Coptic monk who, on his return from making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, spent some years in the Sinai desert, where he both witnessed and heard about massacres of monks in Raithou and Sinai by Saracens, Blemmyae and other barbarians, about which he wrote a somewhat confusing account which survives in a Greek translation, and also in a translation from the Greek into Christian Palestinian Aramaic; there are also versions in Syriac, Georgian and Arabic. He says that these events took place during the patriarchate of Peter of Alexandria, presumably Peter II (373-380), and that they are commemorated on 28 December, but they may be the same (compare the names: Isaiah, Sabbas, Moses, etc.) as the monks of Sinai and Raithou commemorated in the Byzantine Calendar on 14 January.

Editions: For full details of versions see CPG 6088.

Greek: F. Combefis, *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi*, Paris 1660, 88-132; D.G. Tsami, K.A. Katsani, *Τὸ Μαρτυρολόγιον τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Thessaloniki 1989, 194-235.

Christian Palestinian Aramaic: A. Smith Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios*, Cambridge 1912, 1-54 (numbered from the end); C. Müller-Kessler, M. Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia*, A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic 3, Groningen 1996.

Translation – English (of Christian Palestinian Aramaic version): A. Smith Lewis, *op. cit.*, 1-14 (numbered from the beginning); C. Müller-Kessler, M. Sokoloff, *op. cit.*

Studies: R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans", *RBi* 49 (1940) 205-23, esp. 216-20; P. Mayerson, "The Ammonius Narrative: Bedouin and Blemmye attacks in Sinai", *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, New York 1980, 133-48; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington (DC) 1984, 303-319; P.-L. Gatier, "Les traditions et l'histoire du Sinaï du IV^e au VII^e siècle", T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leyden 1989, 499-523, esp. 510-517.

JUVENAL OF JERUSALEM

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem from 422 to 458, the first to assume the patriarchal dignity, took part in the initial phase of the Christological controversies at the Councils of Ephesus (431 and 449) and Chalcedon (451), concerned mainly to safeguard and expand the rights of his own see. Allied to Cyril at the First Council of Ephesus and to his successor

Dioscorus at the Second, during the Council of Chalcedon he did not hesitate to withdraw the support previously offered to the Alexandrians. He thus adhered to the definition of faith, together with the Palestinian episcopate: this led to the revolt of some monks headed by Theodosius (452-453), who accused the bishop of Jerusalem of having betrayed the right faith. The protests of the insurgents on his return to Palestine forced Juvenal to flee to Constantinople, whence he returned to take possession of his diocese with imperial support (August 453). For some time the patriarch's political ambitions had extended beyond the three Palestinian provinces to the two provinces of Phoenicia and Arabia. These aims were to be achieved in the aftermath of the *latrocinium* of Ephesus (449), but at Chalcedon Juvenal had to negotiate with Maximus of Antioch for recognition of his patriarchal authority, which was confined to Palestine. The institution of the fourth Eastern patriarchate brought to completion a tendency that had inspired the policy of the bishops of Jerusalem since the time of the Council of Nicaea (325).

Juvenal's excessively political image tends to make us forget his monastic origins, also attested by a monastery of his own founding in the Kedron valley, and his active support of Palestinian monasticism, which under his episcopacy began to populate the Judaean desert. The adherence to Chalcedon of Euthymius the Great, initiator of monastic life in the desert beyond Jerusalem during the 5th century, partly expressed his loyalty to the bishop of the Holy City, who among other things recruited many monks into his own clergy. The patriarch of Jerusalem also promoted important developments in the rich liturgical organization of Jerusalem, like the introduction of the feast of the *Theotokos* (15 August) and the celebration of Christmas on 25 December, though with less success in the latter case.

Juvenal appears as signatory of an *Ep. ad Caelestinum ep. Romae* (CPG 6710), addressed to the pope by the delegates of the Cyrillian Council of Ephesus (431) convoked at Constantinople by Theodosius II, and of an *Ep. ad presbyteros et archimandritas Palaestinenses* (CPG 6711), written in 454, after his restoration to the see of Jerusalem. The synodal letter aimed to pacify the rebel monks towards the bishops who had accepted the dogma of Chalcedon, adducing the motive of continuity with the apostolic faith and the tradition of the Fathers. Juvenal's name also appears in several documents (letters and transcripts) connected with the events of the three Christological councils in the first half of the 5th century. The only text to reach us in Juvenal's name is a homily delivered at Ephesus in July 431, soon after the deposition of Nestorius by the Cyrillians, and transmitted in an Ethiopic version. The brief address is marked by its wealth of biblical references which bring out, by contrast, its moderate polemical tone towards Nestorius. Against that

Antiochene spokesman, Juvenal confines himself to repeating the traditional arguments of patristic soteriology which linked the event of the Incarnation to the prospect of deification.

Editions and studies: CPG 6710-6712; *ACO* 4/3/1, 306-307; 4/3/2, 273-275; B.M. Weischer, *Qêrellos IV, 1: Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesus*, Äthiopistische Forschungen 4, Wiesbaden 1979, 82-87; S. Grébaut, "Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie de Juvénal, évêque de Jérusalem", *ROC* 15 (1910) 440-441; E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem", *DOP* 5 (1950) 209-279; J.T. Milik, "Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes", *RB* 67 (1960) 354-367, esp. 364 f.; L. Perrone, "I vescovi palestinesi ai concili cristologici della prima metà del V secolo", *AHC* 10 (1978) 16-52; Idem, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, Brescia 1980; Grillmeier, II/1, 113-120, 227 f. (English ed. 98-105, 200 f.).

THEODOSIUS OF JERUSALEM

Even before the Council of Chalcedon, the Palestinian monk Theodosius had stood out at Antioch and Alexandria for the zeal with which he supported the cause of the Cyrillian party. Having followed at close quarters the labours of the Fourth Council, he was able to anticipate the return of the bishops to Palestine by denouncing the "apostasy" perpetrated by Juvenal. His propaganda against the patriarch won a huge following in monastic circles. Theodosius briefly (452-453) installed himself on Juvenal's throne and proceeded to replace the bishops who had adhered to the dogma of 451. Among others, he consecrated Peter the Iberian as bishop of Maiuma. Though Theodosius drew down the charge of being a sympathizer of Eutyches, the doctrinal positions he defended seem to take the form of loyalty to the Cyril of Ephesus, the determined antagonist of Nestorius and Diphysite Christology, rather than the Cyril who agreed to union with the Antiochenes (433). Faced with the repressive measures of the Emperor Marcian, who issued a death sentence against him, he escaped capture thanks to the protection afforded him by the monks of Sinai. From there he later went to Egypt, where he had to face a dispute within the Monophysite party, caused by doctrines of a Eutychian stamp. To resolve the conflict, Theodosius set out for Antioch. Recognized on the road, he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, where he remained under house arrest in a monastery until his death.

Attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem are two Coptic writings, probably both to be considered spurious. They are a *Homily in Honour of St Victor*, handed down by a codex in the White Monastery, and an *Encomium of St George the Martyr* (CPG 6715). This is not so much a homily as a collection of miracles, supposed to have taken place at the time of the construction of the saint's sanctuary at Lydda.

Editions and studies: CPG 6715; E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia*, London 1888, 38-44 (text), 236-241 (tr.); U. Bouriant, "L'éloge de l'apa Victor fils de Romanos", *MIFAO* 8 (1893) 145-268; E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem", *DOP* 5 (1950) 247 ff.; Perrone, 89 ff.; Grillmeier, II/1, 113-120 (English ed. II/1, 98-105); T. Orlandi, "Theodosius of Jerusalem": *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, VII, New York 1991, 2242.

ANTIPATER OF BOSTRA

Antipater, metropolitan of Bostra (in Arabia) at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451), was in contact with the Palestinian monasticism of the Judaean desert through Euthymius the Great († 473) and his community. These links not only left traces on the pastoral government of his province, for which Antipater procured the collaboration of the monks (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.* 34), but were also expressed in doctrinal exchanges connected with the controversy over Origen. As Cyril of Scythopolis attests, for a certain period Antipater represented the main doctrinal authority adduced against the Origenists in the course of the controversy that developed in Palestine around the mid 6th century (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Sab.* 84).

His most important writing is indeed a *Refutation of the Apologia for Origen* of Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 6687), composed in *c.* 460. The author omits the name of Pamphilus, who was responsible for the greater part of that work, probably out of embarrassment about attacking the martyr's memory. The *Refutation* attacks the doctrines of "classical" Origenism, opposing the theories of pre-existence and apocatastasis. The few surviving fragments reveal an able mind, not without dialectical capacity. The attention given by Antipater to questions of protology leads him to interpret the beginning of Genesis, but his approach is dogmatic rather than exegetical, in accordance with the priority he allows to "precision of dogmas". He makes this criterion outweigh the "erudition" of Eusebius of Caesarea – for whom he does not conceal a certain consideration (PG 85, 1793 A-B) – and recalls that none of the orthodox masters maintained the doctrine of pre-existence. Discussing, among other things, the theory of the creation of "intellects" (νόες), Antipater disputes the allegorical interpretation of the account of the creation of Adam.

Antipater left us a corpus of homilies, handed down partly in translation or in fragmentary form. Among them are the two homilies on *St John the Baptist* and *The Annunciation and Visitation*, preached by Antipater on two successive Sundays (CPG 6680-6681); the two unedited homilies *On Epiphany* (CPG 6685) and *On the Beginning of the Fast* (CPG 6686); the Latin homily *On the Assumption of Mary* (CPG 6682) and the four *On Christ's Nativity* surviving in Armenian

translation (CPG 6695-6698). The Mariological homilies, while they attest that the *Theotokos* of Ephesus (431) was now peacefully accepted, are without any close references to the contemporary Christological debate.

Editions and studies: CPG 6680-6698; PG 85, 1755-1796 (*Homilies on St. John the Baptist* and *Homily on the Annunciation and Visitation*); PG 85, 1792-1796; 86, 2045; 2053; 2077; 96, 468; 488-505 (*Refutation of the Apology for Origen*); C. Vona, *L'orazione di Antipatro sulla nascita del Battista e l'orazione dell'Assunzione*, Scrinium patristicum Lateranense 5, Rome 1974, 26-66; Bardenhewer IV, 304-307; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1962; C. Vona, "Le due orazioni di Antipatro di Bostra. Fonti e sopravvivenza nell'omiletica bizantina e nelle catene evangeliche", *Studi e ricerche… in onore dei ss. app. Pietro e Paolo*, Lateranum 34, Rome 1968, 121-233; R. Grégoire, "L'homélie d'Antipater de Bostra pour l'assomption de la mère de Dieu", *PdO* 1 (1970) 95-122; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971, 229-255; B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1938, 27-28.

CHRYSIPPUS OF JERUSALEM

Chrysippus († 479) was of Cappadocian origin, but grew up in Syria. He was part of the first group of disciples of Euthymius the Great, when the latter founded his laura in the desert of Judaea (428/429). At Eudocia's request he was ordained a presbyter of the Anastasis soon after the Palestinian "first union" (*c.* 456). Around 466 he assumed the important post of "guardian of the cross" (*staurophylax*), which he held for ten years. In the period when he belonged to the Jerusalem clergy, Chrysippus stood out for his homiletic activity, perhaps in direct continuation of that of Hesychius of Jerusalem, "teacher of the church", though this had occupied a much longer period of time, with results much more important for us. Though Cyril of Scythopolis calls him the author of many works (*V. Euth.*), Chrysippus is known to us only through a few panegyrics.

These are four encomia, dedicated respectively to the *Theotokos*, St Theodore, St Michael the Archangel and St John the Baptist. Also attributed to Chrysippus is an unedited hagiographic text: *Miracula Theodori* (BHG 1765 f). In these texts, celebratory intent appears prevalent; it is impossible clearly to draw from them elements symptomatic of the new spiritual climate prevailing after the Council of Chalcedon. Some hints in the *Encomium of the Theotokos* (CPG 6705), probably delivered at the apposite celebration at Jerusalem on 15 August and sometimes referring to the themes of anti-Nestorian polemic, may however be interpreted as a sign of moderate Chalcedonianism. The characteristic trait of Chrysippus' oratory is rhetorical amplification of the data of his Scriptural starting-point, with a typical abundance of exclamations, apostrophes and anaphorae. They seem not so much

sermons dictated by pastoral concerns, as prose hymns. The circumstances of his preaching are connected to liturgical feasts, while his audience would seem to have been composed largely of monks.

Editions and studies: CPG 6705-6708; M. Jugie, PO XIX/3, Paris 1926, 336-343 (*Oratio in S. Mariam Deiparam*); A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Athens 1937 (*Oratio in S. Iohannem precursorem*); C. Martin, "Mélanges d'homilétique byzantine. I. Hésychius et Chrysippe de Jérusalem *Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν Θεοτόκον*", *RHE* 35 (1939) 54-60; B. Capelle, "La fête de la Vierge à Jérusalem au V^{e} siècle", *Muséon* 56 (1943) 1-33; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971, 211-226; Perrone, 51-52, 227-228; A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*, Barcelona 1991, 168-169.

MARTYRIUS OF JERUSALEM

Of Cappadocian origin, Martyrius was a monk at Nitria until *c.* 457. On the death of Proterius he left Egypt with Elias, also destined to ascend the throne of Jerusalem, and transferred to the desert of Judaea (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euthym.* 32). Here he was initially part of the laura of Euthymius, whom he accompanied on his Lenten wanderings in the desert. Later, after a period of solitary life, he founded a coenobium not far from Jerusalem which was to acquire great importance in 6th-century Palestinian monasticism. In 478 he succeeded Anastasius as patriarch of Jerusalem (478-486), persisting in his policy of overtures to the anti-Chalcedonian dissidents. According to a Monophysite source he refused to adhere to Basiliscus' *Antenkyklion* to avoid thus re-embittering his relations with the opponents of the Fourth Council, while for Cyril of Scythopolis the initiative for reconciliation came from monastic circles. This choice bore its fruits, since he brought back to ecclesial communion most of those who had separated after 451. With its exclusive appeal to Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus, the Palestinian "second union" (478) anticipated the dictates of the *Henoticon*, promulgated by Zeno in 482 with the aim of restoring communion among the Churches of the East.

The *Church History* of Zacharias Scholasticus (or the Rhetor) preserves two short texts documenting the doctrinal atmosphere at the time of the *Henoticon*. The first cites two extracts from the speech delivered by Martyrius at the ceremony of readmission of monks and churchmen. While expressing his own satisfaction, the patriarch of Jerusalem also specifies the doctrinal terms that presided over the agreement: acceptance of the faith of Nicaea and Constantinople, confirmed by Ephesus, and rejection of any formulation contrary to the latter, "wherever this may have taken place, whether Rimini or Sardica or Chalcedon" (Zach. Rhet., *HE* V, 6). The distancing from the Fourth

Council is evident, though it does not go so far as a direct condemnation of the definition of 451 or the *Tomus ad Flavianum*, as demanded by the more intransigent Monophysites; indeed these also expected the acceptance of the Second Synod of Ephesus (449) on a par with the First. However, this approach served as a basis for the policy of the *Henoticon*, as is shown by the second brief text of Martyrius cited by Zacharias (*HE* V, 12): a letter in reply to the Alexandrian patriarch Peter Mongus (CPG 6515), in which he praises the emperor's desire for peace and the Alexandrian bishop's proposals for reconciliation.

Editions and studies: CPG 6515; Zacharias the Rhetor, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 83 / Syr. 38, 220-221 (text); CSCO 87 / *Syr. 41*, 153-154 (tr.); Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.*, 32; 45, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig 1939; Perrone, 127 ff.

MARK THE DEACON

The *Life* of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza from 395 to 420, was ostensibly written by Mark the Deacon. Its style is evocative and engaging, making it seem an eye-witness account, and it has ensured for the author a celebrity that few other late patristic writers have enjoyed. Mark depicts himself as being of Asian origin and as having gone to Jerusalem, where he worked as a calligrapher. Here he supposedly met the sick monk Porphyrius, was instrumental successively in his cure, his ordination to the priesthood and his elevation to the see of Gaza, and became his deacon and ally in stamping out the paganism which flourished there. His assignments included going to Constantinople with his bishop to lobby the imperial court of Arcadius and Eudoxia for the destruction of pagan temples. Despite his apparent *naïveté*, Mark had literary pretensions, such that we may wonder *prima facie* not only about the veracity of the *Life*, but also about his claim to have recorded a colloquium conducted by Porphyrius with some Manichaeans.

Despite its interest and charm, since the 17th century the *Life of Porphyry* has come under suspicion because of chronological and historical inconsistencies and confusion of names. The learned Jesuit, Lenain de Tillemont (1637-1698), for example, enumerated nine "difficultez" he had with the composition – at least two of these are anachronisms which call into doubt the credentials of Mark the Deacon as eye-witness. A dependence was also detected on the prologue of the *Historia religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, completed in 444/445. During the 20th century a Georgian version of the *Life* was discovered, which in turn seems to have been based on a lost Syriac original quite different from the Greek. The disillusionment which these discoveries have caused has nonetheless an intriguing and positive side: the French editors of 1930 speculated that they were dealing with a later reworking of the

text which had as its purpose the rehabilitation of Porphyrius from suspicions of Origenism and Pelagianism; in his edition and translation of the reworked Georgian text, which does not contain the prologue borrowed from Theodoret, Peeters believed that he was dealing with propaganda to assert the claims of the Chalcedonian Christians of Gaza, against those of the Monophysites, to the Great Church in their city. The historical and literary role of Mark the Deacon in all this is thus difficult to specify.

Editions: CPG 6722; M. Haupt, AAWB 1874, 175-215; H. Grégoire, M.A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre. Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté, Collection byzantine... de l'Association G. Budé, Paris 1930; P. Peeters, "La Vie géorgienne de saint Porphyre de Gaza", *AB* 59 (1941) 65-216.

Translations – Latin: G. Hervet, in L. Lippomani, *Vitae sanctorum Patrum* 5, Venice 1556 (= PG 65, 1211-1262); P. Peeters, *op. cit.*

English: G.F. Hill, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon*, Oxford 1913.

French: H. Grégoire, M.A. Kugener, *op. cit.*

Italian: C. Carta, *Vita de San Porfirio scritta da Marco Diacono*, Jerusalem 1971.

Studies: F.-M. Abel, *Marc Diacre et la biographie de saint Porphyre*, Conférence de Saint-Etienne, Paris 1910, 219-284; J. Zellinger, "Die Proömion in der Vita Porphyrii und in der "religiosa historia" des Theodoret", *Philologus* 85 (1930) 209-221; H. Leclercq, "Porphyre de Gaza", *DACL* 14 (1939) 1464-1504; J. Rougé, "Tempête et littérature dans quelques textes chrétiens", *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 12 (1962) 55-69; M. Gigante, "Sul Testo della 'Vita di Porfirio' ", *Studi medievali in onore di A. de Stefano*, Palermo 1956, 227-229; G. Couilleau, "Marc le Diacre", *DSp* 10 (1980) 265-267; F. Scorza Barcellona, "Mark the Deacon", *EEC* 1 (1992) 527; R. Van Dam, "From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza", *Viator* 16 (1985) 1-20; G. Mussies, "Marnas God of Gaza", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 2, vol. 18.4, 1990, 2412-2457; F. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*, 1, Leyden 1995, 188-243, 246-282.

ISAIAH OF GAZA (AND/OR SCETE?)

Life

Isaiah was an Egyptian, who may have spent some time in Scete, but finished his life on 11 August 491 as a solitary in Gaza. His *Vita*, ascribed to the historian Zacharias, survives in Syriac (BHO 550). His principal work is the *Asceticon*, a collection of discourses on the ascetic life, which became very popular and were anciently translated into most Christian languages.

Studies: H. Keller, "L'abbé Isaïe-le-Jeune", *Irénikon* 16 (1939) 113-126; L. Regnault, "Isaïe de Scété ou Isaïe de Gaza?", *RAM* 46 (1970) 33-44; D.J. Chitty, "Abba Isaiah", *JThS* new series 22 (1971) 47-72; L. Regnault: *DSp* 7 (1971) 2083-2095; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 1 (1992) 417.

WORKS

1. *Asceticon*

The complete Greek text of this was not published until this century, and there is still no critical edition. It was, however, very popular, and formed the basis for the sayings of Abba Isaiah found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*: it was also the source of a brief treatise ascribed to Isaiah the Solitary in the *Philokalia* of Nikodimos the Hagiorite and Makarios of Corinth. Most of the *Asceticon* is preserved in the 11th-century *Synagoge* of Paul Evergetinos. Fragments of it survive in most ancient Christian languages. In his edition of the Syriac versions, Draguet has argued that the core of the *Asceticon* goes back to a 4th-century Scetiote monk called Isaiah, a view independently refuted by Chitty and Regnault.

Editions: For full details see CPG 5555; PG 40, 1105-1206 (Latin only); Greek edition from cod. Hierosol. 109, § XVII, ed. Augoustinos Iordanites, *Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Ἡσαΐου λόγοι κθ΄*, Jerusalem 1911 (2nd ed., S. Schoinas, Volos 1962); Syriac edition by R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, CSCO 289-290 / Syr. 120-121, Louvain 1968.

Translations – French: *Abbé Isaïe: Recueil ascétique. Introduction et traduction française par les moines de Solesmes*, Collection Spiritualité orientale 7, Bégrolles 1970. Of the Syriac versions: R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, I. *Introduction au problème isaïen. Version des logoi I-XIII avec les parallèles grecs et latins*, CSCO 293 / *Syr. 122*, Louvain 1968; II. *Version des logoi XIV-XXVI avec les parallèles grecs*, CSCO 294 / *Syr. 123*, Louvain 1968.

English (of the selection in the *Philokalia*): G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, I, London-Boston 1979, 22-28.

2. *On the degrees of the monastic life*

This brief fragment on the degrees of the monastic life, preserved in Syriac and published by Graffin, seems to be independent of the *Asceticon*.

Edition: CPG 5556; F. Graffin, "Un inédit de l'abbé Isaïe sur les étapes de la vie monastique", *OCP* 29 (1963) 449-54.

JOHN RUFUS

LIFE

John Rufus (of Beit-Rufin, or of Antioch) was a Christian Arab from Southern Palestine, probably from Ascalon, who, having studied law at Berytus (Beirut), was ordained priest by Peter the Fuller, when patriarch of Antioch between 476 and 478, and became his syncellus. When Peter

was driven from Antioch, John headed south to Jerusalem and the surrounding district, where he came to know the solitary Isaiah (of Gaza) and Peter the Iberian, bishop of Maiuma near Gaza from 452 to 489 and a strident opponent of the Council of Chalcedon. He succeeded Peter as bishop of Maiuma after his death.

Studies: E. Schwartz, *Iohannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, Abh. 16; J.-M. Sauget, T. Orlandi, "John of Maiuma": EEC 1 (1992) 445 f.

Works

John Rufus' various works, originally composed in Greek, only survive in Syriac translation.

1. *Life of Peter the Iberian*

Editions: CPG 7505; *BHO* 955; R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer, ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1895.

Translation: Raabe, *op. cit.* (to be used with caution).

2. *Panegyric of Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem*

John Rufus' panegyric of Theodosius, the monk who was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem to replace Juvenal after the latter's acceptance of Chalcedon in 451.

Edition: CPG 7506; *BHO* 1178; "De commemoratione quomodo beatus Theodosius episcopus Hierosolymorum ad dominum migravit", E.W. Brooks, *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum*, CSCO 7 / Syr. 7 (Syr. III, 25), Paris 1907, 21-27.

Translation – Latin: E.W. Brooks, CSCO 8 / *Syr* .8 (Syr. III, 25), 15-19.

3. *Plerophoriae*

John Rufus' most extensive work is his *Plerophoriae* ("Assurances"), a collection of visions, miracles and prophecies, based on oral traditions close to Peter the Iberian, exposing the "Great Apostasy" that had been committed at the Council of Chalcedon. Composed while Severus was patriarch of Antioch (512-518), it was very influential in Monophysite circles and was made use of by historians such as Zacharias the Rhetor, Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē and Michael the Syrian. Apart from the Syriac version, a fragment of the *Plerophoriae* also survives in Coptic (cf. p. 562).

Edition: CPG 7507; F. Nau, *Jean Rufus, évêque de Maiouma. Plérophories*, PO VIII, 1, Paris 1912; Coptic fragment: T. Orlandi, *Koptische Papyri theologischen Inhalts*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 9, Vienna 1974, 110-120.

Translation – French: F. Nau, *ed. cit.*