

Saint Michael the Archangel



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Three Enconiums by Theodosius, Archbishop of
Alexandria; Severus, Patriarch of Antioch; and
Eustathius, Bishop of Trake: the Coptic Texts
with Extracts from Arabic and Ethiopian Versions

Edited and Translated by

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PREFACE.

IN the summer of the year 1892 I had the pleasure of showing to the Marquess of Bute, at the British Museum, a bilingual Coptic and Arabic manuscript containing three unpublished Encomiums upon Saint Michael the Archangel by Abba Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Severus of Antioch, and Eustathius, Bishop of Trake, respectively; this manuscript is the property of Lord Zouche, who was so kind as to allow me to take a complete copy of it so far back as 1885. Lord Bute enquired concerning the contents of the Encomiums, and regretted that these interesting documents were not accessible to the students of the early history and literature of Egyptian Christianity, and subsequently he undertook to defray the expenses connected with the printing of the same.

To Lord Bute we already owe a work on the Coptic Liturgy,* and it is to his help that those who occupy themselves with the Christian literature of Egypt owe the appearance of this contribution to printed Coptic texts.

There is no reason for doubting that the three Encomiums were written about the beginning of the

* *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, translated into English by John, Marquess of Bute, K. T., with the original Coptic of those parts said aloud, London, 1882.

VIIth century of our era, and in them we see some of the earliest specimens of this class of Coptic literature in existence. The most ardent lover of Coptic literature must confess that the lives of Coptic saints and the Encomiums upon them are generally too full of miracles and somewhat monotonous exhortations to the listener and reader, but the Encomiums now published for the first time are interesting exceptions to the rule, for they contain narratives which are full of importance, not only for the philologist and antiquary, but also for the student of comparative folk-lore and demonology. To the Coptic texts are appended the complete narrative portions of the Arabic translation of the Encomiums, and the Ethiopic version of the Encomium upon Saint Michael by Severus of Antioch, edited from a venerable manuscript of the XVth century in the British Museum.

The Encomium by Eustathius, Bishop of Trake, is of special interest, for it supplies details concerning the making of an εἰκὼν of Saint Michael, and contains an extract from the Coptic version of *Physiologus*, which we now know existed. To my friend Prof. I. Guidi of Rome I am indebted for valuable assistance in reading the proof sheets of the Arabic portion of the work.

May 15. 1894.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

INTRODUCTION.

The manuscript from which the Coptic texts printed in this volume are taken is the property of Lord Zouche, and was brought from Cairo by Curzon, the famous author of *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London, 1849, some fifty years ago. It consists of 187 leaves of thick brownish-white paper, which now measure $11\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $9\frac{5}{8}$; the edges have been trimmed and gilded, and the book is bound in modern binding. On the inside of the front cover is written: —

“History of the wonders produced by the cabalistic “use of the name of the Archangel Michael. A very “early, and very fine Coptic Manuscript, with the Arabic “translation on the margin. It came from Cairo, and “is the finest Coptic manuscript on Paper I have seen.”

Whether this is Mr. Curzon’s handwriting I am unable to say.

Each page is occupied by one column of 21 lines of Coptic text, and to the right is a narrower column of Arabic which forms a version of the Coptic text; the paragraphs are short, and each begins with a capital letter. Nearly every page of the manuscript is bespattered with grease which fell from the candles, by the

light of which it was read in church on the twelfth day of the month Athôr. The quires are twenty-three in number, and are signed with letters on the top corners of the pages; twenty-one quires consist each of eight leaves, one of ten, and one of eleven. The page opposite to the first leaf inscribed with text is ornamented with a cross painted in gold, over which an intricate lace pattern in blue is traced, and bears upon it traces of inscriptions in red ink. The book is complete with the exception of a few lines of the title of the first Encomium therein, and a few lines at the end of the third or last Encomium; the titles of the Encomiums are written in red and black, and on fol. 88a are some designs in gold and blue somewhat similar to those reproduced from the Xth century Coptic MS. (Borgia Collection, No. 108) by M. Hyvernât in his splendid *Album de Paléographie Copte*, Paris, 1888, pl. 13. The manuscript, when finished, was carefully read by some one who made a number of alterations and corrections in the text (see foll. 14a, 31b, 43a, 48a, 50b, 51b, 59a, 149b &c.), who occasionally added variant readings (see fol. 69b), and who added in the margins words which the scribe had omitted.

Bound up with the manuscript, at the end, is a leaf which belongs to another book which seems to have been written about the same period, and by the same scribe.

The colophon reads: —

ΒΕΝ ΦΡΑΝ Ν ΦΙΩΤ ΝΕΜ ΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΠΝΑ ΕΘ
 ΟΥΑΒ †ΤΡΙΔ ΕΘ ΟΥΑΒ ΟΥΟΖ Ν ΘΜΟΟΥΣΙΟC ΕCΧΗ
 ΒΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΘΝΟΥ† Ν ΟΥΩΤ ΦΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΕΝ ΝΟΥ†

βΕΝ ΟΥΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΛΑΝΟΝ ΗΑ ΝΙΧΡΗCΤΙΑΝΟC ΤΕΝΟΥΩΩΤ
 ΜΜΟC ΤΕΝΤΩΟΥ ΝΑC.

Αρῶπι ἵξε παι ῶε ἵ ἐρ φμεγὶ εῶ νανε ς
 ἵτε παι ἀγιον ἵ χωμ ἐβολζιτεν πιογαςαζνι nem
 τπρονιὰ ἵ πενιωτ ἐτ ταινογτ πι πατριαρχηc
 εῶ ογав авба ιωαννης πρεφερζεми ἵ nenψγχη
 πι μα ἵ εcωου ετ ενζот φη ἐταρ ἐρ ογωini βΕΝ
 ni εκκλησιὰ ἵτε niορθοδοξοc ζιτεν neqcbωoyi ἵ
 πῆατικον εῶ bebi ἐβολβΕΝ ρωρ πῶc ταχρορ ζιxen
 περ ὅρονοc ἵ ζαν mηω ἵ ροmπι βΕΝ ζαν cноу
 ἵ ζιpηνικον τεqaitΕΝ ἵ εἰπωα ἵ περcмоу.

Εβολζιτεν ογcζimi ἵ μακαριὰ ἵ mαι xpc ἵ
 mαι ἀγαπῃ ἵ mαι προσφορὰ ἵ mαι ῶεmμο ἵ mαι
 π εῶ νανερ nιβΕΝ acθaμioρ ἐβολβΕΝ περxin hici
 ἵ mηι εγ ἐρ φμεγὶ ναc εῶbe πογxαι ἵ τεc ψγχη
 ΗΑ τ xix ἵ ογcζimi ογ mαι νογτ εγμογτ ἐ πεc-
 ραν xε μεlox ογορ acтнiρ ἵ τὰγiὰ ἵ [ε]κκλησιὰ
 ἵτε πiαρχηaγγελοc εῶ ογав мнxанл ρac ελ βαλιx
 ca ρηc ἵ βαβγλων.

Πῶc ihc πxc πiαλнθiнoc ἵ νογτ ερ εῶi ἵτεc
 ογciὰ ἵ tot c ἵ φρητ ἐταρ ῶωπ ἐρορ ἵ πιαω-
 ρон ἵτε ἀβελ πιθmηι nem τῶγciὰ ἵτε пен iωт
 аврааm nem πicθoi ἵ ογqi ἵτε ζαχαριαc πιογнb
 nem τ теbi cноγτ ἵτε τxηpa ἵτεqapeз ἐ πε-
 cωνb ἵ ζан mηω ἵ ροmπι ἐβολза πiαcмоc nιβΕΝ
 ογορ εῶωπ acωanι ἐβολβΕΝ cωma ἵ φρητ ἵ
 ρωmι nιβΕΝ ἵτε πiαρχηaγγελοc εῶ ογав мнxанл
 τωbз ἵ ποῶ ἵτεq xa неcнoви ναc ἐβολ ογορ
 ἵτεqcbai ἵ πεcρan zi πxωm ἵ πωνb τεq ἵτον
 ἵmοc nem nη εῶ ογав тнpoγ βΕΝ ken ς ἵ nenioτ
 εῶ ογав аврааm nem iсаак nem iλkwб ζΕΝ πιπα-

"south of Babylon.¹ May the Lord Jesus Christ, the true "God, receive her offering from her hand, even as He "received the gifts of Abel² the righteous man, and of "our father Abraham,³ and the incense of Zacharias⁴ the

called خليج مصر "the canal of Miṣr," الخليج الكبير "the great canal," and خليج امير المؤمنين "the canal of the Commander of the Faithful." This canal is said to have been dug by 'Amr ibn el-Āsi, A. H. 23, and it is supplied with water from the narrow arm of the Nile which flows to the east of the Island of Rôḍa; the mouth of it is situated a little to the N. W. of Old Cairo, and it lies due west of the Christian cemeteries and "mounds of rubbish" which are found to the south of the modern city of Cairo. Following a course more north than east, it runs through the entire city, and an authority quoted by Yāḳūt says that it formerly extended as far as the Gulf of Suez (من النيل الى بحر القلزم), and that ships sailed upon it carrying food to Mecca and Medina. See Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. i. p. 389. col. 2; Wüstenfeld, *Yāḳūt*, tom. ii. p. 466, at the top. For native explanations of خليج see *Kāmūs*, ed. Bûlāk, vol. i. p. ١٨٥; and for the descriptions of the buildings at Fûm el-Khalij, see Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, p. 304.

¹ As M. Amélineau has pointed out (*La Géographie de l'Égypte*, p. 551), the use of the name Babylon here is somewhat loose, and the writer has clearly identified Babylon with Old Cairo. In the list of churches in Maṣr given by *Ibn Daḳ-mâḳ* in his كتاب الانتصار بواسطة عقد الامصار ed. Bûlāk, ١٨٩٣, p. ١٠٧ the church of St. Michael is said to be situated "to the south of Maṣr, opposite to the pool in the neighbourhood of the mosque كنيسة ميكايل هذه الكنيسة بظاهر مصر قبالة بركة الشعبية بجوار (المسجد); and Makrîzî, ed. Bûlāk, vol. i. p. ٥١٧, says that there was a church of Michael "near the Khalij of the Beni Wa'il, at the southern exit of the city of Miṣr" عند خليج بنى وائل خارج مدينة مصر قبلى

⁴ Genesis iv. 4.

³ Genesis xv. 9.

² St. Luke i. 9.

"priest, and the two mites of the widow,¹ and may He "guard her life from all temptation for many years; and "when she shall go forth from the body, after the "manner of all men, may the holy Archangel Michael "pray unto God that He may forgive her her sins, "that He may write her name in the Book of Life, and "that He may make her to lie down with all the saints "in the bosom of our holy father Abraham, with Isaac "and Jacob in the Paradise of joy in the kingdom of "the heavens; Amen, so let it be! And every tongue "which sayeth Amen shall receive according to the bless- "ing, Amen.

„The seventh day of Paôni,² in the nine hundred "and twenty-sixth year of the Era of the Martyrs "(*i. e.*, A. D. 1210)."

The volume comprises:—

- I. The Encomium upon Saint Michael by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria, foll. 1—86.
- II. The Encomium upon Saint Michael by Severus, Patriarch and Archbishop of Antioch, foll. 87—127.
- III. The Encomium upon Saint Michael by Eustathius, Bishop of Trakê, foll. 128—187.

The principal contents of these Encomiums may be summarized as follows:—

¹ St. Mark xii. 42; St. Luke xxi. 2. ² *I. e.*, June 1.

I. THE ENCOMIUM OF THEODOSIUS.¹

After a declaration of his absolute reliance upon God, "Who openeth the door of speech of every man," and Christ and Saint Michael, Theodosius begs his hearers to assist him in undertaking to write an Encomium upon Saint Michael. He likens himself to an unskilled sailor who, having stored his all in a frail bark, intends to set out to sail over the great ocean, but his boat is not strong enough to withstand the buffetings of the waves, his merchandise is of little or no value, and is not worth committing to the care of the merchants who sail in great ships; he fears to leave the harbour wherein lies his little craft, lest, having launched out into the deep, and being ignorant of the mariner's art, his boat be swamped, and he lose not only his boat and its load, but also his life. He next explains that the boat is his own flesh, which he cannot govern, and that the sailor is his ignorant heart, and that the Holy Scriptures are the knowledge of celestial seamanship; nevertheless as his hearers insist upon his doing so he will attempt to speak concerning the incorporeal and luminous commander of the hosts of heaven, the advocate of man before God, Saint Michael the Archangel. Referring to other encomiums² which

¹ Probably the Jacobite Patriarch of Alexandria, who ascended the patriarchal throne A. D. 536; see Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. col. 430; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Chap. 47.

² For a Coptic sermon on the Assumption, which was pronounced on the xvith day of the month Mesore, see Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum*, Romae, 1810, p. 94; and for

he had written upon the season of the new year, and upon the festivals, and upon Saint John the Baptist, he declares his intention of speaking once again on the occasion of the festival of Saint Michael.

According to Theodosius Michael is, after Christ, the chief of those who feast in the Palace of the heavenly kingdom, and there he sits surrounded by Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, David, Solomon, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elijah, Elisha, John the Baptist, the Twelve Apostles, and the armies of the saints and martyrs; in the same place are the Angels, Archangels, Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Divinities, and Powers. The feast is made ready, and Theodosius, going to each of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, asks him if he doth not rejoice on the day of the festival of Michael; each of these calls to remembrance some tribulation from which he was delivered by the Archangel Michael, and declares the joy with which he celebrates the festival. Michael entreated God to forgive Adam, he carried Abel's sacrifice up to God, he nourished Seth when his mother's milk failed, he took Methuselah's prayers up to God, he guided Noah's ark, together with Gabriel he ate with Abraham under the tree of Mamre, he took the knife from Abraham's hand when he was about to slay Isaac,¹ he fixed Jacob's wages

works of his extant in Syriac see Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS. in the British Museum*, iii. p. 1329, col. 2; Assemâni, *B. O.*, ii. 80; and Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, p. 27.

¹ When Abraham bound Isaac, "Michael, the high-priest above,

in Mesopotamia, he caused Joseph to be made ruler of Egypt, he led the Israelites¹ under Moses² and Aaron unto the promised land, he helped Gideon to war against Midian, he gave Samson to his parents, he helped Solomon³ to build the temple, he slew 185,000 Assyrians, he comforted Isaiah and Jeremiah in their

bound Gabriel," מיכאל כהן גדול של מעלה עקרו לנבריאל; see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Bd. i. p. 816.

¹ Michael is essentially the angel of the Jews, who derive his name, מיכאל, from כאל + מי in the passages מי כמוכה באלהים (Exodus xv. 11) and אין כאל ישרון (Deuteronomy xxxiii. 26). He is one of the four angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael) who stand round God's throne, and his position is at His right hand; he is God's banner-bearer. The seventy nations of the world have each a prince like Michael, and these princes are their gods; but Michael acts only under the orders and direction of אלהים, Who taketh care for Israel. Michael is often associated with Gabriel, and together with him set fire to the Temple in Jerusalem; he is the prince of the Jews, and the "governor of Jerusalem," and at the coming of the Messiah it is he who will blow the trumpet. See Daniel x. 13, 21; xii. 1; Buxtorf (*ed.* Fisher), p. 609; and Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Bd. i. pp. 850—853; ii. pp. 383, 713.

² Michael is said to have been the teacher of Moses, and אננ'נאל also was his teacher; now by taking the numerical values of the letters forming these names we have:

$$\text{מיכאל} = 40 + 10 + 20 + 1 + 30 = 101$$

$$\text{אננ'נאל} = 30 + 1 + 3 + 7 + 50 + 3 + 7 = 101$$

See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Bd. i. p. 858; ii. 375.

³ On the day when Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, Michael the great prince came down from heaven and set a great reed in the sea; round about this reed a forest sprang up, and on this spot was the city of Rome built. See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Bd. i. p. 736.

affliction, he shut the lions' mouths for Daniel, he rolled the stone from the sepulchre wherein Christ had lain, he cooled the furnace for the Three Children, and he strengthened every saint and martyr to endure affliction and torture. To this great Archangel Theodosius exhorts his hearers to make offerings, and these he will present unto God, and deliver the donors thereof from everlasting punishment. Whatsoever a man giveth unto Michael will be returned unto him two-fold in this world, and God will shew mercy unto him in His kingdom. That his hearers may have no doubt about the ready help of Michael, Theodosius narrates what he did for the pious Dorotheos, and his wife Theopisthe, in a time of great trouble and affliction.

Dorotheos and Theopisthe lived in the city of Senahor,¹ where they possessed much land, and flocks and herds, and great wealth; they were devout Christians, and loved the Archangel Michael, and on the eleventh day of each month they sent large gifts and wine to his church, that his festival might be celebrated on the morrow with due pomp and reverence. After they had visited the church on the day of the festival, it was their custom to entertain the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind, and the destitute, and to feed them with food and wine, and this they did until their name spread throughout the whole land of Egypt. After a time it fell out that no rain came upon the

¹ Or *ΚΥΝΣΑΡΙ*, Arab. *سنهور*, a city in the Delta at no great distance from Saïs; see Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1893, p. 415f.

earth, and that for three years in succession the waters of the Nile did not rise to their usual height; many people died, and the cattle perished of thirst. During two of these years Dorotheos and his wife continued to give alms and oblations as usual, but when the third drew nigh they found that all their cattle were dead, with the exception of a single sheep; moreover, all their stores had come to an end, and they had no wearing apparel left except the dress in which they were wont to celebrate the Sacrament. Having sacrificed their last sheep on the eleventh day of Paôpi (*i. e.*, October 8), they had nothing left wherewith to celebrate the annual festival of Saint Michael which took place on the twelfth day of Athôr (*i. e.*, November 8), and in these straits Dorotheos determined to sell his own and his wife's apparel that he might obtain the wherewithal to buy a sheep. He exchanged his own festal garments for corn, but the shepherd to whom he went refused to give him a sheep of the value of one third of a *dînâr*¹ in exchange for Theopisthe's silken dress, on the ground that no one in his house wore anything but woollen garments. When Dorotheos had left him and was walking along the road sadly, he met a general riding upon a white horse, and accompanied by soldiers, who asked him why he was thus carrying his wife's garments; he explained to him that a great man had come to visit him, and that he had no money to buy a sheep to slay in his honour, and that he was going to sell his wife's garments to buy one. The general, who was, of

¹ The *dînâr* was worth about ten shillings in English money.

course, Michael, promised to obtain a sheep for him if he would receive him and his company into his house, and Dorotheos having gladly undertaken to do this, the general sent a soldier to the shepherd for a sheep of the value of a third of a *dinâr*. Next the general sent a soldier to the fish market for a fish, also of the value of a third of a *dinâr*, and when he had brought it, the company moved on to the house of Dorotheos. Having arrived at the door the general knocked and was admitted by Theopisthe, who bade him welcome on Saint Michael's day, and who looked upon the sheep and the fish in glad surprise; the general gave orders that the sheep should be killed, but commanded them not to touch the fish until he had himself done what he wished with it. The happy husband and wife made ready cushions whereon the general was to recline, they had the sheep killed, and did all in their power to make their house fit to receive the general, who they thought to be a local governor. Now when Dorotheos went into the wine-cellar to bring out what little wine was left, he found it filled with vessels of wine up to the very door; and when he went to the place where the oil was kept for food and anointing purposes, he found there seven jars filled with oil to the very brim, and other vessels which contained butter, cheese, vinegar, and every other household necessary. And when he and his wife had gone into their bed-chamber they found a chest filled with richer and more goodly raiment than that which they had worn at their wedding. Out of their newly gotten abundance they prepared a great feast, and laid the tables for the brethren, they arrayed

themselves in rich apparel, and went into the church of the Archangel Michael, and partook of the Mysteries, and knelt down before the image of the saint, and offered up prayer and thanksgiving for the great thing which had been done for them.

Soon after they had returned to their house the general and his soldiers arrived, and when he had taken his seat, he asked for the fish, and told Dorotheos to open it; when this had been done he took out the maw, which was very large, and found therein a bundle sealed with seals. The general took the bundle, and opened it, found it full of gold money, and when it had been counted there were found to be three hundred golden *danânîr*,¹ and three small pieces each of the value of a third of a *dinâr*; these he gave to Dorotheos and told him to give one third of a *dinâr* to the shepherd, another to the fishmonger, and another to the man from whom he had obtained corn in exchange for his own garments, and to keep the three hundred *danânîr* as an earnest of what should yet be given unto them. When Dorotheos protested against receiving all this great gift, the general shewed him who he was, and told them that all the gifts which they had made unto the Archangel Michael had been made unto himself, for he himself was Michael. What he had given them was only the interest upon the capital which was laid up for them with God in the heavenly Jerusalem; having thus spoken he went up

¹ *I. e.*, about one hundred and fifty pounds in English money.

into heaven. With exhortations to a godly life and almsgiving Theodosius brings his Encomium to an end.

II. THE ENCOMIUM¹ OF SEVERUS, PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH.²

This Encomium was pronounced on the day of the festival of Saint Michael, which happened to fall upon a Sunday. After a series of quotations from the Psalms and Saint Matthew's Gospel, Severus proceeds to tell the story of Ketsôn the merchant, and of his conversion from Paganism to Christianity. Ketsôn was a native of Entikê, and was a very rich merchant, who on one occasion loaded a ship with his wares and sailed to Kalônia; he arrived on the first day of Athôr, and stayed there and sold his merchandise. On the eleventh day of Athôr he saw men draping the shrine of Saint Michael with cloth, and crowning it with lanterns, and he tarried there to see what would be the end of the matter; in the evening men lit the lamps and sang hymns, and Ketsôn determined to pass the night by the door of the shrine to

¹ The Ethiopic version of this Encomium printed on pp. 294—216 is taken from Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. No. 691, foll. 156a—170a; see Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 163. For a French version of the Coptic text see Amélineau, *Contes et Romans*, tom. i. p. 85.

² He sat from A. D. 512—519. For lists of his works see Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 1322—1324; Assemâni, *B. O.*, ii. pp. 46, 80, 96, 120, 126, 158, 205, 283, 298; Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, pp. 27, 37, 64, 123; Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, tom. i. p. 499ff; and Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* tom. x. p. 614ff.

see what would take place therein. When the night had come the clergy and the congregation performed the service, and in the morning Ketsôn set out to visit two Christians of his acquaintance, and to ask them the meaning of what he had seen. When he had heard from them of Saint Michael's power, he asked them where he could find him, for he wished to ask him to deliver him from evil, but they told him that he could only see Michael when he had become a Christian; Ketsôn promised to give each of them money¹ if they would help him to become a Christian, and they agreed to take him to the Bishop to be baptized. On the morrow the three men went to the Bishop, who asked the stranger whence he came, what god he worshipped, and if he had a wife and family; and when he learned that Ketsôn had a wife and family in his native town, he sent him away to persuade his wife to become a Christian, lest, being baptized without her knowledge, she should cause him to apostatize. During the return of Ketsôn by sea to his native city the Devil raised up a mighty storm which well-nigh swamped the ship, but when he had cried out to Christ, the winds sank to rest, and the waves went down, and he arrived at home in safety; his wife decided to become a Christian without any hesitation, and having made all ready they set out for Kalônia. And when they had returned to

¹ On page 54*, line 28, strike out the words "a basket of." The Arabic version reads, "I will give to you a *dînâr* apiece"; **KOT NOMICMA** must then mean some coin like a *dînâr*, or of that value.

the Bishop he baptized Ketsôn, and his wife, and their four sons, giving them the names of Matthew, Irene, John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel. Ketsôn tarried in Kalônia for one whole month to be instructed in the things of his new religion, and he gave six hundred *mathakil*¹ to the shrine of the Archangel.

Soon after Matthew, who was formerly called Ketsôn, had returned to his city, he died, and his fellow citizens began to persecute his widow and sons, probably because they had changed their religion, and they went so far as to plunder their storehouse. By the advice of John, the eldest son, the whole family went and lived in the "royal city", but scarcely had they taken up their abode there when the house of a nobleman called Sylôn was broken into and plundered, and the Devil, who had taken upon himself the form of a man, went about throughout the city accusing Matthew's sons of having committed the robbery, and the young men were dragged before Kesanthos the governor to answer for the crime. While the examination was taking place Michael, in the form of a patrician, came and sat down by the governor, and suggested that Matthew's youngest son should go to house of the chief watchman, and command the stolen things to appear in the name of Jesus Christ; when this had been done a voice bade them go into the cellar, and having done so they found all Sylôn's property hidden therein.

Shortly afterwards a certain man invited some

¹ *I. e.*, about three hundred pounds in English money.

friends to a feast in his house one evening, and as one of them was returning home, a scorpion stung him, and he fell down and died immediately. The watchmen of the city found the body, and seeing no traces of violence upon it, they buried it in the morning. And again the Devil, who took upon himself the form of a man, went about the city accusing the four young men of the murder, and they were brought into the governor's presence with their hands tied behind them, and with heavy chains upon their necks. Once more Michael appeared in the form of a nobleman, and having heard the accusation which had been brought against the young men, he suggested that the dead man himself should be brought into the court, and asked to say who or what had killed him; when this had been done Michael commanded Daniel, the youngest son of Matthew, to adjure the dead man in the name of Christ to say what had happened unto him, and he stated straightway that the bite of a scorpion had killed him. After this Michael went up into heaven with great glory, taking the soul of the dead man with him.

By the advice of John, Kesanthos the governor wrote to the Emperor Constantine,¹ and informed him of the wonderful thing which had happened, and asked him to send to his city a Bishop who should enlighten his town with the true faith; when the Emperor heard this he wrote to John,² Archbishop of Ephesus, and

¹ He was Emperor from A. D. 306—337.

² There is clearly a mistake here, for John of Ephesus was not born until A. D. 516, but it is equally clear that John of Ephesus is meant by the writer of the Encomium, for he was

asked him to go and baptize the people of the city of Entias. Shortly after, John set out with two deacons, an elder, a reader, three singers of Psalms, and twelve other men, and they took with them an altar, altar coverings, sacramental vessels, books, and everything that was necessary for the founding of a church. On the arrival of the Archbishop, the governor of Entias, and John the son of Matthew, and all the people of the city went out to meet him, and they escorted him into the city and were blessed by him. On the morrow they began to build a church to the Virgin Mary, and by the help of every man in the city it was finished in sixteen days; the baptism of the people by the Archbishop next took place in a pool of water situated to the east of the city, and John, the son of Matthew, was consecrated bishop over them. A few days later the new bishop suggested to Kesanthos the governor that they should build a church in honour of Saint Michael, and after eight months the coping stone was put on, and the building was consecrated to Saint Michael on the twelfth day of Athôr. After the bishop and the governor had taken part in the Communion they went into the city with the multitude, and set fire to the temple of Zeus, and a large church dedicated to the Apostles was afterwards built upon the spot where the pagan edifice had stood. These things were duly reported to the Emperor Constantine (sic), and he glorified God. The Encomium ends with exhortations to a godly life.

famous as a founder of churches and monasteries. For Constantine we should probably read "Justinian".

III. THE ENCOMIUM¹ OF EUSTATHIUS,² BISHOP OF THE ISLAND OF TRAKÉ.³

The third and last Encomium on Saint Michael by Eustathius is perhaps the most interesting in the book. It was composed for recitation on the Archangel's festival, which took place on the twelfth day of Paōni (i. e., June 6), and in it Eustathius sets forth the history of the noble lady Euphemia, the wife of Aristarchus, a general in the service of the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had

¹ A French version of this Encomium, translated from another MS. I believe, is published by M. Amélineau in his *Contes et Romans de L'Égypte Chrétienne*, tom. 1. p. 21 ff.

² The name is given as Anastasius by M. Amélineau, but in any case I am unable to identify the bishop to whom this Encomium is attributed.

³ I have translated the word ΝΗCOC by "island", but it is not by any means clear that Trakê was an island in the ordinary sense of the word. In the Coptic text (see *infra* p. 14, l. 25) Jacob says ΑΙΦΩΤ ΩΔ †ΝΗCOC "I fled to the Island", and ΝΗCOC here is the exact translation of جزيرة, "Island", an Arabic name for Mesopotamia, that is the land between the two rivers, or the land entirely surrounded by the Tigris and Euphrates. As our author says that Trakê was "the Island to which the Empress [Eudoxia] banished Saint John Chrysostom", and as this famous man was banished first to Cucusus, a village in the mountains on the borders of Cilicia and the Lesser Armenia, secondly to Arabissus, about sixty miles from Cucusus, and thirdly to Pityus, at the foot of the Caucasus, on the N. E. of the Black Sea, we must assume that this district represents the "Island of Trakê" referred to by Eustathius. M. Amélineau translates "l'île de Turquie", and adds the pertinent remark, "Les Coptes n'ont jamais eu de notions bien précises en fait de géographie" (*op. cit.*, p. 21).

been appointed governor of Trakê. He was a Christian, and had received baptism at the hands of Saint John Chrysostom,¹ and for many years he made gifts and offerings on the twelfth, twenty-first, and twenty-ninth days of every month, on the festivals of Saint Michael, of the Virgin Mary,² and of the birthday of our Lord³ respectively; finally he was seized with mortal sickness, and knowing that his death was nigh, he called Euphemia his wife to him, and charged her to neglect in no way the "offering of the holy Archangel Michael", and to continue to do alms, and to make the customary gifts to the church after his death; the pious lady promised not only to make the customary gifts, but to increase them. She then begged her husband before his death to instruct a painter to paint a picture of the Archangel Michael upon a wooden tablet, that she might hang it in her bed-chamber to induce the saint to protect her, and to be her guardian after the death of Aristarchus. The dying man straightway sent for a cunning painter, and told him to paint upon a wooden tablet the figure of the Archangel, and to cover it with a plate of fine gold inlaid with precious stones; when this was done and brought to him, he gave it to Euphemia, who rejoiced over it with great joy. Aristarchus marvelled when he saw his wife's gladness, but being touched by the mournful words with which she described the

¹ Born about A. D. 347, and died 407.

² The annual commemoration takes place upon the twenty-first day of Tôbi.

³ The annual commemoration takes place upon the twenty-ninth day of Khoiak

widow's lonely condition, he took her hand and laid it upon that of the figure of the Archangel, and, in a solemn address to the Saint, committed his wife to his care; Euphemia was comforted by this act of her husband, and she believed that no wiles of the Devil could prevail over her. Aristarchus died shortly afterwards, and his pious widow continued to give the gifts which her husband was wont to give, and added thereunto.

Meanwhile, however, the envy of the Devil was stirred up, and taking upon himself the form of a nun, he went to Euphemia's house accompanied by devils, also in the forms of nuns, and having gained admittance to her presence, he began to tempt her to promise to marry Hilarichus, the chief prefect in the service of the Emperor Honorius,¹ whose wife had recently died; the Devil shewed her many gold and silver ornaments to persuade her, and at length Euphemia told him that she would marry a second time without hesitation provided that her guardian gave her the permission to do so. The Devil asked who the guardian was, and thinking that it must necessarily be a man, began to charge her with infidelity and deceit, until finally, at the Devil's request, she agreed to shew him who her guardian was, on the condition that the Devil should turn to the east, and pray to God to be forgiven for the evil thoughts which he had harboured concerning herself. This the Devil refused to do, and excused himself by saying that he had vowed to pray nowhere except in his own cell, and when Euphemia

¹ He reigned from A. D. 395—423.

gained the better of him in the argument which followed upon this statement, he threatened to do violence unto her; and when, seeing that he changed his form and appearance frequently, she cried out for help to Saint Michael, and made the sign of the Cross over herself, the Devil and all his works disappeared "like a spider's web".

And the Devil appeared a second time to her in the form of an Ethiopian, with the head of a goat, and with bloody eyes, and his hair stood up like the bristles on a mountain pig; he carried a sharp two-edged, drawn sword in his hands, and at the sight of him Euphemia fled for help to the tablet with the Archangel's likeness upon it. When the Devil saw this he was afraid to enter the bed-chamber, and standing outside he began to curse the wooden tablet which Euphemia had in her hands. Calling to remembrance, one after another, his evil deeds in days of old, and admitting that this piece of wood has baffled his wiles, even as the wood of the Cross baffled him before, he threatens that he will come again to Euphemia on a twelfth day of Paôni (*i. e.*, June 6), for on that day Michael will be kneeling in prayer before God, and entreating Him to make the Nile to rise to its proper height during the inundation,¹ and to make the rain and dew to fall, and

¹ This is interesting as shewing how completely the attributes of Hâpi, the old Egyptian god of the Nile, had been transferred by the Copts to a Jewish Archangel; in Eisenmenger (*Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. p. 379) a passage is quoted wherein Michael is said to be the prince of the waters, under whom are seven princes.

as he must continue in prayer ceaselessly for three whole days and nights, it will be impossible for him to come to help her; and the Devil threatens that when he comes, he will break the wooden tablet in pieces over her head. When Euphemia ran towards him holding the tablet he disappeared.

When the next twelfth day of Paóni had come, at the first hour of the day, the Devil appeared to Euphemia in the form of the Archangel Michael; on his head was a crown set with pearls of great price, a girdle of gold inlaid with precious stones encircled his loins, in his hand was a golden sceptre, but it lacked the figure of the Holy Cross, and he was provided with wings.¹ After speaking to her words of comfort he told her that he had been sent to her by God to say that her husband had already inherited the good things of the kingdom, and to advise her to desist from squandering all her wealth in giving gifts to the poor. He shewed her what evils the Devil had brought upon Job because of his envy of him, and how he had blinded Tobit by devils who had taken the form of birds, and he then advised her in the name of God to marry Hilarichus, that she might bear him a son to inherit all her possessions after her death. Perceiving at once that her visitor was the Devil himself, she challenged him to shew her any passage in the Scriptures which directed her to cease from doing alms and

¹ In Coptic MSS. Michael's head is surrounded with a halo; see Hyvernat, *Album de Paléographie Copte*, Paris, 1888, plate LI.

deeds of charity, and to marry a second time; in support of the quotations which she makes from the Bible and of her arguments in favour of the life which she was then leading, she appeals to the testimony of the book *Physiologus* wherein it is said: — “When the first mate of the turtle-dove dieth, it doth not dwell with a second mate, but it departeth unto the wilderness, where it hideth itself until the day of its death.” And he also sheweth us that the raven family doth not dwell with any mate save one,² and that as we read

* The Greek has (Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, p. 258): — ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἐλεξεν περὶ τῆς τρυγόνης· ὅτι ἀναχωρεῖ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς ἐρήμοις, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀγαπᾷν μέσον πλῆθους ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, and with this compare ἔχει δὲ τὸν ἄρρηνα ἢ τρυγῶν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ φάττα, καὶ ἄλλον οὐ προσίενται, καὶ ἐπωράζουσιν ἀμφοτέρω καὶ ὁ ἄρρη καὶ ἡ Θέλεια; see Aristotle, *H. A.* ix. 7. The Syriac version reads (Land, *Anecdota*, tom. iv. p. 63): —
ܬܪܝܓܘܢܗ ܕܥܠ ܩܨܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܩܨܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܩܨܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܩܨܚܐ
"but if one of them dieth before its fellow, the one that remaineth behind doth not mate again."
The turtle-dove goeth to the wilderness, and loveth not to be "in the world"; and the Ethiopic (Hommel, *Physiologus*, text, p. 23): — መወላት ፣ ይካታት ፣ ቀን ፣ ወለት ፣ ንጹም ፣ ወሊትሂሉ ፣ ምስል ፣
*"the turtle-dove departeth far away into the desert, and "abideth not with the multitude." An Arabic version is given by Land, *Anecdota*, iv. p. 159.*

² The Greek has (Lauchert, *op. cit.*, p. 257): — ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅτι μονόγαμος ἐστίν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ ταύτης ἄρρην τελευτήσῃ οὐκέτι συγγίνεται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ, οὔτε ὁ ἄρρην ἑτέρᾳ γυναικί. In the Ethiopic version (Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 22) we have ለሰ፡ ሞተ፡ ምተ፡ ቋ፡ ሊትነሥእ፡ ካልእ፡ ምተ፡ ተባባተይ፡ ሊይነሥእ፡ ካልእተ፡ ብላቢተ፡፡ “when the male raven dieth, the female taketh not a second mate; and similarly if the female bird dieth the

"our garments for our brother when he dieth, even so
 "likewise when a raven dieth his mate draweth out
 "her own tongue, and splitteth it with her claws, so
 "that when she uttereth her cry every one may know
 "that her mate is not there, and if another raven de-
 "sireth to take her by violence she crieth out straight-
 "way, and when all the other ravens hear her cry they
 "know by [the sound of] her cleft tongue that some
 "other raven wisheth to take her by violence, and they
 "gather together to help her, and to rebuke the raven
 "that wisheth to marry her by force. When children
 "see ravens gathered together in this manner, and
 "uttering cries wishing to rebuke the raven that desired
 "to take her by violence, and that desired to go astray
 "from that which God hath commanded them, those
 "ignorant children are wont to say, 'The ravens are
 "celebrating a marriage to-day,' and they know not
 "that the ravens wish to rebuke the raven that desireth
 "to make to sin the raven whose mate is dead."¹ However,
 although it is difficult to say where the quotations from
 Physiologus end, or whether, in the Coptic version,
 the statements about the turtle-dove and raven formed
 one chapter or section or not, this part of Euphemia's
 speech to the Devil is of peculiar value, for it shews

male taketh not another mate"; but in the Syriac version this
 statement is made to apply to the turtle-dove, *ἡ τούρτα*; see Land,
op. cit., IV. p. 63, chap. 36.

¹ In the French version by M. Amélineau it is said, "Le
 sage Salomon dit que la tourterelle et les corneilles ne prennent
 qu'un seul mari", but what follows is quite different from what
 we have above.

that a version of Physiologus had been made in Coptic at an early period; in no other version, however, which I have been able to consult could I find any reference whatever to the female raven slitting her tongue with her claws.

When Euphemia had declared her intention of continuing to do acts of charity and of not marrying a second time, the Devil, who was in the form of Michael, artfully reminded her that he had promised to come to her on a twelfth day of Paóni, and went on to say that God had sent him unto her to protect her until sunset, and tried to persuade her that it was he who had cast Satan forth from heaven. Then Euphemia asked him where was the figure of the Holy Cross which should be upon his sceptre, and referred to the picture of the Archangel which was painted on the tablet; the Devil answered that painters decorated their pictures with such things wishing to glorify their art, but that he and his angels had not the figure of the Cross with them. To this Euphemia made answer that all persons and letters coming from the Emperor bear his tokens and seal, and that similarly the angels which bear not the figure of the Cross must be devils in the form of angels, and that if he wished her to believe that he is Michael, he must salute the picture of the Archangel which she will bring to him. As she rose up to bring the tablet, the Devil changed his form into that of a raging, roaring lion, and he laid hold of her by the neck and strangled her until she was well nigh dead, but with the little strength which remained Euphemia cried out to Michael, who straightway ap-

peared in all his glory, and chastised the Devil, and drove him away in disgrace. This done, he spake comforting words to her, and told her that when she had performed that day the service which she was wont to do in his name, he would come with his angels and take her up into the rest of God, and giving her the salutation of peace he went up into heaven.

After the departure of the Archangel Euphemia went to the Bishop of the city, Abba Anthimus, who was the first-fruits of the ministry of Saint John Chrysostom, and when she had told him what had happened, he quickly administered the Sacrament unto her, and after she had ministered unto the poor brethren in her own house, she sent and begged Bishop Anthimus to come to her. When he had come with his priests (of whom Eustathius the writer of this Encomium was one) and deacons, the pious lady opened the doors of her house, and gave every thing to the Bishop for distribution among the poor, and sinking down upon her bed she entreated him to pray for her. After a time she revived sufficiently to ask that the tablet upon which the figure of the Archangel was painted might be brought to her to kiss before she died, and when it was brought she kissed it and entreated Michael to be with her in that terrible hour; then suddenly there was a sound like the roaring of a cataract, and all present in the chamber saw the Archangel appear in great glory, and take the soul of Euphemia and lay it in his shining apparel, and bear it up to heaven, while the sound of a multitude was heard singing, "God knoweth the way of the righteous, and their inheritance shall abide for ever."

Now the picture which had been lying on Euphemia's face when she died had disappeared in a mysterious manner, and none knew where it had gone, but when they had buried her and had come into the church to celebrate the Sacrament, it was seen to be hanging in air in the apse without any support whatever, and it was as firm as a "pillar of adamant". The news of this miracle reached Constantinople in due course, and the Emperors Arcadius¹ and Honorius,² and the Empress Eudoxia,³ came to the Island of Trakê and saw the miracle, and bowed in prayer at the couch whereon Saint John Chrysostom had died; any sick person who lay upon that couch straightway rose up healed. After the death of Euphemia, the olive wood tablet upon which the figure of the archangel Michael was painted, on the twelfth day of each month, which is the day of the Archangel, put forth olive leaves at each of its four corners together with "fine, fresh fruit", and a number of cures and healings were performed thereby. After a few laudatory words of Saint John Chrysostom and some deprecatory observations concerning his own ability, Eustathius brings his Encomium to a close.

In his *Contes et Romans de L'Égypte Chrétienne*, M. Amélineau gives versions of two stories which, like the above Encomium of Eustathius, were to be read on the twelfth day of Paôni. In the first of these the

¹ Born A. D. 383, died 408. ² Born A. D. 384, died 423.

³ This may have been a royal lady called Eudoxia, but it can hardly have been the Empress, because she died about the year 604, while Chrysostom did not die until 607.

causes of the conversion of Aristarchus from paganism to Christianity are given, and in the second we have the account of the temptation of Eusebius, a man who subsequently became a monk in the Scete desert, by the beautiful wife of a merchant his close friend; in both of these occur some interesting and remarkable instances of the belief in the almighty power which Michael the Archangel was thought to possess.



TRANSLATION.

IN THE NAME OF GOD.

[**Page 1**] [The Encomium which was pronounced by the one] mighty in all blessings, the most holy and blessed man, the man filled with the Holy Spirit, and perfect in all virtues, Abba Theodosius, the son of the Apostolic Fathers, and the friend of angels, the Archbishop of the city of Alexandria on the day of the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, that is to say, on the twelfth day of the blessed month Athôr¹, wherein he spake many things concerning the alms and charities, which [the blessed Dorotheos and his wife Theopisthe] used to [make] unto God, [in the name of the holy Archangel] Michael every month, on the day of the festival, and how the holy Archangel ministered unto them and brought their good works up into God's presence, and how he fulfilled all their petitions, joyfully, for God loveth him; and Theodosius spake, moreover, concerning the Saints who are [mentioned] in the Scriptures, all of whom the holy Archangel Michael helped and delivered out of their tribulation and affliction. In the peace of God. Amen.

¹ *I. e.*, November 8.

[p. 2] I find the source of my discourse in Him Who comforteth and strengtheneth me in all things, Who knoweth all the earth, Who trieth the reins, Who openeth the door of speech of every man, and Who searcheth out things diligently.

Who is this?

It is the Word of God, Whose Body I break in my hands, and Whose glorious Blood I pour out into the cup and give to those who believe upon Him. It is my Lord and God, Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all, Who speaketh with His truth-speaking mouth, Who careth for all mankind, and Who is filled with mercy and grace towards the image of God.¹

Who is this?

It is Michael, the holy Archangel, the commander of the hosts of heaven.

Now, I beseech you, O my beloved and dear children of the Word, to assist me in this great undertaking, lest, having put out on this great and boundless sea, I be unable to bring my little bark to shore. For ye all know of my poverty, and ye know that I have no merchandise wherewith to load a great ship, which could sail across the sea, and [be strong enough] to resist the buffetings of the winds. Moreover, the sailor is feeble, and my boat is a little one, and [I am afraid] that if I put out to sea [p. 3] from this harbour in which there is no danger to go into another, the winds will raise up waves and tempests against me on the sea; and I know not how to sail a ship even to save my own life [and to bring myself] to the shore. Doth any one then say,

¹ The allusion is to Genesis i. 27.

"This man hath found favour [with God], and is delivered?" For the soul of man is to Him more precious than the whole world filled with gold and silver, and I am therefore afraid to cast away my own soul. I know well that my bark is frail, and that my merchandise is without value, and that I have no knowledge of the craft of the mariner, and [I am afraid] to launch out into the deep, lest having once put out to sea I should never return again in peace. And although I might endure the perils of the sea and the tempests thereof, I could not bear the scorn of those who would make a mock of me, and say, "O thou fool, who made thee to undertake that "which was more than thy strength could bear? Thou "didst know full well that thou wast feeble and that thou "hadst nothing in thy power wherewith to do that which "is beyond thy strength. And besides, merchants are "many, why then didst thou not sell thy few wares to "them and let them trade therewith? Thus wouldest thou "have gained thy profit therefrom, and thus wouldest "thou have saved thyself, and thy merchandise entirely, "and thy boat, and that which belongeth to thee—for thou "hadst no knowledge of the craft of the mariner."

And now, my brethren, I will show unto you of what kind is my boat and who is the sailor. [p. 4] My boat is my sinful flesh, which I am not able to govern rightly, and the sailor is my own heart, in which there is neither understanding nor the knowledge of celestial seamanship. Now celestial seamanship is the Holy Scriptures which I understand not, and for this reason ye may [truly] tell me this day that I am attempting to do that which is beyond my strength, especially as ye compel me to speak concerning the glory of one who is not of the earth like ourselves but of

heaven, and of the matters concerning his God. He is not a being of flesh, but he is incorporeal and is a creature of light. He is not a being made with clay, but is of the Holy Ghost. He is not of those servants of earth, but is a minister, a flame of fire. He is not a governor of this earth, but an archangel of the hosts of heaven. He is not a general of this earth whose king can dismiss him whenever he pleaseth, but he is a commander of the forces of heaven, and, together with his King, endureth for ever. He never uttereth the word for the destruction of souls, but he is at all times an ambassador before God our Creator for the salvation of our souls and bodies. He maketh accusations against no man, but is careful for all. He hateth not mankind, but loveth every image of God. He is not our adversary, but is at peace with every man. [p. 5] He is not unmerciful, but a compassionate being in whom abideth the long-suffering of God. Whosoever asketh [from him] receiveth; whosoever seeketh findeth; and whosoever knocketh it shall be opened unto him.¹ And I myself, having seen that my God doth give, will joyfully stretch out my hands to Him this day unhesitatingly, and I will ask that I may receive abundantly, and will knock that it may be opened unto me.

But perhaps thou wilt say, O man, filled with virtue and loving understanding, "What is this that thou seek-
"est this day at His hand, [seeing that] thou hast already
"begun to speak? Thou hast already pronounced en-
"comiums at the season of the new year and at the
"beginnings of all the festivals of God, and thou hast

¹ Compare St. Matthew vii. 7.