Acts of Saint George

E. W. Brooks
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Acts of Saint George

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The Syriac version of the Acts of S. George has been published only in Bedjan's *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, i. p. 277 (1890) from an old ms. from Mesopotamia, the location of which is not stated, and Vat. Syr. 161, collated by Professor Guidi, while in an appendix some unimportant variants are recorded from Berlin Sachau 222, written in 1881. The text is a conflation of the two mss.; and, though the variants are given, it is not stated from which ms. they are taken; but a complete collation of the Vatican ms. was published by Professor Guidi in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xlvi, p. 746 (1892). Two passages, the baptism of the resuscitated persons and George's prayer for vengeance, are omitted because the editor did not think them suited for the purpose for which he was writing. Bedjan's edition therefore does not satisfy the demands of scholarship, and the absence of a translation makes it inaccessible to non-Orientalists, a defect which was felt by the late Professor Krumbacher in his monumental work on the Greek texts of the Acts (1). A new edition is therefore clearly needed, and Sir E. A. W. Budge in his edition


*Les caractères syriaques utilisés dans la composition de cet article proviennent de la fonderie Defay de Bruxelles qui est actuellement propriétaire des types dont il a été question dans le *Muséon*, t. XXXVII, p. 117.*
of the Coptic Acts (London, 1888) announced his intention of publishing one (p. xxxviii), but the proposed edition has never appeared, and Sir E. A. W. Budge informs me that he has abandoned the project.

The Acts exist in two recensions, of which one is preserved in two mss. only, and the other in several. The two mss. which contain recension I are:

Brit. Mus. Add. 17205, f. 23r-30r (A), circ. 600. This ms. is unfortunately fragmentary, 1/2 a leaf having been lost at the beginning, 2 leaves after f. 26, 9 or 10 leaves after f. 27, and a leaf after f. 28, while f. 23-26 are torn at the top, and f. 28 has a rent at the bottom. Errors in the text are very rare.

Brit. Mus. Add. 14734, f. 177r-193r (B), 11th cent. This ms., which is in a cursive Jacobite hand, contains substantially the same text as A, but is less carefully written.

For the other recension I have used at first or second hand five mss.

Brit. Mus. Add. 14735, f. 165r-171v (C), 12th cent., also in a cursive Jacobite hand.

Camb. Univ. Add. 2020, f. 97r-105v (D), 1697, in a good Nestorian hand.

A ms. written in Mesopotamia and lent to Bedjan by M. Salomon (M), which Bedjan describes as 'vieux'. I know this ms. only through Bedjan’s edition and have not the text of the two passages which he omits. It is probably Nestorian (1).

Vat. Syr. 161, f. 176v-181v (V). The date of this ms. is nowhere stated, but M. Tisserant, at the request of Professor Guidi, to whom I applied, was kind enough to inform me that it is written in an estrangelo hand and is probably of

(1) See p. 81 (15), n. 2.
the 9th cent. I know its text mainly from Bedjan's edition and Professor Guidi's collation; but in some places where the difference from the text of D (see below) made me suspect error M. Tisserant most kindly examined the ms. for me, and his examination shows that in many of these it in fact agrees with D. Though a Nitrian ms., it is of Nestorian origin.

Berlin Sachau 222 (S), f. 226 r°-234 v°, in Nestorian hand. This was made for Dr. Sachau in 1881, and the Catalogue contains no indication of the date or character of the ms. from which it is copied. Bedjan gives some of its variants in an Appendix, but the collation does not profess to be complete (see his preface, p. x) and is in fact of small value. The text is however evidently similar to the other Nestorian mss., and, as my text is primarily that of Recension I, it did not seem to me worth while to obtain a photograph of it.

Of the mss. of recension II C differs considerably from the Nestorian mss., and among these the texts of D and V are almost identical, but often differ from that of M. An attempt to determine the comparative value of the two recensions by a comparison with the Greek texts collected by Krumbacher and other versions, especially the Coptic, which is nearest to the oldest Greek texts, has led to no result. Sometimes one recension agrees with the Greek and Coptic, sometimes the other, and it sometimes happens that one recension agrees with one Greek text and another with another. If we had the original Greek Acts, we might perhaps determine the question; but, as the case stands, I can only be guided by the age of the mss. and therefore give the priority to recension I. Accordingly my text follows recension I except where it is obviously wrong, or where an omission can be explained by homoeoteleuton. Recension II has apparently been corrected directly or indirectly from the Greek.
At first sight the early date of A and the oriental character of the legend might lead us to think that the Syriac version is the original; but a comparison with the Greek texts makes it clear that this is not the case. In the Syriac, as in the later Greek texts, those parts of the legend which were most likely to cause offence are omitted, the second and third deaths of George before his final martyrdom and the long series of impossible tortures because of their wild improbability, the story of the magician Athanasius in order to avoid the use of this honoured name in such a connexion, and the story of the introduction of George into the queen's chamber because it seemed improper. The story of Scholastica, if it is really original, was probably omitted because it was thought to be trivial and out of place. On the other hand the accretions found in the later Greek texts, the narrative of George's early years (1), the martyrdom of Polychronia, and the stories of Eutropius and of Glycerins are absent from the Syriac, and the persecutor is called Dadian, not Diocletian (2). Further the imprisonment of George in the widow's house and his prayer for vengeance on his enemies (3), which were omitted in later Greek texts as likely to cause offence, are retained in the Syriac. The author of the Syriac version then like the Greek revisers set himself to remove anything to which objection might be taken from the text, but he did so independently of them, omitting passages which they retained and retaining passages which they omitted; and this conclusion

(1) In S however (f. 225) the Acts of George's father, Gordian, precede his own.
(2) Dr Ehrhard in the introd. to Krumbacher's work (p. xix) states on the authority of Bibl. Hag. Or., p. 73, that V has 'Diocletian'; but there is no such statement in R. H. O., and V has 'Dadian' throughout.
(3) Ehrhard (p. xx) following an analysis by Weyh, wrongly states that the Syriac omits this.
is not invalidated by the fact that his version sometimes agrees with the later against the earlier Greek texts, since the original Acts are lost, and the later texts may sometimes follow them more closely than the earlier (1).

The versions of the Acts to which I refer in the notes are as follows:


Ath. Greek text in Cod. Athen. 422 (Krumbacher, p. 3). This is the earliest complete text.


Gr. Greek versions in general (not necessarily all).


Lat. Latin versions.

Norm. Greek 'normal text' (Krumbacher, p. 41).

Pal. Greek text in the Vienna palimpsest, Lat. 954 (Krumbacher, p. 4). The earliest fragments of the Acts.

Par. Greek text in Cod. Par. Gr. 770 (Krumbacher, p. 18).


(1) E.g. the interpolated story of Polychronia is found in two of the oldest texts, Ath. and Par. (Krumbacher, p. 119).

(2) The Armenian text was published at Venice in 1849.

(3) Fragments of a Sahidic version are published in the same volume (p. 177-199), but without translation.

In the text printed below I have given all variants of A and B except the ordinary varieties of spelling in such words as αλ, αλε, αλεκτ, μπαλ, and ονο. But the inclusion of all the variants of the other mss. would have made the notes inordinately long and almost unintelligible, and I have therefore usually omitted mere orthographic variants (1), and variants which are found in one ms. or in DV only. I am aware that this is unsatisfactory, since my edition ought to supersede all previous work, whereas those who want to know all the readings of M and V will still have to consult Bedjan's text and Professor Guidi's collation; but there is no alternative. I thought that the difficulty might have been avoided by adding the omitted readings in an appendix, and I began to compile such a list; but I found that it would be much longer than I expected and would perhaps have exceeded the limits of an article, and, the Nestorian script being more trying than other scripts, my eyes would not stand the labour, and I was forced reluctantly to abandon the project. The more important variants I have given in the translation as well as in the text. In the readings derived from Bedjan's text diacritic marks are not given, since Bedjan uses his own vowel points in place of them, and his interpunctuation also is probably arbitrary, and I have paid no attention to it. I am unable to give the pagination of M, S, and V.

(1) To give the orthographic variants of Bedjan's text would have been useless, since he corrected the orthography (p. vi). I may state however that in D and V the saint's name is almost invariably written Μανολα.
In B the verb seems to have fallen out. — 6 Ins. C DMV 107. — 7 B om. (from homoeoteleuton?); Pal. εἰς τὸ θεόν ἀναφέρασεν. — 8 CDMV ins. 100. — 9 Defective in A. — 10 BC Ἀρεία.
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

1 CDMV pl. — 2 Defective in A. — 3 CDV — 4 C
5 BC 6 M ins. (2). — 7 BC DMV (DM om.) 8 CDMV
9 B — 10 B ins. — 11 C DMV (DM om.)
12 CM 13 DMV 14 M 15 AB CD.
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

1 CMV қ. — 2 DMV pl. — 3 DMV қйлғым. — 4 CDMV қйлғым.
— 5 Defective in A; CDMV om. орн. — 6 Defective in A. — 7 Defective in A; B ins. орн. — 8 DMV ins. қйлғым. — 9 B sing. C
— 10 AB қыз. CM қйлғым. DV қйлғым; gr. Трпхвс. Cf. p. 82 (16), l. 7. — 11 AB қйлғым.
— 12 CDMV қйлғым. — 13 B om. қорта M орн.


1 M 64 ol. 2 CDV pl. 3 DMV ins.

4 C 64

2 leaves lost in A. Ins. C 64 12 MV 15

6 C om. 7 DMV ins. 8 C

9 DMV om. 10 C 64 11 MV

11 C 64 12 DMV om. 13 M sing. 14 DMV ins.
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

D 99 v

B 181 v

C 167 r-b

B 181 v

4 1 B ins. — 5 DMV ins. — 6 C ins. — 7 M ins. — 8 CDMV ins.
15 BC om.
لا درّ نأ. ودّ أبّ يسحُب. الدَّرَّ لِثُكُرٍ. فَمَعَ سَهْلٍ، لَدَى
ماضِيَهُ. نَزَعَ دَكَّةً دَكَّةً. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَ. فَمَعَ. فَمَعَ. فَمَعَ. فَمَعَ. فَمَعَ.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
لا تَرَهْ. لا تَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
صَدَّقَ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ.
لَدَى. لَدَى. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
بَلّ. بَلّ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ. فَعَلَ.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
كَتَرَهْ. رَتَّكَرَهْ. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا. فَمَعَا.
B 183 "

1. le 1. abesse réf. à l'âge. Membres solm adjugés de Cleopatra.
2. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
3. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
4. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
5. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
7. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
8. solm. Membres solm. dite Cleopatra ajout. Tant à l'âge.
CDMV ins. 1. — 2 C DMV

C 168 reb 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. — B 181 vo 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. — C 168 voa 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. —
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

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1 C \textsuperscript{2}DV: \textsuperscript{1}assertit, \textsuperscript{2}om. \textsuperscript{3}scym. \textsuperscript{4}DV: \textsuperscript{5}om. \textsuperscript{6}DV: \textsuperscript{7}DV: \textsuperscript{8}DV: \textsuperscript{9}DV: \textsuperscript{10}DV: \textsuperscript{11}DV: \textsuperscript{12}DV: \textsuperscript{13}DV: 

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}C \textsuperscript{2}DV: \textsuperscript{1}assertit, \textsuperscript{2}om. \textsuperscript{3}scym. \textsuperscript{4}DV: \textsuperscript{5}om. \textsuperscript{6}DV: \textsuperscript{7}DV: \textsuperscript{8}DV: \textsuperscript{9}DV: \textsuperscript{10}DV: \textsuperscript{11}DV: \textsuperscript{12}DV: \textsuperscript{13}DV:
\end{itemize}

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- 25 -
1 DV (M) ins. — 2 C XV M om. — 3 B .
— 4 DMV ins. — 5 C D om. M DMV
(D om.) "o. — 6 DMV — 7 DMV om. — 8 C om. M
— 9 A appy. (erasure after D). — 10 A
— 11 C pl. DMV — 12 C
— 13 C D om. M — 14 Defective in A. — 15 DMV (M)
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

1 B sing. C 1 — 2 B 6 — 3 CDMV £ — 4 CDV £
5 CDMV £ — 6 CDMV £ — 7 Ins. BM 6 — 8 DV £ — 9 Defective in A.
10 BC £ — After this a leaf is lost in A. — 11 CS £
12 B £ — 13 CDMV £ — 14 DMV £ — 15 CDMV £ — 16 CDMV £
— 17 DMV £ — 18 CDMV £
1 DMV ins. 2 BM ins. 3 CDMV ins. 4 CS om. 5 CDMV ins. 6 DMV ins. 7 CDMV om. 8 CDMV ins. 9 C DMV. 10 CDMV ins. 11 M ins. 12 CDMV ins. 13 CDMV ins. 14 MS ins. 15 MS ins. 16 CDMV ins.
ACTS OF S. GEORGE

1. Therefore, let the word of Christ dwell in you richly.
LE MUSEON

A : «) r°

1 CDMV — 2 B ins. — 3 BCDV

CDMV — B ins. — 3 BCDV

M — 4 CV — 5 DV (sic V, D)

(4) — 6 AB — 7 CDMV — 8 C

For D105 v°, DV have

(D105 v°)

(X)

— 9 C ins. — 10 B (sic)
In the power of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the martyrdom of the illustrious George and of Antoninus the general (στρατηγὸς) and of Alexandra the queen who were martyred and crowned (their prayer be with us. Amen!)

When the churches of Christ were standing, winter storms (1) were roused (2) by the kings in every country, and with threats they seized the preachers of truth, and brought them to worship demons, and forced them to sacrifice (3). At that time Satan instigated the king of the Persians whose name was Dadian (and he had four evil counsellors his associates); and, having seated himself upon his judgment-seat (βῆμα), he wrote letters running thus. « Since a report has reached us, and has penetrated to our ears that the peoples are worshipping him whom Mary bore, and are not worshipping Apollo and Heracles, but him whom the Jews scourged with rods and fastened to a tree, therefore I have written to your high mightinesses (4), in order that we may stamp out the thing that has happened ». When the letters had been sent to all the kings in all the world, many kings and peoples set out and came to him, so that even his capital city was not large enough to hold them.

On the next day the king seated himself upon his judgment-seat (βῆμα), and ordered all the instruments of torture to be set before them, frying-pans (τιγγανά) and bronze cauldrons and sharp points, and elaborate fetters, and irons, and instruments (5) to cut out tongues, and forci-

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(1) DMV 'storm'; so Pal. Copt. Arm.  
(2) The verb seems to have fallen out. M supplies the gap by 'was roused up against the Christians', DV insert 'was stirred up against us'. C has 'and with winter-storms roused by the kings'.  
(3) B om.; see n. on text.  
(4) AB 'remembrance'.  
(5) CDMV om.; so Copt.
pes to pull out teeth, and hooks to bend the neck, and spits
with (¹) tortures of every kind (γένος). And, when they had
brought them before him, the asp-serpent Dadian the king
began to say: « If so be I find rebellious men who are acting
contrary to the worship of the gods, I will destroy the towers
of their bodies, and strip off the skin of their heads, and
extract their brain while they are alive, and tear out the
pupils of their eyes, and cut away their feet from their ankle-
bones, and saw asunder the soles of their feet, and extract
their bowels, and what remains I will throw to the dogs. »
And, while everyone was standing in astonishment, then those
who were intending to be martyred greatly trembled and
shrank at the sight of the tortures (for everyone was anxiously
thinking to remove from himself the burden of the pains), so
that for three months none dared to say « I am a Christian »,
except this minister of righteousness whose light shone
between the height and the depth, who came from a Cappa-
docian family, and served in his rank as a tribune (τρφοῦνος),
and, when he had finished his time of service in that rank,
after amassing much gold, betook himself to Dadian the king
in order to serve as a count (ζυγις). And, when he saw that
Christ was being insulted and demons were being praised
before him, he distributed all that he possessed, gold or silver,
and gave it to the poor and needy; and, having stripped
himself of his clothes, (²) he stood before the king, crying and
saying « I am a Christian; but your threats, king, are idle,
and name not those who are not gods; but let gods who did
not make heaven and earth perish from the earth (³). For I
worship one true God, with his Son and his Holy Spirit, one

(1) CDMV ins. 'chains and rakes with'.
(2) CDMV om. : Ath. Norm. as above.
(3) Jer., x, 11.
Trinity and one Godhead without division ». The king looked at him and said to him: « You have deceived me, proud George (1), haste therefore to entreat the gods, who know how to forgive an offence in those that transgress. Come up therefore and sacrifice to them: and know that Apollo stretched out the heavens and Heracles laid the foundations of the earth, and Serapion and Posidon they it was who restrained the sea that it should not pass its limit. But Christ of whom you speak the Jews scourged with rods, and hung upon a tree. But who made any of the things that are seen? » Looking at him, Magnetius the general (στρατηγὸς Λάτης) said to him:

« From what city do you come, and whence came you hither, and what is your name? » The blessed man said to him:

« As to my first name, I am a Christian. But, if you inquire as among men, I am called George ». After these things the king said to him: « Come up then and sacrifice, lest you die an evil death ». George answered and said to him: « Get thee behind me, Satan. Thou art an offence to me » (2). Then the king ordered him to be hung on a piece of wood (3) and scraped. And, when the king saw that his limbs had been loosened, and his blood was running down upon the ground, he ordered them to take him down and throw him on his belly. And he ordered a wheel to be made like a saw, and long nails to be fixed to it like meat-forks (ἀγγελάρια), and that there should be (4) wedges (σφέρα) at its sides, and spits round it like a catapult (5) (μάγγαρον) (6). This revolved, and the structure of it

(1) CM DV ins. " and insulted me as if I were a mean person " (similarly Ath., Copt.). From l. 13 it appears that the king did not yet know his name.

(2) Matth., xvi, 23.

(3) Ath., ἄξονα Par. Vienn. Norm. ξύλον Copt. ἔφραμάριον Lat. " eauculenn "

(4) AE ins. " ubs. ".

(5) p.γγαρον may be any mechanical contrivance, but is specially used for a siege-catapult. Eusebius (Mart. Pol. ap. P. G., xx, p. 1504), speaks of a martyr " at his patein μανγάρια τοι στόνοις διακλόμενος."
was completed like the work of a craftsman; above it looked like a sword (1), and below it shone like knives. And he ordered them to place the saint on the top of the wheel. When the blessed man came to that place, and saw the wheel prepared, he thought of himself, and was seized with great trembling saying, « I shall never escape from these inflictions ». And again he repented in his mind, and said: « Why, my soul, have you had these thoughts? Consider the lot that has come to you, and know that Christ your Lord was hanged between two robbers ». Then the vigorous combatant (ὡς γὰρ ἔτη ζητεῖ) ran with joy and mounted the wheel, saying: « Christ, in thy hands I place my self » (2). And he was cruelly caught among the teeth of the wheel, and among the spits, and his limbs were cut into ten pieces. And Dadian the king lifted up his voice and the king of Egypt, and king Traquillus (3), with Magnetius (4) the general (στρατηγὸς), saying: « You know, peoples, that there are no other gods beside Apollo and Heracles and among females great is Artemis the goddess of the Ephesians (5). Where then is George's god whom the Jews tortured? Wherefore did he not come and rescue his friend from my hands? » Then the king ordered them to throw the blessed man into an unused pit; and they placed a great stone over the mouth of the pit. Now it was supper-time (6); and at the tenth hour there was great fear, so that the mountains were shaken; and darkness was spread over the earth and a cloud of fire, and the likeness of a chariot of fire;

(1) DMV: 'swords' (so Ath., Vienn.); Copt, sing.
(3) AB (here) 'Traquillus'; CM 'Quirinius'; cf. p. 103: Gr. Τρακκίππος.
(4) AB (here) 'Magnetius'; cf. p. 99: Gr. Μαγνέντιος.
(5) Acts, xix, 34.
(6) M 'he went to supper'; Ath. ἦν ὥρα τῶν ἁριστῶν κ. ἐπορεύοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁριστῶν; so Copt.) Arm. 'erat hora quasi 6o, et omnes ad cenam accesserant'; Sang. 'habuit D. ad prandium et 72 reges cum eo.'
and our Lord Jesus appeared above the chariot, and suddenly a company of angels (1) by the mouth of the pit. And our Lord said to Gabriel: « To thee I say, angel of my covenant (2:περαγίζω), go down into this pit and bring up thence for me my bondman George; because he said ‘I shall not escape from these tortures’, that they may confess me and believe that I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Israel *.

And, when he came up from the pit, our Lord took him by the hand, and said to him: « This is the hand that fashioned the first man. That it is which resuscitated thee (3) ». And he breathed into his face and filled him with the Holy Spirit. And our Saviour gave him a greeting, and said to him: « Go and put Dadian the king and all the kings his fellows to shame, and utter thereupon a cry of praise. And our Lord ascended to heaven and all his angels. Then the blessed George went and sought for the kings and found them in the idols’ house. And he stood before the king, and said to him: « Know you me, king Dadian? » The king looked at him and said to him (4): « Who are you? » The blessed man said to him (5): « I for my part am George who was cut on the wheel. Wherefore did you insult Christ and say ‘He cannot save you from my hands’? Lo! you see that it was he who brought me to life from among the dead ». And the king looked at him and said « It is himself (6) ». Magentius (7) said « It is very like him ». The saint said: « I myself am in truth George whom you shut in the pit ». And Antoninus the general (στρατηγάτης) on seeing that George had come to life and

(1) CDV ins. ‘ stood ’; Ath. ἔστη ὑπὸ Κ. ἐπὶ τὸν στόματος τοῦ λάκκου.
(2) DMV ‘It is it which is fashioning thee anew’ (so. Ath. Gall. Copt. Arm.)
(3) C ‘ and it is it which fashioned thee ’; Sang. ‘ipse salvum faciet’.
(4) B om.
(5) Or ‘his soul’; Gr. εἰσελήλθεν αὐτῷ (so Lat. Copt. Arm.).
(6) B ‘Magentius ’.
risen from among the dead believed on God himself and all his troops (τὰ ἄγαλμα). And, when king Dadian saw that many people had believed on God, the king ordered them to be put to death in a desert place outside the city; and they divided them into ten companies; and they completed their martyrdom with a good confession. But, as to the holy George the king ordered him to go to prison, 'until I consider how to destroy him and make havoc of his fair boyhood'. Then Satan put it into the king's heart, and he made an iron shoe, and put it on the saint's feet, and nailed them inside it; and the nails, because they were long, penetrated and extended above the soles of his feet, and the blood was flowing cruelly; and, since he was unable to bear the shoe, he entered the city at a slow walk. But the impious man when he saw him laughed and said to him: «What is it, George? Why (1) are you not running? Recognise the lot that has fallen to you». Then the blessed man said: «Why art thou agitated, my soul» (2) and why art thou grieved? Know that Christ thy Lord was stretched upon a tree». And again the blessed man prayed and said: «Lord my God, leave me not nor depart from me». And the same hour Michael the archangel appeared to him carrying some dew in his closed hand and sprinkling it on his feet; and he suffered no more from the pains. And, having come and stood before the king, the blessed man said to the king: «Tell me the names of your gods since you said to me that Apollo stretched out the heaven, and Heracles planted the earth firmly, and Athena diffused the sunlight; but they made none of the things that are seen. Know therefore that it is not the gods who made creation, but they are futile images. But I have many sheep to choose

(1) Rom.
(2) Ps. xlii, 6.
from this flock, and to bring into the fold of our Lord and our God (1). But, since you have told me the names of your gods, I also will tell you the names of the just men. Tell me, king: which seems to you the worthier by comparison, Simon the chief of the apostles, or Posidon the chief of brigands (λογάντης) ? Samuel the chosen prophet, or Actaeon the madman? Moses who led the people forty years, and gave manna to the children of Israel, or Nq (2) and Heracles the profligates? Tell me which of these you choose, the sagacity (3) of the martyrs and the love of the confessors, or the striving of the possessed persons (4) or the hostility of the priests? Mary who gave birth to Jesus our Saviour (5) in whom is no profit. Then the unjust king ordered him to be beaten with thongs; and the blessed man was beaten till all his body was torn to pieces. But, after he had been beaten, Magnentius (6) said to him: «I ask a sign of you. If you show it me, I will believe on your God. Lo! there are here fourteen kings’ seats, and each seat has in it planks of wood, some of fruit-bearing trees, and some of trees that do not bear fruit. If you pray and they are broken up again, and those that are of trees that do not bear fruit bloom and stand up without fruit, and those that are of fruit-bearing trees give fruit, I will believe on your God ». The blessed George says to him: « Not for your sake will I do

(1) John, x, 16.
(2) Ath. Ἀντισεόν Copt. Ἀντός: i.e. Antaenus.
(3) DV ‘purity’ M ‘perfection’.
(4) Maenads (?).
(5) C ‘God’ DV ‘Christ’. Bedjan gives M’s reading in the text as ‘Jesus our Saviour’, and in the Errata as ‘God’. He cannot have misread the latter as the former, so perhaps ‘God’ was originally written and afterwards changed to ‘J. our Saviour’. The Nestorian recension seems to have retained ‘God’, but it was independently removed in M and in the original of DV.
(6) M ‘Artemis the slayer of her lovers’.
(7) DMV ‘demons’; so Ath. (8) DMV ins. ‘the king’; so Ath.
this, but for the sake of the bystanders I will pray before God ». And he knelt and prayed so that the air (\(\zeta\iota\phi\zeta\)) was disturbed and the earth trembled, and there was great terror (1), and terrific lightnings (2) appeared upon the earth, and upon the fourteen seats; and the planks were broken up and the trees took root; and those that were fruit-trees showed themselves with fruit, and those that were without fruit showed themselves without fruit. And, when king Dadian saw it, he said: « Great art thou, god Apollo, who showest thy power even in dry wood. Nay, by my lord the sun and the seventy-two gods, you shall not escape from my hands, O George ». And he ordered that he should go to prison (3) until I contrive a method of putting him to death ». King Traquillinus (4) says to him: « I also wish to ask George for a certain sign ». And they sent and he fetched him from the prison and set him before him. And the king said to him: « We have here a coffin hewn out of rock, and the age of the dead persons buried in it no man knows. If then your prayer is heard, pray that these corpses may rise, and we will”.

(1) C: And the saint answered and said to him: « To my God your request is not difficult ». And the holy G. began to pray before God with sighing and said: « To thee I call, Maker and Good Hope, J. Chr. King of kings, grant me this request, and let me show the contriver of evil things D. the king and the 70 kings who are with him » (ff. as p. 105, l. 12, to ‘our Lord Jesus Christ’). « Leave me not, my Lord, and let me be brought out of the hands of unjust men, even because thouarest for all thy creatures from all ages Amen ! ». And, while the people were standing by, (2) text corrupt) « there was a mighty agitation ».

(2) For ff. to ‘and’ (p. 105, l. 21) C has ‘flashed and the wood of the seats sprouted and gave forth fruit, and all who saw it gave glory to God. Then the king said to him: « Lo! there is here a tomb containing dead men that has been here a long time; and, if these too are resuscitated, I will believe on your God ». And they led him and went to that tomb. And the blessed man stood to pray; and, before he had yet finished his prayer, there was suddenly quaking, and mighty lightnings, and they».

(3) Ath. Copt. Karsh. Gall. agree with our text in ascribing this suggestion to T., Par. Vienn. ascribe it like C to the king himself. Norm. ascribes it to Magnentius, and Sang. to ‘the kings’.
believe on your God». George says to them: «Bring these bones up for me here». And, when the king had gone and opened that coffin, and they found no bone solid in it, since they had become dust from the lapse of time, George says to them «Collect that dust and bring it here». And the blessed man, having taken that dust, set it before the Lord; and he looked to heaven and prayed and said: «Lord All-holder, who (1) art not dissolved, clad in victory, eternal Light, Lord of all, to thee I call, Maker, Good Hope Jesus Christ King of kings, grant me this request that I may show the devisers of evil things Dadian the king and the seventy kings who are with him that thou only art the Lord God, who weighedst the mountains in a scale, and settest the weight of the hills in a balance, and driedst the Sea of Papyrus (2), which men could not dam, and formedst created things by thy nod, and madest the ages by thy grace, now also, Lord, look on thy people, and on the flock of thine inheritance, which thou redeemedst through thy beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, suffer it not to be scattered by the hands of unjust men, because thou carest for all thy created things for ever and ever Amen and Amen! » And, when he had finished his prayer and said ‘Amen!’, there was a violent disturbance of the air (3), and flashes of terrific lightning were seen, and shone upon the whole of the place in which that dust lay, and souls of men and of women and of children rose (4), two hundred bodies. And, when the king and his associates saw the thing that had happened, and that which had actually been done, then one of the kings (5) called to one of those who had risen from among the dead, and asked him and said to him: «What is your name?» And he that had been

(1) DMV ins. ‘passes not away and ‘. (2) Sc. the Red Sea.
(3) Ins. DMV ‘from that dust’ (so Ath., Vienna., Arm.) Sang. ‘de limo isto’ Norm. Gall. Karsh. ‘from it’ Copt. ‘from them’ (the bones).
(4) C ‘he’ DV ‘one of the young men’.
resuscitated said to him: « Yuhla (1) ». The king says to him:
« How long is it that you have been dead? » Yuhla
says (2): « Two hundred years more or less we have been in
Sheol ». The king says to him: « Did you worship Christ; or
Apollo? » Yuhla says to him: « We for our part did not
know Christ, but worshipped idols. And when we died angels
carried and brought us to a river of fire, and there we were
till to-day, so that not even on the first day of the week
had we relaxation, because we had not been wont to observe
the first day with the fear of the living God. Then afterwards
those who had been resuscitated looked at the holy George,
and cried with a loud voice and said to him: « We beseech
you, sir, bondman of our Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon
us, since we were lying in great misery. Give us the mark of
our Lord Jesus Christ, since we were resuscitated through
your prayers and came up out of that bitter distress; and
now, sir, help our souls and give us the mark of our Lord’s
baptism, that we may not again see that burning abyss ».
The blessed man, seeing that they had believed with their
whole heart, asked for water, and no one gave it him; and
he struck that place with his foot; and much water came out
from it; and he baptized them in the name of the Father and
the Son and the Holy Spirit. And, when he had finished his
prayer, he said to them: « In the name of our Lord Jesus
Christ go you to the Paradise of God ». And no one saw them
again from that hour. Then king Dadian said to his fellow-
kings: « Did I not tell you that this man is a sorcerer? And
he has raised an appearance of fiends before us, saying
‘ I have raised the dead’. But for my part I know how I will

(1) C ‘ Yubal ’ DV ‘ Yubliya ’ (so below). CDV ins. ‘ is my name ’ (so Gr. Lat.
Copt. Arm.)
(2) CDMV ins. ‘ to him ’; so Alb. Karsh.
(3) CDV ‘ and ’; so Gr. Copt.
put an end to this race (γένος) (1) of Galilaeans». And he commanded the ministers of iniquity, « Seek for me a poor widow woman, and confine this man in her house, in order to disgrace him, that he may be a laughing-stock to those who know him, and to those who love him, when he is imprisoned there, until I devise a method of putting him to death ». And, when the illustrious man had gone to that widow's dwelling, he said to her: « Give me bread to eat since I am hungry ». That woman says to him: « I have no bread in my house ». The holy George says to her: « Of what religion are you ? » She says to him: « Of that of Apollo ». The blessed man answered and said to her: « That is why you have no bread in your house ». Then that woman formed in her heart the plan of going out to one of her neighbours and asking for bread and setting it before this (2) man. And, when she had gone out to ask, the illustrious George stood up in prayer, and leaned upon a pillar that was in the house, and at the same moment the tree brought forth and produced leaves and branches, and it rose to a height of fifteen cubits above the roof. And Michael appeared to him, giving him food from heaven; and he ate, and refreshed himself and became joyful. And, when that woman came to her house, and saw that that tree had sent forth shoots (3) and sprouted, and the table covered with delicacies, she fell down before the saint's feet from her fear crying and saying: « The God of the Christians has come in to me in the body ». But the holy George (4) took hold of her and raised her up and said to her: « Rise, woman, I am not the God of the Christians as you think, but I am a

(1) CDMV: 'head'.
(2) This is clearly taken from an original in which the plan was put into the widow's mouth, as in Gr. Lat. Copt. Arm.
(3) CDMV: 'roots'. (so Gr. Copt. Arm.) ; Sang. ' facta est furca viridis'.
(4) CDMV om. (so Gr. Copt.) ; Arm. Gall. as above.
bondman of Jesus Christ ». That woman says to him: « Sir, if I have found favour in your eyes (1), let your handmaid speak before you. Lo! there is (2) a boy in my house who is deaf and blind and withered. If then, sir, my son is healed by your prayer, I also will believe on your God ». The blessed man says to her, « Bring him here to me ». And, when she had brought him to him, he said, « Boy, our Lord Jesus Christ heal thee ». And he breathed into his face, and there fell from his eyes as it were scales (3); and the same hour he saw. His mother says: « Sir, let him hear with his ears and walk with his feet ». The saint says to her: « (4) Keep him for me till I shall call him for the work that will be required by me; and he shall hear with his ears and walk with his feet and come to me, and he shall be to me a minister of speech ». And that woman was silent and dared not answer him another word, because his face was bright like the sun (5). And the next day king Dadian rose up and the seventy kings who were with him, and they saw that tree where George was lodging had grown and was looking out fifteen cubits above the roof; and they all marvelled, and they say: « The Galilaean lodged there ». And he sent after him, and brought him to the palace (παλάτιον). And, when he came, he was singing and saying: « Thou, Lord, be not far from me. El, El, remain for my help » (6). And, when he came in before the king, Magnetius said to Dadian the king: « This race of Christians is stubborn. (7) Let us rather cajole this man by blandishment, and by soft words, that he may come to do our will and that he may recognise what is right ».

(1) Gen., xviii, 3. (2) CDMV « I have » (so Ath. Lat. Copt.); Arm. as above.
(3) Acts, ix. 18. (4) CDMV ins. « This will be enough for you now »; Gr. τί πάντως κατάκειται τὸν αὐτόν (so Lat. Copt. Arm.).
(5) CDMV « as of an angel » (from Acts, vi, 15; so Gall. Copt. Arm.); Gr. om.
(6) Ps., xxii, 20. (7) Ins. CDMV « But »; Norm. ἀλλάζ. — 42 —
And the king began to entreat the saint, and say to him:
« By the sun our god and the victory of all the gods, if you
listen to me, George, I will give you much property and make
you second in my kingdom. Come up therefore and sacrifice;
and after my death I will make you sit on my throne, putting
on the crown of my kingdom (1) » The saint (2) says to him:
« Now you have spoken well. But wherefore said you not
these things to me before? for now you have been torturing
me for seven years; and (3) where shall I (4) go and seek the ill
usage of all this time? » The king says to the saint: « For¬
give me this offence; since I am as your father; and know
that you shall surely reign after me ». The illustrious man
says to him: « Where are your gods? I will sacrifice to
them ». When the king heard this announcement, he rejoiced
with very great joy; and he ordered a crier to go up and
stand in a high place, and cry and say: « Come near and
see the Galilaean initiate, who lo! to-day will come to the
sacrifice of the gods ». But, when that widow woman heard
the voice of the crier, she suddenly picked up her son, and
ran to the illustrious man crying (5) with a loud voice (6)
and saying: « O George, who gave to the blind the power of seeing
and to the lame also the power of walking, and cleanse the
lepers and cast out demons, and heal the sick, are you even
now coming to sacrifice to the vain Apollo? », but the holy
George looked at her, and she trembled with a great trem¬
bling and he said to her: « Put your son down out of your
arms ». And, when she had put her son down, the blessed
man said to him: « Rise, boy, and come to me, and you shall

(1) The promise of the succession is found elsewhere only in Arm. and Karsh.
(2) CDMV ins. 'George' (so Copt. Arm.); Karsh. as above.
(3) B 'I for my part will '.
(4) DMV om. (so Copt. Karsh.); Ath. πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον (so Arm.) Par. ἐνυφὸν πεγάλη
(so Gall.).
be to me a minister of speech ». And the same hour he rose and ran to him and made obeisance to him. The saint says to him before all the people: « To you I say, boy, go into this temple (ναός) and say to Apollo: ‘Come out at once for the bondman of our Lord Jesus Christ (1) is standing outside and waiting for you’ ». And, when that boy came into the temple (ναός), he said to that idol: « To you I say, dumb idol and vain chattel, come out thence quickly for the bondman of God Most High is standing outside and waiting for you ». And the demon who lived in that image cried and said thus: « Out upon thee, Nazarene (2), since thou hast drawn all men to thee, and hast now sent thy bondman George against me ». The blessed man (3) says to that demon: « Are you the god of the pagans? »; the demon who lived in that image cried and (4) said to him: « The god of the pagans I am not, but one of the captains of the hosts of the enemy ». The holy George says: « Wherefore lead you men astray from the fear of the living God? » That demon said: « By the hell of fire that is prepared for me, if I had been able, I would have ruined you also, and would have led you astray and not spared ». George (5) says to him: « Come see your place; and he struck the ground with his foot, and a great chasm was laid bare; and the holy George said to him: « Foul demon, go down into this (6) abyss, until the day of your torment ». And he sealed that place, and it was not known. And he ran and went into the temple (ναός), and overthrew the idols (7) of Zeus and of Heraclès; and he cried

(1) CM: 'God'; (so Gr. Gall.); Sang. Copt. Karsh. 'Christ'.
(2) DV: 'Jesus'; Gr. Ιησοῦς Ναζαρηνὸς (so Karsh.) Copt. as above.
(3) CDV: saint (so Gr. Copt.); Lat. Arm. 'sanctus G.'.
(4) CDMV om. (so Gr. Copt.);
(5) C: 'The saint' (so Ath.); Par. Sang. 'Saint G.'.
(6) CDMV: the (so Gr. Lat. Copt.); Karsh. as above.
(7) DMV: idol (so Ath. Copt.); Lat. plur.
with a loud voice and said: « Away with you, dead idols, for I indeed am the bondman of Jesus Christ who is God over all. » (1) When the priests of sin saw what the illustrious man had done, they arrested him and put him in bonds and brought him before the king: and they told the king (2) what he had done to their gods. And the king said (3): « Did you not promise me to sacrifice to Apollo? »; the illustrious man says: « To me gods who deceive are no gods. Bring them to me here; and by the boast of the Christians I will not leave one of them till the evening that I will not break to pieces ». The king says: « Did you not promise me to sacrifice to Apollo? »; George says a second time: « Bring them (4) to me here; and I for my part will sacrifice to them (5) before you ». The king says (6): « I for my part heard from the priests that you buried them in the abyss of Sheol (7) alive; and now wherefore do you wheedle me? » And, when the king saw that he was mocking him, he ordered that he should go to prison till I consider by what death to put an end to him. And, when the king came into his palace (παλάτιον), he repeated to the queen all that he had done in prison. And the queen said to him: «O king, keep your hands off the bondman of the living God, and let him go where he wishes ». The king says to her: « Be not deceived, queen Alexandra, nor be enticed into the error of the Christians; since they will not be able to escape from my hands till they worship my gods ». The queen says: « Foul-smelling man and shedder

(1) The actual destruction of the idols is omitted: so Gall. Arm.
(2) CDMV 'him' (so Copt., Karsh.): Gr. om.
(3) CDMV ins. 'Dadim' (so Gall. Copt.): Sang, Karsh, as above.
(4) CDMV 'says' (so Gr. Copt.): Karsh. as above.
(5) DMV 'him'; Gr. Copt. 'Apollo'. (6) DMV 'him'; so Gr. Copt.
(7) CDMV ins. 'to him'; so Gr. Copt. Arm.
(8) M 'earth' DV 'abyss of the earth': Gr. τάς (sic) λαχάνινας τῆς γῆς Gall. 'inferiora terrae': Sang. 'infernum' Copt. 'abyss' Arm. 'Tartara inferni'.
of blood, most unrighteous of all men, if you seek to eat blood
and flesh, receive your portion with that of your father
Satan». Then the king ordered that she should be hanged
on the wood (1) and they should scrape her. But she while
being scraped looked to heaven and said: « Have mercy on
me, my Lord, because I sinned against thee, the hope of the
Christians». And the king ordered George to come. And
when he came and the queen saw him she cried and said:
« O combatant (领导小组) of Christ, give me the mark of
baptism, that I too may enter Christ’s mansion». George
says to her: « Fear not, queen Alexandra, nor be afraid in
the matter of baptism; for you may be baptized and cleansed
in your blood». Then again the abominable man ordered
them to take the blessed woman down from the stake, and
flog her with new cords until her flesh should be torn by the
flowing of her blood.

The next day the king sat on his judgment-seat (审判座) and
wrote in the book of the kingdom thus. « Hear me, kings of
the earth, and multitude of people who surround me. Alexan-
dra the queen, who deserted the gods and believed on him
whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem (2)—. Hear therefore,
all ye kings, because I am innocent of her blood». The
same hour the abominable man commanded, and her sen-
tence (判决) was given. And, while they were bringing
the blessed woman out of her palace (宫殿), and she was
going along the street to be crowned for Christ’s sake, she
stood in the midst of the road, and cried with a loud voice
and said: « Our Lord Jesus Christ, see that I am now leaving
my palace (宫殿) for thy name’s sake, and I did not shut

(1) See p. 99, n. 3. CDMV ‘by the hair’ (so Gall. Arm. Karsh.). In Gr. Copt.
the king seizes her by the hair.
(2) The sentence is not finished.

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my doors (1) ; and thou also, my Lord, shut not thy door in
the face of thine handmaid ». And she bowed her neck and
was crowned, in the month of Nisan (2) on the eighth of it
(may her memory be for a blessing Amen !)

After these things the king called George and said to him :
« Lo! you led the queen also astray, to destroy her out of
this life. But now know that I will not endure your sorcery ;
but now also I grant your own petition (3) ». And the king lifted
up his voice before all the peoples and said : « As for George
the Christian initiate who would not sacrifice to Apollo, after
all these tortures, I give sentence (ἀπὸξαῖ:ι) against him of
death. Know therefore, all ye kings, that this man chose death
for himself; who for the long space of seven years refused to
sacrifice to the gods. But from this time I give order that he
be beheaded by the sword, and fear be aroused so that no
man commit any presumptuous act against the gods ». And,
while they were holding the saint, the king ordered that he
should go outside the city to the place where Alexandra the
queen was crowned. Then the saint requested those who were
leading him and said : « I pray you, my brethren, give me a
little space to pray to God, for whose sake I am being sacri¬
ficed to-day, and to ask grace of him for myself, and for all
sinners who are like me ». These Romans say to him : « Pray
as you wish ». Then the blessed man looked to heaven ;
and he knelt and said thus : « Lord God, hear me because
many are standing and seeking to take my body, and my
body and bones are not sufficient for all the world, Lord God,
grant me this petition that whoever shall be in torture or in
fear or have a terrifying dream and remember my name

(1) BC • door ' (so Copt.). In Gr. it is put differently.
(2) April.
(3) DV ' sentence ' (ἀπὸξαῖς) : so Gr.
shall have what is good, and evil hateful visions shall depart from him. Lord God, grant to my name and to my bones that everyone who shall be engaged in a dangerous law-suit and remembers me shall come out of his suit without danger and without harm. Lord my God, grant me this favour, that when clouds are gathered together and men remember me in that country there shall not be there burning heat or hail. Lord God, bestow on me this favour that, whoever shall make mention of George or make an oblation and remember the day of his contest (ἀγώνια), there shall not be in his house one that is leprous, nor shall a stammerer and a blind man (1) be born in it, nor one that is palsied and one that is blind (2), nor one that is driven by a demon; and mention not their sins, because thou art a merciful God, and remember that they are flesh and blood and have mercy on them for my name's sake. And the Lord spoke with him from a cloud, saying to him: « Come now, George, good and strenuous soldier (3), to the paradise of rest. Come rest from thy labour in the country of delights. But as to the favour that you asked of me, by myself I swear to thee that everyone who shall be in much distress and remembers my name and thine shall be delivered from all his (4) distresses, and I will not mention their sins; for I am a God of the penitent. » And, after the voice that spake with him ceased, the holy George prayed again, and said: « Our Lord Jesus Christ, King of all the ages, send the fire which thou sentest in the days of Elijah the prophet, and it devoured the captain of fifty and the fifty who were with him, and let it devour the kings who believed not in the signs which they saw done through me. » And the same hour lightning came down from heaven like fire, and

(1) C. ' lame man and a stammerer'.
(2) Sic.
(3) II Tim., ii, 3.
(4) CDMV om.: so Gr. Karsh.
devoured the seventy kings, and not one of them escaped. But the blessed man looked to heaven, and made the seal of Christ on his face, and he was crowned by the sword, making a good confession. And in that same great contest (ἀγών) many perished, men and women without number from the terror of the lightning; and everyone believed in the living God. And the illustrious George the bondman of Christ was crowned on the twenty-third of the month of Nisan (¹), on the preparation at the seventh hour. And (²) I Pasicrates (³), a bondman of the same Mar George, was attached to my lord, and wrote all these things from the beginning to the end.

The martyrdom of the illustrious George and those with him who were martyred and crowned in the days of Dadian the king is ended.

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, for ever and ever.

Amen!

E. W. Brooks.
The classic hagiography of Saint George is presented here by E. W. Brooks. Although originally written in Greek, the Syriac manuscripts of this text are important early witnesses. Brooks gives a critical edition of the Syriac accompanied by an annotated English translation of the Acts. A thorough explanation of the manuscript sources forms an introduction to the work. The *Acts of Saint George* stands in the tradition of early Christian devotional and historical records, and is a standard source for information about this formative saint.

**Ernest Walter Brooks** (1863-1955) was a Fellow of King's College. A noted translator of classics, he was a highly regarded Syriac scholar.

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