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enrolments were made. The latter, in an Appendix to the first Part of his Jewish History, "upon the financial condition of the Jews under the Romans," has shown that his countrymen were not at that time literally tributary to the Romans. That, however, does not prevent him from considering a Roman enrolment as admissible under the government of Herod. In page 291 of Part first, where he speaks of the taxing under Quirinus, he says: Already once had Augustus, when he ordered a tax upon all his lands, even in Syria, and probably also at the same time, in some parts of Judea, under king Herod, perhaps two years before this king's death, caused an account to be made of the state of his revenues, of all kinds of property, and of the number of inhabitants. This was not considered as a general measure, and perhaps was carried into effect by the prudence of Herod so silently, that it excited no attention. After all that has been said, it is evident, how much reliance should be placed on the opinion of K. Chr. L. Schmidt, that "by the attempt to bring the declaration of Luke concerning the ἀπογραφή into harmony with chronology, far too much confidence is placed in this author; he wished to transfer Mary to Bethlehem, and for this purpose, he was under the necessity of supplying the fitting time according to his own inclination."

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### ARTICLE III.

#### THE EARLY HISTORY OF MONASTICISM;—FROM THE ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Continued from No. 2, p. 331. By Prof. Emerson.

#### LIFE OF ST. ANTONY, TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

##### *Preliminary Remarks.*

It has already been suggested that a prime object in this account of the rise of monasticism, is the just exhibition of an important feature of the church at that period. And for this purpose, we must know, not only what monasticism was, but also how it was then regarded by the church, and especially by her

most distinguished leaders. We must know, not only what the monks did, or pretended to do, and how they lived, but what such men as Athanasius, and Augustine, and Basil, and the Gregories thought of their pretensions and their mode of living, and what they have left us in regard to the popular opinion on these topics. Some information of this kind will be found embodied in occasional extracts from the fathers which will be adduced chiefly for other purposes; and for this purpose, some of the extracts may be given a little more at large than would be needful for their more immediate object.

It is obvious that the question respecting the genuineness of this life of Antony, is one of no small moment. If written by Athanasius, it is, directly or impliedly, a continuous expression of his estimate of the monasticism and of the monks of his period: but if it is to be regarded as the supposititious production of some unknown hand, it at once loses more than half its value. But, before proceeding to this question of its genuineness, it seems needful, for the same general reason, to give some account of Athanasius himself.

#### *Notices of Athanasius.*

We have space for only the more prominent facts in his history. "Athanasius was born towards the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century, at Alexandria, the capital of Egypt. Of his family, nothing is known. His juvenile years were spent in study and ascetic exercises. He cultivated the ancient Grecian literature to some extent, and his works testify to his extensive reading. But the study of the Scriptures and of the earlier fathers, was his chief delight. With his studies he connected the most rigid life of an ascetic. Although we have no traces of his having left Alexandria and retired into solitude, it is still not improbable that he sometimes visited Antony in his desert. Such is the darkness in which the early history of this great man is involved."

"In the year 319, we find Athanasius already a deacon in the church at Alexandria, having rapidly passed through the inferior grades of clerical office. Though but a deacon, and scarcely twenty years of age, he had speedily eclipsed all his colleagues, and soon became the confidant and counsellor of his bishop, Alexander."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fr. Böhlinger's *Kirchengeschichte in Biographien*, B. I. Abt. II. S. 8.

In the Arian controversy which commenced about this time, Athanasius was the guide and the animating soul of the whole orthodox party. According to Eusebius of Nicomedia, and other Arians, Athanasius not only supported his bishop in the excommunication of Arius, but even composed the letters which Alexander issued against him. And when the matter was investigated by the council of Nice, which was called for this purpose in 325, Athanasius, though still so young, and only a deacon amid the 318 bishops who there represented "the church universal," was the most distinguished antagonist to Arianism. Hence the relentless animosity which the Arians ever afterwards bore him, and the atrocity with which they persecuted him. And well indeed might they dread his influence. For had it not been for him, who can tell which way this council would have decided the great question, or what would have been the shape or the support which orthodoxy would have received.

Within about five months after the closing of this council, Alexander died; and this young deacon, though sorely against his will, was compelled, by the popular voice and finally by a sense of duty, to accept the vacant but perilous chair.

He was now placed in a situation of the utmost importance as well as danger. From the relation which Alexandria had long borne to the rest of the world and especially to the church, as a thoroughfare between the east and the west, as a source and a resort of learned men, and a central point of influence, and now the focus of the Arian contest, his new position must have been one of the greatest importance. And for him so to conduct himself, in this exalted station, as still to be the idol of the people and to retain the confidence of the better part of the church, amid all the turmoils that ensued and the false but weighty accusations brought against him, is a conclusive proof at once of his talents and his great moral worth.

Scarcely was he installed as metropolitan of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, when the Arians began to machinate against him at the imperial court. But we have here no space for recounting the base means they employed, or the success of their intrigues, under Constantine and the subsequent emperors. Suffice it to say, that four times Athanasius was either directly banished by imperial authority or compelled to flee and hide himself in the deserts or elsewhere. On some of these occasions, as when Julian sought his life, he was secreted among the monks.

Under the Arian emperors, he was persecuted avowedly for the

part he bore in the religious contest against Arianism; but at other times, though the motive was the same, some false pretext was adduced, like the charge of preventing the supply of corn from Egypt to Constantinople, and even that of murder. At one time, so great and general was the opposition excited against him, as to give occasion to the proverb, "All the world against Athanasius, and Athanasius against all the world." Even the emperor Julian, who pretended to afford toleration to all religions and all sects; broke out in great wrath against Athanasius, incited, as Milner rationally supposes, by his inward hatred to so good a man and so powerful a defender of the faith. At that period, as we shall see in this work, the heathen and the Arians, like Herod and Pilate, upited most cordially in the work of persecution.

Still, amid the buffetings of every tempest, Athanasius stood unmoved, with his feet on the Rock of Ages, refusing to recant a word he had uttered in support of the true divinity of his Lord.

From such a man, we are to expect,—if not invariably the truth in every statement of doctrine or of fact,—yet nothing but what he most conscientiously *believed* to be the truth. He who would not retract a syllable of his creed to save his life when so many around him were retracting, would not be very likely to palm known lies on the world in honor of his departed friend Antony.

Though himself perhaps sometimes guilty, in the days of his power, of undue severity towards his enemies, he most triumphantly vindicated his character against all their calumnies,—the facts coming to light in some cases, almost miraculously, as when he produced before the tribunal the very man he was accused of having murdered. As a proof of the completeness of such vindication, and of the unimpaired esteem of those who best knew him, it should be added that, at each return from exile, he was hailed with fresh joy by his flock. Indeed, so firmly established had his character and influence become, that Valens, that last and most persecuting of the Arian emperors, deemed it not prudent greatly to molest him; and the venerable bishop was permitted to discharge the duties of his office in comparative tranquility, for the last ten years of his life. He continued active to the last, and died in the year 373.

Though small of stature, his personal appearance is said to have been such as to arrest the attention and command the respect of Constantine, and of all who saw him. Böhringer, in his admirable *Life of Athanasius*, already mentioned, draws an interesting parallel between him and the great Reformer, John Calvin,

and closes by saying, that "each of them was the religious hero of his period."

This religious hero of his period was the very man to give us a work which should itself be a mirror to reflect most exactly the strong features of that period. And especially was he the man to give us the ascetic feature—that strongest of the stern group—himself personally so well acquainted with the monks and monastic life, and at the same time, so thoroughly conversant with men of all other classes and with the religious systems and habits of the age, and likewise so veracious a witness. And in what work could he so well present this feature as in the life of his old friend Antony, the man whom he had probably seen in the desert, the man who came to Alexandria and aided him by his oracular voice against the Arians, the man who even wrote to the emperor Constantine to recall him from his first banishment in Gaul.

Still the important question remains whether Athanasius was in fact the author of the *Life* now before us. It is a question which was disputed more than two hundred years ago, by the learned Hospinian and other Protestants, on the one side, and by the Papists on the other. The Protestants then had a motive for denying, so far as they could, the authority of Athanasius in support of monasticism; and hence some of them were perhaps biased in their judgments and induced to support the negative side of this question. This motive can have but little weight, at the present moment, with enlightened and genuine Protestants who fear not the authority of the fathers of the fourth century on any such question, and who are anxious mainly to know the exact state of the church at that important period. We proceed, then, to the proofs of the

#### *Genuineness of Athanasius's Life of Antony.*

1. The whole structure and execution of the work is in favor of its genuineness. It bears marks of having been written at Alexandria, by an able hand, and in the time of Athanasius. See, for instance, the manner in which the author describes Antony's visit to that city.

2. Evagrius translated this work into Latin soon after it was written, and most probably during the life-time of Athanasius. The original is supposed to have been written in the year 365, soon after the return of Athanasius from his last exile in Gaul, and this translation to have been made before the year 368. In

its brief prologue, the translation is addressed by "Evagrius the presbyter to Innocent, his dear son in the Lord," at whose request it had been made. Now as this Innocent probably died about 369, and as Evagrius was also made bishop in 368, and would therefore no longer subscribe himself a presbyter, there is a two-fold reason for supposing the translation made before the death of Athanasius which occurred in 378.

But if made at this early period and published, then or soon after, as a translation of a Greek work by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, as it purports to be, it is incredible that the fraud should not be detected, if the work was supposititious.

3. Jerome affords us further proof both as to the translation and the original. "Evagrius, bishop of Antioch, of an acute and ardent mind, while yet a presbyter, read to me treatises on diverse hypotheses which he has not yet published. He also translated into our language the life of the blessed Antony from the Greek of Athanasius." *De Script. Ecc.* c. 126. And, in c. 88 of the same work, he speaks of "Antony the monk, whose life Athanasius bishop of the city of Alexandria, has described in an excellent work."

4. Gregory Nazianzen says, "He [Athanasius] has written the life of the divine Antony and given the laws of monastic life in the form of narrative." *Orat.* 21.

5. Chrysostom, near the close of his homily on Matthew, says, "If any one has not yet entered those tabernacles, let him think of the man who to this time is in the mouths of all, the great and blessed Antony, whom Egypt produced inferior only to the apostles. And let him consider, that he lived in the same region where Pharaoh was, and yet received no detriment, but was even counted worthy of divine visions. And he led such a life as the laws of Christ demand. And one may very accurately learn this by reading the book which contains the history of his life, in which he will see much of prophecy, and also respecting the affairs of the Arians."

From the brief notices in this extract, we may well suppose Chrysostom to be commending the same work we now have under the name of Athanasius. It is supposed by some that Athanasius indeed wrote a life of Antony, but that the genuine work has since been lost and another substituted in its place, and that the genuine work did not contain such accounts about prophecy, etc., as are here alluded to. On this question the Benedictine editors of the works of Athanasius, have also produced a pas-

sage from St. Ephraim, a contemporary of Athanasius, which gives a more extended account of Antony as described by Athanasius, and some of it in the same language now found in this *Life*. It is, however, too long for insertion here. Nor does it seem needful, as we can hardly suppose that a work so widely diffused as that of Athanasius, and so popular, would be entirely superseded by any spurious life of the great monk. Indeed, the translation so early made by Evagrius,—and being just what he forewarns his reader he will find it, a loose translation,—seems decisively to prove, that there can have been neither a substitution, nor even any material alteration in the work.

6. Rufinus, who lived from 330 to 410, says, “The small book which was written by Athanasius and has also been published in Latin, has prevented me from writing some things, as I had intended, in regard to the virtues of Antony and his habits and sobriety of mind, as how, by spending his life in solitude, he enjoyed only the society of beasts, and by gaining frequent victories over the devils, he, above all mortals, pleased God; and how he has left for the monks, to this day, the most illustrious examples of his institution.” *Ec. Hist.* I c. 8.

7. Paulinus, in his prologue to the life of Ambrose, says, “You exhort, venerable father Augustine, that, as those blessed men, bishop Athanasius and presbyter Jerome, wrote the lives of the holy Paulus and Antony who lived in the desert,—so I, in my own style, should write the life of Ambrose.” From this, it would seem, that both Augustine and Paulinus were acquainted with the biographies of those two monks, and that they considered them as written by the men to whom they are ascribed.

But we have also passages of deep interest from Augustine himself in regard both to this biography of Antony, and likewise to his estimate of the man. In the thrilling scene of his own conversion, as depicted in his *Confessions*, he describes the powerful effect which the story of Antony's conversion and life, produced on his own heart, in deepening his convictions and impelling him to a like self-consecration. After stating what his friend Pontianus then told him of Antony, he adds, addressing himself to God, “I was astonished as I heard of thy most well-authenticated wonders, in the correct faith and catholic church, of so recent a date and almost in our own times. We all admired; I, because they were so great; and he, that I had never heard of them before.” *Conf.* VIII 14. Here Augustine gives his matured opinion as held when writing his book, in regard to the authenticity of the



wonders, *testissima mirabilia*.—Antony's Life must then have been generally diffused, or Pontianus could not have wondered at Augustine's ignorance of it.

I omit other passages from the same work, which might be adduced to show that Augustine had the same Life of Antony which we now have, and will only add one from his treatise *de Doctrina Christiana*, prologue, c. 4, in which he speaks of "Antony, the Egyptian monk, a holy and perfect man, who, without any knowledge of letters, is said to have committed the Scriptures to memory by hearing them, and by wise reflection to have understood them."

From a remark of Augustine's in the connection of this last passage, it has been argued that he did not believe the story, and therefore that he could not have supposed Athanasius the author of the biography which contains this account. But, as I see nothing in the remark which warrants such a conclusion, I shall only refer the reader, for its ample refutation, to the Benedictine editors of this work.

8. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, says, "What sort of a man the monk Antony was, in those times, in the desert of Egypt, who fought openly with the devils, detecting their wiles and stratagems, and that he wrought many wonders, it were superfluous for me to state; for Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, has written an entire book on his life." I. 21. "Antony, who lived at the same time, saw the soul of this Ammon, after death, borne away by angels, as Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, relates in his life of the former." IV. 23.

9. Sozomen, I. 13, gives a compendium of the life of Antony, much of which appears to be drawn from this work, and some sentences to be quoted entire. That he also adds additional matter, is not strange, since Athanasius here declares that he gives only a small part of the facts.

Other authorities might be adduced, but they seem needless. For, as it has been well remarked, "if this work—supported by the authority of so many fathers, and many of them his contemporaries,—be considered spurious, what work of Athanasius can be proved genuine?"

10. I will only add, that the internal evidences of genuineness, arising from the style and spirit of the work, must strongly impress the intelligent reader who has perused the other works of Athanasius. Not to insist on his perpetual commendations of the monastic life, I will only allude to the peculiar zest and confidence

with which he speaks of characters and events with which we know him to have been conversant, and in which he was personally interested. Witness, for instance, his glowing zeal and even acrimony, wherever he speaks of his old antagonists, the Arians, or the Miletians, and how prominently and frequently he presents Antony's testimony against them.

The reader may now wish to be informed of the objections urged against the genuineness of the work. The following are the only points I have seen that appear worthy of notice.

1. It is said that such a man as Athanasius would not record so many false and foolish things. He did, however, record many such prodigies in his other works, and especially in his epistle to the monks of Egypt and Lybia. But it may just as well be said, that the whole body of grave and learned ecclesiastics of his and of succeeding ages, could not have *believed* such things. But, as we have seen, they did believe and most highly applaud them; and many of them also wrote the like things. No Protestant Athanasius or Augustine or Jerome could, indeed, either write or believe such a book; but it is not so easy a matter to decide what a semi-papal father of the fourth century, though the greatest and best of them all, could not write. If we are to judge of the genuineness of their works from what such men among us could write, we shall condemn as spurious a great portion of all they have left us. Believing, as they did, that miraculous gifts were to be perpetual in the church, their excessive credulity is, after all, no more unaccountable than the impositions on this credulity which sprung from their baleful but prolific doctrine of pious frauds.

2. It is said, by Hospinian and others, that Antony was a lawyer, and therefore not the illiterate man depicted in this work. But the fact of his having been a lawyer, appears to rest on the authority of the lexicographer Suidas, (of perhaps the tenth century), or rather ultimately upon that of the heathen philosopher Damascius, of the sixth century, as quoted by Photius and called by him "a superlatively irreligious" man, and from whom Suidas is said, by his learned editor Kuster, to have borrowed his brief notice of Antony. Of course but little reliance can be placed on such an authority compared with what we have from earlier and better sources. And moreover, Suidas himself says, that Antony was extremely deficient in learning, though so devoted to piety that he made Gaza a much more religious place than it was before. But his short account is so different, in several respects,

from the accounts generally given of Antony by the earlier christian writers, that it would seem rather probable that this very wicked heathen philosopher, if he designed to tell the truth, has confounded together some facts in regard to Hilarion, and perhaps some other monks, with facts in the life of Anteny. See Suidae Lexicon, art. Antonius.

3. It is objected that, according to this work, Antony, when dying, ordered the cloak which Athanasius gave him to be returned to the giver; whereas Jerome, in his life of Paulus, represents Antony as having buried Paulus in that cloak. But this burial was some fifteen years before, and perhaps Athanasius afterwards gave him another cloak. Or, if here is really a contradiction, it is hardly enough to discredit the genuineness of such uninspired works as these. Indeed, just as well may we pronounce all the early histories spurious, for their manifold contradictions of each other.

The following translation is from the Greek text, as found in the Benedictine edition of the works of Athanasius, printed at Paris, 1598. The version is designed to be literal.

In the title, prefixed to the work, which is considerably different in different manuscripts, we must suppose the words, *our father in God*, inserted by another hand. Most if not all the rest of the title, was probably by Athanasius himself. "The monks in foreign lands," to whom he addresses the work, were beyond the sea, and are supposed to have been those of Europe, where monasticism had recently begun to flourish, and whose establishments he had himself probably visited while in exile.

#### LIFE OF ANTONY.

*The life and discipline (πολιτεία) of our holy father Antony, written and sent to the monks in foreign lands, by our father in God, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.*

#### Preface.

You have entered upon a good contest with the monks of Egypt, resolved to equal or even to surpass them in your ascetic efforts for virtue:<sup>1</sup> for at length there are monasteries even

<sup>1</sup> τῇ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑμῶν ἀσκήσει. your efforts for virtue, would be too vague a rendering of this clause. It means that species of systematic efforts to which the monks were devoted. The term ἀσκήσις, (from μακείω to practise, to exercise one's self, as in wrestling or in efforts for virtue), is of frequent occurrence

among you, and the name of monk has become famous. Well, therefore, may one commend this purpose; and may God, through your prayers, accomplish it.

And as you have inquired of me respecting the blessed Antony's manner of life, with a desire to learn how he began his ascetic course, what he was before, and how he died, and whether the things reported of him are true, and this in order that you may emulate him, with great alacrity have I undertaken to execute your commands. For even to speak of Antony is of great benefit to myself also. And after hearing the account and admiring the man, I know you will desire to emulate his example: for the life of Antony is a fit type to monks for the ascetic life. Do not therefore doubt of what you have heard from those who speak of him, but rather conclude that you have heard only a small part from them, for scarcely have they fully related so many things, since even I, at your solicitation, however many things I may note in this epistle, shall mention but a few of his deeds. Nor should you cease to inquire of those who sail to your region. For probably, as each one separately tells what he knows, the account will hardly be worthy of the man. And for this reason, on receiving your letter, I was desirous of sending for some of the monks, especially of those who had been most frequently with him, in order to learn something more to send you; but as the period of navigation was closing and the bearer was urgent, I have hastened to write you whatever I know of him, (for I often saw him), and what I was able to learn from him while following him for no short time and pouring water on his hands.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere I have been very careful for the truth, in order that no one by either hearing more should disbelieve, or by learning less than is requisite should despise the man.

*His early life.—Commences his Monastic Career.*

Antony was by birth an Egyptian.<sup>2</sup> His parents were noble,

in this work, and is often so difficult to be rendered in good English as sorely to tempt a translator to coin the term *ascetics* for the special occasion, or to use the term *asceticism* as meaning the practice of the ascetic system. The latter I may occasionally do.

<sup>1</sup> Several manuscripts afford a different reading, to this effect: "what I was able to learn from one who followed him," etc. It is therefore by no means certain that Athanasius spent much time with Antony; and if not, his credibility may have been more easily imposed on in regard to the miracles he relates.

<sup>2</sup> He was born in the year 251, as is manifest from his age and the time of his death, noticed at the close of his biography. Coma, a village near Heraclea, in

and sufficiently wealthy ; and, being Christians, brought up their son in their own faith. During his early childhood, he was kept at home, seeing nothing but his parents and their house. In his boyhood and as he grew up, he would not go to school, because he wished to avoid associating with other boys. His sole desire was to be, as is said of Jacob, a plain man, dwelling in his own house. He used to attend church with his parents ; and when there, he was not listless while a boy, nor disdainful when a young man ; but he was obedient to his parents, and attentive to the reading, and careful to treasure up the instruction in his breast. Again, though his parents were in easy circumstances, he never importuned them for different and dainty food, nor sought pleasure in such gratifications, but was content with what he found, and asked for nothing more.

When he was about eighteen or twenty years of age, his parents died, leaving to his care their house and his only sister, who was yet very small. Not six months after the death of his parents, he was going to church, as usual, and his thoughts dwelt upon the apostles' leaving all and following the Saviour, and those mentioned in the Acts, who sold their possessions, and brought the price and laid it at the apostles' feet, to be distributed among the poor, and upon the hopes laid up for them in heaven. In the midst of these reflections he entered the church, just as that passage in the gospels was read where the Lord says to the rich man, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven. Antony considered his recollections of the saints as from God and the reading as addressed to himself, and immediately left the church and made over his patrimony, consisting of three hundred *aruræ* [more than a hundred acres] of fertile and pleasant land, to the people of his village, to prevent them from molesting at all either himself or his sister. His personal property he sold for a large sum of money, which he gave to the poor, reserving only a little for his sister.

Entering the church again, he heard our Lord saying, in the gospel, Take no thought for the morrow. He could stay no longer, but went out and distributed the remainder of his property to the poor. Having entrusted his sister to some known and faithful virgins, to be brought up in a nunnery, he devoted himself, with circumspection and firmness, to an ascetic life before

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Upper Egypt or Thebais, is regarded as the place of his birth. See Sozomen, I. 13. and Nicephorus.

his own house ; for monasteries were not then common in Egypt, nor had any monk at all known the great desert ; but every one who wished to devote himself to his own spiritual welfare, performed his exercises alone, not far from his own village.

Now there was at that time, in a neighboring village, an old man who had lived a monastic life from his youth. Antony saw him and was filled with pious emulation. At first he took up his abode in places in the vicinity of the village ; and if he heard of any one remarkable for christian attainments, he would go and seek him out, like the wise bee, and he never returned until he had seen him and obtained from him some provisions to support him on the way to virtue. Therefore, remaining here at first, he established his mind so as not to turn again toward his patrimony, nor remember his relatives, but to have all his desires and zeal for rigor in his asceticism. Accordingly, he labored with his hands ; for he had heard, If any will not work, neither shall he eat. Part of the proceeds of his labor he spent for bread, and gave the remainder to the poor. And he prayed constantly, having learned, that he ought to pray without ceasing in secret. And he was so attentive to the reading that nothing of the Scriptures fell from him to the ground, but he retained all ; so that at last his memory served him instead of books. Conducting himself thus, Antony was beloved by all. To the devout men to whom he went, he paid the utmost deference, and learned the peculiar excellences of character and practice in each, as the gentleness of one, the prayerfulness of another, the meekness of another, the philanthropy or the vigils or the studious habits of another. He would admire another's endurance of suffering and fasting and sleeping upon the ground, or observe another's mildness and long-suffering ; while he marked the piety toward Christ and love for each other which all displayed. Thus he would return richly laden to his own cell, and labor to make his own all the several graces which he had found. He had no contest with those of his own age, except only not to seem second to them in virtue ; and this he did so as to grieve no one, but to cause all to rejoice in him ; and the villagers and the pious men with whom he had conversed, seeing him such, called him The friend of God, and they loved him, some as a son, others as a brother.

*His conflicts with the Devil.*

But the devil, the envier and enemy of all good, could not bear to see such a purpose in so young a man, and accordingly tried

his old arts upon him. At first he assayed to turn him aside from his ascetic life by suggesting recollections of his estate, or care for his sister, and his rank, and the love of money and of glory, and the various gratifications of the appetites, and other delights of life; and he added the hardship and toil attendant upon virtue, and the feebleness of his body, and the long life before him. In fine, he raised a great dust of thoughts in his mind, aiming to turn him from his holy purpose. But the adversary found that, so far from being able to shake Antony's resolution, he was himself defeated by his constancy, vanquished by his strong faith, and falling before his ceaseless prayers. His next reliance was upon "the force which is in the navel of his belly;" (Job 40: 16.) and in this he greatly confided. He assailed him, as he is wont first to assail the young, harassing him by night, and so besetting him by day that any one who saw him might perceive the conflict which was going on between them; the one suggesting impure imaginations, the other repelling them by prayer; the one inciting the passions, the other blushing and defending himself by faith and prayer and fasting. The wretched devil would assume, by night, the form and imitate the deportment of a woman, to tempt Antony; but he would put out the coal of his temptation by reflecting upon Christ, and the nobility which he gives, and the spirituality of the soul. Again, the adversary would suggest the sweetness of pleasure, to which Antony, like one grieved and enraged, opposed the threat of the fire and the worm, and thus came off unharmed. So that all these attempts resulted in the confusion of the adversary. For he who thought to be like unto God, was baffled by a youth; and he who gloried over flesh and blood, was overthrown by a man in the flesh: for he had the aid of the Lord who took the flesh for us, and hath given to the flesh the victory over the devil; so that every true soldier of his may say, Not I, but the grace of God that is with me.

At last, failing in this assault upon Antony, and finding himself thrust out of his heart, the dragon gnashed with his teeth, as it is written; and, as if beside himself, assumed the form of a boy as black as his own nature, and falling before him he no more assailed him with imaginations; for the deceiver had been cast out. But using a human voice, he said, I have deceived and overcome multitudes, but I find the temptations which prevailed with them too weak for thee. Antony asked, Who art thou that sayest this to me? He replied, in a woful voice, I am the friend of fornication. My charge is to tempt and incite the young to

this sin, and I am called the spirit of fornication. How many who wished to live correctly, have I led astray; and how many who struggled to keep the body in subjection, have I overcome by my enticements! It was on my account that the prophet rebukes those who had fallen, saying, The spirit of whoredoms hath caused them to err; for by me were they caused to stumble. I am he that hath so often assailed thee; and so many times been foiled by thee. Then Antony gave thanks to the Lord and took courage and said to the demon, Thou art most worthy of contempt; for thou art black in soul, and weak as a child. I have no more care for thee, for the Lord is my helper and I will rejoice over my enemies. Hearing this, the black one fled, in terror at his words, not daring longer to be near the man.

This was Antony's first victory over the devil, or rather the glorious work, in Antony, of that Saviour, who condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit. Still, Antony did not conclude that the demon was vanquished and relax his watchfulness, nor did the adversary desist from his machinations. For he prowled about like a lion seeking some occasion against him. But Antony had learned from Scripture that many are the wiles of the devil, and he was zealous in his practice of the ascetic life, considering that though the devil had failed to lead his heart astray by sensual pleasure, he would constantly be laying new snares in his way; for the devil loves sin. Accordingly, he reduced and subjected his body more and more, lest having prevailed over some temptations he should yield to others. He resolved to adopt a more rigorous life. Many were astonished at him, but he bore the labor easily, for the ardor of his soul, enduring for a long time, had wrought in him such an excellent temper that a little incitement from others produced great zeal in him. Such were his vigils that he often passed the whole night without sleep; this he did, not merely once, but so frequently as to be an object of astonishment. He used to eat but once in the day, after sunset, and often he would fast for two and even four days. His food was bread and salt, and his drink water only. But we need not speak of meat and wine, for nothing of the kind is found among other ascetics. His bed was a small rush mat, but he usually slept upon the bare ground. He would not be anointed with oil, because, he said, that young monks should be in earnest in their asceticism; instead of seeking emollients for the body, they should train it to hardship, remembering the words of the



apostle, When I am weak then am I strong. For he used to say, that the powers of the mind were most vigorous when the pleasures of the body were most under restraint. Another admirable maxim was, that the way of duty and our progress in it were to be estimated, not by time, but by the sincerity and earnestness of our purposes. He did not think of the time past but daily, as at the beginning of his course, undertook some new and greater labor, constantly repeating to himself the words of Paul, Forgetting those things that are behind and reaching forward to those which are before, and remembering the saying of the prophet Elias, The Lord liveth before whose face I stand this day; for he observed that in saying to-day he takes no account of past time. But as if every day making a beginning, he strove to show himself such as he ought to appear before God, pure in heart and ready to do his will and nothing else. He said to himself that the ascetic ought, from the polity of the great Elias, always to contemplate his own life as in a mirror.

Thus constrained [by the example of Elias], Antony retired to some tombs at a distance from the village, and, having directed one of his friends to bring him bread, at long intervals, he entered one of the tombs, which was closed by his friend, and he was left alone. This was more than the adversary could bear. He was afraid that by degrees Antony would fill the desert with asceticism. He came upon him, one night, with a host of demons, and beat him until he lay upon the ground speechless from his sufferings. His tortures, as he said afterwards, were such as no blows by men could inflict. But by the providence of God, for the Lord never overlooks those who trust in Him, his friend came the next day to bring his bread; and upon opening the entrance, and finding him lying upon the ground as if dead, he took him up, and carried him to the church in the village, and laid him on the ground. Many of Antony's relatives and the people of the village, sat down by him as if he were dead. But about midnight he came to himself; and being aroused and finding all asleep except his friend, he beckoned him to come to him, and requested him to carry him back to the tombs without awaking any one.

He was accordingly carried back by the man, and the door closed as usual, and he left alone again. Finding himself unable to stand, on account of the blows, he lay down and prayed; and after the prayer he cried out, Here am I Antony. I flee not your blows. And should you even inflict more, nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. Then he sang, Though a host should

encamp against me, my heart shall not fear. Thus thought and said our ascetic. But the enemy of all righteousness, astonished at Antony's daring to come, after his flagellation, called his dogs together and said, You see that we have not been able to stop this man, either by the spirit of lust or by flagellation; but he is bold against us. We must vary our mode of attack. For it is easy for the devil to assume different shapes for his wicked purposes. Then in the night, they made such a din that the whole place seemed to be shaken, and the demons appeared to break the four walls, and rush in upon all sides in the shapes of wild beasts and reptiles; and in a moment, the place was full of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, serpents, asps, scorpions and wolves, all acting according to their several natures,—the lion roaring and striving to come upon him,—the bull thrusting at him with his horns,—the serpent creeping about but unable to reach him, and the wolf being held back in the act of springing upon him. In fine, the noises of all the shapes were dreadful and their rage terrific. Under these assaults and tortures, Antony suffered cruel pains of body, but his soul was fearless and vigilant. And as he lay groaning from his corporeal tortures, he would deride the fiends, crying, If ye had any power, it would be enough for one alone of you to come upon me; but now that the Lord hath made you weak, ye think to terrify me by your numbers. Your assuming the forms of brutes is proof enough of your feebleness. And again he would confidently exclaim, If ye are strong, if ye have received any power against me, come upon me at once. But if powerless, why do ye attempt in vain to alarm me? For our trust in the Lord is a seal and wall of protection. After many assaults, the demons gnashed their teeth at him, being themselves more imposed upon than he.

And the Lord did not forget the conflict of Antony, but came to his relief. Raising his eyes, he saw as it were the roof opened, and a ray of light coming down upon him. Instantly the demons vanished; his bodily pain left him; and his habitation was whole again. Antony, feeling the relief, breathing again, and free from pain, thus addressed the vision: Where wast thou? Why didst thou not appear at first to deliver me from my agony? A voice replied: I was not away but was here, Antony, a witness of thy conflict; and since thou hast endured and not yielded, I will always be thy helper, and will make thy name known everywhere. Hearing this, he rose up and prayed, and found himself even stronger in body than before. He was at this time nearly thirty-five years of age.

The next day he went out, yet more full of pious zeal, and coming to the old man whom we have already mentioned, he asked permission to live with him in the desert. Rejected here, on account of his youth and the novelty of his request, he went at once to the mountain. But again the adversary, seeing his zeal, sought to ensnare him by putting in his way the appearance of a great silver plate. Antony saw the artifice of the wicked one, and stood, and looking at the plate, exposed the demon that was in it thus: Whence a plate in the desert? This is no beaten road; there is not a traveller's footstep here. Besides, the plate is too large to fall without being observed, and if any one had lost it, he would have turned back and found it without fail, in such a desert place. This is an artifice of the devil. But thou shalt not thus catch me, thou devil. This go with thee to perdition. As Antony said this, it vanished like smoke before the fire.

*Antony in the Deserted Castle.*

Afterward, as he went on, he saw not apparent but real gold lying in the way. Whether the adversary had placed it there, or some better spirit, aiming to exercise the athlete, and to show the devil that he did not care for real money, he did not himself say, nor do we know further than that it was gold which appeared. Antony was astonished at the abundance of it, but stepped over it, as if it were fire, and pursued his way without looking back, but running on so as to lose the place out of sight. Pressing on in his purpose more and more, he came to the mountain. Finding, on the other side of the river, a castle which had been so long deserted that it was full of reptiles, he crossed, and took up his habitation there. At his coming the reptiles immediately fled, as if some one drove them. He then closed the entrance, having provided bread for six months as the Thebans do (for their bread will last a whole year without injury), and finding water within, he went down into the innermost parts of the castle, and remained there alone, never going out nor seeing any one that came. Thus he followed the ascetic life for a long time, receiving his bread twice a year through the upper part of the building.

Those of his friends who visited his retreat, not finding admittance, frequently spent days and nights outside, listening to sounds from within as of the tumult and din of hosts, uttering piteous exclamations and crying, Leave our retreats! What have you to do in the desert? You shall not withstand our assaults.

At first those without thought that men were fighting with him, who had come in by means of ladders. But upon looking through a hole, they saw no one, and concluded that his antagonists were demons, and called to him in great terror. But he paid more attention to the fears of his friends than to the demons, and coming near the door urged the men to go away and not fear; for, said he, The demons make such alarms for the timid; do you therefore cross yourselves and go away boldly, and leave them to make fools of themselves. They then went away armed with the sign of the cross, and he remained nothing harmed by them, nor even wearied by his contests. For the increase of visions from on high and the feebleness of his adversaries greatly lightened his labors and enhanced his ardor. For his friends were constantly coming, expecting to find his dead body, and they heard him singing, Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered; let them also that hate him flee before him. As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God. And again, All nations compassed me about, but in the name of the Lord will I be avenged upon them.

Thus he lived a solitary ascetic life for nearly twenty years, never going out and rarely seen by any one. At last, as many were anxious to imitate his practice, his friends came and threw down and broke through the door, and Antony came forth like an initiated and inspired man from some sacred recess. Now, for the first time, he was seen out of the castle by those who came to him; and they who saw him were astonished to find his condition of body the same as before. He had neither grown corpulent from inactivity, nor become emaciated by fastings and combats with demons. He was just as they had known him before his withdrawal. The state of his mind also was perfect; for he was neither depressed by sorrow nor unduly excited by joy; not inclined to laughter, nor to sadness. He was not embarrassed at the sight of the crowd, nor elated by the honors they paid him. He was always the same, his whole deportment regulated by reason and natural propriety. Therefore the Lord healed through him many who were suffering from diseases of the body, and delivered others from demons. The Lord, too, gave him grace in speaking, and thus he consoled many who were in sorrow, and reconciled others who were at variance, charging all to prefer none of the things of this world before love to Christ. As he discoursed upon and enjoined the remembrance of good things to come and

the love of God towards us, who spared not His own Son, but gave him up for us all, many were induced to assume the ascetic life; so that from that time, there were monasteries among the mountains, and the desert was peopled with monks, who left their all and enrolled themselves as citizens of the heavenly community.

His visitation of the brethren made it necessary for him to cross the canal of Arsinoë, which was full of crocodiles. Defended only by prayer, he and all with him entered and passed it in safety. On his return to the monastery, he resumed his former observances. By frequent conversations, he increased the zeal of those who were already monks, and led many others to love the monastic life; and in a short time, by his persuasions, many monasteries were established, over all of which he presided as a father.

*Antony's Discourse to the Monks.*

All the monks once came to him, as he was proceeding, and requested to hear a discourse from him; and he addressed them in the Egyptian language, as follows. "The Scriptures are sufficient for instruction. Still it is well to exhort and comfort each other in the faith. You then, as children, should tell your father what you have learned, and I, as your elder in years, will share with you the fruits of my knowledge and experience.

And, first, let it be the aim of us all, having begun, not to yield nor to be disheartened in our labors, not to say we have spent a long time in this monastic life; but rather, as beginning anew from day to day, let us add to our ardor. For the whole life of man is exceedingly brief, compared with the ages to come. All our time here is as nothing to the eternal life. In this world, everything is sold for its value, and one gives equal for equal; but the promise of eternal life is purchased at a trifling expense. For it is written, The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow. If, then, we persevere in the ascetic life for the whole fourscore years or even an hundred, our reign shall not be just an hundred years, but for the hundred we shall reign for ages of ages. And for our conflicts upon earth, we shall receive our promised inheritance, not on earth, but in the heavens. And again, for this corruptible body which we lay aside, we shall receive an incorruptible.

Therefore, my sons, let us not be weary, nor think the time long,

nor the labor great, for the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. Nor let us look upon this world and think that we have given up much, for this whole world is little indeed, compared with all heaven. If we had been lords of the whole earth and renounced it all, that were no price to pay for the kingdom of heaven; for like one who should disregard a single brass drachma, to obtain an hundred of gold, so he who should be lord of all the earth, and give it up, would give up a trifle and receive an hundred fold. But if even the whole earth is not worth heaven, he who has given up a few acres—nothing as it were—even if he has left a house and a large property—ought neither to boast nor become remiss. And on the other hand, we should reflect that if we do not give up these things for righteousness' sake, we must die at length, and leave them, and often to heirs whom we would not, as the Preacher warns us, [Ecc. 4: 8]. Why, then, should we not give them up for righteousness' sake, and gain the inheritance of the kingdom? Let none of us then harbor a desire for wealth; for what gain is it, to acquire that which we cannot take with us? Why not rather acquire those things which we may take with us, which are, prudence, justice, temperance, fortitude, wisdom, love, benevolence to the poor, faith in Christ, pity, hospitality. If we have these virtues, we shall find them there in person, affording us hospitality in the land of the meek.

With such considerations let each arm himself against remissness, especially reflecting that he is the Lord's servant, and owes a duty to his master. As the servant, then, dares not say, I will not labor to-day because I labored yesterday, as he does not measure the time past and rest for the future, but daily, as saith the gospel, displays the same diligence to please his Master and to avoid punishment, so let us be diligent in our religious life, knowing that, if we neglect a single day, our Master will not pardon it in consideration of our former life, but will be angry with us for the neglect. So writes Ezekiel; and so Judas, in a single night, lost the labor of his life.

Let us then, my sons, apply ourselves unceasingly to our ascetic duties. For in these we have the Lord as a co-worker, as it is written, With every one that chooseth the good, God worketh together for good. But to guard us against negligence, it is well to reflect upon the words of the apostle, I die daily. For if we live as dying daily, we shall not sin. The meaning is that, when we rise in the morning, we are not to think we shall live till eve.

ning ; and as we lie down again, we must not think we shall rise ; for our life is by nature uncertain, and Providence measures it out day by day. If such be our state of mind, if we live thus by the day, we shall not fail in duty, nor be covetous, nor angry with any, nor lay up our treasure upon the earth ; but, as daily expecting to die, we shall be poor, and shall forgive all their trespasses. Fleshly lusts and base desires shall have no dominion over us, but we shall repel them as intruders, we constantly fighting and looking forward to the day of judgment. For the fear of torment will destroy the seductive sweetness of pleasure, and fix the wavering soul.

Having, then, began and entered upon the way of virtue, let us reach forward to those things which are before, and let none turn back like Lot's wife, especially when our Lord has said, No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven. To look back is nothing else than to repent and again to think of the world. Be not startled at the mention of virtue, nor think it a strange word, for it is not something existing far away and out of ourselves, but it is a work in us, and an easy work, if we be only willing. The Greeks leave their country and cross the seas to gain learning. But we need not leave our country to gain the kingdom of heaven, nor pass seas in quest of virtue. For the Lord has said, The kingdom of heaven is within you. Virtue, then, requires for its attainment only our will, for it is in us and proceeds from us. For where the soul has the intellect according to its nature—*ψυχῆς τὸ νοσθὸν κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης*—there is virtue. And it is according to its nature, when it remains as it was made ; and it was made exceedingly fair and good. Accordingly Joshua, the son of Nun, says in his address to the people, Make straight your heart towards the Lord God of Israel ; and John, Make your paths straight. For the soul to be straight, is for its intellect to be according to nature, as it was created, but when it turns from this and departs from its nature, then it is called wickedness of soul. It is therefore by no means a difficult thing ; for if we remain as we were created, we shall be virtuous ; but if we bestow our thoughts upon worthless objects, we shall be condemned as wicked. If it were something to be brought from without, it were indeed hard ; but if it be within ourselves, let us guard ourselves against grovelling thoughts ; -and, regarding our souls as a treasure entrusted to our care, let us keep them for the Lord, so that he may recognize his work as being still such as he made it.

Let us strive that anger and lust may not have dominion over us. For it is written, The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God. When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death. Having laid down such rules let us follow them stedfastly and, as it is written, keep our heart with all diligence. For we have formidable and crafty foes in the evil spirits. And with them we wrestle, as saith the Apostle, Not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in the heavenly places. Great is the number of them in the air about us, and they are not far from us, and there is a great difference among them. But the discussion of their nature and diversity, would be tedious, and belongs to others who are greater than I. What is now pressing and needful for us, is merely to know their machinations against us.

And first, we are to know, that the demons were not by creation what we call demons. For God made nothing bad. Even they were created good, but falling from the heavenly wisdom, they have since wandered about the earth, leading the Greeks astray by their *phantasias* [deceptive exhibitions]; and in their envy they move all things to hinder us Christians in our way to heaven, that we may not ascend to the abode whence they have fallen. Therefore we have need of much prayer and diligence, that we may receive from the Spirit the gift of discerning spirits, by which we may know respecting them, which of them are less wicked and which more wicked, what is the employment of each and how each may be baffled and cast out. For many are their wiles and their attempts to ensnare us. This the blessed apostle and his associates understood when they said, For we are not ignorant of his devices. We ought to tell, for the instruction of each other, whatever we have learned with regard to them from our own experience; and, as I have had some trial of them, I will tell it as if to my sons.

Whenever, then, they see any Christians, but more especially monks, laborious and advancing, they assail and tempt them by throwing stumbling-blocks in their way. Their stumbling-blocks are evil thoughts. But we need not be afraid of their devices. For by prayer and fasting and faith in the Lord, they fall at once. But though they fall they do not cease their assaults, but come upon us again with all their wickedness and guile. If they fail in their open attempts to lead our hearts astray by sensual plea-



tures, they renew the attack in another form, and endeavor to strike terror by phantoms, changing their forms and appearing as women, or wild beasts, or reptiles, or huge beings, or hosts of soldiers. Neither here are we to fear their phantoms. For they are nothing, and quickly vanish, if one guard himself well with faith and the sign of the cross. But they are bold and exceedingly insolent; for if repulsed here, they make still a new assault, by pretending to the gift of divination and fortelling future events, making themselves tall enough to reach the roof, and large in proportion. By such *phantasias*, they try to force away those whom they could not seduce by their suggestions. If they find the soul, at this point also, fortified by faith and hope and discretion, they next bring their prince.

And he said that they often appeared such as the Lord described the devil to Job, saying, His eyes are like the appearance of the morning star; out of his mouth go burning lamps and sparks of fire leap forth. From his mouth goeth the smoke of a furnace burning with a fire of coals; his breath is coals and a flame goeth out of his mouth. When the guileful prince of devils appears in this shape, he strikes terror by his great swelling words, as again the Lord explained to Job in these words: For he esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood, and he esteemeth the abyss of hell as a pot of ointment, and he regardeth the abyss as a path; and by the prophet: The enemy said, I will pursue, I will overtake; and again by another: The whole earth will I seize in my hand like a nest and as eggs that are left will I take it. Thus, to lead astray God's worshippers, they vaunt and proclaim what they will do. But neither here is there any occasion for us who are faithful, to fear his phantoms or to regard his words. For he lies, and speaks no truth at all. Though he speaks and boasts so much and so boldly, he was drawn as a dragon with a hook by the Saviour, and as a beast of burden he suffered a halter upon his nose, and as a run-away he was bound with a ring in his nostrils, and his lips were pierced with a chain, and he has been tied by the Lord like a sparrow, to be sported with by us. He and his fellow demons are placed to be trodden under foot by us Christians, like scorpions and serpents. A proof of this we find in our following our loyal pursuits in spite of him. For he, who boasted of wiping away the seas, and seizing upon the land, cannot interfere with your ascetic life, nor even with what I am saying of him. Let us not, then, heed what he may say, for he lies, nor fear his phantoms which are all false; for it is not true light

which shines in them, but rather the prelude and the image which they bear with them of the fire prepared for them; and with that in which themselves are doomed to burn, they essay to terrify men. Certainly they appear, and vanish at once, injuring none of the faithful, but bearing with themselves the image of the fire which shall receive them. Therefore we should not fear them under this aspect. For all their machinations come to nought through the grace of Christ.

But they are wily and ready to assume any aspect or form. Often they seem to sing, invisibly, reciting words from Scripture. Again, as we are reading, they will immediately repeat the words like an echo. As we lie down to sleep they will rouse us to prayer; and this they do incessantly, so as hardly to allow us any rest. Sometimes they assume the appearance of monks, and pretend to talk like holy men, in order to entice us away by their disguise and then to drag their dupes wherever they will. But we ought not to listen to them even if they call us to prayer, or urge us to strict fasting, or accuse and rebuke us for faults which they know in us. For they do this, not for the sake of piety and truth, but in order to drive the weak to despair, and to pronounce the ascetic life a profitless one, and to make the monastic life seem burdensome and tedious to men, and to fetter those who are pursuing this life.

The prophet sent from the Lord pronounced a wo upon such, in these words, Wo unto him that giveth his neighbor to drink a dismal overthrow; for such actions and designs subvert the way leading to virtue. Our Lord, when in the body, stopped the mouths of demons and forbade them to speak even the truth, (for they were speaking the truth, "Thou art the Son of God,") lest they should mingle their vileness with the truth, and in order to teach us never to give heed to them even when they appear to speak the truth. For it were absurd that we, who have the holy Scriptures, and the freedom which the Saviour gives, should be taught of the devil, who continued not in his own station, but changed his views.<sup>1</sup> Therefore he forbids him using the words of Scrip-

<sup>1</sup> *Ἄλλ' ἔτετα ἀνθ' ἐτίμων φρονήσαντος.* However impotent the conclusion of this sentence, in our view, it might not be so regarded by Antony, who, like the Pelagians after him, was disposed to place the origin and source of sin so much in the intellect. For the devil to "change his views," was the same thing as for him to rebel against God; or rather, it was the very source of his rebellion. Such were Antony's metaphysics, if not also those of his biographer, as is manifest from many of his remarks. I may also add, that the theology of the early monks was generally of the same cast.

ture, saying, But unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant into thy mouth? For they do and say and excite and dissemble and agitate everything, in order to delude the simple. And they create a din<sup>1</sup>, and laugh boisterously, and hiss; but if no one pays attention to them, then they wail and lament as if vanquished.

The Lord, then, as God, shut the mouths of the demons. And it becomes us who have learned of the saints, to do as they did and to imitate their manfulness. For they, when they saw the demons, said, While the wicked was before me, I was dumb and was humbled and held my peace from good; and again, But I, as a deaf man, heard not, and I was as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth, and I was as a man that heareth not. Let us then refuse to hear them, as strangers to us; let us not listen to them even if they call us to prayer, or tell us of fasting; but let us attend to our course of ascetic exercises, rather than to them, and not be led astray by their endless devices. We need not fear them, if they do seem to come upon us, and even if they threaten us with death; for they are weak and can do nothing but threaten.

Thus far I have spoken briefly on this point, but now I shall not hesitate to speak more fully of them, for the instruction will be salutary to you. When the Lord is with us, the adversary falls, and his powers are weak; still, like a tyrant, though fallen he is not quiet but continues to threaten, though it be only in words. Let each of us consider this, and he may despise the demons. If they were clothed with bodies like ours, they might say, that men had hidden so that they could not find them, but if they were to find them they would hurt them. We might then remain concealed from them by shutting the doors against them. But if it is not so—if they can enter when the doors are shut, and are in all the air, they and their prince, the devil,—and if they are malignant, and ready to do us harm (as our Saviour said of their father, the devil, “He is a murderer from the beginning,”)—and still we are alive now and waging war with them—it is clear that they are powerless. For it is not the place that frustrates their designs, nor do they esteem us as friends, whom they would conciliate, nor are they such lovers of the good as to lead us in the right way. On the

<sup>1</sup> *Κτύπος*, “a loud noise caused by striking, clapping, knocking, or stamping.”—*Donnagan*. From the frequent recurrence of this expressive but untranslatable term, we may suppose the demons, (or the rude men who may have imposed upon Antony's credulity), quite addicted to these terrific stampings, knockings, etc.

other hand, they are depraved, and they care for nothing so much as to harm the virtuous and the pious. But they accomplish nothing because they can do nothing except to threaten. For if they were able, they would not wait, but would do their mischief at once, for they have the will already to do harm, especially to us. You see that we now come together and speak against them, and they know that their power is diminished by our progress. If now they had the power, they would suffer none of us Christians to live. For piety towards God is an abhorrence to the sinner. And, when able to accomplish none of their threats, they even wound themselves. And it is necessary to note this, in order that we may not fear them; for, if possessed of power, they would not come by multitudes, nor produce their *phantasias*, nor would they assault in changed forms, but it would be enough for one to come alone and do what he should be able and disposed to accomplish; as any one who has power, does not raise phantoms, nor terrify by multitudes, but forthwith employs his power as he pleases. But, as the demons are powerless, they play as upon a stage, changing their forms and frightening boys by the show of a multitude and by their actions. Hence they ought rather to be despised as imbecile. For a real angel, when sent by the Lord against the Assyrians, needed not to employ a multitude, or external phantoms, or the din of stamping and clapping, but quietly put forth his power, and instantly destroyed an hundred and eighty and five thousand. But the demons, powerless as they are, at least attempt to terrify by their phantoms.

But should any one adduce the case of Job and say, How then could the devil come forth and accomplish what he did against him, and strip him of his possessions, and slay his children, and smite him with a grievous ulcer? Let such an one know, that it was not the devil that had this power, but that God gave Job into his hands to be tempted. It was doubtless because he had no power of his own, that he asked and obtained power of God. So that even from this is the adversary's impotence the more manifest; for, though willing it, he had no power over one just man; for, if he had possessed the power, he would not have asked it; but, as he did ask it once and again, he is evidently weak and powerless. Nor is it strange that he had no power over Job, when destruction would not have come even on his cattle, had not God permitted it. He has not even power over swine; for, as it is written in the gospel, They besought the Lord, saying, Suffer us to go away into the swine. If they have not power over swine,

much less have they any over men that are made in the image of God.

God only, then, is to be feared; but these to be despised, and not in the least to be dreaded. But the more they do these things, the more zealous let us be in ascetic discipline. For, a great weapon against them is a steadfast life and faith toward God. They fear the fasting of ascetics, their vigils, prayers, meekness, and gentleness, their freedom from avarice and the love of vain-glory, their humility, love of the poor, and almsgiving, their freedom from wrath, and, above all, their piety towards Christ. For the devils do all, that they may have none to tread them under foot. For they know the grace given to the faithful against them by the Saviour, who said, Behold I give unto you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy.

If they offer to foretell the future, let no one heed them. For often, some days before their arrival, they tell of brethren who are coming to us; and they come. But the devils do this, not from regard to those who hear them, but in order to gain their confidence; and then, having them in their hands, they destroy them. Therefore we ought not to give heed to them, but to drive them away even while speaking, for we have no need of them. For what wonder is it if, having lighter bodies than men, and seeing men setting out on a journey, they outstrip them and announce their approach, just as one on horseback may outstrip those on foot and predict their arrival. So that even in this we need not wonder at them, for they foreknow none of the things which are not; but it is God only who knows anything before it takes place. But they, like spies, running before, announce what they have seen. And even now, while we are together and conversing about them, to how many do they communicate what we are doing, before any one of us has gone away to tell it. But this also any nimble-footed boy can do by anticipating the more tardy. To illustrate my meaning: if one sets out on a journey from the Thebais or any other region, they do not know beforehand that he will go, but seeing him on his way, they run before him and predict his arrival. And it accordingly happens that after a while the brethren come. But as those on a journey often turn back, the devils then prove false prophets.

And so they sometimes prate about the water of the river. For seeing great rains in Ethiopia, and knowing that from these re-

sults the overflowing of the river, they hasten forward and predict it before the water reaches Egypt. But men could tell the same, if they could run as fast. And as David's watchman, by ascending to a high place, could see one coming better than those could who remained below, and the first messenger himself told, before the rest, not what had not taken place, but things which had taken place and the news of which was already on its way, so the devils willingly take pains to convey information to others, for the sole purpose of imposing upon men. But should Providence interpose, as it may, in regard to the waters or the travelers, the devils prove false, and those who give heed to them are deceived.

In this way arose the oracles of the heathen, by which the devils used to delude them. But now this delusion has ceased; for the Lord has come, who has brought to nought both them and their imposture. For they know nothing of themselves, but what as spies they see among others, they communicate; and they are rather conjecturers than prophets. If, then, their predictions are sometimes verified, none need wonder at it. For physicians who are familiar with diseases, can often, when they see the disease in diverse persons, predict its result by knowing its ordinary course. And again; pilots and husbandmen, by habitually observing the state of the atmosphere, can predict a storm, or fair weather. Still, one would not say that they predict these by divine inspiration, but from experience. If, then, the devils make the like conjectures, let none wonder nor give heed to them. For of what use is it to those who hear them, to know, a few days beforehand, what shall take place? or why should we be eager to know such things, even if we may know them truly? For this is not productive of virtue, nor is it any mark of a good character; for none of us is condemned for not knowing, nor pronounced blessed for having learned and known; but each one is judged according as he has kept the faith and truly observed the commandments.

Therefore we should not regard these things as of much importance; nor should we labor and pursue the ascetic life, in order to foreknow things, but to please God by holy living. And we are to pray, not for the purpose of gaining foreknowledge, nor to ask this knowledge as the reward of an ascetic life, but that the Lord may be our helper in gaining the victory over the devil. But if we have any desire to know the future, let us be pure in mind; for I believe that a soul entirely pure, and abiding according to

nature,<sup>1</sup> will become clear-sighted, and be able to see more and further than the devils, having the Lord to make revelations to it. Such was the soul of Elisha who saw what Gehazi did, and beheld the hosts standing about himself.

When, now, they come to you by night and wish to tell of the future, and say, We are angels; heed them not, for they lie. And if they praise your ascetic life and pronounce you blessed, neither listen nor attend to them at all; but cross yourselves and your house, and pray, and you shall see them vanish; for they are cowards and are exceedingly afraid of the sign of the Lord's cross, since by that the Saviour spoiled them, making a show of them openly. But if they show themselves more insolent, dancing about and assuming all sorts of shapes, be not alarmed nor affrighted, nor attend to them as though they were good. For, by God's aid, it is easy to distinguish between the good and the bad; for the aspect of the holy is not frightful, (for he shall not strive nor cry, nor shall any one hear his voice); but so mild and gentle is it, that joy and rejoicing and courage immediately spring up in the soul, (for the Lord is with them, who is our joy and the power of God the Father), and its reflections remain unruffled and peaceful. And so being itself illuminated, the soul spontaneously contemplates the vision. A longing for divine and future realities possesses it, and it desires to be perfectly united to them; and to go away with them. But if some, as is natural to man, fear the vision of these glorious beings, they at once remove the fear by love, as Gabriel did from Zacharias, and the angel who appeared in the divine sepulchre to the women, and the angel who said to the shepherds, Fear not. For the fear of them is not terror of soul, but awe as in the presence of superior beings. Such is the apparition of the holy.

But the approach and the *phantasia* of the bad, are with tumultuous din and cries, like the uproar of rude youths or pirates;

<sup>1</sup> We have here a further specimen of the monkish anthropology of those times. Evagrius thus renders the clause: *quia credo animam Deo servientem, si in eâ perseveraverit integritate quâ nata est*, etc. This expresses a little more decidedly than the original, the doctrine of man's native purity. But in either case, we have a sufficient indication of the Pelagian doctrine of human perfection. Indeed, the monks of that period seem generally to have been thoroughgoing perfectionists. One of them, Isidore of Egypt, said, that "it was forty years since he was sensible of sin in his mind, and that he never consented to either lust or anger." Socrates, Ec. Hist. IV 23. This purity was to be attained by monastic rigors; and when obtained, was to give them such clearness of vision as Antony is said often to have exercised.

whence immediately arise terror of soul, agitation and confusion of thought, dejection, hatred of the ascetics, negligence, grief, the recollections of kindred, and the fear of death, and finally, the lust of evil things, neglect of virtue, and disordered habits. When, therefore, you are affrighted at the sight of any one, if fear is immediately removed and ineffable joy succeeds, and cheerfulness and confidence and self-possession and tranquillity and whatever else I have mentioned, manliness also and love to God, then take courage and pray: for joy and this recovered state of the soul, indicate the holiness of the being that is present. Thus Abraham rejoiced when he saw the Lord; and John leaped for joy at the voice of Mary the mother of God.<sup>1</sup> But if, on the occurrence of apparitions, there is tumult, and a din abroad, and a secular display, and a menace of death, and whatever I have mentioned before, then know that the evil ones are come.

Let this, then, be your criterion. When the soul remains fearful, the enemy is present. For the devils do not remove the fear of such things, as did the great archangel Gabriel, from Mary and Zacharias, and the one that appeared in the sepulchre from the women; but rather, when they see men in fear, they increase their *phantasias*, in order to strike deeper terror; and then they assail and deride them, saying, Fall down and worship. Thus they deluded the Greeks, and so became their false gods. But the Lord has not suffered us to be led astray by the devil, since, when making such exhibitions, he rebuked him, saying, Get thee behind me, satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. More and more, then, let the worker of all evil be despised by us for these things. For what the Lord said, he has done for us; so that the devils, when they hear such words from us, are overthrown through the Lord who rebuked them in the same words.

We ought not to boast of casting out devils, nor to be elated on account of cures, nor to admire him only who casts out devils, while we lightly esteem him who does not. But let each one study the ascetic discipline of each, and either imitate and emulate or improve upon it. For the working of miracles is not of us but of the Saviour; for he said to his disciples, Rejoice not that

<sup>1</sup> *Θεοτόκον*. This is nearly if not quite the earliest occurrence of a theological term which occasioned such contests in the church in the fifth century, and which expressed the real heresy into which the church was falling, while the rejection of it by Nestorius and his adherents, caused them to be branded and persecuted as heretics. The word is found in this passage in all the manuscripts except the second of Colbert, which has *συντοκόνον*.



the spirits are subject unto you, but that your names are written in heaven. For that our names are written in heaven, is a witness of our virtue and life; but the casting out of devils, is the gift of the Saviour. Hence, to those who boast of miracles and not of virtue, and say, Lord, have we not cast out devils in thy name, and in thy name done many wonderful works, he will answer, Verily I say unto you, I know you not. For the Lord knoweth not the way of the wicked. But by all means should we pray, as I have already said, that we may receive the gift of the discerning of spirits; that, as it is written, we may not believe every spirit.

And here, content with what I have said, would I gladly be silent, and say nothing of myself. But that ye may not suppose me to have spoken these things inconsiderately, but may believe that I have exhibited them from fact and experience, I will relate what I have seen of the ways of the devils; and although I become as a fool, yet the Lord, who hears me, knows the purity of my conscience, and that it is not for myself, but from love to you and for your encouragement that I do it. How often have they praised me; and I cursed them in the name of the Lord! How often have they predicted concerning the water of the river; and I replied, What is that to you? At one time they came in a hostile manner and surrounded me as soldiers in full armor. And at another, they filled the house with horses and wild beasts and serpents; and I sung—Some in chariots and some on horses, but we will glory in the name of the Lord our God. And by these prayers, they were put to flight before the Lord. Once they came in the dark, having the appearance of light, and said, Antony, we have come to give thee light. But I shut my eyes and prayed, and immediately the light of the evil ones was put out. A few months after, they came as if playing on harps, and repeating words of Scripture. But I as a deaf man heard not. Once, they shook the monastery; but, remaining unmoved in mind, I prayed. Afterwards they came again, beating and whistling and dancing. But when I prayed and lay down singing to myself, immediately they began to lament and weep, as if enfeebled. But I gave glory to the Lord, who had repressed and exposed to scorn their audacity and madness.

Once there appeared a demon, exceedingly tall and with great display, and dared to say, I am the power of God and I am Providence. What wilt thou that I should do for thee? But I puffed at him the more, repeating the name of Christ and attempting to

strike him; and I seemed to strike him. And immediately, great as he was, he vanished, with all his demons, at the name of Christ. And once, when I was fasting, the deceiver came in the guise of a monk, having what seemed to be bread, and counselled me, saying, eat and rest from thy many exercises. If thou also art a man, thou wilt be sick. But, perceiving his craft, I rose up to pray. He could not bear it; for he vanished; and something like smoke appeared to go out at the door. How often, in the desert, has he showed what appeared to be gold, that I might only take it and look at it. But I sung at him, and it melted away. Often they have beaten me with blows; and I have said, Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ. And after that, they would beat each other. But it was not I that baffled them, but the Lord, who has said, I beheld satan, as lightning, fall from heaven. But I, children, remembering the saying of the apostle, have transferred these things to myself, that ye might learn not to be disheartened in the ascetic life, nor fear the fantastic shows of the devil and his demons.

And since I have become a fool in expounding these things, receive also this for your safety and intrepidity, and believe me, for I lie not. Once, some one in the monastery knocked at my door. And going out I saw one who appeared large and tall. When I inquired, Who art thou? he replied, I am satan. So I said, What, then, are you here for? He said, Why do the monks and all the other Christians falsely accuse me? Why do they curse me every hour? But I said, Why, then, do you molest them? It is not I that trouble them, said he, but they trouble themselves; for I am become weak. Have they not read, that the spears of the enemy utterly fail, and thou hast destroyed cities? No longer have I a place, a weapon, a city. Everywhere they have become Christians. And finally, even the desert is filled with monks. Let them look to themselves, and not curse me without cause. Then admired I the grace of the Lord, and said to the devil, Although you are always a liar and never speak the truth, yet for this once, though not willingly, you have uttered the truth. For Christ has come and made you weak, and prostrated and stripped you. On hearing the name of the Saviour, and not being able to abide its burning, he vanished.

If, then, the devil himself confesses that he has no power, well may we despise both him and his demons. Hence the enemy, with his dogs, employs so many devices; but, after learning their weakness, we can despise them. Let us not, then, waver in mind,

nor meditate on terrors, nor conjure up fears within us by saying, The devil may assault and overthrow me; or he may carry me off and throw me down; or may suddenly assail and terrify me. Let us not think of such things at all, nor grieve as though ruined, but rather be courageous and always rejoicing, as those who are saved. Let us consider that the Lord is with us, who has defeated and debilitated them. And let us forever bear in mind, that while the Lord is with us, the enemy can do nothing to us. For when they come, whatever they find us, such do they become to us, and shape their appearances according to the mind they find in us. If they find us frightened and agitated, they rush upon us like robbers upon a place they find unguarded; and whatever apprehension we have, they foster and increase. If they see us fearful and terrified, they greatly increase the terror by their threats and the appearances they assume, and the wretched soul is punished in those very things. But if they find us rejoicing in the Lord, and thinking of good things to come, and meditating on the things of the Lord, and thinking that all things are in the hand of the Lord, and that a demon has no power against a Christian, nor any at all against any one, seeing the soul fortified by such meditations, they depart ashamed. 'Thus the enemy found Job fenced about, and departed from him. But finding Judas destitute of these, he led him captive. So, if we wish to despise the enemy, let us ever dwell on the things of the Lord, and let the soul always rejoice in hope, and we may look upon the tricks of the demons as smoke, and themselves as rather fleeing than pursuing. For they are, as I have said, great cowards, always looking forward to the fire which is prepared for them.

And proof that you need not fear them, may be obtained from themselves, in this way: when an apparition occurs, do not shrink in terror; but whatever it is, first boldly ask, Who art thou? and whence? And if it is a vision of the holy, they will assure you of it, and will turn your fear into joy. But if it be of the devil, immediately it is enfeebled by seeing your heart strong. For it is a proof of self-possession to ask, Who and whence art thou? So the Son of Man asked and learned. And the enemy, when interrogated, could not deceive Daniel."

*Monks become numerous.—Their Habits.*

Thus spake Antony; and all were delighted. And in some, the love of virtue was increased, and the sluggishness of some

was removed, while the former opinion of others was changed; and all were led to despise diabolical machinations, and wonder at the gift of discerning spirits which was conferred by the Lord upon Antony. Then were the monasteries<sup>1</sup> in the mountains, as tabernacles, filled with holy choirs, singing, studying the word, fasting, praying, exulting in the hope of things to come, and laboring for the purpose of giving alms, and living in love and harmony with each other. And, in truth, it was, to look upon, as a secluded region of godliness and honesty. For there was there neither the unjust nor the injured, nor any complaint of the tax-gatherer. There was a multitude of ascetics, but their desire for virtue was one. So that whoever saw the monasteries and such order among the monks, might exclaim, How goodly are thy dwellings, O Jacob, thy tabernacles, O Israel; like shady vallies, and like a garden by the river side, and like tents which the Lord hath pitched, and like cedars by the waters.

Retiring by himself in his own monastery, Antony vigorously pursued the ascetic life, and groaned daily, while reflecting on the heavenly mansions, and desiring them, and contemplating the fleeting life of man. And indeed, in view of the intellectual nature of the soul, he blushed when about to eat, or to sleep, or to attend to the other necessities of the body. Often, therefore, when about to eat with many other monks, at the recollection of spiritual food he would excuse himself and retire far from them, thinking it a shame to be seen eating with others. He ate, however, by himself, for the necessity of his body; and often also with the brethren, being ashamed indeed before them, but yet assuming confidence for the purpose of profitable discourse. And he taught, that all care should be bestowed on the soul rather than the body. A little time, indeed, is necessarily to be devoted to the body; but the whole of our leisure, to the soul and to seeking its benefit, that it may not be drawn away by the pleasures of the body, but rather that of the body may be brought into subjection to it. For the Saviour said, Be not anxious for

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<sup>1</sup> Any cottage, or cave, or other habitation, which was occupied by one or more monks, was then called a monastery. As Antony's fame drew multitudes around him, the desert was soon filled with these dwellings. The rearing of large buildings for the accommodation of monastic fraternities, was a subsequent result of this movement.

The prolixity and diffuseness of style observable in Antony's long discourse, when contrasted with the general style of this work, affords strong presumptive evidence that the discourse was not written by Athanasius. Probably he had obtained it from some of Antony's delighted hearers.

your life, what ye shall eat, nor for the body, what ye shall put on; and seek ye not what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, and be not in anxious suspense: for after all these things do the Gentiles seek; and your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom, and all these things shall be added unto you.

*Antony seeking martyrdom in Alexandria.—His return.*

After this, the persecution of the church under Maximin took place. And when the holy martyrs were taken to Alexandria, he left his monastery and followed them, saying, Let us also go, that we may contend if called to it, or may see them in the conflict.<sup>1</sup> He had, indeed, a strong desire to be a martyr; but not wishing voluntarily to surrender himself, he ministered to the confessors in the mines and prisons. He was also very active at the tribunal, encouraging to boldness those who were on trial, and receiving the martyrs and accompanying them till their end. The judge, therefore, when he saw the fearlessness and zeal of Antony and his companions, commanded that none of the monks should appear at the tribunal or even remain in the city. Accordingly, all the rest thought it best to hide themselves that day; but Antony, on the contrary, only took care to wash his cloak, and the next day, to stand in an elevated situation and appear conspicuous to the prefect. While all wondered at this, and the judge saw him as he passed by with his guard, Antony stood unagitated, showing the boldness of us Christians; for, as I have said, he longed to become a martyr. He seemed grieved, therefore, at not being martyred; but the Lord preserved him for the benefit of us and of others, that he might be to many a teacher in the ascetic life which he had learned from the Scriptures; for many, simply by seeing his example, hastened to follow his system. Again he now ministered as usual to the confessors and, as though bound with them, was incessant in kind offices.

But when the persecution had finally ceased and the blessed bishop Peter had suffered martyrdom, Antony departed and again retired to his monastery, and was there daily a martyr to his conscience, and fighting the battles of faith. He even increased the severity of his ascetic practices; for he fasted continually, and had

<sup>1</sup> This persecution took place about the year 310, and was extremely cruel. By *contending*, in such cases, the early Christians meant only "the great fight of afflictions" in meeting wild beasts, or other kinds of suffering.

his inner garment of hair cloth, and his outer of leather, which he kept till his death. He never washed his body with water to cleanse it from filth, nor his feet; and even abstained from putting them in water, except from necessity.<sup>1</sup> But no one ever saw him unclothed; nor did any one ever see the naked body of Antony till at his burial after death.

After he had retired and determined to pass his time without either going abroad or admitting any body, one Martian, a commander of soldiers, came and occasioned some disturbance to Antony. For he had a daughter possessed of a devil; and as he remained a long time knocking at the door and entreating him to come and pray for the child, though he would not open the door he bent down from above and said, O man, why dost thou cry to me? I also am a man as thou art. But if thou believest on Christ whom I serve, go and pray as thou believest, and it shall be done. And immediately he believed, and called upon Christ, and departed, with his daughter cleansed of the devil. And many other things were performed through him by the Lord, who has said, Ask and it shall be done unto you; for many of the suffering, as he would not open the door, slept without the monastery, and believing and praying sincerely, were cleansed.

*Antony Retires to a Mountain in the Desert.*

But as he saw himself thronged by a multitude and not left to the retirement he desired, and apprehensive lest, from what the Lord was doing by him, either himself should become elated or some one else should think of him above what he was, after deliberation he started to go into Upper Thebais, among those who were ignorant of him. And having received some bread of the brethren, he sat down on the bank of the river, looking out, if some vessel should pass along, to go on board and ascend with them. But while contemplating these things, a voice from above said to him, Antony, whither art thou going? and wherefore? But listening unmoved, (as he had often been thus addressed), he answered, saying, As the multitudes will not allow me to be quiet, I desire to go into Thebais, because of the many interruptions I suffer from those here, and especially because they demand of me what is above my power. But the voice said to him, Shouldst thou go up to the Thebais, or even go to the herds of cattle, as thou art thinking to do, thou wouldst have to endure

<sup>1</sup> Except necessity compelled him to pass through the water—says Evagrius.

more and twice as severe labor. But if thou wouldst be truly quiet, retire now into the interior of the desert. And when Antony said, And who will show me the way? for I am not acquainted with it; he immediately pointed out to him some Saracens who were about to travel that way. Antony accordingly went to them, and requested that he might accompany them into the desert. As though by the command of Providence, they readily received him. And after journeying three days and three nights with them, he came to a very high mountain. And under the mountain, there was most transparent water, sweet, and very cold; and a plain around, and a few neglected palm-trees.

Antony therefore, as if moved by God, loved the place. For it was the one indicated by him that had spoken to him on the bank of the river. Having therefore, received some bread from his fellow-travellers, he remained alone in the mountain, with no other one there; for, regarding it as his proper home, he took permanent possession of the place. And the Saracens, seeing Antony's resoluteness, purposely passed that way and gladly brought him bread. He also then derived some little and meagre solace from the palm-trees. But afterwards, the brethren, learning of the place, as children mindful of a father, were careful to send to him. But when Antony saw that some were fatigued with toil in bringing him bread, he considered with himself how he might spare the monks this labor, and desired some of those who came to him, to bring him a mattock and an axe and a little wheat. And having received these, he surveyed the region around the mountain, and found a very small fit place, and having ample means for irrigation, he cultivated and sowed it. And doing this year by year, he thence derived his bread, rejoicing that he should thus be troublesome to no one, and that he kept himself from being a burden in any respect. But afterwards, seeing that some still came, he cultivated a very few vegetables [cabbages perhaps], that the visitant might have some little refreshment from the fatigues of the hard journey. At first, the wild beasts of the desert, coming for water, often injured his crop and his ground. But he, gently taking one of the beasts, said to them all, Why do you injure me, when I have not injured you? Depart, and, in the name of the Lord, come not near this place again. And from that time, as if fearing the injunction, they approached the place no more.

*His Conflicts with the Devils, and his Visit to the Monks.*

He was therefore alone in the interior mountain,<sup>1</sup> devoted to prayer and the ascetic life. But the brethren who ministered to him, entreated that they might come once a month and bring him olives, pulse, and oil; for he was now old. From those who visited him while there engaged, we learn what wrestlings he sustained, as it is written, Not with flesh and blood, but with hostile demons. For there they heard tumults, and many voices, and the clashing of arms. And by night, they saw the mountain full of wild beasts. And they saw him as if fighting against visible beings, and praying against them. While he encouraged those that came to him, he fought, bowing his knees and praying to the Lord. And it was truly wonderful that, alone in such a desert, he should neither be terrified by assailing demons nor fear the ferocity of so many wild beasts and reptiles. But truly, as it is written, trusting in the Lord he was as mount Zion, having his mind calm and unagitated, so that the devils rather fled and the wild beasts of the field, as it is written, were at peace with him.

But the devil, as says David, observed Antony, and gnashed upon him with his teeth. But Antony, imploring aid from the Saviour, continued safe from his wiles and manifold artifices. He sent wild beasts against him, while at his nightly vigils; and almost all the hyenas of the desert, coming out of their lairs, surrounded him, all threatening, with open mouths, to devour him. Perceiving the art of the adversary, he said to them all: If you have power against me, I am ready to be devoured by you; but

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐἰς τὸ ἴσω ὄρος.* From the manner in which this place and the surrounding region are frequently spoken of in the sequel, it would seem that this was a mountain of very difficult access, and environed by others which were called the exterior mountain or mountains, and which were more easily approached. Du Pin briefly speaks of this place as "Mount Colsim, about a day's journey from the Red Sea." If he is correct in this, we may suppose it about three quarters of the distance from Antony's former residence on the Nile, to the Red Sea, as he travelled three days with the company of Saracens before reaching it. This place, as we shall see further on, was thirty days' journey from Nitria, which lies on the Mediterranean, and just west of the mouths of the Nile. A Jewish day's journey is a little more than thirty-three miles. By this computation, he must have been about thirty miles from the Red Sea, and about a thousand from Alexandria. But probably an Egyptian day's journey, as then reckoned, was not just the same as the Jewish, nor indeed any fixed measure of distance, but one which varied according to the facilities of travelling.



if you have been sent by demons, stay not, but depart; for I am the servant of Christ. And as Antony said this, they fled, as if driven by the lash of his words.

A few days after, as he was at work, for he thought it good to labor, some one standing at the door pulled the cord of his work, for he was making baskets, which he gave to those who came to him, in exchange for what they brought him.<sup>1</sup> Rising up, he saw

<sup>1</sup> The monks of Nitria, and probably in other places, were accustomed to make baskets for sale, and sometimes to carry them to market themselves. The following notice of St. Paul the Simple, will show the manner in which Antony trained his pupils in other respects as well as in basket-making.—From his ignorance of secular learning and his extraordinary humility, Paul was surnamed the Simple. After leading a devout life, in toil and poverty, to the age of sixty, he was induced, partly by the incontinence of his wife, to devote himself to the monastic life. For this purpose “he went eight days’ journey into the desert, to the holy patriarch, and begged that he would admit him among his disciples.” Antony at first refused him, as being too old to endure the ascetic austerities, and bade him return to his former labors. But Paul refused to depart; and after remaining four days before the door, fasting and praying, Antony admitted him on trial, and instructed him in the ascetic duties of fasting, etc.

Among the examples of his perfect obedience, it is stated, that “when Paul had wrought with great diligence, in making mats and hurdles, praying at the same time without intermission, St. Antony disliked his work, and bade him undo it and make it over again. Paul did so, without any dejection in his countenance, or making the least reply, or even asking to eat a morsel of bread, though he had already passed seven days without taking any refreshment. After this, Antony ordered him to moisten in water four loaves of six ounces each; for their bread in the deserts was exceeding hard and dry. When their refection was prepared, instead of eating, he bade Paul sing psalms with him, then to sit down by the loaves, and at night, after praying together, to take his rest. He called him up at midnight to pray with him. This exercise the old man continued with great cheerfulness till three o’clock in the afternoon of the following day. After sunset, each ate one loaf, and Antony asked Paul if he would take another. Yes, if you do, said Paul. I am a monk, said Antony. And I desire to be one, replied the disciple. Whereupon they arose, sung twelve psalms, and recited twelve other prayers. After a short repose, they both arose again to prayer at midnight. The experienced director exercised his obedience by frequent trials, bidding him, one day, when many monks were come to visit him to receive his spiritual advice, to spill a vessel of honey, and then to gather it up, without any dust. At other times, he ordered him to draw water a whole day, and pour it out again; to make baskets, and pull them to pieces; to sew and unsew his garments, etc.”

“When Paul had been sufficiently exercised, and instructed in the duties of a monastic life, Antony placed him in a cell, three miles from his own, where he visited him from time to time. He usually preferred his virtue to that of all his other disciples, and proposed him to them as a model. He frequently sent to Paul sick persons, or those possessed by the devil, whom he was not

a beast resembling a man as far as the thighs, but it had legs and feet like an ass. Antony only crossed himself and said: I am the servant of Christ. If you were sent against me, see, I am here. But the beast with his demons fled so fast that he fell down and died. But the death of the beast was the fall of the demons. They employed every means to induce him to leave the desert, and they could not.

Being once asked by the monks to come down and visit them and their abode for a while, he went with the monks who came to him. A camel carried their bread and water, for the whole of that desert is dry and there is no potable water at all, except in that mountain in which was his retreat, and from whence they procured water. The water failing while on their journey, and the heat being intense, they were all in danger. For wandering about in those places, they were unable either to find water or to proceed further, but they lay upon the ground, in despair for themselves, and permitted the camel to go loose. But the old man, seeing them all in danger, greatly sorrowing and groaning, going a little way from them, bending his knees and stretching out his hands, prayed; and immediately the Lord caused water to come forth where he had been praying. And thus all drank and were refreshed; and filling the skins, they sought the camel and found him, for the halter happening to get wound around a stone, he was thus detained. After leading him to drink, they placed the skins upon him and proceeded uninjured. When he came to the outer monasteries, all, as if beholding their father, embraced him. He, as though he had brought supplies to them from the mountain, entertained them with words, and imparted what was useful. And on the other hand, there was joy in the mountains, and a zeal for progress, and consolation from their mutual faith. He therefore also rejoiced as he beheld the alacrity of the monks, and his sister now old and still a virgin, and presiding over other virgins.

#### *Antony in his Mountain.*

After some days, he again went into the mountain; and many, at length came to him; and some who had infirmities ventured to go in. On all the monks who came, he was continually pressing the injunction to trust in the Lord, and love him, and to keep

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able to cure,—and by the disciple's prayers, they never failed of a cure. Paul died some time after 330." See *Lives of the Saints*, I. 414. Also *Palladius*, *Rufinus*, and *Sozomen*, abridged by *Tillemont*, VII. 144.

themselves from sordid views and carnal pleasures, and, as it is written in the Proverbs, not to be beguiled in satiating the appetite; likewise, to flee vain glory, and to pray always; to sing both before and after sleep, and to repeat over the precepts in the Scriptures; and to reflect on the deeds of holy men, in order that the soul, reminded of the commandments, might be attuned to their zeal. And especially did he urge them continually to regard that saying of the apostle, *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath*, and to consider it as spoken in common of all the commands, so that neither upon your wrath nor upon any other sin should the sun go down; for it is proper and necessary that neither the sun should accuse us of wickedness by day, nor the moon of sin by night, or even of an improper desire. And that this may be secured, you may well listen to the apostle where he says, *Judge yourselves, and prove your own selves*. Daily, therefore, let each one give an account to himself of his acts by day and by night; and if he has sinned, let him cease; but if he has not sinned, let him not boast, but persevere in good, and not become negligent, nor condemn his neighbor, nor justify himself, as says the blessed apostle Paul, until the Lord come who searcheth the secret things. For often we are ignorant of ourselves in what we do; and we know not, but the Lord understandeth all. Leaving therefore the decision with him, let us compassionate one another and bear one another's burdens, judging indeed ourselves and striving earnestly to supply what is lacking. And, as a safeguard against sin, let this practice be observed, for each of us to notice and write down his actions and emotions of heart, as if to relate them to each other; and, rely upon it, being utterly ashamed to have it known, we shall cease from sin, and finally from even thinking anything bad. For who is willing to be seen sinning? Or who that has sinned does not rather lie, in order to conceal it? As therefore we would not commit fornication in the sight of each other, so if we write our thoughts as if to tell to each other, we shall rather keep ourselves from vile thoughts through the shame of having them known. Let the writing therefore be to us instead of the eyes of the ascetics, so that, blushing to write as we should to be seen, we may utterly cease to think evil things. Thus managing ourselves, we shall be able to bring the body into subjection, and both please the Lord and tread under foot the artifices of the adversary.

These things he said to those who came to him. But with the afflicted he sympathized and prayed; and frequently the Lord

heard him in many things. And neither did he glory when heard, nor murmur when not heard, but always gave thanks to the Lord. But he exhorted the afflicted to be patient and to know, that healing was neither of him nor of men at all, but of God only, who works when and for whom he will. The sufferers therefore received the old man's words as a medicine, and learned equanimity instead of impatience; and those who were healed learned to give thanks, not to Antony, but to God only.

A man called Fronto, belonging to Palatium, afflicted with a sad disorder, (for he devoured his own tongue and was in danger of injuring his eyes), came into the mountain and entreated Antony to pray for him. And when he had prayed, he said to Fronto, Depart, and thou shalt be healed. But as he obstinately remained there for days, Antony continued to say, Thou canst not be healed while remaining here; depart, and as thou comest into Egypt, thou shalt see a sign wrought in thee. He believed and departed. And as soon as he came in sight of Egypt, his disorder ceased, and the man was well, according to the word of Antony which he had learned of the Saviour in prayer.

Likewise a certain virgin, from Busiris of Tripolis, had a sore and very loathsome disease; for her tears, and the mucus from her nose, and the moisture from her ears, falling on the ground, immediately became worms. She was also paralytic, and her eyes were unnatural. Her parents, hearing of some monks who were going to Antony, and believing on the Lord who healed one of the bloody flux, asked leave to accompany them with their daughter. But they refused; and the parents remained with their child out of the mountain, with Paphnusius the confessor and monk. The monks entered; and as they were about to speak of the virgin, Antony anticipated them, and described both the disease of the child and how she journeyed with them. Then they requested that the parents and child might be allowed to come. This, indeed, he would not permit, but said, Go, and, if she is not dead, you shall find her healed; for this achievement is not mine, that she should come to me, a pitiable man, but the healing is of the Saviour, who exhibits his mercy in every place towards those who call upon him. The Lord has therefore granted her prayer, and his kindness has shown me that he will heal the virgin's disease where she is. The miracle accordingly took place; and going forth, they found the parents rejoicing, and the maid healed.

As two brethren were coming, water failed them on the way,

and one of them died and the other, unable to proceed further, lay upon the ground awaiting death. But Antony, sitting in the mountain, called two monks who happened to be there, and urgently said, Take a vessel of water and run on the way towards Egypt, for one of two who were coming, is dead, and the other will die unless you hasten; for this is just now shown to me in prayer. The monks therefore went and found one lying dead, and buried him; and the other they restored by the water, and brought to the old man, for it was at the distance of a day's journey. And if any one ask why this was not told before the other was dead, he does not inquire wisely; for the decision of death did not belong to Antony but to God, who thus decided concerning the former and revealed concerning the latter. But this is the only wonder in regard to Antony, that, sitting in the mountain, he had both the vigilant heart, and the Lord to show him things afar off.

For again, at a certain time, while in the mountain, and looking up, he saw one borne upward in the air, and great joy excited among those who met him. Whereupon, admiring and extolling such a choir, he begged to learn what it might be: and immediately a voice came to him, that this was the soul of Ammon the monk at Nitria. He had always remained an ascetic even to old age; and the distance from Nitria to the mountain where Antony was, is thirty days' journey. They who were with Antony, as they perceived the old man astonished, inquired the cause, and learnt that Ammon had just died; for he was known by having been often there, and many miracles had likewise been performed by him, of which the following is one. It being necessary for him, at a certain time, to cross the river Lycus when its waters were high, he requested Theodore, who was with him, to retire to a distance from him, that they might not see each other naked while swimming across the water. So Theodore retired; and yet he was ashamed even to see himself naked. But while thus ashamed and anxious, he was suddenly transported to the other side. Theodore therefore, himself a pious man, as he approached and saw that he had passed over first, and was not at all wet by the water, inquired in what manner he had passed. And as he saw he was not willing to tell, he seized his feet and declared he should not go till he learnt it of him. Seeing the resolution of Theodore, especially from what he said, Ammon demanded that he should speak of it to no one till after his death; and then he stated that he was borne and placed on the other side, and that he did not walk on the water,

nor was this at all possible for men, the Lord only excepted and those to whom he might give the power, as he had given to the great apostle Peter. Theodore therefore, after the death of Ammon, related the affair.—The monks, to whom Antony announced the death of Ammon, noted down the day; and brethren coming from Nitria thirty days after, they inquired, and found that Ammon died on the very day and hour in which the old man saw his soul borne away. And those likewise greatly admired the purity of Antony's soul, how it immediately learned what took place at the distance of thirty days' journey, and saw the soul borne upward!

And Archelatus likewise, who was once a Comes,<sup>1</sup> finding him in the exterior mountain, entreated him only to pray for Polycratia, a remarkably devout virgin at Laodicea; for she suffered exceedingly by pain in the stomach and side, from her extremely ascetic life, and was totally debilitated in body. Antony accordingly prayed; and the Comes marked the day on which the prayer was made; and on going to Laodicea, he found the virgin well. And while inquiring on what day she was relieved of her infirmity, he produced the paper in which he had noted the time of the prayer; and on learning the fact, he immediately showed the writing on the paper: and all were astonished to find, that the Lord relieved her of her troubles at the very time when Antony was praying and entreating the mercy of the Lord for her.

Frequently, some days beforehand, and sometimes a month before, he would predict concerning those who would come to him, and the cause of their coming; for some came merely to see him, and others because of infirmities, and others because suffering from demons. And none regarded the toil of the journey as a hardship or a loss, for every one returned consciously benefited. But while saying and seeing such things, he entreated that no one would admire him in this, but rather the Lord, because he has given to us, men, to know himself according to our capacity.

At another time, having come down to the exterior monasteries, and being requested to go on board a vessel and pray with some monks [who were departing, *Evagrius*], he alone perceived a very fetid and pungent smell. Those on board said, that there were fish and salt meat in the vessel, and the odor was from them. He said it was a different stench. But while he was speaking, a youth possessed by a devil, who had first come on board and

<sup>1</sup> The title of Comes—whence our word Count—was given to various classes of inferior officers, and especially to the attendants of a provincial governor.

hid himself in the vessel, immediately cried out. The devil being then rebuked in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, came out, and the man was made whole; and all knew, that the stench was from the devil.

Also another, a person of distinction, possessed of a devil, came to him. And the devil was so furious that the possessed did not know that he came to Antony; and he would eat the superfluities of his own body. Those therefore who brought him, entreated Antony to pray for him. Compassionating the young man, Antony prayed and watched the whole night with him. And, about day-break, the youth rushed upon Antony and pushed him. Those about him were indignant: but Antony said, Do not be angry with the youth; for it is not he but the demon in him, who, being rebuked and commanded to depart into the dry places, raved, and has done these things. Therefore praise the Lord; for his raving so against me is a sign to you of the exit of the devil. When Antony had said these things, the young man was immediately restored; and coming to his right mind, he perceived where he was, and embraced Antony's knees, giving thanks to God.

Many other such things a multitude of the monks have harmoniously testified to have been done by him. And still these things do not appear so astonishing as some others. For, once, when about to eat, and having risen to pray, about the ninth hour, he perceived himself wrapt in spirit; and, what is strange, while standing, he saw himself as it were out of himself, and as if conducted away in the air by some beings; and then some odious and frightful ones, standing in the air and wishing to prevent his passing through. But as his conductors opposed them, they asked, if he was not amenable to them. And as they wished to take an account from his birth, Antony's conductors prohibited it, saying to them, The things from his birth the Lord hath expunged; but from the time he became a monk and consecrated himself to God, it is proper to take the account. And when they had made accusations and could not prove them, the way became free and unobstructed to him. And immediately he saw himself as it were coming and standing in himself, and he was again Antony entire.<sup>1</sup> Then, forgetting to eat, he remained the rest of the day

<sup>1</sup> Should any ask why Athanasius regarded these wild vagaries of the imagination as the most marvellous of Antony's wonders, they have only to reflect on the superior estimate which this eager theologian of the fourth century would place on such miracles as had a bearing on doctrine, and especially such

and the whole night groaning and praying. For he was amazed as he saw against how many we have to wrestle, and by what labors one has to pass through the air: and he remembered that to this belongs what the apostle said, Against the prince of the power of the air. For in this the enemy has power, in fighting and attempting to prevent those who are passing through. And therefore he especially admonishes, Take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, that the enemy may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you. But, having learned these things, let us remember the saying of the apostle, Whether in the body I know not, or out of the body I know not; God knoweth. Paul, however, was caught up to the third heaven, and, having heard unspeakable words, descended; but Antony saw himself go up to the air and contend until he appeared free.

He enjoyed likewise this blessing, that, being alone in the mountain, if he was at any time in doubt about what he was seeking to know, it was revealed to him by Providence in answer to prayer; and he was, as it is written, Blessed, being taught of the Lord. Accordingly, after these things, having had a discussion with some who came to him, in regard to the transition of the soul after death, and what kind of a place it will have, on the following night one called to him from above and said, Antony, arise and come forth and see. So he arose, (for he knew to whom he should give ear); and looking up, he saw one, tall, ugly, and terrific, standing and reaching to the clouds; and some ascending and having as it were wings; and he saw him stretching forth his hands; and some hindered by him, and others flying above, and finally passing through, and borne upward free of care. At such, therefore, the huge one gnashed his teeth; but over the fallen, he rejoiced. And immediately the voice came to Antony, Understand what thou hast seen. And his understanding being opened, he perceived it to be the transit of souls; and the huge one standing there, to be the enemy, who envies the faithful, and seizes such as are accountable to him and prevents them from passing through, but is not able to detain those who have not confided in him, and who pass above him. Having again seen this, and being as it were reminded, he daily strove the more to attain to the things that are before.

These things, however, he did not willingly relate; but as he

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as directly sanctioned the doctrines then cherished in regard to purgatory for imperfect Christians, the powers of evil spirits, and the importance of the monastic institute.



remained long in prayer and wonder with himself, those present inquired and pressed him, and he was compelled to declare them, as a father that could not hide them from his children. He considered also his own consciousness clear, and that the recital would be profitable to them, as they would perceive the fruit of the ascetic life to be good, and visions to be often the solace of labors.

In regard to his disposition, he was patient of evil and humble in spirit. And being so, he respected extremely the canon of the church, and wished every clergyman to take precedence of himself in honor. For he was not ashamed to bow his head to the bishops and presbyters; and if a deacon came to him in order to be benefited, he discoursed indeed on what was profitable, but conceded to him in regard to prayer, not blushing himself to learn. And often, he made inquiries, and desired to hear from those present; and confessed himself benefited, if one said anything profitable. His countenance, likewise, possessed a great and wonderful charm; and this gift he also derived from the Saviour. For if he was present in a multitude of monks, and any one not acquainted with him before, wished to see him, he would pass by the rest and run immediately to him, as though drawn by his looks. Not, however, that he excelled others in height or breadth, but in the placidity of his features and the purity of his soul. For, his soul being calm, the organs of his external senses were tranquil, as from the joy of the soul the countenance is cheerful, and from the motions of the body the state of the soul is perceived, according to what is written, When the heart rejoices the countenance blooms; but when in sorrow, it is gloomy.<sup>1</sup> Thus Jacob perceived that Laban was meditating a plot against him, and said to his wives, Your father's countenance is not as it was yesterday and the day before. Thus Samuel recognized David, for his eyes were charming and his teeth white as milk. So, too, was Anthony known; for, his soul being serene, he was never ruffled; and his mind being joyful, his countenance was never gloomy.

He was also very wonderful in regard to faith and piety. For he never communed with those schismatics the Miletians, having known their perversity and apostasy from the beginning. Nor did he have familiar intercourse with the Manichaeans or any other heretics, except so far as to admonish them to turn to god-

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from the Scriptures must of course be translated as Athanasius has given them, however difficult it may be to verify them either by our text, or the Septuagint.

liness, thinking and declaring their friendship and familiarity to be injurious and ruinous to the soul. So likewise did he abhor the heresy of the Arians, and warned all neither to go nigh them nor hold their corrupt doctrine. Accordingly, when some of the Ariomaniacs came to him, on examining and finding them impious, he drove them from the mountain, saying, their words were worse than the poison of serpents.

*Antony called to Alexandria to oppose the Arians.*

And when the Arians, at one time, falsely asserted, that he thought with them, he was grieved and indignant at them. Whereupon, being requested by the bishops and all the brethren, he came down from the mountain, and entering Alexandria he publicly denounced the Arians, pronouncing this the last heresy and the precursor of antichrist.<sup>1</sup> He taught the people that the Son of God was not a creature, nor made out of nothing [*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γεγενῆσθαι*, a favorite phrase with Arius]; but that the Word and Wisdom of the Father's essence is eternal. And therefore, it is impious to say, There was a time when he was not; for the Word was always coëxistent with the Father. Therefore have no communion with the most impious Arians; for light hath no communion with darkness. For you who worship aright are Christians; but they, as they call him a creature who is from the Father and is the Word and Wisdom of God, differ nothing from the heathen who worship the creature rather than God the Creator. But believe, that even the whole creation is indignant at them, because the Creator and Lord of all, in whom all things exist, him they reckon among things created.

All the people therefore rejoiced, as they heard the heresy that is hostile to Christ, anathematized by such a man, [the pillar of the church, says Evagrius]. And all belonging to the city, ran together to see Antony. The heathen, too, and even those whom they call their priests, came to the church, saying, We wish to see the man of God, for so was he called by all. For then and there the Lord, through him, cleansed many from devils, and heal-

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<sup>1</sup> It was a very common opinion of the ancient fathers that the day of judgment was near; and they supposed the successive heresies that arose, to be indications of its approach. So Irenaeus and Cyprian. Athanasius often calls the Arians the precursors of antichrist,—not dreaming that the day would come when both himself and his brethren would be regarded in the same light—the precursors of the papal antichrist!

ed such as were injured in mind. Many of the heathen also requested though only to touch the aged man, believing they should be benefited. And positively, in those few days, as many became Christians as one might see converted in a year.<sup>1</sup> And when some, supposing him annoyed by the multitudes, were turning all away from him, he, undisturbed, said, There are not more of them than the devils with whom I contend in the mountain.

*His Return, and his Interviews with Philosophers.*

And when he was departing, and we were escorting him, as we came to the gate, a woman from behind cried out, Wait, O man of God! my daughter is sorely vexed with a devil; wait, I pray thee, lest I be in danger by running. The aged man hearing her, and being entreated by us, willingly remained. And as the woman approached, the child was thrown upon the ground. But, upon Antony's praying and calling upon Christ, the child arose cured, the unclean devil having gone out. The mother praised God, and all gave thanks. And Antony rejoiced in departing to the mountain, as to his own home.

Antony was very intelligent; and, what is wonderful, seeing he was unacquainted with letters, he was a sagacious and ready-witted man. For, at a certain time, while in the exterior mountain,

<sup>1</sup> Here is a most interesting fact, occurring under the eye of Athanasius himself, and asserted by him with unwonted positiveness. Antony was but a few days in Alexandria. His main business there was to rebuke the Arians, and the conversion of the heathen was only an incidental result of his presence and his miracles. If, then, in those few days and without making it his special object, Antony could convert as many heathen as Athanasius and all his coadjutors could convert in a year, why, we ask with grief and amazement, did not Athanasius and the whole church lay violent hands on such men as Antony and compel them to be missionaries to the heathen, instead of exhorting them to the monastic life! Alas, it was not so true that Antony and his anchorites 'betoiled and triumphed over the devil and all his demons,' as that the devil led captive both him and the whole church, in this their blind and suicidal rage for monkery. To divert the most energetic minds of the age from their proper object, and to make them in fact the precursors of such an apostasy and heresy as popery became, must have been the master-piece of his policy,—if, indeed, we can suppose the devil possessed of the sagacity and the power for so comprehensive a purpose. Well might the arch fiend and his legions afford to be cast out of the bodies of men, if thereby they could exalt the credit of such a deceived deceiver as "the mighty Antony." Their retreat and their wailings were but a feint, to draw the whole church into a fatal ambushade!—At least, so may those view the matter who can believe in the reality of those possessions and exorcisms.

two Greek philosophers came to him, thinking themselves able to tempt him. Knowing the men by their countenance, he went out to them and said, by an interpreter, Why, O philosophers, have you been at so much pains to come to a fool? And upon their replying, that he was no fool, but very wise, he said to them, If you have come to a fool, your labor is useless; but, if you think me wise, be as I am, for it is proper to imitate what is good; and if I had gone to you, I would have imitated you. But as you have come to me, be like me; for I am a Christian. But they, astonished, departed; for they saw that even the devils stood in fear of Antony.

Again, when others of the same sort came to him, in the exterior mountain, thinking to make sport of him because he had not learned letters, Antony said to them, But what say ye? which is first, mind or letters? and which is the cause of the other, the mind of letters, or letters of the mind? And upon their replying, that the mind was first, and the inventor of letters, Antony said, To one, then, who has a sound mind, letters are not necessary. This struck with surprise both them and those that were present. So they departed, astonished at having seen such sagacity in an illiterate man. For though he had lived and grown old in the mountain, his manners were not rude but graceful and polite. His discourse, too, was seasoned with divine salt, so that no one would envy, but all who came would rather rejoice in him.

And again, others came, who were esteemed wise among the Greeks, and requested of him an account of our faith in Christ; and undertook to reason about the preaching of the divine cross, intending to ridicule it. After waiting a little, and compassionating them for their ignorance, Antony said, through an interpreter who translated his language adroitly, Which is the more excellent, to profess the cross, or to ascribe adultery and the corruption of children to those you call gods? For our profession is a proof of courage and a sign of contempt of death; but yours, of lustful passions. And then, which is better, to say that the Word of God did not change, but remaining the same, assumed, for the salvation and benefit of men, a human body, so that, partaking in human birth, he might make men partakers of the divine and intellectual (*νοεῖας*) nature,—or to liken the Deity to irrational animals, and, from this, to worship quadrupeds and reptiles and images of men? for these are the objects worshipped by you wise men. And how dare you ridicule us for saying, that Christ was manifested as a man, when you, taking the soul from heaven, say that it has wan-

dered and fallen from the arch of the heavens into the body? And would to God that it had only descended and fallen into man, and not into four-footed beasts and creeping things! Our faith asserts, indeed, the coming of Christ for the salvation of men; but you wander, as pointing out the pathway for an uncreated soul. We hold to what is possible for Providence and beneficial to men, for even this is not impossible with God; but you make the soul an image of the mind, and attribute to it lapses, and imagine it mutable, and finally, through the soul, make the mind itself mutable; for as was the image, such of necessity is that of which it is the image. But when you hold such things concerning the mind, you should remember that you blaspheme the Father of the mind himself.

But in respect to the cross, which of the two would you pronounce the more noble, to endure the cross through the machinations of vile men, and not to shrink from death, whenever or however inflicted, or to relate fables about the wanderings of Isis and Osiris, and the plots of Typhon, and the flight of Saturn, and the devouring of children, and concerning parricides? for this is your wisdom! But why do not you who ridicule the cross, admire the resurrection? for those who mention the one, have described also the other. Or why, having mentioned the cross, are you silent about the dead raised to life, and the blind restored to sight, and the paralytics healed, and the lepers cleansed, and the walking on the sea, and the other signs and wonders, which show Christ to have been no longer man but God? Plainly you seem to me unjust to yourselves, and not ingenuously to have read our Scriptures. But read ye, and see that the things which Christ did, prove him to be God coming for the salvation of men.

But relate now, for yourselves, your own principles. But what would you mention of brutes, except their ferocity and want of reason? But if, as I hear, you would affirm that these things are said by you mythically, and you explain the rape of Proserpine as allegorically signifying the earth; and the limping of Vulcan, fire; and Juno, the air; and Apollo, the sun; and Diana, the moon; and Neptune, the sea; nevertheless you do not worship God, but serve the creature rather than God the Creator of all. But if you have fabricated such things because creation is beautiful, you should have been content with admiring without deifying the things made, that you might not give the honor of the Creator to things created. You transfer the honor of the architect to the house he has made, or that of the general to the army. What,

now, do you say to these things? that we may know if the cross has anything deserving of ridicule.

But as they hesitated and turned this way and that, Antony smiled, and again spoke by his interpreter: These things, from the appearance, have indeed found their refutation. But as you rely rather upon demonstrative arguments, and possess this art, and wish us not to worship God without a demonstration in language, do you first tell us how things, and especially the knowledge of God, are accurately discerned; is it by the demonstration of words, or by the operation of faith? And which is the oldest, faith by internal operation, or demonstration by arguments? They replied, Faith by operation is oldest, and this is accurate knowledge. You have answered well, said Antony: for faith comes from the disposition of the soul; but logic, from the art of authors. To such, therefore, as have the operation of faith, demonstration by words is not necessary, and may be even superfluous. For what we know by faith, you endeavor to demonstrate by words; and often, what we know, you are not able to prove by arguments. Hence the operation by faith is better and more to be relied on than your sophistic syllogisms.

We Christians, therefore, have not the mystery by the wisdom of Grecian learning, but by the power of the faith imparted to us from God by Jesus Christ. And as a proof that this account is true, behold we, who have never learned letters, believe on God, knowing, by the things made, a providence in all. And that our faith is effective, behold we rely on faith which is in Christ, but you on sophistic logomachies, and the phantoms of your idols are neglected, and our faith is everywhere extended. And you, by your syllogisms and sophisms, have converted no one from Christianity to Paganism; while we, by teaching the faith in Christ, strip you of your superstitions, all being brought to know that Christ is God and the Son of God. You, by your fine diction, do not impede the doctrine of Christ; but we, by mentioning Christ crucified, put to flight all the demons whom you fear as gods. And where the sign of the cross is made, magic is powerless and poisons have no effect.

Say, then, where are now your oracles? where the incantations of the Egyptians? where the *phantasias* of the magicians? When have all these ceased and lost their power, unless at the appearance of the cross of Christ? Is that therefore worthy of derision? or rather those things which are brought into neglect by it and proved weak? This also is remarkable, that your system was

never persecuted, but is honored by men throughout the cities; but the Christians are persecuted; and yet our cause flourishes and prospers rather than yours. Yours, extolled and protected, is going to ruin; but the faith and doctrine of Christ, though contemned by you and often persecuted by princes, have filled the world. For, when did the knowledge of God so shine forth? Or when did temperance and the virtue of virginity thus appear? Or when was death thus despised, unless when the cross of Christ was manifested? No one doubts this who sees the martyrs despise death for Christ, and sees the virgins of the church keeping their bodies pure and uncorrupted for Christ's sake.

These signs are enough to show that the faith in Christ is the only true one for piety. Behold, now, you disbelieve and seek formal reasoning. But, as says our teacher, we do not expound in persuasive words of Grecian wisdom, but rely upon faith, which clearly precedes a nice arrangement of proofs.—Behold! here are persons vexed with devils; for some were coming to him who were troubled by demons. And conducting them into the midst, he said, Now, by your syllogisms and by whatever art you please, even magic, do you, calling upon your idols, either cleanse these men, or else, if you cannot do it, give up your contest with us, and witness the power of the cross of Christ. Having said this, he called upon Christ, and sealed, twice or three times, the sufferers with the sign of the cross. And immediately the men stood whole, and in their right mind, and also praising God. And the so-called philosophers wondered and were truly amazed at the sagacity of the man and at the miracle wrought. But Antony said, Why wonder at this? It is not we who did it, but Christ, who does such things by those who believe on him. Believe, therefore, also yourselves, and you shall see that ours is not the art of words, but faith which works by love in Christ; which, if you shall have, you will no longer seek demonstrations by words, but will regard faith in Christ enough for you.—These were the words of Antony. But they, wondering at this, departed, having embraced him and confessed themselves benefited by him.

*Constantine writes to Antony.*

A report concerning Antony even reached the kings. For Constantine the Augustus, and his sons Constantius and Constans the Augusti, learning these things, wrote to him as to a father, and begged to receive answers from him. But he neither placed

much value on the writings nor was delighted with the letters, but was the same as before the kings wrote to him. But when the letters were brought to him, he called the monks, and said, Wonder not if the king writes to us, for he is a man; but rather wonder that God has written his law to men, and has spoken to us by his Son. He therefore wished not to receive the letters, saying, that he knew not how to reply to such letters. But being urged by the monks, because the kings are Christians, and that they might not be offended by such a neglect, he consented to the reading; and wrote back, commending them for worshipping Christ, and counselled them respecting salvation, and not to regard present things as great, but rather to remember the judgment to come, and to know that Christ is the only true and eternal king. He also entreated them to be humane and mindful of justice and of the poor. And they rejoiced on receiving his letter. Thus was he dear to all, and all wished to regard him as a father.

#### *His Vision of the Mules.*

Being thus known, and having thus answered those who came to him, he returned again to the inner mountain, and followed his accustomed ascetic life. Often, when sitting or walking with those who came to him, he was struck dumb, as it is written of Daniel. And an hour after, he would converse with the brethren present on connected subjects, and they would perceive that he had seen a vision. And indeed he often saw, in the mountain, things which were taking place in Egypt, and related them to bishop Sarapion, when he was present and saw Antony occupied by a vision.

Once, when sitting at work, he fell as it were into a trance, and kept groaning in his vision. After a while, turning to those present, he groaned, and trembling exceedingly, he prayed, and kneeling down, remained a long time. When he rose, the aged man wept. Whereupon, those present, trembling and in great fear, begged to know the matter, and pressed him much, till he was forced to tell it. With many groans, he said, O children, it were better to die before this vision be accomplished! And again they inquired. Weeping, he said, Wrath is about to come down upon the church, and she is to be given up to men who are like the stupid cattle. For I saw the table of the Lord's house, and mules standing in a circle around it on all sides and kicking what



was within, like the kicking of beasts in their disorderly gambols. And you all saw how I groaned, said he; for I heard a voice, saying, My altar shall be abhorred. These things the old man saw. And two years after, [in 341], the present assault of the Arians began, and the plundering of the churches, when by violence they seized the vessels and caused them to be carried by the pagans, and when they constrained the pagans from their work-shops to unite with them, and being present, they did as they pleased at table.<sup>1</sup> Then we all knew that the kicking of the mules signified beforehand, to Antony, the things which the Arians, as stupidly as brutes, now perpetrate. And when he had seen the vision, he comforted those present, saying, Be not dejected, children; for as the Lord is angry, so will he again heal. And the church shall again shortly recover her ornaments and shine forth as before; and you shall see the persecuted reinstated, and impiety again retiring into its own dens, and the pious faith everywhere speaking forth with all freedom;—only defile not yourselves with the Arians. For this doctrine is not of the apostles, but of the demons and of their father the devil; and is, like irrational mules, barren and without reason or a right mind.

*His Interview with the Judges and Criminals.—He predicts the Death of Balacius.*

Such were the deeds of Antony. We need not doubt whether so great wonders were wrought by a man. For this is the promise of the Saviour, who said, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, say to this mountain, Depart hence, and it shall depart; and nothing shall be impossible unto you. And again: Verily, verily, I say unto you, if ye shall ask anything in my name, he shall give it you. Ask and ye shall receive. And he it is that says to his disciples and to all that believe on him, Heal the sick, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give.

Antony, therefore, performed cures, not by commanding, but by praying and mentioning the name of Christ; so that it became manifest to all that it was not he that did it, but the Lord who, through Antony, compassionated and healed the suffering. To Antony belonged only prayer and the ascetic life, by which, in the mountain, he enjoyed indeed the vision of divine things, but was

<sup>1</sup> For a glowing description of these and many other acts of violence, perpetrated at Alexandria, A. D. 341, by the Arians, pagans and Jews united, see Athanasius's Encyclical Letter to the bishops.

disturbed in being thronged by multitudes and drawn into the exterior mountain. For even all the judges entreated that he would come down from the mountain, as it was not possible for them to go in there, because of those among the accused who accompanied them, [and because of the roughness of the way and the horrid solitude, *Evagrius*]. They begged that he would come, and that they might just see him. He was averse, and deprecated the journey to them. But they still persevered, and even sent some of the accused, under a guard of soldiers, hoping he might yet be induced to come down by their representations. Impelled then, by necessity, as himself saw them wailing, he came to the exterior mountain. And again his toil was not useless; for his coming was a benefit to many. He likewise benefited the judges by counselling them to prefer justice above all things, and to fear God, and to know, that with what judgment they judge, they shall be judged.

Still, he loved, above all, his residence in the mountain. Therefore when, through the compulsion of those who had need of him and the entreaty of the commander, by many, for him to come down, he had come and had given some exhortations respecting salvation, and in behalf of those in need, [the accused], he was in haste to return. The *dux* as he is called, [commander—thus showing the party to be Latins], entreated him to tarry. He said he could not spend time with them; and this he enforced by a lively illustration, saying, As the fishes will die if they remain on dry land, so the monks will be enervated by tarrying with you. As the fish must hasten into the sea, so we to the mountain, lest by staying we forget what is within. The commander, hearing these and many other things, was surprised, and said, Truly this is a servant of God, for whence such intelligence in an illiterate man, were he not beloved of God?

A certain military leader, named Balacius, was bitterly persecuting us Christians, in his zeal for the abominable Arians. And as he was so savage as even to beat virgins, and to strip monks naked, and to scourge them, Antony sent to him, and wrote a letter containing a sentiment like the following: I see wrath coming upon you. Therefore cease persecuting the Christians, lest the wrath overtake you, for it is just ready to come upon you. But Balacius laughed, and flung the letter on the ground, and spit upon it, and abused the bearers, and ordered them to say to Antony, As you are anxious about the monks, I will presently come after you. And five days had not passed, when the wrath over-

took him. For as this Balacius and Nestorius the præfect of Egypt, went out to the first mansion of Alexandria, called Cereus, they were both on horseback; and the horses belonged to Balacius, and were the most gentle of all he had reared. But before reaching the place, they began to play with each other, as they were wont to do; and suddenly the most gentle, on which Nestorius rode, by a bite threw Balacius on the ground, and rushed upon him, and so lacerated his thigh with his teeth, that he was immediately carried back into the city, and died in three days. All were astonished, that what Antony had predicted was soon fulfilled.<sup>1</sup>

Thus did he admonish the most bitter; while others who came to him he so corrected and instructed that they immediately forgot the pronouncing of judicial decisions, and declared those blessed who retire from this world. And he would become so much interested for the injured as to consider, not others, but himself to be the sufferer. And again; so apt was he for doing good to all, that many soldiers, and men of large possessions, put off the burdens of life and became monks. And, in fine, he was as it were the physician given of God to Egypt. For who went to him sorrowful, and did not return rejoicing? Who came bewailing the loss of friends, and did not immediately lay aside his grief? Who came in anger, and was not transformed to friendship? What poor man met with him, and heard and saw him; without despising wealth and being consoled in poverty? What remiss monk came to him, and did not become more strenuous? What youth coming into the mountain and beholding Antony, did not quickly renounce pleasures and love temperance? Who came to him tempted by a demon, and was not relieved? Who came agitated in his thoughts, and did not become serene in mind?

For this, moreover, was an important result of Antony's asce-

<sup>1</sup> In his History of the Arians, addressed to the monks, Athanasius presents us with a briefer notice of this affair, and one from which some have argued that both productions cannot have come from his pen. Speaking of Gregory, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, he says, "He caused Balacius, the general, to spit on the letter which Antony wrote, and to throw it away. But the divine vengeance did not overlook it. For not long after, as the said general was on horseback, and going to the first mansion, the horse turned and bit him in the thigh and threw him down; and he died in three days." Opp. I. 352.—The real discrepancies here are certainly not enough to disprove the genuineness of either work, especially as Athanasius may have gained more accurate information in the interval of their composition.

his life that, as I have said before, having the gift of discerning spirits, he readily understood their movements, and perceived the disposition and propensity of each of them. And not only was he not himself imposed upon by them, but, while encouraging such as were harassed in their thoughts, he also taught them, by disclosing the weaknesses and the wiles of the besetting demons, how they, too, might subvert their snares. Consequently, each one, as though anointed by him, departed boldly to oppose the purposes of the devil and his demons. And how many virgins who had suitors, and only saw Antony from a distance, remained virgins to Christ. And some came to him from foreign regions, who, after obtaining relief in addition to all else from him, returned as though sent forth from a father. And when he was dead, all, as though bereft of a father, consoled themselves with the remembrance of him, retaining his admonitions and exhortations.

*His last Address to the Monks.—His death.*

It is proper both for me to relate and for you, who greatly desire it, to hear how Antony closed his life; for in this also is he worthy of zealous imitation. On his customary visit of inspection to the monks in the exterior mountain, being premonished by Providence of his death, he said to the brethren, I am now making my last examination of you, and I marvel whether we shall again see each other in this life. It is time for me to go hence, for I am nearly an hundred and five years old. On hearing this, they wept, and clasped and kissed the aged man. But he, as though departing from a foreign to his own city, conversed joyfully, and admonished them not to be dilatory in their labors nor discouraged in the ascetic life, but to live as though dying daily; and, as I have said before, to strive earnestly to guard the soul from impure thoughts, and to have zeal for holy men, but not to go near the schismatic Miletians, for you know their evil and unhallowed purpose, nor to have any communion with the Arians, for their impiety is manifest to all; neither be terrified, [said he], if you see the judges favoring them, for their vain show shall cease, and is mortal and of short duration. Therefore rather keep yourselves, and hold to the tradition of the fathers and above all to the pious faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, which you have learned from the Scriptures, and have often been reminded of by me.

And as the brethren would constrain him to remain with them, and die there, he refused, for many reasons which he silently in-

dicated, and especially because the Egyptians, though accustomed to perform funeral rites and to wrap in linen the bodies of the pious dead, and especially those of the holy martyrs, yet do not hide them under ground but place them on couches and keep them in their houses with themselves, thinking by this to honor the departed. And Antony often requested the bishops to admonish the people respecting this custom, and likewise reproved the laity and rebuked the women, saying, That it was neither a lawful nor pious custom, because the bodies of the patriarchs and prophets are kept to this day in sepulchres, and even the very body of the Lord was laid in a sepulchre, and a stone, placed over it, hid it till it rose on the third day. By such arguments, he showed that he transgresses who does not conceal, after death, the bodies of the deceased, even though they be holy. For what is greater or more holy than the body of the Lord? Hence Mary, after hearing him, hid them under ground, and blessed the Lord for being correctly instructed.

Knowing this custom, and fearing they would thus treat his body, he took leave of the monks in the outer mountain, and hasted away: and having entered the inner mountain where he was accustomed to abide, in a few months he became ill. And calling those who were with him, (for there were two who remained within, following the ascetic life for fifteen years, and ministering to him because of his advanced age), he said to them, " I am, as it is written, going the way of my fathers; for I perceive I am called by the Lord. But be ye vigilant and destroy not the protracted labors of your ascetic life, but be careful to preserve your zeal as though just beginning. Ye know the insidious demons, and know how fierce they are, but weak in power. Therefore fear them not; but rather aspire continually after Christ, and trust in him; and live as dying daily, taking heed unto yourselves, and remembering the admonitions ye have heard from me. And have no communion with the schismatics, especially with the heretical Arians. For ye know how I have abhorred them for their antichristian and heterodox heresy. But be zealous rather to unite yourselves, primarily, with Christ, and then with the saints, so that, after death, they may receive you, as friends and acquaintances, into everlasting habitations. Think of these things; meditate on these things. And if ye care for me and remember me as a father, suffer none to take my body to Egypt, lest they place it in their houses; for on this account I have come into the mountain, and come here. And ye know how I always

reproved those who do this, and urged them to cease from such a practice. Bury therefore my body and hide it under ground. And let this direction about myself be kept a secret, so that none but yourselves may know the place. For, at the resurrection of the dead, I shall again receive it from the Saviour, incorruptible. Divide my raiment, and give to Athanasius the bishop one sheep-skin, and the cloak in which I am wrapped, which he gave to me new, but which has become old in my possession; and to bishop Serapion, give the other sheep-skin; and yourselves may have my sackcloth. Finally, children, farewell; for Antony departs and is with you no more."

When he had said these things, and they had embraced him, stretching out his feet, and seeing as it were friends coming to him, and being delighted on account of them, (for he appeared joyful in countenance as he was lying), he died and was gathered to his fathers. And they, as he had given them commandment, adjusted and wrapped his body, and hid it in the earth; and to this day, no one knoweth where it is hid, except those two only. And they who respectively received the sheep-skins from the blessed Antony, and the cloak worn out by him, keep them as a great treasure; for when they see them they behold as it were Antony, and when wrapped in them, with joy they bear about as it were his admonitions.

Such was the beginning of his ascetic life, and such the close of Antony's life in the body. And although these things are small in comparison to his virtue, yet even from these you may judge what a man of God Antony was, who, from youth to such advanced age, maintained an equal zeal in his ascetic course, and neither yielding to sumptuous living on account of age, nor changing the manner of his dress from infirmity of body, or so much as washing his feet with water. And yet he remained entirely uninjured: for he even retained his eyes unharmed and unimpaired, and saw well; nor had one of his teeth fallen out, only they were worn nearly to the gums by reason of his great age. He was also well in his hands and his feet; and, in fine, he appeared brighter and more vigorous than any who use variety of diet, and ablutions, and diverse garments. And his being everywhere loudly proclaimed, and both admired by all and beloved by even those who never saw him, is a proof of his virtue and the endearment of his soul to God. For neither by his writings, nor his worldly wisdom, nor by any art, but solely by his piety, did Antony become distinguished. And this no one can deny as

the gift of God. For, whence in the Spains and the Gauls, and how in Rome and Africa, came he, hid and abiding in the mountain, to be thus known? unless it was God, who everywhere makes his own men illustrious, and who promised this to Antony at the beginning. For although they practice in secret, and desire to be hidden, the Lord makes them manifest as lights unto all, that they who hear may thus know that the commandments are mighty to elevate, and may imbibe a zeal for the path to virtue.

Therefore read these things to the other brethren, that they may learn what the life of a monk ought to be, and may be persuaded that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ honors those who honor him; and that he not only conducts to the kingdom of heaven those who serve him to the end, but that even here, those who are hid and are anxious for seclusion he causes to become everywhere known and celebrated, both as a reward of their virtue and as a benefit to others. And if it will be of use, read this also to the pagans, that thus they may at least know, that our Lord Jesus Christ is God and the Son of God, and also that the Christians who truly serve him and piously believe on him, not only show that the demons, whom the pagans suppose to be gods, are no gods, but even tread them under foot and expel them, as deceivers and corrupters of men. In our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

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Seven letters and some other ascetic works, which were formerly attributed to Antony, are no longer regarded as his.—It is not to our present purpose to relate how Antony was subsequently revered by the Catholic church, and how his bones were found and carried to Europe and regarded as a remedy for the disease called St. Antony's fire.

The life of St. Martin, by Sulpitius, as exhibiting the early state of monasticism in Europe, will next be presented.