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THEODOXIA AND HER FINDING OF THE HOLY CROSS

AN ETHIOPIC VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF THE *FINDING OF THE HOLY CROSS* IN THE *MIRACLES OF MARY*

In a previous article devoted to some versions of the legend of the *Finding of the Holy Cross* we drew attention to some Ethiopic texts that seem to have been disregarded in recent studies devoted to the legend.¹ In addition to the hagiographic account on the holy Kirakos (Cyriacus) and his mother, which is known in other Christian Oriental language versions, we mentioned there several shorter stories that can be found in the *Synaxary* and two other unpublished texts.

One of these, which we shall be dealing with in the present paper, was first made known as the *Story of Theodosia who finds the Holy Cross in Jerusalem*.² Our purpose is to publish the Ethiopic text of the *Story*, together with an English translation, and to investigate its origin.

The *Legend of Theodosia* (Eth. *Tawdosəya*, *Ta'odosəya*), or rather *Theodoxia* (Eth. *Tawdoksəya*, see below) is extant not as an independent text but as a chapter in the well-known collection of the *Miracles of Mary* (*Tä'ammärä Maryam*). The collection, which is of European origin, reached Ethiopia about A.D. 1400 via an Arabic translation. The Ethiopic translation of the *Miracles* became enormously popular, and was augmented in the course of time with a large number of new episodes, to the effect that the stories of the original European collection, together with those originating in other literatures of the Christian Near East and entering the collection in Arabic garb, constitute a minority as compared to what was composed in Ethiopia itself. The total number of the known episodes reaches ca. 600, although no manuscript contains all of them.

As has been suggested in our paper referred to above, the episode on Theodoxia had its origin in the Coptic *Legend of Eudoxia*.

¹ See W. WITAKOWSKI, "Ethiopic and Hebrew versions of the legend of The Finding of the Holy Cross", [in:] *Studia Patristica* 35: Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford 16-21 August 1999, Leuven 2000, 535-543, forthcoming.

² H. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits éthiopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1877, 64, no. 51: Histoire de Théodosie, sœur de l'empereur Constantin, qui trouve la sainte croix à Jérusalem, après la mort de sa mère Hélène, et qui reçoit elle-même le nom d'Hélène.

Before however we go any further with our investigation, the as yet unpublished Ethiopic text of the *Story* will be presented. Six manuscripts of the *Miracles of Mary* are known to contain our text, at least as far as the present author is concerned, and all of these have been used for the present edition. Since the 1970's five have been accessible in the collection of the Ethiopic Microfilm Manuscript Library (EMML), Addis Ababa and Collegeville, Minnesota, while the sixth, which had been known earlier, is in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The age of the manuscripts is as follows:

1. EMMML 2058, of the 18th cent. (= C);
2. EMMML 2060, of the 17th cent. (= A);
3. EMMML 2337, of the period 1869-1876 (= F);
4. EMMML 2952, of ca. 1720 (= D);
5. EMMML 3872, of the 16th cent. (= B);³
6. BN Éth. 60 (olim Éth. 144, Zotenberg 60), of the 18th cent. (= E);

None of the manuscripts contains a text, which might be regarded as the archetype. The oldest, EMMML 3872 (B), is rather defective, and it is EMMML 2060 (A), the second oldest, which seems to present the best text.⁴ Consequently the text edited below is based mainly on the latter manuscript. The edition is however eclectic, since in some places we found it suitable to follow the readings of other manuscripts.

In the text presented below the most important and regular deviation from ms. A is the name of the main character, which in the latter reads *Tawdosəya* or *Taʾodosəya*, whereas in our edition we have accepted the name form *Tawdoksəya*, which occurs only in mss. D and F (which are relatively recent) and moreover only once, at the beginning, whereas further on in the same manuscripts the form of the name is *Tawdosəya* or *Taʾodosəya*. Clearly the reading *Tawdoksəya* represents a *lectio difficilior* and as such is preferable to *Tawdosəya*. There is however also another reason, which will be discussed later on, for accepting *Tawdoksəya* as the original.

It is difficult to say what is the exact relationship of the manuscripts used here. A detailed stemma will certainly be established when more episodes of the collection of the *Miracles of Mary* are published from these manuscripts. So far we can only make vague observations indicating that ms. EMMML 2060 (A) seems to be the most valuable. Ms. 2058 (C) is to be regarded as an outsider: it has the largest number of unique readings, some of which are incomprehensible. The three mss. EMMML 2337 (F), 2952 (D) and 3872 (B) provide more or less "normal" deviations from what seems to be the proper text. Sometimes they omit a passage due to *homoioteleuton*. The Paris manuscript, Bibl. Nat. Éth. 60 (E), presents in many places an abbreviated text.

³ Ms. C: GETACHEW HAILE & W.F. MACOMBER, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, vol. VI, Collegeville 1982, 82, no. 157; Ms. A: *op. cit.* 110, no. 27; Ms. F: *op. cit.*, 394, no. 119; Ms. D: *op. cit.*, vol. VII, 1983, 262, no. 98.; Ms. B: *op. cit.*, vol. IX (by Getatchew Haile only), 1987, 193, no. 56.

⁴ This should not be taken as meaning "closest to the original".

The Ethiopic text

[A: f. 47rb,3 from the bottom] [B: f. 48va,6 fr bott] [C: f. 112vc,10] [D: f. 133vb,7] [F: f. 179rb,5 fr bott] ተአምሪሃ፣ ለእግዝእትነ፣ ማርያም፣ ድንግል፣ ቅድስት፣⁶ ወወላዲተ፣⁷ አምላክ።^{8 9}

ጸሎተ፣ ወበረከተ፣ ወልዳ፣¹⁰ የሁሉ፣ ምስሌ፣¹¹ ለዓለመ፣ [F: 179rc]ዓለም፣ አሜን¹²።

ወአስተርአየ፣ ዐቢይ፣ [E: f. 101ra]ተአም[A: 47va]C፣¹³ ዘገብረ፣¹⁴ እግዚእነ፣ ኢየሱስ፣ [B: 48vb]ክርስቶስ፣ በእደ፣ እሙ፣¹⁵ እግዝእትነ፣¹⁶ ማርያም፣¹⁷ ድንግል፣ በክልኤ፣^{18 19 20 21} በሀገረ፣ ሮሜ፣ በመዋዕለ፣ መንግሥቱ፣ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ፣²² ንጉሥ፣²³ ወእሙ፣ እሌኒ፣ ንግሥት።

ወከማሁ፣ ኮነ፣ ወሀለወት፣ እጎቱ፣ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ፣²⁴ ንጉሥ፣^{25 26} ዘስማ፣ ታውዶክስያ²⁷፣ ወለተ፣²⁸ እሌኒ፣ ንግሥት፣ ዘትነብር፣²⁹ በውስተ፣³⁰ ቤተ፣ ክርስቲያና፣ ለእግዝእትነ፣ ማርያም፣³¹ ድንግል፣³²

⁵ Ms. A: እኚ ተአምሪሃ; F: እኚ፩፩ ተአምሪሃ; B: እኚ፣ ተአምሪሃ; (sic!).
⁶ ማርያም፣ ድንግል፣ ቅድስት፣] A: ቅድስት፣ ድንግል፣ ማርያም፣; B: ማርያም፣ ድንግል፣ በክልኤ፣; F: ቅድስት፣ ድንግል፣ በዳኤ፣ ማርያም፣
⁷ F om ው-፣
⁸ ወወላዲተ፣ አምላክ።] A om.
⁹ ማርያም፣ ድንግል፣ ቅድስት፣ ወወላዲተ፣ አምላክ።] D ቅድስት፣ ወንጽሕት፣ ማርያም፣ ድንግልት፣ በዳ፣ እሙ፣ ብርሃን፣ ንግሥት፣ እርያም።
¹⁰ ጸሎታ፣ ወበረከተ፣ ወልዳ፣] A: ጸሎታ፣ ወበረከተ፣; B: ጸሎታ፣; F: ወበረከተ፣ ጸሎታ፣
¹¹ ምስሌ፣] B: ስምዖን፣; C: ምስለ፣ ግብራ፣ ግዕዝ፣ እግዚእ፣; D ምስለ፣ ግብራ፣ ልሳነ፣ ክርስቶስ፣; F: ምስለ፣ ወልደ፣ አረጋዊ፣
¹² D om.
¹³ E: ያ፩ ተአምር፣
¹⁴ ዘገብረ፣] A, B: ዘገብር፣
¹⁵ E: ወላዲቱ፣
¹⁶ E om.
¹⁷ C om.
¹⁸ C, D: በዳ፣; F: በዳኤ፣
¹⁹ ወአስተርአየ፣ ዐቢይ፣ ተአምር፣ ዘገብረ፣ እግዚእነ፣ ኢየሱስ፣ ክርስቶስ፣ በእደ፣ እሙ፣ እግዝእትነ፣ ማርያም፣ ድንግል፣ በክልኤ፣] D: ወሁሉ፣ ፩፣ ብእሲ፣
²⁰ ማርያም፣ ድንግል በክልኤ፣] E: ቅድስት፣ ድንግል፣ በክልኤ፣ ማርያም፣ ወላዲተ፣ አምላክ።
²¹ E: + ሣህሉ፣ ወምሕረቱ፣ ወትንብልናሃ፣ ለእሙ፣ የሁሉ፣ ምስለ፣ ገብራ፣ ወልደ፣ ጽዮን፣ ለዓለመ፣ ዓለም፣ አሜን። ወኮነ፣
²² A om ሉ-፣
²³ B, C, F om. ንጉሥ፣
²⁴ ንጉሥ፣ ወእሙ፣ እሌኒ፣ ንግሥት። ወከማሁ፣ ኮነ፣ ወሀለወት፣ እጎቱ፣ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ፣] D, E, F om. (by *homoioteleuton*).
²⁵ D om.
²⁶ E + ወሀለወት፣ ወለቱ፣

በክልሌ።³³ [E: 101rb]ወእስመ።³⁵ ጎሪት፡ ወድንግል።³⁶ ይእቲ፡ ወንጽሕት።³⁸ እምርዮስ።³⁹ ወርስሐት።⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ወታፈቅራ፡ ለእግዝእትን።⁴² በዮሱ።⁴³ ልባ፡ ወበዮሱ።⁴⁴ ጎይላ።⁴⁵

ወለለዮሱ።⁴⁶ ዕለት፡ ትስእል፡ [D: 134ra]ወታስተበቀኅዕ።⁴⁷ ወትበፅዕ፡ ነፍሳ።⁴⁸ እንዘ፡ ትብል።⁴⁹

ብጽዕት፡ አንቲ፡ እግዝእትን።⁵⁰ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በክልሌ።⁵¹ ⁵² እፎ፡ አንቲ፡ ወለድኪዮ፡ ለዋህድ፡ ወልድኪ።⁵³ ቃለ።⁵⁴ እግ[C: 113ra]ዚአብሔር፡ ብርሃኖሙ፡ ለሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን።⁵⁵

ብጽዕት፡ ከርሥኪ፡ ዘጸረቶ፡ ለነድ፡ አሳት፡ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር።⁵⁶ ⁵⁷

²⁷ A, B, C, E: ታውደሲያ፡

²⁸ E + እሙ፡

²⁹ B, C, D om. ዘ-፣; E: ው-፡

³⁰ E om. ቡ-፡

³¹ D ቅድስት፡ ማርያም፡; E, F ቅድስት፡

³² D ድንግልት፡

³³ C, D: በጁ፡; F: በጁኤ፡

³⁴ D + እሙ፡ ብርሃን፡ ንግሥተ፡ አርያም፡; E + ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አ[101rb]ምላክ፡

³⁵ A om ው-፣; C, D, E om.

³⁶ D, E om.

³⁷ ጎሪት፡ ወድንግል፡] F ጎረት፡ (sic) ወድንግልት፡

³⁸ D: ወንጽሕት፡

³⁹ D: እምርዮስ፡ ርኩስ፡

⁴⁰ D om.

⁴¹ እምርዮስ፡ ወርስሐት።] E: እምርዮስ፡ ገለም።

⁴² C + ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በጁ፡; E + ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በክልሌ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡

⁴³ በዮሱ፡] A, B, F: እምርዮስ፡

⁴⁴ C ወዮሱ፡

⁴⁵ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በጁ፡] በዮሱ፡ ልባ፡ ወበዮሱ፡ ጎይላ፡] D: ቅድስት፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በጁ፡] በዮሱ፡ ልባ፡ ወበዮሱ፡ ጎይላ፡

⁴⁶ E: ወዮሱ፡

⁴⁷ E om.

⁴⁸ ወትበፅዕ፡ ነፍሳ፡] D om.

⁴⁹ F + ወነዋ፡ እግዚእን፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ው-፡

⁵⁰ E ኦእግዝእትዮ፡

⁵¹ C, D: በጁ፡; F: በጁኤ፡

⁵² ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በክልሌ።] D: ቅድስት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግልት፡ በጁ፡ እሙ፡ ብርሃን።; E ማርያም፡

⁵³ E om.

⁵⁴ ለዋህድ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ቃለ፡] F ለቃለ፡

⁵⁵ B: ምድራዊያን፡; E ወለምድራዊያን፡

⁵⁶ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡] E: ማጎያዊ፡

ብጽዕት፡ እራሕ፡⁵⁸ ወመዝራዕት፡ እለ፡ [A: 47vb]ሐቀ[E: 101va]ፋሁ፡ ወአጥባትኪ፡⁵⁹ እለ፡
ጠበወ፡⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ወለከፎን፡⁶² አፋሁ፡⁶³ ወሐዘልኪዮ፡ [F: 179va]⁶⁴ በመታክፍትኪ፡⁶⁵ ⁶⁶

ብጽዓት፡⁶⁷ እዕይንትኪ፡⁶⁸ እለ፡ ርእያሁ፡ በውእቶን፡⁶⁹ መዋዕል፤

ብጽዕ፡⁷⁰ ዘርእየ፡ ፍሥሐሃ፡⁷¹ ⁷² ለመዋዕለ፡ ልደቱ፡ በውእቱ፡ አዝማን፡⁷³ ⁷⁴ እንዘ፡ ሀሎ፡ ሕፃን፡
ወልሂቆ፡⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ እንዘ፡ ያንሰሱ፡⁷⁷ በዲበ፡⁷⁸ ምድ[B: 49ra]ር፡ በማእከለ፡⁷⁹ ሐዋርያት፡⁸⁰

ወይእከኒ፡ ኦእግዝእትየ፡⁸¹ ተወከፈ፡ ንስቲተ፡ ስእለትየ፡⁸² ወአብጽሕኒ፡ ኅበ፡⁸⁴ ሀገረ፡
ኢየሩሳሌም፡⁸⁵ ውስተ፡⁸⁶ መቃብረ፡ ወልድኪ፡ ወከሥቲ፡ ሊተ፡ ዕፅ፡⁸⁷ መስቀሉ፡⁸⁸ ለክርስቶስ፡ [D:
134rb]ወልድኪ፡⁸⁹ ወበእንተዝ፡⁹⁰ ኅሊናየ፡⁹¹ ብሩህ፡ ወልብየ፡ ንቁህ፡⁹²

⁵⁷ ብርሃኖሙ፡ ለሰማያውያን፡ ወምድራውያን፡ ብፅዕት፡ ከርሥኪ፡ ዘጸረቶ፡ ለነደ፡ እሳት፡ ቃለ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡] A, D om.
(by *homoioteleuton*).

⁵⁸ ብጽዕት፡ እራሕ፡] D: ብፅዓት፡ እራኃት፡

⁵⁹ C, E: ወአጥባት፡

⁶⁰ B, C, F: ጠበዋ፤ E: አጥበዋሁ፤

⁶¹ C: + እምኔሁ፡

⁶² C, F om. ው-፡

⁶³ C om.

⁶⁴ F + በዘባንኪ፡

⁶⁵ F ው-፡

⁶⁶ ወለከፎን፡ አፋሁ፡ ወሐዘልኪዮ፡ በመታክፍትኪ፡] E om.

⁶⁷ D: ው-፡

⁶⁸ A, B, C, D, F om. -ኪ፡

⁶⁹ A, E: በውእቱ፡

⁷⁰ D + ብእሲ፡

⁷¹ F om. -ሃ፡

⁷² ዘርእየ፡ ፍሥሐሃ፡] E: ዘርእየሂ፡ ፍሥሐሁ፡

⁷³ F: ዓመት፡

⁷⁴ ለመዋዕለ፡ ልደቱ፡ በውእቱ፡ አዝማን፡] E: ለዕለተ፡ ልደት፡ ስቡሕ፡

⁷⁵ E: ፡ ወእመ፡ ልሀቀ፡

⁷⁶ D + ሕፃን፡

⁷⁷ B: ያንሰሱ፡

⁷⁸ D om. በ-፡

⁷⁹ በዲበ፡ ምድር፡ በማእከለ፡] E: ምስለ፡

⁸⁰ C: ሐርያት፡

⁸¹ E om.

⁸² F: ስእለትየ፡

⁸³ ንስቲተ፡ ስእለትየ፡] D: ጸሎትየ፡

⁸⁴ E, F om.

ወውእተ፡ አሚረ፡ ሶቤሃ፡⁹³ አብሰራ፡⁹⁴ ሕፃን፡⁹⁵ ዘይሓኒ፡⁹⁶ ሥነ፡⁹⁷ ላሕዩ፡⁹⁸ ዘይሓኒ፡⁹⁹ እም-
ላሕዩ፡¹⁰⁰ ሕ[E: 101vb]፡⁹⁵ ወገዱ፡ ይበርህ፡ ምስብሒተ፡¹⁰¹ እምፀሐይ፡¹⁰² ወሰፍሐ፡ እደዊሁ፡¹⁰³
ጎበ፡ ታውደክስያ፡¹⁰⁴ ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት።¹⁰⁵

ወይእቲ፡¹⁰⁶ ተአትቶ፡¹⁰⁷ እምኔሃ፡¹⁰⁸ እንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ ቀዊማ፡ ጊ[A: 48ra]ዜ፡ አስተርክቦ፡¹⁰⁹
ለጸሎት።¹¹⁰ ወጎለዩት፡ በልባ፡¹¹¹ ከመ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምሕፃናት፡¹¹² ባዕዳን፡¹¹³ እምደቂቀ፡¹¹⁴ መካን፡ እለ፡
አልቦሙ፡¹¹⁵ አበው።¹¹⁶

⁸⁵ E: ኢየሩሳሌም፡

⁸⁶ E: ጎበ፡

⁸⁷ E om.

⁸⁸ A, B, E: መስቀሎ፡

⁸⁹ ለክርስቶስ፡ ወልድኪ።] E: ክቡረ፡

⁹⁰ E om. ው-፡

⁹¹ D om. -ቶ፡

⁹² D: ንቁሐ፡

⁹³ D, E om.

⁹⁴ A: አብሰራ፡; E: አስተርክቦ፡

⁹⁵ C: ጳሕፃን፡, E + ንዑስ፡

⁹⁶ E: ዘሠናይ፡

⁹⁷ B om.

⁹⁸ D: ላህያ፡

⁹⁹ E: ወይሓኒ፡; F om.

¹⁰⁰ E: እምረዕዩ፡

¹⁰¹ E om.

¹⁰² D እምፀሐይ፡; E: እምፀሕይ፡

¹⁰³ A, E: እደሁ፡

¹⁰⁴ A, E: ታውደስያ፡; B, D, F: ታኦደስያ፡; C: ታደስያ፡

¹⁰⁵ ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት።] E ንሪት።

¹⁰⁶ A, D: -ሰ፡

¹⁰⁷ E: ታአትቶ፡

¹⁰⁸ C: እምኔሁ፡; E om.

¹⁰⁹ B: አስተርክቦ፡

¹¹⁰ F ወጸሎት፡

¹¹¹ E: በለበ፡

¹¹² B, C, D: ሕፃናት፡

¹¹³ E om.

¹¹⁴ A: እምደቂቀ፡; E, F om. እም-፡

ወሰበ፡ ለከፈቶ፡ እደሁ፡¹¹⁷ እምኔሁ፡¹¹⁸ ከሠተ፡ ሕፃን፡¹¹⁹ አፋሁ፡^{120 121} ወይቤ፡¹²² አንቲሰ፡ ኮንኪ፡
ትስእል፤¹²³ ወትትሜንዩ፡^{124 125 126} ትርአይ[C: 113rb]ኒ፡¹²⁷ በከመ፡ ሀሎኩ፡ ሕፃን፡¹²⁸ ውስተ፡ ሕፅነ፡
እምዩ፡ ማርያም፡¹²⁹ ወበእንተ፡ ጎሣረ፡ ፅፁ፡¹³⁰ መስቀልዩ፡¹³¹ ክቡር፡ ወበእንተዝ፡^{132 133} [D:
134va]ኮንኪ፡ ታስተብቀላዩ፡¹³⁴ ለወላዲትዩ፡ በኩሉ፡¹³⁵ ወ[F: 179vb]ናሁ፡¹³⁶ [E: 102ra]ካነ፡
መጻእኩ፡ ጎቤኪ፡ ወአንቲሰ፡¹³⁷ ኢተወከፍክኒ፡¹³⁸ ወኢርኢክኒ፡¹³⁹

ወሰበ፡ ሰምዐት፡¹⁴⁰ ታውደክስዮ፡¹⁴¹ ነገረ፡ ሕፃን፡¹⁴² ተመይጠት፡¹⁴³ ጎቤሁ፡¹⁴⁴ ፍጡነ፡ ወንጸረት፡ ጎበ፡
ገጹ፡¹⁴⁵ ዘይበርሀ፡ ፈድፋድ፡¹⁴⁶ እምብርሃነ፡¹⁴⁷ ፀሐይ፡¹⁴⁸ ወተሰወረ፡¹⁴⁹ እምኔሃ፡¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁵ D om.; E: ቦሙ፡

¹¹⁶ እለ፡ አልቦሙ፡ አበው።] C: ዘአልቦሙ፡ አብ።

¹¹⁷ D: እደሃ፡; E: እደዊሁ፡

¹¹⁸ E: ወእገሪሁ፡

¹¹⁹ E om.

¹²⁰ A: እራሁ፡

¹²¹ ሕፃን፡ አፋሁ፡] D: አፋሁ፡ ሕፃን፡

¹²² E: ወይቤለ፡ (for ወይቤላ፡).

¹²³ A, D: ትስእሊ፡; E om.

¹²⁴ B: ወትትሜንዩ፡; C: ወትትሜንዩ፡; E ትትሜንዩ፡

¹²⁵ D, B + ከመ፡

¹²⁶ E + ከመ፡

¹²⁷ A, B: ትርአይ፡

¹²⁸ C, F: ሕፃነ፡; E om.

¹²⁹ D: እግዝእትነ፡ ቅድስት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግልት፡ በ፪፡ እመ፡ ብርሃን፡ ንግሥተ፡ አርያም፡

¹³⁰ E om.

¹³¹ B, C: መስቀል፡

¹³² E om. ው፡

¹³³ ኮንኪ፡ ትስእል፤ ወትትሜንዩ፡ ትርአይ፤ በከመ፡ ሀሎኩ፡ ሕፃን፡ ውስተ፡ ሕፅነ፡ እምዩ፡ ማርያም፡ ወበእንተ፡ ጎሣረ፡
ፅፁ፡ መስቀልዩ፡ ክቡር፡ ወበእንተዝ፡] F om. (by homoioteleuton).

¹³⁴ A, B: ታስተብቀላዩ፡; D: ታስተብቀላዩ፡; E: ታስተብቀላዩ፡; F: ታስተብቀላዩ፡

¹³⁵ D + ጊዜ፡; E om.

¹³⁶ E, F om. ው፡

¹³⁷ C, E om. ው፡

¹³⁸ A: ው፡

¹³⁹ E om.

¹⁴⁰ ወሳብ፡ ሰምዐት፡] E ወሰሚዳ፡ (for ወሰሚዳ፡).

¹⁴¹ A, D, F: ታውደስዮ፡; B: ታኦ/ኦ/አ/ደስዮ፡; C, E: ታውደስዮ፡

¹⁴² ነገረ፡ ሕፃን፡] D: ነገር፡ ለሕፃን፡

¹⁴³ C ው፡; D: ተመይጠ፡

ወነድ፡ ልባ፡¹⁵¹ ለታውዶክሲያ፡¹⁵² ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥ[B: 49rb]ት፡¹⁵³ ወእምብዝነ፡¹⁵⁴ ሐዘን፡
ኮነት፡ [A: 48rb]ከመ፡ በድን፡ ምውት።፡ ወኢክህለት፡¹⁵⁵ ተናገር፡¹⁵⁶ ምስለ፡ ሰብእ፡¹⁵⁷ ወኢያውሥአት፡
አሐተ፡ ቃለ።¹⁵⁸

ወሰበ፡ ጽሕወት፡ እምስካረ፡ ሐዘን፡ አውጎዘት፡¹⁵⁹ አንብፀ፡¹⁶⁰ መሪረ፡ እስከ፡ ኮና፡¹⁶¹ አዕይንቴሃ፡
ከመ፡ አፍሐመ፡ እሳት፡ ወኮነት፡ ትብኪ፡ ወትላሐ፡፡ ወትብል።¹⁶² አሌላ፡¹⁶³ ለነፍሰየ፡ እስመ፡ አምላኪየ፡
ወመድጎንየ፡ ወፍቁርየ፡¹⁶⁴ መጽአ፡¹⁶⁵ ጎቤየ፡¹⁶⁶ ወኢያመር[E: 102rb]ክዎ፡¹⁶⁷ ወኢጸርክዎ፡¹⁶⁸ ው[D:
134vb]ሰተ፡ ሕፅንየ፡ ወኢተወከፍክዎ፡¹⁶⁹ በመዝራዕትየ፡¹⁷⁰ ወኢጸገብኩ፡¹⁷¹ እምሥነ፡¹⁷² ላሕዩ።
ወከመዝ፡¹⁷³ ይረከቦሙ፡ ለሀካያን፡¹⁷⁴ ለእለ፡ ይትለአክዎ፡ ለእግዚአሙ፡¹⁷⁵ በሀኬት።¹⁷⁶

¹⁴⁴ E om.

¹⁴⁵ ጎበ፡ ገጹ፡] E om.

¹⁴⁶ E om.

¹⁴⁷ C: እምብሃነ፡

¹⁴⁸ እምብርሃነ፡ ፀሐይ፡] D, E: እምፀሐይ፡

¹⁴⁹ A, B, C, F: om. ው-፡

¹⁵⁰ D: እምኔሁ፡

¹⁵¹ E ልበ፡

¹⁵² A: ለታውዶሲያ፡; B: ለታኡዶሲያ፡; C: ለተኦድሲያ፡; D, F: ለታኦዶሲያ፡; E: ለታውደሲያ፡

¹⁵³ ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት፡] E om.

¹⁵⁴ C: ወእምብነ፡

¹⁵⁵ E ወስእነት፡

¹⁵⁶ A ተናገር፡

¹⁵⁷ C ለሰብእ፡

¹⁵⁸ ምስለ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወኢያውሥአት፡ አሐተ፡ ቃለ።] E om.

¹⁵⁹ D: ወአውጎዘ፡

¹⁶⁰ E ኦብንዓ፡

¹⁶¹ A, C, E: ኮነ፡

¹⁶² D: እንዘ፡ ትብል፡

¹⁶³ B: እሌላ፡; F: አሌ፡ ላ፡

¹⁶⁴ ወመድጎንየ፡ ወፍቁርየ፡] A: ወፍቁርየ፡ ወመድጎንየ፡; B: ወፍቁርየ፡ ወመድጎንየ፡; D, F: ወፍቁርየ፡ ወመድጎንየ፡; E: ወመድጎንየ፡

¹⁶⁵ A + ው-፡

¹⁶⁶ መጽአ፡ ጎቤየ፡] E ጎቤየ፡ መጽአ፡

¹⁶⁷ A: ወኢያመርክዎ፡

¹⁶⁸ D: ወኢርኢክዎ፡

¹⁶⁹ B, C: ወኢተከፍክዎ፡

¹⁷⁰ ውብተ፡ ሕፅንየ፡ ወኢተከፍክዎ፡ በመዝራዕትየ፡] A: በመዝራዕትየ፡ ውብተ፡ ሕፅንየ። ወኢተከፍክዎ፡ በመዝራዕትየ፡

¹⁷¹ C: ወኢሰዓፀብኩ፡; D: ወኢሐፀብኩ፡, E: ወኢጸገብክዎ፡

ወሶበ፡ ርአዮ፡¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ቅንኣታ፡¹⁷⁹ ወምረተ፡¹⁸⁰ ልባ፡¹⁸¹ ግብ[F: 179vc]ተ፡ አስተርአዮ፡¹⁸² እግዚእነ፡
 ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለታውዶክስዮ፡¹⁸³ ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡¹⁸⁴ ንግሥት። ወአውሥኣ፡ እግዚእነ፡¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶
 ወይሌላ፡¹⁸⁷ ናሁ፡¹⁸⁸ ነጸርኩ፡ ጥብቦተኪ፡¹⁸⁹ ወቅንኣተኪ፡¹⁹⁰ ወ[A: 48va]ብካየኪ፡¹⁹¹ [C: 113rc]መሪረ።
 ወናሁ፡ እምዮም፡¹⁹² እስከ፡¹⁹³ ሠሉስ፡¹⁹⁴ ዕለት፡ ትመውት፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት፡¹⁹⁵ እምኪ፡¹⁹⁶ ወእሙ፡
 ለቁስጠንጢኖስ፡ እኑኪ፡¹⁹⁷ ወተሐውር፡ ውስተ፡ ሕይወት፡ ዘለግለም።¹⁹⁸ ወአንቲ፡¹⁹⁹ ተ[E:
 102va]ሐውሪ፡ ኢየሩሳሌም፡²⁰⁰ ከመ፡ ትክሥቲ፡ ዕፀ፡ መስቀልዮ።²⁰¹ ወይትረሰይ፡²⁰² ሚካኤል፡²⁰³ ሊቀ፡

¹⁷² A: እምነ፡

¹⁷³ C om. ው፡

¹⁷⁴ C, D, F: ለሐ/ሀካይያን፡

¹⁷⁵ A, F: ለእግዚኦ፡; D om., E: ለእግዚኦብሔር፡

¹⁷⁶ C om.

¹⁷⁷ E: ነጸረ፡

¹⁷⁸ E + እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡

¹⁷⁹ A: ቅንዓት፡

¹⁸⁰ F: ወምሕረተ፡

¹⁸¹ E: ብካዮ፡ ለታውዶስዮ፡

¹⁸² C + በምረተ፡ ልባ፡

¹⁸³ A, B, C, D: ለታውዶስዮ፡; E: ለታውዶስዮ፡; F: ለታዮዶስዮ፡

¹⁸⁴ D: ዕሌኒ፡

¹⁸⁵ D om.

¹⁸⁶ እግዚእነ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡ ለታውዶክስዮ፡ ወለተ፡ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት። ወአውሥኣ፡ እግዚእነ፡] E om.

¹⁸⁷ D om. ው፡

¹⁸⁸ B, C, F om.

¹⁸⁹ B: ትብዓተኪ፡; C: ትግሐታተኪ፡; D: ትብእተኪ፡; F: ትብእተኪ፡

¹⁹⁰ D: ወጽንዓተኪ፡; E om.

¹⁹¹ D, E: ወብካየኪ፡

¹⁹² E repeats.

¹⁹³ C + ው፡

¹⁹⁴ E, F: ፍ፡

¹⁹⁵ እሌኒ፡ ንግሥት፡] E om.

¹⁹⁶ E repeats.

¹⁹⁷ ወእሙ፡ ለቁስጠንጢኖስ፡ እኑኪ፡] E om.

¹⁹⁸ B om.

¹⁹⁹ C: ወአንቲኒ፡; E: አንቲኒ፡

²⁰⁰ E: + ምስላ፡ እኑኪ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ፡

²⁰¹ D + ክቡር፡

²⁰² C: ወይትረአይ፡

²⁰³ ወይትረሰይ፡ ሚካኤል፡] E: ወሚካኤል፡ ይትረሰይ፡

መላእክት፡²⁰⁴ በረድኤትኪ፡²⁰⁵ ወይመርሐኪ፡²⁰⁶ ጎበ፡ ሀሎ፡²⁰⁷ ዕፀ፡ [D: 135ra] መስቀልዮ፡ በቀራንዮ፡ መካን፡ ጎበ፡ ተቀብረ፡ ሥጋዮ፡²⁰⁸ ወደፈንዎ፡²⁰⁹ [B: 49va] አይሁድ፡ ታሕተ፡ ከፈር፡ ምስለ፡ ዪ[፡]²¹⁰ መሳቅለ፡²¹¹ ፈያት። ወበረኪቦቴ፡²¹² ትረክቢ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወሰላመ፡²¹³ ወሐሣዲተ፡²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ምስለ፡ እኑኪ፡ ቁስጠንጢኖስ። ወይሰመይ፡ ስምኪ፡²¹⁶ እሌኒ፡ ህዩንተ፡ እምኪ፡ እሌኒ፡²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ንግሥት።

ወአእመረት፡ እሌኒ፡ ዘንተ፡ ኩሎ፡ ዘኮነ፡ በምሕረታ፡²¹⁹ ለእግዝእትነ፡ ማር[E: 102vb]ያም፡ ድንግል፡ በክልኤ፡²²⁰ ²²¹ ወከመ፡²²² ታስተፍሥሐ፡²²³ ለይእ[A: 48vb]ቲ፡ ጎሪት፡ በርእየተ፡²²⁴ ወልዳ፡ ፍቁር፡²²⁵ ²²⁶ ፍሥ[F: 180ra]ሐሆሙ፡ ለኩሎሙ፡²²⁷ ለእለ፡²²⁸ ይትለአክዋ፡²²⁹ ወይንብሩ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ወልዳ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ።²³⁰

ጸሎታ፡ ወበረከታ፡²³¹ የሀሎ፡ ምስሌነ፡²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን።²³⁵

²⁰⁴ ሊቀ፡ መላእክት፡] D: መልአክ፡, E om.
²⁰⁵ A ለረድኤትኪ፡; B, E: ለረድኤትኪ፡; D: በረድኤተ፡ ዚአክ፡
²⁰⁶ A: ወመርሐኪ፡
²⁰⁷ ጎበ፡ ሀሎ፡] D: ዘሀሎ፡; F om.
²⁰⁸ ጎበ፡ ተቀብረ፡ ሥጋዮ፡] E om.
²⁰⁹ E: ዘደፈኑ፡
²¹⁰ D om.
²¹¹ A, B, C, F: መስቀለ፡; D: መስቀል፡
²¹² A om. ው-; D: ወበተረክቦት፡
²¹³ A: ወሰላም፡
²¹⁴ ወሰላመ፡ ወጎሣዲተ፡] D: ወሐሣዲት፡; F: ወጎሣዲተ፡ ወሰላመ፡
²¹⁵ ትረክቢ፡ ፍሥሐ፡ ወሰላመ፡ ወሐሣዲተ፡] E: ትትፌሥሐ፡ ጥቀ፡
²¹⁶ D: ስመይ፡
²¹⁷ E om.
²¹⁸ ህዩንተ፡ ስምኪ፡ እሌኒ፡] A, F om.
²¹⁹ E: በትንብልና፡
²²⁰ A, B: በክልኤ፡; F በጃኤ፡
²²¹ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ በክልኤ፡] D: ቅድስት፡ ወንጽሕት፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግልት፡ በጃ፡ እመ፡ ብርሃን፡; E: ቅድስት፡ ድንግል፡ በክልኤ፡ ማርያም፡ ወላዲተ፡ አምላክ፡
²²² E om. ው-፡
²²³ F: አስተፍሥሐታ፡
²²⁴ E: በርእተ፡
²²⁵ A, B: ፍቁራ፡; C: ወፍቅራ፡
²²⁶ ወልዳ፡ ፍቁር፡] E: ፍቁር፡ ወልዳ፡
²²⁷ D, E om.
²²⁸ F om. ለ-፡
²²⁹ C: ይትለአክዎ፡
²³⁰ ፈቃድ፡ ወልዳ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቶስ፡] E: ፈቃዳ፡
²³¹ C: ወበረታ፡

Translation

A Miracle of our Lady Mary, the Holy Virgin and God-bearer.

Let her prayer and blessing be with her servant Ma'qäbä 'Egzi³ for ever and ever. Amen.

A great miracle took place, which our Lord Jesus Christ made by the hand of His Mother, our Lady Mary the Twice-Virgin, in the city of Rome, in the epoch of the reign of the king Constantine (Qwästäntinos) and his mother, the queen Helena (Eleni).

And it was in this wise:

King Constantine had a sister whose name was Theodoxia (Tawdoksəya), (who was) the daughter of queen Helena, (and) who lived in the Church of our Lady Mary, the Twice-Virgin. Since she was noble, a virgin, and pure from all defilement and impurity, she loved our Lady with all her heart and all her power. Every day she pleaded and supplicated and made vows saying:

“Blessed art Thou, our Lady Mary, Double Virgin! How marvellous (it was that) Thou gavest birth to Thine only Son, the Word of God, the light of heavenly and earthly beings!

Blessed is Thy womb, which carried the flame of fire, the Word of God.

Blessed are Thy hand and arm which embraced Him, and Thy breasts which His mouth sucked and touched, while Thou carriedst Him on Thy shoulders.

Blessed are Thy eyes which saw Him in those days.

Blessed is (the man) who saw Her joy on the day of His birth in those times, when He was a child, and His growing up, when He walked on earth among the apostles.

And now, O my Lady, accept my modest request and bring me to the city of Jerusalem, to the tomb of Thy Son, and reveal to me the Tree of the Cross of Christ, Thy Son. Because of that my mind is happy, and my heart is alert.”

And then, on that day, a child more beautiful than (other) children hailed her. His face was seven times brighter than the sun, and he stretched his arms towards Theodoxia, the daughter of queen Helena. But she stopped him at a distance from her, while she was preparing herself for prayer. She thought in her heart that he was one of the stray children (or) one of the local orphans. Then, when she touched his hand, the child opened his mouth and said:

A: ምስሉ: ንብራ: ብስጣውርስ; D: ምስሉ: ነጻል: ሕዝብ: ክርስቲያን; E: ምስሉ: ንብራ: አሥራተ: ጽዮን: ወምሕረተ: ፍቁር: ወልዳ: የሀሉ: ምስሉ: ጸሐፊሃ:

²³³ የሀሉ: ምስሉ:] B: ይዕቀቦ: ለገብራ: ስምዖን:

²³⁴ ጸሎታ: ወበረከታ: የሀሉ: ምስሉ:] F: ወከማሃ: ታስተፍሥሐን: ለነ[ል]ነ: አግብርቲሃ: ወአዕማቲሃ: ወለገብራ: ወልደ: አረጋዊ: ወለጸሓፊሁ: ተክለ: ሚካኤል:

²³⁵ D om.

“Thou didst ask and wert eager to see me, as I was a child (sitting) on my Mother Mary’s lap, and (thou didst ask) about the search for the Tree of my glorious Cross. Therefore thou didst entreat my Mother all the while. And behold, I have come to thee but thou hast not received me, and not recognized me.”

When Theodoxia heard the words of the Child she quickly returned to Him and looked at His face which was much brighter than the light of the sun, but He concealed himself from her.

The heart of Theodoxia, the daughter of queen Helena, burnt, and from the abundance of sorrow she became like a dead body. She was unable to talk to people or to answer (them) with a single word. When she awoke from her stupor of sorrow she shed bitter tears until her eyes became (red) like glowing embers, and she wept, groaned and said:

“Woe is me, for my God, my Saviour and my Beloved came to me but I did not recognize Him. I did not take Him in my lap, did not receive Him in my arms, and did not satiate myself with the excellence of His beauty. This is what happens to the negligent who serve their lords negligently.”

When our Lord Jesus Christ saw the ardour of Theodoxia, the daughter of queen Helena, and the affliction of her heart, He suddenly appeared to her (again). Our Lord responded to her in these words:

“Behold, I have seen thy ardour and zeal and thy bitter weeping, and behold, in three days from today queen Helena, the mother of thee and of thy brother Constantine, will die and go into eternal life. But thou wilt go to Jerusalem in order to discover the Tree of my Cross. The archangel Michael will be assigned for thy help and he will guide thee to (the place) where the Tree of my Cross (is) on Qäranyo, and the place where my body was buried. The Jews hid it under a basket with the two crosses of the thieves. By finding it thou, together with thy brother Constantine, wilt find joy, peace and happiness. And thy name will be (changed to) Helena, after²³⁶ (the name of) thy mother, queen Helena.”

(Then) Helena understood that everything took place by the grace of Mary the Twice Virgin, and in order to comfort that noble woman with the vision of Her Son and Her Beloved, the joy of all who serve Her and do the wish of Her Son Jesus Christ.

May Her prayer and Her blessing be with us for ever and ever. Amen.

* * *

²³⁶ Lit.: instead of.

It seems quite obvious that the story quoted above does not easily fit into the collection of the *Miracles of Mary*. The latter was composed and developed, so to speak, *ad maiorem Mariae gloriam*, whereas the present episode has very little to do with Mary. Except for two mentions, in the last sentence and at the beginning, where it is said that Theodoxia used to pray in a church devoted to the Holy Virgin, Mary does not play any part in the story. This leads us to think that the episode was not composed with the intention of its being placed in the collection, but was rather adapted from an independent piece of legendary literature that had nothing to do with Mary. No story of the sort is however known in Ethiopic literature, and the closest parallel, as has already been suggested in the previous article, can only be found in the Coptic *Legend of Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre*,²³⁷ to which we now have to devote a few words.

It consists of two parts. The first tells the story of Constantine's victorious war against the Persians, and is consequently of no concern to us here. It is in the second part that we meet the sister of Constantine, a pious woman by the name of Eudoxia. One day Jesus appeared to her and commanded her to go to Jerusalem to find His *tomb*, which had been hidden, we learn, under a pile of rubbish that the Jews had been amassing for 365 years by bringing thither the sweepings from the streets and houses. Having arrived in Jerusalem with a large retinue provided by her brother Eudoxia tries to force the Jews to tell her where the tomb of Jesus is. This is eventually revealed by a 115-year-old grandson of St. James, the brother of the Lord. Constantine himself arrives there too, whereupon the heap is removed, and the tomb is disclosed. Here the bodies of the thieves are found, together with the table on which is inscribed in three languages: "Jesus Christ, the king of the Jews" Replicas of the *titulus* are made in gold for the emperor, who wishes to place them on his chariot as a sort of palladium. Then Constantine returns to Constantinople, whereas Eudoxia carries on several construction projects at the *loca sancta* in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine.

It is clear that as a whole the story of Eudoxia's finding Jesus's tomb is a version of the *Legend of the Finding of the Holy Cross* by queen Helena. The *Legend of Eudoxia* not only derives from the latter, but it also takes knowledge of it for granted.²³⁸ For instance Constantine, on hearing that his sister had a vision as a result of which she would go to Jerusalem to find Jesus's tomb, says that it would be: "just as I did with my mother Helen[a] on the day of the discovery of the Cross."²³⁹ Therefore when Eudoxia discovers the tomb she does not find there the Cross, only *titulus* and the bodies of the robbers. The idea is not very logical, for in making her discovery

²³⁷ *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre: a Constantinian legend in Coptic*, ed. by T. ORLANDI, intr. and tr. by B.A. Pearson, historical study by H.A. DRAKE, (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' Antichità 67), Milano 1980.

²³⁸ H.A. DRAKE, "A Coptic version of the Discovery of the Holy Sepulchre", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), 381-392.

²³⁹ *Eudoxia* (see note 237), 61, § 57.

why would Helena take the Cross alone and not the inscription,²⁴⁰ not to mention the bodies of the thieves that also remained in the tomb?

The *Legend of the Finding of the Cross* was probably known among the Copts in oral transmission, but does not seem to have been translated into Coptic. If however Helena was in one way or another known among the Copts, why did somebody bother to create a new legend with a new main character?

In H.A. Drake's opinion the composition of the second legend involving the discovery of the sepulchre (without the cross) is to be understood by taking into account the fact that the Jerusalem liturgy from the sixth century (before 572) on celebrated two separate feasts commemorating the findings: of the Cross on 13 September, and of the Tomb on 14 September.²⁴¹ This created an opportunity to provide an additional story that could be read on the day in which the discovery of the tomb was celebrated. In this way the contradiction between the second discovery of the tomb and the one celebrated the day before did not create any immediate logical difficulty.

Another contributing factor in the story's coming into being was the fact that the Cross, after its capture by the Persians in 614 and its recovery by emperor Heraclius in 630 or 631,²⁴² was eventually removed to Constantinople, just before the Arab conquest of Jerusalem. The tomb, unlike other relics, could not be removed from the city, and this opened the way for its cult with its literary consequences.

The *terminus quo ante* of the Eudoxia story is provided by a Coptic papyrus leaf of ca 700 A.D., in the collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, which contains a fragment of it.²⁴³ Consequently H.A. Drake suggests that the *Legend of Eudoxia* was composed in the decade 640-650.²⁴⁴

A separate problem to be explained is why the main character is called Eudoxia, whereas the real sister of Constantine was called Constantia. This, according to H.A. Drake, is due to the influence of the memory of the wife of emperor Theodosius II (408-450), Eudocia, whose journey to Jerusalem in 438 and foundations in the city (e.g. the Church of St. Stephen) resembled the activities of Helena so that the two became mixed together in the memory of posterity.

²⁴⁰ Even secondary details of the Eudoxia Story show parallelism with the Legend of the Finding of the Cross by Helena: replicas of the titulus placed on the emperor's chariot are counterparts of the nails of the Cross in the Helena Legend, of which Constantine had bridle-bits and a helmet made, to use in his military campaigns (Socrates Scholasticus' Ecclesiastical history, I, 17).

²⁴¹ *Eudoxia*, 146; DRAKE, "A Coptic version", 385.

²⁴² The memory of Heraclius's victorious campaign against the Persians and his recovery of the Cross may have been one of the reasons for the appearance of the story of Constantine's war with Persia which is told in the first part of the Legend of Eudoxia.

²⁴³ W.E. CRUM, "New Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 5 (1918-29), 501-502. For the dating see *Eudoxia*, 26: "VI-VII Cent."; DRAKE, "A Coptic version", 387: A.D. 700.

²⁴⁴ DRAKE, "A Coptic version", 387.

If we add that one of Eudocia's foundations in Jerusalem was a hospice for pilgrims near the Holy Sepulchre, in which pilgrims from Egypt certainly lived, we will not be surprised to see that she could find her way into Coptic literature. At an earlier stage of the literary evolution of the *Legend* we find the *Discourse on the Cross* (fifth cent.) attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem.²⁴⁵ Here it is said that Constantine, who according to the author discovered the Cross, was accompanied on his way to Jerusalem by "his mother, and his sister, who was a virgin." The historical Constantia was however married.²⁴⁶ At the next stage of her literary life Constantine's virgin sister reappears in the *Encomium on Saint George* attributed to Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra (sixth cent.), and here she receives a name – Eudoxia.²⁴⁷ It should be noticed that the confusion of the name form 'Eudocia' with 'Eudoxia' is an ancient phenomenon to which already fifth-century coins testify.²⁴⁸ The way having thus been prepared, some pious Egyptian composed the *Legend of Eudoxia* as we know it today.

We have to return now to the Ethiopic version of the *Legend* in the *Miracles of Mary*. As was already mentioned, only the appearance of Jesus to Eudoxia and her being entrusted with the Palestinian mission are recounted, not the whole Coptic story. Moreover it has been modified in order to meet two requirements.

One is of an editorial nature, the purpose being to make the story of Eudoxia fit the rest of the episodes in the collection devoted to Mary. As the latter is absent from the Coptic narrative, she had to be inserted into the Ethiopic version, even though her presence and role in the plot are rather negligible.

The other requirement was that the *Eudoxia Legend* had to be made compatible with the *Helena Legend*, which apparently had already become known in Ethiopia. The reception of the Coptic legend seems to have progressed in an oral rather than a literary way, since if the latter were the case the Ethiopic story of Theodoxia's finding the Cross would preserve more original details. What we have in the *Miracles of Mary* is a peculiar combination of the *Legend of Eudoxia* with the legend of Helena's finding of the Cross, known in Ethiopia as the *Story of the Appearance of the Cross*.²⁴⁹ The Theodoxia story took from the former the general setting and the main character, though changing her name, whereas the central element of the Coptic legend, the search for the tomb, was removed. Theodoxia is looking for the Cross which seemed to the Ethiopic editor much more important a goal than the tomb. He knew

²⁴⁵ "The Discourse of Cyril, archbishop of Jerusalem, on the Cross", [in:] *Miscellaneous Coptic texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. with English tr. by E.A.W. BUDGE, (Coptic Texts; 5), London 1915, 794.

²⁴⁶ To Licinius, for a while Constantine's co-regent, put to death by him in 325.

²⁴⁷ *The Martyrdom and miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia*, ed. and tr. by E.A.W. BUDGE, London 1888, 325; an Ethiopic translation: *George of Lydda, the patron saint of England: a study of the cultus of St. George in Ethiopia*, the Ethiopic texts in facsimile ed. with tr. by E.A.W. BUDGE, (Luzac's Semitic Text & Translation Series [20]), London 1930, 266.

²⁴⁸ A. BOYCE, "Eudoxia, Eudocia, Eudoxia: dated solidi of the fifth century", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 6 (1954), 136ff.

²⁴⁹ "Récit de la de la manifestation de la Croix", [ed.& tr.] L. Guerrier & S. Grébaud, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 25 (1925-26), 275-308.

however that it was Helena who had found the Cross, and being sure that his readers also knew this he had to introduce her somehow into the story he was adapting. That is why he invented the change of the name 'Theodoxia' into 'Helena', by which operation he believed his story would remain in accordance with the facts known from the *Story of the Appearance of the Cross*.

The name of Constantine's sister in Ethiopic creates further problems, both as far as the additional 'T' is concerned, and its various forms met in the Ethiopic story which differ from each other not only between the manuscripts but also within them.

It is difficult to explain the presence of 'T' at the beginning of all the Ethiopic name forms, but there is no compelling reason to think that the Arabic *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic translation must have had a mistakenly added letter, or perhaps simply a stain, before an intended ²*Awduksiyā*, which in Arabic would render the Coptic *Eudoxia*. It is difficult to accept a literary transmission of the legend, because then we would have to believe that such a stain was present in all the places where Eudoxia's name occurred. Moreover in the place where this name occurs in a regular translation, as is the case with the *Encomium on Saint George*, mentioned above,²⁵⁰ we do have the spelling ²*Āwdoksəya*. Thus it seems that the hypothesis of oral transmission of the *Legend of Eudoxia* may better explain the alteration of the name 'Eudoxia' into 'Tawdoksəya' in Ethiopic, rather than, as W.E. Crum thought,²⁵¹ the similarity of these two names in Arabic script.²⁵²

Oral transmission would also be responsible for the various forms of the name that we have met in the manuscripts: 'Tawdoksəya', 'Tawdosəya', 'Ta²odosəya', etc. The first of them is the closest to the original Coptic name, and that is our second reason for choosing it, notwithstanding its rarity, as the standard form in our edition.

The hypothesis of oral transmission may be corroborated by the literary elaboration of the episode of Theodoxia in the *Miracles of Mary*. The Ethiopic editor added a prayer of Theodoxia to Mary which he put in the form of a *mälkä²*, a poem praising parts of the body of a saint. This genre of poetry is found nowhere else than in Ethiopic literature.

Although we do not know the exact date, the process of transformation of the *Legend of Eudoxia's finding of the Tomb* into the *Story of Theodoxia's finding of the Cross* must have taken place between the early 15th century, soon after the original collection of the *Miracles* was translated into Ethiopic,²⁵³ and perhaps the middle of

²⁵⁰ George of Lydda, Budge's edition (see n. 247): Eth. text, p. 199, fol. 75b, col. a, 4: ²*Āwdoksəya*.

²⁵¹ W.E. CRUM, "New Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Ryland Library Manchester* 5 (1918-20), 502, n. 1.

²⁵² Crum knew only the simplified version of the name from the Paris manuscript. To his credit it should be said that if one accepts that primarily the name in Ethiopic was *Tawdoksəya* (implying long ā in Arabic) and not *Tāwdosəya*, the possibility of misreading ²*Awduksiya* (that had to begin with ²*alif*) as *Tāwduksiya* (that had ²*alif* as the sign of long ā) is greater than the critics (B.A. Pearson, in *Eudoxia*, 17, n. 13) supposed.

²⁵³ During the reign of Zār'a Ya'qob 1446-1468, according to the introduction to the collection, in the same manuscript.

the 16th century, the century to which the oldest known manuscript that contains our text is dated.

The Coptic *Legend of Eudoxia* has also left other traces in Ethiopic literature. We find them in the *Synaxary*, in the reading for 10 Mäggabit (= 16 March),²⁵⁴ repeated in the reading for 17 Mäskäräm (24 Sept.),²⁵⁵ which is the day of the Festival of the Holy Cross (*Mäsqäl*). We learn that the place of Jesus's tomb witnessed many miracles of healing and resuscitation, and therefore the elders of the Jews ordered that all the people should bring ashes, offal and sweepings from their houses and dispose of them at the tomb. This had been done for over 200 years (365 in the *Legend of Eudoxia*²⁵⁶), a great hill thus being formed at the place. Helena put an end to this activity: she had many Jews imprisoned, in this way forcing them to reveal the site of Jesus's tomb. Then the Jews were ordered to remove the heap, and as a result the Cross was unearthed.

It should be noted that the person acting here is Helena, the mother of Constantine, and not Eudoxia, his sister. This time, however, the presence of Helena cannot be attributed to the Ethiopic editor of the *Synaxary* because we also find her in the Arabic Alexandrian *Synaxary*.²⁵⁷

This means that the story of the accumulation of the rubbish on Jesus's tomb, clearly a version of the *Legend of the Finding of the Cross*, had been known among the Copts independently of the *Legend of Eudoxia*. It was subsequently used for the story in the *Coptic-Arabic Synaxary*, and together with the whole work translated into Ethiopic (the end of the 14th cent.).

²⁵⁴ *Le Synaxaire éthiopien: mois de maggäbit*, éd. et tr. G. COLIN, (*Patrologia Orientalis* 46:3 = 207), Turnhout 1994, 334-337; an English transl.: *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, a translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium.... by E.A.W. BUDGE, Cambridge 1928 (= Hildesheim 1976), vol. III, 684f.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 426f and 59f respectively.

²⁵⁶ *Eudoxia*, (above n. 237), 54/55, para. 43.

²⁵⁷ The date is however different: 17 Tout = 14 September; *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)*, texte arabe publ., trad. et annoté par R. Basset, (*Patrologia Orientalis* 1:3), Paris 1905, 27.