Appendix 2: Translation of Gregory's *carmina* II, 1, 10.12.13.17

II.1.10 To the Priests in Constantinople and the City Itself

O priests, you who offer bloodless sacrifices,	1
and servants of the great Unity in Trinity,	
O laws, oh kings boasting piety,	
O of the great Constantine glorious abode,	
younger Rome, as much surpassing all cities	5
as the starry sky surpasses earth,	
your generosity I invoke; what has Envy	
done to me? How far from my holy children threw	
me, all too long struggling, having brought light	
of heavenly teachings, having drawn streams from a rock.	10
What kind of justice is this, toil and throes for me,	
as the first marks of religion were carved on the City,	
and another one instead rejoicing in his heart for my toils,	
lifted suddenly on a throne not his own,	
upon which had got me God and God's good worshippers?	15
These things are a loathsome bane, these things God's servants,	
in their gloomy reciprocal contest,	
O Lord Jesus Christ, plot against me.	
For neither party dared I to bare arms,	
and no one besides Christ I wanted to support.	20
This is my fault: neither failed I someone else this way,	
nor I followed like a raft a merchant ship.	
Thus, I'm hated by the fickle-minded, those who left	
this tribune in unholy manner and roared against friends.	
But let a deep oblivion conceal these things, whilst I,	25
thence departed, will enjoy stillness,	
having left everything at once, the court, the city,	
and the clergy, willingly, as I had been already desiring,	
when God called me with nightly dreams	
and with the grievous terrors of the icy sea.	30
Therefore, with a laugh I flew envy, and from a violent	
storm I dropped anchor in a steady haven,	
where, elevating my spirit with pure thoughts of the mind,	
I shall offer silence too, as before speech.	
This is the word of Gregory, whom reared the land	35
of the Cappadocians, for Christ stripped of all.	

II.1.12 To Himself and on the Bishops

Prologue (1-32)

Maybe, as I stood slander on the model	1
of the One who suffered and commanded thus,	
so, once I had suffered, I should have curbed my words too,	
and thereby, by way of a full contest,	
hoped for a fuller reward.	5
Yea, to full toil, fuller reward,	
but to the wanting, also the prize is lacking.	
Yet, that the evil may not suppose themselves to prevail	
totally, nor have an easy ride,	
as no one resists them, while I'm leaving	10
their end to the Last Fire,	
to the All-Questioning and the justly purging,	
even what by some plot goes unnoticed here,	
I myself will smite with a brief speech	
my murderers: because they are murderers, who pervert judgement	15
and shed the blood of all those innocent souls	
that they smote with their dispositions.	
I'll speak what I'll say, without being wary	
of slander, which is forbidden	
to anyone, but to me even very hateful.	20
Therefore, I won't name names in my speech,	
that I may not seem to be shaming what ought to be hidden;	
nor shall I mention everyone regardless,	
—may not my mouth exceed so much!—	
because I know also many deserving a better speech.	25
But whoever is among the evil and beyond them,	
be conquered and be tamed now:	
the sword of speech will cut the worse.	
So what? If you should oppose the speech,	
you'll prove clearly and plainly your own accuser.	30
Such, then, is my stance, and let anyone smite me:	
for a long time I have been suited to the stones.	

Bad bishops (33-42)

Trust the lion, the leopard regard as tame, and maybe the viper can run away from you while you fear, but please, this one beast avoid: bad bishops, 35 with little awe for the dignity of their throne. They all have rank, not all have grace, strip off the fleece and behold the wolf. Don't try to convince me with words, but with facts:

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I hate teachings that life contradicts. 40 While praising the colour of the sepulchre, I loathe the inner stink of rotting limbs. Moral of the story: Life is unjust (43-69) "How do you speak? And why? How come you, always putting forth better words, don't speak kindly now, too?" It's usual for those who suffer to throw up their misery 45 to God, to friends, to parents, to neighbours, to guests, or to the time and life of posterity. I shall bring the speech slightly further up. Let no one ever say to toiling people that something more is to be found in this life, for the one who thinks this is deluded. 50 Everything is driven through night and darkness; indeed, God trials some by fire, other by darkness, until the fire sheds light on all these things. One endures a life of hardships, 55 groaning, sleepless, through tears wasting his limbs away, sleeping on the ground and feeding scarcely, and with anxious examining of the Divine Scriptures and inner scourges mangling himself: What have I missed? What wrong have I committed? Another one has plucked all the pleasures of youth, 60 has danced, sung, has satisfied his feverish belly, to all sorts of lust yielded, for the senses failed to fit a bolt, a colt without reins. And then the first is overrun by misfortunes except it's not misfortunes, for nothing in this world 65 really bothers the wise, as seems to most of those who deem lost even the appearance of wisdom while the other, always successful, succeeds also in this, to be seen as the pinnacle of virtue. An example: Gregory's story (narratio 70-153) Gregory is called to the bishopric (70–92) Witness of these words is the one delivering them. 70 I was seated above visible things, touching with thought only the intelligibles and casting off fame, property, hopes, erudition, in not taking delight I took delight, with a scanty loaf

sweetening life, free from insolence of pride,

when (you should expect anything, even if wise) against every expectation one good person dragged me and brought me abroad; who this was, I dare not say. Maybe the Holy Spirit, maybe my sins, that I may atone for my conceit. 80 This, however, was clear: that the assemblies of shepherds and the orthodox people, not yet so widespread, or rather having just opened its eyes to the rays of the sun, wanted some freedom of speech to come back, and to enjoy a little respite from the evil all around, 85 from babbling tongues and from the many splinters of error, at the hand of which they laboured, without any shelter, like some sweet rose amidst brambles. or a single black grape among an unripe bunch. Thus, then, I came upon a pious stranger, 90 bowing down before oaths and entreaties manifold, resisting which would have been too much of a disdain.

Gregory's behaviour as a bishop (93–113)

After I came here, having left the land of Cappadocia, which seems to everyone as the rampart of faith, without a community or anything I was compelled by 95 (these are enemies' lies, fake accounts and covers for envy, randomly made up), thereafter what happened I want you to relate, because you were witness of my toils. Did I do or say something clumsy or uncomely 100 or damaging in these three years? Except only this: I spared the evil people by whose hands I endured to be welcomed with a lapidation. Indeed, it was more pious that I also suffered Christ's pains with Christ's mind. 105 See, such is the poor's present to God. But let's take this as an accusation, if you want. A sensitive temper—they say—is a moth in the bones, and this I learned the hard way. This brazen body of mine, pining for anxiety, 110 already droops, and I have nothing else to give, owing much more even if I should bring everything in. What will become of one who's paired with an unsound friend?

Gregory's moment of glory (114-135)

But let's return to the starting point. I had been called, I established a nation among wolves, 115 I gushed forth words for a thirsty flock, sowed the faith, which struck root thanks to God. those who had formerly been clouded I enlightened with Trinity. I was like rennet in the milk, a drug that forces persuasion, and some were already bound, 120 and some others were not far, and others would have been forthwith. Every heart was charmed, even if after seething. and affection was already blended with doctrine. I could hope everything, or at least a small turn of the scale. That fortunate city of Rome knew this. 125 and her foremost kin knew this especially. They thought me perchance of some worth, whose least esteem is greater than attaining every highest glory among others, so much do they excel all others! 130 They held me in esteem as I was there. and still censure the evil now that I'm gone. More than this they could not do, nor did I ask anything. Alas city, city! Let me deliver some tragic verse, too. 135

Gregory is dismissed by the bishops (136–153)

Yet those real gentlemen, my fellow shepherds, burst with envy (you know those Ancient Pistols: the boorish can't stand education) and took my sickness as an ally, sprung from my toils, which should have been revered 140 by those labouring even a little while for God, and my poor fondness for the power of that high throne, while the whole world was torn apart 'tween battling fronts. So, with these pretexts and a nudge from the devil, those loving friends were more than happy to escort me thence, 145 as if throwing ballast from a weighed-down ship. My rectitude was a burden for the evil. Then, they'll raise their hands—as innocents—to God, and expiatory gifts they'll send sincerely, hallowing the congregation with mystic forms, 150 they who have sent me too thence out of cowardice, though not very much against my will, because 'twas a real shame to be one among those dealers in faith.

Humble background of the bishops (154-175)

Some of them are sons of clerks for the exactors. and they can't think of anything but skimming; 155 others come from the bank and the exchanges thereof, others from the plough, baked in the sun, others from daily pitchfork and mattock: others left the oar or the army, stinking still of bilge water or marked in the body, 160 and like helmsmen or commanders of the people, won't vield even in the smallest matter: others, without having yet completely removed the soot of the forge from their bodies, are rascals worthy of the lash or the chain gang. 165 who even before they have paid their price to their masters, when they have the least rest from labours, at once become wanton, and steal someone from the mob, or swindle or extort. Then they hurry upwards, beetles towards the sky, 170 rolling the sphere, yet no more the one of dung, nor bowing down as before, but convinced to hold power over those above; they babble awkwardly and can't even count their own feet or hands. 175

Intellectually unfit bishops (176–191; larger section: 176–329)

Are not all these things awful, especially for a bishop, my good friend? Let's not be so old-fashioned as to wrongly approve such a situation, not even if we zealously pursue humility. The episcopate is not the least of things. As it should 180 definitely be for the best, I would choose the very first; if not, at least be he not the last. If my opinion should find some acceptance, especially now, in this squall of raving tongues, and enormous cities and congregations, 185 which, if they can keep firm, are a greater gain, but, if they don't persevere, the loss is even greater, according to it, then, you should be choosing the good, for a mediocre man could barely manage, even with serious effort, to equal the good. 190 Only a most truthful observer can take such a stance.

Objection: The apostles (192–198)

But here come to me the evangelists, exactors and fishermen, and poor in speech, who nevertheless have ensnared the world with simple speech, catching even the learned into their net, 195 that the miracle might be greater than the speech. 'Tis indeed an argument easy for everyone to raise, against which my answer will be short and really clear.

Answer 1: The faith of the apostles (199-216)

Give me, prithee, the faith of just one of the apostles, 200 his lack of brass, not carrying a scrip, nor yet staves, half naked, without sandals, living day by day and wealthy in hope alone, courteous to no one for approval of his preaching, lest flattery seem worthier, nor busy with foreign doctrines. 205 Be one like them, and I'll take anything, be he ignorant of the language, deformed, lowborn and cowherd: for his ways cover the misery. Be you like them, and even if you fish frogs, we will then number you in the choirs of angels. 210 Therefore, grant me this one thing: Do you cleanse from devils? Do you cast out the leper, the dead from his grave? And do you give firmness to the limb of the palsied? Lay hands on the sick, and rest the disease: this way you'll convince me to despise education. 215

Answer 2: Knowledge is good in itself and was granted to the apostles (216-244)

So, if having one thing resulting from two, one praiseworthy, the other deplorable, you take into account one, leaving aside the other wittingly, you, mischievously indeed, are hijacking the comparison. Yea, Matthew was a tax collector, but worthy, 220 yet not as tax collector, but as laden with Spirit. Peter was the chief of the disciples, but he was Peter not as fisherman but because full of zeal. The ways persuade me to honour even the net. But you I avoid, even if you show some sign of seriousness, 225 because it is only a snare and a trap.

You are a painter, who imitates the beautiful forms only when leprous or maimed. Either you paint the whole beauty, or you leave it out whole. And tell me also this, how come you call such people uneducated, 230 whose speeches and writings we strive to understand even in the least detail, we, bred in eloquence from the beginning, and for whom the works and words are still so many that everything is filled with books, 235 from every tongue and learned mind, bringing the sublime fruit of interpretation? Wherefore were kings and cities, assemblies, accusers, and eloquent prosecutors, at the bar or in the middle of theatres, 240 wise men, lawyers, supercilious philosophers. politicians who speak properly and timely, convinced and refuted outspokenly, if they hadn't the doctrine you deny them?

Answer 3: The role of charisma (245–264)

Maybe you'll say, "Through the stream of Spirit", 245 and you'd be right, but consider what you imply. Don't you partake of the Spirit, too? Of course, and you take too much pride in it. Why, then, do you grudge doctrine to those who seek it? Either you attribute falsely to the nature of Spirit 250 and to the righteous to inspire doctrine and to be inspired, or they were indeed wise. This way, you are inextricably ensnared by your own reasoning, yes, you who promptly say, and only, what would have been better not to have said, but to have kept inside. 255 I've heard that the spirit of the enemies is mute: 'tis better to keep silent than to speak badly. May you loosen the tongue, O Word of God, of those who utter justice, and burden the one of those who spout and hiss like vipers 260 and shoot poison from the inside to kill their siblings. You are just like this: How could be different the speech of the ignorant? But let me say briefly how things really are, and what is better to think.

Nature and use of knowledge (265–302)

They were, yea, they were well learned back then, of course, but not well learned even in the pleasantries of speech,

265

because, here's the thing: our every speech is double, the words and the meaning; the ones are like the outward clothing, the other is the body clothed. Someone has both good, others only one of them, 270 or finally both are bad, according to nature or nurture. As regards us, the outside is not a big deal, nor its conditions, while the inside is really important, for in the meaning is our salvation, if it's uttered and shown. 275 Which profit from a sealed spring, from a ray of sun concealed by clouds? Such is a wise thought unspoken, like the beauty of a rose that an ugly cup covers; the beauty appears when, 280 burst open by the wind, the cup pushes its offspring on stage; but if the beauty were to remain always covered, there would be no delight in much-revered spring. We don't look for anything more than speaking like those who seem simple as regards speaking. 285 At least, may their meanings be present. I long to perceive if only a part of your splendour.

Value of education (288-308)

For if written doctrines are of no value. why did I jest such a long time, or rather: why did I count vainly the sands of the sea, 290 in toils weaving nights with the days, in order to have, if only with wrinkles, a bit of learning? But if they are—as they are—well written, then leave not to the cobwebs the labours of the just. Be the style pedestrian, the language coarse, 295 I won't mind: I can walk lowly, too. The frugal meal I oftentimes find dearer than the one adorned by the hands of the cooks. For the garment is the same: fair is the beauty not feigned by hands, but inherent to nature. 300 Be the meaning noble, and it will be enough. Sophistication is vain, we leave it to those who like it. Spare me Sextus and Pyrrho, goodbye Chrysippus, far be the Stagirite from me, don't grow fond even of Plato's eloquence. 305 Renounce the ornaments of the doctrines you rejected. Be philosopher, but with plain words: you'll please us even with unrefined talks.

Christian culture (309-329)

Teach us as you prefer, but teach, who is Trinity for me, how God is One 310 and still distinct, one worship, one nature, monad and triad; which is the nature of angels, the duplicity of the world, the justice of Providence in spite of many injustices apparent to the majority and which is the relationship between soul and body 315 and the first and second laws and what is incarnation, which exceeds by far any other object of knowledge. and the mixture of two natures in one glory, mortification resulting in awaking and heaven again, and what is the sense of resurrection and judgment. 320 which the life of the just, which of the wicked. Tell me, prithee, how everything goes, and where it stands, if the Spirit has revealed some of these things to you, or everything, whether only a little or even poorly, inasmuch as the purity of your mind was capable. 325 Rob me not of these! But if you are totally blind, then why do you blindly lead? Alas, the dimness of those who trust a blind guide, how shall they fall together in the pit of their ignorance!

Morally unfit bishops (330–354)

Be this enough for those: ves, they are the lesser evil. 330 but ignorance is still an evil, even if the lesser. Yet what should be said mentioning also the wicked? For there are, truly there are, some who are more wretched, miserable, revolting crapshoots of the game of life, 335 ambidextrous of the faith, honouring the laws of fashion, not those of God, weathercocks of words always changing direction, or flapping willows. flattering to women, pleasant poisons, lions for the weak, dog for the strong, natural hunters of any table, 340 wearing out the doors of the powerful, not the wise, esteeming favour, not duty, so as to make even their neighbours worse. Do you want me to say something wise about them? There's one boasting nobility, another eloquence, 345 another one riches, another his clan. Those who lack something to stand out make themselves known through knavery. Also, this is artful: they know nothing of speech, and they bind the tongue of the more eloquent with a law. 350 If a strife were kindled of eyes or hands, you would have cut these off from us, too, you artists! Is this not a clear outrage? Is it not a plain damage? Who shall tolerate this? Mysterium fidei!

Consequences for the church (355-370)

What a salvation we have received from God. 355 one that spread already almost to the whole world. and nevertheless what utterly worthless leaders we have! I won't speak falsely, yea, but neither pleasantly. Alas, what a specious scene is played: Personages now, and the persons later. 360 It is shameful to say how things are, and still I'm going to say it. Appointed to be teachers of virtue, we are the workshop of every vice. silently screaming even when appearing not to talk: "Wickedness presides: let no one labour, 365 be wicked instead, 'tis the shortest and best way: action lays down the law." For one could barely, through toils of teachers, incline for the better, but if one has a perverse model, one's done, a stream running downhill. 370

The reason: failure in selecting bishops (371–396)

Here's the reason: they say it is with the rays of the sun that the eagle tries his hatchlings' sight cleverly; through these, the bastard from the legitimate is told, and the one cast forth, the other recognized as son; we on the contrary enthrone easily anyone, 375 provided he wants it, as leader of the community, examining nothing of neophytes nor of older Christians, neither their behaviour, nor any of their words, nor their acquaintances, not even as much sound as suffices to evaluate a coin, and not those conspicuous for the trial by fire of time, 380 but those who there and then appear worthy of the throne. Indeed, if we should keep in mind that power in the majority of cases makes its recipient worse, who in his right mind would put forward someone he doesn't know? And if 'tis such a big deal to steer 385 only my own soul through the mighty swells of life, how dare you give the reins of such a community to anyone, except if you truly want to drown the ship?

How come when precious stones are difficult to find, and spices are not grown on any place of earth, 390 many are the cheap nags on the market. while the high-bred are nurtured in the houses of the rich, that the leader is easily found, without training, ready and fresh for the office? What guick reversal of ways and habits! 395 It's a roll of dice: what is divine is decided by dice.

Second reason: Lack of preparation of bishops (397–431)

Or you just put at once a comic mask on someone paltry and cheap, and suddenly he appears to us as a pious man. Truly, great is the grace of the Spirit, 400 if even our most dear Saul is among the prophets. Yesterday you were a mime in the theatre (let another one inquire what you were outside the theatre), now you yourself are our unusual show. You were just now a horse lover, sending God dust 405 as others send prayers or pious thoughts; something happens—a charioteer falls, or a horse comes second at the racesand the nimble haze of horses strikes you. 410 as a madman or one out of his mind; now you are well-behaved and radiate only sobriety, unless you are not seen and run to your old vice, like a gueer branch that, fleeing the grip of the hand that kept it straight, runs to its shape. Yesterday an attorney, you sold justice, 415 twisting the law up and down, thus damning those whom justice would have saved and applying the rule of justice to the highest bidder; Now you are my judge, an instant Daniel. Yesterday you judged me, sword drawn, 420 and made of the court a lawful den of robbers, stealing and bullying, above all the very laws; how meek are you today! One could not change clothes as easily as you your character. Yesterday you squirmed among effeminate dancers, 425 at weddings you played the burlesque among the Lydians, twisting your voice in songs and swelling on drunken pride; now you watch the behaviour of virgins and consorts: how suspicious your virtue after your former habits! 430 Simon Magus yesterday, today Peter Simon. O the speed! O a lion instead of a fox!

Not enough time between baptism and ordination (432–441)

But tell me, dear friend and exactor of tributes. or former-something in the civil service, how come you, being poor, and then exceeding Cyrus the Mede, Croesus, or Midas with your revenues, 435 owning a house made and full of tears. you migrated to the altar and took hold of the throne, and still retain what you seized by force? And finally you are a tyrant even of God's mysteries, upon which one shouldn't perhaps even dare to look 440 if not prepared for a very long time.

Objection 1: Baptism (442-502)

The purification of baptism has changed you utterly? Wait: we'll see, why should we envy you? The advantage is mine, allow just some time, I ask you just a little delay of desire. 445 If you, cleansed today by a gift of God, burst forth again with the same mud thanks to sluggishness, the spring that burst forth with those former vices being still there (because immersion doesn't cleanse your every habit. but the fruit grown out of your habits), 450 know clearly that yours is a mournful salvation, all the more because before, there were at least high hopes. but now not even these: one is the grace of the One God. But maybe one is not evil: Will it suffice? 455 Well, we prefer a wax tablet that, formerly smoothed of its old images, registers new, beautiful ones. Become a Zacchaeus, and if you want to, don't give more, but just the sum you stole from them, for you cannot abide by the law; give to the poor as much as you want, 460 and then you'll host Christ properly. But if you keep the spoils inside or give little to the poor, and believe yourself to be acquitted, then our God—if I may speak thus—can be sold. Where is justice, if my mischief 465 is unforgiven while Grace allows you not to pay the price of your trespasses? You have Grace? Then from the others' wealth stay far away: this way your purification will be perfect. But if, while you were receiving the charisma, 470 you had what's not yours, or were not thoroughly cleansed, then I omit the rest, because it's clear to anyone. You look for Grace: it's because you now know you're a debtor,

even if the throne lifts you too high. 'Tis our past faults, not our present errors, 475 that baptism washes. Therefore, purify yourself perfectly, and do not become now a laughingstock, purifying others as you yourself are soiled, unless you alone had from God the distinctionsimilar to those written by the emperor's hand and grace— 480 to be praised even in your tyranny. If, however, even baptism does not purify totally those who—as I said—receive its grace (for never has anyone cheated with God, Who binds even the cunning more cunningly), 485 who could purify of the sins after the anointing those who plunge themselves again in the muddy pit and the dignity of our image from above outrage with the effigies of reptiles and brutes, which we become by imitation? 490 Habit is a second Maker. difficult to uproot and cast away. Therefore, there is no second cleansing. Once I was begot, and then formed anew by God; perchance I will be formed in another, future 495 creation, cleansed by the loving fire. Now I do not know remedy, except tears, wherefrom barely comes healing, while the scars remain anyways, I believe, as accusers of the former nefarious wounds. 500 If there is someone who trusts more in God. the advantage is mine: let him just persuade us.

Objection 2: Ordination (503-521)

One could say that the hands of bishops, the public mandate, are cleansing graces, or our loud proclamation of unworthiness 505 in public, taking the genuflection as a purification, or the Spirit, that veritable tyrant, according to righteous and wise bishops, although I believe these will get some defilement faster than add something to their own splendour. 510 For 'tis easier to partake in evil than in good, and thence you'll know this truth: if sanctified meat should touch a drink—as Micah says—or some mortal, it could never sanctify that which it touched, 515 whereas defiled things will profane the sacred.

The blessed Paul knows this very well, when, instructing Timotheus in his epistles, he gives the precept not to impose hands offhand on another, and not to share his ways: Our own sins are burden enough.

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The importance of morality: For outsiders of the church (522-540)

But let's concede as you like that even this is a purification. Who guarantees for the morality, except time, which shows that Grace has wiped clean in depth and not on the surface, as if like a dye from herbs 525 is the splendour whose beauty can be washed away? But be it a complete purification as well: your degree has changed you. Behold! You're an angel. A faithful one who honours our laws will concede this readily for the sake of dogma. 530 But the pagan has, apart from our reputation, no other standard for the goodness of the faith: he, who doesn't care about his vices, becomes a grudging prosecutor of yours. How are we, tell me, to persuade him to change 535 his mind from the one we gave him formerly? How are we to put to rest his tongue, with which words? Indeed, 'tis not in our laws to despise what in any respect polishes, as a kind of statue, the leader, lest the people have any damage. 540

It is difficult to achieve *after* ordination (541–569)

But I'll concede also that grace is stronger than fame. Everyone marvels at you and blame doesn't reach you. You come right after Elijah for your holy speech. How come you sit high, unproven and uneducated in things thoroughly practised and desired 545 by many? I'd marvel if you at least desired them: Conceit doesn't allow learning, because it convinces you that what you don't have is easy to acquire. But that's not the problem: rather, how will you avoid seeming at the same time the student and the teacher, 550 and to sharpen the sharpening as the fangs of boars, having to teach while you still learn? What is such a confusion of tasks? Since when has our doctrine become so cheap? There is no boxer who hasn't begun by holding forth 555 his hand or by looking for the favourable position;

nor a runner not training his feet in advance; which sane human, in just one day, has ever cut, wrought, and played a flute in a contest? Of which consummate painter has it ever been hear 560 that he did not mix many different qualities of colours? Who harangued or healed a disease before many pleas and many diseases? Small indeed would be the renown of art if the bare will sufficed to its acquisition. 565 Yet the prelate is required, and he alone, to be admirable and excellent straightway. But, as the saying goes, "No sooner said than done": Christ orders, and a creature forms.

The importance of morality for the faithful (570-574)

I'll just drop this. How dare you, looking down 570 on the abiding worshipper of God there, exalt yourself and desire the power of the throne? Don't you shiver and tremble before the throne, lest you should herd cows better than their herder?

The good faithful vs. the bad bishop (575–633)

Consider things this way, provided you bother to look them at all: 575 This one sleeps on the ground, devoured by ashes, and he wasted away his flesh with vigils, chanting the psalms and standing night and day and exiling his thoughts from the crass to the sublime 580 (for why should one entrust to the graves one's whole dust and be for the worms a more lavish food, begetting and feeding the begotten?). and with springs of tears he wiped clean his stains, if he ever had the smallest of sprinklings, whence even the wise is affected in the mire of life. 585 He was sealed with worthy signs in his flesh, parched by prayer and manifold toils (with them the ancient tasting afflicted me, turning me to earth, our nurturing mother), and he shudders, with his hunger and meagre rags 590 desiring to reach the clothing of incorruption. He did violence to the violence of belly with scant food, wooing death each day: for he knew the only food of angels is God. This one is now poor, but there was a time when he was very rich. 595

635

He, though, preferred jettisoning and sailing light, casting the load not to the abyss but to the poor. This one, fleeing the cities and the applause of the crowd and the storm that shakes all public things, fitted closely to God the dignity of thought, 600 alone devoted to divine matters with himself alone. This enclosed his beautiful body (for how can the body of the best not be beautiful?) with pearls iron chains, a hidden ornament-605 thereby binding himself though innocent, lest he trespass, even when free, and binding together with himself the erring senses. To such a man the Spirit taught the depths of Scripture, loosening what's sealed for the minds of the many. Show me, prithee, such beautiful things among yours! 610 A house, a plump woman, desire of children, wealth, butlers, exactors, cries, lawsuits, everything full of worries and works; a table swollen with provisions by the combinations of drinks and cooks, 615 who bring their fruit to guts by sea and by land (by which the mind is drowned and loses scope) and by perfumes, laughter, consorts of tunes that need cymbals and noise of feet. Others then, filled with the folly of nature, 620 addicted and swelling, all spruced up for women, just married—to say the least having still to open the bridal chamber or even living together with their lovers still unmarried, even before their cheek is covered with beard, 625 the ornament of men, just in their prime, young in the body, younger in the behaviour, or, on the contrary, laden with vices of days past, these are the leaders of not-carnal children, whom the Spirit, averse to flesh, begets, 630 these, who have learnt to honour the passions they suffer, who use the vices of others as excuses for their own, giving the same permit they claim.

Power is wearing (634–657)

Such are they. But maybe, in becoming better than themselves, they can be hindered by their thrones. Power, in facts, makes the fool worse. The disciplined instead remains disdained, eyes down, looking to God alone, fond of the place of the disciple, whose current teacher

maybe is unworthy to be his student,	640
if at least valour is not told by position.	
Such is the power of the Slanderer among us!	
Such subtle, shrewd tricks he plays	
whenever he wants to strike a city or a nation:	
besides the individual temptations, he gives also	645
the leader as a summary law of wickedness.	
Here it is, then: copper laminate in gold,	
or the changing colour of a chameleon,	
a beard, a downcast countenance, a bent neck,	
a mild voice, dressed up as faithful,	650
a slow pace, in all wise, except mind.	
Here are the first of the foremost honours of our time,	
the holy ephod and Samuel's cloak,	
a petty cot, not even totally made up,	
sackcloth as dress and a linen knot around	655
luxuriant hair, fitter for the heads of maidens,	
ostentatious outwards frills of orison.	

Avoiding duplicity and unseeming imitation (658–695)

How shall I not utter this uttering foreign to me? But I could not deliver something—even if from wrath— casual: maintain either the luxury or the mop! Why do you strive to possess both what's yours and what's not? Different are the borders of Phrygia and Mysia, different the courses of Merra and Siloam:)
the ones cannot be even tasted; to the others, moved	
by an angel, illnesses yielded.	5
You plant two vines, twice then	
you sow; your garment is woven from two cloths,	
you render a pair what does not belong to the same pair.	
Don't you know it is forbidden by the law	
that shuns duplicity, the twisting and mixing?)
One is the ornament of women, the other that of men;	
one the flight of jackdaws, the other that of eagles;	
the imitation of the great by the petty is very shameful,	
because of its shabbiness: let the sorcerers of Pharaoh	
persuade you clearly with their story. 675	;
But if you strived to be one of the wise men,	
don't just turn the rod into a snake;	
I want you to be all in all the great Aaron.	
However, if you are numbered among the mages of Egypt,	
if it's good, practise the whole art itself:)
no one grudges you a fair imitation,	
but if it's foul, then stay away. Refrain from what's mine,	
for you know what is mine, even if you pretend cleverly.	

You too rob me of my one little ewe lamb: your countenance is a cheating, and which Nathan will speak? 685 I'll rip your grey garments running onto you. if I catch you, because sometimes even of these you brag, as of the worst of foods, when you suffer from overeating delicacies. But rip you too something mine, if you can find something 690 too feeble or fake in me. What would be more right than this? Let Laban keep the white flocks, but the spotted ones are of the shepherd that has long laboured, frozen by nights and baked by the sun. 695

Example of imitation (696-708)

Therefore, feigning one's character is the worst of shames; however, if you hold fast, I will praise you. But how is it this, and to what is it similar? Can I play a bit with a pleasant fable 700 while being serious? There is laughter even in tears. The tale places a kitten in a bridal chamber, because it depicts her as a bride in bridal garments; Gifts, applauses, laughter: 'twas really a brilliant wedding. Then, she saw a mouse running through the middle of the room. 705 She was a bride, yea, but still a cat: at that sight she ran upon it and had dinner, not wedding. Such is every false teacher: Nature is not easily changed.

Should a bishop be a skilful politician? (709–760)

"Still, he knows his way around in business, this one you blame, and is a perfect leader, 710 practised in old and new movements, whereas that pious one is useful only to himself." Who says such things? Someone too malignant. For no one exists to live for himself only, neither among the good nor among the evil. 715 Rather, as this air, depending on who draws it, acquires a pleasant or a bad odour, so we are made like our neighbours most quickly, less, however, from the good, but too much from the evil. Wickedness in facts is easier to imitate. 720 But if such a man should become also our leader that is, if he is mean and full of wickedness-

then this is the proverbial bramble ruling the trees, whereas if he's excellent, by the pillar of fire once more led, the Great Israel will proceed 725 to that land of hope we all earnestly pursue, even if its leader is not always around in the marketplace, nor a Proteus skilful in stealing appearances, nor a Melampus nor another restless man easily adapting himself in everything to everyone else, 730 based on everyone's continuous changing. So why do you call useless—tell me—the one whose imitation can make us better? Or why is the best leader and right the one 735 whose imitation makes you despise ours? Excess is unsuitable for the sage, while generosity is most trustworthy. You can be that one, if you desire, but I'm this. Do you hold as the best of painters not the one painting lively forms with simple colours, 740 a Zeuxis or Polyclitus or a Euphranor. but anyone who with bright and shadowless dyes contrives misshapen bodies, like Callimachus and Calais did, in my opinion barely representing the copies of the copies? 745 Such is every manifold man. Is it with this in mind, then, that you were striving to find a shepherd? How small an effort! I'm ashamed for you. You look for a bishop as for a city curator. 750 You care for dung, but my concerns are wider. Leave to the priest one task and one only, to purify souls through life and words, bringing them upwards with inspired impulses, being gentle and high-minded, only by the divine, spotless reflections moulded 755 as a mirror reflecting from within and to send pure offerings on behalf of his children, until he has restored them as an offering. Let other tasks be left for the ones in them more accomplished. 760 This way, we can have a secure life.

Should a bishop be a good polemicist? (761–776)

Yet, as you deem free speech as the highest value, I accept it: nor do I find it unimportant, provided we use it with reason and moderation; however, mind how things are: the wise man's silence is worth more than your claptrap, for, while even your courage is boldness,

765

nobility means also curbing our words. But if the right chance occurs for speaking freely, you'll see the meek turn pugnacious, and you'll experience in that circumstance how much he's successful. 770 You'll learn how the ape and how the lion roars, when your human nature will be spit, as the bad conscience turns towards earth, while he, being irreproachable, is easily received. Nothing else in fact is more trustworthy than temper. 775

The strife for the biggest cities (776–791)

Thus in this respect too is the skilful one worse. Nevertheless he boastfully takes seat in the spotlight, enjoying the fruits of another man's table, so much despising all the others, like abortions. as he himself should be despised, 780 having this one spur of pride, his glorious city, and deserving for this an even more abject downfall: for in this way you are producing more wicked men. What kind of urban ass have you tried to present as better than another ass from the countryside? 785 An ass is an ass, even if it lives in the city. What do I mean? Well, how won't this favour the wicked? Is it not a plain snare for those who progress? In fact, the wise becomes like the unwise, whenever things flow well for the wicked 790 and those who correct have a wretched life.

Gregory renounces further action (792-810)

But this is the best course: as in a storm that twists everything, veering a little away from where everything is turning up and down, secure our short days, 795 and give to old age a good end. So, go ahead and keep your thrones and tyrannies, you, since you deem them as most important. Enjoy it, exploit it, carve up your patriarchates, let the great world yield to you, 800 change seat after seat, plunge the ones, the others lift: 'tis what you like. Go ahead, I'll recollect myself in God, by whom I live and breathe and for whom I look, to whom before birth my mother promised me, 805 with whom bound me dangers and the gifts of night, and to him I'll sacrifice pure movements of the mind, as far as it's possible at least, alone talking to him alone. All these things have been said to you, wicked, on behalf of the good: if one is grieved by these, my speech has reached its target. 810 All the rest, my friends, will be brought up in the end; however, please accept from me a valediction that, although brief, is still useful, like those who receive the last, fatherly words and commands, worthy of remembrance 815 because not a word more will be ever heard again, so that they remain even more deeply in the heart. If you should receive another Gregory, my friends, be more careful with him; if not, then be ye gentlemen with your neighbours 820 and with yourselves, you that agree just as long as you are possessed by the same passions: and that peace that I always earnestly served you should love, giving up your weaknesses, 825 by which the community is miserably troubled. I too shall let go of mine, be it that I think myself better than others or that my old age has made me harsh and peevish for anything, or finally that I, the one high in spiritual drunkenness, believe the sober to be dead drunk. 830 Be it as you prefer, but remember me, who has suffered much for the behaviour of friends, but keeping reason as a good guide and this old age, which delivers me from these sorrows. 835 In this way maybe a friend could make peace with me after the strife has died, with which envy goes along.

II.1.13 To the Bishops

O priests, you who offer bloodless sacrifices! 1 O highly glorious ministers of souls, bearing in your hands the image of the great God! O, you who the Supreme God with human beings together bring! 5 O, world's pillars, life's light, foundation of the doctrine, initiators to the shining mysteries of life immortal, Christ-bearers, sitting on the topmost thrones, most high, rejoicing in comely shows, stage treaders, standing on wooden stilts, feebly yawning through alien masks, 10 for what pertains to religion, the very same as everyone else. Yea, you may play, although you play shamefully,

and your speech may be haughty, yet what you do is really shallow, whereas I, even if all of you together may hold me an evil man and strange, and pull me far away 15 from your chorus, shooting one dart after another, openly and, what you love even more, secretly; nevertheless, what my heart stirs and urges, I will say, yet not wilfully, but I'll burst forth speech from my soul, as when a swell, forced from within 20 by a mighty wind and running under a rock, invisibly bellows, and then blasts out of the ground, from the rim of the crack in throes. I cannot hold my gall within, so bear it, if I should say some heart-biting word, too, born of grief. 25 Talking is a remedy for sorrow, if only to the wind. Christ's great body, the Lord's pride and glory, a kingly people from the whole earth, a nation beyond belief was once; now instead God's property is shaken 30 to and fro, like a swell in the roaring sea, or a plant quaking though raging winds. This people, for whom God came from his heavenly throne, and emptied his glory in the bowels of a mortal, and mixed with mankind, God and mortal in one conjoined, and, suffering, gave his body as a great price, his divine blood 35 poured as restitution of our sin, and many other victims, those who later sowed everywhere the gospel and from a bitter hand accepted a sweet death, thereby paying God the Word with word, his blood with blood. Who is disturbing this body? Whence such a burden for me? 40 How come a lone-grazing boar spoils my vineyard? How come a shadowy night conceals such splendour? Rabid, malevolent, grudging mankind ever since he first cast Adam out of paradise and immortal life, deceiving with the baneful fruit 45 and always striking us with many and powerful disruptions, because he managed not, even as he desired, to cast down our whole race with his cunnings (the spark of Word and lifted torch spread all over the earth with fame, while the persecutors confirmed even more those convinced by the martyrs), 50 he found another wily mean. Recognizing the power of the army, he throws a deadly enmity between its leaders. Thus, once the chief is fallen, the whole army declines; a bad gale can capsize a seafaring ship or break it on the cliffs when it is without helmsman. 55 Thus households, cities, choruses, cattle, chariots, flocks destroyed the ignorance of their guide. I speak to those who know the vice of all of us, guiding the people.

In the past a city was assigned as exile for the murderers, and a place to send the scapegoat to, and also one of bitterness and blood in the last days, whither whoever despised Christ gushed out, having the scarce and petty price of the Priceless, and not from One unwilling, since God is intangible to the hands, if he wants; and nevertheless they gushed out. But now 'tis one the place known for wickedness and doom by everyone, the strangers as well as our fellow believers, the former august seat of the wise, hedge of the best, this stage thriving with angelic choirs, the midmost gate between two worlds, the perennial and the one flying away, boundary of gods and mortals. Such was once; now instead 'tis ludicrous, as everyone is given way inside through an open door, so that I seem to hear a herald shouting in the town square:	60 65 70
"Come here, you experts of vice, shames of mankind,	75
Tubbies, jocks, shameless, arrogant, drunkards, tramps, jeer lovers, clad in luxury clothes,	
liars and wantons, quick to perjure, devourers of the public, on other people's properties laying invincible hands, envious, wily, unreliable, humble flatterers of the mighty, lion with the humble, two-faced slaves of the ever-changing convenience,	80
octopus on the stone sung in the stories for their skin, just married and already seething, still with their first down, you surely hide the natural fire, keeping in the eyes a misty love, when you wander publicly, ignorant of heaven, just baptized yet sooty,	85
as wickedness is joined with the dazzling Spirit. Come on, here, bold ones, a broad throne is ready for everyone! Come here, bend with the hands the young neck to everyone readily; even to the unwilling 'tis bent. The manna again, a strange rain: everyone collect in his lap, some more, some less, the same grace.	90
If you want, don't even spare God's holy day of rest, for it may fester in greedy hands. Common to all is air, and common is earth,	95
common the wide sky, and what his eyes illuminate, common is also the bounty of the sea, common the thrones, too. How wonderful! Not even Saul is a stranger to grace, but an oracle. Therefore, let no ploughman, no carpenter, no worker in leather, no hunter of prey, no one forging fiery works remain afar, nor let him have someone else as guide to God. For 'tis better to rule than to obey the ruler.	100
So, the one who from the hands a big axe or a plough threw away, or the leather, or the planks or the tongs,	105

let him come here, to press all around God's table, thronging and thronged. Let the strong drive away the other, often even the better, who sweated in these seats. old aged, worn out in the flesh, conversant with heaven, despising the world and having his lot with God, 110 a dead among the living and a faithful priest of the King. One paints an image from its model, setting it before himself, and the board takes up its form; but seeing you, one should take the opposite way. This is the only advantage of your depravity." 115 Thus would the herald shout. Yet I do dread such things as I've heard about the glorious Moses, who alone gazed openly in through the cloud to God and ordered the others to remain on the foothills. although most holy in clothes most holy and trembling 120 at the very sound of the divine voice. For 'twas better even for the brutes not to step on God's ground. that they might be not destroyed under bursting stones. I do dread also the end of Aaron's sons, who, for the offerings put on strange fire, a strange death died 125 and sudden, and the place of their death was sanctified. Although the sons of the great Aaron, they were destroyed. Thus even the Helids a baneful fate seized, the sons of Heli, for their greedy mind. Yea, they'd lay unholy hands on the holy kettles. 130 Nor did Heli escape the wrath, but even him the ungodly belly of his sons vexed, though righteous and laden with words of rebuke for them. So, if such sins such a wrath awaits, how much more should we dread before greater evils! 135 Even thee, kingly ark, he who kept thee with impure hands from falling died forthwith. God's temple too was made to hands untouchable by the pillars outside the walls. Therefore, I wail and fall at your feet, Lord Jesus Christ, that no disgrace may come upon me 140 as I retire. I am wearied by the wolves hurting the flock, with the shepherds I strove long; heart has fled my crooked limbs, I can barely breathe, oppressed by toils and our disgraces. Of whom some compete for the holy seats, 145 swell one against the other, through evils tossed and tossing to and fro, and are stubborn contenders who scream "Peace!" and brag of the blood. Oh, that they may try the full measure of the Gethan plague, righteous and on the seat, for 'tis the seat's retribution. 150 The others, divided on each side, harass East and West; God has left flesh,

and among these fighters there are different names and slogans: Paul is with me, Peter with you, Apollo with him, and these are the gods. Christ was vainly nailed. 155 for 'tis not Christ's name we bear, but those of humans, although we have glory in his blood and hands. How much lust has clouded our eyes, lust for vain glory or possessions, or dread envy, consuming and delighting in evil, to our rightly sore eyes! 160 And Trinity is just an excuse, actually 'tis hate unbelievable. Everyone is two-faced, a sheep enfolding a wolf, and bronze concealing a sour bite for the fish. Such are the leaders. Then follows closely the people, 165 prone to wickedness, even without a leader. There is no distinction between good and evil. nor between hoary sense and reckless youth, nor a grievous and devout life and an effeminate one. One is the rule: to make much of the worst. Damn that man who first brought here the wicked! 170 Let them have the world, God, and whatever compensation awaits the good in the last days; let the good fruitlessly toil. Such is the sentence of our judges, and let justice be banned from here. Let everything be the same, Christ, man, sun, star, 175 light, shadow, a pious angel, and Lucifer no more shining. Let God-slayer Iscariot be the same as Peter, and most impious Samaria as Jerusalem most holy. Let gold and silver be worth the same, and even iron, a pearl and a rugged stone, fountains and ravines: 180 let's mix up everything and treat it as the same! Thus 'twas once, as the first-created matter was unadorned, still delivering the unsteadily defined world. Once the great temple was unapproachable to the Moabites and the Ammonites, for they vexed a brave army. 185 Others were numbered by Joshua among the water bearers and the wood bearers, for they had deceived him. This for the evil, yet they honoured great Levi's seed: indeed, they made him servant of the heavenly tent, and here too there were rules for victims, place and toil. 190 Each man laid hands on his task. to hasten what was of the temple and outside it. Those served under such rules of virtue, whereas we raffle prizes for the vice: oh, death! Is there a bard skilled enough in laments to bewail this? 195 Refrain, friends: let's stop suffering for the derangement; even late God can be honoured with pure victims. If I'll have persuaded, then good; but if my words and age should be smothered by youthful rashness or by a cloud

of jackdaws croaking death to me foolishly, 200 I shall testify by the hand of God immortal and the black day that devours with the last fire the light materials, I am not on the same throne as those, nor of the same works, nor even of the same mind, on the same boat or the same road. But let them thread their own way, whilst I 205 will search Noah's ark, to avoid a grim fate. So may I escape, far removed from the wicked, even the fiery rain of Sodom, awful and bitter. From these bounds recollecting the wondering mind inside, all turned inwards, laughing about the storms of life 210 which still soil shamefully even the faces of the wise, and always impressing on the heart divine notions, approaching nothing mixed with evil, but pure, to the light of the Thrice-Shining Godhead, with urging longings, I shall come blameless to the throne of God immortal: 215 There all will be visible, nay, what is more, equal, then, when the balance will be in the hands of God, the Just Judge.

II.1.17 On the Different Lifestyles and against Fake Priests

A painter is excellent when he draws on his canvas	1
the exact shapes, looking as if they were alive,	
not when, mixing many colours and bright aimlessly,	
he makes a meadow of painting of the canvas.	
I praise the seafaring ship, not the one counterfeited	5
in her beauty, or splendid with garlands on the stern,	
rather the one the hands of the shipwright had best fastened	
with bolts and given to the swells confident.	
Even a host is excellent if braver, not if fair-looking,	
and the dazzling house is second to the sound and solid.	10
Such are even the lives of mortals. The one is immortal whom awe	
brings to Christ, an alien unto twisted vice,	
steadfast, unshaken, imperturbable. The other most wretched,	
inside being feeble, outside feigning force,	
short-lived, the like of the idiots, to whom everything	15
whirls, as their mind is unstable.	
Such is the heart even of glorious Christ's priests.	
The one is slave to the ever-shifting strength of mortals,	
bowing to opportunity, a cane oftentimes bent by winds,	
of all kinds of vices not remedy, but model,	20
whereas the other with trembling and cleansed palms	
offers the Gift, reconciled by the flesh of Christ	
and by the great sufferings that God bore down here,	
ransom of our ancestral passions.	
For him alone he lives and rejoices; for him he rips	25
his heart apart from earthly things, turned away from here.	

To good people he gives mind; to the evil, however,	
he bows like a rugged, inflexible stone.	
Nor does he turn to riches or important thrones,	
nor the ephemeral glory that creeps along here,	30
nor does he, with the skin of the violent king, the lion,	
conceal inside servile self-interest,	
scavenger, skilled in deceit, wicked, shifting concealer	
of shifting and various kinds of misdeeds.	
Rather, nourishing his mind with pure thoughts,	35
he already grasps the heavenly Trinity,	
Whose image he fixed in his own senses,	
beholding one glory in triple beauties;	
then, making the people Godlike with holy sacrifices,	
he will finally bring the bloodless offerings of soul.	40
I (I won't hide it) longed to be one of them,	
and I had already one foot on the threshold,	
when I saw godless behaviours and troublesome mischief;	
suddenly I recoiled and brought away my foot,	
yet how much I toiled among the other misbelievers,	45
among whom the echo of my tongue is still heard.	
To me the stones, Trinity to them, the divinity finally confirmed:	
such gifts we gave to each other!	
But even thus I complied, leaving a doctrine no more unbelieved,	
thrown everywhere by my swells.	50
I'm down: trample, trample, malignant envy! But perchance	
I'll stop you when I'll hide at the extreme boundaries,	
or I'll be shut in the dark bowels of some beast,	
a huge sea monster, as Jonah once was plunged.	
Well, the body may well be in the bowels, but the mind will move	55
with unbound rush, wherever it wants, even if shut in.	
This one thing of the good is free and can't be restrained	
nor taken away: a mind lifted by Christ.	
No more guest of a mortal king, as was before,	
is Gregory, giving tiny gifts to his envelope,	60
lying in the public, downcast and mute,	
with a breathless panting and feasting on slavish food.	
The judge won't punish me with a seat, either equal	
or lower, to give a measure to my inflation.	
Nor will I greet murderous hands or clutch	65
their cheek to obtain a measly favour,	
nor will I run with many people to some holiday feast,	
either for a birthday or for a funeral or a wedding,	
to put every spoil in my jaws or give it to my attendants	
with the rapacious hands of a Briareus;	70
then late, bearing a burden, as a living grave, I'll drag myself	
back home, worn out by the toiling belly,	
slurring the breath of surfeit, still hurrying towards another	

fat feast, before having dispersed the previous glut.	
Nor, presiding in the holy places,	75
be I alone or with many gathered as one,	
Shall I utter something pleasant to hear, excluding the Spirit,	
that I may be prudent and loved by the majority,	
enjoying the applause and dance in the theatres,	
a tightrope walker of fighting speeches,	80
the like of winning athletes and much-modulating disgraces,	
or even the mad antagonist charioteers:	
not wounding the rage, not quenching the fury	
of the burning body, not fettering with reason	
the hand raging all over other people's property,	85
not scattering false conceit from the heart,	
not throwing on the floor with doctrine swelling delusion,	
not calling forth tears with floods of tears,	
but using just one terrible drug, a heart hunting	
glory, and really a deadly drug.	90
Nor shall I ever sit in one of those synods,	
where geese and cranes recklessly quarrel:	
there is strife, there are fight and disgraces formerly hidden	
gathered to one place full of enemies.	
Therefore, I for me sit among the humble ones,	95
healer of pains, myself being sound.	
My hoar should not play, and it's unmeet to be	
a servant before the thrones, for which, competing,	
they divide, and unlawfully cut to pieces the whole world.	
Alas! How large our distresses!	100
Let these things to the one who cares about them, and the power to the monkeys,	
while I'll fill full of Christ in stillness.	
And if 'tis bad to cast away the reins of a godly minded people,	
let the chiefs of those who shook me off from themselves know,	
until they, like a quick horse, which spits the bit,	105
will be by appetite dragged and brought over cliffs or reef.	
I pray that they care for whatever God wants,	
but if 'tis worse, may my ears be far away.	