THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
IGNATIOS THE DEACON

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF STEPHANOS EFTHYMIADIS

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PREFACE

This slender book has been long in the making; so long, in fact, that I must offer an apology for its unduly tardy appearance. I was first introduced to the Letters of Ignatios by the late P. J. Alexander, who kindly passed on to me a set of photographs of Gedeon's very scarce editio princeps of 1903. The existence at Dumbarton Oaks of a microfilm of the codex unicus, Vatopedi 588 (procured for the purpose of editing the Letters of Patriarch Photios), enabled me to collate the text. In 1972–73 I organized a seminar on Ignatios at Dumbarton Oaks, in which R. Cormack, J. Duffy, E. and M. Jeffreys, D. O'Meara, and L. Rydén took part and offered many valuable observations. I can only apologize to the above scholars if, after the passage of so many years, I have not always attributed correctly some of the conjectures recorded in the apparatus. The text was subsequently read by I. Ševčenko, who, with his usual acuity, made further emendations, as well as by N. G. Wilson and P. Odo- rico. I am indebted to K. Alpers for the elucidation of certain difficulties relating to Greek grammarians and to the late Cynthia Stallman for having typed the text on the computer.

In spite of the contribution made by so many eminent scholars, the text remained in parts unsatisfactory and of doubtful interpretation. Further work, I felt, was needed before it could be presented to the public. And so Ignatios was consigned, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, to the back burner. Finally, in 1990 I went through the text once again with my then students (now doctors) A. Alexakis, S. Efthymiadis, and I. D. Polemis, who provided further suggestions and improvements. So many years having elapsed, it became clear to me that I would not be able to make any significant advance in the resolution of several remaining cruces. So here is the text, warts and all.

The final editing was carried out by Dr. Efthymiadis with the help of a grant made jointly by the British Academy and Oxford University. He is also responsible for the description of the manuscript, which he inspected in the monastery of Vatopedi, and for many substantive additions. Finally, I am grateful to the two anonymous readers, whose detailed comments have been taken into account.

It remains for me to crave the indulgence of the learned public for a piece of work that is far from perfect in spite of all the effort that has gone into it. As Ignatios might have said, quoting Gregory of Nazianzus, φίλον θεῷ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν.

Oxford, August 1995

C.M.
# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AASS</td>
<td>Acta Sanctorum (Brussels, 1643–)</td>
</tr>
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<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>AnalBoll</td>
<td>Analecta Bollandiana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonn</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, ed. B. G. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn, 1828–97)</td>
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<td>BSI</td>
<td>Byzantinoslavica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bury, System</td>
<td>J. B. Bury, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century (London, 1911)</td>
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<td>Byz</td>
<td>Byzantion</td>
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<td>BZ</td>
<td>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</td>
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<td>CahArch</td>
<td>Cahiers archéologiques</td>
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<td>CFHB</td>
<td>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chron. Pasch.</td>
<td>Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. Dindorf, I (Bonn, 1832)</td>
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<td>Darrouzès, Épistoliers</td>
<td>J. Darrouzès, Épistoliers byzantins du Xᵉ siècle (Paris, 1960)</td>
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<td>Darrouzès, Offikia</td>
<td>J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les ὅφφικια de l’Église byzantine (Paris, 1970)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHGE</td>
<td>Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1912–)</td>
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<td>DOP</td>
<td>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</td>
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<td>EEBΣ</td>
<td>᾿Επετηρίς ῾Εταυρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</td>
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<td>EO</td>
<td>Échos d’Orient</td>
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<td>Georg. Mon.</td>
<td>Georgii Monachi Chronicon, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904)</td>
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<td>Janin, CP</td>
<td>R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964)</td>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

Karathanasis D. K. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter* (Munich, 1936)


ΚΕΦΣ 'Ο Ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει ἐλληνικός φιλολογικός Σύλλογος


Leo Gr. Leonis Grammatici *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, Cōrpus Scriptorium Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1842)

Lequien, OrChr M. Lequien, *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1740)


MGH, SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Scriptores*

Nέος'ΕΛΛ. Νέος 'Ελληνικής Μημών


RE Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

REB Revue des études byzantines
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**ROC**  *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*

**SC**  Sources chrétiennes

Ševčenko, “Hagiography”


**Strömberg**  R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs: A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemiographers* (Göteborg, 1954)

**Suda**  *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)


**Theoph.**  *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–85)

**Theoph. Cont.**  *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1842)

**TM**  *Travaux et mémoires*. Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation byzantines (Paris, 1965–)


**TU**  *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1882–)


**VDG**  F. Dvornik, *La vie de saint Grégoire le Décapolete et les Slaves macédoniens au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1926)

**VizVrem**  *Vizantijskij Vremennik*

**VN**  C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), 139–217

**VT**  I. A. Heikel, “Ignatii diaconi vita Tarasii archiepiscopi CP,” *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 17 (1891), 389–430


**ZRVI**  *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

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INTRODUCTION

DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence of Ignatios, a collection of sixty-four letters, is preserved anonymously in a single MS, Vatopedi 588, which is described below. Its existence was first made public in January 1903 by Daniel Serruys, who presented a paper on this topic before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. A number of indications led Serruys to the conclusion that the author of the correspondence was named Ignatios, whom he incorrectly identified with the patriarch of that name (847–858; 867–877). He offered a brief analysis of the document he had discovered, drawing attention to the author’s complete subordination to the imperial government, his conventional and mediocre mentality, and his frequent recourse to citations from classical literature.

In that same year 1903, all sixty-four letters were published by the prolific Greek scholar Manuel Gedeon in a collection entitled Νέα βιβλιοθήκη ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων. They appeared under the title Ἀδήλου (Θεοφάνους Νικαίας) ἐπιστολαι, without any explanatory statement other than the shelfmark of the MS, incorrectly given as Vatopedi 1035. The edition, which contains many errors, was based not on the MS itself, but on a copy executed by the deacon Anthimos of Vatopedi. Its first typographic sheet was somehow “leaked” to the Assumptionist J. Pargoire, who promptly equated Gedeon’s sixty-four letters with those described by Serruys and was able to show that their author was neither Patriarch Ignatios nor Theophanes of Nicaea (i.e., St. Theophanes Graptos, d. 845), but Ignatios of Nicaea, better known as Ignatios the deacon. The first fascicle of the Νέα βιβλιοθήκη (no more were published) was never put on the market. Under circumstances that are unknown to us, almost the entire edition was destroyed (as Gedeon himself later stated), which is why very few copies of it are now in existence.

Undaunted by this unfortunate experience, Gedeon reissued the correspondence in fascicle 4 of a new collection, called Ἀρχείον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας.

1 Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1903), 38 ff, 57.
2 I, fasc. 1 (Constantinople, 1903), 1–64.
3 On this person, a native of the island of Aphousia, and his reprehensible activity on Mount Athos, see Ch. Ktenas, Η Σύγχρονος Ἄθωνικας σχολή καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ διδάσκοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ 1845–1916 (Athens, 1930), 65–71.
4 “Lettres inédites d’ Ignace de Nicée,” EO 6 (1903), 375–78. See also his review of Gedeon’s edition in VizVrem 10 (1903), 633–34.
INTRODUCTION

published on 10 July 1914. This time he preface it with a short statement in which he gave the number of the MS (once again erroneously) as Vatopedi 388, acknowledged his debt to the deacon Anthimos, and defended his attribution of the letters to Theophanes against Pargorie’s criticism. As far as we are aware, the fourth fascicle of the Αρχείον survives in a single copy, the property of the Gennadion Library, Athens. A manuscript note by one G. Arvanitidis on the last page of the book explains that the entire edition was stolen from the press before it could be distributed.

In the light of the above circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the correspondence of Ignatios should have remained virtually unknown to this day. The few scholars who have had an opportunity to refer to it have done so for certain limited purposes without considering its significance as a whole. Only two of the letters have been republished in the original Greek, and one has appeared in a German translation.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Vatopedi 588 (= V) is a small parchment volume (17 × 12 cm) of 196 pages, written in single columns of 22–28 lines, in the early eleventh century. As all other Vatopedi MSS, V was bound in 1870 by the monks Anthimos and Sabas of the skete of St. Demetrios. In its present state the MS is made up of twelve quires; the first quire lacks the first folio. To the last quire have been added three leaves corresponding to pp. 191–96.

The script is a Perlschrift, which, according to H. Hunger, should be located in eleventh-century Constantinople. The text is negligently copied, having a number of spelling errors and mistaken compendia. In that respect, the comment of Photios’ editors applies equally well to the rest of the MS: “Scriba parum doctus praesertim

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5 Pp. 420–87; cf. Ch. G. Patrinelis, Δημοσιεύματα Μανονήλ Γεδεών (Athens, 1974), no. 454, who gives the publication date as 1913.

6 In particular V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and W. Wolska-Conus as well as G. Karlsson, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l’épistolographie byzantine (Uppsala, 1959), 126 ff.; 2nd ed. (1962), 125 ff. Some letters were recently discussed by A. Kazhdan, in BSt 53 (1992), 197–201. See also Postscript, below, p. 207.

7 No. 25 by Karlsson, Idéologie, 128 ff.; no. 41 by H. Wölke, Untersuchungen zur Batrachymachie (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978), 249 (from Karlsson’s collation).


9 See S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, Catalogue of the Greek MSS in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 115. The MS is mistakenly dated to the 12th century. We would like to thank the hieromonk Palamas and the monk Lazaros, librarians of the monastery of Vatopedi, for their warm hospitality and kind assistance while studying the MS in situ.

10 Studien zur griechischen Paläographie (Vienna, 1954), 22–32.
THE AUTHOR

in compendiis solvendis saepe erravit, interdum quae intellegere non poterat ut-cumque delineavit."  

V comprises works of three authors:
1. Pseudo-Nonnos’ Commentaries on the mythical heroes and stories (ἱστο-
ρίαι) contained in three homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Clavis Patrum Gra-
corum 3011): (a) Oratio I contra Iulianum (pp. 1–32—first 50 chaps. miss-
ing); (b) Oratio II contra Iulianum (pp. 32–58);  
   (c) Oratio in Sancta Lumina (pp. 59–73).  

2. Correspondence of Ignatios (pp. 74–166).
3. Thirty-five letters of Photios: ed. Laourdas-Westerink, nos. 3–14, 16–18,
   Chapter headings of Pseudo-Nonnos’ scholia and titles of letters are written in
   accented capitals. V exhibits a considerable number of insignificant marginalia, most
   of them, it seems, of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries.

THE AUTHOR

In spite of several attempts to elucidate it, the biography of Ignatios remains some-
thing of a puzzle: we have many of its constituent pieces but do not know how to put
them together. A starting point is provided by the notice devoted to him in the tenth-
century Suda lexicon (I, 84; ed. Adler, II, 607 ff):

Ignatios, deacon and skевophylax of the Great Church of Constantinople,
at one time (γεγονός) metropolitan of Nicaea, a grammaticos. He wrote the
Lives of Tarasios and Nikephoros, the holy and blessed patriarchs; funerary

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12 PG 36, 1036c–1058a; Ps. Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzani Commentariori, ed.
J. Nimmo Smith, Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca 27 (1992), where Vatop. 588 is listed (p. 17) as a
12th-century MS.
13 Of which part is published in PG 36, 1065b–1072d.
14 See vol. I, xiii.
15 Among relatively recent studies we may mention E. E. Lipšic, “O pohode Rusi na Vizantiju
ране 842 goda,” Istoričeskie zapiski 26 (1948), 312 ff; G. Marenghi, “Ignazio diacono e i Tetrastichi
giambici,” Emerita 25 (1957), 487–98; R. Browning, “Ignace le diacre et la tragédie classique à Byz-
anie,” Revue des études grecques 81 (1968), 401–10; W. Wolska-Conus, “De quibusdam Ignatiiis,” TM
Tarasii” and the Hagioraphical Work of Ignatios the Deacon, D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1991), 74 ff (who
argues for a slightly different reconstruction of Ignatios’ career from the one adopted here, namely, that
he became skевophylax during the patriarchate of Nikephoros (806–815) and metropolitan of Nicaea
probably in 815–816); A. Kazhdan, as in note 6 and Postscript.
INTRODUCTION

elegies; epistles; an iambic poem concerning Thomas the rebel, which is called τὰ κατὰ Ὀμμᾶν, and other works.

Short as the entry is, it raises several questions. First, why is it that Ignatios, who cannot be described as an intellectual figure of the first magnitude, was judged worthy of an entry in the Suda, which contains notices of only two other Byzantine authors later than the sixth century, namely, George of Pisidia and St. John Damascene? Second, what is the precise force of the perfect participle γεγονός, which applies only to his tenure as metropolitan of Nicaea, and why, granted that he was a bishop, is he described by the inferior rank of deacon?

Ad primum, the following explanation has been offered. Hesychios of Miletos (first half of the 6th century) is known to have composed an Onomatologos, which was a biographical index of secular authors, excluding the Christian fathers (Suda, Adler, II, 594). A complementary series devoted to Christian authors had been provided earlier by the Greek translation (by Sophronios) of Jerome’s De viris illustribus. In the second quarter of the ninth century (or so it has been surmised), these two works were combined and boiled down to an alphabetically arranged Epitome, which is thought to have been the common source of the biographical notices contained in both the Bibliotheca of Photios and the Suda.¹⁶ Now, the Suda, as we have said, has notices of only three “Byzantine” authors. The inclusion of George of Pisidia (Adler, I, 517), regarded as a poet of the highest distinction throughout the Byzantine period, causes no surprise. In the case of St. John Damascene (Adler, II, 649), his struggle for the cause of icons as well as his numerous theological and philosophical works are, strangely enough, not mentioned in the Suda, which praises instead the beauty of his hymns. But why the relatively obscure Ignatios? The fact that both Jerome and Hesychios added to their compilations biographies of themselves has led to the supposition that Ignatios may have done the same in the Epitome, which was consequently his work.¹⁷ If so, his biographical notice is a self-portrait. Since it mentions the Lives of Tarasios and Nikephoros, it could hardly have been written before 843. At the time, as we shall see, Ignatios was leaving no stone unturned in showing his devotion to “orthodoxy.” It may be thought strange, therefore, that he would have omitted to comment on the Damascene’s opposition to Iconoclasm, not to mention the apparent exclusion from the Epitome of a whole string of eminent orthodox authors from Sophronios of Jerusalem and Maximos the Confessor down to Patriarch Nikephoros.

The above argument is, admittedly, highly speculative. It may be that no

¹⁶G. Wenzel, Die griechischen Übersetzungen der Viri illustres des Hieronymus, TU 13.3 (1895). The issues raised by this unduly neglected study deserve to be reexamined.
THE AUTHOR

Epitome ever existed, or, if it did, that Ignatios was not its author. The notice devoted to him in the Suda does, however, call for an explanation. If it was not written by Ignatios himself, it must be due to one of his associates, seeing that his reputation was not above reproach and is not likely to have outlived him by a long period of time. That brings us to our next question. The formula γεγονός is not unknown. We find it, for example, in the title of the collected letters of another metropolitan of Nicaea, Alexander (tenth century): 'Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ γεγονότος μητροπολίτου Νικαίας . . . ἐπιστολαί. As the editor remarks, "L'expression γεγονότος signifie qu'Alexandre a été métropolite de Nicée mais qu'il ne l'était plus et qu'il ne l'est pas redevenu après son exil." It may be thought, therefore, that Ignatios, at the time when his notice was written, was deacon and skevophylax, but was no longer bishop of Nicaea. Alternatively, if the notice was written after his death, it may mean that he was best known by the titles deacon and skevophylax or that those were the last titles he held, but that he had also, at one time, held the see of Nicaea. Before we come back to this matter, it may be useful to review the other items of information given in the notice.

i. Deacon. As deacon of the Great Church, Ignatios would have belonged to an élite group from which dignitaries of the Patriarchate and bishops were regularly chosen. In the sixth century the number of deacons attached to the cathedral of Constantinople was limited to one hundred, but we do not know how many of them existed at any one time in the ninth century. The Klerorologion of Philotheos (899) states that twelve deacons of the Great Church were invited to the imperial table on Epiphany day.

ii. Skevophylax. Keeper of religious plate, furniture, and liturgical books of the patriarchal cathedral, presumably appointed by the emperor. Little as we know concerning the administrative structure of the Patriarchate in the first half of the ninth century, this was certainly an important office. Ignatios himself reports that when Leo V was applying pressure to remove Nikephoros from the patriarchal throne (in 815), he entrusted to a patrician (hence a layman) τὰ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν ἀναθήματα. This patrician, who was named Thomas, seems,

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19 Darrouzès, Epistoliers, 68 note 1. We may also cite the example of James the hesychast, mentioned in the Vita of St. Peter of Atroa, who was former bishop of Anchialos and is designated by the same participle, γεγονότα: ed. Laurent (below, note 31), §65.5. On the same James see S. Efthymiadis, "Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite," REB 53 (1995), 146 note 24.
21 Oikonomidès, Listes, 185.25. For other references and bibliography, see ODB, 592.
22 See Darrouzès, Offilia, 314 ff; see also ODB, 1909–10.
23 See VN 190.16.
INTRODUCTION

therefore, to have combined the functions of oikonomos (rather than logothete) and skevophylax. He must have been in a position to make life uncomfortable for the recalcitrant patriarch—in part, as P. J. Alexander suggests, because the skevophylax had charge of the icons.

iii. Metropolitan of Nicaea. This appointment must have occurred some time between 815, when the "orthodox" Peter was removed from his post, and 843, hence certainly under iconoclastic rule. The two Lives of St. Ioannikios (those by Peter and Sabas respectively) relate a story about an iconoclastic bishop of Nicaea called Inger, whose imminent death was predicted by the great ascetic. The incident, which is unfortunately undated, appears to have happened some time after 822, if we follow Peter's more reliable chronology. Inger (who must have had, in addition, a Christian name) may have been, therefore, Peter's immediate successor. In that case, he was the person whom Theodore the Studite, in writing to the deposed Peter between 815 and 818, describes as "a piece of rubbish" (κάθαρμα) and ὁς ἄληθῶς ἐτερόφθαλμος (having different-colored eyes?). If Ignatios came after Inger, he may have been ordained under Michael II, whose exploits against the rebel Thomas he celebrated in iambic verse. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he came before Inger, in which case he was the subject of the Studite's uncomplimentary characterization.

Nicaea was surely a desirable bishopric, not so much in terms of patronage (the metropolitan had only six suffragans, all of them in minor localities) as because of its rank (8th in the order of precedence) and proximity to the capital. Besides, Nicaea was one of the few provincial towns that had not, at one time or another, fallen to the enemy, and so must have offered better amenities than a number of hierarchically more important but devastated cities.

We do not know how long Ignatios held the see of Nicaea. The next incumbent known to us is St. Theophanes Graptos (843–11 Oct. 845). Both the evidence of the Letters and the severity of Patriarch Methodios' policy toward the lapsi make it plain that Ignatios could not have been Theophanes' successor, as some scholars have supposed.

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35 On the oikonomos see Darrouzès, Offilia, 16f, 36f, 303 ff; on the ecclesiastical logothete, whose early functions are unclear, ibid., 359 ff.
37 See S. Vailhé, "S. Michel de Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti," ROC 6 (1901), 634.
38 Vita by Peter, c. 38, AASS, Nov. II:1, 408; vita by Sabas, c. 30, ibid., 360.
39 The date of ca. 827, given by Van de Gheyn, ibid., 364 note 1, and reproduced by Vailhé, loc. cit., is simply a guess. See Mango, "Two Lives," 395 ff, which attempts to show that the chronology of the Vita by Sabas has been deliberately doctored and should not be relied on.
40Theod. Stud., letter 313.19–20, ed. Fatouros, 456; for the date see ibid., 341 ff.
41E.g., V. Laurent, La vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de saint Pierre d'Atroa (Brussels, 1958), 152 note 3. Ignatios is listed after Theophanes Graptos in Lequien, OrChr, I, 644 and Fedalto, Hierarchia, I, 108.
iv. Grammatikos. In late antiquity, a *grammatikos* was a "secondary" teacher as distinct, on the one hand, from the *grammatistes* (primary teacher) and, on the other, from the rhetor or sophist, who conducted higher education, but it is a matter of doubt if this definition still held good in the ninth century. Two prominent contemporaries or near-contemporaries of Ignatios bore the title of *grammatikos*: George Choiroboskos, who is styled in manuscripts γραμματικός καὶ οἰκουμενικός διδάσκαλος, and the iconoclast John (patriarch of Constantinople, 838–843), but in neither case do we know the precise nature of their teaching activity. There is independent evidence that Ignatios was active as a teacher, and we shall return to this point later.

v. *The Life of Tarasios (BHG) *1698. There can be little doubt that this work (VT) was written in or after 843, as shown by the following considerations:

1. The author is styled "monk" in the title (Ἅγια τού μοναχοῦ). We shall see that toward the end of his life Ignatios was relegated to a monastery by Patriarch Methodios. By itself, this datum is not conclusive because an earlier period of monastic reclusion is also recorded (below, p. 19f).

2. The author complains of his old age and ill health (p. 423.25: ἀπορίᾳ λόγου καὶ γήρᾳ καὶ νόσῳ καὶ παπτόμενος).

3. Especially significant is the passage praising Tarasios for his moderation in 787 with regard to doctrinally compromised clergy (pp. 405.33–406.7). No inJudicious charge, we are told, was made either before the council or after the council against any member of the clergy concerning the impiety that had previously prevailed; clerics and bishops who had been ordained by heretics were not suspended—instead, they were received with open arms on condition that they renounced their error in writing. In laying stress on the *oikonomia* evinced by Tarasios, Ignatios was tacitly contrasting it with the severity of Methodios, of which he himself had to suffer the consequences (see below, p. 11f).

In view of the apologetic nature of VT, we should be on our guard not to accept

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33It may be noted that a late date of VT was first advanced by I. Andreev, *German i Tarasji. patriarhi Konstantinopol’skie* (Sergiev Posad, 1907), 61 note 1.
at face value all the information it provides.\textsuperscript{34} We suspect in particular that Ignatios, in trying to establish his good reputation, may have exaggerated the extent of his familiarity with Tarasios, whom he probably knew less closely than he would have us believe. We need not doubt his presence at the patriarch's deathbed (p. 419.28), but some caution may be indicated in interpreting the oft-quoted passage in the prayer (p. 423.5–11):

I shall not forget the useful instruction you gave me nor the devoted service, humble as it was, that I offered you. The former I enjoyed in the prime of my youth (ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς νεότητος) when I was initiated by you in the best examples (τὰ κράτισσα) of the trimeter and the tetrameter, both trochaic and anapestic, and in dactylic verse; the latter I performed in noting with swift pen and ink the sacred discourses that you delivered with care, day after day, for the edification of souls and handed over to the best scribes to be artfully consigned to books.\textsuperscript{35}

This passage is of importance for the biography of Ignatios since it shows that he acted as stenographer to Tarasios and so, presumably, must have had some notarial training; but we are not sure we can also conclude from it that Ignatios received from the patriarch (or the patriarch to be) a regular course of instruction in ancient prosody rather than some hints for further study.\textsuperscript{36} If Ignatios had been closely acquainted with Tarasios, we might have expected VT to contain more personal information than it does.

vi. The Life of Nikephoros (BHГ\textsuperscript{3} 1335). If the dating and purpose of VT raise little difficulty of interpretation, the same cannot, unfortunately, be said of this work (VN), Ignatios' most elaborate work of hagiography. On this score two conflicting opinions have been expressed: (1) that VN was written in ca. 829;\textsuperscript{37} (2) that its final version was produced between 843 and 846.\textsuperscript{38} Our understanding of Ignatios' career is seriously affected if we adopt one or the other of these alternatives.

It should be said at the outset that VN cannot be earlier than October 829, as

\textsuperscript{34}E. von Dobschütz, “Methodios und die Studiten,” BZ 18 (1909), 59, already argued that VT was in the nature of a political tract and that it was composed at the instigation of Methodios. A more specifically anti-Studite stance is advanced by P. Speck, “Die Ursprünge der byzantinischen Renaissance,” 17th International Byzantine Congress, Major Papers (Washington, D.C., 1986), 568 ff.

\textsuperscript{35}With the exception of the homily “On the Entrance of the Virgin Mary” (PG 98, 1481\textsuperscript{a}–1500b), none of Tarasios' sermons has, however, survived; cf. Efthymiadis, The "Vita Tarasii," 7–9. The practice of taking down sermons in shorthand is well attested in late antiquity.

\textsuperscript{36}In Mango, “Correspondence of Ignatius,” 407, this statement may have been taken too literally.

\textsuperscript{37}So P. J. Alexander, “Secular Biography at Byzantium,” Speculum 15 (1940), 204 note 3 (with references to the previous bibliography); Wolska-Conus, “De quibusdam Ignatiis,” 339, 348.

\textsuperscript{38}So von Dobschütz, “Methodios,” 54ff, and esp. Ševčenko, “Hagiography,” 125.
Ševčenko has already pointed out, since it refers explicitly to the death of Michael II: in the words of our author, the emperor was enmeshed like a fish in the net of heresy and died together with his unsound doctrines (p. 209.10–11: τοῖς τῶν δογμάτων σαθροῖς ἐναπέθανεν). With this proviso, let us examine the case for an early date, which can be supported by the following arguments, the majority of which have been advanced by Vasil’evskij.\(^{39}\)

1. In the exordium (pp. 139–40), Ignatios appears to be speaking of Nikephoros’ death (5 April 828) as a recent event, which fills him with sorrow and dismay.\(^{40}\)

2. In the concluding section (pp. 214.17–215.12), Nikephoros is compared to a lion whose death gave courage to the Iconoclasts, represented here as jackals, foxes, and hares. Now that the patriarch’s lips have been stilled, our author adds, the heretics have mounted to the pinnacle of joy; they have laid aside all pretense and have been publishing their hair-splitting rigmaroles, “which, I am sure, will be scattered by the luminous shafts of our Father’s discourses and will recede into nonexistence.” In other words, the rigmaroles in question have not yet been refuted; the Iconoclasts, as Ignatios says, are still enjoying παρρησία (p. 214.26). It is difficult to square these statements with the situation after 843.

3. When the exiled Nikephoros was moved from the monastery τῶν Ἁγιαστοῦ to the more remote monastery of St. Theodore (probably in 816), the emperor’s nephew Bardas was delegated to oversee the transfer and did not have the courtesy to rise from his seat in the presence of the aged patriarch. Nikephoros warned him to learn a lesson from other people’s misfortunes, a “prediction” that was fulfilled four years later: Bardas experienced a calamity, which reduced him to a sorry appearance, as anyone can see for himself (p. 201.25–26: εἴ τω φίλον τὰ περὶ τοῦ τελέως πιστῶσασθαι, ἐνεπεξέσθαι τοῦ ἄνδρός). We are not told what the calamity was, but Alexander may well be right in suggesting that Bardas was mutilated on the accession of Michael II.\(^{41}\) Although we do not know how long he survived his misfortune, the invitation to meet him in person would make more sense in ca. 829–830 than after 843.

4. Ignatios makes the heresy of Leo V responsible for various natural calamities and for civil war. He then adds: “From that time until this day, the disease of

\(^{39}\)In Russko-Vizantijskia izsledovanija, II (St. Petersburg, 1893), xcvi note 3 (= Trudy, III [St. Petersburg, 1915]).

\(^{40}\)It should be noted that neither the day nor the year of Nikephoros’ death as transmitted by other texts accords with the day of Easter 828 recorded by Ignatios in VN 213.22–24. The Synaxarium CP and the Menologia agree that the patriarch died on 2 June 828, whereas the Oration on His Exile and the Translation of His Relics by the priest Theophanes (BHG 3 1335–37f) places his demise after fourteen and not thirteen years of exile; see F. Halkin, AnalBall 76 (1958), 231–32.

\(^{41}\)The Patriarch Nicephorus, 148.
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interneicine misfortune has prevailed” (p. 207.20–22: εἰς ἑκείνου γὰρ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὸ δεινὸν τῆς ἐμφυλίου συμφορᾶς ἐπικρατήσας συμβεβηκε νόστημα). He must be thinking, in the first instance, of the revolt of Thomas the Slav, which lasted until 823.42 We are not informed of any other civil disturbance in the reign of Michael II, although it may be supposed that the effects of Thomas’ rebellion persisted for a number of years. But what point would there have been in making such a statement after 843?

Now the case for a late date of VN.

1. It is virulently anti-iconoclastic in tone: a torrent of abuse is poured on Leo V, who, in addition to his other iniquities, is charged with treason (p. 163.6–8), and Michael II, too, is treated with scant courtesy. We have seen that Michael is described as being caught in the net of heresy; though appearing to be moderate, he concealed a disposition similar to Leo’s. Furthermore, he is accused of ignorance, which he inherited in rich measure from the boorishness of his ancestors (p. 209.27–28). If Ignatios was publicly expressing such sentiments in ca. 830, he must have been exposing himself to considerable risk.

2. The lengthy peroration (pp. 215–17) is reminiscent of other abject admissions of guilt, which Ignatios made toward the end of his life. Here he prays to the dead Nikephoros to take pity on his “defeat and fall.” He had been deceived (by his ordination?)43 and polluted by communion (κοινωνία) with heretics, without, however, defiling his own conscience. He wishes to cleanse himself by means of repentance and “bitter penance,” although he adds that he is not in need of instruction, having kept (presumably within his heart) the true doctrine. “I am certain,” he continues, “that I shall suffer no small punishment on account of this, my fall; nay, I shall receive many blows for having acknowledged the Lord’s will without carrying it out, and I shall weep without end for not having found the repentance I sought.” He prays to be delivered from “the flood of unbelief” lest he be “drowned in the stormy waters of heresy.” He had been entrapped not of his own free will, but under pressure “of threats both severe and shaky” (δριμεῖαις εἰ καὶ ὑποσάθρους ἀπειλαῖς). Now, however, he had ceased being a “Canaanite” and had renounced all “Canaanite” doctrines.

The difficulties we have noted may be partly resolved by the supposition that VN as we have it represents a revision of an earlier draft written, say, in ca. 830.44 If

43 See VN 215.27: χειρὶ κλαπέντας, an obscure expression. Ševčenko, “Hagiography,” 125 note 91, may well be right in explaining it as deceived by cheirotonia.
44 The possibility of a revision is envisaged for other reasons by Lemerle, Le premier humanisme, 131.
that were so, it would follow that Ignatios had become a convinced anti-iconoclast by the early years of the reign of Theophilos, for it is hard to imagine that any biography of Nikephoros, no matter how worded, would have been other than anti-iconoclastic. The earlier draft, of course, would have been left unpublished, and when Ignatios exhumed it from his papers and proceeded to rewrite it, he may have neglected to alter a few passages that did not correspond any longer to the existing situation. The revision may have been carried out in 843 or later; indeed, the peroration appears to reflect the peculiar conditions that obtained during the patriarchate of Methodios, whose policy toward the iconoclastic clergy is highly relevant in this connection.\footnote{See I. Darrouzès, “Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites.” REB 45 (1987), 15–57.}

Methodios himself admits to having been inclined to adopt a conciliatory line, but was dissuaded from doing so by his “brethren” (members of his synod) as well as by St. Ioannikios, who warned him quite bluntly: “If you receive the heretical ministers (λειτουργούς, i.e., deacons) and priests, you would be introducing into the Church not only Judaism, but also paganism.”\footnote{Ibid., 54, fragm. 2.} In the event, the following course was adopted on the recommendation, it seems, of Sergios I, patriarch of Jerusalem: clerks who had been ordained by Tarasios or Nikephoros were to be readmitted and retain their original rank, but, as it were, in a lower category (ἐν δεύτερη τάξει), provided they repented sincerely and anathematized the leaders of the heresy. The rest, that is, those who had been ordained by iconoclastic patriarchs, were to be permanently excluded from the clergy, anointed with oil like repenting Arians, and subjected to instruction (κατηχήσεως).\footnote{Ibid., 56, Testament = Grumel, Regestes, I.2–3, ed. Darrouzès (1989), 434 [435].} In writing to the patriarch of Jerusalem in the spring of 846, Methodios regretfully admits that, even in the first group, none had shown any “fruit of repentance by way of self-abasing speech, harsh discipline of life, or voluntary reclusion (ἡρεμίας ἔθελοντίου); nay, they continued to behave in an arrogant and condescending manner.”\footnote{Ed. J. B. Pitra, Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta, II (Rome, 1868), 355–56.}

“None” is perhaps an exaggeration, and we may be sure that Ignatios was one of the exceptions. Having been ordained deacon in all probability by Tarasios or Nikephoros, he was entitled to keep that rank. He protested his repentance as loudly as possible, condemned the leaders of Iconoclasm in his writings, declared himself not to be in need of instruction (hence μόνης ἐπιστροφῆς ἀλλ’ οὐ διδαχῆς δεσμόζευν τοι σύνολον in VN 215.30–216.1), and, after submitting to some kind of inquisition (letter 40), underwent, perhaps not altogether voluntarily, a period of

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reclusion in the monastery of Pikridion. In this manner he cleared his name and reestablished his position.

For the title of VN, see below, p. 20.

vii. Funerary Elegies. Three are preserved: Anth. Pal. xv.29 (an epitaph on himself containing a characteristic admission of sin, ἵνα θάνεις πολλῆσιν ἐν ἀμπλακίσθης βίωσας); 30 (on a certain Paul, who died at the age of twenty-three); and 31 (on Samuel, deacon of the Great Church, hence a colleague of Ignatios). The authorship of the three short poems is indicated simply by the name Ἰγνατίου. Among ninth-century intellectuals, Ignatios may have been the first to cultivate the discontinued art of elegiac poetry.\(^{49}\)

We also possess in Barb. gr. 310 (10th century) a longer “anacreontic” poem with alphabetical acrostic (hence not an “elegy”) on the same Paul, entitled Ἰγνατίου διακόνου γραμματικοῦ ἐλς Παῦλου τῶν ἱδιῶν μαθητῶν,\(^{50}\) thus proving that Ignatios had indeed been a teacher. The anacreontic poem provides little additional information except that Paul was buried in a church of St. Stephen (vv. 75–76).\(^{51}\)

viii. Epistles. See below, p. 18 ff.

ix. Poem concerning Thomas the Rebel. This is lost, but it is reasonable to suppose that it has left some imprint on our historical sources concerning the revolt of Thomas the Slav, more particularly on Genesios who, as has already been observed,\(^{52}\) appears to quote the actual title of the poem when he says (ed. Lesmueller-Thurn, 25.50) οὕτως φασὶ τα κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἀκριβέστερον διεξωτορεῖον. It has also been remarked that the fanciful list of Thomas’ heterogeneous supporters (24.17–21) has a poetic ring to it, and rather than suppose that it was derived from some “popular” poem,\(^{53}\) it would be more plausible to argue that it was borrowed from Ignatios, the more so as several of the nationalities mentioned (Assyrians, Medes, Kabiroi, Huns, Vandals, Getai) have an antiquarian character. Without pursuing this line of argument any further, it is enough to note that Ignatios wrote a historical poem whose immediate purpose was to glorify Emperor Michael II and

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\(^{51}\) In the MS there is a lacuna after Ignatios’ poem. A. Mai, Spicilegium romanum, IV (Rome, 1840), xxxii, supposes on the evidence of the preserved pinax that there was another ode by Ignatios, an ἀνακριβείστερον κατανυκτικὸν contained in the MS, but it seems more likely that the pinax (ibid., xxxvi f) refers to the one poem on Paul.


\(^{53}\) As does H. Grégoire in A. A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I (Brussels, 1935), 31 note 2, who tries to reconstruct a poem in “politici” verse; rightly criticized by Barišić, “Dve verzije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi,” ZRVI 6 (1960), 165 note 47.
that, in so doing, he revived an old tradition that had probably been extinct since the
days of George of Pisidia.

x. Other Works. A number of other compositions, in both verse and prose,
have been attributed to our Ignatios either on the basis of titles in MSS or for reasons
of style. Some of the works in question are of such slight interest that it does not
particularly matter who their author was, but in other cases the question of authorship
is of some moment. In trying to resolve it, we should bear in mind that there lived in
the second half of the ninth century another Ignatios, styled μαγίστωρ τῶν γραμ-
ματικῶν, who composed a series of iambic epigrams on the church of the Virgin
Mary “of the Source” (τῆς Πηγῆς). Since these epigrams (Anth. Pal. I.109–14)
were occasioned by the restoration and redecoration of the church in question, which
was damaged by the earthquake of 869,\(^{54}\) and since Anth. Pal. I.109 names the reign-
ing emperors as Basil, Constantine, and Leo, the last crowned in 870, it is highly
unlikely that our Ignatios (born, as we shall see, not later than ca. 780) could have
written these poems. To the later Ignatios (rather than to the patriarch of the same
name) may also be attributed a seven-verse iambic poem on Lazarus and the Rich
Man in Paris. suppl. gr. 690.\(^ {55}\)

We may now review briefly such miscellaneous works as may, with greater or
lesser likelihood, be ascribed to our Ignatios.

Poems

1. Acrostichon alphabeticum, contained in a great number of MSS under dif-
ferent titles, for example, Ἰγνατίος διακόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀλφάβητος
παραμετρικῶν or Ἰγνατίος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου σκευοφύλακος τῆς Μεγάλης
Ἑκκλησίας παραίνεσις νέων κατὰ στοιχείον.\(^ {56}\) This is a poem of twenty-four
lines addressed to schoolboys, hence consonant with Ignatios’ teaching activity. We
may note verse 8, θῇρευ ἡ κράτιστα τῶν νοημάτων, which echoes a similar
expression in VT 423.

2. Versus in Adamum, a longer iambic poem (143 verses) in the form of a
dialogue between the Serpent, Eve, Adam, and God,\(^ {57}\) addressed to a friend “who

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\(^{54}\) De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem, AASS, Nov. III, 882; cf. R. Janin, Églises. 224.

\(^{55}\) Ed. L. Sternbach, “Methodii patriarchae et Ignatii patriarchae carmina inedita.” Eos 4 (1897),
151ff. The reason for the attribution is that the poem in question, entitled Ἑτίκου Ἰγνατίου, is followed
by three others on the Five Martyrs, of which the second mentions a church built(?) by Basil, perhaps
Basil I.

\(^{56}\) Ed. C. F. Müller, “Ignotii diaconii acrostichum alphabeticum,” Rheinisches Museum, N.F. 46
(1891), 320–23.

\(^{57}\) Ed. J. F. Boissonade, Anecdota graeca, I. (Paris, 1829), 436ff; ed. C. F. Müller, Ignatii diaconii
tetrasticha iambica 53, versus in Adamum 143 (Kiel, 1886). Cf. idem, “Handschriftliches zu Ignatius
Diaconus,” BZ 1 (1892), 415ff.

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had fallen into misfortune” or perhaps rather into temptation, since he is invited to give thought to the original Fall after himself falling into a similar pit (Iconoclasm?). The poem contains many quotations from Sophocles and Euripides.

3. *Tetrasticha iambica*, a series of about fifty pieces that paraphrase and condense the Aesopic fables of Babrius. These have been transmitted in some twenty MSS under titles that vary a great deal. Only four mention the name of Ignatios, two without any qualification, one (Vind. phil. gr. 178 of 1429) with the addition μακ-ιστορος, and one (Paris gr. 2991A of 1420) with the addition of διακόνος. While the attribution remains, therefore, very doubtful, it may be noted that VT as well as the Letters of Ignatios show some knowledge of the Fables of Babrius.

4. *Anth. Pal.* XV.39, a three-verse dedication of a MS of grammatical or possibly rhetorical content, which indicates that Ignatios either composed or edited such a textbook and prided himself on having rescued the discipline of “grammar” from oblivion:

'Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τευξὲ, σοφής πολύώδρως άουδής, 'Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τευξέν, ὅσ' ἐσ' φάος ἡγαγε τέχνην γραμματικήν, λήθης κευθομένην πελάγει.

5. Two seven-line iconoclastic poems, presumably inscribed at the Chalke gate of the Imperial Palace, the first having the acrostic Ιγνατίῳ καύχημα ἕννοεῖν σταυρῷ, the second Σταυρῷ Ιγνατίῳ αἴνεισι, quoted and refuted by Theodore the Studite. It has been supposed that these and other iconoclastic poems refuted by Theodore dated from the first period of Iconoclasm, but this has been shown to be

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58 Verses 8–9: τῆς στῆν ἐν αὐτοῖς συμφορᾶς ἐπαισθάνον / ὁς καὶ λελαχᾶς [λελουχός cod.: λελουχὸς Boiss.] τῶν δόμων σκομμάτων.
59 See Browning, “Ignore le diacre.”
60 The tetrasticha were edited as an appendix to *Babrii fabulae aesoepae*, ed. O. Crusius (Leipzig, 1897), 249 ff.; recent edition by M. J. Luzzato and A. la Penna, *Babrii, Mythiambi Aesopeï* (Leipzig, 1986). Further bibliography and discussion in Wolska-Conus, “De quibusdam Ignatiis,” 335 ff., who raises considerable doubts about the authorship of this work. See, however, VT 403.5–6 (οὐ νεβρῶν μνελοῖς) and below, letter 37.
61 It may be pointed out in this connection that an anonymous Byzantine treatise Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores graeci*. VIII (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1835), 617 ff (= L. Spengel, *Rhetores graeci*. III (Leipzig, 1856), 110 ff.), is addressed to an Ignatios (φιλοσοφώτατων τέκνων καὶ εἰλαβεστητατε Ἰγνάτιε). It is attributed to Patriarch Tarasios by P. Nikitin, “Ο nekotoryh greczkikh tek-stah zitii sviatih,” Mémoires de Académie Impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg, 8 ser., 1.1 (1895), 50 f.
untrue. They must have been composed in or very shortly after 815. Their attribution to our Ignatios may be justified on the following grounds: (i) He is known to have collaborated with iconoclasts. (ii) The poems, which have an initial, a median, and a final acrostic, are very complex in structure and could only have been written by an experienced versifier. Ignatios the deacon was recognized as a specialist in this domain, and it is not likely that there was another equally qualified contemporary poet also named Ignatios. (iii) The iconoclastic poems were the work of four authors: John (most probably the future patriarch), Ignatios, Sergios, and Stephen, which brings us to the following.

6. A verse inscription (lost) in the ambulatory (περίδρομος) of the Sigma (a building erected in the Imperial Palace by Theophilos), the work τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ διδάσκαλου (Ἅγιατος τοῦτος ἐκαλεῖτο). Another verse inscription in an adjoining hall called Pyxites was composed by the asekretis Stephen Kapitolites. The conjunction of Ignatios, here designated as a teacher, with Stephen leads us to suppose that these were two out of the four iconoclastic poets. The precise meaning of οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος, a title also bestowed on George Choiroboskos, remains unclear for the period in question.

7. An indeterminate number of ecclesiastical kanons found in liturgical MSS with the designation Ἰγνατίου. Among them five have a reasonable claim to be ascribed to our author.

i. A kanon on the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion (d. 6 March 845), which begins with an admission of sin typical of our author:

Βυθῷ με πεσόντα ἀμαρτών
καὶ σοῦ τῷ πελάγει
προσφυγόντα τῶν οἰκτίρμων


65 Theop. Cont., 143. According to W. T. Treadgold, arguing from the order of entries in the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete, the Sigma was built in 838–839; DOP 33 (1979), 173, 187. Cf. idem, The Byzantine Revival (Stanford, 1988), 445 note 421. If so, it may be thought that Ignatios was no longer bishop by 838.

66 Cf. below, comment on letter 54.

67 Discussed by Lemerle, Humanisme, 85 ff. Cf. above, note 32.

68 See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ὁ ψηφογράφος Ἱγνάτιος. Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 22 (1902), 37 ff; and for a more detailed presentation, Wolska-Conus, "De quibusdam Ignatii," 334–35.

προσβείαις, Χριστέ, τῶν ἄθλοφορών
εἰς σωτηρίας λιμένα ὀδηγησον.

Since the same service also contains a sticheron attributed to Patriarch Methodios ("Ἡ ἐκκλησία σήμερον"), it was probably composed between 6 March 845 and 14 June 846.

ii. A kanon on the translation of the relics of Patriarch Tarasios (in 846), bearing the acrostichis: Ἀρχιερεά θεοῦ Ταράσιον θύμασι μέλπω.70

iii. A kanon on the translation of the relics of Patriarch Nikephoros (13 March 847).71 Once again the kanon begins with an admission of the author’s guilt:

'Αμαρτίων τάφῳ δεινῷ σωσθεντα με,
τῇ ἀθανάτῳ νεότειν σου
καὶ τῇ εὐσπλάγχνῳ σου ἀναστήσας παλάμη,
ζώσων ὡς αἰκτίμων καὶ ποινέλεος.72

iv. A kanon on the iconophile bishop and confessor James (commemorated on 21 March).73

v. A kanon on St. Eustolia (commemorated on 9 November), including the following verses:

κάμοι τὴν ἀχλίν τοῦ πταίσματος
λύσον λάμψασά μοι φῶς.74

If the attribution of the first three kanons to our Ignatios is justified, it may be inferred that he was still active in 847 and was in sufficiently good odor at the time to have been commissioned to take part in the composition of newly instituted and, indeed, officially sponsored liturgical services. Moreover, assuming that the kanon on the translation of the relics of Patriarch Nikephoros is to be credited to him, Ignatios' death must have occurred some time after 13 March 847. He might have survived Methodios (d. 14 June 847) if the kanon composed for the commemoration of the patriarch points to his hand too.75 Apart from the acrostichis Ἀρχιερεά θεοῦ Μεθόδιον θύμασι μέλπω, this kanon contains a number of odes that were copied almost verbatim from the kanon on the translation of the relics of Tarasios (above, no. ii).

70 Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ὅ ὁμογράφος Ἰγνάτιος, 88, 90–91 (by "Ignatios the monk").
71 Nineteen years after his death in 828: Synaxarium CP, 533.
72 Menaion for March (Rome, 1898), 80ff.
73 See ibid., 124–28.
75 This kanon is transmitted anonymously in Menaia, V (Rome, 1900), 288–95.
Prose Works

1. The Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite (BHG 3 711). The attribution, though doubted by one scholar, rests on good authority since it is given in three of the oldest MSS (Bios... συγγραφείς ὑπὸ Ἰγνατίου διακόνου καὶ σκευοφύλακας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας) and is further supported by stylistic and thematic similarities with other works by Ignatios. The date of St. Gregory’s death is usually given as 20 November 842, but he may have died one or even two years earlier. Since several posthumous miracles are recorded, the Life can hardly have been written before 843; on the other hand, it does not appear much later. Ignatios does not claim to have known the saint personally. He drew his information from two of Gregory’s disciples, named Anastasios and John, and possibly from his uncle Symeon. It is worthy of note that the saint’s most famous disciple, St. Joseph the Hymnographer, is not mentioned, perhaps because he had not yet returned from captivity (which he did soon after 843). The tone of the Life is anti-iconoclastic throughout, and it may be conjectured that Ignatios undertook the commission of writing it in order to establish his orthodox credentials.

2. The Life of St. George of Amastris (BHG 3 668). The attribution of this work (VGA) to Ignatios has no manuscript authority and was advanced by V. G. Vasil’evskij on stylistic and historical grounds. Further arguments have recently been marshaled by I. Ševčenko. Without attempting to summarize here the vast (and largely unoriginal) literature that has grown round this text, especially in connection with the Russian attack on Amastris mentioned in its concluding part, we should like to make two brief points.

i. As shown conclusively by Ševčenko, VGA uses a series of typically iconoclastic formulations, which suggest that it was indeed written before 843. Yet George of Amastris was himself by no means an Iconoclast. On the contrary, he was on terms of friendship with Empress Irene and instigated the composition of an iconophile work on the translation of the relics of St. Euphemia by his suffragan, Constantine, bishop of Tios. Hence the author’s curious reticence on doctrinal matters. He is celebrating a man known to have been an iconophile in terms that would have been

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77 Paris. gr. 501, 1525, and 1549.
79 Note the reference to Iconoclasm as still vigorous (p. 75.4: σὺν τῆς νῦν φθανατομένη) recalling VN 214.26.
81 Trudy, III (St. Petersburg, 1915), LXXVIII–CVIII.
82 “Hagiography,” 121 ff. On its thematic similarities with VGD, see Efthymiadis, as in note 78.
83 Ed. F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcédoine (Brussels, 1965), 81 ff.
INTRODUCTION

acceptable in a period of iconoclastic ascendency. Moreover, if we give credence to the author’s statement in the preamble of VGA that this was his first venture in hagiography, we may obtain a terminus ante quem of 830, the year when the first draft of VN appears to have been composed.84

ii. George’s fame appears to have been of a local character, and there are clear signs that the Vita was written for local consumption.85 If Ignatios was indeed the author, we would have some reason for supposing that he was a native of Amastris or, at any rate, of Paphlagonia, a possibility to which we shall have occasion to return.86

Our rapid survey of Ignatios’ literary oeuvre (as far as it can be defined) leads to the conclusion that he was, above all, a literary technician. He practiced a wide variety of genres—poetry in different meters, both secular and ecclesiastical, epistolography, hagiography—in addition to editing textbooks and, as we shall see (below, p. 198), compiling an anthology of proverbs. In classicizing hagiography he may have been narrowly anticipated by the Sicilian Methodios, but he went further in the use of classical reminiscences and even inserted into VN a kind of Platonic dialogue (pp. 169–86). As far as we can tell, he had, among the men of his generation, the widest knowledge of ancient authors.

Before we can add a few more touches to the portrait of Ignatios, we shall have to consider in some detail his correspondence.

THE LETTERS

Preserved as it is in a single MS, we have no guarantee that the collection of sixty-three items (plus one addressed to him) represents the entire corpus and is not merely a selection made by a later man of letters for purposes of study and imitation.

84VGA, 2.1–3: ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ πρὸ πείρας καὶ μηδὲν προεισενεγκόντας τοῦ παρόντος ἐγώνος ἐπάξιον οἱ πνευματικοὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ συνωθοῦσιν ἐγενοθέται τοῦ λόγου τὰ σκάμματα. W. T. Treadgold, “Three Byzantine Provinces and the First Byzantine Contacts with the Rus,” Harvard Ukrainian Studies 12–13 (1988–90), 132–44, argues that VGA was written between 820 and 839 on the assumption that the creation of three Byzantine themes in the Black Sea area resulted from the devastating raids of the Russes, one of them recounted in VGA.

85See esp. the peroration, p. 71.5: τὴν πόλιν σου τούτην φρούρησον etc. We agree with Ševčenko, “Hagiography,” 122–23 (cf. also the Addendum in the reprint of his article in Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World, Variorum Reprints [London, 1982], V, 42) that the posthumous miracles (including the one relating to the Russians) are integral with the rest of the Vita. For a different opinion, see A. Markopoulos, ΙΟΒ 28 (1979), 75ff.

86See below, commentary on letter 21; note also that Amastris is constantly called πατρίς, perhaps with regard not only to the saint but also to the author; cf. Wolska-Conus, “De quibusdam Ignatiis,” 348 note 110.
Chronology
The following letters contain some indication of relative or absolute date (discussed more fully in the Commentary):

1–4; possibly 6; 7–11, 13–15; probably 16; 17, 18: all of these pertain to Ignatios’ episcopal period.
19, 20: written from Constantinople. The chartophylax (presumably Nikephoros) is referred to as the author’s spiritual brother (no. 19).
21–24: before 826. Probably written at Constantinople.
27, 30: written under iconoclast rule, the latter probably ca. 823–829.
31: author describes himself as old and refers to having been a monk.
32: 842 or later.
33: before 846.
37: after ca. 830, perhaps by many years.
38–40: ca. 843.
41: possibly from monastery of Pikridion.
42: late in author’s life.
43–46: from monastery of Pikridion, 843 or a little later.
58: refers to himself as having been a monk.
63: written in old age.

It is at once clear that the late letters are concentrated at the end of the collection and constitute about half of it (from no. 31 onwards, possibly with some exceptions). This being the case, one is naturally prompted to ask whether the entire collection may not be in chronological order. If it is chronological, we would have to conclude, in view of nos. 21–24 (which date from the reign of Michael II), that Ignatios was bishop of Nicaea before Inger, that he was, in other words, the ἐτερόφθαλμος referred to abusively by Theodore the Studite. He would then have been ordained bishop in ca. 815 and retired some time between 824 and 826. If, on the other hand, he was Inger’s immediate or later successor, as can also be assumed, it would follow that the Letters are not in chronological order.

At a date surely before 843 Ignatios became a monk on the Bithynian Olympus, possibly at the monastery of Antidion, as conjectured by one of us.87 He makes two references to this circumstance. In letter 31, writing to the monk Athanasios, he says:

87 S. Efthymiadis, The “Vita Tarasii,” 84, who sees a pun on the name of Antidion in letter 43 (ψυχής εἴδως κεραννίου ἀντιδότου). Ignatios certainly had close links with Antidion (letter 34).
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"Having broken the first promise made to Christ at my divine initiation [as deacon or priest] and having joined the Adversary [i.e., the Devil] through my unholy deeds, I then chose the solitary life. . . . But that life, too, I sullied and defiled by not abstaining from profane works and actions." The second reference is in letter 58 (to Leo asekretis): "Do you not, indeed, remember that you yourselves drew me away from my previous monastic quietude (τῆς ἐν ἄρχῃ μοναδικῆς ἡσυχίας) and dragged me down from Olympus? Not only that, but you also allowed me to be made a mockery through indigence. . . . How and why is it that I am poor and pressed hard by wasting hunger, whereas I ought to be enjoying pretty well all manner of benefit?" That can only mean that Ignatios was lured away from the monastery by the offer of a post, presumably at Constantinople, and that the offer came, if not from Leo asekretis himself, at any rate from his associates, that is, a group of dignitaries in the palace. Unfortunately, we know neither the date of letter 58 nor the nature of the post, although it may be conjectured that it was of an academic nature: we have seen that an Ignatios appears with the title of oikoumenikos didaskalos in the reign of Theophilos. Whatever the character of the post, it evidently did not bring the emoluments that Ignatios was led to expect.

We are still left with the period of his life when he was deacon and simultaneously skevophylax of St. Sophia. As we have seen, he is so styled in the Suda notice and in the titles of both VGD (ca. 842–843) and VN (first draft ca. 830; revised ca. 843), thus suggesting that his service as skevophylax (for which there is no other authority) should be placed toward the end of his life rather than earlier. Originally ordained deacon under orthodox auspices, he was, as already stated, entitled to keep that rank after 843. Indeed, if it is true that he became a monk on Olympus after he had been bishop, he would already have forfeited his episcopal status. Canon 2 of the Council of St. Sophia (879) forbids bishops to make themselves monks: if they do so, they are to lose their episcopal status.88 The canonist Nikephoros the chartophylax (11th century) is even more specific: whereas priests who become monks are not suspended from officiating provided they have committed no other fault, bishops are suspended.89 If the same discipline was applied in the first half of the ninth century, it would follow that Ignatios lost his presbyterium on becoming a monk. The question that remains is whether Ignatios was made skevophylax before or after the Feast of Orthodoxy. If before, would he not have been dismissed by Methodios? If after, would the patriarch, or rather the palace, have appointed a man compromised by iconoclastic association? While both alternatives present difficulties, the latter ap-

88 P. P. Ioannou, Discipline générale antique, 1.2 (Grottaferrata, 1962), 484–85.
pears to be more consonant with the evidence. If the kanons discussed above (p. 15 ff) are by him, he must have been of sufficiently good repute after 843 to have been entrusted with the composition of "officially sponsored" hymns. Perhaps the Paphlagonian empress Theodora, to whom he made himself useful (letter 32), interceded on his behalf. We would like to think that he died, a reasonably contented man, shortly after 847.

There is a modern tendency, especially evident in the works of F. Dvornik, to view the ecclesiastical politics of ninth-century Byzantium in terms of two "parties," the rigorist (represented by the Studites) and the moderate (represented by the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros, among others). If there is any validity in this hypothesis (which certainly simplifies a much more complex web of individual and institutional interests), Ignatios should be classed among the moderates. There is no reason to believe that he was ever a committed Iconoclast: he simply went along with whatever party happened to be in power. His ties with St. Ioannikios, of which there are certain hints in the correspondence, would have placed him in the camp favorable to Methodios, but that is not to say that VN and VT were necessarily meant to be anti-Studite tracts or had any hidden purpose other than establishing his own orthodox credentials. In publishing his Letters he probably had similar objectives in mind: note, in particular, his exchange with Democharis, which places him on the right side already in the reign of Michael II. He also took care to present himself as an efficient bishop, mindful of the interests of the Church, and a protector of the needy. The important part he assigns to his correspondence with the chartophylax Nikephoros suggests that the latter had not only been fully rehabilitated, but continued to enjoy a position of esteem.

The Correspondents of Ignatios
By far the most frequent correspondent is Nikephoros, sometimes styled simply deacon (ten times: nos. 34—38, 51, 60—63), sometimes deacon and chartophylax (nineteen times: nos. 4, 14, 15, 25—30, 40—48, 59). It seems very likely that they were one and the same person. Otherwise one would have to assume that Ignatios had two close friends called Nikephoros whom he addressed in the same tone, with whom he had occasional tiffs and misunderstandings, of whose silence he complained, who sometimes wrote him letters of reproof, and who were both equally versed in classical literature. To our knowledge the chartophylax Nikephoros is not recorded elsewhere. He was already in office when Ignatios was bishop (no. 4), but it is not clear whether he was older or younger than Ignatios. A man of iconophile sympathies (no. 27), he

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90 Ignatios addresses him as "brother and father" (letter 4) or as "father" (letter 40), but the same expression is used by Nikephoros in writing to Ignatios (letter 64).
either wrote or intended to write a refutation of iconoclastic doctrine (no. 30). He, too, however, compromised his position and had to recant (no. 40). At one time he withdrew to the barren island of Οξεια, but seems to have made a joke of it (no. 37). His literary interests were similar to those of Ignatios, his prose style even more convoluted (no. 64), and his handwriting minute and illegible (no. 38). The correspondence between the two pedants, who often sent gifts to each other (of olive oil, fish, and vegetables), forms the most intimate record of a friendship in ninth-century Byzantium.

The other correspondents of Ignatios are the following, those who are independently attested being marked with an asterisk:

A. Secular
Anonymous tax collector of Taion (17)
*? Constantine asekretis (32)
*? Constantine curator (56)
* Constantine hypatos (6)
* Constantine spatharios and protonotarios tou dromou (39)
Constantine, former student (57)
* Democharis, logothetes tou genikou (21–24)
*? Gregory spatharokandidatos (1–3)
*? Leo protospatharios, asekretis (58)
Nicholas, spatharios and protonotarios (7)
Theophanes asekretis (50)

B. Ecclesiastical
Anonymous bishop (12)
Anon. bishop of Helenopolis (13)
Anon. bishop of Noumerika (11)
Anon. bishop of Taion (10)
*? Athanasios (and Theophylaktos), monks (31)
Constantine metropolitan of Gangra (18)
* Ignatios metropolitan of Nicomedia (49)
John abbot of Komai (16)
John deacon and kouboukleisios (5)
* Joseph abbot of Antidion (33)
* Methodios, patriarch (52, 54, 55)
Nikephoros, metropolitan of Caria (9, 19, 20)
*? Theophilos deacon and protonotarios (53)

The high proportion of otherwise unattested persons is due to our poor knowledge of the Byzantine establishment of the 830s and 840s, that is, of the period that

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falls between the correspondence of Theodore the Studite and that of Photios. For these intervening decades, Ignatios provides at the very least a kind of cultural sketch, while, unfortunately, telling us nothing or next to nothing about contemporary intellectuals like Leo the Philosopher, John the Grammorian, and (possibly) George Choroboskos, whom he ought to have known.

We may now attempt to summarize the results of the above discussion while frankly admitting its tentative nature. Ignatios may have been born in ca. 775–780 to a family that does not appear to have been rich. He was possibly of Paphlagonian origin, although that is far from certain. He had an elder brother who was in holy orders and who predeceased him (letter 54). We first meet him as a young man in the entourage of Patriarch Tarasios (784–806), who encouraged his studies and whom he may have served as notary. He was possibly ordained deacon by Tarasios. He was certainly acquainted with the next patriarch, Nikephoros (806–815), but we do not know what position he occupied at the time. By 815, when Iconoclasm was reimposed, he was already a known literary figure and may have been called upon to compose two poems that were meant to be inscribed on the gate of the imperial palace. Soon after 823 he wrote a historical poem concerning the rebellion of Thomas the Slav, surely to please the reigning emperor, Michael II, although his own allegiance to Iconoclasm was less than enthusiastic, and he was himself, later, to vilify the same emperor (cf. VN—letters 24 and 30). At an unknown date he was ordained metropolitan of Nicaea, but does not seem to have remained very long in that post. After serving as a bishop, he became a monk on Mount Olympus, but was lured back to Constantinople, perhaps with the offer of a public teaching post, which brought him insufficient emoluments. Two of his students (Paul and Constantine) are recorded. In ca. 838 he composed an inscriptive epigram for Emperor Theophilus and, at about the same time, his first hagiographical work, VGA. In 843 he came under investigation for his dubious past. Reduced at first to the status of a monk and confined for a time in the monastery of Pikridion, he was, as an ordinand of Tarasios or Nikephoros, readmitted

91 For the evidence that Choroboskos was active in the 9th century see, inter alia, Mango, “The Collapse of St. Sophia,” 172–74. The total lack of contemporary reference to this important and highly productive scholar is difficult to explain if he was active at Constantinople. Possibly he lived in the Arab empire, say in Egypt. An indication of that may be found in his Scholia on the Canons of Theodosius, ed. A. Hilgard, Grammatici Graeci, IV.1 (Leipzig, 1889), 120: Δει γινεσθαι ὅτι νῦν μοναστήριων ἐστὶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρείησι καὶ λέγεται τοῦ Παιασ, ὅς ἀπὸ τοῦ Παιασ καὶ ἰδού πάντα ἔχει τὰ τοῦ κανόνος, καὶ ὄμως οὐ κλάνεται διὰ τοῦ ὧν ἀλλ' ὄνομα ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ χρήσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

92 In the exordium of VN (pp. 139–40) Ignatios presents himself as a friend and “son” of the deceased patriarch. It may be added that VN shows an intimate knowledge, almost day by day of the patriarch’s downfall in 815, whereas it has little to say about his exile.
to the diaconate. As a result of this crisis he roused himself to intense literary activity and set about glorifying recent iconophile saints in a series of polished biographies. His sins were forgiven, and his efforts may even have been rewarded by promotion to the post of patriarchal skevophylax. He died shortly after 847.

That is a possible reconstruction of the career of Ignatios, but, as we have seen, it is not the only possible reconstruction.

Some of his works enjoyed considerable popularity, as shown by the great number of manuscripts in which they are preserved. Furthermore, the incipit of VN is quoted verbatim in an epitaph of the year 882. It is hardly surprising that his correspondence, obscure and cryptic as it is, should have attracted fewer readers.

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SIGLA

V

Cod. Vatopedinus 588, saec. XI ineuntis

V'

Eiusdem codicis corrector

G

Editiones M. Gedeonis. In perpaucis locis discrepantiae inter
primam (1903) et secundam (1914) editionem siglis G¹,
G² notantur

Duffy,
Efthymiadis,
Połemis,
Ševčenko

Correctiones vel coniecturae a viris doctis J. Duffy, S. Efthy-
miadis, I. D. Połemis, I. Ševčenko propositae

Karlsson

Coniecturae viri docti G. Karlsson in epistulis 25, 37

( )

addenda

[ ]

delenda

† †

locus corruptus

*

lacuna statuenda

...
TEXT AND TRANSLATION
1. Γρηγορίω σπαθαροκανδιδάτω

'Η ἐπιτελάσασα λύτη νῦν τῇ ἀνεξικάκῳ ὑμῶν (καὶ) μακροθύμῳ χρηστότητι ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπενύσθη ἀνεμαιάς φρενός. ἀλλ' εἰ τι τοῦ προστόκων διεσφάλημεν παραβλέψαι, θεομίμητε, δυσωπήσητε, καὶ μὴ ποιῶν ἐπανατείνης τῶν κλύδων τοῖς ἐπὶ πελάγους ἀσπορίας ἡμῶν σαλεύσων καὶ πυρὸν ἐπιζύτοισιν πρὸς ἀσφαλή λιμένα φαινᾶτο [καὶ] ἐγκαλοῦμενον. Ἡπὶ γὰρ τῷ πραξάμενοι λόγοι ἡμῶν ἀφίκετο ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἀπαναστάτων παροίκων τινὲς κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν ἔμμαθος ἀνεβόσαν ἄμυνας παρ' αὐτῆς ὑπεστάναι ἑνέκα τῶν γεωργιμάτων, ὧν ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῆς μισθοφόρων δίκην ἐγράψαντο—οὐ γὰρ ἄγνοει ἡ ἁθοφιλὴς ὑμῶν σύνεσις ὅσι ὡς τρέφει βοῶν ἀρόμηρα ἡ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία—οὐχ ἠμοσε γητοκτόνων ἡ αὐτόγενος ἄροτρον. οὐχ ἦν παραδόεισα πυρὶ στερρὸς ἀπελίπανεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμετροῦσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς γῆν τοῖς τὰ παρ’ γην ἡθολημένοις, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καρποδότου θεοῦ παροχὴν ἀπεκδέχεται, καὶ σὺν ἑκείνους, κατὰ τὸν γεωργικὸν νόμον, ἐνδίκως καρποῖεται· ἢν μὴ στερηθῆναι τῆς δικαιοδοσίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλ[ 75 ] λοιπὸς αὐτῇ μέρους ἐκτενῶς ἱκετεύομεν· ἀλλ’ ἡμῖκα γνωρίσσοι καὶ ἐπιμετρηθεὶς τὰ ἱδία, ἢ ἐπιλοιποῦ συγκομιδὴ ἑστὼ τῶν ἐπὶ συμφώνω γεωργισμῶν, καὶ μὴ τῷ ἔπαρχεῖν ἐνεύχετο τούτῳ ὑποτέσσαρα ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὅτι καὶ σιναρχία παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου αὐτῆς ἀπεγράφη καὶ ἐξόδους πολλὰς ταῖς παντα... . . . . . πλατύνεται, ὡς, εἰ καὶ ταύτην ὑποσταί τὴν πείραν, οὔκ εἰς μακρὰν πᾶσαν γεωργίαν πεῖναν, ἢν μὴ ὑφεσθαι ἡμᾶς εὐδοκηθῆναι θεός, τὴν ὑμέτεραν ἑωντας εἰς ἐπικουρίαν καὶ προστασίαν θερμοτάτην καὶ δέξειαν ἀντιλήψιν.

2. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἡμεῖς μὲν (ἐν) μὲρει πληροφορίας ἐσμέν· μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐχοῖμεν ὡς ἐκεῖνος τῶν προτελεσθέντων ἄτοπημάτων, εἰς ἐπινυόμεν ἑνὶ ἐπιρετῶ τῆς κακίας, (ἐν) λήθη καὶ ἀμημοσοῦν γέγονεν, καὶ οὔθεν ὑπολέ-
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF IGNATIOS THE DEACON

1. To Gregory the spatharokandidatos

The annoyance that has now befallen your forbearing and long-suffering Goodness was wafted from my vain mind. If I have been remiss in my duty, O imitator of God, deign to forgive me and do not inflict a violent storm upon me who am tossed on a sea of indigence and seeking a bright beacon that will guide me to a safe harbor. For regarding the event that has taken place, I have received a report that some of the paroikoi who had gone away protested frantically against our Church that they had suffered injustice at her hands on account of the produce that they, like hired laborers, had raised on her lands. Surely, your God-loving Prudence is aware that our Church does not nourish a single ox that pulls the plow; that she has never yoked a plow, be it of one piece or compacted of several, nor has she thoroughly greased a plowshare after singeing it in the fire. Nay, she parcels out her land to those who till the land and awaits the crop from God, the provider of harvest, which she justly enjoys with them according to the farmer's law. We therefore earnestly entreat you that she should not be deprived of justice and of the share that is due to her, but that, after she has taken stock of her own and received her measure, the remainder of the crop should go to those who have tilled the land under contract. Let not the Church submit to this burdensome yoke inasmuch as the provision of victuals has been imposed on her by the Treasury and she is overextended by numerous . . . expenses; for if she were to suffer this trial, too, she would soon reap abject poverty, which may God grant us not to see happen, having as we do your most ardent and swift succor for our assistance and protection.

2. To the same

I am assured—indeed, I have all the evidence that this man, inspired by the Inventor of evil, has become unaware and forgetful of his previous offenses and all
λειπται, δι' επευάγματον ἡ πεπόνθαμεν. Τοῦτο γὰρ τεκμηριώθη τὸ τοῦ
5 χριστιανοῦ τέλειον ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μὴ λογίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἀντιδιδόναι
τῷ ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ πάσχειν γεγένηται. Εἰ ὁμοὶ τοῦτο ὑπότειν, κάτ' ἐνθά
διὸ ἐξίσου τοῦ τοῦ χριστιανοῦ καὶ τελείως ἐνδεδυμένου ἐπάγγελμα, δείξου τῇ
ἐνούθῃ σοι ἀμφισβάκις συνέσει, καὶ δὸς τὸν τῷ ὅργῃ, κατὰ τὸν μα-
κάρου καὶ || 76 || πρῶτον διδάσκαλον Παύλου, ἔνεκεν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ οἰκονό-
μου ἡμῶν ἀπροσεξίας, καὶ μὴ τὸ ἐκείνον πλημμέλημα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
λογισθήνων αὐτοῦ γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀφροσύνης φορτίον ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἔρας
οὔχεται· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκκλησία μηδὲν πειρασθείν διὰ πιεύχεται, μηδὲ τὰ
ὑπὲρ δύναμιν εἰσπραττέσθω· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡδίν προγεγονότων
ἐπικοψισθήσω διὰ τῆς ἤμετρας εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως, καὶ ἐπέρου
βλάψῃ προξενοῦντος μὴ πειρασθῆνω· ἐστάται δὲ τοῦτο εἰ διὰ τῆς ἤμε-
τερας φιλοσυνπαθοῦς ἡμερότητος αἰνητουπονοσθήσει· δι' οἰκονόμου τῆς
ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἢ μὴ διασχερήξῃ τοῦτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
πράγμασιν ἐπακολουθήσῃ φθορά· λακνή γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπιτυμία· μὴ οὖν
ἀνάτρευτος (εὐθ.)· ἀλλὰ τῇ διακριτικῇ ὑμῶν μοτώσει θεραπείαν δέξατο
τὸ ἀναφευγόν ἀλγός ἐπ' αὐτῷ, δ' καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων ὀφεσθαι ἐν ἐλ-
πίδω Ἰησ. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ οἰκονομείου κλείδα, ἐν ὧν τὰ έτοιμασθέντα εἰς
τροφήν τοῦ παρ' ὑμᾶς κυβερνόμενον λαόν ἀποτέθεται, πεπόμαξεν
ἐν ὑπαγορίας καὶ τὰ ἐνδόν ἐπιμετρῶν, ὡς παρίσταται τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ
ἀκριβεὶ ὑπερχάη, διανείμαι· καὶ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὰ πάντων ἀγαθῶν
χρησίμως καὶ παροχεῖς ἀφθονώτατος, || 77 || άνοιξεν ἡμῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ βα-
σιλείας τῆς εἰσοδο, ταῖς τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ κλειδοῦ-
χον τῶν ὀφρανῶν Πέτρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνετείξειν, καὶ λύσει ἡμῖν τῶν
πλημμελημάτων παρέξει, δι' ἢ ἔστι τοῦ πρῶτον τυχεῖν ἐφετοῦ καὶ τῆς
ἐν ἐλπίδι κειμένης μακροῦ αἰῶνος λήξεως.

3. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἰδοὺ σοι καὶ ὁ πολυζήτητος κουράτωρ ἦκεν· οὐ εἶτε ποθὸν εἶτε
ἀπειλῶν ἐπιζήτητες ἁγιοσύνων σοι μονᾳ τοῦτο παραχωροῦμεν ειδέναι.
my actions and suffering have been to no avail. For this is proof of Christian perfection, namely, to take no account of one's own suffering nor to repay him on whose account the suffering was caused. If then that is so, and since I know that you are deservedly and fully invested with the profession of a Christian, show it by the forgiving prudence that is within you and give place unto (God's) wrath (as our blessed and foremost teacher Paul saith) regarding the heedlessness of our oikonomos, and let not his transgression be charged against the Church. For he, having taken upon his shoulders the burden of his folly, has departed. As for the Church, she should not be tried for what she deplores, nor should she be made to pay what is beyond her capabilities; rather, she should be relieved by your kindly exhortation of her past tribulations and should not experience the damage caused by another man. This shall be so if, thanks to your gentle sympathy, the oikonomos of the Church returns to his duties so as not to cause complete disaster to the affairs of the Church. The penance is sufficient unto him. Let him not, therefore, (remain) uncured; rather let his disease be healed by your discerning ministration—an outcome I hoped to see even before (writing) this letter. As for the key of the oikonomейон, wherein is stored the food set aside for the sustenance of the host that is governed by you, I have sent it to you, so that you may open (the door) and, after counting the contents as your meticulous Excellence sees fit, distribute them.

May our Lord God, the granter and bountiful dispenser of all good things, open to you the entrance to His Kingdom by the prayers of Peter, the chief of the apostles and key-bearer of heaven, and grant you release from your sins, whereby you may attain that which you most desire and the eternal end that lies within your hopes.

3. To the same

Behold, the much-sought kourator is coming to you. Whether you have been searching for him because you desired (his company), or (wanted) to threaten him, you alone can tell since I am ignorant of the matter. Had he not been crooked in both
Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἤρν ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς ἱγναίς ὁκλάζων καὶ βακτρίῳ τὸ χωλὸν ὑπερείδων, τάχα ἀν σὺν τῷ οἶκονόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν παροίκων ἀποκίαιν ἐστέλλοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ φέρεισ αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀσθενείας οὐχ οἶος τέ ἐστι, πῶς ἐτέρων ἐνεγκεῖς βιαν διυπήσαις ἀνθρώπος ἡμιβανής καὶ τομίας, ύπερ οὗ λέγειν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἔτερον, ἥ εἰκαρστείων Κυρίῳ ὃς ἐνδί εὐνοοῦχον καὶ χωλοῦ περικατῆσαι ἰσχύς ἦμων οὐκ ἐγένετο; Τοιαύτη τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σου κηδεμονίας φροντίς· τοῦτο τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλήψεως.

Εἰ μὴ γὰρ (οὐκ) ἤδει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέωτα καὶ μηδεμῶς παρ’ ὅλον ἔχομεν στάσεως, διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν αὐτῶν διεξαγόντων, § 78 § ἐδοξείς τισιν ὢνωσ λέγειν ὑπ’ ἀνοίας ταῦτα προστάσεως τὴν περιβλέπτων ἱμῶν ὑπεροχήν· οὐκ δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐπιτροπευτῶν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀπαχθέντων καὶ κατ’ ὁφθαλμοῦς αὐτῶν ὅσπερ εἰρήμεναι παρεστῶτων καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐπιεικῶς τελούντων δουλείας, τὰ λοιπὰν ὑπολείασαι, Τί ἀλλὰ γε τὰ πάντως ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν παρεῖναι καὶ τὸν λόγον τῶν δραπετευσάντων ὑπέχειν. Τήρησον οὖν μετ’ εἰνοίας, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταῦτα, τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ στήσον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ στερεάν τῆς ἀντιλήψεως πέτραν, χωλεύσας, καὶ δός αὐτῇ πραγμάτων βάσιν ἄσαλευτον, ὡς ἂν θεός, κατευθύνων τὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἱμῶν διαβήματα, καὶ τὰν σκόλον καὶ σκάνδαλον κατενώπιον ἱμῶν ἐκβάλλων, λείαν καὶ προσυπῆν τὴν εἰς (τὴν) αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὑπανοίξεως εἰσόδον, προσθείας τῆς αὐτοῦ τεκούσης Θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ αἰώνος αὐτῷ εὐαρεστησάντων ἀγίων.

4. Νικηφόρῳ διακόνω καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

'Ἰλάδα συμφορῶν ὅ τις ἱερωσύνης ζυγὸς ἦμων ἀποτέτοκεν· μὴ γὰρ φέρων τὸ τῆς ἀναξιώτητος ἡμῶν ἐπαχθὲς ταύτη ἡμᾶς ἐπεβάρχησεν καὶ

3: 3 ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς ἱγναίς: 3 Reg. 18.21 || 20–21 θεός – διαβήματα: cf. Lc. 1.79; 1 Th. 3.11


4: 1 Ἡλάδα συμφορῶν: cf. Zen. IV.43; Diogen. V.26; Karathanasis 38

4: 1 ἱερωσύνης V: corr. G || 2 ταύτης V
legs and been supporting his lameness with the help of a staff, he would probably have been dispatched, together with the oikonomos, to the settlement of the paroikoi. Since, however, he is unable, because of his infirmity, to carry himself, how will a half-dead castrate manage to resist violence from others (to whose credit I can say this only, that I am grateful to God for having been unable to prevail over one eunuch who is, in addition, lame)? Such is your solicitude on our behalf, so great is your assistance to us! For unless you did not know that the Church and her affairs were slowly ebbing away without the slightest pause because of the absence of anyone who could lead her out of difficulty, it might perchance have occurred to some persons to say that these orders were given senselessly by your distinguished Supremacy. Now, however, that all the men who administer the affairs of the Church have been removed by you, stand in your presence every day and are meekly performing the emperors’ service, what else remains to be done? Nothing, surely, except that I should present myself and take responsibility for the fugitives. Keep, therefore, a gentle countenance, especially with regard to the Church, and set her up, lame as she is, upon the firm rock of your succor; grant her an unshakable foundation so that God, in guiding your steps toward Him, may remove from your path every hindrance and stumbling block and open a smooth and accessible entrance to His Kingdom; by the prayers of His Mother, the Theotokos, and of all the saints who have found favor in His sight from the beginning of time.

4. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

The yoke of priesthood has caused me an Iliad of misfortunes; for, being unable to bear the burden of my unworthiness of it, it has weighed me down with them,
χειμώνι πραγμάτων ἐπέκλυσεν καὶ καταγίωσεν ἄβολητον πειρασμόν ἐπετάραξεν, ὅπερ, εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἡθοποιοῦ καὶ μελημέριος γλώσσης ἡμᾶς ἀνεκτήσατο λόγων, ἣν εἰπεῖν πονητικός ἦλθεν με φέρων ἄνεμως Κικόνωςι πέλανσεν. Τοσοῦτας φροντίδων ἐπιρροάς καταντολόμεθα, καὶ τοιούτοις εἶδεσον ἄνιαρόν τε ποικιλόμεθα, τε καὶ οὐκ τῷ μῆθῃ δοκεῖ ὄδρα πολυκεφάλῳ, ὁρμᾶρειν περιστοµχιζόμεθα ἢς, εἰ καὶ μᾶς τῶν δεινῶν ἐκείνων κεφαλῶν περιεσόμεθα, ἐτέρα ὠσον οὕτω δευνότερα ἔπικυσκέται καὶ (εἰ) ταῦτην ἀθῆσι ἐκτιλλόμεθα, ἄλλη λυπότα τὸπαντατέλλει καὶ φρικτῶν ἡμῶν μορμολύττεται· ὅπερ πρὸς ταῦτας ἡμῶν ὃς ἀγών καὶ εἰ μὴ καταγωνισθῆσθαι τούτου δύναμθαι.

Τότῳ ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς σε σιγῆς ὑπήρξε κεφάλαιον· ὅθεν αὐτούμεν τῆς μέμβρας ἡμᾶς ἀφείναι καὶ τῆς βραδυτῆτος τῆς αἵτινα λύσαι εἰδῶς οὐαὶ καὶ οὐαίς ἐπερεῖας βαλλόμεθα· ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐθαναμασάμεν τὸ ἐπιεκές καὶ σεβασμὸν ὅτι καὶ γράμματον πρῶτος ἡμῖν προσώμιλησα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀθρίας καὶ λύπης ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς σῆς θεραπευτικῆς ἀντιδότου πικρῶν κατεγυλικανός· ἦς ἐγγευσάμενοι καὶ πάσοις κακεξίαν ἀποσείσαμενοι, ῥοστικῆς ἐνεφορθῆκεν κράτος, καὶ εὔγε ἄδελφῶν ἐμοὶ καὶ πατέρων ἐρασμώτατε· σε δὲ ἵσμεν ὡσεὶ ἐλαιῶν ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ Κυρίου (80) ἐκ κατάκαρπον, ταῖς ἀνωθέν πνευματικῶς ἐπομβρίαις ἀρδευμενής πτικέσθαι, καὶ ἐτέρας τὸ ἐλεεῖν ἐπιμετροῦσαν καὶ ἐπαλείφειν· αἰδοῦμεθα· τόλμῃ δὲ χρησάμενοι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς παρ’ ἡμῶν ὑπόττητος μοιράν ἐλαιῶν ἀλκήν πεπομφέναι προτεστημέθα, ἦν δεχθῆςε μὴ ἀπεξώσθη ἡ ὑμετέρα πολυέλεος προσφέρεσίς, τὴν ἀτεγκτ να ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καὶ ἀνυκρίνων ἡμῶν ψυχὴν ταῖς θείαις πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἐντεύξεως ὅμων πρὸς εὐκαρπίαν ἀρετῶν ἐπιρροϊόνουσα· καὶ ἐρρώσθαι ἡμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, καὶ εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δυσαπιθῆτη.

5. Ἰωάννη διακόνῳ καὶ κοιμουκλείσῳ

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἡνίκα τῆς ὑμετέρας διεξεύχησαν παρουσίας ὡς λύπη πολλῇ συνήθθησαν. Τί γὰρ οὐ συνήντησαν ἡμῖν τῶν ἄβουλητων; Τί δαί

5-6 ἦλθεν – πέλανσεν Od. 9.39 20-21 ὅσεϊ – κατάκαρπον Ps. 51(52).10

flooded me with a gale of concerns, and confounded me with squalls of unsought temptations, so that, had I not been revived by the words of your sweet and soothing tongue, I could say with the Poet, "From Troy the wind bore me and brought me to the Cicones." I am inundated by such floods of cares, injured by so many kinds of distress that beset me every day—it is like the many-headed hydra of the myth: if I overcome one of those dreaded heads, another, more terrible, straightaway sprouts up; and if, in turn, I pluck this one out, yet another rises up and frightens me horribly. My whole struggle is against these, even if I am not equal to it.

This has been the main reason of my silence toward you. Hence I beg you to absolve me of blame and not hold me responsible for my tardiness, knowing as you do all the injuries that assail me. Besides, I have admired in other respects your gentle and venerable character in that you took the first step in addressing me by letter and by your healing remedy sweetened my bitter sorrow and depression. Having tasted it and shaken off my whole disaffection, I have been filled with fortifying grace. Well done, most beloved brother and father! I know you are "like a fruitful olive tree in the house of our Lord"; watered by spiritual showers from above, you are increased and are dispensing mercy and assuagement to others. I am embarrassed; yet, summoning up my courage, I have eagerly resolved to send you a small quantity of oil from our property which, I trust, your merciful Goodness will not refuse and, by means of your holy prayers to God, moisten my soul, which is hardened and desiccated by sin, that it may produce a harvest of virtue. I pray for your good health and beseech you to pray for me.

5. To John, deacon and kouboukleisios

When I was parted from your presence I experienced great sorrow. Indeed, every undesirable thing befell me, and I was overcome by every circumstance that
οὐ κατέσχεν ἡμᾶς ὅσα τὰς διαθήκης ἐπεύχεται, ὥστε ἀπολέγεσθαι ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἱωάννην, καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ ζῆν: Οὐ γὰρ γράφειν ἰκανῶς ἔχομεν τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῶν ἀναρω τὰ δεινά· ἀλλ' ὁ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινούς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῇ ἀνεξίχνιαστῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεικάστῳ χρηστότητι τὸ βάρος τῶν ἐπελθόντων, ὡς καὶ μόλις, κατελαθήσεται κατένευσεν· τοσαύτες τῶν κύκλω συνεπτιθεμένων ἡμῶν ἀλγείᾳ ἡ ἑπιστώταις. Εἶ γὰρ || 81 || ἑκάστου σκόλοπος ἀπογυμνώσαται τῇ βιάν θελήσαμεν, ἐπιλείψει οἱ παρῶν χρόνως διηγομένους ἡμῶς· ἀλλὰ δόξα θεῷ τῷ μή κατ' αξίαν τὰ τῆς παραχώρησεος αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τελοῦντι, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦντι σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τῷ ἐκβασιν. Τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας θεοπαρόχου ρώσεως ἐνοπισάμενοι τῷ ἴδιοτὸν ἀκουσμα, πάνε εἰ τῇ λύπῃ ἡμῶν ἐμφωλεύον ἐνην λείψανον ἀπεκρουσάμεθα καὶ ὅλοι τῆς χαρᾶς γενόμενοι, τῷ δοτηρὶ ταύτης θεῷ θυσίαν εὐχαριστίας προσήξαμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολαβέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἔρρωμεν, καὶ ὑπὸ θείας βοσῆς σκεπομένως, ἡ παντοδύναμος εὐδοκήσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χρηστότης, ὡς ἕν τῷ γράμματι ἡμῶν λείποντα εὐκαίρως ἀποπληρώσωμεν.

6. Κωνσταντίνῳ ὑπάτῳ

Ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνω ροπῆς κοσμομενήν τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλόνουαν τοὺς θείους πλεονεκτήμασι πάλαι διέγνωμεν. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡμεσίων πραγμάτων προκοπαῖς εὐδοκομενὴν βλέπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῷ θεῷ ἀνήκουσι ζήλου εὐσεβείας ἐνδείκνυσθαι πε- πειράμεθα· οἴκεν καὶ νῦν, ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τινως παραπεσόντος κεφα- λαίοι, ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδεὶς τούτο βαρβαροῦν ἀναθείναι η ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὀρθότητι κρίεται.

Ὁ γὰρ ἀποδιδόσι τὸ γραμμάτιον (τοῦ) θεοῦ || 82 || λοις ἐπισκόπου Νικομήδειας ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὡς τὰ ὑπὸ τὴν ποίμνην αὐτοῦ τελοῦντα εὐσκηνήμονα, δι’ ἑν πρόβασιν εἰπέτει ἀποροῦμεν, ὁ τοῦ ξενοδοχείου Πνεύμον κουράτωρ ὑπευθελθὼν χριστίου τινα ποσότητα παρ’ αὐτῶν

5: 3—4 ἀπολέγεσθαι — τοῦ ζῆν: Ion. 4:8 || 5—6 ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς: 2 Cor. 7:6 || 8 τῶν — ἡμῖν: Ps. 3:7 || 10 ἐπιλείψει — ἡμᾶς: cf. He. 11:32 || 12 ἀλλὰ ποιοῦντι — ἐκβασιν: 1 Cor. 10:13

5: 3 ἀπεύχεται || 17 εὐδοκήσει

6: 9 Νικομήδειας nos: ἡμᾶς || 10 ξενοδοχείου G

[36]
one would wish to avoid so that, like the blessed Jonah, I despaired of my very life. I am unable to describe adequately the terrible misfortunes that happened to me; but He that comforteth those that are cast down comforted me and, through His unfathomable and incomprehensible goodness, deigned to lighten, though barely and at the last moment, the burden that had been placed upon me. So great was the mass of sufferings that had set itself against me round about; for, if I were to reveal the severity of each torment, the present time would fail me to tell all. But glory be to God, who does not perform His dispensation over me according to my deserts, but "with the temptation also makes a way to escape." Having heard the sweet tidings of your God-provided recovery, I have ejected every remnant of sorrow that lay lurking within me and, having entirely given myself over to joy, I offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to God who grants this joy. May our God’s all-powerful goodness grant me to find you in good health and under the protection of the divine will, so that I may have an opportunity of telling you all the things that have not been said in this letter.

6. To Constantine, hypatos

I have long recognized that your Magnanimity was in all respects adorned with divine qualities by the will of the Highest. For not only do I see your success in the transaction of public affairs, but I also know by experience the pious zeal you manifest in those things that pertain to God. This is why, now that a certain ecclesiastical matter has arisen, I dare entrust it to no one else except to your most righteous judgment.

The messenger who delivered the letter of the godly bishop of Nicomedia has informed me that the curator of the xenodochos of Pylai had insinuated himself (on what pretext I am unable to say) into the holy monasteries that are placed under the bishop’s pastoral jurisdiction and had removed from them a certain sum of gold. The
σφετερίζεται, τούτο λέγει μόνον ἔχεις εἰς ἀπολογίαν ὑποψυχρον, ως
dιὰ τὸ πλησίον ἱδρύσαι τοῖς κτήμασι τοῦ ἔνωδοχείου τὰ προφηθέντα
eυάγη μοναστηρία τῆς ταύτης ἀποτυπώνατι δόσιμ. ὑπὲρ ἔξω καθέστη-
κει καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς καταστάσεως; πάντως γὰρ τοὺς τῷ
θεῷ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναθέτεις καὶ αὐτῷ ἥμισὺς, καὶ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου
φροντίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἐξωθησάντας, ἐλευθερίαν ἔχεις τί θείοι νόμοι θε-
σπίζουσι, καὶ μὴ δὲν παρὰ τῶν εὐθέως διατεταγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς
πράττειν κελεύσομεν; οὕτω γὰρ ἐσται προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ
μόνες καὶ πολυχρόνων εὐθείριας τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ προλαμπόντων βασι-
λέων ὑπερεύχεσθαι.

Ταῦτ’ οὖν διακούσασα ἡ ἀκριβὴς ὑμῶν σύνεσις καὶ τῷ θεῷ ζηλω
πυρομείη, τὸ ἀνόητον τοῦτο τῆς εἰσπράξεως μὴ ἐπαφήσοι τελείωσαι
ἐν οἷς τὸ θείον εὐαγγελεῖ καὶ ἀκαταπαύστως λατρεύεται σεμείοις: ἀλλ’
eι καὶ τι πάρα τοῦ προφάσει ἄδικας τοῦτο ἐπιυψηλαστος αὐτήτης,
ἀνταπαυτηθής καὶ τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσιν ἀποδοθήτω, καὶ ἐστω ὕπο τὴν
gνώμην 83 καὶ χείρα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τελούντα τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
μοναστη-
ρια μὴ ύφορωμένα των τῶν πα... ν τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χωρίς ἐπισκή-
ψεως επὶ βλάβη τῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι βιώσεως. Τούτῳ γὰρ ποιῶν εὐά-
ρεστος ἀναδεικνύθηθε θεῷ καὶ παρ’ αὐτὸν συνεργοῦμενος καὶ ἐν τοῖς
βεβουλευμένους σοι πᾶσαν προκοπῆν εἰσδεχόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκεῖ
δια-
μάρτου τῶν ἁγαθῶν μετονοίασα ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων λαμπρότητι.

7. Νικολάω σπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ

'Εδει μὲν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν περίβλεπτον ὑμῶν μεγαλύνουν ποιου-
μένους τὸν λόγον, γηθομένη καρδίᾳ καὶ χαρίντι προσώπῳ ποιεῖσθαι
τὴν πρόσρησιν; τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν ύπήρξε πᾶσης θυμιδίας ἀνώτερον
καὶ ἑρθῆς μεγίςτης ἐρασμώτερον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τῆς χαρᾶς φαιδρότης
ἐκλέουτε, λήσῃ δὲ πάντοθεν πιέζῃ καὶ θλίψεως τάραχος σφοδρῶν
ἡμῶν ἐπανατείνει τὸν κλώνων, μέλαιν τοὺς ἡμῶν ἐπιχρώσαστες λόγους,
δυνητῶν τι καὶ στυγνῶν προσφεβεγγόμεθα. Μή γὰρ ἴκανος ἔχοντες φε-


ψεως ex ἐπισκήψεως V litt. ἡ in marg. scripta
only excuse he could offer was the rather weak one, namely, that the said holy monasteries ought to pay this contribution because they adjoined the properties of the hostel. This act contravenes both civil and religious order; for surely the sacred laws ordain that those men who have dedicated themselves to God, have chosen to live for Him, and have severed themselves from the cares of this world should enjoy immunity, and that nothing should be done to them contrary to these pious decrees. In this way they will be able to keep watch over themselves and to pray for the health and lasting prosperity of the emperors whose illustriousness comes from God.

Having heard this case, may your righteous Prudence, fired as it is by divine zeal, forbid this unholy exaction from the monasteries wherein the Deity is piously and unceasingly worshiped. Let the sums that the instigator of this matter has collected on an unjust pretext be demanded back of him and returned to the injured parties; and may the monasteries that are subject to the bishop remain under his judgment and control and not suspect anyone at all (?) of being detrimental to their way of life without the bishop's injunction. By doing so you will find favor with God by whose help you will receive all manner of success in your counsels; and may you without fail enjoy hereafter your share of the reward in the glorious estate of the saints.

7. To Nicholas, spatharios and protonotarios

In addressing your admirable Magnanimity it would have been only proper for me to salute you with a rejoicing heart and a smiling countenance. That, indeed, would have been the highest joy for me and an occasion more agreeable than the greatest feast. Since, however, the brightness of joy has faded, while sorrow oppresses me on every side and a turmoil of troubles is roused up against me like a violent storm, I have dyed my words in black and am addressing you in a distressed and gloomy manner.
ρευν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίκην νεφών ἐπιφυσεμένων εἰσπράξειν τῇ ἐπόδωνα, τῇ ὑμετέρῳ ἐγκαλούμενοι μετὰ θεών θερημὶ καὶ δευτάτην ἀντιλήψιν. ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία ἢν, πολλῷ βάρει ἀμαρτώνον ἱεροθεμενοί ἀλλ’ οὖ διὰ τῶν προκοπῆν ἀρετῆς, γνωρίζει παρὰ θεῷ κατεκρίθημεν, σάσης πρὸ τοῦτον διαμ. || 84 || λόγῳ ἁπάλανεν ἁμεροτήτους, καὶ παντελοῦς ἁπάλλακτο τῆς τοῦ δημοσίου περιφορᾶς τε καὶ γεύσεως: οἴνῳ εἰπεῖν συνωνής, ἀγγαρείας, καὶ παντοδαποῦς ἑπηρείας, καὶ ἢν αὐτὴν κεφάλαιον τοῦτον καυχήσεως καὶ πάσης ἀξίας καὶ φαινότητος τιμώτερον. Νῦν δὲ ἡμέρα πολὺν ὕφισται ταῖς ῥαγάδων ἐπιζήμων κλύδωνα, καὶ ὁ συναλγὼν ἢ ἐπικυρών οὐδαμοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὑμετέραν δυσωπεῖν προσχθηκέναι μεγαλώνοντας, καὶ ἢς ἡδὴ πρὸ τῶν ἰχνῶν αὐτῆς τὴν ἰκετείαν ποιοῦντο, λυπαροῦν κληθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἄνω ὑποίης καὶ τὴν ἐπελθοῦσαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκδήμου νέφους δρυμωτᾶτην σκοτόμαιαν σκεύασαι καὶ ἐπιγυνάκαι τῇ μελιχῇ καὶ μελισσαγεῖ αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἁμεροτητῇ. Πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἢδῆς παρωχηκότος οἰυλίου μηνὸς ὁ λόγος τῆς ὁμοθεῖας συνωνής ἀνασήθη καὶ ἀσφάλης ἀπόδειξις ἐγράφη πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐτέραν ὑποστῆται εἰσπραξίν. Ὁς ὅρωμεν δὲ καὶ παγία πληροφορία βεβαιούμεθα, καταγίς ἄπαυστης συνωνής τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ αὐθῆς ἐπέπνευσε, πρὸς βυθὸν ἐλκούσα τῶν κλήρων πενίας: ἀνά γὰρ μοδίους ἐς εἰσαρπάστηκεν πάς ἀπὸ νηπίου θηλάξοντος ἓως καθησυχικῶς πρεβάζοντον ἢ καὶ ἀμογέροντος, καὶ ὁ καιρός ἀφορίας ἐπ’ ὅρους ὑψηλοῦ ἀναδραμένου μέγα βοῦ καὶ τὴν στενώσων τοῦ παντὸς ἀνακηρύττει τρανότατα. || 85 || Ἀκουστείνθει οὖν παρ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ἢ ἁμετέρα ἐτοιμοτάτη ἀντίληψιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας βιαν, καὶ μὴ χρονίσθη εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεριστάτου ἀπορίαν, ὥς ἡ μὴ τὰ δυσαχθές τοῦτο φορτῶν ὀκλαςιν αὐτῆ πρὶ γόνι προξενίους καὶ καταρράξῃ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, εἰς πεταυρον ἰδον μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ ἀντιλήπτικήν προνοίας τῆς ὑμετέραις χειρὸς ἀνασωθῆτι καὶ κηδεμονίας ἀξιωθῆται, καὶ μηδὲ μιᾶς βλάβης πείραν δέξιου, ἢν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὃ δια αὐτῆς ἐπευφραωμένος Κύριος [καὶ] παρ’ αὐτῷ φυλαττομένην διατηρῆσον, παρέχων αὐτῆ πάσαν εὐκολίαν ἐν ὄς ἄν δουλεύει τοι καὶ ἐπιτηρείη, καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν προξενίους τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν ἀμοιβὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν.
Indeed, being unable to endure the pains of the tax exactions that spring up from the Treasury like clouds, I invoke, after God's, your fervent and speedy support. For the Church, which I have been condemned by God to become familiar with, impelled as I was by the burden of my sins and not on account of any progress in virtue—that Church heretofore used to enjoy in abundance every manner of tranquillity and was altogether exempt from tasting the dishes served up by the Treasury, namely, the synone, compulsory service, and all kinds of vexation. That was to her a source of pride more precious than any dignity and splendor. But today she suffers a violent snowstorm, an injurious flood, and there is none to comfort her or to help her. For this reason I have been induced to implore your Magnanimity, and, as if I were already making my supplication before your feet, I beseech you to be swayed by the influence of the Highest, to scatter the alien cloud of bitter darkness that has swept over the Church, and to soothe her with the honeyed sweetness of your gentleness on her behalf. For, before the month of July that has just gone by, the account of the appointed synone was demanded and a certification was given in writing that the Church would not be liable to another exaction. But, as we now see and are assured by trustworthy evidence, a claim for synone has, once again, come blowing upon the Church like a hurricane, dragging the clergy into the abyss of poverty: for every person, from the suckling babe to those in advanced or vigorous old age, is to be charged six modii each, while the sterile season cries out loud and clearly proclaims, as from a high mountain, the dearth of everything. May you, ready and helpful as you are, become aware thereby of the violence that is done to the Church and do not delay in the face of her helpless poverty, lest this heavy burden bring her to her knees and cast her, as the saying goes, into the trap of Hell. On the contrary, may she be delivered by your provident and helpful hand and be deemed worthy of protection without experiencing any harm whatever, so that, both in this case and for evermore, our Lord, delighted as He is by you, may continue guarding you and grant you every facility in all your counsels and pursuits as well as rewarding you with the enjoyment of the eternal blessings in heaven.
8. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Εντροπὴ μου καὶ λύπη τοῦ πρόσωπου καὶ δειλία βάλλει με πάντοθεν υφορόμενον μή οὔσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑπεροχὴν ὡς χθές καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν πρὸ ἐμοῦ. Τοῦ γὰρ προβάντος σκανδάλου τὸ δρμύ καὶ πικρότατον βέλος νύσσει τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν, καὶ οὐκ ἔξ ἑκαταρχή συνειδῆσαι καὶ λόγῳ πεπαρησιασμένῳ γράφειν· ἀλλὰ ἀνθέλκει με θεομίμητος τρόπος καὶ ἢ περὶ τὸ κρείττον ὑμῶν γνησία στοργῆ καὶ ἢ περὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀγαθῆ καὶ ἑδραία διάθεσις καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖν ταύτα συμπείδουσι. Βλέπουτε δὲ τὴν φθάσασαν καὶ νυνὶ προσπελάσασαν τῇ ἐκ 86 | κλησία Νικαίας ἡμετὴν ἀφήναν λαλάτα, ἀτερήκαμεν καὶ ἀφασίζα παντελεί συνεχόμεθα ὃτι, μήπως τῆς τελεσθείσης παρ' ἑμῶν συμπαραχάς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείοις ἀποκληρωθείσης, ἀλλος ἡμᾶς ἐπεβρῶσθην ἀρχιστάρχης. μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀστραπαίς ἀπελών ἐκεδώσωμεν, ἀνὰ ἐξ μονάδος σίτου ἑκατον κληρικῶν ἀπὸ βρέφους καὶ παιδίου καὶ βοῦταν καὶ έως ἐσχατογήρου καὶ πρωτογέροντος εἰσπραττόμενος. Καὶ πῶς ἀπεκρύβη τούτῳ τῇ ἀκριβεῖ ὑμῶν συνέσαι εἰπεῖν ἀπορούμεν, ὡς πρόατας βασιλέως καὶ ἀρχαίον ἐπεκράτησεν ἐδὸν ἀδείας μέρει πάντα τὸν ἱερωμένον τῇ ἐκκλησία ταύτη τελεῖν καὶ πάσης ἀπηλλάξαι κακώσεως. Ἀλλ' ὅσον δ' ἐγώμαι καὶ συννωρ καὶ μετρεών ἐως, τούτῳ τῆς ἐμῆς ῥήμας ὑπάρχει ταλαίνης ψυχῆς τὸ ἀπότευγμα ὅστε σιατικὰ τῆς στῆς εὐμενείας, διὸς τῆς σκληρᾶς ταύτης εἰσπράξεως ἀνακωχῆ, ἢν μὴ γαγγραίνης δίκην νομῆ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσγενὴται καὶ τῆς τροπογείαν ὅλοςχερον ἀπαρνητῆται. Οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ theories κοινωνία τὴν υπὲρ τοῦτον ἐκατοντάκις ἀμοιβήν· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπ' ἀκρόν ἀφορία καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ καιροῦ λανθάνει, ὡς καὶ εἶς αὐτῆς τῆς ἐφημερού ζώῆς εὑροῦραι στένωσιν οὐ μετρουμένη συμβεβηκε, καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην μεγάλην πάσας περιέστη ψυχῆς. Τὴν οὖν ἰκετείαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἀτώχη, θέατεστε· ἀλλ' ἠλέη ὑμματι καὶ προσπηνει καρδία τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔλεους μετὰ θεοῦ συνεργάσασθαι προθυμήθητι, || 87 || ὅσον καὶ [εὰ] ὅμα δὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔλεους ἐπισκαίήτη εὐμενείαν, πᾶν, εἰ τι δυσχερές καὶ ἀνατες, κατευμαρίζομαι σκάνδαλον, καὶ ταῖς κατὰ

8: 1 ἐντροπὴ – πρόσωπον: cf. Ps. 68 (69).8


[42]
8. To the same

Shame, sorrow, and timidity assail my face from every direction as I suspect that your Eminence is no longer on my side as it was yesterday and the day before. For the grievous and bitter shaft of the offense that has occurred pierces my soul and does not allow me to write with clear conscience and frank speech; yet your manner that is modeled after God, your genuine love of the higher state, and your steadfast goodwill toward God's churches draw me in the opposite direction and persuade me not to take thought of these matters.

When I see the violent storm that has now suddenly approached and fallen upon the Church of Nicaea, I despair; I am gripped by utter speechlessness in that, even before the produce (sitarchia) provided by us had been deposited in the stores of the Treasury, another chief commissar of the grain tax has struck us with his thunder or, to put it better, has terrified the Church by the lightning flashes of his threats in exacting six modii of corn from every cleric, starting with infants, children, and big boys, and ending with the decrepit old men and the middle-aged. I am at a loss to explain how it has escaped your meticulous Prudence that by imperial command and ancient custom every clergyman of this Church has enjoyed exemption and been freed from all manner of vexation. But, as I think, as I perceive and can reckon, this (disaster) is due to my miserable self. May you arrest it by your goodwill and give us relief from this cruel exaction lest the Church be affected with a spreading gangrene that defies all treatment. In so doing you will receive a hundredfold reward from God; for you are not unaware of the extreme dearth and poverty of the season—indeed, the very well-being of everyday life has experienced an infinite deterioration, and everyone has been reduced to the utmost need. Do not, therefore, dismiss the supplication of the Church, you who are so agreeable to God; be willing, with kindly eye and gentle heart, to help, along with God, in showing her mercy so that His merciful goodwill may overshadow you also, smoothing every vexatious stumbling block that
θεών ὑμῶν διεξαγωγαὶς συμπιέσωσα, τῶν ἐκείθεν ἀκρατῶν μισθῶν δι' ἀγαθοεργίας προζενήσω τὴν αἰωνίαν ἀντίδοσιν.

9. Νικηφόρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρίας

Πάσης ἱερᾶς ἐμπνεύσεως πλήρες γράμμα ἡμῶν παρὰ τὴς ὑμετέρας δυστύπιος κομισθέν, δι' ὑπτίασις χερσίν δεξάμενοι καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ θεία νοσθετέντες καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱεροσύνης τέλεα μυθεῦσε, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κατασχόντος ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀθυμίας νέφους ἀπεσκευασάμεθα κάλυμμα.

Καὶ μικρὸν ἀνασφάλντες, τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἑυγής ἀχθος ὁποῖον ἐστιν ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ ἱατρεία τις ἡμῶν τοῦ δυσαλγοῦς ἀνέκυψε μῶλωπος καὶ τῆς συνεχούσης σκοτοείας ἀνανεῦσαι συμβεβήκεν. Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέχρι τούτου σταίη τὰ τῆς νοσθείας ὑμῶν ἐπαλείμματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθίνης τούτως ἡμᾶς ἱατρεύσετε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰάσεως ἐπώδυνα περικόπτοντε, ὡς ἄν μὴ μετηθείη παρὰ θεῷ τὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐλαττώματα, καὶ ἡ προπτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἱεροσύνην ταχυτίς ἐλεγχθεῖ, καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας δεδείημεν, καὶ ἐις τὺρ βληθεϊμένως ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ ἐπαγγελματος περικείμενον ἐνδύμα. ἀλλὰ βλέπων παραβλέψεων τῶν παραπτωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ἐλέω χρηστότητος ἐξισάτεται.

Ἡ δὲ παρουσία ὑμῶν ἐν ἐλ || 88 || πίδι ἢν ἡμῶν διὰ Νικηφόρου γενεσθαι. τούτου μὲν δυνάμωρομεν τῷ δὲ ὑμετέρῳ γράμματι ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι ταύτην οἴδομεν παρεκληθήμεν. Τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς καθιδρύσεως ἡμῶν τούτῳ δεξάμενοι, μεγίστης χαρᾶς ἀφορμὴν συνελεξάμεθα. διὰ δὲ τὸ πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα συνετίγασε τοῦ δημοσίου ἐπίκλισιν, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ βασιλευοῦσῃ ἐκράτασι συνενδόμημεν ἢ καὶ ἀποληψίμεθα σὲ καὶ ἐν ἀγίῳ ἀσπασμῷ προσδεξώμεθα καὶ τὰ τῷ γράμματι λείποντα οἰκείῳ προσαναπληρώσωμεν στόμαι. Καὶ ἔρρωσον ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ εὐχινον ἡμῶν εὐαρεστεῖν αὐτῷ.
rises in your way, wafting you on your godly course, and so, through your good works, grant you eternal reward in the other world.

9. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

A letter full of sacred inspiration has been brought by your Holiness, and I received it with open hands. It has instructed me in things divine and initiated me into sacerdotal perfection, thus scattering the thick cloud cover of despondency that had enveloped me. Having recovered a little, I learned what kind of burden is (imposed by) the priestly yoke; a remedy of my painful wounds appeared, and I was able to revive from the dizziness that gripped me. Let not the remedy of your instruction cease at this point: nay, would you but cure me thereby once again and remove the pain of my grief, so that my sinful shortcomings should not be reckoned by God, my rash eagerness for the priesthood should not be condemned, that I should not be bound hand and foot and cast into the fire for wearing a garment that is not worthy of my profession. But may He indeed overlook the greatness of my sins and cure me with the mercy of His goodness.

I had hoped that you would visit me at Nicaea. Of this I was disappointed, but was consoled by imagining your presence reflected in your letter. For, having received it on the day of my ordination, I derived great joy from it. Since a great throng of Treasury officials has gathered here, I have resolved to celebrate Christ’s Resurrection in the capital. There I shall meet you again, receive you with a holy embrace, and supply with my own mouth what is lacking in this letter. Fare thee well in the Lord and pray that I should please Him.
10. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦ Ταίου

Πῶς οὖν ταχέως ἐπιλείπησατν τῇ ὁσιότητι σου ὡν παρὰ ἡμῶν ἤκουσε καὶ ἐνετάλθη ἐν τῇ πανευδαίμονι καὶ βασιλική πόλει? Οὗ γὰρ παίζωτε ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν σπουδάζοντες διελέχθησην καὶ παραγάσαμεν αὐτῇ περὶ τῶν ἀφαιρέθηντων ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν σεπτῶν κειμηλίων παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡμῶν καυνίσαντος μμητροπολίτου, καὶ παρασθεσάντων ὑμᾶς χρείας μικρὰς ἐνεκεῖ καὶ τὶ λογίσασθαι ἄγινούμεν; λέγομεν δὲ οτι λήθη καὶ οὐραὶ ταῦτα παρέσχεσθε περικρατῆς ἑκείνων οἰκομένη φανήσεσθαι. Ἄλλα τούτο μὴ ἐν ἑπτάδει κεῖσθω παρ' ὑμῖν. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ τῇ διὰ γράμματος ὁμιλίας χρησάμενοι ἐπιβεβαιώμεν ὡς ἂν, πάσαν ἀναβολήν ἀπορρί || 89 || ψαστα, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρὸν προσδοκιάν ἀπωσαμένη, διὰ θερμῆς ταχυτήτος τῆς ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων ποιησάται, καὶ μὴ δὲ ἁμελείας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἐνοχὸν ἑαυτῆς τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐγκαταστήσου. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ προφάσεις ἀνακινεῖν ἑθέλοι σθεῖρος καὶ διὸν δέσδοταν αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου μμητροπολίτου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστων ὁ συνιστῶν τούτο καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρεγράφῃ ἐν τοῖς βρεβεῖσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ μέλλοντα ἀνθυπονοστείν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἁκριβῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπογραφῇ ἐνεσθημάνθη, πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἱδίων κυρίαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας γενήσεσθαι. Ἰδοὺ δὲ καὶ κατά τοῦ τῆς ἱερωσύνης θεῖου θεοῦν λέγειν ἔχωμεν, οὖδεμα τις ἐξουσία ὑπῆρ τῷ βρηκέντι μμητροπολίτῃ τὰ τῆς εὐαγγελιστῆς καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαλλοτροφίας κειμήλια. Ταῦτα τούτων τὰ τῶν καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐνωτισθῆτω, καὶ τῶν τῶν ἱερῶν μεθ' ἑαυτῆς ποιησάται παροιμίαν, ἀποθησαυρίζουσα ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ταμείωσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἡ ἕμετρα ὁσιότητος ἐξ ὧν υπεμνήματος καὶ ὑπέσχετο ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν τῷ μέρει τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, χρυσῶν ποιότητα ἀποτευνύτω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτῆς ἀνασωσάθω, ὡς καὶ ἡ μυήμα αὐτῆς διαρκεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτῆς. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων συνεισφοράς κολοῦ δίκην ἐπηρμαθή- ἔν τῷ ἔαν τῇ ἐκκλησίαν σπουδάσεις ἐπεῖ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρεθέντων, τὸ λοιπὸν κἂν ἡμεῖς τῇ λέγωμεν, αὐτῇ συνεχέτω. Καὶ ἔρρωσο καὶ εὐχῇς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.


[46]
10. To the bishop of Taion

How has your Reverence managed to forget so quickly what I have told you and instructed you to do in the felicitous imperial city? It was not in jest, but most seriously that I spoke to you and admonished you concerning the sacred vessels that had been removed from our holy Church by the metropolitan who restored your bishopric and lent to you for a temporary need. I do not know how to regard (your behavior); I am saying, however, that you have consigned this matter to oblivion and to the breezes in the expectation of taking possession of the vessels. But of this you should have no hope. For behold, here is my confirmation in writing: abandon all delay and, without postponement until the next day, return the sacred vessels with all speed lest, through indifference and contempt, you make yourself guilty before this great Church. If you wish to invent excuses that these things had been given to you as a free gift by the said metropolitan, there is no one to confirm it or witness it, nor have they been deleted in the inventory of the Church as objects that would not be returned; on the contrary, a clear annotation has been entered therein to the effect that the Church would remain mistress of her own property. If I may, furthermore, quote the holy law of priesthood, the said metropolitan had no authority whatsoever to alienate the vessels of our most-holy catholic Church. Taking heed of my present and my previous words, you should present yourself together with the sacred objects and deposit them in the holy treasury of the Church. Furthermore, your Reverence should pay in respect of your bishopric a sum of money out of what you covenanted in writing to contribute at the time of your ordination, and so redeem your Church that your memory may remain among your flock. You should not, like a jackdaw, strive to deck out your Church with the contribution of others; for once these contributions have been taken away, you can understand the rest even if I do not say it. Farewell and pray for me.
11. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῶν Νομομικῶν

Πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τὰ πρὸς πληροφορίαν ἡμᾶς ἐκκαλοῦμεν περὶ τῆς ἵμετέρας ὅσιότητος καὶ δεικνύουσα ὅσον οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ίεροὺς κανόνας ἐαυτὴν ἀγει καὶ διευθύνει καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς κατ’ οἴδεν παράπτεται τρίβου. οὔν τὸ τῷ θεῷ πάλαι καθιερώθαι· τὸ ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἔσχολακέαι λογίους· τὸ ἐν τῷ μεγάστερ τετάχθαι βαθμῷ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ βασιλίδος πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ὅρμοιν ὅλιγα τούτων ἡμᾶς φρονιτίζει. Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἐρείπῃ καὶ μελετὴ τῶν εἰρημένων καθίστατο, οὐκ ἐν ἐν ἁλθῇ γέγονεν, τί τὸ προκαθεξόμενον καὶ τί τὸ υποβεβηκός· τίς ἡ κεφαλή καὶ τί τὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἔχον ἄξιόμα. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ μηνυθεῖσαν τὴν ἡμῶν παρουσίαν σκυλήφαι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἢ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπεσκέφθαι· ἐπραξεν γὰρ ἂν ὅδεν εκτόπως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιῶν ἐπινέθη παρὰ θεῷ τε καὶ ἡμῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶνεκές τινος δόσεως ἡ λήψεως τὰ τῆς παρουσίας ὑμῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι πόθον εἶχομεν, ἀλλ’ ἀποστολικῶς φάναι, μὴ ἐξήνει ἡμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς· ἀπολάςαθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν συντείνει ὅφελείαν ὁμιλήσαι, καὶ τὸ ὑστεροῦν δὲ ἐμμελείας ἐπιμελέσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα || 91 || μὴ γέγονεν, ποῖς χρήσασθαι βούλεται ἀπολογία περὶ τούτων ἔρωτομένη, αὕτη καὶ μόνον τυχαίας γεννητῶν. Οὐδένον εἰ τὴν ἐπιτεθείσαν αὕτη τῆς ἰερατείας τεύχελθ’ ἠλεσθ’ βούλεται, καὶ προῆρηται τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὕλακα τέμενει καὶ πολύχοον ἐξ αὐτῆς δρέπεσθαι κέρδος, ἐπιγνώστων τὸν ἐαυτῆς ποιμένα καὶ καλούντα· κληνάτω ὅς εὑρήκον, καὶ μὴ ἀπωσάσθω λόγων ὅφελείας πρόξενον, καὶ μὴ μακρυνῶν τὴν ἐαυτῆς ἀποστολὰ, ἀλλ’ ἐγγίσα τ ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς παρουσίας αὕτης ἐπικρινάτω· ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀφετήριον καὶ τῶν κεκανονισμένων ὀρῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπονεύσοισα τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐπιτείμιαν ἐφ’ ἐαυτῆν ἐπιστάσισθαι· καὶ ἔρωσοκαὶ τὴν τῶν γεγορμιμένων τάχους ἐκτέλεσον ἐκβασιν, ἦν ἐπὶ τούτων πνευματικῶς ἐπιτάσσωμεν καὶ τὰ μεστεύσασθα σκῶλα ἐκ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἐκκαθάρωμεν διανοιας.

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11: 2 ou supra versus scriptum V || 5 λόγωs V iota supra versus add. V || 15 συντείνει in marg. V || 18 αὕτη V || 20 τέμενει supra versus scriptum V
11. To the bishop of Noumerika

Many circumstances have been urging me to gain full knowledge concerning your Reverence and showing me that you are not behaving and directing yourself in accordance with the sacred canons and not following in any way the apostolic path: I mean the fact that I have been consecrated to God for a long time, that I have studied the holy Scriptures, and have been appointed to the highest rank of the Mother and Queen of all the Churches. Yet I see that you have set little store by these things. For, had you investigated and studied the aforesaid, you would not have forgotten who it is that presides and who has lower place; who is the head and who ranks with the feet. When you were informed of my presence, you ought to have bestirred yourself and visited me or else received me: in this you would have done nothing extraordinary—on the contrary, you would have won both God’s and my approval. Indeed, I was desirous of your presence not for the sake of giving or receiving anything, but, to quote the Apostle, I sought you and not yours—to enjoy your company, to converse of those matters that are beneficial to the Church, and to retrieve with due care what has fallen behind. Since, however, this has not happened, you alone can know what excuse you wish to use when you are questioned on this score. Surely, if you wish to draw the yoke of the priesthood that had been laid upon you; if you have chosen to cut the furrow of the Church and reap therefrom a rich reward, you should recognize your shepherd when he calls you; you should bend an obedient ear and not ignore words productive of benefit; you should not prolong your absence, but consent to approach me with your presence, lest by rebellion against the reins and straying from the appointed bounds, you draw upon yourself the penalty of the Church.

Farewell and give a speedy issue to what I have written so that we may celebrate this event spiritually and sweep from our minds the obstacles that have intervened.
12. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ . . .

Πολίς πόθος ἡμᾶς ἐπικάμπτει καὶ ἀγάπης ἐπίτασις τοῦ σε καὶ 
θεάσθαι καὶ πνευματικῶς περιπτύσσεσθαι τὴν στὴν θεοφιλίαν. ἀλλ’
επεὶ νοσεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ποιήσω περὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείσθαι, συμβαίναι οὕτω,
διέγνωσι, τὸ ὅπως ἄλγεινος διετέθημεν πληροφορεῖν οὐδένα Βουλό-
μεθα, ἐνδομιχύσας καὶ συμχύουσας τὴν λύπην δοσμέραι περιφέρου-
τες. Ἀλλ’ αἰτοῦμεν τὸν πάντων ἱερεῖν τε καὶ Κύριον τῇ ἀνωθεν αὐτοῦ
ἐτοίμη χρηστότητα τὸν ἔλεον ἡμῖν ἐπιχέα δαφυλῶς τῆς ἱάσεως, ὡς ἂν
διὰ τάχους εὐαγγέλια τῆς ὑμῶν ὑγείας δεξαίμεθα, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐδ’
ὑμῶν ἀνίας 92  παύλαν δέχηται ἀλήγμα. Καὶ γένοιτο, θεοῦ διδόντος
φιλανθρώπως τὴν αὐτήν. Τὰ δὲ ἀπεσταλμένα δεξάμενοι ἠσθήμεν καὶ
λίων ἡγάσθημεν τῇ ἐν ὑμῶν προαιρέσει, ὡς καὶ ἀνεί πολλῆς ὅλης ἄργυ-
ρίου τερπνότητα λελογίσμεθα.

13. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἔλεουστόλεως

Οὐ μήκος παραφέκει χρόνου ἄφ’ οὐ τὴν πορείαν ἐν Πρωνέτῳ καὶ
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐστειλαμέθα, ἐν ἡ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἰστορίησαι πόθον εἴχομεν
ὡσίότητα. Ἀλλ’ ἐν στερηθείς ταύτης γενόμενοι βαρέως ἡνεγκαμεν ὅθεν
ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ γράμματος ὁμίληαν, προφάσεως εὐκαίρου δραζάμενοι, τρα-
πῆναι συνείδομεν. ήτις ἐν τούτοις ἐστίν ἄλος χρείαν εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸ ἐδ’
ἐπιτήδεια δεδήμεθα. Οὐ γὰρ βραβηθήσεται, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἄρτος ἄνευ
ἀλὸς, καὶ πᾶν ὁ σωτηλεί πρὸς ἱδεῖαν γεύσιν τῷ λάρυγι, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ
στυφθεὶ τῷ ἀλικράματι, οὐδὲ τροφή λογισθήσεται διὰ δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ
tὴν ὑμετέραν νόστιμον κεχωρικαμεν δεξιάν, ἐν ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν ποιη-
θέντων ἄλω καὶ τοῖς χρήζουσι τιμήματος νεμομένων καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀλι-
σθήραις δαφυλῶς, εἰ προαιρέσεις ἔχοιτο, οὐ προάκα, ἄλλα μισθού τοῦ
προσήκοντος, ὅρω γὰρ ἀραβαβὼν χρυσίνους τρεῖς ἐκπεπόμφαμεν, ἐως

12: 1 ἐπίτασις V; corr. G || 2 τὴν στὴν θεο . . supra versum scriptum V || 5 ὀστηρέας V || 7 ἡμῶν V; corr. G || 8 ὑγείας V; corr. G || 8–9 ὑμῶν ἐδ’ ἡμῶν V || 9 γένεται V

13: 2 ἰστορίησαι: cf. Gal. 1.18 || 6–7 βραβηθήσεται – ἄλος: Jb. 6.6

13: 6 ἐπιτήδεια V || 9 ἦν V || 12 ἐως: ὅς V

[50]
12. To the bishop of . . .

I am pressed by great desire and intense longing to see your Reverence and give you a spiritual embrace, but since I learned that you happened to be ill and in sore bodily condition, I am unwilling to inform anyone of my pain as I carry with me, all day, grief deep in my heart and smoldering. I beseech the Lord, who is the physician of all men, to grant you in His ready goodness an abundant stream of healing from above, so that I may quickly receive the glad tidings of your recovery and that my sorrow on your behalf may cease. May this happen, God mercifully granting my prayer.

I received with pleasure the things you sent me and was overjoyed by your intention—they were a delight which I value more than a great mass of silver.

13. To the bishop of Helenopolis

It is not long since I went on a journey to Prainetos and to you, in the course of which I was desirous of visiting your Reverence. But, being deprived of your presence, I was grieved. Hence, seizing a favorable occasion, I have decided to have recourse to epistolary conversation. The occasion is this: we beg the use of salt for our provisions. For, as Scripture has it, bread cannot be eaten without salt, and everything that is tasty to the throat, unless it be seasoned with this condiment, shall not be accounted as food. For this reason I am having recourse to your nutritious hand: may we, too, be supplied in abundance, if you so approve, with the salt that is produced by you and is dispensed against payment to those that need it—not free of charge, but for a suitable price. By way of surety I have sent you three gold pieces
αν ἡμῶν ἐπιμετρηθῇ τὸ ἐκ συμφωνήσεως ποσὸν καὶ τηνικάδε χορηγηθεῖσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, θεοῦ τούτο ἐπὶ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέποντος, τῆς πάσης τιμῆς διακοσμηθέντος ὑμῶν· εἰς γὰρ δωδεκάτων αὐξῆσθαι χρυσίου ποσότητα. || 93 || καὶ εὐχεσθαι δυσωπούμεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ιερώτατε.

14. Νικηφόρῳ διακόνῳ καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

Τὴν σὴν ἐκάστης ... περιστέφουν τράπεζαν, μετ’ ἐκείνων τὸν ἡδύνωτα ἄρτον καρδίας στηρίζοντα, ὡσα μὲν ἀνταγάς τε καὶ πάλται καὶ πέρδεκες καὶ ὑστα, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, τοῖς καυστρίοις ἐκμίθοισται ῥεύμασι, γένη χρῶν καὶ κύκνοι καὶ γέρανοι· ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὅσα κνίνες πρὸς τρόφην ἀνθρώπων θηρείων εἰσώθαιν τῆς ὁμοφοιάς τῆς ὑμέτερας ἐξω πον περικείουσιν· σὺν ἐκείνως δὲ δίᾳ τῆς τῶν μαγείρων τέχνης ὁδιεύονται καὶ δι’ ἐμπελοῦσ’ ἐρείπωσ’ πάσης ἀναθετέντα κηλιδος, οὕτω μεθ’ ἄλλων ὀρτρόφων παττόμενα, καρυκευκαίτοις εὐθείας κεράννυσαν, καὶ διὰ περιπαβόλων ὄργανων τὴν φλόγα καλῶς ὑπερχόμενα, ἥ καὶ ἐσωμοί ἀρωματίζουσιν ἐννεχόμενα, ἦδειαν πνεύμα καὶ τροφήν ἀπερεύγονται καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητικοῖς εὐπερησίαν χαρίζονται. Τούτως οἱ παρὰ σοὶ δαυ-πυμόνες ἐπ’ οὐνείσαν χείρας ἰάλλουσι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁμιλῶ ἐρωτοῦσα τοῖς τρυφῆς γράφεων ἡπείχθημεν· ἦσμεν γὰρ τὴν ὀλυμπρεπεῖ τοῖς σοὶ συνειμένην ὀρθηραῖα, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαίτῃ λιμόττουσαν. Ἀλλ’ ἦνα τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν λυμακτὸν ψιν溟 ως πρῶτον αἰχμαλωτώμενε, πάνταν ἐλαχιστεύων ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐντείξευσεν περικείμενον. || 94 || καὶ ὅλην ἂθραν ἐκ τῆς ἐμφύτου καὶ βρο-μόδους ὀσμῆς προείμενον, καὶ διὰ τούτου μιθῇ δώρων καλείσθαι δυνά-μενον, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔξηλλαγμένος ἐξήραμεν τράπεζαν. Ἀλλ’ ὡς εἰδώτα τοῖς τελείοις καὶ πνευματικῶς τρέφουσι καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπάγησα-ν ἦ μετέρα προαίρεσις, καὶ τοῦτο δυσωπεῖσθαι προσδέξουσαν· ἀπορία γὰρ ἢμεῖς τοῦ μη κατ’ ἀξίαν τι προσαχθεῖσθαι, ταῦτα καὶ λέ-γειν καὶ γράφειν παρωρμήθημεν.

14: 2 ἄρτον – στηρίζοντα: Ps. 103 (104).15 || 4 γενή – γέρανοι: II. 2.460 || 9 περίπαλλον: II. 1.463; Od. 3.460 || 12 ἐπ’ οὐνείσαν – ἰάλλουσι: Od. 1.149 et al. || 20–21 τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπάγεσθαι: Rom. 12.16

until the agreed quantity is delivered and handed over to us at a future time (God allowing it then), when you will recover the entire sum; for the amount of gold shall increase to twelve pieces. I beg your Holiness to pray for me.

14. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

〈Delicacies〉 surround your table every day, namely—in addition to bread that soothes and sustains the stomach—dishes such as francolin, pigeons, and partridges, and those fowl that, according to the Poet, frequent the Caystrian stream—geese of different kinds, swans, and cranes. Not even the game that dogs are wont to hunt to provide food for men is excluded from your cuisine; but, passing through the hands of skillful cooks—the game as well as the fowl—freed, after careful scrutiny, from every blemish, they are then besprinkled with mountain-nurtured salt, mixed with savory sauces, and thoroughly roasted on five-pronged spits or submerged in aromatic gravy so as to exude a sweet smell and taste and bestow pleasure on the senses. To such victuals do your guests put forth their hands.

I have been driven to write these things not because you are a lover of luxury—indeed, I know that frugality prevails in your house every day, whereas luxury is left starving in your regimen—but that I may conceal as a signal disgrace the fish of our lake whose exiguity is apparent at first sight and which, by its inherent bad odor, produces nothing but disgust. For this reason—since it cannot even be called a gift—I have extolled your table so extravagantly. But since your Judgment knows how to accommodate itself to perfect spiritual nourishment as well as to the lowly, may it please accept this present; for, being at a loss to make a worthy offering, I have been urged to say and write these things.
15. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Δακωνίζειν οὐκ ἄττικίζειν καρός· μακρὰ γὰρ περὶ μικρῶν λέγειν ἀσύμφορον. Πῶς εἰρωνεῖαν καλέσαι τὴν ἡμῶν πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν ὑπ- ἐμείζας, ἀδελφῶν ἐμοί καὶ φίλων ἀκρότατε; Οὐκ εἰρωνεῖς ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἀστείοιμον, οὐ σαρκασμὸν ποτε κατὰ φιλίας τροπολογεῖν ἔσπουδά- καμεν. Εἰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένα τοῖς πάλαι παλαῖς συνέβαλε, πόρρω ποιν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἀπώσεως· ἐκείνοι δὲ, ὡς ὅρωμεν, ἀμω- μόνησας καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πρωτεία δοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀποφέρεσθαι, τί ἄλλο γε ἡ κεκληθαι τῷ ταύτῃ ἡμᾶς ἐπιφημίζεις ὁνόματι; Ἄλλο ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ τελείᾳ νήψει ἡ τοῦ γράμματος ἀπλότης ἐνομίσθη διπλόθ, τοῦτό μὲν, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, φέρονεν ἀναρπάζασαν ἄξελαν· μενέτω δὲ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ὄρων ἡ ἀδιάβλητος ἑντὸς ἀγάπη, εἰρήνην τοῖς ὑμετέραις καρδίαις βραβείουσα. || 95 ||

16. Ἰωάννη ἡγομένη Κωμῶν

Οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας ἀνώτερον, καὶ οὐδὲν τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων ταλαιπωρίας πρὸς κακιάν ἐπιρρεπέστερον· ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ ἄγαθον συννοσίωται, ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκ προαιρέσεως συνφυκεῖται. Ἐπιγνώτω σιν ἡ ἀμίμητος ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τελειότητός τὸν τὸ γράμμα τῆς ὑμετέρας κομίζοντα μετρότητος· ὅτι, πτώματι περι- παρεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰρετοῦ τῆς κακίας δαιμόνος, ἐκουσίων φύον αὐ- τουργὸς κατέστη· ὅσ, τὸ τοῦ μύσου δεινοῦ υφόρωμον, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσπέφευγεν· ἐιτὰ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ κρίσει καὶ διακρίσει τοῦ ἁγιωτά- του καὶ ὀλκομενικοῦ πατρίαρχου ἐντυχών, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οὐκείω στόματι ἐξαγορέωσας, τῇ κανονικῇ ἀποφάσει καὶ δικαίᾳ ἐπιτιμήσει ἑαυτῶν ἐν ὑποπτώσει παρέδωκεν. Ὁθεν, ὡς ἀκλίμα τῶν ἱερῶν κανῶν φύλακι καὶ εἰδήμου, τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐλαβεί διακρίσει τοῦτον πεπομφέναι


15: 1 μικρῶν V: corr. G

16: 3 τῷ ἁγάτι V: corr. G || 4 συνφυκείωται V
15. To the same

It is time to use the Laconian, not the Attic style, for it is unprofitable to speak at length about trifling matters. How could you have suffered to give the name of irony to my friendship toward you, O best of my brethren and friends? I am not ironic; I have never sought to use the tropes of humor or sarcasm against friendship. Had you compared my last letter to our previous jokes, you would have dismissed any notion of irony. But, as I see, having forgotten those jokes and decided that irony stands foremost in my mind, what else can you declare but to label me with that name? Since the simplicity of my letter appeared duplicitous to your prefect Moderation, let that, as the saying goes, be carried off by the wind; but let love that does not listen to calumny remain within her bounds and bestow peace on our hearts.

16. To John, abbot of Komai

Nothing surpasses God's solicitude on our behalf just as there is nothing more inclined to evil than man's miserable estate; for goodness is joined essentially with Him, while the opposite dwells with us by our choice.

May, therefore, your Perfection, inimitable as it is in virtue, take due cognizance of the bearer of this letter from my mediocrity; namely, that, having been entangled in sin by the Devil (the inventor of the evil), he has voluntarily committed murder. This man, in fear of the dreadful defilement, sought refuge with the Church. Later, having met with the merciful judgment and discernment of the most-holy ecumenical patriarch, and having confessed his affairs with his own mouth, he delivered himself in submission to the canonical sentence and just penance. For this reason (the patriarch) deemed it proper that he be sent to your pious Discernment inasmuch as you are a steadfast guardian and expert of the holy canons; so that, administered by you or, rather, by the customary regulations, he may rub off the stain of this calamity.
καλῶς ἐδικαίωσεν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς αὐτῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς οἰκονομοῦμενοι διατάξεις, τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀποτρόπηται σπίλος καὶ τοῦ πολυμόχθου τοῦτον καθαρθείν μᾶσματος. Τούτων οὖν οἰκονομῆσαι ἢ ὑμετέρα ἐξαιρέτος εὐλάβεια, τῷ κανόνι τοῦ λειχαφάντου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τῷ φάσκοντι "ὁ ἐκουσίως φονεύσας μετὰ δὲ τούτο μεταμελήσας εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἀκονώνητος ἔσται || 96 || τοῖς ἀγαίρασμασιν." Ἡ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου οἰκονομία ἡμῶν δῆλη καθεστηκεν ἢμι, κατὰ τὸν κόπον τοῦ ἑπταμήνου καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸ προκοπήν, ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐπιμετρήσει εὔμενης διάκρισις. Καὶ εὐχεσθαι υπὲρ ἡμῶν δυσωποῦμεν, ὡς παρησίαι πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ὀἰκεῖοτητα φέρεσθαι.

17. Τῷ διωκτητῷ τοῦ Ταίου

"Εδει μὲν ἡμᾶς, ἀνθρώπους οὖν καὶ συνειδήσεως κριτηρίῳ τὸν λογισμὸν προκαθήμενον φέρεσθαι, σφᾶς αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν καθετῶν ἐπιγνώμονας καὶ διωρθῶσει τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἐπανάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δι᾽ ἐτέρων νουθεσίας πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπευθύνεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν κατεργάζεσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, οὐ πάντων ἡ γνώσις, χρέων διὰ τῆς τῶν ἁγαθῶν συνοισσίας καὶ συμβουλῆς τὸ κρεῖττον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ ἔμψις ψυχικῆς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

Τὴν οὖν ὑμετέραν κατὰ Χριστὸν τελείωτητα δι᾽ ἀκοῆς ἵπτομεν μεγίστας ἀρεταῖς ἐγκαλλωπίζεσθαι, ὡστε οὐδὲ γράφεσιν βουλὴς ἦμεν, ἢδη τὸ ἀγαθοεργεῖν καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπιεικῶς μεμεριμμένουν ἐχουσαν· ὅτα δὲ τελείαν αὐτῷ τὴν ὠφέλειαν προξενεῖν νομισθείμεν * Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν οἶμομηθα τὴν μεγίστην ὑμῶν ἐπὶ συνεσία ἁγνωσιαν, ὡς ἡ ἑπισκοπὴ τοῦ Ταίου πολλοὺς χρόνον τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπώλεσεν όνομα, καὶ || 97 || σιν αὐτῷ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν δικαιώματα. Χάρη γὰρ καὶ ἀνανδρὸς μέχρι ποὺ τῶν ἄρτων χρόνων ἐκάθενδε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτὴς ἀτεκνίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν τῶν τέκνων ἐρημίαν, πενθηρή σάκκον καὶ κατη-


13-14 οἰκονομοὺμενον || 14 σπῆλξ || 16 τοῦ κανόνι || 19

17: 5-6 οὐ πάντων ἡ γνώσις: 1 Cor. 8.7 || 10 ἀγαθοεργεῖν: 1 Tim. 6.18; Acta 14.17

17: 11 post νομισθείμεν lacunam statuimus || 13 ταύτῳ ||

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and be cleansed of this painful pollution. Your exceptional Piety will treat him ac-
cording to the canon of that sacred teacher, our Father Basil, which proclaims: "He
who has killed voluntarily and then repented shall be excommunicated from the
sacraments for twenty years." The disposition with regard to the period of time is
known to us, and your kindly Discernment will apply it according to the toil of the
penitent and his progress toward betterment. We beseech you to pray for us inasmuch
as you have liberty of approach and familiarity with the Godhead.

17. To the tax collector of Taion

Since we are men and reason presides at the tribunal of our conscience, we
should become our own appraisers and, by correcting our actions, be led to improve-
ment, instead of being directed toward the good and achieve virtue through the ad-
monition of others. Seeing, however, that, as Scripture has it, knowledge is not in
every man, it is needful that through the company and counsel of good men we
choose what is best and liberate ourselves from spiritual damage.

We know by report that your Christian Perfection is adorned with the greatest
virtues, and so I was not intending to write to you at all, inasmuch as you had prob-
ably bethought yourself already of doing good even before (receiving) my letter. But
that I may appear to be causing you a perfect benefit . . . For I suppose that your
Sagacity (great as it is in intelligence) is not unaware of the fact that the bishopric of
Taion had for many years lost the title of a bishopric and therewith the property deeds
appertaining to her. Until fairly recent times she remained dormant, a widow de-
prived of her husband, and, clad in the sackcloth of mourning and robes of despon-
dency, she lamented her childlessness or rather the desolation of her children. Since,
φείας ἐνδεδυμένη στολήν, ἀπωδύρετο. Ἐπειδή δὲ θεὸς, ὁ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ γηράσκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀφάνειαν ἔληλακότα δὴ ἀνακαωῶσεως νεάξειν δεδούσ, καὶ τὰ πόρρω ἐγγὺς ἄγενθεν εὐδοκοῦν, καὶ ταύτην παλαιὰ πτώσει περιπαρείσαν ἀνακύψαι καὶ φῶς ἱδεῖν ἐλεύθερον ἐδικαιωσεν, καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀξίωμα δεξαθαίρει, καὶ τὴν ἐκατητὴ τιμήν ἐπενδύσασθαι κέκρικεν καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ αὐτονομῆν προπετεία, ἐπινεύσει δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ προλαμπότων μεγάλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεπιβαλλόμενης, τὴν περαιῶσιν ἔλαιβεν καὶ ἠδοὺ χρηματίζει πόλεις καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνον προκάθηται καὶ ποιμένα βακτηρία διδασκαλίας ἐπερειδόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ νομᾶς σωφρόνου τὸ ποιμίνον προκαλόμενον, ἐνδρυμένοι καὶ τῆς Πνεύματος προβεβλημένον ἔχει νεύσει καὶ χάριτητεια δε τὴν αὐτῆς περιστοχείας προδριάν διὰ τῶν τῶν δικαιώματάς ἀφαίρεσιν ἔθεν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρχησίαστον ἔχουσα πένεται, καὶ τῶν ταύτην πιεζότων καὶ συνεχόντων ἡ προαίρεσις υπνοι, λήθην λαβόντων τῆς ἡπειρύμενης τούς ἀδικοῦσι δεινής ἔροσφαι. Ἡ έκει δε τὸ πάνω ὑμῶν ἐκκαλύψωμεν, λόγος παρὰ πολλῶν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς καὶ ἡ ἒμετέρα ἐν Χριστῷ σύνεσις ἀποκεκληρωμένων τόπων τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκ πατρικῆς κηρυκοσίας νεεμέρα τοις ὑποτιθεμένα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐνότητα ἀυτῆς προτιθέμεν, ὃς ἂν μὴ τὸ ἀλλότριον, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ’ ἐαυτὴν μένου ἀλλὰ τῇ πολλοῖς χρόνοις στερηθείση στὸν ἐαυτῆς δικαίωματος ἐκκλησίας τούτων ἐγγραφῆται κυρίαν, καὶ μὴ τὸ ἐλάττωμα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τοῦ ἴμετέρου πατρός εἰς κληρονομιαν ὑμῶν λογοθεῖᾳ μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦτον ἀνακάλεσθαι μάσσαστος προσβυνθείη (πρὸς ἐπ’ ἐκουσίαν καὶ κριτήρια μείζονα κατατίθηναι, μήτως, οὐδεμιᾶς μοίρας τοῦ δικαίου συνηγορούσης, τὴν ἢτταν ἐκ αὐτῆς βαλβίδος καὶ προσβολής ἀπενέγκοιτο. Σπευσάτων ὁ σὺ καὶ ἐκατητὴ γενέςα τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλων τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτῆς περιουσίως κατέχες μὴ προαίρεσθως ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πολύ τοῦτο παρ’ ἐαυτὴ κατέχουσα ἀπαραίτητον εὐροὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἀπαραλογίστου κριτηρίου ἀπόφασιν. Καὶ ἔστω Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὰ παρ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων αφεξεθαι εὐδοκῆσοι καὶ ἀναδείξοι ἀγαθοθεργοῦται τῆς ἄνω τυχεῖν ἀκηράτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετονομᾶς καὶ ἀνταποδόςσεως.


however, God, who grants that things that are old and aging and have sunk into obscurity should be restored to youth by renewal, who deigns to bring close things that are distant, has also deemed fit that she, who had fallen upon an old calamity, should rise again and see the light of freedom; and He has decreed that she should receive her ancient title and be invested with her own dignity. And this was accomplished not through self-willed eagerness, but by the approval of the great emperors who shine forth by God's decree and the consent of the universal Church. And behold, she is become a city and presides on a throne, and has an established shepherd, appointed by the command and grace of the Spirit, who leans upon the staff of teaching and leads his flock to life-giving pastures. Yet poverty encompasses her episcopal see because of the removal of her property deeds. Wherefore, being deprived of her liberty, she is in need, and the goodwill of those who oppress and constrain her is slumbering, for they have forgotten the terrible sentence that has been uttered in threat against the unjust.

But, so that I may make the whole matter clear to you, word has come to me from many quarters that your Christian Sagacity, too, is holding by virtue of inheritance from your father a piece of land that had been allotted to that Church. Wherefore, I enjoin on you and propose that which is good, namely, that you should not keep what belongs to another, or rather to God; nay, that the Church, which for many years has been deprived of her deeds, should be registered as owner, lest the fault of your father's rapacity be reckoned as your inheritance. Rather should you seek to redeem him also from this pollution (in anticipation of) appearing before a higher authority and (a higher) tribunal, so that, no article of justice pleading on your behalf, you should not stand condemned from the very start. Hasten, therefore, to be master of yourself and do not choose to withhold from the Church what is due to her from her former property, lest, by withholding it for a long time, you meet with an inexorable sentence at the infallible Tribunal yonder. May the Lord our God provide you with the good things at His disposal and grant you to abstain in the future from the property of others and cause you by your good works to obtain the eternal participation in blessedness and recompense above.
'Ες αὐτῆς καὶ μόνης ἐνετεύξεως τὴν ὀφέλειαν διαπορθμεύειν οἶδε τοῖς πλησίασεως ἐκθέλουσιν ἡ ἀρχικὴ ὑμῶν καὶ πατρικὴ τελείωτης· τὸ δὲ συνείναι αὐτῆς καὶ συναυλίζεσθαι τίνος οὐκ ἀν ἐνια μεταδοτικὸν ὀλο-
χεροὺς εὐλογίας; Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ ἄρετὴ· ἐν πάσι μὲν βιοφελῶς ἐξα-
πλουμένη, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ μείωσιν ἥμιστα δεχομένη. Οὗτω σὲ καὶ ἦσσων καὶ ἔχομεν, ὃ ἱερὰ καὶ φίλη θεῷ κεφαλὴν ἱνίκα γὰρ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῆς κατετρυφώμεν, πολλὴς ἀπελάουμεν τῆς κατὰ ψυχήν δαὐδιέλειας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς ἐπηρθόμεθα, ἐγνώμεν ὄν ἐστερηθήμεν ὡς καλῶν τε καὶ ἄγαθῶν καὶ τοῦ παντοῦ ἐπαξίων· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ πορρωτέρω διεστηκεν, ἐγνωσάτω ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῆς πρὸς θεῶν ἐνετεύξεων, αἰς ἐπευφραίνει τὸ θείον αὐτὴν δεί τεθαρρήκαμεν. Ταῦτας τὸ ποίμνων καταρτίσει στηρίζεται· ταῦτας ὡς βάβδῳ καὶ βακτηρίως λογίκοις ἐπε-
ρειδομένους κατανύξατε, ὡς ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐαυτούς κατευθύνωμεν καὶ τῶν ἐπερχόμενων ἀρτάγων λύκων τὰς προσβολὰς κατευνάζωμεν· καὶ γὰρ 
εἰς τούτο πολλῆς τῆς ἔξ ὑμῶν ἐπικουρίας καὶ συνδρομῆς δεδεήμεθα, δι’ ἣ 
τὰ συνοίκοντα καὶ σωτηρίας ἐξόμενα ἐαυτοῦ προεξήνσαμεν. Ἐκ-
τευον τοιχαροῦ ὡς ὁ θεοῦς ἔκεινος τὰς χεῖρας Μωυσῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐν ὑμνοῖς πατέρα, καὶ πάσας κακερεύετές τίς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐπιστο-
στάσεις· 100· καλῶς τροπῳθήσονται, καὶ ὁ κατὰ ψυχήν ἡμῖν ἁμαρ-
τίτις λωφήσει πόλεμοι. Στήθι κατενώπιον Κυρίῳ, ταῖς μυστικαῖς κο-
σμούμενος χάρισθαι, καὶ τὸν ποδῆρ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εὐσταλῶς στολι-
σάμενος καὶ τὴν ἐπωμίδα καὶ κίδαριν ἱερῶς περιθέμενος, καὶ τὸ λόγιον 
τῆς θεολογίας διδασκαλικοῖς πίναξαν ἐστερηνύσαμεν, καὶ τὰς ἀναι-
μονος θυσίας ἀνεπιλήπτω νοῦ προσάγων καὶ προθυμόμενους, δι’ ὅν οἰ-
κος θεοῦ καὶ ναὸς ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῶν ἐαυτῶν ναὸν κη-
λιδώσαντες καὶ πολλὴν ἁμαρτίαιν συνοικοῦν ἐχοντες, οἰκοδομῆς τῆς ἐλ-
τρην ὕμων οἰκ ἐξακραν ἐπιτυχόμεν. Γενὸς τοῦ μικροῦ ποιμένος ἑμῶν 
μέγας ἀρχιποιμήν, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀτελοῦς ἐλς ποιμαντικήν ἐξέως τε-
λεωτῆς περιδέξοις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑμετέρῳ κανόναν ἀπευθύνεσθαι προθυ-
μούμεθα καὶ τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν πρωτανεύεσθαι πιστῶ ἐχομεν.
18. To Constantine, bishop of Gangra

Your eminent and paternal Perfection is able, by means of a mere meeting, to confer benefit on those who wish to approach you. But to be and to dwell with you—would that not cause complete blessing? For such is (the nature of) virtue: while it reaches out in every way so as to benefit life, yet in itself it suffers no diminution. This is how I know and regard you, O holy man who are dear to God. For when I delighted in your presence I enjoyed an abundant spiritual benefit; but when I became aware of your absence I realized what good, excellent, and worthwhile things I had been deprived of. Yet, even if you are farther away, may you draw near to me through your holy prayers to God in which, as I have always confidently believed, God is pleased. Restore and strengthen your flock by means of these (prayers); use them as a staff or rod to goad to compunction those who lean on you spiritually, so that I, too, may be corrected and assuage the attacks of the rapacious wolves that are coming upon me. For this purpose, too, I need from you much help and assistance, so as to bring about to myself those things that will profit me and pertain to salvation. Stretch out, therefore, your arms toward our Father that is in heaven, like Moses who saw God, and all the evil-doing uprisings of my sin will be roundly defeated, and the war with Amalek that is in my soul shall abate. Stand before the Lord, adorned as you are with the mystical graces, fittingly clad in the robe of the high priesthood, wearing in holy fashion the ephod and headress, bearing on your breast the breastplate of divine knowledge (like) a teacher's tablets, as you bring forth and offer with blameless spirit the bloodless sacrifice—thanks to which (actions) you have become the house and temple of God. And may I, who have defiled my own temple and live in the company of much sin, be granted shortly the edification that leads to virtue. Be a great chief-shepherd to me, who am a paltry shepherd, and an expert perfector of my own insufﬁcient shepherdly skill. For I wish to be directed by your rule and am conﬁdent that
Λέξον οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἡ ζώσα χάρις Χριστός “κατὰ τὴν πίστιν σου γεννηθήτω σου”. καὶ εὐρομένει γε παρ’ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκβάσιν ὃν ἡτήκαμεν.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἁλίς. Ὅ δὲ ὑμέτερος Θεόφιλος νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὑμέτερος, ὃν ἐν χερσὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις παρέδειτο, ταῖς θείαις ὑμῶν ὑστημέρως κατανυστίμουσιν εὐκτικάς ἐπιλυμένηται προκοπαίς, καὶ τέως ταῖς γραμμαῖς 101 τικαι ἐμπερίας στουχεωθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰ ταλεώτερα ἑαυτῶν, θεοὶ συνεπαρμὸντο, ἐπιδίδοον, οὐ μεῖναι ποιούμενοι καὶ γεγωνότερον πρὸς θεῶν ἀναβοῦν, ἐνα τρόπῳ τὰ ἐξής καὶ κρείττονα καθηγούμενος. Ἡμῶν δὲ μὴ διαλίποις τὸ θεῖον εξελεύσιμον, ὡς ἐν τῷ ζωοφόδες τῆς ἐπικειμένης ἀμαρτικῆς ἀχλόσως ἀποσεισάμενοι, τῇ ἐκείθεν μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῷ φωτὶ πλησιάσαμεν, πρεσβείας τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεότοκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις θεοπειθέσιν ἐντεύξεοι.

19. Νικηφόρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Καριάς

Εἰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἐστὶ δυσώπειν ἐκεῖνο νοουθέτημα, τῶν λούθ᾽ προσέξωμεν μεγαλοφωνώτερον ἡμῶν συμβουλεύοντο; Τί δὲ τὸ τῆς ουσιαίας ὑπανύιτται λόγον; “Εἰ γὰρ ἐκατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν ὀκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἐμαυτῶν συνίστημι.” Τοῦτο μικρὸν ὑπαλλάξαντας ἐπὶ καρφοῦ καὶ λῦν ἐστὶν ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἀναφθέγγασθαι: εἰ γὰρ ἀπερ Καλώς ἐπικοδομήσατε, ταῦτα πάλιν καταλύειν πειράσθη, τὸ ἐξής ὑμεῖς συναγάγετε. Πάντως οὖν ἔγνω ἡ ἱερά ὑμῶν νήσις τὸ προομασθέν, ὡς ἐξ ὄνυχων τὸν λέοντα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὀλοσῶματον τὸ τοῦ πράγματος κεφάλαιον καὶ τὴν τούτοι συμπεράνθει, τῇ γὰρ αὐτῆς 102 μεσιτείᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ παρουσίᾳ, τῇ τῆς γαμκής ἐκείνης * ἐνθέσμως ἐπετραπώθη συνάλγημα, φαμέν δὴ τοῦ πανευθήμον ἄνδρος, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατόπεδος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανευδαίμονι καὶ βασιλευούσῃ.

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34–35 ὑστημέραι V || 39 διαλείποις V

19: 3–4 εἰ γὰρ – συνίστημι: Gal. 2.18 || 8 εξ ὄνυχων τὸν λέοντα: Diogen. V.15; Macar. III.95; Apostol. VII.57

19: Tit. Karēias V deinde corr. || 10 lacunam statuimus. Supple ὑποθέσεως vel simile

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salvation will be granted to me thereby. Say, then, to me, like Christ, the living Grace, "According to your faith be it unto you," and may I obtain from Him the issue that I have asked for.

But enough of these things. As for your Theophilos, who is now also mine, since you have placed him in my hands, he is every day irrigated to overflowing by your holy admonitions toward improvement, and having in the meantime acquired a grounding in grammatical practice, is devoting himself, with God's help, to higher pursuits. May you, by mentioning him in your prayers and crying out loudly to God, be his guide toward the better things that lie in store for him. Do not cease also from beseeching the Divinity on my behalf, so that I may dispel the mist of sin that lies upon me and draw nigh to the light of the great day hereafter. Be it by the intercession of the all-praised Mother of God and of all the saints and by your prayers to which God hearkens.

19. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

If that apostolic injunction is not sufficient to persuade us, to whom then should we pay heed who can give us clearer advice? But what is it that the scriptural admonition hints at? "For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor." By changing this a little, it is appropriate at the present time to apply this comment to you. For if you try to destroy again the things which you built up well—you will understand the rest. Surely, your holy Sobriety has comprehended my preamble, like the lion by his claws; indeed, you have seen from every side the whole body of the matter and its vicissitudes. For it was by your mediation, or rather in your presence that that painful marriage contract was lawfully completed, I mean that of the illustrious strator in this most felicitous capital city, and the entire admin-
πόλει, καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἡ πάσα τῶν συμφώνων ἀνηρτήθη διοίκησις, ὡς σὺν ἡμῖν εὐπαρμυτοῦσι πολλοἱ νῦν δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ γαμβρῷ πῶς εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐστηρίζατε, καὶ ταῦτα οὖν εἰς γαμβρῶν γνησίότατα φθάσατε, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιμαλλούσης οὐσίας τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει συνήκουν ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνων μετατήθησαν διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας μαρτυρίας βεβούλησθεν· μὴ δὴ τούτο ἐννοηθεὶτε, μηδὲ τῷ γνησίῳ νόθον συγκληρον ποιῆσαι θεληθοῦσε· ἀσύμβατον γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ἐκότος ἀλλότριων. Ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ οἰκουργῷ καὶ δεσποτώ τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς ἄν βούλοιτο τὰ ἐαυτῆς διεξάγειν· αὐτή ἐπιτροπευότως καὶ ἐπικρινέτω καὶ διαμενότω τοῖς τέκνους παρὰ γνησίου συνεκύου κυρία καταλειφθείσα ἐγκάταστα. Ὦμείς δὲ μὴ κρίτη τούτοι γε ἐνέκεκεν ἐαυτοῖς παρεστάναι προδοήμεν; μηδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξω κριτήριων εὐθυνασθαι δεθηθεὶτε, ἐνῶν συγώντας μηδὲ μᾶ ἡμῶν κῆρυκι προστρίβεσθαι.

14-15 τὸ πρόσωπον – ἐστηρίζατε: cf. Lc. 9.51 || 26-27 ἔνα – κρίνεται: 1 Cor. 10.29 || 41 τῶν εἰρηνοποιοῦν ἀπενέγκοιτο: Mt. 5.9
istration of the agreement was entrusted to you, as many persons join me in testifying. Now, however, for some unknown reason, you have set your face upon the former in-law, and this in spite of the fact that he is not even a genuine in-law, and you intend to confer on him by means of your testimony the property that pertains to the household of your deceased co-parent. Do not conceive such a plan! Do not propose to make the legitimate and the illegitimate share the same lot! For that would be incongruous and unreasonable. Grant, on the contrary, leave to the mistress of the house to arrange her affairs as she may wish. Let her administer, decide, and remain with her children in possession of the goods bequeathed to her by her legitimate husband. Let us not on this account deliver ourselves to appear before a judge; nor should we need to be set right by external tribunals, when it is possible, by keeping silent, to be untouched by any blot of reproach. For, as the great apostle says, "Why is my liberty judged by another man's conscience?" If you find it possible to agree and consent to this course as if it appeared to be your own doing, well and good; if, however, you are reluctant for this to be proposed or to give help, then have recourse to silence that is golden, and you will cause the greatest good. Do not be eager to do anything beyond the advice I have given you so that you may rid me of much annoyance and yourself of continual disturbance. For the aforesaid illustrious man was intending to refer this matter to the most holy patriarch with a view to your receiving a message from the latter or an epistle containing the same injunction, but was prevented by me and my colleague, the most learned eye of the Church, my spiritual brother, the chartophylax, on the grounds that we were able, by means of our warnings, to convince your paternal Holiness to act in this manner. May you acknowledge our influence over you, and confer peace on that household so that you may be rewarded with the blessing of peacemakers.

Before the year that has gone by, I dispatched, through the offices of a cleric of your Church, a letter to your Holiness in which I thought fit to notify you that I was
νῦν τιμῶ, μέχρι τῆς ἔξω ὑμῶν ἐπιτύχουμεν ἀποκρίσεως. Καὶ ἔρρωσο, καὶ ἐξοχο ἐπὶρ ἡμῶν, ἱερώτατε.

20. Νυκτήρως ἐπισκόπος Καρίας

'Ὁ τῆς ὁρθῆς ἀγάπης θεσμὸς εἰ καὶ βραχὺ τι τοῦ ποθουμένου πείραν ἀποστάσεως δέξατο, ὅσ ἡδι μακρὸν χρόνον παραχηκότος, ὅραν ἐπιζητεῖ τὸ ποθοῦμενον. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐχὶ βραχείας ὄρασ τοῖς παραπηγα- σάσις, οὐδὲ τελείας ἡμέρας μεταβάσις, ἀλλὰ χρόνον ἐξαμένης ἐπι-

τατικὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑμῶν ἀπολέιψεως, ἀθυμίας οὐ μετρουμένης ἐπιλήψη-

μέν καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὅσο κάκεισε περιμέγειν διὰ στουδῆς ἐγενόμεθα, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ποθουμένου περιδρασάμεθα· ἀλλ' οὕτω διακειμένους ἀνίκητον, ὡσπερ τις ἀστήρ ἐπιφανέν ἀπλανόστατος τὸ ἱερὸν ὑμῶν γράμμα τῆς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ λήθης ἄχλω τελοῦσαν ἡμῶν καρδίαν κατηγάσαν. "Οθεν

σὺν τῇ τῶν γράμματος ἀποδοξῇ καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης συναντέτειλεν ἔρως καὶ εὐχάις ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον ὑμεῖν ἡμᾶς παρεσκεύασε, καὶ γράμμασι χρήσασθαι συνηγαγασθείς, ὡστε τὸν τῆς φιλίας πυρὸν ἀνάψαι καὶ τηλαγῶς πρὸς τὸ ποθοῦμενον διαπορθμεμεθήναι.

Καλὸς δὲ βουλής γέγονεν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱερὰ ὁσιότης μὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ νὸν

tῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐφαφαμένη ἡ γὰρ τῆς ὁρᾶς δυσχέρεια καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τε-

ναγώδης ἐπάχθεια, καὶ τοῖς διὰ παντὸς ὀικαδὲ ἡρεμοῦσιν συν 105 στολὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κρώνου οὐ μικρὰν προεξέρθησον, ὡστε, εἰ σκυλμός συν-

έβη τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γενέσθαι τελεία νήφει, καὶ πόνος ὑμῶν συνωδοῦντος ἡμῶν καὶ μεταμελεῖα πολλῆ προσεγενέτο. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ ἱερὰ ὑμῶν ὁσιότης ἐπιστατικῶς μανθάνει ἐπείγεται, πάσα συγ-

τάστα καλύπτομαι καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἐξενεχεῖ συγχαρήσασα, μέχρι

tῆμερον ἀνέκφορα διαμένει. "Οθεν, τὸν γράψας τῷ ἀποκρίσεως πόρον

doύναι εἰ ἀπορία τυχανόντες, συγάν προειλομέθα· λέγουμεν δὲ καὶ ἐλ-

πίζομεν ὅτι οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἡ ἐπὶ τούτου ὀδὸς ἀνοιχθησαί, καὶ πέρας

tῇ τοῦ κεφαλαίου περιπέτεια δέξεται, καὶ τότε γράψαι καὶ καταμηνύ-

σαι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἱερᾳ τελείτης οὐκ ἀποκρίθησαι. Εὔχοντα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς

ἡμετέρας μετριότητος τῆς θελούσης καὶ σπουδαζούσης ἀποπληροῦν 

πάσαν ἱερὰν ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ θέλησιν.
well. Deeming that sufficient, I now keep silent until I am favored with your reply. Be in good health and pray for me, your Holiness.

20. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

If the nature of true love experiences even the shortest separation from the object of its affection, it desires, as if a long time had gone by, to see the beloved. As for me, since it is not a short hour that has elapsed, nor a whole day that has gone by, but the absence of your Holiness has been extended for a length of time, I have been filled with immeasurable sadness and have been eagerly casting my eye hither and thither that I might attain the object of my desire. As I was in this despondent state, your holy letter appeared like some fixed star and illuminated my heart that was covered with the mist of sadness and oblivion. And so, a glow of love dawned with the reception of your letter and caused me to glorify God for this in my prayers. And it compelled me to write you a letter so as to kindle the pyre of friendship and convey afar its bright light to the beloved.

Your sacred Holiness has been well advised in not having undertaken at this time a journey hither. For the harshness of the season and the troublesome quagmires of the road have caused no small hardship from the cold even to those who always remain quietly at home. And so, if your perfect Sobriety had happened to undertake a journey, great toil would have followed you and much regret would have ensued.

Concerning the matters of which your Holiness is insistently anxious to be informed, complete silence has veiled them and has not allowed any result to be produced, so that they remain to this day in the dark. Being, therefore, at a loss to write anything or provide an answer, I preferred to be silent. I say and hope, however, that at no distant time a way will be opened in this connection and the vicissitudes of this affair will be concluded; and then I would not hesitate to announce it in writing to your holy Perfection. Pray for my mediocrity who am willing and anxious to fulfill your every holy wish and desire.
21. Δημοχάρει γενικῶ λογοθέτη

Εἰ μὲν ὡς σὺ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν οἶεὶ με πρὸς σὲ διακείσθαι, ὑντὸς τῶν
tῆς φιλίας πυθαγόρειον ὄρον ὅρθως μεμελέτηκας: ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἄλλον
ἐκείνος τὸν φίλον ὁρίζετο. Εἰ δὲ ἄλλος πως ἔχειν πρὸς σὲ παρά σοι λε-
lόγισμα ἡ Πυθαγόρας καλῶς διωρίζετο φίλων ὄντα, μηδαμῶς τὸν τοὐ-
οῦν ὄρον ὑπ’ ἔμου παραβλάπτεσθαι: ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεινος ὅρθως διω-
rίσατο καὶ ἄλλως ἐγώ σοι καθεστήκας: καὶ εἰ ἄλλως || 106 || ἐγὼ σοι
cαθεστήκας, οὐθείον οὐδὲν σοι καὶ ξένων βουλεύσαμι. Πάς γὰρ αὐτὸς
ἐαυτῷ τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ θέλει καὶ βούλεται: συνοίσει δ’ εἰ ἄλλο τι καὶ
ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς θεομίμητος ἔλεος. Τι δὲ ἔστι τὸ ὑπ’ ἔμοι προ-
tεωμένων, λέξων ἔρχομαι.

"Ἀνδρές τινες χθές, ἡδὴ τῆς ὀρας καλώσης πρὸς τράπεζαν, οἷά
τινες ἔκφρους καὶ λύπῃ μαυρόμενου, τάς θύρας ἐπίσταντες τοῦ ἐμοῦ
συνεθίσαν δώματος: ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ τούτους ὑπανοιγώς τάς πύλας ἐώρακα,
θάμβους ἐπληρούμην καὶ δείματος μῆτερ ἀρα των κακῶν συνεκύρησα-
ήσαν γὰρ αὐχμηροι καὶ ἀχρωτὶς ὑπ’ ἀλουσίας, ὡς ἐγὼ μιᾶ τὴν πρό-
οιν: κρηδήμους τε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπεκάλυπτον, τὴν τῆς κόμης συμ-
βαταν ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀπόκαρσιν, ὡς ἔτοπαξον, περιστέλλοντες: καὶ
ἀπαξιπλῶς οἷα τινὲς προαγγέλεω τῆς συνεχύσεις λύπης ἐβλέποντο.
Ἠρομένως δὲ μοι τὶ ἀρα καὶ βούλοντο, "ἐκ τοῦ δυσκλεοῦς σχῆματος
δέχου τὴν ἀπόκρισιν," ἔφασκον: "νῶτα γὰρ κατεξαμένα πληγαῖς καὶ
κόμας πυρραῖς καὶ ψυλᾶς ἐκ σιδήρου θεώμενοι, αὐτὴν ἀκριβῆ τὴν
ἀπόφασιν ἐλήφασι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ τὴν συμφορὰν γνωρίσατε βεβοῦ-
λησαι, τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑποσχῶν δέχου τὴν ἐδίδωσιν καὶ γὰρ τησσοῦν τῶν
οἰκήσεων ἐσμέν, ὡς μὴ ὠφελεῖν, ὅπερ Ἀνδρωτὴν οὐκ ἐνεγώς οἱ πάλαι
κεκλήκασιν: ἀιμωσίας δὲ νῦν εἰ ἀβουλίας ἠλώκειμεν πτώματι, οὐ|| 107||
οἱ εἰπέρ ἄλλος τις τὸς ύπατος ἡμᾶς ὑπεκλύσειας: πλοῖων γὰρ συν-
γούντων ὑπάρχομεν ναῦκληροι, ὥ τοῖς φόρτον τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ εἰώθη
κομίζειν ἐπέτειου: εἰς οὐ μικρὸν τι σίτιον διὰ λείμην ὑφελόμενον καὶ κριθῇ


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21. To Democharis, logothete of the Genikon

If you think that my attitude to you is like yours to yourself, then indeed you have noted correctly the Pythagorean doctrine of friendship; for he defined a friend as another self. But if you consider that I am inclined to you in a way that differs from Pythagoras’ good pronouncement of what a friend is, (do not think) that this definition has in any way been contravened by me. But he indeed made a sound definition, yet I am regarded by you in a different light; and even if I am regarded differently, I would advise you nothing that is alien or strange. For, every man wants and desires what will benefit himself; and, more than anything else, a godlike pity toward our fellow sufferers will confer benefit. What it is that I am putting forward I shall now explain.

Yesterday, at dinnertime, certain men who seemed out of their senses and mad with grief came crowding before the doors of my house. When I opened the gates and saw them, I was filled with terror and fear lest I should meet with some mishap. For they were squalid and their faces gray through lack of washing, or so I think. They covered their heads with veils concealing, as I believed, the fact that their hair had been cropped in dishonor. Altogether they looked like the harbingers of the grief that possessed them. When I asked what it was they wanted, they said: “Take our wretched appearance for an answer. For when you see our backs torn with scourging, our hair ragged and cut short by the shears, you will have found the correct verdict. But if you also wish to know of our distress in words, lend your ear and receive the information. We dwell on a little island (where it not so!) which men of old have called by the indecent name of Androtê. And now, out of senselessness, we have been caught in a civil offense from which you, more than anyone else, might free us quickly. For we are the captains of the grain ships that normally transport the annual cargo for the Treasury. Because of hunger we removed from it a small quantity of
τὸ λείτον ἀνασωσάμενοι, φωραθέντες τὴν δίκην πολυπλασίας ἐκτώνυμεν.” “Καὶ τὸ ἄρα,” ἔφην, “οὔτε ἐστιν, ὡς τὸ τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου αὐστηρῶν παρωσάμενος, τοὺς ἔμοις λόγοις πειθήμος γένοιτο, καὶ ύμας ἀπαλλάξει τοῦ πτώματος;” Ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ τῆς χαρᾶς φερωνύμῳ ἡ ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο, θαρσεῖν τούτους συντόμως ἐκέλευσον, ὡς οὐ τῆς ἔνεγκυσίας αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδος πρὸς μὲ ψευσθείσαν. ἔφρων γὰρ ἀγχίθυρουν ἔχον τὸ πταῖμα τῆς ἀφετίνων, ὡς οὐ πολλὴν τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ τὴν βλάβην προέμενον. Εἰ οὖν ἀνύποστον οὐδὲν οἶ τῆς Ἀνδρωτῆς ὁικήτορες ἰμαρτοῦν, μὴ διαμαρτοῦν τῆς ἐφέσεως. Ἀνδρωτῆς ἐκέινης, ἣν πάντοθεν περιστοιχίζουσα θάλασσα μικρὰν ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινήν καὶ περίγραπτον, ἄνυδρὸν τε καὶ ἄξιον, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τῷ τῆς ἐφήμερον ζωῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερείδοντος ἐλίδους ἀμέτοχον. ἦν ποτ’ ἐγώ, κάκεισε γενόμενος, || 108 || κατεβρήσασα, ὡς ἔωρων ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἤπειρόθην περαιούμενα καὶ ἐνελυόμενα καὶ ὑδρεύομενα γύναια. Ἀὕτη οὖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἄλλο, δυσωπεῖται τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμυντικάκακον τελειότητα. ἴκανον γὰρ τὸ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιθρίεσσες ἐπιτίμονον. μὴ δὴ τάφαι τοπολουθήσι καὶ ζημία ἐπιξίανουσα τοῦ τραύματος τὸ ἐπώδυνον, ἀλλ’ ὡς τῶν τούτων μαλώτων ἱατρὸς γαληπτότατος καὶ παντὸς κυδυνωδοῦς κλύδωνος στορεῖστι ἀμφιδέχειος, λαβόμενος τὴν ἐπιτρητεύμενην αὐτοῖς τῆς ζημίας κατανύσα ταῖς μελλούσις αὐραίς τῆς στῆς κελεύσεως θέλησον, ὡς ἄν παρὰ τῆς ἄνω θεῖας νεώτερος δὲι κυβερνόμενος, τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀλκάδα, τοὺς ἀγωγίμους τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιβρίθουσαν, ἀκμάματος εἰς τὸν ἄχειμον καὶ μακραίων ὄρμον τῆς ἐπιμελομένης ζωῆς διασώσειας.

22. Τῷ Δημοχάρει γενικῷ λογοθέτῃ

Καὶ δεύτερος γράφεσι καὶ πρῶτος ἐγκαλεῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι γράψαντες πρὸς τὴν ἔγκλησιν δευτερεύσωμεν. Πῶς δεῖ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ταχύς τυχάνων ἐπὶ μόνης φιλίας τὴν βραδυτήτα τετήρηκας; Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλος ἐγώ, κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν, ὁ φίλος ὁρίζεται, ἄλλους ἐαυτούς οἱ πέλας || 109 || τοὺς φίλους ἡγεῖσθωσαν. Τοιούτοι δὴ τίνα σύνδεσμον καὶ

30 ὃς V: corr. G || 36 Ἀνδρωτῆς V || 37 Ἀνδρωτῆς V || 41 an ἡπειρώσε λεγendum? || 51 ἄχημονα V || Ὠρμὸν Duffy: οἰμονον V

wheat and made up the difference with barley, but we were detected and are now paying the penalty many times over."

"And who is it," I said, "who, setting aside the strict rules of the Treasury, might be persuaded by my words and free you from your misfortune?" When the choice fell on you who bear the name of joy, I immediately bade them be of good cheer, for they would not be deceived in the hope that had brought them to me. For I saw that their misdeed had its forgiveness near at hand, since it had not caused great harm to the Treasury. If then the inhabitants of Androtê have not committed an insufferable offense, let them not be disappointed in their appeal. As for Androtê, the sea surrounds it on all sides, making it small, wretched, and confined, without water and wood, and lacking every other commodity that sustains man's daily life. I visited it once and wept over it when I saw that its women were compelled to cross to the mainland to fetch wood and water. Let the island then, if nothing else, implore your merciful Perfection. For the penalty of scourging and cropping is sufficient; do not let a fine that further irritates the pain of the wound be added, but, like a physician who gently heals such bruises and a man who dexterously calms all dangerous storms, be willing to quell by the honeyed breezes of your bidding the tempest of the fine that hangs over them. Thus, ever directed by the divine will from above, you may bring the vessel of your soul, weighed down by its cargo of virtue and tossed by no waves, into the calm and eternal harbor of the life for which we hope.

22. To Democharís, logothete of the Genikon

You are the second to write and the first to accuse me, whereas I wrote first, yet would take second place in accusation. How is it that you who are always prompt in good works have been so slow in friendship alone? For if, according to Pythagoras, a friend is defined as another "I," one's fellows should consider their friends as sec-
ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ὡς ἔμαθες, εὐρηκας, ὃν εἰ πρὸς [ἡ] μέρη λεπτύνεις τὸν ἔτερον, ὅλως τὸν ἔτερον ἀπεγέννησας· καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεμιᾶς τούτους ὑποψής ἐρωτήσεις, ὃς οὐθα, θελήσεως, ψυχῆς γὰρ καὶ ἱδρονή ἄτοσα ἀριθμός ἀπεστήρηται· ὡς εἰ τοιαῦτη τις τοῖς λογικοῖς καὶ ἐμπύχοις ὑπὲρ φίλιας συνοιλωσίας, τάχα ἐν ὑπὲρ ἀλλῆλων κατετολμάτω καὶ τάνατος, καὶ πάν τὸ ἄλγευν ὃς ἥδιστον ἐλελόγιστο, καὶ πάν τὸ μικρὸς διστῶν ὃς χρόνος μακρὸς ἐνενόμιστο. Νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκα- στος δὲ μένων ἐπὶ χώρας ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ φίλος οἰκείος καθίσταται, χλωνής τις ἡ μονός, ἀπαν τὸ φιλικὸν ἀπαγορεύων καὶ σύννυμον, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ ἄγριαίνον ἰθος φερόμενος. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σοῦ κατηγορῶν προῆχθην λαλῶν—μὴ γὰρ ἔπει τοσοῦτο φρενὸς ἐξω πέσομι—σοι δὲ συνηγορῶν, ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγόρησις: ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν "Ομηρος· μεταφρασόμεσσα καὶ αὕτη· σοι δὲ εἰ μέλλοις καὶ παρὼν κατηγορεῖν ἢμῶν, οὐχ ὑπερήσης περατέρω τὴν ἔλευσιν· μάλα γὰρ τοῖς σοῖς ἱδρομέθα σκώμμασιν· εἰ δὲ ταύτην ἀναβάλλῃ, ἴμεῖς ἐαυτοῦς πρὸς τὰς ἐαυτῶν κατηγορίας ὀπλι- σαμεν. || 110 ||

23. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Ὁς μὲν σὺ λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι, τῆς σοὶ περικειμένης ἀξίας καταλεγώρησας· όθεν καὶ ὃς ἥδη ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἄνω, μικρὰ ἡ οὖθεν ὅλως περὶ ταύτην ἡ σχόλησαν—καὶ ὃι τὰυτθ' ὡς τὼν ἤχει, ὃ ικετήριος τῆς χήρας χάρης τὴν πίστιν διδότω· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου βαλῶν, καὶ οὔδε πολλὰ δεσθεῖς, τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν τέλος ἐτύχγανον. Τί δαι τὸ δεηθέν καὶ τί τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ ἐλάμβανον; 'Εγὼ μὲν ἔλεγον ἔπι τοῦ εὐθυτάτου κρυπτίων τοῦτον ἀναγάγω, εὐρίσκον δὲ ὡμᾶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πειθομένους καὶ κατανεύοντας, ὃ οἱ πρὶν μύθο τοῦ Κρονίδη εἰσάγονον· εἰ οὖν τῶν σῶν οὐδὲν παλαγάρετον, οὐδ' ἀπατηλόν, οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, τί κεν

13–14 χλωνῆς—μονός: cf. Ps. 79 (80).14 || 17–18 μεταφρασόμεσσα καὶ αὕτης: Il. 1.140


23: 2 καταλεγώρησας V: corr. G || 7 εὐρίσκων V || 8 ἡ V || 9 ὑπερήσῃ V

[72]
ond selves. A bond of this kind is also to be found, as you have learned, in the realm of numbers, for if you reduce one into its parts, you produce another in its entirety; and this although they, as you know, do not possess any affective volition since all numbers are devoid of spirit and pleasure. If, then, such a soundness of friendship were present in rational, animate beings, perchance they might even risk death for the sake of each other, and consider every painful thing to be most pleasant and every short separation as a great length of time. But now it is not so at all: every man remains in his own place and is his own friend, like some solitary wild boar, renouncing all friendship and association, and falling under the sway of wild manners.

I have been prompted to say these things not so as to accuse you (how could I be as senseless as that?), but in being your advocate I have accused myself. As Homer says, let us consider these things hereafter. As for you, even if you wish to accuse me in your presence, you will not further delay your coming: for I take great pleasure in your gibes. But if you postpone it, I should prepare to be my own accuser.

23. To the same

As you yourself say and I believe, you have utterly neglected the office with which you are invested. Wherefore, you are little, if at all, occupied with it, as if you were already out of it. That this is so may be confirmed by the widow’s supplicatory petition: for by placing it in your hands I would have obtained the resolution of the matter even without much begging. What, then, was the supplication and what the resolution that I would have obtained? For my part, I said that this (petition) should be referred to the most righteous tribunal and I found you being soon persuaded and assenting, just as the ancient myths represent the son of Cronus—if, then, none of your actions, whatever you nod your head to, is revocable, deceitful, and without
κεφαλὴ κατανεώσης, πεισθήτω σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ (ἡ) ἀπρομήθευτος αὐτὴ χήρα. τῆς γνωσεῖας μικροψωμίας μηδὲνα λόγον ποιήσασα, τὸν αὐτὸν χάρτην πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤκει ἐπὶ χεῖρας κομίζουσα· οὐ τὸ ἀτελές ἐπαισθήμε- νοι καὶ τὸ βαρυπέθες αὐτῆς κατοκτείραστε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐθίς πεπόρ- φαμεν· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔστι, περὶ οἱ δεδυσσωμένας, μὴ παρουθείη, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ἡμεῖς· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὗτος ἔστι καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν παρώνθη, ἵσθι πρὸς σὲ καὶ τρίτην πορείαν ποιοῦμεν.

24. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἴπερ ὅλως ἡπιστάμην τὴν ὑμετέραν τῆς ψυχῆς τελείότητα ἐν ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροίας || 111 || ἡ δυσχερείας ἐπαισθημένη ἡ συμπι- πτουσαν, ἐννοθέςτων ἃν διὰ πλατυτέρων ἰμάτων ἡ γραμμάτων· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας καὶ δυσχερείας ἐγγοκῶς διαφυλάττουσαι αὐτὴν τὴν ἱερότητα, οὐδέτερον τούτων ποιεῖν διενοθήνην, μήπως φορ- τικὸς τις εἶναι δόξω καὶ περιπτός, λέγων καὶ γράφων τὰ μὴ προσήκουν. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν Χριστῷ σεβασμότητα τὸ μεγαλόψυ- χον ἐν παντὶ προσκυνήμεναν καὶ μακροθύμα καὶ γενναῖα τὰ προσ- πίπτοντα φέρουσαν;· Αἰε γὰρ ἔγνω ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν παρόντων μόνιμον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐννοικίον ἀστατον διαμείβεται κύνησιν· οἴνον τι λέγω· τὴν λύπην χαρά διαδέχεται καὶ τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἡ δυσπραγία, τὴν τε νόσον ἡ ψυχεὶα· καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐν βίῳ εἶναι τερπνα ἡ ἀν- αρά τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταβολὴ ποιεῖται καὶ στάσεως οὐδεμίας ἔχεται.· Ὁθεν τοῖς εὐαρεστησάντας δι' ἀρετῆς τῷ θεῷ βλέπομεν μᾶλλον ταῖς θλίψεωι οὐδοκοῦντας καὶ ταῖς δυσχερείαις συνηθησεμένους καὶ πάσαν εὐπριμίαν ἀποσειομένους καὶ ταῖς στενής ὀδοῦ ἐπιπομένους, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῆς ἀπεράντου χαράς περιδράζουσαι, ἢν οὐδεμία θλίψις ἡ λύπη ἡ στενοχωρία λοιπὸν διαδέχεται. Ταύτης ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰπεὶ θελή- σαμεν, ῥαδίως ἐπιτευ· || 112 || ἕαμβα· καὶ, τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τῶν περικεν-
issue—may this neglected widow receive assurance along with me. She took no account of female pusillanimity and came to me with the same document in her hands. Noting that it has received no fulfilment and pitying her profound grief, I have sent it to you once again. And if it is the same document concerning which I have made my supplication, let it not be overlooked—not to say that I (should be overlooked); nay, if it is the very same and has been overlooked along with me, know well that I shall come to you for a third time.

24. To the same

If I had known at all that your spiritual Perfection was uplifted or bitterly discouraged by the prosperous or unfavorable turn of events, I would be giving you more extensive admonition by word of mouth or by letter. But as it is, since I have discovered that you preserve the same equanimity in the face of both success and difficulty, I have resolved to do neither of these things, so that I may not seem boorish and intrusive by saying and writing what is out of place. For who does not know that your Christian Reverence possesses nobility of spirit in every respect, and endures the trials that beset him with long-suffering and high-mindedness? For you have always realized that nothing in this present life is stable, but that everything is changing in a restless movement toward its opposite. Let me give examples: joy succeeds grief, prosperity follows misfortune, and health takes the place of sickness. And all those things in life that seem to be delightful or troublesome are in the process of change toward each other, and never remain stable. Thus we see that those who have found favor in God’s sight by their virtue tend to be content with suffering and rejoice in difficulties, that they slough off all happiness and follow the narrow way, so that they may grasp that eternal joy which will not be succeeded in the future by any suffering or grief or distress. This joy we, too, may easily achieve, if we but desire it. Casting
μένων ἡμῶν δημοσίων φροντιῶν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀποβάλλοντες, κοῦφοι λοιπῶν καὶ εὐσταλεῖς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου πέλαγος διανηθόμεθα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κτίσαντος καὶ μόνης κυβερνώμενος νεόσεως. Ὑδοκοῦν μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ συμβάσει τῆς ἀξίας ἀποβολή ἑαυτοῦ τῷ τῆς ἁπέτης παραπέμψωμεν κλόους, μηδὲ ὅτι διαδοχὴν ἐφημέρου εὐροίας ὑπέστημεν, καταπίπτωμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῷ διέσωμεν καὶ διεξάγοντι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεῷ εὐαρεστήσωμεν τῷ μὴ ἐσάντοι ἡμᾶς μέχρι τέλους ἐν τοῖς ἀπαρέσκουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰ οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ, † ἣ ἐφηδύναι, † πράγματι κελεύει, ἐγκαλονδεῖθαι καὶ ἀναστρέφεσθαι. Ὅτι ἐδειξεν ὅτι ὅτι ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὃτι ἀγαπήσει ἡγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐ παρέδει τίνι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἐκτενὴ δήσεως, ἀλλὰ ἐπιβλέπεται ἐπέβλεψεν καὶ ἔργοστο τῆς τῶν θηρευόντων παγίδος καὶ ταύτην συνετρίψεν. Εἰ γὰρ ἔαυτών γενοῖμαι, καὶ τὰ ἔαυτῶν μεριμνῶν βουλευσάμεθα, καὶ κατὰ κόσμον εὐδοκιμήσαμεν, καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ κηδεμονίας τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐκπέποιμεν. Τόδε γὰρ ἄντι σου ἐγεννήθησαν σοι ἐπὶ θυγατράσιν νηῶν σου, οὕτως διανοαταισασών ἡμῶς ἐκ τῶν κόσμων καὶ συνεχοῦσιν ὄντων καὶ αὐτιλήπτοιται ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου ὁχληροῖς, μόνον ἕως μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τὰ συμ. || 113] πίπτοντα δεξιόμεθα καὶ ὑπενεγκώμει, καὶ λογισόμεθα τὰ συμβαίνουσα ὡς τὰ συμφέροντα. Ἔαν γὰρ ἀναλογισόμεθα τὰς μέχρι τοῦ δεύρου κενᾶς φροντίδας, τῶν πολῶν ἐκείνων καὶ μάταιον τάραξον, καὶ τὴν εἰκῆ τῶν πραγμάτων παλίρροιαν, καὶ τὴν νυνι κατασχοῦσαν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἀκίνδυνον γαλήνην, ὄντως δὲν ἐκεῖνα βδελυκτᾶ καὶ ταύτα ἐπέραστα ἡγησόμεθα· ἐν εκείνοις γὰρ ὁ ἐναντίος, ἐν τούτους δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπεσφραίνεται.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὦτε νουθετικῶς ὦτε παραμυθητικῶς γράφειν ἀρμήθημεν· ὥσμεν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐν τούτοις ἀδιάπτωτον καὶ ἀκέραιον· ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑπομιμήσκοντες ἡμᾶς ὡςον ἐστὶ τῶν δημοσίων φροντιῶν ὁ ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ ἀπασχολής βιῶς αἰτετῶρος. Ἑπίτευχον δὲ ἔχομεν ὅτι καὶ διὰ τάχους σε ὑφόμεθα καὶ τὰ τῇ γράμματι λείποντα τῷ λόγῳ προσαναπληρώσομεν, ὅπως καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς πείρας μάθημεν ὅτι καὶ παραμβαίνει πάσης καὶ νουθεσίας εἰ ὑπηλότερος, ἐκ τοῦ φανήθηκεν μηδὲν παθὼν ἐκ τῆς ἐποικοσύνης σοι ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπηρειάς τε καὶ συμβάσεως. Τοῦτο δὲ δυστοπούμεν· εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἰνα καὶ

29 ἀγαπήσει — ἡμᾶς; cf. Ier. 38,3; Eph. 2,4 || 30 ἐπιβλέποντι εὐβεβλήσει: cf. 1 Reg. 1,11 || 30–31 ἐρώστατο — συνέτριψεν: Ps. 123 (124),7


[76]
aside, however unwillingly, the burden of the public cares that are laid upon us, we shall henceforward be light and unencumbered in swimming through the ocean of this life, guided only by the hand of the Creator. Therefore, let us not abandon ourselves to a storm of grief at the loss of office that has occurred, nor let us be thrown into despair because we have suffered a change in our everyday prosperity; rather let us find favor with God who manages our affairs and brings them to a conclusion for our advantage inasmuch as He has not allowed us to wallow and live to the very end among circumstances that do not please Him and that He bids us not to take pleasure in. Therefore He has shown clearly in your sight that "He has loved us with a great love," and has not disregarded your constant prayers to Him, but "in looking upon you He has looked upon you with favor," and "has rescued you from the snare of the fowlers, and has broken the snare." For if we should become masters of ourselves and resolve to consider our own affairs, we may both prosper in this world and not fall short of God's commandment and providence. For behold, in your place sons have been born to your daughters, who will give you rest from your labors and from the pains that beset you, and will assist you in the troubles of this life, if only you accept what happens to you with gratitude and endure it, and count as advantages the events that are occurring. For if you consider the empty concerns that have occupied you till now, that long and vain confusion, and random ebb and flow of events, and (compare them) with the peace, free from all danger, that now enwraps you as the result of your retirement, truly you will regard the former as abominable and the latter as desirable: for the Enemy delights in the one, but God finds pleasure in the other.

I have been impelled to write this not in a spirit of admonition nor of consolation: for I know of your unerring and unshakable spirit in these matters. My purpose was merely to remind you how preferable is a life of peace and calm to public worries. But I hope to see you soon and to supply with my words the omissions of this letter, so that I may learn from that (face-to-face) experience that you stand above all consolation and exhortation, from your manifest survival unscathed from the abuse and disaster that have come upon you as happens among men. This I beg of you: pray
ήμας, οίς τρόποις ὁ θεὸς ἐξετίσταται, τῆς τοῦ βίου τούτου ἐλευθερώσῃ βορβορῶδος ἱλός, ὡς ἂν δυνηθῆναι μᾶς ἠμέρας χρόνον καθα ἢ 114 ῥαν αὐτῷ τὴν λατρείαν προσαγαγεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἧμιν ἀποκλειστῶς τῇ ἡμέρας σπηδεύσῃ, ὡς πολλὴς καὶ πλεῖστης ἐπιδίδεται τῇ προσωπῆς τε καὶ νήμεως. Ὕμας δὲ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐδοκίαν θεραπεύει, εἰς πλείονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑμῶν προκοπῆν, ἢν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐκτελεῖται καὶ διαπράττεσθε.

25. Νυκτήρωρ διακόνω καὶ χαρτοφύλακα

Ἐροµένω μοι φιλικῷς, ὅ φιλότης, ἀπόκρωναί οὐκ ἔσχε κόρων ἢ περὶ τὸ βελτ. ἀκόρεστος σου διάθεσις τῆς γείτονος ἰλώς καὶ συγχυτικής ὁχήσεως καὶ, οἶνον ποιητικὸς εἰπεῖν, βρομάδων κυνίστης ἐλυσωμένης περὶ κατηφί. ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκαρτέρει καὶ περίφυσα τούτοις, ὡς ἦ τοῦ Δίως γούσας Θεός, μᾶλλον ἐμπεριέχεται ἢ τοῖς πρὸς ὅσον ἀγροῦ πλήρους παρακαλοῦσων ἡδύσμασιν; Μη δὴ τά, ὦ φιλίονοι, τούτους προσκαθήσθαι βιαζόν, δίδον δὲ σεαυτόν καὶ τὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῶν καθαρὰς αὕρας ἀπόλαυν. ὁισθα τὰς βορέων πνεάς ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀκράτους ἱούσας καὶ ψυχαγούσας καὶ φερούσας ἧδυχρία. Ἡ οὖ μέμη, ὡς τῶν πιστωτῶν ὑπεκλίθησαν ἐνερθεὶ καὶ χαριέντως ἐβοριάζομεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην συκάμων; ἢ ὅσον περιῆροι τὸ διειδές ἀνιώμεν ὑδωρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ κηρίον καὶ μέλιτος γλύκιον; Ἐι οὖν ἐκεῖνοι 115 ταύτα συγκρίνω καὶ τὰν περισταχόναν καὶ περιγράφουσαν ἴδιον αὑτοῦ τοῖς ἴδοντων ἐμπαθήσηθαι, εὑρίσκων τοῦ πάντως οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τὸ διαφορούν πρὸς ἵσοσομενος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν θελγόμενος. Ἀχιλλέως γενέσθαι σου πόδας ἐξηθηκας, ὥς ἂν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντός λειμώνων εἰσήλασας. Δεῦρο δὴ οὖν ἐς τάξος καὶ, ταῖς ἐπεισερεύσισας ἀνίας, ρεμάτων δίκην, οὐκπέρα, καὶ ταῖς τύπας ὠστε χαίρειν εἰπών, θυμηθίας ἐμπί-

53 ἐλευθερώσει V || 57 ευδοκίσει V || 59 ἐκτελεῖν καὶ διαπράττεσθαι V


25: 10 ἐβοριάζομεν V: vide comment. || 11 ἢ ὁτ' ἐκ φράστος vel sim. legendum || ἀνιώμεν V || 12 ἐκεῖνος V corr. G τὸ τοῦτο Karlsson || 13 περισταχόναν V || 14 ἐμπαθήσασθαι εἰς τὸν V: ἐμπαθήσασθαι, εἰς τὸν Karlsson || 15 νυσσούμενος V || 18 ὠστήρας V || τ' αὐτοῖς Karlsson
for me, that God may free me, by the means He knows well, from the filthy slime of this life, so that I may be able for the space of one day to offer Him my worship in purity, and may wash from my soul the corruption that is in me, because there is need for the greatest care and the utmost sobriety. As for you, may the Lord our God lead you forward in His service, for your greater progress in virtue, which you accomplish and achieve daily for His pleasure.

25. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

When I inquire of you, O my friend, do answer me in a friendly manner. Has not your mind, which is insatiable in matters divine, been sated by the mire that surrounds you, by the bothersome confusion or, to say with the Poet, that evil-smelling vapor “that rolls about with the smoke,” but persists in these things and clings to them, like Thetis to the knees of Zeus, (wishing) to be encompassed by them rather than by the charms that evoke the smell of a laden field? Do not force yourself, O friend of the Muses, to abide by those things; yield to me, and enjoy the clean air that is here. You know that the northern breezes blow upon us in all their purity, bringing gratification and renewed vigor.

Do you not remember when we lay down beneath the pistachio trees and were pleasantly refreshed . . . if not mulberries (as the prophet has it)—or when . . . we drew from a well(?) that clear water that was sweeter than wax and honey? So if you compare these things with those, and if you set these pleasures beside the unpleasantness that surrounds and encompasses you, you will surely soon perceive the difference. Goaded on by this (realization) and, indeed, greatly pleased, you would wish to have the feet of Achilles that you might leap into my meadows. Come quickly now, bid farewell to the troubles that pour upon you every day like streams and those(?) that rain upon you, and fill yourself with delight. For you know that none of
πλαθεὶς ἔγινες γὰρ ὡς τούτων οὐδὲν πρὸς διαμονὴν διαρκές τε καὶ στάσιμον· ἄλλα καὶ τῶν δυσχερῶν βραχὺ τὸ βιώσιμον, καὶ τῶν εἰς θυμη-διαν φερόντων ἐπίκηρον τὸ ἀξίωμα.

26. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πότε σε τῆς ἀποθείας ἐκπλήνωμεν, ὦ λίαν εὐωδεστάτη; Τίς Ἑλίσθος καὶ Σκάμανδρος καὶ δυνής Ἡρμος τὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀποσμῆξες στροφοδυνίας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀλάλων ἐμπίδων ὡδείς δήξεις; Δέδοικα γὰρ μῆπος ταῦτα λέγων καὶ γράφων ἀναζάω τὴν τότε συμβάσαν ἐπήρειαν καὶ μαλακίας ἐμῶν αἰτίων γένωμαι. Εἰ οὖν οὐδὲν σου τούτων μέλον, γενοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· διψοῦμεν γὰρ σου τῆς θέας, ἄνερ ἐπιθυμίων τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ φλεγόμενοι καύματι· ἢ δὲ λέξεις ἢ ἀλυκή τὴν τοῦ παρ᾽ ἐμῶν ὑδάτος 116 ἐκμυκομενή † κατὰ σὴν † ἀλυκότητα καὶ γλυκύτητα, τὸν τῆς βραχείας ἀνεμάξατο χρόνον.

27. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ τὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου κύριου, ὡς ὁ παλαιῶς ἐκεῖνος Ἀλκήνης ἐκγυνος, καθῆραμεν, ἄλλα μὴ τῶν τῆς κακοδοξίας συμφετὸν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κακῶς προσευθηρέτα τῶν ταύτης περιβόλων τῷ πτώσι τῆς ὀρθῆς ὑμολογίας ἐβάλομεν, τυχὸν ἡμῶν μυστὸς οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἐποφήλετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ (οὐ) ἐκεῖνον, τούτων δὲ καὶ προῖκα τῶν θείων ὑπέδυμεν διαυλοῦ,
these things is lasting or stable in the long run, and that, on the one hand, the lifespan of difficulties is short, while, on the other, the value of whatever causes pleasure is perishable.

26. To the same

When may we wash you clean of sorrow, O you who smell so sweet? What Xanthus, what Scamander, what eddying Hermus shall wipe off the confusion of that night and the poisonous sting of those speechless mosquitos? For I fear that in saying and writing these things I may break open afresh (the wound of) the ill-treatment that befell you then and cause you indisposition. But if you care nought for these things, come to me: for I thirst after the sight of you, O man of spiritual desires, as those who are inflamed by much heat (long for a cool breeze). As for the "salty" style, imitating the saltiness and sweetness of your waters as well as yours (?), it has assumed the brevity of its vowels (?).

27. To the same

If we had cleaned out the dung of Augeias, like the famous son of Alcmene in ancient times, instead of (using) the shovel of Orthodoxy to cast from the precincts of the Church the sweepings of evil doctrine that had penetrated therein to our undoing, perchance no mean reward would be owed to us. But since we have undertaken not the former (task), but this holy race, and did so gratis, we should expect the
μήποθεν ἀλλοθέν ποτε ἢ πρὸς θεοῦ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἀναμένουμεν. ἡ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἀριπλούτους καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατὰ ψυχὴν κερδησείοντας διαδείξειν, ἢ τοὺς κακῶς λημματίας ὦ ἐκ τοιουτών πόρων δαπανῶν συνεισφέρομεν ἔραυνος, οἱς ἐφ' οἷς δρῶσιν οὐκ ἐπινυστάζει τὸ τῆς δίκης ἐνδοκον ὄμμα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀγγέλιος τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέως διέφυγε ῥόπαλον, Στέργει αὖν σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ συγκαρτέρει ὅσον ἔστω, εἰδὼς τὸ τῆς ὑπομονῆς ἀνταπόδομα. Ἐπερ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐστείλας πρὸς κόινοποιας καὶ τὴς ἀκηρύκτου τούτων ἐπιστασίας ἐπιεικῶς ἡμιμονήσως, πάρεσο κωνωπείων θωρακισθέντων μῆτες καὶ αὐτὸς ἐντὸς βέλους αὐτῶν ἀλώς καὶ πολλὰς || 117 ἀπονεος ὑκτας ἱαστας, ὥς ὁ παιδαγωγὸς Πηλείδου Φοίνε, φιλάρετε.

28. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Οψυ τῆς φθασάσης ἐπὶ τῷ κατοιχομένῳ λύπης καὶ μόλις ἄνενεγκόν, μικρὸν τι καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ οἶνον ὀδώρος ἀποθεβγουμαι. ἦδη γὰρ αὐτῷ μοι τῷ προλαβόντι τοῖς ἐνερτέρους συμπεριπολείν ἔδοκε κενθμώσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐν νεκάσι τούτον συμπεριάγειν καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καθ' ἄδου ῥήπτεν ἐρευνώντι ἄρα ποι τεταξεῖται λήξεώς. Οὕτως ἡδομὴν τῷ θανόντι συνεῖναι μᾶλλον, ἢ πάλαι Πυλάδαι τοῖς Ὄρεσταις ἐκείνοις μέχρις αὐτῶν τάφων συνήφθαι προήρητο. ἐνθεν καὶ τῆς ὑπερημερίας καὶ τῆς Ἀκεσσαίου σελήνης υφ' ὑμῶν ἀπηρικάμην τῶν ὑνειδον. Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς μετὰ νεκύων, ἄω έδοκον, ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὀμιλίας, εἰτα τοὺς ἐσοι συνδιατώμενος καὶ σὲ τῆς φίλην ἐμοί κεφαλὴν ἀλγυμομένην νόσῳ πυθόμενος, εὐξάμην τι παθεῖν ἐλέσθαι; Τί άλλο γε ἡ τὴν παντελή σιγήν υπ-


28: 7 συνάφθαι προήρητο V || 8 ἁκεσσαίου V || 9 νέ... κών V (rasura)
proclamation of our success from nobody other than God. May it show us rich indeed and able to win the greatest benefits for our souls in preference to the plentiful contributions from such great resources (enjoyed by) those graspers after evil; for with respect to them, the righteous eye of Justice shall not slumber in surveying their deeds. Indeed, not even Augeias escaped the club of Hercules.

Acquiesce, therefore, as I do, and endure as much as is needful, knowing the recompense of patience. For the rest, if you have made a pact with the mosquitoes and have almost forgotten their undeclared onset, come armed with a mosquito net, lest you be caught again within range of their sting and spend many sleepless nights, like Phoenix, the tutor of Peleas’ son, O lover of virtue.

28. To the same

Having at long last and barely recovered from my sorrow for the deceased, I am uttering a faint and dead sound, one, as it were, that smells (of corruption). For already it seemed to me that I was accompanying the departed one in the nether world and leading him about among the dead, and casting my eye in Hades as I was searching for the place that would be assigned to him. So greatly did I enjoy the company of the deceased, more so than that famous Pylades of olden times who chose to cleave to Orestes to the very tomb; for which reason I was blamed by you for delay like Akessaios and his moon. Now, however, having, as it seemed to me, given up the company of the dead, and thereafter dwelling among men that live, I learned that you, my dear friend, were afflicted by an illness, and I wondered what I should choose to undergo. What else, but to assume complete silence before this dreadful news
ελθεῖν πρὶν ἡ τοῖς ὅσι τὴν ἀπαισίαν ἠκοίν ταύτην συνεισδέξασθαι; Ἀλλὰ λύπη σαρκωτρῶς τοῦτο κατέστημεν ὡμέν τὸ ξύζάνιον. Μὴ οὖν ἐγκυμονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διμηθῆναι, καὶ αἵρεις ἀπορῷ 118 ὑπὸ ου φήτω, μὴ τινα κίνδυνον ὡμέν ἀποτελεῖν. Ἡμῶν δὲ τοῦτο διαματαῖ ἔργον πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον εὐκτικῶς ἐστὶ βλέπειν ἐρωμένον, εὐροῦστα καὶ τοῖς θείοις σε δεξιῶς ἱθυμένον οἴαζω, ὡς ἂν τὸν τυπὸ κυμαίνοντος κλούσων ὑπεράνω γένους καὶ τῷ τῆς εἰπάθειας ὁμοί πλησιάσαις καὶ εἰσελάσσαις ἐντός, καὶ ἀποδαύσαις ὃν ἴμειρόμεθα.

29. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Καὶ δέδηγμαι ἐπιστολήν· οὐκ ἀναίνομαι· καὶ σεσίγηκα· ἀφασία γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπολειπεῖε γλῶτταν καὶ μενείω κωφεύουσαν πέπεικε, καὶ χεῖρα ἐπιθεῦναι συνήψεσε στόματι· ἀλλ' ὁ σαφές πρὸς σὲ τούτῳ με παθεῖν ἔδει. Σύγγνωθι λοιπόν, ὦ ἱερώτατε γνώμων, καὶ ἔρρωσο, καὶ εὐθύμει, καὶ εὐχῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁλυγώρου καὶ φιλαμαρτήμους μετριότητος.

30. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Εσείς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνήν ἀσκόν ἐπὶ τινας ἐπαφελεῖς * ἐαυτῶν καθεῖς, καὶ τοῖς τούς τῶν θείων ὡμῶν νομιμάτων μεταχετεύων κρούνοις, κατηκλυσμόν των ἀφρακνόντων δογμάτων ἐπινοοῖν, ὥς τῆς ὁρθῆς καὶ ἐλευρωνίας ἐπίκουρε πίστεως. Ὑγιὲς ἔλαξθανε ὃς ἐν μερίμνῃς μέρει πολλάκις ἐτίθεσο, εἰ τι μνήμων ἐγώ, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῶν λόγων τῶν σῶν, ὅπλα λογικὰ κυνήσαι κατὰ τῶν ἄλλοκτῶν καὶ ἄλλοφιῶν τῶν

15 ἀποτέλεσιν V | 16 ἐρωμένοις V | 16–17 δεξι(ως) ἱθύμομεν οἱ αἰξὶν V | 18 γένοις τὸ καὶ τὰ V corr. manus recentior | πλησιάσας(ας) καὶ εἰσεπλάσας(ας) corr. manus recentior

29: 4 γάμῳ V: ω supra lineam scripsit manus recentior

30: 1 post ἐπαφελεῖς lacunam statuimus | 1–2 ἐαυτῶν...κα' δὲν V | δμὶ V | 3 κατακλυσμῶν V | post δὲ lacuna ca. 2 litt. | 6 ἄλλοφιῶν fort. in ἄλλοφιῶν emendandum cum G
reached your ears as well? But my consuming grief has implanted in you this tare. Let it not sprout; let it rather be cut lest it cause you some danger. As for me, my perpetual task is, by my prayers to God, to see you in good health, prosperous, and being skillfully guided by the divine helm, so that you may overcome the storm that is now raging and so approach and enter the harbor of felicity, and enjoy those things we all desire.

29. To the same

I have received your letter—I do not deny it—and have kept silent. Speechlessness has armed my tongue and caused it to remain dumb; it has decided me to lay my hand upon my mouth. Yet I should not have suffered this from you. Forgive me, therefore, O most holy expert, farewell and be of good cheer. And pray for my negligent and sinful mediocrity.

30. To the same

It seems that while saying nothing to me, you have been employing yourself in certain useful (works) and, in channeling therein the streams of your divine concepts, you have been planning the destruction of certain foolish doctrines, O defender of the true and pure faith. For it did not escape attention—if I have a good recollection, especially of your own words—that you were often intending to take up the arms of reason against the uncouth and alien battle lines of the heretics, so that, God granting,
αἰρετικῶν παρατάξεων, ἵνα διδωθεῖ θεός, τὴν γιαννησίαν ἐκείνην τοῦ δευτέρου Γολιάθ καὶ μεγάλαυχον κεῖ· 119· παρὰ πολλά· ἐκεῖνοι διά δυνάμεις τῆς 119· θριάμβου ὁμολογίας καὶ ἀναλύεισθαι στερρότητι σφενδόνησαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ αὐτῷ φωνήν καὶ ψυχάρσαγα μάχαιραν ἀφελέμονος, τῆς αὐτὴς ἐκτομῆς πραγματεύσασι καὶ ἐξέλον τῶν τῆς ἁμομήντου λατρείας καὶ πίστεως οὐειδόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔδει ὃν αὐτός, κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς Ἑκκλησίας, κυκεόνα πικρῶν συνεκέρασεν καὶ πολλοίς προτῆρις αἰρέσεως προτέθεικε κάλυξι, τοῖς ἐλεγκτικοῖς καὶ στόφοισιν ὒμων, μᾶλλον δὲ γλυκέσι καὶ ἱδέοις κράμασιν, ὡς ἄδοκον ἀπερρίφθαι καὶ [εἰ] λίαν ἐξῆτηλον, καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀποκρηθῆσαι τραπέζης, εὐφραντικήν μηδεμίων ἐπιδεικμένουν ὄρεξι· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν σόλοκον καὶ φλῆσαφον τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων συνθήκην καὶ (ἦν), ὡς οὔθεκα, πολλάκης ἡμῖν ἀνέκαλυπτεν καὶ τὴν ταύτης χολῶδη σαθρότητα ταῖς τεχνικάς ἡμᾶς ἐπιπέτασις στηρίζει ψαρβαρικώτατα προφτετερεῖν, ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμετέρας ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐλεγχήθηναι (καὶ) παιδευθῆναι [καὶ] παιδεύσεως ὡς ἄν μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀράβιον αὐλητήν, ἢ φησιν ἢ παροιμία, βασταρίζειν ἀπέραντα κατὰ κόσμον καὶ μέτρον προφέρειν μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον. Ἀλλ’ εἰ ταῦτα καλῶς ὑπετυπώσατε καὶ οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ πονεῖς, ὡς ἐγὼ μὴ μάτην τεκμαίρομαι, ἐξαύδα καὶ, σὺν θεῷ, μὴ (κεῖθε καὶ) κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτῶν δογμάτων συμφράττοι, καὶ εἰ τινὲς λόγους κατὰ τὴν σεστῆς εἰκόνος Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς σεμνῆς Θεομήτωρ καὶ τῶν υπὲρ 120· αὐτῶν καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν ἀνθρωπομενήν ἡ γυδοπυγμέαν, ἢ καὶ ὑπ’ ὀδώντα τὸν μυθυρόμενον εὔροις, μηδ’ ḍε φύγου, ἀλλ’ ἡμά πάντες ἔχασποιοί ἀκόμηστοι καὶ ᾠφαντοι· ἡμῖν δὲ μὴ φθονήσῃς τῆς ὧφελείας, ἀλλα καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ ταύτην ταμείου καὶ μεταδίδου τοῖς πέλας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλαττώθηνε ὑμεῖς τω τις ὧφελείς ποτὲ λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου τρεφόμενος.
you would strike, by the triple confession of the consubstantial Trinity (whose strength is invincible) as with a slingshot, that gigantic and boastful head of the second Goliath, and, taking away from him his murderous and soul-destroying dagger, you may achieve his decapitation, and so remove the reproach from our immaculate worship and faith. For that bitter potion that he has himself mixed to the detriment of the ecumenical Church and offered as a drinking present to many of the faithful in the cups of heresy, ought, by means of your reproving and astringent (or rather sweet and mild) medicine, be rejected as unseemly and altogether stale, and be removed far from the table of the Church inasmuch as it excites no pleasurable appetite. And, indeed, his illiterate and long-winded composition which, as you know, he often showed to us and urged us most barbarously to prop up its bilious inadequacy by means of our artful attention, ought to be refuted and chastised by your learned Eminence, so that he should not stutter on endlessly like the Arab piper (as the proverb has it), unable as he is to compose anything in an orderly and measured manner.

If I have outlined those things correctly, and your attitude and labor are as I have guessed not without reason, speak out, and, with God's help, do not lie concealed! Close ranks against the doctrines of the enemy, and if you hear any words, be they loud or whispered between the teeth, against the holy image of Christ and the revered Mother of God and of those who have fought valiantly on their behalf and by their help, "let none escape, but let all perish together, unmourned and unmarked." Do not, however, begrudge us the benefit, but keep it both for yourself and convey it to your friends; for a beneficial word that is nourished by the Word of God shall never suffer any diminution.
31. Θεοφυλάκτω καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ μοναχῶις


The past life of your pious Perfection, O vessel of divine election who bear the name of immortality, has shown that you have not trafficked in anything that was fruitless, destructive in this life, or a cause of harm; nay, everything has been productive, fruitful, bountiful, and conducive to the copiousness of your contribution. For, having gained righteousness as a helpmate to success, you have invested yourself with a robe of gainful benefit, not one spun of silken thread but one woven from strands of divine approval and embroidered with the variegated ornaments of virtuous behavior. To this the results of your deeds bear unerring witness. For behold, you have escaped, thanks to the rudder of the holy father’s salutary inspiration, the billowy and stormy sea of earthly mockery and, having skillfully brought to harbor the ship of your soul that had been constantly flooded by the hurricanes of tumultuous tempest, you have saved the best of your wares and have entered the land and portion of the meek with dry feet. You have spat out the unpleasant draughts of worldly fare like the bitter waters of Marah and have obtained for yourself a spiritual spring that is sweet and fit to drink. Who, indeed, could describe fully your calm and undisturbed manner of life? For, enjoying now an untroubled condition, you have taken a spiritual sabbath rest and have reached the repose of impassibility. In your good old age you are nursing self-control; through the study of things divine you have bloomed with the oft-praised progress in virtue; by cleansing your mental vision in all-night vigils you have prepared your mind’s eyes to behold God’s dominion; by persevering in prayer, by offering yourself to God entirely free from distraction and attached to the true love, you dissipate every hostile attack and every bout of restlessness by means of the hot coals of the desert that annihilate evil. By your humility you have gained the ascent that raises you to heaven wherein you have constructed an indestructible
30 τον· καὶ ὃς ἐποίησε ἐπεὶ διήλθει θείος ἀραμάτων γενόμενος, εὐνοδίας ὑγιεινής μεταδίδοντος τοῖς σοι προσπελάζειν ἐθέλουσίν· διὸ καὶ εἰς σύνθεν ἔχερχεταις μωρήφημον δυνάμιατος. || 122 ||

ΑΛΛ ὁ πάτερ ἀγγελοειδέστατε, τὸν ἐν σαρκί με σκωλήχων καθήμενον καὶ ἀμαρτίας ἐνιώ κυλινδούμενον εὐνοδίασου. Τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ μνήμῃ πρότῳ ἡθετηκὼς εἰς Χριστὸν συνταγῇ καὶ δε ἐργών ἀσέμνων τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ προσθέμενος, εἶτα τὸν Μονήρη βίων δὲ ἀποταγῆς τῶν κοσμικῶν φροντιδῶν ἐλόμενος, καὶ τῆς τῶν βεβήλων οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος ἐργασίας καὶ πράξεως, οὐχ ἠκύστα καὶ τοῦτον καταρρίφωσας ἔμοι λυνά. ἈΛΛΑ τι γένομαι καὶ ποί τράπωμαι; "Ἡ τινα πόρον τῆς συνεχόντος παρώσεως καὶ βοηθῶν ἐκκαλέσομαι, ὡς ἐν τῆς ἡπειρομένης μου γεννήσεως διαδράσεως τῆς παφλάζουσαν καὶ φλογίζουσαν κάμων; Ὑθεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὡς παρῶν γονυπετῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγιὰς ὑμῶν ἄρνυτε ἐφαπτόμενος, τὴν ἰκετείαν προβάλλομαι. Ὑπάρχει μὴ τῆς ἐκτυπήσεως ὑμῶν καὶ βιωθείς ἐπιρροῆς καταστάσεως, σβεστηρίου ἐσαμηναῖον τῆς εἰπροθυμήσεως αἰώνιας κολάσεως. Ναὶ, πατέρων ἁρίστωτα, ναὶ, πανοικίνημα ἰδίοντα, ναὶ, θεοτευτῆνα ἐκ τῆς παναμάμων καὶ ἀγνῆς Ἀθεομάρτορος· ἐνεργῆς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρεθησαται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσαγομένη τοῦ τάλανος δέσιμος.

Τὴν δὲ θείαν ἐντολὴν καὶ πρόσταξεν τῆς ὑμετέρας παναγίας πατρότητος, ὡς ἡ θεία ἑρωτοσκευαζόμεθα καὶ δούλοι εὐγνώμονες, εἰ καὶ ἀναξίως καὶ ἐνδεχόμεθα· ἔχουσαν· δεήσεως, ἄν δὲ δοξή θείος τοῖς ἀμβλου- ὁκοῦν ὁ ὅπλος ἐποποιοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ γε με συγκαλυφθεῖς καὶ τάφος || 123 || διασταύρις καὶ φθορά τὴν ἐμήν κόσμων ἐσοδεύσατο, πρῶτο καὶ τῆς ἐγείρον ὑμῶν ἐκδικήσεως πρὸς θεόν ἐπαυσθῆσαν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκείνης ἀκούσατε. Χαρισθείς οὖν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑγιείμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑφίστου δεξίας ἱδωνόμενος, ἀνερ ἐπιθυμημῶν τοῦ κρειττοῦν τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰς καύχημα τῆς μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ εἰς καλλωπίσμον τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ στήριγμα τῆς ἐμῆς γηραλέας πτωχονοιας (καὶ) ἀκλινεστάτου ἔρεισμα.


30 ἑγείροντες V || 34 τῆς V || 38 καταρρύωσας V || 39 τῆς γένομαι ... τράπωμαι V || 40 πορώ- σεως V || ἐκκάλεσομαι V || 43 εὐκακίας: proposit. Ševcenko || 46 λάτρη V || 51 ἀμβλουθοῦντον V || 54 ἐκεῖνης (φωνῆς) suppl. G || ἀκούσεσθαι V || 55 χαρισθεί V || 55-56 τῆς ὑφίστου V || 59 καὶ suppl. G
abode. One may say that you have become a divine house of spices and that you convey a health-giving fragrance to those who wish to approach you; wherefore you have lent yourself to the confection of aromatic incense.

But, O most angelic father, breathe your fragrance on me who am seated in the corruption of worms and wallow in the mire of sin. For, having broken the first promise made to Christ at my divine initiation and having joined the Adversary through my unholy deeds, I then chose the solitary life by renouncing worldly cares. But that life, too, I sullied and defiled by not abstaining from profane works and actions. What, then is to become of me and whither shall I turn? What help or assistance can I summon against the callousness that possesses me so as to escape the fiercely burning furnace of Hell that I am threatened with? Wherefore, though absent, I kneel before you as if I were present and, clasping your holy feet, I offer my supplication. Shed upon me from your habitual and life-supporting stream one drop that will quench the eternal punishment that hangs over me. Yea, best of fathers and renowned master; yea, servant and worshiper of the immaculate and pure Mother of God: for your request addressed to her on behalf of my wretched self will prove effective.

As for your sacred order and command, O all-holy father, I have carried it out, though unworthily and imperfectly, as though I were already your debtor and grateful slave. May God grant me not to see it with my failing eyes; rather let the earth cover me, let the grave open for me, and let corruption overtake my dust before I learn of your holy departure unto God and hear those painful tidings. May you gratify those who love you by remaining in good health and being guided by the right hand of the Highest, you who are filled with the nobler desires of the spirit, that you may be the pride of the monastic institution, the ornament of the Catholic Church, the stay and most steadfast support of my aged and feeble mind.
32. Κωνσταντίνω Ασηκρήτι

Παίζων ἀλλ' οὐ σπουδάζων, ὡς ἑγόμαι, τὸν χωλοβάμονα καὶ σκάζοντα τῶν ὑμῶν ἑκείων φορτίων ἡμᾶς ἀνακαθάραι προὔτρεπες· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν, ἐσπούδαζάς ἂν ἤδη καλῶς μετρηθέντας καὶ τομαίοις τε καὶ βάσεως ἐναβρυνομένους ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τοῖς αἰτήσασί δοῦναι, ὡς ἐν καὶ οἱ τῆς πάλαι πονηρότητος διαδειχθεῖσι προαιρών, καὶ νῦν αἱ παρὰ τῆς τῷ στέφει προλαμπούσης ἀναφανεῖσεν εὐσεβείς ἐπιμέλειαι τὸ γὰρ συντηρήσας τὰ ὄντα τοῦ κτῆσασθαι τὴν ἄρχην αἱρετότερον. Ἀλλ’ ὡσ εἰκάζειν ἔχω, σὺ τε καὶ ὁ καλῶν τῇ πάλαι μᾶλλον ἀμετρία συντίθεσθε, ἢ τῇ βασισμῷ τῶν τριμερῶν εὐρυθμία συνήδεσθε. Πάρος τοῖνυν, εἰ οὖν τε, πειράσων τὴν τῶν μετρηθέντων συνθήκην, ὡ τῶν ἐμῶν κρύτα νοημάτων οἶδα γὰρ ὡς ἔτι καὶ τρίτην ἡμῖν ἐπιφορτίσας διώρθωσιν, ἡμαρτημένα καὶ πόρρω τοῦ σκοποῦ φερόμενα γράφασιν. || 124 ||

33. Ἰωσήφ ἢγουμένῳ τοῦ Ἀντιδίου

Τίς δῶσει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὑδωρ καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πηγήν δακρύων; Ἰδοὺ προφητικῶς προοιμιασάμενος ἀποδόρομαι. Πώς κλαύσως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ συντρήματι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μου παιδὸς βαθανατηφόρῳ φυγῇ, ὃν εἰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ποίμνης παρέθηκα; Τίς τοῦ ἄλγους μου καταπάτησε τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῆς κατεχούσας λύπης φαρμάκως λατρείοις τὸ ἀνίατον θεραπεύσεις; Καὶ γὰρ ὀλοσώματος ὁ μάλως καὶ ἡ πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα καὶ μηδεμίᾳ μότωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ συντριμμῷ δεχομένη τῷ σύνολον. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὑμετέροις προβάτοις καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ποίμνης σου μάνδρα ἡσαφαλισμένοι καὶ συν-


32: 1 χωλοβάμονα V || σχαζοντα V: capellae coniect G || 5 συνθήκης διαδιδθε(ν)ει προαιρών V || 8 ἄλλως... ὁ κα τὰ βαλ... συντίθεσθαι V || 9 τριμερῶν V: an trimerōn scribendum? || συνήδεσθαι εκ συνείδεσθαι V

33: 1–2 τίς — δακρύων: Jn. 8.23 || 6–7 ὀλοσώματος — φλεγμαίνουσα: cf. Is. 1.6

33: 7 ματσώσων V || 8 ὑ τι V

[92]
32. To Constantine *asekretis*

You were joking, I think, and not in earnest when you urged me to correct the lame and halting rubbish of those iambics, for otherwise you would have taken care to receive them when they had been properly scanned and decked out with caesuras and feet, and so hand them to those who requested them in order that both the preliminary struggles of her who toiled aforetime should become apparent and the pious concerns of her who now shines in the crown be made manifest; for it is preferable to preserve what you have to acquiring it afresh (?). But, as far as I can guess, both you and the one who bids you, prefer the former disregard of metrics to taking pleasure in the regular rhythm of the trimeter. Come then, if you can, to test the metrical composition, you who are the judge of my conceits; for I know that you will force a third correction on me if what I write is faulty and wide of the mark.

33. To Joseph, abbot of Antidion

"Who shall give my head water and my eyes a fountain of tears?" Behold, I have prefaced my lament with the prophet's words. How shall I weep over the ruin of my soul and the fatal flight of my spiritual son, whom I placed in your hands and those of your flock? Who will check the pain of my grief and heal with medicinal drugs the incurable sorrow that grips me? For my body is covered with bruises, and the inflamed wound admits of no dressing in this affliction. Indeed, secured and counted as it was among your sheep and the fold of your flock, only the sheep that I
αριθμοὺμενον τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς παρακαταθήκης μονὸν θηριάλωτον γέγονε
πρόβατον. Πῶς τούτο συνηρέχθη; Τίς σκαῖρος δαίμον ἐπὶ τούτην ἔμεσιτευε τὴν ἀπώλειαν; Τίς ὁ φθονήσας τῷ καλῶς ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἦμων φυτεύθηνε κλάδῳ καὶ τούτον πρόμοιρον ἀνθημερῶν ἀνυπαστάσας καὶ εἰς βυθὸν ἀπογυμνῆσθαι ψυχικῆς συνελάσας καὶ δείξας ὡς ἄκαρτον μόχοςκεμά; Τίς τὸν δρόμον ἀνέκοψεν τοῦ καλὸς τρέχοντος καὶ εἰς μέτρον εὐλαβοῦσι ἡλικίας φθάσαντος, καὶ τῷ πονηρῷ συνελθεῖν οὐκ εὐαγγέλιος μετατείχας καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἀστεφάνων; Οὕτω ἀγρυπνεῖτε ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν ὑμετέρων θρεμμάτων, οὕτω ἐκτρέφετε τοὺς προσερχομένους ταῖς πνευματικαῖς νομαῖς καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὑδατί; Τί οὖν
τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσβείτε καὶ τῇ ἐκτικρίᾳ τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν πουρ|| 125 || μαίνετε ποιμὰν; Τί μή τὸ ἄσθενεν ἑνυχυτε καὶ τῷ χωλῶν ἐπι-
dersemitε, καὶ τῷ ἄρρωστοι ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ θηριῶν ἀρτακτικοιι ὡς ἀνιάτρευτον παραπέμπετε, σπαράττουσιν σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, καὶ βρώσουν ουκομένους ὡς αἵματα καὶ εὐάλωτα καὶ ποιμένα μή ἔχουτα;
Τούτῳ τὸ θηριάλωτον πρόβατον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ὑμῶν ἐκτήτησε Κύριος:
tούτῳ τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον, ὡς θυμίϊ ὑμῶν προδοθεὶς, καταδικάζε μονὴ γενησται πρόξενον τούτῳ τὸ ἀποίματον πρόβατον ἐν τῇ δικαίᾳ τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ ἀρχιπομένος Χριστοῦ κελεύει κατὰ πρόσωπον σοῦ τὸν ποιμένος στῆται καὶ ἀμελεῖάν σου καθηγορήσει, ὅτι δυνατῶς ἔχαι περισσώτερον, τῷ ἄδι πρὸ θανάτου παρέπεμψας. Διατι μή ἄφθασας τὰ ἐν
νεῖκοντα ἐνεάκα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλαιόμενον ὤδραμε καὶ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἐφὶ τῶν ὑμῶν ἀνέλαβες καὶ τοῖς σεσωσμένους συνέταξας; Πῶς οὖν τὸ πένθος; Μετὰ τίνως τοῦ θρήνου δυσπρόσιτοι συνεργάσαμοι; Τίς παρα-
mοβίας λόγος προσελθεῖ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποκουφίσει τοῦ βάρους ἀχθηδόνα καὶ τὸν στεναχυμὸν λαβθῆσαι ποιήσει καὶ καθημερώσει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγριότητα; Τί μή προσῆλθες τοὺς ἵκνοι καὶ κωνοῦ πατρὸς ἦμων καὶ δυστοπηκτικός καθικέτευσας ὅπως τὸ εὐλογηθὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταλαίπωρον καὶ δύστημα πρόβατον τοῖς ἐγγυθέοις αὐτοῦ ἀνεκαλ-
λέσατο πρὸς θεὸν ἐντεύξεσιν, καὶ τῇ ἀρχαι ὑμῖν καὶ ποίμην τοῦτο πάλιν ἀπεκατέτησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κλατέν ὅτ' ἀμελεῖα θηριάλωτον ἐξαι-
sας || 126 || καὶ τῷ λύκῳ μᾶλλον συνέδραμε εἰς τὸν τούτοι σεβην ἀρ-


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entrusted to you fell prey to wild beasts. How did this happen? What sinister demon was responsible for this loss? Who was envious of the shoot, well planted in your monastery, and immediately pulled it up by the roots? Who drove him to the depth of spiritual despair and proved him to be a barren sucker? Who interrupted his course as he was running well and had reached the age of discretion, impiously persuaded him to join the Devil, and made him lose his crown? Is it thus that you watch over the safety of your flock? Is it thus that you nurture those who come to the spiritual pastures and the waters of repose? Why do you not use the rod to frighten away the wolves and herd your flock with the staff? Why do you not strengthen the weak, give support to the lame, visit the sick, but instead consign them, as if they were incurable, to rapacious beasts that tear asunder body and soul and devour them, being as they are without leader or shepherd and easy prey? The Lord shall demand from your hand this ensnared sheep. This lost sheep, abandoned by you, will be the cause of your condemnation. This unintended sheep, by the righteous command of Christ, the Judge and chief Shepherd, will stand in front of you, his shepherd, and accuse you of negligence in that, while it was in your power to save him, you sent him to Hades before his death. Why did you not leave the ninety-nine and run in search of the erring one, and, having found him, bring him back on your shoulders and restore him among the saved? How will I bear the grief? Who will help me in my sorrowful lament? What words of consolation will come to lighten my grievous burden, make my groaning abate, and tame the desolation of my soul? Why did you not approach the feet of our holy and common Father and implore him with earnest supplication to recall by his God-pleasing prayers to God the unfortunate wretch who had been blessed by him and restore him to his old pasture and flock? Instead, you have allowed him, who had been stolen through negligence, to fall prey to wild beasts. Indeed, you have helped
παγήν; ἀλλ’ ὄψεται Κύριος καὶ ξητῶν ἐκζήτησε καὶ τοὺς οἰκτηροὺς καὶ τὸ ἔλεει αὐτοῦ σώζων σώσει, καὶ μὴ συγχωρήσει τὴν ψυχήν τοῦ ποθήσαντος αὐτῶν εἰς παντελὲς θήραμα τοῖς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἀπαντησάντων ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀνελκύσε τοῦτον τοῦ πτῶματος καὶ ἐπὶ πέτραν στήσει καὶ κατευθυνεῖ τὰ ἱγέμνα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ θεὸν διαβήματα, ὅπως, τῇ ἀναλύει καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πατέρα παλινδρομήσει, ἀξιωθείς τῆς ἁγίας στολῆς ἐκείνης ἐπενδύσασθαι τὸ δέξιωμα, καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον τῶν ἔπιστρεπτικῶν πρὸς τὴν ἁρχήν τῆς μοναδικῆς ἀπολάβου βιώσεως, καὶ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ ἱσαγγελοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν φωνῆς εἰσακοῦσιν.

...οὗτος δ’ ἦν ἡμῶν νεκρὸς ἂν καὶ ἀνεξηθεὶς, ἀπολωλὼς ἂν καὶ εὐρέθη.” Ἔστειλε δὲ τῇ Μεγάλης ἡμῶν θεοτροφεία εἰς τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι ἐμέμρισαι ἀγρυπνίαν, ὅτι καὶ τότε δίκαια ἐπιδεικνύοντο, οὕτως τῶν μέρων τοῦτος ἀποσμηνάζονται οἱ τῆς ἐμῆς γενήσεως μετριότητος οἱ ἀποροοῦμεν πάντωθεν, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀλογήσας σωτηρίας ἐκείνους φαντάζομαι.

Τῇ δὲ σύν ὑμῶν θεοσυνελέκτῳ ποίμνῃ μὴ ἀπαξιώσῃ προσεεπείν ἐκ τῆς ἤμετας πτωχονοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γράμμα τούτος φανερώσει καὶ ἀναστήσῃ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τό τάλανον δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ποιήσασθαι. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ψυχήν συντριβῆν ἐδέξαντο ἀλλ’ ἐλπίζοντο ὅτι, ταῖς ὑμετέραις πρὸς θεόν ὅσιας ἐντεύξεσιν, τῶν ἐλπίδων κοινῶς ἐπιτύχουμεν, προσβείαις τῆς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθοῦς Θεοῦ τόκον, τοῦ ὅσιον καὶ μεγάλον πατρὸς ἡμῶν εὐχαίς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

34. Νυκηφόρω διακόνῳ

Ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ὑπάρχων πενεῦστατος ἐπὶ συχνῶν χρόνων σεσίγηκα, ὡς ἐν τῇ ὑμετέραν πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἐγκαλέσωμαι πολυκτήμων γλώσσαν καὶ μάθω πλούτειν [καὶ] ξηλῷ τῆς στῆς ἀδαμβολοῦ τοῦ λόγου προχύσεως. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νέφος οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς στῆς ὑδανίας φρενὸς τὸν

43 συγχωρήσοι V || 54 τοῦτον: τοῦτον sugg. Duffy || ἀποσμείζηται V || 57 ἡμῶν V || 61 ὑμετέρες V

34: Tit. διακόνου V || 2 πολυκτήμων V || 3 ξηλῶν V
the wolf to make his terrible catch. But the Lord will see this: He will search him out and, in His pity and mercy, will save him and will not permit that the soul of one who had loved Him should fall prey to the teeth of his adversaries. Nay, He will set him up from his fall, place him on a rock and guide his feet and steps in godlike fashion, so that, by his release and return to his own father, he may become worthy to assume the honor of that holy garment, acknowledge the finger that will restore him to the rule of the monastic life, and hear the great voice of our angelic and common Father, “This my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost and is found.” Let not your paternal Piety, then, slumber over these matters, but be diligent and watchful in every way, without any trace of sluggishness, that you may wipe away this stain and bring consolation to my mediocrity; for I am at a loss what to do and, disregarding my own salvation, I have him on my mind.

Please convey to your divinely assembled flock the greetings of my feeble intellect. You will show them this letter and beg them to pray to the Lord on behalf of my wretched self. For I know that they, too, have experienced affliction in their souls over what has happened and hope that through your holy supplications to God, the intercession of the real and true Theotokos, and the prayers of our holy and great Father and of all the saints, we may all attain our wishes.

34. To the deacon Nikephoros

Being as I am extremely poor in my capacity for speech, I have kept silent for a long time so as to urge your affluent tongue to write, that I may learn myself how to be rich by emulating the abundant outpouring of your words. Since, however, no
35. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Μή με προστῇ ἔναι δίδασκε, ἵνα τι μικρὸν τὸ προφητικὸν ὑποκάλυπτεν· ἐξερήσατε δὲ πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώποι τὴν σὲ τὴν ἐπομβριαν (οὐκ ἤν) ἡμῖν προμηθύνοντα, οὐκ ἐσθε νοπτὴν ἐν Ἑαντάλειον ἐκείθεν, ὡς ὁ μόνος, ἐν μέσῳ πολλάκις φέρετρας δίψαν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκείθεν δικής κολαζομένοις. "Οδικεῖν τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ, μικρὸν ἀναθημάτος πρὸς σὲ τὸν λόγον κεκίνηκα, εὐπρός τὴν ὑμετέραν καθαρὰν σταγώνα ἐδέω, ἐαυτῷ ἐπιστόμαι καὶ τὸν τῆς φυσῆς αὐχεῖα καὶ τὴν δίψαν ἐπιχειρήσαμεν ἀποκρύφτωμι. Ἐπιστάθηκας οὖν ἐκ τῶν ψεκάσων μου τῆς θεοπαράγοντος σου πηγῆς ρανίδα, μήπως τῇ πολυχρώμῳ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν ἀνομβριᾷ ὑπὸ τριβολοὺς καὶ δευταῖς ἀκάνθαις πυγεύσῃ· ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν λιμωζάτω λόγον θεοῦ καὶ πότιμον ἐπιστέειν. Τά δὲ καθ' ἡμῶς σιγή βαθεῖα καλύπτει ὡσπόν καὶ ὡς ἀποβρῆσθαί μέλλειν· ἐλπίζε δὲ ἡμῖν ἀποκρέμαται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον τοῖς θείοις οἰκτιρμοῖς ἐπιδώσετεν.


7 ταντάλεων V

35: 1 μή — δίδασκε: cf. Jb. 10.2 || 2 ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα — ἐφάλλεσθαι: Apostol. XVII.62; Macar. VIII.67; Zen. VI.23; Greg. Cypr. III.89; Karathanasis 160 || 5 κώστων ἐπὶ φάτνης: Macar. V.34; Karathanasis 230 || 10 εἰς ἄγνωστον συνελάυνει: cf. 2 Cor. 2.7

35: 1 προσπετ(η)ν V || 5 ἡλίκους V || 6 μελερμον V

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cloud wafted by your heavenly spirit overshadowed my empty and windy mind, and your showers were not announced to me beforehand by the prevailing drought and desiccation, I did not have the strength to suffer, as the myth has it, the thirst of Tantalus in the midst of the sea and to be punished in advance of the trial over there. For this reason I have directed toward you the scanty exhalation of my speech in the hope of drawing upon myself your pure drops and driving off to some extent the dry thirst of my soul. Do, therefore, let fall upon me one drop from the waters of your God-given fount, lest I be choked with thistles and grievous thorns because of the protracted lack of your rainlike discourse. As a result the word of God may perish and face death.

As for my affairs, their outcome is covered by deep silence. A hope remains that, through God's mercy, they may turn out for the better.

35. To the same

Do not teach me to be rash (that I may alter slightly the prophet's saying) nor to leap without practice (?) beyond the dug-up patch. For in cherishing silence as a hidden treasure and attaching great value to its being dumb and sharing no words with those that love you, you have signally put into deeds the proverb about the dog in the manger. Do not thus accustom your honeyed tongue and every benefit that is useful to us to be tardy, but be the first to speak inasmuch as you are the pinnacle of discourse, and allow me second place lest I fall into danger by speaking earlier. Pray for me, be in good health, and shake off that great despondency, knowing as you do that bad humor causes us to be swallowed by grief according to the holy and great teacher.
36. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἡ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούς βραχεῖς ἀπολογίας ὑφεσις πρὸς οὐράνιον ὑμῶν ἀρετὴν γέγονεν ὑψωμι· ἐκείθεν γὰρ Χριστὸς ὁ πλάστης τῆς φύσεως κατελθὼν, καὶ τὸ ταπείνων ὑποδύσης, τῆς τοῦ οἰκεῖου μεγέθους οὐκ ἐξέστη περωτησία, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν πρὸς οὐρανοὺς τρίβον ὑπέδειξε· καὶ τῷ τούτου πλέον λέγειν ἔχω, Μιμητήν σε γὰρ τοῦ κτίσαντος ἀποφήγμα ὦκεν πεταίτωρ προβήναι, μήτως ἐλαττῶσθω τὸν ἕπαινον.

Τὸ δὲ πρὶν ἐπίρρημα, εἰ τι πείθει τῷ τῆς τέχνης φυτοκόμῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ φάναι γεννήτορι, τῷ τοῦ Δυσκόλου φημι παιδί, μή τῆς συντολῆς ἔξω γενέσθαι ποιήσεως. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέχεται Ἡρωδιανὸς ὁ μετα τοῦ φιλοτοὺς ἀνέδην ἰστάμενος έκτάσεως κανόνι τὸ συστάλεν ἀπευθύναι καὶ ποιῆσαι μακρὸν τὸ ἀναύξητον. Εἰ δὲ συγκαταθέσατι || 129 || βούλει καὶ τῷ † Μηλαίῳ † γραμματίκῳ τούτως ἀκλίνως ἐπομένως καὶ δίεσμελευμένος περὶ τούτου καὶ ἀκριβῶς κανονίσαντι, μὴ παρώσῃ τὸν ἀνδρὰ φάσκοντα: "καὶ τὰ μονοσύλλαβα ἐπιρρήματα καταλήγουτα μὲν εἰς φωνῆν ἐκτείνεται καὶ περιστάται, εἰ δὲ εἰς σύμφωνον συστέλλεται· ὁ τὸ πυλοῦμενον καὶ περιπύμενον· ἅ δειλοῖ, Δαναῶν ἡγήτορες ἢδέ μέδοντες", εἰτα καὶ πλεύστατα κατακεφάλαστα τῶν ἑκτευμονιῶν ἐπετείνων· "τὰ δὲ εἰς σύμφωνον λήγοντα βραχέα ἐστὶ ἡ θέσει μακρὰ." Πρῶν ὁπερναυτών ἀπὸ τοῦ πρόσθεν, συγκοπῆ κατὰ πάθος γεγονέναι· δις, τρις καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ δυνάς κατὰ πάθος καὶ τριάκις γέγονεν· δαξ· ἐνθεὶ τὸ ὀδαξ καὶ αὐτοδαξ· καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ κανών τῶν τεχνικῶν ἱδεῖν ἐστὶ λέγοντα ὡς τὰ μονοσύλλαβα ἐπιρρήματα ἡ φύσει ἐκτείνεται ἡ θέσει, εἰ μὴ ἔχου πάθος. Μὴ δὴτα ὦν τούς στύλους τῆς τέχνης σοφίας κατασχείνειν πειρώμεθα· στοιχώμεν δὲ τοῖς ἑκείνων κανόσιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ αἰδεύσιμον τῇ τέχνῃ φυλάξαιμεν καὶ μέμψεως ἔαυτος ἀπολύσωμεν. Καὶ εὐχοῦ μου, πάτερ, συνομογνωμονόν, καὶ τῇ ἔμη προσπετεία συγγνώμων ἔσο.
The abasement of your apology to my exiguous self has caused your elevation to heavenly virtue: for Christ, the creator of our nature, when he descended from above and assumed a humble form, did not depart from the pinnacle of His own greatness while showing to us the path to heaven. What more need I say? Having declared you to be an imitator of the Creator, I am reluctant to go any further lest I diminish your praise.

As for the adverb πρίν, you should not except it from shortening if you obey the gardener of the art or, to be more precise, its creator, I mean the son of Dyskolos. For Herodian, who stands freely beside the begetter, does not allow that the short should be adjusted by the rule of lengthening so that the unaugmented becomes long. If you also wish to agree with the grammarian of Melos (?), who follows unswervingly the above and has made subtle and exact rules on this matter, do not refuse to hear the man when he says that adverbs of one syllable, if they end in a vowel, are lengthened and take the circumflex, and if in a consonant, are shortened. Thus, alpha with a smooth breathing and a circumflex, as in "α, ye wretched men, leaders and rulers of the Danaäns." Then, after quoting exhaustively many other examples of lengthening he adds, "as for those that end in a consonant, they are short or else long by position." It is said that πρίν is a contraction, by way of modification, of πρόσθεν, as also δίς and τρίς, which come, by way of modification, from δύνακις and τρίκις, and δάξ from δδάξ and αὐτοδάξ. This, too, one may find the grammarian saying in the canon, namely, that adverbs of one syllable are lengthened either by nature or by position unless they suffer modification. Let us not, therefore, attempt to undermine the pillars of the wise art. Let us follow the rules of those men that we may preserve the dignity of the art and free ourselves from reproach. Pray for me, father, being as you are in agreement with me and forgive my impertinence.
"Ότι μὲν νυφάδων δίκην αἱ δυσχέρειαι τοῦ ταλαίπωρον τοῦτο βίον τὰς ἀνίας ἦμων κατεπύκνουσαν, κατακόρως δὲ τὴν σὴν ἄσπιλον εἰς θεῖν διάτοις κατεπομπρουσαν καὶ τοῖς μικρὰ εἰδόσων κρίνειν λύτας ἤκιστα.

|| 130 || πάτερ, ἡγοῦματι δὴ δὲ πρὸς ἀνυποτέραν, καὶ ἀνίας γεγορήμας νήσου εὐπόειλας, εὖ ἀθμίας εἰς παντελῆ δυσθυμίαν ἐαυτοῦ συνελαίων, εὐδήλους αἴθε γὰρ ἐπὶ χώρας σε μένοντα ταῖς συντρόφοις τῶν μοιχηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιφοράς προσπαλαίει, καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀπογείεσθαι στυφοῦσης καρδίαν δρμύητος ἡ τηλικάυτης ἀηδίας, ἠ ἐξειμεῖ τὸ μηδέ νησίδων καλείοθαν δυνάμενον, ἀναπίπλασθαι. Τι γὰρ τὴν σὴν καλλονὴν τῶν ὦ καλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατεκήλησεν ὡς ἐτὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξέρανθαι καὶ εὐθείαις αὐτῷ καὶ εὐκρασίαις ἐπιφημίσαι, ἦν οὖδ' οἱ τὰς περιήγησις γραφαίτης καὶ τὰ πρὸς χάριν ἀφοσιώμενοι ποικίλους εἴξεφρασαν, ἢ τὴν ἀδυνατή καὶ τραχείαν καὶ ἀνάντη καὶ δέξεως κατεπομποίησιν ὦ οἴμων δεδυσσώτηκε κάλληξις, ἢ οἷς ὑπεστή πρέμονον, οὖν ὁλὸς θυντὴ τῇ βλάστῃ μηρύνουσα τῷ φυτοκόμῳ ἄραν τοῦ ἕαρος· φυλαγόνι δὲ μήρες αὐτὴς γεωργοῦντες, οὐχ ὅν τὲ καὶ ἀρότρω καὶ δραπάνη, δι' ἐμμελούς δ' ἀμελείας τὴν ἀπληποτὸν ἐρμίμαν αὐτής δεκαποίαν ἀφυτὸν καὶ ἀνύρτον καὶ φθίνουσαν πάντοτε. Ἐφθη δὲ βαδίζων ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ περί τὰ μέσα που γενόμενος ὄραν πεδία λωτεύτα καὶ κοιλάδας ἀμφιλαφεῖς καὶ καταπύκνως, καὶ κρήνας ἢδο γάνος ἀφιείσας· καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ φόρτον τῆς ἐρμαίκης τῶν ψευσμάτων ἀμάξης οὐκ οἷδ' ὅπως ἀποκυνθεῖδεν ἑστὶν ἀπορρόφας· μέσα γὰρ ποία, ἦσαν άρχης καὶ πέρας τὴν μεσότητα διορίξει, ἐτερομήκη καὶ προμήκη τυγχάνουσαν καὶ προσευκείαν ὁφεί διὰ || 131 || στροφὸν βλεποῦσα καὶ οἶων βερσίτεων; Ὅσ' ἐμαντὸν γὰρ πεῖ θ' ἀληθείας ὀδούμενος, οὐκ ἀγνίγον τὴν υπαρξίην ἀποφέρεται, μυθικὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναδεῦδωσθαι καρποὺς ἐσχάτους ὡς δή τι μορμολυκεῖν ὑπὸ Νηρέως τοῦ βυθίου καὶ ἐναλίου δαιμόνος· οὖδ' γὰρ


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That the annoyances of this miserable life have caused my sorrows to accumulate like snowflakes and that they have rained down excessively on your spotlessly godly mind is by no means unknown, O father, even to those who little understand how to judge grief. It is also evident that you have landed on a wretched and sorrow-breeding island, thus reducing yourself from a state of despondency to one of complete despair. Would that you had remained at your post to fight off the attacks that are habitual to evil conditions and to partake of their pungent taste that acts like an astringent on the heart instead of being filled with the nauseousness disgorged by a place that cannot even call itself an islet. Which of her ugly traits has so charmed your beautiful mind as to extol her so greatly and to ascribe to her a goodly situation and climate, which not even the authors of travel books, who devote themselves to giving pleasure in different ways, would have expressed? What has smoothed her steep, rough, uphill road that is covered with sharp pebbles, along which there is no tree, where no grass springs up, announcing by its growth the fertile season of spring? It is the leaf-shedding months that cultivate her, not with a plowshare, plow, and reaping hook, but through suitable neglect, showing her boundless solitude barren, unplowed, and always decaying. You said that walking along her, about midway, you saw blooming plains, valleys dense and thickly grown, and wells emitting sweet water. This, too, is a piece broken off, I know not how, from the load of lies of Hermes' wagon. For what kind of middle does she have, seeing that no beginning or end defines her center, being as she is lopsided and protruding, like the distorted face of Thersites? Indeed, truth has convinced me that she cannot claim to have existed since the times of Ogyges, but was in a fabulous fashion thrown up in recent times like some monster by Nereus, the demon of the seabed. For not only might she, like
κατὰ τὴν εἰδέχθειαν μονὸν Ἐμπούσης δίκην τοὺς ὄρωντας δεδείτταν·
ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶς κύμασιν ὑπαγομένη καὶ συγκλυζομένη καὶ πῆξιν
οὐκ ἤχουσα, τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπρόσπτους σεισμοίς
ἀνατείνατο, δεινὸν θανάτου εἶδος καὶ χαλεπώτατον.

Ἀλλὰ τὶ περὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ὀξείαν, πλατείαν ἤχουσαν κακίαν, ἐν-
δαπανᾶν τὸν λόγον προήρημα, ἐνὸν αὐτὴν ψφ’ ἐαυτῆς κακίζοθαι ὡς ἃν
πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ; Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν εἰς θυμηδίαν ἦκουσάν σου
νῆσον ἀείσομεν, ὃ μεγίστων ἀξίας καὶ θεωρίας καὶ ἀπολαύσεως· πέπαι
νασα Χρήτη καί Κύπρος, Ἐβύβα, Λεόβας τε καὶ Σαρδώ, καὶ ἡ πολύ-
φορβος καὶ πολυκτήμος Τρινάκρια, τὰ μέγιστα θαλάσσης ὡς εἰτέπ
ἂν πᾶλιν, ὅιχ ὡς ἰκανῶς μὴ ἤχουσας τὰς ὑπενεργείας ὑμῶν ἀνίας
μεῖωσαι καὶ τοῖς παρ’ ἐαυτῶν θυμηδίας πληρώσαι καὶ γενέσαι σοι
παραμύθνουν, ἀλλὰ κυνωπεύουσα μηκέτι χριστιανών εἶναι καὶ ἐὰς
νομὴν ἔχοις δι’ ἀμαρτίας ἀποκρηθῆναι, ἄχροι ὁ ἱσόμενος πτωχόν ἐκ
χειρὸς στερεωτέρων αὐτοῦ (καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς) δυνάσθων ὁκτώμηροι ἐπινευ-
σοι καὶ ταῖς τῶν αὐτῶν θεραπότων ἐπικαμμοθεῖν διήσεων. Ἡ σε
μακά-
ρων, ἐπέρ τινὲς εἰς, νῆσον δεξάμεναι καὶ, τῆς λύσεως κενώσασα, κε-
χαρμένον (τε) ποσῶς ἀναδείξασαι, μακαρίαν φερωνύμως τὴν κλήσιν
ἐδείχναμε, καὶ τῶν καθ’ "Ομηροῦ ἐπαίνων, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἀλογήσασα, τὸν
eis se || 132 || πόθον εἰς ἄγιον ἐξεθήσαν καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων σχολῆν ὑπε-
θεαμάσαν, καὶ πᾶν εἰ τι καλὸν παρ’ ἐαυτῶν μεθ’ ἐαυτῶν λαβοῦσα
καὶ ἀλλήλων θερμὸς ἄμμιλωμεν, τοῖς σοῖς ποιήσων ἐνεμία προθηκην.
ἐν αἷς εἰχες πολλῶν ὀρῶν θαυμάτων ἀκρόπτητας. Διὸ εἰς ἐξ τῆς Ὀξείας
ἐλέπτυνα, καὶ ησύχα σπερνοτὴρ τὴν ἄλλης ἐνθημοέμενη τὸν κύμασιν
ἐδειξας, καὶ ζοφερῷ πεταύρῳ τοῖς λόγωι κατέκλεωσας. Σοὶ γὰρ μακά-
ρων νῆσοι προσμειδώσας ἐρωτικῶς δὲν διετήσατε καὶ συνεινεῖ σε καὶ
dιανωνίζετε αὐταῖς ἀτέρ διζύος καὶ ἀτέρ χαλέπωτο πόνοιο προσηγορίνει.

Ἐκεῖ γὰρ τῇ ἄλυπιας καὶ χαρᾶς πεφυτευτοί φάρμακοι· ἐκεῖ τῇ
τῆς ἀνίας καὶ κατηφείας ἐκτίλλεται δάκρυνν· ἐκεῖ σὺν ταῖς συγνᾶς
σπλᾶθὼς τῶν συμφορῶν ἥδη γενόμενον καὶ λήθης βυθοὺς ταύτας ἐμ-


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Empousa, terrify the onlookers by her ugly appearance, but being subjected to the waves that wash over her and having no stability, she might threaten her inhabitants by day or night with unexpected earthquakes, a terrible and most grievous form of death.

But why have I chosen to waste my words on tiny Oixeia (great though her evil may be) when she can condemn herself and so rid us of trouble? Instead we shall sing of the island that brings you joy, O you who are worthy of the most splendid sights and pleasures! You are no more, Crete and Cyprus, Euboea, Lesbos, Sardinia, and bountiful Sicily, rich in possessions, the very firstfruits, so to speak, of the sea. (They are no more,) not because they are unable to lessen the sorrows that beset you, fill you with joy by their presents, and become a consolation to you, but because they are in danger of not belonging any more to Christians and of being set apart because of our sins, a prey to the enemy, until such time when “he who delivers the poor man from the hand of the stronger and that of the ruler” shall hearken to our lamentations and is swayed by the prayers of His servants. Had the Isles of the Blest (if such exist) received you, relieved you of grief, and made you somewhat happier, they would fittingly have received the name of Blest. Disregarding with good reason Homer’s praises, they would have nurtured a deep affection for you, they would have admired greatly your literary studies and, bringing along all their beautiful possessions with eager competition, would have laid them as friendly gifts before your feet, among which you would have seen many outstanding wonders. Wherefore you would have reduced Oixeia to a sharp point, given wings to that island that floats in vain on the waves, and enclosed her by your words in a gloomy trap. For the Isles of the Blest would have treated you with a loving smile and would have wished you to remain for all time in their company without woe and grievous toil. For it is there that the herb of painlessness and joy is planted; it is there that the tears of sorrow and dejection are wiped away. Would you were there already, having drowned in the depth of forget-
βάλαντα, ἱκεως ὡς ἡμᾶς ἔρρωμένων καὶ ταῖς ἐκ θεοῦ κατεστεμένων χάρισιν· ἀλλὰ κακῇ τῆς μικρᾶς 'Οξείας οὐτοὶ δεξιεύεις παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς ἄν τῆς φθασάσης αὐτήν ἀπολούσαμεν καὶ ἀποτελόνωμεν μέμψεως.

38. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐδόκει μοι τῷ προομῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς σής ὑμιλοῦντι τῷ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπανύμφρον Ἰρηγορῷ προσδιαλέγοντα, ἀλλούντι καὶ ἄνωμένωσι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς χαλάζῃς πληγῇ καὶ τῷ ἅπῃ ἦν αὐτῇ αἰτίαν ἑχεθή φιλοσοφοῦντι καὶ διερευνομένῳ τρανότατα. Ἄλλη ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς ποιῶν καὶ τίνα τὸν λόγον ὑπέφερεν, εἰδότι σοι, λέγειν οὐ βούλομαι· ὕπε δὲ σι σὺν ἑπεστειλάς, διακόνῳ τῆς θεολογίας γλώσσῃ εὑρισκομένος, βούλομαι σε καὶ μὴ βουλομένων μαθεῖν. Ἰγνάτιος οὖτος ἐστών ὁ μικρὸς εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ μέγας εἰς ἀμαρτίαν, οὐ καί τὸ ἐκεῖνον χρυστιανῶν χρυστιανοῦς || 133 || επεβάρησεν, ὡς ἵκειν μὲν πεθοκῶν, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τἀναντία παραιτῆσαι, οὕτω κυκλήσεσθαι. Καὶ ἐκεῖ οὐ πρὸς ὄντερ ἐγγόνως γεγράφησιν, ὡς πρὸς ἐκτρωμα καὶ τοῦ μηδένος εἶναι ἄξιον, δέχον τῆς βραδυτῆτος τὸ αἰτίων· εὐδείων μὴ δὴ ὅχλον σου γένομαι θαμανώτερον γράφων καὶ προσκορής καὶ προφητικός ὅνειδισθείην, ὡς εἰς πλησμονὴν σου γενεθείης, κατὰ τὴν παρομοίαν ἀπέραντα προσαναθλώ, ὡς φιλατρίχη
c

Ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν ὡς ὑπώφυρυν καὶ ἀπαρέσκον τῇ φιλολογίᾳ σου διαθέσῃ, μέρος πληροῦν ἀπολογίας, ἐνταῦθα μενάτω· ἐφ’ ἐτερον δὲ λοιπὸν βαδιώμεν τῆς ὑπερθερμίας αἰτίων, καὶ, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐπιεικῶς δικαίωσον, ὡς καὶ σε καταίδεσεν φιλοκτήριμμον κεκτημένου διάνοιαν. Παίς μοι τὶς ἐπὶ κλίνει καιροῦ προσπαλαθεὶς πᾶθε τηκεδώνος κατάκειται· ὡς ἰατροὶς ἐκτεθεὶς καὶ τῆς δευτέρας τημελείας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀξιούμενος, ἐν ἐλπίδαν ἦν τῆς κλίνης καὶ τῆς νόσου, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, περιέσθεια· Ἀλλ’ ἐπείδη φύσεως ἀντιπραττοῦσας κενεία πάντα, κατὰ τὸν Κώνον ἀκεστὴρ, ἀπειρικῶς ἴδῃ καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἀπωναρκήσας, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξόδων ἓνατον ἐκδέδωκεν, ὡσον οὐσὶν παρεσοφινίν, αὐνάπαισαι.


38: 5 ὡς Β || 6 βάλλομαι Β: corr. G || 8 χρυστιανῶ Β || 10 προσόπερ Β || 11 ἐκτρωμό Β || 12 ἑδεδοίην Β || 18 κατ’ αἰδευείς Β || 19 παθή Β

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fulness the many reefs of your misfortunes, and so come to me, healthy and crowned with the grace of God. But even if you come to me from tiny Oxeia, may you be received by me in such a manner that we may wipe and wash her clean of the foregoing blame.

38. To the same

As I was reading the preamble of your letter, I thought I was conversing with Gregory surnamed the Theologian, who was grieved and distressed by the disastrous hailstorm and was speculating and inquiring most keenly concerning its causes. Since you know to what sort of man he was proffering his speech, I need not say it; but whom it is that you have now addressed by the instrument of your godly tongue I wish you to learn, even if you are unwilling. It is Ignatios, small in piety and great in sin, whose very profession of Christianity is a burden to other Christians, inasmuch as he is incapable of assuming that name for having furiously strayed to the opposite side. And since you have written not to the man you knew, indeed to a monster who is not worthy of anything, here is the cause of my tardiness: I was afraid that I would become troublesome and tedious to you if I wrote too often and would be reproached in the words of the prophet for being a cause of surfeit and, as the proverb says, playing my flute endlessly, O my peace-loving friend.

But no more of this excuse, which may appear frigid and displeasing to your cultivated mind. So let us proceed to another cause of my unpunctuality, one which, I am convinced, is quite legitimate and will move you who have a compassionate disposition. A servant of mine is ill in bed, struggling with a consumptive disease. As he had been examined by physicians and received from them the proper treatment, he had reasonable hope of recovery from his sickbed. But since "all is in vain when nature works against you," according to the healer of Cos, he has already given up, has become indifferent concerning his recovery, and surrendered himself to the final rest, which is imminent. As he is now lying, a subject of dispute, claimed by the two
καὶ νῦν ἀμφισβητήσιμον κείμενον καὶ ὑπὸ δυοῖν τούτων, τοῦ τε θανάτου, φημῆ, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς, μεριζόμενον, ἀδηλοῦ ὅποι πεσεῖτα τα νυκτήρια· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατεπείγοντος, ὡς ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεκάδων, οὐκ ἐνδικὸς ἀφαρταγέντα, τῆς δὲ ἀνθελκουσίας καὶ ἀναβίων τούτων || 134 πειθοῦσι, ὡς ὑμὶν ἔμαρτο νῦν τώς ἐνερτέρους εἰς ὁμόλαν ἐλθέων, ἐλεύθερον δὲ πάντως ἦν καὶ τοῦ συνδέσμου λυθεὶς καὶ συν- δεθείν αὐθῖς, κατὰ τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον, ὄψηλτορον. Ταῦτα μὴ παραγάγῃς τὴν ὀικτυστὸν, ὡς ἐγὼ, καὶ δικαίως αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐλογον ἀπολογίαν εἰσκρίνας τῆς ἡμῶν βραδυτῆτος ἐκλάθως.

Ὁ δὲ χάρτης οὗ τοιοῦτοι τῇ σπάνει ὅσον τῇ πραξύτητι κακίζεται καὶ οὗ τοῦτο μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κατηφίλα γράμματος τούτου περιστεριζεῖ, τῇ τοῦ καλάμου δύστητι τῶν ὄβθαλμων δραπετεύοντα, ὡς εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀμβλύνας καὶ ἐπιδιαφύλαται(α)ς τὸ γράμμα καὶ πρὸς ἡλίκιαν καὶ πά- χος ἐκερήφειας, Ἀγγέλως ἐμφυτευόμενοι μοι κόρας ἐπεσέλθατε, ὡς ἀν τὰ πόρρω καὶ μὴ βλεπόμενα πρὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὄψεως κείσθαι, μηδένως ἐπι- προσβοῦντος σκόλων ἡ προσκόμματος.

39. Κονσταντινῷ βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίῳ καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου

Ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτῶς ἀναίνει τὰ προσταχθέντα μοι παρὰ τῆς σῆς βιωφελοῦς ἐντολῆς, ὡς εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ ταχυτήτος ὁδού- μενος, ἀπεπλήρωσα· σὺ δὴ σὺ τῇ τιμίᾳ σου κεφαλῇ κατένευθας ὑπο- σχόμενος, ὥσα καθ’ Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ, παλινάγρετα γέγονεν. Μὴ σὺ γε τοιοῦτο, ὡς πανεύθυμος, πρὸς τοὺς σε στέργωντας γένους, μὴ παρά- βλεπτος οσῶς ἀν εὐεργετεῖν ἢ χείρ σου διέλθηται. Διατί μὴ τὴν τοῦ βίου μου στέννωσιν κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ πανυπέροχου λογοθέτου παρ- ἐστησάς, ἐπὶ, τοῦ συνέχοντα με κόρον τῆς ἐνδείας ἐπιδῶν, ὡς τυν
rivals, Death and Life, it is uncertain to whom the prize of victory will go; for Death is drawing him to herself, as one of her own dead who had been unjustly snatched away, while Life is pulling him in the opposite direction and persuading him to revive because it has not been destined that he should now join those beneath the earth, but would certainly arrive there when he is released from the fastenings of the body and is put together again, as is to be hoped, in a higher sphere. Do not disregard this most pitiful and, I think, just cause, but admit it as a reasonable apology and forget my tardiness.

The trouble with your papyrus concerns not so much its scarcity as its roughness. In addition, it suffers from the niggardliness of your handwriting which, because of your pointed pen, eludes my eye. Unless you blunt your pen and are more generous with your lettering by increasing its height and thickness, pray that the eyes of Lyceus be implanted in me that I may discern what is distant and invisible without obstacle or hindrance.

39. To Constantine, imperial spatharios and protonotarios of the Course

For my part, as you yourself do not deny, I have accomplished what was enjoined on me by your life-enhancing command, prompted as I was by gratitude and haste, but the promises you gave me with a nod of your venerable head have been, to quote Homer, revoked. You should not, O most illustrious man, treat in this fashion those who love you nor disdain those to whom you can extend a helping hand. Why have you not brought to the attention of the eminent logothete my straitened circumstances so that, on seeing the excess of poverty that besets me, he would have taken
καμὲ τὸν βίον ἀσώτως ἀπεμπολήσαντα, ‖ 135 ‖ κατωκτείρισεν, καὶ ὡς ἔνα τῶν ἔσχατων μοισίων αὐτοῦ διεδρεψεν. Οὐ γὰρ λαυθάνει, κατὰ τὴν θύραθε παροιμίαν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεὼς μεμελημένος ἀνήρ, ὡς δὴ ἀγαθοεργίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς δεομένους, τῶν θεῶν ἐπευφραινοῦ. Ὁδὲν ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν τῆς ἐφημέρου ζωῆς αἰτεῖν κατετείγομαι· οὐ χρημάτων πλῆθος, οὐ κτημάτων ὄγκοι, οὐκ ἀξίας ὑπεροχῆς· ἄρτον μόνον ἐπιζητώ τὸ τῆς ταλαιπείας γαστρός ἀπαραίτητον φάρμακον. Μὴ οὖν παροβεῖ τὸν ἀπτικοστιὲν ἐπαίτην ἐμὲ, μῆπος παρορῶν ὑπ’ ἐνδείας καὶ πείνης βαλλόμενου σολοκιζοῦντα με τῷ ἄδη προσεμείεσθα· σοὶ δὲ Κύριος ὁ τῶν ἀναφαρέτων θησαυρῶν παροχεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐδρευσάμων ἐκατοντάκις παρέχει τὴν ἀμοιβὴν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει εὐπορίας ἀφορμὴ πολλαπλάσιος.

40. Νικηφόρῳ χαρτοφύλακα

Λύω τὴν πρὸς σὲ σωπήν ἐπειδὴ σε πρὸς τὰ καλῶς συνυμμολογηθέντα, εἰτ’ ἀθετηθέντα, παλιωθίδιαν ἁπάντα ἑγγυῶ. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, ἐπέδησα τὴν γλώσσαν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλυσα, ὡστε (εἰ) εἰς τὸ ἐν ὑ σε φρονήματι κατέλυσον ἐμείς, οὐδ’ εἰ φοίνικος, τὸ τοῦ μύθου, χρόνον ἐπέξησα, προσεῖπον ἄν σε, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ πολλοῦς σε καὶ στέργων καὶ φιλῶν, ὡς οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἀναίνει· ἀλλ’ ἐν ἐκ τοῦτον σαφῶς ἴδης ως ἀπρίξ, σὺν θεῷ, τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος ἐξομαί καὶ τοῦτον μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν τόπων προαγμάτων ἀντέχομαι. Εἰ γὰρ δ’ ἀμφοῖν τὸ ἀπρόσκοπον ἑαυτῷ περιποιεῖ εἰλόμην, τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν λαβᾶς ‖ 136 ‖ ἔχοντων καταγωγον; Ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν ἐχόντων ὡς ἔχουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ προαγω ἡς ὑμῶν ἀνθρώποις ἡμῖν· τὰς γὰρ ἐαυτῶν πάντων συνεστεί-


9 κατωκτείρησεν V ‖ 14 τὸ ex τῷ corr. scriba ‖ 17 σολοκιζοῦντα V ‖ σοὶ: σὲ V ‖ 18 ἐκατοντάκι V


40: 2 εἰτ i.e. εἶταν V ‖ 4 post τοῦ rasura ca. 3 litt. ‖ 6 οὐδὲν V ‖ 7–8 τῶν τόπων V ‖ 9 τῶν G: τ V ‖ 11 συνείραντο V ‖ 12 εἴδει V

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pity on me who have bartered away my life in a prodigal manner and fed me as one of the last of his hired servants? For he does not remain unnoticed, according to the secular proverb, the man whom God cares for, so that he may, by his good deeds to the needy, give pleasure to God. I am not hastening to ask for anything beyond the necessities of everyday life: not a quantity of money, nor a mass of property, nor a high position. It is only bread that I beg for, the indispensable remedy for my miserable belly. Do not, therefore, disregard the Atticist beggar that I am, lest, by overlooking me when I am beset by poverty and hunger, you send me to Hades along with my solecisms. The Lord, who provides inalienable treasures, will grant you a hundredfold reward for your good deeds to me. That will be for you an abundant source of wealth.

40. To Nikephoros the chartophylax

I am ending my silence toward you, since I have learned that you had recited a recantation with regard to those matters that you did rightly accept and then denied. If that were not so, I would have tied my tongue rather than loosed it, so that, if you had remained in the same frame of mind in which I left you, I would not have greeted you even if I lived as long as the mythical phoenix—and this despite my affection and love for you, above that of many others, as you yourself do not deny—that you may see clearly how tenaciously, with the help of God, I hold onto Orthodoxy and cling to it rather than to matters of opportunity (?). For if I had chosen to win for myself by both means a position free of offense, who would have condemned me among those who seek a handle against me? Let them, however, remain as they are with regard to me; for you have certainly known what kind of cooperation and help they gave me both in the initial stage of my confession and after my confession.
λαν κεφαλάς καὶ τὰ ὄτα ἐμυσαν καὶ τῷ λόγῳ χαλινῶν ἐπέθηκαν καὶ ἄλλοστε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπένευσαν, ὡς ἐκτρωμά τι καὶ παραπλήγα θεώμενον. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐσίγγησα καὶ στεγήσω καὶ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ κατ’ ἐμαυ- τὸν μελετήσω, τὴν ἐλπίδα θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν πάντα δυνάμενον.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς συμβάσεως ὑμῶν ἐπηρείας ὡς διετέθημεν καὶ συνηλησ- σάμεν, καὶ τῆς ἄνιας ὑμῶν συμμετέσχομεν, ὁ τῶν κρυφῶν γνώστης ἐπι- μαρτυρίσεις Κύριος· ἀλλ’ εἰ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ σὺν ὀρθοτομίᾳ τοῦ λόγου τούτου δεξαίμεθα, ἀρκεῖσαι ὑμῖν εἰς ἐπανετίχολος Παύλου ὁ μέγας· μόνον ἡ ἐπὶ ὑμῶν ἐλπίς μὴ σβεβήσῃ· δύναται γὰρ πολλαπλασίων τῶν ἀφανεθέντων χαρίσσεται. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀναστασίου διὰ τὴν ἐνστάσει καὶ ἤσθημεν καὶ πνευματικῆς θυμηδίας ἐπιλήσθημεν- να, τοῖς πρὸς Κύριον ἑραίς ἐνεύξεσαι καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμένων μὴ διαμάρτουμεν. ὁ δὲ ἢππος ἀκοστήσας τέως διὰ τὸ κρυφθέντα ἐμμαύσις ἤ ποιησάμενος ἤ τὸν δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξεας, κατὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐστὶν κρο- αίνων, (εἰτὰ) καὶ τοῖς λογοῖς συγκλοάσας, οὕτω τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέ- ψαντος, τὴν πολυσταρκίαν ἀφέμενος, κούφος καὶ εὐσταλής ὑμῶν ὀφθη- σσαν· ἡ γὰρ σπάνις τῶν ἐπιτηθείων καὶ τῶν μῆπως γενομένων ἐφήματο. Ἐξεχον δὲ, πάτερ, ὕπερ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπομένων || 137 || ὑπόμενων εἰδώς οἷα τῆς ὑπομονῆς τὰ γέρα.

41. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Σῦ μὲν οἶει διὰ συγχ有更多的内容”。
Indeed, they all bowed their heads, closed their ears, put a bridle on their speech, and averted their eyes as if they were beholding some sinister monstrosity. For these reasons I have been silent and shall remain silent, minding my own affairs and entrusting my hopes to the Almighty.

Concerning the trouble that befell you, the Lord, who knows all secrets, will testify as to my disposition, my sympathy, and my share in your distress. But if we are to receive this with joy and "rightly teaching the word," the great Paul will be sufficient to commend us. Only let our faith in God not be extinguished, for He can grant us many times what has been taken away. I was pleased and filled with spiritual joy at the constancy for God's sake of our common brother Anastasios. May we, too, by his holy prayers to the Lord, not be deprived of our hopes.

The well-fed horse, driven to frenzy by overeating, broke its halter and stood stamping in the plain; then, having grazed on the grass of discourse, as circumstances allowed, it lost its fat and will appear to you light and trim. For the shortage of necessities has affected even those who have not yet been born (?).

Pray for me, Father, and stand firm patiently, knowing how great are the rewards of endurance.

41. To the same

You suppose that you are confusing me by your silence for being like the tortuous practitioners of the "Conversation" of Heraclides. But I know that sometimes speech is preferable to silence and shall reply in this vein, namely, that if you do not speak to me amicably and sweeten with your discourse my embittered feelings, I shall stir up an unheralded war of words with you, in no way more bearable than that famous battle array of mouse-killing frogs. So, before raising weapons, do close the
σύμφραξαί καὶ τὴν λογικὴν ῥομφαίαν σου στίλβωσον καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν μελιχών ἀλλὰ μὴ ἱδονῶν βελῶν παραπληρωσον· τὴν τε περικεφαλαίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμφίκτηση στάθην καὶ τὸν ποδήρη ὑπερέι ἐπὶ ὁμοῖων πρακτῶν ἀνάλαβε· εἰ βαύτης δὲ συγίμνους καὶ συγάρεις ἐπιθῆξον, ὡς μέλλων πρὸς χαλκοκυμίδας Ἀχαίων ἀπομαχεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τῇ γλῶττῃς, ἐνθ' ἔρκος ὅθεντον, ἐγκλείσεις καὶ μὴ πρὸς παράταξιν εὐσήμεροι καὶ λογικῆ σάλπηγγες εὖ μάλα τὴν τοιὰς φάλαγγας παραμορφίσεις, ἵσθι τορῶ τι καὶ ἐννάλιον ἥμᾶς ἰσοντας ἐπιδραμεῖσθαι σου, καὶ τὸ ἐξής διὰ τὸ δύσφημον σωτήροιμα. Εἰ τι δὲ σου γέγονε παρουσιάσαντι [καὶ] τῷ τῶν Ἀστικῶν διανώμως σηκῷ, φανέρωσον ἐν εἰ μὲν θυμήρες συνήσωμεν, εἰ δὲ πενθήρες πρὸς ὑπομονὴν ἑαυτοῦς προσαλειψώμεν. || 138 ||

42. Νικηφόρῳ διακόνῳ καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

Ἐγγίξει μου τὸ τέλος καὶ ὁ ἀμείδης καὶ ἀμείληχος, ὡς τεκμαίρομαι, θάνατος· τοὺς γὰρ περὶ ἐμὲ κείρων καὶ τῷ γείτον παραπέμπων ἔδει, δηλὸς ἐστιν ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκτομὴν οὐχ ἤκιστα προμαντεύεται· ὅν γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς θυρών εἶχεν τὸν τάφον καὶ εἶσον τῶν κατωτάτο ταμιείων συνώθει, καὶ εἰς κατάπασον ἐαυτῷ προεντρέπειζεν, ἐκλελούπως ἡμῆνίτα, ἐφ' ἐτερον οἰκέτην ἡμῶν ἐξεππάσατο· καὶ τούτων ἀπόφρακτων εὐρών, πρὸς ἥ κατὰ συστάδην αὐτῶν προσβάλη, πόρρωθεν ἀκροβολισάμενος πυρφόρῳ βέλει πρηνέα κατέβαλεν εἰς ἀνδρας ἀρτι τελοῦντα καὶ λούλους τῇ γνάθῳ πυκάζοντα, ἐν νεότητί τε καὶ θάρσει ἐπιεικὸς σεμνύνομεν, εἰδὸς τε, μέγεθος τε, φυὴν τε τῷ παρ' ὅμηρον Βελλεροφόντη μικροῦ παροσύμενον, εὐνοῦσάτων τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτῶν, πυστότατον, δραστικώτατον καὶ εἰ τῷ καλὸν τῶν ἀριστῶν χαρακτηρίζει θεράποντα κατ' οὐδενὸς ἐγγύωμαι λειπόμενον. Καὶ τί δὴ σου τὸν ἐν


14 τορῶν V || 15 σου V || παρουσιάσαντι καὶ τὸ V


42: 2 κηρῶν V || 6 ἀπόφρακτων V || 7 προσβάλλων V || ἀκροβολισάμενος V || 8 τελῶντα V || 11 μικροῦ V || πυστότατον V || 12 τῷ ἀριστῶν V || 13 λειπόμενον V

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ranks, polish your sword of reasoning, and fill your quiver with mild and not poisonous darts. Put on meekly your helmet, your two-edged sword and, on your shoulders, the full-length shield. If you wish, sharpen yet more your spears and blades as if about to engage to the death the bronze-greaved Achaeans. But if you shut your tongue behind the barricade of your teeth and do not urge on right well its phalanx to the front line with a clear-voiced trumpet, know that I shall assault you with a piercing and warlike chant. As for the rest, ill-omen requires my silence.

If anything has happened to you when you presented yourself at the far-famed church of the Apostles, do reveal it, so that, if it was pleasant, we may rejoice together, but if unpleasant, we may prepare ourselves for patience.

42. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

My end is drawing close and, as I conjecture, unsmiling and implacable Death. For, as he is cutting down and consigning those round me to nearby Hades, he is clearly foretelling my own demise. He had me already at tomb’s door, was thrusting me within the nether chambers and preparing to swallow me up, when he left me half-dead and rode against another, a servant of mine. Finding him uncorseted, without waiting to attack him at close quarters, he shot at him from afar a fiery dart and threw him to the ground—one who had barely reached manhood, whose chin was covered with down, who was fittingly adorned with youth and courage, all but comparable in aspect, size, and stature to Homer’s Bellerophon, excellently disposed toward his master, most faithful and energetic and, I believe, lacking none of the qualities that mark the best servant. But why am I praising to you with my words one who
ἀμφοτέρως καί ἡμεῖς ἔχουμεν καὶ φθορά συνελεύσαμεν στολίζω τοῖς ῥήμασιν;

'Εκεί τότε ὁ θάνατος, καὶ μικρῷ μετ' ἐκείνου ἐμέ· ἀλλ' εὔχομαι μή ῥώσασθαι με περιδράζωτο, μήδ' ὡς γέροντας αἰματίας νεάζουτε προσβαλον ἰστήθησε καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ παραδῷ τὴν κακίαν κολάζουσιν καὶ τὸ ἀκάματον ἐκεῖνο πῦρ ὑποφλέγουσιν καὶ τὸν ἀκοίμητον ἐρεθίζουσιν πρὸς δαπάνην ἀδάπανον σκόλημα, καὶ τὸ ἐξωτερον σκότος μελαίνουσι καὶ τὴν ἄιλου ἐκκαίνιουσι γέγοναν, καὶ τὸν ἀληθτὸν κλαυθμὸν ἐπιτείνουσιν, καὶ τὸν βρυγμὸν τῶν ὀδώντων φρικτὸς ἐπιθραύσωσι, καὶ τὸν κρενόν ὑποψώχουσι τάρταρον. Ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ θεοῦ μοι σταθμὰ παρὰ τῆς ἀδεκάστου δίκης, ὡς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ψυχήν ἀδικήσαντα.

|| 139 | δαμιλοίς τεταμένται. Τούτους ἡγώ, κατάχρεως τῶν, ἐννηχόμενος, τότε ἀπέραντα μετακλαύσομαι: οἷον γὰρ ποιημένων ἔργων ἐαυτῶν κατεσκέυασα, καὶ ὅλην ἀνείκαστον ἀμαρτίαν ἢθησάμενα, καὶ διὰ τούτο μερίς μοι ταύτα καὶ κλήρος καὶ σχολισμά. Διὸ ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐπικυρίωσεν, καὶ ἱλέον τῶν ἐλέους θελήτην μοι κατάρτισα, ἢ' ὁ ἀκτίνοις χρηστοῖς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιμαράνουμι, τὸν σκόλημα κουμῆσαι, τὸν σκοτον σελαγίσαι, τὸν κλαυθμὸν κατασχύσαι, τὸν βρυγμὸν ἐπιπραθώς, τὸν τάρταρον ἐπιχλώαναι διὰ γὰρ πασῶν με τούτων τῶν βασάνων ἀπόκειται (διελθέω) ὅτι τῷ δύση πειξομένῳ κοῦτην οὐκ ἐπεμέρισα ὑδατος· ὅτι τὸν σκολκικόντα καὶ φθωνάδι κεντούμενον ἐβδολευζόμην ὡς μίσσα· ὅτι τυφλοῖς οὐκ ἔγενομην θῆμα: χεῖρα προσκόπτομεν οὐκ ἐπώρεξα· ὅτι τοῖς διὰ θεόν θηρνοῦσιν ἦ βλίου δυσχέρειαν οὐ συνεκλανσα· ὅτι γυμνοῖς τῷ κρύει πιγγυμένους οὐκ ἔφαλψα. Καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τοῦτο δεινά,—δίκαια γὰρ καίπερ οὖν δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν—αὖτε ὅτι σὺν τῷ Σατάν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπασπισταῖς βουκέντροις πυρὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς δύσχρηστος ἐλαθήσομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐκδημῆσαι καὶ συνέσομαι τούτως ἀδιάδοχως καυσούμενος. Τὸς οὖν ἐξελείται με· Τίς μοι λύτρον παρέξει τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῶν ἀφύκτων ἐκείνων κολάσων: Ἀβάλα μῆ μήτρας μετρικῆς προεξέκυψα, μηδ' αὐγαίς ἡλικαισὶ συνεκύρησα. Αὐθε νή ἄφορον πόθων ἡμῶν ἐπερείσατε ἐβάσδας. Ὁμφελον μὴ γλώσσαν πρὸς φθόγγον ἐκκύψα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τηθοῦς νέκυς εὐθὺς ἐχρηματίσαται καὶ φθορὰ συνεξγήν (καὶ) εἰς ἀφάνειαν ἡλικαὶ καὶ γῆ με διαστά

|| 140 | σα συνεκάλεσεν καὶ κύμα χανὸν διαλάττης ἐπέκλεισεν, πρὸς ἡ τοῖς


17 προσβαλόν ὑπὸ 20 δάλως ἡμεῖς τῷ κατάχρεως ἐννηχόμενος τοῖς συνεξθέτον ὑπὸ προεξέκυψεν μή τῃς αὐγάις ἡλικαισὶ συνεκύρησα. Ἀνθεὺς μή τῶν πόθων ἡμῶν ἔπερείσατε ἐβάσδας. Ὁ μή τοῦτος ἀφάνειαν τῇ θανάτῳ καὶ γῆ με διαστάται αὐτοῦ ἡλικαὶ καὶ εἰς ἀφάνειαν ἡλικαὶ καὶ γῆ με διαστάτα

|| 140 | σα συνεκάλεσεν καὶ κύμα χανὸν διαλάττης ἐπέκλεισεν, πρὸς ἡ τοῖς

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lies unsightly, enfolded by corruption? Death possesses him and soon will possess me in turn. Pray that he should not grasp me as he hopes to do nor, after attacking me, an old man yet youthful in sin, overcome me and deliver me to those who punish evil over there, who kindle that ceaseless fire, who provoke the sleepless worm to a consumption that does not consume, who blacken the outer darkness, who light up the immaterial Gehenna, who intensify the endless weeping, who shatter terribly the gnashing of teeth and congeal the icy Tartarus. For those are God's just rewards that have been abundantly reserved for me by the righteous tribunal for having done injustice to my own soul. Immersed in such punishment, deep in debt as I am, will I then lament without end. For I have made myself a house of evil deeds, I have stored up an immense quantity of sin, wherefore those things are my share, my portion and my allotment. Help me, then, by your prayers and move Him who wills mercy to take pity on me that I may quench the fire with kind mercies; help me to put the worm to sleep, to illuminate the darkness, to appease the weeping, to soothe the gnashing, to warm Tartarus. Indeed, it is my lot to undergo all those torments since I have not given a cup of water to him who was oppressed by thirst; since I abominated as something unclean him who was eaten by worms or was afflicted by consumption; since I did not make myself an eye for the blind, did not proffer my hand to those that stumbled, did not commiserate with those who weep either for the sake of God or because of life's difficulties, did not comfort the naked who are frozen by the cold. Yet it is not these things that are terrible (for, though terrible beyond measure, they are just), but rather that I shall be driven off with fiery goads along with Satan and his followers like the useless man I am; that I shall dwell in the fire and remain with them to be burned without pause. Who will rescue me? Who will give me deliverance from the pain and those inescapable torments? Oh, that I had not come out of my mother's womb, had I not encountered the light of the sun! Would that I had not as much as walked on the earth, pressing my feet on the ground! Would that I had not moved my tongue to utter sounds, but had remained dead from birth and been yoked to corruption and been destroyed! Would that the earth had opened up to shut me in, and a gaping wave of the sea had washed over me before I had bound myself inextric-
τῆς ἀμαρτίας λίνοις ἑαυτὸν ἀλότως συμποδίσαι καὶ τοῖς ψυχὰς ἀγρεῦσαι εὐάλωτον θύραμα καὶ θοινὴ δαιμονικὴ εἰλαπτίνης χαρίσασθαι. Τοιοῦτος ἔγω καὶ οὗτος ἑμαυτὸν ἐπαρώμαι καὶ σχετιλαίζων ὀδύρομαι.

Διὰ τοῦτο σὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄσοι κατὰ σὲ συγκαλὼ προστήμαι καὶ προσπίσαι καὶ ὑπεραπτίσαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀχρεϊότητος, ὡς ἔν μοι τὴν λεπομένην ὄραν, οὐ γὰρ ἤμεραν θαρρήσω λέγειν, ἐν μεταμέλει τελέσαιμα καὶ τῶν ἀπηρθημένων βασάνων τὴν πείραν ἐκφύγομαι πρεσβείας τῆς ἀγνῆς καὶ ὑπεραμώμων Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέραις πρὸς τὸ θείον ἐντεύξεσιν.

43. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου τελείαν ἀγάπην, ὡς ὁ ἱερώτατος, ἱλήκων, ἀρχιερεὺς, μηθεμίαν ἰδνύουσαν πρὸς θυμηδίαν κεκακωμένης ψυχῆς εἰδῶς κεραυνίνων ἀντίδοτων, στυφοῦσας ἡμῖν πικρίδας πρὸς εὐγχαίραν παρέθετο, ὡς ἐποφομένοις ἦν καὶ ὄν γενομένονς ἐμί, καὶ οὐχ ἑκῶν, ποθενότατοι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄκος τῆς ἐν ἑμοὶ πικρίας διὰ πικρίδων εὐρομι, τὸν Ἰπποκράτειν ὁικὸ αληθευῶν ἐξποιμ, ὡς δὲ ἐναντίων τῶν τεραπείας τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπέφαυε γίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τῆς κλήσεως ἡ ποιῶθες ἀκίνητος μεῖνοι καὶ μηθεμίαν ἡμῖν τέκοι γλυκύττητα, ἔστω τὰ Πικρίδου πικρὰ τῷ Πικρίδῃ. Ὁμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἱατρεῖαν διὰ φυγῆς πρὸς θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἐξαιτήσατεμεν.

44. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν ἑχὼν τῇ μειλιχίῳ σου προσαγγίζειν ψυχῆς, καὶ γὰρ οὗτος μοι τὰ Πικρίδου ἐνθύνθη, πρασίων φυτοῦ δέσμην καὶ ταύτην βραχείαν

47—48 ἀγορεύουσιν .. θείη V /// 48 χαρίσσασαι V


43: 2 κεκακωμένης V /// 3 εἰδὼς G: εἰδους V /// 7 ὑπέφαυε V: fort. ἀπέφαυε legendum

44: 1 προσαγγίζεναι V
cably with the threads of sin and offered myself, an easy prey and a demonic banquet, to those that hunt after souls! Such a one am I and thus do I curse and berate myself in weeping. For this reason I call on you and your companions to champion, defend, and protect my worthless self, that I may spend the remaining hour (I dare not call it a day) in repentance and avoid experiencing the torments I have detailed; by the intercession of the pure and most spotless Theotokos and of all the saints and your prayers to the Godhead.

43. To the same

I wish you to know, my perfect friend, that the most holy archbishop (may he be gracious!), who is unable to mix any pleasant antidote for the enjoyment of a distressed soul, has served me a feast of bitter chicory which, though unwilling, I am about to look upon and even taste, dear friend. If I find in chicory a remedy for the bitterness that is within me, I would say that Hippocrates was wrong when he declared that contraries are treated by contraries. But if the name keeps its quality unchanged and brings me no sweetness, let ta Pikridou be bitter to Pikides. As for me, may I beg God to find a cure through flight.

44. To the same

Not having anything else to offer to your gentle spirit—for ta Pikridou has not yet become sweet to me—I resolved to send you a bunch of leeks, and a small one at
τεπομφέναι διέγνωκα· ἀλλά μὴ τὸ δριμὸ σου τοῦ δῶρου καθάψηται καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα κυνήσαν κυνήσῃ σε || 141 || καὶ πρὸς οὐκετέρους λόγους καὶ θυμοδακεῖς, δι' ἃν ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον δάκρυν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πένθος ἄφορον ἐκ καρδίας θερμῆς προσγενήσεται. Καὶ εἴχομεν μου· οὔτε γὰρ ἐνεδίδον γράφειν ἢ γλώττα πλείονα δεσμομομένη ἢ κεκανονισμένη σιγή.

45. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Εδείξας καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ γλώττης κρατεῖν· πείθει γὰρ με τὸ τῆς νηστείας οὐχ ἱκατα τοπάζειν οὕτω, πάτερ, σεβάσμαν· αὐτή γὰρ, οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῆς οἰκουρὸς ἐπιφανεῖς, τὴν πενθότθυρον ἔξωθον τῶν αἰσθησεων, δι' ἃν ἐστι πολλὰς πρὸς ἀμετρῶν ἐκτρέπεσθαι, κλείσασα, συνάγει καὶ παντοθεν ἤδη συστέλλουσα μίνειν ποιεῖ, καὶ κατὰ μέτρον ἐνεργεύν ὑποτιθεται, ὡς ἢ μὴ θάνατος διὰ τούτων παρακύψας ἐπεγελάσοι καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν αὐτόν τῶν ἱοδόκων βελών κενώσας, πληγήν ἀνανομένῃ τὴν διὰ μοτώσεως ἱασίν ἀπεργάσθηται. Νομοθετεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βλέπειν ὅρθα καὶ πρὸς εὐθύτητα φέρεσθαι, ὡς ἢ δεξιών ἐστότα Κύριον προορώμενον· ἀκοή μοχλοὺς στήξῃ ἢ κειών μεταλλευθέντας φωνῶν μεριθήσῃς, ὡς μὴ πρὸς κίβδηλον ἠχήν καὶ ἀσέμως ἀπαντοποίεμα τετήκειν προσφεβέγματα· ὀσφρήσην καθαίρετι τῆς θολερᾶς τῶν παθῶν καὶ λομόδους εἰσπνεύσεως, καὶ πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν ἐτοίμην ποιεὶ τοῦ συνθέτων τῶν ἀρετῶν θυμάματος· τῆς γλώττας δυνὸν νόμῳ σοφίζουσα φαίνεται· τῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς ἤδουν φεροῦντων στερίσκει ταύτην ὅρδεζαν, διάστυφον τέκνα καὶ λεπτοτομών τὸ τῆς ἐγκρατείας αὐτῆ τεκταίνει δασφλεστάτων ἤδουμα· λόγου τε μέτρα διδάσκει, καὶ συγνή ἐπασκεῖν ἐκπαιδεύει, καὶ θύραν ἴνα δεὶ φθεγγεσθαι κατὰ καρπὸν ὑπαινοίγυναι· ἄφιν ρυθμίζει μή τοῖς μαλακοῖς ἐφθάνυσθαι, μηδὲ ταῖς λειτυπίσει συ || 142 || νεκλυσθαι, τῷ τραχεὶ δὲ του κατὰ θεὸν βίου.
that. Let not this pungent gift affect you and, by moving you to tears, incite you to sharp and biting words which, coming from your ardent heart, will cause me not only tears, but also an untimely grief. Pray for me; for my tongue did not allow me to write at greater length, being restrained or regulated by silence.

45. To the same

You have proved yourself master of both your belly and your tongue; for the holy nature of the fast persuades me, O father, more than anything else to suppose this. She it is who, appearing like some housekeeper of the soul and having shut the five-door entrance of the senses (which often give rise to excess), brings us round, causes us to contract by enclosing us on all sides, and enjoins on us to act with moderation, so that Death should not make a mockery of us by peeping through the senses and, after emptying his quiver of poisonous darts, inflict on us a wound that refuses all cure by dressing. For she ordains to the eye to look straight and seek rectitude in the expectation of seeing the Lord standing on the right side; she places on hearing bolts of silence mined from divine instructions lest it be wasted on fraudulent sounds and words indecently shouted; she cleanses smell from the turbid and pestilential inhalation of the passions and prepares it to receive the incense composed of the virtues. She is seen to instruct the tongue by means of two ordinances: for she deprives it of pleasurable appetites while preparing for it in abundance the astringent and light relish of continence; she also teaches it the proper bounds of speech and the practice of silence, while occasionally opening the door when it is necessary to speak. She trains (the sense of) touch not to take pleasure in soft stuffs nor to be relaxed by smoothness, but to delight, as it is said, in the harshness of a life according to God
κατὰ τὸν εἴσοντα, συνήδεσθαι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ
tὰ περὶ τῆς ἱστῆς ψηλαφάν καὶ πρὸς θυσίαιν αἰνέσεως ὁσημέραι θεοῦ
συνεπαίρεσθαι. Τοιαύτα τὰ τῆς νηστείας ἄστεία κυήματα· τοιαύτα
tὰ τῆς ἑγκρατείας αὐχήματα· τοιούτως δεξιοῦται τοῖς θεραπεύοντοις,
ψυχὰς καρυκεύμασι· τούτως τὸ νηφάλιον πόμα κεραννυσιν. Ταύτην
συνεστίαν καὶ ὁμοδιατον ἐχὼν, καὶ τούτως τῶν ἐμολὼν τῶν αἰσθήσεως
στολίσας ὡς ἀρίστα, ὁραίοι κάλλει κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀνα-
stάσεως ὑπαντήσεις, τότε λύων τὸ τῆς συγῆς ἐπιτήμων καὶ λόγῳ
ἡμῶν ὀφελείας ἐπαμφιδέξοιν. Ἡ τὰ δὲ νῦν ἔχουν, αἰδοὶ τῆς νηστείας,
στιγμὴν μόνην τῆς ἀγίας ἡμῶν χειρὸς συνωτόσαν δεξαίμεθα, ἢτοι ἡμῶν
αὐτοί ποικίλης λόγων ἱδέας ἐπιεικῶς λογισθῆσεται.

46. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Φθινῶς μοι νόσος ἐνέσκηψε δριμεία κινημῶν ἦ τὸ χολῶδες τοῦ
πάθους πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπισύροντα. Ὅθεν τὰς
ἀλένας καὶ τὰ σκέλη κομδῆς καταστίγασα, οὐλ βέλεσιν δέσων, τὸ
dυστυρν τούτῳ σῶμα κατακατεῖ, καὶ ὁ πραιτὸν ἡ ἀμβλύνων οὐδεὶς·
ἀλοιφαῖς δὲ γραῦδων, μῆ μιν ὑπόστος ἀμυμοῦν ἵστηρος, ὑπείκεω
ἀναγκασῶς βεβιάσμεθα· ἐξ ὧν θεραπεία μικρὰ μὲν ἔρχεται, συνούλω-
σις δὲ μακρὰν ἐπιφαίνεται· ἡς ἵνα τύχοιμεν, καὶ ἀνέσεως ὅλοςχεροῦς
ἀπολαύσαιμεν, τὴν σὴν περὶ ταύτην θεραπευτικὴν ἐκκαλούμεθα μᾶτω-
σει· ἵστηρι γὰρ ὡς πολλοῖς ἀλγυσσομένους καὶ ἀνίατα πάσχονταν τοῖς
παρ᾽ ἐαυτῆς ἰατροῖς φαρμάκοις ἐπαλείφασα καὶ δεσμήσασα, ἐν
ἀκαρεί τὸ κεχρυσὸ τοῦ μῶλωπο πρὸς ἑνέκερα 143 ἱεραν κατεπύκνωσε,
καὶ τὴν ὑσών εὐπετῶς ἀνεκτήσατο· σὺν τούτων οὖν καὶ ἡμᾶς γαληνίοις

22 θυσίαν αἰνέσεως: cf. Lev. 7.12 sqq.; Ps. 49 (50).14, 23 et al. || 27 ὀράοις κάλλες: cf. Ps. 44 (45).3

21–22 fort. ἦ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἱστῆς legendum || 22 ψηλαφάν V || ὁσημέραι V || 25 καρυκεύοντων V || νηφάλιον . . . κεραννυσι V || 26 τῶν ἐμολῶν iteravit scriba || 28 ταῖς συγῆς V || 29 ὀφελείας V || ἐπαμφιδέξοιν V: vide comment. || 31 λόγων V


46: 2–3 τὰ ἄλενα V || 5 γραῦδων V || ἵστηρον V || 8 μῶλωπον V || 11 ακαρή V || συνεπάρτειαν
V || 12 εὐπέτ. (αὐ) V

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and apply itself to it, to feel round those things that concern the true life and so be elevated day by day to offer to God a sacrifice of praise. Such are the handsome products of fasting; such are the boasts of continence; such are the soul-benefiting savories she serves, with such ingredients does she mix her sobering potion. Having her as your lodger and companion and most excellently adorning with those qualities the concourse of your senses, may you meet me in all your beauty on the great day of the Resurrection, breaking on that occasion the penance of silence and addressing to me your beneficial words. Now, however, out of deference to the fast, may I receive but a silent jot from your holy hand, which I shall fairly esteem as much as a variegated discourse.

46. To the same

A fierce consumption has fallen on me, drawing irritation or the biliousness of the disease to the surface of the flesh. Whence, having completely covered my arms and legs with spots, it pierces this wretched body with sharp darts, and there is no one to soothe or mitigate it. In the absence of a "noble physician," I have been obliged by necessity to submit to old women's unguents which cause some small comfort, while cicatrization appears far off. With a view to obtaining the latter and enjoying complete relief, I am calling for your therapeutic treatment. For I know that, in the case of many persons who were in pain and suffering incurable ills, you have smeared them with your medicinal drugs and bound them so as to close swiftly gaping wounds and readily restore health. Bind me, therefore, along with your other
καὶ προσπέφι Καταδέσμος επίδησον, καὶ στήσον ἡμῖν τὴν καταγίδα τοῦ ἄλγους ὡς ἂν μὴ, τῆς ἄρα παραγελώσης καὶ πάντας πνευματικῶς καὶ σωματικῶς ἐνεαρίζων προφετεύσης, χειμῶν τῶν δυσχερῶν ἥμεις προσπάλαισμεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Βυζαντίου κόλπου, Γαδείρων δίκην, παροικεὶν κατεκρίθησαν (τὸ γὰρ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ λάκκου ἀπέρατον), ἵκθις ἐγρείσθαι πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ συμβαίνει, ἐξ ὡς μικρά τις ἀπόμοιρα καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν διελήκανεν, ἦς, ἴνα τὴν θῆραν ἡμῶν ἐπενιούθεσαν, ἀπόγευσαν, καὶ ὣς τῶν Ἰακώβ Ἰσαάκ, μὴ περιέγραψα ἀλλὰ προθύμως προσαγαγότας ἡμᾶς πρωτότοκοι εὐχαίρεσ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνάληψιν ἀπαναγαγεῖν δυσακοπήθη. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐθίς ἄσπορα γλυκαζόντων λαχάνων ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ πράσων κεχωρίκαμεν στύφουσαν, πάτερ, ἐπίδοσιν ἡ μὴ τῇ ἐκείνων ποιήσας, τῇ δὲ ἑμετέρᾳ προσέχων προθέσει, μεθ' ἡδονῆς πραύνοισης ἐπίβλεψιν.

47. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπιζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ διερευνῶμενος δι' ἢν ἡ τοσαυτὴ σιγή παρὰ σοὶ χώραν εὑρετο, ἔγνων αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ταύτης εἰναι τὸν αὐτον καὶ γεννήτορα, ὡς γὰρ ὡδύνης δεξιαὶ τῶν ἀναδεδέντων μοι χαλεπῶν μυλότων νυσσόμενος ἡρευζάμην ἐξ ἐλαφρίας πρὸς σε, τὴν ἡπίαν ἐμοὶ ψυχήν, λόγος τραχεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς ταύτης, ὡς ἐκ, τὴν θείαν ἐπιφροσύνην ἐτράχυνα. Δέδοκα δὲ καὶ μή τις ἄλλη || 144 || Θεότιδος ὑμὸς ὡς τῶν Ἀχίλλεα βουλη σαρπέπεισε πρόπαλαι, ὦ δὲ πως ὑποτιθεμένη τῷ παιδί καὶ ἐπὶ λέγεως ἐχουσα, μήν Ἀχαίοις, πολέμου δ' ἀποπαύει πάμπαν. Ἀλλὰ μή τούτῳ γε τοῖς ευθέως ἤσιν σου τὸ βούλημα τίς καὶ ὁπω-


17 δὲ scripsi: σὲ Ἑ || 18 λάκου Ι || 21 προσαγαγότας Ι || 22 πρωτότοκος Ι


47: 5 ταύτην in ταύτης corr. scriba || 9 σου Ι

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patients with your gentle and soothing bandages and halt for me this storm of pain lest I have to struggle with a winter of troubles while the season smiles gently, inviting everyone to bloom, springlike, in spirit and in body.

Seeing that I have been condemned to dwell at the far end of the bay of Byzantium as if at Cadiz (for what lies beyond the pond is inaccessible), it often happens that fish are caught in it, of which a small share has reached me. Do taste it that you may "bless" my "game" and, as Isaac did to Jacob, be so good as to restore me by your "first-born" prayers to the acquisition of virtue since my offering was made willingly and not deceitfully. Once again, in the absence of sweeter vegetables, I have resorted, father, to making you a gift of pungent leeks. Regard it with a soothing pleasure, mindful not of their quality, but of my intention.

47. To the same

In seeking and investigating the reason why so profound a silence has fallen on you, I perceived that I myself was responsible for causing it. For, being pierced by the sharp pain of the bruises that have erupted on me, I have, out of frivolity, blurted out to you, my gentle friend, some harsh words without, I believe, in any way irritating your divine wisdom. I fear, however, lest some other design has beguiled you as Thetis did once to Achilles, when she enjoined on her son in these very words to "be wroth against the Achaeans, and desist altogether from war." Let no one breathe such
10 ποιν ἐπηλήμενε. Ἡκεῖνον γὰρ αὐτῶν σε γνώσκομεν, οἷον ἦσε μεν πλήρης ἁλυκήτητος καὶ πρῴ τῆς τοῦ γράμματος, ὡς μὴ ὦφελε κεχαράχθαι, θριμμήτητος.

48. Ἡφ αὐτῷ

Ἐστῶσιν δὲν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, καὶ κεχρυσῶσιν ὅμοιας τὴν σὴν ἀκατωθῆναι φωνὴν καὶ τῆς χειρὸς σου προσιδεῖν γράμμα φροντίς ἡμῶν οἷς ἑν τυχόσα προσῆν· ὅν μὴ τυχόντες, ἐνεάσαμεν καὶ ἐμόσαμεν καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ σοι ἐπετρέψαμεν· ἀλλ' εἰ φθέγξαι καὶ γράψαις, ἀκούσας καὶ βλέψαις καὶ τὴν γλώτταν εἰς τὸ λέγειν ὀπλίσαμεν· καὶ εἶχος μοι, λογιστάτε πάτερ.

49. Ἡγνατίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Νικομηδείας

Πολυπλοκάς σειράς τῶν έαυτοῦ ἀμαρτῶν, κατὰ τῶν Παροιμιαστὴν, δὲ ιερότατος πάτερ, σφεγγόμενος, τοὺς ἄξονας τοῦ ἱδίου γεωργίου τῆς σωτηρίας πεπλάνημα καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τροχίδας βαδίζεις οὖν βεβηδένῃμαι· ἐντὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγίλης καὶ νομῆς ως πορροτάτω κατέφθει καὶ τοῦ ζωσοῦ τῆς τρυφῆς χειμάρρου ἀνάξων πεπωκέναι διήμαρτον, καὶ δέδωκε πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερατεῖς λαμπρὸν ἀποστιλθόντας υἱόν προσοβλέψεσθαι τι καὶ προσομιλεῖν διὰ γράμματος. Οὐκοῦν ἄπιδών εἰς τὴν θεομίμητον υἱὸν πατροσυνήν καὶ περίβλεπτόν συγκατάβασιν, ἀφορμῆς τινος προσπεσοῦσης, δυσσωπεῖς προκήρυκαί καὶ μὴ με τῆς προ-

11 ὄφελε V

48: 1 ἔστωσιν ἦσιν: Diogen. VIII.74; Diogen. Vind. III.97; Mantiss. Prov. III.51

48: 3 εὑρίσκαμεν V: ἐνεάσαμεν Ethymiadis || 5 ἡστολέγεις V


49: 2 ἄξονας V || 4 πορροτάτω V || 5 πεπωκέναι V || 10 ὅς το V || μηδεὶς V

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an intention at all into your obedient ears! For I know you to be full of sweetness as you were before that rash letter had been needlessly penned.

48. To the same

With ears pricked up, as the saying goes, and eyes wide open, I was uncommonly anxious to hear your voice and behold a letter from your hand. Having been disappointed in this, I have become dumb, closed my eyes, and imposed silence on my tongue. If you but speak and write, I shall hear and see and arm my tongue for speech. Pray for me, most learned father.

49. To Ignatios, metropolitan of Nicomedia

Being bound, most holy Father, by the tangled cords of my sins, as the author of Proverbs says, I have strayed from the paths of the husbandry of my salvation and am no longer able to walk to straight wheel tracks. Wherefore, I have been removed far away from the sacred flock and pasturage and have failed in obtaining the life-giving stream of joy, unworthy as I was to drink of it; and I fear to address anything and speak by letter to you who shine brilliantly in your high priesthood. In view, however, of your godlike fatherhood and admirable condescension, I have been led to entreat you on a matter that has chanced to arise. Do not condemn me for my rashness in that I, who am not even ranked among the sheep, have been incited to write to you, a great shepherd.
εγὼ τεταγμένος γράφειν παρώρμημα. Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶν περιπέτεια. Ὁ τὸ γράμμα κομίζων μοναχὸς, εἰς ὅν τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτη προλαμπόντων, μικρὰς τινος, ὡς ἐξείπεν, τῶν παρ’ ὑμῶν αἰσίως ἱθυνομένων, ἐπισκοπῆς ὑπερόμενος κατεπείγεται, ὅν καὶ κατὰ πρό-
σωπον τῆς ἀλαθῆτον ὑμῶν καὶ διοριστικῆς δίκαιον ἕκρυτα παραστήσεται, σὺν τῷ γράμματι, τελειότητος, ἵν’ εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς διώκεται ὡς καλὸν ἔργον, κατὰ τὸν μέγαν Παύλου, ἐπιθυμοῦμεν, μὴ διαμάρτουσι τῆς αὐ-
τῆς ἐπὶ τούτο ψυχοῦσα ἐφέσως. ἐξ’ αὐτὸς ταύτην διώκεν, μηδὲν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀξίας ἐπιφερόμενοι λείψανον, παραχώρομεν τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ σου καὶ 
διακριτικῆ καὶ τούτῳ πατρότητα. Οὐ γὰρ λήφηει τινὶ καὶ διαρωδοκια, προῖκα δὲ καὶ ἀμαθῆ καμμῆθεις, εἰς ταύτην ἐαυτῶν καθήκα τὴν ἀὐτησίαν—
καὶ Κύριος ὁ θεός, ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς καὶ ἀποστολικαῖς χάρισιν τῆς ἱερᾶν ὑμῶν κατακοσμήσας πατρότητα, τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίας χαρίσε-
ται ὑπερεχομένη καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μετρίοτητος.

50. Θεοφανεὶ ἀσηκρῆτις

Ἰδοὺ σοι τὸ τῶν θύραθε παροιμίων πεπόμφαμεν βιβλιδάριον· οὐκ ἐκτὸς βίας, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκάζειν ἔχεις, φιλόμονε, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰς ἐτέρας παροιμίωδες ὑποθήκας ἐν αὐτῷ παραθείναι βουλής ἐγενόμεθα, ὡς ἄν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, σκεπάσομεν κυψέλην φρονήσεως, ἄλλα στοργῆς τῇ πρὸς σὲ καὶ μᾶλα κρατούμενοι τὴν βίαν θέλσιν πεποιη-
μέθα, καί ἵνα καθομηρίσω σοι τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀβουλίνιον προαιρέσεως, διὰκα εἰκόν ἀδέκουτο γε θυμῷ. 146. Σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀναβάλῃς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρωσαρίθμων τῶν πέντε πολλαπλασίας μὴ ὑπερβαθήναι τῶν ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον ἀριθμῶν, ὡς ὑπέσχοι, κατάνευσου. καὶ ἔρρωσο, καὶ 
τῇ λήθῃ τῆς παροράσεως ἡμᾶς (μη) ἐπὶ πλεῖον παράπεμψον.

16–17 ὡς καλὸν ἔργον – ἐπιθυμῶν: cf. 1 Tim. 3.1


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The circumstances of the matter are these. The monk who is delivering this letter, one of the most outstanding of this monastery, is driven, as he declares, by the desire for a little bishopric, among those that are auspiciously directed by you. I have thought it right to present him, with this letter, before your infallible and discerning Perfection, so that, if he be sought for this honor in "desiring," as the great Paul has it, "a good work," he should not fail in the wish that incites him to this purpose; but if he pursue the honor himself, exhibiting no trace of holy merit, I leave that to your exact and paternal discernment. For I have made this request not because I have been suborned by a bribe or a gift, but freely and without reward. May the Lord our God, who has adorned your Paternity with evangelical and apostolic graces, grant you to the catholic Church as you pray even for my mediocrity.

50. To Theophanes asekretis

Behold, I have sent you the little book of secular proverbs, not without constraint, as you yourself can imagine, O friend of the Muses, since it was my intention to include in it many other proverbial precepts so as to fit out, as the proverb says, "a box of wisdom." Being, however, seized by my love of you, I have made the constraint desire, and, if I may express homERICally my unintended zeal, "I have given willingly with unwilling mind." Do not, however, defer returning this, but, after multiplying 3 by 5, consent as you have undertaken, not to overstep the resultant number (of days). Farewell, and do not consign me further to the oblivion of oversight.
51. Νικηφόρω διακόνῳ

'Αλας καὶ τράπεζαν μὴ παραβαίνεις φησίν ἡ παρομία. Σὺ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις ἡμῶν συναλλαθεῖς λήθη τὴν παράβασιν ἐκλώσας, καὶ ταύτα τῆς νοστίμου σου μεταδοὺς ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀλυγάκις φθογγῆς, ἡδυνοῦσης ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια. Ἀλλ’ ἔσκευεν ὡς μίσος συνέρμοσσε γέγονεν, καὶ η ἁρχὴ σὲ μου θαμμότερον τοῦ ποδός ἐλασθαγμὴ πλησιμονὴ ἐμποτήσασα συνεξῆφθεν, καὶ φθόνον τηκεδὼν διέσπασεν, καὶ εἰς ἁρκία τὴν θεοποικίλτων ἡμῶν περιστολὴν κατ’ ἐκείνον τῶν ὅμηρων Ἰρων ἐλέπτουν, ως μόλις ἐπιγυννίδα φαίνει καὶ τὴν ἀδιά ἀμφικαλύπτειν κακῶς ἐπισυμβήναι καὶ ὄφλεων πρὸς τῶν ἐπηρεάζων ἐθελόντων γέλωτα.

52. Μεθοδώς τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ πατριάρχῃ

Εἰ μὴ πεπειράμην τῆς σῆς πρὸς τοὺς πενομένους, ὁ δὲ ποτα, δαυσιλοῦς ἐπιδόσεις, ὃν ἄν εὑρήμων τὸ παρομώδως ρηθείδων ἐπιφθεγξασθαι, "μὴ εἴπης ἐπανελθὼν ἐπάνηκε καὶ αὐρίων δωσίς," καὶ τὴν τῆς


52. 3 post φθογγῆς verba εἰς ἁρκία τῷ θεοποικίλτων ἡμῶν περι(π)τολὴν κατ’ ἐκείνον τῶν ὅμηρων delevit manus recentior || 7 Ἰρων V || 8 φέρειν V || 10 ἐγκατακρύπτους V || 11 τηλεσκοποῦ V || 14 δ αἰθής τού τῆς έβης V || φλεξάτῳ V || 17 ἀναπειναζοῦσθω θ’ ὅματιν V

52. 3 μὴ εἴπης – δῶσω: Prov. 3.28 || 3–4 τῆς Ἀκεσσαίου σελήνης: Diogen. I.57; Apostol. I.90: XVI.44

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51. To the deacon Nikephoros

The proverb tells us not to transgress against salt and table. Yet you who have often eaten at table with me have woven forgetfulness into your transgression, and this although you have often shared with me your succulent words that sweeten the senses of the soul. It seems, however, that hatred has become your helpmate, that my frequent visits to you have caused satiety to be produced, that wasting envy has severed and torn into rags my God-adorned garment, so that, as in the case of Homer’s Irus, I am miserably reduced to exposing my thigh and barely covering my private parts so as to draw upon myself Thersitean laughter from those who wish to injure me. Why is that so, and how long will you conceal under a bushel of silence the rays of your intellectual torch instead of raising it on a conspicuous lampstand and shining forth? If, then, any of the circumstances I have enumerated such as are wont to break the law of love has caused this, let it be overcome and let the fiery veil, as the saying goes, burn and consume those responsible for our rift. Let new wool of sacred love be turned for us on distaff and spindle, and let the garment of our old affection be woven with the thread of the Holy Spirit, so that, comforted by your sweet salutations, I may escape the cold flood of neglect.

52. To the most holy patriarch Methodios

Had I not experienced, O lord, your abundant generosity to the poor, I would have addressed to you that proverbial locution, “Don’t say, come back and I shall
Ακεσοπαίον σελήνης, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐπιφήμίσεων ὑμῶν βραδυτῆτα.
5 'Αλλ' ἔπει καὶ πεπείραμαι καὶ πολλάκις ἔπαθον, τούτῳ μὲν οὐ γράφω, καὶ οἷς γέγραφα, αὑτῶ δὲ καὶ αὖθις πεῖ οἴδα πάντας τῆς προαιρέσεως ὑμῶν ἀμώμητον ἔλεον· ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἔπειγε, καθ’ Ὄμηρον, ὡς ἡ τῆς ἄνω ἁπτὴς ἐξετάσταται νεώσις· μὴ δὴ βραδύνη ἡ πρὸς πάντας ὑμῶν ταχεία ἐπισκοπή, ὡς ἄν μάθομεν καὶ δι’ ὅν προπεπόνθαμεν ἐκ τελείας ὑπάρχει τὸ τῆς πατροσύνης ὑμῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἁγιαθὸν προαιρέσεως.

53. Θεοφίλῳ διακόνῳ καὶ πρωτονοηταῖς

Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ με πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἐληλυθέναι, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔδει τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπητικὴν διάθεσιν διεξάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον· ἔπει δὲ οὗ τοῦτο, νοσομένην διακατήραι καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῶν συνάρασθαι εὐκρίνειαν. Ἡδὴ γὰρ σκοπὸς ἡμῶν τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πτυκτίου, φημὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἐλαγγελίου, ἀνακυκῆσαι κεφάλαιον, ὃπερ ἔχον πεφορᾶται ὁ νῦν πρὸδρομὸς Ἱεραπόλεως: ἐλπὶς γὰρ ἦν ἡμῖν ἀναμφιλεῖκτος ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπειρήσεται εἰς τὴν τούτον ἀπόδοσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιστειλάντων αὐτῷ, ἤδη καὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις τοῦ τάφου ἑαυτοῦ ἱερομ. 148 οἱ φερόμενοι ἐβλέπειν· ἀλλὰ ἔπει λάθετο ὡς ἐνόησεν, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων ἔρων τῶν οὖκ ἀνηκόντων ἀντέχεσθαι βούλεται, τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ κουσοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν ὑπαχθῆναι κρίσει· ήτις, εὖ οἶδα, διεσμιλεμένοις δραμέται μηδεμίαν ἑώςα παρατροπὴν καὶ παρέγκλισιν λυμανεύσαι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου εὐθύτητα. Γράμμα τοὐχαροῦ ἐχαράξαμεν πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀνυπέρβλητον λεβότητα, ὃπερ ἐπιδύοναι ἀξίωσον καὶ εὐμενῶς προσιδεῖν καθικέτευσον· καὶ ἔπει τῆς ἡμῆς ἠλαχιστείας ἡ

7 ἀναγκαίη· ἔπειγεν: II. 6.85; Od. 19.73

52: 5 πολλάκις: πο V; πολλὰ G

53: 9 λάθετο· ἐνόησεν: II. 9.537


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give you tomorrow," and ascribed to you the slowness of the moon of Akessaios, as
the saying goes. But since I have experienced it and have suffered on many occasions,
I am not writing in those terms (even if I have in the past) but am asking again to be
treated according to the perfect mercy of your inclination. For, to quote Homer, "con-
straint presses hard" on me, as the Highest knows well. Let not, therefore, your swift
succor on behalf of everyone be delayed, that I may learn even by my previous ex-
periences that your paternal goodwill toward me is of a perfect intention.

53. To Theophilos, deacon and protonotarios

Even before I had come to writing, your kindly self should have settled my
affairs for the better; but since this has not happened, you should have bestirred your-
self when pressed and helped me establish the clarity of justice. It is, indeed, my
purpose now to raise the matter of the holy book, I mean, of course, the Gospel,
which the present bishop of Hierapolis has been convicted of possessing. It was my
undoubted hope that he himself would hasten to return it, especially in view of the
fact that I wrote him when he was seeing himself being swept along toward the por-
tals of the grave. But since "he forgot or did not notice" (as the Poet says) and, in his
greed for other people's property, insists on clinging to what does not belong to him,
let him be subjected to the judgment of our lord and common master—a judgment
which, I am sure, will proceed meticulously and not allow the rectitude of justice to
be spoiled by any diversion or deviation. And so I have penned a letter to his inimi-
table Holiness which, pray, you will see fit to give him and entreat him to consider
favorably. If the presence of my humble self should seem necessary to you in this
παρουσία χρεώδης ἐν τούτῳ φανεῖται σοι, παρέσομαι· εἶ δὲ καὶ ἄτερ ἡμῶν περαίνεται, καλῶς ποιεῖς ἀπαλλάσσον τῆς φευγκτικῆς ἡμᾶς ἐνοχλήσεως.

54. Μεθοδιώ τῷ ἀγωνιστῷ πατριάρχῃ

Καὶ πρὸς τίνα ἀπελεύσομαι, ἣ τὰ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν ἀναρτήσιον, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ χλι πρὸς τῇ τὸ ἱώνυντα, τοῦ τῆς δίκης ἐπίκουρον, τοῦ εὐπαλαντοῦ ἐγνοστατοῦντα τῷ τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἄρρητειν, τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιγικοῦν, τὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδικομένων γυνόμενον, καὶ ἐξάγωντα τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἐνδοκῶν ἐκάστῳ στάθμῃν ἀδεκάστῳ ψηφίσματι; Ἀλλὰ τί μοι τὸ προομισαιόμενον βούλεται; Ὡς ὑμεῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοι· ἔγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, ὁποία τίς ἑστίν, ἀνακαλύψω τῆς δίκης ὑμῶν περιπέτειαν ἔχουσαν ὃδε.

Βίβλος πάλαι πεπόνηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόρων τῷ ἐμῷ γυνησίῳ ὅμαίμου τῆς ἀγαστικῆς τετρακτίου τῶν Ἑβαγγελιστῶν. ἢ 149 ὃν μοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖ μεταβέμενον, οὐδὲ διὰ τῶν κλήρων ἀναφαίρετον, εἴσασεν ἃ μᾶλλον εἰχόμην, ἢ Κριός οὐ τῶν Διδῶν ἔστεργε χρημάτων ἀνόδεσμον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀργύρου μοι καὶ χρυσοῦ κρῆμα, κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν, ταύτης ἐπίπροσθε προετέθεντο, οὐδὲ λίθων ἐκ Σουφείρ διαύγει τοῦτο προετέθηντο, οὐδὲ παντὸς ἀλλοῦ τοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς περιβλέπτου λαμπρότης ἐφήδυεν κτήματος, τῶν ἐν ἐλπίδι μοι θησαυρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένων, οὔ πρὸς τὸ ἐχαρωτὸν ἀνάγουσαν δρεκτόν καὶ εἰς ὅ πάτα σπουδαιὸν ἐφες ἢσταταί. Ταύτην ὃ ἐν μεθέξει τῆς μακαρίας λήξεως Στέφανος, ὃς ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπογραφεῖ τοῦ θηνόκαδε προελαμμέ, πρὸς μεταβολὴν αἰτήσας ἐλληφεν· ὃ δὲ γραφή Μιχαήλ τῷ ἀοιδίῳ ἱεράρχῃ Συνάδων, καὶ εἰς, βραδυτήτος ἐπιταπείς καὶ μὴ ὑπερ εὐληφθέν ἀνοδίους, θαμαμένης ὃν ἡμῶν νυσσομένος μακροθυμίας ἐνδοσὺ ἤτει, ὅς ἢδη ἐν κόλποις ἔχοντων ἡμῶν τὸ ζητούμενον. Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς (deletum) τῆς φευγκτικῆς ἡμᾶς V; ἡμᾶς τῆς φευγκτικῆς G

54: 13 ἄργυροι – κρῆμα: Diogen. II.93; Diogen. Vind. I.82 || 14 λίθων ἐκ Σουφείρ; cf. Is. 13.12; To. 13.17

54: 1 αἰτήσας V; ἀνοθήσας G || 4 γυνόμενον G || 10 ἀγαστικῆς scripsi: αἰτιατικῆς V || 12 ἡ κρίσις V; corr. G || 14 διανειμέα V; corr. G || 22 ἀπεδίδου V
matter, I shall attend; but if it can be accomplished without me, you will do well to free me from an undesirable trouble.

54. To Methodios, the most holy patriarch

To whom shall I have recourse or entrust my affairs if not to you, the director, the guardian of justice, who balance impartially the scales of the holy canons, the overseer of right, who stand beside the wronged and with an equitable vote call forth for every man the just measure that is appropriate? But what is the meaning of my preamble? That you are indeed such a man; as for me, I shall disclose to you the nature of my judicial affair, which is the following.

A book of the fourfold holy Gospels was once made at the expense of my own brother; and when he passed to the other world, he bequeathed it to me as an inalienable heritage. I clung to it more than Croesus of Lydia loved his chest of money; for I preferred to it neither streams of silver and gold (as the proverb has it) nor did I value more highly the glittering gems of Ophir, nor did the splendor of any other conspicuous possession more delight my soul, since the treasures of which I am hopeful are stored up therein—treasures that lead up to the ultimate object of desire, which every zealous man strives to attain. This book Stephen (now transported to the realm of the blessed), who at that time was conspicuous among the imperial secretaries, requested and received for the purpose of emendation; and he lent it to Michael, the celebrated bishop of Synada, who, after much delay, did not return what he had taken and, on being frequently prompted by me, asked for a measure of patience inasmuch as I already had in my grasp that which I sought. Under these circumstances I showed patience and received no benefit; for death fell on him unexpectedly
ϐ τὸ μακρόθυμον ἐνδειξάμενοι καὶ μηδὲν ἀπωνάμενοι (θάνατος γὰρ ἀπρόσπτος ἐπιπέτευτον, πρὸς τὴν ἐκεί τῶν βεβιωμένων τούτων ἐκάλει διάγγωσιν) ἀπωρφανίσθημεν καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπέκεισα παντὸς δὲ βοήθεις καὶ καλωσύνης. Καὶ οὖν, καθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἄνδρα ἡμῶν φήμη τις λόγων διάρροιας οὐκ ἀπαιτῶς διδόθησεν, ὦτο τοῦ ἀγαθάτου τῆς Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίας προέδρου κατέχεται, καὶ οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ τῆς ἀποδόσεως, ἀλλὰ βούσκεται κενάς ἐξετάζει, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, τὸ ἀλλοτριον παρακερδαίως οὖν καὶ τῷ μὴ προσήκον γεγονόντα κατακληροῦνθαι μὴ καλῶς ιμερόμενος. ἀλλὰ οὖν ἐπιτεύγεται, ἀλλοτριός ἤ τῆς ἱερᾶς τιμῆς, δόλιος θῆρας. Τίς γὰρ μοι κλήρος ἢ μερίς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἢ ποιῶν κήδος, δὲ με τούτῳ πρὸς ἀγχυστεῖαν συνάψεῖ; Ὅ γαρ μὴ κληρονομήσῃ ὁ ὑπόκλοπος καὶ νόθος μετὰ τοῦ νυκτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ δυνατος νομίμον νυκτὸς. Μὴ τούτων παραχωρεῖσθω τὸ μὴ ἱδιον τῷ ζέω, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἀπαρέγκλιτος τῆς οἰκίας πατροσύνης ὡμῶν εὐθύτης, ἀπαρεχείρητον τὸ τῶν δικαίων διασώζωςα κράτος, μὴ στερηθῆσαι ἡμᾶς τοῦ οἰκείου κατανεύσεως κτήματος. Ἡσυχῇ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῶν εὐαγγελισμοῦ τοι καὶ ἀποστολικούς καὶ πατρικοὺς δικαιώμασιν καὶ ἐντάλμασιν ἱερῶς καλλονομῆσαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἰκίας καὶ θείαις αὐτῆς ἐπικρίσεσιν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου προτιμᾶν σεβασμότητα.

55. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγέθους ἄξιονθὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὡμῶν πατρότητος θυμῆρες ἡμῶν καταφαινεται καὶ εἰ κατόπιν ἑορτῆς, κατὰ τὴν θροαθε παρομίαν, διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν ήκομεν. Τοῦτο γοῦν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεντρίας ἐκτενοῦς προβαλλόμεθα καὶ δόσσερ τῶν ἱγνῶν ὡμῶν ἀπρίξ ἐπειλήμμεθα, ὡς ἄν || 151 || τῆς ἁγιαστικῆς παρουσίας σου, δέσποτα,


55: 2 κατόπιν ἑορτῆς: Diogen. V.73; Greg. Cypri. Mosq. III.89; Apostol. IX.44; XIV.6; Karathanasis 171

55: 1 τῷ G: τῷ V || 2 el.: ἑ V || 3 γοῦν V: corr. G || 5 ἐπιλήμμεθα V: corr. G
and summoned him yonder to give account of his actions in life. I was deprived both of the man and, my lord, of the treasure that I loved more than all bliss. And now, according to a rumor that gave rise to words and has sounded in my ears in no ill-omened manner, it is in the possession of the most holy bishop of Hierapolis who does not care to return it, but feeds on empty hopes (as the saying goes) in the belief that he will gain another man's property, basely desiring that what is not his should be allotted to him. But "the deceitful man will not succeed in the hunt" through the respect that is due to the holy office. For what lot or portion do I have with him or what connection that would link me to him in kinship? Indeed, the deceiver and the bastard will not inherit along with the legitimate and truly lawful son. Let not, therefore, that which is not his be surrendered to the stranger, but may the unswerving rectitude of your holy Fatherhood, in maintaining inviolate the might of justice, not permit me to be deprived of my own property. For I know that you are adorned in holy fashion with the evangelic, apostolic, and patristic ordinances and precepts and that you take heed of the honor of justice in your holy and divine decisions.

55. To the same

Nothing appears pleasanter to me than to be eager of being deemed worthy of the grandeur of your holy Fatherhood, even if, because of my poverty, I have come the day after the fair, as the secular proverb has it. So much, at least, I am proffering instead of a lengthy supplication and, as it were, I am grasping tightly your feet so as
τύχουμεν· ἢς μὴ ἔμμωσθης τοὺς παιδὰς σου, κερδησείοντας ἐντεύθεν
ψυχικῆς ἀρετῆς μεγάστην ἐπίδοσιν.

56. Κωνσταντινακίων κουράτορι

Μετὰ τοῦ μυρία τάλαντα τῶν ὀλικεῖων δεσπότη (ἀφείλοντος) οἰκέ-
του τὴν σῆν ἐνσπλαγχνίαν δυσωπήσας προῆκχημεν. Μακροθύμησον
ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, ἀπορία πολλή πιεζομένοις, καὶ πάν τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ὅπις εἰς
μακρὰν ἀπολήψῃ· ὁ γὰρ πράκτωρ πικρὸς καὶ δρμὺς ἦμων ἐπιφύεται
ἀπειλήν σφοδρὰν ἐνπιεσίων, εἰ μὴ τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκτίσαιμεν τάχιον· ὡστε
eἰ τὸ μακρόθυμον καὶ εὐμενῖς ἤμων τούτον σὺ καταδέσσει, τὰ φυλακῆς
cαὶ δεσμῶν πειραθήμεν, καὶ ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ὁ ποιητὸς ὑποστηργαίμεθα
dοῦλος, έως ἀποδώμεν τῶν ἔσχατον κοδράντην· ἀλλὰ τεθαρρήκαμεν καὶ
ἔλης ἦμων ἐςτιν ἀνενδοιαστός μηδὲν ὧν οὕτως ἀπείληκα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπ-
eυχόμεθα πείσεσθαι, τυχεῖν δὲ ὃν ἠτήκαμεν παρὰ τῆς σῆς φιλοσυμ-
pαθοῦς καὶ ἠτίας χρηστότητος.

57. Κωνσταντίνῳ φοιτητῇ ἀρτὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνακληθέντι

Πῶς ἡμᾶς ὄψω διασείωσας, φίλτατε παίδων, ἡνίκα τὴν ἐπ’ ἀλ-
λοδαπεῖς καὶ ἀλλοθρόοις ἄνδρας πικρῶν καὶ ἀνήμερον ἀπαγωγῆν δο-
ριάλωτος ἤπνες; Ἀρ’ ὡς ἐκ τῶν λευθέδων πεπωκότας καὶ φρενῶν ἢμο-
ρηκότας τῆς σῆς ἐκλειθήσας φιλικῆς διαθέσεως; Ἡ λύτη δυσλύτω

6 ἦς nos: ἦν V || ἔμμωσθαι V: ἔμμωσαι G

56: 1–2 μυρία – οἰκέτου: cf. Mt. 18.24 sqq. || 8 ἀποδώμεν – κοδράντην: Mt. 5.26

56: 9 ἀνενδοιαστός V: corr. G || μὴ’ ὃν V: corr. G

57: 2 ἀλλοθρόοις ἄνδρας: cf. Od. 1.183; 3.302; 14.43; 15.453

57: 1 ἀλλοδαπ V || 2 ἀνήμεροι: –νη supra lineam scripsit V || δοριάλωτον V || 3 λευθέδων πεπωκότας V

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to obtain your sanctifying presence. Do not deprive your children of it, who stand to gain thereby a great increase in spiritual virtue.

56. To the curator Konstantinakios

Like that servant who owed his master ten thousand talents, I have come to implore your mercy. Have patience with me who am oppressed by great poverty, and you will soon recover my entire debt. For the bailiff pursues me with bitterness and harshness, holding out a grievous threat unless I discharge my debt speedily. If, therefore, your gentle patience does not put this man to shame, I may experience imprisonment and chains and suffer the same fate as that wicked servant until I have paid the last farthing. I am convinced, however, and have indubitable hope that I shall not undergo any of those things that he threatens me with and that I wish to avert, but, instead, shall obtain my request from your compassionate and gentle Goodness.

57. To Constantine, his pupil, lately recalled from captivity

What do you think my feelings were, dearest of children, when you endured, a captive, that bitter and harsh deportation among foreign and alien men? Had I drunk, as it were, from some Lethe and lost my wits so as to forget utterly that you were
5 συνδεομένους κοπετού σιν ύμιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ θερμον ἀφιέντας ἐκ καρδίας δάκρυν ταρειάς λελουμένας ἐκματείν | 152 | καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολέγεσθαι, οὐκ ἀνεχομένους φέρειν ἀδικρυτί τὴν σιν ἀνεπίληπτον στέρησιν. Ἄλλ’ εἰ τὸ δεύτερον, καλὸς ὑπολαμβάνει εἰχὲς καὶ λίαν ὀρθῶς οὕτω γὰρ εἰχέν τότε τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐν τούτοις διέκειτο πᾶσα γὰρ αὐτής ἡμῶν ἐπικεκόμης κατηγοροῦτο καὶ τῶν ὀικείων αὐτηλῆσεων διεσφάλλετο, ἐν τῷ μόδῳ, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀπορίας ὑπάρχουσα, ποιοῦ ἄρα Κωνσταντίνος κακοὶ συνεκύρησεν; ἀρ’ ὑπὸ φοινικῆς μαχαίρας κατείργασαν; Ἄρα δουλεία βαρυπενθεὶ κακοπόθου δεσπότων μεμοίραται; Ἄρα δεσμοὺς αἰδίους ὑπὶ ἀπελθῆς, ὡς ὁ καίρος ἐδίδω, πε- πέρας; Ἄρα βλέμματι βλοσπρῶ καὶ δειμαίνοντι ἀντοπεῖν ἡ καὶ ὅλως ὃμομ κανέν ἡ διανοίγου τεθάρρηκεν; Ἄρα γλώσσῃ φρικτὸν βαρβαρο- ξούσῃ τῶν ἁλογόν ὑποκρίνεται. Καὶ ἀπαξατλὸς ἀνεμετρεῖτο μοι καὶ ἡ τῶν κακοῖντων ὁμότης καὶ ἡ στὶ δρμυτάτη καὶ ἀσυμπαθῆς ἀπάνθρωτος κόλασις. Καὶ ἐπεί ταύτα καὶ οὕτω δυνεγείνει ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑμετέρων δυσχερεῖς ἀνέγνωκας, πῶς ἦδη τοῦ κρείττουν οὐκτημοῦσι ἀφάτους τὴν ἀνάκλησιν ύμιν ἐνεργείαντο, καὶ τῶν ἀπριθμημένων ἀναρων ὑπεκλύσατο, ἄλλοι, καὶ τυχόν μη πονήσας, τῆς ἐραστῆς ἔμοι θέας δαφνὸς ἀπολαύσας, καίτοι τῆς ἄλλου ἡμεῖς τῷ ὦψῳ τῆς κατηφείας νυκτομαχήσατε, ἂν περικαθάραται καὶ περιφήματα παρέβλεψιμα, καὶ πάντων ἡφ’ ύμιν ἐνορίν κροτοῦντων ὑμεναίων, ἡμεῖς θρητικῷς ἀλαζόμεθα; Ἄλλ’ ἐπὶ καὶ | 153 | ροι τὸ τῆς θύραθε παροιμίας κα- λῶν ἐπενεπεῖν, γόνω κυμηδὸς γέγον. πάντες γὰρ ύμιν εἰς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ οἰκείους ἐγγυσώθησαν; ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔξοι καὶ νόθοι καὶ πόρρῳ ἤκουσεν ἐλεογύγμεθα. Ἄλλ’ εὖ ἡκατον τὸ σε γὰρ ἀνασεσωθῆ χαὶ ὑπὲρ ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν τῆς ἐθνικῆς αναλεύσθαι βίας καὶ πρὸς τὰ σάρια ἢ ἡ θεί καὶ τεύ- φηλα καὶ ύμιν ἀναδραμεῖν ὡς τοῦ τυχόν ύμιν προεξένησε παραγγειο- ἤστε καὶ μήτη θεασάμενοι σε στέργομεν. Καὶ εἰ τούτο πάγομεν τὴν εἰς σε στηργή ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐξήσαμεν.
dear? Or, shackled with indissoluble grief, was I raising a lamentation along with you and, shedding hot tears from my heart, was I wiping moist cheeks and renouncing my life since I could not suffer without weeping my unforgettable deprivation of you? If you supposed the latter, you were perfectly right and correct. For such indeed was my state and those were my feelings. Nearly all my senses were utterly bruised and lost their perception, being, as the proverb says, at the crossroads of perplexity. What misfortunes had Constantine met? Had he been slaughtered by a murderous dagger? Had he fallen to the wearisome slavery of an evil-minded master? Had he been bound under some threat with everlasting chains, as misfortune had it? Had he the courage to withstand a grim and terrible gaze, indeed to move his eyes about or even open them? Does he pretend to be dumb before a dreadful barbaric tongue? In brief, I went over both the cruelty of your oppressors and your most harsh, merciless, and inhuman torment. And since you realized that I have borne to such an extent your hardships, how is it that now, when the Highest in His ineffable compassion has accomplished your recall and freed you from the aforementioned miseries, others, who perhaps have not grieved, are enjoying freely the sight that is so dear to me, while I, who have fought vainly in the gloom of dejection, have been scorned as "filth" and "offscouring"; and whereas everyone raises a festive song for you, I am crying out in mourning? The secular proverb comes well to hand, "The knee is nearer than the shin"; for everyone else has won kinship with you as brother and friend, while I am considered a stranger, a bastard, and one come from afar. Welcome, in any case. For the fact that you have been saved, that you have been freed against all expectation from alien violence and have returned to your ancestral home that is dear to God and to me, has caused me no small consolation. And so, even though I have not seen you, I love you. And if I should be vouchsafed that also, my love for you would increase all the more.
58. Λέοντι πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ, ἀσηκρῆτις

Εἴδον πῶς τὴν λύσιν εὑρίσκουν αἷς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴκετεία καὶ τῆς ἀντιληπτικῆς μεθέξεως ὑμῶν δέξειν ἀσφέρονται τὴν περαιώσων. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐδέπερ ἐν χερώ τῶν δεομένων ἦν τὰ αὐτούμενα, τοιαύτης ἔτυχεν ἐπτερωμένης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐτοιμότητος νυνὶ δὲ, (οὐ) καθ' ἀληγείαι, ἄμα ἔπος Ἰάμα ἔργον τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔξανυτέαν καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀλήττου πυκνῆς καθαπτόμενου φθέγγομαι: μηδὲ γὰρ οὕτω μανείην, ἣ φρενῶν ἐξω πέσουμ: οἷδα γὰρ, ἐκθύμως εἰς τὴν ἐμῆν συμμπάθειαν ἐδραμεῖε, ἤ καὶ μὴ κατέλαβες: ὁ δὲ μὲ πρὸς ἀφασίαν κυνεί καὶ ὠλως ἐξίστη σκειρκα ὑποδην καὶ πρὸς βυθὸν ἀπορίας συνγκάτεις, οὖ συγγρα Παράδουν βεβούλημαι.

Τί δὲ τούτο ἐστιν ἐρώ.

Πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ ήλιον ἐκβολῶν καὶ μέχρι Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ Γαδέιρων, πράγμασιν ἀδικήτως καὶ συμφορας πιεζόμενοι, ὑπὸ τὴν βαλτικήν τὸν κοῦν προστάτου ὑμῶν τε μέτα θεον καὶ πολλῶν καὶ πάντων καταδεύοντο πτέρυγα, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ δικαιοπραγίᾳ. || 154 || τῶς ἑαυτῶν οἰκτιμοῦσιν ἐπραίτουσιν, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐλπιζόμενων ἀπριξ περιδράζουντο· οἵς, κατὰ τὴν θύραθε παρομίαν, ἐστῶσιν σῶσι καὶ κεχρόσων ὑμᾶς τραγούδας προσατέχατον καὶ εὐμενείαν βαθυτήτα δεχόμενος, ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀδεκάστοις σοφαῖς ἐπικρίσεων, οἷα σφραγίδε, τὰς πάντων στραγγαλίωδες διαφοράς εὐλύτως ἐπιδεσμεύει καὶ χαρίεντος πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἠθην παλαιδρομείν επαφῆς, ὡς ἣδε τὸ ἐποικότον ἀπαράγραφον ἔχοντας· οἴδε ὡς ἐποτέ τινος αλτήρεως διακούσοι καὶ ταύτης ὑπ' ἐντροπής καλυπτομένως προφερομένης ὡς περικάθαρμα καὶ περίφημα καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἀποτρόπαιον ἢγησα. Τῇ γὰρ πενυχρότητι καὶ εὐτελείᾳ μοι προσέχων, (διατή) τῆς αὐτοῦ κηδεμονίας ἀλλοτρίως καὶ ἀναξίως τίθεται, δεόν ὡς ἡπορημένῳ διὰ τεθον ἐπικουρεῖν, (καὶ) μακραῖς ἐλπίζω παρεξεῖ τοιαύτως ἐγκελείται· Ἡ τούτως ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡρχὴ μοναδικής ἡπικεῖας αὐτοῖς καταστάσεις, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ ἀσώτου κερατίων, ἦ δικαίως, ἢ κυρίων ῥήσις, ἰμερόμενον ἀπο-


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I have seen how supplications addressed to you are resolved and receive a swift fulfillment by your helping participation. Nay, even if the object of the request were in the grasp of the petitioners, would it have won, if I may say so, such winged readiness. Now, however, my affairs are not being settled, according to the saying, "no sooner said than done"; and this I declare not so as to upbraid your unattainable spirit, for I would not be so insane or senseless (as to do so). Indeed, I know, you hastened ardently to show sympathy to me, even if you did not succeed. I do not wish, however, to pass over in silence the circumstance that moves me to speechlessness, astonishes me altogether, and plunges me into the depth of despondency. I shall explain what it is.

All men, from the rising sun to the Pillars of Hercules and Cadiz, when they are pressed hard by unexpected troubles and misfortunes, take shelter under the warm wing of the common protector (after God) of ourselves and many, indeed all others, and cast their lamentations upon his justice so as to grasp firmly what they desire. Awaiting them with ears pricked up and eyes wide open (as the secular proverb says) and receiving them with the deepest goodwill, he readily binds up everyone's tortuous differences by his impartial and wise decisions as with a seal, and lets them return happily to their own homes as if they already held what they sought without exception. Nor, if he ever hears of a petition, even one put forward by a man who covers himself up in shame, does he consider it as "filth" and "offscouring" and an ill-omened abomination. Being, therefore, aware of my poverty and indigence, why does he deprive me of his protection and regard me as unworthy (whereas he ought to help me for the sake of God as one needy) and bid me have confidence in distant hopes? Do you not, indeed, remember that you yourselves drew me away from my previous monastic quietude and dragged me down from Olympus? Not only that, but you also allowed me to be made a mockery through indigence to the extent that I longed to taste, like the prodigal, the fruit of the carob tree, as the Lord's saying has
59. Νικηφόρος χαρτοφύλακι

Οδι' οτι καθάψη μου, και δὴ σωπτῶν, ἐκείνο προσφυῶς ὑπειπῶν τὸ ῥησίδιον εἰρηπτίδεον: σύγα σύγα λεπτὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης, ὁ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔρεις τὸ προαλές καὶ κολοώδες τῆς ἐμῆς γλυκσαλγίας ἔλεγχων ἑγὼ δὲ διακόνω τῷ γράμματι χρώμενος τούτῳ, καὶ μοι, ἐρώ, ἐξαίδα, μὴ κεῦθε νῦν, ὑνὰ σοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σωτήρ ἐπιγνώμεν ἐπιεικῶς τὸ πολύφωνον.

60. Νικηφόρος διακόνω

Εἴπερ ὅλως ἐγνωκαί ὡς ἔχομεν τι κατὰ σοῦ καὶ ποινῆρος δια-κεῖμεθα, ἔδει σε, κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσαφεῖναι τὸ δώρον σου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφόν καταλαλαγήν ἐμπορεύσασθαι. Ἀλλ'
it. How and why is it that I am poor and pressed hard by wasting hunger, whereas I ought to be enjoying pretty well all manner of benefit? But since it has been so decreed, it is needful that I should suffer hardship; for I have become entangled in terrible sins which will both deprive me of well-being down here and repay me with abundant misery over there. As for you, may God see fit that for a length of many years you remain conspicuous in the greatest dignities and honors, which you deserve, and make you worthy to attain the eternal brilliancy of heaven with the same glory and splendor.

59. To Nikephoros the chartophylax

I know that even as you keep silent you will upbraid me by appropriately referring to that short saying of Euripides, “Silence, silence, let the point of your boot (tread softly),” which you will quote in season as you censure the daw-like rashness of my garrulity. I, however, shall press this letter into my service by saying, “Speak out to me, hide it not in your mind,” that I may fairly recognize the loquaciousness of your silence with respect to me.

60. To the deacon Nikephoros

If you had any knowledge that I had aught against you and was badly disposed toward you, you should, according to the commandment, have left your gift before the altar and obtained your reconciliation with your brother. But, as God can see and
ως θεός ἔφορᾶ καὶ τὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως κριτήριον ἀνενδοιάστως μαρτύρεται, οὐκ ἀνέβη διαλογισμὸς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν κατὰ τῆς σῆς ύπολήψεως· καὶ πῶς διεκρίθης, μονοῦ δίκην, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἡπορήμεθα· καὶ γὰρ νόσῳ μοχθῆρι προσπαλαίσταντες, ὡς μικροῦ, κατὰ τὴν παρομίαν, διὰ δακτυλίου ἐλκυσθήκας, καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν τῶν τήν κυρίαν φωνῆ πληροῦν πολλάκις τημεληθήντες, ἦρεμα παρὰ τῆς σῆς εὐμενοῦς ῥοτής ἐπεσκέμμεθα. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τινὲς ὑπὸ φήμης αἰρόμενοι, δι’ ἐξοδίου ἐκφόρας ἡμᾶς τῷ θανάτῳ προεπέμψαν· 156 || καὶ οὐδὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς σε τὰ πρὸς κηδείαν ἡμῶν ἔγνωμεν ἀπεργάσασθαι· καὶ λέγομεν ὡς τοῖς μυστικῶν ἡμᾶς προσέθουσι, καὶ τούτοις ἐπιβοηθοῦν τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἰσωθήτηκας, δὲ μὴ γένοιτο, μηδὲ εἰς ἐχθρῶν κεφαλὰς διαβῇ τὸ βλάσφημον, εἰ καὶ λήθη ποσῶς μεστεύσασα τούτο τοπάζεων δίδωσιν. Θάρσει τοιαύτοις ώς οὐδὲ τοῖς περιστειλασιν ἡμᾶς τῷ τάφῳ συνεδραμεῖ· ἢ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιτυμβίους ἐλέγοις ἡμῶν ἐπεμέτρησας καὶ στίχοιν ἐπικόν ἐξάτονον ἔτεμες (καὶ) ἱωνικῆ μείζονι συμπλέξας ἑμέτρως ἐλάττονα, μέλος ἡμῶν ἐπιτάφιον. Τούτους γὰρ ἀφοσιοῦσθαί σε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαι καὶ καθ’ ἔδον τελοῦντες ἠπισκόμεν. Ἀλλὰ θεῷ τελεῖα χάρις τῷ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς φήμης τῶν θανατοῦντων ἐκλισάσαντι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους δακτύλους μὴ πρὸς μέτρα νεκρῶ καὶ κόπους κινήσαντι. Πολλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ γράφεων ὁ καρός ἐδίδον, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον μέτρου ἀριστον ὑπετέμετο ὡς ἐὰν μὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν κατὰ λόγον ἰσώσαν γλώσσαν πρὸς ἀμετρίαν ὑπόλισαμεν. 20

61. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ὑπὸν ωνείρως μου σήμερον ἐδόκοιν εξ ἀμπέλου κυνζεων περικάζοντας βότριμας, οὔς σὺν ἐτέροις τραγάθμασιν συλλέγων ἐν πίνακι, τραπέζῃ μεστῇ δαφιλοῦς εὐνοίας καὶ δακτυλῶν 157 || οὐκ ἀστήμοις ὡς δὴ των εξείσοντα παρετίθοντο εὐνύμια· καὶ τοῦτο μόνος οὐκ

5 οὖν ἀνέβη—ἡμῶν: cf. Lc. 24.38 || 8 διὰ δακτυλίου ἐλκυσθήναι: Zen. III.18; Apostol. V.86a; Diogen. II.8; Diogen. Vind. II.41; Karanathasis 84 || 13 τοῖς μισιόσιν: προσέθον: cf. Gen. 37.8


61: 4 μόνον Τ

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the tribunal of my conscience witnesses unhesitatingly, no thought arose in my heart against your Honor. Indeed, I am at a loss why you have parted yourself so far from me like a wild boar. For I have struggled with a grievous illness to the point of being drawn through the ring (as the proverb has it) and was often cared for by persons who knew how to fulfill the Lord's saying, yet was in no wise visited by your kind self. Some indeed, carried off by rumor, consigned me to burial and death, and I know that you did not even join them in performing my funeral. I declare that you have sided with those that hate me and, in helping them, have transgressed against your friendship toward me. May not this happen, may not the slander pass into the heads of my enemies, even though oblivion, by its partial interposition, allows us to suppose this. So be of good cheer in that you have not even helped those who covered me with a tomb, for then you would have had to scan for me a funerary elegiac poem and fashion epic verses in hexameter, and weave the major ionic in due measure with the minor, and so sing to me a burial song. Even as I was near Hades I was hoping that you were devoting to such matters your friendship toward me. But complete thanks be to God who has both freed me from the report of those who were putting me to death and has spared your fingers from the toil of composing verses for a dead man. It would have been opportune to write many other things, but due measure has trimmed my speech that I may not lead to excess your tongue which proceeds according to reason.

61. To the same

In the dreams of my sleep today it seemed to me that I was culling ripe grapes from a vine, which I collected on a plate together with other sweetmeats and was serving as unusual offerings to distinguished guests at a table filled with abundant
62. Τῷ αὐτῷ παραμυθητικῇ

Ἄδελφος ἦν μοι πάλαι πατρὸς ἐν τάξει γυνησίως || 158 || στεργομένος, τῇ τε κατὰ Χριστὸν προβαθμῷ ποιότητῃ, καὶ τῇ τῶν θείων λογίων εὐρόθμῳ ποιότητῃ. Ἐκ βρέφους γὰρ τῷ ἑτέρᾳ γράμματα κατὰ Παῦλου, ως ὁ νήφων ἐν πάσιν ἀδικήσας Τιμόθεος, αἰδοίος τε, σεμνός τε παρὰ πάσιν ἐκρίνετο· ὡς ἑτέρως ἐρωθείς, λειτουργός ἀρχιερέως τὴν ἀρετὴν συρανίων καὶ θεράπῳ ὀρτηρὸς ἐχρημάτισεν, πράος, προσηνήσῃ τῷ πνεύματι, ταπεινὸς, εὐμενῆς, μειλίχιος, φίλιος, ἕνιος, ἱκέσιος καὶ παντὶ δεξιῷ προτερήματι κατὰ πάντα κοσμομένος. Ἀλλ' ἰλιγγωτί τῷ γέγονεν εἰπεῖν· εἰ γὰρ προλογήσω ὡς θανάτος αὐτὸν συνηρτάκει, θρηητικῶν ἄλαλαγμῶν ἐγερῶ καὶ γοερῶ ἀποκλαύσομαι καὶ πλήρες ὀίκτων καρδιακῶν ἐκκαλέσομαι δάκρυν. Τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόοτος ἐπιπεσόν ὀδε πολλάκις ὡς ἀπὸ τινὸς καταστήματος τὴν ψυχὴν ἐφ' ἔτερον

5 ἀγνωσίμων V || 8 αὐτῶν V || 9 ἐπὶ κρήναις V || 10 ἐπεύχομαι V || ράγας in rāgas corr. V ἡμετέρου V || 12 εὐφράγελι V


62: 3 γράμματα delevit manus recentior || 6 εχρημάτισεν V || 9 τιγεγοῦς εἰσεῖν V: τὸ γεγονὸς αὐσεῖν G || 12 ἐφ' ἔτερον nos. ἐφετὶ (= αὐτὸν) V: ἐφέρτων G

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festive provisions. This I was not doing alone; for another man, unknown to me, appeared to be walking in front of me. The fellow drinkers spat in his face, threw to the ground the dishes he was serving, and excluded him from the festivities, while they treated me as worthy of reception and placed me on a seat as if I were one of them. What this vision signifies you may judge for yourself. I pray that those grapes do not indicate the shedding of tears on account of the demise of your relative. Nay, I am confident that I shall receive from you a release from my sorrow through some divine tidings of joy, having regard to the cheerful joyousness of the guests in my dream. May God grant me that the vision should find such fulfillment and not cause weeping and tears by the intercession before her Son and God of our protectress, God's Mother, who wipes all pain and deathly tears from every face, and that of all the saints. Be it so!

62. A letter of consolation to the same

I had a brother once whom I truly loved as if he were my father by virtue of the degree of his precedence in Christ and the well-ordered quality of his divine utterances. For he had studied the holy Scriptures from his infancy like Timothy who was watchful in all things (to quote Paul) and was considered reverend and honorable by all men. Having been ordained as one holy, he served as the minister and eager attendant of pontiffs of heavenly virtue. He was gentle, kindly in spirit, humble, well-disposed, gracious, friendly, hospitable, open to supplication, and adorned in all respects with every good advantage. But I am filled with dizziness if I am to declare what has happened to him: for if I say at the outset that death has seized him, I shall raise a mournful cry, lament plaintively, and elicit from my heart tears filled with pity. Indeed, an unforeseen event is often able to move the soul from one disposition to
μετάγειν, καὶ μεστὴν ἀποδεικνύαι τὰμβος καὶ δείματος ὢθεν ἐμφιλοχωρών τῷ κατ’ ἐμὲ πάθει τῇ ῥυμέτρᾳ μονῳδίᾳ συναλγήσας προφήτημα, οὐκ ἔστω αὐτὴς δὲ βαλβίδος, ἢ λέγεται, ταῦτῃ ἀναζάναι βεβούλημα. Καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν μμεισθαι δοκῶ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Παρναστίδος ἄγγελον μνήσαστα τάνατον, καθ’ ἐκ Κηρίας ἱστόρησε. Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ θανατηφόρος ὡς τὴν Παρναστίδον ἄγγελον, οὐκ εὗρός ἀπεδούθησεν ὡς Κύρος ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ ἤγγειλε πρῶτον ὅτι νυκὶ ἢ δὲ ἡσθην. καὶ ἄγωνι συμμυγείς; προφήτητο. Βασιλείας δὲ πῶς πράττει; Ὁ δὲ, πέφευγε § 159 § φονίν. Ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβόσα, Τισαφέρης αὐτῷ τούτων αὕτως· καὶ πάλιν ἐπανερώτα, Κύρος δὲ σοῦ νῦν, Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἀμειβέται· εὐθα δέ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας αὐλίζεσθαι. Ἡρᾶς ὡς κατὰ μικρὸν προὶ τῶν θάνατον εἶπεν ταμειετα: καὶ τῇ ἀκούσιτητι δουλειῶν προβιβάζει τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς προμαυτεσθασθαί θάνατον. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δεδοκίμακα, μὴ προτέραν ἀπογυμνώσαι τὴν ῥυμέτραν τῆς λύπης ἐπήρειαν, πρῶν ἂν τῆς ἐμῆς τραγῳδίας θεατρίσω τὰ πάλαι ὅρθρημα.

Τὶ οὖν ἔρω; "Οτι σὺ μὲν οὐδεμίας τῆς ἔτη ἡμῶν παραμυθίας δεδέσαι, καὶ εἰ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῆς δυσθυμίας δεδικασαι· ἔχεις γὰρ ἐνδομιχύισαν παράκλησιν τῆς τῆς θείας λογίτητος παίδεους, ἢ καὶ ὑπνούντι συγκαθεύδει σοι καὶ διανοσταμένων φαιδρῶς συνεγήγορε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστω τῷ καθήφειν συναγων τῷ πρὸς ἤμας ἵδειν ἢ καὶ ἀμείδες ἐκρήξει, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ μέτρα τῇ λύπῃ φυλαττόσα ὅλον σε δεικνύει χαρίεντα· ἔγως γὰρ καὶ καλὸς ἄνεγνος ὡς οὐ μένουμεν, οὐδὲ μοιχὴ παναξία συνδεδεμέθα, ἐπεί τῆς ὑποσχεθείσης αἰπιότητος ἐναυχος ἐξωθῆσαμεν. Αναλογίσαι γὰρ τῶν χειρῶν θεοῦ φυραβέντα καὶ κραθέντα γενάρχθην ἡμῶν, ὡς καλός, ὡς θαναμιστός, ὡς ἀξίου τοῦ πάντος· ἔργον γὰρ τῆς ἀκαμάτου χειρὸς ἐκεῖνης καὶ νεαρῶν ὑπήρξε πλαστούργημα· ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεί τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ πλάσαντος κατόπιν διὰ τῆς συμβουλίας τοῦ ἅφεως ἔδραμεν, τῶν θανάτον || 160 || ὡς πατρῶν κλήρων ἐδέξατο, καὶ παντὶ τῷ γένει τάφον βαθινὸν ἐκαίνιορυγείσαι καὶ τῆς ἐκτομῆς ἡμών, ὡς δὲ ἀξίως τῆς παραβα-


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another and to instill into it terror and fear. For this reason I have chosen to share in your lament by dwelling on my own pain, instead of wishing to exacerbate it from the starting post, as the saying goes. In doing so, I am, methinks, imitating the messenger who announced the death of Cyrus, son of Parysatis, as reported by Ctesias. For when that messenger of death came to Parysatis, he did not blurt out at once that Cyrus had died, but announced first that he was being victorious. She was pleased. "Has he joined battle?" she asked, "And how is the king doing?"—"He has fled," he said. She rejoined, "Tisaphernes has caused him these things." And then she asked further, "Where is Cyrus now?" The messenger replied, "At the place where brave men ought to dwell." You see how, advancing by gradual steps, he postpones the announcement of death and, being subjected to constraint, leads the mother to divine her son's death. The same I, too, have attempted, namely, not to reveal the injury of your sorrow before representing the former tears of my own tragedy.

What, then, shall I say? That you stand in need of no condolence on my part, even if you are cut asunder by the sword of despair: for you have within yourself a hidden consolation—the culture of your divine learning which lies beside you when you are asleep and wakes up splendidly when you arise, and does not allow despondency to look sullenly in your face or to erupt gloomily, as the saying goes, but imposes a limit on your sorrow and makes you altogether cheerful. Indeed, you know and rightly acknowledge that we do not abide nor are we tied to a permanent life inasmuch as we have expelled ourselves from the promised eternity. Consider our ancestor who was kneaded and compounded by God's hand—how fair he was, how admirable, how worthy of all things; for he was the work of that untiring hand and its youthful creation. But when, through the serpent's counsel, he disregarded the Creator's command, he received death as his inheritance, he inaugurated a deep tomb for his whole race, and wrought with the adze of the transgression the severance of
σεως, ἑτεκτήριτο. Καὶ οὐκ ἐκπόνοι τοῖς πταίσασιν ὁ τῆς ἐπιτυμίας πέλεκυς στομοῦται καὶ τήν τομὴν ἀφῆσιν, ἀλλὰ, κατὰ τὸν ἐκπόνον μέγαν διδάσκαλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἀμαρτήσαντας ἐτομάζεται καὶ στίλβοται καὶ τείνεται. Ἀναξείευθι τῷ νοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνέκαθεν γενεὰς, καὶ ὅψιν τῶν μέγαν Ἀβραὰμ ἀργυρίον τάφον ὄνομέμαν ἡ τῆς τομῆς γὰρ ταύτης πλῆξιν ἐξεδέχετο. Ἀβραὰμ τὸν διὰ πίστεως γνησιωθέντα θεῶν καὶ σπέρμα διαφλετιστὸν ἅμμου καὶ ἀστέρων ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονοι φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μηρῶν ἀναβλύσαντα· εἶτα τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, τὸν Ἰακὼβ, τὸν ἐκ τούτου φίλτατον Ἰουδαίαν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα Χριστὸς ἀνατέλλει τὸν Μωϋσὴν τὸν ὑπὸ θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντα θεράποντα, δι’ οὗ Ἀγγέλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀλλατσά της τείνεται, καὶ Φαραώ πανδημεῖ τοῖς ὅυσιν δὴσπεσεῖ, καὶ νόμος προβαίνει, καὶ θεὸς τῶν ὀπισθῶν ἑαυτοῦ θεωρῶν ἀναδεικνύσαι· τῶν Ἀρῶν, τῶν Φινεέως, τοὺς ἐν νόμῳ πάντας τὸ σεπτὸν τῆς ἱερατείας σεμρύσαντας, τῶν Σαμουήλ, τῶν Δαβίδ, τῶν προφητῶν ἀκροβύνων, τῆς καρδίας θεοῦ ἀδιάφερον τοῦ ἀπεκοινώσμα. Διάβηθι πρὸς τὴν χάρω τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ εἰσε τοὺς φωτιάς ἐκείνους ταῖς ἄρεταις διαλάμβαντας, μετὰ πάσαν τὴν εἰς θεῶν ἄνθιγγ 161 πρὸς κριτῶν ἐναρέστησαν, γνωμοὶ τοῖς ἄγιοι ἔκεινων σώμασιν ταῖς ἱεραῖς σωροῖς ποὺ ἐστίνυτας καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένουτας σάλπιγγα. οὐκ ὁ τῶν Ἀδριανοῦς, ὁ διηρεῖν ὁ παραβάλλεται τὸν Πετροῦν, ὅν τούς ὑπαρχόν θεοὺς ἀποδείξας τὰς τούτων κλεῖς ἑνεχείρησεν τὸν Παύλου, ὅν τούτων παράδεισον λειμῶνες μετάρρυφον ὑπεδείξατο, ὡς καὶ θεὼς τῶν ἀρρητῶν ἀκροαμάτων τραγῶν προσεθάρμησεν τῶν ἀγγελοεικολῶν Στέφανον, δι’ ἔστρεγαν ὁφαινόν, καὶ Ἀρστὸς Ἑσαίας ἔζην τῷ Πατρί παρασύμφεσμον. Καὶ τὶ συν τῶν τὸν νόμον φυλάκων καὶ τῶν τῇ χάριτι διακοινησαμένων δι- ἔσειμι τῶν κατάλογων, ὅπως καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις τῆς μετατοποθήσεως ἄλλοισιν ἀπεκδεχέται. Ὑφαινοὶ γὰρ ῥυζῆν παρελεύσονται καὶ τακῆσται στοιχεία καυσοῦμενα, καὶ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔργα φλαγη- σονται. Καὶ οὐθαμαστὸν ἐλ καὶ ἡμᾶς, μέρος ὅντας τῆς κτίσεως, ὑπο- μείναι τῷ ἐκείνων δὲ ἀφαρσαίας ἄλλοισιν.

44 μεγὰς V 46 τίνεται V ἀναξείευθι V ἄβραμ V ἀβραὰμ V ἅρματος V 58 οὐδὲ V 60 τῶν ἀγίων V 61 σωροῖς V 62 φ. G. οὐ V 69 κτήσει V 70 ρυζώδεν V 73 δι’ V

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life. Not only for the sinners is the axe of punishment sharpened and used for cutting, but, as the great teacher has said, it is prepared, burnished, and raised even for those who have not sinned. Turn back your mind to the first generations, and you will see the great Abraham buying a tomb for money, for he was expecting the blow of that severance—Abraham, who by his faith had become intimate with God and produced from his loins a seed more abundant than the sand and tribes greater in number than the stars. Then Isaac, Jacob, and the latter’s son Judah, from whom Christ is descended according to the flesh; Moses, too, whom God confirmed as His servant, through whom Egypt was chastised in divers places, the sea was parted, Pharaoh was buried in the waters with all his host, the Law went forth, and God made him the beholder of his back parts; Aaron, Phinehas, all those who adorned the holiness of the priesthood under the Law, Samuel, David, the pinnacle of the prophets, the true likeness of God’s heart. Go on in your discourse to the realm of Grace, and you will find that those luminaries who had shone by their virtues, after pleasing God in an incomparable manner, entered their sacred graves in their naked holy bodies to await the last trumpet: for example, the Forerunner, to whom no mortal man born of woman may be compared; Peter, whom God made door-keeper of heaven and to whom He entrusted its keys; Paul, whom the meadows of paradise welcomed high above this world and to whom God openly confided His secret words; the angel-like Stephen for whom the heavens opened up and Jesus Christ appeared as equal to the Father. But why am I enumerating to you the guardians of the Law and those who have served Grace, when all creation is awaiting its change through transformation? For the heavens shall utterly pass away, the stars shall melt as they burn, the earth and all the works therein shall be consumed. No wonder that we also, who are part of creation, shall needs undergo the same alteration through incorruptibility.
'Ορφανὸς ἀπελεύθην ἄλλα καὶ πατήρ πρὸ τούτου καὶ κατὰ κέδος ἡμῶν (εἰ) τις ἐγγύων ἀπόχετο καὶ πάντες δοσι τὸ τῆς εὐνοιας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποσώσουσιν δόναμα, πρὸ ἡμῶν ἦ καὶ μικρῷ μεθ’ ἡμᾶς τῷ τῆς πλακοῦς ταύτης ὑποδύονται πανούκτιστῳ καλύμματι, καὶ οὐδεμία παραιτήσις δυσώπησαι δυνήσεται· οὐ χρήναι χρυσόν καὶ ἀργυρόν, ¶ 162 ¶ καθ’ ᾧ λέγεται, τὴν τῆς ταφῆς ὄδων ἐξωθήσατο· οὐ πατρὸς σπλάγχνα τῶν νυν ἔξαφρησαι· οὐ στοργὴ μητρὸς τῶν ἐαυτῆς τοκετῶν καθέξεωι ἱσχύσειν. Μία δὲ μόνῃ καὶ ταύτην οἴδε βάστην ποιεῖν τὴν μετάβασιν, ἡ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ θεοῦ ἐπιστροφὴ καὶ ἐλλικρινής ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μελέτη καὶ πρὸς τὰ κρείττων προκοπὴ καὶ ἐπαύξησις· τοῖς ἐαυτῶς βελτιώσομεν· τοῖς, ἀναγκαίοις οὕσιν πρὸ τῆς ὅρας ἐκείνης, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτῶν καθοπλίσωμεν, μὴ διακρύοις ἐπιτυμβίσωμεν τοὺς ἀποκοχμένους προπέμποντες, ἐαυτοὺς δὲ, κατὰ τὴν κυρίαν ῥῆσιν, θερμῶς ἀποκλαίοντες. Ὁ ποίω καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ κριτὴν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν εὐρομεν ἕλε, καὶ χωρίσομεν εἰς τῶν ἀκαταλύτους μονάς, ἄλλα μὴ δεθείμεν χείρας καὶ πόδας κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν δικηρὸν ὅλκετην καὶ ποιηρὸν, φρόντω τοῦ γαί τῶν πρακτεῖοι παρασωμβληθεῖς ἀπέραντα μετακλάσομαι καὶ ἀπορριφθομαι πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σκότους τοῦ ἐξωτέρου μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀφεγγή καταγώγια. Ὡν ὑμᾶς μὴ πειραθήμεν δόθη θεὸς ταῖς αὐτῷ φίλαις ἐαυτοῖς ἀρεταῖς ῥωμαίσατας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείστε καλλοναῖς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἐντυφωνότας διαωνίζειν ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων χοροστασίαις. Γένοιτο. Γένοιτο.

63. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τὸ χαραχθὲν νῦν πρὸς μὲ γράμμα τῆς σῆς μὲν ὑπῆρχε ¶ 163 ¶ χείρος, οὐ μὴν δὲ τοῦ σοῦ κίμα νοῦς· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώρισά τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σεσημεωμένων μέμψεων, ὁ μοι κηλίδα καὶ μολυσμὸν ἐπιτρύπειεν,
I have remained an orphan, but, earlier, my father and all my kinsmen had departed, and all those who are well-disposed toward me shall be covered by that most lamentable slab either before me or soon after me, and no entreaty shall have the power to prevail over it; no founts of gold and silver, as the saying goes, can buy off the road to the tomb; a father's affection will not deliver his son, nor will a mother's love be able to withhold her offspring. One thing only can make this journey easy, I mean our conversion to things sacred and to God, sincere attention, the study of virtue, progress and increase toward the higher state. Let us improve ourselves by such acts; let us fortify our souls by such acts, necessary as they are before the hour, lest in escorting the departed with funereal tears, we weep ardently over ourselves, as the Lord's saying has it. In this manner may we find the Judge and the judgment merciful over there and so enter the everlasting mansions. Let us not be bound hand and foot like that slothful and wicked servant, to whom I, more than anyone else, shall be compared with regard to the things that I should have done and regret them endlessly as I am angrily cast in the gloomy lodgings of the outer darkness. May God grant that you, who have adorned yourself with the virtues that are dear to Him, do not experience that fate, but rather enjoy eternally the beauties and delights over there among the choirs of the saints. Be it so! Be it so!

63. To the same

The letter you have now penned to me is indeed by your hand, but is not a product of your mind; for I did not recognize (in myself) any of the censures noted therein such as would impute to me a stain and a pollution, but which rather hold out
έτεροις δέ τυσιν, οὐ καλῶς, ἀγνωμονήσατον ἐπισείδοιν παροπάστεως ἐγκλήματι: οὖς, ὡς ἐγγύμα, τῷ γραφεὶ καλάμῳ πικρᾶν ἀπένειαν καὶ δριμεὺν τῷ μέλαινι συγκεραννού ἐπισείδιες. ἀλλὰ τούτως οὐκ οἶδ' ὡσεὶς ἀφείς, ἐμοῦ δὲ τούτῳ μιμηθείς καὶ τραχύ προσείδων ἄκρατον μοι τῶν θυμῶν διά τοῦ γράμματος ἀπεκέννωσα. Διατί; "Ὅτι (οὐ) συνῆληγησα, ὡτι ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάπτι πάθει οὐ συνέπαθον; Μαρτυρήσαι ἡ ἑφορος δίκη, ὥστιν καὶ τοῦ ἄλγους ἐπησθόμην καὶ τῷ πάθει συνέπαθον. Ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ μή παροσιάσαι με κατὰ πρόσωπον φλεγμονὴν ἀνίας ὑμῶν ἀπεγέννησε. Καὶ τούτο τῆς διακρίσεως ὑμῶν πέλαγος, ὃ πάντα μετρεῖν οἴδη καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀπαίτειν. Γῆρας γὰρ καὶ νόσος καὶ καιρός, ἐπίτασιν φέρων χειμέρων, οὐ πόρως συγγνώμης τετάχατα. Τί γὰρ καὶ καθυστερήσαμεν; Οὐ διὰ γράμματος τῶν ὀφθείταν προσθηγγειλαμεν ὑμείρον; Οὗ διαφόρους ἐπισκέψεις διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετείν ἡμῶν εἰσθότων ἐπιθύμεθα εἰ ἄρα κομψότερον ὁ πάσχων ἔσχεν; Ἀλλ' εἰς ὀδωρ κατὰ σὲ σπειρομεν, ἢ φησιν ἢ παρομία, καὶ χάρις οὐθεμία μετόπισθεν εὐφρεγών. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν σταῖμιν, 164 ἦν ουτους ἐκείνους ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκείνου τοῦ γράμματος δειξαμεν.
against others, who have improperly shown ingratitude, the accusation of neglecting you. It was them, I believe, you were upbraiding by your writing pen as you mixed with your ink a bitter and harsh cruelty. But having, I know not how, forgiven them, you bethought yourself of me and, with a savage look, poured upon me through your letter your intemperate anger. Why? Because I did not share in your suffering, because I did not sympathize with your grief? All-seeing Justice will testify that I was both conscious of the pain and did sympathize with your grief. Was your distress inflamed by the fact that I did not visit you in person? Is such the ocean of your discernment that is able to measure everything and make demands according to one’s ability? Indeed, old age, illness, and the season, which brings a wintry onset, are well nigh considered as valid excuses. Have I also been tardy? Have I not announced by letter the dream I had had? Have I not inquired through my servants who visited you on several occasions whether the patient was feeling better? But, in your case, I was sowing in water, as the proverb says, and no gratitude followed my good deeds. If I were to stand in front of you, I would show you all the more how undeserving I am of that letter.

64. Nikephoros to Ignatios

If you had known clearly, O my friend and most reverend of fathers, that I always carry in my mind your thrice longed-for Virtue, that I constantly see it in a mirror—for, just as I behold you in front of my eyes, so I imagine the image of your kindness—you would not have thought and considered that I had ignored and consigned to oblivion your unforgettable Prudence. You seem, however, unless I am far from the truth, to be unaware of the strength of my disposition or rather attraction toward you (for I am slow and not fast in being altered with regard to your unalterable
πιστος) ουκ ειδέναι, ὡστε εἰ μὴ προβλήτος ἄκτης πυκνά τοὺς ἰδίας, 
βαλλομένης τῶν ἀνέμων δρωμομένων, οὐχ ἦκιστα, αἱ συνεχεῖς τε καὶ ἀλλαπάλληλα 
καταγιδεῖς τῶν τοῦ βίου φρουτίδων τὴν ἐμὴν ἀθλίαν καὶ 
τληπαθῆ ψυχῆν ἐβαλλον, οὕτωτε ἀνείς ἐπευδιδοῦσε, πάντα καυρὸν 
καὶ πᾶσαν ὀραν ἔργον τοῦ πρὸς σε στέλλει καὶ τὰ κατὰ σε πυθάνε-
θαι ἐπισοῦμην, φιλαίτατε.

Αμέλεις δ’ οὖδεν ἔτερον ἦ τοῦτον γε ἐνεκα μέχρι τοῦ δεύρο τὰς 
περιστεράς καὶ τοῦ κόρακος ἦμιν τεταμένην· οὕτε δὲ κατὰ τὸ πυκνόν, 
ὡςπέρ ἔφης, τῶν περιόδων, ἐν αἷς οὐ καθ’ ἡμᾶς 165 ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς 
πεφορταὶ, κολαξίεται τὰ τοῦ κόρακος· οὕτε γὰρ πυκνότητα περιόδων 
τὸ σταλέν ἐμπερείχε γράμμα· δόο γὰρ ἡ τρεῖς ἀλλ’ οὗ πλείους, ὡς ἐγὼν 
νομίζω, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἐμέλλεμεν ἀκούντες ναυτικάν· οὐ διὰ τὸ ἄπτιθανον 
ἐστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν πυκνότητι περιόδων συνεχεὶ ἐνθυμημάτων εὐφρειν 
πυθανότητα· ἀλλ’ ἢν διὰ τὸ πυθανὸν μάλλον ἀγαπάν· καὶ γὰρ ἢν 
πληρο-
στάτως τὸ σταλέν· ὡστε γραφὴ κατηγορίας ἡ λόγως, τοὺς μὴ παθοῦσιν 
πάθος τι προσαγγείλας, ἡ ἐπικαλέσας· ἐπεὶ οὖδὲ κατὰ τινα 
σύνθεσιν τῶν περιόδων ἡμᾶρτηται, ἡ καθ’ ἔτερον ἡττυντος τρόπον παρατηρήσεως 
ἴδεας λόγου, ὑνα τὸ σὸν περὶ τὴν μέθοδον δεινὸν καὶ ἄλλως πολυμαθές, 
καὶ λίαν τεθαμάκαμεν καὶ ἐν τὰμβει πολλω ἐποιήκαμεν, παρα-
δραμώμεν. Ἐρμογένης γὰρ τις ἄλλος ἦμιν, οὐκ ἐν παισὶ γέρων, ἐν δὲ 
γέρουσιν παις, κατὰ τὸ ἄδομένοι καὶ φερόμενοι, ἄλλ’ ἐν γεραιτέρους εἰ 
γεραίτατος, ἢ γεραιώτατος καὶ συνετάτοτας ἀνάπεψεως, ἀλλην τινα 
συνθεῖσιν ἴδεαν λόγου βελτίων πολι καὶ ἐξοχώτατην, ὡς ἐγώμαι, καὶ 
Αριστείδων ἐπέκενω. Τι δαὶ καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἦμιν εἰς μέσον παραγῆς, 
πιστούµενος ἡμᾶς πάντος διὰ τοῦτον ὡς τὸ γράφειν ἀφελῶς καὶ δοκεῖν 
οὐκ ἐν συντάξει λέγειν, τοῖς ψέγουσιν μάλλον, οὐ τοῖς εύφημοισι 
166 ἀρμόδιον· Καὶ οὕτω γε τῷ πρέποντι καὶ τῇ ἀλληθείᾳ δοκεῖ ὡς ἄν 
τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπεχθεῖας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δι’ ἑξάρας ὄντας τὰ 
περισκελή καὶ συμπλοκῆ τῶν λόγων ἐμφαίνοντο τοῖς μεμοιφάνενοι καὶ 
μετ’ ὀργῆς ὧτι πλείστης ἐπιτιμῶσι διὰ τοῦ γράµματος. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν καὶ 
πρέπῃ λόγων εὐθύτης τε καὶ ὀρθότης καμπύλω νόηματι καὶ στρεβλῶ; 
Τὸ ὄμοιον γὰρ ἐπακολουθεῖ τῷ ὄμοιῳ καὶ ὀςαύτῳς τὸ συγγενὲς τῷ
friendship, so lovely it is and widely celebrated). For if, just like a jutting shore that is repeatedly struck by the waves as the winds are roused, the constant and repeated squalls of life's troubles did not strike my wretched and miserable soul without let or respite, I would have used every season and every hour to write to you and inquire of your news, O dearest friend.

It was for that and no other reason that I have kept in reserve until now (the story) of the dove and the crow. Not that (the words) of the crow, as you have said, are to be reproved on account of the frequency of their periods, whereof you—not I—have found them at fault. Indeed, the letter I sent you did not contain frequent periods—two or three and no more—not enough to cause nausea as we listened. Nor for being implausible, since it is possible to find plausibility of invention even in a continuous frequency of periods. On the contrary, (my missive) should have been appreciated for its plausibility which it had in full measure. Hence you stand convicted of making an accusation, namely, for having denounced or invoked a fault where no fault existed, since (my letter) was not deficient in the composition of its periods or according to any other manner of observance of whatever style—if I may set aside your technical skill and deep learning which I greatly admire and am astonished by. Indeed, you appear among us like another Hermogenes—not, as they say, an old man among boys and a boy among old men, but you are the oldest among the older, or rather the most respected and wisest in having invented some other concept of style, a far superior and most excellent one, well above that of Aristides, I should say. Why, indeed, did you also introduce that quotation from comedy, thereby confirming that I was writing carelessly and, it seems, without regard to composition—(a quotation) more suitable for blame than for praise? For it appears, in truth, fitting that the anger and hatred toward one's enemies should be manifested in the harshness and intertwining of diction in the case of those who are expressing censure and excessively angry condemnation by letter. How, indeed, can a straightforward and correct diction be suitable for a bent and crooked notion? Surely, like follows like and
συγγενεῖ. Τίς δὲ καὶ μόνον ἑπάγοι τῇ ὑμῶν ἀμεμφεῖ τελειότητι περὶ πάντα, εἰ μὴ μόνον λοιπὸν ἢ μανίας μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν πλήρης εἶη; Γράφε
tοίνυν αὐτὸς καὶ διαρθὸν μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ σὸλοικον τὸ σὸν σώονς
άλλους καὶ ἀσολόικους περὶ τὸ λέγειν καθίστησιν, καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον
ὡσαύτως μὴ βαρβαρίζειν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ὀρθολεκτεῖν παρασκευάζειν.
Ἰμερόμεθα δὲ σὲ θεάσασθαι, ποθενότατε, ἢ τὰς ἥλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ὁ
tὰς κόρας ἐστερημένοις.

42 μόνον nos: μόνον V || 44 διορθοῦν V || σὸλοικον V || σοους V || 45 ἀσολόικονς V
kin follows kin. Who, however, would reproach your Perfection that is blameless in all respects, unless he were himself filled with reproach or rather with folly? So 'tis better that you write yourself and correct me, for your solecisms make others healthy and free from solecism and your barbarisms cause those who appear to speak correctly not to speak like barbarians. I desire to see you, my longed-for friend, more than the blind man wishes to see the rays of the sun.
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1–3.

These three letters concern the same sequence of events and appear to have been written at fairly short intervals, one after the other. The events in question were, more or less, as follows: the Church of Nicaea, already burdened by the imposition of the συνωτή, had to face a departure of some of her πάροικοι, who demanded for themselves a fair share of the produce they had raised. The οἰκονόμος of the Church, who may have defrauded the πάροικοι, was arrested by the authorities. Ignatios laid him under a penance, but was nevertheless anxious to see him reinstated in his office. In his absence he sent to Gregory the keys of the Church’s granary so as to enable the imperial official to take the amount necessary for feeding the troops. A kourator (perhaps in charge of the domain in which the disturbance had taken place) was also drawn into the affair. In short, the thematic administration was putting considerable pressure on the Church for the delivery of foodstuffs. This may (but need not) have been caused by an extraordinary military situation.

1.

Gregory the spatharokandidatos: A person of the same name and rank is also the addressee of Photios’ letter 30, which concerns a theological point and is, unfortunately, impossible to date on internal evidence (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, 80–81). The rank of spatharokandidatos came ninth in descending order in the scale of eighteen palatine dignities, immediately below that of protospatharios and above those of dishypatos and spatharios: see table in Oikonomidès, Listes, 292. It is first attested as a single word in the early ninth century: ibid., 297. In view of seals no. 2921 and 2935 (Zacos-Veglery, vol. I.3, 1656 and 1662), dating from the seventh and eighth century respectively, J. Haldon suggests that the title may have occasionally been employed earlier; see Byzantine Praetorians, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά (Bonn, 1984), 186–87. Judging by the context, Gregory appears to have been protonotarios of the theme of Opsikon, like Nicholas, the addressee of letters 7–8. that is, the officer responsible for the civil administration of the province. On this office see Bury, System, 94; Oikonomidès, Listes, 315. The protonotarios often held the rank of spatharokandidatos; G. Schlumberger, La sigillographie de l’Empire byzantin (Paris, 1884), 103; id., Mélanges d’archéologie byzantine (Paris, 1895), 223; V. Laurent, BZ 33 (1933), 344, etc. It was he who was responsible for supplying the army with provisions. On his ability to oppress provincials, see Theoph. Cont., 443.15.

2 ἀνεμαίας φρενός: cf. VN 139.13: τῆς κοντάδους καὶ ἀνεμαίας ἀπι-
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στίς κατάστασις, ibid., 166.25: τοὺς ἀνεμμαίους καὶ ἀστάτους ... ληρήματι. The word is also attested in the Life of St. Thomas of Lesbos = BHG³ 2455; cf. Th. Detorakis, 'Ἄθρημα 80 (1985–89), 226.

7 πάρουκοι: tenant farmers, on whom see, most recently, M. Kaplan, Les hommes et la terre à Byzance (Paris, 1992), 264 ff. Cf. also A. Kazhdan’s comment on our text, BSI 53 (1992), 198. As here, Theoph., 486.29–487.5, in a well-known passage describing the “vexations” imposed by Emperor Nikephoros I (801–811), specifically connects the paroikoi with “pious foundations,” that is, orphanages, hostels, poorhouses, churches, and imperial monasteries. What is not clear to us is whether, as Kazhdan believes, Ignatios draws a distinction between paroikoi and μυσθοφόροι (paid laborers). In other words, was the complaint of the malcontents that they had been treated “as if” they were paid laborers (μυσθοφόρων δίκην), that is, by receiving a smaller share of the produce in kind or cash? On the other hand, the terms πάρουκος and μυσθωτός/μυσθωτής are sometimes used interchangeably (see Lemerle, Agr. Hist., 180), and it is equally possible to translate μυσθοφόρων δίκην as “like the paid laborers they were.” Ignatios’ rebuttal of the complaint does not appear to us to favor either interpretation.

10 ff. Note the statement that the Church did not own any farm animals or agricultural implements. It acted simply as landlord.

14 γεωργικός νόμος: There is a difficulty here. The Farmer’s Law (ed. W. Ashburner, Journal of Hellenic Studies 30 [1910], 85 ff.), as we know it, makes no mention of πάρουκοι and is concerned instead with owner farmers living in a village commune. It recognizes only two kinds of contract: the μορτή and the ἡμισεια. The former (Farmer’s Law, cc. 9–10) lays down that the owner will receive 1/10 of the produce and the tenant (μορτίτησι) 9/10; the latter (cc. 11–15) concerns a division into two of the produce and appears to have applied mostly, if not exclusively, in the case of an indigent landlord who was unable to exploit his own fields: see Kaplan, Les hommes et la terre, 259 ff. While the ἡμισεια cannot be relevant to our case, one may wonder whether Ignatios is referring to the μορτή. A share of 1/10 is certainly extremely low, so Lemerle (Agr. Hist., 38) may be right in supposing that this kind of contract also included other clauses, in particular that the tenant would be liable to the property tax. Theoph., loc. cit., does say that the πάρουκοι paid the καπνικών (poll tax), but is rather vague concerning the property rates. He implies, if we understand him correctly, that the πάρουκοι were liable for part of the latter. For, after stating that Nikephoros I transferred to the imperial demesne the best estates of the said charitable foundations, he adds: “As to the rates (τέλη) upon them, they were to be imposed on the domains and πάρουκοι that remained to the said charitable foundations, so that their τέλη were doubled.” If the Church received only 1/10 of the revenue in kind from its landed properties and was, in addition, liable to part of the property tax, its condition would indeed have been precarious. On the other hand,
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Ignatios may be referring to some customary, unwritten law that laid down different arrangements.


20 πλατύνεται: cf. VT 395.27: “It would take an experienced orator to compose a biography of Tarasios, μη δτι γε ήμιν ευτελεία λόγου πλατυνόμενος πρὸς τοσούτον ογκον ευγενείας αναδραμείν, . . .” etc.

2.

1 ἐν μέρει πληροφορίας: cf. letter 30.4–5 and VT 409.27: εἰ γὰρ δῶμεν ἐν μέρει πίστεως εἶναι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ προειρήμενα, that is, “If we grant that these allegations are credible.” This usage may be a borrowing from Demosthenes, 21.165, 166 (ἐν χάριτος μέρει . . . τοῦ ἐν εὐνεχείας ἀριθμῷ εἰς μέρει).

3 ἔνα λήθη: The addition appears necessary and may be justified by a parallel in letter 11.7–8: ἐν λῃθῇ γέγονεν; but cf. VT 395.16: ὅσα πεπείραμεν καὶ τῇ εὐτελεί καὶ πενιχρᾳ μοι μνήμη μένεως ἐπίσταμαι. Heikel supplies ἐν . . . μνήμῃ, whereas Nikitín would emend καὶ to καν.

9 οἰκονόμος: On this office from the fifth to the tenth century, see Darrouzès, Offikia, 16 ff. The oikonomos, who had charge of church estates and revenue, was normally a cleric, either priest or deacon. Canon 11 of Nicaea II stresses the obligation of bishoprics and monasteries to have an oikonomos.

22 λαοῦ = “army,” as often in Byzantine texts.

3.


κουράτωρ: This must have been an ecclesiastical, not a civil or imperial kou-rator, otherwise Ignatios would not have been responsible for him. We assume that he was the administrator of an estate (perhaps situated at some distance from Nicaea) subject to the oikonomos. Cf. V. Laurent in BZ 33 (1933), 353 note 3; Darrouzès, Offikia, 81 note 304. The sixth-century inscription from Colophon, διὰ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ ευλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ κουράτορος, may also refer to an ecclesiastical kou-rator (H. Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes d’Asie Mineure [Paris, 1922], no. 94), though this cannot be regarded as certain since, in spite of canonical prohibitions, clergymen did on occasion assume secular kou-ratoriai. This may also be the case of Euprepianos, disciple of Theodore the Studite, who, pretending to be a layman, was more procura-tor in charge of buying and loading beasts of burden for an abbess in the mountains of Prusa: . . . μόνον τε ὄντα καὶ μειζονερ-κός ἤγουν κουρατορικός τῇ ἡγουμενῇ δουλεύοντα ζώα τε ἐπαγοράζοντα καὶ
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φορτοκομεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐσω ἔξω ... (letter 329.9–11, ed. Fatouros, 470). On the office of kourator in general, see I. Ševčenko, Byz 35 (1965), 568–72.


4 ἀποικία: probably to be understood literally as “settlement away from home.”

8–9 τοιαύτη ... ἀντιλήψεως: ironic.

10ff εἶ μὴ γὰρ (οὐκ) ἧδει, etc.: a difficult passage. The required meaning seems to be: “Unless you were ignorant of the sorry state of the Church, one would be tempted to accuse you of acting foolishly. The Church is in need of persons who can administer her affairs properly, but you have arrested those very persons and forced them to act in the interests of the government.” The third person ἧδει (itself an emendation) instead of ἧδεσ may be due to attraction by ὑπεροχή, but παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντω καὶ κατ’ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ὀνημέραι παρεστῶτων is difficult to explain. Should one correct to αὐτῆς ... αὐτῆς ... , or does αὐτοῦ refer to another person, for example, the comes of Opsikon?

21–22 σκῶλον ... ἐκβάλλον, λείαν: cf. VN 153.16–17: τὰ ἐν μέσῳ σκῶλα καὶ σκάνδαλον ... υφελόμενος ... ; VGD 68.3: ἤπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκῶλον ἔξεβαλε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγουσθε ὁδοῦ, καὶ λείαν ἑαυτῷ ταὐτὴν κατασκευάζας ... ; VT 406.30: καὶ πάν σκόλον (σκόλιων perperam Heikel) ἐκβάλλον εἰθείας πολεῖ τὰς τρίβους τῆς πίστεως ... ; Greg. Naz., Orat. in laudem Basilii, PG 36, 540B: λύει τὰ ἐν μέσῳ σκῶλα καὶ προσκόμματα. Further examples in Lampe, s.v. See also Nikitin’s comment, “O nekotoryh,” 11.

4.

A letter of courtesy, accompanied by a gift of olive oil, probably written not long after Ignatios had been appointed to the see of Nicaea.

Nikephoros (cf. no. 19): otherwise unknown, possibly a little older than Ignatios (line 16). He cannot be the same as the chartophylax Nikephoros who took part in the Council of 787 (Mansi, XII, 1051D) both because the difference in time is too great and because another chartophylax, Constantine, is recorded in 798 (Dölger, Regesten, no. 351). Another chartophylax Nikephoros, known as a canonist, flourished at the end of the eleventh century; see P. Gautier, “Le chartophylax Nicéphore,” REB 27 (1969), 159–95.

Chartophylax: On the history of this office, see Darrouzès, Officia, 19ff, 334ff. He was the archivist of the patriarchate and, according to Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Mansi, XVI, 38D), received all letters addressed to the patriarch of Constantinople, except those sent by other patriarchs; introduced to the patriarch all prelates and clerics; and drafted letters of recommendation for candidates to holy orders and abbots. He was not, however, in the ninth century the chief of the patriarchal chancellerly, a position he was to attain later. See also below, letter 53.
5.

A courtesy letter largely devoid of content. If it dates from Ignatios’ episcopate, it indicates that the author, as might have been expected, paid periodic visits to Constantinople. He does not, unfortunately, describe the nature of the misfortunes that befell him. Note that all the allusions are biblical, suggesting that John was not a person of much culture.

*Kouboukleisios*: member of the patriarch’s cubiculum. On this honorific office, attested mostly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Darrouzès, *Officia*, 39 ff. Constant. Porph., *De Cerimoniis*, II.39, 637 informs us that before his time the patriarch used to have a *praepositus* at the head of his *kouboukleisioi* and quotes to that effect a document of Heraclius addressed to Patriarch Sergios. It seems that the emperor had some control over the economy of the patriarchal cubiculum. See Nicholas I, letter 155.9: *Εἴ γὰρ καὶ γέγονε βασιλικὴ πρόσταξις τοῦ ἐξωσθήραι τῶν κοινουκλεισίων*, etc. (ed. R. Jenkins and L. Westerink [Washington, D.C. 1973], 474).

6.

Constantine *hypatos*: probably the same person who appears in the *Vita Ioannis* (by Sabas; absent from the Life by Peter), *AASS*, Nov. III, 365c–366a, where he is described as *ὑπατος* or *ὑπατικός*. He was a frequent visitor of the saint, by whom he was once reprimanded for having struck his servant. His son Nikephoros was healed by Ioannikios of a stutter. These incidents, if related in correct sequence, pertain to the reign of Theophilos. On the chronology of the *Vita Ioannis*, see Mango, “Two Lives,” 396ff.

The rank of *hypatos* (consul) stood in the ninth century fairly low in the hierarchy—twelfth out of eighteen, below that of *spatharios* and above that of *strator*. It disappeared in the tenth century, or, to be more exact, it was revalued and conferred on a single individual who had a judicial function. Philotheos (Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 155) distinguishes between *ὑπατοι βασιλικοί* and *ὑπατοι παγανοί* (without function) τῆς συγκλήτου. Constantine must have belonged to the former class since he held a post, which appears to have been judicial. Cf. R. Guillard, “Le consul,” *Byz* 24 (1954), 548–78 = *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, II (Amsterdam, 1967), 44ff; Oikonomidès, *Listes*, 296, 325.

To a Constantine *hypatos* belonged the following seals of the Zacos-Vegleroy collection: vol. I.1, nos. 780–81; vol. I.2, nos. 1441–42, 1808–9; and vol. I.3, no. 3092.

The interpretation of this letter must start with the garbled name of the bishop in line 9. Gedeon’s emendation *Ἰκονίω* is clearly impossible since the bishop of Iconium could claim no jurisdiction over monasteries situated in Bithynia. We opt for the correction *Νικομηδείας* (which is not too violent, if one assumes the accidental erasure of the initial letter in the model and considering the near identity of *ν*
and μ in early minuscule) because the district of Pylai was situated within the diocese of Nicomedia and none of the suffragan bishoprics of either Nicomedia or Nicaea, which might have been involved, had a name at all resembling the reading of the MS (ηκοι). That, however, does not completely solve the problem, for it may be asked why the metropolitan of Nicomedia addressed himself to Ignatios over the improper activities of the kourator of Pylai and why it was Ignatios who took the matter up with the central government. Not knowing whether Ignatios was himself a bishop at the time, we must leave the matter in suspense.

5 έκκλησιαστικοί ... κεφαλαίοι: We fail to understand why Kazhdan, BSI 53 (1992), 199, takes the word κεφαλαίον, frequently used by Ignatios, to mean "text."

8 ἀποδίδοις τῷ γραμμάτῳ: Note that the message was delivered by the bearer and was not contained in the letter.

8–9 ἐπισκόπων Νικομηδίας: If our emendation is correct, the unnamed prelate may have been the predecessor of Ignatios, the addressee of letter 49.

10–11 ὁ τοῦ ξενοδόχου Πυλών κουράτωρ: This reading (rather than Gedeon's emendation ξενοδοχεῖον) is defensible in the sense of "the kourator on the staff of the xenodochos of Pylai." Pylai, the situation of which has long been in dispute, is probably to be identified with the Byzantine site at Çiftlik köyü, 4.5 km east of Yalova, rather than with Yalova itself, which is a modern settlement. It was a small harbor town which, from the seventh century onwards, served as the terminal of the main military road leading to Nicaea and, across Asia Minor, to the eastern frontier. First mentioned in the fourth century (Peutinger Table and Sozomenus, IV.26.1, ed. J. Bidez–G. C. Hansen [Berlin, 1960], 182, concerning the death of the patriarch Macedonius in 360), it is frequently alluded to in Byzantine sources down to the thirteenth century. Some of the pertinent material has been collected by X. A. Siderides, ΚΕΦΣ 28 (1904), 105 ff, who incorrectly placed Pylai at Hersek. See also E. Honigman, Byz 14 (1939), 625 ff, and especially L. Robert, "Un voyage d'Antiphilos de Byzance," Journal des Savants (1979), 269 ff. On the Byzantine remains at Çiftlik köyü (which include harbor installations, a standing baptistery, a cistern and an aqueduct), see, in part, S. Eyice, CahArch 10 (1959), 256–58, and Mango, TM 12 (1994), 150 ff; on inscriptions found there, both antique and Byzantine, see L. Robert, Hellenica 8, 30 ff; idem, "Noms de métiers dans des documents byzantins," Χαρακτήριον 'Αν. Κ. Ὥρλανδου, I (Athens, 1964), 328 ff = Opera minora sel., II (Amsterdam, 1969), 919 ff; S. Şahin, Bithynische Studien (Bonn, 1978), 30 ff; and Th. Corsten, Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylae = Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 32 (Bonn, 1987), 108 ff.

The xenodocheion of Pylai is first attested on a boundary stone of the reign of Constantine VI and Irene (780–797), found at either Çiftlik köyü or Yalova in 1974 and now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 74.74): Şahin, op. cit., 37 ff

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and pl. vii, who mistakenly believes that xenodocheion was a place name. In the Kletorologion of Philotheos (899), the ἕννοδόχος Πυνών, along with those of Sangaros and Nicomedia, is listed as being subject to the Great Curator (Oikonomidès, Listes, 123). In the tenth century, Theodore Daphnopates addresses a letter to Nikephoros ἕννοδόχος Πυνών and gives an idyllic description of the rural pleasures available to his correspondent: letter 37, ed. J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink (Paris, 1978), 207ff. Seals of xenodochoi of Pylaï: ΚΕΦΣ 31 (1907–8), 51; Zacos, II, 163; N. Zikos in N. Oikonomidès, ed., Studies in Byzantine Sigillography, II (Washington, D.C., 1990), 173–74.

10 μοναστήρια: Several monasteries are known to have been in the general area of Pylaï: Janin, Grands centres, 100f, among them, that of Asekretis (ibid., 86) and perhaps that of the Kathara (τὰ Καθαρά) (ibid., 158ff). It is not clear why they should have paid dues to the neighboring xenodocheion.

28 ἐπισκήψεως: cf. VGA 21.11.

7.

Nicholas must have been protonotarios of the theme of Opsikion. On the office see above, no. 1; Bury, System, 94; Oikonomidès, Listes, 315. In Philotheos (Oikonomidès, ibid., 121), the πρωτονοτάριον τῶν θεμάτων are subject to the χαρτ. τοῦ σακελλάου. They are not mentioned in Taktikon Uspenski.

13 περιφορᾶς: in the sense of a meal carried round the table, as in Xen. Cyr. 2.2.4. Cf. Pollux 6.55; Athen. 3.120c; 7.275b.

14 συνωνή (coemptio): originally the obligatory purchase of produce by the state at a fixed (usually low) price. See E. Stein, Histoire du Bas-Empire, II (Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam, 1949), 199. It is believed, following G. Ostrogorsky, “Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byz. Reiches,” Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 20 (1928), 49f; idem, BSl 9 (1947–48) 296 note 272, that by the tenth century the synone had been commuted to a land tax payable in cash, but that is not its meaning here. It should be noted that in this and the following letter Ignatios is concerned not with impositions on the Church of Nicæa as landowner, but on the members of its clergy. He speaks of the synone not as a regular tax, but as an extraordinary imposition in kind, coupled with ἄγγιστρια and ἐπίθρεια, terms that are often found in combination; cf. Lemerle, Agr. Hist., 168, 174. It can hardly be supposed that clergymen were exempt from the land tax. In commenting on letters 7–8, Kazar- dan, BSl 53 (1992), 200, is, we believe, mistaken in taking συνωνή and σύταρχια to be two different taxes.

18 πρὸ τῶν ἵνων: On this formula of humility, see Karlsson, Idéologie 2, 36.

20 ἐκδήμου: probably in the sense that this imposition was “alien.”

σκοτόμαια: cf. VT 399.16; VGD 67.5–6; VN 205.16.

22 ἐνυλίου μηνῶς: time of harvest?
27 μοδίους ἐξ: This was a second imposition, clearly levied in kind and probably caused by some extraordinary circumstances. On the modius see E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie (Munich, 1970), 95ff. The cash price of 6 modii would normally have been about half a solidus. See Ostrogorsky, BZ 32 (1932), 320ff.


8.

Adds little to no. 7, except that the exemptions enjoyed by the clergy of Nicaea are said to have been based on an imperial decree and ancient custom. Such a decree does not appear to have survived, although we hear of special privileges granted to the Churches of Thessalonica (Cod. Just., 1.2.8, X.16.12), Constantinople (Nov. Just., 43.1; 59 praef.) and Alexandria (Cod. Theod., XI.24.6).

14 πρωτογενῶτος: a hapax.

9.


Nikephoros was on his way to Constantinople, no doubt to take part in the festivities of Easter week, when metropolitans attended on the emperor and a number of them were invited to dinner at the imperial table: Oikonomidès, Listes, 205.12 (Easter Monday): De Cerimoniiis, Bonn ed., 92.24, 93.5, 96.5 (Thursday of Easter week). If Nikephoros had brought his letter himself (lines 1–2), it is not entirely clear how it was that he did not stop at Nicaea (lines 15–16). Did he leave it at some neighboring spot to be delivered to Ignatios?

16 ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι: on the letter as mirror, see Karlsson, Idéologie 2, 96.

17 ἡμέρα τῆς καθιερώσεως: on the day of his actual appointment or its anniversary? In either case, this letter appears to have been written not long after his ordination as bishop.

19 δημοσίου: This probably refers to the fisc rather than to a crowd of people; perhaps "Treasury officials."

19–20 Note that Ignatios feels no obligation to celebrate Easter in his own cathedral.

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10.

It follows from this letter that the bishopric of Taion had been reestablished a short time previously by Ignatios’ predecessor, whom he does not name (see also no. 17). This must have followed an urban upgrading as laid down in canon 38 of the Trullan Council [P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, I (Rome, 1962), 172–73]. In the *Notitiae*, Taion first appears in No. 4 (ascribed to Basil of Ialimban), ed. J. Darrouzès, 254.198. As regards the date of *Not.* 4, Grumel has argued in *REB* 19 (1961), 198–207, that its archetype was drawn up between 848 and 858, but Darrouzès, ibid., 42–45, is content to place it fairly close to the Council of 869. Grumel’s argument is certainly invalid, but needs to be briefly considered because of its bearing on our Ignatios. Older *Notitiae* and conciliar lists assign to Nicaea only three suffragans (Modrine/Melina, Linoe, Gordouerba). To these, three more are added in *Not.* 4 (Noumerika, Taion, Maximianai). With regard to the last, MS H (Vat. gr. 1167) notes that it had been set up by the metropolitan (scil. of Nicaea) Nikephoros and confirmed by the metropolitan Alexander (first half of the 10th century). As for Nikephoros, he was ordained either by Methodios or Ignatios and was ousted by Photios in 858: see V. Laurent, *EO* 34 (1935), 467 ff. Believing (erroneously) that our Ignatios succeeded Theophanes Graptos (d. 11 Oct. 845), Grumel argued that our letter 9 was written in the fall of 845, that is, after October (but why the fall when it speaks of Easter?) and that letter 20 referred to the winter of 847–848 or later. He concluded that Nikephoros was ordained in 848 at the earliest. The only valid point that may be deduced from Grumel’s study is that the bishopric of Maximianai was probably created shortly after ca. 850.

Taion lay to the east of Nicaea in the area of Geyve, but its exact site has not been established. It is the same as the Tottaion or ἱερεῖον Ταταίου of earlier sources, mentioned along with Doris as belonging to the territory of Nicaea. See *Cod. Theod.*, XII.1.119: Tottai et Doridis oppidorum sive mansionem; ACO, II.1, 3 (1935), 59.16 [418]: Ταταίαι καὶ Δορίς ἱερείων εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τὴν Νίκαιαν. Hierokles, 694, 1–2, also has ἱερεῖον Ταταίου and ἱερεῖον Δωρίς. Instead of Doris we find Dablis in Ptol. *Geogr.*, V.1, Müller 804; *Tab. Peut.*, IX.2–3; *Itin. Ant.*, 141; *Itin. Burd.*, 573–74. We need not concern ourselves with the problem whether Doris was the same as Dablis (so Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, 181–82); or different from it (so E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdemos d’Hierokles* [Brussels, 1939], ad loc.). See also Ruge, *RE* 4.2, 1947, s.v. Dablae and IV.A, 2462, s.v. Tataion. It may be worth pointing out, however, that Dablis was known in the seventh century for its hot springs (*Vita Theod. Syceot.*, ed. A. J. Festugière [Brussels, 1970], c. 146.38), a circumstance that may facilitate its identification.

For the eastward extension of the territory of Nicaea, see C.W.M. Cox and A. Cameron, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* 5 (1937), 33, no. 60; and A.H.M.

The bishopric of Taion (spelled Ταίων, Ταίον, Ταίον) regularly appears in *Notitiae* subsequent to the ninth century, usually in fifth place among the six suffragans of Nicaea. Seal of a bishop (11th century): Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 398. 5ff Sacred vessels: These appear to have been borrowed temporarily because the new bishopric did not possess any.

14 δέδοται αὐτῇ: It follows that Ignatios’ correspondent was the first incumbent at Taion.


26 χρυσόν ποσότητα ἀποτιμώντω: payment of gold; not regarded as simony, the practice of such an offering was encouraged by the Church. See *Coll. 93 caps.* in V. N. Beneševič, *Syntagma XIV titulorum*, I (St. Petersburg, 1906), 775, c. 49. In the early tenth century the συνήθης παροχή for the bishopric of Sebaste was 100 solidi: Life of St. Luke the Stylite, ed. H. Delehaye, in *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923), 202.28–31.

11. Noumerika (a name that would appear to be of military origin) is first mentioned in the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon. On the accession of Heraclius (610), Comentiolum, the brother of Phocas, revolted and seized Ancyra. Heraclius sent an emissary, the priest Philippicus, to treat with him. Afraid to proceed any further, Philippicus waited at Noumerika (ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Νοουμερικῶν τῆς Βυθνίας) and was apprehended there by some soldiers friendly to Comentiolum, who marched him off to Ancyra. On his way he was able to see the saint at Sykeon, who assured him that he was not in any danger (c. 152.38; Festugière did not understand that Noumerika was a proper name). It follows that Noumerika was a post on the road leading to Ancyra and that it lay some distance west of Sykeon. For the historical circumstances see W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *BZ* 66 (1973), 314–15. Ramsay (*Hist. Geogr.*, 181) identifies Noumerika with Doris/Dablis.

The bishopric of Noumerika, like that of Taion, first appears in *Notitia* 4. A bishop Constantine attended the Council of 869: Mansi, XVI, 144D. Cf. Lequien, *OrChr*, I, 661–62; Fedalto, *Hierarchia*, I, 112. Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, nos. 395–96, publishes two seals of bishops, one of Christopher (9th century), the other anonymous (10th century). The former is attributed to the years 787–815 by Zacos-
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Veglery, I.2, no. 1330, who do not realize the implications of their dating. There is also an extant seal of Bishop Theodore: Zacos, II, no. 726. Noumerika appears to have possessed a highly revered church (or icon?) of the Virgin: see Zacos-Veglery, no. 934C, seal of Menas Stratelates (7th century?) with an invocation to the Theotokos of Noumerika. See also ibid., no. 1330; no. 377 in V. Laurent, La collection C. Orghidan (Paris, 1952), 192–93; and the late eleventh-century seal no. 261 in the Henri Seyrig collection (J.-C. Cheynet, C. Morisson, and W. Seibt, Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig [Paris, 1991], 177–78). Finally, an unnamed bishop is mentioned in a letter of Psellos, ed. K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, V (Paris-Venice, 1876), 257.

4ff τῷ θεῷ πάλαι καθιερώσθαι . . . etc.: It is not immediately apparent whether the three circumstances singled out by Ignatios (having been in the clergy for a long time, being learned in holy Scripture, and occupying the highest post in the Church of Constantinople, i.e., that of bishop) apply to himself or to the bishop of Noumerika. The logic of the argument requires the former interpretation. If so, we may draw the conclusion that Ignatios had been in the clergy for many years before being ordained to the see of Nicaea.

9ff It is not clear why the bishop of Noumerika was unwilling to meet Ignatios, but some financial difficulty may be suspected.

12.

A routine expression of sympathy and thanks for gifts received.

11 ὄλκῃς ἀργυρίου: cf. VT 407.7.

13.

Date: Probably from the time of Ignatios’ episcopacy.

Heleno(u)polis, modern Hersek, near the mouth of the stream Drakon (Yelken-dere, formerly Kırkçeit suyu), founded by Constantine in 327 and named after his mother, the empress Helena (Chron. Pasch., 527; Jerome, Chron., 01.276, Helm, 231; Philost., Historia ecclesiastica ii.12, Bidez, 24). It had previously been a village called Drepanon or Souga (so Malalas, 323) and was the burial place of St. Lucian of Antioch (martyred 7 Jan. 312). The late tradition that Helena was born there is in all probability false. See C. Mango, TM 12 (1994), 143ff.

Helenopolis served as a point of (dis)embarkation on the important route from Constantinople to Nicaea, but its harbor was subject to silting due to the alluvium carried down by the Drakon. For the important works initiated there by Justinian, seeProcopius, De aed., 5.2; also cf. Anecd., 30.8. By the eleventh century Helenopolis had greatly declined (Attaliates, 144), and today no ancient remains are to be seen. See D. Stierion, “Hélénopolis,” DHGE, fasc. 135, 877–84.

The bishop of Helenopolis was subject to the metropolitan of Nicomedia: Dar-


For the bishopric, also subject to Nicomedia, see Lequien, OrChr, I, 621–22; Fedalto, Hierarchia, I, 105; and Laurent, Corpus, V.1, no. 385. Assuming he was traveling from Nicaea, Ignatios probably followed the pass of the Draco, which would have led him both to Prainetos and Helenopolis.

1–2 τὴν πορείαν... ἐστειλάμεθα: cf. VT 407.26.

5ff Salt production at Helenopolis is not, to our knowledge, otherwise attested. The flat and marshy coast would have been suitable for that purpose. In the Ottoman period, salt was produced both at Tuzla (Cape Akritas) and at the far end of the gulf of Nicomedia: Narrative of Travels..., by Evliya Efendi, trans. J. von Hammer, II (London, 1850), 32.

11ff The nature of the transaction is not entirely clear because of the ambiguity of the words εἰς γὰρ δωδεκάτην αὐξήσει χρυσίου ποσότητα. We have understood them to mean, as does Kazhdan, BSI 53 (1992), 199, that the full price would be 12 nomismata. It is also possible, however, to interpret δωδεκάτη as one-twelfth (presumably interest), in which case the total price would remain unspecified. In either case the quantity of salt must have been considerable and may have been intended to supply the needs of the bishopric of Nicaea for a fairly long period. It is plausible to suppose that in Nicaea salted fish was produced in large quantities (cf. letter 14).

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di Papirologia (Milan, 1966), 272–85. In the sixth-century P. Cairo Mas. 67.141/1, verso/19, one artaba of salt costs 1/3 carat. No prices appear to be recorded for the ninth century.

14.

Date: episcopal period.

A humorously erudite note to accompany a gift of fish, presumably the notoriously bad kordakia of Lake Ascanius, which have been discussed exhaustively by L. Robert, Journal des Savants (July–Dec. 1961), 97–166 and (Jan.–June 1962), 5–74. Fish was a common gift sent by epistolographers; see H. Hunger, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, I (Munich, 1978), 231 and note 166. On the Byzantine custom of sending gifts with letters in general, see A. Karpozilos, “Realia in Byzantine Epistology X–XII c.,” BZ 77 (1984), 20–37.

The train of thought is somewhat deficient in logic: You serve the rarest delicacies at your table.—No, actually you live quite frugally—If I have exaggerated the daintiness of your cuisine, that was merely to excuse my poor gift.

15.

Perhaps on the same matter as no. 14.

16.

Date: episcopal period. This letter forms the basis of Grumel, Regestes, I.2–3, ed. J. Darrouzès (1989), no. 428, misdated to after 11 Oct. 845 on the false assumption that Ignatios acceded to the bishopric of Nicaea after the death of Theophanes Grapto.

In letter 495.30ff Theodore the Studite refers to an abbot of Komai (ὁ τὸν Κωμιὸν ἡγούμενος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γουλαίον) who had been disposessed of his post by the Iconoclasts (approximate date 822–826), ed. Fatouros, 730. Janin (Grands centres, 115, 143) believes that the reading Κωμιὸν is a mistake for Βομιὸν (the well-known monastery τὸν Ἡλίου Βομιὸν at Elegmoe, modern Kursunlu), but apart from the fact that Κωμιὸν is independently attested in two texts, it must have lain in the diocese of Nicaea, whereas Elegmoe was situated in that of Nicomedia.

7–8 By taking asylum in a church, the murderer placed himself under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Legal sources about the right of asylum: Cod. Theod., IX.45.4; Cod. Just., I.12.3; Nov. Just., 17.7; Nov. Just., 38, and Ecl. 17.1, ed. L. Burgmann (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), 226–27. See also A. Dain and G. Rouillard, “Une inscription relative au droit d’asile,” Byz 5 (1929–30), 315–26. In VT 407.1–408.18 Ignatios refers to a spatharios who, accused of having taken public revenues, sought asylum at the church of St. Sophia. A similar event is recorded in the Funeral Oration of St. Basil by Gregory of Nazianzos, ed. Boulenger, §LVI; Theodore the Studite alludes
to asylum in letter 537, "Μαρία σπαθαρέξ" (ed. Fatouros, 810), as does Photios in letter 4, addressed to the future Caesar Bardas (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, I, 57).

9 οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχου: The meaning of the title oikoumenikos, applied from the sixth century onwards to the archbishop of Constantinople, must have still been no other than that of "superior"; see S. Vailhé, EO 11 (1908), 65–69 and 161–71; H. Grégoire, Byz 8 (1933), 570–71; V. Grumel, Revue des études grecques 58 (1945), 212–18; V. Laurent, Miscellanea G. Mercati 3 = Studi e Testi 123 (1946), 373–96; and idem, REB 6 (1948), 5–26.

13–14 πρακτικαὶ . . . διατάξει: probably with reference to penitentials, which laid down a tariff of penalties for specific offenses.

14 τὸ σπίλος: The noun recurs in its neuter form in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Medikon (BHG 1 2297), ed. F. Halkin, AnalBoll 78 (1960), 422.23.

19 τοῦ χρόνου οἰκονομία: The canon uses this same term (τὰ δὲ εἶκοσι ἕτη οὖσι οἰκονομηθήσεται) with regard to the division of the twenty-year period: four years standing outside the door of the church, five years in the station of a catechumen, seven years as a penitent, four years attending service with the faithful without taking communion. Ignatios, however, appears to take oikonomia as a possible reduction of the length of sentence in that he makes the latter dependent on the penitent’s progress. He must have trusted the man sufficiently to have dispatched him without guard as bearer of his own letter.

17.

Date: episcopal period.

The dioiketai were tax collectors on the staff of both the logothete of the Genikon (Oikonomidès, Listes, 115.1 and comm. 313) and of the logothete of the herds, the latter in areas of horse breeding (ibid., 117.29, 338); that is, they were responsible to the central administration. The districts (dioikèseis) assigned to them were of variable extent: N. Svoronos, "Cadastre," Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 83 (1959), 56ff, with further references. In this case, it is clear that the region of Taion formed a separate dioikesis, and the tax collector appears to have been a local man, seeing that his father had illegally acquired church property, presumably before the bishopric of Taion had been reestablished.

For Taion see above, no. 10.

37 ἔγγραφήναι κυρίαν: The verb suggests that the church property would have been registered in taxation records as proof of ownership.

18.

Date: episcopal period.


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In the list there is a blank between Constantine, who attended the Council of 787, and Basil, who attended that of 879/880. Could this have been the same Constantine? If so, it would be an argument for placing Ignatios’ episcopate at a relatively early date. At any rate, from several expressions (lines 25–26, 39–40) it can be deduced that Ignatios is feeling guilty for having perpetrated sinful (iconoclastic?) acts.

12 ἐπερειδομένους: In letter 17.25 the same expression is used of the bishop leaning on his staff rather than the flock leaning on the bishop. There may be, therefore, some grounds for emending ἐπερειδομένους to ἐπερειδόμενοι or ἐπερει-δομένη.

19–20 ἀμαληκίτης . . . πόλεμος: We fail to understand why Kazhdan, JÖB 44 (1994), 238, sees here a reference to an Arab invasion.

33ff Note this case of informal instruction given to another bishop’s protégé or young relative.

19.

Date: The letter appears to have been written from Constantinople when Ignatios was on the patriarchal staff. Note the reference to “our spiritual brother the char-tophylax” (presumably Nikephoros).

On Nikephoros of Caria, see above, no. 9.

The letter concerns a property settlement whose precise details are far from clear. Nikephoros of Caria had been named sole trustee or guarantor of what we take to have been a dowry agreement connected with the marriage of an unnamed imperial strator. Upon the death of his co-parent (σύντεκνος) Nikephoros now wishes to undo the agreement made previously by bestowing part of the property of the deceased upon a former son-in-law (or conceivably brother-in-law), who was not even a “genuine” in-law (γαμομβρός). Ignatios urges his correspondent not to interfere and leave the matter to the discretion of the widow, especially in view of the fact that the strator was threatening to lay a complaint before the patriarch. The exact relationship of the persons involved is difficult to determine because of the ambiguity of the term γαμομβρός. We take it that only one estate was contested and that therefore the deceased σύντεκνος was the woman’s husband. The strator, who stood to lose by the proposed arrangement, may have been married to the widow’s daughter, but we are not sure how the “spurious” γαμομβρός was related to the family.

10 Unless Ἡ γαμμική (scil. συγγεγραφή) can be understood as a substantive, like τὸ γαμμικὸν (see F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch d. griechischen Papyrusurkunden [Heidelberg, 1924–], s.v. = Ehevertrag) or a similar phrasing in letter 31.54 (τῆς ἀληγεινῆς ἐκείνης), a lacuna must be assumed. For a similar use of the feminine adjective Ἦ εἰδική as a substantive, see letter 38.1 of Leo, metropolitan of Synada (937–ca. 1003), ed. M. P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), 62–63 and 123. We accept συνάλγημα as a deliberate pun on συνάλλαγμα.

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12 Strator: honorific title, sixth from the bottom of the palatine hierarchy, above candidatus (fifth) and below hypatos (seventh): Bury, System, 22; Oikonomi-dès, Listes, 298. On its specific function in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, see also Haldon, Byzantine Praetorians, 159–60 and 186–87. In the eighth century, Theophanes Confessor, a rich and aristocratic young man, was given the rank of strator to lure him into imperial service. In the ninth century, Basil, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, was appointed strator by Michael III; see Theoph. Cont., 231.15 ff.

23–24 κριτήριον ἑβάσματος: presumably a civil rather than an ecclesiastical tribunal.

20.

At the end of letter 19, Ignatios refers to a courtesy letter of his that had gone unanswered. We may imagine that Nikephoros eventually wrote back and that letter 20 is a polite response to the bishop’s letter. If so, the cryptic reference to certain business matters in 19 ff has to do with the same affair as letter 19.

15–17 ἡ γὰρ τῆς ὅρασ ... κρύνους: The letter, it seems, was penned in wintertime. Note the difficulty of winter travel.

25 ἡ τοῦ κεφαλαίου περιπέτεια: the same expression used in letter 19.9.

21–24.

These four letters, addressed to the same person, appear to be in chronological sequence and are all to be dated before 826. Democharís was in office as logothete of the Genikon early in 821, when Theodore the Studite, who did not know him personally, pressed him to influence Michael II in favor of icons (letter 426, ed. Fatouros, 596–97). He calls Democharís “an ornament of diverse learning,” compliments him for having “refuted John, the leader of impiety” (i.e., John the Grammarian), and states that he had held a number of government posts before attaining “the topmost one” (a slight exaggeration). Theodore’s letter 454 is a letter of consolation to the widow of Democharís, to be dated between 821 and 826 (Fatouros, 421*). The deceased is described as educated, pious, and a champion of orthodoxy. We also learn that the pair had children and owned an οἰκία μεγαλοφυῆς, which we take to mean “a house of a distinguished family” (cf. letters 420.19 and 521.23–24). Rather more problematic is the reference to “the death of the blessed strategos” (Fatouros, 643). Does that mean that the last post held by Democharís was that of provincial governor, as F. Winkelmann has surmised (Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert [Berlin, 1987], 137–38)? Or that he had been a strategos before assuming civil duties in the capital? At any rate, the logothete of the Genikon was classed among the sekretikoi (Oikonomidès, Listes, 107) and could hardly have been designated as a strategos.
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Photios' letter 49 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, I, 94) is addressed 'Ἰωάννη
πατρικίῳ καὶ σακελλαρίῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δημόχαριν. In the early Byzantine pe-
riod the preposition κατά meant "in the service of" (see A. Cameron, Glotta 56
[1978], 92–93), but its precise connotation in the ninth century is unclear. It may
have meant "belonging to the household or family of X."

It may be presumed that all four of Ignatios' letters were written in Constanti-
nople, but it is difficult to determine what position the author occupied at the time.
If he was an official in the patriarchal establishment, why did a group of punished
shipmasters have recourse to him and why did he persist in presenting a petition on
the part of an injured widow? In a later period we encounter a patriarchal ἐπὶ τῶν
deήσεων (on whom see Darrouzès, Offikia, 378 ff.), who transmitted appeals either
to the emperor or the patriarch, but there is no trace of such an office in the ninth
century.

It may be noted that Ignatios addresses Democharis in a tone of familiarity.

21.

Tit. Λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ: Next to the sakellarios, the logothete of the
Genikon was in the ninth century the most important financial minister of the empire,
who surveyed and collected all taxes. He is defined by Ignatios himself as τῶν δημο-
σίων φόρων προστάτης in VGA 53.3. See Bury, System, 90; Oikonomidès, Listes,
In 810 the logothete was a patrician Niketas: Dölger, Regesten, no. 370.

14 μῆτρας . . . συνεκύρησα: cf. VGD 52.5.

16 κρηδέμων: a Homeric synonym for the word σουδάριον used in VGD
58.4. Cf. also the description of unjustly condemned merchants of Amastris in VGA
42.10 ff.: ὁφεις ἡλλοωμένας καὶ πρόσωπα συμπεπτωκότα, etc.

20–21 Scourging and tonsure were a standard punishment for relatively minor
offenses. Cf. Ecloga, 17.15 and 17.29, ed. Burgmann, 230 and 236; Book of the
Prefect, 1.12 (διὰ δαρμοῦ καὶ κουραδοῖς); 2.11 (τυπτόμενοι καὶ κουρενόμενοι);
3.5, 3.6, etc., ed. J. Koder, 80, 88, 90. Several officials suffered the same punish-
ment, followed by exile, in the reigns of Irene and Nikephoros I (Theoph., 465.3.7;
466.27; 467.26; 483.27).

24 Ἀνδρωτή (Ἀνδρωτή cod.): This island, described as small, waterless, tree-
less, and situated close to the mainland, appears to be unknown, nor is it entirely
clear why Ignatios says that its name had been given to it ὁκ ἐθαγώς. Perhaps a
sexual double-entendre is meant. Cf. Photios' Lexicon, ed. C. Theodoridis, 1774 ἀν-
dρωθεία; ἀνδρὶ συνοικήσασα, διακορηθείσα and 1775 ἀνδρώσασθαι: συγ-
γενέσθαι. Gedeon, Νέα βιβλ., 23 note 2, suggests it was Koutali(s), a small island
of the Prokonnesos group, whose Byzantine name is unknown, because, he says, all
the other islands close to Constantinople had kept their ancient names. He repeats the
same argument in his preface to E. K. Balsames and N. S. Lampadarides, Προκοπινησιακά Ιστορικά (Athens, 1940), 12–14. There is, however, no reason to suppose that Androtê was close to Constantinople or even in the Propontis.

The following considerations may be relevant. First, one may wonder why a small, waterless, and treeless offshore island should have been inhabited at all. A possible explanation is that a number of families migrated to it at a time of danger, as happened in the Dark Ages in a number of cases (e.g., Monemvasia, Dubrovnik, Venice). If so, Androtê must have been in a region subject to enemy attack. Second, it lay on a route of grain traffic directed to Constantinople. Unfortunately, we know very little about such traffic in the ninth century: it seems that sources of supply lay both to the east and to the west of the capital. See J. L. Teall, DOP 13 (1959), 117ff; M. F. Hendy, Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy (Cambridge, 1985), 46ff.

Third, we may note the statement that Ignatios had seen the island himself. As far as we know, he had not traveled widely, which may suggest that Androtê lay in his country of origin or between that country and Constantinople. Now, VGA, which we consider to be a work of Ignatios, was clearly written for local consumption. Note in particular the final prayer (p. 71.3–4): τὴν πόλιν σου ταύτην φρούρησον, τὴν ποίμνην σου ταύτην φύλαξον, etc. It is possible, of course, that Ignatios was merely commissioned to compose this Life without being himself a native of Amastris, but if he was a Paphlagonian, it may well be that Androtê was known to him because it was a small island off the Black Sea coast. In VGA 54.10ff he shows familiarity with the sea route from Constantinople to Amastris and the turbulent waters at the mouth of the Sangarios. At Amastris itself there are two offshore islands, one (called Boztepe) now joined to the mainland and fortified on the landward side, the other (Büyükkada) quite deserted. See S. Eyice, Küçük Amasra tarihi (Ankara, 1965), 8f, who notes the existence of remains, possibly of a monastery, on the latter island. The Byzantine name of these islands is unknown. Theoph., 375.14, speaks of ἡ νήσος Ἀμάστρης with reference to the future patriarch Kyros who had been a hermit on it. There are also a couple of little islands to the west of Daphnousia (Kefken): see map in W. von Diest, Von Pergamon über den Dindymos zum Pontus, Petttermans Mitt., Ergänzungsheft 94 (1889). Further islands are at the mouth of the Artanas River (modern Şile) and east of Amastris, near Kerasous, the latter being known in antiquity as Aristias, Ardous, or Arkonesos. See Arrian’s Periplus, ed. A. Diller, The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers (Oxford, 1952), 118, 124f.

The north coast of Asia Minor, including Paphlagonia, was a grain-exporting area in the Middle Ages: De Administrando Imperio, §53.533–35, ed. G. Moravscik and R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), 286.

27 τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ: possibly intended for the military units (tagmata) stationed at Constantinople. There is no clear evidence, after the cessation of the annona
in the seventh century, for the provision by the state of grain or bread for the population at large. According to the Book of the Prefect, 18.1.4, ed. J. Koder (Vienna, 1991), 128–30, bakers bought wheat, whose price was apt to fluctuate. The state intervened only to regulate weights and profits. On the other hand, there is some evidence for the maintenance of bread distribution to army units. See Hypomnesticon of Theodore Spoudaios (mid-7th century), ed. R. Devreese, AnalBoll 53 (1935), 70–71, concerning an “imperial baker,” ἡτοι ἑκάντω τῶν τοῦ δήμου τοιν μαγκάτον τῶν ταύς ἀνώνας πασίων τῶν σχολῶν ἀπολυόντων, δὲ ἐπιλέγεται Τετράνοστον.

32 ὑπορέσθαι: a pun on the name of Democharis.

41 ἡπειρόθεν: one would expect ἡπειρῶσε, seeing that the women would have crossed to the mainland to obtain combustibles and water, unless Ignatios saw them as they were returning to the island. For another incorrect form in –θεν, cf. letter 58.27.

46 ἰατρὸς γαληύτατος: a pun on the name of Galen; cf. letter 46.12.

47 We were inclined to emend the poorly attested οὐροετής to οὐροεύς τις, but cf. Anth. Pal., I.118 (anon.):

'.Accessible' to the women and the Poor: τῆς ζάλης
σύ, Χριστέ, δείξας ἀβρόχοισιν ἀμαρτίας
τῷ σῷ πρὸς ὄμωρ προσφόρασις προσομισάς, etc.

May this poem be by Ignatios? The only other attestation of οὐροετής is in the argumentum to the Cyclops of Theocritus: Scholia in Theocritum vetera, ed. C. Wendel (Leipzig, 1914), 240.

22.

5–7 According to Pythagorean numerology, two numbers were said to be “friendly” when each was the sum of all the aliquot parts of the other. See T. Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics, I (Oxford, 1921), 75. The source of our passage may be Iamblichus, In Nicomachi arithmetica, ed. Pistelli and Klein, 34–35: ἀλλος γὰρ τινας ἀντικρισίας φίλους ἀριθμοὺς καλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ προσοκειμένῳ τάς τε ἀνατάς καὶ τᾶς ἀστείας ἔξεις τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, οὶν τὸν ἱερ' καὶ τὸν σκ'.

The reading of the manuscripts is sound. The Arithmetica introductio of Nicomachus of Gerasa was known at Constantinople in the ninth century: see Photios, Bibliotheca, cod. 187; it must have been one of the standard textbooks of Byzantine litterati: see W. Treadgold, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius (Washington, D.C., 1980), 6–7. Nicomachus and Diophantus are mentioned in VT 402.22.
23.

The widow’s petition appears to have been of a financial nature. Unfortunately, the identity of the “righteous tribunal” is not specified. Was it the court of the prefect of the city or some special court, like the one instituted by Nikephoros I at the Magnaura (Theoph., 478.31–479.1), which appears to have been concerned precisely with matters of taxation?

The wording of this letter is somewhat lacking in clarity. It would seem that Democharis readily agreed to Ignatios’ request, but did not take the trouble to make sure that his decision was implemented.

24.

A letter of consolation, peppered with biblical quotations, on the addressee’s losing his office, which, as we learn from letter 23, he had himself begun to neglect.

21 πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου πέλαγος διανήχομαι: Properly, διανήχομαι takes a direct accusative without a preposition, but Ignatios construes it with a dative; see the opening words of VT 395.3: μέλλων ἀπείρω μεγέθει (so codd.) πελάγος ἄρτων διανήχομαι.

24 διαδοχὴ is defensible in the sense, not of “succession,” but of “being succeeded,” that is deprived (usually of an office). Thus Theoph., 265.5: ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ πάλιν τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν Φιλιππικὸν διαδεξάμενος, means “having dismissed from his military command,” not “received him back into office,” as incorrectly given in Lampe, s.v. διαδέχομαι, 3. So also Theoph., 239.6–7: διεδέχθη Προκόπιος, ὁ ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως and elsewhere. Further examples in Ducange, Gloss. graec., App., s.v. διαδέχεσθαι (“magistratum alicui abrogare”). Treadgold (Revival, 427 note 341) postulates that Democharis’ office was taken over by the logothete Pantoleon, also a correspondent of Theodore the Studite (letters 425 and 523).

34 We learn here that the children of Democharis mentioned by Theodore the Studite (above, ad 21–24) were daughters. John Duffy calls our attention to a similar passage in the Life of Nicholas the Studite, PG 105, 917B: πολὺπαιδες τῇ ἐντεχνίᾳ [wrongly printed as ἀτεχνίᾳ] τῆς παιδός οἱ ἀπαίδες ἐχρηματιζοῦν.

54–55 Probably a veiled reference to the author’s inability to worship with icons.

25.

Perhaps no more than an elaborate invitation to Nikephoros to put aside his cares of office and join the author in the country, but difficult to understand because of the corrupt state of the text.

9ff A locus desperatus. The difficulty starts with συκάμμανα. The only “prophet’s” passage (setting aside Ps. 77:47 and Is. 9:10, which are both inapplicable) that
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is at all appropriate is Amos 7:14: οὐκ ἡμῖν προφήτης ἔγω οὐδὲ νίς προφή-
tου, ἀλλὰ ἣ αἰτίπολος ἡμῖν καὶ κνίζων συκάμμα, which is understood to mean
"scratching figs" (to make them ripe); cf. below, comm. on 61.1–2. If Ignatios in-
tends to say that he and his friend were eating, not the prophet’s figs or mulberries,
but pistachio nuts, one could emend the problematic ἐβοράξωμεν to ἐβοράζωμεν.
The verb βοράξω or βοράξω = τρέφω (hence “to feed” rather than “to eat”) is
found, however, only in Etym. magn., Gaisford 205.6, 737.21. It is more likely that
the reference is not to eating but to resting, which suggests Mic. 4:4, ἀναπαύο-
tαι ... ἐκαστὸς ὑποκάτω συκῆς αὐτοῦ, in which case one could either emend the
text to εἰ καὶ μῆ ... συκέαι ἦν or suppose that Ignatios confused fig trees with
mulberry trees. We are still left with the hapax ἐβοράζωμεν. Karlsson, Idéologie, 2
128 ff, translates it as “être rafraîché par le vent du nord” and cites βορειάζει ἦ βο-
ρίζει “tira la tramontana” in the Tesoro of Somavera (1709) as well as the analogy
with Ἥλιαξω = “to bask in the sun.” There is also ἀερίζω in Hesychius, s.v. ἀνα-
ψύξει. I. D. Polemis has suggested εὐωριάζομεν, which phonetically would have
been indistinguishable from ἐβοράζομεν. The extremely rare εὐωρίαζω (found
in Hesychius and Photios’ Lexicon) is said, however, to mean “to be negligent”
(ἄλγωρεῖν, μη ἔχειν φροντίδα, παρακολούθω) Ignatios might have connected it
with εὐωρία (fineness of season or freedom from care). Hesychius also has εὐωρεῖ-
παίζει.

26.

2 It is not clear what unpleasant experiences Ignatios is referring to. The
“mosquitoes” reappear in the next letter.

3 τῶς τῶν ἄλαλων ἐμπίδων ἱώδεις δῆξεις: The patrician Nicetas, a saint
of the Second Iconoclasm, suffered from mosquitoes in Bithynia; see his Vita. ed.
D. Papachryssanthou, TM 3 (1968), 331.

7–9 An obscure passage where, as indicated in the manuscript, Ignatios is
punning on the brevity of the vowels α and υ in the word ἄλυκη. We take λέξεις
to mean “diction, style”: cf. γλυκύτης τῆς λέξεως in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
De compositione verborum, 11.2. The meaning of the sentence is, however, unclear
to us.

27.

Ignatios is referring to some endeavor (a written work?) undertaken by himself
and Nikephoros so as to free the Church from heresy. For this they have received no
reward, whereas the evildoers (Iconoclasts?) enjoyed considerable resources. Igu-
tios advises patience. Even if his correspondent had made peace with his assailants,
he should remain on his guard. Letter 30 refers more explicitly to an anti-iconoclastic
treatise by Nikephoros, but one in which, it seems, Ignatios had no part.
8 λημματίας appears to be a neologism meaning “profit,” from λήμμα = “gain, profit” rather than a mistake for λημματίας = “high-spirited.”

28.
Ignatios had not written earlier because of his grief over the death of a friend. Knowing, furthermore, that Nikephoros was ill, he thought it wiser to keep silent about the bad news, but in the end made it known. Now that Nikephoros had been informed, he should do his best to eradicate all dejection.

6 Πυλάδαι τοῖς Ὄρεσταῖς . . . : an epistolographic allusion to designate friendship; cf. Symeon mag. et logoth., letter 95.5–7, in Darrouzès, Épistoliers, 155; and Theodore, metropolitan of Cyzicus, letter 27, Néos Ἑλλ. 19 (1925), 292.15–16.
8 Akessaios (or Akesios) is said to have been the steersman of Neleus. He would delay sailing until the moon was full: E. Miller, Mélanges de littérature grecque (Paris, 1868), 353.

11 εὔξάμην τι παθεῖν ἔλεόθαι is decidedly awkward. One would expect instead “I wondered what I should choose to do” (rather than choose to suffer). Were it not for the circumstances that the first τι is picked up by the second τι, one might have been tempted to correct τι παθεῖν to τιθηπαθεῖν ("I vowed to observe patience").

29.
5 μετρίότητος need not imply that Ignatios was a bishop at the time. Cf. letters 33.55 and 49.24.

30.
Date: after 821, possibly 821–828.

It is at last made clear here (cf. letter 27) that Nikephoros was engaged in composing a refutation of the iconoclastic position. Who is hinted at by the name of Goliath remains unclear. It is worthy of notice that he should have approached Ignatios and Nikephoros with the request of improving his composition from a “technical” point of view. That suggests that the ideological position of the two friends was sufficiently ambiguous at the time to have given the impression that they went along with the party in power.

A reference to a new Goliath occurs in the peroration of the Encomium to St. Pancratios of Taormina (BHГ 3 1411) by Gregory the Pagurite: τοὺς πιστῶς σε γεραίροντας και ἑπιτελοῦντας τὴν μνήμην σοι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων λύτρωσαί τοὺς πόθῳ σου προστρέχοντας ἐξ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου διατήρησον. τὰς αἱρέσεις σφενδόνισον τοῦ νέου Γολιάθ κατάβαλε . . . , ed. C. J. Stallman-Pacitti, Byz 60 (1990), 364.20–23. According to the editor, the raiders here referred
to are the Arabs attacking Sicily, the civil strife that of Thomas the Slav (821–823) and Goliath either Leo V, Michael II, or Theophilos, the last two being the most likely (ibid., 336–38). In view of the mention of a civil war, which cannot be regarded as accidental, Goliath’s identity would better accord with Michael II than Theophilos. Old Testament names often served to designate such influential and detested Iconoclasts as the emperors Constantine V (styled Tabeel) and Leo V (Amalek, son of Tabeel) or John Grammatikos (Iannes). Michael II is, however, represented in all our sources as an uncultivated man, and there is no evidence that he engaged in literary composition.

1 The incipit ἐοικας occurs no fewer than twenty-one times in the letters of Isidore of Pelusium.

8ff Although in the accepted text of 1 Kings 17:40 David arms himself with five stones, their number was often reduced to three for trinitarian reasons—indeed, some manuscripts of the Septuagint read three instead of five. Cf. Life of St. David of Thessalonica (BHГ 493), ed. V. Rose (Berlin, 1887), 5: λαβὼν μεθ’ έαυτού τρεῖς λίθους, προτύπωμα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος. I. Ševčenko points out to us the Slavonic Life of St. Constantine (Cyril), c. 6: “May he reveal you as a second, new David, set against Goliath, whom he vanquished with three stones”: text in P. A. Lavrov, Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis’mennosti (Leningrad, 1930), 7–8; French translation in F. Dvornik, Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance (Prague, 1933), 355. Also the Slavonic Laudation of Cyril and Methodius: “As David once dashed the pride of the foreigner to the ground and destroyed him and prefigured the Trinity by means of three stones”: Lavrov, 84, 90. One may also mention the custom, recorded by Antoninus of Piacenza (ca. 570), namely that those who passed by Goliath’s alleged grave on Mount Gilboa would throw three stones on it: “ternas lapides portantes et super ipsum tumulum iactantes,” ed. Geyer, CSEL 39, 179.9. Cf. I. Opelt, “Das Grab des Riesen Goliath,” Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 3 (1960), 17–23. On the Cyprus silver plate of David and Goliath (date ca. 630), now in the Metropolitan Museum, David’s sling and three stones are represented in the exergue.

31.

Although the title names two recipients, this letter seems to be addressed to a single person, namely, the monk Athanasios. The same pattern is followed in letter 238 of Theodore the Studite, addressed Εὐνόια καὶ Ιωάννη τέκνοις (ed. Fatouros, 371–72). The initial metaphors, if they are not purely conventional, suggest that Athanasios may at first have followed a commercial career, which he renounced at the instigation of an unnamed holy father. In the correspondence of Theodore the Studite we meet two monks named Athanasios: the abbot of the monastery of Pauropetion (near Cape Akritas), who died in 826 (Fatouros, 261*, n. 407) and can hardly, therefore, have been the person that concerns us here; and the Studite proto-
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presbyter Athanasios (many mentions, see Fatouros, indices). The latter is referred to, in uncomplimentary terms, in the Life of Ioannikios by Peter (422A and 431A) and was still alive in 843. A monk Athanasios is also the recipient of five letters of Photios (nos. 20, 26, 27, 93, 212); although this Athanasios also resided on Mount Olympus, the letters addressed to him date from as late as the first patriarchate of Photios (858–867); see Laourdas and Westerink, I, 71. A monk Theophylaktos is mentioned as one of the oldest companions of St. Ioannikios (Vita by Peter, 389A–390A; by Sabas, 345A) and, probably a different one, in the posthumous miracles of St. Peter of Atroa (La Vita retractata et les miracles posthumes de saint Pierre d’Atroa, ed. V. Laurent [Brussels, 1958], 169–71), but it is doubtful if any of the above can be identified with Ignatios’ addressees.

This letter was written when Ignatios was old (line 58), so probably in the 840s. Though ornate in style, it avoids classical allusions as befits the status of the addressee.


8–9 ΠΟΙΛΩΝΘΕΣΙ . . . ΠΟΥΚΙΛΦΜΑΣΙΝ: referring to silken garments with floral decoration; cf. VT 402.2–7.

11 θείου πατρός: Is Ioannikios meant here as in letter 33? Or is it the Theophylaktos named in the title?

15 ἀβρόχω ρ η δι: cf. Phaedo 243D, but too common to count as a classical allusion.

16 περιφοράς: As in letter 7.13, the primary meaning is that of serving a meal or drink (hence πώματα), but probably combined with the “Christian” sense of “distraction, turbulence.” For examples of the latter see Lampe, s.v.

18 ff Note the catalogue of monastic achievements (ἀταράξια, ἀπάθεια, ἐγκράτεια, ταπείνωσις, etc.), thanks to which, as in John Climacus, Athanasios wins his ἀνάβασις to heaven.

34 ff For the autobiographical details see Introduction, p. 19 f.

46 ff Athanasios must have been attached to a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos; one such monastery was founded by Ioannikios (Vita by Peter, 397A; by Sabas, 351 BC and 378B); see also Janin, Grands centres, 154 (no. 1).

49 ff The “command” or request on the part of Athanasios appears to have concerned his death and/or burial.

54 ἀλγευνής ἐκείνης: cf. letter 19.10.

32.

Date: after 842.

A Constantine spatharios and asekretis was the recipient of Photios’ letter 211 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, II, 111–15), which gives no clues for attempting any dating; in the opening words Constantine is reckoned among the friends of learning

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(τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν), a feature also characteristic of Ignatios’ addressee. To a Constantine asekretis belonged three seals dating from the ninth century, according to Laurent, Corpus, II, 22–23. On the reverse of the second of them Constantine is designated as βασιλικὸς σπαθάριος and ἀσηκρῆτις, whom Laurent is inclined to identify with both Photios’ and Ignatios’ addressees (ibid., 22).

Ignatios, as a literary expert, is being requested for the second time (cf. line 11) to correct an iambic poem celebrating both the pious concerns of the reigning empress (surely Theodora) and the preliminary struggles τῆς πάλαι πονησάσης, whom we take to have been Empress Irene, that is, a poem of iconophile propaganda. Constantine is acting as an intermediary on behalf of another person (τοῖς αἰτήσασι, ὁ καλῶν), presumably higher placed than himself: in other words, the composition of the poem is being overseen by a government committee. It would appear that Ignatios’ first version, which had been metrically correct (ἡδὴ καλῶς μετρηθέντας), had been disregarded in favor of another that did not observe the rules of prosody. Fearing that his second version may be equally unacceptable, Ignatios invites Constantine to come in person so they can agree on the final text.


7 τὸ γὰρ συντηρήσαι ... αἱρετώτερον: The meaning of this clause is not completely clear to us. We take τὴν ἀρχὴν to be adverbial (“to begin with,” “at all”), since κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν can hardly mean here “to acquire power.” Cf., for example, Basilli scholia in Greg. Naz., PG 36, 705c: μέγα μὲν τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τυχεῖν ἀμαρτάνοντας (omnino peccasse). The meaning may be: Better to have kept what was there (i.e., Ignatios’ first version) than seeking something new.

8 τῇ πάλαι ἀμετρία: Note the awareness of a cultural revival by comparison with the immediately preceding period.

33.

Date: before 846.

A forceful letter of remonstrance concerning the flight of a novice whom Ignatios had placed in the monastery of Antidion. The imperious tone suggests that Ignatios was in a position of some authority at the time. The use of the epithet μετριότης (line 55), which he applies to himself, does not, however, imply that he was a bishop at the time. Cf. letters 29.5 and 49.24.

The “common father” (line 36), who is “equal to the angels” (line 50) is surely St. Ioannikios. It was he who had blessed the novice and who might have been able, had the abbot Joseph chosen to appeal to him, to bring the novice back by his prayers. That implies: (1) that Ioannikios was still alive (he died on 3 Nov. 846); and (2) that he was at the time resident at Antidion or its immediate vicinity. According to the Vita by Peter, Ioannikios spent two years of his own novitiate at Antidion (ca. 792/3)
and returned to it at an indeterminate date toward the end of his life (413 and 425AB), in any case before 843. The *Vita* by Sabas gives a somewhat different chronology (first residence at Antidion 796/7–797/8; return to it some time between 825 and 837), which, as we have tried to show elsewhere, has been deliberately doctored: see Mango, “Two Lives,” 393–404.

Joseph was abbot of Antidion when Ioannikios died and was buried at the monastery (*Vita* by Sabas, 383A) and it was he who commissioned Sabas to compose the saint’s revised *Life*, probably some time in the mid-850s (ibid., 333A).

Taken in conjunction, the above data suggest that our letter could not have been written much before 846.

Antidion (see Janin, *Grands centres*, 135ff) was located on the slopes of the Bithynian Olympus, below a peak called Crow’s Head (Κόρακος κεφαλῆ); *Vita* by Sabas, 340B. It was a considerable distance from the monastery of the Agauroi (Eunuchs): *Vita* by Peter, 388AB; note the expression τῷ τῆς δύο μῆκος έγκόπως διοδεύοντας. On his way from Agauroi to Antidion Ioannikios passed by a village called Kastoulos πρὸς Ἄτρωαν and spent a few days in a nearby monastery called τῶν Τελάου. Finding it less than peaceful, he went up the mountain to Antidion (*Vita* by Sabas, 340A). Two other localities on the way from Agauroi to Antidion were Meriloukome and Trapeza (*Vita* by Peter, 423bc = *Vita* by Sabas, 362c–363A).

Agauroi was situated 15 stadia (ca. 3 km) from “the little town of Prousa,” at the foot of a hill called Mount Trichalix or Mount Agaurinon: *Vita Eustratii* (*BHG* 645), ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 370. It seems to have been to the west of Prousa, because the dead body of Eustratios was carried thither from Constantinople by way of the hot baths of Prousa (Çekerje): ibid., 397.

As for Atroa, it is described as a plain lying next to Mount Olympus: Leo Diaconus, ed. C. B. Hase (Bonn, 1828), 177 (*κατὰ τῆν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ παρακελέμενη τῆς Ἄτρωας πεδιάδα*). John Tzimiskes, returning from Syria (975), stopped there at the house of the patrician Romanos and was poisoned by a eunuch. This would indicate that Atroa was not too far from the main highway leading, by way of Nicaea, to the eastern front. The same conclusion is suggested by the notice that the thematic armies gathered ἐν τῇ Ἀτρώᾳ to proclaim Constantine VI emperor (790): Theophr., 466. That would argue for Atroa being to the north or, possibly, east of Mount Olympus. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, 189, has already suggested it was the same as ancient Otroia, described by Strabo (12.7) as being a short distance from the Ascanian lake and placed on the *Classical Map of Asia Minor* by Calder and Bean some 10 km south of Nicaea, that is, at modern Yenisehir. Whether that is so or not, one may wonder whether Antidion belonged to the diocese of Nicaea rather than that of Nicomedia (which included Prousa).

The Byzantine topography of the Olympus area has been more confused than elucidated by the arbitrary ideas of B. Menthon, which have been to a large extent
accepted by V. Laurent and R. Janin. B. Menthon, L’Olympe de Bithynie (Paris, 1935), 49–50, places Atroa southwest of Prousa on the grounds, it seems, that a village known in his days as Misi reminded him of the Byzantine Mesôn, described as being at Atroa in the Vita Constantini Iudaei (BHGs 370), AASS, Nov. IV, 641d. So also Laurent, La Vie merveilleuse, 37–38 and Janin’s map in Grands centres, 130. The solution of this and other problems will have to wait for a more systematic survey of the terrain.

47–48 τῆς ἀγίας στολῆς: probably with reference to the so-called μικρὸν σχήμα.

34.

The only point of interest in this extremely convoluted appeal for a letter on the part of Nikephoros is the reference to the word of God being in danger of perishing. This may concern the theological endeavor mentioned in letter 30.

35.

1 ff The rashness in question stems from speaking or rather writing first, that is, before Nikephoros, who is so great an expert in the art of discourse. The first sentence, if it is not corrupt, is unclear to us. In particular, the sporting proverb ἴπερ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἄλλεσθαι (to leap beyond the area that has been dug up for a soft landing in the long jump) does not accord well with γεωργίας ἄτερ, whatever may be the exact meaning of γεωργία (cultivation of literature?).

36.

7 ff What follows is presumably in answer to a query from Nikephoros, unless Ignatios is correcting a mistake made by his friend (cf. mention of “impertinence” at the end).

7 τέχνης in the sense of grammatical rules. Cf. τὸν τεχνικὸν in line 21.

8 Δυσκόλου . . . παίδε: Herodian was the son of Apollonios Dyskulos of Alexandria according to the biographical notice in Herodiani technici reliquiae, ed. A. Lentz, I (Leipzig, 1867), vi. It seems that in the eyes of Ignatios, Herodian, rather than his father, was the creator of systematic grammar. The reference, as K. Alpers kindly informs us, appears to be to Herodian’s treatise περὶ παθῶν, fragments of which, drawn from lexica, are edited by Lentz, II (Leipzig, 1868), 166–388 (irrespective of the question whether they are all correctly attributed). Cf. H. Schultz, “Herodianus,” RE 8.1 (1912), 966f. Ignatios may have been acquainted with the complete text of this work, which was cannibalized by lexicographers in the ninth to tenth centuries. Herodian returns to the same matter in his Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφοβίας, c. XIX, Lentz, I, 491.7–9: τὸν μονοσύλλαβον ἐπίρρημα, εἰ μὲν ἐχει φύσει βραχείαν, δῆλον ώς δέννυσαι, τὰξ . . . δὲν παρὰ τοῦ δήκων. ὅπερ
kaí ðdāz légetai, and 492.6: tā ἐξοιτα δίχρονον ἐκτεταμένον περισσάται, “& δειλὲ πάντων,” etc.

12 Ἔνταπαις ὑγραμματικῷ: a crux. The manuscript gives μηλαίω, which could be read either as Μηλαίω or μή λαίω. The form Μηλαίως is unknown. The ethnikon of Melos is Μήλιος and of Melis (Malis) Μηλεῖος: Stephanus Byzantius, Ethnica, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849), 450. Besides, no famous grammarian is recorded as a native of either Melos or Malis. If we accept μή λαίω as the correct reading, the only possible interpretation is as a negative equivalent to δεξιώ, that is, “dexterous, skillful.” I. Ševčenko calls to our attention the study by E. Folleri, “Ciriaco ὁ μελαιός,” in Zetesis. Album amicorum . . . aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker (Antwerp-Utrecht, 1973), 502–28. Previously interpreted as “native of Mili” (near Messina), μελαιός is an alternative spelling of μέλεος (“idle, miserable”). The “miserable grammarian” (if we adopt the reading μελαιώ) would presumably refer to Ignatios himself. In that case we would have to credit him with the composition of a grammatical handbook that does not appear to have survived. Cf. Introduction, p. 14.

19 δίς, τρίς: cf. Apollonius, De adverbiis, Grammatici graeci, I.1, ed. R. Schneider (Leipzig, 1878), 174.18–19: καὶ κατά τοῦτο ὁ πός τις σταματώσει τὸ δικός καὶ τρις, ὅτι πλεονοσυλλαβεῖ τοὺς δίς καὶ τρίς. Ἀλλ᾽ ἦσσος ἔπει σύνε ὀλκληρα αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα, ἐν δὲ συγκοπή, καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα οὐ τῇ συγκοπή ἡκολούθει, τῇ δὲ ὀλκληρῷ πρόφορῷ.

21 κανόνι should perhaps be capitalized. Theodosius wrote a textbook called Κανώνες (Gramm. gr., IV.1, 3–99) and Choiroboskos a set of scholia on it (Gramm. gr., IV.1–2).

37.

Date: After ca. 830, perhaps by several years.


Nikephoros, driven by despondency, withdrew to the island of Oxeia and seems to have written from there a (ocular?) letter extolling the beauties of that barren spot.

On Oxeia, the most westerly of the Princes’ islands, see Janin, Grands centres, 65–67. In the ninth century it appears as a place of detention: Platon, the uncle of Theodore the Studite, was held there from 809 until 811 (Laud. in Platonem [BHG 3 1553], PG 99, 841C), and a certain Gebon, a pretender to the throne, in 856 (Vita Ignatii [BHG 3 817], PG 105, 505B). One may surmise that there was at the time a monastic establishment on the island to which Nikephoros would have withdrawn, but it is not specifically recorded. In the late eleventh/early twelfth century Gregory Taronites spent some time on Oxeia, where he found a single monk in residence: see synaxarion notice published by Mango in JÖB 42 (1992), 222–23.

32 Ὠξείαν, πλατείαν: a double pun. The island nearest Oxeia was called Platé.
36 Crete: The date of the Arab invasion, of which widely divergent accounts are given in Byzantine and Arab sources, has been much discussed. The best evidence suggests that the Andalusian Arabs landed on Crete in 827 or 828 and that the conquest of the island took many years to complete. See especially E. W. Brooks, “The Arab Occupation of Crete,” English Historical Review 28 (1913), 431–33; A. A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I (Brussels, 1935), 52ff; G. C. Miles, “Byzantium and the Arabs,” DOP 18 (1964), 10; D. Tsougarakis, Byzantine Crete (Athens, 1988), 30ff. Repeated Byzantine attempts to expel the Arabs, undertaken under the leadership of Proteinios and Damianos (date uncertain), Krateros (in the reign of Theophilos), and the logothete Theoktistos (843), all ended in failure.

Cyprus had been since 688 a neutral zone, which paid taxes to both Byzantium and the Caliphate, but belonged to neither power. See R.J.H. Jenkins, “Cyprus between Byzantium and Islam, AD 688–965,” in Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson, II (St. Louis, 1953) (= Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries [London, 1970], XXII).

Euboea: The only recorded Arab attack on Euboea took place in ca. 880, when the emir of Tarsus unsuccessfully laid siege to Chalcis: Theoph. Cont., 298.1–299.12; Cedrenus, II, 225.9–226.24; and Skylitzes, 151.27ff. Cf. H. Grégoire, “La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas,” Προσφορά έν Σ. Π. Κυριακίδην (Thessaloniki, 1953), 247–48; and Miles, DOP 18 (1964), 7, who also notes (ibid., 18, and fig. 13) a Koranic inscription in the Museum of Chalcis. Ignatios must be referring to an earlier raid, which may possibly be connected with a story told in the Vita Theoctistae Lesbiae, AASS, Nov. IV, 227, cc. 8–9, according to which a certain Nisiris, commander of the Cretan fleet, suffered shipwreck off Cape Xylophagos (Kavodoros) of Euboea. Cf. V. Christides, Byz 51 (1981), 93; Tsougarakis, Byzantine Crete, 45 note 89. On the unreliability of the Life of Theoktiste, see L. G. Westerinck, Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d’un exilé (Paris, 1973), 44–45. We may also note the statement in Theoph. Cont., 137, that, following the defeat of the Byzantine navy by the Arabs off Thasos (Oct. 829), κατὰ τὸ ἔξης δὲ (i.e., not necessarily in the same year) τὰς Κυκλάδας νῆσους, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας, ὃ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καταστύρων στρατός οὐκ ἔπαυετο. Cf. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I. 90. In a different context this is also recorded in the Life of the Empress Theodora, ed. A. Markopoulos, Σύμμεικτα 5 (1985), 263 (§7.9–11): Ἡσαυτός καὶ πλῆθη πλοίων αὐτῶν ἐξελθόντα τὰς Κυκλάδας νῆσους ἠρήμωσαν καὶ τὴν Κρήτην καὶ Συκελίαν παρέλαβον.


40 κυνδυνεύονσαι μηκέτι: Our correction is somewhat drastic, but the meaning is sufficiently clear. “Christians” is equivalent to “Romans.”

42 It is possible to understand δυνάστου in the sense of “emperor,” especially if the emperor of the day was heretical, and translate “shall hearken to the lamentations of the ruler.” We have preferred to postulate a small lacuna in view of the biblical sources; on the one hand Ps. 34:10 (ῥιόμενος πτωχόν ἐκ χειρὸς στερεω-τέρων αὐτοῦ), on the other, Ps. 71:12 (ὅτι ἔρρύσατο πτωχόν ἐκ χειρὸς δυνά-στου) and Job 29:12 (διέσωσα γὰρ πτωχόν ἐκ χειρὸς δυνάστου).

38.

4 πρὸς ποιῶν: Gregory’s oration (PG 35, cols. 933 ff) is entitled Ἐλς τῶν πα-τέρα σωμῶντα διὰ τὴν πληγήν τῆς χαλάζης, although, strictly speaking, he was not addressing his father.

7–10 A clear admission of past involvement with the Iconoclasts.

34 We have translated χάρτης by “papyrus,” but this passage should not be taken as evidence for the continuing use of papyrus at Constantinople.


39.

A protonotarios of the Course with the same name happens to be known; he appears in the sources as competing with Michael III in the hippodrome. Being
formed about the raids of the Arabs in the Thrakesion theme, he tried in vain to call the attention of the emperor to this important matter; see Theoph. Cont., 198–99; Skylitzes, 124; Glykas, 542. Since this occurred after Photios’ first ascension to the patriarchal throne (858), he must have outlived Ignatios. We are also informed by the same sources that he was a patrician and father of the logothete Thomas. The fact that he is also designated as βασιλικὸς σπαθάρως supports his identity with the addressee of letter 32.


7 λογοθέτου: probably Theoktistos, who was already in office under Theophilos and served as Theodora’s chief minister until his murder in 856.

40.

If We are given here a tantalizing, but, unfortunately, very vague reference to some kind of doctrinal formula that had been accepted, then revoked. Both Nikephoros and Ignatios were involved in this procedure and both ended up on the orthodox side, although Ignatios’ confession appears to have met with a hostile reception. The date is probably after the death of Theophilos (842).

8 We have kept τόπου, which is not necessarily wrong (whatever exactly it may mean), although it is tempting to correct it either to τύπου (formulation) or τόμου.

δι’ ἀμφοῖν: both on account of my correct doctrine and the accepted formulation (?).

17 συμβάσας Ἰμών ἐπηρείας: This may mean that Nikephoros was as badly treated as Ignatios with reference to his recantation.

22 Ἄναστάσιος: A monk Anastasios appears in VGD 62.16ff. He must have been one of Ignatios’ informants when composing this vita.

25 Ignatios is quoting here a famous Homeric simile that is applied to Paris (II. 6.506) and, once again, to Hector (15.263):

ως δ’ ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτην, δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θεὶς πεδίου κραίνων, etc.

The occurrence of the verb κριθίασαί proves that he was acquainted with a commentary, but the question remains how he understood the passage. Scholiasts disagreed about the meaning of the harax ἀκοστήσας, interpreting it as ἄκος τῆς στάσεως λαβών, τοινέστων ήμα καὶ κριθίασας οὐ δοχεράνας ἐπὶ τῆς φάτης στάσει or as ἄγοστήσας (ἄγοστός = filth): Scholia in Iliadem, Erbse, II, 215–17. Eustathios (658.40) gives the alternatives: τολυκριθήσαι according to the
ancients: σχείν ἀχος ἐν τῷ ὑστασθαι (being tired of standing); ἀκολάστως δια- 
τεθηκαί (ἀκοστήσας being shortened from ἀκολαστήσας); ἀγοστήσας = ἰθ- 
πανθείς, hence desiring its habitual pasture and bathing. The Homeric simile is often 
quoted, for example, by Demetrius, Eloc. 89; Greg. Naz., Or. 43.24, PG 36, 528c (of 
his eagerness to rejoin Basil), and the comment of Ps.-Nonnus ad loc., ed. Nimmo 
Smith, 263–64.

The drift of our passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, seems to be that the 
stallion, after becoming overfed, broke its bonds and lost weight by grazing in a 
“literary” pasture. Several difficulties remain: (1) The meaningless ποιησάμενος 
may conceal ποίης, the stallion being desirous of grass rather than barley. Cf. the 
scoliast’s οὕτω γὰρ ποθεῖ τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν (Erbse, II, 216). Something like 
ποίης ίμερόμενος or ὅρεγόμενος would give a satisfactory sense. (2) τοῖς λογι- 
κοίς συγχλαίσας (a harapâ?) probably means “having fed on grass in the company 
of men of letters,” although χλοάζω (act.) = to be green or budding. The middle 
συγχλασάμενος would be more correct.

The stallion presumably represents a person who, after a period of inactivity 
(comparable to that of Paris in the Iliad), has entered the fray of literary or theological 
endeavor. His identity is unknown to us.

29 ἡ σπάνις . . . μήπω γενομένων ἐφήμπατο: a hyperbole; cf. Lysias, Or. 
7.1: δοκεῖ μοι δεῖν καὶ τοῖς μή γεγονότας ἡδη δεδείναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων 
ἐςεσθαι.

41.

1 σκολιώδεις: The only attestation of this word given in LSJ and Stephanus 
is in Apollonii sophistae lexicon homericum, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin, 1833), 126, s.v. 
παπαλόγεντος: τραχέος καὶ σκολιώδους. Cf., however, VN 202.9: συμφορήσας 
σκολιώδη [σκολιώδη cod.; κολιώδη de Boor] λέσχην of the iconoclastic 
committee organized by Patriarch Theodotos.

1–2 Ἡρακλείδου Λέσχης: Heraclides of Pontus was the author of a poem in 
three books, famous for its obscurity, in the form of a conversation between learned 
men: A. Meineke, Analecta alexandrina (Berlin, 1843), 377–81; RE 8 (1913), 487– 
88, s.v. Herakleides 49; E. Heitsch, Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römi- 
schen Kaiserzeit, II (Göttingen, 1964), 41. According to the Suda (463), he wrote 
βιβλία γάρ δυσερμόντα καὶ πολλήν τὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχοντα προβαλλομένων 
ζητήσεων ἅτανα Λέσχης ἐκάλεσεν. According to Artemidorus, Oneir. 4.63, they 
contained ἑστορίαι ἔξειν καὶ ἀτριπτοὶ (unusual). A commentary on the Λέσχη is 
mentioned in Etym. gud., 247.49.

The first sentence of the letter is unclear and may require emendation. As it 
stands, it ought to mean, “You think you are troubling me by your silence for my 
being tortuous and obscure.” That is not very satisfactory. We could consider emend-
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ing ὡς σκολιώδης (τις) καὶ . . . ἐργάτης, that is, “Being tortuous and a practitioner of Heraclides, you think,” etc. The question remains, however, whether Ignatios is making a specific reference to the Lesché, which may have mentioned some tortuous or crooked-looking worker who confused his interlocutors by his silence, in which case one may read ὡς (δ') σκολιώδης [καὶ] . . . ἐργάτης. Even if Ignatios was not acquainted with the original text, he may have known the above-mentioned commentary.

3-4 τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν πικανθείσας: possible allusion to the monastery of Pikridion, Ignatios’ place of involuntary reclusion in his later days.

5-6 βατραχείον . . . μυοκτόνου παρεμβολῆς: See H. Wölke, Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachia (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978), 33.249 (edition of our letter based on Karlsson’s collation). The Batr. was known in ninth-century Byzantium. It is cited by Choiroboskos, Scholia in Theod. Canones, Gramm. gr. IV.1, 139.1, with regard to the quantity of the word μῦς, and the epithet λιμνοχαρῆς (Batr. 12.212) occurs in the Life of Theophanes by Methodius (BHG 1787z), ed. Latyšev, 22.32.

14 τορόν τι καὶ ἐνυάλιον: VN 147.9.

15-16 παρουσιάσασθαι . . . διωνύμῳ σηκώ: παρουσιάζω (cf. letter 63.10) is unclassical. LSJ quotes only Anonymi Scholia in Ethica Nicomachea, ed. G. Heylbub (Berlin, 1892), 438.6. Lampe gives only Gregorius magnus (translated by Zacharias), Dial. 4.36, Patrologia latina 77, 383b. Further examples in Stephanus, s.v. (all Byzantine). Nikephoros may have been summoned to present himself for an interview. The epithet διωνύμῳ is ambiguous, since it can mean either “far-famed” or “having two names” (e.g., Sts. Peter and Paul). We have chosen the former alternative in the light of VT 400.28: ἐν τῷ τῆς Μαγναιρᾶς διωνύμῳ παλατίῳ; and VN 192.14-15: τό τοῦ θείου λόγου διώνυμον τέμενος. The reference must be to the famous church of the Holy Apostles on the fourth hill.


42.

Date: presumably late in Ignatios’ life.

6ff Possibly refers to the death of the same servant whose illness is mentioned in letter 38.

43-47.

Date: 843 or a little later.

Probably written in that sequence at short intervals. In no. 43, Ignatios had not yet been relegated to Pikridion; in no. 44, he had been there a short time; no. 45 was
written during Lent, and no. 46 in the spring or early summer. We assume that the ἀρχιερεύς in no. 43 is Methodios.

Pikridion and its monastery: see Janin, *CP*, 465–66; *Églises*, 403–4; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 8 (Bonn, 1988), 688. The monastery was built by Pikridios, chamberlain (*κοινωνίτης*) under Empress Irene (*Patria*, ed. Th. Preger [Leipzig, 1901], 265), probably the same as John Pikridios, *protospatharios* and βάγυλος (preceptor), whom Irene exiled in 790, along with others, ἐπὶ τὰ κατωτικὰ μέρη (Greece?) and “as far as Sicily” (Theoph., 465.3–5). When the army refused to recognize Irene, Pikridios returned soon after October of the same year, and was sent on a mission to the Armeniac theme (ibid., 466.22–25). The monastery is recorded in 817, when its abbot Theodosios signed, along with Theodore the Studite and three other abbots, two letters to Pope Pascal (nos. 271.5 and 272.5; ed. Fatouros, 400 and 402). The fact that Theodosios took a resolute stand against Iconoclasm (no. 267.30; ibid., 395) may have been a reason why Ignatios was relegated to his monastery.

In 902 the patrician Constantine Karamalos, judged responsible for the capture of Taormina by the Arabs, was interned in the monastery: Leo Gramm., 275.3; Georgios mon. Continuatus, 861. In the tenth/eleventh century, the scholar John Sikeliotes delivered an imperial oration ἐν τοῖς Πικρίδιοι: cf. C. M. Mazzucchi, “Longino in Giovanni di Sicilia,” *Aevum* 64 (1990), 183 note 1.

The monastery is known to have been πέραν, that is, on the north side of the Golden Horn, near a church of St. Anthimos (*Synaxarium CP*, 9.25), presumably the one built by Justinian (Procop., *De aed.* 1.6.9–14). The latter was on the water’s edge, across the bay from the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. Traditionally, τὰ Πικρίδιοι has been placed at modern Hasköy, which appears to be not far from the truth, seeing that the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian was probably just outside the Blachernae walls (as Mango argues in *Θυμήματα στη μνήμη της Λαοσκαρίνας Μπουρα* [Athens, 1994], 189 ff) rather than at Turkish Eyüp, as commonly asserted. By the time of Gyllius (1544–50), the area of Hasköy was known as Hagia Paraskeve: *De Bosporo thracio*, ii.2 (1561 ed.), 57. On the Greek church of that name, attested as a *hagiasma* since 1539, see M. I. Gedeon, “ἘγγραφοΙ λίθοι καὶ κεράμα (Constantinople, 1892), ῥαδynth ff.

43. 3 κεραννύειν ἄντιδοτον: On the possible allusion to the monastery of Antidion, see Introduction, p. 19.

44. 9 κεκανονισμένη σιγή: cf. letter 45.28. During Lent, or was Ignatios placed under a special penance?
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45.


7 λοδόκον: In Homer φαρέτρη λοδόκος is a quiver holding arrows. By adding βελῶν, Ignatios changes the meaning of λοδόκον to "poisonous" (as in Nicander, Theriaca, 184).

28 σοιγῆς ἐπιτίμων: perhaps to be understood metaphorically. The meaningless ἐπαμφιδέξιον is difficult to explain as a simple misreading. The sense requires a participle meaning "offering," "addressing," or the like. The ending -δέξιον suggests δεξιούμενος, which has the right meaning and proparoxytone ending, but that would call for λόγῳ ἡμᾶς. It may be, therefore, that Ignatios started by writing another participle, say ἐπαφεῖς, then added δεξιούμενος (abbreviated) as an improvement without bothering to adjust the construction. D. I. Polemis proposes ἐπαναφανεῖς δεξιῶν.

46.

1 φθωνὰς νόσος: also in Vita S. Theophylacti Nicomediae, (BHG 3 2451), ed. F. Halkin, Hagiologie byzantine (Brussels, 1986), 181.3.

8ff It appears that Nikephoros did have medical skills and that the appeal to them should not be understood metaphorically; cf. some relevant expressions in letters 4.17–18 and 43.2–7.

12 γαληνός: a pun on the name of Galen as in letter 21.46.

14 πραψγελώσης: πραψγελως is attested as a single word, notably in Anth. Pal., IX.229, X.4, etc.

17 τὰ ἐχεχατα: an exaggeration if ta Pikidion was at or near modern Hasköy. Ignatios must have been forbidden to cross the Golden Horn to Constantinople.

47.

1 διερευνῶμενος: cf. letter 38.4.

5 The harsh letter can hardly be the same as no. 46.

49.

Date: 843–846.

Probably written from the monastery of Pikridion, if not from another monastery (if μονή in line 12 is right) to which Ignatios had been relegated. He appears to have been under sentence of excommunication: τρυφῇ is applied to the eucharist in the Liturgy of St. Basil, ed. Brightman, 344.27, while Cyril of Alexandria uses τρυφῆς χείμαρρος of Christ: Comm. in Isaiam, 3.3, PG 70, 749c. It is worth noting that, in spite of his disgrace, Ignatios carried some weight with the orthodox establishment; otherwise the unnamed monk would not have sought his support.

[197]
Ignatios of Nicomedia is known to have offered a bishopric to Paul, brother of St. Peter of Atroa. Paul died on 26 August 844; ed. Laurent, 152–53 (§103.7). Ignatios of Nicomedia must have been ordained in 843 and appears to have been deposed before November 846, if he was the same as the Monomachos (Christian name not given), whose company Patriarch Methodios was urged to avoid by St. Ioannikios: τοῦ τε σίν αὐτοῖς (the Studites) Κακοσάμβα καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας ἐπισκοπῆς ἑκτεπιτακτος τοῦ Μονομάχου ἦτοι θεομάχου (Life of Ioannikios by Peter, AASS, Nov. II, 432b). It follows that Ignatios belonged to the Studite party, condemned in 845/6 (Grumel, Regestes, nos. 433–34). A Studite monk Ignatios often appears in Theodore’s correspondence: see on him Fatouros, 242*, n. 342. The name Monomachos was also borne by the patrician Nicetas: D. Papachryssanthou, TM 3 (1968), 316–17. This Ignatios may also have been the owner of seal no. 377; cf. Laurent, Corpus, V.1, 271.


13–14 μικράς . . . ἐπισκοπῆς: The metropolitan of Nicomedia had in the ninth century eleven suffragan bishoprics, some of them quite minor: Darrouzès, Notitiae, 4, 253–54. Among them Prousia is listed first and Eriste last.

50.

This letter is of significance for the tradition of Greek paroemiographers. It seems that Ignatios, who frequently quotes proverbs, had made his own compilation from “secular,” that is, ancient texts and was intending to augment it. This does not appear to have survived, although it may have left a trace in other anthologies. On the subject see K. Ruprecht, “Paroimiographi,” RE 36.3 (1949), 1747ff. The collections that circulated in the Byzantine period were mostly epitomes of ancient ones, such as those that go under the names of Zenobius (2nd century A.D.), who himself boiled down earlier compilations by Didymus and Lucillus, and Diogenianus, represented, inter alia, in the Suda. A conflated vulgata is believed to have emerged by ca. A.D. 900. The term ἑποθήκαι (line 3) suggests a didactic element and may imply that Ignatios’ personal compilation, in addition to proverbial locutions, which normally carry no moral message, also contained γνώμαι, as conjectured by P. Odorico, Il prato e l’ape (Vienna, 1986), 7ff. See also ibid., 18ff, for the argument that a gnomology may have been compiled at Constantinople in the circle of John the Grammarian. For a relevant use of ἑποθήκαι, see VN 160.27: γραφικάς ἑπο-θήκαις.

51.


14 αἰθής πέπλος: the robe, smeared with blood, of Nessus.
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17 ἀναπηριζόμαι: strictly speaking, ἀναπηριζόμαι means "to unravel" rather than its opposite, as here.

52.

Date: 843–847.

One in a series of begging letters, as appears from line 6. The classical allusions are meant to appeal to Methodios' learning.

1 πεπειράμην: pluperfect with no augment, as in VN 163.6 (συγκεκρότητο); 173.29 (πετυπωτο . . . μεμόρφωτο); 177.13 (νενεκρωντο), etc.

9–10 ἐκ τελείας . . . προαρέσεως: For a similar wording see the letter of Theodore metropolitan of Cyzicus (10th century), ed. S. Lampros, Νέος Ἑλλ. 19 (1925), 186.15–16: ὡς ἐκ γλυκείας σοι καὶ οὐ πικρᾶς προσδεχθείσαι προ- αρέσεως.

53–54.

Date: 843–847.

These two letters were written simultaneously and concern the same matter. Ignatios had inherited from his elder brother (on whom see letter 62) a manuscript of the four Gospels, which he lent to Stephen asekretis. The latter passed it on to Michael of Synada, who kept it until his death. It then came into the hands of the bishop of Hierapolis, who had been refusing to return it. Ignatios is now appealing to the protonotarios (as chief of the patriarchal bureau) and, through him, to the patriarch for the return of his property.

Stephen asekretis was probably in office in 796, when Theodore the Studite had a discussion with him on certain theological and canonical questions (letter 5; cf. Fatouros, 148*), and was apparently still in the same post in 821, when Theodore wrote him his letter 419, urging him to intervene in favor of images with Michael II, who had recently ascended the throne. A Stephen occupying the same post in the reign of Theophilos is mentioned in the Life of St. Michael the Synkellos; after he had been denounced to the emperor for his orthodox beliefs, he suffered persecution and fell into heresy. Michael's encouraging letters made him confess that Christ should be venerated in icons. Along with the spatharios Kallonas, he was condemned to banishment, and his property was confiscated; see ed. M. Cunningham (Belfast, 1991), 74.25–78.22. Finally, a Stephen asekretis, surnamed Kapetolites, is recorded as a poet at the court of Theophilos in ca. 838, but, in view of what is stated in the Life of St. Michael, he does not seem to have been identical to the one in question. See Theoph. Cont., 143, and Introduction, p. 15.

Michael of Synada, one of the most prominent members of the iconophile party, was ordained by Tarasios between 784 and 787, served on several diplomatic
missions, and, after speaking up against Leo V at the famous meeting of December 814, was banished soon thereafter to Eudokia in Phrygia. He was moved to Constantinople by 817–818 (Theodore Studite, letter 364) and probably remained in confinement until the accession of Michael II. He died on 23 May 826. See especially J. Pargorie, "Saints iconophiles," *EO* 4 (1900–1901), 347 ff; Fatouros, 362*, n. 712. It follows, in any case, that Ignatios had not seen his book for a good twenty-five years.

The bishop of Hierapolis (probably the metropolis of Phrygia Pacatiana, modern Pamukkale, rather than the suffragan of Synada in Phrygia Salutaris) cannot be identified. The only known ninth-century incumbents appear to be Ignatios, appointed after 862–863 (cf. Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 474), who was present at the Councils of 869 and 879, and Nikon, transferred by Photios from either Laodicea or Nicaea (Grumel, *Regestes*, no. 546). See W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1 (Oxford, 1895), 120; Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 730; R. Aubert, in *DHGE* 24, 1446; and K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 7 (Vienna, 1990), 268–72.

53.

A Theophilos, deacon, *kouboukleisios*, and *protonotarios*, owned seal no. 120, which, according to Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, 98–99, dates from the second half of the ninth century.

On the office of *protonotarios*, see Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 355 ff.


11 διεσμιλευμένως: in the sense not of *perpolite, subtiliter*, but of ἤκριβωμένωσι as in Hesych.

14 ἀνυπόβλητον: The MS reading appears impossible. Lampe, s.v., cites this word from Ps.-Justin, *Quaest. et resp.* 114, PG 6, 1364α, with the meaning "not subject to."

54.

2 εὐταλάντως: Lampe quotes εὐτάλαντος from George Pisides' *Hex.*, 208 (PG 92, 1449α).

10 αἰτιατικῆς (so V) τετρακτύος: αἰτιατικῆς (= causal, accusatory) appears inappropriate. Τετρακτύς, the Pythagorean term for the sum of the first four numbers, that is, 10, had been applied to the four Gospels since Eusebius (references in Lampe, s.v.).

14 Σουφείρ: same spelling in *Hesych.* and *Suda.* It varies in the Septuagint.

19 ἤπογραφεύς: asekretis.
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20 πρός μεταβολὴν: We understand this to mean that Stephen borrowed Ignatios’ Gospel in order to correct or collate a copy of his own. The normal term for collation was ἀντιβολή.

56.

On the office of kourator see the commentary on letter 3 above and, most recently, M. Kaplan, “Maisons impériales et fondations pieuses,” Byz 61 (1991), 355–56; idem, Les hommes et la terre, 313ff, who points out that a μέγας κουράτωρ first appears in the Life of St. Ioannikios by Sabas (c. 45, p. 371) “vers 830” (“vers 840” would be more accurate) and connects the creation of that office with the setting up of imperial oikoi (τα Ελευθεριου, Mangana). There is still, however, no μέγας κουράτωρ in the Taktikon Uspenskij of 842–843. Konstantinakios appears to have been an imperial curator, either of a particular estate (or oikos) or the μέγας κουράτωρ. A curator Constantine, who was of iconophile persuasion, is the addressee of letter 233 of Theodore the Studite (date 815–818) and is probably also meant in letter 493.3 ff (Ὑγουμένῳ); see Fatouros, 294*, n. 520.

On the πράκτορες who collected the tax, see Bury, System, 89.

The question naturally arises why Ignatios should have owed money to a kourator. Was it a personal loan or tax liability? If the latter, Ignatios was either subject to a hearth tax (kapnikon) or he owned land, but it is not clear why such land would have fallen within the competence of a kourator, who had charge of imperial, not private, property. A possible key to this problem may be provided by the enigmatic δὰ τῆς κουρατωρίας (Taktikon Uspenskij in Oikonomidês, Listes, 61.10), who, in the Kletorologion of Philotheos (ibid., 113.34), figures as a subordinate of the logothete of the Genikon, hence the official responsible for the collection of general taxes.

57.

Constantine was probably taken prisoner by the Arabs. The invasion of Asia Minor in 838, which culminated in the capture of Amorium, naturally comes to mind.

58.

The recipient of this letter may be identified with one of several officials by the same name occurring in the sources: a Leo imperial protospatharios and protoasekritis was the owner of seals nos. 3 and 4 and an imperial protospatharios and asekritis the owner of no. 64, whom Laurent, Corpus, V, 5–6, identifies with the official who read out the edict of Basil I during the last session of the Council of 869/870 (cf. Mansi, XVI, 186c) and the addressee of Ignatios. A Leo protospatharios also owned seals 2136, 2140, 2141, and 3139 in Zacos-Veglery, vol. I.2, 1181–84 and vol. I.3, 1756, dating from the ninth century.
A Leo protospatharios was also the addressee of Photios’ letter 209 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, II, 109), and seems to have been well versed in classical learning. Moreover, a Leo asekretis was, together with his brother Galaton, the recipient of letters 106, 219, and 232 in the same correspondence (ibid., I, 146; II, 126–30 and 148–49).

In 802 a Leo spatharios, hailing from Sicily, was sent to Charlemagne with an embassy aiming to reconcile the East and the West and came back with a marriage proposal of the Frankish ruler to Empress Irene; see Treadgold, Revival, 118–19 and note 157 (with references to the sources). In 811 he escorted a western embassy to the court of Nikephoros I; see Annales regni Francorum, ed. F. Kurze, MGH SS. rerum Germanicarum (1895), 133–34.

13 ἑλπικήν: cf. VT 402.34.

The identity of the “common protector,” clearly a person of considerable importance, is, unfortunately, left in the dark. One may think of the logothete Theoktistos. If, however, the addressee was the same as the aforementioned Sicilian Leo spatharios, one may also think of Patriarch Methodios.

26ff For the autobiographical statement, see Introduction, p. 20.

27 Ὄλυμπιάθεν: surely not from Olympia, but from the Bithynian Olympus. The same incorrect form in VGD 63.18: ἔκχωρήσας οὖν Ὅλυμπιάθεν (Ὀλυμπίσθεν E), as pointed out by Ševčenko, “Hagiography,” 123 and note 71.

60.

14–15 δὴ γένοιτο, etc.: We take this to mean “let not the slander, that is, the report of your transgression, be picked up by my enemies, although that may have happened as things come to be forgotten.”

17–19 The enumeration of three types of meter (elegiac, hexameter, ionic) is merely for effect, and the third, in any case, was hardly ever used in the Byzantine period, except in the refrain of anacreontics. For the ionic a maiore (−−∪∪) and a minore (∪∪−−), see, for example, Hephaestion, Encheiridion, ed. Consbruch, 11–12, 35–39, and G. Choiroboskos’ Scholia, ibid., 242–46.

61–63.

These three letters concern the same event, namely, the death of a relative of Nikephoros.

61.

1 κυίζειν: The context requires the meaning “to pick” rather than “to scratch.” There is a long history of confusion about this rare verb, connected with its only occurrence in the Bible, Amos 7:14 (κυίζειν συκάμινα): cf. above, ad 25.9ff. The scratching applies not to mulberries (συκάμινα) but to Egyptian figs (συκόμορα).
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as explained by Athenaeus, II.51b. These last the natives, ἐπὶ βραχὺ κυίσαντες σιδηρῶν, leave on the plant and they ripen in three days. In commenting on Amos, Theodoret (PG 81, 1700 BC) notes that Aquila had misunderstood κυίζων as ἐρευνῶν σικομόρους, Theodotion as χαράκων (read χαράσσων), and Symmachus as ἔχων σικομόρους. The Septuagint, he concludes, must have meant χαράκων (read χαράσσων) or συλλέγων. Theodoret’s explanation passed into the Suda, s.v.: Κυίζων- Ἀκύλας ἐρευνῶν, Θεόδοτος χαράσσων, Σύμμαχος ἔχων ἡ συλλέγων. Cf. also Scholia in Greg. Naz., PG 36, 913c: τὸ κατατέμνεσθαι κυίζεσθαι λαμβάνεται Ὄπερείδης ἐχρήσατο τῇ λέξει.

9ff Ignatios seems to have regarded grapes as a bad omen, whereas in Artemidorus, Oneir., 1.73, they are a good sign even out of season, and betoken success with women (τὰς διὰ γυναικῶν ἡ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ὠφελέεις σημαίνει· φανερὰς μὲν ἡ λευκή, λαθραίας δὲ ἡ μέλαινα). Ignatios may have been familiar with one of the alphabetical dream books, for example, that of the “Patriarch Nikephoros,” ed. F. Drexl, Festgabe A. Ehrhard (Bonn, 1922), 103.49, βότρυνας ἔσθενεν ὁμβρικὴν δηλοὶ βλάστων; 114.276, ῥάγας ἔσθενεν ὑυτοῦ βλαστών δόκα (rain = tears). So also the dream book of the “Patriarch Germanos,” ed. F. Drexl, Λαογραφία 7 (1923), 434.23. For other interpretations see “Patriarch Nikephoros,” 109.159 (κλῆμα κρατήσας ἐγκαλεῖσθαι προσδόκα); “Patriarch Germanos,” 440.118 (same); 443.169 (ἔμφακες ὁπόραι τὸ νόσον σημαίνει); F. Drexl, “Das anonyme Traumbuch des cod. Paris. gr. 2511,” Λαογραφία 8 (1925), 372.390 (σταφυλίν μέ- λαναν φαγεῖν θόρυβον καὶ μάχην βαρεῖαν σημαίνει). For the alphabetical dream books, dating is rather uncertain, see S. M. Oberhelman, “Prolegomena to the Byzantine Oneirokritika,” Byz 50 (1980), 487–503.

62.

1 Ἀδελφός: presumably the same who owned the Gospel book that is the subject of letters 53–54. He appears to have been a priest serving on the establishment of an unnamed bishop. If the text is sound, as its careful balance and the coupling of ποσότης, ποιότης suggest, τῶν θείων λογίων would seem to refer not to holy scripture (its normal meaning), but to the brother’s holy utterances or teaching (sermons?).

9 Note that Ignatios, instead of προλογίας as in letter 35.9, here uses προλογέω.

16ff Although the full text of the Persica was available at Constantinople in the ninth century (Photios, Bibli., cod. 72), there can be no doubt that the passage given here has been borrowed from Demetrius, whose comment (§216) Ignatios paraphrases: Κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόν μόλις, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἀπέρριψεν αὐτό, μάλα ἡθικός καὶ ἔναργχως τὸν τε ἄγγελον ἐμφήνας ἀκουσίως ἀγγελοῦντα τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν μητέρα εἰς ἄγωνιαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὸν
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ἀκούντα. Demetrius uses this passage as an example of suspense in narrative rather than of delicacy, that is, in postponing the announcement of the bad news. Our text of Demetrius is to all intents and purposes based on Paris. gr. 1741 of the mid-tenth century: see stemma in P. Chiron’s ed. (Paris, 1993), cxxxiv. We can now establish its existence at Constantinople a hundred years earlier. Cf. also letter 64.

90ff Note the characteristic admission of past sins.

63.

10 παρουσίάσας: cf. letter 41.15.
15 διὰ γράμματος with reference to letter 62.
16 τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν . . . έλωθότων: Note that, in spite of his alleged poverty, Ignatios had a number of servants.

64.

The subject of this unusually convoluted letter is not easy to determine. Nikephoros had sent his friend a composition or, perhaps, the draft of a composition (twice called γράμμα), which Ignatios proceeded to criticize on stylistic grounds and, in particular, for its excessive use of periods. Nikephoros defends himself against the charge: he had not introduced too many periods; besides, the frequency of periods does not detract from the plausibility or appropriateness of the ideas expressed. He goes on to state that a contorted style best suited the anger and hostility he felt. In other words, the γράμμα must have been a denunciation. But what of the crow and the dove, a title that suggests a fable? In the Aesopic corpus there exists a fable entitled Περιστέρα καὶ κορώνη, which goes as follows: A dove, reared in a pigeon house, was boasting of having many chicks. A crow said to her: “The more children you have, the more servitude you will endure [or the more sorrows you are accumulating].” Moral: The most unfortunate among slaves are those who produce children during their servitude (Corpus fabularum aesopicarum, ed. A. Hausrath and H. Hunger, I.2 [Leipzig, 1959], no. 218). It is hard to see, however, what this has to do with the subject of the present letter. A more appropriate analogy may perhaps be found in ep. 381. 126 (ed. Fatouros, 525) of Theodore the Studite: οὐ μίγει ὁ θεὸς κορώνη καὶ περιστέραν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δύο τοὺς δύοιοις, “God does not mate a crow with a dove, but like with like.” This appears to have been a proverb (otherwise unattested) expressing incompatibility. We take the title, therefore, as a code name for a composition that pitted a metaphorical crow against a metaphorical dove. Using such a code name would have been particularly appropriate if Ignatios was indeed the author of the tetrasticha on themes borrowed from Babrius (above, p. 14). We may wonder whether the γράμμα had anything to do with the anti-iconoclastic tract referred to in letter 30, in which case the crow would have been the spokesman for Iconoclasm. The crow was seen not only as greedy, loquacious, and repulsive, but

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also as impious: in Babr. 78 (cf. 152) it is represented as robbing the altars of the gods of their offerings. In dreams, crows denoted demons (κόρακας ἰδὼν δαίμονας τούτος νόει): F. Drexl, “Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Nikephoros,” Festgabe A. Ehrhard, 109.164.

19 κολαζεται: The reading is defensible, although one may envisage changing it to κωλιζεται, that is, divided into clauses, themselves the constituent parts of periods.

20f. Cf. Demetrius, 15: τῶν τε τὰς πυκνὰς περιόδους λεγόντων οὐδ’ αἱ κεφαλαὶ ῥεδίως ἐστῶσιν . . . οἳ τε ἄκοψοντες ναυτίωσι διὰ τὸ ἀπίθανον. Note the succession of technical terms, ἐνθύμημα (on which see Demetrius, 30–33), πιθανότης, ἱδέα λόγου (quality, of which there were seven according to Hermogenes).

33 Aristides: Aelius Aristides, considered a model rhetorician.

44–46 For the distinction between σολοικίζεω and βαρβαρίζεω, see Prolegomena τῶν Θεοδώρου δυναμικών κανόνων ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χουρβοσκοῦ, Gramm. gr. IV.1, 103–4.
POSTSCRIPT

After we had completed the foregoing work I received an article by A. Kazhdan entitled "Letters of Ignatios the Deacon Once More: Some Doubts about Authorship," *JÖB* 44 (1994), 233–44.

Professor Kazhdan's "doubts," aimed at an article I published in 1981 (*TU* 125, 403–10) and based on Gedeon's faulty edition, may be summarized under the following headings:

1. He tentatively suggests that the collection of sixty-four letters may not be by the same author and that it falls into two separate groups, nos. 1–24 and 25–64, respectively, distinguished by subject matter, the status of the addressees, and the relative frequency of proverbs and classical quotations.

2. He is not convinced that the author (of Group 2) identifies himself as Ignatios in letter 38 or that he is named in the intitulation of no. 64.

3. He questions the view that the author of Group 1 was ever metropolitan of Nicaea. Had he been metropolitan, he would have had more exalted correspondents.

4. He is not satisfied that the author of Group 2 was confined to the monastery of Pikridion.

5. He doubts that the "sin" which the author repeatedly confesses was adherence to Iconoclasm and believes that it was instead his escape from a monastery.

Finally, setting aside his own misgivings about unitary authorship, Kazhdan sketches the single author's career as follows: "Possibly (but no more than that) he was a monk on Mt. Olympos at the beginning of his career, held a high administrative post in the church hierarchy (in Constantinople or Nicaea) in the 820s, left monastic ranks and became a scholar, and in the 840s compiled a book of proverbs."

Without going into undue detail, I would make the following rejoinder:

1. I see no reason to break up the collection into two groups, much less to suppose that they are by two different authors. It so happens that the episcopal letters, which deal with practical matters (taxation, discipline, etc.) are placed at the beginning of the collection, whereas the private letters are mostly, though not exclusively, in the latter two-thirds. Not surprisingly, Ignatios varies his style and his use of classical quotations and proverbs depending on the occasion and the cultural level of his correspondents. Even so, the most frequent correspondent of "Group 2," the chartophylax Nikephoros, appears three times in "Group 1" (letters 4, 14, 15) and nos. 14 and 15 are couched in exactly the same pedantically playful tone as the letters to him in "Group 2." Significant verbal parallels with the attested hagiographic works of Ignatios (confining ourselves to "Group 1") may be found in letters 1, 2, 3, 21,
and 24. The pun on the name of Galen in 21.46 recurs in 46.12. The same quotation from Iliad 1.524 ff featuring the adjective παλμάγρετος appears at 23.9 f and 39.4. Νόστμως δεξάμενος ἐν 13.9 is echoed by νόστμως φθογγή in 51.3.

2. Kazhdan’s interpretation of no. 38—that the Ignatios who is named in the text is a third person, to whom the author was supposed to deliver Nikephoros’ letter—strikes me as impossible. The line of thought is as follows: “As I was reading your letter (to me), I had the impression of reading the Oration of Gregory Nazianzen addressed to his father. Gregory knew what kind of person he was addressing, but you, it seems, did not. You were writing to Ignatios, a dreadful sinner. That is the cause of my lateness in replying to you, viz. that, sinful as I was, I did not wish to importune you.” The argument is far-fetched and “frigid,” as the author himself admits. But what sense would it make if Ignatios was a third person? As for the expressions of self-abasement which Kazhdan finds excessively offensive (ἐκτρωμα, “unworthy of being called a Christian,” “worthless”), they are quite characteristic of our author and can easily be paralleled elsewhere. To take one example at random, the author of the Protokanonarion calls himself ἐκτρωμάτων ἐκτρωμα καὶ κῶν νὸκ ἕξχρηστος (M. Arranz, I penitenziali bizantini, 44).

For the intitulation of no. 64, see above, p. 156.

3. It is abundantly clear to me that the author was for a time metropolitan of Nicaea (see esp. letters 8, 9, 10, 11, and 17). This point hardly requires demonstration.

4. The question of Pikridion is extraneous to that of authorship. Even so, I maintain my interpretation, which is based on direct allusions (ta Pikridou, Pikrides in letters 43–44) and repeated puns on the name of the monastery. Its situation at the far end of the Golden Horn accords with the expression τὰ ἐσχάτα τοῦ Βυζαντίου κόλπου (46.17), which refers neither to the open sea nor to the gulf of Nicomedia. The comparison with Cadiz is a humorous exaggeration typical of our author. He was not in that monastery of his own free will, but had been placed there by Patriarch Methodios (no. 43), no doubt so as to purge his past misdemeanors. See our Introduction, p. 11 f.

5. There is no evidence that the author ever absconded from a monastery or that he felt chronically guilty for having committed such an act. He did spend some time in a monastery on Olympus (quite possibly Antidion), but was lured away from it by an offer (of a teaching post?), made by some highly placed officials in the capital. However, he makes it plain (letter 31.34 ff) that his “pact with the Devil”—the iconoclasts in my opinion—had occurred earlier, when he had first been ordained.

In sum, none of Kazhdan’s objections carries conviction. The author of the Letters was a single person called Ignatios, who was active in the first half of the ninth century. He served as metropolitan of Nicaea. He was a teacher, a man of letters, and a classical scholar of some distinction. He had seriously compromised him-
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self by serving the wrong party, surely the Iconoclasts. He could only have been the same as Ignatios the deacon of the Suda notice. I shall not elaborate here on a number of striking philological arguments that speak in the same sense.

Ignatios lived in a period of many tergiversations and compromises when one state-enforced ideology was replaced by another. His career, which we have not been able to elucidate entirely, was affected by changes “at the top.” That is a situation to which Kazhdan ought to be sensitive εἰπερ τις ἄλλος.

ADDENDUM

A possible solution of the crux at 25.10–11 might be: εἰ καὶ μὴ . . . συκάμνα ὑπεραιωροῦντων, (καὶ) τὸ διειδές, etc. (“even if they were not laden with mulberries”). Cf. Libanius, Or. 1.53: ἑγὼ δὲ ἐφῆκεν ἄνδρι κατακεκλιμένῳ πρὸς πηγαίνει τε διαφανῶν ὦδατων καὶ ὑπὸ δένδρων παντοίας ὑπεραιωροῦντων χάριτας.

C.M.
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ē coni = vox e coniectura

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e coni. = vox e coniectura

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