NICHOLAS I
Patriarch of Constantinople
Letters

Greek Text and English Translation

by
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and
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FOREWORD

During the brief period when the late Professor Romilly J. H. Jenkins served as Director of Studies at Dumbarton Oaks he found the time to complete his translation of the letters of the Patriarch Nicholas I, with the intention of publishing them with a critical edition of their Greek text. His untimely death in 1969 seemed at first prematurely to terminate the entire undertaking. However, it was soon discovered that Prof. Jenkins had in fact finished the translation and had advanced other parts of his work to the point where his collaborator, Professor L. G. Westerink of the State University of New York at Buffalo, could complete them, and, with the addition of his own contributions—editorial work, revisions to the Greek, the translation and editing of Letters 164–90, Summaries of and brief notes on each Letter, the Introduction, the Indices, etc.—bring the work to publication.

Dumbarton Oaks feels, therefore, especially privileged to be able to publish this posthumous addition to Prof. Jenkins' corpus of distinguished scholarly contributions to the field of Byzantine study and research.

That this edition of the letters of the Patriarch Nicholas I should be the second volume in the Dumbarton Oaks Texts Series seems particularly appropriate, for it was Prof. Jenkins who, collaborating then with Professor Gy. Moravcsik, inaugurated the Series in 1967 with the publication of the new, revised edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio.

Indeed, Dumbarton Oaks can look back upon a fifteen-year association with Prof. Jenkins, since it was in 1964 that it published the first of his many contributions to its Papers. It is with satisfaction in this association and in the opportunity—with the indispensable cooperation of Prof. Westerink—to bring his latest scholarly effort to fruition that Dumbarton Oaks publishes herewith the Letters of Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople.

Dumbarton Oaks
Washington, D. C.
1973

William R. Tyler
Director
PREFACE

The late Professor E. J. H. Jenkins had already established the Text of numbers 1–163 of the Letters of Nicholas Mysticus and had completed their Translation when in January 1968 he asked me to revise the Greek and write the Introduction. Some changes in the Text and in the punctuation resulting from this, as well as corresponding adaptations of the Translation, had been agreed upon before his death in September 1969. Subsequent alterations are only minor and strictly editorial, with the exception of 40 and 96, for which I have adopted a different interpretation. Letters 164–90, and the Summaries and Indices, are entirely my responsibility.

The Summaries (with tentative dates and attempts at identification of addressees) are a poor, but the only available, substitute for the projected Commentary, for which no material has been found among Jenkins' papers.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to those who helped to prepare this edition: to Mrs. Alice-Mary Talbot, for retyping the Greek text; to Mr. Michael Share and Mr. Robert Brown, for assistance in composing the indices; and to Miss Julia Warner, who with wonted patience and attention to detail saw the entire volume through the press.

L. G. W.
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NICHOLAS I
Patriarch of Constantinople
Letters
INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF NICHOLAS

The short biographical notice which the plan of this collection permits can be little more than a framework for the chronology of the Letters, without any attempt to deal with major issues.¹

Nicholas was born in 852; his Italian origin is well attested by several independent sources.² The relative in Italy to whom Ep. 54 is addressed had resided there at least from the beginning of 907 to the time of writing (921), and this long period of time, spanning four different reigns, makes it highly unlikely that he should have been there temporarily on state business. His social position was important enough for Nicholas to urge him to use his influence at the papal court. Consequently, when the Vita Euthymii³ describes Nicholas as an oikogenēs of Photius, this can only mean a relative and member of the family, not a homebred slave, as in classical Greek. His brother John rose to the rank of patrician and became Droungarios of the Watch (Ep. 170)—a promotion which, of course, may have had something to do with Nicholas’ influence as mystikos. Arethas’ insinuation as to Nicholas’ obscure origins⁴ must remain unexplained.

Little more can be done with the statement that he was a “brother by adoption” of Leo VI.⁵ The further information that they were students

² Epiphanius, 10056; Life of Peter of Argo, ed. Chr. Papaikononou (Athens, 1908), chap. 8. Fr. Fischer, De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanae catalogis, Commentationes philologicae Leipzigenses, III (Leipzig, 1884).
⁴ 11.15 (Karihn-Hayter).
⁵ Scripta minora II (1973), 124.5—6; 125.20.
⅟ Vita Euthymii 11.30—31; 71.6. It may mean that both were godsons of Photius; for Nicholas, see Eps. 2.18 and 138.49; for Leo, Photius, Ep. I, 16 (PG, 102, col. 765C, 3—4).
The attempt on Leo in 897, which may have been Nicholas' brother, does not mean that Nicholas was compromised in any way, the less so as the reason for the measure seems to have been inefficiency rather than suspicion of complicity.

On March 1, 901, after the death of the Patriarch Antony Kauleas, Nicholas was raised to that "much-envied" see of Constantinople. Most of the information we have on the first years of Nicholas' patriarchate comes from the official court orator, the deacon Arethas, who dutifully proclaimed to the world that all was well between the Emperor and his Patriarch. The chronicles mention him only once during these years: after the loss of Taormina in 902, when Eustathius Argyrus and Caramalus had been condemned to death for high treason on account of this, it was the Patriarch who obtained a pardon for them. The author of the Vita Euthymii, in a curiously piecemeal account, makes Nicholas a suspect in the attempt on Leo's life in the church of St. Mocius (May 11, 903). In the narrative itself, Leo is furious at having been deserted by Nicholas and his clergy in the hour of danger; so far, the charge is simply one of cowardice. Then, three years later, in the course of the tetragamy conflict, Leo reveals to "some of the chamberlains" that he has suspected the Patriarch all the time of being a party to the conspiracy. Finally, after eight more years, Euthymius (then ex-patriarch) reminds Nicholas how he went to the palace at Nicholas' request to clear him of the charge of high treason, apparently soon after the event.

Nicholas' complicity in the revolt and desertion of Andronicus Ducas is stated as a fact both in the Vita Euthymii and in the chronicles, though they disagree as regards the time, the Vita dating Andronicus' flight to Baghdad to 905 (before the baptism of Constantine), the chronicles to 907 (after Nicholas' deposition, which is supposed to have been its motive).

The Patriarch's guilt becomes a key element in the story of the tetragamy affair as told in the Vita Euthymii. Besides Nicholas' own brief report in Ep. 32, which is thoroughly falsified by his claim of having consistently opposed the fourth marriage from the very beginning, this is the only coherent account of the events.

According to the Vita, four notes received by Andronicus at Cabala were handed to Leo after his desertion to the Arabs, one of them in the style and in the handwriting of Nicholas (quoted in full, 69.25—71.1), in which he addressed Andronicus as future emperor and warned him against Leo's promises and the machinations of Samonas. Though Leo did not immediately confront the Patriarch with this information, it was passed on to him by others, and from that moment onward Nicholas went out of his way to fulfill, or even forestall, the Emperor's wishes. On January 6, 906, in spite of the opposition of some of the metropolitans, led by Epiphanius of Laodicea, he baptized young Constantine, declaring during the ceremony that by his orders seven priests had for seven days prayed in front of the altar of St. Sophia for the birth of a son. Obviously it was widely felt that this much could be conceded for dynastic reasons, for the synecculus Euthymius, the acknowledged leader of the rigorist party in the Church, consented to act as godfather.

Meanwhile the understanding was, as Nicholas says in his letter to Pope Anastasius (Ep. 32.45—51), that the connection with Zoe would be discontinued, instead of which Leo had her escorted to the palace with imperial honors a few days later. Probably after Easter 906 (April 13), they were married by the presbyter Thomas, and Zoe was crowned empress by Leo; the Patriarch then refused Leo admittance to the church, allowing him only to enter the sacristy (metaiorion). These last facts are provided by the chronicles.

Nicholas professed himself willing and competent to grant a dispensation, first on the foundation day of the new church (May 1), then on the feast of the Transfiguration (August 6), but Leo refused, saying that he preferred to wait for the arrival of the delegates from Rome. For some time the Patriarch insisted, then suddenly reversed his policy because (according to the Vita) an indiscreet chamberlain betrayed to him that as soon as the dispensation had been granted, he would be deposed for his share in the St. Mocitus plot and the revolt of Andronicus. The metropolitans were now made to sign an undertaking that none would acquiesce in dispensation (unless with the Patriarch's consent, Nicholas himself adds in a later document). Contrary to the Patriarch's repeated promises, Leo was once more
refused admission to the Church on Christmas Day, and again on Epiphany 907, Nicholas declaring himself unable to grant dispensation so long as there was no unanimity among the metropolitans, and in particular Arethas (now metropolitan of Caesarea) had not come to terms. After a heated discussion during dinner at the palace, that same day, Nicholas convoked the metropolitans and made them renew their pledge not to yield or to abandon their sees if put under pressure. He himself was the first to sign a statement to this effect.

At a palace dinner on St. Tryphon's day (February 2) 907, Leo announced the imminent arrival of the delegates of the Eastern patriarchates and of Rome and requested the Patriarch and the metropolitans to admit him as a penitent to the church of Blachernae the following day (Presentation, February 3). All refused and were banished from the city until the synod should meet. Nicholas was escorted to his own monastery in Galacrenae. Three days later (February 5) Leo recalled those willing to accept his penance and the next day revealed to them Nicholas' complicity in the plot of Ducas; on February 7 he sent a message to Nicholas demanding resignation, but the Patriarch answered that he was too ill to write. When upon this Leo sent the protovestiarius Samonas to threaten Nicholas with a trial for high treason, the Patriarch handed a written resignation, first to the metropolitans who accompanied Samonas, then, as they refused to accept it, to Samonas himself. In this document Nicholas declares with deliberate ambiguity that he resigns his see without resigning the priesthood. He followed it up with a second version stating more precisely that he would continue to exercise the functions of the archpriesthood. A third version, addressed to the metropolitans and containing no reservation of any kind, was eventually used to make Euthymius change his mind after his initial refusal to accept the see. He then modified his position in so far as to make his acceptance contingent upon a synodal deposition of Nicholas and the approval of the dispensation by the other patriarchal sees. A few days later the Roman and Eastern representatives arrived, and when the majority of the Constantinopolitan hierarchy joined them in granting dispensation (subject to a penance), Euthymius yielded to pressure, especially from the Roman delegates. His conciliatory attitude toward his opponents (for whom he obtained permission to return from exile) won many of them over to his side.

Thus far the account of the Vita Euthymi. It is well written, dramatic, and frankly partial. In itself this does not mean that the facts are deliberately misrepresented, but there are some questionable points which advise caution. The least serious is the dating of the revolt of Ducas, in which the chronicles may he at fault; the apparent support for their version in the Arabic sources admits of a different explanation. Next, there is Nicholas' note to Ducas, which looks like a crude forgery; the alleged resemblance in style does not exist, and it is hardly credible that a man as intelligent as Nicholas should have committed himself so blatantly. On the other hand, the fact that some of the evidence is planted does not necessarily imply that the accused is innocent, and the Vita may be correct at least to the extent that such a document existed and was used against the Patriarch. Thirdly, it is extremely difficult to discredit Nicholas' statement (Ep. 32.129—53) that the representatives of Rome had arrived before St. Tryphon's day. There Nicholas is defending himself against the charge that he refused to meet the delegates; if he had already been under arrest at the time, this would of course have been an unanswerable plea, and he had no reason to prefer a falsehood which, besides weakening his case, would immediately be recognized as such in Rome. The author of the Vita, on his part, had as little motive as had Nicholas to reverse the events, but he may have erred in having the arrival of the Romans and of the Eastern delegates announced simultaneously. The last and most damaging item is Nicetas' letter to Arethas, an eyewitness report from the patriarchal palace, which, on Christmas Day 906, shows Nicholas still desperately at work to overcome the resistance of the opposition under Arethas and his henchman Nicetas. It proves that the account of the Patriarch's volte-face before Christmas is at best an over-simplification.

Nicholas spent the five years and three months of Euthymius' patriarchate in the Galacrenae monastery. Apart from his own description of his miserable fate (presumably during the first few weeks), nothing is known about him during this period. Nor do we have any direct information as to the situation in the Church. It must be assumed that some of the bishops refused to recognize Euthymius, so that there was a formal schism as early as 907; otherwise Nicholas' sweeping action against the Euthymiasts in 912 would have left him without any episcopate at all. However, if the situation at the top of the hierarchy (to be discussed presently) is representative, the loyal ones can have been only a small minority.

Nicholas was restored to his see in May 912, either by Leo on his deathbed, as he himself claimed, or by Alexander immediately upon his succession, as the Vita Euthymi and the chroniclers say. He demanded the abdication of Euthymius and his metropolitans; when they refused he gave the...
order for the arrest of five metropolitans, Demetrius of Heraclea, Gregory of Nicomedia, Gabriel of Ancyra, Hilarion of Hierapolis, and Peter of Sardes (who escaped). They were the highest in rank of the "apostates," i.e., of those who had signed the pact with Nicholas and abandoned him: Heraclea was the third see, Ancyra the fourth, Nicomedia the seventh (Arethas, the protothronos, never signed; Ephesus, the second see, and Cyzicus, the fifth, were held by appointees of Euthymius). It is not clear why Hilarion, in spite of his low rank (forty-first), was singled out to join them; in Ep. 118 Nicholas does not mention him with the others. Nicholas, sitting in judgment alone, had a statement read which he had prepared beforehand, since immediately afterward he refers to the metropolitans as "those deposed," it must have been the act of deposition preserved among Arethas' writings. Next, a tribunal presided over jointly by Nicholas and Alexander deposed Euthymius, after which Nicholas took formal possession of the cathedral by a solemn rite of purification.

The next Sunday a synod of the Nicholas bishops was held, in which besides Euthymius himself all those who had elected him, communicated with him, or been anathematized and deposed; this despite the protests and warnings of the more moderate among Nicholas' own party, who foresaw where this blind onslaught must lead. A counter-synod under Arethas refused to acknowledge Nicholas and his rulings, and the schism was complete. Though Nicholas afterward, disavowing the summary deposition of all the Euthymian bishops, maintained that he had deposed only four (Ep. 113), there must have been many more who under pressure resigned their sees or quietly withdrew. The Vita Euthymii reports numerous depositions of bishops and metropolitans, and Arethas says that there was a spate of new appointments, recruited according to him from the lowest rabble of the city. Among them were Gregory of Ephesus (Ep. 89), who became Nicholas' best friend, Photius of Heraclea (Ep. 132), Ignatius of Cyzicus (Ep. 137), and Antony of Sardes, who replaced the absconding Peter (Eps. 180, 181). Though Alexander seems to have used some consideration toward Arethas (the likeliest motive is Arethas' success in thwarting Leo), it did not extend to his partisans; at the time of Alexander's death a Nicholas hierarchy was well established throughout the Empire.

Of the rare letters that can be dated to this period, by far the most important is that to Pope Anastasius III (Ep. 29) in which Nicholas, after announcing his return to his see, gives his account of the events (making himself a consistent opponent of the notion of dispensation without separation), then proposes to reestablish relations on the condition that Rome join in the ban on fourth marriages. Its arrogant tone and uncompromising demands made it useless as an attempt at reconciliation, and no official notice was taken of it; contact was taken up again only after the Union, in 920. There is further a short letter notifying a group of missionaries of this fact (Ep. 79). If, as is probable, they are the Abbot Euthymius and his companions, who, during the Alamania, followed them to Constantinople (or before), the promise of their impending return was made good by the appointment of an archbishop, Peter, in 914. It is possible that the episode of the Bulgarian refugee in St. Sophia (Eps. 3, 4) must have been also to the reign of Alexander.

Also soon after Alexander's accession, Nicholas found himself in the awkward position of having to cooperate in the marriage of the Emperor and his mistress and the forced tonsuration of the legitimate augusta and her mother. An extenuating circumstance was perhaps that Alexander had long been separated from his wife, well before Nicholas' time, by Leo's orders, so that, technically, she may already have been a nun since ca. 900.

Alexander died on June 6, 913, after an illness of two days during which he appointed a Regency Council under Nicholas, with Stephen the magistros, John Eladas, one Euthymius, and three of his personal favorites. According to some accounts, Nicholas, while still unaware of this arrangement, wrote to Constantine Ducas, the son of Andronicus, urging him to come to Constantinople and seize power before anyone else could. Upon his arrival in the city, Constantine found a totally changed situation; his coup miscarried and he was killed; cruel reprisals against his supporters followed.

For the next eight months (June 913—February 914) Nicholas was in fact the head of the Empire and behaved, on the whole, as if he were so also by right. He negotiated in his own name with the Caliph on the condition of the Cypriotes (Ep. 1) and with the Emir of Crete on the exchange of prisoners (Ep. 2). He took personal initiatives in military matters, sending Nicholas Picingli to Italy as Governor of Lombardia to lead the Christian alliance against the Moslems (Ep. 144, and probably 44 and 80). As a result, he soon became the most unpopular man in the Empire.

The principal event of his short rule was the Bulgarian war, a consequence of Alexander's refusal to continue payment of the customary tribute. Not heeding the Patriarch's protests, entreaties, and warnings (Eps. 5—7), Symeon appeared before the walls of Constantinople in August 913 and started a siege, but soon despaired of the enterprise and proposed a peaceful
settlement. His two sons were received inside the city by the young Emperor Constantine and members of the Regency Council. Nicholas went out to meet the Czar and performed a coronation ceremony, whose exact purport is not clear; apparently a marriage was arranged between the Emperor and one of Symeon's daughters (Ep. 16.73—75). After this the Bulgarian army withdrew, though only temporarily.

The struggle within the Church must have continued in the meantime, and some of the letters referring to it may belong to this period, but none can be dated to it with certainty. Ep. 146 records an attempt by the proconsul Constantine Malchias to restore the Euthymian archbishop of Neapolis to his see “after the Emperor’s death”; obviously, however, circumstances were more favorable to such an action when Nicholas had lost his power.

His downfall was brought about by the augusta, Zoe, who had returned to the palace when Alexander was dying, to be removed by Nicholas’ orders immediately afterward. He made the senators as well as the metropolitans sign an undertaking never again to recognize her as empress, but was compelled to allow her to return to the palace at the wish of the Emperor (then seven years old). Nicholas tried to prevent further claims on her part by having her tonsured and renamed Sister Anna. II In February, 914 she took action and expelled Nicholas from the palace; he took refuge in his cathedral, which he had not seen for eight months, and spent there twenty-two anxious days, while Zoe refused to release him and tried to bring about the restoration of Euthymius. It was almost certainly at this time that the two highest members of the Nicholaid hierarchy, Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of Heraclea, were arrested and deported (Ep. 132), soon to be set free again. What saved Nicholas and his party was Euthymius’ steadfast refusal, despite the insistence of his bishops and clergy, to assume the burden of the patriarchate once more. Under these circumstances, Zoe had no choice but to maintain Nicholas in his office in order to escape the disaster of a third patriarch and a third party. Thus, he was eventually permitted to leave, after signing a written promise to proclaim her Augusta in St. Sophia (a step which Euthymius had never consented to take) and never to enter the palace again unsummoned.24

From February 914 until the end of 918 Zoe ruled with a cabinet of court eunuchs led by the parakimomenos Constantine and the Gongylus brothers. In the initial stage, the government was openly hostile to the Patriarch, whom it could not discard. It is to this period that most of Nicholas’ desperate entreaties to his colleagues and friends for company and support, his complaints of being deserted by all, must belong.25 The plea of

20 Ibid. 133.3—14; Thesph. Cont. 386.1—3.
21 Vite Euthymioi 137.2—16.
22 Ep. 99.11—14; 133.71—76; 166.
23 Ep. 148.
24 Ep. 133.50—63.
25 Arethas, Scripta minora 1, 123.29—126.2.
26 Ep. 133; cf. also 34, which may reflect a later stage.
27 Ep. 131.
protest from Nicholas. There were other conflicts of a more incidental nature: complaints of requisition of land, produce, and ships by military commanders, and remonstrations about the draft exemption of clergy not being respected.

After the crushing defeat of the imperial army at Achelous (August 20, 917), from which the Zoe administration never recovered, Nicholas' position became proportionally stronger. He undertook a new peace offensive, acting for himself rather than for the eunuch government, which he made responsible for the unfortunate campaign (Ep. 9—13). When the last of these letters were written, the days of Zoe's government were numbered; it seems that Constantine the parakimomenos had already been arrested by Romanus, and Nicholas had returned to the palace for a final short spell of power as regent, together with Stephen the magistros (winter 918/19). It lasted only a few months, as long as the struggle for the crown between Leo Phocas and Romanus Lecapenus was undecided. On March 24, 919, Romanus sent word that he had resolved to enter the palace to protect the Emperor against the usurpation of Phocas. When Nicholas refused to admit him, he landed at Bucoleon the following morning. Stephen left voluntarily, Nicholas stayed until Nicetas the patrician, father-in-law of Christopher Lecapenus, came in and forced him to go.

One of Romanus’ first concerns, even during the tumultuous first year after his coup d'état, when one conspiracy followed another, was to restore peace in the Church. Apart from the political troubles caused by the schism, his motive may have been a genuine conviction that the disasters of the Regency were a sign of God's displeasure. He used this argument trying to persuade Nicholas to be more flexible; the next day the Patriarch wrote him a long letter, in which he took the more pragmatic view and pointed out on the ground of historical evidence that military success and failures depended not on theological, but on military causes (Ep. 75).

Personal feelings and party sentiment in the Church still ran high. When on August 5, 917, Eutychius died, the Nicholaic party (rather, it appears, than Nicholas himself) refused him burial in the monastery of Psamatia. Later (dates unknown: 918?) his remains were by imperial order transferred to the city, and that day, in an official eulogy whose keynote was venomous hatred, Arethas confidently predicted the imminent removal of Nicholas. As for the tetragamy question itself, in the course of the fight the relative positions of the parties had been almost completely reversed, and in the pamphlet warfare that continued for years after Leo's death the combatants unashamedly ransacked the writings of their adversaries for arguments in support of a view that had now become their own. The crucial issue, meanwhile, was that of the validity of the appointments. If Nicholas could force himself to swallow his pride and welcome impudent sinners back into the Church, there remained the problem of his supporters and nominees, whom he did not want to betray. This dilemma is very much in evidence in a number of letters written about this time.

Against these odds, Romanus' success is all the more admirable, and little short of a miracle. The strongest incitement which he could hold out to the Patriarch was the hope of returning to an influential position at court, and it may have played an important part in overcoming his initial resistance; in the following year (920) we find him firmly established as Romanus' helper and advisor. Arethas later claimed to have been, with Romanus, the real author of the union. However this may be, though the official instrument of the reconciliation—the Tome of Union—reads as if it were drawn up by Nicholas himself, in substance it is on the whole in favor of the Eutychian position: where fourth marriages are to be banned from now onward (a point never contested by either of the parties), it is spelled out that dispensation was granted to Leo with divine approval, and the more specific anathemas are directed against those of the anti-dispensation group who should refuse to acquiesce in this ruling. The real problem, that of the occupation of the sees, is not even mentioned, but we know that practical provisions were made by a joint synod, presumably the one that solemnly proclaimed the union on July 9, 920.

In principle, of course, the return of the Eutychian hierarchy to the Church could mean only their return to their former sees (at least for those who had refused to resign them); this is also mentioned explicitly in the prophecy with which Eutychius consold his impatient bishops: “you will be received back into the Church and recover your sees.” It is illustrated, in Ep. 109, by the case of a suffragan bishop in the metropolitan diocese of Leodicea, who, possibly as late as 924/25, expressed the wish to return to the Church; it is taken for granted that this means automatic restoration, the incumbent appointed under Nicholas simply has to retire until there will be a suitable vacancy for him. Though this is the only example on record, the solution must have been the same in many other cases, metropolitans and archbishops not excluded. Whatever the arrangements were, they were obviously neither complete nor watertight. Immediately after the union Nicholas wrote to Gregory of Ephesus establishing (for the local clergy) an order of precedence in which the Euthymian appointees ranked

43 Ep. 137; cf. also 68, 61, and 72.
44 Ep. 35—36; 164—66.
45 Eps. 75, 109, 116, 136 (and 157 A) .
46 Ascens. minora I, 229—30; 230—3.
49 Vita Euthymii 135.28—29.
INTRODUCTION

lowest (Ep. 89). Shortly afterward he had to send a circular to the "heads of the churches" (metropolitans and archbishops, presumably) to remind them of the rules for ordination, which were not kept (Ep. 94.18—28).

Nobody, least of all the Patriarch himself, harbored the illusion that the peace was final. The Tomos itself was to a large extent written with a view to remaining dissidents. After the union Nicholas made a halfhearted offer to resign, if it was felt that he was an obstacle in the way of further pacification (Ep. 90). Even while announcing the joyful news to Symeon of Bulgaria (Ep. 14.29—47) and to Pope John (Ep. 56.10—21) he made it clear that the union was not complete; and in a later letter to the Pope was the wording seems to indicate that some of his own party left the Church, an eventuality which he had already foreseen. In the hope that recognition of Nicholas by Rome would help to suppress the last resistance, Romanus and Nicholas joined forces in an effort to restore relations. Since it was now clear beyond any doubt that Nicholas was the only legitimate patriarch, the Roman Church had little choice in the matter and even went through the formality of condemning fourth marriages. The arrival of the papal delegates Theophylactus and Carus, reported in Ep. 28, has been dated by Grumel between June 922 and June 923 on the ground of Euthymius' prophecy of final peace in the tenth year of Constantine VII. Even if this somewhat precarious clue is discarded, the date cannot be far wrong, as the letter in question was written in any case after Ep. 24 (late 921, or more probably late 922) and a considerable time before Eps. 29 and 30 (late 923, or more probably late 924). The event cannot have failed to have some effect on the situation within the Constantinopolitan Church, but the schism continued; an appendix to the Tome of Union records that the last dissidents surrendered only toward the end of the century, under the Patriarch Sisinnius. The peace in the Church also marked a new period of political activity for the Patriarch. Immediately after the union he resumed his correspondence with Symeon of Bulgaria, which had been interrupted by the events of March 919. This missive (Ep. 19) was followed by a dozen others distributed over five years; the Patriarch's Services were all the more valuable because Symeon was a matter of principle refused to have any dealings with the usurper Romanus. Rather than answer Symeon's letters to the Senate, which would have been tantamount to admitting his contention, Romanus tried to carry on negotiations through Nicholas. His usefulness did not end there. The gold of the churches was now made available to the common-wealth in need with Nicholas' full cooperation in contrast with his stern refusal to Constantine the chamberlain some five years earlier. This gold levy must probably be dated to the second half of 920, before Romanus' coronation. To the same period belong two short notes addressed to Romanus' caesars; one, Ep. 95A, offering advice in a matter of the chancery budget (which had been, in a way, Nicholas' own province, twenty years before); the other, Ep. 95, on fleet operations (in which one would have thought that Romanus would be more competent). For more obvious reasons, he was consulted on questions where secular and ecclesiastical interests met: liability of monasteries to taxation (Ep. 96), a conflict between Romanus, then already emperor, and the oeconomus of St. Sophia. There is an impressive list of letters to princes and rulers testifying to his vitality and restless activity: the dossier of the Longibardian revolt (Eps. 82—85, 103, and perhaps 101, 101A); letters to the Curopalate of Iberia (Ep. 91), to the Calypb, on the treatment of Saracen prisoners of war (Ep. 102, dated July 922); to the King of Armenia, on the ordination of a new catholicus (Ep. 139); to George of Abasgia, on the Bulgarian war (Ep. 162).

In November 924 (923?) Symeon, during his last attack on Constantinople, consented to receive a delegation consisting of Nicholas, Michael Steypites, and John the mystikos. They arranged a personal interview between Symeon and Romanus, at which Nicholas was also present. Even though the meeting did not end the war, at least it ushered in its terminal phase. The Emperor's speech, which according to the chroniclers impressed Symeon deeply, contains all the familiar commonplaces from Nicholas' letters in almost identical terms; very probably be wrote the text for it. The occasion was not in every respect a happy one, however, for Symeon accused the Patriarch of collaboration with the eunuch government and of insincerity in his pacifism. One would have expected Nicholas to be insensitive, by this time, to these insults and sarcasms which he had borne patiently for over ten years; but his desperate attempt, in Ep. 81, to justify himself, shows that the reproaches still rankled several months later.

He realized, as be wrote it, that it was to be the last of the "Letters to the Bulgarian." The illness mentioned (or alluded to) in several letters, and from which be recovered at least temporarily, may have been fatal after all. While there is no positive evidence as to its date, the absence of any reference to it in the datable correspondence of the busy years 920 to 923 lends a certain plausibility to this assumption. He died on May 15, 925, and was buried in his own monastery of Galarene.
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II. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LETTERS

The groundwork for the chronology of Nicholas’ correspondence was laid by V. Grumel, Les regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople, I, 2 (1936), 133—221. There are substantial additions to be made to this; Grumel omits twenty-two numbers of the Patmos collection, among which are items of paramount importance, such as Eps. 49, 129, and 146; further, twenty new letters were published since by Darrasas. Some points must be revised because later research has revealed new facts (as in the case of the dynasty of Abasgia since Toumanoff’s new chronology); in particular, the question of the correspondence of the first patriarchate needs reconsideration.

In the Regestes, sixteen letters are listed under the second patriarchate (as against eighty under the first); but it has been pointed out, quite correctly, that it would be difficult to find a single letter that can be shown with certainty to belong to that period. In view of the great number that can be assigned at first sight to the Regency or to the reign of Romans, the ground either of the address or of the contents, this is strange. It is true that Nicholas had reason to suppress some of his earlier letters, but many more must have been harmless and even among the ones relating to the tetragamy there must have been those which he could have turned to his advantage without any editing. A brief review of Grumel’s sixteen letters will show that in the majority of cases there are definite grounds to date them to the second patriarchate; in none are there compelling reasons for an earlier dating.

Ep. 2, to the Emir of Crete, is dated 904 because the prisoners of war whose release Nicholas wants to obtain could well be the captives from Thessalonica, many of whom are known to have been sold in Crete; but then there was plenty of warfare and there were plenty of raids in the following years. The really decisive point is that Nicholas is trying to establish friendly relations with a foreign prince and to negotiate with him on military business without so much as mentioning the Emperor on whose behalf he is supposed to act. This attitude is characteristic of his short period of personal rule (913/14).

Eps. 3 and 4 deal with the case of a Bulgarian fugitive who had taken refuge in St. Sophia and was extradited to Symeon. The letters are the first of the Bulgarian file and the episode must have taken place before the beginning of hostilities in the summer of 914 and probably before there was an open threat of war (since none is mentioned). Still, this excludes neither the reign of Alexander, even after the conflict over the tribute, nor the early days of the Regency; the willingness to honor Symeon might be explained as an attempt to alleviate an already existing tension.

Eps. 39, 41, 42, and 45 (to Gregory of Epheus) have already been restored by P. Karlin-Hayter39 to the second patriarchate on conclusive grounds: first, Nicholas’ plea that he can do nothing to remedy the situation of the church of Epheus because of the desperate state of things in the capital, does not fit the events of 906/7, which did not affect the local churches; second, the metropolitan of Cyzicus mentioned at Ep. 39.8—13 can hardly anyone else than Ignatius, who was appointed by Nicholas after his return in 912. Besides, the wording of Ep. 39 (implying that the pre-Byzantine clergy of Epheus was not ordained by Gregory) seems to indicate that Gregory himself was also appointed by Nicholas at the beginning of the second patriarchate to replace the Byzantine John. However this may be, the deportation of Gregory and Photius of Heraclea, to which Ep. 133 refers, must have taken place during the Regency, since the see of Heraclea was held by Demetrius at least from 902 until May 912, when Nicholas deposed him; it has nothing to do with the arrest of the metropolitan by Leo in February 907.

The entire Alanian dossier, partly addressed to the first archbishop Peter, partly to the princes of Abasgia, requesting assistance for him (Eps. 46, 51, 52, 118, 133—35), must be shifted from the first patriarchate to the second for two reasons. In the first place, according to C. Toumanoff’s chronology of the rulers of Abasgia, the recipient of Ep. 46 can only be George II, who succeeded his father Constantine III in about 915. Secondly, Nicholas’ description of his own predicament in Ep. 133 cannot possibly refer to the crisis of late 906 to February 907. If he was already “dwelling in hell, as far as human aid is concerned,” when Peter came to take leave of him, Peter’s complaints about being forgotten (necessarily written a considerable time later) could have reached him only long after his abdication. Yet, at the time of writing, though avoided by his friends and distrusted by the government, he is evidently still patriarch. The mission of Peter must therefore be dated to early 914.

Grumel attributes the two letters to David Camulianus (Eps. 69, 70) to the joint reign of Leo and Alexander because of the plural used to refer to the Emperors. However, Nicholas actually avoids speaking of “the Emperors” and uses instead vague abstract formulas, apparently because one of the rulers (Zoe, or Romanus before his coronation) was not an emperor in full standing. The likeliest date is not long before Camulianus’ disgrace and punishment (May 919/September 920).


42 Studies on Byzantine History, IX, 292—35.
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on which see above) has no obvious connection with the fourth marriage; it can be explained more naturally on the assumption that the discontented "he" is not Leo, but the addressee, Malachius, himself.

Finally, a friendly mention of Arethas as a "Brother and fellow Archbishop" in Ep. 161, though slightly surprising, is after all not inconceivable in Nicholas' last years.

To sum up: the only letters which, other things being equal, could be placed in the first patriarchate with a certain probability, are Eps. 3, 4, and 161. As it is, the evidence is not nearly strong enough to make an exception for these few items. It is safe to proceed on the assumption that all the letters belong to the years 912/25 and that the correspondence of the first patriarchate was either destroyed by Nicholas before his arrest, or seized by the authorities after it.

The period under consideration is thus reduced to no more than thirteen years; in most cases it can be narrowed further to either the six years of the Regency (June 913/March 919) or the six years under Romanus (March 919/May 925). Letters written under Alexander are rare.

The order of the letters in the manuscripts, while by no means chronological, is not entirely haphazard; there are some long sequences falling within the same periods. From this point of view, the collection of Patmos 178 (P) can be divided as follows:

(A) Eps. 1—32, long official documents: letters to the Caliph and the Emir (913/14), the Bulgarian dossier (912/25, in chronological order), letter to Pope Anastasius (912);
(B) Eps. 33—52: all datable to the Regency (no clue for Ep. 43 only);
(C) Eps. 53—81: miscellaneous;
(D) Eps. 82—111: all the datable items after March 919 (no evidence for eight);
(E) Eps. 112—35: all the datable items Regency, except Ep. 126, which seems to have been written later in 919 (seven undatable); fourteen of these, differently arranged, plus three more of the same period, make up the small Vienna collection (Phil. gr. 425 = V);
(F) Eps. 136—63: miscellaneous, many undatable.

Within the sequences (B), (D), and (E) there is a strong presumption that letters which contain no evidence at all belong nevertheless to the same periods. In the summaries dates based on this are enclosed in pointed brackets.

The collection of Patmos 706 (Q), consisting of Eps. 164—82, 34, 142, 149, 116, 115, 51, 52, 183, contains nothing that is datable after March 919. Two letters were probably written under Alexander (Eps. 180, 184), four under Alexander or the Regency, eleven under the Regency, and eleven are without any clue as to date. Despite this fairly large proportion of neutral material, it is probable that the entire collection is pre-Romanus. Only the last eight are found also in Patmos 178; there is no visible connection between the two manuscripts.

Most of the seven short notes in Angelicus gr. 13 were written under the stress of violent emotion. If they all belong to the same period, this is 914/18 rather than 906/7, because of the attacks on a local church (Ephesus?) referred to in Ep. 190.

III. MANUSCRIPTS

There is only one independent MS containing the collected letters of Nicholas, Patmos 178 (166 letters). Stray items are found in three different epistolographical collections: Vienna, Phil. gr. 432 (17 letters), Patmos 706 (27 letters), and Angelicus gr. 13 (7 letters). Twenty-eight of these (47 II and 164—90) are not included in the Patmos corpus; they are almost without exception very short.

1—65*: Leo magistros. Epitome (extracts in Sakkelion 97—98 and Patrologia Graeca, 106.1017—22);
65—69*: Nicetas the Paphlagonian, Letter to Arsenius (Arta, Scripta minora II, 175—77);
70—244*: Nicholas, Letters 1—46; 47 I; end of 47 II; 48—95; 96—101; 101A: 102—57; 157A: 158—63;
244—268*: Photius, 46 Letters (collation by Sakkelion, 'Αθηναικος Ιστορικός Ημερολόγιον VIII).
268—281*: Leo magistros, Correspondence (G. Kailas, Λέον Χρονοσφάκης [Athens, 1939]= Βασιλική και νεοελληνική Ιστορικά, Beiheft 31).

The copyist was conscientious, but no scholar; for instance, a good many mistakes are due to a wrong choice in interpreting the compendia for -γν/σισ and -ηζι/είει. His spelling is, on the whole, good. The anomalies that occur most frequently, such as α for αο, before a consonant (e.g., προσεβόνυ) and ου for -ιν in forms of Αίων (e.g., συνεβον) were standard in that period.

After completion the text was revised by somebody else, presumably, as usual, the man who commissioned the MS and was its first owner. He did not consult the original (the other MSS usually fail to corroborate his corrections) and, while correcting a number of obvious mistakes, added some new ones of his own. A good specimen of his haphazard critical methods (which were, of course, quite common) is found at 118.15.

Full descriptions, see infra, pp. xxxi—xxxv.
The writings collected in P are all of the late ninth and early tenth centuries; the MS itself was written within a century of most of the authors included. Soon after that, interest must have waned; at least, so far as we know, no copies of any of these texts were made until the end of the sixteenth century (1582/85), when Luigi Lollino, archbishop of Belluno, included the letters of Nicholas in his unique collection of transcripts of Patmos MSS, then practically unattainable. His copy is:


This part of the MS (originally a separate volume) contains only a complete transcript of Patmos 178, 70—244, by the hand of Meroati's scribe A, who took care of the major part of Lollino's project, and who is identified by Msgr. Canart as (probably) Nicephorus, chartophylax of Patmos. Though his copy is far from precise, many of his corrections (mostly minor ones) are acceptable, as the apparatus of this edition will show.


A topsy-turvy collection of letters, mostly of the tenth century, but with a sprinkling of earlier ones. Authors' names are seldom provided, so that identification is sometimes difficult. There are two sequences of letters of Nicholas:

12V—20V: 129; 113; 1 (with a lacuna due to the loss of two leaves after fol. 13); 130—32. The first letter has the heading λέοντι συνέκεινος τονομάζεις των Τού στρατιώτων (των Τού στρατιώτων). On fol. 21—48, there follow ten letters published under Nicholas' name in Νέος Ελληνικομνήμων, 21 (1927), 3—29 (by K. Dymovounites from Lambros' posthumous papers); but in spite of the Τού στρατιώτων marking Nos. 1 and 4—8, none of them belongs to Nicholas; 1 and 2 are by Nicetas the Paphlagonian, 3—8 by Theodore of Nicea (39, 40, 41, 1, 42 Darrouzes); 9 is attributed by the MS to an unknown prophet, and 10 to a protasecretis (Symeon 87 Darrouzes). 39—91V: 128; 127; 126; 125; 47 II; 134; 133; 40; 115; 120. No author is indicated; the preceding letters are by Theodore of Cyzicus.

Though all these letters, except the first part of 47 II, are found also in P, it is clear that V is independent, not only of the Patmos MS itself, but also of the redaction that it represents. Instead of two disparate halves, V offers a complete and coherent text of 47; further, in letters 125, 126, 128—30, it has preserved the farewell formulas which the reductor (rather than a copyist) of the Patmos corpus thought he could drop. On the other hand, since V includes no letters that are not also in P, it must derive from the same material, i.e., from the same file in the patriarchal archives. This explains also why V sometimes presents the same sequence of letters in the opposite order; either of the two editors, as Jenkins suggested, may have reversed the order of the sheets in the process of transcription.


The MS contains letters of the fourth, sixth, and tenth centuries, collected with much more regard for their documentary value than was the case for the Vienna MS. The chaotic state of the collection is due to the carelessness of the binder and the loss of some leaves; it has now been set right (at least as regards the former) by the patient research of Darrouzes. The letters of Nicholas present a problem quite independent of this confusion, for they form part of a collection that is clearly marked, both at the beginning and at the end, as belonging entirely to Symeon, the magistros and logothete:

166—187, 200—209, 192: 'Επιστολοι εμπίστευσεν μεγαλόποροι καὶ λογοθέτου τοῦ άρχουσα, Symeon 1—24, Nicholas 164—82 (= Symeon 25—44); Nicholas 34, 142, 149, 118, 115 (= Symeon 45—49); Symeon 50—61; Nicholas 51, 52 (= Symeon 62, 63); Symeon 64, 65; Nicholas 183 (= Symeon 66); Symeon 81. Τέλος αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ λογοθέτου.

Darrouzes identified the seven letters that Q has in common with P (Symeon 45—49, 62, and 63) as belonging to Nicholas and assigned to him twenty-eight more (six of which he questions himself), on grounds of concordance, style, and forms of address used; viz. Symeon 31, 11, 25—44, 50, 56, 57, 59, 61, 66. Of these, 25—44 and 66 appear in the present edition under numbers 164—83; some of the remaining seven (No. 50 and the six queried ones) may not be by Symeon, but I do not believe that they belong to Nicholas either.

In letter 3, the addressee (a bishop, apparently) is referred to as τοῦ χριστιανοῦ ἑδικείοντος, a common enough title, but Darrouzes rightly doubts if Nicholas could have used it for his own metropolitans and bishops. As a matter of fact, he reserves the word strictly for the emperor, and against this, the concluding formula, which resembles those used by Nicholas but is certainly not exclusively his, does not count for much.

Nos. 11 and 61, as Darrouzes points out, seem to be by the same man, a prelate, but beyond this there is very little that indicates Nicholas; on the contrary, the writer appears to be outside the capital (in Greece, probably) and has received news about his correspondent through his letter to

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86 Jenkins, Studia, VIII, 231—32; Arethas, Scripta minora II (1971), 149—53.
88 Of also Jenkins, Studia, VIII, 235.
the bishop of Scyros. Finally, the author is much stricter than Nicholas in the observance of the rhythmical law which requires an even number of unstressed syllables between the last two accents preceding a pause. This last argument also holds for 57 and 59.

Symeon 50 is by an ecclesiastical dignitary writing to a stranger to obtain exemption from military service for a poor widow's son. The profusion of pompous titles (2 χερικας τοιούτως παρερείχθη, 5 τῆς περιβαλλόντος ἴματος παρερείξκει, 13 τῆς ἰματερᾶς περιβάλλοντος μεγαλονοίας, 22 ἡθοφόροτατος ἰματον μεγαλονοίας, 25 ἡθοφόροτατος ἰματον παρερείξκει) and the bizarre, affected style (see especially lines 13—21) forbid its ascription to Nicholas, who had more dignity and more restraint.

Letters 56 and 60 of Symeon are linked together by marked parallels in thought and phraseology (cf. in particular 56.12—19 with 60.8—16); 56 and 59 have in common the expression καλονεφοβότατος, but a simple collective (“your community”).

As regards No. 57, there is not sufficient ground to ascribe it to Nicholas. The writer may be either a clergyman or a layman; the phrase ἔνα χερικα κατεργάτης is not a term de chancellerie patriarcale, but a simple collective (“your community”).

There are several possible explanations for the presence among Symeon's letters of those of Nicholas and, apparently, others. Since the collection of Q is so well protected against interpolation by its title, its subscription, and the recorded number of eighty-one letters, the probability is that they were found among Symeon's posthumous papers and included by a careless editor. Darrouzès has proposed the hypothesis that Symeon as a young man could have worked in the patriarchal chancery during Nicholas' last years; however, letters 180 and 181 (Symeon 42 and 43) relate to the appointment of Antony, metropolitan of Sardes, which must have taken place as early as 912.

French translation:
A. A. Vasiliev and M. Carand, Byzance et les Arabes, II, 1 (Brussels, 1968), 400—09 (Eps. 2 and 1).

Russian translations:
V. I. Grigorović, Sobranie sočinenij (Odessa, 1916), 7—11 (Eps. 68 and 106); 58—97 (Eps. 23—26); with Migne text.
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A. A. Vasiliev, *Vizantija i Araby*, II, B (Petrograd, 1902), 197—205 (Eps. 1 and 2).

Long before Mai’s publication, however, there had been a rather puzzling *editio princeps* of eight letters in Latin (one also in Greek) by Baronius, who had received the material from Lollino: C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, X (Rome, 1602), a. 912: Ep. 32; a. 916: Ep. 53; a. 917: Eps. 28 (with Greek text), 139, 104, 49, 144, 145.

They were of course reprinted in the numerous editions of the *Annales* that followed, but the Latin text appeared also (in the same order, but without any doubt directly from Lollino’s own papers) in a volume of Lollino’s correspondence: Aloysii Lollini..., *Epistolae miscellaneae* (Bellinno, 1642), 80—94; preceded (79—80) by a letter of Baronius and followed (94—95) by Lollino’s answer.

In his letter Baronius says that in the list of Lollino’s Greek MSS he remembers having seen long ago two hundred letters of the Patriarch Nicholas. As he is now dealing with that period, he requests either a translation, or, since that is no doubt asking too much, a loan of the MS. Lollino answers that he has selected for translation those letters that have some historical interest. He has been struck especially by Nicholas’ respect for the Roman see, expressed in his letter to Symeon of Bulgaria, in spite of the “monstrous schism.” If Baronius should want to have the Greek originals as well, *ad conciliandum facilius fidem veritati*, he will receive them at the first opportunity.

The texts printed by Baronius differ so considerably from the current redaction that they have usually been thought to represent an independent tradition. This was also Grumel’s view, but it has rightly been rejected by Darrouzès and Canart. The two hundred letters, of which Baronius says he has known for a long time, can be no other than those of *Vat. gr. 1780*, which had been in Lollino’s possession for more than fifteen years; two hundred is a rough estimate, for at the time the letters were not numbered. Lollino’s answer implies that it was from this MS that he made his choice (selegi ut e Graecis Latinas facerem). The possibility that Lollino should have owned a second, presumably large, collection, which he had not listed and preferred not to mention to Baronius, is too remote to deserve serious consideration, especially as the tendentious nature of some of the variants is obvious. The most evident case occurs at 28.6—7, where P and Vat. have κωνομένων... παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου πάπα τοῦ ἐξελθοῦν ἡμῶν καὶ συλλεκταργοῦ, while Lollino reads κωνομένων... παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης ὁ ἀπεθανόν ἀδέμον κρίνομεν, and paraphrases ut... *Sanctissimi Papae, cui minime parere nejas, gravis apud bonos omnes auctoritas me... impellat. Here, his “translation” of his own Greek text is a good example of his unfortunate tendency toward overstatement *ad conciliandum facilius fidem veritati*. As regards the Greek text itself, the most charitable assumption is perhaps that it was concocted as an emergency measure when Baronius unexpectedly did accept Lollino’s offer to send him the originals.


3. The text of Symeon’s letters in *Patmos* 706, including those of Nicholas not already in Migne, was edited by Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 99—163.

4. The seven short letters of *Angelicus* gr. 13 (184—90) were printed by P. Lazari, from a transcript made by L. Allatius, in *Miscellaneorum ex manuscriptis libris bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Iesu*, II (Rome, 1757), 549—53.

PRESENT EDITION

The collations for the present text were done from photographs and microfilms provided by the Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes. In the case of P, this means that, in spite of the excellent quality of the material, it was often impossible to distinguish with any certainty between minor corrections made by the copyist in *scribendo* (P^) on the authority of the original, and those of the revisor (P^), which are no better than any other conjecture. In these cases (marked P^ in the apparatus), since corrections by the scribe are much rarer, the leading principle must be that the corrections are acceptable only if necessary for intrinsic reasons.

Whenever there is a choice between MSS, P variants have been preferred as a rule, not only because it is the most accurate, but because the text of Letters 1—163 is essentially an edition of this MS. However, Q and V have been followed when obviously correct, or more complete.

Where conjectures have been adopted against the consensus of PQ (53.5; 6; 42; 58; 68) or PV (128.41; 43; 130.9; 131.11; 44), the assumption is of course that the common archetype, which is almost certainly the official copy in the patriarchate, must have been at fault. Experience proves that such an eventuality is anything but theoretical. Still, conjecture has been resorted to as sparingly as possible, and special care has been taken not to obliterate the characteristic of Nicholas’ grammar (use of the mood; omission of the reduplication) and idiom (such as οὐκ ὁδ scaler for οὐκ ὁδ στ, and οὐ μόνον for οὐ μόνον οὐ).

The spelling and accentuation have been normalized tacitly, and the punctuation of the MSS has been corrected, also without comment, whenever necessary.
LIST OF SIGNS

P = Patroclus 178, s. X/XI
P₁ = eius scriba in scribendo aut corrigendo
P₀ = eius corrector
P₀ₓ = utrum scribas an corrector insertum
V₁₃₆ = Vaticana gr. 1780, s. XVI, ex P descriptus
V = Vindobonensis Phil. gr. 342, s. XI
Q = Patroclus 706, s. XII
A = Angelicus gr. 13 (C.4.14), s. XI

Do = Darronzès
Jk = Jenkina
La = Lazzari
Wk = Westerink

<> = addenda
[] = deleta
*** = lacuna statuenda
TEXT and TRANSLATION
1. To the most glorious and brilliant Emir of Crete, my beloved friend

All earthly authority and rule depend from the rule and authority that are above; and there is no authority among men, nor any potentate who succeeds to his power on earth by his native ability, unless the Author and Ruler and only Potentate in the Highest shall approve his succession. Therefore it is right, if possible, that all of us who have obtained power among men, even though there should be nothing else to promote our mutual contact and converse through words, yet for this very reason—that we have obtained the gift of our authorities from a common Head—is it right that we should not omit day by day to make contact with one another, both by letters and by the emissaries who serve us in our affairs. This is even more incumbent on those who hold mighty rules and authorities, inasmuch as these have been more signally honored, and are (as it were) brothers superior to and preferred above their brethren, and entrusted with the administration of the greatest rules and authorities. What do I mean by this? I mean, there are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans, which stand above all lordship on earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament. They ought, for this very reason alone, to be in contact and brotherhood and not, because we differ in our lives and habits and religion, remain alien in all ways to each other, and deprive themselves of correspondence carried on in writing.
Such should be our mind and conduct even if no other requirement of business were impelling us in this direction. But, as it is, together with the commendable motive of which I have spoken, certain things have happened which are not, I am convinced, approved by your Majesty either; things which have caused me to write myself and to dispatch those who have already been dispatched to your God-given authority. But before I describe them, I will say this: there are many fields in which one who is set up to rule will properly try to excel, unless he chooses to convict himself of his unworthiness for his office, and, instead of setting his subjects an example of a life directed toward virtue, and of arousing in them a pleasant admiration and love of his personal rule, excites and provokes them rather to hatred and insolence. The qualities of a ruler’s life that tend toward virtue are his adornments, or as flowers to bedeck him; yet for his subjects, unless they have in them a fair desire to emulate and imitate the ruler’s virtue, these qualities are of little profit. But Justice is the common salvation: it renders the ruler more worthy of his rule, and provides security for those who are set beneath it.

But now that I have said so much, I speak of the causes which have moved me to write. The island of the Cyprians (O most widely renowned Chief of the Saracens), from the time when the peace treaty was made regarding them and they became tributary to your authority, have lived up till now in the security of the agreements, and none of your forefathers who obtained rule over the Saracen nation has disturbed the truce or done the Cyprians any harm; nay, those who have from time to time succeeded to your rule, honorably and justly regarding what their fathers had decided and ratified with written confirmation, have kept and maintained it, without any violation, and without any intention, let alone action, against their ancestors’ resolution. But now, what am I to say? Although the more the time ran on and the older the agreement became, the greater should have been the reluctance to disturb it, nonetheless all has been disturbed and trodden under foot—the decisions made by your fathers, the charters they have issued.
who is there among men now living or among future generations who, when he hears of this, will not condemn the great injustice of those respon-
who are innocent, who have committed no fault, who have broken no article
of the original agreements.

on the contrary, as I say, you have killed as if they were your enemies men
fear of vengeance from God or man, have undertaken to punish and repress
returning to the good, persisted in the worse course, you might, without any
only, but twice or more. Then, if they proved stubborn and, instead of
exhorted them to amend and to abandon their evil course: and this not once
whatsoever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You
This was unworthy, I do not say of the Saracens, but of any other nation
on some action contrary to your wishes, even so it would not have been right
ton them, against what was right and against the common justice of the
agreements. And yet, even had they, as men may, been in fault, and resolved
on some action contrary to your wishes, even so it would not have been right
to go against them in arms and proceed at once to bloodshed and slaughter.
This was unworthy, I do not say of the Saracens, but of any other nation
whatever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You
should first have accused them of their fault, convicted them of wrong-doing,
exhorted them to amend and to abandon, their evil course: and this not once
in arms and proceed at once to bloodshed and slaughter. This was unworthy, I
do not say of the Saracens, but of any other nation
whatever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You
should first have accused them of their fault, convicted them of wrong-doing,
exhorted them to amend and to abandon their evil course: and this not once
whatsoever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You

1 wrote with their own hands, and the treaties and oaths which the Saracens
of those days made respecting the Cyprians and pledged faith to them; and,
instead of peace, instead of treaties, instead of pledged oaths, swords and
war and murders have descended on the miserable Saracens: whom, had
someone else so afflicted them, it would have been the duty of the Saracens to
aid. For this is common justice among all peoples which have made cities and
nations their tributaries, that they should themselves resist those who attack
and make war upon these tributaries, and rescue them from assault, insomuch
as their tributaries are their own peculiar care.

But this principle, which is justice among all nations, even among those
who know no law, has been overturned by the law-abiding Saracens; and an
island, which became your tributary nearly three hundred years ago, which
has clearly not altered its tributary status in any way, which has violated
nothing in payment of taxes or in other service due from it to the Saracens,
which can be charged with not a single criminal act, has been, by the mere
madness of one who has forsaken the Christian faith and is a disgrace to the
Saracen religion, ruined and desolated. Its inhabitants, some put to the
sword, others expelled, are open to this accusation only, that during these
many long years they remained your grateful subjects, and were never found
wanting in anything for your service, though often enough you bore heavily
on them, against what was right and against the common justice of the
agreements. And yet, even had they, as men may, been in fault, and resolved
on some action contrary to your wishes, even so it would not have been right
to go against them in arms and proceed at once to bloodshed and slaughter.
This was unworthy, I do not say of the Saracens, but of any other nation
whatever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You
should first have accused them of their fault, convicted them of wrong-doing,
exhorted them to amend and to abandon their evil course: and this not once
whatsoever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You

Who is there among men now living or among future generations who, when he hears of this, will not condemn the great injustice of those responsible?
How shall your forefathers who made the agreements and oaths which the Saracens
of those days made respecting the Cyprians and pledged faith to them; and,
instead of peace, instead of treaties, instead of pledged oaths, swords and
war and murders have descended on the miserable Saracens: whom, had
anyone else so afflicted them, it would have been the duty of the Saracens to
aid. For this is common justice among all peoples which have made cities and
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exhorted them to amend and to abandon their evil course: and this not once
whatsoever that knows and practices humanity in its life and conduct. You


100 **those** to suffer who cannot in justice be made to inherit his guilt, or be
101 resident with Cyprians in that island, has shown cruelty to Saracens. But if
102 grant it to be as I said, then let the Cyprians be punished because Himerius,
103 that the whole island is to be the victim of your rage and resentment, but
104 say that all are to be punished for the fault of Himerius and his troops, or
105 for the cruelties inflicted on the Saracens (though even so, this is not to
106 angry? Even supposing your accusation is just, and the Cyprians are to pay
107 accusation you bring forward? and with whom you had a right to be
108 own place.” My dear Sir, in making this accusation, do you not consider
109 ought rather to have been rescued by the Cyprians and restored to their
110 commit this apparent crime: for Himerius had captured Saracens in the
111 populous island, and by giving up its inhabitants to wholesale destruction;
112 has rejected the beliefs of the Christians and disgraced the beliefs of the
113 Saracens—Damian, I am told, is his name: he, with no reckoning of the
114 more incumbent on children when those fathers have passed into the life to
115 more beinous than that which is stirred up against a living father, inasmuch
116 fathers; and if the father has left
117 on you as on parricides? If in this present life a man rises up against his own
118 of the Cyprians but also against their own selves, and heap every curse
119 be a parricide, and liable to the same condemnation! How does the one differ from the other in point of rebellion? Nay, if we consider it rightly, the latter rebellion is more heinous than that which is stirred up against a living father, inasmuch as honor and pious memory and respect of their fathers’ precepts are the more incumbent on children when those fathers have passed into the life to come. But nothing of this was considered by that man (so to call him) who has rejected the beliefs of the Christians and disgraced the beliefs of the Saracens—Damian, I am told, is his name: he, with no reckoning of the present or of the future, but abandoning himself to sheer insanity and insensate rage, has committed a foul crime that will be a monument of his cruelty to every generation, by annihilating, to the best of his power, a most populous island, and by giving up its inhabitants to wholesale destruction!
120 Yes; but it will be said, “He had a reason for it, that impelled him to commit this apparent crime: for Himerius had captured Saracens in the island and put them to death, whereas, according to the agreement, they ought rather to have been rescued by the Cyprians and restored to their own place.” My dear Sir, in making this accusation, do you not consider where justice lies? Do you not realize who is justly answerable for the accusation you bring forward? and with whom you had a right to be angry? Even supposing your accusation is just, and the Cyprians are to pay for the cruelties inflicted on the Saracens (though even so, this is not to say that all are to be punished for the fault of Himerius and his troops, or that the whole island is to be the victim of your rage and resentment), but grant it to be as I said, then let the Cyprians be punished because Himerius, resident with Cyprians in that island, has shown cruel service to Saracens. But if Himerius is in no way associated with the Cyprians, why on this account are
121 one, they agreed that the law of their country would apply to the case. To this Himerius is of course justified. But if, or where we consider it rightly, the latter rebellion is more heinous than that which is stirred up against a living father, inasmuch as honor and pious memory and respect of their fathers’ precepts are the more incumbent on children when those fathers have passed into the life to come.
punished for his misdeeds? He, the commander of the Roman army, went his own way wherever he chose, in his victorious campaign against his enemies. But the Cyprians do not regard you as enemies, and did nothing amiss; though, on the other hand, they were not strong enough to oppose Himerius and snatch the Saracens from his hand: for you cannot claim that they could have done so but did not, or that they joined and helped him in molesting the Saracens. Why then on this account do you make war on the Cyprians, and pour out your wrath on them? Why, instead of trying to pay back the man who has wronged you, do you visit your resentment on those who have not? Or again: because Himerius invaded your country and stormed and occupied some small cities of Syria, are Cyprians to be punished for this? and will you believe yourself justified in finding fault with them? and will you invite them and, instead of fighting Himerius, make war upon them? But this was not the fashion of your fathers or of their successors until yourself. And why? Because the Cyprians are on the border between the Roman and Saracen realms, and raise their hands neither against you nor against the Romans, and are subject equally to your taxation and to ours: indeed, they pay more to you. So, just as it would be cruel and wrong to attack the Cyprians because Himerius invaded your country, so it is equally criminal and most damnable to attack Cyprians because in that island some Saracens happened to fall into the hands of Himerius. You might as well, with equal logic, attack Christians in Syria because Christians make an expedition against you; but if to do so would be worse than any murder, the affair of the Cyprians incurs just the same blood-guiltiness.

Let these words of mine suffice for proof of the lawlessness of this assault. But look also at the operations of Divine Justice; and, since you are of high intelligence and capable of understanding the judgments of Heaven, take note, if you please, of Heaven's displeasure at the actions of the most criminal Damian. His disappearance from among men is proof of this; and, moreover, the disease which attacked him and gradually wasted him away from the time when he polluted the land of the Cyprians with unholy slaughter is a token of God's just punishment for his crimes. Pray consider also the
fate which has overtaken your fleet at sea, and the loss of your ships off that very same island which that vile man proposed to destroy. I know that, without my words, you understand and appreciate these things; but I add them since there is no harm in my driving them home.

For the future, it rests with your God-given Authority, not merely to appreciate, but also to repair the wrong that has been done, and to restore to the humble Cyprians the rights accorded to them in the beginning by your fathers, and the freedom from wrong and molestation; and to leave them in the old state of peace, paying such taxes as have been customary, and giving to the Saracens the service given from old times until now, and continuing exempt from all oppression and violence such as has just been laid on them by the brutality and inhumanity of Damian; so that you may not appear to be violating the resolutions and agreements fairly arrived at by your fathers, nor to be abandoning the honor and glory proper to your justice, and to be falling into the opposite condition.

2. To the Same

Of all the blessings which life brings to men, and through which life is made pleasant, none is so blessed, none so pleasing to those who are wise as the acquisition and cultivation of friendship. Hence some men, with respect to those with whom they are unacquainted, take pains (as it were) to inaugurate and implant friendship with them; while others, where a friendship has flowered in olden days but has gradually withered away in course of time, study to revive its blossoming and through their efforts to bring it back to its ancient state: rightly realizing, and with most perfect intelligence understanding the nature of the thing, that of all the incidents of life the sweetness of friendship is the most honorable and the most delightful. This I premise, not as supposing your Nobility to be ignorant of it, but as one who knows it himself to another who knows it equally; and I ask (so to say) for mutual discussion on the resumption by both of us of a friendship which I do not inaugurate, but which is rather my paternal inheritance; and I am eager (as I have said) to make that to blossom afresh which, for whatever reason, has in the passage of time suffered decay.
Nor at a man of sense. Therefore, taking account of the common
of all the other evils which afflict the prisoner, since they are known to your
ren, the divorce of spouses, the estrangement of brothers. I do not now speak
mean (and what can be more grievous?) the severance of parents from child-
bring them heavy sorrows; but not one of these is comparable with captivity:
and I, as a friend, may have a share in my friend’s glory. There are many
for the reputation of his friend, introduce my counsel and exhortation toward
ers being accomplished in your days, you may yourself win undying fame,
try to make you readier still, so that, this work of mercy toward the pris-
friendship, and the sweet enjoyment of life.
these things bring with them the continuity of our race, the preservation of
slavery, the return of the prisoner to his home, his family, and his friends,
for the liberation of prisoners, the remission of captivity, the ransom from
present matter, which brings with it the enjoyment of the blessings I mention:
were not, and, when we have been given our earthly substance, extends His
care over us, provides for his children, preserves our life, and provides us
with all things whereby mankind continues here. Of such a kind is the present
matter, which brings with it the enjoyment of the blessings I mention:
for the liberation of prisoners, the remission of captivity, the ransom from
slavery, the return of the prisoner to his home, his family, and his friends,
these things bring with them the continuity of our race, the preservation of
friendship, and the sweet enjoyment of life.

But, having said so much, I now, both as a friend and as one who cares
for the reputation of his friend, introduce my counsel and exhortation toward
meritorious work of freeing the prisoners; and, ready as you are for this,
I try to make you reader still, so that, this work of mercy toward the pris-
ners being accomplished in your days, you may yourself win undying fame,
and I, as a friend, may have a share in my friend’s glory. There are many
occasions of life (my best of Friends) which oppress and vex mankind, and
bring them heavy sorrows; but not one of these is comparable with captivity:
whatever one may speak of, whether poverty, or sickness, or amputation of
limbs, all are more tolerable by comparison with that evil and suffering, I
(mean and what can be more grievous?) the severance of parents from child-
ren, the divorce of spouses, the estrangement of brothers. I do not now speak
of all the other evils which afflict the prisoner, since they are known to your
Nobility, as to every man of sense. Therefore, taking account of the common

sufferings of those who believe with you and of those of our faith, do not turn away from the accomplishment of this work of salvation, or put forward excuses to impede the liberation of those found in captivity, both yours and ours; nay, acting as one who holds justice in honor, who looks to what is just, not grasping at personal gain, and thereby doing injury to the Christians, reflect that injustice cannot be gain, nor can greed bring profit, but rather the greatest hurt and injury, in the eyes of those who, like yourself, are able to judge of right conduct. The greatest profit of all, the incomparable gain, will be that under your rule and administration fellow countrymen were restored to their own fatherland, parents received back their sons, these were united with their fathers, husbands were given back to their wives, friends consorted with friends—in a word, that those hitherto estranged from their fatherland should enjoy all the blessings which their fatherland supplies to each.

This (my best and most excellent of Friends) I make the commencement of my friendship with you, and write and exhort: since it is your duty so to act, and mine so to write to my beloved friend. For the rest, I pray that you fare well, preserved above all life's vicissitudes and perils that are wont to infest this inconstant, mortal existence of ours.

3. To my most mighty, renowned spiritual Son Symeon, Prince of Bulgaria

It may seem superfluous (my Son) for me to prefer this request to you when it is already in your pious heart without any words of mine: for while it is every man's duty to judge with mercy, this practice is an absolute debt owed by those who have risen to the height of rule, inasmuch as rule has been granted to rulers by God, Who is Ruler of all, for no other purpose than that they may be seen in all their lives to be imitating Him Who has so honored them and raised them up to rule. I do not doubt that you, in your intelligence and wisdom, appreciate God's benevolence, and His goodness, and His mercy: “Who removeth our transgressions from us as far as the east is from east.”
30 TT)V

xi fifi

iv aiTot? 7tpoa9SUY6vTO)v iouXiav, BtivTjoev -fipias (xal
15 χόντων δι' ὧν κατὸς διαταγὸς θεραπεύει θείων, ταῦτα μᾶλλον τὴν ἐξάρ-

τηθείης θεραπείας προσφέροντο, τὸ φιλανθρωπὸν ὡς εἶτοι καὶ τὸ ἀνεξάκολουθον
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὑποχειρίαν ἄδρευτον τα καὶ συμπαθεῖς. Οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο
τῶν λοιπῶν προσφέρεται, ἔνα τῇ αὐτοκρατορία πρὸς θύμων ἀποχωροῦν τὰ
cαι κάκωσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἕνα στάλλεσθαι παντρευτεῖν, καὶ πολ-
20 λαῖς τοιαύτης συμβολῆς ἐξαρτηθῆναι, τὸ ἀμέτρητα μεθοδεύουσιν. Ἀρκεῖ ἐπὶ
tοῦτων προσμεταδόθησαν, αὐτῇ συ λοιπῶν ἐκτιθήμαθη τὴν ἄδειαν περὶ ἣς δυσποιοῖν.

"Ἀνθρώπε, τὰς οὐκ οἶδ' ὥς ὂντες ὑποσχέσθης τιμηρίαν, οὐκ οἶδ' οἷς τὰ ἀνθρώπους 
eἰς περίτεσιν ἐμπεσόντες, ἐνεκαὶ τοῦ ὑφεδοθῆναι τὴν
25 ὑμῖν ἐξωθικὰν τὸν κόσμον τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ πᾶς ἡμὸν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
ἐν τῇ ἐκμομίωσε προσφέροντον, ἐν ὧν ἡμῖν, εἰ καὶ ἀρέων, νόητα
καὶ ἡμᾶς τὴν λατρείαν προσφέρομεν. Οὕτως ἑπεδή ἀπαρτήτῳ
ἐκλειτοῦ τοῦ καπνοῦ, ποῦλα τὸ τὲ ἐγένο. λαστήριον ἐπιβολόμενοι καὶ τὴν
κοινῆς πάσης ἡμῶν ὑποκλιμένης τοῖς θεὸν λειποῖς συβασμότεκτα καὶ
30 τὴν τῶν ἐν κοίτης προσψυχοῦντος ἀσώλε, ἐκλίνοντος ἡμῖν (καὶ τὸ γὰρ
ἐλλὰ ἐξεῖ ποιεῖν λελειτουργεῖν ὑπεναι, εἰ καὶ ἀνειδεῖς, ἐν τῷ ὄντη-

στροφοῦ;) εἰς τὸ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν συγκροτήσῃ τοῖς βουλομένοις κατὸν
ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ παρακλήθην ἐκτάσθη, κατὰ χαλαστήσαντον καὶ σκληρότης
ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν τὴν χάριν προσψυχομένων. Ὁμοιοὶ ἀπεγκαλυμμένοι καὶ πάση
35 τρόπος βεβαιοῦντος ἡμᾶς ὡς οἵδαν δεόταν ἀπεργήτη, τέκνων ἡμῶν,
ἀλλ' συγκροτόμονες ἐξανεχόμεθα παρὰ σαὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πατρίσι τοιαῦ-

tος, ἐξαγαγόμενοι αὐτὸν τὸν ναό καὶ ἀπεστήμεν, θεῖον ἐυπαρ-

κόμμενον καὶ τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ ἐκκοιμήσε, καὶ κατὰ τὸν παράγων αἰώνοι
καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέλλον μὴ περιπεθοῦν αὐτὸν ἀνεκλήσιον, εἰ | τι λυποῦν B
40 αὐτῷ καὶ δισυχαίρητο, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο σε, τέκνων ἡμῶν, διαπραξάσθαι,
ἀπαντήσῃ. Μὴ νόμισι οὖς τοῦτον ἐκ χεροῦ λαμβάνειν τῶν προς ἐπαρα-

γονιμουμένων, ἀλλ' ἔμει λόγως αὐτὸν παρέστη, ὡς τοῦτον ἐξελέξαντον τῶν
δεω ναοῦ, καὶ χερὶ τῇ ἐμῇ τῇ ς παραδόθην χειρι. Σύνεται δὴ ὅπως
καὶ τὸ λείων τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήσεις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν τιμήν
45 ἀνεκήθης, καὶ σαπεῖν τὴν ἀναθέτην αὐτὸν εὐθαίρετο, καὶ τὴν
ἡμῶν ταπεινώττατα διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπον συμπεθαίνειν ἐξεῖ ὑπερα-

χομένων οὐ τὰ ἄγαθα καὶ σωφρίστα, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατερμαίωσον ἀντὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν
θείον ναόν ὅρκους, εἰ τῆς, ὅπερ μὴ γένοιτο, τιμήσει καὶ κόλασιν τὸν
ἀνθρωπὸν ὑποδέχεται.

23 οἷς οἶδα = οἷς οἴδ' εἰ, cf. 59.4-6; 102.2-3 || 33 parab. abundat || 44 ταμάρσασ, P*: -γρ P°
Recollect besides (my Son) that you yourself for your own sins are in need of the divine goodness and mercy, which you cannot obtain if you do not forgive them that trespass against you. It would therefore be well to offer your mercy to this man as an earnest to God, so that you too may obtain the divine mercy. And this also is worth consideration: that whether you show mercy or—which God forbid!—turn in the opposite direction, the consequence of your mercy or punishment will be many times greater than it. You see, your sin will not be simple: for the temple of God will be insulted, and His high-priest (least though be he), and the laws which secure immunity to those who fly to that mighty refuge.

So much, then, I say by way of verbal exhortation: it remains to fortify my words yet more, even with the bond of the Holy Spirit, and to ensure that you (my Son) suffer nothing unworthy of your most honorable virtue, and commit no sin; so, therefore, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, by Whom to my Humility is given authority to bind for their souls' salvation such as are in need of such binding, I forbid you to visit with any kind of punishment or retribution him who has been taken from the Holy Place of God, or to inflict any harm upon him; but you will grant him pity and pardon, so that you yourself may find the Ruler and Lord of all propitious to your own entreaties, and not saying unto you in His wrath those words which that servant, his own many debts forgiven, when be proved harsh toward his neighbor, heard with menace from the mouth of his Lord.

4. To my most honorable, most pious Fellow Minister and Son, the Archbishop of Bulgaria

I had in any case desired to communicate with your Holiness in writing: and since a matter of urgency has now arisen to move me to do so, I am writing this letter both to gratify my desire and also under impulsion of the urgency of the business. But I ought to say this first of all, before describing

4. Τῷ τιμωτάτῳ θεοφιλεστάτῳ συμβιβούργῳ καὶ τέκνῳ ἡμῶν ἄρχιεριποιϊτῷ Βουλγαρίᾳ

Καὶ ἄλλος ἡμῖν ἐπιθυμητός ὑπαχούσως τῆς πρὸς τὴν σὴν ὀσιότητα διὰ τοῦ γράφον τετουργίας, νῦν ἐπειδὴ καὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου ὁ πάθος ἀπελθοῦσα πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἑκάστην, χρεία μὲν καὶ τὴν ἐπίθυμον παραχωρήσει, καὶ τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ τοῦ πράγματος συνήγαγόμενον, τὸ παρόν σοι γράμμα διαχαράκτωμεν. 'Αλλ' ἐκείνῳ προλαβέθηκε δεσπ. πρὸ
tis katá méros tou prágmatos aúkhérpseos, óti kathexwíthentas tis átimo
thousasthriko parakatathke kai meiwtevnei upó anáthetai en gê strufie-
menei prós tôn en olóchrous deostíth kathexwíthentes (ó tis fereitès
kai upó lýgon deoxeia) kai philomêchke diexéhein synédvo logismov tis B
tázen ev ón kathetímmen énnoeis, kai épi tis práds thean amartanménov
tois ánthebwmis parakatathkmh, polla vleia tis elèis allhóus proámmatos
 tôn ánthebwmis diawleis aúthkheis kai tis pollalikis epamégwres para tis
15 twn uperechewn parakatathkhe tímwpis, òte òn kai ánoymchri hêm
 tôs prós anáthetai parakatathke upochóous kai idulov parakatathkhs.
Tì gév òn elèis anáthetai éxeumarhikos eis ánthebwmov òh kath to pol
ókto apoepetai tis prós thean kai' ekastí taimanménov, ón o
 tôs átimo thousasthriko parakatathmwn prástheis kai parakatath kathetí-
20 kasin:

Diá tì tafta eîpov: 'Iwv kai òn òthwflh dousí, karorropotia
lakowsoi tò Boulygwoen òthous, tì deadiwmh sou parak | tòs átimo pnos-
mhatos parakatathkhe tis tis arkhí òh kathetímmen, orhí òh tì 'gevontkem
òhmen tân, aputhán oua tis anáthetai prós ánhebwmov tis tóxos
25 xwíthe, toútov món patríxovs parakatathke, tóthv òh kai árhoikóikos
paraxapotómenos, oánadidaskames métera elèthv tis ágekhntrhshs, múllav òh
tis pollal kríseos tòs philoxénta tov ágekontkhs kai parakatath tò
xwíthe, ós aúthv oùtò paví món anáthetai kath to pol, krouppèov òthi
20 tòs lókeis tòs monósmwos tòs ókathmímen tòs nógeiken, múllav òh tis tis
25 xwíthe kai exw-
30 òtov elípthesis parak theov, òs tov ògwmwv apoepetai theouséias kai
timvov tòs sugkhromwmenous òs nexwunen úoxotac kathá tòs
35 xwítheidov tòs kólussis.'

'Allì' épi tawtaw òpemégwmen, fêre délwosuvnoi | kai tis útilk-
36 kai' òdòs òthousan ev tòs grámmà diakutóntatan. 'Anáthetai tòs prospáthéseis tòs
30 kathí sémvou ághatóttas episkhshs. Ós phth, oua tòs Boulygwn ethgák-
wnov gévous, oua oua tis tòs elèis anáthetai kai tòs tòs Boulygwn oua
35 kathí sémvou ághatóttas episkhshs. Tóutov prosseugeto tòs lewv tov
theov prós xhriov tòs ev theov árhoikovs òthi apokathkei boulémenou tòs
kñou òs ògwmwv pollal kathexwíthei kai òs kñou prosseugetono pli-
40 òswna oua oua òghatóttas òswna ethgákei òpemégwmena òswna kólussis
èkxouv, òsou oua, òghatóttas òswna òghatóttas òswna òghatóttas òswna
45 òswna òghatóttas òswna òghatóttas òswna òghatóttas òswna òghatóttas òswna
45. If the man who flee to the sanctuary, after having been impiously despoiled of the temple, should again gain admission to the sanctuary, it is in order to be provided to me no place of intercession to God—to make intercession against the violator of the Holy Sanctuary and against his punishment of this man. It will be perfectly clear who that violator is: it will be none other than he who shall presume to inflict punishment and retribution (God forbid it!) on the man who has been taken from the temple. For those who persuaded me to take him out would not be the violators, since they are not themselves the punishers and were acting merely in favor of the Prince appointed by God, so that, for the favor shown to their friend, they deserve to receive his friendly favor, and not to be responsible for the guilt of his punishment of the man, because they gave me an assurance, and took him who fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and sent him to their friend.  

But if there be any communion of intellect, any visitation of the mind, any union of man with men, I write this also for you to say to our Son the honored of God and lover of virtue: "My Son, think that you see my own self before you, and that it is I who surrender into your hands the man whom with my hand I led out of the sanctuary. Let nobody overpersuade you; do not deafen Him Who dwelleth in the Holy Temple, Who filleth heaven and earth, nor the worthless priest of His temple, by inflicting any harm on him who was by me brought from the Holy Temple and sent to you. I warn you that God's justice shall not sleep, but shall demand a far heavier requital than any you may impose on that unfortunate man."  

I beg your Archpriesthood will have no hesitation in saying this also to him: that to destroy and to punish are no tokens of greatness: anyone may do these things: brigands and pirates and ten thousand other criminals, not to speak of snakes and wolves and bears and lions and the other wild animals, are powerful to destroy and vex mankind. But what is a deed of true greatness is to show oneself a benefactor, to raise up the soul that has fallen, to heal the soul that is wounded. And this must be the study of all who know that they are honored according to the image of God, but especially of those who, not only by their creation, but also through rule over their fellow servants, are endowed with a gift more rich than those: to wear the likeness of the Creator.

I had much else to write; but, partly since your high-priestly Perfection can think of suitable arguments yourself, and partly since this letter should be provided for my Unworthiness any place of intercession to God—to make intercession against the violator of the Holy Sanctuary and against his punishment of this man. It will be perfectly clear who that violator is: it will be none other than he who shall presume to inflict punishment and retribution (God forbid it!) on the man who has been taken from the temple. For those who persuaded me to take him out would not be the violators, since they are not themselves the punishers and were acting merely in favor of the Prince appointed by God, so that, for the favor shown to their friend, they deserve to receive his friendly favor, and not to be responsible for the guilt of his punishment of the man, because they gave me an assurance, and took him who fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and sent him to their friend.

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51 γνωστα: Vat.: -οντα P || 63 πράξεις: Vat.: -εις P || 76 φιλοτιμηθείτες P: -εις P
What I write (my Son) you must suppose to be written not with ink, but with my tears: so closely, as it seems, have my sins encircled me that I bear news of you which demand my letter to you and shall have tears for the writing of it. Spare us, O Lord our God, and let it not be that, in the days of my Humility and Unworthiness of Thy sanctuary, the Evil One should bring such things to pass as will never cease to hold up the doers of them to the execration and shame of all the world in every generation!

But how far shall my letter run on before speaking plainly to you of this evil news, hateful to God and abominable to men? They have brought news that you, the wise, the most intelligent, the most Christian, the much penitent for that wrongful expedition which you made against the Christians, have, once again, resolved to hide the memory of that expedition in another yet worse and yet more hateful to God, with intent to move and usurp upon an innocent who has done you no harm whatsoever, an infant and an orphan, the son of an emperor, and without considering how abominable is usurpation in the eyes of God and men. For who does not know that God hates usurpation, and that men in all ages exeorate usurpers as general pests? No, you have not considered this, nor thought of the Father of orphans, Who loathes and abominates and avenges a wrong done even to a humble orphan, far more to an emperor, whom He Himself has by His decree and sanction set up to be sovereign and lord of the scepter of His inheritance. You have broken the
agreement between us which negotiated peace between Romans and Bulgarians in the beginning, when you approached us for baptism; and also the second agreement which, when the former peace was wrongfully disturbed, brought about its renewal and was, at its making, confirmed and assured with fearful oaths by yourself.

My Son, what is this? Where is the pride I took in you? Where are those good reports which fair fame carried to my ears of the prince appointed by God, the good, the pious, the just, the hater of evil, the lover of truth, the enemy of falsehood? Why need I enumerate all that the said fair and auspicious fame carried to me, and made me rejoice in you, and be glad, and proud, and thankful to God, and glorify the Ruler of all, our God and Lord, that He had given such a man to the race of the Bulgarians to be their head and ruler? Where are those prayers which gladly, night and day, I (albeit lowly, albeit a worthless servant of the Holy Sanctuary) sent up on your behalf, that your posterity should never cease to rule over the nation of the Bulgarians, that your children should never fail away from the inheritance of your achievements? Where are those fair and proud tales told of you? And whence come their opposites, sad, hateful to God and men, tales that bring the blush, that make tears my bread? Who is there—I do not speak of myself, who was and am the lover of your virtue, but any other who regards justice though he were not your friend—who, at hearing this, is not smitten to the heart, is not sad, distressed, all tears? For what can be more grievous to men, what more lamentable, than that a man renowned for his virtue, who has won an imperishable name, who is (as it were) an example of morality and religion to his own and future generations, should on a sudden fall away and become estranged from this and should choose to turn to the worse part? Alas for my calamities, for my wretchedness, for (as would appear) my measureless transgression! Woe for the malice of man's Enemy from the beginning, stili envying the good, stili devoting all his energy to perverting mankind to evil!

I (my Son) who daily learnt the nobility of your soul, and that nothing was closer to your heart than to present your rule as irreproachable and innocent, when several people before were whispering what is now being said, 

5

45-46: Ps. 41.4. || 35-36: cf. Ioann. 8.44.

29 καθεστώτας Ικ.: καὶ Ρ: || 33 περιφέρεσα P: περὶ συν φέρεσα P: || 33 τούτων P: τοῖον P
thought they were talking nonsense, and supposed them to be the enemies of your Virtue, and to be inventing this tale for the purpose of slandering you; and I said to many that this accusation against the Prince appointed by God had no foundation at all. For, I said, a man who loves piety, takes delight in truth, honors justice, and is covetous of a fair name and memory, would never desire usurpation. The usurper, because he is a stranger to all these virtues, and his wretched soul is full of their opposites, is inflamed with a desire of this kind. For every usurper is impious, false, lawless, unjust, and—most wicked of all—refuses to believe in God's Providence, or that by His judgment and sanction human affairs are governed, and rules and authorities are assigned to men; but he is bold simply out of his own madness and conceit and godlessness. So I said to those who were accusing you of a desire to usurp: "Sirs, let those treacherous lips be silent that speak lawlessness and injustice against my divinely favored Son, the most pious, the most faithful, the righteous!" And not simply this, but I added also: "The evil man from the evil treasury of his heart brings forth evil. The good man from the good treasury of his heart bringeth forth good. My Son takes delight in goodness: for he is true, and with all his might expels and drives out falsehood from his own nation; he is most faithful, for I hear that all those beneath him are at all points in the faith; that he is most righteous, all men loudly proclaim, for none of the unrighteous shall boast himself a mocker of that righteousness. How then can it be that a true man, most faithful, most righteous, who teaches others so to be, can become in word and deed false, faithless and most unrighteous? Will he not shame his own self if, while teaching virtue to his subjects, he, by God's grace their prince, declines to vice, and that of the most heinous kind? For what is more heinous than usurpation? It is not so, God forbid it! As we well might one slander the sun, for darkening, not illuminating, those on whom he shines!"

So I stoutly maintained, so I confuted the emperor and all of them whenever they mentioned a desire to usurp in connection with you (my Son) or spoke of usurpation. But now, what am I to say? For all that I formerly said on your behalf, all my praises, all my earnest commendation of your
...and by the evil demon who is glows in still, to make my letter a long one; though at the same time by affection for you, which was kindled in my heart from the beginning and not the subversion of the very name of Christ? For when a man insults the violators of justice and law? How do we rate the breaking of solemn oaths? How can be called a Christian any more? ourselves if we punish others for their falsehoods while we ourselves are met with the summary vengeance worthy of his most impious heart and of his rashness and daring? And that no one obtains a prize, especially one so vast as this, unless it is given him from above? Again, do we not shame ourselves if we punish others for their falsehoods while we ourselves are violators of justice and law? How do we rate the breaking of solemn oaths? Is it not a denial of our faith? Is it not turning our backs on religion? Is it not the subversion of the very name of Christian? For when a man insults the awful mysteries of the Christians, how can he be called a Christian any more? I am urged by my most heavy grief of heart, as well as by my ardent affection for you, which was kindled in my heart from the beginning and grows in it still, to make my letter a long one; though at the same time by the suddenness of this disaster and by the malice of the evil demon who is seeking to injure your Majesty, I am bereft of speech, in bewilderment at the suddenness of this disaster and by the malice of the evil demon who is.

107: Ioann. 3.27. || 114–115: ib.

120 ἀναγκαίη ὡς τῆς σφραγίστης τῆς ψυχῆς θάνατος καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς διαπερασμένης ἀνεφεύγεται ἐν τῇ ἀθώτητι καὶ δοκεῖ διὰ αὐτοῦ περισσότερον D

125 ταῦτα συμφοράς καὶ τῆς ἐπικολύβησες τοῦ πονηροῦ διαμονῆς, διὰ τῆς ἀθώτητος τῶν ἀφοσιωμένων ἀνακύκλωσε τῆς ἀθώτητος, ὥστε ἀπεστάλη τῆς ἀθώτητος τῶν ἀφοσιωμένων ὅμως ἄλλον τοῦ ἀναστάτου, ἐπὶ τοῦ περισσοτέρου τῆς ἀθώτητος. Ὁμοίως ὡς προειρήθη τῶν ἑτοίμων, διὰ τῆς ἀθώτητος τῷ ἀναστάτω, ὥστε ἀπεστάλη τῆς ἀθώτητος τῶν ἀφοσιωμένων, ἀνακύκλωσε τῆς ἀθώτητος, ὥστε ἀπεστάλη τῆς ἀθώτητος τῶν ἀφοσιωμένων.
You hear the humanity of a barbarous and pagan king? You hear the decision of a mind in that respect most righteous? For just as he who hangs after the property of an orphan child is no simple malefactor, but also a bandit and a ravisher, so he who desires to usurp upon an orphan and infant emperor is acting not merely as a usurper but as a bandit and ravisher also, and as the most outrageous of men: which that barbarian king realized, though having no knowledge of our Christ and God, and he was ashamed to abandon his royal honor and to involve himself in the dishonor of a bandit and a ravisher, saying to those who incited him to do so (for there were then also many pure villains and bandits persuading him to it, just as are those now who encourage your Wisdom to go in the same direction)—but he told them their counsel was neither just nor expedient: for the possible acquisition of wealth and domination may be the work of evil men as well as good, but to obtain fair fame, or, when obtained, to keep it and not forfeit it, is the work of the wise alone, and of them who honor virtue, and endeavor by their lives to leave a fair memory to their posterity. What say you? Is it well for them their counsel was neither just nor expedient: for the possible acquisition of wealth and domination may be the work of evil men as well as good, but to obtain fair fame, or, when obtained, to keep it and not forfeit it, is the work of the wise alone, and of them who honor virtue, and endeavor by their lives to leave a fair memory to their posterity. What say you? Is it well for them their counsel was neither just nor expedient: for the possible acquisition of wealth and domination may be the work of evil men as well as good, but to obtain fair fame, or, when obtained, to keep it and not forfeit it, is the work of the wise alone, and of them who honor virtue, and endeavor by their lives to leave a fair memory to their posterity. What say you? Is it well for

5 Roman emperor died and left the empire to his three-year-old son Theodosius. thought it unfair and inhuman to make war on an empire whose ruler, owing to infancy, was ignorant of human business and administration: and they not only desisted from the war they had been waging against Arcadius, but also the Persian king sent an embassy to the principal senators here. He was Chosroes, notorious among all Persians for bloodthirstiness; yet this man sent his embassy to the chiefs of the senate, declaring that he renounced the war and would protect the infant emperor, and that if any should dare to raise an arm against him, he, Chosroes, would defend him with all his might, and would go with his own army upon their very city, and would put forward all his zeal and effort to destroy its foundations and cast them into the sea.

You hear the humanity of a barbarous and pagan king? You hear the
to supplicate God in respect of your former expedition against the Christians: in every way—by fasting and tears and contrition of heart—purging yourself of that transgression. And learning of this your honest purpose and of your other virtue which report has described, I have loved you with all my heart. And now, retaining that same love toward you, yet hearing those sinister and evil tidings, I cannot endure to be silent, but with tears and sighs send you this letter: first praying to God that He will touch your heart and turn it to a purpose pleasing to Him, and salutary, such as will render you blameless and irreproachable; then that He will open your ears and grant to your understanding peace from the din and turmoil without, so that you may hear my words, and they may persuade you to the course in which I would have you, and we may hear, rather than the present evil tidings, which have affected us with grief and have, so far as they could, damaged you in your great glory, news that is favorable and beneficial to you, not shaming your virtue in this present age nor making you liable in the ages to come to eternal disgrace and dishonor and that insensible punishment which is the portion of them who set at naught the mighty name of our Christ and God. You cannot doubt, I am sure, that His great name is set at naught in the breaking of treaties and oaths, and in the plan to seize an empire which in no way belongs to your race.

Now, in addition to all I have said, I, as your father according to the spirit (though the least of men), and as priest and servant of the Holy Sanctuary (though unworthy), deriving authority from the All-holy Spirit to subject the sinner to the bond (though myself first among sinners), subject you to the bond in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, that, if you have any such intention, and are, as rumor has prognosticated, resolved upon us of this City, that intent you shall renounce, and return to your own dominion, and content yourself with the original peace, and dare to do it no injury: in the knowledge that, if you shall persist, you shall be subject in all ages to the insensible bond of the Holy Spirit, and excommunicate from the holy and untouchable Mysteries. And at the Eternal Judgment I shall take my stand beside you and testify against you that I for my part spoke out, and did not ignore your hurrying into this crime, nor neglect your salvation, but was eager to rescue you and deflect you from the fatal rebellion.
What I wrote before (my Son) was written for the sake of the common advantage of Romans and Bulgarians, and similarly what I write now is with the same purpose and zeal: for I know how disastrous to both our dominions, and to the peoples subjected to them, are dispute and implacability, and am much perturbed at heart by this, not only because I am a minister of the Holy Sanctuary (though unworthy of this ministry), but also because in the long lapse of my miserable lifetime I have gathered both from ancient histories and contemporary events no small learning as to the ill which arise from dissension. It is, then, in the knowledge of the distress and pain which afflicts humanity by reason of contention and strife, that I am writing again. Contention between man and man is cruel, for in such a condition, unless peace comes to dissolve their contention, either the one or the other of them is likely to suffer the utmost harm; yet more cruel still is such a state between house and house, and between city and city; but if nation contends with nation, and will not come to terms, I cannot express by how much that is cruellest of all! This all men understand, not to speak of your own most prudent and perfect Wisdom. I have no more to say of this, since it has been said before, and since, without my saying it, you, my Son, are capable of instructing others concerning advantage and right-doing and peace, and so, of course, of advising yourself upon them.

Now, as to what has been decided in the Council, and upon what errand those have been dispatched to you who are bearers of my letter, they will tell you themselves in their own words, and my letter will inform you: to wit, "if your purpose is fixed and you will not again resort to the former muster, there shall be a sworn guarantee that the Bulgarians shall do no harm to the

of your soul, and from placing yourself beneath the bond and the indissoluble condemnation. But meanwhile and even now I will not lower my unworthy hands from Heaven in entreaty of the Power Divines, until It pronounces a just judgment between your malice and us, who are unjustly the victims of it.
6 Romans nor the Romans do anything to hurt the Bulgarians, and the so-called 'convention' shall operate as in the beginning, and that what is by custom sent to you from the Roman Empire shall be sent as far as Develtos, and thence shall be carried into your dominion by your own servants, and this arrangement shall suffice and no other demand be made, not even the demand that our imperial agents should come to you and give you obeisance."

Such being the decisions, I have written to you myself also, to beg and entreat you to spare us the disaster which will come upon both races, I mean Romans and Bulgarians, if a peaceful policy—God forbid it!—is abandoned: to spare also your own honor and reputation, and not to leave behind you occasions for aspersing and abusing your glorious name, nor, for the disasters both nations must undergo, to let bring on you the curses of those who will suffer these disasters. This I entreat, this I urge on you, as a father upon his son, as a minister (though unworthy) of the Divine Glory upon one whom God has glorified, and who will answer for it to Him if you are found in any action unworthy or contrary to His holy will.

But whereas those who came to you with my letter before told me on their return that, when I said in my letter that your purpose could not be achieved without bloodshed, you had replied that my meaning was, that by the shedding of blood you could get what you wanted, I was greatly astonished and greatly grieved at these words, and wondered (if they spoke the truth, and if the whole was not a falsehood and deliberate fabrication of my informants) how you could think of such a thing or make such a remark. I, with my mind full of all the disasters which come on those who fight and quarrel, said that blood must necessarily be spilt if your expedition took place and your contentiousness persisted. But they, whether of their own motion, or having heard it from your mouth, used language such as not even a child, let alone I myself, an elderly man and an archpriest (though unworthy to be so), would utter. Who does not know that when a quarrel breaks out, wounds and bloodshed must certainly ensue? But it is very far from certain that the man who is responsible for the bloodshed will achieve the object on which he is bent. Do you not observe the conflicts that break out from day to day? One side mounts an expedition with intent to gain the

54 fort. prosōphages 55 ekatho Wk: ekatho P
6, 7

property of its enemies; the other comes out against it, equally resolved to seize the property of its enemies. The usual misfortunes are suffered on each side, but the event is by no means according to the hopes of both, since one side may be deceived and miss of its ends, and the other perhaps be overtaken by total destruction and loss.

Therefore do not (my Son) pervert my words, nor let anyone else, by twisting them to his purpose, imagine me to mean what I do not know, never intended, and never said; what, indeed, no one would ever have said, unless he were unlucky enough to be quite out of his wits. As I have said already, I was greatly amazed at the folly of those who so spoke: and would to God the speech were nothing worse than folly, and did not also incur eternal punishment! For if an idle word does not pass guiltless at the tribunal of Christ, how much more guilty is slander of this kind! Now, if those who spoke to me belched up this word out of their own hearts, then what they said, harmful as it was, is not so injurious, since the intent and speech of minds imperfect and misled are likely to be imperfect and misleading also. But if it is the product of your wisdom-loving and most honorable Lordship, then may our God have mercy and deliver me from slander, and be gracious to you both now and hereafter, granting you to resolve and think and act those things which shall keep you beyond the censure of men, and present you faultless before the Eternal Judge!

7. To the Same

I was (my dearly loved Son) struck a very severe blow at the heart by the dreadful news, and it was out of concern partly for you and your reputation, partly for myself, that I wrote my previous letters, being affected as a father would be, and now entreating, now rebuking, with the frankness and emotion characteristic of a father addressing his sons. So that, if you have read my previous letters (my Son), you have certainly realized by now even better than before my ardent affection for you, and how anxious I am about you and your honor and glory on earth, and your heavenly salvation and felicity.

So much for what I wrote before. But now that, through the letter sent to my Son the Christ-loving emperor, I have learnt what arrangements you

7: P 85r–86r | 8–9 περικαλούμενος Ρε; ἄρεσθαι Ρ¹
I am relieved of that very heavy sorrow that occupied me before, and I am writing so that you too (my Son) should put aside any resentment you may have previously felt at my fatherly reproach, in the knowledge that the reproach was not dictated by hatred, but by great love, love not only great but truly paternal. If I had been in your presence, I would eagerly have resorted to other means to repress your intent. How (you ask), and by what means? By taking my Son by the hands, embracing his head and eyes and all his limbs; nay, had you been obdurate, I would certainly have clasped you by the feet. But since I could not be there in person to check you, and had to do what I could from a distance to hold you from your intent, I had to resort to a rebuke, as a father and thus in a position to rebuke you (my Son), not merely because you are my child, but because you love me well. For those who love well may naturally and easily bear the rebukes of their friends; and how much the more may children bear the rebukes of fathers, especially when the reprehension is made on behalf of the honor and salvation of the rebuked! It is in any case the nature of wise men easily to digest the censures of friends. And why? Because no enemy will censure a wrongdoer, but will rather himself, if he can, and can obtain credit, suggest the worse course. So censure is left for friends; and therefore they are, as I say, glad and not sorry at receiving friendly censure when they are drawn toward a worse course. So, whether you receive censure from friend or father, you should indeed be glad. For I believe, in God the Saviour and Ruler and Lord of all men, that what I wrote will do good and not harm, and will bring you both happiness on earth, if you attend to it, and also that heavenly glory without which the things that seem fair on earth—glory and rule and all lordship—are cruel and disastrous to their possessor, inasmuch as through them is diminished the felicity beyond the grave. Of which felicity be you not deprived, but be granted it by Christ our God through the intercession of our most Holy and Pure Lady, who is the Christians’ hope and salvation, and of all the saints!

That which often (my Son) I have written with affliction of heart, and with tears, that same I write to you now also, lamenting and weeping. How
your own virtue and your celebrated wisdom, and to spare us those common
now I exhorted, implored, entreated you to return to yourself, to regard
that makes tears my bread. For this reason before
my lamentation; this it
is the blessed love which makes us like God. This (my Son) is daily matter for
striven and strives obstinately to cancel this, and, by embroiling Romans and
were—fusion of both nations that so long a time has wrought, but has
Bulgarians in the hatred which he loves, and of which he is the father, to destroy
so far as he may, to destroy that great work of God, the union of Romans and
and unity; and has not shrunk, in his monstrous villainy, from attempting,
had once more introduced division, on one more enmity, instead of friendship
length of
Bulgarians. He has had no respect for the—time, nor for the—as it
reported of such matters as have befallen us in our times, not receive the report
from men and having his abode
in
when any other man—not merely a dweller in the city but even if sundered
offenses? For is it not (my Son) a most cruel offense, this enmity and division
author of good, and rejoice the father of evil, the Devil that is the creator of
and hatred which have arisen between Romans and Bulgarians in place of
friendship and peace and union? Time was when Romans and Bulgarians were
sundered, when they came upon one another in arms, when they were
fenced from one another by the middle wall of enmity, which was built in the
foundation of your then prevailing impiety. Yet when God, Who loved the
world, Who turned His own creation to Himself through the Cross and death of
His Son, had consented that you too should be illuminated by the light of
His knowledge, and, pulling down the middle wall of enmity, called you into
the brightness of His glory and United you to the Romans, as in faith, so too
in love, then the enmity was stopped, the movement of arms ceased, and
division was replaced by love, and union, and the familiarity of one with
another.

But now, what do we find? Alas for the malice of the evil demon! After the passage of so many years since you were accorded that grace, after
so long love, after friendship so holy, the evil demon has found place, and
has once more introduced division, once more enmity, instead of friendship
and unity; and has not shrunk, in his monstrous villainy, from attempting,
so far as he may, to destroy that great work of God, the union of Romans and
Bulgarians. He has had no respect for the—length of time, nor for the—as it
were—fusion of both nations that so long a time has wrought, but has
striven and strives obstinately to cancel this, and, by embroiling Romans and
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the blessed love which makes us like God. This (my Son) is daily matter for
my lamentation; this it is that makes tears my bread. For this reason before
this I exhort, implored, entreated you to return to yourself, to regard
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8


40 συνεντύνθησαν Μαί: -στα P | 56 ἐφεύξασθη; Βατ.: -στα P | ἐφεύξασθη Βατ.: -στα P
8 but strives to acquire something more for himself, shall we not be incensed, and moved to hatred and wrath against him? Well, then: we, who are men mortal and corruptible, when we award a man an honor suitable to his condition, and he is not satisfied with it nor remains grateful for the gift, but strives additionally, on his own account, and is eager to appear and to be somebody of different standing, are to be highly incensed and moved to wrath, and shall perhaps altogether deprive him of the honor we have given him, and indeed make him to be dis-honored, because he thought by his own devices to get more than was due to him; and shall we not conclude that God will be so disposed toward those who will not abide by the honor given them by Him? that He will be wrath if they try to overstep the bounds of the glory and honor which He Himself has conferred? Do not think that I am writing sophistries. I am no sophist, no special pleader, but a minister (though unworthy) of the Divine Sanctuary, one who prays for the salvation of all. And I think I am truly convinced that such enterprises are displeasing to God.

Apart from these things, this also you should consider (my Son): that last year, when we stood in sight of one another, you promised all that was peaceable, all that was of pure friendship; that henceforth all strife, every occasion of offense should be dissolved, every quarrel should cease, and, with God's help, a peace really stable between Romans and Bulgarians should be accorded, such as had never been before nor had been experienced by preceding generations. Where (my Son) is that sweet disposition? What has become of the promise of peace? Where are those words in which God rejoiced, in which the men who heard them rejoiced? What has become of the fair hopes, which we unhesitatingly entertained, that the evil demon would no longer have strength to introduce offense between Romans and Bulgarians, or would disturb their pure loves? Consider—for you are wise by the Grace of God and quick to comprehend the good—what are the devices of the evil one: he is versatile, and with every artifice labors against the salvation of the divine creation. He envies every man, but especially those who have received more abundant favor from God. He has seen (my Son) that you have been favored by God with prudence, wisdom, goodness, and a host of other benefits, and he is inflamed to keener envy; and do not let his plot escape you; rather, the more richly you are endowed with favors, so much the more humble should you become, so as to escape out of
his plot. God has given you honor and glory on earth, strive to acquire also those which are heavenly. These you shall acquire by a humble spirit, not by pride, or by lifting up the heart, or by undue arrogance, or by the violation of treaties and oaths which your fathers made and swore long, long ago, and you yourself made and swore only the other day. If a man takes an oath in your name, and then dares to break it, he is inevitably condemned to death; and he who prefixes the God and Creator and Lord of all to an oath, and then violates it, is he not liable to ten thousand deaths? What then? Because, owing to His mercy and ineffable long-suffering, He does not instantly exact the penalty, are we on that account to despise Him? Yet this very delay will I believe involve us in a crueler punishment, the more painful the longer we are suffered.

Perhaps I have prolonged my letter too far: so, I will say one thing, and cease. I am no prophet, nor of them that have received the grace to foresee; but as minister (though unworthy) of the Immaculate Sanctuary, and as a father careful for his son's salvation, I give assurance in advance and predict. Leave the cause of offenses; abandon the pride through which is wrought the destruction of the edifice of the Holy Spirit, which is the peace and love so long subsisting between Romans and Bulgarians; return to the former frame of mind, in which by God's grace both nations were happily governed without tears or disasters: since, if I have any understanding of God's awakening, He shall rise to vengeance, and there shall be none to deliver us out of His hands.

9. To the Same

What rivers of tears may I find? What complaints shall I resort to in my sufferings? For mine are all the sufferings which have come upon the people of my Christ and God, His holy and much beloved inheritance, for which He endured the Cross and death. How then shall I bewail these? Or what comfort may I find for the agony and the lacerations of my heart? Alas for the malice of him who has hated mankind from the beginning, who has


harpened his bitter envy against the creation of the Divine hand, who is ever leading men on to destruction and ruin! He, the defiled, the origin of mischief, insinced against the human race, ceases not from the beginning until this day—nay, will never cease when man dwells on earth—to excite and rouse them against one another, in order that, since he is not permitted openly to plot against us, we ourselves through one another may enact his plots and our destruction. Out of this his insensate purpose from the beginning, brothers have armed their hands against those who are of the same seed and the same womb; fathers have slain sons for whom they have often prayed they might die before them; and friends have forgotten friendship.

From that accursed demon (alas) come also the sufferings that afflict me now, and the complaints, and the tears; from his evil arts the rupture of the league of love between the children of my Christ and God, the Roman and Bulgarian dominions! For since He, Who willed to award peace to the world through His emptying out of His Father's bosom, made the rape of the Bulgarians His own, and joined them fraternally to the Roman race, and granted to them the same honor as to us, that they should be called Christians, that constant envier of good, not enduring the great benefit done to you, but striving ceaselessly—so far as he may—to hurt our Christ and God, the common Benefactor, and to rob the rape of the Bulgarians of the honor granted to it by Him, has found, it seems, at last the vent for his malice, and coming upon vessels fitted to destruction (in the words of the blessed Apostle), some from your race, some from among us, has done this pitiable Work, very lamentable both to us and to you, and has contrived so great a slaughter and ruin of the inheritance of Christ, a slaughter made not by hands impure or taught to serve impiety, but made pure by holy Baptism, and lifted up to the Heavenly Father, and fortifying themselves by the sign of the Cross against the malice of the Evil one.

What is to become of me in face of this? What can I do? Whom shall I bewail? Those who, roused against one another, have polluted the earth, polluted the air, with domestic murder and slaughters, who have caused not only Christians throughout the world to be saddened at the tidings, but the
9

very angels in heaven? For they too are certainly saddened, and if their nature
allowed of tears, they would have shed them, when the Lord of all is grieving
over the event. For you can surely imagine (my Son) what must be the grief
of Him Who desireth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he may
turn again and live, over so many deaths, which none other than the devil,
who is the author of sin, and those who love sin, have contrived.

But how long shall I complain of and bewail this? We must leave the


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But how long shall I complain of and bewail this? We must leave the

by others, the cause of the army's mustering, namely, that this great mobilization was for an expedition against the Bulgarians. Then at last I demanded access to the Palace, and when I obtained audience of the government, I insisted on learning from their own mouths of the mobilization of the army, and, as was my duty, I blamed and reproached them because, in a matter of such moment, they had not taken me, the Bishop of the city, into their counsels. They produced such general excuses as they could in their defense, so as to remove the cause of my censure; but, in particular, they said that the expedition against you was not for the purpose of war, or killing, or shedding of blood—but you shall now hear (my Son) just what it was they actually told me:

"You know, Father and Lord, the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace. Well, these officers (they said) are daily stating, both in their dispatches and by the mouths of their own messengers, with assurances that they are telling the truth—and there is no doubt at all of what they say—that the Bulgarians have a plan for the wholesale looting and pillage of our territory." And they adduced in corroboration of their words, to prove these words true and that the Bulgarians actually were planning such an operation, the renunciation which they claimed the Bulgarians had made of the existing treaty, as an indication that these no longer proposed to adhere to the standing agreement. Then they went on as follows: "You know that Bogas is our military governor at Cherson. Well, this governor of Cherson is continually reporting that Bulgarians are making every effort to get the Pechenegs and other nations in those parts to join them in the expedition and attack on the Romans. These reports of his are not intermittent; he is continually and daily troubling our ears and our minds with letters and statements of this sort." And they went on to say that as many as sixteen messengers had come from the race of the Pechenegs, who had reported that messengers from Bulgaria had been sent to them, not just once or twice, but over and over again, to invite them to join them; indeed, the Bulgarians are so eager in the affair that they are ready to conclude and cement a Pecheneg alliance with themselves even by a marriage contract of their own children:

"So that we, in alarm at these reports, after first making efforts by written
δόντες καὶ δηλώσαςεν ἡγαρίφας καὶ μνημάκεν ἡγαρίφας σπουδή ἐπονηθή ἐπονηθή-
μείᾳ τὸ ἐρημικὸν φρόνημα μεταξύ Βουλγάρων καὶ ἡμῶν βίβασι, οὐκ
116 ἡδύνημέν δεῖς, ἵσθιμοι καὶ ἐκπεφές εἰς τοιαύτην περίπου διέτας στατή-
τεν καὶ εὐτύχων σχηματισθήσας καὶ πιαιράθης τῷ τοιούτῳ πρότερο Βουλ-
γάρων τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπιστήμην, ἀλλὰ ἑξίαν πρὸς ἐτοιμά καὶ σφαγά τῶν λαῶν
χαρίζεσθαι, εἰ πᾶς διὰ τέως διὰ τὰς τοιαύτης περίπους ἑκάστας ἡμῶν πρὸς
ἀγάπην κατούς καὶ δοσιάς τὸν δεσμὸν ἐξεργάσεσθαι τῆς φίλας. | Ἑβές Β
120 τὴν ἀπολογίαν, οἱ πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα, καὶ μὴ ἤρπνησε μὴλε ἐνεργεῖν.ἐκέννηθος
Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶχον τήν καὶ οὕτως ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐπέπλεξεν,
ἐξεντισάμην, καὶ ὡς ἐξέχασαν καὶ ἐπὶ διεῆρον τάτα διὰ γεγονές.
Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰθείες εἰμί γραφέναι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάκαρος (ἄρωσιττοτο τῆς ἑκατερού ἀδύνατον) οὐδὲ εἶχα
125 τῶν δικαιών ἐγείρομεν πρὸς τοῦτον τὴν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὰ μὲν τὰς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ συνάρεσιν
μάχης ἤ τὸ λαόν συγκάτοις κατούς ἐπενεχθήτο, οὐ προκύψαι πρὸς ἀνεκτιθή πλῆθος ὑπὲρ τῶν
χαράξων καὶ χώνευσιν αὐτῶν η ὑποκάτα
130 ὁμήρη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον οὐδὲ ὁ τοῦ μετρού γράμματος ἀποκαταστὰ ἐδείξεν
εἰς πεποιθείσους. Τάτα τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάπτυξιν γνώμην τοῦ πρὸς σέ, τέκνον
ἡμῶν, γράφων ἐξ ἑκείνων πρὸς τῆς πολιορκίας τοῦ πολέμου συμ-
βάσεως. Ἀλλ' ἐπεί μου καὶ σέ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, διασπορᾶς, ἀποστολής τὸν
θυμὸν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς πιερίας, καὶ ὡς συνειδότα ὄρθος λογισμόν κρόνων
135 τοῦτα ὡς τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης οἱ στρατηγοῦντες
τοιαύτῃ ἐθιδαθήναι οὔτε τὸ γράμμα διεξέχθην καὶ Βουγῆς ἐπέφαυν καὶ οἱ
ἐκ Πατζιγκανίας ἀποκατάστασιν πλὴν διεβασμόντο καὶ τοιούτους ἰόμα
τὰς καθαρίας αὐτῶν ἐπέλευσαν, ἐξαφανίσταται τοῖς ἱστοῖς ἦς καὶ ποιεῖται, τοιούταις
πονηρὰς ἠγέλας ἐκτρεπομένοις· Οὔθε δὲ ὅ τ' ἐκείνου πράγματα
140 συνεπτὸς ἄν πάντως ἡμολογήσες ὡς ἕκεινα ρωτεῖν ἐξείς καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ
disposing ὑπὸ τοῦτο ἡμῶν ὑποτελήθη.
Τοῦτον ἐνείκε, ὃσον ἔμε πεισθήναι ἐκεῖν ἐξ ἐκ ἔ ὅ ὅν | διεβασμόντου... δ
νοῦ ἐπιλογηρήσεις, ὃ τοῦ στρατοῦ γέγονε συλλογή καὶ συγκάτοις καὶ
ἡ πρὸς Πατζιγκανίτας διάσπασις οὐχ ἐκ πλῆθος συγκεκριμένοι ὀδοί
145 ἂν τοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ σφαγᾶς ἐνεργήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτε τοῦτο μὴ ἐμακροτεν πε-
ριπέπτοσαν τοῦ σαφείας, τοῦτο δὲ διὸ ἡμῶν ἀνακύψα τὴν ὁμήρη μόνον,
ὅτε φιλοκαίνει καὶ συνετείλας πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφανείας τὴν Θρακίαν χάραν,
καθὼς ἤ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ τούτω καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ἐκ
Πατζιγκανίαν | ἀποστελέσσων κατ' ὅσοι, προσέτα藜 καὶ τῶν ἔλλων στρατηγῶν ὁ 76

9 declarations and oral messages to ensure a pacific spirit between the Bulgarians and ourselves, and after failing in this, came reluctantly to this expedient, namely to mount a military expedition against them and to try by this means to check the Bulgarians’ purpose, with no intent that the force should proceed to bloodshed and slaughter, if God should grant that through this expedient we may draw them to love, and confirm the bond of friendship. Such, Father and Lord, is our defense; and do not be angry or annoyed.”

I could not, for my part, disbelieve what they said; but, all the same, I censured, rebuked, and reproved them, and said they must besides write to inform you of their plan. They requested me to write, and I, worthless as I am (for I will confess my own sin and will condemn my own wretchedness), was in some manner slothful in this service—partly, I think, through sloth which my sins engendered, partly because I concluded that since, according to them, the mobilization of the army had been devised by them merely to make a show and appearance of battle, such an expedition would not get to the point of actual fighting or to slaughter and bloodshed, and therefore that the dispatch of my letter was not a matter of urgency either. This delayed me in my intention to write to you (my Son) as I should have done, before this most painful clash of arms. But tell me for your part (my Son), I implore you, casting out anger and bitterness of soul, and judge the matter as a wise man with level mind: when the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace reported as I have written above, and when on the other hand Bogas and the messengers from Patzinacia gave repeated assurances and with such statements terrified their hearts, what should they have planned and done in their alarm at these evil messages? I know that, as you are a wise judge of affairs, you will admit that they should have planned and done whatever could reasonably be devised for their salvation.

For this reason, or so I naturally supposed from their information and assurances, the muster and mobilization of the army took place, and the embassy to the Pechenegs: not with intent to join battle or to slaughter your folk, but on the one hand to achieve their own security and on the other simply to check your expedition, as they said, and to stop your invasion of Roman territory, of which they were convinced from the assurance of those wretches Bogas and the Pecheneg envoys, and by the messages of the other military


150 λόγοι αὐτοῖς πλέον παρείχοντο. Τούτου εἶπον ἡμῖν γενέθαια σκοπών ἀποικίας τῆς τοῦ στρατοῦ συναρμόσας, ταὐτῇ ἀπὸν εἰς τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Παταγονίταις διαπέμεχος καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτος ἐπεισδύχω, ἐκεῖνον ἐνθυμηθεῖς ὅτι ἔτσι ταῖς τούτοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπίσκοπον (ὅπως καὶ ᾗς, ἁγίοις), ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὰ τρία πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς διαστα-, σακάμενοι, εἶπα ἐκεῖνοι πάντας δὲ ἐπιστῆτες μὴ δίναται αὐ-, κείμεναι ἐποδιαφώς καταλήγησα τῆς στάσεως τῶν τέκνων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῷ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔνοικόν πῶθε καὶ ἔδοθαν ἠλθόν τινις προολομακεύονθαι εἰς βοήθειαν, ὡς δὲ ἔκεινον φροβήσας καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ τέκνα. Ὅπερ λέγω ἔπελθον καὶ τοὺς τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπικαλέσασθαι ἐπικαλέσασθαι.

165 μέχρι σφαγῶν καὶ αλκάτων, μερίζοντα, ὡς διασπάζεται, ἔδωκεν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πολυνευμανείς διαπεπτόμενος γεγενημένος τῆς Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὖν ἥδην λόγον πάντας δὲ ἐκείνους ἔλεγον πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι οἱ γεγογονεῖς παράγοντες. Λαλού οἱ μὲν οὕτως διενορθήσας, σχέσιν πολέμου ἡμῖν μόνον ἐπείρωσαν βουλήματα, ὡς κατὰ, ἔνιοκος τοῦ προολομακεύσας καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἐπικαλέσασθαι, ἐκεῖνοι οὖχ πόλεμον περιτάξεις ἐλήμενοι οὐδὲν.

170 ἐπινοεῖς μέγαν κακὰ ἐκτελεῖς; οὐ μόνον τὸ μέγα τοῦτο κακὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἦθελεν ἐκτελεῖν μεταίχθησαι Βουλγάρων καὶ Ῥωμαίων(ὅ τι οὖν ἀμφο-, τάμων) χόρον ἐφέσθη ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ.

Οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀρχής—καὶ διακεχώρεσθε ἀρχής, εἰ μή θελής τις καὶ τὰς οὗν ἑφεστήκατε—φήσας γὰρ πάντας ὑπενετήθησαν. Εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμερίσθηκαν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔβλεπεν αὐτοὺς ἡ οἰκία, τὸ δήμῳ πρὸς τὴν Βουλγάρων ἐσπευσαντας γῆν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πόλεμον τῶν τεπάνσων; Εἴπομεν αὐτούς καὶ ἐγὼ, τέχνες ἡμῖν, τακτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴς γῆς σῶν λόγων ἀπαντήσας, καὶ ἐμφάσεν καὶ ἐπέκλυσα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τάσας οὕτως ἐρωτήσας αὐτοὺς ἐμεῖς ἐπέκλυσαμεν ἡ ἀπολογία σοῦ ἐν εὐθείας. Εἴρηκαν γὰρ διὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων πόλεμον νόμον ἐξελέγαντας κατὰ τὸν ἐν Δυρκαύμος Ῥωμαίων τόπον καὶ τὸν τὸν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη, γέγονεν διαφορά, καὶ τὸν τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὸ Ἀρακέας στρατηγετικά επέκλυθαν, καὶ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐπορκομένως οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος ἑγέρθησαν διαμετέχοντες. Ταῦτα οὐδέν γέγονεν, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστέαμεν,

180 οὕτως δὲ διασκεδάστατος σὺν δὲ ἡμῖν εἰδέναι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων συνεδρήσεως τὸ ἐκείνῳ ἐπικρατεῖσθαι τὸ γεγονός.

170 fort. ἕκας (Jk) || 174 ἔκας Vat. || ἕκας P
9. But (my Son) whatever were the defenses made by those here, I did not find them satisfactory, and therefore I opposed them with invectives and reproaches and rebukes, and shall still continue to do so. But of you, as though I were before you, with my arms about your neck, I implore this favor: let the cruelties now cease: let us know ourselves, let us reflect that we are the heirs of Christ; and though by our races we are divided, yet we are one body in the faith, and have one Head in Christ and are members one of another, and the members are not made to rebel against one another: for, saith the blessed Apostle, "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." Christians we are, let us not bely our calling.

Alas for ills unbearable! Those who are taught to pursue peace with all men, the devil has embodied with one another; those who should be gentle toward all men, the prince of fury has maddened one against another! Of old those who knew Christ, who were called by His Holy Name, sanctified the earth with their own blood, and filled the air with fragrance, and put to shame the devil with his demons, and made the angels to dance and leap for joy, and glorified the Lord by their own slaughter. But what of today? Those that bear the name of Christ have polluted the earth with their own blood, have filled the air with stench, have made the demons to dance, have driven the devils with his demons, and made the angels to dance and leap for joy those who knew Christ, who were called by His Holy Name, sanctified the earth with their own blood, and filled the air with fragrance, and put to shame the devil with his demons, and made the angels to dance and leap for joy those who knew Christ, who were called by His Holy Name.

...
have received from the Holy Spirit the authority to loose and to bind. See this. The saying of our Christ and God is: “He that rejecteth you, rejecteth me”—of whose Holy Sanctuary I, though a sinner, am the minister, and have received from the Holy Spirit the authority to loose and to bind. See therefore, I say again, and do not neglect it: I submit you to the bond, indissoluble and unbreakable, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, therefore, I say again, and do not neglect it: I submit you to the bond, indissoluble and unbreakable, in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, not to come out any more from your territory, neither you, nor your army, nor to bring harm or malice or captivity upon the lands or the peoples over whom the authority has been assigned to the Christian scepter ever since the Bulgarians were granted knowledge, through most sacred Baptism, of Christ, the God of all, and the agreements were then concluded which defined the dominion of Roman and Bulgarians.

I am sending to you—not as a gift but as a mediator to commend my exhortation (my Son) to your prudent and, as I believe, gentle heart, even though the offense of the evil one has exasperated it—the divine words of my Christ and God; and beholding in them, as with your eyes, His sufferings for the salvation of men, His Holy Blood emptied out for the peace of the world, do not dishonor my words, but receive, as a child who knows how to honor his father, my exhortation; and leave behind you in this life an example to the glory of our mighty God and Saviour, to your own good name.
and be assured by that Peace which our Christ and God a Father bequeathed to those who confess Him to be their Father, and long for His glory and inheritance.

Let the bearer of this letter be kindly treated; partly for the virtue that is in him; for the man is an abbot of the hermits of Olympus and moreover, in the power of the Holy Spirit, has sown the Word of the Faith among the Alans, and has been assigned by God a ministry equal with that of the Holy Apostles. These are most weighty matters to introduce and commend him (my Son) to your Lordship honored of God; and if my word is anything to you, and I do not doubt at all that it is, let him for my word also be deemed worthy to enjoy your kindly treatment, and to make a speedy journey back again to us. Christ our God keep you well in mind and body, thinking, studying, doing those things in the life to come may make you an inheritor of His glory, of the glory that is truly blessed and pleasant and sweet, when in the midst of those who have pleased Him God shall be set, and as it were to gods shall make apportionment of His imperishable felicities.

The same word with which you began your fair and wise letter I myself prefix to this one (my Son)—if son be may be called who insulces his father: and your father, whether you like it or not, is a bishop (though the least among them) who has not renounced his reverence to God. Sinners though they may be, it is not for you to sit in judgment on bishops; bishops are your judges, if you belong to the flock of Christ, and have not strayed from His fold.

"Dotard" am I, as you say in your wisdom? Thanks be to my God, who for my sins has cast me down to the depths of insult! Yet pray tell me, in your
βίβλουν. 'Αλλ' εἶπε με, ο σοφοὶ νῦν καὶ φρονομάστε, αἰ ἐγώ μοι ἡ γραμματεία παρὰ καὶ ἀναπτομένων παιδότων κανείαν ὑπὸ εὐφράξεώς, ὑπὸ διαλλαγῆς, ὑπὸ τῷ λέγει κανεύμουν Χριστιανοῦ ἀμαθεῖα, τίς εἴπε καὶ κανεύμονα υἷς ὁ τὸν πατέρα εὐφράξαι διασωθῆναι μοῦν ἀποκλείων; Πρόσεχες οὐκ ἡ γραμματεία, οὐκ λέξεις, οὐκ γράμματες. Κάθεται, εὐφράξεως, ὑπὸ προῆρος, ὑπὸ πραγμάτων καὶ ἐπιστήμονον (τὸ παραλεγένητο ἄδικο ὑπὸ τῆς ρῆμας παραλέλειπτος); Προσέχες ὁ προῆρος, ὁ πρός τρώγας, ὁ πρός τὸν παρελθόντα, ὁ πρός τὸν ἐκείνου, καὶ ἂν αὐτῶς, καὶ ἂν εὐφράξεως τοῦτος αὐτὸς. 'Αλλ' ἀμφότερον τὸ μέρος τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο τὸ γράμμα: ταῦτα δὲ ἐφεξής ἔγραψα.

20 Μὴ νόμιζες ἡ γεγονήσιον ἥτταν τῶν ὁμαλῶν λαοὺς ἔπει σεισμὸν γεγονότοι, μὴ τοῦτο θεολόμηκα: οὐ δέ θεολόμηκας, ὡς φλεκόμεν ἀποστράφησεν τὴν ὑπόλοιπον. 'Αλλ' νοέσθε ὁ πρὸς σαλαχῆς οἰκοπετῶν, πρῶτον μὲν κρίμασαν ἀπορρήτητον τοῦ ἐς ἐπιστήμης παραλελέιπεν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ὑπό τῶν χριστου ὑπότος βουλαίτας πραγμάτων διετερεῖ ὅ, ὅσον ἀντί καὶ θυσίας εἴδεναι, τῶν οἰκειῶν ἔνας σφαλμάτων. Καθὼς ποιήσας καὶ οὐ περιποιήσας τὸν νῦν πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν ἀφταίαν ἐπιστήμης καὶ ὑπολογίζομενος ὡς ἐξελέ γορ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατακεκπχομένος ο ἐξοσμόν τὸ γεγονός ἁμέρες τῷ Ῥωμαίων συνέβη λοιπ. Νόει με καὶ ἐν μὸν ἑκάτοβα, μέλλοντες πεθαίνει, ἐπὶ ἐκείνους ἐπιστήμης, ἐκείνους ἐπιστήμης.

30 Πάλαι ποτὲ ἡ Πορτωνία στρατηγὸς μέγριον τῶν ἐνεάκες ἑκάστοτε καὶ ἄλλα ταῖς πρωταρχίας καὶ συνάθροισιςς διαπράττωσα. 'Αλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἐπιστήμης, καὶ δειν ὡς συνάθροισιςς διαπράττωσαν τῇ καὶ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία ἐπὶ τῆς οἵκες ἀποκτείνας χρηστοποιοῦσας. 'Αλλ' καὶ ἄκου τοῦτο τό τῶν Ἀράβων γένος, ἄν ἔμεινεν προσφέρεις (καὶ μένον ὅποι πρὸς μένον ὅποι) καὶ δώκεις τοῦτον, καὶ δώκεις τοῦτον καὶ καὶ δώκεις τοῦτον ἀποκτείνας. 'Αλλ' καὶ ἄκουτοι τοῦτον, καὶ δ οὐδὲν λέγουσα τοῦ ἐφέπελεις, αὐτῆς δὴ σύ τῆς ἁρκείας αὐτῆς ἐκχώρισες καὶ δήλωσαι καὶ δήλωσον διαμαρτώσας. Βοῦκας συν καὶ διὰ τότε γραφώμενον

40 τυραννον τοῦ ἐφεδροῦ, καὶ οὐδὲν ξηρὰ καὶ ἔξω συγκρίνεσθε τῇ διορίᾳ ἐπόδος; Τῇ ὅπως ἔχεις ἐξελέγης μὲν μισεῖς, ὑπόεις δὲ καὶ περὶ λαοῦ ὑπερβάλλουσας, τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐδὲ ἐνθοπτὸς τῷ ἡθού πόλεως ἐπὶ ἀρχάοις ζ ἐπανελθοῦσας, καὶ πάντας εἴδες ἐπόδος, καὶ πανελθοῦσας ἀλλαγας πρὸς τῇ ἱδίαι παραλελέιπεν αὐτῆς δὴ διορίῃς καὶ δια-

45 σχετάται τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς ἑδονίσσης συνεφημονᾶς τάς πεπείρας.
10, 11

I have loved and still love you (my Son), I, your “dotard” father, as you put it; and my advice to you may seem to you to be “doting,” but it is very certainly not so. Abandon the error of those who have misled you. Cast away your insane hopes. Be content with the power which you have inherited from your fathers. Do not desire the lordship over those by whom you were taught the knowledge of the Lord of all. No one in his senses who has been a slave, and then been liberated by another from his slavery, wishes to be the lord of him who has freed him from slavery. Pray reflect that you were once the slaves of demons, and that you were freed from your slavery to them by those who, under God’s grace, then ruled the Roman empire. Do not think to become lord of those by whom you were acceeded your liberty. Do not be so ungrateful; do not leave behind you the memory that there was once a Bulgarian prince who wished to make slaves of those who freed the race of the Bulgarians from slavery to the devil, and to become the lord of his liberators! This I have written to you, a “dotard” (as you suppose) to a wise man. Yet, as a wise man, if such you be, you will be aware that, “Give a wise man instruction, and he will be wiser still.”

11. To the Same

If it were possible for me to come to you myself (my Son), I should not refuse to do so: I should disregard the length of the road and the bitterness of winter, and would not shrink from the journey to your most glorious Principedom. But now that age is upon me, and its burden hardly allows me to rise painfully from my bed, I am prevented all against my will from this purpose, in which, if I could have given proof of it, I know that I should not have failed of my end: for I would not have ceased either from verbal entreaties, or from embracing your head, eyes, beloved face, and hands, or from laying hold of your knees, even, perhaps, your feet, until I had obtained the object of my desire. But cruel age stops me from this purpose, and the inescapable tyranny of sickness; and so, I must write.

Know first (my Son) why I make this intercession: and though for my

[61: Prov. 9:9.]
20. ‘Alas, μὴ τὰς τέχνας λέγω τοῦ βοηθείας τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ πράγμα, προπεραπανεώτησομία δε καὶ οὖν προσωπικῶς τὴν προσευχὴν τῇ θετικῃ: Ἰκετεύομεν καὶ δημάθα, τέκνων ἡμᾶς, ἐκείνην οὖν τῇ δέχοντες σέρνας θυσίας διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ τῶν θεοῦ τῶν μονογενῶν αυτῶν ὑπὸ σπουδῶν καὶ δερμόνων ἐλεοθερίας ἐπανέλαβεν γέρα ἐκ τῶν

25 ὁχήσοντων καὶ ἱδρόνων κάλπων τῶν ἁμοίων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμφιθέον ὑπὸ τὴν καταλέλαυς μὲν τὸ μεσότοιχον τῆς ἐξάρας, βραβεύσω δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς κατ᾽ ἄλλην ἐκπολεμομένοις. Διαταγέομεν ἡμᾶς οὖτε ταπεινοὶ καὶ παρασκευάζω τῇ ἁγίῳ ἡσυχαστηρίᾳ καταξιωθεῖσας, ὡδὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κατάρθωμα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρατών ἐχθρότητα τοῦ πατέρα ἡμῶν τῆς 85 χάριτος καταξιωθέντος, ἀλλὰ διαταγέομεν σου τῇ φιλόγνωσιν σειράς ὑπὸ καταστάσεως: ἠκούσαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁμοίων γεγονός, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἢμῶν νομισμάτων, ἐχθρότητας ἐκείνης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρατών ἐχθρότητα τοῦ πατέρα ἡμῶν τῆς 90 τῆς συμπεριφοράς ἡμῶν κατηκόρος: ἠκούσαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἠμοίων γεγονός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρατών ἐχθρότητα τοῦ πατέρα ἡμῶν τῆς

30 χάριτος καταξιωθέντος, ἀλλὰ διαταγέομεν σου τῇ φιλόγνωσιν σειράς ὑπὸ καταστάσεως: ἠκούσαν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁμοίων γεγονός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐρατών ἐχθρότητα τοῦ πατέρα ἡμῶν τῆς

35-37: Gen. 4.19.

27 ἐκπολεμομένος Π4: ἐκπελαλ. Π8
there is this law which holds good not only among men but among wild beasts also. Wild beasts are often seen burling themselves in rage on one another; and then, when one is vanquished, the other becomes tame. Let us not wish to outdo the nature even of wild animals, nor to keep our fury unquenchable, our resentment without end. Return to counsels of humanity which especially become your Wisdom; cease from wars and slaughters and shedding of blood; look toward the mighty prize of peace, the inestimable inheritance which was left to us by Him Who deigned to become our Brother, so that by peace-making He might make us the sons of God the Father. Imagine (my Son) that you see Him standing between Bulgarians and Romans, pointing to His own wounds, to the piercing of His side, to the holes in His hands and feet, and speaking this: “What is this, My ohildren, My people, My beloved inheritance, whom My Father gave Me in return for My obedience and for My condescension even unto the Cross and death? What is this? How have you forgotten My commandment? How are you heedless of My exhortation? Where has fled that love which I bequeathed unto you? What has become of that peace which I taught unto you? How comes it that you, who confess Me to be your Head, who love to be called My members, yet arm yourselves against one another? This is not the fashion of members who have the same Head: it must be that they are sundered and seek another head.” Imagine such to be the words of our Christ and God, more grieved than when He was nailed to the Cross; and, as if truly hearing His words, let us be entreated; let us respect His wounds, let us fear to grieve Him; and, when there is time, let us remedy our mutual sins, and free Him from this pain and grief on our account; let us propitiate the Divine Justice by a return to peace and a revival of former love, and let us not abide the Judgment hereafter for our mutual warfare—I would say, our madness—when the plea will be unacceptable, every excuse dismissed, and the sentence without reprieve.
Do not accuse me of garrulity if I prolong my discourse: for our common sufferings and our lacerations of heart compel it. If there were at my disposal many tongues, as is that old saying, I would have prayed for the use of that gift, so that perhaps with them I might sufficiently have bewailed, and made prayers which should fall not far short of the evils, both to God and to your noble Lordship. But since I have not several tongues at command, I shall meanly make use of the one which was given me by nature, and, as I have said, enforced by grief of heart, prolong my discourse farther.

Consider (my Son) before the Judgment that is to come, before our terrible presentation there, that there no distinction is made between princes and pauper based on this worldly pride of ours, but simply of our spiritual merits. Take also into account, even before this universal assize in presence of the incorruptible Judge, what will be our memory in this world among those then living, after we are dead. Who, on learning hereafter of this great slaughter of Christians, will not vilify, execrate, call by every evil name the authors of it? Many people often have been at enmity with one another; but those who have been more kindly, more humane in disposition, have set a limit to their enmity, have not clung forever to the evil, but, conscious that hatred is alien to the nature of man, have changed their enmity into peace.

I do not speak merely of children who have so acted toward fathers, or brothers toward brothers, or pupils toward teachers, but also of those outside such affinities and relationships as these. How stands the case with you? Though children, you nourish a traceless enmity against your fathers, brothers against brothers, pupils against teachers—and teachers of what a Teaching! one that opened the eyes of your soul, guided you to the Light, delivered you from slavery to the devil, and, with all this, conferred the incomparable benefit of making you Sons of God. Who of later ages, when he comes to learn of this, will not heap every shame, every blasphemy on those then living, after we are dead, Who, on learning hereafter of this great slaughter of Christians, will not vilify, execrate, call by every evil name the authors of it? Many people often have been at enmity with one another; but those who have been more kindly, more humane in disposition, have set a limit to their enmity, have not clung forever to the evil, but, conscious that hatred is alien to the nature of man, have changed their enmity into peace.
"Think of this, and of the good name which have desired from your youth up, the honorable and bright memory. Let us not forfeit this through contention and bitterness of heart. It is a fair provision for the journey to the life to come if you set out accompanied by praises of your virtue; and a fair legacy to your children to be called the sons of a good father, kindly, gentle, quiet, merciful, and not the opposite of these. God forbid (my Son) that your sons, my most sweet children, should be so unhappy as to inherit, not the fair names I have enumerated, but their opposites instead! That former bequest is more honorable than the rule and lordship which you will leave to them. Do you, then, giving heed, as one that is in very truth set by God to rule your nation, and moreover not abandoning your old kindness and tranquillity, open your ears to me, and before your ears your heart, and attend to these words as to words spoken by a friend and loving father; if you do not think him unworthy to be called father, who, though a sinner, is yet an old man and has the rank of bishop, one whom Christ our God has given to be your spiritual father, a bond more real than that according to the flesh, inasmuch as the things of the flesh dissolve, but those of the spirit are indissoluble.

Let my discourse end with a prayer: and with what other prayer but this? "May Christ our true God, who came unto this world to remove offenses, make smooth your noble soul, and clear away whatever offense be in it, and kindle afresh and make to shine in you the old light of His most divine Love, which the father of darkness has sought to quench; and may He Who slew enmity in His flesh, and joined what was divided, and gave peace to all things through His holy and most pure Blood, may He Himself now also drive out all dissension, all division, all enmity from among Bulgarians and Romans, and unite them again, and grant them to be in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, so soon as the sower of offenses and the father of mischief has been cast down!"

12. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria

I know that your archiepiscopal Perfection is in agreement with me on the matter about which I am impelled to write; that you feel the same pain
at heart, that you are torn with the same lacerations. For this reason I do not write to exhort or instruct you, but, as it were, to converse with you on matters, which, if we were together and in talk, we might jointly examine. My subject is the evils which have come upon the people of Christ. I mean, Romans and Bulgarians, one single people yet divided among itself by him who from the beginning cut off and sundered man from God. Of this care that is common to us I write to you, and as I myself continually sigh and lament over it, so I know that you bear it too, and that your broad has become tears. By my sufferings I learn of yours: for those whose work and ministry are in common, must share also the same sufferings and labors.

So much, then, for my observation that the same affliction and similar griefs are wounding your heart as are wounding me also; but now I begin our conversation—as it were—and our mutual discussion. In this our present life different ministries have been allotted to different people, I mean, to emperors, and rulers of cities, overseers of other affairs, stewards of administration: each of whom, looking to the rank he has received, is concerned (if he be wise) to perform his own task without reproach. But we, to whom it is allotted to serve the Holy Sanctuary, although it is our duty to perform the ministry of much else besides, yet, beyond all else, are bound to serve the cause of peace and to cast out offenses and enmity from among us. For the Celebration of the Aweful Sacrament, which we perform in memory of Him Who, to dispel the eternal enmity, that violent madness of men toward God which left no hope of terms of peace, endured His Passion, spittings, buffetings, a malefactor’s death, enjoining this on us, to be continually, with all our might, with all our wit, in all our speech, the zealous champions of peace and enemies of war, and with all our soul to exclude the entry of offenses. For this great mystery of the Celebration brings as it were before our eyes the very Son of the merciful Father, Who so loved the world that He sent Him, the Inheritor of divine glory, made light of all the shame and dishonor which men...
dared heap upon Him, in order that those who are divided and enemies and
hostile He might free by His own sufferings, and wounds, and shame, and
might join them in peace, and make them the familiars of God. What, then
(Brother and fellow-priest), must we do? What must we feel, what must be
our anxiety, how great must be our agony, when we see men enraged against
another, and exchanging love for enmity! I speak for the moment of single
and individual instances. How great must be our care to compose those
whose souls are thus perverted by the evil one, and to make peace between
them, and to persuade them to enter once more into unity through love.

Thus far our discourse has proceeded as you hear; but now the business
itself, as it were with its own voice, esclaims more loudly. The devil, who is
the father of mischief and enemy of peace, has moved arms and swords
between Romanus and Bulgaricus, has incensed them against one another, has
brought and is still today bringing his designs to pass. Alas for the multitude
of my sins! Who shall plead? Who shall be mediator? Who by God’s help
shall stop this huge destruction of men? Who shall purge the soil from the
pollution of Christian blood? Who else but we? This is my duty and yours.

As He knows, to Whom each thought of the heart is open, I tried from the
beginning to avert the breaking out of war: and, when the evil prevailed,
I did not cease to exhort the Romans to lay aside their arms, and to pursue
peace and love toward the Bulgarians, and be paternally affectionate toward
them. And Sod their hearts and they repented of their former dis-
obedience, and they became willing to act on the exhortation with which I after-
ward exhorted them; and from that time until now they have sought the things
of peace and the bond of love, and have hated the things that led them into
war against you. But what can I say? He that envies the human love from
the beginning has conceived now also a bitter envy of union between Bulgarians
and Romans, and having succeeded in kindling the conflagration of

71: Coloss. 3.14.

63 αὐτός P: -ος Pέ
enmity, triumphs in this soul-destroying fire, and struggles hard to keep alight what he has kindled, and will not allow my fair, beloved Son, the most wise, the most tranquil Lord of the Bulgarians, to be guided by his own nobility of heart and turn to the blessing of peace, and return to his former sweetness; but still the envious one, the persecutor of good, casting bitter thoughts into his sweet soul, seeks eagerly to drive out most sweet peace.

Such then are the works of the evil demon. But I, trusting to God and to the gentleness of my fondly loved Son that I shall not fail of my purpose, have sent him a letter, begging, entreating those things which are proper to his virtuous soul, those things that he has at heart. For I, too, though but for a brief time, when I stood in his presence, had proof of his nature, and I recognized his intelligence, his gentleness, his benevolence, his goodness, and that his nature is foreign to all brutality and frowardness. So I have written to intercede for peace, and have good hope that first God, Who gave him lordship over the Bulgarians, will entreat him, and next his own gentleness and virtue; and that he will be entreated also by my appeal. Such is my part and on such hopes I ride. But it is also for your Arch-priesthood, who grieves at our common sufferings, at our common disasters, at this great tide of sorrows, and on whom the duty to act in this affair properly falls, to support my intercession, to conciliate and to supplicate my beloved son. You have many arguments which combine to entreat him: first, that which my discourse has already spoken of, the inconsolable grief of our Christ and God, inasmuch as those who bear the honorable name of Him Who was led as a lamb to the slaughter that He might give us that name, rage like wild beasts against one another; you have the holy churches, into which he goes to commune with God on behalf of himself, his wife, his children and indeed of all that nation of which he is lord; you have the holy and all-immaculate Body and Blood, which as he eats and drinks he has undoubting hopes that he is partaking of sanctification. Represent in his presence by your words those things which, even before you speak, he has himself seen with his own sight and is aware of: the desolation of so much land through which he has passed in place of the beauty seen in it till now, the
pitiable defacement of countries, in place of so many crops, so many vineyards, so many orchards. Remind him of the destruction of the holy houses of God, which pious hands with many pains erected to God's glory. Add the ruin of noble monasteries, in which monks, in which virgins continually sent up their hymns to God, but which are now deserted and lying in ruins. And above all the manifold slaughters of men—alas for the mighty power of the evil demon!—the bodies of priests, of monks, of nuns, scattered by, not so much as the honor of burial but exposed to be the prey of dogs and wild beasts.

Why do I go on? You have a mighty, an untold store of argument from this unheard of tragedy, and above all you have the gentleness of him who is entreated, and his most perfect wisdom, to assist in making my intercession fruitful. So, then, moved by the griefs which must inevitably be afflicting me and you in common, and by those cares for our common salvation and peace which stir us to our duty, do you exert your own powers, and also play my part instead of me, by doing all that I would do myself if I were present: embrace his hands, take hold of his knees, and if it should be needed, his feet also, and, in a word, continue every plea by speech and act until by favor from on High the sweet spirit of my Son shall be won over to the blessing of peace, and men shall be sent out by him through whom the things of peace may be renewed, and the things of war and enmity be canceled, the devil who triumphs in the common disasters of Bulgarians and Romans may be driven away, and most honorable love be again enlarged, and her honorable gifts, from which shall come to both our peoples happiness and the enjoyment of blessings, and the endurance of most cruel hardships and the despondency and the sullen faces shall be removed.

13. To the Chief Man of Symeon

The servants of great powers (my Son) are men adorned with the greatest virtues and achievements, and the more so in proportion as they are known to be more familiar in counsel. Knowing you to be such a servant, I know this too, that without my speaking of them you have those thoughts and feelings which befit the greatness of your Virtue. Since I have this
έχομεν περὶ σοῦ, ἐς τὴν παροικίαν ὑπόθετον τοῦ γράμματος ἐκπονήθησαν μεγάλην τινὰ ἡμᾶς καὶ παντί τῆς θείας φρονήσεως καταφθολυμηθήκαν ἀφίχομεν. Ἡστι δὲ αὐτὰ περὶ τῆς υἱόντος, ὥς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, περὶ τοῦ παίδιος τῆς σφαγῆς καὶ τῶν χίλιων τῶν ἁλωμένων καὶ τῆς ἁλοχῆς κυκλώσεως διὸ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων γνωρίσθησαν: ὃν οὖν μέτοχον ὥσπερ φρονήματος ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέγατον κλέος ἐχθρῶν ἔργων ἐστὶν ὑδεν οἰκεῖον. Περὶ ταύτων ἐγράφαμεν καὶ τῷ μεγαλοδόξῳ καὶ πεποιθημένῳ ἡμῶν λόγῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔγαγον ὡς ὁ ἐκαθὼς ρυθμίζεις ψυχής ἡ πραξις καὶ ἦμερος. Ι. 15 εἰ δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἡμῶν ἀμαρτημάτων παρὰ παραίηγησίαν συμφώνα, προσέβη τῆς θεμέλειας τῶν χίλιων ἐνίκησεν. Ὁμοιοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸς κοιμήματι διὰ τοῦ γράμματος συνεπλήρωσαν καὶ ὡς εὐνοούσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴκεν θέρασθαι τὴν ἀντίθετην μεγάλην δίκην αὐτῶν προέβλεψαι ὑποτρέπθηκαν. Ἐν πολλαῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις, ὡς καθαρὸν σέξικον τὸ φύλτρον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἢδέ τε αὐτοῦ ἀφένειμασίν ταῖς καὶ δίκης ἐξωπροσεῖται τῶν ἑπομένων ταῦτα ποιεῖτε ἀλλὰ ἔκδοθεν ἐκτὸς εἰς τὸν ἐνεκριθής ἐξωπροσεῖται τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, διὸ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φύλτρον ἐπίσκεψαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐνεκριθής διάπετε πρὸς τὸν ὀἰκεῖον ἐσποτότην. Ἐνθυμήθητε γάρ, τέκνοι ἡμῶν, τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κακά, τὰ ἐκαθαρίσθη. 25 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταλυμαζόμενον; ἄγετε ἄγετε, καὶ πᾶλι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκαδὴ καὶ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸς ἐγγυναίκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτύπωσαν καὶ τοῖς συνήκροις, σύμφωνα πόλεως αὐτοῦ γεννήθη πρόεξος τῆς καὶ δίκης, ἔθεος συνεπλαμβάνοντος αὐτῶν τῶν πολέμων ἢ δὲ τῶν σφαγῶν ἢ τῶν αἰματολογίων ἢ τῶν μεγάλου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλεήμονος, ἐμπεριρετήσεις αὐτῶν ταύτης τὴν ἑκάστην ὑποτρέπησαν, ἤ τε ἐπισκέψατο διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ πλήθος προφέτασι διὰ τὸ ἐς τῶν πολέμων κακά. Ὁ μὲν δεῖθης λόγον πολλῶν οὐδὲ ἀποστραφέσαι συν τὴν δικά ἑκάστος καὶ φιλάρεος ψυχή. Μόνον προσμυθήτη, μόνον διακομισθήτη, οἴκεται καὶ πεποιθήτη, ὡς ἐοτοὺς διὰ δόξα. 35 (καί) τὴν θείαν εἰρήνην ἐπεξετάζων. Τούτῳ δὲ οὕτω ἀπλῶς λέγω, ἀλλὰ πεπεσμένος ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς φιλάρεος ἡμῶν θεοί αὐτοῖς τῶν φύλτρον τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῆς τασσαγίας μακραίνοντες κρίσματος αὐτῶν ἐδένα δύναται ἐκ μέσου πολεμίων, τὴν δεξιὰν δικήν καὶ ἐφαρμόζασα τῇ τασαγίᾳ αὐτῶν πνεύμα ἐπιστῆσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἡμῖν πλὴν γνώκομεν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν λόγον οὐδὲ ἐνευξάνατο σε τὸ μέρος τοῦ γράμματος, ἄλλα μόνον εἰρήνη προσεπιθέωμεν, ὡς εἰς Ἰησοῦς θεὸς ἡμῶν κατά καθαρίαν τιμήν καὶ δοξάζον καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι εἰς τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιτελεῖσαι, καὶ σε, τέκνῶν ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ πλῆθος οἰκεῖον τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ αὐτοῖς καταλυμαζόμενοι.
13, 14

My tenderly beloved Son, and sweetest friend of friends both old and new, listen as a son and friend to the words of a father who has loved you from the beginning, and still loves, and preserves a real affection toward you in the Holy Spirit; attend (my Son) to what I write. For I am convinced, in God, that I write those things which shall make you rejoice and be glad with me, confirming the name of friendship upon the works thereof. Hearken, once more, as a man of God, to (in a word) “glad tidings” which shall comfort your pious soul: for though when Satan stirred up offenses through which they strove against the head that I revere, you were exasperated against our secular authority and are disposed otherwise than is my prayer for you, yet I know very well that for the suffering of the Church, I mean, for the laceration and division of her sons, you shared our grief with us and were afflicted by bitter sorrows, thus honoring Christ our God from Whom come your rule and your preservation, and with Whom is laid up your salvation in the life to come, and honor without end, as I pray and hope.

We bring you tidings (my Son) of great joy, which for you to hear is sweet beyond all, and for us to announce is beyond all things fitting and proper. The Church of God is united. The storm aroused by him who has worked evil from the beginning has ceased to vex her. And how has the union come about, and the storm subsided? Those who were sundered from us, and, clinging to their separation, were set apart in their opinion, have repented of their obstinacy and by God's Grace have conformed in our opinion; and what was sought by the Church has been confessed by them in common; and, in a word, having confessed their own error they have come into the arms of the Church that were mercifully opened to enfold them. For till today the Church has kept her arms closed, since they persisted in human error (for such is the condition of man), and, for what causes I do not know, chose to be disputations. But now that, as God has approved it, all these disputes are removed, and holy peace has mediated, we have come together in union, and have received as our own children those who up till now were more beloved by him, and may for this purpose and zeal accord to you His eternal blessings.

14. To Symeon the Bulgarian

My tenderly beloved Son, and sweetest friend of friends both old and new, listen as a son and friend to the words of a father who has loved you from the beginning, and still loves, and preserves a real affection toward you in the Holy Spirit; attend (my Son) to what I write. For I am convinced, in God, that I write those things which shall make you rejoice and be glad with me, confirming the name of friendship upon the works thereof. Hearken, once more, as a man of God, to (in a word) “glad tidings” which shall comfort your pious soul: for though when Satan stirred up offenses through which they strove against the head that I revere, you were exasperated against our secular authority and are disposed otherwise than is my prayer for you, yet I know very well that for the suffering of the Church, I mean, for the laceration and division of her sons, you shared our grief with us and were afflicted by bitter sorrows, thus honoring Christ our God from Whom come your rule and your preservation, and with Whom is laid up your salvation in the life to come, and honor without end, as I pray and hope.

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14: P 108r-108v || 27 ἀν(θρώπ)ον Ἡρ. =|α|ο|ν αν (29 τοῦ) leg. τὸ.
divided from us, and have knit ourselves to them as to our own members, and therefore is the Church of God joined together and quietly governed by one head, our first High Priest and God, and by me who, though unworthy, have been honored with the highpriesthood. There are a few exceptions who, unable to gain an honorable repute and yet unwilling to pass unnoticed through life, have resolved, out of their proper malice, to be as notorious as they can by their own factiousness, and therefore do not scruple to injure the union of the Church; yet assuredly even they, if they are of our Head, of our great God and High Priest, will decide either now or later on to be joined together with their proper Head. If they do not, it does not matter. They will lie in the place their madness has chosen for them. But the holy Church of God, freed from the cause that vexed her, has her own order firmly fixed, and gives thanks to Christ her Bride-groom for that she is cleared of offenses, and beholds her own sons standing around her, as many as he who from the beginning has robbed man of his blessed familiarity has, on this occasion, been unable to snatch from the priestly complement.

These are my glad tidings to you (my Son) by which I am convinced that your soul is rejoiced more than by any other of those things that can bring joy to men. But, for what follows, who will support me in what I say? Who will stand by me, and speak with me, and share in my address to your merciful and most sweet soul? And we shall remind you of your proper Head. If they do not, it does not matter. They will lie in the place their madness has chosen for them. But the holy Church of God, freed from the cause that vexed her, has her own order firmly fixed, and gives thanks to Christ her Bride-groom for that she is cleared of offenses, and beholds her own sons standing around her, as many as he who from the beginning has robbed man of his blessed familiarity has, on this occasion, been unable to snatch from the priestly complement.

32: Ephes. 4.16. 62: Ps. 118.163.
But (my God-guarded Son), if such things have happened (as would have been the case) by the devil's malice, they have happened through the enmity of the evil demon, they have happened through the enmity of him who envies all men generally but Christians most of all: for the devil is incensed to greater envy against Christians because he sees they are his chiefest foes, because by Christians he has been driven out of all the inhabited world, and Christians are still humbling his domination, and continually pulling down that structure of usurpation which he has evilly built. Therefore he rages against Christians, therefore he tries every device, so far as he can, to retaliate on them and overwhelm them with disasters.

So then, as I say, it is from the devil's malice that these fearful, these more than fearful, ills have come upon us; but they have come also from men, who were partly the ministers of his malice, partly out of their own wits and choosing evil for good: who embarked on the war against you, either in partnership with the evil demon, or acting out of delusion of wits, and thus bringing your sweet soul to its present disposition. For it often happens that much beloved of God, could be author of the evils which now beset Romans and Bulgarians—the infinite bloodshed, the great devastation, devastation (also) of churches of God, of the abodes of virgins who were often thirsty of the very air they breathe, of the monasteries of men in which night and day God was hymned and glorified! What need I say of cities, or of country-side, of houses, things cultivated by mankind for the comfort of life, of the general disaster which has afflicted humanity—widowhood, I say, orphanage, deprivation of brethren, captivity, slavery, and, in a word, in exchange for that former prosperity of Bulgarians and Romans, this miserable alteration which it has undergone owing to the evils of war? This is not the work of enemies, nor of those outside the fold of the true Shepherd Christ our God, nor of aliens to the heritage of the Faith, but of whom? Oh! Oh! for my most heavy sufferings! Alas, for the pitiable story! Sons have become enemies, nor of those outside the fold of the true Shepherd Christ our God, but of whom? Ob! Ob! for my own eyes.
a small spark kindles an unquenchable flame, and just so the spark of those men’s folly, falling into your heart, has kindled this mighty flame which it has hitherto been impossible to quench.

Yet not (my tenderly beloved Son), let not the evils so prevail! Let not a man beloved of God, as you are, a man who has not his equal for wisdom in his generation, a man incomparable for his nobility of soul, be defeated by the malice of wretches not worth a farthing! Because such creatures embittered you, let us not desire that your bitterness shall be eternal against the Roman Empire, from which, as you know, you have received many and great benefactions. How are the Roman Empire and the people subject to it responsible if some worthless pygmies or other were carried away into rashly attacking you? How is the emperor to blame, who knew nothing about it, if those who were badly administering his affairs undertook this same plan against you! But, you were hurt! You have had ample revenge against those who hurt you, indeed far more than ample. For when one subjects the man who has tried to injure him to the penalty that is equal with the crime, he has, if he be not vindictive, an ample requital; but when that penalty is infinitely multiplied, how can the injured persist in his resentment and wish to continue to injure his injurer? I do not speak of anyone as gentle and merciful as you are; but however merciless and harsh he may be, he will certainly leave his bitterness, and quench the fire of his anger, and make his peace with him who was mad enough to raise up unjust hands. Yes (my Son), do you too leave your anger, and return to your native tranquillity, and give pause to the murdering of men, and to those other disasters which are still being inflicted by Christians upon Christians.

I say this to you (my most sweet Son) presently through the medium of the pen; but if Christ our God, Who is the peace that passeth all understanding, shall through His entreaty so dispose your heart, that I may myself appear before your face and with my own voice speak this and whatever else the circumstances shall require, I shall be ready to come to you, and shall not yield to age or sickness or the hardship of the journey, if only your Virtue shall consent to grant peace. Declare then to me whether God has commended to your heart this mighty work of salvation for Romans and Bulgarians, so that I may myself come, in whatever place be possible, and
may behold you, the sight most longingly desired by me, and talk over with you what may be suitable and profitable concerning the peace which, in God, shall ensue, now at last, and our common condition. Declare it by the dispatch of the Roman envoys whom you have detained, and by the coming, in their mouths and with a letter from you, of the proclamation of your God-loving purpose; so that, thus assured, I may set out with eagerness (even though in respect of the hardship of the journey the undertaking be beyond my strength) either for Mesembria, or come wherever else you will. And all that is of use for Bulgarians and Romans to say and to hear shall be said, and thus the things of war shall cease and peace he accorded to us: at which God shall be glorified, and the devil shamed and those who have ministered to him; and your name shall he magnified in the present age and in the age to come; and they shall dwell in rest and freedom from evils, both the people that is given to be beneath your hand and they who are beneath the empire; which empire has been, in God, your teacher and guide unto salvation, which raised you out of your ancient customs and changed you to those that are far better and superior, and gave you occasions to be glorified and exalted, and to be known truly as a princely portion of Christ.

15. To the Same

On receipt of your letter (my Son honored of God), I was filled with true and spiritual joy, and prayed, albeit a sinner, that, because you have been so ready to come and meet my Humility, you may be found worthy, with a frank and clear conscience, to behold the face of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He shall say to those who are worthy of that blessed utterance: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom that has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world." This was and is my prayer for you, since by your declaration you are ready to show yourself at once to my face. And may the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Peace which passeth all understanding, our Love, our Truth, our Salvation, grant that I may pray...
yet more for you as long as I live, on each one of the few days remaining of
my humble existence, because, beyond this, you shall have been found also
ready to ascend to the words which, when I come, I shall say to you, with
the help of God Who giveth the word of understanding, on behalf of the common
well-being and relief of the race of Bulgarians and Romans.

Thus, then (my Son) I begin my letter with the exordium of a holy
prayer; but for the rest and about those matters which were contained
in the body of your letter, I have thought it unnecessary to write, in order not
to be tedious in the length of my discourse and, especially, since I hope, if
it be God’s will, to discuss them with you by word of mouth. But this one
thing I write, as it is essential (my beloved and glorious Son): I will cast old
age behind me, will disregard the weakness of nature, will count as nothing
the toils and pains and all the hardship of the journey, if only you will give
me your assurance that your honorable soul has been prevailed on not to
make a mock of my labors, and to dismiss unheard and neglected the inter-
cession which an aged, broken father still make to you, my Son. I shall
assuredly intercede with proposals which will be both profitable to you (my
Son), and not wholly burdensome and intolerable to the Romans.

If then, as I say, you are thus absolutely prevailed on, first by God,
second by your most prudent reflection, and third—if you have any regard
for my Humility—by my prayer, I will come to you as on the wings of soul
and body, forgetting all those toils that lie heavy on my life and old age,
but if, which I pray is not so, those former offenses still lodge in your soul
(God forfend it!), and those designs and plans which have made Romans and
Bulgarians wretched, and if you still adhere to your old thoughts about
empire over the Romans, then I propose to you as Mediator, as Messenger,
Him Who was Himself the Messenger of the will of God His Father, which
He announced unto men who by the man-slaying demon had been embroiled
with one another from the beginning, and with His message of mercy stopped
the everlasting war, and removed the middle wall of enmity, and brought
mankind together in unity and peace. It is He, our Lord Jesus Christ, the
Lord of lords, the King of kings, the Powerful over every power, Whom I
nominate to entreat you to declare your purpose to me in your answering


27 ποιήσαι Ἰησ.: ποίησις P (εκατόν Μαι) | 29 σοὶ P=σοὶ P= | 31 ἢν P= | 31 P= P=
16. To the Same

Once more I am driven by necessity to write to you (my God-guarded Son), partly because I am daily pierced to the heart by the griefs which afflict me over the common sufferings and disasters of Romans and Bulgarians, and partly because of the dreadful punishment beyond the grave if I continue silent on such great evils. Set as I am to be the watchman (though unworthy) over the salvation of men, I cannot be silent, lest He Who by His inscrutable judgments has made me that watchman may require of me the blood of the slaughter of Bulgarians and Romans. And so, although I have very often written and been brushed aside, yet now I write once again, beseeching God Who is the Author of all blessings that He will grant you even now to attend to my discourse and not to reject it and brush it aside, as has happened to its predecessors.

And I write (my Son) not as formerly to entreat you about peace alone, but, in another fashion, to express my agony and sorrow concerning the evils which are about to be stirred up between Roman and Bulgarians. For once again—alas for the malice of the wicked demon!—there is preparation of
military forces, and from every side must and mobilization of tens of thousands, such as I cannot describe. And for this I sigh and mourn, for I foresee and realize how many cruelties among Romans and Bulgarians will result from such a mobilization of forces. Their clash must be the common disaster of Christians, and bitter grief to Christ our God, Who purchased the race of the Christians for His Inheritance through the Blood of His holy Side. For whether the nation of the Bulgarians is doomed to be destroyed, grief must be the portion of our Christ and God; or whether the Roman army (as may happen in war) meets with destruction, here too the Head of all, our Christ and God, will be grieving over it. What then must the authors of such disasters expect? What sort of life will they live here on earth, if they survive? And, travelling to the life that is to come, with what hopes shall they travel thither? How shall they stand before God’s face? How shall they abide the punishment that awaits them? What defense shall they find? What excuse shall they put forward for so great a destruction of Christians?

This afflicts me (my Son) by day and by night. By this my soul is lacerated; and, unable to keep silent, I send you this letter. Reflect (my Son) as befits your great wisdom, on the bloodshed of Romans and Bulgarians which polluted the ground when that most cruel battle was joined between their two races. Consider how great a disaster then came upon Bulgarians and Romans, and do not desire to see the repetition of that ill-omened day. Do not seem to be elated because the Bulgarians, though very many of them fell by the sword, nonetheless won the day, while the Romans met with defeat and loss: for the operations of battle are not always regulated; its balance is uncertain, and there are many shifting to and fro in either direction. Do not conclude that the victory is again yours, but, as a man, consider human fortunes. Many who stood, as they thought, in security have fallen a headlong fall; and many who were prone have risen again; many who have conquered and thought themselves invincible have that same hour been defeated and destroyed.

I know that, in the perfection of your Wisdom, you know this without my telling you: yet it is not out of place for me to write it too. Give me (my Son) your intelligent hearing, or rather, before your hearing, your wise and
most dear heart. And this you shall do by heeding my words, and listening
to the discourse of a father who gives fatherly and profitable counsel, as with
God's help I believe I do, and such as promotes your glory both in this life
and in that which is to come, in which glory is especially coveted by those
who truly desire to be glorified. Do not seek to see this mobilized mass of
troops drawn up in battle array, nor again that manifold slaughter of Romans
and Bulgarians, nor a repetition of the disasters of that field, lest one day we
repent when perhaps repentance will be unavailing. It is the duty of wise men,
and especially of such as you, to foresee and guard against the onset of evils,
and not to hurl themselves blindly forward to meet them. Do you desire
glory, my son? Riches and a bright name? If you will be ruled by me, you
may attain your desire. Now attend to what I say. God by His inscrutable
Judgments has established on the throne of the empire (as I dare say you
have heard yourself) the Lord Romanus: join yourself to him in a marriage
relationship, either uniting your daughter to one of his sons, or else allowing
your son to be bridegroom of his daughter. If you do this, you will attain all
your desires, both regarding the glory and felicity suitable to yourself and
also for the whole Bulgarian race and the people whom you govern. You were
demanding formerly a marriage alliance with the emperor, and your demand
was rejected by those who saw fit to do so: now it is in your power to be
exalted by such a marriage alliance. You desired to be the relative by marriage
of the emperor of the Romans: now opportunity brings you this gift. Think
it no obstacle that he has but recently ascended to the height of empire, but
rather conclude from the facts that he was led by the hand of God and was
thus so easily—more so than almost any other—set on the throne. Let this
make you the more ready for this connection of your race with his: many
have been made emperors, yet there have been some things attaching to
them that were unworthy of empire. But he, as I say, attained to this rule as
though guided by the very hand of God.

If, moreover, you will take the condition of the Church into consider-
ation, you will better realize the favor of God shown to this man. Your
Honor is aware how much toil was undergone by Lord Leo the emperor, and
then by those who governed our commonwealth after him; but they did not
see the fulfillment of their efforts, since this was not, it seems, the will of
God. But when he, Romanus, was appointed to govern our state, then those

57 bouleuthes P: -elé P | 70 την προσέγγιση τοῦ μακάρου, ἀναδίων Ἀγίων πατέρων καὶ πατριάδος συμμετέχουσαν 58 καὶ συμπεράντως, ὥσε πεποίηθη ἡ θεϊκα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐνίκησιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μελέτῃ ἐν ἡ μέλλουσα ἡ δόξα ἐπετευρέων τοῖς ὀνομαῖς ἐπισκεύαςτα τῆς διάδοσεως. Μὴ βουλεύοντες τὴν συγκεντρωμένη τῶν φύσεων παράκλησις. σας καθορισμένη θειά, καὶ μηδὲ πᾶλιν πολυδοξοῦντον σφυρίγνωσιν ὅτι τιμῶν καὶ τιμῶν γενεώτατα, μὴ δὲ σὺ συναν-
16, 17

bance of the Church; and, instead, the affairs of the Church are seen to be in calm and peace, and those who fought and were divided have come together in Union by the Grace of the Holy Spirit. How can this have come about except by the undoubted assistance of Divine Providence, Which has approved that it should be performed in these days?

I add this so that you may know that it was not without God’s favor that the scepter of empire was put into his hand, and, knowing this, may now, if you will, perfect the desire you have had from the beginning for a marriage alliance with the emperor of the Romans, and may be truly in union with the Roman Empire. And through this union all the cruelties and pains of Romans and Bulgarians shall be cast out, and all ease and felicity, and every pleasure that gladdens this life, shall be enjoyed in rich abundance by both races. For when your children are joined in marriage, then I believe in God that every blessing and joy will light upon you, and what is opposite and painful will vanish away, there being no longer a place for the evil demon, and for those men who imitate his wickedness, to do and to effect their own works.

17. To the Same

Though I have often written to lament the common disasters which afflict Bulgarians and Romans (my beloved and most glorious Son), and though I have often entreated, and preferred numerous requests, yet my words have not succeeded in gaining a hearing; you have cast them to the ground, and you have not been prevailed on either by the old age of a humble, and sinful, father, or by our ancient friendship, or by respect for the priesthood with which (though unworthy) I have been honored, or yet that most pressing of all arguments, which is the very matter for which I now intercede—for love, for peace, for cessation of Christian bloodshed and slaughter; and yet (my Son) as a student, along with your other virtues the Divine Words, you are not ignorant of what Our Lord said to His (disciples): “He that rejecteth you, rejecteth me,” and their succession has come

103 : 2 Cor. 3.4.
17: 12-13: Luc. 10.10.

17: P 110v–114e
down from His time even until today upon me the worthless, by God's inscrutable Judgments. But, though I have often entreated to no purpose on behalf of a matter so great and so salutary for Romans and Bulgarians, what am I to do? I am compelled to entreat once more, since I have been put in this office to be the advocate of peace, to use all my power to unite those who are divided, to guard against the offenses and plots of the enemy, and to warn these against whom he plots of the harm that comes from them. Woe to me if I do not so feel, do not so act, do not keep alive my zeal perpetually! I quail at the threat which my God and Creator has uttered to those whom He has placed on this lofty vantage point, the danger of which is proportionate to its eminence. I seem to myself (my most pious Son), though I move still in this mortal life, to stand at the Tribunal that is beyond it, and to be required to give account of the ministry which I have been ordered to perform; and I tremble at that awful and inevitable condemnation which overtakes those who are too remiss in bringing together into the peace of Christ our God those who have been perverted by the evil demon into enmity.

And so, now also, I write in sorrow; and so, once more, I resume my supplication to you. For—alas!—I can almost see before me the things which are once more to fall on Christians, and I am all confounded by that horrible vision and by the melancholy disasters which I pray to leave this life sooner than behold! To see the slaughter of one single man, whoever may be the victim, is a pitiful sight. How is it not pitiable when one man is slaughtered by another, who shares in the same Creation, who is of the same nature, who is moulded of the same clay, who has the same Creator and Furnisher of this present life, who shall, in His good time, gather together all His Creation equally into the life hereafter? But when slaughters and slaughters are partners not only in the way I have described, but are fathers and sons and brothers of one another, yea, and are the Inheritance of Christ our God, Who has paid the price of the Blood of His holy Side (this incomparable benefit), that He might redeem us and make us His own Proper—when these people arm themselves against one another, and pollute the earth and their hands with slaughter, then what can one say! What Jeremiah shall lament such sufferings as these! What tears shall be equal to a disaster so cruel?

This—I repeat—drives me to write and to entreat, for I am lacerated in my soul when I reflect on what is to overtake us. I cannot be silent and
where, the mustering of an army without number, which I know not what country may contain, or what place be wide enough for it when it is all met together. Moreover, above all this, the commander and marshal of this great host is none other than the Emperor himself, at the head of all his guards. He is the battle-commander, he the marshal of his forces; he is taking up his arms, and is at once their fellow soldier, their fellow competitor and the arbiter of their contest. When such is the preparation, such the stir, such the unnumberable muster of the force that is on the move, what must we consider, or of what mind must we be? I know (my Son) that your Wisdom is aware that a battle is not a foregone conclusion, nor is it patent with which side victory will be, but that the outcome rests in uncertainty. But what is not uncertain is this: whether the Bulgarian force shall be destroyed by the Roman steel, or whether the Romans are out to pieces by that of the Bulgarians, Christian blood will be spilt by Christians, and the earth will be polluted with blood of Christians, and our Christ and God, of Whom you and these are the Peculiar People and Sons and Inheritance, will sorrow over the destruction of the slaughtered. Or do you not think that it will be a most heavy sorrow to our Christ and God if men, whether Bulgarians or Romans, fall by the sword? Who can there possibly be who know it not? Who will not confess with me that the rising up of Christians against one another transfixes the merciful heart of our Saviour?

Let us picture a father who rejoices in many children, and then that his children suddenly rise against one another. What will he feel when he sees his own children, instead of being in peace and harmony, converting to enmity, and bathing their own swords in one another's throats? Will he not change his joy into lamentations? Will he not beat his breast with horror? Will he not pray for the earth to gape, rather than that he should behold the sun? And if fathers who have had no pains in bringing us must necessarily and obviously suffer what I have described, Christ our Lord, Who to win us, to adopt us, emptied Himself from His Father's Bosom, looked on flesh and blood like us, and endured the Cross and death that He

stay quiet. Once again there is mobilization of forces, recruitment everywhere, the mustering of an army without number, which I know not what country may contain, or what place be wide enough for it when it is all met together. Moreover, above all this, the commander and marshal of this great host is none other than the Emperor himself, at the head of all his guards. He is the battle-commander, he the marshal of his forces; he is taking up his arms, and is at once their fellow soldier, their fellow competitor and the arbiter of their contest. When such is the preparation, such the stir, such the unnumberable muster of the force that is on the move, what must we consider, or of what mind must we be? I know (my Son) that your Wisdom is aware that a battle is not a foregone conclusion, nor is it patent with which side victory will be, but that the outcome rests in uncertainty. But what is not uncertain is this: whether the Bulgarian force shall be destroyed by the Roman steel, or whether the Romans are out to pieces by that of the Bulgarians, Christian blood will be spilt by Christians, and the earth will be polluted with blood of Christians, and our Christ and God, of Whom you and these are the Peculiar People and Sons and Inheritance, will sorrow over the destruction of the slaughtered. Or do you not think that it will be a most heavy sorrow to our Christ and God if men, whether Bulgarians or Romans, fall by the sword? Who can there possibly be who know it not? Who will not confess with me that the rising up of Christians against one another transfixes the merciful heart of our Saviour?

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might make us His sons, when He sees His own children. I mean Bulgarians and Romans, thus enraged against each other and forgetful of this Father and of their Sonship, and, instead of brotherly love, putting on the condition of wild and savage beasts—shall not He suffer pains that are altogether incomparable? Shall He not be pierced by grief far more bitter? My discourse is at no loss for instances (my most tenderly beloved Son, my friend, or if there be among men any name closer and more sweet than these)—instances drawn from human affairs, wherewith to support my exhortation, to the end that you may see that in moving arms against one another we are doing those things that every man execrates, and looks on the authors of these evils as fiends. For who is there that is adorned with wisdom, that is conversant with nature, that knows his Creator, that—a word—belongs to human kind and reflects as a human being, who, at sight of those who are of one and the same Faith and who reverence the same God raising their arms against one another—I forbear now to speak of sons warring against fathers, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers—does not put on a sullen disposition and launch every imprecation against those who have thus given rein to their inhuman purpose?

My discourse may, as I have said, draw from human and earthly examples much exhortation to persuade you to leave slaughters and battles, and to return to salutary and divine peace. But (my Son) do you leave aside lowly and human examples, and the exhortations and arguments which arise from them, and raise the eye of your most perspicacious soul to Heaven, and review the holy Powers that stand at the side of Christ, how they are conversant with nature, that knows his Creator, that—in a word—belongs to human kind and reflects as a human being, who, at sight of those who are of one and the same Faith and who reverence the same God raising their arms against one another—I forbear now to speak of sons warring against fathers, fathers against sons, brothers against brothers—does not put on a sullen disposition and launch every imprecation against those who have thus given rein to their inhuman purpose?

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174-175: cf. 2 Paral. 28.9. 115: Iomn. 8.44.
I had wished to extend my letter: for a grieving heart may somehow find respite and relief from its crushing burden in the longer putting out of words. But now that my discourse has made plain how the disasters of Roman and Bulgarians have reached up to the Heavens themselves, I see fit to curb the length of it. This only I say, I beseech, I entreat, that you give me your hearing, as you should have given it in the beginning—for then these great cruelties would not have been enacted—but, if not before, yet grant me at this present time, I say once again, your hearing (my most desired Son), and accept the counsel and representation of a humble father. I am convinced, in God, that you will not repent of so doing. Accept the entreaty of a humble Archpriest that pleads for the common advantage, and is anxious for the memory and fame that shall glorify you on earth and in Heaven. Do not insist on advancing this infinite host once again to the Bulgarian borders, nor compel fathers to bare their swords against sons, nor sons against fathers, whom the All-holy Spirit has joined together in that relationship. Let us not desire to see that hateful day and hour in which the earth shall again be polluted with the blood of Christians. For, as I have said above, although it be doubtful with whom victory shall rest, yet this is certain, that the earth shall be imbrued with the blood of tens of thousands, and tears more numerous than rain shall wash the cheeks of Bulgarians and Romans. Yea (my Son), be persuaded by the counsel of your humble father, who pursues the salvation of Bulgarians no less than of Romans, whose burning care is for the well-being and prosperity of Bulgarians as much as of the folk of whom he is appointed Archpriest; in his anxiety for whom he watches unceasingly.

Thus have I made my plea, in supplication and entreaty of your most wise heart, not to set your arms in motion. And I trust to the universal King and God, from Whom cometh every dominion and rule, through Whom the eternal warfare was dissolved and peace has been granted to the world, that He will speak in your heart what here is deficient, and will Himself in His own way instruct you in the blessings of peace, and prevail on you to return to the old state of things, and to embrace that way of life in which he set you through holy Baptism and its Regeneration, uniting you to the Roman race as sons to fathers; and teach you to hate the offenses that have proceeded from the evil one, and all the consequences of these offenses. See how long a time it is that has kept Romans and Bulgarians at deadly strife with each


132 τοιούμενῳ Ἵν: οὐ Π: || 161 ἡμέρας ἸΚ: ἡμέρας Ρ
17, 18

other! One more thing, and I have done. If peace comes by God's aid, then, in return for laying down your arms, you may demand what you will of the Romans—whether land or tribute or anything else, merely declare it (only, let your demand be tolerable, and not such as is crushing and beyond our power), and I will make all intercession, all supplication, will move every artifice toward the Majesty and Dominion that now, under God, governs the Roman state, until that which is demanded by you be accorded. And may the God of peace, Who by His own labors has destroyed the middle wall of enmity, Who has joined that which was eternally divided, Himself once again restore to peace and unity in the Holy Spirit those that are embroiled by the malice of the demon; and grant to them the enjoyment of those good and pleasant things arising therefrom, and deliverance from the cruel offenses and woes which are begotten of enmity!

18. To the Same

I have received (my beloved Son), though somewhat tardily, the assurance of your affection for me; for you have in fact assured my Humility that you still retain the feelings of a son toward your father, who, though worthless indeed, has yearned after his son with a true and spiritual tenderness. For I was supposing, when my messenger was delayed, that you had ignored me, and that you no longer retained that warm love and affection of the spirit. But it seems that I was mistaken; and that you (my most sweet Son) still kept unquenched the lamp of love, and have now shown it to be alive by the dispatch of your letter and of my messenger, and thus have proved my suspicion to be wrong. And I offer thanks to God (my beloved Son) that I have been proved wrong in entertaining this suspicion, and that you have now again, as always, displayed the brightness of your love, when God moved your heart to do so.

Such then (my beloved Son) has been the effect on me of the receipt of your letter, and such the sweetness it gave me to taste. At the same time I will not conceal from you (my beloved Son) that the pleasure of your letter was not unmingled with some pain, which did not permit my heart to rejoice...
20 in the end, you wrote, in derision of my old age, that you are not demanding that your God-given Glory should declare, simply and straightforwardly, the things which contribute not one thing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters. We do not therefore ask for things that contribute not one thing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters. We do not therefore ask for things which contribute not one thing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters. We do not therefore ask for things which contribute not one thing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters.

Your letter also mentioned the "eunuchs" as the cause of evils from our original peace between Bulgarians and Romans; and not simply this, but also that your God-given Glory should declare, simply and straightforwardly, the conditions on which peace might be concluded, and that your demand should not be impracticable and impossible, but such as should benefit the Bulgarians while not ruining the Romans. But you (my Son), avoiding such matters as these, have written, in derision of my old age, that "you are not demanding the impossible, since you are not demanding the resurrection of the Bulgarian dead; you are only asking for those things which can be brought to pass." In so saying, you referred to the abdication from the throne of the Empire of him whom God has already raised upon it. Yet what is more impossible than this (my Son)? How is it reasonable that he who by God's inscrutable decisions has attained the government of His great Inheritance should abdicate that government? Nay, my Son; do not mock my gray hairs: for you know without my telling you that your demand is impossible. Abandon it therefore, and cease to regard it as possible of achievement, for it is utterly out of the question. Change your demands to others, which are in their nature attainable: such, for example, as a sum of gold, or of raiment, perhaps even a portion of territory. If there is in your heart any divinely inspired regard for the peace of Christ, let us know whatever of these things you desire. I tell you (my Son) that beyond all gain, beyond all acquisition, is the desire to put an end to the shedding of blood: for what, in the eyes of a Christian man, beloved of God, and especially of one such as you, can equal the performance of this, and the winning of a cessation of slaughter, and a respite from wars, and an end to Christian bloodshed? But, along with this mighty and incomparable gain, let other gains be added, as I have just said, a sum of gold, or raiment, or even the grant of some portion of territory, such as may perhaps be of advantage to you while not causing intolerable loss to the Romans. Yea (my Son, thou man of God), let such be the peace at which you aim, such be your altered purpose, and leave those thoughts which contribute nothing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters!

Your letter also mentioned the "eunuchs" as the cause of evils from our side: and this is obvious and notorious to everybody. But what (my Son) have we to do with those eunuchs did? These men, out of their malice,
night and day, even every hour, ceases not to tear me. I write this—and take
time, be moved by the alteration of my heart that now, in the fourth year,
your peaceable state, and convert to lamentation the joy and triumph of the
honored in this matter also by you, and leave to oblivion the harm that was
the "imitation of Christ our God" (to which you referred in your letter) is
that of monasteries, at the destruction of all these? Of course, I know (my
God, the gentle, the peaceable, as touching the renewal of the peace which
pointed under God to govern their Empire.
best of friends, respect the supplication I have made to you during this long
there be an end of the sighs and tears which have until now poured from
there be an end to the stirring of arms against brothers and fathers! Let
evil demon over the common misfortunes of Romans and Bulgarians. Let
there be an end to the common misfortunes of Romans and Bulgarians, and
and of those many cities, at the multitude of Churches, at the multi¬
you not consider that His merciful heart grieves over this great devastation
of men, and of those many cities, at the multitude of Churches, at the multi¬
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of men, and of those many cities, at the multitude of Churches, at the multi¬
I mean, deposition from the top of Empire of him who has been elevated to it by God. And, moreover (my Son), send a servant worthy of your Glory, one who loves peace and honors truth, and we of course will send from our side a similar person of equal standing; and through these men the peace conditions shall be set out distinctly to your Magnificence and to the Emperors of the Romans. And then, if God is gracious, as (though a sinner) I hope, the peace will go forward: because if, as things are now, one lot of obscure and dubious conditions succeeds another, nothing salutary or of common advantage can come about.

If you are really considering peace in your heart (my beloved Son), then what I have said is enough; but if you have once for all got it into your head that you are to be established on the throne of the Roman Empire, and believe that you have the assurance (whence, I do not know) that this is God’s will, then leave God’s will to Him to accomplish as He decides and sees fit, and do not suppose you can attain your end by battles and slaughters. What God has determined cannot be avoided. Wait, therefore, until He presents you with what you believe He has determined. Why foul the earth with blood, and Christian blood at that? Why sack the churches of God! Why be responsible for the commission of crimes which it is improper for me even to mention (my Son), through which you bring sorrow to God, and guilt upon yourself?

Let me add a prayer from among those which I send up continually to God: “May you be well in body, and think and resolve on those things that lead you back to the former, divine peace, that through holy Baptism was given to Romans and Bulgarians; and cast out from your honorable and prudent soul those things which provoke battles and slaughters, together with the evil demon who is the author of these!”
letter demanded, and sent my letter off to your God-honored Lordship by the band of the same monk. I believe he reached Bulgaria and still is there; but you had left for these parts, and I do not know when the two of you may be able to meet, and your God-honored Lordship to learn what I wrote to you, of which he is the bearer. For this reason I have to write the present letter; and I write (my Son), as I did before, to beg of your wise heart to put a stop to the bloodshed, to quench the flame of enmity, which was kindled in the beginning by the devil, the father of enmity, to accord once more between Romans and Bulgarians that blessed peace which was allotted to Christians by Christ our God and Saviour, and to write to us and declare, if your pious soul is moved toward a renewal of peace, not again those impossible and unattainable conditions put forward before, but proposals which are possible and which can be fulfilled without hindrance.

I mean this: do not declare, "let him who has risen to the throne of the Empire abdicate his Empire," because that cannot be done; do not write that "the lords and people of the Roman Empire are to accept you as emperor and lord"; nobody could listen to such a proposal. Write instead that you accept a quantity of gold, or raiment, or even the grant of a portion of territory, such as may be of advantage to the Bulgarians while not causing intolerable loss to the Romans. Yea (my Son, thou man of God), let such be the peace at which you aim, such be your altered purpose, and leave those thoughts that contribute nothing to peace, but only excite wars and slaughters. Let there be an end of the sighs and tears which have until now poured from Romans and Bulgarians (alas for my sufferings), and still continue to pour! Yea, my beloved Son, yea, most dear of dear ones, respect the supplication I have made to you during this long time, be moved by the incision of my heart that now, in the fourth year, night and day, even every hour, ceases not to pierce me. Take God as Witness to my words that I write this with no less care for the salvation of the Bulgarians and for your honor than for the Romans and those appointed to be their emperors.

If you have any thought of a salutary peace (my Son), write to me simply and unambiguously; and, if need be, I will myself certainly come to
20. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Πλησίον, ω' μου διδάξασθαι, τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνων παραχύμην εὐρέη τοῦ συγκατάστασος θλίψας. ἦμοις ἔχασι μοι παραμένον τῆς διακοινολογίας με νῦν καὶ ἡμέραν οὕσης. Ἐνευθυμομένην 129
γὰρ δεῖ, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρότερον δεῖ δὴ ἐγράφασθαι πολλάκις παρακλήσεις γιὰ τὴν θυσία, ἀλλὰ γε νῦν δὲν πρόσθες ὑπὲρ σας παρακλήσεις καὶ γνώµονας καταρροφών καὶ συνένειας καὶ τόν ἐκ τῆς δοξολογίας, τὰ παρακλήσεις καὶ προσδέξης με δυσκολίας καὶ οὕση ὑπομενεῖς ἀποστρέφαις διακοινολογίας τὴν πρὸς σας παραιτησίαν πορείαν, γενήσεται δὲ μέλλων

10 ἡ πρὸς σὲ ἐρίζεις θλίψαις ἐκτός τῶν πονηρῶν δισμοῦς σκανδάλων ἐκφράσθησαν ἐνευθυμομένων Ἕραμου καὶ θυράγαρων μετὰ ἤμβαλεν. Τότε δὲ ἦλθεν οὕδ' ἄπαξ σώφρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προεγγυηθής αὐτῶν ἐνέλεγη ἐνευθυμομένης γῆρα κατ' ἐμαυτόν ὧν ἐκπλασίσθη πρὸς καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν τῶν, οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς σε ἐνθρόπων ἐνόοις ἐξοφλήθης, καὶ δὲ τοῦτο πολὺν ἐν συνέσει, πολὺν ἐν διακονίᾳ, καὶ εἰδότα κρίνεις καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρουσίαν δός τῇ ἑστίᾳ δεῖ, καὶ εἰ ἀμετράλατο, ἀλλ' ὧν ἄρχερες οὐκο καὶ δόσει λάτον, ὡς τῶν πολλῶν τῆς ἀνθρωποφάνειας ὧν ἐμέ λαυροῦσθε, ἧλιος ἐξοφλήσας πατὴρ εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος προσβήκτης, ἐν μνήμη ἐκ γῆς ο

20. To the Same

I had hoped (my glorious Son) to find in your letter some comfort for my laocating grief; I was expecting some comfortable remission to come to me of the grief that tears me night and day. For I reflected that, even though your heart had not as yet been moved by my frequent letters, yet now at least you would be touched by my readiness, in despite of old age and sickness and the toils of the journey, to come to you, and that you would receive my entreaty and would not have the heart to reject, as nothing, my journey to you; but rather, I thought, my coming to you will bring a respite from the offenses of the evil demon, which he has persisted in implanting between Romans and Bulgarians. This was no mere idle hope, but one based on reasonable antecedent grounds: for, I thought to myself, I shall go as an envoy and suppliant, not to a man such as are many others, but to a man who has received from God the lordship over a nation, and therefore one who is mighty in wisdom, mighty in intelligence, who knows how to estimate my presence at its true worth: and he can appreciate of what, and of how great, a people I am (though a sinner) the Archpriest, what that City is which has been allotted me for its Archpriest, and of what a mighty realm I am (though unworthy) appointed to be father, a realm which Christ has set as His sola
Christos ant', autoi ton eti gis Etheo duxasethen. 'Alla ennikon ou di to plio to stoivan anavoroian melloy presbeiaen telos to presbeia, di- 
pradexi to koino symperon, kai duxasethen to elphion apolalousin proion maei daxeinei xismatik, epeta de kai anavoroian enaxeinei, kai 
galeron upostreko, efemo en plio to eicroomenon thee, eikonoymenon de |

25 piste tov tov foron, kai megaloion tois etapion esth, eipe tis estin O 
logos tapanov gernontai kai anavoroian tois alos dieuniontai etapion: 
feron de tis autois en moira kurio, o payntov karbdoi en mia tov 


Then again, the phrase with which you invite me, and encouraged me on 
your way, how excellent and truly commendable it is! You say: "The 
Apostles, hastening upon doubtful errands and not knowing what the event 
would be, nonetheless hastened and labored, for the reward that should be 
from Above!" I accept that exhortation (my beloved Son); for by your 
words you confess that it is according to the will of God that I am, as they 
were, ready to labor. How else shall my reward be laid up, if my labor be not 

representative upon earth to dominate over them that are on the earth. 
I said to myself that, as I was to be envoy to such a man as this, I should 
succeed in my embassy, should effect what was to the common advantage, 
should restore the peace which had been destroyed, first by the wiles of 
the devil, and then by the foolishness of men, and should return rejoicing, 
thanking God, publishing your virtue to all, extolling it with my praises 
(if the catalogue of your praises in the mouth of a humble old man and 
archpriest be of any value), and myself hearing back for my reward something 
which is to me the most prized of all rewards—concord and peace between 
Romans and Bulgarians as these wore in the beginning.

But, as it is, your letter gives me no such promise: to judge from its 
words, it tells me, on the contrary, that my labor will be in vain, that I shall 
not effect those things for which I have chosen to labor, that I shall not meet 
with grace from you, that my beloved Son will not be moved by his father's 
age, will not respect a humble archpriest's attendance on him, but will look 
on me as no different from any other envoy that comes to him. Having in 
mind thus to receive me, thus to honor me (my beloved Son), your father, 
the Archpriest, the old man, do you invite me to come? Do you encourage 
me to disregard old age and the toils and hardship which I shall meet with on 
the journey? What am I to say to that? What am I to think? What son was 
ever known to send to his father, saying: "Come to me, my father, so that I 
may set your words at naught. Come, so that you may achieve none of your 
objects, that you may find your labor in vain"? I never till now heard of a 
son who sent such a message. I ask once again (my Son), is it worthy of your 
greatness of heart, of your celebrated wisdom, to send word to your father: 
"Undergo hardship for nothing, father, and come to your son, so that you 
may return cheated of your hopes, to be the shame of all who know of it"? I 
leave aside for the moment your own reputation (my beloved Son), and what men 
everywhere will say of you when they hear of this.

Then again, the phrase with which you invite me, and encouraged me on 
your way, how excellent and truly commendable it is! You say: "The 
Apostles, hastening upon doubtful errands and not knowing what the event 
would be, nonetheless hastened and labored, for the reward that should be 
from Above!" I accept that exhortation (my beloved Son); for by your 
words you confess that it is according to the will of God that I am, as they 
were, ready to labor. How else shall my reward be laid up, if my labor be not 


44 xanis Mai: -ec P
...as though I were present, and you were listening judiciously. I say this not as subverting your high appointment (my Son), but as giving reminder and occasion for you, who are wise by God's grace, to become wiser still. I would like you (my beloved Son) to attend to my discourse yet further; and, as though I were present, and you were listening judiciously to what I was saying, so to continue your judicious attention to that discourse. I believe you are not ignorant of what I am about to write, indeed I imagine that you know it without my telling you, since I imagine that.

Even so my labor too, if, as you rightly admit, I am rewarded for it by God, must be in accordance with His will. But then, are you not afraid not to accept and respect my labor, which is acceptable to God as being according to His will (bow, else, should He reward me for it?), by accepting and respecting it as you ought; and not to consent to the peace for which I labor! No, you rebuff me, and I labor in vain. Yet how is it reasonable that God, for His part, should accept my hardships and reward them with a share of His own Goodness, while you (my Son) the lover of God, act not in compliance with, but in opposition to, the Divine Will? And that, while He will not leave unrewarded the labor which I undergo for His sake, you despise it as cheap and regard it as unworthy of consideration? Think whether this be worthy of a soul that loves God.

This is not derived from elsewhere than from your own most truly wise discourse. You say, and rightly enough, that God rewarded the Apostles for their labors, even though sometimes they could not persuade those to whom they went out. Yet ask me also, who were those who were not persuaded? Doubtless you will say, those who did not know that the Apostles' labor was according to the will of God; and thought them worthy of no reward, but rather of castigation and punishment, and for that reason they persecuted and punished them. But He who admits that I shall be rewarded, admits a fortiori that God accepts my labor and for that reason rewards it. Shall God then accept my hardship and recompense it with the wages determined by His just Judgment, and shall you, who are man, not accept it? Shall He, that is Lord of heaven and earth, esteem my labor (for, if He despise it, how doth He reward it?); and shall you, who, however numerous may be the folk of whom you are lord, yet must in a little while stand with all men naked before the Lord of all, set my hardship at nought? How is this consonant with your wisdom, your piety, and your other much vaunted qualities of character? I say this not as subverting your high appointment (my Son), but as giving reminder and occasion for you, who are wise by God's grace, to become wiser still.

I would like you (my beloved Son) to attend to my discourse yet further; and, as though I were present, and you were listening judiciously to what I was saying, so to continue your judicious attention to that discourse. I believe you are not ignorant of what I am about to write, indeed I imagine that you know it without my telling you, since I imagine that, with your serious character, you apply the same seriousness to your...
tūς ἑστηρὰς ἀναλέγην τῶν παλαιῶν τὴν αὐτὴν διασκέδασεν σπουδὴν. Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ ἁγιοτέτοις, ὃς καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πρὸς εἴδοτα ἐν ὑπομνήσεις τὰ τέλει προστίθημι. Εἰρήκε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις σκέπτρον ἀράκδος, καὶ πολέμῳ ἦν Γαϊνᾶς ἐκατόν ἀπέδρα πλῆθες ταῦτα δὲ τὴν τὴν πυροπολῶν καὶ ἀρχιμακρῶν, διότερ καὶ ἡμεῖς, πάντα τότεν ὅτι ἐπέκει παλάττων τῆς πλῆθες, καὶ όλοι ἦν κέριας πρὸς ἂτόν άνταφειν, οὔ μᾶλλον ἤ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀμφίποτες σκεπτοῦτοι. Ὡς οὖν ἐν τούτοις προκεκείσαν ἀπῆλθεν συν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνασφαλῆς, ἐκάκετου καὶ ἀκατασχέτος ἐν τοῖς σφαγαῖς καὶ τοῖς φόνοις, διότερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ ἄστυριον καὶ τευκρόνιον 105 ὡς τὸ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Ἐρυθάστομος τὸ ἐπάνων. Ἀλλ' οὖν διανοηθεὶς πρώτην γελάμενον τῶν πολλῶν: τὸ δὲ ἦν οὕτω πάντων ἔκατον δοθηκαὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαϊνᾶν ἐπάθειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάμμειρον ἑκατόν παρακατέλαβε τὴν πυρεῖν εἰς τὸν θυμὸν τὸ ἀβαστάντων πῦρ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ τῆς δόξας πεπεθύνει κατασχέτων. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄρχομενος ὤστε διανοηθεὶς ἐγένετο 110 λικν. καὶ διέθεσεν ἐπανεγκατέσθης τῷ Γαϊνᾶ τῷ δριμῷ, τῷ μιρίῳ ἐκατον πλῆθος τὴν κίνησιν, ὅτι ἀνάργυρος γυμνὸς καὶ μοῦν ἀλλὸ φέρων τοὺς πληθὺς τῶν λόγων παρεκοίμησαν; Ὄμως παραγείνεται πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἄνθρωπον ὁ μόνος παραπηκτεῖ τοῦ· τὸ δὲ λέγει· Ἐρυθάστης, ἄνθρωπε, τὸς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀνάξιον νοῦς, παρακατέλαβες ἀληθῶς ποιεῖτε τὴν γῆν, ἀνθρωποβιότητα ὄσες ὡς πληθὺς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὀδηγεῖται καὶ ἔπολλ' ὡς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὀδηγεῖται καὶ ἔπολλ' ὡς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ. Ἐρυθάστης, ἄνθρωπε, τὸς μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἀνάξιον νοῦς, παρακατέλαβες ἀληθῶς ποιεῖτε τὴν γῆν, ἀνθρωποβιότητα ὄσες ὡς πληθὺς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὀδηγεῖται καὶ ἔπολλ' ὡς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὀδηγεῖται καὶ ἔπολλ' ὡς τὸ ἐν μέσῳ. Τί προς ἀλλατοίραν ἐλεοῦσαν χώραν; Ἐρυθάστης, τῷ παρὰ τῷ ἐξαρθήθη σοι. Τί πλευνεκτεῖς ἐπιτείχεις, ἢ μὴ ἀφικάλες ὧς παμέες; Κατάληπτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων! τόποις τῆς δέξας τεκνῶν πλοῦτον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Δ' οἶκο οἴκοδεικνύσαν· Εἴδον τὸν ἀρχιμακρόν τὸν Γαϊνᾶν, ἄριστος τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων, καὶ αὐτὸς δυσιστεῖται, καὶ καταλείπει τὸν ἄγριον καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον, γίνεται δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπος ἡμερήστια, ποιήσεις τῶν αὐτῶν χώρεις τοὺς προκαλοῦσας κακοὺς ἀρχιμακροί καὶ συμβαίνοντες πρὸς εἰρήνην τὸ βασιλεία 125 οἷκοι, λαβόμενοι μὲν τῶν παθῶν τῶν ἀρχιμακρῶν, πλοῦτος μέν ἀριστερὰς σε σθενάζει καὶ διανομῆς ἔχοντες διδασκάλων τὸ καλὸν ἐπέκει τὸν κόμην. Πληθὺς ἀνακαίνων ἦγεσίμητον τὸ γράφειν, ἕαν καὶ δὲν ἣ γνώσεις ἡ σφαίρας καὶ 20 study of ancient history. But even though you are not ignorant, I yet append this story in the form of a memorandum to one who is aware of it. Arcadius held the Roman scepter, and that mighty Gaianas, with an infinite multitude, was burning and enslaving this land, even as you are now, and covering every spot which he invaded with his multitude; and it was not possible to resist him any more than thunderbolts loosed from heaven. When, in these circumstances, the Emperor's embassies approached him, he stopped his ears, and rejected every proposal, for he was inflexible and irreconcilable; the desire by which he was motivated worked against them; and he was uncontrollable in slaughters and murders, even as you are. The Archpriest of God was grieved at this, and was lacerated in his soul, like my worthless and humble self. He was John, surnamed Chrysostom. In his grief he resolved on a plan which most people derided, and this was to offer himself on behalf of all, and to go to Gaianas, and to plead with that unquiet spirit, and to try to allay the unquenchable fire of his wrath with the dew of discourse. Such was the plan of the Archpriest: and, as I have said, many people derided it; for who could expect that the impetuosity of Gaianas and the movement of his infinite multitude could be checked by a naked man, armed with nothing but verbal exhortation? However, he went to the man, and did nothing more than embrace him, and say: "Sir, be content with the horrors done till now, cease to water the earth with human blood, consider that in a little while she shall receive you into her own bosom. You are set up to be prince of a people, not so that you may lead them to murder, but so that you may provide for their salvation. Why do you invade a foreign land? Be content with the land which God has given you. Why seek greedily after what you cannot securely retain? Accept proper gifts, and leave the Roman territories, and return home." Gaianas looked at the archpriest, and listened to his words, and was at once prevailed on, and abandoned his savage and inhuman pursuit, and adopted a humane gentleness and, content with the evils that had gone before, ceased from the shedding of blood, and came to peace with the Emperor, embracing the knees of the Archpriest, and being presented with suitable gifts, and returning to his own country.

I am aware that you know this, and I am sorry to speak so to one who has the capacity to teach virtue to others. But I thought it essential to write it, so that, both from your own knowledge and from my
narration, you might return to yourself and put this Gainas in your mind's eye and reflect whether it becomes your very glorious Virtue to appear inferior to him in this matter. For he needed no second embassy, but was persuaded by the single visit of the archpriest, and threw down his arms, and stopped the fighting, thinking it did not become him to yield to his wrath, nor, like a mere wild animal, to cling to his own fury, but rather was his soul-destroying fury checked by the bridle—as it were—of the arbo-

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...
20, 21

swept aside; for you I pray that you may act in this life in such a way as
shall proclaim you devoid of all censure, and make you to be numbered in
the blessed life of the saints with those who are there enrolled.

Your Honor's letter also spoke of an exchange of prisoners; and as I
read that passage in it I was yet more full of tears that the devil had so
much prevailed as to make Christians to be exchanged for Christians: as
though the single body of a man, after rebellion against itself, were demanding
an exchange of its own members. What say you? How do you think our
Head, Christ our God, regards this proposal? I believe He endures at this
present worse agonies than He did upon the Cross. However, since all this
misery and unhappiness has overtakeu Romans and Bulgarians, and the
evil one has obtained such power, and it is impossible that peace should
intercede and each Bulgarian and Roman return in a friendly and brotherly
spirit to his own home—if (I say) the evil has gone so far and it cannot be
that in dear and most sweet peace all those whom the malice of the evil one
has evicted from their homes should, thus simply and on a brotherly disband-
ment, return to them again, and you are asking for the kind of exchange
which involves counting enemy heads, then, in the fear of God and out of
regard for generations hereafter, the Roman Government agrees to this.
But such an exchange must of course be negotiated according to the law
which governs the procedure of exchanges. It will therefore be necessary that
envoys from you should come here, and Romans go to you, so that after
mutual discussion as to the correct procedure of the exchange of those who
are to be exchanged, the business can be concluded in a manner suitable and
advantageous to Bulgarians and Romans.

21. To the Same

I have often written to you (my Son), and—for my sins, I suppose—
the soil of your heart (my most tenderly loved Son), and (I repeat) for my
sins have not reaped the harvest I desired therefrom. Yet I shall not on this
account give up hope and be silent: and I write again now with better hope,
and in the belief (under God) that I shall gather some salutary and profitable

21. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πολλὰς ἐγράφαμεν, τάκοιν ἡμῶν, καὶ (τῶν εἰσω) διὰ τὰς ἄμερτ

πλὴν ἡμῶν ὅσον ἔγενετο ἢμῖν ἀπολαμβάνα τὸς ὁρμής τῶν ἐλγον πολ

λῶν ἑκατέρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς καρδίας σου, υπεν τοῦτον ὡς εἰσω, καὶ

172 εντούτῳ Β.Τ.: ὥς Π 179 καί Ματ: ομ. Π

21: Π 122r-126v
This profession of humility has induced me to write, considering that a soul that has once learned humility, and is turned toward the imitation of God, will forget all the pain it has suffered at anyone's hands in the past, and will empty out the bitterness of its heart, and will put away quarrelsome, and will of itself adopt a fitting state of mind, and will listen when others kindly put forward omons of profit and salvation.

So much then for my motive in writing this: and if profit comes from it, I shall offer thanks to Him Who has so disposed your wise heart, and has prevailed on it to accept the salutary exhortation of your humble and sinful Archpriest and father. If I profit nothing, yet even so I have done my part, and am performing my duty; but for your part (my Son), reflect in your wisdom whether it be guiltless before God and blameless before men.

However, the beginning of your letter was good: "imitating the humility of God," you brought before you a humble man, nor were you elated by the majesty of your rule, nor did you regard it as beneath you to speak personally with one who was so immeasurably inferior to the greatness of your glory. This was commendable, and it was logical to expect your letter would be composed with the same humility, and deviate from (as you put it) that "imitation of God." But, goes on, in a different tone: a tone not of humility, or but of another disposition. Alas for the evil demon who envied the good, and still strives to mix his native letter (my Son) reveals several complications to me, and now that; yet its purpose is single, that it is your resolve not to be content with your own, not to abide by what was given you in the beginning, but to usurp the property of others—yes, and whose? of the fathers that

reward. And may the Author of all good realize my hope, and grant to me the profit of what I write, and to my spiritual Son the profit of his knowledge of his father's letter! I have been moved to write by reading your letter and finding in its very first words a profession which "imitates the humility of God": since, you say, in imitation of God, you have not turned away one who was humble and lowly, but brought him before your face, and desired to speak with him; and by his hand you have dispatched your letter here. This profession of humility has induced me to write, considering that a soul that has once learned humility, and is turned toward the imitation of God, will forget all the pain it has suffered with anyone's hands in the past, and will empty out the bitterness of its heart, and will put away quarrelsome, and will of itself adopt a fitting state of mind, and will listen when others kindly put forward counsels of profit and salvation.

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begat you)—and the prerogative of an Empire that has set every nation beneath its feet: for, since the Empire of the Romans arose, there is no nation that has been able to boast that it has not bowed its neck to it.

You seek peace: good words, but show the dead consonant with the word. Peace does not covet what is another's, does not usurp what is not hers, does not take arms in hand, does not invent excuses for war, does not delight in the shedding of blood, does not use to make men captives. If this is the kind of peace you want, then may Christ our God, Who poured out His own Blood for the peace of the world, fulfill your desire, or rather, the common desire of Bulgarians and Romans! But if you do not look to this kind of peace, what is the good of talking, when your acts are war? Lay down your arms, let there be an end to bloodshed, the disasters of prisoners, the tears of orphans and widows, the desire to encroach on and rule the lands of others. Let this be, and a peace really pleasing to God will be accorded. But to say that you must have your fathers, who freed you (under God) from the slavery of darkness, for your subjects—what has this to do with peace? Is it not the demand of those who are more at enmity than any have ever been, of those that never knew peace?

But you say (my Son) that “God wills it so.” How long will your Wisdom listen to the nonsense of charlatans? How long will you permit those who love to speak at the dictation of the evil spirit to drench your ears with their wickedness? My Son, it is not true! It is not the will of God, but of the devil, the slayer of mankind from the beginning, who still delights in brawls, in battles, in wars, in murders, and in every other evil known to this vain life of men. He it is who both wants and does these things. From him (alas for my sufferings!) have come those evils between Romans and Bulgarians, between fathers and sons, whom not blood and flesh, but the All-holy Spirit has made into sons and fathers. It is not God who made death, but the deceit of the demon, and the greed which mistakenly pursues that deceit, out of which the cruelties now being done have come to birth. For unless corrupt man and cheat had deceived your wise heart, and turned you in revolt from the way of life and conduct of your fathers, you would never have consented to make war on Christians at all, yourself a Christian; nor, confessing piety by God’s grace, would you have dragged pious men into captivi-
21 In a word, you would not have laid waste dwellings and places where
the Divine Name of Christ was glorified. No: as I said, it is the envy of the
devil, and of men who imitate his malice, that has given rise to these cruelties.

Then, again, it is stated in your letter that “out of a love of concord and
peace” you do what you do. But concord and peace are works of good; to do
what you do is the work of evil. No one who seeks to make peace plots against
him with whom he seeks to make it. No one who wishes another to be at
peace “you do what you do. But concord and peace are works of good; to do
what you do is the work of evil. No one who seeks to make peace plots against
him with whom he seeks to make it. No one who wishes another to be at
peace.” I write thus (my Son) not as teaching the ignorant, but because I
really do not know whom your letter expects to deceive by the use of such
terms as these. I will ask you this, and do you reply: if a brother, or one of
your own sons, were to come and do all he could to seize your Majesty and the
rule over your nation, and were then to say, “I am doing and trying to do
this in order to be at concord and peace with you,” would you accept this
profession of his? or would you not by all means expel him quite out of your
country as a traitor and enemy? The question answers itself. So do not you
therefore look for concord in such a spirit as this, or seek for such a peace;
for to lay claim to what is another’s, and to desire to encroach on what does
not belong to you, are acts of usurpation and of a war-making disposition,
not of concord or of a pacific condition.

I do not see for what purpose you defend yourself by reference to the
story of the blackbirds, apes, and jackdaws. A man is the image of God, who,
by imitating the Divine Virtue, conquers every vice and becomes God, so
far as a man may, and for that purpose he was created by God. The animals
you speak of, though they may seem to imitate man, have no part in human
activity: for they cannot assume human virtue, or be called men in any sense,
as a man, if he progresses in virtue, may come to be given by God the name
of God. Yet this example too (my Son), if you will take in what has been said
above, teaches a similar lesson: for if Christians are known by their keeping
Yes—you say—but "it is God's Will that I should take lordship" over the Romans. These thoughts are dangerous; the conclusion is improbable; and the end to which it will lead is dubious. Many who were not content with their present possessions and strained themselves in pursuit of greater, have lost even what they had. So unsure are human affairs, so slippery, so undependable. But, if it be the will of God, then he who is thus convinced that he shall receive something at God's hands should wait for God's decision, expect from Him the fulfillment of his hopes, and not turn to slaughter and murder, and such things as God hates. And then, against whom? Not against foreign nations who know not God, not against a people alien to Christ, not against men who are hostile to you, but against fathers, against brothers, against those men who have cared for you as for their children—it is against them that you have become enslaved, and have gone to war, in the belief that you can by your arms and by shedding Christian blood wrest the rule and empire over them—an impossible undertaking, yet still undertaken.

I had intended to develop each point in your letter; but when I understood that, for all its length, it tended toward one single objective, the one which you have maintained from the beginning up till now, then I thought it wrong to answer each point of all you write, in case I should find myself writing a book instead of a letter, and stunning you with my verbosity, probably to no purpose. So, I abstain from writing at greater length, and say...
merely this: Remember (my Son) those days of old when you were bound by the bond of the Holy Spirit, like a tenderly loved son, to the love of your father and emperor; remember that fair and holy peace between Romans and Bulgarians, the sweet converse, the quiet life; when God was glorified, and with one soul and mind Bulgarians and Romans glorified His All-holy name; when the devil and his demons, at sight of your salvation, your brotherly love, your pious and holy manner, lamented and grieved; when, if Bulgarians entered Roman territory, they were received as sons and brothers by the Romans, who rejoiced and were glad with them, and, on the other hand, when Romans came to Bulgarians, you experienced the same joy and delight.

Consider these things (my Son), the common gladness, that spiritual and blessed delight, which Romans and Bulgarians then enjoyed, over which the devil was enraged, over which he was saddened and went about glum and distraught, and devised every trick, resorted to every means, to confound and disturb that thrice-desirable way of life—and has succeeded (alas for his invincible malice!) in achieving what he hoped. But let him not be allowed to boast any further, or to triumph in the division of Bulgarians and Romans; but, in your good sense and wisdom, abandon these afflicting purposes, stop your ears to those who suggest wicked counsels, come back to yourself and to the virtue that becomes you, return to the ancient peace, resume the tranquility and kindness of your wise heart. Let the sighs and tears of Romans and Bulgarians, which Satan has provoked, be cast back where there is no distinction made of emperor or prince or private citizen, but all shall appear naked and seized by the throat, with all our deeds and our thoughts and conscience put to the proof before us, and when trembling and fearfulness shall take hold even upon the very hosts of Heaven!
Let us reflect on this, and leave those works that even now are grieving Christ our God, and rejoicing the demons who envy our salvation; let us repair our sins, nor wish to repent in those past evils because we have become involved in them: let us not wait for that last day when, perhaps, despite our good intentions, we shall be powerless, when our soul is distracted and looks only to its dissolution from the body, and is in anguish at the prospect of the inquisition and examination by those who are then standing by—Oh, the dreadful spectacle!—the divine angels and evil demons. Let us not so depart out of this life, for it is fearful to fall into the hands of the living God! Let it not be for us to hear the painful sentence that is passed on those of us who leave our lives with our sins unremedied, when we can no longer look for a change of heart or for pity in our impartial Judge. His sentence knows no reprieve, but remains eternal, pitifully chastening and punishing those who have fallen under it, for ever and ever.

Your letter spoke also of the dispatch of envoys. It would have been a simple and frank action (my beloved Son) for you to send back those whom you are detaining, and by their means to declare your decisions: if not both, then at least one of them, with one of your own servants; and then the others could have been sent whom you have decided to ask for. As it is, your detention of those sent before does not allow us to send others after them. If, then, in truth the Advocate of Peace, Christ our God, has set holy thoughts of peace in your heart, let those detained be sent back, or one of them, together with a servant of your most glorious Lordship; and when they come, and bring the messages with which you have entrusted them, then we shall dispatch those who will announce to you the decisions of our God-crowned Emperor and of his Council.

22. To the Same

I was sorry not to have received a letter from my tenderly beloved Son, and I naturally supposed that I had incurred your contempt, and that was why you had not seen fit to write to me. What else could I think? It is
5 ἐδει λογιζόμεθα; Οἶδα γὰρ ἐνδεχέται μὴν ἐγκαύωντα πατέρα καὶ στοργῆς ἀποτελόντα τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν, γράφομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεχόμενον μὴ πάλιν ἀντιπέπεμπτον τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτῷ γράμματα. "Ὅμως οὖν, τέκνον ἡμῶν, Εἰς γὰρ τὴν γραφὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὧν ἡ ἀφίγησας, ἡμεῖς καὶ πάλιν γράφομεν, ὡσαν δὲ διὰ τὸ παραλογισθῆναι τὴν πρὸς σὲ πατρικὴν στοργὴν ἀλλοιόωντες, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ σέ βοήθειαν τὴν σχέσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὴν πατρὸς ἡμῶν ὑπὸ πρόσϕορον διάσώσαται.

10 Ἔνεπνοοῦμεν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμματι καὶ κατακαυκοῦμεν ἐν σοὶ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν προαίρεσιν, καὶ τὴν τίθομεν πρὸς ἑαυτῶν στοργῆς κατάστασιν τοιούτην ὡς σῇ εἰρωνείᾳ καὶ ἡμερώτατη ψυχῇ, ὡσαν 15 ποιήσατε τοὺς πολέμους, λήξα τὰς στραγκᾶς ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν αἰματῶν χώσεις, καὶ ἀνακανεὶς τὰς παῖδας τῶν αἰματῶν χώσεις, διὸ ἐπεμοιοφόρως παρὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἡμῶν, ἣν ἡμῖν μὲν Ἰησοῦς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ κοινὸς πατὴρ, ὁ πάντων διαστάσεως, ἐφεύρεσθεν ἐκ τῆς ἡγερᾶς γεννητῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος ἀνθρωποτότους διάβολος λύσαι, καὶ ἄνετοι τῆς ἀκροαμαθίας ἐκείνης καταστήσατε εἰς πράγματα Ἡβραίους καὶ Ῥωμαίους διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ παροῦσῃ ὕπαρξει ἀναγκάσθητε καὶ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ μὲν ἀπώλειας μεταβαίνεις εἰς τὸ κρέστος ὑπὸ ἡμῶν ἡμείς. Ἐχέρχεσθε σὸς ὑπὸ τὸ χείρος τοῦ λογισμοῦ του ἐν τῇ ἐμφάνεσιν σου καὶ συντόκτηται ἡ καρδία σου ἐμφύλιον, καὶ εὐχαίρει με, καὶ καὶ ἐμφύλιον, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

20 νῦν μὴ πνεύματι σὺν τῇ σοὶ πνεύματι ἐμφύλιον, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν συντόκτων καρδίας σας ἐν ψυχῇς ἐμφύλιον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταβαίνειν μὲν ἀπώλειας μεταβαίνεις εἰς τὸ κρέστος ὑπὸ ἡμῶν ἡμείς. Ἐκεῖς ἐκεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λογισμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμφάνεσιν σου καὶ συντόκτησι τῆς καρδίας σου ἐμφύλιον, καὶ εὐχαίρει με, καὶ καὶ ἐμφύλιον, καὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

25 νῦν μὴ πνεύματι σὺν τῇ σοὶ πνεύματι ἐμφύλιον, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν συντόκτων καρδίας σας ἐν ψυχῇς ἐμφύλιον, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν συντόκτων καρδίας σας ἐν ψυχῇς ἐμφύλιον, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταβαίνειν μὲν ἀπώλειας μεταβαίνεις εἰς τὸ κρέστος ὑπὸ ἡμῶν ἡμείς. Ἐχέρχεσθε σὸς ὑπὸ τὸ χείρος τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμφάνεσιν σου καὶ συντόκτησι τῆς καρδίας σου ἐμφύλιον, καὶ εὐχαίρει με, καὶ καὶ ἐμφύλιον, καὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

35 ἔπειθεν δὴ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τῷ σοὶ ἐλεημόρρητῳ καὶ ἀνθρωπον 149 ἀποσπασμένοις δι᾽ αὐτὸ ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ μισθοῦς τοῦ σφραγίζων τοῦ τούτου μὴν ἀνακαίνεσθε, πρὸς τὸ μυθηματο ἡμῶν ἀνακαίνεσθε πρὸς τὸν ἡμῶν ἀνακαίνεσθε πρὸς τὸν ἡμῶν ἀνακαίνεσθε πρὸς τὸν ἡμῶν ἀνακαίνεσθε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὕλην δεδομένη καὶ ἀπαλλότατον ἡμῶν παρὰ τῆς ὑπόθεσις τῆς ἡμερολογίας ἡμῶν παρὰ τῆς ἡμερολογίας τῆς συγκεντρωτῆς χειρὸς ἐκδίκητο, καὶ ἀπαλλότατον ἡμῶν παρὰ τῆς ἡμερολογίας
22, 23

and day before my eyes, I have derived spiritual joy. This man, then, since you demanded a faithful messenger, who would not say anything beyond the truth, I am sending, so that you may learn the whole truth from him simply and guilelessly, how the Emperors and all their Council have resolved about the peace which, under God, will be made, and how they will put this resolve into operation, unless you yourself (my Son)—which God forbid—devise any further obstacle to peace.

So much for that. But I adjure you by the very name of the Lord and God and King of all that you do not detain this messenger, nor pain my old age with his detention; but that within fifteen days you communicate to him all that you wish about the peace, and, when the fifteenth day is over, that you send him back to me unhindered, unhurt, unharmed. Yea (my Son), he entreated in the name of the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and by my humble self that love you; and I will add, if you will, the service which I perform as minister at the Sanctuary of God, and my humble old age; and do me no hurt! I place on you a bond in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity That is Creator of all things: make me not to groan continually against you and to intercede with God against you as long as I shall live to be a spectator of the falseness of human affairs.

23. To the Same

I have written before (my Son) to your Honor, and in writing have assured your Wisdom that I speak not because of the maltreatment of the Romans, but with a view to the common salvation of Bulgarians and Romans. This may perhaps have seemed incredible then; and now I write out of the same purpose, and with the same care for each race, Bulgarians and Romans, so that, if possible, that course which ought to have been followed from the start, but which owing to the demon’s malice was not, may even now be begun. Please do I mean? I mean the great subject of peace, beloved

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...
vives in misery and wretchedness: the cessation of bloodshed which has been practiced by Christians on Christians. This, as I say, I have written before with grief of heart, and now write again with a yet sharper pang of grief. And hear (my beloved Friend) the cause why I am now smitten with a more violent pang; a most formidable joint mobilization (so far as I can judge) has been, or will be, set on foot by the imperial initiative against your Lordship and your race—consisting of Russians allied with Pechenegs, and also Alans, and Turks of the West, all with a single purpose moving war against you.

As soon as news of this reached my ears, I was amazed, and was full of tears, and cursed the few and evil days of my life because I had lived long enough to see the happening of such a thing and to feel the consequent pain of heart; and because I had not perished and gone out of this life before it could come to pass, and word of it reach my ears. In this state of mind I did not shrink from representing to the Christ-loving emperors what the pain of my heart urged me to express, and to you I write what I am moved to write.

The tenor of my words, entreaties, and exhortations to those appointed by God to be emperors of the Roman race, was this: that they should be long-suffering even after all those afflictions they had endured at your hands; that they should not be persuaded by bitterness of spirit and resentment, however just, into launching this great armament against the Bulgarian race, so as to devote all their energies to letting loose nations who dwell in paganism to crush those who are called by the name of Christ our God, who are our brothers and sons, even though these, by the ruinous devices of the devil, have become our enemies and foes.

These and other arguments, too long to include in this letter, did I use to our God-loving Emperors, and their mercy and benevolence were at once attentive to my words; they did not deny or dispute that the armament was directed against the Bulgarians, who had so much harmed the Roman
have worked on our subjects; nor do we count the ruin we have suffered
Wholesale devastation which, under the influence of the evil demon, they
do not reckon the blood of our people that they have shed, and all the
many the cruelities which the race of the Bulgarians has done against us; we
prefer slaughters, blood, loss of husbands and children, in a word, the
domination; yet they clearly inclined wholeheartedly toward the peace which
they had desired from the beginning; and they said to me: “Our Father and
Shepherd of the flock of Christ, we have not changed our minds, however
many the cruelties which the race of the Bulgarians has done against us; we
do not reckon the blood of our people that they have shed, and all the
wholesale devastation which, under the influence of the evil demon, they
have wrought on our subjects; nor do we count the ruin we have suffered
during all these years up to our incitement of the nations we have now in-
cited, nor do we reckon all the ruin which will continue to affect us. No:
since you have undertaken to implore our imperial Majesty, then write to
him, if you will, and ask to seek for peace instead of war and slaughters, and,
if you can win him over by your words, you shall find us not opposed to your
request.” Such was the reply which their goodness, and their desire for the
blessing of peace, dictated to our supplications. So then, to you (my Son) I
prefer my request: and that which I wrote in the beginning do I now write
once more, with lamentation and anguish: look to the blessing of peace,
live to the salvation of your race, do not persist in this most evil obstinacy,
do not prefer slaughters, blood, loss of husbands and children, in a word, the
devastation of the earth, to the blessings and most sweet pleasures which
peace shall bring to Romans and Bulgarians!
For he sure—I say it once again—that if I have understood anything
of the circumstances arising from the imperial mobilization against you, the
Emperors will not cease from inciting every race to your destruction, whether
Turks, or Alans, or Pechenegs, or Russians, or other Scythian nations, until
they have finally destroyed the race of the Bulgarians. There is no room for me
to doubt that this plan, which is daily in their minds, will be put into
operation. For, if I were to see your own conduct allied with justice and
progressing toward the favor of God, I might perhaps have had some doubts
about the plan set on foot against you by the Emperors and about its success:
that possibly neither the joint mobilization of the nations nor the energy and
care of the Roman Empire would prevail against the Bulgarians, seeing that
you were allied with justice and had such other assistance from God as you
deserved. But when I come to consider the destruction of so many churches
of God, so many episcopal palaces and monasteries, the murder of
priests, the rape of virgins, the insulting of monks, what reason is there why

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53 έτι Ρ': έτι Ρα || 63 γένοις Val.: -ου Ρ | 75 λεγ. ἀμφίβολον?
God should overlook this? Will He not change that long-suffering which, in His mercy and forgiveness and desire for your conversion, He has hitherto shown, into anger and wrath against the Bulgarians, and wreak His vengeance for all this slaughter? This (my beloved Son—for God knows that I do love you) lacerates my humble soul, especially when I now learn of the joint mobilization of the nations incited against you; and I grieve as much for the Bulgarians as for the Romans, lest, if you still persist in and seek for war, you be utterly destroyed, as has often happened to many nations which, after some years of increase, have from their war-loving purpose met with total destruction.

Many such instances have happened frequently at various times. And now, in my prayer that such may not happen in your case also, that, as Christians, you may not meet such a fate, in addition to all my previous entreaties to your wise and quiet soul I make this present entreaty, and embrace you as though I were in your presence, and exhort my beloved Son for his good. A long enough time has passed (my Son) during which the common deceiver and enemy has triumphed over Romans and Bulgarians; sufficient is the malice which he has wrought; enough has by now been done for the common destruction of Bulgarians and Romans, and for the sorrowing of Christ our God, Whose Body are both Romans and Bulgarians, as He is their single Head. I know that day by day you water your fair soul in the life-giving streams of the doctrine of the blessed Apostle: “Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good”; “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.” How then can you so act? How, when you study these texts, when you have been nurtured by them from your childhood? For I know that, as a flourishing shoot in the outpourings of waters, your soul has grown up in them. Why then has your heart’s bitterness endured so long? Why has your wrath extended so far, so that all this long time we have allowed the sun to see these cruel sights, which the clash of arms between Romans and Bulgarians has set beneath his eye? Enough then are the evil and cruel sights he has beheld till now. Change your purpose to one that befits a Christian and your own Wisdom. Return to the smooth path of peace. Leave the rough, thorny (I would say, murderous) road of war, in which the envy of the ever murderous and evil demon had guided you. Even now, the Christ-loving Emperor is ready to be connected with you,
as with his son and his brothers, in the bond of peace, and to give and do all
which, within reason, may honor your Lordship. Let us not persist in desig
that must bring us hurt; let us not resolve to join ranks and fight against so
great a host of nations who are ready either to lose their own lives or else
to destroy the Bulgarians root and branch. The outcome of battle is uncertain;
or, rather, it is not uncertain, so far as human wisdom can calculate, and if it
takes account of the just retribution of God. Let us look to security, and not
plunge rashly into collision with those nations, and battles, and slaughters,
lest perchance, if the victory be with them, you may encounter dangers and
troubles from which will later arise loss and shame and repentance: and I
fear that, even if you repent, you will find nothing that will be of any comfort
to you in your cruel circumstances.

This (my Son) I write with tears and grief and anguish, and in the
affliction of much fear lest the race of Bulgarians may be overtaken by those
sufferings that have come upon many who, though seeming for a time to be
attended by some good luck, have afterward fallen into the extreme of
disaster. I omit old instances, of which we know from our reading of history;
but one has happened quite recently, news of which I believe will certainly
have reached your ears. That notorious Leo of Tripolis, who for our sins ac-
quired great fame by his capture of Thessalonica, and was raised to an eminence
of pride scarcely equalled by any other in our times, set out on an expedition
with this boast: "I will go as far as to the Empress of Cities, and perhaps I
shall capture her. But if not, it is sufficient for me to boast that I came up to
the Empress City of the Roman dominion, and emptied my darts against
her!" Well, this fellow, who conceived such imagination of heart, who was so
much elated, advanced as far as the edict of God permitted him. The place is
the island called Lemnos. When he got there, in the conceit of his imagination,
he met with the righteous retribution of God. And see how long was the
year was gone by, and the seventh or eighth after that; and yet, even after so
long a lapse of time, he did not escape from the sentence of God, nor was it
granted to him to boast of his vain purposes forever. For our fleet was even

118: Ephes. 4.3.
122 πατέριν P || 126 πρὸς P: om. P3 || 146 συνίλας; leg. vid. συνίλας (-σας ex lin.
145) || 149-150 άπερχασεν P2: έσκο P3 || 150 τούτο Jk: τούτο P.
I have often written to my beloved Son, as I would like to have said, a beloved father, but you do not encourage me to take the liberty of saying so—no doubt for my sins and for no other reason. And now I write in the same spirit of affection toward you (my Son), and with the same care in my humble soul for your glory and salvation, for the common relief of the

24. To the Same

now sent out against him, and thus unlooked-for disaster and destruction overtook him, even while he was in that island leisurely sacking and pillaging all of the countryside, with, as he thought, nothing to fear. But even as he was—for our sins—wantoning thus and spinning his fantastical designs, the fleet of the Romans came down upon him, and, with the Divine Favor and righteous consent of God, made havoc of all that were there—ships and warriors and, in a word, all that Saracen armada.

You see (my beloved Son) after the passage of how long a time God has humbled the arrogant and boastful? Such is the Divine Goodness and Mercy. He does not instantly bring down his sword upon the proud and arrogant: He polisheth it, but holds it back, waiting for a conversion and a change of heart for the better in those who have hitherto chosen to do what is sinful and grievous to Him. God forbid—for this has been, is, and will ever be my prayer—that such things should overtake you! May He grant that you come to thoughts of love and of desire for peace (yes, Christ my Saviour and my God!), and that your enmity be quenched, and the war-loving demon be driven out, and that, through your return to good and salutary courses, those who have been, and are still to be, incited against you may be deterred from making war upon you, and you may be preserved unharmed by any loss or cruelty, such as by its very nature war brings upon those who, through taking arms, decline into the extreme of misfortune.
race of Bulgarians and Romans, and for the cessation of evils. I cannot be silent upon common sufferings, through which the common race of Romans and Bulgarians is destroying itself not only in this present life, but also estranging itself from participation in the life to come, and burying itself in a death which knows no awakening: banishment from the Kingdom of God, deprivation of the enjoyment of His sweetness, and condemnation to Hell everlasting: you know (my beloved Son) that "the death of sinners is evil." And so, now once more, I am impelled to write, begging and imploring clasping your knees in entreaty that you should hear me, even at this late hour, and not reject my supplication, but allow me, your humble father, to see, while I yet live, peace between Romans and Bulgarians, to see the end of the outpouring of Christian blood shed by Christian hands. Do not (my beloved Son) let me go forth from this life—for I am even now on the brink of the grave—with that pain, that laceration of my humble heart, which I bear with me because of this great oppression of the common people of Christ our God, and because of this great punishment (for whatever be its offense) which the evil demon has laid upon it, and cannot be sated of his unbearable oppression. Do not, I repeat, let me, in my humility, go forth from this life oppressed and lacerated in all my soul at the common disasters which, during all this long time, have divided Romans and Bulgarians.

So much for myself. But let me speak of you, without hurt or offense, and do not be angry at what I say. Human life (my Son) is unstable. It is not only the old, such as myself, who are taken by death: many who are in the prime fall to death's sickle while in that prime, and in the very flower of their years the stroke cuts off their bloom. Who can tell whether, as often in human affairs, it shall also fall on your God-honored Lordship and dominion? Then, I must add this, out of regard for your soul's salvation and your repose in the life to come: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and be damaged in his soul?" Who doubts (my God-honored Son) that if a brother slays his brother, he is damaged in his own soul? Consider then the brother—
Tou πόπην Σοιπόπων; Οὐχ αὐτῷ εἶσαι; Τοῦτο ἂν δήσῃς, ὅτι οὐκ ἁμαρτάνεις ὡς ἁμαρτηματικὸν ἁμαρτάνεις δεῖξαι.

Καὶ τούτων οἴδαμεν οἷς ἦσαν ἦσαν ποιεῖσαν αἰτίαις, καὶ λέγει Γ. O

45 λοις ἀρξάς τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν καὶ ἄλλης λόγως καὶ ἁμαρτανοῦμεν ἡς ἄνθρωπων ἄφροσσίν τιν θέλων καρδίας εἰς τούτῳ συνελέυεναν ὡς τοῦ διόνυσον παρῆσε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αὐτήν. Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἡ θεία δίκαι δικαίωσει ὡς ἤφευλε τῶν παραγόμενον ἀφήγησα τὴν ποινὴν, καὶ δὲ παρέχετο παλαισπαίσαν εἰς ἔκεινος ἀνειράθηκεν αὐτοῖς. Ἀρκεῖον

50 σήμερον, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τοῖς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐς κανόν χάζενη διασπαραγμένης. Οὐκ θαῦμαν ὑπάρξῃ, οὐκαί ἔγραψιν οὗ τούτων Κύριος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐκαί τ' Ἐβραίων μὲ ἐδόθης τὸ ἱλικια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πατέρων, κατὰ ἀδελφῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ συγγενεῖα, ἢν οὐ σάρκι καὶ αἷμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα ἠκέναι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἔσσος πότε χρείασθε τῇ διαθήκῃ καὶ Δ

55 τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρέξειμεν διάμοισιν; Οὐκ ἄγνως θείον συνείσεϊν ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἄλλους ἐξοικείωσιν καὶ τῇ τῶν αἰμάτων αὐτῶν ὡς ἄλλης γνωμῆς χάρας καὶ συγκατασκευή τὰ λοιπά, τῶν ἔκκλησιῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀνασακατομών, τῶν μοναχότον τῶν σκαμνίων, τῶν παρθένων τὴν διασφάζον, τῶν γνωμαντινῶν ἵμαρ καὶ διδυμώνων ἐν τοῖς ἱεροὶς ναοὶ τοῦ άπάθειον. "Εσσος πότε διὰ ταύτων χρείασθε δέχεσθαι τούτης τῆς λέιτου ὑπόθεσιν; "Εσσος πότε διὰ ταύτων χρείασθε δέχεσθαι τούτης τῆς λέιτου ὑπόθεσιν; Εἶς πότε διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνθέσαι ἐν καταπήνης περιπτερόντα; "Εσσος πότε διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν θεί ἡμῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας παρεπίπετε, τῷ ἕρωτεθεθίτον, τῷ συκεφώντον, ἐν τῆς κυρίωτερον ἡμῶν ὑποθέσεσθαι καὶ καταχωρίσεις ἐπετρέπες; "Η ἀμφιβολίας, οὐκ μοι (ἐξαίτ' ὅτι οὐ 161 ἀμφιβολίας) οὐκαί τούτῳ μεγάλη ἐνθυμήθη καὶ, ἔνα εἰσίν, μελών τῶν εἰς τοῦ στήρίγματος ἡμῶν, ἐν τούτῳ συναντήσεις καὶ συμμετασχόμενος τάξις ἐν καθαρτῆς διάσπαρτος; Εἰ καὶ κρίσιμον ἡς ἔως χρείασθαι καὶ μαραθίσμην καὶ τέρμας ἀνέγει τῆς τιμωρίας καὶ τῆς ἐπελεύσμενον αὐτοῖς ἀποφάσεις κατὰ τῶν μοναδικῶν οὐκ ἐπιφέροντο.

70 Τῷ με δέ πάλαι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον χρέος θεοῦ πεπλήρωμένοι φονεύσαις γραφεῖν; Ὁλοκαύτων ἐναπόσαρκοι καὶ γὰρ εἰ μόνον βούλησις πρὸς τὸ σῶρον ἔμοι καὶ φιάλεσθαι ἐπακολουθεῖ, οὐ μόνον ταύτι, ἀλλὰ πολὺν ἀνθρωπινότερα καὶ ἀρετῶς κατὰ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνοίξιμον καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφέλειαν ἀνοδολοφάσατο. Διὰ τοῦτο προσκοπήθη εἰς ταύτις ἀναφέροντο αὐτῷ τῆς περιποίησις, καὶ πάλαι | οὐδὲν δὲ θεός καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου Β ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς τὸν ἴδιον ἐπαναστατής αὐτῶν ἦν λόγος τὸ

51-62: Phil. 3.18. | 62: Iren. 10.25; Ps. 78.6. | 60-61: 1 Petr. 5.8. | 62: cf. 2 Cor. 8.9. | 69: Ps. 7.13. | 76-77: Ephes. 2.14.

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of enmity through the Blood of His Son, and bring peace to everything, may He even now accord peace in your heart, and crush Satan beneath your feet, and retort upon his head the oppression of Romans and Bulgarians that arises from his offenses; and may He grant that we be united again, as before, in the bond of sweet peace; restoring you to the love and affection that is proper to fathers and sons and brothers, and so conducting me out of this wretched life, but granting to you length of days together with peace, and the enjoyment hereafter of life eternal.

25. To the Same

That which I see happening when conversation is general (my Son honored of God), when often the babel striking on one’s ears does not permit one to catch the words of one’s interlocutor, has, I see, happened to me also. For even now the babel of my sins, I suppose, prevents my words from reaching your ears, and from penetrating thenoe into your tranquil and merciful heart. Were it not so, how could it be understood that all my prayers on behalf of the welfare and advantage of Bulgarians and Romans should up till now be of no effect? Yet, even though this be so, yet since I am compelled to speak (for woe to me if I neglect to intercede for peace!), I write once more and will not cease from writing, just as I will not cease from praying to God, as long as my few remaining days allow me to linger in this present life.

My Son, my darling, my most tenderly loved Son, when you review your deeds think also of this, that from the time when the Bulgarian race bent its neck to the yoke of Christ our God, you are the second to be invested with the lordship over it. And it is right that, as you are the heir to the rule of your father, of blessed memory, so you should also be heir to his peaceable
spirit and to the rest of his Christian temper. He with God's aid laid the foundation; it is your duty to build on it, not to destroy and dig away that foundation. He tied the bond of love toward the Romans; you should tighten it as much as you can, not sever it. He by inspiration from above turned his arms away from the slaughter of Christians; you, if you honor your father, if you are his true-born son and heir to his pious nature, should by all means cast them aside in token of your renunciation of such activity. These are the thoughts and actions that besit your most glorious Virtue, even without exhortation from elsewhere, and not such miserable deeds as are now being done. I ask you (my Son), and do you reply in a manner worthy of your honesty and goodness: if you were still present in life who now resides among the saints in Heaven, and were to see you acting so, and slaughtering and making war, what would he say to you? How do you think his heart would be disposed? Would he not be full of tears? Would he not with both hands pluck out the honorable hairs of his head and beard, and thus break out in lamentation? “What are you doing, my Son? Why do you pull down my glory? Why do you destroy that work which I wrought by God's aid, and which is my pride and yours, the pride of all our race? Why do you stultify those efforts for which men in every age would have blessed me and my generation, and thus bring upon yourself and me incomparable loss?” Well, then: if he were here and living among men, thus he would be disposed, and thus break out in lamentation. But now that he is with the saints, and ministers to God, and is accorded much recompense for that work which, under God, he wrought for the Bulgarians, I mean, the foundation of their faith, and is justly exalted on that account, now that he perceives what is done against that work (for you surely cannot doubt, my Son, that the saints who live yonder do perceive what goes on in the world), will he not be far more deeply grieved, even if the life beyond is above all pain, and will he not, in the midst of that inexpressible mirth, be seen with sorrowing countenance? partly on account of his own work, for which he staked his life, though by the Divine Power he triumphed over those who would have murdered him; and partly on account of you, his own son, to whom he entreats God that all things fair and virtuous-seeming may be granted, and that after this life you may attain also to the inheritance of the glory that is above. Imagine (my Son) that he stands by you thus pitifully disposed, and that what I write

25

27 ὅς] ἐγ̄, εἰς νεῖ πρὸς
all the prophetic writers and the wise men of old. The earth is the Lord’s and everything in it, the world and all who live in it.

56 And as for me, I have said many things, and if I had said more, perhaps you would not have understood them. But what have your affairs to do with me? And if it were possible for him to come from that blessed life yonder to this wretched world of ours, he would come to say to you not only such things as I have said, but much more than these: for he would have abundance of words, as one who has got free of his vain wanderings here, and consorts with the prime Intelligence, and is filled full with the illumination that flows from It.

Your letter (my Son honored of God) referred to the great Moses, and in recollection of him you wrote as you did. But what have your affairs in common with Moses? What oracles have you received from God? Where have you beheld the divine Glory, ordering you to do the things you do? From what slavery, what oppression have you appeared as the redeemer of the people of God? I forbear to mention, since I have often cried them aloud, all the acts of oppression at your hands which have afflicted, and daily afflict, the people of God. Nay (my Son), these things are not at the behest of the people of God, but arise from the malice (als that I should say it!) of men who have chosen to act contrary to the Divine Will. Your letter goes on to state that where our forefathers and fathers labored, we enjoy the fruits of their labors: it is well: and it would become you (my Son), whereas your holy father devoted much toil on behalf of those things pertaining to peace between Romans and Bulgarians, to enjoy the fruits of his toils after him, and not turn to the opposite purpose, and to pursue and hope to enjoy those things which he devoted long labors, with God’s aid, to abolishing.

I have said so much, after reading your letter, by way of answer to it. But I say once more, as I have often said in the past: Throw away your arms (my Son); stop the fighting and the bloodshed; “seek peace and ensue it”, with the blessed prophet (though I who exhort am unworthy), and, instead of this course, ask for what it may be right that you should receive, and the Romans will readily grant: gold, if you want it, and silver, the reasonable portion of territory, gifts of other things such as will rejoice the Bulgarians, and as the Romans may endure to give. Wars have often been made on the Romans—by Persians and by Bulgarians, your own ancestors, and they have lasted sometimes many years, sometimes few; yet they came to an end, and
finished in terms of peace, and fixed tributes were paid, sometimes by them to the Romans, and sometimes the Romans paid tribute to them. Such, generally speaking, is the nature of wars. But to insist on the wholesale annexation of a state which is not yours, and on becoming master of the whole race and dominion, this is something of the very utmost difficulty, and against the Roman Empire it is altogether impossible.

Since I have written this so often before, perhaps I should not write it again; yet my letter mentions it briefly. I will add one thing more and then stop. Nothing is so proper to rule and dominion as quietness and serenity of soul in decency in word and deed. Why then (my Son) do you act in a manner unworthy of your Lordship, and write abusively to those who are by Divine Sanction entrusted with the only Empire which God has fixed indissoluble on earth; even though, by His inscrutable Judgment, He indulges those who think to assail her, until that time which He has determined shall come when all, willy-nilly, shall bow their necks and acknowledge and adore her Sovereignty? It is natural that you should write such arguments as enemies provoke. Argue, but do not abuse; preserve the dignity which has ever been fitting to rulers, and do not descend to a paltriness and meanness improper to your Lordship. Abuse is the weapon of the paltry and of those—if I may say so—who have no knowledge of good manners: not of those who have risen high and can teach good manners to others. Surely you know (my Son) that, generally speaking, all, not merely rulers, but other men besides, who lay claim to respect, reject and avoid abuse like filth, and are careful not to drag disrespectful and abusive words into their letters. Why should I speak of examples old and new, Persians, the Saracens, others before them, who have been entrusted with government, and how they have been careful to address and treat you in a way becoming to rulers. Abuse is the weapon of the paltry and of those—if I may say so—who have no knowledge of good manners: not of those who have risen high and can teach good manners to others. Surely you know (my Son) that, generally speaking, all, not merely rulers, but other men besides, who lay claim to respect, reject and avoid abuse like filth, and are careful not to drag disrespectful and abusive words into their letters.

95 κατάγειν μετατέθηκεν εὐρυκικάς ὁμοιόμοιος τελῶν χρησμούμενος, ποτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἵππων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ποτὲ δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὑποτελώνδον ἔκκινος. Καὶ ός ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τουπάλτη ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμοιν ἡ φύσις. Τὸ δὲ φύλο

100 τούτων παντέλεος ἄρχων λαβέται ἀλληλαπαί καὶ μέρος αὐτόν κατατέθεται ἐκ τοῦ ἱλίου γένος καὶ τῆς ἐξοσπία, τούτον τῶν πάνω δυσχερεστάτων, πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν βασιλείαν καὶ παντελῶν ἄξιον.

105 τάτα ἑπεκάθεν πλευστάκης ἀγέρηθι. έτοι καὶ καὶ νόν ὅλις ἔδει γραφεῖν, ἀλλά ὡς τὸ γράφημα διὰ βραχείαν ἀπενεργοῦμεν ἐν δὲ προσεθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ γράφειν πεπωλομέα. Οὔτε ἄνωτος ἄρχων καὶ ἔξεστιν ἔθον ός τὸ ἐνδεχομένως καὶ γαλατικὸν τῆς φυλῆς καὶ τὸ καθάρων ἐν τῇ λόγῳ καὶ διὸ.

110 ἔρρεβεν. Διὰ εἰς ὅνισ, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ἄνεξα πολλῶν τῆς σῆς ἄρχους ὑβριστικοῖς γράφεισι πρὸς τούς ἐγκαθαιρεμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἔνωσιν ἡγούμενος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν μένῳ δὲ θεῷ ἄκεκτων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐπὶ τῇ γνώσει· εἰ καὶ κρίματον ἀλλὰ ἄνωτεν παραχώρεται τούς νομιζόμενος ἐπιστῆθητικοῖς, μέρης ἐν δὲ τῷ παρ’ αὐτοῦ διωρισμένου καρπῷ ἐπιστήμη καθ’ ὐν πάντως καὶ ἐκόπτεται καὶ ἐκκατερίστηται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐκκατερίστηται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀλληλομοιωτάς. Ἐμπεδών γάρ ἀνθρώπον τὸ ὄρξις καὶ (ἐν’ εἶπον) μὴ γυμνότητις εὐσεβοχυσίας. Αὐτός ὁδοί τοῦ ἄνδροβραχίου καὶ εὐάθλητος ἐνδύχημος ὑποτελεῖ. "Ἡ ἀγάπης, τέκνον ἡμῶν, ὃς ὡς ἔπεσεν οὐ μένον τῶν ἀρχῶν λαότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τῶν Ἱλίου ἀνθρώπων σειροτότης ἀντιστοιχεύεται τὰς ὁδρές ὑπὲρ τὸ ὅψισθεν διωνυσίαν ἐπιστέφθη γεγονὼς καὶ διασεισθῆται καὶ συνάγεται τὸ καθάρων τῆς γλώσσας καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑστάτης περισσείας τῶν ζητεῖς; Τί με δὲ λέγεις ἄρχους ταῖς καὶ νέοις, Πέρσης, Ἀγαχροι, Ἑλλος πρὸς τῶν, ώσιν ἄρχως ἐπιστεύθησαν, ὡς πολλάκις πολέμου ἀναμεταφέρεται καὶ ἀποστεφανίσεται τῆς μεταφέρεται, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νόν ὅλις ὑπότατον γνώμην; Γραφεῖται Ἀγαχροι τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ δὲ ὧν ὑποβάλλεται τῶν προαγάμων ἐν ὑπόθεσις, τὴν ἀφελείαν Ἡ ἐν καὶ παραγγέλλεται καὶ μέρος ἀποστεφανίσεται τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Οὕτω καὶ οὕτω, τέκνον ἡμῶν, τὸ πράττει τῇ μὴ μεγαλουσπερεία σοφῶν ἄκρον τῶν ζητεῖς, ὡς τοὺς γράφος μάλιστα γε καὶ τοῦ πριν τῇ στελλομένῳ βεβλι-καὶ γραμματικὸς μὴ δέδων ὑβριστικῶν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἐπικεφαλής προσδιαλεγό-
You know that if from time to time those who, under God, rule the Roman Empire have written rather roughly to you, they were not moved to do so of themselves, but because you had written what did not become you, and they on their side were forced to cast their own letter in a rather rougher form: so that their roughness has its origin in your abuse. But the imperial disposition, constant to its own nature, calls you “Brother” and “beloved Friend,” with other expressions of genuine affection and love, and, to say it all, embraces you warmly as a father embraces his own son. So that you ought to show a similar disposition and, as I said, write what you like about the war, but avoid abuse, and make use in your letter of such dignity as that with which you yourself are distinguished by the Emperor.

I write this (my Son) in order that you may know that, as a truly loving father, and as one who is careful for your glory and honor, where I see anything that is improper and unsuitable for your glory, I do not wish to remain silent, but rather try by all ways in my power to conserve your good repute. And may the God of glory, Who is the Dispenser of this life and the life to come, banish every action such as leads to ill-fame, and put to shame the evil demon who cease not, from the beginning even until today, his striving to shame God’s honored creation. And may He grant that you pass with fair fame out of your present life and glory, when it suits His holy Will, and abide in that imperishable glory which is shared by all whom He has glorified from time’s beginning.

26. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἶ καὶ πλείστως ἔγραψα, τέκνοι ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν τέκνων τέκνων γὰρ ἕπαινον ὑμῖν διὸ καὶ Ἀβδομάδι καὶ Βοῦλγαροι, καὶ τῷ τιμή τῆς πλεορᾶς αὐτῶς αἰτεῖται εἰς ἡγομονεῖν καὶ λαδής αὐτῷ περιο νούς ἐναπεθομένου — ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἷ καὶ πλείστως ἔγραψα | περὶ τῆς κοινῆς συμφέροντος ἐπιθετῆρος γένει καὶ 169

25, 26

Though I have written very many times (my Son) on behalf of the common peace and salvation of the sons of Christ our God—for Romans and Bulgarians are His sons, ransomed by the precious Blood of His Side, and set up to be His Peculiar People—I say, though I have written very many times concerning the common advantage of either race, and my letters

26. To the Same
And so once more I entreat, once more I exhort, once more with tears of blood I write my letter to you. Indeed if it were possible to write my letter with tears for ink, you would see my tears composed of a substance little different from blood. How should they not be so, when I go back over the sufferings and the disasters, the unparalleled drama of evils, which Satan has insisted on playing out on the human stage, with the blood and slaughter of Christians, and all the destruction of episcopal palaces and monasteries and private dwellings, and bequeaths the tale of it to the race that will follow after? Therefore (my beloved Son), that which I say by word of mouth to our God-owuned Emperors, I say also to you by letter. Turn your eyes to the blessing of peace, to the salvation of your subjects; do not persist in this most pernicious strife; do not choose slaughter and blood, and the bereavement of husbands and children; recollect those good and most sweet things that from peace accrued to Romans and Bulgarians.

The Emperors of the Romans, for their part, say they are ready to obey my exhortations, and welcome my prayer, are not vindictive and seek no further war, even though they have suffered terribly at the hands of the Bulgarians; and they even derivc hope from your own injustice to them, whereby, perhaps, in the eye of the Divine Justice, they may be able to redeem their own ill-treatment—as you think it—of yourself. I entreat you to be of a like persuasion, and to take the same view, and be satisfied with the
cruelelys that have gone before. Long enough, too long indeed, has been the
time that has brought so many unforgettable disasters between Bulgarians
and Romans. Reflect (my Son) on the destruction of churches of God, some
of episcopal rank, some of monasterial; the murder of priests, the rape of
virgins, the abuse of monks. Shall God overlook this? Shall He not kindle
into rage the long-suffering that, in His mercy and forbearance and expecta-
tion of your conversion, He has hitherto displayed? Shall He not have
vengance for all the murders done? Who in his senses would not approve?
Listen to me, thou man of God; hear the father that loves you and your
nation, for God knows that I love you, and grieve no less for the Bulgarians
than for the Romans. But in the case of the Romans I have some better hope,
seeing that they are wronged and knowing that God still holds a helping
hand over those who are wronged, when it suits His ineffably wise Judgment.
And sometimes He extends His patience, desiring to expose the injustice that
they suffer. In the case of the Bulgarians I have no better hope in sight. You
think you are fortune's favorite. Yet what is fortune worth, if it be not
preferred to the Bulgarians I have some better hope,

And sometimes He extends His patience, desiring to expose the injustice that
suffer. In the case of the Bulgarians I have no better hope in sight. You
think you are fortune's favorite. Yet what is fortune worth, if it be not
preferred to the Bulgarians I have some better hope,
As often as I undertake to write to you (my Son honored of God), better hopes occupy my heart, that my letter will certainly move your tranquillity and mercy, and will win you to peace, and I shall obtain the fulfillment of the request which I prefer for the advantage of Romans and Bulgarians; and I feel sweetly disposed, and my heart is relieved of the pain which I suffer at the common disasters of Romans and Bulgarians, which the man-hating demon has cast into the midst of them; and my sorrowfulness and my shame at these things seen in a measure to be lightened. But when I read and peruse the letters of your most glorious Lordship, my grief is multiplied, and a deeper gloom of dejection encompasses my spirit. It is naturally so; for when a doctor applies a salve to a wound, and then sees the inflammation more fierce than ever, he is full of dejection and confusion; and thus I, the humble, set up by God in His inscrutable Judgments to heal the passions of souls, when I see that the treatment applied to the best of my power is unavailing, and the wound—alas for my wretchedness, how great is that wound!—growing worse, am altogether filled with quite inexpressible dejection and sorrowing and confusion: especially since (my Son honored of God) I know the greatness of your wisdom, not by rumor but by personal experience: for that time when we came together in mutual conversation, short though it was, yet gave me sufficient knowledge of your most perfect wisdom. And of such worth and quality as I had been able to know, does not merely fail to discern, out of his own unaided wisdom, the malice of the evil demon and, with power from Above, to trample down his devices, and cast back his offenses in his face, and return to his own proper virtue and to that one time holy peace which, through the agency of your holy father, the Father and God of all men implanted between Bulgarians and Romans. But, for all my many humble entreaties and supplications and letters written (as it were) with my tears, every entreaty I have written hitherto has been disregarded. But (my Son) had such entreaty come from any other of God's
words of a humble Archpriest and elderly father who loves you, who advises for your profit and counsels salvation and those things which shall glorify and magnify your name in this present life, and in the life to come shall number you among those who are glorified of God. Lend me your most tranquil heart: for most tranquil it is, so far as I have understood it, though the evil demon has striven obstinately to change its tranquillity.

Lend me then your merciful heart, and receive the words of prayer which on behalf of Christ I offer to you. For His sake I entreat, since His people and inheritance are the Romans and Bulgarians, and are sealed by His precious Blood, though—alas for my sufferings!—they are now polluting their hands with the blood of mutual slaughter. Stop the ruin of each race by renewal of the peace which the murderer of mankind from the beginning has destroyed; and it shall certainly be renewed (most tenderly beloved Son) if those most heavy conditions that you propose shall be modified into a more generous form.

For, in your wisdom, you know that in all cases where men are by the evil one set at odds and war and strife with one another, their enmity and strife cannot be ended unless those who are so at odds and enmity will meet one another in some spirit of compromise; since, if one side despotically insists on its own terms and presses its own demands, this will not bring the award of peace and love. It is clear that he who demands the impossible is not seeking peace, but looks rather to a perpetuation of enmity. Do you then (my beloved Son), as you are the son of peace—for the son of peace you are, since in time of peace you were born to your holy father—and as you have received the rule over your own nation from Christ Who gave peace to the world,
seek the things of peace, and propose in a peaceable spirit the indemnities for the sins of the Romans against you: I mean, as was proposed a long while ago, a contribution of gold or silver or other valuables, perhaps even the award of a portion of territory; and not the impossible demands you are advancing now. You cannot be allowed entrance into the City, nor that other demand you speak of: the sovereignty of all the West belongs to the Roman Empire. So resign these demands, and propose what is feasible, and what, under God, shall be of advantage to you: and what we propose will be of advantage to you, if you accept it—gains which were never known either by your predecessors who held the Roman Empire in fee, or by yourself until the present time. Those appointed to rule the Empire, and their Council, will provide this ungrudgingly and with all readiness. And, under God, Bulgarians and Romans shall once more knit the ties of holy peace, and Satan shall be cast out, and Christ our God shall rejoice, and all that are on His side, and the original prosperity and sweet state existing between Romans and Bulgarians shall once more be spread abroad.

The letter sent recently by you (my Son), as well as other letters sent before it, mentions the dispatch of envoys to confer with you about peace; and a man has been sent to you for this purpose who is attended by divine grace and piety and virtue, the Treasurer of the Church in Blachernae of the Mother of God and Our Lady; receive him, and acquaint him with your views; and, after his return, if your virtuous and tranquil soul wholeheartedly desires the blessing of peace, prominent men shall be dispatched both of Church and State, through whom the terms may reach a fixed and definitive shape. And may Christ our God, Whom I know that you continually desire to serve, since you are desirous hereafter to become the inheritor of His Glory—for present glory is as the flower of grass—inspire and convey into your mind those things which shall award the prize of peace: for which He poured out His pure Blood and endured those other sufferings whereby He broke the power of the father of enmity, who is the devil.

27, 28

28. To the Same

I write once more to the Son I love, even though by that son I am disregard; yet I write out of regard for the love which is owing from fathers
to their sons rather than for the disregard which you show of me. And I write partly on my own initiative, partly on that of the most holy Pope, my brother and fellow-minister. For he, since the pitable state of affairs between Bulgarians and Romans has spread in report all over the earth and is everywhere spoken of, though he has not with his own eyes beheld this great disaster—the captivity, fire, destruction of churches, rape of virgins, widowhood, orphanage—though he has not (I say) beheld this, yet from the simple hearing of it he has received a sharp wound in his heart, and, unable to endure the bitter pains of it, has sent his holy servants, archpriests, in all ways acceptable unto God: one of them the first among his bishops, Theophylact by name; and the other also a bishop, not much inferior to the former in rank, whose name is Carus. These men he has sent to carry a letter to you, the object and aim of which is to bring an end to these cruelties between Bulgarians and Romans, and to put to shame the devil who is the father of all evil, and to award that peace which has been granted to those who call themselves after His name by Christ Himself, Who is the Peace which passeth all understanding, the Destroyer of enmity, and Who desireth that those who confess Him to be Lord and Master should be bound together in the bond of love.

Now, as I say, being thus smitten to the heart by the mere report of these things, the most holy Archpriest of the Romans, with all those who are subordinate to him, has sent these men to us, and has written that they should be by all means forwarded by us to Bulgaria, in the hope that you will certainly be moved either by their exhortation or by their bond of commination: for the most holy Pope has instructed his messengers that, if you shut your ears to their exhortation, they shall bind you in the insoluble bond of the Holy Spirit. These men, therefore, who are dispatched to you on such an errand, I could have wished to send on to you; yet when I reflected (my beloved Son) that among your other evil practices was also—I know not why—the practice of detaining diplomatic agents, a thing which you will not find done in any other nation, not even among pagans, I could not allow those men, after all the other hardships endured by them in so long a journey, to fall into confinement and oppression at your hands. That is why, though
poor wretch meiely tiought of opposing tie Apostle. Keflect on these ttings (my Son), I say again; and jiut on fear and trembling at the thouglit of disregarding the instruction of tlie Pope, as yon have disregarded me: especially since yon yonrself, as I liear, make much of honoring tlie holy chiefs of the Disciples; and if yon honor them truly, yon suiely will not insuit him who sits on their throne!

So much I write of the Romans as regards their mission to you. But I make known to you this also: when by God's Graoe they had arrived here, they joined with my HumiUty in oonsigning to the anathema all offense that liad arisen in the Churoh out of the fourth marriage; and aU questions that oalled for healing met with the appropriate remedy; and thereafter we jointly celebrated the Untouohable Mysteries, and we shared in their eommunion and sanotification, and so the Churoh of the Romans and of the Constantinopolitans has become one in sympathy and conoord.

I write of this, so that you may rejoice with me at the good estate of the Churches; for I Icnow that, although Satan has evilly disposed other matters hetween Romans and Bulgarians, yet you adore Christ, and rejoie at the good estate of His Churoh. Yet this I maxvel at (my Son), that, endowed as you are with such great wisdom, you do 5vhat is unworthy of that wisdom. For when yon received a letter from those appointed by God to be emperors of the Roman people, you wrote back, not to them, but to the Council: which

the letter written to you by the most holy Pope is being forwarded to you, I am detaining the envoy, in order to spare them the oppression, not to say death, which would be theirs if they came to you.

What shall I say (my Son)? Take care that, as you have spurned me, you do not spurn also the Archpriest of the Romans, who has now written to you. Even if you have had no regard for me and my exhortations, yet honor his counsel, lest, if you insult him, the chiefs of the Apostles, whom he serves night and day, may take that insult to their heart, and turn a bitter glance upon you; and I think you will not be able to endure that bitterness. Recall how Peter, in more resentment, consigned Ananias and his wife to death; reflect how Paul darkened the eyes of Elymas the magician when that poor wretch merely thought of opposing the Apostle. Reflect on these things (my Son), I say again; and put on fear and trembling at the thought of disregarding the instruction of the Pope, as you have disregarded me: especially since you yourself, as I hear, make much of honoring the holy chiefs of the Disciples; and if you honor them truly, you surely will not insult him who sits on their throne!
80 Où témoi ne mépris et n'oubliez pas le parlement et l'état, 81 de sœurs la deux, elle tue papas et les lèvres, et la grâce. 82 Qu'elles soient fraternelles et proches par des frères et sœurs. 83 C'est pour lui, et pour vous, et pour tous, et surtout pour les frères et sœurs, 84 qui sont des frères et sœurs dans le bien et la foi. 85 Ce qui est dit par le bien et la foi, et par les frères et sœurs, 86 et par les sœurs et les frères, et par les frères et sœurs, 87 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 88 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 89 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 90 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 91 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 92 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 93 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 94 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 95 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 96 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 97 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 98 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 99 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 100 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 101 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 102 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 103 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 104 et par les frères et sœurs, et par les frères et sœurs, 105 et par les frères et sœurs.
due to monks, contempt of the priests of God which must, humanly speaking, to God's Glory. I pass over the rest—rape of virgins, lapse of that reverence in the countryside, and the deprivation of that worship that went on in them for offerings of His praises and the celebration of His Mysteries unto the purification of our sins. Consider, I beg of you, the destruction of monasteries, the devastation of episcopal and other churches that were situated up and down the land. You surely know what has been done—all the destruction of Bulgarians and the Romanians, the adopted sons of God through Baptism: all the desolation of the Christians have been polluted by mutual slaughters? Have we no thought of God's fearful Judgment-seat (I know that, if you care to, you can recognize the condemnation of that Judge as well as any of those who are famished for wisdom)? How long shall we join evil to evil? How long shall we permit the devil to exult over the mutual slaughters of Christians? Reflect (my Son) that our lifetime may well have gone by, and that perhaps only a short span is allowed us before the dissolution of our souls from our bodies. Then, with what conscience shall we begin our journey out of this life when this happens, as happen it must to men, even though we are often deluded by false hopes that we shall stay longer in this present existence? What shall we say then? How, when the time is short and when the angels stand over us to require that we shall stay longer in this present existence? What shall we say then? How, when the time is short and when the angels stand over us to require our souls, shall we look on the evil we have done, and not in our lifetime only? You surely know what has been done—all the destruction of Bulgarians and Romans, the adopted sons of God through Baptism: all the desolation of the Churches of God, the abolition and cessation (oh, how heavy of my sufferings!) of His praises and the celebration of His Mysteries unto the purification of our sins. Consider, I beg of you, the destruction of monasteries, the devastation of episcopal and other churches that were situated up and down the countryside, and the deprivation of that worship that went on in them to God's Glory. I pass over the rest—rape of virgins, lapse of that reverence due to monks, contempt of the priests of God which must, humanly speaking,
200

29

... arise from enslavement of their order. And, as though all this were not sufficient
grief to Christ our God, even after your death you will be leaving behind
offences incurable and irremediable.

You are already past your youth. The expectation of life is delusory
even in youth; but when we have passed our youth, and especially when we
draw on to our sixtieth year, which you I think are either approaching or
else not very far short of, then what must we think? Few men reach their
seventieth year, and generally speaking we see mankind dying before that age.
What profit will you get, as you go down to destruction, from the con-
tinuance of the war of Romans and Bulgarians against each other? Only this:
that we shall not only undergo sentence thereafter at the Judgment Seat of
God for the evils done in our lifetime, but will also endure punishment for
evils done by others after we are dead.

And so (my Son), as though I were in your presence, I embrace you,
...
vīn tēn eirēnhēn epikrētōsai kai pante trōtai tā ekei tōn prolebōntōn

80 ἀνθρώποι | παρακαλοῦσαντα σφωλάα λαθαπετεύθη δησουσίωσοι. 186
Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἀπεσταλεὶ ἁνθρώπους οἱ περὶ τῆς ἐιρήνης ὡμέν σωλ.
καλήσαςιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τῆς τολμητικῆς συνεπεῖας εἰς τὰς προ-
τοποίους συμβάσεις καὶ θεῦ εἰλαράτους καὶ κοινῆς συμμεροποίεις Βου-
λάγρως καὶ Ῥωμαίους συνελεύσιν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν σκιαθίων καὶ
85 τῶν πολέμων αἰτίως καταφερωθῇ, καὶ ὥς τὸ ἑξ ἀρχῆς ἔβραζεν ὁ θεὸς
τῆς ἐιρήνης μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, πάλιν ἔχτεν τῆς ἐιρήνης,
καὶ ἤμας μὲν ὡς τέκνα τοὺς πατέρας ἐπιγενόμενα, παρὰ δὴ ἔθεσαν καὶ
τὸ ἄγαν βασιλέως τῆς χάριν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ὡς πατέρας τὰ
οἰκεῖα ἐν Χριστῷ τέκνα τοὺς Βουλγάρους ἐπηγνώσκεισιν καὶ θέσι ἐπὶ
90 τούτις δοξάζεται, καὶ τὰ τῶν κοινῶν βίας καὶ τῆς ζωῆς πράγματα Ῥω-
μαίους καὶ Βουλγάρως πρὸς τὴν ἑξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκαταστάσθη ἐκλιπήρων τοις ἐπὶ
ἀπόλαυσιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτων ἐκείνων προσκεκλήμενοι, ὡς ἀναξίως ποιεῖτε τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς μεγᾶς
λογικῆς ἀρχῆς θέρας καὶ παραλόγημα ἁμαρτοὶ ἀνέτοι τῶν αἰῶν ἀπὸ
95 γραφείμαινων φυλίκων γραμματέων καὶ τιμώντων τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔζωσαν
παρὰ τοῦ φυλαχτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἐιρήνην προσκαλούσων σε βασιλείᾳ. Ὑμῖν γὰρ,
τέκνοι ἡμῶν, δέχεσθε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν θεοῦ ἕνας φρόνημας τῶν ἐς ἀρχῆς
πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφέροντος καὶ ἄλλα φρόνημα τῶν τεῖν τείχων καὶ
χωριῶν ἀνθρώπων. Αἱ ὑπὲρεις ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶν εὐτελῶν καὶ φρονήματος ἀπρί-
γμομένων ἀρχῆς ἐφ᾽ ὅλας ἐκάθεν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναφέραται, ὧν συναχω-
νοίονται ἐκ τῆς ἐκτάντων δῆξης, ὕποπτοτε καταφερομένοι εἰς ὑπὲρεις, αὐτοῖς
90 εὐτελῶν ἄνθρωποι καὶ χωρίων παρακαλοῦσθιν. Ὁρᾶσθε, τέκνοι ἡμῶν, τὴν
ἡμετέραν πρὸς σὲ ἀγάπην, καὶ ὅταν τοῦτος τῆς σφοντιώντος
δῆξις ὡς πατέρας ἐκπροθυμοῦσθι τὸ νῦν ὡς πάσης ἐκπροκολοθίας σοῦ
100 πατημα καὶ τὰν ὑπὸ κατατελέσθη παρακληθὸς. Γέφυρα πεῖρα
πάντων προσκαλομένων προμήκολοι ὡς δὲ γράφεσιν ἄνθρωποι δεδομένων,
ἐπιγένετο τῇ κατάστασις, ἐπιζητότας τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπιζητότας τὴν ἐιρήνην,
ὡς παρὰ θεοῦ λαβόντας τὸ ἔργον, ὡς Χριστιανοῦς, ὡς μέλλων τῷ φροφέρω
τοῦ θεοῦ χρηστίως παρατηθῆναι καὶ λόγον ἐπιδοθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς
ἀρχῆς
105 καὶ τῆς τῶν ὑποχειρίων διοικήσεως καὶ πολιτείας καὶ μὴ γράφες ἐρω-
νεῖας μεθὲ ὑπὲρεις καὶ ἅτημας, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιμένεσθε καθὼς πρὸς ὅπως
γράφες, ἐλλα μόνον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν (οὐκ ἔθελεν εἰπέων ἀθεῶς τῆς πρὸς
σὲ ἀγάπης, ἀλλὰ δεικνύει τὸ καθαρός κυνωπόμονος λέγω) κατάγησαν
ἐπανακατεργοῦν.
Not having received a letter from you (my Son), I write myself, being moved once more by the same cause which has often moved me in the past; and that is, pursuit of desired peace, and desire, which the devil, man’s ancient enemy, has ravished and thus deprived the race of Romans and Bulgarians of their greatest blessings, and inflicted much pain upon Christ our God by making His flocks to rush on their mutual destruction. I have often written about this, and now do so again with my entreaty: especially since I have your sweet words in my ears, and ponder them daily, both those which your wise tongue deigned to utter to me, and also those to our Christ-loving Emperor, whom I am certain, since you have beheld him and gained experience of his goodness, you have tenderly regarded, and regard. For to him also (my Son) you made professions of peace, and that slaughters and battles, with their attendant misfortunes, should cease, and that Romans and Bulgarians should be restored to their former prosperity. And even before your interview with our Christ-loving Emperor, you told my Humility that you had come here from Bulgaria with an intention to make peace and, by God’s aid, to put an end to the mutual warfare of Christians and the movement of arms.

With the memory of this ineffaceably in my heart, and knowing your respect for truth, I write this letter, making once again such supplication as I have often made before. Give (my Son) your words the fulfillment worthy of your own glory; perform your promises, so that God may be glorified, and your name be ever-memorable among future generations, and both the flocks of Christ—I mean, the Bulgarian nation and the race of the Romans—may be free of destruction in soul and body, and may enjoy relief of body and salvation of soul: for your great Wisdom knows that Romans and Bulgarians, in slaughtering one another, are not only wretchedly deprived of their corporeal life but (alas for my misery!) lose their soul also. Yea (my Son), let us quench the flame of anger kindled either by the evil demon or else by senseless men. I have beheld the races of brutes at one time moved by anger and dashing in battle against one another; but then again they ceased from anger and hating, and returned to tranquillity. Well then (my Son), if
these brutes, which are unreasoning, control their anger and, though guided by unreason, yet know how to cease from it and give up attacking one another and change to peace, shall men who are steered by reason, who confess one God, and are called by the one name of Christ our God, just because they have once been at war with one another, keep alive that war forever, and continue, as it were, to wanton in mutual slaughter, and refuse to judge what is right by the aid of reason, and to leave off, even at this late hour, from slaughtering one another? How can this be worthy of human nature that was moulded in God's image and honored with the gift of reason?

But why go on at length? Let what has been said suffice us. For I believe, under God, that as you spoke when you were here to my Humility, and to our Christ-loving Emperor, your beloved brother, so it shall be: wherefore I pray length of days for you, and in this life prosperity, and in the life to come that inheritance of glory which is laid up for all those who have approved themselves unto God.

31. To the Same

I have often written to you advice which—as I thought and still think—was beneficial and useful. Now, on the top of all I have written before, I write this my last letter, partly out of the pain that still lies heavy on my heart for the common sufferings that lay waste the people of God, which is numbered among Bulgarians and Romans: for the Bulgarian race too is truly the People of Him Who has redeemed them with His own Blood, and made them brothers through the adoption of the Spirit, even though you count this people as yours, you, who rule them today and shall tomorrow be food for worms. In pain for them I write, and also because of the words which, when you were here, my ears heard from your own mouth: and your words were these: "I have come out of my own country on behalf of the fair and mighty cause of peace." This was what you said to me in private, when first of all I was in private conversation with you; and then afterward, when
you conversed with our God-crowned Emperor, and accepted the award of his gifts, I remember you said something to the effect that “war shall no longer be carried on among us, nor shall we need to don the cuirass given for our use in battles”; and you then added other things implying the total liquidation of war and the restoration of peace. Your conscience will remind you of what you then said. These things move me to write this last letter.

Where then, I ask you as though face to face, are the promises you made? What has become of that blessed peace of which you spoke, the very report of which, when it spread in the countries both of Bulgarians and Romans, moved every tongue in thanks to God? The worth of each man's character is seen in his regard for truth; but for a ruler, raised up to majesty, nothing so much tends to the glory and dignity of his rule as the truth of his words and the faithfulness of his engagements. And you must judge whether it becomes you, who lay claim to glory and majesty, to shuffle and jump from one set of professions to others that have nowhere any basis or stability.

I could have written much more to the same effect, but possibly if I extend my discourse it will seem wearisome: and so I leave it at that. But I now proceed to speak to you of the accusations and insults which you implied against me in the presence of our God-crowned Emperor, in derision, as it were, of my Wretchedness. You said, with a sarcasm against me, that you were riding the horse which in the battle received the wound meant for you; and you added, with a sneer at me, that this had been the result of my prayer. And when I protested that I knew of no such thing, had never

30 bathed in the bath of sterling worth, seen in his regard for truth; but for a ruler, raised up to majesty, nothing so much tends to the glory and dignity of his rule as the truth of his words and the faithfulness of his engagements. And you must judge whether it becomes you, who lay claim to glory and majesty, to shuffle and jump from one set of professions to others that have nowhere any basis or stability.
55 κτήνεως. Ι Πρόστυχες ὡς λόγωμεν, ὡς γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ φρονίμως καὶ σοφιάς ἀλμαθείᾳ καὶ φιλετγέμεθα. Ἐπειδή ἥτα παρακαταδείκνυον τῶν προαγμάτων τὴν κυρίοττα ἐγγεγραμμένην παράλληλως τὴν κατὰ σοῦ ἐπιστρέφοντος κίνησιν, ἦτε τὴς ἁπαθεῖν εἰμικρινείας καὶ τὴν πληγὴν τοῦ ἔραφος ἀπεστράφη οὐκ ἄδικα ἀλλὰ τῶν κενοταμείων τῶν παράλληλων ὁριζή καὶ παρα τὸ δίκαιον ἡ ἀριστοκρατία ἢ τὴν κάθως ἡ πλήγη, ἢν πάλιν παιδεύω ᾗν μὲν ἀλλ' ἐπαίρεσιν ἐπιστρέφει ἐνεργῶς τῇ σκίνᾳ, ἄλλα μεριμνᾶτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων προαγμάτων καὶ μεταφρασθεῖσαν, καὶ μὲν ὠλίους γενόμενοι τὸ δοκοῦντος συνεχισθῆ φθορᾶς, ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμβάλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυσνόητοι τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστρέφει. Εἰκάζεις θὰ μή ποτὲ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ μέλη. Β

60 λοιπον διὰ τὴν ἀποκεφαλέασθαι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν, οὐκ ἐπί τὸ κτήνεον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σὲ (ὑπὲρ ἀπαικομίας) ἡ πληγὴ φθάσα. 'Ανέγνωσαν ἐπιμελείας ἡ γέφυρα, καὶ ἐκ τούτων πρὸς τὰς πεντακατεκτὰς ἱστορίας (οἵδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ταύτας ἐν μέλητι ποιῆ ἀνάβησαι: καὶ μὴ νόμιζες πάντατε μετά σοῦ τὴν κἰνήσιν εἶναι, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ήττον λογίκῃ κατὰ πόδας ἀκολουθεῖς.

70 'Αλλὰ τοσοῦτον μέν περὶ τῆς καθ' ἦμας εἰρονείας. Τὰ δὲ ἐνεπεδρός τοιαῦτα πρὸς σὲ γέφυραν οὐκ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτὸν καὶ φιλετγέμεθα ἡμῶν βασιλεία καὶ πρὸς τὴν συγκλονίαν ἄνωτοι καθ' ἐκστάσει καὶ παραφυλακεῖς καὶ ὑποτιθεμένως. Γίνας δὲ ταύτα ἐνεργώς, θεμισθάρα παραφυλάκως καὶ ἐκενεχώρομεν τὸν φιλετγέμον ἡμῶν βασιλεία καὶ τὴς σφαγῆς τοῦ λαοῦ 

75 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων γένους, καὶ δούναι καὶ ἐτ' ἀναχθή καὶ μακροθυμήσων σὺν τῇ ἀντοιχίαν πρὸς τὸν φιλετγέμον αὐτοῦ φρόνημα, καὶ μὴ παραθεριοῦμεν ἑπιστρέφει τις τῶν καρδιῶν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνων. Ἐντονά τὰς ἡμῶν μακροθυμίας ἔθνους ἑπικύρωσες καὶ ἐν ἑτέρως πρὸς τὸ καλὸν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἀγαθῆς Ε

80 τὴν αἵρεσιν ταύτης κατατάσσεις. Καὶ δὲ γε φιλετγέμον καὶ ἐπικεφαλίδως καὶ ἁγειαδὸς ἡμῶν βασιλεία (πάντως δὲ οὐχ ὄπετα κατέληγεν οἱ ἠγείραμεν, ἔγον ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς πείρα δίδυς τὴν ἀπάνωτας πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαν καὶ ἔμεινεν τὴν πρόσεχος) καὶ παῖδεσθαι καὶ ὑπελεία τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν. 'Αλλ' ἡ σύγκλονια ἀπαθεία, καὶ ἡμῶν πάσα οὐ πάλις, καὶ τὸ λέγω τὴν πίθανος ἔτοιμος καὶ ὑποταμέον τὸν τὸν Βουλγάρων ἑπιτροπή σε ἡμῖν πνεύματος καὶ φιλετγέμον 

85 τῶν αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κυνομενες οὐκέτ' ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑπόθεσαν τὴν τοσοῦτον τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀπώλεσαν οὐδὲ καταφθονεῖν τῶν ὀχεῖν καὶ συγγάλως τὴν ἀπόλλοιαν ὀδὴν τῶν ὀχείων ὀφθαλή τῆς σχισμάδος, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δεχεσθεν κατάφθανεν, καλλότερον τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ἔχασα οὐκ ὑποταμήνοις ὅτι τὸν τοῦ Βουλγάρων ἑπιτροπή. Καὶ λοιπὰ παραμελόμε 

90 χρόνος δὲ ἑπάνω τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ πάντ' ὅσα χείρα κυνομένους ἔγυρ 

31 strike you, but struck the brute. Pay attention, since here perhaps I do divine and speak with wisdom. Since those who were at that time entrusted with the control of our affairs made their attack on you without cause, you obtained the Divine Favor, and the causeless and unjust aggression of your then assailants turned aside the sword-cut from you, and it fell on the brute; but also that you might on the other hand be instructed not to wanton in your victory with senseless exultation, but to remember the nature of human affairs and to be modest; and not to be transported by an apparent success, but to bear in mind the failires that also come upon men. Take heed lest, in the battle which will now have you for its author, the cut fail not, not on your horse, but (God forbid it!) on you. Read diligently what I write, and then go back to ancient history, since I know you study that too, and do not believe that victory will always be with you, but consider that defeat follows at its heels.

So much for your sarcasms against me. For the rest, I write to you the same exhortation and recommendation as I am daily making to our Christ-loving Emperor and his Council. And what are these? I exhort and implore our Christ-loving Emperor to abstain from the slaughter of his people and from the slaughter of the Bulgarian race, and, with the help of Divine Providence, to yield his merciful spirit up to even more patience and long-suffering, and not to make a full-scale expedition against the Bulgarian nation. "Perhaps (I say), through your long-suffering, God will touch the heart of the Lord of the Bulgarians, and he will turn to regard the blessing of peace, and be content with its ancient state." And our merciful and generous and virtuous Emperor (you will certainly not suspect me when I so call him, for you know yourself from personal experience the generosity and gentleness and tranquillity of his temper) is persuaded and yields to my advice. However, the whole Council, and all the City with them—why speak of the City? every subject in his Empire—are roused, and say we should no longer endure this senseless fury of the Bulgarians, nor overlook the destruction of their families and relatives, or the enslavement of their countries; but, if they must die to the last man, better, they believe, to do this than to endure the arrogance of the Bulgarians. Therefore be persuaded that all our military forces and all whose hand is raised to strike will, with the righteous alliance of God, come upon you, if you persist in choosing the evils of war.
With complete frankness I have reported to you what is being prepared here. If you believe me, first as an old man with nothing before him but the grave, then as one who (though unworthy) is a minister of the Holy Sanctuary, or if you have had any regard for my affection—and consider how long we have been friends—then accept my exhortation, which our Christ-loving Emperor has for his part promised to accept: and he will not break his promise if you will promise the same. Love peace, hate wars! Wars are bad, even against outside enemies; but what shall one say of wars against fathers, brothers, friends, fellow-believers, who have chosen one God, one Lord and Master and Saviour? What should one say? Do you not often see wild beasts fighting one another and then making peace? Look at them, and "seek peace" (they are not my words but those of the Holy Spirit) “and pursue it,” that is, run behind it, overtake it, stop the common sufferings, and the tears, and the groans, and the curses which all men, Romans and Bulgarians, rich and poor, monks and priests and laymen, utter against you. No one can put the blame on our pious and Christ-loving Emperor, who, since he took his seat on the throne of the Empire, has sought peace and begged for it, and has humbled himself for no other reason than because of the evils of war. Even when victory has come to one party, the victory is often hazardous to the victor; the victor must lose his relatives and friends, and for such are the indiscriminate and confused circumstances of battle. You know what I mean, from what you have suffered yourself: for, even though victory has lain with you, yet you have lost many of your dearest, whose memory even now tears your heart, and your grief for them does not allow you sincerely to enjoy your triumph.

But, to come to the end of this letter: our Christ-loving Emperor, though he is urged upon to the expedition against you by the Council and all the state and his generals and his officers, yet in his generosity has yielded to the exhortation of my Humility, and has spoken to me thus: "Father, I seem to be torn between opposites, for the state pulls from one side, and your Archpriesthood towards yourself. In this circumstance, this is my reply: Write to..."
and a number of robes of state, and whatever else is for my satisfaction that it is suitable for me to provide. If peace is desirable to him, you find me ready, and I will not reject your exhortation."

I therefore write to you, placing on you a bond in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you declare to us both the sum of gold which you require and the number of robes of state that will satisfy you (you will doubtless take advice and ask for what is suitable to the majesty of your rule and to your Wisdom); nay more, if there is anything else which it becomes you to ask and the Emperor's dignity to provide, add that too to the gifts of gold and robes, and you will be awarded this too. And when these are handed over, embrace peace, and your former love. Let Bulgarians and Romans be once more in the way of brotherly sympathy and love, and let the original creator of evil be abolished, and Christ our God glorified, Who by His Cross destroyed the middle wall of enmity, and pacified His world; so may the Roman Empire regain her possessions, and the Bulgarian power retain her own in security and safety, and no occasion of offenses be left behind any more, but firm peace and prosperity dwell in both the nations; which may Christ our God grant, abolishing the malice of the devil, and spreading out His wings, and quietly covering His Inheritance, whose ransom was paid by the Holy and life-giving Blood of His pure Side!
...they are not on that account permitted to marry. He, however, seizing on for the third time, it occurred to him, as it never should have done, to make trial of a fourth wife; although such thoughts should never have visited one whose heart was torn by grief for the death of three wives. But, it seems, the victory lay with the worse course, and the worse course prevailed; and he, wholly occupied by this unseemly desire, sought to marry a fourth wife, something never done before him by any—not only of emperors, but even of the humblest of the ruling class, or merely of palace officials. I pass over for the moment the prohibition of the sacred canons, and all the condemnation which they unavoidably denounce against this filthy connection: yet the tyranny of his desire prevailed, and the fourth wife allured to herself the in...
faith, especially in regard to the importance of the party involved—he gave way a little, and we had some hope that the evil would not be victorious.

But this was before the baptism of the boy: for all the archpriests and priests resolved that I should not even baptize the child, far less with the imperial honors demanded by his father, unless I obtained his promise in advance that he would renounce the woman. This was told him many times over; but he hid the design of his heart, and by giving a verbal assurance, on oath, that he had rejected the woman, he obtained his desire regarding the boy, who was baptized in the manner he wished. But hear what followed. The third day after the baptism was not past when the mother was introduced into the palace with an escort of imperial guards, just like an emperor's wife; and those promises and oaths which he had made in assurance that he was rid of her were dissolved in thin air, or rather culminated in mighty evil.

For now not in word only but in very deed the plan concerning the wife prevailed, and the imperial marriage ceremony was—as was thought—celebrated: the very crown was set on the woman's head, though neither I nor any other archpriest had made the accustomed prayer, the Emperor himself serving her, as he saw fit, both as bridegroom and archpriest, uttering the prayer over the crown and crowning her with it. This was what happened; and the whole City, not just the archpriestly and priestly body, was in uproar, as though the whole faith had been subverted.

What then was I to do? Be silent and sleep? Or devise and do what became a friend, who had his Emperor's honor and the Church's order at heart? This was my struggle, with God's aid. Those that were priests I excoriated; but I embraced long-suffering and with good hope in Christ our God, As for him, I embraced his knees, and even his feet; I prayed, I exhorted him as my friend; I entreated him as my Emperor; and said he should not carry everything by his authority, but should realize that there is One Who is enthroned above his state, One Who emptied out pure Blood for the Church's sake. I went on: But this was before the baptism of the boy: for all the archpriests and priests resolved that I should not even baptize the child, far less with the imperial honors demanded by his father, unless I obtained his promise in advance that he would renounce the woman. This was told him many times over; but he hid the design of his heart, and by giving a verbal assurance, on oath, that he had rejected the woman, he obtained his desire regarding the boy, who was baptized in the manner he wished. But hear what followed. The third day after the baptism was not past when the mother was introduced into the palace with an escort of imperial guards, just like an emperor's wife; and those promises and oaths which he had made in assurance that he was rid of her were dissolved in thin air, or rather culminated in mighty evil.

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80 to the Beotia anemus, ου τοτε υποτελησε αλα πατερυχρειεν, καὶ ἄνευ ἔπειδρος μετερέοντο την στην θυγατέρα πρὸς την Φραγκιανὴν ἀπέστακα, δια de γνωστα τῷ | παλαιῷ προσέτοιν την διοικουσαν τα ἑπιβάλλοντα τῶν σῶν ἀρχιτόν ταῖς γνωσιν, ἀπετήρισε τῆς τρίτης, τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀκαθόριστα μελανόλεγος. πλὴν ὅτι καὶ Ισραηλινοὶ τῶν τρίτων οὐκ ἀποβάλ- 86 λουν παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ συγκριθοῦσιν, εἰ καὶ δοὺς ἰδίον παραφῶντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 'Ὑπ' δὲ τοῦ τεταρτοῦ, καὶ τῶν Ἀγαρίτης γνώρισον, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ διαφέρειν γνωσιν. τὰς ἐπιστολα. Ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ καταπερι- ζόμενοι πρόερχοντα, μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς σῆς δόξης τοῦ μακάμα- τος ἐξετασθομένων; Βασιλείας, φοίνικι, ἀγάραρχος νύμφης, οὐ γὰρ παραφῶνη 90 καὶ πρᾶξη ἐπέδιδα τὰ διοικήσαν, ἀλλὰ ἄστις τουστόν εἶναι διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄγραφων οἷς ὁ νόμος ὁ ἄγραφος. Εἰ γὰρ βασιλεῖς τῶν νόμων ἕχοισα καὶ πολέμως, τὰς τοὺς νόμους φοβηθάτηκα; "Ἡ οὐχί τοῦτο Β ἀκολούθησα, τὸ πρὸς οὗ ἃν ὁ ἄγαραρχος ἑχοῦς ἐχε καὶ πολέμως, πρὸς τούτος καὶ τὸ ὑποχέρι την ὅμοιαν φιλάσσει συνθέσεσι, κἂν μήδεις 95 ὁ βιοκόμοιος ἢ." Ως δὲ καὶ βία, καὶ μᾶλλον φίλοις, ποὺ οὐχὶ πρὸς ἔκαθο τὸν φράγμα ὑπενεχθέντος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀγάραρχος τῇ μοίρῃ ἔχει."

"Ἐλεγχαν καὶ τάπτα: Ἐνώσε μοι τὸν ἐλλον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ ὃτι ἀστερὶ μὲν ὑποδημαντὸν τοὺς σκόπαμας οὐδὲν τὸ γνώμην, 100 ἠλεύς δὲ τοῦτο παθόντος συνεροθηκέασα ἀνάγκη τῶν κόσμων." Προσε- τίθεν καὶ ὃτι ὃν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ μελῶν ὁ πλούσιος ὁπεράκτων, καὶ ἡ- πανθηναί τῆς ὑπολογίας, ὃ ὡς μὴ λαθανθή, οὔτε μένει εἰς ἀληθήν τοῦ δὲ προσ- χώπου ἐρωτομομένων τιτρήσαντον οὐδὲν εὑρίσκεται τῆς ἀληθής παρα- μόθουν. Πρόσωπον εἰ τῆς μετάλειης τῆς θεοῦ κληρονομίας, μάλλον δὲ καὶ 105 ρυθμὴ μὲ τό σάμια τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατασκευής καὶ ποιήσις καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπότοσις ἀληθευθεῖται διὰ τοῦ κατά τῆς δόξης καὶ σκιώτους ἐφιστώ- μεν αὐτοῦς παραχέσαν πονηρὰ ἐπήλθεςιν."

"Ελεγχαν ταῦτα καὶ πλέον ἐτερα, ὃν τοῦ ἑφίμη καὶ πρόσθεν περίπτη: τῇλῃ Ελεγχα, ἐθυσάτων, βεβεβαίως. Καὶ ἐπετέρω τῶς 110 λόγους ταῦτας ἑττημένοις τῆς ἑκατέρας ποιήσεις, ἐπεκτείνησιν ὡς ἐτερα τουτοιτά λέγοντι ἐπετέρωξεν τοῦ ἐπετέρων; Επετέρω, ὃ δακουῖται καὶ τῶν οποίων ἤπει τόν θράτει- σον ἑθοί καὶ τοπάρης γνώσηι συνήρθηκα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλόγος τοῦ ἢ τόπων, Δ ἀξίω τῷ φλόγα καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερφυλαύνοντος τε τις γὼς τῇθεν τῇν συμφω-
met, he would certainly respect its prohibition of this scandalous and illegal union. But he was deaf to all my speeches; his passion for the woman had stopped his ears to everything, and his heart even before his ears. He said that he should not be separated from her a single day, let alone until the synod met; but that she should be with him as his lawful wedded wife, and honored as an empress; and that when the synod met, it would ratify his decisions.

The delegates of Old Rome arrived, eight or nine months after his union with the woman. It was a frightful affair for the whole of our Church. It had been rumored in advance, by the Emperor himself, that he was bringing Romans who would permit his marriage. It was natural that our Church should be deeply incensed when he said openly that he had no regard to my position and that he was entrusting others with the administration of my diocese, which was my due according to the holy ordinances established by Heaven from the beginning—and this, over an action forbidden and condemned by the canons! How could it be lawful, how could it conform to the order of the Church, that I should be expelled from the authority conferred on me by God, and that others should arrange what I myself could not effect because of the prohibition of the canons? But he said, those were coming by whom he must be granted his desire, though no canonical sanction could be found for it anywhere. I know very well that it was slanderously said of me that in my arrogance I refused to meet or discuss with the Romans who had then arrived. My witness is God, before Whom that slanderer stands even now, and I shall stand myself today or tomorrow, that I said to him that our archpriests objected to joint discussion with the Romans, and altogether refused, “because they have been terrified in advance by what

117 ἡμῶν Ἰκ: om. P || 141 ἦ Βατ.: ἦ P (ἡ Ἰκ)
his own, then he brought his secret design into the light of day. He invited me
had attached them to himself and had thus acquired, so to say, a power of
their relatives and friends, he had detached from me those so persuaded and
by bribes and promises of dignities, to those whom he was seducing and to
had been drawn away to him or taken sides with him. But when, gradually,
and the plot devised by
against me was poised over my head. For, up till that time, the opinion
of the Church had been unanimous and no one, whether archpriest or priest,
had been drawn away to him or taken sides with him. But when, gradually,
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of the Church had been unanimous and no one, whether archpriest or priest,
seen one of those who was with me in peril, and have enquired and learned accurately, so as to be able to make an accurate report to you. Nevertheless, though an Archpriest was so afflicted, and though cast out for no other reason than that he refused to allow the Church, and indeed the general body of Christians, to be insulted by the stench of fornication, and though he was enduring such a life as made death seem preferable to him, yet, instead of vindicating him, instead of taking his part, instead of insisting on justice, they chose to join with the tyrants who had tyrannized over me, and to range themselves with those who had done me violence. Yes, they lent their support to the tyranny practiced against me (I cannot say from what motive: for I am reluctant to state that they themselves had previously been practiced upon by the powerful tyranny of gold), and not only so, but they also collected from my enemies a rabble ofベース and deceit, and came to you to accuse me of things which they knew had never happened and did not exist at all, but were simply the fabrication of an evil heart enslaved by gold.

But perhaps it might have been borne if two or three men had been deceived, perhaps by evil slander, or by some self-willed party who did not shrink from forgery at the behest of authority, or by some other cause. But how can we not be beyond amazement that the whole Church should have been seduced by lies having no other support but the vanity of this world? What ear ever received such a judgment as that which the Church of the Romans, as was said in Constantinople who purported to be a complement of the Church, passed against me in those days; though it was rather a ground of censure against themselves? Do not be angry at what I have said: what is not well must be censured, and even if no word is spoken, the events carry their own condemnation with them.

But first I had better represent to you the lies that were told against me and the judgments you formed upon them; and then the evils you have promoted in the Church by your authoritative dispensation. Libels against me were brought to you, and whether they were true or false is no matter: how can it matter, when there was no demand for a defense against the charges? And yet it is the practice even among barbarians and lawless peoples to convict no one on charges laid against him unless he has been brought up and pleaded his defense to them. Even Christ our God, when the lawless Jews shouted against Him, received His unlawful condemnation only after being brought before the Sanhedrin and asked for His defense. But the judgment passed by you, Brothers, both here and in your own Roms, leads to further consequences, of which I do not choose to speak, but which
the coming time shall loudly declare, since time is stronger than any device and power of man.

However, my own case may be set aside as of little importance. What does it matter if a miserable man, probably unworthy to breathe, is expelled from his see and condemned to exile, not to speak of the deaths daily endured by him? But, at least, how was it that you were not moved by the honor of the Church, the dignity of the Faith, the reverence due to the holy canons, the holy tradition from olden days? Why did you not think of these? But no, I know not by what authority, or whence derived, you introduced fornication into the holy life of Christians, refusing to consider that, straight away from the beginning of the Message, this commandment had been confirmed by the divine Apostles, when they pronounced on what was strangled or offered to idols, that we should abstain from fornication. How many are the injunctions, not to be polluted by fornication, which one may receive from the Vessel of Election, everyone well knows—not only of the clerical body, but even of the multitude of laymen, unless he be wholly estranged from the Church and deaf to the Apostle's teaching. For this reason I do not cite his words on fornication, lest it should seem superfluous to declare what everybody is familiar with. Why then, if the stain of fornication is condemned by all, should the Romans have seen fit, because I, too, following the judgment of the Apostles and the decision of the Holy Fathers, had likewise condemned it, to regard me as a criminal, to be expelled from my flock and punished as a malefactor?

Yes, you will say: but this is a question of marriage, not of fornication. Marriage is it, O reverend groomsman, who honor marriage not according to the law given by God, but according to your own law, written I know not where? Marriage is it, the union with a fourth woman under the spur of a malefactor?
260. For neither the unmarried nor the widows, it is good for them if they abide thus; but if they marry, they are better in the sight of the Lord. And he prohibits the law laid down by the world's teacher, who said: "The fashion of this world passeth away, so that both they that have wives be as though they had none," and "I would that all men were even as I myself." And he forbids the cause of this abominable grant they refer to the mighty Apostle, who said, "it is better to marry than to burn!" Excellent is the wisdom of those who so receive his dictum! Most surely have they hit upon Paul's meaning! So then, continual surrender to the lust of the flesh is the mother of those who so receive his dictum! Most surely have they hit upon Paul's meaning!

265. Clement holds it, a debauchery worse than fornication—then the cause of this monstrous grant!—then the cause of this abominable grant they refer to the mighty Apostle, who said, "it is better to marry than to burn!" But if so, what is the relevance here of "it is better to marry than to burn?" Hear the words of Clement, who learned and listened to the teaching of the chief Apostle, Peter, and was not one of inferior status or one who lived a long while after the Apostle's sojourn among men. "Single marriage is righteous according to the law, as being in accordance with the approval of God; a second marriage, after the truth, is contrary to law, not because of the union, but because of the lie; a third marriage is a sign of incontinence; and any beyond a third is manifest fornication and unquestionable debauchery." What say you? Clement calls it "fornication and unquestionable debauchery"; and do you honor it with the name of marriage? Well, the Romans do not think so; for, you say, it is condoned among them. Indeed there are those who say (I am not sure whether in your honor or your disgrace) that you allow not only a fourth, but a fifth wife, and even another after her: yes, and if the sixth dies, your abundant dispensation, or rather your grant of licentiousness, goes on to allow the contraction of yet another such marriage, and another on the top of that, and so on until the doors of the grave. And the cause of this abominable grant they refer to the mighty Apostle, who said, "it is better to marry than to burn!" Excellent is the wisdom of those who so receive his dictum! Most surely have they hit upon Paul's meaning! So then, continual surrender to the lust of the flesh is the law laid down by the world's teacher, who said: "The fashion of this world passeth away, so that both they that have wives be as though they had none," and "I would that all men were even as I myself." And he forbids men to contract even a second marriage, in the words: "I say therefore to men to contract even a second marriage, in the words: "I say therefore to men to contract even a second marriage, in the words: "I say therefore to
nauta καὶ ετής ψύχος ἄλλοτρον, καὶ δή καὶ εἴτε καλός κολάζοις χαρισμάτων:
καὶ σοὶ ἀποχρίζομαι ὡς γῆρα τῶν ἀφρότητος κελέσες τὸ τοσσότον ἑνεχόμεθα; ὡς δικαιοσύνης εἰ τῆς προσκυνίας τοῦ διδάσκαλου ἐν συνεχείᾳ καὶ ἄξιος τῆς Χριστοῦ κλήσεως τούτοι διὸ σοὶ διδασκαλίας ποιήσατε. Ἀνθέω, οὐδὲς ἄγνοιαν χαρῆς τῶν κύριων δέσας ἄγνοιας δὲ πῶς δὲν τινι προσέγνω τῇ ἀκαθάρτῃ περατεία συμπεριφέρει; Καὶ

300 ἄλλας ἔργος ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκοῦ ἐπισκοποῦν χριστὸν τοῦτο δὲ τι άλλο βούλεσθαι ἡ φεύγειν ταῖς τῆς παρείας κυρίλλαις;

Ἀλλάς βασιλεύς ὁ τὴν τετάρτην γυναῖκα ζητῶ, καὶ διὰ παραχώρησι βασιλικῆς ἐπιστῆσει. Καλῶς γε σὺ τῷ στέρος τῆς βασιλείας,
καθὼς κύριος δέδουν σοι καθημερινοὶ ἐν εὐδαίμονες εἰς τὸν προσωπό, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μὴ προσερμόζεσθαι πληροῖ, τῆς δὲ καρδιᾶς μὴ προσφέρειν εἰ καταχρονέο; Ὄλη οὐσιαζόμενη μὴ δέξατε τῶν ἐρήμων εὐθύνον ψυχοτρόπων πραγμάτων καὶ παπροκατέρχοντες Μέγας μὲν γὰρ τὸ

305 τῆς βασιλείας πράγμα καὶ δέν πειθαρχεῖ με βασιλεύσαι μετ' τῶν προστάγματα τῶν αὐτῶν αἰτίων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τοῖς προστάγμάσις ὡς διαφανέστερᾳ τὸ τῆς βασιλείας δίκαιο. Ἡ πολεμία τῆς εὐκράτειας; Τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐξάντλήσατε, καὶ δέ μὴ αἰτιολόγευτε. Κελεύετε κατ' ἐγχειρίδιον ὁμολογήσατε;

"Εσθονεν οὐτός συνεισφέρει τι πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ο

310 λατπελείαις; Τιμᾷ πάση στροφή τὸ δύναμ. Ἐπέλεη ὅπως ἐπὶ πρώτος τῶν σύστασις περιστάσιες καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐν θείᾳ τελείωσι;
Παντὰς τάξιν τὸ προσκοπτόμενον. Τάξιν περιστασίαν, καὶ καταρχάς, μάλιστα ὁ ἀπαραίτητο, ἐτειχείρ, τὸ ἐν θανάσιδ, τὸ ὄος. Κελεύει πάλι, ὅπως τὸ δικαίωσίν τὸ τοῦ ἀποκελεσθῆναι, ἐν τῷ ἀυλώποια τὸ ὄος. Κελεύει πάλι, ὅπως ἐν τῇ διάβολο παῦρον ὑποτίθημα, ἐν τῇ ἄνεσι; Τότε

320 ὁ βασιλικός, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν πειστεῖν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὡς κακοὶ ἠμπάταρχες πρόσεγκισαν πάρα φαύλου πωτικού; Κελεύεις ομωροθάνατος, ἢ δόλως ἀναμένεις εἰς, ὅ ἄρμα ἀρματαὐες ἄρματα πρόσεγκισαν πάρα φαύλου ποιητικού.

325 τιμῶν τούτων τῆς καλούσας ἄρχης, τοῦ λαμπροῦ καὶ τοῦ φαύλου καὶ ἀρήσας καὶ εἰς τῇ σοφίας καὶ τῷ θείων D

325 τιμῶν τῆς καλούσας ἄρχης, τοῦ λαμπροῦ καὶ τοῦ φαύλου καὶ ἀρήσας καὶ εἰς τῇ σοφίας καὶ τῷ θείων D

illuminated all the world, call it "brutish and alien from nature," yea, even the "life of swine," do you bid men indulge in this huge abomination as though it were marriage? How wonderfully careful you are in teaching your pupils to live soberly and worthily of Christ's calling! Sit, "none shall see the Lord except he be sanctified,"); and how shall a man attain sanctity if he be defiled with impure fornication? And another said: "Hating also the garment that is spotted from the flesh!"—and what else does that mean than to flee from the stains of fornication?

“But it was an emperor who desired the fourth wife, and one must give in to the imperial desire.” Fair is the honor you bestow on his imperial crown, and fair the reputation you give him! Because he sits above others, must he then be fouler and more dishonored than they? You seem to be more concerned with the cleanliness of the feet than the face, and to be careful lest the feet step into the mud, but not to care if mud be dolched over the head. But I believe that this will not commend itself to those who can discriminate between higher and more lovely things. The imperial dignity is indeed a great matter, and it is right to obey emperors, and not to resist their edicts, but only in those edicts which display the dignity of the imperial rule. Does he order us to do justly? These are truly imperial edicts, and these we must not resist. Does the emperor order us to take arms against his enemies? Does he decide that we must contribute something to the common weal? His decision must be obeyed with all willingness. Does he order us to do whatever else may bring strength and honor to his rule and to his subjects? We must do his bidding at once. These things are the emperor's duties, and it is needful, indeed imperative, that we should lend a ready ear to him. On the other hand, must be obeyed with all willingness. Does he order us to do whatever else may bring strength and honor to his rule and to his subjects? We must do his bidding at once. These things are the emperor's duties, and it is needful, indeed imperative, that we should lend a ready ear to him. On the other hand, does he (such as the devil's insinuations) bid us renounce our piety toward

But I believe that this will not commend itself to those who can discriminate between higher and more lowly things. The imperial dignity is indeed a great matter, and it is right to obey emperors, and not to resist their edicts, but only in those edicts which display the dignity of the imperial rule. Does he order us to do justly? These are truly imperial edicts, and these we must not resist. Does the emperor order us to take arms against his enemies? Does he decide that we must contribute something to the common weal? His decision must be obeyed with all willingness. Does he order us to do whatever else may bring strength and honor to his rule and to his subjects? We must do his bidding at once. These things are the emperor's duties, and it is needful, indeed imperative, that we should lend a ready ear to him. On the other hand, does he (such as the devil's insinuations) bid us renounce our piety toward
You know that the subject will naturally look on his ruler, as it were, as on an example. Let me go further still. Why, even where the ruler lives in all propriety, even there the subject has this tendency toward the opposite, owing to the human disposition still to run toward the base and the material. For this reason are laws laid down, because the good ruler's example is not sufficient to make men better, and so that they may be by fear of the laws he restrained from their evil disposition, and take the better course even against their desire. God raises up to rule, whether imperial or other, not in order that the ruler, inasmuch as he has been glorified by God beyond his fellows, may dishonor himself and Him Who has glorified him, nor in order to demonstrate that the Divine Judgment has made some mistake in choosing him, but in order that he may through his own virtue be shown to be worthy of the Divine Judgment, and may give cause that God be glorified, and acquire an addition to his own glory. And if a man, because he has been allotted more honor by God, thinks that on that account he has more authority to set at naught the honor of the divine laws, he insensibly becomes like those brutes which grow vicious from overfeeding. It is evil, it is most evil doctrine to say that "because he is an emperor" he is permitted to sin in a way that no one would permit his subjects to do. "The mighty shall he mightily put to the proof," saith the word of the sages; which if it be so, where will there be room for our "indulgence"? If a soldier and his general commit the same offense, I for my part do not consider the same punishment applicable to each: the general shall have retribution proportionate to the greatness of his honor, and the soldier to the modesty of his rank; nay, seaman and pilot, or if you wish master and servant, if they have fallen into the same transgression, shall not meet with the same prosecution and condemnation, but what is adapted to the difference between those persons. "Well, but the authority of Rome has made dispensation for him, and you must not oppose what has been dispensed, but respect our decision." What do you mean? Is it in the power of Rome so to dispense that a Law-breaker goes unpunished, and with impure hands lays hold on what is holy? and to lead back into the divine precepts, whence they have been rightly and justly expelled, those who have been driven forth for pollution, even though they have not put their pollution aside? This would be a mighty authority indeed of which you are possessed—an authority possessed not even by Him Who "takest away the sins of the world," let alone by any other, whether of His holy disciples or of the other teachers of His Church! He indeed came to bear our sins, but, naturally, only when we have ceased...
to sin, not when we are cleaving to and performing without scruple those things which He “taketh away.” I hear His injunction to the man He has healed: “Lo, thou art whole! Sin no more!” Mark how He forbids, not permits, to sin those who have been found worthy of His mercy. No: neither Peter nor Paul nor any other was ever known to ignore the sin and to promise license to one still sinning. Where have you discovered this unseemly dispensation, which does not lighten the burden of sin, but makes it heavier? which brings no salvation, but surrenders to destruction? which does not cleanse, but rather increases the filth? Who has ever heard of such dispensation until now? Dispensation is a concession unto salvation, saving him who has sinned, stretching out the arm of help, and lifting up the fallen from his fall; not permitting him to lie where he has fallen, or rather pushing him toward a miserable pit. Dispensation is an imitation of the Divine Mercy, a snatching out of the jaws of the beast that howls against us, the man who is about to be devoured by those jaws of destruction. But he who still commits the sin is by no means snatched away: only he who by the Divine expedient of this Dispensation puts himself far off from his sin, and avoids its pursuit of him.

...
Why then do some still take refuge in previous and archaic examples, which those then living put up with though they were unseemly? I must say at once that it is dangerous for them to take refuge in examples where they can find neither divine sanction operative nor a reputable judgment of men. And how can there be God's sanction or approval of men for what brings shame and inevitably involves its perpetrators in condemnation? Again, if men of olden days did something that was far from proper, this is no excuse for later ages to hold it up as an example: in so doing we shall introduce unawares into our own generation many things worthy of punishment. This is not the conduct of God-loving men, nor of those who love the life acceptable to God. It is an ill saying that wishes us to sin ourselves by reference to sins committed heretofore; or that, because so-and-so or so-and-so was impure, or, in human weakness, was misguided into unworthy conduct, for this reason we accept whatever unworthiness may present itself. It would have been better, far better, to think and say this: "Because this was ill done, we ought in all reason to do the opposite"; since it is a commonplace of universal validity that we should not imitate the worse example, but protect ourselves as far as we can from the guilt of the worse part, so as not to fall into the same, but rather to strive toward the better.

Why then do you cite me Valentinian, or this or that other? If his conduct was praiseworthy, let us also imitate it, that we may inherit equal commendation. If it was reprehensible and is discredited, why urge me to do as far as we can from the guilt of the worse part, so as not to fall into the same, but rather to strive toward the better.

Or rather obeys the sacred laws, I for my part accept the penitence of sinners and confirm the dispensation for them, but only if it puts an end to the sin, and not if it gives license for the sin's indulgence. If the sin continues to be performed, without interruption, it is impossible to suppose that he who gives the sinner license to live in his sin cannot make any dispensation leading to salvation. This is the dispensation of a cynic rather than of a dispenser, of one who derides the healing of dispensation.
realize the folly of what was done; condemn your dispensation, given out of this subject, and say meekly: Return to yourself, most honorable Brothers; be spoken of. Yet the fact that Aaron was not condemned did not excuse subsequent calf-makers from being punished for their calf-making. You see it is not enough for those who go astray in their own conduct to refer to errors made before them. For why should civil laws and holy canons have been laid down, if precedents can be imitated without incurring guilt? The object is to prevent men who have fallen into the sins of their fathers from taking refuge in the plea, “As I have sinned, so has another done before me!”

So, then, Brothers, this excuse is equally ineffectual to exonerate those who take refuge in it and thus give standing to a fourth marriage: rather it condemns them for choosing to regulate the affairs of the Church, that have great need of straightforwardness, not straightforwardly but crookedly. Surely, if one of your slaves soils your house or your shirt, and then refers to another as having done the same and says, “Because one of my fellows committed the same offense, for this reason it occurred to me to do so,” you will not accept his defense, but will torment and flog him for such impudence, because it was his duty, in view of his fellow’s previous offense, to have guarded against it himself. Do you then think it right to condone by precedents the evils done to the Church? Do you not apply this same rule to the Church as to conduct concerning yourself and your house, but think it right to condone offenses against her on the plea that such offenses have been condoned in the past? Who in his senses would call your conduct reasonable? As for comparing your indulgence with that shown in antiquity, and bringing the blessed David into the discussion, I cannot see what help it can be to those who cite his case; unless they are to cite also Jacob with his errors made before them. For why should civil laws and holy canons have been laid down, it precedents can be imitated without incurring guilt? The object is to prevent men who have fallen into the sins of their fathers from taking refuge in the plea, “As I have sinned, so has another done before me!”

Though there are many other things which the matter demands should be spoken of, yet in respect of the length of my letter, I believe I have already said more than enough. I abstain therefore from writing more on this subject, and say merely: Return to yourself, most honorable Brothers; realize the folly of what was done; condemn your dispensation, given out of

1 Reg. 35.42-44; 2 Reg. 5.13-16; 11.27. | 461-462: Gen. 29.15-30.13. | 462-463: 1 Reg. 15.32-33.

449 edēs, 450 toû toû. | 446 edēs, Vat.: ως P | 445 toû toû P*: toû toû P
favor to men, as unseemly; resolve upon what is worthy of yourself and conduct to the honor of the Church and of the dignity of Christians! Let it not be told that Romans introduced fourth marriages into the holy nation of the Christians on the excuse of pleasing an emperor! You know how eager is the assault of evil, and that when, especially, it draws its authority from power, and from such power as this, it is not easily stemmed. Even so did third marriage begin to pass current among men, when it was allowed in favor of one, and a second came after in imitation, and then another, and so, passing through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom in life. Do not, now that human nature is in its old age, bring yourself to pass through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom

470 no, you are looking for a manner, and a second came after in imitation, and then another, and so, third marriage begin to pass current among men, when it was allowed in favor of one, and a second came after in imitation, and then another, and so,

475 live, and that when, especially, it draws its authority from power, and from such power as this, it is not easily stemmed. Even so did third marriage begin to pass current among men, when it was allowed in favor of one, and a second came after in imitation, and then another, and so, passing through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom in life. Do not, now that human nature is in its old age, bring yourself to pass through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom

480 it, this is from you, misled you into a wrongful course. It is no wonder if you, the repute that you were the teachers of so vile a thing! Nay, correct yourself! teach it this strange marriage that is alien from our race, nor leave behind in life. Do not, now that human nature is in its old age, bring yourself to pass through very many examples, it established itself as an evil custom

485 for his dispensation to the First and Great High Priest, this suffices for him too, that your predecessor has quitted this life and is submitting the defense for his own transgression, and implored pardon and release from the ban which being near the end of his life, found for himself (as I trust in the Divine Favor) when God had already stretched forth his hand upon the good Emperor, he, your Pope Sergius. I do not mean that these should be anathematized. For

490 condensation. I do not speak this of the good Emperor—God forbid!—nor yet of your Pope Sergius. I do not mean that these should be anathematized. For
nation, now that you have learned of their evil practices both from my letter and by the steps which our Christ-loving and great Emperor has taken to acquaint you of their machinations and to see that nothing should escape you of the lying fraud enacted by them; which exposure of their wicked plans, and of the far worse things committed to writing, is conveyed to you by the hand of his excellent Magister. So, now that the truth has been made plain by all those means, it is your duty to convict the fraud, and to condemn what should never have been done at all, though done it was, and recover your former reputation, casting all those crimes upon the heads of the criminals, who, so far as it lay with them, have injured the Church of Rome more than our own.

33. To the Monk Tryphon

I am no less desirous to be with your Holiness and partake of your presence and conversation than you (O man of God) desire the like yourself. But since the circumstances of our affairs do not allow of our meeting corporeally, I am, in a higher communion, satisfying my desire by meeting you in spirit, and having my joy with the eyes of the soul. This I am sure will enable your Holiness too to indulge an affection no less than mine. From the illness that afflicts you, on the top of those other matters which, for my sins, wound my soul with continual sorrows, I have now received an augmentation of sorrow. But, placing my hope in God my Saviour, let me expect that my sorrow for you will find a speedy cure, if only you will not delay in trying the use of those remedies which I am sending, as you requested me. It is obvious that every adversity may be easily escaped in the beginning, but that, if its annoyance be neglected, it derives strength from time, and will no longer be induced as easily to quit those who once neglected it, but who later try earnestly to expel the annoyance. So your Perfection, when the remedies, God willing, arrive, must not be dilatory in your use of them: for I am wholly confident that, if you apply them diligently, your flesh will return to its natural condition.
with prudence and wisdom, and are besides loved by Him, you both intend
and practice, without exhortation from me, those things which make for the
honor and good order of the Churches of God. Nonetheless, because all the
responsibility and care for those Churches rest on me, I myself write to you
of matters which shall gain you a heavenly recompense and are for the good
of the Churches.

Leaving the rest aside for the moment, I have learned concerning the
holy Church of Thebes that the clergy are at odds with one another, and
instead of giving an example of good order to the laity, are themselves pro-
voking disorders and clashes, and, what is most pitiable of all, are inflicting
wounds on one another. I therefore command that your Wisdom shall invite
them together, and by word and exhortation persuade them to abstain from
this disorder, and to require that those who celebrate with the Archbishop
shall occupy the cathedral church, and there perform the glorification of God;
and that the others, who up to the present have neither celebrated nor com-
municated with the Archbishop, shall gather by themselves in the other
churches, so that the sacred office be undisturbed until the Holy God may
approve that His holy Church be dispensed from the troubles which, for our
sins, have come upon us. In this way, those who have been kept blameless
by God in their ministry shall in no way be offended; and those who in human
wisdom have suffered and strayed may abide in good hope the coming dispen-
sation concerning them, when our Great Archpriest and God grants it con-
summation. The Lord keep you in health (my tenderly loved Son), prospering
and approved in all goodness, and above the reach of any kind of malice.

34. To the Military Governor of Hellas

My beloved Son, I am aware that, as by God's grace you are adorned
with prudence and wisdom, and are besides loved by Him, you both intend
and practice, without exhortation from me, those things which make for the
honor and good order of the Churches of God. Nonetheless, because all the
responsibility and care for those Churches rest on me, I myself write to you
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summation. The Lord keep you in health (my tenderly loved Son), prospering
and approved in all goodness, and above the reach of any kind of malice.

34. Στρατηγῷ Ἑλλάδος

Τέκνον ἡμῶν ἤγαγμημὼν, ὁδόντων ὅτι χάριτι θεοῦ φρονήσεις καὶ
συνείδης καὶ θεωρής ὑπάρχειν, ὅσοι εἰς τιμήν καὶ κατάθεσιν τῶν
ἐκεῖληρισμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, τάξιν καὶ χωρίς τῆς ἡμετέρας 321
5 παρακαθέσους καὶ διανοής καὶ πράξεως. Πάντα ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἢ διὰ μέρους
καὶ ἡ φρονίμη ἡμῶν ἐνέκατα τῶν ἐκεῖληρισμῶν, γράφομεν σοι καὶ ἡμῖν ἡ
καὶ σοὶ μισθὸν οὐράνιον προξενεῖ καὶ ταῖς ἐκεῖληρισίας εἰς συμφέρον
ἐπιτίθεται.

Ἀλλὰ τέως μὲν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείως. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν
10 Θεοῦ ἅγιας ἁγιάζων ἁγιαλήθεις ὡς αἱ κληρονομέας κατ’ ἄλλους συν-
συχάζεις ἀντὶ τῶν τόπων εἶναι καταπατῶσας τῶν κομίσωσας αὐτοῖς ἄπαξ
καὶ μάχεις συνιστάσας, καὶ τὸ ἐλευθερών καὶ πληγάς ἐπιφρονοῦσα
ἀλλόν, ἄμεσον δὲ νομίζως εἰνὴν ἡ συνεποιηθείσα σῶμα, καὶ
λόγως καὶ παρακαθέσας παίζε τῆς τοιοῦτος ἁπάξας ἀποχεθάρεσσας καὶ
15 παρεχείρησες τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἁρχιεπισκόπου συλλεκτούργησας, ἢ ἔκα
νυς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκεῖληρισίαν κατέχεις καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ δεξιολογίαν τοῦ
θεοῦ ἐπιπέδης, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, οἱ τέως τῶν ἁρχιεπισκόπων οὐσὶς συνελε-
τούργησας ἐκεῖς ἐκοινωνήσαντες, ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκεῖληρισίας συνεσθείσας καὶ
ἐκατούς, ἡνίκας ἄνηγορος ἡ ἀντιεξημένη, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἄρχος
20 θεοῦ ἐλεοθυσίαν τι οἰκονομήσῃς εἰς τὰ καταχώρησας πράξισις ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν τὴν ἁγίας αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖληρισίας. Τούτων γὰρ γνωμόνοι καὶ οἱ
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διατηρηθέντες ἐπεμενοῦν ἐν τῇ ἐλευθερώσει κατά ὅπερ
τοιχοκόμησαν καὶ οἱ ἀνθρώπων τὸ παθόντας καὶ σωμάτων μετα τῆς
ἀκμῆς ἐλπίδος ἐσπένοντο ἀναμένοντες τὴν περί αὐτῶν γενομονήν ὅπως
25 νομίζων, ὅταν ὁ μέγας ἡμῶν ἄρχος θεοῦ τούτο ἐλεοθυσία ἐπιπέ-
δηθησθῇ. Ἐρρομένων σε διαφυλάξεις ὁ κύριος, τάξιν ἡμῶν ποιεῖν, C
ἐν τάσι καλὸς προσκόπτων καὶ εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἡνίκα παντολεγὸς ἐπη-
ρείας ἀνάτομον.


33, 34

So much for that. But do you, knowing what I must be suffering amidst
these tempests, which are such as I doubt whether any violence of circum-
stances has ever aroused till now, be the more eager and constant to protect
me with your holy prayers.
I am aware (my beloved Son) that, adorned as you are with prudence and wisdom, you have that disposition concerning the Church of God which becomes a man beloved of God, whom God has honored and glorified in this life, and who looks to receive glory and honor from Him in the life to come; and it may be that I am acting unnecessarily in deciding to exhort your pious heart in the matter of defending the properties of the Great Church of God, in which you were glorified by the Holy Spirit when you received the blessing upon your patriciate through the laying on of my humble hands; and in which you surely have your hope, I mean, in the Grace of the All-holy Spirit that dwells continually within you.

However, since I have received a letter from the Curator of its estates — I mean, at Strongylizon — suggesting that I should write to your Excellency to the end that both he and the estates of the Church committed to his charge may have the benefit of your supporting arm where need may arise, I am carrying out his suggestion and dispatching this letter to you and through it, as though I were in your presence, I speak to you and exhort you not to ignore those who are trying, with lawless purpose and violence, to invade the estates of the holy Church of our Great God and Saviour, and to tear those estates away from the Church's ownership, and bring them under their own. There is, as I learn, a considerable number of persons with this criminal purpose, who, it is said, out of sheer greed, do not fear to tear away the property of the divine Temple and make it their own; for they are temple-robbers, and thus contemners of the most holy Church.

So much for them. But you (my Son), who are wise enough to see how great is the danger, both to those who dare to commit those crimes and to those who overlook their insolence and who, though having the power to punish, do not use it, do you not allow these men by this damage done to the Church to damage the salvation of their own souls, nor do you by ignoring their greed — or rather their temple-robbing — make yourself, in a sense, liable to the condemnation of God. For he that is able to repress evil, and does not, is near to fellowship with its guilt. And if it is censurable and damnable not to offer of one's own to God, how much more so is it to seize the property of God?
35, 36

"After all praise, dear son, you are wise enough to realize: therefore show that zeal on behalf of the Church of God which befits your Virtue, and the faith which you have in that Church, that you may win for yourself no ordinary thanks from God, and those who are evilly encroaching on the properties of the Church may be checked in their insolence, and may not extend their wicked purpose where they have no right and obviously have no reasonable claim.

36. To the Curator of Strongylizon

From the tenor of the letter sent by you to that most holy man of God, the Oeconomus of the Great Church of God, I gather that you are distraught and angry, the one because of troublesome circumstances, the other because you received a letter from him some time ago which blamed you. So far as his strictures are concerned, I do not approve your resentment. Rebukes and strictures of whatever kind, sent by fathers to sons, are cheerfully received by intelligent men, and not with resentment and grief. And why so? Because the man so rebuked should consider the aim and end of the stricture, and not have regard simply to its wording. If you have been blamed when you have done no wrong, you ought to be grateful, because the blame has acted as warning against your doing so; if you have done wrong, and been rebuked for it, you should be even more grateful, because the rebuke has corrected and healed the transgression. Both are good; and you, as an intelligent man, should not allow good things to trouble you as though they were evils and disasters, by which alone a sensible person is afflicted. So, put aside your resentment at the Oeconomus’ letter, drop this attitude of heedless indifference, and withdraw your resignation of your stewardship, from which, if you work at it uprightly and wholeheartedly, an incomparable reward awaits you. You, an intelligent man, do not regard only things present, but, beyond this present life, you desire (I suppose) that which is to come. You surely do not doubt that your reward is laid up for you by God in Heaven for your labor in the affairs of His Church? If somebody works zealously in
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your own affairs so that they are benefited thereby, you would not deprive that zealous servant of his due reward, but would take care that his labors were recompensed in full; and do you suppose that God, Who is above us all, is inferior to you in this attitude? That is absurd, and no human being should think it for a moment.

As I say, get rid of your sulkiness over the letter. But as regards the crisis and difficulty of events, I have written to the Military Governor, and I imagine he will not neglect what I have written, but will furnish you with all possible assistance and support. So on this score too you should cheer up, and get to work more vigorously, and act in collaboration with the Military Governor and find out what he thinks from now on; then write to me, and I will make it a matter of urgency to see that you get what help is possible, together with the necessary care and protection.

37. To Stylian, Deacon

Orders and instructions on conduct are needful for those who are not instructed by their own intelligence. I do not think this of you, and so I have abstained from writing to instruct you how to administer the affairs of the Church of God. Having once convinced myself that you look toward God and fear His condemnation, and then that you are not deficient in human intelligence as a guide to proper conduct, I regard it as unnecessary to add anything of my own concerning the proper administration of the affairs of the Church, either in respect to the good order of the clergy or in respect to agricultural efficiency.

I write only this, regarding your request, that you should open the cathedral treasury and extract the document which emperors Have issued from time to favor of the immunity of the priests of the Church: make an audit at the same time of all the sacred objects belonging to the metropolis, and send me the summary. When you have done this, and not disappointed my expectation of your zeal, fare you well!
I (my Son), though a sinner, pray for this, that all may tread that path which leads them away from the turmoil of this world, and draws them toward the abode and peace of salvation. And, if it were possible, I should be eager not only to fulfill your request, but should even be ready to do something further, if only my goodwill could achieve the object desired. But you are aware (my Son), even without my telling you, what the state of affairs is, and that I am able to give no assistance in the affair; but that, however, I might be seen to struggle, my struggle would go for nothing. What can I say, at such a juncture, save to entrust the whole to God! And let him who is inflamed with the desire of Christ, if truly he has desired Him, confirm the desire that has been kindled by following after our Christ and God, Who, to another who asked His permission to settle his affairs, not only did not allow this, but forbade him such an anxiety, telling him to repose on Him and on His unwearying Providence the care which weighed on him: for He was sufficient to bear and bring to a happy issue what was troubling him, and to free him from distraction. We survey past generations, and we do not find that that hope which repose on Christ our God is put to shame. This I write to you (my Son), who are wise and a student of the divine things, given the difficulty of the time allows me, humanly speaking, to give you no help in your request. But do you, with the Divine Favor, draw hence with your exhortations and prayers him who desires to take refuge from the storm of life: and believe in Christ our God that there will be a fortunate issue out of his troubles. For the rest, fare well, and cease not to pray for my Humility.

I may be doing what is unnecessary, for I write what you heard from my lips—words not idly spoken but with all the earnestness you observed when I pronounced them in your hearing. And now, you see, I address you...
by letter in your absence in the same terms as I spoke to you when you were here. Affairs do not permit our separation. What rumors have found their way to you, you will know yourself; but what I partly hear and partly learn on plain evidence could hurt us very much. I am afflicted by this, and so I write to you not to put your own business first, even if you have such as to bring you some advantage, but rather the general commotion of the Church; and to come to me as soon as you possibly can, and not to act like the *metropolitan* of Cyzicus, who seems totally to ignore the common interest and my Mediocritv. Oh, affection and care and consideration of children for your fathers, whither have you vanished! For you are not now to be found in life! Fare well, and pray for my Mediocritv.

40. To the Patrician Malacinus

I was not pained by the insults cast on me by the letter, because I regard it as a great compliment to be thought deserving of any notice whatever—I who, for my sins, am unfit so much as to draw breath. But what did seem painful to me was that a man of sense, capable of appreciating the situation, should have been led astray as to its nature, and, instead of thinking it over rationally, should have looked merely to his own desire. He blames those who do not deserve to be blamed, although he knows my willingness to help from past experience, when circumstances did not thwart the realization of my purpose. If he has been incensed and provoked to blame me because certain others got some help out of me, then that too is unreasonable: an intelligent man must also be aware that time is a factor of great importance, which realizes many of our plans in a way not according to the wish of the planner and sometimes to his intense annoyance. You, with your good sense and wisdom, are aware of this: so stop blaming me, and pray (as it is your duty to do, more especially since your prayer will be that of a friend on behalf of his friend) that I may pass the few days remaining to my life in freedom from the burden of sorrows that now beset me, unless God is wholly averse from my doing so.
Grieved and depressed as I was in any case at these things which for my sins are afflicting me, yet when I read the letter of your Archiepiscopal Perfection, I was even more distressed at its contents, from which I learned that, together with your other hardship, you had fallen ill; especially when I can imagine the season's scorching heat which they tell me prevails where you are. This has distressed me very keenly, and still does so, even though hope in the Divine Favor reveals a better prospect and allows me (as it were) to bear up beneath the load of my grief.

About your coming here, you must not be angry. Doubtless your presence is requisite for the Church entrusted to your hand by the Holy Spirit; but because matters here since your departure (I cannot say how they have assumed this posture) demand your presence, you must for the time being consider your local affairs as of secondary importance, and be willing instead to visit us. You know that when things here are going smoothly, then things throughout the whole Church are in a good state; but when they are unquiet here, matters abroad must necessarily be far worse. So, as I say, do not let this trouble you, but, when God favors and gives you release (as I trust He will) from your illness, hasten your arrival, even without the permission of your advisers.

That the document I promised has not been in your hands before now is due to no delay or change of mind—it was ready before the holy Festival of the Great Apostle; but since I heard a report announcing your arrival in the City soon after the Festival, I put off sending it. I send it to you now, to ease your mind on this score, and to clear myself of any improper suspicion. Fare well (most Holy Son), and remember my Mediator in your holy prayers.
42, 43 partly because I had no notion that your letter would announce the painful tidings which in fact it did (for the suffering of one's sons is painful), but rather hoped for news joyful and gratifying to me, arising from your conveying the intelligence of your own health and the better state of the affairs of your Church in Christ our God.

As it is, you state first that you are afflicted by illness, and thereafter nothing to give me any respite or comfort for my sufferings over the good order of the Churches, for which I pray unceasingly, though for my sins my prayer remains unanswered. But this, willy-nilly, though it tears my lowly heart, I do and shall endure, so long as the inscrutable judgments of God ordain it to be part of my weary and miserable existence.

But for you (my most holy Son), though your flesh has been sore with its sicknesses and perhaps is so still, yet you have by God's Grace a healthful soul; do not therefore cease, by your counsels and exhortations both in word and deed, so to equip, so to direct and to guide the flock entrusted to your hand by the All-holy Spirit that God may be well pleased in you and that my Humility, learning of your care unto salvation for your diocese, may bear up under the weight of my depression; and you yourself, as a beacon that carries the word of life in this world, shall in this present life show forth your works of light to them who love virtue, and in the world to come may be found (as I believe you will be) numbered among the heirs of light. For the rest, cease not to remember my Humility in your holy prayers.

42, 43

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43. 'Andréas μητροπολίτης Πατρών

Τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράμμον σοι, τέκνον ἡμῶν Ιερόν, εὐθυτές διὸ καὶ γραφής τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων τὴν ἀμαθίαν παρέξει σοι ἡ διεστικότητα σοῦ γένους. Παρὰ ὅλη καὶ ἡμέρας καθάδε χρηματὶ ἐνεχθήσατε λόγους τὴν C 5 χειρὶ σου χαράς τε καὶ ποιήσατε τὴν ἀληθίαν τοῦ ἀπογεγραμμένος ἡμῖν εἰροῦς, τοιάδ' τινα τινής καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν.

43. To Andrew, Metropolitan of Patras

I write you this letter (my holy Son) in the knowledge that even without words of mine your Wisdom will know the proper course to pursue. Nonetheless, in the light of reports I have heard, I will set out my own opinion, so that if you find that what I have been told is true, you may regulate the affair in some such way as this.

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The bearer of the letter has stated that a widow woman, as befits her good sense, has chosen, instead of the worldly, to pursue the spiritual life, and, keeping watch over her husband's grave, has embraced the monastic order and offered up her own life and all her property to Christ our God.

Since (such being the nature of human villainies) the devil's envy is stirring up tempests against her, you will extend her your protection, and not allow that bishop, whoever he is, to vex her; on the contrary, you will strengthen her hand in maintaining her in her proper station, whether she holds the rank of abbess or prefers in some other capacity to abide and keep vigil in that monastery. It would be unjust and altogether inhuman to expel a woman of such piety of life from the place where she has laid the body of her husband to rest, and where she has devoted her property both for the salvation of her own soul and for the continuance and maintenance of the place.

As I say, then, protect her from the heavy and grasping hand of the bishop, and teach him not to covet the property of others, and if he has any care to be numbered among the ministers of God, let him supply those who beg of him in their need out of his own revenues, according to the commandment of the Spirit.

44. To a General

Now, as ever, I give thanks unto the Holy God, because (my beloved Son) he preserves your life and has granted prosperity to your affairs; and I am sure that He will continue to grant it, and I pray unceasingly that your strategic Virtue may be illuminated by achievements yet greater than these, so that through your exploits His Divine Name may be magnified, and the joint race of co-believers may enjoy common benefaction and happiness; and that you (my Son) may in this life receive as the fruits of your labors yet greater honors and further increase and advancement, and in the life to come may be granted the common reward of all those who strive for Christ our God and His glory!

I have received what you sent me, and I send you for a blessing one hundred flasks of perfume, praying that your soul may never want the divine and unfading fragrance, but may be perfumed by it, and be above the reach of, and pure from, every taint.
45. 'Aρσενίῳ μονάζοντι

'Ήμεις καί ἀπόλυσε τῇ σῇ ὀικουτίτι καί οὕτω ἦμιν ἐγνωμόμην, μόνη φήμη τῇ ἀνακριτουσίᾳ τήν σὴν ἀρέσειν συντιμέτρεται ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῦσε: καί ἤδηνεν σε καὶ πάρον ὃ λαβότες δικέν δικάσιμον καί ἀποκατάστηκα καί τῇ πνευματικῇ ἐνδοκά ἐπὶ πλάνοις συνήθησαμεν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ παρεσθήσαμεν ἀπεδείξας τῇ τουκτῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ζὸ ἐκ πραγμάτων γνωρίζομεν, οὓς τῷ μέμοις ἦμις ἀπολαύσας τῷ μενὲν παρὰ τῆς ὁμοίως ἀνδρικής ἔναθεν, ἐν ἤμις μὲν ἐμπεσόντες δυνάμεν, σὺ δὲ ἐν χρυσί καθέντεσαι. ᾠδας γὰρ ὡς οἴδην εἰς αὐτάν

10 προσέβαλος δὲν παρασχεθεῖν ἔμεις ἱκνοί οὕτω προβάλλουμεν ἂντιγνωμονὶ τῆς πληροφορίας. Πλὴν εἰ καὶ οὕτως ἦμις, ἀγαθά τὸ ἐγκαθάρισμα φίλων γὰρ πνευματικῶν πρὸς ἕμους φίλων ὧδε καί δημόλοι τὰ ἐγκαθάρισμα.

Τάτα μὲν πρὶν δὲν ἐξάφθην τὶς αὑτῶν πεπατεντὶ τὸ παραταῖντες ἐφῆμεν τῇ σῇ ὀικουτίᾳ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κινουμένης φιλοκειμένης (καὶ

15 εἰς τὰ πάντα φιλόνομοι διάδοται ἀπολαύλοτα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, μᾶλιντα δὲ τῶν τῇ πνευματικῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπανηγμένην) ἐξεπετάλοντα, μετὰ ἐπιλαύσας αὐς τῷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔμθεμα λόγωςς συνεπεπεπτόκεμον τὰ πράγματα (παρασκεύη δὲ ἐς ὁμοῖος τῇ διάλεκτος δούναι) τῶν ἀφαίρεσέν τίνιν ποιήσαμεν.

Τὰ δὲ ἔλλα ὑπὸ γράμματος, ἢν τὸ ὄρος Βάρδας ἐθίδος, καὶ δὲν εἰ παρεῖ ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου 'Αλέξανδρου περιοίκου περιπλησίαμοι ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἢν καὶ παρὰ τῶν παρεγγείλατο παρὰ τῷ λαόντος, ἢσθην καὶ χορὸς τοῦ γράμματος ἢς εἰ τῶν ἀγαπῶντων ἀπήρτες διεθάνα κοιμα¬

20 καθε νίκαις, ὡς οἴδην ἐν ἀπορήσει τοιοῦτο πλοῦτο. Ἀλλὰ πάντως ἢν ἐς ἐχής ἐλύματα καὶ ἀνὰ πάντας ἐδὼ ἀπόλυσα, τῇν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἦμῶν κοιμαθέναι, τότεν μακριαγωγόντων ἢν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πολλά πλέον κοιμαθέναι καὶ πολυπλοῦτος περιουσίας' δι' ἢν 236 καὶ νῦν παρά τοῖς ἀλλότριοις καὶ καλὸς εἴδοσι μισηθῇ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μακριαγωγός ἔσται ἐν τῇ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείᾳ τῶν παρὰ θεοῦ μακριξο

30 μένως συμπλουτῶν καὶ συνδιαλαμβάνως.

46. Τῷ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ καὶ ἡγατημένῳ ἡμῶν υἱῷ τῷ περιδρέχῳ ἐξουσιαστῇ Ἀβασίσι

Ἐπὶ τῷ χαρισμῷ, τόκῳ ἦμών, τοῦ μακριαγωγότατος πατρὸς σου ἐλτηθεύμενος, διατηρήσας ἴν αἰώνιαν, τὴν τῷ σὺν εἰναοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ πάλιν


46: P 168v-169v || 4 ἐν αὐτοῖς || τος ex eort. P

45. To the Monk Arsenius

'Even when your Holiness was absent and as yet unknown to me, yet by the mere report which proclaimed your virtue I was already bound to you in the Holy Spirit, by the bond of His love; and now that I have seen you and received of you such proof as I have received, I have both loved you and been yet more bound to you in spiritual union. And if I have given no practical and tangible proof of this union, I believe I may be excused by the fact that I have not been acquainted by your Holiness with anything that I can do for you or that you stand in need of: since you are aware that you have made no demand on me for anything in my power to bestow; and that, if you had, you would not have wanted satisfaction. But though this is so, yet I welcome the rebuke, since the rebukes of spiritual friends to their fellows are pleasant and profitable.

So much for my apparent fault in seeming to neglect your Holiness. But as regards the quarrel that has arisen (and would that all disposition to quarrel were to vanish from among men, and especially from among such as have embraced the spiritual order!): an official has been dispatched with an injunction, who will, jointly with him who is receiving the imperial mandate, examine the state of affairs (may the Holy God grant a complete solution!) and will give judgment on the points at issue.

For the rest of your letter, concerning what the Lord Bardas offered you, and what you would have been granted by the Lord Alexander if you had been here while he still lived, and moreover what you received from the Lord Leo: I know, without your writing it, that if you had been one of those who choose to be in bondage to the material things of this world you would even now be in enjoyment of these riches; but that satisfaction which you have esteemed from the beginning and chosen before any other—to suffer with our Christ and God—you certainly regard as a possession more blessed than that of those who have acquired many acres and wealthy properties; and for this you are accounted blessed by those who know what true goodness is, and shall hereafter be blessed, growing rich and glorious in the Kingdom of Heaven together with those who are blessed of God.

46. To my most excellent and beloved Son, the glorious Prince of Abasias

At the departure (my Son) of your Father, of most blessed memory, I am grieved, as is natural, when I reflect upon your own anguish of heart
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at the loss, and on that of all who know how to esteem a man adorned with virtue, especially one who was, like your Father, approved and revered by all. But I have this escape from my grief, that Divine Providence has granted to his lawful offspring and the fruit of his seed the succession to the power of his rule, and has provided his own nation with—as it were—an image of him who has departed out of this vain life. This has banished my grief, and turned it indeed rather toward thankfulness to God. And thanks I have offered, and offer still, praying the Divine Goodness that you may in nothing fall short of your Father's achievements, but rather may surpass them, and be among your subjects such a father and prince as will in your deed bear witness to the justice of God's award which has fallen upon you, and show your Father yet more blessed in your character and virtuous conduct, and win for yourself undying glory in this present life, and in the life to come the eternal glory and honor and felicity.

I send you a mantle with my benediction. But, as touching the Archbishop of Alania (my Son), I do not know what to write. You, as an intelligent, sensible man, and as one who knows that the Archbishop's work is devoted to the salvation of men and the glory of God's mighty Name, will, I am sure, without my writing, and for the reward which is reserved in Heaven for those who love God, both lend your aid to him and assist his labors. And if in that foreign nation and strange land he is in need of anything essential or tending to bring comfort to his life, you will provide it willingly, if God gives you power to do so. And may you be yet more plentifully supplied with that power, so as to help those who are in need of it!

47. To Constantine the Chamberlain, a consolation for the death of a sister

When I consider (my honored Son) the blow which has unexpectedly fallen on you, and your bitter grief, I am myself dumbfounded and know not what to say, or what words to find which can console the grief of my heart, or you, or your Mother beloved of God, or your other relatives and friends whose hearts are lacerated by this bitter suffering. For in truth the
seit thyn xaridain. Nixx ghor ois eilipheus pasan paragophan kai parakoloun th logyn toi (oimi toxos etipoi) sumpchekheus heun anapthepe. Thi gar tois
10 pronton penebheis; Thx kathilupisous heun toi aorom kai thn en asto toii
envous thei psychicis toimos ousi un paros ois apolabias thesws apneusmen.
"H thn toii kaloi suikyousa touts monous, ous kai aultous en tou | to
23 eis, eis kai mi thn en toii biai toimh uposthi, alla katevretan adelh
thn pilh; Thi de etapomein preis thn dekataxan toui tou touts theleukon,
15 ois di thn sumuphi thrpn, ou monon preis ekeinhan, alla kai preis tois
xeous kai parou xergeteis hexis to sumpakoyn kai swkaleis. Thi de
preis thn xarakalanan meira, ythos eis kai th xwarion eixe epo sou,
20 ekein, ouv epo ekein ouv xhugyri kai ythos aultous apa-
rapheiseis fouskos (prosousdhi dei kai ekeinou ths
ekaivos koulaia pothousa ferous en taixi anagkalis aultous) meleous xepi-
lanaus ndhous toii biai parodous kai swkanastrapermouseis aultous; "Otan tuata
panta emeri, tynnon mou timotaton, anagogiastai, kaitos kai en ekastou
auletou ouv leitou egekera diexathai parakalasei, epitastai ouv | ouv de
25 bousan thn therapeiai. Kaf gar ei tiis etepi eton kai| xwras lo-
getic, baramaiai estin anadeus. Elen ouv toii barsous xergoprenous prois
xemian kai loutan apyrbolous toii loxogamoa ouv xemipoi kai thmata
pothousan aprosochoues ths paroikias anagkeis ths thmatax kai
30 autais prospolohousai. Kai gar de toii emateine, ooutos xepheus xrapatiteun.
Ektos toii loutan kai ths xemian avous kai xemipoi kai
35 xemian mous toui, kai toui xhugyri skolebathai xepitai
mou toii exous xaxamnou ths ekeinou touis, boullassai apodeun
ooutos ouv toii bars
bousan thn therapeiai. "Alla kai
40 metai poioi tois xemipoi avous xrapatiteun, kai
prexen mait kai xemian arxhousaneis tois kai ths fouskos | proegumai kai boia C
et apochez kai laxoudeis tois anavrstones, etis ethnugame xapataxeis av
ouvthen kai ouvthen epstatheos, alla eti diadoxipeis kai genwmon
45 toii anavrystone logos preis toinou dei kai thn toii plastos kai deuqhto
xemipoi atopo tois xemian xrapatiteun kai apo thes stoix tois xemian
metapheo xemipoi kai ouv thes xrapatiteun xrapatiteun apo
theppes ekknesian ths xamh, melota de eis kai dia ths thetas

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-alas that I should say it!—disaster that has overtaken us is beyond all
comfort or consolation of speech. Where shall we begin our lamentation?
With the unripe age of her who has left us and the stroke which bitter death
has not forborne to deliver while she was in the very flower of her years!
or with the bereavement of her virtuous husband, who, equally in the flower
of his youth, even though he has not himself sustained the deathblow, yet
feels that stroke the more bitterly? And what shall I say of the bereavement
of you, her brother, who, tender-hearted as you are, must share suffering
and sorrow not only on her behalf but even on that of strangers and of those
quite unrelated to you? And wath of your aged Mother, who, though she has
been able to rejoice in you (my Son), as the Mother of such a son may, yet
would have found even greater pleasure in her as a daughter and a woman like
herself (whose offspring, moreover, she longed to carry in her arms), had she but
lived to lead her company? When I consider all these circumstances together
(my most honored Son), for any one of which it would be hard to find an
acceptable consolation, I know that there is no speech or consolation that
has power to assuage or to heal the wound. For if, as I say, we reckon them
up one by one, they are most heavy indeed, and henceforth their weight they
drag down all our thoughts into despair and grief inconsiderable. And this was
nearly my own experience when the bitter tidings unexpectedly reached my
ears: for when I heard them, I was at once so much affected by grief and
distress that I could hardly utter a sound, or would listen when another
spoke to me: so much was my mind distraught by the weight of sorrow.
But, at long last, I recovered my wits, and reflected first on the common
condition of our nature and the fate which has from the beginning attended
humanity, calling to mind that we have suffered nothing new or strange, but
only what is usual and familiar in human life; and again, I pondered on the
dispensation of our Creator and Lord, knowing that he dispenses all for the
best, and settles the affairs of his own creature better than we can plan or
devise for ourselves. And thus I found some relief and solace, and felt my
spirits (as it were) from this deep cloud of gloom, especially since I
have hope that, through the Divine Mercy, she who has left us and departed out of this vain life will attain to that place where is all joy, and all cheerfulness, and all sweetness, and release from suffering, and rest unbroken.

May these considerations console you also (my Son) who are by God's grace prudent and wise; and comfort and relieve you in this painful separation. We could not bear the separation without grief and lamentation and laceration of heart: this was impossible. We have grieved, lamented, been lacerated. But now, let us stay our grief, and cease from our laceration. And why?

I know (my Son) that the natural stings of fellow-feeling cause us great pain when our relatives suffer, and especially so when we have a heart whose affection is wholly sincere and natural; and that the pains of these stings tend to overcome any words of consolation. For this reason it is natural that you yourself should, at the death of your sister, be grieved and troubled in spirit (for you are tender-hearted and loved her), and should suffer a pain that will not listen to consolations. But, even if this be your state, and however sharp your anguish, yet I, remembering that while you love your family you are even more devoted to God, have decided to venture on this consolation, and to endeavor, with God's aid, to raise my most tenderly loved Son from the very thick cloud of his despondency.

Our sister has left us. But let us not consider simply that she has left us: let us also reflect upon where she has gone and to whom she has departed. We are deprived of her converse and sight, which were pleasant to us; but let us aoE to mind those to whose converse, to whose beholding and felicity she herself has migrated. She has deserted us, but she has found her father and a host of other relatives, from whom we ourselves draw our origin, and to whom, when we have acted out this little oomedy of life, we shall ourselves return. We are deprived of the pleasure we enjoyed in having our sister with us; but she now enjoys that truly pure delight arising from her dwelling and converse with those who have been found worthy of that
blessed existence. Let us not therefore, in our regard for what we consider our deprivation lose sight of what she who migrated to so great a bliss has won; nor, in bewailing our own loss, ignore her gain.

And what, after all, is this grievous loss of ours in respect of the gain that has accrued to her? I am sure that, if we really loved our sister — as we did, — then we ought to pay no regard at all to any loss sustained by us, in comparison with the magnitude of those blessings our sister has won. And if our life be nothing but a journey, and if the mansion beyond it waits for all men, why should we repine if she has finished her journey before us, and has sooner reached our common abode? Suppose that in this present life we were going off on a journey together: should we repine if she got to the place whither we were going before we did? I think not: rather should we be glad and give thanks to God that she had ceased from the toil of traveling before us and had reached that abode. For is not all our life toil and misery, from which she has found release and attained to her blessed repose? And so (my Son) let us not seem to envy her the repose and griefless, painless existence which she enjoys: she certainly does not think we love her if she sees us grief-stricken and mourning; she is offended rather, and turns away from those who look askance at those blessings it is her lot to enjoy.

Besides, if she has suffered something strange and alien from our nature, something we were not perfectly well aware she would have to suffer, then our grief and lamentation over it are reasonable; but if it be nothing save what is proper to human life, why complain of an event thus proper? Why do we seem to murmur at the state of things ordained for us by God from the beginning, and, while we ought, as intelligent and sensible men, to be thanking God for the many mercies which He has bestowed on us, why do we, like men who have suffered some inconsolable injury, voice our protest in this crying out and dejection and mourning? Do we not see this sun, how fair and great he is, and how he illumines all the earth? And yet he too is subject to the order that is given him, and submits to eclipse of his light, for so has God ordained it from the beginning. Do we not see all the world governed by laws laid down, and the earth now flowering and now casting down its flowers? and all plants, now shady with leaves and fruits, now stripped of them? Yes, and all animals, on land and in water and sailing in the air, how to them too the allotted span of life is
60 καθὼς διασκεδάζονται τῆς ζωῆς ἡ ἐκείνη τῶν | καθὼς λύσσας τῷ Σμίκρονι. Ἐγνώμονα 240 ἡμᾶς καθός και παρακαθαρίσθησιν τῶν κρασίων τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐς παράσχει καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καθός αὐτῆς ἔδοκιμας καὶ συμβούλευται ἱμᾶν τὴν γνώμην τέτευχον ἀδερφῶν, ὅσον ἔσομεν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐργάσιμοι, καὶ προσπαθήσατε ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβεβηκόντα βούλησιν καὶ κράτος. Πληθὺς ἀνασφάλεια καὶ δοσιμασία, ὅ φρονήσεως ὑνιαὶς πολλαχοὶ τὰ ἡμέρα κατευθείτης καὶ διεξάγεται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Πρὸς τάεταν νομίζων καὶ τὸ ὄρφανον συμβεβηκαν κἂν μὲν συντρέχον τὰ πράγματα τὴς ἐπιθυμίας, καθὸς ἡμῖν περερασμενον μὲν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ἀναφορὰ τῆς ζωῆς συνεργοφορείται. Ἑκείνου δὲ ὄχι ὄστες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς ἀποκεφαλίζων πλὴν τὸ ὄρφανον ἔδειξαν ἢ ὅσον ἢν τὴς γρήγορον διὰ τῶν ἡμῶν ἀφέθαιρεν. Μὴ δὲ ὁ λαός μὲν ἀνακαταθέλησιν τῆς συμβολῆς, χάριν δὲ τὸν ὀρειλομάτωρ τοῖς ἄχετοι τοῦ ἐπίκουδων καὶ ἄνωτα πολυπέσιν ζωῆς ἀπάρασπο ἢ ἀδερφῆς πρὸς τὴν μορφὴν κατηγορίας καὶ ζωῆς καὶ ἑκείνης καὶ πάσης λύπης ἔθεσθαι καὶ καταργηθής καὶ διὰ τὸ τόσον ὑπὸ ὅστις ὑπεστήθη, ἀλλὰ ἐχθροῦσθαι καὶ μακραίκεσθαι.

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48. Γρηγορίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Εφεσοῦ

Ἐπὶ τοῖς προκαιρογραμμένοις τῷ πολυάδικῳ ἡμῶν ψυχή, τέκνοι τῶν ζωὴς ἡμῶν, ἠ풍 ἐκεῖνον ἐκείνους ἐκείνους ἐκείνους, ὡς μικρὸν πρὸς C 5 ἑκάστοιν ἐκείνων καταστῆσαι καὶ τῇ πολλῆς δριμυκαῖς δρόμοι τοῖς παθηθέν

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measured out, and then how time puts an end to them? Why then is it that, when we see the natural order preserved in each of these cases, we suffer nothing and regard it as no injury, yet, when we look only to ourselves, we mourn and feel hardly used because we are treated according to the common laws? How is this worthy of your education and wisdom, or of the Divine hopes upon which you have fixed your heart?

Let us leave our grief, our tears, our sadness. Let us return to ourselves, and resign ourselves to the Judgments of God, Who, at His good pleasure, and granted to us our most sweet sister her birth and her sojourn among us for as long as He deemed it good for her, and then took her to Himself, according to His ineffable counsel and decree. More than we can wish or pray for, doth that Father, the true Lover of our souls, order and conduct our affairs for the best. We are dragged about by more desire, and think that what is good for us is identical with this; and if our affairs run in accordance with our desire, we imagine that life goes well for us, and if not, that our life is thwarted by disaster. But He reasons not so: and through those things which seem to pain and thwart us He gives us greater benefit than that which might seem to come through joy. Let us then turn to gratitude and praise and glorification, giving thanks for the time she dwelt among us, and now, again, thanks that our sister has departed out of this vanity and this painful and most truly wretched life, and has gone to the life of blessedness and joy, that is free of all grief and sadness, and thus deserves, not to be bewailed, but rather to be envied and called blessed.

48. To Gregory, Metropolitan of Ephesus

In addition to the griefs already afflicting my very wretched heart, (most holy Son), the grievous intelligence which has reached me in the recital of your letter has so disposed me that I am nearly out of my mind, and in my utter helplessness am like those who are tossed on a fathomless
...deep in the fiercest of storms, so that they abandon all hope of survival; were it not that He That is ever at hand to aid has granted me to bear up, and given me to reflect that He has never yet failed to stretch forth His mighty arm, and in His ineffable goodness to deliver His Church from crises of every sort and variety. Borne up by this reflection, I am able to preserve better hopes. And may they indeed be preserved, My Christ and Saviour, and not be lost to me and Thy holy Church through the infinite number of my sins!

So much (my Son) I have to write. But as regards other, I mean, human, aid, know that I am in the extreme of helplessness, and it is not in my power to give any help to those with you or those here. Indeed, circumstances demand that you should come here yourself at once, and this you should do without any delay. If there is any one thing that can help matters more than another it is that we should be united, not only in spirit but also in person; and for the rest, it shall be as the mighty and inscrutable Wisdom of Christ our God may wish to dispose. Fare well (most holy Son), protected by the divine wings from all malice seen or unseen.

49. To the Metropolitans outside the Church

"We persuade men," saith the divine Apostle, "but we are made manifest unto God": and it is not otherwise than according to that blessed tongue which speaketh out of Heaven and not out of the thoughts of mortal men. Look thou then to it—or rather look ye, whom (I do not know how to put it more kindly) I begat to be a curse both to myself and to the Church of Christ our God. For a curse you have certainly been: were you not born my sons so that, in accordance with the law which rules the proper conduct of children to their parent, you might protect me, fight for me, and take my part if I was in danger, even, perhaps, if I had been in the wrong? for affection, even when shown in such circumstances as these has its reward from God, Who has ordained the terms of honor between fathers and sons. But this was not your case; since my Christ and...
God, not for any service ever done Him by me but out of His own ineffable goodness, has always shown me His favor and has never permitted that any such wrong should be seen to have been done by me, ...

50. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus

On receipt of your letter (my holy Son) I rejoiced, even though not with a perfect joy. The fact that during the long time of our separation I had no certain news that you were alive, and have now, by your letter, learned what I wished to hear, is matter for rejoicing. But I pray of our merciful God that I may rejoice over you yet more perfectly, through the absolute removal of that suffering which has afflicted, and still violently afflicts, us both. And may He, in His Goodness, fulfill that request, granting that we may see one another, and may glorify His Goodness for Its blessing to us!

51. To the renowned Prince of Abasagia

The piety and worth of your nature have moved me to love you (O man of God), and herewith I open correspondence with you in this letter, and, as though I were present, fold my Son in my arms and embrace him with a paternal kiss. A proof of your piety is the godly zeal which you have displayed, and still display, for the salvation of, and for the adoption of truth by, the nation of the Alans. For I learn from various persons who know your achievements that you have, under God, devoted much care to the enlightenment of the prince of Alania and of all those who with him have been found worthy of holy Baptism. And of the worth of your character, and of your well-doing, what more striking proof can there be, or who will require further witness of them, when it suffices to consider the hospitality, the attention, and the general comfort, as much as could be provided, which...

51: 7: cf. 1 Tim. 2.4; 2 Tim. 2.25; 3.7; Tit. 1.1; Hebr. 10.26.

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you have manifestly hasted, with all good will and heart, on my Son, the
Archbishop, most beloved by God! Therefore I pray to Him Who is able to
return you a manifold reward both in this life and in the life to come, that
He will, according to the riches of His mercy, recompense you with His
favors, preserving you now from all sorrow and adversity in human affairs,
and, in the life to come, numbering you among those who are beloved of Him,
and who are included in the roll of His servants.
And if in the future the Archbishop, most beloved of God, shall obtain any further comfort which your
Virtue (my Son) is in a position to provide, be assured that this too
shall be numbered along with your previous kindnesses, and that you shall
give me the reward many times over from our abundantly giving God.

52. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

I have received your letter, which gave me satisfaction in that yours
was, but, for the rest, has deeply pained me because it called me forgetful
and said I had put off my affection toward my sons; and, what was heaviest,
toward a son’s ministry, which, though it promises much tranquillity in God,
yet in this life brings also toils and pains not easy to bear, unless our hope is
anchored to the Divine Power. If I am such toward my sons, what must I be
toward others who are not bound to me in the order of sonship? But that
your remembrance (my holy Son) is always in my heart, is known to Him
Who created it: and since you measure my affection by my letters, you
must know that I have not been negligent here either. I have written, not
once, but two and three times, although, it appears, my letters have not
reached you: so do not make your absence abroad, or anything else, into a
cause of my “forgetting” you. And yet (my Son), even if this were so, you
ought to have considered the flame that consumes my humble soul and those
things that, for my sins, afflict it, and to pardon rather than accuse me for
your not having received a letter from me. I am aware that you too are
pursuing the path of dangers, and are acquainted with the furnace of griefs;
yet even you will not deny that my own suffering is more painful than those
which encompass you.

52. Πέτρῳ ἅρχιερισικόπος Ἀλανίας

'Εξεξεμαθέω σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τὰ μὲν ἐλλὰ ἠδύναυν μηδὲς ὅτι
tῇ ἐπιστολῇ, τὰ δὲ λυπηταί οὖν δὴνως θετήσωμεν 8τὶ ἐνδύναμον μηδὲς καὶ τὴν πρὸς
tῶν τόκων στοργὴν ἀποφράσαντος ἔσχα, καὶ τῇ ἐρμοῦταν, τέκνον πρὸς
dιακονίας τῷ Δυναμόν τῇ ἀνέσθην, ἀλλ’
ἐν γῇ τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ ἀγάναδαι καὶ πόνους ὡς ῥῆχους ἀνέγραψα, πλὴν ὅσον
ἐπὶ τῇ θείῃ δύναμείς τῆς ἐκλείξα τῶν ἡμῶν ἀποκαλούσθης. Ἐν οἷς πέρι τέκνα
τούτου, πᾶν ἐνεχθάν πρὸς ἀπάρου καὶ οὗ ἦν τῶν τέκνων οἷς οἴδε τέκνα
��; Ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ, τέκνον ἤμαν ἡμᾶς, ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ διὰ
πάντως, ὁδεγὸν ἐὰν πόσαι καθότι ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων συμβάλλειν
τὴν ἡμετέραν | στοργήν, ἐωθήν μὴλδότου ἡμῶν δοκιμάσθην. Ἐγγράφασε Θε
μὲν γὰρ οὕς ὡπεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ θὰ καὶ τρίς, καὶ εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἔχοιν μέχρι τὰ
cρανεῖται ὡς δίκαιον, ὡστε μὴν τῇ ἐν ἀλλοπατῶ γῇ ἀποδοθήν ἔμπιστο μὴν ἔλλο
τι πρὸς αὐτῶν λόγῳ ἡμῶν ἄναφρέτης. Καλῶς, τέκνον ἡμῶν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο
ἐί, ἐξί σε ἐναλογιζόμενον τῇ φηλίδῃ τῆς ἐμῆς τεταυνίᾳ φυλής καὶ τὰ
cυνάχθησα διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, ἐς συγγένειν δοῦνα τῷ μὴ δέξαται
γράψεια, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐγκαθήντο τοῦτο ποιήσατο. Ὀδηγῶν οὕς ὅτι καὶ σὺνόης
τὴν περιτεμάνες ἐπικρίνεις τῆς καμινί τῶν ἠθέουν
τείρων λαμβάνεις ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ἡμετέραν οὔτ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐδὲ
τὸν σὲ περιστερούμενον ἐκπεδωνστέρον.
...
Mē oúν δισφάρει, μηδὲ άλλα, μηδὲ τὸ πετερόν τῷ διανόας διὰ τὰ προσπέπτοντα ὑποχειλέως δισφάρει, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τῆς ἀληθείας ἀληθείας ἢ μὴ διαφέροντες τοὺς διαφέροντας τῷ θεῷ μεταφράζομεν τῷ ὅπως γίνεται μὲν τῶν αἰθετῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων, νοοῦντες τῆς θυλών γλυκύττριας πάντα τὰ ἐπ' ἡμέρα (τὰ γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸς, εὐτέρχει ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λογίζεται;) παραδίκησαν διακόσια τῇ αἰθέρας.

Χαρίς δὲ τούτων ἀναλογίζομεν μοι τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἀποστόλων πάθη—διὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν δισφάρων καθότι τοιαύτη παράστης παθῶν οὐ διαλύει τῶν δισφαρίσσων πεθαμάτων ἢ ἀνάμνησιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλησθαι, ἐπέμενον ταῦτα, ὑπὲρ κόσμου ὧν τὸ μὴ πάθην εἴκοσι ἑκατὸν εἰς τῶν παρακεχόμεν—πάλιν ἀποκτάμενοι τοὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸ τούτο πάθη ἀνέκδεξιόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελίου παραγγελίας δρόμον καὶ τὸς διομεγέτητα τὰς οὐκείς συγκρίνοντες μὴ διαφέροντι καὶ καροσῶν ὑπέρθε διαφοράς, ἀλλ’ εἰ τὶ εὐθεῖα τὰ ἡμετέρα πάθη τῶν μακάρων πατέρων ἡμᾶς ἔχει, ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὲν καθιστώμεθα διὰ τὴν ἐλεημονὴν τῆς ἐκείνων χαρᾶς, τῆς λατρείας καὶ τῆς δήξεως. ὅσοι εἰς ἀμαρτίαν τῶν πάνω καὶ τῆς ἀνακαθήμερπ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν ἔχει, ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὰ πρόγονα πάνω καθιστώμεθα καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθαροί ἡμῶν συνεργοὶ: Dὲ γὰρ εἰδοθεὶς μὲ πείσας λόγος ὃς καὶ μὴ διὰ τέλους ἡ κόσμος ἐπὶ παρ ξὰ ἀρχής προστίθεσας.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑγαρίασ τῶν τε κατὰ γὰρον ἐναντιωτικῶν πραγμάτων τῆς καταπατάσεως τῆς δικαίωσεως καὶ τῶν άλλων ὅπου πρὸς τὴν ἐνδοκάτορον πρότον ὑπάρχει τῶν χρισμῶν, οὐκ ἁγιάζεται, ἡ ἐκεῖνη ὁποῖος ἐκέιστον θάρσον ἡ μετάπτωσις τῆς ἑδύνασθε ἢ ὑπεράσπισσε τὴν ἐκείνης ἡμῶν πρὸς τὴν θερμοκράσια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ δίδασκεν καὶ καθιστήθητε. Διὰ τοῦτο ἔρχεται τὴν δὲ διδασκαλισμόν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ καλά ἀδικήσασ τάραντος παρακεχόμενοι καὶ μετ’ ἐπικεφαλειμάτων παρακεχόμενοι καὶ σῶμα τῆς παρακεχόμενος· καὶ εἰς μὲν πεθαμάτων ἔχεις, εὐχαριστεῖς τῷ θάνατι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, οἷς δὲ διασχειρισμένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὡς παρειλήφθη τῆς ἐνδοκάτορος τῶν αἰωνίων, συνεργάσομεν 248 μακροζωίας, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπεικόνων τῆς ἐνδοκάτορος τάξεως τῶν ἐνδοκάτορος ὑπαρχούντων καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἄρχομεν ἐκλάτων ἐρχόμενοι.

Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ὑποχειλείσ τις καὶ αὐτοτροποῦστος καὶ ἐξουσιαστικότερον διανόητος σοι προπονεῖται καὶ τὸ ἀπότημα μιθαμώς καταδέ-
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εξαπλανάντης, διότι, θυμώμενος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν ἀπατήν τῆς τοῦ παντός ἐνόμου σωτηρίας: ἄκτικη λογικά μὴ ποιεῖς γεγονότα τοῦ ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτῶς διεκτειμένων λήσομεν αὐτὸς τέλος ἐξαρχώμενας καὶ ἔνωσεν καὶ καθότι τὸ πᾶν καταστήματος. Ἡμεῖς πολλὰ παραπληγίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραγόμενα. Οὕτω καὶ λατρεύσεις πρὸς χαλεπότερα πολλάκις τοῦ νοσήματος, καὶ κυριεύτης τὸ μάχεται τὸν ὅθεν τῆς ἀποθεωσάμενης τῆς πορείας τῶν σκέφτων, καὶ στρατηγικά (ἐπιστροφικά) καὶ μὴ βολήτητα πολλάκις εἰς τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς ἁρμῆς καὶ τῷ ἱμέτερον
dε οὐκ ἁνέμετε, ὡς καὶ διδασκάλους ἀπείρησίν τοὺς διδασκομένοις μεταβαλλοῦς ἑξισώμοις, εἰ γε μὴ μέλλον ἀδεσφύτην τῷ ἐκεῖνον πάχεαν, φεύεσθαι τῇ ἀνάλογα τῶν μὴ πειθομένων μαθητῶν καὶ ὑπενδοάει τούτοις εἰς ἱκρόν, ἵνα πάλιν ἔχει τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀπορωμένον. Ἔφησον.

53. Ἰωάννη τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ἄρμας

"Οσοὶ ἥξιν ἄπτοντες, μακαριώτατε ἡμῶν ἀδελφε, διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν (οὕτω γὰρ ἐμὲ δει λέγειν, καὶ ὑποχρεώσας τὸν ἔλεον τοῦ Οὐράριος τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτρεπῆς) τὴν τὴν ἀγάπην ἑπισκυλίωτον μὴ 5 ἁγιάσαν, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας συμμετέχοντες νεώτερα μὲν σπάνιοποι, μικροί δὲ εἰπέν ἀποδέχοντο πάλιν πολλάκις μακαρίως καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ λύσεως ἐπίθεινα παρέχοντο, ὥστε ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου. Ἡμεῖς οὖν πρὸς εἰσδόθητα παραπληγέσυν καθὼς ἠγιασμένον τὸ γράφομεν ἡ καὶ τοῦ γράμματος χωρὶς ὁ λάθος ἡμᾶς. Περίπτωσι γάρ, ἵνα μὴ λέγωι μάταιον, διδάσκασθαι τὸν δεῖσθαι. Γράφομεν δὲ εὔος μᾶς, ὅτι τὸν τάραχον τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας ἡδὸν παντεκτονίκισθαι ξένους ὅτι ὑπερέχουσαν πάντα νοῦν αἰρέτην, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ σοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἐκτέργουμ ἔπειθεν καὶ τὴν δεινὴν καταχώρια καὶ τὸν ἄνελεν Πιστῶν τὴν καταστάσεως καταστάσεων (τοῖς ἐν ἐξαρχώμενοι σοῦ κρίσιμα;) 10 πρὸς βαθιὰν γελώνην ἀθρόου μετατίθην μηδὲναν παρακολουθήσασας διαμετροῦσα, οὐ πολλάκις τοῦ ἀνθρώπους ἐκβλάπτεσα πάρα γνώμην συνεργεύαται τῇ γνωμήν, οὐδὲ περὶ κατατάσσεν εἰς πάροικον Θηλέασαν ἢ στεναχώρια, ὑπερορίας φημῆ, τῶν ὁδακών ἀποστηρίζεσαν, ταλαιπωρίας
to put up with the irregularity; but toward the powerful ones, who have great power to counteract the salvation of the whole nation, you must reflect whether, if we behave too harshly to them, we may not unawares exasperate them the more, and thus turn everything upside down. You have many examples in human affairs: thus, a doctor often gives rein to the severity of a disease, and a pilot does not press more than is feasible against a current that runs counter to the course of his ship, and a general often yields peril to the onset of the army. You are aware of our own position also, how a teacher who is hindered in reforming the disobedience of his pupils will, if he is not to be the victim of his own stupidity and foolhardiness, spare the insolence of his disobedient scholars and give rein to them for the time, in order to get them once more to listen to his teaching. Farewell.

53. To John, the Most Holy Pope of the Elder Rome

Of what happened to me (most blessed Brother) for my sins—for so I must put it, waiving the guilt of others for their malice against me—I believe your Holiness to be aware; and also of the more recent scandals in our Church which were, I might almost say, more violent than the former, and such as to allow, humanly speaking, of no hope of an eventual settlement. And since you knew of them, I thought it best to abstain from writing what even without my letter had not escaped your attention: for it is superfluous, not to say useless, to teach one who has no need to learn the lesson. This only I write, that the disturbance in our Church, already in its fifteenth year, has been resolved into quietness by the Peace that passeth all understanding, Our Lord and God Jesus Christ; and that fearful tempest, the stilling of which seemed hopeless, has (who shall search out the Judgments of God?) been on a sudden transmuted to profound calm; and this without any attendant unpleasantness, such as often forces man to submit against his will to what is done; nobody is under the compulsion of hardship or confinement;—I mean, of exile, or deprivation of his goods, or of any other

53: 11–12; Phil. 4.7. 14: Rom. 11.33.

55: P 174v–176v
affliction which can exercise tyranny over the mind and force conformity on
one who believes himself constrained against his conscience. No: by God’s
Grace, as it were at a single signal—let us not say, a human signal, but at a
truly Divine behest—all have united in one mind, and all are brought to-
gether by our holy Church of God in her sacred bosom.

So much for our affairs. But since we have from the first desired
fraternal union with you also, and the customary frequent converse with you
through your emissaries and those who go from us to you, which hitherto
the scandals intervening in our Church have interrupted, for this reason I
now send you our news (most blessed Brother), in order that, sharing our
rejoicing over our peace, you may first do that which you would naturally
do without my mentioning it—glorify Him Who hath bequeathed unto us
peace for our lot, and preserves it day by day unto them that love Him, even
though the evil one strives to steal it away; and next that, now the cause of
scandals is resolved, our missions and converse between one another may be
renewed; and, moreover, that the proclamation of your holy name may be
joined with the mention of my Humility in the holy diptychs. This will
surely be done, if only confession be made that action on behalf of the fourth
marriage was improper, even though it was consented to out of regard for
the Emperor. For your Perfection is aware that when, as frequently happens
in human affairs, a wrong is done and does not receive its remedy, then it
becomes in future an occasion for those who incline to deviate into improp-
riety to indulge their desire without restraint, supported by the precedent
which has gone uncorrected. And so, here too, the cause of scandal must
previously be confessed to have been an impropriety, so that those who are
inclined to worse courses may no longer look to it as an exemplar. Mankind
will assuredly never abandon this course, so long as the race receives this
precedent as an incitement to imitate it.

I know that your spotless and most prudent soul is aware of this even
without my writing, and that you will provide the said security; yet it is not
out of place for me to remind you. Therefore our Christ-loving Emperor is
dispatching Basii, the most renowned protospatharius and steward of the
Chrysotrichinus, with a letter from himself, and I am sending, at the same

31-32: Ioann. 14.27.

24 καλάτις Mai: οὐς P || 44 τῷτο Wk: τοίνυν P
58 leγόμενος, καὶ ήμισε Ευλόγιον τον εὐλαβεστατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ
κοινουκλείσαν καὶ άνθρωπων ήμιν μετα το την ήμετρων γράμματος
συνεξεπετελείμενε, έκεινα καὶ ολων των γράμματι καὶ προ των
γραμμάτων έπειτα γλώσσῃ επιτρέποντι προσετευτιθα, διότι τα κατατυποθέθανεν
εν τη καθ' ήμιας εκκλησίας και εκκλησίας λαβόντα κατακατηγος, ούτως καὶ
των εν ζωλα επιστημων καὶ έτες του τουποτούν κατακατηγος τωπού. Ταυτα δε έστων ομαλων οιδημα των πεπραγμένων κατάκαρα παρ' έκατ' ήμιων, αλλα μόνον τα
η γεγενημένα επι τη τεταρτη εκκλησίας εισαχθαι προ το συμπατ
δες δρόμω της βασιλικῆς κατ' έκατ' εκάτων αξιοσάς γεγενηθέντι.

59 αλλ' ου κατα το προστιλων οιδημα καται θεμισυ της εκκλησίας έτος και χρος
των ήμετρων λόγων οι τώ εν ζωλα περπάτων, φασί δε Σέργκος (ον εν
τωι μοικροσε εκείμης χροισια ζενταμέθαι αρχαιοτις) κα και ουν εκατω, έν
τωι οικεσίς διοικηθηκεν γράμματα. Και ενα μη δεξιομεν τη μη άνω
λέγων, αλτα εκεινα σοι τα διαπεραθηκα μερι τωι έκατων ξεκατετελειμεν

60 γράμματα.

'Αλλως ομων και της στης πρώτης αρχειατυχτος σημειωτος και
της τελειακῆς φφράσεως, άνωτερο ευπορήθης διαλέγω στη γράμματα,
διότι και την διάκοτον και πρώτο ουλομηθεί διαλέγω πράγματα, 
μετα τη της καθ' άμως εκκλησίας κατοπτασε (εκφοροθηκεν δε
η μημελης υπολειπομενης αμορμης της πνευματικης αμορμης οντι
τωι εν τη την γεγονητα ταρατοσ εν της εκκλησιας και την ήμετρων
εν κυριω πρως άμως εκκλησια και του λεπω όμως ονωματος την εν της
διπτηρως ανακοινωνως αμαλανα και αρχηολογος γενεθθεγεν. Όπως γαρ
252 επι δυνηται, διοτε ωριμον της όμως αναγκης προτασιως των
65 εντεθονα αρχειαν και λεπων προσφατων λαβομεν τη την γεγο
νην μετα τη της εκκλησιας ένεκεν της άμως εκκλησιας. 'Επομεν δε
τα νυκτι ή τωι χειμωνοι φως θεος πρως αυτην (δε γαρ και τυπω
ποθα η μετακατα ης γραμματι και ειλο τωι έντομεν την τηρηκην και
ή εκκλησιατικη γεγονη τη ημερα προσφατων απεραγεμεν ενιατω δε
60 έμιας, έντεθακε αναγκειον της όμως άποσταλεις δε τη συμφοροντα της εκ
cλησης σκεψεσουν, έκαται και παρα άποστολοι μεθ' ήμιων και της εκκλησιας
cατακατηγος δωραλοιον δε αποκατηθος κατα τας αικατη
τεθανεν αναγκης εινιατω δε, ει δυνατω, 'Ινομοθα ο θεοφιλατεστατος

time, with my own letter, my servant Eulogius, the most pious presbyter and
koukouklia tomorrow, with orders to state orally, when or even before they deliver
the letters, that, as matters have been ruled in our Church and thereby
brought it to a state of peace, so should they be ruled in yours also, and
through this ruling it should be brought into union with us. This is by no
means a condemnation of those who took that action, nor the casting of any
aspiration upon them; it is merely a confession that what was done in
the matter of the fourth marriage was done at that time out of regard to
the imperial status, but was improper and not in accordance with the
ordinances of the Church; and this, without words of mine, was admitted in their letters
by those then living, I mean, by Sergius (who is, I pray, now enrolled among
the blessed Archpriests) and by his followers. And that I may not seem to go
beyond the truth, I am sending you those very letters which were dispatched
by them.

Acting therefore in a manner worthy of your Archpriestly Dignity and
do you he willing so to dispose matters that our immortal
and first Archpriest may be yet more rejoiced at the state of our Church.
And He will be rejoiced when no further occasion is left for those who (such
are human affairs) seek for an occasion to disturb the Church’s calm and
your union in the Lord with us, and the normal and undisputed comemora-
tion of your holy name in the diptychs. For, if your Holiness
acts as I say, none of the archpriests or priests here will be able hereafter to lay hold
on an excuse to stir up trouble for the Church, because of your union.
And since there are always some whom the nature of evil draws to itself (I must
add this in my letter), and who prefer strife and are grieved that the Church
should be calm, and have withdrawn themselves from us, I ask you to in-
struct your envoys to keep in mind the Church’s interest, and, regarding
these persons, to act with us and the Church as men should who pray for the
state of our priesthood and who earnestly labor, with the Divine Favor, to
bring their prayer to a profitable issue. Let envoys be sent who are worthy
of your Holiness, through whom, under God, the affairs of His Church may
fairly and fittingly be settled: let us say—if possible—Jacob, the Bishop
Though human life is full of grievances, yet it derives some consolation from frequent remembrance by friends; but when this remembrance is lacking, especially where the rights of relationship demand it, then the griefs of those who are aggrieved are greater than ever. Something of this sort has happened to me. When I was daily encompassed by many vexations of spirit, there was, humanly speaking, nobody to give me any comfort. I do not speak of the others; but that one's own relatives should be of this disposition—how could anyone in the smallest degree sensitive to human affairs pass this over? I do not write this to reproach you, but rather, if you will, to renew the affection of our kinship, and the general regard of friendship, which (I know not how) the present time has, so far as I can see, obscured. As for my case, I imagine that without my writing you were aware of the many constraints wherewith I was afflicted. As you were over there it was surely your duty, even though I was prevented from writing to you, to go to Rome, and explain to my Brother, the most holy Pope, what had happened to me (for you knew all about the plots and malice against me), and to inform him of the extent of confusion in the Church, and to persuade him to send envoys to his wronged Brother, and to lend his support in restoring our Church to a condition worthy of the holy order, and in correcting the offenses which had arisen out of the fourth marriage; and, moreover, through such correction, to have his name inscribed in our holy diptychs, and to be proclaimed together with mention of myself.

Well; all this is past history now. Christ our God, the first and mighty Archpriest, in His inscrutable Wisdom, has put an end to that great disturbance and commotion, already in its fifteenth year, and the Church has come together with a single mind. This has come about through those who supported the fourth marriage having confessed their own fault, and through my having given absolution to them, with the aid of the Divine Mercy; and, moreover, through such correction, to have his name inscribed in our holy diptychs, and to be proclaimed together with mention of myself.
marriage, and all are in the unity of one Church, and all have become one flock, shepherded by a single shepherd, my own Humility. This is what has thus been done here, by God's Grace. But we further desire, as formerly, the mention of the name of my Brother, the most holy Pope, in our sacred diptychs, where it has up till now not been proclaimed because of the support given to the fourth marriage by the Church of Rome. So, now that we have committed all the past to the pity and mercy of God, the only thing needful is that the Church of Rome, like our Church here, should confess that the fourth marriage, though sanctioned to meet the need of the Emperor, was sanctioned contrary to ecclesiastical law and to the proper estate of marriage: so that by such confession this marriage shall, from now on, be confirmed as alien to the Christian race, and not give occasion to be used as a disgrace to the Churches of God, or indeed to the Christian race. For you know (my Son) that when something takes its origin from a noble and splendid personage, the humble creatures are easily led to imitate it, unless it be by all means forbidden.

Therefore (doubtless by Heaven's will) I have encountered the most pious cleric Adeodatus who has come here from Italy; and, learning from him the cause of his coming, and that he was on his way to Jerusalem, I have stopped him from his journey, especially when he told me what he had to tell of your Virtue, and have urged him to go back and minister to this need of ours; whom by this letter I further commend to you, and urge you to lose no time in going to Rome and trying to secure the fulfillment of what has been written to the most blessed Pope, my Brother, both by our Christ-loving Emperor and Son and by my Mediocrity.
reflection makes us safer. Has an impropriety been committed? Then let it be corrected. Is a course judicious? Let reflection make us the more ready to put it into operation. You know what I mean (my Son); but my letter shall unfold it. There was in the past a malicious plot against me (I do not wish to accuse anyone, and indeed I implore the just Judge not to bring home to them the guilt of their malice; but such was the case) which arose partly here and partly out of the holy Church of Rome, and I was expelled from my Church, though I was guilty of no fault against the Church of Rome or against those here (continually as I sin against God). Out of this cause arose offenses which, in human expectation, were beyond all repair. But that God Who worketh marvels has now, suddenly and beyond all hope, brought the offenses to an end, and changed into calm the disturbance which was already in the fifteenth year of its cruel vexation.

And we offer up thanks and due glory to our Benefactor upon the settlement of our Church. But, more than this, I desire the ancient union with you: and that is why I write to you both the good tidings of our settlement, and at the same time to draw you into the fraternal love and contact. If you agree, it can easily be done. All that is needed is a statement that “what we did in the matter of the fourth marriage was done out of regard for the Emperor, and not for the dignity of Christian life.” For it is not becoming to the Church of Rome to give admittance to the fourth marriage, or to provide an incentive to those who are inclined through polygamy to be seduced into the life of a brute. Give no admittance to the fourth marriage, or to provide an incentive to those who are inclined through polygamy to be seduced into the life of a brute.

And so, as I say, for this reason, let the fourth marriage be denounced, and the action be referred to regard for the Emperor, and let us from now on be joined together by God’s grace, as we once were, and the division between us shall be annulled. Moreover, envoy shall, as was the ancient custom, pass continually from you to us and from us to you, and we shall enjoy the fitting love and converse. And, in addition to all this, the proclamation of the sacred name of the most holy Pope shall be made in the sacred diptychs along with mention of my Humility: and, in short, we shall pass our lives, as is pleasing to God, in one purpose and one mind and one spirit.
On many occasions, if not by letters, yet by the agency of men coming hither from your Rome, monks, or priests, or even laymen, I have stated (most holy Brother) that you should send envoys here and join with me and our whole Church in putting an end, with the Divine Aid, to the (I hardly know how to say it; better to be silent on what is painful) offenses which have arisen within her, originating partly here and partly from past presidents of the Church of Rome; and in providing her with due stability and quiet. I have repeatedly stated this. It is now the ninth year since, by the inscrutable Judgment of God, I came back to the Church from which I had been unjustly expelled; yet I have received absolutely no statement on this matter. But never mind all this; I inform your Beatitude that our first Archbishop and God has awarded peace to our Church, now that the former sinners have acknowledged their own sin, and met with pardon, and have been joined together with us as members, all but a few who prefer strife to peace and are still striving, by their own separation, to disturb the calm that is upon the order of the holy Church. And so I write that envoys of your Beatitude should be sent to us, who shall with us once more wholly denounce the pollution of fourth marriage, and shall contrive by a common dogma the security of the Christian faith, so that no longer shall this most obscene marriage be in use at all among Christian folk; and if any dispute has arisen between this Church and the holy Church of Rome, this shall be annulled, and we shall be restored to our original spirit and to our undivided alliance and concord.
57. To the Metropolitan of Synada

The very reading of your Holiness’ letter has been a solace for my grief, and I experienced the enjoyment of spiritual pleasure; and your message by the most pious John, my Son, that you are, by God’s grace, in health, made me more cheerful still. I therefore sent up my usual thanksgiving to God, and pray (though a sinner) that you may rise above every vexation that grieves you, and brings your friends to grief when the news reaches them.

What you say about the administration of the monastery seems to be right to me too, unless other reasons crop up which you have not yet heard of, and which may perhaps excite the contentious to further contention.

I have written this before, and write it again: come to me, whom perhaps in a little while you may wish to see and not be able: for the end of my life, I feel, is near.

58. To the Metropolitan of Iconium

The contribution levied on the Churches of God (my holy Son) causes you grief, as well it may. But know that my own grief at this captivity of the Churches of God is far more bitter and painful. But what can we do, when such a need has come upon us? So let us suffer this pain whether we like it or no. As to the information laid against your Holiness by Cataphloron, however grievous it may be, it will be to your advantage to bear his malice with gentleness and long-suffering, and the Divine and impartial Eye will one day, if not now, look grimly upon him. That this may not be so you, as an Archpriest of God, who has learned to bless them that persecute you and to pray for those who use you despitefully, will, in a manner worthy of your own Virtue, pray and implore of Him Who weigheth up human affairs in an even scale. Farewell.
Since I know (my Son) the seal of your Wisdom in all things, I have been surprised that, in the present affair about which I am impelled to write to you, it has not maintained its proper standard. Whether through neglect or some other obstruction, something which demands most immediate action has not, so far as I know, been hitherto performed. An imperial injunction was issued to you, as those who are aware of it tell me, that you were to visit the village from which the Renowned Church of God is to get its supply of corn, partly for the making of that Bread which is sanctified by the Holy Spirit and sanctifies its receivers, and partly for the nourishment of my Humility and the rest of the number who minister night and day in the Temple of God; and yet—I know not how to explain it—you have not shown zeal in carrying out this injunction, for a reason best known to yourself. I write to instruct you (my Son) to report on this matter more promptly in future to those who issued the injunction. Both the Church of God and we ourselves are in no little danger as regards our need for these supplies. For the rest, fare you well, and be preserved above the reach of all harm.

60. To the Osconomas of the Great Church

I looked forward to your Holiness' being with me on the Divine Festival of the holy Prophet, and, as would be natural at the union of friends, to enjoying a rather more agreeable sensation, especially when so much that is painful lies upon me. But since human affairs are unsteady and unpredictable, and my hope has therefore been disappointed, and circumstances have presented an obstacle—I mean, the arrival of the Saracens—to your Holiness' coming here now, I shall, in accordance with the urgency of your request, reluctantly concede the extension of time which you see fit to demand. Only continue in health, under God's Favor, and when you decide and God grants that you may journey to me, then let that journey be made. A letter has been sent to the minister of livestock, but what the man has done about it, I do not know even today. Fare you well, not forgetting my Mediocrity in your holy prayers.
I have heard (my Son) that you are grieved because my Humility bears a grudge against you. If someone has brought this to your ears (my Son), he is a liar and no respecter of truth; or if, as a man may, you have conceived this of yourself, pray retain it no longer in your heart. God Himself, the Searcher of hearts, knows that I am conscious of no such feeling. I know, by God’s Grace, your perfect wisdom, and your undissembling love toward me, and the piety toward the Churches of God which you maintain as a man who knows and honors God, and is aware that even in honoring God there is a certain dread (since we cannot know if we are honoring Him worthily), while to offend Him is incomparably more fearful and dreadful. The Lord keep you well, and above all malice seen and invisible!

62. To Peter the Monk

He who from the beginning has been an enemy of the peaceful settlement of human life has been busy with his usual wickedness, and with disturbing your holy flock: and by his tricks has persuaded that — Hilarion, I mean — to cause you offense which perhaps be unintentional. However, whether it arose from human folly or diabolical malice, He Who has bequeathed peace unto those that love Him has removed it and granted you to be at peace. On this account I offer thanks to the Holy God; and to you, although, guided as you are by the Spirit of God, you will know without words of mine how to conduct yourself toward the man, I yet write what I believe to be fitting for your Holiness and salutary and profitable for him: namely, that you should not treat him as estranged or outcast from your spiritual regard. If the roughness of his temper, as is often the case in human affairs, has not as yet allowed him to be with and consort with you in person,
62-64

let him not be severed from spiritual union; but, however he may behave, let your fatherly care be extended to him, and let him not be deprived of your prayers and exhortations through which he is guided in the blessed path that leads unto life, and let him not be cut off from that great Inheritance. I pray you be preserved in health, remembering my Humility in your holy prayers.

63. To Epiphanius the Monk

Personal conversation of friends has its charm, and seems to give pleasure by the personal contact of those so joined. But (my Son) spiritual converse, even though we are sundered in body, may cause yet greater pleasure to flow in the hearts of those joined according to it. We, then, have continual satisfaction in that by God's Grace we are united in spirit, and none the worse for our bodily separation. For such is spiritual regard, and of such inherent grace to those who are sincerely one in the bond of the heart, that though time prove unpropitious to personal converse, yet it can do no injury. And, certainly, if God wills, we shall be together in person also whenever the Divine Will so decides.

But as to what your letter did not tell me, but what the chartophylax reports from the letter sent to and received by him, the separation which seemed advisable has been carried out; and so it shall now be as I wrote to those on the spot who are capable of administering what was written to them. For the rest, fare you well, and remember my Humility in your holy prayers.

64. To Tryphon the Monk

I am glad your Holiness is so much interested in my affairs. This is a great solace to the afflicted, just as the reverse deeply grieves those who are
in want of such a disposition for their comfort: see what says the Scripture, 
"And I looked for some to take pity, but there was none; and for comforters, 
but I found none." In everything, participation lightens the load of those 
compelled to bear it. So, as I say, I got joy in this respect, a 
Holy God Who "S moved you to this 
symphathy. However, that (for my sins) has blown upon me shows no abatement: inde- 
my errors thickens apace, and is not yet dispersed by the 
This 
Famr 
do you implore to your holy prayers! It may be th 
the Merciful will grant a clear sky, and will allow His Chiu 
space from the cruelty that afflicts it.

54. To John, Bishop of Amisos

Your Holiness' letter had me in two minds, arising from opposite 
impulses. I was glad to get news that you were alive; but I was sorry to 
learn you had been worsted by those violent, selfish, and greedy men, who 
have surely won an evil and ruinous victory over you. However, when I 
reflected to, by God's grace, your Virtue is not damaged (since those who 
seem to triumph over you have not deprived you of God's reward for your 
intent and zeal, or, for that matter, for the labor and toils you underwent in 
that difficult journey), I found great solace for my grief; and may your 
Virtue derive the same, by God's Grace, since you are free of all material 
consideration and look only to rewards that are laid up for you in eternity. 
As for those who insult and scoff at us, whoever they are, let us consign them 
to oblivion with their own slanders and scoffs, and take no thought of them, 
whether they drench us with insults or hit on any other device to show their 
rancor against us. For the rest, I pray the Holy God to keep you in good 
health, and in remembrance of my Mediocrity.

54-60: Ps. 88:21.

64, 65

5 ἐκαθαρτείς τις ὑμῶν ὑποτήτος διπλῶς ἦμεν ἐνεποίησε τὴν διάθεσιν ἐκ ἐναντίων προερχομένων τῶν ἀρνημάτων. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρεπιθέσθη χαίρειν, ἐκ τῆς διαμέτρου ζοῦχής τῆς γιαίδον ἦμεν ἐμφάνιζομαι; η δὲ τὸ 5 λυπηθεῖσθαι προσέβαινε δι' αὐτὸν ἐμφάνιζομαι ὡς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέως καὶ πρὸς μόνον τὴν ἀλεενίαν ὑποτήτος τὸ ἐλάστον αὐτὸς ἐπερρήγησεν, καθ' ἄνοιας καὶ ἐλεημόνες νόμιμοι ἐπανεύλυτον. Πλὴν ἔκειν αὐθηρομένοις, ἐτί χαίρει οὐδὲν ἐξημύσωτο ἡ σῇ ἀρτῆς (τῆς σῇ γὰρ ἐταθῆς προσέβασις καὶ σπουδῆς, καὶ δι' ἐκ τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν 10 διὰ τὴν χάριν ὑπετάσεις ἀδόμησας, ὁποὶ ἀπετέφρασας τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ μορφοποιίας οἱ δύσκολες ἀποφέρεσθαι τὴν νίκην), παρακληθένην αὐτὸ ὑεράν αὐτῷ μοῦν τοῖς μη λυπηθήσεσθαι ἐπερ καὶ τῇ σῇ ἀρτῆς γενέσθαι χάρις θεοῦ πάσης ὑδάς ἐπελευθήρη ἀγαθονότης καὶ πρὸς πόνος ἀπαυγάσματα ἀλείας ἐκεῖνος | xρόθη ἀπεστίγησε. Τοὺς δὲ ἐρροστὰς καὶ ἐρροστὶς, οὕτως D

65: Ps. 122:19 || ἐκ τῆς ἀλοισίας διαργήμασας καὶ διέρρησας εἰς τὸ ἀργὸν ἐπορίσθημεν, μηδὲν μηδὴν προσώπον, ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἐρεπόστη ἐκ τοῦ ἡμῶν ἑπιτίθενθαι. Τὰ δ' άλλα ἐρροσθῶσθαι εἰς ἡμῶν παράξεις δ ὡς τοῖς Θεοῖς, μεμνημένον τῆς ἡμῶν μεταρρύθμησιν.
Theodosius, son of the emperor, praying, opened the door of the sanctuary with his hand, and on it were written the words of the palms of Christ, because this place was dedicated to the worship of the true God. He was the first to order the sacrifice of animals, and he did so in order to avoid the wrath of the people. He also ordered that the sacrifice be performed in the presence of the people, so that they would see the blood of the animals and be reminded of the death of Christ. He did this because he knew that the sacrifice of animals was an affront to the Christian faith. He also knew that the sacrifice of animals was a symbol of the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and he wanted to show the people that this sacrifice was not a vain thing, but one that had a deep spiritual significance.

5 He ordered that the sacrificial animals be brought before the altar, and that the priest should offer them up as a sacrifice. The priest then took the animals and led them to the altar, and there he offered them up as a sacrifice. The people then saw the sacrifice of the animals, and they were filled with joy, because they knew that this sacrifice was a symbol of the sacrifice of the body of Christ.

10 He ordered that the sacrifices be performed in the presence of the people, so that they would see the blood of the animals and be reminded of the death of Christ. He did this because he knew that the sacrifice of animals was an affront to the Christian faith. He also knew that the sacrifice of animals was a symbol of the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and he wanted to show the people that this sacrifice was not a vain thing, but one that had a deep spiritual significance.

15 He ordered that the sacrifices be performed in the presence of the people, so that they would see the blood of the animals and be reminded of the death of Christ. He did this because he knew that the sacrifice of animals was an affront to the Christian faith. He also knew that the sacrifice of animals was a symbol of the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and he wanted to show the people that this sacrifice was not a vain thing, but one that had a deep spiritual significance.

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those eager to distort, not only what is reprehensible, but often good things too, into a reproach to the Church of God and this renowned State, both now and hereafter; let them know that what was done was by necessity, for those who love war and the slaughter of men are responsible—I mean, the God-detested Bulgarians: and that the remedy has followed, out of the piety and discretion of your Wisdom. For what is done by necessity is pardonable both by God and by men familiar with human affairs. For often through the force of hunger a man has tasted forbidden foods, and then, after receiving the appropriate remedy, is freed of blame, because he was forced to taste something impure. So this, too, if it is remedied, will on account of its necessity be free of slander and condemnation. But if it remain without remedy, neither the present generation nor that which is to come, will allow us to pass unpunished and uncondemned.

My beloved Son: For your obedience and for the honor in which you hold the Church of God, both you and the other noble lords of the Sacred Palace, I pray (though a sinner) that He may grant you His eternal glory and honor, and that the merciful Lord Our Christ and God may be attentive to all your requests and fulfill those that be for your salvation; and I believe in His mercy that He will be even so disposed toward you as you have been toward His holy Church. For He that hath said, “Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these least, ye did it unto Me,” how shall He not reward you many times over for your honor and obedience to His Holy Church?

So much for your godly purpose. I shall send three metropolitans, since there is not room for the crowd of lords to come to me, so that they may, in the Sacred Palace and before you (my Son) and the other renowned lords, as many as be there, acquaint you with the penance ordained. This will not be grievous to you, nor vexatious, and will check the assault of those who are often lying in wait and preparing to assault the Church. I renew: may God, Who for the salvation of the human race endured to be

66, 67

Τέκνον μου ἵγασσεμένον, ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἢ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ἔχεις, καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ λοιποὶ ἐνδοθεὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πολιτείαν ἄρχοντες, εὐχαριστεῖς εἰς Αἰματολογίον διδάσκοντες ὅμως τὴν αἰχμένιν δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τιμᾶεις, καὶ εἴπας τὸν φιλάθλοντος διόπτρον Χριστοῦ

67

τῆς ὑμείς καὶ ἃν δὲν οὖν τοὺς ἑπάνω τοὺς ὑμῖν εἰρηνεύσῃς καὶ ἐπλησμόνων τῶν σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπομακρύνεσθαι καὶ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὁμόορθοῖς αὐτῶν δι' οὖν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὅμως ὅσπερ καὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν διεσκέδασθαι. 'Ο γάρ ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε έποιησε, ἐμοὶ ἐποίησες παρὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν χάριν τῶν ἡμῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ὑποταγῆς ἀξίας πολλαπλασίων;


67: P 184r || 16 καταβαθμίδος Περί βαρύνου Πα
As I read your letter (my Son) my heart was at first deeply grieved at the
cruel experiences you had met with: for it was inevitable that I should
be deeply grieved at learning of the sufferings which you (my Son) had
encountered. But the end of your letter relieved me, with the news that by
God's grace those cruel dangers had vanished, and that you have arrived
safe and sound in the city of Cherson. And may the most excellent God
(since nothing in human affairs is smooth or without its dangers) continue
to conduct your life in the manner revealed to me in the end of your letter.

As regards the Bishop of Cherson: your good Wisdom will recall that
I told you in conversation, what I now state in writing, that since those who
had come here from Chazaria had asked for a bishop to ordain presbyters
among them and to undertake the ministry concerning the pure faith of the
Christians, I had dispatched the Archbishop appointed to Cherson, so that
with God's aid he should go to Chazaria and there perform all necessary
services, and thereafter should return to the throne to which he was appointed,
I mean, that of Cherson. You, as a son of the Church, will I am sure be eager
to assist both in the work respecting Chazaria, and in the settling and
establishment of the Archbishop in his proper throne when, with God's help,
he has concluded his duties in Chazaria. And may Christ our God show you
approved over there, and grant you a safe return hither.

69. To David Camulianus, Protodiascurus

What you wrote (my beloved Son) about those who were jointly impelled by—
how shall I say?—insanity or the man-hating fiend to commit their
inhuman crime, has been brought to the attention of the imperial govern-
ment; but even before I drew their attention by means of your report, they had received information of the facts. They have therefore instructed your most skillful Wisdom—I presume, in collaboration with the Archbishop of Ephesus, most beloved of God—to make an enquiry into them.

So much for this. For my part, having long ago known your most perfect wisdom, and having now acquired a better knowledge of you through your acts, I pray (though a sinner) that you be guided continually in all your ways by the right hand of God; and that, being moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit above, you may think and do those things which in this life place you above all censure, and in the life to come shall reward you with eternal glory.

70. To David Camulianus, Protospatharius

The thanks due to God, inasmuch as I have set eyes on a letter of my beloved Son and have thereby seemed, as it were, to see that Son before me, have been rendered. But as for the reminder which your letter gives me about loose-tongued people, what need is there (my Son) to try in words of mine to explain to you, wise as you are by God's grace, this human infirmity? You know that men like nothing better than disparaging their neighbors' actions and words, whatever these may be. Why wonder, then, if we ourselves should be slandered by this human infirmity? And so (my Son) ignore the slanderers, and hold fast to your good conscience, which you strive to present guiltless before God, the impartial Judge; for, in regard to men, there is none so strongly fortified by his good conscience on whom censure never casts its jealous eye. I know that you have in the past undertaken labors, and still endure them, which God Himself is Witness, Who searcheth hearts; I am sorry for it. But what can one say of the confused state of life? However, if we must live in better hopes, I hope that your Virtue also will gain its share of the honor due to it.


8 δραματικῶν: Vat.: -οι τέσσερις: P || 9 ἄδοντες: Vat.: σιδώντες: P
70–72

So much for that. The evidence you sent from the examination of those men for their crimes has been submitted to the imperial scrutiny, and after scrutiny they have advised your Honor how it will be necessary to prosecute the affair of these madmen still further. It therefore rests with your most perfect Wisdom to execute what still remains of just retribution on those who, through want of wits, not to say madness, have rendered themselves liable to this punishment. For the rest the Lord keep you well, and above all malice and injury, whether seen or unseen.

71. To Alexander of Nicaea

I believe it to be unnecessary (my Son) to tell you in my letter what, when Jacob arrives, you will learn from him, so I abstain from going into the whole administration of the affairs you wrote about. But this I may inform you: Petronas, if he is not once again preferring falsehood to truth, has undertaken to provide the necessary third party. If he honors this undertaking, you will do nothing further about him. But if he tries to set it aside, then he must be expelled thence; and expelled he shall certainly be.

Jacob has had audience of the Emperor, and, as he told me, found all the Emperor’s inclination on the side of our adversaries. What (my Son) can one do in these circumstances, other than compose ourselves philosophically and yield to circumstances, so far as we can without actually turning traitors to the Churches of God? But Jacob will tell you about this along with the rest of his news. Farewell, and remember my Humility in your holy prayers.

72

My beloved Son: Together with all your other virtues, show also your good intent in behalf of the comfort of the clergy of the Church of God, who labor day and night unto glorifying God, and who pray for the life and...
72, 73

salvation of the Emperor, of you, and of all subjects. Let them not be robbed of the stipend which they have received ever since the Church was founded until now, in these days of the Emperor Lord Constantine; do not leave this story to posterity. Even if those who, before you, maladministered the state did it out of ignorance, you should repair their error, to the glory of the Emperor and for the fair memory of your own name, in that through your piety the Church did not continue to suffer such loss, nor was that neglect shown toward her by those men confirmed, but that in your days she was once more honored. As for forty pounds of gold (my Son), even if they are withheld, the imperial treasury will not be increased, and if they are granted, no damage will accrue to it. Consider the greatness of the reward, and of the condemnation. If for pity shown to one there is a reward laid up by God, and again, for wrong done to one, chastisement and retribution await the doer, how much the more infinite recompense from God shall be won by your pity of so great a folk, of so many women wretched, poor, and destitute? Yes (beloved Son), show honor to the Church, so that together with your earthly honor you may win that which is everlasting, as I am very sure you wish to do. And may the Holy God grant you to plan and perform those things which are of His glory and your own honor and salvation, delivering you from all peril of evils, both seen and unseen.

73

73, 73

Since you come of a noble and righteous stock (my Son) you may of yourself bring forth the fruits of nobility and righteousness. Therefore, I confine myself to the business in hand; because exhortation is suitable only in cases where it is suspected that the person so exhorted is in himself deficient: and I am far from suspecting this of you. Therefore I confine myself to the matter.

This heavy and cruel impost, the so-called “grain”—as the bearer of this letter specifies—has never before been charged on the farm of the Holy Apostle; but now, for whatever reason, it seems likely to be encumbered with
10 This burden. It is for you (my Son) and for your Virtue to understand the weight of this tax, and not to allow the monastery, or rather, the mighty Disciple of our Lord, to feel now a burden which until your time it has never yet felt. Fare you well in the Lord, rising above all injury, seen or unseen. I gave your Reverence oral instructions that those who pay the annual contribution of wax should not be taxed beyond their means or on a scale amounting to extortion; but that, so far as your Wisdom can see to it, neither they should default on the payment due to the Church, nor should the Church make any unjust profit out of them. For I regard it as equally objectionable that they should deprive the Church of her lawful supply and that they should suffer from her extortion. You will, in your prudence and wisdom, settle the matter without injury to either party.

As for the bishop who is irregularly and uncanonically meddling with commerce, which commerce renders him and others besides himself liable to punishment, if he is at hand, admonish him fraternally in your own words to consider his duty and abstain from this irregular practice. If he is not at hand, write in a letter to him the admonition you would have given him orally. If he obeys, thanks be to God, and the matter will settle itself. If he does not, he must take the consequences of his disobedience, and you will have the credit for having admonished him.

When the season permits of the journey, you are by all means to send here him who has irregularly converted the bishopric under the metropolitan of Chaldia into an archbishopric, so that I can myself learn of these proceedings from his own mouth, and take the decision requisite for the Church.

My beloved Son: I am writing this on behalf of your honor and salvation both in this world and in the world to come, and not in order to gain any temporal advantage for myself; for I am already looking to my grave and my
Not a question, but a text. The text is in Greek and appears to be a letter written by St. John Chrysostom to a benefactor. The letter discusses the importance of order and discipline within the Church, particularly regarding those who oppose the Church by demanding a written undertaking and seeking security for the Church. The letter also emphasizes the responsibility of those in authority to ensure proper discipline and security are maintained within the Church, both spiritually and militarily.

Withdrawal from this life. As many as have received power on earth from God have, if they remain thankful for God's bounties, this primary duty, to be zealous that God may be glorified. Now, God is glorified in the virtuous life of themselves and their subjects: for in nothing else of earthly affairs is God so much glorified and honored—not only in the building of temples nor in the bestowal therein of ornaments—as He is in virtuous conduct and purity of life. And therefore you (my Son), who have received power from God and are besides a man of sense, who knows how to be grateful to His Benefactor, ought to plan and be zealous for those things which will make men's lives more honorable and their conduct more secure, neither grieving God nor insulting man.

Why do I write so? Because you told me yesterday that those who oppose the Church are saying: "We refuse to seek security for the Church by demanding a written undertaking, because we are afraid lest hereafter once again some imperial authority may do the same and worse, and we shall be back in the same predicament." And (my Son) this defense of theirs carries in itself a manifest condemnation: for in what should priests differ from laity if not in defense of the canons? Is it not true (my Son), that in the military ranks in which you have been brought up and educated from a small command to the greatest, there are many who desert their proper post out of cowardice, and fly from the ranks? Does the fact that this happens daily prevent you from insisting on the application and security of the laws to which they are subject, if you wish to receive back into the military station those who have deserted and run from the ranks? Will you not first discipline them, and make sure they will not venture to do such a thing again or fly from their proper post, before receiving them back? Well, then, are you thus to demand security in the case of a human army, but neglect it in the case of a spiritual and holy? The man of God, whoever he may be, who is entrusted with rule by God, must think and do what is pleasing to God and for the salvation of those beneath him. The latter, if they obey him, find their own salvation, but if they disobey, they have themselves to blame; the ruler is blameless, because he did his duty in taking care for them. Lawgivers are honorable and blessed because they made laws providing for the salvation of men. Those who break their laws are wretches, but the lawgivers
40 tole vómeis eileioi kai ou dai tos Tou oí nomothetai meipptal e to érgon aútev, ou exó翔 vómeis ouc oí pléthostoi tów anbórapoiv, ouc kai autòv gnódaseis, tócnon hemov, kataktóteu kai paroróteu.

Peri dé touv legývontow déi diá tovs oustochorous tis prágmatos tis politikias hemov, épexeis mé skhýsantos oin tìn tetragrammaton deexamnous tou.

45 eklógha, exouv légei, ouc oí thá léyousan oucous, ouc peri túnw diamebaxóountan déi en ponti prágmatos prótou mév pròpýgousadoi tìn 277 spoudán, éna peri tówn thn boikhwn tou theou. Odótes ámelos steprás Thérés polw égeonognves oucous éinai ths mé epitédous otheión karabállos tòcnon asfali thv déntai ekodoiménous all' éna plégith tis pléthous déntai kai kal hê apostóllh bēbámeou kai koúmoune, ouc mé epitédous tòcnon tó plódos tis éxarthwsis. Oímou, tócnon hemov, énuphírmhn kai touto, úmper kai oukía éithmen plégith, ouc tò kuroi Fóuyov tou patróphrou kai kathés zútopo tis chérrotoisias ãpodoxbhseis, diá spoudás epitédous kai sunóunu ouc plóttos tou basileóus hemov tò kuroi Konstantínou thn

50 Térrhous éxephásen, tìn Bánou êgímeáto, tìn Leontráphon òpochéron èpoptasato, tìn Térrhnoi kai òlha pánta en tì tìn epikratías tôn Sarókchónon xéptastan. Í' Apoloudóntos dé tò kuroi /Ýpróthou kai tò B kuroi Fóuyov kai tòs chérrotoisias aúton ãnwbhseten, ò Syrákcowk hra- nósthetai kai ò Súkalia páttta. Diá tì Diá tì tìn amélosan tò tótta dregó- ríou tò plódou, lége ò tò Ætianov. Pále en tòis hýmous touv kuroi Lévontos gnódaseis ouc ò Mápaxa swyndhetai kai ouc mé tovs zútopos ãnwbhseten tìn eklógha, kai elérhíes báthées wétes ápþhetai ò Theoúsoliko kai tò Taurómenov. Diá tì ò ouk anbíth aímelous pròpýgousan. Kall hé epitédousan báthées tôn Theosolíkewn, hém- 

55 par en òs òmados exobálloinean pròs tò òpólybhthi exei plódou ápþele- san tìn prágmatos. Tóstou, tócnon hemov, kai fóna kai diavnoi, kai mév, epitédous tòs theos ãnwbhseten en anbótopo tòs prágmatos, kai ouc múbhi tìn fóra tò atón tòs dúbthias kai tòs dústugias tòs politikias hemov.

60 Gráfo de tauta ouc apobálloinean ouc mébòv tìn elérhíen kai ò tìn ènousan tìn eklógha (mê oustó wétes tote, mèthe sunxugímei theos oustó ou fóna ouxawn evníthai), all' òpólybhs ãnwbhsa tìn taídhs tìn eklógha, tìn chérrotoisias káptastois tois prágmatos kai en tìn parónte kai mé tovs tauta, kai éna ouc en tòs bléos apérmenous hemov ò xérhmen

70 are not to be blamed for that, nor is their work, if they have made laws which the majority of mankind, as you know yourself (my Son), spurn and neglect.

But as regards those who are saying that the affairs of our state are meeting disaster because those who accepted the fourth marriage are not united into the Church, I have only to say that they do not know what they are talking about or the matters on which they pronounce. In every affair zeal must first be shown, and then one may expect the help of God. No one who sows carelessly reaps a large harvest; no one who lays his foundation without care can build a secure house; no one can sail the seas and be safe if he is lazy and somnolent, and does not attend to the ship's tackling. However (my Son) consider this also, which I have said to you with my own lips: when the lord Photius the patriarcli and all whom he had ordained were expelled, the grandfather of our Emperor lord Constantine, by careful and sustained zeal, destroyed Tephrike, captured Bari, subdued Longibardia, and tore Taranto and other cities from Saracen dominion. But when lord Ignatius died and lord Photius and those whom he had ordained were united in the Church, Syraeous was lost and all of Sicily. And why? Because of the carelessness of the then admiral of the fleet, I mean Adrian. Or again: in the days of the lord Leo you know that Mapas and his followers came round, and were united in the Church, and, at a time of profound peace in the Church, Thessalonica and Tauromenon were lost. And why? Because carelessness had been shown here beforehand. The Thessaloniaca begged for help day after day, but those here delayed sending the fleet thither, and so the situation was lost. This (my Son) you should consider and understand, and apply yourself to matters with attention, God giving you the power, and you will learn by personal experience what it is that gives our state good fortune or ill.

I write this not as rejecting or hating peace and Church unity: I hope I may never be so mad as that, and God forbid I should be so far from my wife! But I look for a unity that does honor to the Church, one which will bring settlement to affairs both now and hereafter, so that when we are dead,
the coming generation shall not convict us for fools, senseless, or despisers of the divine canons, and for this reason consign us and you to the anathema: as is wont to happen when those hitherto powerful in their lifetime depart from it, and others come to birth who are more wise, pious, and virtuous than they were.

The integrity of the affection which your Piety has for my Humility has long been discerned and known, and now requires no proof or support from words, since it has been sufficiently confirmed in deeds. For this reason I derive no small solace from your spiritual regard for me. Nor by God's Grace is the holy pleasure with which your love enfolds me at all diminished by our being prevented from enjoying one another's company through the operation of the physical organs of sight, since the mind's eye beholds without impediment and unites us in spirit. In the same way, your Holiness is not to suppose that through our corporeal separation we are deprived of spiritual contact: for where there is a union of sincere affection, those who are sundered, wherever they may be, are yet united to one another. In this manner we too, joined as we are by a divine union which is not of today's or yesterday's growth, but from long time, are in no way separated by spatial division.

So much for that. But concerning our brother who has sinned in ignorance, I say this: that what he has done in ignorance does not exclude him from pardon, more especially since, as your letter informs me, he is "of a contrite heart and torn with bitter remorse." Do you therefore, having regard yourself to the man, and observing the sincerity of his penitence and his grief of heart, heal his transgression with a penalty as moderate as you may see fit, after the manner in which you are accustomed to dispense for others, as you are appointed by Divine Grace for this task, setting right the transgressions of those whom you guide, and apportioning to each his forgiveness according to the measure of his penitence.
In other letters (most blessed Brother), both to your predecessors and to your Fraternity, the story has been told of the cruel events in our Church which arose out of the malice of the evil one; and to repeat the same would, I believe, be unnecessary and superfluous. But this I make known to you:

I wrote, before this, to your Beatitude, by the hand of the cleric Acedatus and of Peter, who is a native Roman but has been my agent since my restoration to this throne, to tell of the sequence of events in our Church and to provide your Church with the information necessary for the total abolition of the offenses that had gone before and for reestablishing the bond and union, now as of old, between the Church of Rome and that of Constantinople governed by God. I also wrote to ... the protospatharius; to whom, moreover, was despatched a mandate from the God-crowned Emperors, my Sons, that he was to proceed to your Holiness, with instructions to deliver the presents that had been dispatched, and to take thence the envoy of your Holiness, and to return to us, to the end that, in common session of your envoys and my Humility, any outstanding dispute over the previous offenses in the Church of Constantinople might be settled.

If these persons have reached you, then our proposals will be implemented by their return with your envoys. But if, as may happen in human affairs, they have not succeeded in presenting themselves before you, then the bearer of this letter, in accordance with his instruction from my Humility, will no doubt inform you of the whole without reserve; and when, God willing, he returns here, by the mediation of that love which Christ our God bequeathed unto us, the envoys of your Holiness will come along with him, so that the Church may no longer be injured by anything unreformed that stands in need of reformation. For, if not entirely, yet by the Grace of Him...
Who has converted the eternal disunion of men into union, our own Church has achieved unity; and it is right, if anything remains of the malice of the ever-disturbing demon, that this should be removed, and concord reign perfect and full in the Church of God.

I believe I need say no more, so I will not prolong my letter. I know beyond doubt that your wisdom, by God’s Grace most perfect, which, without letters of mine, searches and examines all things, is as well aware as I of what has happened to me and to the Church of God from the time when (though worthless and unworthy) I became Archpriest until this present day, to which—I know not by what Judgments of God—my painful life has somehow dragged on. May our Lord preserve you in health, my most blessed Brother.

I learned your news (holy servants of God) both from your letter and from the monk who carried it, and I return appropriate thanks to Him Who has elected you out of the vanity of life and strengthened you to choose the life of angels, whereby you shall be found worthy of His fellowship and His glory, when the present things, and those which allure the deluded, are passed away, and the blessed life of His saints is revealed. Blessed in truth are ye, and all others who have taken your decision, and abandoned this unstable turmoil of life, and sought only, so far as a man may, the departure out of the flesh to God, and union with Him, even though this thick cloud of the body forbids the pure unity with Him we desire.

So much for your condition. But I, beyond every gift, beg for your holy prayers, which it becomes you to supply and is needful for me to receive. For what gift is more pleasing and profitable than this? Do not then fail to offer it: and may you be preserved in health, cultivating your virtue in the Lord, and still adding to it, until the bonds of the flesh are loosed, and you fly upward to your heavenly home.
Perhaps even before my letter reaches you, rumor will have brought you (my Sons in the spirit) news of what has been wrought for the Church by Divine Favor. However, this letter brings you joyful tidings, that the Divine Goodness has overlooked my sins and the Church has escaped out of that great malice, and those who until now have practiced their malice against her have been deprived of their violent strength and of their forcible usurpation, and I, by Divine Grace, have received back that same station which I formerly (albeit unworthy) achieved, and from which the hand of violence had driven me out.

In this manner God’s Favor has approved that my affair should be concluded; but do you (my beloved), who share in the toils and thus in the comfort of the divine Apostles, who have run the blessed course, whose feet are beautiful as of those who bring joyful tidings of peace—do you perform the faith among those in whom it has lately been fixed. And when you hand them over to those who will, in your stead, by their doctrine guide them to the sure path and lay hold on their salvation, then, when that time comes, you must fulfill your blessed task, and by all means contrive the confirmation of the Church’s salvation, so that when through you the faith has been strengthened in that place, God may be glorified in them, and you too may be glorified in this life, and in the life to come with the divine and imperishable glory. I know that there are many things to afflict you and to obstruct your holy life, when I myself reflect, as I naturally do, on the desolate nature of the place and the kind of men you live with, and the strangeness of their manners, and am informed of these very matters by your own messenger. Nonetheless, the things of the present time are unworthy to be noticed by comparison with the future glory, looking toward which, and disregarding toil and obstruction, you must fulfill your blessed task, and by all means contrive the confirmation of the faith among those in whom it has lately been fixed. And when you hand them over to those who will, in your stead, by their doctrine guide them to the sure path and lay hold on their salvation, then, when that time comes with the Divine Approval, return to my Humility, to increase with your own conviction of that great malice, and those who until now have practiced their malice against her have been deprived of their violent strength and of their forcible usurpation, and I, by Divine Grace, have received back that same station which I formerly (albeit unworthy) achieved, and from which the hand of violence had driven me out.

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I have received your letter (my Son) and indeed had heard accounts of the desolation of the towns even before you left here, both from you (my Son) and from others: and I know that you spoke the truth, and speak it now. So do not write any more about this, but write to me that, God lending you strength, you have repaired what has been desolated, and that what those who commanded before you lost through their own carelessness, your Wisdom has recovered and by your care reestablished. So shall your Virtue appear more brightly, and you will serve our great Emperor and enjoy a worthy recompense from him.

Regarding the impious and godless foes, you must know that strength lies not in number of troops but in righteousness and concord, and even though you have but few at command, you should train them in these, and strive eagerly with them; and I trust in Christ our God and Saviour that you will approve yourself above those who boast in the number of their troops.

People say many things, and most of them ( alas for human degeneracy!) are the legacy of falsehood; but also, here and there, what is recognized as truth. It is said of you (virtuous and noble Sir) that you are—I am ashamed to say it—my enemy! For what am I, even though I have been entrusted with this much envied seat, for reasons which He (how shall I say it?) knows Who has decided to entrust me with it? But in fact you are the enemy not of me, but of that stainless Bride Who was joined to the Son of God by His stainless Blood. Thus you plot your plots in your own mind, and encourage others to join in the conspiracy: against me, as you imagine, but in fact against their own salvation. For I, even without your machination, shall certainly, either today or some day soon, lie rotting in my grave, which is what you are eager for; and then, when I am gone, you will learn by experience what it is you have won by your conspiracy. I say this before God.

80: 11-12: cf. Ps. 48.7.

80: P 191v–192r
81: P 192r || 5 δ ἄδι Wk: δικτός P || 9 συναστήσας Vat.: δικτός P || τοῦ Vat.: τοῦ P
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as my Witness, and you had better believe me, for that Witness is not to be ignored. I shall invoke neither man nor God against you; for I know, on the contrary, that even when I am silent, the impartial and Divine Justice will survey your purpose.

82. To our most illustrious, beloved, spiritual Son Landulf, Proconsul, Nicholas by the Mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople

Of what had befallen the patrician and governor Ursoleon, even before you wrote of it (my Son), rumor had already informed me, and I experienced a grief which touched me to the very heart: partly owing to his death and that of those who perished with him, but even more because words have reached the ears of our God-crowned Emperors concerning you (my Son), words which imputed to you all the responsibility for those who have miserably perished, and accused you before that high and mighty Empire, to which you owe the benefits and honor and glory which it has bestowed on you. And so I grieved at this (my Son), as I say, with a grief that knew no consolation, especially when I considered the violation of the oaths which you swore to our Emperor the lord Leo, of most happy memory.

But now that I have a different account from your own letter and from that of the Community, a less deplorable version than that previously delivered by rumor, I have some slight consolation in my griefs, though you do not appear, even so, to be exempt from just censure and condemnation. Even granted the truth of all you write against the dead patrician and governor, it did not lie with you to punish him. With whom, then! With your common Master and Imperial Majesty, by which alike you were made glorious and he was appointed to the governorship of that place. After your expostulations and exhortations and the other favors you showed him, if he still remained obdurate and inexorable and merely persisted in his wickedness, you should then have sent in a report to our God-crowned Majesty of your Emperors, and begged of them a remedy for these evils, and not have constituted yourself the murderer of your brothers and fellow servants, or
“avenger,” as you put it, of their “crimes.” This (my Son) would have been the course suitable to your nobility, your wisdom, your upright faith and love toward the throne, and the oaths which you swore to the throne that has raised you to glory. But, as it is, this is not the worst: they say you have made yourself master of towns which do not belong to your authority in any way whatsoever, and have put under your dominion that which until now has never been subject to it.

If (my Son) you have in fact done this, I do not know what defense can be found for you, or what argument will help me to establish that you still preserve your due loyalty and subject to the high and mighty Empire. But, since I was in some doubt as to the previous rumor, and was rather inclined to believe the letter which has recently come, I have implored our God-crowned Emperors not to abandon their favor toward you, nor to consider you as alien from those who preserve faith and loyalty toward their Majesty, but, as they were once disposed toward you before these evils took place, so should they be still in your regard, overlooking the outrages, if such have in fact occurred: because it was Ursoleon who gave the provocation, and you and we who were in human fashion, incensed and did what should not have been done.

On this ground I also spoke to their Majesty about your being made military governor of Longibardia; and their favor has overlooked your errors and did not wholly refuse consent to your appointment as governor; but they required, as was of course, that they should receive from you a confirmation of your sure and untainted love toward their Majesty, and of your subjection and servitude to them as long as you live. This demand for confirmation has been communicated to you in their honorable mandate, and I also give notice of it in this present letter: first of all, you must evacuate the towns which you never before had under your authority, but have now, after the recent revolt, annexed; second, which will certainly provide perfect confirmation, there are the orders about your wife and your residence in Peloponnesus. Should you be unable to do this, you can at least send here another of your sons, so that he may live and consort with your child who is already here, and enjoy the imperial honor and favor. If you do this, as I say, our God-crowned Emperors will overlook the errors as if they had never
a itisai dòsousi parakas, kai stratéghn v se tìs òlías Logibardías anàleóntas.

"A mén eπoüdóthθn par' hèmov pròs tuos megálous kai ophýlous hèmov basileías upér sou, kai ìn ístous gnómov pròs tìn sthn ìn eúfera-70 sias kai anúlhpías, ídai diá toù grafýmatos múniáthes. Tì lóutôn sòn èstov ò tìn òrghn àukówn épitaúk¡setai ò tìs éugnecías kai ágadóthtros, òptep Elpízov kai eúχhmi, òpolaías.

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88. Tò toû Idróúntos

"A mén peri tìs òleias kai anúrropíntas bráskouménos eúfrōtías en tìn èkklhsiàs éugkhrostitas, klados éugkhristes. 'Otopo àpí tò toóntov sthrropi prágmati oðei dòdè toù plhrwmátos toù lóou kátheténtan 5 ò de oðhi tìn éugkhristían dióótoin èpì tìn òmónola tòs lepáthoud plhrw- mátos toù theò, pòs oði èxwn, èi dúnastai, ìn mónos xlovásis álala kai pòs toús álous mélassan ìmáis èpilhoun tìn éugkhristían, òdè èi kai ánæxivos kódui tòs ògíou wusíntirhou paréstéthai ò Xristoù èmov kai òleia: 'Àllā òdèn meta tìn ìdion éugkhristías tòn òntávha katalabíneu se kai kouôs metà tòs aðelidáv òsoi kai sunarímev órfymería káfros toù aítou kai bráskwv of tìn eúfrōtías, tòs pròto kai megalèk ánfrw peri kai 289 theò: òlhn èllá kai tà toú toû periústasiai pònèrion prágmaton èkákti- sou, òlì àpò te tòn mnì ìn ánæxília òuqásai ìn ìhè 9è òpòdèthèn tìn prò tòn òntávha òdènes porènèn.

10 Taôsia mén peri toúto. 'A dé peri tòs patríkou Ïdróulémova éγýrgrapías, taûte kouôs anexchínta kai peri tòs lópoù enëzhènta ou megalè kai òfíkol basileías èmov, kai ès òdòsèn aútòs sunarímev kai sunarímev práso enëzhènta pònèrion prágmaton èkákti- sou, òlì àpò te tòn mnì ìn ánæxília òuqásai ìn ìhè 25 kai òpò tòn periústasiai tòn pònèrion tseu-kréttow. Peri dé peri tòn 'Rómwn èpòskoìtòntov tìn mnì ìn èi aútòs pròsáreven àpóddhè- mèhê, tìn ìn èkínovn bráskwv kai bráskwv òsoi òdèn òpò tòn periústasiai tòn bráskwv òsoi èxw èxw tòi tòn méýmèvès: òlhn kai òpò tòs òpò kàrion èi tòs òsoi dòmas synedriaòsán kai aútòs, òsís kai nòkrówes òsís tìn èmyni-25 lófous pròdhmos peri taôsia ònou. Tì òlò 9è òlìs ***

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taken place, and will grant your request, and proclaim you military governor
of all Longibardia.

So you see from my letter what pains I have taken on your behalf with
our high and mighty Emperors, and how they are disposed to yet further
generosity and favor toward you. In future it is for you to choose whether
to invoke their anger against you, or (as I hope and pray) to enjoy their
favor and goodness.

83. To the Archbishop of Otranto

The thanks offered by you for the award of divine and human peace in
the Church are well bestowed. For where, upon this work of salvation, there
is none, even in the body of the laity, who does not offer thanks to God for
concord among the priestly body, it is surely our duty to express our thanks,
if it were possible, not with our tongues only, but with all our other members
as well—we, whom (though unworthy) Christ our God has set in the circle
of His Holy Sanctuary. But, besides your individual thanks, you ought to
have come here and have offered thanks jointly with your brothers and
fellow Highpriests to the Author and Awarder of peace, the first and great
Archbishop and God. And if, however, crises of evil circumstances have
prevented this, yet do not now postpone it, nor allow your journey hither
to be delayed.

So much for that. What you wrote about the patrician Urosleon has
been commonly reported by the others as well, and has been communicated
to our high and mighty Emperors, who have furnished such replies as seemed
to them salutary and profitable. There is no reason why you should not know
what these are. They have promised an amnesty of the outrages, if in future
those who committed these crimes remain loyal and subject.

As for those despatched to Rome, I appreciate your efforts in regard
to them; but their own dilatoriness and sloth, in an affair where speed was
essential, I cannot but censure; however, from now on, if you can in any
way cooperate with them, where cooperation is for the common interest,
pray be ready to do so. For the rest, ...
84. To my most renowned, beloved, spiritual Son Gaidon, imperial Protospatharius, Nicholas by the Mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople

On reading your letter (my Son) and the other letters sent to me by the inhabitants of your country, I learned of those unhappy events and of the crimes committed by the devil and by those men who are his collaborators. And as for what has already been unhappily committed, our high and mighty Emperors have granted pardon to the agents of those misfortunes, and have stated their decision in a mandate. But it is your duty also (my Son), as a faithful servant of the Empire, to say and advise, to all whom you can meet with and speak to, those things which conduct to order and quiet, and to subject to the imperial authority and lordship.

So much for events in your country. But as regards matters ecclesiastical, I have nothing to add to what I have already written to you. If then you can go to Rome and manage matters in accordance with what has been written to you, pray effect this with zeal, in the knowledge that for your toil and pains you shall receive recompense from God and from the imperial government; and if there be any reward that my Mediocritas can bestow, this shall be added as well. For the rest, may God keep you acceptable to Him, still living and acting according to His Will.

85. To the priests, archpriests, nobles and the general body of the people of Longibardia, Nicholas by the Mercy of God Archbishop

I have read your letter carefully (my beloved Sons), and turned it over in my mind more carefully still. For the act committed regarding that man, our high and mighty Emperors have referred it to the heavenly Tribunal, before which every deed, nay, every thought lies open, and have dismissed it from the examination of their own scrutiny and judgment: so that, so far
10 φάνον οἱ παράξενοι τοῖς τις κακοῖς παρατίθεντο παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας υψηλοτρόφοις. Μόνον τούτο πάση σπουδή καὶ εὐγνωμονὴ διατηρεῖτον, τὸ 292 πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ ἥν ελαβον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διεστιχόταν τὴν ὁρθολογίαν ἄγνωστην καὶ πλούσιαν διαμισθέσσας ἀφηματίκην 'μελῶν δὲ σπουδῆς διὰ τῶν αὐθεντῶν ἐργών ἐν ἑκείνη σὸν ἀποτριφθεὶς κατηγοροῦν, καὶ δεῖξητο, ὅτι κακοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐδαφεῖ, ἀλλὰ οὖν διὸ τὰ μισοῦσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀποδίδειν τῆς κακίας. Τούτῳ δέ φανερὸν ἦσθαι, ἐὰν τοῖς κεκλεισμοῖς παρὰ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ μεγάλοις ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἁπάντην, καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ἐκπολιτικὰς θέματα γίνεσθαι.

20 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ προχειρισθῆναι στρατηγῶν τῶν αὐθεστῶν Λαοδηκίου οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ψυχρὰς βασιλείας ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην αὐτῶν ἀποδοθῆναι παρὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ συνεισφέρεσθαι καὶ τὸ αὐθεντόν ἡς δοκιμαί γνώμην ἐδηλώσαν, καὶ πάντως εἰ βούλησθεν πιθανεῖν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκπανομηνίαν καλείσθαι, τὸ κοινὸν ἁγία ὡμῶν τὰ κακεῖνον αἰς πέρας ἐκβρισάλατο. Τί δὲ πλὴν γράφει; Πες δ’ ὁ δικαιαίως ἀξιόμενος, ἀλλὰ δικαίως ἀλλὰ παθώτερος, εἰπεῖς ἔξωσιν ἕξωσιν ἐκεῖνον ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ οὕτως παρὰ τοῦ δικαίωτος τυγχάνει ὃν ἂν δικαίως κυριακοὶ ἔμπνευσαν τὰ δικαίη δικαίως εἰπεῖς ἐξώσεις καὶ αἰτιάζεται καὶ πράξεως διὰ αἰς σοφίαν, διὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρειν ὥρα καὶ τὴν ὡμῶν εἰρήνην κατάστασθαι καὶ ἐκκαθάρ. 86, 87

86. Τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἐκκλησίας

Δέσποτα καὶ ἀληθεὺσαν ὡς τοῖς ὑψίστοις, οἱ ἀναγγέλλων σε εἰς τὸ ὑψόν τῆς βασιλείας ὠφελεῖ καὶ τὸν νόον σου καὶ τα προφήτεια, ὡς πιστεύεσθαι μὲν | τὴν αὐτῶν ἁγιάστητος, εἰς ὑπὸς τὸ ἁρμόδιον τῇ βασιλείᾳ | 3 σου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομνῆσθαι ὡς παρὴν τὸ διδασκαλία ποιεῖς τέκνων καὶ δεσπότην, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ ὑψόν τῆς βασιλείας ἁγιάζωσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸς ὑποχρέωσθαι σου διακρίθησαι, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ἁρμόδιον τῶν πολλῶν παραχρονεύσων καὶ λεγόντων ε μὲν ὃ δὲ λέγει ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου, ἔχως δὲ κυριακῶν παρὰ τὰς ἁρμόδιος καὶ εἰρήνευσιν. Ἀρχεῖ 10 αὐτῇ ὑπομνῆσαι, καὶ πλειοῦν ὡς θεωρεῖται λόγουν.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ οἰκονόμου, ἀγαθοί αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ θεια παραχρονεύσαν, καὶ νομίζει μετακεν αὐτῶν τὴν τινὶ τιμία κυριακὴν φυγήν, διὰ πρὸς πράξεων

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as this is concerned, the perpetrators need have no fear of reprisal from the imperial government. They should however continue, in all zeal and gratitude, to preserve intact their due love and loyalty to their proper Sovereigns, set over them by God; and moreover to show, by their good works, their willingness to wash away the guilt of that murder, and to prove that they did this deed, wrong as it was, out of a hatred of evil and for the reform of abuse. This will be apparent if they listen obediently to the orders of our high and mighty Emperors, and are ready to carry them out.

Respecting the appointment as military governor of the proconsul Landulf, our high and mighty Emperors have consulted, according to the Providence granted them by God from on high, and have declared their own decision to the proconsul: and I am sure that, if he is willing to obey the mandate sent to him, the joint request of yourselves and him will be granted. What more is there to say? Every one who claims a gift, whether divine or human, shows himself worthy of it, and thus obtains from the giver what the giver judges the recipient to deserve. May Christ our God grant that you, both rulers and ruled, may think and ask and do those things which are for your salvation, your interest, and your settled peace and prosperity.

86. To the Emperor, on behalf of the Oeconomus of the Church

My Lord and Son glorified of God: He Who has raised you up to the summit of Empire has also elevated your mind and thoughts (as we may trust in His Goodness) to the level which befits your Imperial Majesty. And therefore I suggest to you, as a father, (my glorious Son and Lord), that you be disposed toward your subjects in accordance with the elevation of your imperial goodness, and not according to the folly of those who often rave and speak improperly of your Imperial Majesty, though their nonsense is but the delusion of folly. This memorial suffices, and I need say no more.

But as regards the Oeconomus, I sent for him and gave him the proper instruction, and I believe he will not again vex your honorable heart, as be
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εἶπεν, τὰ μὴ πράπτοντα λέγων καὶ ὡς ἐθέξει ἐξενενιάζων τὴν στὶς τιμωτάτην ἔντευξις. Ἀπετελείακαν οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ δέδωκαν αὐτῷ πρόσωπον ἐπιμελείς. Ἰδίως καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἣ δὲ τῶν ἑκατέρον ἐν τῇ ἡγιασθείσῃ, καὶ οἰκεῖ ἡ ἱερατεία, καὶ πάλιν ἐξεφεύρισε τὰ λεγόμενα τοῦ αἰκατέρων. Ὅταν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡγιασθείσῃ, ἣν ἔκακον τῆς τιμωτάτης ἔκκαθερες, αὐτῶν τις παρέδωκε εὐθέως τὸ ἄγνωστον ἔτος ἐν πάσῃ δείκτη ἑαυτῷ καὶ πληρωτείας διδάξεως πάντων τῶν θελημάτων.

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Τέκνου ἡμῶν λατρεύ, οὐ νομίζως ἀγαπαντῶν τὴν στὶς ἐμφάνεια σύνεσιν οὕτω τὴν ἐμὴν φύσιν οὕτω ἐποίησεν ἐκώλυτον τὴν παρακολούθησαν τὴν στὶς παρακολούθησας ταῖς ἀνθρωποις γνώμαις προσπεριστῇσια, ὡς ὁτι ότι τῶν τοιούτων ἐν τῇ ἐμῆ ἀποθηκευμένης ψυχῆς, οὐ ότι τῆς τέκνου ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπιστέγασεν ὀφθαλμον καὶ μέλον, ὡσπερ εἰ σῷ χάρων θεοῦ ἐξ ἀρχής, καὶ συνοικισμὸν τῶν ἡμῶν παθημάτων, ἀλλ᾽ ὀδὴ πρὸς ἄετον τινα. Μηδεὶς οὖν ὑποτεθεῖσθαι λογισμοί, τέκνου ἡγιασμένου, τὴν στὶς ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τῶν προσδοκόμοις ἀκρίδες ἐν τῇ ἐμῆ ἀποκλείσθαι ψυχῆς, ὡς ἀποτροπηθῇ καὶ ἐκ ἑαυτῶν. Μὴ γένονται, τέκνοι μου, μὴ ὡστε ποτὲ νικήσῃ τὸς ὑπενεπτὸς κατὰ λογισμὸς, ὡστε τοιοῦτον ἐνδώματον ἐν τῇ στὶς ὑποτεθεῖσθαι ψυχῆς. 'Αλλὰ εἰς μέλλους πάλιν ἐπροέθη τὴν ἡμετέρου πρᾶξις καὶ διάδωσαν γνώμην καὶ στοργὴν ἐκτιμώμενον, καὶ τοσοῦτο πάλιν τῶν ἡμῶν γνώμην εἰς μέσον εἰσάγαγαν τῶν ἔρευν ἀμέτρητας μὴ καθαρᾶς μὴ γνώμην ἀδιαστρέφεισθαι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν μελλόντων συναπάρθησθ᾽

10 εἰς τὰς μυρίς ἀργαλείας τῆς ἐγκατάλησθος δικαστάσεως, τούτων δὴ ψυχῆς βίων ἐκαίνιος, λευκῶν πάλιν ὑποτεθεῖσθαι ὡς ὡς ἔχομεν ὅλος τῶν γεγονότων μεταξοῦ ἡμῶν τῇ ἐμῆς ψυχῆς (ἐν θέλῃ φασμαν) ἀποκλείσθαι.

88

Ὀφθαλμοί τῆς ἐγκατάλησον συν προάστειν, τέκνου ἡμῶν, μὴ δειμένον τῆς ἡμῶν παρακολούθους· οἱ γὰρ αἰκατέρων ἐξεισεν τὰ συμπάθης εὐχαρίστων τῶν ἡμῶν.
89. To Gregory of Ephesus

Now that our great and first Archpriest, Our Lord and God Jesus Christ, has granted to the affairs of His holy Church such dispensation as was pleasing to His goodness (for who will venture to suppose that this great work has been done without His approval?) now, I say, that the affairs of His holy assembly have been settled, I ordain: that those who served the Holy Sanctuary in the beginning shall have precedence over those recently ordained by your Archpriesthood: next shall come those ordained by you: and last those ordained by Constantine and John during the period when—by God’s inscrutable judgments—offenses were permitted to invade the Church.

Such is the ordinance for this part of the business. Next, I ordain (and this must be absolutely inviolate) that the men whom you set in the rank of protopresbyter and archdeacon, and in the rank of his so-called “replacement,” shall keep their rank and position, and you must in no circumstances sanction their degradation to a subordinate rank. These things I command you, and do you keep my commandment, in obedience to him who—albeit a sinner—is yet your father and Archpriest.
90, 91

My Brothers (I will add also "Sons," unless you are pained by the addition of being called "Sons" of one who is a sinner indeed, yet still your father, as you yourselves would not deny, even if I am not regarded by all as worthy to be so)—well, at all events, Brothers and Sons: The division of the Church, brought about by the wicked demon, has, by the Providence of Him Who ever from the beginning bringeth the divided into unity, most of all through Himself, in that He emptied Himself out for the unity of all and endured His Passion, and thereafter through those who inherited His care for the unity of mankind—I mean, the Apostles and their successors—achieved (by Divine Ordinance, as I, though a sinner, believe) a unity befitting the priests of God. If any do not receive this unity, it is not necessary for me to confute him, since, though I remain silent, the facts suffice for his confutation. But as regards accusations made against my Humility, whether by you or others, I do not deprecate the spirit of my accusers—let them go any lengths they like—though by God's Grace I do not shrink from dispersing their accusations. However, if (Brothers and Sons) I personally am burdensome and distasteful, I am ready to relieve the burdened of their burden, and to dispose of myself as may be pleasing to you, yielding to him who may please you the headship over you, do you but return to the wholeness of the Body of the Church.

91. To my beloved spiritual Son, the most renowned Curopalate

I was aware (my Son), even before receiving the letter of your most perfect Wisdom, that awkward circumstances were preventing your Honor's communication with me. Yet be assured of this, that though no declaration from you had reached me, I did not neglect to remember your prosperity and salvation in my humble prayers; nor, from this time forth, shall I cease to

91: To the beloved spiritual Son, the most renowned Curopalate

Otham, son, know, even before I received the letter of your most perfect Wisdom, that awkward circumstances were preventing your communication with me. Yet be assured of this, that though no declaration from you had reached me, I did not neglect to remember your prosperity and salvation in my humble prayers; nor, from this time forth, shall I cease to
91, 92

I therefore urge that the community shall assist: for circumstances affecting us all cannot be amended unless all of us to the best of our power take a hand in their amelioration. Why do I say this? I am sure that, even before my writing, your Piety is well aware of the reason, but nevertheless I will explain it. The deterioration in our

10 οὐδὲν ἐπιτόπως κοινῆς κοινής ἀπαιτεῖ, καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλως τὰς κοινὰς συμπτάσεις λαβῖν αὐτοποίησιν, αἱ μὴ πάντες κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν συνεπιδέψαντο τὰς δορυφόρους. Υπὸ τὰ τούτα λέγομεν:
5 ῥάντως καὶ πρὸ τὰς ἥμερας λόγων οὐχ ἤγγισεν ἡ σῆ θεοτοκία, ἀμοῦ ἡ ἀπαγγέλλωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡ διὰ τὰς ἀμαυτικὰς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς βοήθειας καὶ

Dangers which threaten the community require that the community shall assist: for circumstances affecting us all cannot be amended unless all of us to the best of our power take a hand in their amelioration. Why do I say this? I am sure that, even before my writing, your Piety is well aware of the reason, but nevertheless I will explain it. The deterioration in our

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B

Dangers which threaten the community require that the community shall assist: for circumstances affecting us all cannot be amended unless all of us to the best of our power take a hand in their amelioration. Why do I say this? I am sure that, even before my writing, your Piety is well aware of the reason, but nevertheless I will explain it. The deterioration in our


27 ὁμικροτέρα ἡμᾶς Π || ἀρχηγὸν Π
92: Π 1988-1989 || 2 λεξικόν Π: ἐν Π
affairs which, for our sins, has been caused by the barbarous and Bulgarian uprising, demands much care and energy, supported by the hand of God, if it is to be properly amended. And how can this great energy be displayed unless everyone makes his proper contribution to the best of his power or even beyond it? So, therefore, it will be the duty of your Perfection, acting in accordance with your own wisdom and under the compulsion of our common predicament, first, to provide with right good will such a sum of gold from your own church as, while not damaging or crippling it, will at the same time assist the community; and second, to levy contribution in the same way from the monasteries and cathedral churches in your diocese. For if to those who are privately distressed we owe a duty to provide such means as we can to relieve their distress and poverty, how much the more must we do in this all-encompassing distress, well knowing, as we do, that if the community is saved, then each will certainly preserve his own along with it, but that if the whole is ruined, there can be no salvation left for the individual. To repeat, then (my Son): you are to collect from the church put under your administration by God's Grace, and from the monasteries, and from the cathedral churches, a sum of gold such as your prudent dispensation regards, on the one hand, as not inflicting unbearable distress upon you, and on the other, as assisting the common crisis; and this sum you should either bring here yourself or else dispatch before the month of March by the hand of a servant whom you regard as trustworthy.

I believe it is unnecessary to place your Perfection under a bond; yet, imperative is the need, I add the bond in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that you shall so perform this Service or contribution (however it should be called) that the assistance shall neither fall short of what is required for our common affairs, nor yet shall the contributing churches of God suffer an improper weight of damage. Let me add what is needful for your Perfection to know: if there is any delay, or if out of parsimony you contribute less than what is required for this common necessity, then imperial agents will be sent out who will take strict account of your attitude and will make the collection themselves, whether you like it or no. I need not say how vexatious to you this proceeding would be: you yourself are well aware what would happen, without any words of mine.

92
93, 94

89. Theoctistus of Claudiopolis

"A μέν, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱηρόν, τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνέργῃσι τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος συνεντευγμένον ὡμών ἐπάρχον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡμῶν κυρίων ἕπαγω καὶ τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀγγέλου ἡμῶν καὶ Θεοῦ δόξαν καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὑπὸ ὧμων υπερορθομένων καὶ παρασυνάντησιν τῆς ἡμῶν τιμωρίαν ἐμφανίζετε, τϊς εἰς τῷ ἁγίῳ οὐσίαν διήλθησαν καὶ θορυβοῦσα τῷ Χριστῷ μου ἑαυτὸν σεβάζω καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀνανόητον παραπληγίαν.

94. Gregory of Ephesus

I had been delighted (my holy Son) at what, with the assistance from above of the Most-holy Spirit, you have performed for your own credit, for the glory of our Great Archpriest and God, for the salvation of those beneath me, and for the comfort of my grief-laden heart; and I offered thanks to my Christ and God, and approved your most perfect Wisdom and
the prudent care and zeal that befits your Virtue, and prayed for you such prayers as a father may on behalf of a tenderly loved son, who is believed fully to reciprocate his father's affection. However, the remainder of your letter has changed my pleasurable sensation, and more especially that passage in it which relates with much circumstance that I have allied myself with persons of greater importance and have cast you aside as cheap and insignificant! And I experienced a fresh sensation, an affliction of combined grief and amazement: I was amazed how such an idea could have been entertained by your Perfection; and I was grief-stricken that I could seem to be such a person as your letter appears to depict. Well—no doubt this is human weakness, and we must not be too severe on it. But I have written this to assure you that I have been out to the heart.

But now, as regards the letter sent to you, which is the origin of this painful affair: there was no instruction that it should be sent just simply to your Holiness; but, because of a persistent rumor that the heads of the churches are ignoring the pledge agreed on in common synod and are carrying out ordinances in whatever way they see fit, I gave instructions that all of them should receive a letter in this form, as a reminder of what had been jointly decided; I made no mention of you personally—God forbid!—but said that this letter should be sent to all. This is how it happened. It betokened no idle whim, no change of mind, no withdrawal of my previous affection; but, because of a persistent rumor that the heads of the churches are ignoring the pledge agreed on in common synod and are carrying out ordinances in whatever way they see fit, I gave instructions that all of them should receive a letter in this form, as a reminder of what had been jointly decided; I made no mention of you personally—God forbid!—but said that this letter should be sent to all. This is how it happened. It betokened no idle whim, no change of mind, no withdrawal of my previous affection and friendship toward you (my Son).

I make this explanation as much for my own comfort as for yours. But as for the future, to avoid any excuse for further heart-searching, I write as follows: the government of our commonwealth have decided to levy as large a contribution as possible from every church; and imperial agents have been sent out to each diocese. With the interests of the Church in mind, I have secured that these agents shall not act independently of the bishops. It therefore becomes your duty (my Son) yourself to make a survey of the establishments of your own diocese—I mean, the cathedral churches and the monasteries—and to collect whatever sums you consider each church capable of contributing; and to see to it that either personally or through an agent trustworthy for this service, the sum so collected shall be conveyed here by the month of March.
95. To the Caesar Romanus

My Lord and blessed Son. I have heard a rumor (God grant it be false!) that Bulgarians have crossed to Lampsacus and done some damage. Now, even if the rumor be false, let us not neglect what is being said; but, with God's help, make the place secure; and, should it be true, so much the more and more care should be taken to prevent anything of the sort happening again. For if they have made a beginning and are even slightly encouraged to cross over to the area of Lampsacus, much energy will henceforth be needed to put matters right. So now, let us take all thought and care so that, with God's active assistance, such an evil may not begin; either by the dispatch of home-based ships of the line, if available, or even of a couple of galleys from here, to guard and rescue the place.

95A

The Holy God Himself, as He has glorified you by elevation to the summit of rank, so may He glorify you with the summit of achievements and success in public administration, and make you renowned both in the present generation and among the race of men hereafter! But since I know that, after God, righteousness will be the cause of all your achievements, since "Righteousness exalteth a nation," I submit this memorandum, asking you to give the antigraphers, especially the seniors, a more honorable rank. They would be quite satisfied with an advance in rank, and are not asking for more pay. You will thus encourage them to greater zeal, and patience, in their decisions. You might add this: "Since I am assured of you that you are men who love justice, I have raised your status in advance, so that thereby you may increase your virtue, and thus become more honorable not only through rank but through augmentation of your virtue."
96. Ιγνατίος Νικομηδείας

Τὴν περὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων ὑπόμνημαι ὑποηγάμεθα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπό τῶν δικάσεως τῶν Μοναστηρίων ἔδιδομεν ἡμᾶς διατάξεις: ἃ δὲ τούτῳ ἡ διάταξις ἔζηκε, καὶ ὃ σὺν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καταλαβὼν ἐκλείπον 
κάντις ἐπικεφαλεῖ, καὶ ἡμᾶς δὲ γράφμεν. Εἶπον τάς ὡς ἐν τινας τάς ἔπος ἐν τῶν ἀλλαγῶν ἐκτίθουσαν τὰ μοναστήρια ἢ τινας τῶν ὑποργοῦντας ἐν 
ἀπό τοῖς προσελήφθης, τὴν ἀν' ἐκεῖνας ὑπογραφήν ἐξίσσον της τοίοις παγίν 
νοις οἱ κανονοταμοῦμεντας τὴν τοῦ δημοσίου δουλεία. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐκτε 
τῆς τούτῳ παρατίθεν, παράλογος ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν μοναστηρίων καὶ πάντων διαθ 
σετος αὐτῶν ἡ ἐλευθερία. "Αὐτὸν, τῶν ἱδρυτών, ἢν ἐγκαινιάσαν ἔχως τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω σοι τε καὶ τῶν μοναστηρίων τὴν δημοτικὴν αὐτ 
στοντος ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν παρατίθεμεν ἐλευθερίας. 
Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ γραμματος καθόδες καὶ προεγγράφουσα, χωρίς τῆς 
ὑμᾶς παραστασίας ὅστις καὶ, λέγειας τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἀνακηρύσσει τὸ 
15 πλέον ὡστε κἂν ἠλλα σωματοσκέφτωμεν ἢ σπουδάσαμεν ἢ προσέπεσεν, διὸ οὐκ 
κατὰ καρδίαν βασιλείας ἡς ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτὸς ἐργασίας ἡς ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίον λό 
γον ὡς ἀπὸ δικαστὴ ἀποκαλυπτοῦντα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο εὔθυμον ὡς ὡθοῦ 
ἐργασίας τοὺς ἤμισυς ἐκεῖνος ἠκολούθησα τὸ ἐκεῖνος πράγματα διακυβηθοῦντος. "Οὐκ οὖν τὰ ἐν παρατίθεμεν, τότε σύ ὅ 
ἐπαινεῖτος ὀλίγοις ἢ ἐρεῖς, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπαινοευρίων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν 
ψευδήμων αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων. Τὰ δὲ ἠλλὰ ἔρρεσα. 

97. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Α περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Θεοτοκίστου ἄγραφης, τέκνον ἡμῶν ἱερῶν, λέγω 
ὅτι τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν γενέσθαι σημεῖον τῆς γεγονομένης ἐπ' αὐτῷ κρίσεως. Παρ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἔθεσέν ἐχάνει ἀκολουθίαν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ προσήκον ὁδὸς εὐπρό 
τὰ παρ' ἐπέστειλαν κρίσεις συμβαίνεις ἐπένθειν ἐξουσιοδοτεῖ ἀλλὰ 
τὴν σημείαν τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον κρίσεις, ὡς ἡς δὲ ποιήσε 
τοῖς διοικηταῖς τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ὑπέστειλαν κρίσιν ἀνήκει. Καὶ 
τοῦτο ὡς γενέσθαι, δηλοῦντο μυαλοκυνίας τῆς σημείωσις ἡμῶν, ἢ 
καὶ τοῦ κρίσεως, δει κατ' ἐπισημάνθημεν σημείωσις τῶν πραγμάτων. 

98. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Τῇν ἀναγκαίως γνώμην τῆς ὑμέων συμβαίνεις τε καὶ κρίσεως ἐγκαθ 
ταῖς, καθὼς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων προειδοποίησε τάς, (καὶ) τοῖς ἐπιπε 
ράτοις.
Forasmuch as your Holiness is oppressed by daily perils, I, though I do not share these perils, yet partake in your sorrows and heartrending agonies. I am sure you will believe this. For the love of the All-holy Spirit is wont to make those whom it hinds and unites one also in their experience of passing events, and to share these events, whether pleasing or painful, between them. Your grief then, as I say, is shared by me. Indeed the true and unfeigned love of the Spirit may well cause yet greater agony to that partner who is not partaking in the actual suffering, inasmuch as, by sharing in the pains of those he loves, the lover believes that there is some gain, in this very communion of equal suffering. But where this is not so, the lover thinks it a loss that he cannot suffer equally, and his grief is therefore greater. So much then for the agony. But we have comfort in the hope that is laid up for us of those good things which Christ our God has prepared for those who suffer for His sake. And as I reflect on the eternal rest which is prepared for your Holiness in return for these temporal pains, I experience great comfort and a joy which I am sure your holy soul, though afflicted in the fire of trials, feels also, and which overcomes the flame of your misfortunes.

So much concerning this for the present; and no more of it. But concerning the state of our holy Church of God, since I imagine that this will give you pleasure if any pleasant thing can, I send you joyful tidings that through your acceptable prayers we have done away with those evil offenses of disunion to which the disgraceful marriage (which should never have been known in the Church of God) gave rise; and all those who were previously, in human weakness, carried away by temporal authority into accepting it, have now, under the leadership of my Mediocrity, denounced it and declared it alien to the human race, and especially to the society of Christians. And so, then, with one soul, one spirit, and one mind we encircle the Holy Sanctuary, while they ask our forgiveness, and we, confident of Divine
approval, grant their request and offer thanks to Christ our God Who has joined that which was divided and has demolished the middle wall that caused our enmity. These things I write in order that your Holiness may rejoice with us over them, and may offer up prayers of thanksgiving, and may ask that the holy Church of God shall still be preserved in peaceful stability and in a calm that knows no tempest. These things I write (most honored of Fathers and Brethren); and do you requite us with your holy prayers, continuing to fare well in God, and superior—so far as may be—to every ordal.

I am as much delighted as you (my holy Son) at your report that your citizens and your reverend clergy are paying you the respect and honor due to archpriests of God and to their proper father. It is therefore yet the more incumbent on us to display our fatherly affection and our care for their salvation, in proportion as they display their loyalty and obedience, I am sure that you are doing this without any words of mine; but I write because, just as I rejoice with you over this matter, so I think it right that we should consider it together. May God unite them yet more closely in the bond of spiritual love to their father and Archpriest; and make you yet more beloved and honored for your most abundant affection toward your sons. Do not postpone your coming here now that you have celebrated the Festival of Salvation.

For those affairs in the Church (my holy Son) which, by God’s grace, continue to develop according to plan, I offer suitable thanks to God, Who has the ordering of them; but as for the reports which reach you regarding the situation here, I did not need your letter to tell me how uncertain these must be. What else are they but the nonsense of the mob? Even here, as

37 ἀναφέρει Μαι: εἰς Π
98: Π 202v || 3 τοῦ Δέκτηται Π: τοῦ Δέκτηται Π || 10 ἀναφέρει Π: εἰς Π
100: Π 202v–203r || 3 ἐπισκοποῦντι Μαι: ἢ Π
100-101A

εὐχαριστοῦσα, ὑπὸ σου ἀυτὸς ἀνέγνωςα, τὰ δὲ λογισμοῦ παρέ τοῖς ἐντεθέντις χείρεσις ὁμῶν διαπατημάτων ἐμφάντιον. Ἐγράψαμεν καὶ πρὸς βραχέος τοῦ 10 καταλαβέτιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἔστορεν ἐν ἐθνολογίᾳ τῆς σῆν ἐξέλθεσιν παρουσίαν ἀλλ’ ὡς εἶπομεν, οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτυχέοις C πρὸς τὴν διακοσίαν τὸ γράμμα, διὰ τούτου οὐδὲ ἀφίηται πρὸς αὐτό, καθ’ ἄρα τοῦ κοιμητοῦ ἐνεμάθομεν μὲν ὑπὸ δυστέρον γράμματος παρά τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν χρήσει κατέστησαν. Ζητοῦμεν καὶ ἡμῖν καθ’ ἐκάστην τῆς σῆν 15 ἀμέσως, ἔτοι μὲν καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπειλημμένων, καὶ προκείμενον ἡμῖν ὑπὸ εὐθυνέον σε γενέσθαι. Τοῦτο μάθων, τέκνων ἡμῶν, πάντων μὴ ἀναβάλῃ τὰ τῆς Νικαίας μὲν καταλαβέτιν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ παραγενέσθαι.

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Φίλα εὐγνώμονες καὶ θερόποντες, ὅταν τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τιμᾶτω, εὐεργεσίας τυχάνοντες στουδοῦν ποιεῖται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀκούσασθαι ἢ δὲ ἐνταύμασιν ἐν τῷ καθόταταν ἀυτοῦ εἰς ἐπιλήψιν ἔτοιμος τῆς D τῶν εὐεργετῶν βουλήσεως. Συνονῆς, τέκνων ἡμῶν ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοτε- 5 φοῦς βασιλείας εὐεργεσία παραγέγοιεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τοῦτος, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν ἡμῖν, πάντων οὐκ ἡγούμεναι· λοιπὸν οὐκ ἄν εἰπα τρόπου ἐθναίνων ἐρμαίνων· ἵνα καὶ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἄξον τοῦτος ἀναφερόμεναι καὶ ἡμῖν φιλοτιμοῦμεν ὑπὸ ἄνθρωπός τοῦτον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν βουλεύσεως καὶ δὲ μέγας καὶ ἄρμαδος 10 ἡμῶν ἀρχή βασιλείας ἀξίων σε τιμᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς τριλοχίας οὕτω, ἵνα ἑν ἐπι- γυνώσκως τὸ εὐεργέτημα· ἑπιγυνώσκων μὲν δὲ συν., ὅπερ ἔρχη, τὰ τοῦτο εὐπ- τάχμενα ἐπιλήψων ἐν τῇ τιμῇ κατακτάς. Τὰ δ’ θὰ ἔρωμεν μὲν σε διαφυ- λάξεις ὁ χόρος. Εὐλογίας δὲ χάριν ἅπαστειλὰ σου ἡμῶν.

101A

Τοὺς αὐτὸς ὁμολόγας ὁμῶν ὁ μέγας καὶ θεοτετήρης βασιλείας ἐφώρησεν οὖς παραγέγοιεν ἐπειθές τὴν τελείωσιν, καὶ τὴν τιμᾶς ἂν ὁ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δρόχην πεποιητεύμονος πολὺν εἴχεν πόθῳ λαβεῖν παράσχεν αὐτῷ. Τὰ μὲν

100-101A

you know, it is impossible to hear any trustworthy information; so how are we to value reports that have filtered from here over to you? I wrote to you a short while ago that you should come to us, and have looked every day for your arrival; but it seems that my letter was entrusted to an unreliable messenger, and for this reason it did not reach you, as I learn from the bearer. So I am now under the necessity of writing again to the same effect: I ask you to come on my own account, and those who have taken over the government ask you also, and have instructed me to summon you. In view of this (my Son) do not on any account delay your departure from Nicaea and your arrival here.

101

Grateful friends and servants, if true to their nature, when they receive a benefit, are eager to repay their benefactors. This repayment consists in readiness to do the benefactors' will. You realize (my Son) that the benefit has been conferred on you by the God-crowned Emperor, and I am sure that, without words of mine, you are aware of its magnitude. So then it is for you to show your willingness in all matters in which his Majesty requires your service, in order that you may appear truly worthy of the benefit, and I may be rewarded for my intercession on behalf of such a man, and our high and mighty Emperor may be glad when he sees you worthy of so great an honor in your gratitude for the benefaction. Do you then show this gratitude, as I say, by performing his commands, now that you are granted the honor. For the rest, may the Lord keep you in health. I am sending you a robe for my blessing.

101A

The mighty and God-crowned Emperor has lent a favorable ear to the requests, and has granted their fulfillment, and has conferred on your Prince the honor which he had a great desire to receive. Such have been the
Emperor's actions toward you. But your Perfection must consider how great this benefit is, and honor the benefactor accordingly. And what else is it to honor the benefactor but for those benefited to preserve their loyalty to him in all things, and show in every way a willingness to think and act what shall be for his glory? I need say no more. This will suffice to restore your Perfection, and your Prince's Wisdom (in what I have just written to him), to firm friendship with us, and to make plain your gratitude both now and to succeeding generations, and will render you an example of true fidelity and of your disposition toward the benefactors who are benefiting you.

102. To our most excellent, most noble, most glorious friend, 
NN, by God's appointment sovereign Lord over the Saracen nation.

Inasmuch (most noble Chief of the Saracen) as you have received from God the preeminence and overlordship above all your fellow countrymen, you should excel them all in virtue also. I do not say this as supposing you do not do so: for I am properly acquainted with your fair report, from which I learn that you stand above your subjects, not only in authority, but in wisdom and justice and other excellences of character as well. But because an unseemly and strange report has reached me that you are transported with frightful rage against your Christian subjects, for no true cause but merely upon a simple slander, I therefore make this the preface of my letter. That unseemly report states that your Magnificence has heard—a report I know not whence, or rather, I do know, that is, from the devil, who is from the beginning the father of lies—that the oratory of the Saracens that is here has been pulled down by the Roman imperial Government, and that the Saracens, perforce and against their will, are renouncing their own faith and changing to the worship of the Christians: and therefore you have issued a decree that the Christian churches under your authority are to be
Τουαυτήν ἄρχην τῷ γράμματι ἐπίτευκθείμεν. Οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἄρχην ἐδει τῇ πονηρᾷ ταύτῃ λογοποιεῖ καὶ διαβεβήλῃ τὴν σήμερον ὑποκολίναι ὡστε, ὅλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, εἶ καὶ τὴν ἁκοῇ ὑπάρχει, πρὸς ταύτῃ τούτῳν
25 ἐξερέγιευν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπικεφαλῆ ἐξετάσει παραδόθηκεν τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τούτῳ εἶναι ὅτι ἄριστως ἔχει διαστρεμένους μαθητές, καὶ μὴ πρὸς κατάγνωσιν τοσοῦτον ἥζησεν τὴν σή· Ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴς βασιλείας φιλαθλήτην καὶ ἐπεκτάκει ἐκ τῶν παρατηρήσαντος αὐξανόμενος· ἀλλὰ ἑσού μέγες ἄν καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν ἄρχην περὶ μέγας ἴμασες καὶ ἄρχης ψυχῆς παράδειγμα φήμης, τοσοῦτον
30 ἐχεῖν ἀθεραπεθάνεις ἔχεις τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ | μὴ τοὺς φυλακοῦντος ὑπάρχειν 312 ὰθαι. Καὶ γὰρ πολλὸν ὑπαργόντων οἷς τῷ Ῥωμαίοις συνάντηται γένος, ἐν τούτῳ ἑπάνω ἔξεταί τίνι τῆς φιλαθλήτριας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιμελείας. Καὶ τοῦτον μάρτυν οὐ τί ἐξίπον ἁλὼς, ἀλλ᾽ ἴτε· οὐ πείθω δειχθὲ ἕξετέρα τούτῳ· ἐπιμέλεια, πάντως
35 δύνατον ἐφησοῦν τὰς πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ πᾶσα ἱστορία ταῦτα παραδοθῆν τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ. Πῶς οὖν ἔμενες ἣν, ἐν παρά πάσης γλώσσης καὶ πάσης ἱστορίας κανεῖν τῆς φιλαθλήτριας καὶ μαρτυρίας, ὡς ἐν καὶ αὐτοῖς φαίνεις γράμματι τιγγάνως, καὶ πρέπει πράσσων ἄρχη Britann ταὐτῷ ἐπιμέλεια ἤρ᾽ ἐκ ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶν ἡγεῖται, προϊστάμενως πάντως ἡ Ῥωμαϊκή ἐξουσία καὶ παντογοὺς ἕξετέρα τούτῳ· ἐπιμέλεια, πάντως
40 ἀθηραπεθάνεις· Οὐκ ἐδείκνυτον οἷον τὸ ἤθελον ψηλῶν ἐν τῷ ἄρχη καὶ συνέτε οἷον ἡ ἐπιθυμία πάσης χάριν τὰς διαθέσεις γλώσσας, λέγοντες τούτῳ B εἶναι, ὅτι Ῥωμαίοι ταὐτόν ἐπικεφαλῆ ἐπιθυμεῖν.
Πλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτον γέγονεν καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀποστάλλων αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἁρσυτὸν πληροφορίαν ἔπροτέτεις, λέγει καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν
45 ἀγαπητόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀρχαίοις ἐδίδασκεν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐλάφαιναν ἔχον τὰς αὐτῶν ἱματιὰς· ταύτη τροποποιήσθηκεν ἡμῖν ὡς μόνον δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῶν ἀποστάλλοντες τὰς ἀμαρτίας φυλῆς καὶ πάσης παρέχεται τὸν ἀμφιλογοῦν ἐν τῷ βασιλέ: τοῦτῳ πολέον ἔρ᾽ ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς ἀκμαίωσης ἔγινον ἔτη πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐν περὶ κατέχομεν. Καὶ ἐστι
50 ἢκεῖ τοῦτο μόνον γενέσθη, τὸ διὰ γλώσσης τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν πολεμόν καὶ τῶν τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀποστάλλων ἔμενε τῆς γενεσίας ἡμῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίου. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ γράφομεν καὶ ἡμῖν, ἰδιοκεφαλῶς ὑπὲρ δεῖ καὶ τί τοῦ Ἰησοῦς Ἰουδαίων ἔστω, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦς Ἰουδαίων λαοὶ εἰς καὶ διάδοτη ποιεῖσθαι δεῖς καὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ των ἱερών καὶ τὴν ἔκακον ἅλλακταν οὖσαν
55 ποτε (μη γένονται, μηδὲ τοσοῦτον καταλειφθῆναι τῆς ἔκακον ἡμῆς καὶ προϊστάμενος) ἐξαιροῦμενοι.
Hear then, mighty Sovereign of the Saracen race! The emperors of the Romans have from the beginning thus laid it down with regard to prisoners: while they realize that so long as fighting lasts their duty is to strive to hurt their enemies, yet, when their enemies fall into their power, these must be cared for as friends, and provision made for the comfort of their lives, so that they suffer no hardship other than deprivation of country, families, friends, and relatives. For this reason they have allotted them spacious apartments, the enjoyment of the cleanest air, and other comforts belonging to human life such as are at the disposal of their own coracials and co-religionists; and moreover an oratory is set apart for the use of members of your sect. In short, as I have just remarked, Roman emperors have from the first decreed that your prisoners shall be no worse off than Saracens living in their own fatherland and country, except in the single article of estrangement from their own relations. This conduct was from the first dictated by their mercy; and those who in each generation have succeeded to the imperial government have maintained the same attitude until today. No one with any regard for truth can claim that there has been any deterioration, either in lodging or in any other living conditions, from those originally allotted to the Saracen prisoners. And yet the Christian prisoners taken by you, as we hear on all hands, are kept in such close confinement and in such misery of life, that death would be far better and more desirable for them than life!

Consider this also: for what reason should those at present on the throne of the Roman race inflict on your fellow countrymen such cruelties as those which gossip has brought to your ears? You will not claim that they are inferior in point of mercy to their predecessors: for how could such an allegation, if any saw fit to utter it, possibly be believed? If new and worse tortures, or some new mode of execution of your prisoners, have been recently introduced, send someone to tell us what they are, and then pronounce the indictment also. And yet you have frequently subjected Christian prisoners to violent deaths, deaths strange to human devising. When, instead of de-captation by the sword, you do not shrink from cutting their throats as if they were sheep, without regard to our common nature; when you hang a man on a gibbet and do him violently to death with arrows and stones; what

67 Δόλος Π μ. μ. rec.; Δόλος Π || 70 ἡτ δελ. Μαι (ἐν ίκε) || 75 ἀποκρυμμένης Π; -ος Π ||
68 ημῶν Π μ. μ. rec.; ημῶν Π
Concerning those who have sought to inflame your Benevolence into anger against the Christians, I have said sufficient. But I, as though I were in your presence and speaking with my own voice, address these words to you by this letter: O Chief entrusted by God with the government of the Saracen race, there is no truth, no, none, in the report recently conveyed to you by those, whoever they may be, that forged it — without the fear of God. Who searcheth hearts, before whose eyes appear secrets stripped of every covering, without respect to your Nobility’s intelligence, without consideration of the truth which bears so high a rank in virtue before the eyes of God and man, without scruple of defiling your ears, to which nothing is so sweet as the purity of truth (for what more beloved than truth can there be to a man that is a ruler? and especially to him who rules over that mighty race? I have said sufficient. But I, as though I were according to his works.

So then, there is no truth or substance at all in what they have said; is there any impediment to its repair by Saracens here, on the contrary, it is entirely without foundation, and to be rejected as falsehood. The oratory of the aforesaid principies, preferring lies and slander against those whose con-
receive the same care as if both oratory and worshippers were under your jurisdiction. No Saracen has been forced to renounce his religion by imperial edict or by the malice of any magnate or officer attendant on the Emperors, and enjoying familiarity with, audience of, or presentation to them. Whether some subordinates, men of no account and unknown to the Emperors, men wanting wits and destinies of official position, have not been silly enough to do this, I cannot positively maintain. But, if so, they must come to light; and, if the imperial Government decides to overlook the matter and not to proceed in due form against them, then doubtless you will have a right to censure it and even, it may be, to visit your resentment on your own subjects; although, even so, this would not be allowed by justice, or your care for justice, or the guarantee originally granted by your Prophet to those who became your subjects and live beneath your sway. For why should I, your subject, be maltreated when I have done nothing against your authority, if someone else, who is in no sense your subject but outside your sovereignty, chooses to do that you disapprove of? What then? Are Christians and their churches that have in every way complied with your edicts, and do not dare—as the saying is—to lift a finger without your consent, to suffer injury if a Roman emperor (to grant the supposition) chooses to inflict hardship on Saracen prisoners in his power? I do not mean this has happened: it has not and will not: Roman mercy has not forgotten itself nor will it ever do so; but I say this to have you understand that not even in these circumstances are you justified in ill-treating your Christian subjects. You are canceling the written guarantees given by your Prophet, and great is the dishonor and cancellation of that justice which you ought to honor. Do not then (O pride of the Saracen glory) on this score pervert your glory into shame! For who, on learning that the First Man among the Saracens, who is entrusted with the written guarantees given by your Prophet, and great is the dishonor and cancellation of that justice which you ought to honor. Do not then (O pride of the Saracen glory) on this score pervert your glory into shame! For who, on learning that the First Man among the Saracens, who is entrusted with
102

vwvo? ywsTat. -tt]? Tifi-oipta?, eav (xyj xal tou TcraiCT^iXTO^' aX)k’ ouSs
170 aSsXfpot; aSeXcpou 7Cov7]p6v ti Tupa^avroc aruv auTw xaTaxpivsrat, et xal
Tou TcovYjpou epYou
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Sx^i]jat o5v ex ToiiTou Troctp ftaXXov euXoyoEiTepov tou?
ae
176 XptoTtavoil)? {XYjS^v Traaxstv Sswov gvsxct yt t^?
X^srs pCa? t^v
^vTau-^a SapaxTjvciv, tva xal touto Stojxev, xaO^? wpo^OatyavTe? stTrojxev,
ol [Lfi^h fiXo)? fXTjSs xa^’ oiovS:^7roTS Tp6itov tt)? Tcpoaip^oso)? ^ t^?
p£a? CTU[X[xeT^Xoufftv twv £vTau^a ^^ouatav sx6vtojv pidtCetyOai. *AXX’
ouS^ TOUTO yiYove'^, \ oOSi [3£« Tt? ^ Tcapol paotXeco? tJ Ttapcb twv ^eivou C
180 a^toujx^vcov -nj? d^iXla? ^ Tyj; ^.Xy;?
otxstoroTO? 7cpoa:/)XO-/j
Sapaxy)vot?* Tzki]v et
tcou Ttap^ Ttvo? twv et; dtipav^ Tdt^tv xsifiivoiv,
otTtve? To^Tou 8iaYivcoorxo[xivou t^? wpooyjxoOoy)? imTeij^ovTai Siop^S^csco?. Kal tv« |x-}) 86^6)|X6v SkJi twv t^jxe-^pcov Xdytov t?)V Tcspl to^tou Ttloriv
Trap^stv 6{xtv, xal Sapaxyjvol euTeu-S-sv ICaTcsordtXyjaav xal y(nkini.»7» twv
185 ^vTauS-a SopuaX^TCOv, St’ &v ^7tl xX^ov X-;^tj;E<jOs r^jv 7rX7}po9op£av
TrpoasX^ouaa Tat? ^xoat? 6fuov TrovyjpoXoyla (ivOpc^Tccov euTlv (mh tou
7rovy)pou Salfxovo? spLTT^eojA^vcov xal t^ (^vOpo>xlv(j> y^vei &o7cep II <?.px^e
^xslvou Sta9S'Ovouja.^vcov xal fxeX^Tyjv Tcoioufi^cov xal Toi»? | Sapoxyjvoi? D
sl? 8tapoX(i? ejA^aXetv, [xaXXov Sh t^ Sixala tou Oeou xaTaxpl<7et, xal
190 to6? XpKTTtavoi)? sl? xaxcGffSt? xal TaXatTCWpta?. 'AX^Xa <ji, & [Asytoryj
xe9aX'^ tou SapaxyjvSv ^vou?, TauTa
Xav^v^TO), (j.y)8s X(i87)? Xu(AS(ivcov av^pcoTTCOv 67raY6(J.svo? tpsuSoXoylat? p.y)SI: tt^ <?yj 86^^ xal t^
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195 ttsI-St) ayaTrwvTt xat Ty]V orjv S6^av xal acoTyjpiav, w? xat Travrtov dvOpcoxcov (touto yap
Staxovta, xat uxep t^? xdvTCOV et xat dptapTwXo?
viixTa xat y]fxepav euxofiai crcdTyjpia?), ptoXXov xaToXtTte, oxoTav ex tou
piou 7CapeX'9'7)?, ptvy)|j.6<Tuvov 9tXavS-ptt>xLa?, jjtvyjjioouvov extstxeta? xal
200 Stxatoauvy] Tot? u7n]x6ot? sfXTToXtTsueTat, dStxia 8e Tratra xal ^tatOTy)?

to have been a partner m tbe act of the latter.
From tbis, tben, you may see bow mucb saner it is that your Christian
subjects sboTild not be raolested because of the alleged violence shown to
Sajicens here (to grant the suppositiori, as I said above), when they have
had no share at all, in any way whatsoever, in the attitude or the violence
of those who here have the power to exercise it. But even the supposition is
false: no violence has been offered to the Saracens, either by the Emperor,
or by those who are honored by his oonversation, aoquaintanoe, or familiarity;
though perhaps it may have been offered by some obscure offioials, who,
when the matter is sifted, will meet with the neoessary correction. And in
order that I may not seem to be offering proof merely by my own statements,
some Saracens also are being sent to you from here, and some letters from
prisoners of war here, and from these you will reoeive further oonfirmation
that the slander wMch has reaohed your ears is the work of men inspired by
the devii, of men who envy the human raoe as he has done from the beginning,
of men whose study it is to expose the Saracens to slanders—or rather, to the
righteous condemnation of God—and the Christians to ill-treatment and
suffering. But (0 mightiest ohief of the Saraoen nation) take note of this,
and do not be seduced unawares by the lies of corrupt men, nor tarnish your
glory and your mighty name, nor leave behind you the reoord that in your
days the pains of the Christians were inoreased: but, if you will be persuaded
by me, who love you and your glory and your salvation, along with that of
all men (for such is my ministry, and, though a sinner, I pray night and day
for the salvation of all men), theii leave behind you, when you depart out of
this life, a record of mercy, a record of benevolence and justice, and a record
that in tbe days of your rule mercy and justice were practiced toward your
subjects, and that all injustice and violence were cast out.


The latent virtue of many may naturally be discovered by time, when, in its course, it confronts human life with dangerous crises. This (my Son), I see has been the case with you. For although even before this I was not wholly ignorant of your wisdom and administrative ability, yet now you have manifest and have completely displayed your virtue: first (the great one of your achievements), in that you preserve your loyalty untainted; second, your gratitude, and refusal to wrong your benefactors; and lastly, your bringing them, with assistance from Above, to safety, like some good pilot in storm and stress of circumstances. Your prompt action in checking, if not indeed wholly removing, the malice of the rebels, and preventing its spread, is proof of your most perfect virtue. Therefore our Christ-loving Emperors, approving your loyalty and unfeigned affection, make you yet more their familiar and their faithful friend, and will repay your zeal with the due recompense. They have at once granted fulfillment of your requests: and I am sure that in the future, as your competence shall direct matters and shall, with the Divine Power, deal properly with the rebellion and bring the country's affairs back to peace, they will furnish rewards much greater and richer. It rests with you then (my Son) to show yourself in the future, as in the past, the energetic and faithful friend of the Emperors, and to do yet more in their service, and to enjoy yet more magnificent gifts and favors at their hands.

I received your Holiness' letter at the very door of death; and I do not know whether I shall be allowed to turn back from it by Him Who has given and husbanded my life and Who dispenses His blessings according to His own inscrutable Dispensation. Yet still, bowed down as I am with the disease that afflicts me, I received your letter, and despite my desperate case, I felt something of heartwarming joy, and rendered thanks to our common
Lord and God and great Archpriest. As for your journey: I know that my prayer is humble, yet I submit it, asking that you may accomplish the same in ease of mind and body.

For the rest of your letter, it was perhaps unnecessary to enquire of me: for we have One Who has taught us how we should pray, One Who has led us to knowledge of Him and has enlightened us, and has instructed us in the ways of prayer, as in all other ways. There is none, no, not one, who, if he will perform in a proper state of mind this brief and salutary exercise of prayer, shall not attain to the blessings that are promised him. You have moreover the blessed Apostle to teach you the fashion of prayer, who exhorteth “to lift up holy hands without wrath and doubtings,” doubtings, that is to say, which distract us toward the vanity of life, and to its wearisome but idle pursuits. That is why he uses the plural, “doubtings.” For he whose heart is set on the Kingdom of Heaven is not shaken to and fro by a variety of considerations, but embraces the one, single purpose, and holds to it constantly, and finds in that blessed purpose the treasure that is his true salvation, and that assures his eternal rest.

I answer as I feel, in this extremity. But you (my holy Son), illuminated as you are both in soul and mind worthily of your virtue, may converse with the All-holy Spirit Who anointed you, and shall the rather from Him receive instruction in what you seek. For the rest, may you yourself fare well, passing quietly and peacefully across the ocean of life, and remembering in your holy prayers one who may perhaps still be alive, though this is doubtful, or may have gone hence, which seems more clearly his fate than life and its vanity.
105, 106

105. To the Archbishop of Cherson

So, then, your Perfection might properly—indeed, should—have disregarded the labors and perils of the sea, trusting in your hope from on High, in order to come here and rejoice with me and all the complement of God’s Church, and to share the satisfaction which a pious heart must feel at our great Union and at the riddance of our former dissension. However, since dread of the sea and fatigue of travel have won the day, and have deprived me of the holy pleasure of having you here, I must do what I can to mitigate the loss; and I write not to censure your reluctance or to reprobate your cowardice, but to pardon you, and to assure you that I have no resentment for your declining to pay us a visit.

106. The Archbishop of Cherson

In the zeal and carefulness of the life according to God. I remember your telling me this; and so when monks from that monastery came to me, I spoke to them, and now write to you to go to the monastery and live there, as you asked to do. But since, regarding the abbot, you informed me of some ugly rumors, which were wholly inconsistent with monastical piety, and since the monks told me more or less the same, I will send a man to inquire into what is being rumored. If he finds these reports true, the abbot shall be discharged as unsuitable for his post; and another, whom the brethren regard as competent to govern them, shall, after my Humility has made inquiry and approved his suitability, take over the protection of that monastery. But you (my Son) must not forget your original purpose, nor quench the zeal and eagerness you felt when you longed for the monastic life; but rather, receiving strength from the Divine Grace, be yet more eager and unyielding, mounting as it were the rungs of a ladder, and still going forward to the utmost of your power, and never turning back.

106. To the Archbishop of Cherson

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106, 107

On the contrary: your zeal on behalf of that deluded nation, so nearly ravished from the bosom of piety by the evil demon, has been deeply appreciated by me, and I beg that you will continue to bestow every possible care and effort on behalf of their salvation, so that their fellowship with Christ our God and their salvation may finally be reestablished; and that you will disregard all reluctance and toil and every other difficulty which obstructs this service in consideration of the hoped-for reward and rejoicing which these toils will bring. For if the winning of a single soul unto Christ brings inancomparable recompense (for He saith, “if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth,” and what gift can be compared in value to this?), then your Wisdom must consider how great a store of grace is laid up for you in respect of so great a multitude of the vile made precious unto God. Concerning the archbishop who is to reside among them, I leave the care of this to you, so that by your diligent enquiry one capable of this task may be found and dispatched to me, in order that I may prefer him in the All-holy Spirit to the rank of bishop and establish him as shepherd over the flock hitherto deprived of one to shepherd it. This will suffice for your Wisdom, who are of yourself capable of the charge, as is manifest from your previous endeavors.

107. To the Metropolitan of Cyzicus

Either that diabolical malice which is always disturbing mankind, or else some criminal purpose of men, has striven to upset the decisions of the previous judgment on your dispute with the Blachernae; however (my holy Son), the vote has reaffirmed the original position. Therefore, let matters rest as was decided; and when your Brother, my Son, the Archbishop, comes here, then, supposing that I am still numbered among the living, if we can at a further and joint examination reach a more peaceful and less obnoxious settlement, this shall be done.
108. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus

Quite apart from what you write, my heart has been too much torn at learning daily of the malice practiced against the Churches of God; and now, the purport of your letter makes my distress still more heavy to bear, especially in view of the fact that a man who ought himself to be under inquiry for having, in disregard of his own salvation, exchanged the monastic for the military life, should so act against the Church and so insolently and shamelessly interfere with her. However, as you request, an imperial mandate has been dispatched, and a letter from me to the party to whom you asked me to write: who, I am sure, if he is careful to respect the Divine and, as a son of the Church, has regard to her honor, will pay what has been demanded, thus putting a stop to the vicious course of that wretched man and relieving your heart of the grief which it naturally feels at this occurrence.

The brute you send ought to be where it is most needed; and obviously you need it more than I. However, I accept it; but, when God wills us to meet, I shall demand its expenses from you, so that you may learn not to send to indigent and poor men like me such an enormous brute, which I have difficulty in supplying with food. I am sending you a covering for your holy head. Farewell, my holy Son.

109

When my illness began the bishop who brings you this document had, without visiting me in person, made known to me through others who he was and what his conduct had been up till now. He deplored the past, and blamed himself much for having been deceived, in human weakness, by those who advised him in these matters. But now he was making a clean breast of his offense, and retracted his error, and had taken refuge in the Church of God, praying for peace and for his recognition as a sheep of the holy flock of God, and begging for that pardon which the Church accords to those who return to her. This took place, as I say, when my illness was beginning, and in the meantime, since I was, as I wrote to you some time ago, at death's door, nothing further
transpired. But now that, by the inscrutable Judgments of the Lord of my life, hope has in some sort revived (but who knows if it will be fulfilled?) so that I shall he once more with them that live, the man has repeated his statement and is presenting his appeal.

As to me (my holy Son), I seek, as everyone else does, the Church's wholeness, and her freedom from offenses: for, as you know yourself, this has been the chief object of my life, and this, as I go from hence, is still my heartfelt care; nor shall such labor on behalf of the Church be resigned even now by me. What then? Since he has approached the Church of God, your Perfection knows, without any words of mine, that it would not be right for us to disregard him: for how could it be right to neglect one who has strayed during so many years, but now has seen fit to return? How shall we not rather imitate the merciful, the kindly father, who, you know, wrought such deeds over the return of the wandering child? And so I am sure, as I say, that no words of mine are needed to induce you to open your merciful heart to him, to receive him and to show him all the regard due from a man of God who is truly an Archpriest, and who is eager to adorn his own Archpriesthood after the pattern of our First Archpriest. What the man asks for is neither heavy nor vexatious, nor is it alien from Church usage, but such as bas been customary from the beginning until now: that is, he asks for the return to him of his own church, which he evilly deserted, and for the retirement of him who is now presiding over it in his stead, until such time as a suitable see can be found for the latter to administer. This was the request preferred by the man, and I declare it to you plainly. It is now for your Holiness to make such dispensation as befits the Church, and to take the bishop to your paternal mercy after his long wandering, and so to arrange for him that he may appear grateful to God and to you, his own Archpriest; and to provide for him who is now presiding over the church in question until, as I have said, when a suitable see presents itself, he can he reinstated as president over that. I have decided to inform you in this sense (my holy Son); all now rests with your judgment and with your salutary care, with God's aid, for both the bishops beneath your jurisdiction.
On learning from your letter, and verbally from its bearer, of your good state of health, I gave thanks unto Christ our God, the Giver of good gifts; and may He (my holy Son) protect your son and body from the assault of all harm beneath the wings of His goodness. As for me, I have been afflicted by a sickness which has indeed scourged me for my sins, for such time as the Corrector of our transgressions approved that I should be visited with this scourge, but now that, according to His wont, He has been appeased by His own mercy, it has for the present abated, although I still feel the effects of my past trial; but to whatever end my humble life may come, blessed be (as it is) the name of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ! For the rest, whether I remain with you in life, or whether I shall depart hence from this stage, do not cease to remember me in your holy prayers.

Your Holiness' letter is delightful, as its words spring from a sweet soul. For what can be more sweet than a soul that is rich in the love of the Spirit, in possession of which your soul gives utterance to such words as these? But leave your compliments, and rather pray for my Humility: for this is more to my taste, and I love to be favored with this grace. Compliments are for others who deserve them; but I am conscious of no such deserving, and, being the rather in need of prayers, rejoice in being favored with them.
113. To Nicetas of Athens

The best pilot is careful to steer clear of waves that are swamping him, and does not bear up against those which must more completely overwhelm him. Similarly, a doctor who cares for his patient's recovery, is concerned to compound such medicines as may, even if a complete cure be impossible, at least alleviate for the time the afflicting complaint. I imagine you understand the application of this exordium. Unless I am deceiving myself, the Church of God is in such rough water and tempest, and such a wave is mounting against me, both from within and without, that every day, or rather every hour, I expect it to be totally submerged; and yet you are dismissing from their churches bishops who were ordained by those who have not yet been openly deposed by me. You must be aware that neither Sabas, your predecessor on the throne of Athens, nor any other of his kind, has been deposed, except for the four deposed already; I mean, Demetrius and Gabriel and Gregory and Cosmas, the last of whom incurred deposition, not for the same cause as the other three, but for the lies he told in Rome. Everything at its proper time. What is done unseasonably must be imperfect; and what is imperfect cannot endure. You ought then to have recognized the time and the unsettled state of affairs, and have taken none of the steps you have taken.

6 toúton. V; τούτο P || ἥμνον P; ἥμνον V || 12 οὖν P; om. V || 15 συγχωρεῖται V; -τὰ P
112: P 219r-σ V 13r-14v || 2 ἐκκλησίαν P; ἐκκλησίαν V || 6-7 συνωμόνως V; συνωμόνως P || 13 παποῦμεθα cum signo interrog. V || 18 ἐκκλησίαν P; καθοποτίζεται V

112, 113 distress. My thanks for this have been rendered to the Holy God, and I pray always to meet with a messenger bearing such tidings of you as these! Since the crises of affairs allow us no respite, and since in these circumstances I, in my humility, require the solace of companions (nothing, as you know, is such a comfort as the consort of one's children), I desire you at this time to be with me. If then there is nothing of greater urgency in your local affairs to hold you back, come to me. But if there be some need that is too imperativeness, then for the present support me so far as you can by your holy prayers; and your visit, even if it is not now permitted, shall certainly be made when God allows. For the rest, I pray you fare well, and be mindful of my Mediciety.
However, since—for whatever reason—you have been induced to act like this, yet if you have any regard at all for allaying the storm which rocks the Church, as well as for any possible peace of mind my Mediocrity may enjoy, then let the man have his bishopric back and stay in it till the Church's decisions have been reached, and till the doubt about those who have erred is settled either by formal condemnation or else by some dispensation in their favor. I pray you fare well in soul and body, and pray for my Mediocrity.

114. To Basil, Metropolitan of Chaldisia

The matter I write of is of serious importance to the bearer, and so it is at his request that I have undertaken to write of it: it did not seem at all serious to me, nor does it now. It never occurred to me that your Reverence could willingly hurt anybody at all; certainly not an innocent man, but not even if there appear to be any such human affairs some good cause for hurting somebody—in that case, too, if the cause can be remedied, the one who gave such cause will surely not feel hurt by the treatment; or else, if the evil has gone too far for cure, even so the offended party will not have his offense from you, but from the evil nature of the circumstance.

So much for that: and now let me proceed to the affair about which I see fit to write. The bearer states that he has been offended by your Holiness inasmuch as he has been expelled from a monastery in which he has lived very many years and over which he presided, although he has done nothing of a sort to deserve his expulsion. I would have you know that his report has greatly distressed me. If you are concerned not to give me offense, restore to the man his rank, and do not worry about what you suspect of him. No one shall remove the monastery from your control, neither I, nor anyone else so long as I continue here.

115. To Euthymius, Metropolitan of Antiochiae

I have heard grievous tidings, which God grant may be unfounded! I have heard that you are stricken by disease, and for this reason have so
115, 116

long put off your return here to me. I am sending to learn the truth of this report and at the same time to afford you, even if you are well (as God grant you are!), some consolation by the coming of my messenger to you: for I know that, even if there be nothing else to trouble you, the very fact of your separation from me puts you in need of consolation. God give you release from every sickness and every distress, so that you may come here the sooner and be received by me.

116. To Philip of Larissa

I learned from your letter of your distress of mind, and also that you suspect my Mediocrity of being responsible for it. At your distress I too am deeply pained, since I have no desire that any of my opponents should feel such, let alone you, who are a son, an Archpriest, and a member most familiarly bound to me. But as for your suspicions, I am grieved that I should have given you cause for them in any way whatsoever; though my grief is less severe in that I am not conscious of any such conduct as that which you call in question. The person who has been disturbing order in your diocese was not acting on instructions from me, nor did it occur to me that he might act in such a manner. Nor did I instruct the Archbishop of Thebes to consecrate a church “under your jurisdiction”; I was told that the church which has been dedicated was undoubtedly covered by the privileges of this Patriarchate, and I therefore issued my instruction, not out of any contempt for your Virtue, but because I was inaccurately informed of the distance to be traversed, and believed that the journey and execution of my order would be easier and less onerous for him to perform than for you. Such was the sequence of events, and, now that you know the truth, you should put away your resentment. And why? Because from now onward the church which has been consecrated belongs to your diocese, and shall certainly continue under your jurisdiction, nor will you suffer any loss by the affair in question through the irregularity of its performance.
At the beginning of my letter I declare my frame of mind to you: it is
due to acute distress that I am moved to write. That I should be deeply grieved
is natural. I had the best hopes from your appointment to the archiepiscopal
seat of your church, and augured everything that might redound to my own
comfort, to God’s glory, to your own imperishable fame, and to the relief
and solace from their burdens of those beneath your care. But, as it is—alas
for the demon’s malice!—I realize that I have been deceived in these hopes,
if I may judge from the reports of those who come here day after day. You
see in what affliction of spirit I am writing? Day after day comes a continuous
stream of monks, laymen, and clergy, accusing you of expelling them
from their own, and, so far from being delivered by your Arch-priesthood out
of stern hands, they are applying for intervention of the powers that be
for deliverance out of your own.

One example will serve: the abbot of the Bema monastery has just
arrived, full of tears, full of sorrow and confusion. The reason is that he and
his monks are being turned out on your initiative. I do not know how you
arrived at this decision, or what justification you put forward for such a
violent act of aggression; but, even if you had every justification to support
you, the single fact that this monastery is under the jurisdiction of this
Patriarchate should in itself have been sufficient to restrain you from any
such action, or thought of action, until you had come here, put your case,
and, instead of moving men to gratitude to God for the blessings they enjoy
upon your diocese! Let us not deliberately provoke every tongue against us,
and, instead of moving men to gratitude to God for the blessings they enjoy
at your hand, stir them up to inveigles and curses upon my head! For you
had the best hopes from your appointment to the archiepiscopal
seat of your church, and augured everything that might redound to my own
comfort, to God’s glory, to your own imperishable fame, and to the relief
and solace from their burdens of those beneath your care. But, as it is—alas
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from their own, and, so far from being delivered by your Arch-priesthood out
of stern hands, they are applying for intervention of the powers that be
for deliverance out of your own.
117, 118

To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

Bodily separation from another cannot divide those who are one in the spirit: indeed, paradoxical as it may be, bodily severance renders the
union more complete, since, one might say, all our regard is devoted singly
to the conjuncture of souls, and knows none of that dispersion which bodily
union involves. You should therefore not be downcast at our bodily sepa-
ration, but rather realize (as I say) that we are more completely conjoined
us to give no offense not only to our fellow Christians, but to Jews and Greeks besides.

I am well aware that there are very many who attack your Wisdom
without reason, and who, out of malice, endeavor to bring damage on your
church. I know there are many such: for I see the disease of greed widely
diffused among all, and it is rare to find anyone, whether among the great
or the small, who is not subject to this passion. But (my Son) when this sort
of thing occurs, you should conduct yourself toward the parties with the
wisdom and piety suitable to your Archpriesthood, and not avenge your-
self, nor lay claim to anything as by an exercise of arbitrary power, by
depriving the possessors of the property you wish for; but, either personally
or through some qualified agent, you should approach the local judiciary,
and patiently accept what is ruled by just judgment, so that those who are
deprived of ill-gotten property may have no cause to grumble at you, and so
that what is awarded to you by justice may carry no stigma and excite no
protest.

I say it again, I am writing this with much distress; and if you care
for a father in distress, give him no further occasion to write to you in this
strain. God keep you well, living in all ways approved unto Him, and praying
for my Mediocrity.

33 λάγοντος ἀπροσκύπτου ἐίναι οὐ μόνον ὁμοόνομον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι
καὶ Ἐλληνες.

Οὐ γάρ ὁμός ἡν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τῇ σῇ συνέσει πλεύστην ἐπιτίθεται
παραλλαγὰς καὶ ποιήσεων αὐτοῦ ἄγιον | πουλοῦτοι τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας 336
ζημίας περικλείει. Πολλῶν εἰς τούτῳ καὶ γὰρ διὰ πάντων
καὶ κατὰ τῶν τῆς πλειονεξίας, καὶ σπάνιον ἕκαστον ἐστὶν καὶ
ἐν μέσῳ παράσιτος καὶ ἐν ἐκλάττει τὸν καὶ κακομαθημένον τῷ πάθει.
Πλὴν, πέντε ἡμέρας, ἐπικαλέσαντι τῷ τοιοῦτον ἀνακεφάλη 
τῇ προσπαθοῦσιν συνε-
σει καὶ αὐλοθέλη τῇ σῇ ἀρχιερασίᾳ προσφέρου τῷ δικαίωματος, καὶ
μὴ σκεφτοῦντες μετανείναι μικρὰς ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀναγωγής συμμετέχατο τῷ περιστα-
θεῖται καὶ ἀποστερεῖν τὸ κατέχοντας τὸ ἀγαθόν ἄλλος ἡμᾶς διὰ σκέ-
Η ἄρα: ἔτη τῶν ἐπιστήμων προσέκαν τῶν κατὰ τότον διακόσιον
ἀκούσας καὶ τῇ ψυχρόσφευγῇ παρὰ τῇ δίκαιας κρίσιςς ἀγαθάς ἐχο-
μενῶν, ἔναν στόρο καὶ οἱ πλευροκοπίως τοῦ κατέχοντας ἀφαρίζομεν τῶν
πλευροκοπίως ματώς μή ἔχουν κατὰ σαφή γονάντες καὶ οὐ τὸ περιγέμνευνό
παρὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης μαθιμένην ἐπιφάνεια μέμφομαι μηδὲ ὑπὸ τίνος κατα-
βῆσαν.

Τάκτα σου, καὶ πᾶλιν γεγένη, πάλιν ἐγράφασιν ἀδικομένων καὶ εἰ τῇ
περὶ πατρὸς ἀδικομένων φροντίδας, μηκότα πρὸς ἄκριτον ἡμᾶς καθαρο-
σής τοις συμμετέχατο σου γράφῃ. Ὁρωμένος σε ὁ κύριος διακρίνει ἐν
πᾶσιν εὐφράστως αὐτῷ διαβοῦντα καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μεταρρύθμισις ὑπαραργύ-
μενον.

118. Πέτρων ἀρχιερείασθε Ἤλλανίας

Οὐκ ἐξείλερα τοὺς πνευματικοὺς ἀνεμώνους συμματικὴ ἀπόστασις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαχωρισθεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔτη τῇ παραβάσει ἔρεν, ἢ τῶν συμ-
κοπούς διάκοποὺς πλὸν τῆς ἐνωνίας ἀπεργήτατα, ὅνης ὡς εἰρηνί τῆς σχέ-
δος εἰς τὴν τῶν ψυχῶν συνάρξεως καθαρός περιστασιακός καὶ μὴ
ἐπεκκέρατος μερισθείσας ἐς τῇ ὑποβάλλει τῶν συμμάτων ἢ ἐνώπιος. Οὐ τῶν ἄμεσον ἄξιον ὅτι τοὺς σύμμασις διεστράκημεν, ἀλλὰ κάλλιον εἴδος,
in spirit, and thus, I beg of you, rise superior to the local trouble which

distracts your mind, and, being filled full of the most sacred joy which is

your gift from the All-holy Spirit, endure it; and in that frame of mind, and

in consideration of the pleasure which is born from your trouble unto Christ

the Saviour of all and to my own Humility, and the glory and profit re-
dounding from it to yourself, put behind you your depression of spirits and

the troubles and unpleasantnesses which give rise to it. For if those who

undertake long journeys for worldly profit accept, not merely with equanimi-

ity, but sometimes even with gladness, their separation from parents or

wife or children because their hope of gain transmutes their grief to gladness,

how ought those to feel who stand to gain those things which even angels

long to catch so much as a glimpse of? It is natural, when you reflect that

we can no longer see one another, that your heart should be sore, out of your

warm affection for me. But, in the first place the Good God will certainly

grant our meeting, if this should be expedient; and if He shall deprive us of this

enjoyment, yet He will give us (as we trust in His Goodness) a better enjoy-

ment still, which neither time nor place nor any other outward circum-

stances interrupts, but which abides forever and gives unfading pleasure to those

who are visited by it. And may Our Merciful Father and very God be con-

tinuously with you (my Son) to help you in your ministration for His Gospel,
to dispense the gloom of all slothfulness, and to make you worthy of the mirth that is unquenched.

I believe (my Son) that you do not need me to tell you of the very
great difficulty of my circumstances: for the state of affairs is plain enough

to the most casual observer, let alone you. When, therefore, on the top of my

distresses here, people from other parts worry me daily, they make my
difficulties more irksome still. And so (my Son) you should by all means

119. 'Ανδρέας Πατράν

"Οση στενοχωρίε περιστοιχίζομεθα, και χωρίς τοῦ ἱματιούς ἀδέλ-

αινος. οὐ λογιζόμεθα σε, τέκνου καὶ κακοῖς, ἵνα δὲτὶ περί θεοῦ καὶ

δύναται τοῦ εὐγενεῖρά του πάφε ἵματος, σωμάτων ἀδιάστα-

των εἰς και σωματοκοιτακέων αἰζών, ὁποία πᾶσα ἵματος 387

και λύου πάντας ἀκρίδας συνθρόπατάς καὶ τῆς ἀθάνατος <σε> φανερό-

τητος καταστάσεως.

119. To Andrew of Patras

I believe (my Son) that you do not need me to tell you of the very
great difficulty of my circumstances: for the state of affairs is plain enough
to the most casual observer, let alone you. When, therefore, on the top of my

distresses here, people from other parts worry me daily, they make my
difficulties more irksome still. And so (my Son) you should by all means

have taken care of those who come here from your area, and especially of those who are under your jurisdiction, so that they do not put their worries on to me; and if, for some human failings, someone has been removed from the ministry he was performing, he should get some other consolation to raise his spirits and allay the inordinate poundings of his heart. But, as it is, when they are removed from their proper ministries, so intense are their agonies and lacerations of spirit, that they seem unable to support this painful existence without resorting here.

One such party is the monk Gregory, who, as he says, has been turned out of the monastery in which he was tonsured and with the administration of which he was most suitable to be entrusted, because it belonged to him for various reasons and especially by inheritance, owing to his kinship with the founder of the monastery. Such is his account; and he adds that a stranger and an alien, who has no qualification either of character in life or pretext of kin to govern the monastery, has been preferred by you to this administration. I therefore write to instruct you that, if the bearer of this letter has spoken the truth, and if there is no cause disabling him from governing the monastery, he is not to be deprived by your Piety of the abbacy which is justly his. If on the other hand there is an objection which makes him unsuitable for this appointment, then (my Son), if you have any regard for my sorrow and distresses, by all means provide for his due consolation in the meantime and for the physical comfort of a life so far as possible free from hardship, a provision which comes suitably from an Archpriest of God, who is bound to show mercy.

120. To Tryphon the Monk

Your gift was sweet, and your words sweet also, besides bringing me no small measure of relief from my heart's afflictions. Therefore I was disposed (my Father) to exhort your Holiness to the solace which comes from holy...
prayers and to the dispersal of my sorrows; but, then, as I reflected that, among holy men, words find more perfect expression in current activity, I checked myself from this exhortation. But you, I know, without exhortation of mine, will continue both to do and to write what becomes a friend who shares his friend’s sorrows, and to pray for my miserable life, which seems to be assailed on every hand by the malice of those who rise up together against me, from without and within.

121. To Leo, Patrician and Governor of the Anatolic province

I have received (my Son) the letter you sent me, and I rendered thanks for your preservation to Christ our God, Who, I am confident, will the more continue, because of the virtue that is in you, to keep you beyond the reach of every hindrance, whether seen or invisible. But do you (my Son), knowing in your prudence and wisdom that the eyes of the Lord look upon all men, but especially upon those who are upright in heart, cleave with all your might to the uprightness of justice, so that, with the Divine Eye still fixed on you and never deserting you, you may be directed to what is profitable in your every thought and interest and counsel and action.

In the matter about which you wrote to me, I shall fulfill your request; only, let that man for whom your Virtue bears witness be such both in education and in other condition of his life as that I am not put to shame, that you be not found culpable before God and men in the witness you have borne, and that he for whom you witness may not assume this ministry to his own condemnation. The Lord keep you in health, both prosperous in this life, and, in the life to come, not failing of that honor and felicity which are prepared for such as are approved unto Him!
122. To Bishop Ambrose

In addition to the griefs that afflict us generally, I am now personally afflicted by grief on receiving your letter and learning from it that you are once again assailed by diseases: not merely because the sufferings of one’s children are one’s own, but also because the service which your Wisdom was rendering, by Divine Grace, in the crisis which has arisen—service which is in accord with justice and suitable to the ministers of God, and hence of no small comfort to my much grieved heart—will, in the vexation of your pains, he impeded, with the result that I am benefit of the comfort which I derived from it. However, now as always, I look up to the common Saviour and Helper, and hope to he granted His succor: and may I not fail of this hope, O Thou who passest over my sins in the tenderness of Thy compassion!

But, concerning the general sufferings of the Church, what shall I write! That you and others who have inherited the divine freedom of intercourse with God must stand more steadfastly toward Him, and implore Him to take our part, according to His mighty and inscrutable Wisdom: inasmuch as from men there is no comfort to be found, nor escape from this so great and unexampled malice and injury which have risen up against the Church, and which are, for my sins, still growing, and, up to the present, show not the slightest sign of abatement.

123. To Andrew of Patras

The evils (my Son) which are afflicting the holy churches of God generally, even though none should write or speak of them, do not escape my Humility. I know too well that the oppressive hands have now laid hold on occasion to display their own oppressiveness. However, in proportion to their oppression is our own inability (for our sin) to resist, at any rate humanly speaking. What then must we do? First, implore God’s aid, that He will touch the heart of the insolent, and thereby the harm to the holy churches may be averted, and their safety be restored to them. Next, we must, so far as we can, bear ourselves toward them with gentleness and kindliness and words of exhortation, and as it were charmed hearts, assuring them that we are not just concerned about control over, but also about the safety of, the churches of God, and about the destruction of those

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122: P 218r-v || 12 if P: ος P: || 17-18 ἑκαταράσσης P: -οις Π
123: P 218v-219r || 3 ἑκαταράσσης Vat.: -ος Π
123, 124

who, in plundering the churches, are unawares delivering themselves into
honor, and cutting themselves off from the riches and glory of God, and
being seduced by the fiend who from the beginning has been the foe and
enemy of the human race, and numbering themselves, with him, in the
everlasting damnation.

Moreover, to those who you say are dissolving the monasteries, as many
as are in your parts, I am writing myself, partly to expostulate, partly to
rebuke, if they will pay heed to what I write. For those who have resorted
here, you should yourself come and meet them: it is possible that if you
address the insolent in my presence, something will come of it.

As for the monastery you asked for, show, under God, such care for the
improvement of its condition that I may have no regret, and you no censure,
for a worse administration of its property and of the monks there residing.

124. Γρηγορίου Εφέσου

Οὕτως φιλοσοφεῖς ἐχοντες οὕτως οἷς ἦν ἡ πρὸς ἑαυτὰς αἰσχύνης ἀγαθῶν

124. To Gregory of Ephesus

I write to you in no spirit of contention, or as one who might perhaps be
contending on behalf of his personal reputation: I have, thank God, no
interest in contentiousness, and for my reputation among men I care nothing.
But in writing this I am moved both by my own conscience, and by the tears
of one who was ordained by me after your assurance at that time that there
was no objection to him, and also by the large number of persons whom I
now encounter and who swear he is telling the truth, and they, if any lie be
proved upon him, profess themselves willing to forfeit their lives. These are
my motives in writing to your archiepiscopal Perfection, and I am yet more
assured by the very Grace of the All-holy Spirit, by Whom you were made
Archbishop, that what I write is certain. I insist that you should not ignore
the witness about the man, whether the witnesses be of worse or better degree;
nor do I base it from men who are only slightly acquainted with him, but
from the actual diocese in which he was born and brought up, and from men
with an accurate knowledge of his conduct and life. You know what things
are in this world, where neither greatness of rank nor a habit supposed to be

16–17: cf. Rom. 9:23 (et al.).

124: P 219r–220r || 9 λέγεται Π: at Π3 || 11 καὶ Π: om. Π3
indicative of piety can lend credence to what is said unless this is substantiated by facts. If we were simply to listen to praise and abuse, without reference to our own conscience, we should soon cease to recognize even ourselves, now exalting ourselves to the rank of angels, and now lowering ourselves to the level of loathsome fiends. Such is the pitiable plight of us men—sad to say—who are enslaved either unwillingly by the pride of the flesh, or else willingly by pride and interest. But do you (O man of God), in this case if ever, weigh the doubt against this man by the strict test of your wisdom, and take care to deliver me and yourself, perhaps from human censure, perhaps even from God's incrimination.

I am aware of all the afflictions that pain your pious heart. But what can we do but bear with gentleness, and adapt ourselves to circumstances with what wisdom we may? When events cruel in themselves acquire fresh cruelty from length of time, it is impossible that they should obtain any immediate settlement: and this you may see if you trace in order the whole course of administrative history, right from the very beginning down to our own day. And so do you (my Son), conforming to the common order of this world, endure with gentleness and with long-suffering the present events, or rather, those which the evil of past time has evilly disposed; and, by God's aid, rectify them as best you can by little and little, and do not, in seeking a sudden remedy, expose yourself to mortification from the opposing interest and cunning of those who love villainy, and give occasion for matters to get worse rather than better. I write this to counsel your Wisdom out of my own personal experience. God grant us a general change for the better, such as may be without grief to you and acceptable to His Judgments. For the rest, do not cease to remember my Mediocrity in your holy prayers.
Both now and heretofore I have derived from your Holiness' letters great comfort in the evils which—for my sins—afflict me; and I have offered up thanks to God, the Giver of good gifts, Who has preserved for me your truly sincere and spiritual affection, when nearly all who profess it toward me are forgetting that profession. But you, as I say, the Good God has preserved to me, setting up your most perfect virtue as an example to those who would imitate what is fair, and at the same time granting me at this time a great consolation in the distresses which encompass me.

But as regards your memorandum on the Church of God, good, wise, and worthy of your Piety as it is, let me assure you that its suggestions have been from the first the objects of my great desire and zeal. But, it would seem, since here also my sins rise up before me, I fail of my desire. On the one hand, those who sinned against the Church of God, instead of repenting their error and acknowledging the evils which came upon the Church through their treachery to her order, are on the contrary trying to justify their attitude and, so far from being humbled, are displaying arrogance; while, on the other hand, those who suffered dreadfully in the cause of ecclesiastical decency, are in any case exasperated and, especially for the reason I have explained, are with good reason excluding the others from the bowels of their compassion.

This being so, I am in the extreme of helplessness, and, what with one side, what with the other, I feel as though I were being tossed on an impassable sea, looking only to the Divine Protection and Guidance and awaiting the help that comes from thence, since all human skill is reduced to impotence. To desert my own party and to range myself with those who have hitherto been my opponents is impossible, and would in any case be grossly indecent; on the other hand, the refusal of the latter to be ruled by me renders it impossible for them, whether they wish it or not, to be united with the others. So what can I do? Surely I must, through your holy prayers, yet further enlarge my supplications of Him Who founded His
126-128 Church upon His own Blood, that He will in His inscrutable and infinite Wisdom reconcile all parties, and will, as He knows how, find the solution of this great misfortune, since I find that all human endeavors are too weak for their obstinacy and prejudice. God keep you in health, and in prayer for my Humility.

127. To Leo, Protopatharius and Judge of Paphlagonia

To those who are at one in the love of God no gift is so delightful as for lovers to learn of the well-being of their loved ones. By this best and most delightful gift I have been, and am, delighted. And I pray God that such delight be with me always. Delightful too are the gifts you send, though you have stolen them from the sheep—you, a judge, who ought to prosecute theft! Or perhaps you don't regard it as theft to rob the lambs of their sustenance, in order not only to enjoy it yourself but to share it with your friends? Well, seeing it is you, I accept with pleasure; but mind you make it up to the sheep for their loss, and continue to favor your friends with presents like this.

128. To Basil of Chaldia

Your goodwill toward me, of which you have been so careful as not to let so much as a painful message reach me, is deeply appreciated; and moreover I am heartily distressed to learn of your own afflictions, which this hour of bitterness, altogether full of sorrows as it is, brings upon you. I am quite helpless; and, as is natural in such straits, I have first of all referred our common affliction to our Guardian and Saviour, praying Him either to give us relief from our afflictions, or if, in His inscrutable Judgment, He will not,
10 "For fear of disgrace, you must not refrain from speaking of the things of which you have knowledge. For it is the bounden duty of all who value justice to defend those who are oppressed. Moreover as regards the cruelty of the nobles, we have written a memorial to those to whom the power to help has been given. For the rest, it is for your holy Wisdom to comfort, not yourself only, but also those who are assailing the churches of God.

11 For the rest, it is for your holy Wisdom to comfort, not yourself only, but also those who are assailing the churches of God.
48 οὕτως, οὕτως καὶ τὰς φυλακάς τὸς θλίψει καὶ τὴν ταλαπατηρίαν συννόηξεν τὸν βίον διεξάγων. Τίς δὲ μοι δοθεὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν εἶμε νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας διακρίνετον χαλαρῶς τὸν ρίτου εἰπεὶ, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν καθολικὸς βασάνου προοιμίων ὑπάρχει τὰ νῦν βεβαιώσιμα; Ἑρμομένος σε δια-
φυλάξει ὁ κόσμος, τὸς ἡμῶν ὑπερευνιόμενον μετρήτηνος.

129. Λέοντι Συλαίου

"Α μὲν πρότερον ἐγγέρθη τῇ ἀρετῇ σου, ἐγγέρθη μαθὴν ἡμῶν D ὑπόλοι συ τὸ γράμμα ἐπήγγειλεν νυνὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐπαλάλλος γράφει καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ γνώρισες τὰ περὶ τὸν ταλαπατήριον ἑαυτοῦ, καταπετάζατο μὲν 5 καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πετυχώσεως, καταπετάζατο δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχομορφικῆς βιώσεως, εἴ τι γε οὕτως ἄθλους διηθράκην κατανόησεν. Εἴ δὲ παρακολουθοῦσιν μὴ ἀρχικῶς, ἐπεζήθην τινὸς κατακαυκομονομένος τῆς στὰς ἀρετῆς ἀντίκειται ἡμέραν διὰ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον χαίρειν ἐτὶ διὰ τοῦ καθάρου τῆς ψυχολογίας αὐτῶν ἢ σε λαμπρότητα διαδείχθηκα-10 τοῖς σύνοιτοι. Ἐξοντάσθησαν δὲν, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτῶς καταλείψθη ἀντιλογίας ἀργοῦ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψατο διότι πάλιν ἀρχίσασθαι κατὰ τινὸς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐξουσίας συμπέφθη ἕως ἕως οὐκ ἔχειν σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παραπέμπετο ἐπεὶ ἔν 249

13 αὐτὸς διακρίθηκε, τοῦτο καὶ ἔπρεπο τοῦτο πρὸσδύσεως τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παρατίθεμεν, ἤ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔτι λάμβανε τῆς πρόοδος ἀντιλογίας καὶ διακρίσεως. Συ δὲ, τέκνων ἡμῶν, ὅσον τὸ γράμμα ἐπεῖθεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῇ μοιχικῇ παρακλητῷ φωνήν ἐπεκείνετο ἐπικατάλαβεν λόγον ἔνδον, οὕτω καὶ ἐνέπει ἐπὶ πάντα τῶν ἑργῶν σου τῷ φωτε διὸς 20 παραγίνεται ἢττίτυν διάλεξιν τὸν ὑπὸ φόρος τούτῳ ἡμῶν καὶ σι σι διὰ τῶν δικαιωμάτων δικαίων ἐπαίσχυν ἐπαίσχυν, εὑρίσκομεν ἐρ' αὐτοῦ τοιούτου ἀπολαύουσιν ἀρχηγῶς. Ἑρμομένος διαφυλάξεις.

128, 129

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God to pass their lives in sorrow and in the affliction of distresses. But

who will give me hope to speak so of the cruel sufferings that waste me day

and night, and my present tortures not to be a foretaste of torment to ensue?

The Lord preserve you in health, praying for my Mediocrity.

129. To Leo of Sylaeum

My previous letter to your Virtue was written when I had learned

what that letter announced. But now that your letter has reached me and

I have got to know from it the facts about that unfortunate man, I lament

our human condition and lament also the fatal damage done to his soul, if

in fact he has so miserably conducted himself. But I beg you not to resent

it if, when persons bore false witness against your Virtue, I was compelled

on their account to write in a somewhat wounding strain; but rather, to

rejoice that your Wisdom shines more brightly by the conviction of their

falsehood. I had intended, in order to deprive him of all chance of dispute, to

instruct you to act with others on a second, more minute inquiry into this

disastrous crime. But since I realize that he will, in that case, decide to start

another conflict by claiming that you are his enemy, and will therefore appeal

against any decision arrived at by you, for this reason I am referring the

inquiry to other parties, so that absolutely no grounds may remain to him

for dispute and justification. But you (my Son) whether I write it or no, are

aware that you are set as a lamp in the mystical Bridal Chamber, bearing the

word of life, and must so determine and act that all those to whom it is given

to see by the light of your deeds may glorify our Father Who is in Heaven,

and may extol you with the just praises that are due to you, giving thanks

that they enjoy the advantage of an Archpriest such as you. God keep you

well.
Though lately and after some difficulty, I have yet received your letter; it told me your news, and has somewhat relieved my anxiety about you. Such a long time has passed since I had heard anything about you, either by word of mouth, or by letter, or by mere rumor, that I remained much afflicted at this, in addition to all the other afflictions which my sins have brought upon me: more especially since your Holiness had promised to come here immediately after the Elevation of the All-holy and Life-giving Cross. However, thanks be to our Holy God, Who has meantime at this present granted me to have news of your Archpriesthood. I have nothing to add but this injunction: come here soon, without delays or postponements: the state of affairs is not such as to permit of your remaining away; and if it can be stabilized by your presence, so much the better. The Lord keep you in health, and in prayer for my Mediocrity.

I found much consolation in your Holiness’ letter, and offered up thanks to God, the Guardian of my most painful life, Who moved you to write and console my Humility. But, as you are now with me in your words, so hasten to be with me also in person, that you may share my afflictions and, God granting us speech with one another, may bring me your consolation by word of mouth. As regards your request, so far as the ordering of events permits (for, whether I like it or not, I must obey theirs constraint), thus far I have disposed. For the rest, I pray you fare well and be mindful of my Mediocrity.
Neither are you (my Sons) ignorant of the bitter grief of my humble heart, nor I of your own lacerations and pains: for union in the All-holy Spirit which has made in us one mind and the motion of one heart, even as it has joined us in our suffering together, so also it has made accurately known to us the sufferings one of another. What else then but to offer up our common thankfulness to God inasmuch as we are persecuted indeed, but, by His Grace, not cast down, and inasmuch as, though to our persecutors we seem to die, yet do we live by the preservation of the life-giving God? Even now we may surely discern the coming to pass of divine and unlooked-for events: God's servants delivered out of the mouths of savage beasts, and those who have committed their salvation to the Providence of the Most High preserved unharmed from the fiery furnace.

To think on these things is great solace for my sadness, and recovery of strength. And these things you too (my Sons) should reflect upon in your own minds, and, heavy as are the trials that beset you, continue, in hope of better things, to keep up a spirit superior to every distress and suitable to your archpriestly Perfection. We have very many assurances of God's aid, and I am convinced that He will overlook my sins and in His goodness, continue to support me unto the end, and not cut off His succour. For even though in His anger at my sins He may yield a little, yet perhaps His dispensation shall remove me from here, while to you He will surely lend His accustomed aid, and will bring upon those who boasted in their villainy a grief and sullenness far greater than their apparent rejoicing over it. I embrace you in the Lord and, as though present already, I clasp you in the spirit, and implore you to pray for my Humility.

132: 6: Ephes. 4. 3. § 9: 2 Cor. 4. 9. | 26: Rom. 16. 22.
Those parts of your letter which apprised me of your troubles and of your perilous situation grieved me at hearing of them, but with a grief not so sharp or inconsiderable, inasmuch as expectation that anticipates every difficulty and distress and, as it were, trains the spirit by converse with itself, relieves such difficulties, when they do occur, of much of their weight. And so I, who knew in advance that the state of affairs to which you had been called by the All-holy Spirit would be neither easy nor free of trouble, now that your letter tells me of what you are encountering, am naturally grieved, but, out of my foreknowledge, find this suffering perfectly tolerable, when with the mind’s eye I look beyond it to the rewards and felicity it will bring you, which completely conceal from sight the troubles of the moment. But what I did find intolerable, what mortally wounded me, was that you should suppose, may, more than suppose, that you should declare in writing your manifest supposition that you were cast out of my heart and that memory of you had perished! I never thought to hear this, even from my enemies, let alone from my sons or other friends. How could anyone—let him be one who he may—suppose this of me, unless he first deprives me of memory of God and of the salvation of that people to which you have been sent as guide and savior, under our first Saviour and God? Surely this brings against me the severest, the heaviest possible accusation? For what can be heavier than a charge of unmindfulness of God and of man’s turning toward Him, and of his deliverance from the devil’s oppression?

You see (my Son) how I am maligned by your letter, in addition to all other distresses which for my sins affect me. Yet I cannot suppose you have forgotten the circumstances in which you left me when you were dispatched on your journey. You left me dwelling, so far as human aid is concerned, in hell, or indeed in yet more cruel case than those who dwell there: for against them there is no more envy nor warfare nor conspiracy, but, out of my foreknowledge, of which I was at hearing of them, but with a grief not so sharp or inconsiderable, inasmuch as expectation that anticipates every difficulty and distress and, as it were, trains the spirit by converse with itself, relieves such difficulties, when they do occur, of much of their weight. And so I, who knew in advance that the state of affairs to which you had been called by the All-holy Spirit would be neither easy nor free of trouble, now that your letter tells me of what you are encountering, am naturally grieved, but, out of my foreknowledge, find this suffering perfectly tolerable, when with the mind’s eye I look beyond it to the rewards and felicity it will bring you, which completely conceal from sight the troubles of the moment. But what I did find intolerable, what mortally wounded me, was that you should suppose, may, more than suppose, that you should declare in writing your manifest supposition that you were cast out of my heart and that memory of you had perished! I never thought to hear this, even from my enemies, let alone from my sons or other friends. How could anyone—let him be one who he may—suppose this of me, unless he first deprives me of memory of God and of the salvation of that people to which you have been sent as guide and savior, under our first Saviour and God? Surely this brings against me the severest, the heaviest possible accusation? For what can be heavier than a charge of unmindfulness of God and of man’s turning toward Him, and of his deliverance from the devil’s oppression?

You see (my Son) how I am maligned by your letter, in addition to all other distresses which for my sins affect me. Yet I cannot suppose you have forgotten the circumstances in which you left me when you were dispatched on your journey. You left me dwelling, so far as human aid is concerned, in hell, or indeed in yet more cruel case than those who dwell there: for against them there is no more envy nor warfare nor conspiracy, but I am even now encompassed by these things unceasingly. And, when such is my situation, you accuse me of expunging you from my heart! One might more justly accuse you and retort the charge, than stoop to listen to
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38 ἀξίωσαν ἐγκαλούντες; Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀρχήν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἔχον, ἢ κακόπαντα εἰς ὑπάλληλον ἐπιστήμην ὁδῷ διανοάς κρίνειν καὶ ὡς σωφρόνως ἀπελάσαι τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μέχρις ἧς ἤδη τῶν γραμμάτων ἔδωκεν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ ἀνθ’ ἡς ἐμέλλον σπείραν ἕνος εντυγχάνοντας αὐτοῖς τοῦ μόνου ἀποτερείσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθ’ ἐκεῖνος ἀναπαυόμεθα. Ἔπερ γὰρ εἴποι, ἐν τῷ τοῦ προσώπου συνεπερχόμενος καὶ ἄλλης βαρυτέταις καταργίας, ἁρκεῖν μὴ ὑπὲρ λαμ ἡμᾶς ἀπάνθασαι-ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἰχθεῖ οὖν ὑπολάμβανεν μὴ ἄρρεν. Τὴν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ μνήμην ἑπερ τούς οὐκ ἔστω τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξοφθάνησαν, καὶ εἰ μή τι ἐὰν, ἔτεκα δια τὴν τοῦ νεκρότοπος πρὸς τὴν εὐταίρειαν ἔθνος (στοιχεῖα), καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτοι συνέχειαν μέρισκον καὶ τὴν εἰς τελεούσαν ἐκέναι τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτυχώς θείας, τῆς δικείας ἐνεπλακμένης σοφίας καὶ συμπράξεως. Ἡ δ’ ἂν μὴ γράμματα ἦκεν πρὶς ἅπερ σὲ πρὸς’ ἡμῶν τοιοῦτος λογισμὸς ἐπιστήμηται, πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο σε διανοοθέτησιν δέον, ὅτι τῶν σωφρόνων τῶν ὑπερορών, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ κατακατάσκει, διότι τοὺς πλείον καὶ ἀδελφούς ἦκεν συνάπτων. Ἔκείνα προσευμοποιεῖται καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἡμᾶς ἡμέτερον τὸ γράφειν, μέσης διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὑποσκευάζειν ἐγκυροθείονται, ὡς οὖν ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐνθυμηθῶμεν, κανένας ἐς τὸ κατεργάσασθαι βοήθῃν. Ἀρακεῖ ὁ διὸ καὶ δὲ μόνον προσπῆθη οὖς καλῶς ἠγάλλων καὶ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ προσδοκοῦσιν εἰς ηδόνην, ἢ ἔγνωμος ὑποτελείας, νυν δὲ λύσεις ὑποτελείας, νυν δὲ λύσεις ἐνυποτελείας, εἰς τὸ προσέγγισθαι τούτῳ μὲν ἰχθεῖ οὖν ἀπολάμβανεν μὴ νησίν. Τὴν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ μνήμην ἑπερ τούς οὐκ ἔστω τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξοφθάνησαν, καὶ εἰ μή τι ἐὰν, ἔτεκα δια τὴν τοῦ νεκρότοπος πρὸς τὴν εὐταίρειαν ἔθνος (στοιχεῖα), καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτοι συνέχειαν μέρισκον καὶ τὴν εἰς τελεούσαν ἐκέναι τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτυχώς θείας, τῆς δικείας ἐνεπλακμένης σοφίας καὶ συμπράξεως. Ἡ δ’ ἂν μὴ γράμματα ἦκεν πρὶς ἅπερ σὲ πρὸς’ ἡμῶν τοιοῦτος λογισμὸς ἐπιστήμηται, πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο σε διανοοθέτησιν δέον, ὅτι τῶν σωφρόνων τῶν ὑπερορών, ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ κατακατάσκει, διότι τοὺς πλείον καὶ ἀδελφούς ἦκεν συνάπτων. Ἔκείνα προσευμοποιεῖται καὶ ὅτι οὖν ἡμᾶς ἡμέτερον τὸ γράφειν, μέσης διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὑποσκευάζειν ἐγκυροθείονται, ὡς οὖν ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐνθυμηθῶμεν, κανένας ἐς τὸ κατεργάσασθαι βοήθῃν. Ἀρακεῖ ὁ διὸ καὶ δὲ μόνον προσπῆθη οὖς καλῶς ἠγάλλων καὶ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ προσδοκοῦσιν εἰς ηδόνην, ἢ ἔγνωμος ὑποτελείας, νυν δὲ λύσεις ὑποτελείας, νυν δὲ λύσεις ἐνυποτελείας, εἰς τὸ προσέγγισθαι τούτῳ μὲν ἰχθεῖ οὖν ἀπολάμβανεν μὴ νησίν.

54-56: 1 Tim. 6.12.
134. To the Same

Physical distance by no means interrupts the close communion of those who are united in spirit. This being so (my Son) do not repine that you cannot behold your father with the eyes of the body; but, in the knowledge that the union of those who are of one mind according to Christ is not divided by any wall between, put off your sadness and, with the aid of the All-holy Spirit, lay hold with greater cheerfulness upon your ministry, which shall be a source of great joy both to yourself and to my Humility; and you will find yourself not merely at no disadvantage compared with my present companions, but on the contrary far more charming and delightful to me, and more closely united to me, than those who converse with me here.

135. To the Same

In your painful circumstances and the affliction of distresses (my holy Son) I ought not to be offering written consolation but should rather (if only it were possible) be with you myself and bring to you by word of mouth such consolation as Christ our God might suggest. But since this is impracticable, I must do the next best thing and communicate with you in writing. You write that your sorrows are many, and great is the affliction of your evils; but that, since I have had no experience of exile, I do not appreciate these. This is what you say in effect, though your letter obviously understates your meaning. However (my Son), even though by the inescapable Judgments of the All-wise Dispenser of my life I have not through personal exile learned of an exile's lot, nonetheless I do not lie asleep in a corner: placed as I am in my present position (though very likely I may be the least apt of men to learn what exiles go through), still, the post I occupy has in fact brought to my knowledge the exile of myriads who come in contact with me daily and who suffer hardship from this misfortune.

I remind you of this to start with, so that you may rid yourself of the argument that I am unfamiliar with your grievous circumstances. Next I
must tell you this: I was aware from the beginning that your Wisdom was not
being sent out for your comfort or luxury or worldly honor and glory, but
to labors and toils and distresses. You cannot have forgotten that I warned
you of this even before I laid my humble hand on you in consecration; and
that only after you had professed that you cared nothing for any physical
obstacles and perils if you found favor from Above, did I lay on you my
sinful hand and appoint you to be, with the aid of the All-holy Spirit, a
beacon in the mystical Bridal Chamber, holding forth the word of life. I say
this, not in reproach or out of any lack of sympathy for what you are suffering,
but because I know that, as you were at the beginning ready to face dangers
for the sake of religion and the Gospels, so you are now not less ready to do
so even when tried by the weakness of the flesh—as you may well be: for
our Lord Himself, Who is the power of God the Father, knowing the nature
of His creation, said to His disciples: "The Spirit is willing, but the flesh is
weak." And so I speak as I do, not in reproach—God forbid!—but that you
may know that I am not unmindful either of my object or of your resolution.
My Son, they suffer who cast their seed upon the land and oft times are
frozen stiff with cold; but their toil and frostbite are alleviated by their
expectation of the harvesting of their fruits. Those who sail the seas expose
themselves to death in its cruelest forms, but in the hope of gain they forget
the perils of the deep.

It is strange that I should be writing thus: for, set up as you are by
Divine Grace to instruct others, and nurtured from childhood in these very
doctrines, you are in no need of hearing them from others. But I write them
in order not to seem unmoved by your letters; and I will add something more
as well. Consider the blessed heralds of the Gospel, in whose number you
have been found worthy to be enrolled—their sufferings, their deaths day by
day, and the joy which they had from these; and cease to lament and to be
dismayed because human affairs do not run as we would have them! Reflect
—or rather, have it continually in mind—that to suffer for Christ's sake is a
grace and boon given from Above. Beh elated with the pride of the divine
Apostle, who said, "This grace hath been granted unto us by God, to suffer

30: 1 Cor. 1:24. || 31-32: Matth. 26:41; Marc. 14:38. || 46: 1 Cor. 15:31. || 50-51:
Phil. 1:29.

26 συνελαχόντες Βατ.: συνελαχόντες Βατ.: συνελαχόντες Βατ.: συνελαχόντες Βατ.: συνελαχό

Wh: -ov P (φέρου Ικ.) || 51 ἢμῖν] δὴν N.T.
for Christ's sake." Many are desirous to share in your sufferings and hard usage and trouble, but to you this grace has been granted by the consent of Him by Whom all things were ordained before our knowledge. Look to the grace, and not to the malice of those who envy the grace, whether they be demons or men who wear the mask of demons and imitate their viciousness. If a man he made a governor by the emperor, and if others, out of envy, rise against him and resolve to bring him to grief, will he therefore be unmindful of the honor to which he is preferred and, in gloom and anguish, think only of those who use him despitely! Or will he not rather put on a bold front and make light of their malice, and, remembering the rank to which he has been elevated by him who put him there, do his best to show himself in all ways superior to the malice of his adversaries!

But enough of such examples. You see what rewards this life offers you, even before you come to your heavenly crowns and your divine recompense: the praise of those who know you, the favor of those who know you not but admire your virtue by the simple report of it, and, in a word, universal benediction for your apostolic career and message, and for your portion of honor equal to the Apostles' own. So much for this life. But pray contemplate what lies beyond it! When, for your present distresses, eternal felicity shall surround you, when, for your vexation, there shall be widest repose, for your hunger and your nakedness and other impoverishment you shall receive riches indescribable and—why speak of these?—when, filled full of the divine fire, you will stand among the beacons of the world, and, having been made conformable to them by sufferings such as theirs, be seen in the blinding radiance of divine glory! What say you? Shall we still mourn, and despair as those do who have lost heart? Or shall we not rather cast off all sadness, and with the Divine Favor rise superior to all our distresses? And will we not rise against him and resolve to bring him to grief, will he therefore be unworthy of your wisdom.

So then, I abstain from saying any more to reclaim you from your prevailing indifference. I now speak of another matter. I exhort and urge you now more than ever to make use of your invariable and characteristic mildness and generosity and your humility for Christ, to see to it that the evil one can sow no tares between your Virtue and my most pious Son, your brother, Master Euthymius, nor may (as is his wont, for he is resourceful in
malice and has from the beginning introduced enmity between God and His creation) devise some hidden obstacle to your unity and love in the Lord—but, as truly a man of God, who knows how to win over all men, pray make it a resolve of the first importance to conciliate Euthymius and his companions, so that no excuse for quarreling or division shall occur anywhere. The man is in any case pious and a worker of virtue, and for this reason should be treated with all respect and honor; but especially so because he was your predecessor as herald of piety to that nation, and himself sowed the seed of doctrine, and has undertaken the journey to you to be your collaborator and—God willing—to lighten the burden of your labors by participating in your spiritual endeavor. This is a matter for rejoicing and for offering thanks to God; not for resentment or for any feeling unworthy of the love that is most especially of the Spirit.

I write this, not in any expectation that your conduct will be such, but because I suspect the resourceful enmity of the evil one, who can never leave good alone but must always be striving to injure it: especially so in the present case, when he sees the performance of this great achievement and the salvation of the creature which he has never, from the beginning until now, been satiated with pushing into perdition, or with pursuing the career of his hostility to mankind by every art and device. So (my Son), being aware of his arts, both from what I write by way of reminder, and from what you yourself know, see to it by the power of the Divine Assistance that he wins contempt and that you yourself are found worthy of God's honor and glory, and of the praises and commendation due to such achievements as yours from those who know how to praise virtue and to extol its splendor.

136. To Stephen, Michael, and Constantine, Brothers

To anyone who respects wisdom—especially the Divine Wisdom—a stable character inspires more confidence than the taking of oaths. Experience has proved that many who swear are made the worse by it, in that...
they have had better opportunities of working mischief on those who have trusted them than if the latter had not trusted them at all. And so I (my Son), if I was not mistaken in recognizing in you (as I think I was) men who pride themselves on stability of character, now that I have got to know your dispositions, put more trust in that estimate of you than in your proposed confirmation on oath. If I am not deceived in this, thanks be to God! If I am (but let it be cast aside upon untrodden ways!), even so, no other shall bear the blame, but it shall be ascribed to my sins.

Since you have mentioned peace, I say this, not by way of convincing you or anyone else who sees fit to mention the subject, but declaring it to Him unto Whom all the thoughts of our hearts are manifest: I am so desirous to see peace reign in the Church of God that, to purchase it, I would willingly be hurled into the Gehenna of fire! But, as it is, the “peace” which these casual observers demand is simply the adoption of our opponents and the rejection of our friends. Who can call this the “unity” and “cheerfulness” of the Church of God? Is it not a breach much more painful than the other, a sullenness beyond any describable limit? You, as sensible men, should look not only at what appears on the surface, but also at what lies behind appearances.

137. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus

I know that your most perfect Wisdom, even without encouragement from me, will of itself be inclined to deal kindly with your Holiness’ predecessor in the Church of Cyzicus. However, since the man himself has seen fit to ask me to write to you, to the end that he may live unmolested by those who love to exploit other people’s troubles (alas for the malice prevalent among the human race!), I am sending you this letter, herewith requesting (as I said above) your favor and action, as already dictated by your merciful disposition. My request is, that you should settle him in the monastery where he was resident after he had been removed from the metropolis, and that

136. 137
138. To the Same

I have offered thanks, as usual, to the Holy God for your salvation and preservation (my holy Son), and pray that you may continue to be preserved free of every harm beneath the shelter of the Divine Wings. But of my own affairs, what can I say? This at least I can assure you of, that I ride simply and solely upon the anchor of the Divine Goodness, Who is able to cover the multitude of my sins, out of which has arisen this huge black cloud of distresses upon me and all the community. In face of it I have given up in despair, and endure a living death, and am weary of the sunlight, and would rather be numbered among those who are in their graves than among those who live under the sun. Such is my case. But may you, as I have said above, continue to be preserved by Divine Favor beyond the reach of all annoyance.

139. To the Prince of Princes

Nothing is more worthy of pursuit than piety, or more salutary in all the range of human life: for where piety is cultivated, God is of course served. And God's service brings all that is good and profitable, and expels all that is unprofitable. By it will every private individual find happiness, and every household and city and even nation will be happily ordered and settled. In view of this, most men maintain their own opinion as pious, and especially those who are possessed by prejudice: for it is the nature of prejudice to hold fast to a belief when it has once taken root in the mind, even though it
be of the most outrageous and pernicious character. For just as we may see elsewhere, in the case of materials that are dyed, how often the colors that penetrate into the fabric of the material cannot be washed out again, and the clothes will be torn to shreds rather than give up their tincture, so we cannot in human nature, how many men, when once they have contracted a pernicious opinion in their minds, are unwilling to discard it and take to a better, but choose rather to lose their lives along with it. Such is the conduct of those who are destitute of divine wisdom, and refuse to test their choice of the good, but either are obstinate in clinging to their own prejudice, or else are totally ignorant of what they have chosen to believe. But those who think it important to have the correct belief about God, though prepossessed, do not insist on their old false belief, or choose to defend error, but, as soon as their souls are illuminated by the word of piety as by a sudden ray of light, abide in its guidance, and recoil from the gloom which has till then heightened them.

I preface my letter to you in this way (my Son) because of the announcement made by your envoys: for they say that, now your Catholicus has departed this life, you intend, as you are the true and sincere friend of our great and God-crowned Emperor and seek to agree with him at all points, that he who is to be your Archpriest shall receive the appointment of the Church here, and shall be, with God's approval, recognized as one of those departed this life, you intend, as you are the true and sincere friend of our Christ-loving Emperor and to our most holy Church of

1: Matth. 7.13. 32: Ps. 23.6.
God, so also you should be attached by the confession of faith and in the spirit of the correct doctrines; and not, as heretofore—how the evil arose I cannot say—be apparently attached to us in friendship but be divided from us in communion according to the faith. On this matter my Father—I mean Photius, the most holy Patriarch—spent much pains, partly by dispatch of envoy, although circumstances denied his efforts a successful issue: or perhaps, as I said above, this has been reserved for your own days by the inscrutable Judgments of God, so that you may be seen to be honored by Him with this gift also.

Therefore (my tenderly loved Son), as I have just said, let God put this in your heart, and do not delay sending him who is attested by your Honor and the leaders of your Church for appointment to this Archpriesthood: so that he may have a chance to acquire those things without which it is unlawful that he should be acknowledged, and you may accord with God through his Archpriestly supervision, and familiarity toward God be engendered (for nothing is closer to God than piety), and entire unity and concord with our high and mighty Emperor assured both by submission and regard and also by agreement in the doctrines of piety. You cannot doubt, I am sure, that the disagreement on faith which has hitherto subsisted between the Armenian and our Holy Church of God is counter to the Orthodox message and to the teaching of God and his Apostles. If then your Wisdom has any regard for the union and full agreement of yourself and of your own people with us, pray do as I say, and do not delay the dispatch of him who is, by election of the All-holy Spirit, to be your Archpriest and to adorn your holy Church. I pray that you fare well in the Lord, protected from and overcoming all malice and annoyance that impends from seen and unseen foes alike.

As regards the matter on which I am moved to write to you (my beloved Son) I have no doubt I shall receive from a man of your piety such a report as will neither offend God nor grieve my Mediocriety nor place an
140. To the Abbot of the Altars of Elijah

The evil rumor, which went before the account contained in your letter, concerning the malice of the evil one against you (my holy Son) shocked me deeply, but yet, with better hopes, I disapproved that rumor to the domain of fiction, and took comfort in my distress from the continual expectation of a report that you were in good health. I cannot do so now. Your letter has arrived to increase my misery by plain confirmation of what I had hitherto hoped and prayed was untrue. My state of mind on
some he recruits allies whom he can find to further his wickedness, and through them he brings persecutions or other maltreatment upon those who live approved of God, and strives to hinder their life of blessedness. But at other times he attacks without the help of human accomplices, partly in secret and partly also in the full light of day, as in this instance he has practiced against your Virtue. He it is who has inflicted the wound, which will certainly either, God willing, be entirely healed, or else if, by His inscrutable judgments, it remain to give profit and advantage to the victim, will soon be effaced, when the corruptible body shall put on the divine incorruptibility at the resurrection of the just. But your assailant, by your patience, in which all men who love the Lord have taken pride, shall be wounded everlastingly, enduring the agonies inflicted on him, and unable to find any remedy for his pain. Let us consider (my Son) those who are soldiers in the armies of this world—how, when they receive wounds in the body, or amputations of limbs, at the enemy’s hands, those of them who are courageously and spirited not merely do not lose heart, but are actually proud of it, and make a show to the public that their wounds were made by the enemy. And you, who serve in the heavenly army, and have been wounded by the foe, should take pride in your suffering rather than droop your spirits and fall into despair at the wound. I write this, not as inspiring one who has lost heart, but, in the knowledge that by the Divine Grace you are bearing your misfortune courageously, to join with you in disparaging—as it were—the apparent malice of the enemy. And may our Holy God grant that for the present his evil action may be put to shame, and that hereafter he may by the Divine Power go in shame and lamentation for his own reproach, and be cut off from all contact with your life!

reading your letter, and the bitterness of the wound inflicted in my very heart, no words can describe: He that molded and searcheth our hearts sees into the heart’s wound and grief, for which I find no other consolation save this alone, that if, in answer to such great and diabolical malice, your Holiness will support the misfortune with gratefulness, great shall be the store of comfort and ease laid up for you on High in recompense for present pains and temporal affliction.

He who from the beginning has been the author of malice against our race still practices his plotting against the servants of God. And against some he recruits allies whom he can find to further his wickedness, and through them he brings persecutions or other maltreatment upon those who live approved of God, and strives to hinder their life of blessedness. But at other times he attacks without the help of human accomplices, partly in secret and partly also in the full light of day, as in this instance he has practiced against your Virtue. He it is who has inflicted the wound, which will certainly either, God willing, be entirely healed, or else if, by His inscrutable judgments, it remain to give profit and advantage to the victim, will soon be effaced, when the corruptible body shall put on the divine incorruptibility at the resurrection of the just. But your assailant, by your patience, in which all men who love the Lord have taken pride, shall be wounded everlastingly, enduring the agonies inflicted on him, and unable to find any remedy for his pain. Let us consider (my Son) those who are soldiers in the armies of this world—how, when they receive wounds in the body, or amputations of limbs, at the enemy’s hands, those of them who are courageously and spirited not merely do not lose heart, but are actually proud of it, and make a show to the public that their wounds were made by the enemy. And you, who serve in the heavenly army, and have been wounded by the foe, should take pride in your suffering rather than droop your spirits and fall into despair at the wound. I write this, not as inspiring one who has lost heart, but, in the knowledge that by the Divine Grace you are bearing your misfortune courageously, to join with you in disparaging—as it were—the apparent malice of the enemy. And may our Holy God grant that for the present his evil action may be put to shame, and that hereafter he may by the Divine Power go in shame and lamentation for his own reproach, an exile from all contact with your life!
I was much grieved and lacerated at heart by the rumors reaching me about your Holiness (for they came one after another, announcing that you were cruelly afflicted by sickness); I was, I say, deeply grieved at this, but have now offered thanks to God on hearing from our common son Sabas of your recovery from disease and of your being now in the most perfect health; which health, unmix'd with any painful indisposition, may the good God still provide for your Archpriesthood's portion, to the profit of your flock, to my own gratification, and to the Divine Glory—inasmuch as God is glorified through those who are instructed by your Holiness to live a godly and pious life.

So much for that, I will only add this: do not delay your return here longer than you can help, so that we can see one another and enjoy our company and conversation before my miserable existence abandons the struggle against the distresses and ill-usage that afflict it.

I know that your Virtue, as it is from Heaven, thinks the thoughts of God and abominates the evil-doing of men: I am therefore very grateful indeed for what you write about the misdeed of the exarch. However, when I had him before me and saw that he brazened it out (for it needs great conscientiousness to acknowledge one's own transgression), I thought it best to adduce yet surer proofs to confute his insistence that "he knows nothing about the things said of him." And so, although I quite believe what you tell me—indeed, how should I not believe one who by God's Grace has both shone in the highest rank of worldly honor and now, in the monastic life, enjoys such a reputation for piety as is proper for the servants of God to win?—however, as I say, in order that he may not appear to have any ground of objection, I have postponed sentence upon him for the present, until I have searched and examined more diligently (and I feel sure his Villainy will come to light); so that, when his own sin stares him in the face, he may be convicted on every hand, and appear, willy-nilly, as a witness against himself.

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144. To Nicholas, Military Governor of Longibardia

I thank God (my Son) for the power of His Glory that has been vouchsafed to you against the enemy, and yet more that the expectations of my Humility have not been belied. For indeed, even before these deeds, I, as it were prognosticated your exploits, and that was why I forced on you, despite your dissimulation and refusal, the mission to the country at that time miserable, but now, by God's Grace, prosperous; and I myself had in mind to reward your exploits—about which I had no doubts, but confidently anticipated them—with such honors and gifts as were known to God and planned in my humble soul. But now that, by His inscrutable Judgments, things have turned out otherwise, how else may I reward you than with my humble prayer? And this is my prayer: that God's helping arm may never fail you; that you yourself and your family may still enjoy all happiness that can shine on mortal life; and finally that you may attain the happiness that is eternal and never fades away.

145. To my beloved, renowned spiritual Son, the most glorious Prince of Amalfi

Your Highness' godly affection toward me, and your zealous disposition toward the Church entrusted by God (unworthy as I am) to my care, had been already made known by antecedent report, and are now more perfectly demonstrated to me. And first I pray for you that Christ our God, Who shed His most pure Blood for Church, may reward this virtuous disposition of yours by continually prospering you, out of His Goodness, in your affairs, and that you may never want that Heavenly Grace which helps to further those things by which we profit and for which we strive. Next, if there is anything that I can do myself to help the exigencies of your affairs, as it is the duty of fathers to try to help loyal children, I shall not cease my efforts. For this reason, in the present business, although your request about the prisoners has not been fully granted, yet nonetheless, as far as circumstances permitted, I have made interest in favor of your request and its satisfaction: and I have obtained, if not the whole or as much as I
should have liked, yet as much as could, for the present, he was granted, in a case of this kind, to my advice and proposals. And I am sending on my own account one pound of gold for ransom the prisoners, praying for their liberation by God’s Almighty Hand, Which, I know and believe, will assist us in redeeming those who are bound by the godless tyranny of the sons of Hagar, and will give you and me a common subject for gratitude over the restoration of the prisoners to their homes, thanking and glorifying our Saviour and Liberator; nor will He long allow those who are marked with His All-holy Blood to be maltreated and tormented by the tyranny of the infidels, nor to be alienated from life and consort with their relatives and friends. The Lord keep you in health, prospering you in all ways, fulfilling all that is for your good and profit, and preserving you and your subjects from every evil affliction, seen or unseen.

146. To Constantine, Protoaseoretis

I write plain language to a man intelligent enough to discern, even in simple words, a violent grief of heart. I have heard a report, since the Emperor’s departure from us, that you are expelling an archbishop ordained by my Humility—I mean, him of Neapolis—and sending another who had been consecrated and dispatched thither by him who, as you know yourselves, usurped the throne to which I, though humble and the most sinful of men, was nonetheless wedded by the inscrutable Judgments of my Christ Who confirmed me in it. Take care what you do! You see, don’t you, how plainly I write? I am innocent of your eternal damnation: for I shall commit to eternal damnation him who does this—I who, though sinful, am yet Archpriest of the Church of Christ, being confirmed in it, not by violence, nor by my own canvassings, nor by the favor of men, but for reasons known to Him Who for that Church poured out His Blood. And by that indissoluble bond in which I shall commit those who attempt this, they will stand at the fearful Tribunal, and I with them, and then we shall know, in the presence of all flesh, their private emulation and arrogance and intrigue and friendship and their many clever devices, when every mouth shall be stopped, and each shall receive his reward according to his own works!
Kai χωρὶς τῆς προσπεποίησες ὑποθέσεως ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἱμαν τΩν ὄσπο-τητος φίλων ταῖς ἁπατεῖς ἡμῶν σθάνης οὐλια εἰς ἐπιθυμητῷ ἐπούλει τῆς στὶς ὀμόλου, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως συνήθει, καὶ διὰ τούτου ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ μέρος, τῇ χρήσεις τῆς ἐπιθυμητῆς, ὥστε τοῦ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ γράμματος. Καλῶς γάρ καὶ θεῷ ἀρέσκει ἔθνους καὶ διανοήθη καὶ διεπάχθη ὁ θεοφύλακτος ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἔθεκεν σεῖς τοῦ ἔργου, τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀρέσκει τούτῳ καὶ πάντωσι λιπών τὰ ἐν κοσμῷ, καὶ ἔκατον ὡς ἄλλη ὑμῶν ἀρέσκει. Καλῶς δὲ καὶ κατὰ ὑμῶν ἄλλης ἀρέσκει τῇ γένους καὶ τῆς πρὸς συνήθειν διότι ἆρχησι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖ καθηγηθῆναις καὶ διενεργήσεις διὰ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσηγηθῆναι τῆς τῆς ὄσποτητος καὶ ἐκνεῦθαι πρὸς τοῦ μὴ ἑλκίσθην, τοῦ τοιαύτης περιπτώσεως ἀλήθειας πρὸς τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀρέσκειν τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐνυπνήθη. Καὶ ἐν μνήμει ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπανεπηρεῖται παρὰ τοῦ θυρών D

13 δὲ κατὰ τῆς συνήθεις ἡμῶν μανικαίον δαιμόνιον ἔκανεν μακρὰ τῇ προσποίησίν τοῖς ἡμῖν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίας, ὡς τὸ ἀρέτθην καὶ ἠφειστὴν τοῦ ἄνθρωπον καὶ συνήθει παρετεθήκει κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνω τῆς ἐκπαίδευσις τοῦ ἐν κοσμῷ ἡμῶν, καὶ διενεργήσεις καταθηκηθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ εἰσηγηθῆναι τῆς τῆς ὄσποτητος καὶ ἐκνεῦθαι πρὸς τοῦ μὴ ἑλκίσθην, τοῦ τοιαύτης περιπτώσεως ἀλήθειας πρὸς τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀρέσκειν τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐνυπνήθη. Καὶ τὸ ἐν μνήμει ὑμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπανεπηρεῖται παρὰ τοῦ θυρών D

25 χωρὶς τῆς συνήθεις ἡμῶν μανικαίον δαιμόνιον ἔκανεν μακρὰ τῇ προσποίησίν τοῖς ἡμῖν ἀρετῶν ἐργασίας, ὡς τὸ ἀρέτθην καὶ ἠφειστὴν τοῦ ἐν κοσμῷ ἡμῶν ἐκπαίδευσις τῆς ἐνυπνήθην ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ εἰσηγηθῆναι τῆς τῆς ὄσποτητος καὶ ἐκνεύθαι πρὸς τοῦ μὴ ἑλκίσθην, τοῦ τοιαύτης περιπτώσεως ἀλήθειας πρὸς τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀρέσκειν τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐνυπνήθη. Καὶ τὸ ἐν μνήμει ὑμῖν ὑμῖν ἐπανεπηρεῖται παρὰ τοῦ θυρών D

147: P 234v 238v | 19 ἐξαιρεδέοντες της ἐποίησεις της καθηγηθήκης τῆς κράτους καθηγηθήκης. 20 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἀρετῇ καθηγηθήκης τῆς καθηγηθήκης. 21 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἀρετῇ καθηγηθήκης τῆς καθηγηθήκης. 22 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἀρετῇ καθηγηθήκης τῆς καθηγηθήκης. 23 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστίν ἀρετῇ καθηγηθήκης τῆς καθηγηθήκης.
148. To the Monk Euthymius

The love that is of the Spirit knows no severance: for those who are bound in its union, even though place divides them, remain united and in the enjoyment of that blessed union. And so I, since I became bound to your Holiness by love in the Holy Spirit, am not deprived of spiritual consort with you, but am hound even more closely to you in proportion as physical distance lies between us. Physical regard is kept in being by visible tokens, and, when these are withdrawn, by little and little it slips away and dissolves; but spiritual regard, on the other hand, grows closer as physical reminders are withdrawn. However, I pray to our Holy God that we may meet and enjoy one another’s sight and conversation so that, not only when we are divided, but also when we are together, God may by us be glorified, Who has joined us in the bond of the Spirit. Fare you well (I pray for your bodily health), and pray for my Mediocrity.

149. To the Governor of the Thrakesian province

I am aware (my Son) that even without this memorial you are acting in the sense of my letter: your love of God allows nolicense to the malice and cruelty of those who assault the humble, for you know that God has advanced you and set you to rule over others so that you may repress potential wrongdoers and, by your aid, deliver from their violence those whose poverty exposes them to oppression. I know that this is your principle and practice, even though none should write to encourage you in them. However, since the bearer, who is one of my acquaintance, has importuned me with many requests to write and recommend him to your renowned Excellency, I have granted his request and furnished him with the letter, which commends him to you and requests you to grant him the protection enjoyed by all who shelter beneath your wings and are kept unharmed from...
Clergy from the metropolis of Nicea have come to my Mediocrity, and (my Son) even before they spoke, I could clearly see their confusion and grief of heart. But when they began to speak, the tenor of their words was so painful that it reduced my own heart to the same state of confusion and of (to put it mildly) pained affliction. My sufferings (my Son) were natural enough when ministers of the Holy Sanctuary—presbyters, I mean, and deacons—(whatever sort of men they may be, and of whatever sins thej may be guilty) are being conscripted into the secular army! O Lord, spare Thy Sanctuary, and do not thus destroy us for our sins! I (my Son), when their report reached my ears, was so much horror-struck and so totally dumfounded that I was rendered incapable of writing, and could do nothing but curse my own days, and lament and deplore the present time which has brought about such a disastrous state of affairs. But, since the outcries of the clergy did not cease, I at long last came to myself, and judged it proper to write a letter to your Generosity by which I would, if possible, secure the freedom from molestation of the priesthood, not to say of the glorification of God: for though this glorification is continually offered to Him in Heaven, yet it is His Will that it should be offered up to Him on behalf of men on earth also. Even if those affected had been others, from among those who do not surround the Holy Sanctuary, even so the thing would be intolerable: for to convert to common use anything whatever that has once been sanctified is oulpable. But when those who have been deemed fit to carry the sacraments are abducte into military Service, what can we say? You are to consider (my Son) that neither cloth nor silver nor bronze nor iewei which has once been dedioated

those who exploit and turn to their own profit the sufferings of their victims. The Lord keep you in health, prosperous in your affairs, and continuing in a steady course, still unwounded by the darts of malice.

150. To the Patrician Philotheus

Clergy from the metropolis of Nicea have come to my Mediocrity, and (my Son) even before they spoke, I could clearly see their confusion and grief of heart. But when they began to speak, the tenor of their words was so painful that it reduced my own heart to the same state of confusion and of (to put it mildly) pained affliction. My sufferings (my Son) were natural enough when ministers of the Holy Sanctuary—presbyters, I mean, and deacons—(whatever sort of men they may be, and of whatever sins thej may be guilty) are being conscripted into the secular army! O Lord, spare Thy Sanctuary, and do not thus destroy us for our sins! I (my Son), when their report reached my ears, was so much horror-struck and so totally dumfounded that I was rendered incapable of writing, and could do nothing but curse my own days, and lament and deplore the present time which has brought about such a disastrous state of affairs. But, since the outcries of the clergy did not cease, I at long last came to myself, and judged it proper to write a letter to your Generosity by which I would, if possible, secure the freedom from molestation of the priesthood, not to say of the glorification of God: for though this glorification is continually offered to Him in Heaven, yet it is His Will that it should be offered up to Him on behalf of men on earth also. Even if those affected had been others, from among those who do not surround the Holy Sanctuary, even so the thing would be intolerable: for to convert to common use anything whatever that has once been sanctified is oulpable. But when those who have been deemed fit to carry the sacraments are abducte into military Service, what can we say? You are to consider (my Son) that neither cloth nor silver nor bronze nor iewei which has once been dedicated
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do any who dare to do this is liable to condemnation. If then this be so, and so it is, I leave it to you, who are by Divine Grace most perfect in wisdom, to judge of what is now going on.

I had intended to expati at greater length, and to emphasize the infamy of the occurrence and my own sorrow on its account. But what I have said suffices for your Virtue, which, though none else should speak, is able of itself both to understand and to instruct others on the point. I would add this only—the privilege enjoyed from the beginning by the metropolis, a privilege granted to it by those who have adorned their crown with piety, because of the Synods that were convened there (and see how long a time it has lasted: for it was granted at the time when the imperial power submitted to Christ the Emperor and God), let not this privilege now be insulted and despised! It would be unworthy and dishonorable both in those who gave the order and in those who carried it out. For the rest, the Lord keep you in health, and in all ways approved unto Him, and worthy of His acceptance.

151. To Gregory of Ephesus

I do not know what to say of the vexations which will allow my painful heart no relief! Not a day passes but I am torn by the griefes which assail me, and that saying (whoever it was) appears to be fulfilled which says: "Evil still following on evil encompasses my life; and the worse has yet to pass, when something worse still is at hand." I have said, I do not know what to say of all this; yet, though I express myself in conventional and human terms, I know that the true cause of these cruel assaults lies in my sin: for to experience that which could never have been expected even though another had predicted it, whence does it come if not from the cause I speak of?

Perhaps I am alarming you (my most holy Son) by this veiled approach to my complaint. Learn therefore more directly of the matter. The Metropolitan of Dyrrhachium who has come here, has—for whatever reason—seen fit to sever himself from the body of the Church. I have tried over and over again, by every appeal which my humble lips could frame, to divert him from this unseasonable intention, but my repeated exhortations have obvi-
I have therefore decided to send him to your Wisdom, in the hope that his obstinacy may thus be changed to compliance; and I have moreover taken into consideration that, if he continues here and is indoctrinated (as he is sure to be) by those who have revolted against the Church, he will as a result become even less amenable to joining with it; whereas, if he is sent to you, even though he may have had some prejudice in favor of revolt from the Church, he will readily abandon it, out of respect for your Archpriesthood's general virtue, and out of regard for your old friendship and all the kindnesses you have shown him—unless, that is to say, he has really turned toward the noose of Judas and his tribe, and is therefore actively determined to cut himself off from the body of the Church.

I write nothing more to your Wisdom (my Son), self-directed as it is toward what is good and pleasing to God, except only as much as will introduce the hearers of my letter and acquaint you that they are devoted to the service traditionally attaching to the Great Church, I mean, to the contribution of cabbages. It therefore behoves you, in the wisdom of your heart, on learning of this, to keep them exempt from any other fiscal involvement or liability. It is impossible for them, as you know yourself, if they are made liable to pay the state taxes, to make the contribution traditionally due from them to the Church. For the rest, God keep you in health (my Son) beneath the shelter of His wings, as you traverse the rough and toilsome road of life.
substantial benefit from your Holiness, not only would they not in so short a
time have forgotten your kindly conduct toward them, but would on the
contrary remain grateful all their lives, and be eager to recompense their
benefactor by serving him to the utmost of their power. But now, what can
I say? I am transported with grief, and cry out with the Prophet: “Help,
Lord; for the godly man ceaseth; for the faithful fail from among the children
of men; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.” But those shall, perhaps
even now, reap the reward of their thanklessness; or, if not now, yet certainly
in the life to come they shall be numbered with the ungrateful. But do you
(O man of God) despair not, nor overwhelm your high heart with grief, but
look for the Divine Support which never fails those who look to it. Pray for
those who have used you ungratefully, and, as a man of God, pity them for
their malice. Elevate your heart to a faith that hopes for better things to
come: for certainly, with the Divine Favor, those who still plague your life
shall be scattered by God, Who never puts His own servants to shame.

For your failure to come here before now, know that I am grieved for
you. You have not, I think, forgotten that I told you, as you were leaving,
not to celebrate the Birth of Christ our God save in my company. But since
this was not fulfilled, at least do not be false to the date proposed in your
letter, and, if it be God’s will that I should still be in this present life, come
and keep Palm Sunday with me.

As regards what your letter suggests about trial of the monks, they
must come here with such justification as they have, and either interview
me or else state their case in an imperial audience. This will facilitate the
conduct of the business.

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As regards the plot contrived against me by my sins (for why should I
accuse others, when the cause is clear to me?) I have already written to
you (most holy Son) that the evil has been nipped in the bud, thanks to the
dispensation of Divine Goodness, and no practical harm has come near me; and now, if any one thing in human life can be said to be “better” than another, I am for the moment at anchor in “better” conditions. However, about what is to happen now one can say nothing, if one has regard to the uncertainty of the vain affairs of life. But I pray (worthless though I am) that through your holy prayers I may achieve that which shall be for my soul’s profit; and then let things go as they may, for, under God, it will be nothing to me what posture they may assume. May Christ our God keep you in health and remembering my mediocrity in your holy prayers.

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Blessed be God Who has dispersed the cloud of my sorrow on your account (O man of God)! For, even before your letter, the gloomy report of your sickness had reached my ears, whereby my heart was enveloped in a cloud of dejection. But thanks be to the Holy God Who has now, through the arrival of letters, granted me to learn of better tidings, and freed me from my sorrow over you.

So much for the disease that had assailed you; but as touching the Kouboukleisios, your Holiness need feel no uneasiness. It is true that an imperial edict has been issued for the discharge of certain of the Kouboukleisios, but nothing of the sort affects your friend and mine, nor will it do so. He shall remain as heretofore in his own proper rank, and not be deprived of his personal intercourse with me: so that if on this account you were troubled with any heart-searching, lay it aside, and, by God’s Favor, let me have the joyful news of your complete recovery from your illness.

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My Lord and Son, whom God has glorified! We must all admit that the blow has been a heavy one, bringing bitter grief and cruelly rending our hearts. Nonetheless, since the Grace of Christ, by Which you were elevated to the height of imperial rule, has endowed you with a lofty spirit, I know you are telling yourself that although you and your blessed lady were one
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I know you are familiar with the words uttered by the blessed prophet David over his son, and of him it is unnecessary to write; but I will tell you of the nobility of some other noble men in sorrows like yours. There was once a man in the state of Rome, before our Christ and God had subdued the Roman scepter to His authority; and the man's name was Aemilius, if you would learn how he was called. Two of his male children died at one time, but his heart was not broken by suffering, nor did he act like one who mourns over the dead. What then? "I give thanks," he said, "that for as long a time as God approved that I should have joy of them, I rejoiced that they were begotten of my seed; and now, when He has decided to take them from me, who have better strength to endure the pain, or she, who in womanly weakness must have wholly succumbed and, beneath the weight of that grief which God has not willed should fall upon her, must have been wholly beside herself, may perhaps have been led astray by her suffering to blaspheme both in thought and word? Did God, the Creator and Bridesman, join her to you in marriage? Let us thank Him for our enjoyment of that marriage. Did he see fit to take her away? Let us thank him for His judgment. It is He who takes care of our life; and of those who trust in Him (of whom, my Lord, you are one) He guides the affairs to advantage. Let us cast away suffering, and throw off our despondency, lest we be condemned as grumblers against the Divine Judgment.

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flesh, yet one of two alternatives was inevitable: either that you should be earlier severed from her and leave to her this bitter grief, or else that, as is the case, she would be separated from us. Let us therefore realize that in this, as in other matters, God has been good to us. For if what I said was bound to happen, which of the two ought rather to bear the grief of separation—you, who have better strength to endure the pain, or she, who in womanly weakness must have wholly succumbed and, beneath the weight of that grief which God has not willed should fall upon her, must have been wholly beside herself—may perhaps have been led astray by her suffering to blaspheme both in thought and word? Did God, the Creator and Bridesman, join her to you in marriage? Let us thank Him for our enjoyment of that marriage. Did he see fit to take her away? Let us thank him for His judgment. It is He who takes care of our life; and of those who trust in Him (of whom, my Lord, you are one) He guides the affairs to advantage. Let us cast away suffering, and throw off our despondency, lest we be condemned as grumblers against the Divine Judgment.

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And so do you also (my Lord), consistently with the wisdom granted you by God, resolve to bear it in all ways worthily of your nobility.
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You knew when you married her that you were married to a mortal; rather be
grateful for the years you lived with her and for your joy in her love for her husband, and do not, as one who has been unjustly treated by God, appear dejected and gloomy. Those who are a prey to dejection and gloom are surely so because of some harms or damages sustained by them; is it not then a terrible thing (my Lord and beloved Son) to think ourselves to be harmed by God and to suffer damage at His hands, when He has glorified you and raised you to the height of imperial rule, and appointed you to be Lord and Sovereign of His holy Inheritance? Do not, pray, let us lament any more, or grieve, or bear ourselves dejectedly; let us rather give thanks to and glorify Him Who, as in all else, so in this, has from the beginning even until now, smiled upon and blessed your life; and will (we trust to His Goodness) still increase His blessings, if we earnestly seek to be approved unto Him and to do His service as best we are able. And may Christ our God place you above this sorrow and all others incident to this grievous life, and grant you a portion of His eternal joy and felicity!

157. To Demetrius of Cyzicus

As was fitting at news of my tenderly loved Son's well-being, I offered up due thanks to God; and I pray that you may continue to be preserved from every grievous obstacle, and that your Virtue may be wholly free to conduct your own affairs, still remaining in the Divine Favor and in the unhindered guidance of your flock.

As for what you write about those clergy who, whether from folly or wickedness, have refused to abide by the definitive decision, I do not wish to appear to proceed against their misdemeanor in any spirit of rancor, and therefore it will be best to wait a little and to invite them, as was decided initially, to present themselves on the spot and settle matters according to justice. If they refuse, and still persist in their evil ways, then your request shall be granted, and a letter shall be sent to them from me, so that the decisions may be implemented even in their absence.
The pains of old age and sickness (Brother and most loved and loving of Sons) have assailed me also, no less, if no more, than they have you. But the tyranny (from Heaven, as I must suppose it) of all those other sorrows which for my sins are added to me and wear away my miserable life, is perhaps an admonition to me to take leave, not only of the office that fell to me by the inscrutable Judgments of God, Who set me in it, but even of my converse with the living. And so I had resolved not to come in, but rather to go further off, to the island. But I have abandoned this plan, because I could not reject the request of my Brother and tenderly loved Son out of preference for my own inclination. So I will come in, as your letter urges me to do, and will see you and, God willing, find solace for my afflictions in mutual converse, and will discuss any necessary measures regarding the cruel state of affairs with you, who, by God’s Grace, value correct relief above all else.

158. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea

I have offended your Holiness, not on purpose—God forbid!—nor must you think (my Son) that I was incited by any other party: rather, my idea was to free you and myself from the annoyance caused by those who were running hither and thither chattering nonsense against your Holiness and offending the ears of many. Your Virtue must not be offended at this. After all, what harm has been done? By God’s Grace their chattering has not attached any blame to your Virtue—it is rather they who are seen to be in fault, and to be acting after the fashion often seen among dogs, who, when they cannot fasten on a thrower, worry the stones that have been thrown at them: in the same way those men, by bringing responsibility on to others instead of on to themselves, are shown to have been idle and vainly barking. So that if, up to the present, as a man you have felt hurt by this (though you ought not to have done so), throw away such a feeling, if you have any affection for and regard for my peace of mind. I repeat, do not entertain such a notion: I was led to act as I did by no personal motive nor by any other party, but simply out of a desire to stop the
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clamor of those stupid clerics, so that they might not go here and there and
mislead those who are perhaps unacquainted with your virtue into unworthy
and unseemly notions about your Holiness. For the rest, I pray for your
health, and that you be above the spitefulness of the many, as a man of
God and an Archbishop ought to be.

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With respect to your verdict on the priest whom madness has excited
to an outrage on his own archbishop, there is no objection to this: indeed,
the force of the canon confirms it. I merely say this, that if we
liked, out of compassion for the crazy fellow, adopt a more lenient course,
and restore him to his proper status: because, while those sins which imply
violation of the Holy Sanctuary are absolutely unforgivable, on the other
hand if we see fit to pardon those which arise from the human spite of the
sinner and are directed solely against our own persons, I believe we shall
not jeopardize God’s Favor toward us. After all, He puts mercy before
sacrifice that is offered to Him, for He saith: “I will have mercy and iiot
sacrifice.” My opinion is, therefore, that while you have done well to chastise
his offense, your Virtue will do better still to show leniency; and, if you
agree with me, no one whose springs of compassion are not utterly stopped
will blame you, who, as a man, are yourself in need of mercy.

160. To Gregory of Ephesus

Of the general suffering (my holy Son) that afflicts the churches of
God I am not ignorant: I was all too bitterly aware of it even without the
report contained in your letter. I have frequently deplored it, and got the
single reply, which seems to satisfy those who give it, that the cause lies
in the general weakness of the state. But as regards the rumor which has

159: 11–12: Matth. 9.13; 12.7; Osee 6.6. | 15: 1 Ioenn. 3.17.
160: P 242B–v
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reached and alarmed you, it may be partly true, but—as often in human affairs—it partly deviates into falsehood. However, in the meantime nothing very terrible has accrued to my miserable self, now that the artifice of the evil demon, whereby he plotted to embroil both Empire and Church, has been put an end to, and his knavish plot has been, through the Divine Assistance, exposed and frustrated. I make this clear to you as best I can in a letter: and may you continue in health, and in prayer for my Humility.

161. To the Military Governor of Peloponnesus

I may appear to be doing what is unnecessary in asking your Wisdom for what you already provide out of your own good nature and without external intervention. And what is that? I mean, graciousness and sympathy: for I have learned from almost everybody who is acquainted with your character, that together with your other virtues, you are endowed with these also. However, since my beloved Brother and fellow Archbishop, the president of Caesarea, wishes me to second his intercession in a matter on which he is writing more explicitly himself, I do not see how I can ignore his application, and therefore come to my request. Grant (my Son), out of your usual humanity, and in favor to your old friend and fellow countryman, and, if you please, out of regard for my own share in it, this joint intercession on behalf of a man who, making his last journey, has certainly nothing left to ask for. Let the son return to his father, granting this solace to him and his father equally, that they may see one another and speak the final words at the gate of the tomb. You see, I rely so much on your kind heart which knows that the request speaks for itself, that I need say no more than to indicate my own feelings in the matter. And therefore, as though I had already gained my object, I beg for you the recompense of the Divine Favor, from Whom it is beyond telling how great a reward of mercy will be granted to those who have shown themselves merciful to their neighbors.
Noble men, and especially those on whom God has conferred rule, as
they are superior to the rest, so ought they to excel them in virtue, and not
only take pride in their corporeal nobility, but far more to be beautified by
spiritual meditation. Such a one I bear that you are (my Son), and I
rejoice to bear it. and I pray that you may be yet more adorned with these
noble qualities by our God Who is the Author of all blessings, and that now
in this present life you may evince a noble example of princely authority,
and, after your withdrawal from this vain life, may give occasion for your
sons, succeeding to your rule and looking to your condition, to be found in
no way inferior to their father’s virtue and blessedness.

As for what you write of the Bulgarians: by God’s inscrutable Judgments
the curse of war still persists and the blessing of peace has not inter-
ceded. And so do you (my Son), in accordance with the imperial requirement
and declaration, and holding fast to the integrity of your friendship, be
constant in your readiness to fight with us; and, should need invoke, you
will as a grateful friend certainly do what is asked of you, so that in this
also your virtue and genuine friendship may be manifest.

I write of the Kouboukleisios who is the bearer of this letter to your
Reverence merely that you should give him a hearing, if necessary, against
his accusers, as befits your Virtue and as the order of justice demands.
I mean, that he should not suffer at your hands any insult or action tending
to his further disgrace, for this would be unworthy both of your Reverence
and, I think, of the man’s condition. He is a monk and Kouboukleisios, not
of yesterday or today, but has been such from of old and since the beginning
of his career; and he has been entrusted with other missions which demand
men of superlative character. If therefore he has erred in human wise, and
the verdict goes against him, he must of course submit to the penalty imposed
by the verdict and must certainly make good whatever he has taken from
anybody; but do not inflict on him any other sort of punishment or insult,
such as your Reverence has frequently exhibited for the disgracing of certain persons. This would be an excess unworthy of your Wisdom; nor does the man deserve it. So then, if you have a regard for your own propriety, and for the decent examination of the bearer before you, and, I may add, for my own advice, pray act in conformity with what I have written.

Those who have a mind enriched with wisdom not only handle human affairs wisely, but also administer the things that pertain to God in a manner beyond reproach. We are convinced (my Son) that you are one of these and therefore we write as we do. You rank as a minister executing imperial orders, but surely you will not despise the ministry that is due to God. What the ministry of God is, even if I do not explain it, a wise man such as you will certainly not ignore; but there is no reason why we too should not mention it, although even without our words you already possess the knowledge of what is proper.

The churches of God obviously need the ministry to which they are entitled; this is why from the very first emperors, insofar as they were conscious of having received their rule from God and had not seized power by usurpation, assigned to the holy churches’ estates men charged with the task of cultivating the estates, and clerics, as they believed that their empire would be better protected by this than by all other exertion and organization. And it is true indeed that those who enjoy God’s favor find that things run smoothly both in warfare and in the other circumstances of life; but where God is against us, who can make up for that opposition? “Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord guard the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.”

We write this that you may spare the churches of God, or rather your own soul, and that your endeavor may not be fruitless. Let the clerics that have from the beginning been registered in the Church of God and in the imperial decree, as well as the men appointed to other ministries by the pious emperors, fulfill their tasks on the estates of the church to which they were originally assigned, and do not change what must not be changed,

164: (= 25 Da): Q 176v–177r || 3 ειςτιν fort. ειςδεικνυ || 25 leg. ἀποδεικνυμένως
When your letter had been handed to us, we took note of your account as it stood and praised you for the wisdom rightly shown in dealing with the man who had misbehaved. Now, however, that a different report has recently come to our ears, I do not know what to say: whether to bewail your cruelty and your inhuman heart, or to grieve for the liars—if liars they are—because of slander so malignant. We have heard that you lacerated a man’s flesh and left no skin to cover it; not content with this, you even tore out his hair, though I do not see how this can provide a cure for the bitterness of your soul. There is more: you also encroach upon the lands reserved until now for the Great Church of God by just and pious emperors, indeed, even by the impious and heretical; the ships also that were set apart for the needs of the Church of God, you have withdrawn, as you thought fit, from the service of the Church and put them at the disposal of the State.

Sir, what has incited you to this degree of vain conceit? “It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.” These are not my words, but God’s, Who established His own Church with His Holy Blood. The Emperor does not approve of this; we know the reverence and respect which all emperors have shown toward their Mother the Holy Church. Do not use those feeble excuses, that “these are the Emperor’s orders.” If until now you have shown a certain lack of discipline, let us see that you have mended your ways. Neither will our Christ-loving Emperor acquiesce in this nor will we be silent until you have suffered the due penalty for such an outrage. Furthermore, we have also notified our Son the patrician of this affair and a letter from

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lest you find not only that God is moved to wrath, but also that the pious emperors who apportioned this to the churches, if any awareness remains to them, will plead against you before the Immortal King, and your toil be in vain. Surely the State will derive no profit whatever either from clerics being enlisted in the army or from the poor of the Church being reduced to slavery.
You have swept us away with your rhetoric because, being young and hot-blooded, you have a quick wit; but know that God's justice does not depend upon words to determine what is right, but weighs our deeds and judges them even when we are silent and do not utter a word. You are beyond the reach of our threats, even if we threaten, and can, if you wish, ignore words of reproof. We have only written this much and threatened this much (so that if it can be) you may learn to use restraint and not yield to your anger. Do you say that we are carried away by anger? You know what harm our anger has caused you; and you are perfectly aware what your own anger did to the man against whom you indulged it. The rest of your letter, which disagrees with your earlier one (surely you remember what you wrote before as well as the account your present letter brings us), I pass over in silence, since you do not insist on an answer. Why should I, a gray-haired man, try to vie with a youth who has the ambitions appropriate to that age? I tell you only this: remember the vanity of life and that all the glory of man is grass and, if you wish—or even though you do not like it—still more worthless than grass. What is the difference? That grass blooms at its own time and withers at its own time, whereas human life even while it seems to blossom loses its flower and is gone.

For other winged creatures the nets are spread of which the wise saying speaks; for you who have grown the wings of the Divine Spirit and long to rise above the earthly slime the father of evil tries to spread the nets.
Your gifts are pleasant already because of their natural sweetness, but they are even pleasanter because they came from a friend who loves us with a love superior to worldly friendship, such as is known to the Holy Spirit and His servants. However, sweet as are the gifts, they become sweetest of all to us when we reflect that they are the produce of holy hands continually lifted up to God and are pure from all worldly greed. May I mention also the quantity, for in that, too, there is a certain satisfaction, and the abundance of gifts makes the receiver happier. Still, if equality is a good thing under all circumstances, take care lest by sending me the greater part of the crop, you incur censure for unequal distribution; I am not sure whether such a quantity can still be called the first-fruit, rather than the bulk, of your crop, not to say the whole production. Farewell, and offer up your holy prayers for God’s Church with the same generosity you have shown in this.
It would seem (my Son) that the shining light of your love for us has become manifest to those who have an eye for such a disposition; and so the bearer of our letter, being one of those who have become aware of it, has asked us to write to you on a matter that is of vital importance to him without becoming a burden to you or even involving the risk of censure; in fact, from the kind of servitude to which he is summoned, exemption is not impossible. He says that he is drafted for the army; now I think that neither his bravery nor the experience he possesses of other matters pertaining to warfare are such that he cannot be exempted from enrollment, especially, he says, as it is a mere child that is being drafted for the service. Therefore, if it is possible (my Son), since he has undertaken so long a journey from... to us for no other purpose than to arouse my interest in the subject of the present letter, do not (my Son) make his journey a vain one nor permit his request to appear to be of no avail. We have nothing else to write; only this reason for our confidence that he will meet with no refusal as we hand him this letter of introduction to you. May the Holy One protect you in soul and in body from all that can harm you.

My beloved Son, we know your concern for justice and what great care you exercise always and everywhere that those under your command should not molest the weaker; now since we have been notified by our sister-in-law (we mean the widow of the late John, the Patrician Droungarios of the Watch) that her country estate is subject to no small outrages on the part of the soldiers billeted there, we write to you in the hope that, if possible, you will restrain those guilty of such outrages, in view both of her widowhood and of the pitiful plight of her fatherless children, since her hope of an income depends exclusively upon this estate. We are aware that the soldiery too do their best for the well-being of us all and that, being human themselves, they need sustenance; but still, my Son, let them avail themselves of the produce of the places where they stay with such moderation that the owners of the estates are not reduced to the status of prisoners of war and that they do not reveal themselves as enemies rather than as helpers and defenders. What difference, indeed, does it make whether it is
the Bulgarians or the protecting soldiers who squander the goods of their own people and race? You (my Son) intelligent as you are and having been entrusted by God with a command of this kind and knowing that you will be accountable for it to the Commander and God of all, do not relax in restraining violence and inhumanity, so that you may have God marching at the head of your troops and those who benefit by your watchful solicitude thanking you and praying for your happiness.

My Son: you remember no doubt that during your presence here we told you about the monks of St. Anthes, how they left their own monastery in consequence of the threats you used against them and preferred to wander from one place to another to the detriment of their souls rather than to stay in their own house. Therefore, having now provided them with a letter from us in the hope that they will suffer no unpleasantness from your side, we have with difficulty persuaded them to move into the monastery. And I am convinced that, if you have any regard at all for the fearful judgment of God, for the preservation of the monastery and the salvation of the souls of its inmates, as well as for the peace of mind of Our Humility, you will not subject them to any harsh treatment, but if there is a quarrel between them and those who are bringing charges against them, you will let considerations of justice provide the solution and, as in all other cases, so in theirs too let law and equitable judgment prevail, not anger and wrath and threats and punishments, for fear of which they once already left their monastery. For you know (my Son), wise as you are, that the whole world is not worth one single soul, and that it was for the salvation of our souls that God the Creator of the universe took on our flesh and humbled Himself by becoming poor; nor was this all: He underwent many other sufferings and even the Cross and by His own Blood He bestowed salvation upon us. This is sufficient for you, who are intelligent and able to consider what punishment from God in the world to come awaits those who have caused the perdition of others; may the good God spare us from experiencing this, but may He rather deign to assign us a place among the assembly of His just men and let us share their jubilation.
We were glad, for other reasons too, to receive a letter from your Holiness, since for its own sake the arrival of a letter from loved ones already brings joy to those who love them, for by its pleasant converse it seems to reunite the friends; in this case, however, the pleasure we experienced is greater, because it also contained the information that your Holiness had arranged in the right and proper way a matter which will bring the salvation of their souls to those who have come to desire it. Now, inasmuch as your Virtue, by the Grace of God most perfect in every respect, has made an inquiry and discovered the truth of the matter, the bishop will no longer usurp the control of the estate, but it will definitely fall under the privileges of the patriarchate. As regards the monks residing there and the man who with God's help is to be their supervisor, we leave the decision entirely to you, as you know the situation of the property and have acquainted yourself with the profit it can yield; and whomever your God-loving Virtue considers fit for this leading position, whether the present superior or someone else, we request you to make known to us, so that what is right and pleasing to God may come to pass through your holy prayers.

Even before receipt of your letter (my Son) we were not unaware of the troubles that beset you owing to these turbulent events, such as life will often bring about; however, now that we have learned about them from your letter also, more grief has been added to the grief we already felt. Since in this sorrow, as far as men are concerned, we are destitute of human aid, we lift up our eyes and our hands and above all our heart to Him Who cares for His heritage, entreating Him, in spite of our unworthiness, to save you from your undeserved predicament and to work salvation for His people, for which He has shed His All-holy Blood. As for yourself (my Son), with the good conscience you have before God you must rise above all your troubles and all unjust attacks, for you are wise and you know that it is a great comfort to a man when, examining his own conscience, he finds it clean and free from guilt. May God preserve you intact from the plot of those who are scheming against you.
As regards the Church in your city, we are extremely grieved that you have neither yourself evinced all possible concern for the sacred established order nor submitted a written report to those presiding here over the affairs of the Church, although you are on the spot and acquainted with the disorders that may ensue.

Whenever we receive a letter from your Holiness, we are glad; for on the one hand it reminds us of our intimacy (you know what sweetness the memory of old friendship and converse brings to the heart); on the other hand the state of life you have now adopted by the Grace of God gives us cause to thank God, from Whom the joy of the blessed life awaits you for having renounced this present life. And we entreat your Holiness to pray, for us and for God's Church, to God, Who hears the prayers of those who fear Him, since you know better than anyone else what sorrow weighs on the hearts of those entrusted with the care of a people, when their subjects are discordant.

As for the matter on which you have thought proper to write to us: because obviously it does not entirely depend on our will (since it falls under the authority of the Church, of which we are merely the stewards), therefore, avoiding the censure of those who will be entrusted with the administration of the Church after us, we cannot accomplish anything; so that the denial of your request is not the result of our wish; it is the difficult situation that is responsible. Do not cease from remembering our Humility in your holy prayers.

Even by itself the separation causes us pain (indeed, as much as reunion with friends brings joy, so much, if not more, does separation from them cause sorrow); but in our case the pain is increased by an attack of the illness which has for so long already afflicted you. Such is the discomfort
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...μὲν καὶ καὶ τῆς ὁδῆς τοιών πος τοιόν τιτοράους ἅν τὸ ἄγαν θεός ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένος χρηστότητος, ἀστερὶ ὡς οὐδὲ κράμα χώραν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἀνάσω, ὡστέ καὶ τὴν ἀποκαλυγήν, ἢν καὶ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸν ἐμφύτησαν τῶν ἡμέραν ἀνθρώπων ὡς θάλασσα καὶ φιλόμορφος οὐκ ἱνδυκτος, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνώτατον φανερὸν ὡς θάλασσα καὶ φιλόμορφος οὐκ ἱνδυκτος, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνώτατον φανερὸν ὡς θάλασσα καὶ φιλόμορφος οὐκ ἱνδυκτος. Τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἐρμόθηκαν σε ἐπικράση καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὀλίσσεις ὅχλος τοῦ μη ἐπικληθοῦσε σε τῆς ἡμέρας μετριότητος.

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Τὰ μὲν άλλα τῶν γράμματος ὡσεὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνεμάθειν, ἀλλὰ διαγράφεις, τοπίων διαματίκης, ἀπορίας τῆς ἀνθρώπινης ζωῆς, ἠλπίζε καὶ τὴν καρδίαν, τάχον ἡμῶν ἑρώτατον, τόπον ὡς τοιών ὡς ἡ ἐπαγγελ- λα τῆς ἑμετέρας διὰ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῆς νόσου καικότερον. Ἐκεῖνα μὲν τὰ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐντείναντο, ἢμις ὡς ῥήματος ἢμῶν τῆς καρδίας θρη- ττετο, τὰ δ’ ἡμετέρα πάθος καἰ πάθος τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἡμῶν ἐποίει. Πλην κακέσοντα καὶ ταῦτα τῆς πολυπάθειας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰδότας ζῶνας, ὡς οἷον καὶ συνήθεα πάντων ὡς εὐχαριστεῖν διαλύονται τῆς ἡμῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἑπί τῶν θεν ἐπιθέσεις καὶ τῶν ἐπειράς τῆς ἀνελθομέως ἀν- κυρίας. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἑμετέρων ἐκ τῆς νόσου πάνω πεποιθημένοι μὴ πάλιν ἐλήγχετον, ἀνήσεις ἡμῶν ταῖς ἡμῶν ἐντείνοντες προνόεις περὶ τῶν ἑπτῶν ἑπετείου φαινεί, ὡς ἔθελον διοπέμενον καὶ συνεστὶς ἀνθρώπινης καὶ ἐπικράσης ταῖς οἷον πρέπεται ἀνθρώποις, πάντων ὁμος ἀνήσητον τὸ δέκασθαι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπικράσθησαν.

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...we share between us; but may the Holy God, when called upon in the name of His Goodness, even as, for reasons best known to Him, He permitted the suffering to occur, also grant deliverance, so that for the relief we have jointly obtained we may jointly glorify our Benefactor and Saviour, Who by both which hurts and that which alleviates, as the Creator and the wise Governor of His own creation leads it under all circumstances toward its good and its salvation, even though (alas!) our weak nature, stung by smarting events, cannot bear the stings without feeling pain. For the rest we pray that you may fare well and not forget our Mediocrity in your holy prayers.

All the other news we learned from your letter—hardships on the road, failure to reach your destinations, want of the necessities of life—wounded my heart, my most holy Son, but not so much as the report of what you suffered through the sickness that attacked you. For, though the other things did cause us pain, they seemed only to touch our heart, while your sufferings hurt our soul with the pain of a mortal wound. However, knowing that both those other troubles and this are part of the manifold vicissitudes of life, we took what happened as natural and usual and let our grief dissolve itself into thanksgiving with good hope in God and His compassionate help. As far as your distress due to your illness is concerned, we trust that we will suffer no more pain, but that you, as well as we, will be granted relief by Providence above; concerning the other matters, we say this, that God willing and human effort and diligence doing their own part, there is certainly no reason to give up hope that they can be set right.

So much for this. As regards the Home for the Aged, we leave everything to you. Since you live on the spot, are acquainted with the facts to which you testify, and are charged with the archipresbyter care of all, but in particular of our needy brothers, you will arrange things accordingly, knowing that we accept your testimony and that Christ our true and merciful God will approve of you for your good care and will reward you for it. For the rest, may you be protected both in soul and body from all that can hurt and may you return safely to us when circumstances permit.
Whatever belongs to the compassionate disposition befitting the archpriests if God, you know from yourself by the Grace of God, taught by the function that you have received from Him; if you desire instruction from others as well, you have the words of the Great Apostle speaking as follows by the Holy Spirit Who anointed you: “Why do you not rather take wrong, but do wrong? why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded, but do you defraud, and that your brethren?” But he, being a citizen of Heaven, speaks the language of Heaven, while we, struggling to keep afloat in the salty seas of this life, can say only this much to you: before you go to outside courts, refer to the judgment of your own conscience, do not wish to retain possession of what does not belong to the Church and do not let our needy brothers speak ill of you, their Archpriest and Father, that he is violent, that he is an oppressor, when they should rather recognize in him their protector against outside oppression and violence.

And pray with more insistence to the good God that He may check the onset of troubles and grant relief to his Church from its manifold distress, in order that with the help of Divine Providence we may return unhindered both to each other and to those who love us.

When your letter, our most holy Son, was handed to us, something like joy crept into our soul, because we learned, even before unfolding the letter, that with God’s help you had reached your Church in safety; when, however, we perused it, the sad news that it brought dispelled the joy of our heart. Indeed, the knowledge that your journey had been attended with such toil and trouble saddened us and deprived us of the happiness we had felt until that moment. Then, however, we turned to giving thanks to God as a necessary remedy for you and for us, and, because He Who is good had granted you to weather the storm of all those misfortunes and had brought you back to your home, we thanked saving Providence, Which we continue to beseech that in whatever place and whatever circumstance, whether of
human contriving or due to the inclemency of the climate or any other invisible assault, it may never, my Son, forsake you.

So much for this. As for the actions undertaken against the Church, about which you already learned while still here, they have for the moment abated; I cannot say whether the circumstances have affected these, or whether the foolish originator of the disturbance has recognized its absurdity and has recoiled. However, if the Holy God preserves you, do not delay joining us, but if possible set out on the journey to these parts after the Holy Pasch; if not, then at least after the Holy Feast of the Apostle, lest you be found to prefer the company of the Ephesians to ours.

A man who possesses virtue and is governed by the fear of God, needs either no outside admonition at all or very little. Now, we know of you too (my Son) that you are graced by wisdom and guided by the fear of God and that, to preserve justice, you do not need our encouragement; in spite of this, as the bearer of our letter requested this favor from us, we have complied with his request and write to you (my Son) to exhort you to that which we are convinced you are already doing without our reminder. What is this? To show your wisdom also in this matter, and if the man has unjustly suffered any harm, to set this right and to check by your just judgment the boldness and lawless purpose of others also who would misbehave, and to impose upon him too the obligation of praying for your Excellency, as well as upon many others, who will live free from molestation thanks to the retribution brought upon the man who has now spurned the law and yielded to his own audacity and foolishness; for when wickedness is restrained, the wicked shrinks back, and conversely, when it is left unpunished, those who spend their lives in crime become bolder. May the Lord keep you well, may you not only be prosperous in this world, but also in that to come.
Since you love God (my Son) and have learned to honor what is God's, you do not need any exhortation from without, admonishing you to pay due homage to the archpriests of God and to display proper care for the holy Churches of God; to this your own wisdom exhorts you and reminds you of your duty. Therefore neither have we thus far needed to exhort or remind you. However, now that the most God-loving metropolitan of Sardes, on the way out to his own diocese, found himself in urgent need of taking with him a letter from me to you (my Son) to obtain your attention and assistance in the affairs of the Church that has been entrusted to him, it is in compliance with his request that we have written the present letter; in order that, in the first place for the sake of the hope that is laid up for all who aspire to virtue and love God, secondly also for our sake, whose entreaty, in spite of our sinfulness, you do not set at nought, and thirdly on account of the truly divine virtue of the metropolitan, you may be so disposed toward him and so assist him in whatever he needs, as may be expected from a wise and God-loving magistrate and commander, who asks for the prayer of an old Father presiding over the archpriestly order and honors the virtue of a venerable and most God-loving archpriest. The Lord preserve you, both in soul and body, above all malice seen or unseen.
We were naturally grieved when after the lapse of some time since we wrote to you (my Son) we had received no word either about the subject of our letter or about your own condition; now that, thanks to God, we have received your letter, we have abandoned our grief, especially since we have learned, not from the letter, but from an oral report of the carrier, that, though you had been illing, you have, through the Divine Power, recovered from your illness, and we trust in the good God that in the future too this Power will not forsake you, and will give you strength to overcome all distress.

As regards the matter expounded in your letter, what else shall we say but this, that, knowing (how shall I put it?) the pitiable condition of human nature, we should bear our fate with equanimity, from whatever quarter it comes? It seems indeed that these things are part and parcel of the miserable life of man, and it is not possible that anyone at all should be exempt from painful stabs or from a life passed in sorrow, but there is an inexorable necessity which one way or another gives each of us cause for spending our lives in affliction and pain. Therefore (my Son), let us refrain from watching those who pain us and, rather, fix our eyes upon Him Who is good, through Whom comfort comes to those who are hurt and retribution to those who hurt them; but no, let this not come true, rather we must hope that they will mend their ways.

So much for this. You, however, if God will speed your journey, must come to us as soon as possible, because the situation to which you owed those unpleasant experiences in the past and on account of which you feared the future, has been cleared up. We have only this instruction for you, not to overlook the affair of the bishop of Bindsius and the benefice given to him; we have heard an ugly rumor about it—that he has made it a private residence instead of a monastery. If you care at all for my anxieties (as I know you do), do not overlook this, but having first restored to their proper position the place dedicated to God and the monks expelled it, then set out to rejoin us.

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tatingly and readily obey him nor in any matter delay or refuse, so that you may not only receive your reward from God, but also on our part, sinners as we are, our prayer offered up to God on your behalf.
Often (my Son) I have felt impelled to write to you, and often my
impulse has been checked; now, however, I write as I do, and please do not
take offense at my words, but rather listen to them as the admonition of a
father who loves his son—and you know that experience makes you
understand that the language of fathers is fraught with severity—listen with
pricked-up ears, so that God's favor may gain for you sweetness from you.

I do not know what to say to you. You know how long ago we became
acquainted with your Excellency; you were held in little account because of
your youth and your rank in the world, you were infinitely inferior in wealth,
and these people, not to say all, pronounced your name with praise,
with eulogy, with prayers, calling you a man of God, a lover of virtue, one
who more than anybody else showed concern for the churches of God and
for the men dedicated to Him. And now, why are all monks coming to us
with protests, all priests with imprecations, all men with disparagement of
your name?

What is this, man of God! We know that because of our sins that
destroyer, that enemy, that apostate from God and the Christian faith has
gained great losses to the public treasury. Yet this is no reason for taking
away what belongs to God and His holy Houses; it would be better, if I
may say something which is perhaps not pleasing to you, but which will
certainly become acceptable to you if you are ready to obey to God) for
the purple robe of my Son the Emperor crowned by God to be sold, at a time
when there was absolutely no alternative, than that the Houses of God be
hereafter the revenues reserved to them from of old by pious emperors. But
as it is, what are we doing? We offer gifts to the Petchenegs and Turks and
others because we need their alliance; the alliance with God, however, we
seem to reject as inefficacious and useless, and so we plunder His sacred
Houses and imagine that by this device we strengthen our position. This
was bad counsel on the part of those who originated it; for it is impossible
for anyone, while scorning God, to achieve his purpose by human cleverness.

Or is this not scorning God? I say nothing, but you may consider it in your
mind if God is not being despised.

I add only this. If you, a mere man, when you see your servant coming to
you with a gloomy face because someone has robbed him, say, of some
silver or of some gold coin, are angry with the thief, how much more will
God be angered, when it is not a case of simple robbery, but one resulting...
in great straits and distress for those robed? I have written you this to let you know that as a true father I love you truly and do not make light of your salvation, nor of that of our beloved Lady, though perhaps she has not given you reason to believe that we love her, even if the facts have testified to our love.

A soul that is lifted up to God will not heed the adverse verdict of men, knowing that God's judgment is favorable. But he who loses heart because of what happens to him by the verdict of tyrants makes it clear that he has no faith in God's favorable judgment, and this is the ground for his discouragement.

We wear ourselves out counting the days, waiting for the moment to come that brings you before our eyes. There is something pleasant in this expectation, but stronger than the sweetness is the heartrending pain as time drags on. We have given you instructions time and again—whether they were prudent, I do not know, only God, Who sees the future, knows, but it was our love for you that prompted us and the feeling that your troubles should weigh more than ours. These instructions have come to our mind, and we cannot free ourselves from the thought. Therefore, if possible, let something be done to comfort both you and us; however, if there is anything that frightens you and prevents you from following your inclination (my own dangers must not count), let that course prevail which does not seem to entail any trouble for you.

Once there was a time when suffering for one's friends (and how much more for a father!) was a laudable example, and many even of those who led a had life had at least this ambition—to share the troubles of their
friends. Now, however, it seems as if you that lead a life of holiness make it a point of honor to deny your Fathers. So much for your attitude, my noble and worthy sir; as for me, I thank God, as I thank Him for all things that befall me, so also on your account. All I have to say to you is this: know that you have not rejected me, but, in my person, the Heavenly Father, Whose law it is that children should honor their fathers.

Your battle against us is won; why do you still trouble to carry on a fight that is over? Or do you want to add to the trophies you won in it? You will see the results of your pains when with each added trophy you will smart the more. The coming day will show this beyond a doubt, but perhaps (who knows?) even the present.

What impairs health and changes it to a sickly condition, and often destroys it completely, are not poisons alone, but also spicu sauces and drinks that beguile the senses. Fortunate is he whom poisons do not kill, but whose physical condition is strong enough to overcome the drug; more fortunate he whom pleasure does not ruin. For with victims of poison the guilt rests with those who prepared and administered it; with victims of pleasure who is responsible other than the man who proved himself its slave?
you cannot fail to do so), do not put too much trust in yourself nor feel confident because you are borne up to the summit, since you too will follow the turn of the wheel, if not perhaps by the vagaries of circumstance, then in any case by that rotation common to all, which will inevitably bear you down to your grave, a lower depth than any that can be imagined in human life.

We thank God, as is our duty, on account of your Holiness, every time we receive news both of the way the madman (there is no other word) rages against you and of your fearless frankness toward him, by which he is covered with shame, while your virtue shines all the more brightly, to the glory of God and to the joy of the congregation of the pious, above all of ourselves, who carry you in our heart as a noble son of God's Church. Harassed indeed, as we are, by the many heavy afflictions that daily beset the Church, what relief, what comfort do we not experience in considering the profit that accrues to Christ's flock through you! Though day by day the cruel dogs grow bolder in their attempts to ravage it, your vigilant watchfulness guards all those whom Grace has elected for salvation and keeps them safe from their savagery. May the Great Shepherd, now and always, confirm you in this blessed vigilance, and may you continue to save, to correct, to strengthen each according to his needs.

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— *Istorija na bugarskata džirava pres srdeničt velkove*, I, 2 (Sofia, 1927)

SUMMARIES

Ep. 1. *To the Caliph Al-Muqtadir*

Inasmuch as all power comes from God, those united by this common gift should communicate through letters and envoys. This is especially true of the two supreme powers, Romans and Saracens (3—22). Such contact is all the more necessary in view of the present events, in which the issue is justice, the virtue most essential to the ruler (23—43).

Since the time when the Cypriotes became tributary to you, their right to protection was always respected by your successive rulers; now all the oaths and treaties are suddenly void, and they are slaughtered by those who should be their protectors (44—66). A nation which has served you loyally for nearly three centuries has fallen a victim to the frenzy of a renegade. Even if they had undertaken anything against you (as they have not), they should not be treated as enemies without having been heard and warned (67—92).

Will not your fame, present and future, suffer from this? What must your forefathers, who concluded the treaties, think of it? Should this impious wretch Damianus be allowed to exterminate a nation (93—115)?

The alleged reason, the killing of Saracens in the island by Himerius, would be valid only if the Cypriotes had cooperated with him. As it is, they were powerless to interfere with the operations of the Roman army. Why not punish those who are responsible? It would be equally absurd to use Himerius’ invasion of Syria as an excuse for action against Cyprus. Traditionally, Cyprus has always been recognized as a common sphere of interest between the Romans and you. The hostilities on the island have nothing to do with this, no more than the Syrian Christians ought to be victimized because of your war with the Christian Empire (116—57).

You must be aware of the way in which the divine wrath overtook Damianus: not only his death, but also his illness from the time of the atrocities in Cyprus, and the destruction of your fleet in the very island he intended to lay waste (158—69). Act in accordance with your wisdom and restore the old conditions (170—81).

Ep. 2. To the Emir of Crete

June 913; Feb. 914

Nothing in human life is sweeter than friendship. The friendship we want to establish with you is not a new one, but rather a paternal inheritance (2–16). My father in the Spirit, Photius, was a sincere friend of your father, because, in spite of the barrier of a different religion, he discerned his great human qualities. I have long wished to renew this friendship (17–29).

What better occasion than the present matter: an appeal to that mercy and goodness which makes men like God? I refer to the liberation and return of prisoners-of-war (30–41). Nothing will contribute more to your glory, since no fate is sadder than theirs. Do not use pretext or seek for a gain that is really the greatest loss; the only real gain is this act of mercy (42–70). Let it be the beginning of our friendship (71–76).


Address: Grumel rightly observes that Eps. 1 and 2 cannot be addressed to the same person, as both represent the first contact between the correspondents (unless, of course, we assume that one of the two was never dispatched). The easiest solution is that Ep. 2 is really to the Emir of Crete; this would account for the erroneous heading of Ep. 1. Note that the formula of address in Ep. 1 is perfect. It fits the contents of 2 remarkably well. In G. C. Miles’s tentative list of the Emir of Crete, to whom St. Demetrianus about this time appealed on behalf of the Cypriotes. For a possible explanation of the error, see Ep. 2.

Date: After Damianus’ death (Aug. 913; July 914) and during Nicholas’ regency (no emperor mentioned). To account for lines 140–44, which seem to ignore the defeat of Himerius in 912, as well as for the present tenses at 74 and 129, Jenkins assumes an earlier draft written in the spring of 912, to which a paragraph on the death of Damianus was added later; however, this does not explain the fact that Nicholas is speaking in his own name as the head of the Empire.

Ep. 3. To Symeon of Bulgaria

May 912; July 913

It is hardly necessary to exhort you to mercy, that greatest virtue of princes (3–22). A man took refuge in St. Sophia, and his extradition was demanded in your name; I finally yielded to pressure, after receiving the promise that nothing grave would happen to him (23–49).

Remember that you yourself need God’s clemency, and that His judgment will depend on your action in this matter (50–60). I enforce this counsel by a bond in the name of the Holy Trinity (61–74).


Date: Though the first patriarchate cannot be excluded, there is no reason why the incident should not be dated to the reign of Alexander or the beginning of the Regency, when Symeon was looking for a sanus belli and the more prudent politicians (the “friends” of 4.50–56) must have tried to pacify him.

Ep. 4. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria

May 912; July 913

We welcome the opportunity of taking up contact with you. As mediators between God and men we also have the duty to mediate between men (3–20). You can fulfill this duty by exhorting the ruler of your country to clemency (21–32).

A man who asserts that he is neither a Bulgarian nor a Bulgarian’s slave was claimed as a runaway and took refuge in St. Sophia. We permitted his extradition, when it was demanded on behalf of your Prince, with the warning that for any harm that might befall this man, we should invoke God’s retribution. Understand that the Prince would be responsible, not those who acted for him (33–56). Make it clear to him that it was I who entrusted the man to his care, and that he will be held liable (57–66). Clemency, especially in a ruler, is a greater achievement than vengeance (67–77). We could be more explicit, but this will suffice (78–85).


Date: See Ep. 3.

Ep. 5. To Symeon of Bulgaria

Ca. beginning of July 913

We write in great sorrow over the news that has reached us (2–10). They say that you are preparing an attack against our orphaned Emperor, without considering how hateful the word “usurper” is to men, nor that God is the Protector of orphans; without regret for the original treaty between Romans and Bulgarians, or for its renewal after the peace was broken (11–31).

I have always praised you as a just and faithful man, and prayed for a long reign for you and your offspring. What am I to think, what will all other men think, of this sudden change (32–57)? At first I took those
rumors for slander and defended you, maintaining that you could never have
become a usurper and a liar (58—91). But now what shall I say? Is it not
satanic pride to claim the Empire that Christ has set above all others?
The example of a recent usurper has shown how this must end. By breaking
your oaths you renounce the Christian faith (92—121).

As a friend, I wonder how you can do this, while still repenting, it is
said, your former war against the Romans. I pray to God that He may
touch your heart and open your ears to reason (164—88). By the power that
has been given me, I put you under the bond of excommunication, if you
should persist in your purpose; at the Last Judgment I will bear witness
against you (189—207).

Date: Fixed by the reference to last year's meeting (88—93), which
took place in August 913.

Ep. 9. To the Same

Late Aug./early Sept. 917

How shall I bewail the mischief wrought by the archenemy of man
(2—17)? Chafing at your conversion, and at the brotherhood and peace
between us, he at last found some willing instruments, both on our side and
yours, for his evil designs (18—37). These events must sadden not only
Christians throughout the world but the angels in heaven and Christ Him¬
self (38—47).

But let us forget what has been and turn to the present. Let us end
this war and mend the wrongs done by both sides (48—65). As for yours,
you know them well enough. As regards our side, though I was not consulted about the military preparations, I did know that something was on foot, and I called those in power to account (66—83).

They explained that the military governors of Macedonia and Thrace were warning them against a forthcoming Bulgarian attack and that this was confirmed by continual reports from Bogas, the governor of Cherson, according to which you were seeking help from the Pechenegs and other tribes in those regions; envoys from the Pechenegs themselves declared that they had received a proposal for intermarriage from you. When peaceful remonstrances were of no avail, our government decided to intimidate you by a military demonstration (89—120).

When I protested nevertheless, they asked me to write to you about the matter, a task which I must confess I neglected. However, how else could our government have acted after those reports (121—41)? A preventive action did seem indicated. Even parental authority must sometimes have recourse to threats. War was never intended, but the devil used his opportunity (142—72).

You will say that this does not explain our invasion of Bulgarian territory. Their excuse was that this had been the answer to attacks in the regions of Dyrrachium and Thessalonica (173—86).

However specious these reasons, I maintained my protests, and I beseech you now to restore peace between Christians (187—96). The earth, once sanctified by the blood of the martyrs, is now defiled by Christian blood. Do not cause such grief to Christ, to the angels, to myself; do not wage war against our Emperor, who, in spite of his childhood, is your spiritual father and your sincere friend (197—256). Under the bond of excommunica tion I forbid you to invade territory that belongs to the Empire by existing treaties (227—39).

Let the Gospel I am sending you remind you of Christ’s suffering for the peace of the world. Let it be said of you, later, that as a dutiful son you vanquished the bitterness of your heart (240—69). Be kind to my envoy, who is the abbot of a monastery on Mt. Olympus and worked for the conversion of the Alans (264—73).


Date: Soon after the battle of the Achelous, Aug. 20, 917 (Zlatarski).

Note: The envoy is Euthymius, cf. Ep. 135.82—101 (Grumel).

Ep. 10. To the Same Early 918?

We write you this as a father and as a bishop, whether you want it or not (2—8). If I have “become foolish,” as you say, what is an adolescent son who calls his father a fool (9—19)?

10—12

The cause of the defeat of the Roman army was, first, the will of God, second, our sins. All those who, before you, attacked Constantinople perished: the Persians, the Avars (whose serfs you are), the Saracens who besieged it for seven years, but the city stands (20—43). Take my foolish advice: do not try to enslave those who liberated your nation from slavery (46—61).


Date: The lost battle is either that of the Achelous, in which case this letter was written ca. Sept. 917, to answer Symeon’s reaction to Ep. 9; or that of Catasaratcs, when Symeon’s siege of Constantinople had already begun (Zlatarski).

Ep. 11. To the Same Winter 918/19

If old age and ill-health did not prevent me, I would face the winter and the long journey to meet you (2—14). This would be for a worthy purpose: peace (15—19). We beseech you in the name of Christ, be with us (20—32). Let there be an end to the horrors of this fratricidal war; let the satisfaction you have received suffice (33—54). Even brute animals are reconciled after a victory. If we want to be members of Christ, our common Head, let us not hurt Him by our strife (55—84).

Bear with me if I continue; sorrow forces me to speak (85—93). Think of the wrath to come, think also of the verdict of posterity. No one will condone the war of brothers against brothers, of sons against fathers. No power or glory can compensate this (94—121). For the sake of your own reputation and your children’s, listen to me (122—39). May God restore peace to your mind and to our nations (140—51).


Date: Eps. 11—13, sent simultaneously (12.82—86; 13.15—16), represent a new peace initiative, in the winter (11.3—4) of 918/19 rather than 919/20 (Zlatarski, Grumel, Runciman), since Zoe’s government continues to exist in some form: those in power have not been removed, they have come to see eye to eye with Nicholas (12.63—72). The divine punishment on those responsible for the war (13.33—39; cf. 18.63—66) may be (partly?) the arrest of Constantine the Chamberlain by Romanus.

Ep. 12. To the Archbishop of Bulgaria Winter 918/19

We do not want to instruct you, knowing that you think about this war as we do, but only to discuss it with you (2—14). Each man has his own task assigned to him; for us priests our first task is that peace for which Christ shed His blood. How must we feel now that we see two nations at war (15—54)?
I for my part have always opposed this war, before it began and after, and our rulers have come to share my view, only your Prince refuses (55–81). We have written to him on this matter; we trust that he will listen, because that brief meeting we had with him [Aug. 913] has convinced us of his fundamental kindness (82–93). Use your influence with him, impress on him the sorrow of Christ, the horrors of war (94–119). Plead with him on your behalf, but also on mine. Let him send men to negotiate (120–37).


Date: See Ep. 11.

Ep. 13. To the Chief Man of Symeon

Knowing the high moral standard that befits a man of your rank, we ask you to support our appeal to your Master. You can render him no greater service (2–23). We are confident that your pains will not be wasted, since God Himself has shown His approval by removing from our midst those responsible for this cruel war (24–45).


Date: See Ep. 11.


We announce good tidings concerning the Church (2–16). Unity has been restored, those who had separated themselves from us have repented and returned, with the exception of a few, who saw no other way of gaining fame; they, too, will eventually make their peace (17–47).

As regards yourself, malicious men have moved you to a course completely at variance with your own character, a war between Christians (48–85). This must be the work of the devil, who cannot bear the triumph of our faith (86–93). It is true that on our side he has found men willing to help him in his evil designs (96–105). These men are beneath your notice; the Emperor himself is not responsible. If you have been offended, you have had your revenge (106–27).

We are willing to see you in spite of old age and ill-health, if you want to discuss peace; in that case release our envoys and write to us. We could meet at Mesembria or elsewhere, and end the war (128–35).


Date: Soon after the Union (July 9, 920).

Ep. 15. To the Same

We are grateful for your immediate readiness to meet us (2–17). Only let us be certain that we shall not come in vain (18–30). Give me your assurance that you have abandoned your claim to the Roman throne. Do not make me a laughingstock and bring God's judgment upon yourself (31–61).


Date: After Symeon's prompt answer to Ep. 14.

Ep. 16. To the Same

I write to you again, because I realize my responsibility (2–13). Whether the military preparations now on foot lead to the destruction of the Romans or of the Bulgarians, there will be no excuse for the guilty (14–34).

Do not be over-confident because you once won a victory (35–49). Do not take the risk of another bloody battle, when glory is waiting for you elsewhere. The Lord Romanus, whom God has set on the throne, is willing to grant that intermarriage, either through a son or through a daughter, which you have desired so long. Do not despise him because he is a newcomer to the throne; clearly it is God Who established him there (50–83).

A sign of God's grace is the restoration of the unity of the Church, which since Leo's days had been disturbed (84–94).

Knowing this, you should accept the Emperor's offer and restore peace (95–106).


Date: Soon after Romanus' coronation, Dec. 17, 920; before Feb. 921, if Grumel's chronology of Ep. 17 is correct.

Ep. 17. To the Same

Though you have thus far despised all my entreaties, I cannot forget my responsibility (2–30). If the slaughter of any fellowman is awful to see, what should we think of a war between fathers and sons and brothers (31–49)?

New military preparations are being made; the Emperor himself will be commander-in-chief. Whatever the outcome, Christians will be slaughtered by Christians (50–74).

Think of a father's feelings when his sons attack each other. What must Christ's feelings be now (75–102)? Do not limit yourself to earthly examples: look up to heaven and think of the sorrow of the angels (103–19). Listen to a father's prayers and do not allow another bloody clash to take place (120–44).

May God direct your thoughts toward peace. The Romans, for their part, are willing to pay a reasonable tribute, and I will support your demand (145–68).

Date: If the military preparations are those of Pothis (Theoph. Cont. 400.1—8), the letter was written about Feb. 921 (Zlatarski, Grumel); in any case in the first half of that year (see Ep. 18 and 19).

Ep. 18. To the Same

Spring/summer 921

Your letter and the return of my envoy have belied my rising misgivings (2—15). I was disappointed, however, at your sarcastic reply that your demand was not impossible, since it was not the resurrection of the dead Bulgarians, but only the abdication of the present Emperor. This is not a realistic proposal. Let your gain, besides some gold, clothing, and perhaps land, be the end of the hostilities (16—28).

In your letter you accused the eunuchs, and rightly so, but this is no reason why we should imitate them. God has punished them for their misdeeds; do not grieve your Avenger by the evils of war. Rather follow Christ's example, to which you yourself referred. Think of what I have suffered these last four years (29—33).

If you really want peace, do not insist on your meaningless demand, but send an envoy to meet a representative of the Empire (39—43). If God elected you to sit on the Roman throne, why not leave it to Him? I pray for you, that you may find the way to peace (105—20).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 682. Zlatarski, XII, 121—28.

Date: The words “in the fourth year” (line 84; obviously to be counted from Aug. 20, 917) cannot be explained in terms of either calendar or campaign years, as this would result in the letter being written in 920, before Romanus' coronation; Grumel therefore rightly dates it within four years from the beginning of hostilities. When the envoy did not find Symeon in Bulgaria, Ep. 19 was written to replace 18, still within the fourth year (10.36).

Note: Nicholas' letter cited at 20—26 may be Ep. 17, though the words “not impossible,” which provide the point for Symeon's sarcasm at 26—30, are not actually found in it; however, the phrase “not... beyond our power” (17.158) could have been given the same ironical application.

Ep. 19. To the Same

Spring/summer 921

When the monk we had sent had returned with your letter, we sent him back with our reply [Ep. 18]; but since he is in Bulgaria and you have come to these parts, we do not know when he will see you. Therefore we now repeat our request for peace on reasonable conditions (2—20).

Discard the absurd demand that the Romans accept you as their ruler; ask for concessions that we can grant. Listen to an entreaty which I have been repeating for four years now (21—39). If necessary, I will come to Heraclea or Selymbria to meet you and to discuss peace. As always, I pray for you (40—54).


Date: See Ep. 18. Meanwhile, Symeon has again invaded Byzantine territory.

Ep. 20. To the Same

Summer 921

I hoped that you would be moved by my willingness to come to you; I hoped this, considering your wisdom as well as my own old age and high office (2—28). Your letter has made it clear that I am to expect nothing. What will people think of this brutal contempt of a son for his father (29—47)?

You point out that the apostles had nothing to look forward to but their reward from God, implying that the hardships I am willing to endure must be pleasing to God. Does this not oblige you to act as He wills (48—69)? Those who refused to listen to them did so out of ignorance, while you know better. Soon you will appear before your Lord to render your account (69—87).

In the reign of Arcadius, Gainas laid waste this country, but he relented when John Chrysostom appeared before him to admonish him (88—126). Need I insist that you follow his example? What will your fame in later ages be, if you persist in your blunt refusal? Even now there is discontent among your own nation and relatives (127—56). At the risk of being tiresome, I must continue my pleas for peace (157—68).

You also write about the exchange of prisoners. It is sad that such an issue should arise between fellow Christians. But since the circumstances make it necessary, let it be negotiated in the usual way (169—91).


Date: Soon after Ep. 19 (reference to proposal for meeting, 19.41—44).

Ep. 21. To the Same

Summer 921/end 922

In spite of all disappointments I continue my efforts, encouraged by your statement that, imitating God's condescension, you consented to meet my humble messenger (2—22).

However, your letter does not continue in the same spirit of humility: its one purpose is usurpation of the Roman throne (23—46). This is not the road to peace; end the war, but do not try to enslave those who are your fathers in Christ (47—61). Do not listen to the promptings of evil counselors: this is not God's will, but the devil's; he and his satellites engineered this war between Christians (62—82). You say that you seek concord and peace,
but your actions do not agree with this pretense. Subjugating one's brothers is not the way to peaceful coexistence (23—104).

I fail to understand your allusion to blackbirds, apes, and jackdaws. These animals miss the essential characteristic of man, reason. If you insist on applying the comparison, it leads to the same conclusion: restore peace between our nations (105—27).

If you believe that what you demand is God's will, hide His time (128—43). Rather than trying to answer each of your arguments, which all have one and the same purport, we admonish you to remember the blessings of the former peace (144—61). Let not Satan prevail; do not listen to evil advisors. Once we shall all have to appear before God's Judgment Seat (162—84). Let us not wait until it is too late to repent (185—200).

You suggest that we send envoys; first show your good faith by releasing at least one of the two you keep under arrest. After that, ambassadors from the Emperor and the Senate will come to you (201—12).

Date: Between Ep. 20 and the last possible date for Ep. 23.

Ep. 22. To the Same Summer 921/End 922

Though you have not deigned to answer my letter [Ep. 211], I write again (2—11). From the Emperor's letter to you we have learned your desire for peace, and we pray that it may lead to a reconciliation (12—34).

Since you requested an envoy, we have sent you one of our pupils, who took holy vows and was ordained archbishop [or metropolitan] by us; from him you will hear the Emperor's and the Senate's decision (35—49). Under the bond of the Holy Trinity we enjoin you, not to keep him for longer than fifteen days (50—63).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 704. Zlatarski, XII, 144—49.
Date: Some time after Ep. 21.

Ep. 23. To the Same 922

I have tried before to convince you that my reason for writing is not the misfortune of the Romans, but a genuine concern for peace on behalf of both nations. This concern has become even stronger now that I have learned that the imperial diplomacy has led to a joint action against you by the Russians, the Pechenegs, the Alans, and the Western Turks (2—21).

I have besought our Emperors not to permit an attack by these heathen tribes against our fellow Christians (22—39). They did not insist on retribution for the harm we suffered, but showed a sincere desire for peace and, in spite of the trouble and expense already incurred, professed themselves willing to countermand the attack, asking me to write to you on the subject of peace, as I do now (40—65).

I must warn you that a refusal may lead to the destruction of your nation, for you cannot hope that Divine Justice will be on your side after all your wrongdoings. Many nations have perished through pride (66—92). Do not let Satan prevail, do not be carried away by your anger. The Emperor is willing to negotiate an honorable peace. The outcome of war is at best uncertain; in this case it is all too certain (93—131).

Think of the fate of Leo the Tripolite, who took Thessalonica and prepared an attack on Constantinople, but has now, after more than 17 or 18 years, been crushed on Lemnos by our fleet (132—60). God's patience is not inexhaustible. Ward off a catastrophe by a change of heart (161—76).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 705. Zlatarski, XII, 149—60.
Date: Zlatarski, end of 922; Grumel, first half of 922, taking the words "more than 17 or 18 years" to mean that the fourteenth year is not completed. The obvious meaning, however, is that Nicholas is not sure which, so that this piece of information works out to some time after August 921 or 922. The only other one is the entry in the chronicles on Leo's defeat (Theoph. Cont. 405.11—16), which immediately precedes the one on the Bulgarian invasion of Sept. 924 (or 923), and thus favors the later dating.

Ep. 24. To the Same 922/June 923

I am distressed at the thought that both our nations are losing, not only their happiness in this world, but also their hope of eternal bliss. Let me see peace restored before I die (2—29). Remember that you too may die and suffer the loss of your soul (30—43). We grant that the folly of others was responsible for the beginning of the hostilities, but they have been punished by God. Be content with this, and do not grieve Christ by perpetuating the slaughter. His patience will once be exhausted (44—69). We trust in your wisdom and pray for you (70—85).

Date: For Eps. 24—27 there is hardly anything to go by besides their place between 23 and 28. In Ep. 26.35—40 the threat of 25.2—21 is repeated.

Ep. 25. To the Same 922/June 923

Though my sins have prevented my appeals from being heard, I must continue to plead for peace (2—14). As the heir of your father's throne, you should also continue his policy of Christian brotherhood. How would he feel if he were alive to witness the present events? How must he feel now that he witnesses them from his place in heaven (15—66)?
You refer me to the example of Moses, but what have you done to resemble him? You also say that we Romans enjoy the fruit of our fathers' labors; this is true, and so should the Bulgarian nation enjoy the fruit of what your own father did for them (67—83).

Accept our offer of gold, silver, and land, as the Persians did before you, and your own ancestors as well. This is the way to arrive at a truce, not by claiming a throne (84—100).

One more thing: do not lower yourself to invective against our Emperor. Our contacts with the Persians and the Agaranes, even in wartime, have always been marked by courtesy on both sides. Your Emperor's letters to you, too, have always guarded your dignity, even if, under provocation, the tone had sometimes to be harsh (101—42). You will accept this fatherly rebuke in the spirit in which it was made. May God give you the glory that does not wither (143—54).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 708. Zlatarski, XII, 163—70.

Date: See Ep. 24.

Ep. 26. To the Same

Not discouraged by failure, I continue my attempts for peace, because it is my duty and also because I believe that the moment is now favorable (2—10).

Moved by the awful events we witness, I say to you in writing what I say to our Emperors by word of mouth (19—34). They are willing to seek reconciliation, although military success is now near. Do not put God's patience to the test any longer (35—50). The Romans may hope for God's help, while you, carried away by a semblance of success, are in danger of losing all. History is full of examples. Change your mind, before it happens to you (51—75).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 709. Zlatarski, XII, 170—74.

Date: See Ep. 24.

Ep. 27. To the Same

Every time I write to you, I am full of new hope, and every one of your answers is a fresh disappointment. It grieves me that the wise and noble man I have known you to be since that short meeting of ours [Aug. 913] should refuse to be guided by his own reason and by my unceasing appeals (2—40).

Listen to me at last and drop your excessive demands (41—57). Concessions cannot come from one side only; be content with the indemnities we offered: gold, silver, perhaps some land. We cannot permit you to enter the city nor concede to you the dominion of the West, which belongs exclusively to the Empire. The Emperor and the Senate are willing to grant you advantages you never enjoyed before (58—83).

At your repeated requests we have sent you as an envoy the skewophylax of the Church in Blachernae. After his return with a sincere offer for peace, prominent men of the Church and the State will follow. May Christ guide your thoughts toward peace (84—98).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 710. Zlatarski, XII, 174—79.

Date: See Ep. 24.

Ep. 28. To the Same

Despite your insincerity, we write again, this time partly at the initiative of the Pope, who, troubled by the reports of this terrible war, has sent the archbishops Theophylactus and Carus with a letter for you (2—24). They are to threaten you with excommunication in case of refusal. However, since it is your practice to arrest ambassadors, we have deemed it prudent to pass the letter to you, while keeping the messengers with us, to protect them from maltreatment or even death (25—41).

We know your reverence for the Pope and for the Princes of the Apostles, whom he represents. Scripture has taught you how fearful their wrath can be (42—57).

At the same time we announce to you that the papal envoys have, jointly with us, anathematized the fourth marriage and that the unity of the Church is now restored (58—65).

We must also protest against the discourtesy you have shown in writing to the Senate rather than to the Emperor. This is speaking to the servants while ignoring the master. If you really repent the evil you have wrought, the Emperor is the person to whom you should address yourself (66—88).

If you want to come in person, I shall be among those who come to meet you. But if all you have to offer are futile sarcasms, it is better not to write at all (89—105).


Date: In the Vita Euthymii 72.30—37 (=135.29—36 Karlin-Hayter), Euthymius prophesies total and final peace for the (Constantinopolitan) Church in the tenth year of Constantine VII. Granting Grumel's assumption, that this coincides with the reconciliation with Rome, we can date the present letter between June 922 and June 923.

Ep. 29. To the Same

Discouraged, we have been silent for a long time. Now there is hope again (2—13). Think of the guilt with which you have burdened yourself; the time when you will have to appear before your Judge is not far away
(14—43). You must be approaching sixty and few of us live to be seventy. You will be answerable for what happened during your life and for its consequences after your death (44—54). Let it not be said that the prudent, the tranquil Symeon destroyed the peace sworn to by his father (55—70).

Our Emperors are willing to make amends for the misdeeds of others. Messengers are on their way; it is yours to come to an understanding with them (71—92).

Finally, we urge you to abstain from invective, which is unworthy of a prince and will injure your fame. A sober discussion of facts will serve you better than insults and sarcasms (93—114).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 713. Zlatarski, XII, 185—96.
Date: A “long time” after Ep. 28; possibly occasioned by Symeon’s last great offensive in Sept. 924 (923? Grumel).

Ep. 30. To the Same  Not long after Nov. 924

Not having received word from you, we write ourselves, remembering the promises you made to us and to our Emperor when we met (2—20). Let posterity remember you as a peacemaker; do not be carried away by your anger. Even animals are pacified after a fight. We are brothers in Christ (21—46). I trust that you will keep your word (47—62).

Date: Depends on the controversial date of the meeting between Symeon and Romanus: Thursday, Nov. 9, second indiction, according to the chronicles (the variants Sept. 9 and Nov. 19 are too weakly attested to deserve consideration); the two possible corrections are Thurs., Nov. 6, 12th ind. (923) and Thurs., Nov. 11, 13th ind. (924). In favor of 923 (Zlatarski, Grumel) it is argued that ind. 12 is an easy correction for ind. 2; but the dating to 924 (Ostrogorsky, Dölger, Runciman) is supported by Ep. 31, since Nicholas would hardly have returned to the subject of his altercation with Symeon after the lapse of more than a year.

Ep. 31. To the Same  Jan./Apr. 925

I write you this my last letter moved by sorrow and by the memory of the commitment you made, first when I saw you alone, later in the presence of the Emperor (2—23). What has become of your promises (24—33) ?

I must answer the accusations you made against me before the Emperor. You had brought the horse that received a blow aimed at you, and you said that this was my doing. You added that I could have stopped the war, or at least excommunicated those responsible. Yet, weak-minded and simple though I am, I believe I can understand the meaning of that incident:

you were spared because the war was started by others; the animal was struck as a warning to you, not to yield to the impulses of unreason (34—69).

We exhort the Emperor to have patience even now, and to refrain from a total war; but, though he is willing to listen, the feeling among the Senate and the people is that we have borne all we can (70—92).

Listen to the prayers of an old man and a priest: only you can end the war; the Emperor has sought peace ever since his accession to the throne. He knows what war is, and that even the conqueror often suffers painful losses, as you yourself have experienced (93—119).

In spite of the pressure from both the civilian and the military side, the Emperor is still willing to pay a tribute in gold and clothing (120—32). State your conditions, and let us live in peace together (133—52).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 716. Zlatarski, XII, 197—211.
Date: See Ep. 30. Within months of the interview; not long before Nicholas’ death.

Ep. 32. To the Pope (Anastasius III)  Second half 912

Having first thanked God for His mercy shown to this Church, we must explain to you, Holy Brothers, the causes of the evils that came to pass (4—19).

When the late Emperor contemplated a fourth marriage, using the birth of his son as a pretext, the unanimous opposition of the Church seemed at first to have averted the danger (20—44). We baptized the child on the condition that the woman was to be dismissed, but a few days later the Emperor married and crowned her (45—64). I tried to argue with him, explaining that his third marriage could perhaps be excused on pragmatic (the engagement of his daughter to the Frank, Berta’s nephew) and canonical grounds, but that the fourth was not a marriage at all and set a dangerous precedent (65—97). I pointed out the importance of the Emperor’s example (98—107).

Then I insisted that at least the marriage should be a morganatic one and that Rome and the other patriarchates should be consulted to prevent a schism. He refused the former and said that after the synod he would arrange the question as it suited him (108—28).

When after eight or nine months the delegation from Rome arrived, he let it be known that they had come to approve his marriage, ignoring our authority. He spread the rumor that I declined to meet the delegation, but I only proposed a private meeting in the Palace to clarify matters (129—63). Meanwhile he bribed some of the archbishops and bishops to support him. After a dinner on St. Tryphon’s day I was arrested and banished, as were the other loyal archbishops; the circumstances defy description (154—50).

The Roman delegates confirmed the verdict of banishment without even hearing me, though it was their task to report in Rome; I do not say
they were bribed, but in any case they collected all the false rumors that had been put in circulation. It is surprising that these should have been accepted by an entire Church (181—212). Not only in Constantinople, but also in Rome, I was condemned without being able to defend myself (213—26).

However, I am of little importance; the worst is that you have introduced fornication into the Church, against the commandments of the first Apostolic Council, and especially of St. Paul (227—46). What authority do you have to use the word “marriage” for a relationship that is punished by the canons and described as “bestial” (247—61)? If the Church of Rome permits a fourth marriage, or indeed any number, on the ground of I Cor. 7:9, “It is better to marry than to burn,” this rests on a gross misinterpretation (262—80). This text would be applicable only on the assumption that there is such a thing as a fourth marriage; as it is, Clement calls it “fornication,” the Fathers “bestial,” “unnatural,” and “swinish” (281—301).

Claiming special indulgences for an emperor is misunderstanding his position. An emperor must be obeyed only so long as his commands conform to the commandments of God (302—29). The ruler’s example, because of its strong influence, has to be good. The higher a man’s rank, the greater his responsibility and the heavier his punishment (380—55).

As for the dispensation by Rome, dispensation can never be permission to sin; its sole purpose is to save from sin (356—383). Therefore, since a fourth marriage is “worse than fornication,” no dispensation can change its nature (384—405). The precedents that are cited were not approved in their own time and, secondly, there is no reason to make them examples for imitation (406—25). Valentinian’s bigamy, even if approved by Damasus, cannot be made into a law, no more than Aaron’s example in the making of the Golden Calf. Else what are laws and canons for (426—43)? What would you do, if your own servants excused their misconduct by that of others? You ought to apply the same rule to the Church, rather than seek support in the laws and customs of the Old Testament (444—64).

We urge you to return to your evil course before the fourth marriage becomes customary, as the third has. To recognize his fault honors a man; correct it by anathematizing the cause of the scandal (465—3). Pope Sergius and the Emperor Leo shall be exempt from the anathema, which will strike only the living (494—517).


Date: After Nicholas’ restoration in May 912.

Ep. 33. To the Monk Tryphon

Feb. 914/15?

We look forward to a meeting as much as you do, but at present we can only meet in the spirit. As for your sickness, we hope for speedy recovery.

if you will only use the medicine we sent you, before your condition gets worse. Pray for us in the terrible troubles that surround us.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Address: He may be the pious but illiterate monk in Opismok who became patriarch in 927 (Theoph. Cont. 417.10). Other letters to him: 64, 120, 131.

Date: Critical situation of 914/18, probably early stage.

Ep. 34. To the Military Governor of Hellas

June 913/March 919

A man who cares for the Church as you do, needs no advice (2—8).

To end the fights between the clergy at Thebes, let those in communion with the archbishop use the cathedral, the rest the other churches, until it please God to end the schism (9—28).


Date: Beginning of the second patriarchate, according to Grumel, and the scenes of physical violence seem to support this dating; on the other hand, Nicholas’ willingness to compromise and the way in which he expresses himself at 21—26 indicate a later stage.

Note: Grumel thinks that the archbishop was a Euthymian, but the wording points the other way: the archbishop and his clergy are to “perform the glorification of God” in the cathedral, the others “shall gather by themselves.” Cf. Ep. 116.

Ep. 35. To the Military Governor of Strymon

Feb. 914/18

It is hardly necessary to encourage you in the care of the Great Church of God, where you received our blessing on your patriarchate (2—11). Yet we would, at his request, recommend the Curator of Strongylizon to you and ask you to help him to ward off attempts to encroach on Church lands in his care (12—25). This endangers both the interests of the Church and the souls of those guilty of sacrilege. Do not become their accomplice by permissiveness (26—35). Show the zeal that may be expected from you (36—41).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 768. Guillaud, II, 195.

Date: Ep. 35—36 and 165—66 are linked by references to Ep. 35 at 36.31—32 and (probably) 165.24—25. The issue is the requisitioning of land (or of produce) belonging to St. Sophia by various persons, among whom is the young officer to whom 165 and 166 are addressed. As there is also the question of vessels being commandeered (165.12—15), a connection with the Bulgarian war seems obvious. The emperor, who is apparently unable to speak for himself (165.18—24), must be young Constantine; Nicholas is powerless (166).
Ep. 36. To the Curator of Strongylus

Feb. 914/18

From your letter to the Oeconomus of St. Sophia we learned that you are troubled by the difficulties you experience as well as by his reprimand. Fatherly reproof, whether deserved or not, is no reason for anger, or for renouncing your ministry, for which God will reward you (2—30). We have written to the Military Governor [Ep. 35] asking him to help you (31—39).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 769.
Date: See Ep. 35.

Ep. 37. To Stylian, Deacon

915/18?

You need no guidance in the administration of the affairs of the Church, either as regards the status of the priests or in agricultural affairs (2—10). We write to you only at your own request, permitting you to open the archives and produce the document protecting the priests; we also want you to send us an inventory of all the sacred objects belonging to the metropolis (11—16).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 759.
Addressee: Perhaps the Deacon Stylian who wrote Moscow Gr. 231 for Arethas in 932, and Paris, gr. 781 for one Calocyrus in 939. He is arranging the affairs of an unknown vacant metropolis (Grumel), but must have belonged to the clergy of St. Sophia.
Date: The draft status of clergy became a crucial issue between the Church and the State as the Bulgarian war went on; cf. Eps. 150 and 164.

Ep. 38. To Phileus the Monk

Feb. 914/18

You know how highly I value the monastic life, and I would do anything to fulfill your wish, but you know that in the present situation I am powerless. Let that man who wants to live for Christ trust in Him, Who forbade us to worry about the things of this life. Encourage him and leave the rest to God.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 760.
Date: Nicholas helpless.

Ep. 39. To Gregory of Ephesus

Early 914?

I repeat what I told you already by word of mouth: the critical situation in the Church does not permit your absence. You must have heard rumors, as I have received reports. Do not follow the example of the metropolitan of Cyrus, who seems to have forgotten us completely. What has become of filial piety?

Date: Grumel, May 906; Karlin-Hayter, 914/19 (with 41, 42, and 48; cf. also 50, 130, and 138, to Ignatius of Cyzicus). Probably at the very beginning of this period, since the dangerous situation is only just developing; perhaps even a little before Nicholas’ expulsion from the Palace in Feb. 914.

Ep. 40. To the Patrician Malacinus

Feb. 914/18

We are not so much offended as grieved that a sensible man should let his judgment be guided, not by facts, but by his own desire. We showed before our willingness to fulfill your wishes; if this time circumstances prevent us from doing so, you have no right to be jealous or angry. As a friend, pray that we may be relieved of our troubles.

Addressee: Guillaud identifies him with the Patrician Malacinus who was killed in the battle of Gerace in Calabria in the spring of 952 (Gay, 212—14); this is possible, but not likely, because of the gap of ca. 36 years.
Date: Jenkins, early 907 (taking the “sensible man” to be Leo). But the letter is one out of many in which Nicholas professes himself unable to do anything for his friends during Zoe’s government.

Ep. 41. To Gregory of Ephesus

After May 8, 914?

The news of your illness has added to our troubles (1—9). We know that you have your duties toward your diocese, but the situation here has so deteriorated that your presence has become vital. Therefore come as soon as you have recovered (10—21). If you have not received the promised document, this is not due to carelessness, but because of the rumor that you would return to the capital after the feast of the Apostle [May 8]. We have sent it now, however (22—30).


Ep. 42. (<To the Same>?)

Summer 914?

We hoped that your letter would bring good news about yourself and your Church (2—8). We must try to bear the bad news we received instead: illness, and continuing strife (9—16). Let us at least be comforted by what we hear of your care for your own flock (17—23).
According to Grumel and Karlin-Hayter, Gregory of Ephesus (as of Ep. 41); this is supported by the formula “my most holy Son” (17), which Nicholas seems to reserve for Gregory (see Ep. 176) as the second in rank in the hierarchy after the protothronos Arethas of Caesarea, whom he ignores. The hitch is that, while Nicholas was already acquainted with Gregory’s illness, that of the present addressee comes as unexpected bad news; an alternative possibility is therefore Photius of Heraclea, the third-ranking metropolitan, in which case the light metaphors at 24—27 could be regarded as allusions to his name.

Date: Grumel, ca. Sept. 906. See Eps. 39 and 41. Some time after 41, if to Gregory; perhaps about the same time, if to Photius.

Ep. 43. To Andrew of Patras

You need no advice, but you may wish to act upon mine, if you find me well informed (2—6). The bearer of this letter reported to me the case of a widow who is in danger of being evicted by a bishop from the convent founded at her husband’s grave (7—20). Prevent this and reprove the bishop (21—25).

Date: Grumel, No. 734.

Ep. 44. To a General (Nicholas Picingli?)

We thank God for your successes as a champion of the Christian faith and pray that they may continue (2—12). We have received your gifts and are sending you one hundred acipta in return (13—16).

Date: June 913/March 919.

Ep. 45. To Arsenius the Monk

If we have not given you any tangible proof of our friendship, we deserve no reproach, for we have never refused you anything we were able to give (2—12). As for the quarrel that has arisen, we have sent a representative to investigate and judge it, together with the imperial agent (13—19). As regards the grants accorded by Bardas and Leo and promised by Alexander, we know that you would not lack worldly riches, if you cared for them (20—31).

Date: Feb. 914/18.

Ep. 46. (George II, Prince of Abasgia)

While we mourn for the loss of your Father, we thank God for the son who has succeeded him (3—20). We are sending you a mantle as a gift. Help the archbishop of Alania in his salutary work (21—30).

Date: Nicholas’ plea of helplessness (6—11) points to 914/18.

Ep. 47. To Constantine the Chamberlain

I. Words of consolation fail me, when I realize how cruel is the blow that has struck you all: her husband, yourself, her old mother (who was longing for grandchildren); I was, at first, completely overwhelmed by grief myself (3—32). Then at last I began to reflect that this is the course of Nature and the common fate of man, that God governs everything for the best, and that our loved one now enjoys everlasting bliss (33—46). Let this console you too after your first natural grief... (47—52).

II. It is only natural that a loving heart should grieve over a loss such as yours is, but try to find comfort in your love of God (1—12). Your sister leaves us, but only to join her father and other loved ones and to find a happiness not marred by grief (13—26). Should we be unhappy because, in this journey that is life, she was the first to reach her destination? Is it for us to grudge her this joy (27—43)? Her fate is the common course of Nature, in which everything must grow and decay in its own time. Why should we demand to be exempted from this (44—65)? Let us find comfort in the knowledge that God conducts everything for the best, and thank Him for the happiness which is hers now (66—84).

Date: The letter can be dated to 916 or later, if the sister was Leo Phocas’ wife, which marriage must have taken place during Constantine’s supremacy (Jenkins).
SUMMARIES

47-51

Note: P contains I + II, 60—84, V contains II, 1—84. Mrs. Mitchell has shown that II, 60—84 was joined to I by error, since the combined text (1) at the juncture neither construes nor makes sense and (2) repeats the same ideas, owing to the changed plan of version II. The first version, however, cannot be complete; it was probably left unfinished because of the negative tone of its first paragraph.

Ep. 48. To Gregory of Ephesus
Summer 914

Your bad news almost caused us to despair; our only hope is in God (2—14). There is nothing I can do for you; I am powerless myself and need your help here. Come as soon as possible (15—24).

Date: Grumel, about fall 906. See Ep. 39, 41, and 42. Soon after 41 (42?).

Ep. 49. To the Metropolitans outside the Church
Feb. 914/March 919

“We persuade men, but we stand revealed before God.” Think of this word of the Apostle, you misbegotten sons, who should have fought for your Father, even if He were in the wrong—as by the grace of God He is not.

Addresser: The “apostates” of Feb. 907, mentioned in Vita Euthymii 115.32—117.5 (Karlin-Hayter), and Ep. 113.13—18 (Jenkins).
Date: Jenkins: June 912, the text being another (unfinished?) version of Grumel, No. 632 (=Arethas, Scripta minora II, 115—21). But (1) the metropolitans are already outside the Church, so that this can hardly be a preliminary to excommunication and (2) they are now in a position to argue effectively against the Patriarch (lines 2—5).

Ep. 50. To Ignatius of Cyzicus
Early 914?

At last we have received word from you. We pray for your complete recovery.

Date: See Ep. 39, where Nicholas complains of Ignatius’ neglect.

Ep. 51. To (Constantine III, Prince of Abasgia
914/16

We greet you as a son beloved for his piety and goodness—piety shown especially in what you did for the conversion of the Alans; goodness in the hospitality extended to the Archbishop. God bless you for it, as well as for what you will do further, if the opportunity arises.

Addresser: See Ep. 46; as Nicholas wrote to George immediately upon his accession, the present letter, a first contact, can only be to George’s father, Constantine (898/99—916/17).
Date: According to Grumel, ca. 902, because Ibn Rusta mentions the Prince of Alania as a Christian about 903, his people still being pagans at the time. But in the Encycl. of Islam (new ed., III, 920—21), 903/13 is given as the probable date of Ibn Rusta’s work, and Ep. 133 shows that the first Archbishop, Peter, did not leave Constantinople before Feb. 914. This letter was written not long after his arrival, in recognition of hospitality on the way.

Ep. 52. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania
914/16

You accuse us of having forgotten you, which we never could; nor did we forget to write, though apparently you have not received our letters. But even if we had, we would have been excused by troubles far worse than yours (2—20). What trouble is lighter to bear, what honor is greater, than sharing in Christ’s work of salvation? While my pains are of no avail, you find many willing to listen to you (21—59). If you compare yourself with the Apostles, your only complaint can be that your sufferings are less than theirs, and consequently will be your reward (60—74). As for the illicit marriage, oppose it as much as you can, but with patience, since the person concerned belongs to the ruling class, while the ruled should be judged with greater strictness; we must in this case consider the salvation of a whole people. A physician, a captain, a general, a teacher, sometimes cannot but yield to circumstances (75—98).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 619.
Date: See Ep. 133, which apparently did not reach its destination and was replaced by this one.

Ep. 53. To Pope John (X)
Feb. 921/Jan. 922

The scandals in the Church (about which you need not be told) have now, in their fifteenth year, come to an unexpected end (2—24). We therefore wish to reestablish contact with you through correspondence and messengers and to have your name restored with ours in the diptychs. This will become possible once you have consented to recognize that the fourth marriage, though permitted out of consideration for an emperor, was improper and should not be allowed again (25—49).

The Emperor has sent Basil the Protospatharius and we have sent Eulogius, the presbyter and koulektetios, with the written and oral request that you should accept our ruling and thus restore unity. This does not
mean the condemnation of those who took the action, but only of the practice as such, in accordance with the views of the late Pope Sergius, as a copy of his letter to us will prove (50—70).

If you accede to this request, unity will prevail and your name will be entered in the diptychs again. Those of the archbishops and bishops here who persist in the schism will have no pretext left, once your envoys have joined us in a statement to this effect. As such, we should like to receive Bishop Jacob (who performed the same task before) and another of the same high qualities (71—94).


Date: Eps. 53—55 are all three dated to the fifteenth year of the "scandals," i.e., of Nicholas' deposition; 54 and 55 were dispatched simultaneously with, or immediately upon, the mission of 53. Grumel thinks that 53 was written before Romanus' coronation because of the singular at line 53, but this would apply to Ep. 54. Ep. 54, 51 also; Jenk., XVIII, 78—79, lists several more cases of Romanus being referred to as "the Emperor." Here, in particular, Basil is his personal envoy.

Ep. 54. (To a Relative in Italy)

Feb. 921/Jan. 922

At least from one's relatives one might expect comfort and help. This is not a reproach, but an attempt to reestablish friendly relations. You, being so close, should have gone to Rome and explained things to the Pope and persuaded him to send envoys to his wronged brother, so that the scandal of the fourth marriage could be ended and our names be joined together in the diptychs (2—23).

Now that, in the fifteenth year, unity has been restored, we want to inscribe the Pope's name again in the diptychs, as soon as it has been recognized that the fourth marriage was permitted only in deference to the Emperor and is to be rejected henceforth (24—48). We discussed this with the cleric Adeodatus, who was on his way to Jerusalem, but consented to return and deliver this letter to you. What he told us about you encouraged us to ask you to go to Rome and urge the Pope to act on the Emperor's letter and on mine (49—58).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 696.

Address: Identified by Grumel as the imperial Protospatharius Gaidon (84.14—20 and, very probably, 77.13—21). However, the instructions of Ep. 77 are materially different from those given here, and Gaidon acts for the Emperor as well as for the Patriarch, whereas this letter rather seems to be a personal initiative of Nicholas. The correspondent, who resided in (Byzantine) Italy as early as the beginning of

Ep. 55. (To a Roman Official)

Feb. 921/Jan. 922

It is hardly necessary to inform your Honor of the humiliation I underwent at the hands, partly of my own people, partly of the Church of Rome. Now, in the fifteenth year, the scandals have been eliminated (1—18). This being so, we want to be reunited with you also, which will become possible once it has been acknowledged that the fourth marriage was allowed only out of deference to an emperor and will not be admissible in the future. The usual exchange of envoys can then be resumed and the Pope's name restored in the diptychs (19—39). The wrongs done to me by the Church of Rome... (40—42; incomplete).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 697.

Address: The form of address used at line 1 is reserved for secular rulers and magistrates (see index).

Date: See Ep. 53.

Ep. 56. To the Pope (John X)

Soon after July 9, 920

Many times we have urged you, though not by letters, yet through travelers returning from here to Rome (monks, priests, laymen), to send envoys in order to end the schism which had its origin, partly here, partly in the attitude of the Popes. Now, in the ninth year after our reinstatement, nothing has been achieved (2—14). However, peace in our Church has been restored, and only a few still resist. Therefore it is all the more important that you should send your representatives to ban fourth marriages forever (15—28).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 671.

Date: First letter to John X, followed later by Ep. 53, when no answer was received (Grumel).

Ep. 57. To the Metropolitan of Synada

925?

We were grateful for your letter and for the news of your good health brought by our son John (2—9). Your handling of the affair of the monastery seems all right, unless other, undisclosed arguments are brought forward (10—13).

Come to us, for the end is drawing near (14—16).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 729.

Date: Either in the last months of Nicholas' life, or during an earlier severe illness, on which see Ep. 104.
Ep. 58. To the Metropolitan of Ionia

The tribute exacted from the churches is oppressive, and I resent it as much as you do, but I can do nothing. As for Cataphoros' charges against you, try to forgive him and pray for him.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 690.
Date: Grumel's date (fall 921) rests on the assumption that the levy is that under Romanus (Ep. 92 and 94), in which, however, Nicholas cooperated with the government. There was another one under Zoe's regency, which he protested passionately (Ep. 183). The angry resignation of this letter fits the earlier occasion much better.

Ep. 59. To a Civil Executive

In spite of an imperial order, you have not yet inspected the estate which provides the Renowned Church of God with bread for the Holy Sacrament and for the subsistence of its clergy. Report on this immediately for we risk losing these supplies.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 772.
Addresser: If there is a connection with Ep. 60, he must be the minister of livestock (CMH, IV, 2 [1967], 25) or one of his subordinates; the object of the visit would be, in that case, to grant an exemption from tribute in kind.
Date: Depends on this possible connection.

Ep. 60. To the Oeconomus of St. Sophia

We had hoped to see you after the feast of the Prophet [July 20], and to find some comfort for our troubles in your presence, but in view of the arrival of the Saracens we grant your request for a longer absence. We have written to the minister of livestock [Ep. 59], but do not know as yet what he has done.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 758.
Date: Can be tentatively assigned to the period of Nicholas' greatest difficulties.

Ep. 61. To a Civil Executive

Your impression that we are angry with you is quite unfounded. We know your love and respect for the Churches of God, and your awareness of the danger of offending Him.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.
Addresser: The occasion is the threat of encroachment upon rights of the Church, possibly the levy of Ep. 193 (and 58); if so, the addressee may be Constantine the Chamberlain or one of his officials.
Date: Based on this surmise.

Ep. 62. To Peter the Monk

The Archenemy has tried to disturb your holy flock, using that man Hilarion as his instrument. We thank God that peace has been maintained and advise you not to reject Hilarion, in spite of his unauthorized absence.

Date: Jenkins suggests that Hilarion may be the deposed metropolitan of Hierapolis (Vita Euthymii 62.14—15 [—117.2—3 Karlin-Hayter]); a similar situation in Ep. 137. The most likely time, in view of Nicholas' leniency, would then be the last years before the Union.

Ep. 63. To Epiphanius the Monk

Though absent in the body, you are with us in the spirit (2—12). As for the point on which you wrote to the chariophylax, though not to use the separation has been effected and those on the spot will act according to our directions (13—19).

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Ep. 64. To Tryphon the Monk

We are grateful to you for sharing in our cares. Meanwhile the tempest continues unabated.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.
Date: See Ep. 33.

Ep. 65. To John, Bishop of Amisus

We regret to hear that you lost your suit against violence and avarice. Yet the pains you took and your difficult journey will not go unrewarded. Let us not heed insults and sarcasms.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.
Date: Nicholas and the Bishop are on the same side in a heated conflict (presumably the Metropolitan of Amasea is on the other side, since Nicholas hardly ever deals directly with suffragans; only other exception Ep. 122). A connection with the Euthymian schism is likely.

Ep. 66. To Constantine the Chamberlain

The recent conclusion of a treaty with the slaughter of animals was in fact a pagan sacrifice. The choice of cattle, dogs, and sheep is deliberate, and the formula "Thus may my blood be shed" is not a mere metaphor (1—21). Since the action was contrary to the faith and the canons, a penance should be imposed, lest permanent blame should rest on me, on you, and on
the other magistrates. What happened could not be avoided (the Bulgarians are responsible for this); we must, however, do what is necessary to correct it (22—49).


Adresse: Identified by Jenkins.

Date: Treaty with Pechenegs, Theoph. Cont. 387.4—7; Bogas, who negotiated it, probably returned in 915 (Grumel).

Ep. 67. (To the Same) 915/16

We thank you and the other lords of the palace for your obedience to the Church (1—10). Since we cannot receive all the magistrates together, we will send three metropolitanars to inform you of the penance imposed, which, without being overly severe, will take away any occasion from those who seek to harm the Church (11—21).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 633.

Adresse: and date: Jenkins, see Ep. 66; Grumel overlooked the connection between the two letters.

Ep. 68. (To the Military Governor of Cherson?) 920/69

Reading your letter, we shared your anguish, but were reassured by the news of your safe arrival in Cherson (1—9). With regard to the Bishop of Cherson remember what we told you by word of mouth: since a delegation from Chazaria asked for a bishop to ordain presbyters and teach the true faith, we sent the Archbishop appointed to Cherson to accomplish these purposes, then to return to the see to which he was appointed. We want you to help him both in fulfilling his task in Chazaria and in taking charge of his see in Cherson, and pray for your safe return (10—23).


Adresse: Grumel's suggestion is almost certainly correct, though it seems strange that, so soon after a governor's departure, there should already be question of his return.

Date: Grumel places this letter after Ep. 106, in which Nicholas, while commending the Archbishop's work in Chazaria, reproaches him for not appearing to congratulate him on the Union. Since obviously (in spite of the word "return" at line 18) the Archbishop is going to Cherson for the first time, the present letter must be prior to the Union (July 9, 920), while not much earlier than 106. If the addresser is the immediate successor of Bogas, whose quarrel with Romanus brought about the defeat of Achelous (Theoph. Cont. 389.20—390.13), the appointment must have been made soon after March 919.

Ep. 69. To David Camulianus, Protoepistolarior 920

We have submitted your report on the atrocious event to Their Majesties, who were already informed. They have instructed you to inquire into the matter with the assistance of the Archbishop of Ephesus (2—8). Be assured of our high regard and our prayers (9—15).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 616.

Adresse: Blinded for a conspiracy against Romanus, then still basileopator, between May 919 and Sept. 24, 920 (Theoph. Cont. 397.4—9).

Date: Grumel dates 69 and 70 to the reign of Leo and Alexander because of the plurals at 69.6 and 70.23—24; but in both cases these plurals refer back to a singular abstract noun, the "imperial government" (or "majesty") and "imperial scrutiny," which looks like a diplomatic way of designating either Zoe with Constantine or Romanus with Constantine. As the affair has a religious aspect (69.7—8), Nicholas may have been consulted even under Zoe, though Romanus remains the more likely candidate. In this case, the slander against Camulianus mentioned in Ep. 70 may have something to do with his conspiracy; it is unlikely that the "atrocious event," which took place at or near Ephesus, can have.

Ep. 70. To the Same 920

You need not mind slander against yourself, since your conscience is clear. We hope that your true merits will sometimes be acknowledged (2—20). What you have reported on the persons under inquiry has been passed on to Their Majesties for consideration, and they have sent you instructions for their proper punishment (21—30).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 617.

Date: See Ep. 69.

Ep. 71. To Alexander of Nicaea 925

It is unnecessary to repeat in detail the instructions which you will receive directly from Jacob. Petronas has promised to be the required third person; if he is found to prevaricate again, he will be expelled (2—9). Jacob was received by the Emperor and found him siding with the other party. This being so, our only course is to yield as far as we can without entirely betraying the churches. In this, too, Jacob will direct you (10—16).
Date: The well-known scholar, professor of rhetoric at Constantinople after ca. 945 (see Darrouzes, *Epistoliers*, 27—32; his correspondence, *ibid.*, 67—98). Jacob is very probably his brother, the later metropolitan of Larissa, known from the Lucian MS Vat. gr. 90 (Grumel).

Date: The Emperor whose opinion is decisive can hardly be anyone but Romanus. The conflict is primarily a local one, affecting the arch-diocese of Nicaea (since Nicholas is not present at the proceedings), but it is also relevant to the churches generally. An obvious guess is that the issue was a controversia after the pacification, but other possibilities (church property) cannot be excluded.

E-p. 72. *To Constantine the Chamberlain?* 914/18

Do not let the *roga* for the support of the clergy of the Church, which it has received from its very beginnings, be withheld in the days of the Emperor Constantine. If your predecessors cut it off, this is no reason to follow their example. Forty pounds either way make little difference to the Treasury, but much to the poor people for whom they provide a living.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 632.

Addresser: Either the parakimomenos or a Treasury official.

Date: Under Constantine, but not while Nicholas was in power (Grumel).

E-p. 73. *To a Tax Official* Ca. 913?

The bearer of this letter told me that the monastery of the Holy Apostle [which?] is being subjected to the tax called "grain," which was never the case before. It is your duty to prevent this.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 773.

E-p. 74. *To a Patriarchal Exarch?* Ca. 913?

The annual contribution in wax should be exacted with such moderation that neither the Church nor the contributors suffer (1—9).

The bishop who engages in illegal business should be admonished by word of mouth, if close at hand, by letter, if too far. If he refuses to listen, he must face the consequences (10—17).

Let the man who has illegitimately raised the metropolitan see of Chaldia to the status of an archbishopric be sent here for a hearing (18—21).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 774.

Addresser: Not the strategos of Chaldia (Grumel), but, as the form of address and the contents prove, an ecclesiastic on inspection in Trebizond and vicinity.

Date: The person responsible for the unauthorized promotion of the Metropolitan of Chaldia (Trebizond) can hardly have been anyone but the Metropolitan himself. In the first years of Nicholas' second patriarchate this was the Basil of Eps. 114 and 128, who in 913/14 restored the episcopal thrones in the cathedral and in St. George's church (G. Millet, "Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde," BCH, 19 [1895], 419—59 [422]). In the inscriptions commemorating the fact he calls himself (still, or again) "metropolitan." The cold, impersonal tone in which Nicholas refers to his own appointee suggests that he hardly knew him; the letters to Basil are friendlier. This could be a reason (an inadequate one, though) to date the episode to the beginning of Basil's episcopate.

Note: On the title of archbishop see Beck, 67; it is borne not only by archbishops in the strict sense, who have no suffragans and rank below the metropolitans in the order of precedence, but also (as an honorary appellation) by the titularies of some of the older metropolitan sees. Used in this way, it is often combined with the claim of apostolic origin, as in the case of Ephesus and Thessalonica, but also of Constantinople (Andrew) and of Caesarea in Cappadocia (Peter; see Arethas, *Scripta minora* I, 298.9—13); this may apply even to Trebizond, which, roughly about this time, begins to be considered a foundation of Andrew. Nicholas uses the title in this sense very sparingly; only for himself and once for Gregory of Ephesus (69.8; perhaps also 107.7).

E-p. 75. *To Romanus* March 25, 919/July 9, 920

What we write, we do not write in view of any worldly gain (since death is drawing near), but on your behalf (1—15). You said yesterday that the argument of the adversaries of the Church is: We do not want to sign a written statement because a following emperor's behavior might bring about the same situation. However, if priests do not enforce divine law, who is to do so? You, who have risen from the ranks to the highest command, should know that no deserter can be accepted without a guarantee. The ruler remains responsible; whether he is obeyed or not, he is free from blame, if he prescribes the right course (16—42).

As for the contention that our military failures are due to the dissent in the Church: after the deposition of Photins, Basil achieved great things in Italy; after the reconciliation, Sicily was lost through the negligence of the admiral Adrianus. Under Leo, when Mapas had returned to the Church, Thessalonica and Tauromenium were lost, once more owing to the negligence of those responsible (43—69). This is not to say that I reject peace, but I seek an honorable peace, which will be approved of by future generations (70—79).
76-79

Lit.: Grumel, No. 665; *idem*, *Echos d'Orient*, 33 (1934), 266—68.

Address: Identified by Grumel.

Date: After Romanus' coup d'état and before the Union. The allusion to the high command at lines 23—24, if taken to refer to his position as Chief Hetairiarch, would limit it further to March 25/April 27, 919, but this is rather on the early side, since Nicholas has already compromised to the extent of readmitting the Euthymian bishops; he is now holding out for a written affidavit against fourth marriages.

Ep. 76. *<To an Abbott>*

Your sincere affection is a comfort to us in our afflictions, which is not diminished by your absence (1—14). The brother who has sinned through ignorance must be forgiven; measure his penance by his penitence (15—24).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 762.

Address: A metropolitan or bishop is also possible.

Date: Only clue the “tribulations.”

77-79

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Address: Not a bishop and his clergy (in which case the bishop would be the sole addressee), but a group of monks. The only known mission fields are Chazaria and Alania. In Chazaria the situation as described in *Ep. 68* is different one (danger of total relapse; no monks involved). Alania, on the other hand, fits perfectly: the monks would be Euthymius and his fellow-workers, apparently sent out already during, or before, the first patriarchate; in 914 or 915 Nicholas fulfilled his promise of relieving them by the appointment of an archbishop, Peter (*Ep. 133*). Euthymius became an abbot on Mt. Olympus and reappears as Nicholas' envoy to Symeon of Bulgaria in Aug./Sept. 917 (*Ep. 9.264—69*); later (?), he was sent back to Alania to assist Peter (*Ep. 135.82—101*).

Date: Soon after Nicholas' reinstatement.

Ep. 77. *<To Pope John X>*

Feb. 921/May 923

It is unnecessary to repeat what we wrote before to you and your predecessors. To you we sent letters through the cleric Adeodatus and Peter, born in Rome but our representative since our return to our see, proposing to reestablish relations. We further wrote to *** the Protospatharius, who received orders also from the Emperors to see you, offer you presents, and return to the capital with delegates sent by you (1—21). If they have not reached you, the bearer of this letter will inform you and ask you to send delegates with him to reunite the whole of the Church, now that unity in ours has been restored (22—35). I need not expand upon the troubles of my patriarchate, which you know as well as I do (36—44).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 711.

Date: After *Ep. 54* and 84, before union with Rome (see *Ep. 28*).

Note: The Protospatharius is the Gaidon of *Ep. 84* (Grumel), not the Basilius of 53,53, who was sent from Constantinople.

Ep. 78. *<To some Monks>*

I thank God, Who elected you and gave you strength to choose the angelic way of life (1—11). Pray for me (12—17).

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Ep. 79. *<To some Missionaries>*

Summer 912

Rumor may have informed you already of our return to our see (1—8). Continue your salutary work, in spite of the loneliness of the land, the strange ways of the people, and all those troubles which I can imagine myself and on which your messenger reported. Having confirmed the new converts in the faith you will leave them to your appointed successors and return to us in due time to rejoice with us (9—32).

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Address: Not a bishop and his clergy (in which case the bishop would be the sole addressee), but a group of monks. The only known mission fields are Chazaria and Alania. In Chazaria the situation as described in *Eps. 68* and 106 is a different one (danger of total relapse; no monks involved). Alania, on the other hand, fits perfectly: the monks would be Euthymius and his fellow-workers, apparently sent out already during, or before, the first patriarchate; in 914 or 915 Nicholas fulfilled his promise of relieving them by the appointment of an archbishop, Peter (*Ep. 133*). Euthymius became an abbot on Mt. Olympus and reappears as Nicholas' envoy to Symeon of Bulgaria in Aug./Sept. 917 (*Ep. 9.264—69*); later (?), he was sent back to Alania to assist Peter (*Ep. 135.82—101*).

Date: Soon after Nicholas' reinstatement.

Ep. 80. *<To a General>*

June 913-Feb. 914

What you write about the destruction of the fortresses was known to us; we want to learn that you have rebuilt them and deserve to be rewarded as a good servant of your Emperor (1—10). With God's help you will conquer the impious enemy, even if they outnumber you (11—15).

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Address: Very probably Nicholas Ficingli, see *Eps. 44* and 144: war against unbelievers, promised reward, date.

Date: Nicholas is dealing personally with military affairs. Before *Ep. 44*.

Ep. 81. *<To an Enemy>*

914/18

They say that you are hostile to us; the truth is that you are hostile to the Church. Your conspiracy cannot hurt us, who must die now or shortly, but only yourself.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Address: The allusion to “this much envied seat” may indicate a fellow-bishop; *μεταφασις* for a faction within the Church, see Arethas, *Scripta minora*, index. The “they say” does not agree very well with a feud of long standing (Arethas or Euthymius).

Date: The likeliest time is early 914. Cf. also *Ep. 187*. 

79-81
Ep. 82. To Landulf, Proconsul  

Summer 921

The news of the death of the patrician and governor Urcsoleon, of which we had learned before your letter, has grieved us deeply, since you are accused of being responsible, despite the oaths you swore to the Emperor Leo (4—15). Your letter and that of the community add some extenuating circumstances, but even if all this is true, you should not have taken the law into your own hands. If he refused to listen to your admonitions, the right course would have been to report to the Emperor. As it is, you have even seized some towns that never belonged to your province (16—36).

Though after this it will be difficult for you to prove your loyalty, we have yet besought the Emperors to overlook what has happened, to hold Urcsoleon responsible, and to consider your deed as over-reaction (37—48). We have proposed to the Emperors to appoint you as governor of Longibardia. They are willing to do so, on the condition that you evacuate the towns and send your wife to the Peloponnesus as a hostage, or else your other son to the capital (49—67). It is now for you to make your choice (68—72).


Address: Landulf I, Prince of Capua and Beneventum, who, joining forces with the Apulian rebels, defeated and killed Urcsoleon, the Byzantine Governor of Longibardia, at Ascoli in April 921.

Ep. 83. To the Archbishop of Otranto  

Summer 921

We thank you for your congratulations on the peace in the Church; however, you should now have to offer them in person. Since circumstances prevented you, come now that you can (2—14).

Your news about Urcsoleon came to the Emperors from other sources as well; they have decided to offer an amnesty to the guilty, if they will behave loyally in the future. We commend the assistance you gave to our envoys on their way to Rome, while disapproving of their slowness. Still, if you can, continue your help (15—25).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 700.

Date: See Ep. 82.

Ep. 84. To Gaidon, Imperial Protopatharius  

Summer 921

Both from you and from the local community we learned about the terrible events. Since, however, our Emperors have decided to be merciful, you must support their policy (4—13). As regards the affairs of the Church, if you can, go to Rome and act according to your instructions (14—32).


Address: A Lombard noble (Gay); mentioned (with name left blank) at 77.13; not the addressee of Ep. 54. Jenkins identifies him with the Godinus of Ep. 103, in which case, however, the unknown Gaidon would have to yield to Godinus, who is attested elsewhere. Two imperial protopatharii, both Italian vassals of the Empire, both on the same side in the conflict, and with names so similar, would be a curious coincidence; on the other hand, the names are not very close palaeographically, and the main objection is that Gaidon was already in contact with Constantinople on the matter of the Union with Rome, whereas Ep. 103, judging by its preamble, is the first official notice taken of Godinus.

Date: See Ep. 82.
one whom the description really fits; still, it might be used, under circumstances, to conciliate another faithful supporter.

Date: Touchiness between Nicholas and Gregory appears in one other letter, 94, to which this one, however, cannot be a sequel, because in Ep. 94 Nicholas' star is on the rise. The "unfriendly audience" might be Zoe or her ministers after Feb. 914; but since all the datable items in the series Eps. 82—111 belong to Romanus' time, it is possible to think of the first meeting with Romanus after Nicholas' forcible removal from the Palace on March 25, 919.

Ep. 88. (To a Government Official) 

The bearers of this letter have always contributed to the support of the Patriarchate; do not burden them with services to the state in addition.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 775.

Ep. 89. To Gregory of Ephesus 

Soon after July 9, 920

The order of precedence, now that Christ has wrought this great work for the Church, will be: first, the old appointments; second, your new ones; and third, those of the days of Constantine and John (2—13). Let it be understood that your appointments of a protopresbyter and archdeacon, as well as of a deuereuvon, are to stand (13—19).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 634.

Date: Not after Nicholas' restoration in 912 (Grumel), but after the Union, for the following reasons: (1) the acceptance of the Euthymian appointments; (2) the fact that otherwise Gregory would hardly have had the time to make any new ones; (3) the insistence that there is to be no compromise as regards the position of the protopresbyter and the deuereuvon appointed by Gregory—this is expressed in the form of an order to make it clear that Nicholas himself takes the entire responsibility; (4) the reference to the times of Constantine and John as a not so recent past; (5) the terms in which the change is announced, especially "this great work," used of the Union also by Arethas, Scripta minora I, 230.1—2.

Ep. 90. (To the Metropolitans and Archbishops) 

Soon after July 9, 920

Brothers and Sons, it has pleased Christ to restore unity in this Church. It is not for me to refute those who do not want to accept it; as for the charges against my administration, though I am ready to answer them, I am also willing to step down on behalf of unity.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Adresses: Among all Nicholas' correspondents, Gregory is the only one whom the description really fits; still, it might be used, under circumstances, to conciliate another faithful supporter.

Ep. 91. To the Curopalate (of Iberia) 

We were aware that difficult circumstances prevented you from communicating with us and have always prayed for you. Support our prayers by a life pleasing to God. Rule as a father, not as a despot, knowing that your power comes from God.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 776. Jenkins, XVIII, 76.

Addressers: The only vassal princes who bear the title at this time are those of Iberia: Adarnase IV, 891/922 (or 923) and Ashot II, 922 (or 923)/54. The plea of "difficult circumstances" could be advanced with equally good reason by the father and by the son, but the didactic content of the Patriarch's answer is better suited to a beginner.

Date: Ashot's visit to Constantinople in order to receive the rank of Curopalate (De adm. imp. 46.162—65 [=p. 213 Bonn]) is dated to Feb. 922 by Theoph. Cont. 402.12—21 (at the time of the coronation of Sophia, the wife of Christopher Lecapenus); the dating to 923 is based on Georgian sources (see Runciman, 168 note 4; idem, in Const. Porph., De adm. imp. II, 179).

Ep. 92. (To the Metropolitans) 

Sept./Dec. 920

The common emergency of the Bulgarian war requires common measures. We ask you therefore to contribute a quantity of gold for this purpose, first from your own church, then also from the monasteries and bishopricfi under you, bringing it or having it brought by the month of March (1—26). The urgency of the matter compels us to place you under a bond, to contribute as much as you can without unduly burdening the churches. If you fail to do so, imperial agents will be sent to collect the money, and you know what that means (27—40).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 688.

Date: A few days after Ep. 94.

Ep. 93. To Theoctistus of Claudiopolis 

919/25

We write to you because the bearer of this letter gives us no respite, either in the church or in the palace, claiming that he has been driven out by you, his own people, though on several occasions imperial officials have pronounced judgment in his favor; further because we hear that Basil the protospatharius has been sent to your theme to inquire into the matter. Therefore, if there is any ground in his claim, do what is right; if not, have the matter decided either in Claudiopolis or here.
Lit.: Grumel, No. 736.

Date: Nicholas makes it clear that he is dividing his time between the church and the palace; this can apply either to end 918/March 25, 919, or to the rule of Romanus, especially its early phase. The Protospatharius Basil acts as Romanus' emissary to the Pope in 921 (Ep. 53.53).

Ep. 94. To Gregory of Ephesus
Sept./Dec. 920

While we rejoiced at the success of your praiseworthy efforts, we were saddened by your complaint that we neglected you now that we have risen to higher things (2—17). The letter which occasioned your complaint was not sent to you alone, but to all as a reminder of our joint synodical decree on the subject of ordination (18—28).

Let us feel neglected in this matter also, we inform you that imperial agents have been sent to exact a contribution from the churches. We have secured that this should be handled through the intermediary of the bishops. Please levy from the monasteries and histories whatever contribution you think reasonable and bring or send it before March (29—40).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 668.

Date: Nicholas is “associating with the great” (11—12), and instead of an emperor or emperors there is the intentionally vague “those who govern the commonwealth” (31). The two facts together point to Romanus' rule before his coronation, Dec. 17, 920. The synod regulating ordinations, if it fell within this period, can be only the synod of the Union, July 920 (Grumel), but there is no reason to assume a long lapse of time between the making and the breaking of the rules; in many cities the situation after the Union must have been chaotic. It follows that the gold levy was decided upon toward the end of 920, presumably after Romanus became Caesar (Sept. 24), and the deadline is March 921.

Ep. 95. To the Caesar Romanus
Sept. 24/Dec. 17, 920

There are rumors of a Bulgarian raid on Lampsacus; whether they are true or not, it is wise to prevent such a thing by home-based ships or a couple of galleys from Constantinople.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 674.

Ep. 95A. <To the Same>
Sept. 24/Dec. 17, 920

May God, Who raised you to your high dignity, also grant you success and fame. To this end I remind you that the scribes, especially the older ones, should be raised in rank (without a raise in salary), after which greater conscientiousness in administering justice can he expected from them.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 674 (as a part of 95).

Date: Same time as preceding, the “rank” of line 1 being that of Caesar.

Ep. 96. To Ignatius of Nicomedia
March 25, 919/Dec. 17, 920?

We have raised the point of the monasteries and “they” let us know that they had instructed Monomachus to make a settlement; what it will be, the cleric who accompanies the nuns will tell you, and we write it now. “They” said that if the monasteries have acquired lands from the allegat or taken over people working on them, they will be responsible for those services; if not, the monasteries will of course be free. It is up to you and the monks to prove your case (2—12).

As for the rest of your letter: so long as you are not here, nothing I can say to the rulers will be any use, since the basilikos in question was recommended by you, and cannot be disavowed until you have explained why (13—21).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 694.

Addressee: The successor of Gregory, who was deposed in 912 (see Ep. 115).

Date: Under Romanus, because belonging to the group 92—110; probably before his coronation because of the imprecise “they” in the first paragraph and the of ἐκτίσεις at line 14 (only occurrence in Nicholas).

Note: Grumel: compulsory employment by monasteries of dismissed state personnel. Jenkins: land belonging to imperial mail taken over by monasteries (this could happen once, but not often enough to justify a general statement of policy). Present translation: taxable land acquired by monasteries through reallocation.

Ep. 97. To the Same
<919/25>

Since it was you who judged the affair of Theosterictus, the semeiosis (or kriemoun) also has to be in your name, not, as you suggest, in ours, though you may state in it that you inquired into the matter by our order.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 727.

Ep. 98. To a Brother and Fellow Minister
Soon after July 9, 920

Though we cannot share your dangers, we share your pain; our anguish is all the greater because we cannot bear our part of your burden (3—21).

It will comfort you to hear that the unity of the Church has been restored and that the fourth marriage has been jointly anathematized by us all (22—41).
SUMMARIES 98-102

Listed by Runciman, 171—72, the only remaining possibility is Italy. The term “servant” is used of two Italian lords, Gaidon (83:11) and Godinus (103:24), both of whom had the rank of imperial Protopatharius, but there is only one who could be described as the “ruler” of a Greek archbishopric (104:2—3): Landulf, Prince of Capua-Benevento, after the revolt of Apulia and the death of Ursoleone (Ep. 82—85, 103). The honor granted would then obviously be the governorship of Longibardia. Gay (203—6) argues that Landulf was unacceptable to Constantinople in this function, and points out that by 925 he had discarded his Byzantine title. Nevertheless, the appointment had actually been approved, subject to certain conditions (82:24—67; 85:21—25), which Landulf may have professed himself willing to accept, though eventually the precarious compromise did not work out.

Date: Both 101 and 101A consistently refer to “the Emperor” in the singular, which, taken strictly, could apply only to Constantine from June 913 to Dec. 920; but cf. Ep. 139, in an equally formal context (Jenkins 78—79). If the addressee is Landulf, the time is slightly later than Ep. 82—85 (summer 921).

Ep. 101A. (To an Archbishop)

The Emperor has granted your request and given your ruler the honor he desired. We want both of you to prove your gratitude by your loyalty.

Lit.: Not in Grumel. Jenkins, XVIII.

Address: The title “Your Perfection” is given to prelates. Possibly the Archbishop of Otranto; see Ep. 101.

Date: See Ep. 101.

Ep. 102. To the Caliph (Al-Muqtadir)

July 922

As you excel all your fellow countrymen in rank, so you should excel them in virtue. We mention this because we have heard you have ordered the destruction of the churches in your realm as a reprisal for the alleged destruction of a mosque and forcible conversion of Saracens here (4—21). Since the Roman Empire is famous for its humanity, you should at least have inquired into such rumors before acting (22—42).

Now that you have finally sent a delegation, they will report, together with some of your faith who were prisoners here, on the real situation. I will add some words of my own (43—56). The policy of our Empire has always been that prisoners of war should be well housed and well provided for and should have their own place of worship; this in strict contrast with the fate of Christians in Saracen captivity (57—80). Why should the present Emperors have changed this policy? You cannot cite any instances of the cruel executions that are customary on your side. Such slander was
prompted by hatred of Christ and of His mercifulness (81—107). The crude insolence of these lies is only too obvious (108—24). Your mosque is carefully maintained; no Saracen has been forced to renounce his faith by the Emperor's or his ministers' orders, whatever some underlings may have done without his knowledge. If anything of the kind happened, you should have protested, but not acted against the rules laid down by your own Prophet. It is not just that your own subjects should suffer for it even if we admit (merely for the sake of argument) that such an order was given out by the Emperor. Not only are you neglecting the written guarantees given by your Prophet, but you are also damaging your own fame, for you know very well that no man can be held responsible even for crimes committed by his father, or brother, or friend (126—73).

However, to prove that there is no truth at all in these allegations (as far as the Emperor himself is concerned), we are sending you some of the Saracens in this city, as well as letters from others, to convince you of the falsehood of those rumors. Do not be misled by liars and mischief-mongers; rather think of the judgment of posterity on your reign (174—201).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 659. Jenkins, XV.

Date: The letter is dated: July (not June), tenth indiction. The Arabic version of the events (Vasiliev—Canard, II, 2, pp. 286—90) ascribes to the famous vizier 'Ali ibn 'Isa an action undertaken between his two vizierates (Aug. 913/June 917 and March 926/Jan. 929).

Ep. 103. To Godinus, imperial Protothepatharrius and Lord Summer 921

The circumstances have put you to the test and proved your love and loyalty. Thanks to these you have at least been able to check the advance of the rebels. The Emperors have therefore granted your request and other rewards will follow if you handle the rebellion well.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 777. Jenkins, XVIII, 76.

Address: Somewhere between 886 and 890, an imperial Protonepatharrius Godinus, son of Radelchis, resident of Matera in Apulia, received land belonging to the Benedictine abbey of St. Vincendus in lease for a period of twenty-nine years (Gay, L'Italie méridionale, 177—78). He, or his son, must be the recipient of this letter. See also Ep. 84.

Date: Same time as Eps. 82—85, or somewhat later.

Ep. 104. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea 924/25

In spite of my illness, from which recovery is even now uncertain, I was glad to receive your letter. I wish that your journey may be prosperous (2—10). As for your question about prayer, you have teachers better than I can ever hope to be, Christ, and St. Paul, who tells us to pray without worldly, idle thoughts (11—25). May the Spirit guide you in this. Pray for us, whether we live or have already left this vain world (26—33).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 718.

Date: Eps. 104, 107, 109, and 110 all belong to the same period of acute illness and (temporary?) recovery. The only other references to serious sickness and death (discarding those to old age, poor health, weakness, and the prospect of death generally) are found in Eps. 31, 57, and 153. Ep. 109 must be dated a considerable time after the Union, and though 922/24 is not impossible, Nicholas may have been right in thinking that the improvement in his condition would not last.

Ep. 105. To a Novice

You told us that you wanted a room in your father's monastery, and we instructed some monks from it who came here accordingly. Since both you and the monks complain about the abbot, we shall have him replaced if the complaints are true. Continue the upward course you have begun.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 784.

Ep. 106. To the Archbishop of Cherson Second half 920

You should have come, in spite of the hardships of the voyage, to congratulate us on the Union, but there is no ill-feeling on our part (2—13). We are grateful for what you did to save that unhappy nation (the Chazars), which had almost been snatched from the Church. We leave it to you to choose an archpriest for them and send him to us (14—33).


Date: See Ep. 68.

Ep. 107. To Demetrios, Metropolitan of Cyzicus 924/25?

I do not know what inspired the attempt to annul the verdict in the matter between you and Blachernae. When the Archbishop arrives here, if we are still alive, we will try to find a peaceful solution.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 724.

Address: Ep. 137. Since Ignatius held the see from the beginning of the second patriarchate to at least shortly before the Union (Eps. 50 930 and 137), Demetrios must belong to Nicholas' last years. Allusion to his approaching end, line 8.

Date: See Ep. 104.

Note: It is difficult to see what an archbishop in the strict sense of the word could have to do with a suit between the Church of Blachernae and the see of Cyzicus. The archbishop whose arrival Nicholas expects may be the Metropolitan of Ephesus, see note on Ep. 74.
Ep. 108. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus

Your letter only adds to our anxiety about the daily harassment of the churches, all the more outrageous as the guilty person exchanged the monastic life for a military career. A letter from us as well as an imperial order was sent to the person to whom you asked me to write, and he will no doubt keep that man in check (2—14).

We have accepted the huge animal you sent us, but when you come here we shall ask you to contribute to the cost of its food. We have sent you a kalypterion (15—20).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 739.
Date: There is no action against the churches generally, but some trouble between the local churches and a military commander, in which the government backs the Patriarch. Apart from the place of the letter in the MS, any date is possible. The only other letter to the Metropolitan of Pessinus (110) is late.

Ep. 109. To Constantine of Laodicea

At the beginning of our illness the bishop who carries this letter contacted us through others to ask forgiveness for his error. Now that there seems to be some hope of recovery for me, he has repeated his request (1—15).

The peace in the Church has been my greatest concern all my life and is so still now that I am dying; I suggest therefore that, as he requests, his diocese be returned to him and that the present incumbent wait until a suitable diocese has been found for him. It is for you to make the decision (16—41).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 740.
Addresses: At 11—12 there is a clear reference to Ep. 104.2—3.
Date: See Ep. 104.

Ep. 110. To the Metropolitan of Pessinus

We were glad to receive the news of your recovery; we were ill ourselves, but feel better for the moment. Whatever the outcome, praised be Jesus Christ!

Lit.: Not in Grumel.
Date: See Ep. 104.

Ep. 111. To a Bishop or a Monk

We are grateful for your letter; however, we need your prayers more than your praises.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Ep. 112. To Theoctistus of Claudiioplis

We rejoice at the news, brought by our fellow presbyter, of your good health. However, in these turbulent circumstances we should have preferred to have you with us. If there is nothing that prevents you, come.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 737.
Date: "Crisis that allow no respite."
Note: The "fellow presbyter" may be a metropolitan.

Ep. 113. To Nicetas of Athens

A good captain or physician knows when to yield; you, however, in these troubled times, are dismissing bishops appointed by your predecessor Sabas, whom we have not even formally deposed, the only ones being Demetrius, Gabriel, Gregory, and Cosmas (the latter on account of his slander in Rome). Spare us further untimely actions and restore the bishop to his see, until the Church has decided on the treatment of those at fault.

Date: Grumel places Nicetas after Sabas (died Dec. 3, 913: CIG, 9358) and George (died Sept. 9, 921: ibid., 9359). But cf. V. Laurent, Mémoires de l. Petit (Bucharest, 1948), 277—80 (Athens synodicon with Nicetas before George); the despondent tone is inconceivable after 920 (Jenkins).
Note: According to Vita Euthymii 115.32—117.5 (Karlin-Hayter), the four deposed metropolitans were Demetrius of Heraclea, Gregory of Nicomedia, Gabriel of Ancyra, and Hilarion of Hierapolis, while Peter of Sardes had disappeared. Cosmas' see is unknown.

Ep. 114. To Basil, Metropolitan of Chaldaia

We do not think this letter necessary (as its bearer does), since you would certainly not hurt a man without, or even with, reason (2—11). He says he has been expelled from the monastery where he had been abbot for many years. We want you to restore him to his place; do not be afraid that this will entail the loss of the monastery for your diocese (12—20).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 741.
Addresses: See Ep. 128.
Date: Another letter to Basil (128) is datable to 914/18.

Ep. 115. To Euthymius, Metropolitan of Antioch (in Pisidia)

We heard that illness has prevented you from returning to us. Whether this report be true or (as we hope) false, this letter will afford you some consolation (for my absence).
We gather that you are hurt and hold us responsible; but the man who acted wrongly with regard to your diocese did not do so at our instigation, nor could we have instructed the archbishop of Thebes to consecrate a church under your jurisdiction, if we had not been told that this was a patriarchal privilege; also we did not know the exact distance and thought that the trip would mean less inconvenience to him than to you. Be assured that there will be no infringement upon your rights.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 745.
Date: See Ep. 115. The archbishop was an appointee of Nicholas (see Ep. 34). If the "error" was deliberate (which Nicholas denies), he was strong enough to infringe on the rights of Larissa, but not strong enough to insist when challenged, which might point to May 913/Feb. 914.

Ep. 117. To Leo of Sylaeum

We frankly avow that we are disappointed in the hopes we had of you when we appointed you; monks, laymen, and clergymen come to us with complaints that they have been expelled from their rightful property (2—16). Now the abbot of the Bema has come with the same complaint; even if there was a just cause for the expulsion, the fact that the monastery belongs to the patriarchal jurisdiction should have restrained you. Your behavior will be ruinous to your reputation as well as to mine (17—36). We know that your church is subject to attacks on its property, but these things should be handled with wisdom and discretion; let the competent local judge decide them (37—51). I trust such a thing will not occur again (52—58).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 746.
Address: Appointed by Nicholas, apparently not long ago (lines 8—9).
Date: The attacks on church property are motivated (partly) by ill-will against the Metropolitan (37—39); Nicholas is confident that the difficulties can be solved through the civil authorities. This would fit the situation of May 913/Feb. 914. Sequel: Ep. 129.

Ep. 118. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania

Do not be discouraged or depressed because of your separation from us. Merchants, for mere worldly gain, bear gladly with the same things that you have to bear. If God wills, we shall meet again; if not, He will give us a greater, lasting joy instead.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 620.
Date: After Eps. 52 and 133 (closely following Peter's departure); contents comparable to Ep. 134 and Ep. 135.34—39.

Ep. 119. To Andrew of Patras

You know that my difficulties are great enough already, and they should not be increased by frustrated persons from your diocese. If you have to dismiss somebody, you should find some kind of compensation for him rather than let him come to me with his complaints (2—16).

One of these is Gregory the monk, who says that he was expelled from the monastery where he took his vows and of which he is qualified to become abbot because of his relationship with the founder; and that you have appointed an outsider. If the bearer of this letter was right in declaring that there was no compelling reason for this, let him have his office back; if not, let him at least have some comfort in compensation (17—33).

Address: See Eps. 43 and 123.
Date: Schism (Jenkins).

Ep. 120. To Tryphon the Monk

Thank you for your gift and your letters. Pray for us in the troubles that beset us from without and within.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.
Address and date: See Ep. 33.

Ep. 121. To Leo, Governor of the Anatolic province

We have thanked Christ for your news; He will continue to protect you if you continue to be just (2—11).

We will comply with your request, trusting that the man you recommend will be worthy and bring neither blame on us nor a judgment upon himself (12—20).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 778.

Ep. 122. To Bishop Ambrose

Your sickness has added to our troubles, also because it deprives us of your valued services (2—12). As regards the difficulties in the Church, they get worse daily and show no sign of abating. Pray to God, Who alone can help (13—19).
SUMMARIES

Ep. 123. To Andrew of Patras

Lit.: Grumel, No. 755.
Address: Presumably a bishop whose metropolitan belonged to the other party (cf. Ep. 65).
Date: Schism; the first years (914/15)?

We are aware of the assaults made on the Church, but we are helpless. All we can do is make it clear to the assailants that our aim is not power, but the preservation of the churches and their own salvation, which is jeopardized by the destruction of the churches (2—19).

As for the attacks on the monasteries: we have written to those guilty persons who are on the spot; you must come here and deal with the ones that have come to the capital (20—25). Take good care of the monastery we assigned to you (26—29).


Ep. 124. To Gregory of Ephesus

Lit.: Grumel, No. 748.

We are moved to write this letter, first by our conscience, secondly by the tears of the man we ordained on your recommendation, thirdly by the crowd of those who come to us and swear they are speaking the truth. We urge you not to be led by rumors, but only by the testimony of those from the province where he was born and bred. You know what rumors are worth. Be scrupulous and do not expose us to the criticism of man, or to the judgment of God.

Ep. 125. To Ignatius, ex-Magister and Monk?


We understand your feelings, but what else can one do in the circumstances but bear and forbear? Try to improve things gradually and do not make them worse by tactless intervention.


Ep. 126. To Ignatius, ex-Magister and Monk at the Great Farm

We are greatly comforted in our distress by your loyalty and love, now that almost all others have forsaken us (3—11).


Address: Eps. 74 and 114; See Ep. 74; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, VizVrem, 12 (1906), 142—43.

Date: The only “heretics” who could permit themselves to maltreat clergy were the Euthymians; the government is hostile to Nicholas (36—39).

Ep. 129. To Leo of Synaeum

Our first letter [Ep. 117] was the result of the information we repeated to you; now that we have read your account, we can only be said at what
that wretch has done to his own soul. I would have had to charge you and a few others with the inquiry into this matter, but it is better to leave it to others so as to avoid the reproach of partiality. As for yourself, never forget what you owe to your position.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 722.
Address and date: See Ep. 117. “That wretch” is the abbot of the Bema monastery.

Ep. 130. To Ignatius of Cyzicus
First half of Sept. 914?
At last we received your letter and were reassured at least on this point. You remember you promised to join us after the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14). Come without further delay, for the situation makes your presence here imperative.

Date: See Ep. 39. Later than Ep. 50, after a new period of silence.

Ep. 131. To Tryphon the Monk
914/15?
We are grateful for your letter, but we want you to come yourself to share our troubles. We have done what we could under the present circumstances with regard to your request.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 763.
Date: See Ep. 33.

Ep. 132. To Gregory of Ephesus and Photius of Heraclia in exile
Feb. 914?
We suffer with each other; let us rejoice in being persecuted. God works wonders even now to save His servants (3—14).
Bear your fate in a manner befitting your high office; I trust that God will help us, forgetting my sins, or at least that He will allow me to atone for them alone and that the wicked will receive punishment exceeding their enjoyment (18—27).

Date: Photius must have been appointed by Nicholas in 912, after the deposition of Demetrius (Ep. 113), who had been in office at least since 902 (Arethas, Scripta minora 1, 305). As the Union of 920 was carried through without recourse to arrests or deportations (Ep. 53.15—20), the only remaining possibility is an action by the Zoe administration, the victims being the two highest-ranking metropolitans after Arethas, the leader of the anti-Nicholas party. It must have been short and ineffectual, and most probably took place soon after Nicholas’ political downfall.

Ep. 133. To Peter, Archbishop of Alania
914/16
We sympathize with your difficulties, but we prefer to think of the compensations. What really grieved us was your reproach that we had forgotten you. How could we forget you and the nation for whose salvation you are responsible (2—25)?
When you left us, we were in a situation worse than death, and it has not improved since. You should banish those unkind thoughts from your mind. You, and the people entrusted to you, are foremost in our mind. If you receive no letters, this is, first, because few people come to see us now, and second, because to ourselves writing is not without risk (26—53).
Fulfil the task to which you have been called, and have no anxiety as to our feelings (54—60).
The illicit marriage should be dissolved, if possible; if not, prevent the evil from spreading further, by appealing to the chief of the nation and to the person involved (61—67).

Date: Cf. Ep. 52, of which this is a duplicate. Peter’s departure on what was apparently his first journey to Alania must have taken place before 916/17 (see Ep. 46). The terms in which Nicholas describes his own plight do not fit the situation of 906/7, when he was surrounded by his metropolitans, who had pledged their word to stand by him. It is true that in Jan. 907 things took a turn for the worse, but the remaining time until the Patriarch’s arrest and deposition was then too short to account for Peter’s complaints of being forgotten. On the other hand, there is nothing against the assumption that Peter left in the early part of 914, and that this letter was written about a year later.

Ep. 134. To the Same
914/16
Nothing can separate those united in the Spirit. If you only attend to your ministry, we will feel that you are with us.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 621.
Date: See Ep. 233.

Ep. 135. To the Same
Ca. 916 or 918
It is not true that we cannot understand your position; though we have not lived in foreign lands ourselves, we have shared the experience of those who have (2—15). We knew that your lot would be hard and we told you so when we ordained you. But farmers and merchants bear similar pain for less (16—39). You have part in the work of the Apostles and suffer with them. Do not heed the talk of those who envy you. Imagine a strategos
resigning his post for such a motive (40—64)! Consider your rewards in this world and in the hereafter (65—81).

Let there be no discord between yourself and Euthymius, who, before you, brought the Gospel to that nation, and who is now on his way to assist you (82—101). I have no reason to foresee difficulties, but we must beware of the wiles of the Devil (102—14).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 622.

Date: Euthymius acted as Nicholas' envoy to Symeon of Bulgaria ca. Sept. 917 (Ep. 9.264—69). His second mission to Alania may be dated either before this (in which case he must have found it impossible to work with Peter, as Nicholas already fears he may), or after it.

Ep. 136. To Stephen, Michael, and Constantine, Brothers Ca. 919

We are sure that you can be believed without any oath, and are willing to take the risk. I, too, long for peace and would willingly go to perdition to attain it, but this ill-considered proposal means losing those with us to gain those not with us.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 638.

Addresses: The singular forms at 6 and 13 prove that the letter was sent to each of the addressess individually. The three metropolitans (apparently representing a moderate group in Nicholas' party) may have offered to swear continued allegiance to the Patriarch if the proposed reinstatement of the Euthymians were to come through. Stephen may be Nicholas' successor, who was metropolitan of Amasea before he became patriarch in Aug. 925; his conciliatory attitude would have made him a suitable candidate in Romanus' eyes. Constantine may be the metropolitan of Laodicea (Ep. 104, 109, 158); Michael is unknown.

Date: Early stage in the negotiations, cf. Ep. 126.

Ep. 137. To Ignatius, Metropolitan of Cyzicus 917/18

Your predecessor came to us asking us to write to you. His only wish is to be allowed to live in peace. Allow him to live with his attendants, in the monastery into which he retired after his removal from office. He promises (and I believe him) to cause no trouble either to you or to the monks.


Date: Probably toward the end of the schism, when Nicholas' attitude had become more flexible.

Note: The unnamed predecessor was an appointee of Euthymius; he cannot, as Grumel suggested, be the Cosmas of Ep. 113.16, for until Feb. 907 the see was held by Christopher, who then became synkellos to Euthymius (Arcthas, Scripta minora II, 109.18—20).

Ep. 138. To the Same Ca. 914

We thank God that you are safe and sound. As for us, we see no light, and death seems preferable.

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Date: Probably the first, darkest year after Feb. 914.

Ep. 139. To the Prince of Princes 924/25

Piety is the foundation for happiness, in the individual, the home, the city, the nation. Prejudice, however, prevents many from distinguishing between true piety and the most pernicious of superstitions. The intelligent man will test his beliefs and is willing to abandon them if he finds them unorthodox (2—25).

Your envoys say that after the death of your Catholicus you want, as a friend of our Emperor, the successor to be ordained here and be in communion with us. We propose therefore that you send the candidate to this city for instruction before we ordain him, so that you may be also one in the faith with the Emperor. Our Father Photius endeavored to achieve this by his writings and by envoys, but circumstances prevented him from attaining his end, perhaps so that this glory might be reserved for you (26—54).

If you do as we propose, complete unity between yourself and our Emperor will result. You cannot deny that the difference in doctrine is against the orthodox faith (55—74).


Date: Death year of John VI Catholicus 924/25 (Grumel, Jenkins). Though only one emperor is mentioned, it is impossible to go back as far as 920.

Ep. 140. To Michael, Patriarch and Governor of Thessalonica Date?

We are convinced that you will give us a truthful answer to the question we shall ask you: we impose upon you a bond to tell us the truth. Some people state they have heard you declare that the monk and presbyter Paul has renewed his relations with his former wife. Since the man has been made presbyter and is considered for further advancement we are very much shocked by this allegation. Give us the answer that you will give on Judgment Day.


Ep. 141. To the Abbot of the Altars of Elijah Date?

Your letter unfortunately confirms what we had already heard about your health (2—16).
141–144

The devil does his work sometimes by the intermediary of man, through persecution and maltreatment, sometimes by direct attacks, as in your case; but God will either cure you or turn it to your profit. Soldiers are proud of their wounds (17–44).

Lit.: Not in Grumel.

Addresses: The well-known monastery of the Altars of Elijah was situated north of Broussa, on the Sea of Marmora (Mention, index and second map). Mention distinguishes it from the Elegmon monastery (p. 215), with which, however, it is formally identified in a typikon of the twelfth century: A. Dmitrijevskij, Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisj chramo-

144–147

Date: Picingli received his command from the Patriarch between June 6, 913 and Feb. 914; this letter was written under much changed circumstances after the victory of Garigliano (Grumel). The year of the battle is controversial (Aug. 915 or 916); see Gay and Runciman.

Ep. 145. To the ruler of Amalfi

June 913/Aug. 915 (916)

We appreciate your filial feelings and, on our part, pray for you and try to help you where we can. In the present matter of the prisoners of war, though we have not been entirely successful with our request, we have at least achieved something. We have also sent you on our own account one pound of gold for their redemption from the impious Agarenes. We hope that God will bless our action and bring them home to their families and friends.


Addresses: Mastalus I, Prefect of Amalfi, ca. 914/52 (Gay, ibid., 249–51).

Date: Before Garigliano, according to Grumel; though the Amal- fitans are not mentioned among the allies of Byzantium, the place of this letter after 144 seems to confirm the connection.

Ep. 146. To Constantine, Protoasecretis

Second half 913?

It is said that after the Emperor's death you are expelling the Arch- bishop of Neapolis and replacing him by a nominee of the man who usurped my see. I shall condemn whoever does this to eternal punishment.


Addresses: Constantine Malelias, cf. Theoph. Cont. 395.6, where he is mentioned as involved in the conspiracy of Leo Phocas against Romanus in 919 (Jenkins). The protoasecretis Constantine, however, who was once saved by John the mystikos according to Nicetas Magister, Ep. 22, is the addressee of that letter, Constantine Combus.

Date: After Alexander's death (Jenkins); it may be worth considering whether Nicholas would have limited himself to the threat of eternal damnation when he still had political power.

Ep. 147. (To an Abbot)

Date?

We welcome the opportunity to communicate with you. The bearer of this letter told us you were his spiritual guide, the best he could ever have found. However, because of the trouble that certain people are making for him, it is better that he should go away. Give him your blessing and let him go where he can live in peace.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 765.
Ep. 148. To the Monk Euthymius

Date?

Though separated from each other, we are together in the spirit.

Lit.: Not in Grumel. Konstantinides, 95 note 3.

Address: Possibly the Euthymius of Ep. 135 (Konstantinides). The commonplace does not necessarily mean, of course, that he is in Alania; still, Nicholas happens to use it also when writing to Peter of Alania, Ep. 136.

Ep. 149. To the Governor of the Thrakesian province

Date?

Being a just man, you know your duty of protecting the poor against those who wrong them. However, we recommend the case of the bearer of this letter to your attention, because he asked us to do so.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 780.

Ep. 150. To Philotheus the Patrician

915/18?

Clerics from Nicaea (presbyters and deacons) have come to me to tell me that they were being drafted for the army. My emotion was so strong that at first I could hardly write. No one dedicated to the service of the Church can be claimed for any other purpose, how much less those who perform the liturgy that God requires from us here on earth. Even consecrated objects may not be used for profane ends (2—31). The privileges granted by the Christian emperors to the metropolis because of the councils held there must not be infringed (32—43).


Address: Probably (in view of his rank) the Comes of the theme of Opsikion.

Date: During the critical phase of the Bulgarian war? Cf. Eps. 37 and 164.

Ep. 151. To Gregory of Ephesus

914/18

From day to day my troubles increase, no doubt because of my sins (2—11). What I am referring to is this: the Metropolitan of Dyrrhachium has decided to detach himself from the Church, and I cannot persuade him to change his mind. I have therefore sent him to you, where he will be free from the influence of disruptive elements and will be guided by your example and the awareness of what you have done for him (12—29).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 639.

Date: The dangerous influences in Constantinople must be those of the Zoe administration. The Metropolitan’s decision to defect is most easily imaginable in the early years.

Ep. 152. To a Tax Collector

Date?

The people who hand you this letter have the task of supplying cabbage for the Great Church. This would be impossible if they were to have other fiscal duties imposed upon them.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 782.

Ep. 153. To Theodosius, Monk and Kouboukleistos

Early 925?

We had expected the monks to show more gratitude to you. They will get their reward, sooner or later; you, however, should not be discouraged, but trust in God (2—20).

We expected to see you at Christmas, as requested; be sure at least to be here on Palm Sunday, if God grants us to live (21—27).

As to the lawsuit of the monks, let them come and present their case to me or to the Emperor(s) (28—31).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 766.

Date: Perhaps during last illness (cf. Ep. 104), unless the words at lines 25—26 are a mere apotropaic formula.

Ep. 154. To Gregory of Ephesus

June 913/Feb. 914?

We already informed you [Ep. 160] that the plot against us has progressed no farther than the planning. We are content to wait and hope and do not worry too much about the future, praying only that whatever happens may be for the good of our soul.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 750.

Date: See Ep. 160, to which lines 2—5 seem to refer.

Ep. 155. To a Metropolitan

Date?

Thank God for the news of your recovery (1—9).

Though it is true that some of the kouboukleistoi will be dismissed by imperial decree, this affects neither yours nor mine (7—14).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 691.

Address: Must rank high in the hierarchy; possibly Gregory of Ephesus, but Nicholas never uses the rather neutral “Your Holiness” in addressing Gregory, except in the doubtful item Ep. 190.

Date: Grumel thinks of a retrenchment plan under Romanus (ca. 921); but a measure of this kind is conceivable at any time.

Ep. 156. To the Emperor Romanus

End Feb. 922

Though the blow that has struck you in the loss of your wife is a painful one, you should consider that one of you two had to die first and
You are familiar with David’s words on the death of his son; but let me cite the examples of Aemilius the Roman and of that Greek who said “I knew my son was mortal” (23—39).

Grief and dejection mean that we think we have suffered harm or wrong, but God can never do harm to anybody. Think of what you have already received from God and of the boons still to follow if your actions are pleasing to Him (40—59).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 703.
Date: Theodora died on Feb. 20, 922 (Theoph. Cont. 402.8—11).

Ep. 157. To Demetrius of Cyzicus

We are grateful to hear that you are well (2—7).

In the matter of the clerics who refuse to appear in court, we advise you to use patience and persuasion; if this is of no avail, we shall give order for the decision to be executed in their absence, as you requested (8—15).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 725.
Address and date: See Ep. 107.

Ep. 157A. (To Gregory of Ephesus?)

I, too, Brother and most loved and loving of Sons, suffer from old age and poor health, and, in addition to this, from those miseries which may well end with my deposition or death. Though I should prefer to continue my voyage to the island, I cannot refuse your invitation to visit you and receive some comfort and some advice.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 725 (as part of 157).
Address: Almost certainly Gregory, cf. index s.v. ἄδεσμας. The island, which was the object of the Patriarch’s only known journey, can only be guessed at: Samos? Patmos? Rhodes? And for what purpose?
Date: The complaint of old age and poor health (ἄδεσμας) appears for the first time in Ep. 11 (winter 919/20), then in 14, 15, 20, and 28. The “miseries” may be those of the preliminary steps to the Union, when Nicholas had not yet resigned himself to compromising with the Euthymians.

Ep. 158. To Constantine, Metropolitan of Laodicea

We did not want to hurt you, but to reassure you with respect to those evil rumors about you. Those slanderers are like dogs who bite the stone thrown at them. Do not worry about them, if you care for my peace of mind. We repeat it: our only motive was to silence those clerics.
162–165

unfortunately continues, and we count on your loyal support, as required in the imperial order, if necessary (13–19).

Lit.: Grumel, No. 715.

Date: After 915/16, see Ep. 46; not improbable, after the promising negotiations of Nov. 924 (923) (Grumel).

Ep. 163. To Antiuchus the Monk

Our request on behalf of the kouboulieiaio who brings this letter is that you let him defend himself against his accusers without any insult or humiliation on your part. He is not only a monk and a kouboulieiaio, but has been entrusted with other important services. If he has done wrong, let him be punished, but do not humiliate him, as you have often done to others.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 767.

Date: The connection with Ep. 153, suggested by Grumel, seems extremely doubtful, though not out of the question.

Ep. 164. To a High Official

Being a wise man, you will not forget what is due to God, while executing imperial orders (1–8). The churches need the lands, laborers, and clergy assigned to them since the earliest times. God's help is worth more than any endeavor of our own (9–20). The clerics registered in the imperial "seal" and in the Church, as well as the laborers, should be left alone; clerics as soldiers and the poor of the Church as serfs will be of no use to the State (21–32).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 115.

Address: Cf. Ep. 183, to Constantine the Chamberlain, which is very similar. This one, however, may be to any other high executive.

Date: Under the pressure of the Bulgarian war. See Ep. 165.

Ep. 165. To an Officer

At first I accepted your report on your treatment of the guilty person as it stood; now there are ugly reports of torture. It is also said that you have confiscated lands belonging to the Great Church as well as the vessels that serve its needs (1–18). Be careful; the Emperor cannot approve of this. We have submitted the matter to the Patrician [Ep. 35?], who has written to you. Your pride may be your undoing (16–28).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 116.

Address: An officer and ex-monk, if the affair is the one dealt with in Ep. 35; the Patrician is then the Military Governor of Strymon.

165–170

It should be observed, though, that it was usual for strategoi to have this rank.

Date: See Ep. 35.

Ep. 166. To the Same

Your fine rhetoric will not count before God, even though our threats are powerless. You accuse us of anger, but how about your own outburst of cruelty? Your second account does not tally with your first, but I shall not quarrel with you. Remember that flesh is grass.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 117.

Address: The letter seems to be a sequel to the preceding (cruel, contradictory accounts). Nicholas meanwhile has lost his case.

Date: See Ep. 165.

Ep. 167. To a Monk

The devil always tries to ensnare those who have chosen the spiritual life, but God will not desert you (1–10).

Go where you said you would, trusting in Him. We expect you to return to us in a more cheerful mood (11–18).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 118.

Ep. 168. To an Abbot

Thank you for the produce of your fields; but you should not have sent so much.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 119.

Ep. 169. To a Military Commander

The bearer of my letter, knowing your love for me, has asked me to write you on his behalf. Since he has neither the courage nor the age to be a soldier, you should have no difficulty in granting him exemption. Let his long journey (to me) not be in vain.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 119.

Date: Draft in Bulgarian war?

Ep. 170. To a Military Commander

My sister-in-law, the widow of John the Patrician and Droungarios of the Watch, complains that your soldiers rob her of the produce of her country estate, on which she and her children depend for their living. We
know that soldiers too must live, but let them use restraint and not be as bad as the Bulgarians.


Date: Bulgarian war.

Note: In 867 a Nicholas Androsalites, proconsularies of St. Diomedes at least since 836 (Ps.-Symeon 656.2—3; Georg. Cont. 819.18—19), becomes ecumenos and synkellos, while his brother John becomes Droungarios of the Watch (Ps.-Symeon 691.10—12; Georg. Cont. 842.19—843.2) (Darrouzes). This must be a coincidence: the proconsularies cannot be the Patriarch for chronological reasons (Jenkins); nor, on the other hand, can the present letter be attributed to the proconsularies, since in his days there was no Bulgarian war. One John, Droungarios of the Watch, was deposed after the plot of the relatives of Zaoutzes against Leo in 897 (Theoph. Cont. 361.5—7; Georg. Cont. 856.8—10); may be the Patriarch's brother.

Ep. 171. <To an Official?>

The monks of St. Anthes, as we told you here already, have left their monastery out of fear for your threats. We send them back with this letter. The dispute between them and their adversaries should be settled by law and justice, not by intimidation. If they should come to grief, you will be responsible before God.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 121.

Addresser: Or an officer?

Ep. 172. <To a Patriarchal Exarch?>

We are grateful for your letter and especially for the satisfactory solution of the affair on which you report. The bishop will have no claim to the monastery, since it falls under the patriarchal jurisdiction. We leave the appointment of an abbot (either the present one or a new one) to you.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 122.

Addresser: Suggested by Darrouzès; the local metropolitan is also possible.

Ep. 173. <To a Military Commander?>

Though your predicament was known to us, the confirmation in your letter causes us new grief. Since human help fails, we pray God to rescue you from those unjust attacks against your person and to save His own people (1—14). We regret that you have neither acted yourself to preserve order in the local church nor reported to us (15—19).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 122.

Addresser: This is a typical “bipartite” letter, the first paragraph dealing with the correspondent's personal difficulties (unjust accusations) and the ensuing danger for the Christian community, the second with conflicts in the local church, of which the addressee, being on the spot, ought to be aware. This does not sound as if he is the bishop or metropolitan. He might be a general fighting the Muslims (Nicholas Picingli?) and in some kind of trouble with the central government; apparently Nicholas does not consider the trouble serious enough to suppress the rebuke.

Date: During the schism.

Ep. 174. <To a Monk>

We are happy to think of you for the sake both of old friendship and of your present state of life. Pray for us and the Church; you know what pain this conflict causes me (1—10).

I cannot grant your request as if I were a private person; I feel accountable to my successors, who would resent the precedent (11—17).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 123.

Date: During the schism.

Ep. 175. <To a Clergyman or Monk> <912118>

We were saddened at the news of your protracted illness. Let us thank God, Who works for our salvation both through sickness and through health.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 124.

Ep. 176. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>

Bad as your other news was, that of your illness pained us most. We trust that God will grant you recovery; as regards the other troubles, there is hope (1—14). Arrange the problems of the home for the aged as you deem best. We hope to see you here in due time (16—23).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 124.

Addresser: With only one possible exception (42.17), the superlative “most holy Son” is reserved for Gregory (41.29; 48.3, 22; 151.12; 154.4; 178.1).

Date: If the brightening prospects are for an end of the schism, probably 917/18; if the reference is to the “plot” of Eps. 154 and 160, rather 913/14.
SUMMARIES

Ep. 177. <To a Metropolitan or Archbishop> 177–180 912/18

Your office obliges you to show compassion. Before going to secular courts ask your own conscience whether it is right that our indigent brothers should be robbed by their own father (1—12).
Pray for peace in the Church (13—16).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 125—26.
Date: Schism.

Ep. 178. <To Gregory of Ephesus> 915/18, ca. March

The arrival of your letter proved that you had returned home safely, though the news it contained about the journey was bad enough (1—13). The action against the Church about which you learned here seems to have calmed down at least for the moment; I do not know whether this is due to the situation or to a change of mind of the initiator. Come after Easter or at least after the Feast of the Apostle [May 8] (14—21).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 126.
Address: The Metropolitan of Ephesus (20—21); the Apostle is therefore St. John (Darrouzès).
Date: A few weeks before Easter; in view of the reassuring character of the news, the turbulent spring of 914 (Easter: April 17), as well as the equally turbulent weeks preceding Easter 919 (April 25) must be discarded. The situation differs from that in Ep. 41 (where Gregory has been ill; here he has just returned from Constantinople) and from that in Ep. 109, assuming that the tentative dating for that letter is correct.

Ep. 179. <To an Official> 912/18

We ask you (though in your case this is hardly necessary) to provide justice for the bearer of this letter and, by setting an example, to discourage other wrongdoers.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 127.

Ep. 180. <To the Military Governor of Thrakesion> Second half 912

Help the Metropolitan of Sardes, who is leaving for the diocese entrusted to his care.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 128.
Address: See lines 17–18.
Date: The newly appointed Metropolitan (the Antony of Ep. 142) must be the successor of Peter, who in May 912 escaped arrest by disappearing (Vita Euthymi 117, 1—2 [Karin-Hayter]). Nicholas clearly expects trouble; see Ep. 181.

Ep. 181. <To the Judge of Thrakesion> Second half 912

The Metropolitan of Sardes has asked me for a letter of introduction to you. Help him in court affairs, or wherever help is needed.

Lit.: Darrouzès, 128.
Address and Date: See Ep. 180.

Ep. 182. <To the Metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia> 913/18

We were worried when we remained without news from you for so long a time; now that you have informed us of your illness and recovery, we are reassured (1—8). As for the subject of your letter, human nature being what it is, we can only counsel patience (9—18). Come as soon as you can; the difficulties that you experienced and feared are now solved. Before leaving look into the affair of the Bishop of Bindios, who has turned a monastery into a private mansion (19—29).

Lit.: Darrouzès, 129.
Address: The metropolitan to whose diocese the see of Bindios belongs or an exarch (Darrouzès); the first suggestion is supported by Ep. 115, to which this may well be a sequel. The metropolitan’s name is then Euthymius.

Ep. 183. <To Constantine the Chamberlain> 915/16

Listen to a father’s reproof (1—15). When you were young, unimportant, and poor, everybody praised you; now it is only complaints and protests (6—13). Of course it is true that the treasury has suffered by the war, but we should rather sell the Emperor’s purple cloak than allow the Church to suffer. It is foolish to try and win the Turks and Pechenegs and lose the support of God (14—30). You would be angry if your servant were robbed. I write this out of love for you, and also for our beloved Lady—though she may not believe me (31—39).

Address: Identified by Jenkins, who also points out that “our beloved Lady” is Zoe.

Ep. 184. <To a Metropolitan> 914/18?

A man who is discouraged by the tyrannical decisions of men shows that he has no faith in God’s judgment.

Address: Apparently a defeatist in Nicholas’ own party.
Date: The last letter in this small collection (190) is the only one that justifies the later dating of the entire group; the others could equally well belong to the crisis of Feb. 907.
Ep. 185. <To a Metropolitan?>

We are waiting for you impatiently. The advice we gave you was inspired by concern for you. If you can, do something for us both; if you are afraid, do not worry about me.

Address: Invitations of this kind are almost without exception to metropolitan.

Date: Sec Ep. 184.

Ep. 186. <To a Monk>

It seems normal in these days for sons to despise their fathers, even for those who live in holiness. But in rejecting me you reject the heavenly Father.

Date: Cf. Ep. 39, with the same complaint.

Ep. 187. <To an Enemy>

You have won. Later, or perhaps even now, you will repent your victory.

Address: Cf. the very similar Ep. 81.

Date: Nicholas' most similar defeats are in Feb. 907 and Feb. 914.

Ep. 188. <To a Monk>

Health is damaged not only by poison, but also by spices. Let us beware of pleasure.

Ep. 189. <To a Politician>

The wheel of the world will not stop turning and though you are high in the air now, you will end at its lowest point—the grave.

Address: Constantine the Chamberlain is possible. Cf. Ep. 183.

Date: Written in a mood of bitter frustration: same time as 187?

Ep. 190. <To Gregory of Ephesus?>

Your intrepid resistance is a great comfort to us. May Christ give you strength to continue your faithful watch over His flock.

Lit.: Grumel, No. 756.

Address: The only reason for the identification are what might seem to be allusions to the name Gregory at 11 and 13—14. The possibility of similar allusions to the name Photius has been pointed out at Ep. 42, but it remains uncertain, since it cannot be supported by examples from letters to known addressees.

Date: The circumstances described here can have occurred only during the schism; in the crisis of 906/7 there was no question of attacks on provincial churches.

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Unidentified:

"Α γράφωμεν, τέκνοι ήμῶν
ισόν
"Α γράφωμεν, τέκνοι ήμῶν, μή
"Α γράφωμεν, τέκνοι ήμῶν, οὐδέμεν
"Α γράφωμεν τῇ τιμωτετίι σου
"Αδελφοί μου, — προσθησίω
δὲ καὶ
"Α διάφως, τέκνοι ήμῶν

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"Αλλα περιστάσεις κυρίως
"Αλλας επέφθασμεν επίθεσια
"Αλλας επέκειται πεπερασάτι
Δὲ καὶ
"Α μην ἐδει πρὸς θεόν
ἀνενεγκεῖν
"Α μην θείς τῆς θείας