PREFACE

The present volume is a supplement to Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters, DOT, II (Washington, D.C., 1973). It includes everything else known to be extant: decrees and other documents, a few letters that have been preserved otherwise than by regular manuscript tradition, a sermon, extracts from a treatise on the tetragamy, and finally five hymns, for which, however, Nicholas’ authorship is doubtful, and in two cases even extremely unlikely.

For the biographical introduction customary in the CFHB, the reader is referred to the Letters, pp. xv–xxvii.

The collations of the numerous manuscripts used were mostly done from microfilms made available to me by the Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes and the Institut Français d’Etudes Byzantines. For this, as well as for other help and guidance generously offered, I have to thank Mme Gilberte Astruc, R. P. Joseph Paramelle, and R. P. Jean Darrouzès. In dealing with the Tome of Union, M. Jean Gouillard’s edition of the Synodicon Orthodoxiae has been most useful.

A special word of thanks is due to Dr. Enrica Follieri and Msgr. Paul Canart for helpful information in the field of hymnology, and to Prof. Krikor Maksoudian for kindly allowing me to reproduce his translation of the Letter to the Catholicus and for verifying the Armenian text. Prof. Cyril Mango, the CFHB revisor, contributed many valuable hints and corrections; finally, Dr. Timothy Miller’s care in preparing the typescript for the press and Miss Julia Warner’s and Mrs. Nancy Bowen’s painstaking revision of the proofs should be gratefully acknowledged.
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CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

I. QUESTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP

The question of authorship arises with regard to two categories of texts included in this volume: the documents and the hymns. Apart from the Letter to Andronicus Ducas (Op. 193), which may be a deliberate forgery, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of any of the prose works. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that some were not written by Nicholas, but for him by one or more secretaries.

I incline to the view that Nicholas preferred to compose himself all his important documents (in particular, the Tome of Union). The correspondence reminds us that we have to do with a man who was for many years imperial secretary before he became patriarch; one who writes (or dictates) with great ease and speed, who is obviously aware of his gift for literary composition, and who might have resented leaving so important and agreeable a task to others less qualified. From the point of view of style the small collection is sufficiently homogeneous to support this assumption.

The case of the hymns is entirely different. Three of them are attributed explicitly, and independently, to a patriarch Nicholas. The fact that no distinctive name is added does not necessarily mean that the first is meant: the canonical decisions of Nicholas III appear in a great many manuscripts as the work of the Patriarch Nicholas without any kind of specification. For the Stichera to Peter and Paul (Op. 205), only Nicholas I and perhaps Nicholas II (Chryssoberges, 979–91) qualify as possible authors because of the age of the manuscript (X cent.); the third, Grammaticus, who did write verse (of a sort) is too late (1084–1111) to be considered. Since nothing is known of any literary activity by Chryssoberges, Nicholas Mysticus is the most likely candidate. If he did write the stichera, the statistical probability is that he is also the author of the two canons on the Theotokos and Gregory the Illuminator, since only a small minority of the patriarchs of Constantinople engaged in writing hymns. Here the matter
ends. I fail to notice any striking resemblance in style and manner between the poems themselves, or between the poems on the one hand and Nicholas' prose on the other.

The first canon (Op. 203) shows the acrostic Nikolay in the theotokia. The same acrostic is used by several other hymnographers named Nicholas. It appears in two canons of Nicholas Katasepenos, a monk of the Katasepe monastery in the early twelfth century, included in the Theotokarion of Nikodemus Naxios the Hagiorite; in some stichera edited by G. Schiro, in stichera for the Little Vespers of the Sunday of Orthodoxy, for Adoration of the Cross, and for Palm Sunday in the printed Triodion; and in a canon to St. Theodore the Stratelates by Nicholas Malaxos, protopapas of Nauplia in the sixteenth century, known only through the printed Menaia. It is found also in two more canons, which I have added as an appendix (Opera 206 and 207), not because there is any positive information to connect them with the Patriarch, but to enable the reader to judge for himself. The canon to St. Nicholas (Op. 206) is attributed to the Patriarch by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, but without any manuscript authority; it has the tearful repetitiousness of the "Canons of Compunction" produced by Nicholas Katasepenos. Opus 207, a canon for Akathistos Saturday, is more impressive as a poem, but as its oldest (and practically only known) manuscript is of the year 1379, any other Nicholas has as much claim to it as the Patriarch.

Two further items have been excluded from this edition. The first is the short text Kanonov peri gamaon kai polugamov, published as a work of Nicholas by Konstantinides, who observes himself, however, that it is a summary of the Tome of Union. In this form it has nothing to do with Nicholas.

The other is a canonical letter attributed to Photius in the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts (Photios Epistolai, ed. I. Valetta [London, 1864], Ep. 84; PG, 102, cols. 792-93), but claimed for the Patriarch Nicholas the Ancient in two codices: Moscow Gr. 316 Vlad., XII cent., fols. 125'-126' and Ambrosianus E 94 sup., XVI cent., fols. 220'-221' (the latter apparently derived from the former). At first sight it might seem that there is a case for this attribution, especially since the letter in question, the last of a group of five canonical letters, is missing from one of the oldest manuscripts, Marc. App. gr. III 2. One could, therefore, assume that a letter of Nicholas was added to those of Photius because of the similarity in subject matter and that the heading with the author's name was lost subsequently, which could easily happen since the rest of the group has no titles. Such a hypothesis, however, is not borne out by the manuscript readings. In the first place, the Marcianus does not represent a separate branch of the tradition but is closely related to Laurentianus 5,22, which contains all the five letters; secondly, the "Nicholas" manuscripts do not offer an independent text either but share certain errors with a part of the "Photius" group. We must, therefore, conclude that this letter, after having become detached from its group, was attributed to Nicholas because of his well-known legislation on marriages.

II. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

Opus 191. Ranklist of Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal Sees

The Preface (191A) is followed in some manuscripts by a complete taktikon including also the suffragan sees, in others by a list of metropolitan and archiepiscopal sees only, as announced in the title of the Preface. No manuscript containing the Preface, however, has preserved the Notitia in its authentic form; it always appears in various stages of updating.

Complete Notitiae appear in:

Q = Munich Gr. 380, XII cent., pp. 528-33.

n = Marcianus gr. 169, XV cent., fols. 306'-312'.

a = Andros, Hagias 86, XIII cent., fols. 404'-408'. Grumel, 133 and 134, erroneously states that the manuscript is incomplete.

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1 Beck, 639; MS Athos, Pantaletimon 392.
2 (Venice, 1883), 79-81; 98-100.
4 Triodion, 223, 349, 630.
5 Feb. 8; no manuscripts known. On Malaxos, see Beck, 797-98.
6 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Τεροοελομυτική Βιβλιοθήκη, II (Saint Petersburg, 1894), 477.
7 126-27.
8 Especially Photios Epistolai, ed. I. Valetta (London, 1864), 412, lines 1-4: Εἰ μὲν ἐν ἑκατοντάδει τούτοις, δὲ παντελῶς μὴ ἐντὸς ἑκατοντάδος τοῦ ἑκατοντάδος, ὥσις ἄνθρωπος ἢ κακοὰς ἢ καλὰς ἢ ἀμαρτήματα, ἢ μονεὶς ἢ ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἀσκοῦμεν ἢ ἀποκαλοῦμεν Τοῦτον, τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἑκατοντάδοις ἅμα. Thus (with minor variants) Vat. gr. 829, Laur. 5.40, Vat. Regim. gr. 57, and the editions, while the Moscow and Milan manuscripts, with Menas, gr. 380, Laur. 5.22, Sinait 1117, and Vat. gr. 828, have ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ ἑκατοντάς ἄμαρτηματως instead of ἑκατοντάς — ἄμαρτημα.
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Meteoron, Metamorphoses 589, XVI cent., fols. 285–297, and Athens 1430, XVII cent., fols. 212–218, seem both to derive from a. Lists of metropolitan and archiepiscopal sees only are found in:

1 = Laurentianus 5,2, XIV cent., fols. 384–385.
Vaticanus gr. 1455II, a. 1299, fols. 222–223.
Basel, University A.III.6, XVI cent., fols. 303–304.

The edition of Bonefidius (p. 118), on which those of Leunclavius (pp. 243–44), Rhalles-Potles (V, p. 474), Migne (PG, 119, cols. 817D–820A), and Parthey (pp. 321–22) depend, derives either from 1 or from the Basel manuscript.

A Notitia apparently belonging to the patriarchate of Nicholas, but without the Preface, is extant in:

i = Jerusalem, Taphou 39, s. XIII, fols. 170–186.
The text was published by Gelzer, 550–59, from Istanbul, Metochion 522, a. 1663/67, fols. 154–167, a good copy of the Jerusalem manuscript.

After considerable hesitation, I have decided to include only (for completeness’ sake) the lists of metropoles and archbishoprics, omitting the list of suffragan sees, though, as Gelzer observes, this is a necessary and contemporary complement to the former. The reasons for this decision are, first, that historical geography requires a great deal of special knowledge, and, second, that a separate edition of one Notitia is practically useless, all the more so now that a collected edition of the Notitiae is being prepared by Fr. Jean Darrouzès (to appear in the CFHB).

Opus 192. Sermon on the Capture of Thessalonica

The text has been preserved in one manuscript as an appendix to Cameniates’ report on the sack of Thessalonica.

v = Vaticanus gr. 172, XV cent., fols. 91–96. Its main part (fols. 1–138: Cameniates, Nicholas, Anagnostes) may have been written not long after the conquest of Thessalonica by the Turks in 1420, described by Anagnostes; the second part (fols. 139–83) is dated 1439.

v is damaged in places; its only transcript, Vatic. Barber. gr. 241, was unfortunately taken when the damage had already been done. The gaps have therefore to be filled conjecturally.

The text was published first by Tsaras, 236–46. Before this, a short extract (44–61) had already been printed by A. Mai, Spicilegium Romannum, X (Rome, 1844), p. xxvi; corrections to this by I. Sakkelion, in Δελτίον τῆς Ιστορικῆς καὶ Εθνολογικῆς Έταιρείας, 3 (1890), 109.

Opus 194 II. First Abdication II

The longer version of the First Abdication is extant in two forms: without the preamble as part of the Deposition of the Metropolitans, Opus 197 lines 84–96 (on manuscripts and editions see below); and with the preamble, separately in some canonical manuscripts, of which I know the following:

p = Parisinus Coislin gr. 217, XII cent., fol. 350v.
Munich Gr. 277, end XV cent., fols. 331r–332v.
z = Patmos 366, XIV cent., fol. 342.
Athens 1474, XVI cent., fol. 73v.
Moscow Gr. 336 Vlad., a. 1687, fol. 75v.
The text was published from the Munich copy by Sp. P. Lampros in BZ, 1 (1892), 553.

Opus 197. Deposition of the Metropolitans

k = Kosmíti 1, copied in 1686 from an “extremely old canonical manuscript of the Pammakaristos” by John the Great Sakellarios of the Great Church at Byzantium (see Arethae scripta minora, I, p. viii). The manuscript has been missing since World War I; its place is taken by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus’ edition, in Varia Graeca sacra (Saint Petersburg, 1909), 255–59.

j = Istanbul, Metochion 2, a. 1680, fols. 16rv. Written by the same hand as k, according to A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ιεροοσιολυμικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 4 (Saint Petersburg, 1899), 2–7.

Moscow Gr. 336 Vlad., a. 1687, fols. 31r–32v, and Vaticanus Gr. 2408, XIX cent., fols. 321r–323v, written by Stavraki Aristarchi Bey, are transcripts of the preceding.

Two later editions (Karlin-Hayter, “Appendix,” with an English translation; Arethae scripta minora, II, 115–21) depend entirely on Papadopoulos-Kerameus. I. Oudot, Patriarchus Constantinopolitani acta selecta, I (Vatican City, 1941), 2–11, has used the Vatican manuscript besides.

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Critical Introduction

Opus 198. Letter to John the Catholicus

The text is that of the Tbilisi edition; the translation is K. Maksoudian's (217–19), with slight modifications.


Opus 199. Tract on the Tetragamy

Only extracts are preserved by Arethas, who says that he quotes verbatim (Op. 14, Arethae scripta minora, I, 129, 6).

The only manuscript is:

m = Moscow Gr. 441 Vlad., end XVI cent., fols. 65r–81v (66r–81v).


Opus 200. Tome of Union

The original document consisted of three sections: B (the text), D (acclamations, not extant in their original form), and E (anathemas and prayer). To these were later added: A, an argument dating from the reign of Constantine VII (945–59) and C, an appendix to the text, inserted in the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII, ca. 996.

In none of our manuscripts do all these five elements appear jointly; this is the case only in the editions. The versions including the argument (sections A and B or A, B, and C) belong to the canonical and historical tradition and, accordingly, omit the acclamations and the anathemas; those intended (originally) for the purposes of liturgy omit the purely secular argument and thus contain either sections B, D, and E or B, C, D, and E, the acclamations (section D) being periodically adapted to the situation of the moment. When the destination of the texts changes, i.e., when they pass into a canonical collection, the acclamations are sometimes reduced to an incipit or to a statement to the effect that they have been left out [D]. Some good manuscripts contain only sections B or B and C.

In spite of some dropping and adding, and consequent mixing of groups, there is usually a clear correspondence between classification by content and by variants. On the whole, the tradition shows a fairly distinct pattern. While there are plenty of variants proper to one manuscript or one

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I. Manuscripts including the Argument

(1) Manuscripts containing sections A and B:

H = Escorial XII.10, XIII cent., fols. 374r–76v.

Vaticanus gr. 1148A, XIII cent., fols. 12r–14r.

Sinai 1117, XIV cent., fols. 323r–324v.

Athos, iviron 381, XV cent., fols. 157v–158v.

Andros, Panachrantou 7, XIII cent., fols. 60r–62r. In this manuscript the argument has been drastically abridged, apparently in order to eliminate anything anti-Nicholaân.

(2) Manuscripts containing sections A, B, and C:

L = Lesbos, Leimonos 7, a. 1421, fols. 328r–330v.

Baroccianus gr. 149, a. 1425, fols. 4r–7r.

Vienna, Hist. gr. 34, a. 1430, fols. 311r–313r.

Parisinus gr. 1388, XV cent., fols. 245r–249r.

Wolfenbütel 713 (Helmstedt 663), end XV cent., fols. 53r–56r.

Two manuscripts differ from this pattern:

Patmos 366, XIV cent., fols. 350r–352v; it contains sections A, B, C, [D], and E, but from different sources: in section A, it sides with the L group, in B with the H group, in C through E with the F group (infra, p. xviii).

Z = Athens 1429, XII cent., fol. 27r–v; this manuscript breaks off at section B line 70 through loss of one or more leaves. It holds an intermediate place between groups H and L, which may be due either to independent changes in those two groups, in which case Z can be used as the arbiter, or to conflation in the text of Z itself. Because of the rather frequent common errors of HZ in section B, I have assumed the latter and based the text of the argument on L.

9 On Patmos 366, however, see infra, p. xv.

10 Some exceptions: section B lines 6, 16, 30, 61, 67, and 101.
CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

II. Manuscripts containing sections B, D, and E

1. The oldest and most important copy:


   Vienna, Hist. gr. 7, XII–XIII cent., fols. 198r–201v, while presenting the same text of the acclamations, yet also includes the Appendix (of ca. 996) and often parts company with W, obviously as a result of conflation.

3. A group of seven manuscripts headed by V, with Acclamations III, pertaining to the patriarchate of Nicholas II (979–91):
   Athens 1377, XII cent., fols. 321r–323v.
   Vienna, Jur. gr. 9, XIII cent., fols. 307r–310v.
   Vaticanus gr. 827, XIII cent., fols. 239r–241v and fol. 245v–w = B lines 71–135; D III lines 1–12.
   Parisinus gr. 364, XIV cent., fols. 53r–56r.
   Parisinus gr. 1321, XVI cent., fols. 452r–453r.
   Parisinus Coislin gr. 39, XVII cent., fols. 275r–276v, a direct copy of the preceding.

4. Two closely related manuscripts representing the liturgical practice of the Antiochene patriarchate in the middle of the eleventh century, though their version of the Tome, which omits the appendix, is at least half a century older:
   U = Oxford, Holkham gr. 6, XI cent., fols. 1r–22v. Acclamations VI, Antioch, reign of Constantine IX and Theodora (1050–55). Musical notation. Between fols. 1 and 6 some of the original leaves were lost at an early time and replaced from a text of the F group (= section B lines 7–53).

III. Manuscripts containing sections B, C, D, and E


2. A group of five (three plus two) manuscripts, of which the Acclamations date from the second, resp. third quarter of the eleventh century:

   F = Laurentianus 5.40, XIV cent., fols. 315r–318v.
   Parisinus Suppl. gr. 484, XIV cent., fols. 23r–24r.
   Athos, Dionysiou 120, XIV cent., fols. 703r–705v (the text from section B line 61 [τέκαρφον] to the end of section C is omitted because it was already included in Balsamon's commentary on Basil, canon 4).
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Moscow Gr. 322 Vlad., XV cent., fols. 11v-14v.
Istanbul, Metochion 2, a. 1680, fols. 50v–51r.
In Oxford, Holkham gr. 6 (cf. U supra, p. xvi), fols. 2–5, containing section B lines 7–53 and inserted to replace the lost original leaves, also belong to this group.

Two manuscripts join the group in sections C through E only:
Moscow Gr. 336 Vlad., which is very unstemmatic in section B;
Patmos 366, on which see supra p. xv.

There is one group of excellent quality, which includes:
Ambrosianus B 107 sup., XII-XIII cent., fols. 120v-122v.
British Museum, Addit. 28822, XIII cent., fols. 2v-5v.
Parisinus gr. 1370, a. 1297, fols. 58v-60v.
The same sections are found also in:
Vaticanus gr. 145511, a. 1299, fols. 317r-319r.

The same sections, plus the final prayer, are found in:
Vaticanus gr. 1167, XIII cent., fols. 24v-26v, which, however, does not share the (rare) distinctive readings of this group or those of any other, and has few errors of its own. It may represent an earlier stage of the same text.

On Athos, Lavra 582 see supra p. xv.

VI. The T Group

One group, while forming a stemmatic unit, varies in content:
T = Vaticanus Regin. 57, a. 1359, fols. 397v-399v, contains sections B and C.
The same sections, plus the final prayer, are found in Vaticanus gr. 145511, a. 1299, fols. 317v-319v.
Only sections B and E lines 21–29 in:
Moscow Gr. 320 Vlad., XII cent., fols. 241v-242v.
Parisinus gr. 1369, XIV cent., fols. 206v-208v.
Two manuscripts containing only section B form a separate branch of the group:
Athens 1371, XII–XIII cent., fols. 358v-359v.
Athos, Vatopedi 227, a. 1232, fols. 342v-345v.

Abridged versions

Because of the abundance of good complete manuscripts, several of which are quite old, there is no need to take account of abridged texts (usually containing only the strictly canonical part of section B), such as

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those in these manuscripts: Moscow Gr. 318 Vlad., fol. 228; Palatinus gr. 233, fols. 20v-22v; Vaticanus gr. 1409, fol. 230; Parisinus gr. 1335, fols. 35v-36v; Sinai 441, fols. 260v-261v; Escorial P.II.20, fols. 97v-98v; and in the canonists: Balsamon, PG, 138, cols. 597B–601A (= sections B line 60–C line 9); Blastares, PG, 144, cols. 1157A–60A (summary of sections A and B).

Editions


The concluding prayer (section E lines 21–29) was first published in P. Lambeck, Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca caesarea vindobonensi liber, VIII (Vienna, 1679), 446–47; then again by A. Mai, Spicilegium Romanum, VII (Rome, 1842), 480.

In the present edition, groups are represented by the leading manuscript, which as a rule is cited only if supported by all, or most, of the others of its class. Similarly, readings of isolated manuscripts (G, U, W, O, X, K) have usually been ignored unless shared by other witnesses. Only J is reported in full.

Opus 201. Decree on Patriarchal Letters

Manuscripts collated (there are no doubt many more):

Type 1:
Vaticanus gr. 430, XVI cent., fols. 220v–221v, a copy of S.
Vaticanus gr. 1130, fols. 40v–41v, same text as S, with some additional mistakes.
Q = Munich Gr. 380, XII cent., pp. 524–25.
n = Marcianus gr. 169, XV cent., fols. 306v–

Type 2:

s = Sinai 1117, XIV cent., fol. 355v–
Vaticanus gr. 1137, fol. 49v–, text as in s, with some additional errors.
d = Athens, Dionysiou 120, XIV cent., fols. 678v–679v and 707v–
(essentially the same text in both places.)

Athens 1474, fols. 72v–73v.
Istanbul, Metochion 2, a. 1680, fol. 50v.
Moscow Gr. 336 Vlad., a. 1687, fol. 73v–.
Type 3:

\[ w = \text{Wolfenbüttel 713, Helmstedt 663, end XV cent., fol. 174}. \]

In the opening sentence there is a corruption, the second πάντος being an echo of the first, which has replaced the correct word; πέρας in S is not a very successful conjecture; in w the phrase has been rewritten to make sense of it.

The editions derive from w: Leunclavius, I, 249; Rhalles-Potles, V, 1-2; PG, 119, col. 825B–D.

Opus 202. Decree on the Great Habit

\[ b = \text{Vienna, Phil. gr. 330, XIV cent., fol. 132}. \]

\[ t = \text{Jerusalem, Taphou 181, end XIII cent., fol. 61}. \]

\[ h = \text{Athos, Panteleimon 152, XV cent., fol. 307}. \]

\[ \text{Jerusalem, Saba 366, XIII cent., fol. 23}. \]

Edition from t by A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, 1epoA.u~mxfl BtPA.wMpcr|, I (Saint Petersburg, 1891), 271; repeated by Konstantinides, 125.

Opus 203. Canon on the Lament of the Mother of God

\[ \Pi = \text{Parisinus gr. 400, XIV cent., fol. 12}^{2}–15^{3}. \]


Opus 204. Canon to St. Gregory the Illuminator

\[ \Delta = \text{Athos, Laura } \Gamma' 16, \text{ XI cent., fols. } 217^{4}–220^{5}. \]

\[ \Theta = \text{Messina Gr. 135, XIII cent., fols. } 78^{6}–81^{7}. \]

\[ \Delta = \text{Parisinus gr. 1580, XV cent., fols. } 82^{8}–84^{9}. \]

This manuscript, though the latest, is on the whole the best.


Opus 205. Stichera to Peter and Paul

\[ \Sigma = \text{Sinai 596, X cent., fols. } 2^{10}–3^{11}. \]

The stichera on Peter's Chains in Athos, Laura \( \Gamma' 74, \text{ XI cent., fol. } 40^{12} \) (inc. \( \text{\'O } \tau\'\οις } \pi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\nu\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\)\), joined to these two stanzas as a third by L. Sophronios, in Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος, 46 (1947), 75, follow a different metrical pattern and belong to a different liturgical date.

Opus 206. Canon to St. Nicholas

\[ \Sigma = \text{Jerusalem, Saba 362, XIII cent., fols. } 133^{13}–134^{14}. \]

\[ \Gamma = \text{Grottaferrata } \Delta a \text{ XXIV, XIII–XIV cent., fols. } 22^{15}–24^{16}. \]

\[ \Phi = \text{Vaticanus gr. 1853, a. } 1173, \text{ fols. } 92^{17}–96^{18}. \]

The Vatican manuscript is carelessly written and badly spelled. (\( \Phi \)) indicates its support of the reading cited, but with a minor (usually orthographical) difference.

This canon has been published in Analecta hymnica Graeca, ed. I. Schirò. IV, Canones Decembris, ed. A. Kominis (Rome, 1976), 164–78; cf. 803–4. The text is based on \( \Gamma \), with the following additional manuscripts collated: Parisinus Suppl. gr. 32, fols. 107–108; Parisinus gr. 928, pp. 245–249; Athos, Konstantinou 31, fols. 207–211; Meteoron, Metam. 473, fols. 35–38.

Opus 207. Canon of Thanksgiving to the Mother of God

\[ \Psi = \text{Vaticanus gr. 786, a. } 1379, \text{ fols. } 263^{19}–268^{20} \] (ends at line 188).

\[ \text{Athos, Laura } 1994 \text{ (Katholikon } 27), \text{ XIX cent., after the Akathistos. } \]

I have not seen this manuscript, which may be a copy of the edition.

\[ \epsilon = \text{Nikodemos Naxios, Theotokarion (Venice, 1883), 123–24. The original of Nikodemos' text, which, besides being complete, differs not inconsiderably from } \Psi, \text{ has not yet been found. } \]

As a general rule, purely orthographical variants have been ignored throughout.
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>ACO</td>
<td>Acta Conciliorum Occumenciorum, ed. E. Schwartz, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1914-40)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beck</td>
<td>H.-G. Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959)</td>
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<td>H. Gelzer, Ungeordnete und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum, Abhandlungen, Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, XXI, 3 (Munich, 1901), 529-641</td>
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<td>Grumel</td>
<td>V. Grumel, <em>Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, I</em>, fasc. 1, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1972); I, fasc. 2 (Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1936)</td>
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### LIST OF SIGNS

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U = Oxford, Holkham gr. 6, s. XI (200BDE)
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X = Vienna, Hist. gr. 70, s. XIV (200D)
Y = Marcianus App. gr. III 5, s. XVI med. (200D)
Z = Athens 1429, s. XII (200AB)

a = Andros, Hagias 88, s. XIII (191A)
b = Vienna, Phil. gr. 330, s. XIV (202)
c = Berlin Gr. f. 55, s. XI (193, 1941, 195, 196)
d = Athos, Dionysiou 120, s. XIV (201)
h = Athos, Panteleimon 152, s. XV (202)
i = Jerusalem, Taphou 39, s. XIII (191B)
j = Istanbul, Metochion 2, a. 1680 (194II, 197)
k = Kosimita 1, a. 1686 (194II, 197)
l = Laurentianus 52, s. XIV (191A)
m = Moscow Gr. 441 Vlad., s. XVI ex. (199)
n = Marcianus gr. 169, s. XV (191A, 201)
p = Parisinus Coislinianus gr. 211, s. XII (194II)
s = Sinai 1117, s. XIV (201)
t = Jerusalem, Taphou 181, s. XIII ex. (202)
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w = Wolfenbüttel 713, Helmstedt 663, s. XV ex. (201)
z = Patmos 366, s. XIV (194II)

Γ = Grottaferrata Δε XXIV, s. XIII–XIV (206)
Δ = Parisinus gr. 1580, s. XV (204)
Θ = Messina Gr. 135, s. XIII (204)
Λ = Athos, Laura Γ 16, s. XI (204)
Ξ = Jerusalem, Saba 362, s. XIII in. (206)
Π = Parisinus gr. 400, s. XIV (203)
∑ = Sinai 596, s. X (205)
Φ = Vaticanus gr. 1853, a. 1173 (206)
Ψ = Vaticanus gr. 786, a. 1379 (207)

ε = Nikodemos Naxios, Θεοτοκόφρον (Venice, 1883) (207)

兀 = addenda

c = puncto notantur litterae incertae
191. Ranklist of Metropolitan and Archiepiscopal Sees

A. Preface

The Patriarch Nicholas the Ancient on the Order of Seating of the Metropolitans and Archbishops, as Listed now in the Archives

It was found necessary to list here the cities that are honored with the dignity of archpriesthood and for which shepherds are ordained by the patriarch's hand, arranged as in a concise description of the world and readily accessible to anyone interested. For inasmuch as they belong to the realm that is not sullied with blood, it is fitting that each should be assigned its own place in the fold and that the authority to which they are subject and their order should be easy to survey and to ascertain for all others as well.

With the cities of the East, those of the West are also included. From of old and until the present time they were not listed with the others; but those charged with their supervision, when the time to be seated came, would be thrust aside by their equals and would thrust them aside in their turn (oh outrage!), returning like punishment for like.

However, when our Christ-loving and most pious Emperor presided jointly with us in the venerable Church of St. Irene, at the time we celebrated the memory of the illustrious patriarchs, in the presence also of metropolitans loved by God, we considered together with them the esteem...
due to each see and assigned its appropriate place to each, as set forth in the present Order of Precedence, carefully drawn up at our behest.

It appeared incongruous, indeed, that those of chancel should rival for precedence and that for the sake of honor, which is really dishonor or rather infamy, the dignity of the archpriesthood should still further be disgraced, when we ought to heed only the immortal glory which cannot wither but blossoms forever and bestows upon its lovers the grace and dignity of unfading renown.

B. The Ranklist

Order of precedence of the metropoles subject to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic and Patriarchal See of the God-guarded Imperial City of Constantinople. This order of precedence has, by a synodical examination, received its accurate form, in which it is at present registered in the Sacred Archives.

1 Caesarea
2 Ephesus
3 Heraclea
4 Ancyr
5 Cyzicus
6 Sardes
7 Nicomedia
8 Nicaea
9 Chalcedon
10 Side
11 Sebasta
12 Amasea
13 Sicily
14 Tyana
15 Gangra
16 Thessalonica
17 Claudiiopolis
18 Neocesarea
19 Pessinus
20 Myra
21 Stauropolis or Caria
22 Laodicea
23 Synada
24 Iconium
25 Antioch
26 Perge or Sylaeum
27 Corinth
28 Athens
29 Mocesus
30 Seleucia
31 Calabria
32 Patras
33 Trapezus
34 Larissa
35 Naupactus
36 Philippopolis
37 Traianopolis
38 Rhodes
<table>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Bizye</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Amastris</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Pompeiopolis</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Leontopolis</td>
<td>28</td>
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Order of precedence of the archbishoprics subject to the jurisdiction of the See of the Imperial City.
Sermon of Nicholas the Patriarch, on the Capture of Thessalonica, Pronounced from the Pulpit of the Great Church after the Entrance

A while ago I told you, dearly beloved, that the reason why God's peculiar and beloved people does not enjoy the Divine Favor, are my transgressions; and this I repeat now. My worthless prayer, which cannot rise to the Most High, condemns my intent to futility.

Thus I think and thus I feel about myself; you, however, are of the same nature, and inevitably you are all subject to sin. Examine your own consciences carefully, whether there is anything in you such as deserves reproof, anything that severs you from God's friendship and causes our cries, when we cry out, to dissolve into air. Let us consider whether we do not give evidence of a conscience thus burdened, when Divine Retribution is seen down upon our heads and we are unable to depurate it, as we hear it was deprecated in former times by those dedicated to the service of Christ, who rightfully bore his All-holy name and obtained mercy as soon as they prayed for it.

Well then, if there is anything of this kind, of which we are ashamed, by which we stand convicted as wrongdoers, and which prevents us from approaching God with confidence, let us change ourselves, let us shift the direction of our minds, and let us endeavor to be dedicated to Him Who is seen coming down upon our heads and we are unable to depurate it, as we hear it was deprecated in former times by those dedicated to the service of Christ, who rightfully bore his All-holy name and obtained mercy as soon as they prayed for it.

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I have not even yet mentioned that we are all accountable and that, if
the Divine Eye did not look kindly upon us, we would all have perished.
What, indeed, was the cause of the recent crop failures? What of the
unwonted downpour of rains, which had lost their mild and beneficent
quality? What of the impious invasion at this moment of a mixed rabble of
Assyrians and Egyptians, who in their campaign against us (oh for my
miseries!) appear like heroes, instead of the paralyzed and almost skinless
weaklings they are, according to the reports of those who know them well?
What is the cause of all this, and for what reason are we thus beset by
evil miseries!?) appear like heroes, instead of the paralyzed and almost skinless
weaklings they are, according to the reports of those who know them well?
Is it not because in God's eyes we are reckoned equally guilty? Is it
not because He scorns us and has relegated us to the side of the rejected
and because we have become hated instead of loved? If there were a single
sincere servant of God, on whose service He could rely, surely God would
have been moved by that confident prayer of which I spoke, and would
have averted these disasters, the wrath against the sinners being checked
by the servant's virtue; as it is, the wrath has been poured out on us
unmixed, and there is no one to intercede or to ward it off.

Cities have been depopulated; men slaughtered like sheep; women,
wracked from their spouses by main force, are pitifully exposed to the
shameless looks of a licentious foe. Oh that my eyes were fountains of tears
weep to over these things and others even more pitiable! Churches have
been desecrated; virgins, hallowed for the heavenly bride-chamber, have
been carried off to be raped; altars of God have been soiled by the filth of
the impure; monks and priests are divided between the sword and slavery.
Alas for the heaviest of my woes: the relics of the saints, after all their
struggles, are now mocked and mangled by the profane, and even after
death they suffer a second martyrdom.

Where, Martyr Demetrius, is your invincible succor now? How could
you allow your city to be sacked? Inaccessible to enemies under your
patronage from the time the sun saw it first, how could it experience
precious possessions; how then, one wonders, could he have borne it? Is it not the only reason why he was despised and rejected by mankind? And yet, the enemy of mankind, who was the reason for all the pain and suffering of mankind, was all too willing to suffer for mankind, even though he was despised and rejected. And this is what I want you to understand. How did you endure and tolerate this? You would certainly have told us, if we deserved (to hear your voice); but we, nevertheless, understand (what you have to say,) finding the answer in our own consciences.

What, then, is the answer? "It happened because I see our common Lord overcome with deep grief that sin is getting the upper hand and that the freedom which He bestowed on us at the cost of great pains, of the cross, and of death is despised, and we prefer to bear the shameful yoke of sin rather than to claim the honor granted to us; because, seeing Him smarting more grievously on account of this than when pain tortured Him in the piercing of His holy limbs, I am filled with sadness and became wholly immersed in the suffering of my Master; and for this reason I paid no heed when my city was wrecked, nor did I attend to the insolence of the enemies or fight to protect my friends, or even notice the indignities done (to myself) and to my fellow servants. Often, indeed, when (a man) is standing by the side of his king and sees him struck by sharp pains, even though his nearest children are in danger of death, even though his most precious possessions are on fire, even though assailants lay their hands on him, he does not heed any of these things; he is only aware of his king's anguish, and because of it his heart is all rent with pain and he shuts out the perception of what hurts him personally."

This is what I hear, and what I want you to hear also, not only from my mouth, but each of you from yourselves. How else could it be that one who on many occasions was all by himself a match for many thousands of heathens, who withstood them and put them to shame and to flight and saved his own homestead—how could it be that he (suddenly) lost his power, altogether forsook his nearest and dearest, and failed to display his holy protection? How did you endure and tolerate this? You would certainly have told us, if we deserved (to hear your voice); but we, nevertheless, understand (what you have to say,) finding the answer in our own consciences.

What, then, is the answer? "It happened because I see our common Lord overcome with deep grief that sin is getting the upper hand and that the freedom which He bestowed on us at the cost of great pains, of the cross, and of death is despised, and we prefer to bear the shameful yoke of sin rather than to claim the honor granted to us; because, seeing Him smarting more grievously on account of this than when pain tortured Him in the piercing of His holy limbs, I am filled with sadness and became wholly immersed in the suffering of my Master; and for this reason I paid no heed when my city was wrecked, nor did I attend to the insolence of the enemies or fight to protect my friends, or even notice the indignities done (to myself) and to my fellow servants. Often, indeed, when (a man) is standing by the side of his king and sees him struck by sharp pains, even though his nearest children are in danger of death, even though his most precious possessions are on fire, even though assailants lay their hands on him, he does not heed any of these things; he is only aware of his king's anguish, and because of it his heart is all rent with pain and he shuts out the perception of what hurts him personally."

This is what I hear, and what I want you to hear also, not only from my mouth, but each of you from yourselves. How else could it be that one who on many occasions was all by himself a match for many thousands of heathens, who withstood them and put them to shame and to flight and saved his own homestead—how could it be that he (suddenly) lost his power, altogether forsook his nearest and dearest, and failed to display his wonted care? The reason is the one I said: our Saviour and God, Who
emptied Himself out from His Father's bosom, Who has loved us and out of inexpressible love made us share in His Nature, is pierced by violent and bitter pains because after so much love He finds no affection in us, because after such incomparable honor bestowed upon us He finds that, so far from honoring Him, we think it no great matter to outrage Him.

And let nobody think the word too strong; it is perfectly accurate. Or is it not an outrage when, despising the Master's laws, we obey the laws of Sin; when we are deaf to His commandments and are found willing to comply with hers? What else do we do when we hate, when we envy, when we slander and indulge in abuse against one another, when not only do we fail to show compassion toward those who are in need of it, but even consider their tears a joy and a boon to ourselves? Do these things not outrage, do they not grieve, do they not hurt the Master more than the nails that pierced Him once? I think so and am convinced of it. If a lawyer, finding that a law of his own is invalidated, considers the fact an insult to himself and a cause for grief and pain, although he did not establish that law at the cost of any toil or trouble to himself, nor of any personal suffering, but simply promulgated it from his seat of office, what are we to think of Him Who wrote the law for us at the price of such toil, such suffering?

This is why the city of worldwide (fame) has been captured, this is why unfortunate Thessalonica has fallen into the cruel hands of the enemy, this is why the Martyr permitted the slaughter of the people, the outrage against the women, the deaths of the monks and priests, the profanation of the shrines, without proffering his help. This is why he tolerated all those things which to those who know how to lament pitiable events would suffice for a lifetime of lamentation.
192, 193

But let us be sober, brothers, let us wake up; let us escape from the bondage of sin, because of which all evils have made their entrance into the world. It was on its account that all flesh was swept away by the flood so that only the seed of life was permitted to survive by the Creator’s goodness; it was on account of sin that a deluge of fire consumed the condemned; it is sin that has made cities disappear, men and all, in the abyss and in a chasm of the earth; it is sin that arms the hands of the defiled against the impious; sin, while the rod of the iniquitous is striking us, does not allow Him Who made us His heritage to make His voice heard. Let us muster our strength to banish it from ourselves and from each other, by admonition, entreaty, reproof lest we too become an even more pitiful tragedy in the eyes of posterity and see our Master angered more and more; rather, may we enjoy the kindness so dear to Him, now and always and for ever and ever, amen.

193. Letter to Andronicus Ducas

Most glorious and illustrious Ducas, future Augustus Andronicus, I counsel and exhort you not to surrender, not to submit to the Emperor’s men, nor to trust the envoys who are coming to you. All the messages and letters are false and treacherous; Satan’s namesake Samonas is still raging against you. Therefore, stay where you are, holding out and gathering strength, and acting in a manner worthy of your name; then the City by our exhortations will soon ask for you. But do not forget Our Humility in the hour of achievement. Farewell.
194. First Act of Abdication

I

Inasmuch as owing to the untoward and disturbing events that have overtaken the Church of God I have found myself unable to grant a dispensation to the Christ-loving Emperor, I resign my see, preferring a life on my own, in privacy and retirement, to the uncertainty of involvement in public affairs, without, however, renouncing the divine priesthood, in whatever place we drag out our humble life.

II

Written Abdication of the Most Holy Patriarch Nicholas of Galacrene, after which He Returned again to the Patriarchal See

I, Nicholas, Archbishop of Constantinople, who only by the Grace of God have received this great and heavenly gift and have brought to it nothing of my own to deserve it: inasmuch as the untoward and disturbing events that have overtaken the Church of God have rendered it impossible to grant a dispensation to the Christ-loving Emperor: I resign my see, preferring a life on my own, in privacy and retirement, to the uncertainty of involvement in public affairs, without, however, renouncing the divine archpriesthood or the exercise of all the functions of archpriesthood, in whatever place we drag out our humble life; for we know that it is not without peril to dismiss the divine gift as if it were not pleasing, all the...
194–196

more so as by the Holy Canon those who have abdicated the sacred ministry in which they were placed, even if constrained by the fear of men, are inexorably and without pardon deposed and reduced to the rank of laymen.

195. Second Act of Abdication

Inasmuch as I have undertaken, subject to the unanimous consent of the Church, to grant dispensation to the Christ-loving Emperor in the matter of the woman who shares his life, but am faced with a long and interminable discord preventing any kind of dispensation, I cede my see to one who is able to turn this discord into unanimity; however, as regards the archpriesthood and its functions, I shall, God willing, continue to exercise them as long as I live.

196. Third Act of Abdication

Since from a state of strife and contention, worthy of archpriests of God, you have now turned to concord and friendly agreement and are therefore unanimously willing to grant dispensation to the Christ-loving Emperor in the matter of the woman who shares his life, I do not gainsay you, but acquiescing in the dispensation and commending your agreement, I resign my see; partly because, being human and having human feelings, I have suffered long mental torture by your quarrels and fights, partly also because, while attached to the Christ-loving Emperor by a love such as perhaps no other man has ever experienced, yet I was swept away by the unfortunate events to the point where I hurt him and he became embittered against me. Therefore I resign my see, choosing a state of quiet retirement in preference to the vanity of human affairs and safeguarding my own personal well-being in preference to entanglement in the troubles of man.
Nicholas the Patriarch on the Events Affecting Him and
the Former Archpriests in the Matter of the
Fourth Marriage

"I have borne and raised sons, and they have rebelled against
me"—this was said long ago of those of whom God then spoke. Now,
however, God's Church might well repeat it of the children born to her
for their own misfortune; for you have heaped evils upon yourselves while
deavoring to bring them upon others, you that were born (I know not
how, nor by what decrees of Providence, since you were to turn out
enemies instead of children) in the mystical Bride chamber of the Church.
Nevertheless, having borne you (as would God she had not!) and raised
you, she was rewarded for her labor with rebellion; for when you should
have staked your lives for the Pure One who bore you without stain, when
you should with all your might have stood up for the glory and honor of
your Mother, you chose the contrary course, and so far from braving
dangers in her defense you imperiled her, you changed the championship
endeavoring to bring them upon others, you that were born (I know not
who is lord over us?) thinking that all decency and justice has disap-
peared from among men, and that is more, if I must put into words your
entire thought, that neither does justice obtain in the world to come.

How, indeed, could you have written the text for such dramas as
these, if the notion of a just retribution were present in your minds:
concurring, in the first place, to betray your own Archpriest, charged (in
spite of his unworthiness) with the government of the Church, to betray
your own Head, and becoming foes instead of sons?

Nicholas the Patriarch on the Events Affecting Him and
the Former Archpriests in the Matter of the
Fourth Marriage

"I have borne and raised sons, and they have rebelled against
me"—this was said long ago of those of whom God then spoke. Now,
however, God's Church might well repeat it of the children born to her
for their own misfortune; for you have heaped evils upon yourselves while
deavoring to bring them upon others, you that were born (I know not
how, nor by what decrees of Providence, since you were to turn out
enemies instead of children) in the mystical Bride chamber of the Church.
Nevertheless, having borne you (as would God she had not!) and raised
you, she was rewarded for her labor with rebellion; for when you should
have staked your lives for the Pure One who bore you without stain, when
you should with all your might have stood up for the glory and honor of
your Mother, you chose the contrary course, and so far from braving
dangers in her defense you imperiled her, you changed the championship
endeavoring to bring them upon others, you that were born (I know not
who is lord over us?) thinking that all decency and justice has disap-
peared from among men, and that is more, if I must put into words your
entire thought, that neither does justice obtain in the world to come.

How, indeed, could you have written the text for such dramas as
these, if the notion of a just retribution were present in your minds:
concurring, in the first place, to betray your own Archpriest, charged (in
spite of his unworthiness) with the government of the Church, to betray
your own Head, and becoming foes instead of sons? Or is it not true that
you had for a long time been plotting this in secret and that you only
brought out your plot into the open on that day when you betrayed us
shamelessly and publicly? Indeed, when the Emperor had summoned us
and spoke these words, "All those who are of that faction, leave our
Presence," you overtly broke away from us and like a hostile force passed over
to his side; and this you did not once, but a second time too, when you had again been summoned to the Palace. Further, your denial of the pledge you made before God and angels and men that you would do nothing without our approval but would follow us in whatever dispensation we should decide upon concerning the late Emperor—what else does it actually signify but that you have no consciousness of a Judgment Seat and of a Reckoning? Then there are the words of Our Mediocrity, when it was pretended that by the Emperor's order we were all to be deported from the City, words spoken to you as you were gathered together and taking leave of each other, to the effect that none must grant any dispensation without the consent of all, but whether God would permit us to live or whether He would take us away from this world, you were to take whatever measure was necessary by common and unanimous consent, and that, if anyone did not feel this way but presumed to take any step without the joint approval of us all, he would without pardon fall under the doom of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, both in this world and in the world to come, as well as under the verdict of Our Mediocrity: is this not proof enough that you have no awareness whatsoever either of a life to come or of having to answer for your deeds?

That is what these events reveal about your characters; let us also review your subsequent actions. You drove us away from our flock; though it was apparently the Emperor who did this, he was no more than an executive acting upon your orders and by your will; it was you that, before him and with him, contrived the plot against us. This is proved by what I said already and even more fully by this. When the Emperor underwent a change of mind and the gravity of his misdeed made him suddenly come to his senses, he resolved to restore us to the place from which he had wrongfully expelled us; and he signified this to us in a letter and confirmed his decision by oaths, using as his messenger to convey both his letter and his oath, the man who at the time was his chief minister. Then, when he communicated his decision to you, you all spoke up with one voice and his oath, the man who at the time was his chief minister. Then, when he communicated his decision to you, you all spoke up with one voice and

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38 pará Karlin-Hayter: peri kj || 40 syntheposuménov j || 41 χωρίς j: χάριν k || 42 inter oinosoménae et allí; stenomewos, khrinov (leg. χρησμον) anáxeín toúto èrgon synodoikón ἦν ins. j || 42 ἐπεταλῶν j || 45 τῶν κοινῶν j || 48 pará k: peri j || μετριότης k: τιπεινόνθης j || ἐλέγχεν j || 52 τοίχων k: τοίχου j || προσεκρατεμένα ed. Oudot: proq. kj || 54 ὠμῶν k: ἡμῶν j || 61 αὐτοῦ j || 62 ὠμῶς j: ἡμῖς k || 64 μητροπολίτων j
After this commendable preamble let me tell you how you continued: you demanded an act of abdication, and God having brought your devices to naught, what you obtained was not an abdication, but a snare. For when we gave as our reason that we could not disobey the law (who indeed can do so but the godless?) and made a written declaration which, though in different terms, amounted to David’s “I hate the congregation of evildoers and will not sit with the wicked,” you pounced upon that statement as if it were a real abdication and were carried away to even greater frenzy. Yet what kind of abdication could this have been, when we were exiled, watched over by a posse of soldiers, with the knife, as it were, to our throat, not to mention other forms of pressure and compulsion: separation from those who kept me company, sang psalms with me, conversed with me, rendered me other services (favors which even those alien from the faith would have allowed me, had I fallen into their hands); the hunger; the numbing cold? I am ashamed to speak of those who had recourse to so inhumane a sentence and left us for our only comfort the warmth of a straw mattress. Thus you contrived the abdication which you claim to hold; however, it is good to cite our actual words, which run as follows:

**Act of Abdication.** “Inasmuch as the untoward and disturbing events that have overtaken the Church of God have rendered it impossible to grant a dispensation to the Christ-loving Emperor, I resign my see, preferring a life on my own, in privacy and retirement, to the uncertainty of involvement in public affairs, without, however, renouncing the divine archpriesthood or the exercise of all the functions of archpriesthood, in whatever place we drag out our humble life; for we know that it is not without peril to dismiss the divine gift as if it were not pleasing, all the more so since by the Holy Canon those who have abdicated the sacred ministry in which they were placed, even if constrained by the fear of men, are inexorably and without pardon deposed and reduced to the rank of laymen.”
Do you see, or rather, do all of you see, what kind of security this act of abdication provides for you, what the rights of ordination which you have exercised as heads of the Church are worth? Truly madness blinds a man, and caught by it (I do not know through what cause) you have not even been able to discern that, since in the so-called abdication we claim the right to exercise all the functions rightfully belonging to the incumbents of the archpriestly see “in whatever place we drag out our humble life,” your acceptance of this bestowed on us (in so far as it was for you to bestow), instead of the episcopal see from which you intended to expel us, sovereign power over every episcopal see: by banishing us from Constantinople you gave us authority over all cities. Precious indeed are the rights you derive from this abdication, the stronghold and base of your usurped power, from which in your frenzy you have sallied forth to be proclaimed the lawgivers and dispensators of fornication, affronting not merely the priestly order but the whole Christian community. When I said “fornication,” I meant even worse: “more than fornication,” as is the opinion of the Divine Doctor and of those who do not despise him.

Let this be all the comment your actions are deemed worthy, lest my account, by enlarging upon all your rampant outrages against God and His law, should rouse decent men to well-deserved hate against you. Yet your later misdeeds are not less, but more flagrant; they shall, however, be passed over in silence in order not to kindle the just hatred of the pious against you for your splendid performance. Who, indeed, when he hears of you derive from this abdication, the stronghold and base of your usurped sovereignty over every episcopal see: by banishing us from Constantinople you gave us authority over all cities. Precious indeed are the rights you derive from this abdication, the stronghold and base of your usurped power, from which in your frenzy you have sallied forth to be proclaimed the lawgivers and dispensators of fornication, affronting not merely the priestly order but the whole Christian community. When I said “fornication,” I meant even worse: “more than fornication,” as is the opinion of the Divine Doctor and of those who do not despise him.

Canon 18 of the Chalcedonian Council, beginning, “The crime of conspiracy.”
Canon 5 of the First Ecumenical Council, beginning, “Regarding those excommunicated.”

Canon 9 of the Synod at Carthage, beginning, “May it please you to decree as follows.”

Canon 2 of the Second Ecumenical Council, beginning, “Bishops outside their dioceses.”

As for the decrees concerning fornication and those sullied with this stain, who ever could be ignorant of them, I do not say among ordained priests or even common adults, but among those who still have the intelligence of children?

Therefore, in view of these and the foregoing facts and in compliance with the divine and holy canons, albeit with grief and heartrending pain, yet in confirmation of the sacred decree that divests you of your priestly rank and dignity, of which you have been the first to divest yourselves, this Holy Synod, which has endured the past perils for the glory of the Church, adds its own verdict, deposing you and depriving you of all archpriestly activity and power.
198. Letter to John the Catholicus of Greater Armenia

To the most holy, God-loving, spiritual Father and our very dear Brother Lord John, Catholicus of Greater Armenia, from Nicholas, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople and servant of the servants of God: greetings in the name of the Lord.

I think that your God-loving Lordship is not unaware of the deep sorrow and ceaseless grief of our heart on behalf of the Armenians, the Iberians, and the Albanians, who collectively comprise your faithful flock, upon whom the Ishmaelite Saracen tyrants have inflicted severe travail and afflictions. Although we could not witness with our own eyes the visitation of danger upon your flock, as we are physically beyond range, yet, hearing of the trouble that your land is suffering at the hands of the wicked, we deplore it with deep personal grief and mourn with great sorrow. If those of us who are at a great distance from you have received these tidings through hearsay with such personal grief, then how much more severely all these must have affected you, who partook of the torments together with your flock and were persecuted as well as clubbed and beaten by the impious and wicked rebels. What could be done that might have been proper and fit? What could be said in consolation for such wickedness? How could righteousness follow this in order to dispel the scandal which is close at hand?

Now, if it seems proper to your Holiness, first of all, it is necessary to call upon the Divine Providence and succor at all times, and lifting up your arms, ask the Lord God with all your heart to have mercy on your flock, namely, the Armenians, the Iberians, and the Albanians. Think of the public welfare, and never again tolerate its abuse. Take upon yourself the task of admonishing all of them at all times in the knowledge of God, as well as that of binding and absolving them with the Christ-given authority, with which you were invested to perform matters in heaven and on earth. At least, stop the wicked hostilities that prevail among them. Do not let them remain in their wild, beastly state, whereby they fall upon one
another in rage in order to kill. Let them return to human rationality and Christian serenity, wherewith salvation will be granted to the rest of the people in the lands of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania.

My Humility made haste to write to you first and give this brief friendly advice. We sent another letter like this to your Curopalate and to the Prince of Abasgia, whom we advised to listen to you, to forget their animosities, to seek friendship, unity, and peaceful coexistence with one another as well as with all the Armenian and Albanian princes, to come together unanimously and fight against the children of the ungodly enemy Aposatai so that you might not all perish and so that the kindred races that are under your sway might not be shaken. Now, your Holiness must try to extirpate the wicked animosities among the princes by talking to them face to face, or by means of letters and encyclicals, as well as with the help of bishops, priests, and holy men, and see to it that they are not negligent in this. You must encourage them to turn to better things, such as the redemptive mysteries and salutary works. For if you are thus of one accord and unified, the destructive evil will be unable to bring any kind of affliction upon your land. And while you yourself carry out these matters, our God-crowned Emperor will send large forces to your aid in accordance with the demands of the times so that your Curopalate as well as the Prince of Abasgia together with the princes and the nobility of Armenia might join our forces and, with the help of God and through your priestly intercession having fought against the enemy, the so-called accomplice of the devil, might vanquish them.

Only then, both you and we shall grant them remission for their sinful animosity, which they iniquitously allowed to prevail among themselves. And as it befits your Holiness, you may grant each one his rights so that every individual may be reinstalled in his former office. Hereafter, let there be the peace of Christ among you, and let your prayers, which shine with holiness, be with our Humility.
199. Tract on the Tetragamy

I

"Οτι το λέγειν τον δημιουργόν τον παντός περι τον Αδάμ «Ποιησομεν αυτῷ βοηθόν κατ' αὐτόν» οὐκ ἄλοι πλεύονων γάμων ἔπτροπε, ἀλλὰ μόνου ενός· διὰ τούτου καὶ μίαν πλάττει γυναῖκα καὶ μίαν ἔξελεν πλευράν τοῦ Αδάμ, ἣν καὶ εἰς γυναῖκα διαπλάσας νυμ-5 φαγωγεῖ αὐτῷ. Ὡσε ὁ παρά θεοῦ γυμφωγογιά μίαν ὅλης συνάφειαν, αἱ δὲ παρὰ ταύτην οὐκ ἠρτίνται ὑπὲρ νόμου, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως συγκαχώρητε.

II

"Οτι το «Ποιησομεν αὐτῷ βοηθόν κατ' αὐτόν» οὐ τοιούτων διὰ τὴν συνάφειαν, εἰ καὶ συμβαίνει διὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους διαδοχήν, ὥσον διὰ τὴν μόνον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν βίον εἰρήται ἀπορίαν· ὅπερ εἰ εἰδώς ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑστερον τῷ αἰσθητέρῳ μέρει καὶ ἀποφυτέρω 5 τὸν δεύτερον ἐπιτρέπει γάμον, τούτου γυναίξε, καὶ οὐκ ἀνδράξε τοὺς μᾶλλον μὴ δεομένοις πρὸς τῷ ζην βοηθεῖας.

III

"Οτι καὶ τὸ «Ἐνεχεν τούτου καταλέιψει ἀνθρώπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα» περὶ μονογαμίας εἰρήται. Ἡ οὐχι πρὸς τὴν πρώτην συνάφειαν ὁμογένες ἀνθρώποι καταλέιπενοι τοὺς οὐκέτας γονέας καὶ πρὸς μίαν σάρκα συνάπτονται; Πρόδηλον οὖν ὡς ἐκείνη μόνη 5 καρώς ἐν εἴη γαμετή, δι' ἣν ἡ καταλέψεις τοῦ πατρός καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τῷ πρὸς ταύτην συναπτομένῳ διαπράττεται.
If we are to permit a fourth marriage, we must do so not for one, but for all; this, however, is a denial of the Christian faith.

From the Lord’s incarnation, too, we learn that only a single marriage is the law laid down by God. For since it was only one man’s rib that was taken to shape woman and thus there was only one debt that Eve owed to Adam, it was one Virgin who in return gave to one Son, incarnated on behalf of Adam, the matter for the formation of His Holy Flesh from her immaculate blood, and thereby repaid the debt owed by the first mother. Consequently, if the debt of woman to man is one and the repayment of the debt is one, not two women shall be joined to a man, but one only.

If the Lord’s coming meant an improvement and a perfection for human society, how is it conceivable that He Who lifted man up from an imperfect way of life should not prevent him from entering into a succession of marriages? Even the Law does not permit such a thing, except to preserve a brother’s image in a child, although some who lived under the Law did contract several marriages.

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VII 1 ei add. Wk | 2 βίον Wk: λόγος in
When the Lord came to us, he established a higher, not a lower, standard than the one He had set for His creature originally. Whereas He then joined woman to man, He now says that He has arrived (or "come") to sever the man from his wife and the son and the daughter from their father and mother. What sense does it make, then, to hold that polygamy was not forbidden by the Lord?

Further, the Divine Apostle’s decree on ordination, where he prescribes that only husbands of one wife are acceptable for the divine service, teaches us precisely this: that marriage as ordained by God is by its nature only one. For this reason, because such a marriage is irreproachable, those who have lawfully fulfilled their duty in it are not unworthy of ordination, while marriages beyond this are subject to censure; therefore no one who has remarried is admitted to the holy ministry. But if even the second marriage is not blameless inasmuch as it is not instituted by God (since all that God made is "very good"), how can anybody say that a third or fourth marriage is not forbidden by God?

XI

"Oti to to to apostolou «Kalven anthyropon gynaiakos mh epitsteuia» tin agamian protomantos eirnetai; de tis noimou suneexos tin agamian prokrinion tis epitrepetai paranevmos synapsteusa; Sofaldontai ouin oi lexontes ton apostolou dia to lexen «Kreisouson» gamhria h purothsis plieusin epitrepemv amilev gammais, alh E paraaneves to eva monoin didadakei.

XII

"Oti o megas apostolos Paulos parainvws dein tois anbrias argapin tais gynaiakes ws ta eauonton somata, kadois kai o Xristos tin ekkliesian, debruvn eplaingos tois mh pantelias apostetepilomevnois mous kai mouh anbri synapsteusa ophelion gunvakai oude yap duo to to Xristou ekkliesia, alla mia paraedostoni katholikai kai apostolidi ekkliesia. Phosi de ouws «Opheliouson oi anbrias argapin tais eauonton gynaiakes ws ta eauonton somata oudeis yap pote tin eauont sarka emispor, all apostepies te kai thalasse auth, kadois kai o kuriros tin ekkliesian.» Ka to eixh de, «To monisterion touto megas estin, evo de lew eis Xriston kai tin ekkliesian,» fanerwv apostepies tin upodevgoymvna propodou. Ei de mh chora to deuterwv gama, tis an upoleiptisto tois plieusin;

XIII

"Oti dia to to epithe ton thevou Basilion «porneian ekkolasmevn» tin trigamias ekkolastia h teoterein synadria, kai monos onomafovmon «poligamias,» kai monh eperon perai tahtis eirnetai. Eirh yap «ekkolasmvevn porneian» tin trigamias, iana sarfous eitevnoi oi plieon epitetepin movos ws proa fanerov ekeladnvna porneian, ei kai tahtis phosi «pleion» echein tin poligamias ou meta tahta entetagynvnoi kanon.
XIV

"Оτί «πλέον πορνείας» ή πολυγαμία, διότι ο πόρνος, ει, και πράττει το παράνομον, μεταδίκασε το κρύφον - ή δε πολυγαμία δημοσιευμένη εισήγει και παρηγαγεί πολιτευμένη την παρανομία.

XV

"Оτί µή διότι τινές πολλάςαν τῶν κατεχόντων τοὺς νόμους παραδώσει τήν παράβασιν αὐτῶν, διὰ τούτο δεῖ καὶ ἄλλους ἀντίχειαν τοῦ νόμου καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τόπον τὰ παραβαθέντα καὶ παράδειγμα.

XVI

"Οτί ἡ οἰκονομία οὐκ ἐπὶ βεβαιώσει τῶν ἀμαρτανόμενων γίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ ἀμαρτάνοντος· ὅτι ἡ οἰκονομία ἐπὶ καταγωγῆς τοῦ σφάλματος γίνεται ἐκ' ὧν ἀδίκουσα τῆς οἰκονομίας διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν οἱ ἐξήκοντος τῷ ἀμαρτήματι: ὅτι ἡ οἰκονομία κοινής εἶς ἐστι καὶ διάδοσις ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ' ὧν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τελείται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἱδίας τις καὶ ἀποτελείμενη τοῖς λαμβανομένοις χάρις.

XVII

"Οτι τὴν διάζευξιν εἰ καὶ µή λόγον, ἀλλά πράγματι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τρανςτερον τῆς εἰκόνας παρακελεύοντος, παρακελεύεται ο κανόνι. Τὰ γὰρ ἑπεφανεῖν ἐκ τῶν ιερῶν περιβάλλων ἀφορισμοὺ, τυπάσων ἢ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκομή, ἢ πρόστασις διαξείδωσε; Επετεί 5 γάρ ἡ ἀμαρτία ἀποτασαμένη ἠνέκοψε ἐκατοφ, ἀνάγκη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τυπάσων τοῦ σώματος τῶν πιστῶν ἐκτέμνεσθαι τὸν ἤνικον τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ποτὲ συναφείᾳ τῷ ἐξ οὗ διετήσας σώματι µή τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐνόσσως διαστάς. Ὡσπερ γὰρ ο ταύτῳ ἐνυθεῖς τὴν ἀρχήν ἀνάκτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὕτω πάλιν ὁ μέλλων συναφθήσε 10 τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνάγκη τῆς ἀμαρτίας τούτου διάσπασιν: ἀμηχανοῖν δὲ ἀμφότερα συνάδραμεν, τὸ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ ἡνώσθαι καὶ τῷ µῆ τοῦ σώματος τῶν πιστῶν κεχωρισμένον γνωρίζεσθαι.

199 XIV–XVII

XIV

Polygamy is “more than fornication,” because the fornicator, in spite of his lawless behavior, still seeks secrecy, whereas polygamy introduces sin practiced openly as an acknowledged social institution.

XV

The face that some of those charged with enforcing the laws often connive at their being transgressed, is no reason for others to despise the law and make the transgression a pattern and an example.

XVI

Dispensation is not granted to support sin, but to free from sin and save the sinner; dispensation aims at the condemnation of the error for which it is extended, out of clemency, to those in the grip of that sin; dispensation is universal and distributed to all those for whose benefit and salvation it is given; it is not a personal favor restricted to the receivers.

XVII

Though the canon does not prescribe separation in so many words, it does so in fact and in a way clearer than a mere verbal command. What else, indeed, is exclusion from the sacred precincts, in other words, exulsion from the body of the Church, but an order of separation? For since sin has seduced the man and united him to herself, the one so united with sin must be severed from the Church, that is, from the body of the faithful, and he can never be united again with the body from which he was cut off, unless he detaches himself from the union with sin. In the same way as at the beginning the man who united himself with sin removed himself from the Church, so the one who is to rejoin the community of the Church must separate himself from sin; it is impossible for the two to go together, being united with sin, and not being found severed from the body of the faithful.
XVIII

'Otī oi lẹrōuνotės ὡς τὸ «πλέον πορνείας» εἶναι τὸ ἀμάρτημα οὐκ ἔστι πλέον τῆς ἀνεμένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς κεκαλωμένης, τούτῳ τῆς τριγμαίας, εἶπάτωσαν τί τὸ πλέον λογίζονται πρὸς τὴν ἀνεμένην. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ πλέον ἑκέννης, πάντως ἔξει τὸ ἱσον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἢ τὸ ἔλκατον. 5 Τί δὴ ποτ' οὖν ἡ μεῖζον, τουτέστιν ἡ ἀνεμένη, ἀνθρώπινον λογίζεται ἀμάρτημα καὶ μονήμας τυγχάνει παρὰ τῶν συνημματικῶν ιατρῶν καὶ θεραπείας ἀξίοστα τά ἐκείνα παρὰ ταῦτα σωυτηρίας καὶ οὐδετερὸς αὐτὴν εἰρύχθην ὀντὶ κάλλοστον φώσεως ἀνθρώπινον, ὁτέσποῦτον ὁτι «καθισιδέρως», ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἔφην χαυρωθείς, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τὸ παράτατον ἱσοῦς καὶ τῆς ὀφελομένης ἀξίοστα μεθοδεύσας, ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν νομοζυμμένην ἐλάττων παρὰ τοῖς σοφοὶς τούτοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνόστησι, οὔτε τὸς τῶν ἰδιῶν πατέρων μνήμης ἡμῶν ὑμής ἐκείνον ὀντὶ τρόπος θεραπείας περὶ αὐτῆς εἰγώρηται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλότριον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένους καὶ πρὸς τὸν βιον τῶν κτηνῶν ἀπέρριμμάν κανέως ὁπίτος μνήμης καὶ συνόδους ἀπάσασι καὶ ἱδία τοῖς πατράσι μέχρι του ἰδίου καταλέλειπτο τους Βασιλείους; Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἔλκατον, τί δὴ ποτὲ τούτου οὐ τυγχάνει ὧν τὰ μέμελα; Εἰ δὲ ἱσοῦ, πάλιν ἀρμόσται ταῦτα δὴ τὰ εἰρήμενα καὶ ὕπτα τούτων ἡγείτος ἐτερος.

XIX

'Otī πρὸς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν ἁγίων ἀπευθύνθατα οἰκονομεῖν, ὃ ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐρήμτησα, ἰδίως. Πᾶθεν αὐτός ἐπέλεξεν τῆς οἰκονομῆς ἡ δύναμις. Ὅτι γὰρ ἔστιν μὴ δύνασθαι οἰκονομεῖν τοῦτο εἰρήται διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακόνησεως τοιαύτην λαμβανόντας ἐπιτροπὴν. Πᾶθεν δὲν ἐκείνος τῆς οἰκονομῆς ἡ παροικία; Εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, δῆλον ἀπὸ τῶν θεομών τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τεοπίζει καὶ δεινώτωσαν ποῦ τοῦτο τεθεσφαίρισαν εὑρίσκομεν. Εἰ δὲ η δεξίας ἁμάρχας (πῶς γὰρ δεξίοντο τὸ μὴ ἰδίως), πρόδρομον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ εὐαντίου πνευμάτος καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτώς καὶ τὸ οἰκονόμημα. Ἐφ' ὡς δὲν αὐτός οἰμῶομεν ὡς κατεκρίσθης, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἄδημος δησαυφεύθη.
As for their absurd plea of unanimity (they claim that it was by a unanimous vote of themselves and of certain others, to whom they assign the decisive voice in their unanimous decision, that this marriage alien from mankind was declared acceptable), the answer should be that one must not obey a unanimous evil decision, but rather take a course of dissent that is free from evil. Indeed, from the beginning of things and down to this day, those who are in an evil purpose will find no excuse in this unanimity to escape condemnation. The first to be unanimous were the snake and Eve, and we all inherit the consequences as long as we live. There was unanimity in the building of the Tower, but that unanimity was war against God. Joseph's brothers were unanimous in their plot against him, but their unanimity was fratricidal. Why should I mention these cases? All mankind was unanimous in the matter of idolatry, and the only one to dissent from this unanimous alliance against God was Abraham; yet he alone because of his pious dissent received the name and rank of God's friend, whereas the others were alienated from God and from their own salvation. One should therefore not consider unanimity by itself, but in reference to the action for which unanimity exists. The whole people, and even Aaron, the priest of God, were unanimous with regard to the Calf, but in spite of this Aaron was called to account and the people perished, twenty-three thousand of them falling on one day. There was unanimous willingness to worship the image among all to whom Nebuchadnezzar acceded to the wish of the married couple, should be asked what was the reason for their compassion. If it was for God's sake, permission must be given also to all others who wish to enter into such a marriage, and compassion should be shown in the first place to the weaker, whose needy condition perhaps provides some ground for acting in a spirit of compassion. If it was not for God's sake (and they cannot possibly say it was), it is clear that the sympathy and the sympathizers are jointly condemned.

Those who say that they were moved by compassion and therefore acceded to the wish of the married couple, should be asked what was the reason for their compassion. If it was for God's sake, permission must be given also to all others who wish to enter into such a marriage, and compassion should be shown in the first place to the weaker, whose needy condition perhaps provides some ground for acting in a spirit of compassion. If it was not for God's sake (and they cannot possibly say it was), it is clear that the sympathy and the sympathizers are jointly condemned.
XXII

"Οτι ο περί τής ἀνθρωπίνης ζωής δρος οὐκ εἰς ἀνέκρυπνη περιγράφεται, ὡς ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰμαρμένη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τὸν πλάσθην ὀρέ καὶ τὴν ἐκάστοτε ἡμῶν προαιρέσθην, ὡς εἰς ἁρχής εἰς τῶν πρωτοπλάστων γέγονεν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐκάσαν δρόσος ἐπέκυκλεὶ ἀνανάστασι καὶ ὑνετότητις οὐκ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ θείου κελεύσματος, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀμφοτέρου, τῆς δειας ἐντολῆς καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν προαιρέσεως. Ὅτι οὖν ὑπήρξε τότε, καὶ οὐν τούτο ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκάστοτε γεγένετο, καὶ τῷ τοῦ προστάγματος ἢ φανέρως γίνεται: ἀρίζεται μὲν τά τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν παρά τῷ δεόι καθός πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δὲ τῇ αὐτεξουσίῳ ῥοπή πρὸς τοῦτό ἡ πρὸς τὸ χέριν σερομένων κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστοτε προαιρέσιν καὶ ἡ διετής συνενδοχοίς οὐκ ἀπλῶς ἀλλὰ δικαίως συνεπιρρέει.

XXIII

"Οτι τοὺς λέγουσι τὸ «πλέον τῆς πορνείας» πρὸς τὴν τριγμαίαν εἰρήνην τοῦ κανόνι οὐ μόνον συμβαίνει τὸ λήρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατηγορεῖν τὸν τὸν κανόνα ἑκτενεχότας πατρός. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, τὸν ἐπέκεινα τὸ γ' γάμου πλέον ἔχειν εἰς πορνείας φησιν ὁ 5 κανόνα, πῶς οὐχ ἐκόντες καὶ ἀκόντες τὴν κατηγορίαν ταύτην κατὰ τὸν θείου παραρέχεται Βασιλείου; Τὸ γὰρ τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγνώρησεν ὡς τὰ τέσσαρα τοῦ τρίτου πλέον καὶ ὡς τὸ τετράδας ἀμαρτήσεις τοῦ τρίτον ἀμαρτάνοντος ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ἐξήματε, καὶ τότε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτήματος τὴν πράξιν ἔχοντο; Οὐ τούτον ἔχει λόγον πρὸς τὴν τριγμαίαν ἀρχήν τοῦ «πλέον τῆς πορνείας» εἰπέν τὸν μέγαν ἁρχερήσα: τούτο γάρ παντὶ γνώριμον καὶ οúde δέν ὧδε τῶν μεμνημένων ἐς χρείαν τοιαύτην καθεστώτας διάσκολας ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ἄπολοτον καὶ ἀναμεμένην πορνείαν ἔχε τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἢ τοῦ κανόνος ἐξήματος, εἰ καὶ μὴ οὕτως δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὡς ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὡς κακοφρονής τοῖς 10 πλέον εἰς ἀνασφάλειαν τῶν μεμνημένων ἀποφεφεμένως δι' ὧν ποιούνται τὴν περί τοῦ κανόνος ἐξήματον.

XXII

The limit of human life is not determined by necessity, as the Greek doctrine of fate declares, but it depends, on the one hand, on the Creator, and on the other hand, on the freewill of each of us, just as it was originally, in the case of the first-created. For them, too, a limit was set for immortality and mortality, resting not only on the Divine Ordinance but on both, God's commandment and their own freewill. As it was then, so it is now at the moment of each man's birth, though the decree is not revealed: the course of our lives is determined by God for our good, and according as by voluntary inclination we tend either toward the good or toward the worse, Divine permission follows our trend, not arbitrarily, but justly.

XXIII

Those who maintain that in the canon “more than fornication” is said in reference to the third marriage, besides talking nonsense themselves, also accuse the Father who formulated the canon of doing so. If, indeed, according to the canon says that the marriage after the third adds to the sin of fornication, are they not evidently exposing St. Basil to this charge, whether they intend to or not? Who on earth does not know that four is more than three, and that a man who sins four times has sinned more than the one who does so for the third time, provided the sin is the same? Consequently, it makes no sense to say that the great archpriest used the phrase “more than fornication” in view of the third marriage, since this is obvious to anyone and not even a madman needs that kind of instruction; rather, the canon should be interpreted with reference to unbounded and unrestrained fornication, though they refuse to recognize this, not because they do not know, but because they are quibblers who let themselves go beyond the obtuseness of madmen in their interpretation of the canon.
The answer to their contention, not to the Apostle’s words “It is better to marry than to burn” (for though the sounds are the same, the utterance of the apostle of truth is one thing, and that of the disciples of falsehood another), must be as follows: “If you allow the union with a fourth wife to relieve burning passion, you will necessarily also allow it for a fifth, a sixth, and so on, until the burning that troubles a man comes to an end.” But surely they will not (stop at allowing him) to marry one wife in successive marriages; of course, they will grant such relief for his burning passion also when there is a wife available, permitting him to have, instead of one wife, two and three and more simultaneously, if things happen to be that way. Many married men, indeed, dislike their own wives, while burning with passion for those of others. So what prevents these humane lawmakers from marrying such cases of “burning” to several wives at a time, and from allowing the wife, if the burning passion demands this, to run away from her own husband and to live with her burning lover?

To those who declare, “The fourth wife is permitted only in the emperor’s case, but forbidden to all other persons, and a law is in force which contains a fearful sanction,” the Apostle’s words is applicable: “Think-est thou this, vain man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest it thyself, an example of the law which contains a fearful sanction? Cast out the beam out of thine own eye and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.” For though the sounds are the same, the Apostle’s word is applicable: “Think-est thou this, vain man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest it thyself, an example of the law which contains a fearful sanction?”
Further, if the marriage is permitted to the emperor, it will inevitably be permitted also to other emperors. Surely it cannot be permitted to the one on the ground of his imperial dignity and refused to the others: as they hold equal rank, so they will also inherit equal freedom of action when a similar situation presents itself; and why should such a case be limited to one person and not extend to several? Then, necessarily, just as water flows down from elevated points high up in the mountains, the evil will spread unchecked to the lower classes. Besides, what man is willing to obey a legislation which he sees is despised by the lawgiver? On the contrary, man's unruly nature cannot be trusted to conform even to a command that is held in the highest honor by the one who gave it. Look at the Divine Commandments, those of the Holy Apostles, of the Fathers, which, though promulgated by their deeds rather than by their words, are slighted owing to man's bent toward the inferior.

Against those who argue that we should not draw up strict rules on account of one man's error, we must say: By the sin of one man death has entered into the world, and for the sake of one man's fault the Creator did not spare it, though he sinned only once, but abandoned it to death.

Further, as the Apostle has it, "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump"; but this is not a case of a little leaven, there is only too much of it! And if a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, what will a mass like this do?

Are not the words, "I charge thee before God and His elect angels that thou observe these things without preferring one before another," frightful even to hear? How much more frightful, then, to put into actual practice what these wretched matchmakers call dispensation!
200. The Tome of Union

A. Argument

An account as to how the Emperor, Lord Leo, ventured upon the fourth marriage and how it was abolished by the Tome of Union

Leo the Most Wise had for his first consort Saint Theophano, who bore him a daughter; the child, however, died soon. When the Saint herself, too, had departed to the Lord, he wedded Zoe the daughter of Stylianus Tzaoutzas, one of the Emperor's magistrates and friends. When she also died childless after a short time, he married a third wife, Eudocia, from the theme of Opsikion, chosen because of her beauty; she died in childbirth with the baby. The Emperor, afflicted by inexpressible sorrow at being left without a son, was driven by his desire for a child to take a fourth wife, Zoe Carbonopsina, who bore him Constantine.

The Patriarch Nicholas, however, and the metropolitans excommunicated the Emperor. The excommunication, in the opinion of some of the archpriests, was to be brief and not to be extended over a longer period of time, while others did not share this view; and there were schisms between them and great discord. So when the Emperor begged and entreated them urgently, the one group was willing to admit him, the others refused and were adamant. Then the Emperor, intelligent enough to be aware of the origin of the dissension between the archpriests, removed the Patriarch Nicholas and banished him from the Church as a liar, who again and again argued and promised under oath to grant the Emperor indulgence of his penance, but as many times changed his mind and delayed intentionally; as again and again assured and promised under oath to grant the Emperor indulgence of his penance, but as many times changed his mind and delayed intentionally; as

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from the Church and reinstated Nicholas who had been removed from his office. Then the situation in the Church was even more turbulent, for the metropolitans were divided, some siding with the deposed Patriarch, some with the one that had replaced him.

Shortly after, Alexander died, and Constantine succeeded to the throne. Having convoked the Patriarch Nicholas and all the archpriests (Euthymius had meanwhile departed to the Lord), he persuaded them to join in one unanimous resolution, granting by common consent absolution to his Father even after death, but also passing a canonical decree to the effect that no one should dare to commit this sin again. On this understanding the present "Tome of Union" was issued.

B. Text

Decree or Record of the Union of the Church under Constantine and Romanus, the Former Being Emperor, the Latter at the Time Distinguished by the Rank of Basileopator

Our Lord and God Jesus Christ left to His disciples and apostles and to all those who after them were found worthy of guarding His inheritance, the gift of peace as a unique heritage, making this the mark whereby His own people should be recognized as belonging to Him, if they were tightly joined together by the bond of peace and never disrupted the unity of the Spirit. First, He showed us by His own example what value He sets upon...
peace by the fact that, though being above all that is high, He came down to our lowest depth and shared our flesh and blood so that He might establish unity among those who were divided from each other; then, to those instructed in His teachings, He left this as their inheritance, to live in peace with one another and, what is more, to bring peace to others who are at strife.

However, this being so, the rebellious malice of the Evil One has never ceased, since the beginning and until this day, from disturbing the holy complement of the Church by stirring up now one occasion, then another. Such is his nature; but Christ our God, the Cause and Teacher of Peace, Who has said that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church, always turns the machinations of the Evil One upon his own head and preserves the peace of the Church unscathed. It is He, our Peace, Christ our God, the Father, the High Priest, the True Shepherd, Who when the holy children of His most pure Bride the Church had been torn from each other, brought about their union by His Providence and Grace and gathered them together in the immaculate bosom of their Mother, thereby granting that she might rejoice in the gathering of her children, that He Himself might receive the offering of praise from one mouth and one heart, and that all those who do not swerve toward the subversive purpose of the devil but honor the commandment of Him Who is the Cause of peace, might offer up thanksgiving to Him.

In the olden times there were various causes for scandals, whatever they may have been, and on each occasion when evil reared its head, the wise stewards of the Church found the appropriate cure. In the present case, since the disturbance in the Church is occasioned by a marriage, inasmuch as the marriage is not exempt from blame, the holy decree of the Church, always turns the machinations of the Evil One upon his own head and preserves the peace of the Church unscathed. It is He, our Peace, Christ our God, the Father, the High Priest, the True Shepherd, Who when the holy children of His most pure Bride the Church had been torn from each other, brought about their union by His Providence and Grace and gathered them together in the immaculate bosom of their Mother, thereby granting that she might rejoice in the gathering of her children, that He Himself might receive the offering of praise from one mouth and one heart, and that all those who do not swerve toward the subversive purpose of the devil but honor the commandment of Him Who is the Cause of peace, might offer up thanksgiving to Him.
Church ordains its prevention, and that it shall not be allowed to take place again. Thus, now and henceforth, release from the prevailing scandals will be obtained by all who do not choose quarrel and strife above the peace of Christ; indeed, when the occasion that gave rise to the scandals has been removed, there is no reason for the peacefully minded not to live in peace. This is true in every situation: once the calamitous cause that produced the untoward events has been eliminated, the things that were adversely affected by it for a time are restored to their former normal state. Therefore, we have gathered together archpriests and priests, all those who, rather than choosing to please themselves (not to speak of pleasing others), sought peace for the Church instead of strife, and, since the scandals originated in matters of marriage, we have decided on measures to clear them away and to provide safeguards that they will never again appear in our society either to trouble the Church or to make the lives of those who adopt such conduct subject to censure and condemnation.

So now we declare unanimously and by common consent that from this present year, which is the year 6428, in the eighth indiction, no one shall venture to contract a fourth marriage, but that it shall be utterly banned, and that anyone who should wish to enter into such a union shall be excluded from every religious congregation and even forbidden to enter the holy temple, as long as the union continues. This, in fact, is what the
γάρ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἄγας ἔδωκε πατράσι: καὶ ἤμεις δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἐνδηλιοτέραν ποιοῦντες ὡς ἐλλότριον αὐτὸν τῆς Χριστιανικῆς πολιτείας ἀποκρύπτομεν.

Αλλ’ οὕτω μὲν περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου γάμου. 'Ταύτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν 70 ἐλλάδων γάμων εὐσήμνιοτέρων τυπωθή καὶ τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν βίου μὴ ἀνάξιον ἔχει τὴν προσγεγραμμένην, καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου ὑγίου γάμου όστα μὴ ἀπλός μηδὲ ώς ἐξεχν. ἐπετελεσθάτο αὐτὸν. Καὶ γὰρ συγκεχορίσθη μὲν ὡς ρύπασμα τοῖς πατράσις, οὕτω τότε καθὼς νῦν γνωμένου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπροσθερμημένου οὕς ἕλεγκτος ἐξηλεκτούμενον, ἀλλ’ ὑπότερ εἰ τὰς ἐν ὑπὸ παραπτωμάτως ἐν γυναῖκα παράδοσε πολλάκις κειμένων ρύπασμα- νῦν δὲ, ὃτι χώραν ἔλαβε παραρθήματι καὶ ως οὕς ἔχει εἰς ἀριθμοὺς φυσικώς λογιζέται ἐκ τοῦ προβάθεια εἰς πληθυσμόν, καλῶς ἔδωκεν ἀνακαθάρισεν αὐτὸν, ὑπότερ καὶ ἄλογος οὕς ἐν γυναῖκα παρερημισμένον, ἀλλ’ ἐξηλεκτούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς 80 οἰκίας, οὕδαμος ἐδόμεν, ἀλλὰ καθαρίσας καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦτος ἀνδρὸς ἀποβάλλομεν.

Καὶ τῇ ἀνθυπατήν τοῖς ὑποστήκοσιν ἀπεπιλάτεσε καὶ τῇ προτούσῃ ἐς εὐσήμνιον προφανεία ποιούμενον τῇ Χριστιανικῇ ζωῇ, τούτῳ ἐπί τῶν τριγάμων παραμυθεσθαί διορίζεσθαι, ωστε εἰς τις 85 πρὸς τεσσαρακοσίων αναβαθμίσεις ἔτος καὶ μήτε τὴν φύσιν αἰδούμενος μήτε τῆς ὑφελαμένης Χριστιανικῆς εἰκόνομος ζωῆς προφανεία ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ μόνης τῆς ἐμπάθειας ἐπιθυμίας γνώμης πρὸς τρίτου εὐαυτοῦ εἰπόρρητο γάμου, τοῦτον μετὰ πάσης ἀκρίβειας καὶ παραπτήρευσεν μέχρι πεντετέτεις ἀμέτοχον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ἀγαμοῦ 90 μεταληφθὼς καὶ μηδαμίας ἐπ’ αὐτὸ συντήρησε τοῦ χρόνου. Ὡς


200 B

Holy Fathers before us have also decreed; and we, too, making their view more explicit, excommunicate him as alien from the Christian polity.

So much for the fourth marriage. However, in order that other marriages as well may follow a stricter rule and not take place in a way unworthy of the life of Christians, we also decree with regard to the third marriage that it shall not be concluded indiscriminately or arbitrarily. It is true that it was permitted by the Fathers as a “defilement,” because at that time it was not perpetrated unblushingly, as it is now, and had not spread widely, but could be overlooked as in a house one overlooks some dirt that has fallen in a corner. But now that it has come to be openly recognized and is regarded as having nothing shameful or defiling, because examples have multiplied, we have deemed it right to cleanse it, just as, when something indecorous is not lying unnoticed in a corner, but is spread all over the house, we do not leave it there, but clean it out and rid ourselves of the distaste it causes.

Accordingly, showing indulgence for human weakness on the one hand, and concern for the decency that befits the Christian life on the other, we decree that the following shall be observed in cases of third marriages. If a man who has reached his fortieth year abandons himself, without respect for nature or concern for the sober life that becomes a Christian, to his passionate desire and rushes into a third marriage, he shall, with the strictest observance, be excluded from Holy Communion for five years, and under no circumstances shall the term be shortened; for one who
200 B

...after his fortieth year is content for this defilement to exist in the Church of Christ and to be spoken of as such, what evidence can he give of moral earnestness, so that on this ground the term of his excommunication should be shortened? Indeed, even after he has been thought worthy to receive Holy Communion, he will not be allowed to do so except at the Feast of Salvation, the Resurrection of Christ our God, because he has then been purified, as far as possible, by the continence of the preceding days of Lent. We allow this, provided that those who marry a third wife, even after reaching forty, have no children from the previous marriages, for, if they do, the third marriage cannot be permitted; it is utterly unjust that we should indulge the untimely desire of these persons rather than safeguard the children of their earlier marriages from grief and turmoil and all the ills that beset mankind as a result of having children from different wives. Even if a man of thirty, having children from his previous marriages, should wed a third wife, he shall without pardon be excluded from Holy Communion until the fourth year, since it is clear that it was from no other motive than incontinence and enslavement to carnal desire that he came to such a marriage; and even after he has been allowed to participate in the sacrament, he will be found worthy to partake of it only three times a year: once, at the Feast of Salvation, the Resurrection of Christ our God, a second time at the Dormition of our Immaculate Lady the Mother of God, and the third time on the Birthday of Christ our God, because of the fasts that have preceded these days also and the profit gained from them. In cases, however, where there are no children, since the desire for reproduc-
200 B, C

parētēsan, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τεκνογονίας ἐπίθυμεν οὖν ἀσύγγνωστον, τὸ τινικατότα συγγνώμης ἀξίωμαθήτησι ἐκ τουίτους γάμους καὶ μόνῳ τῷ ἔξ ἁρχής καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κρατήσαντι ἐπιτίμημα θεραπευθήσεται.

120 Ταῦτα μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου γάμου. Οὐ μὴν οὖν τὸν δεύτερον οὕτως τὸν πρῶτον ἐκτὸς ἀσφαλείας ἐδώμεν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινως ὑρίζομεν οὕτως συνόστασα ὡστε μηδεμίαν ἔχειν πονηρὰν αἰτίαν, ἢ ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς ἢ ἐκ προηγημανείς λαθροῦ φθορᾶς, ἀλλὰ νομίμως καὶ καθαρέσωντας τῶν τοιούτων μολυσμάτων καὶ πορνικῆς ἀκαθαρσίας. Εἰ τῆς οὖν τῶν εἴρημένων καταφρονήσεως τῶν πρὸς γαμήν ὑμῖν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦτον, τοῦτον ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑκκλησίας, ἡ καθαρὰ καὶ μηδὲνα σπείραν ἔχουσα καὶ μοναρχίας, τοῖς συστήριοις ὑποβάλλουσα ἑταιμίας, οὐ πρὶν ἐς μετάληψιν τῶν δεόν παραδέξεται μονοχρῶν ἢ τὸν ὑρίσιν ἐπὶ τῇ πορνείᾳ χρόνον ἀριστοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκπληρωθήσεαι (εἰ μὴ ἁρα ἢ τοῦ βίου ἀναγκαίᾳ κατατείχει ἀναχώρησις), τούτῳ, μέχρις ἢ τὸ ἐξόνομον ἐκπληρωθήσει ἄνοιξος. Θέω δὲ τοιούτων ἀθέους παρὰ τὸν διατεταυμαμένον δὸς μετατυπώσεως δεῖ τινὰ τούτων ἀξίωσαι περὶ τὸν Ιδίων καθευδαίον βαῦνον, δηλοντος τοῖς ἀξίωσιμοῖς παρὰ τὸν ὑρίσιν τόπον τὴς δειας κοινωνίας πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἑκοιμήσθην τὸν περισταμένου μέχρι τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ ἐξόνομου έτους.

C. Appendix

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς δεδῆλωται, ὑπὸ τῶν πάλια βασιλεύσαντων ἐπερέσθησαν. Νῦν δὲ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ που ἦν ἤγουν πνεύματος εὐδοκίας καὶ χάριτι καὶ τάς τῆς πανέγγου καὶ θεομητορος καὶ τοῦ μεγαλοῦ

200 B: 127: Ephes. 5:27.
Commander of the Heavenly Host, the Most Serene Majesty of our God-crowned Emperors Basil and Constantine has joined and united to us those priests and monks who for as many as ninety years had been separated from us by the afore-said cause and occasion, and has made us one Catholic and Apostolic Church; so that it is meet to proclaim and magnify those who have achieved so godly and momentous a work.

D. Acclamations

I

Long live the Emperors!
Romanus, Christopher, Constantine, Stephen and Constantine, great Emperors and Sovereigns—long may they live!
Michael the Porphyrogennetos—long may he live!
Sophia and Helen, the most pious Augustas—long may they live!
Leo and Alexander, who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Nicholas the most holy and illustrious Patriarch—eternal his memory!
Stephen the most holy and illustrious Patriarch—eternal his memory!
Tryphon the most holy Ecumenical Patriarch—long may he live!
Theophylact, the most pious Subdeacon and Syncellus—long may he live!

II

Long live the Emperors!
Basil and Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher and Romanus, Constantine, Romanus and Nicephorus, who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas, Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon and Theophylact, the most holy and Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Polyeuctus, the thrice-blessed and truly most holy Patriarch—eternal his memory!

4 χρόνων] έτων F | 6 υμών βασιλέων colloc. FS | 8 δένει] καὶ add. S | 9 τὸ τοιούτου L | πεποιητέας S
200 D E: J 267' | 5 αὐγοῦστος J
200 D II: W 70'
Long live the Emperors!
Basil and Constantine, our Orthodox Emperors—long may they live!
The most pious Augusta Theophano—long may she live!
Nicholas, the most holy and Ecumenical Patriarch—long may he live!
Basil and Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher and Romanus,
Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus and John, who have passed from the earthly
to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, the most pious Augustas—
eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed
Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen,
Tryphon, Theophylact, Polyeactus and Anthony, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal
their memory!

Long live the Emperors!
Our Orthodox Emperor—long may he live!
The most holy and Ecumenical Patriarch—long may he live!
Basil and Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher and Romanus,
Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus, John and Basil, who have passed from the
earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, Theophano and Theodora,
the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed
Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen,
Tryphon, Theophylact, Polyeactus and Anthony, Nicolas, Sisinnius, Sergius and
Eustathius, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Πολλά τά ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων· καὶ λέγει τὸν κατὰ τὸν καρόν οὗτον βασιλεύσατα, καὶ πάλιν ἀρχεταί.
Βασιλεύς καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Λέοντος καὶ Αλεξάνδρου, Χριστοφοροῦ καὶ Ρωμανοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ, Νικηφόρου, Ιωάννου, Βασιλείου,
5 Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ καὶ Μιχαήλ, τῶν τὸν οὐράνιον βασιλέαν τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀλλαξαμένων, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Εὐδοκίας καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρας, Ελένης καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων αὐγουστών, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Χριστοφόρου, Θεοδόρου, Αγάπτου, Ιωάννου, Νικολάου, Ἡλιοῦ καὶ
10 Θεοδόρου, τῶν ἀγῶντες πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Γερμανοῦ, Ταρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου, τῶν ἀοιδήμων καὶ μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Ἰγνατίου καὶ Φωσίου, Στεφάνου καὶ Αντωνίου, Νικολάου καὶ Εὐδοκίου, Στεφάνου, Τρύφωνος καὶ Θεοφιλάκτου, Πολυευκέτου καὶ Αντωνίου,
15 Νικολάου, Σιανίνου, Σεργίου, Εὐσταθίου καὶ Αλεξίου, τῶν ὀρθόδοξων πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Long live the Emperors! (Then, after mentioning the reigning Emperor, he recommences:)
Basil and Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher and Romanus, Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus, John, Basil, Constantine, Romanus and Michael, who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora, Helen and Theophano, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Christopher, Theodore, Agapius, John, Nicholas, Elias and Theodore, the most holy Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius and Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon and Theophylact, Polyeuctus and Anthony, Nicholas, Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius and Alexius, the Orthodox Patriarchs of Constantinople—eternal their memory!

Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora, Helen and Theophano, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Christopher, Theodore, Agapius, John, Nicholas, Elias and Theodore, the most holy Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon and Theophylact, Polyeuctus and Anthony, Nicholas, Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius and Alexius, the Orthodox Patriarchs of Constantinople—eternal their memory!
The Holy Trinity has glorified them.
Πολλά τά ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων.
Βασιλείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Λέωνα καὶ Αλέξανδρου, Χριστοφόρου, Ρώμανος, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάννου, (Βασιλείου) καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος καὶ Μιχαήλ, τῶν τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλεύαν

5 τῆς ἐπιγείου ἄλλαζαμένων, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Εὐδοκίας καὶ Θεοφάνους, Θεοδώρας καὶ Ἐλένης, Θεοφάνους καὶ Θεοδώρας, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων αὐγουστῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Ζωῆς τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγοῦστης καὶ τριμμακάριστης, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Γερμανοῦ, Τατρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου, τῶν ξανθίμων καὶ μακαρίων πατεραρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Τριγνείου, Ψυχικοῦ, Ψυχρονοῦ καὶ Αντωνίου, Νικολάου, Εὐθυμίου, Στεφάνου, Τρικέρου, Θεοφιλέσκου, Πολυεύκου, Αντωνίου καὶ Νικολάου καὶ Σιγνίνου, Σεργέιου, Εὐστάθιου καὶ Αλέξιου, τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατεραρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

10 Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Δέοντος καὶ Αλέξανδρου, Χριστοφόρου καὶ Ρώμανος, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάννου, Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος, Μιχαήλ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Μιχαήλ καὶ Ιωάννου, τῶν τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλεύαν τῆς ἐπιγείου ἄλλαζαμένων, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Πολλά τά ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων· καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ συνήθης φήμη τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως.
Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν βασιλέων, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Εὐδοκίας τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἡμῶν βασιλίσσης, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

5 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατεραρχοῦ, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Δέοντος καὶ Αλέξανδρου, Χριστοφόρου καὶ Ρώμανος, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάννου, Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ρώμανος, Μιχαήλ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Μιχαήλ καὶ Ιωάννου, τῶν τὴν οὐράνιον βασιλεύαν τῆς ἐπιγείου ἄλλαζαμένων, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.
200 D VIII-X

Εὐδοκία καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρα καὶ Ἑλένης, Θεοφανοῦς καὶ Θεοδώρας, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων αἰγούστων, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

Ζωῆς, Θεοδώρας καὶ Αἰκατερίνης, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων αἰγούστων,
15 αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

Γερμανοῦ, Ταρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου τῶν ἀοιδῶν καὶ μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

Ἰγνατίου, Φωτίου, Στεφάνου καὶ Αντωνίου, Νικολάου καὶ Εὐθυμίου, Στεφάνου, Τρύφωνος, Θεοφιλάκτου, Πολυευκτοῦ, Αντωνίου, Νικολάου καὶ Σεργίου, Σεργίου, Εὐστάθιου, Ἀλέξιου καὶ Μιχαήλ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

IX

Πολλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων.

Βασιλείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Δέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Χριστοφόρου, Ῥωμανοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου, Ῥωμανοῦ, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάννου, Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ Μιχαήλ, Κωνσταντίνου, Μιχαήλ, Τσακίου,
5 Κωνσταντίνου, Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ Μιχαήλ, τῶν τὴν οὐρανίαν βασιλείαν τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀλλαξάμενον, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

Εὐδοκίας καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρας καὶ Ἑλένης, Θεοφανοῦς καὶ Θεοδώρας, Ζωῆς καὶ Θεοδώρας, Αἰκατερίνης, Ἔυδοκίας, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων αἰγούστων, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

10 Γερμανοῦ, Ταρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου, τῶν ἀοιδῶν καὶ μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

Ἰγνατίου, Φωτίου καὶ Αντωνίου, Νικολάου καὶ Εὐθυμίου, Στεφάνου, Τρύφωνος, Θεοφιλάκτου, Πολυευκτοῦ, Αντωνίου, Νικολάου, Σισινίου, Σεργίου, Εὐστάθιου, Ἀλέξιου, Μιχαήλ, Κωνσταντίνου, τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

X

Πολλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων.

Βασιλείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Δέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Χριστοφόρου, Ῥωμανοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου, Ῥωμανοῦ, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάννου, Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ῥωμανοῦ καὶ Μιχαήλ, Κωνσταντίνου, Μιχαήλ, Τσακίου,
15 χῶν, αἰώνια ἢ μνήμη.

200 D VIII-X

Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, Theophano and Theodora, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Zoe and Theodora and Aecaterina, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photios, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon, Theophylact, Polyeuctus, Anthony, Nicholas and Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius, Alexius and Michael, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

IX

Long live the Emperors!
Basil, Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher, Romanus, Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus and John, Basil and Constantine, Romanus and Michael, Constantine, Michael, Isaac, Constantine, Romanus and Michael, who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!
Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, Theophano and Theodora, Zoe and Theodora, Aecaterina, Eudocia, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed Patriarchs—eternal their memory!
Ignatius, Photius and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon, Theophylact, Polyeuctus, Anthony, Nicholas, Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius, Alexius, Michael, Constantine, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

X

Long live the Emperors!
Basil, Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher, Romanus, Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus, John, Basil and Constantine, Romanus and Michael, Constantine, Michael, Isaac, Constantine, Romanus, Michael, Nicephorus and Isaac,
200 D X, XI

5 Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ, Μιχαήλ, Νικηφόρου και Ιωακείου, τῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπιλείπον τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀλλαξάμενον, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Εὐδοκίας καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρας καὶ Ελενῆς, Θεοφανοῦς καὶ Θεοδώρας Ζωῆς. Θεοδώρας, Εκατερίνης καὶ Εὐδοκίας, τῶν εὐσεβέστερων αὐγουστῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

10 Γερμανοῦ, Ταρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου, τῶν αὐδάμων καὶ μακαρίων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Πάλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων.

Ὁ δέναι τοῦ ὀρθόδοξου ἡμῶν βασιλέως.

Ὁ δέναι τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἡμῶν βασιλέως.

Ὁ δέναι τοῦ ἅγιουτάτου και οἰκουμενικοῦ.

Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Λέωνος καὶ Αλεξάνδρου, Χριστοφόρου καὶ Ρωμανοῦ, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάκείου, Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ καὶ Μιχαήλ, Κωνσταντίνου, Μιχαήλ, Ιωάκείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Ρωμανοῦ, Ανδρονίκου, Μιχαήλ, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάκείου, τῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπιλείπον τῆς ἐπιγείου ἀλλαξάμενον, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Εὐδοκίας καὶ Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρας καὶ Ελενῆς, Θεοφανοῦς, Θεοδώρας Ζωῆς. Θεοδώρας, Εκατερίνης, Εὐδοκίας καὶ Μαρκάς, τῶν εὐσεβέστερων αὐγουστῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Γερμανοῦ, Ταρασίου, Νικηφόρου καὶ Μεθοδίου, τῶν αὐδάμων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

Ἰγνατίου, Φωτίου, Στέφανου καὶ Αντωνίου, Νικολάου καὶ Εὐθυμίου, Στέφανου, Τριφώνος, Θεοφύλάκτου, Πολυευκέτου, Αντωνίου, Νικολάου, Συγνικός, Σεργίου, Εὐστάθιου, Αλέξου, Μιχαήλ, Κωνσταντίνου, Ιωάκείου, Κωνσταντίνου, Ανδρονίκου, Μιχαήλ, Νικηφόρου καὶ Ιωάκείου, τῶν ὀρθόδοξων πατριαρχῶν, αἰώνια ἡ μνήμη.

200 D X, XI

who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!

Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, Theophano and Theodora, Zoe, Theodora, Ecaterina and Eudocia, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!

Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious and blessed Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon and Theophylact, Polyeuctus, Anthony, Nicholas, Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius, Alexius, Michael, Constantine, John, Cosmas and Eustatius, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

XI

Long live the Emperors!

N. our Orthodox Emperor.

N. our Orthodox Empress.

N. the most holy and Ecumenical (Patriarch).

N. the most fortunate Caesar.

Basil and Constantine, Leo and Alexander, Christopher and Romanus, Constantine, Romanus, Nicephorus and John, Basil (and Constantine, Romanus and Michael, Constantine, Michael, Isaac, Constantine, Romanus, Andronicus, Michael, Nicephorus and Isaac, who have passed from the earthly to the heavenly Kingdom—eternal their memory!

Eudocia and Theophano, Theodora and Helen, Theophano, Theodora, Zoe, Theodora, Ecaterina, Eudocia and Mary, the most pious Augustas—eternal their memory!

Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus and Methodius, the illustrious Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

Ignatius, Photius, Stephen and Anthony, Nicholas and Euthymius, Stephen, Tryphon, Theophylact, Polyeuctus, Anthony, Nicholas, Sisinnius, Sergius, Eustathius, Alexius, Michael, Constantine, John, Cosmas, Eustatius, the Orthodox Patriarchs—eternal their memory!

Christopher, Theodore, Agapius and John, Nicholas and Elias, Theodore, Basil, Peter, Theodosius and Nicephorus and John, the illustrious Patriarchs of Antioch—eternal their memory!)
E. Anathemas

All that has been written or spoken against the holy Patriarchs
Germanus, Tarasius, Nicephorus, and Methodius—anathema!
All that has been written or spoken against the holy Patriarchs Ignatius, Photius, Stephen, Anthony, and Nicholas—anathema!
All innovations that have been made and all actions that have been undertaken, or will henceforth be undertaken, contrary to the ecclesiastical tradition and the doctrine and instruction of Holy and Illustrious Fathers—anathema!
Those who falsely accuse the Holy Church of having approved the fourth marriage, on the ground of the dispensation that with God's favor
has been granted and on the ground of the reception of, and union with, our brothers whom the cause of the former scandals kept separated from us—anathema!

Those who presume to say that the Church does not preserve her holiness pure and immaculate but has incurred a stain when through God's grace she united herself with her children who were severed by the scandal that took place in the past, and were joined to her by its unanimous rejection and prohibition—anathema!

Those who hold in contempt the sacred and divine canons of our blessed Fathers, which not only sustain the Holy Church, but also grace the entire Christian community and guide it toward godly piety—anathema!

This having thus been decreed for the security of the Holy Church and in order that the pious congregation or Christians may be free from the defilements of illicit marriages, we beseech Thy goodness, Christ our God, henceforward and forever to ban all scandal, all cause of division from Thy Church and to preserve its peaceful estate, by the intercession of our Lady, Thy Immaculate Mother, Thy all-holy disciples and apostles, through whom Thou hast planted Thy peace in all the world, and of all the saints to whom Thou hast shown Thy pleasure from the beginning of days, amen.

The Patriarch Nicholas the Ancient: that the Patriarchal Letters should be Made Available Free on Request, according to the Text Preserved in the Archives

It is difficult to dislodge a bodily ailment when it has acquired strength by a long lapse of time, but it is even more difficult to abolish a
κατ' αυτόν εμφανίζονται, πράγμα τούτο και βίας τούτη διότι διαμένειν μεθαρμόζεται. Αλλά είπε και ταύτ᾽ οὕτω τῷ ὅντι δοκεῖ, μόνον παλαιόν συνήθειαν τὸ φαινόν πρόδηλον ἔχουσαν τοῦ εὐαγγέλου τούτου τόπου ἔξορθησαμεν, τὸ ἀκατή-

10 λευτὸν αὐτῷ μηνιστευόμενον.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν τῆδε τὴν φυλακὴν ἐμπεποιησμένος, ὁν ὀστάριον ἢ Ῥωμαίων γλύσσα καλέστηκεν, τοὺς πατριαρχὰς ἀστειομένους ἐπιστάλει μισθὸν, ὡς οὐκ ἠφίλεται, ἀστία τῆς παραλήψεως; καὶ ἂν τοῦ πράγμα καὶ διαβρωτόν τε καὶ καταγελαστόν, οὐ μόνον θεοῦ παραγγελίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τόπον ἔχοντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἔχοντο ἀδελφόν. Ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε τὴν τοῦ ὀσταρίου σκήψεως ἐκφυλοφοροῦμεν, τούτων μὲν δόθην ἔχοντα διδόσθη ἐτάξιμον, τὴν πονηρὰν δὲ συνήθειαν λήθη βαθείᾳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ ὑπεροφρένεια παρεπεμψάμεθα. Ἡ μηδαμίας ἐχούσαν ἐτί ἐχόσι ἐκ τῶν διοριζόμενων πνεύματι, ενενελόμεθα τοῖς τε κατὰ καιρούς ἀρχιτεχνικαὶ καὶ τοῖς ἁμφί διανοημένους ἀδραμάτων τοῦ παρόντος τόπον διετρέχον καὶ τούτου ἐπιμελείταται ἀξίων, ὡς μὴ βασίσθην τινι καὶ ὁμογενεία (ὅ δε καὶ ὑπολαμάζων, μήτι γε πρᾶττε, ἐφαμαρτὼν) κἀν ὁ βραχύτατον παρητρέπεσθαι.

20 Εἰ δὲ παρέτησιν τινὲς τοῦ τοιούτου ἁγαθοῦ ἐν μεγάλῃ περὶ τὰ θεία φωστήρεως καταφθαρεῖσθαι, τούτων μὲν γνώμη φιλόδοξος πρὸς τὴν αξίαταιναν ἐπενάζει εὐγένειαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἱστοσαν ὡς δίας ἠθέον δόσσων υἱὸν τε καὶ ὑπονικὰ ὑπὸ τὸ μείζον μόνον τῶν ἁμαρτη-

μάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ γε τὰ μέτρα πρῶτοι ταλαντεύεται καὶ διακρί-

25 νεται. Ὡς γὰρ τὰ θεία τῆς αξιολογίας καθεστηκρασαν ἀντίδοξος ἄξια, ὡς αὐτὸ καὶ τὰς ἐναντίας μοίρας τὴν ἱσοπαλί τοῖς ἑγόροις παρέχεται ἀμοιβὴν.

custom sanctioned by the passage of time; both transform themselves into a sort of settled condition that tends to be permanent and is by no means easy to redress. Yet though this appears to be true indeed, we have found it easy to rid this sacred place of an old but manifestly blameworthy custom, and thus to gain it freedom from all commercialism.

Its keeper, who bears the Latin title of ostiarius, used to demand fees from those who requested patriarchal letters, in payment for the copy, a thing he should not have done; the practice was utterly outrageous and preposterous, one that besides rousing God's wrath was also an insult to this venerable place and compromised the very dignity of the priesthood. In order to preclude any pretext on the part of the ostiarius, however, we have fixed an annual salary for him and have consigned this evil practice to utter oblivion and everlasting banishment. Decreeing in the name of the Holy Spirit that henceforth it shall in no way be tolerated, we enjoin upon those who shall successively hold the office of chartophylax and upon the scribes at their disposal to maintain the present regulation and to see to it at all times that no indifference or negligence (an eventuality which it is sinful even to envisage, let alone to bring about) shall lead to the smallest infringement.

If, out of profound contempt for the sacred, some should be found guilty of ignoring a rule so beneficial, pious intent will restore this regulation to the rank of high respect which it deserves; the offenders, however, should be aware that God's punishment awaits them, both now and at the time when not only the greater sins but even the lesser ones are tried and judged by fire. For even as godly deportment deserves a just reward, so its opposite entails a retribution proportionate to the deed.
202. Decree on the Great Habit

The Most Holy Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas (from the reign of Leo the Philosopher until the reign of Romanus the Ancient) with his Holy Synod declared as follows concerning the tonsured who wear the great habit:

“Grace does not expel Grace, rather it bestows even greater sanctity, firmness, and enlightenment. Therefore, those of the tonsure who wear the great habit must not be excluded from the Divine Liturgy, even if perhaps a canon so excluding them should be found; for only sin can exclude from the Divine Liturgy, not the sanctity of the great habit.”

A Canon on the Lament of the Most Holy Mother of God at the Crucifixion of our Lord and God Jesus Christ: a Poem by Nicholas Patriarch of Constantinople

Ode 1. First plagal mode. “Hós en ἔπειρόν”

When she saw her Son and Lord hanging on the cross, the Pure Virgin, rent by sorrow, wept bitterly with other women, and said “Alas!”

“I see you, my dearest beloved Son, hanging on a cross, and my heart is grievously wounded,” the Pure One spoke; “but in your goodness give me, your servant, a reason.”
"Of your own free will, my Son and Creator," the Virgin said, standing by the cross with the beloved disciple, "you suffer the terrible death on the rood.

"Now I am bereft of my hope, my joy, and my pride, of my Son and God, alas! and it hurts my heart," the Pure One spoke weeping.

Ode 3. "Ouk estin hagios"
Because of their great fear of the Jews, Peter hid and all the faithful fled, forsaking Christ; the Virgin, wailing, spoke:

"By your wondrous and awesome birth, my Son, I was glorified above all mothers; but alas! now I see you on a cross, and my bowels burn.

"I want to take my Son down from the cross in my arms, in which once I held you as a baby," the Pure One spoke, "but no one, alas! grants me this.

"Behold: my sweet light, my hope, my life, my Son, and my God, was extinguished on the cross, and I am seared with grief because of it," the Virgin said, shedding tears.
οδη δ'. «Χριστός μου δύναμις»
«Ήμε άδυτε, | θεί προδόναρχε, 
ποιητά τῶν ἀπάντων, 
δημιουργῆ | τῶν κτησμάτων χώρα, 
πώς φέρεις πάθος ἐν σταυρῷ?»
ή έγνη χλαύουσα ἐλεγεν.

Θερμόαιε ἐλεγεν | ή ἀπειρόγαμος 
τῷ εὐσχήμονι: «Στέλουν, 
ὡ Ιωσήφ, | τῷ Πιλάτῳ πρόσεσε 
καὶ ἔζατήσιον καθέλεν 
ἐκ τοῦ ἔξολου τῶν διδάσκαλον.»

Ἰδὼν τὴν ἔχαρτον | πικρῶς δακρύσουσαν
Ἰωσήφ ἑταρέχθη
ὑπηρωδόν | τῷ Πιλάτῳ πρόσεσε,
«Δός μοι» βοῶν μετὰ κλαύθμοι
«νῦν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου μου.»

«Κατευθύνθης εἰς | ὁρῶ καὶ ἀδοξῶν 
καὶ γυμνὸν ἐπὶ ἔξολο 
τέκνον ἐμόν, | καὶ τά σπλάγχνα φλέγομαι.»
ὁδορμέμενη μητρικᾶς
ή παρθένος ἀπεφθέγγετο.

οδη ε'. «Τῷ θείῳ φέγγει σου»
Κατατρυχώμενος ὁ Ιωσήφ 
καὶ καταπληττόμενος ὁμοίω 
σῶν Νικοδήμῳ κατήγγει 
τὸ τοῦ διδάσκαλο ἔχαρτον σχῆμα, 
ὑπηρωδότες καὶ ἤμνοὐντες | τοῦτον ὡς κύριον.

Ode 4. “Christos mou dynamis”
“Never-setting Sun, God before all eternity, Maker of the Universe, 
Creator and Lord of your creatures, how can you bear to suffer on a 
cross?” the Pure One said, weeping.

Lamenting, she who knew no man said to the honorable Joseph: 
“Hasten, Joseph, go to Pilate and ask him leave to take down your 
Teacher from the cross.”

When he saw the Immaculate One weeping bitterly, Joseph was 
troubled; lamenting, he approached Pilate and cried out with tears: 
“Give me at last the body of my Lord!”

“I see you pierced with wounds and humiliated and naked upon the 
rood, my Child, and my bowels burn”—thus, wailing as a mother 
does, the Virgin spoke.

Ode 5. “To theio phengei sou”
Joseph, worn out by sorrow, and awed at the same time, took down 
with Nicodemus his Teacher’s immaculate body, both of them 
mourning for him and singing his praises as their Lord.
The pure Mother, who knew no man, receiving him with weeping and laying him on her knees, washed him with her tears and kissed him, crying bitterly and wailing.

“You were to your servant her only hope and her life, O Master, O my Son and my God, and you were the light of her eyes; but now, alas! you allow me to lose you, my sweetest and most beloved Child!

“Sorrows, troubles, and sighs have overtaken me, alas!” the Pure One cried lamenting bitterly, “now that I see you, my dearly beloved Son, naked, cast out, embalmed, dead.”

Ode 6. “Tou biou ten thalassan”

“As I hold you dead, Merciful One, you who brought the dead to life, my heart is terribly wounded, and I wish to die with you,” the most Pure One spoke, “for I cannot bear seeing you lifeless, dead.

“I am bewildered at seeing you, God beyond all goodness, Lord all-merciful, inglorious, lifeless, shapeless, and naked, and I weep, holding you as I never, alas! expected to see you, my Son.
«Οὔ λέγεις τῇ δούλῃ σου | λόγον, λόγε τοῦ θεοῦ, 
οὐ κατουκτείρεις, δέσποτα, 
τὴν σε τεκούσαν, ἔλεγεν ἡ ἁγνή 
βρηκόσα καὶ κλαίουσα 
καὶ φιλούσα τὸ σῶμα | τὸ πανέχραντον.

Λογίζομαι, δέσποτα, | οὐκέτι ***
λαλῶν σου ἀκούομαι 
οὐδὲ τὸ κάλλος βλέπω σου τῆς μορφῆς 
ὡς πρῶτην ἡ δούλη σου:
καὶ γὰρ ἑδώς, ὦ τε μου, | εἰς ἐμὸν ὀφθαλμῶν.»

 odio ζ. «Δροσοβόλον μὲν τὴν»

Πῶς, ὦ τε μου καὶ θεέ, τὰ εὐαγγέλια 
ἀνατίθηλε χαίρε τε 
βασιλεύε σε καὶ ὑπὸν ὑψέστου καὶ θεέν 
ἐκάλες καὶ νῦν σε θεωρᾶ,
φῶς μου γλυκάτατον, γυμνόν, | κατεστημένον, νεκρόν;

«Ῥυθμενὸς δεινῶν με συμπαράλαβε 
μετ’ ἑαυτοῦ, ὦ τε 
συγκατέλθου σοι ἐν τῷ δόθη, δέσποτα, καγώ:
μὴ λίπης με μόνην ἕτη ζῆν,
καὶ γὰρ οὐ φέρω μήδε ὅραν | σε τὸ γλυκάτατον φῶς.»

Σὺν ταῖς ἄλλαις μυροφόροις ἐπωδύρετο 
ἡ ἀμεμπτος πικρότατα
κομιζόμενον ἐν τῷ τάφῳ βλέποντος Χριστὸν,
καὶ ἔλεγεν «Οἶμοι, τί όρδο; 
ποῦ νῦν ὑπέγεις, ὦ, | καὶ μόνην λείπεις ἐμέ:»

Ἀθυμώσα καὶ ἄρνησά τα ἀδιάκόμων.

Συνθρηνήσατε σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ κλαίσατε πικρῶς:
ἰδώ ἅρ πῶς μου τὸ γλυκό 
καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν | τάφῳ παραδίδοταί.»

"You do not speak a word to your servant, Word of God, you have no pity, Master, on her who bore you," the Pure One said, lamenting and weeping and kissing the body free from the stain of all sin.

"I think, Master, that I shall never again hear your voice nor see the beauty of your form, as I, your servant, did before; for you have disappeared, my Son, out of my eyes."

Ode 7. "Drosobilon men ien"

"How could, my Son and my God, the joyful message which Gabriel brought to me call you a King and a Son of the Most High and a God? and how do I see you now, my sweetest light, naked, pierced with wounds, dead?"

"Rescue me from my misery and take me with you, my Son and my God; let me, too, descend to hell with you, Master; do not leave me to live on alone, for I cannot bear not to see you, my sweetest light."

With the other bearers of unguents the blameless One lamented most bitterly, as she saw Christ carried into the tomb, and she said: "Alas, what do I see! Where are you going now, my Son, leaving me behind lonely?"

Despondent and mourning the Virgin without any blemish spoke to the bearers of unguents: "Lament with me and weep bitterly, for behold, my sweet light who is your Teacher is committed to the grave."
When Joseph saw the Virgin mourning, he was all grief-smitten and cried out bitterness: "How, 0 my God, shall I, your servant, now bury you, and in what shrouds shall I wrap your body?"

The strange sight passes understanding: the Lord who carries all creation is carried as a dead body in the arms of Joseph and Nicodemus, and is laid in the grave.

"Terrible and awesome is the mystery I see," the Virgin cried; "my Son (and my God,) how can you be laid in a lowly tomb, you that by the word of your command raised the dead from their graves?

"I shall no more rise up from your grave, my child, nor shall I, your servant, cease the flood of my tears, until I too have descended to hell; for I cannot bear the loss of you, my light."

"Now heal the pain of my soul, my Child," the Pure One cried out weeping, "and rise, end my sorrows and my bitter trials; you can do so, Master, for whatever you will, you do, even though you consented to be buried."
"I praise your compassion, Friend of Mankind, I adore the wealth of your mercy, Master: wanting to save your creation you accepted to die as God," the Immaculate One said; "but in your Resurrection, Savior, have pity upon us all."

"Ah, how you have failed to fathom," the Lord spoke to the Pure One, "the depth (of my judgments)! In order to save my creation I accepted to die; but I shall rise again and do great deeds as God, in heaven and on earth."

204. Canon to St. Gregory the Illuminator and Rhipsimia

The Canon

Ode 1. First plagal mode. "Asomen to Kyriou"

Today has dawned the shining memory of Gregory the good shepherd, which those who revere it in faith celebrate joyfully.

The enemy, Father, pursued you on the road of your struggles; but the pursuit was reversed, and he was captured.

Oh your almighty weakness, Jesus my God! Gregory in his suffering brings the persecutors to you as worshipers.


204: 4: Ioann. 10:11.

156 τῶν κρυμάτων μου ex. gr. supplevi || 159 μεγαλύνω Μαι: μεγαλύνω Π μεγαλύνω σε Cosmas, *can. in Magnum Sabbatum*, od. 9, str. 3

204: Α 217°–220° Θ 78°–81° Δ 82°–84° || initia hirmorum secundum Δ dedi || 1 νικολά(ος) πατρι(άρχου) mg. Λ || 6 πιστοί ΛΘ || 10 καταστάθη αὐτῷ Δ: καταστάθη αὐτῷ ΛΘ || 12 αὐθεντεῖας Δ: αὐθεντεῖας Δ δυνατεῖας Θ
Immaculate Mother of God, you that bore the eternal and supremely
divine Word incarnate in a way beyond nature, we praise you!

Ode 3. “Sy eto stereóma”
When you abandoned your perishable tabernacle to the torturers,
Glorious One, you received instead the abode of imperishability.

The sword edge of the impious was blunted, Gregory, by your pious
resistance, which you wore as a suit of armor in your fight.

The blameless love of your beauty, Jesus, drew to you feminine
nature, which belied its own weakness.

Give us help through your entreaties, most Pure One, warding off the
assaults of fearful temptations.

Ode 4. “Eisakéka, Kyrie”
Using as ink the blood shed in your martyrdom, Father Gregory, you
wrote out the teachings of Christ.
Burning with the fire of your love, Merciful Jesus, Gregory quenched the flame of the horrible tortures.

The oppressor, bereft of his mind, changed even the image of the glory of you, his Maker, to conform to the shape of brutishness.

Grant us forgiveness of our errors, as you are free from sin; and give peace to your world, O God, by the intercession of your Mother.

Ode 5. “Orthrizones boomen”
Being yourself a temple, Gregory, of the Trinity, you overthrew the unholy sanctuaries of the idols.

Your innocent blood, Bridegroom, was received as a pledge by women, who gave you theirs in return.

You set an end to the libations of impiety, Holy Bishop, by becoming a sacrifice to the Giver of Life and Sacrificial Victim.
Mary, unbridled Mother of God, frustrate the hopes of our enemies and give joy to those who sing your praises.

Ode 6. “Chitona moi paraschou”
Because you chose, Martyr, to follow in the steps of Him Who nailed our sin to the cross, you were hung on the cross after His example.

Tried by manifold tortures you finished your fight, Gregory, but now you are graced by a multiple crown.

Venerable glory of virgins, Celebrated Rhapsimia, by your divine struggles you have honored womankind.

A temple of God and an ark, a living bridal chamber, a gate of heaven, we, your faithful, proclaim you, Mother of God.

Ode 7. “Hoi ek tês Ioudaias”
Fortified by your faith, you were found impregnable to the engines of torture, preserving undiminished the riches of his glory for Jesus your Lord. God of our fathers, blessed art Thou!
Oi ὑπὸ ἀσίβειας
dιατῶμενοι δήρες ἢ φρέαρ ὁρίζουσι
διαίτημα ὑπρών σοι·
ἐκάθεται δὲ οἶχος
τοῦ φωτὸς σε κραυγάζοντα
«ό τῶν πατέρων ήμῶν θεός, εὐλογητός εἶ.»

Ἡ σημεί Ῥυμία
τοῦ φωτὸς ὅπλισθεος σαρκωθεὶς εἰς σωτηρίαν ήμῶν
dιό σου τὴν μητέρα
eιδότεςς θεοτόκοιν
εὐχαρίστως κραυγάζομεν
«ό τῶν πατέρων ήμῶν θεός, εὐλογητός εἶ.»

ψήνη ἡ. «Τὸν βασίλεα τῶν»
Τῆς χαρτερίας σου τῆς στερροῦ
ἀνετέρπων προοβολᾶς τυράννου ἀνεβόας
«Χριστὸν ὑπερφύσει· εἰς πάντας (τοὺς αἰώνας).»

Τὴν κεκρυμμένην ποδῶν ζωῆν
ἐνεδόσας τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν νεκρωσαν δοξάζουν
τοῦτον ὡς δεσπότην· εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰώνας.


95 ὁρίζουσι ΛΘ: ὁρίζοντας Δ || 98 σεὶ σοι Λ || 100 απειθ Λ || 101 ἤμμο τοῖς. cf. Acta Greg. (supra), 45, 1–46, 2. || 114 τοῦ τυφάνου ἔβδομος ΛΘ || 115 κάτωθι Θ ὡμνείτε καὶ ὑπὲρ Δ καὶ ἔμενε καὶ πρου (τ) Θ || 116 τῶν Δ || 118 κατὰ (τού) Θ ὑπερποιηθοῦν τὸν χριστάον εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας (καὶ) Θ.
Τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ σου, Ἰησοῦ,

120 ἀνδρωθείσα | γυναικεῖα φύσις σε δοξάζει
tὸν ἁγιωθέτην | εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Φωτιστικὴν σε καὶ χρυσανή
tὸ σημνῶσαν | ἐν σοὶ φῶς ἀπρόσπιτον, παρθένε, ἔδειξε λαμπάδα | εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

125 ὡδὴ θ΄. «Κυρίως θεοτόκων»

126 Ἑλλάξω τῶν μαστίγων ἁνεβι πὴ τὴν δείαν καὶ ἐτύμμας τιμή τὴν ἁίδων, ἱερομάρτυς, ἀφθάρτω | στήρει στεφάμενος.

130 Φροφρά ἢ τῶν τυράννων,

μάρτυς, σοὶ ἀνοίγει τῆς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας τὴν εἴσοδον,
ἐν ἡ συγχαίρων αγγέλοις | θεῷ παρίστασαι.

Θεόφρον Ῥημία, ἄνδρος σωμφορισόνης,

135 τροπαιοφόρος γενοῦ τῶν παθῶν ἡμῶν, ως ἐτροπώσω τυράννου | τὴν ἐπανάστασιν.

Ὦραίος, θεοτόκε,

ἐῳ ὁ καρπὸς σου,

140 συχί φθορὰς τοῖς μετέχουσι πρόξενοι,

ἀλλὰ ζωῆς τοῖς ἐν πίστει | σὲ μεγαλύνουσι.


119 ἀσθενεία ΔΔ: διανοεῖς Θ || 120 ἀνδρωθείσα ΛΔ || 130 φροφρά ΛΔ: φθορά Θ || 135 ἡ ΘΔ: εὐοίς Δ || 141 μακρέξουσιν Δ

204

Womanhood, made manly by your weakness, Jesus, glorifies you, the judge in the contest, for ever and ever.

The inaccessible Light that dwelt in you, Virgin, made you a luminous lamp, shining like gold, for ever and ever.

Ode 9. “Κυρίως θεοτόκων”

You passed from whiplashes to divine repose and from dishonor to eternal honor, Martyr and Priest, crowned with an imperishable crown.

The guard of the oppressors opens for you, Martyr, the entrance to the kingdom of heaven, where you rejoice with the angels, standing before God.

Godly Rhipsimia, flower of modesty, triumph over our passions, as you defeated the oppressor's assault.

Pleasant, O Mother of God, was your fruit, not bringing perdition on those who partake of it, but life to those who in true faith glorify you.
205. Stichera to Peter and Paul

Στιχηρά, ἡχος δ’. Νικολάου πατριάρχου

Ὁ στόματι οὐρανίῳ | τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς οὐρανώδεσις
Πέτρος σήμερον ὑμνεῖσθω | νῦν ἀναστρέψας·
δρόμον γὰρ φωσάϊ τοῦ
πορείαν | πρὸς τὴν άνω ἀποστάς
κάτωθεν ἀνέβασθεν | πρὸς τὸν κατελθόντα
τοῦ ἁγιορείτα αυτοῦ,
καὶ χεῖρες ἐξηπλώσαν | ζωνήν μαρτυρίου | εἰς τὸ ζώοσαθαι
κατ’ ίχος επόμενος | τῷ διδασκάλῳ, | ἵν πνεούσην πρῶτο
καὶ τῆς σαγήνης | προσφέρων τὴν ἄγραν
ὅμιος τὰ δοματάν | ὁ τοῦ φωτός ἀπορροίας
πληρώθης διωκομένου | ἀναπηρευμένο:·
Παῦλος ἐκλογής
τὸ σκέδος, | δι’ οὗ μέρα τῆς ζωῆς
πέρατα ὀφθαλμῆσαν | κάρου ἀπιστίας
ἀναστάτα δεινῆς:·
τὸ στόμα τὸ ἡμιονόν, | δὴν τῆς ἀγάπης | βλέψεις ἄβυσσος,
ἐξ οὗ τὸν πολύτιμον | σωρεύει κόσμος | μαργαρίτην στοργῆς·
νῦν τῶν ἐσόπτρων, | μαθητή, λυθέντων
καὶ τῶν σαρκῶν παραπτασμάτων,
προσκυνήθηκες θεῷ,
οὗ φορεῖς τὰ στήματα.

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205: Σ 2°-3° | 11 λαμβανὴ Σ | 16 desid. 3 syllabae | 24 προσεπεμβαίνης Σ
Another Supplicatory Canon to Saint Nicholas

In the theotokia the acrostic "Nikolaou"

Ode 1. Second plagal mode. "Kymati thalassèς"

Father inspired, most exalted of fathers, wise Nicholas, do not forsake me, as I take refuge, unworthy and miserable, in the shelter of your venerable intercession, that I may obtain my request.

Snatch me from the hands of unjust men, Father Nicholas, and protect me, for behold, like howling dogs they seek to destroy me, o holy one; take pity on your servant.

Do not turn me away in my distress, Father, from your help, me the prodigal; do not weary of listening to my unworthy voice; whatever you want, you can do: take care of me, holy one.

Lend your ear, All-holy One, Holy of Holy Ones, Virgin Lady, Hope of Christians, to the unworthy prayer of your servant; hear me, cure my sickness, and save me in my misery.

Ode 3. "Se ton epi üdàtovn"

From my sickness, Father, raise me, for whom there is no hope; as Christ raised up the daughter of Jairus, so save me, your servant also, kindest of fathers, holy Nicholas.
Behold, the hour has come, my lowly soul, for you to pass from this life; behold, the end has come; now, lifting up your arms and eyes to heaven, cry out: “Do not forsake me, holy Nicholas!”

Have pity on me, as I cry out to you, all-holy one, now that all hope for me has been abandoned by my kinsmen, my companions, and my friends; do not forsake me, as I sigh pitifully: “Save me, holy Nicholas!”

Heal me, Mother of God, hope and support of all the faithful, helper and shelter of the oppressed, raise me up, your servant laid low by sickness; for you are the hope of the hopeless.

Ode 4. “Τέν εν σταυρῷ σου”
You that are all splendor, holy one, shine upon me, I pray, who am enveloped by the darkness of despondency, enlighten me, wise one; for God the Merciful lends you his ear.

Those who harass my soul have multiplied, seeking to destroy your servant, most holy one, with their treacherous tongues; shatter their counsels and take pity on me.

As I lie on my bed, weighed down by despair, raise me up by your word, Nicholas, saint of God, as Christ raised the one that was sick of the palsy.
Mother of God, untouched by man, do not let me perish forever; raise me up, Our Lady, as I lie half dead, speechless and weeping.

Ode 5. “Theophaneias sou, Christe”

You appeared when called by name, a helper of the oppressed, and you saved, holy Nicholas, the three commanders, when the moment was near for them to be innocently slain at night by the prefect; take pity also on me through your entreaties.

When Peter raised up dead Tabitha, he assuaged the sorrows of many; Paul restored life to Eutychus after his headlong fall, Father Nicholas; therefore hasten, for behold! I have been given up for dead by every man; raise me, I beseech you, most glorious one.

Have mercy upon me, O God, as I lie on my bed of languishing, through the entreaties of the revealer of heaven, Nicholas, thy servant; for I lie in misery, my body torn, bereft of hope; listen to me, Good Lord, and raise me again.

No one that took refuge with you with all his heart, ever-praised virgin Mother of God, goes away empty-handed, but forthwith he receives what he asked; thus, Our Lady, do not turn me away deprived of your help, but let me find grace and light and rejoicing.
Ode 6. “Syneschethē, all’ ou kateschethē”

You sanctify and illuminate, Father, the souls of mortals; for your appearance brings illumination and radiant brightness, and your temple sheds light upon all who flee to you and implore you and celebrate you, Saint of God; receive us also as your suppliants.

I throw myself at your feet in tears, a miserable wretch, holy Nicholas, for behold, I am failing, my body has melted like wax, and my soul is full of woe; stoop down to my prayer and raise me up, Saint of God, as Christ raised Lazarus on the fourth day.

Those about to die unjustly found you a haven of life; yes, your temple is a haven and a refuge for those in distress; therefore I implore you, holy Nicholas, listen to my prayer and do not reject me, for all my strength has failed; let me obtain my desire through you.

Let my darkened soul, I pray you, Our Lady, be made white, for tarnished are my life and my age; Glorious One, All-pure One, purify me, raise me up, Mother of God, and make me a child of light, for you bore the Light that is Christ; therefore enlighten me.
122

125 "Aphraston thauma"

Oh, the astounding miracle, how you rescued from loathsome mire the poor man's chaste daughters, not allowing them to sink down into the gulf of shame; with your gold you saved them, Father.

Deliver me, a sinner, from all the hardship that assails me, holy Bishop, from treacherous men and deadly assault and injustice and all turmoil, granting peace to my mind and my life.

I take refuge in the profundity of your mercy and in the sublimity of your gifts; raise me up, holy Nicholas, so that I may cry out, delivered from my ills: "God our Liberator, blessed art Thou!"

Pure Virgin, look upon the affliction of my body and be to me a goodly source of strength; see, my bones and my kidneys are all crushed; raise me up, so that I may cry: "God, our Liberator, blessed art Thou!"

Ode 7. “Aphraston thauma”

Deliver me, a sinner, from all the hardship that assails me, holy Bishop, from treacherous men and deadly assault and injustice and all turmoil, granting peace to my mind and my life.

I take refuge in the profundity of your mercy and in the sublimity of your gifts; raise me up, holy Nicholas, so that I may cry out, delivered from my ills: "God our Liberator, blessed art Thou!"

Pure Virgin, look upon the affliction of my body and be to me a goodly source of strength; see, my bones and my kidneys are all crushed; raise me up, so that I may cry: "God, our Liberator, blessed art Thou!"

Ode 8. “Ekstethi phrítion”

Hasten, come to me soon, Father Nicholas, for without delay the sentence of death will be pronounced on me as on the fig tree that withered; stretch out your hand to me and raise me up fast, so that I may glorify you for ever and ever.
From my cruel misfortune now lift me up, good Master; for behold, I have shaped my lips, turning hither and thither again and again my eyes and my arms; but there is no one to help me or lift me up or save me, except you, holy Bishop; therefore visit me.

Who has ever taken refuge with you, who has called you by your name, wise one, crying out “Holy Nicholas!” and you did not forthwith become a helper for those who invoked you? Do not reject me either, but let me, wretch that I am, find the salvation of my soul for which I hope.

I am all soiled, I am all ugly, and I do not see your light; Holy Mother of God, enlighten my lowly soul and grant me time for repentance, to praise and glorify, Most Holy Virgin, you and your Son, by the intercession of the Saint.

Ode 9. “Με ἐποδύου μαι, μήτηρ”
You vied with the angels, speaking, like Moses, face to face with the Holy Trinity, ordained priest by Divine Providence. Since you, wise one, can speak freely to God, do not cease from interceding for your servants.

Those who in faith take refuge in your house, Father, are freed forthwith from oppression and grief; do not reject me, father of orphans, but let me in and rescue me from evil men, holy Bishop, and save me, unworthy though I am.
Receive my praise and grant my soul a gift in return: preserve me from the judgment to come, wise Nicholas. Do not exclude me, I pray, from the choir of the faithful, but accept my prayer of thanksgiving so that I may find mercy, Father Nicholas.

You are the steadfast defender, Most Holy Virgin, of the earthborn, protecting them from the ills of the soul. Therefore free me also, as I call to you, from misfortunes and dangers and the enemy's harm, as you alone can, who have found favor with God.

A Canon of Thanksgiving to the Most Holy Mother of God with the acrostic Ἡ βασίλις τὰ σώστρα σοι ἑκατέρισθεν and in the theotokia "Nikolaou"

You have chosen, Immaculate Virgin, a royal people and city, to reside there as its queen and to reign over it; safeguard it from capture by the barbarians, as it celebrates your great deeds.

Oh! your infinite miracles performed for your heritage, All-pure One, how you preserved it unscathed, unsubmerged, as in a sea of barbarians, surrounded by adverse winds!

Let David, your divine forefather, sing to you, Our Lady, the joyful words: “Hearken, o daughter, inclining your ear to your people, who sing to you their yearly hymn of thanksgiving.”
You shook, Our Lady, and disturbed the sea and utterly destroyed the fleet of Christ's enemies, the murderous Scythian as well as the sons of Hagar, and your rescued people sings your miracles.

You checked, O Virgin, the raiding of Hagar's terrible sons, who year after year assaulted your city, by crushing their army and finally submerging them in the depths of the sea, as they fled home.

Ode 3. "Tous sous hymnalousos"

Behold, the waters of the nations roared in fury, O Pure One, roared ruin for your city by their violence; but your strength manifested itself to scatter them in hell.

As a peculiar people, Virgin, a holy nation, a divine priesthood, royal and elect, your Son clearly gave you the Queen of Cities to preserve her.

The Persians, having planned an attack as heavy as that of the Scythians, rushed upon your city, Immaculate One, like a whirlwind and a hurricane, but you winnowed them like chaff.

Your daughter's affliction, Virgin, was healed, and it was the blasphemous wretch who soon was shattered; for justly you threw down the horse and its rider.


18 ἐπόντωσας Ψ || 22 δενήσῃς Ψ || 29 αὕτην Ψ || 40 καρδίαν Ψ || 41 καταγάδες Ψ || 45 καὶ ὡς Ψ
Today, O Pure One, the city that rules the cities, has seen miraculous events: when you, the Virgin, took command against the enemies, along the coasts of both continents they crumbled like a clod of earth.

What worthy gift, Mother of God, can we render to you now, we unprofitable servants, for all the benefits which you have bestowed on us, Pure One? For them, we honor you with all our hearts.

The offspring of Hagar, symbolizing the city in bondage to the world here below, O Our Lady, struck at your free city with hurricane force, but was sunk in the sea like a stone.

The holy bishop and all the crowd, holding as suppliants the symbols of your form, Blameless One, represented in images, raised the banner of victory over the enemies.

Though the Queen of Cities, which rules all cities, knows you as Queen of the World, yet having you in a special sense as its mistress, it remains impregnable to enemies.

Ode 5. “Exeste ta sympanta”

The divine word was seen fulfilled auspiciously: one chased a thousand, and again two put tens of thousands to flight, having taken as their armor the invincible power of the Virgin.
Once an angel, as in panic fear, smote the tens of thousands of Sennacherib, who had boasted against the living God; now, Our Lady has put to death numberless tens of thousands of gentiles all at once.

All the barbarians who assailed your heritage, O Virgin, consumed by incurable ills, by hunger and carrion birds, and haunted by horror, learned through experience that it was you they had scorned.

When the Most High divided the nations to have angels for their guardians, he set aside as the lot of his Mother's inheritance the city of those he had bought with his divine blood: we pray you, safeguard it from destruction.

Ode 6. "Ten theian taütén"

Sword, armor, and warfare of the enemies who trespassed upon your inheritance, Bride of God, were proven idle and worthless by you, who defended it as its Patroness.

When Persia unjustly attacked the Queen of Cities, it was justly condemned to slavery by the Emperor, whose champion was the Mother of God.

The sea washed up masses of bodies, as formerly those of the Egyptians: the dead of the Agarenes, which it had swallowed by divine justice, as they invaded the inheritance of the Mother of God.

The Prince who built the City as an illustrious palace for you, Pure One, rejoices seeing how you heed it and have shattered the enemy, who calls you merely by your name.
A Christ-loving people and city, saved from terrible destruction by your protection, now perform a thanksgiving hymn, standing, unseated, all night long.

Ode 7. “Ouk elatreusan”

We offer up a suppliant prayer to you, Pure One, we who were saved from dreadful captivity, asking you to be saved also from invisible enemies, who wage war not against flesh and blood, but against the mind.

All the bows of the mighty were broken and failed; but the failing were seen to gird themselves with strength and power, because they possessed invincible power by their faith in you, Virgin.

The ill-omened voice of the herald of the unholy rite was muffled and stifled; for he was thrown down from on high in a headlong fall, because he did not cry out to you: “Blessed, Our Lady, is the fruit of your womb.”

Let your gates be opened, Queen of all Cities, and let your former prisoners and besieged come forth free; for the yoke of him who smote you is broken, the Virgin leading our armies.

Ode 8. “Paidas enegeis”

Persians and Medians and the most hateful tribes of the Huns conspired together: “Come let us seize the elect inheritance, for there is no one among them to rule them now.” But all this proved idle boasting, for the Virgin uprooted them all like grass.
The Queen City, Mother of God, supporter of true belief, sings of your triumph in a yearly vigil and celebrates with manifest joy the festival of thanksgiving for its deliverance, Holy Virgin, praising in hymns the wondrous birth of your Son.

The ships of the godless are wrecked, crashing violently into each other in the upheaval of a dreadful hurricane, others sink, all without exception are lost and gone; the chieftain, too, laments, when he sees that the remainder has also been put to the sword.

The nations which assailed your inheritance have perished miraculously, because they set their mouth against the high heavens and their blasphemous tongue walked through the earth, boasting, O Virgin, as Rabshakeh did, whose destruction they shared.

Ode 9. "Hos emψyχω θεοι"

Wondrous is your tent, a palace of the King of the universe; for the Spirit, overshadowing you, Mother of God, made you an awesome Bridal Chamber; and now this city is your inheritance: preserve it unharmed by barbarous enemies.

The invaders from Persia were caught in a snare, Pure Mother of God, because they unjustly set snares for the city and the people of the just. Terrible disaster invaded them, for you led the army against them, Virgin, sharing command in that battle with the faithful Emperor.

Long ago, Moses the lawgiver, holding his arms in the form of the cross, rescued the people of Israel from the cursed hand of warlike Amalek; now, through the cross and divine images, the hands of holy men defeat the enemies.

We take refuge with you, Mother of God, as God's living ark, now that a war from the waters is wholly overwhelming us, nations that cover the face of the earth and exalt themselves above the hills; but they are quickly dispersed by your sun-warmth, Pure One.

Your miracles, Mother of God, exceed the power of words: by your invincible strength you saved your inheritance from an invasion of Philistines, Pure One; therefore it gratefully cries out to you: "You, Mother of God, are my deliverer, protector, and refuge."
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SUMMARIES

Opus 191. Ranklist of Episcopal Sees. Second Sunday before Christmas 901/4

A ranklist of the cities whose pastors are ordained by the patriarch [of Constantinople] was found necessary; with the sees of the East, it includes also those of the West, so as to prevent further fights over precedence. To this end the Emperor and the Patriarch, with a number of metropolitans, met in the Church of St. Irene on the feast of the illustrious Patriarchs (section A).

There follow contemporary lists of metropolitan and archiepiscopal sees (section B), preserved separately in MS Jerusalem, Taphou 39, a manuscript which also includes a complementary list of suffragan sees.

Lit.: Grumel, no. 598; Gelzer.

Date. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the patriarch, on which the manuscripts are unanimous (with the sole exception of 1, where the name is left blank). Grumel's principal argument for the dating to 901 or 902, the fact that no archiepiscopal see of Alania is mentioned, no longer holds, since such a see was not established until 914 (Letters, pp. xxix and 577). There remains a prima facie probability that the reorganization belongs to the first years of Nicholas' patriarchate. In any case, the years 905-7 can be eliminated because of the tetragamy conflict, 912-14 because of the schism.

Note. The title and opening words of the Preface relate only to the lists of metropolitan and archiepiscopal sees; the list of suffragan sees (here omitted), while a necessary and contemporary supplement, required another meeting of the synod (see Gelzer).

Opus 192. Sermon on the Capture of Thessalonica. Early August 904

My sins and yours are the cause of this disaster. Let us repent so that our prayers may be worthy of being heard. We ourselves might have perished in the same way; in fact, the signs of God's wrath have already become manifest in recent catastrophes. Now men are killed, women raped, churches and relics desecrated. The martyr Demetrius has withdrawn his protection: why? Because he sees Christ smarting under our sins, thus...
soldier who sees his king wounded will forget his own nearest and dearest. Our hatred, our envy, our slander, our heartlessness are insults to Christ: because of them Thessalonica suffers this fate. Let us free ourselves from the bondage of sin lest worse things happen.

Lit.: Tsaras, 236-43.

Date: Thessalonica was taken on Tuesday, 31 July 904. The news must have taken several days to reach Constantinople. If the sermon was given on Sunday, this would be August 12 rather than 5.

Opus 193. Letter to Andronicus Ducas. Fall/Winter 905

Future Augustus Ducas: do not be persuaded by the Emperor's messengers, for Samonas is plotting against you. The City will soon ask for you through my efforts; do not forget me then.


Date: Some time after Andronicus' flight to Kavala (late Summer 905) and before the christening of Constantine (Epiphany 906), which according to the Vita Euthymii (71 lines 8-14) was a concession made on account of this piece of evidence.

Authenticity. The letter is either incredibly imprudent or deliberately incriminating. The alleged similarity in style (Vita Euthymii, 69 lines 20-22) is not evident.

Opus 194. First Act of Abdication. Ca. 6 Feb. 907

Since adverse circumstances prevent me from granting dispensation, I resign my see, though not the [arch]priesthood [and its functions; for the holy canon inexorably deposes anyone who, for whatever reason, renounces the sacred ministry].

Lit.: Grumel, no. 613.

Date: "Before five days of the Patriarch's exile had passed" (i.e., on Feb. 5 or 6), Leo demands his resignation, but Nicholas pretends to be ill (Vita Euthymii, 91 lines 4-15); "after this" the Emperor sends Samonas, who receives the present document (ibid., 91 line 17-93 line 20).

Note. Version I is that of the Vita Euthymii; version II, with the preamble, is found in some canonical manuscripts, and, without it, in the Act of Deposition (Op. 197) of the year 912. The author of the Vita may have abridged, but it is at least as likely that II is the official version circulated in 912 with a view to proving the resignation void; in that case the original shorter text has been amplified by the essential point of the Second Act of Abdication, the emphasis on retaining also the functions of the archpriesthood. If the First Act already included this stipulation, it is difficult to see why the Second Act was written at all.


Since, owing to the prevailing discord, I am unable to grant the promised dispensation, I yield my see to one who can restore unity, without, however, giving up the archpriesthood and its functions.

Lit.: Grumel, no. 613.

Date: "Not long after" opus 194 (Vita Euthymii, 93 line 21).

Opus 196. Third Act of Abdication. Second week of Feb. 907

Since unanimity has now been achieved, I leave it to you to grant dispensation, resigning my see, first, because I am weary of your quarreling, second, because this conflict has embittered my relations with the Emperor.

Lit.: Grumel, no. 614.

Date: The metropolitan are already in possession of a third abdication when they visit Euthymius for the first time at Psamathia to offer him the patriarchate (Vita Euthymii, 95 lines 33-35).

Opus 197. Deposition of the Metropolitan. Second half of May 912

Well may the Church call you rebellious sons, who have betrayed and insulted your Mother so outrageously as to make it manifest that you do not believe in justice either here or in the world to come (lines 1-22). You conspired against your Archpriest and Head; when the Emperor bade you choose between him and me, you sided unanimously with him, not once, but twice (Jan. 6 and Feb. 1). You broke your solemn promise not to grant dispensation, except by common consent, and you ignored my injunction to the same effect, when on the day of our deportation we took leave of each other (lines 23-50). Upon this, you drove us away from our flock: the Emperor was no more than your tool. Indeed, when he repented and intended to reinstate us, you answered by an ultimatum (lines 51-65). Finally, you demanded an abdication, though what you received was a snare. What validity, indeed, could an abdication signed under such duress possess (lines 66-83)? Text of the First Act of Abdication (lines
84–96). In accepting it you granted me spiritual rule over the entire world, though you imagined it authorized you to become the lawgivers and dispensers of fornication (lines 97–112). I will pass over your further misdeeds in silence and only cite the verdict of the holy canons (lines 113–27). List of applicable canons (lines 128–39). On these grounds this Holy Synod deposes you and divests you of all your archpriestly functions (lines 140–46).


Date: As far as the lacuna in the Vita Euthymii allows us to discern, the second half of May 912, soon after Alexander’s accession and Nicholas’ reinstatement.

Note. This is not a letter (Grumel; Konstantinides), but the document prepared by Nicholas and read out by his orders in a synod held in the gallery of St. Sophia to condemn the four metropolitans arrested (Vita Euthymii, 115 line 25–117 line 6: the words καὶ ἄδικα προκαθεσθεῖς [ibid., 117 line 4], must refer to Alexander’s refusal to be personally involved). Immediately afterwards, Nicholas refers to the four metropolitans as “these men who have been deposed.”

Opus 198. Letter to John the Catholicus.

The persecution inflicted on your flock (Armenians, Iberians, Albanians) by the Saracens grieves us deeply, in spite of the distance that separates us from you. What can be done (lines 9–38)? In the first place, pray; in the second, use your spiritual authority to stop the leaders’ hostilities among themselves (lines 36–39). We wrote to the same effect to the Curopalete of Iberia and the Prince of Abasgia, advising them to unite with all the Armenian princes against the children of the ungodly Aposatai. If by your admonitions you can put an end to the animosity among the princes, the Emperor will send large forces to your aid so that together you will be able to defeat the enemy (lines 70–116). Only then will you forgive them and confirm their rights (lines 117–132).

Lit.: Grumel, no. 649; Konstantinides, 103–4 and 123. Maksoudian, 54–56 and 362.

Date: Grumel dates the letter to the period of Nicholas’ personal government. Maksoudian arrives at the same date (ca. 913) on the following grounds: John is still in Gugar; Smbat’s death was not yet known at Constantinople but his imprisonment was, else he would have been the addressee.
B. The Text. 9 July 920

The greatest gift that our Lord Jesus Christ has left us is peace (lines 5–17). Whenever the peace of His Church was disturbed by Satan's wiles, He has restored unity (lines 18–34). In each case a remedy was found appropriate to the trouble: this time, since the cause is a marriage, we have gathered together, archpriests and priests (except those who, driven by pride, prefer strife to peace) to eradicate the evil by preventing any such marriages in the future (lines 35–59). We therefore decree that from this year 6428 onward no one shall contract a fourth marriage under penalty of excommunication, as long as the marriage lasts (lines 60–68).

It has also become necessary to regulate third marriages, since they are no longer rare exceptions that can be tolerated as such, but have become an accepted practice (lines 69–81). For those over forty who contract a third marriage there will be a five year's penance, after completion of which communion will be permitted only at Easter; if there are already children, a third marriage is forbidden (lines 82–105). Those in their thirties, if there are children, will be excommunicated for four years and then admitted to communion three times a year only (Easter, Dormition, Christmas); if there are no children, only the traditional penance [three years] will be imposed (lines 106–19).

Second and first marriages should not be a sequel to rape or seduction, which are subject to the penalty for fornication, i.e., seven years; any priest who admits a person guilty of these to communion will be liable to deprivation (lines 120–35).

C. Appendix. 996

After ninety years, in the reign of Basil and Constantine, the priests and monks separated from the Church by the aforesaid cause were reunited with it. Let us proclaim and celebrate those who achieved this great work.

SUMMARIES

200 A, B, C

12–25). Widespread dissent; after Leo's death, Alexander dopes Euthynius and reinstates Nicholas with a schism as the result (lines 26–33). After Alexander's death, Constantine restores unity, obtaining a pardon for his father, while a ban is pronounced on fourth marriages (lines 34–40).

Date: The Argument is proved a product of Constantine's personal reign by its anti-Nicholaan bias and by the fact that it makes Constantine the sole author of the union, though at the time he was only fifteen years old.

SUMMARIES

200 C, D

Lit.: Grumel, no. 803.

Date: In the editions the Appendix is followed by Acclamations section D III, dating from the patriarchate of Nicholas II Chrysoberges (979–91). This conflation (the work of Leunclavius; no manuscript combines C with D III) has led to the erroneous assumption of a connection between the two. The only historical information we have on the subject is found in Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 340 line 4–341 line 12, according to whom it was Sisinnius who ended the tetragamy schism in 6503 (994/95; Grumel's dates for Sisinnius are 12 April 996–24 August 998). Though an allusion in a letter of Leo of Synada (Ep. 54 lines 22–23, Darrouzès, 209) seems to indicate that the union had already been arranged before Sisinniius' election, the formal proclamation probably took place soon after his ordination, a time which tallies well with the lapse of ninety years after the beginning of the schism. The immediate object of his appointment may have been precisely this.

D. The Acclamations.

Various dates

I. Date: 14 December 928–August 931 (patriarchate of Tryphon).

II. Date: 5 February 970–10 January 976. After the death of the Patriarch Polyeuctus, 5 February 970; his immediate successor, Basil I Scamandrenus, deposed in March (?) 974, does not appear in the diptychs. Reign of John I Tzimisces (11 Dec. 969–10 Jan. 976).

III. Date: April 979–16 December 991 (patriarchate of Nicholas II Chrysoberges).

IV. Date: 16 December 1025–11 November 1028 (reign of Constantine VIII).


VII. Date: 1050–11 January 1055 (reign of Constantine IX and Theodora). Updated in the margin of Q to 16 August 1118–end of April 1134 (reign of John II Comnenus, 16 August 1118–8 April 1143; patriarchate of John IX Agapitus, 24 May 1111–end of April 1134).

IX. Date: January 1078–1104. After the death of Michael VII (deposed 7 Jan. 1078), before the death of Isaac the Sebastocrator (d. 1102/4). It is not clear why there is no commemoration of John VIII Xiphilinus, who died 2 August 1075 (textual error?); Cosmas, who abdicated in May 1081, may still have been alive.

X. Date: 1102–before 24 May 1111. After death of Isaac the Sebastocrator (d. 1102/4); during patriarchate of Nicholas III Grammaticus (Aug. 1084–before 24 May 1111).

XI. Date: Antioch, ca. 1111. During patriarchate of Nicholas III Grammaticus (d. before 24 May 1111), after death of John V Oxites, Patriarch of Antioch (d. ca. 1111?).—Only a few lines of the acclamations survive; the rest has been supplied from the Synod. Orth. in the same manuscript.

XII. Date: May 1134–Jan. 1143 (patriarchate of Leo Stypes). The second Irene is Irene of Hungary, wife of John II (d. 1134).

E. Anathemas. 9 July, 920

Three anathemas protecting the memory of the orthodox patriarchs of the iconoclast period, of those of the Ignatian-Photian era down to Nicholas, and the ecclesiastical tradition generally (these three are also in the Synod. Orth.). Three anathemas against opponents of the union (two against extreme rigorists, one against those of excessive permissiveness). Concluding prayer.

Date: This section is part of the original document, though Nicholas’ name (followed by that of Stephen II in J) may have been added between 920 and 928/31.

Opus 201. Decree on Patriarchal Letters.

Though it is difficult to discard an inveterate custom, we have decided to do so (lines 4–10). The ostiarius of this sacred place used to demand a fee for copies of patriarchal letters; we have replaced this by an annual salary. We instruct the chartophylax and his notaries not to tolerate any infringement (lines 11–24). Divine retribution, here and in the world to come, will overtake those who ignore our ruling (lines 25–32).

Lit.: Grumel, no. 733.

Date: No information; the first year or so of the patriarchate seems the most likely time.

SUMMARIES

Opus 202. Decree on the Great Habit. Date?

The grace of the Great Habit can never disqualify a man for the priesthood, even if some canon should say so.

Lit.: Grumel, no. 731; Konstantinides, 125.

Opus 203. Canon on the Lament of the Mother of God. Liturgical date: Holy Saturday

Alphabetical acrostic; in the theotokia the poet signs “Nikolaou”, which according to the title in the manuscript refers to the Patriarch. Heirmos: Octoechus (Venice, 1881), 119–28. The canon follows the sequence of the events, which, however, are mostly touched upon only in passing and not necessarily connected with the motifs of the lament: ode 1—Christ on the cross; ode 3—flight of the disciples; ode 4—Joseph of Arimathea’s appeal to Pilate; ode 5—the descent from the cross; ode 6—the Virgin addressing her dead Son; ode 7—Christ is carried to the grave; ode 8—the sepulture; ode 9—Christ answers his Mother. The last ode was obviously inspired by Cosmas’ canon for Holy Saturday, ode 9 (Triodion, 408; Christ-Paranikas, 196–201).

Opus 204. Canon to St. Gregory the Illuminator and Rhipsimia Liturgical date: Sept. 30

The Patriarch Nicholas is named as the author only in the margin of the Laura manuscript. There is no acrostic; the theotokia, however, have been taken from an alphabetical canon to the Theotokos, which follows the same heirmos (Paracleticus [Rome, 1885], 625–32). In the first, third, sixth, and seventh ode the first strophe of each ode is used, and in the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth, the last, resulting in the acrostic AAIMNITφQ. This was pointed out to me by Dr. Enrica Follieri, who lists a dozen more canons in which some of the theotokia derive from the same source; the canon to St. Gregory, however, is unique in that all its theotokia come from the same alphabetical canon, which is possible because it is the only known canon that has the same sequence of melodies throughout. From this Dr. Follieri infers (tentatively) that the poet of the canon to Gregory either modeled his poem on the alphabetical canon, or wrote both.

In each ode one strophe (the second in ode 5, otherwise the third) addresses itself to Rhipsimia, with the exception of odes 1 and 4; the rest describes the sufferings of Gregory on the basis of the martyrion.
SUMMARIES

Opus 205. Stichera to Peter and Paul.  Liturgical date: June 29

No *heirmos* is indicated: perhaps the melody was original (*idiomela*). The first strophe, though the dominating theme is that of the catcher caught, condenses in a pregnant form everything that is said about Peter in the Gospels; in the second, Paul is celebrated as the great theologian, the chosen vessel, the fountain of love, and the bearer of the stigmata.

Opus 206. Canon to St. Nicholas.  Liturgical date: Dec. 6

In the *theotokia* the acrostic "Nikolaou." The melody is that of Cosmas' canon for Holy Saturday (Triodion, 408; Christ-Paranikas 196–201). The themes of the poem are: the poet's sins, his misery, and his need of help; the saving miracles of Christ and the Apostles (odes 3 and 5); and a few episodes from the legend of St. Nicholas (odes 5 and 6 — the three army commanders; ode 7 — the poor man's daughters; ode 9 — the council of Nicaea and Nicholas' ordination).

Opus 207. Canon of Thanksgiving to the Mother of God.  Liturgical date: third Saturday before Easter

Iambic acrostic, and in the *theotokia* "Nikolaou." The *heirmos* is St. John Damascene's canon on the Dormition (Christ-Paranikas, 229–32) except for ode 9, which follows ode 9 of Theophanes' canon on the Annunciation (Christ-Paranikas, 236–42). Written to be sung on Akathistos Saturday to celebrate the victories over the Persians and Avars (siege of 626) and over the Arabs (sieges of 674–78 and 717). The historical details (dispersed over the poem without any visible method) are derived from the account in the *synaxaria* (copied in the Utilis narratio, PG, 106, cols. 1335–54). It is worth noting that Joseph's canon for Akathistos Saturday (IX cent.) contains hardly any allusions to military menaces. Some phrases have been borrowed from this poem (lines 7–8; 166); and one from Theophanes' canon on the Annunciation (cf. lines 13–14 in Op. 207).

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