THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
IGNATIOS THE DEACON

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by
Cyril Mango

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF Stephanos Efthymiadis

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CYRILLUS MANGO

ADIUVANTE STEPHANO EUTHYMIADI

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS,
EDIDIT IHOR ŠEVČENKO

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

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

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

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

Oxford, August 1995

C.M.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS  Acta Sanctorum (Brussels, 1643–)
AJA  American Journal of Archaeology
AnalBoll  Analecta Bollandiana
Bonn  Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, ed. B. G. Niebuhr et al. (Bonn, 1828–97)
BSl  Byzantinoslavica
Bury, System  J. B. Bury, The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century (London, 1911)
Byz  Byzantion
BZ  Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CahArch  Cahiers archéologiques
CFHB  Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
Chron. Pasch.  Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. Dindorf, I (Bonn, 1832)
Darrouzès, Épistoliers  J. Darrouzès, Épistoliers byzantins du Xᵉ siècle (Paris, 1960)
Darrouzès, Offikia  J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les δφίκια of l’Église byzantine (Paris, 1970)
DHGE  Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (Paris, 1912–)
DOP  Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EEΒΣ  Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO  Échos d’Orient
Georg. Mon.  Georgii Monachi Chronicon, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904)
Janin, CP  R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964)
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<tr>
<td>JOB</td>
<td><em>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</em></td>
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<td>Karathanasis</td>
<td>D. K. Karathanasis, <em>Sprichwörter</em> (Munich, 1936)</td>
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<td>KEΦΣ</td>
<td>'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολεί ἐλληνικός φιλολογικός Σύλλογος</td>
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<td>Leo Gr.</td>
<td>Leonis Grammatici <em>Chronographia</em>, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1842)</td>
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<td>Lequien, OrChr</td>
<td>M. Lequien, <em>Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus</em>, 3 vols. (Paris, 1740)</td>
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<td>Mansi</td>
<td>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, ed. G. D. Mansi (Florence and Venice, 1759–98; reprinted Paris, 1901–)</td>
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<td>MGH, SS</td>
<td>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, <em>Scriptores</em></td>
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<td>Nέος’ἘΛΛ.</td>
<td>Νέος Ἐλληνομνήμων</td>
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<td>RE</td>
<td>Pauly-Wissowa, <em>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</em></td>
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<td>REB</td>
<td><em>Revue des études byzantines</em></td>
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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbr.</th>
<th>Full Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>ROC</td>
<td>Revue de l’Orient chrétien</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Sources chrétiennes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sevčenko</td>
<td>&quot;Hagiography&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strömberg</td>
<td>Greek Proverbs: A Collection of Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases which are not listed by the Ancient and Byzantine Paroemiographers (Göteborg, 1954)</td>
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<td>Suda</td>
<td>Suidae Lexicon, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1928–38)</td>
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<td>Theoph.</td>
<td>Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–85)</td>
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<td>Theoph. Cont.</td>
<td>Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1842)</td>
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<td>TM</td>
<td>Travaux et mémoires. Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation byzantines (Paris, 1965–)</td>
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<td>Treadgold, Revival</td>
<td>W. Treadgold, The Byzantine Revival 780–842 (Stanford, Calif., 1988)</td>
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<td>TU</td>
<td>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig-Berlin, 1882–)</td>
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<td>Vasil’evskij</td>
<td>V. G. Vasil’evskij, Žitija sv. Georgija Amastridskago, in Russko-Vizantijskija  ̣ izsledovanija, II (St. Petersburg, 1893) = Trudy III (St. Petersburg, 1915)</td>
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<td>VGA</td>
<td>Vizantijskij Vremennik</td>
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<td>VN</td>
<td>C. de Boor, Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitanii opuscula historica (Leipzig, 1880), 139–217</td>
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<td>ZRVI</td>
<td>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</td>
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INTRODUCTION

DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

The correspondence of Ignatios, a collection of sixty-four letters, is preserved anonymously in a single MS, Vatopedi 588, which is described below. Its existence was first made public in January 1903 by Daniel Serruys, who presented a paper on this topic before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.¹ A number of indications led Serruys to the conclusion that the author of the correspondence was named Ignatios, whom he incorrectly identified with the patriarch of that name (847–858; 867–877). He offered a brief analysis of the document he had discovered, drawing attention to the author's complete subordination to the imperial government, his conventional and mediocre mentality, and his frequent recourse to citations from classical literature.

In that same year 1903, all sixty-four letters were published by the prolific Greek scholar Manuel Gedeon in a collection entitled Νέα βιβλιοθήκη εκκλησιαστικών συγγραφέων.² They appeared under the title 'Αδήλου (Θεοφάνους Νικαίας) ἐπιστολαί, without any explanatory statement other than the shelfmark of the MS, incorrectly given as Vatopedi 1035. The edition, which contains many errors, was based not on the MS itself, but on a copy executed by the deacon Anthimos of Vatopedi.³ Its first typographic sheet was somehow "leaked" to the Assumptionist J. Pargoire, who promptly equated Gedeon's sixty-four letters with those described by Serruys and was able to show that their author was neither Patriarch Ignatios nor Theophanes of Nicæa (i.e., St. Theophanes Graptos, d. 845), but Ignatios of Nicæa, better known as Ignatios the deacon.⁴ The first fascicle of the Νέα βιβλιοθήκη (no more were published) was never put on the market. Under circumstances that are unknown to us, almost the entire edition was destroyed (as Gedeon himself later stated), which is why very few copies of it are now in existence.

Undaunted by this unfortunate experience, Gedeon reissued the correspondence in fascicle 4 of a new collection, called Αρχείον εκκλησιαστικής ιστορίας.

¹ Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1903), 38 ff, 57.
² I, fasc. 1 (Constantinople, 1903), 1–64.
³ On this person, a native of the island of Aphousia, and his reprehensible activity on Mount Athos, see Ch. Ktenas, 'Η Σύγχρονος Αθωνική σχολή και οἱ έν αὐτῇ διδάσκαλες ἀπὸ τοῦ 1845–1916 (Athens, 1930), 65–71.
⁴ "Lettres inédites d'Ignace de Nicée," EO 6 (1903), 375–78. See also his review of Gedeon's edition in VizVrem 10 (1903), 633–34.
published on 10 July 1914.5 This time he prefaced it with a short statement in which he gave the number of the MS (once again erroneously) as Vatopedi 388, acknowledged his debt to the deacon Anthimos, and defended his attribution of the letters to Theophanes against Pargoire's criticism. As far as we are aware, the fourth fascicle of the 'Apxeiov survives in a single copy, the property of the Gennadion Library, Athens. A manuscript note by one G. Arvanitidis on the last page of the book explains that the entire edition was stolen from the press before it could be distributed.

In the light of the above circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the correspondence of Ignatios should have remained virtually unknown to this day. The few scholars who have had an opportunity to refer to it6 have done so for certain limited purposes without considering its significance as a whole. Only two of the letters have been republished in the original Greek,7 and one has appeared in a German translation.8

THE MANUSCRIPT

Vatopedi 588 (= V) is a small parchment volume (17 × 12 cm) of 196 pages, written in single columns of 22–28 lines, in the early eleventh century.9 As all other Vatopedi MSS, V was bound in 1870 by the monks Anthimos and Sabas of the skete of St. Demetrios. In its present state the MS is made up of twelve quires; the first quire lacks the first folio. To the last quire have been added three leaves corresponding to pp. 191–96.

The script is a Perlschrift, which, according to H. Hunger, should be located in eleventh-century Constantinople.10 The text is negligently copied, having a number of spelling errors and mistaken compendia. In that respect, the comment of Photios' editors applies equally well to the rest of the MS: “Scriba parum doctus præsertim

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5 Pp. 420–87; cf. Ch. G. Patrinelis, Δημοσιεύματα Μανονηλ Γενεών (Athens, 1974), no. 454, who gives the publication date as 1913.
6 In particular V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and W. Wolska-Conus as well as G. Karlsson, Idéologie et cérémonial dans l'épistolographie byzantine (Uppsala, 1959), 126ff; 2nd ed. (1962), 125ff. Some letters were recently discussed by A. Kazhdan, in BSI 53 (1992), 197–201. See also Postscript, below, p. 207.
7 No. 25 by Karlsson, Idéologie 2, 128ff; no. 41 by H. Wölke, Untersuchungen zur Batrachyoma-chie (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978), 249 (from Karlsson's collation).
9 See S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, Catalogue of the Greek MSS in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 115. The MS is mistakenly dated to the 12th century. We would like to thank the hieromonk Palamas and the monk Lazaros, librarians of the monastery of Vatopedi, for their warm hospitality and kind assistance while studying the MS in situ.
10 Studien zur griechischen Paläographie (Vienna, 1954), 22–32.
THE AUTHOR

in compendiis solvendis saepè erravit, interdum quae intellegere non poterat ut-
cumque delineavit." 11

V comprises works of three authors:

1. Pseudo-Nonnos' Commentaries on the mythical heroes and stories (ἰστορι-
ρίων) contained in three homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Clavis Patrum Grae-
corum 3011): (a) Oratio I contra Iulianum (pp. 1–32—first 50 chaps. miss-
ing); (b) Oratio II contra Iulianum (pp. 32–58);12 (c) Oratio in Sancta Lumina
(pp. 59–73).13

2. Correspondence of Ignatios (pp. 74–166).

3. Thirty-five letters of Photios: ed. Laourdas-Westerink, nos. 3–14, 16–18,

Chapter headings of Pseudo-Nonnos' scholia and titles of letters are written in
accented capitals. V exhibits a considerable number of insignificant marginalia, most
of them, it seems, of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries.

THE AUTHOR

In spite of several attempts to elucidate it,15 the biography of Ignatios remains some-
thing of a puzzle: we have many of its constituent pieces but do not know how to put
them together. A starting point is provided by the notice devoted to him in the tenth-
century Suda lexicon (I, 84; ed. Adler, II, 607 ff):

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

12 PG 36, 1036c–1058a; Ps. Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii, ed.
J. Nimmo Smith, Corpus Christianorum, Series graeca 27 (1992), where Vatop. 588 is listed (p. 17) as a
12th-century MS.
13 Of which part is published in PG 36, 1065b–1072d.
14 See vol. I, xiii.
15 Among relatively recent studies we may mention E. E. Lipšic, "O pohode Rusi na Vizantiju
ranee 842 goda," Istoričeskie zapiski 26 (1948), 312 ff; G. Marenghi, "Ignazio diacono e i Tetrastichi
giambici," Emerita 25 (1957), 487–98; R. Browning, "Ignace le diacre et la tragédie classique à Byz-
4 (1970), 329–60; C. Mango, "Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea,"
argues for a slightly different reconstruction of Ignatios' career from the one adopted here, namely, that
he became skevophylax during the patriarchate of Nikephoros (806–815) and metropolitan of Nicaea
probably in 815–816); A. Kazhdan, as in note 6 and Postscript.
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

THE AUTHOR

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

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

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

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19 Darrouzès, *Epistoliers*, 68 note 1. We may also cite the example of James the hesychast, mentioned in the *Vita of St. Peter of Atroa*, who was former bishop of Anchialos and is designated by the same participle, γεγονότα: ed. Laurent (below, note 31), §65.5. On the same James see S. Efthymiadis, “Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite,” *REB* 53 (1995), 146 note 24.
21 *Oikonomidès, Listes*, 185.25. For other references and bibliography, see *ODB*, 592.
22 See Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 314 ff; see also *ODB*, 1909–10.
23 See VN 190.16.
therefore, to have combined the functions of *oikonomos* (rather than logothete)\(^25\) and *skevophylax*. He must have been in a position to make life uncomfortable for the recalcitrant patriarch—in part, as P. J. Alexander suggests,\(^26\) because the *skevophylax* had charge of the icons.

iii. Metropolitan of Nicaea. This appointment must have occurred some time between 815, when the “orthodox” Peter was removed from his post,\(^27\) and 843, hence certainly under iconoclastic rule. The two Lives of St. Ioannikios (those by Peter and Sabas respectively) relate a story about an iconoclastic bishop of Nicaea called Inger, whose imminent death was predicted by the great ascetic.\(^28\) The incident, which is unfortunately undated, appears to have happened some time after 822, if we follow Peter’s more reliable chronology.\(^29\) Inger (who must have had, in addition, a Christian name) may have been, therefore, Peter’s immediate successor. In that case, he was the person whom Theodore the Studite, in writing to the deposed Peter between 815 and 818, describes as “a piece of rubbish” (*κάθαρμα*) and ὁς ἀληθῶς ἔτερόφθαλμος (having different-colored eyes?).\(^30\) If Ignatios came after Inger, he may have been ordained under Michael II, whose exploits against the rebel Thomas he celebrated in iambic verse. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he came before Inger, in which case he was the subject of the Studite’s uncomplimentary characterization.

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

We do not know how long Ignatios held the see of Nicaea. The next incumbent known to us is St. Theophanes Graptos (843–11 Oct. 845). Both the evidence of the Letters and the severity of Patriarch Methodios’ policy toward the *lapsi* make it plain that Ignatios could not have been Theophanes’ successor, as some scholars have supposed.\(^31\)

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\(^{25}\) On the *oikonomos* see Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 16f, 36f, 303 ff; on the ecclesiastical logothete, whose early functions are unclear, ibid., 359 ff.


\(^{27}\) See S. Vailhé, “S. Michel de Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti,” *ROC* 6 (1901), 634.

\(^{28}\) *Vita* by Peter, c. 38, *AASS*, Nov. II.1, 408; *vita* by Sabas, c. 30, ibid., 360.

\(^{29}\) The date of ca. 827, given by Van de Gheyn, ibid., 364 note 1, and reproduced by Vailhé, loc. cit., is simply a guess. See Mango, “Two Lives,” 395 ff, which attempts to show that the chronology of the *Vita* by Sabas has been deliberately doctored and should not be relied on.

\(^{30}\) *Theod. Stud.*, letter 313.19–20, ed. Patouros, 456; for the date see ibid., 341 *.

iv. Grammatikos. In late antiquity, a *grammatikos* was a "secondary" teacher as distinct, on the one hand, from the *grammatistes* (primary teacher) and, on the other, from the rhetor or sophist, who conducted higher education, but it is a matter of doubt if this definition still held good in the ninth century. Two prominent contemporaries or near-contemporaries of Ignatios bore the title of *grammatikos*: George Choiroboskos, who is styled in manuscripts γραμματικὸς καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος, and the iconoclast John (patriarch of Constantinople, 838–843), but in neither case do we know the precise nature of their teaching activity. There is independent evidence that Ignatios was active as a teacher, and we shall return to this point later.

v. The Life of Tarasios (BHG 3 1698). There can be little doubt that this work (VT) was written in or after 843, as shown by the following considerations:

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

2. The author complains of his old age and ill health (p. 423.25: ἀπορία λόγου καί γῆρα καὶ νόσῳ καὶ μπτόμενος).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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39In Russko-Vizantijskija izsledovanija, II (St. Petersburg, 1893), xcvi note 3 (= Trudy. III [St. Petersburg, 1915]).

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

41The Patriarch Nicephorus, 148.
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internecine misfortune has prevailed” (p. 207.20–22: ἐξ ἑκεῖνου γὰρ καὶ μέχρι νῦν τὸ δεῖν τής ἐμφυλίου συμφορᾶς ἐπικρατήσας συμβέβηκε νόσημα). He must be thinking, in the first instance, of the revolt of Thomas the Slave, which lasted until 823.42 We are not informed of any other civil disturbance in the reign of Michael II, although it may be supposed that the effects of Thomas’ rebellion persisted for a number of years. But what point would there have been in making such a statement after 843?

Now the case for a late date of VN.

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

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

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

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

Methodios himself admits to having been inclined to adopt a conciliatory line, but was dissuaded from doing so by his “brethren” (members of his synod) as well as by St. Ioannikios, who warned him quite bluntly: “If you receive the heretical ministers (λειτουργοὺς, i.e., deacons) and priests, you would be introducing into the Church not only Judaism, but also paganism.”46 In the event, the following course was adopted on the recommendation, it seems, of Sergios I, patriarch of Jerusalem: clerks who had been ordained by Tarasios or Nikephoros were to be readmitted and retain their original rank, but, as it were, in a lower category (ἐν δεύτερα τάξει), provided they repented sincerely and anathematized the leaders of the heresy. The rest, that is, those who had been ordained by iconoclastic patriarchs, were to be permanently excluded from the clergy, anointed with oil like repenting Arians, and subjected to instruction (κατηχῆσει).47 In writing to the patriarch of Jerusalem in the spring of 846, Methodios regretfully admits that, even in the first group, none had shown any “fruit of repentance by way of self-abasing speech, harsh discipline of life, or voluntary reclusion (ριπτας κατὰ ψωλού)-, nay, they continued to behave in an arrogant and condescending manner.”48

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

46 Ibid., 54, fragm. 2.
reclusion in the monastery of Pikridion. In this manner he cleared his name and reestablished his position.

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

vii. Funerary Elegies. Three are preserved: Anth. Pal. xv.29 (an epitaph on himself containing a characteristic admission of sin, Ἰγνάτιος πολλήν ἐν ἀμπλακίασθι βιώσας); 30 (on a certain Paul, who died at the age of twenty-three); and 31 (on Samuel, deacon of the Great Church, hence a colleague of Ignatios). The authorship of the three short poems is indicated simply by the name Ἰγνάτιος. Among ninth-century intellectuals, Ignatios may have been the first to cultivate the discontinued art of elegiac poetry.49 We also possess in Barb. gr. 310 (10th century) a longer “anacreontic” poem with alphabetical acrostic (hence not an “elegy”) on the same Paul, entitled Ἰγνάτιος διακόνου γραμματικοῦ ἐλς Παῦλον τὸν ὦδον μαθητήν,50 thus proving that Ignatios had indeed been a teacher. The anacreontic poem provides little additional information except that Paul was buried in a church of St. Stephen (vv. 75–76).51

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

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

51 In the MS there is a lacuna after Ignatios’ poem. A. Mai, Spicilegium romanum, IV (Rome, 1840), xxxii, supposes on the evidence of the preserved pīnax that there was another ode by Ignatios, an ἀνακριβέστερον κατασκυλήν contained in the MS, but it seems more likely that the pīnax (ibid., xxxvi f) refers to the one poem on Paul.
53 As does H. Grégoire in A. A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, I (Brussels, 1935), 31 note 2, who tries to reconstruct a poem in “politic” verse; rightly criticized by Barišić, “Dve verzije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi,” ZRVI 6 (1960), 165 note 47.
that, in so doing, he revived an old tradition that had probably been extinct since the days of George of Pisidia.

x. Other Works. A number of other compositions, in both verse and prose, have been attributed to our Ignatios either on the basis of titles in MSS or for reasons of style. Some of the works in question are of such slight interest that it does not particularly matter who their author was, but in other cases the question of authorship is of some moment. In trying to resolve it, we should bear in mind that there lived in the second half of the ninth century another Ignatios, styled μαγιστρος τῶν γραμματικῶν, who composed a series of iambic epigrams on the church of the Virgin Mary "of the Source" (τῆς Πηγῆς). Since these epigrams (Anth. Pal. 1.109–14) were occasioned by the restoration and redecoration of the church in question, which was damaged by the earthquake of 869,54 and since Anth. Pal. 1.109 names the reigning emperors as Basil, Constantine, and Leo, the last crowned in 870, it is highly unlikely that our Ignatios (born, as we shall see, not later than ca. 780) could have written these poems. To the later Ignatios (rather than to the patriarch of the same name) may also be attributed a seven-verse iambic poem on Lazarus and the Rich Man in Paris, suppl. gr. 690.55

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

Poems

1. Acrostichon alphabeticum, contained in a great number of MSS under different titles, for example, Ἰγνατίου διακόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἄλφαβητον παραμετικόν οὗ Ἰγνατίου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου σκευοφύλακος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας παραίνεσις νέος κατὰ στοιχεῖον.56 This is a poem of twenty-four lines addressed to schoolboys, hence consonant with Ignatios' teaching activity. We may note verse 8, θύρευε τά κράτιστα τῶν νοημάτων, which echoes a similar expression in VT 423.

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

54De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem, AASS, Nov. III, 882; cf. R. Janin, Églises. 224.
55Ed. L. Sternbach, "Methodii patriarchae et Ignatii patriarchae carmina inedita," Eos 4 (1897), 151ff. The reason for the attribution is that the poem in question, entitled Στίχου Ἰγνατίου, is followed by three others on the Five Martyrs, of which the second mentions a church built(?) by Basil, perhaps Basil I.
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had fallen into misfortune” or perhaps rather into temptation, since he is invited to
give thought to the original Fall after himself falling into a similar pit (Icono-
clasm?). The poem contains many quotations from Sophocles and Euripides.

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

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

‘Ἰγνάτιος τάδε τεῦξε, σοφῆς πολιούδρες ἀδιήδης,
Ἱγνάτιος τάδε τεῦξεν, δώς ἐς φάος ἣγαγε τέχνην
γραμματικήν, λήθης κενθομένην πελάγει.

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

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58 Verses 8–9: τῆς σῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς συμφορὰς ἐπαισθάνου 1 ὡς καὶ λελαξάως [λελουχως cod.;
λελουχως Boiss.] τῶν δομῶν σκαμμάτων.
59 See Browning, “Ignace lediacre.”
60 The tetrasticha were edited as an appendix to Babrii fabulae aesopeae, ed. O. Crusius (Leipzig,
1897), 249ff; recent edition by M. J. Lazzato and A. la Penna, Babrii, Mythiambi Aesopei (Leipzig,
considerable doubts concerning the authorship of this work. See, however, VT 403.5–6 (οβ νεβρών μυελοῦε)
and below, letter 37.
61 It may be pointed out in this connection that an anonymous Byzantine treatise Peri τῶν τοῦ
λόγου σχεμάτων, ed. C. Walz, Rhetores graeci, VIII (Stuttgart-Tübingen, 1835), 617ff (= L. Spengel,
Rhetores graeci, III (Leipzig, 1856), 110ff), is addressed to an Ignatios (φιλοσοφικάτατον τέκνων καὶ
ἐνδεικτικῇ τῇ Ἰγνάτιῳ). It is attributed to Patriarch Tarasios by P. Nikitin, “Ο nekotoryh gredeskih tek-
stah zhitij svyatyh,” Mémoires de Académie Impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg, 8 ser., 1,1 (1895), 50ff.
63 As still argued by Wolska-Conus, “De quibusdam Ignatiis,” 351ff; S. Gero, Byzantine Icono-
clasm during the Reign of Leo III (Louvain, 1973), 113–26; and idem, in Byz 44 (1974), 27; A. Grabar,
L'iconoclasse byzantine (Paris, 1984), 152ff.
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untrue. They must have been composed in or very shortly after 815. Their attribution to our Ignatios may be justified on the following grounds: (i) He is known to have collaborated with iconoclasts. (ii) The poems, which have an initial, a median, and a final acrostic, are very complex in structure and could only have been written by an experienced versifier. Ignatios the deacon was recognized as a specialist in this domain, and it is not likely that there was another equally qualified contemporary poet also named Ignatios. (iii) The iconoclastic poems were the work of four authors: John (most probably the future patriarch), Ignatios, Sergios, and Stephen, which brings us to the following.

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

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

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

Βυθῷ με πεσόντα ἄμαρτιῶν
cαὶ σοῦ τῷ πελάγει
προσφυγόντα τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν

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

66 Cf. below, comment on letter 54.

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


Since the same service also contains a sticheron attributed to Patriarch Methodios (‘Πιετος εἰς σωτηρίας λυμένα δόξησον), it was probably composed between 6 March 845 and 14 June 847.

ii. A kanon on the translation of the relics of Patriarch Tarasios (in 846), bearing the acrostichis: ‘Αρχιερέα θεοῦ Ταράσιου δόμασι μέλπω. \(^{70}\)

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

‘Αμαρτίων τόφω δεινῷ συσχεθέντα με,
τῇ ἀθανάτῳ νεώτερι σου
καὶ τῇ εὐσπλάγχνῳ σου ἀναστήσεις παλάμη,
ζώσον ὡς οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ πολυέλεος. \(^{72}\)

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

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

καμοῦ τὴν ἀχλὴν τοῦ πταίσιματος
λύσων λάμψοι σα μοι φῶς. \(^{74}\)

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

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

1. The Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite (BHG 3 711). The attribution, though doubted by one scholar,76 rests on good authority since it is given in three of the oldest MSS77 (Βίος . . . συγγραφείς ὑπὸ Ἰγνατίου διακόνου καὶ σκευοφύλ-ακος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας) and is further supported by stylistic and thematic similarities with other works by Ignatios.78 The date of St. Gregory’s death is usually given as 20 November 842, but he may have died one or even two years earlier. Since several posthumous miracles are recorded, the Life can hardly have been written before 843; on the other hand, it does not appear much later.79 Ignatios does not claim to have known the saint personally. He drew his information from two of Gregory’s disciples, named Anastasios and John, and possibly from his uncle Symeon. It is worthy of note that the saint’s most famous disciple, St. Joseph the Hymnographer, is not mentioned, perhaps because he had not yet returned from captivity (which he did soon after 843).80 The tone of the Life is anti-iconoclastic throughout, and it may be conjectured that Ignatios undertook the commission of writing it in order to establish his orthodox credentials.

2. The Life of St. George of Amastris (BHG 3 668). The attribution of this work (VGA) to Ignatios has no manuscript authority and was advanced by V. G. Vasil’evskij on stylistic and historical grounds.81 Further arguments have recently been marshaled by I. Ševčenko.82 Without attempting to summarize here the vast (and largely unoriginal) literature that has grown round this text, especially in connection with the Russian attack on Amastris mentioned in its concluding part, we should like to make two brief points.

i. As shown conclusively by Ševčenko, VGD uses a series of typically iconoclastic formulations, which suggest that it was indeed written before 843. Yet George of Amastris was himself by no means an Iconoclast. On the contrary, he was on terms of friendship with Empress Irene and instigated the composition of an iconophile work on the translation of the relics of St. Euphemia by his suffragan, Constantine, bishop of Tios.83 Hence the author’s curious reticence on doctrinal matters. He is celebrating a man known to have been an iconophile in terms that would have been

77 Paris, gr. 501, 1525, and 1549.
79 Note the reference to Iconoclasm as still vigorous (p. 75.4: σῶν τήν νῦν φρασταμένη) recalling VN 214.26.
81 Trudy, III (St. Petersburg, 1915), lxxxviii–cviii.
82 “Hagiography,” 121ff. On its thematic similarities with VGD, see Efthymiadis, as in note 78.
83 Ed. F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcédoine (Brussels. 1965), 81ff.
acceptable in a period of iconoclastic ascendancy. Moreover, if we give credence to
the author's statement in the preamble of VGA that this was his first venture in hagi-
ography, we may obtain a terminus ante quem of 830, the year when the first draft of
VN appears to have been composed.  

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

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

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

THE LETTERS

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

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

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

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

1–4; possibly 6; 7–11, 13–15; probably 16; 17, 18: all of these pertain to Ignatios’ episcopal period.

19, 20: written from Constantinople. The chartophylax (presumably Nikephoros) is referred to as the author’s spiritual brother (no. 19).

21–24: before 826. Probably written at Constantinople.

27, 30: written under iconoclast rule, the latter probably ca. 823–829.

31: author describes himself as old and refers to having been a monk.

32: 842 or later.

33: before 846.

37: after ca. 830, perhaps by many years.

38–40: ca. 843.

41: possibly from monastery of Pikridion.

42: late in author’s life.

43–46: from monastery of Pikridion, 843 or a little later.


58: refers to himself as having been a monk.

63: written in old age.

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

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

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

We are still left with the period of his life when he was deacon and simultaneously skevophylax of St. Sophia. As we have seen, he is so styled in the Suda notice and in the titles of both VGD (ca. 842–843) and VN (first draft ca. 830; revised ca. 843), thus suggesting that his service as skevophylax (for which there is no other authority) should be placed toward the end of his life rather than earlier. Originally ordained deacon under orthodox auspices, he was, as already stated, entitled to keep that rank after 843. Indeed, if it is true that he became a monk on Olympus after he had been bishop, he would already have forfeited his episcopal status. Canon 2 of the Council of St. Sophia (879) forbids bishops to make themselves monks: if they do so, they are to lose their episcopal status. The canonist Nikephoros the chartophylax (11th century) is even more specific: whereas priests who become monks are not suspended from officiating provided they have committed no other fault, bishops are suspended. If the same discipline was applied in the first half of the ninth century, it would follow that Ignatios lost his presbyterium on becoming a monk. The question that remains is whether Ignatios was made skevophylax before or after the Feast of Orthodoxy. If before, would he not have been dismissed by Methodios? If after, would the patriarch, or rather the palace, have appointed a man compromised by iconoclastic association? While both alternatives present difficulties, the latter ap-
pears to be more consonant with the evidence. If the kanons discussed above (p. 15 f) are by him, he must have been of sufficiently good repute after 843 to have been entrusted with the composition of "officially sponsored" hymns. Perhaps the Paphlagonian empress Theodora, to whom he made himself useful (letter 32), interceded on his behalf. We would like to think that he died, a reasonably contented man, shortly after 847.

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

The Correspondents of Ignatios
By far the most frequent correspondent is Nikephoros, sometimes styled simply deacon (ten times: nos. 34–38, 51, 60–63), sometimes deacon and chartophylax (nineteen times: nos. 4, 14, 15, 25–30, 40–48, 59). It seems very likely that they were one and the same person. Otherwise one would have to assume that Ignatios had two close friends called Nikephoros whom he addressed in the same tone, with whom he had occasional tiffs and misunderstandings, of whose silence he complained, who sometimes wrote him letters of reproof, and who were both equally versed in classical literature. To our knowledge the chartophylax Nikephoros is not recorded elsewhere. He was already in office when Ignatios was bishop (no. 4), but it is not clear whether he was older or younger than Ignatios.\textsuperscript{90} A man of iconophile sympathies (no. 27), he

\textsuperscript{90} Ignatios addresses him as "brother and father" (letter 4) or as "father" (letter 40), but the same expression is used by Nikephoros in writing to Ignatios (letter 64).
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

The high proportion of otherwise unattested persons is due to our poor knowledge of the Byzantine establishment of the 830s and 840s, that is, of the period that
falls between the correspondence of Theodore the Studite and that of Photios. For these intervening decades, Ignatios provides at the very least a kind of cultural sketch, while, unfortunately, telling us nothing or next to nothing about contemporary intellectuals like Leo the Philosopher, John the Grammarian, and (possibly) George Choiroboskos, whom he ought to have known.

We may now attempt to summarize the results of the above discussion while frankly admitting its tentative nature. Ignatios may have been born in ca. 775–780 to a family that does not appear to have been rich. He was possibly of Paphlagonian origin, although that is far from certain. He had an elder brother who was in holy orders and who predeceased him (letter 54). We first meet him as a young man in the entourage of Patriarch Tarasios (784–806), who encouraged his studies and whom he may have served as notary. He was possibly ordained deacon by Tarasios. He was certainly acquainted with the next patriarch, Nikephoros (806–815), but we do not know what position he occupied at the time. By 815, when Iconoclasm was reimposed, he was already a known literary figure and may have been called upon to compose two poems that were meant to be inscribed on the gate of the imperial palace. Soon after 823 he wrote a historical poem concerning the rebellion of Thomas the Slav, surely to please the reigning emperor, Michael II, although his own allegiance to Iconoclasm was less than enthusiastic, and he was himself, later, to vilify the same emperor (cf. VN—letters 24 and 30). At an unknown date he was ordained metropolitan of Nicaea, but does not seem to have remained very long in that post. After serving as a bishop, he became a monk on Mount Olympus, but was lured back to Constantinople, perhaps with the offer of a public teaching post, which brought him insufficient emoluments. Two of his students (Paul and Constantine) are recorded. In ca. 838 he composed an inscriptional epigram for Emperor Theophilos and, at about the same time, his first hagiographical work, VGA. In 843 he came under investigation for his dubious past. Reduced at first to the status of a monk and confined for a time in the monastery of Pikridion, he was, as an ordinand of Tarasios or Nikephoros, readmitted...
to the diaconate. As a result of this crisis he roused himself to intense literary activity and set about glorifying recent iconophile saints in a series of polished biographies. His sins were forgiven, and his efforts may even have been rewarded by promotion to the post of patriarchal skevophylax. He died shortly after 847.

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

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

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SIGLA

\( V \quad V' \quad G \)

Cod. Vatopedinus 588, saec. XI ineuntis
Eiusdem codicis corrector
Editiones M. Gedeonis. In perpaucis locis discrepantiae inter
primam (1903) et secundam (1914) editionem siglis \( G^1 \),
\( G^2 \) notantur

\{ Duffy,
Efthymiadis,
Polemis,
Ševčenko \}

Correctiones vel coniecturae a viris doctis J. Duffy, S. Efthymiadis, I. D. Polemis, I. Ševčenko propositae

Karlsson

Coniecturae viri docti G. Karlsson in epistulis 25, 37

\{ \} addenda
[ ] delenda
† † locus corruptus
* lacuna statuenda

... spatium in codice vacuum relictum
TEXT AND TRANSLATION
1. Θογορίωσα σπαθαροκανδιάτως

'Η ἐπιπελάσασα λύπῃ νῦν τῇ ἀνεξικάκῳ ὤμῳ (καὶ) μακροθύμῳ κρυστάτητι ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπνεύσθη ἀνεμοίᾳ φρενῶς. ἀλλ' εἰ τι τοῦ προστήκοντος διεσφάλησεν παραβλέψαι, θεομίμητε, δυσαπῆθητε, καὶ μὴ πολὺν ἐπανατείνῃς τὸν κλόουν τοῦ ἐπὶ πελάγους ἀτορίας ᾤμῶν σαλεύοντος καὶ πυρὸν ἐπιζητοῦσιν πρὸς ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα φαιδρῶς [καὶ] ἐγκαλοῦμενον. Ἐπι γὰρ τῷ πραξάμενῳ λόγῳ ἦμῖν ἀφίκετο ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἄπαναστάτων παρούκας τινές κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ᾤμῶν ἐμμανως ἀνεβόησαν ἀδικίαν παρ' αὐτής ὑφεστάναι εἶνεκα τῶν γεωργημάτων, ὅπε ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῆς μυθοβόρων δίκην εἰργάσαντο—οὐ γὰρ ἄγνοει ἡ θεοφιλής ὤμων σύνεσις ὡς οὐ τρέφει βοῶν ἄροτρα ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία—οὐχ ἠμοσίτας ποτε πηκτῶν ἡ αὐτόγνων ἀροτρον. οὐχ ἔνων παραδόοις πυρί στερρῶς ἀπελίπανεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμετροῦσα τὴν εαυτῆς γῆν τοῖς τὰ παρ' γῆν ἠχολομένους, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καρποδοτοῦ θεοῦ παροχήν ἀπεκδέχεται, καὶ σὺν ἐκείνων, καὶ τῶν γεωργικῶν νόμων, ἐνδίκως καρπίζειται. ἦν μὴ στερηθῆναι τῆς δικαιοδοσίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπιβάλλει τοῖς λαότοις αὐτῇ μέρους ἐκτενῶς ἰκετεύομεν. ἀλλ' ἦν κὴρα γνωρίσοι καὶ ἐπιμετρήσαι τὰ ἱδια, ἢ ἐπίλοιπον συγκομιδὴν ἔστω τῶν ἐπὶ συμφώνῳ γεωργημάτων, καὶ μὴ τῷ ἐπανειδείζον οὕτω ὑποτεύχῃ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὅτι καὶ ἑκατέρξια παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίων αὐτῆς ἀπεγράφῃ καὶ ἐξόδους πολλαίς τοῖς πάντα . . . . πλατύνεται, ὡς, εἰ καὶ ταύτῃ ὑποσταί τὴν πείραν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πᾶσαν γεωργηθήσει πενίαν, ἢ μὴ ὕφεσθαι ἡμᾶς εὐδοκήσῃ θέος, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔχοντας εἰς ἐπικουρίαν καὶ προστασίαν θερμοτάτην καὶ δεξίαν ἀντίληψιν.

2. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Ἡμεῖς μὲν (ἐν) μέρει πληροφορίας ἐσμέν. μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων μὲν ὡς ἐκείνων τῶν προτελεσθέντων ἀτοπημάτων, εἰς ἐπινοίας τοῦ εὑρετοῦ τῆς κακίας, (ἐν) λήθῃ καὶ ἀμνηστοῦ ἤγονεν, καὶ οὔδεν ὑπολέ-

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1: 3 παραβλέψαι V || 7 post ἄπαναστάτων lac. ca. quattuor litt. || 11 αὐτόγνων V || 20 post πάντα lac. ca. octo litt.
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF IGNAIIOΣ THE DEACON

1. To Gregory the spatharokandidatos

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

2. To the same

I am assured—indeed, I have all the evidence that this man, inspired by the Inventor of evil, has become unaware and forgetful of his previous offenses and all
λείπται, ὁ πεποίηκαμεν ἡ πεποίημεν. Τὸῦτο γὰρ τεκμηριωῦ τὸ τοῦ χριστιανοῦ τέλειον ἐν τῷ πάσχειν μὴ λογίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἀντιδίδοινα τῷ ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸ πάσχειν γεγένηται. Εἰ ὦν ταῦτα οὕτως, σὲ δὲ ὤσμεν ἀξίως τὸ τοῦ χριστιανοῦ καὶ τελείως ἐνδεδυμένον ἐπάγγελμα, δειξού τῇ ἐνούσῃ σοι ἀγνοιακῶς συνέπεσει, καὶ δός τόπον τῇ ὄργῃ, κατὰ τῶν μακάρων καὶ τῶν πρῶτων διδάσκαλων Παύλου, ἔνεκεν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ οἰκονόμου ἡμῶν ἀπροσεξίας, καὶ μὴ τὸ ἐκείνον πλημμέλημα τῆς ἐκκλησίας λογισθῆναι αὐτὸς γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀφροσύνης φορτίον ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμῶν ἄρας οὔχεται· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκκλησία μηδὲν πειρασθεὶς ἢν ἀπεύχεται, μηδὲ τα ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιστρέφει· μάλλον δὲ καὶ καὶ τῶν ἡδή προγεγονότων ἐπικοινωνίαν διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐμενοῦς παρακλήσεως, καὶ ἐτέρου βλάβην προξενόντως μὴ πειρασθῆναι ἐσταὶ δὲ τοῦτο εἰ διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλοσυμπαθοῦσιν ἡμερότητος ἀνθυπονοστῆσις ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τῇ διακονίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ὡς μὴ διοχερήσῃ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγμασιν ἐπακολουθήσῃ φθορά· ἰκανὴ γὰρ ἀυτῷ ἡ ἐπιτυμία· μὴ ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάτρευτος (ἐτή· ) ἀλλ' τῇ διακριτικῇ ἡμῶν μοτώσῃ θεραπείαν δεξαίτο τὸ ἀναφερόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων ὄψινθαν ἐν ἀλλ' ὑμὲν. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ οἰκονομείου κλείδα, ἐν τῷ τὰ ἐτοιμασθέντα εἰς τροφὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν κυβερνοῦντος λαοῦ ἀποτείθεναι, πεποίμαμεν ὑπ' ὑπανογίας καὶ τὰ ἐνδον ἐπιμετρῶν, ὡς παρίσταται τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀκριβεῖ ὑπεροχῇ, διανείμαι· καὶ Κύριος ὁ θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ πάντων ἄγαθῶν χρησίμων καὶ παραχείς ἀφθονότατος, τῇ ἑορτῇ ἑορτῇ ὑμῶν τῇ ἀυτοῦ βασιλείας τῇ ἑορτῇ, ταῖς τοῦ κοινοφαίον τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ κλειδούχου τῶν ὑδράυλων Πέτρου πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ λύσω ὑμῖν τῶν πλημμελημάτων παρέξει, ο' ἦς ἐστι τοῦ πρώτῳ τυχεῖν ἐφετού καὶ τῆς ἐν ἐλπίδι κειμένης μακροῦ αἰῶνος λήξεως.

3. Τῷ αὕτῳ

Ἰδοὺ σοι καὶ ὁ πολυζητῆτος κουράτωρ ἢκεν· ὃν εἶτε ποθῶν εἴτε ἀπειλῶν ἐπιζήτησιν ἀγνοοῦντων σοι μόνοι τοῦτο παραχωροῦμεν εἰδέναι.


3: 2 Fort. ἀγνοοῦντες cum G vel ἀγνοοῦντων ἡμῶν legendum
my actions and suffering have been to no avail. For this is proof of Christian perfection, namely, to take no account of one's own suffering nor to repay him on whose account the suffering was caused. If then that is so, and since I know that you are deservedly and fully invested with the profession of a Christian, show it by the forgiving prudence that is within you and give place unto (God's) wrath (as our blessed and foremost teacher Paul saith) regarding the heedlessness of our oikonomos, and let not his transgression be charged against the Church. For he, having taken upon his shoulders the burden of his folly, has departed. As for the Church, she should not be tried for what she deplores, nor should she be made to pay what is beyond her capabilities; rather, she should be relieved by your kindly exhortation of her past tribulations and should not experience the damage caused by another man. This shall be so if, thanks to your gentle sympathy, the oikonomos of the Church returns to his duties so as not to cause complete disaster to the affairs of the Church. The penance is sufficient unto him. Let him not, therefore, (remain) uncured; rather let his disease be healed by your discerning ministration—an outcome I hoped to see even before (writing) this letter. As for the key of the oikonomeion, wherein is stored the food set aside for the sustenance of the host that is governed by you, I have sent it to you, so that you may open (the door) and, after counting the contents as your meticulous Excellence sees fit, distribute them.

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

3. To the same

Behold, the much-sought kourator is coming to you. Whether you have been searching for him because you desired (his company), or (wanted) to threaten him, you alone can tell since I am ignorant of the matter. Had he not been crooked in both
3, 4

Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢν ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς ἱγναῖς ὁδλάξαν καὶ βακτρίη τὸ χωλὸν ὕπερεδων, τάχα ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ ὁδηγῶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παροίκων ἀποικίαι εὔστελλον. Ἕπειθή δὲ βέβη ως αὐτοὶ ἀν δᾶθενείς οἷς οἶδα τέ ἐστι, πῶς ἐπερῶν ἐνεγκεῖν βίον δυνήσεται ἀνθρωπος ἡμιμάινης καὶ τομίας, ὑπέρ οὐ λέγειν οὐκ ἐχομεν ἐπερ, ἢ ἐν πάσης ὁμοίως ὑποκρώ πάντως ἡμῶν καὶ χωλοῦ περικρατήσας λοιχὸς ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγένετο; Τοιαύτη τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σου κηδεμονίας φροντίς· τούτῳ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλήψεως.

Εἰ μὴ γὰρ (οὐκ) ἦδεν τῷ ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ μικρῶν ὑπορρέουσαν καὶ μηδεμάς παρ’ ὅλῳν ἐξόμενα στάσεως, διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν αὐτῶν διεξαγωγῶν, ἡς ἐδοξέεις μιας ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν ὑπ’ ἀνοίας διὰ τὰ προστάσεως τῆς περὶ βλεπτῶν ἴμων ὑπεροχὴν. νυνὶ δὲ πάνω τῶν ἐπιτροπευόντων τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀπαρχηθέντων καὶ κατ’ ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὀστημέραι παρεστώτων καὶ τῆς τῶν βασιλεῶν ἐπικείμονες τελεύτων δουλείας, τι λουτρῶν ὑπολείπεται, Ὁ ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοὺς παρείναι καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν δραπετευόντων ὑπέχειν. Τήρησον μὲν εἰνοίας, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταῦτα, τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ στήσον αὐτὴν ἐπὶ στερέων τῆς ἀντιλήψεως πέτρων, χωλεύονταν, καὶ δὸς αὐτῆ πραγμάτων δύσι ἀσάλευτον, ὡς ἐν θεός, κατευθύνων τὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἴμων διαβήματα, καὶ πᾶς σκόλον καὶ σκάνδαλον κατενώπιων ἴμων ἐκβάλλων, λείαν καὶ προστῇ τῆς εἰς (τῆς) αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ὑπανοίξεων εὐσόδων, προσβείαις τῆς αὐτοῦ τεκούσης Θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ αἰώνος αὐτῷ εὐαρεστησάντων ἀγίων.

4. Νικηφόρῳ διακόνῳ καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

"Ἰλάδα συμφωρῶν ὁ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ζυγὸς ἡμῶν ἀποτέκοκεν· μὴ γὰρ βέβη ως αὐτοῖς, τῇ τῆς ἀναξιότητος ἡμῶν ἐπαχθὲς ταῦτῃ ἡμᾶς ἐπεβάρησεν καὶ

3: 3 ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς ἱγναῖς: 3 Reg. 18.21 || 20—21 θεσς — διαβήματα: cf. Lc. 1.79; 1 Th. 3.11


4: 1 Ἰλάδα συμφωρῶν: cf. Zen. IV.43; Diogen. V.26; Karathanasis 38

4: 1 ἱερωσύνης V: corr. G || 2 ταῦτῃ V

[32]
legs and been supporting his lameness with the help of a staff, he would probably have been dispatched, together with the *oikonomos*, to the settlement of the *paroikoi*. Since, however, he is unable, because of his infirmity, to carry himself, how will a half-dead castrate manage to resist violence from others (to whose credit I can say this only, that I am grateful to God for having been unable to prevail over one eunuch who is, in addition, lame)? Such is your solicitude on our behalf, so great is your assistance to us! For unless you did not know that the Church and her affairs were slowly ebbing away without the slightest pause because of the absence of anyone who could lead her out of difficulty, it might perchance have occurred to some persons to say that these orders were given senselessly by your distinguished Supremacy. Now, however, that all the men who administer the affairs of the Church have been removed by you, stand in your presence every day and are meekly performing the emperors' service, what else remains to be done? Nothing, surely, except that I should present myself and take responsibility for the fugitives. Keep, therefore, a gentle countenance, especially with regard to the Church, and set her up, lame as she is, upon the firm rock of your succor; grant her an unshakable foundation so that God, in guiding your steps toward Him, may remove from your path every hindrance and stumbling block and open a smooth and accessible entrance to His Kingdom; by the prayers of His Mother, the Theotokos, and of all the saints who have found favor in His sight from the beginning of time.

4. To Nikephoros, deacon and *chartophylax*

The yoke of priesthood has caused me an Iliad of misfortunes; for, being unable to bear the burden of my unworthiness of it, it has weighed me down with them,
χειμῶνι πραγμάτων ἐπέκλυσεν καὶ καταγινώσκειν ἄ 79 βουλήσεων πεπραγμένων ἐπετάραξεν, ὡστε, εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς ύμετέρας ἡδυπόθης καὶ μελημέρισθης ἀνεκτήσατο λόγιον, ἢν εἰπεῖν ποιητικὸς Ἰλόθεν μὲ φέρων ἅμερος Κικονέσσι πέλασσεν. Τοσαυτάς φροντίδων ἐπιρροαίς καταντολούμεθα, καὶ τοιοῦτοι εἰδοῦσιν ἄνιαρον ἄποτομον, καὶ καὶ οὐκ ὑπὸ μιθῶν δοκεῖ ὄρθρα πολυκέφαλω, δομημέρα περιστοιχίζομεθα ἢς, εἰ καὶ μᾶς τῶν δεινῶν ἑκείνων κεφαλῶν περιεσόμεθα, ἐτέρα ὡσον οὕτως δευνότερα ἐπικύκλησται καὶ (εἰ) ταῦτῃ αὕθης ἐκτιλλόμεθα, ἀλλή λοιπῶν ἐπανατελλεὶ καὶ φρικτῶν ἡμῶν μορφολυττεται· ὡστε πρὸς ταύτας ἡμῶν ὁ πᾶς ἄγων κἂν εἰ μὴ καταγωνιεϊσθαι τοῦτον δυνάμεθα.

5. Ἰωάννη διακόνῳ καὶ κουβουκλεισίῳ

Ἐγὼ μὲν ἡμῖν τῆς ύμετέρας διεξεύχθημεν παρουσίας ὡς λύπη πολλῇ συνήψθημεν. Τί γάρ οὐ συνήψτησαν ἡμῖν τῶν ἀβουλήτων; Τί δια

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

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

5. To John, deacon and kouboukleisios

When I was parted from your presence I experienced great sorrow. Indeed, every undesirable thing befell me, and I was overcome by every circumstance that
ού κατέσχεν ἡμᾶς θας τις διαφέβενεν ἐπεύχεται, ὡςτε ἀπολέγεσθαι ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἰωάνναν, καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ ζῆν. Οὐ γὰρ γράφειν ἰκανῶς ἔχομεν τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῶν ἀναρῶν τὰ δεινά. ἀλλ’ ὁ παρακλάδος τούς ταπεινοὺς παρεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῇ ἀνεξιχνιάστῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεικάστω χρηστότητι τὸ βάρος τῶν ἐπελθόντων, ὡδὲ καὶ μόλις, κατελαφρύναν κατέχειν τοσαῦτη τῶν κύκλω συμπεπτυθεμένων ἡμῶν ἀλγειῶν ἡ ἐπισύνασις. Εἰ γὰρ 81 ἔκαστον σκόλοπον ἀπογυμνάσαι τὴν βίαν θελήσαμεν, ἐπιλεῖψεν ὁ παρῴν χρόνος διηγουμένους ἡμᾶς. ἀλλὰ δόξα θεῷ τῷ μη κατ’ ἰδίαν τὰ τῆς παραχωρῆσεως αὐτοῦ ἔφ’ ἡμῶν τελοῦντι, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦντι σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ τῇ ἐκβασίᾳ. Τῇ δὲ ὑμετέρᾳ θεοπαροχῇ ῥώσεως ἐνοτασάμενοι τῷ ἡδίστον ἄκουσαμ, πάν ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ ἡμῶν ἐμφώλειον ἐν ἑνὶ λείψανον ἀπεκρουσάμεθα καὶ διὸ τῆς χαρᾶς γενόμενοι, τῷ δοτῆρᾳ ταύτης θεῷ θυσίαν εὐχαριστίας προσήγαγομεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολαβήσεις ἡμᾶς ἐρρωμένους, καὶ ὑπὸ θείας ῥοπῆς σκετομένου, ἡ παντοδυνάμως εὐδοκήσου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν χρηστότης, ὡς ἐν τῷ γράμματι ἡμῶν λείποντα εὐκαιρώς ἀποπληρώσωμεν.

6. Κωνσταντίνῳ υπάτῳ

'Ἐν πᾶσιν υπὸ τῆς ἀνω ποπῆς κοσμομῦντι τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλώνουσαν τοὺς θείους πλεονεκτήμασι πάλαι διέγνωμεν ὡς τὴν μονον ἐν τοῖς τῶν δημοσίων προγαμάτων προκοπαίς εὐδοκομείνην βλέπομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῷ θεῷ ἀνήκουσι ζῆλον εὐσεβείας εἰσδείκνυσθαι πε- περάμεθα· θὰ καὶ νῦν, ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τινος παραπεσόντος κεφα- λαίου, ἐν ἀλλώ οὖν εἰς τοῦτο παραραίμης ἀναθέωμαι ἣ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὀρθοτατί κρίσει.

'Ὁ γὰρ ἀποδιδόσι τὸ γραμμάτιον (τοῦ) θεοῦ μετῆφη 82 οὐς ἐπισκόπου Νικομηδείας ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ὡς τὰ πάντα ποιήσωμεν τοὺς τελοῦντα εὐσχή μοναστήρια. δι’ ἐπ᾽ ἐμί προφασιν ἐπείκεισθην ἀποροθηκοῦν, ὁ περὶ οἰκοδο- χοῦ Πνεύμων κουφάτω υπεισελθένσι χρυσίῳ των ποιήσοντα παρ’ αὐτῶν.
one would wish to avoid so that, like the blessed Jonah, I despaired of my very life. I am unable to describe adequately the terrible misfortunes that happened to me; but He that comforteth those that are cast down comforted me and, through His unfathomable and incomprehensible goodness, deigned to lighten, though barely and at the last moment, the burden that had been placed upon me. So great was the mass of sufferings that had set itself against me round about; for, if I were to reveal the severity of each torment, the present time would fail me to tell all. But glory be to God, who does not perform His dispensation over me according to my deserts, but "with the temptation also makes a way to escape." Having heard the sweet tidings of your God-provided recovery, I have ejected every remnant of sorrow that lay lurking within me and, having entirely given myself over to joy, I offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving to God who grants this joy. May our God's all-powerful goodness grant me to find you in good health and under the protection of the divine will, so that I may have an opportunity of telling you all the things that have not been said in this letter.

6. To Constantine, hypatos

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

The messenger who delivered the letter of the godly bishop of Nicomedia has informed me that the curator of the xenodochos of Pylai had insinuated himself (on what pretext I am unable to say) into the holy monasteries that are placed under the bishop's pastoral jurisdiction and had removed from them a certain sum of gold. The
σφηνερίζεται, τούτο λέγεις μόνον ἔχων εἰς ἀπολογίαν ὑπὸψυχρον, ὡς
dιὰ τὸ πλησίον ἱδρύσαι τοις κτήματι τοῦ ἕνοδοχείου τὰ προφητεύντα
εὐαγγ. μοναστήρια τὴν ταύτην ἀποτινών δόσιν. ὑπὲρ ἔξω καθέστη-
κεν καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς καταστάσεως: πάντως γὰρ τοὺς τῷ
θεῷ ἑαυτοῖς ἀναθέτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν κόσμων φροντίδων ἑαυτοὺς ἑξωθήσαντας, ἑλευθερίαν ἔχειν οἱ θεοὶ νόμων θεο-
σπίζουσι, καὶ μὴν παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν διατεταγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς πράττειν κελεύοντο. οὕτω γὰρ ἐσται προσεχέαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ
ῥώσεως καὶ πολυχρόνου εὐεργείας τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ προλαμπόντων βασι-
λέων ὑπερεύχεσθαι.

Ταῦτ' οὖν διακούσασα ἡ ἀκριβῆς υἱῶν σύνεσις καὶ τῷ θεῷ γῆλα
πυρομένη, τὸ ἀνόσων τούτῳ τῆς εἰσπράξεως μὴ ἐπαφήσου τελείωσεν ἐν
οἷς τὸ θεὸν εὐαγγ. καὶ ἀκαταπάστως λατρεύεται σεμενείοις. ἀλλ'
ei καὶ τὶ παρὰ τοῦ προφάσει ἀδικίας τοῦτο ἐπινοοῦσαντος ἀπήττησε,
ἀνταπατηθήτω καὶ τοῖς ἄδικηθέσιν ἀποδοθήτω, καὶ ἔστω ὑπὸ τὴν
gνώμῃ || 83|| καὶ χείρα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τελοῦντα τα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑποστή-
ρια μὴ ὑφορμέψει τινα τῶν πα... ν τῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου χώρις ἐπισκη-
ψεως ἐπί βλάβη τῆς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι βιώσεως. Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν εὐά-
ρεστος ἀναδευθῆθη θεῷ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ πυρροῦγεμον καὶ ἐν τοῖς
βεβολεμένοις σοι πᾶσαν προκοπὴν εἰσδεχόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκεῖ δια-
μάρτους τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετονοσίας ἐν τῇ τῶν ἄγιων λαμπρότητι.

7. Νικολάω σπαθαρίω καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ

'Εδει μὲν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν περίβλεπτον υἱῶν μεγαλόνοιν ποιού-
μένους τὸν λόγῳ, γηθομένη καρδίᾳ καὶ χαρέστη προσώπῳ ποιεῖσθαι
τὴν πρόσρημον τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῶν υπῆρξε πάσης θυμηδίας ἀνώτερον
καὶ εὐριτῆς μεγίστης ἐρασμώτερον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τῆς χαρᾶς φαινότης
ἐκλέλοπεν, ὕπη δὲ πάντοθεν πιέζει καὶ θλίψεως τάραχος σφοδρῶν
ἡμῶν ἐπανατείνει τῶν κλώδωνα, μέλαιν τοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπιχρώσασται λόγον,
διωχθῶν τι καὶ στιγμῶν προσφθεγγόμεθα. Μη γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἔχοντες φέ-


pa rasura c. trium litt.: τῶν παρὰ τῆς G: τῶν πάντων proposuit Duffy: an τὸ παράπαν ? || 27 ἐπισκή-
ψεως ex ἐπισκήψεως V litt. η in marg. scripta

[38]
only excuse he could offer was the rather weak one, namely, that the said holy monasteries ought to pay this contribution because they adjoined the properties of the hostel. This act contravenes both civil and religious order; for surely the sacred laws ordain that those men who have dedicated themselves to God, have chosen to live for Him, and have severed themselves from the cares of this world should enjoy immunity, and that nothing should be done to them contrary to these pious decrees. In this way they will be able to keep watch over themselves and to pray for the health and lasting prosperity of the emperors whose illustriousness comes from God.

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

7. To Nicholas, *spatharios* and *protonotarios*

In addressing your admirable Magnanimity it would have been only proper for me to salute you with a rejoicing heart and a smiling countenance. That, indeed, would have been the highest joy for me and an occasion more agreeable than the greatest feast. Since, however, the brightness of joy has faded, while sorrow oppresses me on every side and a turmoil of troubles is roused up against me like a violent storm, I have dyed my words in black and am addressing you in a distressed and gloomy manner.
τῶν ἔκ τοῦ δημοσίου δίκης νεφῶν ἐπιφυμένων ἐπιστράζεται τὰ ἐπώδυνα, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐγκαλοῦμεν μετὰ θεὸν θερίζω καὶ δευτάτην ἀντίληψις· ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία ἦν, πολλῷ βάρει ἀμαρτιῶν συνωθοῦμενοι ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ τῶν προκοπῆς ἁρέτης, γνωρίζεται παρὰ θεὸ κατεκρίθησεν, πάσης πρὸ τούτου δαφνὶ · 84 · λόγος ἀπέλαυεν ἥμεροτήτος, καὶ παντελῶς ἀπῆλλακτο τῆς τοῦ δημοσίου περιφορᾶς τε καὶ γεύσεως· οὗν εἰπείς συνωθῆς, ἀγγαρείας, καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἐπιστείας· καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ κεφά- λαιον τοῦτο καυχῆσεσαι καὶ πάσης ἀξίας καὶ φαινόμενος τιμῶτερον. Νυν δὲ ἡμέρα πολίν ύφιστάται ῥαγδαίων νεφᾶδων ἐπιζήμων κλύδωνα, καὶ ὁ συναλγόν ἡ ἐπικυρών οὐδαμῶς. Διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ὑμετέραν δυ- σωπεύων προήχθησεν μεγαλόνων, καὶ ὡς ἦδη πρὸ τῶν ἰχνῶν αὐτῆς τὴν ἱκετείαν ποιούμεναι, λυπαροῦμεν κλήθηναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὴν ἐπελθούσαν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκδήμου νέφοις δριμυτάτην σκοτόμαωαν σκεδάσται καὶ ἐπιγλυκάναι τῇ μειλίχιᾳ καὶ μελιστάγει αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἠμερότητι. Πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ θῶν παρωχχήκοτος ίουλίου μηνὸς ὁ λό- γος τῆς ὁρισθείσης συνωθῆς ἀπηρίθη· καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἀπόδειξες ἐγράφη πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐτέραν ὑποστῆται εἰσπράζειν. Ἡς ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ παγία πληροφορία βεβαιώμεθα, καταχύς ἀπαιτῆσες συνωθῆς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ αὕθει ἐπέπνευσε, πρὸς βουθὸν ἔλκουσα τὸν κλήρον πενίας· ἀνὰ γὰρ μονίους ἐς εἰσπράττεσαι πᾶς ἀπὸ νηπίων θηλάζουντος ἕως καθεστη- κότος πρεσβύτου καὶ ἀμογέροντος, καὶ ὁ καυρὸς ἀφορίας ἐπὶ δροῦν ὑψηλὸν ἀναδραμῶν μέγα βοῦς καὶ τὴν στένωσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνακτρύτ- τες τραυμάτα· 85 · Ἀκουσθεὶς οὖν παρ’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐτοιμο- τάτη ἀντίληψις τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας βιαν, καὶ μὴ γρονίζῃ εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἀπεριάτατον ἀπορίαν, ὡς ἄν τὸ δυσαχθὲς τοῦτο φορτίων ὑκλασίν αὑτῇ τὴν ἐπὶ γόνα προξενήσου καὶ καταράζῃ, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, εἰς πέ- ταυρον ἤδονα μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ ἀντιληπτικῇ προνοίᾳ τῆς ὑμετέρας χειρὸς ἀνασωθῆται καὶ κηδεμονίας ἀξιωθῆται, καὶ μηδὲ μᾶς βλάβης πείραν δέξουτο, ὡς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὁ δ’ αὐτῆς ἐπενεφραίωμε- νος Κύριος [καὶ] παρ’ αὐτὸ φυλαττομένη διατηρήσει, παρέχων αὐτῇ πάσαν εὐκολίαν ἐν οἷς ἄν βουλεύηται καὶ ἐπιτηδεύῃ, καὶ τὴν ἐκείθεν προξενῆσαι τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἀμοίβην καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν.
Indeed, being unable to endure the pains of the tax exactions that spring up from the Treasury like clouds, I invoke, after God's, your fervent and speedy support. For the Church, which I have been condemned by God to become familiar with, impelled as I was by the burden of my sins and not on account of any progress in virtue—that Church heretofore used to enjoy in abundance every manner of tranquillity and was altogether exempt from tasting the dishes served up by the Treasury, namely, the *synone*, compulsory service, and all kinds of vexation. That was to her a source of pride more precious than any dignity and splendor. But today she suffers a violent snowstorm, an injurious flood, and there is none to comfort her or to help her. For this reason I have been induced to implore your Magnanimity, and, as if I were already making my supplication before your feet, I beseech you to be swayed by the influence of the Highest, to scatter the alien cloud of bitter darkness that has swept over the Church, and to soothe her with the honeyed sweetness of your gentleness on her behalf. For, before the month of July that has just gone by, the account of the appointed *synone* was demanded and a certification was given in writing that the Church would not be liable to another exaction. But, as we now see and are assured by trustworthy evidence, a claim for *synone* has, once again, come blowing upon the Church like a hurricane, dragging the clergy into the abyss of poverty: for every person, from the suckling babe to those in advanced or vigorous old age, is to be charged six *modii* each, while the sterile season cries out loud and clearly proclaims, as from a high mountain, the dearth of everything. May you, ready and helpful as you are, become aware thereby of the violence that is done to the Church and do not delay in the face of her helpless poverty, lest this heavy burden bring her to her knees and cast her, as the saying goes, into the trap of Hell. On the contrary, may she be delivered by your provident and helpful hand and be deemed worthy of protection without experiencing any harm whatever, so that, both in this case and for evermore, our Lord, delighted as He is by you, may continue guarding you and grant you every facility in all your counsels and pursuits as well as rewarding you with the enjoyment of the eternal blessings in heaven.
8. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐντροπή μου καὶ λύπη τοῦ πρόσωπον καὶ δειλία βάλλει με πάντοθεν υφορόμενον μὴ οὖσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑπεροχὴν ὡς χθες καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν πρὸ ἐμοῦ. Τὸ γὰρ προβάντος σκαιδάλου τὸ δριμῦ καὶ πικρότατον βέλος νύσσει τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξα καθαρὰ συνειδήσει καὶ λόγῳ πεπαραθησιασμένῳ γράφειν: ἀλλὰ ἀνθέλλει μὲ ὁ θεομίμητος τρόπος καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ κρείττον ὑμῶν γνησία στοργῆ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀγαθῆ καὶ ἐδραία διάθεσις καὶ οὐκ ἐννοεῖν ταῦτα συμπείθουσι. Βλέποντες δὲ τὴν φθάσασαν καὶ νυνὶ προσπελάσασαν τῇ ἐκ || 86 || κλησία Νικαίας ἐξαπίπτειν ἁγίαν λαλάτα, ἀπειρήκαμεν καὶ ἀφασία παντελείς συνεχόμενα ὅτι, μῆπω τῆς τελεσθέντος παρ᾽ ἡμῶν συναρχίας εἰς τὸν τοῦ δημοσίους ταμείους ἀποκληρωθείσης, ἀλλος ἡμᾶς ἐπεβρῶσθην ἁρχιστάρχης: μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀστραπάσις ἀπειλῶν θεμάτωσεν, ἀνὰ ἔς μοῦδιος σίου ἔκακον κληρικὸν ἀπὸ βρέφους καὶ παιδίου καὶ βουσαδος καὶ ἔως ἔσχατον ἑρυθρυκήρου καὶ πρωτογέρου εἰσπράττομεν. Καὶ πῶς ἀπεκρίθη τοῦτο τῇ ἀκριβεῖ ὑμῶν συνέσει εἰςεῖν ἀποροῦμεν, ὡς πρόσταξις βασιλέως καὶ ἄρχον ἐπεκράτησεν ἐθεῖν ἐν ἀδείας μέρει πάντα τὸν λερωμένον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταυτή τελεῖ καὶ πάσης ἀπηλλάχθαι κακώσεως. Ἀλλὰ ἦς ἐγὼμαι καὶ συνορφό καὶ μετρεῖν ἔχω, τοῦτο τῆς ἑμῆς ὑπάρχει ταλανίτης ψυχῆς τὸ ἀπότελεσμα ὑπὸ στῆσαι διὰ τῆς σῆς εὐμενείας, διόδιος τῆς σκληρᾶς ταυτῆς εἰσπράξεως ἀνακωχὴν, ἦν μὴ γαγγραίνης δίκην νομὴ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσγένεται καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὁλοσχέρως ἀπαρνηθείσης. Οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ θεῷ κομίζεται τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐκατοντάκις ἁμώσθην: οὐ γὰρ η ἐπὶ ἀκρόν ἄφορία καὶ ἀπορία τοῦ καιροῦ λαυθάνει, ὡς καὶ εἰς αὐτής τῆς ἐφημέρου ὠθήσεως ἐνδοξίως εἰς συμβεβηκε, καὶ εἰς ἀνάγκην μεγάς ταῖσα περιέστη ψυχῆς. Τὴν ὅπως ἐκείνην τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ ἀπώθω, θέαρετε: ἀλλὰ ἰδίως ὄμωμαι καὶ προσπηνεύ καρδία τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔλεος μετα θεοῦ συνεργάσασθαι προσθυμήθητι, || 87 || ὡς ἐν καὶ [ε] ὑμᾶς ἢ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος ἐπισκιασθῇ εὐμενεία, πάν, εἰ τι δυσχερές καὶ ἀναντες, κατευμαρίζουσα σκάνδαλον, καὶ ταῖς κατὰ

8: 1 ἐντροπή — πρόσωπον: cf. Ps. 68 (69).8


[42]
8. To the same

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

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

9. Νικηφόρος ἐπισκόπῳ Καρίας

Πάσης ἱερᾶς ἐμπνεύσεως πλήρες γράμμα ἡμῶν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας θυσίας κομμαθέν, δι’ ὑπίσχες ἱεροῦ δεξάμενοι καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ θεῖα νουθετήθητε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τέλεα μνημέντες, τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κατασχόντος ἡμῶς ἐξ ἀθυμίας νέφους ἀπεσκέφασμαθα κάλυμμα.

Καὶ μικρὸν ἀνασφάλειας, τὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἔζυγης ἄχθος ὅποιών ἐστών ἐδιδάχθημεν, καὶ ἱατρεία τῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ δυσαλγοῦς ἀνέκυψε μῶλωπος καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦσας σκοτοδυνάμεις ἀνανεύσασα συμβεβήκειν. Ἄλλα μὴ μέχρι τοῦτον σταίρη τὰ τῆς νουθεσίας ὑμῶν ἐπαλέιμματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθίκτος τούτος ἡμᾶς ἱατρέσθητε καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνίας ἔποδωνα περικύπτοντε, ὡς δὲν μὴ μετρηθεὶς παρὰ θεῷ τὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐλαττώματα, καὶ ἡ προπετῆς πρὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ταχύτης ἐλεγχεῖθη, καὶ χείρας καὶ πόδας δεθείμεν, καὶ εἰς τὸν βλήθημεν ὡς ἁνάξοι οἱ ἐπαγγέλματος περικείμενοι ἐνδύμα. ἀλλὰ βλέπων παραβλέψῃ τῶν παραπτωμάτων τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ ἐλέω χρηστότητος ἐξιστατεί.

Ἡ δὲ παρουσία ὑμῶν ἐν ἔλ 88 πίδι ἴν ἡμῶν διὰ Νικηφόρου γένεσθαι τὸ τοῦτο μὲν δυνάμετερον τὸ δὲ ὑμετέρῳ γράμματι ἐνοπτρίζοντος ταύτην οἶκον παρεκλήθητεν. Τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς καθιστώσεως ἡμῶν τοῦτο δεξάμενοι, μεγίστης χαράς ἀφορίσας συνελεξάμεθα· διὰ δὲ τὸ πολλὸν ἐνταῦθα συγγεγέντοι τοῦ δημοσίου ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἀγίας Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ ἑορτάσατε συνείδομεν· ἐν ἑ καὶ ἀποληψόμεθα σὲ καὶ ἐν ἀγίῳ ἀστασιᾷ προθεξόμεθα καὶ τῷ γράμματι λείποντα οἰκεὶος προσαναπληρώσομεν στόματί. Καὶ ἐρρωσάν ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ εὐχῇ ἡμῶν εὐαρεστεῖν αὐτῷ.

31 μίσ... V: corr. G || 32 προξενίσου V


[44]
rises in your way, wafting you on your godly course, and so, through your good works, grant you eternal reward in the other world.

9. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

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

I had hoped that you would visit me at Nicaea. Of this I was disappointed, but was consoled by imagining your presence reflected in your letter. For, having received it on the day of my ordination, I derived great joy from it. Since a great throng of Treasury officials has gathered here, I have resolved to celebrate Christ’s Resurrection in the capital. There I shall meet you again, receive you with a holy embrace, and supply with my own mouth what is lacking in this letter. Fare thee well in the Lord and pray that I should please Him.
Πώς οὕτω ταχέως ἐπιλεξόμεθα συμβέβηκαν τῇ ὁσίότητι σου ἐν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἤκουσε καὶ ἐνετάλθη ἐν τῇ πανευδαιμονίᾳ καὶ βασιλικῇ χώλῃ; Ὅδ’ γὰρ παῖζοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν σπουδαζόμεθα διελέχθημεν καὶ παραγέσαιμεν αὐτῇ περὶ τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν σεπτῶν κειμένων παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡμῶν καινίσαντος μητροπολίτου, καὶ παρασχεθέντων ὑμῖν χρείας μικρᾶς ἐνεκα· καὶ τὶ λογίσασθαι ἄγνοιαμεν· λέγομεν δὲ ὅτι ἠλθή καὶ αὕραις ταῦτα παρέσυμμεν περικρατὴς ἐκείνων οὗμενος φανήσεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἐν ἐπίδει κείσθω παρ’ ὑμῖν. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ καὶ τῇ δίᾳ γράμματος ὁμιλία χρησάμενοι ἐπιβεβαιώμεν ὡς ἂν, πάσαν ἀναβολὴν ἀπορρί  89 ψαστα, καὶ τὴν εἰς αύριου προσδοκίαν ἀπωσαμένη, διὰ θερμῆς ταχυτήτος τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἱερῶν κειμένων ποιησάμεθα, καὶ μὴ δ’ ἀμελείας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἐνοχὸν ἐαυτὴν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐγκαταστήσαμεν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ προφάσεις ἀνακινήσαν ἐθέλοι ὡς προξὶ καὶ δόρουν δέδοτα αὐτῇ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου μητροπολίτου, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστων ὁ συνιστῶν τούτο καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν, ἀλλ’ οὕδε παρεγράφη ἐν τοῖς βρεβεῖσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ μέλλοντα ἀνθυπονοστεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιὰν ἀκριβῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπογραφή ἐνεσθημάνθη, πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἱδίων κυρίαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενήσεσθαι. Ἰνα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης θείου θεομόν λέγειν ἐξωμεν, οὐδεμία τις εξουσία ὑπην τῷ ῥηθέντι μητροπολίτῃ τὰ τῆς εὐ- 10 αγεστάτης καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαλλοτριωθεὶς κειμήλια. Ταῦτα τοῖς τῶν καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἐνωτισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν μεθ’ ἑαυτῆς ποιῆσαμεν παρουσίαν, ἀποθησαυρίσαμεν ταύτα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροὶς ταμείωις τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἡ ἤμετα ὁσίότης ἐξ ὀν ὑπεμνήματισεν καὶ ὑπέσχετο ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροθεσίᾳ αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν τῷ μέρει τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, χρυσοῦ ποσότητα ἀποτυπώντω, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτῆς ἀνασωσάσθαι, ὦ καὶ ἡ μνήμη αὐτῆς διαφέρει ἐν τῷ ποιμῶν αὐτῆς. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεφορᾶς κολοοῦ δίκην ἐπιμορφά- 20 ζεν τῷ ἑαυ 90 τῆς ἐκκλησίας σπουδάσοντεν· ἐπει, τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρεθέντων, τὸ λοιπὸν κἀς ἡμεῖς μὴ λέγωμεν, αὐτὴ συναγέτω. Καὶ ἔρρωσο καὶ εἰ’ χύου ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.


10: 12 κειμέλιον V: corr. G 14 ὡς προξὶ in marg., ὡς προξὰ in textu V 20 ἐχομεν V: corr. G 21 κειμέλιον V 23 fortasse σοιησάτω legendum 30 αὐτὴ V

[46]
10. To the bishop of Taion

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

Πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τὰ πρὸς πληροφορίαν ἡμᾶς ἐκκαλοῦμεν περὶ τῆς ὕμετέρας ὁσιότητος καὶ δεικνύματος ὅσον κατὰ τοὺς λεγόμενος κανόνας ἐαυτὴν ἄγει καὶ διευθυνεί καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς κατ᾽ οἶδὲν παράπτεται τρίβου· οὖν τὸ τῷ θεῷ πάλαι καθιερώθηκα· τὸ ἐν τούς θείους ἔσχολακήναι λογίως· τὸ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τετάχθαι βασιλέως τῆς μητρὸς καὶ βασιλέως πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ δρόμους ὅληγα τούτων ἡμᾶς φροντίζαται. Ἐγὼ ἔρεθι καὶ μέλετο τῶν εἰρημένων καθίσταμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐν λήθῃ γέγονεν· τί τὸ προκαθεξόμενον καὶ τί τὸ ὑποβεβηκός· τίς ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τί τὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἔχον αξίωμα. Ἔδει γὰρ μην πεποιθεῖσαν τὴν ἡμῶν παρουσίαν σκυλήται καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ήμᾶς, ἢ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐπισκέψεις ἐφραζε γὰρ ἄν οὐδὲν ἐκτόπισε, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιῶν ἐπηρέαθη παρὰ θεῷ τε καὶ ἡμῶν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰνεκέας τυχὸς δόσεως ἢ λήψεως τὰ τῆς παρουσίας ὑμῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι πόθον εἴχομεν, ἀλλ’ ἀποστολικὰς φάναι, μὴ ζητῆν ἡμᾶς τὰ ὑμῶν ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς· ἀπολαυσθήκει δὲ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὴν συντείνει ὕψεις ὑμᾶς δηλήσαι, καὶ τὸ ὑποτεροῦν δὲ ἐμμελείας ἐπιμελοῦς ἀνασώσασθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα || 91 || μὴ γέγονεν, ποῖς χρησάσατο βούλεται ἀπολογία περὶ τούτων ἐρωτώμενην, αὐτῇ καὶ μόνῳ τυχόναν γυναῖκον. Οὐκόν εἰ τὴν ἐπιπεθεῖσαν αὐτῇ τῆς ἱερατείας ξεύγην ἐλκεῖ καὶ βούλεται, καὶ προῆρηται τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐθαίρετα τέμνειν καὶ πολύχοου εἰς αὐτῆς δρέπεσθαι κέρδος, ἐπιγνωστὸν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ποιμένα καὶ καλοῦται κληνάτων ὡς εὐθυκον, καὶ μὴ ἀπωσάσθω λόγων ὕψεις προξενοῦν, καὶ μὴ μακρυνών τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀποστολίαν, ἀλλ’ ἐγγίζαται ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῆς ἐπικριῶν· ὅνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείων ἀφημάζουσα καὶ τῶν κεκαλυκυμοίσων ὦρων ἐκτὸς ἀπονεύοισα τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐπιτυμίαν έφ’ ἑαυτῆς ἐπιστάσουτο· καὶ ἔρωσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων τάχων ἐκτέλεσον ἐκβασιν, ὅπερ τοῦτοι πνευματικῶς ἐφοτάσωμεν καὶ τὰ μεστεύσαντα σκόλα ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐκκαθάρωμεν διανοίας.


11: 20 τέμνειν supra versum scriptum V || 5 λόγους V iota supra versum add. V || 15 συντείνει in marg. V || 18 αὐτῆς V || 20 τέμνειν supra versum scriptum V

[48]
Many circumstances have been urging me to gain full knowledge concerning your Reverence and showing me that you are not behaving and directing yourself in accordance with the sacred canons and not following in any way the apostolic path: I mean the fact that I have been consecrated to God for a long time, that I have studied the holy Scriptures, and have been appointed to the highest rank of the Mother and Queen of all the Churches. Yet I see that you have set little store by these things. For, had you investigated and studied the aforesaid, you would not have forgotten who it is that presides and who has lower place; who is the head and who ranks with the feet. When you were informed of my presence, you ought to have bestirred yourself and visited me or else received me: in this you would have done nothing extraordinary—on the contrary, you would have won both God’s and my approval. Indeed, I was desirous of your presence not for the sake of giving or receiving anything, but, to quote the Apostle, I sought you and not yours—to enjoy your company, to converse of those matters that are beneficial to the Church, and to retrieve with due care what has fallen behind. Since, however, this has not happened, you alone can know what excuse you wish to use when you are questioned on this score. Surely, if you wish to draw the yoke of the priesthood that had been laid upon you; if you have chosen to cut the furrow of the Church and reap therefrom a rich reward, you should recognize your shepherd when he calls you; you should bend an obedient ear and not ignore words productive of benefit; you should not prolong your absence, but consent to approach me with your presence, lest by rebellion against the reins and straying from the appointed bounds, you draw upon yourself the penalty of the Church.

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

Πολὺς πόθος ἡμῶς ἐπικάμπτει καὶ ἀγάπης ἐπίτασις τοῦ σὲ καὶ θεάθαι καὶ πνευματικῶς περιπτύσσεσθαι τὴν στὶν θεοφιλίαν· ἀλλ᾿ ἐπεὶ νοσεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ποιητῷ περὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείσθαι, συμβαῖν οὕτω, διέγνωμεν, τὸ ὅπως ἄλγεινὸς διετέθημεν πληροφορεῖν οὐδὲνα βουλώμεθα, ἐνδομυχοῦσαν καὶ σιμάχουσαν τὴν λύπην δοσμέραι περιφέρουτες. Ἀλλ᾿ αἰτούμεν τῶν πάντων Ιατρῶν τε καὶ Κύριων τῇ ἀνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐτοίμῃ χρηστότητα τῶν ἔλεον ἦμιν ἐπιχέαν δαυιλὼς τῆς ἱάσεως, ὡς ἄν διὰ τάχους εὐαγγέλια τῆς ἡμῶν οἰνείας δεξάμεθα, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐφ᾿ ἦμῶν ἀνῖας | 92 | παύλαν δέχηται ἄλγημα. Καὶ γένοιτο, θεοῦ διδότους φιλανθρώπως τὴν αἰτίαν. Τὰ δὲ ἀπεσταλμένα δεξάμενοι ἡσθήμεν καὶ λάμα ἡγάσθημεν τῇ ἔν ἦμων προαιρέσει, καὶ ἀντὶ πολλῆς ὀλίγης ἀργυρίου τερπινότητα λειογίσμεθα.

13. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἑλεονυπόλεως

Οὐ μὴκος παραχθῆκε χρόνου αὖ ὧ τὴν πορείαν ἐν Πραυνέτῳ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστειλάμεθα, ἐν ἢ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἱστορῆσαι πόθον εἶχομεν ὀσιότητα. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐν στερηθεὶς ταύτης γενόμενοι βαρέως ἡρεγκαμεν· οἴθεν ἐπὶ τὴν διὰ γράμματος ὁμιλίαν, προφάσεως εὐκαίρου δραξάμενοι, τραπήναν συνείδομεν ἡτίς ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν ἀλὸς χρείαν εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτήδεια δεδεμέθα. Οὐ γὰρ βραβηθεται, κατὰ τὸ λόγιον, ἄρτος ἄνευ ἀλὸς, καὶ πᾶν ὁ σωτερεῖ πρὸς ἢδεῖαν γεύσων τῷ λάρυγγι, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ στυφθείν τῷ ἀλικράματι, οὔτε τροφῇ λογοθητεται· διὰ δὴ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν νόστιμον κεχωρήκαμεν δεξιάν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἦμιν πονηθεντῶν ἀλῶν καὶ τοῖς χρῆσοντι μιμήματα νεμομένων καὶ ἡμᾶς ἁλλοπρός δαυιλὼς, εἰ προαιρέσεως ἔχοιτο, οὐ προίκα, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦ τοῦ προσηκοντος· ὡς γὰρ ἀραβαθῶνος χρυσίνους τρεῖς ἐκπεπόθμαμεν, ἦσος

12: 1 ἐπιστάσασθάς V: corr. G || 2 τὴν στὴν θεο... supra versum scriptum V || 5 ὀσιότητα V || 7 ἡμῖν V: corr. G || 8 ὠγείας V: corr. G || 8–9 ἦμιν ἐφ᾽ ἦμῖν V || 9 γένοιτα V

13: 2 ἱστορῆσαι: cf. Gal. 1.18 || 6–7 βραβηθετείτΩ – ἀλὸς: Jb. 6.6

13: 6 ἐπιτήδεια V || 9 ἦν V || 12 ἦσος· ἡμῖν V

[50]
I am pressed by great desire and intense longing to see your Reverence and
give you a spiritual embrace, but since I learned that you happened to be ill and in
sore bodily condition, I am unwilling to inform anyone of my pain as I carry with
me, all day, grief deep in my heart and smoldering. I beseech the Lord, who is the
physician of all men, to grant you in His ready goodness an abundant stream of
healing from above, so that I may quickly receive the glad tidings of your recovery
and that my sorrow on your behalf may cease. May this happen, God mercifully
granting my prayer.

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

It is not long since I went on a journey to Prainetos and to you, in the course of
which I was desirous of visiting your Reverence. But, being deprived of your pres-
ence, I was grieved. Hence, seizing a favorable occasion, I have decided to have
recourse to epistolary conversation. The occasion is this: we beg the use of salt for
our provisions. For, as Scripture has it, bread cannot be eaten without salt, and every-
thing that is tasty to the throat, unless it be seasoned with this condiment, shall not
be accounted as food. For this reason I am having recourse to your nutritious hand:
may we, too, be supplied in abundance, if you so approve, with the salt that is pro-
duced by you and is dispensed against payment to those that need it—not free of
charge, but for a suitable price. By way of surety I have sent you three gold pieces
13, 14

ἀν ἡμῶν ἐπιμετρήθη τὸ ἑκ συμφωνήσεως ποσὸν καὶ τηρικάδε χορήγησις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, θεοῦ τούτῳ ἐπὶ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέποντος, τῆς πάσης τιμῆς ἀνακούσεις ὑμῖν· εἰς γὰρ δωδεκάτην αἰώνιον χρυσίου ποσότητα·

καὶ εὐχεσθαί δυσσωποῦμεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἰερώτατε.

14. Νυσσόρως διακόνῳ καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

Τὴν σημεῖα... περιστέφουσι τράπεζαν, μετ’ ἐκείνου τῶν ἡδύνων τῶν ἁρτον καρδίας στηρίζοντα, ὥσπερ μὲν ἀπαγάγει τε καὶ πάταται καὶ πέρδικας καὶ ὡσα, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, τοὺς καυστρίδους ταμάζουσιν ῥέμασι, γένη χρων καὶ κόκκινοι καὶ γέρανοι άλλ’ ὡσα κώνες πρὸς τρόφην ἀνθρώπων θηρείων εἰώθασιν τῆς διφοτοῦς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔξω ποινὴν περιθέουσιν· σῦν ἑκείνως δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν μαγειρῶν τέχνης διδόντων καὶ δι’ ἐμελείας ἐρεύνης πάσης ἑφαρέθεντα κηλίδος, οὕτω μεθ’ ἄλλων ὁρτρόφων παττόμενα, καρυκευτικαί εὐῳδίας κεράννυσι, καὶ διὰ πειματῶν ὄργανων τῆς φλόγα καλῶς ὑπερχόμενα, ἢ καὶ ἱωμοῖς ἀρωματίζουσιν ἐννηχόμενα, ἠδείαν πνεύμην καὶ τροφήν ἀπερέσκοιται καὶ τοῖς άσθητηρίοις εὐερτήριαν χαρίζονται. Τούτους οἱ παρὰ σοὶ δαυ-τυμώνες ἐπὶ οἰκείας χειρᾶς ἔλαλον.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐρωτότα σε τροφής γράφειν ἡπείρησεν ἔσμεν γὰρ τὴν ὁλιγάρχειαν παρὰ σοὶ σιτευμόνιαν οἰσμήνα, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐν τῇ σῇ διαίτῃ λιμόττουσαν· ἀλλ’ ἵνα τὸ παρ’ ἡμῖν λιμανιδὶ δύναν ἡ πρῶτον αἰσχος ἐπικαλύψωμεν, πῦσαν ἑλαχιστεῖαν εἰς αὐτῆς ἐντεύξεις περικείμενον· καὶ δὴν ἄθελαν ἐκ τῆς ἑμφύτου καὶ βρο-μώδους ὀσμῆς προέμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ δῷ δάκρυον καλείσθαι δυνά-μενον, τὴν υμετέραν ἕξεπαλαγώνοις ἐξήραμεν τράπεζαν. Ἀλλ’ ὡς αἰώνᾳ τοῖς τελείοις καὶ πνευματικῶς τρέφονται καὶ τοῖς ταπεινῶσι συναπάγεσθαι ἦ υμετέρα προκάρεις, καὶ τοῦτο δυσωπηθείη προσδέξασθαι· ἀπορία γὰρ ἡμεῖς τοῦ μὴ κατ’ ἄξιαν τι προσαναγιχόναι, ταῦτα καὶ λέ-γειν καὶ γράφειν παραρμηθήμεν.
until the agreed quantity is delivered and handed over to us at a future time (God allowing it then), when you will recover the entire sum; for the amount of gold shall increase to twelve pieces. I beg your Holiness to pray for me.

14. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

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

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

Δεκαεικέων οὐκ ἀττικέιχων καίρος· μακρὰ γὰρ περὶ μικρῶν λέγεων ἄσωμφορον. Πῶς εἰρωνεῖαν καλέσαι τὴν ἡμῶν πρὸς σὲ φιλίαν ὑπέμεινας, ἀδελφῶν ἐμαί καὶ φίλων ἀκρότατα; Οὐκ εἰρωνεῖς ἡμεῖς, οὐκ ἀστείομον, αὐτῷ σαρκασμὸν ποτὲ κατὰ φιλίας τραπελογεῖν ἐσπουδά-
καµέν. Εἰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἐπεσταλμένα τοῖς πάλαι παίχθεισι συνεβαλεῖς, πόρρω πον τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἀπώσειαν· ἐκεῖνων δὲ, ὡς ὅρῳ μεν, ἀμνη-
μονήσας καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πρωτεία δοὺς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀποφέρεσθαι, τί ἄλλο
γε ἡ κεκλήσθαι τῷ ταύτης ἡμᾶς ἐπιφημίξεις ὀνόματι; Ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τῇ ἤμετέρᾳ τελείᾳ νήψει ἡ τοῦ γράμματος ἀπλότης ἐνομίσθη διπλά, 
τὸτε μὲν, κατὰ τὸν εἶπόντα, φέρονεν ἀναρτάζασα ἄελλαῖ· μενέτω δὲ 
tῶν ἑαυτῶς ὄρων ὁ ἀδιάβλητος ἐντὸς ἀγάπης, εἰρήνην ταῖς ἤμετέραις 
καρδίαις βραβεύσωσα. || 95 ||

16. Ἰωάννη ἡ γυναμένη Κωμῶν

Οὐδέν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς κηδεμονίας ἀνώτερον, καὶ οὐδέν 
tῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταλαιπωρίας πρὸς κακίαν ἐπιρρεπέστερον· ὥστε 
αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ ἄγαθὸν συννοσώσαται, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκ προαίρεσεως 
συνήκειται. Ἐπιγνώτω σοὶ ἡ ἀμίμητος ὅμων ἐπ᾿ ἄρτῃ τελείότης τοῦ 
tὸ γράμμα τῆς ἤμετέρας κομίζοντα μετριότητος· ὡς, πτώματι περι-
παρεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἰρετοῦ τῆς κακίας δαίμονος, ἐκοινοῦσιν φόνον αὐ-
τούργος κατέστη· δις, τὸ τοῦ μύσους δεῶν ὑφοράμενος, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 
προσπέφευγεν· εἶτα τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ κρίσει καὶ διακρίσει τοῦ ἀγιωτα-
τοῦ καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου ἐντυχόν, καὶ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν οἰκεῖω 
στόματι ἐξαγορεύσας, τῇ κανονικῇ ἀποφάσει καὶ δικαιῷ ἐπιτιμήσει 
ἑαυτῶν ἐν ἑποτώσει παρέδωκεν. "Οθεν, ὡς ἀκλίνει τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων 
φύλακα καὶ εἰδήμονι, τῇ ἤμετέρᾳ εὐλαβεὶ διακρίσει τοῦτον πεπομφέναι

φέρονεν - ἀελλαῖ: Od. 8.409

15: 1 μικρὸν V: corr. G

16: 3 τῷ ἁγα V: corr. G || 4 συνήκεισαί V

[54]
15. To the same

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

16. To John, abbot of Komai

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

May, therefore, your Perfection, inimitable as it is in virtue, take due cognizance of the bearer of this letter from my mediocrity; namely, that, having been entangled in sin by the Devil (the inventor of the evil), he has voluntarily committed murder. This man, in fear of the dreadful defilement, sought refuge with the Church. Later, having met with the merciful judgment and discernment of the most-holy ecumenical patriarch, and having confessed his affairs with his own mouth, he delivered himself in submission to the canonical sentence and just penance. For this reason (the patriarch) deemed it proper that he be sent to your pious Discernment inasmuch as you are a steadfast guardian and expert of the holy canons; so that, administered by you or, rather, by the customary regulations, he may rub off the stain of this calamity.
16, 17

καλὸς ἐδικαίωσεν, ως δὲ ταῖς αὐτῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ ταῖς πρακτικαῖς οἰκονομούμενος διατάξεις, τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀποτρίφηται στίλος καὶ τοῦ πολυμόχθου τοῦτον καθαρθεὶς μᾶςματος. Τούτον όνων οἰκονομήσει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξαιρέτως εὐλάβεια, τῷ κανόνι τοῦ λεροφάντου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τῷ φάσκοντι "ὁ ἐκουσίως φονεύσας μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο μεταμελθέναι ἔκκοσον ἔτεσων ἀκοινώσις ἔσται || 96 || τοῖς ἀγιάσμασιν." Ἡ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου οἰκονομία ἡμῶν δήλη καθεστηκεν· ἦν, κατὰ τὸν κόπον τοῦ ἐπιτιμωμένου καὶ τὴν ἑπὶ τὸ ἀγαθό προκοπῆν, ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐπιμετρήσει εὔμενης διάκρισις. Καὶ εὐχέσθαι υπὲρ ἡμῶν δυσωποῦμεν, ως παρησίαια πρὸς τὸ κρείττον καὶ ὀικείωτητα φέροντας.

17. Τῷ διωκτῇ τοῦ Ταύτου

"Εδει μὲν ἡμᾶς, ἀνθρώπους δυναίς καὶ συνειδήσεως κριτηρίω τὸν λογισμὸν προκαθήμενον φέροντα, σφάς αὐτοῖς ἐαυτῶν καθιστᾶν ἐπιγνώμονας καὶ διορθώσει τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἐπανάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ ἐτέρων νουθεσίας πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπευθυνθεθαί καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεγράζεθαί. Ἐπειδή δὲ, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, σὺ πάντων ἡ γνώσις, χρεὼν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν συνοισίας καὶ συμβουλῆς τὸ κρείττον ἐκλέγεσθαι καὶ ἦμιας ψυχικῆς ἀπαλλάττεθαί.

Τὴν οὖν ὑμετέραν κατὰ Χριστὸν τελειώτητα δι᾽ ἀκόης ἵσμην μεγίστας ἀρεταῖς ἐγκαλλωπίζεθαί, ὡστε οἰδὼς γράφειν βουλῆς ἦμεν, ἢδη τὸ ἀγαθοεργεῖν καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπιεικῶς μεμεριμμένον ἐχρονυσταν ὡς δὲ τελείαν αὑτῆς τὴν ἀφέλειαν προξενεῖν νομοθείμενον * Οὐ γάρ ἄγνοιαι ὀλομέθα τὴν μεγίστην ὑμῶν ἐπὶ συνέσει ἀγχονίαν, ὡς ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ τοῦ Ταύτου πολλοῖς χρόνοις τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπώλεσεν ὄνομα, καὶ || 97 || σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν δικαίωματα. Χήρα γὰρ καὶ ἀνανδρὸς μέχρι που τῶν ἄρτι χρόνων ἐκάθευδεν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀτεκνίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἔρημιάν, πευθήρη σάκκον καὶ κατη-


13-14 οἰκονομούμενον V || 14 στῆλος V: corr. G || 16 τὸ κανόνι V

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

17: 11 post νομοθείμεν lacunam statuimus || 13 ταῦτα V

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

17. To the tax collector of Taion

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

We know by report that your Christian Perfection is adorned with the greatest
virtues, and so I was not intending to write to you at all, inasmuch as you had prob-
ably bethought yourself already of doing good even before (receiving) my letter. But
that I may appear to be causing you a perfect benefit . . . For I suppose that your
Sagacity (great as it is in intelligence) is not unaware of the fact that the bishopric of
Taion had for many years lost the title of a bishopric and therewith the property deeds
appertaining to her. Until fairly recent times she remained dormant, a widow de-
prived of her husband, and, clad in the sackcloth of mourning and robes of despon-
dency, she lamented her childlessness or rather the desolation of her children. Since,
φείας ἐνδεδημένη στολήν, ἀπωδύρετο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θεὸς, ὃ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ
γηράσκοντα καὶ εἰς ἀφάνειαν ἐληλακότα δι᾽ ἀνακαιμώσεως νεάζειν δι-
δοῦς, καὶ τὰ πόρρω ἐγγὺς ἄγεν ἐνδοκοῦ, καὶ ταύτην παλαιὰ πτώσει
περιπαρεῖσαι ἀνακύψαι καὶ φῶς ἰδεῖν ἐλεύθερον ἐδικαίωσαι, καὶ τὸ
ἀρχαῖον ἁξίωμα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τιμὴν ἐπενδύσοντοι κέκρι-
κεν καὶ τοῦτο ὁκ αὐτοῦν ἄρτον προπετείξαι, ἐπινεὺσεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐκ
θεοῦ προλαμβάνων μεγάλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας
συνεπβαλλόμενης, τῆς περαιῶν ἐλαβεν· καὶ ἰδοὺ χρηματίζει πόλεις
καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνων προκάθως καὶ ποιμένων βακτηρία διδασκαλίας ἐπ-
ερείδομεν καὶ ἐπὶ νομῶν ἐμφάνιζον τὸ ποιμνὸν προκαλύμμενον, ἐν-
dρυμένοι καὶ τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος προβεβλημένον ἔχει νεύσει καὶ χάριτι-
πεινία δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς περιστοιχίζει προεδριάσει διὰ τὴν τῶν δικαιωμάτων
ἀφαίρεσιν ἔθεν καὶ τὸ ἀπαρρησίαστον ἔχουσα πένεται, καὶ τῶν
ταύτης πιεζόντων καὶ συνεχόμενων ἡ προαίρεσις ὑπνοι, λήθην λαβόντων
τῆς ἡπειρλήμενης τοὺς ἄδικους δεινέων.|| 98 || ἀποφάσεως. Ἡνα δὲ τὸ πᾶν
ὑμῶν ἐκκάλυψαμεν, λόγος παρὰ πολλῶν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὡς καὶ ἡ ὑμε-
tέρα ἐν Χριστῷ σύνεσις ἀποκεκληρωμένων τότον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκεῖνη
ἐκ πατρικῆς κληροδοσίας νενέμηται· θεῖν ὑποτιθέμεθα καὶ τὸ καλὸν
ἐνώπιον αὐτῆς προτίθειμεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ ἀλλότριῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ
θεοῦ, παρ’ ἑαυτῇ μένοι· ἀλλὰ τῇ πολλοῖς χρόνοις στερηθείση τῶν
ἐαυτῆς δικαιωμάτων ἐκκλησία τούτων ἐγγαρφῇ κυρίας, καὶ μὴ τὸ
ἐλάττωμα τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τοῦ ύμετέρου πατρὸς εἰς κληρονομίαν ὑμῶν
λογισθείν μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτου ἀνακάλεσαθαι μᾶζι σματος
προθυμηθείς (πρὶν ἢ) ἐπ’ ἐξουσίαν καὶ κριτήρια μείζονα καταστήσαι,
μῆπως, ὁδειμάς μοίρας τοῦ δικαίου συνηγοροῦσας, τῇ ἤτταν ἐξ αὐτῆς
βαλβίδος καὶ προσβολὴς ἀπενέγκοντο. Σπευσάτων οὐκ καὶ ἑαυτῆς γενέ-
σαι καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτῆς περιου-
σίας κατέχειν μὴ προσφειτῶμ. ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο παρ’ ἑαυτῇ
catέχουσα ἀπαράδειπτον ἐλίρο τὴν ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἀπαραλογίστου κριτη-
ρίου ἀπόφασιν. Καὶ ἔστω Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὰ παρ’
ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάθα καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀφέξεσθαι εὐδοκήσοι καὶ ἀναδείξοι
ἀγαθοργυντά τῆς ἄνω τυχεῖν ἀκηράτου τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετουσίας καὶ
ἀνταποδόσεως.
however, God, who grants that things that are old and aging and have sunk into ob-
scurity should be restored to youth by renewal, who deigns to bring close things that
are distant, has also deemed fit that she, who had fallen upon an old calamity, should
rise again and see the light of freedom; and He has decreed that she should receive
her ancient title and be invested with her own dignity. And this was accomplished
not through self-willed eagerness, but by the approval of the great emperors who
shine forth by God’s decree and the consent of the universal Church. And behold, she
is become a city and presides on a throne, and has an established shepherd, appointed
by the command and grace of the Spirit, who leans upon the staff of teaching and
leads his flock to life-giving pastures. Yet poverty encompasses her episcopal see
because of the removal of her property deeds. Wherefore, being deprived of her lib-
erty, she is in need, and the goodwill of those who oppress and constrain her is slum-
bering, for they have forgotten the terrible sentence that has been uttered in threat
against the unjust.

But, so that I may make the whole matter clear to you, word has come to me
from many quarters that your Christian Sagacity, too, is holding by virtue of inheri-
tance from your father a piece of land that had been allotted to that Church. Where-
fore, I enjoin on you and propose that which is good, namely, that you should not
keep what belongs to another, or rather to God; nay, that the Church, which for many
years has been deprived of her deeds, should be registered as owner, lest the fault of
your father’s rapacity be reckoned as your inheritance. Rather should you seek to
redeem him also from this pollution (in anticipation of) appearing before a higher
authority and (a higher) tribunal, so that, no article of justice pleading on your behalf,
you should not stand condemned from the very start. Hasten, therefore, to be master
of yourself and do not choose to withhold from the Church what is due to her from
her former property, lest, by withholding it for a long time, you meet with an inexo-
rable sentence at the infallible Tribunal yonder. May the Lord our God provide you
with the good things at His disposal and grant you to abstain in the future from the
property of others and cause you by your good works to obtain the eternal participa-
tion in blessedness and recompense above.
'Ες αὐτὴς καὶ μόνης ἐνεπεξεργάζεται τὴν ἀφελείαν διαπορθεῖσθαι οἷς τοῖς πλησίαζέ με θεόν ἢ ἀρχικῆ ὑμῶν καὶ πάτρικῃ τελειότης. τὸ δὲ συνεστασὶ ς αὐτῇ καὶ συναναλήψεισθαι τῶν οὐκ ἐν εἰς μεταδοτικόν ὁλοσχερῶς εὐλογίας; Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἢ ἀρετὴ ἐν πάσι μὲν βιοφελῶς ἐξαιπλουμένη, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ μείωσιν ἡμιοτα δεχομένη. Οὕτω σὲ καὶ ἵσιμον καὶ ἔχομεν, ὁ ἱερὰ καὶ φίλη θεὸς κεφαλὴ ήμίκα γὰρ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῆς κατευρυθώμεν, πολλῆς ἀπελάυομεν τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν δαφυλείας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἀπουσίας αὐτῆς ἐπηρθόμεθα, ἐγνωμεν ὅτι ἐστερῆθημεν ὡς καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἑπαξίων· ἀλλ’ εἰ καὶ προρρητῶρ διεστηκεν, ἐγγυσεῖτο ἡμῖν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτῆς πρὸς θείον ἐνεπεξεργαζόμεν, αἰς ἐπενφραίνετο τὸ θείον αὐτὴν ἀεὶ σεβαστικάμεν. Ταύταις τὸ πόσιμον καταρτίζει στηρίζεται· ταύταις ὡς βάσιδω καὶ βακτηρίδος λογικὸς ἐπερειδομένος κατανύγεται, ὡς ἂν ἡμῖς ἐκαστοι κατευρυθωμεν καὶ τῶν ἐπερχομένων ἀρτάγων λίκων τὰς προσβολὰς κατευραξμέναι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο πολλῆς τῆς ἡμῶν ἐπικουρίας καὶ συνδρομῆς δεδεχῆμαι, δι’ ἣς τὰ συνοίστουν καὶ σωτηρίας ἐξόμενα ἐκαστοι προξενήσασαι. Ἐκτενων τοιοροῦν ὡς ὁ θεότης ἔκεινος τὰς χεῖρας Μωϋσῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐν οὐρανοὶ πατέρα, καὶ πάσας κακεργεῖτες τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐπισυναστάσεις 100 καλῶς τροπωθήσονται, καὶ ὁ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡμῶν ἀμαληκίτης λωφήσει πόλεμος. Στῆθι κατενάπτων Κυρίου, τάς μυστικάς κοσμούμενος χάριστι, καὶ τὸν ποθήν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εὐσταλῶς στουλισάμενος καὶ τὴν ἐπωμῖδα καὶ κίδαριν ἱερῶς περιβέμενος, καὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς θεολογίας διδασκαλίκοις πίναξι ἐπιστερυσάμενος, καὶ τὰς ἀναιμίους ψυχίας ἀνεπιλήπτηται νοὶ προσόγας καὶ προθύμομεν, δι’ ὅν οἶκος θεοῦ καὶ ναὸς ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τὸν εἰκότων ναὸν κηριδώσαντε καὶ πολλὴν άμαρτίαν σύνωνοι ἔχοντες, οὐκοδομησάς τῆς εἰς ἄρετὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπίτυχομεν. Εγένος τοῦ μικρὸς ποιμένος ἐμοῦ μέγας ἄρχιπομένη, καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἄτελλεος ἐς ποιμαντικήν ἐξεις τεθειστης περιδεξεις· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κανόνι ἀπευθύνεσθαι προθυμούμεθα καὶ τούτῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν προπανευθεῖον πίστει ἔχομεν.


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

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἄλλα. Ὅδε ὑμετέρος Θεόφιλος νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμέτερος. ὅσον ἐν χερσί ταῖς ἡμετέραις παρέθετο, ταῖς θείαις ὑμῶν ὁσιόμεραι καταυτολύμενοι εὐκτικαὶ ἐπιλυμάζεται προκοπαί, καὶ τέως ταῖς γραμμαῖς || 101 || τικαὶ ἐμπεριάς στοιχειωθείς, ἐπὶ τὰ τελεωτέρα ἑαυτῶν, θεόν συνεπαμένοις, ἐπιδίδοσιν, οὐ μεικῶν ποιούμενοι καὶ γεγωνότερον πρὸς θεῶν ἀναβοῶν, ἐστο πρὸς τὰ ἔξης καὶ κρείττονα καθηγούμενοι. Ὡμῶν δὲ μὴ διαλίποις τὸ θεῖον εξιλεύμενος, ώς ἂν τὸ ζο-φάδες τῆς ἐπικεμένης ἀμαρτίας ἀχλός ἀποσκευάζειν, τῆς ἐκείθεν μεγάλης ἡμέρας τῷ φωτὶ πλησιάσαμεν, πρεσβείας τῆς πανυμνή-του Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις θεοπεθέσιν ἐντεῦξεσιν.

19. Νυπηφόρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρίας

Εἰ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἰκανὸν ἐστὶ δυσωπεῖν ἐκεῖνο νουθέτημα, τῶν λουπῶν προσέξωμεν μεγαλοφωνότερον ἡμῶν συμβουλεύ-οντι. Τὰ δὲ τῆς ουδεσίας ὑπανίττεται λόγων; "Εἰ γὰρ κατέλυσα ταῦτα πάλιν οἰκοδομῶ, παραβάτην ἐμαυτὸν συνίστημι." Τοῦτο μικρὸν ὑπαλλάξαντας ἐπὶ καιρὸι καὶ τῶν ἐστιν ἐφ᾿ ὑμῶν ἀναφέγξασθαι· εἰ γὰρ ἀπερ καλῶς ἐπικοδομήσατε, ταῦτα πάλιν καταλύεις πειράσθε, τὸ ἔξης ὑμεῖς συναγάγετε. Πάντως οὖν ἢγνω ἢ ιερὰ ὑμῶν νῆσις τὸ προοιμι-σθέν, ὡς ἢ ὅνυχον τῶν λέοντα· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὀλοσώματον τοῦ πράγματος κεφάλαιον καὶ τὴν τούτου περιέβλεψε περιπέτειαν. Τῇ γὰρ αὐ-τής || 102 || μεστεῖα, μᾶλλον δὲ παρουσία, τῷ τῆς γαμμικῆς ἐκείνης * ἐνθέσμως ἐπερατώθη συνάλγημα, φαμεν δὴ τοῦ πανενθήμου ἀνδρός, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στράτορος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανενθαίμου καὶ βασιλευοῦσῃ

31–32 κατὰ - σοι: Mt. 9.29 || 40–41 τῆς - ἡμέρας: cf. Joel 3.4; Acta 2.20

34–35 ὠσιμέρα V || 39 διάλειποις V

19: 3–4 εἰ γὰρ - συνιστήμα: Gal. 2.18 || 8 εἴ ὅνυχαν τῶν λέοντα: Diogen. V.15; Macar. III.95; Apostol. VII.57

19: Tit. Καρείας V deinde corrig. || 10 lacunam statuimus. Supple ὑποθέσεως vel simile

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

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

19. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

If that apostolic injunction is not sufficient to persuade us, to whom then should we pay heed who can give us clearer advice? But what is it that the scriptural admonition hints at? “For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.” By changing this a little, it is appropriate at the present time to apply this comment to you. For if you try to destroy again the things which you built up well—you will understand the rest. Surely, your holy Sobriety has comprehended my preamble, like the lion by his claws; indeed, you have seen from every side the whole body of the matter and its vicissitudes. For it was by your mediation, or rather in your presence that that painful marriage contract was lawfully completed, I mean that of the illustrious strator in this most felicitous capital city, and the entire admin-
πόλει, καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἡ πᾶσα τῶν συμφώνων ἀναρτήθη διοίκησις, ὡς σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι πολλοί· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ γαμβρῷ πῶς εἰσεῖν ὦκεμὲν ἑστηρίσατε, καὶ ταύτα οὐδὲ εἰς γαμβρῶν γνησιότητα φθάσατε, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβαλλόντος οὐσίας τῷ οὗ ἦν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει συντέκνῳ ὕμων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μεταστῆσαι διὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας μαρτυρίας βεβούλησθε· μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ἐννοηθείτη, μηδὲ τῷ γνησίῳ νόθοι συγκληρον ποιθήως θελήσουτε· σάνμβατον γὰρ καὶ τοῦ εἰκότος ἀλλότριων. Ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ οἰκουρίᾳ καὶ δεσποτικῇ τῶν τουούτων, ὡς ἐν βούλητω τὰ ἀειθάνα διεζέγεται· αὕτη ἐπιτροπεύεται καὶ ἔπικρινέτω καὶ διαμεινόν τοὺς τέκνους παρὰ γνησίου συνεύνου κυρίᾳ καταλείφθεισα ἐγκάταχος. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ κρίτη τοῦτο γε εἶνεκεν ἀτεινοῦ παρεστᾶναι προδοήμεν· μηδὲ ὅπο τῶν ἔξω κριτηρίων εὐθύνεσθαι δεσποτεύειν, ἕνον συγώντας μηδὲ μὰ μόνον κηλίδι προστρίβεσθαι. "Ἰνα τῇ γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία μου, φησίν ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος, "ὑπὸ ἀλλής συνειδήσεως κρίνεται," || 103 || Εἰ μὲν δυνατὸς ἔχοιτε τῷ μέρει τοῦτο συμβαλείθαι καὶ προστέθησθαι, ὡς ὑμετέρῳ φανέντι γεωργῷ, ἐπαινετῶν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο προκειόμεθα ἡ ἐπικουρίης δυσανασχετείτε, δότε τῇ ἐπαινομένῃ συγῇ τῷ πάν, καὶ ὀφελήσοντες μᾶλλον τὰ μέγιστα. Ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ κρίτῃ τοῦτο γε εἶνεκεν ἀτεινοῦ παρεστᾶναι προδοήμεν· μηδὲ ὅπο τῶν ἔξω κριτηρίων εὐθύνεσθαι δεσποτεύειν, ἕνον συγώντας μηδὲ μὰ μόνον κηλίδι προστρίβεσθαι. "Ἰνα ὁν ἀπαλάξητε πολλῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνοχλήσεως καὶ συνεχῶν αὐτῶς θορίβων, μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν συμβουλευομένων ὕμων παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ποιήσατε προθυμιθείτε· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ ἁγιώτατῳ πατριάρχῃ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀνενεχεῖν ὁ εἰρημένος πανεύφημος ἀνὴρ βουληθεῖς, ὡς ὅν ἔξ ἀυτῷ λόγους πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκοιτο ἢ καὶ γράφας τὴν αὐτὴν ὕμων κομίζου ἀπαγογείλων, ὃς ἡμῶν ἀνεστάλῃ καὶ τοῦ σὺν ἡμῶν λογιστάτων καὶ τῆς ἐκ- κλησίας ὁφθαλμοῖ καὶ πνευματικῆ ἡμῶν ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ χαρτοφιλάκος, ὡς ἡμῶν ἰκανῶν ὄντων διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων προρρήσεως πείσατο τοῦτο ποιήσατε τὴν ὑμετέραν πατριωτικὴν ἀνύφτητα. Δειξάτω ὁν τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἱσχύν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἑκείσφρω βραβευότατο, ὡς ἀν τῶν εἰρηνοποιῶν τῶν μακαρισμῶν ἀπενέγκοιτο. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ παριππεύ- σαντος χρόνου, διὰ τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας, γράμμα πεπόμφαμεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ δοιοτήτι, δι᾽ οὗ σεσημαγεκάναι αὕτη τα καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς εὖ ἔχειν ἑκρώμανεν· || 104 || οὕθεν ἀρκεσθέντες ἑκείνῳ σωπῆ τα


15 ἑστηρίσατε V || 18 βεβούλησθαί V || 22 an diaremētōn scribendum? || 25 συγώντες V || 28 προτεθή- σεσία V || 30 ὀφελήσοντε V || 31 συνεχῶν V || 35 εἶ καὶ V || κομίζων V || 38 προρήσεων V || 39 an δεξάτω σcribendum?
istration of the agreement was entrusted to you, as many persons join me in testifying. Now, however, for some unknown reason, you have set your face upon the former in-law, and this in spite of the fact that he is not even a genuine in-law, and you intend to confer on him by means of your testimony the property that pertains to the household of your deceased co-parent. Do not conceive such a plan! Do not propose to make the legitimate and the illegitimate share the same lot! For that would be incongruous and unreasonable. Grant, on the contrary, leave to the mistress of the house to arrange her affairs as she may wish. Let her administer, decide, and remain with her children in possession of the goods bequeathed to her by her legitimate husband. Let us not on this account deliver ourselves to appear before a judge; nor should we need to be set right by external tribunals, when it is possible, by keeping silent, to be untouched by any blot of reproach. For, as the great apostle says, "Why is my liberty judged by another man's conscience?" If you find it possible to agree and consent to this course as if it appeared to be your own doing, well and good; if, however, you are reluctant for this to be proposed or to give help, then have recourse to silence that is golden, and you will cause the greatest good. Do not be eager to do anything beyond the advice I have given you so that you may rid me of much annoyance and yourself of continual disturbance. For the aforesaid illustrious man was intending to refer this matter to the most holy patriarch with a view to your receiving a message from the latter or an epistle containing the same injunction, but was prevented by me and my colleague, the most learned eye of the Church, my spiritual brother, the chartophylax, on the grounds that we were able, by means of our warnings, to convince your paternal Holiness to act in this manner. May you acknowledge our influence over you, and confer peace on that household so that you may be rewarded with the blessing of peacemakers.

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

20. Νυκτήρωφ ἐπισκόπως Καρίας

'Ο τῆς ὁρθῆς ἀγάπης θεσμὸς εἰ καὶ βραχὺ τι τοῦ ποθούμενον πείραν ἀποστάσεως δέξαιτο, ὅτε ἦδη μακρὸν χρόνον παραχθηκότος, ὅραν ἐπιζητεῖ τὸ ποθούμενον. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐχὶ βραχείας ὄρας παραπτευσάσθη, οὗδε τελείας ἡμέρας μεταβάσθη, ἀλλὰ χρόνον δεξαμένης ἐπιτατω τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑμῶν ἀπολείψεως, ἀθυμίας οὐ μετρουμένης ἐπλήσθημεν καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὅτε κάκεισε περιάγειν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐγενόμεθα, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ποθούμενον περιδραξαίμεθα· ἀλλ' οὕτω διακειμένου ἄνίκη, ὡσπερ τις ἀστὴρ ἐπιφανὲς ἀπλανεστατὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ὑμῶν γράμμα τῇ ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ λήθης ἀχλοῦ τελοῦσαν ἡμῶν καρδίαν κατηγασέν. "Οθεν σὺν τῇ τοῦ γράμματος ἀποδοχῇ καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης συναντεῖλεν ἔρως καὶ εὐχαίς ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θείον ὑμῶν ἰχθύας παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ γράμμασι χρῆσανται συντράγακε, ὡστε τὸν τῆς φυλίας πυρὸν ἀνάψαι καὶ τηλαγώς πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον διαπορθμευθῆραν.

Καλῆς δὲ βουλῆς γέγονεν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἱερὰ οἰσίνυς μὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ νῦν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐφαυλαμένη ἡ γαρ τῆς ὄρας δυσχέρεια καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τεναγώθης ἔπαχθεια, καὶ τοῖς διὰ παντὸς οὐκαδε ἡμερὸν συν. στολήν τήν ἐκ τοῦ κρίσιος οὐ μικρῶς προεξέρχεσθε, ὡστε, εἰ σκυλίως συνεβή τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ γενέσθαι τελεία νήψει, καὶ πόνος ὑμῶν συνωδούρος μέγατος καὶ μεταμέλεια πολλή προσεγέντε. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὄν ἡ ἱερὰ ὑμῶν δοιοῦτος ἐπιστατικῶς μανθάνεις ἐπείγεται, πάσα συγχ ταῦτα καλύπτουσα καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἐξενεγκείω συγχρήσασα, μέχρι τήμερον ἀνέκφορα διαμένει. "Οθεν, τοῦ γράφας τι τῇ ἀποκρίσεως πόρον δοῦναι εἰ ἀπορία τυγχάνοντες, συγάν προελόμεθα· λέγομεν δὲ καὶ ἐπιφέυγον ὑπὸ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἡ ἐπὶ τούτους ὄδος ἀνοιχθῆσεται, καὶ πέρας τῷ τῆς κεφαλαίων περιπέτεια δεξαίται, καὶ τότε γράφαι καὶ καταμηνύσαι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἱερᾷ τελείωτη ὑπὸ ἀποκρίσαμεν. Εὗχον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας μετρίτητος τῆς θελούσης καὶ σπουδαζούσης ἀποπληρῶν πᾶσαν ἱερὰν ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ θέλησιν.


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

20. To Nikephoros, bishop of Caria

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

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

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

Εἰ μὲν ὡς σὺ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁμιλεῖ με πρὸς σὲ διακείσθαι, ὡς τῶν τῆς φιλίας πυθαγόρειον ὄρον ὀρθῶς μεμελέτηκας: ἑαυτὸν γὰρ ἄλλον ἐκεῖνος τῶν φιλῶν ὁρίζετο. Εἰ δὲ ἄλλος πως ἔχειν πρὸς σὲ παρὰ σοι λε- λόγισμα ἢ Πυθαγόρας καλὸς διωρίζετο φιλίαν ὑπνα, μηδαμῶς τὸν τοι- οῦτον ὄρον ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ παραβλάπτεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνοι ὀρθῶς διω- ρίσατο καὶ ἄλλως ἐγὼ σοι καθέστηκα· καὶ εἰ ἄλλως, 106 ἐγὼ σὺ καθέστηκα, ὀθνεῖον οὐδὲν σοι καὶ ξένου βουλεύσαμι. Πάσα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ θέλει καὶ βούλεται· συνοίσει δ’ εἰ ἄλλο τι καὶ ὁ πρὸς σοις ὤμοιοπαθεῖς θεομίμητος ἑλεός. Τί δὲ ἔστι τὸ ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ προ- τευόμενον, λέξων ἔρχομαι.

"Ἀνδρεὶς τινὲς χάδες, ἡδή τῆς ὄρας καλοῦσθης πρὸς τραπέζαν, οiά 15 τινὲς ἔκφρους καὶ λύπῃ μαινόμενοι, τὰς θύρας ἐπιστάντες τοῦ ἐμοῦ συνέθλουσον δόματος· ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ τούτοις ὑπανοιγνύσ τὰς πύλας ἐῷρακα, βάμβους ἐπιληφθῆναι καὶ δέιματος μέρης ἄρα τινὶ κακῷ συνεκύρησα· ἦσαν γὰρ αὐχμηροὶ καὶ ἀχρώματες ὑπ’ ἀλουσίας, ὡς ἐγκαμία, τὴν πρόσ- οψιν· κρηθέτωμε τε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑπεκάλυπτον, τὴν τῆς κόμης συμ- βαταν ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀπόκαρσιν, ὡς ἔστοπαξοι, περιστέλλοντες· καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς οὐαὶ τινες προαγγελο τῆς συνεχοῦσθας λύπης ἐβλέποντο. Ἐρωμένω δέ μου τί ἄρα καὶ βουλοῦτο, "ἐκ τοῦ δυσκλεοῦσα σχήματος 20 δέχου τὴν ἀπόκρυσιν," ἔφασκον· "νώτα γὰρ κατεξαμέμενα πληγαῖς καὶ κόμας πυνοράσ καὶ ψυλᾶς ἐκ σωθήρου θεώμενοι, αὐτὸθεν ἀκριβῆ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ἐξηθήσασι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ λόγῳ τὴν συμφορὰν γνωρίας βεβού- λησαι, τὴν ἀκοῆν ὑποχώρειν δέχου τὴν ἐξήθησιν· καὶ γὰρ ηθικὸν τῶν ὀκτίστων ἐσμέν, ὡς μὴ ἄφελες, ὅπερ ἄνδρωτιν οὐκ εὐσεβῶς οἱ πάλαι 25 κεκλήσασιν· δημοσίως δὲ νῦν ἐξ ἀβουλίας ἡλώκειμεν πτώματι, οὗ, 107 σὺ ἐπερ ἄλλος τις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρας ὑπεκλύσεισας· πλοῖων γὰρ στηρ- γούντων ὑπάρχουμεν ναύκλητοι, ὅ τὸν φόρτων τὸ δημοσίως λόγῳ εἰσθε 26 κομίζεις ἐπέτειον· ἐξ ὑμίν μικρὸν τι σῖτον διὰ λειμῶν ὑφελόμενου καὶ κριθή


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

Yesterday, at dinnertime, certain men who seemed out of their senses and mad with grief came crowding before the doors of my house. When I opened the gates and saw them, I was filled with terror and fear lest I should meet with some mishap. For they were squalid and their faces gray through lack of washing, or so I think. They covered their heads with veils concealing, as I believed, the fact that their hair had been cropped in dishonor. Altogether they looked like the harbingers of the grief that possessed them. When I asked what it was they wanted, they said: "Take our wretched appearance for an answer. For when you see our backs torn with scourging, our hair ragged and cut short by the shears, you will have found the correct verdict. But if you also wish to know of our distress in words, lend your ear and receive the information. We dwell on a little island (where it not so!) which men of old have called by the indecent name of Androtê. And now, out of senselessness, we have been caught in a civil offense from which you, more than anyone else, might free us quickly. For we are the captains of the grain ships that normally transport the annual cargo for the Treasury. Because of hunger we removed from it a small quantity of
το λείπον ἀνασωσάμενοι, φωτάθεντες τὴν δίκην πολυπλασίως ἐκτίνυμεν." „Καὶ τὶς ἁρα, ἔφην, „οὔτος ἦστι, ὡς τὸ τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου αὐτητῆριν παρωσάμενος, τοῖς ἐμῶς λόγοις πειθήμως γένοιτο, καὶ ύμας ἀπαλάξει τοῦ πτώματος;” Ὡς δ’ ἐπὶ σοι τῷ τῆς χαρᾶς φερωνύμῳ ἡ ψήφος ἐδίδοτο, θαρσεῖν τούτους συντάμως ἐκέλευν, ὥς οὐ τῆς ἐνεγκόψυς αὐτοὺς ἐλπίδος πρὸς μὲ ψευσθείην. ἔώρων γὰρ ἀγχίθυρον ἔχον τὸ πταίμα τῆς ἀφεσίν, ὡς οὐ πολλὶν τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ τὴν βλάβην προμεμεν. Εἰ ὅπην ἀνύποιστον οὐδὲν οἶ τῆς Ἀνδρωτῆς οἰκήτωρς ἡμαρτον, μὴ διαμαίρειον τῆς ἐφέσεως. Ἀνδρωτῆς ἐκείνης, ἣν πάντοθεν περιστοιχίζουσα θάλασσα μικρὰν ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινήν καὶ περιγραπτὸν, ἀνυδρόν τε καὶ ἄξυλον, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου τοῦ τῆς ἐφήμερον ἥψην τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερείδουτος εἶδους ἀμέτοχον. ἦν ποτ’ ἐγώ, κάκεισε γενόμενος, || 108 καταθρήνησα, ὡς ἐώρων ἢττ’ ἀνάγκης ἤπεροδέν περαιούμενα καὶ ἐξεύρενμενα καὶ ὑδρεύμενα γυναί. Αὕτη οὖν, εἰ μὴ τί ἄλλο, δυσοπέτω τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀμνηστικάκου τελείοτητα ἱκανῶν γὰρ τὸ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιθρίες ἐπιτύμων. μὴ δὴ ταύτας ἐπακολουθήσῃ καὶ ζημία ἐπιθάνουσα τοῦ τραύματος τὸ ἐπώδυνον, ἀλλ’ ὡς τῶν τοιούτων μιλούτων ἱατρός γαληπτότατος καὶ παντὸς κινδυνώδους κλίνωνος σταρετής ἀμφιδέξου, ἱωθήσαι τὴν ἐπηρτημένην αὐτοῖς τῆς ζημίας καταγίδα ταῖς μελλιχίως αὔραις τῆς σῆς κελέσουσες θέλησι, ὡς ἀν παρὰ τῆς ἄνω θείας νεότερης δεὶ κυβερνήμενος, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὁλκάδα, τοῖς ἀγωγίμουσι τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιβρίθουσαν, ἀκυμάντως εἰς τὸν ἀχείμωνα καὶ μακραίων ἄρμων τῆς ἐλπιζομένης ζωῆς διασώσειας.

22. Τῷ Δημοχάρει γενύκῳ λογοθέτῃ

Καί δεύτερος γράφεις καὶ πρῶτος ἐγκαλεῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι γράψαντες πρὸς τὴν ἐγκλῆσιν δευτερεύσωμεν. Πῶς δέ πρὸς τὰ καλὰ ταχύς τυγχάναν ἐπὶ μόνης φιλίας τὴν βραδυτῆτα τετήρηκας; Εἰ γὰρ ἄλλος ἐγώ, κατὰ τῶν Πυθαγόραν, ὁ φίλος ὁρίζεται, ἄλλοις ἐκατούς οἱ πέλας || 109 τοὺς φίλους ἣγεισθωσαν. Τοιοῦτον δὴ τινὰ σύνδεσμον καὶ

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

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

22. To Democharis, logothete of the Genikon

You are the second to write and the first to accuse me, whereas I wrote first, yet would take second place in accusation. How is it that you who are always prompt in good works have been so slow in friendship alone? For if, according to Pythagoras, a friend is defined as another “I,” one’s fellows should consider their friends as sec-
ἐν ἄρθροις, ὡς ἐμαθεῖς, εὐθυκας, ὅν εἶ πρὸς [ἡ] μέρη λεπτύνεις τὸν ἔτερον, ὅλως τὸν ἔτερον ἀπεγέννησας· καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεμιᾶς ταύσις ὑποτῆς ἔρωτιςς, ὡς οὔθεν, θελήσεως· ψυχῆς γὰρ καὶ ἠδονῆς ἅπας ἄρθροις ἀπεστέρηται· ὡς εἶ τοιαύτη τῆς τοῖς λογικοῖς καὶ ἐμψυχοῖς ὑπὴν φίλιας συνουσίας, τάχα ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων κατετολμάτω καὶ θάνατος, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀλγεύων ὑπὸ ἡδονὸν ἐλελόγησε· καὶ πᾶν τὸ μικρῶς διωσὲν ὡς χρόνος μακρὸς ἐνενόμισε. Νυνὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔκαστος δὲ μένων ἐπὶ χώρας ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ φίλος οἰκεῖος καθίσταται, χλούνης τῆς ἡ μονὸς, ἔτσι τὸ φιλικὸν ἀπαγορεύνων καὶ σύνυμφον, καὶ ὑπὸ τὸ ἀγριαῖνον ἢθος φερόμενος. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐ σοῦ κατηγορῶν προῆκτην λαλῶν—μὴ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο φρενὸς ἔξω πέσομι—σοὶ δὲ συνηγορῶν, ἐμαυτὸν κατηγόρησα· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν "Ομηρὸς· μεταφρασόμεθα καὶ αὕτις· σὺ δὲ εἰ μέλλοις καὶ παρὼν κατηγορεῖν ἢμῶν, οὐκ ὑπερθέσῃ περαιτέρω τὴν ἔλεουν· μάλα γὰρ τοῖς σοῖς ἡδομεθα σκόμμασι—εἰ δὲ ταύτην ἀναβάλλῃ, ἤμείς εαυτοὺς πρὸς τὰς εαυτῶν κατηγορίας ὅπλισαμεν. || 110 ||

23. Τῇ αὐτῷ

'Ὡς μὲν σὺ λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι, τῆς σοι περικειμένης ἀξίας κατωλυγόρθησας· θεν καὶ ως ἡδὴ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ὡς, μικρὰ ᾧ οὐδ' ὅλων περὶ ταύτην ἡχολύσας· καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, ὃ ἐκείθερος τῆς χήρας χάρτῃς τὴν πίστιν διδότω· τοῦτον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου βαλὼν, καὶ οὐδὲ πολλὰ δεσβεῖς, τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν τέλος ἐτύχχανον. Τί δαι τὸ δεσβέν καὶ τί τὸ τέλος, ὅπερ ἐλάμβανον; Ἡγὼ μὲν ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐθυτάτου κρυπτριῶν τούτων ἀναγαγέων, εὑρισκών δὲ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν πειθομένους καὶ κατανευόντας, ἤ οἱ πρὶν μέθοι τῶν Κρονίδῃς εἰςάγονοι· εἰ οὖν τῶν σῶν οὐδὲν παλινάγρετον, οὐδ' ἀπατηλόν, οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὃ τι κεν


23: 2 κατωλυγόρθησας V: corr. G || 7 εὑρίσκων V || 8 ἡ V || 9 ὁτικεν V
ond selves. A bond of this kind is also to be found, as you have learned, in the realm of numbers, for if you reduce one into its parts, you produce another in its entirety; and this although they, as you know, do not possess any affective volition since all numbers are devoid of spirit and pleasure. If, then, such a soundness of friendship were present in rational, animate beings, perchance they might even risk death for the sake of each other, and consider every painful thing to be most pleasant and every short separation as a great length of time. But now it is not so at all: every man remains in his own place and is his own friend, like some solitary wild boar, renouncing all friendship and association, and falling under the sway of wild manners.

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

23. To the same

As you yourself say and I believe, you have utterly neglected the office with which you are invested. Wherefore, you are little, if at all, occupied with it, as if you were already out of it. That this is so may be confirmed by the widow’s supplicatory petition: for by placing it in your hands I would have obtained the resolution of the matter even without much begging. What, then, was the supplication and what the resolution that I would have obtained? For my part, I said that this (petition) should be referred to the most righteous tribunal and I found you being soon persuaded and assenting, just as the ancient myths represent the son of Cronus—if, then, none of your actions, whatever you nod your head to, is revocable, deceitful, and without
κεφαλὴ κατανεώσης, πεισθήτω σὺν ἡμῶν καὶ (ἡ) ἀπρομηθευτὸς αὐτὴ χήρα. τῆς γνωστείας μικροφυλικὰς μηδένα λόγον ποιήσασα, τῶν αὐτῶν χάρτην πρὸς ἡμᾶς ήκεν ἐπὶ χεῖρας κομίζουσα· οὐ τὸ ἀτελεῖ ἑπαυσθόμενοι καὶ τὸ βαρυπενθὲς αὐτῆς κατοικτείραντες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐθίς πεπόμφαμεν· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔστι, περὶ οὗ δεδυσσωτήκαμεν, μὴ παροδήθει, ἦνα μὴ λέγωμεν ἡμεῖς· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὗτός ἐστι καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν παρώθη, ἦσθι πρὸς σὲ καὶ τρίτην πορείαν ποιοῦμεν.

24. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἴπερ ὅλως ἡπιστάμην τὴν ὑμετέραν τῆς ψυχῆς τελείωτητα εἰς ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροίας || 111 || ἡ δυσχερείας ἐπαιρομένην ἡ συμπιπτούσα, ἐνοικηθέντας ἀν διὰ πλατυτέρων ῥημάτων ἡ γραμμάτων· ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας καὶ δυσχερείας ἐγνωκὼς διαφυλάττουσαν αὐτὴν τὴν λαύτητα, οὐδέτερον τούτων πολείν διενοθήτην, μήτως φορτικῶς τις εἶναι δοξῶ καὶ περιττός, λέγων καὶ γράφων τὰ μή προσθήκοντα. Τίς γὰρ οὖν οἴδα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐν Χριστῷ σεβασμότητα τὸ μεγαλόψυχον ἐν παντὶ προσκυνημέναι καὶ μακροδύνας καὶ γενναίως τὰ προστίποταφέροντα, ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐγνώς ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν παρὼντων μόνων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον ἀστατὸν διαμείβεται κύνησιν· οἴον τι λέγω τὴν λύπην χαρὰ διαδέχεται καὶ τὴν εὐπραγίαν ἡ δυσπραγία, τὴν τε νόσον ἡ ψυχεῖα καὶ πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐν βίῳ εἶναι τερπνὰ ἡ ἀνισαρα τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταβολήν ποιεῖται καὶ στάσεως οὐδεμᾶς ἔχεται. "Οθεν τοὺς εὐαρεστήσαντας δὲ ἀρετῆ τῷ θεῷ βλέπομεν μᾶλλον τοῖς θλίψεωι εὐδοκοῦντας καὶ ταῖς δυσχερείαις συνηθησιμένους καὶ πάσαν εὐπρεπίαν ἀποσειομένους καὶ τὰς τῆς στενῆς ὀδοὺς εἰπιστωμένους, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνης τῆς ἀπεράντου χαρὰς περιδράξωνται, ὡς ὁμοειδέα θλίψις ἡ λύπη ἡ στενοχωρία λοιπῶν διαδέχεται. Ταύτης οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἴπερ θελῆσαιμεν, ἤδιῶς ἐπιτευ εἰς ἡμεθα καὶ τὴν ἀχθηδόνα τῶν περικε-
issue—may this neglected widow receive assurance along with me. She took no ac-
count of female pusillanimity and came to me with the same document in her hands.
Noting that it has received no fulfilment and pitying her profound grief, I have sent it
to you once again. And if it is the same document concerning which I have made my
supplication, let it not be overlooked—not to say that I (should be overlooked); nay,
if it is the very same and has been overlooked along with me, know well that I shall
come to you for a third time.

24. To the same

If I had known at all that your spiritual Perfection was uplifted or bitterly dis-
couraged by the prosperous or unfavorable turn of events, I would be giving you more
extensive admonition by word of mouth or by letter. But as it is, since I have discov-
ered that you preserve the same equanimity in the face of both success and difficulty,
I have resolved to do neither of these things, so that I may not seem boorish and
intrusive by saying and writing what is out of place. For who does not know that your
Christian Reverence possesses nobility of spirit in every respect, and endures the
trials that beset him with long-suffering and high-mindedness? For you have always
realized that nothing in this present life is stable, but that everything is changing in a
restless movement toward its opposite. Let me give examples: joy succeeds grief,
prosperity follows misfortune, and health takes the place of sickness. And all those
things in life that seem to be delightful or troublesome are in the process of change
toward each other, and never remain stable. Thus we see that those who have found
favor in God’s sight by their virtue tend to be content with suffering and rejoice in
difficulties, that they slough off all happiness and follow the narrow way, so that they
may grasp that eternal joy which will not be succeeded in the future by any suffering
or grief or distress. This joy we, too, may easily achieve, if we but desire it. Casting
μένων ἡμῶν δημοσίων φροντίδων καὶ ἄκοντες ἀποβάλλοντες, κοὐφοι λατρευμενοὶ καὶ εὐσταλεῖς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου τοῦτον πέλαγος διανηθόμεθα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κτίστουν καὶ μόνης κυβερνώμενοι νεύσεως. Ὁδόκουν μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ συμβάσει τῆς ἀξίας ἀποβολῆ ἐκαυτοῦ τῷ τῆς ἀλήτης παραπέμψεων κλόδων, μηδὲ, ὅτι διαδοχὴν ἐφημέρου εὐροίας ὑπέστημεν, καταπίπτωμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῷ διέστων καὶ διεξάγωντι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὰ καθ’ ἡμῶν θεω εὐδεστήσωμεν τῷ με ἐκάνετν ἡμῶς μέχρι τέλους ἐν τοῖς ἀπαρέσκοσιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν οἷς οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ, ὅ ἐφηδναι, ἀ πράγμασι κελεῖσθαι, ἐγκαλωδεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναστρέφεσθαι. Ἐδείξειν οὖν οὕτως ἐν ὁθοναλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὃ ἀγαπήσει ηγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐ παρεῖδεν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοῖν ἡμῶν ἑκτενὴ δήσην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπέβλεψας καὶ ἐρρύσατο τῆς τῶν ἰησουντῶν παγίδος καὶ ταύτης συνετρίβης. Εἰ γὰρ ἔαυτῶν γενόμεθα, καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν μεριμνῶν βουλευσαῖμεθα, καὶ κατὰ κόσμον εὐδοκιμήσαμεν, καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ κηδεμονίας τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐκπέσομεν. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἄντι σου ἐγενήθησαν σοι ἐπὶ θυγατράσαν υἱόι σου, οὕτως διανατασσόμεθα ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν κόσμων καὶ συνεχουσῶν ὀδύνων καὶ ἀντιλήφθωσι ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου τοῦτον ὀχληρῶς, μόνον ἐν μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τὰ συμ.; 113 πίπτοντα δεξιάμεθα καὶ ὑπενεγκυμα-μεν, καὶ λογισώμεθα τὰ συμβαίνοντα ὡς τὰ συμφέροντα. Ἡδον γὰρ ἀνα- λογισώμεθα τὰς μέχρι τοῦ δεύρου κενὰς φροντίδας, τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνων καὶ μάταιῳ τάραχοι, καὶ τὴν ἐκή τῶν πραγμάτων παλέρμων, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ κατασχοῦσαν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἱσχυὸς ἀκώδινον γαλήνην, οὕτως ἐν ἐκείναι βεβηλυκτα καὶ ταύτα ἐπέραστα ἡγησώμεθα· ἐν ἐκείνοις γὰρ ὁ ἐν- αντίος, ἐν τοῦτοις δὲ ὁ θεός ἐπευφραίνεται.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτων νοοθετικῶς οὕτε παραμυθητικῶς γράφειν ἠμφῇθημεν. ἐστε γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἐν τούτοις ἀδιάτιτωται καὶ ἀκέραιοι· ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑπομυθήσκοντες ὑμᾶς ὅσον ἐστὶ τῶν δημοσίων φροντίδων ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ ἀπαράξια βίοι αἱρετῶτεροι. Ἐπίγενα ταὐτὰ ἐχό- μεν ὃτι καὶ διὰ τάχους καὶ ὑφόμεθα καὶ τὰ τῶν γράμματι λειπόντα τῷ λόγῳ προσαναπληρῶσομεν, ὡς καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς πείρας μάθω- μεν ὃτι καὶ παραμθίας πάσης καὶ νοθεσίας εἰ ὑφηλότερος, ἐκ τοῦ φαντάζει μὴ τῶν παθῶν ἐκ τῆς προσπεσούσης σοι ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπηρεάσει τε καὶ συμβάσεως. Τοῦτο δὲ δυσωποῦμεν· εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἱνα καὶ

29 ἀγαπήσεἰ - ἡμᾶς· cf. Ἰερ. 38.3; Ἑφ. 2.4 || 30 ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπέβλεψεν· cf. 1 Ῥεγ. 1.11 || 30–31 ἐρρύσατο - συνετρίβης· Ps. 123 (124).7

21 εὐσαλεῖς Τ· εὐσαλεῖς G || 23 συμβάσεις Τ || 24 διαδοχὴν· διακοπὴν propos. Ἱενδενκο || 27 ἑφηδναις· forΤ. μὴ ἐφηδρίης vel ἐφηδνύουσα scribendum || 28 ἐγκαλεῖς δείθαις Τ || 32 secundum εαυτῶν iterav. Τ || 33 εὐδοκημήσαμεν Τ· corr. G || 42 βεβηλυκτα Τ

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

I have been impelled to write this not in a spirit of admonition nor of consolation: for I know of your unerring and unshakable spirit in these matters. My purpose was merely to remind you how preferable is a life of peace and calm to public worries. But I hope to see you soon and to supply with my words the omissions of this letter, so that I may learn from that (face-to-face) experience that you stand above all consolation and exhortation, from your manifest survival unscathed from the abuse and disaster that have come upon you as happens among men. This I beg of you: pray
25. Νυκτοφόροι διακόνως καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

'Ερομένων μοι φιλικός, ὃς φιλότης, ἀπόκριναν· οὐκ ἔσχε κόρον ἣν περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀκόρεστον στὸ διάθεσις τῆς γείτονος ἰλίους καὶ συγχυτικῆς ὀχλήσεως καὶ, οἷον ποιητικὸς εἰπείν, βρομάδως κυνής ἐλυσομένης περὶ κατηφύς, ἀλλὰ ἐγκαρτερεί καὶ περφύσα τούτοις, ὡς ἦ τοῦ Δίως γονάσας Θέτις, μᾶλλον ἐμπεριέχεται ἢ τοῖς πρὸς σφήνην ἀγροῦ πλήρους παρακαλούσιν ἱδύσμασιν; Μή δήτα, ὃς φιλόμουσε, τούτοις προσκαθήσατι βιάζου, δίδω δὲ σεαυτὸν καὶ τῆς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν καθαρᾶς αὔρας ἀπόλαυσι· οἰσθα τὰς βορέων πνεύμα ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀκράτους λυώσας καὶ ψυχαγωγούσας καὶ φεροῦσας ἐναγορὰ. "Ἡ οὖ μέμνη, ὅτε τῶν πιστακῶν ὑπεκλήθημεν ἐνερθεὶς καὶ χαριέντως ἐβοριάζομεν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην συκάμαιν ἤ ὡτο..." περιέφερον τοῦ διεδίκεις ἀναμώμων ὅπως ἐκείνο τὸ κηρῶν καὶ μέλιτος γλύκους; Εἰ οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἤ 115 ταῦτα συγκρίνας καὶ τὴν περιστοιχοῦσαν καὶ περιγράφουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀτίθαι τοῖς ἱδοΰσιν ἐμπαραθῆσθαι, εἰς τὸν πάντως οὐκ εἰς μεκρὰν τὸν διάφορον ὑπὸ νυσσομένος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν θελυγόμενος, Ἀχιλλέως γενέσθαι σοι σῶδας ἔξητηκας, ὡς ἀν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντὸς λειμώνων εἰσήλθας. Δεῦρο δὴ οὐν τὰς τάχος καὶ, ταῖς ἐπευπροεύραται ἀνίαις, ρευμάτων δίκην, δυσημέραι, καὶ ταῖς τάυταις τὸν ἱερόν εἰςπών, θυμηδίως ἐμπί-
for me, that God may free me, by the means He knows well, from the filthy slime of this life, so that I may be able for the space of one day to offer Him my worship in purity, and may wash from my soul the corruption that is in me, because there is need for the greatest care and the utmost sobriety. As for you, may the Lord our God lead you forward in His service, for your greater progress in virtue, which you accomplish and achieve daily for His pleasure.

25. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

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

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

26. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Πότε σε τῆς ἀρχιδίας ἐκπλήναιμεν, ὃ λίαν εὐδοκεστάτε; Τίς ᾠ̔νθος καὶ Ὀκάμανδρος καὶ δινής Ἠρμοσ τὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης ἀποσμῆνει στροφοδονίας, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀλάλων ἐμπίδων ἱώδεις δήξεις; Δέδοικα γὰρ μήπως ταῦτα λέγων καὶ γράφων ἀναξάκω τὴν τότε συμβάσαν ἐπήκρεψαν καὶ μαλακίας ὑμῶν αἰτίας γένομαι. Εἰ ὅπι καὶ οὐδὲν σοι τούτων μέλον, γενὸς πρὸς ἡμᾶς· δυσμενές γάρ σου τῆς θέας, ἀνερ ἑπιθυμῶν τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἢ οἱ πολλῷ φλεγόμενοι καύματι· ἢ δὲ λέξις ἢ ἅλυκὴ τὴν τοῦ ταρ’ ὑμῶν ὑδάτος 116 ἐκμυμομένη + κατὰ σὴν + ἅλυκότητα καὶ γλυ-
κύτητα, τὰν τῆς βραχείας ἀνεμάξατο χρόνον.

27. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀδυναίον κόπρον, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος Ἀλκήνης ἐκ-
γονος, καθήμερος, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν τῆς κακοδομίας συρφετῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίας κακῶς προσευσθαρέντα τῶν ταύτης περιβόλων τῷ πτώς τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁμολογίας ἐβάλομεν, τυχόν ἡμῖν μυσθὸς οὐχ ὃ τυχῶν ἐπωφείλετο. Ἐπεὶ 5 δὲ (οὐ) ἐκεῖνον, τοῦτον δὲ καὶ προῖκα τὸν θεῖον ὑπέδυμεν διάυλον,


27: 1–2 ἀνερ – καθήμερος: Appolod. II.5, ed. R. Wagner, p. 77.7–78.11

26: 5 γένομαι V || 7 ἡ V || ἡ ἀλήκη V || 8 κατασκ. . . . γλυκότητα V: an καὶ τὴν σὴν scribendum?


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these things is lasting or stable in the long run, and that, on the one hand, the lifespan of difficulties is short, while, on the other, the value of whatever causes pleasure is perishable.

26. To the same

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

27. To the same

If we had cleaned out the dung of Augeias, like the famous son of Alcmene in ancient times, instead of (using) the shovel of Orthodoxy to cast from the precincts of the Church the sweepings of evil doctrine that had penetrated therein to our undoing, perchance no mean reward would be owed to us. But since we have undertaken not the former (task), but this holy race, and did so gratis, we should expect the
μὴ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ποτε ἦ πρὸς θεοῦ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν ἀναμένομεν. ἦ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἀριστούτον καὶ τὰ μέγιστα κατὰ ψυχὴν κερδησίοντας δια-
δείξειν, ἦ τούς κακῶν λημματιὰς ὁ ἐκ τοὐτῶν πόρων δασφλῶς συν-
ευφερόμενος ἔραυνος, οἷς ἐφ’ οἷς δρῶσιν οὐκ ἐπινυστάξει τὸ τῆς δίκης ἐνδοκὸν ὄμμα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀὐγείας τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου διέφυγε ῥόσταλον. 
Στέργε όν σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ συγκαρτέρει ὁ σὸν ἔστιν, εἶδος τὸ τῆς ὑπο-
μονῆς αὐτοπόδομα. Εἴπερ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐσπείρω πρὸς κώνοπας καὶ τῆς ἀκηρύκτου τοῦτων ἐπιστασίας ἐπιεικῶς ἡμνημόνευσας, πάρεσο κω-
νωπῶν θυρακοσθείς μήπως καὶ αὐθὲς ἐντὸς βέλους αὐτῶν ἄλφας καὶ 
pολλὰς 117 ἀὕπνους νύκτας ιαύσας, ὡς ὁ παιδαγωγὸς Πηλείδου 
Ποινείς, φιλάρπετε.

28. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Οψε τῆς φθασάσης ἐπὶ τῷ κατοιχομένῳ λύπης καὶ μόλις ἀνεφιγων, μικρὸν τι καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ οἷον ὀδός ἀποφθέγγομαι. ἦδη γὰρ 
αὐτῷ μοι τῷ προλαβόντι τοῖς ἐνερτέρως συμπεριπολεῖν ἐδόκει κενθ-
μῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐν νεκάσι τούτων συμπεριάγει καὶ τὸν ὄφθαλμόν καθ’ 
ξίδου ῥήπτειν ἐρευνώντι ἄρα ποι τετάεξεται λήξεως. Οὕτως ἡδόμην τῷ 
θανόντι συνεῖναι μᾶλλον, ἦ πάλαι Πυλάδαι τοῖς Ὀρέσταις ἐκείνοις μέ-
χροι αὐτῶν τάφων συνήφθατο προῆρημα· ἐνθεν καὶ τῆς ὑπερημέριας καὶ 
tῆς Ἀκεσσαίου σελήνης υἱ’ ὑμῶν ἀπηρεγκάμην τὸν θνείδον. Νυνὶ δὲ 
tῆς μετὰ νεκῶν, ὡς ἐδόκου, ἀπαλαγεῖς διμιλίας, εἴτε τοῖς ἔσων συν-
dιαιτώμενος καὶ σὲ τὴν φίλην ἐμοὶ κεφαλῆν ἀλγυμομένην νόσω πυθο-
μενος, εὐξάμην τί παθεῖν ἔλεσθαι; Τί ἄλλο γε ἦ τὴν παντελῆ σιγήν ὕπ-


6 ἦ V || 9 οἷον ἐστιν νυστάξει V: corr. Ševčenko: οἷον ἦ G II 12 εσπείρω πρὸς V: ἐπὶ σῷ προσώπῳ G: ἐσπείρω proposuit idem G II 13 κομμεσίων V II 14 μέλους V: corr. Ševčenko

Πυλάδαι – συνήφθα: cf. Eur. Or. 1091 II 8 τῆς Ἀκεσσαίου σελήνης: Diogen. 1.57, VI.30; Apostol. 1.90; XVI.44

28: 7 συνήφθαι προῆρημα V II 8 ἀκεσσαίου V II 9 νέ τ.,.. κόων V (rasura)
proclamation of our success from nobody other than God. May it show us rich indeed
and able to win the greatest benefits for our souls in preference to the plentiful con-
tributions from such great resources (enjoyed by) those grappers after evil; for with
respect to them, the righteous eye of Justice shall not slumber in surveying their
deeds. Indeed, not even Augeias escaped the club of Hercules.

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

28. To the same

Having at long last and barely recovered from my sorrow for the deceased, I
am uttering a faint and dead sound, one, as it were, that smells (of corruption). For
already it seemed to me that I was accompanying the departed one in the nether world
and leading him about among the dead, and casting my eye in Hades as I was search-
ing for the place that would be assigned to him. So greatly did I enjoy the company
of the deceased, more so than that famous Pylades of olden times who chose to cleave
to Orestes to the very tomb; for which reason I was blamed by you for delay like
Akessaios and his moon. Now, however, having, as it seemed to me, given up the
company of the dead, and thereafter dwelling among men that live, I learned that you,
my dear friend, were afflicted by an illness, and I wondered what I should choose
to undergo. What else, but to assume complete silence before this dreadful news
ελθεῖν πρὶν ἥ τοῖς ὑπὶ τήν ἀπαιτῶσαν ἄκοῆν ταύτην συνεισδέξασθαι; Ἄλλα λύη σαρκοτρώξ τούτο κατέσπειρεν ὅμων τὸ ξιζάνιον. Μή οὖν ἐγκυμονηθῆτω, ἀλλὰ διμηθῆτω, καὶ αὕραις ἀπορ ὁ ἱερὸς, μή τινα κίνδυνον ὑμᾶν ἀποτελεῖν. Υἱῶν δὲ τούτο διαμεῖάξ έγγον πρὸς τὸ κρέιττων εὐκτικῶς ἐστὶ βλέπειν ἐρρωμένον, εὐροισύνα καὶ τοῖς θείοις σε δεξίως ἰδυνόμενον οἴαξεν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ τυχὶ κυμαίνοντος κλόους ὑπεράνω γένους καὶ τῷ τῆς εὔπαθείας ὅρμῳ πλησιάσαις καὶ εἰσελάσαις εὐτός, καὶ ἀπολαύσαις ὡν ἱμερόμεθα.

29. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Καὶ δέδεγμαι ἐπιστολήν· οὐκ ἀναίνομαι· καὶ σεσύγκα: ἀφασία γὰρ τὴν ἐμῆν ὑπλάσει γλώτταν καὶ μενεῖ κωφεῦσαιν πεπεικε, καὶ χεῖρα ἐπιθεῖαιν συνήφεσε στόματι· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πρὸς ἄτο με παθεῖν ἔδει. Σύγγνωθι λοιπὸν, ὁ ἔρωτατε γνῶμον, καὶ ἔρρωσο, καὶ εὐθύμει, καὶ εὐχαὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀλυγόρου καὶ φιλαμαρτήμονος μετριότητος.

30. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Εσοκας πρὸς ἡμᾶς σιγῆν ἄσκών ἐπί τινας ἐπιφανείας * ἐκεῖνον καθείς, καὶ τότους τοὺς τῶν θείων ἄμων νοημάτων μεταχειρίων κρούνοις, κατακλυσμόν τυχον ἄφραγνντων δογμάτων ἐπισύνειν, ὃ τῆς ὁρθής καὶ εἰλικρίνους ἐπίκουρε πίστως. Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν ὃς ἐν μερίμνῃ μέρει πολλάκις ἐτίθεσο, καὶ τι μνήμων ἔγω, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν λόγων τῶν σῶν, ὡς λογικά κανῆσαι κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοκότων καὶ ἀλλοφυών τῶν

15 ἀποτελέσεις V || 16 έρρωμένων V || 16–17 δεξί(ως) ὑθύνομεν οἱ αἰξὶν V || 18 γένοις[τ][]ο καὶ τὰ V
corr. manus recentior || πλησιάσαι(s) καὶ εἰσελάσαι(s) corr. manus recentior

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

30: 1 post ἐπιφανείας lacunam statuimus || 1–2 ἐκεῖνον . . . κ' ἐν V || ὑμὶ V || 3 κατακλυσμῶν V || post ὁ lacuna ca. 2 litt. || 6 ἀλλοφυῶν fort. in ἀλλοφυῶν emendandum cum G

[84]
reached your ears as well? But my consuming grief has implanted in you this tare. Let it not sprout; let it rather be cut lest it cause you some danger. As for me, my perpetual task is, by my prayers to God, to see you in good health, prosperous, and being skillfully guided by the divine helm, so that you may overcome the storm that is now raging and so approach and enter the harbor of felicity, and enjoy those things we all desire.

29. To the same

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

30. To the same

It seems that while saying nothing to me, you have been employing yourself in certain useful (works) and, in channeling therein the streams of your divine concepts, you have been planning the destruction of certain foolish doctrines, O defender of the true and pure faith. For it did not escape attention—if I have a good recollection, especially of your own words—that you were often intending to take up the arms of reason against the uncouth and alien battle lines of the heretics, so that, God granting,
αἱρετικῶν παρατάξεων, ἵν' ἦν διδῷ θεός, τὴν γιανουρίαν ἐκείνην τοῦ δευτέρου Γολοθά και μεγάλαυχον ἐκ 119 ὡς φαλέν τῇ τριστῇ τῆς ὁμοουσίαν Τριάδος ὑμολογία καὶ ἀνολέθρῳ στερρότητι σφενδονήθησα καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ φουκικὴν καὶ ψυχάρπαγα μάχαιραν ἀφελόμενος, τὴν αὐτής ἐκτομῷ πραγματεύσατο καὶ ἐξέλοις τῶν τῆς ἀμωμήτου λατρείας καὶ πίστεως δυνῆν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔδει δὴ αὐτός, κατὰ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, κυκέωνα πικρῶν συνεκέρασεν καὶ πολλοῖς προτίμους πιστοῖς αἰρέσεως προτείθεκε κάλυξι, τοῖς ἐλεγκτικοῖς καὶ στόφουσιν ὑμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ γλυκεῖσι καὶ ᾧδεσι κράμασιν, ὡς ἀδόκιμον ἀπερρίφθαι καὶ [εἰ] λίαν ἐξίτθλον, καὶ πόρῳ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀποκρεθῆναι τραπέζῃς, εὐφραντικῆς μηδεμίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον ὄρεξιν· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὴν σόλοικον καὶ φλῆφαρον τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων συνθήκην καὶ (ἡ), ὡς οἶῳθα, πολλάκις ἡμῖν ἀνεκάλυπτε ταῖς τεχνικαῖς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστασιάσας στριφεῖ διαβαρβαρώτατα προτύρετεν, ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐλεγχθῆναι (καὶ) παιδευθῆναι [καὶ] παιδεύσως ὡς ἤν μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀράβιον αὐληθῆν, τῇ φθονίῳ τὴν παροιμίαν, βατταρίζεως ἀπέραντα κατὰ κόσμον καὶ μέτρον προφέρειν μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενον. Ἀλλ' εἴ ταῦτα καλῶς ὑπετυπώσαται καὶ οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ πονεῖς, ὡς ἐγὼ μὴ μάτην τεκμαίρομαι, ἐξεύδας καὶ, σὺν θεῷ, μὴ (κεῦθε καὶ) κατὰ τῶν ἑσυνίων δογμάτων συμφράττω καὶ εἰ τινα λόγον κατὰ τὴς σεπτῆς εἰκόνος Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς σεμνῆς Θεομήτορος καὶ τῶν ὑπέρ 120 αὐτῶν καὶ δέ αὐτῶν ἀνδρισαμένων ἡ γεννυσώμενον, ἡ καὶ ὑπ' ὀδόντα πως ἐπιθυμώμενον εὑρος, μηδὲς φόνγο, ἀλλ' ἐμα πάντες ἐξαπολοιατ' ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἀφαντοι. ἡμῖν δὲ μὴ φθονήσῃς τῆς ὕφελειας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ ταύτην ταμείου καὶ μεταδίδον τοῖς πέλασιν—οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλαττωθεὶς μηδεὶς βιωφελής ποτε λόγος ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λόγου τρεφόμενος.
you would strike, by the triple confession of the consubstantial Trinity (whose strength is invincible) as with a slingshot, that gigantic and boastful head of the second Goliath, and, taking away from him his murderous and soul-destroying dagger, you may achieve his decapitation, and so remove the reproach from our immaculate worship and faith. For that bitter potion that he has himself mixed to the detriment of the ecumenical Church and offered as a drinking present to many of the faithful in the cups of heresy, ought, by means of your reproving and astringent (or rather sweet and mild) medicine, be rejected as unseemly and altogether stale, and be removed far from the table of the Church inasmuch as it excites no pleasurable appetite. And, indeed, his illiterate and long-winded composition which, as you know, he often showed to us and urged us most barbarously to prop up its bilious inadequacy by means of our artful attention, ought to be refuted and chastised by your learned Eminence, so that he should not stutter on endlessly like the Arab piper (as the proverb has it), unable as he is to compose anything in an orderly and measured manner.

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

"Εδειξεν δὲ παρελθήθως τῆς ὑμετέρας χρόνος εὐσεβοῦς τελειοτητος, ὁ σκείδος θείας εκλογῆς καὶ τῆς ἁθανασίας ἐπώνυμη, ὡς ἀκαρπῶν οὐδὲν ἢ φθοροποίον ἐν βίῳ καὶ ζημίας ἐνεπορεύσατο πρὸς εὐφορα, εὔφορα δὲ πάντα καὶ γονίμα καὶ μεγαλόκορα καὶ πολύχοι τῆν ὕμων εἰσοραν ἐπεισοδέοντα. τῇ γὰρ εὐπραγίᾳ τῆς δικαιοπραγίας συνέρχετο προσκεκτάμενος, χιτῶνα ἐπικερδῶς ὕφελείας σεαυτῷ περιτεθείσας οὐκ ἐκ σημείων μημομάτων κλωσθέντα, ἐκ νημάτων δὲ τῆς θείας ἱστοργηθέντας ῥοπῆς καὶ πολυάνθεισι ἄγαθοεργίας ἐξουσιάθεντα ποικίλμασιν· καὶ καρποὺς ἀπαραλόγιστοι τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀποτελείσματα πράξεων. ἤδει ήρω τῆς ἀπεγείου χλείης κυμαίνουσαν πολυκλώδως ἀλάσασθαι, τῷ πηδαλώρ τῆς σωστικῆς τοῦ θείου πατρὸς ἐπινοίας ἀποσεισάμενος, τῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀλκάδα, τῆς ἐκ ταραχῆς καὶ τρικυμίας καταυτλομένης ὀσμέραι λαλάφις, ἐνλυμένης || 121 || ὡς ἀριστα, τῶν ἀγωγών τὰ κάλλιστα περιεύσωσας, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πραξῶν γῆν καὶ κληρονίαν ἀβρόχυω ποτὶ συνεσφάλασας· καὶ διαπτόσας τῆς κοσμικῆς περιφορᾶς τὰ ἐπίπονα πόματα, ὡς τῆς Μερρᾶς τὰ πυκρόστατα νάματα, γλυκείαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πότιμον τὴν πνευματικὴν πηγὴν ἐπροτάνευσας. Καὶ τίς ἄρα ὁ τῆς γαλήνου τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπαραξίας βιοτίν καθιστορήσαι δυνάμενος; Ἐν ἀστασιάστῳ γὰρ νυνι τελῶν καταστήματι ψυχικῶς ἐσταβάτισας καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀπαθείας κατάπαυσον ἐφθάσας, καὶ θηλάξεις ἐν γήρα καλῶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, καὶ τῆς μελέτη τῆς πολυμύρητην ἐξήρθησας ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ παννύχος ἀγρυπνίας τὸ ὅπτικόν τοῦ νοῦ καθηράμενος, τοῦτος τῆς διανοίας δοφαλώμος πρὸς ἐπιστήμης καὶ ἐπιστασίας ἡτομίας, καὶ τῆς προσευχῆς καρπέρων, καὶ δόλω έαυτῶν ἀμετέωρωστον ἀναστηλῶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγάθῳ προσηλμένοις ἤρωτι, πᾶσαν προσβολὴν ἀντικειμένην καὶ πλάνης ἰμβασιμῶν σβεβενίες τοῖς ἑρμηνείαις καὶ τῷ κακίαν ἀφανίζοντον ἀνθραζίων· τῇ ταπεινωτεῖ τὴν πρὸς οὐρανὸς ὑψοῦσαν ἐκτῆσιν ἀνάβασιν καὶ τὴν εἰν αὐτῶς κατοικίας ἡκοδόμησας ἀκατάλυ
The past life of your pious Perfection, O vessel of divine election who bear the name of immortality, has shown that you have not trafficked in anything that was fruitless, destructive in this life, or a cause of harm; nay, everything has been productive, fruitful, bountiful, and conducive to the copiousness of your contribution. For, having gained righteousness as a helpmate to success, you have invested yourself with a robe of gainful benefit, not one spun of silken thread but one woven from strands of divine approval and embroidered with the variegated ornaments of virtuous behavior. To this the results of your deeds bear unerring witness. For behold, you have escaped, thanks to the rudder of the holy father’s salutary inspiration, the billowy and stormy sea of earthly mockery and, having skillfully brought to harbor the ship of your soul that had been constantly flooded by the hurricanes of tumultuous tempest, you have saved the best of your wares and have entered the land and portion of the meek with dry feet. You have spat out the unpleasant draughts of worldly fare like the bitter waters of Marah and have obtained for yourself a spiritual spring that is sweet and fit to drink. Who, indeed, could describe fully your calm and undisturbed manner of life? For, enjoying now an untroubled condition, you have taken a spiritual sabbath rest and have reached the repose of impassibility. In your good old age you are nursing self-control; through the study of things divine you have bloomed with the oft-praised progress in virtue; by cleansing your mental vision in all-night vigils you have prepared your mind’s eyes to behold God’s dominion; by persevering in prayer, by offering yourself to God entirely free from distraction and attached to the true love, you dissipate every hostile attack and every bout of restlessness by means of the hot coals of the desert that annihilate evil. By your humility you have gained the ascent that raises you to heaven wherein you have constructed an indestructible

30 ὡριαζούσης Β || 34 τῆς V || 38 καταρπάσως V || 39 τῆς γένομαι...τράπομαι V || 40 πορώσεως V || έκκαλεσομαι V || 43 εἰκοτικῆς προσωπικής Sevcenko || 46 λάτρης V || 51 ἀμβλυώτατοι V || 54 άκείνης (φωνῆς) suppl. G || ἀκούσεσθαι V || 55 χαρισθεί τῇ || 55-56 τῆς ἐνιστού τῇ || 59 καὶ suppl. G

'Αλλ' ὁ πατέρας ἄγγελοι εὐαγγελεύτεται, τὸν ἐν σαφρίῳ με σκωλήκων καθήμενον καὶ ἀμαρτίας δυδικὸν καὶ κυνίδων εὐδικίαν. Τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ μνήσει πρὸς τὴν ἡθετικὸς Εἰρήνης καὶ δὲ ἑρωικών ἀσέμνων τῷ ἀντιπάλῳ προσθηκόμενοι, εἶτα τὴν μονήρῃ βίων δι᾽ ἀποταγῆς τῶν κοσμικῶν φροντίδων ἐλόμενος, καὶ τῆς τῶν βεβηλῶν οὐκ ἀποσχόμενος ἔργασιας καὶ πράξεως, οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ τούτου καταρρωπῶσας ἔμοιλυν. Ἀλλὰ τὶ γένομαι καὶ ποι τράπωμαι; "Ἡ τινὰ πόρου τῆς συνεχοῦσας πωροσεως καὶ βοσθον ἐκκαλέσομαι, ὡς ἂν τῆς ἡπειλήμενης μοι γεέννης διαδράσω τὴν παθλάξουσαν καὶ φλογίζουσαν κάμμων; "Οὐθὲν καὶ ἄτιν ὡς παρῶν γυνιπτῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγχιθέων ὑμῶν ἱρῶν ἐφαπτόμενος, τὴν ίκετειαν προβάλλομαι. Ρανίδα μοι τῆς ἐκτυχίας ὑμῶν καὶ βιοφελοῦς ἐπιρροῆς καταστάσετέ, σβεστήριον ἐσομένη τῆς ἐπιρροημένης αἰωνίας κολάσεως. Ναί, πατέρων ἀριστε, ναί, παναώδιμος δέσποτας, ναί, θεραπεῦτα καὶ λάτρει τῆς παναμμένου καὶ ἀγνῆς Θεομήτορος ἐνεργῆς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἡ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρεθήσεται ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ προσαγομένη τοῦ τάλανος δήσις.

Τὴν δὲ θείαν ἐντολὴν καὶ πρὸσταξία τῆς ὑμετέρας παναγίας πατρότητος, ὅτι ἡ ἡρωικῆ καὶ δουλος εὐγνώμονας, ει καὶ ἀναζώις καὶ ἐνδεῖς ἔχουσαν, πεπληρώκαμεν ἦν μὴ δοῖς θεός τῶς ἐμοῦς ἀμβλυωτουσιν ὁφαλμοῖς ἐπώφεισαν, ἀλλὰ γῆ με συγκαλύψει καὶ τάφος || 123 διασταίνη καὶ φθόρα τὴν ἐμὴν κόουν ῥεῖσθαι, πρὶν η τῆς ἄγιας ὑμῶν ἐκδημίας πρὸς θεον ἐπαυσθέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀλγείης ἐκείνης ἀκούσθαι. Χαρισθείς σου τοῖς ποδούσιν ἐρρωμένος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐνιστοῦ δεξίας ὑδεύμενος, ἀνετ ἐπισυμμὸν τῶν κρεπτόνων τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰς καύχημα τῆς μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ εἰς καλλωπισμὸν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ στήρυμα τῆς ἐμῆς γηραλέας πτωχοσείας (καὶ) ἀκλείστατον ἔρευσμα.
abode. One may say that you have become a divine house of spices and that you convey a health-giving fragrance to those who wish to approach you; wherefore you have lent yourself to the confection of aromatic incense.

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

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

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32. Κωνσταντίνης ἀσηκρήτη

Παῖς ἂν ἂν ὁ σπουδάζων, ὡς ἐγέμας, τὸν χωλοβάμονα καὶ σκάζοντα τῶν λάμβων ἐκείνων φορμῖν ἡμᾶς ἀνακαθάραι προϋτρεπεῖ· εἰ γάρ μὴ τούτο ἤν, ἐσπούδασκε ἐάν ἤδη καλῶς μεταρρίθετας καὶ τομαῖς τε καὶ βάσεως ἐναρπασμένον ἀπειληφέναι, καὶ τοῖς αἰτήσαι δοῦναι, ὡς ἄν καὶ οἱ τῆς πάλαι ποιησάσης διαδειχθεῖν προαγώνες, καὶ νῦν αἱ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ στέφει προλαμπούσης ἀναφανεῖν εὑσεβεῖς ἐπιμέλειαι τοῦ γὰρ συντηρῆσαι τὰ ὄντα τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αἱρετότερον. Ἅλλ’ ὡς εἰκάζειν ἔχω, σὺ τε καὶ ὁ καλῶν τῇ πάλαι μᾶλλον ἀμετρία συντίθεσθαι, ἢ τῇ βασιτῷ τῶν τριμετρῶν εὐρυμὴς συνήδεσθε. Πάρεσο τοῖνυν, εἰ οἶδον τε, πειρᾶσων τίν τῶν μετρηθέντων συνθήκην, ὡ τῶν ἐμῶν κριτὰ νοημάτων· ὁδὰ γὰρ ὡς ἔτι καὶ τρίτην ἡμῖν ἐπιφορτίσασις διάδρομον, ἡμαρτημένα καὶ πόρρω τοῦ σκοποῦ φερόμενα γράψασιν. || 124 ||

33. Ἰωσὴφ ἤγουμένω τοῦ Ἀντιδίου

Τίς δόθει τῇ κεφαλῇ μου ὑδωρ καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πτηγίν δακρύων; Ἰδοὺ προφητικῶς προοιμιαζόμενος ἀποδύρομαι. Πώς κλαύσω ἐτὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἡμική συντριβῇ καὶ ἐτὶ τῇ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μου παιδός θανατηφόρῳ φυγῇ, δν εἰς χειράς ύμῶν τε καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ποίμνης παρέθηκα; Τίς τοῦ ἄλγους μου καταπάσκει τῶν πόνου καὶ τῆς κατεχούσης λύσης φαρμάκους λατρικοῖς τὸ ἀνίατον θεραπεύσεις; Καὶ γὰρ ὀλοσώμος ὁ μάλως καὶ ἡ πληγὴ φλεγμαίνουσα καὶ μηδεμίαν μότωσιν ἐτὶ τῷ συντριμμῷ δεχομένη τῷ σύνολῳ. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὑμετέρους προβάτοις καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆς ποίμνης σου μάνδρας ἡσφαλισμένον καὶ συν-


33: 1 πρότις — δακρύων: Jc. 8.23 || 6-7 ὀλοσώμος — φλεγμαίνουσα: cf. Is. 1.6
32. To Constantine *asekretis*

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

33. To Joseph, abbot of Antidion

"Who shall give my head water and my eyes a fountain of tears?" Behold, I have prefaced my lament with the prophet’s words. How shall I weep over the ruin of my soul and the fatal flight of my spiritual son, whom I placed in your hands and those of your flock? Who will check the pain of my grief and heal with medicinal drugs the incurable sorrow that grips me? For my body is covered with bruises, and the inflamed wound admits of no dressing in this affliction. Indeed, secured and counted as it was among your sheep and the fold of your flock, only the sheep that I
10 αριθμούμενον τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς παρακαταθήκης μόνον θηριάλωτον γέγονεν πρόβατον. Πῶς τούτῳ συνερχέσθη; Τὰς σκαές δαίμονες ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐμεσίτευσε τὴν ἀπώλειαν; Τίς ὁ φθονήσας τῷ καλῶς ἐν τῇ μονῆ ὑμῶν φυσεθεὶ τό δάχδο καὶ τούτῳ πρόβατον ἀυθελεύμενον ἀναστάσεσα καὶ εἰς βυθὸν ἀπογνώσεσθαι ψυχικῆς συνελάσεις καὶ δείξας ὡς ἄκαρτον μόσχεμα; Τῆς τῶν δρόμων ἀνέκοψεν τοῦ καλῶς τρέχοντος καὶ εἰς μέτρων εὐλαβοὺς ἡμικίας φθάσαντος, καὶ τῷ πονηρῷ συνελθεῖν οὐκ εὐαγγεῖον μεταπείτης καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἀστεφάνωτον; Οὕτω ἀγρυπνεῖτε ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν υμετέρων θρεμμάτων, οὕτω ἐκτρέφετε τοὺς προσερχομένους ταῖς πνευματικαῖς νομαίς καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὕδατι; Τῇ οὐχὶ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τῶν λύκων άποσοβείτε καὶ τῇ Βακτερίᾳ τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν πουρ|| 125 || μαῖνετε ποίμνων; Τῇ μῇ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἐνυσχύετε καὶ τῷ χωλῶν ἐπιδεσμείτε, καὶ τῷ ἄρρωστον ἐπισκέπτεσθε, ἀλλὰ θηρίον ἀρτακτικῶς ὡς ἀνάτερυντο παραπέμπετε, σπαράττουσιν σῶμα καὶ ψυχῆν, καὶ βρῶσιν ποιομένους ὡς ἀστήμαντα καὶ εὐάλωτα καὶ ποιμένα μὴ ἔχοντα;

20 Τοῦτο τὸ θηριάλωτον πρόβατον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ὑμῶν ἐκζήτησει Κύριος: τοῦτο τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον, ὡς ὑφ’ ὑμῶν προδειθέν, καταδίκης ὑμῶν γενήσεται πρόξενον: τοῦτο τὸ ἀποίμαντον πρόβατον ἐν τῇ δικαίᾳ τοῦ κριτοῦ καὶ ἀρπυομένοις Χριστοῦ κελεύσει κατὰ πρόσωπων σοῦ τοιούτως στήσεται καὶ ἀμέλειάς σου κατηγορήσει, ὁτι δυνατῶς ἔχων περισσότερα, τῷ ἠδι πρὸ θανάτου παρέπεμψας. Διατὶ μὴ ἀφήκας τὰ ἐνυπήκοντα ἐνέκα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλανῶμεν ἐδραμες καὶ ζητήσας καὶ εὐρών ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων ἀνέλαβες καὶ τοῖς σεσωσμένοις συνέταξας; Πὼς οὐκά τὸ πένθος; Μετὰ τίνος τῶν θρήνων ὀδυνηρῶς συνεργάσομαι; Τὰς παραμνείας λόγους προσελθεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποκουφίσει τοῦ βάρους ἀχθηρόν καὶ τὸν στεναχυμὸν λαφήσαι ποιήσει καὶ καθημερώσει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγριότητα; Τῇ μῆ προσῆλθες τοῖς ἰχνείς τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ κοινοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ δυσοπτικῶς καθικεύεσθας ὡς τὸ εὐλογηθὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταλαίπωρον καὶ δύστημα πρόβατον ταῖς ἐγγυθεὺσις αὐτοῦ ἀνεκαλέσατο πρὸς θεὸν ἐντεύξεσας, καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ νομῇ καὶ ποίμνῃ τούτῳ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστησες, ἀλλὰ τὸ κλατέν δὲ ἀμελείας θηριάλωτον εἰκόνας; || 126 || καὶ τῷ λίκῳ μάλλου συνέδραμες εἰς τὸν τούτου δεωὴν ἀρ-
entrusted to you fell prey to wild beasts. How did this happen? What sinister demon was responsible for this loss? Who was envious of the shoot, well planted in your monastery, and immediately pulled it up by the roots? Who drove him to the depth of spiritual despair and proved him to be a barren sucker? Who interrupted his course as he was running well and had reached the age of discretion, impiously persuaded him to join the Devil, and made him lose his crown? Is it thus that you watch over the safety of your flock? Is it thus that you nurture those who come to the spiritual pastures and the waters of repose? Why do you not use the rod to frighten away the wolves and herd your flock with the staff? Why do you not strengthen the weak, give support to the lame, visit the sick, but instead consign them, as if they were incurable, to rapacious beasts that tear asunder body and soul and devour them, being as they are without leader or shepherd and easy prey? The Lord shall demand from your hand this ensnared sheep. This lost sheep, abandoned by you, will be the cause of your condemnation. This untended sheep, by the righteous command of Christ, the Judge and chief Shepherd, will stand in front of you, his shepherd, and accuse you of negligence in that, while it was in your power to save him, you sent him to Hades before his death. Why did you not leave the ninety-nine and run in search of the erring one, and, having found him, bring him back on your shoulders and restore him among the saved? How will I bear the grief? Who will help me in my sorrowful lament? What words of consolation will come to lighten my grievous burden, make my groaning abate, and tame the desolation of my soul? Why did you not approach the feet of our holy and common Father and implore him with earnest supplication to recall by his God-pleasing prayers to God the unfortunate wretch who had been blessed by him and restore him to his old pasture and flock? Instead, you have allowed him, who had been stolen through negligence, to fall prey to wild beasts. Indeed, you have helped
παγήρ; ἂλλ' ὁφεταὶ Κύριος καὶ ζητῶν ἐκζητήσει καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ τὸ ἐλείει αὐτοῦ σώζων σώσει, καὶ μὴ συγχωρήσει τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ πο-
θήσαντος αὐτῶν εἰς παντελὲς θήραμα τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τῶν ἀπαντητῶν ἐλθεῖν, ἂλλ' ἀνελκύσει τοῦτον τοῦ πτώματος καὶ ἔπὶ πέταν στήσει καὶ κατευθυνεῖ τὰ ἵππη αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ θεὸν διαβήματα. ὅπως, τῇ ἀνα-
λύσει καὶ πρὸς τὸν εὐαυτὸν πατέρα παλαιομήσει, ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς ἀγίας στολῆς ἐκείνης ἐπενδύσασθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὸν δάκτυλον τῶν ἐπι-
στρεπτικῶν πρὸς τὴν ἄρχην τῆς μοναδικῆς ἀπολάβου βιώσεως, καὶ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Ισαγγελοῦ καὶ κοινοῦ πατρῶς ἡμῶν φωνῆς εἰσακούσων,
"οὗτος διὸν μου νεκρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἀπολώλως ἦν καὶ εὐρέθη." Μὴ ὁν ἐπιμεταξάτω ἡ πατρικὴ ὅμων θεοστέβεια ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ πάσαν ἐμέμριμνον ἀγρυπνίαν, ὅτι διὸν παντὸς δίχα, ἐπιδείξασθω, ὅπως τὸν μῶνον τοῦτον ἀποσμήζηται καὶ εἰς παραμυθίαν τῆς ἐμῆς γενη-
σεται μετριότητος ὅτι ἀποροῦμεν πάντοτε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀλογίας σωτηρίας ἐκείνους φαινόμασιν.

Τῇ δὲ σὺν ὅμων θεοσυνλέκτῳ ποίμνη μὴ ἀπαξίωσῃ προσεπείων ἐκ τῆς ἤμετρας πτωχονοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γράμμα τούτους φανερώσει καὶ δυσοπῆσή ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῦ τάλανος δείσεις πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ποιήσα-
σθαι αἴδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γεγονότι ψυχικὴν συγκριβὴν ἐδε-
ξαντο ἀλλ' ἐλπίζονεν ὅτι, ταῖς ὑμετέραις πρὸς θεοὺς διαίς ἐντεύξεσιν, τῶν ἐλπίδων κοινῶς ἐπιτύχουμεν, προσβείας τῆς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς Θεο
|| 127 || τόκου, τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν εὐχαίς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

34. Νικηφόρω διακόνω

'Εγὼ μὲν πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ὑπάρχων πενεύσατος ἐπὶ συχνῶν χρόνον
σεσύγκα, ὡς ἐν τὴν ὑμετέραν πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἐγκαλέσωμαι πολυκτή-
μονα γλώτταν καὶ μᾶθο πλουτεῖν [καὶ] ζήλῳ τῆς σῆς δαφυλοίς τοῦ λό-
γου προχύσεως. Ἐσεὶ δὲ νέφος ἀυθεῖν ἐκ τῆς σῆς οὐρανίας φρενὸς τῶν


43 συγχωρήσοι V || 54 τοῦτον: τοῦτον sugg. Duffy || ἀποσμήζηται V || 57 ὅμων V || 61 ὑμετέρας V

34: Tit. διακόνου V || 2 πολυκτήμων V || 3 σήμερον V

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

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

34. To the deacon Nikephoros

Being as I am extremely poor in my capacity for speech, I have kept silent for a long time so as to urge your affluent tongue to write, that I may learn myself how to be rich by emulating the abundant outpouring of your words. Since, however, no
34, 35

35. Ὁ αὐτῷ

Μὴ με προσπηθῇ εἶναι διδάσκει, ἵνα τι μικρὸν τὸ προφητικὸν ὑπο-
αλλάξῃ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα γεωργίας ἀτέρ ἐφάλ | 128 | λεσθαί.
Τὴν γὰρ σχήμαν ὡς ψηφαρδὸν κεκρυμμένον περίετεν καὶ κοφεένει ταῦ-
την εἶναι μέγα τιθεμένος, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἑρώτι λόγου μεταδιδοὺς, τὸ τῆς
5 παροιμίας, ἥλικοι εἰς ἔργον ἔγαγες (τὸ) κῶν ἔπι φάτνης. Μὴ οὖν οὕτω τὴν
μελίρρυτον σου γλώτταν καθυστερίζεις ἐδικεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμῖν λυ-
σιτελοῦσαν ὄφελεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρῶτος ὡς κορυφαῖος τοῦ λόγου λέγε,
καὶ τὰ δευτερεία ἡμῖν παραχώρει, μῆπως κυνόνιος ἑαυτοὺς περιπε-
10 τομές προλογίζοντες καὶ εὑχον καὶ ἔρρωσο καὶ τὸ πόλι τῆς ἀθημίας
ἀποσύναξε, εἰδὼς ὡς εἰς λύπης κατάποσε τὸ δυσθυμεῖν συνελάυνε,
κατὰ τὸν θείον καὶ μέγαν διδάσκαλον.

μόδαι λόγον θεοῦ: Am. 8.11 | 14 πότομον ἐπισπεῖν: cf. II. 6.412; Od. 2.250 et al.
7 Ταντάλειον V


35: 1 προσπεθ(η) V | 5 ἥλικοις V | 6 μελιρτουν V

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

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

35. To the same

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

Ἡ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βραχεῖς ἀπολογίας ὑφεσις πρὸς οὐράνιον ὡμίν ἀρετὴν γέγονεν ὑψωσί: ἔκειθεν γὰρ Χριστὸς ὁ πλάστης τῆς φύσεως κατελθὼν, καὶ τὸ ταπεινὸν ὑπόδυς, τῆς τοῦ οἰκείου μεγέθους οὐκ ἔξεστιν περιμόθη, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν πρὸς οὐράνιος τρίβου ὑπέδειξε· καὶ τὶ τούτου πλέον λέγειν ἔχω; Μιμητήν σε γὰρ τοῦ κτίσαντος ἀποφήγας ὁκιῶ περαιτέρῳ προβῆναι, μῆτερος ἐλάλτατος τὸν ἔπαινον.

Τὸ δὲ πρὶν ἐπιρρήμα, εἴ τι πείθει τῷ τῆς τέχνης φυτοκόμῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ φάναι γεννήτορι, τῷ τὸν Δυσκόλου φημὶ παιδί, μὴ τῆς συντολῆς ἔξω γενέσθαι ποιήσειας. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέχεται Ἦρωδιανὸς ὁ μετὰ τοῦ φίλτος ἀνέδηπ ιστάμενος ἐκτάσεως κανονίς τὸ συνταλέν ἀπενθίναι καὶ ποιήσαι μακρὸν τὸ ἀναύξητον. Εἰ δὲ συγκαταθέσθαι || 129 || βούλει καὶ τῷ Ἔηλαιν ἡ γραμματικὸς τούτων ἁλκίνως ἐπιμένοι καὶ διεσμηλευ-μένως περὶ τούτου καὶ ἀκριβῶς κανονίζοντι, μὴ παρώθη τὸν ἄνδρα φάσκοντα: “καὶ τὰ μονοσύλλαβα ἐπιρρήματα καταλήγοντα μὲν εἰς φωνὴν ἐκτείνεται καὶ περιστάται, εἰ δὲ εἰς σύμφωνον συντελεῖαι τὸ πυλοῦμενον καὶ περιπωμένον· ἀ δειλοῖ, Δαναΐν ηγήτορες ἥδε μέδουντες”, εἰτα καὶ πλείστα κατακεφαλάσαται τῶν ἐκτενομένων ἐπει-πεῖν· “τὰ δὲ εἰς σύμφωνον λήγοντα βραχέα ἐστὶ η θέσει μακρά.” Πρῶ-περφασίν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρόσθεν, συγκοπῆτα κατὰ πάθος γεγονέναι· διότι τρὶς καὶ αὐτὰ έκ τοῦ διάκος κατὰ πάθος καὶ τριάκις γέγονεν· δάξ, ἐνθεῖ τὸ ὅδαξ καὶ αὐτοδάξ· καὶ τούτο δὲ ἐν τῷ κανονί τῶν τεχνικῶν ἐδείν ἐστι λέγοντα ὅσ τὰ μονοσύλλαβα ἐπιρρήματα ἡ φῶνει ἐκτείνεται ἡ θέσει, εἰ μὴ ἔχοι πάθος. Μὴ δήτα ὅτι τοὺς στόλους τῆς τέχνης σοφίας κατα-σείει πειρόμεθα· στοιχώμεν δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνως κανόνως, ὡς ἐν τὸ αἰδεύ-μου τῇ τέχνῃ φυλάξαμεν καὶ μέμφεως έαντοὺς ἀπολύσωμεν. Καὶ εὔχου μου, πάτερ, συνομογνωμονών, καὶ τῇ ἐμὶ προπετείᾳ συγγνώμων ἐσο.
The abasement of your apology to my exiguous self has caused your elevation to heavenly virtue: for Christ, the creator of our nature, when he descended from above and assumed a humble form, did not depart from the pinnacle of His own greatness while showing us the path to heaven. What more need I say? Having declared you to be an imitator of the Creator, I am reluctant to go any further lest I diminish your praise.

As for the adverb πρῶν, you should not except it from shortening if you obey the gardener of the art or, to be more precise, its creator, I mean the son of Dyskolos. For Herodian, who stands freely beside the begetter, does not allow that the short should be adjusted by the rule of lengthening so that the unaugmented becomes long. If you also wish to agree with the grammarian of Melos (?), who follows unswervingly the above and has made subtle and exact rules on this matter, do not refuse to hear the man when he says that adverbs of one syllable, if they end in a vowel, are lengthened and take the circumflex, and if in a consonant, are shortened. Thus, alpha with a smooth breathing and a circumflex, as in “α, ye wretched men, leaders and rulers of the Danaãns.” Then, after quoting exhaustively many other examples of lengthening he adds, “as for those that end in a consonant, they are short or else long by position.” It is said that πρῶν is a contraction, by way of modification, of πρόσθεν, as also δις and τρίς, which come, by way of modification, from δύκις and τριάκις, and δάξ from δδάξ and αυτοδάξ. This, too, one may find the grammarian saying in the canon, namely, that adverbs of one syllable are lengthened either by nature or by position unless they suffer modification. Let us not, therefore, attempt to undermine the pillars of the wise art. Let us follow the rules of those men that we may preserve the dignity of the art and free ourselves from reproach. Pray for me, father, being as you are in agreement with me and forgive my impertinence.
37. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Ότι μὲν ψυφάδων δίκην αἱ δυσχέρειαι τοῦ ταλαγώρου τοῦδε βίου τὰς ἁνίας ἢμιν κατεπύκνουσαν, κατακόρως δὲ τὴν σήμερον εἰς θείου διάνοιαν κατεπόλμησαν καὶ τοῖς μικρὰ εἴδοσιν κρίνειν λύτας ἱκώτα; ''|| 130 || πάτερ, ἤγνωστα, οὗτος πρὸς ἀνυποτεράν, καὶ ἁνίας γεννήτριαν νῆσον ἐπώκειας, εξ ἄθμιας εἰς παντελῆ δυσθυμίαν ἐαυτῶν συνελαύνων, εὐδηλον: αἴθιν γὰρ ἐπὶ χάρας σε μένοντα ταῖς συντροφίαις τῶν μοχθηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιφοράς προσπαλαίει, καὶ τῆς τούτων ἀπογείεσθαι στυφοῦσης καρδίαν δριμύτητος ἤ τηλικάκτης ἁθήνας, ἤν ἐξε-

5 μεῖ τὸ μηδὲ νησίδον καλείσθαι δυνάμενον, ἀνατίμπλασθαι. Τή γὰρ τὴν σήμερον τῶν ὦν καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατεκήλησαν ὡς ἐπὶ τοσοῦ-

τον ἐξέρχεσθαι καὶ εὐθείας αὐτῷ καὶ εὐκρασίας ἐπιφημίσαι, ἤν οὐδ’ οἱ τὰς περιπήγησεις γράφαντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς χάριν ἄφωσιμονοι ποικίλοις ἐξέφρασαν, ἡ τὴν ἄξυτετή καὶ τραχεῖαν καὶ ἀνάντη καὶ δέξιον κατε-

στορεσμένην οἷον δεδυσώπηκε κάλλιξ, ἢ οὐχ ὑπέστη πρέμνον, οὐχ ἄλοις φύτῃ τῇ βλάστη μηνύνσα τὴν φυτοκόμον ὄραν τοῦ ἔαρος: φυλ-

λοχὸν δὲ μῆνας αὐτὴν γεωργοῦντες, οὐχ ὑνὶ τε καὶ ἀρότρῳ καὶ δρεπάνῳ, δι’ ἐμελοῦς δ’ ἀμελείας τὴν ἄπληστον ἔρημιαν αὐτῆς δεκυνώσουν ἄφυτον καὶ ἀνήρτοτον καὶ φθίνουσαν πάντωτε. "Εφθη δὲ βαδίζων ἐν αὐ-

τῇ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέσα που γενόμενοι δράν πεδία λωτεύντα καὶ κολάδας ἀμφιλαφές καὶ καταπύκνους, καὶ κρήμας ἧδο γάνος ἀφιεῖσας καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ φόρτου τῆς ἐρμαίχης τῶν ψυχαμάτων ἀμάξης οἷον οἶδ’ ὅπως ἀποκουσθεία ἐστὶν ἀπορράξ: μέσα γὰρ ποία, ἢς οὐκ ἄρχη καὶ πέρας τὴν μεσότητα διορίζει, ἐπομήκη καὶ προμήκη τυγχάνουσαν καὶ προσ-

ευκυῖαν ὤδε διὰ || 131 || στροφον βλεπόνῃ καὶ οἶον θερείτεων. Ὅς ἐμαυτόν γὰρ πείθω ὑπ’ ἀληθείας ὀδούμενος, οὐκ ὀγνύον τὴν ὑπάρξιν ἀποφέρεται, μυθικὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναδεδόθαι καροῦς ἐςχάτως ὡς δὴ τῷ μορμολυκείῳ ὑπὸ Νηρέως τοῦ βυθίου καὶ ἐναλίου δαίμονος: οὐδὲ γὰρ


37: 3 κατεπόλμησαν V || 4 ἡγύνητα V || 4—5 γεννήτριαι ... ἐπώκειας V || 5 δυσθυμίαν V || 10 κατεκήλησαν V || 11 αὐτὸ V || 12 περιπήγησεις V || 13 κατεστορεσμένην V || 13—14 ἀναστὶ ... δεδυσώπηκε κάλλιξ V || 14 ἤ V: corr. Duffy || 17 δεκυνώσαν V || 18 ἤ V: ἤ οἶδ’ ἐφθης Karlsson || 20 καταπύκνους V: fort. * καταπύκνουσα πυγοῦς legendum || 22 ἄποκρυθηθὲν V || 23 ἐπομήκη ... προμήκη τυγχάνουσα V || 26—27 ὡς δὴ τῇ μορμολυκῆ V
That the annoyances of this miserable life have caused my sorrows to accumulate like snowflakes and that they have rained down excessively on your spotlessly godly mind is by no means unknown, O father, even to those who little understand how to judge grief. It is also evident that you have landed on a wretched and sorrow-breeding island, thus reducing yourself from a state of despondency to one of complete despair. Would that you had remained at your post to fight off the attacks that are habitual to evil conditions and to partake of their pungent taste that acts like an astringent on the heart instead of being filled with the nauseousness disgorged by a place that cannot even call itself an islet. Which of her ugly traits has so charmed your beautiful mind as to extol her so greatly and to ascribe to her a goodly situation and climate, which not even the authors of travel books, who devote themselves to giving pleasure in different ways, would have expressed? What has smoothed her steep, rough, uphill road that is covered with sharp pebbles, along which there is no tree, where no grass springs up, announcing by its growth the fertile season of spring? It is the leaf-shedding months that cultivate her, not with a plowshare, plow, and reaping hook, but through suitable neglect, showing her boundless solitude barren, unplowed, and always decaying. You said that walking along her, about midway, you saw blooming plains, valleys dense and thickly grown, and wells emitting sweet water. This, too, is a piece broken off, I know not how, from the load of lies of Hermes' wagon. For what kind of middle does she have, seeing that no beginning or end defines her center, being as she is lopsided and protruding, like the distorted face of Thersites? Indeed, truth has convinced me that she cannot claim to have existed since the times of Ogyges, but was in a fabulous fashion thrown up in recent times like some monster by Nereus, the demon of the seabed. For not only might she, like
κατὰ τὴν εἰδέχθειαν μονὸν Ἕμπούσης δίκην τοὺς ὅρωντας δεδείτταιν· ἀν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς κύμασιν ὑπαγομένη καὶ συγκλυζομένη καὶ πῆξιν ὅπις ἔχουσα, τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀπρόσπτονν σεισμοὶς ανατείναιται, δεινὼν θανάτου ἐδοκεὶ καὶ χαλεπώτατον.

Ἀλλὰ τί περὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ὀξείαν, πλατείαν ἔχουσαν κακίαν, ἐνδαπανάν τῶν λόγων προήρμημα, ἐνδ’ αὐτὴν ὑφ’ εαυτῆς κακιζοθαί ὦς ἄν πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξῃ; Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν εἰς θυμηδίαν ἤκουσαν σοι νῆσον ἀείσομεν, ὁ μεγίστων ἄξιε καὶ θεωρικός καὶ ἀπολαύσεων πέπανσαι Κρήτη καὶ Κύπρος, Ἐβυθα, Λέσβος καὶ Σαρδῶ, καὶ ἡ πολύφορος καὶ πολυκτήμοις Τρινάκρια, τὰ μέγιστα θαλάσσης ὡς εἴπειν ἀκροθίνια, οὐκ ὡς ἰκανῶς μὴ ἔχουσαι τὰς ὑπειρεωόμεσα ὦμον ἄνιας μειώσαι καὶ τοῖς παρ’ έαυτῶν θυμηδίαις πληρῶσαι καὶ γενέσαι σοι παραμύθιοι, ἀλλὰ κυδνειόυσαι μηκέτι χριστιανῶν εἶναι καὶ εἰς νομῖν ἔχθρων δι’ ἀμαρτίας ἀποκρῆθηκαί, ἀχιρὸς ὁ ὑμόμενος πτωχῶν ἐν χειρὸς στερεωτέρων αὐτοῦ (καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς) δυσάρεστον οἰκτίρμοις ἐπενείωσε καὶ ταῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπότων ἐπικαμφθεῖν δεήσεσιν. Σὲ μακάρων, ἐπερ τινές εἰσὶ, νῆσοι δεξάμεναι καὶ, τῆς λύσης κενώσασαι, κεχαρμένου (τε) ποσῶς ἀναδείξασαι, μακαρίαν φερωνύμως τὴν κλῆσιν ἔδειξαν, καὶ τῶν καθ’ “Ομηρον ἔπαινων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀλογήσασαι, τὸν εἰς σ’ ἐκ 132 πόθον εἰς ἄγαν ἐξέθεραν καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων σχολῆν ὑπερεθαύμασαν, καὶ πάν’ εἰ τι καλὸν παρ’ εαυτῶν μεθ’ εαυτῶν λαβοῦσαι καὶ ἀλλήλων θερμὸς ἀμμόλυμεναι, τοῖς σοῖς ποιῶς ἐξενίπτω προθηκήνει, ἐν αἷς ἔχες πολλῶν ὄρανθανθῶν ἀκρότητας. Διό εἰς ὡς τὴν Ὀξείαν ἐλέπτυνοι, καὶ ἤφειδα στερωτὴν τὴν ἄλλης ἐνηχυμένην τοὺς κύμασιν ἔδειξας, καὶ ζωοφέρῳ πτατόρῳ τοῖς λόγοις κατέκλεισας. Σοι γὰρ μακάρων νῆσοι προσμειδώσαν ἐρωτικῶς ἀν διετέθησαν καὶ συνειδής εἰς καὶ διαμοιβήσεως αὐταῖς ἀτερ δικύνοι καὶ ἀτερ χαλεπῶς πόνων προσηχόμενοι.

Ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἀλυπίας καὶ χαρᾶς πεφυτευόταν φάρμακον· ἐκεῖ τὸ τῆς ἄνιας καὶ κατηφείας ἐκτίλλεται δάκρυν· ἐκεῖ σὺν ταῖς συχναῖς σπλάσασι τῶν συμφορῶν ἤδη γενόμενον καὶ λήθης βυθοῖς ταῦτας ἐμ-


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

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

38. Τῷ αὐτῷ

'Εδόκει μοι τῷ προομίφ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς σής ὑμιλοῦντι τῷ τῆς θεολογίας ἐπαγώμω Γρηγορίῳ προσδιαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλάζοντι καὶ ἀνωμένῳ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς χαλάζῃς πληγῇ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἢν αὐτῇ αἰτίαν ἐχέθη φιλοσοφοῦντι καὶ διεσυνωμένῳ τρανότατα. 'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν πρὸς ποιῶν καὶ ταῦ τοῦ λόγου ὑπέφερεν, ἐδύτη σοι, λέγειν οὐ βούλομαι. ϑε δὲ σὺν τούν ἐπεστειλας, διακόνῳ τῇ θεολόγῳ γλώσσῃ χρησάμενος, βούλομαι σε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον μαθεῖν. ἦγατος οὖν ἐστών ὁ μικρὸς ἐς εὐσεβείαν καὶ μέγας ἐς ἀμαρτίαν, οὐ καὶ τὸ εἶναι χριστιανὸν χριστιανὸς ἐπεβάρθησεν, ὡς ἰκανὸν γε μὴ πεφυκότι, διὰ τὸ πρὸς τάναντι παροιτρήσαι, οὗτο κυκλήσκεσθαι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐ πρὸς ὄντερ ἕγνως γεγράφηκας, οτι πρὸς ἐκτρωμα καὶ τοῦ μηδένος εἶναι ἄξιον, δέχοι τῆς βραδυτήτος τὸ αἴτιον· ἐδεδείων μὴ δὲ ὀχλον σου γένομαι θαμμιδέων γράφων καὶ προσκόρης καὶ προφητικῶς ὑνείδισθείν, ὡς εἰς πλησμονὴν σου γεννηθεῖς, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπέραντα προσαυλῶν, ὁ φιλοσύχη.

Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ὡς ὑπόψυχρον καὶ ἀπαρέσκον τῇ φιλολογίᾳ σου διαθέσει, μέρος πληροῦν ἀπολογίας, ἀνταύθα μεινάτω· ἐφ' ἑτερον δὲ λοιπὸν βαδιοῦμεν τῆς ὑπερημερίας αἴτιον, καὶ, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐπιεικῶς δικαιότατον, δὲ καὶ σε καταίδεσει φιλοκτιρίμονα κεκτημένου διάνοιαν. Παῖς μοί τε ἐπὶ κλίνης νοσεράς προσπαλαιῶν πάθει τηρεδόνος κατάκειται· δ' ἅταρος ἐκτεθείς καὶ τῆς δεουσῆς τημελείας παρ' αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦμεν, ἐν ἐλπίδω τῆς κλήσις καὶ τῆς νόσου, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, περιέσθειαν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φύσεως ἀντιπραττούσῃ κενεά πάντα, κατὰ τὸν Ἰον ἀκεστῆ, ἀπειρικῆς ἓν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ρώσον ἀποναρκήσας, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξόδιον ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδὼκεν, ὅσον οὖν παρεσομένην, ἀνάπαυλαν.

60 ἀπολούσαιμεν V


38: 5 ὡς ἂν εἰς προσάμενον: corr. G || 8 χριστιανῶν V || 10 προσάραγα V || 11 ἐκτρωμῶν V || 12 ἐδεδοιχθὲν V || 18 κατ' αἰδέσει V || 19 παθὴ V
fulness the many reefs of your misfortunes, and so come to me, healthy and crowned with the grace of God. But even if you come to me from tiny Oxeia, may you be received by me in such a manner that we may wipe and wash her clean of the foregoing blame.

38. To the same

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

But no more of this excuse, which may appear frigid and displeasing to your cultivated mind. So let us proceed to another cause of my unpunctuality, one which, I am convinced, is quite legitimate and will move you who have a compassionate disposition. A servant of mine is ill in bed, struggling with a consumptive disease. As he had been examined by physicians and received from them the proper treatment, he had reasonable hope of recovery from his sickbed. But since "all is in vain when nature works against you," according to the healer of Cos, he has already given up, has become indifferent concerning his recovery, and surrendered himself to the final rest, which is imminent. As he is now lying, a subject of dispute, claimed by the two
39. Κωνσταντίνος βασιλικὸς σπαθαρίς καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ τοῦ δρόμου

Ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀναίνει τὰ προσταχθέντα μοι παρὰ τῆς σῆς βιωφελοῦς ἐντολῆς, ὅπ' εὐγνωμοσύνης καὶ ταχυτήτος ὁθούμενος, ἀπεπλήρωσα· οὐ δ' ὡς τῇ τιμίᾳ σου κεφαλῆς κατένευσας ὑποσχόμενος, ἵνα καθ' Ὠμηρον ἑπτὼ, παλινάγητα γέγονεν. Μὴ σὺ γε τοιοῦτος, ὅ πανεύφημη, πρὸς τοὺς σὲ στέργωντας γένους, μηδὲ παράβλεψις δοῦς ἣν ἐπιρρήτου ἢ χείρ σου δεδόνηται. Διατὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ βίου μου στένωσι κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ πανπερέχου λογοθετοῦ παρέστησας, ἑπτὼς, τὸν συνέχοντα με κόρον τῆς ἐνδείας ἐπιδῶν, ὡς τιν

38 Λυγκέως – κόρας: cf. App. Prov. III.71; Apostol. X.79; Karathanasis 22

39: 1 αμαινεῖ V || 6 διὰ τὴν V || 8 ἐπειδῶν V
rivals, Death and Life, it is uncertain to whom the prize of victory will go; for Death is drawing him to herself, as one of her own dead who had been unjustly snatched away, while Life is pulling him in the opposite direction and persuading him to revive because it has not been destined that he should now join those beneath the earth, but would certainly arrive there when he is released from the fastenings of the body and is put together again, as is to be hoped, in a higher sphere. Do not disregard this most pitiful and, I think, just cause, but admit it as a reasonable apology and forget my tardiness.

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

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

For my part, as you yourself do not deny, I have accomplished what was enjoined on me by your life-enhancing command, prompted as I was by gratitude and haste, but the promises you gave me with a nod of your venerable head have been, to quote Homer, revoked. You should not, O most illustrious man, treat in this fashion those who love you nor disdain those to whom you can extend a helping hand. Why have you not brought to the attention of the eminent logothete my straitened circumstances so that, on seeing the excess of poverty that besets me, he would have taken
κάμε τῶν βίων ἀπώτως ἀπεμπολήσαντα, || 135 || κατωκτείρσεν, καὶ ὡς ἔνα τῶν ἑσάχατων μοισίων αὐτοῦ διεθρέψεν; Οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει, κατὰ τὴν θύραθε παροιμίαν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ θεῖος μεμελημένος ἀνήρ, ω ὡς ἀναθεωρίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς δεομένους, τῶν θείων ἐπευφραίων. Ὁδὲν ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῆς ἐφημέρου ὥσις αλτείν κατεπείγομαι· οὐ χρημάτων πλῆθος, οὐ κτημάτων ὄγκος, οὐκ ἐξίας ὑπεραχώρι—ἀρτὸν μόνον ἐπιζητῶ τὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἀπαραῖτητου φάρμακον. Μή οὖν παρόειε τῶν ἀπτικιστῶν ἐπαίτθητον ἐμέ, μήπως παροιμίς ὑπ' ἐνδείας καὶ πείνης βαλλόμενον σολουκίζομα τε με τῷ ἔδη προσέπεμπες· σοὶ δὲ Κύριος ὁ τῶν ἀναφαρέτων θησαυρῶν παροιμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἑυρεγευμῶν ἐκατοντάκτικας παρέξει τὴν ἁμοβην' τούτῳ γὰρ ἦμιν ὑπάρξει εὐπορίας ἀφορμή πολλαπλάσιος.

40. Νυχήφορος χαρτοφύλακι

Λῦω τὴν πρὸς σὲ σωπὶν ἐπειδὴ σὲ πρὸς τὰ καλῶς συνυμολογηθέντα, εἰτ ἀθετηθέντα, παλυψθιάν ἁσαντα έγγων. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο, ἐπέδησα τὴν γλῶσσαν μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλυσα, ὅστε (εἰ) εἰς τὸ ἐν ϕ σε φρονήματι κατέληπτον ἐμείας, οὐδ' εἰ φοίνικος, τὸ τοῦ μύθου, χρόνον ἐπέξεσα, προσέπον ἂν σε, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς σε καὶ στέργων καὶ φιλῶν, ως οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνει· ἀλλ' ὑν' ἐκ τοῦτον σαφῶς ἔδης ως ἀπρίξ, σὺν θεῷ, τοῦ ὅρθρου φρονήματος ἔχομαι καὶ τοῦτον μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν τόπων πραγμάτων ἀντέχομαι. Εἰ γὰρ δι' ἀμφοῖν τὸ ἀπρόσκοπον ἑαυτῷ περιπουεῖ εἰλόμεν, τίς μοι παρὰ τῶν λαβάς || 136 || ξητούντων καταγωνωσ; Ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι μὲν περὶ ἡμῶν ἐχοντῶν ὡς ἐχουσὶν· οὐα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ προαγώνι τῆς ὁμολογίας ἢ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν συνήραντο ἡ ἐπεκουρήθησαν, αὐτὸς μᾶλλον ἥδεις· τὰς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν πάντων συνώστευ-


9 κατωκτείρσεν Β || 14 τὸ ex τῷ cor\· scriba || 17 σολουκίζοντα Β || σοί: σὲ Β || 18 ἐκατοντάκι Β


40: 2 εἰτ i.e. εἰταὶ Β || 4 post τοῦ rasura ca. 3 litt. || 6 οὐδὲν Β || 7–8 τῶν ἑπτῶν Β || 9 τῶν G: τάτα V || 11 συνείραντα Β || 12 εἶδεν Β

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

40. To Nikephoros the *chartophylax*

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

Περὶ δὲ τῆς συμβάσεως ἦμῶν ἐπηρείας ὡς διετέθημεν καὶ συνηληγησαμεν, καὶ τῆς ἀνίας ἦμων συμμετέχομεν, ὡς τῶν κρυφίων γνώστης ἐπιμαρτυρήσει Κύριος· ἀλλ' εἰ μετὰ χαρὰς καὶ σὺν ὀρθοτομία τοῦ λόγου τούτου δεξαίμεθα, ἀρκεῖσθαι ἦμων εἰς ἐπανέτηρ Παῦλος ὁ μέγας· μόνον ἡ πρὸς θεον ἔλπις μὴ σοβεσθήτω· δύναται γὰρ πολλαπλασίων τῶν ἀφανθέντων χαρίσασθαι. ἔπι δὲ τῇ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἄναστασίον διὰ θεῶν ἑνοτάσει καὶ ἱσθῆμεν καὶ πνευματικής θυμηδίας ἐπλήθησημεν· σὺ τῶν πρὸς Κύριον ἱεραὶς ἐντεύξει καὶ ἡμείς τῶν ἐλπιζομένων μὴ διαμάρτομεν· ὃ δὲ ἤππος ἀκοστήθησα τέως διὰ τὸ κρυθαίσα ἐμμανώς ἃ ποιησάμενος ἃ τὸν δεσμῶν ἀπορρήξας, κατὰ τὸν πεδίον ἑστή κραίνων, (εἶτα) καὶ τὸς λογικός συγχλοάς, ὡς τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος, τὸν πολυσαρκίαν ἀφέμενος, κοῦφος καὶ εὐσταλῆς ἦμων ὁφθήσεται· ἢ γὰρ σπάνις τῶν ἐπιπτηδεῖς καὶ τῶν ἡμῶν γενομένων ἐφήματο. 30 Ἐξεύθω δὲ, πάτερ, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπομένων || 137 || ὑπόμενων εἰδῶς οἷα τῆς ὑπομονῆς τὰ γέρα.

41. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Σὺ μὲν οἶει διὰ συγῆς θορυβεῖν ἡμᾶς ὡς σκολιώδεις καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλείδου Δέσχης ἐργάτας· ἡμείς δὲ λόγον εἴδότες ἔστων ὡς κρεῖστον σωτηρίαν, ὡς ποι ἀποκρωνυμεθα, ὡς εἰ μὴ φθέγξαι συνῆθως καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν πικραθείσεις λογίκως ἐπιγυλκάναις, ἀκήρυκτον σοι διὰ γλώσσης πόλεμον ἐπεγεροῦμεν κατ' οὐδὲν ἀνεκτότερον τῆς βατραχείου ἑκείης καὶ μυκτόνοι παρεμβολῆς· πρὶν ἡ ὁδὸν ὑπλα κινήσαι,
Indeed, they all bowed their heads, closed their ears, put a bridle on their speech, and averted their eyes as if they were beholding some sinister monstrosity. For these reasons I have been silent and shall remain silent, minding my own affairs and entrusting my hopes to the Almighty.

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

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

41. To the same

You suppose that you are confusing me by your silence for being like the tortuous practitioners of the "Conversation" of Heraclides. But I know that sometimes speech is preferable to silence and shall reply in this vein, namely, that if you do not speak to me amicably and sweeten with your discourse my embittered feelings, I shall stir up an unheralded war of words with you, in no way more bearable than that famous battle array of mouse-killing frogs. So, before raising weapons, do close the
σύμφραζαι καὶ τὴν λογικὴν ῥομφαίαν σου στίλβωσον καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν μελιξών ἀλλὰ μὴ ἱδοδῶν βελῶν παραπλήρωσον· τὴν τε περικεφαλαίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμφίκητα σπάσην καὶ τὸν ποδήρθη θυρεόν ἐπ’ ὁμον πραέως ἀνάλαβε—εἰ βούλει, δὲ σιγύνου καὶ σαγάρεις ἐπιθήξων, ώς μέλλων πρὸς χαλκοκονήμαδας Ἀχαιόν ἀπομάχεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τὴν γλώτταν, ἐνθ’ ἐρχος ὁδόντων, ἐγκλείσειας καὶ μὴ πρὸς παράταξιν εὐσήμων καὶ λογικὴ σάλπιγγι εὖ μάλα τὴν ταύτης φάλαγγα σαρκομίσειας, ἵσθι τοῦτον τι καὶ ἐννάλιον ἡμᾶς ἵστονας ἐπιδραμεῖσθαι σοι, καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς διὰ τὸ δύσφημον σωπάτσομαι. Εἰ τί δὲ σοι γέγονε παρουσιάζαντι [καὶ] τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διωνύμῳ σηκό, φανέρωσον ἵν’ εἰ μὲν θυμής συνη-σθώμεν, εἰ δὲ πενθής πρὸς ὑπομονὴν ἑαυτοῦς προσαλειψώμεν. || 138 ||

42. Νικηφόρῳ διακόνῳ καὶ χαρτοφύλακι

Εγγίζει μοι τὸ τέλος καὶ δ’ ἀμειδῆς καὶ ἀμείλυχος, ὡς τεκμαίρομαι, θάνατος· τοὺς γὰρ ἐμὲ κείρων καὶ τῷ γείτονι παραπέμπων ἤδη, δηλός ἐστιν ὡς τὴν ἐμὴν ἐκτομήν οὐχ ἥκιστα προμαντεύεται· ὅν γὰρ ἤδη πρὸ τοῦ θυρῶν εἶχεν τὸν τάφον καὶ εἶδο τῶν κατωτάτω ταμειών συνώθει, καὶ εἰς κατάποσον ἑαυτῷ προευτρέπιζεν, ἐκκλείοντος ἡμιμήνητα, ἐφ’ ἐρευν οἰκέτη τῇ ἡμῶν ἐξπιπάσατο καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόφρακτον εὐρόν, πρὶν ἡ κατὰ συντάξιον αὐτοῦ προσβάλη, πόρρωθεν ἀκροβολι-σάμενος πυρήφορός βέλει προφάλεξα νᾶτα κατέβαλεν εἰς ἄνδρας ἃ ῥτί τελοῦντα καὶ λούλους τὴν γνάθον πυκάζοντα, ἐν νεότητι τε καὶ τὰρσεὶ επιεικῶς σεμνοῦμένον, εἰδὸς τε, μέγεθος τε, φυὴν τε τῷ παρ’ Ὅμηρον Βελλεροφόντη μικροῦ παρισσοῦμένον, εὐνοῦσατον τῷ κυρίῳ ἑαυτοῦ, πι-στότατον, δραστικώτατον καὶ εἰ τι καλὸν τὸν ἄριστον χαρακτηρίζει θεράποντα κατ’ οὐδενὸς ἐγώμαι λειπόμενον. Καὶ τί δὴ σοι τὸν ἐν

7–8 φαρέτραν—βελῶν: II. 15.443–44; Od. 21.11–12; 21.59–60 || 11 χαλκοκονήμαδας Ἀχαιόν: II. 7.41 || 12 ἐρχος ὁδόντων: II. 4.350; Od. 1.64 et al.

14 τοῦ τοῦ || 15 σου σοι || παρουσιάζαντι καὶ τὸ V


42: 2 κηρῶν V || 6 ἀπόφρακτων V || 7 προσβάλλων V || ἀκροβολισάμενος V || 8 τελῶντα V || 11 μικρῶν V || πιστώτατον V || 12 τὸ ἀριστον V || 13 λειπόμενον V

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

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

42. To Nikephoros, deacon and chartophylax

My end is drawing close and, as I conjecture, unsmiling and implacable Death. For, as he is cutting down and consigning those round me to nearby Hades, he is clearly foretelling my own demise. He had me already at tomb’s door, was thrusting me within the nether chambers and preparing to swallow me up, when he left me half-dead and rode against another, a servant of mine. Finding him uncorseted, without waiting to attack him at close quarters, he shot at him from afar a fiery dart and threw him to the ground—one who had barely reached manhood, whose chin was covered with down, who was fittingly adorned with youth and courage, all but comparable in aspect, size, and stature to Homer’s Bellerophon, excellently disposed toward his master, most faithful and energetic and, I believe, lacking none of the qualities that mark the best servant. But why am I praising to you with my words one who
ἀμορφία κείμενον καὶ φθορὰ συνειλούμενον στολίζω τοῖς ῥήμασιν;
15 Ἡ ἑκεῖ ὁ τοῦτον ὁ θάνατος, καὶ μικρῷ μετ᾽ ἐκείνῳ ἐμέ· ἀλλὰ εὐχὸν μὴ ὃς ἐλπίζῃ με περιδράζοντο, μὴδὲ ὅσ γέροντι ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις νεάζοντι
προσβαλλόν ἐξηττήσει καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ παραδῷ τὴν κακίαν κολάζοντω καὶ τὸ ἀκάματον ἐκείνῳ πῦρ ὑποφλέγουσι καὶ τὸν ἀκοίμητον ἐρεθίζουσιν πρὸς δαπάνην ἀδάπανον σκάλκηλα, καὶ τὸ ἐξάτερον σκότος μελαίνοντω καὶ τὴν ἄιλιν ἐκκαίουσιν γέενναν, καὶ τὸν ἄλκτον κλαυθμόν ἐπιτείνουσι, καὶ τῶν βρυγμῶν τῶν ὄδωντων φρίκτως ἐπιθραίωσι, καὶ τῶν κρενῶν ὑποψύχουσι τάρταρον. Ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ δίκαια τοῦ θεοῦ μοι σταθμὰ παρὰ τῆς ἀδεκάστου δίκης, ὡς τὴν ἐηαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀδικήσατο, || 139 || δαβισλός τεταμένται. Τούτοις ἐγώ, κατάχρεως τούτων, ἐννηχόμενος, τότε ἀπέραντα μετακλάνομαι: οἶκον γὰρ ποιηρῶν ἐργῶν ἐαυ-
τὸν κατεσκεύασα, καὶ ὑλὴν ἀνείκαστον ἀμαρτίαις ἐθησαύρισα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μερίς μοι ταύτα καὶ κλήρος καὶ σχόλισμα. Διὸ ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐπικουρήσω, καὶ ὧν ἑλέους θελήτην μοι κατάρτισα, ἐν ὀλκτι-
μοῖς χρηστοῖς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιμαράνυμι, τὸν σκώληκα κομίζομαι, τὸν σκό-
τον σελαγίσα, τὸν κλαυθμὸν κατασχίαζο, τὸν βρυγμὸν ἐπιπράναι, τὸν τάρταρον ἐπιχλώναι· διὰ γὰρ πασῶν με τοῦτων τῶν βασάνων ἀπόκειται (διελθέω) ὅτι τῷ δίῃ θεοῦ πιεζόμενῳ κοτύλῃ οὐκ ἐπέμετρησα ὑδατος· ὅτι τὸν σκωλεκίωντα καὶ φθονάδι κεντούμενον ἐβδολεύξημι ὡς μίασμα· ὅτι τυφλοῖς οὐκ εγκύνων ὥμη· χείρα προσκόπτοποισιν οὐκ ἐπώρεξα· ὅτι τοῖς διὰ θεοῦ θρησκευόμενοι ἢ βιῶν δυσχέρειαν οὐ συν-
έκλαυσα· ὅτι γυμνοῖς τῷ κρύει πηγημένους οὐκ ἔθαλψα. Καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα δεινα,—δίκαια γὰρ καίριε ὡντα δεινά καὶ πέρα δεινών· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι 
35 σὺν τῷ Σατᾶν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπασπισταῖς βουκεντροὺς πυριφλέκτω, ὡς δύσχρηστος ἐλαθήσομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐκδημῆσον καὶ συνέσωμαι τούτων ἀδιαδόχους καυσοῦμενος. Τίς οὖν ξελείται με· Τίς μοι λύπον 
30 παρέξει τῆς βασάνου καὶ τῶν αφύκτων ἐκεῖνων κολάσεως; ’Αβάλα μὴ μήτρας μητρικῆς προεξέκυψα, μηδ᾽ αὐγαῖς ἥλιασά συνεκύρησα. Αἰθὲ 
μὴ τόσον πόδας ἐπὶ πάτων χωνών ἐπερείπτες ἐβάδισα. ’Ωφελου μὴ γλώσσαν πρὸς φθογόν εἰκύσα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ ἑοιδός νέκυς εὐθὺς ἐχρημά-
τουσα καὶ φθορὰ συνεξύγην (καὶ) εἰς ἀφανεῖαν ἥλασα καὶ γῆ με διαστᾶ, || 140 || σα συνέκλεσεν καὶ κύμα χανοῦν βαλάττας ἐπέκλυσεν, πρὶν ἡ τοῖς

18—19 τὸ ἀκάματον — σκόλκη: Mk. 9.43—44 || 19—21 καὶ τὸ — ὀδώντων: Mt. 8.12 et al. || 27 μερίς — 
κλήρος: cf. Acta 8.21; Col. 1.12 || 28 τῶν ἑλέους θελητήρ: Mi. 7.18 || 36 γυμνοῦς — ἔθαλψα: cf. Mt. 25.43

17 προσβαλοῦν V || 20 δύσως V || 24 τεταμείωσον V || 31 ἐπιχλώκαι V || 32 διελθεῖσιν suppl. G || 37 ταῦτα scripsimus: τοῦ V || 42 αὐγῆς ἥλιασῆς V || 43 ποδος V

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

Διὰ τούτο σὲ καὶ τοὺς ὦσοι κατὰ σὲ συγκαλῶ προστήναι καὶ προσπισαί καὶ ὑπερασπίσαι τῆς ἐμῆς ἀγρεύστητος, ὡς ἐν μοι τὴν λεπομένην ὥραν, οὐ γὰρ ἤμερον θαρρήσων λέγειν, ἐν μεταμέλῳ τελέσαμι καὶ τῶν ἀπηριμμένων βασάνων τὴν πείθαν ἐκφύγαι: πρεσβείας τῆς ἀγνῆς καὶ ὑπεραμόμοιο Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγίων καὶ τοῖς ὑμετέρας πρὸς τὸ θείον ἐντεύξεσιν.

43. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς σου τελείαν ἀγάπην, ὡς ὁ ἱερώτατος, ἠλήκων, ἀρχιερεύς, μηδεμίαν ἠδύνασαν πρὸς θυμοδίαν κεκακαμένης ψυχῆς εἰδὼς κερανθῆς αὐτίδοτον, στυφοῦσα ἡμῖν πικρίδας πρὸς εὐαχίαν παρέθετο, ὡς ἐποφομένος ἡ καὶ ὡς γευσόμενος εἶμι, καὶ οὐχ ἐκών, ποθενότατε· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἄκος τῆς ἐν ἐμοὶ πικρίας διὰ πικρίδων εὖρομαι, τὸν Ἰπποκράτην οὐκ ἀληθεύειν ἔποιμι, ὡς δὲ ἐναντίων τῶν θεραπείας τῶν ἐναντίων ὑπέφαυς γίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τῆς κλήσεως ἡ ποιώτης ἀκίνητος μεῖναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν τέκοι γλυκότητα, ἐστώ τὰ Πικρίδου πικρὰ τῷ Πικρίδῃ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἱατρείαν διὰ φυγῆς πρὸς θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἐξαυτήσαμεν.

44. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν ἔχων τῇ μειλίχῳ σου προσαγγοθέναι ψυχῆ, καὶ γὰρ οὕτως μοι τὰ Πικρίδου ἐπιθύμησι, πρασίον φυτοῦ δέσμην καὶ ταύτην βραχείαν

47-48 αγορεύουσιν...θοίη V / 48 χαρίσασαι V


43: 2 κεκαμένης V / 3 εἰδώς G: εἰδοὺς V / 7 ὑπέφαυες V: fort. ὑπέφαυε legendum

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

43. To the same

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

44. To the same

Not having anything else to offer to your gentle spirit—for ta Pikridou has not yet become sweet to me—I resolved to send you a bunch of leeks, and a small one at
πεπομφέναι διέγνωσκα· ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δριμὸ σου τοῦ δόρου καθάψηται καὶ πρὸς δάκρυα κυήσαι κυήσῃ σε ἧνεκ 141 καὶ πρὸς ἰδιέροις λόγους καὶ θυμόδακεῖς, δεῖ ὅτι ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον δάκρυν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πένθος ἁρών εἶ καρδίας θερμῆς προσγενηστεται. Καὶ εὐχὸν μοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνεδίδον γράφειν ἢ γλώττα πλείονα δεσμομοένη ἢ κεκανονισμένη στιγῇ.

45. Τῷ αὐτῷ

"Εδειξας καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ γλώττης κρατεῖς· πείθει γὰρ με τὸ τῆς νηστείας οὐχ ἱκαστα τοπάζων οὕτω, πάτερ, σεβάσμου· αὕτη γὰρ, οἷα τις ψυχής οἰκουρὸς ἑπιφανεία, τὸν πενθάμορον ἐξοδοῦ τῶν αὐθη- σεων, δεῖ ὅτι ἐστὶ πολλάκις πρὸς ἀμετριάν ἐκτρέπεσθαι, κλείσασα, συν- ἄγει καὶ πάντοθεν ἦδη συστέλλοντα μίνεις ποιεῖ, καὶ κατὰ μέτρον ἐν- εργεῖν ὑποτίθεται, ὡς ἢ μὴθάνατος διὰ τοῦτων παρακώπως ἐπεγγε- λάσοι καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱοδῶν βελῶν κενώσας, πληγήν ἀνανομένην τὴν διὰ μοτώσεως ίασον ἀπεργάσηται. Νομοθετεῖ γὰρ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν βλέπειν ὅρθα καὶ πρὸς ἐνθύτητα νόθεσθαι, ὡς ἢ δεξιών ἑστῶτα Κύριον προορόμενον· ἀκοή μοχλοῦς σταγῆς ἢ τῆς μεταλλευ- θέντας φωνῶν περιτίθησαν, ὡς μὴ πρὸς κίβδηλον ἡχήν καὶ ἀσέμνης ἀποδοντούμενα τετῆκέναι προσφθέγματα· ὡς ἢ δεσιμήν καθαρεί τῆς θολερᾶς τῶν παθῶν καὶ λογιῶν ἔσπανεύσεως, καὶ πρὸς ὑποδοξὴν ἐτοίμην ποιεῖ τὸν συνθέτου τῶν δρετῶν νομικὰς νόμον σοφίζουσα φαίνεται· τῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς ἲδον ἑρωντών στέ- ρίσκει ταύτην ὅρθεσιν, διάστυφον τε καὶ λεπτότατον τὸ τῆς ἐγκατείς αὐτῆ τεκταῖς δαφιλεστάτων ἤδυσμα· λόγου τε μέτρα διδάσκει, καὶ συγῆν ἐπισκεικέαν ἐκπαιδεύει, καὶ τόπον ἥμικα δεὶ φθέγγεσθαι κατὰ καυ- ρον ὑπανοίγουσιν· ἀφὴν ῥυθμίζει μὴ τοῖς μαλακοῖς ἐφθινωσθεῖσθαι, μηδὲ τοῖς λειτυσθαι σου ἧνεκ 142 νεκλύεσθαι, τῷ τραχεὶ ἐδὲ τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν βίον.
that. Let not this pungent gift affect you and, by moving you to tears, incite you to sharp and biting words which, coming from your ardent heart, will cause me not only tears, but also an untimely grief. Pray for me; for my tongue did not allow me to write at greater length, being restrained or regulated by silence.

45. To the same

You have proved yourself master of both your belly and your tongue; for the holy nature of the fast persuades me, O father, more than anything else to suppose this. She it is who, appearing like some housekeeper of the soul and having shut the five-door entrance of the senses (which often give rise to excess), brings us round, causes us to contract by enclosing us on all sides, and enjoins on us to act with moderation, so that Death should not make a mockery of us by peeping through the senses and, after emptying his quiver of poisonous darts, inflict on us a wound that refuses all cure by dressing. For she ordains to the eye to look straight and seek rectitude in the expectation of seeing the Lord standing on the right side; she places on hearing bolts of silence mined from divine instructions lest it be wasted on fraudulent sounds and words indecently shouted; she cleanses smell from the turbid and pestilential inhalation of the passions and prepares it to receive the incense composed of the virtues. She is seen to instruct the tongue by means of two ordinances: for she deprives it of pleasurable appetites while preparing for it in abundance the astringent and light relish of continence; she also teaches it the proper bounds of speech and the practice of silence, while occasionally opening the door when it is necessary to speak. She trains (the sense of) touch not to take pleasure in soft stuffs nor to be relaxed by smoothness, but to delight, as it is said, in the harshness of a life according to God.
κατά τὸν εἰσόντα, συνήδεσθαι, καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ
tὰ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ψηλαφάν καὶ πρὸς θυσίαις αἰνέσεως ὁστήρα θεοῦ
συνεπάρσθαι. Τοιαύτα τὰ τῆς νηστείας ἀστεία κυήματα: τοιαύτα
tὰ τῆς ἐγκατατέμειας αὐχήματα: τοιούτους δεξιοῦται τοῖς θεραπεύονσιν,
ψυχὰς καρπυκεύμασι: τοῦτοι τὸ υψαλίου πόμα κεράννυσιν. Ταύτην
συνεστίαν καὶ ὁμοδιανὸν ἤταν, καὶ τούτοις τὸν ὃδολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων
στολίσας ὡς ἀριστα, ὅρατος κάλλει κατά τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως ἤπαντῇ, τότε λύνω τὸ τῆς συγῆς ἐπιτίμου καὶ λόγον
ἡμῶν ὀφελείας † ἐπαμφιδέξιον. † Τὸ δὲ νῦν ἤταν, αἴδοι τῆς νηστείας,
στημικὴ μόνην τῆς ἁγίας ἡμῶν χειρὸς σωτᾶσθαι δεξαίμεθα, ἢτις ἡμῶν
αὐτὶ ποικίλης λόγων ἱδέας ἐπτεικὸς λογοσθήσεται.

46. Τῷ αὖτὶ

Φθινός μοι νόσος ἐνέσκηψε δρμεία κηρυμὸν ἤ τὸ χολῶδες τοῦ
πάθους πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπισύρουσα. "Ὅθεν τὰς
ἀλένας καὶ τὰ σκέλη κομῳδὶ καταστίζασα, ολὰ βέλεως ὄξεως, τὸ
δύστηρον τούτοις σώμα κατακεντεῖ, καὶ ὁ πράθυνος ἡ ἀμβλύνων οὐδεὶς
ἀλοφαῖς δὲ γραῦδων, μὴ τιθο ὑπόντων ἀμύμονος ἰηθρός, ὑπείκεις
ἀναγκαστῶς βεβιάσμεθα· εὖ δὲν θερατεία μικρὰ μὲν ἔρχεται, συνούλω-
σις δὲ μακρὰν ἐπιφαίνεται· ὡς ἵνα τύχοιμεν, καὶ ἀνέσεως ὀλοσχεροῦς
ἀπολαύσουμεν, τὴν σὴν περὶ ταύτην ἑραπευτικὴν ἐκκαλούμεθα μότω-
σιν· ἢσμεν γὰρ ὡς πολλοὶς ἀλγυνομένους καὶ ἀνίατα πάσχοισιν τοῖς
παρ' εαυτῆς ἱατροὺς φαρμακοὶ ἐπαλείψασα καὶ δεσμήσασα, ἐν
ἀκαρεῖ τὸ κέχυμος τοῦ μώλωτος πρὸς συνέ· || 143 || χειμαν κατεπύκνωσε,
καὶ τὴν ρώσιν εὐπτετῶς ἀνεκτήσατο· σὺν τούτων οὖν καὶ ἡμῶς γαληνίως

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

21–22 fort. ἢ τὰ περὶ τῆς ζωῆς legendum || 22 ψηλαφὰν V || ὁστηρᾶν V || 25 καρπυκέουσαι V ||
νηφαλίῳω ... κεράννυσι V || 26 τὸν ὃδολον iteravit scriba || 28 ταῖς συγῆς V || 29 ὀφελείας V ||
ἐπαμφιδέξιον V: vide comment. || 31 λόγον V


46: 2-3 τὰ ἁλένα V || 5 γραῦδως V || ὑπήκειν V || 8 μώλωτος V || 11 ακαρέτης V || συνενέχειαν
V || 12 εὐστετ (οὐ) V

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

46. To the same

A fierce consumption has fallen on me, drawing irritation or the biliousness of the disease to the surface of the flesh. Whence, having completely covered my arms and legs with spots, it pierces this wretched body with sharp darts, and there is no one to soothe or mitigate it. In the absence of a "noble physician," I have been obliged by necessity to submit to old women's unguents which cause some small comfort, while cicatrization appears far off. With a view to obtaining the latter and enjoying complete relief, I am calling for your therapeutic treatment. For I know that, in the case of many persons who were in pain and suffering incurable ills, you have smeared them with your medicinal drugs and bound them so as to close swiftly gaping wounds and readily restore health. Bind me, therefore, along with your other
καὶ προστρέψι καταδέσμως ἐπίδησον, καὶ στήσον ἡμῖν τὴν καταγίδα τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὡς ἐν μ>{$}, τῆς ὦρας πραγματικοῦ καὶ πάντας πνευματικοὺς καὶ σωματικοὺς ἐνεργείζειν προτρεπούσης, χειμώνι τῶν δυσχερῶν ἡμείς προσπαθεῖομεν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἐσχατὰ τοῦ Βυζαντίου κόλπου, Γαδείρων δίκιν, παρουκέν κατεκρῆμεν (τὸ γὰρ ἐπέκειλα τοῦ λάκκου ἀπέρατον), ἵκες ἐγγεσώθαι πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ συμβαίνει, εἰ δὲν μικρὰ τις ἀπόμοιρα καὶ μέχρις ἡμῶν διελήλακεν, ἦς, ἣν τὴν θήραν ἡμῶν ἐπιστελεχήσας, ἀπέγεουν, καὶ ὡς τὸν Ἰακώβ Ἰσαάκ, μὴ περιέργος ἀλλὰ προθύμος προσαγαγότας ἢμᾶς πρωτοτόκους εὐχαίρει πρὸς ἅρετις ἀνάληψες ἐπαναγαγεῖν δυσαπώθητι. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἀνθίς ἀπορία γλυκαζόντων λαχάνων ἐπὶ τὴν δία πράσων κεχορίκαμεν στύφοσαν, πάτερ, ἐπίδοσιν· ἣν μὴ τῇ ἐκείνων ποιήστη, τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρα προσέχων προθέσει, μεθ' ἡδονῆς πρανοοῦσης ἐπίβλεψον.

47. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐπιζητων τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ διερευνόμενος δι᾽ ἢν ἡ τοσαυτὴ σιγὴ παρὰ σοι χώραν ἐβρετο, ἐγών αὐτῶν ἐμὲ ταύτης εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γεννητόρα· ὒτῳ γὰρ ὄδυνς ἀδέσιας τῶν ἀναδοθέντων μου χαλεπῶν μυλώτων νυσσόμενος ἠρευνάμην ἐξ ἐλαφρίας πρὸς σὲ, τὴν ἡπαίνα ἐμοὶ ψυχὴν, λόγους τραχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀνθίσαμος ταύτης, ὡς ἐμῷ, τὴν θείαν ἐπιφροσύνην ἐτράχυμα. Δέδοικα δὲ καὶ μὴ τις ἄλλη || 144 || Θετιδος ὑμὸς ὡς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα βουλὴ παρέπεσε πρόπαλαι, ὅτι πως ὑποτιθημένη τῷ παιδὶ καὶ ἐπὶ λέξεως ἑχοῦσα, μὴν Ἀχαιοίσι, πολέμου δ’ ἀποταύευο πάμπαν. Ἀλλὰ μή τούτο γε τοῖς εὐθήκοις ἄσων σου τὸ βούλημα τίς καὶ ὅπωρ—


17. δὲ scripsi: σὲ V || 18 λάκου V || 21 προσαγαγότας V || 22 πρωτοτόκους V


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

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

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

47. To the same

In seeking and investigating the reason why so profound a silence has fallen on you, I perceived that I myself was responsible for causing it. For, being pierced by the sharp pain of the bruises that have erupted on me, I have, out of frivolity, blurted out to you, my gentle friend, some harsh words without, I believe, in any way irritating your divine wisdom. I fear, however, lest some other design has beguiled you as Thetis did once to Achilles, when she enjoined on her son in these very words to “be wroth against the Achaeans, and desist altogether from war.” Let no one breathe such
10 καὶ ἐνηλήμενεν. Ὑκείνων γὰρ αὐτῶν σε γνώσκομεν, οἷν οὕμεν πλήρη
gλυκιτήτως καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ γράμματος, ὡς μὴ ὠφελε κεχαράξθαι, ἂν

48. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Ἐστῶσιν ὡσιν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, καὶ κεχιρόσιν ὃμμασιν τήν σήμ
ἀκυπταθῆναι φωνὴν καὶ τῆς χειρὸς σου προσδείν γράμμα φροντίς
ἡμῶν οὐχ ἡ τυχόντα προσήν ὦν μὴ τυχόντες, ἐνεάσασμεν καὶ ἐμύσασμεν
καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ σιγήν ἐπετρέφαμεν· ἀλλ' εἰ φθέγξαι καὶ γράψαις, ἄκου-
σομεν καὶ βλέψομεν καὶ τῆν γλώτταν εἰς τὸ λέγειν ὀπλίσσαμεν· καὶ
εὐχον μοι, λογιάτατε πάτερ.

49. Ἰγνατίῳ μητροπολίτῃ Νικομηδείας

Πολυπλάκοις σειραίς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμαρτιῶν, κατὰ τῶν Παρομι-
ασθῇ, ὡς ἑρώτατε πάτερ, σφιγγόμενος, τοὺς ἠξονας τοῦ ἱδίου γεωργίου
tῆς σωτηρίας πεπλάνημα καὶ πρὸς ὅρθας τροχίδας βαδίζεις οὕπω δε-
δύνημαι· ἐνθεν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης καὶ νομῆς ὡς πορρωτάτω κατῴκισαμεν,
καὶ τοῦ ᾽ωσπονοῦ τῆς τρυφῆς χειμάρρου ἀνάξιος πεπωκέναι διήμαρ-
τον, καὶ δέδωκε πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχομενα λαμπρόν ἀποστίλβοντας ὑμᾶς
προσθέγγεσθαι τι καὶ προσομιλεῖν διὰ γράμματος. Οὐκοῦν ἄπιθων
eἰς τὴν θεομίμητον ὑμῶν πατροσύνην καὶ περιβλεπτὸν συγκατάβασιν,
ἀφορμῆς τῶν προσπεσούσης, δυσωπεῖν προήχθην· καὶ μὴ με τῆς προ-
10 || 145 || πετείας ἐλέγξῃς ὡς τῇ μεγίστῳ σοι ποιμένι μηδ' εἰς πρόβατον

48: 1 ἑστὼσιν ὡσιν: Diogen. VIII.74; Diogen. Vind. III.97; Mantiss. Prov. III.51

48: 3 ἐνεάσασμεν V; ἐνεάσασμεν Esthymiadis || 5 ὑστολέγεαι V

49: 2–3 σφιγγόμενος – βαδίζεις; cf. Prov. 5.21–22; 9.12; 4.11,26 || 5 ᾽ωσπονὸν – πεπωκέναι:
Ps. 35 (36).9

49: 2 ἠξονας V || 4 πορρωτάτω V || 5 πεπωκέναι V || 10 ὡς το V || μηδεῖς V

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

48. To the same

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

49. To Ignatios, metropolitan of Nicomedia

Being bound, most holy Father, by the tangled cords of my sins, as the author of Proverbs says, I have strayed from the paths of the husbandry of my salvation and am no longer able to walk to straight wheel tracks. Wherefore, I have been removed far away from the sacred flock and pasturage and have failed in obtaining the life-giving stream of joy, unworthy as I was to drink of it; and I fear to address anything and speak by letter to you who shine brilliantly in your high priesthood. In view, however, of your godlike fatherhood and admirable condescension, I have been led to entreat you on a matter that has chanced to arise. Do not condemn me for my rashness in that I, who am not even ranked among the sheep, have been incited to write to you, a great shepherd.
49, 50

'Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ἐν τούτῳ ἔστι περιπέτεια. Ὡ τὸ γράμμα κομίζων μοναχὸς, εἰς δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ μονῇ ταύτῃ προλαμπόντων, μικρὰς τις, ὡς ἐξείπεν, τῶν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν αἰσίως ἰδιομένων, ἐπισκοπῆς δρεγόμενος κατεπείγεται, δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρόωσον τῆς ἀλαθήτου ὑμῶν καὶ διωρατικῆς δίκαιων ἕκρυα παραστήσατο, σὺν τῷ γράμματι, τελειότητος, ἵδι εἰ μὲν ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς διώκεται ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου, κατὰ τῶν μέγαν Παύλου, ἐπιθυμῶν, μὴ διαμάρττω τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φερούσης ἐφέσεως. ἐλ δ᾽ αὐτὸς ταῦτα διώκου, μηδὲν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀδίαστα ἐπιφιλόμενοι λείψανον, παραχωρομένος τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ διακρυτικῇ καὶ τοῦτο πατρότητα. Οὐ γὰρ λήφθη τοι αὐτοῖς καμάθησις, εἰς ταῦτα ἦσαν ἡμᾶς καθήκω τῇ αὐτησιν καὶ Κύριος ὁ θεός, ταῖς εὐαγγελικαῖς καὶ ἀποστολικαῖς χάρισιν τῆς ἱερᾶς ὑμῶν κατακοσμήσας πατρότητα, τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαρίσεται ὑπερευχομένη καὶ τῆς ὑμῶν μετριότητος.

50. Θεοφάνεια ἀσηκρήτης

Ἰδοὺ σοι τὸ τῶν θύραθε παροιμίων πεπόμφαμεν βιβλιδάριον· οὐκ ἐκτὸς βίας, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰκάζειν ἔχειν, φιλόμουσεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ παλλᾶς ἐτέρας παροιμώδεις ὑποθήκας ἐν αὐτῷ παραβιβαίνει βουλής ἐγενόμεθα, ὡς ἄν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, σκευάσωμεν κυφέλην φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ στοργῆ τῆς πρὸς σὲ καὶ μάλα κρατοῦμεν τῆς βίαν θέλησιν πεποιημένα, καὶ ἱνα καθομηρίσω σοι τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀβουλίτῃ προαίρεσις, δόκα εκὼν ἀδέκουν γε θυμῷ. || 146 || Σὺ δὲ μὴ ἀναβάλῃ τῆς ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν προσάρμοσιν τῷ πέντε πολλαπλασιάσας μὴ ὑπερβαθήναι τὸν ἐκ τούτου γενόμενον ἅρμον, ὡς ὑπέσχον, κατάνευσου· καὶ ἐρρωσο, καὶ τῇ λήψῃ τῆς παροράσεως ἡμᾶς (μὴ) ἔπι πλείον παράπεμψον.
The circumstances of the matter are these. The monk who is delivering this letter, one of the most outstanding of this monastery, is driven, as he declares, by the desire for a little bishopric, among those that are auspiciously directed by you. I have thought it right to present him, with this letter, before your infallible and discerning Perfection, so that, if he be sought for this honor in "desiring," as the great Paul has it, "a good work," he should not fail in the wish that incites him to this purpose; but if he pursue the honor himself, exhibiting no trace of holy merit, I leave that to your exact and paternal discernment. For I have made this request not because I have been suborned by a bribe or a gift, but freely and without reward. May the Lord our God, who has adorned your Paternity with evangelical and apostolic graces, grant you to the catholic Church as you pray even for my mediocrity.

50. To Theophanes asekretis

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

"Αλας καὶ τραπέζιαν μὴ παραβαίνειν φησίν ἡ παροιμία. Σὺ δὲ καὶ διαλέγεις ἡμῖν συναλλοθείς λήθη τὴν παράβασιν ἐκλώσεις, καὶ ταύτα τῆς νοστίμου σου μεταδούς ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀλιγάκις φθογγῆς, ἡδυνύσης ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια. Ἀλλ' ἔσοκεν ὡς μίσος συνέριθος γέγονεν, καὶ ἡ πρὸς σὲ μου θαμμώτερον τοῦ ποδὸς εὐσαγγελή πληγομονή ἐμπούσασα συνεζύφημεν, καὶ φθόνον τηκέδων διέσπασεν, καὶ εἰς ῥακία τὴν θεοποίκιλ- τον ἡμῶν περιστολή καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ὁμηρίκων Ἰρον ἐλέπτυνεν, ὡς μόλις ἐπηγωγίδα φαίνεται καὶ τὴν αἴδω ἀμφικαλύπτειν κακῶς ἐπισυν- βίαν καὶ ὁδείς πρὸς τῶν ἐπιηράξεων ἐθελώντων γέλωτα.

Τί ταύτα, καὶ μέχρι τίνος τῷ μοδῷ τῆς σιγῆς ἐγκατακρύπτεις ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τηλεσκόπον λυχνίας ἐπαίρθη καὶ ἀναλάμπεις τὰ τῆς λογικῆς δαδουχίας πυρσεύματα; Ὀργαροῦν, εἰ καὶ τί τῶν ἀπηριθμημένων καί ὧς τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης λίθων οἴς τεσσαμών ἐμεσίτευσεν, ἄμαρτην, καὶ τόσος αἰτίως τῆς διαστάσεως ὁ αἰθής πέπλος, καθ' ὁ λέγεται, φλεξάτω καὶ πιμπράτω νέα δὲ ἡμῖν ἡλάκατα θείας ἀγάπης στρωφάςθω καὶ ἀτρακτος καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος μημοῦντων τῆς παλαιᾶς στοργῆς ἀναπτημέσθω θολίματίον, ὡς εἰς ἀκατέργατος ταῖς ῥυμέτεραις γλυκέται προσρήσεσιν, τὴν ψυχρὰν ἀποτυνάξαμεθα τῆς ὀλίγου || 147 || ρίας ἐπίκλυσω.

52. Μεθοδιή τῷ ἀγωνιστῷ πατριάρχῃ

Εἰ μὴ πεπειράμην τῆς στῆς πρὸς τοὺς πενομένους, ὡς δὲ ποτα, δα- ψιλούς ἐπιδοθεῖς, ἂν ἦν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῷ παρομώδες ῥητείδιον ἐπιφθέγ- ξασθαι, "μὴ εἰπτές ἐπανελθών ἐπάνηκε καὶ αὐθίνων δώσης," καὶ τὴν τῆς

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51: 3 post φθογγής verba εἰς ῥακία τὴν θεοποίκιλτον ἡμῶν περ(ρ)στολή καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ὁμηρίκων delevit manus recentior || 7 Ἰρον V || 8 φέρεις V || 10 ἐγκατακρύπτεις V || 11 τηλεσκοποῦ Ὁ V || 14 ὁ αἰθής νοσ.: ὁ τῆς ἐφῆς V || φλεξάτω V || 17 ἀναπτημέσθω θ' ὁμάτων V

52: 3 μὴ εἰπτές – δώσων: Prov. 3.28 || 3–4 τῆς ἀκατάστασες σελήνης: Diogen. I.57; Apostol. I.90: X VI.44
51. To the deacon Nikephoros

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

52. To the most holy patriarch Methodios

Had I not experienced, O lord, your abundant generosity to the poor, I would have addressed to you that proverbial locution, “Don’t say, come back and I shall
'Ακεσσαίον σελήνης, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἐπιφημίζειν ὑμῖν βραδυτήτα.

5 Ἄλλ' ἐπεί καὶ πεπέραμαι καὶ πολλάκις ἔπαθον, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ γράφω, καὶ εἶ γεγραφα, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴς παθεῖν κατὰ τὸν τής προαιρέσεως ὑμῶν ἀμώμητον ἔλεον· ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἐπείγει, καθὸ ὡς τής ἄνω ῥοπῆς ἐξεπίτευσατα νεός, μὴ δὴ βραδύνοι ἡ πρὸς πάντας ὑμῶν ταχεία ἐπισκοπή, ὡς ἄν μάθομεν καὶ δὴ ὃν προπεπονθάμεν ἐκ τελείας ὑπάρχει τῷ τῆς πατρισύνης ὑμῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἁγαθῶν προαιρέσεως.

53. Ἰσοφίλως διακόνω καὶ πρωτονοταρίῳ

Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ με πρὸς τὸ γράφειν ἐληλυθέναι, τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔδει τὰ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἀγαπητήρι ὀδάθεσιν διεξάγειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον· ἔπει δὲ οὐ τοῦτο, νυσσομένῳ διανοοῦμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῶν συνάρασθαι εὐκρίνειαν. Ἡδὴ γὰρ σκοπὸς ἡμῖν τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πτυκτίου, φημὶ δὴ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ἀνακινήσας κεφάλαιον, ὑπὲρ ἔχων πεφαράται δὴν πρὸς ἱεραπόλεως· ἐλπὶς γὰρ ἡ ἡμῶν ἀναμφίλεκτος ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπεισθῆται εἰς τὴν τούτου ἀπόδοσιν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιστειλάντων αὐτῷ, ἦρικα καὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις τοῦ τάφου ἑαυτῶν 148 περομένου ἐβλέπει· ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ λάβετο ἢ οὐκ ἐνώθησεν, κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων ἑρῶν τῶν οὐκ ἀνηκότων ἀντέχοντα βούλεται, τῇ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ κοσμοῦ καθηγομένος ἡμῶν ὑπαχθήτω κρίσει· ἦτε, εὐ οἶδα, διεσμολεμένως δραμεῖται μηδεμίαν ἑώσα παρατροπὴν καὶ παρέγκλισιν λυμανεύσα τὴν τοῦ δικαίου εὐθύτητα. Γράμμα μα τούγαρον ἐχαράξαμεν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴς ἀνυπέρβλητην ἱερότητα, ὑπὲρ ἐπιδοθῶν αἰξίωσιν καὶ εἷμενος προσδείδων καθικέτευσον· καὶ ἐπείρ τῆς ἑμῆς ἐλαχιστείας ἡ

7 ἀναγκαίῃ· ἐπείγει· II. 6.85; Od. 19.73

52: 5 πολλάκις: ὑπὸ V: πολλὰ G

53: 9 λάβετο· ἐνώθησεν· II. 9.537

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

53. To Theophilos, deacon and protonotarios

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

54. Μεθοδιῷ τῷ ἀγωνικῷ πατριάρχῃ

Καὶ πρὸς τίνα ἀπελύσομαι, ἥ τα κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἀναρτήσω, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἱθὺνα, τὸν τῆς δίκης ἐπίκουρον, τὸν εὐταλάντως γνοστατούντα τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ἄρρεπειαν, τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ἐπίσκοπον, τὸν μετὰ τῶν διδομένων γνώμων, καὶ ἐξάγοντα τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἐνδοκο ἐκάστων στάθμην ἀδεκάστῳ ψηφίσματι; Ἀλλὰ τί μοι τὸ προομισαζόμενον βούλεστα; "Ὅτι ὡς ἡμῖν μὲν τοιοῦτο· ἑγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν, ὅπως τίς ἔστω, ἀνακαλύψω τῆς δίκης ἡμῖν περιπέτειαν ἔχουσαν ὅδε.

Βίβλος πάλαι πεπόνησαι ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόρων τῷ ἐμῷ γνησίῳ ὁμαίνων τῆς ἀγιοστικῆς τετρακτύος τῶν Ἐλαγγελιστῶν. ¶ 149 ¶ ἢν μοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἑκεῖ μεταβέμενος, οὰ δὴ τὰ κλήρον ἀναφαίρετον, ἐλασομένης μᾶλλον εἰσόμην, ἢ Κροίσως ὁ τῶν Λυδίων ἐστεργε χρημάτων ἀπόδεσμων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀργύρου μοι καὶ χρυσοῦ κρῆναν, κατὰ τὴν παρομίκα, ταυτῆς ἐπίπροσθεν προετέθειον, οὐδὲ λίθων ἐκ Σουφείρ διαύγειαν προετετήμητo, οὐδὲ παντὸς ἀλλοῦ τοῦ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς περιβλέπτου λαμπρότης ἐφήδου κτήματος, τῶν ἐν ἑλπίδι μοι θησαυρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένω, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἔχατον ἀνάγονου ὁρκέτων καὶ εἰς ὅ πάσα σπουδαῖον ἐφέρεις ὦσταται. Ταύτην ὡς μεθέξει τῆς μακαρίας λήξεως Στέφανος, ος ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὕπογραφεῖο τοῖς πηνικάδε προέλαμπε, πρὸς μεταβολὴν αἰτήσας ἐξήρθην· ὅ δὲ γ’ ἔχρησε Ἔλατη οὗ τῷ αὐδίμω ἱεράρχῃ Συνάδων, καὶ εἶτα, βραδυτότους ἐπιταχθῇσι καὶ μὴ ὅπερ ἐξήρθην ἀποδιδοὺς, θαμωπότερον ὡς ἡμῶν νυσσόμενος μακροθυμίας ἐνδοκο ἤτει, ως ἤδη ἐν κόλποις ἐχοντῶν ἡμῶν τὸ ζητούμενον. Ἐφ’ ὑμῖν (v.17)
matter, I shall attend; but if it can be accomplished without me, you will do well to free me from an undesirable trouble.

54. To Methodios, the most holy patriarch

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

A book of the fourfold holy Gospels was once made at the expense of my own brother; and when he passed to the other world, he bequeathed it to me as an inalienable heritage. I clung to it more than Croesus of Lydia loved his chest of money; for I preferred to it neither streams of silver and gold (as the proverb has it) nor did I value more highly the glittering gems of Ophir, nor did the splendor of any other conspicuous possession more delight my soul, since the treasures of which I am hopeful are stored up therein—treasures that lead up to the ultimate object of desire, which every zealous man strives to attain. This book Stephen (now transported to the realm of the blessed), who at that time was conspicuous among the imperial secretaries, requested and received for the purpose of emendation; and he lent it to Michael, the celebrated bishop of Synada, who, after much delay, did not return what he had taken and, on being frequently prompted by me, asked for a measure of patience inasmuch as I already had in my grasp that which I sought. Under these circumstances I showed patience and received no benefit; for death fell on him unexpectedly
54, 55

55. Τῷ αὐτῷ

Οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι τοῦ μεγέθους ἀξιώσθαι τῆς ἵερας ὑμῶν πατρότητος θυμήσεις ἡμῖν καταφαίνεται καὶ εἰ κατόπιν ἱερτῆς, κατὰ τὴν θύραθε παροιμίαν, διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἤκομεν. Τοῦτο γοῦν ἄνθερ ἱεστηρίας ἐκτενοῦς προβαλλόμεθα καὶ ὀσπερ τῶν ἱερῶν ὑμῶν ἀπρίξ ἐπειλήμμεθα, ὡς ἀν ἦν || 151 || τῆς ἀγιαστικῆς παρουσίας σου, δέσποτα,


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

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

55. To the same

Nothing appears pleasanter to me than to be eager of being deemed worthy of the grandeur of your holy Fatherhood, even if, because of my poverty, I have come the day after the fair, as the secular proverb has it. So much, at least, I am proffering instead of a lengthy supplication and, as it were, I am grasping tightly your feet so as
55, 56, 57

τύχοιμεν: ἂς μὴ ζημιώσης τοὺς παιδάς σου, κερδησείοντας ἐντεύθεν ψυχικής ἀρετῆς μεγίστην ἐπίδοσιν.

56. Κωνσταντινιακὴ κουράτορι

Μετά τοῦ μυρία τάλαντα τῷ οἰκείῳ δεσπότῃ (δοφείλοντος) οἰκε- τοῦ τὴν σὺν εὐσπλαγχνίαν διοσωπησά τροχήθημεν. Μακροθύμησον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀπορία πολλή πιεζομένης, καὶ πάν τὸ δοφείλομενον οὐκ εἰς μακράν ἀπολήψῃ. ὁ γὰρ πράκτωρ πικρός καὶ δριμὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιφύεται ἀπευθεὶν σφοδρὰν ἐπισειών, εἰ μὴ τὴν δοφείλην ἐκτίσαιμεν τάχιον· ὡσεὶ εἰ τὸ μακρόθυμον καὶ εἰμενὲς ἡμῖν τοῦτον οὐ καταδείησε, τὰ φυλακῆς καὶ δεσμῶν πειραθείμεν, καὶ ὑπακοήν ὁ ποιητὸς ὑποστηρισάμεθα δοῦλος, ἐως ἀποδώμεν τὴν ἐσχατον κοδράντην· ἀλλὰ τεθαρρῆκαμεν καὶ ἑλπὶς ἡμῖν ἄτιτον ἀνενδοίαστος μηδὲν ὃν οὔτος ἀπευθεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπε- ευχόμεθα πείσεσθαι, τυχεῖν δὲ ᾧν ἡτίκαμεν παρὰ τῆς σὺς φιλοσυμ- παθοῦς καὶ ἴπτιας χρηστότητος.

57. Κωνσταντινῷ φοιτητῇ ἀρτὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀνακληθέντι

Πῶς ἡμᾶς ὄψων διατεθείςαθι, φίλτατε παιδῶν, ἡνίκα τὴν ἐπ' ἀλ- λοδαπεῖς καὶ ἀλλοθρόνους ἀνδρας πικρῶν καὶ ἀνήμερον ἀπαγωγὴν δο- ριάλωτος ἢνες; Ἄρ' ὡς ἐκ τῶν ληθεδόνος πεποκότας καὶ φρενῶν ἡμοι- ρηκότας τῆς σὺς ἐκκλησίοντα ψυχικῆς διαθέσεως; Ἡ λύπη δυσλύτω

6 ἂς nos: ἢν V || ζημιώσας V: ζημιώσω G

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

56: 9 ἀνενδοίαστος V: corr. G || μὴδ' δὲν V: corr. G

57: 2 ἀλλοθρόνους ἀνδρας: cf. Od. 1.183; 3.302; 14.43; 15.453

57: 1 ἀλλοδαπ V || 2 ἀνήμερον: –υ ὅπερ supra lineam scripsit V || δοριάλωτον V || 3 ληθεδόνος πεποκότας V
to obtain your sanctifying presence. Do not deprive your children of it, who stand to gain thereby a great increase in spiritual virtue.

56. To the curator Konstantinakios

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

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

What do you think my feelings were, dearest of children, when you endured, a captive, that bitter and harsh deportation among foreign and alien men? Had I drunk, as it were, from some Lethe and lost my wits so as to forget utterly that you were
5 συνδεομένους κοπετων στις ήμιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ θερμὸν ἀφιέντας ἐκ καρδιάς δάκρυν παρεῖς λελουμένας ἐκμάττευν || 152 || καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολέγεσθαι, οὐκ ἀνεχομένους φέρειν ἀδιακριτῇ τῷ στὴν ἀνεπίληπτον στήριγμαν. Ἄλλα εἰ τὸ δεύτερον, καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνεις ἐχες καὶ λιῶν ὀρθῶς. οὕτω γὰρ εἴχεν τότε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰν τούτων διέκειτο. πάσα γὰρ αὐτοθήκης ἡμῶν ἐπιεικῶς καθήγητο καὶ τῶν οἴκειων αντιλήψεως διεσφάλλετο, ἐν τριῶδιο, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, ἀπορίας ὑπάρχουσα, ποίος ἀρα Κωνσταντίνοις κακοῖς συνεκήρυξεν; ἀρ’ ὑπ’ ἐν αὐτῆς μαχαίρας κατείργασται; Ἄρα δουλείας βαρυπενθεὶ κακοήθους δεσπότου μεμοιράται; Ἄρα δεσμώς άδιδις ὑπ’ ἄπειλής, ὡς ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδον, πε- πείδητα; Ἄρα βλέμματι βλαστήρῳ καὶ δειμαίνοντι αντοπεῖν ἡ καὶ ὅλως ὁμμα κανέν ἡ διανοίγεις τεθάρρηκέν; Ἄρα γλώσσῃ φρικτῶν βαρβαρο- άσοσις τῶν ἄλογον ὑποκινήσας; Καὶ ἀπαξιλῶς ἀνεμετρεῖτο μου καὶ ἡ τῶν κακοῦντων ὁμότης καὶ ἡ στὶ δρμυτάτῃ καὶ ἀναμπαθῆς ἀπαν- θρωτος κόλας. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ταύτα καὶ οὕτω διενεξεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑμετέρων δυσχερεώς ανέγνωκας, πῶς ἡδή τοῦ κρείττονος οἰκτυρμοῦς ἀφάτως τὴν ἀνάκλησιν ἡμῶν ἐνεργήματος, καὶ τῶν ἀπεριθμημένων ἁναρων ὑπεκλύσαστο, ἄλλοι, καὶ τυχὸν μὴ πονησάσας, τῆς ἑραστῆς ἐμοί θέας δαμιλῶς ἀπολαύσων, κατοι τῆν ἅλλως ἡμεῖς τῇ ζώφῃ τῆς κατηφείας νικομαχήσατε, ἄτε περικαθάρματα καὶ περιφήματα παρεβλέ- μεθα, καὶ πάντων ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἐόρτισεν κροτοῦθων ὑμέναιον, ἡμεῖς θρητη- κῶς ἀλαλάζουμεν; Ἄλλη’ ἐπὶ καὶ || 153 || ροὺ τὸ τῆς θύραθε παροιμίας κα- λῶν ἐπεστείν, γόνυ κημίδος ἕγγιον. πάντες γὰρ ὑμῖν εἰς ἄδελφοις καὶ οἰκείως ἐγνωσθήσαν ἡμεῖς δὲ ξένους καὶ νόιοι καὶ πόρῳ ἄριστος λελογίσμεθα. Ἄλλ’ ἐν ἡκα- τον τὸ σὲ γὰρ ἀνασεισώθωσα καὶ οὕτε ἐλπίδα πάσαν τῆς ἑνικῆς αναλεύθεραι βίας καὶ πρὸς τὰ πάτρα ἡθή καὶ θεῷ φίλα καὶ ἡμῶν ἀναδραμείν οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἡμῖν προεξένησε παρηγορήμα- ὑστέ καὶ μῆτε θεασάμενοι σε στέργομεν. Καὶ εἰ τούτων τίχομεν τὴν εἰς σὲ στοργῆν ἐπὶ πλείων αἰξήθησαμεν.


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dear? Or, shackled with indissoluble grief, was I raising a lamentation along with you and, shedding hot tears from my heart, was I wiping moist cheeks and renouncing my life since I could not suffer without weeping my unforgettable deprivation of you? If you supposed the latter, you were perfectly right and correct. For such indeed was my state and those were my feelings. Nearly all my senses were utterly bruised and lost their perception, being, as the proverb says, at the crossroads of perplexity. What misfortunes had Constantine met? Had he been slaughtered by a murderous dagger? Had he fallen to the wearisome slavery of an evil-minded master? Had he been bound under some threat with everlasting chains, as misfortune had it? Had he the courage to withstand a grim and terrible gaze, indeed to move his eyes about or even open them? Does he pretend to be dumb before a dreadful barbaric tongue? In brief, I went over both the cruelty of your oppressors and your most harsh, merciless, and inhuman torment. And since you realized that I have borne to such an extent your hardships, how is it that now, when the Highest in His ineffable compassion has accomplished your recall and freed you from the aforementioned miseries, others, who perhaps have not grieved, are enjoying freely the sight that is so dear to me, while I, who have fought vainly in the gloom of dejection, have been scorned as “filth” and “offscouring”; and whereas everyone raises a festive song for you, I am crying out in mourning? The secular proverb comes well to hand, “The knee is nearer than the shin”; for everyone else has won kinship with you as brother and friend, while I am considered a stranger, a bastard, and one come from afar. Welcome, in any case. For the fact that you have been saved, that you have been freed against all expectation from alien violence and have returned to your ancestral home that is dear to God and to me, has caused me no small consolation. And so, even though I have not seen you, I love you. And if I should be vouchsafed that also, my love for you would increase all the more.
58. Λειτύρι πρωτοσπαθαρίως, ἀσηκρήτης

Εἶδον δὲ τὴν λύσιν εὐρίσκουσιν αἱ πρὸς ὡμᾶς ἵκετεία καὶ τῆς ἀντιληπτικῆς μεθέξεως ὅμων δεξίαν ἀποφέρονται τὴν περαιώσιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴπερ ἐν χειρὶ τῶν δεομένων ἦν τὰ αὐτοῦμενα, τουαύτης ἔτυχεν ἐπτερωμένης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐτοιμὸτρος: νυνὶ δὲ, (οὐ) καθ' ἀλέγεται, ἀμα ἐπος ἄμα ἐργον τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξανέτεινον καὶ ταύτα οὔ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀλήτου ψυχής καθαπτόμενος φθέγγομαι: μηδὲ γὰρ οὕτως μανείην, ἣ φρενών ἐξω πέσουμι: οἴδα γὰρ, ἐκθόμως εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν συμπάθειαν ἐδραμὲς εἰ καὶ μὴ κατέλαβετο: ὃ δὲ με πρὸς ἀφασίαν κινεῖ καὶ ὅλως ἐξίστησιν καὶ πρὸς βυθὸν ἀπορίας συγκάτεσιν, οὐ συγὴ παραδοῦναι βεβοῦλημαι.

10 Τί δὲ τοῦτο ἐστιν ἔρως.

Πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ ἢλίου ἐκβολῶν καὶ μέχρι Ἀρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ Βαδεῖρων, πράγμασιν ἀδοκήτους καὶ συμφοράς πιεόμενοι, ὑπὸ τὴν θαλακῆν τοῦ κουκὸς προστάτου ἡμῶν τε μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ πολλῶν καὶ πάντων καταφεύγουσιν πτέρνηω, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ δικαιοπραγίᾳ 15 τῶς ἐαυτῶν οἰκτιμοῦς ἐπηρεάστουσιν, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀπρέπει περιδράζαντο: οὕς, κατὰ τὴν θυραῖν παραμιᾶν, ἐστῶσιν ωςκι καὶ κεχνόσιν ὄμμασιν προσανέχοις καὶ εὐμενεία βαθύτατη δεχόμενος, ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀδεκάστους σοφαίς ἐπικρίσεσις, οἷα σφαγίδι, τὰς πάντων στραγγαλίσεις διαφόρας εὐλότας ἐπιδειμεῖ καὶ χαρίστας πρὸς τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἢς παλυδρομεῖν ἐπαφήσιν, ὡς ἠδὴ τὸ 'επτομένων ἀπαράγραφων ἐχοντας: οἴδε ἐν φυτείς τινος αὐτής ἐξεῖοντο καὶ ταύτης ὑπ' ἐντρόπης καλυπτομένου προφερομένης ὡς περικάθαρμα καὶ περίφημα καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἀποτρόπαιον ἔχησιν. Τῇ γὰρ πενεχρότητι καὶ εὔτελείᾳ μου προσέχω, (διατι) τῆς αὐτοῦ κηδεμόνις ἀλλοτροῖ καὶ ἀνάξων τίθεται, δεῦος ὡς ἡπορημένως διὰ θεοῦ ἐπικουρεῖν, (καὶ) μακαρίς ἐλπίς ταρρέειν ἐγκελεύειν; Ἡ οὐ μέμνην ὅτι με τῆς ἐν ἄρχῃ μοναδικής ἡνυχίαις αὐτοῦ κατεσπάσατο, ὡς ὁμολαβεθέν ἀθελοῦσαντες, καὶ ὃς καὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἐκάστας καταπαῖζοντες, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ ἁσώτον κερατίων, ἣ φησιν ἣ κυρία ῥήσις, ἥμερόμενον ἀπο

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

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

Οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καθάψῃ μον, καὶ δὴ σιωπῶν, ἐκεῖνο προσφυὸς ὑπειπῶν τὸ ἡσιδίων εἰρηπίδειον: σήγα σείγα λεπτὸν ἔχοις ἀρβύλης, δὲ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐρεῖς τὸ προαλές καὶ κολοώδες τῆς ἐμῆς γλωσσαλγίας ἐλέγχων ἑγὼ δὲ, διακών τῷ γράμματε Χρώμενος τούτῳ, καὶ μοι, ἐρώτω, ἔξαίδα, μὴ κεῖθε νόφη, ἵνα σοῦ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σιωπῆς ἐπιγνώμεν ἐπιεικῶς τὸ πολύφωνον.

60. Νικηφόρος διακόνῳ

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

59. To Nikephoros the chartophylax

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

60. To the deacon Nikephoros

If you had any knowledge that I had aught against you and was badly disposed toward you, you should, according to the commandment, have left your gift before the altar and obtained your reconciliation with your brother. But, as God can see and
ός θεός ἐφορᾷ καὶ τὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως κριτήριον ἀνενδοιάστως μαρτύρεται, οὐκ ἀνέβη διαλογισμός ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἡμῶν κατὰ τῆς σῆς ὑπολήψεως· καὶ πῶς διεκρίθης, μοιοῦ δίκην, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰς ἡμῶν ἡπορήμεθα· καὶ γὰρ νόσῳ μοιχηρᾷ προσπαλαίσταστες, ὡς μικροῦ, κατὰ τὴν παρομιᾶν, διὰ δακτυλίου ἐλκυσθήσατε, καὶ παρά πολλῶν τῶν τὴν κυρίαν φωνὴν πληροῦν εἰδότων πολλάκες τημεληθέντες, ἤμεστα παρὰ τῆς σῆς εὐμενοῦς ῥοπῆς ἐπεσκέμμεθα. Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ θυσία ὑπὸ φήμης αἰρόμενοι, δι’ ἐξοδίου ἐκφορᾶς ἡμᾶς τῷ θανάτῳ προεπέμψαν. | 156 | καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν σε οὐ πρὸς κηδείαν ἡμῶν ἐγνώμεν ἀπεργάσασθαι· καὶ λέγομεν ἃς τοὺς μονοῦς ἡμᾶς προσέθουν, καὶ τούτως ἐπιβοηθῶν τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡπιστήτησας, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, μῆδ’ εἰς ἐχθρῶν κεφαλᾶς διαβῇ τῷ βλάσφημον, εἰ καὶ λήθη ποσῶς μεσιτεύσασα τούτο τοπάζειν δίδωσι. Θάρσει τοιγαροῦ ὡς οὐδὲ τοῖς περισσεῖσιν ἡμᾶς τῷ τάφῳ συνεδραμες· ἢ γὰρ ἐν ἐπιτυμβίους ἐλέγους ἡμῶν ἐπεμετρησας καὶ στίχον ἐπικοῦν ἐξάτονον ἑτέμες (καὶ) λωνικῶ μείζονι συμπλέξας ἐμέτρως ἐλάττωνα, μέλος ἡμῶν ἐπιτάφιον. Τούτους γὰρ ἀφοσιοῦσθαι σε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίαν καὶ καθ’ ἐδοὺ τελοῦντες ἠλπίζομεν. Ἀλλὰ θεῶ τελεία χάρις τῷ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς φήμης τῶν θανατοῦντων ἐκλύσαντι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους δακτύλους μὴ πρὸς μέτρα νεκρῶ καὶ κόπους κυνήσαντι. Πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα γράφειν ὃ καὶρός ἐδίδον, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον μέτρου ἀριστοῦ ὑπετέμετο ὡς ἢν μὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν κατὰ λόγον ἴοοπαν γλώτταν πρὸς ἀμετριάν ὀπλίσαμεν.
the tribunal of my conscience witnesses unhesitatingly, no thought arose in my heart against your Honor. Indeed, I am at a loss why you have parted yourself so far from me like a wild boar. For I have struggled with a grievous illness to the point of being drawn through the ring (as the proverb has it) and was often cared for by persons who knew how to fulfill the Lord’s saying, yet was in no wise visited by your kind self. Some indeed, carried off by rumor, consigned me to burial and death, and I know that you did not even join them in performing my funeral. I declare that you have sided with those that hate me and, in helping them, have transgressed against your friendship toward me. May not this happen, may not the slander pass into the heads of my enemies, even though oblivion, by its partial interposition, allows us to suppose this. So be of good cheer in that you have not even helped those who covered me with a tomb, for then you would have had to scan for me a funerary elegiac poem and fashion epic verses in hexameter, and weave the major ionic in due measure with the minor, and so sing to me a burial song. Even as I was near Hades I was hoping that you were devoting to such matters your friendship toward me. But complete thanks be to God who has both freed me from the report of those who were putting me to death and has spared your fingers from the toil of composing verses for a dead man. It would have been opportune to write many other things, but due measure has trimmed my speech that I may not lead to excess your tongue which proceeds according to reason.

61. To the same

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

'Αδελφὸς ἦν μοι πάλαι πατρός ἐν τάξει γυναῖκος || 158 || στεργομένος, τῇ τε κατὰ Χριστὸν προβαθμίῳ ποιότητι, καὶ τῇ τῶν θείων λόγων εὐφράμω ποιότητι. Ἐκ βρέφους γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα κατὰ Παῦλον, ὡς ὁ νήφων ἐν πάσην δισκήσας Τιμόθεος, αἰδοῖος τε, σεμνός τε παρὰ πάσην ἐκρίνετο· ὡς ἱερὸς ἱερωθεῖς, λειτουργός ἄρχιερέως τὴν ἀρετὴν συρανίων καὶ θεράπων ὁτηρῶς ἐχομάτισεν, πρῶος, προσηνήματι τῷ πνεύματι, ταπεινῷ, εὐμενῆς, μειλίχιος, φίλιος, ξένοις, ἱκέσιοι καὶ παντὶ δεξιῷ προτερῆματι κατὰ πάντα κοσμούμενος. Ἄλλ' ἐλλεγχω τῇ γέγονεν εἰπεῖν· εἴ γὰρ προλογήσω ὡς θάνατος αὐτὸν συννηπτάκει, ἑρημικῶν ἀλαλαγμῶν ἐγερῶ καὶ γορεῶν ἀποκλαύσωμαι καὶ πλήρεις οἴκτου καρδιακῶν ἐκκαλεύσωμαι δάκρυν. Τὸ γὰρ ἀπροόπτως ἐπιπεσόν ὀδὲ πολλάκις ὡς ἀπὸ τινὸς καταστήματος τὴν ψυχὴν ἐφ’ ἔτερον

5 ἀγιοσύμμενος V || 8 αὐτῶν V || 9 ἐπὶ κρήναις V || 10 ἐπείχομαί V || ρώγας in ράγας corr. V || ἡμετέρου V || 12 εὐγαγγέλι V


62: 3 γράμματα delovit manus recentior || 6 εχομάτισεν V || 9 τῇ γεγονός εἰσείων V: τὸ γεγονός αἰσθεῖν G || 12 ἔφ. ἔτερου nos. ἐφετὶ (= αἷον) V: ἐφέστην G
festive provisions. This I was not doing alone; for another man, unknown to me, appeared to be walking in front of me. The fellow drinkers spat in his face, threw to the ground the dishes he was serving, and excluded him from the festivities, while they treated me as worthy of reception and placed me on a seat as if I were one of them. What this vision signifies you may judge for yourself. I pray that those grapes do not indicate the shedding of tears on account of the demise of your relative. Nay, I am confident that I shall receive from you a release from my sorrow through some divine tidings of joy, having regard to the cheerful joyousness of the guests in my dream. May God grant me that the vision should find such fulfillment and not cause weeping and tears by the intercession before her Son and God of our protectress, God's Mother, who wipes all pain and deathly tears from every face, and that of all the saints. Be it so!

62. A letter of consolation to the same

I had a brother once whom I truly loved as if he were my father by virtue of the degree of his precedence in Christ and the well-ordered quality of his divine utterances. For he had studied the holy Scriptures from his infancy like Timothy who was watchful in all things (to quote Paul) and was considered reverend and honorable by all men. Having been ordained as one holy, he served as the minister and eager attendant of pontiffs of heavenly virtue. He was gentle, kindly in spirit, humble, well-disposed, gracious, friendly, hospitable, open to supplication, and adorned in all respects with every good advantage. But I am filled with dizziness if I am to declare what has happened to him: for if I say at the outset that death has seized him, I shall raise a mournful cry, lament plaintively, and elicit from my heart tears filled with pity. Indeed, an unforeseen event is often able to move the soul from one disposition to
μετάγειν, καὶ μεστὴν ἀποδεικνύναι θάμβους καὶ δείματος· ὅθεν ἐμφιλοχωρῶν τῷ κατ’ ἐμὲ πάθει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ μουσική συμβηκήσαι προ- ῥημαίοι, οὐκ ἔξε αὐτῆς δὲ βαλβίδος, ἢ λέγεται, ταύτῃ ἀναξίαν βεβού- λημα. Καὶ τούτῳ ποιοῦν μμείωσθαι δοκῶ τῶν τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Παρνασ- τίδος ἀγγελον μυρίσατα βάναυτον, καθ’ ἡ Κηθίας ἰστόρρησεν. Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ θανατηφόρος ὡς τὴν Παρυσσατιν ἀγγελον, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπε- δωσθησαν ὡς Κύρος ἀπέθάνεν, ἀλλ’ ἤγγειλε πρῶτον ὦτι νυκτὶ· ἢ δὲ ἠθηθ ἢ καὶ ἀγώνι συμμυγείς; προσήρετο. Βασιλείας δὲ πὼς πράττει; ὁ δὲ, τέφευγεν πολὺς χόρον. Ἡ δ’ ὑπολαμβάνει. Τισαφήρης αὐτῷ τούτων αἰτιο- καὶ πάλιν ἐπανερώτησε, Κύρος δὲ πού νῦν; ὁ δὲ ἀγγελος ἀμέμβε- ται· εὕρα δει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας αὐξηθείσας. Ὅρας ὡς κατὰ μικρὸν προών τὸν βάναυτον εἰπεῖν ταμείωτα· καὶ τῇ ἀκονιστήτῃ δουλευόν προβαζέσθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς προμαντεύσονταί βάναυτον. Τούτῳ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς διδοκίμασκε, μὴ προτεράν ἀπογυμνώσαι τῇ ὑμε- τέρᾳ τῆς λύπης ἐπήρειου, πρὶν ἄν τῆς ἐμῆς πραγμάτικς θεατρίσω τὰ πάλαι ὀρθοματά.

Τῷ οὖν ἔρω; Ὁτι σὺ μὲν οὐδεμίας τῆς ἐξ ἡμῶν παραμυθίας δεδέχ- 

σαι, καὶ εἰ τῇ δρομαίᾳ τῆς δυσθημίας δεδίκασαι· ἔχεις γὰρ ἐνυδομικη- 

σαν παράκλησιν τῆς τῆς θείας λογίτητος παίδευσιν, ἢ καὶ ὑπνοῦντι 

συγκαθεῦνει σοι καὶ διανοικατέμενος φανερῶς συνεγρήγορε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἡ 

τῆς κατήρρου λογικῇ τὸ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἱδεῖν ἢ καὶ ἀμεθὺς ἐκρήξας, τὸ δὴ 

λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ μέτρα τῇ λύπῃ φυλάττουσα ὅλον σε δεικνύει χαριέντα- 

εγώς γὰρ καὶ καλὸς ἀνέγνως ὡς ὦ μένους, οὐδεὶς μοιρὰς ἐνυδω- 

δέμεθα, ἐπεὶ τῆς ὑποσχεβείσης ἀδιδότητος ἐαυτοὺς ἐξωθήσαμεν. Ἀνα- 

λόγισαι γὰρ τῶν χειρί θεοῦ φυραθέντα καὶ κραθέντα γενάχρητων ἡμῶν, ὡς 

καλὸς· ὡς βανιστικός, ὡς ἀξίως τοῦ παντός· ἐργον γὰρ τῆς ἀκαμάτων 

χειρὸς ἐκείνης καὶ νεαρὸν ὑπήρξε πλαστούργημα· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τῆς ἐνυλίθς 

τοῦ πλάσσαντος κατόπιν διὰ τῆς συμβανίας τοῦ ὄφεως ἐδραμεῖν, τῶν 

βάναυτῶν· 160 ὡς πατρὸς κλήτην ἐδέξατο, καὶ παντὶ τῷ γένει τῶν 

βαθὺς ἐκαινιοῦργες καὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἐκτομῆν, ὡς δ’ ἄξιόν τῆς παραβά- 


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

What, then, shall I say? That you stand in need of no condolence on my part, even if you are cut asunder by the sword of despair: for you have within yourself a hidden consolation—the culture of your divine learning which lies beside you when you are asleep and wakes up splendidly when you arise, and does not allow despondency to look sullenly in your face or to erupt gloomily, as the saying goes, but imposes a limit on your sorrow and makes you altogether cheerful. Indeed, you know and rightly acknowledge that we do not abide nor are we tied to a permanent life inasmuch as we have expelled ourselves from the promised eternity. Consider our ancestor who was kneaded and compounded by God's hand—how fair he was, how admirable, how worthy of all things; for he was the work of that untiring hand and its youthful creation. But when, through the serpent's counsel, he disregarded the Creator's command, he received death as his inheritance, he inaugurated a deep tomb for his whole race, and wrought with the adze of the transgression the severance of
σεως, ἐρετικῶς. Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μόνοις τοῖς πταίσασιν ὁ τῆς ἐπιτυμίας πέλεκυς σταμοῦται καὶ τὴν τομήν ἀφῆσιν, ἀλλὰ, κατὰ τὸν εἰπόντα μέγαν διδάσκαλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούς μὴ ἀμαρτήσαντας ἐσομάξεται καὶ στιλβοῦται καὶ τείνεται. Ἀναζεύσεις τῷ νοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνέκαθεν γενέσιν, καὶ ὅψει τῶν μέγαν Ἀβραὰμ ἀργυρίου τάφων ὄνομέμενον· τὴν τῆς τομῆς γὰρ ταύτης πλῆξεν ἐξεδέχετο· Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ διὰ πίστεως γεννησώθηντα διὰ καὶ σπέρμα δωδεκατέρου ἄμμου καὶ ἀστέρων ἄριθμον κρείττονοι


44 μεγα V || 46 τίνεται V || 47 ἄμωμοι V || 48 ἄμωμοι V || 49 κρείττ V || 58 ἄμωμοι V || 60 τὰ ἄγαμα V || 61 οὕδες V || 62 δι' οὖ V || 69 γενεσί V || 70 οἴκημα V || 73 δι' V
life. Not only for the sinners is the axe of punishment sharpened and used for cutting, but, as the great teacher has said, it is prepared, burnished, and raised even for those who have not sinned. Turn back your mind to the first generations, and you will see the great Abraham buying a tomb for money, for he was expecting the blow of that severance—Abraham, who by his faith had become intimate with God and produced from his loins a seed more abundant than the sand and tribes greater in number than the stars. Then Isaac, Jacob, and the latter's son Judah, from whom Christ is descended according to the flesh; Moses, too, whom God confirmed as His servant, through whom Egypt was chastised in divers places, the sea was parted, Pharaoh was buried in the waters with all his host, the Law went forth, and God made him the beholder of his back parts; Aaron, Phinehas, all those who adorned the holiness of the priesthood under the Law, Samuel, David, the pinnacle of the prophets, the true likeness of God's heart. Go on in your discourse to the realm of Grace, and you will find that those luminaries who had shone by their virtues, after pleasing God in an incomparable manner, entered their sacred graves in their naked holy bodies to await the last trumpet: for example, the Forerunner, to whom no mortal man born of woman may be compared; Peter, whom God made door-keeper of heaven and to whom He entrusted its keys; Paul, whom the meadows of paradise welcomed high above this world and to whom God openly confided His secret words; the angel-like Stephen for whom the heavens opened up and Jesus Christ appeared as equal to the Father. But why am I enumerating to you the guardians of the Law and those who have served Grace, when all creation is awaiting its change through transformation? For the heavens shall utterly pass away, the stars shall melt as they burn, the earth and all the works therein shall be consumed. No wonder that we also, who are part of creation, shall needs undergo the same alteration through incorruptibility.

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Τὸ χαρακθὲν νωὶ πρὸς μὲ γράμμα τῆς σῆς μὲν ὑπῆρχε || 163 ||
χειρὸς, οὐ μὴν δὲ τοῦ σοῦ κήμα νοσῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐγνώρισά τι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ σεσημειωμένων μέμφεσιν, ὦ μου κηλίδα καὶ μολυσμὸν ἐπιτρίψειν,

63. Ὁ αὐτῷ

62, 63

'Ορφανὸς ἀπελεύθην ἄλλα καὶ πατὴρ πρὸ τούτου καὶ κατὰ κήδος ἡμῶν (εἰ) τὶς ἐγγύων ἀπέφηγε καὶ πάντες δοσι τὸ τῆς εὐνοίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποσώσουσιν δυναμικῶς· πρὸς ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ μικρῷ μεθ’ ἡμᾶς τῷ τῆς πλακὸς ταύτῃ ὑποδύοντο πανοκτίστος καλύμματι, καὶ οὐδεμία παραίτησις δυσωπήσας διανήσεται· οὐ κρῆναι χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργυρῷ. || 162 || καὶ ἔλεγεται, τὸν τῆς ταφῆς ὄφων ἐξωτησάμενο· οὐ πατρὸς σπλάγχνης τῶν νῦν ἐξαιρήσεται· οὐ στοργὴ μητρὸς τῶν εαυτῆς τοκετῶν καθέξους ισχύσειν. Μία δὲ μόνη καὶ ταύτην οἰδὲ ὅστην ποιεὶν τὴν μετάβασιν, ἡ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα καὶ θεῖον ἐπιστροφή καὶ ἐλευθερία ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μελέτη καὶ πρὸς τὰ κρείττων προκοπή καὶ ἐπαύξεσις· τούτους εαυτοὺς βελτιώσωμεν· τούτως, ἀναγκαίως οὕσιν πρὸ τῆς ὄρας ἐκείνης, τῆς ψυχῆς εαυτῶν καθοπλίσωμεν, μὴ δακρύουσι ἐπιστυμβίους τοὺς ἀποχομένους προσέμποντες, ἐαυτοὶς δὲ, κατὰ τὴν κυρίαν ῥήματι, θερμῶς ἀποκλαίωντες. Πώς γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐκεὶ κριτὴν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν εὑρομένην ἔλεος, καὶ χωρῆσομεν εἰς τὰς ἀκαταλύτους μονάς, ἄλλα μὴ δεθεῖμεν χέιρας καὶ τόδες καὶ ἐκείνην τὸν ὁκνηρὸν ὀικέτην καὶ πονηρόν, φι πρῶτος ἐγὼ τοῖς πρακτεῖοις παρασυμβληθείς ἀπέραντα μετακλαίσομαι καὶ ἀπορρυθήσομαι πρὸς τὰ τὸ σκότους τὸ ἐξωτέρου μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀφεγή καταγώγια. Ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς μὴ πειραθήμεν δόθη θεὸς ταῖς αὐτῷ φίλαις εαυτοὺς ἀρεταῖς ὁραίσαντας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐκείσε καλλοναῖς καὶ ἄπολαίστεσεν ἐντρυφώσατο διαιωνίζων ταῖς τῶν ἀγίων χοροστασίαις. Γένοιτο. Γένοιτο.

63. Τὸ αὐτῷ

74 ὁρφανὸς ἀπελεύθην: cf. To. 1.8 || 78 κρῆναι χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργυρῷ: Diogen. II.93; Diogen. Vind. 1.82 || 86–87 εαυτοῖς – ἀποκλαίωντες: Lc. 23.28 || 89 τῶν ὁκνηρῶν – πονηρῶν: Mt. 25.26 sqq. || 89–90 ὁ – παρασυμβληθείς: cf. Ps. 48 (49).13, 21

74 ὁρφανὸς ἀπελεύθην: cf. To. 1.8 || 76 ἀποσώσω(ν) vel –εὼν || ᾗ G: el V || τῷ nos: τὸ V || 78 κρῖναι V || 79 καθ’ V || ἀφῆς V; 85 ἐαυτῷ V || ἐντυχεμένους: V: ὁλοχεμένους G || 87 ἀποκλαίωσαμεν legendum? || 90 an πράξεσι legendum? || 92 ἡμῶν V || 93 ὁραίσαντες ἀλλὰ ταῖς V

63: 1 ὑπείρηκε V || 2 τῶν G: τὴν V

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

63. To the same

The letter you have now penned to me is indeed by your hand, but is not a product of your mind; for I did not recognize (in myself) any of the censures noted therein such as would impute to me a stain and a pollution, but which rather hold out
έτερος δέ των, οὗ καλὸς, ἀγνωμονήσασιν ἐπισειόν παραράσεως ἕγκλημα· οὔς, ὡς ἐγώμαι, τῷ γραφεί καλάμῳ πεκράν ἀπήρειαν καὶ δριμεῖαν τῷ μέλαιν συγκεραννίσε ἐπονείδις· ἀλλὰ τούτοις οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἀφεῖς, ἐμὸν δὲ τοῦτο μηναθεῖς καὶ τραχὺ προσειδῶ ἄκρατον μοι τὸν θυμὸν διά τοῦ γράμματος ἀπεκέννωσα. Διατι: Ὄτι (οὗ) συνῆληγησά, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι πάθει οὐ συνέπαθον; Μαρτυρήσει ἡ ἐφορος δίκη, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἄλγους ἐπηθοθῇν καὶ τῷ πάθει συνέπαθον. Ἀλλ᾽ ὃτι τὸ μὴ παρουσίασάμεν ἐκ τρόπων πάθεων φλεγμονῆς ἀνίας ὑμῖν ἀπεγέννησε; Καὶ τοῦτο τῆς διακρίσεως ὑμῶν πέλαγος, δὲ πάντα μετείρα οἴδε καὶ κατὰ δύναμαν ἀπαίτειν; Ἡρας γὰρ καὶ νόσηστι καὶ καιρώς, ἐπίτασιν φέρων χειμερίων, οὐ πόρῳ συγγνώμην τετάχαται. Τί γὰρ καὶ καθοιστερῆσαμεν;

Οὐ διὰ γράμματος τὸν ὀφθέντα προσηγγείλαμεν ὑνειρον; Οὐ διαφόροις ἐπισκέψεις διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἡμῶν εἰσθότων ἐπιθύμεθα εἰ ἄρα κομψότερον ὁ πάσχων ἐσχέν; Ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὑδώρ κατὰ σὲ στείρομεν, ἢ φησὶν ἡ παρομία, καὶ χάρις συνέματε μετόπισθεν εὐφρεγών. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν σταῖμεν, 164 ἢ αὐτοὺς ἔξενοι ἑπὶ πλεῖον ἐκείνον τοῦ γράμματος δεῖξαμεν.
against others, who have improperly shown ingratitude, the accusation of neglecting you. It was them, I believe, you were upbraiding by your writing pen as you mixed with your ink a bitter and harsh cruelty. But having, I know not how, forgiven them, you bethought yourself of me and, with a savage look, poured upon me through your letter your intemperate anger. Why? Because I did not share in your suffering, because I did not sympathize with your grief? All-seeing Justice will testify that I was both conscious of the pain and did sympathize with your grief. Was your distress inflamed by the fact that I did not visit you in person? Is such the ocean of your discernment that is able to measure everything and make demands according to one’s ability? Indeed, old age, illness, and the season, which brings a wintry onset, are well nigh considered as valid excuses. Have I also been tardy? Have I not announced by letter the dream I had had? Have I not inquired through my servants who visited you on several occasions whether the patient was feeling better? But, in your case, I was sowing in water, as the proverb says, and no gratitude followed my good deeds. If I were to stand in front of you, I would show you all the more how undeserving I am of that letter.

64. Nikephoros to Ignatios

If you had known clearly, O my friend and most reverend of fathers, that I always carry in my mind your thrice longed-for Virtue, that I constantly see it in a mirror—for, just as I behold you in front of my eyes, so I imagine the image of your kindness—you would not have thought and considered that I had ignored and consigned to oblivion your unforgettable Prudence. You seem, however, unless I am far from the truth, to be unaware of the strength of my disposition or rather attraction toward you (for I am slow and not fast in being altered with regard to your unalterable
Δέχομαι δι’ οὖν ἔτερον ἢ τοῦτον γε ἕνεκα μέχρι τοῦ δεύτερο τῆς περιστεράς καὶ τοῦ κόρακος ἡμῶν τεταμένου. Οὔτε δὲ κατὰ τὸ πυκνὸν, ᾣς πρέπῃ τότε τῶν περιόδων, ἐν τοῖς συνεχεῖς τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς 165 ἀλλὰ καθ’ ὡμᾶς πεφαρμένη, κολαξεῖται τὰ τοῦ κόρακος: οὔτε γὰρ πυκνότητα περιόδων τὸ σταλέν ἐμπεριεῖχε γράμμα: δύο γὰρ ἡ τρεῖς ἄλλ’ οὐ πλείους, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἐμέλλομεν ἀκούοντες ναυτίων οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ ἀπίθανον ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν πυκνότητι περιόδων συνεχεὶ ἐνθυμημάτων εὑρίσκει πυκνότητα: ἄλλ’ ἡν διὰ τὸ πυκνὸν μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾷ καὶ γὰρ ἢν πληρεστάτως τὸ σταλέν· ὥστε γραφῇ κατηγορίας ἡλώς, τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν πάθος τι προσαγαγεῖται, ἢ ἐπικαλέσασται· ἐπεὶ οὖν κατὰ των συνθεσιῶν τῶν περιόδων ἡμάρτηται, ἢ καθ’ ἐτέρον ἔτυμον τρόπον παρατηρήσεως ἰδέας λόγου, ὡν τὸ σῶν περὶ τῆς μέθοδον δεινῶν καὶ ἄλλως πολυμαθές, δ’ καὶ λίων τεθαυμάκαμεν καὶ εἰ διὰ μὲν τολῶς πεποιηκαμεν, παράδραμωμεν. Ἐμμογένης γὰρ τις ἄλλος ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐν παισὶ γέρῳν, ἐν δὲ γέρουσιν παῖς, κατὰ τὸ ἄδομένου καὶ φερόμενου, ἄλλ’ ἐν γεραιτέρως εἰ γεραίτατος, ἢ γεραιτάτος καὶ συνετυπώτατος ἀναπέφηνας, ἂλλη των συνθεσιών ἰδέαν λόγου βελτίων πολύ καὶ ἐξοχωτάτην, ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀριστείδου ἐπέκεινα. Τί δαὶ καὶ τὸ κωμικὸν ἡμῶν εἰς μέσον παρατηγαί, πιστούμενος ἡμᾶς πάντως διὰ τοῦτον ὡς τὸ γράφειν ἀφελῶς καὶ δοκεῖν οὐκ ἐν συντάξει λέγειν, τοῖς συνεχεῖς μᾶλλον, οὐδὲ εὐφημισθὼν 166 ἀρμόδιον; Καὶ οὕτω γε τῷ πρέποντι καὶ τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ δοκεῖ ὡς ἢν τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τῆς ἀπειθείας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δι’ ἐχθρασ δυντὰς τῇ περισκέλι καὶ συμπλοκῆ τῶν λόγων ἐμφαίνωντο τοῖς μεμφομένοις καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς ὅτι πλείστης ἐπιτιμώσι διὰ τὸ γράμματος. Πῶς γὰρ ἢν καὶ πρέπει λόγων ἐνθοῦς τε καὶ ὄρθοτης καμπύλων νοήματι καὶ στρεμβλῆ; Τὸ δομον γὰρ ἐπακολουθεῖ τῷ δομοὶ καὶ ὅσα τῶς τὸ συγγενές τῷ


10 προβλήτως ἀκτίς V 14 ὧν· V 15 φιλέστατε V: corr. G 23 ἀλλ’ ἢ V πληρεστάτου V 26 ἦ σειμοίς V: ή των G | 27 ἡδέας V | 30 γερετέρως ἢ V | 33 ἀριστίδου V | 36 τῷ πρέποντι: ὁ τρεπτὸν τιν V

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friendship, so lovely it is and widely celebrated). For if, just like a jutting shore that
is repeatedly struck by the waves as the winds are roused, the constant and repeated
squalls of life's troubles did not strike my wretched and miserable soul without let or
respite, I would have used every season and every hour to write to you and inquire of
your news, O dearest friend.

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

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

1–3.

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

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

2 ἀνεμαίας φρενός: cf. VN 139.13: τῆς κουφόδους καὶ ἀνεμαίας ἀπι-
COMMENTARY

στίς κατάπαυσις, ibid., 166.25: τοῖς ἀνεμλαίοις καὶ ἀστάτοις... ληφήμασι.
The word is also attested in the Life of St. Thomas of Lesbos = BHG 3 2455; cf. Th. Detorakis, 'Αθήνα 80 (1985–89), 226.

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

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

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


20 πλατύνεται: cf. VT 395.27: “It would take an experienced orator to compose a biography of Tarasios, μη δι γε ἡμῶν εὑτελεία λόγου πλατυνομένου πρὸς τοσούτον ὤγκον εὐγενείας ἀναδραμεῖν, . . .” etc.

2. 1 (ἐν) μέρει πληροφορίας: cf. letter 30.4–5 and VT 409.27: εἰ γὰρ δόμεν ἐν μέρει πίστεως εἶναι τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενα, that is, “If we grant that these allegations are credible.” This usage may be a borrowing from Demosthenes, 21.165, 166 (ἐν χάριτος μέρει . . . τοῦτ ἐν εὐργεσίας ἀρθυμησεν μέρει).

3 (ἐν) λήθη: The addition appears necessary and may be justified by a parallel in letter 11.7–8: ἐν λήθη γέγονεν; but cf. VT 395.16: δόσα πεπείραμαι καὶ τῇ εὐτελεί καὶ πενιχρὰ μου μνήμη μένειν ἐπίσταμαι. Heikel supplies (ἐν) . . . μνήμη, whereas Nikitin would emend ἐτοι καὶ τό καῦ.

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

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


κοιράτωρ: This must have been an ecclesiastical, not a civil or imperial kou- rator, otherwise Ignatios would not have been responsible for him. We assume that he was the administrator of an estate (perhaps situated at some distance from Nicaea) subject to the oikonomos. Cf. V. Laurent in BZ 33 (1933), 353 note 3; Darrouzès, Offikia, 81 note 304. The sixth-century inscription from Ὀλυμπον, διὰ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ κοιράτου, may also refer to an ecclesiastical kou- rator (H. Grégoire, Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes d’Asie Mineure [Paris, 1922], no. 94), though this cannot be regarded as certain since, in spite of canonical prohibitions, clergymen did on occasion assume secular kou- ratoriai. This may also be the case of Euprepianos, disciple of Theodore the Studite, who, pretending to be a layman, was more procuratoris in charge of buying and loading beasts of burden for an abbess in the mountains of Prusa: . . . μόνον τε ὑπάτα καὶ μειζονερ- κῶς ἤγγοι κοιρατορικῶς τῇ ἡγουμενῇ δουλεύοντα ζώὰ τε ἐπαγοράζοντα καὶ
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4 ἀποκαλίζω: probably to be understood literally as “settlement away from home.”

8–9 τοιαύτη ... ἀντιλήψεως: ironic.

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

21–22 σκόλου ... ἐκβαλλόν, λείαν: cf. VN 153.16–17: τὰ ἐν μέσῳ σκόλα καὶ σκάνδαλον ... ὑφελόμενος ... ; VGD 68.3: ἄπαν πρόσκομμα καὶ σκόλων ἐξέβαλε τής ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγοισις ὅδοι, καὶ λείαν ἐαυτῷ ταύτην κατασκεύασας ... ; VT 406.30: καὶ πᾶν σκόλον (σκολιὸν perperam Heikel) ἐκβάλλων εἰθείας πολεῖ τὰς τρίβους τῆς πίστεως ... ; Greg. Naz., Orat. in laudem Basilii, PG 36, 540B: λέει τὰ ἐν μέσῳ σκόλα καὶ προσκόμματα. Further examples in Lampe, s.v. See also Nikitin’s comment, “O nekotoryh,” 11.

4.

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

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

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

[166]
5.

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

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

6.

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

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

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

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

5 ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ... κεφάλαιον: We fail to understand why Kazhdan, BSI 53 (1992), 199, takes the word κεφάλαιον, frequently used by Ignatios, to mean "tax."

8 ἀποσίδους τὸ γραμμάτιον: Note that the message was delivered by the bearer and was not contained in the letter.

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

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

The xenodocheion of Pylai is first attested on a boundary stone of the reign of Constantine VI and Irene (780–797), found at either Çiftlik köyü or Yalova in 1974 and now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. no. 74.74): Şahin, op. cit., 37 ff
and pl. vii, who mistakenly believes that xenodocheion was a place name. In the Kletorologion of Philotheos (899), the ξενοδόχος Πυλών, along with those of Sangaros and Nicomedia, is listed as being subject to the Great Curator (Oikonomídès, Listes, 123). In the tenth century, Theodore Daphnopates addresses a letter to Nikiphoros ξενοδόχος Πυλών and gives an idyllic description of the rural pleasures available to his correspondent: letter 37, ed. J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink (Paris, 1978), 207ff. Seals of xenodochoi of Pylai: ΚΕΦΣ 31 (1907–8), 51; Zacos, II, 163; N. Zikos in N. Oikonomides, ed., Studies in Byzantine Sigillography, II (Washington, D.C., 1990), 173–74.

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

28 ἐπισκήψεως: cf. VGA 21.11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


8.

Adds little to no. 7, except that the exemptions enjoyed by the clergy of Nicaea are said to have been based on an imperial decree and ancient custom. Such a decree does not appear to have survived, although we hear of special privileges granted to the Churches of Thessalonica (*Cod. Just.*, I.2.8, X.16.12), Constantinople (*Nov. Just.*, 43.1; 59 praef.) and Alexandria (*Cod. Theod.*, XI.24.6).

14 πρωτογέρωντος: a hapax.

9.


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

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

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

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

19–20 Note that Ignatios feels no obligation to celebrate Easter in his own cathedral.
10.

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

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

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

The bishopric of Taion (spelled Τάτηου, Ταίου, Ταείου) regularly appears in *Notitiae* subsequent to the ninth century, usually in fifth place among the six suffragans of Nicaea. Seal of a bishop (11th century): Laurent, *Corpus*, V.1, no. 398.

5ff Sacred vessels: These appear to have been borrowed temporarily because the new bishopric did not possess any.

14 δὲδοταί αὐτῷ: It follows that Ignatios’ correspondent was the first incumbent at Taion.


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

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

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

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

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

12.
A routine expression of sympathy and thanks for gifts received.

11 ὀλίκης ἀργυρίου: cf. VT 407.7.

13.
Date: Probably from the time of Ignatios’ episcopacy.

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

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

The bishop of Helenopolis was subject to the metropolitan of Nicomedia: Dar-
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rouzès, Notitiae, 2.194, 3.229, etc. For its omission in the Notitia of Epiphanius, ibid., 8, 17, 40. Episcopal list: Lequien, OrChr, I, 621–24 and Fedalto, Hierarchia, I, 102–3. Cf. Laurent, Corpus, V.1, no. 386 (seal of bishop Synetos, probably of first half of 9th century); and Stiernon, “Hélénopolis,” 882.


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


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

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

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

14.

Date: episcopal period.

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

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

15.

Perhaps on the same matter as no. 14.

16.

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

In letter 495.30ff Theodore the Studite refers to an abbot of Komai (ὁ τε τῶν λαμάων ἥγοιμενος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Γουλαίου) who had been dispossessed of his post by the Iconoclasts (approximate date 822–826), ed. Fatouros, 730. Janin (*Grands centres*, 115, 143) believes that the reading Κωμῶν is a mistake for Βωμῶν (the well-known monastery τῶν Ἡλίου Βωμῶν at Elegmoi, modern Kursünlu), but apart from the fact that Κωμῶν is independently attested in two texts, it must have lain in the diocese of Nicaea, whereas Elegmoi was situated in that of Nicomedia.

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

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

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

14 τὸ σπίλος: The noun recurs in its neuter form in the Life of St. Nikephoros of Medikon (BHG 3 2297), ed. F. Halkin, AnalBoll 78 (1960), 422.23.

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

17.

Date: episcopal period.

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

For Taion see above, no. 10.

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

18.

Date: episcopal period.


[176]
In the list there is a blank between Constantine, who attended the Council of 787, and Basil, who attended that of 879/880. Could this have been the same Constantine? If so, it would be an argument for placing Ignatios’ episcopate at a relatively early date. At any rate, from several expressions (lines 25–26, 39–40) it can be deduced that Ignatios is feeling guilty for having perpetrated sinful (iconoclastic?) acts.

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

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

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

19.

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

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

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

10 Unless ἡ γαμμακῆ (scil. συγγραφῆ) can be understood as a substantive, like τὸ γαμμακόν (see F. Preisigke, Wörterbuch d. griechischen Papyrusurkunden [Heidelberg, 1924–], s.v. = Ehevertrag) or a similar phrasing in letter 31.54 (τῆς ἀλλευκηῆς ἔκεινης), a lacuna must be assumed. For a similar use of the feminine adjective ἡ εἴδικη as a substantive, see letter 38.1 of Leo, metropolitan of Synada (937–ca. 1003), ed. M. P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), 62–63 and 123. We accept συνάλγημα as a deliberate pun on συνάλλαγμα.
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12 Strator: honorific title, sixth from the bottom of the palatine hierarchy, above candidatus (fifth) and below hypatos (seventh): Bury, System, 22; Oikonomides, Listes, 298. On its specific function in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, see also Haldon, Byzantine Praetorians, 159–60 and 186–87. In the eighth century, Theophanes Confessor, a rich and aristocratic young man, was given the rank of strator to lure him into imperial service. In the ninth century, Basil, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, was appointed strator by Michael III; see Theoph. Cont., 231.15 ff.

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

20.

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

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

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

21–24. These four letters, addressed to the same person, appear to be in chronological sequence and are all to be dated before 826. Democharis was in office as logothete of the Genikon early in 821, when Theodore the Studite, who did not know him personally, pressed him to influence Michael II in favor of icons (letter 426, ed. Fatouros, 596–97). He calls Democharis “an ornament of diverse learning,” compliments him for having “refuted John, the leader of impiety” (i.e., John the Grammarian), and states that he had held a number of government posts before attaining “the topmost one” (a slight exaggeration). Theodore’s letter 454 is a letter of consolation to the widow of Democharis, to be dated between 821 and 826 (Fatouros, 421*). The deceased is described as educated, pious, and a champion of orthodoxy. We also learn that the pair had children and owned an οἶκος μεγαλοφυής, which we take to mean “a house of a distinguished family” (cf. letters 420.19 and 521.23–24). Rather more problematic is the reference to “the death of the blessed strategos” (Fatouros, 643). Does that mean that the last post held by Democharis was that of provincial governor, as F. Winkelmann has surmised (Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert [Berlin, 1987], 137–38)? Or that he had been a strategos before assuming civil duties in the capital? At any rate, the logothete of the Genikon was classed among the sekretikoi (Oikonomidès, Listes, 107) and could hardly have been designated as a strategos.
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Photios’ letter 49 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, I, 94) is addressed Ἰωάννης πατρικός καὶ σακελλαρίῳ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δημόχαριν. In the early Byzantine period the preposition κατὰ meant “in the service of” (see A. Cameron, Glotta 56 [1978], 92–93), but its precise connotation in the ninth century is unclear. It may have meant “belonging to the household or family of X.”

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

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

21. Tit. Λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ: Next to the sakellarios, the logothete of the Genikon was in the ninth century the most important financial minister of the empire, who surveyed and collected all taxes. He is defined by Ignatios himself as τῶν δημοσίων φόρων προεστός in VGA 53.3. See Bury, System, 90; Oikonomidès, Listes, 313 ff; for prosopography, R. Guillard, “Les logothètes,” REB 29 (1971), esp. 11 ff. In 810 the logothete was a patrician Niketas: Dölger, Regesten, no. 370.

14 μήτρως . . . συνεκύρησα: cf. VGD 52.5.

16 κρηδέμοιοι: a Homeric synonym for the word σουδάριοι used in VGD 58.4. Cf. also the description of unjustly condemned merchants of Amastris in VGA 42.10 ff: ὅβεις ἡλιοωμένας καὶ πρόσωπα συμπεπτωκότα, etc.

20–21 Scourging and tonsure were a standard punishment for relatively minor offenses. Cf. Ecloga, 17.15 and 17.29, ed. Burgmann, 230 and 236; Book of the Prefect, 1.12 (διὰ δαρμοῦ καὶ κυρῆς); 2.11 (τυπτόμενοι καὶ κουρενόμενοι); 3.3, 3.5, 3.6, etc., ed. J. Koder, 80, 88, 90. Several officials suffered the same punishment, followed by exile, in the reigns of Irene and Nikephoros I (Theoph., 465.3.7; 466.27; 467.26; 483.27).

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

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

Third, we may note the statement that Ignatios had seen the island himself. As far as we know, he had not traveled widely, which may suggest that Androtē lay in his country of origin or between that country and Constantinople. Now, VGA, which we consider to be a work of Ignatios, was clearly written for local consumption. Note in particular the final prayer (p. 71,3–4): τὴν πόλιν σου ταύτην φρούρησον, τὴν πόλιν σου ταύτην φύλαξον, etc. It is possible, of course, that Ignatios was merely commissioned to compose this Life without being himself a native of Amastris, but if he was a Paphlagonian, it may well be that Androtē was known to him because it was a small island off the Black Sea coast. In VGA 54.10 ff. he shows familiarity with the sea route from Constantinople to Amastris and the turbulent waters at the mouth of the Sangarios. At Amastris itself there are two offshore islands, one (called Boztepe) now joined to the mainland and fortified on the landward side, the other (Büyükada) quite deserted. See S. Eyice, Küçük Amastra tarihi (Ankara, 1965), 8 f., who notes the existence of remains, possibly of a monastery, on the latter island. The Byzantine name of these islands is unknown. Theoph., 375,14, speaks of ἡ νίσος Ἀμαστρὴς with reference to the future patriarch Kyros who had been a hermit on it. There are also a couple of little islands to the west of Daphnousia (Kefken): see map in W. von Diest, Von Pergamon über den Dindymos zum Pontus, Petermans Mitt., Ergänzungsheft 94 (1889). Further islands are at the mouth of the Artanas River (modern Şile) and east of Amastris, near Kerasous, the latter being known in antiquity as Aristias, Ardos, or Arkonesos. See Arrian’s Periplus, ed. A. Diller, The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers (Oxford, 1952), 118, 124 f.

The north coast of Asia Minor, including Paphlagonia, was a grain-exporting area in the Middle Ages: De Administrando Imperio, §53,533–35, ed. G. Moravscik and R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), 286.

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

32 χαρᾶς φερωνύμω: a pun on the name of Democharis.

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

46 ιατρὸς γαληνώτατος: a pun on the name of Galen; cf. letter 46.12.

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

'Ἀλλ' ὁ γαλήνη καὶ στορεστὰ τῆς ζάλης
σὺ, Χριστέ, δείξαις ἀβρόχους ἀμαρτίας
τῷ σῷ πρῶς ὤρμῳ προσφόρωσ προσορμίσας, etc.

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

22.

5–7 According to Pythagorean numerology, two numbers were said to be “friendly” when each was the sum of all the aliquot parts of the other. See T. Heath, A History of Greek Mathematics, I (Oxford, 1921), 75. The source of our passage may be Iamblichus, In Nicomachi arithmeticae, ed. Pistelli and Klein, 34–35: ἄλλους γὰρ τινας ἀντικρινες φιλους ἀριθμων καλοδιων ἐν τῷ προσοκειον τός τε ἄρετας καὶ τὰς ἀστείας ἐξεις τοῖς ἀριθμωις, οἶνον τὸν σπὸ καὶ τὸν σκ'. γενητικα γὰρ ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐκατέρου αὐτών μέρη κατὰ τῶν τῆς φιλίας λόγον, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἀπεφήνατο- ἐρομένου γάρ τινας "τί ἐστι φίλος" ἐσπεν "ἐτερός ἐγώ," —ὑπερ ἐπι τούτων τῶν ἀριθμῶν δεικνύται. This shows, incidentally, that the reading μέρη is sound. The Arithmetica introductio of Nicomachus of Gerasa was known at Constantinople in the ninth century: see Photios, Bibliotheca, cod. 187; it must have been one of the standard textbooks of Byzantine litterati: see W. Treadgold, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius (Washington, D.C., 1980), 6–7. Nicomachus and Diophantus are mentioned in VT 402.22.
23.

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

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

24.

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

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

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

34 We learn here that the children of Democharis mentioned by Theodore the Studite (above, ad 21–24) were daughters. John Duffy calls our attention to a similar passage in the Life of Nicholas the Studite, PG 105, 917b: πολύπαιδες τῇ ἐντεκνίᾳ τῆς παιδὸς οἱ ἀπαίδες ἐχρηματίζον.

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

25.

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

9ff A locus desperatus. The difficulty starts with σφικάμμων. The only “prophet’s” passage (setting aside Ps. 77:47 and Is. 9:10, which are both inapplicable) that
is at all appropriate is Amos 7:14: οὐκ ἡμῖν προφήτης ἐγώ οὐδὲ νίς προφήτου. ἀλλ’ ἐν αἰτίοις ἡμῖν καὶ κνίζων συκάμνα, which is understood to mean “scratching figs” (to make them ripen): cf. below, comm. on 61.1–2. If Ignatios intends to say that he and his friend were eating, not the prophet’s figs or mulberries, but pistachio nuts, one could emend the problematic ἐβορᾶξομεν to ἐβοράξομεν. The verb βοράξω or βοράξ = τρέφω (hence “to feed” rather than “to eat”) is found, however, only in Etyrn. magn., Gaisford 205.6, 737.21. It is more likely that the reference is not to eating but to resting, which suggests Mic. 4:4, ἀναπαύσεται... ἐκαστὸς ὑποκάτῳ συκῆς αὐτῶν, in which case one could either emend the text to εἰ καὶ μὴ... συκέαι ἤν or suppose that Ignatios confused fig trees with mulberry trees. We are still left with the hapax ἐβορᾶξομεν. Karlsson, Idéologie, 128ff, translates it as “être rafraîchi par le vent du nord” and cites βορείαζειν ϋβορείζει = “tira la tramontana” in the Tesoro of Somavera (1709) as well as the analogy with θαλάζω = “to bask in the sun.” There is also αἱρέζω in Hesychius, s.v. ἀναψύχειν. I. D. Polemis has suggested ἐνωριαζομεν, which phonetically would have been indistinguishable from ἐβοράξομεν. The extremely rare ἐνωριαζω (found in Hesychius and Photios’ Lexicon) is said, however, to mean “to be negligent” (διγμαρεῖν, μὴ ἔχειν φροντίδα, παρακολού). Ignatios might have connected it with ἐνωρία (fineness of season or freedom from care). Hesychius also has ἐνωρεῖπιναίζει.

26.

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

3 τὰς τῶν ἀλάλων ἐμπίδων ἰώδεις δῆξιες: The patrician Nicetas, a saint of the Second Iconoclasm, suffered from mosquitoes in Bithynia; see his Vita, ed. D. Papaehryssanthou, TM 3 (1968), 331.

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

27.

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

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


6 Πιλάδαι τοις Ὀρέσταις . . . : an epistolographic allusion to designate friendship; cf. Symeon mag. et logoth., letter 95.5–7, in Darrouzès, Épistoliers, 155; and Theodore, metropolitan of Cyzicus, letter 27, Νέος Ἑλλ. 19 (1925), 292.15–16.

8 Akessaios (or Akesios) is said to have been the steersman of Neleus. He would delay sailing until the moon was full: E. Miller, Mélanges de littérature grèque (Paris, 1868), 353.

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

29.

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

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

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

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

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

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

31.

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

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


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

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

15 ἀβρόχωρ ποδί: cf. *Phaedo* 243D, but too common to count as a classical allusion.

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

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

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

46–47 Athanasios must have been attached to a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos; one such monastery was founded by Ioannikios (*Vita* by Peter, 397A; by Sabas, 351 BC and 378B); see also Janin, *Grands centres*, 154 (no. 1).

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

54 ἀλγεινῆς ἐκείνης: cf. letter 19.10.

Date: after 842.

A Constantine spatharios and asekretis was the recipient of Photios’ letter 211 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, II, 111–15), which gives no clues for attempting any dating; in the opening words Constantine is reckoned among the friends of learning
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(τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν), a feature also characteristic of Ignatios’ addressee. To a Constantine asekretis belonged three seals dating from the ninth century, according to Laurent, Corpus, II, 22–23. On the reverse of the second of them Constantine is designated as βασιλικός σπαθάρως and ἀσηκρήτης, whom Laurent is inclined to identify with both Photios’ and Ignatios’ addressees (ibid., 22).

Ignatios, as a literary expert, is being requested for the second time (cf. line 11) to correct an iambic poem celebrating both the pious concerns of the reigning empress (surely Theodora) and the preliminary struggles τῆς πάλαι πονησάσης, whom we take to have been Empress Irene, that is, a poem of iconophile propaganda. Constantine is acting as an intermediary on behalf of another person (τοῖς αὐτή-

σασι, δο καλῶν), presumably higher placed than himself: in other words, the composition of the poem is being overseen by a government committee. It would appear that Ignatios’ first version, which had been metrically correct (ηδῆ καλῶς με-

τρηθέντας), had been disregarded in favor of another that did not observe the rules of prosody. Fearing that his second version may be equally unacceptable, Ignatios invites Constantine to come in person so they can agree on the final text.


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

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

33.

Date: before 846.

A forceful letter of remonstrance concerning the flight of a novice whom Ignatios had placed in the monastery of Antidion. The imperious tone suggests that Ignatios was in a position of some authority at the time. The use of the epithet με-

τριώτης (line 55), which he applies to himself, does not, however, imply that he was a bishop at the time. Cf. letters 29.5 and 49.24.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Byzantine topography of the Olympus area has been more confused than elucidated by the arbitrary ideas of B. Menthon, which have been to a large extent
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accepted by V. Laurent and R. Janin. B. Menthon, *L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris, 1935), 49–50, places Atroa southwest of Prousa on the grounds, it seems, that a village known in his days as Misi reminded him of the Byzantine Mesôn, described as being at Atroa in the *Vita Constantini Iudaei* (BHG 3 370), AASS, Nov. IV, 641d. So also Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse*, 37–38 and Janin’s map in *Grands centres*, 130. The solution of this and other problems will have to wait for a more systematic survey of the terrain.

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

34.

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

35.

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

36.

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

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

8 Δυσκόλον . . . παιδί: Herodian was the son of Apollonios Dyskolos of Alexandria according to the biographical notice in *Herodiani technici reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, I (Leipzig, 1867), vi. It seems that in the eyes of Ignatios, Herodian, rather than his father, was the creator of systematic grammar. The reference, as K. Alpers kindly informs us, appears to be to Herodian’s treatise περὶ παθῶν, fragments of which, drawn from lexica, are edited by Lentz, II (Leipzig, 1868), 166–388 (irrespective of the question whether they are all correctly attributed). Cf. H. Schultz, “Herodianus,” *RE* 8.1 (1912), 966f. Ignatios may have been acquainted with the complete text of this work, which was cannibalized by lexicographers in the ninth to tenth centuries. Herodian returns to the same matter in his *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσφοδίας*, c. XIX, Lentz, I, 491.7–9: πᾶν μονοσύλλαβον ἐπιρρήμα. εἰ μὲν ἔχει φύσει βραχείαν, δῆλον ὡς δὲν substantive, πᾶξ . . . δὰ ταῦτα δηκῳ. ὅπερ
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καὶ ὁδὸς λέγεται, and 492.6: τὰ ἐχοντα διχρωνον ἐκτεταμένον περισπάται, “& δειλὲ πάντων,” etc.

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

19 δῖς, τρῖς: cf. Apollonius, De adverbiis, Grammatici graeci, I.1, ed. R. Schneider (Leipzig, 1878), 174.18–19: καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὁν τις σημειώσατο τὸ διχὸς καὶ τριχῶς, ὅτι πλευνοσυλλαβεῖ τοῦ δίς καὶ τρίς. Ἄλλ’ ὑσως ἐπει οὐδὲ δόλκληρα αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα, ἐν δὲ συγκοπῆ, καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα οὐ τῇ συγκοπῇ ἣκολούθει, τῇ δὲ δόλκλιμρφ πρόφορᾳ.

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

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


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

On Oxeia, the most westerly of the Princes’ islands, see Janin, Grands centres, 65–67. In the ninth century it appears as a place of detention: Platon, the uncle of Theodore the Studite, was held there from 809 until 811 (Laud. in Platonem [BHG 3 1553], PG 99, 841c), and a certain Gebon, a pretender to the throne, in 856 (Vita Ignatii [BHG 2 817], PG 105, 505b). One may surmise that there was at the time a monastic establishment on the island to which Nikephoros would have withdrawn, but it is not specifically recorded. In the late eleventh/early twelfth century Gregory Taronites spent some time on Oxeia, where he found a single monk in residence: see synaxarion notice published by Mango in JÖB 42 (1992), 222–23.

32 Ὀξείαν, πλατείαν: a double pun. The island nearest Oxeia was called Platē.

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

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

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


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

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

4. πρὸς ποῖον: Gregory’s oration (PG 35, cols. 933 ff) is entitled Ἐλς τῶν πατέρων σωφρόντα διὰ τὴν πληγὴν τῆς χαλάζης, although, strictly speaking, he was not addressing his father.

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

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


39.

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


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

40.

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

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

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

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

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

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

δι’ ὅτε τις στατός ἦππος, ἀκοστήγας ἐπὶ φάτνη,

δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων, etc.

The occurrence of the verb κριθαίσατο proves that he was acquainted with a commentary, but the question remains how he understood the passage. Scholiasts disagreed about the meaning of the ἡραξ ἀκοστήγας, interpreting it as ἄκος τῆς στάσεως λαβών, ταυτέστω τάμα καὶ κραβάσας τοῦ δυσχεράνας ἐπὶ τῆς φάτνης στάσεως ἢ ἀγοστήγας (ἀγοστός = filth): Scholia in Iliadem, Erbse, II, 215–17. Eustathios (658.40) gives the alternatives: πολυκριθήσατο according to the
ancients; ἄνειν δὲ ὄχι ἐν τῷ ὑστασθαι (being tired of standing); ἀκολαστῶς διατεθήματι (ἀκολαστήσας being shortened from ἄκολαστήσας); ἄγοστήσας = ρυπαθείς, hence desiring its habitual pasture and bathing. The Homeric simile is often quoted, for example, by Demetrius, *Eloc.* 89; Greg. Naz., *Or.* 43.24, PG 36, 528c (of his eagerness to rejoin Basil), and the comment of Ps.-Nonnus ad loc., ed. Nimmo Smith, 263–64.

The drift of our passage, which is unfortunately corrupt, seems to be that the stallion, after becoming overfed, broke its bonds and lost weight by grazing in a “literary” pasture. Several difficulties remain: (1) The meaningless ποιησάμενος may conceal πωίς, the stallion being desirous of grass rather than barley. Cf. the scholiast’s οὗτω γὰρ ποθεὶ τὴν συνήθη διασταί (Erbse, II, 216). Something like ποίης ἱμερόμενος or ὅρεγόμενος would give a satisfactory sense. (2) τοῖς λογικοῖς συγχλαόασαι (a *harpax*) probably means “having fed on grass in the company of men of letters,” although χλοάξω (act.) = to be green or budding. The middle συγχλαοσάμενος would be more correct.

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


41.

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


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

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

5–6 βατραχείου . . . μυκτόνοι παρεμβολής: See H. Wölke, Untersuchungen zur Batrachomyomachia (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978), 33.249 (edition of our letter based on Karlsson’s collation). The Batr. was known in ninth-century Byzantium. It is cited by Choiroboskos, Scholia in Theod. Canones, Gramm. gr. IV.1, 139.1, with regard to the quantity of the word μῦς, and the epithet λιμνοχαρῆς (Batr. 12.212) occurs in the Life of Theophanes by Methodius (BHG³ 1787z), ed. Latysev, 22.32.

14 τορόν τι καὶ ἐννάλιον: VN 147.9.

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


42.

Date: presumably late in Ignatios’ life.

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

43–47.

Date: 843 or a little later.

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

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

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

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

43.

3 κεραννέων ἀντιδοτον: On the possible allusion to the monastery of Antidion, see Introduction, p. 19.

44.

9 κεκανομαμένη στιγῆ: cf. letter 45.28. During Lent, or was Ignatios placed under a special penance?
COMMENTARY

45.


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

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

46.

1 φθώνας νόσσος: also in Vita S. Theophylacti Nicomediae, (BHG3 2451), ed. F. Halkin, Hagiologie byzantine (Brussels, 1986), 181.3.

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

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

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

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

47.

1 διερευνώμενος: cf. letter 38.4.

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

49.

Date: 843–846.

Probably written from the monastery of Pikridion, if not from another monastery (if μονη in line 12 is right) to which Ignatios had been relegated. He appears to have been under sentence of excommunication: τρυφή is applied to the eucharist in the Liturgy of St. Basil, ed. Brightman, 344.27, while Cyril of Alexandria uses τρυφὴς χείμαρρος of Christ: Comm. in Isaiah, 3,3, PG 70, 749c. It is worth noting that, in spite of his disgrace, Ignatios carried some weight with the orthodox establishment; otherwise the unnamed monk would not have sought his support.
Ignatios of Nicomedia is known to have offered a bishopric to Paul, brother of St. Peter of Atroa. Paul died on 26 August 844; ed. Laurent, 152–53 (§103.7). Ignatios of Nicomedia must have been ordained in 843 and appears to have been deposed before November 846, if he was the same as the Monomachos (Christian name not given), whose company Patriarch Methodios was urged to avoid by St. Ioannikios: τού τε σιν αὐτοῖς (the Studites) Κακοσάμβα καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκπεπτωκότος τοῦ Μουσόμαχο βῆτος θεομάχου (Life of Ioannikios by Peter, AASS, Nov. II, 432b). It follows that Ignatios belonged to the Studite party, condemned in 845/6 (Grumel, Regestes, nos. 433–34). A Studite monk Ignatios often appears in Theodore’s correspondence: see on him Fatouros, 242*, n. 342. The name Monomachos was also borne by the patrician Nicetas: D. Papachryssanthou, TM 3 (1968), 316–17. This Ignatios may also have been the owner of seal no. 377; cf. Laurent, Corpus, V.1, 271.


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

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

51.


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

52. Date: 843–847.

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

1 πετειράμων: pluperfect with no augment, as in VN 163.6 (συγκεκρότητο); 173.29 (τετύπωτο . . . μεμόρφωτο); 177.13 (νευκρωντο), etc.

9–10 ἐκ τελείας . . . προαιρέσεως: For a similar wording see the letter of Theodore metropolitan of Cyzicus (10th century), ed. S. Lampros, Νέος 'Ελλ. 19 (1925), 186.15–16: ὡς ἐκ γλυκείας σοι καὶ οὖ πικρᾶς προσδεχθείησαι προαιρέσεως.

53–54. Date: 843–847.

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

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

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

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

53.

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

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

4 πτυκτίον: On this term see B. Atsalos, La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l’époque byzantine, I (Thessaloniki, 1971), 95 ff.

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

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

54.

2 εὐταλάντως: Lampe quotes εὐτάλαντος from George Pisides’ Hex., 208 (PG 92, 1449a).

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

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

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

56.

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

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

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

57.

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

58.

The recipient of this letter may be identified with one of several officials by the same name occurring in the sources: a Leo imperial protospatharios and protoasekretis was the owner of seals nos. 3 and 4 and an imperial protospatharios and asekretis the owner of no. 64, whom Laurent, Corpus, V, 5–6, identifies with the official who read out the edict of Basil I during the last session of the Council of 869/870 (cf. Mansi, XVI, 186c) and the addressee of Ignatios. A Leo protospatharios also owned seals 2136, 2140, 2141, and 3139 in Zacos-Veglery, vol. 1.2, 1181–84 and vol. 1.3, 1756, dating from the ninth century.
A Leo protospatharios was also the addressee of Photios’ letter 209 (ed. Laourdas and Westerink, II, 109), and seems to have been well versed in classical learning. Moreover, a Leo asekretis was, together with his brother Galaton, the recipient of letters 106, 219, and 232 in the same correspondence (ibid., I, 146; II, 126–30 and 148–49).

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

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

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

The same incorrect form in VGD 63.18: ἐκχυτόρησας οὖν Ὀλυμπίαθεν (Ὁλυμπίαθεν Ε), as pointed out by Ševčenko, “Hagiography,” 123 and note 71.

60.

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

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

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

61.

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

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

62.

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

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

16ff Although the full text of the Persica was available at Constantinople in the ninth century (Photios, Bibl., cod. 72), there can be no doubt that the passage given here has been borrowed from Demetrius, whose comment (§216) Ignatios paraphrases: Κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόν μόλις, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἀπέρησεν αὐτῷ, μάλα ἡθικῶς καὶ ἐναργῶς τὸν τῇ ἄγγελῳ ἐμφήνας ἀκουσίως ἄγγελοῦντα τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν μητέρα εἰς ἄγγελιαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὸν
COMMENTARY

Demetrius uses this passage as an example of suspense in narrative rather than of delicacy, that is, in postponing the announcement of the bad news. Our text of Demetrius is to all intents and purposes based on Paris. gr. 1741 of the mid-tenth century: see stemma in P. Chiron’s ed. (Paris, 1993), cxxxiv. We can now establish its existence at Constantinople a hundred years earlier. Cf. also letter 64.

90ff Note the characteristic admission of past sins.

63.
10 παρουσιάσας: cf. letter 41.15.
15 διὰ γράμματος with reference to letter 62.
16 τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν...εἰσωθέτων: Note that, in spite of his alleged poverty, Ignatios had a number of servants.

64.

The subject of this unusually convoluted letter is not easy to determine. Nikephoros had sent his friend a composition or, perhaps, the draft of a composition (twice called γράμμα), which Ignatios proceeded to criticize on stylistic grounds and, in particular, for its excessive use of periods. Nikephoros defends himself against the charge: he had not introduced too many periods; besides, the frequency of periods does not detract from the plausibility or appropriateness of the ideas expressed. He goes on to state that a contorted style best suited the anger and hostility he felt. In other words, the γράμμα must have been a denunciation. But what of the crow and the dove, a title that suggests a fable? In the Aesopic corpus there exists a fable entitled Περιστέρα καὶ κορώνη, which goes as follows: A dove, reared in a pigeon house, was boasting of having many chicks. A crow said to her: “The more children you have, the more servitude you will endure [or the more sorrows you are accumulating].” Moral: The most unfortunate among slaves are those who produce children during their servitude (Corpus fabularum aesopicarum, ed. A. Hausrath and H. Hunger, I.2 [Leipzig, 1959], no. 218). It is hard to see, however, what this has to do with the subject of the present letter. A more appropriate analogy may perhaps be found in ep. 381. 126 (ed. Fatouros, 525) of Theodore the Studite: οδὲ μίγει ὁ θεὸς κορώνην καὶ περιστέραν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δῆμοι τοῖς δῆμοις, “God does not mate a crow with a dove, but like with like.” This appears to have been a proverb (otherwise unattested) expressing incompatibility. We take the title, therefore, as a code name for a composition that pitted a metaphorical crow against a metaphorical dove. Using such a code name would have been particularly appropriate if Ignatios was indeed the author of the tetrasticha on themes borrowed from Babrius (above, p. 14). We may wonder whether the γράμμα had anything to do with the anti-iconoclastic tract referred to in letter 30, in which case the crow would have been the spokesman for Iconoclasm. The crow was seen not only as greedy, loquacious, and repulsive, but
also as impious: in Babr. 78 (cf. 152) it is represented as robbing the altars of the gods of their offerings. In dreams, crows denoted demons (κόρακας ἰδὼν δαίμονας τούτους νόει): F. Drexl, “Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Nikephoros,” Festgabe A. Ehrhard, 109.164.

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

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

33 Aristides: Aelius Aristides, considered a model rhetorician.

44–46 For the distinction between σολουκίζειν and βαρβαρίζειν, see Prolegomena τῶν Θεοδώρου δυναμικῶν κανόνων ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου Χοιροβοσκοῦ, Gramm. gr. IV.1, 103–4.
POSTSCRIPT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADDENDUM

A possible solution of the crux at 25.10–11 might be: εἰ καὶ μὴ . . . συκάμνα ὑπεραιωροῦντων, (καὶ) τὸ διειδές, etc. (“even if they were not laden with mulberries”). Cf. Libanius, Or. 1.53: ἕγὼ δὲ ἔφκειν ἀνδρὶ κατακεκλιμένω πρὸς πηγαῖς τε διαφανῶν ὦδάτων καὶ ὑπὸ δέντρων παντοῖας ὑπεραιωροῦντων χάριτας.

C.M.
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e coni. = vox e conjectura

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